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The Relationship between Schools and Religion in the Czech Lands One Hundred Years Ago

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The position of religion in Czech schools has been the subject of discussion among educationalists since the second half of the nineteenth century. Supporters of the radical current excluded religion from school completely, while conservatives defended the existing situation just as determinedly. Advocates of the reform tendency took the view that religion, as an essential component of modern culture, cannot and must not be ignored in school and that schools must not cut themselves off from centuries-old traditions.

Key words: *schools; religion; Czech Lands; One Hundred Years Ago*

The position of religion in Czech schools has been the subject of discussion among educationalists since the second half of the nineteenth century. These discussions took place primarily on the pages of the bulletin *Pedagogické rozhledy* (Educational Outlooks) which was published from 1888 onwards. The significant monographs on this topic published in book form include the work by Emanuel Havelka on independent non-denominational schools entitled *Volná škola* (The Independent School) and, most importantly, the work by the author of *Dějiny pedagogiky* (The History of Pedagogy) Otakar Kádner entitled *Náboženství a škola* (Religion and Schools).¹

¹ Kádner, O. (1918). *Náboženství a škola*. Praha: Dědictví Komenského.

Ladislav Horák also published the essay *The Religion of the Non-denominational School*² on this topic in the journal "Budoucnost" ("The Future") in which he stated that "religion, in spite of all its downsides, was and remains essentially the only educational subject in school, the only subject that fulfils the task of moral education. The whole of our present school system today consists of religion."³

Kádner stated that, until the time of the Reformation, religion was not a separate teaching subject, since the entire educational system was inspired by the spirit of Christianity. He noted that, from the beginning, Protestants emphasised the need for separate religious instruction and interpretation of the Scripture. Religious instruction was introduced at once as a separate subject, for which textbooks (catechisms) were produced, in Evangelical schools. The Catholic Church only followed the example set by the Protestants thanks to the Jesuits and tried to match their influence. This was also the starting point for the development of the didactics of religion as a teaching subject.

According to Kádner, the religious question emerged from the general democratisation and industrialisation at the beginning of the twentieth century. He stated that, "we live not at a time of deep religious conviction, but on the contrary at a time when religion itself finds itself in a grave defensive battle".⁴

The question arose as to whether the school should be based fully on denominational foundations or be non-denominational. In Germany, there was a strong tendency among teachers towards denominational schools, and religion was their foremost priority. The number of lessons in religious instruction in the individual German Lands ranged from two to five lessons a week at primary schools and from two to three at secondary schools. In contrast, the French school system was completely secular, and morality was taught instead of religion. In Switzerland, conditions were different in each canton; no one was forced to attend religious classes and morality was introduced in a number of cantons. A fierce battle raged in Belgium between public inter-denominational education and private denominational education. Religion was taught for half an hour a day at public schools, though children could be excused from it at the wishes of their parents. Religion was not introduced at public schools in Holland, though religion was, however, compulsory at denominational schools. Children could be excused from religion in Luxemburg at the wishes of

² Horák, L. (1918). *Náboženství školy bezkonfesní*. *Budoucnost*, vol. 1, pp. 5–8.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁴ Kádner, O. *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

their parents. Religion was taught for seven and a half hours a week in Norway, and similarly for five hours in Sweden. In England, religion was introduced as a special subject only in ecclesiastical schools. In Spain, children of other faiths were exempted from Catholic religion in 1913. In Portugal, religion was removed from schools and left to the responsibility of parishes (though under the supervision of the state), following the declaration of the Republic. Local authorities were responsible for religious teaching from 1908 onwards in Italy, where religion could be replaced with the teaching of morality and civics. The teaching of religion in schools was conducted throughout the Balkans, while teaching of the Quran was the only subject in ecclesiastical schools in Turkey. In Czarist Russia, secular schools which taught religion and church singing competed with fully denominational parish schools. The education system was completely secular in the USA, where religion was a private matter. The situation was similar in Japan where morality was taught instead of religion. Religion was taught separately according to individual denominations in Hungary and Croatia. Inter-denominational schooling was introduced in Austria, although Catholicism was considered the favoured religion. Two hours a week were devoted to religious instruction at primary and secondary schools.⁵

In the Czech Lands, an assembly of five hundred teachers from Prague demanded the separation of the school system from the church and the teaching of morals in as early as 1848. The Social Democrats and Professor of Philosophy and Psychology František Krejčí called for the complete removal of religion from schools. Professor of Philosophy Tomáš Masaryk first wanted religion not be removed from schools, though he later left it to the family as a private matter. Pedagogue Otakar Chlup wanted the teaching of religion to be deferred until such time as the child was able to understand the meaning of religious ideas.⁶ The philosopher and sociologist Emanuel Chalupný also proposed deferring the teaching of religion until the age of fourteen.⁷ Professor of Philosophy and Pedagogy František Drtina was in favour of the laicisation of the school system, while pedagogue Eduard Štorch was in favour of revising religious textbooks in accordance with pedagogical principles.⁸

Supporters of the radical current excluded religion from school completely, while conservatives defended the existing situation just as

⁵ Ibid, pp. 10–12.

⁶ Chlup, O. (1911). O výchově citů. *Pedagogické rozhledy*, vol. 23, p. 793.

⁷ Chalupný, E. *Přehled*, vol. 8, p. 257.

⁸ *Volná škola*, vol. 4, p. 110.

determinedly. Advocates of the reform tendency took the view that religion, as an essential component of modern culture, cannot and must not be ignored in school and that schools must not cut themselves off from centuries-old traditions.

The pedagogue Kádner rejected the teaching of morality as a substitute for religion on the basis of experiences from France. He stated that, "moral instruction does not consist of making children believe in certain information, nor in arousing praiseworthy sentiments in them, but rather involves moral dispositions and habits, and these are not cultivated and developed by words and theories, but by deeds and experience".⁹

Kádner came to the conclusion that the family and the church should be the place of religious instruction, and that "denominational religion should be excluded from the teaching subjects at all levels of the school system, as it is incompatible with the secular or interdenominational nature of the modern school and as the influence of the priests in school institutions is in direct contradiction of the demand for free and independent schools."¹⁰ Priests would be able to provide religious instruction outside the scope of school teaching, though under the supervision of the state which would approve all textbooks and teaching aids used. He admitted the possibility of exceptions in the "backward parts" of Moravia and Silesia.

Criticism of the state of religious instruction came not only from liberal circles among the Czech intelligentsia, but also from Catholics. Jan Doležel, in his book *Český kněz* (The Czech Priest) dedicated to Canon of the Olomouc metropolitan chapter and Deputy František Světlík, states that before the Great War "the state of the catechists and teachers of religion at secondary (and primary) schools displayed an unfavourable balance. They taught in the spirit of the Habsburg Catholic religion just like any other subject, awarding grades like professors."¹¹ He maintained that their teaching was old-fashioned and clerical, stating that "This corrupt conformity to the honour of the Estate and teaching bureaucracy determined their entire nature so that they, to the overwhelming majority, displayed themselves as nothing other than priests fighting for the church even outside their catechetical office."¹² He reproached the catechists for

⁹ Kádner, O. Op. cit., p. 21.

¹⁰ Idem, p. 23.

¹¹ Doležel, J. (1931). *Český kněz*. Praha, p. 31.

¹² Ibidem.

not speaking to the souls of their pupils, but merely performing the duties of their office to ensure the satisfaction of their superiors.

Since the second half of the 19th century, there was a struggle between the liberal and conservative currents of Czech politics about the status of religion in school education. While the liberals wanted to exclude religion from school, conservatives said the school could not break away from its centuries-old traditions.

Polish School Motherland in the Northeastern Borderlands of the Second Republic of Poland

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One of the socio-educational organizations operating from the end of the 19th century in the Kingdom of Poland was the Polish School Motherland (Polska Macierz Szkolna, hereinafter: PMS). Initially illegal, work focused the attention of activists on the issues of teaching in Polish, which was addressed to various age groups of listeners. In 1916, the first Statute of the Motherland was developed, which presented the goals and directions of work and in which the promotion of and support for education in the Christian and national spirit constituted the main determinant of activity.

During the First World War, PMS turned its interest to the Northeastern Borderlands. When assessing the state of Polish education in these lands, it was obvious to take appropriate measures in the area of the former Russian Partition. However, the issue of nationality of these lands has not yet been resolved.

After 1918, PMS tried to organize appropriate educational institutions, but it should be emphasized that Warsaw activists encountered a number of difficulties which resulted, among others, from ignorance of the peculiarities of these lands. Finally, in September 1919, the Polish School Motherland of Eastern Lands was established and started developing intensive work in the field of organizing: daycare centers, public schools and secondary schools (few), courses for illiterate adults, libraries and reading rooms. The Motherland was also active in the field of material help for those in need.

Key words: *Polish School Motherland; Kingdom of Poland; WWI; after 1918*

At the turn of the 20th century, Polish schooling in the Kingdom of Poland underwent only minor changes. Although the decree of the Tsar of October 17, 1905 allowed the establishment of private Polish schools, they would not enjoy the same rights as state schools. The certain political liberalization in Russia made it possible to set up (or to reveal the functioning of) cultural and educational organization and associations

which were aimed to organize the education of Polish children and youth. Among these organizations, one ought to note the establishment of the Polish School Motherland (Polska Macierz Szkolna, hereinafter: PSM)¹ on May 15, 1905. The origins of the initiative “can be traced back to clandestine teaching organized in autumn 1894”² by Cecylia Śniegocka.

Even though the work of the Motherland was legalized the Russian authorities would closely monitor the activities of this organization when it organized itself and broadened the scope of its educational efforts. The first two years of the work of the 781 circles of the Motherland in the Kingdom of Poland can be summarized with the following statistics: “in 1907 the authorities confirmed 141 schools, i.a., secondary schools in Pułtusk, Łęczyca, Płock, Siedlce, Wieluń, and Sieradz, also 317 daycare centers, 505 libraries and reading rooms were established and there was the functioning People’s University in Warsaw”³. The aim of the University, an institution for adults, was to increase the level of education and culture of Polish workers and craftsmen strata, honing their professional education, and providing decent and educating entertainment. Organizers of the University emphasized that “the People’s University conducts activities in the national spirit, without serving any partisan political interests, which is why no political agitation may be carried out on its premises”.⁴

The legal work of PSM did not last long. In December 1907 on the basis of the decision of the Russian authorities, further activities were discontinued – the organization was dissolved. In the decree of December 1907 of the general-governor of Warsaw one can read: “the main aim of the Association is not understood to be the enlightenment of the people, which would have been worthy of the support of the government, but a subversive awakening in the people of the spirit of purely national separateness”⁵ and the breach of law was noted in the form of the teaching of Polish in the schools of the Motherland. In breach of the ban imposed by the Russian authorities some of the circles undertook clandestine activities through organizing lectures for various social and professional groups in the Kingdom of Poland.

¹ See: Markiewiczowa, H. (2016) Geneza, organizacja i działalność Polskiej Macierzy Szkolnej w latach 1905–1907. In *Szkolnictwo, opieka i wychowanie w Królestwie Polskim od jego ustanowienia do odzyskania przez Polskę niepodległości 1815–1918*, Warszawa. p. 17.

² Markiewiczowa, H. (2016) *Rzecz o Polskiej Macierzy Szkolnej*, Warszawa, p. 17.

³ Markiewiczowa, H. (2016) *Rzecz o ...*, p. 25.

⁴ Uniwersytet ludowy P. M. S. (Polskiej Macierzy Szkolnej) (1906), „*Konika Rodzinna*” 1906, Issue 1–2, p. 15.

⁵ Polska Macierz Szkolna, (1908), „*Sprawy Szkolne*”, p. 79.

In the years of the partitions of Poland, the area of educational activities of the Motherland was explicitly formed. The experience acquired and the inclusion of new activists and listeners (students and pupils) were to become a major contribution to the realization of goals on numerous levels of care and education in independent Poland.

The outbreak of World War I and the anticipated changes of the political map of Europe awakened the Polish society who focused their attention on, among others, the question of the education of the Polish society. On April 28, 1916 Polish School Motherland was reactivated. Numerous circles were established in the Kingdom of Poland and in the Eastern Borderlands (regions of Wołyń, Polesie, Wileńszczyzna, Grodzieńszczyzna).

The first Statute of the Motherland – the “Act of the Association of the Polish School Motherland” of 1916 presented the goals and the directions of the work in which the promotion and the support of education in the Christian and national spirit were prevalent. This leading idea was reiterated in the first Statute in independent Poland of 1924 and the subsequent document of 1930: “both the Christian character and the national element of the education were idiosyncratic of the work of the Motherland and they were inseparable”.⁶

In the gradual development of its activities, the association would set up and maintain schools of all levels for children and youth, daycare centers, reading rooms, libraries, dormitories, and day rooms.

While in the lands of the former Kingdom, the central voivodships of the Second Republic of Poland, the work of PSM developed well, in the northeastern borderlands the Motherland circles would encounter numerous organizational and financial obstacles. First and foremost one ought to note that the Motherland active in the areas of the Kingdom did not have the opportunity to cooperate with the educators in the northeastern lands.

Originally the educational activities in the region of Vilnius were of limited scope. The work carried out at the turn of the 19th and the 20th century revealed that the number of individuals (secular and clerical) interested in the educating the society was insignificant. The people were poor, in particular the rural population, and they were not able to financially support pedagogical projects. It needs also to be emphasized that the population of the borderlands was ethnically and religiously diverse, which presented the educational activists with further difficulties.

⁶ Markiewiczowa, H. (2016) *Rzecz o ...*, p. 39.

The most intensive educational work was concentrated in Vilnius. The first associations were established, such as the Association of People's Education (1891), Association of National Education (1893), Association for the Care for the Learning Youth (1900), Association of National Work (1905), the Philaretos Association (1905), the "Education" Association (1906), and a number of others. However, the period of the legal activity of the aforementioned organizations and associations was short. They were formed illegally to reveal their existence in 1905 and to subsequently undertake again their clandestine activities after 1907/1908.

Beyond Vilnius education of children would lie within the circle of interests of a few individuals, typically well-educated women, who would frequently teach children independently, focusing on Polish and talks about Polish history.⁷ Between 1918 and 1919 the problem of whether the northeastern borderlands would become a part of the independent state of Poland was not regulated.

The schools in these areas, of all types and levels, were supervised by educational authorities which changed quickly along with the dynamic political situation. As part of the Civil Authority of Eastern Lands the problems of education were dealt with by the department of education organized with the Administrative Section; subsequently, Public Enlightenment Section was organized in October 1919. The Section was dissolved in August 1920. Soon, the statehood of northeastern borderlands changed. They came under Lithuanian government which became the supervisor of school administration, with the national school departments under its authority. The situation was to change again in short time. The establishment of Central Lithuania leads to the rise of new school authorities – the Education Department of the Provisory Governing Commission of Central Lithuania (October 9, 1920 – February 20, 1922). In February 1921 the nowogródzkie voivodship was delineated and along with this new administrative unit of the Second Republic of Poland the School Authority of the Nowogródek School District (based in Lida) was introduced. After the region of Vilnius became a part of Poland in 1922 the authority was dissolved. With the liquidation of the Nowogródek School Authority, the School Authority of the Vilnius School District (based in Vilnius) was formed, with a number of other bodies.

⁷ Walasek, S. (2000) Nauczycielki tajnej oświaty w Okręgu Szkolnym Wileńskim w latach 1864–1915. In *Partnerka, matka, opiekunka. Status kobiety w dziejach nowożytnych od XVI do XX wieku*, ed. K. Jakubiak. Bydgoszcz, pp. 495–503.

In spite of the changing political situation of the discussed lands the school, authorities would undertake actions aimed to organize and maintain public schools, secondary comprehensive education schools, vocational schools including teacher training seminars, daycare centers, and schools for adults. A number of the mentioned initiatives was supported by local associations and educational organizations.

After 1918 PSM undertook actions in the borderlands, stating that in these areas (wotyńskie, poleskie, nowogródzkie, wileńskie and partly białostockie voivodships) there exist aims "concerning the nation and the state which can and ought to be fulfilled by the Polish School Motherland. In these areas not only the cultural heritage needs to be strengthened, but also the scope of the influence ought to be broadened and deepened, which is why the work of the Polish School Motherland in the Borderlands cannot be weakened in any form of activity, but to the contrary, it must intensify".⁸

The activists of PSM based in the Kingdom of Poland failed to comprehend the specificity of the borderlands. It may be assumed that this was the reason why the educators in Vilnius made the decision to define their own set of aims, on the basis of the general guidelines of the Board of the PSM in Warsaw and taking into account the character of the borderlands. In 1919 the Vilnius-based Catholic Association of Polish People's School initiated talks with the PSM headquarters in Warsaw on changing its name to Polish School Motherland. The talks were concluded positively for the Vilnius side and on September 31, 1919 the Catholic Association was dissolved. It is difficult to say whether the newly established Motherland was the origin of the Polish Motherland of Eastern Lands or the reformed Catholic Association was merged with the Motherland of Eastern Lands. On the basis of source materials it may be stated that the Motherland of Eastern Lands was mostly active in Polish and Catholic circles. As it turns out, schools for Belarusian and Orthodox Christian children were established, as well.

As early as the first half of 1918 the Motherland maintained 33 public schools for 2,600 children in Vilnius, with 136 teachers. Noticing the poverty of the local communities, meals were distributed to school children, mostly consisting of soup, occasionally bread. On September 1, 1919 the Motherland set up further public schools in the city.⁹

⁸ Zarząd Główny Polskiej Macierzy Szkolnej (1934), O ratunek dla szkół. „*Polska Macierz Szkolna*”, Issue 1, p. 1.

⁹ Stan szkolnictwa polskiego w Wilnie i na Litwie (czasach okupacji niemieckiej Ob. Ost) (1918). „*Polska Macierz Szkolna*”, Issue 11–12.

During the functioning of the Section of Public Enlightenment, headed by Lucjan Zarzecki, the cooperation of the Motherland and the local school authorities was successful. It may be assumed that this resulted from the fact that previously Zarzecki took on the position of the head of pedagogical department and the entire Board of PSM (February 16, 1917). Zarzecki was also editor-in-chief of the local journal titled "Polska Macierz Szkolna".

With the dissolution of the Section of Enlightenment and Zarzecki's resignation from the function of its head, the Education Department of Central Lithuania took supervision of the entire schooling, attempting to reduce the Motherland to monitoring and coordinating extracurricular education.

The definition of aims that the Motherland perceived as limited led to outrage among its members. However, the administration in Vilnius did not breach its prerogatives and competences believing that it was the only authority in the management of schooling.¹⁰

In December 1919 the PSM of Eastern Lands Address was published which informed about the establishment of a Vilnius-based educational association Polish School Motherland of Eastern Lands and the need for the active participation of the society because "Polish society must understand how powerful a factor in the reconstruction of the free Motherland education of all social strata in our country is".¹¹

On the days of January 4 and 5, 1920 the Polish School Motherland of Eastern Lands organized the First Convention of Educational Associations (in the borderlands). The aim of the convention was to reach mutual understanding in questions pertaining to education. The convention was chaired by Witold Węstawski. The presiding board included: L. Zarzecki – head of Enlightenment Section, prof. Siedlecki – rector of the University of Vilnius, Janowski – representative of educational organizations in Kiev and P. Nowak, delegate of the People's School Association in Galicia. The days of the convention were filled with reports on the realization of the goals of cultural and educational efforts in the Borderlands. At the end of the sessions, 15 motions submitted by

¹⁰ Walasek, S. (2006) *Szkolnictwo powszechne na ziemiach północno-wschodnich II Rzeczypospolitej (1915–1939)*. Kraków, pp. 211–212.

¹¹ State Historical Archive of Lithuania, (hereinafter: PLAH), collection 1135, carton 4, Issue 62, p. 184, PSM of Eastern Lands Address of December 1919.

¹² Ostachiewiczowa, K. (1919–1920). Pierwszy Zjazd Towarzystw Oświatowych, zorganizowany przez Polską Macierz Szkolną Ziem Wschodnich. „*Szkoła Powszechna*”, Issue 3–4, p. 98.

¹³ State Archive of Lithuania, (hereinafter: PAL), collection 172, carton 1, Issue 337, p. 12, Koło PMS im. K. Promyka w Wilnie. Sprawozdanie z działalności Koła od 1/X 30 r. do 31/VI 21 r.

the general education, schooling, library and distribution, and lecture sections of the Motherland were presented. The motions were accepted by the Convention, and the efforts to implement them were initiated by “combating illiteracy, establishing 1- and 3-grade schools and developing them into regular 7-grade public schools, organizing lectures, field trips, and establishing libraries”.¹²

Actions were also carried out towards organizing PSM circles. In Vilnius in 1919 Fr. N. Dyakowski organized the K. Promyk Circle which in January 1920 was reorganized after the Bolshevik invasion by Fr. B. Jeleński, the prefect of Polish schools in Vilnius and rector of the Lord Jesus’ Heart church. According to the report¹³ the Circle would focus on raising national and social awareness among the deprived inhabitants of the “Wilcza Łapa” (“Wolf’s Paw”) suburb. In the reporting period, the circle would include 120 acting members. The circle organized a People’s Home which consisted of a library and a book-lending service. It was a place where lectures were held. At the turn of 1920 and 1921, five lectures were organized, including two on the Constitution of May 3 and to the January Uprising. The circle also conducted handicraft classes for girls. The circle planned to hold courses for adults and establish a daycare center for children in school and preschool age in autumn of 1921. “In the latter issue, the Circle trusts in the help of the PSM Headquarters”.¹⁴ From the general report of the PSM Headquarters, it can be concluded that “because of the distance to the city and the lack of an intelligent leader”¹⁵ the Circle limited its efforts to lending books and a few lectures.

The report of the Antokole-based Piotr Skarga Circle (established on September 1, 1919) for the same period as that described by the K. Promyk Circle includes a number of initiatives for children and adults.¹⁶ The circle maintained a Piotr Skarga public school (School No 29) of 5 grades for 200 children and employing 5 teachers. Furthermore, the Circle ran 5 schools in the Antokole parish outside the city and two nurseries in the villages of Papajany and Dworczyany. Talks were held for adults frequenting the tea shop. “Newspapers were read and distributed”¹⁷ and field trips to the countryside were organized to “raise the awareness of the people through games”. The head of the circle was Fr. T. Zawadzki, parson of the St. Peter church. The circle had 54 acting members and 400 participants were registered. The circle operated

¹⁴ Op. cit.

¹⁵ PAL, collection 172, carton 1, Issue 337, p. 6a.

¹⁶ PAL, collection 172, carton 1, Issue 337, p. 17.

¹⁷ Op. cit.

a People's Home in Antokolska Street, a lecture room, a course room, a tea shop, and a room for a library. Unfortunately, no book lending service was organized. The Circle asked the PSM authorities to send books because there appeared to be a high demand for them. Fr. Zawadzki would lend his own to books to those interested.

In the People's Home on Sunday afternoons or evenings, there would be readings and talks on politics, economics, and nature. From January to May 1920 16 such meetings were held. The participants were predominantly interested in politics and talks on current issues. On the evening courses for youth trips were organized to the most important churches in Vilnius and to the glassworks plant in Śnipiszki. 25 people were enrolled in the evening courses. The classes were suspended in summer. What is more, the Circle organized choir classes and, three times a week, reading of the Sienkiewicz trilogy for youth. Dances and games supervised by the members of the Board were an integral part of the work of the circle.

The Circle members planned to establish a dormitory for older girls from rural areas willing to take part in evening courses and learn handicraft in the morning. Plans were made to set up a kitchen for the impoverished intelligentsia, cooking courses, and craftwork courses in shoemaking and tailoring. There was also the idea to have the members of the Circle participate in an amateur theatre.

The Adam Mickiewicz Circle re-initiated its work in January 1921. The first week was devoted to organizing the circle with 62 acting members but no supporting members. Fr. J. Songin was Head of the Circle. The Circle maintained a People's Home in which there was a tea shop and a small reading room with local periodicals. Talks on current affairs and the importance of People's Homes were held three times a week. The attendance was unimpressive due to the size of the room. Trips were not organized. The Board of the Circle intended to start courses for adults in April and May, however, because of the low number of those interested the decision has been made to postpone the initiative until autumn. Attendance in handicraft classes for older girls was more significant. The Circle Board planned to focus on developing reading and holding cultural and educational talks.¹⁸

The activity of the St. Bernard Circle, established after the Bolshevik invasion in November 1919, was substantially richer. At the beginning Fr. J. Kretowicz was head of the Circle, to be followed by Leon Perkowski.

¹⁸ PAL, collection 172, carton 1, Issue 337, p. 16.

The Circle had 365 members. Lectures were held and a People's Home was maintained in the district of Zarzecze with a reading room, library, and a theatre. 165 people would use the library, most of whom were children, probably pupils in local schools. Lectures in the People's Home were conducted weekly¹⁹ and, furthermore, lectures on the following topics were given in Zarzecze in Filarecka and Jerozolimska streets: On the problem of Vilnius, On citizen duties, Russia and Poland. The interest in the lectures was high, especially in those on history and social and political issues. In the People's Home theatre plays were staged twice and games in the garden were organized once. In its future work, the Circle planned trips to the city (history of Vilnius), to the power plant and the waterworks, and to the Home of the Heart of Jesus (an institution headed by Fr. Lubianiec). The Board also planned to begin citizenship courses in autumn if "it turns out to be necessary to provide supplementary courses in Polish language, history of Poland, arithmetic, and nature".²⁰ In the case of the St. Bernard Circle in 1919 all the members of the board of the circle moved out of Vilnius. The well-developing People's Home in Połocka Street 5 which had a beneficial influence on the rural population, discouraging them from frequenting Jewish pubs and inns and encouraging the reading of Polish periodicals and books was soon to be completely demolished. As it turns out the devastation was the work of the owners of the premises who used the absence of the Board as an opportunity to destroy the belongings of the Circle and start a grocery store in the building. "It was nearly necessary to go to a court of law to get back the equipment and the books, numerous of which were missing".²¹ In February 1921 the St. Bernard Circle set up a new People's Home in Zarzecze Street 5. The premises there were significantly worse.

The Circle in Śnipiszki would focus first and foremost on reading books. The Circle was established on November 7, 1920. Before the Circle of the Motherland was founded there was a parish library with 300 books, set up thanks to the efforts of Fr. L. Olszewski. The library was financed from donations of the readers as well as Rosary Circles, hence the name: The Library of the Living Rosary, which was changed after the PSM Circle was started. Because of the rising prices of books the available funds turned out to be insufficient to purchase new copies and

¹⁹ PAL, collection 172, carton 1, Issue 337, p. 15.

²⁰ Op. cit.

²¹ PAL, collection 172, carton 1, Issue 337.

the fees collected from the readers were not high enough. It might have been that these facts led to the founding of the PMS Circle which made it possible to acquire funding from the Main Board. The finances thus received made it possible for the much needed library to function in Śnipiszki. The circle with 200 members was headed by Fr. L. Olszewski.

As in the remaining PSM circles in Vilnius, it was also in Śnipiszki that the importance of reading and lectures was noticed. 500 people would use the library in Śnipiszki, and, as it was pointed out, "the number of persons willing to use the library is constantly increasing".²²

In the report it is stated that the number of the members of the Circle was relatively low. This was caused by a lack of a building available to organize meetings. It was only on April 23, 1921 that the premises were extended by renting a room adjacent to the library. This made it possible to hold a number of lectures. The Circle did not operate a People's Home although certain efforts were made to do so.

The Zwierzyniec Circle of PSM, which had a People's Home, organized two talks and three lectures,²³ and staged two comedies between January 1 and June 1, 1921. The lectures and the talks were combined with singing, music, and poetry readings. A library with 500 books was set up. 25 people would use the library.

The Circles of the Motherland in wileńskie voivodship were established from 1919, however, "the Bolshevik onslaught and the subsequent Lithuanian government brought all the cultural and educational works in our lands to a halt".²⁴ From November 1920 the works were re-initiated. Libraries were reopened and courses for adults were started. The reorganization of the Tomasz Zan Library Circle was also conducted. On the first meeting of the Board on October 28, 1920 it was decided that it would function as an independent unit. The vice-president of PSM Fr. P. Miłkowski let the circle the premises in the Michalscy building in Św. Anny Street 7.

In December 1920 the Main Board in Vilnius distributed libraries of 300 books each to all of the circles, along with periodicals such as "Jutrzenka" [Aurora] and "Przyjacieli dzieci" [Children's friend]. What is more, 2 libraries were transferred to the school inspector of oszmiański powiat and 2 further ones to the Bystrzyckie Circle in Bystrzyca, and one to the new circles of PSM in Lebediewo and Nowo-Święciany.

²² PAL, collection 172, carton 1, Issue 337, p. 14.

²³ PAL, collection 172, carton 1, Issue 337, p. 13.

²⁴ PAL, collection 172, carton 1, Issue 337, p. 6.

Furthermore, circles in Holszany, Dukszty, Ławryszki, and Nowo-Wilejce received sets of books.

The board also granted subsidies to be spent on defined goals.²⁵ The Board in Vilnius distributed also writing materials that Head of PSM received during his stay in Warsaw. Unfortunately, the amount of the materials to be distributed was greatly diminished by the willful actions of the army who requisitioned certain part of the notebooks, paper, ink, and pencils.

On March 20, 1921 a Convention of the Polish School Motherland in Eastern Lands took place. There a new Board and a Supervisory Board were elected. W. Węstawski was elected president, K. Dmochowski and Fr. St. Miłkowski vice-presidents, and prof. S. Kościatkowski and director T. Szopa and others were elected to the Supervisory Board. Those elected to the managerial bodies of the PSM were well-known for their cultural and educational work in the region of Vilnius and they had been involved in clandestine teaching in the times of the partitions, undertaking initiatives during the German occupation and participating in constructing the foundations of education in independent Poland. The popular personas would successfully promote the efforts of the Motherland and guarantee reliability and responsibility in the works carried out as part of the organization. This was paramount to the local society who did not always accept the educational aims.

Among other projects of the Motherland, ne ought to note the founding of the teacher training seminar for men in 1920 and undertaking proper steps to establish a network of daycare centers for children aged 3 to 4 in the oszmiański powiecie, whose national character was deemed to be threatened.

The beginnings of the work of the PSM circles were difficult. The year 1920, until November, was devoted to organizing libraries, enrolment of students, and restructuring some of the circles. "Ostensibly everything appeared to be in order and that the passing Bolshevik onslaught did not do significant damage to PSM".²⁶ It turned out however that the situation was dramatic. The People's Homes in Zarzecze and in St.Stefańskiej street did not exist. So was the case with three circles of evening courses,

²⁵ For the circles in Lebidiewo 2,000 marks, in Holszany 5,000, to Fr. Tyszkowski for the schools in the wilejski powiecie 5,000, to Mrs. Newierowska for the schools in Mołodeczno 5,000, for the circle in Nowogródek 15,000, for the People's Home in Dukszty 5,000. Furthermore, books and writing materials were delivered to circles in Nowo-Wilejka 33,550, in Holszany for remuneration for private teachers 15,000 and 4,375 for private teachers in the schools in Oszmiań County (Ashmyany).

²⁶ PAL, collection 172, carton 1, Issue 337, p. 26.

vocational schools, and circles organizing field trips. They did not exist. Lack of funds was felt strongly because the 200,000 marks left by the Board were distributed in various subsidies. The situation in Vilnius was bad and in the rural areas, educational life disappeared altogether. On July 1, 1920 there were 30 circles in the area which managed about one hundred schools and daycare centers, and courses of Polish language were conducted in nearly all schools. "The Bolshevik onslaught destroyed all of these efforts. The largest loss lay in the lack of intelligentsia in the rural areas".²⁷

Nevertheless, the earlier work of the Board and the Motherland "caused a complete revolution among the rural population. These people who up to then would look at schools with indifference were currently awakened from their spiritual stupor".²⁸ People would enquire about Polish schools which the Motherland would maintain by supporting them financially.

The Motherland attempted to support independent educational initiatives and occasionally to organize them, competing with other associations or societies. Such events are described in a report (from November 1, 1920 to May 31, 1921). The Motherland organized in Vilnius (1921) celebrations of May 3 during which money collection was conducted, among others. So was the case with celebrations outside the city, where funds for PSM were collected. These actions were conducted by the circles in Lida, Dukszty, Wilejka, and Bystrzyca, who collected 22,185 marks. In other towns and villages "collections for the National Security Association were carried out with utter incompetence on May 3".²⁹ The Board deemed such actions unamicable because "according to the custom, the day of May 3 always belonged to PSM and all the collections organized on that day ought to provide for the Motherland".³⁰

The money collections constituted financial support for the works of the Motherland. The effort aimed for borderland voivodships enforced the "Polish state of possession, conducting the work of statewide gravity and great national significance".³¹ Founding schools, appropriating proper land parcels for their construction required enormous funds. In order to acquire finances in 1924, yet again, the Main Board of the Motherland held a collection named "National Contribution of May 3" and the address

²⁷ Op. cit., p. 27.

²⁸ Op. cit.

²⁹ Op. cit., p. 7a.

³⁰ Op. cit., p. 7–8.

³¹ Polska Macierz Szkolna (1924), „Sprawy Towarzystwa Nauczycieli Szkół Średnich i Wyższych”, Issue 11, p. 167.

to the society pertaining to this issue was signed by the greatest personas of the country, i.e., marshals of both legislative bodies, highest representatives of the clergy, ministers along with the prime minister, leaders of the political clubs, etc.”.³²

Financial problems would accompany the Motherland all throughout its activities in the Second Republic of Poland. The sacrifices made by the society, the money collections, could not provide for all the enormous needs connected with maintaining schools and conducting courses.

Schools were set up in small rented rooms. Equipment shortages were reported. There were cases when the Motherland would discontinue a school due to lack of funds. This occurred in the 1933/34 school year in Pertkany (Dukszańska commune, święciański powiat).³³ For example, the Private Public School of PSM of 3 grades in Romaszkowice (Komaje commune, święciański powiat) had 45 students (33 Polish students, 11 Lithuanian and one Russian).³⁴ As the school principal and teacher, Jan Gazda stated nearly all the students had course books, but they lacked notebooks, which they could not purchase because their parents were poor. The school did not have a library, a table, a chair, and the desks of 4 and 5 places were ill-suited for children. The principal expressed his hope that the situation would be improved because funds for the school were earmarked in the budget of Komajska commune for the year 1935/36 as they would be for state schools and thus the school would be provided a building, heating, and equipment.

In the same year, the PSM in Vilnius received a report on the work of a 1-grade school (of 3 departments) in Wiązowiec (motodeczański powiat). The school had 68 students, including 64 Orthodox ones. The children did have books, but the teacher asked the Motherland for notebooks, pencils, nibs, and color paper.³⁵ As in the case of the two aforementioned schools, this one also lacked didactic materials such as boards with drawings, maps, and sports equipment.

Information and enquiries for help in equipping schools pertained also to schools and courses for adults. In this department, the Motherland would focus on work with illiterate adults, which was initiated in 1917. In independent Poland, attention was drawn to educational work in the Eastern Borderlands where the problem was particularly acute.

³² Op. cit.

³³ PAL, collection 172, carton 4, Issue 380, p. 2.

³⁴ PAL, collection 172, carton 4, Issue 356, p. 29.

³⁵ PAL, collection 172, carton 4, Issue 356, p. 24.

Education of adults was conducted all throughout the times of the Second Republic of Poland.

As it is pointed out in one of the reports submitted into the PSM Board in Vilnius the needs in adult education continued to be vast. In the PSM Public School in Kudziany 25 students were enrolled in evening courses. As the school principal stated what was required were materials on economic and social issues to conduct work in the day room for youth. According to the author of the document such materials were necessary because "with their use, one could awaken social life among the local population and produce a result of this work arising from the duty of the teacher and a representative of this institution which is aimed to educate the ignorant masses".³⁶

Through diverse efforts, the Polish School Motherland of Eastern Lands would realize the fundamental aims of its activity. The broad scope of the work, including organizing daycare centers and preschools, public schools for children and adults, courses for the illiterate, distributing food to children, as well as starting day camps at the end of the 1930s shows the interest of the members of the Motherland in the social problems of the Eastern Borderlands. Financial problems were frequently encountered, which is why the efforts could not be realized in their entirety.

Financial problems and the resulting major limitations of the work of the Motherland are discussed in the Report of the association for the period from January 1, 1937 to April 1, 1938.³⁷ At the moment of undertaking the management of the Vilnius region, the Motherland transferred over 400 public, secondary, and vocational schools to the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment. In the subsequent years focus was placed on extracurricular education. The situation did not change until the beginning of the 1930s. When the economic crisis began and the state funds for education were greatly reduced the Motherland provided help.

In the middle of the 1930s, due to the improving economic situation of the country the Motherland limited the number of public schools from 48 in the year 1936/37 to 42 in 1937/38. However, it turns out that this was not the only reason for decreasing the number of schools. In the Report, it is stated that teachers' remunerations had increased, and the subsidy provided for the Motherland by the Vilnius School District Authority was

³⁶ PAL, collection 172, carton 4, Issue 356, p. 36.

³⁷ PLAH, collection 1135, carton 13, Issue 347.

limited.³⁸ Because of the financial transfers for the public schools, the Motherland was required to limit the funds for extracurricular education. This work in the reported period covered regular libraries (20) and mobile libraries that the Association had over 100 of. 15 reading rooms/day rooms, courses for pre-draft soldiers, prelection action, and two People's Homes in Postawy and Krasno on Usza remained under the supervision of the Rector.

The report expresses an amicable and cordial approach to the work of PSM of the authorities and the society. "In the period of its existence from April 1919 to April 1938 the Association attempted to carry education to the remotest and the wildest areas of the Vilnius region to appropriate these lands that we all love and admire for Polish culture".³⁹

³⁸ In the year 1936/37 subsidy was provided for 41 schools and in the following year for 36. Help in providing for PSM schools in 1936/37 was granted by Senate of the J. Piłsudski University (three schools), The Circle of Vilnians with the Association of the Development of Eastern Lands in Warsaw and Association of the Employees of Polish Telegraphic Agency in Warsaw and numerous circles of PSM in the Vilnius region. PLAH, collection 1135, carton 13, Issue 347, p. 2.

³⁹ PLAH, collection 1135, carton 13, Issue 347, p. 4.

Educational Activity of Polish Christian Women's Societies in the South-Eastern Borderlands in the Second Polish Republic

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In the interwar period, Christian women's societies operating in the three provinces of the south-eastern Second Republic of Poland: Lwów, Stanisławów and Tarnopol, through their social and educational activities, played a significant role in the development of education, culture, social and economic life in these areas. They have contributed to the development of various socio-cultural, charitable, caring, educational and economic activities. Their large number and often similar scope of activities required proper coordination, efficient management and supervision. Union of Polish Christian Women's Societies was founded in Lwów in 1913 and was conducting its activity until 1939 and such a task was undertaking that task.

Key words: Union of Polish Christian Women's Societies; Polish women's societies; educational and social activities; South-Eastern Borderlands

In the interwar period, many Polish Christian (Catholic) women's societies operating in three south-eastern voivodeships Lviv (Lwów), Stanyslaviv (Stanisławów) and Ternopil (Tarnopol) – through their broadly understood educational activities – played a big part in development of education, culture, as well as social and economic life on those territories. They contributed to varied activities: sociocultural, charitable, protective, educational, and economic. Their activities (work) were conducted for the good of society, nation, citizens, and Catholics; they served Polish local communities in South-Eastern Borderlands. The societies were very active through the whole interwar period, increasingly so during the economic crisis and when faced with the emergence (intensification) of various adverse phenomena: social (e.g. homelessness, alcoholism, prostitution, poverty), political (e.g. Parliament and Senate elections), natural (e.g. floods, harsh winters). In their activities, informed by their

own ideas and clear aims, they used traditional forms of education, work, social assistance, as well as created new and modern ones. Many well-educated women were members of those societies – officials, teachers, doctors of medicine, representatives of the gentry, students, and workers. Their quantity and often similar (overlapping) areas of work required coordination, efficient management, direction, and supervision.

One which was supposed to fulfil those tasks, while developing and improving broadly understood educational activities, was the Union of Polish Christian Women's Societies.

Organisation was brought to life February 9th 1913 in Lviv during the Congress of National Delegates, by 60 Polish women's societies, which aimed at "creating one, strong, cohesive, uniform women's organisation, which would allow for sharing thoughts and experiences with working for social and national betterment, as well as be an institution regulating that work and initiating new actions".¹ Management of the Union was chosen during the Congress. Eleonora Lubomirska² became a chairman and performed this function till 1939. Additionally, the congress elected two deputy chairmen – Maria Argasińska and Maria Opieńska, two secretaries – Anna Reiterowa and Zofia Rylska and eleven Management members.³

On January 18th 1914 in Lviv, another General Congress of Delegates of Societies belonging to the Union was working on reformulating main goals and responsibilities of the association in the light of the threat of war. 62 Societies were represented on the Congress, from such cities as: Lviv, Cracow, Kolomyia, Stanyslaviv, Przemyśl, Zhovkva, Ternopil. During the Congress, changes were made to the Statute of the Union – the guiding idea of the Union's activities was to be "idea of communication, idea-work, which was supposed to become a seed of nation-wide unity". In accordance with the Statute, the Union was to consolidate, coordinate, be "a centre of all female work in various fields". The fields of work were

¹ Central State Historical Archives [hereinafter: CDIAL], Objednannja polskych žinočnych chrytyjanskykh tovarystv Lviv 1913–1939 [hereinafter: OPŻChTL], collection 841, carton 1, no. 28, pp. 1–4; Also: CDIAL, OPŻChTL, collection 841, carton 1, no. 8, p. 11 ("Appeal" 1914).

² Born April 5th 1866, died in 1940 in Pau (France). Daughter of Józef Hussarzewski – son of Jan Adolf Hussarzewski. Wife of Andrzej Lubomirski (1862–1953), a delegate to the Diet of Galicia and Lodomeria from 1898 to 1907, later (from 1907) a delegate to the Parliament of Vienna, exceptional social and economic activist. Mother of four. She donated Hussarzewski's library to Ossolineum (inherited from grandfather Adolf).

³ CDIAL, OPŻChTL, collection 841, carton 1, no. 5, pp. 1–4; Also: CDIAL, OPŻChTL, collection 841, carton 1, no. 2, pp. 33–34.

specified – the societies were to operate in the social, economic, educational and charitable dimensions, they were supposed to work for “nationalisation, socialisation, and enlightenment of the great national masses, (...) improvement of people’s health in the cities, as well as in the country, (...) increase in prosperity and native industry”.⁴

Goals of the association were clearly defined in the Statute. The Union was to:

- “awaken the national and civil spirit among the general public;
- influence shaping of Polish, honestly national, non-party public opinion;
- provide organised, expedient and penal help in the area of national needs;
- consolidate social, humanitarian, educational, and economic work of Polish women societies – unite women working in different fields under a common idea of national work;
- create and acquire new job opportunities for women;
- support and develop educational and intellectual movement;
- provide the members of the Union and indigent members of the Societies belonging to the Union free legal advice and free help in finding work”.⁵

Enumerated goals were to be attained mainly through work in four specialised sections: social, humanitarian-charitable, educational, and economic. Each section had its own, specified tasks. Social section was tasked with carrying for “the national interests, (...) upbringing our youth in the religious and national spirit, fighting alcoholism and illiteracy, improving morality of family life and social life, physical and moral health of women and children”. Humanitarian-charitable section was tasked with organising Samaritan courses, arranging care for the sick and indigent, improving hygiene of the general public, organising help and care for working women. Educational section was focusing on development and propagation of the intellectual movement among women from all the social classes, as well as on supporting women in acquiring occupational education.⁶ Economic section was tasked with “gathering funds for work and organising work in the field of economy, establishing companies and

⁴ CDIAL, OPŻChTL, collection 841, carton 1, no. 8, pp. 11–12 (“Appeal” 1914).

⁵ *Statut Zjednoczenia Polskich Chrześcijańskich Towarzystw Kobiety we Lwowie* (1914). Lviv, pp. 3–4.

⁶ In order to develop and strengthen the intellectual movement among women from all social classes, the Union organised many lectures; e.g. members of the Union took active part in the First Congress of Polish Hygienists in Lviv on January 19th 1914, organising Women’s Hygiene Section where they delivered lectures.

businesses, promoting the principle of cooperation, economic improvement of the country and national industry, mainly female one, as well as striving to expand the scope of professions available to women".⁷

In 1914, 27 Lviv societies and 33 societies from Eastern Lesser Poland joined the Union. Following societies, among others, became members of the Union:

- from Lviv: The Circle of Salesian Sisters, Polish Women's Circle, Congregation of the Children of Mary – Students of the Sisters of Immaculate Conception, Teachers' Sodality, Infant Jesus Society, Society of the Merciful Women of St. Vincent de Paul, Catholic Women's Labour Association, St. Salome Association, St. Zita Association, Union of the Circles of Landladies, Association of Catholic Women;
- from Cracow: Help Office for Christian Mothers, Sisterhood of Christian Mothers, Polish Association of Catholic Women, Teachers' Sodality;
- from Kolomyia: Polish Dormitory for Girls, Female Boarding School for Seminarians, Polish Women's Circle of the People's School Society, Circle of Self-Education of Teachers, Marianska Sodality, Teachers' Sodality, Society of St. Vincent de Paul;
- from Przemyśl: Women's Circle of the People's School Society, Teachers' Self-Help;
- from Stanyslaviv: Circle of Christians, Circle of Charity Ladies, Circle of Polish Women, Circle of Ladies of the People's School, Sodality of the Ladies, Sodality of the Teachers;
- from Ternopil: Polish Women's Organization;
- from Zhovkva: St. Salome Association.⁸

⁷ *Statut Zjednoczenia Polskich Chrześcijańskich Towarzystw Kobiety we Lwowie* (1914). Lviv, pp. 4–5; Also: CDIAL, OPŻChTL, collection 841, carton 1, no. 1, pp. 12–17.

⁸ Following societies also belonged to the Union – from Lviv: Rural Choirs, Women's Circle of the F. Boberska People's School Society, Circle of the E. Plater People's School Society, Congregation of the Children of Mary – Students of the Sisters of Immaculate Conception, Workers' Gardens, Industrial Help of Women, PP. Economics, High School Teachers' Section, Sacré Couer Sodality of Women, Teachers' Sodality, Falcon Female Branch, Female Confection Employees' Confederation, Cheap Kitchens, Infant Jesus Society, Women's Savings Society, St. Salome Association, St. Zita Association, Eleusis Emancipation – Sisterhood Circle, Union of Hosiery, Association of Teachers, Association of Catholic Women; from Cracow: Help Office for Christian Mothers, Circle of Female Industrial Help, Circle of the People's Schools Society, Polish Association of Catholic Women, Teachers' Sodality, Association of Teachers, Association of Post Office Officials, Association of Postal Officials; from Kolomyia: Polish Dormitory for Girls, Female Boarding School for Seminarians, Polish Women's Circle of the People's School

When Poland regained its independence, the Union continued and developed its activities. With “idea of communication” in mind, it coordinated social, economic, educational, and charitable work of Christian women’s societies. Each month it organised – during the whole interwar period – sessions and proceedings during which the members discussed current social, economic, political, religious, educational, and cultural problems, as well as nationwide issues. During proceedings, in accordance with current social needs, specific tasks were undertaken and means of accomplishing them determined, new forms of work were created – outposts and institutions, strategies were established. Tasks were assigned to be performed by the specific Societies (taking into account their specificity, nature of individual organizations and their capabilities). This allowed for better work organisation – combining strengths and resources, more effective use of potential and capabilities of specialised organisations – but also eliminated duplication of actions and various activities.⁹

The Union and its member societies focused mainly on providing aid, care, philanthropy and charity; educational and cultural activities were a secondary focus.

The issues of proper upbringing and education of the society, especially women (in the Christian spirit, in accordance with expressed ideas and goals of the organisation), were a very important aspect (dimension) of the Union’s activities. Interest in issues of upbringing and education was reflected in everyday work of the societies, as well as in discussions during numerous Women’s Congresses organised by the Union. For example, on April 5–6th, 1921, many members of numerous societies and women’s organisations from all of Poland attended the Women’s Congress organised by the Union. The aim of this Congress

Society, Circle of Self-Education of Teachers, PP. Economics, Female Section of the County Organization, Marianska Sodality, Teachers’ Sodality, Association of Teachers; from Przemyśl: Teachers’ Self-Help; from Stanyslaviv: Women’s Circle of the People’s School Society, Association of the H. Sienkiewicz People’s School, Ladies Sodality, Teachers’ Sodality, Women’s Work Society. CDIAL, OPŻChTL, collection 841, carton 1, no. 7, pp. 1–6.

⁹ More on the subject in: Piwowarczyk, M. (2012). Integracja działań społeczno-kulturalnych na rzecz społeczności lokalnej Lwowa na przykładzie Zjednoczenia Polskich Chrześcijańskich Towarzystw Kobietych we Lwowie w okresie 1918–1939. In: Herciuk, D., Haratyk, A. (eds.) *Rozwój ukraińskiej i polskiej oświaty i myśli pedagogicznej (XIX–XXI w.)*. Vol. 2: *Udział społecznych i kulturalno-oświatowych towarzystw w rozwoju ukraińskiego i polskiego szkolnictwa*. Lviv: Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, pp. 126–155; Also: CDIAL, OPŻChTL, collection 841, carton 1, no. 21, pp. 1–9.

was to develop concepts and ways to work on raising the level of morality at home, in school and in the society as a whole. Attendees discussed issues concerning increase of morality of Polish family, role and tasks of women in social life, upbringing and education. Many lectures were delivered on such subjects as: "Fighting Demoralisation", "Divorce as a Force of Destruction in Society", "Catholic Postulates Regarding the Marriage Act", "The Need for Social Work of Women", "Organisation of Work of Women", "Women in Politics", "Women in Universities", "Family and School in Working on Moral Revival of the Nation". The Congress also passed a series of resolutions, appeals to Polish women, in which it expressed following demands, among others: "introduction of compulsory courses of pedagogy and home economics in all female schools" or "organisation of systematic work in order to familiarise women and mothers with their obligations and tasks in life". During the Congress, attendees postulated and supported women's aspirations to occupational education and equality in all aspects of public life.¹⁰

When it comes to more practical matters, the Union financed, among others: H. Sienkiewicz Dormitory of Craft Workshops of St. Anthony in Lviv, A. Mickiewicz Polish Dormitory for Girls, Nurseries and Shelters for Orphans in Kolomyia, and many local societies. It also took active part in collecting donations for the Red Cross and the Society for Youth Care, acquired several places for summer health retreats for students and girl scouts in Kuźnice, Przeworsk and many surrounding manor houses.¹¹

In 1923, "in the name of better future, realising that exemplary qualifications of the nursing staff is very significant in development of infants", the Infant Care Association of the "Infant Jesus" – a member of the Union – initiated creation of a school for caretakers of infants in the Infant Jesus' Institution for Waifs in Lviv.¹²

In the years 1926–1927, the period of highest social and educational activity, the Union undertook many significant actions to integrate the Societies and implement statutory tasks. Whenever possible, it satisfied social needs in the area of care, assistance, and support for people in need from various social and professional groups. It coordinated activities of the Societies, supported them financially and by creating common ground for discussion, thought exchange, reaching agreement in matters, problems, and difficulties important to the Societies. For example, on April 10–11th, 1926, another Women's Congress took place

¹⁰ CDIAL, OPŻChTL, collection 841, carton 1, no. 14, pp. 12–22.

¹¹ CDIAL, OPŻChTL, collection 841, carton 1, no. 15, pp. 1–15.

¹² CDIAL, OPŻChTL, collection 841, carton 1, no. 16, pp. 2.

in Lviv. Several hundred people were in attendance – delegates from women's societies in Lviv, Stanyslaviv, and Ternopil. Many important issues concerning moral life of family and Polish women, as well as education and schools were brought up during the proceedings (through reports, discussions, and resolutions). A number of papers were delivered, e.g.: "Draft law on penalties for abandoning family", "On fighting demoralisation", "Matters of upbringing and education", "Family as a fundament of State". Moreover, the Congress, in its resolution to Parliament (signed by 7775 women), expressed its support for the draft law "On penalties for abandoning family", which would – according to the delegates – contribute to "strengthening family ties; increase in public morality by forcing the closest family to care for children and elderly; reduction in infant mortality; reduction in number of beggars, which will in turn reduce expenses of municipalities, societies and similar national and municipal institutions; diverting many girls from prostitution by providing them with parental care".¹³

In the years 1926-1927, the Union organised many lecture campaigns propagating history and culture of Poland, Catholic model of family life and upbringing, sober and moral life; in Lesser Poland, it organised summer camps for indigent Polish children; actively provided financial and legal help to societies that looked after children and young people, which allowed many institutions and shelters to continue their work. For female ex-convicts and women at risk of prostitution, the Union organised legal aid and counsel, material aid (in the form of benefits) and educational aid (in the form of various occupational courses); e.g. along with the department of venereal diseases of the General Hospital in Lviv, the Union organised a millinery course for engendered women, in which many of them showed interest. The organisation also advised and provided professional help in obtaining various loans, credits, subsidies for operations of economic associations, e.g. Society for Women's Education.¹⁴

Since May 1931, the Union changed its name to the Union of Polish Catholic Women's Societies in Lviv and was comprised of 40 societies, e.g.: Brotherhood of Christian Mothers dedicated to Our Lady of Sorrows, Catholic Union of Polish Women, Catholic Association of Female Clothing Industry Workers dedicated to Saint Joseph, Circle of Polish Women, Circle of Polish Women's of the People's School Society in Kleparów, Circle of Female University Students, Intelligence Assistance

¹³ CDIAL, OPŻChTL, collection 841, carton 1, no. 19, pp. 1–5.

¹⁴ CDIAL, OPŻChTL, collection 841, carton 1, no. 21, pp. 1–9. Also: CDIAL, OPŻChTL, collection 841, carton 1, no. 22, pp. 2–13.

Committee – Section of the Catholic Union of Polish Women, Congregation of Landladies dedicated to Our Lady of Kochawina, Polish Workers' Union of Female Catholic Workers "Lever", Polish Sodality, Association of Catholic Servants dedicated to Saint Zyta, Infant Care Association "Infant Jesus", Society for the Care for Young Women – Section of the Catholic Union of Polish Women, Society of the Merciful Women of St. Vincent de Paul, St. Salome Association, Society of St. Stanislaus Kostka for Care for Terminators in Lviv.¹⁵

All those Societies, with support and patronage of the Management of the Union and under its direction, developed their activities in their specific fields. They continued uninterrupted social and educational work until the end of the Second Polish Republic. They intensified their activities during the great economic crisis, providing assistance to the poorest, unemployed, homeless, lonely, and orphans. For example, in the years 1931–1932, the Union cooperated with Municipal Committee of Extracurricular Care in Lviv (in the aspect of feeding children), urban Christian care facilities for school-age children, closed care institutions (i. e. the Hospital of Mercy, the Lviv Citizens' Institute dedicated to Saint Lazarus), homeless care institutions (City Shelter for Homeless Women, Brother Albert's Shelter, Albertine Sisters' Shelter).¹⁶

In the first decade of independent Poland and in the years of great economic crisis, the Union complied forms, content, and principles of sociocultural and educational work, which were later continued and developed. Activities of the Union and its member Societies – which brought together hundreds of Polish Catholic women – played important part in helping the neediest inhabitants of the discussed voivodeships, mainly women and children. It contributed to the increase of social, cultural, educational, and economic activity of Polish local societies in South-Eastern Borderlands of the Second Polish Republic.

¹⁵ The most active in the area of child care were following societies: Catholic Union of Polish Women, Child Protection Society, Infant Care Association "Infant Jesus," Society for the Care for Young Women – Section of the Catholic Union of Polish Women, Society of the Merciful Women of St. Vincent de Paul, Society of St. Stanislaus Kostka for Care for Terminators in Lviv, Congregation of Landladies. CDIAL, OPŻChTL, f. 841, op. 1, no. 227, pp. 1–2; Also: CDIAL, OPŻChTL, collection 841, carton 1, no. 10, pp. 5–10.

¹⁶ The Union cooperated with: J. Neuman Municipal Nursery at 4 Stelmacha Street, Archbishop J. Bilczewski Municipal Nursery at 3 Bema Street, W. Biechoński Municipal Nursery at 9 Kaleczna Street, Municipal Nursery at 46 Zamarstynowska Street, Municipal Nursery at 102 Żółkiewskiej Street and Municipal Nursery at 31 Pijarów Street. Bonasiuk, A. (2000) *Lwów w latach 1918–1939. Ludność–Przestrzeń–Samorząd*. Rzeszów: Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna, p. 268.

Another example of the educational activities of Christian women's societies in South-Eastern Borderlands of the Second Polish Republic was their organising and supporting of private initiatives in the area of education and advancement (preparation) of teachers¹⁷. Proper preparation and education of public school teachers was one of the priorities of educational authorities in the reborn Poland. In realisation of this task, state institutions (authorities) were supported by private initiatives. These included, above all, initiatives and activities undertaken in the field of education (teacher education and training) by various and numerous (Polish and non-Polish) organisations and societies which included such work in their areas of interest.

In the interwar period, in three south-eastern voivodeships (Lviv Voivodeship, Stanyslaviv Voivodeship, Ternopil Voivodeship), a series of teacher seminars were organised, both public and private ones¹⁸.

In the mid-twenties (school year 1925/26), among 49 seminars operating in three south-eastern voivodeships, as many as 30 were private establishments run by different organisations, societies, religious congregations, municipal associations or private entities (among them were 22 private seminars teaching in Polish language and six private seminars teaching in Ukrainian language – those operated in Lviv, Drohobych, Sambir, Stanyslaviv, Stryi, Kolomyia – and two private ultraquist seminars.¹⁹

Various Christian organisations and socio-educational societies demonstrated their interest in schools, institutions that prepared teachers, educators, and guardians. Some of them included educational activities in their statutes, others undertook activities in this field occasionally. Organisation and program of the established and maintained teachers'

¹⁷ See: Piwowarczyk, M. (2016). Rol socialno-osvitnych tovarystv v orhanizaciji ta pidtrymci pryvatnyh iniciatyv u haluzi osvity ta profesijnoho vdoskonalenuja vcyteliv u Druhij Reči Pospolytij na teritoriji Lvivskoho, Stanislavskoho i Ternopilskoho vojevodstvi (vybrani pryklady) In: Herciuk, D. – Myshchysyn, I. (eds.). *Rozwój ukraińskiej i polskiej oświaty i myśli pedagogicznej (XIX–XXI w.)*. Vol. 6: *Edukacja prywatna w Polsce i na Ukrainie: aspekty historyczne i pedagogiczne tworzenia szkół prywatnych, obecny stan i perspektywy rozwoju*. Lviv: Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, pp.151–167.

¹⁸ See: Sanojca, K. (2013). *Relacje polsko-ukraińskie w szkolnictwie państwowym południowo-wschodnich województw Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*. Kraków: Historia lagellonica, p. 295.

¹⁹ Zagórowski, Z. (1926). *Spis nauczycieli szkół wyższych, średnich, zawodowych, seminarjów nauczycielskich oraz wykaz zakładów naukowych i władz szkolnych. R.2*. Warsaw–Lviv: Książnica–Atlas, pp. 380–382. See also: Doroszewski, J. (2002). *Seminaria nauczycielskie w Polsce w świetle polityki oświatowej państwa (1918–1937)*. Lublin: Lubelskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, p. 22.

seminars corresponded to those of state-owned teacher's seminars; although they functioned without the full status of state schools. In 1933, we could find following examples of such facilities:

- Private Female Teachers' Seminar of the Society for Christian Teaching in Tłumacz. The owner of the school – which taught in Polish – was the Society for Christian Teaching in Tłumacz (headed by a priest Kazimierz Tabaczkowski). The school was designed for girls “without differences in denominations and nationalities”. According to the statute: “individual direction of the school was such upbringing and education of the candidates for teachers, that they become aware of their duties and creative citizens of the Republic of Poland and achieve best possible religious, moral, intellectual, and physical proficiency, as well as the best preparation for life and teaching profession”;²⁰
- Private Female Teachers' Seminar of the Sisters of St. Basil in Stanyslaviv. The school was designed for female youth of Catholic religious denomination and Russian nationality (teaching in Russian language);²¹
- Saint Josaphat's Private Female Teachers' Seminar of the Sisters of St. Basil in Lviv (teaching in Ukrainian). The school was designed for female youth of Greek Catholic religious denomination and Ukrainian nationality;²²
- Private Female Teachers' Seminar in Lviv, run by the Assembly of the Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth. The school was designed for female youth of Christian religious denomination and Polish nationality (teaching in Polish language). According to the statute, the goal of the school was to “implement discipline and solid work in order to shape future teachers – citizens ready to serve their country and basing their internal lives on Catholic ethics”. After 1932, the school met the conditions for running a business and had a permit for the duration of its operations (in 1936 it did not have full state school rights).²³

Ultimately, Union of Polish Christian Women's Societies in Lviv fulfilled its role as a coordinator and initiator of the broadly understood educational activity of Polish Christian women's societies in the South-Eastern Borderlands in the Second Polish Republic. It was an institution

²⁰ CDIAL, Kuratorium Lwivskogo Škilnogo Okrugu m. Lviv [hereinafter: KLSO], collection 179, carton 1, no. 565, pp. 56–57.

²¹ CDIAL, KLSO, collection 179, carton 1, no. 565, p. 15.

²² CDIAL, KLSO, collection 179, carton 1, no. 565, pp. 33–35.

²³ CDIAL, KLSO, collection 179, carton 1, no. 565, pp. 3–5.

that brought together and activated dozens of women's organizations and thousands of women who were involved in educational, cultural, assistance, caring and charitable work, thus contributing to the formation of the socio-cultural character of Polish local communities in the discussed areas. The wide scope of the Union's activity, as well as the diversity of applied forms, can/should inspire entrepreneurship/activity of Polish communities at the beginning of the 21st century, not only in the areas of the former South-Eastern Borderlands of the Polish Republic.

What is more, activities of Christian women's societies in the area of teacher education/training should be considered as valuable and effective. It was possible, thanks to the institutions/seminars, to educate hundreds of well-prepared teachers who, through their work, contributed significantly to raising the level of schooling/education of Poles in the Second Polish Republic period.

The Catholic Church in Siberia and its Educational Activities for the 19th Century Polish Exiles

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Polish 19th century exiles to Siberia are inseparably connected with the activity of the Catholic Church in the area, which was organized by the Mohyliv archdiocese with an archbishop in Sankt Petersburg. The two central Siberian Roman Catholic parishes (east in Irkutsk and west in Tomsk) were the first official organization for Poles living in the area. They played an important role in the life of a community of people sent away from home against their will, far away from home and their families. The parishes gave these people the ability to fulfil their religious needs and, at the same time, meant a part of their home country and freedom for these people. Thanks to the tremendous effort from Polish priests, who were often exiles themselves, there were libraries, orphanages, refuges, small schools and charitable societies organized in the parish.

Key words: 19th century; Siberia; Polish exiles; Catholic church; Education; Patronage

Poland entered the 21 century with memories of Siberian exiles that started in the 18th century and lasted, without a stop, throughout the entire 19th century. In the 20th century, Soviet deportations and gulags made their mark on another generation of Poles, who were transported east for gruesome exploitative work with the intent of extermination. The “Polish Sibir” was not limited to the geographical Siberia but also the broader Russian Empire area, including Caucasus, the steppes of Kazakhstan, and the Permian and Arkhangelsk (its European part) Governorates. There were Poles experiencing Russian exile as early as 16th century as prisoners of war during the era of Stefan Batory’s war with Muscovy. However, the proper beginning to the series of Polish exiles is marked by the 18th century Bar Confederation (1768–1772), which was created by the Polish nobility against Russian guardianship and in defense of the catholic faith and freedom. As a result, more than 10000 Poles ended up in Russian exile. The next group of exiles originated from Tadeusz Kościuszko’s soldiers, who fought to sustain the Polish state in 1794. After the loss of its independence

(1795) the Commonwealth of Poland disappeared from the map of Europe for over 120 years. However, the fight for its independence continued and more Poles were sent beyond Ural as punishment. Among those, there were the Napoleonic era prisoners of war at the beginning of 19th century and, in the twenties of 19th century, the school youth and academic students from the Vilnius Educational Area (1803–1832) who were involved in patriotic conspiracies. Up until this point, around 70 thousand Polish patriots were sent to Siber.

A new era in the history of Polish exiles was marked by the November Uprising (1830–1832). After its failure, the tsarist authorities began to use exile on a grander scale by force-drafting people to remote areas in deep Russia, to Siberian battalions, for drudgery and settlement. Only for the 1830–1835 years, it meant the exile of 30–40 thousands of Poles. Despite the failure of the military uprising and, as a result, far-reaching repressions, the idea of independent Poland was not forgotten. More and more Polish patriotic conspirators were sent to the Siberian exile, e.g. the partisans of lieutenant Józef Zaliwski (1833), the members of patriotic conspiracy of Szymon Konarski (1838) along with the members of Association of the Polish People. Among those sent beyond Ural in the forties of the 19th century, there were members of the peasant movement of father Piotr Ściegienny, members of the Gerwazy Gzowski association, students of the Warsaw gimnasium for the preparation of an assassination of Iwan Paskiewicz, who was a Russian general and the governor of Polish Kingdom, the emigrants sold out by Austria from the era of 1830 uprising, the members of the following uprisings: Cracovian, Greater Poland, members of the conspiracy organization of Henryk Krajewski from Warsaw and Vilnius and patriots from the Lithuanian Association of Dalewski Brothers. The sixties of the 19th century were marked by another series of mass exiles of Poles to Siberia tied to patriotic manifestations (1861) and repressions after the fall of January Uprising (1863–1865). More than 30 thousands insurgents were exiled at that time, and often they were voluntarily followed by others. The insurgents were usually tried by war-time courts and came from different classes: nobility, peasantry, burghers and clergy. They were usually sentenced to drudgery in the mines of East Siberia, to heavy-duty military work in fortresses or in penal battalions with very strict regulations (where corporal punishment was allowed) or to settle.¹

¹ Jędrzychowska, B. (2000). *Polscy zesłańcy na Syberii 1830–1883. Działalność pedagogiczna, oświatowa i kulturalna*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, pp. 21–26; Brus, A. – Kaczyńska, E. – Sliwowska, W. (1992). *Zesłanie i katorga na Syberii w dziejach Polaków 1815–1914*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, pp. 58–78.

The partition of Poland led to crucial changes on the political map of Central-East Europe. The Commonwealth of nobles ceased to exist and its land was annexed mostly by Russia. As early as 1772 around 1 million 300 thousand inhabitants of this area were deemed to be Russian subjects: among them, there were 900 thousand Catholics (Greek Catholics and Roman Catholics).² As a result, the Orthodox church authorities were tasked with organizing the spiritual life of Catholics in the entire Russian Empire in order to limit their ties to Rome as much as possible. At the same time, it was stated that the Catholic church in Russia was only "tolerated" and did not retain its previous rights. For this reason, the Roman Catholic Mohyliv Archdiocese with an archbishop in Sankt Petersburg was created in 1772. It encompassed all catholic parishes in the Russian Empire. As a result, it also encompassed all the Polish Catholics who were exiled to Siberia. Thanks to the fact that there were Polish diasporas created there, the possibility to create catholic parishes, houses of prayers and churches, which were often called Roman Catholic Orthodox churches, arose.

The foundation for the creation of the Roman Catholic Church's structure in Siberia were laid by the Jesuit mission from 1812, who ministered over a huge area of the Irkutsk and Yeniseysk Governorates, as well as Zabaykalsky and Yakutsk areas.³ In 1815, the Irkutsk mission was divided into a Tomsk branch, which ministered over the West Siberia, and Irkutsk over the lands of East Siberia. The Jesuits served spiritually until 1820, when the Tsar ordered them to leave Russia.

On the basis of truling of the Mohyliv administrator from 1834, the official division of Siberia onto two Catholic parishes was introduced: the west parish included the territories of the Tobolsk and Tomsk governorates, as well as the Omsk region (including the Petropavlovsk, Semipalatinsk and Ust Kamenogorsk regions, which are now located within Kazakhstan's borders), on the other hand the east parish (Irkutsk) included the territories of Yeniseysk and Irkutsk governorates. The first catholic church in the area was built in Irkutsk in 1825. It was a wooden temple with a brick-and-mortar foundation. The parish office, library and lodging for priests was located in the outbuildings of the church. The building burned down in the great fire of Irkutsk on the 4th of July 1879. However, thanks to the collection from Catholics from all over the Russian

² Loret, M. (1910), *Kościół katolicki a Katarzyna II: 1772–1784*. Kraków–Warszawa, pp. 20–21.

³ Zamek-Gliszczyńska, A. (1992). Misja jezuicka w Irkucku 1811–1820. *Przegląd Powszechny*, nr 2, pp. 289–298.

Empire, the building was rebuilt in 1881-1885 as a neo-gothic church, which exists to this day.⁴ The Irkutsk parish gave start to the parishes west of Irkutsk in the Krasnoyarsk Krai and to the east in Zabaykalsky Krai. These parishes grew into branches on the verge of 19th and 20th century and became autonomous Roman Catholic parishes before 1914.⁵

One of the more influential churches in the West Siberia was the first Siberian brick-and-mortar temple built by Bernardines in Tomsk in 1833.⁶ The construction of the next Roman Catholic parish church in West Siberia was completed in Tobolsk in 1848.⁷ Over time, more churches appeared under the Mohyliv diocese, which was created as a result of Catherine the 2nd's actions.

Roman Catholic parishes, including the Siberian ones, were the first official organizations for Poles living in the area. The parishes allowed them to fulfil their spiritual needs as well as were considered a piece of homeland and freedom. Despite the level of religious involvement of the exiles, the churches were a place where Catholics from the Polish Kingdom and lands annexed by Russia (Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine) could meet. Along with the parish organizations, the churches played an important role in the life of the community that was forced to live in exile, away from their homes and family.

The scope of activities undertaken by each of the Siberian parishes was largely dependant on the involvement of the parson (superior). The first parson of the Irkutsk parish, father Modest Romaszkievicz was replaced in 1830 by father Dionizy Milewski and, after three years, he was replaced by father Dezydery Haciski who held the function for 22 years, right until his death in 1855. All three priests belonged to the congregation of Bernardines. At a later date, the duties of the parson were given to Krzysztof Maria Szwernecki (1812–1894), a priest from the congregation of Marian Fathers who was living there in exile. At first, this appointment was only temporary. In 1856, he was appointed permanently. His 38-year tenure as a parson of the Irkutsk church could

⁴ Masiarz, W. (1996). Zarys dziejów kościoła i parafii rzymskokatolickiej w Irkucku 1812–1937. *Zestawienie*, nr 1; Burdziej, B. (1987). Ksiądz Krzysztof Szwernecki – duszpasterz Sybiru. *Przegląd Powszechny*, nr 1.

⁵ Masiarz, W. (2002). Powstanie i rozwój pierwszych parafii rzymskokatolickich na Syberii Wschodniej (1805–1937), In Kuczyński, A. (Eds.) *Kościół katolicki na Syberii. Historia. Współczesność. Przyszłość*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Silesia, pp. 125–140.

⁶ Ostrowskij, B. (1890). Tomskaja rimsko-katoliczeskaja cerkow (kratki oczerk jeja sooruzenija). *Sibirskij wiestnik*, nr 67.

⁷ Masiarz, W. (2012). *Istoria kostiela i polskoj diaspory w Tobolskie: 1838–1922*. Moskwa: Nauka.

be considered extremely vital. He was an outstanding and well-educated priest who knew 5 foreign languages and had surdopedagogical qualifications (he was allowed to teach to the deaf). During his stay in the Mariampol monastery (Augustów governorate) he was charged of conspiracy and tried under military court in 1846. After his banishment to the Irkutsk governorate, he took on the deceased father Haciski's duties and, like his predecessor, he also fulfilled them right until his death.⁸ Despite the fact that the amnesty manifesto of 1856 gave him the right to return to his home, he decided to stay in Siberia of his own volition to continue serving the spiritual needs of the exiled Poles.⁹

The Irkutsk diocese, especially during the tenure of father Szweremicki, played a considerable role not only in the religious life of Polish exiles. Its parson, who observed the gradual demoralization and religious listlessness of orphaned children in the rough Siberian circumstances, organized a school in 1858 by the Irkutsk church and, three years after that, a nursery for Polish orphans, the children of poor Polish exiles and the children of exiled criminals. He was able to run these institutions thanks to the help of other priests, exiles as well as the help from the home country.¹⁰ On his own, he taught the children religion lessons, reading, writing and arithmetics. He was aiming to help the orphans first and foremost. Because of his worry about their well-being: the possibility of starvation, homelessness, alcoholism, converting to Orthodoxy and russification, he usually came from his journeys around East Siberia "with a few orphans collected over the way, which were later brought on and located in foster families as best as possible".¹¹ In 1861, there were seven wards living at the presbytery who had their livelihoods provided. In 1868, father Szweremicki took care and provided for several boys, and a few dozen of them was able to find work in the Irkutsk shoe-making factory thanks to him. Thanks to his calls for financial supports targeted at his fellow countrymen and the collections in the home country, he was able to provide for several dozen wards in the nursery. Warsaw newspapers wrote about the collections, both the financial ones as well

⁸ Szostakowicz, B. (1998). Dzieje irkuckiej parafii rzymsko-katolickiej do początków wieku XX (na podstawie materiałów Archiwum Państwowego Obwodu Irkuckiego), In Kuczyński (Eds.) *Syberia w historii i kulturze narodu polskiego*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Silesia, pp. 106–115.

⁹ Śliwowska, W. (1998). *Zesłańcy polscy w Imperium Rosyjskim w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku. Słownik biograficzny*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, pp. 603–605.

¹⁰ *Gazeta Polska* (1861), nr 235.

¹¹ Jędrychowska, B. (2005). *Wszystkim obcy i cudzy. Feliks Zienkowicz i jego listy z Syberii 1864–1881*. Wrocław: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Ossolineum, p. 269.

as the material ones.¹² When in 1862 a fire consumed a part of the nursery as well as its equipment, thanks to the appeal of the *Gazeta Warszawska* (Warsaw Newspaper) a lot of donations were made for “the creator of nursery in Irkutsk, father Szwermicki”, and the readers were informed about the amount of money collected several times.¹³

The school and the nursery operated well into 1894, when their creator had died. They probably operated later on as well since father Szwermicki, in his last will and testament, gave a part of his assets for the poor and the rest for the church and the school.¹⁴

The parson took care of older exiles too. A famous violinist and composer Wolfgang Szczepkowski died in the parson's Irkutsk parish home in 1857 from heart and lung diseases. Out of gratitude, he gave several hundred rubles for the Irkutsk church.¹⁵ Szwermicki also took care of a sick and old Russian Decembrist Pavel Duncov-Vygotsky, who lived near the catholic church since 1871 and died there ten years later.¹⁶

The Irkutsk Roman Catholic parish played a considerable role in the life of Polish exiles in terms of educational work. Father Szwermicki, in 1857, transferred a private library to the church's grounds, which was gifted to him by Polish exiles returning to the home country after their amnesty in 1856. Thanks to this fact, the library had around three thousand books, both Polish and foreign,¹⁷ and also newspapers and magazines, among which there were seven Polish titles present. In 1859, the parish was subscribed to 12 of these titles in total¹⁸. The library served the entire Irkutsk community of Poles, which was around 150-strong at that time. The next batch of exiles, who found themselves sent to the city after the uprising in 1863 had to remake the library almost from nothing since the parson “had lent the entire library without a receipt [...] and it was not returned”.¹⁹ As a result, the books and newspapers had to

¹² Burdziej, B. (1987). *Książdz Krzysztof Szwernicki – duszpasterz Sybiru. Przegląd Powszechny*, nr 1.

¹³ *Gazeta Warszawska* (1863), nr 14 (19. I. 1863), nr 28 (5. II. 1863), nr 67 (23. III. 1863).

¹⁴ Pietrzak, J. S. (1928). *O. Krzysztof Marya Szwermicki*. Kraków, p. 40.

¹⁵ Nowiński, F. (1995). *Polacy na Syberii Wschodniej. Zesłańcy polityczni w okresie międzypowstaniowym*. Gdańsk: Gdańskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, p. 227.

¹⁶ Mironienko, S. W. *Diekabristy. Biograficzeskij spravocznik* (1988). Moskwa: Nauka, pp. 46–47.

¹⁷ Talko-Hryniewicz, J. (1930). *Z przeżytych dni (1850–1908)*. Warszawa: Dom Książki Polskiej, p. 233.

¹⁸ Giller, A. (1870). *Z wygnania*. T. 1. Lwów: F. H. Richter, pp. 222–224.

¹⁹ Czapski, E. (1893). *Ze wspomnień sybirskiego zesłańca. Edward Czapski (1819–1888)*. Kraków: Spółka Wydawnicza, p. 82.

be imported again, mostly from the home country. In 1889, the library included around 1000 books (usually in Polish) and was located, as previously, on the grounds of the catholic church's parish.

Father Szwernecki was also known for his stern educational activities in terms of the exiles' abstinence and gambling habits. Alcohol and card gambling posed a big threat for the Polish exiles. The Irkutsk parson described these addictions as "a plague of the society, the start of all evil, the source of misery". In his priestly work, he stressed abstinence from "card games" and participation in alcoholic libations.²⁰ However, his attempt to organize a society for abstinence among the exiles did not succeed, mostly because of the lack of willingness of the exiled intelligentsia.²¹

At the beginning of the 19th century, the number of Catholics in West Siberia was not large. The members of the Orthodox church made up around 80 to 100% of populace in larger urban areas. Two years after the arrival of Jesuits to Tomsk (1816), in a group of around 150 Catholics, there were Polish exiles and also local administrative and military officials, who came to the city on official business. The friars received a brick-and-mortar building, in which they organized a chapel. They were also assigned land, on which, in the thirties of the 19th century, the first brick-and-mortar Catholic church in Siberia was built. Over the period of three years, they also managed to set up the first Catholic cemetery and a farm outside city borders with dwellings and apiaries. In the short period during their stay in the area, the primary goal of the Jesuits was to deliver spiritual services to Siberian Catholics.²²

After the Jesuits left Russia, Bernardines took their place in Tomsk. Father Jakub Jurewicz (1820–1825) became the first parson of the Tomsk parish. However, this office was mostly handled by father Remigiusz Apanasewicz from 1822 to 1834. The Bernardines stayed in the same house as their predecessors until the Spring flood of 1828. After the church building was destroyed by the cataclysm, the friars had to move out to a rented quarters. Thanks to the efforts of father Apanasewicz, as well as the help of catholic parishioners (who were also exiles), a new

²⁰ Pietrzak, J. S. (1928). Op. cit. p. 20.

²¹ Dybowski, B. (1930). *Pamiętnik dra Benedykta Dybowskiego od roku 1862 zacząwszy do roku 1878*. Lwów: Zakład im. Ossolińskich, p. 35.

²² Caban, W. – Legieć, J. (2017). Tworzenie się wspólnoty katolickiej w guberni tomskiej (lata 1806–1820). Misja jezuitów. In Caban, W. – Legieć, J. (Eds.) *Kościół katolicki na Syberii Zachodniej w XIX i początkach XX wieku (szkice historyczne, materiały, dokumenty)*. Kielce: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jana Kochanowskiego w Kielcach, pp. 82–101.

church building was built in 1832. Four years after that, a brick-and-mortar parish building was built next to the church. At that time, father Apanasewicz, who was sick and suspected of participation in the Omsk conspiracy (1833), along with father Dionizy Milewski, had left Tomsk and went to their monasteries in Mohylov and Vitebsk. They were replaced by Dominicans: Hieronim Grinczel (1834–1861) and Rudolf Jurgilewicz (1834–1852).

Similar to Jesuits, the Bernardines primarily focused on fulfilling the religious needs of the parishioners in the vast area of the West Siberia parish. They often ventured outside of Tomsk for pastoral visits to reach Catholics in need of spiritual rites. They held masses, accepted confessions, ministered over marriages, baptized children, participated in burial rites. However, the biggest merit in terms of helping Polish exiles in Tomsk and in the Tomsk parish should be assigned to father Walerian Gromadzki (1835–1917). He was sentenced to exile to Siberia in 1861 for delivering a patriotic sermon. He left it as “the father of all west-siberian Catholics” in 1899. At first, he stayed in Omsk, where he had managed to build a small catholic church.²³ As early as that time, he was involved in the activities of a society which aimed to organize self-help in a group of around 300 Polish exiles.²⁴ In 1868, he was allowed to move to Tomsk, where a secret police oversee was placed on him. As the helper of the Tomsk parson, he placed especially a lot of effort on pastoral work among the Poles exiled to the Tomsk governorate after the January Uprising. He supported them primarily in religious terms, however, he also provided educational help. In 1870, he issued an official request to the local authorities to be allowed to take care of the orphaned catholic children. The governor did not allow it and reminded the priest about the existing ban that prevented him from teaching children. At the same time, he ordered the parson father Justyn Zacharewicz to place his subordinate under supervision and to prohibit him from giving sermons and from leaving the city. However, father Gromadzki did not heed to the orders of the Governor and started teaching in the homes of Polish exiles.²⁵ He continued the work of his predecessor, father Józef Dawidowicz, who also as an exile arrived in Tomsk in 1866. In a rented building on the outskirts

²³ Liebiediewa, N. I. (2001). Kostiel i katolickieskaja obszczina Omska: istoriczeskij oczerk. In *Sibirsko-polskaja istorija i sowriemiennost: aktualnyje woprosy*. Irkutsk, pp. 181–187.

²⁴ Skok, H. (1974). *Polacy nad Bajkałem 1863–1883*. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, p. 213.

²⁵ Ostromęcka, J. (2004). Pamiętnik. In Brus, A. (Eds.) *Pamiętniki z lat 1862–1911*. Warszawa: Instytut Historii PAN, pp. 186.

of Tomsk, he set up an illegal nursery and a school for the children of poor Catholics and orphans of Polish exiles. Several dozen boys and girls stayed there under the care of priests who prepared them for taking their first communion. Apart from catechism, the priests also taught the children to read and write in Polish. Polish female exiles helped the priests with educating the girls. The school and the nursery were supported mainly from the donations from the home country and father Dawidowicz himself supported it by trading in wood. As a result of a tip-off, he was arrested and sent to Kainsk. He continued teaching there by educating catholic children.²⁶ After the transfer of Tomsk parson Zacharewicz in 1883 to Sankt Petersburg, father Gromadzki was nominated by the Mohyliv archbishop to the parson of the Tomsk parish. He would go on to fill that position for 16 more years. It was at that time that the church in Tomsk “would become not only a religious and national center but also a cultural and communal one”²⁷ and the father Walerian Gromadzki himself “received great respect in Siberia for his communal and nationalistic activities”. In the years of 1890-1894, he completely renovated the church and cleaned the catholic cemetery. He opened a Polish library and a reading room in the parish building. He also opened a Roman Catholic Charitable Society by the church of The Care of the Holy Mother in Tomsk in 1893, which helped to build a refuge for Polish orphans of exiles in the years of 1897–1899. Gromadzki, along with the members of the society, viewed their charitable activities not only as help for the poor, the old and the orphans, but also as a service for the well-being of the catholic community and as a form of integration of the catholic and national minority.

In 1899, the sick father Gromadzki received a permission to leave Tomsk for a holiday in the home country. The parishioners funded a scholarship in his name for the newly-created nursery for orphans.²⁸ The care for their fate was one of the key tasks of the society. Thanks to all the petitions to the authorities and monetary collections, the society built a new wooden building with 16 rooms in front of the church in 1900 for that purpose. The nursery accepted Roman Catholic children, aged four to twelve, after inquiring about their livelihood situation or the material

²⁶ Dawidowicz, J. S. (1901). *Z listów sybirskiego misjonarza X. Józefa Sylwestra Dawidowicza*. Kraków: Spółka Wydawnicza Polska, pp. 69, 74; Tabęńska, E. (1897). *Z doli i niewoli. Wspomnienia wygnanki*. Kraków: W. Kordecki, p. 102.

²⁷ Maciesza, A. (1934). *Dzieje kolonii polskiej w Tomsku*. Poznań: Drukarnia Nakładowa, p. 114.

²⁸ Talko-Hryniewicz J. (1930). Op. cit., pp. 102, 228.

situation of their guardians. The wards were supplied with food, clothing and school aids. Depending on their age and health status, some children performed basic cleaning work. Over time, the nursery started its own school, in which the Polish language was also taught. In 1908, an annex was built next to the nursery with the aim of using it as a refuge for older people (1908). In the first years of its activity, people who were exiled to Siberia for their participation in the January Uprising found shelter there. They were provided with a roof over their heads, food and the people running the institution collected funds for their return to the home country.

After the 1917 revolution, the Roman Catholic Society of Charity in Tomsk ceased its activities.²⁹

As the Polish exiles reached Siberia, and after the arrival of the voluntary settlers on the verge of 19th and 20th century, within the borders of two vast parishes (Irkutsk and Tomsk), new parishes sprung to life. Their primary goal was to provide religious services for Catholics, as well as providing basic educational needs as well as the creation of a community which aimed to make the exile more bearable. The Catholic church was the beacon of Polishness on Siberia at that time. It was the single place that reminded the exiles what they had lost and, at the same time, the religious activities united the exiles in prayers for “a return to the homeland, a return to free and independent Poland”.³⁰

²⁹ Niedzieluk, T. (2002). Rzymskokatolickie organizacje dobroczynne i kulturalno-oświatowe na Syberii Zachodniej na przełomie XIX i XX w. In Kuczyński, A. (Eds.) *Kościół katolicki na Syberii. Historia. Współczesność. Przyszłość*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Silesia, pp. 157–170; Caban, W. – Legieć, J. (2017). Działalność dobroczynna katolików tomskich (druga połowa XIX – początek XX wieku). In Caban, W. – Legieć, J. (Eds.). Op. cit., pp. 175–190.

³⁰ Ruciński, J. (1895). *Konarszczyk 1838–1878. Pamiętniki z zesłania na Sybir Justyniana Rucińskiego*. Lwów: Drukarnia i Litografia Pillera i Spółki, pp. 110–111.

On the Work of the Piarist Order in South Moravia in the 19th Century

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This paper¹ aims to give an account of the work of the Piarist Order in South Moravia in the 19th century. Attention is devoted principally to education which was (and remains) the fundamental area of interest to the Piarist Order. The Piarists operated in Mikulov, Strážnice, Hustopeče and Kyjov in South Moravia in the 19th century. They also worked for a certain time at the Episcopal Philosophical Institute in Brno. This paper shows the diversity of the activities of the order in the first half of the 19th century and its subsequent decline in the second half of the century. The causes of this decline are summarised.

Key words: *Piarists; education; Mikulov; Strážnice; Hustopeče; Kyjov; Brno*

The most important literature on the Piarist Order in the Czech Lands is the publication *The Piarists in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia* by the authors Zemek, Bombera and Filip.² This is an immensely valuable work for the history of the order. No great attention is, however, paid here to the 19th century. The history of the Piarist Monastery in Strážnice in the 19th century is mentioned in a number of small works. There is a short article by E. Ježek³ from 1934 on the Piarist grammar school in Strážnice in the 19th century. The history of the Piarist Order in Mikulov is mentioned in a number of books and articles. It is surprising that there is no work devoted specifically to this topic. The work by M. Zemek⁴ devotes most

¹ Jireček, M. (2009). *K situaci piaristických kolejí na jižní Moravě v 19. století*. Dissertation. Brno: The Faculty of Education at Masaryk University.

² Zemek, M. – Bombera, J. – Filip, A. (1992). *Piaristé v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku. 1631–1950*. Prievidza: TEXTM.

³ Ježek, E. (1933–1934). *Strážnické gymnásium v XIX. století*. Příloha k Výroční zprávě státního čl. reál. gymnasia ve Strážnici za školní rok 1933–34. Strážnice.

⁴ Zemek, M. (1981). *Gymnázium a Mikulov. Almanach k třístému padesátému výročí založení mikulovského gymnázia*. Brno: Muzejní a vlastivědná společnost; Zemek, M.

attention to the Piarist Monastery in Mikulov. The literature devotes little attention to the Piarist residence in Hustopeče. The work of the Piarists in Hustopeče is given greatest mention in the literature devoted to the history of the town as a whole. Only a few short papers have been written on the history of the Piarist residence in Kyjov, mainly authored by R. Hurt.⁵ The literature to date devotes no great attention to the work of the Piarist Order in Brno, with the exception of Svátek's paper⁶ which came out in Spanish.

The Expansion of the Piarist Order in South Moravia

The Piarist Order was established in the 17th century by the Spaniard Joseph Calasanz. The order was introduced to our lands in 1631 when the order's first transalpine monastery was founded in Mikulov in South Moravia. Cardinal Franz von Dietrichstein, who knew the founder of the Piarist Order in person, was responsible for introducing the order to this largely German winegrowing town.⁷ An extensive complex of buildings, which included the Church of Saint John the Baptist, was built here (in part reconstructed) for the Piarists.⁸ The monastery in Mikulov was one of the most important sites for the Piarist Order in this country. Mikulov was the seat of the order's provincial superior until the middle of the 19th century (before being replaced by Prague in 1849). This meant that the very best teachers among the members of the order were brought here, and this was also reflected in the standard of the local schools. The further expansion of the Piarist Order in the territory of our modern state and the surrounding area was also run from Mikulov Monastery as the seat of the provincial superior. The provincial superior also performed pastoral visitations to all the monasteries in the province and

(1981). Mikulovské gymnázium v 17. století. K 350. výročí založení. Jižní Morava 17, s. 90–109.

⁵ Hurt, R. (1968). Gymnasium a Kyjov. In *70 let gymnázia v Kyjově (1898–1968)*. Kyjov: SVVŠ; Hurt, R. (1938). O střední školu v Kyjově. In *Čtyřicet let čs. státního reálného gymnasia Josefa Klvani v Kyjově. 1898–1938*. Kyjov.

⁶ Svátek, J. (1970). El Colegio Escolapio de Brno. *Ephemerides Calasantinae*, 39/4, pp. 162–171.

⁷ Balcárek, P. – Mičák, L. (2008). *Kardinál František z Dietrichsteina (1570–1636): prelát a politik neklidného věku*. Olomouc: Olomouc Museum of Art; Svátek, J. (1981). Dopisy k počátkům gymnázií na Moravě z let 1632–1636. *Studie muzea Kroměřížska '80*, s. 43–51.

⁸ Richter, V. – Krsek, I. – Zemek, M. (1971). *Mikulov*. Brno: Blok.

subsequently ordered changes in the running of the individual monasteries.⁹ In Mikulov, the Piarists first ran a three-year preparatory school (later the main school) and a complete six-year grammar school. The Piarists also ran a Loretan Seminary in Mikulov where music, singing and theatre were cultivated.¹⁰ A large number of extremely distinguished persons worked at the Piarist Monastery in Mikulov before the beginning of the 19th century, of whom we might mention at least the distinguished Enlightenment historian Gelasius Dobner. The parish in Mikulov was divided up in 1784. The Piarists received part of the parish and the Piarist church became the parish church.

The second oldest Piarist monastery in this country was also founded in South Moravia when the monastery in Strážnice was established in 1633 (the order was invited here by Count Franz von Magnis). The Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary was established for the Piarists in Strážnice, being symbolically converted from former buildings of the brotherhood. A monastery and schools were also built. A three-year preparatory school (the main school following the reforms of 1777) and a complete six-year grammar school (reduced to a lower four-year school at the end of the 17th century, then expanded into a complete five-year school in 1777)¹¹ were established here. A number of distinguished figures also worked in Strážnice before the beginning of the 19th century, of which we might mention the order's distinguished historian and functionary Bernardus a St Philippo Nerio who came from here (born as Matěj Peldřimovský).¹² From 1785, the Piarists were also responsible for part of the original parish in Strážnice.¹³

The next place where the Piarists operated in South Moravia was Moravský Krumlov. The Piarists only operated here extremely briefly, however, and not in the period studied here. Their residence here operated in the years 1644–1647. In 1757, the Piarists were brought to the

⁹ Moravian Provincial Archive (MZA) collection E 53 Piarists Mikulov, carton no. 6, book no. 14, sgn. A 14 – Book of Pastoral Visitations in the Province 1731–1817.

¹⁰ Vrbka, S. (2001). *Kronika gymnázia Mikulov. Almanach k 370. výročí založení piaristického a 65. výročí vzniku českého gymnázia v Mikulově*. Mikulov: Regional Museum, pp. 11–12.

¹¹ Ježek, E.: c. d.

¹² Bartůšek, V. (2007). *Strážnice a piarističtí svatí a blahoslavení. In Okolo Strážnice. Sborník městského muzea ve Strážnici*. Strážnice: The Museum and History Society in Strážnice, p. 37.

¹³ MZA, collection E 54 Piarists Strážnice, carton no. 6, microfilm no. 16 – *Historia domus 1854–1940*, p. 6.

largely German town of Hustopeče where a small monastery or residence was established. They were not invited here by the local gentry (i.e. the Liechtensteins), but by the townspeople. The Piarists established a lower four-year grammar school here, and also ran three years of the primary school. Of the originally planned square site with a church in the middle, one wing with a chapel consecrated to the founder of the order Joseph Calasanz was built here for the Piarists.¹⁴ The people of Hustopeče attempted to expand the grammar school into a complete grammar school, instead of which they also lost their lower grammar school during the reforms of the Enlightenment. It was replaced by a three-year main school which was a great blow to the town. The lower grammar school was revived for just a short time in the years 1819–1822.

The next place in which the Piarists operated in South Moravia was the ethnically predominantly Czech town Kyjov to which the Piarists came in 1760 after long talks. Their monastery here was again a small one, i.e. a residence. Over time, the Piarists established three years of a primary school and a lower grammar school in the town. A building was built for them here which housed the schools and the Chapel of Saint John of Nepomuk.¹⁵ The lower grammar school in Kyjov was also abolished during the Theresian reforms and was replaced merely by a main school with German as the teaching language. This meant a significant decline in the importance of the residence here. Of the important names of the local Piarists of the 18th century we might mention at least the historian Adolf Pilař. In terms of their importance, the residences in Hustopeče and Kyjov did not match the monasteries in Mikulov and Strážnice.

The Piarists also operated briefly in Brno. They did not have a traditional monastery or residence here, though they taught at the Episcopal Philosophical Institute based in the Minorite Monastery by the Church of St Johns in the years 1807–1821. Their place of work here was known as the “Domus Brunensis”. For some time, the Piarists here substituted, for a fee, for other orders and monasteries that were unable to provide teaching.¹⁶ The college had two years, with teaching conducted in Latin. Interest in the introduction of the Piarist Order was also seen in other towns in South Moravia, though no other monasteries were established.¹⁷ In total, the Piarists established 31 monasteries and residences in this country.

¹⁴ Foltýn, D. (2005). *Encyklopedie moravských a slezských klášterů*. Praha: Libri, p. 315.

¹⁵ Ibidem, p. 405.

¹⁶ Šujan, F. (1902). *Dějepis Brna*. Brno: The Museum Society in Brno, p. 303.

¹⁷ Bombera, J. (1995). *Piaristé jako učitelé a vychovatelé ve službách šlechty*. In *Jižní Morava* 31/34, p. 26; Foltýn, D. (2005). c. d., p. 106.

Piarist Education

The work of the Piarist Order is inseparably linked with teaching and education – schools of various types were established wherever the order worked – from lower schools and grammar schools (the Piarists later run the first secondary grammar schools and vocational colleges) to colleges of philosophy (see below). The order was also popular among the higher classes – the Piarists also worked as private teachers in aristocratic families.¹⁸ In the years 1804–1849 they also ran the Theresian Academy in Vienna designed to educate aristocrats. The very best teachers from among the members of the Piarist Order in this country were summoned here. Members of the order were also active in science and worked at universities. The fact that a single “form” teacher taught all subjects for a long period of time (until the beginning of the 19th century) at Piarist schools can, perhaps, be seen in a negative light. The Piarists went a long way towards overturning the monopoly position held by the Jesuits in the area of education.¹⁹ Unlike the Jesuits, however, and in spite of what has been said above, the Piarists engaged primarily in lower education and teaching poor children in small towns. Also unlike the Jesuits, they taught originally in their mother tongue. The Piarists also employed more modern teaching methods (with less dictation and learning by rote). Piarist education was, on the whole, more tolerant and moderate.²⁰

The Piarist Order entered the 19th century at a pinnacle, with an increasing number of schools and pupils. The Enlightenment reforms of Maria Theresa and Joseph II, however, had a significant impact on the position of the order. In addition to compulsory school attendance, a number of other changes influencing education were also introduced during these reforms.²¹ Unlike the Jesuits, whose order was abolished in 1773, the Piarists were allowed to continue their work. Interventions by the state into Piarist education were, however, increasingly frequent.²² The

¹⁸ Bombera, J. (1995). *Piaristé jako učitelé ...*, pp. 25–42.

¹⁹ Hýbl, F. (1989). *Metodika výuky na piaristických školách. Studie muzea Kroměřížska '89.*, pp. 86–89; Holinková, J. (1995). *Vyučovací metody na piaristických školách. In Piaristé v Příboře. Sborník příspěvků z odborného symposia 300 let piaristického gymnázia v Příboře, konaného 1.–3. června 1994.* Nový Jičín: The State District Archive in Nový Jičín, pp. 104–107.

²⁰ Hýbl, F. (1989). c. d., p. 89.

²¹ Kadlec, J. (1991). *Přehled českých církevních dějin 2.* Praha: Zvon, pp. 153–154.

²² Eibel, Z. (1967). *Z dějin piaristického gymnázia v Mikulově. 1631–1873. Jižní Morava 3,* p. 73.

Gratian Marx (by coincidence also a member of the order) reform, which came into effect in 1777, made a significant impact on Piarist education. Lower schools were now “trivial schools” and “main schools” (with three or four years), while middle schools were either “normal schools” or grammar schools (the number of years of grammar school education was reduced from six to five)²³. Grammar schools were, in effect, separated from lower schools – a number of grammar schools were closed and merely main schools created in their place. The grammar schools in Kyjov and Hustopeče met this fate (see above). The grammar school in Strážnice, in contrast, which until this time had been merely a lower grammar school, was now expanded into a “complete grammar school”. Latin remained the principal subject taught at grammar schools. Czech was removed from teaching which was now conducted in German or, in the higher years of grammar school, Latin. Schools were meant to aid the progress of Germanisation. Access to higher education was made more difficult for boys from poor families (they now required the approval of the authorities). Visitations by bodies outside the order also began to be held at Piarist schools, and the regional governor, to whom prefects had to submit a report on the school every month, became the director of grammar schools. The Marx reform meant a consolidation of the influence of the state, in spite of the fact that the Piarists’ own regulations continued to apply at their schools. There was an increased frequency of state intervention in the life of church schools during the reign of Joseph II, Germanisation was intensified, and the payment of school fees at grammar schools was introduced. This resulted in a significant fall in the number of pupils at these schools. Schools were primarily meant to prepare capable clerical workers in all categories, for which reason the emphasis was placed on discipline.²⁴ In 1781, Joseph II dissolved all the monasteries that were not engaged in teaching, science or care for the sick.²⁵ The Piarists were able to continue their educational activities and had also lost a significant competitor thanks to the previous dissolution of the Jesuit Order. They held a considerable part of the school system here in their hands. The Piarists, however, entered the new century in altered form and accepted state intervention obediently in an effort to avoid the fate of the Jesuits and other orders.

²³ Zemek, M. (1981). Vývoj školství na jižní Moravě od třicetileté války do první světové války. In *Pokrokové proudy ve výchově a vzdělávání na Jižní Moravě v uplynulých 350 letech*. Praha: TEPS, pp. 35–36.

²⁴ Kolečka, J. (1996). Státní a piaristická gymnázia na Moravě a ve Slezsku. 1774–1848. *Časopis Matice moravské*, 115/2, p. 259.

²⁵ Kadlec, J. (1991). c. d., p. 163.

A new syllabus drawn up by the Piarist Inocenc Lang was introduced in the 1807/1808 school year. Grammar schools in capitals and university and lyceum towns were to be expanded to form six-year schools, while they could remain five-year schools in other towns (this also related to the Piarist schools).²⁶ All grammar schools became six-year schools in the 1818/1819 school year.²⁷

The Piarist Order was permitted to establish colleges of philosophy at the beginning of the 19th century, with one such college being opened in Mikulov in South Moravia. Their opening was originally intended to eliminate the shortage of clergymen (they were later also attended by students wanting to take medical and legal studies). In 1848, the grammar schools became eight-year schools following the “Exner-Bonitz Reform” (four-year lower and four-year higher grammar school). The Piarist grammar school in Mikulov was expanded to form an eight-year school (though the college of philosophy was abolished), while the grammar school in Strážnice had just four years from this time. Latin ceased to be the focus of instruction at grammar schools following this reform, and teaching of the national language was introduced to a limited extent.²⁸ The supervision by regional and provincial directors at schools was abolished in 1848, and the chancellor of the monastery became the director of the Piarist grammar schools. The state took over definite supervision of the school system by law in 1869. Eight-year school attendance was introduced, and the new junior secondary schools replaced the former “main schools”. Below, we will look at the work of the order at individual monasteries and residences.

The Work of the Piarist Order in South Moravia in the 19th Century

Mikulov

The total number of Piarists in the province in the first decades of the 19th century ranged approximately between 250 and 350.²⁹ The number of Piarists in the province then began to fall progressively in the years to come. Nevertheless, there were still more than two hundred Piarists in the province until the beginning of the 1870s. The number of Piarists in

²⁶ Kolečka, J. (1996). c. d., pp. 265–266.

²⁷ Eibel, Z. (1967). c. d., p. 70.

²⁸ Zemek, M. (1981). *Vývoj školství* ..., p. 40.

²⁹ MZA, collection E 53 Piarists Mikulov, carton no. 28, book nos. 85–93, sgn. B 20 – B 21/8.

Mikulov itself was relatively high – there were generally between twenty and thirty members of the order here until the end of the 1860s. The number of Piarists here then began to fall rapidly, a situation exacerbated by the fact that clerics were discharged from the order in 1871. There were just ten members of the order at the monastery in Mikulov in 1873 and the decline continued. In 1880, there were just four Piarists in Mikulov. Attempts were made to revive the monastery here – there were eleven members of the order here in 1888 (including novices – a noviciate was opened in Mikulov in 1888, meaning that the order could train its successors for the first time since 1870 when the noviciate in Lipník nad Bečvou was closed). These novices usually soon decided to leave the order, however. In 1900, there were five members of the order at the Piarist Monastery in Mikulov, and the order's oldest monastery in the country, with its extremely glorious history, found itself facing increasingly serious problems.

The chancellors of the Mikulov Piarist Monastery during the course of the 19th century were the distinguished historian František Adolf Qualbert Moravec (1797–1801), Ignác Schlöss (1801–1805 and again in 1809–1812), František Xavier Frieze (1805), Agapitus Svoboda (1805–1807), Anselm Wirkner (1807–1809), Andres Kostka (1812–1819), Adaukt Winarz (Vinař) (1819–1823), Alfons Thoma (1823–1825 and again in 1831–1836), Prosper Hussák (1825–1831), Kornelius Bielezky (1836–1837), Bonifác Buzek (1837–1840), Emericus Gönner (1840–1848), Achaz Hess (1848–1852), Rudbert Lopata (1852–1871), Libor Thoma (1871–1874), Godefridus Ringel (1874–1879) and Alfred Paul (1879–1900). The frequent turnover in this position is clear.

A large number of distinguished figures can be found among the Piarists at the monasteries in South Moravia in the 19th century. Of the numerous names of distinguished Piarists in Mikulov, let's mention at least the most distinguished – professor of literature and literary criticism and translator František Dominik Kinský (1747–1848),³⁰ the eminent physicist, mathematician, astronomer and scientist Kassián Halaška (1780–1847).³¹ the distinguished philosopher Bonifác Buzek

³⁰ Zemek, M. (1981). *Gymnázium a Mikulov...*, p. 32; Skutil, J. (1981). *Pokrokové proudy ve výchově a vzdělávání na Jižní Moravě v uplynulých 350 letech*. Praha: TEPS, pp. 212–213.

³¹ Svátek, J. (1961). Univerzitní profesor Dr. Franišek Kassián Halaška z Budišova – učenec světového významu. *Vlastivěda severomoravského kraje – Vítkovsko 11–12*, pp. 1–5; Týž (1967). Nad dílem Františka Kassiána Halašky. *Jižní Morava 3*, pp. 76–82; Týž (1969). Čeští kulturní pracovníci 19. století jako učitelé na piaristické škole ve Staré Vodě. *Oderské vrchy. Vlastivědný zpravodaj 1/3–4*, pp. 45–60; Koňařík, S. (1981).

(1788–1839)³² and, for a short time, the eminent physicist and astronomer Florus Ignác Stašek (1782–1862). The distinguished orientalist Berthold Winter (1759–1869) and prefect of the Theresian Academy in Vienna Anastazius John,³³ who also gained fame for teaching the deaf, also worked here. Of the Piarists here in the second half of the 19th century, we might mention at least the mathematician, physicist and astronomer František Oktavius Šofka³⁴ (1811–1879).³⁵

At the beginning of the century the monasteries in Mikulov and Strážnice were often visited by the provincial superior.³⁶ Mikulov Monastery was affected by the Napoleonic Wars at the beginning of the century, with some of its buildings being converted into a military hospital (a hospice was also established at the Piarist Monastery in 1866 following the Austro-Prussian War).

The total number of pupils attending Piarist schools grew at the beginning of the century.³⁷ During the first decade of the 19th century the

František Ignác Kassián Halaška. *Kosmické rozhledy. Neperiodický věstník Československé astronomické společnosti při ČSAV 1*, pp. 41–46; Zemek, M. – Bombera, J. – Filip, A. (1992). c. d., s. 239–240; *Kdo byl kdo v našich dějinách do roku 1918 (1999)*. Praha: Libri, p. 121; Mareš, V. (1979–1980). Dvousté výročí narození univ. prof. Františka Kassiána Halašky. *Studie a zprávy okresního muzea Praha – východ v Brandýse nad Labem – Staré Boleslavi*. Brandýs nad Labem – Stará Boleslav: East Prague District Museum, pp. 127–131.

³² Svátek, J. (1972). Prof. Bonifác Buzek a jeho filozofický odkaz. *Věstník okresního muzea v Kroměříži*. Holešov: District Museum, pp. 20–29; Týž (1965). K učitelské činnosti Bonifáce Buzka na Moravě. *Zprávy vlastivědného ústavu v Olomouci*, č. 123, Olomouc: History Institut, pp. 12–15; Týž (1964). Dopisy pedagoga Bonifáce Buzka z let 1831–1837. *Slezský sborník 62*, pp. 92–100; Týž (1971). Filozof Bonifác Buzek jako profesor na gymnáziu v Příboře v letech 1826–1829. In P. Floss, *Sborník k dějinám moravského školství II*. Přerov: History Institut Přerov, pp. 37–59; Trapl, M. (1959). Bonifác Buzek a jeho žáci. In *Pocťa Zdeňku Nejedlému*: Praha: SPN, pp. 53–72; Bayerová, M. (1989). Bonifác Buzek – filozofický odkaz. *Studie muzea Kroměřížska '89*, pp. 100–104; Brandl, V. (1882). *Vzpomínky*. Velké Meziříčí: J. F. Šašek; Bošтик, M. (2004). Profesor Bonifác Buzek a jeho českotřebovští žáci František Matouš Klácel, Emanuel Müller a František Rybička. In *I. ročenka městského muzea Česká Třebová 2*.

³³ Pohl, J. (1989). Piaristé jako učitelé neslyšících. *Studie muzea Kroměřížska '89*, pp. 79–80.

³⁴ Svátek, J. (1967). Octavianus Šofka a jeho pedagogická i vědecká práce. *Sborník vlastivědných prací z Podblanicka 8/1*, pp. 91–102; Víták, A. K. (1902 – Vol. 1., 1904 – Vol. 2.). *Paměti starého učitele – vlastence, perzekucí postiženého*. Praha: Fr. A. Urbánek.

³⁵ Svátek, J. (1981). Mikulovští profesori 19. století a jejich vědecká činnost. In *Pokrokové proudy ve výchově a vzdělávání na Jižní Moravě v uplynulých 350 letech*. Praha: TEPS, pp. 225–229.

³⁶ MZA, collection E 53 Piarists Mikulov, carton no. 6, book no. 14, sgn. A 14.

³⁷ MZA, collection E 53 Piarists Mikulov, carton no. 28, book nos. 85–93, sgn. B 20 – B 21/8.

number of pupils at Mikulov Grammar School ranged between 115 and 140. Mikulov Grammar School was expanded to form a six-year school in 1818, as were other grammar schools (see above). The number of pupils at the grammar school continued to rise until 1820, when the school was attended by 250 pupils – the largest number at any time in the century in question. The number of pupils then ranged between 150 and 220 until the middle of the 19th century. Mikulov Grammar School could be described as a medium-large school, though it was a school of an excellent standard thanks to its excellent teachers. The number of pupils attending Mikulov's main school exceeded the number of pupils at the grammar school. In the first half of the 19th century it generally ranged between 150 and 300. The number of pupils at the local College of Philosophy, opened in 1807, also gradually increased. In 1830, it was attended by 155 pupils. The number of pupils at the College of Philosophy then gradually began to fall, however. In 1838, for example, the College of Philosophy was attended by just 49 pupils. Students of philosophy upheld new ideas, as is described by Alois Jirásek in his "Philosophical History" for the college of philosophy in Litomyšl which was the most illustrious of these Piarist institutions.³⁸ The number of pupils at the Piarist schools in Mikulov fell slightly following the reforms of 1848 (the College of Philosophy was abolished, and the grammar school expanded to form an eight-year school). In the 1850/1851 school year, the grammar school was attended by just 122 pupils. The number of pupils at the grammar school then again began to rise. In the 1864/1865 school year, for example, it was attended by 241 pupils. The number of pupils then gradually began to fall. The number of pupils attending the main school also fell, ranging between 80 and 140 in the second half of the 19th century. The last year in which teaching was conducted at the main school (abolished by the School Act of 1869 and replaced by a junior secondary school) was the 1870/1871 school year, when it was attended by just 28 pupils. The Piarists opened a two-year lower secondary school in Mikulov in 1849 (which operated until 1872, when it became part of the junior secondary school). This school was attended by around 40–70 students. The largest number of pupils attended the secondary school in the 1863/1864 school year, when 68 pupils studied there. The order, however, also gradually ceased being able to fill all the teaching posts at the grammar school itself, and secular teachers gradually began teaching there. The culmination came in 1873 when the

³⁸ Jirásek, A.: (2010). *Filosofská historie*. Brno: Tribun EU.

grammar school was taken into the hands of the state (just four Piarists worked as teachers there at that time). The school wing of the Piarist complex became state property. Following the nationalisation of the grammar school, the Piarists in Mikulov ran just the Loretan Seminary which was generally attended by around ten students. Twenty-two students studied there in 1890. The Piarists operated in Mikulov until 1950, when their work was ended by force.

We can also find a number of distinguished figures among the pupils of Piarist schools. The distinguished doctor, scholar and propounder of the Czech National Revival Jan Evangelista Purkyně (1787–1869, in Mikulov 1798–1804), who decided to join the order here (and who was given the name Silverius), was a pupil at Piarist schools in Mikulov at the beginning of the 19th century.³⁹ Of the other students here, we might mention, for example, Josef Rupert Maria Přecechtěl, priest, propounder of the Czech National Revival, artist and writer.⁴⁰

Strážnice

There were as many as 17 Piarists at the monastery in Strážnice at the time of the Josephine Reforms. Their number slowly began to fall from this time onwards. The instruction of novices fell behind at the beginning of the 19th century, for which reason the preparation of novices also took place in other places, including Strážnice, in addition to the noviciate in Lipník nad Bečvou.⁴¹ The number of Piarists in Strážnice ranged between 11 and 14 throughout the whole of the first half of the 19th century, after which the number of Piarists in Strážnice also began to fall rapidly in the 1860s and particularly in the 1870s. There were again ten Piarists in Strážnice for a time in 1869. Just a few years later in 1873, there were only four Piarists in the town. Their number increased to five the next year. The number of Piarists in Strážnice never reached this figure again in the years to come. There were just two or three members of the order here in the 1880s and 1890s.

³⁹ Sajner, J. (1969). Jan Evangelista Purkyně a Mikulov. K 100. výročí smrti Purkyně. *Jižní Morava* 5/1, pp. 45–51; Sajner, J. (1955). Purkyňova moravská léta. Léta učení a zrání. In Jan Evangelista Purkyně. Badatel a národní buditel. Praha: Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, pp. 19–35; Sajner, J. (1952). Purkyně a Morava. *Lékařské listy* 7/1, pp. 84–88, 117–120.

⁴⁰ Svátek, J. (1972). Nad dílem prof. Dra Ruperta M. J. Přecechtěla. *Jižní Morava* 8/1, pp. 115–119.

⁴¹ Bombera, J. (1984). Výchova a vzdělávání piaristů v našich zemích. *Jižní Morava* 20/23, pp. 113–121.

The post of chancellor at the head of Strážnice Monastery was held during the course of the 19th century by Bartoloměj Křepelka (until 1805), Štefan Novotný (1805–1810), Methud Gerle (1810–1812), Mansuet Tomáš Hiller (1812–1814), Mansuet Pabst (1814–1815), Julián Hiller (1815–1817), Matouš Grossmann (1817–1832), Bonifác Buzek (1832–1836), Cyril Košťál (1837–1842), Jiří Guth (1843–1855), Bonifác Langer (1855–1863), Wilhelm Bachmann (1863–1865), Gracián Kautzký (1865–1867), Florenc Vybíral (1867–1872), Michal Liška (1872–1878) and Václav Wilfinger (1878–1917).

In view of the fact that individual Piarists frequently spent time at various of the order's monasteries, some of the distinguished individuals at Mikulov Monastery mentioned above also worked at the order's other monasteries. Halaška (who began his career in Strážnice and worked here in the years 1801–1802), Jan Evangelista Purkyně (who worked here in the 1805/1806 school year⁴²), chancellor of the monastery here Bonifác Buzek (in Strážnice in the years 1832–1836) and Anastazius John (in Strážnice in the years 1847–1850) all also worked in Strážnice.

Strážnice Grammar School was a smaller institute than the grammar school in Mikulov. While German children predominated among the pupils in Mikulov, there were more children of Czech nationality in Strážnice, though there was also a fairly large number of pupils from the nearby territory of what is now Slovakia. The number of Jewish pupils also gradually rose. There were around 60 pupils in all five years of the grammar school up until 1810. As in previous times, classes with fewer pupils were merged. The number of pupils rose to as many as 90 after 1810. This does not, however, include the school's private students, of which there was a relatively large number (the names of many aristocrats can be found among them). The grammar school exceeded the figure of a hundred pupils for the first time in 1819, i.e. at the time it became a six-year school. The number of pupils reached 205 in 1825, this being the largest number of pupils at the Piarist grammar school at any time during its existence. A gradual decline in the number of pupils followed. Until 1848, when the grammar school was reduced to four years (i.e. a lower school – there were neither the staff nor the finances to allow for the creation of a higher eight-year grammar school in Strážnice), there were

⁴² Jebavý, J. (1938). Buditelská a národní činnost J. E. Purkyně. Jeho pobyt ve Strážnici. In XXXIV. *Výroční zpráva státního čsl. reálného gymnasia ve Strážnici na konci školního roku 1937/1938*. Strážnice, pp. 5–12; Šimšíková, J. (1992). Jan Evangelista Purkyně. In *95. výročí trvání českého gymnázia ve Strážnici*. Strážnice: The Society of Friends of Purkyně Grammar School, p. 28.

always around 150 pupils studying at the grammar school. The number of pupils then fell again. Just 87 pupils attended the grammar school in the 1854/1855 school year. The number of pupils at Strážnice Grammar School was not particularly high in the following years either. In the 1860s, more than a hundred pupils again studied at the grammar school, though this was again followed by another perceptible fall towards the end of the school's existence. There were just 59 pupils studying here in the 1869/1870 school year. The number of pupils at the "main school" in Strážnice generally exceeded the number of pupils at the grammar school, though it was not particularly high either. In the 1838/1839 school year, for example, it was attended by 270 pupils. The number of pupils at the "main school" fell markedly in the years to come. In the second half of the 19th century, it was attended by the largest number of pupils (168) in the 1865/1866 school year. In the 1871/1872 school year, the final year in which the main school was run by the Piarists, it was attended by only 68 pupils. The Piarists had continually increasing difficulty maintaining the schools in Strážnice, and the Piarist Order was confronted by ever greater problems (see below). The first secular professor appeared at Strážnice Grammar School in the 1863/1864 school year, and the number of secular professors then gradually increased. In 1870, there were just two Piarists teaching here (of five teachers). The institute was nationalised in 1874. The Piarists then continued to work here according to the possibilities open to the order, and later worked at least as auxiliary teachers.

Of the pupils who attended the Piarist grammar school in Strážnice we might mention at least the Counts Leopold and Jaroslav von Sternberk⁴³ (both members of the Upper House), Professor of Ecclesiastic History in Vienna Antonín Horný, future Archbishop of Olomouc Theodor Kohn,⁴⁴ scientist, archaeologist and historian František Dvorský, and the distinguished educator Josef Úlehla. The most important pupil of Strážnice Grammar School was, however, undoubtedly future president Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk who was a private student in the first year at Strážnice Grammar School in the 1864/1865 school year.⁴⁵

⁴³ Ježek E. (1933–1934). *Idem*, p. 12.

⁴⁴ Pajer, J. (1999). Olomoucký arcibiskup Theodor Kohn. In *Sto let trvání budovy gymnázia ve Strážnici*. Strážnice: pp. 17–21; Pajer, J. (2007). Olomoucký arcibiskup Kohn a Strážnice. In *Okolo Strážnice. Sborník městského muzea ve Strážnici*. Strážnice: The Museum and History Society in Strážnice 2007, pp. 54–56.

⁴⁵ Kříž, A. (1930/1931). Masaryk privatistou na gymnasiu ve Strážnici. In *XXVII. výroční zpráva státního reálného gymnasia ve Strážnici za školní rok 1930/1931*. Strážnice.

Hustopeče

The number of members of the Piarist residence in Hustopeče was never very high. Four Piarists lived in Hustopeče in 1802, though there were just two members of the order here in 1805. The number of Piarists in the town later rose again and six Piarists generally lived in the residence here. According to surviving catalogues, the largest number of members of the order working at the residence was seen in 1823, when seven Piarists lived here. Only one of them, however, was a priest, the others being merely clerics. In the years to come, between three and five Piarists generally worked in Hustopeče.

There was an extremely frequent turnover in the Piarists here. This applied not just to rank and file members of the order (who were generally here for just a year or two), but also to the superiors of the residence. This frequent turnover undoubtedly lowered the standard of the Piarist schools. The position of superior in Hustopeče in the 19th century was held by Engelbert Resch (1786–1804), Inocenc Hoffmann (1804–1805), Christofor Tomaschek (1805–1806), Zikmund Kraus (1806–1808), Julián Hiller (1808–1815), Joachim Hölzel (1815–1816), Mikuláš Gyrovetz (Jírovec) (1817–1821), Sebald Fiala (1821–1823), Domascus Kaubek (1823–1833), Jan Nepomuk Maurer (1833–1838), Emerich Goenner (1838–1840), Lambert Thomma (Homa) (1840–1850), Maxmilián Thomma (1850–1854), Rudbert Salat (1854–1860) and Caesar Riss (1861–1866).

On the whole, it should be said that rather less distinguished members of the order worked at the residences in Hustopeče and Kyjov, principally as a result of the absence of a grammar school. Of the people working at the Piarist residence in Hustopeče, we might note at least the aforementioned Bertold Winter (in Hustopeče briefly as a cleric) and Anastazius John. Celestýn Janáček, uncle of the composer Leoš Janáček, also worked here (he also worked at the monasteries in Mikulov and Strážnice) and was renowned for his liberal opinions.⁴⁶

While the monasteries in Mikulov and Strážnice were frequently visited by the provincial superior at the beginning of the century, the residences in Hustopeče and Kyjov were not visited particularly often. The residence in Hustopeče was visited for the first time in the 19th century in 1814,

⁴⁶ Svátek, J. (1969). Čeští kulturní pracovníci 19. století jako učitelé na piaristické škole ve Staré Vodě. *Oderské vrchy. Vlastivědný zpravodaj 1/3–4*, pp. 45–60.

when visitations were made to all the monasteries and residences in Moravia.⁴⁷ The first visitation in Kyjov in the 19th century was made in 1801, when visitations were made to the majority of the Moravian monasteries.⁴⁸ No other visitation to it was made until 1814.

The Piarists had just the main school in Hustopeče in their hands at the beginning of the 19th century. The number of pupils at the school ranged between 150 and 285 during the first half of the 19th century. The main school had its largest number of pupils in the 1831/1832 school year. The Piarists themselves were aware of the fact that a residence cannot fulfil its mission without a grammar school, for which reason the then provincial superior of the order and the superior in Hustopeče requested the closure of the residence in 1834. The town managed to retain the Piarists, however. In 1848, the existing three-year main school became a four-year school for a time. A lower secondary school was established here in 1852, and the main school again shortened. The number of pupils at the secondary school ranged between 30 and 50. The main school was again expanded into a four-year school in the 1856/1857 school year. The number of pupils at the school continued to rise until it amounted to 265 in the 1865/1866 school year. This was, however, the last year in which the school was in the hands of the Piarist Order. The shortages in the number of members of the order also began to become apparent very quickly in Hustopeče. The last Piarists left the town in 1866. Both schools were transferred to state administration and were joined by secular teachers. The most distinguished pupil of the Piarist lower secondary school in Hustopeče was undoubtedly future president Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk (who had relatives in the town⁴⁹). He attended the school in the years 1861–1863.

Kyjov

The number of Piarists at the residence in Kyjov ranged between two and five throughout the whole of the first half of the 19th century. After 1815, however, there were generally only two or three members of the order here. The grammar school in Kyjov was successfully revived in 1868 (see below). This was quite unique at a time when the order's schools in other towns were slowly heading towards their end. The

⁴⁷ MZA, collection E 53 Piarists Mikulov, carton no. 6, book no. 14, sgn. A 14.

⁴⁸ Ibidem, p. 335.

⁴⁹ Nezhodová, S. – Janšta, A. (2006). *Masaryk a Hustopeče*. Hustopeče: Town Museum and Gallery.

increase in the number of Piarists in the town (at a time at which their number was falling rapidly in other towns) was also associated with this. After long years in which there were just two Piarists here, their number rose with the gradual opening of additional forms at the grammar school which reached ten form years in 1871. The Kyjov residence began to be known as a monastery, and the superior of the monastery to be known as the chancellor. In 1878, Kyjov became (along with Kroměříž) the order's third largest monastery after Prague and Lipník in terms of the number of members of the order there. It even overtook the monasteries in Mikulov and Strážnice which had been far more successful up until that time. The number of Piarists in Kyjov then began to fall rapidly, and in 1886 there were again just two members of the order here. The last Piarist in the town died in 1900.

There was also an extremely rapid turnover among the Piarists (both ordinary members of the order and superiors of the residence) at the residence in Kyjov. The position of superior here during the 19th century was held by Rochus Selisko, Chrysostomus Tomaschek, Blasius Paukert and Glycerius Peikert, none of whom were here for very long. Later, however, there was a period of greater stability as far as the superiors of the residence were concerned. The position was then held by Burchardus Răphael (1818–1826), Gilbert Galusek (1827–1839), Celsus Tollich (1840–1868) and Otto Štika (1868–1900).

The Piarist residence in Kyjov was damaged in a great fire in 1807, though it was soon repaired.⁵⁰ The number of pupils at the Piarist main school in the first half of the 19th century generally ranged between 130 and 170. A ruling was made in 1825 to expand the main school to take in a fourth year, though this ruling was not implemented due to a lack of finances (a fourth year was finally introduced in 1855 by a state decree, with the town having to subsidise two secular teachers). Two years were merged into a single class in Kyjov for the same reason.⁵¹ Kyjov Council endeavoured to negotiate the staffing of all positions with teachers from among the members of the order, though it proved unable to provide a sufficient number of qualified teachers during the coming crisis within the order. The Piarists even tried to further restrict or even completely end their work in Kyjov, though this was prevented by a deputation of the people of Kyjov to the provincial superior of the order.⁵² The people of Kyjov also succeeded in forcing the revival of the grammar school, with

⁵⁰ Hlavinka, K. (1947). *O starém Kyjovu*. Kyjov: District Public Education Board, p. 165.

⁵¹ Hurt, R. (1938). *O střední škole...*, p. 14.

⁵² Idem.

the Piarists having to guarantee that teaching posts would be filled only by a sufficient number of qualified teachers.⁵³ A grammar school teaching in the German language was opened in 1868. A new school building was established for it at great expense to the town council, and the residence building was also partially converted. The new Chapel of Saint Jan Calasanz was also built.⁵⁴ The number of students at the grammar school also rose with the gradually opening of additional forms. In its first year it had just 34 students, while in the 1871/1872 school year, when all four forms were already operating, the grammar school was attended by 109 pupils. The grammar school had a similar number of pupils for the whole time it was run by the Piarists.⁵⁵ The number of pupils at the main school in the second half of the 19th century generally ranged between 140 and 210. The 1856/1857 school year, when the main school was attended by just 83 pupils, was an exception to this. From the 1872/1873 school year, the grammar school had two branches – classical and practical (the practical branch was abolished from the 1878/1879 school year onwards due to a lack of interest). The order's teaching staff in Kyjov soon also ceased to suffice, with the majority of the Piarists already being of great age, for which reason secular teachers had to be taken on in place of deceased Piarists. From 1872 onwards, the Piarists no longer ran the elementary school (created from the "main school"), though the order continued to run the grammar school until the middle of the 1884/1885 school year, after which time the grammar school was run by the town. In summary, it can be said that by the time Kyjov obtained its grammar school, the Piarist Order was already facing such a crisis that its rapid fall was merely a matter of time.

Brno

There were first five, and from 1809 always six, Piarists at the Episcopal College of Philosophy in Brno for the whole time the Piarists taught here (from 1807 until the end of the 1820/1821 school year). Anselm Wirkner held the post of chancellor in Brno for the whole time

⁵³ Pokorná, B. (1996/1997). Dějiny německého gymnasia v Kyjově. In *42. výroční zpráva Klvaňova gymnázia v Kyjově za školní rok 1996/1997*. Kyjov: Klvaňovo gymnázium, p. 10.

⁵⁴ Hurt, R. (1938). *O střední škole...*, p. 17.

⁵⁵ Kotlík, V. (1997). Ředitelé, profesori a žáci německého gymnasia v Kyjově. In *42. výroční zpráva Klvaňova gymnázia v Kyjově za školní rok 1996/1997*. Kyjov: Klvaňovo gymnázium, pp. 21–25.

during which the Piarists worked here. The order sent eminent figures to the Episcopal College of Philosophy. Of those mentioned above, Dominik Kinský and Kassián Halaška (from 1808 until 1814 when he left for Prague University) both worked here. We might also give a particular mention to the philosopher Joseph Calasanz Likawetz,⁵⁶ who worked here until the end of the 1814/1815 school year when he also left for Prague University.

The Crisis in the Piarist Order and its Causes

It is clear from the above that the Piarist Order suffered a significant crisis during the 19th century which led to the fall of the Piarist schools and, therefore, the loss of the main purpose of the existence of the order. We will attempt to summarise the causes of this crisis. We can, for the sake of simplicity, divide them into internal (caused by the order itself) and external (not caused by the actions of the order's superiors).

The external causes included state intervention into the order's schooling which were already evident from the time of the Enlightenment reforms of Maria Theresa and Joseph II. Areas in which this intervention had a significant impact included the expansion to the number of school years, which resulted in further staffing problems for the order, and later the filling of teaching posts by public tenders resulting in secular teachers joining these schools.⁵⁷ This intervention culminated in the abolition of church superiority at schools by the law of 1869 (the Piarist schools definitively lost their independence and were subject to state supervision). Further external factors certainly included the changing times associated with a departure from religion (an atmosphere of liberalism, new opportunities competing with a career in an ecclesiastical order), the financial crisis of 1811 and the fall in the value of the currency (devaluation resulting in a significant shortage of financial means),⁵⁸ higher salaries in other schools,⁵⁹ increasing demands on the length of the studies undertaken by teachers,⁶⁰ and the classification of Piarist

⁵⁶ Svátek, J. (1992) Piarista PhDr. Josef Kalasanský Likavec (1733–1850) a jeho vědecké dílo. In *Studie muzea Kroměřížska '91*, pp. 87–97.

⁵⁷ Haas, A. (1948). Piaristé v našich zemích. *Časopis společnosti přátel starožitností* 56, pp. 1–13, 104–118.

⁵⁸ Idem, p. 113.

⁵⁹ Zemek, M. – Bombera, J. – Filip, A. (1992). Idem., p. 261.

⁶⁰ Dvorský, P. (1886). Příčiny, proč piaristických ústavů v Čechách a na Moravě ubylo. *Časopis katolického duchovenstva* 27/4, p. 235.

schools among private schools with no claim to maintenance from state means. Questions of nationality also came to the fore.⁶¹

The principal internal causes of the crisis in the Piarist Order included poor discipline within the order,⁶² repeated cut backs to the novitiate and its later closure (indicating resignation and lost enthusiasm),⁶³ overstretched staffing (the order ran too many schools, resulting in an inability to provide all its schools with teachers and teaching aids; in this regard its takeover of the prestigious Theresian Academy in Vienna is indisputably contentious), significant turnover in the teaching staff at the order's individual schools and, perhaps, insufficient resolve at moments of crisis. The manifestations of the crisis could not be overcome even by visitations to the monasteries by the provincial superior or the visitations made by Bishop of České Budějovice J. V. Jirsík in the years 1854–1855 (these visitations were made on the basis of the order by Pope Pius IX to implement reforms to orders throughout the monarchy).⁶⁴ Not even the rules stipulated by the Provincial Synod in 1853 relating to the precise daily order, the prohibition of visits to inns and entertainments, the restriction of female visits to monasteries, etc. would help.⁶⁵

The total number of Piarists in the province gradually fell.⁶⁶ There were 343 Piarists in the province as a whole in 1824. There were still 305 members of the Piarist Order in our lands in 1844, though their number then began to fall extremely rapidly. There were still more than 200 members of the order in our lands up to 1871, the number in this year being 209. The following year, however, the number of Piarists in the province fell to 168. Only eight Piarists had died, however, in 1871. The cause of this rapid decline was the fact that the majority of the clerics were released from the order. It goes without saying that this was bound to cause problems in the future, and the order was only undermining itself. The decline in the number of Piarists continued extremely rapidly. In 1886, for example, there were just 85 Piarists in the province, and this number had fallen still further to 53 by the year 1900. It is interesting to

⁶¹ Cekota, V. (1995). Lipničtí piaristé v polovině 19. století. In *Piaristé v Příboře. Sborník příspěvků z odborného symposia 300 let piaristického gymnázia v Příboře, konaného 1.–3. června 1994*. Nový Jičín: The State District Archive in Nový Jičín, p. 269.

⁶² Cekota, V. (1995). *Idem.*, pp. 262–271; Kadlec, J. (1991). c. d., p. 224. Víták, A. K. (1902, 1904). c. d., pp. 324, 348, 377, 363 et. seq., 378–379.

⁶³ Zemek, M. – Bombera, J. – Filip, A. (1992). c. d., p. 260; Cekota, V. (1995), c. d., pp. 268–269.

⁶⁴ Zlámal, B. (1970). *Příručka českých církevních dějin, sv. IX*. Olomouc 1970, p. 50.

⁶⁵ Cekota, V. (1995). *Idem.*, p. 267.

⁶⁶ MZA, collection E 53 Piarists Mikulov, carton no. 28, book nos. 85–93, sgn. B 20 – B 21/8.

note that 40 of the total number of 112 Piarists lived elsewhere than in the Piarist monasteries in the 1879/1880 school year, for example, a fact that was certainly not easily reconciled with the life of the order. There was, to a certain extent, evidently a lack of will to retain at least a smaller number of Piarist schools. When certain monasteries were closed, the Piarists were not moved elsewhere to contribute towards the maintenance of other schools. The fact that a number of Piarists were already of extremely great age at this time, and were left to live out their remaining years in their monasteries, is merely a partial excuse for the order. Some of them could, nevertheless, have been used to rescue the Piarist schools. In 1879, for example, the monastery in Kroměříž was closed and all seven members of the order remained in retirement there.⁶⁷ The Piarist Order endeavoured to retain at least the most important of its schools, though unsuccessfully.⁶⁸ Following the nationalisation of their schools, the remaining Piarists continued to live in their monasteries until they were also closed. If their health permitted, they at least taught religion at primary schools. The remaining Piarist priests went into pastoral care or, if they had the necessary qualifications, continued to work at state grammar schools. Certain monasteries, including those in Mikulov and Strážnice, continued to exist for a relatively long time, though almost without new young arrivals. The monasteries in Mikulov and Strážnice were dissolved by the state in 1950. During the 20th century, the Piarist Order proved unable to get itself out of the crisis into which it had fallen in the 19th century. Strážnice is the only place in the country where the Piarists operate at the present time. All the order's roots connecting it to its past have, however, been torn, and it will be more than complicated to follow up from the order's glorious past.

Conclusion

The Piarist Order performed its most fundamental work in these lands in the period up to the reforms of the Enlightenment. I would not, however, call the following period in the history of the Piarist Order merely a time of decline in the work and success of the order, as some publications do, in spite of the fact that I am aware of the size and achievements of the Piarist Order in our lands in the 17th and 18th centuries. The Piarist Order has an

⁶⁷ MZA, collection E 53 Piarists Mikulov, carton no. 28, book no. 92, sgn. B 21/7.

⁶⁸ Dvorský, P. (1886). *Idem.*, p. 235.

indisputable place in our history and its achievements are enormous. Thousands of pupils attended the order's schools, of which many became distinguished figures. The specialist work of members of the order, as unique figures in a number of fields, also made an evident contribution. A number of the pupils of Piarist schools played a part in the Czech National Revival. They were shaped by their Piarist teachers, who must, therefore, also take significant credit in this area.

The Influence of Prague's Lusatian Seminary on the Sorbian National Revival

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The Catholic Lusatian Sorbs are today the most important element of the Sorbian ethnic group and their national culture. After the Reformation, they found themselves in a minority and in a highly negative situation. For the Catholic Sorbs, the opening of the Lusatian Seminary in Prague in 1728 was a significant source of strength and encouragement. Over the nearly two centuries of its existence, the Lusatian Seminary became a national institution for Catholic Sorbs, and Prague was considered their second capital after Budyšin (Bautzen). The Sorbian seminarians, who usually attended the German grammar school in Prague's Lesser Town before going on to study theology at the city's university, were taught by leading figures of Czech science such as Josef Dobrovský, Václav Hanka, Karel Jaromír Erben, and the Slovak Martin Hattala. The Sorbs thus received their education not only in their native language but also expanded their knowledge of other Slavic tongues. The seminary and the Sorbian youth association Serbowka, founded in Prague in 1846, significantly helped to spread education among the Sorbs, to strengthen their Slavic identity, and to develop their efforts at a national revival. Over its nearly 200-year-existence, the Lusatian Seminary was attended by many leading figures of the Sorbian national revival, including Slavist, magazine editor, and leading figure of the Sorbian national revival Jan Pětr Jordan; priest, editor, linguist, and long-standing chairman of the Mačica Serbska Michał Hórnik; and author and editor Jakub Bart-Čišinski, considered the most important Sorbian poet.

Key words: *Lusatian Seminary; Sorbs; education; national revival*

The Sorbs, who at the start of the 21st century live in the German federal states of Saxony and Brandenburg, are the last living branch of the Polabian Slavs. The fact that they have managed to preserve their distinct cultural and linguistic identity is to a great extent thanks their

conflict-free nature, their loyalty to the ruling German majority, and their regional (Saxon and Brandenburg/Prussian) or local-historical (Lusatian) patriotism, which they share with the local German population. Another important influence on the formation and preservation of the Sorbs' Slavic identity has been their close contact with their Slavic neighbors, in particular the Czechs,¹ Poles, and Russians. In this paper, we will focus on the Czech environment, which helped to create favorable conditions for the creation of a religious and educational institution that significantly influenced the education and national revivalist efforts of the Sorbian Catholics and also contributed to a large degree to the formation of Sorbian ethnic identity in the 19th century.

Since ancient times, religion has been a central element of Sorbian identity. This goes for the period following the Christianization of Lusatia, the post-Reformation era, and the 19th century.² The most important period for the region inhabited by the Sorbs was the 16th-century Reformation, when the Sorbs (like the Germans) split along religious lines into Protestant (Lower Lusatia and most of Upper Lusatia) and Catholic (the rest of Upper Lusatia). Since the last third of the 16th century, Catholicism has been present only in a small number of Sorbian settlements in the area delineated by the Upper Lusatian towns of Budyšin (Bautzen), Kamjenc (Kamenz), and Kulow (Wittichenau).³ Nevertheless, it is this Catholic region that played a key role in preserving Sorbian culture and developing the Sorbs' ethnic identity in the subsequent centuries. In the second half of the 1890s, the region was home to just 13,500 Catholic Sorbs – around 1/13 of the total Sorbian population.⁴ In the intervening years, the number of Sorbs has declined significantly; we can only estimate that there are no more than 20,000

¹ Cf. Kaleta, P. (2006). *Češi o Lužických Srbech. Český vědecký, publicistický a umělecký zájem o Lužické Srby v 19. století a sorbistické dílo Adolfa Černého*. Praha; Páta, J. (1923–1924). Lužickosrbské národní obrození a československá účast v něm. *Slavia. Časopis pro slovanskou filologii* 11, pp. 344–370, and other works.

² A small group of atheists has existed since the postwar period (during the existence of the German Democratic Republic), but they are a minority when compared to the total number of Sorbs.

³ In this paper, we will be primarily using the Sorbian version of Lusatian place names, followed by the German name in parentheses. A similar approach has been used for the names of Sorbian individuals: first in Sorbian and then in German in parentheses (in the case of J. X. Ticin, we give the Latin version of his name in parentheses).

⁴ Cf. Černý, A. (1896–1897). U lužických katolíků. *Světovzor* 31, no. 9, 8. 1., pp. 99.

Sorbs, around 7,800 of whom live in the Catholic part of Lusatia.⁵ However, precisely this group forms the strongest and most compact component of contemporary efforts for the preservation of Sorbian cultural and ethnic identity.⁶

The Lusatian Seminary

During the era when Lusatia was a part of the Bohemian Crown Lands, the Sorbs (and also the region's German population) would travel to Catholic Prague and other Bohemian towns in order to study.⁷ Although the 1635 Peace of Prague made Lusatia a hereditary fief of the Elector of Saxony, the Bohemian monarchs retained their role as protectors of the Catholic Church in Lusatia. This meant that the Lusatian Catholics could continue to practice their religion freely in Protestant Saxony, and that their spiritual needs would be looked after by the Archbishop of Prague. The Lusatian Catholics (to a significant degree Sorbs) also continued to have close contact with monasteries and towns in the Catholic Czech lands. This fact had a positive influence on strengthening the Catholic faith and on the Sorbs' awareness of their linguistic bonds with the more rapidly developing Czech language.

Perhaps the most distinctive representative of Sorbian Catholics in the 17th century was the Jesuit Jacob Xaver Ticin (Jacobus Xaverus Ticinus, 1656–1693), who joined the Society of Jesus in Prague. Ticin studied in Brno and Březnice and completed his education at Prague's theological faculty, after which he was active as a church official in the capital and in Chomutov. His best known publication is a grammar of the Upper Sorbian language, *Principia linguae vendicae* (Prague 1679), in which he codified

⁵ At the end of the first decade of the 21st century, Sorbian researcher Měrćin Wałda (Martin Walde) counted 7,750 Sorbs in 72 villages in the Catholic part of Lusatia (to this, however, we must add the Sorbs living in the town of Budyšin), see Ledźbor, R. (2010). Trjebamy porjadnepřipóznače serbskeje rěče a kultury. Interview z dr. Měrćinom Wałdu wo demografiskim a narodnym wuwicu w katolskich Serbach. *Katolski Posoł*, 17. januara, pp. 19.

⁶ On the history of the Catholic Sorbs until the early 20th century, see Neander [Nowak-Horjanski, J.] ([1920]). *Wobrazy z cyrkwinskih stawiznow katolskich Serbow*. Budyšin. O dějinách katolických Lužických Srbů ve 20. století viz Kowalczyk, T. (1990). *Die katholische Kirche und die Sorben 1919–1990*. Bautzen.

⁷ Cf. e.g., Střihavka, M. (1955). Lužičané na Karlově universitě v Praze do počátku XV. stol. *Lětopis, Reihe/rjad A*, 1955, no. 3, pp. 206–221.

Upper Sorbian on the basis of the dialect from around the town of Kulow while using contemporary Czech orthography.⁸

Catholic Prague in the late 17th and early 18th century, a time when Sorbian clergymen were active in town as well, had the greatest impact on the future of the Sorbs of Catholic Lusatia. As mentioned previously, some Sorbs studied in Bohemia or Moravia, and many of them remained after completing their studies; only very few returned home to Lusatia, where it was much more difficult to make a living. This fact certainly did not contribute to promoting the Sorbs' ethnic, religious, or cultural identity. Change was possible only if a larger number of Sorbian students were concentrated within one college under the direction of the Budyšín chapter, and if a suitable number of these students were to return home and preach in Lusatia after completing their studies.

The Sorbian brothers and clergymen Měrcín Norbert Šimon (Martin Norbert Schimon, 1637–1707) and Jurij Józef Šimon (Georg Josef Schimon, 1646–1729) were well aware of this fact. Since they were active in Bohemia, they realized that this environment, which was culturally and linguistically very similar to that in Lusatia, possessed the proper conditions for founding an institution for the education of Sorbian clergymen. Jurij Šimon had previously fostered Sorbian students in Prague, and in 1693 even decided to purchase a property and building for them. Although he failed to realize this plan, two years later he managed to purchase a building in Prague's Lesser Town that would act as a seminary for Sorbian students. It was called the "Hospice of St. Paul."⁹

Despite the support of both Šimon brothers, the seminary lacked financing, and the building's spaces were not suited to the seminarians' needs. With the help of the Budyšín chapter, Jurij Józef Šimon went looking for a more favorable location,¹⁰ eventually finding a more suitable building, the Dietzler House (later known as the Thun House), in 1704.

⁸ Cf. Bartoň, J. (2016–2017). Učenec z Lužice: Jakub Xaver Ticin. *Doxa. Zpravodaj katolické teologické fakulty Univerzity Karlovy v Praze* 3, No. 1, pp. 19–21. On the life and work of J. X. Ticinus, see, e.g.: Zdichynec, Jan (2006). *Vír clarus verbo et calamo: Jacobus Xaverus Ticinus, pozapomenutá osobnost barokní historiografie*. In: Březina, L. – Konvičná, J. – Zdichynec, J. (eds.). *Ve znamení země koruny české*. Praha, pp. 599–622; Zdichynec, J. (2008). *Z Kulowa přes Prahu do Bělehradu*. In: Černý, M. – Kaleta, P. (eds.). *Stoletý most mezi Prahou a Budyšínem*. Praha, pp. 73–102.

⁹ The building was located on Nová ulice ("New Street"), today U Lužického semináře ("By the Lusatian Seminary").

¹⁰ Cf. Boháč, Z. (1993). *Serbski seminar w Praze*. In: *České země a Lužice*. Tišnov – Budyšín, pp. 41–42.

The two brothers established a foundation for twelve unpropertied young men from Upper Lusatia interested in joining the clergy, which they endowed with an inheritance of 20,000 gulden. In 1716, they purchased another property, and in 1726 construction began on what would later be known as the Lusatian Seminary (Sorbian: Serbski seminar, German: Wendisches Seminar). The building was completed in 1728.¹¹ The Šimon brothers made sure that the official owner would be the Budyšín chapter, which increased the significance of the new seminary building and also emphasized the connection between the Catholics of Lusatia and this educational institution for Sorbian Catholics in Prague. The students who lived at the building were expected to perfect their Sorbian language skills so that they could work as priests in the Catholic part of Upper Lusatia.¹²

From the outset, the seminarians attended the German grammar school in Prague's Lesser Town, and those that went on to study theology attended lectures at the theological faculty in the Old Town. From the records of the number of students at the Lesser Town's grammar school, which go back to the year 1869 and give the students' native language, we can see that, on average, every year the school was attended by ten Sorbian-speaking individuals. The language of instruction was German; as the country's second language, Czech was mandatory as well, although after 1870 it was merely an elective subject.¹³ In 1815, the Lusatian Seminary began to admit Germans as well, and so the number of Sorbian students declined. Nevertheless in the 19th century the seminary still prepared numerous members of the Sorbian intelligentsia for their national revival activities back home.

¹¹ The Lusatian Seminary was built in the baroque style not far from Charles Bridge. It was a two-story single-span building with all its windows facing onto the two adjoining streets. After completion, the building was the dominant feature of this part of the Lesser Town. Today, it is owned by the Ministry of Education of the Czech Republic, and its ground floor houses the offices of the Society of Friends of Lusatia and the Hórník Sorbian Library.

¹² In 1728, the seminary already had 19 students; in 1883, this number was 26 (grammar school students and students of theology – both Sorbs and Germans from the Kingdom of Saxony). Cf. Morávek, A. – Zmeškal, V. (1948). *Lužický dům v Praze 1728–1948*. Praha, pp. 4–5. For more information on the history of the Lusatian Seminary, see Łusčanski, J. (1892). Serbski seminar s. Pětra w Prazy. *Časopis Maćicy Serbskeje* 45, pp. 3–24; Handrik, J. (1930): Stawizny Serbskeho Seminaru w Prazy. *Časopis Maćicy Serbskeje* 83, 1930, no. 1, pp. 3–22.

¹³ Mudra, J. (2005). *Přinošk k stawiznam Malostronskeho gymnazija, na kotrymž so chowancy Serbskeho seminaru kublachu*. In: Kaleta, P. – Martínek, F. – Novosad, L. (eds.). Praha a Lužičti Srbové. Praha, pp. 111–113.

One important factor for developing the seminarians' native language and fostering their acquisition of other Slavic languages was the fact that their teachers included leading representatives of Czech scientific life, in particular Slavic studies. One person who fostered the Sorbian language was Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829),¹⁴ who even created an Upper Sorbian grammar book for the seminary students, although it was destroyed under unclear circumstances.¹⁵ Nevertheless, his Czech grammar formed the model for the later Upper Sorbian grammar elaborated by Handrij Zejler (Andreas Seiler, 1804–1872) and Jan Pětr Jordan.

Also of importance for the Sorbs and their national revival were the activities of linguist and author Václav Hanka (1791–1861) at the Lusatian Seminary, where Hanka began teaching in 1829. In his lectures he focused in particular on the role of the verb in Sorbian, on analogical orthography, and on instilling a knowledge of other Slavic languages. Thanks in great part to Hanka's activities and the training he provided in Slavic languages, two of his most talented students, Jan Pětr Jordan and Michal Hórnik, went on to become leading figures of the Sorbian national revival. Hanka also helped to establish the Prague-based Sorbian association Serbowka at the Lusatian Seminary in 1846, whose activities he continued to influence.¹⁶ A less fortuitous time in the seminary's history was the period from 1861 to 1870, when the school's linguistic training was led by archivist, poet, and author Karel Jaromír Erben (1811–1870). There were fewer linguistic exercises, which was reflected in a decreased knowledge of Sorbian among the seminary's students. The Serbowka association's cultural life was also weaker during this time.¹⁷ After this period of stagnation, life at the Lusatian Seminary and in the Serbowka turned around under the guidance of the Slovak Slavist Martin Hattala (1821–1903), who conscientiously led language instruction and under whose watch the Serbowka significantly expanded its activities. Hattala was active at the seminary in 1872–1896, and although his academic focus was on Czech and Slovak comparative grammar, he also had

¹⁴ Cf. Páta, J. (1929). *Josef Dobrovský a Lužice*. Prague.

¹⁵ Brandl, V. (2003). *Život Josefa Dobrovského*. 2nd amended edition. Praha, pp. 215.

¹⁶ On Hanka's activities within the Lusatian Seminary and his contacts with the Sorbs, see Lorencová, M. (1955). Václav Hanka a Lužičtí Srbové. *Lětopis*, Reih/rjad A, no. 3, pp. 155–205.

¹⁷ For more information on Erben's activities within the Lusatian Seminary, see Mudra, J. (1968). K. J. Erbenowe skutkowanje za Serbow. Přinošk k česko-serbskim kulturnym počaham. *Lětopis*, Reih/rjad A, no. 15/2, pp. 182–200.

a good knowledge of Sorbian and influenced his Sorbian students' interest in linguistic questions, as reflected in the later work of Michal Róla, Jurij Libš, and Jakub Bart-Čišinski.¹⁸ Closely linked with the Lusatian Seminary was the Sorbian youth association Serbowka, which held regular seminary meetings and was a place for students to practice their Sorbian. The first meeting took place on 21 October 1846, and the group's first chairman was Jakub Buk of Zejicy. Over the subsequent decades, the Serbowka went on to become an important center for Sorbian student life in Prague. An important source for studying the group's founding and its later activities are the hand-written Sorbian-language books titled *Serbowka*. One volume is called *Dženik* and contains regular meeting minutes and notes on exercises; the other volume, *Kwětki*, contains the young seminarians' best literary works.

As indicated earlier, the Czech national revivalists had great influence on the young Sorbians at the Lusatian Seminary and within the Serbowka association. Among the seminary's graduates and the members of the Serbowka were many individuals who would later go on to be important figures in Sorbian cultural life and leading representatives of the Sorbian national revival. These include Slavist and editor Jan Pětr Jordan (1818–1891), who wrote the Upper Sorbian grammar *Grammatik der wendisch-serbischen Sprache in der Oberlausitz: Im Systeme Dobrowskýs abgefaßt* (Prague 1841) and who in 1842 was the editor-in-chief of the weekly magazine *Jutnička*, plus several later chairmen of the Serbowka: the aforementioned clergyman, teacher, and editor Jakub Buk (1825–1895); clergyman, editor, linguist, longtime chairman of Maćica Serbska, and key figure of the Sorbian national revival Michal Hórnik (Michael Hornig, 1833–1894);¹⁹ priest, author, and poet Handrij Dučman (Andreas Deutschmann, 1836–1909); bishop Jurij Łusčanski (Georg Wuschanski, 1839–1905); clergyman and author Michal Róla (Michael Rolle, 1841–1881); editor, social activist, and dean of the Budyšin cathedral chapter of St. Peter Jakub Skala (Jacob Skala, 1851–1925); author, editor, and leading Sorbian poet Jakub Bart-Čišinski (Jacob Barth, 1856–1909); priest, author, and linguist Jurij Libš (Georg Liebsch, 1857–1927); clergyman, writer, and editor Mikławš Andricki (Nicolaus Andritzki, 1871–1908); and many others. The Lusatian Seminary in

¹⁸ For more information on Hattal's activities within the Prague Serbowka, see Mudra, J. (1974). *Praska Serbowka w dobjce dohladowarstwa Měrćina Hattale (1872–1903)*. *Lětopis, Reihe/rjad A*, no. 21/1, pp. 58–93; Mudra, J. (1974). *Ze serbskeho listowanja Měrćina Hattale*. *Lětopis, Reihe/rjad A*, no. 21/1, pp. 94–102.

¹⁹ For more information, see Petr, J. (1974). *Michal Hórnik*. Budyšin.

Prague was headed by a director (Sorbian: *prezes*), a function held by, among others, three Czech followers of Bernard Bolzano: František Příhonský (1788–1859), František Náhlovský (1807–1853), and Antonín Slavíček (1813–1893), who also promoted the activities of the Sorbian students who got together once a week at the regular meetings of the *Serbowka*.

The number of Sorbian students in the seminary declined after 1815, when the Lusatian Seminary also housed German Catholics from Lusatia. The situation worsened further after 1895, when the German Anselm Rotzinger was put in charge of the seminary. In addition, with the death of Martin Hattala in 1903 the young Sorbs of the *Serbowka* lost contact with leading representatives of Czech science, who had introduced them to the fundamentals of the Slavic languages. One ideal candidate was Adolf Černý, the founder of Sorbian studies in the Czech lands and since 1901 lecturer in the Sorbian language at Prague's university, but supposedly the church's German functionaries completely banned him from having any access to the Lusatian Seminary.²⁰ This may have been in part due to Černý's gradual conversion to Protestantism, which at the time was already apparent in his thinking. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the ongoing Sorbian national revival showed the clear influence of Czech thinkers in the fields of science, culture, and politics, which did not please the heads of the Meissen bishopric, of which the *Budyšín* chapter was a part. As a result, support for the seminary continued to weaken, and there were even attempts at finding ways to close it down altogether. The final death knell came with the First World War, which weakened the Sorbian national movement and the *Serbowka* in Prague. The postwar situation is reflected in the ethnic composition of the seminarians sent to Prague, now the capital of an independent Czechoslovakia: in 1920, the figures were twenty Germans and five Sorbs, in 1921 it was thirteen Germans and eight Sorbs, in the 1921/1922 school year the number of Sorbian students at the Lusatian Seminary was eight, and the following year three Germans and two Sorbs came to the seminary – only to be sent home again in November 1922 because the seminary was closed and the building sold.²¹

In fact, after the war Germany and the Vatican had reached an agreement that the Lusatian Seminary would be closed within five years. After reconstitution of the Meissen bishopric (which had been

²⁰ Morávek, A. – Zmeškal, V. (1948). *Lužický seminář v Praze 1728–1948*. Praha, pp. 28.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 30.

Lutheranized during the Reformation), Bishop Christian Schreiber (1872–1933) set to this task with great conviction. By 1921, the decision had been made to close the seminary, and in October 1922 the building was sold to the Regional Administrative Committee for the Land of Bohemia.²² Although the building was sold, the foundation for the support of Sorbian students remained (i.e., the scholarships for Lusatian students in Prague were not abolished).²³ However, Sorbian theology students tended to continue their studies in Germany, and in 1924 the building of the Lusatian Seminary became an administrative building for the land of Bohemia. On 18 July 1945, a decree by the regional national committee in Prague gave the building of the Lusatian Seminary to the Society of Friends of Lusatia at no cost, and the building was officially transferred to its new owner on 21 October 1946. Later, the rooms of the former Lusatian Seminary were renovated and the Society of Friends of Lusatia turned the building into the Lusatian House in Prague, which once again provided a home for Sorbian students and also several Czechs.²⁴

Conclusion

Over the nearly two centuries of its existence, the Lusatian Seminary became a national institution for Catholic Sorbs, and Prague was considered their second capital after Budyšin – which it de facto still is today. Slavic Prague had a significant influence on expanding education among Catholic Sorbian theology students, and in the 1840s the Lusatian Seminary and the Serbowka contributed to expanding the ranks of Sorbian national revivalists by producing individuals with excellent knowledge of Slavic languages and close contacts with Czech (but also Russian, Polish, and other) academics, writers, and cultural workers. After

²² For a list of all seminary students who lived at the Lusatian Seminary in 1728–1922, including their hometowns, see Boháč, Z. (1966). Die Matrikel der Zöglinge des „Wendischen Seminars“ in Prag 1728–1922. *Lětopis, Reihe/rjad B*, 13/2, pp. 166–228.

²³ On the activities of the Serbowka after the dissolution of the Lusatian Seminary, see Mlýník, J. (1963). *Praska „Serbowka“ po zběhnjenju Serbskeho seminara. Přinošk k serbskim kulturnym stawiznam mjez swětowymaj wójnomaj. Lětopis, Reihe/rjad A*, 10/1, pp. 84–114.

²⁴ For more, see Závada, J. (2003). Budova Lužického semináře, sídlo Centra pro studium vysokého školství. *Aula* 11, no. 1, pp. 18. On the history of the Lusatian Seminary building from 1945 to the early 21st century, see Mikula, R. (2005). Konec Lužického domu v Praze. In: Kaleta, P. – Martínek, F. – Novosad, L. (eds.). *Praha a Lužičti Srbové. Praha*, pp. 244–251.

returning to Lusatia, these individuals worked intensively along the model of Czech national revivalists in order to shape Sorbian national identity. Their education at Prague's Lusatian Seminary contributed to making the Catholic Sorbs a decisive factor in preserving Sorbian national and cultural identity. The seminary's closing in the early 20th century had a long-lasting impact on the Sorbs' national revival and on spreading a sense of national consciousness among the Sorbian population. Both during the interwar era and in the period following the Second World War, there was no chance for establishing a religious institution with the same Sorbian educational character as the Lusatian Seminary in Prague.

The History of Women's Charitable Orders in the Brno Diocese in Recent Decades

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This study gives an account of the work of individual women's charitable orders and congregations in the Brno Diocese and also endeavours to substantiate the usefulness and benefit of the care they provide at the present time. Charitable care can be considered the predecessor and precursor to professional nursing. Attention is focused on ten charitable orders that worked or work in the Brno Diocese. The work maps out their operations, their precise function, their number of members and age structure, and the intrinsic nature of their activity.

Key words: charitable care; ecclesiastic orders; diocese; nuns; congregation; convents; hospices; Christian faith; treating the sick

Charitable care provided by religious orders and the subsequent treatment of the ill covers an extremely long stage in the development of care for the ill whose beginnings stretch back to the early Middle Ages, to the beginnings of Christianity. The first convents were founded in the fourth century with the aim of caring for the ill, and many women from higher social classes engaged in caring for the ill. The development of charitable nursing orders and congregations was influenced primarily by a ruling by Pope Gregory the Great who in the year 817 imposed on the monasteries the obligation of caring for the poor, disabled and ill. Monasteries and hospitals were initially built by members of the ruling families, though they were later joined by wealthy members of the aristocracy and rich townspeople.¹ This initially meant a room with twelve beds (from the number of apostles) which was connected with a chapel or monastery. These hospices were designed for the poor and ill,

¹ Plevová, I. – Slowik, R. (2008). *Vybrané kapitoly z historie ošetřovatelství*. Ostrava: Ostrava University, p. 26.

particularly travellers, though also townspeople, merchants and richer people.² The largest numbers of such hospices were established in this country in the pre-Hussite period.

The political and power changes following February 1948 had a violent impact on the functioning system of charitable care. Until this time, members of women's religious orders made up a large proportion of the staff of hospitals and social and charitable institutions where they belonged among the leading experts. They were, nevertheless, sent to internment camps. The "Ecclesiastic Six", the commission convened by Communist Minister Alexej Čepička, discussed the "Dismantlement of the Convents" on 3 March 1950, during the first stage of which more than ten thousand nuns were relocated. In the subsequent second stage, 4,073 of these nuns were reassigned to thirty-three centres from which the majority of them were then assigned to industrial production. In the meantime, nurses who were to replace the nuns in hospitals were given rapid training. Implementation of the project continued from the end of August to October 1950 with the aim of terminating the employment of the nuns. A total of around 720 convents were abolished and more than ten thousand nuns interned. Individual religious communities tried to preserve their orders wherever possible in spite of all the obstacles.³

The establishment of the Brno Diocese was connected with the church reforms of Maria Theresa and Joseph II in the 1770s which had a radical impact on the life of the Roman Catholic Church throughout the entire monarchy. The Olomouc Bishopric was elevated to an Archbishopric in 1777 at the direct instigation of the Empress and on the basis of a Papal Bull issued by Pope Pius VI, and a new bishopric in Brno was established in Moravia on 5 December of the same year. The first Bishop of Brno was Matyáš František Chorinský of Ledská, hitherto provost of the Brno chapter and Adjunct Bishop of Olomouc. The new Brno Diocese took in 151 parishes in eighteen administrative groupings or deaneries. At the present time, the diocese takes in 449 parishes in twenty deaneries; sixteen male and twenty-four female orders and congregations are also active here. Since 1990, the Brno Diocese has been headed by Bishop ThLic. Vojtěch Cikrle.⁴

² Staňková, M. (2003). *Z historie charitativní péče a řádové ošetrovatelské péče*. Praha. Sonoma Magazines, p. 3.

³ Foltýn, D. et al. (2005). *Encyklopedie moravských a slezských klášterů*. Praha.

⁴ *Biskupství brněnské. Historie brněnské diecéze* [at. 2016-01-12]. For more detail see: Charouz, Z. (2006). *Pohledy do dějin brněnské diecéze*. Brno. Also: Říhová, K. (2014). *Perzekuce církve v brněnské diecézi v 50. letech 20. století a její dopad na katechezi*. Brno. Masaryk University, Faculty of Education, (Bachelor thesis).

Ten charitable women's orders working in the Brno Bishopric were included in the study. Seven of these orders are still more or less active.⁵ We will first mention three orders that are, to all intents and purposes, no longer active in the diocese. The first of these is the *Congregation of the Sisters of the Most Holy Saviour* (*Congregatio Sororum Sanctissimi Salvatoris*) which formerly cared for the sick in hospitals, in sanatoriums for the long-term sick and in old people's homes. The congregation had a school of nursing in the provincial house of the Province of Bohemia and Moravia in Znojmo from 1937. In the years 1938–1945, the nuns were forced to move to Slovakia (to Bratislava) and the homes in Znojmo were occupied by German nuns. They were able to return to Znojmo only after the war. The province had twenty-eight members as of 1948. The school of nursing was nationalised in 1950, though the nuns were allowed to remain at the hospital. Some of the nuns also cared for the household of the priest or taught at religious schools. From the 1960s until 1991, they worked in the Brno Diocese at the institute for mentally disabled young people in Borotín near Boskovice. They then left for Znojmo and helped out in the vicarages on an occasional basis. In view of their great age, they stopped performing their work in 2005. Motto: *Now We Help the World with Our Prayers and the Sacrifices Brought by Age and Illness*.

For the *Society of Daughters of Christian Love of Saint Vincent de Paul – the Vincentian nuns* (*Congregatio Sororum Misericordiae S. Vincentii*), the nineteen nineties were characterised by a gradual abandonment of its social care institutes, most frequently due to retirement. These nuns were gradually placed in charitable homes for order members. The society's beginnings date back to 1853 when its members jointly founded an orphanage with members of the Society of Saint Joseph in Zábřehovice in Brno where they worked as nurses and teachers. Following World War II, there were already as many as 1,200 nuns in the province working in fifty facilities, not merely schools and orphanages, but also poorhouses. They also performed nursing duties in hospitals and psychiatric sanatoriums. After 1950, the nuns were gradually forced to leave their communities and their jobs. The last nuns left the hospitals in 1960. They were deported to “concentration camps” and worked in the fields and the factories. They were again allowed to serve in hospitals and other social institutions in 1968. In 1988, the society gained the approval of the Ministry of Culture to receive new members to serve the aged and ill priests and nuns. Today, the society operates all over the world, and since January 2007 has held the status of advisor to

⁵ Viček, V. (ed., 2005). *Ženské řehole za komunismu 1948–1989*. Olomouc.

the UN Economic and Social Council. There are still two small communities of three members in Brno engaged in healthcare, charitable nursing and community care and pastoral work.⁶

The Congregation of the Sisters of Saint Hedwig (Congregation Sororum S. Hedwigis) was established in Wrocław (Breslau) in June 1859, though it left for Nezamyslice na Hané in Moravia in 1878. In time, it operated in the Brno Diocese (in Mikulov, Luky, Valtice and Lednice) where its nuns worked in hospitals, nurseries, children's homes and old people's homes. During the war years they worked as nurses in military hospitals. The nuns were dismissed from the hospitals in the nineteen fifties. Some were interned, while the older members were sent to the Charitable Home in Mukařov near Prague. The congregation accepted unwed Catholics over the age of eighteen. In 1981, their provincial house in Břežany near Znojmo was confiscated and the convent chapel was dissolved. In the coming years, they were able to survive in a single parish room in Břežany. Ten years later (1991), the former provincial chateau in Břežany was returned to the congregation and turned into the Social Care Institute for Mentally Disabled Children. Of the original number of around 160 nuns (in 1950), just nine sisters remained in the congregation in 2005.⁷

We will begin our survey of active charitable orders with a look at the *Order of Saint Elizabeth (Ordo Sanctae Elisabethae)*. The order is guided by the Order of Saint Augustine and has its own statute. The individual convents are headed by a Mother Superior (Mater antistita). The sisters are divided into choir nuns and lay nuns. The order was introduced to the Czech Lands at the beginning of the 18th century. The Sisters of Saint Elizabeth came to Brno in April 1749 and first worked in a house on the corner of the streets Pekařská and Kopečná. These premises soon ceased to suffice, however, and a hospital, chapel and convent were built by the River Svratka. In addition to hospital duties, the nuns also taught children of preschool age. The hospice run by the Order of Saint Elizabeth gained the status of a hospital, although it continued to be a convent building. German nuns worked there under the Protectorate. The life of the order was entirely suppressed after 1950 and the building

⁶ For more detail see: Majerčíková, J. (2010). *Inspirace spirituality svatého Vincence de Paul pro dnešní evangelizaci*. Praha: Charles University.

⁷ Hrudníková, M. (1997). *Řeholní život v Českých zemích. Řeholní řády a kongregace sekulární instituty a společnosti apoštolského života v České republice*. Kostelní Vydří, pp. 213–214.

Also: Juráková, M. (2016). *Dějiny Kongregace sester sv. Hedviky*. Olomouc, Palacký University, Saints Cyril and Methodius Faculty of Theology, (Bachelor thesis).

became part of a charity. The nuns were allowed to work only under strict supervision and were made to do even the hardest work. In the nineteen sixties, the convent was taken over by the Municipal Social Care Institution in Brno as a sanatorium for the long-term sick which established an old people's home in the building in which the nuns capable of work also worked. They were also joined by nuns from Prague. The rest were taken to Broumov and then to Osek.

After 1989, the order applied a restitution claim for the return of its property. The Municipal Social Care Institution in Brno operated here until 1997, when it left the building. The building remained deserted and the nuns attended the Hospital of the Brothers of Charity where they occasionally served. In November 1998, the Saint Elizabeth Hospice, falling under the administration of the Masaryk Memorial Cancer Institute in Brno, opened in the original building. In September 2001, however, the hospice was closed for financial reasons, though the civic organisation Gabriela was established at the initiative of former employees and their friends and operation of the Saint Elizabeth Hospice was restored at its initiative on 1 April 2004; the congregation counted twenty-seven members as of 1 January 2005. The hospice provides comprehensive high-quality care for the incurably ill. Motto: *Bring Joy to Others!* The Sisters of Saint Elizabeth see Christ himself in unwell and forsaken people, and put themselves entirely at their service and serve them.⁸

One of the three oldest women's congregations are the Sisters of Mercy of Saint Charles Borromeo (*Congregatio Virginum Sororum Misericordiae S. Caroli Borromei*), established in 1652 by the young lawyer Chauvenel in Nancy, France as a congregation of papal law; the first sisters' house and hospice were also established there. Archbishop of Milan Saint Charles Borromeo, known for his selfless charity, became patron of the congregation. The first four Sisters of Borromeo appeared in Prague, where they purchased two houses to form a basic hospital (today's Pod Petřínem University Hospital) and Saint Charles' Church, at the end of the eighteen thirties. The sisters' work began to spread to other parts of Bohemia and Moravia, including Brno (centred at Údolní 39) where as many as sixty children from the poorest families in Brno were entrusted to the care of the Sisters of Borromeo. From the end of the 19th century, the nuns also worked in the village of Božice in the Znojmo area. During World War II, they cared for the sick and injured in hospitals and military hospitals. From 1945 onwards, the work of the Sisters of Saint

⁸ *Kronika Konventu sester Alžbětinek v Brně. Pamětní spis ke 250. výročí působení sester Alžbětinek v Brně.* Typescript, unpagged.

Borromeo also spread to social institutions; at this time their number rose to more than 1,500 members. Three houses were established in Brno where the nuns could live a civilian life. They worked at Saint Anne's Hospital and an old people's home. They also taught in schools. The original house in Brno on the street Údolní was repaired and served young people.⁹

Immediately following its repair, all the property of the Sisters of Saint Borromeo was taken over in the nineteen fifties by the company Zbrojovka Brno which used it as a hostel for apprentices. The older Sisters of Borromeo were relocated to charitable homes, while the younger among them were moved to the border lands where they worked in textile factories. The Sisters of Borromeo also came to Hradiště in Znojmo in 1958 where they found a new home (particularly for older nuns); they had their headquarters here until 1996 when they moved to Šporkova 12 in Prague (the House of Saint Notburga). The nuns helped out in a residential centre for mothers in need and performed pastoral work. The community of nuns was closed in September 2007 for personal, operational and technical reasons. Most of the staff went to a charitable home in the town of Albrechtice. Motto of the Sisters of Borromeo: *Give merciful love to all your close ones and help soothe the wounds of body and soul.*¹⁰

The Congregation of Sisters of the Third Order of Saint Francis Under the Protection of the Holy Family (Misericordia Congregatio Sororum III. Sub. S. Franciscus praesidio Sanctae Familiae) was established in Brno on 15 March 1866 and took over tasks from the military administration in caring for the injured following the end of the Austro-Prussian War at the initiative of Bishop of Brno František Bauer. Chairman of the Red Cross Count Felix Vetter of Lille became a great benefactor of the young

⁹ For a more general view see: Soukupová, D. (2015). *Vzdělání a služba všeobecných sester Kongregace Milosrdných sester sv. Karla Boromejského působící v České republice*. České Budějovice: The University of South Bohemia, Faculty of Health and Social Sciences, (Dissertation).

¹⁰ Kongregace Milosrdných sester sv. Karla Boromejského. *Dům sv. Antonína, historie*. Available from: <<http://www.boromejky.cz/25.htm>>; Also: *Kongregace Milosrdných sester sv. Karla Boromejského: láska smrtí nekončí*. Český Těšín; Svobodová, M. (2007). *Škola a klášter Kongregace milosrdných sester sv. Karla Boromejského v Líšni*. Brno: Masaryk University, Faculty of Education, (Bachelor thesis); Krátká, E. (2016). *Kongregace Milosrdných sester sv. Karla Boromejského*. Brno: Masaryk University, Faculty of Arts (Dissertation); Slaběňáková, J. (2008). *Působení Kongregace Milosrdných sester svatého Karla Boromejského na území brněnského biskupství od jejího příchodu až do dnešní doby*. Brno: Masaryk University, Faculty of Arts (Dissertation).

congregation. The sisters set themselves the goal of caring for the sick, initially in their homes and later at Brno's Saint Anne's Hospital. The sisters' first house, where applicants took courses in treating the sick, was established in nearby Černá Pole (now a borough of Brno) which was leased by the Red Cross. From September 1914 onwards, 20–25 nuns cared for the injured from the fronts of World War I. The congregation grew rapidly, and shortly after the war already had more than 140 nuns and twelve aspirants who worked in four hospitals in Brno (mostly at Saint Anne's and at Žlutý Kopec) and in hospices in Jihlava, Ivančice, Třebíč, Jevíčko, Drnovice and Žernůvka near Tišnov. There were 355 sisters in the congregation in 1936, and the order's first school of nursing was opened in Brno in the same year both for members of the order and, later, for civilian sisters. During the years of the Protectorate, sisters from Slovakia were housed in the convent on the street known as Siroťčí (today's Grohova). They were joined in October 1940 by sisters from the Congregation of Saints Cyril and Methodius who had been given notice from the convent and grammar school in Lerchova Street in Brno. In 1945, following the most essential repairs, instruction was restored at the school of nursing in substitute premises at the convent.¹¹

After February 1948, efforts were made to persuade the individual sisters to go into civilian life. They all refused. The convents were dissolved after 1950. The sisters were taken to reception camps, though this measure did not apply to those working in hospitals. The continuous pressure from the ruling power structures led to their ending their work in the hospitals in Jihlava and Třebíč. Finally, they were moved to Lechovice near Znojmo.¹² By 1958, the congregation numbered 194 sisters in ten houses. A new religious order was formed in secret.

In September 1989, the Franciscan nuns were allowed to accept new novices for their charitable home as it had no one to care for the aged sisters; the congregation numbered 194 members at this time. After November 1989, new women began to turn to the congregation with an interest in taking the veil and beginning to lead the life of the order. They

¹¹ Havelková, J. (2009). *Kongregace Milosrdných sester III. řádu sv. Františka pod ochranou Svaté rodiny a její působení v českých zemích v letech 1886–1958*. Brno: Masaryk University, Faculty of Education (Dissertation).

¹² For more detail see: Babáková, V. (2012): *Perzekuce Kongregace Milosrdných sester sv. Karla Boromejského po roce 1948*. Brno, Masaryk University, Faculty of Arts (Dissertation). For more detail see: *Život a dílo matky Františky Lechnerové (1998). K památce k 130. výročí založení kongregace. In Memory of the 130th Anniversary of the Foundation of the Congregation*). Compiled by S. M. Filoména Truhlíková FDC. Opava, p. 15.

came to Lechovice. The older members of the order “departed”, however, in view of their age, and 98 members were recorded in four homes (Brno – Grohova and Petrov, Velký Újezd near Moravské Budějovice and Žernůvka near Tišnov) as of 1 January 2005. This number continued to decline and in the middle of 2016 amounted to just fifty sisters. The Ecclesiastic Secondary Medical School in Grohova Street in Brno, where the headquarters of the congregation and the Charitable Home for Aged Sisters began to operate along with the Ecclesiastic Secondary Medical School, the Home of the Holy Family and a hostel for pupils of the secondary medical school, reopened in September 1990. A small number of sisters also began working at the school which provides two four-year study fields – Medical Assistant and Medical Lyceum – and the three-year study field Nursing. The sisters also work in the four homes mentioned above. Motto of the Franciscan nuns: *We follow Saint Francis in life and in poverty and in showing merciful love to all needy.*

The original calling of the *Congregation of the Daughters of Divine Love (Filiae Divinae Caritatis)* was to protect country girls coming to Vienna, the capital of the Hapsburg Monarchy, for work. The inexperience of these girls soon led to them falling into material and moral destitution, for which reason Mother Františka Lechnerová decided to found the Marian Institutes where these girls could receive free housing and education. She put her plan into action in 1868. Two years later, she established a similar house in Brno, as well as houses in Opava and Prague.¹³ From the beginning, around ten sisters worked in Brno and a neighbouring house was soon purchased. The number of women interested continually increased. A report by the Brno Bishopric shows that several thousand maid servants and more than 800 foster children were provided for and educated at the institute in the years 1923–1938, with the girls learning handwork, attending Sunday school and learning music and foreign languages. The scope of its activities spread to providing care for the elderly and, in particular, for neglected and abandoned children. In 1931, the sisters built a new house in Brno called the Augustinium as a women’s boarding house (one house stood on the street now known as Třída Kpt. Jaroše, a second on the street Lidická). Work at the institute became increasingly restricted after World War II, and the house was finally confiscated by the state in September 1950 with the sisters being given four days to vacate it.

¹³ Ibidem.

In 1970, the congregation numbered a mere 160 sisters, of which 16 lived in the Charitable Home in Jiřetín pod Jedlovou (in the district of Děčín) and another 50 worked at the Institute of Social Care for Children in Marian in Opava. To all intents and purposes, the congregation is no longer in operation in Brno. Although houses were returned to the sisters in restitution, they are being leased out at the present time (to the Emanuel Community and as doctors' surgeries). In 2005, the congregation had twenty-three members with headquarters in Opava.¹⁴ Motto: *All for God, for the poor and for our congregation.*

The Congregation of the Sisters of the Third Order of Saint Francis Under the Protection of the Archangel Saint Raphael (Congregatio Sororum III. Sub protectione sancti Francisci Ordine S. Raphaelis Archangeli) was established by the priest Kašpar Dunda in 1907 at a spa institution in Moravec in the Highlands of Bohemia and Moravia; the institution was built for the poor and, in particular, for treating priests and theologians. The institution opened a year later. The statutes of the congregation drawn up by Dunda were approved by the Bishop of Brno in 1910, while the community was recognised by the Congregation of Brno Diocesan Law in 1969. Spiritual training (exercises) was held here from the end of 1919 onwards. Between twenty and thirty priests were also treated here each year. Sisters from the congregation also worked in an orphanage in Biskupice u Hrotovic, in a number of social institutions and in children's homes. They had just twenty-four members in 1930, though this number then increased. The work of the congregation was halted in 1950 and forty-five of the nuns in Moravec were forcibly relocated to Rýžoviště near Bruntál where they were forced to work in a factory or on a state farm.

In the following years, the Sisters of Raphael were placed in seven social care facilities or hospitals (in Bučovice, in Nové Hvězdlice, with the Brothers of Charity in Brno, in Nové Město na Moravě, in Svitavy, in Budíškovice in the Dačicko area, in Bílá Voda near Javorník). The nuns in Bílá Voda returned to Moravec in 1989. Some of the sisters left the congregation and went into "civilian life". Their numbers gradually fell to such an extent that just five sisters remained in the congregation in 2004, of which only two worked in the charitable house as nurses; at the end of 2016 their number fell to four. There is also an old people's home for parish housekeepers, sextons and the parents of priests and nuns open

¹⁴ Kostecká, J. (2017): *Charitativní ženské řeholní řády v brněnské diecézi*. Třebíč: Západomoravská vysoká škola Třebíč, (Bachelor thesis). pp. 17–18, 35–36.

in Moravec.¹⁵ Motto: *Observe the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ in obedience, poverty and chastity.*

The main mission of the *Congregation of the Consoling Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (Sorores Consolatrices Divini Cordis Jesu Patientis)* was to care for the sick in private homes; this care was later extended to hospitals and old people's homes. The congregation was established at the end of the war year 1915, when the sisters helped out selflessly in treating the injured in military hospitals, with the support of Bishop of Brno ThDr. Pavel Huyn. The congregation spread from Brno to other large towns in the Czech Lands; it operated in Nové Město in Prague, in Kolín, in Poděbrady and in Vyškov. Construction of a new Mother House in Rajhrad u Brna began in 1924 along with construction of the Church of the Sacred Heart of Our Lord (completed in 1929). During World War II, the sisters worked in fourteen filial houses in Bohemia and Moravia, Slovakia, and even Italy and Argentina.

In 1950, all these filial houses were dissolved at the intervention of the state and the sisters were forced to leave for Rajhrad. At this time the congregation numbered 126 sisters, eight novices and three candidates. They were transported from Rajhrad to perform forced labour in surrounding factories and nearby fields. Later, they were allowed to work in social care institutions. In 1951, the sisters were moved out of the convent in Rajhrad and the site was used by the army until 1991. The convent suffered considerable devastation over the course of time and had to be repaired following its return in the nineteen nineties. The sisters then devoted themselves to charitable care, including care for old and infirm nuns (The House of Mother Rosa, founder of the congregation, legal name Barbora Vůjtěchová-Vojtěchová). Saint Joseph's Hospice was established on the site in 1999. It has been administered by the Rajhrad District Charity since 2007; the congregation numbered 36 sisters as of the beginning of 2017.¹⁶ Motto: *Our single goal must be to bring joy to God.*

The beginnings of the *Congregation of the Sisters of Saints Cyril and Methodius (Congregatio Sororum a SS. Cyrillo et Methodio)* can be found in the original lay company of Cyril and Methodius known as the Apostolate of Saints Cyril and Methodius in Velehrad, established with the

¹⁵ *Kronika Kongregace sester III. řádu sv. Františka pod ochranou sv. Rafaela archanděla. Kongregační prameny (1907–1991)*. Compiled by Sister Pavla Shamalová. Moravec, manuscript, unpagged.

¹⁶ Hošek, S. (2014). *Působení Kongregace sester Těšitelék Božského srdce Ježíšova v letech 1915–2014*. Brno: Masaryk University, Faculty of Education, (Dissertation).

support of Archbishop of Olomouc ThDr. Antonín Cyril Stojan. Then Minister and Chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party Monsignor Jan Šrámek was accredited with the preparations for the establishment of the congregation by a Papal See; the actual founder of the congregation was Marie Růžena Nesvadbová. Members of the congregation made a vow of obedience, chastity and poverty to God, thereby pledging themselves to the communal life of nuns in the spirit of bringing Slavic Christians together and following the legacy of both their patrons. The work of the congregation in teaching young girls at all school levels was undertaken in the same spirit. From 1925, the congregation's principal house grew on the site of the former Augustinian monastery in Old Brno. Three years later, the sisters also opened a classical girl's grammar school with a hall of residence in Brno. The sisters also worked as religious teachers at state schools. They established nursery schools and also devoted themselves to charitable work in medical facilities, social institutions, old people's homes and schools of various types, along with missionary work (in, for example, Velehrad, Nová Říše, Prostějov, Prague and Litoměřice).

After 1948, when church schools were abolished, convents confiscated and nuns interned in "concentration camps", they were allowed to work only under supervision in social institutions. Those of retirement age had to leave for the camp in Bílá Voda. A short period of "spring" came in the years 1968–1971, during which it was possible to accept young women to the order and the nuns were allowed to perform pastoral work. The congregation received papal approval in 1975. In these years, the sisters in Brno worked in small secret communities. In 1988, they purchased a house in Jiráskova čtvrť in Brno (now Masarykova čtvrť), not far from the confiscated buildings, which they altered to suit the purposes of the congregation's main house.

The sisters were not, however, able to go back to their original mission and work in their congregations until after 1989. The Cyril and Methodius Church Primary School was founded at the mother house in Brno in 1990 and the congregation was returned its confiscated buildings. They began caring for children and young people as nurses and tutors at the social care institute in Velehrad. The "Stojanov" in Velehrad once again became a house for spiritual exercise. The Bohemian Province was given the task of founding the Cyril and Methodius Grammar School and Secondary Vocational College of Education; these schools opened after necessary repairs in September 1992. The sisters worked in the schools as teachers, tutors and administrative staff. The congregation counted seventy-eight members as of 1 January 2005, and sixty-five sisters in January 2017, of

which there were fifty in the Czech Province (in Velehrad – general house, in Brno – headquarters of the province, in Olomouc and in Tetín). There is a community of thirteen in Brno.¹⁷ Motto of the congregation: *For all to be one*.

During the course of the 19th and 20th centuries, newly founded women's religious congregations, whose principal mission was demanding and self-sacrificing work, particularly in charity, took on a quite extraordinary importance. From the beginning, the members of these congregations worked in hospitals, sanatoriums, orphanages, old people's homes, institutes for the physically and mentally disabled and a large number of other social institutions, thereby playing an important role in upbringing and education, particularly for young women. After 1948, as part of the suppression of church life by the state, nuns were sent to selected internment camps, though a number of them were sent to court, accused of treason and even imprisoned. Many sisters ended up in labour camps. After 1989, most of these congregations revived the life of their order and returned to their original work.

¹⁷ *Česká provincie Kongregace sester sv. Cyrila a Metoděje. Historie. Charita*. Available from: <<http://www.cyrilky.cz/historie>>. For more detail see: Důbravová, K. R. (1992). *Dějiny kongregace sester sv. Cyrila a Metoděje 1924–1990*. Bílá Voda.

Political Struggle in Bessarabia and at the Romanian Front. The Beginning of Romanian Occupation of Bessarabia (November 1917 – February 1918).

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The emergence of the Soviet-Romanian conflict in Bessarabia was largely caused by the October revolution in Russia that had left Romania one-on-one fight against the unit of the Central Powers in the Balkans and turned the former Romanian ally in the factor threatening the political stability of the Romanian kingdom. Faced with the threat of surrender, Romania sought to compensate unrealized territorial ambitions in Transylvania by joining at least the Russian province of Bessarabia, which the Romanian political elite considered as the historical and ethnic Romanian territory.

Key words: Bessarabia; Soviet-Romanian Relations; Moldavian Democratic Republic; Romanian Front; Rumcherod

The Bessarabian province of the Russian Empire, the territory between the Dniester and Prut rivers, is an agrarian and industrially undeveloped region that would remain on the periphery of revolutionary events if not the proximity of the Romanian front. It was opened in 1916, when Romania sided with the Entente after a long bargaining about the price of participation in the world war. The Romanian kingdom was promised the expansion of borders in all directions, but with the exception of the East – Bessarabia. It was, in its turn, promised to Bucharest by the Central Powers¹. The course of the war in 1916–1917 did not meet the

¹ Vinogradov, V. (1987). *Kratkaya istoriya Rumynii s drevneyshih vremen i do nashich dnei*. M: Nayka, p. 309.

expectations of Bucharest: after suffering defeat, the Romanian troops with the help of four Russian armies were holding only the eastern regions of the kingdom, smaller than Bessarabia itself.

The political situation in Bessarabia in 1917 was developing along the lines of all-Russian processes. In the democratic field that arose after the February Revolution, several poles of power struggle emerged and put forward various programs of political and socio-economic transformation of Bessarabia within Russia. The specific character of the region manifested itself in the fact, that besides the authorities of the Provisional Government, as well as various elective Soviet structures, the Moldovan national movement received political registration there as well. It created the regional authority – Sfatul Țării (Country Council) on November 21 (December 5), 1917². Despite the fact that its delegates represented only four counties inhabited mainly by Moldovans, the course for autonomy within the federal state was proclaimed after the Bessarabian and All Russian Constituent Assemblies. Spreading the boundaries of autonomy throughout the territory of Bessarabia, Sfatul Țării ignored the complex ethnic composition of the southern regions of the land (Budjak), where the majority consisted of the representatives of the Slavic and other nationalities, but not the Moldavians, constituted 47% of the population in the province according to the Census of 1897³. Although the Romanians at the Paris Peace Conference used other data, referring to 72% of the regional population as the Romanians, the Census of 1930 recorded 56.2% of the Romanian population⁴. Sfatul Țării proclaimed the creation of the Moldavian Democratic Republic (Republica Democratică Moldovenească) as a part of the "Russian Democratic Republic" on December 2 (15), 1917; this, in turn, aroused the criticism of the Soviet authorities that were also functioning in the cities of Bessarabia⁵. Sfatul Țării, which at first declared the preservation of the province within the

² New style of chronology was introduced in Romania starting March 1919.

³ Pervaja Vseobshaja perepis naselenija Rossijskoj imperii. (1899–1905). T. 3 Bessarabskaja gubernija. St. Peterburg: centr. stat. kom. m-va vn., p. 3

⁴ Livezeanu, I. (1995). *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania: Regionalism, Nation Building, and Ethnic Struggle, 1918–1930*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, p. 92; Spector, Sh. (1962). *Rumania at the Paris Peace Conference: A study of the diplomacy of Ioan I. C. Brătianu*. NY: Bookman Associates, Inc., p. 101.

⁵ Vinogradov, V. (1996). *Bessarabija na perekrestke evropejskoj diplomatii. Dokumenty i materialy*. M: Indrik, pp. 200–202; GARF. F. 5936. Op. 1. D. 577. (1917–1918). Zapiski adjutanta glavnokomandujushego Rumynskogo fronta A. D. Shcherbacheva o Rumynii i Bessarabii, p. 177; Sovetsko-rumynskije otnoshenija. 1917–1941. (2000). Sbornik dokumentov. T.1: 1917–1934. M: Mezhdunarodnyje otnoshenija, pp. 8–10, 20–22.

Russian state, did not begin to recognize the supremacy of the executive power of the Council of People's Commissars (CPC) and declared its readiness to consider it only as the government of Great Russia⁶. Despite the fact that Sfatul Țării attempted to seize the political initiative from the Provisional Government, which was formed after the February Revolution, and the Soviets, it also did not recognize the authority of the CPC. The weak positions of the Bolsheviks in Bessarabia did not put the immediate change of power on the agenda. As a result, the relations of the government of V. I. Lenin and the Directorate of Sfatul Țării manifested itself in mutual ignoring each other without discussing the future state status of Bessarabia.

Locally emerged centers of Soviet power in the southwestern territories of the former Russian Empire were represented by the Front Department of the Executive Committees of the Councils of Rumfront, the Black Sea Fleet and the Odessa District (Rumcherod). The last coordinated the Bolshevisation of Odessa and the surrounding territories but was not subordinated to other Soviet bodies of Ukraine. In Bessarabia, Rumcherod relied on the revolutionary parts of the 6th Army, which disorganized and controversially left the Romanian front, as well as the Chisinau Council of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies, where, at the turn of 1917–1918, the Bolsheviks formed the majority.

Only on November 22 (December 10), the Chisinau Council recognized the authority of the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets. The predominance of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks in its composition, who had no radical contradictions with the program of Sfatul Țării, close to the Socialist-Revolutionary ideology, allowed for a long time to keep the political process in a peaceful framework. Some Bessarabian Bolsheviks, without any instructions from the CPC regarding the attitude to Sfatul Țării, assessed the project of Moldavian Republic even as a progressive one. In the meantime, Petrograd sent commissars to the Romanian front setting the goal to complete the Bolshevisation of the army, and practically did not interfere in the events in Bessarabia. No Soviet body perceived the initiative of the autonomy of Moldova in opposition to the autonomy proclaimed by Sfatul Țării⁷.

900 thousand soldiers of the four Russian armies of the Romanian Front posed the great danger for the fragile dual power that was

⁶ State archives of Russian Federation (GARF) F. R. 3439. Op. 1. D. 2. Komitet osvobodzenija Bessarabii, 1917–1918 g., p. 19.

⁷ Levit, I. (2000). *God sudbonosnyj: Ot provozglashenija Moldavskoj Respubliki do likvidavii avtonomii Bessarabii*. Kishinev: Centralnaja tipografija, pp. 59–60.

established in November 1917 in Moldova. Despite the preservation of their fighting capacity, after the peace initiatives of the CPC, which forced Romania to sign a separate truce with the Central Powers in Focsani on November 26 (December 9), massive desertion began. The situation was further aggravated after the Soviet Supreme Headquarters in Mogilev issued an order to withdraw all Russian troops from Romania⁸. The looting and pillage that arose during the retreat of the troops provoked the growth of peasant demonstrations and banditry, which neither the Soviet authorities nor Sfatul Țării could effectively fight.

Chisinau preserved the model of the dual power of the Directorate of Sfatul Țării and the Chisinau Council. The political situation in other cities and districts of Bessarabia had a small impact on the development of the Soviet-Romanian conflict. The front-line status of Bessarabia affected the increasingly radicalization of the mood of Moldovan Soviet bodies, that tried to establish their authority on the Romanian front. However, the leaders of Sfatul Țării, despite the fact that the conflict with the Soviets did not turn into armed clashes, could not create the effective system of managing the region and did not feel safe. At the end of November 1917, the Head of the Directorate of External Affairs I. Pelivan together with Professor O. Gibu, a supporter of the concept of "Great Romania", arrived in Iasi, where they held consultations with the Minister of Foreign Affairs Take Ionescu and other high officials regarding the possibility of entering Romanian troops in Bessarabia to maintain order. I. Pelivan and the Head of the Directorate of Interior in mid-December 1917 visited Iasi again and directly requested the Romanian government, the headquarters of D.G. Shcherbachev and the diplomatic corps of the allied powers to send troops to Bessarabia to fight against anarchy⁹.

Upon the return of diplomats, at the meetings of Sfatul Țării on December 27–28, 1917 (January 9–10, 1918), after heated debates, a secret decision was made to turn to external assistance in order to suppress anarchy in the province. The Regional Council considered three drafts of the resolution. The SR-Menshevik bloc and the bloc of deputies from national minorities insisted that military assistance should be requested from the Ukrainian Central Rada and the Entente missions. The deputies of the Moldovan bloc did not speak out their desire to invite the Romanian units, but the heads of the directorates of internal and external affairs, V. Christi and I. Pelivan, actively lobbied for seeking help from

⁸ Ibid, p. 150.

⁹ Ibid, p. 103, p. 180.

Romania¹⁰. On December 22 (January 4), a telegram was sent to Iasi addressed to the Romanian Minister of War, General A. Jankovescu and signed by the Chairman of the Board of General Directors P. Erhan and the abovementioned Christi and Pelivan. The telegram contained the request to send to Sfatul Țării a regiment of prisoners of war of the Romanian Transylvanians who were returning from the East to the homeland¹¹. The majority received a draft proposed by the bloc of national minorities on December 28 (January 10). Thus, the Directorate received a *carte blanche* from the deputies.

At the end of 1917, the Romanian leadership in Iasi faced a difficult dilemma of continuing to participate in the war. The government of I. Brătianu had to look for a way in the narrow space of diplomatic maneuver, the extreme points of which were expressed in the desire to maintain loyalty to the Entente powers and the need to meet the conditions of the Central Powers. The preservation of the Romanian front and its possible evacuation to the territory of Bessarabia, the opposition to the anti-war agitation of the Bolsheviks, participation in the project of the creation of anti-Bolshevik union of Romania, the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Cossack territories on the Don were the measures that were considered by Paris and London as factors making possible for Romania to continue the war. A number of Romanian politicians (for example, Take Ionescu) actively supported this path. At the same time, the Entente plan was almost unreal. It led to the open confrontation with Soviet Russia, and in Iasi they least of all wanted the escape of the royal court and government to the East and war on two fronts with the Germans and the Bolsheviks. "The collapse of Russia" was evaluated as a prologue to the return of Bessarabia; that is why Berlin and Vienna made great advances regarding the annexation of the province to the Romanian kingdom as a compensation for the renunciation of Transylvania and territorial concessions in favor of Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria¹². This variant of events was already discussed in December 1917 by the authorized

¹⁰ GARF. F. R. 3439. Op. 1. D. 2. Komitet osvobodzenija Bessarabii, 1917–1918 g., p. 26; Levit, I. (2000). *God sudbonosnyj: Ot provozglašenija Moldavskoj Respubliki do likvidavii avtonomii Bessarabii*. Kishinev: Centralnaja tipografija, p. 185, pp. 194–200.

¹¹ Unirea Basarabiei și a Bucovinei cu România: 1917–1918: documente / antologie de Ion Calafeteanu și Viorica-Pompilia Moisuc; prefață, Viorica-Pompilia Moisuc. (1995). Chișinău: Hyperion, p. 133.

¹² Levit, I. (2000). *God sudbonosnyj: Ot provozglašenija Moldavskoj Respubliki do likvidavii avtonomii Bessarabii*. Kishinev: Centralnaja tipografija, p. 91.

person of the Romanian Government A. Marghiloman at the beginning of negotiations with the Germans¹³.

According to the memoirs of A. D. Shcherbachev, the son of the Commander-in-Chief of the Romanian Front, General D. G. Shcherbachev, the Romanians quite reluctantly executed the orders of the Commander-in-Chief in the struggle against anarchy. However, the situation of the Romanian army was also critical, since with the withdrawal of the Russian units it could hold the front for no more than a few weeks. The issue of the possibility of the Romanian army withdrawal to the territory of Bessarabia, the evacuation of the government and the court, the availability of sufficient supplies became vital factors for the existence of the Romanian army and power. That is how the Commander-in-Chief D. G. Shcherbachev and the Chief of the Romanian General Staff, General K. Prezan, initially evaluated the events in Bessarabia¹⁴. During the joint operation in December 1917, the Ukrainian Haidamaks, Shcherbachev's headquarters and loyal to him soldiers' councils represented by the Committee of National Commissioners, as well as the Romanian units disarmed the most Bolshevized retreating Russian units, liquidated a number of active agitators, including the appointed CPC Commissioner for the Romanian front S. G. Roshal¹⁵. This caused the first conflict in Soviet-Romanian relations. The notes dated December 16 (29), 1917 and December 31, 1917 (January 13, 1918) and delivered in Petrograd to the envoy of K. Diamandi, demanded "to punish the criminal elements among the members of Romanian officers and Romanian bureaucracy, who dared to raise their hand to the Russian Revolution". Supreme Commander-in-Chief N. V. Krylenko called upon the soldiers of Rumfront to provide armed resistance to the Romanians. The Romanian response dated January 4 (17), 1918, contained notes on lasi non-participation in the assassination of Roshal and military operations on the territory of Bessarabia¹⁶.

¹³ Notovich, F. (1959). *Bukharestskij mir 1918 g.* M: Socekgiz, pp. 128–130; Marghiloman, Alexandru. (1995). Ediție și indice de Stelian Neagoie. Volumul III: România și primul război mondial (1914–1919). Războiul. (1918–1919). România politică după întregire (1920–1924). Buc.: Machiavelli, p. 295.

¹⁴ GARF. F. R.3439. Op. 1. D. 2. Komitet osvobodnenija Bessarabii, 1917–1918 g., pp. 24–26.

¹⁵ Torrey, Glenn E. (1995). *The revolutionary Russian Army and Romania*. Pittsburgh: The Center for Russian & East European Studies: University of Pittsburgh, pp. 62–67.

¹⁶ Zemskov, I. (1957). Dokumenty vneshnej politiki SSSR. T.1. 7 nojabrja 1917 g. – 31 dekabrja 1918 g. M: Politizdat, p.70, pp. 79–80; Sovetsko-rumynskije otnoshenija. 1917–1941. (2000). Sbornik dokumentov. T.1: 1917–1934. M: Mezhdunarodnyje otnoshenija, pp. 11–12, pp. 17–18.

The establishment of control over Bessarabia became increasingly important for the Romanian elite in December 1917. At least this would make it possible to protect the country from the growing influence of the Russian revolution. Expelling the disorderly retreating Russian units, no later than December 7 (20), 1917, Romanians entered the territory of Bessarabia in the place of Leovo¹⁷. This episode subsequently received diametrically opposite coverage in the historiography of the USSR and Romania. The Soviet official version, published on January 26, 1928 in "Pravda" stated that the Romanians began occupation after the murder of their officer, who came to confiscate food stocks in the military warehouse. According to the Romanian version, it was believed that the officer conflicted with the supporters of the Bolsheviks from the local council. However, he was killed by an ambush shot from the other bank of the Prut when he was already on the Romanian side¹⁸.

The course of Romania was predicted as early as June 1914 by the Head of the Russian Foreign Ministry S. D. Sazonov: "... (it) will try to join the party that is stronger, and which will be able to promise it the greater benefits"¹⁹. At the end of 1917, the diplomacy of the Entente and the Central Powers, ready to use Bessarabia as a bargaining chip, became an important factor. Inducing the Romanians to peace, the Head of Political Department of the German occupation forces in Romania A. Horstman in a conversation with future Prime Minister A. Marghiloman drew attention to the community of interests: "Russian anarchy led to the creation of a kind of brotherhood. You are fighting the Bolsheviks in Bessarabia, we entered Ukraine with the same goal"²⁰. In the conditions of the armistice that prohibited the redeployment of front-line units, the Germans closed their eyes to the removal of four divisions from the front for the operation in Bessarabia. The Romanians found a formal reason for occupation in the protection of warehouses and stocks with foodstuffs to prevent the famine in the country. The Entente, however, wishing to leave the way for returning both Petrograd and Iasi to the bloc open, supported the Romanian action as a means of resuscitating the obligations of the Russian-Romanian union. To the requests of Sfatul ării, which tried to obtain recognition of the Moldovan statehood project, the Entente

¹⁷ Levit, I. (2000). God sudbonosnyj: Ot provozglashenija Moldavskoj Respubliki do likvidavii avtonomii Bessarabii. Kishinev: Centralnaja tipografija, pp. 136–139.

¹⁸ Ibid, pp.135–138; S etogo nacalos. (1928). G. Pravda. 26 janvarja. P. 2.

¹⁹ Sazonov, S. (1991). *Vospominanija*. M: Mezdunarodnyje otnoshenija, pp. 326–334.

²⁰ Vinogradov, V. (1969). *Rumynija v gody pervoj mirovoj vojny*. M: Nauka, p. 286.

diplomats in Romania replied that the occupation “can not influence the existing political situation or the future destiny of this country”²¹. Moreover, trying to bring Austria-Hungary out of the war, the Entente diplomats promised it the preservation of the borders. As for Romania, it was promised Bessarabia as a compensation for refusing Transylvania, Banat and Bukovina. They could not have known about this in Iasi²².

Sfatul Țării tried to legitimize the project of Moldovan Republic during peace negotiations of the Central Powers with the RSFSR and the UPR in Brest, giving instructions to the delegation on the indivisibility of the country's territory within the borders of the Bessarabian province. However, Romania and the Ukrainian People's Republic remained the only states that de facto recognized the state project of the Moldavian Republic²³. Regarding the position of politicians of the Ukrainian Central Rada, the territorial demarcations in Bessarabia did not represent an urgent problem. Under the preliminary conditions of the treaty with Soviet Russia, approved by the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic on February 14, 1918, it was noted that the UPR would handle the situation of Bessarabia “on the basis of self-determination of nations by the agreement with Romania and Bessarabia”²⁴.

The Military Revolutionary Committee of the Southern District, which coordinated the disparate Bolshevik organizations of Bessarabia, reported to Petrograd about the incident in Leovo on December 15 (29). But even at the beginning of January 1918, the councils and Rumchirod that supervised them did not raise the issue of forceful seizure of power in Chisinau, but the process of centralization of Soviet and pro-Soviet authorities in Bessarabia continued²⁵. Only on December 31 (January 14), the Front-Line Department of Rumcherod issued an order No. 1 proclaiming itself as authority over the troops. After that, the Bolsheviks from the Chisinau Council took under their control the station, post and telegraph in the city, thus creating the appearance of establishing Soviet power. During these days, the meetings of Sfatul Țării were not hold,

²¹ Vinogradov, V. (1996). *Bessarabija na perekrestke evropejskoj diplomatii. Dokumenty i materialy*. M: Indrik, p. 203, pp. 209–211; Vinogradov, V. (1987). *Kratkaya istorija Rumynii s drevnejshih vremen i do nashich dnei*. M: Nayka, p. 303.

²² Levit, I. (2000). *God sudbonosnyj: Ot provozglashenija Moldavskoj Respubliki do likvidavii avtonomii Bessarabii*. Kishinev: Centralnaja tipografija, pp. 182.

²³ GARF. F. R. 3439. Op. 1. D.2. Komitet osvobodzenija Bessarabii, 1917–1918 g., p. 19.

²⁴ Ibid, pp. 168–170.

²⁵ Levit, I. (2000). *God sudbonosnyj: Ot provozglashenija Moldavskoj Respubliki do likvidavii avtonomii Bessarabii*. Kishinev: Centralnaja tipografija, pp. 209–210.

some of his members went underground, and V. Christie went to Iasi with a request to speed up the infusion of troops.

During these days, the decision to start a full-scale occupation of Bessarabia was taken in Iasi. At the governmental meeting on January 3 (16), the occupation plan received the support of the Entente representatives, who saw in it the way to create the front against the Bolsheviks and to keep Romania from exiting from the war²⁶. The request of Sfatul Țării for assistance was a weighty, but not the main argument for such a risky operation, since in Iasi it was understood that failure would not only disgrace Romania, but would also aggravate its precarious position, depending on Germany's intentions to observe the truce. Initially, they planned the occupation of Bessarabia to be carried out by the Romanian-Transylvanians, Ukrainian Haidamaks and Romanian border troops. In early January, Cahul, Bolgrad and Ungheni were occupied on the left bank of the Prut. However, a regiment of captured Transylvanians, who arrived in Chisinau on January 6 (19), was disarmed by Soviet units, and Romanian units were stopped on the approaches to Chisinau²⁷. A full-scale offensive of Romanians with the forces of the 11th and 13th infantry and the 1st and 2nd cavalry divisions began on January 8 (21). Despite the active resistance of units of Rumcherod, joined by units of other movements disloyal to the Romanians, the resistance to occupation was unorganized and disjointed. Romanian divisions that were withdrawn from the front were resisted by the units of the forming Romanian Front, for the needs of which in those days the funds from the reserves of the State Treasury were allocated by order of V.I. Lenin²⁸.

The power of the Soviets in Chisinau ended on January 13 (26). The memoirs of A. D. Shcherbachev stated that the Romanian troops entered Chisinau "under the general joyful cry of the entire Chisinau, on the carpet of flowers," and the population of the city was "so exhausted and intimidated that they were willing to have anyone: a German, a Romanian, a Japanese, a Hottentot, only to be given the order"²⁹. Rumcherod continued to resist in eastern and southern Bessarabia (Budjak), where the legitimacy of Sfatul Țării was not recognized.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 218.

²⁷ Dembo, V. (1924). *Bessarabskij vopros: Bessarabija, Rumynija, Dunaj. Kak zachvachena Bessarabija, uderzitsa li Rumynija v Bessarabii*. M: Gos. Voen. Izd-vo., p. 73.

²⁸ Levit, I. (2000). *God sudbonosnyj: Ot provozglashenija Moldavskoj Respubliki do likvidavii avtonomii Bessarabii*. Kishinev: Centralnaja tipografija, p. 230, p. 235.

²⁹ GARF. F. 5936. Op. 1. D. 577. (1917–1918). *Zapiski adjutanta glavnokomandujushchego Rumynskogo fronta A. D. Shcherbacheva o Rumynii i Bessarabii*, p. 26.

The political forces disloyal to Iasi faced repressions on the occupied territory. These forces included the Socialist Revolutionary Council of the Peasants' Congress of Bessarabia, whose representatives, deputies Sfatul ării, V. Rudjev, V. Prahnițky, a Menshevik N. Grinfeld and several others were arrested and soon shot without trial. In these conditions, the independence of the Moldavian Democratic Republic was proclaimed on January 24 (February 6) at the meeting of Sfatul ării. The Declaration of Independence that contained not a word about the federal future of Bessarabia as part of Russia, explained the presence of "fraternal Romanian troops" as not an aggressive act of Romania, but as their help in establishing order and peace in the province³⁰. As Shcherbachev wrote later, "the Romanians behaved like some conquerors ... At first, the landlords and the intellectuals were delighted with the Romanians, but then, after getting accustomed, were horrified"³¹.

During the first weeks of occupation, the Romanian government represented by the Minister of War K. Prezan and General E. Broshtyanu, as well as the head of Sfatul ării represented by the new Chairman of the Council of General Directors D. Chuguryanu in their statements excluded the possibility of annexing Bessarabia and appealed to the need to support the young Moldovan statehood³². At the same time, the independence of the Moldavian Republic, which abolished the sovereignty of Russia, created the necessary conditions for the subsequent inclusion of Bessarabia into Romania.

Thus, the Bessarabian problem in Soviet-Romanian relations arose from many political challenges appeared in the process of simultaneous withdrawal of Russia and Romania from the First World War, revolutionary processes and national movements on the territory of the south-western provinces of the former Russian Empire. The establishment of Soviet

³⁰ Vinogradov, V. (1996). *Bessarabija na perekrestke evropejskoj diplomatii. Dokumenty i materialy*. M: Indrik, pp. 208–209; Boranda, Georgeta. (2008). *Operațiunile militare desfășurate în sudul Basarabiei în anul 1918*. Constanța: Editura Muzeului marinei române, p. 347; *Unirea Basarabiei și a Bucovinei cu România: 1917–1918: documente / antologie de Ion Calafeteanu și Viorica-Pompilia Moisuc*; prefată, Viorica-Pompilia Moisuc. (1995). Chișinău: Hyperion, pp. 148–150.

³¹ GARF. F. 5936. Op. 1. D. 577. (1917–1918). *Zapiski adjutanta glavnokomandujushego Rumynskogo fronta A. D. Shcherbacheva o Rumynii i Bessarabii*, p.26; Vinogradov, V. (1996). *Rossijsko-rumynskij konflikt vokrug Bessarabii v 1918–1920 gody*. M: Indrik.

³² GARF. F. R.3439. Op. 1. D. 2. *Komitet osvobozdenija Bessarabii, 1917–1918 g.*, p. 32; *Unirea Basarabiei și a Bucovinei cu România: 1917–1918: documente / antologie de Ion Calafeteanu și Viorica-Pompilia Moisuc*; prefată, Viorica-Pompilia Moisuc. (1995). Chișinău: Hyperion, pp.137–138, pp. 144–146.

power in the Bessarabian province was running late, and the initiative for the national-state transformation of the region was intercepted by the Bessarabian political structure Sfatul ării, which was created on the initiative of the Moldovan Peasant Bloc deputies, but also included the representatives of democratic parties and national minorities. Despite the sufficiently peaceful nature of the coexistence of Sfatul ării with local Soviet structures at the end of 1917, the threat of Bolshevisation of the province, as well as the growth of anarchy in Bessarabia connected with the retreat of the Russian armies of the Romanian front through its territory forced the leadership of Sfatul ării to ask the Allied powers for military assistance, even despite the threat of Romanian incorporation of Bessarabia in the event of such campaign.

The Romanian government with the assistance of Kaiser Germany and the loyalty of the Entente powers to this action carried out the occupation and annexation of Bessarabia, risky violating previous diplomatic agreements with Russia. Thus, it ensured not only satisfaction of its foreign policy ambitions to create "Great Romania", but also eliminated the threat of radicalization of the socio-political situation within the country as a result of Soviet revolutionary agitation. In the future, the issue of the recognition of the sovereignty of Romania over Bessarabia by the Great powers was linked with the participation of Bucharest in the anti-revolution movement in Central Europe. This resulted in the inclusion of the Bessarabian problem in the architecture of the Versailles system of international relations after the signing of the Bessarabian protocol by Romania, Britain, France, Italy and Japan on October 28, 1920 in Paris.

The State and the Church: Historical Educational Themes on Czechoslovak and Polish Postage Stamps and Their Didactic Potential

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The text of this paper analyses the history of education as reflected by the postage stamps of the neighbouring countries the Czech Republic and Poland from 1945 to the present day. As a historical source, stamp production reflects modern history in the form of jubilee issues and also contributes towards shaping our collective memory by means of the selection of the topics depicted on postage stamps. This paper recommends their didactic use in history teaching on the basis of an analysis of these themes. The approach described here leads to an effective alternative educative medium that reinforces, first and foremost, interdisciplinary co-operation between school history and media education.

Key words: history teaching; didactics of history; postage stamps; propaganda; media education; the state and the church; history education

We derive information on the history of the modern world to a large extent from the mass media which include, surprisingly to many, postage stamps. The fact that it has proved possible to expand interest in this media object (though not in any particularly revolutionary way) among historians, didacticians and educationalists active in history teaching indicates a simple explanation: postage stamps are a pictorial source and, similarly to text sources, contain valuable information about the time at which they were produced. For historical cognition, however, they demand the application of corresponding methods of source criticism and, for our purposes, appropriate didactic implementation in history teaching. From the viewpoint of classification for the purposes of education, they logically have a place both among authentic teaching resources and among media of sensory perception which include photographs, caricatures, posters, reproductions of works of art, and so

on. They are also a legible source explicitly communicating the traditions and legacy espoused by the state structure. The changeable frequency of the subject on the timeline and its form can, on the other hand, testify to the transformations undergone by this tradition.

Postage stamps featuring the topic the history of education are today readily available on the Internet. We can examine their appearance and description in philatelic catalogues classifying stamps according to uniform rules. National catalogues and the services of the webpages of the Czech Post Office can, for example, also be used.¹ The postal gazettes of the Ministry of Transport and Communications and their historical predecessors and special-interest collector magazines (*The Czech Philatelist*, *Philately* and *The Bulletin of the Society of Collectors of Czechoslovak Stamps*) are key sources on Czechoslovak (and later Czech) stamps.

The essential specialist texts include the multi-volume edition of the *Monograph on Czechoslovak Stamps*, though no edition has been published to date on the post-war period.² Since the subject of interest to us here is the didactic potential of postage stamps, and not their investigation from the philatelic perspective, application of the given literature on stamps concerning the production process, printing techniques, production defects, rarity and perforation can be only sporadic. An important role is played by secondary information sources, the work of specialist historians on historical figures and detailed historical contexts, which help illuminate and interpret the symbolism of the events depicted where necessary and incorporate them into teaching as an alternative medium of the pupil's recognition of historical fact. When conceiving functions that an annotated mass medium might fulfil in modern history teaching, introductory guidance may be provided by one of the key works of modern German media didactics from the pen of H. J.

¹ <https://www.filaso.cz/katalogy.php>; <https://www.ceskaposta.cz/sluzby/filatelie-a-postfila/znamky/prehled-znamek> [on-line] [cit. 2017-07-03] etc.

² *Monografie československých známek. Díl 1, Popřevratová doba. Hradčany 1918–1920. Praha 1968; Monografie československých známek. Díl 2., Legionářské 1919 – hospodářství a věda 1923. Praha 1971; Monografie československých známek. Díl 3., Výplatní známky 1923–1939. Praha 1979; Monografie československých známek. Díl 7, Pošta čs. vojsk v Rusku 1914–1920. Praha 2016 (for volumes relating to the First Republic, i.e. 1–3 and 7, based also on older publications). Monograph Volume 6 – Czechoslovak Stamps in the Period 1945–1992 not produced to date in spite of various proposals (similarly Monograph – Czech Republic); at <http://www.infofila.cz/navrh-naceleneni-monografii-ceskoslovenskych-a-ces-r-2-c-794> [online] [cit. 2017-07-02].*

Pandel³ and the text by the British historian and didactician Robert Stradling, translated into Czech, promoting the principle of multi-perspective perception of information sources and the understanding of their relationship to the present day.⁴

Analysis of stamp issues and their teaching potential



Image 1.

An analysis of stamp issues in individual years in Poland and the Czech Republic (or Czechoslovakia) since the year 1945 revealed two corresponding motifs: propagation of the founding traditions of university education and the school reforms of the Enlightenment. The oldest, chronologically, is the jubilee commemoration of the university in Prague. The designers of the series of postage stamps commemorating the 600th anniversary of the foundation of Charles University, the painter and graphic designer Karel Svoboda and the engraver Jiří Švengsbír, based their design primarily on the motif of the original university seal. The basis of their motif represents the standing Saint Wenceslas, Duke of Bohemia, with a sword and a banner decorated with the Přemyslid eagle. Charles IV, as crowned king, kneels at his feet holding the deed of foundation of the university with its seal. The monarch is thereby symbolically entrusting the future of Czech education to the protection of the Czech saint. The coat of arms of the Holy Roman Emperor is depicted to the right of the figures, with that of the Czech King to the left, while the letter W (Wenceslas) can be seen beneath a standard with the sign of the Saint Wenceslas eagle (Image 1).⁵ Saint Wenceslas was custodian of the legal order at Charles University, and the Czech monarch, as its founder, placed it under the protection of Saint

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³ Pandel, H. J. (2005). *Handbuch Medien im Geschichtsunterricht*. Schwalbach.

⁴ Stradling, R. (2003). *Multiperspektivita ve vyučování dějepisu: příručka pro učitele*. Praha: MŠMT.

⁵ The motif of the stamp no longer uses the copy of the silver seal with the Gothic majuscule: "SIGILLUM UNIVERSITATIS SCOLARIUM STUDII PRAGENSIS". A similarity can be found between university seals and church seals. The seal of Charles University with the founder scene in which Charles IV, as founder of the university, presents the sealed deed of foundation to the patron of the land Saint Wenceslas, is non-standard.

Wenceslas, patron of the land. The image depicts the saint, the founder, and his two symbols of power – the imperial eagle and the Czech lion.⁶ The next stamp in the series presents a stylised portrait of the monarch. Both stamps also have a counterfoil with the text *Alma mater Carolina pragensis 1348–1948 a Universitas Carolina Pragensis 1348–1948*.



Image 2.

Uniwersytet Jagielloński in Cracow, the oldest university institution in our neighbouring lands, celebrated the 600th anniversary of its foundation in the nineteen sixties. The Polish Post Office promoted this jubilee with a series of five postage stamps (Image 2). The Jagiellonian University was established in 1364 as the second oldest university in central Europe under the official title *Studium Generale*. This series of commemorative stamps is based on the renaming of the university in the 19th century after the founding dynasty of Polish kings. We will now focus on the selection of the persons depicted in the stamp issue. The university was founded by Casimir III the Great on 12 May 1364, and his likeness is depicted on the stamp with a nominal value of 40 grosz. The university was soon suppressed, however, and was not revived until the reign of Jadwiga of Anjou (Jadwiga of Poland) and Vladislaus II Jagiellon in the last decade of the 14th century (the stamp of the nominal value of 2 zloty 50 grosz). Thanks to the personal efforts of Jadwiga at the Papal Court, Pope Boniface IX issued a Papal Bull in 1397 granting the university the right to establish a faculty of theology. Queen Jadwiga, what's more, also left her entire fortune to the university. Steadfast efforts made it possible to revive the university in the complete form with four faculties typical of medieval universities. One of these faculties was a Faculty of Theology enabling a high-level academic career.⁷ Jan Długosz, another figure depicted on

⁶ Štemberková, M. (2011). *Univerzita Karlova: Historický přehled*. Praha: Karolinum.

⁷ c.f. *Dějiny Polska*. Praha: NLN, pp. 197–198 or Rezník, M. (2010). *Dějiny Polska v datech*. Praha: Libri 2010, pp. 162–163.

the series of stamps, was the author of the oldest Polish chronicle taking in events in south-east and western Europe from 965 until 1480. This active participant in many royal diplomatic missions studied at the Jagiellonian University in the years 1428 to 1431.⁸

Studium Generale was the first university in Europe to have its own department of mathematics and astronomy, established in 1406. It is only logical then, that this series of stamps also features the likeness of Nicolaus Copernicus, another of the university's famous students, who originated the heliocentric theory of planetary motion and who studied here in the years 1491–1495.⁹ Chancellor of Cracow University Hugo Kołłątaj, who figures in the pantheon of distinguished persons associated with the activity of the Commission of National Education, is another figure that cannot be left off the list. We will come back to him in more detail with the following stamp issue devoted to the history of education.



Image 3.

In the case of the figures portrayed on these stamps, suitable tasks for pupils are directed first towards independent determination of the historical facts (foundation dates, compilation of simple timelines for Europe as a whole and for central Europe, the political and scientific figures at individual institutions, political events and scientific discoveries linked to specific institutions, historical geography). Analysis of the subjects depicted on postage stamps represents a more demanding level: the development of portrait art and its comparison with this philatelic material. Pupils should reach specific conclusions under the guidance of the teacher, i.e. when did realistic portraits become part of European art? To what degree are we confronted with the true

⁸ Petrášek, J. (2017). *České dějiny ve světle strategie vyprávění annales Jana Długosze*. Mediaevalia historica Bohemica vol. 20, no. 1, 2017.

⁹ c.f. *Dějiny Polska*. Praha: NLN, p. 199 or Řezník, M. (2010). *Dějiny Polska v datech*. Praha: Libri 2010, p. 164.

appearance of historical figures? The stylisation of the subject is based predominantly on the principles of medieval art. Postage stamps can, then, also represent a suitable motivational entry point to be followed by an interpretation by the teacher or the independent determination of these principles by pupils from other information sources. The search for the physical appearance of people of former times (such as Holy Roman Emperor and Czech King Charles IV) is an incentive for an excursion into the art world of the Middle Ages and an opportunity for a more general interpretation of the characteristic features of Gothic art. We can remind pupils of the principles of painting of the time, which did not demand the absolute fidelity of a portrait, and the fact that artists often painted without direct knowledge of their subject. European portrait art was still in its infancy and tended to work in profile. We must not, of course, neglect to explain the fact that the Gothic painter worked with hierarchical proportion. The traditional approach allowed the artist to give his portrayal firm rules. Learning these rules gives the pupil the chance of figuring out who is standing in the scene, who is kneeling, and why, and what attributes of power, function or office are present. A comparison of the mentioned likenesses or extracts from specialist art history commentaries may allow the pupil to formulate his or her own assessment of the level of realism, particularly in medieval painting.¹⁰

The ministries of transport and communications of Poland and the then Czechoslovakia also promoted the school reforms of the Enlightenment on their postage stamps. Analysis of philatelic material shows this to be the second case of promotion of the educational traditions of the two countries (Image 3). A series of two occasional stamps was issued in Poland to mark the 200th anniversary of the foundation of the Commission of National Education (Komisja Edukacji Narodowej). The history of this institution began in 1773 when Pope Clement XIV abolished the Jesuits under pressure from public opinion and Enlightenment circles. In the same year, Polish monarch Stanisław August Poniatowski pushed the takeover of Jesuit property and Jesuit schools by the Commission of National Education through the Sejm with the aim of weakening the Catholic monopoly of education.¹¹ In the engraving, we see first a likeness of Jan Śniadecki to the left, the principal initiator and architect of the commission Hugo Kottłataj in the middle, and Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz on the right. The second occasional stamp

¹⁰ Stejskal, K. (2003). *Umění na dvoře Karla IV*. Praha: Knižní klub, pp. 104–115.

¹¹ c.f. *Dějiny Polska*. Praha: NLN, pp. 335–348. Reznik, M. (2010). *Dějiny Polska v datech*. Praha: Libri 2010, pp. 310–311.

depicts Grzegorz Piramowicz, the Polish Jesuit educator who became secretary of this commission following the dissolution of the order, in an engraving by an unknown artist. The motto accompanying him on the stamp expresses the Enlightenment ideal of service to state and country.

The Commission of National Education was the first in Poland and the whole of Europe to display the features of a modern ministry of education. The teaching of Latin and theology was limited at schools subject to the Commission of National Education, while emphasis was placed on the mother tongue and science.¹² The commission decided to bring science closer to the needs of life and initiated the creation of textbooks in Polish. It also rejected the use of corporal punishment in teaching. A number of political activists and distinguished military and literary figures came from its ranks. A relatively small group of people was, however, educated through the commission. The majority of the aristocracy continued to favour religious schools over state schools for their sons. Although the members of the commission were predominantly distinguished politicians, the greatest authority was wielded by distinguished writers and scientists of the age, including Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz and Jan Śniadecki who are depicted here.¹³ The commission did not last for long (1773–1794), though its importance in making education accessible to broader ranks of Polish society is considered significant.

Teaching may be conducted with pupils in the form of a moderated discussion with a view to the period in which the occasional series of stamps was issued (1973) and the governing regime of the time. Topic: interpret the stamp issue as a means of propaganda targeted at weakening the authority of the Polish Catholic Church. The specific features of the Polish Enlightenment undoubtedly included an evident sympathy for the movement from the Catholic clergy and its active work in it. This phenomenon, sometimes known as the Catholic Enlightenment, was not, however, unique in Europe.¹⁴

¹² The commission performed the reorganisation of education. The educational system was headed by two universities in Cracow and Vilnius, to which secondary schools were subordinate, while parish schools represented the lowest level of education.

¹³ Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz was a poet, dramatist and statesman. Jan Śniadecki was professor of mathematics in Cracow and, from 1803, in Vilnius. He was Chancellor of Vilnius University from 1807 to 1815. Hugo Kołłątaj was a satirist, poet, geographer, historian and philosopher.

¹⁴ For more on the similar engagement of the Spanish Catholic clergy, for example, in the Enlightenment movement c.f. Chalupa, J. (2016). *Dějiny Španělska*. Praha: NLN, pp. 270–273.



Image 4.

Although the Czechoslovak Communist regime of the Normalisation period had the opportunity of celebrating the 200th anniversary of the introduction of compulsory school attendance in our lands, it did not do so and the Post Office in this country did not return to this jubilee until twenty long years later (Image 4). A stamp came out a few days before World Teachers' Day which was declared by UNESCO in 1994 and which has been celebrated on 5 October every year since that time in more than a hundred member countries. Methodical use

of the stamp is possible in a number of ways. It may serve as an appropriate motivational source for the independent acquisition of the following information by the pupil: Empress Maria Theresa introduced compulsory school attendance (or the universal educational obligation, to be more precise) for children aged between six and twelve as part of efforts to improve the general level of education among the population. The General School Ordinance, officially issued on 6 December 1774, also covered the network of schools. Parish or "trivial" schools, at which the main subjects were reading, writing and arithmetic, were established in towns and villages with a parish. "Main" schools, at which subjects providing practical skills for occupations were also taught, were established in regional towns. "Normal" schools which had an even broader curriculum and also provided initial teacher training were established in capital cities. A network of primary schools was established in Cisleithania – the Austrian Lands and Bohemia and Moravia – which still has a fundamental influence on the level of education of broad masses of the population to this day. The education of the German and Czech rural population, frequently illiterate until that time, gave power to the industrial revolution and, later, to the nationalist struggle between the German and Czech-speaking population.¹⁵

The introduction of compulsory school attendance occurred here a considerable period of time in advance of the majority of European countries. The pupil will also reach this conclusion if he or she compares the basic information on both stamp issues and seeks further information

¹⁵ c.f., for example: <https://www.kzp.pl/>; https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jan_%C5%9Aniadecki; https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hugo_Ko%C5%82%C5%82%C4%85taj; http://filatelistyka.poczta-polska.pl/sklep_pl/850,28,18,0.

in an Internet encyclopaedia, for example. In contrast to the Polish stamps, the final form of the motif is entirely the result of the stylistic invention of the artist. In place of the expected traditional approach (a portrait of the monarch), the artist has applied a fashionable rococo silhouette on a background in pastel colours. The result represents in black silhouette a drawing of a teacher in period clothing with a violin under his arm and his small pupil. The stamp features the text 1774 Compulsory School Attendance.

Alternatively, during analytical work with the postage stamp, pupils first recall significant socio-political events associated with the date 1774 they have been told about by the teacher. They also learn something through art, as they are gently acquainted with a popular artistic technique of the second half of the 18th century. Suitable methodical approaches to be applied subsequently include the description of the depiction, identification of symbolic elements, clarification of their role and summary presentation of all the information found. They get to express their views on the importance of education to the development of society in a discussion guided by the teacher.

Conclusion

The visual medium, which has yet to be fully appreciated in modern history teaching in the Czech Republic, supports both intradisciplinary and interdisciplinary connections. Important days and anniversaries publicised by means of stamp issues have a fundamental importance in shaping the cultural memory and in the politics of social memory. Expanding pupils' activities to take in the analysis and interpretation of motifs depicted on stamps in a way commensurate to their age can be seen as an example of amplification of the comprehensibility of historical events. Their more profound comprehension in national history and transformations of commemoration by means of visual media (including postage stamps) will undoubtedly contribute towards cultivation of the historical awareness of the pupil of the issue of national identity, for example. The time level of the motif used is enriched by the motives of the state institution leading to the use of the philatelic subject. The pupil learns how to decode information on modern social priorities and the treatment of the legacy of long-gone times, in this case primarily the personalities shaping the historical conception of education in our lands. In spite of sober evaluation of the result of the introductory research, even this concise selection of philatelic material can be expected to have at

least drawn attention to its testimonial, motivational and educational potential. Analysis and interpretation (of postage stamps) is still something of an unknown quantity, at least in the environment of Czech school history teaching. Any form and degree of practical application beyond mere illustration would bring it closer to the desirable research trends of historical education that have long been developing to the west of our state borders.¹⁶

¹⁶ Source of images:
<http://www.filatelistyka.poczta-polska.pl/>
<https://www.filaso.cz/katalogy.php>

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