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Upbringing and Education During the Partition of Poland in the Years 1795 – 1918

Výchova a vzdelanie počas rozdelenia Poľska v rokoch 1795 – 1918

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Abstract

The article presents an overview of some Polish discussions conducted during the period of national captivity about the role of science and education in the life of the nation. During this difficult period of the absence of the independent Polish state, many courageous statements and beliefs were formulated, according to which science and education can be a golden means for Polish society, which will effectively oppose Germanization and Russification and could help solve economic problems. Strong belief in the power of education was not an isolated phenomenon in the years 1795-1918. This is confirmed by a detailed analysis of pedagogical literature published in the discussed period.

Keywords: Education. National slavery. Polish pedagogical thought.
Educational ideals. Russification and Germanization.

Introduction

At the end of the First Polish Republic, the National Education Commission made a great reform of the existing education system, believing that it will allow repairing the state that was in a very difficult not only political, but also socio-economic situation. Already at the beginning of its activity, KEN strongly emphasized the role of education in the life of the nation, recognizing that thanks to it, it will be possible to compensate for the deficiency of citizens after the Poland's first partition. It understood that "schooling and education is the only condition for making states permanently happy. A sorrowful mother feels and sees that after having losses in the number of her citizens, she should involve her entire means in order to develop their skills and prepare them to serve her." (Uniwersał, 1965, s. 620). KEN's radical reform activities, carried out in the spirit of Enlightenment ideals, contributed to the nationalization of the education system, modernization of curricula, implementation of teacher education system, preparation and issuance of new school textbooks. However, the hard work of people involved in the National Education Committee did not prevent the fall of the Polish state.

The main part

The third partition of Poland made in 1795 by Russia, Austria and Prussia was an extremely important event in the history of our homeland. It thwarted the functioning of the Polish state for over 120 years. In this difficult period of national servitude, Poles struggled with many problems that arose as a result of the repressive activities of the invaders, as well as changes in socio-economic relations. A part of the Polish society expressed conviction about the need to undertake actions aimed at opposing Russification and Germanization, defending national traditions, and improving the economic and social status of the population. At the same time, the nation did not lose its faith in regaining state sovereignty. All of these factors influenced the nature of the discussion regarding the actions that could be taken to carry out reestablishment of the state.

In the nineteenth century, the issue of independence was the most intensely and most often discussed problem. However, there was no agreement as for the most appropriate attitude, that should be taken in order to oppose the partitioners, a loyal attitude or attitude of resistance against them. Polish educational ideals of the period of national captivity were formed and dominated by idealistic and realistic concepts. They were subject to changes and certain modifications over the years and highly dependent on the political and socio-economic situation. The defeats of the November and January uprisings played a significant role in the struggle for the educational ideal. They constituted a strong impulse for reflection not only on the further fate of the Polish nation, but also on the possible shape of its education and upbringing.

After the third partition there was increasing conviction, among intellectual circles, according to which it is the education that could be perfect means of solving all the political and economic problems afflicting the Polish nation. Education and upbringing were supposed to contribute to the development of attitudes among the young generation, strengthening national identity, shaping intellectual values as well as the enthusiasm for work. The first aspect that should be taken into account in the analysis of this phenomenon is the attitude of people who were clearly influenced by the ideological heritage of the National Education Commission, which left as inheritance to their successors „the ideal of educating a full-dimensional man, morally, intellectually and physically developed according to Polish needs” (Kurdybacha, 1948, s. 34). The realistic educational ideal of this institution was promoted primarily by intellectuals who wanted to see in Polish youth "the ideal of a decent and enlightened citizen, a supporter of the state, good employee rather than a soldier - a hero.” (Łempicki, 1937, s. 15). This ideal of a rational man was inspired by the rationalistic and individualist views of the Enlightenment. Education and upbringing were to improve, develop and enrich new horizons of young people, creating in this way the foundations for the revival of the nation (Suchodolski, 1946).

At the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, political conditions, which were different in each Poland's partition, determined the effects of educational work. Political events enabled the Polish population living in the Russian partition to obtain favorable conditions for education. Tsar Alexander I, aiming at recruiting Poles to fight the France of Napoleon Bonaparte, decided to minimise the Russification. As a result of this Principal School of Vilnius was transformed into the Imperial University of Vilnius and developed splendidly during the rectorship of Jan Śniadecki. This university played a leading role in the Russian Empire in the following years. On the initiative of Tadeusz Czacki, who cooperated with Hugon Kołłątaj, a gymnasium was established in Krzemieniec, which was transformed a few years later into high school. The newly created Vilna Scientific District (Vilna University Curator's Office) was managed by the prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski. In 1807, the Duchy of Warsaw was founded, in which Stanisław Kostka Potocki was responsible for education. These intellectuals were willing to agree with the invader with regard to accepting the existing reality. Jan Śniadecki called in 1810 Alexander I the "reviver of sciences" and the guardian of good education, pointing out that he deserves "praise and gratitude" (Śniadecki, 1961, s. 126).

During this period, not only the Polish education system was improved, but also many original pedagogical works dealing with various issues were also written and published. The solution to some of the problems faced by the Polish nation was intended to materialize through the education of the people. It was not a completely new idea in the Polish pedagogical methodology, because it was discussed already during the activity of the National Education Commission, when Franciszek Bieliński raised the postulate regarding the universality of education, and Grzegorz Piramowicz demanded to raise the level of education in parish schools. The granting by Napoleon in 1807 of the constitution to the Duchy of Warsaw abolishing the subordination of peasants accelerated the work on the organization of a new elementary education system, which included not only teaching guidelines but also those concerning their upbringing (Nawroczyński, 1938). The educational authorities of the Duchy of Warsaw issued a proclamation "On the establishment of urban and rural elementary schools", postulating the establishment of elementary schools in every city and in larger villages. Although the program of newly established schools was not extensive, as it was limited to teaching children to acquire basic skills (reading, writing, arithmetic) and religious education (Podgórska, 1960), it was believed that education could be a cure for the people, while the knowledge gained in this way would help this social class in everyday life.

At that time, there were published many works that popularized the views of the Swiss theoretician and the practitioner of education - Jan Henryk Pestalozzi, postulating the incorporation of his pedagogical ideals into life. The aspirations to educate the rural people clearly appear in the Polish

pedagogical literature of the first two decades of the 19th century. Wojciech Izydor Chojnacki argued in 1815 that the welfare and prosperity of the state/country depends on the level of education of its inhabitants. It is first of all necessary to educate young people who are the future of the nation (Chojnacki, 1815). Tadeusz Czacki and Hugo Kołłątaj were convinced of the necessity of educating the youth at the elementary level. Kołłątaj claimed that "enlightenment of the people is a far greater thing than the establishing of the most scientific athenaeum" (Kołłątaj, 1844, s. 48). It is about the good of millions of people who make up a large part of society. Kołłątaj and Czacki were inclined to regard parish schools as educational institutions which are able to pass knowledge in the fields of gardening, agriculture and mechanics. Stanisław Staszic also stressed that schools that educate students at the elementary level should convey to them knowledge, that can be useful in everyday life.

In the period 1795-1831, Polish authors of pedagogical works discussed the need to address the problem of education of young girls. Deep social changes taking place in the age of the Enlightenment defined the role that women should play in everyday life, and indicated the need to enable them access to education. In the initial period of the absence of national sovereignty, Polish authors of pedagogical literature wanted to regard young Polish women first of all as defenders of national traditions and mother tongue, as well as exemplary wives, mothers and housewives. The then canon of views on education was aptly presented in the book by Klementyna Tańska Hoffmanowa entitled *Pamiętka po dobrej matce (Remembering a Good Mother)*.

Among the ideals and goals related to education, the first place was occupied by problems related to religious education conducted according to the principles of the Catholic religion. Literature from that period is full of postulates oriented towards shaping moral attitudes in the sense of religious devotion in case of children and adolescents. The Catholic faith popular mainly among the former generation, during the sovereignty of the Polish state was to constitute one of the key means of preserving Catholic traditions, as well as maintaining the national identity. The theorists of pedagogy recommended that education should be based on national traditions, patriotic values, and that it is important to teach the young generation of love and respect for Polish homeland and its tradition. The purpose of this pedagogical work was to enable the preservation of the memory of the native country of Poles, as well as to strengthen the sense of national identity (Dybiec, 2004). Some thought that these noble ideals can not be realized without teaching young people the principles of physical education. This issue has been present in Polish pedagogical thought since the time, in which the activity of Stanisław Konarski and the National Education Commission was most intense. Until now the work of Jędrzej Śniadecki *O fizycznym wychowaniu dzieci (On physical education of children)* published in the early nineteenth century,

is considered as the prominent classic publication in the field of the theory and methodology of physical education. As noted by Wincenty Okoń, Śniadecki's comments on the physical education of children "unite in themselves all the values that the Śniadecki epoch has reached in relation to views on the personality of man, and at the same time, they can be considered a major step forward in the field of physical education" (Okoń, 2002, s. 15).

An important event that had a significant impact on the further development of Polish education and upbringing took place in the 1820s. At that time, the court trial of members of the Society of Philomats, ie a secret society of students and graduates of the Vilnius University, took place. Some of the sentenced students were deported deep into Russia, and the professors were deprived of their university chairs. The Russian Nikolai Nowosilcow replaced Adam Jerzy Czartoryski as a curator (Szyndler, 2004). The time in which he held this office was characterized by aversion to the Poles, a fight with a liberal policy in the field of education. It was the end of free cultural development in the Vilna Governorate, the "covenant of Polish pedagogical thought with foreign statehood" (which existed until Russia, "before the defeat of Napoleon, in the liberal period of Alexander I's reign, provided its citizens with full autonomy") was broken (Nawroczyński, 1938, s. 49).

The fall of the November Uprising put an end to the idea of the independence uprising for a certain period of time. A blow to the Polish citizens was the abolition of the constitution by the Russians, the constitution which guaranteed Poles political autonomy as well as their own parliament and army. The regulations of the Russian authorities regarding education were severe and have disastrous consequences. Higher education institutions were closed, and strict supervision of secondary schools was introduced, thus limiting the independence of their activities (Poznański, 1980). In October 1831 Tsar Nicholas I sent to field marshal Iwan Paskiewicz the following command: „Since education in Poland was bad and it was particularly responsible for the tendency of young people to take up rebellion, the greatest attention should be paid to this area” (Kucharzewski, 1914, s. 48–49). Repression affected teachers as well. They were forced to implement guidelines of educational authorities, including the use of corporal punishment in the case of "recalcitrant" youth (Dziekoński, 1835, s. 52–54). The intellectual development of Polish society was stopped, academic life died was virtually dead.

At that time, the views proclaimed by the Romantics, who preferred feeling, faith and intuition over reason, while criticizing the Enlightenment rationalism, became increasingly popular (Witkowska, Przybylski, 1999). Romantics pointed out that in education one should pay attention to shaping patriotic and religious feelings. They rejected the principle of usefulness, so strongly present in the pedagogical methodology of the Polish Enlightenment. Moreover they did not pay much attention to knowledge and scientific education. The "spirit" of the Romantic era was expressed by the slogans

calling for the fight for independence of the homeland. Increasingly, in Polish pedagogical literature, the notion of a nation appears, forming the basis for reflections on the past and future of Polish citizens, as well as on the education of young people in the spirit of national ideals. It was in that time when a great part of Polish society was more and more convinced that the Polish nation did not cease to exist along with the fall of the state, that it was still alive and would be reborn in an independent shape in the future. The speech on the nationality of Poles, delivered in 1831 by Kazimierz Brodziński at the session of the Society of the Friends of Sciences, covered the full range of patriotic issues (Brodziński, 1944). Speaking of cultivating national values, Brodziński meant not only referring to national traditions, but also cultivating native language, art and literature.

In the period between the uprisings in Polish pedagogical thought, the independence element, the romantic ideal of the fighter and the national hero, played a primordial role. The thought of regaining independence by Poland occupied the minds of prominent Poles which were active in exile. Political activists staying outside the Polish territories asked themselves basic questions about the reasons for the fall of the November Uprising. The prospects of a further struggle for independence were discussed intensively. It was also discussed what features should have a future, reborn Poland. The strongest organizations were those that could be called conservative right-wing and democratic left-wing groups. The conservative-aristocratic group, headed by Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, was called Hotel Lambert, and planned to regain the state sovereignty of Poland through diplomatic means, or thanks to the possible declaration of war on Russia by France or Great Britain. On the other hand, the democratic group most fully represented by the Polish Democratic Society, of which the leading activist was Victor Heltman, planned to regain independence and rebuild the Polish state primarily through the activity of the Poles themselves. The Polish National Committee under the leadership of Joachim Lelewel was also aiming at the reconstruction of the homeland. On the initiative of Lelewel, the organization Revenge of the People was created, which was intended to bring on the uprising under the leadership of Józef Zaliwski in the Kingdom of Poland. The most radical views were voiced by the activists of the Assemblies of Polish People (Tadeusz Krępowiecki, Stanisław Worcell), who believed that the uprising must be not only an independence movement, but it should also have anti-feudal character. That is, it should deprive the nobility of its power because, on his opinion, it is responsible for the collapse of the sovereign Polish state (Kalembka, 2003).

Polish emigrants did not limit themselves to political activity only, but also conducted intensive work in the field of culture and education. Romantic poetry had been developing with the leading representatives of Adam Mickiewicz, Juliusz Słowacki, Zygmunt Krasiński, and Cyprian Norwid. Fryderyk Chopin's music has also gained renown. Furthermore

excellent pedagogical works were created abroad at that time, such as the *Filozofia pedagogiki (Philosophy of Pedagogy). Reforma Absolutna Przeto Ostateczna Wiedzy Ludzkiej (The Absolute Reform of Human Knowledge)* written by the Polish Messianist philosopher Józef Hoene-Wroński. The author of this study is still considered one of the great individualities of Polish science of the nineteenth century. It is worth mentioning that in his youth Hoene-Wroński fought in the Kosciuszko Uprising and studied law and philosophy in Germany. After taking up French nationality, he worked at the astronomical observatory in Marseilles. As a great erudite and man with deep knowledge he wanted to reform human knowledge, to create a universal philosophical system (Sikora, 1995). His views on education were unusual and original. He maintained the view according to which one should create a common educational ideal for all humanity (Dickstein, 1887), which would be a guideline for the human being in relation to his actions (Hoene-Wroński, 1922). The aim of this ideal would be the continuous improvement of the young man, development of his intellectual abilities, liberation of his individuality. Hoene-Wroński believed that man, thanks to continuous personal development, would reach his life objectives honorably and ultimately in this way he would achieve immortality (Rowid, 1925).

Bronisław Ferdynand Trentowski - an outstanding representative of Polish pedagogical thought as well as philosophical thought of the Romantic period - also wrote about the need to develop individuality in case of the youth. He was born in Podlasie, he received elementary and secondary education while attending the Piarist school in Łuków and the Warsaw Lyceum. He received higher education while studying at the University of Warsaw, Heidelberg and Freiburg, where he was appointed a university professor. He fought in the November Uprising. Living in exile, he gave lectures on logic, pedagogy, philosophy of nature, in Freiburg, he was a correspondent member of the Historical and Literary Society in Paris, and a member of the Cracow Academic Society. Trentowski had extensive knowledge of contemporary European, but especially German, pedagogy (Andrukowicz, 2006). During his stay in Królewiec he attended lectures of Jan Fryderyk Herbart, an outstanding German expert on pedagogical issues (Nawroczyński, 1967).

In 1842, he published a nearly 2000 pages study entitled *Chowanna, czyli System pedagogiki narodowej jako umiejętności, wychowania, nauki i oświaty, słowem wykształcenia naszej młodzieży (Chowanna, or the System of National Pedagogy as the Science of Education and Instruction, in a Word, of Educating Our Youth)*, which "for the first time in Polish literature embraced the whole of science about education at the level of contemporary knowledge" (Rowid, 1920, s. 13), and at the same time it provided extensive view on history of education (Hellwig, 2001). The author presented his pedagogical ideas comprehensively, based strictly on the philosophy which he referred to as the key to the "temple of pedagogy". Attention is drawn to the fact that

Trentowski's pedagogy had a national character. As Andrzej Walicki notes, Trentowski, speaking of the "system of national pedagogy", meant such pedagogy, "whose aim is not national education, but education of the nation, its re-education, preparation to fulfill the tasks with which it confronts, which are the same as the objective of achieving universal progress" (Walicki, 1970, s. CVII-CVIII). The author of *Chowanna* deeply believed in the power of education and creative development opportunities of young people. In his opinion, this education will make the Polish nation revive and fulfill its historical mission, that is, leading the Slavic world and succeed Germans in taking over the hegemony in culture and science.

Speaking of émigré writers who mention the subject of education in their writings, we should also mention Aleksander Napoleon Dybowski, the author of the work entitled *Myśli o wychowaniu narodowym* (*Thoughts on national education*), published in France in 1846, strongly condemning the then system of education, especially the system of private education. Dybowski hoped that the events associated with the Galician slaughter would initiate a wave of changes and would result in the removal of foreign governments from Polish lands. Expressing such hope, he urged that after regaining sovereignty, a new basis for modern system of upbringing and education should be established. It should combine harmoniously theoretical education with practical classes and with physical work. According to Dybowski's concept, school-age youth were to be employed in national agricultural enterprises (Dybowski, 1846), which will be able to prepare them for physical work and teach them independence of thinking.

In the 1840s in Wielkopolska and the Kingdom of Poland, the idea of implementing educational programs begins to popularize. In 1841, the Real Gymnasium was opened in Warsaw, offering a seven-year curriculum, in which the exact and natural sciences were given the greatest attention. It quickly gained considerable interest among young people. The historians of education emphasize that the Russian authorities, by creating real schools, wanted to weaken students' patriotic moods by preparing them for professional work, teaching them "healthy judgment about things" (Miąso, 2003, s. 83–84). In historical publications, it is also emphasized that real schools were founded not only for political but also economic reasons. Established plants and factories were looking for qualified workers with degrees in the fields of mathematics and natural sciences.

In 1861, under the chairmanship of margrave Aleksander Wielopolski, a Government Commission for Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment was established, which began work on the reform of education. Committee participants sought to polonize education, to elaborate and extend the elementary school program, improve the functioning of folk education financed from public revenues, equal rights for all states regarding access to education, as well as the establishment of vocational schools. Members of the Commission also tried to reform the secondary schools, giving them

a philological character, they also strived to establish higher schools (Poznański, 1968). Their great achievement was the establishment of the Main Warsaw School, whose Rector became Józef Mianowski.

The works on the reform of education in the Kingdom of Poland was interrupted by the outbreak of the January Uprising. After the defeat of the uprising, the Government Commission for Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment was liquidated, and so were the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw and the Main Warsaw School. Rapid Russification in respect of secondary education also progressed. Many death sentences were carried out on Poles taking part in the uprising, and thousands of them were sent to Siberia. In 1867, the autonomy of the Kingdom of Poland and its name were abolished.

The collapse of the January Uprising was the end of the ideal of independence struggle in defense of the homeland. Part of society has lost hope of regaining independence through national uprisings and armed struggles. The positivist ideas that have supplanted the slogans proclaimed during the Romantic period began to come to the fore. The positivists expressed their faith that maintaining the Polish national consciousness and regaining independence can only take place through persistent, gradual work, work at the grassroots, and organic work (Skarga, 1964, Kozłowska-Sabatowska, 1978). Positivist concepts of education were proclaimed by many pedagogy theorists working in the Russian partition, where magazines promoting the slogans of organic work and basic ideas of positivist philosophy were published. Among these periodicals, primarily read by liberal bourgeoisie, one can mention: „Tygodnik Warszawski”, „Przegląd Tygodniowy”, „Ateneum”, „Biblioteka Warszawska”, „Przegląd Pedagogiczny”. Propagators of philosophy and pedagogy wanted to arouse the interest of these new ideas in the broad circles of society, expressing the conviction that Polish thought must be enriched with the content appearing in Western European thought, and especially in English thought, as well as with original concepts in the field of education and upbringing. The positivist movement was to introduce a new quality to Polish thinking about reality, to help Polish society with a difficult situation, to make Poles become persistent workers, social workers, tireless and sensible builders of socio-economic reality created after the failure of national liberation struggles. Positivists believed in the power of the scientific achievements of the era, expressing the hope that they would contribute to the modernization of the country. In 1872, the leading Polish ideologist of positivism - Aleksander Świętochowski explained that positivism is not "no school with an unchangeable code", but is, first of all, a scientific method based on experience and natural sciences, aiming at continuous development and improvement of scientific research and education (Świętochowski, 1872, s. 247).

Among the pedagogical ideologists of positivist thought in the Kingdom of Poland, the leading players were Aleksander Świętochowski, Henryk Wernic, Adolf Dygasiński, Piotr Chmielowski and Jan Władysław

Dawid. These authors were opponents of the armed struggle with the invader, they postulated dissemination of education as well as persevering work for the economic development of Polish lands. This thought constituted a clear negation of the romantic pedagogical thought, creating the ideal of the hero who had taken up arms fighting for the freedom of the homeland. „For positivists, the hero was not the one who dreams of the continuous effectiveness of the uprising, who is capable of undertaking acts of noble madness and who can not imagine national life without independence and sovereign state, but the one who acts rationally, who respects reality and the given conditions and who is able to give up his great dreams in favour of every day work in order to increase the material and spiritual wealth of his society.” (Łempicki, 1937, s. 20).

Writers and educators who created their theories in the spirit of positivist ideals advocated preparing children and youth for effective and creative action in adult life, working for the good of society. The positivist pedagogical ideal assumed the implementation of teaching programs consistent with the assumptions of realism and pragmatism. The educators justified the need to introduce more classes involving natural sciences, and to assume utilitarian premises in choosing the content of the curriculum. This was explained by the rapidly changing structure of Polish society, the increase in the number of job seekers in the industrial sector and in the trade sector.

A characteristic tendency of the theory of pedagogy created by Warsaw positivists was to emphasize the importance of upbringing and home education, while the marginalization of school education, under the control of a foreign state. High hopes were placed in a Polish family imbued with the spirit of traditional Polish education, which was considered to be the guardian of Polish language and culture. The ideals of education and home education were enriched with new content through the publication of numerous pedagogical works. One of the main themes undertaken by their authors was the so called: Science of Things (*Nauka o rzeczach*), popularized by such experts on the subject as Henryk Wernic, Adolf Dygasiński, Jan Władysław Dawid. There is no doubt that these authors wanted to improve the curriculum for the initial teaching of Polish children, prepare them for further education and work for the benefit of the Polish nation. In the period of positivism, the aim and ideal of women's education were defined in a very specific way. While in the first half of the 19th century, this problem was discussed only to a small extent, in the second half of the century there was a dynamic increase in publications issued on the subject. Their authors were both men and women. At the time, there were bold postulates raised according to which women should have the same educational rights as men, and their work is of key importance for Polish nationality. During the age of positivism, when the Polish school was dependent on the partitioner, there was a tendency to create a model of a Polish woman who would not only care for raising children in the national spirit, but also, with the help of acquired knowledge, will educate them.

Various views on matters of education and upbringing were proclaimed by Galician writers and educators. The defeat of Austria in the wars against France and Piedmont and Prussia caused far-reaching changes in the monarchy, manifesting itself, among others in granting rights and freedoms to the nations that were part of it. After Galicia gained autonomy, the following units were formed: the The Diet of Galicia and Lodomeria, the National Department, and the National School Council (Dutkowa, 1995). In the struggle for a new shape of Galician reality, political activists, promoting their programs, played a leading role. While the Democrats referred to the events of the past and tried to arouse patriotic feelings in society (Fras, 1997), the Conservative Camp, and especially its leading ideologues such as Józef Szujski, Stanisław Tarnowski, Ludwik Wodzicki and Stanisław Koźmian tried to tone down patriotic enthusiasm (Jaskólski, 1990). In „Teka Stańczyka”, published in 1869 in the "Przegląd Polski" magazine, they accused the democrats of reckless actions that could contribute to the social revolution, to a new uprising. For the authors of "Teka Stańczyka" it was obvious that patriotic enthusiasm should give way to a sober look at the socio-political situation, loyalism and settlement with the invader (Kieniewicz, 1964).

In the seventies and eighties of the nineteenth century, there was a development of government education in the Polish territories remaining under Russian rule, while in Galicia there was a development of state and private education as well. The fact that graduates of schools could not find a job was disturbing. Even graduates of higher education were unemployed. Increasingly, people started talking about overproduction of intellectuals, about the need to set new ideals of education and upbringing. Stanisław Szczepanowski proposed novel solutions in this area, attempting to reconcile realism and idealism in Polish pedagogical theories of education, combining messianic romantic ideals with positivistic rationalism. Szczepanowski was a man with broad intellectual horizons, he traveled to many countries all over the Europe. He became famous thanks to the book *Nędza Galicji w cyfrach i program energicznego rozwoju gospodarstwa krajowego* (*The Poverty of Galicia in Numbers and the Program for the Vigorous Development of a Domestic Farm*), in which he carried out a thorough analysis of Galician economic backwardness. His pedagogical views are known thanks to such works as: *Aforyzmy o wychowaniu*; *Myśli o odrodzeniu narodowym*; *O polskich tradycjach w wychowaniu* (*Aphorisms on education*; *Thoughts about national rebirth*; *Polish traditions in education*). It was obvious to Szczepanowski that education and upbringing carried out in the spirit of national tradition, but not in the spirit of outdated traditions of the nobility, could be a golden mean in the struggle to regain state sovereignty. His ideal was a brave man, working for the good of his homeland, having a strong character, "in other words - a hero and citizen in one person." In the opinion of Szczepanowski, young Poles should draw inspiration in respect of heroic, chivalric and religious values from Old Polish traditions, from romantic poetry. As for the sense of

realism, they should learn it by following an example of the activities of Stanisław Konarski, the National Education Commission, Tadeusz Czacki, Jędrzej and Jan Sniadecki, as well as Kołłątaj and Staszic. Szczepanowski therefore argued for the complementing Poles' belief in romantic ideals, in messianism with the "gray, practical work of everyday life, understanding the importance of knowledge, skills, technology, industry, finance, savings." (Łempicki, 1937, s. 22–23).

Szczepanowski was not the only one who believed that intense work and perseverance would solve the problem of poverty in Polish society. The issue of economic development began to play an important role along with the beginning of enfranchisement and the era of industrialization. Economic theorists underlined the importance of economic development. In the second half of the nineteenth century, interesting projects were created in both industry and agriculture. Józef Supiński, an advocate of deep reforms, presented an interesting vision of solving social and economic problems in Poland. He attributed the prime role in regaining independence by Poles to intense work. It was to lead the Polish nation to progress, to create new modern values.

There were however the other views inspired by the idea of developing a cooperative movement, seeing in it a reliable factor contributing to the development of education and economic thought among peasants. At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, numerous agricultural associations, Raiffeisen's savings banks, were established in Galicja, which helped farmers to develop their production, supplying them with items necessary for farming, such as fertilizers, or granting them loans. The association of Poles on the basis of cooperative movements strengthened their national identity and conviction about the possibility of carrying out the effective struggle to improve their living conditions (Stefczyk, 1925). During meetings of agricultural association members, agricultural issues were discussed, such as new varieties of cereals, fertilizers, potatoes, and the need to establish fruit tree nurseries. Furthermore agriculture magazines were also gaining widespread popularity, since they were an excellent source of information not only about domestic but also foreign agricultural production. Every so often speakers from the Main Board of the Union of Agricultural Associations were invited to give lectures on plant and animal production. One of the most effective form of popularizing agriculture were special agricultural exhibitions organized in various regions of Galicja. During these exhibitions, representatives of various branches of agriculture, horse breeders, cattle farmers, pig farmers, poultry farmers, gardeners, farmers cultivating cereals, clovers, potatoes and beets presented the results of their works. The best of them was given prizes. All this contributed to popularization of education amongs farmers as well as agricultural school students, to deepening their knowledge and modernizing livestock farming and plant cultivation processes. Thanks to education and civilization transformations, the way farms were managed changed positively. The peasants began subscribing to agricultural magazines and to be interested

in innovations concerning various methods of farming, they purchased modern machines and tools, such as ploughs, threshers and pure-bred animals, which contributed to the development of farming and breeding processes.

The concept of education formulated by Stanisław Karpowicz, who, like Stanisław Szczepanowski, tried to create a new educational system in order to implement the ideal of a modern Pole, is worth mentioning. In the work *Szkice pedagogiczne (Pedagogical sketches)* he expressed the belief that there is a close relationship between individual life and collective life, he criticized pedagogical individualism, recommending that it should be replaced with preparing young Poles for active participation in social life as well as for cooperation in order to create a new reality. Karpowicz believed that such education can not be realized without acquiring knowledge in the field of natural and social sciences, as well as without prior reparation of social relations, which will contribute to the improvement of the social existence of mankind (Karpowicz, 1897).

At the beginning of the 20th century, national ideals were increasingly exposed to Polish literature. The National Democratic Camp, especially Roman Dmowski and Zygmunt Balicki, played a crucial role in this regard. Dmowski in his book *Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka (The Thoughts of a Modern Pole)* not only presented his political manifesto, but also introduced the principles of a national educational ideal that appealed to such features as national egoism and nationalist patriotism while rejecting the idealistic concept of education. The themes related to upbringing were raised by Balicki mainly in two works: *Egoizm narodowy wobec etyki (National Egoism and Ethics)*; *Zasady wychowania narodowego (Principles of national education)*. For this thinker, the nation was the highest good on Earth, and the education of a man, a citizen, the education of a nation was the most important objective of humanity (Balicki, 1909). His dream was to form and prepare a young generation of Poles for the role of soldiers, citizens of their nation, aware of the past of their homeland, those who love it, to prepare men for "struggle, for defense, for leadership, taking responsibility for their homeland and its governments." (ibidem, s. 8). On the eve of the First World War, the educational ideal of the National Democracy demanded the education of a young Pole as a realist, "cold and sober" national egoist, "snatching ruthlessly from equal or weaker ones the positive achievements of everyday life in favor of the material and cultural granary of his own people" (Łempicki, 1937, s. 25). In the first years after regaining state sovereignty, the ideals of national education were popularized by Lucjan Zarzecki.

At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, an excellent form of promoting patriotism was the national celebrations organized in the time of Galician autonomy. The main venue of these ceremonies was the former capital of the Polish state, Krakow, where such events as the 50th anniversary of Józef Ignacy Kraszewski's creative work, the 400th anniversary of the death of Jan Długosz, the 200th anniversary of the Siege of Vienna, the centenary of the 3rd May Constitution and the centenary of the Kościuszko

Insurrection were celebrated. It was also a place where celebrations of bringing the Adam Mickiewicz's ashes to Wawel as well as the anniversary of the Jagiellonian University in 1900 were organized. Furthermore the celebration of the 500th anniversary of the Battle of Grunwald was organized there on a grand scale (Treiderowa, 1961). Those outstanding celebrations gathered Poles from all over Galicia, as well as from the Russian and Prussian partition. The ceremonies were attended by representatives of all states and professions; the Grundwald Monument funded by Ignacy Paderewski was unveiled on Matejko Square, furthermore an educational meeting was organized, during which one could hear speeches about folk education among others delivered by Wincenty Witos and Włodzimierz Tetmajer (Witos, 1998). An important part of the anniversary celebration program was the demonstration of exercises of the Sokół Gymnastic Society organized at Cracow Błonia. At that time, the idea of organizing falcon teams was strongly popularized and the conception of scout movements, created by Andrzej Małkowski, and modeled on the English Scouting, were disseminated. These organizations were to contribute to improving the characters of young Poles, improving their physical fitness, heroic and chivalrous attitude, and allowing them to gain physical strength. Physical education was, to a large extent, of military importance. The members of the Sokół Gymnastics Society, Bartoszowe Troops and the Riflemen's Union were supposed, if necessary, to fight for the freedom of the Polish state.

It follows from the above that at the end of the period of national servitude, the idea of independence was still present in Polish pedagogical literature, which - as it was believed - can be realized with the help of proper education and upbringing. Completely different theses were voiced by activists of the socialist and Marxist movement, who stressed that education is not a priority and that it is not the invaders that are a problem, but it is crucial to change the socio-economic system. According to them, if the latter would not be modified, it would not be possible to solve great social and political problems. Marxists believed, moreover, they were strongly convinced that after overthrowing capitalism a republic of equal people would be created, and then even the institution of the state would no longer be needed.

It is worth noting that Polish pedagogical literature at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries contained more and more scientific content, both original and inspired by foreign ideas. At that time, such outstanding works of Jan Władysław Dawid as *Program spostrzeżeń psychologiczno-wychowawczych nad dzieckiem (Programme of Psycho-Educational Observations of Children from Birth to the Age of 20)*; *Zasób umysłowy dziecka (Children's mental resources)*, or the work of Aniela Szycówna, such as: *Rozwój pojęciowy dziecka w okresie lat 6 – 12 (Conceptual development of the child in the period of 6 - 12 years)*; *O zadaniach i metodach psychologii dziecka (The tasks and methods of child psychology) were created*. On the initiative of Szycówna, the National Association for the Study of Children was founded in

Warsaw in 1907, not to mention excellent work of the precursor of pedological research, Józefa Joteyko, who specialized in experimental psychology and was lecturer at the University of Brussels. Persistent research of pedagogues and psychologists allowed to better understand and learn about development capabilities of children and youth, which was not without significance in formulating new educational and educational theories.

Conclusion

As can be seen from the above considerations, Polish educational ideals have often changed during the absence of a sovereign Polish state, which was mainly associated with political events and rapid social transformations. The characteristic feature of this situation was the fact that even in the most difficult moments of national captivity, the Poles did not lose their faith in regaining state sovereignty, rebuilding education, the ability to teach in Polish, and in education implemented in accordance with the good and glorious traditions of the Polish nation.

Appropriate upbringing and education however could only be a partial magic remedy for Polish troubles during the period of national captivity. Although the upbringing and education of Polish youth in the spirit of national and patriotic ideals contributed to maintaining national identity, building attitudes of independence towards the partitioners, while intellectual education provided a better living situation for a certain part of the population, enabling it to look in the future with optimism, it should be remembered that specific political conditions and the time of occupation hindered and prevented full implementation of Polish educational concepts, thus changing the character of the Polish socio-economic reality. Ultimately the political barrier has proved insurmountable.

Belief in the power of education created by enlightenment, although very strong, turned out to be deprived of the foundations of existence in the later decades in the context of Polish political conditions. The repression that the Polish nation underwent after the failure of the uprisings limited the educational opportunities of Poles. Not only were Polish schools liquidated at the time, but also access of Polish youth to higher education in Russia was hindered by introducing the *numerus clausus* principle.

During the period of the absence of an independent Polish statehood when the Polish citizens were constantly subjected to various restrictions on the part of the invaders, the educational initiatives undertaken by Poles could not bring breakthrough effects, such as it was in Denmark, that is, in a free country, where education turned out to be an extraordinary means of improving the material situation of the population. There is no doubt that many theses proclaimed by Polish pedagogues neither could creatively influence society nor be implemented. Demanding that, as the positivists

wanted, all citizens should concern themselves with the views they had voiced and the advocated postulates regarding education would be utopian. Reaching people with new pedagogical theses and convincing them of their validity would be possible in part through an independent press, a Polish school, and adequate education of young people. During the period of autonomy, favorable conditions for this programme were present only in Galicia, while in Prussia and the Russian partition it was impossible to conduct Polish educational activities and to spread national ideas.

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