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CONTENT

ARTICLES AND DISSERTATIONS

BOŻENA SIERADZKA-BAZIUR: The evolution of scientific language of pedagogy on the example of <i>Książki o wychowaniu dzieci</i> [<i>Books on children's upbringing</i>] by Erasmus Gliczner in the context of contemporary determinants of the language of science (DOI: 10.17460/PHO_2018.3_4.01)	5
GABRIELA PAPROTNA: Educating female preschool teachers on the territory of Poland in the 19 th century and the first half of the 20 th century. An outline of the problem (DOI: 10.17460/PHO_2018.3_4.02)	17
WIESŁAWA LEŻAŃSKA: The image of the early school education teacher in the pedagogy of Stefan Szuman (1889–1972) (DOI: 10.17460/PHO_2018.3_4.03)	33
KRZYSZTOF JAKUBIAK: A historiographical, historiosophical and pedagogical discourse about the national character of Poles from the turn of the 19 th century to the 20 th century (DOI: 10.17460/PHO_2018.3_4.04)	48
JOANNA SOSNOWSKA: German education in Łódź before 1914 – the organization, structure, and the directions of development (DOI: 10.17460/PHO_2018.3_4.05)	59
JERZY DOROSZEWSKI: The educational and cultural activity of teachers' seminars in Poland between 1918–1937 (DOI: 10.17460/PHO_2018.3_4.06)	83
WIESŁAW THEISS: The participation of Helena Radlińska in the European social and pedagogical movement (1918–1939) (DOI: 10.17460/PHO_2018.3_4.07)	103
ELŻBIETA MAGIERA: The formal aspects of the activities conducted by School Students' Sightseeing Clubs in the Second Republic of Poland (1918–1939) (DOI: 10.17460/PHO_2018.3_4.08)	121
EDYTA KAHL-ŁUCZYŃSKA: The peculiarity of the ideological pedagogy as a scientific basis of Socialist education in People's Poland – source, idea, implementation (DOI: 10.17460/PHO_2018.3_4.09)	142

MATERIALS

LUDWIK GRZEBIEŃ: Reflections on the historiography of the Commission of National Education in the last 50 years (DOI: 10.17460/PHO_2018.3_4.10)	173
REV. ANDRZEJ PAWEŁ BIEŚ SJ: The Jesuits as the body of teachers and the body of students in the Russian empire 1773–1820 (DOI: 10.17460/PHO_2018.3_4.11)	184
JÓZEF MIĄSO: Engraved in memory. A fragment of autobiography (DOI: 10.17460/PHO_2018.3_4.12)	197

PROFILES

- ŁUKASZ KALISZ: Charitable work of rev. Karol Lubianiec (1866–1942) (DOI: 10.17460/PHO_2018.3_4.13) 217
- TERESA ZANIEWSKA: Rev. Dr. Bolesław Domański (1872–1939), a priest with the Rodło emblem (DOI: 10.17460/PHO_2018.3_4.14) 228

REVIEWS

- Mieczysław Ryba: *Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski. Korzenie, początki, źródła tożsamości* [*The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin. Its roots, beginnings, and the sources of identity*], Warszawa–Radzymin 2018, p. 176
– REV. EDWARD WALEWANDER, ALEKSANDRA RUTKOWSKA 249
- Witold Chmielewski: *Zwalczanie wychowania religijnego w szkołach w latach 1944–1950* [*Combating religious education in schools between 1944–1950*], Kraków 2017, p. 283 – HANNA MARKIEWICZOWA 252
- Z badań nad tradycją polskiej pedagogiki. Tom IV. Władza – edukacja – wiedza* [*From the research on tradition of the Polish pedagogy. Volume No. 4. Power – education – knowledge*], scientific ed. J. Król, Szczecin 2016, p. 209
– PAULINA WĘŻNIEJEWSKA 257
- Robert Marcin Solis: *Problematyka kościelna w pamiętnikarstwie polskim XIX wieku* [*The issue of church in Polish memorials in the 19th century*], Lublin 2018, p. 141 – PIOTR KOWOLIK 262

CHRONICLE

- ALICJA ZAGRODZKA: The report from the meeting of the Team of the history of education at the committee on pedagogical sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warszawa, 11 October 2018 265
- JOANNA SOSNOWSKA: The scientific conference: *Sciences on education after the restoration of independence. Pedagogues – Institutions – Literature*, Łódź, 17 September 2018 270
- ANNA WOJEWODA: The scientific seminar: *The history of education in pedagogical press*, Obrzycko, 27–28 June 2018 274

ARTICLES AND DISSERTATIONS

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THE EVOLUTION OF SCIENTIFIC LANGUAGE OF PEDAGOGY ON THE EXAMPLE OF *KSIĄŻKI O WYCHOWANIU DZIECI* [BOOKS ON CHILDREN'S UPBRINGING] WRITTEN BY ERASMUS GLICZNER¹ IN THE CONTEXT OF CONTEMPORARY DETERMINANTS OF THE LANGUAGE OF SCIENCE

INTRODUCTION

In the sixteenth century, Poland experienced a boom in the literature in Polish, including scientific publications. The situation was affected i.a. by social transformations, separation of a number of fundamental scientific disciplines, development of technology, printing, modernization of education, increase in the number of literate people who were interested in social changes and achievements in science. In the Renaissance, similarly as in the Middle Ages, Latin was the language of scientific discourse, and Polish papers on issues related to acquiring new knowledge

¹ E. Glicznier, *Książki o wychowaniu dzieci bardzo dobre, pożyteczne i potrzebne, z których rodzicy ku wychowaniu dzieci swych nauk dolożną wyczerpnąć mogą. Teraz nowo uczynione i z pilnością wyrobione* [Very good, useful and necessary books on children's upbringing which might be consulted by parents. Recently published and carefully prepared], were printed in Cracow by Mateusz Siebenejcher A.D.M.D.L. VIII. This Renaissance work is available on-line: Dolnośląska Biblioteka Cyfrowa, (access: 7.07.2018) at: <http://www.dbc.wroc.pl>. The quotations from this work were included in the article in a simplified transcription on the basis of the 19th century edition: Erasmus Glicznier, *Książki o wychowaniu dzieci* [Books on children's upbringing], Kraków, Published by D. E. Friedlein's bookshop, 1876, prepared for printing by W. Wisłocki.

about the world were usually of an informative or popular scientific nature due to the specific context of functioning of the scientific texts written in Polish as compared to Latin prototypes. S. Gajda wrote: *The mother tongue was taking its first tentative steps and entering the Polish science, through the back door, not earlier than in the Renaissance. The intellectual life of medieval Poland was an integral part of the intellectual culture of Romance-speaking Europe. The works created at that time were written in Latin, e.g. the two lives of St. Adalbert (11th century), works of Wietelon, a mathematician and a natural scientist, works of Marcin Polak, a historian, Benedykt Polak, a traveler (13th century), Mateusz from Kraków, a theologian (14th century), Stanisław from Skarbimierz and Paweł Włodkowic, lawyers, Wincenty Kadłubek, Janek from Czarńków and Jan Długosz (15th century), historians. The Renaissance was also a linguistic transitional period in the development of science. Proper modern science arose in the West at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth century*².

The works from the 16th century, the primary purpose of which was to present issues related to science and technology, were dedicated to such disciplines as economics and rural areas, geography, philology, geometry and arithmetic, history, medicine, pharmacy and herbalism³. During this period, the first monograph, a type of a pedagogical guidebook, on pedagogy of a popular scientific nature was published. Its title was: *Książki o wychowaniu dzieci barzo dobre, pożyteczne i potrzebne, z których rodzicy ku wychowaniu dzieci swych nauk dolożną wyczerpnąć mogą. Teraz nowo uczynione i z pilnością wyrobione* (*Very good, useful and necessary books on children's upbringing which might be consulted by parents. Recently published and carefully prepared*) (1558) written by Erasmus Gliczner⁴. The sixteenth century is the first period when the scientific variation of the Polish language was formed. The purpose of this paper is to show the beginnings of the development of the language of Polish pedagogy by analyzing generic determinants of the scientific text found in the first pedagogical book written in our language in the context of contemporary requirements regarding creating this type of written statements. The method adopted herein is to provide a lexical and stylistic analysis of language relics in pedagogy, which falls within the scope of linguistics and the history of upbringing.

ERASMUS GLICZNER AS A CREATOR

The life and achievements of Erasmus Gliczner (1535–1603), a Lutheran priest, a religious polemicist, a creator of a dynamically operating center of the

² S. Gajda, *Współczesna polszczyzna naukowa. Język czy żargon? [The contemporary scientific Polish language. Language or jargon?]*, Opole, Instytut Śląski w Opolu, 1990, p. 33–34.

³ Por. A. Szczaus, *Teksty naukowe i techniczne doby średniopolskiej jako źródło badań historycznojęzykowych [Scientific and technical texts as a source of historical and linguistic research]*, „Poznańskie Studia Polonistyczne”. Seria Językoznawcza, 2015, Vol. 22 (42), No. 1, p. 253–255.

⁴ In 1564 another Polish pedagogical book entitled: *Książeczki rozkoszne [Adorable books]* by Marcin Kwiatkowski was published. However, this text was not an independent study, but a translation.

Lutheran movement in Grodzisk, a private teacher and a writer, have become the subject of general biographical, bibliographic and pedagogical studies. Erasmus Glicznier was a prolific artist, however, at present only one of his works, a monograph, is analyzed to a wider extent, which was written by him at a young age (the author was 23 years old when the book was published). Its title was: *Książki o wychowaniu dzieci (Books on children's upbringing)* (1558). It should be added that his literature and textual legacy includes also works on rural areas and agriculture, dance and its meaning, history, religious polemical writings, as well as translations and letters⁵.

GENERIC DETERMINANTS OF A SCIENTIFIC TEXT

A scientific specialist text consolidates and provides readers with knowledge from a particular scientific discipline. A model scientific text is characterized by: a logical and precise message, accuracy, abstractness, objectivity, impersonality, rationality and a corresponding selection of appropriate forms of message. Generic determinants of a scientific text include:

- presence of structural elements relevant to scientific texts (such as an adequate title, footnotes, bibliography),
- a well-thought-out composition of texts containing formulated theses (introduction, main body, conclusion),
- a logical and correct construction of sentences,

⁵ H. Barycz, *Glicznier Erazm (1535–1603) [Erasmus Glicznier 1535–1603]*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny [Polish Dictionary of biographies]*, Vol. VIII, Wrocław–Kraków–Warszawa 1959–1960, p. 50–52; A. Dąbrowski, *Erazm Glicznier jako pedagog. Studium nad pierwszą pedagogiką polską [Erasmus Glicznier as a pedagogue. The study on the first Polish pedagogy]*, in: *Studia z dziejów wychowania w Polsce [The studies on the history of upbringing in Poland]*, Kraków, Skład Główny w Książnicy Polskiej in Warszawa, 1921, p. 66–156; *Erazm Glicznier ze Żnina (1535–1603) [Erasmus Glicznier from Żnin 1535–1603]*, in: S. I. Możdżeń, *Historia wychowania do 1795 [The history of upbringing till 1795]*, Sandomierz, Wydawnictwo Diecezjalne, 2006, p. 277–279; I. T., *Glicznier Erazm [Glicznier Erasmus]*, in: *Dawni pisarze polscy od początków piśmiennictwa do Młodej Polski. Przewodnik biograficzny i bibliograficzny [Former Polish writers from the beginning of the literature to Young Poland (Młoda Polska). A biographical and bibliographical guidebook]*, coordinated by R. Loth, Vol. 1, A–H, Warszawa, WSIP, 2000, p. 332–333; *Glicznier Erazm [Glicznier Erasmus]*, in: *Piśmiennictwo staropolskie [Old Polish literature]*, ed. by R. Pollak, Warszawa, PIW, 1964, p. 193–195; *Glicznier-Skrzetuski Erazm ze Żnina (1535–1603) [Glicznier-Skrzetuski Erasmus from Żnin 1535–1603]*, in: M. Krajewski, *Leksykon dziejów edukacji z przewodnikiem bibliograficznym. Ludzie – instytucje – koncepcje [Lexicon of the history of education with a bibliographical guidebook. People – institutions – concepts]*, Płock, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Novum, 2010, p. 109–110; *Pierwszy poradnik wychowawczy dla rodziców [The first guidebook for parents]*, in: *Historia wychowania [The history of upbringing]*, Vol. 1, ed. Ł. Kurdybach, Warszawa, PWN, 1967, p. 417–420; J. Jelinek, *Erazm Glicznier 1535–1603 [Erasmus Glicznier 1535–1603]*, Żnin, Graf-Bog, 2009; B. Suchodolski, *Studia z dziejów polskiej myśli filozoficznej i naukowej [The studies on the history of the philosophical and scientific thought]*, Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1958; S. Sztobryn, *Erazm Glicznier Skrzetuski (1535–1603) [Erasmus Glicznier Skrzetuski (1535–1603)]*, in: *Pedagogika [Pedagogy]*, Vol. 1. *Podstawy nauk o wychowaniu [The basics of science on upbringing]*, ed. B. Śliwierski, Gdańsk, GWP, 2006, p. 47–49; D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, *Glicznier Strzetuski Erazm (1535–1603) [Erasmus Glicznier Skrzetuski (1535–1603)]*, in: *Encyklopedia pedagogiczna XXI wieku [Encyclopedia of pedagogy of the 21st century]*, Vol. 2, G–Ł, Warszawa, ed. T. Pilch, Wydawnictwo Akademickie Żak, Warszawa, p. 46–47.

- specialized names (terms), which verbalize concepts related to the discipline of knowledge represented by the text,
- a presentation of research methods used in the paper,
- a presentation of the results of the scientific research and the justification of the conclusions,
- a possible presentation of research perspectives⁶.

KSIĄŻKI O WYCHOWANIU DZIECI (BOOKS ON CHILDREN'S UPBRINGING) – GENERIC DETERMINANTS

Książki o wychowaniu dzieci (Books on children's upbringing) by Erasmus Glicznier is a monograph from the sixteenth century which meets some features of a contemporary scientific study as far as its definition is concerned, and contains elements which during the development of scientific literature were eliminated, as they contradicted some of the principles developed in the course of evolution of the scientific language.

THE TITLE OF THE RENAISSANCE PEDAGOGICAL GUIDEBOOK

According to the custom from this period of development of the Polish language, the full title of the most important work written by Erasmus Glicznier is a complex text: *Książki o wychowaniu dzieci barzo dobre, pożyteczne i potrzebne, z których rodzicy ku wychowaniu dzieci swych naukę dołożną wyczerpnąć mogą. Teraz nowo uczynione i z pilnością wyrobione (Very good, useful and necessary books on children's upbringing which might be consulted by parents. Recently published and carefully prepared)*. The purpose of this title, just as other titles of written texts, is to identify it, distinguish it from other statements of this language variant, but it also has an informative function, as it evokes certain attitudes and expectations of readers and influences reception of the content included therein. The title constructed in such a way constitutes information about the topic of the paper, which, as announced, will refer to the upbringing of children, whereas, as the semantic analysis of the book content concludes, the lexeme "a child" refers only to "a son", because, as it is known, girls in this period were not regarded as the subject of education. This complex title also defines a specific addressee of the monograph – and it is a parent who is the most

⁶ Compare: S. Gajda, *Wprowadzenie do teorii terminu [Introduction to the theory of terms]*, „Studia i Monografie” 1990, No. 162; Idem, *Współczesna polszczyzna naukowa...*; idem, *Styl osobniczy uczonych [A peculiar style of the scholars]*, in: *Styl a tekst. Materiały międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej [Style vs. text. The materials for the international scientific conference]*, 26–28.09.1995, Opole 1996; idem, *Styl naukowy [Scientific style]*, in: *Współczesny język polski [The contemporary Polish language]*, Lublin, Wydawnictwo UMCS, 2001; D. Olszewska, *Czy język naukowy jest wyłącznie językiem „ratio”?* [*Is the scientific language only the „ratio” language?*], „Studia Germanica Gedanensia” 2010, 22; J. Waniakowa, *Polska naukowa terminologia astronomiczna [The Polish scientific terminology of astronomy]*, Kraków, Wydawnictwo IJP PAN, 2003.

frequently “a father” in this book, compare e.g.: *Przeto tedy **ocięć** każdy mając wolę a pragnąc tego, aby po sobie potomstwo święte a czyste zostawił, **syny** jakie poćciwe, sławne, na świat wydał, ma tego z obudwu stron przestrzegać a to ustawicznie na umyśle mieć, aby się nie ku leda jakiej białej głowie wdawał* (And so each **father** who wants and desires to produce saint and sinless offsprings, and bring to the world kind-hearted and famous **sons**, is obliged to respect it from both sides and constantly keep it in his mind and not to get married to a random woman) (p. 5) [bold lettering – B. S. B.].

*A przeto **rodzicy** (= ojcowie) dla dobrego zawołania dziątek, które by mieć chcieli, niechaj nie z leda białą głową mieszkają, i owszem z żadną inszą, jedno z własną oddaną* (Therefore, **parents** (= fathers) with regard to the reputation of children they desire to have, should not develop any bonds with some random and inappropriate woman, but with their own one, a committed one) [...] (p. 16).

According to the sixteenth-century understanding of the words included in the title, the Renaissance author informs that this text is a pedagogical guidebook for fathers on how to raise their sons.

THE STRUCTURE AND SEMANTICS OF *KSIĄŻKI O WYCHOWANIU DZIECI* (BOOKS OF CHILDREN'S UPBRINGING)

This extensive book consisting of 238 pages is a logical and transparent work. It includes 20 unnumbered chapters (some of them have no more than 10 pages, however, the majority of chapters consist of 10–18 pages), preceded by the dedication directed to the Dukes of Słuck, and the introduction in which the purpose of the work was given: *Miedzy inszem ućciwem a potrzebnem pracy a sprawy jakiej zabawieniem, którem pospolicie ludzie dobrzy zwykli z rozumu swego a z nauki swej pilny na pożytek rzeczy pospolitej robić, i sami siebie w tem użytecznymi a potrzebnymi pokładać i okazawać: nie masz zaiste potrzebniejszego a dolożniejszego zabawienia na to wszystko, Jaśnie Oświecone a Miłościwe książęta, panowie moi Miłościwi, jako baczne, użyteczne a dolożne pisanie o rzeczach tych zwłaszcza, które uprzejmie a osobiwie samemu człowiekowi, jakoby się przeciw drugiemu swemu równemu zachować i z nim się obchodzić miał, drogę ściłą a okazują* (Among other right and useful works and activities that good people deal with, people who want to serve their society with their intelligence and education, and thus, be useful, certainly there is no more necessary and proper activity, Your noble Highnesses, my Lords, than proper creativity about those issues which in a prudent and special way, close to humans, describes and shows the way how to treat other people) (p. 3). The chapters are built according to the classic structure: introduction, main body, conclusion, and the title of each of them takes the form of an interrogative or affirmative sentence (e.g., *Jako szkoldliwa rzecz jest ojcowi, z nieforemną a podejrzaną białą głową mieć dzieci* (On how inappropriate it is to have children with an immoral woman or a suspicious woman) or *Co lepiej rodzicom jest: jeśli gdyby syna na nauki do szkoły*

dali, czyli gdyby w rzemieśło (Which parents' decision is better: to enroll a son to school or to send him to learn craft). Noteworthy are the autothematic fragments included in the text, e.g. the final sentence in the chapter No. 16 is as follows: *Ale już o tem teraz dosyć (But enough about it)* (p. 122), the chapter No. 17 includes the following fragment: *Czego abyśmy słusznie dowiedli a dolożyli, tym strychem a tem tak sobie pocznem: naprzód tu nieco o kapłaństwie wspomniem, a to uczyniwszy, dotknem też małżeństwa (To explain and show it in a proper way, it is gonna be done in that way: at first we are going to talk about the clergy, and then about marriage)* (p. 123). The exemplifications presented above indicate that Erasmus Glicznier was a mature and reflective writer, and his monograph is an independent work. This Renaissance educator, while writing *Książki o wychowaniu dzieci (Books on children's upbringing)* used various content-related studies and provided his work with footnotes in which he included only the most important data regarding the cited works. The author often refers to the Bible and works of such authors as Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, Cicero, Quintino and Seneca. Erasmus Glicznier did not include any bibliography in his pedagogical guidebook, and the quotes are not always identified by footnotes⁷.

Each of those 20 chapters is subject to and is connected with pedagogical subjects related to the son's life supervised by his father who takes care of the physical, mental and spiritual development of his son – from birth to his death. *Ociec ... powinien jest dotąd starać się o syna swego, pokażby się z światem nie pożegnał a nie rozstał. Ma wiedzieć, iż jako przy porodzeniu ojcem był, tak w tem ma trwać aż do śmierci (The father should as previously take care of his son until he says goodbye to this world. He should bear in mind that as he was the father when his son was born, he should stick to it until his death)* (p. 139).

Książki o wychowaniu dzieci (Books on children's upbringing) of the Renaissance author are a collection of guidelines and advice for fathers. Advice is a speech act, *the main determinant of which is its directiveness, which is not of a coercive or obligatory nature, and is always related to the positive action for the benefit of the recipient*, as I. Pałucka-Czerniak wrote⁸.

The fundamental guidelines given by Erasmus Glicznier to men (future and current fathers) regarding their families and raising children – sons, are as follows:

- a virtuous woman should be chosen as wife, because a good mother will have good children,
- childless spouses should pray for them, and those couples who have children should be thankful for them, as children are a gift from God,

⁷ Precise information regarding the works cited by E. Glicznier in his guidebook is included in the study by: A. Danysz, *Erasmus Glicznier jako pedagog. Studium nad pierwszą pedagogiką polską [Erasmus Glicznier as a pedagogue. The study on the first Polish pedagogy]*, in: *Studia z dziejów wychowania w Polsce [The studies on the history of upbringing in Poland]*, Kraków, Skład Główny w Książnicy Polskiej in Warszawa, 1921, p. 66–156.

⁸ I. Pałucka-Czerniak *Rada jako narzędzie perswazji w projekcie dydaktycznym O wychowaniu dzieci uchodźców Juliusza Jedlińskiego [Advice as a tool of persuasion in a didactic project On raising the children of refugees by Juliusz Jedliński]*, „Poznańskie Studia Polonistyczne” 2015, Vol. 22 (42), No 2, p. 129.

- parents should baptize their children because baptism sets us free from original sin,
- a mother should breastfeed her baby on her own, and not employ a wet nurse,
- parents should observe moral principles and be a role model for their children,
- parents should not spoil their children,
- parents should not buy their children expensive clothes,
- parents should discipline their children by imposing corporal punishment and giving their children instructions, however, they should be careful about this,
- children should be sent to school – apprenticeship will make their development impossible,
- parents should not send their children to serve at court,
- parents should teach their children how to read and write at the age of 4,
- parents should provide children with school education, which is better than homeschool,
- children can only be sent to a teacher who is a good and educated Christian, and represents a high level of morality,
- parents should not regret the money spent on educating their children,
- parents should finance the education of their children for a sufficient period of time,
- parents should show their gratitude to their children's teachers,
- parents should give advice to their children on the choice of a proper way to live (marriage or priesthood),
- parents should help their sons to choose their wives,
- parents should take care of their children until their death.

B. Suchodolski wrote that *Książki o wychowaniu dzieci* (*Books on children's upbringing*) are the first Polish pedagogy; it includes many borrowings, but as a whole it is an original work related to Polish relations and needs. He defends the progressive principles of education, including school education, against the upbringing at court and homeschools⁹.

THE SUBJECT OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNICATION

An important generic determinant of a written scientific text is the subject of the message, i.e. a narrator of scientific prose, which, as a cognitive subject, is the same as the author of the work. At present there is a postulate of objectivity in scientific communication in science, which is expressed in the form of an impersonal language message and in scientific communication it is recommended to

⁹ B. Suchodolski, *Studia z dziejów polskiej myśli filozoficznej i naukowej* [*The studies on the history of the Polish philosophical and scientific thought*], Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo PAN, 1958, p. 95.

avoid first-person forms of the singular form in the pronominal and verbal forms. S. Gajda wrote: *Ideal knowledge should be ordered in a logical way and have a highly informative content and depth, which entails its strictness, rationality and abstractness. Despite subjective conditions – dependence of knowledge on the subject which cannot be eliminated – it should be objective. This does not mean complete emotional neutrality*¹⁰. Erasmus Glicher, a Renaissance author, very often reveals his subjectivity in a direct way by using first-person forms singular (*tom chciał tu przywieść (this is what I wanted to show here)*): **Tom chciał tu przywieść, aby rodzicy obaczyli, jaki jest obyczaj a co za ćwiczenie chłopiąt przy dworze, iż nie masz, jedno rozpusta, zuchwalstwo, łotrstwo, co niechajby sobie rozważyli ci, którzy chcą syny swe młode do dworu odsyłać, jako jest barzo szkodziła rzecz i nieprzystojna bez nauki jakiej, którąby syn nie był wypolerowan, to czynić** (*This is what I wanted to show here, so that parents could see what methods are used to raise sons who serve at court where is dissipation, impudence, and immorality. It should be considered by those who want to send their immature sons to serve at court as this experience is very harmful and inadequate in the situation when an inexperienced son serves at court*) (p. 73–74).

The subject of the message is also revealed in the dative case singular: *Jeden syn w mieście jednym, którego **mnie** nie potrzeba wspominać, w wielkiem a rozkosznem kochaniu był u rodziców swoich z dzieciństwa swego* (*A son in some town I do not want to describe in detail, was loved very much and spoiled by his parents already from his childhood*) (p. 40).

The narrator of the Renaissance scientific text becomes visible in the text also by using the first person plural, which is defined using the Latin term *pluralis maiestaticus* due to the fact that in the past the reigning monarchs usually used in documents the pronoun *we* (*my*) instead of *I* (*ja*)¹¹: *Więcejci mu przyjdzie pożytku z nauk niż z rzemiosła, co **my** w tej przyszłej kwestyej okażem* (*He can get more when he takes up education rather than starts to learn craft as **we** will present later in the paper*) (p. 67).

Marking the subject of messages (their sender, their author) by using the pronouns (*I*, *we*) and verbal forms in *Książki o wychowaniu dzieci (Books on children's upbringing)* makes it possible to eliminate the distance between the subject and the recipient, who is clearly indicated in the text. This type of a scientific discourse – characteristic especially of old scientific texts – is of a dialogical nature and determines its specificity. The Renaissance educator did not address his study to teachers-scientists, but to people directly involved in education of children, and pursued didactic and popularizing objectives.

¹⁰ S. Gajda, *Styl naukowy [A scientific style]*, in: *Współczesny język polski [The contemporary Polish language]*, ed. J. Bartmiński, Lublin, Wydawnictwo UMCS, 2001, p. 184–185.

¹¹ *Encyklopedia języka polskiego [Encyclopedia of the Polish language]*, ed. S. Urbańczyk, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1991, p. 250.

Erasmus Glicznier, the subject of the message in *Książki o wychowaniu...* (*Books on children's...*), its creator and narrator, shows strong emotional commitment in his text by using such linguistic means, as: expressive phrases, compare e.g. *blażen jakiś nikczemny* (*some mean good-for-nothing*) (p. 88), *podludek* (*a defective man/a subhuman*) (p. 112) or sentences to express emotions: *Wielkie wzgardzenie i podle ważenie nauk zjęło dziś umysły ludzkie!* (*Great contempt and wicked treatment of science have worked their way to human minds today*) (p. 105), *O jakoż to świat łamany a nieobaczny!* (*Oh, what a contempted and care-less world!*) (p. 108), *Miły Boże!* (*Dear God!*) (p. 116).

CONCEPTS AND TERMS

One of the main determinants of the scientific language is the presence of concepts and corresponding terms. S. Gajda, in his study on terminology in scientific papers, describes *Książki o wychowaniu dzieci* (*Books on children's upbringing*) as one of the first pedagogical books, which contain pedagogical terms and were written in the Polish language¹². This type of lexical units to be found in this work, which refer to the pedagogy and present in a strict and systemic way, i.a. phenomena, processes, relations, institutions and objects related to upbringing, education and care verbalize such pedagogical concepts, as A FAMILY. UPBRINGING. EDUCATION. CARE¹³. Below there are some examples of terms selected from the range of corresponding concepts excerpted from *Książki o wychowaniu...* (*Books on children's...*):

RODZINA (*ród, małżeństwo, rodzic, ojciec, matka, syn, córka*¹⁴, *potomek, potomstwo, dziatki, płód, bękart*) (*FAMILY: a family, a marriage, a parent, a father, a mother, a son, a daughter, a descendant, offsprings, children, a foetus, a bastard*),

¹² S. Gajda, *Wprowadzenie do teorii terminu [Introduction to the theory of terms]*, „Studia i Monografie” 1990, No. 162, p. 62.

¹³ B. Sieradzka-Baziur, *Słownictwo specjalistyczne prac z zakresu pedagogiki przedszkolnej i wczesnoszkolnej w kontekście badań dotyczących języka naukowego [Specific-purpose vocabulary of papers on the pre-school and early school education in the context of research on the scientific language]*, in: *Współczesne strategie i nowe wyzwania w wychowaniu przedszkolnym i edukacji wczesnoszkolnej [Contemporary strategies and new challenges in the pre-school and early school education]*, ed. I. Nowakowska-Kempna, Kraków, Wydawnictwo WAM, 2013, p. 97–123; B. Sieradzka-Baziur, *Terminologia pedagogiczna [Pedagogical terminology]*, in: *Terminologia specjalistyczna w teorii i praktyce językoznawców słowiańskich [Specialist terminology in the theory and practice of the Slavic linguists]*, ed. R. Przybylska, W. Śliwiński, Kraków, Wydawnictwo UJ, 2017, p. 197–211; *Pedagogika rodziny na początku XXI wieku w świetle pojęć i terminów [Pedagogy of a family at the beginning of the 21st century with regard to concepts and terms]*, ed. B. Sieradzka-Baziur, Kraków, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Ignatianum, 2018; B. Sieradzka-Baziur, *Kształcenie w rodzinie [Education in a family]*, in: *Pedagogika rodziny na początku XXI wieku w świetle pojęć i terminów [Pedagogy of a family at the beginning of the 21st century with regard to concepts and terms]*, ed. Idem, Kraków, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Ignatianum, 2018, p. 217–241.

¹⁴ The word *daughter* is used rarely in the text. As it was stated earlier, the author concentrates in his work on the issue of upbringing, educating and taking care of a son.

WYCHOWANIE (*wychowanie, złe wychowanie, dobre wychowanie, rozkoszne wychowanie, niepoćciwy a ganiebny sposób wychowania, zwyczaj dobry, dobry powód, chowanie, ćwiczenie, karanie*) (*UPBRINGING: upbringing, ill breeding, a good way of upbringing, spoiling, a contemptible and shameful way of upbringing, good behavior, good reason, upbringing, discipline, punishing*),

KSZTAŁCENIE (*nauka, szkoła, kolegium, akademia, czytanie, pisanie, doktor, mistrz, nauczyciel, pedagog, preceptor, uczeń, żak, student, domowa nauka, rzemiosło*) (*EDUCATION: learning, school, college, academy, reading, writing, a doctor, a master, a teacher, a pedagogue, a preceptor, a pupil, a student, a university student, home education, craft*),

OPIEKA (*mamka, najemna matka*) (*CARE: a wet nurse*).

The terminology in *Książki o wychowaniu... (Books on children's...)* consists mainly of words taken from the overall scope of the Polish language, however, in pedagogy they function in specific senses assigned to them in this scientific discipline.

CONCLUSION

The first Polish pedagogical book *Książki o wychowaniu dzieci (Books on children's upbringing)* by Erasmus Gliczner, a teacher and a theoretician of pedagogy, is a guidebook for fathers including, i.a., advice on choosing wives – future mothers of their children, and on how to bring sons up. This monograph includes, i.a. such determinants of the scientific language as: the subject identical with the author, the structure characteristic of scientific texts, scientific terminology, and footnotes. The sender is made present in the message by using pronouns (*I, we*) and verbal forms. The text of *Książki o wychowaniu... (Books on children's...)* is polyphonic in terms of its style, and, apart from the scientific determinants, contains elements of artistic and colloquial style. The category of objectivity is relatively poorly described in the text, and some of its parts are very emotional. The author refers to the studies related to upbringing children that were written in Latin, and to the Bible, but the text is an entirely independent guidebook of a scientific nature.

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The evolution of scientific language of pedagogy on the example of “Książki o wychowaniu dzieci” [“Books on children’s upbringing”] by Erasmus Glicznier in the context of contemporary determinants of the language of science

Summary

Książki o wychowaniu dzieci (Books on children’s upbringing) by Erasmus Glicznier printed in 1558 is the first Polish book on education. This is a guidebook intended for fathers which gives advice on how to raise sons. This monograph has genre determinants of a scientific text, but also contains elements of artistic and colloquial style. Some parts of them are very emotional. The author refers to the studies written in Latin referring to upbringing children, and to the Bible, but the text is an entirely independent guidebook of a scientific nature.

Keywords: concept, pedagogical term, education, history of education.

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EDUCATING FEMALE PRESCHOOL TEACHERS ON THE TERRITORY OF POLAND IN THE 19TH CENTURY AND THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY. AN OUTLINE OF THE PROBLEM

The unstable social and historical conditions, as well as scientific and technical progress shaped the long history and rich tradition of the profession of a pre-school teacher. During its development, it evolved from a person protecting children, through a caretaker and a tutor, to a pre-school teacher. Organizing the education of people who were responsible for raising children was not easy. The beginnings of this process were ever more complex as – even though on the territory of Poland – they took place under occupation. The analysis of actions undertaken in this area, both during the occupation and after Poland regained its independence, indicates that there were many people and institutions who were significantly involved in the preparation of childcare staff and educational institutions. It was probably the result of the growing understanding of the need to provide small students with caretakers and teachers who would meet high professional standards.

In Poland, the situation of pre-school education was less favorable than in the Western countries, for understandable historical reasons (partitions). In the inter-war period, attempts were made to give it its proper meaning, i.a. through introducing regulations on educating tutors. The processes that were supposed to develop pre-school education were ceased during World War II. This study assumed them as the time cessation of the ongoing deliberations.

THE RUSSIAN PARTITION (THE KINGDOM OF POLAND)

The issue of educating teachers was already addressed in the 18th century by the Commission of National Education, which, depending on the school type,

determined the teaching mode in detail¹. However, one can only talk about the beginnings of educating pre-school teachers from the first half of the 19th century. At that time, this professional group began gradually and slowly to be distinguished, which was caused by many factors.

At the beginning of the 19th century, the industry was developing intensively. The demand for cheap labor was growing and hence, many children were employed and worked hard, and at the same time, many of them lacked care and were abandoned by adults. In order to counteract this situation, the Charity Society in Warsaw adopted a law in 1825, under which various institutions could be formed to provide care to poor children and help them in school education. Thus, various care facilities, including nurseries for small children, were established.

The first nursery was opened in Warsaw in 1839 and was mainly financed from contributions made by wealthy residents from the capital.

It soon turned out that there was a need to open next care facilities. In 1870, there were 32 nurseries in the Kingdom of Poland, however, one of the main problems impeding their operation was a lack of properly prepared teaching staff.

In the first half of the 19th century, the process of organized training nursery employees was still absent. Their preparation was limited to occasional internships in these facilities. Jan Tadeusz Lubomirski, President of the Charity Society in Warsaw, introduced changes to the way candidates for children's caretakers were prepared. Thanks to the efforts he had made, they established practical education of teachers, and the candidates were allowed to inspect the lessons with children in the classroom. J. T. Lubomirski also established the function of an inspector, employed inspectors, and thus, provided constant supervision of nurseries for children².

Due to the growing number of orphanages, more and more attention was given to educating employees, which was reflected in the first instructions and subject publications. In 1849, the Charity Society issued *Instrukcja dla Przewodniczących w Salach Ochrony* (*An instruction for chairmen of nurseries*), which regulated the organization of work and the duties of tutors. In 1857, the Central Welfare Council issued *Projekt instrukcji dla przełożonych i dozorczyń sal ochrony ubogich dzieci* (*A draft instruction for the superiors and caretakers in nurseries for poor children*), which defined the rights and obligations of nursery staff, their remuneration and the work program with children³.

In the second half of the 19th century, activities aimed at integrating the education of employees in nurseries into a certain organizational framework were revived. In 1858, the Agricultural Society was founded with the Nursery Committee,

¹ A. Smołalski, *Osoba i zwód nauczyciela w polskiej myśli pedagogicznej do 1939 roku* [*Teachers and their professions in the Polish pedagogical thought until 1939*], Wrocław, Akademia Wychowania Fizycznego, 1983, p. 54–56.

² W. Bobrowska-Nowak, *Zarys dziejów wychowania przedszkolnego* [*An outline of the history of pre-school education*], part 1, *Teorie pedagogiczne i rozwój praktyki* [*The pedagogical theories and the development of practice*], Warszawa, WSiP, 1978, p. 172–174.

³ Ibid., p. 172.

which developed a draft annual course for city nurseries, led by the Benedictine Sisters. As Bella Sandler stated, there were several conditions that potential candidates had to meet in order to work with children. Candidates had to be at least 24 years old, single, have strength and health, be familiar with the fundamentals of religion, literate, know the basics of accounts, and do normal female tasks and chores⁴. The courses, however, did not take place and remained only intentions.

The intention that was completed was the opening of the first private Froebel's school in Warsaw in 1870 by Teresa Pruszk-Mleczkowska which educated as well pre-school teachers who could attend and inspect classes, and thus, acquire practical skills. T. Pruszk-Mleczkowska in 1874 began to organize Froebel's courses for teachers, as the work in kindergartens was carried out according to the assumptions of F. Froebel's educational system⁵.

The activist who made great efforts not only in terms of the development of education of kindergarten teachers, but generally, the development of pre-school education, was Maria Weryho-Radziwiłowicz. In her article entitled *Kształcenie ochroniarek (Educating women working in nurseries)* she described the prevailing state of pre-school education, including staff, as well as her beliefs on the discussed problems⁶. On her initiative, in 1903, in Pruszków near Warsaw, the first one-year school for workers of nurseries was opened, which taught and prepared ten female students to work with children. The task was to acquaint students with theory and practice. There was a nursery in the premises, where students could inspect and observe classes, and conduct internships. Candidates for this work also had to participate in cleaning up and maintenance. In 1905, this school was taken over by the Society of Pre-School Education. As a consequence, a number of changes – not only organizational changes followed. They broadened the scope of the curriculum and extended the course to two years, the number of students was increased from ten to thirty, and the school seat was moved from Pruszków to Włochy next to Warsaw. School education was free of charge, and the students covered only the boarding school fees⁷.

Due to the increasing demand for qualified pedagogical staff for kindergartens, preparation courses took place as well at children's schools. The students could only be educated through inspecting and observing the classes, as the tsarist authorities prohibited the use of textbooks. As a result, the curricula in individual institutions were diversified, and so were the educational outcomes.

⁴ B. Sandler, *Wychowanie przedszkolne i kształcenie wychowawczyń w Królestwie Polskim [Pre-school education and educating female teachers in the Kingdom of Poland]*, „Monografie z Dziejów Oświaty” 1968, Vol. 10, p. 50.

⁵ W. Bobrowska-Nowak, *Zarys dziejów...*, part 1, p. 213–214. See also: W. Leżańska, *Kształcenie nauczycieli wychowania przedszkolnego w Polsce [Educating pre-school teachers in Poland]*, Łódź, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 1998, p. 15.

⁶ M. Weryho-Radziwiłowiczowa, *Kształcenie ochroniarek [Educating women working in nurseries]*, in: *Rocznik Pedagogiczny, Seria II-tom I rok 1921 [A pedagogical yearbook, the second series, Vol. 1, 1921]*, Warszawa 1923, p. 388–389.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 388–389.

Apart from qualified teachers, many unprepared employees started their work at the same time. This state of affairs continued until 1918, when the Ministry of Enlightenment organized the Department of Seminaries, which managed such schools, and already called them seminars for women working in nurseries⁸.

Vocational education of pre-school teachers was discussed during the First Congress of People's Female Caretakers in Nurseries, which took place in Warsaw on May 7–9, 1906, and was attended by one hundred and twenty teachers from rural kindergartens and about eighty from kindergartens in Warsaw. At that time, the first resolutions regarding the working conditions and education of rural nursery teachers were adopted. The decisions of the Congress initiated new Froebel's courses. One of them – a 14-day course which took place in 1907 – was attended by two hundred people, and its program included: theoretical lectures, visits to educational institutions, learning about tasks performed in nurseries, methodology of elementary education, news from children's literature, the history of Poland, geography, nature, human physiology, and lectures on municipal law and discussions concerning herbalism⁹.

In 1907, Stefania Marciszewska opened the College of Female Caretakers in Nurseries and People's Teachers in Warsaw. Marciszewska advocated combining pre-school education with elementary education so that children would not experience this sudden transition from one institution to another¹⁰.

The issues of professional education of kindergarten tutors was also discussed in the following magazines: "Zorza", "Kronika Wiadomości Krajowych i Zagranicznych", and "Przegląd Pedagogiczny" which became the main advocate of vocational education of kindergarten tutors of small children. Henryk Wernic, Florian Łagowski, Jan Władysław Dawid, Aniela Szycówna and of course, Maria Weryho promoted the idea of specialist vocational education for teachers¹¹.

Those issues were also present in the views expressed by leading educators and social activists of those times. An example thereof is August Cieszkowski (1814–1894), whose views – even though he operated in the Prussian partition – had an impact on the operation of nurseries in the Kingdom of Poland. In his work entitled *O ochronach wiejskich (On rural nurseries)*, he stated that it was necessary to prepare employees in a proper manner and thus, provide a stable operation of nurseries. He also promoted setting up an institution for this purpose. According to A. Cieszkowski, teachers in nurseries should be chosen from the group of the most talented women for this job.

Stanisław Karpowicz (1864–1921) concentrated much on the education of kindergarten teachers. Thanks to his activity, in 1903 a secret Pedagogical Society was established, and in 1905 – also on his initiative – clandestine courses

⁸ M. Weryho-Radziwiłłowiczowa, *Kształcenie ochroniarek*..., p. 388–389.

⁹ W. Bobrowska-Nowak, *Zarys dziejów*..., part 1, p. 219.

¹⁰ B. Sandler, *Wychowanie przedszkolne*..., p. 158.

¹¹ W. Leżańska, *Kształcenie nauczycieli*..., p. 16.

were held for teachers in kindergartens. Lectures, initially organized in a private Froebel's school, after a few months could be held legally and openly, and were continued until 1911. Karpowicz emphasized that teachers should have knowledge about people and society, which resulted from the fact that pedagogy is a social skill¹².

The Pre-school Education Club, which was legalized in 1907, attracted many social and educational activists, i.a. Irena Kosmowska, Stefania Sempołowska, Aniela Szycówna, Helena Orsza-Radlińska, Maria Młodowska and Ryszard Radziwiłłowicz. The group organized and ran courses for kindergarten tutors, taking advantage of nurseries as places for providing exercises¹³.

The Kingdom of Poland was an area where the activities in the field of setting up orphanages and the first kindergartens, as well as establishing the first schools for caretakers were the most lively, and it should be recognized that the institutional education of kindergarten teachers was already initiated during the partitions.

THE PRUSSIAN PARTITION (THE GRAND DUCHY OF POSEN)

In the Grand Duchy of Posen, the situation was different than in the Kingdom of Poland. In 1872, the Prussian authorities issued a ban on running nurseries and kindergartens by orders and associations that organized such type of facilities. Consequently, educational institutions for young children began to be taken over by the Germans. However, it was possible to open Polish kindergartens, but it was required to obtain the consent of the Prussian authorities, who also defined the qualification requirements for people who worked with children, which included i.a.: the requirement to graduate from the German Froebel's Institute in Berlin, complete German high school, and pass an exam in German. One of the female activists who ran a private school for Polish female teachers was Waleria Puffke who opened her school in 1892. The curriculum included only practical classes, and the language of instruction was German, as those were the requirements imposed by the Prussian authorities. This school survived for many years, but its impact range was insignificant. After 1905, attempts were made to make it Polish, which did not happen until 1921¹⁴.

To disseminate the education of kindergarten caretakers, in 1911 Toruń started organizing annual courses under the direction of the United Association of Landowners, thanks to which it was possible to set up many nurseries for children in manor houses, parishes and convents.

¹² W. Bobrowska-Nowak, *Historia wychowania przedszkolnego [The history pre-school education]*, Warszawa, WSiP, 1978, p. 219–224.

¹³ Ibid., p. 217–218.

¹⁴ W. Leżańska, *Kształcenie nauczycieli...*, p. 17.

Due to the policy of the Prussian authorities, activities regarding establishing nurseries and educating teachers were conducted in secrecy. Polish education started developing only after 1918. Because of the strict policy of the partitioning powers with regard to the Polish education, the views of August Cieszkowski operating in the Grand Duchy of Posen could not affect the practice of pre-school education and education of kindergarten teachers, which were not organized processes – as in the case of the Kingdom of Poland, because they concentrated on the needs of the Prussian authorities. The Polish educators represented a minority among all pre-school teachers¹⁵.

THE AUSTRIAN PARTITION (GALICIA)

Unlike the Russian and the Prussian partition, the education in Galicia was shaped differently as the social and political conditions differed.

In 1816 they founded the Charity Society in Cracow and later, in 1848, a separate Nursery Department. The established nurseries were run by religious associations and philanthropists. At the same time, one should bear in mind that elementary education in the 19th century in Galicia was seriously neglected. Consequently, the operation of kindergartens and the process of educating teachers were not in the area of interest. However, despite the difficult social, economic and political situation, the activities of educating kindergarten teachers were commenced, and in 1871 they established four (two male and two female) teachers' seminars and thus, initiated the process of setting up next schools of this type. At the teachers' seminars they launched workshops which practically prepared candidates for work with children.

Also in 1871, teachers' seminars were organized in Lviv, Przemyśl and Kraków, with the adjoining Froebel's kindergartens which provided candidates willing to work with children with practical exercises. In order to manage the seminar, the completion of relevant courses in Austria was mandatory. Since 1875, the seminars organized one-year courses for kindergarten teachers¹⁶.

Courses for candidates eager to work with children were also conducted in the Duchy of Cieszyn. The Educational Society was responsible for that as we and launched an initiative to organize nurseries with the Polish language of instruction in the following places: Michałkowice, Dąbrowa, Bogumin, Polish Ostrava and Cieszyn. The Educational Society provided also courses preparing women to work with children, and cooperated with the Society for Public School in organizing courses, and setting up nurseries and other educational institutions. This organization also played an important role in counteracting the denationalization of Polish children¹⁷.

¹⁵ W. Bobrowska-Nowak, *Zarys dziejów...*, part 1, p. 223–224.

¹⁶ W. Bobrowska-Nowak, *Historia wychowania...*, p. 147, 185–186.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

It should also be mentioned that two educational congresses took place in Galicia – in the second half of the 19th century. For the first time, the magazine called “Szkoła” came up with the initiative to organize a three-day congress for teachers, which took place in 1868, during which the Pedagogical Society was created. Kindergarten teachers, graduates of female seminars participated in the second congress which was held in Lviv and which discussed the problems of educating parents and reforming the methods according to which nurseries were run. It concentrated as well on promoting the Froebel’s method and spreading awareness of the methodology of working with young children.

In the Austrian Partition, like in the Prussian partition, the education of pre-school teachers was not an organized process. Candidates eager to work in nurseries and kindergartens were taught mainly during one-year courses, as the number of seminars was still insignificant. During the education of children’s caretakers, a strong emphasis was placed on counteracting the denationalization of Polish children, but there was no uniform curriculum for educating future teachers¹⁸.

The changes took place after Poland regained its independence, i.e. after 1918.

THE ASSUMPTIONS AND FORMS OF EDUCATING PRE-SCHOOL TEACHERS BETWEEN 1918–1945

Upon the regaining of independence by Poland in 1918, the situation of education also changed. From that time, it was the Polish education authorities that set the conditions regarding establishing new care and educational institutions, as well as the mode of educating teachers and tutors.

The first document issued before 1918 was *Tymczasowy regulamin w sprawie ochrony (The temporary regulations on nurseries)*, which was adopted after many discussions on pre-school education which took place during World War I. It concerned the duties of kindergarten teachers, their qualifications, and the organization of work in kindergarten.

The issues of organizing the work in kindergartens and the way of educating tutors were raised in 1919 during the First Nationwide Teachers’ Congress (called as well: the Teachers’ Sejm). The congress established several sections, including the Pre-School Education Section. According to Stanisław Michalski, *the Teachers’ Sejm [...] was the last and most synthetic summary of the historical period of the struggle for a new profile of a unified education system at the turn of the 19th century to the 20th century; it was a congress closing the period of direct preparations of organizational, program, didactic, as well as ideological and educational premises of the national educational system for independent Poland*¹⁹.

¹⁸ W. Bobrowska-Nowak, *Zarys dziejów...*, part 1, p. 224–229.

¹⁹ S. Michalski, *Koncepcje systemu edukacji w II Rzeczypospolitej [The concepts of the system of education in the Second Republic of Poland]*, Warszawa, WSiP, 1988, p. 55.

Among many motions and applications which confirmed the need to organize pre-school educational centers, the Congress also underlined the problem of educating teaching staff. It was recognized that the country should proceed as soon as possible to create nursery courses and courses for nannies in nurseries. In addition, the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment was supposed to commence publishing papers that would provide guidelines regarding the work in kindergartens.

The arrangements completed during the congress in terms of educating kindergarten teachers were the result of the needs that the new reality of independent Poland had created, which was followed by the increasing number of nurseries and kindergartens, and hence, the need for teaching staff. As a result thereof, as well as previous experience, the Congress noticed the problems of pre-school education and education of teachers, however – as noted by W. Bobrowska-Nowak – *the resolutions were implemented very slowly and not entirely in the interwar period*²⁰.

Despite the difficulties regarding the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the Teachers' Sejm (the economic situation of the country, the lack of funds, the shortage of teaching staff), efforts were made to promote and modernize the system of educating kindergarten teachers. The Pre-school Education School that had been opened under the Partitions, was nationalized. They issued the curriculum and a law which were in force for all private nursery seminars, as well as introduced permanent inspection of care facilities – visits by inspectors and examination committee for candidates eager to work with children. In practice, it turned out that not all private schools could meet the committee's requirements. As a result, the majority of these institutions were closed down due to the diversification of the level of education presented by pre-school teachers in particular schools. In 1921, seventeen seminars educating kindergarten teachers operated in Poland. In the former Congress Kingdom – twelve (including three state institutions), in Toruń – one, in Poznań – also one, and in Lesser Poland – three, all state. The seminar included a two-year course. The first year had a general nature, whereas the second one – vocational. Candidates for kindergarten tutors had to fulfill several conditions: be from 16 to 30 years old, have a certificate of completion of at least three grades of secondary school or a certificate of 7-grade primary school, be passionate about working with children, have physical and music skills. The education at the seminars for female caretakers included the following subjects: religion, pedagogy, pre-school methodology, children's literature, the Polish language, knowledge about Poland, natural science, arithmetic with geometry, hygiene, philosophy, singing, physical exercises, gardening, and workshops. At the end of the second year, the students had to take an exam before the examination committee composed of: a representative from the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment, headmaster of the seminar, and the teachers of subjects that were taken during the examination. After completing the education and passing the exam, the graduates received a certificate

²⁰ W. Bobrowska-Nowak, *Zarys dziejów...*, part 1, p. 312.

which entitled them to execute the duties of a teacher in care centers for pre-school children. The education in the seminar was free of charge, and the poor could take advantage of scholarships²¹.

The requirements that candidates willing to work with children had to meet, were strict. It was supposed to raise the level of teaching staff, and thus, the level of institutions that take care of pre-school children.

The education of kindergarten teachers was included in the Act on the System of Education of 1932 (the so-called the Jędrzejewicz Act), which, i.a. defined the type of professional qualifications of teachers employed in kindergartens. Their education was to be conducted in two ways. The first version included ten years of school education (six classes of elementary school and four years of seminar), and the second version – twelve years (six years of elementary school, four years of gymnasium, and two years of high school). The act distinguished two types of schools with different qualifications: four-year seminars for pre-school education, and two-year high schools. After high school, it was possible to educate kindergarten teachers in higher education institutions, which, however, was not implemented in practice. The Jędrzejewicz Act set out specific qualification requirements for pre-school education, however, the situation in reality was different. In the interwar period in Poland, private kindergartens without a uniform curriculum represented a majority. It was the result of low qualifications of the people employed in those places²². Consequently, in the 1930's an unfavorable phenomenon happened, i.e. a decrease in the number of kindergartens. It should be noted, however, that *the act also raised the importance and status of schools for pre-school teachers, and aligned the requirements concerning the level of teachers employed therein with the education of teachers working in public secondary schools, pedagogical high schools, and teachers*²³.

The region in which pre-school education developed the most in the interwar period was Silesia, with its 274 kindergartens operating in 1933, which increased the demand for qualified pedagogical staff. Since 1928, the Nursery Seminar in Mysłowice started educating kindergarten tutors. It took methodological care of all kindergartens in the Silesian Voivodship. Maria Łabęcka was director of this institution. However, the Seminary in Mysłowice could not meet the educational demands for pedagogical staff in kindergartens, so they organized three-week methodological courses for tutors which took place in Katowice, Szarlej and Mysłowice. They concentrated on the work in kindergartens and the problems of vocational training of kindergarten teachers. The Department of Public Enlightenment also planned to organize 4-week courses culminating in an examination which were meant to take place in Katowice, Pszczyna, Rybnik, Tarnowskie Góry and Bielsko.

²¹ M. Weryho, *Kształcenie ochroniarek...*, p. 389–390.

²² F. Śliwiński, *Organizacja szkolnictwa w Polsce współczesnej [Organization of education in modern Poland]*, Lwów–Warszawa, Książnica – Atlas, 1932, p. 54.

²³ W. Leżańska, *Kształcenie nauczycieli...*, p. 31.

The assumption of the ministry was – since 1936 – to select pre-school teachers with the aim to engage only qualified people in these institutions, who could prove their qualifications with the certificate (a passed exam) provided for by the decree of the President of the Republic of Poland. These activities were aimed at increasing the level of pre-school education, which was very neglected in Silesia under the partitions²⁴.

Theme publications were useful in terms of educating pre-school teachers, i.e. tutorials for female tutors, textbooks on development and upbringing of pre-school children, theoretical dissertations, and reports from the studies already conducted at various academic centers. At the University of Warsaw, Stefan Bałey conducted research on pre-school education, Stefan Błachowski at the University of Poznań, and Stefan Szuman at the Jagiellonian University. In the works by the following authors, the subject of pre-school education and educating teachers was also touched upon: Stefania Marciszewska-Posadzowa, Maria Sariusz-Jaworska, Ida Schatzel, Barbara Żulińska, and finally Maria Weryho-Radziwiłowicz, mainly thanks to whom pre-school education developed. On her initiative, since 1925 the Pre-school Education Society started publishing a monthly journal called “Wychowanie Przedszkolne”. Since 1933, the Kindergarten Teachers’ Section of the Polish Teachers’ Union (Sekcja Wychowawczyń Przedszkoli Związku Nauczycielstwa Polskiego) started issuing a bi-monthly magazine “Przedszkole” edited by Lucyna Sękowska. Also in 1925 it began to issue a monthly journal “Plan Prac w Przedszkolu” (edited by Zofia Witkowska), published by the Pedagogical Section of Kindergartens and Tutors of the Polish Teachers’ Union (Sekcja Pedagogiczna Związku Polskiego Nauczycielstwa Przedszkoli i Wychowawców)²⁵.

Between 1918–1939 many attempts were made in Poland to raise the level of education of pre-school teachers, and thus – pre-school education. The statement by M. Weryho-Radziwiłowicz shows how far the relationship between the qualifications of teachers and the problems related to the process of raising and educating small children was understood: *Based of the present state of pre-school education, the first and foremost educating factor in the kindergarten is the manager-tutor, her good spirit, her creative factor which gives value to the entire matter of education. A good tutor is cheerful, loving, understands children, has methodical and pedagogical expertise, knows how to engage a child, speaks her native language well, is knowledgeable about natural sciences, tourism, the history of Poland, has general information on hygiene, gardening, is musical, can draw, model, and is familiar with gardening. She*

²⁴ See the following studies: M. Wróbel, *Wychowanie przedszkolne w Polsce w latach 1918–1939 [Pre-school education in Poland between 1918–1939]*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1967, p. 97–98; W. Bobrowska-Nowak, *Historia wychowania...*, p. 263, 283–284, 535–538 – this fragment is a reprint of the article included in the book *Przedszkola śląskie [Kindergartens in Silesia]*, „Sprawy szkolne na Śląsku” 1934, No. 1, p. 2–4 (a supplement to „Chowanna”).

²⁵ W. Bobrowska-Nowak, *Historia wychowania...*, p. 272–278.

*can apply her knowledge in the kindergarten in an easy and fun way, taking account of the child's developmental conditions, not accelerating the pace of their development. Kindergarten or nursery managers should have appropriate pedagogical qualifications, a completed course of the state or private nursery seminar granting statutory rights*²⁶.

The outbreak of World War II completely changed the educational situation in Poland, including pre-school education. The activities of kindergartens were interrupted mainly due to the threat of air raids. In 1940, the activities run by all Polish associations and institutions were prohibited. Only the Mutual Aid Committee, later renamed the Central Welfare Council, was granted the permission to run its activity.

Only the municipal kindergartens that were under the auspices of the Compulsory Administrator of Poland, religious kindergartens, and – very few – parish kindergartens as private kindergartens could operate in Warsaw. The Central Welfare Council also organized the so-called pre-school points, i.e. clubs for children, which were mainly located in dayrooms.

Between 1939–1945, the activities regarding educating kindergarten teachers were ceased. Although there was clandestine education, however, it was offered to teachers educating children aged 7 or more. The staff from the kindergartens in Warsaw decreased by 16%, and new employees were not educated. All deficiencies began to be replenished after 1945, in free Poland.

EDUCATION OF KINDERGARTEN TUTORS IN POLAND STRAIGHT AFTER 1945

The situation of pre-school education in Poland after the war was very difficult. Its detailed description was cited by Wanda Bobrowska-Nowak²⁷. Difficulties were caused not only by the shortage of teaching staff, but also by the mode of establishing new pre-school institutions. Children from the age of seven years old were obliged to attend school, and the Act of 1932 did not force any institutions to establish kindergartens. Moreover, there was a perceptible lack of rooms suitable for setting up pre-school facilities, the process of educating female teachers did not exist. Until 1950, only reduced courses were organized, which concentrated on quick vocational preparation of candidates to take up positions in kindergartens. These were 8-week courses for candidates, public school graduates (from 18 to 30 years old), and 3-semester courses culminating in an examination for the graduates of 8-week courses and those who had stopped their education during the war. They created as well the so-called district commissions for professionally active but unqualified teachers. It was a new form of education that included

²⁶ M. Weryho-Radziwiłłowiczowa, *Zarys wychowania przedszkolnego [An outline of pre-school education]*, Warszawa, Polski Komitet Opieki nad Dzieckiem, 1930, p. 20.

²⁷ W. Bobrowska-Nowak, *Historia wychowania...*, p. 563–569.

during one year: individual or collective monthly consultations, development of materials and courses allocated for a given period – a few days during winter holidays, and a four-week course during the holidays. After three years of study and after passing the exam, graduates obtained full qualifications²⁸.

Between June 18–22, 1945, the National Education Congress took place in Łódź, where much attention was paid to pre-school education and educating pre-school teaching staff. The participants thereof became familiar with the condition of pre-school education in the country, attention was paid to the shortage of qualified staff and the chaos that prevailed in their educational system. It was postulated to maintain the highest level of education of kindergarten educators, which was possible thanks to 4-year seminars, after which all graduates had to take qualification exams.

The fact that during the congress the participants discussed not only the issue of education, but also professional training of teaching staff of kindergartens is of significant importance.

The National Education Congress assessed kindergartens run by orders as suited to the needs at that particular time, paying attention to the fact that nuns who had pedagogical qualifications were often overwhelmed by religious discipline. Meanwhile – according to Janina Pawłowska, the minister's inspector of the Department of Pre-School Education – *it was necessary to base the professional preparation on the most comprehensive and thorough general education and social experience presented by tutors*²⁹.

The issues regarding improving professional qualifications of kindergarten teachers were reflected in the final conclusions of the congress held in Łódź, which was expressed in the following way: *For the first time the National Education Congress in Łódź addressed the issue of the dissemination of kindergartens. While entering the path of satisfying this demand, it is required to base pre-school education on the legal framework without establishing duties of the public factor in terms of setting up, maintaining, and running kindergartens. For a good cause it shall be suggested that pre-school teachers – similarly to public school teachers – become state employees. This business connection of female caretakers and the state will ensure durability, provide uniform relations, will be a propaganda factor encouraging female youth to choose this profession, and will raise their social status. By making pre-schools universal, we impose the necessity of undergoing intensive education preparing female youth to the profession of kindergarten teachers to a greater extent than it is done at present – 4-year pedagogical high school and further studies at the university. During the transition period, substitute staff of kindergarten teachers should not be allowed to work in*

²⁸ Z. Woźnicka, *Wychowanie przedszkolne w Polsce Ludowej [Pre-school education in People's Poland]*, Warszawa, Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1972, p. 41–42.

²⁹ *Ogólnopolski Zjazd Oświatowy w Łodzi 18–22 czerwca 1945 [The National Education Congress in Łódź June 18–22, 1945]*, ed. S. Świdwiński, Warszawa. PZWS, 1945, p. 226.

*pre-schools unless they complete at least an eight-week pre-school educational introductory course*³⁰.

The conclusions of the Congress cited above prove that they attempted to raise the status of pre-school education, appreciating its importance in the overall education of a human being. As a result, the candidates willing to take up the post of a pre-school tutor faced higher and higher qualification requirements.

As a consequence of the arrangements adopted in Łódź, it was decided to resume – still in 1945 – the education of kindergarten teachers in permanent institutions. Therefore, three-year seminars were opened. Candidates between 14 and 18 years old had to provide a public school certificate. The curriculum in seminars was established in line with three criteria: ideological and educational, cognitive, and public, and included such subjects as: pedagogical psychology and pre-school education methodology. As part of the methodology, the curriculum included the following issues: observation of children and activities in the kindergarten, learning about the children's environment, discussing the purpose of the subject, child's character features, games, methodology of classes, administration, and methods of working with children. It is significant that one of the assumptions of the curriculum for three-year seminars was to provide students with the basics of effective work and self-education. This fact is worth noting in terms of the professional development of kindergarten teachers. This assumption imposed almost an obligation on teachers to develop further.

Three-year seminars were the first post-war attempt to reactivate the education of pre-school teachers in permanent institutions. However, in the 1948–1949 school year, the seminars were liquidated, and in their place three-year high schools were created for kindergarten tutors, which had the character of vocational schools. The following subjects were taught: drawing, manual work, methodology of artistic and technical classes, children's literature with the methodology of the child's speech development, singing lessons with the choir, rhythmic, methodology of physical education, methodology of getting children acquainted with nature.

Although in the case of pre-school teachers, high schools prepared well for the profession, but they did not solve the problem of educating teachers. The education in high schools was not culminated in the final matriculation examination, and thus, did not entitle to start higher education.

Over the period 1955–1959, three-year high schools were gradually transformed into five-year pedagogical high schools. The education in high schools was culminated in the final matriculation examination which entitled to take up higher education. In five-year high schools, the idea of educating kindergarten teachers was to correlate pedagogical subjects with workshops and practical exercises, which guaranteed proper vocational preparation³¹.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Z. Woźnicka, *Wychowanie przedszkolne*..., p. 94–97.

In the second half of the 1940's and 1950's, activities were taken not only to educate teaching staff for kindergartens, but also to initiate the process of professional development of teachers. In order to prepare teaching staff to take up managerial positions in 1945, eight-week courses for pre-school education instructors were launched, which could be attended by qualified kindergarten teachers with at least 5 years of pedagogical experience. Zofia Woźnicka described these courses in a detailed way³². The professional development of kindergarten teachers acquired some planning and regularity characteristics³³. It took place in various forms. One of them was a three-stage system of improving and developing teaching staff, which included the Central Center of Developing Teaching Staff, provincial and county centers. In the Central Center in 1953 a section of pre-school education was established, headed by Danuta Dziatłowska, and later by Stanisława Lipina. They initiated to form pre-school education sections in district centers. On the other hand, pre-school education instructors were working in county centers and coordinated the work of pre-school methodological teams.

Another form of professional development of kindergarten teachers was the pedagogical readings initiated in 1950 by the State Center for Educational Program Works and Pedagogical Research, which contained a description and an analysis of work of leading teachers, tutors and educational activists. It was a form of a two-stage competition. As a result, awarded works were published. As Woźnicka writes: *this action, which were aimed at stimulating creative reflections of teachers, eliciting and disseminating their valuable experiences, significantly contributed to bring the theory and practice closer. It was an important instrument for development and self-education, although the value of the studies differed (quite often they were characterized by a tendency to beautify reality, and skip difficulties and failures). The effect thereof were collections entitled: "Pre-school issues"*³⁴. *Radio talks that have been broadcast by the Polish Radio since 1948 were considered a form of professional development of kindergarten teachers. However, since 1950, as part of these broadcasts, they provided tutorials for educators that subsequently were printed*³⁵.

The post-war period was hallmarked by some effort aimed at rebuilding the professional group of kindergarten teachers. Not earlier than in the second half of the 1950's, education of kindergarten teachers at a semi-high level was initiated and a new concept of this process was developed, which was based on the idea of combining two specialties: pre-school education and elementary education.

The second half of the 1950's was the time which initiated education of kindergarten educators at a semi-high level. At the turn of 1957/1958 in Poznań,

³² Ibid., p. 43–44.

³³ Ibid., p. 67–69.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 68–69.

³⁵ *W naszym przedszkolu. Pogadanki radiowe dla wychowawczyń przedszkoli [In our kindergarten. Radio talks for kindergarten caretakers]*, ed. M. Radziwiłł, Warszawa, PZWS, 1956.

a stationary teachers' seminar providing pre-school education and elementary education was established. The idea of teaching there was based on the idea of combining these two specializations so that graduates thereof would be prepared to work with both pre-school and early-school children. This concept confirmed that the continuity between pre-school education and elementary education was more often and increasingly recognized, which had been already mentioned in 1907 by S. Marciszewska³⁶.

Apart from stationary teachers' studies, at the end of the 1950's, three-year weekend studies were organized for students who did not take the matriculation examination, which however, did not offer any further higher education.

Education of pre-school teachers is a process rooted in history. The experiences of the 19th century and first half of the 20th century in this area became a legacy which one could reap benefits from in the future.

From the time when this profession was defined to the 1950's, there were changes regarding teachers' rights and duties, their social status and tasks they were assigned to at work. The psychological, pedagogical and medical knowledge – about development of children and their upbringing – improved as well. As a consequence, different concepts of educating kindergarten teachers were sought so that they could meet high professional standards. Gradually, this process was more organized and planned.

It has to be recognized that prominent people who cared about the issues of raising the youngest – pedagogues, psychologists, writers, and social activists significantly contributed to the development of pre-school education and the education of teachers. Thanks to their multiple and versatile activity, the pedagogical progress was visible.

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³⁶ B. Sandler, *Wychowanie przedszkolne...*, p. 161.

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Educating female preschool teachers on the territory of Poland in the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. An outline of the problem

Summary

The profession of a preschool teacher has a long history and evolved from a person protecting children, through a caretaker and a tutor, to a pre-school teacher. The beginnings of educating kindergarten teachers date back to the first half of the 19th century. At first it took place in the period when Poland was under occupation. In spite of the difficulties, many attempts were made to open educational institutions for female tutors, magazines dealing with the subject of pre-school education were published as well as congresses for teachers and on educational issues were organized.

After Poland regained its independence, one could observe efforts to guarantee education of preschool teachers as an organized and planned process. This was achieved thanks to the following actions: issuing relevant legal acts, opening teachers' seminars, developing pedagogical journalism, and conducting research in various academic centers.

The years of WWII hindered the development of preschool education, and consequently – the education of preschool teachers. It was not until 1945 that efforts were made to restore preschool education and reactivate preschool teachers' education.

Through all that time, people who significantly contributed to raising the level of preschool education were visible and made their mark – philanthropists, pedagogues, psychologists, writers and social activists.

Keywords: kindergarten, teacher, education, pre-school education.

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THE IMAGE OF THE EARLY SCHOOL EDUCATION TEACHER IN THE PEDAGOGY OF STEFAN SZUMAN (1889–1972)

THE AREAS OF SCIENTIFIC INTERESTS OF STEFAN SZUMAN

Stefan Szuman was born on January 2nd, 1889, in Toruń into the family of Leon Szuman, a well-known surgeon and a community activist. *Documented sources state that distant ancestors of Stefan Szuman were the Gdańsk patricians (the first records date back to the 16th century), who in the 19th century adopted the Polish spelling of their name, emphasising in this way their national identity. The Szumans, in defence of their Polish identity, took part in all demonstrations of freedom, starting from the uprising in 1863 to World War II*¹.

The talents of the parents, medical of the father and musical of the mother, greatly influenced the way of life Stefan had decided to follow. At the age of 12, he played the second fiddle in the orchestra in Toruń and completed his medical studies in 1913 with the degree of doctor of medical sciences. Just like his father, he specialised in surgery, however, it did not become the passion of his life. As he wrote about himself: *he had a soul full of images*². He was interested in painting and literature. In the letter to Henryk, his brother, he wrote: *I love beautiful things and truths, and I am happy there where I can see them*³.

The cruel war experiences induced him to psychology. He graduated from psychology and defended the doctoral thesis, which was published under the title

¹ R. Stachowski, *Stefan Szuman – w setną rocznicę urodzin. Prekursor psychologii humanistycznej w Polsce [Stefan Szuman – on the 100th anniversary of the birth. The precursor of the humanistic psychology in Poland]*, „Przegląd Psychologiczny” 1989, No. 2, p. 256.

² W. Okoń, *Wizerunki sławnych pedagogów polskich [The images of famous Polish pedagogues]*, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo „Żak”, 2000, p. 348.

³ Ibid.

Sztuka dziecka. Psychologia twórczości rysunkowej dziecka (The art of the child. Psychology of child's drawing creativity) (1927). This thesis is the synthesis of his two greatest passions: art and human development. Thanks to this dissertation, he initiated his rich scientific activity.

Pedagogues place Stefan Szuman among the creators of the axiological stream of cultural pedagogy. He placed basic values in the centre of his interests. *The values are the essence of the culture*, emphasised Szuman, while writing about ideals and ideas. His concept of cultural pedagogy was embedded in the philosophy of life, Christian personalism and Neo-Platonism. A human being understood by Szuman as a person striving for values and realising values through culture and in culture is basically considered as *homo creator, homo axiologicus*. Therefore, upbringing is a process which is aimed at making a human being a co-creator of values and one of its goals is objectification of human aspirations. Co-creation of values is a strong educational moment for a human being as active co-creation engages his/her entirely and what follows is the feeling of their own contribution.

Cultural pedagogy is also commonly called humanistic pedagogy. According to Bogdan Suchodolski, this stream derives from reconstructing the foundations of humanistic studies⁴, demonstrating the autonomy of the humanistic world phenomena in relation to the phenomena of natural world, and thus, the independence of humanistic cognition from natural cognition.

S. Szuman continued the research line of Heinrich Rickert (1863–1936), who characterised the creations of culture as a vital component of humanistic research. This line of researchers made it possible to realise that the subject of humanistic research is – in a broad perspective – the creations of culture as psychophysical creations that have their objective meaning, and what is more, a value resulting from the fact that they fulfil the goals of human actions. The above mentioned researchers also claimed that one can get to know a human being and understand him/her not only through psychological experiments but also on the basis of history and culture. The contact of human beings with culture takes place through experiencing and assimilating the values. As a result, a pupil is formed who experiences and understands the culture of personality. Thus, the process of upbringing is based on the fact that students by penetrating the goods of culture, experience and understand the timeless values found in them – truth, justice and beauty. It is a natural way of shaping the character and autonomic personality of the pupil.

The scientific activity of Stefan Szuman focuses mainly on the pedagogy of a small child. His name is mostly associated with pioneering research on speech and the child's art as well as on education through art. Szuman took up the important and basic problems, always looking for innovative solutions. Hundreds of his works mainly focus on the child's development and education. Many of them are unique works constituting the publications of a permanent value in the world

⁴ B. Suchodolski, *Przebudowa podstaw nauk humanistycznych [Reconstructing the fundamentals of the humanities]*, Warszawa 1928.

literature. He often “painted” in them an image of a human being – “the co-creator of culture”, whose “spiritual” development grows together with knowledge and experience, a human being who can develop his/her own personality and work on shaping his/her character.

Child’s art is a special area of Szuman’s interest. By analysing children’s drawings and colourings, he distinguished the phases and periods that a child goes through in the process of acquiring drawing skills. And after the period of scribbling, a child enters the period of ideoplastics and draws what he/she knows about the reality, without paying attention whether the object in the drawing is consistent with its real look or not. By obtaining more and more subject knowledge, the child takes account of more and more details and their drawings are more similar to the things they see. Szuman called this easily noticed naturalism – physioplastics.

Szuman’s doctoral thesis is almost a basic textbook for all tutors and parents. The same can be said about his habilitation thesis entitled *Badania nad rozwojem postrzegania i reprodukowania prostych kształtów przez dziecko (Research on the development of the perception and reproducing simple shapes by a child)*, published a year later. The dissertation, as one of the first works, explains the phenomenon of syncretic perception in children. This paper paved his way to full scientific independence. He was appointed associate professor in November 1928 and took charge of the Department of Educational Psychology at the Jagiellonian University.

*Faithful to the ideals, which he owes to his biological education, Szuman can in his scientific activity combine the realism of the representative of natural medical sciences with humanistic and artistic elements. Thanks to extraordinary diligence and perseverance, his talent and scientific passion, his new and valuable psychological publications are published each year*⁵.

In 1934, only seven years after achieving habilitation, he was nominated full professor and in 1939 he became a correspondent for Polish Academy of Learning.

However, the academic career was not the purpose of his life. As his daughter said, the most important was *the interest in the subject of research and studies as well as the enthusiasm for work so exactly that what characterises the real scholars*⁶. Until 1939 Szuman had published nearly 100 dissertations, articles, and monographs regarding the child’s art and aesthetic education, issues of physical education and sport, the analysis of individual processes and psychical functions (perception, imagination, thinking), and the process of shaping of human’s

⁵ M. Przetacznikowa, *Twórczość naukowa profesora dra Stefana Szumana [The scientific creation of Prof. Stefan Szuman, Ph.D.]*, in: *Rozwój i wychowanie; księga ku czci profesora Stefana Szumana w 35-lecie Katedry Psychologii Pedagogicznej Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. W hołdzie uczniowie i współpracownicy [Development and upbringing; the book in honor of Prof. Stefan Szuman marking the 35th anniversary of the Department of Pedagogical Psychology of the Jagiellonian University. A tribute by the students and co-workers]*, part 2, ed. M. Żebrowska, Warszawa, NK, 1963, p. 22.

⁶ W. Okoń, *Wizerunki...*, p. 351.

personality. During this period, the following outstanding works were created: *Geneza przedmiotu (The origin of the subject)* (1932), *Psychologia młodzieńczego idealizmu (The psychology of youth idealism)* (1933), *Osobowość i charakter człowieka z punktu widzenia biologii (The personality and character of the human being from the point of view of biology)* (1934), *Organizm a życie psychiczne (A human body and mental life)* (1938, Stanisław Skowron as the co-author), *Rozwój myślenia u dzieci w wieku szkolnym (The development of thinking in school-aged children)* (1938), *Rozwój pytań dziecka (The development of child's questions)* (1939), *Talent pedagogiczny (A pedagogical talent)* (1939).

In the works from that period, Szuman combined the issue of psychology with its biological sources and looked for the basis of physiological development phenomena. In the interwar period, this position was not very popular; the political atmosphere was not conducive to the spread of psychology based on the principles of natural sciences. However, this bold research attitude presented by Szuman and the independence of his scientific ideas made the Jagiellonian University the centre of the progressive psychological thought. Thus, Szuman continued the line of experimental psychology development initiated by Władysław Heinrich.

Shortly after the war Szuman was engaged into rebuilding the Polish psychology. To satisfy strong educational needs, he concentrated his scientific work on preparing textbooks on child's psychology, which were very popular among students, teachers, kindergarten teachers and parents. *Psychologia wychowawcza wieku szkolnego (The educational psychology of the school age)* published in 1947 presented the results research conducted by Szuman and his co-workers.

In the post-war period, Szuman significantly expanded the area of his scientific research. They concerned the following issues: mental development of children in the family and kindergarten, development of speech and thinking process in children, psychological and educational problems, as well as didactics, psycho-didactics and aesthetic education. One of the most significant and original works in the field of mental development of a child entitled *Rola działania w rozwoju umysłowym małego dziecka (The role of action in the mental development of a small child)* was published in 1955. As the basis for his reflections, the scientist adopted the thesis of dialectical materialism that *the human being recognizes reality by influencing it*. In this way he demonstrated the relation between thinking and acting in the early stages of the ontogenetic development. The following dissertations are applicable in the same field: *Aktywność własna jako czynnik rozwoju dziecka w okresie lat 7–14 (Self-activity as a factor of child development between 7–14 years old)* (1956), *O naukowym poznawaniu cech psychicznego rozwoju dzieci i młodzieży (On the scientific cognition of the characteristics of mental development of children and youth)* (1956), *O czynnikach kształtujących psychikę dziecka w wieku przedszkolnym (On the factors that shape the psyche of a pre-school child)* (1960), *O dojrzałości szkolnej dzieci siedmioletnich (On the school maturity of seven-year-old children)* (1962).

The team managed by Szuman conducted as well research on the interdependence of speech and thinking in children, which were very valuable for the development of the kindergarten pedagogy. Szuman promoted the thesis that the language skills are not only used for social communication, but also play a vital role *in shaping the child's mind, as the language is an important tool, i.e. a proper basis for organizing conscious, concise, logical and clear thoughts in the process of mind's functioning and developing*⁷.

In the period 1949–1954, Szuman conducted research on the psychological foundations of teaching, the effect of which was a dissertation entitled *Aktywizowanie i kształtowanie uwagi dowolnej uczniów na lekcji w szkole (Activating and shaping the top-down attention of students during lessons at school)* published in 1961. This paper contains the description and results of precursory research on manifestations of attention and inattention during the lesson, and promotes the teacher's activities that activate the student's attention while learning.

However, as far as the theory and pedagogical practice are concerned, the greatest credit should be given to Szuman for aesthetic education. The original and valuable output from this area of his work was found in the work *O sztuce i wychowaniu estetycznym (On the art and aesthetic education)* (1962). In his opinion, *art makes it possible to see the world in a different way than the average and common one, it allows us to discover a new quality of already known things and phenomena, it awakens experiences, and favours forming the attitude of openness*⁸.

According to Szuman, education through art differs from ordinary didactic and educational activities, as it teaches how to perceive, experience and feel reality, as well as to understand the essence and purpose of human life through the *prism of art*. Thanks to this perception of reality, a child wants to seek, perceive and experience beauty. And beauty does not teach, but rejoices, saturates our consciousness, senses, imagination, and feelings. In his concept, education by art – as a method of aesthetic education – includes: 1) an aesthetic tutor (a person educating through the values of art), 2) an aesthetic pupil (a person educated by the values of art), and 3) a work of art in the process of education through the values of art. In the process of aesthetic education, the psychologist recommended two methods: the first is to introduce art receivers into the world of artistic culture, while the second is to develop this creative activity among pupils. He perceived artistic creativity as improving our own personality, and deepening the awareness of our existence.

⁷ S. Szuman, *Znaczenie opanowania mowy ojczystej dla umysłowego rozwoju dziecka [The importance of mastering the mother tongue for the child's mental development]*, in: *Studia nad rozwojem psychicznym dziecka. Dzieła wybrane, t. I [The studies on the child's psychological development. Selected works, Vol. I]*, collected and edited by M. Przetacznik, G. Makiełło-Jarża, Warszawa, WSiP, 1985, p. 182.

⁸ M. Kielar-Turska, *Nestor polskiej psychologii rozwojowej i wychowawczej – Stefan Szuman (1889–1972) [The nestor of the Polish developmental and educational psychology – Stefan Szuman (1889–1972)]*, „Wychowanie w Przedszkolu” 2000, No. 6, p. 345.

Throughout his scientific career, Szuman was looking for the answers to the following questions: Who is a human being? What is his/her nature? Personality? Character? What determines the pedagogical talent of teachers-educators?

A TEACHER IN THE EARLY-SCHOOL EDUCATION IN THE PAPERS BY STEFAN SZUMAN

A well-known position written by Szuman in the field of pedagogical psychology is the dissertation called *Talent pedagogiczny (A pedagogical talent)* (the first edition in 1939). The reflections upon talent might be regarded as the basis of his pedeutological concept. By claiming that the results of the activities and work conducted by a teacher-educator are determined by the “pedagogical talent”, Szuman explains that it cannot be reduced only to some inborn, particular predispositions, but also to personality traits as a mental structure. *There is nothing which can constitute pedagogical talent as a separate innate disposition, or in my opinion, innate instruction of educational love in the human being who comes into the world, but there are qualitatively different emotional dispositions, out of which, depending on their intensity and complexity, a teacher’s love to his/her pupils, a living, emotional tendency to undertake educational missions can emerge once again, and this is undoubtedly in the cooperation of other inborn traits and favourable conditions*⁹. All elements pedagogical talent is composed of are shaped during the personality maturation according to its nature – it is not a disposition that human beings are gifted with when they are born. *However, I do not argue*, Szuman said, *that there is no pedagogical talent. Yes, I admit that some people show a greater natural aptitude for the teaching profession than others. They are outstanding educators based not only on their education and development in this direction, but thanks to their inherent nature that facilitates it against the background of a special personality structure that perfectly harmonises with the functions and objectives of the teaching and educational profession*¹⁰.

Each teacher-educator is a different personality with a specific character, has its own attitude to the world and a specific lifestyle. Undoubtedly, not every type of personality is suitable for the teaching profession, but also not only one type makes it possible to achieve pedagogical success. Szuman compared a vocation for teaching to a passionate artist: [...] *because in the process of upbringing and education, a separate personality of the pedagogue affects the material which is formed under the influence of his/her style and acquires a certain individual expression, a certain style*¹¹. A teacher affects his/her student as an artist influences the material. The difference lies in the fact that a child, having his/her own style,

⁹ S. Szuman, *Talent pedagogiczny [A pedagogical talent]*, Katowice, Wydawnictwo Instytutu Pedagogicznego w Katowicach, 1947, p. 15.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 18.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 22.

is shaped under the influence of the educator, but is not transformed into his/her style. The teacher is not only a *reservoir* of knowledge, norms, ethical and educational provisions, but affects the student with his/her personality and style. Therefore, the pedagogical process is determined to a great extent by this.

The issue of personality becomes the subject of his wide considerations. Szuman calls personality *an in some way updated human nature, which according to the possibilities of its nature, develops, acts and experiences the world*¹². Thus, with regard to personality, one can talk about its preservation, attitude or conscious process of shaping. Personality is passively shaped by experience and the environment. When a human being has contact with reality, it is *created through a personal response to the conditions of real existence, to the social environment, to traditional views and ideals of humanity, to the issues related to the disturbing mystery of existence*¹³. By getting to know the surrounding world, the objects and phenomena, interpersonal relationships, experience is gained thanks to which we learn how to act and live. Under the influence of the environment, manners, habits and customs are formed. Thanks to them, the personality stabilises. *Passively acquired personality traits are shaped especially in childhood, when a child more or less passively absorbs what he/she experiences, when his/her teacher's will directs him/her, and their own will starts to awake when the child unknowingly gets attached to his/her surroundings and grows into it*¹⁴. Of course, the process of personality formation is influenced not only by what passively and unconsciously shapes it, but also by all taken and performed actions, and the human actions are driven by the character. Therefore, the formation of a tested and valuable character, which is a self-acquired and worked out value complements the personality development. Hence, by directing the personality development towards the moral good, an autonomous character is achieved that has shaped its own goals, ideals, views, norms, and behaves in accordance with them.

A teacher, by educating and teaching children, serves the whole society. That is why it is so important to develop a good and ethically valuable character. Each personality matures, getting to know its possibilities and limitations. Each teacher should be a mature personality who knows themselves well. Szuman, describing the personality aspects of the teacher, states that there is no ideal teacher who would have all the positive qualities, abilities and virtues that would make it possible to teach and educate well, because some of these features are mutually exclusive. Each human being has, e.a. a different temperament, which can decide on the specific type of behaviour of the educator towards his/her pupils. It all depends on how teachers use their dispositions and character for pedagogical purposes.

¹² S. Szuman, *Natura, osobowość i charakter człowieka [Human nature, personality and character]*, Kraków, Wydawnictwo WAM, 1995, p. 91.

¹³ Ibid., p. 13.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 95.

Szuman used to say often that there was no perfect educator with only a set of desirable qualities and merits, but there are features that every teacher should have. To his mind, the first place was taken by *pedagogical tact* i.e. psychological intuition suggesting how to deal with people, influence them, gain their favour, and to avoid unnecessary conflicts. Tact requires having decent knowledge about ourselves, strengths and weaknesses, abilities and measures. Each teacher should acquire this ability as it can decide on the effectiveness of their actions. Pedagogical tact as a factor of proper contact with a child consists in having empathy for children, requires restraint, patience and listening to their reasons. A tactful teacher has a similarly friendly and objective attitude towards all children, and hence, gains their trust and provided them with a sense of security. Ease of contact with children in any situation, characterised by kindness, facilitates the work and makes it more effective.

The *treasury of a real teacher* with a rich personality formed on his/her own includes as well *conscience that does not consist in innate sensitivity or ethical insensitivity, but on an objective, factual assessment of good and evil. Through conscience, personality demands its ideal*¹⁵. Szuman added to the treasure as well a whole wealth of aesthetic and mental life. Also in this respect, a perfect tutor does not exist, but he/she must have some spiritual wealth to distribute it to the students. If a teacher wants to teach a child some teacher's authority will be undermined¹⁶.

All pedagogical activity, as Szuman noted, is an autonomous work, similar to artistic creation. It is not about a perfect technique of teaching and educating, but the richness of the teacher's personality, an ethical, aesthetic and mental wealth.

The above pedeutological statement is of fundamental importance for the pedagogy of culture, and in a narrower sense: for education through art, because it affects the choice of the so-called "an aesthetic educator" as it is easier to make an "aesthetic educator" from an artist than an artist from an educator¹⁷. *The artist cannot be unaware that his/her artistic creation has a shaping, aesthetic and extra-aesthetic influence on society and must take account of that fact*¹⁸.

S. Szuman (in the spirit of Spranger's pedagogy of culture) stated that it is easier to make a professional teacher from a professional artist than the other way around, i.e. from a professional pedagogue – a professional artist. However, a good aesthetic educator will only be someone who knows and loves art, understands and experiences it in a direct and lively way.

Szuman consistently dealt with aesthetic education for over several decades. He laid the foundations for the realisation of universal aesthetic education, stating

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 196.

¹⁶ S. Szuman, *Talent...*, p. 32.

¹⁷ Idem, *Czy wychowawczynie powinny umieć rysować? Wywiad z prof. S. Szumanem. Rozmowę przeprowadziła Zofia Topińska [Should the tutor be able to draw? An interview with Prof. S. Szuman conducted by Zofia Topińska]*, „Wychowanie w Przedszkolu” 1958, No. 5, p. 226.

¹⁸ Idem, *O kunszcie i istocie poezji lirycznej [On the artistry and essence of lyrical poetry]*, Łódź-Toruń, Wydawnictwo Poligrafika, 1948, p. 63.

that in the social field, its links are the processes of dissemination, facilitation and access to art. *The aesthetic educator* would act as an intermediary in *giving people the treasures of art masterpieces*¹⁹. According to him, aesthetic educators are intermediaries that shape the sensitivity and aesthetic culture of society on the basis of already created and shared works of art. Szuman noticed the importance of art for all stages of human development, emphasising its role *in strengthening the affirmation of life*²⁰.

Generally, each teacher should be an aesthetic educator and should be suitably prepared and trained for this purpose. Szuman put forward three postulates in this matter:

1. *Aesthetic education should find its proper and sufficiently wide place in teachers' training institutions, pedagogical colleges and universities.*
2. *It is not enough to familiarise the candidates for teachers with the art of teaching drawing, singing, and literature – but it is necessary to educate future teachers through art i.e. through wide access and skilful simplification of masterpieces of art. They must not only acquire a minimum understanding of art, but it must be loved by them, so that they are able to penetrate the works of art, understand them and adequately, profoundly experience.*
3. *Aesthetic education of teachers is ultimately aimed at shaping their personal culture and sensitisation to art – without which it is not possible to shape a comprehensively developed personality*²¹.

Special skills are required from teachers of small children by Szuman. Less important is whether they can paint and draw, but it is very important whether they know the course of drawing and painting development in children and whether they can properly evaluate their creations. For tutors of small children it is necessary to know that a child's drawing at every stage of development is its own transformation and configuration of the image of reality with the help of strokes and colours in the area of building the drawing's elements. What a child at a given development stage draws and paints, how a child does it, is not a simple result of technical improvement, but is an expression of the process of maturing, his/her growing knowledge of the world, and interests or needs. Thanks to this knowledge and such qualifications, teachers will be able to properly guide the child's development²². The stage of early education in the child's entire school career occupies a special place. Drawing, painting and constructing are – contrary to appearances – very complex forms of child's activity, which in the act of

¹⁹ Idem, *O sztuce i wychowaniu estetycznym [On art and aesthetic education]*, Warszawa, WSiP, 1975, p. 28.

²⁰ W. Leżańska, *Przedszkole jako środowisko wychowania estetycznego [Kindergarten as the environment of aesthetic education]*, Warszawa, WSiP, 1990, p. 16.

²¹ Ibid., p. 29.

²² S. Szuman, *Czy wychowawczy...*, p. 226–228.

creation give a part of themselves; show how the children see, what they feel and how they think. Children's creativity is a dynamic activity that shapes personality. It develops creative abilities, teaches how to ask questions and, at the same time, answer them, teaches to think and make associations.

In the period of early education, a child gets to know the world in the most intensive way. A teacher provides children with two basic tools that help them to do it – reading and writing. The child does not only learn about the surrounding, but also about feelings, emotions and the ways how to express them, and is already introduced into the world of universal values, namely: truth, goodness and beauty. Then, who should be a teacher that can handle these tasks? What is the specificity of working with small children?

The answers provided by Szuman can be found in his most important textbooks: *Psychologia wychowawcza wieku dziecięcego* (*The educational psychology in childhood*) and *Psychologia wychowawcza wieku szkolnego* (*The educational psychology at school age*). Knowledge about children is the fundamental requirement for educational influence on a child. A teacher must know who his/her pupil is, and what his/her abilities and limitations are. Therefore, *every tutor must be a psychologist, and one can become a psychologist, by gaining ever greater and more thorough theoretical knowledge about the psyche of children and youth, and its development, by observing and examining his/her students carefully and skilfully, and by forming at every opportunity the perspicacity of his/her psychological intuition. A tutor-psychologist must learn two things which are closely related to each other, namely must learn to: a) observe and watch the child skilfully, his/her behaviour and actions, b) intuitively penetrate, i.e., feel in and empathise with the psyche of the observed child, so as to understand and even experience the motives of his/her actions from the position of horizons, interests, concepts and motives of the child*²³. Teachers who really want to get to know their students should observe them consciously using appropriate tools, because involuntary observations are lost in memory. Keeping *individual cards* can come in handy and provide assistance in that matter. Their goal is to *get to know better the separate spiritual structure of each pupil*²⁴. A good way of getting to know children is also to analyse their written, painted, drawn or technical creations.

Kindergarten and early-school children learn about the world through action. A teacher should not only not limit these actions, but on the contrary, should trigger and organize them, as *experiences gained on the basis of own activity play a decisive role in learning not only their own and other people's behaviour, but also in getting to know relations and dependencies between things found in the outside*

²³ Idem, *Psychologia wychowawcza wieku szkolnego* [*The educational psychology at school age*], Kraków, Wiedza – Zawód – Kultura, 1947, p. 36.

²⁴ Idem, *Podstawowe zagadnienia konstrukcji i wypełniania karty indywidualności* [*Basic issues of constructing and filling an individual card*], Warszawa, Published by Stowarzyszenie Chrześcijańsko-Narodowe Nauczycielstwa Szkół Powszechnych, 1932, p. 3.

world, interacting with each other according to the laws governing nature, regardless of human and animal activities²⁵. A child learns to think by acting, that is why a teacher must consciously manage the child's activities and set specific tasks to be conducted. *By acting, a child learns to proceed in a particular way in order to, under specified conditions, achieve a particular goal using specified methods. By learning to master the reality in the scope of these simple fun and practical activities that a child tries to do and does, a small child learns to think*²⁶. Everything that the child's mind collects and learns, becomes later the material of systematic learning. Thus, it is the duty of teachers to enable children the multi-sensory cognition, to teacher them to perceive and observe. Another important task of a teacher educating small children is to develop their memory, and to provoke mechanical and logical memory. A child does not have to remember everything, but must notice things that more and less important. The child's memory is vivid and specific. It is a very valuable feature, but it is easily lost *in the one-sided abstracted and conceptual education of the mind. The development of conceptual knowledge gradually kills imagination in a human being. Wise upbringing should counteract this phenomenon*²⁷. Therefore, a teacher should apply such techniques that stimulate the child's imagination and *vivid remembering* and should also refer to the sense of responsibility and independence. The easiest way is to shape the top-down attention of a student. In the dissertation entitled *O Uwadze (On attention)*, Szuman wrote: *The role of a teacher in shaping students' attention consists essentially in providing help in top-down, i.e. independent attention. Top-down attention is shaped primarily in the atmosphere of discipline and obedience, but over time it becomes independent*²⁸. But it is a mistake when a teacher only directs the attention of the class, and does not explain why one should be careful and attentive, does not create an atmosphere of concentration and a reliable work, and does not show the value of knowledge and intellectual culture. Therefore, according to Szuman, a teacher should firstly start shaping top-down attention from introducing discipline and obedience in the classroom, and only later attention becomes independent and students direct it consciously. By exercising attention of students from elementary education classes, a teacher creates the basis, thanks to which a student will master the ability to learn in an effective way, which is important at every subsequent stage of education.

Another, extremely important task of a primary education teacher is to develop the child's speech. Speech is a tool of thinking thanks to which, a human being can clearly and precisely express his/her thoughts using words and sentences. *The development and construction of thoughts takes place in humans mostly against*

²⁵ Idem, *Studia nad rozwojem psychicznym dziecka, Dzieła wybrane [The studies on the psychological development of a child, Selected papers]*, Vol. I, Warszawa, WSiP, 1985, p. 168.

²⁶ Idem, p. 59.

²⁷ S. Szuman, *Podstawy rozwoju i wychowania w ontogenezie, Dzieła wybrane [Basic of development and education in ontogenesis, Selected works]*, Vol. II, Warszawa, WSiP, 1985, p. 153.

²⁸ S. Szuman, *O uwadze [On attention]*, Warszawa, PZWS, 1961, p. 42.

*the background of the linguistic creation and only thanks to it, it is fully possible. Therefore, the education of the human mind requires, i.a. care about and solicitude for the development of speech (spoken and written) in children and youth – and speech as a tool for thoughts and creations – in which they, i.e. thoughts, get precise and bright, and develop and construct themselves in concepts and judgments which are expressed with words and sentences*²⁹. Hence, the task of a teacher is to teach his/her pupils how to express freely, easily, correctly and clearly what they know and have to say on various topics, as well as to teach *intelligent thinking*, thanks to which they will create their independent and mature minds.

While organising teaching at school, a teacher is obliged to refer to the matters that a child experienced and got to know in kindergarten and outside the school. Their actions are to create a systematic basis for expanding the growing knowledge, develop interests, guide insights, refine concepts, expand the scope of messages, and organise them.

Stefan Szuman was a continuator of the following pedagogues: Jan Władysław Dawid, Aniela Szycówna and Józefa Joteyko. His psychological research was “immersed” in pedagogical practice. His work translates into specific educational and didactic tasks. As professor of educational psychology at the Jagiellonian University, he cooperated extensively with elementary school teachers, including them in his research. At the Pedagogical Institute in Katowice he maintained close cooperation with teachers from Silesia. Under the direction of Szuman, many of them obtained academic titles and degrees. He regarded his cooperation with other teachers as an obligation.

It is worth emphasising that by sharing experiences and learning from each other, teachers get to know new strategies and teaching methods that they can apply in their work. A teacher, through constant extending and improving his/her working skills, increases the offer for students, satisfies their needs, and contributes to their development. The longer teachers work, the better they know children and their work becomes more and more effective. Professional experience cannot become a daily routine, but should be based on knowledge and skills.

SUMMARY

Stefan Szuman as a scholar and an artist surprises contemporary readers with a multitude of scientific interests and a wide range of research. Wincenty Okoń, when writing about the fields of pedagogical research in Poland, described Szuman as a human institution. *I was simply thinking about his scientific research, rare in our reality, which gave us more valuable and thematically extensive scientific work than many scientific institutions could have given*³⁰.

²⁹ S. Szuman, *Dzieła wybrane. Podstawy...*, p. 234.

³⁰ W. Okoń, *O pedagogicznym dorobku Profesora Szumana [About the pedagogical heritage of Prof. Szuman]*, in: *Rozwój i...*, p. 14.

We owe the development of developmental and educational psychology to him as he created the scientific basis of these disciplines, and to his students who consolidated the Polish school in this area. Thanks to Szuman we gained the Polish school of aesthetic education which studies the broad education of aesthetic culture. His scientific achievements are used by psychologists and teachers, while learning about: the child's development in various spheres, educational psychology, characterology, education through art and views on the concept of the teacher-educator. While reading the book *Talent pedagogiczny (Pedagogical talent)*, published almost eighty years ago, we have the impression that it was written for the needs of contemporary pedeutology. Who is and what makes a good teacher? According to Szuman, we deal with a rational understanding of pedagogical talent, which is learned and acquired. Every tutor can be good and develop pedagogical talent, as it involves improving themselves and developing personal abilities and traits. Among the multitude of the scholar's insights on the personality, character and moral attitude of the teacher, the notion of an *aesthetic educator* dominates. Szuman – just like his great predecessors – perceives a teacher only as a tutor. Believing in the mission of art which is a result of the existence of *aesthetic truth* as a way of experiencing the world, Szuman demands introducing an *aesthetic educator* at every stage of the child's development, but especially at the stage of elementary education.

His views are very close to the views of contemporary pedeutology. Szuman observed that the effects of the work conducted by teachers-educators depend mainly on their pedagogical activity, and pointed to the need of looking for the sources of educational effects not in the teachers-educators themselves, but in their work, actions, behaviours, and in the contact with pupils. These studies greatly undermined “the theory of attributes” as a condition for effective actions and became the basis for having a new look at the personality of a teacher-educator, and showed the need to conduct new research – on a teacher in action.

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The image of the early school education teacher in the pedagogy of Stefan Szuman (1889–1972)

Summary

The paper is a continuation of the series presenting views of the Polish researchers on the early school education teacher within the space of the 19th and 20th centuries. The paper consists of two parts. In the first, the author presents the areas of scientific interest of Stefan Szuman, and in the second, she analyses his pedagogical and psychological works in the field of his conception of the early school education teacher.

Stefan Szuman created fundamental principles of the Polish child psychology (developmental and educational). His empirical research classified him to the representatives of the applied psychology. His scientific findings concerning the cognitive development and the creative activity of children are still applied by teachers. Szuman was addressing his research results to students, teachers, educators, tutors and children care providers. His works on child cognition and every day work with children are still invaluable.

We owe the Polish school of aesthetic education, the subject of which is to learn broadly understood aesthetic culture, to Szuman. He, similarly to his great predecessors, first of all saw the teacher as a tutor. However, he demanded that he should be, especially at the stage of early school education, an aesthetic tutor.

Keywords: Stefan Szuman, pedagogy of culture, applied psychology, model of the early childhood education teacher, education through art, aesthetic education.

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A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL, HISTORIOSOPHICAL AND PEDAGOGICAL DISCOURSE ABOUT THE NATIONAL CHARACTER OF POLES FROM THE TURN OF THE 19TH CENTURY TO THE 20TH CENTURY

The issues of mentality, collective sensitivity, and the features of the national character were fashionable in the literature – mainly historical and political journalism – of contemporary times, including the turn of the 19th century to the 20th century¹. Over time, these problems became also present in the scientific literature regarding sociology, social psychology and political science². However, they have never enjoyed a good reputation in science. These topics have always been controversial, and those who attempted to address them were accused of *intuitionism and psycholism, subjectivism and inconsistency, and sometimes also ahistoricism*³. Sometimes even the use of this concept was *a source of suspicion about evil intentions of using science for specific ideological purposes, tinged with national chauvinism*⁴. In fact – the thesis about the existence of simple psychological differences between people representing particular nations has not been confirmed yet, even though the scientific category which was undermined as non-scientific is still alive in colloquial thinking⁵. Nevertheless,

¹ T. Lępkowski, *Polska – narodziny nowoczesnego narodu 1764–1870 [Poland – the birth of a modern nation 1764–1870]*, Warszawa 1967, p. 509.

² S. Kowalik, *Zmiany charakteru narodowego pod wpływem procesów globalizacji [Changes in the national character under the influence of globalization processes]*, in: *Ludzie przełomu tysiąclecia a cywilizacja przyszłości [People of the turn of millennia and the civilization of the future]*, ed. M. Ziółkowski, Poznań 2001, p. 39.

³ T. Lępkowski, *Polska...*, p. 509.

⁴ S. Kowalik, *Zmiany...*, p. 40.

⁵ J. Wiatr, *Socjologia stosunków politycznych [Sociology of political relations]*, Warszawa 1980; S. Kowalik, *Zmiany...*, p. 40.

the expression used in the title hereof, namely *national character* with a rich tradition in social sciences, was given various interpretations and became a theoretical category useful in understanding and explaining social or psychological processes, e.g. in research on national and ethnic stereotypes⁶.

Among some theoretical and methodological stances known and described in the scientific literature concerning the issue of national character, the first and most adequate genetic description comes from the concepts popular in the 19th century regarding *the spirit of a nation* and *the collective soul*, i.e. the mentality expressed in the literature, art and national philosophy. This approach assumed that *a certain group of people, due to their national origin, tends to have personal forms of behaviour, thinking and perception of reality*⁷. The grounds for these similarities stem from i.a. genetics, historical experience, climate, and geographical and natural living conditions. Another understanding of national character concerns the system of attitudes, values and beliefs shared by the majority of society.

Next to almost all political doctrines, the concept of a *nation* was shaped by the influence of Romanticism which perceived both a man and a nation as *the product of history*⁸. Maurycy Mochnacki, as he stated in *Kronika Emigracji Polskiej (the Chronicle of Polish emigration)* (1837), understood nationality as *a collection of all native and historical, sensual and mental features, distinguishing one nation from another, a set of conditions of national individuality*⁹. Also Józef Piłsudski who often referred in his speeches to his Polish romantic tradition talked about *the soul of a nation, a product of its history*¹⁰. A similar belief was expressed by Kazimierz Tymieniecki, a famous Polish historian. In his work published under the characteristic title *Cechy moralne narodu jako wynik historii (Moral qualities of a nation as a result of its history)* (Poznań 1926), he formulated the thesis that *the history of the Polish nation influenced the creation of moral features that are appropriate for us, and which connect us or make us different from other nations*¹¹.

National character was also perceived in the category of myth, which is one of the most permanent and dynamic elements of social awareness. It was (and still is) present in the literature, art, political thinking, political propaganda and

⁶ Ibid., p. 39, 40.

⁷ A. Jasińska-Kania, *Teoretyczne i metodologiczne problemy badań charakteru narodowego [Theoretical and methodological problems of national character research]*, „Studia Socjologiczne” 1979, No. 1; S. Kowalik, *Zmiany*..., p. 41.

⁸ K. Grzybowski, *Ojczyzna – naród – państwo [Homeland – nation – state]*, Warszawa 1977, p. 91–92.

⁹ Ibid., p. 124–125.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 166.

¹¹ K. Tymieniecki, *Cechy moralne narodu jako wynik historii [Moral qualities of a nation as a result of its history]*, Poznań 1926, p. 5.

social pedagogy¹². Myth is defined as *a collection of images reaching beyond the rational layers of awareness, which form a pattern in which one can sense its archaic elements and the current power of influence which affects the impulses of imagination rather than refers to the premises of rational thinking*¹³. Stanisław Wyspiański was critical with regard to this topic as he wrote that the Polish people considered the turn of the centuries as the myth of the nation and the country which outran all other countries¹⁴.

An important feature of the Polish historiography and historiosophy of the 19th century and the early 20th century was the discussion on the Polish national character. Apart from historians, philosophers, politicians, social activists and publicists of various ideological and political orientation, writers and moralists participated in it as well. The essence thereof focused on the reasons for losing statehood by the Polish nation. In this context it was considered whether the character features of Poles prevented maintaining independence and statehood¹⁵. Different, sometimes even extreme, stances were revealed in this matter. However, a common feature thereof included references to the past, sometimes very distant past, explaining defects with mainly historical habits and conviction that overcoming them is possible. The discussions and their conclusions had mostly didactic values. By indicating negative features of the nation, an attempt was made to explain them and to make society aware of the possibilities of eliminating them. Statements – often emotional – about the national character of Poles were a sign of patriotism of their authors and concern of the nation¹⁶.

Historians from the Cracow school, the authors of *Teka Stańczyka (Stańczyk's Portfolio)*, blamed the Poles alone for losing the statehood of Poland – their mismanagement, myth-generating tendencies, political short-sightedness, selfishness and rowdiness. According to Michał Bobrzyński, Walerian Kalinka and Józef Szujski, those features led to the defeat of Poland¹⁷.

The facts supporting the demoralization of society of the First Polish Republic were perceived and evaluated in a more gentle way by the representatives of the Warsaw School, including i.a. Władysław Smoleński and Tadeusz Korzon. Aleksander Świętochowski, the leader of positivism in Warsaw, who shared similar opinions, in the programs of organic work and the work at grass roots

¹² W. Wrzesiński, *Polska mitologia polityczna XIX i XX wieku [The Polish political mythology of the 19th century and the 20th century]*, in: *Polskie mity polityczne XIX i XX wieku [The Polish political myths of the 19th century and the 20th century]*, Vol. 9, ed. W. Wrzesiński, Wrocław 1994, p. 7.

¹³ M. Janion, *Polski korowód [A Polish procession]*, in: *Mity i stereotypy w dziejach Polski [Myths and stereotypes in the history of Poland]*, ed. J. Tazbir, Warszawa 1991, p. 188; W. Wrzesiński, *Polska...*, p. 8.

¹⁴ P. Augustyniak, *Polacy, obudźcie się. Z Wyspiańskim [Poles, wake up. With Wyspiański]*, „Gazeta Wyborcza”, November 25–26, 2017.

¹⁵ J. Ochorowicz, *O polskim charakterze narodowym [On the Polish national character]*, Lublin 1986, p. 28.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 28, 31–32.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 28–29.

developed by his environment, intended to rebuild Polish society in terms of its national character¹⁸.

In contrast, the supporters of the messianic vocation of the Polish nation from the turn of the 19th to the 20th century, who referred to the tradition of the Polish Romanticism, such as Stanisław Szczepanowski and Wincenty Lutosławski, declared that *the Polish nation has a set of features that make it aspire to play the leading role in Europe. They claimed that such features as the will to act, heroism, a love of freedom, democracy, tolerance, an advantage of feelings over reason, create a unique and deep internal character of the Poles which is manifested in the spirit of a nation*¹⁹. The spirit was supposed to help Poland regain independence through internal changes of Poles. It was the opinion held by Zygmunt Krasiński earlier in the Romanticism when he claimed that *there is some extraordinary feature in Poland's spirituality, which, if conditions are favorable, will revive not only Poland, but the whole Europe*²⁰.

The works written by Julian Ochorowicz (1850–1917), a leading ideologist of positivism next to A. Świętochowski, a philosopher, a psychologist, a writer and an inventor, were important in the discussion on the national character of Poles conducted at that time²¹. It should be noted that the texts displaying the reflections of J. Ochorowicz on the Polish national character were collected and published – with an excellent introduction presenting the life and work of their author – Leszek Gawor²².

J. Ochorowicz in his work entitled *Pierwiastki charakteru narodowego (The elements of national character)* (Warsaw 1907) considered and compared the history of Central Slav tribes, precursors of i.a. the future Polish nation²³. The main factors shaping character traits of the Slavs were seen in the determinism of the conditions of geographical environment – the influence of the environment on individual and collective human psyche²⁴. This stance was similar to the romantic historiosophy and its belief about *the archetype of the beginning* – the era of an original state of the nation that shaped its national nature²⁵. J. Ochorowicz also believed that the attitude of Poles regarding power stemmed from the pre-slavic times. It was supposed to be the result of the mental remains functioning in the Slavs which had been shaped in the times of *the original Slavdom*²⁶. While looking for the grounds of the weakness of centralized power of the Slavs, he also paid

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 30.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 31.

²⁰ M. Król, *Matka Boska bić się za nas nie będzie [The Mother of God will not fight for us]*, „Gazeta Wyborcza”, July 22–23, 2017, p. 18.

²¹ J. Ochorowicz, *O polskim...*, p. 5.

²² Ibid., p. 5–33.

²³ Ibid., p. 59–80.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 23–24, 39–45.

²⁵ K. Grzybowski, *Ojczyzna...*, p. 144.

²⁶ J. Ochorowicz, *O polskim...*, p. 49–57.

attention to the fact that the Slavs did not respect law as much as the Germans and Anglo-Saxons.

The reflections of J. Ochorowicz on the Polish individualism which he referred to as *osobnictwo (individualism)* were important, even fundamental to the entire collection of considerations²⁷. The author based them on the theses and content of the work by Julian Kaliszewski entitled *Moi kochani rodacy (My beloved compatriots)* (Warszawa 1888). Moreover, when referring to the judgments and findings established by Karol Libelt and W. Lutosławski, he stated that Poles had no *drive to unite and to pursue one common goal*²⁸. The Polish *osobnictwo (individualism)* and equality understood in a specific manner which, according to J. Ochorowicz, was derived from the Slavic times when in his opinion only paternal or family power was recognized, determined the lack of spiritual communication, which united the nation into one homogenous unity, i.e. a national community²⁹. This highly unfavorable to the Polish statehood state of affairs was to be broadened as a result of a lack of solidarity and social brotherhood of Poles who are able to overcome their passivity manifested on a daily basis and – in exceptional moments and circumstances – demonstrate their ability to perform heroic deeds. At the end of all of those not too optimistic considerations presented above, J. Ochorowicz expressed the hope that he and his Polish contemporaries were assisting *an attempt undertaken instinctively on a large scale by the nation to get one common spirit*³⁰, i.e. to overcome and liberate from the centuries-old *osobnictwo (individualism)*, and to mature as one whole nation.

In a similar way Stanisław Wyspiański in his work *Wesele (The Wedding)* (1901) assessed the state of awareness of the Polish people, in which *the fantasies of being chosen, and unfair persecution cover the truth about Polish inability to act in a constructive and consistent way*³¹.

J. Ochorowicz dedicated a separate text from 1876 to the issue of *recklessness (nieopatrzność)* as one of the Polish national character flaws. According to the author, a precursor of Polish psychology, this concept includes a lot of other national flaws he had recognized, such as i.a. a lack of regularity and work planning, no saving skills and advantage of imitation over independent entrepreneurship. The essence of his considerations on this subject was expressed in the following, informative statement: *Let us be wise at least after the event; in failures and social failures, let us first seek our own guilt, which is recklessness; let us learn from our own history in its naked truth; let us eradicate the flaws*

²⁷ Ibid., p. 59–80.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 62–63.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 24, 59–80.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 78–79.

³¹ P. Augustyniak, *Polacy...*

*which take away our strength, let us gain virtues, the past of which teaches us, and which reward the future*³².

The book published in the last year of the life of J. Ochorowicz entitled *Psychologia, pedagogika, etyka. Przyczynki do usiłowań naszego odrodzenia narodowego (Psychology, pedagogy, ethics. Contributions to the attempts of our national revival)* (Warszawa, 1917) included a dissertation under an unambiguous title: *Mówienie na wiatr (Speaking idly)*. The text begins with a sentence: *No other country speaks so idly as ours*³³. According to J. Ochorowicz, this character flaw rooted in the human psycho of the Polish people determined the following flaws such as: unreliability, unpunctuality and disrespect for time, a small sense of duty and inaccuracy at work³⁴.

The aim of Julian Ochorowicz, like other Polish intellectuals writing about the national character of Poles, who in particular stressed their character flaws, was not only to name and describe them, and explain their genesis, but primarily, to eradicate them. Presenting those negative features and making people aware of them – as L. Gawor stated in the introduction to the texts by Ochorowicz – were meant *to shake Poles, and put them on the road of virtue*³⁵. J. Ochorowicz called for overcoming them by intensifying the educational actions in society. He called this task a national duty and a condition for Poles to fight for independence. Not limiting only to registering and describing national flaws, J. Ochorowicz formulated theoretical bases that could possibly help to overcome them. His recommendations and practical advice were included in the dissertation of 1873 entitled *O kształtowaniu własnego charakteru (On shaping your own character)*³⁶. The initial thesis of this erudite and very modern substantive dissertation at that time was included in the following statement: *If you want to educate yourself, first of all you must know yourself*³⁷. In his opinion, we should commence any necessary reforms regarding upbringing the nation *from ourselves* – each father, each mother and each teacher. That is why, the first task of education included in his pedagogical indications *was to train a moral character, which is demonstrated in three elements: in an aesthetic feeling, in the sense of one's own dignity and in a moral sense*³⁸. In a number of advice on the ways of improving the moral character of human beings, he associated the social dimension of morality with a national issue. He formulated an educational program of work in positivism by pointing the desired values. J. Ochorowicz finished his dissertation in a very significant way – with the statement that *self-improvement*,

³² J. Ochorowicz, *O polskim...*, p. 91–92.

³³ Ibid., p. 97.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 97–123.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 25.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 125–166.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 133.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 26, 144–165.

*while shaping your own character, is hard and long – but it is our national duty, as: individuals reflect the nation*³⁹.

A feature of the literature analyzed herein was the confrontation of the national character of Poles with other nations and in terms of the works by J. Ochorowicz, with Germans. In turn, Kazimierz Tymieniecki compared the national features of Poles and Russians. All those authors who wrote about this topic, including Tymieniecki, presented a common view about national characters shaped throughout the history. The historian from Poznań quoted previously, as positive features of the Polish people mentioned, i.a. a love of freedom, spontaneous self-organization and self-government, which stemmed from the tradition of local – noble – government⁴⁰. However, while referring to Paris lectures in the Slavic literature of Adam Mickiewicz, he included the poet's quotations about *our national lightness, curiosity, laziness and gluttony*⁴¹, and added *the Polish passion for fun*⁴². However, while concluding his statements, K. Tymieniecki, similarly as earlier J. Ochorowicz, was optimistic and claimed that our nation is *on its way to achieve a more perfect type of a citizen who, attached to freedom, maintains social discipline, and demonstrates the ability to undertake initiative, and has the power to persevere and endure*⁴³.

One more common feature of the literature analyzed herein is the statements regarding the attitude to work and the economic condition of Poles. A lot of weaknesses were noticed in the area of individual and communal life. Władysław Grabski, a leading politician and an economist of the inter-war period, similarly as other intellectuals quoted before, claimed that the deficiencies of Polish economic disposition stemmed from our history. In this context, as significant reasons for the state of affairs he had diagnosed he listed: a number of manifestations of economic weakness, inability to work, idleness and negligence of Polish peasants⁴⁴. In his book *Idea Polski (The idea of Poland)* he wrote: *Poland's biggest field of enlargement will be open when we manage to improve and increase the ability of economic and cultural life of every Pole*⁴⁵. Therefore, W. Grabski as one of the first claimed that the entire process of upbringing and education should aim to prepare society for economic life. He attributed a special role in this matter to the system of education of independent Poland. Schools were to promote economic virtues and to shape among the pupils not only the mentality of a consumer, but also of a manufacturer able *to fight in the economic field*⁴⁶. W. Grabski assigned

³⁹ Ibid., p. 26, 165.

⁴⁰ K. Tymieniecki, *Cechy...*, p. 8–9, 20.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 32–33.

⁴² Ibid., p. 33.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ W. Grabski, *O własnych siłach. Zbiór artykułów na czasie [On their own. A collection of up-to-date articles]*, Warszawa 1926, p. 51–52.

⁴⁵ Idem, *Idea Polski [The idea of Poland]*, Warszawa 1935, p. 179, 180.

⁴⁶ Idem, *O własnych siłach...*, p. 94.

an important role to higher education, which, as he claimed, required reforms in order to adapt to promoting the economic spirit in society and managing economic creativity.

K. Tymieniecki, a professor at Poznań University quoted before, believed that a lack of social discipline and perseverance typical for Poles was a result of the fact that our society had not gone through the stage of the Enlightenment absolutism, which in Western societies encouraged discipline⁴⁷.

W. Grabski, quoted before, similarly as Roman Dmowski, the leader of the Polish national camp, considered a shortage of townsmen in our past as the factor that determined the low culture of work of our nation. In the Middle Ages, we did not have *strong guilds, which were based on a local element*, and later, as Grabski wrote, we had no larger, indivisible crofts for peasants. We did not have *those middle classes, proud of their ability to work, who strongly contributed in the West to the creation of democracy, and did not consider work as humiliating or degrading*⁴⁸. The period of national slavery was widely recognized as the factor that negatively affected the Polish national character and provoked social inertia. It was widely believed, also Grabski held this opinion, that the period which lasted for more than a century when the Polish nation did not have their own country did not foster the liberation of social initiative in various areas of life, including economic one⁴⁹.

The factors which led to the situation that *we are not awarded with an honourable place in the race of work and economic culture of different nations* were seen in the flaws of the so called Polish national character⁵⁰. That is why many Polish politicians, moralists and educators advocated recognizing national flaws in a thorough manner and conducting intensive re-educational activities. Philosophers, politicians and teachers mentioned in the set of our flaws such features as i.a. lawlessness, absence of proper order and discipline in the organization of community life, no regularity, individualism, tendencies towards illusions, laziness, inability to think and a lack of perseverance⁵¹. The ideals of a Pole formulated at that time were combined with such features as diligence. The concept

⁴⁷ K. Tymieniecki, *Cechy moralne narodu jako wynik historii [Moral qualities of a nation as a result of its history]*, Poznań 1926, p. 10, 29.

⁴⁸ W. Grabski, *Wychowanie gospodarcze społeczeństwa [Economic education of society]*, Warszawa 1929, p. 22.

⁴⁹ J. Sobczak, *Postulaty i próby podniesienia kultury pracy w Polsce okresu międzywojennego [Demands and attempts to increase the work culture in Poland in the interwar period]*, „Studia Pedagogiczne. Zeszyty Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Bydgoszczy”, Vol. 8. *Wybrane problemy pedagogiki pracy [Selected problems of work pedagogy]*, ed. Z. Wiatrowski, Bydgoszcz 1982, p. 123.

⁵⁰ W. Grabski, *Wychowanie gospodarcze...*, p. 18.

⁵¹ L. Zarzecki, *Charakter i wychowanie [Personality and upbringing]*, Warszawa 1921, p. 144; I. Panenkowa, *Myśli o wychowaniu narodowym [Thoughts about national upbringing]*, Lwów 1918; Fr. J. Woroniecki, *Wstęp do nauki o charakterze polskim. Cykl wykładów z zagadnień wychowania narodowego [An introduction to learning about the Polish personality. A series of lectures on issues of national education]*, ed. J. Saloni, Lwów 1918, p. 64–65.

of the economic upbringing of society was developed as well. It was supposed to contribute to satisfy the frequently repeated demands regarding increasing the work culture in Poland. At the same time, it was highlighted that education should be universally recognized as *the main demand of public actions undertaken in the name of Poland*⁵². In fact, the greatest success of the Second Polish Republic included the educational *integration of Poland from three partitions and the upbringing of a generation of patriots, who was entirely committed and devoted to Poland*⁵³. I reckon that the politicians, especially those operating in the period of the Second Polish Republic, both from the national camp and the sanation, should take credit as well for that. Their educational ideologies – both of national and state education – included overcoming national character flaws. It was also the aim of the great educational campaigns conducted by them: the National Democratic Party – creation of a nation, and sanation – shaping the pro-state attitudes of young Poles⁵⁴.

While analyzing the Polish literature from the turn of the 19th century to the 20th century concerning the national character of Poles, apart from distinct stances on this matter presented by various historiosophical schools, as it was indicated herein, a collection of common opinions on a number of the authors quoted above might be noted. It should be also highlighted that the diagnoses of the national character of Poles formulated at that time, most often unfavorable, was aimed at inspiring the desired and expected educational mission in this field. The path towards eradicating those national defects was supposed to lead from self-discovery to individual and social (collective) improvement. After many years, in the revolutionary period for Poles in 1981, Kazimierz Dąbrowski, an outstanding Polish psychiatrist, and the author of a famous concept of *positive disintegration*, similarly to the Polish philosophers and politicians of the period studied herein, outlined negative and positive character qualities of the Polish people. The negative features included: excessive moodiness and *flash in the pan*, recklessness and superficiality, self-interest and lawlessness, tolerance of impunity, cult of incompetence and egocentrism. On the other hand, in his point of view the positive qualities of the Polish character are: courage and heroism, gentleness, humanity, hospitality, as well as a sense of independence, freedom and individuality⁵⁵. It seems that the opinions and observations cited herein regarding the Polish national character which go back one hundred years have not only a historical and

⁵² W. Grabski, *Wychowanie gospodarcze...*, p. 55.

⁵³ A. D. Rotfeld, *Polska została przeorana za głęboko [Poland has been plowed too deep]*, „Gazeta Wyborcza”, May 12–13, 2018, p. 29.

⁵⁴ K. Jakubiak, *Wychowanie państwowe jako ideologia wychowawcza sanacji [State education as an educational ideology of sanation]*, Bydgoszcz 1998.

⁵⁵ T. Kobierzycki, *Pojęcie charakteru narodowego i problem człowieczeństwa w koncepcji Kazimierza Dąbrowskiego [The concept of national character and humanity by Kazimierz Dąbrowski]*, Internet, (access: 6.07.2018), available at: <https://dezintegracja.pl/pojecie-charakteru-narodowego-i-problem-czlowieczentwa-w-koncepcji-kazimierza-dabrowskiego-pl/>

documentary value, but can also inspire Poles who live at present to pause and reflect on changing themselves and their own national identity.

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A historiographical, historiosophical, and pedagogical discourse on the national character of Poles from the turn of the 19th century to the 20th century
Summary

Issues of the mentality and properties of national character have been topical in the literature, mainly in the historical and political journalism of modern times. An important feature of the Polish historiography and historiosophy of the 19th century and the early 20th century was the discussion about the Polish national character. The diagnoses of the national character of Poles formulated at that time, most often unfavorable, were aimed at inspiring the desired and expected educational mission in this field. The path towards eradicating those national defects was supposed to lead from self-discovery to individual and social (collective) improvement.

Keywords: national character, Polish nation, national spirit, myth, national features and flaws of Poles, economic education.

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GERMAN EDUCATION IN ŁÓDŹ BEFORE 1914 – THE ORGANIZATION, STRUCTURE, AND THE DIRECTIONS OF DEVELOPMENT¹

Representatives of many nations arriving and settling down in Łódź – which in 1820 upon the decree of the authorities of the Kingdom of Poland was designated for the textile settlement² – created their own living space. Within this space, different cultures, languages, customs and rituals met. An important factor supporting the group bond and ethnic awareness was also religious life, focusing on its own religious community, the church and the parish.

Among newcomers – linen and cotton weavers, settling in Łódź from 1823 until the 1950's – there was a high predominance of people from German countries: Saxony, Prussia and Silesia, and from Wielkopolska and the region of the Noteć river, which were at that time part of the Prussian partition, as well as from the Czech lands and Moravia³. Those arriving from Germany belonged to

¹ The aim of this article is to synthesize the issue discussed herein, organize knowledge about the German education in Łódź until the outbreak of World War I, and to present wide historiography on that matter.

² Józef Zajączek, governor of the Polish Kingdom, issued a decision regarding the plan for industrialization of the Polish land, and Rajmund Rembieliński, president of the Commission of the Mazowieckie Voivodeship, after visiting the city, requested the Governmental Commission of Internal Affairs and Police to allow a factory settlement in Łódź. At that time, it became an important issue to recruit professional textile workers who were encouraged to settle down in Łódź and offered incentives and privileges, reliefs and financial aid. More information, see: G. Missalowa, *Studia nad powstaniem łódzkiego okręgu przemysłowego 1815–1870, t. 1, Przemysł [Studies on the establishment of the industrial district in Łódź 1815–1870, Vol. 1, Industry]*, Łódź, Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 1964, p. 88–95.

³ K. Woźniak, *Wstęp [Introduction]*, in: *Gdzie są Niemcy z tamtych lat? – wspomnienia łódzkich Niemców [Where are the Germans from those years? – the memories of Germans from Łódź]*, Łódź, Wydawnictwo Literatura 1999, p. 9; *Niemieccy osadnicy w Królestwie Polskim 1815–1915 [German settlers in the Kingdom of Poland 1815–1915]*, ed. W. Caban, Kielce, WSP, 1999, p. 31; T. Stegner, *Polacy-ewangelicy w Królestwie Polskim 1815–1914. Kształtowanie się środowisk, ich działalność społeczna i narodowa [Poles–Protestants in the Kingdom of Poland 1815–1914. Formation of environments, their social and national activities]*, Gdańsk,

a large extent to the Evangelical-Augsburg Church, while the Catholics came mainly from the Czech lands or Germany. Thanks to the protective policy run by the Kingdom authorities, they found favorable conditions in Łódź to multiply the capital they had brought in, to built factories, launch textile production or for professional development⁴, while having at the same time influence on the functioning of the city in many areas such as: economic, social, cultural, educational and religious⁵. It should be noted that economic privileges and possibilities to create social and cultural organizations and institutions supporting integration among the group in the city were aimed at tightening the ties between the newcomers and their new place of residence⁶.

Immigration and the accompanying economic development of Łódź, which from a little insignificant town was then promoted to the second largest (after Warsaw) urban center in Poland, implied great changes in the demographic and social structure. From 1820 to 1914, the number of inhabitants increased more

Wydawnictwo UG, 1992, p. 18. The first settlers who contributed to the development of the city were i.a. K. F. Wendisch, K. Saenger, J. T. Lange, L. Geyer, T. Kopisch. In subsequent years i.a. K. Scheibler (the second stage of the development of cotton industry in Łódź should be related to this person, K. G. Steinert, E. Wicke, L. Meyer, J. Heinzel, K. Wuttke, A. Starke, J. Gampe, J. Richter, E. Kindermann, F. Ende, F. W. Schweikert came to the city. See: W. Puś, K. Badziak, *Gospodarka Łodzi w okresie kapitalistycznym (do 1918 r.)* [*The economy of Łódź in the capitalist period (until 1918)*], in: *Łódź. Dzieje miasta, t. 1: Do 1918 r.* [*Łódź. The history of the city, Vol. 1: Until 1918*], ed. R. Rosin, Warszawa-Łódź, PWN, 1980, p. 221–333; M. Łapa, *Wielokulturowa Łódź – współistnienie i współpraca 1820–1945* [*Multicultural Łódź – coexistence and cooperation 1820–1945*], in: *Serce Łodzi. Historia i współczesność* [*The heart of Łódź. Its history and modern times*], ed. P. Machlański, Łódź, Narodowe Centrum Kultury, 2014, p. 47–48.

⁴ It should be noted that for several decades German and Polish historians have had a debate about the role of Germans in the process of transforming Łódź – from the 1870's – into a large textile center (Jewish historians reported their remarks as well, however, on a lesser scale). The dispute on the role of individual nations in the development of the city, and in particular the process of industrialization, resulted, i.a. in exaggerating the numbers of particular nationalities. More: K. Woźniak, *Spory o genezę Łodzi przemysłowej w pracach historycznych autorów polskich, niemieckich i żydowskich* [*Disputes over the origin of industrial Łódź in the historical works of Polish, German and Jewish authors*], in: *Polacy – Niemcy – Żydzi w Łodzi w XIX–XX w. Sąsiedzi dalecy i bliscy* [*Poles – Germany – Jews in Łódź in the 19th and the 20th centuries. Distant and close neighbours*], ed. P. Samuś, Łódź, Wydawnictwo Ibidem, 1997, p. 9–26; K. P. Woźniak, *Uwagi nad relacjami między społecznością polską a mniejszością niemiecką w Łodzi w latach 1918–1945. Stan i perspektywy badań. Egzemplifikacje* [*Comments on the relations between the Polish community and the German minority in Łódź between 1918–1945. The research status and perspectives. Exemplifications*], „Studia z Historii Społeczno-Gospodarczej XIX i XX wieku” 2003, No. 1, p. 192–212.

⁵ S. Pytlaś, *Rola poszczególnych grup narodowościowych w rozwoju gospodarczym miasta* [*The role of individual national groups in the economic development of the city*], in: *Wpływ wielonarodowego dziedzictwa kulturowego na współczesne oblicze miasta* [*The influence of multinational cultural heritage on the contemporary face of the city*], ed. M. Koter, M. Kulesza, W. Puś, S. Pytlaś, Łódź, Wydawnictwo UŁ, 2005, p. 40–76; K. Woźniak, *Miastotwórcza rola łódzkich ewangelików w latach 1820–1939* [*The city-forming role of Evangelists from Łódź between 1820–1939*], in: *Przeszłość przyszłości. Z dziejów luteranizmu w Łodzi i regionie* [*The past for the future. From the history of Lutheranism in Łódź and its region*], ed. B. Milerski, K. Woźniak, Łódź, Wydawnictwo Ewangelickie św. Mateusza, 1998, p. 83–116.

⁶ K. P. Woźniak, *Aktywność społeczna (do 1918 r.)* [*Social activity (until 1918)*], in: *Niemcy łódzcy. Die Lodzer Deutschen* [*Łódź Germans. Die Lodzer Deutschen*], ed. A. Machejek, Łódź, Wydawnictwo Hamal, Andrzej Machejek, 2006, p. 35.

than 623 times – from 767 people to 477,862⁷. The city became a national and religious conglomeration with the Polish, German, Jewish, and Russian population, and representatives of other nations such as: Czechs, Austrians, Frenchmen, Russians and Belarussians⁸. Until 1914, the social tissue was co-created by the population of several beliefs: Catholic (Roman Catholics, Mariavites), Protestant (Lutherans, Calvinists, Baptists, the Moravian Church, the Unity of the Brethren, Adventists), Orthodox and non-Christian confessions (Jews and Muslims)⁹. Among the Protestant population in Łódź, Augsburg Evangelicals (Lutherans) had a dominant position¹⁰. It should be added that the period of special city development in terms of its demography fell in the last years before the outbreak of World War I. In a five-year period between 1908–1913, the population increased by 165,000 residents, including 118,000 of migrant origin. Those people who were coming to the city were mainly Poles, but also Jews escaping from villages and towns seeking employment.

Without doubt, Łódź was the largest concentration of Germans in the Kingdom of Poland, which gave them a privileged position in the city, and – as Alina Barszewska-Krupa and Paweł Samuś believe – resulted from the economic superiority of the large and medium sized industrial bourgeoisie composed

⁷ J. Janczak, *Ludność Łodzi przemysłowej 1820–1914 [The population of industrial Łódź 1820–1914]*, Łódź, Wydawnictwo UŁ, 1982, p. 38–40; See also: W. Puś, *Warunki i czynniki rozwoju Łodzi (1820–1939) [The conditions and developing factors of Łódź (1820–1939)]*, in: *Dzieje Żydów w Łodzi 1820–1944. Wybrane problemy [The history of Jews in Łódź 1820–1944. Selected problems]*, ed. W. Puś, S. Liszewski, Łódź, Wydawnictwo UŁ, 1991, p. 16; A. Ginsbert, *Łódź. Studium monograficzne [Łódź. A monographic study]*, Łódź, Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 1962, p. 25.

⁸ W. Puś, *Zmiany liczebności i struktury narodowościowej ludności Łodzi do roku 1939 [Changes in the number and the ethnic structure of the population of Łódź until 1939]*, in: *Wpływ wielonarodowego...*, p. 17. On nationalities and religions in Łódź: A. Gałęcki, B. Natorka, Z. Onufrzak, A. Różańska, S. Wojtkowiak, *Łódź wielonarodowa i wielowyznaniowa a idea tolerancji [Multinational and multi-faith Łódź and the idea of tolerance]*, Łódź, Fundacja Ekumeniczna „Tolerancja”, 1997.

⁹ K. Badziak, K. Chylak, M. Łapa, *Łódź wielowyznaniowa. Dzieje wspólnot religijnych do 1914 roku [Multi-faith Łódź. The history of religious communities until 1914]*, Łódź, Wydawnictwo UŁ, 2014, p. 41; Idem., *Chrześcijańskie wspólnoty wyznaniowe (bez Kościoła rzymskokatolickiego) w Łodzi do wybuchu I wojny światowej [Christian religious communities (excluding the Roman Catholic Church) in Łódź until the outbreak of World War I]*, in: *Rola wspólnot wyznaniowych w historii miasta Łodzi [The role of religious communities in the history of Łódź]*, ed. M. Kulesza, M. Łapa, J. Walicki, Łódź, Wydawnictwo Ibidem, 2010, p. 47–49.

¹⁰ At the end of the 1820's, the Lutherans constituted almost a third of the population, while Catholics – 58%, in the second half of the 1930's – about 41–45%, while Catholics 42–47%, and at the beginning of the 1940's the Lutherans outnumbered Catholics. The majority of the Evangelic population who settled down in Łódź included: weavers, clothmakers, textile workers, and journeymen. Until the end of the 1880's, there was a slight prevalence of Evangelicals among permanent and temporary residents (in 1870, Catholics – 38.7%, Protestants – 39.2%, in 1885 – 38.2%). In 1895 there were already 42% Catholics, 39.6% Protestants, and 25.5% Jews. Before the outbreak of World War I, 122,900 Lutherans had lived in Łódź and its surroundings. In absolute figures, although the number of Protestants was increasing, but the percentage relation between Protestants and Catholics gave an advantage to Catholics (1909 – 50.9% and 25.8%, 1914 – 50.7% and 25.7%). J. Janczak, *Ludność Łodzi...*, p. 39–40, 108–109.

mainly of people of German origin¹¹. In 1842, when the number of Łódź inhabitants oscillated around 20,000, Germans constituted almost two thirds of the total population. At the beginning of the 1860's, the percentage of Germans among the permanent city population was about 62%, while till the middle of 1880's, it ranged between 40–44% and, according to Krzysztof Paweł Woźniak, it was a period of clear social German dominance in various areas of life, even to the point that some factions of the Jewish, Czech and Polish population were in favour of this nation¹². In subsequent years, when among Germans living in Łódź, the processes of assimilation intensified and the inflow of new inhabitants with a German background subsided, the proportion of this nation in the total number of permanent residents of Łódź decreased, and in 1914 amounted to 32.7%. The Germans continued to shape the social, economic and cultural life of the city.

Education was such an element of culture that made it possible to cultivate and preserve mother tongue, tradition, customs, and thus, the national identity. Those were the objectives of the efforts made the German community to organize and develop their own schools in Łódź. German educational institutions, as it was noted by Krystyna Radziszewska, were an inseparable part of the cultural landscape of Łódź at that time¹³. By educating children and youth in their native language, Germans wanted to cultivate their national tradition in an obvious way, while the school itself, apart from its educational and upbringing role, was supposed to be an opportunity to maintain a sense of belonging to their own ethnic group and their religion. It is worth noting that apart from establishing the parish and constructing the church, founding the school was a fundamental element of the process of settling down and at the same time, an aspiration of the Protestants coming to the Kingdom of Poland¹⁴. The purpose

¹¹ A. Barszczewska-Krupa, P. Samuś, *Życie polityczno-społeczne. Między powstaniem a rewolucją (1865–1904) [Political and social life. Between the uprising and the revolution (1865–1904)]*, in: *Łódź. Dzieje...*, p. 399–400. The differences of particular ethnic groups were also evident in the class-layer division where cultural patterns were formed. At the turn of the 19th century to the 20th century, the bourgeoisie brought together 4–7% of the total population of Łódź (with the domination of Germans and Jews), the most numerous were workers (65–70%, with a predominantly Polish population), the petit bourgeoisie (lower middle class) constituted 15–20% (with the majority of Jews), the intelligentsia – 5 to 10% (according to the estimates by S. Pytlaś: 2–3%). S. Pytlaś, *Struktura społeczności łódzkiej w XIX i XX wieku (do 1939) [The structure of the community in Łódź in the 19th century and 20th centuries (until 1939)]*, in: *Rola nauczycieli łódzkich w tworzeniu dziedzictwa kulturowego Łodzi [The role of teachers from Łódź in creating the cultural heritage of Łódź]*, ed. S. Gała, Łódź, Łódzkie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1998, p. 19; W. Puś, *Zmiany liczebności...*, p. 34.

¹² K. Woźniak, *Wstęp [Introduction]*, p. 10. The Polish population share ranged from 21% in 1862 to over 34% in 1865, while Jews increased their share in the total number of residents of Łódź from over 16% to over 21%, respectively. Until World War I, these proportions had changed in favor of the Polish and Jewish population. The prevalence of German over Polish residents among the permanent inhabitants was stable until 1909. J. Janczak, *Ludność Łodzi...*, p. 121, Table 21; p. 127, Table 23.

¹³ *Niemieckimi śladami po „Ziemi obiecanej” [Following the German traces on the promised land]*, ed. K. Radziszewska, Łódź, Wydawnictwo Literatura, 2001, p. 94.

¹⁴ E. Podgórska, *Rozwój szkół elementarnych w miastach przemysłowych okręgu łódzkiego (1808–1830) [The development of elementary schools in industrial cities in the region of Łódź (1808–1830)]*, „Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy” 1960, No. 4, p. 30–31.

of the government, administration and educational authorities of the 1820's was to assimilate immigrants and force them to learn the Polish language¹⁵, whereas the followers of Martin Luther, in line with the instructions to study the Bible on their own, had to learn literacy¹⁶.

Education in Łódź in the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, similarly as other areas of social life in the city, depended on economic conditions and demographic processes, but above all, was determined by political, legal and administrative decisions adopted by the authorities of the Kingdom of Poland. As far as the of education in Łódź is concerned, including German education which is the subject of this outline, the following phases can be distinguished¹⁷:

1. The initial period (the period between 1820–1830) – the time when the population of German origin settled down in Łódź and the school facilities for their children were established. Thanks to their own efforts and friendly policy of the authorities, the Protestants were able to pursue religious and moral education of the youngest. In fact, the method and the content of education depended on general regulations, the elementary education applied in the Kingdom of Poland at that time responded to the educational expectations of this community. Establishing the first Evangelical parish in Łódź in 1826, the parish of the Holy Trinity, was conducive to life stabilization of German immigrants.

2. The first stage (the period between the uprisings in 1831 and 1863) – the system of education was under the direct control of the educational authorities in

¹⁵ E. Podgórska, *Szkolnictwo elementarne w Łodzi w latach 1808–1914 [Elementary education in Łódź between 1808–1914]*, Łódź, Łódzkie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1966, p. 20; A. Winiarz, *Szkolnictwo Księstwa Warszawskiego i Królestwa Polskiego (1807–1831) [Education in the Duchy of Warsaw and the Kingdom of Poland (1807–1831)]*, Lublin 2002, p. 135.

¹⁶ Lutheranism distinguished two types of upbringing: serving the Gospel (preaching, pastoral and teaching activities), and secular/public service (upbringing through school education). An important element of education was literacy. B. Milerski, *Religia a szkoła. Status edukacji religijnej w szkole w ujęciu ewangelickim [Religion and school. The status of religious education at school from the evangelical point of view]*, Warszawa, Chrześcijańska Akademia Teologiczna, 1998, p. 137–138.

¹⁷ H. Czembor, *Dzieje parafii luterskich w Łodzi do 1939 r. [The history of Lutheran parishes in Łódź until 1939]*, in: *Przeszłość przyszłości...*, p. 46–56; K. Radziszewska, K. Woźniak, *Pod jednym dachem. Niemcy oraz ich polscy i żydowscy sąsiedzi w Łodzi w XIX i XX wieku [Under one roof. Germans, and their Polish and Jewish neighbours in Łódź in the 19th and 20th centuries]*, Łódź, Wydawnictwo Literatura, 2000, p. 9–35; K. P. Woźniak, *Aktywność społeczna...*, p. 35–43; E. Podgórska, *Rozwój oświaty w Łodzi do 1918 r. [Development of education in Łódź until 1918]*, Łódź, Prezydium Łódzkiego Komitetu Frontu Jedności Narodu Uniwersytet Łódzki, 1973, p. 5–37; H. Krajewska, *Protestanci w Łodzi 1815–1914. Między edukacją a ewangelizacją [Protestants in Łódź 1815–1914. Between education and evangelization]*, Warszawa, Oficyna Wydawnicza ASPRA, 2014, p. 280–317; D. Sztobryn, A. Kozłowski, *Szkolnictwo niemieckie w Łodzi [German education in Łódź]*, in: *Niemcy w dziejach Łodzi do 1945 roku [Germans in the history of Łódź until 1945]*, ed. K. A. Kuczyński, B. Ratecka, Łódź, Wydawnictwo UŁ, 2001, p. 77–85; *Walka caratu ze szkołą polską w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1831–1870. Materiały źródłowe [The struggle of the tsar with the Polish school in the Kingdom of Poland between 1831–1870. Source materials]*, ed. K. Poznański, Warszawa, WSPS im. M. Grzegorzewskiej, 1993, p. 36; P. Kędzia, *Szkolnictwo elementarne miasta Łodzi w dobie zaboru rosyjskiego. Analiza i refleksja na przykładzie łódzkich periodyków [Elementary education in Łódź in the era of the Russian partition. An analysis and reflection on the example of Łódź periodicals]*, in: *Czasopiśmiennictwo XIX i początków XX wieku jako źródło do historii edukacji [The periodicals of the 19th and the early 20th century as a source of the history of education]*, ed. J. Michalska and G. Michalski, Łódź, Wydawnictwo UŁ, 2010, p. 27–39.

St. Petersburg, and had a religious and national character. According to E. Podgórska, it was aimed at maintaining the national distinctiveness of the German people¹⁸. The policy of the partitioning powers allowed to continue implementing the concept of religious and moral education of the young generation. Religious education at school made evangelization possible, and the cooperation between church and school provided education according to the principles of the Protestant religion. The institutions educating the German children in Łódź were developing further, though, moderately.

3. The second stage (the period between 1863 and 1905) – upon the ukase dated 1864 issued by the tsar, a new educational organization was introduced in the Kingdom of Poland, which established 10 the so-called school managements, under the direction of the Russian officials. The religious nature of elementary schools was abandoned for the benefit of joint education of students of different nationalities¹⁹. It was the intention of the tsarist government to involve the students into the process of stronger russification. The tsar's ukaz of 1871 introduced to the elementary school curriculum the obligation to learn to read, write and to use the Russian language. Thus, the development of municipal schools and private schools with the German language was ceased. It should be noted that education in Łódź, including initial education, was in a miserable condition at that time. In 1883, there were 16 urban elementary facilities, i.e. supported from the contributions of the residents from Łódź, after more than a decade, in 1900, slightly more – 24²⁰. In 1897, among the general population of Łódź (314,000) at the age of 10 years old or more, only half of it (50.5%) was literate, while the literacy rate, i.e. the ability to read and write, amounted to 59% among the German population and 47% – the Polish and Jewish nation²¹.

4. The third stage (from the revolution 1905–1907 to World War I) – there was a numerical and qualitative development of education in Łódź, including German educational institutions, and institutions with German as the language of instruction. It should be mentioned that along with the aspirations of national liberation, the struggle for education became one of the fronts of the revolution, including – education in the language of a given nation. In October 1905, the tsar issued a decree which stipulated and guaranteed that the native language of particular national groups might be used freely. The actual evidence of the post-revolutionary changes in the educational system in Łódź included i.a. establishing a separate school council (subsequently the school commission) for each national community, even though the issue of dividing primary Christian schools into Polish and German ones, and the issue of school fees

¹⁸ E. Podgórska, *Rozwój oświaty...*, p. 9.

¹⁹ According to the findings presented by Hanna Krajewska, the term “Evangelical elementary school” survived in Łódź only in documents until 1873. Later, the name “the elementary school No. ...” was used instead. The statistics included the Christian (for Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox children) and Jewish schools. H. Krajewska, *Protestanci...*, p. 298.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ The educational skills of women living in Łódź were different – 54% German women were literate, and only 35–36% Polish and Jewish women could read and write. J. K. Janczak, *Struktura narodowościowa Łodzi w latach 1820–1939 [The ethnic structure of Łódź between 1820–1939]*, in: *Dzieje Żydów...*, p. 49.

aroused much controversy among representatives of both nations²². Nevertheless, Germans at that time made independent decisions regarding their own educational institutions. Schools of higher level were established as well. Despite the general situation which encouraged organizing primary education in the city, Łódź with almost 500,000 residents in 1913 had 92 elementary schools, which were attended by 16,221 students, which constituted only 25% of school-age children²³.

In the period studied herein (1823–1914), German education included institutions with a diverse structure and several organizational forms such as: elementary schools (with one or two classes, and different courses of study), middle schools (gymnasiums/junior high schools), schools of vocational profiles (including Sunday craft schools, and craft schools) and teaching seminaries. The largest organizational diversity concerned elementary education: firstly, government and municipal government offices of religious profiles (in this case Evangelical and Catholic), secondly: cantorial schools of a typically religious character which belonged to parish evangelical communities and, thirdly: private schools (including factory schools, philanthropy and social organizations). Some of those mentioned above were co-educational, whereas others were intended only for girls or boys.

In elementary schools in the Kingdom of Poland, great emphasis was placed on teaching religion, which, in addition to writing, reading and counting/doing calculations, was one of the basic skills. The first German elementary school in Łódź was established within the framework of municipal structures in 1826, i.e. three years after the time when the first settlers had arrived in the city²⁴. According to Eugenia Podgórska, it was only a class for children of the colonists, created at a single-branch elementary school operating since 1808. They hired a second teacher – Fryderyk Otto; Karol Mikines was employed next, and was followed by Gottfryd Kirsch²⁵. The school was located in the Old Town on Kościelna Street, next to the wooden building of the municipal council²⁶. According to the findings presented by Dorota Sztobryn and Aleksander Kozłowski, the classes for evangelical children were significantly over-

²² The school commission divided 28 elementary schools existing at that time, allocating 19 schools with 52 branches to Polish children, 9 schools with 19 branches to German children, and 1 institution to Russian children. The representatives of the German minority, whose contributions paid to the local budget for school purposes discharged at the time amounted to 63%, were not satisfied with this decision and demanded establishing next German schools in various parts of the city. The mutual, until then Christian, school fund was divided into a Polish and a German part. D. Sztobryn, A. Kozłowski, *Szkolnictwo niemieckie*..., p. 86.

²³ Out of the school institutions existing at that time, 27 schools were intended for Polish children, 22 – for German, 12 – for Jewish children, and 3 for Russian and Mariavite children. There were also 23 factory schools. E. Podgórska, *Szkolnictwo [Education]*, p. 525.

²⁴ K. Radziszewska, K. Woźniak, *Pod jednym dachem*..., p. 10; *Niemieckimi śladami*..., p. 94.

²⁵ E. Podgórska, *Szkolnictwo elementarne*..., p. 20–21.

²⁶ The school ran two classes: one with Polish as the language of instruction and Catholicism, which was attended by Catholic children – both of Polish and German origin, and the second – with German and Polish as the languages of instruction, and Protestantism. In 1827, after the brick town hall at the New Town Square had been erected, the school was relocated to a wooden building of the municipal council, whereas the class for children of the colonists remained in its former place. H. Krajewska, *Protestanci*..., p. 281.

crowded – one teacher, with the assistance of older students, taught up to 120 children divided into several groups²⁷. A four-year process of elementary education included mastering reading skills, reading the Bible, learning the basics of arithmetic, rewriting the printed text, learning the catechism, biblical stories and a few church hymns. The educational level presented by the school increased when the second teacher was employed and the school supervisor was appointed, i.e. when a social representation taking care of the institution, teachers and students was provided.

After next three years (1829), another school class for children, located in the factory settlement, called *Łódzka* was given to the German community. In the room rented for the Catholic and Evangelical Elementary School, Catholic children – mainly of German speaking Catholics from the Czech Republic and the Austro-Hungarian monarchies – and evangelical children studied together; religion was taught separately²⁸. The curriculum included literacy and counting lessons. At school an attempt was made to cultivate the German language and culture. Polish was taught as well, and since 1838 two hours of Russian were introduced as well. Edward Solms from Berlin, who spoke Polish, German and French, and an auxiliary teacher F. Kaschke were employed as teachers. School supervision was conducted by the representatives of both religions: Rev. Józef Krygier and pastor Fryderyk Metzner²⁹. The institution was supported thanks to school contributions collected from the residents of Łódź, and in 1832 the city started to co-finance the institution. In 1853, 519 students attended the Catholic and Evangelical Elementary School, including 296 Evangelicals, 218 Catholics and 5 Jewish children³⁰. Still, only 2 teachers were working here³¹.

A significant reorganization of the “school network” took place in Łódź in 1834, because as a result of the findings presented by the Russian authorities – on the one hand, and the efforts made by the German community – on the other hand, the previously existing class for evangelical children at the elementary school in the Old Town was transformed into a separate institution, which was called the Evangelical Elementary School³². It was located in a rented flat at 39 Średnia Street, near the New Town Square (currently Plac Wolności), and subsequently, in a private house

²⁷ D. Sztobryn, A. Kozłowski, *Szkolnictwo niemieckie*..., p. 78.

²⁸ K. P. Woźniak, *Aktywność społeczna*..., p. 41–42; D. Sztobryn, *Działalność kulturalno-oświatowa diaspory niemieckiej do 1939 roku [Cultural and educational activity of the German diaspora until 1939]*, Łódź, Wydawnictwo „Dajas”, 1999, p. 94–95.

²⁹ E. Podgórska, *Szkolnictwo elementarne*..., p. 14. In view of the provisions of March 11, 1817, the position of an organizer of primary schools was established. This could be either a secular person or a clergyman. Financial resources for teaching positions were also provided.

³⁰ The schools in Łódź were not divided in terms of religion in a consistent manner. The Catholic school at the New Town Square was also attended by evangelical children, while the evangelical school – by Catholics. Jewish children sometimes attended all schools.

³¹ D. Sztobryn, A. Kozłowski, *Szkolnictwo niemieckie*..., p. 80.

³² H. Krajewska, *Protestanci*..., p. 283; E. Podgórska, *Rozwój oświaty*..., p. 9. According to the findings presented by Dorota Sztobryn and Aleksander Kozłowski, the evangelical elementary school was established in 1829. See: D. Sztobryn, A. Kozłowski, *Szkolnictwo niemieckie*..., p. 78.

on the same street, which belonged to Gottfried Kirsch, an organist and a teacher³³. The School Act of 1833 introduced organizational changes to the elementary education – instead of the previously existing social school supervision, the position of a school superintendant was introduced, i.e. an intermediary between the institution and the administrative authorities. Pastor F. Metzner held this function for 18 years.

It should be emphasized that elementary schools of religious profiles – and in the case of Germans living in Łódź – mostly evangelical, were not run by the Church, but by the city. They were also subject to supervision and control of the central educational authorities in Warsaw. Although they implemented the tenets of Protestantism, the participation of the Evangelical Church in the educational process depended largely on the policy of the tsarist authorities. The expression: evangelical or Catholic informed what religion the children who attend school follow, and who takes care of them: a pastor or a Catholic priest. In this sense, it was a religious school. Evangelical teachers recommended by the consistory or the pastor, who until the middle of 1960's were approved by the educational authorities, were employed there³⁴.

Elementary schools in the Kingdom of Poland were co-educational, however, with time, girls' classes started to be established. At the beginning of the 1840's, only boys were allowed to attend the evangelical institutions in Łódź, while girls of Protestant origin starting from the 1840–1841 school year began to receive education in a newly opened elementary school for girls following various religions. This institution was located in the Old Town, initially in the house belonging to Jakub Kamieński, and later – Karol Reyman, at 37 Zachodnia Street³⁵. Only from 1858 girls between 5 and 11 years old were allowed once again to attend the evangelical school. The educational system was changed thanks to the efforts undertaken by pastor Karol Gustav Manitius, who three years earlier had become the parish priest of the evangelical parish of the Holy Trinity, situated at the church with the same name, next to the New Town Square³⁶. Pastor K. G. Manitius became as well a curator of Protestant elementary schools.

In the 1860's, as a result of constant efforts undertaken by the residents, the total number of state primary schools in Łódź increased. According to the decision of the Government Commission of Religion and Education in 1862, the city had five elementary Catholic schools with 5 teachers and four elementary evangelical schools with the same number of teachers.

³³ E. Podgórska, *Szkolnictwo elementarne...*, p. 35. G. Kirsch was a long-serving teacher at this school – he began working there while it was a branch located in the Old Town.

³⁴ H. Krajewska, *Protestanci...*, p. 292.

³⁵ E. Podgórska, *Szkolnictwo elementarne...*, p. 32–33.

³⁶ H. Czembor, *Dzieje parafii luterańskich...*, p. 50–51. The first classicist Lutheran Holy Trinity Church in Łódź was erected between 1826–1828. In place of this building, a new, spacious Neorenaissance church holding the same name was built in 1889–1891. It was the first stone church building in Łódź. Currently, it is a Roman Catholic Holy Spirit Church at 2/2a Piotrkowska Street. K. Stefański, *Architektura sakralna Łodzi w okresie przemysłowego rozwoju miasta 1821–1914 [The Sacral architecture of Łódź during the industrial development of the city between 1821–1914]*, Łódź, Wydawnictwo UŁ, 1995, p. 22–25, 62–63.

After the fall of the January 1863 Uprising, together with the implementation of the School Act of August 1864 and several executive regulations, head of the School Directorate in Łódź became the direct supervisor and guardian of the elementary schools in Łódź. The position was held by Ernest von Berg³⁷, who appointed civilians recruited among factory owners as auxiliary guardians of such facilities. Thus, the immediate impact of the church on school matters ceased to exist. The representatives of the evangelical clergy were present in the educational authorities only until 1867³⁸. In July 1867, when the Warsaw Scientific District (Pol. Warszawski Okręg Naukowy) was formed, basically only Russians became the curators. Starting from 1880, Juliusz Heinzel (No. 1–5, 10, 13 and 14), Ludwik Meyer (No. 6–9, 11–12) and Henryk Grohman (No. 17) became the guardians of 15 elementary schools in Łódź. According to Eugenia Podgórska, this decision is linked with the increase of confidence and trust of school authorities in the bourgeoisie in Łódź³⁹. The owners of the factories did not want to be outdone – their actions were meant to show a bit of loyalty towards the tsarist policy. A significant example thereof was the situation which took place in 1880, when to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the governing of Tsar Alexander II, one of the schools was renamed to “Alexandrińska”⁴⁰.

A natural consequence of the growing population in the city (1830 – 4,300; 1840 – 18,600; 1867 – 40,700; 1880 – 77,400⁴¹) was an increase in demand for educational institutions. Three schools for German students which operated in the 1830's did not meet the educational needs of this nation. In such circumstances, unofficially – because it was prohibited by the Act of 1833 – schools defined as illicit (privately organized schools) (*Winkelschulen*) were established⁴². Most of the students from such schools were Protestant girls⁴³. Educational authorities did not tolerate this form of education, so in 1841 they adopted an act for private schools, tutors and home teachers, as, on the one hand, they wanted to increase supervision over education, and on the other hand – expected institutions run independently by teachers to register on their own⁴⁴. The private establishments being created at that time compensated, in a way, for the insufficient number of elemen-

³⁷ E. Podgórska, *Rozwój oświaty...*, p. 19.

³⁸ On the basis of the decision of the Warsaw Gubernatorial Government, the previous keepers, i.e. the parish priest and the pastor, handed officially the seals and the school files to president of the city. In 1865, the files of the evangelical schools were separated from the church files, and after 3 years the evangelical church college was moved away from the finances run by the schools. H. Krajewska, *Protestanci...*, p. 292–293.

³⁹ E. Podgórska, *Szkolnictwo elementarne...*, p. 106. Herman Konstadt became the guardian of the Jewish schools.

⁴⁰ P. Kędzia, *Szkolnictwo elementarne...*, p. 31.

⁴¹ W. Puś, *Zmiany liczebności...*, p. 13.

⁴² *Niemieckimi śladami...*, p. 94.

⁴³ According to Eugenia Podgórska, the families living on the outskirts of the city, due to the distance, were not willing to send their daughters to the girls' school in Łódź. E. Podgórska, *Prywatne nauczanie elementarne w Łodzi w latach 1833–1870 [Private elementary education in Łódź between 1833–1870]*, „Rocznik Łódzki” 1962, Vol. 5, p. 89–107.

⁴⁴ E. Podgórska, *Szkolnictwo [Education]*, in: *Łódź. Dzieje...*, p. 511.

tary schools, satisfying mainly the educational needs of the German community. These institutions were attended by children of richer inhabitants of Łódź who were able to provide the teachers of these institutions with financial resources and, in addition, systematically transferred obligatory school fees to the fund of the state elementary school. Private institutions operated on the basis of a government education program, which was, however, implemented in a limited scope. Nevertheless, they provided education at the elementary level, and thus, also in the field of Protestant religion, which was one of the elements of education⁴⁵. In 1869, there were four private elementary schools in Łódź, in 1884 seventeen, and in 1894 only five. This decrease resulted from the growing didactic requirements, mainly regarding the knowledge of the Russian language.

It was possible to classify institutions run by philanthropy and social organizations founded by representatives of various religions as private schools as well. An example thereof is an elementary school belonging to the Christian Charitable Society in Łódź, established in 1898 on the basis of the permission granted by the curator of the Warsaw Scientific District. It was attended by both Catholic and evangelical children who spoke mostly German⁴⁶. Approximately at the same time, a religious elementary school for children from the Evangelical Orphanage run from 1886 by the Holy Trinity parish was established. From 1900, the institution had its own building erected thanks to the entrepreneurial spirit of pastor Rudolf Gustav Gundlach⁴⁷. In the 1902–1903 school year, there were 65 children from 4 to 15 years old living in the orphanage (36 girls and 29 boys)⁴⁸.

The structure of private institutions included as well factory schools – common in Łódź since the 1880's. They were established by the owners of factories and enterprises recruited mainly from the German community⁴⁹. The Polish and

⁴⁵ R. Kucha, *Oświata elementarna w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1864–1914 [Elementary education in the Kingdom of Poland between 1864–1914]*, Lublin, KAW, 1982, p. 165–166.

⁴⁶ More information, see: J. Sosnowska, *Działalność socjalna i opiekuńczo-wychowawcza Łódzkiego Chrześcijańskiego Towarzystwa Dobroczynności (1885–1940) [Social, and care and educational activity of the Christian Charitable Society in Łódź (1885–1940)]*, Łódź, Wydawnictwo UŁ, 2011, p. 246–248.

⁴⁷ G. Schedler, *50 Jahre Evangelisches Waisenhaus in Lodz*, Łódź, Libertas Verlagsgesellschaft, 1937, p. 6; K. Radziszewska, K. Woźniak, *Pod jednym dachem...*, p. 77; J. Sosnowska, *Działalność duszpasterska i społeczna pastora Rudolfa Gustawa Gundlacha (1850–1922). Przyczynek do historii dobroczynności w Łodzi [The pastoral and social activity of pastor Rudolf Gustav Gundlach (1850–1922). A contribution to the history of charity in Łódź]*, „Studia z Historii Społeczno-Gospodarczej XIX i XX Wieku” 2012, Vol. 10, p. 93–94. Children from evangelical families from the city could attend the newly built school – for a monthly fee in the amount of 1 Russian Rubel.

⁴⁸ As the evangelical press wrote: *Boys, according to their abilities, are educated and trained for good craftsmen, girls for talented cooks, and better maids and caretakers in kindergartens (Pol. Freblówki); all children learn handicrafts and dressmaking, and, if possible in their free time, deal with gardening. See: Ewangelicki dom sierot w Łodzi [An evangelical orphanage in Łódź]*, „Zwiastun Ewangeliczny” 1904, No. 7–8, p. 221.

⁴⁹ On education at the factory schools see: E. Podgórska, *Szkolnictwo elementarne...*, p. 104–106; K. Bądziaż, *Prywatne szkoły fabryczne w Łodzi w końcu XIX wieku [Private factory schools in Łódź at the end of the 19th century]*, „Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego” 1975, Vol. 111, p. 125–134; Ibid., *Szkolnictwo fabryczne w Łodzi w latach 1905–1919 [Factory schools in Łódź between 1905–1919]*, „Acta Universitatis Lodziensis” 1978, „Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne”, Vol. 40, p. 125–140.

German children of both clerical and working class attended those schools located in the premises of the factories. The first facility of this type was established in 1876 at the cotton factory belonging to Karol Scheibler⁵⁰. In the subsequent years, more factory schools were established by a few industrialists in Łódź which included: the School of Juliusz Heinzel's Joint Stock Society (Szkoła Towarzystwa Akcyjnego) (founded in 1882), the School of Heinzel and Kunitzer's Joint Stock Society (Szkoła Towarzystwa Akcyjnego) (1883), the School of Leonhardt, Woelker and Girbardt's Joint Stock Company (Szkoła Spółki Akcyjnej) (1891), the School of Ludwik Geyer's Joint Stock Society (Szkoła Towarzystwa Akcyjnego) (1899) and the School of Markus Silberstein's Joint Stock Society (Szkoła Towarzystwa Akcyjnego) (1900)⁵¹. Other institutions on the educational map of Łódź were created after 1906. In 1912, there were 21 schools of this type in Łódź, which were also established by entrepreneurs of Jewish, Polish and Russian origin⁵². A larger group of students of such educational institutions operating on the premises of factories was composed of Roman Catholic children, however, every school taught also students following other religions such as evangelical pupils. Two independent units in terms of religions – the German and the Polish factory school (*deutsche Fabrikschule* and *polnische Fabrikschule*) were run only by the Leonhardt, Woelker and Girbardts Joint-Stock Company producing wool products⁵³. The school authorities supported this action, and at the same time recommended the municipal council in Łódź to exempt the entrepreneurs from the general fee for municipal schools. After the revolution (1905-1907), the educational institutions operating at the factories lost their impetus. A large number of Germans, who were sending their children to schools at the factories so far, moved them to the municipal German elementary schools set up in Łódź. The children of Polish workers continued attending factory schools⁵⁴.

A certain gap in demand for primary education, which was found also among the residents of German origin, was filled by Sunday craft schools established in Łódź from the 1830's. Their main task was to improve the qualifications of apprentices who worked during the week in craftsman workshops, and to accelerate the elimination of illiteracy⁵⁵. They were created on the initiative of

⁵⁰ S. Pytlaś, *Łódzka burżuazja przemysłowa w latach 1864–1914 [Industrial bourgeoisie in Łódź between 1864–1914]*, Łódź, Wydawnictwo UŁ, 1994, p. 191; W. Puś, *Udział w życiu oświatowym i kulturalnym miasta [The participation in the cultural and educational life of the city]*, in: *Wpływ wielonarodowego...*, p. 80.

⁵¹ J. Sosnowska, *Opieka nad dziećmi w Łodzi w latach I wojny światowej [Care of children in Łódź during World War I]*, Łódź, Wydawnictwo UŁ, 2017, p. 489–490.

⁵² K. Badziak, *Prywatne szkoły fabryczne...*, p. 129.

⁵³ J. Sosnowska, *Opieka nad dziećmi...*

⁵⁴ According to H. Krajewska, most German entrepreneurs did not discriminate against them. See H. Krajewska, *Protestanci...*, p. 309.

⁵⁵ In the 1840's only 11,3% of the residents in Łódź were literate. E. Podgórska, *Rozwój oświaty...*, p. 11. Another message of the Sunday craft schools was to counteract the immoral behavior of young people and to dedicate their free time to education. K. Poznański, *Oświata i szkolnictwo w Królestwie Polskim 1831–1869. Lata zmagania i nadziei, t. 2, Szkoły rzemieślniczo-niedzielne [Education in the Kingdom of Poland 1831–1869. Years of struggle and hope, Vol. 2, Sunday craft schools]*, Warszawa, APS, 2001, p. 101–102.

the city authorities and craftsmen from Łódź, mainly weavers, and took advantage of the premises of institutions of elementary education which were closed on Sunday and during holidays. The costs of running schools organized on Sundays were covered by the starosts of craft guilds in Łódź. The first Sunday craft school was opened in 1834, and the next one – four years later⁵⁶. This type of schools enjoyed great popularity, although some researchers of the history of education, such as E. Podgórska, questioned their educational level⁵⁷. In 1839, 456 boys studied in them, and in 1853, over 700 eager students attended several Sunday schools. The largest group were students aged between 14 and 16 years old. Evangelicals, learning together with Catholics, constituted about a half of the total number of pupils. In 1862, separate branches for the Protestant and Catholic apprentices were organized. The Sunday craft schools were organized as institutions with two branches: a lower branch – for apprentices beginning their education, with the curriculum including literacy and learning to count, and a higher branch – for advanced students, which offered obligatory technical drawing classes and a wider scope of accounting materials. Each branch was run by two teachers, who worked on a daily basis in elementary schools. In the middle of the 1880's, six municipal elementary schools were dedicated to young people of craft origin in Łódź⁵⁸.

At the end of the 19th century, another type of institutions was set up in the system of primary school education in Łódź, where German children were studying, i.e. cantorial schools, also known as: parish, religious, or church schools, created on the initiative of the representatives of the Evangelical-Augsburg Church. Evangelical parishes and cantorats (Pol. *kantoraty*)⁵⁹ – smaller units of this religious community, were the centers of religious, social and cultural life, and their members headed by priests animated the activity of many institutions, societies, associations, confraternities and circles⁶⁰. Cantorial schools in Łódź were meant to improve the unfavorable situation of elementary education for the German community, especially for the youngest who came from poor families. The first cantorial school was established in 1899 by the Holy Trinity Church. Soon, five cantorial schools operated in this

⁵⁶ H. Krajewska, *Protestanci...*, p. 300.

⁵⁷ E. Podgórska, *Szkolnictwo...*, p. 512.

⁵⁸ H. Krajewska, *Protestanci...*, p. 301.

⁵⁹ Cantorats – this name includes two institutions associated with the evangelical Church: 1. the office of a cantor, i.e. the place of work in a cantorial unit in a given parish; 2. an evangelical school run by a cantor.

⁶⁰ K. Woźniak, *Parafia ewangelicka w środowisku wielkomiejskim [An evangelical parish in the urban environment]*, in: *Łódzcy luteranie. Społeczność i jej organizacja [Lutherans in Łódź. Community and its organization]*, ed. B. Kopczyńska-Jaworska, K. Woźniak, Łódź, the Polish Folkloric Society (Pol. Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze), 2002, p. 11.

parish – all of them were created thanks to pastor R. G. Gundlach⁶¹. Other similar institutions were organized by St. John Evangelical-Augsburg parish, with its church at 60 Dzika Street (later Mikołajewska Street, today: Sienkiewicza Street)⁶², operating under the direction of pastor Wilhelm Piotr Angerstein. Until 1914, 7 cantorial schools functioned in this parish⁶³. Cantorats were schools run by reliable teachers, recruited among parish cantors, which provided children with a good level of education. These institutions had only one class, and the course, which consisted of two preparatory branches and the first class, lasted 3 years. The curriculum developed by pastors included: German, Polish, Russian, accounts and basics of geography. As the turnout in cantorats was very high – approximately 140 children attended one school – in order to teach as many students as possible, the classes were organized in two shifts (between 8 am–12 pm, and 2 pm–6 pm). The cost of funding cantoral schools was covered by voluntary contributions made by each parish community. Free of charge education was provided for poor children. Cantorats in Łódź did not function for a long time, as some of them were transformed into municipal German elementary schools before the outbreak of World War I, while others were closed due to financial reasons.

Powiat schools and gymnasiums (junior high schools) were, in terms of organizations, a higher type of educational institutions than elementary schools in the district of Łódź, although in Łódź itself the situation regarding creating general secondary education was not favorable⁶⁴. Powiat schools and gymnasiums were created on the basis of the ukase of 1840 issued by Tsar Nicholas I. The industrialists from Łódź supported this type of education, especially secondary vocational

⁶¹ They were placed in the city center on: Średnia Street (at present: Pomorska Street), Pańska Street (Żeromskiego Street) and on its outskirts: in the Bałuty district on Młynarska Street, in Żubardz on Aleksandrowska Street and in Antoniew, Stoki. Compare: R. Gundlach, *Das evangelische Waisenhaus in Lodz*, Łódź, no place of publication, 1903, p. 9; G. Schedler, *Eben-Ezer: eine Jahrhundertgeschichte der evangel. St. Trinitätsgemeinde zu Lodz*, Łódź, Libertas Verlagsgesellschaft, 1929, p. 60; H. Czembor, *Dzieje parafii luteraniskich*..., p. 55; D. Sztobryn, *Działalność kulturalno-oświatowa*..., p. 99–100.

⁶² St. John the Evangelist Church belonging to the parish was built in 1880–1884. Currently, it is the Holy Name of Jesus Church, Roman Catholic, at 60 Sienkiewicza Street, belonging to the Society of Jesus. H. Czembor, *Dzieje parafii*..., p. 47–48, 51–52. K. Stefański, *Architektura sakralna*..., p. 57–60.

⁶³ They were located at: 33 Milscha Street (currently Kopernika Street), 271 Piotrkowska Street, 3 Kijowska Street (does not exist any more), 68 Nowozarzewska Street (Przybyszewskiego Street), in Chojny next to Łódź and in Dąbrowa, and the last one – situated in one of the parish buildings. K. Woźniak, *Parafia ewangelicka*..., p. 28.

⁶⁴ The article by Grzegorz Michalski is about the efforts undertaken by the residents, supported, i.a. by the journalist community of the Polish press, but also on the “atmosphere” regarding establishing the first state male and female gymnasium in Łódź in 1886. See: G. Michalski, *Okoliczności powstania pierwszych na ziemi obiecanej gimnazjów rządowych w świetle doniesień „Dziennika Łódzkiego” z lat 1884–1892 [The circumstances of establishing the first state gymnasiums in the promised land in the light of reports by „Dziennik Łódzki” from 1884–1892]*, in: *Z badań nad tradycją polskiej pedagogiki. Tom II. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Profesor Danucie Koźmian [From the research on the tradition of Polish pedagogy. Volume II. A jubilee book dedicated to Prof. Danuta Koźmian]*, Szczecin, the Scientific Publishing House of the Faculty of Humanities, the University of Szczecin, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Wydziału Humanistycznego US Minierwa, 2016, p. 227–237.

education⁶⁵. In institutions with a professional profile, they noticed the possibility of educating their own children⁶⁶, although at the beginning of the settlement, they sent their children to renowned institutions abroad. The first secondary school with four classes – the Poviát German-Russian Poviát School⁶⁷ – was opened in Łódź in 1845⁶⁸. Initially it occupied the leased premises, but after a decade, in 1856, the institution was moved to a newly erected building located at the New Town Square. The researchers of educational history from Łódź noted that the building, present till today, was the first building in the history of the city which had been erected exclusively for school purposes⁶⁹. The following subjects were obligatory for students: German, Russian, Polish, geography, mathematics, natural sciences, drawing, calligraphy, Catholic and evangelical religion⁷⁰. The curriculum was implemented by 8 teachers headed by the inspector, and 5 out of 15 teachers who were working there in the period of its operation, i.e. 17 years, had a university degree⁷¹. In 1862, when the Act on Public Education was introduced, real schools were liquidated, and the Poviát German-Russian Real School was transformed

⁶⁵ Until the second half of the 1880's, Warsaw had been almost the only center of vocational education in the Kingdom of Poland. Most of the governorates did not have vocational schools – even governorate in Piotrków Trybunalski which was the center of textile industry and the mining and steel industry. In Łódź, the situation changed in 1869, when the Craft Academy (Pol. Wyższa Szkoła Rzemieślnicza) was established. E. Podgórska, *Szkoły rzemieślniczo-niedzielne w Łodzi (1838–1914) [Sunday craft schools in Łódź (1838–1914)]*, „Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty 1962, Vol. 5, p. 75–110.

⁶⁶ The graduates of the German Real Gymnasium established in Łódź in 1866 were German manufacturers, i.a. Karol Anstadt, Józef Gampe and Ludwik Peters, but also one of the largest industrialists in Łódź – Izrael Poznański. K. Badziak, *Wielkość i upadek fortuny Poznańskich [The magnitude and collapse of the Poznański's fortune]*, in: *Dzieje Żydów...*, p. 81.

⁶⁷ According to Aleksander Kozłowski and Dorota Sztobryn, a four-class German and Russian real school should have a German–Polish name, as at least 50% of its students at that time were Poles; from 1850, education was also provided in the Polish language. It should be mentioned that in this period, Łódź was dominated by the German population (about 78%), Poles accounted for 13%, and Jews only 9% of the total population. The first Russians among the permanent residents were recorded not earlier than in the 1860's. See: D. Sztobryn, A. Kozłowski, *Szkolnictwo niemieckie...*, p. 80.

⁶⁸ The institution was moved to Łódź from Warsaw, where it had existed since 1843 as the school for children of Germans and Russians. Education at the school in Warsaw was provided in German and Russian, and the curriculum included: religion, mathematics, natural history, physics, chemistry, health sciences, geography, linear and technical drawings. However, the institution did not enjoy popularity among the German and Russian residents, so it started to accept Polish children as students, and teach them in foreign languages. In this situation Iwan Fiodorowicz Paskiewicz – governor of the Kingdom of Poland, decided to eliminate this useless school in Warsaw and move it to Łódź. E. Podgórska, *Szkolnictwo [Education]*, p. 512–516; D. Sztobryn, A. Kozłowski, *Szkolnictwo niemieckie...*, p. 80; A. Kozłowski, *Niemieckie szkolnictwo w Łodzi na przełomie XIX i XX wieku [German education in Łódź at the turn of the 19th century to the 20th century]*, in: *Niemcy w Łodzi do 1939 roku [Germans in Łódź till 1939]*, ed. M. Wilk, Łódź, Ośrodek Badań Niemcoznawczych UŁ, 1996, p. 21–27. See also: H. Krajewska, *Szkoła i nauka religii – udział łódzkich protestantów w procesie kształcenia młodzieży 1820–1914 [School and religious education – the participation of Protestants from Łódź in the process of educating young people 1820–1914]*, „Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty” 2000, Vol. 40, p. 59–86.

⁶⁹ A. Kozłowski, *Niemieckie szkolnictwo...*, p. 25; E. Podgórska, *Szkolnictwo [Education]*, p. 514. At present this building is the headquarter of the Museum of Archeology and Ethnography in Łódź.

⁷⁰ E. Podgórska, *Szkolnictwo [Education]*, p. 513.

⁷¹ Ibid.

into the German Special Poviats School⁷². Such educational institutions in the last, fifth grade were to familiarize their students with vocational subjects. At the same time, after completing four classes, students were allowed to move to the upper classes of gymnasium – to German secondary vocational schools. A significant group of students selected this type or undertook a paid job. As a result, there was no recruitment to the fifth class with an apprenticeship training, so in 1866 the institution changed its status again, and became the German Real Gymnasium with seven classes (*Deutsches Realgymnasium*) and the German language of instruction⁷³. As such, it functioned until 1869. The institution employed teachers from Germany, enjoyed a very good reputation in the community, and the lessons could be continued not only by the children of the factory owners, but also the youth from middle-income families and children who came from places more distant from Łódź⁷⁴. However, after the visit of Dmitry Tolstoy, the Minister of Education, on the pretext of a too high level of humanities, the institution was reorganized again – into the Higher School of Crafts in Łódź with four classes⁷⁵ and the Russian language of instruction⁷⁶. It underwent another transformation in the subsequent years. Thanks to the efforts undertaken by the entrepreneurs from Łódź in 1891, the institution became the Industry and Craft School available to all students regardless of their nationality and religion, however, the majority of students were German young people. From 1899, the institution had a technical profile and was called the School of Handicraft and Industry.

The first German secondary school in Łódź was the private gymnasium of Angelica Rothert in 1878, but then still as the co-educational school with five classes of Emilia Remus⁷⁷. Until 1896, the institution was located in a private flat at 118 Piotrkowska Street, but when the agreement was terminated, the new owner – A. Rothert decided to build her own school building. After one year, the institution already had its headquarter at 29 Nowo-Spacerowa Street (71 Kościuszki Avenue). It soon became a four-class institution, and limited its education to teaching girls only. In 1905, the school management received the permission to open three upper classes and the right to run a seven-grade girls' gymnasium. With the next year, the language of instruction at the Gymnasium of A. Rothert was the German language, so in the environment of the German people residing in Łódź the school became an important institution for nurturing their national

⁷² Ibid., p. 516; J. Miąso, *Szkolnictwo zawodowe w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1815–1915 [Vocational education in the Kingdom of Poland between 1815–1915]*, Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1966, p. 103.

⁷³ D. Sztobryn, A. Kozłowski, *Szkolnictwo niemieckie...*, p. 80.

⁷⁴ K. P. Woźniak, *Aktywność społeczna...*, p. 41–42.

⁷⁵ This name is misleading – it was a state technical secondary school with six classes. The students had classes on textile and mechanics.

⁷⁶ J. Miąso, *Szkoły realne w Królestwie Polskim [Real schools in the Kingdom of Poland]*, „Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty” 1963, Vol. 6, p. 93–123.

⁷⁷ K. P. Woźniak, *Aktywność społeczna...*, p. 41–42. A. Rothert became a teacher at this school in 1883. When after several years, in 1897, E. Remus left this institution due to her illness, A. Rothert became its owner.

identity. It should be noted that this school was also attended by Polish children. Without doubt, it was affected by the second language of instruction – Polish, but also by the favorable atmosphere in the gymnasium⁷⁸. The teaching staff consisted of qualified pedagogues. The curriculum assumed social activity, and a sign thereof was the involvement of teachers and female students – headed by the their manager, A. Rothert – in charitable campaigns for children. First of all the pupils from the 2nd Orphan Asylum of the Christian Charitable Society in Łódź (Pol. II Ochronka Łódzkiego Chrześcijańskiego Towarzystwa Dobroczynności) and the children from the Evangelical Orphanage were supported⁷⁹.

According to Krzysztof Paweł Woźniak, the most important educational institution, with a wide range of social impact, but above all the influence on raising the national awariness among the Germans from Łódź, was the German Male Gymnasium in Łódź (*Lodzer Deutsche Knabengymnasium*), founded in 1906 as the German Real Gymnasium⁸⁰. The organization created in the same year (from the funds of the Constitutional and Liberal Party) called the German School and Educational Society (*Deutsche Schul- und Bildungsverein*) played an important role in its creation. The priority task of the society was to strengthen the rank of German education in and around the city, by establishing and maintaining German elementary schools, and creating the foundations for developing secondary education. During one of the meetings organized before establishing the gymnasium, Heinrich Johannson, a teacher from Łódź and future headmaster of this school, emphasized the necessity to cultivate own native language and thus, German traditions and customs. *The mother tongue – as he convinced the gathered people – is the most sacred thing we have. Mastering it precisely will keep us from the miserable international absence of expression [...]. Only when the native language becomes the language of instruction, the school can rely on a national basis, only it can convey clear and comprehensive knowledge, and protect young people from the danger of believing in false conclusions that could flourish only on the foundation of spiritual confusion, the fruit of forcing us to think in a foreign language*⁸¹.

Putting the institution into operation required considerable financial resources, that is why, the German community from Łódź and adjacent areas, as well the German citizens of the Reich were asked to support this project. The funds were collected by the Gymnasium Committee headed by the industrialists from Łódź: Ernest Leonhardt, Ludwik Schweikert, Juliusz Kindermann and others. The German Real Gymnasium was consecrated on December 29, 1906⁸². The institution located in a rented building on Pańska Street (Żeromskiego Street) had four classes and

⁷⁸ K. Radziszewska, K. Woźniak, *Pod jednym dachem*..., p. 31–32.

⁷⁹ A. Rothert was a member of the Women's Committee of the 2nd Orphan Asylum of the Christian Charitable Society in Łódź (Pol. II Ochronka Łódzkiego Chrześcijańskiego Towarzystwa Dobroczynności). Compare: J. Sosnowska, *Działalność Łódzkiego*..., p. 251.

⁸⁰ K. P. Woźniak, *Aktywność społeczna*..., p. 42.

⁸¹ A quotation from: K. Radziszewska, K. Woźniak, *Pod jednym dachem*..., p. 19.

⁸² *Niemieckimi śladami*..., p. 95.

58 students. The teaching staff was composed of: H. Johannson, headmaster, pastor Gustaw Manitius, Waldemar Kroenberg, a district teacher, and teachers: Fridrich Lehr and Herman Günther⁸³. The gymnasium headmaster eagerly sought its own space, so in September 1908 a resolution was adopted to erect a school building. The ceremony of its opening took place one year later and the foundation stone was laid. A magnificent building, present till today, was built in December 1910, on its own building plot at 65 Nowo-Spacerowa Street (Kościuszki Avenue). This wide and modern school building was then described as *model*⁸⁴. The gymnasium gained the title of the best German school outside the Reich. The high level of teaching was guaranteed by the facilities such as a number of laboratories and classrooms equipped with modern didactic aids, as well as highly qualified teaching staff. Hugo von Eltz, the counsellor, held the post of manager of the institution⁸⁵. The number of students was gradually increasing. In the 1908–1909 school year, the institution had 194 students, in 1910–1911 the number was 349, and in 1913–1914 there were 481 male students. It is worth mentioning that the German Gymnasium in Łódź was attended as well by Polish, Jewish, Russian students and young people of other nations. By graduating from this school, further education at the university level was possible. In 1911, 311 Germans, 64 Jews, 2 Frenchmen, 2 Czechs and a Pole were educated⁸⁶. The first ten graduates left the school in June 1914. After the outbreak of World War I, the activities run by the school and many other educational institutions in Łódź were suspended. Most of the teachers from the German Gymnasium left Łódź, the building was taken over by the Russian army and transformed into a military hospital. The standard course of classes began in the 1915–1916 school year, after the building had been made available by the German authorities occupying the city.

The German School and Educational Society contributed to the functioning of another educational institution of higher level in the city. On its initiative, in 1911, the Evangelical Teachers' University, which educated future teachers, moved from Łódź to Warsaw⁸⁷. It should be noted that in the Russian partition

⁸³ K. Radziszewska, K. Woźniak, *Pod jednym dachem...*, p. 20.

⁸⁴ The architecture of the three-story building corresponded to the tendencies prevailing in the Berlin architecture of this period. A representative staircase, wide corridors, spacious classrooms with large windows and well-equipped workshops provided young students with very good conditions for studying. The school had a modern gym, an auditorium and its own astronomical observatory located in a round turret at the corner of the building. The German Male Gymnasium was located in this building until 1945. Currently, the buildings are owned by the University of Łódź. K. Stefański, *Gmachy użyteczności publicznej dawnej Łodzi [Public utility buildings in old Łódź]*, Łódź, Wydawska Oficyna Wydawnicza „ZORA”, 2000, p. 42–43.

⁸⁵ *Niemieckimi śladami...*, p. 95.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁸⁷ In 1899, the Evangelical German Primary School (Pol. Ewangelicka Niemiecka Szkoła Główna) was established in Warsaw which included the Male Gymnasium, the Female Gymnasium and three-year pedagogical courses (seminar) with one common management. In 1907, when its further operation was questionable, the Evangelical Church College in Warsaw decided to eliminate this institution. Then, the German Educational Society in Łódź headed by Johann Szulc, a merchant, made efforts to transfer the institution educating teachers to Łódź. K. Radziszewska, K. Woźniak, *Pod jednym dachem...*, p. 11–12; H. Krajewska, *Protestanci...*, p. 306. See also: T. Stegner, *Polacy-ewangelicy...*, p. 112.

there was a considerable demand for qualified staff for German schools, especially cantors, as their didactic level was described as low⁸⁸. The new educational institution in Łódź received significant financial support from the owners of the factories, that is why, its organizers rented a flat in the building belonging to the Bank of the Industrialists in Łódź (Pol. Bank Łódzkich Przemysłowców) situated at 11/13 Ewangelicka Street (Roosevelt Street), so that they could equip it with necessary teaching aids and arrange a boarding school. Religious education was a priority in the university. The classes began with morning prayers, and particular subjects involved future work in evangelical parishes⁸⁹. Particular attention was paid to music education, especially in relation to the education of cantors-organists. Although the primary goal of the Evangelical Teachers' University was to prepare students in terms of pedagogy, the aspects of nurturing their national identity were not ignored in the education of the German youth. The education at the university lasted three years. Its graduates worked in evangelical, German and cantor schools, but also in institutions for Polish children. Some students continued their education and studied theology in Tartu and became pastors⁹⁰. After the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the university shared the fate of many educational institutions in the city – it was temporarily closed. The German authorities authorized the institution to commence its operation at the end of August 1916⁹¹.

Over the period of almost 90 years following the establishment of the educational institution for children of German colonists in Łódź until the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the German education underwent significant transformations. Significant factors of these changes, which had an impact on the entire educational system in Łódź at that time, included political, social and economic issues, which, in particular between 1863–1905 contributed to inhibiting its development. The persistent efforts undertaken by the Germans residing in Łódź concerning setting up their own schools with various organizational degrees were a positive impulse, which implied changes in the German education. Special care was given to the minimum level of education, i.e. making the elementary level institutions available to the youngest members of this community. Many entities participated in establishing them: public (governmental and municipal) administration, church and religious authorities, representatives of professions, management boards of philanthropy and social organizations, and private individuals. The educational needs of young people were not neglected. The perspectives related to the opening of gymnasiums followed the revolutionary events (1905-1907), and the Germans living in Łódź, similarly as other national groups, seized this opportunity.

⁸⁸ K. P. Woźniak, *Aktywność społeczna...*, p. 42–43.

⁸⁹ K. Radziszewska, K. Woźniak, *Pod jednym dachem...*, p. 17.

⁹⁰ H. Krajewska, *Protestanci...*, p. 306.

⁹¹ The institution was given the name: the German Evangelical Teachers' University in Łódź. In 1918, the institution was nationalized, and became the State Teachers' University in Łódź with German as the language of instruction. K. Radziszewska, K. Woźniak, *Pod jednym dachem...*, p. 11.

In the development of education, the German community spotted the possibility of maintaining their national identity, cultivating traditions, customs and rituals, and above all, preserving and nurturing their own language. On the one hand, the school, as an institution, fulfilled an educational and upbringing role, and on the other hand – it was a place of belonging to your own ethnic group and religion. Without doubt, the increase in the number of German schools in Łódź, as well as the improvement of their structure and organizational forms, contributed to raising the general state of education in the city. However, until 1914, the issue of universal access to education – and not only for German children – remained an unsolved problem in the city. Elementary schools, the number of which, due to a huge population growth, did not satisfy social needs at all, were mainly overcrowded, and situated in rented rooms. Moreover, the implementation of the curricula was subject to strict supervision by the Tsar authorities. Despite various types of educational institutions offering elementary level of education in the city, such as public, private, religious, cantorial, vocational or factory schools, and the specific measures undertaken by the German nation residing in Łódź were aimed at setting up educational institutions for the youngest members of their nation, a significant number of school-age children was not subject to education at all.

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German education in Łódź before 1914 – the organization, structure, and the directions of development

Summary

Łódź, the city developing dynamically after the arrival of the first group of settlers, mainly Germans, in the 1820's had to satisfy many everyday needs of its residents. Such needs included education, which was treated in a special manner by the newcomers, as in German countries, where new residents of Łódź came from, elementary education was obligatory since the 1880's. Moreover, for the German community settling down in Łódź, education was an element of culture which made it possible to nurture and save their language, tradition, customs, and, what follows, their national identity; therefore, the community wanted to organize its own schools in the city. The first German school in Łódź was established in 1826, i.e. three years after the arrival of the first group of settlers. The curriculum included reading, reading the Bible, basics of arithmetic, copying a printed text, and knowledge of the catechism, Bible stories, and church hymns. In the period studied herein (1823–1914), German schools had various structures and organizational forms. They included elementary schools, secondary centres (gymnasiums), occupational institutions (Sunday craft schools and schools of crafts), and a teaching college. Elementary schools were the most diverse in terms of their organization, as they included: 1. government and municipal religious (evangelical and Catholic) centres; 2. religious cantor schools, which belonged to evangelical parochial communities; 3. private schools (operating in factories, and established by philanthropic and social organizations). Some of them were co-educational; other ones were only for girls or boys.

Keywords: German schools in Łódź before 1914; Łódź evangelical schools; cantor schools, factory schools; Sunday craft schools.

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THE EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITY OF TEACHERS' SEMINARS IN POLAND BETWEEN 1918–1937

It was assumed that the teachers' seminars would be temporary, and their task was to prepare teachers who would become qualified for general education relatively quickly. However, the existing reality turned out to be completely different. In fact, they became the basic form of education, as they existed almost throughout the entire interwar period (the last ones ceased to exist in 1937) and, what is most important, mainly teachers' seminars provided qualified teachers for general education (on the eve of the outbreak of the war, there was no feeling of understaffed institutions).

Teachers' seminars – apart from their main didactic goals which were aimed at educating teachers in terms of general education – played an important role in the preparation of activists and organizers of educational and cultural life. Their students were prepared for their future responsibilities and tasks throughout their entire education as part of the performances, shows and ceremonies organized at school. For rural young people and the youth coming from craftsman families (the students stemmed mainly from such background), participation in organized artistic life was often the first broader contact with culture¹. They got to know the secrets of acting, they learned the basic activities necessary to organize performances. As publicly available event halls in small towns and settlements were scarce, the majority of artistic events, readings, meetings, and local and state celebrations were organized in the premises of the teachers' seminars. In this way, pedagogical schools became the main centers of local intellectual and cultural life. Teachers took the roles of amateurs of all cultural projects and activities, while students were the main artists. Thus, from the very beginning of their

¹ J. Zięba, *Ruch teatralny na wsi 1918–1939 [Theatre movement in the countryside 1918–1939]*, Warszawa 1976.

education, they received practical lessons how to undertake organizational tasks in the future, developing educational life at the same time.

The participation of teachers' seminars in promoting mass culture was universal and widespread. The nature and size of the undertaken work depended on the initiative and creativity of the organizers of the events. Passions, hobbies, commitment and talents became visible meanwhile, and these features confirmed the position of the school and individual teachers in the environment. Taking account of the achievements, all units and teams of teachers deserved all due attention. However, some of them require special distinction.

In terms of the intellectual life in Zamość, Kazimierz Lewicki, the promoter and the first director of the State Male Teachers' Seminary, played an important role (at the same time he held the function of the director of the J. Zamoyski State Male Gymnasium). He completed thorough studies at the faculty of Polish philology at the Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv under the direction of such eminent professors as: Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz, Wilhelm Bruchnalski, Józef Kallenbach and Stanisław Łempicki². As a consequence, he got thorough knowledge and developed various humanistic interests. During his pedagogical work in Zamość, he maintained constant scientific contacts with the institute in Lviv. On May 12, 1917, the meeting of the local intelligentsia with Prof. Antoni Cieszyński (who represented the University of Lviv) was held and as a result, the Faculty of General University and Technical University Lectures, Zamość Campus, was established. The curriculum was developed jointly by the professors of the Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv and the high schools in Zamość. The subject matter thereof considered the needs and interests of the environment as well as local human resources. In January 1918, on the initiative of Kazimierz Lewicki, they set up the Youth Branch of General University Lectures where young people could suggest the topics, which were subsequently developed, implemented and delivered by the teachers from the local schools. As part thereof, the most outstanding scholars visited Zamość, i.a. Ludwik Jaxa Bykowski, Jan Czekanowski, Aleksander Czołowski, Stanisław Łempicki, Józef Skoczek, Ryszard Skulski and many others. With their assistance, the teachers from secondary schools implemented and promoted their scientific interests³.

Kazimierz Lewicki also belonged to the main organizers of the celebrations related to the 300th anniversary of the death of Szymon Szymonowic. The scientific congress commemorating this anniversary held in September 1929, also called the Festival of Polish Science, attracted the most prominent representatives of science, and became a significant event in the intellectual and cultural life of the country. Similar, but smaller, ceremonies were organized to commemorate

² B. Szyszka, *Kazimierz Lewicki (1882–1948)*, „Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy” 1986, No. 1, p. 65.

³ Idem, *Ze Lwowa [From Lviv]*, „Tygodnik Zamojski” 1988, No. 46; J. Doroszewski, *Zakłady kształcenia nauczycieli w województwie lubelskim w latach 1918–1939 [Teacher training centers in the Lubelskie Voivodeship between 1918–1939]*, Lublin 1999, p. 98.

the work and creation of Henryk Sienkiewicz, and the establishment of the Commission of National Education (Pol. Komisja Edukacji Narodowej)⁴. It should also be added that K. Lewicki was a well-known bibliophile. In 1925, he founded a bibliophilic association – the Club of Book Lovers which was highly recognized among professionals. In 1926 he also organized the School Club of Book Lovers, who presented their collections at countrywide conventions.

Michał Marian Pieszko also belonged to the recognized figures of the intellectual life in Zamość. He was associated professionally with the J. Zamoyski State Male Gymnasium, and due to his high qualifications, he was also employed at the State Female Teachers' Seminar. He completed thorough studies in history and geography at the Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv under the guidance of such professors as Eugeniusz Romer, Oswald Balcer and Władysław Semkowicz. He was a promising scientist (he was employed as an assistant). In 1917, he took up the position of a teacher in Zamość, a city to which he remained loyal until the end of his life⁵. Having an extremely colorful, active and vital personality and various interests, he participated in all aspects of the scientific and cultural life of the city, was the co-founder of the Zamość Region Museum, initiated the establishment of the branch of the Polish Sightseeing Society in Zamość, where he was president. He was one of the highly recognized promoters of science and culture. His numerous studies on historical and geographical subjects were mainly found in local publishing houses: "Kronika Powiatu Zamojskiego", "Ziemia Zamojska", "Słowo Zamojskie", and "Teki Zamojskie". Emotionally attached to the region of Zamość, he dedicated several dozen works and a number of guides to Zamość and its surrounding areas⁶. He participated in many conferences and scientific meetings during which he presented his achievements and delivered lectures, he cooperated with the teaching community – during many conferences he promoted the principles of regionalism and became a real authority in this area.

The State Female Teachers' Seminar in Zamość noted significant achievements in terms of popularizing culture throughout the entire period discussed herein. The school had an orchestra, a vocal-instrumental band, and a choir who took part in all major local or state celebrations. A drama club that was founded and run by Halina Rogińska, an excellent Polish teacher, was part of the wide artistic activity conducted in this institution. Thanks to her passion and commitment, she was able to combine teaching skills with social work. Together with a team of female students, she prepared a number of performances and shows, using works by the greatest writers and poets, i.a. K. Brodziński, M. Konopnicka, A. Fredro, A. Mickiewicz and many others. The works were first presented at school and then in front of the local population of Zamość. She wrote several

⁴ J. Feduszka, *Michał Marian Pieszko (1890–1969)*, Zamość 1990, p. 7.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ B. Szyszka, *Szkolnictwo Zamościa w okresie międzywojennym [Education in Zamość in the interwar period]*, Warszawa 1987, p. 95.

smaller pieces, and the play entitled *Misterium Polskie (The Polish Mystery)*. This work was published in print and staged several times by the youth in the city theater "Oaza" (Oasis)⁷.

The State Teachers' Seminar in Koźmin conducted as well very diverse cultural activities. It was a small town with no institution the aim of which was to promote cultural life. The pedagogical school fulfilled these functions with very good results. They had a choir and a school orchestra, which represented a high artistic level. They performed with special programs for the whole society. Over time, the scope of its activities was broadened, and concerts with the participation of visiting artists, such as Feliks Nowowiejski permanently entered the program. The school theater also had its achievements. Its repertoire included ambitious, often classic positions. All performances took place in the university building. With time, this school became the main center of cultural life for the whole area⁸. The university played an important role in disseminating knowledge and science. The Scientific Club was established on the initiative of Edward Winkler, the director. It attracted and gathered all local intelligentsia, i.e. the employees of the county office (starostwo), doctors, priests and teachers from all schools (Koźmin was one of the significant school centers where, in addition to the university and public school, there was also the Municipal Gymnasium, the Horticultural School, and the Agricultural School of the Wielkopolska Chamber of Agriculture). On a monthly basis the club organized meetings during which lectures on scientific achievements in various fields were delivered. The members prepared their own papers, but sometimes they also invited speakers from Poznań. The people's university available to the public was also set up – the lectures were presented by local school teachers. The subjects of the meetings concerned the dissemination of professional knowledge, sometimes they were related to the history of Poland or the region (the scope of subjects was extremely important due to the long-term Germanization implemented in this area)⁹.

The State Male Teachers' Seminar in Rzeszów had great achievements in the dissemination of musical culture thanks to Ludwik Łaszewski, a music and singing teacher, who organized and continuously ran a school choir, which in its repertoire included patriotic and religious pieces by Polish and foreign composers. The performances took place during all major state and local celebrations (often together with the choir of the Private Female University in Rzeszów). L. Łaszewski also organized a small symphony orchestra which included in its

⁷ Ibid., p. 154; idem, *Nauczyciele w życiu umysłowym Zamościa w latach 1916–1939 [Teachers in the intellectual life of Zamość between 1916–1939]*, „Rocznik Zamojski”, Vol. 2, Zamość 1988, p. 121.

⁸ E. Winkler, *Praca kulturalna dla okolicy [Cultural work for the area]*, in: *Z pracy państwowych seminariów nauczycielskich w Polsce [From the work of state teachers' seminars in Poland]*, ed. J. Borowa, W. Dzierzbicka, S. Lewandowska, Warszawa 1938, p. 142; *Seminaria nauczycielskie Poznańskiego Okręgu Szkolnego. Księga pamiątkowa [The teachers' seminars in the School District in Poznań. The commemorative book]*, ed. E. Eustachiewicz, Poznań 1936, p. 242.

⁹ Ibid.

repertoire both classical music of such composers as: Beethoven, Mozart, Chopin, as well as slightly lighter music, including operetta, of i.a. Lehar. The operetta performance of Wiesław Brodziński was highly recognized and appreciated. All groups took part in that performance, and solo parts were performed by musically talented students¹⁰.

In the State Female Teachers' Seminar in Kołomyja, great attention was paid to the dissemination of a living word and theatre performances. Young people systematically participated in performances of professional theaters, which came to this town from other cities, e.g. from Stanisławów. A school drama club was also very active. In 1925, under the direction of Helena Łozińska, it prepared the comedy by A. Fredro *Śluby Panieńskie (The Maiden Vows)*, which was staged twice (May 20–21, 1925) and viewed very positively. Later, there were performances delivered in nearby towns. During this trip to Zabłotów, they collected PLN 416 from admission tickets and allocated this sum to poorer students for summer camps. In December 1927, they prepared the farce by M. Gerson-Dąbrowska *Święć się święć wieku młody (Young age, stay blessed)* (directed by Franciszek Wiśmierski). In May 1928, they staged the comedy by Bałucki *Teatr amatorski (The Amateur Theater)*. Both performances met with great interest and enjoyed great popularity. During the performances delivered for the public which were not free of charge, they collected PLN 475,16. This amount supported the meal sponsorship programme at school and during the summer holidays¹¹.

The State Male Teachers' Seminar in Ursynów also conducted a wide range of activities. First of all, they took advantage of the close proximity of the school from Warsaw, and organized collective trips to Warsaw theaters, exhibitions, museums, and philharmonics. Also their own artistic activities as part of school groups of a living word were not neglected. They preferred the creation of prominent authors. The first piece was the second part of *Dziady (Forefathers' Eve)*, and then a Nativity play by Ewa Szelburg-Zarembina *Lulajże, Jezuniu* (directed by the author). With time, the work was improved and the repertoire was widened significantly. Subsequently, *Balladyna, Mazepa*, the fragments of *Kordian*, *Noc listopadowa (November Night)* and *Warszawianka* were prepared. Lighter pieces were also staged, including *Zagłoba swatem (Zagłoba, the matchmaker)*, *Werbelt domowy (A home snare drum)*, and minor stagings such as *Dziad i baba (An old man and an old lady)*. As part of broadly run cultural activities, other forms of artistic life were not neglected as well. There was a choir that traditionally performed during all festivities. The school orchestra with its repertoire including the pieces of the most outstanding Polish composers (Moniuszko,

¹⁰ *Sprawozdanie dyrekcji Męskiego Seminarium Nauczycielskiego w Rzeszowie za rok szkolny 1925/26 [The report of the management of the Male Teachers' Seminar in Rzeszów for the 1925–1926 school year]*, Rzeszów 1926, p. 25.

¹¹ *Kronika Państwowego Seminarium Nauczycielskiego Żeńskiego w Kołomyi za lata 1906 do 1932 [The Chronicle of the State Female Teachers' Seminar in Kołomyja for the years from 1906 to 1932]*, Kołomyja 1932, p. 72, 92, 94.

Paderewski, Wieniawski), and classical musicians (Beethoven, Czajkowski, Mozart, Strauss) enjoyed the greatest recognition – and hence, popularity. They also took care of promoting artistic creativity and bringing it closer to the audience. The showcases with reproductions of works by Polish artists (Grottger, Matejko, Chełmoński, Wyczółkowski, Gieryski, Fałat), sometimes also by foreign authors (Michelangelo, Rembrandt) were presented in the events halls¹².

The State Male Teachers's University in Szczepieszyn after being moved from Zamość (in 1921), was located in a town far away from major cultural centers. Thus, from the very beginning, it played the leading culture-forming role in the entire region. The building of the university, due to completely objective reasons, became a place where all major meetings or cultural events were held (Szczepieszyn did not have any other major events hall). Therefore, all readings readings participated by local speakers (mainly teachers) were organized there. Sometimes visitors from Zamość took part in them, or they conducted classes for organizers of out-of-school education¹³. With time, this school became the main center promoting education among young people and adults in the entire environment.

Thanks to its widely conducted artistic operation, the Teachers' Seminar in Szczepieszyn played a prominent role in promoting cultural life. The school choir functioned all the time, which usually performed at all local celebrations. The real glory of the school and Szczepieszyn was the school orchestra (actually two orchestras – a symphonic orchestra and an orchestra formed from brass instruments). Its rich repertoire included classical music (Vincenzo Bellini, Michał Glinka, Karol Weber) and music by the Polish composers (Henryk Wieniawski, Stanisław Moniuszko). Thanks to the staged performances, the school was gaining popularity all over the area. It participated in almost all major celebrations and local events, was also invited to many other places, i.a. Zamość and Zwierzyniec¹⁴. The orchestra was systematically improving and expanding its activity. Its repertoire contained the pieces composed by its own students, i.e. Aleksander Bryk, a future well-known organizer of musical life, a conductor, a composer and a director of music schools¹⁵.

¹² W. Tyrankiewicz, *Seminarium Nauczycielskie w Ursynowie w latach 1921–1939* [*The Teachers' Seminar in Ursynów between 1921–1939*], „Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy” 1964, No. 1, p. 101.

¹³ L. Pawłowski, *Państwowe Seminarium Nauczycielskie Męskie im. Zamojskich w Zamościu i Szczepieszynie (1916–1926)* [*The Zamojski State Male Teachers' Seminar in Zamość and Szczepieszyn (1916–1926)*], in: *Szkoły im. Zamojskich w Szczepieszynie (1811–1926)* [*The Zamojski Schools in Szczepieszyn (1811–1926)*], Szczepieszyn 1927, p. 203; J. Doroszewski, *Wybrane problemy z dziejów oświaty na Lubelszczyźnie w latach 1918–1939* [*Selected problems in the history of education in the region of Lublin between 1918–1939*], Lublin 2008, p. 62.

¹⁴ H. Koziół, *Państwowe Seminarium Nauczycielskie Męskie im. Zamojskich w latach 1927–1934* [*The Zamojski State Male Teachers' Seminar between 1927–1934*], in: *Zakłady kształcenia nauczycieli w Szczepieszynie i ich wychowankowie* [*Teacher training centers in Szczepieszyn and their students*], ed. S. Kosiński, Lublin 1975, p. 56.

¹⁵ T. Wach, *Aleksander Bryk (1905–1982)*, in: *Słownik Biograficzny miasta Lublina* [*The Biographical Dictionary of Lublin*], Vol. 1, Lublin 1993, p. 44.

The development of intellectual and cultural life of Szczecbrzeszyn was associated with the activities of the university. The main role in this process was played by teachers who worked in this school for many years. Among a large group of pedagogues, and enthusiasts of educational work, Ludwik Pawłowski – a historian with clear scientific predispositions, an inspirator of creative pursuits in teaching, who preferred individual activity, earned special distinction. After the war, in accordance with his interests, he undertook a scientific activity and worked as a deputy professor at the Main School of Planning and Statistics (Pol. Szkoła Główna Planowania i Statystyki SGPiS). In turn, Benon Nitecki created and led the school orchestra. Zygmunt Klukowski, a doctor and the director of the local hospital, was an outstanding personality in the life of the university, Szczecbrzeszyn and the entire region of Zamość. At the university he held the function of a doctor and gave lectures on the hygiene. As he emphasized at every opportunity, he was closely associated with this school, and dedicated a proper historical sketch to it¹⁶. Taking his profession and position into account, he enjoyed recognition and respect of the local environment. However, something completely different brought his real fame and popularity. He belonged to extremely active people, and participated in all social, scientific and cultural undertakings. He was interested in the history of the region, and several dissertations he had created relating to the social movements between 1861–1862 and 1906–1907 concentrated on this topic. He organized the Szymon Szymonowicz Scientific Congress in Zamość in 1929, and founded the museum and the library in Zamość. Interested in the history of medicine, he also participated in many scientific conferences. He was a respected speaker. This versatile activity was the subject of a number of biographical publications. During World War II, he was closely involved in the resistance movement, and while carefully observing the surrounding reality, documented it. After the end of war, he collected and published four volumes of accounts given by the participants of the struggles with the occupant under one title *Wydawnictwo materiałów do dziejów Zamojszczyzny w latach wojny* (*The publisher of materials for the history of the region of Zamość during the war*). He was the author of the excellent *Dziennik z lat okupacji Zamojszczyzny* (*A journal from the years of occupation of the region of Zamość*)¹⁷ (reviewed extremely high by experts), which was awarded the first prize of the weekly magazine “Polityka”.

A completely unique role in the environment was played by the M. Brzezinski State Male Teachers' Seminar in Leśna Podlaska. The village was located several kilometers away from Biała Podlaska and all major cultural centers. Under such

¹⁶ Z. Klukowski, *Szkoły im. Zamojskich w Szczecbrzeszynie (1811–1926)* [*The Zamojski Schools in Szczecbrzeszyn (1811–1926)*], in: *Szkoły im. Zamojskich w Szczecbrzeszynie (1811–1926)* [*The Zamojski Schools in Szczecbrzeszyn (1811–1926)*], Szczecbrzeszyn 1927.

¹⁷ Idem, *Dziennik z lat okupacji Zamojszczyzny (1939–1944)* [*A journal from the years of occupation of the region of Zamość (1939–1944)*], Lublin 1958, 1959.

conditions, the secondary school with a pedagogical profile was the main culture-creating center reaching far beyond the borders of its own town thanks to the teachers working at the university who were aware of the goals they were to meet. These tasks the school faced began to be implemented from the beginning of its existence by Adam Teofil Koziara. While performing the duties of headmaster (1921–1927), he gathered around himself a team of teachers from his own school and other enthusiasts of social work, including the teachers from the local primary school. His initiative was to establish the club of the Polish Educational Society (February 12, 1923), which took over the main role of the coordinator of all cultural and educational activities. In 1925, they organized the library and started conducting 6 courses (at various levels of education). With the help of local speakers, lectures promoting general and professional knowledge (for farmers) were held. They held artistic events and performances with seminar young people. Some of them were paid, however, the ticket prices were always relatively small (symbolic) and thus, they were available to almost everyone. Small incomes generated in this way were spent on its further operation¹⁸.

The Teachers' Seminar in Leśna Podlaska recorded its greatest artistic achievements during the work of Bronisław Nycz, a Polish teacher (1928–1932), and a student of Juliusz Osterwa. He collaborated with Jędrzej Cierniak, a renowned organizer of cultural life and an expert on folklore (he admired the artistic part of the Slavic harvest festival called Dozhinki he had prepared in Spała). Being impressed by their performance, he became an enthusiast of amateur theater¹⁹. Upon arriving in Leśna Podlaska, he began his work by preparing a few less major stagings, during which he got familiar with the performance capabilities of his students. With time, he created more and more spectacular performances, and moved to entire theatre performances, which eventually became a continuous phenomenon. With his assistance regarding theatre production, editing, and direction, "school theater", as it was called, staged such plays as: *Damy i huzary (Ladies and Husars)* and *Zemsta (Vengeance)* by A. Fredro, and *Wicek i Wacek (Wicek and Wacek)* by S. Przybyszewski. In the meantime, they prepared the staging of the poetic works by A. Mickiewicz, including some selected parts of *Pan Tadeusz (Sir Thaddeus)*. However, an open-air performance entitled *Odprawa posłów greckich (The Dismissal of the Greek Envoys)* by J. Kochanowski, presented in the scenery of the school park was the most impressive²⁰. All performances were popular with the local community and always appreciated. The whole population from the

¹⁸ J. Stemler, *Polska Macierz Szkolna. Szkic historyczno-sprawozdawczy z 20-lecia działalności 1905–1925 [The Polish Educational Society. A historical and reporting outline from the 20th anniversary of operation 1905–1925]*, Warszawa 1926, p. 180.

¹⁹ Z. Kwieciński, *Lubelski Związek Teatrów i Chórów Ludowych [The Lublin Association of Theatres and Folk Choirs]*, „Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy” 1967, No. 1, p. 61.

²⁰ J. Sroka, *Leśniacy. Zakład kształcenia nauczycieli w Leśnej Podlaskiej [Leśniacy. The Teacher training centers in Leśna Podlaska]*, Biała Podlaska 1990, p. 187; S. Reymont, *Bronisław Lubicz-Nycz (1906–1981)*, „Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy” 1983, No. 2, p. 192.

settlement (both adults and schoolchildren as well as non-school kids), and people from villages located nearby watched them. Those performances were always longed for in the whole area. Waclaw Kowalski, a future famous and prominent actor, appeared on the school theatre stage in Leśna Podlaska and performed for the entire period of his education. Such films as: *Sami swoi*, *Kochaj albo rzuć (Love or dump)*, *Nie ma mocnych (Take it easy)* or TV series *Dom (Home)* brought him fame. However, the aforementioned B. Nycz did not limit his activities only to work with the seminary youth and cooperated with other organizations disseminating culture, as the Lublin Association of Theatres and Folk Choirs, where he got an inspiration to organize the “theatre cloakroom”, i.e. a storage of costumes, clothes and props for performances. Amateur artistic groups operating in the area could take advantage of it²¹.

All teachers' seminars played a significant, and mostly leading role in the promotion of regionalism (in various forms). In the widest scope, it developed in Pomerania, and regarded the preservation and dissemination of the language, customs and old Kashubian rituals. As a result, original initiatives were born which revealed a large format of individuality. Thanks to such activities, particular schools scored their due positions and enjoyed great recognition, whereas their organizers who fell into the category of the local elite, were extremely popular in the environment.

In this respect, the State Male Teachers' Seminar in Kościerzyna deserves attention. This institution gathered very valuable teaching staff – with various interests and hobbies, but at the same time deeply involved in social work. Without doubt, one of such individualities was thoroughly educated Rev. Dr. Leon Hejka, a longtime prefect at this school with humanistic interests (he published a lot of articles in various magazines) who established a genuine link with this region. He was the co-author of the monograph of his school²² and wrote a dramatic work for amateur groups²³. He was awarded the Golden Cross of Merit for his activities for the benefit of the environment²⁴. Other teachers from this school also played a significant role in promoting local culture. In 1932, a literary club under the supervision of Franciszek Grzebień prepared and presented a ritual Kashubian evening, which was later repeated in adjacent Lipusz. This school constantly developed

²¹ *Sprawozdanie Lubelskiego Związku Teatrów i Chórów Ludowych za czas od 15 XII 1929 r. do dnia 31 V 1932 r. [The Report of the Lublin Association of Theaters and Folk Choirs from 15.12.1929 to 31.05.1932]*, Lublin 1932, p. 19.

²² F. Żurek, L. Hejka, *Zarys dziejów działalności Państwowego Seminarium Nauczycielskiego Męskiego w Kościerzynie [An outline of the history of operation of the State Male Teachers' Seminar in Kościerzyn]*, Poznań 1935.

²³ L. Hejka, *Katilina. Szolobulka w trzech aktach z prologiem i epilogiem [Katilina. A play szolobulka in three acts with a prologue and an epilogue]*, Kartuzy 1937.

²⁴ K. Trzebiatowski, *Szkolnictwo w województwie pomorskim w latach 1920–1939 [Education in the Pomeranian Voivodeship between 1920–1939]*, Wrocław 1986, p. 168–169; F. Żurek, L. Hejka, *Państwowe Seminarium Nauczycielskie Męskie w Kościerzynie [The State Male Teachers' Seminar in Kościerzyn]*, in: *Seminaria Poznańskiego Okręgu Szkolnego...*, p. 211–212.

its cultural life. A number of ceremonies and academies with Kashubian music, customs and rituals were organized. Each year, they staged plays that were a part of dramatic creation, including the second and the third part of *Dziady* (*Forefathers' Eve*), *Pan Geldhab* (*Mr. Geldhab*) and *Powrót posła* (*The Return of the Deputy*)²⁵.

Similar activities were conducted by the State Female Teachers' Seminar in Wejherowo. Stanisława Wędrychowska and Stanisława Panek, teachers, wrote the stage work entitled *Swaty kaszubskie* (*Kashubian matchmakers*), and Zbigniew Madejski collected Kashubian dances and created music for them. In this way, they composed and created the entire performance, which gained great popularity and recognition. Due to the high artistic level, it was very popular in the whole region – it was presented in many places in Pomerania, as well as in Gdańsk. A high level was also represented by the school choir, the repertoire of which, along with the works by famous composers, also included Kashubian songs and chants²⁶.

A completely different form of preserving the regional culture was initiated by a teaching group from the State Male Teachers' Seminar in Tuchola. Upon the mutual decision taken in 1929, the Regional Museum of the Tuchola Forests was established at the local branch of the Polish Sightseeing Society (the teachers from this school took up the position of president and the board members). The teachers and students from the university were responsible for collecting exhibits. Within a few years, they collected many objects of material heritage that had come from excavations, which turned out to be so rich that only a part of them was preserved in their own exposition, and a significant number thereof was transferred to the museums in Poznań and Toruń. They collected many historical documents (mainly related to the process of Germanization conducted in this area), as well as elements of equipment and weapons belonging to the insurgents. The geological, geographic and natural department contained many peculiarities of flora and fauna, fossils, collections of photographs, postcards, and drawings. The ethnographic department was also equally rich, and comprised various old daily objects and agricultural tools. In addition, equipment and tools made today by rural manufacturers (with original folk motifs) were exhibited. In the absence of adequate rooms in the city, the museum was housed in the university building²⁷.

A similar museum was also organized by the State Male Teachers' Seminar in Mława. Its establishment was initiated in the 1924–1925 school year and many valuable items were collected within a few years. The most impressive was the department with old ceramics and flint tools. It also contained amber, bronze and silver ornaments from excavations, as well as clay and bone toys. There was also a wide-range ethnographic department containing both old and modern objects (parts of folk costumes, cut-outs, the nativity scenes, holy objects) – characteristic

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ *Seminaria Poznańskiego Okręgu Szkolnego...*, p. 531.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 605.

tools and objects produced in the countryside (painted boxes, everyday objects). After some time, the collections were so large that they occupied part of the university rooms. Subsequently they taken over by the city which arranged a permanent exhibition available to the public²⁸.

The same work on collecting items from excavations and those objects that were the evidence of the culture of this region in the past was also conducted at the State Male Teachers' Seminar in Siennica. Some of its most valuable exhibits were moved to the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw²⁹.

The seminars for national minorities with a foreign language of instruction offered very interesting educational and cultural activities. As part thereof, they tried to emphasize their national identity, preserve their own language, and popularize their native culture. The State Teachers' Seminar with the Ukrainian language of instruction in Lviv, developed the entire formula of presenting its achievements to the public. Special literary and musical evenings focusing on historical events or related to the activities of outstanding representatives of culture, including Taras Shevchenko, Lesi Ukrainka, were prepared in a traditional and systematic manner. Their program consisted of literary and musical works (Ukrainian folk songs were sung, and poems of the above mentioned poets were recited). The first performance took place in front of the seminar students, and later the entire program was repeated for the invited guests in the hall of the Music Society³⁰. At the same time, they conducted a broad range of activities in a school theatre club which staged the most popular and widely acclaimed works. In its most favorable period, i.e. in the first half of 1924, three premiere editions were held: *Natalka–Poltavka* by Kotlarewski, *Werchowyni* by Korzeniowski, and *Sokołyki* by Cegliński³¹. In other years, the number of premieres slightly decreased, but these performances belonged always to very important artistic events in the city.

At the State Teachers' Seminar with the German language of instruction in Łódź, the choir and the orchestra recorded the greatest artistic achievements. Thanks to the high level of performance represented by them, they were almost systematically invited to participate in many state and regional academies and ceremonies. They performed i.a. in the Popular Theater and the Łódź Philharmonic³².

²⁸ J. Ostrowski, *Muzeum regionalne [The regional museum]*, in: *Z pracy państwowych seminariów nauczycielskich...*, p. 154.

²⁹ J. Pierzan, *Dorobek regionalny [Regional achievements]*, in: *Z pracy państwowych seminariów nauczycielskich...*, p. 157.

³⁰ Centralnyj Derżawnnyj Istorycznyj Archiw Ukrainy u Lwovi (hereinafter called: CDIAUL), team 179, department 3, Vol. 1175, card 125.

³¹ *Ibid.*, card 126a.

³² Archiwum Państwowe w Łodzi (hereinafter called: APŁ), Państwowe Seminarium Nauczycielskie z niemieckim językiem nauczania w Łodzi (The State Teachers' Seminar with the German language of instruction in Łódź), 3, p. 6.

A completely original and extremely valuable cultural activity was born at the State Male Seminary in Chełm, as upon the initiative of Kazimierz Andrzej Jaworski, a Polish teacher, the teaching staff was taxed in the amount of PLN 5–10 to issue a literary magazine “Kamen”. The initiator thereof was responsible for the literary part of the magazine (he became the editor as well), Zenon Waśniewski, a drawing teacher at this university, supervised the graphics. In the autumn of 1933, the first edition of the quarterly journal was issued. The same editorial team published “Kamen” without any interruptions until the outbreak of the war. It was pretty unusual, as literary journals usually were established as quickly as they went bankrupt. The circulation of “Kamen” amounted to 300 copies which was not insignificant and low if we consider the fact that the poetry collections were published at that time in several hundred copies. Within a short time, “Kamen” gained a very high position among all literary magazines in Poland. From a quarterly journal, it was transformed into a monthly magazine, and such most prominent contemporary authors as: Franciszek Arnsztajnowa, Tadeusz Bocheński, Józef Czechowicz, Czesław Miłosz, Julian Przyboś, Julian Tuwim, Bruno Schultz and many others included their articles therein³³.

K.A. Jaworski was a very vital person with broad interests, and was extremely distinguished for culture. His activities were highly assessed among the environmental creators and animators of cultural life. The Lublin Association of Cultural Work each year awarded its prize to people who were especially meritorious in the development of science, culture and creation. Its first winner was Julian Krzyżanowski, a professor at the University of Warsaw in 1935 (the prize for his lifetime literary research). In 1936, K.A. Jaworski received the prize. In the justification it was emphasized: *for his original literary work, for particularly valuable translations from the foreign literature, mainly Slavic literature, and for the complete skills and dedication of editing and publishing a monthly literary journal “Kamen” in Chełm*³⁴.

The examples of cultural work conducted by teachers and young teachers' seminars mentioned above constitute only a small but the most typical and characteristic fragment thereof. In order to fully demonstrate the above phenomenon, it would be advisable to mention examples and sizes of actions undertaken by all schools, which is not possible for obvious reasons. However, it needs to be underlined that every school conducted such activities, usually a wide range of activities. In some cases, it was documented or disseminated in a proper manner, in the vast majority however, it was a normal day-to-day reality, which was not given special attention or publicity. Hence, making a distinction or attempting

³³ A. L. Gzella, *Jaworski Kazimierz Andrzej (1897–1973)*, in: *Słownik Biograficzny m. Lublina [The biographical dictionary of Lublin]*, Vol. 1, Lublin 1993, p. 123; L. I. Okoń, *Portret Kazimierza Andrzeja Jaworskiego. Życie i twórczość [The portrait of Kazimierz Andrzej Jaworski. His life and creation]*, Chełm 1983, p. 5, 8.

³⁴ Ibid.

to introduce certain evaluative assessments relating to the magnitude of the achievements of individual people or schools would be doomed to failure. The absence of measurable criteria when formulating evaluations would only lead to unjustifiable limitations of the achievements of some institutions or the distinction of others.

Regardless of their cultural activity, teachers' seminars played a leading role in the preparation of qualified staff for educational work among adults (within broadly understood out-of-school education). Each student during the course of study (most often final-year students, and thus, immediately before graduating from school and taking their first professional job), was obliged to participate in a specially organized course (usually a fourteen-day course) on out-of-school education. As part of it, students learned about the theoretical and practical rules of day-room's life, organizing and running libraries, choirs and folk theaters³⁵. Some schools broadened this course by introducing further activities. At the State Male Teachers' Seminar in Sosnowiec, they organized three-day cooperative courses to prepare future activists in agricultural clubs, and courses regarding military preparation. In consultation with the fire service authorities, the school set up a fire brigade department where young people were prepared (theoretically and practically) to perform the functions of fire instructors in the future³⁶.

An interesting and original activity in terms of dissemination of knowledge was taken by the State Male Teachers' Seminar in Kielce. A. Bancer, a teacher from this school, selected a group of speakers out of the final-year students who, in reply to the invitation from such organizations as the Polish Educational Society, the Union of Rural Youth "Wici" and the Union of Rural Youth "Siew" travelled and delivered popular speeches on topics related to various fields of science. The program of these lectures was often enriched with artistic performances of smaller seminar groups (occasional recitations of selected poems, short humorous plays, performances of music bands). Such educational and cultural meetings were usually very popular, especially among young adults. Only in the first half-year of 1928, they organized 14 meetings, and the number of students amounted to approximately 1,150 people (half-and-half adults and teenagers)³⁷.

Teachers' seminars also played an extremely important role in the dissemination of physical culture and sport, and not only at school. Pedagogical schools belonged to institutions in which physical education (physical exercises) acquired

³⁵ W. Mazur, *Na posterunku [Watching over]*, in: *Z pracy państwowych seminariów nauczycielskich...*, p. 51; J. Doroszewski, *Praca oświatowa i kulturalna na Lubelszczyźnie w latach II Rzeczypospolitej [Educational and cultural work in the region of Lublin in the Second Republic of Poland]*, Lublin 1995, p. 65.

³⁶ W. Mazur, *Na posterunku [Watching over]*, in: *Z pracy państwowych seminariów nauczycielskich...*, p. 51.

³⁷ Archiwum Państwowe w Kielcach (hereinafter called: APK), Państwowe Seminarium Nauczycielskie Męskie w Kielcach (The State Male Teachers' Seminar in Kielce), 1, card 99a.

the status of a subject that was equal with others³⁸. Taking account of the relatively good equipment (only some schools did not have a gymnasium) and construction of outdoor sports facilities thanks to their own funds (the institutions were motivated thanks to specially provided circulars)³⁹, their facilities were relatively good. Moreover, they selected the teaching staff very carefully and really paid much attention to that (people with the highest possible pedagogical and specialist qualifications were employed). As a result of the educational tasks conducted so far, the institutions created a number of possibilities of taking part in the sports life of the entire student community. The last element seemed particularly important due to the social origin of the listeners, who, in an overwhelming majority, were recruited from peasant and craft environments, where they did not have any contact with physical culture for objective reasons. The process of studying at the pedagogical school created such opportunities which, one must admit, were fully utilized. The wide program of sports activities was developed primarily as part of compulsory lessons. Sometimes, an attempt was made to expand them and include additional forms. The State Male Teachers' Seminar in Kielce during the winter holidays in 1932 organized sports day camps. At the city stadium, a skating rink, a ski run, and a tobogganing track were arranged, where young people could practice winter sports under the supervision of teachers⁴⁰.

Teachers' seminars developed mass sport and shaped the concept of a sporting spectacle as a new social phenomenon. This element clearly manifested itself in small towns and larger settlements.

On June 15, 1924, in Lublin, on the initiative of Jan Piechota (a PE teacher at the State Male Teachers' Seminar), the first public gymnastic show took place with the participation of listeners from two teachers' seminars (male and female). It gained a lot of interest from other students from Lublin schools as well as adult audiences⁴¹. An extremely positive side of this new form of presentation was an evidence that its continuation was necessary. From that moment, large-scale shows, and later competitions were included as part of general practice in both seminars. Other high schools in Lublin, which organized similar competitions, also began to take advantage of their experiences. Thus, teachers' training centers became the precursors of practicing sport at school, and sports competition between young people from various institutions that had been previously unknown. Both teachers' seminars in Lublin conducted such activities systematically – the next competitions took place already in the 1925–1926 school year, which were

³⁸ J. Kulpa, *Nauczyciele szkół powszechnych w Polsce w latach 1918–1939 [Teachers from public schools in Poland between 1918–1939]*, Wrocław 1969, p. 50.

³⁹ Lietuvos Centrinis Valstybes Archyvas Vilnius (hereinafter called: LCVAV), team 221, department 1, unit 9, p. 181.

⁴⁰ APK (Archiwum Państwowe w Kielcach), Seminarium Nauczycielskie Męskie w Kielcach (The Male Teachers' Seminar in Kielce), 1, p. 169a.

⁴¹ J. Doroszewski, *Zakłady kształcenia nauczycieli w województwie lubelskim w latach 1918–1939 [Teacher training centers in the Lubelskie Voivodship between 1918–1939]*, Lublin 1999, p. 121.

also very favorably assessed⁴². With time, each of the schools mentioned above improved and expanded forms of popularizing physical culture. In 1928, at the State Female Teachers' Seminary, the school sport day was organized for the first time – a day of large-scale competitions and games with the participation of various groups and grades, which developed a completely unknown phenomenon – an atmosphere of competition which spread to all participants and viewers of this mass sports event. Both students and teachers lived and breathed it⁴³.

The concept of “a sports festival” (also called a school sports day) was shaped in the activities of seminars in the late 1920's. With time, it entered the tradition of many schools (usually they took place in the spring), which was confirmed by a number of reports and other documentation from particular schools. In addition to the already mentioned institutions, the following institutions recorded them as well, i.a. the J. Śniadecki State Male Teachers Seminar in Tarnów⁴⁴ and the State Female Teachers' Seminar in Kołomyja⁴⁵. Most schools did not have similar documentation (or it was destroyed), but undoubtedly these institutions also conducted such activities. Its purpose was always to develop sports interests and mass physical culture among the broad school community, and to disseminate this phenomenon in the environment.

In the development of sport in small settlements or towns, teachers' seminars played a fundamental role. These towns usually did not have any traditions and experiences in this area, and the concept of sports events as a large-scale social phenomenon was not present in their social awareness and did not function. As a result of the activities undertaken in these towns, a base of sports facilities was created (usually from scratch) – playgrounds/pitches and other equipment were built, thanks to which sport developed among the whole local youth, including out-of-school young people.

The development of sports life in Szczepieszyń (Zamość County) was related to the activities conducted by Józef Maż, a PE teacher at the local male seminar. He was an important figure, distinguished by high qualifications and great passion, and had wide professional experience and a constant willingness to act (he constantly took up new initiatives). When he was employed at the seminar (in January 1925), within a month he organized the School Sports Club “Junak”, which was joined by all listeners. This was an unprecedented event, because in

⁴² F. Zalewska, *Wychowanie fizyczne [Physical education]*, in: *Państwowe Seminarium Nauczycielskie Żeńskie im. G. Piramowicza w Lublinie 1916–1936 [The G. Piramowicz State Female Teachers' Seminar in Lublin 1916–1936]*, Lublin 1938, p. 160.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ *Sprawozdanie dyirekcji Państwowego Seminarium Nauczycielskiego Męskiego im. J. Śniadeckiego w Tarnowie za rok szkolny 1925–1926 [The report of the management of the J. Śniadecki State Male Teachers' Seminar in Tarnów for the 1925–1926 school year]*, Tarnów 1926, p. 20.

⁴⁵ *Sprawozdanie dyirekcji Państwowego Seminarium Nauczycielskiego Żeńskiego w Kołomyi za rok szkolny 1930–1931 [The report of the management of the Female Teachers' Seminar in Kołomyja for the 1930–1931 school year]*, Kołomyja 1931, p. 8; *Kronika Państwowego Seminarium Nauczycielskiego Żeńskiego w Kołomyi...*, p. 94, 96.

the current school practice, such clubs did not function at all. Already in 1925, with the involvement of young people, a small pitch, a running track and other track-and-field facilities were built, and a fully professional club was created with the following sections: team games, track-and-field, skating, cycling, tobogganing, and shooting. They initiated the first sports competition with the participation of viewers from the local inhabitants. After they reached an appropriate level of sport, they established cooperation with the State Male Seminary in Chełm, where a similar School Sports Club "Zdrowie" had been established in the meantime, and inter-school competitions of both institutions were organized. Team games enjoyed the greatest popularity and interest of the spectators, and each meeting was a big event in the life of the town and its adjacent villages. It always achieved the status of a spectacle, which was accompanied by the atmosphere of a great sports event. These competitions entered the life of both schools, and were held twice a year (in the autumn and in the spring). They were preceded by planned and long preparations which took place in the atmosphere of general engagement and commitment (some people were preparing for the competition and others were organizing and leading the event). The day of the competition was an event that the entire town community lived and breathed with⁴⁶. A similar atmosphere was when the competitions took place in Chełm.

Sports life in small Leśna Podlaska developed in a very similar way, which was connected with the activities of Wincent Banaszkiewicz, a teacher of the local State Male Teachers' Seminar who created an atmosphere of mutual work and active participation in physical culture among the seminar young people. With this combined effort, an entire complex of sports fields and equipment was built. They established sports sections and clubs (track-and-field, football, volleyball, basketball, chess, table tennis, and winter sports), and got in touch with various sports organizations and clubs from the nearest neighbourhood. They hosted competitions with the participation of teams from other cities, and as part of rematches, school teams participated in many away events. Due to the relatively high level of sport, school teams were invited to take part in competitions held in Biała Podlaska, Siedlce, Brześć nad Bugiem, and competitions with military teams. Athletes also competed in general runs in Warsaw, i.a. with the participation of Janusz Kusociński, a famous Olympian, and scored good results and took decent places⁴⁷. The seminar in Leśna Podlaska played a huge role in shaping the issue of understanding, mutual kindness, healthy competition, and general interest in sport among the local community. All competitions were always held with the participation of large numbers of people, and promoted sports spectacles and

⁴⁶ L. Pawłowski, *Państwowe Seminarium Nauczycielskie Męskie...*, p. 230; H. Kozioł, *Państwowe Seminarium Nauczycielskie Męskie...*, p. 43.

⁴⁷ J. Sroka, *Leśniacy. Zakład kształcenia nauczycieli... [Leśniacy. The Teacher training centers...]*, p. 189.

broadly defined physical culture as an element of youth and adult life in an excellent manner.

Pedagogical schools, thanks to the conducted activities, also played a significant role in promoting large-scale sport in bigger cities. Two teachers' seminars in Krosno (male and female) organized on May 14–15, 1930 a big school sport festival at the municipal stadium for the entire county. Various organizations and local authorities assisted in its preparation. District Governor (Poviat Staroste) took patronage over the entire undertaking and during the opening ceremony, delivered a proper speech. The two-day competition (team games, track-and-field, and shooting) took place with the participation of a large number of spectators – both adults and young people from all secondary schools in the city, and attracted great interest⁴⁸. Also, the (Polish and Jewish) teachers' seminars in Vilnius organized the volleyball and basketball school championships on May 16–27, 1928. At that time, games were held on all fields belonging to these schools. Promoted in a proper way, this acclaimed event that was accepted by the entire local community, attracted a large number of adults, and, above all, school students⁴⁹.

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⁴⁸ CDIAUL, team 179, department 3, Vol. 122, card 122.

⁴⁹ LCVAV, team 121, department 1, unit 9, p. 139.

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The educational and cultural activity of teachers' seminars in Poland between 1918–1937

Summary

Teachers' seminars were schools which prepared teachers for general elementary education. They fulfilled this task very well. During the time of their existence, i.e. between 1918–1937, they systematically provided graduates. In the 1930's, the general education already enjoyed fully qualified teaching staff. The teachers' seminars, aside from basic didactic tasks, fulfilled very important functions in respect of cultural development of their listeners. At that time, every seminar student during the entire studying period at school, obligatorily participated (at his/her own discretion) in chosen cultural classes. These were i.a. theatrical, drama and dancing clubs, choir, orchestra and others. Within these classes, they used to prepare various plays, shows, theatrical plays, displays and public performances. Firstly, they were presented for all the students on the premises of their own school, and later they were repeated during public shows for the local society. It must be stressed that all such public performances always enjoyed very high popularity and general appreciation of local society, and were always a significant event in a daily life.

Graduates of teacher' seminars, already as qualified teachers were engaged in pedagogical work primarily in the country (Poland was mainly an agricultural country). They were not mostly limited only to didactic work with children but they also were developing wide activities among young people, who had already graduated from school (in respect of the so-called extracurricular education among adults). Having gained certain experience and knowledge at the seminar, they used to organise all the cultural life together with these young adults. Therefore, they used to run various artistic clubs, organise shows and parties, stage plays, performances, national and regional ceremonies. The amateur theatre enjoyed the highest popularity and theatrical plays were part of events that were talked about for a long time, always in a flattering manner. The majority of cultural events took place in the autumn and in the winter when the extent of field-works decreased. There is no doubt that the entire amateur cultural movement in the country was developing thanks to the activity and commitment of the teachers – students from the teachers' seminars.

Keywords: teacher, student, youth, cultural life, artistic group, party/event, show/display, performance/play, theatre.

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THE PARTICIPATION OF HELENA RADLIŃSKA IN THE EUROPEAN SOCIAL AND PEDAGOGICAL MOVEMENT (1918–1939)

Possibilities of international cooperation in terms of education, pedagogy and society, which were opened in Poland after 1918, included various traditions, ideas, goals and institutions. Brussels with its leading International University was one of the major, broadly engaged scientific centers and was followed by another famous places, i.e. Geneva, where in 1912 Edouard Claparède and Pierre Bovet, well-known scholars, established a center of pedagogical and psychological studies – the “Jean Jacques Rousseau” Institute. After World War I, Geneva became the main place for European educational initiatives. In 1925, the International Bureau of Education (Fr. Bureau International d’Education) was established in this city.

Europe in those times witnessed a broad process of social and cultural modernization. The ideas of social freedom and justice, pacifism and international brotherhood, the emancipation of women and children’s rights came to the fore. The institutions of international social and educational cooperation were established and developed, such as the Executive Council of the International Congresses of Moral Education in London, the Council of the Education Bureau in Geneva, the International New Education Fellowship in Geneva (with its centers also in London and Berlin), the International Commission for Teaching Aids in Brussels, and the Organizing Committee of the Social Service Conferences in Paris.

One of the common denominators of the activities of the above mentioned institutions was the concept of “new education” (*Reformpädagogik*, *education nouvelle*). This direction was in opposition to the intellectual and authoritative notion of “traditional school”, preferring passive education and memory teaching. The new education introduced the idea of moral education and free development

of an individual, and more generally, developed the slogans of humanity and pacifism, broke with social elitism, and promoted the principles of coeducation. After World War I, the new education movement paid particular attention to the education of young generation in the spirit of interpersonal peace, and thus, to creating a new, better world, free of wartime dramas. These concepts grew in connection with the visions of “repairing the world” and educating “a new man” promoted by the League of Nations, which was established in Geneva in 1920. The most well-known Polish pedagogues and psychologists who developed the ideas of the new education were: Józefa Joteyko, Henryk Rowid, Władysław Radwan, Janusz Korczak (Henryk Goldszmid) and Helena Radlińska¹.

The second major area of international cooperation in this period was the dynamically developing movement of social work. The movement was aimed at professionalizing social and charity work. It perceived social assistance and social care as an important task of the social policy of the state and self-government, and in a different aspect – as a tool for social activation and self-development. The American and Canadian educational patterns regarding *social service* from the end of the 19th century, with the concepts of Mary Richmond and Jane Addams in the forefront, played an important role in its development. The School of Social Work for Women (Soziale Frauenschule) founded in 1908 in Berlin by Alice Salomon was famous in Europe.

Helena Radlińska (1879–1954), the creator of social pedagogy in Poland², participated creatively in the mentioned works and undertakings, as well as in other European social and educational centers. Radlińska mentioned in *Listy o nauczaniu i pracy badawczej (Letters on teaching and research work)* about the ideas and tasks, areas and directions of those multi-year various efforts undertaken at international level, about the people she had met and with whom she had cooperated, about the institutions that she had visited and learned about, about her joys and failures, and said i.a. that: *the Western World was then* [after 1918 – WT] *widely open, and the employees and Polish activists always felt part of it*³.

¹ See: L. Chmaj, *Prądy i kierunki w pedagogice XX wieku [Trends and movements in pedagogy in the 20th century]*, Warszawa 1963; K. Sośnicki, *Rozwój pedagogiki zachodniej na przełomie XIX i XX wieku [The development of Western pedagogy at the turn of the 19th century to the 20th century]*, Warszawa 1967; S. Wołoszyn, *Nauki o wychowaniu w Polsce. Próba zarysu encyklopedycznego [Sciences on upbringing in Poland. An attempt to present an encyclopedic outline]*, Kielce 1998; B. Suchodolski, *Wychowanie mimo wszystko [Undaunted upbringing]*, Warszawa 1990, p. 372–391; J. Sobczak, *Recepcja idei „Nowego Wychowania” w polskiej pedagogice między wojnami [Reception of the idea of “New Education” in Polish interwar pedagogy]*, part 1, Bydgoszcz 1978, part 2, Bydgoszcz 1979.

² See: H. Radlińska, *Życiorys własny [My own biography]*, „Pedagogika Społeczna” 2014, No. 4; I. Lepalczyk, W. Skibińska, *Helena Radlińska. Kalendarium życia i pracy [Helena Radlińska. Her life and work]*, „Roczniki Biblioteczne” 1974, No. 1–2; W. Theiss, *Radlińska*, Warszawa 1997; *Radlińska. Nauka i zaangażowanie [Radlińska. Education and commitment]*, an on-line exhibition, (access: 24.08.2018), available at: www.radlinska.pl

³ H. Radlińska, *Z dziejów pracy społecznej i oświatowej [From the history of social and educational work]*, sel. and ed. W. Wyrobkowska-Pawłowska, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1964, p. 405.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES OF MORAL EDUCATION

The Association of the International Moral Education Congress was established in 1908 in London, and in 1938 merged with the New Education Fellowship. It promoted the idea of moral development and progress, leading to peaceful cooperation between people of different nationalities and religions. Moral development of humanity was supposed to prevent wars, spread of evil, and hate. It was assumed that it can be achieved thanks to upbringing which stimulates excitement releasing hostility and hatred, and “ennobles instincts”. This is the role of ambitious projects of international cooperation and rivalry of young people in the economic, cultural and scientific fields. The theses and goals signalized by the association referred, i.a. to the text *Moralny ekwiwalent wojny (Moral Equivalent of War)* published in 1906 by William James, a well-known American philosopher, a psychologist and an educator⁴.

Radlińska participated in three conferences launched by this organization: in Geneva (1922), Paris (1930) and Cracow (1934). The following conferences were also attended by: Józefa Joteyko, Oskar Halecki, Bogdan Nawroczyński, Zygmunt Mysłakowski, Jadwiga Michałowska, and Helena Witkowska. The Western Europe and the United States of America were represented by: P. Bovet, Celestyn Bouglé, Adolf Ferrière, Friedrich W. Foerster, Frederick J. Gould and W. James⁵.

During the conference in Geneva, Radlińska presented a lecture on the role of teaching history in shaping “new”, i.e. peaceful relations between people. Her voice, like the voices of other participants, that history should teach “a sense of universal humanity”, mutual understanding and respect, had an exceptional message especially with regard to the recently completed World War I. Congress debates on upbringing for the sake of peace in no way meant conformity while assessing various facts and historical experiences. When an American speaker emphasized the values of wartime conspiracy in raising and educating young people, he encountered opposition and resistance from Radlińska and Natalia Gąsiorowska, who indicated bad features of conspiracy, such as a frequent lack of individual responsibility, fantasizing or exaggerating the details of the conducted activities. Apart from Radlińska and Gąsiorowska,

⁴ Ibid., p. 409–410; H. Radlińska, *Stosunek wychowawcy do środowiska społecznego. Szkice z pedagogiki społecznej [The attitude of a tutor to the social environment. Sketches from social pedagogy]*, Warszawa 1935, p. 22, 44, 240.

⁵ L. Grochowski, *Udział Polski w międzynarodowym ruchu pedagogicznym w okresie międzywojennym [The participation of Poland in the international pedagogical movement in the interwar period]*, in: Idem, *Studia z dziejów polskiej szkoły i pedagogiki lat międzywojennych [Studies on the history of Polish school and pedagogy of the interwar period]*, Warszawa 1996, p. 10–11; Ł. Kabzińska, *Idea wychowania moralno-społecznego w programach międzynarodowych kongresów pedagogicznych okresu międzywojennego [The idea of moral and social education in international programs of pedagogical congresses in the interwar period]*, „Warmińsko-Mazurski Kwartalnik Naukowy. Nauki Społeczne” 2013, No. 4.

Poland was also represented at the conference by: Henryk Elzenberg, Oskar Halecki and Stanisław Słowski⁶.

Probably under the influence of the International Congresses of Moral Education, the First Polish Congress of Moral Education was organized in 1926 in Warsaw. The Congress presidium was composed of: Stanisław Kalinowski (chairman), J. Joteyko, Antoni Bolesław Dobrowolski, Samuel Dickstein and H. Radlińska. In the opinion of the historian, the initiative to organize the congress was supported by the European Freemasonry. The congress took place, although the ministry of education did not give permission⁷. Radlińska informed the participants of the Warsaw Congress about previous congresses of moral education, she also presented a message about the upcoming congress in Rome. During her speech about the role of teaching history in the development of pacifist attitudes, she stated: *This education should introduce everything what is perceived as an important achievement of humanity, show the influence of nature, work and spirit, teach how to look at historical phenomena not only with the eyes of an actor – but all the roles of a great drama, to distinguish the values of heroism and dedication from the values of the forms it had taken*⁸.

At international level, the Congresses of Moral Education invariably, starting with the congress in Geneva, focused on the role of European history and culture in building peaceful cooperation between people and nations. Although Radlińska had noticed and appreciated this potential, she did not succumb to uncritical optimism. She was hesitant to get overly excited about clearly idealistic slogans of brotherhood of nations. She did not deny the values and benefits from international youth contacts, as she was talking about during the Congress of the Education Bureau in Prague (1927) in the paper entitled: *Międzynarodowa wymiana pomocy szkolnych (The International Exchange of Teaching Aids)*⁹. She argued, however, that the differences in national experiences sometimes lead to misunderstanding and prevent reaching common positions. In her point of view, an example of a difficulty in communicating on the basis of shared history was an attack on Polish textbooks, which took place during the Congress and was initiated by the representatives of Ukraine and Germany¹⁰. As she admitted ruthlessly

⁶ H. Orsza-Radlińska, *III Międzynarodowy Kongres Wychowania Moralnego w Genewie [The Third International Congress of Moral Education in Geneva]*, „Szkoła Powszechna” 1922, Vol. IV; see also: H. Elzenberg, *Trzeci Międzynarodowy Kongres Wychowania Moralnego w Genewie [The Third International Congress of Moral Education in Geneva]*, „Ruch Pedagogiczny” 1922, No. 7–8.

⁷ L. Chajm, *Wolnomularstwo w II Rzeczypospolitej [Freemasonry in the Second Republic of Poland]*, Warszawa 1975, p. 386; I. Lepalczyk, W. Skibińska, *Helena Radlińska...*

⁸ H. Radlińska, *IV Międzynarodowy Kongres Wychowania Moralnego [The Fourth International Congress of Moral Education]*, „Praca Szkolna” 1926, No. 1.

⁹ Ibid., *Międzynarodowa wymiana pomocy szkolnych [The International Exchange of Teaching Aids]*, „Praca Szkolna” 1927, No. 5.

¹⁰ Ibid., *Sprawozdanie z Międzynarodowego Zjazdu: „Szkoła w służbie pokoju”, który odbył się z inicjatywy Międzynarodowego Biura Wychowania w Pradze Czeskiej (16–20 Kwietnia 1927 r.) [The report on the International Congress: “School for peace”, which was held on the initiative of the International Bureau of Education in Prague, the Czech Republic (April 16–20, 1927)]*, „Praca Szkolna” 1927, No. 5.

pacifists were shocked by the confession she had made: [...] *I want all the wars to come to an end, but the most expensive and the only jewels I have, are the badges and crosses earned in the struggle for independence*¹¹.

The problem of teaching history as a means of moral education was also taken into consideration during the 5th International Congress of Moral Education, which took place on September 23–27, 1930 at the Sorbonne University in Paris. Radlińska joined the discussion on this topic¹². Moreover, the Congress addressed the issues concerning the role of discipline and autonomy in moral education, as well as the methods of moral education, i.a. Peter Petersen with his paper entitled *Przymus i autonomia w wychowaniu (Coercion and autonomy in upbringing)* and Jean Piaget with *Różne sposoby postępowania w wychowaniu moralnym (Various ways to deal with moral education)* delivered speeches upon this topic¹³.

The general messages and detailed objectives of these congresses concentrated on broad, transnational and pro-European issues. However, the scope of topics suggested during the next 6th Congress of Moral Education, which took place on September 11–15, 1934, in Cracow, was even wider – as it concerned almost global problems. The topics to be discussed during this meeting suggested by Radlińska were: *Sily moralne wspólne wszystkim ludziom, ich źródła i rozwój przez wychowanie (Moral strength common to all people, their sources and development through upbringing)*. This is also the title of a post-conference book hardly available today, containing many unique statements¹⁴.

The Congress in Cracow was attended by the prominent representatives of the European movements and educational institutions such as i.a. the aforementioned F. J. Gould, C. Bouglé and P. Petersen, as well as Tohaiko Tomoyeda from Japan, Mahayot Sahai from India, and Constantin Narly from Romania. The first speaker of those mentioned above in his opening speech said about a possible Freemasonry provenance, revealing the ideas and goals of the Congress: *our Congress is in line with the ideals of economic reforms, political freedom, the League of Nations and the unity of the world. The highest purpose of education is to reveal this hidden unity of the world. Education together with economic and social action in a mutual effort, build the temple of the future united world. All varieties of the human soul co-create this eternal work of upbringing and education: the advantages of the most powerful nations, the heart and resourcefulness*

¹¹ Ibid., *Z dziejów pracy społecznej*..., p. 413.

¹² H. R. [Helena Radlińska], *Kongres Wychowania Moralnego w Paryżu [The Congress of Moral Education in Paris]*, „Ruch Pedagogiczny” 1930, No. 10; see also: E. Białynia, *Kongres Wychowania Moralnego [The Congress of Moral Education]*, „Zręb” 1930, Vol. IV, chapter No. 1.

¹³ Ł. Kabzińska, *Idea wychowania moralno-społecznego*...,

¹⁴ *Sily moralne wspólne wszystkim ludziom, ich źródła i rozwój przez wychowanie. Referaty wygłoszone na VI Międzynarodowym Kongresie Wychowania Moralnego w Krakowie [Moral strength common to all people, their sources and development through upbringing. The papers delivered at the Sixth International Congress of Moral Education in Cracow]*, a collective work, Kraków 1934.

FIG. 1.



Source: National Digital Archives (Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe NAC), ref. 1 – M – 579 – 9

The participants of the 6th Congress of Moral Education in Cracow. The inaugural meeting in the Collegium Novum assembly hall of the Jagiellonian University. The first row: Col. Marian Bolesławicz (2nd from the left), Mikołaj Kwaśniewski, governor of Cracow, (3rd from the left), Wacław Jędrzejewicz, Minister, (4th from left), James Frederic Gould (5th from the left), Prof. Jan Stanisław Bystron (6th from the left).

FIG. 2–3.



Source: NAC, ref. 1 – M – 575 – 4; 1 – M – 575 – 5



Source: NAC, ref. 1 – M – 575 – 4; 1 – M – 575 – 5

The participants of the Congress in the arcade courtyard of the Wawel Royal Castle.

FIG. 4.



Source: NAC, ref. 1 – M – 575 – 6

The participants of the Congress in the Collegium Novum assembly hall of the Jagiellonian University, i.a. Prof. Helena Willmowa (the first row, 2nd from the left).

FIG. 5.



Source: NAC, ref. 1 – M – 575 – 9

James Frederic Gould – a British sociologist, a theoretician of upbringing, chairman of the committee organizing the Congress in Cracow.

*of the quietest housewife, the power of the deepest thinker, the naive virtues of primitive tribes. Yes, indeed, the subject of our Congress is extremely difficult, but wonderful at the same time*¹⁵.

Equally famous Polish participants took part in the Congress i.a.: Sergiusz Hessen, a professor at the Free Polish University (Pol. Wolna Wszechnica Polska), Bohdan Nawroczyński, a professor at the University of Warsaw, Alina Szemińska, an assistant of J. Piaget, Stefan Szuman, a professor at the Jagiellonian University, Rev. Aleksander Wóycicki, a professor at the Vilnius University, and Florian Znaniecki already known in the world science.

Amid numerous congressional lectures, special attention is paid to the speeches of Poles who linked the issue of moral education with a broad social context. Aleksander Wóycicki in *Podstawy wychowania moralnego (The foundations of moral education)*, presented – coming ahead of the arrangements made by Aleksander Zinoviev and Józef Tischner by many years – two figures of a man at that time: a communist man (homo sovieticus) and an European man (homo

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 6.

europaeus)¹⁶. In turn F. Znaniecki, while publishing *Dążenia społeczne jako siły moralne (Social pursuit as moral forces)*, advocated searching for – with the help of “moral forces”, “active forces” – a “new social order” in line with the applicable norms¹⁷.

Because of illness, Radlińska did not take part in the congress in Cracow. In her paper entitled *Interwencja (Intervention)*, she touched upon the issue of durability and changeability of ideals. She highlighted that ideals of education and upbringing function in different contexts, situations or content. Failing to notice it can sometimes mislead us. To a large extent the young people themselves should decide upon the choice of values and ideals. She talked about that using such a figurative statement: *The youth does not know the dust of roads adapted to the needs of today's life on which the commentators of truth drag*. She warned as well against conducting a narrow and authoritative educational activity, which restricts natural striving of young people for achieving new values, or closes the way back to the ideals cultivated in the previous epochs. She concluded: *Upbringing requires an atmosphere of freedom and selfless service which is directed towards upland and still being reached sources, which have been feeding all nations for centuries*¹⁸.

THE CONGRESSES OF THE NEW EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP

Since 1921, the slogans of universal consent and peace, “the upbringing and education of a human community based on the idea of fraternal love”, were also promoted by the New Education Fellowship (Ligue Internationale de L'Education Nouvelle). According to the representatives of this movement, “a new world” – a world of people guided by international solidarity, an agreement on tolerance – can be built by a “school of creativity” that nurtures, liberates and multiplies the child’s “spiritual forces”. As far as teaching and upbringing are concerned, this school follows the guidelines of the “child’s measures”, takes account of its dispositions, interests, hobbies, and possibilities tailored to its age. This meant breaking with the concept of traditional school, and adopting new pedagogical ideas. The prime role in the structures of the fellowship was played by: Beatrice Ensor, the main organizer thereof, and A. Ferrière and P. Bovet, who, as Radlińska noted, connected the organization with the Congresses of moral education¹⁹.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 284–298.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 144–149.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 354–357.

¹⁹ H. Radlińska, *Z dziejów pracy społecznej...*, p. 413–415; see also: Ł. Kabzińska, *Udział polskich pedagogów w Międzynarodowych Kongresach Ligi Nowego Wychowania okresu międzywojennego [The participation of Polish pedagogues in the International Congresses of the New Education Fellowship in the interwar period]*, in: *Kongresy i zjazdy pedagogiczne w Polsce w XX w. [Educational congresses and meetings in Poland in the 20th century]*, ed. A. Kicowska, Toruń 2001, p. 188–208.

Radlińska participated in the following conferences of the fellowship: Montreux (1924), Locarno (1927), Helsingör/Elsinör (1929), Nice (1932). During the 4th International Congress of the New Education Fellowship in Locarno, she gave a lecture entitled *L'éducation nouvelle en Pologne*. At that time she became more involved in the operation of the Polish Section of the International New Education Fellowship, which was established during the Congress in Locarno. Initially, she was chairwoman and collaborated with such people as: Maria Grzegorzewska, Halina Kuropatwińska, Jadwiga Michałowska, Anna Oderfeldówna, or Maria Sokalowa²⁰. In reply to the invitation of the Polish Section of the Fellowship to visit Poland, E. Claparède, P. Bovet, A. Ferrière and J. Piaget came to visit the Universal National Exhibition in Poznań. Other activists of the Fellowship got also familiar with the history and current situation in our country: B. Ensor and Paul Otlet, an author of the project called *Mondaneum (Cité Mondiale)*, defined as the World Center of Culture and Science. The achievements of the section included i.a. the organization of the First Slavonic Pedagogical Congress in Warsaw (1931).

In contrast, the 5th International Fellowship Congress which took place in Helsingör/Elsinör (1929) focused on folk universities and educating adult people. Radlińska presented at that time a paper about the school's attitude to society. However, at the last moment, Florian Znaniecki, who had planned to deliver a speech entitled *Self-education as against education* resigned from participating in the congress²¹. It should be added that approximately 100 teachers and educators from Poland participated in the Congress, which undoubtedly demonstrated great interest and the importance of the issues discussed therein.

Radlińska attempted to introduce social issues to the scope of topics touched upon during the International Congresses of Moral Education and the New Education Fellowship. Taking account of the opinions about social harmony, order, peace or "the hidden unity of the world", her remarks could sometimes sound like dissonance. They were up to the point and realistic. Their content was critical. They demonstrated real connections between the process of upbringing, and political and economic conditions. This applies to the paper *Przyczyny społeczne niepowodzenia dziecka w szkole (The social reasons of children's failure at school)*, presented by her during the 6th Congress of the Fellowship in Nice (1932), which did not mention about the successes of Polish education. On the contrary,

²⁰ H. R. [Radlińska Helena], *Sekcja Polska Międzynarodowej Ligi Nowego Wychowania [The Polish Section of the International New Education Fellowship]*, „Oświata i Wychowanie” 1930, No. 4; see also: M. Grzegorzewska, *IV Kongres Międzynarodowej Ligi Nowego Wychowania [The Fourth Congress of the International New Education Fellowship]*, „Polskie Archiwum Psychologii” 1927, Vol. 1, No. 4.

²¹ A. Gustowicz, *V Międzynarodowy Zjazd Ligi Nowego Wychowania w Helsingör, 8–21 VIII 1929 [The Fifth International Congress of the New Education Fellowship in Helsingör, August 8–21, 1929]*, „Muzeum” 1929, Vol. 3; see also: W. Theiss, *Florian Znaniecki i pedagogika [Florian Znaniecki and pedagogy]*, in: *Historia. Społeczeństwo. Wychowanie. Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana Profesorowi Józefowi Miqso [History. Society. Education. Memorial book dedicated to Prof. Józef Miqso]*, ed. K. Bartnicka et al., Pułtusk–Warszawa 2004, p. 512–527; see also A. O., *VII Kongres Międzynarodowej Ligi Nowego Wychowania [The Seventh Congress of the International New Education Fellowship]*, „Ruch Pedagogiczny” 1936/37, No. 6.

the author showed the limited educational opportunities for children from rural and workers' environments. Shortly afterwards, Radlińska published a comprehensive report on these studies and included it in a known collective work *Spoleczne przyczyny powodzeń i niepowodzeń szkolnych (Social reasons for school successes and failures)* (1937). Thanks to its theoretical and methodological values, as well as critical and emancipatory content, the book belongs still up today to the strictest canon of works on social pedagogy.

The Congress which was held in Nice gave Radlińska an opportunity for wider observation and reflection. Here is one of them: *What a fear – she recalled – I had experienced in Berlin before the Congress of Nice, when I was looking at those uniformed organizations, which hated each other, just like congeries of degenerates. I took the earliest possible train and I ran away to Leipzig to see different Germany, and to learn about Walter Hoffman's pedagogy. That place was even more different. But what will happen tomorrow*²². Another participant of the Congress in Nice, Hani Mokoto, a well-known Japanese social activist in the field of feminism, a journalist and an educator warned about types of totalitarianism – communism and fascism – which were already noticeable at that time all over the world²³.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES OF SOCIAL WORK

Radlińska joined the International Conference of Social Work in 1926 and became a Polish representative in the Conference Executive Committee. The Conferences of Social Work – similarly to the aforementioned organizations from the New Education movement – were aimed at implementing broadly understood ideas of individual and social success. “Social work” (social service) raising the standard of living, according to Radlińska, was meant to be the measure to achieve this goal – “in terms of health, nutrition, education, creativity and entertainment”.

In 1926, Radlińska took part in the conference of managers of social work schools in Paris, during which the Committee organizing the International Conference of Social Work was established. At that time she met the creators of the social work movement, i.e. the leaders at the European level, such as Mary Hurlbutt, Alice Masaryková, Maria Mulle, Alicja Salomon, René Sand and Alfred Niceforo. This group decided about further development and work directions of the Conference. An ambitious decision was to organize three European congresses in 1928: the International Congress of Chilcare, the International Congress of

²² Idem., *Z dziejów pracy...*, p. 425

²³ H. Mokoto, *The School, a Society which Lives, Grows and Acts*, address given at the conference of the New Education Fellowship held at Nice in August 1932, p. 16; see also: L. L. Johnson, *Hani Mokoto (1873–1957)*, in: *Woman in World History. A Biographical Encyclopaedia*, 2002, (access: 5.05.2017), available at: <http://www.encyclopedia.com>; J. Michałowska, *VI Międzynarodowy Kongres Ligi Nowego Wychowania w Nicei [The Sixth International Congress of the New Education Fellowship in Nice]*, „Oświata i Wychowanie” 1932, Vol. 8.

Social and Private Care, and the Conference of the Social Work. Significantly, it was emphasized that the character of those Conferences was supposed to be voluntary, apolitical and non-religious²⁴.

During the above mentioned convention in Paris, Radlińska acted already as the founder and manager of the Study of Social and Educational Work at the Free Polish University in Warsaw (1925). The ideological foundation thereof, as well as the source of scientific and didactic work patterns were – apart from in-depth analyzes of social and educational needs of the country and own rich educational experiences of Radlińska – the observations made during foreign trips to well-known centers of social and educational work in Germany, Switzerland, Belgium and Denmark²⁵.

In 1927, the Polish Committee of the Conference of the Social Work was established under the direction of Ludwik Krzywicki. In 1928 the Committee was composed i.a. of: Witold Chodźko, Stefan Dziewulski, Konstanty Krzeczowski, Radlińska (as secretary) and Gustaw Simon. Its function was to inform European partners about the stages of social work in Poland, as well as to initiate and organize scientific works, research, seminars, and publications. The first publications in Poland fulfilled a similar informative and scientific function in the field of social work: the published brochure entitled *Śłużba społeczna w Polsce (Social Work in Poland) (1928)* edited by L. Krzywicki, as well as two texts written by Radlińska – *Istota i zakres służby społecznej (The essence and scope of social work)* (the paper presented during the Congress of Polish Social Workers in 1928) and the brochure *Szkoły pracy społecznej w Polsce (Social work schools in Poland) (1928)*²⁶.

After two years of preparation, the First International Conference of the Social Work took place in 1928 in Paris. A group of about 100 Poles participated in it – scientists, social activists, managers of social and educational institutions, state officials and students. L. Krzywicki was invited to take part in the Conference Bureau. He delivered a paper entitled *Le service social en Pologne*, while H. Radlińska spoke at the plenary session about *Les écoles de service social et l'enseignement donné aux adultes*, and during the meeting of one of the conference sections she presented *L'enseignement du service social en Pologne*. Halina Krahelska, who participated in those events, informed that the paper by

²⁴ H. R. [H. Radlińska], *Międzynarodowa konferencja pracowników społecznych [The International Conference of Social Workers]*, „Praca i Opieka Społeczna” 1927, No. 1; Ibid., *Przygotowania do Międzynarodowej Konferencji Służby Społecznej [Preparations for the International Conference of the Social Service]*, „Praca i Opieka Społeczna” 1927, No. 4.

²⁵ See: H. Orsza-Radlińska, *Studium Pracy Kulturalnej [A Study of Cultural Work]*, Warszawa 1925.

²⁶ Ibid., *Istota i zakres służby społecznej [The essence and scope of social work]*, „Opieka nad Dzieckiem” 1928 No. 3; print Warszawa 1928; Ibid., *Szkoły pracy społecznej w Polsce [Social work schools in Poland]*, Warszawa 1928.

Radlińska was recognized by Masaryková, chairwoman of the conference, as one of the most valuable²⁷.

The findings made by the Paris conference confirmed the rights of all people to take advantage of the cultural heritage. The necessity to abandon philanthropy and the need to develop methods of social education were considered extremely crucial. This last issue was directly connected with the need of educating professional social workers which was promoted by Radlinska²⁸.

A group of students of Radlińska from the Study of Social and Educational Work at the Free Polish University in Warsaw participated in the conference in Paris. While travelling to Paris, they visited social and educational institutions in Czechoslovakia, Austria and Switzerland, and on the way back – Belgium. Such a study trip is also at present a good example of academic work. Those young Poles were traveling with Radlińska throughout Europe as they valued the possibility of international cooperation and the opportunity offered by learning from others, a dialogue, and an exchange of experiences.

The problems mentioned above became the very centre of attention during the 2nd International Conference of Social Work in Frankfurt am Main (1932). The meeting concerned the issue of caring for the family. At that time, they did not limit their discussions to the conclusion that the family played a fundamental role in the process of care and upbringing. The participants attempted to define a set of measures providing the family with optimal developmental conditions which would protect it from shortages of funds, educational dysfunctions or any breakdown. The considerations presented by Radlińska in the *Education populaire au service de la culture familiale* concentrated on similar aspects. The material and cultural help promoted by the author would provide the family with a minimum level of living conditions, and raise the level of knowledge, and awareness of parents of childcare. Those tasks would be assigned to the institutions of *public good*²⁹.

In her post-conference reflections, Radlińska paid a lot of attention to the issues of theology and terminology related to social work (service). She believed that a separate area of social work was primarily: child care, social welfare assistance for adults, as well as organization and protection of work. Radlińska used to approach this issue once again during the meeting of the International Committee of Social Work Schools, which took place in Frankfurt, immediately after the aforementioned 2nd International Conference. In her speech, she stressed that even

²⁷ H. Krahelska, *Międzynarodowy Kongres Służby Społecznej w Paryżu [The International Congress of the Social Service in Paris]*, „Praca i Opieka Społeczna” 1928, No. 3.

²⁸ H. R. [H. Radlińska], *Zjazdy społeczne w Paryżu [Social congresses in Paris]*, „Polska Oświata Pozaszkolna” 1929, No. 1.

²⁹ Idem., *Rodzina i świat społeczny (Z obrad II Międzynarodowej Konferencji Służby Społecznej w Frankfurcie n/Menem) [Family and the social world (From the deliberations of the Second International Conference of Social Service in Frankfurt am Main)]*. The paper was delivered in the Polish Radio on 25.10.1932, „Polska Oświata Pozaszkolna” 1932, No. 6; print Warszawa 1933.

the most noble slogans concerning family support would remain just slogans, if there were no social workers prepared to work with the family³⁰.

The 3rd International Social Work Conference was held in London in 1936, and concentrated on the role of social work (service) in organizing the local environment. The discussions were held in the following problem committees: health care, upbringing and holidays, social care benefits, social adaptation to the environment, and unemployment³¹.

The program of Polish preparations for this symposium stressed the importance of environmental diagnostics as a prerequisite for any social and cultural activities in the environment. Because of her illness, Radlińska did not go to London, but her paper on *The Importance of Social Educational Research for Planning Social Progress* was presented during the plenary session of the Conference. However, Stanisław Rychliński in his paper *Środowiska a praca społeczna (Environments vs. social work)*, while referring to Polish realities, developed a thesis about the need to “create a community”, i.e. to dynamize and guide the local social forces towards building cooperation. *This work – he explained – is extremely troublesome in a country stuck in poverty, deprived of democratic centers of cohabitation, with the most disastrous traditions of lawlessness and disorder, which move suddenly towards absolutism that has no consideration for individuals’ pursuit of active participation in society*³².

* * *

The participation of Helena Radlińska in the international scientific meetings presented herein, as well as in many others which took place in the interwar period but were skipped in this paper, created an opportunity for the Polish educators to establish contacts with people and environments almost from the whole Europe. The role played in this area for many years by Radlińska, and her great dedication and commitment were invaluable.

The social results of activity led by Radlińska, many other people and groups representing the Polish institutions, and social and educational environments consisted in initiating and developing valuable contacts between people and institutions. In this way, new “educational and social devices” were built and developed: from, e.g. agricultural training courses and social assistance courses, through libraries and schools, to universities. With regard to its scientific aspect, this activity translated into the development of the theory and practice of social pedagogy;

³⁰ Idem., *Badania społeczne i praktyka pracy społecznej. (Z obrad Międzynarodowego Komitetu Szkół Pracy Społecznej) [Social research and the practice of social work. (From the deliberations of the International Committee of Social Work Schools)]*. „Oświata i Wychowanie” 1932, No. 10.

³¹ H. M., *III Międzynarodowa Konferencja Pracy Społecznej w Londynie [The Third International Social Work Conference in London]*, „Przegląd Socjologiczny” 1936, No. 3–4.

³² S. Rychliński, *Środowisko a praca społeczna. Na marginesie Trzeciej Międzynarodowej Konferencji Pracy Społecznej [Environment vs. social work. A marginal note of the Third International Social Work Conference]*, „Przegląd Socjologiczny” 1936, No. 1–2.

deepened the understanding of some solutions and presented them in a broad European context. The influences in terms of axiology of upbringing (e.g. the idea of education for peace, a dialogue and an interpersonal agreement), social practice (e.g. the role of social assistance and care, and shaping the figure of a social worker), or methodology (e.g. an innovative method of social and educational work, known as research and action) might be touched upon here.

Nowadays, special emphasis is put on – as it was emphasized during many of the above mentioned international meetings – noticing the potential in this young generation who can remodel Europe thanks to peaceful cooperation. This idealistic assumption was clearly connected with the thesis by Ellen Key who referred to the 20th century as “the century of a child”. The other side of reality was also noticed and strongly emphasized, i.e. the difficult social and cultural realities in which young generations of the interwar Europe grew up – with no chance to develop and be successful in life. The impulses stemming from both sides enriched the model, which was developing in the country, of social pedagogy engaged in changing the world. On the basis of the fundamental rights of democracy, headed by freedom, personal dignity and civil liberties, assuming that the state upholds those rights, Radlińska regarded social pedagogy as an important driver of the “bottom-up” process of building democracy, a mechanism thanks to which “top-down”, constitutional and legal foundations of democracy “develop in people”. They are present in their thoughts and actions.

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The participation of Helena Radlińska in the European social and pedagogical movement (1918–1939)

Summary

The article outlines the international activity of Helena Radlińska (1879–1954), the creator of Polish social pedagogy, conducted in terms of education and society between 1918–1939. The presented works, their scope, directions and objectives were related to the functioning and operation of the largest European educational centers at the time, such as mainly: International Congresses of Moral Education in London, International Education Bureau in Geneva, International New Education Fellowship in Geneva, and International Conferences of Social

Work in Paris. This activity carried out by Radlińska in a committed manner for many years led to many important social, scientific and methodological achievements. As a result of the activities of Radlińska presented herein, as well as of other educational activists, Warsaw in this period was one of the most important European centers of international cooperation regarding broadly understood education, upbringing and social work.

Keywords: Helena Radlińska, European social and pedagogical cooperation 1918–1939, International Congresses of Moral Education, New Education Fellowship, International Conferences of Social Work.

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THE FORMAL ASPECTS OF THE ACTIVITIES CONDUCTED BY SCHOOL STUDENTS' SIGHTSEEING CLUBS IN THE SECOND REPUBLIC OF POLAND (1918–1939)

INTRODUCTION

Sightseeing and regionalism were considered as one of the most important methods of shaping personalities of students as members of the nation and the state in Poland during the interwar period. The literature on education and upbringing in the Polish school of the Second Republic of Poland as well as on various structural, organizational, program, didactic and educational reforms is extensive and includes the papers by: Feliks Araszkiewicz¹, Franciszek Bereźnicki², Danuta Drynda³, Wanda Garbowska⁴, Leonard Grochowski⁵, Teresa

¹ F. Araszkiewicz, *Idealy wychowawcze Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej [Educational ideals of the Second Republic of Poland]*, Warszawa, PWN, 1978, p. 295.

² F. Bereźnicki, *Hasła „nowej szkoły” w dydaktyce Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej [The slogans of the “new school” in teaching in the Second Republic of Poland]*, Toruń, Wydawnictwo A. Marszałek, 1988, p. 213; Idem, *Innowacje pedagogiczne w Polsce (1918–1939) [Innovations in pedagogy in Poland (1918–1939)]*, Szczecin, WSP in Szczecin, 1984, p. 136.

³ D. Drynda, *Pedagogika Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej. Warunki – orientacje – kontrowersje [The pedagogy of the Second Republic of Poland. Conditions – orientations – controversies]*, Katowice, UŚ, 1987, p. 183.

⁴ W. Garbowska, *Szkolnictwo powszechne w Polsce w latach 1932–1939 [Public education in Poland between 1932–1939]*, Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1976, p. 203.

⁵ L. Grochowski, *Szkoła polska na tle europejskim 1918–1939 [The Polish school compared with the rest of Europe]*, „Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty” 1990, No. 33, p. 219–244.

Hejnicka-Bezwińska⁶, Krzysztof Jakubiak⁷, Danuta Koźmian⁸, Elżbieta Magiera⁹, Stanisław Mauersberg¹⁰, Stanisław Michalski¹¹, Joanna Sadowska¹² etc. However, there are no studies on the activities of school sightseeing clubs in the interwar Polish education, the issues of which were discussed by Danuta Koźmian¹³ with regard to the beliefs presented by Aleksander Kazimierz Patkowski and Edyta Wolter¹⁴ concerning the environmental education in the Second Republic of Poland. The latest publication on the purposes and the functioning of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs is the paper by Urszula Wróblewska¹⁵.

⁶ T. Hejnicka-Bezwińska, *Praktyka edukacyjna w warunkach zmiany kulturowej (w poszukiwaniu logiki zmian)* [An educational practice under conditions of cultural changes (searching for logic of changes)], Warszawa 2015, p. 474.

⁷ K. Jakubiak, *Wychowanie państwowe jako ideologia wychowawcza sanacji. Kształtowanie i upowszechnienie w periodycznych wydawnictwach społeczno-kulturalnych i pedagogicznych* [State education as an educational ideology of sanation. Formation and dissemination in social, cultural and pedagogical publications], Bydgoszcz, WSP in Bydgoszcz, 1994, p. 226; Idem, *Współdziałanie rodziny i szkoły w pedagogice II Rzeczypospolitej* [Cooperation of family and school in pedagogy of the Second Republic of Poland], Bydgoszcz, Wydawnictwo Uczelniane WSP in Bydgoszcz, 1997, p. 302.

⁸ D. Koźmian, *Samorząd uczniowski w polskiej pedagogice Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej (1918–1939)* [Students' councils in the Polish pedagogy of the Second Republic of Poland (1918–1939)], Szczecin, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 1991, p. 299.

⁹ E. Magiera, *Wychowanie państwowe w szkolnictwie powszechnym Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* [State upbringing in public education of the Second Republic of Poland], Szczecin, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2002, p. 226.

¹⁰ S. Mauersberg, *Komu służyła szkoła w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej? Społeczne uwarunkowania dostępu do oświaty* [Whom served the school in the Second Republic of Poland? Social determinants of access to education], Wrocław–Warszawa, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1988; Idem, *Wykonywanie obowiązku szkolnego w niepodległej Polsce (1918–1939)* [Implementation of compulsory education in independent Poland (1918–1939)], „Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty” 1996, Vol. 37, p. 155–176.

¹¹ S. Michalski, *Koncepcje systemu edukacji II Rzeczypospolitej* [The concepts of the system of education in the Second Republic of Poland], Warszawa, WSiP, 1988, p. 295.

¹² J. Sadowska, *Ku szkole na miarę Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej. Geneza, założenia i realizacja reformy jędrzejewiczowskiej* [Towards customized school which meets the requirements of the Second Republic of Poland. The origin, assumptions and the implementation of the Jędrzejewicz reform], Białystok, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, 2001, p. 295.

¹³ D. Koźmian, *Poglądy społeczno-pedagogiczne Aleksandra Kazimierza Patkowskiego (1890–1942)* [Social and pedagogical beliefs of Aleksander Kazimierz Patkowski (1890–1942)], Szczecin, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 1994, p. 79–82.

¹⁴ E. Wolter, *Edukacja ekologiczna w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* [Environmental education in the Second Republic of Poland], Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego, 2013; Idem, *Wychowanie do postaw ekologicznych na łamach „Bezpłatnego Dodatku do Miesięcznika Krajoznawczego Orli Lot Poświęconego Ochronie Przyrody Wydawanego Nakładem Państwowej Rady Ochrony Przyrody”* [Upbringing to ecological attitudes published in a “Free Supplement to the monthly sightseeing journal Orli Lot on the protection of nature published by the National Wildlife Protection Board], „Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki” 2015, No. 1, p. 221–230; Idem, *Wychowanie ekologiczne w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* [Environmental education in the Second Republic of Poland], „Forum Pedagogiczne” 2011, No. 2, 119–147.

¹⁵ U. Wróblewska, *Cele i organizacja Kół Krajoznawczych Młodzieży Szkolnej w okresie międzywojennym* [The objectives and organization of the School Students' Sightseeing Clubs in the interwar period], in: *Turystyka w edukacji historycznej i obywatelskiej* [Tourism in historical and civic education], ed. M. Ausz, J. Bugajska-Więclawska, A. Stepnik, D. Szewczuk, Lublin, Wydawnictwo UMCS, 2017, p. 183–196.

School sightseeing clubs, since 1964 referred to as school sightseeing and tourism clubs, have functioned since the 1919–1920 school year up to date¹⁶. They were created on the initiative of the Polish Sightseeing Society (Pol. Polskie Towarzystwo Krajoznawcze, hereinafter referred to as: PSS) founded in 1906, which paid particular attention to the participation of young people in this movement, as well as the educational and didactic benefits related thereto. Ludomir Sawicki took the initiative to establish youth clubs, whose activities were supervised by the Committee (former Section) of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs headed by Leopold Węgrzynowicz, who was considered the most important creator and organizer of school sightseeing clubs in Poland in the interwar period.

The aim hereof is to show formal aspects of the activities of the School Students' Sightseeing Clubs in Poland over the period of 1918–1939, by analyzing the printed sources.

THE PERIOD OF PREPARATORY ACTIVITIES OF THE SCHOOL SIGHTSEEING CLUBS

The origin of school sightseeing clubs¹⁷ was connected with the activities run PSS, branch in Cracow, which was created in May 1919 on the initiative of Ludomir Sawicki. On June 16, 1919, the management board established the Section of Sightseeing Clubs for young people¹⁸ and already on June 18, 1919, sent the first circular on their activities and defined their tasks in the following way: *a) regular promotion of sightseeing among young people, b) promoting the idea of independent work among young people, c) regular promotion of independent sightseeing work among young people (creating independent sightseeing and tourism teams, photography, collecting, etc.), c) regular promotion of the principles of protecting natural monuments and outcomes of human work among young people, d) encouraging young people to promote these principles*

¹⁶ K. Denek, *Krajoznawstwo i turystyka w polskiej szkole. Tradycje – współczesność – wyzwania*, [Sightseeing and tourism in the Polish school. Tradition – contemporaneity – challenges], in: *O potrzebie krajoznawstwa w edukacji szkolnej* [On the need to educate about sightseeing in the school education], ed. K. Denek, L. Drożdżyński, A. Gordon, Warszawa–Poznań, Wydawnictwo PTTK Kraj, 2009; A. Gordon, *Polskie Towarzystwo Turystyczno-Krajoznawcze w kształtowaniu postaw krajoznawczych i umiejętności turystycznych dzieci i młodzieży* [The Polish Tourism and Sightseeing Society in shaping sightseeing attitudes and skills in children and adolescents], in: *O potrzebie krajoznawstwa w edukacji szkolnej* [On the need to educate about sightseeing in the school education], ed. K. Denek, L. Drożdżyński, A. Gordon, Warszawa–Poznań, Wydawnictwo PTTK Kraj, 2009; D. Hyżak, *Działalność krajoznawczo-turystyczna w szkole jako nośnik wartości. Przykłady dobrej praktyki* [Sightseeing and tourism activities at school as a carrier of values. Examples of a good practice], in: *O potrzebie krajoznawstwa w edukacji szkolnej* [On the need to educate about sightseeing in the school education], ed. K. Denek, L. Drożdżyński, A. Gordon, Warszawa–Poznań, Wydawnictwo PTTK Kraj, 2009.

¹⁷ In order to avoid linguistic monotony, the term “School Students' Sightseeing Clubs” is used interchangeably with “school sightseeing clubs”.

¹⁸ M. Gotkiewicz, *Nasze XXX-lecie. Fragmenty referatu prof. Mariana Rotkiewicza o kołach krajoznawczych* [Our 30th anniversary. Fragments of the paper by Prof. Marian Rotkiewicz on sightseeing clubs], „Orli Lot” 1949, No. 7, p. 98.

among their peers¹⁹. The Organization Committee of the Section of Sightseeing Clubs for young people was responsible for creating sightseeing clubs for young people in line with the abovementioned circulars and included: Walery Goetel²⁰, Franciszek Fuchs²¹, Bronisław Piątkiewicz, Paweł Sosnowski, P. Nelken, Józef Szado, Leopold Węgrzynowicz and Tadeusz Kołodziejczyk.

A few days later, i.e. on June 27, 1919, the management board of PSS in Cracow held a meeting and invited as well the Section of Sightseeing Clubs for young people in order to create the Organization Committee of the Section of Sightseeing Clubs for young people²². The invitation was accepted by: P. Sosnowski, F. Fusch, P. Nelken, L. Węgrzynowicz, T. Kołodziejczyk and M. Morecki. At the request of Ludomir Sawicki²³ an obligation was created to establish from 1919–1920 school year sightseeing clubs for different groups of young people: school (except lower classes of elementary school) and out-of-school (young people from working-class and craft families)²⁴. Particular groups were to conduct activities independently on the basis of students' councils under the direction of PSS. As it might be concluded from the minutes taken during the meeting which were printed in the journal entitled "Orli Lot", sightseeing clubs for young people were to be created in their own environments, which meant that they functioned in relevant educational institutions, and the groups of young people from working-class families operated in specific unions gathering those people²⁵.

At the first meeting of the Section of Sightseeing Clubs for young people, which took place on June 27, 1919, Węgrzynowicz and Kołodziejczyk were asked to develop a draft curriculum and work regulations for sightseeing clubs for young people,

¹⁹ The circular of June 18, 1919, in: J. B. Twaróg, *Z kart historii Oddziału Krakowskiego Polskiego Towarzystwa Krajoznawczego 1919–1950 [From the history of the Polish Sightseeing Society in Cracow 1919–1950]*, Kraków 2003, p. 6, (access: 30.06.2018), available at: https://khit.ptk.pl/index.php?co=tx_ptkm_3. Por. K. Staszewski, *Kola Krajoznawcze Młodzieży Szkolnej PTK [School Students' Sightseeing Clubs of PSS]*, „Ziemia” 1968, No. 2, p. 147; „Orli Lot” 1926, No. 5, p. 75; „Orli Lot” 1949, No. 7, p. 100–101.

²⁰ Walery Goetel (1889–1972), a geologist, an ecologist, a paleontologist, a social activist, and a professor at the Jagiellonian University.

²¹ Franciszek Fusch, Ph.D., a geographer (F. Fuchs, *Szkoła ogólnokształcąca jako zakład wychowawczy [General secondary school as an educational institution]*, „Przegląd Pedagogiczny” 1920, No. 4, p. 141–155).

²² The Polish Sightseeing Society, the branch in Cracow, was established on the initiative of Ludomir Sawicki (*Polskie Towarzystwo Krajoznawcze Oddział w Krakowie [The Polish Sightseeing Society, the branch in Cracow]*), „Orli Lot” 1920, No. 5, p. 50).

²³ Ludomir Sawicki (1884–1928), a prominent Polish geographer, an organizer of scientific life, a co-founder of the Polish Geographical Society and the first editor of „Przegląd Geograficzny”, a professor at the Jagiellonian University.

²⁴ C. Skopowski, *Rys historii i pracy Kół Krajoznawczych Młodzieży Szkolnej [An outline of the history of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs]*, in: *Kola Krajoznawcze Młodzieży Szkolnej. Idea – Organizacja – Historia – Pieśni [School Students' Sightseeing Clubs. Idea – Organization – History – Hymns]*, Kraków, Published by Komisja Kół Krajoznawczych Młodzieży Szkolnej Rady Głównej Polskiego Towarzystwa Krajoznawczego, 1934, p. 17; Idem, *Kola Krajoznawcze Młodzieży Szkolnej [School Students' Sightseeing Clubs]*, „Przyjaciół Szkoły” 1933, No. 10, p. 291.

²⁵ *Protokół pierwszego posiedzenia Sekcji Kół Krajoznawczych Młodzieży, Początki organizacji kół krajoznawczych młodzieży [The minutes of the first meeting of the Section of Sightseeing Clubs for young people, the beginnings of the organization of sightseeing clubs for young people]*, „Orli Lot” 1949, No. 7, p. 101; „Orli Lot” 1926, No. 5, p. 75.

Sosnowski was responsible for finding club coordinators among teachers, and Nelken for finding club coordinators for young people from working-class and craft families. The task of Szado was supposed to win the support of the organizers of school sightseeing clubs in department schools. Apart from the above mentioned members, the Committee responsible for the curriculum and regulations consisted of: L. Sawicki, B. Piątkiewicz and W. Goetel. The Committee started its work at the beginning of September 1919 from discussing the draft curriculum and work regulations of sightseeing clubs for young people developed by Węgrzynowicz and Kołodziejczyk. As a result of the meeting held by the Committee, they elected the executive committee, developed the work regulations of the School Students' Sightseeing Clubs, adopted them on November 27, 1919²⁶, and published in "Orli Lot".

On October 22, 1919, the management board of PSS, branch in Cracow, entrusted Leopold Węgrzynowicz with the leadership of the Section of Sightseeing Clubs for young people who at first commenced to organize clubs in Cracow, especially in secondary schools²⁷ and then expanded this activity to the whole country. The Section of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs was responsible for contacting secondary schools in the region of Cracow, which encouraged other educational institutions in the country to establish sightseeing clubs, organize courses for club coordinators, and hold meetings and lectures with people of science: Władysław Szafer, a botanist and a professor at the Jagiellonian University, Walerym Goetl, a geologist and a paleontologist, a professor at the Jagiellonian University, Seweryn Udziela, an ethnographer and a co-founder of the Ethnographic Museum of Kraków and an author of works on ethnographic issues, Władysław Semkowicz, a historian and a professor at the Jagiellonian University, Kazimierz Nitsch, a linguist and a historian of the Polish language, a professor at the Jagiellonian University.

The works on sightseeing issues were sped up and spread across the country, when the press body of the school sightseeing clubs "Orli Lot" was set up in Cracow, which later became the main centre of sightseeing for young people. Leopold Węgrzynowicz was responsible for the edition thereof.

THE UNION OF SCHOOL STUDENTS' SIGHTSEEING CLUBS

At the beginning of 1927, at the request of the Central Council of the Polish Sightseeing Society, their leading motto, along with museums, included the sightseeing clubs for young people. On February 4, 1927, the meeting was held, during which they noticed the need to form an association of guardians of Sightseeing Clubs for young people, who together with their members formed the Union of Sightseeing Clubs

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ *Z życia organizacji krajoznawczych [From the life of sightseeing organizations]*, „Orli Lot” 1920, No. 1–2, p. 14–15; *Polskie Towarzystwo Krajoznawcze Oddział w Krakowie [The Polish Sightseeing Society, the branch in Cracow]*, „Orli Lot” 1920, No. 5, p. 51.

for young people. It was suggested to establish the Committee of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs to be appointed by the Central Council of the Polish Sightseeing Society from all guardians of the school sightseeing clubs. Every guardian of this organization became a member of the Committee²⁸. Such actions meant that the Central Council of the Polish Sightseeing Society became the leader in organizing the school sightseeing movement. On March 19, 1927, the Central Council approved the regulations of the Committee and appointed L. Węgrzynowicz, a prominent ethnographer, an organizer of the sightseeing movement, and a methodologist as chairman²⁹. Piotr Golas was deputy chairman, Józefa Berggruenówna – became the secretary, Maria Medwecka – the treasurer, and Hanna Sonnoburg-Habenstret – the deputy treasurer³⁰.

The Committee of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs of the Central Council of the Polish Sightseeing Society functioned on the basis of the regulations accepted and approved by the Central Council of PSS in 1927. Its task was to promote the passion for learning about the country among young people and to develop the sightseeing movement in Poland³¹. As a consequence, the Committee initiated a network of school sightseeing clubs, registered them, their activities and curricula. It made sure that the activities of school sightseeing clubs concentrated on the press body of school sightseeing clubs "Orli Lot", which provided them with an ideological direction of work in their curricula. It collected materials confirming the activities of the school sightseeing movement in Poland and abroad, while maintaining contact with sightseeing organizations of young people abroad, and organized tours of school clubs in Poland and abroad, providing assistance of the Sightseeing Center of the Central Council of PSS. Moreover, it published sightseeing materials collected by young people, held contests, awarded prizes, organized exhibitions, and contributed to popularizing the sightseeing movement among students. In order to coordinate sightseeing activities, it established contacts with other sightseeing, tourism and sports associations, and cooperated with the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment, which provided the Committee with support and cooperation³².

The Committee of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs was maintained thanks to voluntary contributions made by individual school sightseeing

²⁸ *Sprawy organizacyjne. Komisja Kół Krajoznawczych Młodzieży Szkolnej Rady Głównej Polskiego Towarzystwa Krajoznawczego* [Organizational issues. The Committee of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs of the Central Council of the Polish Sightseeing Society], „Orli Lot” 1927, No. 3, p. 58–59.

²⁹ A. Czarnowski, *Leopold Węgrzynowicz. Organizator krajoznawstwa wśród młodzieży* [Leopold Węgrzynowicz organizing sightseeing tours among young people], Warszawa, Wydawnictwo PTTK, 1987, p. 49.

³⁰ *Sprawy organizacyjne I-ego Zjazdu Kół Krajoznawczych Młodzieży w Krakowie* [Organizational issues of the First Congress of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs in Cracow], „Orli Lot” 1927, No. 6, p. 123.

³¹ „Orli Lot” 1927, No. 4, p. 80; *Sprawy organizacyjne. Regulamin Komisji Kół Krajoznawczych Młodzieży Szkolnej Rady Głównej Polskiego Towarzystwa Krajoznawczego* [Organizational issues. The regulations of the Committee of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs of the Central Council of the Polish Sightseeing Society], „Orli Lot” 1927, No. 5, p. 98–100; J. B. Twaróg, *Z kart historii Oddziału...*, p. 7.

³² *Regulamin Komisji Kół Krajoznawczych Młodzieży Szkolnej Rady Głównej Polskiego Towarzystwa Krajoznawczego* [The regulations of the Committee of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs of the Central Council of the Polish Sightseeing Society], Kraków, Drukarnia „Orbis”, 1929, p. 1.

organizations, subsidies awarded by the Central Council of the Polish Sightseeing Society, and income derived from lectures, publications and other undertakings of the Committee. As it was stated before – the Committee was composed of all guardians of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs and other people interested in the school sightseeing movement. As far as the internal organization of the Committee is concerned, in places where several students' sightseeing clubs functioned, their guardians formed a club of guardians, whose chairman belonged to the management board of the branch of PSS. Such clubs operated on the basis of regulations approved by the branch management board and subsequently sent to the Presidium of the Committee of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs. The local club of guardians supervised a uniform direction of sightseeing operation of the clubs for young people, by organizing exhibitions, readings, trips and other forms of activity. In the voivodship, all guardians of the clubs formed a district club of guardians, chairman of which belonged to the management board of the Regional District of PSS which were established i.a. in Bydgoszcz, Cracow, Poznan, Warsaw and Vilnius³³.

The authorities of the Committee of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs included: the chairman, the secretary, the treasurer, the general meeting held once a year, and the presidium, the meetings of which were organized on a monthly basis. Many professionally active teachers with a doctor's degree and headmasters of these schools, who worked at high schools and teachers' seminars collaborated with L. Węgrzynowicz, who headed the Committee. These include i.a.: Jerzy Berggruen, Maria Dobrowolska, Zofia Richter-Pawłowska, R. Mochnacki, J. Stanucha, Stanisława Niemcówna, Tadeusz Seweryn and others³⁴. The Committee of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs developed and issued ID cards and badges for members of sightseeing clubs for young people, regulations for clubs for young people, regulations for district guardians, regulations for congresses held by clubs for young people³⁵. In order to integrate teachers involved in the development of school sightseeing movement, the Committee launched as well the initiative to found the Teachers' Sightseeing Club in Cracow in 1931, which gave methodical advice, organized courses, trips and provided assistance to teachers involved in running sightseeing activities with young people³⁶.

The public could read about the decisions of the Central Council of PSS in the journal "Orli Lot", which announced that all school sightseeing organizations formed the Union of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs, whose purpose was *to facilitate and make trips for the club members more convenient by seeking and*

³³ Ibid., p. 2; *Regulamin Komisji Kół Krajoznawczych Młodzieży Szkolnej Rady Głównej Polskiego Towarzystwa Krajoznawczego* [The regulations of the Committee of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs of the Central Council of the Polish Sightseeing Society], „Orli Lot” 1927, No. 5, p. 98–100.

³⁴ M. Gotkiewicz, *Nasze XXX-lecie...*, p. 98.

³⁵ A. Janowski, *Kola Krajoznawcze Młodzieży* [Sightseeing Clubs for young people], Kraków, Drukarnia „Orbis”, 1933, p. 6.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 6–7.

*applying for discounts in shelters, museums, and at train operators – cooperation of clubs in terms of sightseeing activities by publishing them and awarding prizes – arranging sightseeing exhibitions – organizing trips for their members around Poland*³⁷. In order to join the Union, it was obligatory to send a declaration of the school sightseeing club to Leopold Węgrzynowicz. The editorial staff of “Orli Lot” announced its intention to organize the Congress of Clubs’ Representatives in order to elect the union council and adopt the regulations. The congress was accompanied by an exhibition of the works prepared by young people³⁸. According to the information provided by the editors of “Orli Lot”, in 1927 36 clubs joined the Union of School Students’ Sightseeing Clubs³⁹.

On June 5–6, 1927, the first general meeting of the Committee members and the first congress of School Students’ Sightseeing Clubs took place in Cracow, which was attended by 200 representatives of 34 clubs. Its character was mainly organizational and instructive. During the congress, they staged an exhibition of works by young ethnographers from 15 school sightseeing clubs⁴⁰. Apart from the first congress in the interwar period, eight national meetings of Sightseeing Clubs for young people were held. The second congress took place in 1928 in Vilnius; the third – in 1929 in Poznań; the fourth – in 1930 in Krzemieniec; the fifth – 1932 in Warsaw; the sixth – in 1933 in Bydgoszcz; the seventh – 1936 in Cracow; the eighth – in 1937 in Pińsk, and the ninth – in 1938 in Lviv⁴¹. Nationwide meetings of School Students’ Sightseeing Clubs gave an opportunity to meet their members, guardians, organizers, ideologues of sightseeing, as well as the representatives of educational authorities and other people interested in tourism and sightseeing. They were perceived as fora for exchanging sightseeing ideas, thoughts and experiences as well as presenting the achievements of young ethnographers.

THE STANCE OF THE EDUCATIONAL AUTHORITIES OF SCHOOL SIGHTSEEING CLUBS AND THEIR QUANTITATIVE DEVELOPMENT

In the first years after the regaining of independence, both the central educational authorities, and the local school authorities, expressed moderate support for the school sightseeing movement, which was still in the initial stage of organization and was anchoring in schools, mainly high schools and teachers’ seminars. However, it did not mean that the educational authorities did not notice the educational values of the sightseeing movement. In 1921, the Ministry

³⁷ *Sprawy organizacyjne. Związek Kół Krajoznawczych Młodzieży Szkolnej [Organizational issues. The Union of School Students’ Sightseeing Clubs]*, „Orli Lot” 1927, No. 1, p. 21.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ *Spis Kół Krajoznawczych Młodzieży, które zgłosiły przystąpienie do Związku Kół [A list of Sightseeing Clubs for young people which joined the Union of Clubs]*, „Orli Lot” 1927, No. 7, p. 136.

⁴⁰ Ibid.; J. Klimaszewska, *Echa Zjazdu [The echoes of the congress]*, „Orli Lot” 1927, No. 6, p. 122–123.

⁴¹ K. Staszewski, *Kola Krajoznawcze Młodzieży Szkolnej PTK [School Students’ Sightseeing Clubs of PSS]*, „Ziemia” 1968, No. 2, p. 155–158.

of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment issued a circular directed to the management of secondary schools, which stated: *The headmasters will also encourage young people to create Sightseeing Clubs, the aim of which is to get acquainted with the geography and the culture of various regions of our country, and to awaken a sincere love of native things*⁴². With regard to this stance presented by the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment, the local educational authorities, i.a. the school district board in Lviv, Poznań, Toruń and Cracow also expressed their support for this initiative. Only after the May coup, the ministry of education increased its interest in the sightseeing movement which was meant to be a place of education for future state citizens. Taking account of high scientific and educational values of the sightseeing movement among young people and *for the sake of education of future citizens of the Republic of Poland*, the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment in 1927 drew attention to the significance of school sightseeing trips, which *strengthen [...] health of young people, give the necessary sense of beauty and wealth of their homeland, arouse patriotic feelings and state-forming instincts*⁴³.

Much greater interest of the school authorities in the sightseeing movement among children and teenagers might be noticed in the second decade of the interwar period, which was the time of implementing the ideology of educational sanitation. The Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment appreciated the importance of the school sightseeing movement in terms of the implementation of the ideology of state education and took account of its educational values, and in 1935 instructed school managers and headmasters to create school sightseeing clubs, approved their regulations, and normalized the cooperation of the Committees of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs of the Central Management Board of the Polish Sightseeing Society with the school authorities⁴⁴. Primarily it was stressed that the sightseeing clubs for children and teenagers are school organizations, therefore, the school managers or headmasters had to grant permissions for their establishment. A club guardian was a teacher who led such clubs in line with the regulations approved by the ministry. His/her duty was to report his/her accession to the Committee of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs of the Central Management Board of PSS in order to register the club, and establish cooperation with the Committee⁴⁵.

⁴² L. Węgrzynowicz, *Nasze dziesięciolecie [Our decade]*, „Orli Lot” 1929, No. 6, p. 99; K. Staszewski, *Koła Krajoznawcze Młodzieży...*, p. 149.

⁴³ *Okólnik Ministerstwa WRiOP w sprawie wycieczek turystyczno-krajoznawczych z dnia 21 maja 1927 roku [The circular issued by the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment regarding school sightseeing trips dated May 21, 1927]*, Dz. U. MWRiOP 1927, No. 9, p. 274.

⁴⁴ *Okólnik Ministerstwa WRiOP z dnia 22 października 1935 w sprawie Kół Krajoznawczych Młodzieży Szkolnej [The circular issued by the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment regarding School Students' Sightseeing Clubs dated October 22, 1935]*, Dz. U. KOS Brzeskiego 1936, No. 2, p. 34.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

In the 1930's, the central school authorities drew attention to the role of school supervisors of sightseeing clubs and wrote that *the impact of school sightseeing clubs on society in terms of civic and national awareness provided unexpected results in those places, where a teacher could establish bonds and connections between the club, the young people who graduated from this school, as well their parents*⁴⁶. The central and local school authorities more often supported the activities of school sightseeing clubs operating in educational institutions, initiated their establishment in high schools, vocational schools, teachers' training centers, as well as higher levels of organized public schools. Participation in those clubs was perceived as a manifestation of young people's *respect to their country, a love of its beauty of nature, and the richness of culture*⁴⁷. School districts' boards published more circulars in their official journals, and drew attention to *high scientific and educational values of the sightseeing movement of young people*⁴⁸. They recommended subscribing to "Orli Lot", which could come in handy and provide assistance in working with children and young people, and focused attention on the need to *consider the sightseeing movement in school work plans in a proper manner*⁴⁹.

In order to encourage teachers to the idea of sightseeing and regionalism, articles in the pedagogical periodicals were published which promoted school sightseeing clubs and provided information on establishing and running such clubs. The unofficial parts of the board official journals of the school districts contained texts on school sightseeing clubs which, aiming to achieve their educational goals, organized trips, courses, camps, sightseeing congresses, readings, exhibitions, held contests, established community centers, libraries and collections⁵⁰.

⁴⁶ *Okólnik Ministerstwa WRiOP z dnia 8 lipca 1937 r. w sprawie ruchu krajoznawczego [The circular issued by the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment regarding sightseeing movement dated July 8, 1937]*, Dz. U. MWRiOP 1937, No. 8, p. 336.

⁴⁷ *Okólnik Kuratorium Okręgu Szkolnego Poznańskiego z dnia 8 października 1937 roku w sprawie ruchu krajoznawczego wśród młodzieży szkolnej [The circular issued by the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment regarding sightseeing movement among school students dated October 8, 1937]*, Dz. U. KOS Poznańskiego 1937, No. 8, p. 206.

⁴⁸ *Pismo okólne z dnia 11 września 1937 roku w sprawie ruchu krajoznawczego młodzieży szkolnej [The circular issued by the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment regarding sightseeing movement among school students dated September 11, 1937]*, Dz. U. KOS Lubelskiego 1937, No. 3, p. 64.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁵⁰ *Kola krajoznawcze młodzieży szkolnej [School Students' Sightseeing Clubs]*, Dz. U. KOS Lubelskiego 1930, No. 2, p. 55; L. Węgrzynowicz, Berggruenówna J., *Informacje o prawach i obowiązkach kół krajoznawczych młodzieży szkolnej, organizowanych przez Polskie Towarzystwo Krajoznawcze [Information on the rights and duties of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs, organized by the Polish Sightseeing Society]*, Dz. U. KOS Lubelskiego 1930, No. 2, p. 57; K. Mączka, *Kola krajoznawcze w szkołach jako czynnik wychowawczy [Sightseeing clubs at schools as an educational factor]*, Dz. U. KOS Wołyńskiego 1932, No. 5, p. 185–188; A. Kosiba, *O konieczności pracy krajoznawczej [About the necessity of a sightseeing activity]*, Dz. U. KOS Lubelskiego 1932, No. 6, p. 182–183; M. Czekańska, *Jak prowadzić Koło Krajoznawcze Młodzieży [How to run Sightseeing Clubs for young people]*, Dz. U. KOS Poznańskiego 1930, No. 20–21, p. 353–354; *Krajoznawstwo a nauczyciel [Sightseeing vs. a teacher]*, „Głos Nauczycielski” 1932, No. 15–16, p. 255.

As far as the number of school sightseeing clubs is concerned, initially they were founded in Cracow, their seedbed – in real schools, gymnasiums, and teachers seminars. *Later* – as Janina B. Twaróg wrote – *high school graduates, academics, Jewish, industrial and handicraft young people became interested in sightseeing and in forming clubs*⁵¹. The author demonstrated that in 1920 there were 11 School Students' Sightseeing Clubs in Cracow with a total number of 548 members⁵², and in 1932 there were already 32 clubs operating in Cracow⁵³. In 1919, each high school in Cracow had a sightseeing club, and, according to the report of PSS, the branch in Cracow, for the period 1919/1920, they planned to organize them in all public schools and among young people coming from craft families⁵⁴.

The number of reports sent by these organizations to the editors of "Orli Lot" was a measure of the number of existing school sightseeing clubs. Mieczysław Woźnowski wrote that over the period of 1920–1926, approximately 100 school sightseeing clubs included their reports, to which mainly students from gymnasiums and teachers' seminars belonged⁵⁵. During the Congress of the Sightseeing Club which was held on June 5, 1927, in Cracow, the author claimed that *this complete lack of clubs among adolescents at vocational and craft schools is striking*⁵⁶. It should be added that the school sightseeing clubs were not evenly located throughout the country. The majority of them were established in the central and western part of Poland, and the least in the eastern part of the country⁵⁷.

Worth highlighting is the fact that together with the support of the central and local educational authorities, the number of school clubs was regularly increasing. This increase can be observed especially in the 1930's, as their growth was influenced by the ideology of state education, which took advantage of school organizations as a means to achieve the ideal of raising an employee-fighter that had been formulated by Sławomir Czerwiński. The excessive number of school organizations existing in the Polish education in the second decade of the interwar period, their diversification, and their educational values supported the process of education and upbringing of young state citizens as they *prepared students to participate in the economic life of the country, developed cooperative abilities, teamwork and organizational skills, as well as social responsibility*⁵⁸.

⁵¹ Internet, (access: 30. 06. 2018), available at: https://khit.pttk.pl/index.php?co=tx_ptkm_7

⁵² Such data is given in: *Polskie Towarzystwo Krajoznawcze, Oddział w Krakowie. I sprawozdanie rocznej działalności za rok 1919/20 [The Polish Sightseeing Society, the Branch in Cracow. The First annual activity report for 1919/1920]*, „Orli Lot” 1920, No. 5, p. 52.

⁵³ J. B. Twaróg, *Z kart historii Oddziału...*, p. 7.

⁵⁴ „Orli Lot” 1920, No. 5, p. 52.

⁵⁵ M. Woźnowski, *Kola Krajoznawcze Młodzieży w Polsce. Referat wygłoszony na I. Zjeździe Kół Krajoznawczych Młodzieży w Krakowie dnia 5 czerwca 1927 r. [Sightseeing Clubs for young people in Poland. The paper delivered during the First Congress of Sightseeing Clubs for young people in Cracow on June 5, 1927]*, „Orli Lot” 1927, No. 7, p. 130–135.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ E. Magiera, *Wychowanie państwowe w szkolnictwie...*, p. 207.

Students' organizations became a place which prepared them to fulfill civic duties and acquire habits of living in a community. Therefore, since 1927, there was a systematic increase in the number of sightseeing clubs in the Polish education.

In 1925 there were 72 clubs, including 48 in high schools, 2 in elementary schools, 16 in secondary schools of other types, and 6 in other schools⁵⁹. In 1927, only 47 clubs in Poland belonged to the Committee of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs, however, one year later, this number increased to 56. In 1929 there were 96 school sightseeing clubs, in 1930 130 school sightseeing organizations, in 1931 there was an increase of about 1 club in comparison with the previous year, and in 1932 there were 366 school sightseeing clubs, which attracted 15,000 students⁶⁰. In the 1930's, the Committee of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs also associated the sightseeing sections of the Polish Scouting Association, clubs for rural youth and clubs at vocational schools.

It should be noted that according to M. Woźnowski, on the threshold of implementing the idea of sightseeing among school students and the slow development of tourism in the 1920's, public school remained uninfluenced by this idea and its implementation. According to him, over the period of 1920 to 1926 only four clubs were active in public schools⁶¹. After the May coup, as Ludomir Sawicki wrote, it was encouraged to develop the idea of sightseeing at this educational level in particular. He claimed that *sightseeing clubs can and should be established in public schools, in which young, classified people supporting each other, in cooperation with a larger group, could find strength and means to exceed the narrow frames which had been prepared for individuals*⁶². Therefore, in the middle of 1932 there were 130 clubs operating in already mentioned public schools out of 366 school sightseeing clubs, which means that they constituted 35% of the total number of clubs⁶³. According to the studies by B. Pisarska, in 1939 there were over 500 school sightseeing clubs gathering about 200,000 young people⁶⁴.

⁵⁹ *Reskrypt Ministerstwa WRiOP [The rescript of the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment]*, „Orli Lot” 1921, No. 3, p. 47; K. Staszewski, *Kola Krajoznawcze Młodzieży Szkolnej PTK [School Students' Sightseeing Clubs of PSS]*, „Ziemia” 1968, No. 2, p. 149–150.

⁶⁰ C. Skopowski, *Rys historii i pracy Kół Krajoznawczych Młodzieży Szkolnej [An outline of the history of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs]*, in: *Kola Krajoznawcze Młodzieży Szkolnej. Idea...*, p. 24; K. Zawistowicz, *Kola Krajoznawcza Młodzieży. Wrażenia i refleksje z wystawy Kół Krajoznawczych Młodzieży [Sightseeing clubs for young people. Impressions and reflections from the exhibition by the Sightseeing clubs for young people]*, „Ziemia” 1932, No. 6, p. 165; A. Janowski, *Kola Krajoznawcze Młodzieży...*, p. 6.

⁶¹ M. Woźnowski, *Kola Krajoznawcze Młodzieży w Polsce...*, p. 130–135.

⁶² L. Sawicki, *Idea i organizacja krajoznawstwa w Polsce [The idea and organization of sightseeing in Poland]*, Kraków, Published by Księgarnia Geograficzna „Orbis” (Biblioteka „Orlego Lotu” No. 12), 1928, p. 6.

⁶³ A. Janowski, *Kola krajoznawcze młodzieży. Odczyt dla młodzieży wygłoszony przez radio [Sightseeing Clubs for young people. A radio broadcast for teenagers]*, print, Warszawa 1932, p. 6; A. Janowski, *Młodzi krajoznawcy na Bielanach [Young ethnographers in Bielany]*, „Ziemia” 1932, No. 6, p. 164.

⁶⁴ B. Pisarska, *W poszukiwaniu idei rozwoju turystyki. Przeszłość – przyszłość [Searching for the idea of developing tourism. The past – the future]*, in: *Przeszłość, teraźniejszość i przyszłość turystyki. Warsztaty z Geografii Turystyki [The past, the present and the future of tourism. Workshops on Tourism Geography]*, Vol. 5, ed. B. Krakowiak, J. Latosińska, Łódź, Wydawnictwo UŁ, 2014, p. 131–144.

Along with the increase in the number of school sightseeing clubs, guardian teachers of these students' organizations were prepared. Węgrzynowicz as chairman of the Committee of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs reached an agreement with the School District Board in Cracow and organized summer sightseeing courses for teachers from all over Poland. In 1931 they run a nationwide four-week course for public school teachers. The school sightseeing movement required not only trained guardian teachers, but also youth animators and managers. Therefore, since 1932 they organized summer holiday camps where the representatives of clubs for young people could learn sightseeing activities and acquire practical knowledge about their methods. The brochure published by the Committee of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs entitled *Koła Krajoznawcze Młodzieży Szkolnej Polskiego Towarzystwa Krajoznawczego (School Students' Sightseeing Clubs of the Polish Sightseeing Society)*, with its three editions issued in the interwar period, provided valuable assistance in terms of sightseeing activities at schools⁶⁵. These initiatives taken by the Committee, which involved organizing courses for guardian teachers and practical summer training for young people, but above all, the support provided by the central and local educational authorities contributed to the increase in the number of school sightseeing clubs.

THE REGULATIONS OF SCHOOL STUDENTS' SIGHTSEEING CLUBS

Until 1935, the regulations of each school sightseeing club had been approved by the Central Council of PSS. The objective of the club was to: *a) promote sightseeing among young people, b) promote the idea of independent sightseeing work among young people, c) take care and protect natural monuments and outcomes of human work*⁶⁶. Each club had to: *1) prepare at least one questionnaire, which the Committee designated as mandatory; 2) subscribe to "Orli Lot" and quote it during meetings; 3) keep chronicles and minutes of meetings, which should be referred to the Presidium of the Committee if the club is dissolved; 4) pay contributions to the League for Protection of Nature; 5) maintain correspondence and provide assistance to Poles living abroad; 6) pay the Committee a tithe*⁶⁷. If the club lacked funds, its task was to organize, e.g. an enterprise (even in the form of a student co-operative) and pay due contributions from the income it generated.

⁶⁵ *Koła Krajoznawcze Młodzieży Szkolnej Polskiego Towarzystwa Krajoznawczego [School Students' Sightseeing Clubs of the Polish Sightseeing Society]*, Kraków, Published by Polskie Towarzystwo Krajoznawcze, 1937. (Biblioteka „Orlego Lotu” No. 14).

⁶⁶ *Koła krajoznawcze młodzieży szkolnej [School Students' Sightseeing Clubs]*, Dz. U. KOS Lubelskiego 1930, No. 2, p. 58–59.

⁶⁷ *Organizacja Kół Krajoznawczych Młodzieży Szkolnej [The organization of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs]*, in: *Koła Krajoznawcze Młodzieży Szkolnej. Idea...*, p. 6–7.

Since 1935, the regulations of the school sightseeing clubs were approved by the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment⁶⁸. The rules were more precise and normalized the following areas of activity of these organizations: name, objectives, means, funds, members, their rights and duties, management board and its rights and duties, care for the club, work organization, sightseeing area, sections and brigades, club bodies and the club's dissolution.

According to these regulations, each school sightseeing club had its name, which included the first name (e.g. the Stanisław Staszic Sightseeing Club) and the name of the school which it operated in. The main goal of school sightseeing clubs was to *educate young citizens who know their country and its needs, are attached to the Polish state, and care for its size and power*⁶⁹. In order to implement it, it was necessary to formulate specific objectives, which included: *a) awakening the passion to travel across the country and developing self-esteem; b) getting to know the outcomes of human work, awakening the cult of work, and self-confidence; c) learning and assessing the values brought in to the community by particular social classes and ethnic groups; d) learning about the history of the Earth and culture; e) collecting sightseeing materials and cooperating with scientific institutions; f) protecting native objects, historical monuments and nature; g) awakening the initiative of thought and actions towards strengthening the size and power of the Polish country; h) establishing and maintaining contact with Poles living abroad; i) spreading the cult of greatness of prominent Poles; j) promoting the most vital interests of the country, such as border defense, access to the sea, development of aviation, etc.; k) awakening responsibility for welfare and power of Poland*⁷⁰. By comparing this main purpose, the specific objectives with the goals presented above that had been in force until 1935, it can be noted that apart from learning about the country and its history, geography, nature, culture and other elements, the rules approved by the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment clearly lined school sightseeing clubs with the implementation of the ideology of state education.

The implementation of the main objective and the specific objectives of the school sightseeing clubs required specific activities, such as i.a. the preparation and organization of trips, courses, camps, sightseeing congresses, readings and discussions, exhibitions and competitions, shelters, and publishing magazines and books. The main forms of work of club members included meetings, lectures and trips⁷¹.

⁶⁸ O. Kotula, P. Thuczek. *Podręczny poradnik dla kierowników i nauczycieli szkół powszechnych, wydanie piąte rozszerzone [A guidebook for managers and teachers at public schools, the fifth extended edition]*, Łódź, Wydawnictwo Drukarni Państwowej in Łódź, 1936, p. 205–206.

⁶⁹ *Regulamin Kół Krajoznawczych Młodzieży*, no place of publication 1934, p. 1.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

Each student accepted by the management board and approved by the club guardian could belong to the school sightseeing clubs – as an ordinary member, an active member or a guide. An ordinary member was a student who was accepted by the management board and who paid monthly contributions. An active member was a student participating in the activities run by the club. A student who passed a qualification test of guides received the status of a guide-member. The Regulations of Sightseeing Clubs for young people specified the rights and duties of students belonging to this organization, i.e. the right to participate in meetings, scientific meetings and trips, using the club library, wearing badges, and taking advantage of benefits related thereto. Each club member had a passive and active right to choose the management board and the audit committee. Each member was obliged to regularly pay the fees adopted by the general meeting, achieve the goals set by the club, collect sightseeing materials (press cuttings, photographs, drawings, postcards, etc.), protect and take care of monuments, folk art and customs, and subscribe to “Orli Lot”⁷².

The management board consisted of: the chairman, the treasurer, the secretary, the librarian, their deputies and the section chairman. Due to the conferred rights, the management board could accept new members, remove members who did not comply with the regulations, and call the general meeting. Its duty was to ensure that the goals and tasks of the club were fulfilled, and to organize readings, meetings, school museums and trips. The management board took care of acquiring new members and paid ten-percent contributions to the Committee of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs of the Central Management Board of PSS⁷³.

An important role was played by a club guardian, who was one of the teachers at the school where the club was founded. He/she acted as an intermediary between the club members, the school authorities, and the Polish Sightseeing Society, was an external representative of the club, took care of its interests, cared about the organization of all club activities, granted permissions for trips and other events. In conjunction with the audit committee, the guardian controlled the books and accounts of the club, acted as a judge, conducted guide examinations, and appointed active members and guides⁷⁴. The guardian also provided reports to the Presidium of the Committee of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs and declared the desire to join the Committee. The application included basic information such as: date the club was formed, number of members, tours, courses, readings, books, collections and a description of other activities⁷⁵.

The rules of work organization specified by the regulations indicated that the club operation was divided into two areas: a general one which covered the

⁷² Ibid., p. 2.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 2–3.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 3.

⁷⁵ *Organizacja Kół Krajoznawczych Młodzieży Szkolnej [The organization of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs]*, in: *Koła Krajoznawcze Młodzieży Szkolnej. Idea...*, p. 11.

entire territory of Poland, and a detailed one, to which a selected, limited area of the country belonged. By implementing both areas, on the one hand, the club members learned about the whole country, especially the regions they wanted to visit, using atlases or textbooks for this purpose, and arranging readings and discussions, and on the other hand, they had to learn about the part of Poland they had selected before, collect sightseeing materials, and prepare for research. The sightseeing area of the club was a county or a school circuit that made it possible to implement the specific objective. Taking account of the urban environment in which more than one school sightseeing club could function, it was necessary to choose a common area or share it adequately to the assigned research issues⁷⁶.

School sightseeing clubs could have an internal structure divided into sections, which were responsible for detailed separate issues and conducted research in this area, such as ethnological, geological, faunistic, touristic, museum, photographic sections or others (geographic, natural, historical, literary, and touristic)⁷⁷. Each section was divided into sightseeing brigades, the operation of which was coordinated. On a certain day, the brigades went to various villages. Their work consisted in collecting sightseeing materials related to the studied issues⁷⁸.

The task of the club was to archive its activities, which included the work of their members, posters, programs of organized events, photographs and reports on activities⁷⁹. The clubs also collected documentation of sightseeing tours, which later was transferred to school collections or museums and scientific institutions, and collected correspondence with the aim to establish contacts with others, exchange works and sightsee collections. It was mandatory to maintain contact with Poles living abroad, who were provided with Polish books, postcards, and magazines.

The funds for maintaining school sightseeing clubs came from membership fees, voluntary donations, and generated income. In the event of the club dissolution, its property was transferred to the ownership of the school in which the club operated, and the club archives to the collections of the Committee of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs of the Central Management Board of PSS. School Students' Sightseeing Clubs had their own badges with the image of a bird flying out of the nest against the background of the sun, a symbol of freedom. The call: *Learn about your country and serve your homeland!* and *Poland, for you and your glory!* became the slogans.

⁷⁶ *Dodatek do regulaminu kół krajoznawczych młodzieży [A supplement to the regulations of sightseeing clubs for young people]*, „Orli Lot” 1922, No. 5, p. 78–79.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ *Regulamin Kół Krajoznawczych*..., p. 4.

⁷⁹ *Dodatek do regulaminu kół*..., p. 78–79.

CONCLUSIONS

As a consequence of the determination of the activists representing the Polish Sightseeing Society in Cracow, especially Leopold Węgrzynowicz, it was possible to establish School Students' Sightseeing Clubs in 1919 and to construct structures which made their development and inspection possible. The activities of the school sightseeing movement were based on the Union of Sightseeing Clubs for young people, which gathered both members of the school sightseeing clubs, as well as their guardians, who formed the Committee of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs of the Central Council of the Polish Sightseeing Society, functioning in accordance with the regulations approved by the Central Management Board of PSS. Thanks to the support provided by the central and local educational authorities, especially during the implementation of the ideology of state education, the sightseeing movement of school students improved and started booming. School sightseeing clubs initially functioned under the supervision of the Central Management Board of PSS, and as part of the regulations approved by the authorities of PSS, fell subsequently under the direction of the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment, which in 1935 approved the new Regulations of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs, and allowed them to be included in the system of state education.

In the interwar period in Poland, the sightseeing among children and young people was developing thanks to one, entirely committed person, namely Leopold Węgrzynowicz, the editor-in-chief of the press body of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs entitled "Orli Lot" and chairman of the Committee of School Students' Sightseeing Clubs of the Central Council of PSS. His enthusiasm, diligence and dedication to the idea of sightseeing attracted not only coworkers, but also young tour guides who were gathered around the magazine he run, representing progress and shaping the work of sightseeing clubs for children and young people. The club activities were different and rich in terms of its substantive and methodological aspects. Its characteristic features included: a variety of students' activities, diversity of actions, original methods of didactic, educational and organizational work, which were aimed not only at communicating or teaching specific skills, but also at developing moral education in children and young people, and shaping patriotic, civic and state attitudes based on "homeland" and "state". School sightseeing and tourism clubs have functioned in the Polish education system to date, enriching the existing offer of interest groups.

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The formal aspects of the activities conducted by School Students' Sightseeing Clubs in the Second Republic of Poland (1918–1939)

Summary

The article concerns the issues of school students' sightseeing clubs in the Polish education in the Second Republic of Poland (1918–1939). It comprises the content about the origins of school sightseeing clubs, their organization, quantitative development, and the stance of the educational authorities towards school sightseeing clubs. The article also presents an analysis regarding the regulations of school sightseeing clubs and their didactic values in the Polish education in the interwar period.

Keywords: school sightseeing clubs, the history of education in interwar Poland, regulations of school sightseeing clubs, the origin of school sightseeing clubs.

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THE PECULIARITY OF THE IDEOLOGICAL PEDAGOGY AS A SCIENTIFIC BASIS OF SOCIALIST EDUCATION IN PEOPLE'S POLAND – SOURCE, IDEA, IMPLEMENTATION

„ideological pedagogies”, i.e. there are multiple educational pedagogies, but each one is characterized by „exclusiveness”, „closing up”, exclusivity. Each ideology has a „fundamental” nature, assumes it is right and considers education as a plane of indoctrination of own „ideals” and own recognized „system of values”¹.

INTRODUCTION

Scholars have been debating on the issue of pedagogy, its identity and role for many years. This discussion is dictated by “a great cultural change” which took place at the turn of the 20th century to the 21st century, although its origins date back to the time when an attempt was made to scientify the area of knowledge about education. The historical context of the transformation process of this discipline has been an inherent element thereof.

In the light of the modern constructivist perspective², (both scientific and colloquial) knowledge about the world is not derived from *an unidentified*, [...]

¹ S. Wołoszyn, *Jak rozumieć tożsamość pedagogiki? (Głos w dyskusji) [How to understand the identity of pedagogy? (A voice in the discussion)]*, in: *Ewolucja tożsamości pedagogiki [The evolution of the identity of pedagogy]*, ed. H. Kwiatkowska, Warszawa, IHNOiT, 1994, p. 49.

² It is assumed that social constructivism was formed in the second half of the 20th century in the USA and Germany. It is developed as part of sociology, developmental psychology, pedagogy and mathematics. It is characterized by the assumption that knowledge about the world (including scientific knowledge) is inherent in the culture and determined socially. More information provided by: M. Wentland, *Perspektywa konstruktivistyczna jako filozoficzna podstawa rozważań nad komunikacją [A constructivist perspective as a philosophical basis for reflections upon communication]*, „Kultura i Edukacja” 2011, No. 4 (83), p. 31.

*absolute “transcendent reality”*³, but is constructed by a human being in the course of social processes⁴. In this approach, it does not reflect or represent the world which determines the knowledge shape with its own nature⁵ and discovers it. The radical form of constructivism assumes that not only knowledge, but also social (cultural) reality is constructed as part of social practices⁶. As a result of this approach, the role of pedagogy is to continuously decipher and read a deep and hidden sense and meanings of evolving educational processes, and provide their explanation and interpretation. The knowledge about upbringing and education which follows, constitutes an entire collection of historically, socially and politically volatile research orientations. In *Lexicon of the Polish Scientific Publishers PWN*, pedagogy is defined in a similar way, namely as *a scientific discipline (or a field of knowledge) about educational processes and discourses [...] its task is to produce knowledge about the entire – past and current – educational practice [...] the object of research of the pedagogy understood in such a way includes all pedagogies in all their meanings*⁷. An extended version of this definition, due to the scope of covered fields and areas, is found in *Uchwała Komitetu Nauk Pedagogicznych (The Resolution of the Committee of the Pedagogical Sciences)* of 2012, which states that *Pedagogy as a discipline of human sciences deals with social and cultural facts such as: upbringing, learning, self-development or broadly understood education, but also describes processes related to introducing humans to the culture and social life. It has a close relationship with ethics, especially axiology, and its normative dimension distinguishes it from other disciplines which perceive also upbringing or learning to be subjects. Basic systems of pedagogical thinking (analytic, critical, constructivist) have a strictly humanistic nature, close to philosophy, epistemology, cultural studies, psychological development theories, or macrosociology*⁸. Thus, what characterizes pedagogy at present is its social, humanistic, multicontextual and paradigmatic

³ E. Piotrowska, *Spoleczny konstruktoryzm a matematyka [Social constructivism and mathematics]*, Poznań, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Instytutu Filozofii UAM, 2008, p. 174.

⁴ M. Wendland, *Konstruktoryzm komunikacyjny [Communicative constructivism]*, Poznań, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Instytutu Filozofii UAM, 2001, p. 65.

⁵ A. Zybertowicz, *Przemoc i poznanie. Studium z nie-klasycznej socjologii wiedzy [Violence and cognition. A study of the non-classical sociology of knowledge]*, Toruń, Wydawnictwo UMK, 1995, p. 99.

⁶ M. Wentland, *Perspektywa konstruktorystyczna...*, p. 34.

⁷ *Leksykon PWN. Pedagogika [Lexicon of the Polish Scientific Publishers PWN. Pedagogy]*, ed. B. Miłerski, B. Śliwerski, Warszawa, PWN, 2000, p. 495.

⁸ Komitet Nauk Pedagogicznych PAN, *Uchwała 2012 nr 3 (5) z 30 stycznia 2012 r. w sprawie niewłaściwego usytuowania w rozporządzeniu z dnia 8 sierpnia 2011 r. w sprawie obszarów wiedzy, dziedzin nauki i sztuki oraz dyscyplin naukowych i artystycznych – „pedagogiki” w obszarze i dziedzinie nauk społecznych, wnioskując o przywrócenie jej do obszaru i dziedziny nauk humanistycznych [The Act No. 3 of January 30, 2012, on the incorrect location in the Ordinance of August 8, 2011, on the areas of knowledge, science and art, and scientific and artistic disciplines – of “pedagogy” in the area and field of social sciences, requesting to bring it back to the area and field of the humanities]*.

nature⁹, which – in my opinion – is indicative of the maturity of the scientific discipline. B. Śliwerski draws attention to the fact that this plurality of paradigms does not necessarily mean their equivalence, but also does not rule out that despite their diversity, they have a common field, some element that would make it possible to meet in the denominator of shaping humanity¹⁰. Therefore, it seems unreasonable to deprive pedagogy of the possibility of having such a character.

As regards the pedigree and the history of indigenous and native pedagogy, it can be stated that only in the 20th century, along with the regaining of independence after World War I it started to be included in academic structures as a scientific discipline. It was undoubtedly a very prolific period characterized by preferences for general pedagogy and the philosophy of education, fruitful in basic theories of human beings, society and culture. It was the period of brave innovators and creators of good educational practice.

This – dynamically developing in the period of the Second Republic of Poland – process of multi-paradigmatic development of sciences about upbringing and education was halted after World War II, as a result of the dominance of the research approach, ideologically excluding differences. As a result, a number of ventures aimed at seeking universal pedagogy of effective human formation followed. In subsequent decades of creating and strengthening monocentric political formation, the pedagogy became a practical science – *a fine barren product of technical and scientific civilization which surrendered completely to the policy of the single-party authority*¹¹.

Degradation and capture stemming from the philosophy of Polish pedagogy, had their own ideological and political sources and grounds, and their own specifics embedded in the social and cultural context of People's Poland. These conditions affected certain peculiarity of the doctrine of socialist education as a scientific basis for education in the Polish People's Republic.

CRITICAL FACTORS OF THE CONDITION AND FATE OF POLISH SCIENCE AT THE BEGINNING OF SHAPING THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORDER AFTER WAR

The fate of Polish science and its representative institutions after World War II was determined by two principal factors. The first of them is the fascist and communist policy of the occupying powers, the objective of which was i.a. to destroy the social elite, including scientists and teachers. This environment noticed that the realization of their own goals was threatened, especially as it actively opposed

⁹ B. Śliwerski, *Nauki o wychowaniu a pedagogika [Sciences on education and pedagogy]*, „Nauki o Wychowaniu. Studia Interdyscyplinarne” 2015, No. 1, p. 16.

¹⁰ Idem, *Paradygmaty współczesnej pedagogiki jedności w Polsce [Paradigms of contemporary pedagogy of unity in Poland]*, „Przegląd Badań Edukacyjnych” 2017, No. 25, p. 40.

¹¹ Idem, *Paradygmaty współczesnej pedagogiki...*, p. 40, 41.

the hostile policy run by the invaders during the war. It was manifested, i.a. in the underground research and teaching activity led by universities¹², educational activity of the Department of Culture and Education¹³, and the Polish Teachers' Association¹⁴, care and assistance for academic teachers, granting scholarships and benefits for poor students¹⁵, developing academic textbooks and dissertations¹⁶. The Polish thought and pedagogical practice in exile also thrived¹⁷. As a consequence, according to the historians' calculation, clandestine education covered about 1,5 million children at the elementary level, about 100,000 at the middle level, and around 10,000 university students¹⁸. This activity led to tragic consequences. In the occupied territories, as a result of the actions taken by the Nazis against the Polish intelligentsia, 700 science employees were murdered, i.e. 28.5% of their total number, 848 high school teachers (13.1%), 340 vocational school teachers (14.2%), and 3,963 military school teachers (5.1%)¹⁹. In total, the number of victims who fell to Hitler's and Soviet regimes amounted to over 10,500 teachers and lecturers, which constituted 11.6% of the employment status from 1938²⁰. Among professors, the loss rate was 36.4% of the total number, while among adjuncts and assistants – 27.4%. Statistics show that the greatest losses were experienced by teaching staff of the humanities and social sciences – almost 33.5% of the total number, i.e. 316 people. This balance indicates that the Polish

¹² B. Gralak, *Szkolnictwo wyższe i nauka polska pod okupacją niemiecką i radziecką 1939–1945 [Higher education and Polish education under the German and Soviet occupation in the period of 1939–1945]*, Zgierz, own publishing house by Gralak, 2010, p. 211 and subsequent.

¹³ J. Krasuski, *Tajne szkolnictwo polskie w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej 1939–1945 [Clandestine Polish education under Hitler's occupation 1939–1945]*, Warszawa, PWN, 1977, p. 86; also: W. Grabowski, *Departament Oświaty i Kultury Delegatury Rządu na Kraj. Zagadnienie tajnego szkolnictwa w czasie II wojny światowej [The Department of Education and Culture of the Polish Government in Exile in Poland. The issue of secret education during World War II]*, „Niepodległość i Pamięć” 2010, No. 31, p. 142.

¹⁴ C. Wycech, *Z dziejów tajnej oświaty w latach okupacji 1939–1944 [From the history of clandestine education during the years of occupation 1939–1944]*, Warszawa, NK, 1964, p. 5–17; also: *Związek Nauczycielstwa Polskiego. Zarys dziejów 1905–1985 [The Polish Teachers' Association. An outline of history 1905–1985]*, ed. F. Filipowicz, B. Grześ, S. Michalski, M. Walczak, Warszawa, ZNP, 1986, p. 313–349.

¹⁵ C. Wycech, *Praca oświatowa w kraju w czasie wojny [Educational work in the country during the war]*, „Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy” 1947, No. 1, p. 79.

¹⁶ B. Gralak, *Szkolnictwo wyższe i nauka polska...*, p. 184–300; also: S. Pieńkowski, *Nauka polska w czasie okupacji [The Polish education during occupation]*, „Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy” 1947, No. 1, p. 119–120.

¹⁷ W. Chmielewski, *Polska myśl i praktyka pedagogiczna na uchodźstwie w czasie drugiej wojny światowej (1939–1945). Zarys problematyki [The Polish thought and pedagogical practice in exile during World War II (1939–1945). An outline of the problem]*, „Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy” 2017, No. 1–2, p. 115 and subsequent; Idem, *Przygotowanie kadr oświatowych na uchodźstwie w latach 1941–1948 [Preparation of educational staff in exile between 1941–1948]*, „Monografie z Dziejów Oświaty” 2013, Vol. XLIII, p. 23 and subsequent.

¹⁸ A. Chmielarz, *Polskie Państwo Podziemne [The Polish Underground State]*, Warszawa, MON, 2007, p. 15–16.

¹⁹ W. Cienkowski, *Straty wojenne Polski w latach 1939–1945 [Losses incurred by Poland during the war 1939–1945]*, Poznań, Wydawnictwo Zachodnie, 1962, p. 90.

²⁰ S. Mauersberg, S. Walczak, *Szkolnictwo polskie po drugiej wojnie światowej (1944–1956) [The Polish education after World War II (1944–1956)]*, Warszawa, PTP Zarząd Główny, 2005, p. 21.

science and education significantly suffered in terms of the number of staff, which had an impact on its scientific and didactic condition after the end of the war.

The second factor was related to the ongoing ideological and political transformations, which ultimately affected the shape of assumptions, structure designs, management methods, as well as the selection of employees in scientific centers across the country. The concept of Marxism influenced establishing the foundations of Polish science after 1945, which had both ideological and political consequences in the form of creating political assumptions of totalitarianism (communist totalitarianism) in the Soviet Union²¹, and its satellite states, including Poland, over the period of 1948–1956²².

SOVIETIZATION OF THE SCIENCE MODEL WHILE INTRODUCING NEW SOCIAL ORDER AND GOVERNANCE

The political system of People's Poland – Stalinism, which started developing after World War II, later transformed into socialism – was a variant of communist totalitarianism, which was a consequence of post-war structural and ideological sovietization. It is noteworthy that the ideology was the parent element in relation to the organizational state form, and the conviction born out of the enlightenment idea of progress included in its content that science is a basic tool in terms of the successful implementation of social utopia thanks to which it is possible to create a familiar, predictable, and thus, better world²³. In this approach, its leading role was determined in instilling and implementing social ideas, thus, giving the ideology the scientific status²⁴. Due to the fact that ideology and science differ in their assumptions, an attempt to combine them had negative consequences for the development of the latter, as it reduced it to a subordinate role, and consequently took away its identity, as well as its current peculiarity regarding the method of learning and producing scientific knowledge²⁵.

A number of activities provide evidence that in the post-war period there were tendencies focused on capturing science and the contemporary ideologues sought to use science in the process of social and political transformations. On the one hand, they were meant to liquidate everything which was in contrary to the vision

²¹ R. Panasiuk, *Podzwonne dla marksistowskiego komunizmu [The death knell for the Marxist communism]*, „Przegląd Filozoficzny. Nowa Seria” 1998, annual set 7, No. 1 (25), p. 109–123; Idem: *Na czym polegał błąd Marksa? [What was the Marx's mistake?]*, „Zbliżenia: Polska Niemcy” 1998, No. 1, p. 72–75.

²² A. Krzeziński, *Historia jako religia [History as religion]*, „Przegląd Polityczny” 1997, No. 35, p. 120–124.

²³ Z. Krasnodebski, *Upadek idei postępu [The fall of the idea of progress]*, Kraków, Ośrodek Myśli Politycznej, Wyższa Szkoła Europejska im. ks. Józefa Tischnera, 2009, p. 19 and subsequent.

²⁴ E. Bloch, *Uniwersytet – marksizm – filozofia [University – Marxism – philosophy]*, „Życie Nauki” 1950, No. 3–4, p. 255.

²⁵ More information provided by: E. Kahl, *Oświata w ładzie monocentrycznym (na przykładzie Polski Ludowej) [Education in the monocentric order (the example of People's Poland)]*, in: *Wychowanie i kształcenie w systemach politycznych [Upbringing and education in political systems]*, the Polish volume, ed. E. Anhalt, D. Stepkowski, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo UKSW, 2012, p. 41–74.

and interest of the post-war state power, and developed in the area of the pre-war achievements. On the other hand, these efforts were directed towards establishing new pseudoscience, which in its teleological and substantive essence was to become a creator, and simultaneously a carrier of solutions conducive to strengthening the forms of totalitarianism, assimilated in the culture of real socialism. Those planned changes were significantly demonstrated by the desiderata formulated i.a. by Jakub Berman – the most important “administrator” of People’s Poland next to B. Bierut²⁶, an ideological communist who believed in the irreversibility of “leaping into the kingdom of freedom”²⁷: *we are facing the task of critically assessing the current achievements of the Marxist thought in Poland. We must lay the theoretical foundation for the Polish path towards socialism. [...] We have to make up for this great delay in scientific research, as it is crucial so that the Marxist thought could accelerate its search in the discipline of the humanities, mathematics and natural sciences. It is high time for scientific thought to keep up with the pace of great on-going transformations and, what is more, to overtake them*²⁸.

One of the first important documents sanctioning ideological and structural changes in science was *Dekret z dnia 28 października 1947 roku w sprawie organizacji nauki i szkolnictwa wyższego [The Decree of October 28, 1947, on the organization of science and higher education]*²⁹ which included the design of a nationwide system of its organization, and its guiding idea was to *adjust science to the state life*³⁰. This document abolished the autonomy of higher education institutions and paved the way for implementing the concept of science planning³¹. It might be stated that it had closed the first period of reconstructing science and higher education after World War II which took place under conditions of relative cooperation of pre-war intellectual elites with the officials of the new political order. At the same time, it indicated a further path towards bureaucratic centralism and strengthening the administrative factor in the process of managing and organizing science. It was

²⁶ R. Spalek, *Jakub Berman: portret politycznego emeryta w materiałach SB (1966–1971) [Jakub Berman: a portrait of a political pensioner in the materials of the Security Service of the Ministry of Internal Affairs SB (1966–1971)]*, „Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość” 2010, No. 9/2 (16), p. 353.

²⁷ The phrase borrowed from: A. Walicki, *Marksizm, skok do królestwa wolności. Dzieje komunistycznej utopii [Marxism, a leap into the kingdom of freedom. The history of communist utopia]*, Warszawa, PWN, 1996, p. 536.

²⁸ J. Berman, *Na posterunku [Watching over]*, „Nowe Drogi” 1947, No. 1, p. 1.

²⁹ Dz.U. RP 1947, No. 66, item 415, *Dekret z dnia 28 października 1947 w sprawie organizacji nauki i szkolnictwa wyższego [The Decree of October 28, 1947, on the organization of science and higher education]*. It superseded the pre-war Jędrzejewicz Act of March 15, 1933, on University education as amended (Dz.U. 1938, No. 1, item 5).

³⁰ Archiwum Sejmowe (AS), BPS, Wydział Prac Parlamentarnych. Ustawodawczy Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 1947–1952. *Sprawozdanie z 12 posiedzenia Komisji Oświaty d. 18.12.1947. Sprawozdanie o dekreście z d. 28.10.1947 o organizacji nauki i szkolnictwa wyższego / Dz. U. RP nr 66, poz. 415 [The report of 18.12.1947 from the 12th meeting of the Committee of Education. The report on the decree of 28.10.1947 on the organization of science and higher education / Dz. U. RP No. 66, item. 415]*

³¹ Dz.U. RP 1947, No. 66, item 415. *Dekret z dnia 28 października 1947 w sprawie organizacji nauki i szkolnictwa wyższego [The Decree of October 28, 1947, on the organization of science and higher education]*.

an indication that the next stage of transformations in science, which consisted in its etatisation (group's allocation)³², commenced and concentrated on depriving it of the ethos developed in the Second Republic of Poland.

With regard to the plans concerning introducing such a radical change, the scientific staff subject to constant surveillance, evaluation and selection as well as ideological and political indoctrination in order to eliminate the "individuals hostile towards the system" was a matter of concern and interest. The scholars representing the humanities, including pedagogy, remained under special supervision, because after all – as Eugenia Krassowska, undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Education (1946–1950) at that time, and later in the Ministry of Higher Education and Science (1950–1951) – emphasized: *The issue of the humanities, which is under the greatest pressure of reactive ideology, is the most difficult*³³. This judgment explained the increased "ideological offensive" in this environment. In April 1949, for this purpose, Adam Schaff was sent from Moscow – a politician, a philosopher, a member of the Polish Workers' Party, and later the Polish United Workers' Party³⁴, whose task was to supervise the so-called "N action" (N – nauka (science)). The guidelines were formulated in *Uchwała Biura Politycznego z 23 czerwca 1949 roku w sprawie I Kongresu Nauki Polskiej (The Resolution of the Politburo of June 23, 1949, on the First Congress of Polish Science)*, which was not published. The basic tasks included: – *to bring together the group of hesitating scholars-teachers to current social reality and mobilize them to trigger the needs of living in a new system; – the congress should encourage scientists, make a serious shock in the entire science and move towards the Marxist science, and in some branches to make an ideological breakthrough; – the congress should oppose cosmopolitan tendencies present in the Polish science, reach for the tradition of progressive science and refer to the experience and achievements of the Soviet science*³⁵.

The same document contained as well the recommended implementation methods of those objectives such as: – *eliminating the science isolation from life and incorporating it in creating socialism, and in particular implementing the six-year plan; – developing new forms of the organization of science and higher education, adapted to the process of science and its connection with practice; – combating cosmopolitanism in science and among scientists; – under the offensive pressure, ideological ferment should increase, as it will accelerate stratification*

³² This period included 1948–1951, after: P. Hübner, *Polityka naukowa w Polsce w latach 1944–1953 [The scientific politics in Poland between 1944–1953]*: The origin of the system, Vol. 1–2, Wrocław, Ossolineum, 1992, p. 135 and subsequent.

³³ E. Krassowska, *O podniesienie poziomu pracy dydaktycznej w wyższych uczelniach [On increasing the level of didactic work in higher education institutions]*, „Życie Nauki” 1950, No. 3–4, p. 143.

³⁴ Adam Schaff (1913–2006). In 1935 he graduated from law and political economics at the Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv. In 1945 he graduated from philosophy at the Moscow University, where he obtained his doctor's degree and habilitation.

³⁵ AAN, PZPR, ref. 237/XVI-27. *Uchwała BP w sprawie I Kongresu Nauki Polskiej z 23 czerwca 1949 [The Resolution of the Politburo of June 23, 1949, on the First Congress of Polish Science]*.

among scientists, indicate strongly reactive elements, isolate them and attract the vast majority of scientists to communists³⁶.

In the light of these provisions, the priority was to isolate “reactive elements” in the scientific community, promote Marxism and engage science to works on the implementation of the “Six-Year Plan”. Therefore, it can be concluded that the authorities knowingly and deliberately focused in the long run on depriving science of traditional academic characteristics in an uncompromising manner, and at the same time recruiting scholars supporting planned and the already partially implemented changes. The ventures of the administration related to planning education in the course of preparation for the First Congress of Polish Science confirmed it. The following recommendations were formulated at that time: 1/ *assessing the condition of the scientific research in Poland*; 2/ *revealing the reasons for the delay*; 3/ *strengthening the scientific movement*; 4/ *deepening the struggle for progressive science content, and a new methodology*; 5/ *deepening the process of connecting science with the people’s state. The Ministry of Education [...] engages progressive scholars, organizes publishing campaigns, engages active members of society into the preparatory work*³⁷.

In the following years, the “N action” plan was implemented under the patronage of the Faculty of Science and Higher Education. As a consequence, the staff screening took place, and the employees of scientific, and scientific and didactic institutions were engaged in the process of structural and ideological transformations of science, and at the same time, of the state system.

The aforementioned guidelines and the undertaken actions were reviewed during the First Congress of Polish Science, which was held on 29.06–2.07.1951. The summary of the meeting was included in the final resolutions³⁸, which adopted the Soviet organizational, ideological and methodological model of science as binding. The science was supposed to be nationalized, centralized, etatised, planned, and made collective, and in addition, party-focused in its content and form, which complies with the requirements of the doctrine and current line of government policy³⁹. Only this shape thereof guaranteed that it was in line with the system assumptions. The Methodological Conference of Historians held in

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ AS, BPS, Wydział Prac Parlamentarnych. Sejm Ustawodawczy Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. Sesja jesien na 1949/50. *Diariusz z 3 posiedzenia Komisji Oświaty i Nauki, obradującej nad preliminarem budżetowym na rok 1950, 30.01.1950 [The diary of 30.01.1950 from the 3rd meeting of the Committee of Education and Science, which deliberated on the budget estimates for 1950]*.

³⁸ More information provided by: E. Kahl, *Kształtowanie się polityki naukowej w Polsce Ludowej (1944–1951) [Shaping scientific politics in People’s Poland (1944–1951)]*, „Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy” 2013, No. 1–2, p. 51–73.

³⁹ More information provided by: J. Goćkowski, S. Marmuszewski, *Pomieszenie i udawanie w kulturze nauki [Confusion and pretence in the science culture]*, in: *Nauka. Tożsamość i tradycja [Science. Identity and tradition]*, ed. J. Goćkowski, S. Marmuszewski, Kraków, Universitas, 1995, p. 269–270; also: P. Hubner, *Nauki społeczne i humanistyka – mechanizmy zniewolenia [Social and humanistic sciences – the mechanisms of enslavement]*, in: *Polacy wobec przemocy 1944–1956 [Poles against violence 1944–1956]*, ed. B. Otwinowska, J. Żaryn, Warszawa, Editions „Spotkania”, 1996, p. 289.

Otwock near Warsaw between December 28, 1951, and January 12, 1952, at which the representatives of the authorities stated that *only the Marxist methodology could be perceived as scientific*, confirmed this direction of changes⁴⁰. The rule of science partiality was considered as binding, according to which scholars should follow the guidelines imposed by the ideologues. Russian historians were the speakers during the conference⁴¹.

With reference to these tendencies, it can be stated that the First Congress of Polish Science closed the initial period – preparing the ground for structural and ideological reforms in science, and at the same time opened another – their successive, consistent, and at the same time, dynamic implementation according to the defined model, as shown in *Ustawa o szkolnictwie wyższym i o pracownikach nauki (The Act on Higher Education and Science Employees)* introduced five months later⁴², which was the result of the science nationalization crowning the stage of preparations for the structural and organizational system transformation. It introduced an institutional model of science – based on the Soviet model, namely they abandoned the current division between universities (academic schools) and higher vocational schools. Some faculties were removed from universities, and separate vocational schools under the supervision of ministries other than the ministry of science or education were established. In that way, i.a. medical, agricultural academies, and PE academies, academies of fine arts, and higher pedagogical schools were established. Some faculties such as theology were completely liquidated⁴³. Some (found at universities till that time) faculties were abolished, i.a. philosophy, psychology, sociology, and pedagogy.

In order to suppress all manifestations of preserving tradition regarding functioning and teaching science, to deprive scientists of independence, as well as to increase control over their communities, the most prominent and prestigious scientific societies were liquidated, including the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Warsaw Scientific Society, and the Scientific Pedagogical Society. In October 1951, the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAS) was created, the structure and function of which reflected the model of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. The basic organizational units of the Polish Academy of Sciences were faculties, among which, instead of the traditional humanities, the Faculty of Social Sciences was established. PAS also had independent scientific and research institutes and their branches operating outside the capital. New societies and scientific associations were established, but their activities were censored and fully

⁴⁰ Cited after: Z. Romek, *Nauka przeciw ideologii. Współpraca historyków polskich i radzieckich po II wojnie światowej [Science against ideology. The cooperation of Polish and Soviet historian after World War II]*, „Dzieje Najnowsze”, annual set XXXIV – 2002, No. 1, p. 96.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Dz. U. 1952, No. 6, item 38. *Ustawa z dnia 15 grudnia 1951 r. o szkolnictwie wyższym i o pracownikach nauki [The Act on higher education and science employees]*.

⁴³ For the purpose of education in this field, the Christian Theological Academy and the Catholic Theological Academy were established in 1954.

controlled by the state. Also, departmental institutes were created for the needs of selected ministries, which were subject to their supervision as well. In that way, i.a. the State Center for Programming Work and Pedagogical Research was established in 1950⁴⁴.

All these institutions were obliged to conduct scientific research, however, the so-called “basic research” was meant to be undertaken by universities and the institutions of the Polish Academy of Sciences, while the ministerial institutes were responsible for its implementation and design works. Such tasks were also fulfilled by academic educational units, established in order to produce scientific knowledge about education, learning about pedagogy, as well as the process of awarding academic degrees and titles in this field.

The next stage of transformations in science – which took place over the period of 1951–1953 – was associated with its ideologization with the use of administrative means. After this period, science stabilized, i.e. maintained the state of subordination to the humanities to the ideological needs, as well as the political science became pragmatic and was adapted to the conditions resulting from the process of strengthening the socialist system in Poland.

CREATING CONDITIONS FOR “NEW PEDAGOGY”

The science transformation outlined above resulted in changes in pedagogy as a scientific discipline and in the area of knowledge about education. The nature of those changes was aimed at eliminating traditional pedagogy, but, similarly as in other humanities, these transformations were divided into phases.

In the course of the initial science transformation, the authorities paid particular attention to social disciplines which focused their research on human beings – their development, creations, projects, etc. According to ideologues, the determinants of progress were located in the human awareness, will and character, in development processes leading to enlightening and shaping ideological and moral attitudes. The Marxists were searching for these conditions in the methods of organizing social life, which explains why, in the 20th century, social sciences promoted and contrasted with the traditional humanities emerged from the humanities⁴⁵. They had crucial importance in shaping “the Soviet man”, the so-called homo-sovieticus in the post-war system of People’s Poland⁴⁶. As Lenin

⁴⁴ This center was transformed in 1953 into the Institute of Pedagogy, and in 1972 – into the Institute for Pedagogical Research. In addition, four other institutes were established: the Institute of School Curricula, the Teachers’ Training Institute, the Institute for Vocational Training, and the Institute for Youth Study.

⁴⁵ D. Degen, P. Hubner, *Polityka naukowa władz Polski Ludowej w zakresie humanistyki (1945–1990) [The scientific politics of the authorities of People’s Poland in terms of the humanities]*, in: *Humanistyka polska w latach 1945–1990 [The Polish humanities between 1945–1990]*, ed. U. Jakubowska, J. Myśliński, Warszawa, Instytut Badań Literackich i Fundacja Akademia Humanistyczna, 2008, p. 11.

⁴⁶ A. Zinowjew, *Homo sovieticus*, London 1984.

and Stalin used to say – it was supposed to be *samej czelowiecznyj czelowiek*⁴⁷, and according to Soviet historians studying the philosophy by M. Rosenthal and P. Judin – the greatest achievement of the socialist revolution, *the most advanced type of a human being in the current era*⁴⁸. In this context, it is difficult to deny that ideologues assigned a key role in this paper to pedagogy, as one of the social disciplines selected in the process of science disciplinarization.

The consequences thereof were visible in the promoted research approach in pedagogy after World War II. The inclusion of this discipline in the social sciences proved that it was perceived as science exploring the natural matter. The human being was recognized in the development processes related thereto as their element. According to this assumption, pedagogical research considered the methodology of social sciences as legitimate, and a normative research approach was only promoted, using formal research methods and techniques of processes related to upbringing and education, the use of which was to facilitate discovering the regularity of human development and functioning mechanisms, to consequently develop models of effective interaction and formation of individuals and society. The descriptive research approach, which was the domain of the humanities, was abolished, thanks to which the reflection was part of pedagogical processes. Thus, the intention was to make pedagogy, a discipline of knowledge, rather more scientific so that by getting to what is repetitive, general and universal, it could become more pragmatic.

Such aspirations and objectives come to the fore when one read the first speeches by Ż. Kormanowa, who pointed to the need to develop a new pedagogical theory based on the *progressive tradition of Soviet pedagogy*⁴⁹.

However, it was not easy to implement this task as the tradition of practicing science and educating students developed in the Second Republic of Poland was deeply rooted in this discipline which was affected by the condition of teaching staff, and their scientific and research past. Initially, staff was recruited from pre-war scholars whose professional work varied in terms of the ontological, epistemological, axiological assumptions, as well as accepted paradigms and pedagogical doctrines. There were no representatives of Soviet pedagogy and there was no one willing to cultivate or affirm it. This environment was dynamically involved in the post-war social movement concentrating on science and education, the consequences of which included i.a. the reactivation of higher education in many Polish cities – Cracow, Lublin, Poznan, Warsaw, as well as Toruń and Wrocław, where the staff was composed of mostly Polish scientists from Lviv and Vilnius. The Scientific Pedagogical Society, which had gathered before the war many excellent scholars of various disciplines, joined this movement. Apart from pedagogy, the pedagogical sciences at

⁴⁷ W. Parniewski, *Homo sovieticus* (A. Zinowjew, M. Heller, J. Tischner), „Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia litteraria” 1995, No. 37, p. 136.

⁴⁸ *Krótki słownik filozoficzny [Short dictionary of philosophy]*, ed. M. Rosenthal and P. Judin, Warszawa, KiW, 1955, p. 291.

⁴⁹ AAN w Warszawie, Ministerstwo Oświaty, ref. 4212. *Wytyczne do pracy nad programami nauczania 1948 [The guidelines for working on teaching curricula 1948]*.

that time included also theology, philosophy, ethnology, anthropology, sociology, psychology, politics, and even medicine and biology⁵⁰. In this context, a few names of eminent scholars associated in the Scientific Pedagogical Society after the war should be mentioned, i.a. Bogdan Nawroczyński, a pedagogue and a historian of pedagogy, Stefan Baley, a psychologist and a pedagogue, Florian Znaniecki, a philosopher and a sociologist, Stanisław Kot, a historian and a pedagogue, Zygmunt Mysłakowski, a pedagogue, and after the war: Bogdan Suchodolski, a philosopher, a historian of science and culture, a pedagogue, Stefan Szuman, a pedagogue, a psychologist, and a physician, Maksymilian Siemieński, a pedagogue, Stanisław Tync, a historian of education and a pedagogue, Jan Stanisław Bystron, an ethnographer and a sociologist and others⁵¹.

Thanks to their involvement in scientific, didactic and publishing activities, many pre-war editions, as well as those created during the years of occupation, were published, such as i.e. the paper on general, comparative and social pedagogy, and didactics. Noteworthy are: B. Nawroczyński, *Zasady nauczania (Teaching rules)* (1946), *Życie duchowe (Spiritual life)* (1947), *Współczesne prądy pedagogiczne (Modern pedagogical trends)* (1947); S. Hessen, *Struktura i treść szkoły współczesnej (The structure and content of contemporary school)* (1947); K. Sośnicki, *Pedagogika ogólna (General pedagogy)* (1947), *Dydaktyka ogólna (General didactics)* (1948); B. Suchodolski, *Wychowanie moralno-społeczne (Moral and social education)* (1947), *Wychowanie dla przyszłości (Education for the future)* (1947), J. Chałasiński, *Społeczeństwo i wychowanie (Society and education)* (1948); H. Radlińska, *Oświata dorosłych (Education of adults)* (1947).

It can be stated that this first period of pedagogy development was characterized by relative autonomy of pre-war pedagogues. It should be assumed that it was a result of a shortage of educated Marxists who would be able to take the lead in social sciences at Polish universities. Disputes over the program in the area of pedagogy which took place at that time respected the traditional principles of scientific discourse.

However, the consent of the authorities was a manifestation of pretending respect for the rules and customs prevailing in science. The creation developed by the pre-war scholars, related to producing knowledge about education was in contradiction with the idea of science implemented after the war and its role in the planned changes in the social reality. At the time, however, the authorities did not have the right tools to radically cut off from the pedagogical tradition.

After the conference in Szklarska Poręba in 1947 and the adoption of the already mentioned *Dekret o organizacji nauki i szkolnictwa wyższego (The decree*

⁵⁰ T. Hejnicka-Bezwińska, *Pedagogika [Pedagogy]*, Warszawa, Difin, 2015, p. 132.

⁵¹ I. Michalska, *Między nauką a polityką. Ostatnie lata Naukowego Towarzystwa Pedagogicznego [Between science and politics. Last years of the Scientific Pedagogical Society]*, in: *Oświata, wychowanie i kultura fizyczna w rzeczywistości społeczno-politycznej Polski Ludowej (1945–1989) [Education, upbringing and physical education in the social and political reality of People's Poland (1945–1989)]*, ed. R. Grzybowski, Toruń, Adam Marszałek, 2004, p. 59 and subsequent.

on the organization of science and higher education), relentless endeavors were made to make the pedagogy a tool legitimizing the social and political system that was implemented. Therefore, the new political power took action to control the institutional education, as well as the pedagogical and educational societies and organizations which were, traditionally, independent of politics. With regard to the process of etatisation of science – it was easily accomplished, as the state controlled all its functioning mechanisms. The authorities, however, still did not feel very confident about the ethos of educated pedagogues.

The political central authorities had been preparing for the final struggle with the pre-war pedagogues teaching about upbringing and education at least since the middle of 1947. The Minister of Education at that time – Stanisław Skrzeszewski at *the Nationwide meeting of professors and auxiliary scientific groups – the members of the Polish Workers' Party* presented the planned tactics of the annihilation of the pre-war pedagogy. The offensive was to include the organization of studies, academic staff and the youth. There was also a request to remove many professors⁵². This event basically finished the so-called *gentle revolution*⁵³, as evidenced by the subsequent speeches and decisions taken by the educational decision makers.

S. Skrzeszewski (referred to above) at the Sejm meeting of the Committee of Education and Science in 1950 reproached teachers for developing new science too slowly. To his mind, *they should better understand the meaning of the world struggle for Poland's peace and role in this matter, appreciating the politics and true democracy of the Soviet Union and all its achievements. Scholars must take advantage of the professional literature and achievements of the Soviet science. Polish scholars got involved in reconstruction works. The purpose of the Ministry of Education in the field of science is to include it in the general trend of the nation's life laying and building the foundations of socialism. In order to achieve this goal faster, new scientific institutes are established and awards are given to scientists and researchers. We must make up for the delays in terms of science planning. The modern organization of scientific life requires launching teams of related chairs, departments and academic institutions, just like in the Soviet Union*⁵⁴. With this speech, he promised far-reaching changes in pedagogy, namely changes in the type of scientific and didactic activity, the method of studying educational processes, in the scientific community, organization of the institution and the scientific awareness⁵⁵.

⁵² P. Hübner, *Stalinowskie „czystki” w nauce polskiej [The Stalin's "cleansing" in the Polish science]*, in: *Skryte oblicze systemu komunistycznego. U źródeł zła [The hidden face of the communist system. At the source of evil]*, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo DI, 1997, p. 212.

⁵³ J. Borejsza, *Rewolucja łagodna [The gentle revolution]*, „Odrodzenie” 1950 No. 10–12 (15.01.1945), p. 2.

⁵⁴ AS, BPS, Wydział Prac Parlamentarnych. Sejm Ustawodawczy Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. The autumn session 1949/50. *Diariusz z 3 posiedzenia Komisji Oświaty i Nauki, obradującej nad preliminarem budżetowym na rok 1950, 30.01.1950 [The diary of 30.01.1950 from the 3rd meeting of the Committee of Education and Science, which deliberated on the budget estimates for 1950]*.

⁵⁵ These concepts I used to define the aspects of science were cited after: J. Such, M. Szcześniak, *Filozofia nauki [The philosophy of science]*, Poznań, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 2006, p. 9–10.

The teachers and other scholars concentrated on scientific and research work related to education were assigned to several tasks by the authorities, the fulfillment of which determined the existence or not (“to be or not to be”) in the ministry of science. First of all, “self-criticism” was necessary, i.e. it was needed to evaluate the previous achievements in terms of eliminating such ones which were included in the legacy of the “bourgeois” pedagogy. Another condition was to initiate translating, disseminating and promoting the works of the Soviet pedagogy. The third condition was to include them in the educational programs of young teaching professionals, and to develop them creatively, because – as Eustachy Kuroczko, former director of the General Department in the Ministry of Education explained – *teachers must develop in terms of the Marxist and Leninist teaching methodology*⁵⁶.

The above-mentioned Scientific Pedagogical Society was supposed to play a significant role in reconstructing pedagogy. S. Skrzyszewski, the minister, clearly stated at the program conference of the Scientific Pedagogical Society that the ministry of education wants to be able to influence the educational content based on the pedagogical theory and practice. The program they had presented included detailed desiderata for the operation of SPS, which suggested getting familiar carefully with the achievements of science and the Soviet school as well as taking advantage of its experience⁵⁷.

The scientific staff of teachers performed the above tasks to a different degree, however, generally the authorities were dissatisfied. Meanwhile, ideologues clearly highlighted that they (along with other representatives of the humanities) were appointed to *shape a new social ideology of science*⁵⁸. Hence, after 1948, those “having doubts” were successively eliminated from the Polish pedagogy, universities, teacher training institutions or their scientific and research activities were hindered. It was demonstrated by the previously mentioned “N action”, the operation of the Special Disciplinary Commissions at universities⁵⁹, as well as the activities of the Basic Party Organization, which on

⁵⁶ AS, BPS, Wydział Prac Parlamentarnych. Sejm Ustawodawczy Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. The autumn session 1949/50. *Diariusz z 3 posiedzenia Komisji Oświaty i Nauki, obradującej nad preliminarzem budżetowym na rok 1950, 30.01.1950* [The diary of 30.01.1950 from the 3rd meeting of the Committee of Education and Science, which deliberated on the budget estimates for 1950].

⁵⁷ More information provided by: W. J. Chmielewski, *Polska administracja szkolna w latach 1944–1950, [The Polish school administration between 1944–1950]*, Piotrków Trybunalski, NWP, 2010, p. 338, 339.

⁵⁸ J. Chałasiński, *Humanistyka przed Kongresem Nauki Polskiej [The humanistics before the Congress of Polish Science]*, „Rejs” – an illustrated supplement to „Dziennik Bałtycki” 29 of 16.07.1950, p. 2.

⁵⁹ D. Gałaszewska-Chilczuk, *Czy komuniści zdobyli KUL? Działania aparatu władzy wobec środowiska naukowego Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego 1944–1956 [Did the communists get the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin? Actions undertaken by the power apparatus towards the scientific community of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin 1944–1956]*, in: *Aparat represji wobec inteligencji w latach 1945–1956 [A repressive apparatus against intelligence between 1945–1956]*, ed. R. Habielski, D. Rafalska, Warszawa, ASPRA-JR, 2010, p. 79–97.

behalf of the Polish United Workers' Party "watched over" the appropriate selection when recruiting and promoting scientific employees, as well as forcing those who gave rise to concerns "to retire"⁶⁰. A method to regulate the activities conducted by pedagogues was to limit financial resources intended for scientific and didactic activities, implementing research projects, and publishing scientific works. Therefore, by reducing support and sources of funds, the Scientific Pedagogical Society was dissolved on its own, which was negatively assessed by the party authorities⁶¹.

E. Krassowska, Undersecretary of State for Higher Education in the Ministry of Education at that time, admitted that in fact *science and its Polish representatives are actively involved in the campaign for peace and understand the idea of the process of ideological transformation taking place in People's Poland. The Soviet literature used by our scholars facilitates their didactic, pedagogical, scientific and research work. The application of the dialectical materialism method in history and literature helps to deepen the ideological breakthrough among Polish scientists*⁶². However, not all politicians associated with the "new science" shared the same opinion. In general, the authorities were not satisfied with the involvement and did not trust the pre-war teaching staff. Raising the issue regarding the need to address the humanities once again, they emphasized *that the issue of combining science and life was not emphasized satisfactorily*⁶³.

From the point of view of the expectations held by the political central authorities, the existing universities as institutions that had previously educated the future scholars were also not trustworthy. A consequence thereof was the establishment of the Institute for Scientific Staff Education (the so-called Institute of Red Professors) in October 1950 the aim of which was to train law-abiding and fair scholars. Their development at the Institute was under strict supervision of the party. *The institute was built on the principle of "tutorship", i.e. each listener had a permanent guardian who he/she had to meet once a week and who was also head of his/her doctoral thesis*⁶⁴. According to B. Bińko, the institute was an intellectual ghetto, which improved the bond between the listeners and indoctrinated

⁶⁰ E. Mania, *Znaczenie POP PZPR w procesie sowyetyzacji uczelni (1948–1956). Przypadek Uniwersytetu Poznańskiego* [The importance of the Basic Party Organization of the Polish United Workers' Party in the process of sovietization of universities (1948–1956). The case of the University of Poznań], in: *Letnia Szkoła Historii Najnowszej* [The Summer School of the Most Recent History], Vol. V, ed. P. Gasztold-Senia, Ł. Kamiński, Warszawa, IPN, 2012, p. 23.

⁶¹ I. Michalska, *Miedzy nauka a polityka*..., p. 65.

⁶² AS, BPS, Wydział Prac Parlamentarnych. Sejm Ustawodawczy Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. Kancelaria Sejmu Ustawodawczego R.P. Biuro Parlamentarne. Wydział Prac Parlamentarnych. *Sprawozdanie z 5 posiedzenia Komisji Oświaty i Nauki d. 23.02.1950* [The report of 23.02.1950 of the 5th meeting of the Committee of Education and Science].

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ A. Schaff, *Nie zauważona rocznica* [The unnoticed anniversary], „Tu i Teraz” 1983, No. 14, p. 15.

them in a better and more efficient way⁶⁵. In fact, its task was not to create any “new science”, but to educate teachers and employees of the “ideological front” faithful to the Polish United Workers’ Party to form an ideologically unambiguous staff, which will take care of its correct shape, part of the political transformation. And this intention was not concealed. Emil Adler, deputy of A. Schaff, director of the Institute for Scientific Staff Education at that time, clearly stressed that *the aim of science is not truth but propaganda support for socialism*⁶⁶, which confirms the fact that a significant element of the change that took place in science in the 1950’s was its ideologization. It needs to be added that the creators of the Institute for Scientific Staff Education did not eventually achieve their goals. According to Connelly, the extent to which the institute contributed to strengthening Marxism-Leninism in the academic community is rather insignificant. Until the October thaw that took place in 1956, only 39 graduates of the institute took up positions as academic teachers at the university⁶⁷. To some extent this explains why the communists promoted mainly their specialists, and Jadwiga Siekierska – a Ukrainian communist activist who in 1948 took over the position of deputy head of the Department of Education and Culture of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers’ Party and then the Polish United Workers’ Party – assessed that *Poles they are not suitable for scientific work*⁶⁸.

The organization of institutions representing this field fostered and promoted the process of capturing pedagogy. It corresponded to a new formula of organizational science, introduced by the aforementioned Act of December 1951 on higher education. As a consequence thereof, the division into academic and non-academic schools was eliminated. The needs of pedagogical education were to be met by universities, and above all, higher vocational schools (Higher Pedagogical Schools) established in 1946⁶⁹. During the first few years after the war, they underwent many organizational changes that were indicative of preparations for the final reconstruction of universities and higher schools providing pedagogical preparation for future teaching staff. Higher Pedagogical Schools – institutions initially educating public school teachers in a 3-year mode at the higher level

⁶⁵ B. Bińko, *Instytut Kształcenia Kadr Naukowych przy KC PZPR – narzędzie ofensywy ideologicznej w nauce i szkolnictwie wyższym [The Institute for Training Scientific Staff at the Central Committee of the Polish Workers’ Party – an ideological offensive tool in science and higher education]*, „Kultura i Społeczeństwo” 1996, No. 40 (2), p. 214; also: R. Sitek, *Warszawska szkoła historii idei. Między historią a teraźniejszością [The Warsaw school of the history of ideas. Between history and the present]*, Warszawa, Scholar, 2000, p. 58–60.

⁶⁶ E. Adler, *Partyzność filozofii i nauki [Partisanism of philosophy and science]*, „Nauka Polska” 1953, No. 2, p. 248–250.

⁶⁷ J. Connelly, *Internal Bolshevisation? Elite Social Science Training in Stalinist Poland*, „Minerva” 1996, No. 34, p. 325.

⁶⁸ A. Sobór-Świdorska, *Jakub Berman. Biografia komunisty [Jakub Berman. Communist’s biography]*, Warszawa, IPN, 2009.

⁶⁹ Dz. Urz. MO 1946, No. 2, item 47. *Zarządzenie Ministra Oświaty z 12 marca 1946 roku w sprawie statutu Państwowych Wyższych Szkół Pedagogicznych [The Ordinance of the Minister of Education of March 12, 1946, on the statute of the State Higher Pedagogical Schools]*.

– had non-academic status. Based on their assumptions, they were aimed at establishing cooperation with universities, taking benefits from the pedagogical and scientific experience of the staff employed there, as well as taking advantage of the didactic facilities at the universities⁷⁰. According to the statute, the emphasis was meant to be placed on the practical side of preparations⁷¹. In fact, this scientific activity was treated only marginally, while didactic and educational works dominated⁷².

Noteworthy is the fact that at this stage of the formation of Higher Pedagogical Schools, the Polish Teachers' Association became actively involved and demanded that the principles of their activities should refer to organizational solutions in terms of vocational education of teachers from the interwar period. Their idea grew out of the assumptions of the J. W. Dawid Polish Pedagogical Institute, as well as the experience of the Institute of Pedagogy of the Polish Teachers' Association in Warsaw⁷³. As Higher Pedagogical Schools were supposed to provide vocational education, actually at the beginning they resembled more pre-war teacher training institutions than universities. This could be evidenced by the statutory governing bodies composed by the headmaster and the school council, appointed by the minister of education⁷⁴. The first Higher Pedagogical Schools were established in Cracow, Gdańsk, Łódź and Katowice.

Further changes regarding Higher Pedagogical Schools were introduced by *Instrukcja z 21 czerwca 1948 roku o organizacji roku szkolnego 1948/49 (The instruction of June 21, 1948, on the organization of the 1948–1949 school year)* which obliged the managers of those schools to undertake works on implementing adjustments in terms of their organization to the provisions stipulated by the above mentioned *Dekretu z 28 października 1947 o organizacji szkolnictwa wyższego (The decree on the organization of science and higher education)*. However, neither the school premises nor the staff were prepared to conduct scientific activities, and that is why the process took several years and was accompanied by a search for a new identity and a new status of Higher Pedagogical Schools. Eventually, those facilities were transformed into training institutions for teachers from general secondary schools and pedagogical high schools⁷⁵. Changing the recipient of the educational offer presented by Higher Pedagogical Schools led to dissatisfaction of the authorities with university education, poorly – in their opinion – preparing the secondary school staff in terms of the ideology and education.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² R. Grzybowski, *Wyższe Szkoły Pedagogiczne w Polsce w latach 1946–1956 [Higher Pedagogical Schools in Poland over the period of 1946–1956]*, Toruń, Adam Marszałek, 2010, p. 48.

⁷³ More information provided by R. Grzybowski, *Wyższe Szkoły Pedagogiczne...*, p. 46, 47, 87, 88.

⁷⁴ Dz. Urz. MO 1946, No. 2 item 47. *Zarządzenie Ministra Oświaty z 12 marca 1946 roku w sprawie statutu PWSP [The Ordinance of the Minister of Education of March 12, 1946, on the statute of the State Higher Pedagogical Schools]*.

⁷⁵ R. Grzybowski, *Wyższe Szkoły Pedagogiczne...*, p. 55–66.

R. Grzybowski also indicates another, probable reason, namely the precautionary approach adopted by the Ministry of Education in terms of maintaining control over the course of training staff for high school education. Established in 1950, the Ministry of Higher Education and Science⁷⁶, transformed subsequently in 1951 into the Ministry of Higher Education, took over the previous scope of activities of the Fourth Science Department of the Ministry of Education, depriving the educational authorities of their existing competences in that matter. As the political central authorities (in agreement with the Ministry of Higher Education) decided not to get involved and left Higher Pedagogical Schools under the supervision of the Ministry of Education, these schools were transformed into studies educating secondary school teachers in order to maintain control over educating staff for this segment of education⁷⁷.

As a result of the assimilation of curricula of Higher Pedagogical Schools to the university profile, since 1949 these institutions performed similar tasks as first degree studies at the faculty of humanities, and mathematics and natural sciences at the university, which in subsequent years led to disputes and resistance from both the university and the administration authorities over the current status of Higher Pedagogical Schools. The Ministry of Education, however, defended the current state of education and explained that the model of Higher Pedagogical Schools was based on the Soviet four-year pedagogical institutes. It motivated the legitimacy of their existence in the present form also by assuming that they would play a significant ideological and political role in the process of educating secondary school teachers, laying and creating the foundations of *socialism in Poland in terms of education and culture*⁷⁸. It was supposed to be an unbeatable argument against the dissatisfaction of the authorities with this type of activity conducted at universities. They established new Higher Pedagogical Schools focused on the education of secondary school teachers i.a. in Wrocław⁷⁹, Warsaw⁸⁰ and Katowice⁸¹. The Ministry of Education had

⁷⁶ Dz. U. 1950, No. 21, item 181. *Ustawa z 26 kwietnia 1950 w sprawie utworzenia Ministerstwa Szkół Wyższych i Nauki* [The Act of April 26, 1950, on the establishment of the Ministry of Higher Education and Science].

⁷⁷ R. Grzybowski, *Wyższe Szkoły Pedagogiczne...*, p. 84, 85.

⁷⁸ Dz. Urz. MO 1949, No. 16, item 273. *Instrukcja Ministerstwa Oświaty z dnia 13 października 1949 roku w sprawie organizacji roku szkolnego w Państwowych Wyższych Szkołach Pedagogicznych* [The Instruction of the Ministry of Education of October 13, 1949, on the organization of the school year at the State Higher Pedagogical Schools].

⁷⁹ Dz. U. 1950, No. 55, item 494. *Rozporządzenie Ministra Oświaty z 24 listopada 1950 roku w sprawie utworzenia Państwowej Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej we Wrocławiu* [The Ordinance of the Minister of Education of November 24, 1950, on the establishment of the State Higher Pedagogical School in Wrocław].

⁸⁰ Dz. U. 1950, No. 55, item 497. *Rozporządzenie Ministra Oświaty z 24 listopada 1950 roku w sprawie utworzenia Państwowej Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Warszawie* [The Ordinance of the Minister of Education of November 24, 1950, on the establishment of the State Higher Pedagogical School in Warszawa].

⁸¹ Dz. U. 1950, No. 55, item 498. *Rozporządzenie Ministra Oświaty z 24 listopada 1950 roku w sprawie utworzenia Państwowej Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Katowicach* [The Ordinance of the Minister of Education of November 24, 1950, on the establishment of the State Higher Pedagogical School in Katowice].

an intention of create next ones – as part of the six-year plan – i.a. in Poznań, Lublin, Szczecin and Toruń. On the one hand, it justified the inability of universities to cover the demand for staff with higher degree, and on the other hand – the fact that university graduates did not take up work at high schools. In fact, the development process of the network of Higher Pedagogical Schools was not completely a result of the provided reasons. Along with the idea of educating secondary school teachers at Higher Pedagogical Schools admission limits of first-year students of university studies were reduced⁸², which automatically slowed down the inflow of teachers from these universities. In addition – as it results from the research – graduates of university studies were displaced by graduates of Higher Pedagogical Schools, recommended by the authorities, who were applying for positions at high schools⁸³. Due to the fact that the Ministry of Education planned expanding the network of Higher Pedagogical Schools, and each year approximately 95% of their graduates were to take up positions at secondary schools, the thesis that they were aimed at marginalizing the role of universities in this way becomes legitimate. Following this, the goal was to raise the status of Higher Pedagogical Schools, which was reflected by *Uchwała Prezydium Rządu z 18 maja 1954 roku w sprawie ulepszenia systemu kształcenia nauczycieli szkół podstawowych i średnich (The Resolution of the Government Presidium of May 18, 1954, on improving the system of elementary and secondary school teachers' education)*⁸⁴, which stabilised Higher Pedagogical Schools as educational institutions for secondary school teachers. It obliged the Ministry of Education to extend the duration of studies, and to introduce master's examinations. As a result, the ministry issued the regulation on extending the duration of studies⁸⁵, i.e. full-time studies from three to four years, and extramural studies – to five years⁸⁶. Due to the obtained status and

⁸² As a consequence, the total number of university students decreased from 55,442 in the 1949–1950 school year to 19,149 in the 1955–1956 school year.

⁸³ R. Grzybowski, *Wyższe Szkoły Pedagogiczne...*, p. 94.

⁸⁴ Dz. Urz. MO 1955, No. 7, item 57. *Uchwała Prezydium Rządu z 18 maja 1954 roku w sprawie ulepszenia systemu kształcenia nauczycieli szkół podstawowych i średnich [The Resolution of the Government Presidium of May 18, 1954, on improving the system of elementary and secondary school teachers' education]*.

⁸⁵ Dz. Urz. MO 1954, No. 10, item 79. *Zarządzenie z 14 czerwca 1954 r. w sprawie ustalenia czasu trwania studiów w wyższych szkołach pedagogicznych i wydziałach zaocznych tych szkół [The Ordinance of June 14, 1954, on the duration of studies at higher pedagogical schools and extramural faculties thereof]*.

⁸⁶ Dz. Urz. MO 1952, No. 18, item 147. *Zarządzenie Ministra Oświaty z 23 października 1952 roku w sprawie utworzenia Studium Zaocznego Przy Państwowej Wyższej Szkole Pedagogicznej [The Ordinance of the Ministry of Education of October 23, 1952, on the establishment of extramural studies at the State Higher Pedagogical School]*. More information on extramural studies organized by Higher Pedagogical Schools provided by: R. Grzybowski, *Kształtowanie się systemu studiów zaocznych w wyższych szkołach pedagogicznych w Polsce (1945–1973) [Shaping the system of extramural studies at Higher Pedagogical Schools in Poland (1945–1973)]*, „Ars Educandi” 2003, Vol. 2, p. 203–221; Idem, *Geneza, założenia organizacyjne oraz ważniejsze prawidłowości kształcenia nauczycieli w systemie studiów dla pracujących w Polsce po 1945 roku [The origin, organizational assumptions and more important regularities of training teachers in the system of studies for people working in Poland after 1945]*, „Prace Naukowe Akademii im. Jana Długosza w Częstochowie. Pedagogika”, 2014, Vol. 23, p. 524.

the concurrent tightening of admission criteria for pedagogical studies at the universities, Higher Pedagogical Schools became more attractive to potential candidates.

As can be seen from the analysis presented above, the development of Higher Pedagogical Schools took place in connection with simultaneous efforts undertaken by the authorities to limit the pedagogical activity of universities. An important way to promote universities was introducing their stratification by creating independent universities from the separated faculties, as well as decreasing their status to the level of humanistic universities⁸⁷. What is more, as I mentioned earlier, since 1951, the number of students was systematically limited. With regard to pedagogy, the universities preserved their organizational units (mainly chairs and institutes) the names of which included the word *pedagogical*, but pedagogy was treated as service in educating teachers in other fields of study (corresponding to the subjects at high school)⁸⁸. While following the processes of organization and reorganization of higher education institutions in terms of pedagogy, it should be noted that the division into academic and non-academic institutions along with preferences for developing the latter was aimed not only at implementing Soviet organizational models in this area, in order to introduce program changes more efficiently and thus, effectively educate and raise future young teaching professionals⁸⁹, but also, as assumed, at breaking the environment of scholars concentrated on education and upbringing, and thus, reducing its resistance towards the scientific policy conducted by the authorities, especially against the reduction of autonomy enjoyed by universities and scholars in the field of both pedagogical education and the development of this discipline.

As a result of these activities and others, traditional pedagogy, similarly as other humanistic disciplines, including philosophy, psychology, and sociology was regularly liquidated, as evidenced by the fact that at the beginning of the 1950's the application process for university studies in the field of pedagogy was suspended, and in subsequent years, the number of enrolled candidates was reduced⁹⁰. It was later replaced by newly born "new pedagogy" – modeled on the Soviet formula and new in terms of its organizational and theoretical assumptions.

Although the article deals with pedagogy as science and universities educating in the field of knowledge about education, noteworthy is the fact that the authorities were concerned and cared about both the ideological and political, and "scientific" profile of future young teaching professionals, and thus, developed

⁸⁷ J. Serczyk, *Uniwersytety polskie w czasach stalinizmu (esej wspomnieniowy)* [The Polish universities in the period of Stalinism (memoirs)], „Czasy Nowożytne” 1990, Vol. VI, p. 239.

⁸⁸ T. Hejnicka-Bezwińska, *Pedagogika...*, p. 140.

⁸⁹ Dz. Urz. MO 1954, No. 1, item 1. *Statut Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej* [The statute of the Higher Pedagogical School].

⁹⁰ T. Hejnicka-Bezwińska, *Pedagogika...*, p. 140.

in the post-war period different types of vocational education and development, the program assumptions of which, similarly to higher educational institutions, were part of the current policy of the state authorities. For the sake of education, there were pedagogical high schools for public school teachers, and high schools for pre-school tutors⁹¹. Attempts were made to support these forms with special, pedagogical and social courses, courses for Russian language teachers as well as winter and summer subject courses on new curricula and ideological education of teachers⁹². Non-qualified teachers were trained at secondary schools by District Teacher Training Commissions, and during five-month State Courses for Teachers. High school staff were prepared during short-term courses focusing on one subject⁹³. The activity of the educational administration in this area was actively supported by the Polish Teachers' Association⁹⁴.

The introduction of schools and pedagogical institutions without the status of an academic institution, their division and fragmentation were meaningful in terms of the policy of the authorities. However, they recruited new staff who originated from different social backgrounds, represented different levels of education and professional experience, but unanimously declared their world-view orientation. It is probable that it was a group that was more susceptible to manipulation than a dense group of academic sociologists with pre-war origins and roots from prestigious universities. In newly established institutions, it was easier than at traditional universities to control the teaching staff, impose specific plans and the curriculum based at that time on the Soviet model and the borrowed literature. As a result, it could be easier to "mould" the staff representing the post-war education and the effects thereof might be more effective, by instilling the foundations of pedagogy of ideological origins.

A certain conclusion can be drawn from the above presented analysis. The objective of the implementation of the non-academic educational system was not only to break the old structure, which fostered the preservation of tradition in science, but also to assimilate and promote the Soviet pedagogical doctrine more

⁹¹ *Kształcenie nauczycieli w Polsce Ludowej 1945–1975 [Training teachers in People's Poland 1945–1975]*, in: *Prace Monograficzne Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Krakowie [Monographic papers of the Higher Pedagogical School in Kraków]*, Vol. 17, ed. J. Jarowiecki, B. Suchodolski, Z. Ruta, Kraków, Wydawnictwo Naukowe WSP, 1983, p. 21, 58.

⁹² AS, BPS, Wydział Prac Parlamentarnych. Sejm Ustawodawczy Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. *Sesja jesienno 1949/50. Dziennik z 3 posiedzenia Komisji Oświaty i Nauki, obradującej nad preliminarzem budżetowym na rok 1950, 30.01.1950 [The autumn session 1949/50. The diary of 30.01.1950 from the 3rd meeting of the Committee of Education and Science, which deliberated on the budget estimates for 1950]*.

⁹³ More information provided by: E. Kahl, *Polityczne aspekty instytucjonalnego doskonalenia nauczycieli w Polsce Ludowej w latach 1944–1956 [Political aspects of institutional teachers' training in People's Poland between 1944–1956]*, Wrocław, Arkot, 2011.

⁹⁴ More information provided by: E. Kahl, *Związkowe doskonalenie zawodowe nauczycieli w Polsce w latach 1944–1989. Uwarunkowania. Przejawy. Konsekwencje. [Professional development of teachers provided by the union in Poland between 1944–1989. Conditions. Manifestations. Consequences.]*, Kraków, Impuls, 2008.

effectively. This system was a pillar of *the institution of cultural hegemony*⁹⁵. Schools and pedagogical institutions socialized their subordinates to the prevailing system of imposed values. As a consequence, the legitimization of the leading centre position, the status stabilization, the consolidation of a new social and political order, and in the following years, the development of the culture of socialist realism were provided.

Traditional pedagogy was eliminated very quickly in this system of education and was replaced with a new pedagogy, implemented with the use of the compulsory textbooks of “the progressive Soviet pedagogy”. However, the system apologists accused the innovative Western pedagogy trends of alienation on the Polish territory and the focus on meeting ideological goals hostile to communism⁹⁶. They stated that in Poland there was at that time no room for pedagogical novelties, as when building a mass school system one had to resign from quality in favor of quantity⁹⁷. The Pierre Bourdieu’s Field Theory explains the real reason for excluding other orientations and doctrines, and for depriving scholars of the possibility to lead discussions and disputes⁹⁸. In the light thereof, the suppression of discourse on the issue of identity science encourages the domination of certain research orientations and the exclusion of others. Referring this statement to pedagogy, it can be concluded that excluding different cognitive orientations and limiting discourse in the environment of scholars involved in the production of knowledge about education favors orthodoxy in practicing pedagogy, making it the only binding and valid doctrine. In this case, it favored the domination of the socialist doctrine of education.

In order to promote it, the bookstores were flooded with old fashioned, substantively weak Soviet literature⁹⁹. Textbooks were overloaded with the communist ideology and adjusted to the mentality of the Soviet man¹⁰⁰. The following titles might be mentioned here: *Pedagogika (Pedagogy)* by I. Kairowa (1950), *Pedagogika (Pedagogy)* by B. Jesipowa and N. Gonczarowa (1950), *Pedagogika (Pedagogy)* by I. Ogrodnikowa (1953), *Psychologia (Psychology)* by B. Tiepłowa

⁹⁵ P. Bourdieu, *Language and symbolic power*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1991, after: T. Zarycki, *Kapitał kulturowy – założenia i perspektywy zastosowań teorii Pierre’a Bourdieu [The culture capital – assumptions and perspectives of applying the Pierre Bourdieu’s theories]*, „Psychologia Społeczna” 2009, Vol. 4 1–2 (10), p. 14.

⁹⁶ Z. Mysłakowski, J. Szaniawski, *Pedagogika i oświata w Polsce w latach 1918–1939 [The pedagogy and education in Poland between 1918–1939]*, „Nowa Szkoła” 1950, No. 5, p. 4.

⁹⁷ AAN, PPR, ref. 295/XVII, 45. Oddział VI. Sekretariat BP KC PPR. *Okólnik KC PPR w sprawie pracy wśród nauczycieli 1944 r. [The circular on teachers’ work issued by the Central Committee of the Polish Workers’ Party dated 1944]*

⁹⁸ P. Bourdieu, J. C. Passeron, *Reprodukcja. Elementy teorii nauczania [Reproduction. The elements of the theory of teaching]*, Warszawa, PWN, 1990, p. 145 and subsequent.

⁹⁹ F. Sadowski, *Na tematy pedagogiczne [On pedagogical issues]*, „Nowe Drogi” 1949, No. 3, p. 263; also: Dz. Urz. MO 1953, No. 1, item 16. *Wykaz ważniejszych książek pedagogicznych wydanych w latach 1951–1952 przez PZWS i „Naszą Księgarnię” [A list of more crucial pedagogical books published over the period of 1951–1952 by PZWS and „Nasza Księgarnia”]*.

¹⁰⁰ E. J. Kryńska, S. Mauersberg, *Indoktrynacja...*, p. 164, 165.

(1950), *Organizacja pracy dydaktyczno-wychowawczej w szkole [Organizing didactic and educational work at school]* by I. Nowikowa (1950), *Praca pozalekcyjna z dziećmi [Work with children after school activities]* by M. Pałagina (1953), *Osobowość nauczyciela radzieckiego [The personality of a Soviet teacher]* by F. Gonobolina (1953) and others¹⁰¹. At the same time, these textbooks superseded valuable, previously appreciated, pedagogical works from the interwar period, which had been legally used until 1948.

As a result of the persistent efforts undertaken to reconstruct the Polish pedagogy, the first textbooks regarding this discipline appeared in the 1950's. They were written by Polish authors that had been inspired by the achievements of the Soviet pedagogy, i.a. *Politechnizacja, żywy problem pedagogiki socjalistycznej [Politechnisation, a vivid and crucial problem of the socialist pedagogy]* by R. Polny (1950) and *Planowanie nauczania i wychowania w szkole podstawowej [Planning education in elementary school]* by W. Szczerby (1951). At the end of the period of "ideological offensive" *Proces nauczania [The proces of teaching]* by W. Okoń (1954) was issued – the first original, scientific pedagogical monography written in the spirit of socialism¹⁰².

The variety of activities on pedagogy mentioned above undertaken by the communists in the 1940's and 1950's were aimed at eliminating elements in contradiction to the ideological state doctrine, depriving it of its autonomy and seizing control over it by the political apparatus. As a consequence of the expansion of bureaucratic activities and the formalization of scientific and didactic procedures, pedagogical institutions were closely connected with the organizational models of the state administration, and in particular the Ministry of Education, which was subordinate to the state power.

The etatisation and ideologization of science conducted as a result of these activities, created a favourable ground for its pragmatization. This process was characterized by further changes in the "new pedagogy" of the 1960's, harmonising with the idea of building an "educating society"¹⁰³. Its main task was to develop effective educational strategies, according to which the process of shaping a human being would take place whose attitude and actions would fall into the vision of ideal society, a human being involved in strengthening the socialist system and in developing the culture of socialist realism. This explains the reason

¹⁰¹ W. Wojtyński, *Rola pedagogiki...*, p. 127.

¹⁰² F. Sadowski, *Na tematy...*, p. 263; also: Dz. Urz. MO 1953, No. 1, item 16. *Wykaz ważniejszych książek pedagogicznych...*

¹⁰³ More information provided by: E. Kahl, *Instytucjonalne doskonalenie nauczycieli w PRL (1956–1989). Ideologia – polityka – praktyka [Institutional teachers' training in the Polish People's Republic (1956–1989). Ideology – politics – practice]*, Zielona Góra, Oficyna Wydawnicza UZ, 2012, p. 34–58; also: *Doskonalenie nauczycieli w Polsce Ludowej w latach 60. w perspektywie urzeczywistniania koncepcji jednolitego frontu wychowania [Teachers' training in People's Poland in the 1960's in the perspective of realizing the concept of a unified front of education]*, in: *Zaangażowanie? Opór? Gra? Szkic do portretu nauczyciela w latach PRL-u [Involvement? Resistance? Game? A sketch to the teacher's portrait in the years of the Polish People's Republic]*, ed. R. Grzybowski, Toruń, Adam Marszałek, 2013, p. 398 and subsequent.

why the supreme role in the educational process was assigned to upbringing, as well as gives an explanation of the legitimacy of further work on improving the “new pedagogy”, which went towards separating the process of upbringing and education from each other (the first one was recognized as primary), which ultimately brought this discipline to the theory of education. Under the influence of these changes in science and education, the entire interiorization of social values and attitudes favored in the system of real socialism was supposed to take place.

The mechanism of this phenomenon is explained by P. Bourdieu. To his mind, *pedagogy recreates the principles of cultural arbitrariness, which is imposed by some group or class as worth reproducing [...] – pedagogical action entails pedagogical work involving implementation, which must last for such a long period of time until it obtains the status of permanent education, i.e. habitus, the creation of interiorizing the principles of cultural arbitrariness capable of being self-renewable after ceasing pedagogical activities and thus, of reconstructing the principles of interiorized arbitrariness in practice*¹⁰⁴.

There was an intention to create from pedagogy – as it was officially stated during the Second Congress of Polish Science in June 1973 – *an instrument of transforming awareness towards the socialist direction, as well as a political and ideological background of the activities of the management party and state centers*¹⁰⁵. To achieve this goal, the initiatives – undertaken already in the 1960’s – to make pedagogy not only ideological but also practical science were improved. Ideology in this meaning showed the goal, which was to create “a new quality man” holding prescribed desirable attributes and attitudes. The practicality of learning about education was in turn to be expressed in constructing the strategy of creating/moulding such a human being. According to *the golden idea of Marxism*¹⁰⁶, this practicality was the only and final criterion of truth which was aimed at fulfilling the communist utopia. In practice, it meant granting consent to the organization, management and surveillance of science by non-scientific (ideological, party, and administrative) systems, to which pedagogy was to serve the service and thus, to implement the utopian vision of society more effectively.

Organizing appropriate political, social, cultural and institutional (structural) conditions for the dominance of the empirical pedagogy, and also imposing the peculiarly understood requirement for it to be practical, i.e. reduced to one pedagogy capturing the whole area of pedagogy, upon scholars-teachers, created conditions for undergoing radical changes and pedagogy expansion in Poland in

¹⁰⁴ Compare P. Bourdieu, J. C. Passeron, *Reprodukcja...*, p. 89, 90.

¹⁰⁵ Polska Akademia Nauk, *II Kongres Nauki Polskiej. Materiały i dokumenty [The Second Congress of Polish Science. Materials and documents]*. Vol II. *Obrady w sekcjach i zespołach problemowych [Discussions in problem sections and teams]*. Part 1. *Nauki społeczne i humanistyczne [Social and humanistic sciences]*. Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdańsk, Ossolineum, 1974, p. 9.

¹⁰⁶ J. Smaga, *Narodziny i upadek imperium. ZSRR 1917–1991 [The birth and fall of the empire. The USSR 1917–1991]*, Kraków, Znak, 1992, p. 70

the 1970's¹⁰⁷. Oppressed and into oblivion, it still operated under the name of “socialist educational pedagogy” in the subsequent years of the monocentric system.

FINAL CONCLUSIONS

*Pedagogy as a discursive discipline recognizes the necessity to determine the subject of own research – as it is not given once and for all, determined and decreed within the discipline. It must be constructed again and again from scratch by the researcher who poses pedagogical questions, but also must be set in the perspective of current meanings, which were given to particular reality manifestations by participants of the community of researchers within this discipline*¹⁰⁸. The status of pedagogy just like of other humanistic disciplines *that explicitly or implicitly have claims to exercise – individual or collective – control over a human being* raises hesitations and suspicions¹⁰⁹. In the humanities, the truth is obtained only when one refuses to affect anything/anyone, as any kind of influence on human beings entails difficult to predict consequences¹¹⁰.

The communists rejected this rule. Similarly as – in their opinion – education was supposed to be a variation of politics¹¹¹, *removing politics from science* [was – E. K.] *impossible*¹¹². Thus, “new pedagogy” was not pedagogy. Due to the character and formula of practicing it that were assigned to it by the communists, it had – in the above sense – the status of pedagogy. It was a peculiar kind of a pedagogical doctrine. Reduced to *instrumental rationality*¹¹³, and at the same time deprived of a theoretical, philosophical and historical attribute, it did not meet the basic criteria of science. As science subordinated to the state ideology, eventually it took the form of ideological pedagogy.

Without doubt, the phenomenon of the pedagogy transformation had negative consequences for the development of pedagogy as science. Its phenomenon, peculiarity, however, finds justification in the pedagogy of the “modern world”, which formed the conviction that the role of pedagogy is to create effective pedagogy doctrines, which by definition made it an a-theoretical and a-philosophical science. In Poland after World War II, the ground for such changes in this

¹⁰⁷ T. Hejnicka-Bezwińska, *Tożsamość pedagogiki w warunkach „wielkiej zmiany kulturowej”* [The identity of pedagogy during “great cultural changes”], „Rocznik Pedagogiczny” 2013, No. 36, p. 38.

¹⁰⁸ M. Nowak-Dziemianowicz, *Pedagogika dyskursywna: nadzieje i możliwości* [Discursive pedagogy: hopes and opportunities], in: *Pedagogika: zakorzenienie i transgresja* [Pedagogy: roots and transgression], ed. M. Nowak-Dziemianowicz, P. Rudnicki, Wrocław, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Dolnośląskiej Szkoły Wyższej, 2011, p. 315.

¹⁰⁹ R. Thom, *O naukowości nauk humanistycznych* [About the scientific aspect of the humanities], in: *Rozmowy w Castel Gandolfo* [The talks in Castel Gandolfo], ed. K. Michalski, Centrum Myśli Jana Pawła II, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Znak, 2010, p. 42.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 38.

¹¹¹ Z. Mysłakowski, *Spór kompetencyjny o wychowanie*, „Nowa Szkoła” 1948 No. 1, p. 4.

¹¹² Cited after: I. Michalska, *Miedzy polityką a nauką...*, p. 62.

¹¹³ T. Hejnicka-Bezwińska, *Pedagogika...*, p. 131.

discipline was favourable, namely a new system, validating the ideology of the “modern world” was introduced. T. Hejnicka-Bezwińska noticed one more factor that fostered ideological and organizational changes in science, including pedagogy, namely *the susceptibility to complying with the rules of external control, which was greater – as the author of these words states – than the will to defend the logic of changes generated by the scientific discipline development*¹¹⁴.

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¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 188.

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The peculiarity of the ideological pedagogy as a scientific basis of Socialist education in People’s Poland – source, idea, implementation

Summary

The article focuses on the problems of changes in pedagogy in the period of the formation and development of socialism in Poland. The author concentrated on the most important organizational and ideological transformations in the humanities after World War II and showed their ideological, social and political sources. Against this background, the tendency to manipulate science and use it in the process of political transformation is presented. In this light, he analyzed the process of enslaving pedagogy as the discipline responsible for creating the foundations of socialist education.

Keywords: science, pedagogy, socialism, education, ideology, politics.

MATERIALS

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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 jezuitów 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]*, „Posłaniec 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 Enlightenment]*, 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 Poczuboty [The praise by Marcin Poczubota]*, 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 Poznań⁸.

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 margins 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 szkołę 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 Poczubut, 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 ekszezuici 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, *Historia 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 (*trivialis*), 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 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 *Kłopotliwe 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 Portfolio]*, „Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki” 2005, No. 50, Vol. 3–4, p. 163–173.

¹³ R. Mączyński, *Architekt Komisji Edukacji Narodowej. Nadzór nad budynkami szkół 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.

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THE JESUITS AS THE BODY OF TEACHERS AND THE BODY OF STUDENTS IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE 1773–1820¹

The Society of Jesus, a male religious order in the Catholic Church, was active in the field of education as early as in the middle of the 16th century. It happened to operate in the territories ruled by the tsars of Orthodox Russia due to the political expansion of the Russian Empire in the second half of the 18th century. Parts of the Republic of Poland were annexed by Russia in September 1772 during the First Partition, when Poland lost 92,000 square kilometers of land and 1,3 million inhabitants to the neighboring powers. In the territories that were incorporated into Russia, the Jesuits owned some premises in 18 places; 6 of them were colleges or residence houses, and 12 were mission stations.

In this way, against their will, only for political reasons, 201 members of the order: 97 fathers, 49 seminarians and 55 brothers – became inhabitants of the Russian Empire. In the Russian-occupied territories, they were working as pastors and educators for years, running 6 tuition-free secondary schools (one of them offered philosophical and theological courses, mainly for Jesuit students), 6 schools of music, 3 boarding schools for poor gentry youth and 1 study house (*convictus*) for the sons of noble families².

¹ The first version of this article was presented at the ISCHE [The International Standing Conference for the History of Education] “Education and the Body” in Chicago in 2016.

² Cf. A. P. Bieś, *Periodyzacja obecności Towarzystwa Jezusowego na ziemiach polskich. Struktury organizacyjne oraz edukacyjno-oświatowe i pastoralne formy aktywności, cz. 1 [The periodization of presence of the Society of Jesus on the Polish territory. Organizational, educational and pastoral forms of activity, the first part]*, „Studia Paedagogica Ignatiana” 2014, Vol. 17, p. 77–78; M. Inglot, *How the Jesuits survived their suppression: The Society of Jesus in the Russian Empire (1773–1814)*, Philadelphia, Saint Joseph’s University Press, 2015, p. 2; M. Inglot, *Jezuici w Imperium Rosyjskim (1772–1820) i przywrócenie Towarzystwa Jezusowego (1814) [The Jesuits in the Russian Empire (1772–1820) and the restoration of the Society of Jesus*

The Jesuit school in Połock (now Polatsk, Belarus) was one of the oldest as it was opened in 1584. The school in Orsza (now Orsha, Belarus) was founded in the early 17th century (1617). In the middle of the 17th century the Jesuits opened the schools in Dyneburg (1638) (now Daugavpils, Latvia) and Witebsk (1648) (now Vitebsk, Belarus), and two more schools, in Mohylew (Mogilev, Belarus) and Mścislaw (Mstislav, Belarus) in the last decade of the century (1690)³. The other educational institutions were appended to older schools; they were established thanks to endowments from the nobility who supported the development of the local educational system.

Since 1599 teaching and upbringing in Jesuit schools were regulated by a collection of detailed standards and norms which was called *Ratio studiorum*. The document comprised 467 rules which had been worked out by the order during the period of about fifty years, and its subsequent versions underwent practical verification in schools. *Ratio*'s guidelines specified the methods and organization of the teaching process both in the classroom and in the entire school, and curricula were provided for particular education levels. Another point of focus was religious education and the significance of religious motivation both for students and their instructors⁴.

The rules of *Ratio studiorum* were divided into 30 sections that discussed all school tasks and functions. They presented a top-down hierarchy of responsibilities for covering the syllabuses as well as the internal auditing system. The ultimate responsibility for the education network within a province of the order rested with the provincial superior, who was nominated by the Superior General. The provincial superior was supposed to appoint prefects, lecturers and teachers from among all the Jesuits of the province, as well as to observe their classes every year and to get acquainted with the outcomes of the teaching process. Individual schools, and later on other institutions that had not been mentioned in *Ratio studiorum*, such as schools of music or boarding houses, were managed by superiors or rectors of local Jesuit communities. Those rulers were appointed by the

(1814)], „Studia Bobolanum” 2015, No. 1, p. 24–25; S. Obirek, *Jesuits in Poland and eastern Europe*, in: *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*, ed. Th. Worcester, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008, p. 141–142, 146–147.

³ Cf. A. P. Bieś, *Jezuickie instytucje edukacyjne w Orszy 1773–1820 [The Jesuit educational institutions in Orsza 1773–1820]*, „Studia Paedagogica Ignatiana” 2016, Vol. 19, No. 3, p. 17–18; M. Inglot, *How...*, p. 20; I. Kadulski, *Akademia Połocka: Ośrodek kultury na Kresach 1812–1820 [The Academy in Polock: The culture centre in the Borderlands]*, Gdańsk, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2004, p. 5–7; *Szkoły jezuickie w porządku chronologicznym założenia [The Jesuit schools in the chronological order of establishment]*, in: *Z dziejów szkolnictwa jezuickiego w Polsce. Wybór artykułów [From the history of the Jesuit education in Poland. The selection of articles]*, ed. J. Paszenda, Kraków, Wydawnictwo WAM, 1994, p. 14–16; S. Załęski, *Jezuici w Polsce [The Jesuits in Poland]*, Vol. 4, part 3, Kraków, W. L. Anczyk, 1905, p. 1055–1059, 1067.

⁴ Cf. A. P. Bieś, E. Dybowska, L. Grzebień, *Pedagogia jezuitów (ignacjańska) [Towarzystwa Jezusowego] [The Jesuit pedagogy of the Society of Jesus]*, in: *Pedagogie katolickich zgromadzeń zakonnych: Historia i współczesność [The pedagogies of Catholic monastic congregations: the past and the present]*, Vol. 1, ed. J. Kostkiewicz, Kraków, Impuls, 2012, p. 64–65; J. W. Donohue, *Jesuit Education: An Essay on the Foundation of Its Idea*, New York, Fordham University Press, 1963; L. Piechnik, *Powstanie i rozwój jezuickiej „Ratio studiorum” [The establishment and development of the Jesuit “Ratio Studiorum”]*, Kraków, Wydawnictwo WAM, 2003.

provincial superior. Their collaborators, who directly oversaw schools and other educational institutions, were the so-called prefects. Those schools that offered philosophical and theological courses had two prefects: for the five-year secondary level and the tertiary level. A prefect had to hold placement examinations for entrants and to place them in grades appropriate for their achievement, to observe classes every two weeks, to schedule public examinations, and to chair examination boards. Therefore, in several educational institutions the prefect had an assistant (*socius*), a seminarian or a brother, to relieve him of some of his duties.

Two separate sets of common rules described the tasks, duties and working techniques for the lecturers of theology and philosophy, and for the secondary education teachers; both groups of educators reported to prefects. The individual rules referred to particular syllabus content for four theological subjects (the Bible, Hebrew, scholastic and moral theology), three philosophical subjects (philosophy, ethics, mathematics) and five subjects taught at the secondary level (rhetoric, poetics, syntax, grammar and the first grade courses). Other sets of rules concerned secondary school pupils and students who were Jesuits (they were called scholastics), lay pupils and students (externs), as well as auxiliary staff, namely janitors⁵.

The model of functioning of the Jesuit school, as outlined in *Ratio studiorum*, is highly reminiscent of the Biblical metaphor of the body (cf. 1 Cor 12,12-26) as one whole system consisting of many components, its members, that fulfil their specific functions, thus, contributing to the wellbeing of the system as well as its individual parts. In this system, the parts' functionality and purposefulness are lost if they are not viewed as interconnected. This particular body is a conglomerate of functionalities whose vital powers are exercised (and proven) when its members take over more and more responsibility for the perpetual and the most important process in the system, namely teaching and learning.

From the 1599 Jesuit school regulations, one can also draw a conclusion about the interrelatedness and reciprocation between the two communities that inhabit the academic space. *Ratio studiorum* does not build any opposition between the teaching body and the student body, but shows their common goal which can be reached in different, yet complementary ways. In practice, the rapprochement between the two groups was possible and the potential antagonisms were eliminated thanks to the fact that the Jesuits moved freely from one group to the other or belonged to both at the same time as they studied one subject and taught another.

⁵ For an English version of *Regulae* see the first translation by Asher Raymond Ball in: *St. Ignatius and the Ratio studiorum*, ed. E. A. Fitzpatrick, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1933, the second by Allan P. Farrell, *The Jesuit "Ratio studiorum" of 1599*, Washington, Conference of Major Superiors of Jesuits, 1970, and the third by Claude Pavur, *The Ratio Studiorum: The Official Plan for Jesuit Education*, Saint Louis, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2005. The Polish version of the document was translated by Tadeusz Bieńkowski and Agnieszka Stachowicz and published in: *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum SJ czyli Ustawa szkolna Towarzystwa Jezusowego [Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum SJ i.e. the School Act of the Society of Jesus]*, ed. K. Bartnicka and T. Bieńkowski, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Ateneum, 2000, p. 33–128; cf. also A. P. Bieś, *Ratio studiorum*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka [Catholic Encyclopedia]*, Vol. 16, ed. Edward Gigilewicz, Lublin, TN KUL, 2012, columns 1226–1227.

A future priest would typically enter the Society of Jesus having completed the rhetoric course and then began his two-year novitiate. Then, for a year, he could revise rhetoric during a special course intended only for Jesuits (called *Privata academia*, *Seminarium Nostrorum* or *Rhetorica Nostrorum*) under the guidance of an experienced and highly esteemed professor of the subject, or alternatively he could begin his three-year philosophical studies. Having graduated from the latter, he became a qualified teacher (*magister*). Tapping on his own experience and the instructions contained in *Ratio studiorum*, he worked as a teacher for four years in the grammar grades, usually changing the grade and the school every year. After four years of training, he joined the students again, this time taking courses in theology, and finally got ordained as a priest. Afterwards, he could continue his teaching career, mainly in the poetics and rhetoric courses, become a lecturer at the tertiary level (studies of philosophy and theology), and take administrative and supervisory positions in his institution⁶.

Still, there were many exceptions to this model of the teaching career at some of its stages. The changes in the rules were often connected with the teacher's individual gifts, the experience he had acquired before entering the order, or the local praxis. The educational praxis stemmed also from the fact that teaching was one of the numerous and varied activities conducted by the order and that it was necessary to take account of the current needs of each province.

Since the archives in Rome and Cracow have partly preserved the Jesuits' personal data, in either a manuscript or a printed form, in personal registers and annual catalogs (*catalogus brevis*), obituaries, as well as official and private correspondence, it is feasible to establish the size of particular Jesuit communities in selected periods; the nationality and social status of the members; their average age, educational background, and the course of professional career; the requirements that were posed to the alumni; and the selection criteria for responsible supervisory positions⁷.

⁶ Cf. S. Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie szkół jezuickich w Polsce: Studium z dziejów kultury i szkolnictwa polskiego* [The fall and restoration of Jesuit schools in Poland: A study of the history of Polish culture and education], Kraków, Wydawnictwo Księży Jezuitów, 1933, p. 98–111; L. Piechnik, *Początki seminariów nauczycielskich w Polsce w wieku XVI* [The beginnings of teachers' seminars in Poland in the 16th century], in: *Z dziejów...*, p. 63–65.

⁷ Cf. A. P. Bieś, *Nauczyciele szkół jezuickich w imperium rosyjskiego (1773–1820) w źródłach zakonnych* [Teachers of Jesuit schools in the Russian Empire (1773–1820) in monastic sources], in: *Badania biograficzne w pedagogice: Studia źródłowe i bibliograficzne* [Biographical research into pedagogy: Source and bibliographic studies], ed. W. Szulakiewicz, Toruń, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2015, p. 175–179; L. Grzebień, *Dokumentacja osobowa w archiwach Towarzystwa Jezusowego ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem ziem polskich 1564–1773* [The personal documentation in the archives of the Society of Jesus with particular emphasis on the Polish territory 1564–1773], in: *Stan i perspektywy rozwoju biografistyki polskiej* [The condition and development prospects of Polish biographical writings], ed. L. Kuberski, Opole, Uniwersytet Opolski, 1998, p. 73–74; J. Kochanowicz, *Źródła do dziejów oświaty jezuickiej okresu staropolskiego* [The sources regarding the history of the Jesuit education in the old Polish period], in: *Źródła w badaniach naukowych historii edukacji* [The sources in scientific research into the history of education], ed. W. Szulakiewicz, Toruń, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2003, p. 29.

As can be seen from the compilation of the data contained in the annual catalogues⁸ in the territories that were later annexed by Russia, just before the Partitions of Poland, the Jesuit teaching “corpus” included 54 clergymen in 6 towns (32 priests, 20 seminarians and 2 brothers), whereas the student “corpus” included 43 clergymen (13 priests and 30 scholastics) in Połock only.

Five Jesuits, two priests and three seminarians, belonged to both corpora simultaneously. Third-year students of theology, Rev. Antoni Byszkowski and Rev. Bazyli Szlachta taught mathematics and architecture to lay students (who were not members of the order), respectively; first-year students of theology, Stanisław Kluczyński and Wincenty Kryński, taught rudimentary Biblical languages and advanced Greek; and a third-year student of philosophy, Jakub Zaręba, taught elementary Greek.

Considering the responsibilities of 54 members of the pedagogical body, one can see that 24 Jesuits were engaged exclusively in the supervisory, administrative and formational tasks. They were rectors and superiors, prefects, supervisors of boarding schools and their collaborators. Frequently, they held such functions in several institutions. For instance, Rev. Mikołaj Leonowicz, who worked in Połock, headed the school of music, the seminary for poor students, and the boarding school. Fortunately, he had an assistant in the school of music, Brother Antoni Krupski, who was an experienced person as he had held the position for twenty-five years. Also the prefect of the boarding school and seminary in Orsza, Rev. Konstanty Hołowczyc was supported by Brother Józef Mączewski, who had worked for eighteen years in the school of music. Rev. Bazyli Zagórski in Orsza and Rev. Józef Kattenbring in Połock concurrently supervised both the school and the library. There was only one person, Rev. Jan Hercyk in Połock, who had both administrative and didactic responsibilities at the same time: he was the prefect of the philosophical courses and a lecturer in theology.

The largest group within the pedagogical body, including 29 people, was involved almost exclusively in teaching tasks. Among them, only five from the above mentioned Jesuits had to reconcile their school jobs and studying. Over half of them were those 18 seminarians who taught at the secondary level.

Among 43 Jesuits who belonged to the student body in Połock, 28 studied theology (between the first and the fourth year) and 12 studied philosophy in the first and the third year. The new advancements in sciences, and the practical needs of the order and local communities forced the Jesuits to include more mathematical and physical problems in their humanist educational system, especially in the 18th century. One of the solutions was to organize specialist courses the scope of which was not covered by the school regulations. Therefore, in Połock a small

⁸ *Catalogus personarum et officiorum Provinciae Masoviae Societatis Jesu ex anno 1772 in annum 1773*, Nesvisii, in: Archiwum Prowincji Polski Południowej Towarzystwa Jezusowego w Krakowie; later ATJKr.), ref. 1758 II; *Catalogus brevis personarum et officiorum Provinciae Lituanae Societatis Jesu ex anno 1772 in annum 1773*, Vilnae, in: Biblioteka Ossolineum, ref. XVIII 2047.

team of 3 Jesuits who had completed their philosophical studies consolidated their knowledge of mathematics and architecture during a yearly revision course, while 5 out of 12 theological students in their first year additionally participated in architecture lectures.

For the Jesuits, both the instructors and the students, the annexation of Polish territories by the Russian Empire was like an amputation or dismemberment. The new border made it impossible for them to stay in touch with the provincial superior, which was an obstacle to the proper functioning of the system, while the Jesuits and their schools became a “foreign body” in the annexed lands, an alien element in the different political and religious framework. The isolation, insecurity and disconnection became even more severe when the order was suppressed⁹ and ceased to function in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth between September and mid-November 1773.

In such circumstances, following the guidelines of their ordinary bishops and remaining loyal to the new ruler, Tsarina Catherine – who refused to submit to the papal decision and did not suppress the Society of Jesus in Russia – the Jesuits attempted to continue their effort and waited for the final decision to be taken. Between 1773–1774, due to the unstable situation and their serious doubts about the legal status of the congregation, 53 clergymen left the order¹⁰. Regrettably, as there is no adequate data from that period, it is impossible to assess how many of them belonged to the student and to the teaching body, respectively. The only facts that can be confirmed by the extant 1775 register¹¹ are the number of 13 *magisters* who taught in the schools in Mohylew, Mścislaw, Orsza, and Witebsk, and 27 seminarians in Połock. There is no available data from that period pertaining to the school in Dyneburg.

The canonical and legal status of the Jesuits in Belarus was slowly and gradually stabilized: the rector of the college in Połock became the provincial superior (1774), the seminarians were ordained (1776), and the residence houses received those ex-Jesuits from the Lithuanian and Mazovian provinces who expressed a wish to move there. As a result, the emaciated “bodies” were continuously fortified and the hitherto enterprises were not abandoned.

⁹ To see more about the canonical and legal regulations of suppression of the Order and its survival in the Russian Empire W. V. Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, St. Louis, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1986, p. 363–430; G. C. Cordara, *On the Suppression of the Society of Jesus: A contemporary account*, translated by: J. P. Murphy, Chicago, Loyola Press, 1999; M. Inglot, *How...*, p. 29–46; Th. M. McCoog, *Historical introduction*, in: *“Promising Hope”: Essays on the Suppression and Restoration of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, ed. Th. M. McCoog, Rome, Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2003, p. 1–25; S. F. Smith, *The Suppression of the Society of Jesus*, ed. J. A. Munitiz, Leominster, Gracewing, 2004; J. Wright, *The Suppression and Restoration*, in *The Cambridge Companion...*, p. 263–277; and in Polish: R. Danieluk, *Kasata Towarzystwa Jezusowego: jej przyczyny i historiografia [The dissolution of the Society of Jesus: its reasons and historiography]*, „Studia Bobolanum” 2015, No. 1, p. 5–21; M. Inglot, *Jezuici...*, p. 23–40.

¹⁰ Cf. M. Inglot, *How...*, p. 30.

¹¹ *Catalogus jesuitarum in Alba Rusia anno 1775*, in: Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (later: ARSI), ref. Russ. 1032 C 35 p. 1–4. It is a manuscript copy of the files from Warsaw’s Nunciature (see Archivum Secretum Vaticanum, Nunciaturae Poloniae 119, die 1/12 II 1775) made by Józef Brząkański (1863–1926).

In the second half of 1776, the student body included 11 theology students and 7 philosophy students in Połock. In 6 secondary schools there were 17 teachers. At the higher education level, also in Połock, there were 3 professors of theology, 2 professors of philosophy and a professor of architecture¹².

In the next years, more signs of the new balance and stabilization were noticed: a novitiate for the prospective Jesuits was opened (1780), the General Congregation was held (1782), and the order accepted former Jesuits arriving from many European countries. As the number of Order's members increased and their organization grew stronger, new schools were opened in Saint Petersburg (1801)¹³, Romanów¹⁴ and Riga (1813), and Użwałd (1815); while the main school in Połock was turned into the university (1812). Only one of the older schools, in Dyneburg, had to be closed in 1811 because the Russian army wanted to extend their fortress there¹⁵.

The steady development of the system was suddenly stunted in December 1815. Tsar Alexander I issued a decree in which he stipulated that the Jesuits should immediately leave the capital of the Empire. Yet the closure of the school and college for noble youth in Saint Petersburg was only the first step in the process of the radical removal of the Jesuits from Russia, which was accomplished soon after the death of, Tadeusz Brzozowski, Superior General, in Połock in March 1820¹⁶.

The fortuitously preserved printed catalog of the members and works of the Society in the Russian Empire for the period falling at the turn of 1819/1820 is a quite fair representation of the educational endeavors of the Jesuits in the advent of the abrupt and dramatic end of their longstanding labors¹⁷. At that time in the Belarusian province there were 343 members of the order living in 14 houses and 6 mission areas. Nine of them housed Jesuit educational institutions. The pedagogical body included 101 members: 75 priests and 26 seminarians. So, in

¹² *Catalogus personarum et officiorum vice-provinciae Alba-Russia ex anno 1776 in annum 1777*, in: ARSI, ref. Russ. 1032 C 36 p. 1–8. It is a manuscript copy of the files from Warsaw's Nunciature (Archivum Secretum Vaticanum, Nunciaturae Poloniae 319, die 17 II 1777) made by Józef Brząkański (1863–1926).

¹³ Cf. D. L. Schlaflly, *True to the Ratio Studiorum? Jesuit Colleges in St. Petersburg*, „History of Education Quarterly” 1997, Vol. 37, No. 4, p. 421–434.

¹⁴ Cf. B. Topij–Stempińska, *Dziedzictwo edukacyjne dziewiętnastowiecznych szkół jezuickich: Gimnazjum w Romanowie na Wołyniu [Educational heritage of the Jesuit schools in the 19th century: the Gymnasium in Romanów, Volhynia]*, in: *Dziedzictwo Kresów: Kultura, narody, wyznania [The legacy of the Borderlands: culture, awards, religions]*, ed. I. Kozimala, A. Królikowska, B. Topij–Stempińska, Kraków, Wydawnictwo WAM, 2014, p. 95–106.

¹⁵ After the Collegium in Dyneburg was closed, the five grade school was organized in Krasław, where it existed from 1811 to 1813. Cf. A. P. Bieś, *Nauczyciele...*, p. 173; I.G. [J. M. Giżycki], *Materiały do dziejów Akademii Połockiej i szkół od niej zależnych [Materials regarding the history of the Academy in Połock and its affiliated schools]*, Kraków, W. L. Anczyc, 1905, p. 172–173; S. Załęski, *Jezuici w Polsce [The Jesuits in Poland]*, Vol. 5, part 1, Kraków, W. L. Anczyc, 1906, p. 357–358.

¹⁶ Cf. M. Inglot, *Jezuici...*, p. 38–39.

¹⁷ *Catalogus sociorum et officiorum Societatis Jesu in Imperio Rossiano ex anno 1819 in annum 1820*, Polociae, in: ATJKr. ref. 1757.

the course of nearly 50 years, the number of clergymen who were involved in education almost doubled, although there were no Jesuit brothers among them. The largest team of 40 people – 33 priests and 7 brothers – worked in Połock, with its college of three faculties, the secondary school and the boarding house. Romanów, which was the seat of the boarding house and the school offering a philosophical course, employed 13 priests. In Mohylew, 12 Jesuits (6 priests and 6 seminarians) toiled in the local school, which offered a philosophical course, and in the residence houses for the poor and wealthy youth. The schools in Mścisław, Witebsk and Orsza employed 10 (6+4), 9 (6+3), and 8 (5+3) Jesuits, respectively.

Places	Priests	Seminarians	Together
Mścisław	6	4	10
Witebsk	6	3	9
Orsza	5	3	8

The boarding school in Użwałd had 6 (3+3) Jesuit teachers. In Riga, one priest supervised the school, while one *magister* taught secondary school students. The Astrakhan boarding school was run by Rev. Marcus Fournier¹⁸.

The staff division in the pedagogical body was not proportional. Almost half of the people, namely 50, had only teaching responsibilities. 22 people were engaged in teaching and supervising educational institutions. The latter task was the sole occupation of 29 Jesuits. This group embraced some individuals who were responsible for more than one institution. Rev. Stanisław Świętochowski, as the provincial superior, oversaw the entire Russian network of Jesuit schools, and at the same time, as the college rector in Orsza, headed the institutions there. Rev. Jan Rozaven¹⁹ was the dean of the theological faculty of the college in Połock and the superior of the student boarding house there. Rev. Michał Leśniewski was chancellor of the college and the prefect of the library.

In the same period, the Jesuit student body included 56 members. 12 of them, having completed their two-year novitiate in Użwałd, went to Orsza,

¹⁸ Born in 1760 in Sézens, France, the diocesan priest, who was captured during the French Revolution and unchained by the English during his transport to Guyana, arrived in Belarus in 1805 and joined the Order. Cf. *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy [The encyclopedia about the Jesuits in Poland and Lithuania]*, ed. L. Grzebień, Kraków, WAM Publishing House, 1996, p. 166.

¹⁹ Born in 1772 in France, from 1804 a Jesuit in Belarus, an apologist and an ascetic writer, maintained contact with J. M. de Maistre and accompanied some members of the Russian aristocracy in its conversion to Catholicism. On his pedagogical work see A. P. Bieś, *Kwestie oświatowe na łamach „Miesięcznika Połockiego” (1817–1820) [Educational issues in “Miesięcznik Połockiego (1817–1820)”, in: Zachować dla przyszłości. Sprawy szkolnictwa oświaty i opieki w przekazie prasowym XIX i początków XX wieku [Keep it for descendants. The educational and care issues in press in the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century]*, ed. I. Michalska, G. Michalski, Łódź, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2018, p. 17–21.

where they attended a yearly course in rhetoric, considered a “teacher training” course, which was conducted by Rev. Ignacy Chodykiewicz. 21 scholastics participated in the two-year philosophical course in Połock; 6 out of 14 students in their first year, besides philosophy, studied Greek. In Połock 23 Jesuits (21 priests and 2 seminarians) studied theology. Some students of theology additionally worked as teachers and prefects, so they were also members of the teaching body. Strictly speaking, 4 students of theology worked as prefects and pedagogues in the *convictus*, and one of them, Rev. Wedastus Nizart, who was born in Beaufort, France, taught French in the first grade. Two other students were assistants to the prefect of the library. Rev. Mikołaj Suszczewski, as a third-year student of theology, worked as the secretary of the college and a lecturer in Russian literature. The Russian language was taught by his relative, Rev. Antoni Suszczewski, a second-year student. The German teachers were Rev. Adam Petryszcza, a fourth-year student, and a first-year seminarian, Józef Cych. The task of teaching French was divided between Rev. Filip Beatrix Sacchi²⁰ (the second year), Rev. Aleksander Saprynowski (the first year), and Rev. Michał Rypiński, who audited moral theology. A unique figure among the philologists was Rev. Ksawery Czarnocki, a first-year theology student who was an adjunct to the professor of mathematics. That means one-fourth of the student body (14 men) were concurrently regular members of the teaching body.

In the opinion of the majority of historians²¹, the educational pursuits of the Jesuits, anchored in the humanist tradition and codified in *Ratio studiorum* of 1599, were the main factor that contributed to the survival of the order and its fifty-year activity within the Russian Empire. Although due to political decisions, a portion of the larger whole had been hibernated, it was, amazingly, revived, which proved the dynamics and vigor of the educational and learning system. This was based on the model of complementary cooperation of two bodies: the pedagogical and the student body. The unrestrained, sometimes repeated and reversed movement from one group to the other, as well as the coeval affiliation to both bodies, seemed to greatly facilitate the processes of communication, nurturing talents, gaining experience and accepting responsibilities, which built the educational success of the institutions and their staff.

²⁰ Born in 1791 in Moscow, Russia, the son of a Frenchman and an Italian woman joined the Order in 1807 and worked in the USA after the Jesuits were expelled from Russia. More on him see Anthony J. Kuzniewski, *Francis Dzierozynski and the Jesuit Restoration in the United States*, „The Catholic Historical Review” 1992, Vol. 78, No 1, p. 51–73; *Encyklopedia...*, p. 595.

²¹ See e.g. W. V. Bangert, *A History...*, p. 413–415, 429–430; M. Inglot, *How...*, p. 12, 72; I. Kadulskia, *Akademia...*, p. 17; S. Obirek, *Jesuits...*, p. 146–147; D. L. Schlafly, *True...*, p. 421–423, 433–434; S. Załęski, *Jezuici...*, Vol. 5, part I, p. 126–128.

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The Jesuits as the body of teachers and the body of students in the Russian empire 1773–1820

Summary

The educational activity of the Jesuit order was, according to the majority of historians, one of the main reasons for its unexpected survival, despite the dissolution by the Pope, within the borders of the Russian Empire. Initially, the Jesuit “body of teachers” consisted of only 45 monks performing duties, i.a. of tutors, teachers, lecturers, prefects, regents, and rectors in 6 schools and 8 other educational institutions called boarding schools, seminars and dormitories. Some members of the Order belonged to the “body of students” and got prepared for the future job as teachers, and studied philosophy and theology under the guidance of the older confreres. Within more than 40 years when the Order functioned within the borders of the Russian state, both “bodies” developed and grew stronger, and the Jesuits smoothly moved from the group of students to the group of teachers.

Thanks to partially preserved archives of the monastic personal documentation in Rome and Cracow – handwritten or printed – in the form of personal and annual catalogs (*catalogus brevis*), obituaries, as well as official and private correspondence, at present it is possible to determine, i.a. changes in the number of surveyed groups in particular years, social and national origin of their members, education, average age, career path, requirements for adepts, and the criteria for the selection of responsible managerial positions.

Moreover, the reference made herein to the metaphor of the body makes it possible to show the differences and, at the same time, complementarity with the roles and functions provided for in the regulations of the Jesuit *Ratio studiorum* of 1599. Especially in the case of broadly understood school staff, paying attention to the complementarity of tasks performed in the educational process, which was

naturally subjected to the “learning body” makes it possible to capture and show the integrity of this process taking place in different dimensions of school reality.

The end of fruitful activities of the Society of Jesus in terms of education and training within the borders of the Russian state was the expulsion of the Jesuits by Tsar Alexander I only six years after the canonical restoration of the Order by Pope Pius VII all over the world.

Keywords: the Jesuits, teachers, students, Jesuit schools, Jesuit education, 18th century/19th century.

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ENGRAVED IN MEMORY. A FRAGMENT OF AUTOBIOGRAPHY

My family stems from the Ropczyce land, which included the territory of present-day Ropczyce-Sędziszów county, located at the border of Sandomierz Basin and Carpathian Foothills. Ropczyce is an old medieval city, located at the Wielopolka River, which had been called for many centuries Brzeźnica. Thanks to this favorable location at the intersection of important trade routes from Russia via Cracow to Silesia, and from Hungary via Krosno to Sandomierz, Ropczyce was quite a prosperous city. King Casimir the Great granted the city rights in 1362. Prof. Kazimierz Rymut, a student of our high school, demonstrated that in the course of phonetic assimilation Ropczyce was derived from Robczyce, the original city name, which comes from the name Robek (from: to do, work [Pol. robić, robota]).

In the 17th century, after Swedish Deluge and the invasion of the army of Prince Jerzy Rakoczy, the town began to plunge into decline. In the aftermath of the First Partition of Poland in 1772, the Austrian army entered Ropczyce from the Slovakian side and installed its garrison, which continued to exist until the first days of November 1918. It means that the population of a larger part of the so-called Galicia, to which my ancestors belonged, had to endure national slavery much longer than inhabitants of other Polish regions.

The Austrian authorities treated Galicia as a colony, but modernized its administrative system, and created a new communication network. Over the period 1775–1780, at the request of Empress Maria Theresa, the imperial road was built from Bielsko via Wadowice, Cracow, Tarnów, Ropczyce, Rzeszów and Przemyśl to Lviv. This “cobbled public road” is present-day international motorway A4. My family is specially attached to it as it was a place of work for my father who served as a gateman for several decades. This position does not exist today. In the middle

of the 19th century, the most important iron road in Galicia was built, which connected Cracow with Lviv, but bypassed the city.

In 1855, as a result of the administrative reform, Ropczyce became the capital of the county, including as well the following cities: Dębica, Sędziszów Małopolski and Wielopole, which lost the status of a city in the interwar period.

In the second half of the 19th century, Ropczyce went into economic decline. Gradually, the craft industry disappeared, the craftsmen scattered across the countryside or got involved in agriculture. Only some shops, mostly Jewish, and various agencies purchasing mainly crops remained in the city. The majority of the inhabitants of those towns were farmers or people combining work in trade and services with farming and land cultivation. In Germany, this combination of “peasant and townsman” was aptly called *Ackerbürger*. The residents of Ropczyce were famous for growing onions, which they successfully sold at nearby fairs. This is the reason why they are called *cebularze* (*onion cultivators*) up to date. In 1912, the city had 3,339 inhabitants, including 2,258 Poles, 1,069 Jews, 10 Ukrainians and 2 Armenians¹.

During World War I, the Ropczyce county – twice occupied by the Russian army – was seriously damaged. Several hundred houses were burnt. The population was plundered by soldiers of both fighting parties, and many families suffered from hunger.

Freedom came to Ropczyce earlier than to Warsaw. Already on October 7, 1917, the Polish flag was waving on the municipal council building despite the protests of the county office and the military police. On November 1, 1918, at 8 a.m. the eagles and Austrian emblems fell down in front of the Austrian battalion composed of Czechs and Germans².

In the interwar period, despite various modernization attempts, Ropczyce remained a poor and rather under-developed town. It did not have water and sewage works, did not know electricity or asphalt roads. Sidewalks, as far as I remember, could only be found in the city center. I reckon that the greatest achievement of Ropczyce in the Second Republic of Poland was the establishment of two high schools in 1923–1924 and the progress in constructing the third one, i.e. the horticultural gymnasium. The Coeducational Municipal Classical Gymnasium, with an eight-year course, enjoyed the full rights of state schools, and one of its graduates was Wilhelm Mach, a famous writer. The Municipal Female Teachers’ Seminar was also soon filled with students who came not only from the Ropczyce land. However, the life of these schools was short. After the so-called Jędrzejewicz reform of 1932, the first school was transformed into a four-year gymnasium

¹ Much information on the history of Ropczyce comes from: *Ropczyce. Zarys dziejów [Ropczyce. An outline of history]*, ed. W. Bonusiak and F. Kiryk, Rzeszów 1991.

² *Przeszłość wsi powiatu ropczyckiego w ustach ich mieszkańców [The past of the villages from the Ropczyce county in the testimonies of their citizens]* written and concluded by Jerzy Fierich, Ph.D., Ropczyce 1936, p. 75.

without state rights, and the female seminar was liquidated. The general misery of the city was further worsened by the decision of the authorities to transfer the county capital to Dębica in 1936, which was already an important industrial center with nearly ten thousand inhabitants.

In the period of People's Poland, they promoted in Ropczyce a view, enjoyed by some historians from Rzeszów, that the gymnasium was degraded, the teachers' seminar was closed, and the county liquidated in reprisal for political radicalization of the population, the culmination of which was the Ropczyce uprising in 1933. This view was easy to refute. The reform of the educational system developed by Janusz Jędrzejewicz, the minister, abolished all teachers' seminars, introducing pedagogical high schools. The most prominent teachers of the Classical Gymnasium left Ropczyce at that time and moved to larger cities. However, others could not guarantee an appropriate level of education, especially at a high school, if such one had been constructed. The transfer of the county capital to Dębica contributed to the impoverishment of Ropczyce, but it was fully justified by economic and administrative reasons.

The spark, which triggered a mass rebellion of peasants, was the events which took place in Kozodrza, a very poor village belonging to our parish in Witkowiec. At the end of May 1933, a court bailiff, called a sequestrator, went there – accompanied by police officers – and as part of the tax collection procedure, took away from the peasant the last cow which was the only breadwinner in the family, especially for the children. In his defense the whole village stood up and chased the policemen away. This event won a lot of publicity throughout the entire Subcarpathian region. Thousands of peasants from the Kraków and Lviv provinces set out to help the inhabitants of Kozodrza, while the authorities sent the military police units against them. On a Sunday, a mounted military police unit opened fire on the crowd that had gathered at the Blessed Virgin Mary Church in Ropczyce, killing five people. The events in other towns were more tragic. At least twenty-five peasants were killed in Nockowa, which was defending itself against the forces of law and order for a long time.

The main reason was the poverty deepening in the overpopulated village, which was aggravated by the economic crisis. In his doctoral thesis, Jerzy Fierich stated that peasants were suffering from poor nutrition, in the period of hungry gap they starved, and because of poverty, the number of marriages also reduced. The level of morality also decreased: *There are thieves among people who have never stolen before*³. Similarly, the causes of the peasant revolt were evaluated by Stanisław Kot, a professor at the Jagiellonian University. In August 1933 he informed Ignacy Paderewski, former Prime Minister, about the course and consequences of the bloody events, i.a. about the imprisonment of two or three thousand peasants. *The riots were caused by poverty, misery and political abuses of*

³ J. Fierich, *Broniszów – wieś powiatu Ropczyckiego. Studium ekonomiczno-społeczne [Broniszów – a village in the Ropczyce county. The economic and social studium]*, Warszawa 1933, p. 271.

*the government, which suppresses them bloodily, but in that way, the government rebels peasants against the state*⁴, S. Kot wrote.

The bloody suppression of peasant riots did not calm the village. In 1937, they exploded with even greater force, covering almost all Southern Poland. And also this time more than forty peasants died from police bullets. Ultimately, thanks to the biggest industrial investments made by the state to strengthen the country's defense potential the rebellious moods in the country quelled. As a result thereof, the Central Industrial District was established, which was located in the bifurcation of the Vistula River and the San River, i.e. the so-called "a safety triangle". Melchior Wańkowicz provided a beautiful description of this great economic and civilization venture⁵.

Investments in developing industrial plants in the Central Industrial District completely bypassed Ropczyce. As a city distant from the railway line, it did not arouse interest. Several industrial plants (e.g. magnesites, a sugar factory) were established only in the late years of People's Poland. Much earlier, Ropczyce Ropczyce became a city of schools, mainly vocational schools, which for many years for many years provided mechanics and technicians to industrial plants established before 1939 in the Central Industrial District (Dębica, Mielec, Rzeszów, Nowa Dęba, and Stalowa Wola). Since 1945 people – even from distant places – associated Ropczyce only with schools.

My family village, Witkowice, which was originally a royal village, is closely related to the history of the city. The parish was founded here in the 14th century. I spent the first twenty years of my life in this town. Several dozen years ago, the village was incorporated into Ropczyce. Currently, the settlement called like that does not exist in any administrative list. The Registry Office determined that the actual place of my birth is Ropczyce.

A few words about my family. My father, Michał Miąso, was the son of a sacristan (born in 1895). As a soldier in the Austrian army, he was taken captive by the Russians. As a prisoner, he worked in Kiev, where he escaped from and wandered for a long time in Ukraine. When he came back home, he became a policeman in Ropczyce. In 1919 he got married to Aniela Pękala (born in 1895). In 1920, he volunteered for the army. In the battle with the Bolsheviks he was wounded and returned home walking on crutches. He was employed as a gateman and thus, became a state officer. We had certain privileges – discounts for train tickets and free medical care. My father was a very intelligent man, he spoke two foreign languages – German and Russian, he was eighty-eight years old when he died. My mother, the daughter of a railwayman, protected the family and was a wonderful guardian of the hearth. She died on her sixtieth birthday.

⁴ *Archiwum polityczne Ignacego Paderewskiego [The political archive of Ignacy Paderewski]*, Vol. III, Wrocław–Warszawa, Ossolineum, 1974, p. 225.

⁵ M. Wańkowicz, *Sztafeta. Książka o polskim pochodzie gospodarczym [The relay race. A book on the Polish economic parade]*, Warszawa 1939.

I had three siblings: Janek (born in 1921) became an organist, Marysia (born in 1924) graduated from gymnasium before the war, and Staszek (born in 1928), the most talented of us, managed to finish two classes of mechanical high school. After the war, he was arrested by the Secret Political Police (Urząd Bezpieczeństwa UB) in Dębica, and massacred and slaughtered during the investigation only in 1954. He lived only for forty-two years. He died tragically.

For a long time our family had no tradition of educating children above elementary school. It was not until Marysia went to gymnasium, because her grandmother, Tekla Pękala, covered her tuition fees from her retirement. Only my father's cousin, Władysław Woźnik⁶, a well-known actor, called the legend of the Polish theater, completed higher education.

The description of my family environment should start with comments on my family name. It is a very old name found in many historical documents. According to prof. Kazimierz Rymuta⁷ *Miąso*, *Miąs*, *Miąsko* had the same meaning as *Mięso* (meat). *Miąsz* (flesh), *Miąszy* (fleshy) which meant *gruby* (fat), *mięsisty* (fleshy) or *tłuszczoch* (fatty). Twenty years ago there were 88 people in Poland with the surname *Miąso*. There were significantly more surnames which were close to mine, e.g. *Miąsko* (607) or *Miąsik* (579). The following surnames *Miąsek*, *Miąsko*, *Miąsk* were noted already in the 15th century⁸. I observed that in the 17th century, the councillors in Ropczyce bore the following surnames: *Miąso*, *Miąsso* and *Miąsowicz*. In the 20th century, the surname was still popular, and during the period 1901–1920, 20 newborn babies bearing the surname *Miąso* were recorded in the parish register book in Ropczyce. Apparently in the battle of Obertyn (1531), the knight Jan *Miąso* stood out. The famous Zygmunt's Bell was cast from the guns captured at that time.

The Ropczyce land gave birth to many people of science and culture. This is the birthplace of Józef Mehoffer (1869–1946), Tadeusz Kantor (1915–1990) was born in Wielopole Skrzyńskie, Karol Olszewski (1846–1915) in Broniszów, a professor of the Jagiellonian University who managed to liquify oxygen, and Tadeusz Sinko (1877–1966) in Mała. That was also the place of origin of many prominent historians of education and science – all of them came from the village: prof. Stanisław Kot (1885–1975) – the Jagiellonian University, prof. Kazimierz Kubik (1910–1986) – the University of Gdańsk, prof. Stanisław Gawlik (1928–2010)

⁶ Władysław Woźnik (1901–1959), an actor, a theater director; a graduate of the Municipal Drama School, a long-time co-worker with the Juliusz Słowacki Theatre in Cracow and the Cricot Theatre. He was the director of the Wyspiański Silesian Theatre in Katowice (1949–1951), the Polish Theater in Poznań (1951–1953), the deputy director of the Juliusz Słowacki Theatre in Cracow (1945–1946). Since 1946 he was also a lecturer at the AST National Academy of Theatre Arts in Kraków. See: P. Łopuszański, *Gustaw Holoubek – filozof bycia [Gustaw Holoubek – a philosopher of being]*, Warszawa, Oficyna Wydawnicza RYT, 2010, p. 46 and subsequent; *Holoubek*, Interviews by M. Terlecka-Reksnis, Warszawa, Prószyński i S-ka, 2018, p. 82–83 and subsequent.

⁷ K. Rymut, *Słownik nazwisk współcześnie w Polsce używanych [Dictionary of surnames currently used in Poland]*, Vol. VI, Kraków 1933, p. 313.

⁸ *Słownik staropolskich nazw osobowych [Dictionary of Old Polish personal names]*, Vol. III, ed. W. Taszycki, Wrocław, Ossolineum, 1971, p. 448.

– the University of Opole, prof. Stanisław Litak (1932–2010) – the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, prof. Józef Miąso – born in 1930 (the University of Warsaw and the Polish Academy of Sciences).

I was born in a small house next to Wielopole, as the fourth and the youngest child of my parents. In the happily preserved *Birth Certificate* and *Baptism Certificate* (*Testimonium Ortus et Baptismi*), written in Latin, it was written that the Church of St. Michael testifies that I was born on February 10, 1930, already on February 15 I was baptized by Rev. Zygmunt Grodnicki, the parish priest, and was given two names: Józef Jan. This document states, i.a. that I am a Roman Catholic and a legitimate child (*thorus legitimus*). The latter is not found any more in today's birth certificates, as it was banned to place it only in the times of People's Poland. For several centuries, children born out of wedlock were stigmatized for life. The so-called bastards were not permitted to practice particular professions, i.a. they were not allowed to enter the officers' corps, the clergy, as well as some craft guilds. Already the Sejm Act of 1578 stated very clearly and concisely: *Extra matrimonium liberii nati sunt illegitimi* (*Children born out of wedlock are illegitimate*). We read further *Illegitimi, neque in bona, neque in nobilitatem succedunt*, which means that "bastards" can inherit neither the social status, nobility, nor any property from their parents⁹.

As the youngest of children, and also poorly physically developed and sickly, I was the apple of my parents' eye, in particular, of my mother's, who took special care of my health. I grew up not in a yard but in the large, backyard garden, where it was possible not only to play football, but also to run. The garden overlooked the railway track and the bridge leading to Wielopole. We used to play a lot next to those railway tracks and railways. Our house was separated from the river by a road running through the whole village, where people sometimes "lost" their shoes as it was mostly muddy. At present it is an asphalt road, very busy and dangerous for residents, especially for children. It was named after one of the defenders of Westerplatte – major Henryk Sucharski. The school and church were close, about four hundred meters away. Our closest neighbors were the Kumans (Aniela and Józef, a small-scale farmer and also a carpenter), Władysław (my mother's cousin) and Wiktoria Stachnik, and a widow – Maria Bochenkowa, a very cultured woman, living in a large, multi-room house, with a roof covered with metal sheet. She usually rented a half of it.

My memories from my early childhood are limited only to certain events that were so important that sunk into my memory. I do not know, e.g. when I learned to swim. After many years, I learnt that as a small toddler, I fell into the Wielopolka river, a very deep river next to our house. My mother saved me from this oppression and immediately taught me to swim. I think I could be then three maybe

⁹ See: *Zbiór praw polskich i W. Ks. Litewskiego od roku 1347 Sejmu Wiślickiego aż do roku 1786* [A collection of legal acts from Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the Sejm in Wiślica of 1347 to 1786], ed. F. B. Piekarski, Kraków 1813, p. 21–22.

maximum four years old. I should add here that probably all children brought up by the river could swim well. Their parents took care of it. I remember very well the day of July 16, 1934, the day of the terrible flood that had wreaked havoc in the city center of Ropczyce and in the neighboring villages, i.a. Witkowice. We had to leave our house then. My uncle Michał Pękala carried me on his back across the railway bridge to his house, where my mum and I spent the night. The water flooded then hundreds of hectares of growing cereal and root crops. That summer, many farmers had nothing to collect during the upcoming harvest. From my parents' stories I know that only thanks to the American help and supplies in the form of flour and lard many people managed to survive this difficult year.

I still have deep in my memory the day of the funeral of Marshal Józef Piłsudski – May 18, 1935. Since morning hours, my mother urged my father to hurry up, because as a state officer he was obliged to attend the mourning ceremony in Ropczyce, which at that time was still the county capital. Sobbing, she asked the father how we would make ends meet if he was dismissed for breaking the order. I remember when she was sewing a black, mourning ribbon on the left sleeve of his jacket. Was the village in mourning on that day? Probably not. The people remembered the bloody events of 1933, when the military police units shot desperate peasants, many of them shot dead.

During the holidays, starting from 1935, I went to kindergarten, or more strictly to nursery located in an empty vicar house, a house between the church and the presbytery. The classes conducted by a young graduate of the teachers' seminar for a few hours were limited to games and singing activities such as *Stoi różyczka (There is a little rose)* or *Lata ptaszek po ulicy... (A little bird is flying over the road...)*. I enjoyed neither these games nor this nursery. My desire was to go to school together with Staszek, my older brother. I finally convinced my mum and she enrolled me to school, even though I turned only six, not seven years old. It should be added here that the existing provisions allowed the possibility – “depending on the number of vacancies” – to start education sooner.

The Public School in Witkowice, which I began to attend in September 1936, was the first grade school in accordance with the so-called Jędrzejewicz Act of March 11, 1932. During seven years of education, it was supposed to provide students with information covering the scope of four classes, only slightly broadened. Education in the first and second class was supposed to last one year, in the third – two years, and in the fourth – three years. Such schools, numerous in the countryside at that time, did not open the way to further education not only in gymnasium, but also secondary vocational schools. They employed only one teacher who had shifts and taught two classes in one school room at the same time. The education in this situation had to be divided into: quiet and loud. The first-class curriculum included the following subjects: religion (2 hours), Polish (7 hours), arithmetic with geometry (4 hours), drawing and practical classes (1 hour), singing and physical exercises (1 hour). 3 hours were spent on quiet education of the Polish language and 2 hours on arithmetic. An

identical lesson plan was applicable in the second grade. In the first half-year, first grade students could not be given homework, they did not receive school certificates at the end of the school year.

My school was located in a beautiful, old building made of red brick, with a decorative façade crowned with a turret, where a signature was hung calling students for classes. It was erected in 1890, i.e. during the reign of Emperor Franz Joseph. Today, it is over one hundred and twenty years old and can certainly be considered as one of the most interesting monuments of the old school architecture not only in the Subcarpathian region. The building was composed of two large, well-lit school rooms and a comfortable flat for the teacher. The school – attended by children from Witkowice and Pietrzejowa – included a large garden, neglected at that time and a plot of fertile land stretching along the Wielopolka River. A relatively modest number of students (about 50) suggest that some of the children from Górne Witkowice and Pietrzejowa attended public schools, male and female, located in Ropczyce.

My first and, unluckily, unfortunate teacher was Janina Szypułowa. Her husband was an official in the municipal council or in the county office in Ropczyce, and probably that was the reason, why this kind of “pedagogue” was tolerated by the educational authorities. I do not remember much of what she taught me, probably some songs and poems. I learned to read, write and calculate primarily at home, with the help of my older siblings. My mother encouraged me to read aloud. Mrs. Szypułowa taught interchangeably two classes in one school room. However, she did not spend much time among students in the classroom, but in her apartment because she had a small child. At that time, what we were involved in was not quiet learning, but various, mostly loud games. I remember that the tallest boy in our class, called Draus, often complained to the teacher that the “MP” should be called Drala-lala. It was about a student called Stachnik, who was the son of Franciszek Stachnik (1895-1981), a well-known MP, who lived in Pietrzejowa at that time, a close co-worker of Wincenty Witos. An inseparable attribute of power over the students for Mrs. Szypułowa was a long stick, which she used to hit children uncontrollably on their heads and backs. Fortunately, she taught us only for one year. In June 1937, after transferring the county capital from Ropczyce to Dębica, an inspector came to our school, who – in the presence of a teacher – checked the level of our knowledge for an hour and for sure, was dissatisfied. At the end he asked us if the teacher sometimes beat us. At that time already mentioned Draus replied that she beat us almost every day. Our whole class supported him, shouting unanimously: *She beats us and she beats us a lot!* The school inspection ended the teaching career of Mrs. Szypułowa, who was dismissed immediately. In my opinion, the responsibility for the “pedagogical” activity of this teacher was borne by the authorities in Ropczyce. After all, there was no shortage of young, well-educated female graduates of the local Teachers’ Seminar, who had been waiting for employment for years. Mrs. Szypułowa did great harm to the

children because she filled them with disgust with school and effectively discouraged them from further learning.

After the holidays, the authorities sent a young couple, the Jawors, to our school. Jan Jawor became head of the school, and his wife took the position of a teacher. They were well-educated pedagogues and social workers. I believe that Mr. Jawor was the most prominent teacher in the entire, quite a long history of the school in Witkowice. I know that he came from the village, but not from the vicinity of Ropczyce or Dębica. I will make an attempt to name the most important undertakings and innovations that he implemented. He divided a large, neglected and weed-ridden school garden into several dozen plots, and assigned them to students who cultivated them on their own, planted various plants and took care of them. He created the school playground and bought balls for the “piggy in the middle” game. He also established the school library and organized all-day trips to the forest in Czarna or Kamionka. Let me add that the area around Ropczyce was forestless. On hot June days, he took baths with the whole class in the Wielopolka river, which in the area next to school was quite wide but shallow. At that time he taught us swimming which he considered necessary, although he probably did not know that in ancient Greece, a man who could neither read nor swim deserved to be disrespected. Thanks to his efforts, the children’s organization “Orleń” was established at school, as well as “Strzelec” attracting adolescents. Through the school, we took out subscription to “*Płomyczek*, a magazine published in Warsaw by the Polish Teachers’ Association. The teacher also prepared us for the approaching war, and taught us e.g. how to quickly put on a gas mask. Mr. Jawor never entered the classroom with a stick in his hand, as his predecessor used to do. However, it happened, albeit rarely, that he was punishing students in the corridor for more vivid offenses, which was usually welcomed and approved by the students. It seems that he did it only during the occupation, when the German pedagogy recommended introducing corporal punishment. Jan Jarosz, a priest, mastered using a stick. He hit children uncontrollably on their hands, on their backs and even heads. Therefore, we were afraid of religious lessons, on which it was necessary to properly recite different parts of the catechism, in order not to “get a slap on the wrist”. I believe that the blame for the widespread application of corporal punishment at school, officially banned by the authorities of revived Poland, was borne by those parents who punished their children in this way believing that a stick was a very effective educational device.

Mr. Jawor paid attention to clean school rooms, as well as personal hygiene and neat appearance of the students. One day he brought a razor and shaved all those students who had too long and rarely washed hair, creating “tracks” on their heads, starting from the forehead and ending at the nape of the neck. The lessons he conducted were usually interesting, as they broadened our knowledge about contemporary Poland. We learned about the main mountain ranges and the highest peaks, about the Polish sea, about Silesia, and finally about new industrial factories in the area of the Central Industrial District that was under

construction at that time. We were proud of our Gdynia, and Polish ships, as well as of the legions achievements and their deeds. We honoured the memory of Marshal Piłsudski who rested in the Wawel Castle. We loved not only our *Grandfather*, but also President Ignacy Mościcki. On the name-day of the President, which fell on February 1, we participated in the morning Holy Mass. I remember that on November 11, 1938, our entire class took part in the great patriotic parade of children and young people in Ropczyce commemorating the Poland's Independence Day.

Some of the lessons taught by Mr. Jawor were very original. The teacher, trying to get to know the social environment in which he worked, or to gather material for the designed school chronicle, asked us about the events that took place in our families, neighbors or in the whole country. I remember that the most reports and testimonies about various accidents regarded the problems which were the closest to children, e.g. cattle and horse diseases. There were also lessons on which we could ask the teacher some questions. I remember one of those lessons that took place in the spring of 1939, when someone asked why peasants had to be subject to serfdom. The answer provided by the teacher did not convince anybody. Our historical knowledge that we had been taught at home, was completely different from the official history taught at school. In his opinion, the nobility defended their homeland, setting off for very long war expeditions, and peasants, exempted from this duty, had to cultivate their lords' land.

In June 1939, I received a school certificate, signed by Jan Jawor which stated that I had attended "the third grade of the first year of study" and that I got to "the second year of study in the third grade with a positive result". In comparison with our class, I was a good student rather than an average one. However, I had only one A in my school certificate, for my good behaviour. In religion and Polish I had Bs, and in science of nature and arithmetic with geometry – Cs. In subjects referred to by students as "trifles" (Pol. *michałki*) I had only B (drawing, practical classes, singing and physical exercise). The school certificate itself cost 8 cents, but in order to receive it, it was still necessary to buy a stamp for the amount of PLN 0.10 which was for the construction of public schools.

The outbreak of the war did not shake the childish faith in the strength of the Polish army and the bravery of our soldier, instilled in us by the school and by official propaganda. The posters with the slogan *Strong, ready and steady* hung on the door of many barns. Soon, however, we were to experience all the horrors of an impending disaster. Witkowice was not a peripheral town, as the most important railway main lines and a cobbled public road in Galicia passed through the middle of the village. A number of military transports and thousands of civilians rushing in panic to the East went through the city. Many trains had – sometimes quite long – stops next to our house. At the beginning of the war, a small group of Polish soldiers came to defend the railway bridge over the Wielopolka river. In response to a call from their officer to help in the construction of trenches almost all young people from the village, not only boys, but also girls led by my sister Marysia,

came with shovels. The soldiers were equipped with three heavy machine guns, but lacked anti-aircraft guns.

During the first days of September 1939, I saw German planes for the first time. Together with some peers of mine, I stayed in Rakowiec, i.e. on vast fields on the border with Borek Wielki and Sędziszów. At the sight of a fighter squadron which rapidly descended, we began waving. They were flying so low that we could see the pilots' faces. However, earlier we had noticed their German signs. As if ordered, we all fell to the ground. We heard a long series from machine guns. Let me add that apart from us, four small boys, there was no one nearby at the time. I still have this terrible moment deep in my memory. If these series had been fired only to frighten us, shooting at children was after all a criminal act. It is known that Hitler, when sending his divisions to the war with Poles, ordered them to have no mercy as well to women and children and kill them. Having returned home and managed to tell the mother about our adventure in Rakowiec, German bombers appeared in a cloudless sky. A military freight train was standing then on the railway track. The soldiers began to hide behind nearby trees, many hid under the cars. None of those several bombs fell on the train or on the railway bridge. They hit the village huts standing next to the tracks. This raid was a classic terrorist act against the civil population. In a few days the railway system and bridges were supposed to be in German hands, so they were not supposed to be destroyed by bombs. Two days later, German bombs turned a huge part of Ropczyce into rubble and ruins. Many inhabitants and soldiers died. The city center suffered the most. The Northern frontage of the Market Square ceased to exist. Today there is some small planted area designated for strolling.

German troops entered Ropczyce on September 8, 1939, and quickly pressed forward pushed to the East. Over the public road, used by tanks and armored vehicles around the clock, there were huge clouds of dust. It seemed to those people who observed it from a distance of one kilometer that Germans had released some toxic gas. Two days later, the Wehrmacht army units took a short break and literally flooded Witkowice. Two off-road vehicles, stuffed with large cartons of cigarettes looted in the city, stood in front of our house, and military tents were put up in the garden. One must keep in mind that these were hot September days. The first Germans I saw at that time did not make a bad impression. They behaved properly. They treated adults with cigarettes and children with chocolates. Keeping the warnings of Mr. Jawor in mind, who told us that German sweets would certainly be poisoned, and fountain pens would start to explode into our hands, I did not want to accept the chocolates I had been offered. Then, this soldier ate a piece of chocolate, patted his stomach and said in Polish: "I had the same". It broke my resistance.

After the outbreak of the war and the occupation of Poland by the Germans, school classes were re-opened only at the end of October 1939. During the first year of German occupation, our school was transformed into a two-class institution, but I do not know if it was a result of the earlier decision of the Polish educational

authorities, or with the consent of the German administration. New teachers came as well. My tutor was Franciszek Kazała, displaced from Bydgoszcz, who lived with his quite affluent family in Witkowie. The students liked him because he never raised his voice on them, and could also speak in a very interesting way about Poland, Polish cities, especially Bydgoszcz, and finally about cinemas and theaters, or other institutions unknown to us. Mr. Jawor was still headmaster of the school. On the first day of education under the German occupation, he entered our classroom and told Draus (referred to above) to remove the national emblem and the portraits of Piłsudski, Mościcki and Rydz Śmigły from the wall. In December 1939, he ordered us to bring to school and submit all school textbooks, eagerly collected them and promised to return them after the end of the war. However, he never did so. When our Polish textbooks were taken away from us, the lessons became boring, the level of teaching clearly declined and we witnessed mass absenteeism. In order to attract students, Mr. Jawor decided to read entire *Robinson Crusoe* during the lessons. It was an effective remedy for absenteeism. At the headmaster's request, we brought prayer books from home, the fragments of which we read aloud during the Polish language lessons.

After four years of study at the local village school, I received a diploma that stated that I got to "the fourth grade of the second year of study". I usually had quite good notes: 2 As, 6 Bs and only one C (arithmetic with geometry), even though I left as many as 75 lessons. It was my first bilingual, German-Polish school certificate (Schulzeugnis) with the following imprint: *Generalgouverement-Fement Die Besetzten Polnischen Gebiete (The General Government for the occupied Polish areas)*. The next certificates had only one German print: *Generalgouvernement*. In 1940, I finished elementary education in Witkowie and, like my older siblings, I was enrolled by my parents to the fifth grade out of seven, at proper and complete public school in Ropczyce. Most of the students who finished the fourth grade with me, however, remained at school in Witkowie with a rather low of education. I could observe it just after the war, when I met many former classmates from my school bench at Gymnasium in Ropczyce.

In September 1940, as a ten-year-old boy, I started to attend co-educational seven-grade Jan Kasprowicz elementary school in Ropczyce, which had been a male school before the war. Every day I had to walk about three kilometers from my family home to the school located on unpaved Stawisko Street. Since then, for almost ten years I attended elementary school and high school in this small town in Galicia, the only richness of which was good schools and teachers.

When I started my education in Ropczyce, the town made a very miserable impression. There was no bustle on the streets I had in my memory from the period before the war, all larger Jewish shops were already closed, there were still few small shops open, like the one "Na schodkach" ("On the stairs") where we bought various Christmas tree decorations, especially little angels's heads. Jewish children were banned from entering and accessing schools. They sometimes came to look at the school playground where their Polish friends were playing football.

In 1942, the Jews from Ropczyce and Wielopole were resettled to the ghetto in Sędziszów, and soon sent to Bełżec, a concentration camp.

Before 1939 the school in Ropczyce had been characterised with a high level of teaching. During the occupation, the curriculum it conducted was reduced by the Germans, and not only did it provide students with basic education, but also did not develop deeper aspirations for further education. It was prohibited to teach Polish literature, history and geography. We were also not taught the German language, because the Nazis did not intend to germanize Poles who, regarded as worthless in their opinion from a racial point of view, were to be completely eradicated in the future. "Ster", a monthly magazine published by the Germans in Cracow since the 1940–1941 school year played the role of a textbook for learning the Polish language. We were obliged to subscribe to it. The reading materials issued there were mainly used to glorify the German achievements in terms of civilization. *Antek*, a novel by Bolesław Prus, was the only item from the Polish literature discussed in detail during the lessons.

The school, managed at that time already by Bogusław Sadowski, headmaster, employed several teachers, usually well educated. My memory stores only a few of them. I liked Maria Gątkiewicz the most, a widow of the longtime headmaster of the school in Ropczyce, an honoured teacher already in the Austrian partition. She was famous for recognizing talents among students from the village and sending them to proper schools, mostly artistic schools. Several times she invited me and Staszek to her house, offering us some tea and biscuits. When Santa Claus visited our school to distribute some gifts and presents brought earlier by the parents, Staszek and I received small parcels prepared by Mrs. Gątkiewicz. I also liked my class tutor, Stanisław Jeczenia, who taught, i.a. the Polish language and run the school choir. His son, who died young in 2001, Maciej Jeczeń, a graduate of the Film School in Łódź, was one of the most prominent Polish documentary filmmakers. Franciszek Bączyński also remained engraved well in my memory. During his lessons, we did not discuss the content of articles included in the monthly magazine called *Ster*, but we listened to the works by famous Polish writers being read out loud by our friends, especially the novels of Henryk Sienkiewicz (*Janko Muzykant*, *Stary sługa*, *Hania*, *Organista z Ponikły*) (*Janko, the musician; An old servant; Hania; An organist from Ponikla*) and others. Taking this opportunity, we learnt who Adam Mickiewicz and Henryk Sienkiewicz were. However, the school could not give us any systematized information about Polish literature. Even worse was the situation with our historical knowledge, completely absent at school.

In 1943, I received a school-leaving certificate (Schul-Entlassungszeugnis). In the most important subjects, except for religion, I had only Cs. I left 105 lessons, but one year earlier as many as 134. I remember that when I was leaving the school building, on June 30, 1943, I met a group of German soldiers at the entrance preparing to occupy the building for their temporary barracks. One of them snatched my certificate from my hand and after studying its content, he told me

that if he had been my father, he would have killed me. It was a relief to complete this school. I did not have to, often hungry, go to Ropczyce, struggling through the snow and mud, wearing heavy clogs on my feet. My real education began only in 1943 at home.

My memory kept permantly the years of the German occupation. In my family home we discussed quietly about persecution, and then the complete extermination of the Jews from Ropczyce, who constituted over thirty percent of the total city population. At school, however, nothing was said both during the war or after the war. And yet Ropczyce was an important center of the Jewish culture and religious life. The story about a famous tzadik from Ropczyce was presented by Isaac Bashevis Singer, a Nobel prize winning American writer, in his novel *Szosz*. The city clearly turned sad when the bustling Jewish population was nowhere to be found. Then, only a sidewalk in the city center made of Jewish tombstone, matzeva, taken from the devastated cemetery was evidence of their recent presence. I remember the mass Nazi propaganda campaign very well, which was the introduction to the “final solution” to the Jewish question. The entire city was covered with huge, colorful posters, showing Jews as the greatest evil of the world. They appealed to the residents: *Dear viewer, stand and read how the Jews have deceived you.*

My family survived this terrible time of occupation, but experienced poverty. My father still served as a gateman, earning a pittance. More than once he returned home beaten by the Germans. When the action of forced labour was initiated and young people were sent as slave laborers to Germany, my siblings were to become its first victim. I remember well this frosty January evening of 1941, when the village leader of Witkowice, Józef Feret came to our house, and, while addressing my sister Marysia and my brother Janek, he said: *Dear children. It is not your fault, but both of you have to go to Germany* and gave them written requests. Marysia burst into tears, and Janek scolded her, shouting: *Do not cry, as the devil had not come for you yet, it's only his messenger.* However, neither of them, intended to obey the requests. So they started to hide. When the manhunt led by the German police did not bring any results, one day my mum was arrested and placed in the basement of the police building in Dębica. The Germans laid down a condition that she would be released if one of her children volunteered to go to Germany. In this situation, Janek went to the Arbeitsamt, i.e. the occupation Employment Office in Dębica and together with a large group of young people was transported under escort to Cracow, where he escaped and returned home.

In the winter of 1941, German and Polish policemen launched a large night manhunt for people designated to go to Germany, as a result of which my sister Marysia fell into their hands. She was transported to Dębica and temporarily, along with other girls, placed in the Gymnasium building. They were guarded by an old “navy” policeman who at night quickly fell asleep in a chair or just pretended to do so. The girls seized the opportunity, opened the window on the ground floor of the school building and escaped. However, Marysia could not

get home again. So she went to Cracow, where our relatives took care of her, mainly uncle Michał Woźnik, the actor's father. They also found a job for her at a Dutch construction company located on Grzegórzecka Street. She returned home only in August 1944, when the Red Army was approaching the Eastern border of the Kraków province. In November 1943, invited by Marysia, I saw Cracow for the first time. I visited, rather superficially, only the city center, i.a. the St. Mary's church and Sukiennice, the cloth hall. I was struck by numerous groups of German civilians, especially women and children, who were very loud not only in Sukiennice, but also on the Main Market Square. The St. Mary's Church, Sukiennice and horse-drawn carriages, which I had traveled for the first time in my life, were instilled in my memory. Since then, Cracow has been the most beautiful and beloved Polish city for me. Sometimes I reckon that it is a pity that it was impossible for me to take up university studies in this city.

The last year of occupation, which I spent at my family home, completely not obliged to attend unpopular with me school, was a period of intense home education, which undoubtedly had a great impact on my future life path. A book became my best friend, who I never resigned from. This adventure began with a careful reading of textbooks for the first-grade of gymnasium, which my sister had used before the war. In this way, I got acquainted with the history of ancient Greece and Greek myths, I learnt about more important events from the history and culture of Poland, and a bit about the geography of Poland. Neither such information was provided at school in Ropczyce nor reading books was recommended. Among the books I used to read at that time every day, the most important position was taken by belles-lettres, firstly, the Polish prose, especially the works by Henryk Sienkiewicz, Stefan Żeromski and Bolesław Prus. I do not remember the authors of many obligatory reading books, because at that time I paid attention to the content and the title, and not to the authors, about whom I knew very little or nothing at all. I remember only some of them, such as Teodor Tomasz Jeż (actually: Zygmunt Fortunat Miłkowski), whose two novels *Uskoki (Faults)* and *Naręczona Harambaszy (A Harambasza's fiancée)* stuck deep in my memory. They describe the independence movements in the South Slavic countries in the 19th century. Even today I recall the fragment from *Naręczona Harambaszy (A Harambasza's fiancée)* which said: *The hajduks killed the captain and they did it yesterday morning*. I read many books about Indians, e.g. *Duch Puszczy (The forest's spirit)*, and about the heroes in the Wild West. For sure, the books by Karol May did not escape my notice and attention, however, I cannot name any specific titles. Even today I happen to recall in my mind a noble cowboy *Whistlin' Dan*. I also recalled him in June 1967, when for many hours I traveled by coach through the desert in Nevada.

I received many books from private collections of friendly residents of Ropczyce. I also took advantage of rich collections of the parish library, located at the presbytery in Witkowice. Every Sunday after evening prayers, vespers, our parish priest, Rev. Jan Jarosz, personally lent books. Not only did he give the lives

of the saints, such as St. Theresa or Izydor Oracz, but also publications regarding the mission and civilizational activity of missionaries in various parts of the world. These last publications were especially fascinating for me, because they showed the life in distant countries, about which I had had no idea before.

As a resident of the so-called Księżę Budy, i.e. in close proximity to the parish church, I was at that time, just like my colleagues from the closest neighborhood, an altar boy. My contacts with our priest were generally good. Slowly, my memories regarding the religion lessons at school in Witkowice school, where Rev. Jarosz quite often used a stick or a ruler, were fading. When I moved to the public school in Ropczyce, he was interested in my choices upon the reading material. After completing school education, he often suggested and gave me various books, as he believed that I should read a lot if I did not attend any school. Thanks to him, I got involved as well in various charity events, usually organized under the auspices of the Central Welfare Council, tolerated by the Germans, with its seat in Cracow. We drove around the villages with a single horse-drawn cab driven by the parish priest, where we packed potatoes, various groats, beets, carrots, flour and grain donated by the residents. These gifts were subsequently transferred to the kitchen of the concentration camp in Pustków near Dębica, where apart from Poles, Soviet prisoners were kept.

During the entire German occupation in Witkowice, it was possible to meet almost every day. An important road passed through the village, which was used by a number of motorized units heading to the East. They often stopped for a short break, occupying the school premises, the court and parish buildings for this purpose. I remember the German unit composed of almost all young Bavarians, mainly students, including a Catholic chaplain. On Corpus Christi he celebrated a solemn mass for German soldiers in our church. They had their own altar boys and an organist. The vast majority of the mass participants received the Holy Communion. The chaplain was a simple private, he did not take advantage of any privileges. He was allowed to celebrate the liturgy only four times a year. He told my father about this when he paid us a visit at home. We received from him a souvenir, the German prayer book entitled *Weg zum Himmel (The road to heaven)*.

It was quite often possible to meet German soldiers transported to the East by freight trains. Sometimes they were forced to take a break next to our home. Many boys, me too, traded with them, swapping eggs for cigarettes and selling mouth small harmonicas called the Jew's harp. At that time, I did something nasty, in my opinion, that I am ashamed of until today. Well, on some summer day in 1942, a German train from the Red Cross stopped. It was going from the East and was composed of only Pullman cars transporting wounded Germans. My older colleagues noticed a long and thick leather belt under one car, which was propelling an electric generator while driving. They gave me a very sharp pocket knife and told me to cut this belt. I was a small boy then. So I crawled without any difficulty under the car and did what they told me to do. When the train started, the belt was left on the railway track. I got a piece of leather skin I had obtained

in this way, but it was not suitable for soles. The car carrying the wounded was deprived of electricity.

In the spring of 1944, one could already feel the approaching end of the German rule. Trains traveling from the East and trucks were overloaded not only with damaged military equipment, but also stolen goods. In the last months of the occupation, the Germans commandeered thousands of cows and horses from the Poles, but a large part of these animals was taken away by the Red Army soldiers in the vicinity of Dębica. However, they did not return to their Polish owners. I saw a huge herd of cows driven by Russian shepherds, czabans, to their country along with the horses taken away recently. Many farmers, after completing the front activities, had problems with cultivating their land because they did not have animals providing tractive force. Only after the war, some of them received American horses as a gift.

When the summer of 1944 was close, the inhabitants of Witkowice began to protect themselves against potential military actions. My parents behaved in a similar way. Together with their closest neighbor, Mr. Kuman, they decided to build a shelter on their property in the form of a large basement, which could accommodate two families, a total of twelve people. It was covered with rails and sleepers taken from the railway embankment located next to our house. In this shelter, lined with straw, we spent over two weeks. We survived as we were extremely lucky. At the end of July, the Red Army occupied Sędziszów Małopolski which was less than four kilometers away from Witkowice. At that time, Ropczyce was still in the German hands. Therefore, our village was between two fighting armies. As part of the introduction to the struggle, the Germans blew up the bridge over the Wielopolka river and, with the use of special machines, rails and railway sleepers, completely destroyed it. Having been given an advance notice by the German bridge guards about the planned action, we had escaped to Ropczyce. What we saw the next day when we returned home, terrified us. Our house had neither the roof nor the windows. Thousands of stunned fish flowed along the river. This former beautiful, iron bridge built by the Austrians in the middle of the 19th century, regarded as a piece of art, turned into small, bent steel construction fragments and piles of stones.

A fairly high railway embankment shielded us from Russian bullets. The Germans who passed this way from the front line, carrying sometimes more wounded soldiers, also took advantage of it. They generally treated us in a proper way, without hiding their anti-war attitudes and views. One of them, a student from Bavaria, did not want to go back to the trenches and spend the whole day and night sitting in our shelter. He showed us his documents, family photos and a Russian flyer, which promised to treat war prisoners who possessed it in a better way. We knew these leaflets because our yard was swamped with them. Soviet Kukuruzniks threw them at night. After spending the whole day with us, the Bavarian decided that he exposed us all to great risk and returned to the front, however, he did not spend much time there. In the evening, with an injured leg,

he was brought by another German. He confessed to my father that he had shot himself in his thigh, shielding it from gunpowder with a loaf of bread. He hoped that he would stay at hospital for three weeks to finally see the end of the war. He was a very naive young man.



Fot. Eugeniusz Kuman

Elementary School in Witkowiec.

Every few days the Russians continued firing the city from cannons and Russian rocket-launchers, katyushas, called by the Germans “Stalin’s harmonicas”. Fortunately, most missiles missed us, but a few houses were burnt, and entire families were killed. At night, the Soviet airplanes dropped bombs. One of them fell on our garden, the second – several meters from the shelter in which we were hiding, leaving a huge, deep crater. After the explosion, it seemed to us that our whole, quite a deep shelter had risen into the air. During one very hot night (August 22), after a violent attack using katyushas, the shooting completely faded away. In the morning, three Red Army soldiers came to our yard. Their leader, an officer, was holding in his hand a huge nagant ready to shoot. They peeped into our shelter, asking about “Germans” and went further, checking house after house. They were followed by more and more plentiful groups of very tired soldiers who asked us where the Germans were and how far it was to Berlin. In the evening, Witkowiec was flooded with entire masses of Russian soldiers. They behaved in a decent way. They played the accordion beautifully and danced on the lawns. I must add in this place that while dancing, German bullets were still being shot.

As I wanted to see the area of battle which had finished at night, my two older brothers, Janek and Staszek, and I walked towards Sędziszów. We saw many killed Germans and Russians. I will not forget the image of a dead, young soldier lying on his back, with his left hand over his forehead as if he wanted to cover his eyes from the sun. We also saw many burnt tanks, mostly Soviet tanks. The whole field of the recent battle was covered with weapons of various types, mainly German ones, rifle and pistol cartridges, as well as hand grenades. I picked up a still warm and well lubricated nine-caliber Vis pistol from the grass. Janek immediately took it from me and put it in his pocket. As a soldier of the Home Army, he knew how to handle such guns. I do not know what happened further to this weapon.

This relatively easy access to weapons lying everywhere affected many representatives of my generation. We were impressed by having them. Some friends of ours died tragically when making attempts to disarm shells. With time, we grew wiser and threw the weapons we possessed into the river. I did the same, but my brother Staszek was hiding it for a long time.

The Germans withdrew in August 1944 only to the Wisłoka river, on the banks of which Dębica is located. The Red Army also stopped there, conducting a trench warfare until the middle of January next year. Thus, Ropczyce became a close base for front-line activities. In order to secure a free battlefield, the Russians displaced several dozen villages adjacent to Dębica. As a result, thousands of people together with their belongings and cattle, came to the Ropczyce land, where they got the welcome. I am sure that people at that time were better than in subsequent years. They were happy that they had survived the occupation and the nightmare of the recently completed battle. They eagerly helped each other. I did not remember any quarrels and conflicts among the neighbours, which used to be common after all in the pre-war Galician villages.

When the dark years of occupation were over, I was only fourteen years old, but I felt I was a mature man. I belonged to the generation that was deprived of childhood. I will not describe the charms of this early period of life, so often praised by the poets and diarists, as I simply have never learnt and experienced them. Already as a teenager, I was aware that I had to take care of my future on my own, i.e. to be the architect of my own fortune.

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Engraved in memory. A fragment of autobiography

Summary

Józef Miąso – professor emeritus of the Polish Academy of Sciences, born in 1930 in Witkowice in the Ropczyce county. The Ropczyce land (Ziemia Ropczycka) is located on the border of Carpatian Foothills and Sandomierz Basin. Ropczyce was founded in 1362 by King Casimir the Great. The author describes his life in interwar Poland and during German Nazi occupation. He takes emphasis on his family life and home education. From 1936 to 1940 he attended rural elementary school in Witkowice and then for three years continued elementary education in Ropczyce. These schools were the effect of the new School System Act of March 11, 1932, which somehow improved elementary education. In the period of the German occupation, Polish literature, history and geography were excluded from curricula. It provoked Polish people to organize different forms of clandestine education. The author, who completed seven grade elementary school in 1943, continued self-education at his family home. It was for him true education. He fell in love with Polish obligatory reading books, which greatly broadened his liberal education and prepared him to take up further education. In conclusion the author emphasized that he as a 14-year-old boy considered himself as an adult, as he belonged to the generation who was deprived of normal childhood.

Keywords: Józef Miąso, Galicja, Ropczyce, Witkowice, Elementary school, Home education, German occupation.

PROFILES

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CHARITABLE WORK OF REV. KAROL LUBIANIEC (1866–1942)¹

PREFACE

The philanthropic activity of the first half of the 20th century in Poland was an important element of sustaining Polish identity and survival of the nation during difficult years of the annexation and war. It was the people doing charity and educational work who replaced state structures and took care of children, providing accommodation, as well as intellectual, patriotic and religious education. One of such distinguished philanthropists working in the Vilnius Region was rev. Karol Lubianiec.

Despite his huge accomplishments for education and the Polish culture on the Polish Eastern Borderlands, he is little known due to an insufficient number of academic publications regarding his work. The only existing publication on rev. Karol Lubianiec is a book published in 1983 written by his student, rev. Mieczysław Paszkiewicz². This book, however, has many shortages as it was based only on his students' memories, without queries in foreign archives – which was impossible in the 1980's. In this article, the author is going to make an attempt to fill in some of these gaps, basing on documents found in the Vilnius archives.

¹ The project was financed from the means of National Science Centre granted on the basis of the decision No. DEC-2012/05/N/HS6/04037.

² M. Paszkiewicz, *Ks. Karol Lubianiec 1866–1942 [Rev. Karol Lubianiec 1866–1941]*, Białystok, Wydawnictwo Kurii Arcybiskupiej w Białymstoku, 1983.

This is the first time that many of these sources have become the subject of a scientific analysis.

Karol Lubianiec was born on 7th January 1866³ into an agricultural family living in the Lida District. He received his education in Vilnius, where he also entered the Seminary of Vilnius and after having been noticed by his superiors, he was sent to continue further studies at *the Saint Petersburg Theological Academy*. On 31st May 1898 he received his priestly ordination in the academic chapel in St. Petersburg. Then, after his return to Vilnius he became a lecturer and a chaplain in the Seminary of Vilnius. Since 1917 he was a canon capitular (since 1935 – a prelate) in the Vilnius Cathedral Chapter⁴.

PROFESSOR OF THE SEMINARY OF VILNIUS

In the Seminary of Vilnius rev. Karol Lubianiec taught history of the Church, liturgy, and singing. He also gave lectures on the Holy Bible, biblical archeology and Canon Law. His additional position as an inspector in the seminary required engagement and commitment not only in the education, but also in the upbringing and the spiritual life of candidates to the priesthood.

Rev. Michał Sopoćko, who worked in the Seminary of Vilnius, wrote about rev. Lubianiec that: *he skillfully emphasised the flaws which were inseparable from common life, and for which he reprimanded with love and compassion, avoiding acerbity. Even when sometimes giving punishment, he evoked love, because he would forget the fault and never showed that he ever thought of it. He condemned wrongful deeds, but at the same time he respected the person who did them. His figure alone, of a true ascetic, commanded respect in anyone who was lucky enough to meet this always smiling, full of energy and endearing kindness priest*⁵.

Józef Obrębski, a prelate, who was taught by Lubianiec, in turn recalled him in this way: *I met him as a canon in 1926. He was a spiritual father, a confessor, a seminary inspector, and of course a member of the chapter. He was characterised by his deep devotion, dedication and faith. When he entered the room or was giving a sermon, we always felt great respect towards him. None of us dared to play pranks, which sometimes happened in other cases. He was very calm and it was his attitude that commanded respect among the seminarians. I remember how in the first year we were assigned, one after the other, to ring the bell at 4:30 in the morning, and there were 140 of us in the seminary then. I was supposed to do this chore twice and I overslept both times. When I heard the bell, I jumped up and ran towards it, but saw no-one there. Not until a few years later did I find*

³ Lietuvos Mokslų Akademijos Vrublevskių Biblioteka, [The Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, hereinafter called: LMAVB], f. 342–28739, p. 1.

⁴ Ibid; T. Krahel, *Martyrologia duchowieństwa archidiecezji wileńskiej 1939–1945 [Martyrdom of clergy of Vilnius Archdiocese 1939–1945]*, Białystok, Wydawnictwo BUK, 2017, p. 249–250.

⁵ T. Krahel, *Ks. pralat Karol Lubianiec [Rev. prelate Karol Lubianiec]*, „Czas Miłosierdzia” 2000, No. 8, p. 14.

out that it was rev. Lubianiec, who hid afterwards, and most importantly, did not scold me. It was said that his bed was often undone, because he would pray, wake, and contemplate the entire night⁶.

CHAIRMAN OF THE CHARITABLE SOCIETY “THE HOUSE OF JESUS’ HEART” (DOM SERCA JEZUSOWEGO)

Apart from his work in the seminary and his extensive priesthood activity, the main sphere of rev. K. Lubianiec’s activity was care, as well as educational and social work.

Since 1901 the charitable society called “The House of Jesus’ Heart” (Dom Serca Jezusowego) [hereinafter called: DSJ] under the direction of rev. Karol Lubianiec provided care and organized secret Polish education for people. The goal of the society, approved by governorate Commission in Vilnius in 1907⁷, was to concentrate on professional, intellectual, physical, social and moral education⁸. Since the very beginning, the society had a strictly Polish nature – its members and wards were only of this nationality⁹. In 1908 a dormitory in “Nowe Zabudowania” District was organised, where an educational programme for orphans was conducted through games, plays, singing, as well as vocational education. The upbringing of an abandoned child to be a brave man required its isolation from the street life. Next to the house, rev. Lubianiec created a new street and named it “Dobrej Rady”, dedicating it to Our Lady of Good Counsel (she was also the patroness of the institutional chapel)¹⁰. Religion, Polish, arithmetic and Polish history were taught in secret. In order to teach Polish in a safer way, some of the children were sent from the dormitory to Russian governmental schools. The number of pupils of both sexes from the ages of 4 to 20 was rising constantly: from 21 orphans in 1909 to 854 people in 1924¹¹. Several dozens of people took care of and handled the facilities of the society. The head director of the shelter was Celestyna Fryde. Amidst the pupils of the DSJ society, 60 boys served in the Polish army: *well-dressed, shod, supplied with good underwear, and above all with highly developed patriotic spirit. Many of*

⁶ C. Paczkowska, *Na 60-lecie męczeńskiej śmierci ks. pralata Karola Lubiańca (1866–1942). Świadełstwo Prawdzie dawane życiem i śmiercią [For the 60th anniversary of Rev. prelate Karol Lubianiec’s martyr death (1866–1942). Testimony given for the truth with life and death]*, „Magazyn Wileński” 2002, No 10, p. 28–29.

⁷ The act of Vilnius Charitable Society known under the name of “The House of Jesus’ Heart” (Dom Serca Jezusowego) was approved for the second time on 15.12.1912 by the Minister of Internal Affairs in Petersburg; approved for the third time by German authorities on 12.02.1916, until was finally approved and registered on 4.11.1919 by the authorities of the Vilnius District. – Lietuvos Centrinis Valstybės Archyvas, [Lithuanian Central State Archives, hereinafter called: LCVA], f. 53 ap. 23, b. 1846, p. 10.

⁸ LMAVB, f. 318–37745, p. 3.

⁹ LMAVB, f. 318–38444, p. 2.

¹⁰ Archiwum Państwowe w Łodzi, ref. 2640, *Historia Instytucji wychowawczo-zawodowej pod nazwą „Dom Serca Jezusowego” w Wilnie [The History of the Educational – Vocational Institution under the name of “Home of Sacred Heart of Jesus” in Vilnius]*, p. 2.

¹¹ LMAVB, f. 318–32592, p. 1.

them were decorated with orders such as: *Virtuti Militari* and the Cross of Valor, and military authorities often thanked sincerely for the well-mannered and bravely fighting boys from “The House of Jesus’ Heart”¹². The society was also developing vocational education. For girls they organised: a laundry room, a sewing workshop, a trickot and stocking embroidery workshop, weaving, wool and linen spinning for home use, bakery and cookery classes¹³. The following workshops were prepared for boys: shoemaking, musical instruments making, bronze-gilding, carpentry, ironworks, men tailoring and basket-weaving. Additionally, the boys and the girls under the direction of a gardener gained knowledge in the fields of gardening and vegetable growing¹⁴.

In 1913 rev. Karol Lubianiec built the Church of the Divine Providence (Kościół Opatrzności Bożej)¹⁵ on the premises of the institution. The facility also had its shop on Zamkowa Street, where self-made goods were sold. In 1915 a mill was bought for internal use and electricity was installed. Next to the shelter, a hospital for local needs and baths were set up. There were also facilities for breeding rabbits and all kinds of domestic poultry. In 1916, as a consequence of the implementation of the last will of late rev. Gintowt Dziewałtowski, they brought livestock from Korycin and put it next to the shelter (22 Dobrej Rady Street) – horses, cows, pigs, goats and sheep¹⁶. The growing number of children and difficulties in feeding them, resulted in the need to place them in reliable families and also other locations, outside the main building of the shelter located on Dobrej Rady Street. The sources of income of the DSJ Society included membership charges, fees of children’s caretakers working in the shelter, donations from the society, earnings from plays, fund-raising and others, as well as earnings from selling goods produced in the workshops and ateliers located in the shelter¹⁷. The society also had at its disposal a house at 50 Konarskiego Street¹⁸, 14 Wielkiej Pohulanki Street, as well as in Czarny Bór (formerly Rejslerów) and Polepie. Secret education in the Second Polish Republic was already turned into primary schools: No. 30 (Dobrej Rady Street), No. 21, No. 34 (Wielkiej Pohulanki Street), No. 28 (Stefańska Street) and No. 54 (in Czarny Bór). Additionally, there was a male craft school on Dobrej Rady Street¹⁹. Apart from developing craftsman skills, the youth were involved

¹² LMAVB, f. 318–37745, p. 19.

¹³ LMAVB, f. 318–32592, p. 1–2.

¹⁴ LMAVB, f. 318–32592, p. 2.

¹⁵ LMAVB, f. 318–37745, p. 20.

¹⁶ LMAVB, f. 318–36896, p. 1.

¹⁷ The Statute of the Society approved on 4.11.1919. – LCVA, f. 53, ap. 23, b. 1846, p. 5.

¹⁸ On Konarskiego Street there was a pension ‘Bethany’ (“Betania”) created mainly for former teachers, who after having worked for a common good, needed peace and quiet at their elderly age. – LMAVB, f. 318–36896, p. 1.

¹⁹ LMAVB, f. 318–32592, p. 3; There are also other school numbers such as No. 28, 30, 31, 34 and 53 (in Czarny Bór). – *Praca filantropijna na kresach. Zakłady wychowawcze Towarzystwa Dobroczynnego p.n. „Domu Serca Jezusowego”. (Z powodu 15 letniej rocznicy istnienia) [The philanthropic work on the Borderlands. Educational establishments of the Charitable Society under the name of “The House of Jesus’*

in farmwork on the farm in Polepie, which made it possible not only to gain new skills, but also provided food and expanded the warehouses of the shelter²⁰.

CHAIRMAN OF THE “MODERATION AND WORK” (POWŚCIĄGLIWOŚĆ I PRACA) SOCIETY

Another organization directed by rev. Karol Lubianiec was the Society of Saint Francis de Sales “Moderation and Work” in Vilnius. It was founded by rev. Napoleon Dyjakowski²¹, who started his educational work in 1904²². On 6th September 1907 the Statute of the Society of Saint Francis de Sales “Moderation and Work”²³ was legalized, which gave the official name to the dormitory and the ‘nazareth’ (“nazaret”). The society’s shelter changed its location²⁴ and in 1908 it was situated in the houses on Stefańska Street in Vilnius, in the neighbourhood of the Church of St. Stephen. In 1911 they proceeded to expand the housing base. As a result, a dormitory for boys with rooms for workshops was built, whereas girls stayed in the adjacent smaller house²⁵. Rev. Dyjakowski’s establishments aimed at taking care of both girls and boys of Roman Catholic religion, as well as fulfilling their physical and moral needs, and bringing them up moderately and inspiring a love of work. Thanks to the offers made by the society, two shelters for girls and boys, and workshops were founded: carpentry, shoemaking, basket-weaving and turnery²⁶ along with ironworks, forging shop, female tailoring and haberdashery²⁷.

Organisational changes of the society took place after its initiator, rev. Napoleon Dyjakowski, suffered a martyr death during the Bolshevik invasion in Grodno in 1920²⁸. The board of “Moderation and Work” Society, during its meeting on 21st July 1921, adopted a resolution to take over the estate of the society from its previous director rev. Ziemkiewicz. The management of the establishments, the shelter

Heart” (Due to 15th anniversary of existence)], „Kresy” 1923, No. 17, p. 7.

²⁰ *Praca...*, p. 7.

²¹ In literature also referred to as Diakowski or Dyakowski – Ł. K.

²² The institution was established in 1904 (Czesław Kustra) or 1905. – C. Kustra, *Działalność edukacyjna Towarzystwa „Powściągliwość i Praca” w latach 1898–1949 [Educational activity of the Society “Moderation and Work” between 1898–1949]*, Olsztyn, Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Informatyki i Ekonomii Towarzystwa Wiedzy Powszechnej, 2005, p. 100; *Historia powstania i rozwoju zakładów „Powściągliwość i Praca” w Wilnie [The history of establishment and development of “Moderation and Work” institutions in Vilnius]*, no place or year of publication.

²³ LCVA, f. 51, ap. 12, b. 927, p. 26; *Historia...*

²⁴ Initially the institution was located in Nowy Świat District, near Wielki Nikodemski Alley and Ponomarski Alley, as well as in Lipówka suburbs and on Targowa Street. – *Historia...*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Kalendarz Ilustrowany „Kurjera Litewskiego” na rok 1910 [Illustrated Calendar of “Lithuanian Courier” for the year 1910]*, Vilnius. Published by “Kurjer Litewski” p. 47.

²⁷ *Historia...*

²⁸ C. Kustra, *Działalność...*, p. 100.

and the school were handed over to canon Karol Lubianiec²⁹. As a result of the requests of the “Moderation and Work” Committee, rev. Karol Lubianiec agreed to take over this charitable organisation, which was put at the complete disposal of “the House of Jesus” Heart’ Committee. Due to rev. Lubianiec’s activity a craft school was opened on Stefańska Street, which allowed further development of the establishment³⁰.

INITIATOR OF BRINGING SALESIAN COMMUNITIES TO VILNIUS

In 1924 thanks to two-year personal efforts made by rev. Lubianiec Salesian priests (**the Society of St. Francis de Sales**) and Salesian nuns (Daughters of Mary Help of Christians), to whom he passed on educational institutions in Vilnius, Laurów and Polepie, arrived in Vilnius. Rev. Lubianiec also managed the shelter in Czarny Bór. After conversations with Urszula Ledóchowska, a nun, he passed it on to the nuns of the Congregation of the Ursuline Sisters of the Agonizing Heart of Jesus. The retired priests’ home created by rev. Lubianiec, called “Bethany” (Betania), was handed over to the Society of Priests “Unitas” on 12th April 1927 in Vilnius. In gratitude for the donation, rev. Lubianiec was granted a lifetime title of Honorary President of the “Unitas” Department in Vilnius³¹.

The handing over of the property to Salesian priests was a result of financial difficulties and inability to maintain the establishment. Despite the fact that Salesian institutions operated in Vilnius since 1924, it was not until 12th April 1927 when the Charitable Society “the House of Jesus’ Heart” passed on a part of its property to i.a. Salesian Communities during a General Meeting of important state and church figures³². It was the official confirmation of the decision reached by the DSJ Committee on 4th February 1927 of transferring some of the Society’s departments and properties to different institutions. Pursuant to that decision, the Salesian Society received land properties on Dobrej Rady Street in Vilnius and Kurhan Manor situated in Lida District. All of the properties mentioned above were given away, along with the real estate and all equipment i.a. the Church of the Divine Providence, Chapel of Our Lady of Good Counsel, dwelling houses, ateliers and workshops, as well as all kinds of deadstock and livestock. Most importantly, however, the DSJ Committee

²⁹ LMAVB, f. 318–38038, p. 1.

³⁰ *Praca...*, p. 7.

³¹ “Bethany” was legally transferred on the basis of the notarial deed on 28.02.1928. – S. Nawrocki, *Betania [Bethany]*, “Wiadomości Archidiecezjalne Wileńskie” 1928, No. 11, p. 165–167.

³² The following figures participated in the meeting: bishop Kazimierz Michalkiewicz, the salesian superior rev. Dr. Antoni Hlond, salesian sister superior Sr. Laura Meozzi, the mother general of the Ursuline sisters Sr. Urszula Ledóchowska, the representative of Vilnius voivode and the head of Labour and Social Security Department Konrad Jocz, senator of the Republic of Poland rev. canon Leon Żebrowski, chairman of Post and Telegraphs Directorate Jan Popowicz, general prosecutor Adolf Kopeć, retired general of the Polish Army Aleksander Antonowicz, chairman of DSJ rev. canon Karol Lubianiec and the members of Vilnius Metropolitan Chapter, representatives of various organisations and Vilnius social groups. – Archiwum Inspektorialne Córki Maryi Wspomożycielki in Wrocław [hereinafter called: AICMW], D I Wln 27.

passed on to the Salesians over two hundred boys of all ages, mostly orphans. The Committee's personnel were also left under the Salesians' care.

The DSJ Committee gave the Daughters of Mary Help of Christians: "Zachęta" shop located at 5 Zamkowa Street in Vilnius including its inventory: all sewing machines, knitting and hosiery machines, and equipment for embroidery and church work, as well as tools for linen and wool spinning with weaving workshops, which were situated in the facilities belonging to DSJ. Moreover, they transferred the *leasehold title* of Polepie Manor in Rudomińska District along with all household equipment, agricultural implements and livestock and also a wooden house with the surrounding area at 107 Legionowa Street. Along with facilities mentioned above, Salesian sisters were handed over the care of over three hundred girls of different ages, mostly orphans.

Salesian nuns and priests committed themselves to certain obligations, such as bringing up the youth in Roman Catholic religion and Polish nationality spirit for the good of the motherland.

Thanks to the efforts of rev. Karol Lubianiec, the establishments of 'Moderation and Work' Society at 37 Stefańska Street in Vilnius were handed over to Salesian nuns on 1st September 1924³³. The society operated in Vilnius until 1927. During the General Meeting on 27th June 1927, a resolution on its dissolution and *definite liquidation*³⁴ was passed. Consequently, Salesian nuns received³⁵: land property Sakiszki (later Laurów) situated in Vilnius District, in Gmina Niemenczyńska; the right to lease all buildings at 37 Stefańska Street belonging to the Church of St. Stephen in Vilnius until the expiration of the lease contract i.e. to 29th September 1942. Moreover, they were given all goods that were located in the buildings at 37 Stefańska Street in Vilnius: a steam traction engine, a large iron water tank and all central heating devices, an electric motor and a complete electric installation, furniture, educational aids, all workshops and workrooms, tools, machines, instruments, equipment, the kitchen, the dormitory and school devices. The nuns were also given the ownership of the entire laundry at 41 Stefańska Street including boilers, wash-tubs, buckets, mangles and other equipment.

Since the official handover of the the Society of Saint Francis de Sales "Moderation and Work" to the Daughters of Mary Help of Christians, the name was changed from "Institution of Salesian Sisters Moderation and Work" ("Zakład Sióstr Salezjanek Powściągliwość i Praca") to "The Female Institution of Salesian Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus" ("Żeński Zakład Serca Jezusowego Sióstr Salezjanek")³⁶.

³³ LMAVB, f. 318–38038, p. 3.

³⁴ LMAVB, f. 44–811, p. 16.

³⁵ It was the repetition of the declaration of the Society "Moderation and Work" on 7.04.1925. – AICMW, D I Wln 15–39, D I Wln 22; Lietuvos Valstybės Istorijos Archyvas [Lithuanian State Historical Archives, hereinafter called: LVIA], f. 604, ap. 1, b. 6473, p. 11.

³⁶ LMAVB, f. 44–811, p. 17.

MISSIONARY WORK AND MARTYR DEATH

Apart from the above mentioned merits in the field of the youth's care and education, rev. Lubianiec was also an initiator of the construction of the Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Vilnius, designed by Antoni Wiwulski. It was supposed to be a brave initiative for that time as reinforced concrete was used for the construction. Yet, due to the death of the architect in 1919 and financial difficulties, the church was not finished³⁷. Rev. Lubianiec also served as an archdiocesan priest of the Apostleship of Prayer and the archdiocesan director of the Eucharistic Crusade. He was invited to preach a sermon and conduct retreat very often. He was also a member of the Archdiocesan Synodal Commission. Furthermore, he became even president of the Temperance Society in Vilnius³⁸. The accomplishments of rev. Lubianiec were highly appreciated and that was the reason why he was regarded as a strong candidate for the position of an auxiliary bishop of the Diocese of Vilnius. Finally, after a few years of delay, rev. Kazimierz Michalkiewicz took up this post³⁹.

In 1935 rev. Lubianiec settled down in the village called Plebania in Mołodeczański District, where he engaged into already existing missionary work among orthodox people (formerly Uniates or Catholics)⁴⁰. After the outbreak of World War II and military intervention of the Soviet army, the deanery of Mołodeczański District was within the area of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic. Due to difficult communication with the Ordinary of Vilnius, rev. Lubianiec received special competencies of the general vicar from the Holy See in October 1940⁴¹. In June 1941 the German forces entered the archdiocese's land. As a result, numerous casualties among the clergy suffered, and many churches were liquidated. Rev. Karol Lubianiec was also one of the victims of the German operation "Polenaktion" that was set off in 1942⁴². He was executed on 23rd July or 28th September 1942, and the news of his death was commented by local people with words *they killed a saint*⁴³.

³⁷ In the 1960's of the 20th century, on the pretext of non-completion of the church construction, on the orders of the Soviet authorities, the temple was closed and then pulled down, and the Culture Palace of Builders was constructed on its foundations. – D. Lewicki, *Świadek wiary katolickiej [The Witness of Catholic Faith]*, „Nasza Gazeta” 2018, No. 8, p. 4–5.

³⁸ M. Paszkiewicz, *Ks. Karol...*, p. 23–24.

³⁹ S. Wilk, *Episkopat Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce w latach 1918–1939 [The Episcopacy of the Catholic Church between 1918–1939]*, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Salezjańskie, 1992, p. 33–35.

⁴⁰ *W kuźni pracy polskiej [In the smithy of Polish work]*, „Kurier Poznański” 1938, No. 463, p. 6.

⁴¹ T. Krahel, *Archidiecezja wileńska w latach II wojny światowej. Studia i szkice [Vilnius Archdiocese in the years of World War II. Studies and sketches]*, Białystok, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2014, p. 34.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 194–195.

⁴³ T. Krahel, *Martyrologia...*, p. 251.

CONCLUSION

Undoubtedly, the figure of rev. Lubianiec deserves recognition and memory. Thanks to the facilities erected and operated by him, many thousands of children were educated and provided with care, which sometimes even saved their lives. He presided over the largest network of educational care facilities in northeastern Poland.

Unfortunately, all charitable institutions that he had founded and handed over to Salesian priests as well as Salesian and Ursuline Sisters were liquidated during World War II. After the war and the changes of borders they were not reactivated. Also, his missionary engagement in the face of ecumenism, in our times, can be a reason of at least an uncomfortable feeling. However, during that time such as activity was considered patriotic and was supported by the archbishop of Vilnius.

Rev. Lubianiec was one of many who within their lifetime were highly respected and admired in Vilnius. He was a true spiritual foundation of the city. Living in the world without moral role models, it is worth knowing that we can find them in the not-too-distant past⁴⁴.

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⁴⁴ C. Paczkowska, *Na 60-lecie...*, p. 29.

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Charitable work of rev. Karol Lubianiec (1866–1942)

Summary

The article (on the basis of the unpublished archival documents) presents the figure of rev. Karol Lubianiec, a great philanthropist, a teacher and a social activist. At the beginning of the 20th century he created the biggest network of care and educational institutions working in the Vilnius Region. They provided the youth and children with both open and secret schooling. The educational institutions managed by rev. Lubianiec in the 1920's were handed over to the Salesian Communities and the Grey Ursulines, and they were expanding dynamically till

the outbreak of World War II. Rev. Lubianiec also worked as a lecturer in the seminary, a builder of the churches, a missionary on the Borderlands as well as a propagator of the temperance movement. Rev. Karol Lubianiec was killed by the Germans in 1942.

Keywords: Karol Lubianiec, Second Polish Republic, care, Borderlands, Vilnius, Salesian Communities, Grey Ursulines, the Archdiocese of Vilnius.

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REV. DR. BOLESŁAW DOMAŃSKI (1872–1939), A PRIEST WITH THE RODŁO EMBLEM



Source: internet

On the 100th anniversary of Poland regaining independence, one may recall those people who, thanks to their social and educational activities conducted in their local environment, and sometimes even activities of much wider scope, joined the battle which was aimed to preserve Polish identity and national consciousness. One of them was Rev. Dr. Bolesław Domański, a Polish Catholic priest, the parish priest of St. Mary Magdalene Church in Zakrzewo (Krajna) between 1903–1939, an activist of the Union of Poles in Germany, president of the Union from February 9, 1933, to his death on April 21, 1939.

He was born on January 14, 1872, in Przytarnia in Kaszuby, near Chojnice. His father, Franciszek Domański (born in 1846), came from Sępólno Krajeńskie, a small town next to Tuchola. He graduated from the Teachers' Seminar in Grudziądz. He worked in Czyczkowy near Burs, subsequently in Przytarnia, Kiełp and Bielchów in the Grudziądz county. Since 1869 he was a teacher in the Prussian folk school in Przytarnia. His mother, Ewa Domańska (1844–1916), née Perszyk, was the model of a Polish mother.

She gave birth to seven children¹, took care of them, and instilled Christian, patriotic values, and a love of learning and social activities in them. She taught them diligence and persistence in pursuing objectives. She read a lot, was interested in history, spoke languages – Kashubian, Polish and German. She was the first teacher of her children, taught them history, geography and literature. The family environment and the values conveyed by them shaped the personality of the future activist and defender of Polish identity in the Polish-German border region.

Bolesław Domański attended the Prussian folk school in Kiełp, where his father was a teacher. Here he realized that he was destined for the clergy. At the age of nine, he left his family home, and started his education at the Collegium Marianum in Pelplin, called a small theological seminary – the only secondary school in the Pomerania, where the Polish language was still included in the teaching curriculum and was the language of communication for students. The teachers in this school were famous in this region Polish priests who contributed a lot to maintaining the Polish identity of the Pomerania, including Rev. Franciszek Rąbka (1835–1904), Rev. Stanisław Kujot (1845–1914) and Rev. Dr. Romuald Frydrychowicz (1850–1932)². In particular, Rev. Stanisław Kujot, who attended school in Pelplin for seven years, affected the spiritual formation of Bolesław Domański to a great extent. As a fifteen-year-old young man, he left school, claiming that he would serve the Lord and people as a priest in the future. He continued his education at the gymnasium in Chełmno³, a strong center of the Polish national life. Poles constituted a third of all students in this educational institution. In 1890 he received a high school diploma⁴, according to which he was one of the best students. He was a member

¹ The oldest son was Franciszek Bronisław (1869–?). There is no detailed information about him. Next children: Bolesław Andrzej Julian (1874–1941), Konstanty Konrad (1879–1885), Melania Wincenta (1882–1959), Maria Anna (1885–1949), since 1912 the wife of Juliusz Zieliński, a teacher, and Ignacy (1889–?). Prof. Henryk Zieliński, a historian, the son of Maria Anna. Her grandson: Prof. Rev. Andrzej Szostek (the son of the oldest daughter of Irena Zielińska and Ryszard Szostek, her husband), since 1997 a professor of philosophy, between 1992–1998 vice-rector of John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, from 1998 to 2002 rector. The second grandson, the son of Henryk, is Prof. Krzysztof Zieliński, MD, Ph.D.. Melania Wincenta did not get married. She was living with her brother, Rev. Dr. Bolesław Domański at the presbytery (the clergy house) in Zakrzewo and was his closest associate, providing advice and guidance. She was also the manager of the People's Bank in Zakrzewo. See: J. Borzyszkowski, *Lud polski się nie da. Ks. Bolesław Domański. Patron Polaków w Niemczech [The Polish people do not give in. Rev. Bolesław Domański. A Patron of Poles in Germany]*, Gdańsk, Kuria Biskupia in Gdańsk–Oliwa, 1989; E. Osmańczyk, *Niezlomny proboszcz z Zakrzewa. Rzecz o księdzu patronie Bolesławie Domańskim [A steadfast priest from Zakrzewo. A few words about Bolesław Domański, a priest patron]*, Warszawa, Czytelnik, 1989; Z. Strómski, *Pamięci godni: chojnicki słownik biograficzny (1275–1980) [Those worth commemorating. The biographical dictionary of Chojnice (1275–1980)]*, Bydgoszcz 1986.

² Z. Krauze, *Ksiądz Patron Domański [Rev. Domański, a patron]*, Gorzów Wielkopolski, Niższe Seminarium Duchowne 1948, p. 7–8.

³ In the junior high school (gymnasium) in Chełmno, Rev. Konstantyn Dominik (1870–1942), a bishop, was a school-friend of Bolesław Domański. The brothers, Franciszek and Julian attended the same school as well.

⁴ J. Borzyszkowski, *Lud polski...*, p. 19.

of scientific self-educational circles, which referred to the Vilnius tradition of the secret Philomath Society, guided by such slogans as *science, homeland, virtue*⁵. Having graduated from the gymnasium in Chełmno, he returned to Pelplin and began studying philosophy and theology at the Higher Theological Seminary under the direction of such masters as: Rev. Prof. Romuald Frydrychowicz, Ph.D., Rev. Prof. Stanisław Kujot, Ph.D., Rev. Prof. Feliks Morawski, Ph.D., Rev. Prof. Ignacy Ograbiszewski, who were not only excellent scholars, but were also famous for their deep patriotism which they instilled in their students⁶. It was the most important period in the life of Bolesław Domański. He formed there lasting friendships, which were so useful in his later activities. In that place his priesthood started. He was ordained to the subdeacon on October 15, 1893⁷. The superiors and professors of the Higher Theological Seminary in Pelplin appreciated the abilities and diligence of Deacon B. Domański and allowed him to go for studying to Münster (he received a scholarship from the secularization fund), where on April 24, 1894, he began his three-year education (1894–1897) at the Royal Prussian Theological and Philosophical Academy in Münster⁸, one of the best Prussian universities at that time. He wanted to prepare for the priesthood there in the best way. In Münster he also collected important experience, which he subsequently put into practice as the parish priest in Zakrzewo. He established contact with emigrants of Polish origin who had escaped from Poland to the territories of Westphalia and Rhineland, mainly for economic purposes. They never lost their national consciousness and did not separate from their Polish roots. These friendships turned out to be valuable and fruitful in the future, when he became a stout social and educational activist fighting to preserve the Polish identity in the Złotów land.

In 1895 at the St. Katherine's church he was ordained by Rev. Dr. Herman Dingelstad to the priesthood. He celebrated his first holy mass in Starogard, and then returned to Münster to work on a doctoral thesis entitled *Die Lehre des Nemesius über das Wesen der Seele (Science of Nemesis on the essence of soul)*, the preparation of which took him two years. He defended his thesis on August 9, 1897, in the assembly hall of the Royal Prussian Theological and

⁵ E. Osmańczyk, *Niezlomny proboszcz...*, p. 12.

⁶ See: Ibid., p. 13; J. Borzyszkowski, *Kaszubsko-pomorscy duszpasterze – współtwórcy dziejów regionu [Priests from Kaszuby and Pomerania – the co-founders of the region's history]*, Gdańsk–Pelplin, Instytut Kaszubski in Gdańsk, 2002.

⁷ According to the canon law, a priest could be ordained to the subdeaconate at the age of 23 years old. Bolesław Domański was ordained at the age of 21. See: J. Borzyszkowski, *Kaszubsko-pomorscy duszpasterze...*, p. 19.

⁸ Münster, the capital of Westphalia (in 1816 the city was raised to the status of the capital of the new Prussian province, Westphalia) was a Catholic city. It was known as one of the centres of Catholic resistance against Kulturkampf, i.e. a fight to weaken the political influence of the Catholic church and to introduce the state supervision over the influence of the Church on society.. See: E. Osmańczyk, *Niezlomny proboszcz...*, p. 14.

Philosophical Academy in Münster⁹. He got the best score possible – *Summa cum Laude*¹⁰. Shortly thereafter, he returned to his family region to start his pastoral work. He became a vicar in Lubawa at the Bernardine church, where he helped the parish priest in performing his daily duties. After a year, in July 1898, by the decision of bishop Leon Redner, he was appointed as the administrative and economic manager in Collegium Marianum, and then took up the post of professor at the Theological Seminary in Pelplin for three years. In 1902 he gave up his job and left. It is not clear why he made such a decision¹¹. He received his first independent parish in Złotów located on the Polish-German border. Despite the fact that he stayed there for a short time, he demonstrated his organizational talent and a passion for social work. He renovated the historic cemetery chapel from the 18th century and assisted in building the St. Roch church, at present a separate parish. At that time it was not acceptable for the Prussian authorities, as they realized that this priest would not obey their decisions.

In Złotów he was also engaged in creating the People's Bank, which was established on the initiative of fifteen merchants and craftsmen. The bank acted as a loan cooperative with unlimited liability, and played an important role in the struggle of the Polish population for returning to their homeland. The People's Bank was the most active in 1914, when it had 598 members, and savings deposits amounted to 640,000 German marks¹². The loans were mainly granted for the purchase of land, animals, seeds, fertilizations, and agricultural machinery. The bank quickly won the trust, especially of the owners of small farms whose income was too little to focus on larger investments. It developed quickly and became an important center of economic life for Poles living in the Złotów land. The bank provided a sense of security and made it possible to derive greater income from farms. The bank found-

⁹ J. Borzyszkowski, *Lud polski...*, p. 20; see also: A. Wojtkowski, *Domański Bolesław (1872–1939)*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny [The Polish biographical dictionary]*, Vol. 5, Kraków 1946, p. 300.

¹⁰ The memories by Irena Szostek, niece of Rev. Bolesław Domański. See: I. Szostek, *Patron Polaków ksiądz doktor Bolesław Domański [Rev. Dr. Bolesław Domański, a patron of Poles]*. A letter by Irena Szostek to an unknown editor dated November 26, 1979, written in Wrocław. Typescript. A copy thereof held by the author.

¹¹ Z. Krauze wrote that it was a result of poor health condition. See: Z. Krauze, *Ksiądz Patron Domański...*, p. 8. E. Osmańczyk thinks that *the dramatic decision made by Rev. Prof. Bolesław Domański, Ph.D., was a natural reaction to the universality of anti-Polonism, and thus, the inevitability of future clashes with the church authorities, and in terms of the Roman discipline, the inability to oppose requirements imposed by them. At the same time, the only way to keep the vow of obedience and preserve his Polish identity was to follow the example of Rev. Dr. Juliusz Pobołcki. [...] Parish priest were chosen for their entire lives, and scientific chairs were dependent on bishops, archbishops, and cardinals.* See: E. Osmańczyk, *Niezłomny proboszcz...*, p. 29. J. Borzyszkowski noticed another reason: *The decision to leave the seminary was associated with a desire to provide his loved ones and family with better living conditions, as well as to secure his own financial independence. It was about the independence not only in terms of his pastoral work in the parish. [...] Hence, it might be claimed that, by his own choice and with the consent and approval of the episcopal power, Rev. Domański left the seminary and returned to his pastoral work in the parish, which he had valued from the earliest youth.* See: J. Borzyszkowski, *Lud polski...*, p. 24.

¹² J. Kocik, *60 lat Banku Ludowego w Złotowie [The 60th anniversary of the People's Bank in Złotów]*, Warszawa, Zakład Wydawniczy CRS, 1962, p. 12.

ers appreciated the skills and efforts of the young parish priest. They continued their cooperation also after the priest had taken over the parish in Zakrzewo. In 1904, Rev. Domański became president of the People's Bank in Złotów and held this position until 1935. He was the youngest person in the Wielkopolska region who was appointed to such an important post¹³. It was because of him that the residents of Zakrzewo could also use the services provided by the bank until, thanks to the effort made by Rev. Domański, they had their own one.

The Prussian authorities did not accept the pro-Polish activity of Rev. Domański in Złotów, so when in 1903 the parish priest in Zakrzewo died, his candidacy was not taken into account at all. However, Rev. Bolesław Domański did not give up and, against all odds and adversities, using all possible means, made an effort to be granted the parish in Zakrzewo¹⁴. In 1903, despite a number of difficulties, Fryderyk Leopold Hohenzollern appointed Rev. Dr. Bolesław Domański as the parish priest in Zakrzewo, a village located ten kilometers from Złotów.

St. Mary Magdalene Church in Zakrzewo was an unknown place for a new parish priest, sent away from his friends and family. He knew that he needed to help his parishioners in their struggle to preserve their national identity, which required work at the grass roots. His first sermon delivered in Zakrzewo contained words which became a signal of actions taken by him in the future: *This House of God will resound only with Polish words. As long as I am alive, and as long as my strength allows me to. Poland is a temple on the Polish soil and for the Polish people*¹⁵. He encouraged the residents to act and raised hopes for changing the difficult situation of Poles living in the Prussian partition. His dream was that Zakrzewo would become a model village in all aspects of life of its inhabitants, from their spiritual life to their economic situation. He worked beyond his strength. Sr. Irena Szostek, his niece, recalls the first days of his pastoral service in Zakrzewo: *With all his zeal, [...] Rev. Domański got to his pastoral work in a neglected and extensive parish which included two affiliated churches – in Głomsk and Polska Wiśniewka. The first priority was to revive the religious spirit. He did not have a permanent vicar, it was impossible to be given a Pole, and he did not want a German. Therefore, every Sunday he celebrated at least two Holy Masses and delivered a sermon, also in the affiliated churches. Because of the strict Eucharistic fast, at midday when the household members sat at the table for*

¹³ Ibid., p. 17.

¹⁴ See: K. Czerwiński, *Jak ksiądz Domański okpił pruskiego księcia [How Rev. Domański tricked the Prussian prince]*. On the 100th anniversary of the birth of this great patriot. Typescript. The memorial room of the Polish House in Zakrzewo.

¹⁵ M. Manikowska, *Setna rocznica objęcia parafii zakrzewskiej przez księdza doktora Bolesława Andrzeja Domańskiego (1872–1939) [The 100th anniversary of taking charge of the parish in Zakrzewo by Rev. Dr. Bolesław Andrzej Domański (1872–1939)]*. Typescript. The archive of the parish in Zakrzewo; idem, *Działalność ks. dr Bolesława Domańskiego jako wychowawcy [The activity of Rev. Dr. Bolesław Domański as an educator]*. Typescript. The church archive in Zakrzewo; L. Bończa-Bystrzycki, *Parafia Katolicka św. Marii Magdaleny w Zakrzewie (1821–1945) [St. Mary Magdalene Catholic parish in Zakrzewo]*, Koszalin 2005.

dinner, the parish priest was eating his first meal – breakfast. He taught catechism and literacy in Polish to children in the parish church and in the affiliated churches located 5–6 kilometers away, where he went on foot. Obviously, there were also normal duties in the parish such as weddings, funerals, church services, confraternity work, confession, etc. The effects of such exploitation were soon to be seen. At the end of 1904, at the age of 32, he had a heart condition and could not perform pastoral duties for several months, and after he recovered, at the doctor's request, he had to resign from teaching catechism in the affiliated churches.

This compulsory inactivity, however, was not fruitless. At that time, he thought over and planned far-reaching projects for subsequent years, with regard to both his pastoral, and social and construction activities. After his recovery, he gradually implemented them and put them into practice¹⁶.

Thanks to diligence and persistence, the priest managed to accomplish these goals. In the interwar period, Zakrzewo became the center of economic and cultural life. It was known to all Poles in Germany and those who had returned to Poland. Zakrzewo was called by everyone as “Little Warsaw”, a conventional capital of the Polish people living in Germany. The parish priest was a Pole, that is why the inhabitants of Zakrzewo finally felt safe. He wanted to raise the national awareness of his parishioners, and therefore, a love for their homeland and faith in regaining independence. He let them understand that they, jointly and individually, were responsible for their country and must make some effort as only thanks to their struggle, it would be possible to return home. He promoted the idea of organic work and work at grass roots which in consequence built in self-esteem of Poles and convinced them that their farms could operate just as well or even better than their German counterparts. They became really engaged in their work, worked with full commitment, and every little success motivated them even more. Soon the presbytery (the clergy house) in Zakrzewo became a meeting place for Poles who read the Polish literature, prayed in Polish, made plans for the future and discussed the current political situation. The German colonists also positively assessed the Polish priest who did not discriminate against them, spoke German well and was ready to assist when they needed him. Because of the prudent attitude of Rev. Bolesław Domański, relations between Poles and Germans in Zakrzewo were friendly. There were no quarrels and disputes, everyone respected their parish priest (many native Germans who were resettled to the Złotów land during germanization became Catholics). Inspired by his attitude, they learned to live in friendship and to help each other.

The Agricultural Circle was the first organization founded in 1908 on the initiative of Rev. Domański in Zakrzewo. Rev. J. Rogalski became its president and when he left, he was succeeded by Rev. Domański, who held this office until his death. As early as in 1910, 124 residents of Zakrzewo belonged to this circle. The

¹⁶ I. Szostek, *Patron Polaków...*, p. 3–4.

main purpose of its activity was to raise their agricultural knowledge by reading newspapers ("Kłosy") specially published for them. Zakrzewo with 40 subscribers to this magazine became the largest subscription point in the entire county¹⁷. In addition to popularizing modern agricultural knowledge and improving the quality of crops, this organization had also an additional task: thanks to meetings, discussions and exchange of experiences, it was possible to improve the Polish language and get familiar with the Polish tradition. During the meetings, participants also exchanged their political views and discussed the current political situation in the region of Złotów. Rev. Domański encouraged farmers to become independent from the partitioning powers by all means. When the Prussian authorities learned about this organization, they demanded a list of members. However, this demand was rejected. Rev. Bolesław Domański was fined 10 German marks for this disobedience with the possibility to exchange this penalty for a two-day detention. "Kłosy" was recognized as a political magazine. Despite persecution by the partitioning powers, the Agricultural Circle was also established in other villages of the Złotów county. In 1914, these organizations consisted of 643 people, 127 of whom subscribed to "Kłosy"¹⁸.

During his stay in Zakrzewo, Rev. Domański continued his cooperation with the People's Bank in Złotów, and until 1905 he was president of the management board. When repressions from the partitioning powers intensified, in order to prevent Polish farmers from losing their land, in 1909 the Parcel Bank was established in Złotów, i.e. a limited liability cooperative created on the model already operating in the Wielkopolska region, which became an important center of economic activity and independence. Farmers, merchants and entrepreneurs who exchanged their experiences and opinions, met there. The residents of Zakrzewo were mastering the Polish language and increasing their knowledge of economic and financial issues. The bank provided services related to purchasing land from Germans. By 1915, they managed to buy approximately 3,880 ha, which was a great success of its activists and members¹⁹. The purchased land was leased or sold to Polish farmers. The bank granted as well loans for purchasing land. It was a basis for founding the People's Bank in Zakrzewo, managed by the sister of Rev. Domański, Melania Domańska, who held this position until 1939. Later she was expelled from Zakrzewo to the other side of the Odra River and returned to Poland in 1946. Her last days were spent in Zakrzewo (she died in 1959) in the Polish Home, founded also on the initiative of Rev. Domański.

The outbreak of World War I raised hopes for the rebirth of the Polish state. When Zakrzewo learnt about it, Rev. Domański delivered a sermon, which was an anti-German manifesto. At the end, the faithful sang *Mazurek Dąbrowskiego (Poland Is Not Yet Lost)*, [the national anthem of Poland], the lyrics of which

¹⁷ B. Popielas-Szultka, Z. Szultka, *Dzieje Zakrzewa [The history of Zakrzewo]*, Koszalin 1974, p. 27.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 28.

¹⁹ J. Kocik, *60 lat Banku Ludowego...*, p. 17.

were known to all residents of the village²⁰. The priest was arrested and tried. Wacław Frankowski, a resident of adjacent Krajenka, was the defence counsel of the parish priest. After a few days, Rev. Domański returned to Zakrzewo, and was greeted as a hero²¹. He did not lose hope that he would live in the liberated Poland. During the war, he contacted the headquarters of the independence movement in Poznań and passed on the obtained information to his parishioners and co-workers. He also comforted the women who had lost their husbands and sons during the war, and persuaded them that their sacrifice and death were not in vain. He celebrated masses for the souls of those who had died in the war, and repeatedly stated that they had made a sacrifice in the pursuit of independence. The victory of the allied forces in November 1918 in the Złotów land was broadly welcomed with joy, which did not last long. On June 27, 1919, "Flatower Zeitung" published an article which informed that the region of Złotów remained within the German borders. The correctness of this information was soon confirmed by the peace treaties²².

Rev. Dr. Bolesław Domański believed that solidarity of all Poles in Germany was necessary so that they could successfully return to Złotów (Poland). He knew that it would not be easy to coordinate the actions led by the Polish population from Masuria, Varmia, Powiśle, Kashubia, the Złotów and Lubusz land, Upper and Lower Silesia, Berlin, Westphalia and Rhineland. In all Polish territories incorporated into the Reich there were various Polish organizations, the founders and leaders of which Rev. Domański maintained contacts with. The National Committee in Berlin was the most active. However, in order to increase effectiveness of this organization, it was crucial to join forces with other and smaller units operating all over the area attached to Germany, and thus, create a common organization associating all Poles. During the debates conducted by the National Committee in Berlin, which Polish activists in Germany were invited to, the idea of creating a union of Poles in Germany was born²³. One of its initiators and creators was Rev. Dr. Bolesław Domański. On July 26, 1922, there was a meeting of the National Committee, during which a decision was made to organize a founding convention which took place on August 27, 1922. It was agreed that the union would not be an organization, but would rely on the principles of individual membership. Any person who attained the age of eighteen years old could become a member and pay a membership fee. The statute was prepared on the basis of the previous statutory provisions of the National Committee²⁴. The main purpose of the Union of Poles in Germany was *to gain the rights of the national minority for*

²⁰ B. Popielas-Szultka, Z. Szultka, *Dzieje Zakrzewa...*, p. 30.

²¹ See: E. Osmańczyk, *Niezlomny proboszcz...*, p. 51.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 59.

²³ W. Wrzesiński, *Polski Ruch Narodowy w Niemczech 1922–1939 [The Polish National Movement in Germany 1922–1939]*, Poznań, Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1970, p. 62.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

*the Polish population in Germany and to protect their interests in all aspects*²⁵. The Union was registered on December 3, 1922²⁶. During the first congress of the Union of Poles in Germany, the central authorities of this organization were elected. Stanisław Sierakowski from Waplewo became its president. However, the Union continued to develop its organizational network and methods of operation until 1926. The scope of its activities was to include four districts: 1) Upper Silesia (the headquarter in Opole); 2) Berlin, Saxony, Brandenburg, Hamburg, Lower Silesia, Western Pomerania, the border region – including the Złotów land (the headquarter in Berlin); 3) Westphalia, Rhineland, Baden, Palatinate (the headquarter in Bochum); 4) Varmia, Masuria, Powiśle (the headquarter in Olsztyn)²⁷. Rev. Dr. Bolesław Domański did not consider this division as precise and accurate. He believed that Berlin was too far from the Złotów land, so that the situation and problems of the Poles living there would be important for the local activists. He undertook efforts to set up another district with its headquarter in Złotów, which were completed successfully. The Chief Council of the Union of Poles in Germany created the fifth District for the border region of Poznań and Pomerania with its headquarter in Złotów in October 1923. The administrative districts of Wrocław and Legnica were attached to the second District²⁸. Rev. Dr. Bolesław Domański became president of the fifth district and Jan Maćkiewicz was its secretary. It was a great achievement of the priest from Zakrzewo. They started to create local branches of the union in all villages, with the largest association in Zakrzewo with 288 members in 1925²⁹. Since then, Rev. Domański became one of the most popular activists of this association. He was invited to important celebrations to all districts. He enabled the inhabitants of the Złotów land to learn and participate in the cultural life of Poles in Germany. The parish priest was appointed vice-president of this organization which was a special reward for the contribution he had made to the Union of Poles in Germany. In 1931 he became its president held this post until his death in 1939³⁰.

The crowning achievement of the long-term activity of Rev. Domański in the Union of Poles in Germany was the congress of the Union of Poles in Germany held on March 6, 1938, which took place in Berlin at the Theater des Volges. It was a great festival for all Poles living in exile. The congress was preceded with Sejmik gatherings of each district during which people were encouraged to participate in the congress. The slogans that guided Sejmik gatherings were recognized as five truths of Poles:

Truth No. 1: We are Poles!

²⁵ Ibid., p. 67.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 68.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 72.

²⁸ W. Wrzesiński, *Polski Ruch Narodowy...*, p. 76.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 76.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 80.

Truth No. 2: The faith of our fathers if the faith of our children!

Truth No. 3: Poles are brothers to each other!

Truth No. 4: Poles serve their nation every day!

*Truth No. 5: Poland is our mother and one cannot speak evil about it!*³¹

According to the memories of the participants³², the Congress was organized with great solemnity, with Rev. Maksymilian Kolbe as the guest of honor. The Rodło's emblem was placed in the central place of the room, scouts were distributing souvenir postcards with congress stamps and flags in the corridor. Rev. Dr. Bolesław Domański started the session by chanting *Pieśń Rodła (the Rodło hymn)*:

*For centuries we have had the habit of sacrificing everything,
For centuries we have had the habit of starting the struggle once again every day,*

*For some lawfulness, Polish "I believe in God",
For the Polish soul, each Polish word,
We go with strength which stems from validity,
This battle is our fortitude, and perservance is our strength,
And we swear on our fathers' bones,
That we will not stop fighting for the cause,
We are Poles!*

*And no power will change it,
God is with us, the cause is with us,
God will ignite our hearts with the faith,
We have the Royal Rodło!!
We are Poles!*³³

During the congress, Rev. Dr. Bolesław Domański delivered one of the most important speeches in his life: [...] *Maybe there were many people who had doubts, if such a congress would ever succeed. Could it succeed? Will any Pole be willing to offer their comfort, time, and above all their money for such a purpose? As we are so poor! Everyday work is our daily bread, heavy and often seasoned with bitterness. Such a congress is something for great men and ladies [...]. And today, with joy in our hearts and eyes, and in our souls we see with our own eyes not hundreds, but thousands of our compatriots gathered in this room, such a spacious room. We see you when happiness can be read from thousands of your*

³¹ See: J. Kęcińska, *Ksiądz Patron Bolesław Domański (1872–1939) a tradycje Związku Polaków w Niemczech na Krajnie* [Rev. Bolesław Domański (1872–1939), a patron, and the traditions of the Union of Poles in Germany in Krajno], Gdańsk 2004, p. 57.

³² See: e.g. H. Jaroszyk, *Ze wspomnień działacza kulturalno-oświatowego na Pograniczu i Kaszubach (Dzielnica V ZPwN)* [From the memories of a cultural and educational activist in the border region and Kaszuby (The 5th District of the Union of Poles in Germany)], „Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy” 1979, No. 3, p. 430–439.

³³ Cited after: E. Osmańczyk, *Niezlomny proboszcz...*, p. 237.

eyes! When thousands of your hearts beat joyfully showing your love and attachment to Polishness! When we look at each other face to face!

Today, each prejudiced person is forced to admit that despite all of those dark prophecies, this congress was successful. Even though we are poor, we do not have large estates and palaces, cars, chauffeurs, valets, and influential men, we undertook this effort and organized a great and wonderful congress, and gathered thousands of Poles in this building.

Despite the fact that we did not promise you any great shows, comforts, lavish and extravagant feasts, although famous men, great lords, maybe bishops, maybe cardinals will not attend our congress, you have come from distant places at your own expense [...]. You have arrived here from everywhere to jointly document that you are Polish, aware of your rights, duties and goals. [...]

We are revitalized by the spirit of Polishness. It is the spirit to whom we owe this effort made today. We have one great, powerful, enormous love in our hearts. And we have to thank this love for this today's congress. Our fraternal love joined with unity.

We are not and we do not want to be a state within a state. But we fulfill our duties as citizens of the German state conscientiously, and we want to and we will fulfill them in such a way. Because our Catholic and Polish conscience tells us to do so [...].

But they say: What is the greatest achievement of your Union? So many ineffective and unsuccessful interventions, so much effort, so much work, so much strength, so many meetings, so many offices, so many trustees, so many tours, so many officials, so much paper, so many magazines, newspapers, prints, books, so many trips, trips, and pilgrimages! And almost no effects! What a wrong sentence! This battle for our holy rights is not one huge battle! It is a battle consisting of thousands of skirmishes, defeats, and victories.

Even though we are moving very slowly, we are moving ahead! [...]

This Polishness is our teacher. It taught me to speak, pray, sing, write, read in your presumably most beautiful language in the world. [...]

This Polishness is the bride of our soul [...] the joy of my heart, comfort and solace.

and our Polishness is our guardian angel. Under its wings I am safe, and I feel safe. The Polishness protects me from being abandoned, losing my nationality, my faith, from meanness and disgrace, from validity, venality, from trading my nationality. [...]

and our Polishness is infinite gunmetal, it is a powerful fortress, a fortress of Polish hearts.

and our Polishness is above all my mother, a tender, wise and caring mother. [...]

Polishness is a gift from heaven from God given to me. And what if I wanted to despise such a precious gift? Why? For what? And if anyone wanted to bribe you, offer something else for your gold of Polishness? Take a look, is it something

better? And even if it was even a hundred times better! It is not yours! It is not part of your being, your Polish soul! [...]

Polishness is your own mother! If you lose it, you will lose your mother! Nobody and nothing will replace her, and nobody and nothing can replace her! [...]

Polishness is my hope that our cause will win, that this morning star will shine, the sun for exercising our rights in Germany freely! [...]

Polishness is our love. Born out of love, and leading towards love. [...]

So this Polishness is the essence, the life of your soul. When you lose or abandon Polishness, you lose, give up the essence of your soul, and by giving something away from your Polishness, you halve your soul. [...]

Oh Polishness, my teacher, guardian, bride, fortress, faith, hope, love, my dear mother, my dearest treasure, could I disown you?

Could I abandon you? Could I sell you for money, honours, profits? [...]

United in Christ we are sure about our victory under the sign of the Cross! We are protected by the most powerful Mother of God – Mother of Joy – the Patroness of us, Poles in Germany. [...]

Meanwhile, on this fertile soil of Polishness, among the old stand of old Poles, a young forest of our Polish youth is developing. Cutters sent by God come and cut down already decayed or decaying trees so that the younger forest can grow better in their place. These young trees of our Polish young men and girls and children. And in place of one old tree, a few young trees grow on the soil of our Polishness, develop and, if God allows, will give abundant fruits to God and the Polish nation. Our dearest youth, you are our future and our hope. [...]

Our future is in the hands of Almighty God! He gave us our rights! We demand their enforcement on his behalf! [...]

Next to the cross, we are guided by our Royal Rodło, our Polishness and we promise it our loyalty. Let us promise that we will be faithful members of our Union of Poles in Germany, the father of all of us! [...]

And thus, let us all publicly appeal from the bottom of our hearts: “We promise that we will never give away our Polishness”. So help us God, so help us the Mother of joy³⁴.

Rev. Domański was the parish priest in Zakrzewo until 1939. He did not leave the parish and his parishioners in 1919, when under the Treaty of Versailles, the Złotów land was not included in Poland. At that time the majority of well-educated people left these areas. As a result of the intensifying emigration to Poland, he uttered this famous sentence: *National treason is committed by these people who leave the land inherited by their fathers and hand it over to Germans*³⁵.

³⁴ Rev. Dr. B. Domański, *Polskość istota duszy Polaka. Przemówienie programowe Prezesa Związku Polaków w Niemczech na Kongresie Polaków w Niemczech 6 marca 1938 roku w Berlinie* [Polishness as the essence of the Polish soul. A keynote speech by President of the Union of Poles in Germany at the Congress of Poles in Germany on March 6, 1938 in Berlin], „Polak w Niemczech” 1938, No. 4.

³⁵ See: J. Borzyszkowski, *Lud polski...*, p. 33.

He repeatedly stated in this difficult time that: *God did not leave us on this earth without any reason*³⁶. And reminded: *I stayed here to pray with you and defend this land until it is connected to Poland*³⁷.

In his last letter to the governing bodies of the Union of Poles in Germany, Rev. Domański wrote: *Our life is the Way of the Cross overspread with failures, skirmishes, disappointment and hurdles. Let's be brave and carry those crosses fearlessly going further*³⁸.

In 1933, B. Domański took up the post of the Curator of the Union of Polish School Societies in Germany³⁹, and the presbytery (the clergy house) in Zakrzewo became a meeting place for Poles, where Polish books and newspapers were read, and the greatest works of Polish literature were discussed. Here, the parishioners felt safe. The priest organized for them and other Poles from Germany the first pilgrimage to Rome on November 11–23, 1933. Pope Pius XI welcomed them in an audience⁴⁰.

One of the most important achievements of Rev. Domanski was the Polish House (Dom Polski) in Zakrzewo. The priest obtained the funds for its construction, and supervised it. The house consisted of two buildings. The first one included a bank and classrooms, and the second – a large concert hall and a smaller room, where meetings of Polish organizations and associations were held. Between the buildings there was a yard where children spent their spare time between lessons. Janina Kłopocka, an author of the symbol of the Union of Poles in Germany – the Rodło emblem, which presented the Vistula river with Cracow marked as the cradle of the Polish identity and the image of Our Lady of Joy, at the request of Rev. Domański decorated the walls of the concert hall with 16 folk and sacral paintings entitled jointly: *Polski Rok Obrzędowy (the Polish Calendar of Traditional Customs and Rituals)*. The topics of particular paintings were as follows: *Matka Boska Radosna (Our Lady of Joy)*, *Procesja Bożego Ciała (Corpus Christi procession)*, *Święcenie ziół (Blessing of herbs)*, *Siewy (Sowing)*, *Zaduszki (All Souls' Day)*, *Wigilijna wieczerza (Christmas Eve)*, *Szopka (Nativity Scene)*, *Chłopcy z gwiazdą (Boys with a star)*, *Przebierańcy z kozą (People in costumes with a goat)*, *Dożynki (Dozhinki)*, *Pszczeli ul (Beehive)*, *Święcenie krów (Blessing of cows)*, *Puszczanie wianków (Floating*

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Cited after: A. Jasiek, *Ks. dr Bolesław Domański, proboszcz w Zakrzewie od 15.IX.1903 do 21.IV.1939 r. [Rev. Dr. Bolesław Domański, a parish priest in Zakrzewo from 15.09.1903 to 21.04.1939]*, The memorial room of the Polish House in Zakrzewo.

³⁹ The Association of Polish School Societies in Germany was established on August 27, 1922 in Berlin. It was a Polish organization engaged in educational and national activities. In theory it was meant to supervise the activities conducted by Polish school organizations and coordinate the development of Polish public and private education. Its operation was banned by the Nazi authorities in 1939. See: B. Koziello-Poklewski, *Szkolnictwo polskie na Warmii, Mazurach i Powiślu w latach 1919–1939 [The Polish education in Varmia, Masuria and Powiśle between 1919–1939]*, Olsztyn, Pojezierze, 1980.

⁴⁰ See: I. Szostek, *Patron Polaków...*, p. 14.

wreaths), *Dziewczęta z gaikiem (Girls and Gaik)*, *Baranek wielkanocny (Easter lamb)*, *Procesja w dzień Matki Boskiej gromnicznej (Procession on Candlemas)*. Janina Kłopocka finished her work in 1937. The room was called Sala Rodła (the Rodło's Hall). The frescoes survived World War II and now they can be admired in the concert hall of the Polish House in Zakrzewo.

The opening ceremony of the Polish House was held on June 30, 1935 in the presence of activists of the Polish movement from Berlin: Jan Kaczmarek, Ph.D., Stefan Szczepaniak, Michał Wesołowski and the representatives of all districts of the Union of Poles in Germany⁴¹. Approximately two thousand Poles attended the ceremony, during which Rev. Domański delivered the following speech: *I have been waiting for 30 years for this moment to celebrate this opening ceremony today. I can greet you today in our own house. This house is not meant to be a house of hatred, but a place of harmony and unity. We did not build it to spite someone, but only because it was our dream for many years. Today, this 30-year-old dream has come true and become a reality. They keep asking me who built this house. I have only one answer: "The Polish people have built it!" Without you, the Polish people, this house would be a lifeless formation. You are the life of this house. This house belongs to our people and I give it to them for safekeeping. Let your children find protection and entertainment here. When I started my attempts to build this house, I was told that it was not worth the trouble. In this foreign sea, everything will die. 14 years have passed since then and we are still here, and we have not died*⁴².

The words uttered on the day of the opening ceremony of the Polish Home, which served Polish people not only in Zakrzewo, but in the entire Złotów county, proved to be true. There were meetings i.a. with Kazimiera Iłakowiczówna, Jerzy Zawiejski, Józef Kisielewski, Edmund Osmańczyk, and Maria Zientara. Theatre performances were arranged in the concert hall, e.g. the play of Stanisław Ligonia entitled *Wesele na Górnym Śląsku (Wedding in the Upper Silesia)* was staged. Zakrzewo at that time became one of the most important centers of Polish life in the border region and Kashubia⁴³.

Aware of the fact that the future is won by the one who is supported by young people, the parish priest from Zakrzewo devoted a lot of attention to their upbringing, the more so as they were at risk because of the ongoing process of germanization. Polish youth organizations were supposed to raise patriotic feelings in young people and the desire to fight for freedom of their homeland. At the beginning of the 1920's, the Youth Society concentrating on educational,

⁴¹ L. Horst, *Polskie szkolnictwo prywatne na Ziemi Złotowskiej w okresie dwudziestolecia międzywojennego ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem szkoły w Zakrzewie [Polish private education in the Złotów land in the interwar period, with special reference to the school in Zakrzewo]*, „Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy” 1979, No. 3(83), p. 364–365.

⁴² W. Schmidt, *An der Kurmark Grenze*, Berlin 1935, p. 60. See also: J. Borzyszkowski, *Lud polski...*, p. 39.

⁴³ Compare: L. Horst, *Polskie szkolnictwo...*, p. 364.

sports and cultural activities was founded. There was also a Catholic Youth Association, which already from the first year of its activity, started organizing "Youth Festivals" in Zakrzewo⁴⁴. During the meeting of the management board of the fifth District of the Union of Poles in Germany in September 1927, the Polish-Catholic Association of Youth Societies was established, with Rev. Domanski as its founder and president. In 1931 this organization was composed of 2,000 members⁴⁵.

Physical fitness of young parishioners was very important for Rev. Domanski as well. In 1926, he set up a sports club in Zakrzewo, and later in Głomsko, Stara Wiśniewka and Święta. Eventually, 14 sports clubs were created in the border region, and 11 of them in the Złotów county. Yards or meadows made available by Polish farmers served as fields for volleyball and football matches. Rev. Domański provided for free land where a football pitch was created, and finally, matches and competitions could be organized. Its construction took two years, and all residents from the village participated in it⁴⁶. The parish priest from Zakrzewo encouraged as well his parishioners to sing, learn and popularize Polish songs. In 1922 he founded a male choir, which in 1930 merged with the female choir which had operated in Zakrzewo since the beginning of the twentieth century. After the merger, the choir was composed of ninety people and represented a high artistic level. On June 29, 1931, Rev. Domański organized a Song Festival in Zakrzewo during which 16 choirs from adjacent towns took part⁴⁷. The priest also contributed to establishing an orphanage in Zakrzewo, run by the Nuns of St. Elisabeth who in 1930 were taking care of thirty children⁴⁸. He was engaged in creating scouting which was established in Zakrzewo in 1935 in collaboration with Marta Przybył and Józef Horst⁴⁹, in promoting readership, setting up libraries and educational organizations, including the Polish school in Zakrzewo with 134 students⁵⁰. For older teenagers, he established a training school. He should be given

⁴⁴ See: B. Popielas-Szutka, Z. Szutka, *Dzieje Zakrzewa...*, p. 44.

⁴⁵ See: Z. Dworecki, *Działalność narodowa ludności polskiej w Rejencji Pilskiej 1920–1932 [National activity of the Polish population in Pilsko Regierungsbezirk 1920–1932]*, Poznań, Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1969, p. 155.

⁴⁶ M. Kuczyńska, *Moje wspomnienia [My memories]*. Typescript, p. 4. The memorial room of the Polish House in Zakrzewo.

⁴⁷ J. Jaster, *Chór „Tęcza” w Zakrzewie, ognisko kultury polskiej [„Tęcza” (Rainbow) Choir in Zakrzewo, the centre of Polish culture]*, Bydgoszcz, Regionalna Pracownia Krajoznawcza in Bydgoszcz, 1987, p. 4.

⁴⁸ See: W. Wrzesiński, *Powiat złotowski w latach 1920–1939 [The Złotów county between 1920–1939]*, in: *Ziemia Złotowska [The Złotów land]*, a collective work, Gdańsk, Wydawnictwo Morskie, 1969, p. 169.

⁴⁹ M. Massel, *Działalność społeczna i oświatowa księdza doktora Bolesława Domańskiego [The social and educational activity of Rev. Dr. Bolesław Domański]*, Warszawa 2006, p. 80; M. Manikowska, *Działalność księdza doktora Bolesława Domańskiego jako wychowawcy [The activity of Rev. Dr. Bolesław Domański as an educator]*. Typescript, p. 6. The memorial room of the Polish House in Zakrzewo; *Józef Horst (1914–1943)*, in: *Sylwetki nauczycieli spod znaku „Rodła” (z obszaru Dzielnic V Związku Polaków w Niemczech) [The profiles of teachers with the Rodło emblem (from the 5th District of the Union of Poles in Germany)]*, edited by: J. Oleksiński, „Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy” 1979, No. 3, p. 386–388.

⁵⁰ M. Kuczyńska, *Moje wspomnienia...*, p. 25; H. Zieliński, *Polacy i polskość Ziemi Złotowskiej w latach*

credit as well for struggling to provide Polish people in Germany with access to secondary and higher education. He contributed to the creation of three university campuses in Wrocław, Berlin and Królewiec.

Rev. Dr. Bolesław Domański put much faith in the strength of his nation, trusted people and respected their dignity. He repeatedly highlighted it: *The soul of the Polish nation is ready for great deeds. Well, would hundreds of schools, the bravest headmasters and professors of our gymnasiums have helped, if our people had been really idle, insensitive, and with folded arms, had wrung their hands and stayed in Germany? The Polish nation, with these modest means that were left, despite the fact that they did not have any financial benefits, had to sacrifice a lot, raised up with the feeling of their hidden strength*⁵¹. He lifted the spirits and raised hope: *They can fight with you, but they will not eradicate you! They can try to defeat you, but they will not be able to do so! God above us and God with us*⁵².

Rev. Domański prepared the inhabitants of the Złotów land well for a great test, i.e. the outbreak of World War II, and for the joy of returning to their homeland. Unfortunately, he did not live to experience the latter. He died on April 21, 1939, at the clinic of St. Joseph in Berlin. The funeral took place on April 26, 1939, in Zakrzewo, where he was buried on the church square. The funeral ceremony began in Berlin in the St. Hedwig's Cathedral, and later the funeral procession of almost seven kilometers⁵³ went to Zakrzewo. The Poles living in Germany were waiting on the route, saying goodbye to this tireless advocate of the Polish identity and their spiritual guide. Rev. Bolesław Domański was accompanied in his last journey with 242 banners. One of them, with the Rodło's emblem, rested on his coffin. The holy mass was celebrated by the bishop of Chełmno, Constantine Dominik, a school-friend of the deceased. After the funeral, a two-week mourning was announced. In accordance with the Ordinance April 25, 1939⁵⁴, Rev. Dr. Bolesław Domański was posthumously awarded the Golden Academic Laurel *for spreading the passion for Polish literature, and promoting*

1918–1939 [*Poles and Polishness in the Złotów land between 1918–1939*], Poznań, Instytut Zachodni, 1949; J. Rożeński, W. Brzeziński, *Szkoła polska na Ziemi Złotowskiej w latach 1929–1959* [*The Polish school in the Złotów land between 1929–1959*], in: *Szkolnictwo polskie na Ziemi Złotowskiej w okresie międzywojennym* [*The Polish education in the Złotów land in the interwar period*], Koszalin, Zarząd Obwodu TRZZ Złotów, 1959, p. 20; id., *O niektórych aspektach szkolnictwa polskiego spod znaku Rodła w Złotowskiem* [*About some aspects of the Polish education with the Rodło emblem in the region of Złotów*], „Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy” 1979, No. 3, p. 311–333; L. Horst, *Polskie szkolnictwo prywatne na Ziemi Złotowskiej...*, p. 352–376; H. Szczepański, *Szkolnictwo polskie na Ziemi Złotowskiej do roku 1939* [*The Polish education in the Złotów land until 1939*], Bydgoszcz, Regionalna Pracownia Krajoznawcza, 1987, p. 10.

⁵¹ Cited after: E. Osmańczyk, *Niezłomny proboszcz...*, p. 216.

⁵² Rev. Dr. Bolesław Domański. The patron of the former Union of Poles in Germany, *Wspomnienia* [*Memories*]. Typescript, Izba Pamięci Domu Polskiego in Zakrzewo (the Memorial Room of the Polish House in Zakrzewo).

⁵³ See: J. Borzyszkowski, *Lud polski...*; Z. Stronski, *Wybitni Polacy przewodzili ludowi polskiemu w Niemczech. Pamięci ks. Bolesława Domańskiego* [*Prominent Poles led the Polish people in Germany. To the memory of Rev. Bolesław Domański*], „W Rodzinie”, June 5, 2003.

⁵⁴ Ordinance No. BP – 9693/39.

*readership among the Poles in Germany*⁵⁵. The words uttered by Rev. Domański on his deathbed: *The Polish people will not surrender* became a testament for his descendants.

Rev. Domański is a patron of many streets today, i.a. in Zakrzewo, Złotów and in many other places. His name was also given to the elementary school in Zakrzewo. In 1989 in Wielu in Kaszuby, Marian Okazka, the bishop, blessed a plaque commemorating Rev. Bolesław Domański, which was funded by the Kashubian and Pomeranian Association and the parish in Wiele. The tireless priest from Zakrzewo is also alive and present in the awareness of current inhabitants, including the young generation, of the Złotów land⁵⁶.

To commemorate the 60th anniversary of the Union of Poles in Germany, on July 20, 1982, Poczta Polska (Polish Post) introduced a commemorative stamp with a nominal value of PLN 4.50, presenting the symbol of Rodło (white colour on a red background), introduced in 1932 by the Union of Poles in Germany, i.e. a symbol of connection of Nadodrze, Varmia, Masuria and Powiśle, with the cradle of the Polish nation and the Polish culture, and the image of two prominent presidents and activists – Stanisław Sierakowski and Rev. Bolesław Domański.

Since 1983, Rev. Dr. Bolesław Domański has been a patron of the award, the aim of which is to emphasize the role and importance of social work that accentuates the Christian attitude as an appropriate addition to the patriotic attitude.

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⁵⁵ Monitor Polski 1939, No. 96, item 219.

⁵⁶ Małgorzata Massel from Zakrzewo, a former student at the Warsaw University of Life Sciences SGGW, the Faculty of Economics and Agriculture in Warsaw wrote: *It is enough just to enter Zakrzewo and go along the way which still remembers those days, and observe a series of neat and tidy houses with gardens full of colorful flowers, it is enough to look at the Polish House operating successfully to date [2006 – T. Z.], a well-kept church with its field altar renewed by the present parish priest and the refurbished prebystery. It is enough to visit the headquarters of Bank Spółdzielczy (the Cooperative Bank) and the Municipal Cooperative “Samopomoc Chłopska”, which thanks to frugality of its employees, survived the difficult times of change, and has been operating to date. Just look at those clean streets, a number of small family businesses and companies that allow people to work and earn money. This is the lesson we learnt from i.a. Rev. Dr. Bolesław Domański, Marta Przybył, Józef Horst, Stanisław Sierakowski and many others. The tradition has survived and thanks to it, with its appearance and lifestyle, Zakrzewo at present differs so much from the majority of Polish villages. See: M. Massel, *Działalność społeczno-oświatowa...*, p. 44–45.*

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Rev. Dr. Bolesław Domański (1872–1939) – a priest with the Rodło emblem
Summary

The article discusses the activities of Rev. Dr. Bolesław Domański, a priest of St. Mary Magdalene Catholic parish in Zakrzewo between 1903–1939. It presents his achievements in the struggle to preserve the Polish identity on Polish territories incorporated into Germany after the end of World War I. It also discusses social and educational activities of the priest and the influence of his steadfast attitude on the increase of national awareness of Poles, who bravely fought to preserve the Polish identity in the region of Złotów and bring the region back to homeland.

Keywords: Rev. Dr. Bolesław Domański, the Union of Poles in Germany, Rodło emblem, the Złotów land.

REVIEWS

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MIECZYŚLAW RYBA: *KATOLICKI UNIWERSYTET LUBELSKI. KORZENIE, POCZĄTKI, ŹRÓDŁA TOŻSAMOŚCI* [THE JOHN PAUL II CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF LUBLIN. ITS ROOTS, BEGINNINGS, AND THE SOURCES OF IDENTITY], WARSZAWA–RADZYMIN 2018, p. 176

A lot of interesting publications are published with regard to the 100th anniversary of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin. One of them is the book written by Mieczysław Ryba, a professor at this university, entitled: *Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski. Korzenie, początki, źródła tożsamości. (The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin. Roots, beginnings, sources of identity.)*. The subtitle speaks for itself.

The first chapter discusses the specificity and the risk coming from the era when the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin was established, and the second one has a meaningful title: *Na ratunek katolickiej kulturze (Rescuing the Catholic culture)*. The third chapter presents the role and influence of the academy (Pol. Wszechnica) in Lublin, whereas the fourth and last one raises an important question: *Polska katolicka czy laicka? (Catholic or secular Poland?)*.

The work contains very interesting annexes, i.e. the encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII *Aeterni Patris* and John Paul II *Fides et ratio*, the reflections of Rev. Idzi Radziszewski entitled *Uniwersytet katolicki w Polsce (the Catholic University in Poland)* as well as the comments of two cardinals: Desir Mercier and Stefan Wyszyński. All annexes included therein still hold true. *Słowo wstępne (The preface)* written by Przemysław Czarnek, Lublin Voivodship Governor and a professor at the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, also includes interesting content.

This book is very important and useful, as it shows how, after a long period of national captivity and seizure, the reborn Poland had to start from scratch in 1918. World War I led to great material, moral and civilization devastation in the country. The destruction affected various Polish social structures, including church and educational environments. The losses suffered in this area regarded mainly the process of depolonization promoted by the partitioning powers, and

the subsequent indifference and disengagement regarding religion and secularism, which undercut the philosophical roots and spiritual values. Thus, the future of Poland depended mostly on broadly defined public education, e.g. a new type of work at the grassroots (p. 55–71).

The country which broke away from the bonds of captivity, with an enormous effort healing the material and moral losses inflicted directly by World War I, had to heal at the same time the wounds suffered for almost 150 years of partitions. For this purpose, it created not only relevant administrative institutions, but also employed proper staff.

Building national awareness after 1918 in Polish society which was independent but ethnically not homogeneous coincided with the time which can be called the dusk of positivism. Positivist thinking existed in the awareness of well-educated Polish people immediately after the fall of the Romantic outbreak which – with no doubt – was the January Uprising.

At the turn of the 19th century to the 20th century, the Polish well-educated people, intelligentsia, were under an overwhelming influence of evolutionary scientism proclaimed in the Western Europe by Herbert Spencer, Ernst Haeckel, Ernest Renan and other philosophers, biologists and representatives of social sciences. This movement was represented by the vast majority of writers and scholars, primarily by Aleksander Świętochowski. Deprecation of armed struggles for freedom emerged from the ideology of positivism. The program regarding the work at the grass roots was highlighted instead. With its agnosticism, and often anti-clericalism, positivism accompanied the beginnings of socialism and national democracy in Poland. It is worth noting that many well-known politicians were educated under the influence of such movements, and one can easily say even that the majority of the well-educated people, at best indifferent, were permeated with them.

Aware of the dangers of positivism, Rev. Idzi Radziszewski decided to study natural sciences and philosophy of nature. In the struggle with positivism, Cardinal Désiré Joseph Mercier established the Leuven movement. Rev. Radziszewski and Rev. Jacek Woroniecki were under the influence of Leuven. Both of them provided grounds for the ideological foundations of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin created in 1918, the purpose of which was to educate a number of Catholic intelligentsia in the reborn Poland (compare chapter No. 2, p. 37–54).

The starting position for the economic development of the reborn Second Polish Republic was not less difficult than concern about the ideological background which corresponded to the traditions and beliefs of the majority of citizens. The effects of the war needed to be overcome in the economic and moral area.

The reviewed dissertation, including a well-chosen and interesting annex, confirms that university is a very prestigious word. It is the essence of democracy and one of the most important institutions of the entire rich culture of the Western world. It is confirmed, i.a. by the text of Prof. Henryk Kieres:

Uniwersytet: arcydzieło ludzkiej kultury (University: a masterpiece of human culture) (p. 11–14).

The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin is an extraordinary institution and the crown of the Church in Poland (compare p. 91–95). A hundred-year history of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin confirms how this university loves young people with rare generosity, understanding and sacrifice. It makes possible for young people to undertake challenges such as seeking the truth in a noble, intelligent and rational manner, as well as understanding such concepts as family and love.

Certainly this position will not leave its readers indifferent to the future of all universities, and not only of the University in Lublin celebrating its beautiful anniversary.

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**WITOLD CHMIELEWSKI: *ZWALCZANIE WYCHOWANIA
RELIGIJNEGO W SZKOŁACH W LATACH 1944–1950*
[COMBATING RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS
BETWEEN 1944–1950], KRAKÓW 2017, p. 283**

After the five-year Nazi occupation, the end of World War II meant for Poles not only freedom, but also the necessity to rebuild the destroyed country. The reconstruction had a material and mental dimension, taking account of the provisions established during the Teheran Conference which set up a zone of political influence between representatives of Western European countries and the authorities of the USSR. By initiating education, the authorities set a new course for upbringing, as they wanted to create a citizen holding scientific beliefs, who was faithful to socialist ideals.

The work created by Witold Chmielewski consists of five chapters, the annex, bibliography, introduction and the conclusion. The author presented a slow liquidation of religious education in Polish schools between 1944–1950. In subsequent chapters, he presented the actions undertaken by the authorities, focusing on any kind of manifestations of implementing the scientific belief by diminishing, and finally eliminating religious education, for which there was no place in the new political reality in Poland. At the same time, he presented the reaction of society and officials of the Catholic Church to the manifestations of displacing the faith from social life.

The Polish Committee of National Liberation (Pol. Polski Komitet Wyzwolenia Narodowego PKWN), representing new authorities on liberated territories, composed mostly of members of the Polish Worker's Party PPR, initially did not publicly disclose its intentions towards religion, however, as the author demonstrated, the idea of secularization of the Polish school was present in the plans of the ministry responsible for education and initially discreetly, but consistently was being implemented. Although the declarations of people in power presented during meetings on changes in the curriculum – in line with the new ideological direction – regarding religious education in schools emphasized *the integrity of the current state of teaching this subject in public schools*¹, they were, however, little cosmetic changes (just like establishing the John Paul

¹ W. Chmielewski, *Zwalczanie wychowania religijnego w szkołach w latach 1944–1950 [Combating religious education in schools between 1944–1950]*, Kraków 2017, p. 23–24.

II Catholic University of Lublin), the purpose of which was to hide real intentions. One of the first steps taken by the Polish Committee of National Liberation was to limit in schools the activities of non-school organizations related to the Catholic Church. Stanisław Skrzyszewski, who was responsible for the ministry, decided that introducing people related to the Polish Workers' Party to the educational institutions with an appropriate staff policy in the teaching environment at the same time, would bring the expected educational results. The smooth declarations of new authorities did not cloud the church leaders, as they expected further attempts to secularize the country in the near future, which was confirmed in the discussions of the participants of the Educational Congress in Łódź in 1945. Only the board of education in Lublin and opposition-minded teachers strongly opted for religion in schools.

W. Chmielewski rightly emphasized the role of three representatives of power – Stanisław Skrzyszewski, Żanna Kormanowa and Julia Brystygierowa – in destroying and eliminating religion from the Polish school. Their function in the ideological sphere, and the specific actions put these people among those who combated the most passionately any and all manifestations of religious education in People's Poland, attributing a bad and anti-democratic impact on youth to religion.

In the second chapter, the author presented the issue of religion in times of the transitional government, when the ministry responsible for education under the presidency of Czesław Wycech, identified by the members of the Polish Workers' Party as a member of the "London group", i.e. pursuing the predecessor's education policy without enthusiasm, even though with regard to the letter of Archbishop Adam Sapieha on prohibiting the Eucharistic Crusade and the Sodality of Our Lady in educational institutions, he upheld the negative position of his predecessors. Nevertheless, Żanna Kormanowa *found that the actions taken by Czesław Wycech as the minister of education are contrary to the communist ideology, and the clericalisation of schools which in her opinion is growing is scandalous*².

The next intervention of the authorities in matters regarding religious education concerned the revision of religion textbooks. The Polish Teachers' Union also joined the battle and was actively involved in the fight. During the Nationwide Conventions of Teachers of the Polish Socialist Party PPS, Teofil Wojeński demanded the liquidation of all catholic schools. The issue of adopting a resolution *W sprawie roli kleru (On the role of the clergy)* was a particular oddity. The clergy was accused in this document of a depravation role in the times of sanitation and the partitions of Poland³. The next step to limit religious education was to issue a circular letter, which completely banned activities of all organizations in schools, except for scouting and the Polish Red Cross. The number of hours of this subject in vocational schools was reduced as well.

² Ibid., p. 51.

³ Ibid., p. 57.

Further initiatives taken to limit religious education were discussed by the author in the third chapter. After the elections to the Sejm in 1947, Stanisław Skrzeszewski – an opponent of religious education and church practices of young people – took up a position of the Minister of Education again. The result of the cooperation between the ministry, the Secret Political Police (Urząd Bezpieczeństwa UB), and the Educational Department of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party was the fact that the officers of the Secret Political Police infiltrated Catholic organizations and promoted the completely secular Workers Association of the Friends of Children (Pol. Robotnicze Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Dzieci), while making agitators aware that *the primary goal is to educate the young generation in a secular and socialist spirit*⁴. At the same time, it was ordered to review the teaching staff and remove “uncertain elements”, and to pay attention to teacher training centers.

The church's response to the ongoing secularization process was the circular letter written by Juliusz Bieniek, Bishop of Katowice, in which he prohibited parish priests and catechists from cooperating with political organizations, and recommended taking care in raising qualifications of methodical catechists. For this purpose, permanent or holiday forms of professional training of catechists were organized in many dioceses. At the same time, an application was sent to the Committee of Theological Studies concerning introducing such subjects as catechetics, pedagogy and psychology to the curriculum of the theological seminaries. Aware of the fact that young people got their basic religious knowledge at home, catechetical courses for parents were organized in Silesia.

Under this policy, the next goal of the educational authorities was to limit the days off from practicing religious cult and to introduce secular visits to religion lessons, which was in contrast to the concordat concluded with the Holy See, the March Constitution and the circular letter issued by Kazimierz Bartel. As W. Chmielewski wrote: *1947 was a preparatory period for undertaking a decisive fight against religion in schools*⁵.

The next chapter is dedicated to methods the authorities applied while controlling the religious education of children. Under the guise of protecting the supreme principles of upbringing to be found in the draft regulation written by Ż. Kormanowa, regarding curricula and religion textbooks, it was suggested to reduce the number of hours of religion, to introduce supervision and approval of the Minister of Education as far as textbooks and their content are concerned, and to reduce the participation of students in church services only to Sundays and holidays. The content of prayers was to be agreed upon with the school authorities before and after classes. Catholic associations, boarding schools run by religious orders, and activities conducted by Caritas fell victim to repressions, as financial resources allocated to their activities were limited and thus, very modest.

⁴ Ibid., p. 76.

⁵ Ibid., p. 103.

Władysław Gomułka claimed that the Vatican City was an instrument of American imperialism, but on the other hand he believed that in the current political situation not religion, but the politicized representatives of clergy should be under fire⁶. The ministry responsible for education tried to formulate a reliable view in this matter through visits. Supervisory bodies in school were obliged to visit not only lessons, but also camps or day-camps, according to the predetermined guidelines. Priests and catechists, as well as Catholic periodicals came under special observation of the authorities.

The last chapter of the publication concerns the programmed limitation and elimination of religious education of children and young people. The author focused his attention on the protests of parents in connection with the educational policy of the authorities regarding the liquidation of religious education (prohibition of receiving holy communion collectively by the pupils three times a year). Some MPs in the Sejm also expressed their indignation about the absence of religion at schools for adults, general reduction of its hours, reduced subsidies for educational and care centers, and the general principles of religious education. The Catholic Church also took a firm stand to defend the upbringing of young people in a religious spirit. The progressing propaganda of the scientific view of the world, which excluded God from the mental sphere, resulted in the appeal of the Polish bishops, who stated that *the Church cannot agree to educate Catholic young people without God, by ignoring his teaching, and rejecting his commandments*⁷. By addressing young people through the pastoral letter, the bishops raised awareness that apart from acquiring knowledge, one should take care of spiritual development and react in a calm way to press publications promoting the so-called scientific beliefs. Despite the increasing intrusive propaganda of socialist morality, after October 1948 – especially in Lower Silesia – there were acts initiated by students which consisted in defending the crosses being removed from the walls in classes at the request of the authorities, and protests of their parents which were supported by Rev. Bolesław Kominek. They demanded restoring a proper number of hours of religion. The bishops indicated that in the existing reality, the responsibility to provide proper spiritual development of the young generation was borne by the family. Establishing the Polish United Worker's Party (Pol. Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotników PZPR) strengthened the combat against all forms of religious education. The Decree of the Council of Ministers on the freedom of conscience and religion contained statements which made surveillance of catechists possible. Stefan Wyszyński, Primate of Poland, when addressing the students who did not have religious classes, asked them not to *lose the treasure of the holy faith*⁸.

⁶ Ibid., p. 111.

⁷ Ibid., p. 164.

⁸ Ibid., p. 221.

It seems that the struggle of the authorities with the Catholic Church to educate young people in the spirit of their religion, despite the repressive measures, was lost as confirmed by a high percentage of young believers. The attitude of Polish society and attachment to the faith of the ancestors were stronger than the materialistic beliefs. Finally, it is worth mentioning that the book includes annexes, which contain both documents from the ministry responsible for education and those regarding religious officials, as well as a detailed list of prefects who were under surveillance. The position is cognitive with regard to its source and factual data.

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Z BADAŃ NAD TRADYCJĄ POLSKIEJ PEDAGOGIKI. TOM IV. WŁADZA – EDUKACJA – WIEDZA [FROM THE RESEARCH ON TRADITION OF THE POLISH PEDAGOGY. VOLUME NO. 4. POWER – EDUCATION – KNOWLEDGE], SCIENTIFIC ED. J. KRÓL, SZCZECIN 2016, p. 209

The publication entitled *Z badań nad tradycją polskiej pedagogiki. Tom IV. Władza – Edukacja – Wiedza (From the research on tradition of the Polish pedagogy)*, edited by Joanna Król, was published in 2017. It was created as part of the works of the Society of the History of Education in Szczecin and is a continuation of the series of publications.

Inspired by the idea expressed i.a. in *Porządek dyskursu (The order of discourse)* by Foucault¹, the authors of the articles undertook an extremely difficult task, which was to describe the category of power and knowledge in an educational context. It is difficult, as it undermines in some way the existing educational (dis)order. While analyzing the content of the articles included in the publication, it is possible to notice that concerns about introducing necessary changes in the thinking pattern about education are not typical only for contemporary times, but date back to more distant times. However, as Bogusław Śliwerski indicates, there is an urgent need today for change – in particular in the conformist mentality of our society. At the same time, it is a call and a task *to testify to the truth*².

The book is divided into three parts which are preceded by the introduction. All texts included therein are guided by one key issue expressed in the form of a task created by the authors which is to find *the essence and to define the boundaries of mutual relations between power, education and knowledge*³. The starting point for conducting analyzes and syntheses in this monograph assumes that there is an ongoing game between them⁴.

The first part of the reviewed item entitled *Pedagogika polska w dyskursie władzy/wiedzy (The Polish pedagogy in the discourse of power/knowledge)* includes an article by B. Śliwerski – which touches upon a very important issue

¹ M. Foucault, *Porządek dyskursu [The Order of Discourse]*, Gdańsk, Słowo/obraz terytoria, 2002, p. 32.

² B. Śliwerski, *Pedagogika po 28 latach transformacji [Pedagogy after 28 years of transformation]*, in: *Z badań nad tradycją polskiej pedagogiki. Tom IV. Władza – Edukacja – Wiedza [From the research on tradition of the Polish pedagogy. Volume No. 4. Power – Education – Knowledge]*, ed. J. Król, Szczecin, Volumina, 2016, p. 31.

³ J. Król, *Wstęp... [Introduction]*, in: *Z badań nad tradycją...*, p. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

expressed already in the form of its title: *Pedagogika po 28 latach transformacji (Pedagogy after 28 years of transformation)*. The author starts his considerations by drawing attention to a dangerous syndrome rooted in the Polish mentality called *homo sovieticus*. He also analyzes such issues as: manipulating (students) by teachers and the level of burnout related thereto, the crisis of civic education, as well as manipulating society by the authorities. It seems reasonable (taking account of the existing and urgent problems) to call the author to organize a new counterculture movement. The question included in the text about the direction in which the Polish education is heading⁵ indicates that it is in crisis that we are guilty about as *zawiedliśmy wszyscy krzątający się wokół własnych spraw (those who were bothered about their own matters have failed)*⁶.

The second part of the book – *Władza – edukacja – wiedza w perspektywie pedagogiczno-historycznej – (Power – Education – Knowledge in the pedagogical and historical perspective)* – opens the article entitled: *Samotranscendencja według Sergiusza Hessena (Self-transcendence according to Sergey Hessen)* by Wiesław Andrukowicz. The author reminds of the concept of comprehensive education created by S. Hessen. In addition, he analyzes the texts written by Hessen in terms of his attitude to power. And although Hessen did not speak explicitly about the category of power, he identified the authority of “unity” and “difference”, however, it should be pointed out that none of them should enjoy absolute domination. The key issues for the article include: dialogue and self-education – towards responsible freedom.

The article entitled *Spółeczeństwo a wychowanie w poglądach Lucjana Zarzeckiego (1873–1925) (Society and education in the views of Lucjan Zarzecki (1873-1925))* by Robert Jankowski refers to the issue of national education. The considerations concern, i.a. difficulties and tasks that were present in Poland after regaining independence. The idea of upbringing had to be reconsidered and, according to the author, this process of considering (but also acting) was to refer to entire society. In other words, it was necessary to figure out who should have power over the education of future generations and what it was intended to do.

The article written by Elżbieta Magiera is entitled *Programy nauczania szkół powszechnych w latach 30. XX wieku jako wyraz realizacji ideologii obozu rządzącego (The curricula of public schools in the 1930's as an expression of the ideology of the ruling camp)*. The topics thereof are focused on Marshal Józef Piłsudski and, more specifically, on the ruling camp related to him (sanation) and his activities. Thanks to the considerations provided by the author, it is possible i.a. to understand what the state education introduced at that time consisted in, what its purpose was, what ideas (ideologies) it was guided by and what an ideal man expressed in two words: fighter-worker really meant. Demonstrating by

⁵ B. Śliwerski, *Pedagogika po 28 latach...*, p. 24.

⁶ Ibid. p. 23.

E. Magiera how much power is held by “state power” and to what extent it may interfere in the upbringing of future generations is very crucial as well.

In the article entitled *Ideologia edukacyjna jako ideologia praktyczna na przykładzie Polski Ludowej (Educational ideology as a practical ideology on the example of People's Poland)* by Jacek Wołoszyn, presents the process of defining and redefining a person's identity to such one which can contribute to the program of the present government. The article discusses such topics as: collective axiological identity, the role of school education in People's Poland, educational ideology as a sign of practical ideology, and the content of teaching as a message of practical ideology. As the author points out, education at that time was part of the so-called ideological state apparatus, and citizens were becoming (or more precisely: were supposed to become) carriers and developers of this ideology.

Romuald Grzybowski in his text entitled *Odczyty pedagogiczne z lat 50. XX wieku jako forma upowszechnienia założeń pedagogiki marksistowskiej (radzieckiej) wśród nauczycieli polskich (Pedagogical lectures from the 1950's as a form of promoting Marxist (Soviet) pedagogy among Polish teachers)* draws attention to an important issue concerning the indoctrination of Polish teachers between 1948–1956. However, even the youngest members of society were indoctrinated by those in power in Poland after 1945, who reached for the minds of pre-school children. Creating a new man in Poland after the war was compared to creating a socialist man (*homo sovietus*). The author shows how the role of a teacher was depreciated in this process. Only a person who faithfully served the ideology of the ruling camp could become a teacher. And the pedagogical lectures were meant to be one of the methods that formed the attitudes of both future and then teachers, but – as we get to know the text – it was not their only purpose.

Another article by Joanna Król is focused on the analysis of the period between 1948 and 1957. Already its title *Rytualizacja życia szkolnego jako mechanizm władzy w Polsce stalinowskiej (1948–1957) (Ritualization of school life as a mechanism of power in Stalinist Poland (1948–1957))* focuses on the aspect of power which is crucial for this text, i.e. the possibility of interfering in the internal school life (its rituals). The author fails to engage herself in providing detailed analyzes of Stalinism and its conditions, as they, as she noted, have already been discussed in detail in the literature. J. Król draws reader's attention to the above-mentioned key issue, dedicating her article to *the process of ritualization of school life between 1948–1956 as one of the fundamental mechanisms of exercising power in education*⁷. The author shows the process of using the constitutional transformation to establish a new order, and thus – a cultural change. To create a new man, the then government had to transform the understanding of concepts. For this purpose, it used all possible channels of producing and distributing

⁷ J. Król, *Rytualizacja życia szkolnego jako mechanizm władzy w Polsce stalinowskiej (1948–1957)* [*Ritualization of school life as a mechanism of power in Stalinist Poland (1948–1957)*], in: *Z badań nad tradycją...*, p. 138.

information and knowledge. From laws, textbooks or media, to the words spoken by a single citizen-state official, who was a teacher.

A key element of the ideologization process of society is the educational theory and practice, and all the elements related thereto that the author discusses in detail, turning simultaneously to the issue of ritualization of school life. As elements of indoctrinational educational practice, she mentioned, i.a.: school ceremonies, activities of children's/youth organizations, as well as engagement in political and social life. J. Król also gives a voice to the sources including the statements of those people who were subject to indoctrination, thus showing that in spite of deep and consistent ideologization, the social awareness was watching and analyzing the actions of the authorities very carefully, opposing them at the same time.

The second part of the book finishes with the article by Edyta Kahl-Łuczyńska entitled *Nauki społeczne i humanistyczne w świetle polityki partyjnej początku lat 70. i uchwał II Kongresu Nauki Polskiej (Social sciences and humanities in the light of the party politics of the early 1970's, and the resolutions of the Second Congress of Polish Science)*. At the beginning of her reflections, the author shows what technique was applied to promote only the correct views – namely at that time in Poland there was a process of identification of science (in particular humanities and social sciences) with ideology. As a consequence, it made it possible to instill the Leninist-Stalinist doctrine in people's minds. E. Kahl-Łuczyńska discusses such issues as: the role of science in party visions and the development of the socialist state, HR plans, strengthening the unity of ideological science and its politicization, a long-term program for the development of social sciences, debates of the Second Congress of Polish Science and its resolutions.

The article by Justyna Nowotniak entitled *Nadzór pedagogiczny w Polsce w dyskursie wiedzy/władzy (Pedagogical supervision in Poland in the discourse of knowledge/power)* opens the third part of the book – *Władza – edukacja – wiedza. W perspektywie współczesności (Power – Education – Knowledge. In the contemporary perspective)*. The author focuses her analyses on the system of evaluating education (Polish: System ewaluacji oświaty SEO), and more specifically – on showing what it means in reality and what actions (intentions) are behind it.

Taking advantage of Foucault's meta-narrative, J. Nowotniak presents changes in the concept of pedagogical supervision in Poland after 2009 in a synthetic way, and the intricacies of knowledge/power related thereto. The author describes basic elements of the system of evaluating education: the first of them is an external evaluation – as a new form of pedagogical supervision and a (potential) source of social change. The second element is an internal evaluation (self-evaluation), the understanding of the right essence of which, as the author noted, has become a challenge for teachers. In her article, J. Nowotniak touches upon an extremely important issue, which is Foucault's "parrhesia". It is referred to the issue of the internal evaluation, and thus shows how difficult it is to "execute" it in an authentic way as it does not follow (and cannot follow) any predetermined procedures. And self-reflection, if it is meant to be authentic, must be reflected in the truth (about itself).

Maksymilian Chutorański and Oskar Szwabowski are the authors of the last article. The text with a short, but very meaningful title – *Wszechobecna władza (Pervasive power)* – refers to the issue, which, according to the authors, is becoming wrongly marginalized or giving way to other concepts. The panopticon – a key word in the article – refers to the more common process of monitoring people using “the eye” of power. The authors also discuss the project of Konrad Pustoła *Widoki władzy (The views of power)*, the title of which is literal, as it concerns the views from the windows of the people “in power”, although the results of the project are difficult to interpret.

M. Chutorański and O. Szwabowski in their text note that power should not be identified with a particular person, because this person may only be a “guardian” who holds no real power. That is why, real views of power may not be available to the eye of an ordinary citizen. The authors point out that because of the development of technology, the authorities can observe every step we take, without revealing who does it and why. Another important issue they drew attention to in their text is the school panopticon and the surveillance of students and teachers related thereto – training their bodies and minds under the watchful eye of the camera.

M. Chutorański and O. Szwabowski describe six features of modern panopticism, which include: dematerialisation, increase in mediation, deterritorialisation and reterritorialization, acceleration, egalitarianism and immanence. Thanks to their text, the authors draw reader’s attention directly to the surrounding world equipped with cameras, and, to be more precise, to what real risks this world poses.

The texts included in the book, even though they describe different moments of history, are connected by one narrative, demonstrating what relations were present (and still exist) between power, education and knowledge. It is advisable to reach for each of the articles, as it will help to create a fairly coherent picture of how knowledge was invariably appropriated by the authorities for many years in order to shape the ethos of entire societies through education. The topics discussed in the book make a significant contribution to the development of the scientific discipline, i.e. pedagogy. Considerations over education with reference to the ideas of Michael Foucault help to analyze the validity of many (un)pedagogical claims regarding the shape of education. What seems and seemed right to raise the level of education in the context of Foucault’s narrative takes on a different meaning. Often negative. Reflections on the politicization of education are nothing new, but a growing awareness of the connections and consequences that result from the triad of power, education and knowledge, leads to a serious reflection on the state of contemporary education at all levels.

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**ROBERT MARCIN SOLIS: *PROBLEMATYKA KOŚCIELNA
W PAMIĘTNIKARSTWIE POLSKIM XIX WIEKU*
[THE ISSUE OF CHURCH IN POLISH MEMORIALS
IN THE 19TH CENTURY], LUBLIN 2018, p. 141**

A diary is a prose form of presenting events recorded by their participant or witness after a certain period of time, and aims at presenting events and external circumstances¹. Diaries are classified as primary sources. Hence, I reckon that collecting research material as a source database was an extremely important task (considered to be source materials)².

As the author writes in the Introduction (p. 9): a diary, a memory, a report, a journal, and an interview are the main forms of works included in the memoirs, i.e. diaries³.

The memoirs of the 19th century take an important and significant place in the contemporary literary production, however, these diaries are not fully used as a historical source.

The goal of Rev. Dr. Robert Solis was to characterize widely understood reality that was present in selected journalistic materials (25). Apart from the sources, the author also took advantage of rich source literature.

The reviewed publication consists of three chapters. In the first chapter entitled *Zagadnienia wprowadzające (Introductory issues)* (p. 13–32), the author demonstrated that although knowledge concerning the memoirs as a source of research into church issues is increasingly deeper, it is still insufficient. It is a specific field of intellectual culture, hidden as if in the shadow of the classic and priority journalistic activity.

Rev. Solis defined in an exhaustive way the basic terms that constituted the essence of considerations of the issue of church in the Polish memoirs in the 19th century, such as: *diaries and their types, e.g. entire life, fragmentary and thematic recollections, journals, letters, local correspondence and intervention letters containing autobiographical elements or revealing the author's personality* (p. 14).

¹ *Encyklopedia powszechna [Universal Encyclopedia]*, ed. M. Karolczuk, Kraków 2009, p. 64.

² K. Duraj-Nowakowa, *Pisarstwo naukowe. Między rzemiosłem a sztuką [Scientific literature. Between craft and art]*, Sosnowiec 2015, p. 283.

³ *Słownik wyrazów obcych [The dictionary of words of foreign origin]*, ed. E. Sobol, Warszawa 2002, p. 707.

The reviewed study is dominated by songs which can be qualified as diaries of the entire life that were created for and addressed to children and grandchildren. When using diaries in studying the issue of church, appropriate ways of their internal and external analysis must be assumed, which make it possible to understand the content of a given document and its interpretation. The author rightly recognized that publishing only objective judgments on the religious life of a human being or society solely on the basis of diaries is a big problem.

In the subsection called *Kościół Katolicki XIX wieku (The Catholic church of the 19th century)*, the author presented church as a sacral and organizational institution, pointing out that its history in the reviewed century referred to the period between the outbreak of the French Revolution to the death of Pope Pius X and the outbreak of World War I. The Catholic faith in Poland in the discussed century was one of the main factors which united the nation and gave some traces of humanism to the aspirations held by the Polish nation to live in a free state. Without taking account of the church activities, it is impossible to understand the solidarity and willpower that the Poles demonstrated while seeking their freedom.

The second chapter – *Kościół na ziemiach polskich (The church on the territory of Poland)* (p. 33–78) – is concentrated on the clergy, and the pastoral and charitable activities run by them. The information included in this chapter concerns theological seminaries in the three partitions. The author described the curricula of the alumni, mentioned the names of lecturers and confessors, and outlined the timetables of the classes and the structures of daily prayers.

The author also described the patriotic activities of priests, starting from the end of the 18th century – their participation in the November Uprising, conspiracy activities, pastoral service in prisons, and the participation of priests in the preparations for the January Uprising.

In the subsection *Biskupi (Bishops)*, the issues related to their pastoral service and private life were outlined. The author recalled the figures of, i.a., W. Skarszewski, the bishop of Lublin, K. Cieciszowski, the bishop of Zhytomyr, and J. P. Woronicz, the bishop of Cracow (the future Metropolitan of Warsaw) and A. Skarbek Ankiewicz, the Metropolitan of Lviv.

This chapter also discussed the issue of teaching the catechism, presented the charity activities and the economic base of the Catholic church.

In the third chapter *Kościół powszechny (The universal church)* (p. 79–122), the author reported in an interesting way the content referring to the universal church in 13 countries (Italy, the Habsburg Monarchy, Germany, France, Turkey, England, Russia, Spain, Portugal, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Peru), taking both the positive and negative activities of its particular branches into consideration.

The study of Robert M. Solis opens with *Przemowa (Foreword)* written by Rev. Edward Walewander and *Wstęp (Introduction)* by the author, and closes with *Zakończenie (Conclusion)*, which provided a general reflection on changes and directions in the Polish memoirs of the 19th century regarding the issues of church.

Unfortunately, due to the fact that the source database is dispersed and incomplete, the author hereof was unable to characterize the undertaken threads and issues in a full and exhaustive manner. Despite these minor disadvantages, I believe, however, that the amount and type of the material presented herein proved the complexity and importance of the addressed issue. The database of the analyzed material was sufficient to identify the major and some more specific problems considered in this reviewed article.

Bibliografia (Bibliography), divided into sources, auxiliary literature and **Index osobowy (Personal index)** is also wide and extensive. In its final part the author listed the works published as part of “Biblioteka Pedagogiczna Katedry Pedagogiki Porównawczej Wydziału Nauk Społecznych KUL im. Jana Pawła II – Seria A: Studia” (“The Pedagogical Library of the Department of Comparative Pedagogy of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin – Series A: Studies”) edited by Rev. Edward Walewander – 44 papers in total.

In terms of its structure, the book evokes admiration in terms of its transparency and a substantively justified shape. It is read with interest and pleasure, not only because of the important subject matter included therein – it was also carefully written in the Polish language. Certainly, the paper will prove to be an invaluable help for graduate students and doctorate candidates.

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CHRONICLE

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THE REPORT FROM THE MEETING OF THE TEAM OF THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION AT THE COMMITTEE ON PEDAGOGICAL SCIENCES OF THE POLISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, WARSZAWA, 11 OCTOBER 2018

On October 11, 2018, the Team of the History of Education at the Committee on Pedagogical Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences held a meeting, hosted this time by the Department of the History of Education of the Maria Grzegorzewska University in Warsaw.

Prof. Władysława Szulakiewicz, Ph.D., opened the meeting, and subsequently Jacek Kulbaka, a professor at the Maria Grzegorzewska University, delivered a lecture on the history of the university (since 1922 under the name of the National Institute of Special Education), and presented a broader context of the history of special education in Poland. He also presented a slide show with photographs of people who were connected in the past with the Maria Grzegorzewska University (apart from Maria Grzegorzewska those were, i.a. Józef Joteyko and Janusz Korczak) and emphasized their contribution to the achievements of the university and the meaningful importance of the friendship linking them.

Prof. Karol Poznański, Ph.D., the long-time rector, presented a fragment of the history of the Maria Grzegorzewska University from a different angle. He shared his personal memories with the gathered audience related to the period when he had been trying to expand the university. At the beginning of his work in 1984, he was given two modest buildings: a very small and old one on Spiska Street, and a bit larger one on Szczęśliwicka Street. At that time, not many students were admitted for the first year of studies – due to the limited amount of space – only about 100 full-time students and the same number of extramural students (which lasted 4 years at that time). It meant that the overall number of students was only approximately 800, but in order to accommodate everyone, rooms in the adjacent schools were rented. When there were more and more people interested in these studies, and the cooperation with the headmasters of elementary and secondary schools located in the neighbourhood started to improve, it was possible to increase the number of admitted students, especially for extramural studies (which took place at that time on Saturdays and Sundays, and

additionally there were two two-week on-campus sessions), and the number of students reached three or four thousand. Hence, it was possible to increase the number of own full-time university teachers and to participate more widely in the funds granted by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education. In this way, the university, which became more respected and played a more significant role, could apply for the participation entry in the investment plan of the Ministry, and for the use of students dormitories located in Jelonki. With time, the university was granted funds by the Ministry to build the so-called “library” which, in addition to warehouses storing approximately 200,000 books, housed reading rooms, informatoriums and laboratories for specific purposes, as well as some scientific departments and didactic rooms. A significantly large “didactic pavilion” composed of several containers was built in the open yard behind the gym. In order to commence and conduct a major overhaul of the students dormitory located on Spiska Street, the university established its own unit responsible for renovation and construction, and later as a substitute contractor signed the agreement with the Ministry to erect five modern students dormitories in Jelonki, which made it possible to create over 200 places for students in dormitories. Thanks to these successes, it was possible to initiate the process of erecting a 7-floor didactic building on the university premises (but without the ownership title). After long tedious efforts and endeavors, both the consent and appropriate financial resources were obtained. At that time Prof. Kazimierz Pospiszyl, Ph.D., the then rector, applied to the ministerial authorities for transforming the university called at that time “the Higher School of Special Education” into “the University of Special Education”, with the aim to join the movement of ongoing national changes, but it was not easy, as the Higher School of Special Education – contrary to other higher pedagogical schools (e.g. in Cracow, Gdańsk, Bydgoszcz or Kielce) – had only one department and although with regard to the number of teachers, it belonged to the leaders in the field of education, but without a sufficient number of full-time academic teachers, it did not meet the overall requirements (not statutory requirements at that time). However, thanks to the goodwill and favour of the Sejm committee and the very high evaluation of the role and scientific achievements of the Higher School of Special Education, the institution was given the honorable name of the University. At present it enjoys all rights that it is entitled to, and the Board of the Department of Pedagogy is composed of over fifty professors titular and university professors. Prof. Karol Poznański, Ph.D., emphasized that *we created this history*, which brought so much joy and satisfaction – in this case, “we” means a wide group, as, on the one hand, the expansion of the oldest university educating special pedagogues in Poland would not have been possible if not the assistance of many people not employed at the university, whose support and kindness we had managed to obtain, and on the other – he was lucky to cooperate during three tenures with very diligent and responsible administrative directors who became the main builders: Włodzimierz Wolniak (the library), Tadeusz Konrad and Wiesława Nasierowska, his deputy (Jelonki, Spiska and the didactic

block with three assembly halls), as well as school quaestors: Zofia Świdorska and Halina Baczul, and the vice-rectors: Prof. Ludwik Malinowski, Ph.D., (vicerec-
tor of teaching), Urszula Eckert, Ph.D., and Prof. Jadwiga Kuczyńska-Kwapisz,
Ph.D., (vicerectors of science and foreign cooperation).

Both professional speeches demonstrated that in the history of the Maria Grzegorzewska University, both in the times of Maria Grzegorzewska and Prof. Karol Poznański, the human factor was of great importance and could many times offset the impact of other factors, such as economic or political difficulties.

The subsequent part of the meeting was dedicated to the discussion about the further research on the history of special education in Poland and its directions. Jacek Kulbaka, Ph.D., a professor of the Maria Grzegorzewska University, stated there was still a long way to go in this area: a new monograph about the history of the University of Special Education would come in handy or some paper might be dedicated to the profiles of people involved in special education in the past. Joanna Sosnowska, Ph.D., who dealt with the problems of childcare (exercised by German authorities and charity organizations) in Łódź during World War I mentioned about the abundant archive materials in Łódź. The materials on special education (buildings, people, ideas) have been preserved as well, some of them, such as *Dziennik Zarządu Miasta Łodzi* (the Management Journal of the City of Łódź) are also available online, and due to the pioneering nature of the activities run by the management board to which Stefan Kopciński belonged, it is worth dedicating particular attention to the archives of Łódź. Prof. Karol Poznański, Ph.D., added that the archive in Łódź is one of the most valuable as far as the history of Polish education in the interwar period is concerned. However, a number of valuable materials have also been preserved in the archive in Lublin, and fewer materials – in Kielce and Radom. They include such sources as class registers and protocols from school staff meetings which make it possible to learn about the specificity of local communities. The sources and studies of Central Archives of Modern Records (Pl. Archiwum Akt Nowych AAN), Central Statistical Office of Poland (Pl. Główny Urząd Statystyczny GUS) and Supreme Audit Office (Pl. Najwyższa Izba Kontroli NIK) are also interesting. Prof. Karol Poznański, Ph.D., drew attention to the fact that in the history of special education in Poland, the period of People's Poland is not much examined – e.g. the interpretation of the operation of the Polish Parliament (Sejm) and its commissions is missing. Jacek Kulbaka, Ph.D., stated that the Sejm library gives access the transcripts of Sejm sessions, while the Sejm committees rarely dealt with the problems of the disabled, but the transcripts of the sub-committees' meetings already contain such materials. He also noticed that our post-war pedagogues in the 1970's had good background and knowledge about the pedagogy in Western Europe, and the Polish press constituted an important source in the process of acquiring this knowledge. Witold Chmielewski, Ph.D., a professor of the Jesuit University of Philosophy and Education Ignatianum added that the Silesian archives also contain interesting materials about people with disabilities.



Fot. A. Zagrodzka

The participants of the meeting of the Team of the History of Education at the Committee on *Pedagogical Sciences* of the *Polish Academy* of Sciences. Sitting from the left: Prof. W. Szulakiewicz, Prof. K. Poznański, A. Królikowska, Ph.D., Prof. H. Markiewicz. Standing from the left: M. Stawiak-Ososińska, Ph.D., J. Falkowska, Ph.D., Rev. Dr. M. Wierzbicki, E. Dolata, Ph.D., A. Haratyk, Ph.D., Rev. Prof. K. Miśiaszek, K. Dormus, a professor of the Pedagogical University of Kraków, E. Barnaś-Baran, Ph.D., D. Grabowska-Pieńkosz, Ph.D., W. Chmielewski, a professor of the Jesuit University of Philosophy and Education Ignatianum, J. Kamińska, a professor of the University of Warsaw, A. Fijałkowski, a professor of the University of Warsaw, B. Topij-Stempińska, Ph.D., Rev. Dr. A. Bieś, J. Sosnowska, Ph.D., J. Kulbaka, a professor of the Maria Grzegorzewska University in Warsaw, I. Czarnecka, Ph.D., R. Skrzyniarz, a professor of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, A. Żakiewicz, a professor of the University of Opole.

The last part of the meeting concerned the ideas and plans for organizing conferences and scientific publications in 2019. Beata Topij-Stempińska, Ph.D., encouraged the gathered to publish articles on the history of preschool education in the quarterly issued magazine entitled “Edukacja Elementarna w Teorii i Praktyce”. Ryszard Skrzyniarz, Ph.D., a professor of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin invited the audience to participate in the interdisciplinary conference on historical biographical writings (under a working title: *Pedagogical biography and its application in education*), scheduled for 11-12.04.2019 at the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin. Katarzyna Dormus, Ph.D., a professor of the Pedagogical University of Kraków scheduled for the turn of March and April 2019 a conference on changes in Polish school, related to the hundredth anniversary of the Teachers’ Sejm. Janina Kamińska, Ph.D., reminded about the Pedagogical Congress which is supposed to take place in September. She expressed the hope that it would be desirable if educational historians took part in it and thus, marked their presence. Adam Fijałkowski, Ph.D., professor of the University of Warsaw, encouraged the gathered to send articles and texts on the

history of education to “Kwartalnik Pedagogiczny” which publishes a lot of research texts, but historical articles included therein are scarce. Subsequently, the participants were involved in a brief discussion about footnotes (footnotes in brackets and standard ones). At the end, authorized by Prof. Dorota Żołądz-Strzelczyk, Ph.D., Prof. Władysława Szulakiewicz, Ph.D., invited the participants to the congress of historians of education in Poznań in October 2019.

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**THE SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE: *SCIENCES ON
EDUCATION AFTER THE RESTORATION OF
INDEPENDENCE. PEDAGOGUES – INSTITUTIONS
– LITERATURE*, ŁÓDŹ, 17 SEPTEMBER, 2018**

On September 17, 2018, at the Department of Educational Sciences of the University of Łódź, the scientific conference entitled *Nauki o wychowaniu po odzyskaniu niepodległości. Pedagodzy – Instytucje – Piśmiennictwo (Sciences on education after the restoration of Independence. Pedagogues – Institutions – Literature)* was held, which became one of many scientific meetings, the program of which referred to the 100th anniversary of the regaining of independence by Poland, and thus, marked the celebration of this anniversary in our country. The conference took place in the Training and Conference Centre of the University of Łódź at 26 Rogowska Street.

The conference was organized by two academic units: the Department of the History of Pedagogical Thought at the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, under the supervision of Prof. Władysława Szulakiewicz, Ph.D., and the Department of History of Education and Pedeutology at the University of Łódź – led by Prof. Grzegorz Michalski, Ph.D., and the team of the History of Education at the Committee on *Pedagogical Sciences* of the *Polish Academy* of Sciences.

The Scientific Committee of the Conference was composed of: Prof. Władysława Szulakiewicz, Ph.D., (the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń), Prof. Grzegorz Michalski, Ph.D., (the University of Łódź), Prof. Stefania Walasek, Ph.D., (the University of Wrocław), Prof. Witold Chmielewski, Ph.D., (the Jesuit University Ignatianum in Kraków), and Prof. Hanna Markiewicz, Ph.D., (the Maria Grzegorzewska University in Warsaw). The Organizing Committee of the Conference included: Prof. Iwonna Michalska, Ph.D., (the University of Łódź), Joanna Falkowska, Ph.D., (the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń), Małgorzata Krakowiak (the University of Łódź), and Karolina Firaza (the University of Łódź).

The scientific meeting attracted several dozens of participants representing some academic centers from the following cities: Toruń, Łódź, Wrocław, Szczecin, Warszawa, Lublin, Kraków, Kielce, Rzeszów, Opole, and Katowice.

The conference was officially opened by the representatives of the units organizing the conference: Prof. W. Szulakiewicz, Ph.D., and Prof. G. Michalski, Ph.D., who welcomed the participants and presented the meeting agenda.

The conference program included a two-part debate: the plenary sessions immediately after the opening of the meeting, and discussions in sections from 12 p.m. to 3 p.m.

The plenary sessions during which four papers were presented, were presided over by: Prof. W. Szulakiewicz, Ph.D., and Prof. G. Michalski, Ph.D. The lectures were delivered by: Prof. Stefania Walasek, Ph.D., (the University of Wrocław) on: *Wychowanie państwowe i obywatelskie w praktyce szkolnej na przykładzie Gimnazjum im. A. Mickiewicza w Wilnie (State and civic education in school practice on the example of the A. Mickiewicz Gymnasium in Vilnius)*, Prof. G. Michalski, Ph.D., – *Czasopiśmiennictwo pedagogiczne u progu Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej (Pedagogical literature at the beginning of the Second Republic of Poland)*, Prof. Elżbieta Magiera, Ph.D., (the University of Szczecin) – *Szkoła i nauczyciel w polskim czasopiśmiennictwie pedagogicznym po odzyskaniu niepodległości (School and a teacher in the Polish pedagogical literature after the restoration of independence)* and Prof. Jerzy Kochanowicz, Ph.D., (the University of Lower Silesia in Wrocław) on: „*Przegląd Powszechny*” *o polskiej szkole po odzyskaniu niepodległości („Przegląd Powszechny” about the Polish school after the restoration of independence).*

The issues to be discussed during the sessions of three sections working at the same time covered: the first section: *Pedagogzy – Kierunki badań naukowych – Instytucjonalizacja pedagogiki (Teachers – Fields of research – The institutionalization of pedagogy)*; the second section: *Kierunki i nurty wychowania na łamach czasopism (Directions and trends of education in magazines)*; the third section: *Edukacja i instytucje edukacyjne (Education and educational institutions).*

The first section was led by Prof. W. Szulakiewicz, Ph.D., and Prof. Aneta Bołdyrew, Ph.D., (the University of Łódź), during which nine papers were delivered: *Instytucjonalizacja pedagogiki w Uniwersytecie Stefana Batorego (The institutionalization of pedagogy at the Stefan Batory University)* – Prof. W. Szulakiewicz, Ph.D., *Prekursorki nowych subdyscyplin pedagogicznych i ich rola w przemianach nauk o wychowaniu w Polsce w latach 1918–1939 (The female precursors of new pedagogical subdisciplines and their role in the transformation of educational sciences in Poland in the period of 1918–1939)* – Prof. A. Bołdyrew, Ph.D., „*Wszędzie, wszystko znaczy człowiek*” – *twórcy polskiej pedagogiki specjalnej w I połowie XX wieku (“Everywhere, everything means a man” – the creators of Polish special education in the first half of the 20th century)* – Prof. Jacek Kulbaka, Ph.D., (the Maria Grzegorzewska University in Warsaw), *Twórcy pedagogiki na Katolickim Uniwersytecie Lubelskim (The creators of pedagogy at the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin)* – Wiesław Partyka, Ph.D., (the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin), *Twórczość pedagogiczna Kazimierza Królińskiego (1874–1938) i jej znaczenie dla nauk o wychowaniu (The pedagogical work of Kazimierz Króliński (1874–1938) and its significance for educational sciences)* – Joanna Falkowska, Ph.D., (the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń), *Poglądy*

Natalii Cicimirskiej (1881–1959) w zakresie rozwoju wychowania przedszkolnego w II Rzeczypospolitej (The views of Natalia Cicimirska (1881–1959) in terms of development of pre-school education in the Second Republic of Poland) – Dorota Grabowska-Pieńkosz, Ph.D., (the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń), *Józef Czesław Babicki jako twórca pedagogiki opiekuńczej (Józef Czesław Babicki as the creator of welfare pedagogy)* – Barbara Kalinowska-Witek, Ph.D., (the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University), *Powstanie Studium Pedagogicznego i Katedry Pedagogiki UJ – początki instytucjonalizacji pedagogiki krakowskiej (The establishment of the Pedagogical College and the Department of Pedagogy of the Jagiellonian University – the beginnings of the institutionalization of pedagogy in Cracow)* – Prof. Katarzyna Dormus, Ph.D., (the Pedagogical University of Kraków), and *Rola Państwowego Pedagogium w Krakowie w budowaniu elity intelektualnej II Rzeczypospolitej (The role of state pedagogy in Cracow in building the intellectual elite of the Second Republic of Poland)* – Anna Włoch, Ph.D., (the Pedagogical University of Kraków).

The second section was led by Prof. Eleonora Sapia-Drewniak, Ph.D., (the University of Opole) and Prof. Witold Chmielewski, Ph.D., (the Jesuit University Ignatianum in Kraków) during which nine papers were delivered: Andrzej Paweł Bieś, Ph.D., (the Jesuit University Ignatianum in Kraków) – *Formacyjno-wychowawcza rola periodyku „Moderator” (1929–1939) (The formative and educational role of the periodical entitled “Moderator”) (1929–1939)*, Elżbieta Dolata, Ph.D., (the University of Rzeszów) – *Popularyzacja idei nowego wychowania na łamach czasopisma „Wychowanie Przedszkolne” (Promoting the idea of the new education movement in the magazine called “Wychowanie Przedszkolne”)*, Prof. Eleonora Sapia-Drewniak, Ph.D., (the University of Opole) – *Problemy edukacji dorosłych na łamach czasopism „Oświata Pozaszkolna” i „Oświata Pozaszkolna” w latach 1921–1933 (Problems of educating adults in the magazines “Oświata Pozaszkolna” and “Oświata Pozaszkolna” between 1921–1933)*, Danuta Kocurek, Ph.D., (the University of Silesia) – *Wybrane aspekty szkolnictwa zawodowego i doksztalcającego w miesięczniku „Szkoła Zawodowa” w latach 1926–1935 (Selected aspects of vocational and supplementary education in the monthly journal “Szkoła Zawodowa” between 1926–1935)*, Barbara Surma, Ph.D., (the Jesuit University Ignatianum in Kraków) – *Dyskurs o wychowaniu na łamach „Ruchu Pedagogicznego” w latach 1918–1939 (Discourse on education in “Ruch Pedagogiczny” between 1918–1939)*, Beata Topij-Stempińska, Ph.D., (the Jesuit University Ignatianum in Kraków) – *Zygmunt Mysłakowski i „Kultura Pedagogiczna” (Zygmunt Mysłakowski and “Kultura Pedagogiczna”)* Ryszard Ślęczka, Ph.D., (the Pedagogical University of Kraków) – *Nowoczesne metody nauczania propagowane w czasopiśmie „Ruch Pedagogiczny” (Modern teaching methods promoted in “Ruch Pedagogiczny”)*, Małgorzata Kucharska, Ph.D., (the University of Lower Silesia) – *O roli pracy ręcznej na łamach „Płomyka” (1917–1939) (On the role of handiwork in „Płomyk”) (1917–1939)*, and Prof. Witold Chmielewski, Ph.D., (the Jesuit University Ignatianum in Kraków) – *Likwidowanie*

prasy katolickiej w Polsce w latach czterdziestych XX w. (Liquidation of the Catholic press in Poland in the 1940's).

The third section during which seven papers were delivered was presided over by: Prof. Stefania Walasek, Ph.D., (the University of Wrocław) and Rev. Prof. Edward Walewander, Ph.D., (the *John Paul II* Catholic University of Lublin). The subject of the articles concentrated on the following issues: *Tło polityczno-społeczne powstania i rozwoju studiów pedagogicznych w Polsce w dobie odzyskania niepodległości w 1918 r. (A Political and social background of the establishment and development of pedagogical studies in Poland in the era of the restoration of independence in 1918)* – Rev. Prof. Edward Walewander, Ph.D., *Edukacja patriotyczna w działalności Polskiej Macierzy Szkolnej (Patriotic education in the activity of the Polish Educational Society)* – Prof. Hanna Markiewicz, Ph.D., *Prawosławne szkolnictwo teologiczne w II Rzeczypospolitej (Orthodox theological education in the Second Republic of Poland)* – Rev. Dr. Artur Aleksiejuk (the Christian Theological Academy in Warsaw), *Edukacyjna funkcja polskich instytucji krajoznawczych w okresie Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej (Educational function of Polish cultural and sightseeing institutions in the Second Republic of Poland)* – Renata Bednarz-Grzybek, Ph.D., (the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University), *Organizacja polskiego szkolnictwa wojskowego w pierwszych latach po odzyskaniu niepodległości (The organization of Polish military education in the first years after the restoration of independence)* – Jan Ryś, Ph.D., (the Pedagogical University of Kraków), *Nauczanie i wychowanie w szkole powszechnej w okresie II RP w świetle artykułów zawartych w „Pracy Szkolnej” (Teaching and education in elementary school in the Second Republic of Poland in the light of the articles included in “Praca szkolna”)* – Iwona Czarnecka, Ph.D., (the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University), and *Nauczyciele chyrowskiego gimnazjum i liceum (1918–1939) dla odrodzonej Polski (The teachers of the gymnasium and high school in Żyrów (1918–1939) for the reborn Poland)*, delivered by Anna Królikowska, Ph.D., (the Jesuit University Ignatianum in Kraków).

The discussions held after the plenary speeches and the presentation of the research results in individual sections concentrated on the subject matter of the conference. They mainly referred to the institutionalization of pedagogy, the role of its creators and representatives, the issues of education in pedagogical journals and educational institutions.

It should be mentioned that on September 16, 2018, i.e. on the day preceding the conference, the meeting of the team members of the History of Education at the Committee on Pedagogical Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences took place. Prof. Władysława Szulakiewicz, Ph.D., – the manager of the team of the History of Education, presided over the meeting which was held in the Training and Conference Centre of the University of Łódź at 26 Rogowska Street.

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**THE SCIENTIFIC SEMINAR: *THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN PEDAGOGICAL PRESS*,
OBRZYCKO, 27–28 JUNE 2018**

The Department of History of Education of the Faculty of Educational Studies at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań under the direction of Prof. Wiesław Jamrożka, Ph.D., each year organizes scientific seminars in Obrzycko on the research potential of a contemporary historian of education (which crown the next academic year at the same time). This year's meeting organized under the slogan *Dzieje Edukacji w Czasopiśmiennictwie Pedagogicznym (The history of education in pedagogical press)* was attended by the employees of the Department of History of Education of the Faculty of Educational Studies at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań and the invited guests from the Polish research centers.

Prof. Wiesław Jamrożek, Ph.D. opened the seminar and welcomed all guests. After the inaugural lecture, the seminar participants summarized all the projects and grants that had already been completed, and presented their current research plans and objectives.

The first paper – entitled *Polskie czasopisma z zakresu historii wychowania (Polish magazines on the history of education)* – was delivered by Prof. Justyna Gulczyńska, Ph.D. (the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań), who presented, i.a. some of the oldest national magazines on the history of education: “Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy” which has been published since 1947, and “Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty” – published with interruptions since 1958 also up to date. In addition, Prof. Witold Chmielewski, Ph.D., (the Jesuit University Ignatianum in Kraków), the editor-in-chief of Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy, took the floor. The professor drew the attention i.a. to the fact that the periodical has always been composed of the following sections: dissertations, materials, reviews (preserved with minor changes).

After this additional speech, Krzysztof Ratajczak, Ph.D., (the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań) presented *Indeksowanie czasopism (Indexing of journals)*, and familiarized the seminar participants with the topic related to databases and the evaluation of scientific journals. In his lecture he paid particular attention to i.a. the number of citations according to Web of Science and the H index, and the place of journals of humanities in global databases.

In the final part of the session held on the first day, Tomasz Fetzki, Ph.D., (representing the Łużyce Humanistic Higher School in Żary), presented the paper

entitled *Czasopismo jako źródło badań nad narodzinami polskiej pedagogiki specjalnej (a journal as the source of research on the birth of Polish special education)*. The speaker underlined the need to conduct further thorough research on the history of Polish special education, in particular its birth. As he noted, this work is tedious and requires collecting fragmentary information dispersed in various magazines from the turn of the 19th century to the 20th century.

After the speeches, there was time for discussions in which the participants took an active part, and presented their valuable comments to the speakers and to the people present, e.g., Prof. Edyta Głowacka-Sobiech, Ph.D. (the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań) pointed out to the unique role of women in shaping special education in the Polish territory and in Poland.

After the panel discussion (led by Prof. J. Gulczyńska and Prof. W. Jamrożek), the books written by the employees of the Department of History of Education of the Faculty of Educational Studies at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, and the latest publications on the history of education (published in 2017 and 2018) were promoted and presented by Mikołaj Brenk, Ph.D., and Konrad Nowak-Kluczyński, Ph.D. They mentioned i.a. such publications as *Wielkopolska i Wielkopole w dziejach polskiej edukacji (Greater Poland and its population in the history of Polish education)* (edited by E. Głowacka-Sobiech and Katarzyna Kabacińska-Luczak), a collection of sources on the history of education from the turn of the 16th century to the 17th century, and the 18th century by Dorota Żołądź-Strzelczyk and Małgorzata M. Kowalczyk, a publication entitled *Zachować dla przyszłości. Sprawy szkolnictwa i oświaty w przekazie prasowym XX i pierwszych lat XXI wieku (Keep for the descendants. The issues of education in the press release of the 20th century and the first years of the 21st century)* (edited by Iwona Michalska and Grzegorz Michalski), a book entitled *Obrazki do dziejów oświaty w Wielkopolsce Wschodniej (Pictures on the history of education in the Eastern part of Greater Poland)* by Piotr Gołdyn, *Dojrzałość i dojrzewanie (Maturity and maturation)* by Ewa Kubiak-Szyborska, Dariusz Zajac, Ewa Krause and Monika Nawrot-Borowska, a study entitled *Pedagogika harcerskiego wychowania (Pedagogy of scouting education)* written by Bogusław Śliwerski, and many others. The first day of the meeting was closed by an integration meeting of the participants around the campfire.

The second day provided continuation of the discussion concerning the issues that had been raised the day before. The idea of follow-up meetings in the subsequent years as part of the seminar *Warsztat badawczy współczesnego historyka wychowania (The research potential of a contemporary historian of education)* was also supported.

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