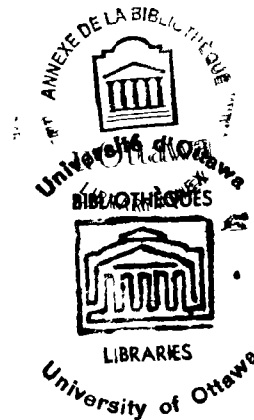


THE COMMISSION FOR NATIONAL EDUCATION
OF POLAND AND LITHUANIA (1773-1794):
A HISTORICAL STUDY OF SOME ASPECTS
OF ITS EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

by

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Doctor of Philosophy



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INTRODUCTION

The Commission for National Education of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was established in 1773. By purpose and design the Educational Commission combined the educational systems of both Lithuania and Poland under one national controlling body, thus *directly* taking over the responsibility for education and thus becoming the first "Ministry of Education" in Europe.

The organization and work of the Educational Commission predates the establishment of national systems of education in other European countries by twenty to thirty years. For example, in France national education was planned by such great educational reform leaders as La Chalotais, Rolland, and later by Mirabeau, Talleyrand and Condorcet, but not realized until the mandate received in the French Constitution of 1791 and finally the passing of the Law of October 25, 1795. Likewise, in Switzerland a national system of education emerged under the leadership of Swiss Minister of Arts and Sciences, Albrecht Stapher only in 1798. In Prussia, Frederick the Great laid the groundwork for a national system of education by the Codes of 1763 and 1765. These were followed by the establishment of the Superior School Board in 1787. With the codification of Prussian civil law in 1794, the principle of state supremacy in education was recognized; but it was only after the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807, that the Prussian Bureau of Education was established and national education in

Prussia began. Before then the idea of national education remained largely in the statute books.

Polish historians, all of whom are cited in this study, have shown great interest in the educational reforms of the XVIIIth century. J. Lewicki, Z. Kukulski, S. Lempicki, T. Wierzbowski, K. Bartnicka, I. Szybiak, K. Mrozowska, T. Mizia, and M. Mitera-Dobrowolska have published collections of documents dealing with the work of the Educational Commission. Especially the works of Kukulski and Wierzbowski, which contain the principal regulations of the Commission, are invaluable sources. S. Kot, S. Tync, H. Pohoska, have collected and published vast amounts of material, as have B. Suchodolski and L. Kurdybacha. However, most of their works deal with Poland and are only peripherally concerned with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

Most of the materials describing the activities of the Educational Commission in Lithuania can be found at the University of Vilnius, where all the original school inspection reports dealing with the Lithuanian schools are preserved. These reports have not as yet been completely analyzed. Lithuanian historians are beginning their work only now. The chief researcher has been A. Šidlauskas, of the Faculty of History of the University of Vilnius. His research efforts have produced the first studies dealing with the Lithuanian schools under the Commission.

Early in the research for this study, the writer realized that without consultation of the primary source documents at the University of Vilnius, this research effort could not be completed. As a result, the writer made two trips to the University of Vilnius, one in October of 1972, the other in April of 1974. These trips allowed the writer to examine,

with the permission of the Rector and the Director of Libraries, the primary source documents relating to the Educational Commission, that are housed in the Manuscripts Section--Czartoryski Fund. Work for this study at the University of Vilnius was facilitated by the assistance of Professor Šidlauskas, who also made valuable suggestions on the conduct of the research. The writer also travelled to Rome, in May of 1975, and had the opportunity of examining documents relating to the establishment of the Commission in the Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu.

The activities of the Educational Commission have received little attention in the literature of the English speaking world. Because of the Commission's historical importance (i.e., predates most recognized attempts to establish national systems of education) and lack of knowledge about its activities in the English language literature, this study was undertaken. Thus, two objectives were set for this research effort:

- (1) to detail, in English, the establishment and reforms of the Educational Commission; and
- (2) to examine the activities of the Commission in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

Operationally these objectives were translated into a research plan, the elements of which will be discussed below.

In order to understand the conditions under which the Commission was established, it was necessary to develop a historical framework which would provide the basic social, economic and cultural conditions present in XVIIIth century Poland and Lithuania. This is accomplished in Chapter I.

Prior to the establishment of the Educational Commission most educational institutions were operated by the Church. Since no systematic

consideration of the activities of the various religious orders that maintained schools in Lithuania was available, the writer found it necessary to prepare a background statement detailing the state of education prior to the establishment of the Commission. This is accomplished in Chapter II.

The first two chapters serve as background to the next three substantive chapters. Chapter III details the intricacies of the establishment of the Commission by the Sejm and then the Commission's organizational activities. Chapter IV presents the major reform proposals received and considered by the Commission in its formulation and promulgation of educational reform legislation. Chapter V presents an overview of the educational reforms enacted by the Commission. This chapter considers these reforms in terms of their affect on school structure and control, elementary/secondary education, and post-secondary education.

Chapters III, IV, and V serve as background to the next three chapters, which provide in-depth considerations of three aspects of the reforms of the Commission. Chapter VI examines the preparation and performance of the teaching personnel utilized by the Commission. Chapter VII investigates the methods adopted by the Commission for the proper supervision of the reformed schools. Chapter VIII details the work of the Commission in the area of elementary education. These three chapters only peripherally consider activities in Poland. The major emphasis in these chapters is the work of the Commission in the Lithuanian educational districts.

The implications and influences of the Commission are presented in Chapter IX. This chapter structures the influences and implications into two frameworks: the intra-commonwealth implications and the extra-commonwealth influences. Considerations within the intra-commonwealth implications are limited to the exploration of issues raised in previous chapters of this study; while in the extra-commonwealth influences, new materials are introduced which go beyond the activities of the Commission in Poland-Lithuania.

All substantive chapters, i.e., Chapters III--IX, have summary sections, while the first two chapters, which deal with background information, do not.

The first three substantive chapters, i.e., Chapters III, IV, and V, follow a basic chronological organization; while the next three substantive chapters, i.e., Chapters VI, VII, and VIII, follow a thematic-chronological pattern of organization. Chapter IX follows a problematic organization of the materials, using a political-geographic framework.

The bibliography presented at the end of this study is a selected and annotated bibliography. Most of the minor and less important works do not appear in the annotated bibliography.

Translations appearing in the text are the authors. Transliterations of Russian language titles were made using the Library of Congress Transliteration System.

CHAPTER I

LITHUANIAN POLITICAL, SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL CONDITIONS FROM THE XIIth THROUGH THE XVIIIth CENTURIES

In order to place the establishment and work of the Educational Commission of Poland and Lithuania into historical perspective, it is necessary to present a short review of the historical conditions which gave birth to the Commission and ended its operations. This chapter will present the development of Lithuanian political thought up to the XVIIIth century, the social and economic order during the XVIIIth century; and a synopsis of the cultural conditions in Lithuania during the XVIIIth century.

A. Political Developments from the XIIth to the XVIIIth century.

The origins of Lithuanian statehood are to be found in the closing years of the XIIth century. At that time separate Lithuanian tribes¹ inhabiting the Baltic Coast began to unite under one ruler. One of the primary reasons for this union was the serious physical threat to the tribes being made by the German Knights of the Sword and the Teutonic Order. These two well organized and equipped military orders proclaimed a crusade against the pagans on the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea. In a comparatively short time, the Knights of the Sword

¹ Marija Gimbutas, The Balts, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1963, 285 p.; R. Volkaitė-Kulikauskienė, Lietuviai IX-XII Amžiais (Lithuanians During the IX-XII Centuries), Vilnius, Mintis, 1970, 295 p.

conquered the Baltic Tribes of Latvia, while the Teutonic Order, which had established itself in Prussia, began a systematic policy of exterminating the Balts in that region.² The threat of the Germans served as an impetus which crystallized the remaining independent Baltic tribes into a Lithuanian State.³ The early XIIIth century's contest for supremacy was won by Mindaugas (1236-1263), who is considered the founder of the Lithuanian State.⁴ The military threat of the Germans meant that the Lithuanian State, if it wished to survive, would have to be militarily prepared with all of its resources mobilized for defense against the German menace. Preoccupation with defense and warfare, however, was not conducive to cultural development. Continuous fighting with the Teutonic Knights resulted in a drain of manpower; cities--natural centers of cultural activity--did not develop.

2 Confer: V. Biržiška, "Kryžiuočių Keliai į Lietuvą XIV amž," (Movements of the Teutonic Knights into Lithuania during the XIVth Century), Praeitis, Vol. 1, 1930, p. 1-63; Richard Kyngeston, Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land Made by Henry Earl of Derby in the Years 1390-1 and 1392-3; Being the Accounts Kept by His Treasurer During Two Years, Ed. by Toulmin Smith, Westminster, Camden Society, 1894, cxiv, 360 p., This source contains an eyewitness account of one of the crusades of the Teutonic Knights against Lithuanians.

3 Confer: V. Pasuta, Lietuvos Valstybės Susidarymas (The Formation of the Lithuanian State), Vilnius, Mintis, 1971, 424 p.; Confer: Juozas Jakštas, "Russian Historiography on the Origin of the Lithuanian State: Some Critical Remarks on V. T. Pashuto's Study," Lituanus, Vol 11, No. 4, Winter, 1965, p. 25-46; and Jonas Dainauskas, "A Study on the Formation of the Lithuanian State," Lituanus, Vol. IX, No. 2, 1963, p. 68-70. The above two provide commentaries on V. T. Pashuto, Образование Литовского Государства, Moskva, Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSR, 1959, 532 p.

4 Zenonas Ivinskis, "Pirmasis Lietuvos Karalius Mindaugas ir jo Palikimas," (Mindaugas the First King of Lithuania and His Legacy) Etudes de l'Académie Lithuanienne Catholique des Sciences, No. 1, 1965, p. 53-116.

In order to deprive the Teutonic Order of its crusading purpose Mindaugas accepted Christianity in 1251, and two years later, by the authority of Pope Innocent IV, was crowned King of Lithuania.⁵ In 1263 King Mindaugas and two of his sons were assassinated by conspiring princes. A new ruling family took control and abandoned Christianity. Once again, the Lithuanians needed manpower and resources for their struggle with the Germans. They began expanding eastward into the lands and territories of the Russian city states.⁶

Under Grand Duke Gediminas (1315-1341) Lithuanians captured Ruthenia⁷ with the Towns of Pinsk, Brest, and Polotsk. About 1320, Gediminas took Vladimir-Kolynsk and in 1321 captured Kiev.⁸ The policy of the Lithuanians was not to disturb local arrangements; Russian princes, assisted by Lithuanian deputies and garrisons, were left in their domains.

5 R. Varakauskas, "Lietuvių kova su vokiškaisiais agresoriais Mindaugo valdymo laikotarpiu (1236-1263)" (Lithuanian battles with German aggressors during the Reign of Mindaugas (1236-1263), in Vilnius Pedagoginio Instituto Mokslo Darbai, Vol. IV, Vilnius, 1958, p. 111-143.

6 This expansion and later demise can be clearly seen in Arthur E. Adams, Ian M. Matley and William O. McCagg, An Atlas of Russian and East European History, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1966, p. xi-204.

7 Now referred to as White Russia or Byelorussia.

8 A complete discussion of this period is presented by A. Bruce Boswell, "Poland and Lithuania in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in J. B. Bury's Cambridge Medieval History, New York, Macmillan Company, 1936, p. 556-586.

The result was that the "new Lithuanian State, which was of vast dimensions, was not a national kingdom, but an empire."⁹ Lithuania's power now extended eastward to the Black Sea, making the country's name known throughout Europe. Rulers of this new family were Gediminas (1316-1341), his son Algirdas (1345-1377), Kęstutis (1345-1382), and Vytautas the Great (1392-1430), the son of Kęstutis. A member of this family, Jogaila, son of Algirdas, became King of Poland. He founded the Jogellonian dynasty which ruled united Lithuania-Poland for over two hundred years.¹⁰

Under Jogaila and Vytautas Lithuania again returned to Catholicism (1387 and 1417).¹¹ Because of the vast Russian lands under Lithuanian control the then pagan Lithuanian aristocracy came under the influence of the conquered Russian city states. The dominating cultural force during this period was Russian. Many Lithuanian nobles became Orthodox and established Russian princely family lines. The Grand Dukes adopted

9 Bernard Pares, A History of Russia, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1960, p. 67.

10 Juozas Jakštas, et. at., Jogaila, Kaunas, Švietimo Ministerijos Knygų Leidimo Komisijos Leidiny Nr. 450, 1935, p. 1-333.

11 Confer: Juozas Jakštas, "Pavėluotas Lietuvos Krikštas" (The Delayed Conversion of Lithuania), Actes du Sixieme Congres de L'Académie Lithuanienne Catholique des Sciences, 1969 (Roma), p. 173-188; Zenonas Ivinskis, "Lietuvos ir Apaštalių Sosto Santykiai Amžių Bėgyje - iki XVIII amž. galo" (Lithuanian Relations with the Apostolic See through the centuries-up to the end of the XVIIIth century), Actes du Quatrieme Congres de L'Académie Scientifique des Catholiques Lithuaniens, 1961, (Roma), p. 117-152; and Juozas Jakštas, "Šis tas dėl atskiro žemaičių krikšto" (Why Samogitia (Zemaičiai) was not baptized with the rest of Lithuania in 1387), Etudes de L'Académie Lithuanienne Catholique des Sciences, Vol. III, 1967, p. 1-9.

as their chancery language a form of Church Slavonic, which was the liturgical language of the Orthodox Church in eastern Europe and had much the same status as the Latin language in the West. Although the cultural influence of Russia was great, Lithuania did not become an Orthodox kingdom, but adopted Roman Catholicism. Adoption of Roman Catholicism by the pagan Grand Dukes of Lithuania must be viewed, first of all, as a shrewd political move designed to legitimize the Lithuanian State in the eyes of the Pope and the Western monarchs, and secondly, as an attempt to abolish the reason for the crusading activity of the Teutonic Knights.¹²

Lithuania reached its greatest power and broadest expansion under Vytautas the Great.¹³ Between 1362-1569 the Lithuanian Empire was at the peak of its territorial expansion (see Map 1).¹⁴ Its frontiers extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea, from the very vicinity of Moscow to the Bug and Dniester Rivers. It protected Western Europe and the greater part of Russia and the Ukraine from the powerful Tartar Empire in the East.¹⁵ In the West it stopped the German's eastward expansion

12 Gediminas, Gedimino Laiškai (Letters of Gediminas), P. V. Pasuta and I. Stal, eds., Vilnius, Mintis, 1966, 197 p. Confer: Paulius Rabikauskas, "Commentary on the Letters of Gediminas," Lituanus, Vol. 15, No. 4, Winter, 1969, p. 47-54.

13 Joseph B. Končius, Vytautas the Great: Grand Duke of Lithuania, Miami, The Franklin Press, 1964, 211 p.; see also: Jonas Lappo, "Istorinė Vytauto Reikšmė" (Historical significance of Vytautas), Praeitis, Vol. II, 1933, p. 1-71.

14 B. Dundulis, Lietuvos Kova dėl Valstybinio Savarankiškumo 15 amž. (Lithuanian Efforts to Establish State Autonomy in the 15th Century), Vilnius, Mintis, 1968, p. 1-312.

15 Confer: William L. Winter, "The Baltic as a Common Frontier of Eastern and Western Europe in the Middle Ages," Lituanus, Vol. 19, No. 4, Winter, 1973, p. 5-39.



MAP 1: POLAND, LITHUANIA, AND RUSSIA IN THE XVth CENTURIES

SOURCE: William L. Langer, Compiler, An Encyclopedia of World History: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1968, p. 338.

at the Battle of Tannenberg (1410).¹⁶

In the 16th century Lithuania started to feel the steadily increasing power of Moscow.¹⁷ From 1503 it began to lose to the Russians some of Lithuania's eastern provinces, which had Slavic populations. This growing threat of Moscow forced Lithuania to enter a political union or confederation with Poland at Liublin in 1569.¹⁸ There was to be a common king elected by the nobility of both nations and a common foreign policy, but, under the terms of the Union, in all other respects the two states were to remain separate and sovereign political units with separate administrations and armies. With the death of Sigismund II (1572) the Jogellonian Dynasty came to an end and the crown, already elective in theory, became so in fact. The result was a tremendous weakening of the royal power, constant embroilment in the rivalries of other nations, and a growing hopelessness of reform. In the XVIth century the Polish-

16 Confer: Cronica Conflictus Wladislai Regis Poloniae Cum Cruciferis Anno Christi 1410. Ed. By Zygmunt Celichowski, Poznan, Nakladem biblioteki Kornickiej, 1911, 51 p. This source is the closest document to the actual battle; see also: Vanda Sruoga, "The Battle of Grunwald-Tannenberg," Lituanus, Vol. VI, No. 3, Fall, 1960, p. 121-123; and Juozas Jakštas, "Dlugosz about the Battle of Tannenberg-Vytautas and the Lithuanians through the eyes of a chronicler," Lituanus, Vol. 8, No. 3, Fall, 1962, p. 72-84.

17 B. Dundulis, Lietuvos Užsienio Politika XVI Amž. (Lithuanian Foreign Policy in the XVI Century), Vilnius, Mintis, 1971, p. 1-307
Confer: Review of this book by J. Jakštas, Lituanus, Vol. 19, No. 2, Winter, 1973, p. 74-75.

18 Mikhail Iosifovich Koialovich, Dnevnik Liublinskogo Seima 1569 goda; Soedinenie Velikago Kniazhestva Litovskago S Kordevstom Pol'skim, St. Petersburg, Pechatnia V. Golovina, 1869, 786 p. This source contains the minutes of the Liublin Sejm of 1569.

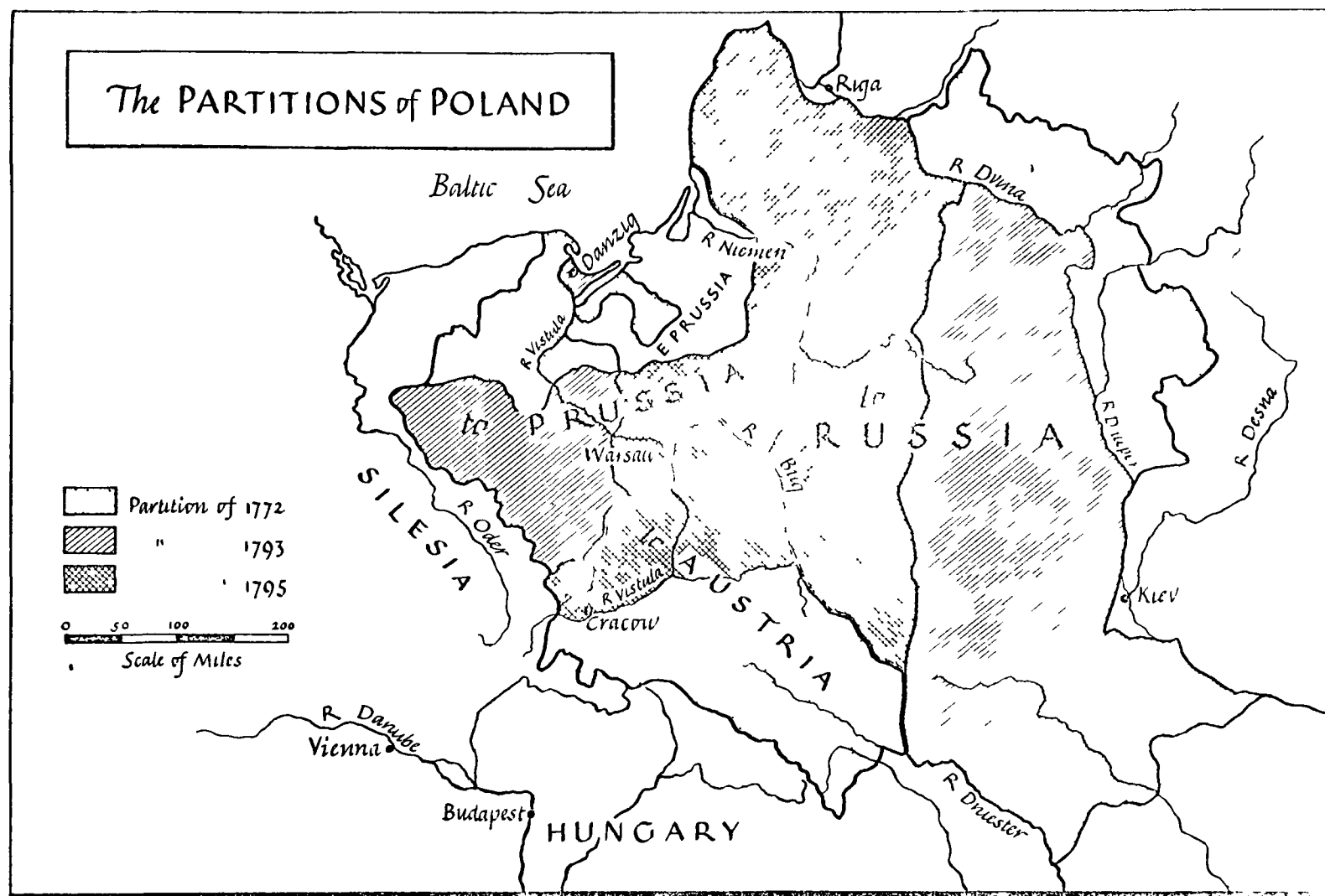
Lithuanian state had the full promise of an empire. It was undisputably the greatest power of central Europe. But, with the end of the Jogellonian Dynasty and the demise of royal power, the commonwealth was converted into a republic of the gentry. The kings of the Jogellonian Dynasty, it should be remembered, were hereditary Grand Dukes of Lithuania, and thus were in possession of vast and enormous estates in Lithuania. These possessions allowed the Jogellonian kings to rule without subsidies from the nobility. The now purely elected kings had no such fulcrum at their disposal and had to rely on the magnates and gentry for their support.

By 1667 Poland-Lithuania had lost to Russia the Eastern Ukraine and Smolensk.¹⁹ Even though during this time some military successes were achieved, namely, relief of Vienna during the second siege by the Turks, they were not enough to arrest the process of decline which resulted from the basic defects of the Polish-Lithuanian political organization, i.e., (1) absence of real unity. (2) lack of strong central authority, and (3) impotence of the national Sejm.²⁰ Finally on 5 August 1772 the First Partition of Poland-Lithuania began (see Map 2).²¹ Russia acquired White Russia and all the territory to the Dvina and Dnieper (1,800,000 inhabitants); Austria took Red Russia, Galicia and Western

19 Vincent Trumpa, "The Disintegration of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth," Lituanus, Vol. 10, No. 2, Summer, 1964, p. 24-32.

20. William L. Langer, Comp. and Ed., An Encyclopedia of World History, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1968, p. 511.

21 Bronislaw Dembinski, ed., Documents relatifs à l'histoire du deuxième et Troisième partage de la Pologne, Vol. 1, Léopol, Société de propagation des Travaux scientifiques, 1902, lxxi, 565 p.



MAP 2: THE PARTITIONS OF POLAND AND LITHUANIA IN 1772, 1793, AND 1795

SOURCE: William L. Langer, Compiler, An Encyclopedia of World History: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1968, p. 513.

Podolia with Lemberg and part of Krakow (2,700,000 inhabitants) and Prussia took Polish Prussia, except Danzig and Thorn (416,000 inhabitants). The First Partition reduced by one third the land area and by one half the population of the commonwealth. On 23 January 1793 the Second Partition of Poland-Lithuania began. Russia took most of Lithuania and most of the Western Ukraine, including Podolia (3,000,000 inhabitants); Prussia took Danzig and Thorn, as well as Great Poland (1,100,000 inhabitants). On 24 October 1795 the Third and Final Partition took place. Russia took the remainder of Lithuania and the Ukraine (1,200,000 inhabitants); Prussia secured Mazovia with Warsaw (1,000,000 inhabitants); while Austria obtained the remainder of the Krakow region (1,000,000 inhabitants).²² With the last partition the once great commonwealth ceased to exist as a functioning political entity.²³

The disintegration of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth²⁴ has at its base two main causes: (1) the aggressive neighboring countries and (2) the decadent political life in the commonwealth. At a time in Europe, when most countries fostered strong monarchical systems of government with huge standing armies, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth fostered a decadent gentry and a small underfinanced and disorganized military

22 William L. Langer, op. cit., p. 512.

23 Confer: L. R. Lewitter, "The Partitions of Poland," in A. Goodwin, ed., The New Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII: The American and French Revolutions 1763-1793, London, Cambridge University Press, 1965, p. 333-359.

24 The joint Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is also referred to as Rzeczpospolita or Republic.

force.²⁵ In the commonwealth the king had no power to speak of, since all power, at least theoretically, rested with the citizenry. The citizens, of course, were the gentry, who in reality could also do nothing without the consent of the nobles. The nobility considered themselves all-powerful and in reality clustered large numbers of gentry around themselves. The king had only as much power as the gentry were willing to grant. When the king was elected the gentry granted the king power in accordance with the Pacta Conventa.²⁶ The gentry were constantly monitoring the king's activities, in order to guarantee that he would not gain absolutism and thus possibly infringe on their rights and privileges.

The king was completely bound by the actions of the Sejm (i.e. the Constituent Assembly of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth). Only the Sejm could promulgate laws and regulations, and declare war. The adoption of a new law in the Sejm was difficult since it required complete agreement of the members present. The concept of the famous Liberum Veto was in force. Any member of the Sejm could call out "veto" and the entire Sejm had to succumb to it.

25 A. Šapoka, ed., Lietuvos Istorija (History of Lithuania), Fulback/Wurttemberg, Patria, 1950, p. 398.

26 The Pacta Conventa was a law containing a whole body of privileges obtained from Louis King of Hungary (1370) and enlarged to contain a series of stipulations which made the king wholly dependent on the Sejm, magnates and gentry. Confer: S. J., History of Poland from its Origins as a Nation to the Commencement of the Year 1795 (to which its prefixed an accurate account of the geography and government of that country and the customs and manners of its inhabitants), London, Vernor and Hood, 1795, see note on p. 63 and p. 70-75.

The entire political organization was based on a system of enviable individual rights on the part of the magnates and the gentry. Bain aptly sums up the situation: "Poland is the only example in history of a state which deliberately committed political suicide for the sake of absolute individual liberty."²⁷ The right to veto was highly guarded by the gentry. They considered the veto as a basis for their freedom and maintained the dictum: "Nihil de me sine me."²⁸ The veto right began to paralyze the entire Sejm. Matters under discussion not favorable to a particular group or private individual, or even a foreign power could be stopped through the purchase of a veto from one of the members of the Sejm.²⁹ This practice of block actions via veto became so prevalent that in the XVIIIth century periods of up to twenty years passed with no definitive actions taken by the Sejm.

Reform of the liberum veto was also impossible. The ideologists of freedom, even though aware of the great chaos, considered the veto sacred. "The Republic is being kept together by disorder" was a common saying of the times. The gentry maintained that they had nothing to fear and should only be proud of their freedom. The gentry, however, failed to see the real developments around them. Neighboring countries, knowing the situation, no longer considered the commonwealth a real

27 R. Nisbet Bain, The Last King of Poland and His Contemporaries, London, Methuen and Co., 1909, p. 1.

28 Šapoka, op. cit., p. 271 and S. J., History of Poland, p. 65-69.

29 Šapoka, op. cit., p. 352.

and viable force. They began planning and waiting for the proper timing to begin the dismantling of the commonwealth.³⁰

In the commonwealth a large number of gentry did realize the danger. They banded together into two reform factions: (1) the Czartoryski supporters, who sided with Russia and (2) the Potocki supporters who sided with France. With the death of King Augustus III, in 1763, the Czartoryski faction, with the aid of Russia, took over the government. They placed into the seat of government a relative of Czartoryski-Stanislas August Poniatowski. The Czartoryski began sweeping reforms, which did not meet with Russian approval. Russia considered the reforms too powerful and a risk to its "protectorate." The Russians, influencing a number of the gentry, caused the Warsaw Sejm of 1768 to cancel all of the Czartoryski reforms. The Russians then began, through their ambassador, to virtually control the entire Sejm.³¹ Then on 5 August 1772 Russia, Prussia and Austria took over already predetermined portions of the Commonwealth. This occupation was legalized through the king, who was forced to call together a new Sejm for the express purpose of ratifying the partition. The Sejm was called together in 1773 and, as expected, ratified the First Partition of Poland-Lithuania.

30 A partition of her domains had been seriously proposed for generations before it was actually accomplished. The vastness of the spoil and the weakness of the would-be despoilers were the sole causes of the postponement. Confer: Bain, op. cit., p. 2 and Šapoka, op. cit.,

31 Confer: Bain, op. cit., p. 72-92 and Šapoka, op. cit., p. 408.

The Sejm of 1773, with the approval of Russian authorities, also established a new ruling body called the Permanent Council, which had as its primary goal the supervision and coordination of governmental activities. This same Sejm also established the Educational Commission of Poland and Lithuania.

In 1787 Russia began a war with Turkey. Poland-Lithuania felt a relaxation of Russian pressure and began planning governmental reforms. These plans resulted in the four year Sejm (1788-1792).

The Sejm enacted a number of reforms, among which were the abolishment of the *liberum veto* and the adoption of a new constitution (1791).³² Prussia and Austria accepted the new constitution, but Russia, after ending its war with Turkey, instigated opposition to the reforms and established the Confederation of Targowica (1792). The Confederation, with the backing of the Russian Army took the government into its own hands. In the same year, 1793, Russia and Prussia concluded the Second Partition of Poland and Lithuania. This partition was likewise approved by the Sejm, but only after Russian troops occupied the chambers in which the Sejm was meeting.³³ Russia also demanded that the majority of the remaining Polish-Lithuanian military forces be disbanded. These events evoked great resistance in the Commonwealth. The leader of the resistance

32 The new constitution (1) converted the elective monarchy into a hereditary monarchy; (2) conferred executive power upon the king and council of state; (3) vested legislative power in a diet of two chambers and (4) abolished the liberum veto. See text in S. J. History of Poland, p. 375-388.

33 Ibid., p. 451-455 contain copies of dispatches sent by the Russian Ambassador of the Sejm and dispatches sent to the king regarding the conditions of the Sejm.

was the Lithuanian general Tadeus Kosciusko. But the strong Russian and Prussian armies quickly suppressed the resistance movement. Finally the Third Partition of 1795 began. With the Partition the political reforms enacted in 1788-1792 became meaningless.

B. Social and Economic Situation

After the First Partition in 1772 the Grand Duchy of Lithuania still had under its control the Western Russian Districts of Nowogródsk, Minsk, Brest, and part of Polock. It is difficult to establish conclusively the total number of inhabitants living in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the last quarter of the XVIIIth century.³⁴ The first general census was taken only in 1790.³⁵ This census included (1) the listing of households with fireplaces and (2) all social groupings in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The census indicated that in the Grand Duchy there were 451,100 households with fireplaces.³⁶ The only remains of the 1790 census of the population in the Grand Duchy are listings for eleven counties.³⁷ The Polish historian J. Ochmanski, in an analysis of the

34 R. Jasas and L. Truška, Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės Gyventojų Surašymas 1790 m. (The 1790 Census of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania), Vilnius, LTSR Mokslo Akademijos Centrine Biblioteka, 1972, p.6.

35 In the commonwealth on occasion other censuses were conducted, but these were only for the purpose of listing all Jewish inhabitants. Jewish inhabitants paid a special head tax while the peasants paid taxes by the household. Because of this practice it was not necessary to have a complete census of the population. Confer: Jasas and Truška, op. cit., page 7, footnote 1.

36 Jasas and Truška, op. cit., p. 13.

37 Counties--Pavietos. After the Administrative Reform of 1566 a pavietas was a defined area having its own administration and territory with gentry governing organs.

1790 census with the Fifth Population Revision Census of 1795, determined that each household with a fireplace had an average of seven people. He concluded that in the Grand Duchy the population in 1790 was no less than 3.2 million.³⁸ The Polish demographer J. Morzy maintains that toward the end of the XVIIIth century each household had an average of eight people and thus the entire Grand Duchy had a population of 3.6 million.³⁹ Lithuanian demographers R. Jasas and L. Truška examined the remaining eleven counties of the 1790 census and found 225,700 households. This number reflected precisely one-half of all Grand Duchy households. These eleven counties also contained 1,409,000 inhabitants or one-half of the population of the Grand Duchy. The research work of Jasas and Truška also revealed that the census was not complete and accurate and that some 400,000 inhabitants were not included in the eleven counties examined.⁴⁰ They concluded that the Grand Duchy had 1.8 million inhabitants in these eleven counties and because these eleven counties represented one-half of the total households, the total population of the Grand Duchy had to be, at a minimum, 3.6 million.⁴¹

The Grand Duchy, as other countries, was divided into a strict

38 J. Ochmanski, "Zaludnienie Litwy w roku 1790" (The Inhabitants of Lithuania in the year 1790), Historia, 1967, Nr. 7, p. 271-275.

39 J. Morzy, Kryzys demograficzny na Litwie i Białorusi w II Polowie XVIIIw., Poznań, 1965, p. 130, 215-216.

40 Jasas and Truška, op. cit., p. 21.

41 Ibid.

class system. The Polish King, Boleslav III (1102-1138), formally initiated the social class system. The organization was three-fold: (1) the great landlords (nobles or magnates); (2) gentry (knights or szlachta); and (3) the peasantry.⁴² With the growth of towns and villages another quasi-social class emerged. This fourth class was the burgher class. In 1790 some 80 percent of the population belonged to the peasant class, 12.4 percent to the burgher class and some 6.3 percent were gentry and nobles.⁴³ The 1795 Census Revision data indicated that in the Lithuanian Gubernija (district) 80 percent of the population were peasants. The analysis of the 1790 census reveals that on an average 82.2 percent of the population were peasants.⁴⁴

Land ownership was divided among the state, magnates and gentry, and the Church.⁴⁵ A very small percentage of the land was also held by the Magdenburgers. None of the peasants were landowners.

1. Peasants

Serfdom was in effect in Lithuania since the XVIth century.⁴⁶

⁴² Langer, op. cit., p. 258.

⁴³ J. Ochmanski, Historia Litwy (Lithuanian History), Warszawa, Zaklad Norodowy im. Ossolinskich-Wydawnictwo, 1967, p. 133-134.

⁴⁴ Jasas and Truška, op. cit., p. 16.

⁴⁵ Confer: P. Pakarklis, Ekonominė ir Teisinė Katalikų Bažnyčios Padėtis Lietuvoje XV-XIX Amž. (Economic and Legal Status of the Catholic Church in Lithuania XV-XIX centuries), Vilnius, Valstybinė Politinės ir Mokslinės Literatūros Leidykla, 1956, 388 p.

⁴⁶ J. Jurginis, Baudžiavos Isigalėjimas Lietuvoje (The Development of Serfdom in Lithuania), Vilnius, LTSR Mokslų Akademija, Istorijos Institutas, 1962, 344 p.

The serfs used land in return for a predetermined portion of the production to the landowner. The serfs had no civil rights and were under the complete control of the landowner. The serfs on numerous occasions revolted against the landowners. Some of these insurrections took on massive proportions.⁴⁷ A slightly better situation existed in Church and State owned estates. There the peasant-serf's duties were clearly spelled out and recorded in the estate journals.⁴⁸ But no social reforms which improved the serfs' living conditions or status were being considered even during the reform movements of the last quarter of the XVIIIth century.⁴⁹

The Land Reform of 1557⁵⁰ provided each peasant with a valakas⁵¹ of land on the condition that he work that land, comply with all of the directives from the estate, and pay in a predetermined manner for the use of the land.

47 Confer: A. Janulaitis, Valstiečių sukilimas XVIII amžiuje Lietuvoje (Peasant Insurrection in Lithuania during the XVIIIth Century), Vilnius, 1910; and R. Marčėnas, Šiaulių Ekonomijos Valstiečių sukilimas 1769 m. (The Peasant Economic Insurrection of 1769 in Šiauliai), Vilnius, Mintis, 1969, 160 p.

48 Confer: K. Jablonskis and M. Jučas, comps, and eds., Lietuvos Inventoriai XVII A.: Dokumentų rinkinys (Lithuanian Inventories of the XVII Century: Selected Documents), Vilnius, Valstybinė Politinės ir Mokslinės Literatūros Leidykla, 1962, 463 p.

49 Confer: M. Jučas, "Baudžiavos Kritika Lietuvoje XVIII amž. pabaigoje XIX amž. pradžioje" (The Criticism of Serfdom in Lithuania During the End of the XVIII Century and the Start of the XIXth Century), Lietuvos Istorijos Metraštis, No. 5, 1971, p. 55-67.

50 Zenonas Ivinskis, "Žygmanto Augusto Valakų Reforma," Lietuvių Encyklopedija, Vol. XXXV, Boston, Lietuvių Encyklopedijos Leidykla, 1966, p. 337-339.

51 Valakas: a measure of land equal to 21,37 hectares or 52.89 acres.

The Land Reform Legislation of 1557 specified three types of payments to be made in exchange for use of land: (1) lažas: mandatory service to the landowner; (2) renta or činsas: monetary payments;⁵² and (3) natūra: payments via seed, hay or farm products produced. But, by the XVIIth century only lažas and renta were in practice. Lažas was determined without regard to the amount of land the serf had. The long standing norm for lažas was three days per week in the summer, with a primary and secondary worker and one person for the entire winter.⁵³

Some peasants paid renta almost exclusively, especially in Žemaitija (Samogitia), where very few Palivarkas⁵⁴ estates existed, the sum of money to be paid as renta was determined in proportion to the amount of land being used. By the end of the XVIIIth century the quality of the land was also taken into consideration in determining renta.⁵⁵ Even though the estates continually raised the amount of the renta, the serfs continued to pay it because of the relative freedom that was offered them for their own affairs.

In 1790, for the first time, all of the serfs were included in the census. The census revealed that 42.6 percent were paying renta,

52 Ivinskis, op. cit., p. 339.

53 M. Jučas, Baudžiavos Irimas Lietuvoje (The Collapse of Serfdom in Lithuania), Vilnius, LTSR Mokslų Akademija, Istorijos Institutas, Leidykla "Mintis," 1972, p. 141.

54 Palivarkas was an adjunct estate farm maintained by the estate for farming via Lažas.

55 Jučas, Baudžiavos Irimas Lietuvoje, p. 142.

48.3 percent were performing lažas and that the remaining 9.3 percent were without land.⁵⁶

It should be noted that in Samogitia throughout the entire period of serfdom the vast majority of peasants paid renta and thus were a relatively free people. In Samogitia the concept of having Palivarkas Estates never gained widespread acceptance. Likewise on state and church estates the practice of renta was more common than lažas. By the end of the XVIIIth century there were a substantial number of large estates, where the vast majority of the peasants paid renta vs. performing lažas.

Because of wide-spread destruction and wars during the middle of the XVIIth century and the beginning of the XVIIIth century large tracts of land became vacant. The estate owners began to parcel out this vacant land to the peasants as "adopted acreage".⁵⁷ This new land was given to the peasants for a reduced renta. As a result various peasants began to control and farm large areas of land. The standardized Valakas farm, especially in Samogitia, began to fade away.

In Lithuania, by custom, upon the death of the father, the eldest son would inherit the land. The land was not partitioned

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 126.

⁵⁷ A. Šapoka, "Lietuvos kaimo ir dvaro santykiai XVIII amž. antroje pusėje" (Relationship of the Estate and the Village in the Second Half of the XVIIIth Century), Lietuvos Praeitis, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Kaunas), 1940, p. 1-36; and Jučas, Baudžiavos Irimas Lietuvoje, p. 129.

among the children. Thus, the remaining members of the family who could not support themselves from the parental land had to seek other means of support. By the end of the XVIIIth century there emerged, through simple population growth a large number of landless peasants. In some areas 20-30 percent of the peasants were landless.⁵⁸ Thus, two other categories of peasants emerged: (1) landless and (2) hirelings. Landless were those owning their houses, gardens, etc., but not farms. All others were classified as hirelings.

By the end of the XVIIIth century there were many landless peasants. Some lived on corner plots of more wealthy landowners. These "Kampininkai" usually fell into debt, which forced them to sell off their belongings and buildings. Some, because of unfulfilled lažas had their property auctioned. These individuals had no other alternative but to offer their services for hire and thus become hirelings. The hireling group was also composed of "bėgliai", who were run-away serfs and members of large families.

2. Burghers

The burghers or townspeople made up the second social stratum. The burghers according to the 1790 census, composed ten percent of the population.⁵⁹ This same percentage was reflected in the 1795 census revision.⁶⁰ The burgher class, like the peasant class, had

58 Jučas, Baudžiavos Irimas Lietuvoje, p. 279.

59 Jašas and Truška, op. cit., p. 17.

60 Jučas, Baudžiavos Irimas Lietuvoje, p. 289.

no political rights and was unable to participate in the governing process of the commonwealth. The gentry continually tried to restrict the burghers, since they did have the right to self-government within the towns.⁶¹ In 1776 the Sejm took away the right of self government from most towns, thus in effect making the burgher class equal to the powerless peasant class. The only remaining difference between the classes was the fact that the burghers were taxed by the government, at an ever increasing rate, while peasants paid their due to the landowners. Burghers in towns that did not have an authorized self-government came under the complete jurisdiction of the estate owner, to whom the town belonged. The estate owner was both judge and ruler.⁶² Self-government rights remained vested only in the large Lithuanian towns/cities.

The gentry did not provide favorable conditions for the development and improvement of the towns.⁶³ In comparison to agriculture both commerce and the skilled trades were poorly developed.

61 The rights referred to were vested via the Magdeburg Law which placed the burgesses on a level with the gentry by granting to the town council jurisdiction over all the peasantry in the extra mural estates. Confer: Bain, op. cit., p. 4; e.g., see: "The Charter Confirming Magdeburg Law for Kiev, March 29, 1514," in George Vernadsky, ed., A Source Book for Russian History from Early Times to 1917; Vol. 1 Early Times to the Late XVII Century, London, Yale University Press, 1972. p. 109.

62 Konstantinas Avižonis, "Bajorų Viešpatavimo Laikai (1572-1795)" (The Period of Gentry Rule 1572-1795), in Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Vol, XV, p. 324.

63 Jučas, Baudžiavos Irimas Lietuvoje, p. 249.

Burghers, who were involved in business, could not compete against the gentry.⁶⁴ The gentry imported materials without paying duty - while the burghers were assessed high import duties. The skilled trades people in the towns were also economically crippled - since the large land holding gentry hired and kept their own skilled trades people. It should also be noted that even the agricultural conditions were not always excellent. Agricultural production suffered not only from frequent small scale battles instigated by the nobility, but also from large scale wars. The wars with Sweden and Moscow in the beginning of the XVIIIth century lasted all of twenty-one years. In addition to this, a plague ravaged the country during the 1708-1711 period. Complete sections of Lithuania became empty and bare.

Much time was required before towns, villages, and farms could reestablish themselves. Only toward the middle of the XVIIIth century, during the reform movement, were steps taken to strengthen agriculture. In the third quarter of the XVIIIth century special attention was directed toward the improvement of trade and commerce. Old water and land routes were being improved, new roads and waterways being constructed.⁶⁵ Slowly foreign trade began to improve and workshops began to appear on various estates.

64 M. Jučas, "Prekyba Lietuvos kaime XVIII amž." (Trade in Lithuanian Towns in the XVIII Century), in Iš Lietuvių Kultūros Istorijos, Vol. IV, Vilnius, Mintis, 1964, p. 109-122.

65 Avižonis, op. cit., p. 324-325.

3. Gentry

The all powerful class was the gentry. According to the 1795 revision of the census it composed 7.8 percent of the population.⁶⁶ The gentry had all of the rights and were the only citizens. They alone had the right to elect the king and representatives to the Sejm. Officially all gentry were equal. The title of duke or marquis provided no additional rights. But, factually all of the lesser gentry were dependent upon the magnates, since it was through them that they could get appointments to lucrative posts and a variety of other favors and privileges. The lesser gentry, therefore, were in effect controlled by the magnates and voted in accordance with their wishes. In this way the entire commonwealth was ruled by the magnates - the oligarchy.⁶⁷ They were like small kings, who had vast estates, and impressive residences, conducted their own politics, and fought among themselves in a manner similar to that of medieval feudal Europe.⁶⁸

Gentry rule began in Lithuania-Poland after the Liublin Union of 1569 and lasted up to the final partition of the commonwealth in 1795. In the commonwealth gentry rule was much stronger and more prevalent than in other Western European countries. The gentry in the commonwealth were not as interested in matters of state as they

66 Jučas, Baudžiavos Irimas Lietuvoje, p. 289.

67 Bain, op. cit., p. 24-46.

68 Šapoka, Lietuvos Istorija, p. 353.

were in the preservation and perpetuation of their class. Therefore, the state quickly began to lose its stature and internal order could no longer be maintained.

A large proportion of the gentry class was composed of lesser gentry. They were either landless or had very small estates. This fact was a constant source of controversy and ill-feeling among the gentry. Having insufficient land holdings many of the lesser gentry sought employment with the magnates. They did not enter the trades or commerce since the Lithuanian Statute had clearly stated that members of the gentry class could not participate in these professions without losing their social class status⁶⁹ therefore, the gentry attempted to separate themselves from the burghers, considering them a lower social class.

The largest land holdings were concentrated in the hands of a few major gentry. Since there were no formal land surveying measures the size of the estate was determined using the number of serf farms (kiemai). For example, in 1667 the census of the population in Samogitia (Lithuania) listed 5,486 gentry. Of these 71.8 percent (3940) did not have serfs and were therefore either landless or had very small estates. Some 1,546 gentry, or 28.2 percent, did have serfs: 905 gentry had only one serf farm; 468 gentry from 2 to 20

69 "Bajorai," Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Vol. II, 1954, p. 54-58; Aleksandras Plateris, comp., Didžiosios Lietuvos Kunigaikštijos 1529 metų Statutas (The 1529 Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania), Chicago, Algimanto Mackaus Knygų Leidimo Fondas, 1971, p. 261.

farms; 120 gentry from 20 to 50 farms; and only 53 gentry had more than 50 serf farms. Therefore, not even a full one percent (0.95%) of the gentry in Samogitia could be considered major land holders.⁷⁰

By 1795 the percentage of landless vs. landed gentry did not change. The 1795 revision of the 1790 census shows approximately 60,000 gentry (men), with only 15,000 or 25 percent of them having serfs. The rest were classified as landless.⁷¹

The concentration of large land masses into the hands of a few major land holders was a characteristic mark of the Lithuanian feudal period.⁷² It was not a major reason for the final collapse of the commonwealth. Toward the end of the XVIIIth century the large estates began to crumble mainly because of the estate owners' own feuds with each other; increasingly low productivity; creditors; and their inability to change their ways to reflect the new requirements of the times.

Estates that did not have serfs (or palivarkai) received their income from renta and rent from tavern and grain mills. Some 75 percent of an estate's income was derived from renta while the remaining 25 percent came from rent on the taverns and mills.⁷³

70 Jačas, Baudžiavos Irimas Lietuvoje, p. 83.

71 M. Lukšienė, Lietuvos Švietimo Istorijos Bruožai XIX a. Pirmoje Pusėje (Elements of the History of Lithuanian Education during the First Half of the XIX Century), Kaunas, Lietuvos TSR Švietimo Ministerijos Mokyklų Mokslinio Tyrimo Institutas, Pedagogikos Darbai IV Tomas, "Šviesa," 1970, p. 20.

72 Jučas, Baudžiavos Irimas Lietuvoje, p. 103.

73 Ibid., p. 125.

The estates with serfs (palivarkai) received their income mainly from the sale of wheat and alcohol. Approximately 40 percent of the income was from wheat exports. About 20 percent of the wheat harvest was used in the production of alcohol. The sale of the alcohol produced twice as much revenue as the sale of the wheat would have made on the open market. Income to these estates increased sharply during the time period 1765-1790. It was during this time frame that the price of wheat doubled and the price of linen tripled.⁷⁴

The gentry and magnates were the chief architects of the collapse of the commonwealth. After the political destruction of the country, the gentry proceeded to ruin the individual provinces financially and economically. Their stubborn determination that no one, other than themselves, should have any rights or privileges led to the gradual "disappearance of the native merchants and the trade guilds and the enslavement of the peasantry."⁷⁵ But, with the last quarter of the XVIIIth century, there emerged some elements of enlightened leadership and the commonwealth began to make the necessary reforms and changes. These reforms, however, came too late and the commonwealth disappeared from the map.

C. Lithuanian Cultural Conditions

Medieval Chronicles, which were written for the most part by monks, refer to pagans as wild barbarians. Lithuanians, up to

74 Ibid.

75 Bain, op. cit., p. 46.

the end of the XIVth century were pagans.⁷⁶ The German Teutonic Order consistently referred to the Lithuanians as barbarians in order to justify their aggression and bloody crusades against the Lithuanian nation.⁷⁷ Therefore, up to the XVth century Europeans constantly referred to the barbarian behavior of the Lithuanians, with no one revealing the true Lithuanian character.

Lithuania was by no means a barbarian state. The only difference that separated Lithuania from its neighbors was the fact that Lithuania had not accepted Christianity. Lithuanian cultural activity and status was on par with that of her neighbors. The best indicators of Lithuanian cultural status were its accomplishments: (1) the founding of a great empire; (2) the eventual defeat of the strong and well organized Teutonic Order; (3) and the promulgation of the first codified laws in Western and Central Europe. The primary factor for Lithuania's refusal to accept Christianity was in fact the Teutonic Order, which carried the Cross on their swords and not in their hearts.⁷⁸

After the acceptance of Christianity in 1387 the leaders of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania made every effort to move closer to the

76 Confer: William Urban, "Religion in the Medieval Baltic," Lituanus, Vol. 19, No. 1, Spring, 1973, p. 49-54.

77 Confer: Livlandische Reimchronik, ed. by Leo Meyer (Reprint of 1876 edition by Hildesheim, 1963). Translated into English by William Urban and Jerry C. Smith. Unpublished manuscript, (n.d.).

78 Šapoka, Lietuvos Istorija, p. 151. The literature on the cultural question is well summarized in: Zenonas Ivinskis, "Ikišioliniai Lietuvių Kultūros Istorijos Tyrinėjimai" (Research on Lithuanian Cultural History), Aidai, January, 1960, No. 1, (126), p. 22-30.

other Western European countries. This they accomplished through Poland. Lithuania, lacking its own cultural resources, had to request assistance from other countries, especially Poland. In order to develop its own intelligensia, students were sent to the major universities of Western Europe as well as to the University of Krakow in Poland. In this way cultural ties began with Poland, which, with the passage of time, polonized the upper social class.

The major reason for the polonization of the Lithuanian gentry was the fact that Lithuania did not have its own cultural centers.⁷⁹ The preoccupation with defense and warfare was not conducive to cultural development. Continuous fighting with the Teutonic knights resulted in a drain of manpower. Cities, natural centers of cultural activity, did not develop. Until the arrival of the Jesuits (1569), Lithuania did not have any institutions of higher learning. In Poland, during the same time frame there were a number of institutions, including the University of Krakow.

Šapoka presents the following analysis:

Jogaila and Vytautas did not attempt to establish any institution of higher learning. This fact predetermined Lithuania's cultural dependence on Poland. Lithuania joined Western culture under extraordinary circumstances. Joining with Poland politically, Lithuania protected herself by including provisions which would guarantee her

79 Adolfas Šapoka, "Kultūriniai lietuvių lenkų santykiai Jogailos laikais" (Cultural Relations of Lithuania: Poland during the Times of Jogaila), in J. Jakštas, et.al., Jogaila, Kaunas, Švietimo Ministerijos Knygų Leidimo Komisijos Leidinys Nr. 450, "Šviesos" Spaustuvė, 1935, p. 273.

identity. Culturally she joined Poland without any reservations. Nobody at that time thought of an individual Lithuanian cultural identity. The later polonization of Lithuania had its firm foundation established in the times of Jogaila and Vytautas.⁸⁰

The need for Lithuanian priests became acute after the acceptance of Christianity. Again this need was met through Poland. Polish priests and religious were sent to Lithuania. There, not knowing or learning the language, they assumed the position, but did little or nothing toward the spread of religious doctrine. The condition that ensued over the next 200 years is best described by the Papal Nuncio Comuleus in his report to the Pope in 1595:

The main reason religion in Lithuania has suffered so much is that priests have either left their parishes or not knowing the Lithuanian language are completely worthless to the churches or the people, who do not speak the Polish language.⁸¹

The Jesuits upon their arrival in Vilnius began keeping a journal. This journal substantiates and parallels Comuleus's report regarding

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 290.

⁸¹ Confer: Alexandri Cumulei ad Septemtrionales Princip Nuncij Apostolici et Visitatoris sede vacante in Episcopatu Vilnensi provisio Seminarij pro alendis viginti Juvenibus Lithuanis et Bursae Valerianae Melioratio. Anno 1595, in: M. Balinski, Dawna Akademia Wilenska, Petersburg, 1862, p. 439; see also: Rapolas Krasauskas, "Katalikų Bažnyčia Lietuvoje XVI-XVII amžiuje" (The Catholic Church in Lithuania during the XVI-XVII Centuries), Lietuvių Katalikų Mokslo Akademijos Suvažiavimo Darbai, Vol. VI, Roma, 1969, p. 233.

the lack of priests that knew the Lithuanian language.⁸²

With this situation in mind it is not difficult to understand why so many Lithuanians left the Church and joined the Protestant reformation. The majority of the Lithuanian magnates and gentry adopted Calvinism, while the burghers adopted Lutheranism.⁸³ The peasants followed the religion adopted by the gentry under whose control they were. The Catholic reaction and opposition to Protestantism, the Counter Reformation, produced some favorable conditions for cultural growth. Both the Protestants and the Catholics began to establish parish schools. The Protestant clergy began printing books in Lithuanian. Martynas Mažvydas in 1547 published

82 "...licet enim ante 232 annos Lituania fidem christianam amplexa sit, numquam tamen coloni sufficienter in rudimentis fidei instituti fuerunt duas potissimum ob causas. Prima est quod nulli erant Pastores vel Ecclesiastici linguae Lituaniae gnari...Parochi, qui constituebantur per villas et oppida, Poloni erant, linguae patriae ignari et ita nec confessiones excipiebantur, nec pabulum Verbi Dei illorum lingua tradebatur. Unde non modo in villis per Parochias nullus linguae peritus inveniebatur, sed ne ipsa quidem Metropoli Wilna, quae 18 catholicis Ecclesiis constat et Cathedralem clero refertam habet, atque 4 Religiosorum ordines complectitur, ullus prorsus ante adventum Societatis inveniebatur, qui concionari hac lingua possit..." Confer: Antanas Rukša, "Diarium Societatis Jesu in Lietuvij Kalba Vilniuje, 1710-1723" (Journal of the Society of Jesus and the Lithuanian Language in Vilnius), Tautos Praeitis, Tomas I, Knyga 3 (1961), p. 420, footnote 46; and Stanisław Bednarski, Geneza akademji Wilenskiej (The Establishment of the Academy of Vilnius), Księga Pamiątkowa Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego, Vol. 1, 1929, See footnote p. 3.

83 Kristupas Gudaitis, "Evangelikų Bažnyčios Lietuvoje" (Protestant Churches in Lithuania), Lietuvij Enciklopedija, Vol. XV, p. 166-179.

the first Lithuanian book the Catechism.⁸⁴ The Lithuanian language was now being used in the teaching of religious doctrine.⁸⁵

During the Counter Reformation the Jesuits were invited to come to Lithuania. They led the Catholic fight against Protestantism by establishing schools, colleges, publishing houses, and by engaging in direct missionary work with the people. The Jesuits founded the Academy of Vilnius. Protestantism was overcome in Lithuania, but Polonization through the Church did not cease.⁸⁶

During the second half of the XVIth century, in conjunction with the Reformation, the use of the vernacular in official documents became more and more widespread and the use of Latin gradually diminished. In Poland during this same time, Latin began to be replaced with Polish. The same was true for Lithuania, except that it was not Lithuanian that was replacing Latin, but Polish. By the beginning of the XVIIth century Polish became the official written language of Lithuania. Prof. K. Jablonskis maintains that in the first half of the XVIth century all Lithuanians, be they gentry,

84 D. Velička, ed., Martynas Mažvydas: Pirmosios Lietuviškos Knygos Autorius (Martynas Mažvydas: Author of the First Lithuanian Book), Chicago, Pedagoginis Lithuanistikos Institutas, 1963, p. 111.; Gordon Ford, Jr., ed. and trans., The Old Lithuanian Catechism of Martynas Mazvydas (1547), Assen. Van Gorcum and Co., 1971, xvi-104 p.

85 Confer: Gordon B. Ford, Jr., ed., Old Lithuanian Texts of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, The Hague, Mouton, 1969, p. 43.

86 A Rukša, op.cit., p. 421; See also: Zg. Kuzmickis, "Jėzavitai Lietuvoje" (The Jesuits in Lithuania), Švietimo Darbas, 1929, Nr. 6(117), p. 513-520.

peasant, or burgher, widely used the Lithuanian language not only in their homes, but also in official functions.⁸⁷ But, by the second half of the XVIth century, and especially after the Union of Liublin (1569), the Lithuanian gentry began to identify more with the Polish gentry. The Lithuanian gentry in an effort to disassociate themselves even further from the peasants and to clearly show their higher social status began to adopt Polish. By the XVIIIth century in the southern and eastern parts of Lithuania the magnates and the more wealthy gentry no longer spoke Lithuanian. In the northern and western parts of Lithuania there was a greater homogeneity in terms of language. In those parts the majority of the gentry as well as the peasants spoke Lithuanian.⁸⁸ The detachment of the Lithuanian gentry from their natural ethnic origins, from the peasantry, and national culture was very damaging to the Lithuanian nation and state.

87 Konstantinas Jablonskis, Lietuvių Kultura ir jos Veikėjai (Lithuanian Culture and its Workers), Vilnius, LTSR Mokslų Akademija Istorijos Institutas, "Mintis," 1973, p. 36.

88 Ibid.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION IN LITHUANIA PRIOR TO THE DISSOLUTION OF THE JESUIT ORDER (1773)

Education in Lithuania, prior to the establishment of the Educational Commission, was in the hands of the Church. The reforms initiated by the Educational Commission affected educational institutions previously operated by various religious orders. In order to better comprehend the reformed schools, it is first necessary to understand the pre-reformed school situation in Poland and Lithuania. This chapter will present an overview of schools in Lithuania during the pre-Jesuit era; the influences of the Protestant Reformation on education; and the educational activities of the Jesuit and Piarist Orders.

A. Genesis and Function of the Cathedral Schools in Europe

In the Middle Ages up to the XIIIth century, the main type of school was the cathedral school. The establishment of cathedral schools received impetus from a decree issued by Pope Eugenius II in 853, which stated that schools should be established in association with cathedrals. There, boys were to be taught grammar and other liberal arts.¹ However, due to a shortage of funds, the implementation and realization of

¹ Patrick J. McCormick, History of Education, Washington, D.C., Catholic Education Press, 1946, p. 225. See also Ellwood P. Cubberley, Syllabus of Lectures on History of Education, Totowa, N.J., Rowan and Littlefield, 1971, XV-360 p.

that decree did not take place until the end of the XIIth century. It was only after the Third Lateran Council held in 1179 that the bishops were given the responsibility of funding the cathedral schools and their teachers.² Thus, the cathedral schools became established in the Christian world.

In the earlier Middle Ages, when there were no universities, the cathedral schools were the main centers of higher education where the clergy and the educated laymen received their education. In theory, these schools were open to all youths, even those not candidates for the priesthood, but in practice the main purpose of these schools was to prepare priests for work in parishes and elsewhere. Thus, aside from the seven liberal arts, there was also the study of the Holy Scriptures, the writings of the Fathers of the Church, and the liturgy. The seven liberal arts made up a seven year curriculum consisting of two levels: (1) Trivium consisting of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics; and (2) the Quadrivium which contained mathematics, geometry, astrology, and music.³ The educa-

2 McCormick, op.cit., p. 299 and Lukasz Kurdybachy, Historia Wychowania (History of Education), Vol. I, Warszawa, Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1967, p. 188.

3 A very interesting description of the seven liberal arts is one written in 819 AD by Rhabanus Maurus (784?-856). It can be found in Ellwood P. Cubberly, Readings in the History of Education: A collection of sources and readings to illustrate the development of educational practice, theory, and organization, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1920, p. 106-111. Confer also: Paul Abelson, The Seven Liberal Arts: A Study in Medieval Culture, Teachers College Contributions to Education No. 11, New York, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1906, p. viii-150.

tional subjects had a wider scope than they do now, for example: grammar included not only Latin grammar, but the grammar of other languages as well, i.e., Greek, Hebrew. Reading and writing also belonged to the study of grammar. The study of music included other areas of art, such as sketching and sculpture; geometry also took in elementary geography. In the cathedral schools, as well as the monastery schools, the trivium and quadrivium programs were not noted for their depth. Arithmetic took in only the four functions of mathematics since the Roman numerals hindered more advanced mathematical studies; astronomy which was included in the quadrivium program was intermeshed with astrology providing only the basics necessary to use the calendar. Music was limited to hymns which were sung in church or during burial services. The strongest subject was the study of Latin and the works of the Latin authors. Furthermore, Latin was also the language in which all the subjects were taught. Penmanship was an important subject at that time, since until the invention of the printing press, the monasteries transcribed caligraphically the Holy Scripture and other religious books. Even after the advent of printing, various documents were handwritten.

The quality of the cathedral schools varied: some were close to the elementary school level, others resembled high schools. For example, of the fourteen Polish cathedral schools during the XIVth and XVth centuries, only two (Gniezno and Bracław) offered the

entire seven year curriculum, while the rest did not differ much from the elementary schools of the larger towns.⁴

B. Schools in Lithuania during the Pre-Jesuit Era.⁵

In Lithuania, as in other European countries, the establishment of schools followed the acceptance of Christianity. Records have not been found to indicate that formal schooling existed in Lithuania before the acceptance of Christianity in 1387. Judging from the complexity of certain archeological remains, it appears that some type of organized educational practice did exist prior to the feudal period.⁶ This educational practice centered around the transmission, from one generation to the next, of complex production techniques for a variety of tools, art forms, and craft items. Through the examination of folktales and folklore it appears that some type of organized initiation activities existed to introduce

4 Lukasz.. Kurdybacha, op. cit., p. 252.

5 The Material presented in this section is more fully discussed in J.A. Račkauskas, "Pradinis Švietimas Lietuvoje iki Trečiojo Padalinimo (1795)," (Primary Education in Lithuania up to the Period of the Third Partition of 1795) in Lietuvių Tautos Praeitis--Lithuanian Historical Review, Vol. III, Book 1, 1971, p. 63-134.

6 Illustrations of this complexity can be found in the following: P. Kulikauskas, R. Kulikauskienė, and A. Tautavičius. Lietuvos Archiloginiai Bruožai. Vilnius, Lietuvos, TSR Mokslų Akademija, Istorijos Institutas, Valstybinė Politinės ir Mokslinės Literatūros Leidykla, 1961, 526 p.; R. Volkaitė-Kulikauskiene, Lietuvos Archiloginiai Paminklai ir jų Tyrinėjimai. Vilnius: Valstybinė Politinės ir Mokslinės Literatūros Leidykla, 1958, p. 182, and Marija Gimbutas, op.cit.

younger members into the society.⁷

Education in feudal Lithuania can be divided into two broad forms, which appear to transcend Lithuanian educational history. These broad forms are (1) folk culture-centered pedagogy⁸ and (2) school-centered pedagogy. These two forms seem to be at constant odds, especially during periods of cultural stress. Folk culture-centered pedagogy can be defined as that educational activity which takes place within the confines of the home, family, and the immediate societal group and attempts to (1) maintain and transmit the cultural heritage (2) retain a common language of discourse,

7 Evidence to support this can be found in: R. Volkaitė-Kulikauskienė, op.cit., Art and certain forms during this time period are discussed in J. Jurginis, Lietuvos Meno Istorijos Bruožai (Outline of the History of Lithuanian Art), Vilnius, Valstybinė Grožinės Literatūros Leidykla, 1960, p. 13-23. The use of folklore and riddles is discussed in: G. Gučienė, "Mislių Kelias į Vaikų Auklėjimą," (Education of Children through Riddles) in Iš Lietuvių Pedagoginės Minties Istorijos, Vilnius, Vilniaus Universitetas, Pedagogikos ir Psichologijos Katedra, 1969, p. 139-182.

8 The first person to identify and conceptualize folk centered pedagogy in Lithuania was J. Vabalas-Gudaitis in "Iš Lietuvių Istorinės Pedagogijos," (From the History of Lithuanian Pedagogy) in Švietimo Darbas, 1924, Nr: 5, p. 419-429; This concept has now gained wide acceptance and is the subject of new studies by R. Vasiliauskas, "Vaikų Darbinio Auklėjimo Šaknys Lietuvos Pedagogikos Istorijoje," (Roots of Teaching the Work Ethic to the Child in the History of Lithuanian Education) in Pedagogika ir Psichologija, Vol XII (1973), p. 107-118; and M. Lažauskienė, "Kai kurie Lietuvių Liaudies Pedagogikos Tyrinėjimo Klausimai," (Some Research Questions Dealing with Lithuanian Folk Pedagogy) in Pedagogika ir Psichologija, Vol. XI (1971), p. 103-108. The classic work on this subject is: A.J. Todd, The Primitive Family as an Educational Agency, New York, G. P. Putnam and Sons, 1913.

and (3) keep a common object of social allegiance.⁹ The school-centered pedagogy is that activity which occurs within the confines of a formal school setting and is exclusive of the home. It may or may not attempt to reach the same goals of the folk culture-centered pedagogy.

Lithuanian society, as all medieval European societies, was divided into distinct social classes. Education in feudal Lithuania corresponded to the class system. The nobility and gentry underwent some type of educational experience which can best be labeled as a socialization process.¹⁰ The serfs, on the other hand, were consciously or unconsciously concerned with the transmission of the folk culture. They were not concerned with the values and skills which befitted the gentleman-warrior.

During the reign of Gediminas (1316-1341) monks of the Dominican and Franciscan order served as secretaries to the Grand Duke.¹¹ They did not establish any schools or become involved in educational

9 I. L. Kandel, The New Era in Education: A Comparative Study, Cambridge, Riverside Press, 1955, p. 22. Kandel states that the transmission of the cultural heritage of a group from one generation to another is a universal purpose of education. It is obvious, he states, that a common language of discourse and common objects of social allegiance are essentials needed to insure the stability and security of any community.

10 A. M. Kazamias and B. G. Massialas, Tradition and Change in Education: A Comparative Study, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965, p. 28.

11 V. Pasuta and I. Stal, op. cit.

matters.¹² Schools in Lithuania were established in churches and monasteries only after the acceptance of Christianity in 1387 and in Samogitia in 1417.

Christianity was introduced into the Grand Duchy of Lithuania by the efforts of Vytautas the Great, Grand Duke of Lithuania, and Jogaila, the King of Poland. Two dioceses were established: the Vilnius diocese in 1388 with its center in Vilnius, and the Samogitia diocese in 1417 near Varniai.

The first school in Lithuania was established in Vilnius at St. Stanislovas Cathedral prior to 1397.¹³ This school was already mentioned in 1397 by Bishop Andrius Vosylius (Wasilla) in a

12 A. Šapoka, *Lietuvos Istorija* p. 72-74. See also: Viktoras Gidžiūnas, "Vienuolijos Lietuvoje IX-XV amžiais." (Monastic Orders in Lithuania IX-XV Centuries) in *Actes du Sixieme Congres de l'Académie Lithuanienne Catholique des Sciences*, 1969, Roma, p. 242-276.

13 The literature often cites the 1397 Chronicle of Konrad von Kyburg as reference for statements that additional schools were established prior to 1397 by Franciscan Monks in Lithuania. For example: Ks. Jan Kurczewski, *Biskupstwo Wilenskie*, Vilnius, 1912, p. 271 and Mykolas Biržiška, "Lietuvių Mokykla ligi XVIII a. pabaigos," (Lithuanian Schools up to the End of the XVIII Century) in *Laisvosios Valandos*, 1918, Kovo 26, Nr. 3(6). This Chronicle has now been proven to be a forgery. Mykolas Biržiška in 1938 notes this fact in: "Lietuvių Mokykla ligi XVIII a. Pabaigos," (Lithuanian Schools up to the End of the XVIII Century) in *Iš Mūsų Kultūros ir Literatūros Istorijos*, II Vol., Kaunas, Vytauto Didžiojo Universiteto Humanitarinių Mokslų Fakulteto Leidiny, 1938, p. 173-177, note comment in footnote on page 173. For a complete discussion of the Kyburg matter see: Zenonas Ivinskis, "Kiburg," *Lietuvių Enciklopedija*, Vol. XI, *sub verbum*.

document which deliniated the boundaries of certain gift properties.¹⁴
Also, in 1397 the bishop ordered that the school's teacher be paid a salary. The educational program may have been similar to that of most Polish cathedral schools, with trivium and quadrivium programs. The school program should have consisted of reading, writing, arithmetic, Latin, as well as the Holy Scriptures, liturgy, and hymn singing.¹⁵
The program, it appears, was preparing students for the priesthood.

From 1397 to the first quarter of the XVth century no new schools were established in Vilnius. One of the primary reasons for this may be the privilege given by the Grand Duke to the St. Stanislovas School. The privilege specified that no new schools were to be established in Vilnius. Later, in 1452, the first higher school in Vilnius evolved from this cathedral school when Kazimieras Jogailaitis provided more funds for its operation via taxation of the city's

14 A copy of this document is reproduced in: A. Raulinaitis, "Medžiaga Lietuvos Mokyklų Istorijai: Apie Pirmąją Katedrinę Mokyklą," (Sources for the Study of the History of Lithuanian Schools: The first Cathedral School) in Pedagogika ir Psichologija, Vol. VI (1964), p. 113. The original document is indexed LTSR MA Rankraščių Skyrius, VKF, Nr.2 in the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences Library in Vilnius. A transcription of this document can be found in Jan Kurczewski, Kosciol Zamkowy: Zrodla Historyczne na Podstawie Aktow Kapitulnych i dokumentow Historycznych Opracowal Ksiadz Jan Kurczewski, (Church in the Castle: Historical Sources based on the Acts of the Capitulary and Historical Documents prepared by Jan Kurczewski), Vilnius, Naklad i druk Jozefa Zawadzkiego, MCMX (1910), Part II, p. 18.

15 Raulinaitis, op.cit., p. 111-112.

16
taverns. In 1522, Jonas the Bishop of Vilnius, enlarged the school to include three classes, determined the number of lessons and enlarged the curriculum to include rhetoric, dialectics, music, and the German language.¹⁷ Bishop Jonas also appointed a guardian who supervised the teachers. The first supervisor of instruction was Father Jokubas Staševskis from Krakow. This higher cathedral school had the responsibility of preparing more Lithuanian priests who, after graduation, were sent to the University of Krakow to complete their theological studies.

Šapoka indicates that a second school must have existed in Vilnius at the Franciscan Monastery.¹⁸ A 1429 entry in the Krakow University register indicated that a Brother Gregora, a lecturer from

16 Simas Sužiedėlis, "Švietimas ir Auklėjimas: Švietimas Didžiojoje Lietuvos Kunigaikštijoje," (Education and Pedagogy: Education in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania) in Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Vol. XV, p. 745. A copy of this order is reproduced in: K. Jablonskis, J. Jurginis, and J. Žiugžda (eds.) Lietuvos TSR Istorijos Šaltiniai (Historical Sources of the Lithuanian SSR), Vol. I, Vilnius, Valstybinė Politinė ir Mokslinė Literatūros Leidykla, 1955, document no. 201, p. 163-164.

17 "Lietuvos Mokyklos Istorijos Apybraiža - 3", (Outline History of Lithuanian Schools) in Tarybinis Mokytojas, 15 Lapk. 1968, Nr: 91 (1346).

18 Adolfas Šapoka, "Kultūriniai Lietuvių-Lenkų Santykiai Jogailos Laikais," (Cultural Relations Between Lithuania and Poland During the Reign of Jogaila) in Jogaila, Kaunas, Švietimo Ministerijos Knų Leidimo Komisijos Leidinys Nr. 450, Šviesos Spaustuvė, 1935, p. 284.

the Vilnius Franciscan Monastery, was in attendance.¹⁹ Karbowski attempts to prove that a school also existed in Trakai, because the Krakow University register had five students registered from Trakai in 1432. Besides these five and the one from Vilnius, Krakow University also had four students who were "from Lithuania" and one from Giedraičiai.²⁰ From these entries in the Krakow University register it can be hypothesized that there had to be more than one school in Lithuania. Lietuvos Metrika indicates that Vytautas, in giving various buildings to the Pastor of Trakai in 1409, specified that one half of the properties were to be used by the Church of the Visitation and the other by the school.²¹ No information can be found to determine the type of school it was or when this school was established. Šapoka agrees with Karbowski and maintains that during the period under discussion, there were at least two schools in Lithuania - one in Vilnius and one in Trakai.²²

In 1513, a second school was established at St. John's parish church in Vilnius. This school was different from the other parish schools in that it was supported by the pastor and the city government.

19 Album Studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis, Vol I, Cracoviae, 1887, p. 63.

20 Šapoka, op.cit., p. 285; and A. Karbowski, Dzieje Wychowania i Szkół w Polsce (History of Education and Schools in Poland), Petersburg, 1903, Vol II, p. 56, 76 and 111-114.

21 "Lietuvos Mokyklos Istorijos Apybraiža-3," (Outline History of Lithuanian Schools), Tarybinis Mokytojas, 15 Lapk 1968, N4. 1(1346).

22 Šapoka, op.cit., p. 285.

At this school, along with the church related subjects, the curriculum consisted of Latin, arithmetic, letter and document writing. This school prepared students for work not only for the church but for the city administration. The school eventually became a secondary school and by the middle of the XVIth century its curriculum offerings were expanded.²³ For example, in 1563 Peter Roizijus, a noted lawyer, began to teach Roman, Magdeburg and Lithuanian Law. Also, Latin, Greek, and the German languages were added to the curriculum. This school was called an academy, even though it did not yet equal a higher school.²⁴

The Synod of the Vilnius Diocese in 1527-1528 ordered all pastors to establish schools in their parishes, and to maintain the schools.²⁵ The Synod instructed all, that "good education, wholesome habits, basic morality and Catholic doctrine" be taught in the

23 Sužiedėlis, op.cit., p. 745

24 "Lietuvos Mokyklos Istorijos Apybraiža-3." loc.cit.; and J. Laužikas, "Pirmųjų Mokyklų Atsiradimo Lietuvoje ir Jų Pobūdžio Tirtini Klausimai" (Research Questions Concerning the Establishment and the Characteristics of the First Schools in Lithuania) in Mokyklų Mokslinio Tyrimo Instituto Mokslinės Konferencijos Pranešimų Tezės, Vilnius, Lietuvos TSR Švietimo Ministerija, Mokyklų Mokslinis Tyrimo Institutas, 1964, p. 60-61.

25 "1528 m. Lietuvių Kalbos Vartojimo Uždraudimas Bažnytinėje Krikštijimo Apeigose; bažnytinių mokyklų steigimas," (1528 Order Forbidding the use of Lithuanian in Baptism and the Establishment of Church Schools) in K. Jablonskis, J. Jurginis, and J. Žiugžda (eds.), Lietuvos TSR Istorijos Šaltiniai, Vol. I. Vilnius, Lietuvos TSR Mokslų Akademija, Istorijos ir Teisės Institutas, Valstybinė Politinės ir Mokslinės Literatūros Leidykla, 1955, document no: 203, p. 164-165.

schools.²⁶ Reading, writing, and counting were taught in Lithuanian and Polish. The more able students were taught Latin, Holy Scripture, liturgical customs, and hymns. Only boys were taught and most came from gentry or burgher families. In the more well-to-do parishes, school buildings that consisted of more than one room were constructed. The schools housed the teacher's living quarters as well as a classroom. Other parishes had a room within the rectory and the pastor or the organist actually did the teaching.²⁷ In these parish schools, instruction consisted of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Instruction was conducted in Lithuanian and Polish.

Kurczewski maintains that around the year 1526, there were 156 schools in the diocese of Vilnius.²⁸ It is unclear where Kurczewski found that great a number of schools, since it is difficult even to ascertain the existence of a school in Vilnius at that time. The same number of schools is given by Balinski in his book Dawna Akademia

26 Ibid.

27 "Lietuvos Mokyklos Istorijos Apybraiža-3" loc.cit.

28 Jan Kurczewski, Wiadomości o Szkołach Parafialnych w djecezji Wileńskiej (Known Parish Schools in the Diocese of Vilnius), Wilno, Rocznik Tow. Przyaciół Nauk w Wilnie, 1908, Vol. II, p. 19, also, J. Kurczewski, Kościół Zamkowy: Część III. Streszczenie Aktów Kapituły Wileńskiej Opracował x Jan Kurczewski (Church in the Castle: Part III. Summary of the Acts of the Vilnius Capitulary prepared by x Jan Kurczewski), Vilnius, Drukiem Jozefa Zawadzkiego, MCMXVI (1916), p. 8, 20, and 27; also J. Kurczewski, Biskupstwo Wileńskie, p. 272-274; and Sapoka, Jogaila, p. 284.

²⁹
Wilenska. If this is true, then the number of parishes in the diocese should not have been smaller. It is normally agreed that at the end of the XVth century, there were ninety-one churches in the diocese of Vilnius. Gidžiūnas claims that during the first half of the XVIth century (up to 1565) 103 new churches were built in the Diocese of Vilnius. Thus, there should have been a total of 194 churches in the

Diocese of Vilnius.³⁰ Kurczewski's claim could, therefore, be correct. But, Gimbutas in his study "Lietuvos Bažnyčių Chronologija ir Statistika," gives a chronological list of churches built in Lithuania. He lists 199 churches built in Lithuania prior to the year 1526.³¹ Therefore, the

29 M. Balinski, Dawna Akademia Wilenska, p. 26

30 Viktoras Gidžiūnas, "Katalikų Bažnyčia Lietuvoje: Didžioje Lietuvos Kunigaikštijoje," (The Catholic Church in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania) in Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Vol. XV, p. 134; This number is established by Gidžiūnas, but Ivinskis does not present such a high figure: Confer: Zenonas Ivinskis, "Parapijos D. L. Kunigaikštijoje," (Parishes in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania) in Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Vol. XXI, p. 536-537. Krasauskas in his analytic study of the Catholic Church has similar figures: Confer: Rapolas Krasauskas, "Katalikų Bažnyčia Lietuvoje XVI-XVII amžiuje Nuosmukio Priežastys ir Atgimimo Veiksniai," (Die Katholische Kirche in Lithauen im XVI-XVII--Jahrhundert Die Ursachen des Verfalls und die Faktoren des Aufschwungs) in Actes du Sixieme Congres de l'Académie Lituanienne Catholique des Sciences, 1969, Roma, p. 189-242.

31 Jurgis Gimbutas, "Lietuvos Baznyčių Chronologija ir Statistika," (Chronology and Statistics of Church Construction in Lithuania) in Etudes de l'Académie Lituanienne Catholique des Sciences, Vol. V., (1970), Roma, p. 215-260. See: "Lietuvos Bažnyčių Statybų Chronologija," (Chronology of Church Building in Lithuania), from the first church in Vilnius (1320) up to the 199th church in Gervečiai in 1526, p. 227-234.

figures presented by Kurczewski and Balinski are slightly exaggerated since Gimbutas listed all churches built in both the Vilnius and the Samogitian Diocese.

It can be seen from the Acts of the Vilnius Capitulary in the XVth century, that there were schools not only associated with the cathedral and churches in Vilnius, but also with churches in the entire diocese.³² Very few facts can be found about these schools.³³ It is evident that the founding and maintaining of schools were encouraged by the Grand Duke Žygimantas. In his order to the pastor of Semeliška in 1511 he specifically ordered the pastor to hire a Lithuanian speaking priest and to maintain a school.³⁴ It is probable that this type of order may have also pertained to other parishes as well. It can be surmised that even before the Synod of Vilnius in 1528, during which there was an order issued to all pastors to establish schools and build school buildings, there were similar orders from individual bishops.

The first school in Samogitia was founded in the town of Varniai by Bishop Motiejus II in 1469; it was a cathedral school.³⁵

³² See footnotes 2 and 3 in Chapter VIII.

³³ Adolfas Šapoka, Jogaila, p. 284.

³⁴ For text of this document see: "D.K. Žygimanto Senojo raštas Žiežmarių vietininkui," (Letter of Grand Duke Žygimantas to the Viceroy at Žiežmaras) in K. Jablonskis, J. Jurginis, and J. Žiugžda, (eds.), Lietuvos TSR Istorijos Šaltiniai, Vol I., document no. 202, p. 164.

³⁵ Zenonas Ivinskis, "Žemaičių (Medininkų) Vyskupijos Įkūrimas (1417) ir Jos Reikšmė Lietuvių Tautai (1417-1967)" (Medininkai -- The Bishopric of Samogitia (Žemaičiai) -- Its founding (1417) and its significance for Lithuania (1417-1967), Actes Du Septieme Congres De l'Académie Lituanienne Catholique des Sciences, Roma, 1972, p. 55-132.

Bishop M. Valančius in Žemaičių Vyskupystė writes that a landlord, Bartošinas founded a school in Tauragė in 1507, and that local pastors founded schools in Joniškis, in 1530, and in Jurbarkas in 1557.³⁶ Reading, writing and religion were taught there, and the Polish language was taught as well.³⁷ Other schools were established in Žiežmariai in 1520, and Eišiškės in 1524.

C. Influences of the Protestant Reformation

Interest in Lithuanian peasantry was developed and furthered by a group of Lithuanian humanist scholars who were educated in the universities of Western Europe. One of the first Lithuanian humanists was Abraham Kulvietis-Culvensis (1510-1545).³⁸ The only son in a rich noble family, he was able to attend a number of Western European universities. In the process, he became acquainted with a number of famous humanists and reformers of the age. At Louvain, Kulvietis studied classics under Erasmus. Notwithstanding the fact that students from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were forbidden to attend Protestant universities, Kulvietis, at the urging of Herzog Albert of Prussia, enrolled in 1537 at the University of Wittenberg. At Wittenberg, he attended various lectures given

³⁶ Vyskupas Motiejus Volonczauskis (Valančius), Žemaičių Vyskupystė (The Bishopric of Samogitia), Shenandoah, PA, Garso Amerikos Lietuvių Spaustuvė, 1897, p. 129, para: 144. In the 1848 edition of this book see Vol II, p. 7.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 130, para: 145. It should be noted that from the XVIth century more and more Polish language instruction entered into the schools: "Lietuvių Mokyklų Istorijos Apybraiža-4", Tarybinis Mokytojas, Nr. 92 (1347), Lapk. 20, 1968.

³⁸ Vaclovas Biržiška, "Abraomas Kulvietis," Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Vol. VIII, Sub. verbum.

by Luther. In 1537, he received the Doctor of Law degree from
³⁹
 the University of Siena.

In 1539, Kulvietis opened the first school of higher learning
 in Vilnius.⁴⁰ The purpose of this school was to teach Latin and Greek
 to students who were preparing for studies abroad. Such a school was
 in great demand because of the established practice of sending sons
 abroad for the purpose of advancing their education. Apart from Kul-
 vietis, other Lithuanian humanists who taught at the school were Jurgis
 Zablockis, Stanislovas Rapolionis and Martynas Mažvydas.⁴¹ These indi-
 viduals were the first advocates of Protestant ideas in Lithuania. It
 was a question of time before the school was condemned for heresy. The
 decree of King Žygimantas condemned Kulvietis and his followers and
 reaffirmed the power of the Bishop of Vilnius to try and sentence the
 heretics.⁴² This order also prohibited study abroad, but did little

39 K. Korsakas, Lietuvių Literatūros Istorija (History of Lithuanian Literature), Vilnius, Valstybinė Politinės ir Mokslinės Literatūros Leidykla, 1957, p. 102.

40 V. Laurinaitis, "Lietuvių Evangelikų Reformatų Mokyklos," (Lithuanian Evangelical Reform Schools), in Pedagogika ir Psichologija, Vol. XII, 1973, p. 122.

41 Konstantinas Jablonskis, Lietuvių Kultūra ir Jos Veikėjai, p. 22-55. See also: J. Gvildys, "Lietuvos Švietimas Praeityje: Lietuvos Mokyklos ligi Jėzuitų Gadynės--Nekatalikų Mokyklos" (Education in Lithuania's Past: Lithuanian Schools up to the Jesuit Era--Non-Catholic Schools), in Lietuvos Mokykla, 1929, No. 2, p. 54-55.

42 See Original document dated 19 May 1542: "D.K. Žygimanto Senojo Raštas Prieš Abraomą Kulvietį ir Kitus Protestantus, Patvirtinąs Vilniaus Vyskupui Teisę juos teisti ir bausti," (The Order of Grand Duke Žygimantas Against Abraomas Kulvietis and Other Protestants, Confirming on the Bishop of Vilnius the Power to Try and Sentence) in K. Jablonskis, J. Jurginis, and J. Žiugžda (eds.), Lietuvos TSR Istorijos Šaltiniai, Vol. I., p. 165.

to stop it and had to be later retracted.⁴³ The most popular universities abroad were the institutions of higher learning at Leipzig, Wittenberg, Heidelberg, and Leiden. Although the University of Krakow was designated to be the university for the sons of Lithuanian nobility, it was unpopular and "most of the Lithuanians who went to Krakow were those planning careers in the Church."⁴⁴

Most of the Lithuanian students who studied abroad returned home as Protestants. It had become almost fashionable to return from study in Germany or some other country as a "heretic" or advocate of a condemned doctrine. In a short span of time, a large number of aristocratic families in Lithuania became Protestant.⁴⁵ These Protestant families occupied the most responsible positions in the state. In the Livonian War, 1560 through 1571, the most dependable and able leaders were Protestants. The rise of Protestants to high positions in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania created a tolerant atmosphere which was favorable to the spread and growth of Protestantism.⁴⁶

43 Jurgis Jurginis, Renasansas ir Humanizmas Lietuvoje (Renaissance and Humanism in Lithuania), Vilnius, Vaga, 1965, p. 14.

44 Ibid., p. 121. See also: Petras Jonikas, "Lietuvos studentų Pavardės XV-XVIII amž. Europos Universitetuose," (Lithuanian Student Surnames in European Universities from XV-XVIII Centuries), in Lituanistikos Darbai, Vol. III, 1973, p. 201-216. See also: Adolfas Šapoka, "Kur Senovėje Lietuviai Mokslo Ieškojo", (Where Did Lithuanians Seek Education in Older Times), in Židinys, Vol. XXII, No. 10 (130), Spalio mėn. 1935, page 316-327, and No. 11 (131), Lapk. mėn. 1935, p. 417-430.

45 Zenonas Ivinskis, "Merkelis Giedraitis," Aidai, 1951, p. 168.

46 Jonas Bičiūnas, "Pirmieji Jėzuitai Vilniuje: Vilniaus Vyskupo V. Protasevičiaus Kviečiami Atvyksta Pirmieji Jėzuitai į Vilnių (1568)" (First Jesuits in Vilnius: Invited by the Bishop of Vilnius V. Protasevičius The First Jesuits Arrive in Vilnius (1568), in Tautos Praeitis, Vol. II, No. 2(6), 1965, p. 66-67.

From the very beginning, the Reformation in Lithuania was basically a movement of the nobility which had no intention of upsetting the existing feudal order. It was supported and spread, first of all, by the large magnates who then attracted the lesser nobility. Up to the middle of the XVIth century, Lutheranism was strong in Lithuania. Afterwards, Calvinism became the dominant Protestant denomination. The greatest supporter and protector of Calvinism in Lithuania was Prince Mikalojus Radvila the Black (1515-1565) a powerful figure in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.⁴⁷ He occupied the important positions of Grand Marshall and Chancellor of the Grand Duchy, and was also the Vaivoda of the City of Vilnius. Prince Radvila did not spare his wealth in establishing a printing press in 1553 in Brest-Litovsk, and publishing expensive Calvinist books, like the Brest-Litovsk Bible of 1563.⁴⁸ It must be pointed out, that neither Radvila, nor other Calvinist nobles, showed much concern for printing books in the Lithuanian language. First of all, the language of most by this time was Polish, and secondly, books were published not only for nobles in ethnic Lithuania, but for the entire Grand Duchy.⁴⁹

47 Simas Sužiedėlis, "Radvilai: Mikalojus Juodasis (Mikaloj Czarny Radziwill) in Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Vol. XXIV, p. 390-394.

48 The printing press of Prince Radvila established in Brest-Litovsk was transferred to Vilnius in 1576. The statement "Ex typis N. Radziwill" was last used in 1593. From 1594 the statement "Ex typis Academicis" or "Vilnae S. J." appears on publications. This original Calvinist press became the press of the Jesuit Academy of Vilnius and was used in the Counter-Reformation. Confer: N. Feigelmanas (Comp), Senoji Lietuviška Knyga Vilniaus Universitete (Old Lithuanian Books at the University of Vilnius), Vilnius, Vilniaus Valstybinis V. Kopsuko Universitetas, Mokslinė Biblioteka, 1959, p. 124.

49 J. Lebedys, Mikalojus Daukša, Vilnius, Valstybinė Grožinės Literatūros Leidykla, 1963, p. 29.

While Calvinism in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was basically a movement of the nobility, Lutheranism was much more democratically oriented, showing a great deal of concern for the plight of the backward Lithuanian peasantry. Attempts to reach the peasantry produced in 1547, the first printed book in the Lithuanian language a significant event in the history of Lithuanian education and culture.

The position of the scholars who were forced to flee from Lithuania is explained by Kulvietis in an open letter he wrote to Bona Sforza, Queen of Poland and Grand Duchess of Lithuania:

There are many Lithuanian subjects of your highness, very well educated, who could be useful to the state, but being afraid of their fate, have settled in Germany. Some of them were taken under the protection of the enlightened Herzog of Prussia and several other princes. The enlightened Herzog, not afraid of great expense, established an excellent school and attracted many educated people by paying the professors thousands of florins and giving free board to many poor students. He wants me to be rector of this school. Therefore, if there is no room for me in the realm of your highness, I will accept this offer. But most gracious mistress, it is painful, that wanting to work for our own people, we have to work for others.⁵⁰

Kulvietis, in his letter to Bona pointed out that the number of Lithuanian scholars and teachers who were forced to flee the Grand Duchy of Lithuania because of their Protestant views was fairly large. Of more significance is the fact that these scholars were still deeply concerned with the plight of the Lithuanian people especially the peasants who were only semichristianized and in many cases still pagans. It is not surprising, therefore, that the first book printed in the Lithuanian

50 K. Korsakas and J. Lebedys, Lietuvių Literatūros Istorijos Chrestomatija (Readings from History of Lithuanian Literature), Vilnius, Valstybinė Grožinės Literatūros Leidykla, 1957, p. 478.

language was a catechism.

Although the first printed Lithuanian book, the Catechism by Martynas Mažvydas, was published in Prussia,⁵¹ it was written for the Lithuanians of the Grand Duchy. The dedication of the Catechism reads: "To the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, fortunate land of great leaders, famous Lithuania, accept with pure hearts the words of God."⁵²

The preface of the Catechism, addressed to the ministers who were to carry out the task of christianizing the Lithuanians, gives a description of the conditions in Lithuania which motivated the Protestants:

It is not with great pain, that I state that our country, compared to others, is dark and uncultured, knowing neither piety nor Christian faith. How few people can you find, who, not saying that they should know all the material in the Catechism, can at least say one word of the Lord's Prayer. Worst of all, many publicly, in front of everybody, worship idols: trees, rivers, and the grass snake... There are some who make vows to the god Perkunas or Thunder, others wishing to have a good crop worship Laukosargas, and to have fertile animals -- Zemepeta.⁵³

The fact that some of the Lithuanians were still pagans and others only semi-christianized shocked the Protestant reformers. They placed the blame on the Catholic clergy which they claimed completely

51 Vaclovas Biržiška, Lietuviškų Knygų Istorijos Bruožai, I Dalis: Senosios Lietuviškos Knygos, (Main Points in the History of Lithuanian Books: Part I, the Old Lithuanian Books), Kaunas, "Spaudos Fondas," 1939, p. 33-36.

52 K. Korsakas and J. Lebedys, op.cit., p. 37 and Gordon B. Ford, Jr., The Old Lithuanian Catechism of Martynas Mažvydas (1547), p. 5.

53 K. Korsakas and J. Lebedys, op.cit., p. 38.

ignored the spiritual welfare and education of the peasants. The first part of the Catechism, which emphasizes the importance of the written word, reflects this attitude:

Brother, sister, take me and read -
and reading this contemplate. Your
parents desired to have this, but could not obtain.
They wanted to see this with their eyes, as well
as hear with their ears. So, what your parents
never saw, has come to you.⁵⁴

The Protestants established a vast network of schools in Lithuania. From the first school established by Kulvietis in 1539 the number grew to a point where in 1627 the Synod of Vilnius established an Educational Commission.⁵⁵ This Commission controlled all of the reform schools in the Grand Duchy. The Commission prepared regulations and had a specified curriculum for the schools at both the elementary and higher levels. This growth of the schools can be attributed to the active support given educational matters by the magnates. For example, Kristupas Radvila in 1611 gave a specific order that in areas under his control schools be established in each parish and that the schools be provided with a teacher. E. Valavičius in 1593 ordered all of his peasants to send their children ages eight through fifteen to schools. He specified that all children should be in school starting in the fall, after the feast day of St. Michael. Valavičius even imposed penalties on parents who did not comply

54 Ibid., p. 39.

55 V. Laurinaitis, op.cit., 123.

with this order.⁵⁶

Of special import are the higher Protestant schools of Vilnius (1553 or 1562) Biržai, (1584) Kėdainiai (1625), and Šiluva (1592).⁵⁷ These schools prepared the Protestant intelligensia: ministers, teachers, and political leaders. Their curricular offerings included the study of Latin, Roman classics, Greek, logic and theology, taught over a four year period.⁵⁸

The Lithuanian language was used in most of the Protestant schools.⁵⁹ For example the Tauragė school, established in 1567, was ordered by its founder to use Lithuanian - Samogitiarum lingua docere.⁶⁰

The period between 1550-1650 is significant in the history of Lithuanian Education. The Protestants and Catholics, in an attempt to

56 "Pono E. Valavičiaus, evengeliko, nuostatai savo Naujamieščio dvaro, Upytės pav., valstiečiams, dėl bažnyčios lankymo ir mokyklos." (Order of E. Valavičius, a Protestant, to the peasants at Naujamiestis to attend School and go to Church), in K. Jablonskis, J. Jurginis, and J. Žiugžda (eds.), Lietuvos TSR Istorijos Šaltiniai, Vol. I, document no. 273, p. 242.

57 Kristupas Gudaitis, "Evangelikų Bažnyčios Lietuvoje," (Protestant Churches in Lithuania), Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Vol. XV, p. 176.

58 V. Laurinaitis, op.cit., p. 129-130/

59 Ignė Lukšaitė, "Lietuvių Kalba Reformaciniame Judėjime XVII amž.," (The Lithuanian Language in the Reformation Movement XVII Century) Vilnius, Lietuvos TSR Mokslų Akademijos Istorijos Institutas, Acta Historica Lituanica, Vol. 5, 1970, p. 39-47.

60 M. Valančius, op.cit., p. 130.

reach the peasantry, established the foundation of modern literary Lithuanian. The immediate result of the religious struggle between the Protestants and the Catholics was the production of religious books in the Lithuanian language. Writing of Lithuanian books, in turn, resulted in a more serious study of the Lithuanian language and in the production of dictionaries and grammars.⁶¹ By the XVIIth century the Counter-Reformation made inroads into the strong Protestant areas and the numbers of Protestants diminished. As the period of cultural stress passed and the Catholics again regained strength in the last quarter of the XVIIth century, the competitive spirit ended and with it the use of the Lithuanian language in the schools.⁶² The Counter-Reformation was so successful that the vast majority of Protestant schools were closed. The school in Kėdainiai, for example, became Polonized and the Lithuanian language ceased to be used from the start of the XVIIIth century. By the end of the XVIIIth century the school library no longer had a single Lithuanian book in its catalog.⁶³

The Protestants were directly responsible for two major landmarks of Lithuanian cultural and educational history: 1) the introduction

61 Vaclovas Biržiška, Aleksandrynas: Senųjų Lietuvių Rašytojų, Rašiūsių Prieš 1865 m., Biografijos, Bibliografijos ir Biobibliografijos, (Aleksandrynas: Biographies, Bibliographies, and Bio-bibliographies of Old Lithuanian Authors to 1865), Vol. I (16th and 17th Centuries), Chicago, Institute of Lithuanian Studies-Lithuanian-American Cultural Funds, Inc., 1960, xv-431.

62 Ignė Lukšaitė, op.cit., p. 47.

63 V. Laurynaitis, op.cit., p. 140.

of the Lithuanian language in an official capacity and 2) the printing of the first Lithuanian book. Jurginis' study of this period concludes that the reformation could be considered the founding force of the Lithuanian schools, learning, and spiritual freedom.⁶⁴

D. The Educational Activities of the Jesuit Order (1569-1773)

The Protestants presented a double threat to the Catholic establishment of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: 1) not only was the nobility captured by Protestant ideas, but 2) a distinct threat presented itself in the proselytizing activities of the Protestants among the Lithuanian peasants. The Catholic Church in Lithuania was not able to counter this threat by itself; it needed the aid of the Jesuit Order.

The leader of Catholic opposition to Protestant activity in Lithuania was the Bishop of Vilnius, Valerionas Protasevičius. Bishop Protasevičius concluded that the best way to fight Protestantism was to strengthen the old schools and establish new ones. Another important objective was to establish an institution of higher learning which would not only serve as the foundation of the entire educational system, but would also attract the youth of the state and divert them from the Protestant schools in Western Europe.⁶⁵ The most suitable

64 J. Jurginis, Humanizmas ir Renesansas Lietuvoje, p. 82.

65 Jonas Bičiūnas, "Pirmieji Jėzuitai Vilniuje: Vilniaus Vyskupo V. Protasevičiaus Kviečiami Atvyksta Pirmieji Jėzuitai į Vilnių (1568)," p. 66 See also: Jonas Bičiūnas, "Apaštaly Sosto ir Jėzuitų Ordino Pirmieji Bandymai Jėzuitus Įkurdinti Lietuvoje (1555-1565)" (First Attempts of the Holy See and the Jesuit Order to Establish the Jesuits in Lithuania (1555-1565), in Tautos Praeitis, Vol. II, No. 1(5), 1964, p. 33-47/

people to undertake this task, in the mind of Bishop Protasevičius, were the Jesuits. They arrived in 1569.⁶⁶

By 1570, the Jesuits had established in Vilnius a five class higher school.⁶⁷ As the influence of the University of Königsberg grew among the youth of Lithuania and the educational demands placed on the Jesuit Order increased, the Jesuits realized that a university was of utmost importance for Lithuania.⁶⁸ In 1578, King Batory granted a charter to the Jesuit school at Vilnius, recognizing that it had the same rights and privileges as the University of Krakow and all the other universities of Europe.⁶⁹ Mykolas Radvila, the Protestant

66 Paulius Rabikauskas, "Medžiaga Senojo Vilniaus Universiteto Istorijai: IV: Pirmieji Jėzuitai Vilniuje ir Pirmieji Lietuviai Jėzuitai (1569-1573)," (Pirmi Societatis Iesu socii in Collegio Vilnensi et primi eius socii lituani (1569-1573), in Etudes de l'Académie Lituanienne Catholique des Sciences, Vol. V., (1970), Roma, p. 301-338.

67 Paulius Rabikauskas, "Medžiaga Senojo Vilniaus Universiteto Istorijai," (Materials pertaining to the history of the old Vilnius University in Etudes de l'Académie Lituanienne Catholique des Sciences, Vol. III, (1967), Roma, p. 221-245, pages 246-266 contain transcriptions of Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Pol. 75 fol. 316r-319r document entitled: Informatio de Nova Collegio Vilnensi Facta Mense Septembri 1570.

68 Paulius Rabikauskas, "Medžiaga Senojo Vilniaus Universiteto Istorijai: (Materials pertaining to the history of the old Vilnius University) II: Inventorium bonorum Collegii Vilnensis (1573); III: Indices Privilegiorum et contractuum Collegii Vilnensis (1574-1575 et 1586)," in Etudes de l'Académie Lituanienne Catholique des Sciences, Vol. IV, (1968), Roma, p. 321-386.

69 "Karaliaus Stepono Batoro Privilegija Jėzuitų Akademijai Vilniuje," (Privilege granted by King Steponas Batoras to the Jesuit Academy of Vilnius), in K. Jablonskis, J. Jurginis, and J. Žiugžda, (eds.), Lietuvos TSR Istorijos Šaltiniai, Vol. I., see document no. 271, dated 1 April 1579, p. 241.

Chancellor of the Grand Duchy, refused to affix the seal of the Grand Duchy on the document. The Vice-Chancellor, however, was forced to do it and the document was validated.⁷⁰

Since the language of instruction at the University of Vilnius was Latin, the spread of Polish culture was curtailed and a favorable atmosphere was created for the development of Lithuanian culture. The Latin language was especially popular among the gentry because they considered themselves to be descendants of the ancient Romans, with the Lithuanian language being only a corrupt form of Latin. Michalonis Lituani represented the thinking of many Lithuanian nobles when he wrote in 1550, that:

... cum idioma Ruthenum Alienum sit a nobis Lituanis, loc est, Italianis, Italico sanguine oriundis.

Quod its esse liquet ex sermone nostro semilatio, et ritibus Romanorum vetustis, qui non ita pridem desiere apud nos Videlicet excrementis humanis cadaveribus, angurriis, auspiciis, aliisque superstitionibus, adhuc in quibusdam locis durantibus maxime clutu. Aesculapii, qui sub eadem qua olim Romam ab Epidauro commigraverat, serpentis specie colitur et veneratione habetur. Moscovitae irati imprecantur alicui suorum ut fiat Romanae sive Polonicae religionis, adeo...⁷¹

Michalonis Lituani stressed the similarity between Latin and Lithuanian

70 Mykolas Biržiška, Senasis Vilniaus Universitetas, (The Old University of Vilnius), London, Nida Press, 1955, p. 4-5.

71 Michalonis Lituani, De Moribus Tartororum, Lituorum et Moschorum: Fragmina X, Multiplici Historia Referta, Basileae, Apud Conradum Waldkirchium, MDCXV, p. 23-25. This entire publication has been photoreproduced in K. Korsakas, et. al. (eds.), Mykolas Lietuvis Apie Totorių, Lietuvių, ir Maskvėnų Papročius: Dešimt Ivairaus Istorinio Turinio Fragmentų, Vilnius, Vaga, 1966, 137 p.

words and concluded that on the basis of all indications, Lithuanians came from Rome. This theory, naturally, was very popular among the Lithuanian gentry.⁷²

Being a Latin institution, the faculty and the student body of the University of Vilnius were cosmopolitan in make-up. In 1585, the assistant rector of the school, Emanuel de Vega, was a Portuguese. Among the professors at this time were: Antonio Arias (Spanish), Stanislaus Gorzicki (Polish), Arthur Fautney, Jacob Bosgrave, and Richard Singleton (English). The cosmopolitan makeup of the student body is seen in the fact that when in 1589 Sigmund Vasa came to the University, he was greeted not only in the classical languages, but also in French, Italian, German, Polish and Lithuanian.⁷³

The Jesuits, it must be pointed out, did not champion the use of the Polish language in Lithuania. This is in marked contrast to the parish priests, who, being for the most part Poles, pressed the use of the Polish language on the people. The Jesuits equally valued both the Polish and Lithuanian languages as important instruments for the propagation of the Catholic faith.⁷⁴ At the University of Vilnius, it was ruled that Lithuanian students had to conduct practice lectures in the Lithuanian language in order to develop a polished style which

72 K. Korsakas and J. Lebedys, op.cit., p. 227.

73 V. Biržiška, op.cit., p. 11.

74 Antanas Rukša, "Dėstomosios Kalbos ir Lietuvių Kalbos Klausimas Senajame Vilniaus Universitete," (Languages of Instruction and the Use of Lithuanian at the Old University of Vilnius), in Lietuvių Tautos Praeitis, Vol. III, Book 10, 1973, p. 53-81.

would attract the Lithuanian speaking public.⁷⁵

The first Catholic books which appeared in Lithuania were religious works.⁷⁶ Apart from their religious content, these books contained much significant material which characterized the intellectual and cultural atmosphere of the age. One of the most important Catholic works was the Postile,⁷⁷ a collection of homilies by Mikalojus Daukša.⁷⁸ The significance of the book lies not in the actual homilies, but in the polished literary style, and in the introduction, which discusses the question of nationality, an important question in the multi-national Polish-Lithuanian State.⁷⁹

In the XVIth century, the dominating view in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was that a nation consisted basically of the feudal nobility, in which the peasantry did not have any importance. The nation

75 A. Bendžius, J. Kubilius, J. Žiugžda, (eds.), Vilniaus Universitetas, (The University of Vilnius), Vilnius, Mintis, 1966, p. 35 and Juozas Bulavas, Vilniaus Universitetas (The University of Vilnius), Vilnius, Valstybine politines ir mokslines literatūros leidykla, 1956, p.24

76 Vaclovas Biržiška, Senųjų Lietuviškų Knygų Istorija (History of Old Lithuanian Books), Chicago, the Lithuanian Literary Society of Chicago, 1953, p. 178.

77 Kanauninkas Mikalojus Daukša, Prakalba (Introduction), Chicago, Pedagoginis Lituanistikos Institutas, 1963, 23 p. This publication reproduces the introduction to the Postile in translation.

78 Mikalojus Daukša (?-1613), Roman Catholic priest, the first known writer from Lithuania Major. Born between 1527-1538 in Babėnai. In 1570 appointed rector of Krakės. By 1609 was administrator of the Samogitian bishopric. Author of the first known Lithuanian book to appear in Lithuanian. See: Pranas Skardzius, "Mikalojus Daukša," Encyclopedia Lituanica, Vol. II, 1972, p. 37-30.

79 J. Lebedys, Mikalojus Dauksa, p. 283.

was equated not with the people, but with the state. The essential question, therefore, was not one's ethnic background, but one's citizenship, which was based on territorial considerations. Any individual who lived in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, irrespective of whether he was a White Russian, Ukrainian, or Pole was still considered to be a Lithuanian.⁸⁰

Daukša introduced an interpretation of nationality which was radically different. In his view, a nation was composed of territory, customs, and language. The most important characteristic of a nation was the language, without which it loses its individuality:

I know how all nations value, love, and treasure works written in their native tongue. Therefore, I believe, all nations are motivated to translate books from one language to another. Only our Lithuanian nation, learning the Polish language and using it, has so negated and ignored its Lithuanian language, as almost to have renounced its language.⁸¹

Daukša, aware of the gap between the Polish speaking nobility and the Lithuanian speaking peasantry, was urging the nobles to learn Lithuanian:

Nations do not exist merely because of the productivity of land, nor on the basis of difference in clothing, nor because of its beauty or land, but in the presentation and usage of its language, which increases and preserves unity, peace, and brotherly love. Destroy it and you will destroy tranquility, unity, and common well being.⁸²

80 Ibid.

81 Ibid., p. 65.

82 Ibid., p. 66.

News of Daukša's article caused concern not only among the Calvinists in Lithuania, but among the Lutherans in Prussia as well. Notwithstanding the activity of the Protestants, the first half of the XVIIth century was dominated by the increasing activity of the Jesuits, who in growing numbers, were native Lithuanians.

The growth of religious activity on all levels in Lithuania created a need for more printed material. The Jesuits especially became aware of the need for dictionaries and grammars. The individual who held the spotlight in this field was Konstantinas Širvydas (1569-1631), professor of Lithuanian language at the University of Vilnius. His most important work was the Dictionary trium linguarum in usum iuventutis. The University of Vilnius also prepared several Lithuanian language grammars. These works began the systematical study of the Lithuanian language.⁸³

To achieve victory over Protestantism the Jesuit Order focused its attention on the education of youth. The most popular college organization was based on five classes with the course lasting six years, since the fifth class took two years. The curriculum was based on the

83 J. Bulavas, op.cit., p. 26; K. Širvydas, Dictionary trium linguarum in usum studiosae iuventutis, auctore Constantino Szyrvid, Vilnius, Akademijos Spaustuvė, 1629, 216 p. For a complete description and listing of all publications of this period consult: Lietuvos TSR Ministrų Tarybos Valstybinis Spaudos Komitetas, Lietuvos TSR Knygų Rūmai, Lietuvos TSR Bibliografija: Serija A--Knygos Lietuvių Kalba 1547-1861 the Lithuanian Language 1547-1861, Vol. I, Vilnius, Mintis, 1969, p. LXIII-728.

Ratio Studiorum.⁸⁴ In the first class, "infima classis grammaticae," the basics of Latin and Greek were taught. In the second class, "media classis grammaticae," the course in Latin grammar was completed, and the Greek course was continued, along with reading of Cicero and Ovid. The third class, "suprema classis grammaticae," Latin was perfected and the Greek course was completed. Along with this students were introduced to poetry, and read Aesop, Virgil and Cicero. The first three classes were called the grammatic classes, since grammar was the only subject taught.⁸⁵

In the fourth "humanitatis" class poetry was presented, and the works of Virgil, Horatio and other classic authors were read and translated. The fifth class, "classis rhetorica," had courses on rhetoric, mythology, history, geography, and logic. Theology was to be taught in all classes. Latin was the language of the classroom. Greek was studied through the medium of Latin. Careful attention

84 Paulius Rabikauskas, "Ratio Studiorum," Lietuvių Enciklopedija Vol. XXIV, sub. verbum.; Edward Fitzpatrick, St. Ignatius and the Ratio Studiorum, New York, Macmillan, 1933; Karl Kehrbach, Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica, Berlin, Weidmann, from 1886 various volumes present the different editions of the Ratio Studiorum; William J. McGucken, The Jesuits and Education, Milwaukee, Bruce, 1932. For a discussion of the specific educational method application to the University of Vilnius see: J. Jurginis, "Pedagogikos Praktika Vilniaus Akademijoje," (Educational Practice in the Academy of Vilnius), in Kai Kurie Lietuvos TSR Pedagoginės Minties ir Švietimo Istorijos Klausimai, Vilnius, LTSR Švietimo Ministerija, Mokyklų Mokyklinio Tyrimo Institutas, Vilnius, 1965, p. 6-9.

85 A. Šidlauskas, "Istorija XVIIIa. Lietuvos Jėzuitų Mokyklose" (History in XVIIIth Century Jesuit Schools in Lithuania) in J. Lebedys, (ed.) Kultūrų Kryžkelėje, Vilnius, "Mintis," 1970, p. 179.

was given to health and physical education, and special care was given to moral and religious training.⁸⁶ The most important subjects in the Jesuit schools were Latin and rhetoric. The students learned these subjects by reading the classics.

In the XVIIIth century the Jesuits operated twenty college type schools in the Lithuanian Province (See Map 3). There were also were fifteen other college type schools operated by other religious orders or groups.⁸⁷ The Piarists operated eight, the Basilians four, the University of Krakow had one, and the Protestants still maintained two schools.⁸⁸

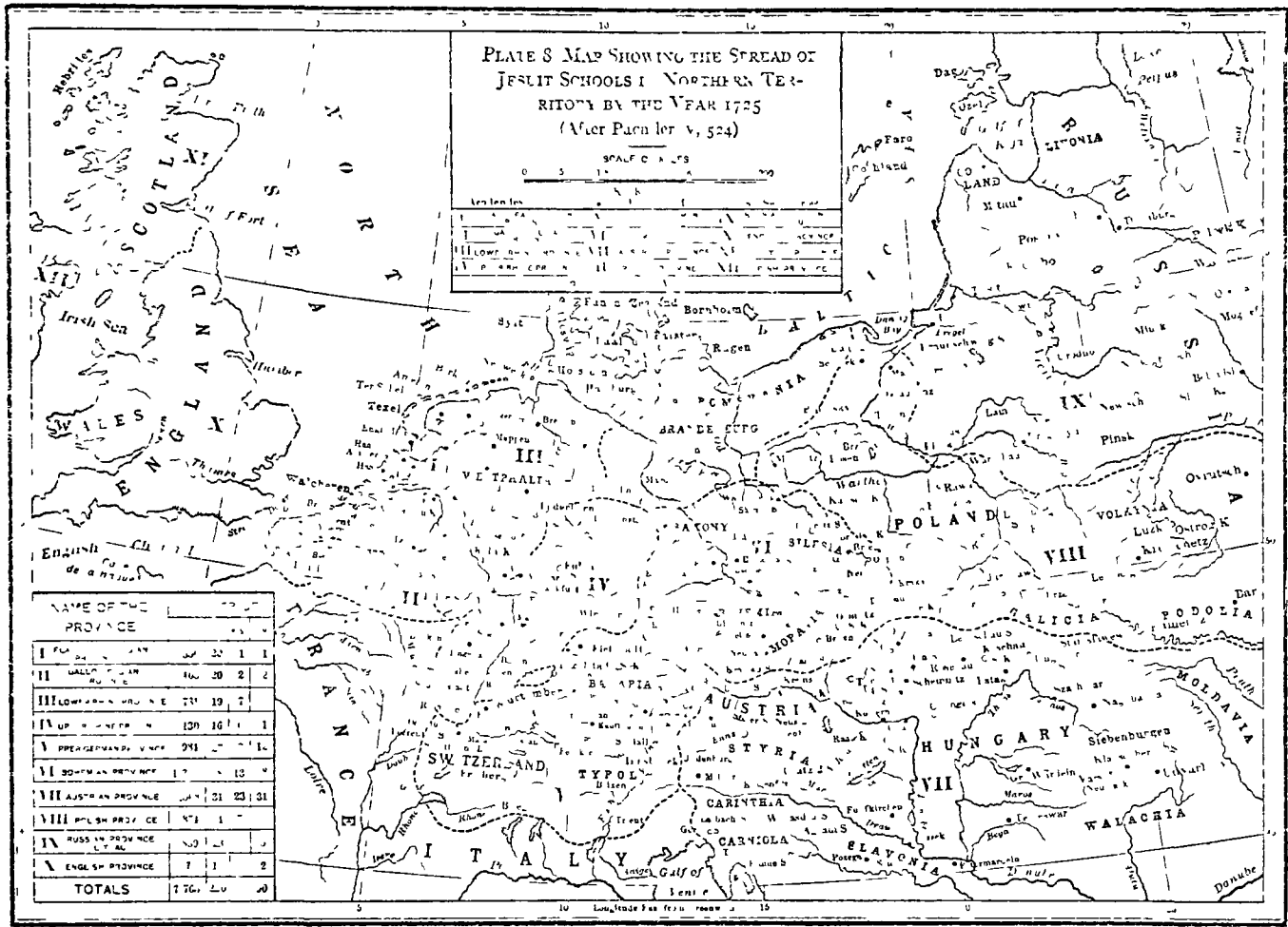
The University of Vilnius had one lower school and two higher faculties. The lower school (scholae inferiores) had a course of study that lasted six years. Students completing the lower school could then apply for admission to the Philosophy Faculty. Study in the Philosophy Faculty lasted three years. Upon completion students could continue their studies in the Theology Faculty. Studies in theology lasted four years.⁸⁹ In 1644 two chairs of Canon Law and two chairs of Civil Law

86 Ellwood P. Cubberley, The History of Education, p. 341.

87 Viktoras Gidžiūnas, "Vienuolijos Lietuvoje XIII-XX amžiuje" (Religious Orders and Congregations in Lithuania) in Etudes de l'Académie Lithuanienne Catholique des Sciences, Vol. V, 1970, Roma, p. 261,299.

88 Šidlauskas, "Istorija XVIIIa. Lietuvos Jėzuitų Mokyklose," p. 178.

89 Antanas Rukša, "1570m. Vilniaus Kolegijos ir 1583-1584m. Akademijos Laisvųjų Meno Pamokų Lentelės ir Humanistinė Jėzuitų Mokykla." (Schedules for Liberal Arts Instruction for 1570 at Vilnius College and 1583-1584 at the Academy of Vilnius and the Jesuit School of Humanities), in Tautos Praeitis, Vol. II, Book 3-4 (7-8), 1967, p. 95-122.



MAP 3: THE SPREAD OF JESUIT SCHOOLS IN THE NORTHERN TERRITORY BY 1725

SOURCE: Ellwood P. Cubberly, The History of Education: Educational Practice and Progress Considered as a Phase of the Development and Spread of Western Civilization, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920, Plate 8.

were established.⁹⁰

Enrollments at the University began with some 500 students in 1579. By the school year 1617-1618 enrollments had grown to over 1200. Average enrollments at the University were 800 students per year.⁹¹ The University of Moscow, during the same time frame, had only an average enrollment of some fifty students.⁹²

The University of Vilnius⁹³ developed into one of the leading institutions of higher learning in Western Europe.⁹⁴ It was equal to the best institutions not only in the number of students, but in the level of studies as well. The professors of the University of Vilnius wrote many important works in the fields of theology, philosophy, history, the social sciences, rhetoric, and astronomy. The University operated a Jesuit Theater for which dramatic works and dialogues were

90 Antanas Rukša, "Lietuvos Universiteto Istorija" (History of Lithuanian Universities), in Pranas Čepėnas, ed., Lietuvos Universitetas 1579-1803-1922, Chicago, Lietuvių Profesorių Draugija Amerikoje, 1972, p.22.

91 Paulius Rabikauskas, "Vilniaus Akademija (Academia Vilnensis-Collegium Academicum Vilnense, Collegium Vilnense Societatis Iesu)," Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Vol. XXXIV, p. 134.

92 Rukša, "Lietuvos Universiteto Istorija," p. 33.

93 The academy of Vilnius should be referred to as the University of Vilnius. For example most Latin source documents refer to the University of Krakow as "Academia Cracoviensis" and "Academia Vilnensis." For a complete discussion of this matter see: Paulius Rabikauskas, "Medžiaga Senojo Vilniaus Universiteto Istorijai," p. 222-226.

94 The academic level and scientific achievements of the University of Vilnius in comparison to other Western European Universities are discussed in Paulius Rabikauskas, "Moksline Pažanga Vilniaus Akademijoje" (Wissenschaftlicher Fortschritt an der Vilniuser Universität 1579-1773), Actes du Septieme Congres de l'Académie Lithuanienne Catholique des Sciences, Roma, 1972, p. 203-234.

prepared. In the second half of the XVIIth century academic standards at the University fell. The main reason appears to have been the successful Counter-Reformation. The religious battles had been won and the University appeared to stagnate. Teachers continued using old texts. The new educational ideas which were spreading throughout Western Europe were being ignored.

E. The Educational Activities of the Piarist Order.

In 1597, St. Joseph Calasanci (d. 1648), founded a free school for boys and girls in Rome. In 1621, Pope Gregory XV gave his work definite recognition by establishing a teaching order for elementary education.⁹⁵ They taught reading, writing, arithmetic, and religion. In addition to the regular vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, the priests also vowed to spend and be spent in teaching the poor.⁹⁶ Soon their schools were established in the cities of Northern Italy, Austria, Poland and Lithuania. In 1642, they arrived in Poland. In Lithuania the first Piarist monks established themselves in Dambrovic in 1684 and then in Liubesave in 1689. In 1736 the Piarists established themselves in their first Lithuanian province.⁹⁷ Colleges were founded along side all of the monasteries, and elementary schools were established as part of their residences.

95 Formally named: Ordo Clericorum Regularium Pauperum Matris Scholarum Piarum.

96 William J. Rose, Stanislas Konarski: Reformer of Education XVIIIth Century Poland, London, Jonathan Cape, 1929, p. 149.

97 Volonczauskis, op.cit., p. 183.

Soon after the establishment of the Province, the Piarists obtained permission to teach not only elementary grades, but the higher ones as well. This brought them into open conflict with the Jesuits. This conflict continued almost without a break until the dissolution of the Jesuit order in 1773.⁹⁸

In 1726, the Piarists founded a college in Vilnius, which caused a conflict with the Jesuits. The Jesuits had a special privilege from earlier times, which forbade other orders from establishing schools in localities where Jesuits were already established. The Jesuits brought suit against the Piarists. The suit reached Rome, and the Jesuits won their case. The Piarist college had to be closed.⁹⁹ Only their convent remained open in Vilnius.

The Piarists, in establishing schools similar to those of the Jesuits, became their rivals, even though they lacked an original educational program and a progressive education method. In their schools, they used the same educational system and program as that of the Jesuit schools.¹⁰⁰ This impeded their work and success in Poland and Lithuania, since the Jesuits used many opportunities to show that the educational work of the Piarists was extraneous, since it used the Jesuit methods

97 Rose, op.cit., p. 152.

98 Viktoras Gidžiūnas, "Pijorai," Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Vol. XXII, p. 480.

100 Stanisław Bednarski, Upadek i Odrodzenie Szkół Jezuickich w Polsce: Studium z Dziejów Kultury i Szkolnictwa Polskiego. Kraków, Wydawnictwo Księży Jezuitów-Drukarnia "Przeglądu Powszechnego," 1933, p. 198.

and programs. Thus, the Jesuit schools were duplicated unnecessarily.¹⁰¹ This situation lasted until the reforms of Stanislas Konarski, the Piarist pedagogue.

Stanislas Konarski (1700-1773) entered a Piarist college at the age of ten. Upon completing his studies in 1715, he joined the Piarist order and in 1717 completed the novitiate. From 1722 he taught rhetoric at the Piarist college in Warsaw and at the same time was the official spokesman for the Order. His skill in rhetoric attracted the attention of the Piarist leaders, who sent him to Rome to study at the Collegium Nazarenum.

The Collegium Nazarenum had been established in 1630 by Saint Joseph Calasanctius as a school for able and needy boys. With the passage of time, however, it became a school only for the sons of the nobility. The rector of the school Piarist Paulus Chelucci, the noted XVIIIth century mathematician, made the school aristocratic. The candidates were chosen from established and noted gentry families and they received the utmost in care; decorative and expensive uniforms were worn, and specially trained servants were at the disposal of the students. Chelucci reformed the curriculum; he brought in those subjects which had never been taught in a formal humanistic school. For example, modern languages as well as the native languages, arithmetic, geometry, physics

¹⁰¹ Lukasz Kurdybacha, Stanisław Konarski: Pisma Pedagogiczne (Pedagogical Works of Stanisław Konarski), Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1959, p. ix.

and modern philosophy were introduced. The Nazarenum became a modern college, straying away from the subjects of the humanistic schools.¹⁰² Fewer hours were devoted to Latin, and during some classes, the native language and rhetoric, and the purity of language were stressed. Religious instruction was transferred to the church, where on Sundays and holidays the students were given sermons and catechism instruction. New subjects were introduced -- dancing, fencing, horseback riding, and ballplaying.

For those students who had completed the college and still desired more education, Chelucci organized supplementary courses, where philosophy, civil and common law, and theology were taught.

Upon his arrival in Rome in 1725, Konarski, attended the reformed Collegium Nazarenum. The organization and educational program of the school made a big impression on him.

He began to study seriously and after two years the rector asked Konarski to assume the responsibility for teaching rhetoric. The Collegium Nazarenum influenced his entire later work and his educational reforms in Poland and Lithuania. Upon the completion of his studies, he was assigned to the editorship of the Volumina Legum.¹⁰³

In 1736 he returned to educational work with reform projects, but did not receive the approval of his superiors. However, in 1738 Konarski's projects received the necessary opportunity for realization.

102 Ibid., p. x.

103 William Rose, "Stanislaw Konarski: Preceptor of Poland," in Slavonic Review, Vol. IV, No. 10, June, 1925, p. 28.

He was appointed the assistant to the Provincial General and by 1740 received permission from the Superior General of the Piarist Order in Rome to establish a Collegium Nobilium in Warsaw similar to the Collegium Nazarenum in Rome.¹⁰⁴ He was also given the task of reforming other Piarist schools. By 1750 Konarski decided to reform all the Piarist schools and revise the constitution of the Piarist Order. This revision of the constitution and his school reform were approved and published in 1753 under the title Ordinationes.¹⁰⁵

Since the Collegium Nobilium was similar to the Collegium Nazarenum in Rome, it was created for the sons of magnates and wealthy gentry. A select number of students were admitted and a high tuition was charged. The educational program was notable in that the Latin language was deemphasized (although in the lower grades Latin was still an important subject). Latin was now not considered an end or goal, but a means to a goal.¹⁰⁶ Thus, Konarski recommended that beginning Latin be taught from Komenski's Janua Linguarum Reserata and Orbis Sensualium Pictus. The introduction of these types of readings indicated that Konarski valued the acquisition of more factual knowledge rather than the following of classical writing styles.¹⁰⁷ The native

104 Ibid.

105 "Ordynacje Wizytacji Apostolskiej dla Polskiej Prowincji Szkol Pobożnych," Reproduced in full by Łukasz Kurdybacha, compiler, Stanisław Konarski, Pisma Pedagogiczne (Pedagogical Works), Wrocław, Polska Akademia Nauk, Komitet Nauk Pedagogicznych, Ossolineum, 1959, p. 1-419. This work of Konarski is cited as Ordinationes. It contains five chapters which contain every detail of the Piarist school reforms.

106 Ordinationes, p. 336-339.

107 Łukasz Kurdybacha, Historia Wychowania, Vol. I., p. 591.

language, as well as, two foreign languages, French and German were introduced into the curriculum.¹⁰⁸ A systematic newspaper lecture was introduced into the study of French and German. Also, along with the Polish language, French was introduced into the Collegium Nobilium's Theater; during each carnival, a tragedy was played in Polish, and a comedy was played in French.¹⁰⁹ However, the teaching of French to Konarski did not play as important a role as it did to some other Western European theoretical pedagogues, who suggested that French be taught from the earliest childhood years. He gave special attention to the Polish language, which was used in the teaching of Latin, as well as, Polish history, world history and geography.¹¹⁰ Polish was also used as an instrument for the analysis of the works of Polish authors.

The Collegium Nobilium had six grades, but the course of study took eight years, since the IV and VI grades took two years each.¹¹¹ Upon completion of these grades, following the example of Collegium Nazarenum, the students had the opportunity of continuing on for a two-year supplementary course in which they studied philosophy, law, mathematics, physics, biology, and astronomy.¹¹²

108 Ordinationes, p. 349.

109 Lukasz Kurdybacha, Historia Wychowania, p. 591.

110 Ordinationes, p. 340-341, 345-348.

111 Ordinationes, p. 153-226.

112 Ordinationes, p. 227-263.

Rhetoric was studied in the last grade at the Collegium Nobilium. The rhetorical topics were changed so that instead of honoring or praising magnates, they touched upon government and reforms. In the study of philosophy, Konarski broke away from the traditional single view point since he recommended that along with Scholastic Philosophy, the works of modern philosophers such as Bacon, Descartes, Wolf, Locke, Spinoza also be read.¹¹³ Konarski also proved himself to be a modern historian in his method of teaching history and geography. Knowing that a lack of textbooks hindered the adequate study of these subjects, he made a list of literary works dealing with history, which included more than sixty works necessary for a history teacher to know. In this literature list were to be found historians starting with Hugo Grotius and ending with Voltaire.¹¹⁴ S. Konarski gave the following instructions regarding the study of history: "In order to create more interest in historical literature, the rector, college prefect and professor of history must see to it that each student buys some historical works and upon reading ---- lends them to other students."¹¹⁵

Geography as a complement to the study of history was taught after the completion of Polish and World History classes. Maps and globes were used, and the political and economic conditions of various

113 Kurdybacha, Stanislaw Konarski: Pisma Pedagogiczne, p. xxxviii.

114 Ordinationes, p. 347-348.

115 Ordinationes, Chapter V, Section VIII, para 118. See also: Sidlauskas, "Istorija XVIIIa. Lietuvos Jėzuitų Mokyklosa," p. 189.

nations were explained.¹¹⁶

Unlike other middle schools, which limited themselves to the elementary mathematics necessary for practical life, Konarski stressed the necessity of mathematics and natural sciences. In Chapter V, Section XIV of the Ordinationes he writes: "In the afternoon, for one hour, during one year, higher algebra and geometry will be taught so that the students having mastered those necessary mathematical skills, would begin the physics course the following year."¹¹⁷

Konarski paid special attention to religious instruction and the development of patriotism. There were religious lessons on Sunday and holidays as well as daily religious practices. Konarski felt that moral and honorable behavior and the desire to be respected should not be based on religion alone, but upon self-respect as well. Konarski made great efforts to arouse social and national consciousness and especially to educate honorable citizens.¹¹⁸

Konarski thought that it was of greater importance to a nation to have honorable people and good citizens rather than famous orators, poets, mathematicians and philosophers. "We, just as you, see the former as an attractive and necessary decoration, but the more important and final purpose of education we consider to be the teaching of

116 Kurdybacha, Historia Wychowania, Vol. I, p. 594.

117 Ordinationes, p. 351.

118 Stanislaw Konarski, Wybor Pism Politycznych (Selected works on Politics), ed. by Wladyslaw Konopczynskiego, Krakow, Nakladem Krakowskiej Spolki Wydawniczej, Biblioteka Narodowa Nr. 35, Serja 1,(n. d.).

the gentry children to be honorable people and active citizens for the highest glory of God and for the support of the nation."¹¹⁹

In following the advice of John Locke, that physical punishment be avoided by all means, Konarski also abstained from physically reinforced discipline. However, he was unable to avoid the observational methods of traditional education. The prefects were ordered to stay with their students at all times and places.¹²⁰ The prefect was not limited only to the negative aspects of guidance. Konarski attempted to instill in his students values necessary later in life. Among these values he listed obedience to laws and to established order which later influenced the individual's relationships with the government and honesty in relationships with others. Konarski acknowledged the equality of all human beings, but did not deny the superiority of the upper class.¹²¹ However, he emphasized that nobility should not be based on the honorable deeds of parents and ancestors, but on decency, intelligence, thoughtfulness and worthy habits.

The love of one's native country and patriotism were above all other qualities which Konarski attempted to instill in his students. To accomplish this, Konarski suggested that not only the lecture

¹¹⁹ Stanislaw Konarski, Pisma Pedagogiczne, p. 462-463. The citation is from his: *Mowa: Jak od Wczesnej Mlodosci Wychowywac Uczciwego Czlowieka i Dobrego Obywatela*.

¹²⁰ Kurdybacha, Stanislaw Konarski: Pisma Pedagogiczne, page xxviii. and Ordinationes, p. 306-315.

¹²¹ Ibid., p. xxx.

method be used, but that concrete practices be discussed and understood, e.g., the respectful obedience to the king, law, and public order.¹²² But nevertheless, in the education of the good citizen, according to Konarski, morals do not suffice, since the student must become acquainted with the conditions under which a citizen must live.¹²³ This was acquired during the world history and native history, civic law, philosophy and sciences classes.

The establishment of the Collegium Nobilium hastened school reform in Poland and Lithuania. All of the Piarist schools were reformed after the 1753 Ordinationes was published.¹²⁴ In the reformed Piarist schools may be seen, the same de-emphasis of Latin language courses and new subjects placed in the curriculum. Some hardship was caused by a lack of teachers knowing foreign languages. The schools did have laboratories, physics rooms; some had observatories, gardens, green houses and farms.¹²⁵ The Piarists paid a great deal of attention to practical matters, such as the work of a secretary-bookkeeper, or the work of a gardener.¹²⁶

122 Rose, Stanislaw Konarski: Reformer of Education, p. 223-272.

123 Kurdybacha, Stanislaw Konarski: Pisma Pedagogiczne, p. xxxi.

124 Rose, Stanislaw Konarski: Reformer of Education, p. 188-189.

125 Ibid. p. 218.

126 Ordinationes, p. 153-161, and see: Simas Sužiedėlis, "Pijorų Mokyklos ir Nauja Švietimo Linkmė" (Piarist Schools and the New Direction in Education), Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Vol. XV, p. 748-749.

The reforms of the Piarist schools were accepted very well by the Lithuanian gentry. This was understandable in that the reformed schools remained the schools for the noble class. B. Suchodolski evaluates Konarski's reforms as follows:

The educational activity of Konarski, although not affecting the foundation of class education, brought new and advanced elements into the schools of the time. Konarski overcame the tendency of the rich to educate their children abroad. 'The reform tied education in with their country and the understanding of their obligations to their country. It overcame the cosmopolitan Jesuit humanistic-rhetorical educational superficiality and brought in natural and social-science subjects into the curriculum.¹²⁷

In Lithuania the Piarists had eight colleges. The newly reformed curriculum for the Lithuanian Piarist Province was prepared by Piarist J. Čiapiński in 1762.¹²⁸ The curriculum for the Lithuanian Province was based entirely on the original 1753 Ordinationes of Konarski.¹²⁹ It should be noted that the Piarists and their schools in Lithuania also contributed significantly to the Polonization of Lithuania. Because of the methodus docendi rule the children of the Lithuanian gentry were taught Polish as their native language.¹³⁰

127 B. Suchodolski, Studia z Dziejów Polskiej Myśli Filozoficznej i Naukowej, Wrocław, Ossolinski, 1959, p. 327.

128 The plan was prepared in 1762 in Vilnius under the title: Methodus docendi pro Scholis Piis Provintiae Lithuaniae.

129 Łukasz Kurdybacha, "Reforma Litewskich Szkół Pijarskich w 1762." (The Reform of the Piarist Schools of Lithuania in 1762), in Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty, Vol. XV, 1972, p. 3-23.

130 For a brief discussion of the methodus docendi see: Gidžiūnas, "Pijorai," p. 479, regarding the use of language see Sužiedėlis, "Pijorų Mokyklos ir Nauja Švietimo Linkmė," p. 749.

The educational reforms of the Piarists influenced the Jesuits of Vilnius to reorganize their educational programs.¹³¹ The Jesuits established their own Collegium Nobilium in 1751. The Vilnius Collegium Nobilium had a new and revised curriculum, which included such subjects as grammar, speech, philosophy, history, geography, and mathematics. Instruction in Latin as well as in modern languages such as French and German was provided. Using the Vilnius Collegium Nobilium as a model, the Jesuits began revising and reforming all schools under their jurisdiction to conform to the same curricular program.¹³² By 1773 the Jesuits had established fifteen Collegia Nobilium.¹³³

Besides the Piarist and Jesuit reforms, a number of other significant developments should be mentioned. In 1766 the Royal Military Academy (Szkoła Rycerska) was founded in Warsaw. Eventually this school developed into Warsaw University and one of its graduates was Tadeusz Kościuszko.¹³⁴ The significance of this school is found in its secular organization and aims. It had a lay faculty and was independent of ecclesiastical authority. The curriculum stressed sciences and rationalistic philosophy. The school was well equipped with teaching

131 K. Jablonskis, Lietuvių Kultūra ir Jos Veikėjai, p. 318.

132 Bednarski, Upadek i Odrodzenie Szkół Jezuickich w Polsce, p. 371.

133 "Lietuvos Mokyklos Istorijos Apybraiža--12," in Tarybinis Mokytojas, No. 103, December 27, 1968, p. 3.

134 For a historical sketch of the organization, development, and role of this Academy see Andziej Zohorski, "Szkoła Rycerska," Kultura, Vol. IV, 1966, Number 9 (142), p. 1-9.

aids, including complex astronomical models.¹³⁵

Such developments as the Szkola Rycerska stimulated further thinking about educational reforms. In Lithuania a writer in the early 1770's argued that agriculture can be improved only through a thorough knowledge of the earth sciences and that the responsibility to impart this knowledge rests with the schools.¹³⁶ In 1773 a proposal to establish an Academy of Sciences in Vilnius suggested that more time be spent in schools on geometry, mechanical arts, geography, mining, and economics. These subjects, it was suggested, were functional for the adjustment of the individual in the socio-economic system.¹³⁷

The educational reforms, initiated by the Piarists and adopted in part by the Jesuits, as well as other changes, such as lay participation in education, more scientific and practical orientation in curriculum, and an open concern with the problems of education, all contributed and provided the basis for educational planning and reforms of the Educational Commission.

135 B. Schódolski, op.cit., p. 114; and J. Łukaszewicz, Historia szkół w Koronie i w Wielkiem Księstwie Litewskiem od najdawniejszych czasów aż do roku 1794, Poznań, Nakł. Księgarni J. K. Zupanskiego, 1849-1851 4 volumes, Vol. I, p. 81-82.

136 "Lietuvos Mokyklos Istorijos Apybraiza - 12," op.cit., p. 3

137 Ibid.

CHAPTER III

THE ESTABLISHMENT AND ORGANIZATION OF THE EDUCATIONAL COMMISSION

The Commission for National Education of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was established in 1773.¹ By purpose and design the Educational Commission combined the educational systems of both Lithuania and Poland under one national controlling body, thus directly assuming the responsibility for education. The Educational Commission was established as a result of the dissolution of the Society of Jesus. This chapter will discuss the demise of the Jesuit Order, the establishment of the Educational Commission, the initial organizational activities of the Commission and its membership, the development of school finances, and the Society for Elementary Books.

A. The Dissolution of the Society of Jesus

Until the end of the XVIIIth century, education in Europe was largely in the hands of religious orders. One of the most powerful and influential of these was the Jesuit Order which not only controlled the major educational establishments but also held vast amounts of property and other assets. This was normal and necessary for a religious order whose many interests touched a number of areas. In a period of flux and developing ideologies, the Jesuits were a likely target for much

1 In Lithuanian: Lenkijos Karalystės ir Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštijos Valstybinė Edukacinė Komisija; in Polish: Kommissya Edukacyi Narodowej Korony Polskiej y.w.x. Litewskiego.

criticism and attack because of their strong orthodox views toward religion and their inflexible teaching methodology.

Among the many religious orders that maintained their own schools none could rival the Jesuits.² The 1749 census of the Jesuit Order revealed that the Society maintained and controlled no fewer than 669 colleges and 176 seminaries in Europe³ with more the 210,000 students.⁴

The mounting pressure to dissolve and disband the Jesuit Order came to a peak toward the end of the third quarter of the XVIIIth century. The Catholic monarchs in effect opposed the growing internationalism espoused by the Jesuits. The movement against the Jesuits was "part of a contest of power between the triumphant nationalism of the modern state and the internationalism of a papacy weakened by the Reformation, the Enlightenment, and the rise of a business class."⁵ The opponents of the Jesuit Order did not bring to the foreground their

2 Partick J. McCormick, History of Education: A Survey of the Development of Educational Practice in Ancient, Medieval, and Modern Times, Washington, D.C., The Catholic Education Press, 1950, p. 420.

3 Nicholas Hans, "The Dissolution of the Society of Jesus in the Eighteenth Century and its Financial Consequences," in Robert King Hall and J. A. Lauwerys, editors, Education and Economics: The Year Book of Education-1956, Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York, World Book Company, 1956, p. 139-140.

4 R. Schwickerath, Jesuit Education: Its History and Principles in Light of Modern Educational Problems, St. Louis, Missouri, B. Herder Company, 1904, p. 145.

5 Will and Ariel Durant, Rousseau and Revolution: A History of Civilization in France, England, and Germany from 1756, and in the Remainder of Europe from 1715 to 1798, The Story of Civilization: Part X, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1967, p. 316.

chief objection, which was the Jesuits' consistent belief and reaffirmation of the superiority of the Pope over the king and ergo the non-recognition of a superior other than their own General and the Pope.⁶ Most acknowledged the outstanding Jesuit contributions to learning and the efficient education of Catholic youth, but this did not deter their charges that the Jesuits repeatedly interfered in secular affairs of the state.

The Jesuit Order was expelled from Portugal in 1759, from France in 1764-1767, from Spain and Naples in 1767.⁷ Bitter debates and fighting developed over the Jesuit expulsions. The Pope took reprisals against the monarchs that expelled the Order, and at the same time tried to muster support for the Jesuits. Upon the death of Pope Clement XIII (2 February 1769) a new Pope was elected. The new Pope, Clement XIV, faced continuing attacks from the Catholic monarchs and other factions. Among these other factions were the French Encyclopaedists and philosophes, who concentrated their attacks on the Jesuits in order to gain the emancipation of national education from the control of the Church.⁸ The development and spread of English Masonry further strengthened the anti-Jesuit movement. Most of the Encyclopaedists and Freemasons advocated the foundation of a secular state school system.⁹ Most European rulers had already established secular schools in their countries, e.g., the

6 Ibid.

7 A. Goodwin, ed., The American and French Revolutions 1763-1793, Vol. VIII: The New Cambridge Modern History, Cambridge, England, Cambridge University Press, 1965, p. 364-565, 391-393, 594.

8 Nicholas Hans, op.cit., p. 138

9 Ibid., p. 139.

Szkola Rycerska in Poland, but did not have the funds necessary to expand these secular schools into a state network. The religious of other orders not only considered the Jesuits very successful rivals, but resented the many special privileges accorded to them by the Popes.¹⁰

The whole anti-Jesuit movement was in reality a manifestation of the ever strengthening deism, which by this time had spread throughout continental Europe, and was showing its effects in terms of anti-clericalism and anti-ecclesiasticism. This deistically inspired campaign resulted in the most impressive victory against the Papacy since the Reformation.¹¹ Under the concerted assault of the Catholic governments of Portugal, Spain, and France the Pope was forced to disband the Jesuit Order. On 21 July 1773, Pope Clement XIV issued his famous bull Dominus ac Redemptor Noster.¹² The Bull disbanded the Jesuit Order throughout the world and thus the Pope placated the enemies of Catholicism.¹³

10 Ibid.

11 Ferdinand Schevill, A History of Europe from the Reformation to the Present Day, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1944, p. 349-350.

12 Clementis XIV, "Breve Suppressionis Societatis Iesu," in Institutum Societatis Iesu: Bullarium et Compendium Privilegiorum, Florentiae, Ex Typographia a SS. Conceptione, 1892, Volumen Primum, p. 313-328.

13 Ferdinand Schevill, op.cit., p. 350.

The papal bull, Dominus ac Redemptor Noster, began with a long list of congregations that had previously been suppressed by the Holy See. The Bull then set forth a series of specifications: (1) that pensions be paid to Jesuits, who had not yet taken holy orders, and wanted to return to the lay life; (2) all Jesuit priests were permitted to join the secular clergy or religious congregations approved by the Holy See; (3) professed Jesuits, those who had taken final vows could remain in their former houses, but had to dress like secular priests and had to submit to the authority of the local ordinary.¹⁴

The Bull concluded:

...maturo consilio, ex certa scientia et plenitudine potestatis apostolicae, saepe dictam Societatem exstinguimus et supprimimus: tollimus et abrogamus omnia et singula eius officia, ministeria et administrationes, Domus, scholas, Collegia, hospitia, grangias et loca quaecumque, quavis in provincia, regno et ditione existentia, et modo quolibet ad eam pertinentia;...¹⁵

One specific requirement of the Bull was that the dissolution would occur only after the announcement was made by the local bishop, who first had to secure the agreement of the civil government.¹⁶ In

14 Clementis XIV, op.cit., p. 323-324. See paragraphs entitled: Ex paterno erga singulos Socios affectu consulit ut Professi votorum simplicium congruum munus inveniat, p. 323; Ut promoti ad ordines sacros alia Religiones ingredi possint, p. 324; and Vel iusta de causa in Domibus Societatis manere, Ordinario subiecti, p. 324.

15 Ibid., p. 323.

16 See: "Congregatio Cardinalium et Consultorum Exsequendo Brevi uppressionis Societatis Iesu Praeponitur," in Institutum Societatis Iesu: Bullarium et Compendium Privilegiorum, p. 328-330.

Lithuania and Poland it was this Bull that opened the way to the establishment of the Commission for National Education.

In Poland and Lithuania the Bull was received by Nuncio Jozef Garampi, who informed the Polish Chancellor, Bishop of Poznan, Andrzej Młodziejowski.¹⁷ On 10 September 1773, the Bishop notified King Stanislaus Augustus and the senators convened at the Partition Sejm of 1773.¹⁸ The Sejm, whose major purpose was to "approve" a partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by Russia, Prussia, and Austria, was thrown into turmoil. The dissolution of the Jesuit Order in Lithuania and Poland would result in an educational crisis in the already problem-ridden countries. The Bull required this dissolution to take place in each individual diocese, rather than in the entire country at once. The Bull also proclaimed that the ex-Jesuits and their wealth would be under the jurisdiction of the bishops.

The Bull was an unpleasant surprise not only for the clergy, but for the lay people as well. Even though the establishment of religious orders and their dissolution were internal matters of the Church in which the laity were not given a voice, the Sejm began to protest the dissolution of the Jesuit Order. It was proposed by Rafał Gurowski, a member of the Sejm, that a delegation be appointed consisting of members of the Senate and Sejm, who would address the papal legate and

17 Jan Popłatek, op.cit., p. 32.

18 "Lietuvos Mokyklos Istorijos Apybraiža--12," p. 3, and Bičiūnas, "Vilniaus Akademija Edukacinės Komisijos Rankose," p. 29/1/.

petition that the Bull not be promulgated.¹⁹ Several representatives demanded that the Placet Right be used.²⁰ This right maintained that no decision by the pope had any legal bearing in the nation until it had the approval of the head of state. The right had never been exercised in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth since it was frowned upon by the Roman Curia. Now the Sejm demanded that the Placet Right be used. They assumed that the king would not dare approve the Bull against the will of the Sejm, and thus the Jesuits would remain in the country.²¹

The roots of the dissatisfaction with the Bull stemmed from the fact that the Pope did not consult the Polish-Lithuanian king before publicizing the dissolution of the order. This Bull, however, was not as unexpected as was being indicated by the speeches of the delegates in the Sejm.²² J. Lewicki maintains that already in the beginning of July, two weeks before its issuance by the Pope, the Bull

19 Zygmunt Kukulski, Pierwiastkowe Przepisy Pedagogiczne Komisji Edukacji Narodowej z lat 1773-1776 (The Primary Educational Regulations of the Commission for National Education 1773-1776), Lublin, Nakładem Lubelskiego Komitetu Obchodu 150-iej Rocznicy Ustanowienia : Komisji Edukacyjnej i Zgonu St. Konarskiego, 1923, p. LVIII; and Jan Poplatek, op.cit., p. 32.

20 Juozas Jakštas, "Placet," Lietuvių Enciklopedia, Vol. XXIII, p. 77-78.

21 Łukasz Kurdybacha, Kuria Rzymska wobec Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w latach 1773-1783 (The Roman Curia faced with the Commission for National Education), Krakow, Polska Akademia Umiej., Archiwum Kom. do Dziej. Oświaty i Szkoln. w Polsce nr. 7, 1949, p. 10.

22 J. Lewicki, Geneza Komisji Edukacji Narodowej: Studium Historyczne (Genesis of the Commission for National Education: Historical Study), Warszawa, Polska two. Nauczycieli Szkół wyż. Nowyświat 59, 1923, p. 21.

was fully described in the popular newspaper in Poland the Gazetta de Cologne avec Privilège de sa Majesté Imperiale 1773.²³

In deliberating the question of the dissolution of the Jesuit Order the question of Jesuit property rights came to the foreground. The Bull had specified that all Jesuit wealth would pass to the local bishops. The transfer of this wealth to the bishops was not looked upon by the greedy gentry with favor.²⁴ J. Kuzenecki, a member of the Sejm, proposed the idea that the Jesuits should remain as teachers in their former schools, and that the control of all Jesuit property be given to the king, who would also be responsible for educational matters.²⁵ In the opinion of J. Lewicki the unanimous approval of J. Kuzenecki's idea by the Sejm allowed for a solution to the property question and led the way for the establishment of the Educational Commission.²⁶ This action solved for the gentry the very important question of property control in a way that was acceptable to them. The control of Jesuit wealth outside of the Church would at least offer some possibility of profit for the gentry.

The Sejm received seven proposals for the realization of the Kuzenecki action. The contents of these seven proposals were varied, but the most realistic were the proposals of Chreptowicz, Młodziejowski,

23 Ibid.

24 Jan Poplatek, op.cit., p. 32.

25 J. Lewicki, Geneza Komisji Edukacji Narodowej, p. 24-25.

26 Ibid. p. 26.

and Massalski.²⁷ These proposals will be discussed in the next section of this paper. The proposal of the Bishop of Vilnius, Ignacy Massalski,²⁸ was accepted by the Sejm on October 14, 1773.

In accordance with papal instructions the dissolution of the Jesuit Order in Poland-Lithuania was therefore accepted by civil authority. The order was announced in Vilnius on November 12, 1773.²⁹ With the announcement the University of Vilnius, which had been operating for more than two hundred years, as well as the Vilnius Collegium Nobilium and all Jesuit schools and properties passed into the hands of the newly established Educational Commission.

In 1773 the Jesuit Order in Lithuania and Poland had 2,359 members 1,177 priests, 599 clerics, and 583 brothers. The Jesuits had fifty-one colleges, eighteen residential houses, and sixty mission schools/stations. They kept sixty-six schools functioning (twenty-three middle schools, fifteen Collegia Nobilium, two seminaries and two universities). In the Lithuanian Province alone there were 643 members of the Jesuit Order.³⁰

27 All seven proposals are presented in detail in J. Lewicki's work Geneza Komisji Edukacji Narodowej.

28 Bibliographical data and a description of Massalski's work can be found in K.A. Matulaitis, "Dėl ko Lenkai Pakorė Varšuvoje Vilniaus Vyskupą Masalskį?" (Why did the Poles Hang in Warsaw the Bishop of Vilnius Masalski?), in Tautos Praeitis, Vol. III, Book 3/4/7-8/, 1967, p. 347-363.

29 Bičiūnas, "Vilniaus Akademija Edukacinės Komisijos Rankose," p. 31/3/. S. Sužiedėlis, "Švietimas Didžiojoje Lietuvos Kunigaikštijoje," p. 749.

30 Catalogus Personarum et Officiorum Provinciae Poloniae Majoris, Poznaniae, 1773; Item Lithuaniae, Vilnae, 1773; et Massoviae, Nesvissii, 1773; cited by J. Bičiūnas, "Vilniaus Akademija Edukacinės Komisijos Rankose," p. 31/3/.

Nuncio Giuseppe Garampi informed the Holy See of the Sejm's decision to use the Jesuit properties for education. On December 18, 1773, in a letter addressed to the king and the chairman of the Educational Commission, Bishop Massalski, the Pope sanctioned this decision and expressed his pleasure that two bishops were members of the Commission. He also expressed the hope that all religious and philosophical instruction would remain under the control of the bishops and that all professors and teachers would be of the Catholic faith.³¹ Thus ended two centuries of Jesuit work in Lithuania and Poland. Their educational responsibilities were now to be carried on by the Educational Commission. This is not to say that the Jesuit Order did not continue to play an integral role in the activities of the Educational Commission. The ex-Jesuits assumed important roles in the various spheres of activity conducted by the Educational Commission. Their continuing role in education is well documented and presented in a new study by Jan Poplatek entitled: Udział Byłych Jezuitów w Pracach Komisji Edukacji Narodowej.³²

It should be noted that Catherine II of Russia did not allow the Papal Bull to be announced in lands taken over by the Russian Empire from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the Partition of 1772. When

31 Nuncio Garampi's correspondence with the Holy See is found in: Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu, Polonia, 241 t.: Folio 295-297v; fol. 300-301v; fol. 302-303; also Polonia, 313 t.: Folio 300-305v; fol. 296-299v; fol. 294-295v; fol. 324-326v; fol. 328-329v; and folio 350-355.

32 Jan Poplatek, Udział Byłych Jezuitów w Pracach Komisji Edukacji (Participation of Ex-Jesuits in the Work of the Educational Commission), Krakow, Wydawnictwo Apostolstwa Modlitwy, 1973, 512 p.

Pope Clement XIV died on 22 September 1774, his successor Pope Pius VI did not object to Catherine's action and on 9 August 1776 even allowed the remaining Jesuits to enlist new members into the Order.³³ Thus education in these lands remained in the hands of the Jesuits. Had the Sejm of 1773 also chosen not to announce the Bull, educational reform would have been retarded and the influence of the philosophical and reform movements of the XVIIIth century would have been minimized. It is probable that the dissolution of the Jesuit Order was motivated not so much by pedagogical as by economic, religious, and political considerations. Educational reform was in large measure an unintended by-product of the demise of the Jesuits. The confiscation of Jesuit lands, buildings, and monies by the state was, in fact, the conditio sine qua non of the reform.³⁴ Furthermore, the collaboration with the ex-Jesuits resulted in a more permanent reform.³⁵

B. The Establishment of the Commission for National Education

Seven proposals were received by the Sejm for the establishment of an educational commission. Of these seven proposals three played an integral role in the final establishment and organizational structure of the commission. The three proposals were those of

33 K.A. Matulaitis, op.cit., see footnote p. 351.

34 N. Hans, "The Dissolution of the Society of Jesus in the Eighteenth Century and its Financial Consequences," p. 146.

35 The monograph by J. Poplatek, op.cit., clearly supports this statement.

J. Chreptowicz, A. Młodziejowski, and I. Massalski.

Joachim Chreptowicz, the Vice-Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, suggested that all educational affairs be under the control of the king and the Permanent Council which was established by the Sejm in 1772.³⁶ He also suggested that all Jesuit property be given to the state. On 7 October 1773, Chreptowicz proposed a new project which received support from both Młodziejowski and Massalski. In his first project Chreptowicz suggested that all the property of the Jesuit Order be given to the state and that a special commission be formed for the administration of the wealth. The commission was to take over and record all Jesuit wealth, administer it, and lease it, with all proceeds to be used for the support of education. This project anticipated regular commission meetings, which could be called at the request of a single commission member. No salary was to be paid to commission members. New members were to be elected by a majority vote. Higher schools as well as all other schools were to be under the commission's jurisdiction. The commission's work was to be in the name of the king, and the various privileges granted were to be through the king.³⁷ Chreptowicz's second proposal, which was presented in French,³⁸ provided no significant difference; the variations

³⁶ Ambroise Jobert, La Commission D'Éducation Nationale en Pologne (1773-1794), Paris, Société d'Édition Les Belles Lettres, 1941, p. 165-166.

³⁷ J. Lewicki, Geneza Komisji Edukacji Narodowej, p. 72-73.

³⁸ Plan de l'Education nationale. See: J. Lewicki, op.cit., p. 8.

pertained only to control. The first proposal specified control of the schools to be vested in the rectors of the two universities, while in the second proposal control was to rest with the commission.

Jozef Lukaszewicz writes that Chreptowicz first presented his plan to the king, who in turn urged Chreptowicz to present the plan to the Sejm. Once the plan reached the Sejm the king gave it his strong support.³⁹ The Chreptowicz plan was in line with the king's previous plans, which would have formed one educational unit from the Jesuit and Piarist schools under the control of the state.⁴⁰

The project presented by Andrzej Młodziejowski, Bishop of Poznan and Chancellor of Poland, suggested that a new academy be established in Warsaw and that all Jesuit wealth be assigned to the care of the king.⁴¹ Młodziejowski revised the proposal a few days later and included a commission whose duties would be to list all Jesuit property. Included was a list of directions on how to accomplish this task. He specified that each bishop had to provide a person for each college in his diocese. All Jesuit properties were to be recorded within a six week period.⁴² What Bishop Młodziejowski was suggesting was in reality a simple accounting of Jesuit properties. His real goal

39 Jozef Lukaszewicz, Historia Szkół w Koronie i w Wielkiem Księstwie Litewskiem (History of the Schools in Poland and in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania), Poznan, Nakładem Księgarni Jana Konstantego Zupanskiego, 1850, Vol. 2, p. 167-168.

40 Lukasz Kurdybacha, Historia Wychowania, Vol. I, p. 654.

41 J. Lewicki, Geneza Komisji Edukacji Narodowej, p. 64-65.

42 Ibid., p. 72-73.

was the passage of a resolution in the Sejm that would not contradict the Papal Bull and that all property would pass to the bishops.

Ignacy Massalski, the Bishop of Vilnius, proposed the broadest plan. In his introductory statement Massalski set the stage for national education. He said: "The Republic itself must educate its citizens, since it is the citizens that form the Republic."⁴³ He suggested that the Sejm establish an educational commission composed of four members who would serve for life. The chairman of this commission should not be the king, but a specially selected person. This new commission should concern itself with the education of both males and females of the entire commonwealth. Massalski continued by proposing that the commission establish a school network, assign teachers, establish and specify a teaching methodology, develop curriculum for the schools, maintain proper order within the system, and promulgate its own school regulations which would be submitted to the Sejm for approval. His plan also included certain suggestions regarding the chairman of the commission. The chairman of the commission was to have the authority to appoint a secretary, teachers, and the rectors of the universities. These appointments would be made upon the recommendation of the commission. Massalski also suggested that religious instruction in the schools remain under the control of the bishops. In order to operate

43 Ibid., p. 73-74.

the commission and support the schools, Massalski suggested that all Jesuit properties and wealth be turned over to the Commission.⁴⁴

The three projects presented had some essential differences. Chreptowicz suggested that the commission be established under the control of the king. Massalski suggested that the king only be the guardian of the commission and that the Sejm appoint the chairman, while Młodziejowski suggested that the commission merely record the wealth of the Jesuits and then pass it on to the Church.

The Sejm faced with these proposals appointed a fifteen member committee to develop a compromise proposal.⁴⁵ This committee, on 14 October 1773, reported to the Sejm the compromise proposal. The Sejm, after a short deliberation accepted the compromise proposal in full and thus, on 14 October 1773, established the Commission for National Education of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.⁴⁶

The Sejm in accepting the proposal issued an Act entitled:

Ustanowienie Kommissyi nad Edukacją Młodzi Narodowej Szlacheckiej Dozor

44 Ibid.

45 Algirdas Šidlauskas, "Mokyklų Reforma Lietuvoje XVIIIa. Pabaigoje," (School Reform in Lithuania toward the end of the XVIIIth century), in Lietuvos TSR Mokslo Akademijos Darbai, Serija A, 2(13), 162, p. 42. See also: the details of the appointment, etc. in Zygmunt Kukulski, op.cit., p. LXII-LXIII.

46 Volumina Legum: Przedruk zbioru praw staraniem xx. Pijarów w Warszawie od roku 1732 do roku 1782, wydanego..., 2nd ed., Petersburg, Nakładem i drukiem J. Ohryzki, 1860, Vol. 8, p. 537-538.

⁴⁷
Majacey. This Act was the legal basis for all activities of the Educational Commission. The Act had three basic parts: (1) introductory statement; (2) paragraph dealing with the organization and scope of the Commission; and (3) procedures to be followed in dealing with Jesuit wealth and the remaining Jesuits. The introductory paragraph provided the reasons for the action:

Because the Holy Father, in his Bull, which was sent to all Christian countries and in the near future will be announced in the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania,⁴⁸ has disbanded the Jesuit Order, which Order had the largest number of schools and expended the largest part of its wealth toward the education of our youth, therefore, within our constitutional authority, and so that the education of our youth would not suffer,⁴⁹ nor any wealth be lost, we issue the following order:

The second paragraph of the Act contained the various organizational elements and specified the degree of control the Commission was to have over education. The following were the main elements presented: (1) In Warsaw, under the protectorate of the King, a Commission for the education of the gentry's children was to be established; (2) The following were named to serve on the Commission: (a) Prince Ignacy Massalski, Bishop of Vilnius; (b) Prince Michal Poniatowski, Bishop of Plock; (c) Prince August Sulkowski, Governor of Gniezno;

47 Transl: Establishment of a National Commission Having Responsibility Over the Education of Gentry Youth.

48 Note that this Act was issued on 14 October 1773, while the actual announcement of the dissolution did not occur until 12 November 1773.

49 Volumina Legum, loc.cit.

(d) Prince Adam Czartoryski, General of the Podolian Territory;
(e) Joachim Chreptowicz, Vice-Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; (f) Ignacy Potocki, Secretary of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania;
(g) Andrzej Zamoyski, Knight of the Order of the White Eagle; and
(h) Antoni Poninski, Administrator of Kopajnie;⁵⁰ (3) Bishop of Vilnius, Ignacy Massalski was to serve as Chairman; (4) Terms of appointment for all members were to end with the Sejm of 1780; (5) In the event that a member of the Commission died, a replacement was to be selected in accordance with the provisions of the 1764 Constitution;
(6) The most important provision of paragraph two was: "With the establishment of the Commission all academies, high schools, academic communities, and public schools without exception will be under the control and administration of the Commission."⁵¹ The last item presented in paragraph two was (7) that all other activities related to education could also be incorporated under the control of the Educational Commission and could be administered and reformed in accordance with the policies of the Commission.

Paragraph three of the Act specified all of the mechanisms to be used in the identification, recording, and reporting of Jesuit properties as well as the monies to be paid the ex-Jesuits in pensions.⁵²

⁵⁰ The discussion of Commission membership is presented in part D of this Chapter.

⁵¹ *Volumina Legum*, *loc.cit.*

⁵² This paragraph specified pensions to the ex-Jesuits because of the requirements set forth in the Bull.

This paragraph contained the following specifics: (1) Censors should be appointed for the registration of all Jesuit properties;⁵³ (2) Individuals appointed as censors should be sworn to accomplish this task honestly; (3) In the case of church property, the local bishop should appoint a priest to participate in the registration; (4) Any questions arising from the registration should be sent to the Commission; (5) The entire registration should be completed within a two month period; (6) All schools should remain open and instruction continued until final instructions are received from the Commission; (7) In all Jesuit schools the remaining ex-Jesuits should continue teaching; (8) Jesuits, who because of illness or age were unable to teach, and those Jesuits who were from other countries and did not have time to return should be paid a pension; (9) For the two month period a total of 300,000 gulden was allocated to the Commission from Jesuit income.⁵⁴

The Act ends with a plea by the Sejm for unity and a cooperative effort to assist the Educational Commission in attaining its goal of educating the youth of the Commonwealth, especially in "these hard times."⁵⁵

53 "Censors" (Lith: Liustratoriai) were workers used by the government to list property and people for purposes of either taxation or military draft. See Zenonas Ivinskis, "Liustracija," Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Vol. XVI (1958), pp. 363-364.

54 Volumina Legum, loc.cit.

55 Ibid. Reference to "hard times" indicates concern for the Partitions.

C. Initial Organizational Activities of the Commission

The first meeting of the Commission was held in Warsaw on 17 October 1773.⁵⁶ This was an organizational meeting to discuss the way in which the decision of the Sejm should be implemented. The Commission decided: that all its meetings would be held in secret;⁵⁷ that the Commission would wait for the reports from the censors before making any budget decisions;⁵⁸ that Bishop Massalski should write letters to all of the Jesuit provincials asking them to encourage all of the Jesuits to continue in their duties.⁵⁹ The Commission continued to meet on the 18th, 19th, 20th, and 22nd of October discussing various organizational matters. One of these matters was the formal announcement of the Commission's establishment. This item was prepared and, on 23 October 1773, the Commission sent it to the printer.⁶⁰ The announcement, entitled: Kommissya Edukacyi Narodowej Korony Polskiej y W.X. Litewskiego, was issued on 24 October 1773.⁶¹ This is normally referred to as the

56 Mieczysława Mitera-Dobrowolska, Protokoły Posiedzeń Komisji Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1785 (Minutes of the Meetings of the Commission for National Education), Polska Akademia Nauk, Pracownia Dziejów Oświaty, Ossolinskich, Warszawa, 1973, p. 3. Cite here after as Protokoły Posiedzeń KEN 1773-1785.

57 Protokoły Posiedzeń KEN 1773-1785, p. 3, item 1.1^o

58 Ibid., p. 4, item 3.3^o

59 Ibid., p. 4, item 4.4^o and 5.5^o

60 Ibid., p. 7, item 25

61 See: "Uniwersał Ogłaszający Komisję Edukacyjną" in Z. Kukulski, op.cit., p. 5-9.

Uniwersal or proclamation of the Educational Commission.

The Uniwersal contained two basic sets of information: (1) the reproduction of the Sejm's Act establishing the Educational Commission; and (2) further directives issued by the Commission itself. The further directives consisted of three sections. The first section was:

Therefore, by the power vested in the Educational Commission, we the members, order all academies, colleges, schools, and other educational establishments, not to discontinue any educational activities. Teachers and students, quietly continuing teaching and learning, should await our instructions for further action under our supervision.⁶²

The second section contained the following directive:

All rectors and superiors of religious houses, as well as all school directors will submit, within a six week period, to the Educational Commission, a detailed report dealing with the functioning of the schools and the status of education in their schools.⁶³

The third and final item of information was:

Wishing to have the opinion of as many people as possible, we request suggestions be sent to us dealing with ways of improving the level of education in the land. We guarantee that if we find anything of benefit in the suggestions, we will, with gratitude to the proposer, implement the suggestions, making changes and additions in the areas of teaching and learning in our school programs.⁶⁴

62 Ibid., p. 8.

63 Ibid.,

64 Ibid., p. 9.

With the publication of the proclamation the Commission would now begin receiving the reports and could begin evaluating the present status of the educational establishment. Reaction to the proclamation was swift. As early as 25 October 1773 an anonymous letter reached the Commission offering suggestions for educational reform.⁶⁵ Many other substantive reform proposals were also received by the Commission, but these will be presented in detail in the following chapter.

The second organizational document issued by the Educational Commission was the Ordynacja Komisji Rzeczypospolitej Edukacji Narodowej.⁶⁶ It was issued on 21 February 1774⁶⁷ and detailed the internal organization and procedures to be followed by the Educational Commission. Specifically the following procedural rules were established: (1) A quorum was constituted when three Commission members were present; (2) Decisions were to be reached by a simple majority vote; (3) In case of a tie, the chairman received two votes; (4) In all cases where decisions involved funds, salaries, gifts, scholarships, fellowships, construction of new schools, closing of old schools, complaints and appeals, as well as punishments, a plurality vote was needed; (5) An accurate record of all schools, including details of their establishment, funds, buildings, and teachers was to be maintained in the archives of the

65 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785.

66 "Ordynacja Komisji Rzeczypospolitej Edukacji Narodowej" (Rules of the Commission for National Education of the Commonwealth) in Z. Kukulski, op.cit., p. 10-12.

Commission; (6) All minutes of the meetings were to be signed by all of the Commission members present at the meeting; and (7) Two copies of the minutes were to be maintained, with one copy being delivered to the king.⁶⁸ The Ordynacja assigned Commission member Andrzej Zamoyski the position of financial administrator.⁶⁹ The Commission also specified its normal meeting times as being every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. The chairman was authorized to appoint two secretaries, one librarian, a treasurer, and two clerical workers.⁷⁰

The Ordynacja also detailed the Commission's relationship with the Sejm, the king, and the king's Chancellery, as well as the Commission's scope and mission.

On 2 March 1774 the Commission published in the newspaper Gazeta Warszawska a supplement to the Ordynacja.⁷¹ This supplement revealed the basic educational organization which was planned by the Commission⁷² as well as its projected budget. The three basic documents discussed heretofore, i.e., the Ustanowienie, the Uniwersal, and the Ordynacja, formed the basis for the legal status of the Commission and

68 "Ordynacja Komisji Rzeczypospolitej Edukacji Narodowej," loc.cit. p. 11.

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid.

71 Z. Kukulski, op. cit., p. XCII-XCIII.

72 Ibid.

layed the foundation for its functional aspects.

D. Membership on the Educational Commission

The Commission for National Education was composed of four representatives from the higher chamber of the Sejm and four from the lower chamber. During the course of its activity, the composition of the Commission underwent several changes.⁷³ The membership of the Commission is presented in detail in Table I. The first members of the Educational Commission, appointed by the Sejm in 1773, came from some of the most prominent families in Lithuania and Poland. The Commission initially consisted of eight members who received no compensation for their services.

Members of the Educational Commission who contributed most to the reforms and organization of the Commission were Massalski, Chreptowicz, and Potocki. The latter two remained on the Commission until its final years. Some of the younger members were the poet Niemcewicz and the dramatist Zablocki. Bishop Massalski resigned as the chairman of the Commission in 1780,⁷⁴ but remained a member of the Commission through 1794. Upon Massalski's resignation as chairman of the Commission, all

73 Lukasz Kurdybacha, "The Commission for National Education in Poland 1773-1794," History of Education (Newton Abbot, Devon), Vol. II, No: 2, June, 1973, p. 137.

74 Hanna Pohoska, Wizytatorowie Generalni Komisji Edukacji Narodowej (General Inspectors of the Educational Commission), Lublin, Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, Tom 45, 1957, p. 35; and see also Protokoly Posiedzen Ken 1773-1785, p. 87, p. 90-91.

Table I
Members of the Educational Commission

Name and Title	Period of Service	Position(s) Held
MASSALSKI, Ignacy Prince	17-X-1773--24-III-1794 ^s	Chairman of the Commission, Bishop of Vilnius
PONIATOWSKI, Michal Prince	17-X-1773--24-III-1794 ^s	Bishop of Plock, Primate of Poland, Brother of the King
SULKOWSKI, August ^p Prince	17-X-1773--7-I-1786	Palatin of Gniezno; of Kalisz (1776); of Poznan (1782)
CHREPTOWICZ, Joachim ^q	17-X-1773--8-VI-1791 and 16-XII-1793 to 24-III-1794	Vice-Chancellor of Lithuania
POTOCKI, Ignacy ^r	17-X-1773--26-III-1791	Secretary, Grand Duchy of Lithuania
CZARTORYSKI, Adam Prince	17-X-1773--17-X-1780 ^t	General of the Podolian Territory
ZAMOYSKI, Andrzej	17-X-1773--20-II-1782 ^t	Knight of the Order of the White Eagle
PONINSKI, Antoni	17-X-1773--7-IV-1777	Administrator of Kopajnie
MOKRONOWSKI, Andrzej ^p	2-XI-1776--1784	Marshal of the Sejm
MALACHOWSKI, Hiacynt ^d	2-XI-1776--30-VI-1792 ^t	Secretary of the Crown
BIELINSKI, Franciszek	2-XI-1776--27-V-1782 ^t	Administrator of Czerski
PONIATOWSKI, Stanislaw Prince	2-XI-1776--1792 ^t and 16-XII-1793 to 24-III-1794	Lt.General of the Crown and Representative of the Biels Region
MNISZECH, Michal ^a	11-IV-1777--10-X-1783	Secretary of the Grand Duch of Lithuania (1778); Marsha of the Court of Lithuania
POTOCKI, Szczesny ^b Felix	7-II-1783--9-V-1783 ^t	Governor of the Russian Territories (Ruthenia)

Table I--Continued

GARNYSZ, Maciej Poraj ^c	9-V-1783--31-XII-1789 ^t	Bishop of Chelm, Vice-Chancellor of the Crown
MALACHOWSKI, Antoni	13-X-1783--13-X-1792	Grand Secretary of the Crown
RADZIWILL, Michal ^e Prince	9-XII-1783--9-XII-1792 ^t and 16-XII-1793 to 24-III-1794	Castellan of Vilnius and from 1790 Palatin of Vilnius Grand Duchy of Lithuania
PRZEBENDOWSKI, Ignacy ^f	14-I-1785--1791 ^p	Administrator of Solec
ORACZEWSKI, Szczesny ^g	6-III-1786--1792	Major in the Army of the Crown
CIECISZOWSKI, Kasper ^h	5-III-1791--1792	Bishop of Kiev
LANCKORONSKI, Antoni ⁱ	17-XII-1791--30-VII-1792	Member of the Finance Commission
NIEMCEWICZ, Julian ^j	17-XII-1791--30-VI-1792	Representative to Livonia
GUTAKOWSKI, Ludwik ^k	24-XII-1791--2-VI-1792	Vice-Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania
SKARSZEWSKI, Wojciech ^l	10-V-1793--9-XI-1793	Bishop of Chelm
SZEMBEK, Krzysztof	31-V-1793--9-XI-1793	Archdeacon, Nominated for Bishop of Plock
NOWICKI, Alexander	31-V-1793--9-XI-1793	Canon of Warsaw
REPTOWSKI, Jędrzej	31-V-1793--9-XI-1793	Canon of Poznan
ANKWICZ, Jozef Count	31-V-1793--9-XI-1793	Knight of the Order of Polar
RACZYNSKI, Antoni	31-V-1793--9-XI-1793	Major General in the Army of the Crown
WYKOWSKI, Gregorz	4-VI-1793--9-XI-1793	Knight of the Order of Saint Stanislaw
MIECZKOWSKI, Kazimierz	31-V-1793--9-XI-1793	Administrator of Rabstin
KOSSAKOWSKI, Josef ^m Prince	1793	President of the Lithuanian Educational Commission
LOPACINSKI, Josef ⁿ Prince	1793	Bishop of Samogitia, Member Lithuanian Educational Commission

Table I--Continued

GAWRONSKI, Andrzej ^o	16-XII-1793--14-IV-1794	Chancellor of the Cathedral of Krakow
PILCHOWSKI, Dawid ^o	16-XII-1793--14-IV-1794	Prelate of Vilnius
STROYNOWSKI, Hieronim ^o	16-XII-1793--14-IV-1794	Canon of Kiev
WOYNA, Stanislaw ^o	16-XII-1793--14-IV-1794	Administrator of Stanislaw
WOLSKI, Mikaloj ^o	16-XII-1793--14-IV-1794	Chamberlain of the King

SOURCE: Stansilaw Tync, Komisja Edukacji Narodowej (Pisma Komisji i o Komisji), Wroclaw: Biblioteka Narodowa, Nr. 126, Seria I, Zaklad Imienia Ossolinskich, 1954, pp. 30-34. and Ambroise Jobert, La Commission D'Éducation Nationale en Pologne (1773-1794), Paris, Société d'Édition Les Belles Lettres, 1941, Appendix I: "Liste des Membres de la Commission d'Éducation, 1773-1792," p. 473-474.

- NOTES:
- a Mniszech was a replacement for Poninski
 - b Potocki was a replacement for Malachowski
 - c Garnysz was a replacement for Bielinski
 - d Malachowski was a replacement for Zamoyski
 - e Radziwill was a replacement for Mniszech
 - f Przebendowski was a replacement for Mokronowski
 - g Oraczewski was a replacement for Sulkowski
 - h Cieciszowski was a replacement for Garnysz
 - i Lanckoronski was a replacement for Potocki
 - j Niemcewicz was a replacement for Przebendowski
 - k Gutakowski was a replacement for Chreptowicz
 - l Member of the Polish Educational Commission from 16-XII-1793--14-IV-1794
 - m President of the new Educational Commission for Lithuania
 - n Member of the new Lithuanian Educational Commission
 - o Member of the Polish Educational Commission
 - p Died while a member of the Educational Commission
 - q Break in service due to position in government which was not compatible with membership on the Educational Commission. 17-V-1791 appointed Ministre des Affaires Etrangères.
 - r Potocki also left the Educational Commission on the date specified because of an appointment as Ministre de la Police. This position was also considered (as in q) not compatible with membership on the Commission.
 - s Dates for Commission membership are based on Tync vs. Jobert. Jobert in the cases indicated only lists memberships up to 1792.
 - t Dates used here are from Tync. In these cases the dates cited for membership by Jobert are in error. Dates verified in Protokoly Posiedzen Komisji Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1785, Warszawa, Ossolinskich, 1973 and Protokoly Posiedzen Komisji Edukacji Narodowej 1786-1794, Warszawa, Ossolinskich, 1969.

matters pertaining to schools in Lithuania were transferred to Chreptowicz.⁷⁵ Among the leading figures in the Commission was the Bishop of Vilnius, Ignacy Massalski, an aristocrat, a restless and energetic ecclesiastic, who shared in the plunder of the Jesuit estates.⁷⁶ Massalski was a well-educated man who had imbibed the contemporary ideas of the French reformers, and was the most zealous advocate on the Commission for schools for the peasants. At the beginning he was the most strenuous member of the Commission and the most powerful propagator of Commission policy in Lithuania, but the Bishop was an unscrupulous administrator and soon lost his zeal for the work of the Commission.⁷⁷ The king's brother, Bishop Poniatowski, was more tenacious. He helped the Commission out of many difficulties in its early period and continued to support Commission activities in the Sejm and in the country in general.⁷⁸

Members of three of the most powerful Polish families served on the Commission. They were Prince Adam Czartoryski, Andrew Zamoyski, and Ignacy Potocki. All of them were among the most highly educated men of their time and all played important roles in other reform acti-

75 Ibid.

76 Bibliographical data and a description of Massalski's work can be found in K.A. Matulaitis, "Dėl ko Lenkai Pakorė Varšuvoje Vilniaus Vyskupą Masalskį?" Tautos Praeitis (Rome), Vol. III, Book 3/4 (7-8), 1967, p. 347-363.

77 A. Bruce Boswell, "Educational Reform in Poland after the First Partition," The Slavonic Review (London), Vol. III, No: 7, June 1924, p. 132.

78 Ibid.

vities as well. Potocki was the youngest member of the Commission.⁷⁹ He was only twenty-three when he began serving on the Commission. Potocki was known for his ideas and especially for his ability to find men to implement them.⁸⁰ He was a product of Konarski's reformed school and was the leader in the educational theories of the Commission. In the Lithuanian sphere of influence Joachim Chreptowicz was one of the most enlightened and progressive men of the period.⁸¹ Both he and Massalski were strong Physiocrats and in several instances had even set some serfs free to work their lands.⁸²

Most of the Commission members were Physiocrats.⁸³ A number of them had been frequent visitors to, or students in, Paris or London. Through contact made in these cities they became familiar with the Masonic Movement. A number of the leading members of the Commission were Masons,⁸⁴ for example, Ignacy Potocki was the founder of the Grand

79 Konstantinas Avižonis, "Ignacy Potocki (1751-1809)," in Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Vol. XXIII, sub. verbum.

80 A. Bruce Boswell, art.cit., p. 133.

81 Jokimas Chreptavičius, "Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Vol. III, (1954), p. 540.

82 J. A. Račkauskas, "Pradinis švietimas Lietuvoje iki Trečiojo Padalinimo," (Primary Education in Lithuania up to the Period of the Third Partition of 1795), in Lietuvių Tautos Praeitis, Vol. III, Book 1(9), 1971, p. 83(21).

83 Ambroise Jobert, Magnats Polonais et Physiocrates Français (1767-1774), Dijon, Université de Lyon, Imprimerie Darantière, 1941, 87p.

84 For example see: N. Hans, "Polish Schools in Russia 1772-1831," The Slavonic and East European Review (London), Vol. 38, No. 91, p. 396.

Orient of Poland. Mokronowski, Potocki, and Gutakowski were all Grand Masters. Poniatowski, Czartoryski, Zamoyski, Bielinski, and S. Poniatowski were all active Masons. ⁸⁵ Massalski and Chreptowicz were probably Masons. The Masonic link with the Commission must be noted since through it the Commission received many of its ideas and much support. It should be noted that in Poland-Lithuania no less than the Primate of Poland, at least two bishops, and dozens of canons and priests took an active part in the educational reforms, and at the same time belonged to the Masonry. ⁸⁶ Even the Jesuits started joining the Masons after the dissolution.

In general, the members of the Commission came from the highest societal levels, were Catholics, espoused Physiocratic ideals, and were for the most part members of the Masonic Movement.

E. Financial Operations under the Distributing Commissions

All Jesuit properties and funds were to be used to support educational activities. The Sejm in establishing the Educational Commission also established two sub-commissions, whose primary function was to collect and distribute funds derived from Jesuit properties and monies. ⁸⁷ These two sub-commissions were (1) the Distributing Commission of Lithuania (Lith: Dalinamoji Komisiija) and (2) the Distributing Commission of Poland (Pol: Komisja Rozdawnicza). The Sejm appointed

⁸⁵ Breakdown prepared from text found in: Nicholas Hans, "Educational Reform in Poland in the Eighteenth Century," Journal of Central European Affairs, Vol. XIV, No. 4, January, 1954, p. 301-310.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

Bishop Massalski as the chairman of the Lithuanian Distributing Commission and the Bishop of Poznan, A. Młodziejowski, as chairman of the Polish Distributing Commission.⁸⁸

The vast Jesuit properties in Lithuania and Poland were thus assigned to the Distributing Commissions.⁸⁹ They were under orders of the Sejm to lease for an unlimited number of years all Jesuit properties to the nobility/gentry at a fixed interest rate. Interest rates, set by the Sejm and the Distributing Commissions, were 4½ percent for all real property and 5 percent for investments and loans.⁹⁰ All interest on property had to be paid two terms in advance.

The Distributing Commissions conducted their affairs through officials known as censors (Lith: Liustratoriai).⁹¹ These individuals travelled throughout Poland and Lithuania making detailed lists of Jesuit properties. The actual takeover of Jesuit property occurred when a censor arrived at a Jesuit house or school. He first read the Papal Bull and the decision of the Sejm. Then he proceeded to seal rooms containing valuable items, such as gold, silver, and the like. Eventually, a complete list of the property was prepared, a value set, and the

88 Ibid.

89 Complete lists of Jesuit properties, including detailed information as to property location, interest charged, and to whom property was leased is contained in Józef Łukaszewicz, Historia Szkół, Vol. II, p. 203-243.

90 Volumina Legum, op.cit. p. 266-277.

91 Zenonas Ivinskis, "Liustracija," p. 363-364.

property leased.⁹² In order not to disrupt the educational program established and operated by the Jesuits, the censor appointed a prefect and empowered teachers to continue educational activities.⁹³ School buildings were not leased but retained by the Commission for educational purposes.

While the Distributing Commissions were listing Jesuit properties and leasing them, the Educational Commission prepared its first annual budget. This budget was published on 2 March 1774, as a supplement to the Ordynacja issued on 21 February 1774.⁹⁴ A summary of the proposed annual budget revealed that the Commission planned the following expenditures:⁹⁵

92 "Lietuvos Mokyklos Istorijos Apybairė--13," Tarybinis Mokytojas, No: 1 (1360), Sausio 3, 1969, p. 3. Also Jozef Łukasiewicz, op.cit., presents in great detail the entire procedure followed by the censors. Note that this procedure as well as many additional details were specified in the third paragraph of the Ustawienie... See Volumina Legum, op.cit., p. 537-538.

93 As per the provisions of paragraph one, section two of the Uniwersal and item seven of paragraph three of the Ustawienie.

94 Supplement-Budget was published in Gazeta Warszawska, 2 March 1774, entitled: "Rozporządzenie o expensów do edukacji najpotrzebniejszych." Budget was presented to the Commission on 20 February 1774, see Protokoły Posiedzeń KEN: 1773-1785, p. 18, 20 feruarii, item 10.

95 Budget presented here is taken from Z. Kukulski, op.cit. p. XCII-XCIII. Budget can also be found in Jozef Lewicki, Ustawodawstwo Szkolne za Czasów Komisji Edukacji Narodowej Rozporządzenia: Ustawy Pedagogiczne i Organizacyjne (1773-1793) (Les reglements scolaires au temps de la Commission de l'Education Nationale). Krakow, Nakladem M. Arcta w Warszawie, 1925, p. 9-11.

University Operations ⁹⁶		
1. University of Vilnius	100,000 gulden	⁹⁷
2. University of Krakow.	100,000 gulden	
3. University at Poznan.	100,000 gulden	
4. Establishment of the <u>Academia</u> <u>Scientiarum et Artium</u>	70,000 gulden	
District Secondary School Operations		
26 district schools each receiving 48,800 gulden per year.	1,190,800 gulden	
Sub-District Secondary School Operations		
52 sub-district schools each receiving 2,000 gulden per year	104,000 gulden	
Elementary School Operations ⁹⁸		
Parish-Elementary schools projected at 2,500 receiving 100 gulden per year . . .	250,000 gulden	
Various Items		
1. Public Library.	18,000 gulden	
2. Travel Abroad	24,000 gulden	
TOTAL PROPOSED ANNUAL BUDGET FOR SCHOOL SUPPORT		
	1,956,800 gulden	

The budget presented here did not include administrative expenses or salaries for the six employees of the Educational Commission. The

96 In an earlier study by this author the amounts for university operations were presented in error. See: J.A. Račkauskas, "The First National System of Education in Europe--The Commission for National Education of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (1773-1794)," Lituanus, Vol. 14, No. 4 (Winter, 1968), p. 20. Also in the article by A. Šidlauskas, "Mokyklų Reforma Lietuvoje XVIIIa. Pabaigoje," p. 45 the amount allocated for the Academia Scientiarum et Artium is not included.

97 Polish Gulden: Florins de Pologne: Polish Zloty. Value Compared equals: 11.20 zloty: \$2.80 or 10.64 florins: \$2.80.

98 One parish-elementary school was projected for every ten villages in Poland and Lithuania.

tri-level school organization reflected in the budget will be discussed in Chapter V.

The budget reflected the ambitious thinking and planning by members of the Educational Commission who projected that 2,580 schools were to be under their direction and support. This number of schools never materialized. By 1783 only 22 percent of the parish elementary schools were in operation.⁹⁹ The secondary school projections were more accurate with 94 percent of the number budgeted in actual operation by 1783.¹⁰⁰ The university projections were also accurate with at least the two major universities under the support of the Commission. The Academia Scientiarum et Artium never did become operational. The projected annual budget of 1,956,800 gulden would have been needed only in the event that all 2,580 schools were operative. Since far less than that number were in actual operation the Education Commission's expenses were somewhat less than the projected amount.

Jesuit holdings in Lithuania were by no means meager. In a financial report to the Sejm the Educational Commission revealed income received from all sources during the period beginning with actual operations on 8 November 1773 and ending in June, 1776 to be 1,781,354 gulden.¹⁰¹ The same financial report indicated total expenditures

99 See Chapter VIII regarding elementary school statistics.

100 A. Šidlauskas, "Mokyklų Reforma Lietuvoje XVIIIa. Pabaigoje," p. 45.

101 See financial report reproduced by Z. Kukulski, op.cit., p. 185.

during the period to be 1,754,842 gulden. The reporting period 1773-1776 reflected operations under the Distributing Commissions. Operations under the Distributing Commissions caused much furor and sparked many arguments among the members of the Educational Commission.¹⁰²

The basic reason for the endless intrigues and financial and legal abuses was the fact that the Distributing Commissions were misappropriating ex-Jesuit funds and making various decisions that in effect benefited members of the Sejm and other influential parties at the expense of the schools.¹⁰³ Because of charges made by the Educational Commission the Sejm appointed a special committee to investigate the activities of the Distributing Commissions.¹⁰⁴ This special committee of the Sejm found the charges being made by the Educational Commission

102 See minutes of the Educational Commission for 22 July 1774; 23 July 1774; 21 October 1774; 26 October 1774; 28 October 1774; 2 November 1774; 11 November 1774; 15 and 16 November 1774; 21 November 1774; 28 November 1774; 5 and 6 December 1774; 10 March 1775; 17 April 1775; 20 April 1775; 10 and 26 August 1775; 13 and 20 September 1775; 13 October 1775, 11 December 1775; 3 February 1776; 25 February 1776; 7 October 1776, in Protokoly Posiedzen Ken 1773-1776.

103 Wladyslaw Maria Grabski, "Geneza Finansow Edukacji Narodowej (1773-1776)," (Genesis of the Finances of the Commission for National Education), in Studia Pedagogiczne (Warsaw), Vol. XXIX, 1973, p. 72-98

104 The committee was appointed as a result of the formal report given by the Educational Commission to the Sejm in 1776. All of the documents relating to the report by the Educational Commission, the Sejm's appointment of an investigating committee, the report of the investigating committee, as well as detailed budget tables are contained in Part III of Z. Kukulski, op.cit., p. 123-185.

to be true and recommended that the Distributing Commissions be disbanded and the responsibility for all financial activities be given over directly to the Educational Commission.¹⁰⁵

The Sejm disbanded the Distributing Commissions in 1776.¹⁰⁶ Bishop Massalski, the Chairman of the Lithuanian Distributing Commission was accused of misappropriating some 300,000 gulden.¹⁰⁷ Some authors claim that fellow members of the Distributing Commission were more at fault than was Bishop Massalski.¹⁰⁸ Bishop Mlodziejowski, Chairman of the Polish Distributing Commission was also accused of misappropriating funds.¹⁰⁹ Grabski's study of the Distributing Commissions' activities concluded that a wide spectrum of the ruling class benefited from the ex-Jesuit properties and monies.¹¹⁰ The first group reaping benefits were the censors who consistently entered into agreements with the former Jesuits to conceal part of the valuables, church gold and silver items, as well as livestock. The censors regularly undervalued property in exchange for large sums of money from lease holders. The next group of individuals who gained from ex-Jesuit properties were the members of the Distributing Commissions. They

105 Volumina Legum, op.cit., p. 859-865.

106 See document reproduced in Z. Kukulski, op.cit., p. 173.

107 Statement by the inspector sent to investigate changes made against Bishop Massalski is reproduced in Stanislaw Tync, op.cit., p.507-514.

108 For example see R. Krasauskas, "Ignacas Jokubas Masalskis," Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Vol. XVII (1959), p. 435.

109 J. Gvildys, "Edukacijos Komisijos Švietimo Darbai Lietuvoje," (Work of the Educational Commission in Lithuania), in Židinys (Kaunas), Vol. XIII, No. 5/6 (76-77), 1931, p. 479.

110 Wladyslaw Maria Grabski, op.cit., p. 142.

leased property and made loans on the basis of favoritism versus the degree of return on the investments to the Educational Commission. Members of the Sejm were given the best properties and loans were made to the creditors of the members of Distributing Commissions. This practice did not result in a profitable operation and large sums of money never reached the Educational Commission. Even some ex-Jesuits were found to be selling items that were already inventoried, including whole libraries. For example, G. Piramowicz, upon visiting the school in Vidziai found everything listed on the inventory sheets missing.¹¹¹ The ex-Jesuits had sold everything. Magnates borrowed money from the Distributing Commissions without any collateral so that the loans could be easily overlooked.¹¹² According to Boswell: "At first the Jesuit funds had been raided by all the rogues who then led the Polish parliament, and it is estimated that of the forty million Polish gulden taken over from the Jesuits, over a third was lost before anything at all was spent on education."¹¹³ This indictment along with the misappropriations and leasing of choice property to friends at lower valuations led to the disbanding of the Distributing Commissions and

111 Vilnius State University Library, Manuscripts Section, Czartoryski Fund (hereafter cited as VUB, Cart.f.) DC 88, 20.

112 S. Tync op.cit., p. LVI.

113 A Bruce Boswell, art.cit., p. 133. The contention that one third of the total Jesuit wealth was lost is substantiated by Grabski, op.cit., who presents detailed lists of Jesuit property, indicating the value of the property, the amount the property was leased for, and to whom the property was leased. Grabski concludes that at least one third of the total Jesuit property "fell into private hands and was not used for education as required by the Act of Parliament." Grabski, op.cit., p. 142.

the transferring of all financial operations to the Education Commission.

F. Financial Operations under the Educational Commission

The Educational Commission, upon taking direct control of the financial operations found that the annual income from various Jesuit properties should be substantially more than had been previously collected.¹¹⁴ In a projected annual income statement issued in 1776, the Commission indicated an expected income from Polish estates of 417,633 gulden and 528,940 gulden from Lithuanian estates; furthermore, interest income was expected to be another 411,577 gulden. Including various other sources the Educational Commission showed a projected annual income of 1,518,967 gulden, which was much closer to the amount originally projected in their 1774 budget.¹¹⁵ The income for 1776 surpassed the projections (See Table II).

The Educational Commission was able to operate financial matters more efficiently than the Distributing Commissions. In 1776 a total of 1,016 individuals were paid employees or were supported by the Commission. Of these 29 were employed directly by the Commission, 308 were teachers, 391 were emeritus faculty, 83 were clergy, and 205

114 S. Tync evaluates this transfer of financial responsibility to the Educational Commission in the following way: "This was a great legal and moral victory for the Educational Commission. It was a moral victory because the work of the members who were hard working and honorable was acknowledged...It was a legal victory because the Educational Commission was acknowledged to have full rights in the use of the capital which had been set aside for educational purposes." S. Tync, op.cit., p. LV.

115 Figures taken from the table reproduced in Z. Kukulski, op.cit., p. 185. entitled: Tabela: Okazująca Jaka Bedzie w Przyszłym Czasie Percepta Komisji Edukacyjnej gdy Wszystko Bedzie do rak jej Wchodzilo...

Table II

Income and Expenses of the Educational
Commission 1776-1792*

Year	Income**	Expenses	Difference
1776	1,781,354	1,754,842	26,512.
1778	2,510,076	2,380,749	129,327.
1780	2,934,796	2,759,763	175,033.
1782	2,965,846	2,896,302	69,544.
1784	2,809,740	2,799,610	10,130.
1786	2,647,658	2,628,226	19,432.
1788	2,695,343	2,682,330	13,013.
1790	2,643,422	2,623,566	19,856.
1792	3,157,269	3,153,361	3,908.
9 terms	avg 2,682,833	avg 2,630,972	

SOURCE: Adapted from Wladyslaw Maria Grabski, "Geneza Finansow Edukacji Narodowej (1773-1776)," (Genesis of the Finances of the Commission for National Education), in Studia Pedagogiczne (Warsaw), Vol. XXIX, 1973, pp. 132-133.

*In Polish Gulden

**Income figures were based on the data contained in Protokoly z egzaminow KEN i sumaryczne generalne for years indicated in column one. Ambroise Jobert, La Commission d'Education Nationale en Pologne, p. 227 cites figures that are different from the figures presented here. Jobert quotes the following income figures: (All income is from July to July of year noted, except for the first years, where the months are October to July) 1776: 1,852,420; 1778: 2,489,455; 1780: 2,805,470; 1782: 2,790,259; 1784: 2,740,197; 1786: 2,647,650; 1788: 2,675,911; 1790: 2,630,409; 1792: 3,155,513. The correctness of either set of figures has not been determined as of this writing.

were pensioned gentry.¹¹⁶ As can be seen in Table II the income levels under the Educational Commission's administration of finances increased. Under the Distributing Commissions the total income for the period October 1773 through July 1776 was only 1,781,354 gulden, while under the Educational Commission during a shorter period, July 1776 through July 1778, the total income increased to 2,510,076 gulden. This is an increase of 728,722 gulden.

The 1783 operating budget of the Educational Commission is typical of the other yearly budgets:¹¹⁷

University of Krakow	150,000 gulden
University of Vilnius	150,000
Teachers' salaries (Poland)	180,786
Teachers' salaries (Lith.)	185,604
Teachers of Mod. Lang. and Drawing	23,000
Grant to Piarists in Poland	32,060
Grant to Basilians and Benedictines	9,000
Teachers' seminaries and hostels for poor students	76,200
Two inspectors for Poland	8,000
Two inspectors for Lithuania	7,000
Extraordinary expenses	60,000
Pensions for ex-Jesuits	192,000
Officials of the Commission	90,350
Concordats with the Church	54,286
Publication of textbooks for the primary schools	10,837
Support of the Library	8,957
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	1,238,080 gulden

116 Figures taken from the table reproduced by Z. Kukulski, op.cit., p. 185. entitled: Tabela: okazująca liczbę osób przez Komisję Edukacyjną placonych i utrzymywanych.

117 Budget taken from Józef. Łukaszewicz, Historia Szkół w Koronie i w Wielkiem Księstwie Litewskiem od najdawniejszych czasów aż do roku 1794, Poznań, Nakładem Księgarni Jana Konstantego Żupanskiego, 1850, p. 250-251. Nicholas Hans presents the same budget in his article, but his budget is in error by 1,450 gulden. When his budget did not balance, Hans attributed this to "surplus". Hans also cited Łukaszewicza as his source for the budget. See: Nicholas Hans, "The Dissolution of the Society of Jesus in the Eighteenth Century and its Financial Consequences," p. 145.

In this budget a sum of 192,000 gulden was allocated for pensions to be paid to ex-Jesuits. This was in line with the Educational Commission's earlier pledge to support and provide for all ex-Jesuits. The Sejm in its review of Commission activities in 1776 was very complimentary to the Commission in its concern for the ex-Jesuits:

...Relying on reported facts we must recognize that the Educational Commission acted justly in its dealings with the ex-Jesuit clergy. Some were appointed as rectors and were paid salaries of more than 1,100 gulden per year. Others, who were advanced in age and who had fulfilled their duties to the schools were paid pensions of 1,100 gulden per year. Those who could still be of service to the Church were paid pensions, but were also given work. All who chose to teach were paid regular salaries. The Commission established two retirement houses, one in Poland and one in Lithuania. In any case, no one who came to the Commission with a request was denied assistance...¹¹⁸

This treatment of the ex-Jesuits is in marked contrast to other countries who pensioned the ex-Jesuits, but did not encourage them to continue in their duties as teachers.¹¹⁹

In general, once the Educational Commission was able to gain control of the finances, support for education was sufficient and efficient. It should be noted that monies received from Lithuanian properties were to be used for the support of Lithuanian schools, and

118 See the report: "Doniesienie--Czyli raport stanom rzeczpospolitej od deputowanych na egzaminowanie komisji edukacji, rozdawniczej i sadowej dobr pojezuickich obojga narodow uczyniony, na sejmie 1776," in Zygmunt Kukulski, op.cit., p. 176.

119 Nicholas Hans, "The Dissolution of the Society of Jesus in the Eighteenth Century and its Financial Consequences," p. 145; also see Jan Poplatek, Komisja Edukacji Narorowej udzial bylych Jezuitow w Pracach Komisji Edukacji Narodowej, p. 31-106.

monies received from Polish properties were to be used for the support of Polish schools. However, since the Educational Commission was a joint Polish-Lithuanian body, and the Polish had a smaller income from their properties,¹²⁰ some of the Lithuanian monies were channeled into the support of Polish schools. The Lithuanian gentry bitterly debated this procedure of supporting Polish schools. They claimed that any excess funds should be used to support the Lithuanian Army. This problem was referred to the Sejm, but it was never resolved.¹²¹

In addition to the Distributing Commissions, a Judicial Commission or Court (Pol. Sadowa) was established by the Sejm.¹²² Cases dealing with debts or arguments regarding valuation of property for taxation and the like were to be heard by this body.

G. The Society for Elementary Books

During the thirty-seventh meeting of the Commission, 13 May 1774, Ignacy Potocki suggested that the Commission establish a special body to improve teaching and textbooks in the schools.¹²³ Acting on this suggestion the Educational Commission on 10 February 1775 approved the establishment of the Society for Elementary Books (Pol: Towarzystwo

120 Total yearly income from Poland was approx. 465,000 gulden, while from Lithuanian properties and monies the yearly income was approx. 785,000 gulden. See Nicholas Hans, op.cit., p. 145.

121 For a discussion of this matter see: Adolfas Šapoka, Lietuvos Istorija (History of Lithuania), Fellback/Wurttemberg, Germany, Patria, 1950, p. 418.

122 Volumina Legum, op.cit., p. 266-277.

123 Protokoly Posiedzen Ken 1773-1785, p. 22, 13 Mai, item 2^o.

¹²⁴
do Ksiąg Elementarnych). The first meeting of the Society took place on 1 March 1775.¹²⁵

Potocki, Czartoryski, and Zamoyski were appointed members of the Society for Elementary Books by the Educational Commission (See Table III). They in turn elected eight additional members: Phlederer, Jakukiewicz, Poplawski, Kniazewicz, Piramowicz, Albertrandi, Narbutt, and Hollowczyc.¹²⁶ The Society's main purpose was to commission authors to write textbooks for the new curriculum being introduced by the Educational Commission. But, in fact, the Society developed into the "Curriculum and Instruction" department of the Commission. The Society, as explained by Kurdybacha, really took over the "curricula and watched over their introduction into the schools, arranged inspections of schools, approved and partly prepared textbooks for elementary and secondary schools...and...was fully conversant with the methods of work of the schools, their tasks and requirements."¹²⁷ The Society

124 Ibid., p. 47, 10 Februarii, item 1^o to 6^o.

125 See Teodor Wierzbowski, Komisya Edukacyi Narodowej i jej Szkoły w Koronie 1773-1794, Part 36, IV: Protokoly Posiedzen Towarzystwa do Ksiąg Elementarnych 1775-1792, Warszawa, Druk Piotra Laskauera, 1908, 118p. This publication contains transcriptions of the minutes of the meetings of the Society for Elementary Books.

126 "Ustanowienie Towarzystwa do Ksiąg Elementarnych," in Zygmunt Kukulski, op.cit., p. 56.

127 Lukasz Kurdybacha, "The Commission for National Education in Poland 1773-1794," p. 140.

Table III
Members of the Society for Elementary Books (1775-1792) of the
Educational Commission of Poland and Lithuania

Name	Dates of Appointment	Remarks
* Albertrandi, Jan	1775-1787	Ex-Jesuit
Bogucicki, Józef	1778-1780	Prof Univ of Krakow
Czempinski, Paweł	1780-1792	Medical Doctor
Gawronski, Andrzej	1777-1789	Ex-Jesuit
* Hollowczyc, Stefan	1775-1791	Pastor
* Jakukiewicz, Adam	1775-1792	Ex-Jesuit
* Kniazewicz, Grzegorz	1775-1777	Ex-Jesuit
Koblanski, Józef	1775-1792	Ex-Jesuit
Kollataj, Hugo	1776-1786	Priest
Kopczynski, Onufry	1780-1792	Piarist
L'Huillier, Szymon	1782-1788	Mathematician (Geneve)
Loyko, Feliks	1777-1781	
* Popławski, Antoni	1775-1780	Piarist
* Narbutt, Kazimierz	1775-1792	Piarist
† Niemcewicz, Julian	1792-1792	Chairman in 1792
* Pfleider, Chrystyan	1775-1782	Director Kadet Corps
* Piramowicz, Gregorz	1775-1792	Ex-Jesuit, Secretary
Roussel, Stefan	1778-1778	Ex-Jesuit
Sierakowski, Sebastyan	1778-1784	Canon of Krakow
Wybicki, Józef	1777-1778	School Inspector (Lith)
Zabłocki, Franciszek	1783-1792	Poet
MEMBERS APPOINTED BY THE EDUCATIONAL COMMISSION		
‡ Ignacy Potocki	1775	Secretary, Grand Duchy of Lithuania
Adam Czartoryski	1775	General of the Podolian Territory
Andrzej Zamoyski	1775	Knight of the Order of the White Eagle
HONORARY MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY FOR ELEMENTARY BOOKS		
Dubois, Jan	1779	Librarian and Professor at Cadet Korps
DuPont de Nemours Samuel	1775	Foreign Correspondence Secretary Educ. Comm.
Piattoli, Szymon	1784	

SOURCE: Teodor Wierzbowski, Komisja Edukacji Narodowej i jej Szkoły w Koronie 1773-1794, Part 36, IV: Protokoły Posiedzeń Towarzystwa do Ksiąg Elementarnych 1775-1792, Warszawa, Druk Piotra Laskauera, 1908, p. 107-108. Additional information taken from Stansilaw Tyniec, Komisja Edukacji Narodowej, Wrocław, Biblioteka Narodowa, Nr. 126, Seria I, Zakład Imienia Ossolinskich, 1954, pp. 70-71.

- * Indicates that individual was original member of the Society.
- ‡ Chairman of the Society from 1775 to 1791
- † Chairman of the Society in 1792

was under the leadership of Potocki, assisted by Piramowicz, the Secretary of the Society, and other eminent scholars like Antoni Popławski and Jan Albertrandi, managed all of the Commission's pedagogic activities.

One of the first items on the Society's agenda was the publication of a regulation specifying the books the Society was planning to publish¹²⁸ and lists of authorized textbooks for present use.¹²⁹ Next, the Society sponsored an international textbook writing competition in such fields as logic, physics, mathematics, and natural history, in order to acquire the best possible texts for use in the schools. The competition's document "Announcement by the Educational Commission as to the Writing of Elementary Books for District Schools",¹³⁰ was translated into French and Latin and then sent to the more important scientific centers in Europe, including Berlin, Leipzig, and Paris.¹³¹ The announcement was sent in May of 1775. By March of 1776 the Society received many manuscripts; in the field of mathematics, for example,

128 See original document: "Obwieszczenie od Komisji Edukacji Narodowej Względem Napisania Ksiązek Elementarnych do Szkół Wojewodzkich," in Zygmunt Kukulski, op.cit., p. 74-84.

129 List of books available for use in the schools, as well as the number and cost of each book is reproduced in Z. Kukulski, op.cit., pp. 66-71.

130 Teodor Wierzbowski, Protokoły Posiedzeń Towarzystwa do Ksiąg Elementarnych 1775-1792, p. 1-4.

131 Czesław Majorek, "Zarys Teorii Podręcznika Szkolnego Komisji Edukacji Narodowej (Outline of the History of the School Textbooks of the Commission for National Education)," Studia Pedagogiczne (Warsaw), Vol. XXIX, p. 179.

the Society received thirteen entries.¹³² The manuscripts came not only from Lithuania and Poland, but from authors all over Europe. The manuscripts were carefully scrutinized by Committee members. Extreme care was taken to make sure that textbooks met the needs of the Polish-Lithuanian schools, had real life applicability, and were geared to the appropriate educational level of the students. Publishing costs had to be taken into consideration, so that costs of books published would not be prohibitive. Textbooks had to be clear, concise, and educationally sound. Proposed manuscripts judged to be the best were then commissioned to be completed and published. The author of the best text was given a substantial monetary award.¹³³

Some of the best texts were those of S. Bonot de Condillac, who wrote the textbook for the study of Logic;¹³⁴ S. L.'Huillier, of Geneva who wrote the textbooks for arithmetic, geometry, and algebra;¹³⁵

132 "Lietuvos Mokyklos Istorijos Apybraiža--14," p. 3.

133 Teodor Wierzbowski, op.cit., p. 9-10.

134 S. Bonot de Condillac, Logique ou les premiers developpements de l'art de penser, 1780. Finally completed and sent to the Society in 1786 but not published by the Society. Translation was completed in 1802. See. R. Szreter, "Education for Nation-Saving: Poland Between the Partitions," in History of Education in Europe, London, Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1974, p. 56.

135 Szymon L'Huillier, Arytmetyka dla szkół narodowych, 2 October 1778, 353 p. There were six additional printings between 1780 and 1798. See. S. Tync, op.cit., p. 79.

J. H. Hube who wrote the textbook for physics;¹³⁶ and K. Kliukas who wrote the textbooks for botany and zoology.¹³⁷ Of the fourteen textbooks the Society set out to publish eight were already in use by 1792.¹³⁸ Areas not covered by the new textbooks had texts under preparation. The Society was responsible for publishing a total of twenty-seven textbooks, including the fourteen mentioned above. Of these, five were written by foreign authors.¹³⁹ There were no textbooks written for geography, chemistry, art history, hygiene, agriculture, mineralogy, and modern languages, since there was an apparent lack of authors in those specialities.

The Society did not limit itself to the publication of books, but also provided teaching materials, models, measuring instruments, and the like.

H. Summary

The dissolution of the Jesuit Order was the condition sine qua non of the educational reforms in Poland-Lithuania. With the

136 Michał Jan Hube, Wstęp do fizyki dla szkół narodowych, 9 May 1783, 406 p. There were two additional printings one in 1785 and another in 1788. See. S. Tync, op.cit., p. 81.

137 Krzysztof Kluk, Botanika dla szkół narodowych, 14 January 1785, 238 p. No additional printings; and Krzysztof Kluk, Zoologia czyli zwierzęta Pismo dla szkół narodowych, 28 December 1787, 420 p.; see S. Tync, op.cit., p. 82-83.

138 Algirdas Šidlauskas, "Tiksliau ir Gamtos Mokslų Vadovėliai Lietuvos Mokyklose XVIIIa. pabaigoje (Textbooks for the Natural and Applied Sciences in Lithuanian Schools toward the end of the XVIIIth century)," in Bibliotekininkystė ir Bibliografija (Vilnius), Vol. II (1963), p. 187.

139 Complete list of publications in presented in S. Tync, op.cit., p. 79-83.

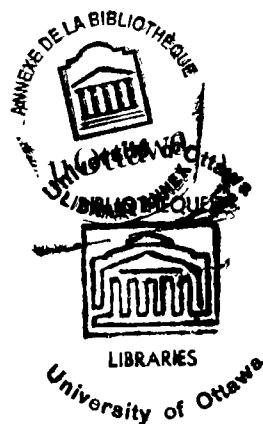
dissolution a fact, the Sejm established a Commission for National Education. This Commission was given control of all educational matters in the Commonwealth. All Jesuit wealth, amounting to well over forty million gulden, was turned over to the Distributing Commissions, whose duty it was to administer the properties and in turn provide the Educational Commission with operating revenues. The Distributing Commissions, as a result of gross misappropriations and mismanagement, were disbanded and all financial responsibilities transferred to the Educational Commission. The Educational Commission was able to improve the administration of the ex-Jesuit properties and funds and generate ample revenue to support school operations. It did not turn away the ex-Jesuits either, but involved them in many new and innovative educational activities. The Educational Commission also established the Society for Elementary Books, which became the pedagogical arm of the Commission and was responsible for all textbooks and the implementation of new methodology in the schools.

THE COMMISSION FOR NATIONAL EDUCATION
OF POLAND AND LITHUANIA (1773-1794):
A HISTORICAL STUDY OF SOME ASPECTS
OF ITS EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

by

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CHAPTER IV

PROPOSALS FOR SCHOOL REFORM RECEIVED BY THE EDUCATIONAL COMMISSION

The establishment of the Educational Commission was only the first in a series of steps aimed at reforming the entire educational system of Poland and Lithuania. Soon after its establishment the Commission requested that citizens submit proposals for school reform. This chapter will present the major proposals received by the Educational Commission as a consequence of its appeal, and the influence, if any, these proposals had on the formation of educational policy and reform.

A. The Appeal for Reform Proposals by the Commission

On 24 October 1773 the Commission issued its first public announcement, the Uniwersal,¹ in which, among other things, the Commission appealed to the public for suggestions on how it should proceed to reform the schools.² The Commission promised to give serious consideration to suggestions received, and if deemed beneficial, they were to be implemented.³ This request for

1 "Uniwersał Ogłaszający Komisję Edukacyjną," in Zygmunt Kukulski, Pierwiastkowe Przepisy Pedagogiczne Komisji Edukacji Narodowej z lat 1773-1776 (The Primary Educational Regulations of the Commission for National Education 1773-1776), Lublin, Nakładem Lubelskiego Komitetu Obchodu 150-ej Rocznicy Ustanowienia Komisji Edukacyjnej i Zgonu St. Konarskiego, 1923, p. 5-9. Normally referred to as the Uniwersal.

2. Ibid., p. 9

3 Translation of this text in the Uniwersal is found in Chapter III.

suggestions was a new and progressive act in the still feudal procedures espoused by the gentry of Poland and Lithuania.⁴ The aim of the Commission in appealing for suggestions from the public was to make school reform an open issue, subject to public examination and discussion. As Tync observed:

...this was accomplished in a new tone, the school reforms were not some cabinet secrets for the Educational Commission; its decisions about programs, instructions and rules were not to be the products of private and closed sessions among a few people, or even the result of the will of one person, but the decisions were to be reached as a result of lively, sometimes volatile discussions, and from deliberations in the press.⁵

The Commission was intent to involve the best minds of the country in the planning process, and in so doing, to garner as much support as possible for the eventual reforms.

Within a short time the Educational Commission received eleven proposals for school reform.⁶ Of these, the proposals of

4 When Albrecht Stapfer was planning educational reform in Switzerland in 1798 he likewise requested opinions on a national system of education from his more enlightened compatriots and received several hundred suggestions. See: Hugh M. Pollard, Pioneers of Popular Education 1760-1850, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1957, p. 113.

5 Stanislaw Tync, Komisja Edukacji Narodowej, Biblioteka Narodowa, Nr. 126, Seria 1, Wroclaw, Zaklad Imienia Ossolinskich, 1954. p. XLV.

6 See the minutes of the meetings of the Educational Commission in Teodor Wierzbowski, Protokoly Posiedzen Komisji Edukacyi Narodowej z lat 1773-1777, Warszawa, Druk Piotra Laskauera, 1912, Part 37, pages 5, 6, 8, 10, 16, and 35. These pages contain references to seven of the eleven proposals. The other four will be discussed and cited in the following narratives.

Franciszek Bielinski, Adolf Kaminski, Ignacy Potocki, Adam Czartoryski, Antonio Poplawski, and Pierre-Samuel DuPont were the most comprehensive. They formed the basis for the educational reforms of the Commission. The most important of these six proposals were the ones submitted by Poplawski and Potocki. All six, none the less, will be discussed.

B. The Letters of Franciszek Bielinski

On 25 October 1773 the Educational Commission received an anonymous letter outlining suggestions for school reform.⁷ The Commission thanked the anonymous writer through the newspaper and requested further suggestions.⁸ On 17 November 1773 the next letter arrived.⁹ Letters continued to arrive through 16 March 1774.¹⁰ Finally the writer was identified as Franciszek Bielinski.¹¹ The Commission maintained the anonymity of the writer when they decided to publish

7 Mieczysława Mitera-Dobrowolska, compiler, Protokoly Posiedzen Komisji Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1785 (Minutes of the Meetings of the Commission for National Education), Warszawa, Polska Akademia Nauk, Pracowni Dziejow Oswiaty, Ossolinski, 1973, p. 8, 25 Octobris 1773, item 28.1^o. This reference will be cited as: Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785.

8 Ibid. Note of appreciation published in Wiadomosci Warszawskie of 30 November 1773.

9 Ibid., p. 11, item 56.1^o

10 Ibid., 6 Decembris 1773, item 77.1^o; 22 Decembris 1773, item 96.2^o; 5 Januarii 1774, item 3^o; 17 Januarii 1774, item 2^o; 9 Februarii 1774, item 3^o; 23 Februarii 1774, no item number; and 16 Martii 1774.

11 Franciszek Bielinski (1740-1809), Administrator of Czersk, memb of the Educational Commission from 2-XI-1776 through 27-V-1782. He was a supporter of the Collegium Nobilium and an active proponent for the elimination of the Liberum Veto. See Ambroise Jobert, La Commission d'Education Nationale en Pologne (1773-1794), Paris, Collection de l'Institut Francais de Varsovie IX, 1941, p. 178.

the entire set of fifteen letters.¹² In 1775 these letters were published under the title, "The Methodology of Education Portrayed in XV Letters Sent Anonymously to the Educational Commission."¹³

Bielinski, in his letters, was the first to suggest that education should be for all people, regardless of social class. He brought out the idea of universal education, but at the same time he maintained that different types of education were needed for each of the social classes. He suggested the establishment of a four track school system serving peasants, burghers, gentry, and clergy.¹⁴

The peasants, according to Bielinski, would be educated in their own schools--the parish schools. An educated peasantry would be able to take care of the farms more wisely, and would become more useful to the estate owners. Bielinski suggested that the parish schools teach the following subjects: reading, writing, catechism, arithmetic, the basics of physics and geometry, and provide farming instruction.¹⁵

12 Zygmunt Kukulski, op. cit., p.LXIV.

13 (Franciszek Bielinski), Sposob Edukacji w XV Listach Opisany Ktore do Komisji Edukacji Narodowej od Bezimiennego Autora Byly Przesylane R. P. 1775, Warszawa, K E N, 1775. Complete work reprinted in Kamilla Mrozowska, compiler, Pisma i Projekty Pedagogiczne Doby Komisji Edukacji Narodowej (Writings and Projects Dealing with Education Received by the Commission for National Education), Wroclaw, Polska Akademia Nauk, Komitet Nauk Pedagogicznych, Ossolinskih, 1973, p. 54-144. The Bielinski letters will be cited as Sposob Edukacji w XV Listach.

14 Sposob Edukacji w XV Listach, p. 54-55.

15 Ibid., p.61-65. See also: Algirdas Šidlauskas, "Mokyklų Reforma Lietuvoje XVIII a. Pabaigoje," (Educational Reform in Lithuania at the End of the XVIIIth Century), in Lietuvos TSR Mokslo Akademijos Darbai, Serija A, Nr. 2(13), 1962, p. 43.

For the burghers, Bielinski suggested, schools should be established in each of the towns. In those schools the basic subjects of reading, writing, arithmetic, and catechism should be taught. Since the burghers had special needs, Bielinski also suggested that a number of special subjects be introduced. These would include a variety of trade subjects, commerce, and German as a foreign language.¹⁶

Bielinski maintained that there was no need to establish elementary schools for the children of the gentry. These children should be taught reading, writing, and arithmetic at home. The only need for the children of the gentry was the establishment of secondary schools.¹⁷ Education for the children of the gentry at the elementary level, i.e., at home, should be supervised and standardized.¹⁸ Teachers working in the homes of the gentry should not be foreigners, and should be subjected to government examinations.¹⁹

Secondary schools, according to Bielinski, should have two levels. The first level, the three year language school, should teach

16 Sposob Edukacji w XV Listach, p. 65-74

17 Ibid., p. 75

18 Ibid., p. 113-119. Bielinski's eleventh letter was completely devoted to education at home. See: "O Edukacji Domowej" on the pages cited.

19 Ibid., p. 134-137. Bielinski's thirteenth letter presented his thoughts on the teaching of theology, Church history, the rights of the gentry, and the preparation of teachers.

Latin, German, and French. The language instruction should be supplemented with instruction in geography, history, and the basics of agriculture and gardening.²⁰ The second level, the four year school for other subjects, should teach physics, mathematics, rhetoric, poetry, ethics, and law.²¹ The secondary schools were to be established in every district town. For the clergy the same type of school should also be established in each diocese. The schools for the clergy were to be called either seminaries or schools of theology. Bielinski believed that education at all levels was to use the native language in instruction. For Bielinski, this was the Polish language.

The education of girls was also outlined by Bielinski.²² In his opinion the girls of the nobility should have a separate regulation prepared by the Commission which would outline what was to be taught. But at a minimum girls of the nobility were to receive instruction in two foreign languages, French and German, geography, history, physics, and logic. Girls living in the towns and villages should be provided instruction in reading, writing, and the basics of arithmetic. These girls should receive their instruction in the local schools. Again, Bielinski clearly separated social classes.²³

20 Ibid., p. 75-87.

21 Ibid., p. 88-95.

22 Ibid., p. 137-140.

23 Algirdas Šidlauskas, op. cit., p. 43.

In all of these letters Bielinski revealed himself to be a strong advocate of governmental control. Even in the case of students studying abroad, Bielinski suggested that they be under the guidance of a representative of the Educational Commission or the local ambassador. Bielinski was a strong supporter of the standardization of all educational functions, including the preparation of religious. His view of universal education revealed itself to mean education for all social classes, in different schools, learning different subject matter.

In formulating its reforms the Educational Commission adopted Bielinski's idea of including the teaching of foreign languages to girls.

C. The Letters of Adolf Kaminski

The Commission received in 1774 a series of eight letters from Adolf Kaminski.²⁴ These letters were published by the Educational Commission in 1774 under the title, "Civic Education."²⁵ Adolf Kaminski indicated in his letters that he believed every social class should have its own suitable schools and programs.²⁶ He suggested that all instruction

24 Adolf Kaminski - Bartłomiej Kamiński (1737-1784), a Piarist priest, known for his previous work in educational matters with the Piarist Order. A professor at the Collegium Nobilium. See Ambroise Jobert, La Commission d'Education Nationale en Pologne (1773-1794), p. 179; also Kamilla Mrozowska, Pisma i Projekty Pedagogiczne Doby Komisji Edukacji Narodowej, p. LIII.

25 A. K. (Adolf Kaminski), Edukacja Obywatelska, Warszawa, Nakładem Michała Grolla, 1774, 186p.

26 Ibid., p. 4

be in the Polish and Latin languages. He further suggested that the study of foreign languages should not be compulsory, but that the student be allowed to choose this area of study.²⁷ For Kaminski education was to develop good Christians, good human beings, and good citizens.²⁸ Kaminski maintained that the formation of good moral habits was the most important aim of education. His educational proposals reflected a continual stress on the development of morally good habits and good mental abilities.²⁹

Kaminski proposed two types of schools: the parish school and the local school. In the parish school the following subjects were suggested as being appropriate: reading, writing, arithmetic, religious studies, and the basics of farming.³⁰ The native language was suggested as the language of instruction in the parish schools. The local schools were to be opened in every district. These schools were to have eight classes. The first four classes were to be conducted in the native language. These were: (I) the elementary class, which would last for a total of two years; (II) the grammar class; (III) the syntax class; (IV) the humanities class, which would include

27 See Zygmunt Kukulski, op. cit., p. LXX-LXXI.

28 A. K., Edukacja Obywatelska, p. 17-18.

29 For example see Edukacja Obywatelska, p. 34.

30 See Kaminski's letter four: "O Rozparzadzeniu Nauk i Rozszerzeniu Onychze," (The Determination and Diffusion of the Subjects to be Taught), in Kamilla Mrozowska, Pisma i Projekty Pedagogiczne Doby Komisji Edukacji Narodowej, p. 19-28. Mrozowska reproduces the entire Kaminski project. See pages 3-54. The title of Kaminski's work "Edukacja Obywatelska" can also be translated as "Education for the Duties of Citizenship."

the study of Latin, geography, history, and arithmetic.³¹ The remaining classes were to use the Latin language. These classes were as follows: (V) the geometry class; (VI) the philosophy class; (VII) the law class; and (VIII) the rhetoric class.³² The study of foreign languages during a student's enrollment in these classes would be elective.

Kaminski devoted much of his writing to patriotism and to the methods for its development. For Kaminski, as was true for Bielinski, education was divided by social class. His references to the peasantry indicated that the terminal educational goal for this class was completion of the parish schools. His entire project was geared for the education of the "citizens," who at that time were the gentry.

The Educational Commission in formulating its reforms adopted the Kaminski conceptualization of including in the curriculum the study of foreign languages as electives. Kaminski's suggestions regarding patriotism and the methods for its development were not used by the Educational Commission.

31 Kaminski suggested a total of eight classes. Each of the classes, with the exception of the first (Elementary Class) would take one academic year to complete. The Elementary Class, as noted, would take two years. Therefore, Kaminski, suggested an educational program lasting a total of nine years.

32 See Kaminski's letters five and six: "O Szkolach i o Ksiązkach do Edukacji Obywatelskiej Potrzebnych," (Regarding Schools and the Books Necessary for Citizenship Education," and "Kontynuacja listu Poprzedzającego, Czyli o Dalszych Naukach Obywatelom Potrzebnych," (Continuation About Other Studies Necessary for Citizenship Education), in Kamilla Mrozowska, Pisma i Projekty Pedagogiczne Doby Komisji Edukacji Narodowej, p. 28-47.

D. The Proposal of Ignacy Potocki

On 24 March 1774 the Educational Commission received³³ from Ignacy Potocki³⁴ a proposal for school reform, entitled, "Thoughts on Education and Teaching Which Should Influence Education in Poland."³⁵ In his first chapter, "Obstacles to National Education,"³⁶ Potocki discussed what he believed was wrong with the educational institutions of the time. He cited Ballexerd,³⁷ Locke,³⁸ Rousseau,³⁹ and Fenelon⁴⁰ as the leaders in the formation of educational thought and suggested that the reforms of the Commission should reflect their thinking.

Potocki suggested that a tri-level school system be established. At the base of this tri-level school system were to be the parish or

33 Protokoly Poseidzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 19, 24 Martii 1774, item 1^o.

34 Ignacy Potocki (1750-1809), Secretary of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Member of the Educational Commission from its inception 17-X-1773 through 26-III-1791.

35 Ignacy Potocki, "Mysli o Edukacji i Instrukcji w Polsce Ustanowic sie Majacej," reproduced in Kamilla Mrozowska, Pisma i Projekty Pedagogiczne Doby Komisji Edukacji Narodowej, p. 156-168.

36 Ibid., See "O Zawadach Edukacji Narodowej," p. 157-158, and "Zdanie O Szkolach i Naukach," p. 158-161.

37 J. Ballexerd (1726-1774) author of Dissertation sur l'éducation physique des enfants depuis la naissance jusqu'à l'âge de puberté, Paris, 1762.

38 Potocki referred to John Locke's (1632-1704) book Some Thoughts Concerning Education.

39 Potocki referred to Rousseau's Émile, published in 1762.

40 Potocki referred to François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénélon (1651-1715) author of De l'Éducation des Filles written in 1687. The book had been recently reprinted in Paris in 1763.

elementary schools. The second level would encompass the district or secondary schools. The third level would include three universities or chief schools: one at Krakow, Vilnius, and a third to be established.⁴¹

Potocki, as did Bielinski, devoted much attention to education at home. He considered the education of children at home to be an introduction or preparation for entrance into the elementary schools.⁴²

According to Potocki the secondary or district schools were to be organized around three main classes, each lasting a period of two years. For each three class unit a total of six teachers would be required.⁴³ Potocki visualized the curriculum being composed of core subjects and special subjects. The core subjects, like arithmetic, geometry, and moral studies, would be sequenced throughout the entire six year period, while the special subjects would be assigned for study to specific classes. For example, Potocki considered grammar to be the special subject for the first class, while the core subjects were to be basic arithmetic, algebra, and geometry. The second class was to receive instruction in logic, rhetoric, and poetry. The third class was to concentrate on the special subjects of chemistry, mechanics, and the basics of physics.⁴⁴ As part of the physical education program, Potocki suggested that all students spend their summer vacations in military

41 "Zadanie o Szkolach i Naukach," in Kamilla Mrozowska, Pisma i Projekty Pedagogiczne Doby Komisji Edukacji Narodowej, p. 158.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid., p. 160.

44 Ibid., p. 160-161.

exercises. The vacation periods were also to be used in gaining practical experience in agriculture and geometry. All students were to engage in gardening. The military exercise conceptualization appears to have originated with the Collegium Nobilium of Konarski, while the agricultural and gardening work for the students may have originated from Potocki's deep Physiocratic ideals.⁴⁵

Potocki, in his proposal, expressed dissatisfaction with the textbooks being used in the schools. He suggested that a whole new series of textbooks be prepared and published for use in the reformed schools of the Commonwealth.⁴⁶

The Potocki proposal revealed his understanding of the existing school situation, his knowledge of the current educational thought,⁴⁷ as well as his commitment to the Physiocratic ideals. The Educational Commission in formulating its reforms adopted the Potocki conceptualization of structuring the district or secondary schools.⁴⁸ Potocki's statements on the status and need for reform in the production of textbooks may have been instrumental in his appointment to the Chairmanship of the Society for Elementary Books.

45 Collegium Nobilium and the new Royal Military Academy (Szkola Rycerska) founded in Warsaw in 1766 may have been direct models for Potocki. Re these schools see Chapter II.

46 "Zadanie o Szkolach i Naukach," in Kamilla Mrozowska, Pisma i Projekty Pedagogiczne Doby Komisji Edukacji Narodowej, p. 162-164.

47 Potocki and his brother, accompanied by his tutor Gregorz Piramowicz, completed their education in France. See: Nicholas Hans, "Educational Reform in Poland," Journal of Central European Affairs, Vol. XIV, No. 4 (January, 1954), p. 302.

48 Zygmunt Kukulski, op. cit., p. LXXXV; also Algirdas Šidlauskas, op. cit., p. 44.

E. The Plan of Adam Czartoryski

The plan written by Adam Czartoryski⁴⁹ was submitted to the Educational Commission in 1773-1774.⁵⁰ The plan, "Rudimentary Outline for Public Education,"⁵¹ revealed Czartoryski's thinking on the organization of education. In his plan Czartoryski stated that it was the responsibility of the nation to provide education to all of its citizens. The aims and goals of education were to be determined by the nation. Czartoryski proposed that each larger village, or group of smaller villages, have a parish school. The parish school was to serve the needs of the peasants, teaching them to read, write, count, and learn the basic catechism. The teacher, according to Czartoryski, was to be supported by the peasants and the Educational Commission. The peasants were to provide the teacher with agricultural products, while the Educational Commission was to provide a salary.

Czartoryski proposed that each town have a school for the burghers' children. The town school was to teach the same subjects as the parish school with the addition of the German language. Larger towns were also to have a trade school. The town schools were to be for the children of the burghers, but Czartoryski added, these schools could also be attended by the children of the poorer or landless gentry.

49 Adam Kazimierz książę Czartoryski (1734-1823), General of the Podolian Territory, Commandant of the Warsaw Szkoła Rycerska, and Member of the Educational Commission from 17-X-1773 through 17-X-1780.

50 No reference can be found as to the date plan submitted to the Educational Commission. See: Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785.

51 Adam Czartoryski, "Początkowy Abrys do Planty Edukacji Publicznej," in Kamilla Mrozowska, Pisma i Projekty Pedagogiczne Doby Komisji Edukacji Narodowej, p. 144-156.

Larger towns, according to Czartoryski, should have colleges, or secondary schools, for the children of the gentry. These schools could also be attended by the children of the burghers, who were seeking to improve their knowledge. Czartoryski also suggested that the gentry become interested in commerce and manufacturing.⁵²

Czartoryski revealed his thinking on the education of girls in letters he had written to a friend.⁵³ In these letters he specified a program of liberal arts, classical literature, as well as some elements of home economics.

Czartoryski's plan was not the most detailed plan received by the Educational Commission, or the most innovative, but it did clearly have implications on social class movements within the school structure. For example, the town schools were for the burgher children, but they could also be attended by children of the landless gentry. The colleges or secondary schools, which were for the children of the gentry could be attended by children of the burgher class. It is difficult to speculate as to Czartoryski's reasons for this social class interplay, but the most plausible reason may not be related to social class. Czartoryski, being a strong Physiocrat and Freemason,⁵⁴ made a number of appeals to the gentry to learn about commerce and manufacturing. The burghers were the social class with those skills. By allowing the

52 Ibid., p. 144-156.

53 Adam Czartoryski, "Drugi List J. M. Pana Doswiadczynskiego do Przyjaciela Swego Wzgledem Edukacji Corek," (Second Letter to His Friend Doswiadczynski About the Education of Daughters) in Kamilla Mrozowska, Pisma i Projekty Pedagogiczne Doby Komisji Edukacji Narodowej, p. 325-342.

54 Nicholas Hans, op. cit., p. 302.

poorer gentry to attend school with the burghers and the burghers to attend the colleges or secondary schools, Czartoryski may have been trying to encourage this interest in commerce and manufacturing. This possibility is further supported by the continuing decline in the economy of Poland and Lithuania during this time period.⁵⁵ Whatever reasons Czartoryski may have had for his suggested social class interplay, the fact remained that the Educational Commission did eventually adopt a more progressive attitude toward social class intermobility within the educational establishment.

F. The Plan of Antoni Poplawski

On 28 February 1774 the Educational Commission received⁵⁶ from Antoni Poplawski⁵⁷ a detailed and systematic plan for educational reform. The plan, "A Plan for the Improvement and Reorganization of Public Education Presented to the Honorable Commission for National Education of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania,"

55 See Chapter I for details.

56 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 19, 28 februarii 1774, item 2^o.

57 Antoni Poplawski (1739-1786), a Piarist, studied law and economics in Rome and Paris, professor at the Krakow Seminary and later its Rector, member of the Society for Elementary Books from its establishment in 1775 through 1780, author of the reforms of the Educational Commission. Familiar with the reforms of Konarski and one of the leaders in the Piarist reforms of education. See: Rapolas Krasauskas, "Antoni Poplawski," in Lietuvių Enciklopedija, 1961, Vol. XXIII, p. 294; Stanislaw Tync, Antoni Poplawski--Pisma Pedagogiczne, Wroclaw, Ossolinskich, 1957, p. 1-CXXV; Zygmunt Kukulski, op. cit., p. LXXV-LXXXII; and Antanas (Paplauskas) Ramūnas, "Antanas Paplauskas--Pedagogas," Draugas, 9 January 1960.

was published by the Commission in 1775.⁵⁸ Ramūnas in evaluating the Poplawski plan wrote:

This was a true pedagogical charta of the XVIIIth century in its completeness and thoroughness, in its greatness in educational ideas and educational experience. It had no equal in the educational writings of XVIIIth century Western Europe.⁵⁹

The Poplawski proposal consisted of three parts. In the first part Poplawski presented a general conceptualization of education and teaching.⁶⁰ In the second part he presented his plan for the reorganization of the schools.⁶¹ The third and last part was devoted to various practical suggestions for the improvement of education and teaching.⁶² Poplawski's overall plan was to establish a tri-level educational system composed of elementary or parish schools, secondary or public schools, and universities or chief schools.

58 As noted earlier the plan was presented to the Commission on 28 February 1774, but the plan is dated March, 1774. The entire Poplawski plan is reproduced in Stanisław Tync, op. cit., p.1-100. See: Antoni Poplawski, O Rozporządzeniu i Wydoskonaleniu Edukacji Obywatelskiej Projekt Przesławnej Komisji Edukacji Narodowej Korony Polskiej i w Ks. Lit. w Marcu 1774 Podany, Warszawie, w Drukarni J. K. Mci i Rzeczypospolitej u O. O. Scholarum Piarum, 1775.

59 Antanas (Paplauskas) Ramūnas, op. cit.

60 "Czesc Pierwsza: O Edukacji i Instrukcji w Ogolnosci," Stanisław Tync, op. cit., p. 12-37.

61 "Czesc Druga: O Szkolach i Naukach--w Szczegolnosci o Porzadku i Sposobie Uczenia," Stanisław Tync, op. cit., p. 38-76.

62 "Czesc Trzecia," in Stanisław Tync, op. cit., p.77-100. This part contains a series of six subsections, each dealing with different aspects of the reform plan.

For the elementary or parish schools, Poplawski suggested a varied educational program that would consist of reading, natural history, character development, arithmetic, practical geometry, farming, gardening, religious instruction, and some basic economics instruction. (See Table IV).⁶³ In general, the elementary program was to be simple, but utilitarian and patriotic. Neither foreign languages nor rhetoric was to be included. The program was to be implemented through the continual use of concrete examples and practical experiences. The elementary schools were to be completed in a total of four years. Children were to be enrolled from the ages of eight through eleven years old. According to Poplawski each school was to maintain a total of four teachers.⁶⁴ Schools were to be in session from the the start of October through the end of April.⁶⁵ Students who lived very far from the schools, were to be provided with room and board in pensions. Classes were to be in session every day on the following schedule: Monday/Wednesday/Friday/Saturday a total of two hours each morning and two hours each afternoon; on Tuesday/Thursday classes were to be held in the morning only; Sunday would be reserved for church and additional religious instruction.⁶⁶ During other times students

63 See Part II, Section 4 of Poplawski's Plan, "Czego uczyc maja szkoly parafialne," (What should the parish schools teach) in Stanislaw Tync, op. cit., p. 43-44.

64 See Part II, Section 5 of Poplawski's Plan, "O porzadku nauk w szkolach parafialnych," (Order of studies at the parish schools) in Stanislaw Tync, op. cit., p.45-46.

65 Ibid.

66 Ibid.

Table IV

POPLAWSKI'S PROGRAM OF STUDIES AND SCHEDULE OF CLASSES IN THE PARISH SCHOOLS

GRADE	FIRST	SECOND	THIRD (Consisting of two years)	
TEACHER	1st	2nd	3rd	4th
PUPILS' AGE	8 years old	9 years old	10 years old	11 years old
SCHOOL YEAR	I	II	III	IV
SUBJECTS	(1) Reading (2) Natural History-- Wild and Domestic Animals	(1) Character Development (2) Continuation of Natural History (3) The Four Operations in Arithmetic	(1) Practical Geometry (2) Rules of Mathematics (3) Information on weights, measures and currency used in Poland	(1) Explanations of practical work in Farming and Gardening (2) Costs and Profits in Farming
SUBJECTS FOR TUESDAY AND THURSDAY	(1) Reading (2) Natural History	(1) Character Development (2) Practice in Arithmetic	(1) Practice in Applied Arithmetic	(1) Examples for Writing, Registration, and Farm Arithmetic (2) Review of Practical Geometry
MORAL EDUCATION	(1) To Warn (2) To Gain Determination (3) To Remember	Child's duties to his parents, relatives and older persons	About Virtue and Violations of the Law	(1) Property Rights (2) Duties of Servants (3) Duties of others to Servants
RELIGIOUS EDUCATION	Early each week a short lesson in school on the catechism	(1) Repeat of Catechism (2) Selection of examples from the Bible, e.g., Life of Joseph, Tobias, etc.	(1) Review of Catechism (2) Reading of the Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, Old Testament.	Sermons and religious instruction in church
ACTIVITIES IN ROOMS	(1) Syllabification practice (2) Reading in groups	(1) Character Development (2) Practice in Arithmetic	(1) Character Development (2) Practice in Arithmetic	(1) Character Development (2) Writing and Registration practice (3) Practice in Geometry
EXAMINATIONS	(1) Reading (2) Catechism	(1) Natural History (2) Arithmetic (3) Moral Education Subjects	(1) Geometry (2) Moral Education Subjects	(1) Farming and Gardening (2) Preparation of Reports (3) Property Rights
TEXTBOOKS	Student Edition and Teacher Edition for each subject	Student Edition and Teacher Edition for each subject	Student Edition and Teacher Edition for each subject	Student Edition and Teacher Edition for each subject

SOURCE: Translation of Poplawski's "Układ i porządek nauk w szkołach parafialnych," (Program of Studies and Schedule of Classes in the Parish Schools) contained in O Rozporządzeniu i Wydoskonaleniu Edukacji Obywatelskiej Projekt Przesławnej Komisji Edukacji Narodowej Korony Polskiej i W. Ks. Lit. w Marcu 1774 Podany, Warszawie, Drukarnia J. K. Mci i Rzeczypospolitej U o. o. Scholarum Piarum, 1775, Tablica pierwsza.

were to work on various agricultural projects, study for their lessons, participate in a number of physical activities, and military drill. Poplawski also specified that each of the grades and each of the subjects to be taught should have properly written textbooks. The textbooks were to be of two kinds: one for the student, and one for the teacher. In the teacher's textbook were to be teaching suggestions for each of the lessons.⁶⁷ Poplawski also provided a list of various teaching aids and models to be used in the classrooms.⁶⁸ For geometry instruction Poplawski suggested various activities involving surveying and measuring. The last year of the program for the parish schools specified a number of subjects involving farming, calculation of farm production, determination of farm costs and profits.⁶⁹

Poplawski was deeply concerned with the education and welfare of the peasants. He urged the gentry to be more attentive to the needs of the peasants and reconsider their social status and rights. Poplawski's feelings regarding the peasants were best expressed when he stated: "The serfs are men also, they are our brothers, and fellow citizens, they too have a right to education as well as happiness."⁷⁰

67 See Part II, Section 6 of Poplawski's Plan, "O sposobie uczenia tychże nauk," ('About the Methods of Teaching') in . . . , Stanislaw Tync, op. cit., p. 47-50.

68 Ibid.

69 Ibid., and see Table IV.

70 Antoni Poplawski in Zbior niektorych materyi politycznych A.P., Warszawa, 1774, p. 130. See also Stanislaw Tync, op. cit., p. XLVIII.

Poplawski demanded that the serfs be guaranteed better conditions in the Commonwealth through new laws and regulations. He maintained that the serfs be granted individual freedom, the right to use the fruit of their labor, and the right to enjoy their well-being.⁷¹ For Poplawski the key to these better conditions was education. He perceived that the only way the gentry would support these ideas was to convince them of their utilitarian value. He argued that if the serfs were to receive instruction in various trades, in better methods of gardening, animal husbandry, and farming they would in turn become more productive, and thus improve and enlarge the wealth of the landowners.⁷² Poplawski in this argument revealed his deep Physiocratic ideals. His concern for the peasants, it appears was motivated, in part, by economic considerations. Even though Poplawski wanted better conditions and more freedoms for the peasants, he was not prepared to claim that these conditions could only be improved if serfdom was eliminated.⁷³ It appears that Poplawski believed that the elimination of serfdom would be a natural consequence of improved education for the serfs. A suggestion that serfdom be eliminated and that the Commonwealth develop and support a vast network of schools for the liberated serfs would have dealt a death blow to the entire issue of peasant education.

71 Zbior niektórych materyj politycznych przez A. P., p. 130-131.

72 Stanislaw Tync, op. cit., p. XLIX.

73 Zbior niektórych materyj politycznych przez A. P., p. 125.
See also Algirdas Šidlauskas, op. cit., p. 42.

For the secondary or public schools Poplawski suggested a program of studies organized around seven grades lasting a total of eight years. (See Table V). Each of the grades through the sixth was to take one year to complete. The last grade was to take two years to complete. Children ages ten through seventeen were to be enrolled in these schools. The secondary schools were designed primarily for the children of the gentry.⁷⁴

The program of studies at the secondary schools, according to Poplawski, was to have logical unity. By "logical unity" Poplawski meant that the program should be sequential and developmental. He suggested that Polish history and geography be studied in the first year, then modern history and geography of Europe in the second year, followed by ancient history and geography of other countries, and finally world geography in the fourth year.⁷⁵ The same developmental sequence was suggested for the study of the Latin language.⁷⁶ For mathematical instruction, Poplawski suggested, the teacher should begin with simple arithmetic, then fractions and basic algebra, followed by higher arithmetic, practical geometry and then trigonometry.⁷⁷

Poplawski did not suggest any foreign language instruction for the secondary schools. The basic instruction was to be conducted

74 See Part II, Section 7 of Poplawski's Plan, "O szkołach publicznych," (The public schools) in Stanislaw Tync, op. cit., p. 50-52.

75 See Part II, Section 8 of Poplawski's Plan, "O porządku nauk w szkołach publicznych," (Order of Studies in the Public Schools) in Stanislaw Tync, op. cit., p. 52-57.

76 Ibid., and Table V

77 Ibid.

TABLE V

POPLAWSKI'S PROGRAM OF STUDIES AND SCHEDULE OF CLASSES FOR THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

GRADES	FIRST	SECOND	THIRD	FOURTH	FIFTH	SIXTH	SEVENTH (Completed in two years)	
GRADE NAME	GRAMMAR I	GRAMMAR II	GRAMMAR III	GEOMETRY	LOGIC	LAW	RHETORIC I	RHETORIC II
TEACHER	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh	
Pupils' Age	10 years old	11 years old	12 years old	13 years old	14 years old	15 years old	16 years old	17 years old
School Year	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
SUBJECTS	1 Fundamentals of LATIN 2 POLISH HISTORY & GEOGRAPHY 3 Practical work in FARMING & GARDENING	1 Rules of LATIN 2 LATIN AUTHORS 3 Modern HISTORY and GEOGRAPHY of Europe 4 Practical work in FARMING	1 Expl of TROPES 2 Parts of SPEECH 3 Expl AUTHORS 4 Ancient HISTORY and GEOGRAPHY: other countries 5 Animal and Human ANATOMY	1 Practical GEOMETRY and Demonstrations 2 TRIGONOMETRY	1 LOGIC 2 Explanations of ECONOMIC Order	1 Natural LAW 2 Political LAW 3 National LAW	1 RHETORIC-Basic 2 POETRY-Basics 3 SPEECH 4 CLASSICAL AUTHORS	1 CRITICISM 2 Short COMPOSITION on variety of subjects 3 CLASSICAL AUTHORS
SUBJECTS FOR TUESDAYS AND THURSDAYS	1 Communities 2 Character Dev 3 Practical ARITHMETIC	1 FRACTIONS 2 ALGEBRA with all four arith functions	1 Higher ARITH	1 WORLD GEOGRAPHY	1 GENERAL PHYSICS only most needed facts	1 POLISH COMMON LAW	1 WRITING COMPOSITIONS in POLISH	1 Further WRITING & COMPOSITIONS in POLISH
MORAL EDUCATION	About Polite behavior, with equals, servants poorer people, & sad people.	About VIRTUE and EXEMPLARY Behavior	RATIONAL THEOLOGY	Knowing yourself; faults and desires	About RIGHTS and DUTIES IN SOCIETY	About RIGHTS and DUTIES IN GENERAL	Readings from sel authors to instill desire to be PATRIOTIC, VIRTUOUS, and DETERMINED	Readings re DUTIES of CITIZENS TOWARD THEIR COUNTRY
RELIGIOUS EDUCATION	Catechism, readings from the four GOSPELS, ACTS OF APOSTLES, OLD TESTAMENT	HISTORY OF THE BIBLE with emph on CHRISTIANITY	Detailed study of Catechism with emphasis on present controversies	Good MORAL SERMONS IN CHURCH	Good MORAL SERMONS IN CHURCH	Good MORAL SERMONS IN CHURCH	Good MORAL SERMONS IN CHURCH	GOOD MORAL SERMONS IN CHURCH
ACTIVITIES IN ROOMS	1 Character Dev 2 ARITHMETIC 3 LATIN GRAMMAR Review	1 Questions for Discussion 2 ANALYSES 3 Easy LATIN AUTHORS EXPL	1 Assigned Questions 2 ANALYSES 3 EXPL OF LATIN AUTHORS	1 Practice and Demonstration in GEOMETRY 2 ANALYSES	1 Assigned Questions and Controversies 2 ANALYSES	1 Assigned Questions and Controversies 2 ANALYSES	1 ANALYSES 2 COMPOSITIONS IN POLISH 3 READING OF LATIN TEXTS	1 ANALYSES 2 INDIV READING OF LATIN and POLISH AUTHORS selected with teacher
EXAMINATIONS	1 POLISH HISTORY & GEOGRAPHY 2 MORAL EDUC 3 PRACTICAL ON FARMING AND GARDENING	1 LATIN LANGUAGE & HISTORY 2 FARMING 3 MORAL EDUC	1 LATIN GRAMMAR AND HISTORY 2 ECONOMICS 3 MORAL EDUC	1 GEOMETRY 2 TRIGONOMETRY 3 MORAL EDUC 4 WORLD GEOGRAPHY	1 LOGIC 2 ECONOMICS 3 GENERAL PHYSICS	1 NATURAL LAW 2 POLITICAL LAW 3 NATIONAL LAW	1 Rules RHETORIC 2 Rules POETRY 3 SPEECH CONSTR 4 COMPOSITION	1 CRITICISM 2 COMPOSITION 2 sets of exams 3 MORAL EDUC SUBJ
TEXTBOOKS	Student Editions Teacher Editions for each subj	Student Editions Teacher Editions for each subj	Student Editions Teacher Editions for each subj	Student Editions Teacher Editions for each subj	Student Editions Teacher Editions for each subj	Student Editions Teacher Editions for each subj	Student Editions Teacher Editions for each subj	Student Editions Teacher Editions for each subj

SOURCE: Translation of Poplawski's "Układ i porządek nauk w szkołach publicznych," (Program of Studies and Schedule of Classes in the Public Schools) contained in O Rozporządzeniu i Wydoskonaleniu Edukacji Obywatelskiej Projekt Przesławnej Komisji Edukacji Narodowej Korony Polskiej i W. Ks. Lit. w Marcu 1774 Podany. Warszawie. Drukarni J. K. Mci i Rzeczypospolitei

in the Polish language, but a great deal of emphasis was placed in the curriculum on Latin.⁷⁸ In his plan Poplawski specified a number of books that should be read by all students in Latin.⁷⁹ In the area of language instruction, Poplawski deviated from most of the other reform proposals received by the Commission.

In order to develop thinking skills Poplawski suggested that students devote much of their time in analysis of various problems presented by the teacher or found in the readings of Polish and Latin authors. Even in the teaching of the catechism Poplawski suggested that students consider controversies.⁸⁰

The entire plan for secondary education placed great importance on the development of patriotism and those qualities that develop citizenship.

For the universities or chief schools Poplawski suggested an emphasis on ten subjects: (1) agricultural economics; (2) political economics; (3) mechanics; (4) civil and military architecture; (5) natural history; (6) physics; (7) chemistry; (8) mathematics; (9) Polish language; and (10) Latin, as well as other languages, including Greek, Hebrew, etc.⁸¹ The universities were to supervise the lower schools.⁸²

78 See Part II, Section 10 of Poplawski's Plan, "O jezyku lacinskim," (Latin language) in Stanislaw Tync, op. cit., p.63-66.

79 Ibid.

80 Ibid., p. 83-89.

81 See Part II, Section 3 of Poplawski's Plan, "O naukach i umiejtnosciach w szkolach glownych," (About studies and learning at the chief schools) in Stanislaw Tync. op. cit., p. 42-43.

82 Ibid.

In other parts of his proposal Poplawski suggested that regulations be prepared to govern and standardize the schools. These regulations were to specify the school curriculum, the rights and obligations of teachers and students, and the basic procedures for administration of the schools.⁸³ He also suggested that seminaries be established to train teachers for the schools.⁸⁴ These seminaries were to be established within the universities, or chief schools. Poplawski suggested that at the parish school level as well as the public school level textbooks be prepared for both students and teachers. He suggested that the Commission should request the most qualified individuals in each subject area to prepare these texts, and that they should be printed only after they were reviewed and approved by the Commission.⁸⁵

In formulating its reform plans the Educational Commission adopted most of Poplawski's suggestions. Specifically, the Commission adopted the tri-level educational system, the suggestion that specific regulations be prepared to govern various aspects of the system, that textbooks be prepared specifically for each level, and that greater emphasis be placed on elementary education.

83 Ibid., p. 91-94.

84 Ibid., p. 94-99. Poplawski later prepared a full plan for the preparation of teachers, see Antonio Poplawski, Projekt na Seminarium Profesorow, 1777, reproduced in Stanislaw Tync, op. cit., p.147-228.

85 See Part II, Section 14 of Poplawski's Plan, "O ksiazkach poczatkowych," (About Primary Books) in Stanislaw Tync, op. cit., p. 72-76.

Since the Educational Commission adopted most of the reform suggestions made by Poplawski, some additional discussion of the Poplawski proposal is warranted. It should be noted that Poplawski was a Piarist priest and a close associate of Stanislaw Konarski, the reformer of the Piarist schools.⁸⁶ Poplawski was not only familiar with the Konarski reforms, but was one of the leading implementors of those reforms. Konarski's reform of the Piarist schools was contained in his Ordinationes of 1753.⁸⁷ To what extent do the reform suggestions made by Poplawski resemble the Piarist school reforms authored by Stanislaw Konarski? A simple comparison of the major items in each should provide an answer.

Konarski's Collegium Nobilium was founded for the sons of the gentry, so were Poplawski's public schools. The Collegium Nobilium had an eight year curriculum, with the last two years devoted to the study of rhetoric. The Poplawski schools were also to have an eight year curriculum with the last two years devoted to rhetoric. Konarski introduced Polish as the language of instruction; so did Poplawski. Konarski deemphasized Latin

86 See Chapter II, Section E and the references cited there as well as supra n. 57.

87 "Ordynacje Wizytacji Apostolskiej dla Polskiej Prowincji Szkol Pobożnych," Reproduced in full by Lukasz Kurbybacha, compiler, Stanislaw Konarski, Pisma Pedagogiczne (Pedagogical Works), Wroclaw, Polska Akademia Nauk, Komitet Nauk Pedagogicznych, Ossolinski, 1959, p. 1-419. This work of Konarski is cited as Ordinationes. It contains five chapters which include every detail of the Piarist school reforms.

instruction, but retained it in the first two years; so did the plans of Poplawski. Konarski suggested the teaching of Polish history, world, history, and geography; so did Poplawski. Konarski paid special attention to religious instruction and moral development; so did Poplawski. Konarski set forth goals aimed at education for good citizenship and the development of patriotism; so did Poplawski.⁸⁸ A comparison of this type could continue pinpointing all of the similarities between the reforms of Konarski and the suggestions of Poplawski, but it appears reasonable to suspect that the Poplawski reform suggestions were based on the Konarski reforms of the Piarist schools. Some authors make a more direct connection between Konarski and the Educational Commission. For example, Rose,⁸⁹ after extensive study of Konarski's work stated:

Two months after Konarski's death, the National Education Commission was created, of which he had laid down a plan twenty years before,⁹⁰ when preparing the new constitution for the Piarist Order. Of this Commission, the reconstituted Order itself was the chief moral support and executive, and among its foremost members were the Potockis, Ignacy and Stanislaw, trained by the master in his College for the Gentry.⁹¹

88 For details of Konarski's plan see Chapter II, Section E; Poplawski's plans were presented in this chapter.

89 William John Rose is one of the foremost students of Konarski. His doctoral thesis prepared for the University of Krakow was on Konarski. The thesis was published in 1929. See: William J. Rose, Stanislas Konarski-Reformer of Education in XVIIIth Century Poland, London, Jonathan Cape, 1929. 1-288 p.

90 Italics the writers.

91 William Rose, "Stanislaw Konarski: Preceptor of Poland," in The Slavonic Review, Vol. IV, No. 10, June, 1925, p. 29.

The Konarski Ordinationes made numerous other suggestions which through Poplawski found their way into the reforms of the Educational Commission. For example, Konarski suggested that textbooks and their preparation be a priority; that teachers needed to be specially trained for work in the schools; that gardening and agriculture be studied; that strong centralized control over the schools was essential; that discipline be strict, but that corporal punishment should be banned; and that concrete experiences take the place of memorization in the schools.⁹² The Konarski plan for the reform of the Piarist schools had three major objectives: (1) the broadening of the curriculum of the schools; (2) a change in the methods of instruction; and (3) a redirection of the aims of education. Konarski maintained throughout his reform proposal that the aim of the school should not be knowledge in itself, but the making of good men and worthy citizens.

Secularization of education was one of the goals of the leading educationalists of the time in Europe. Konarski did not ignore this goal, but, in his own way admitted that his only purpose was to serve the nation, "until the learned men of the whole Commonwealth find another way of teaching, much better and more serviceable; one which will be administered by the proper authorities."⁹³ It is difficult to say if Konarski was conscious

92 Ordinationes, pp. 264-397.

93 Ibid., p. 120-121. See also William Rose, "Stanislaw Konarski: Preceptor of Poland," p. 33.

of the fact that his reforms pointed directly at secularization of the schools. The words "will be administered by the proper authorities" indicated that Konarski sensed that schools would eventually be subject to some type of governmental control.

The fact that the Poplawski reform suggestions were in many ways reflective of the Konarski reforms contained in the Ordinationes should not be construed to be demeaning to Poplawski. At the time of the Poplawski reform suggestions, Konarski was dead, and Poplawski was the leading representative of Piarist educational thinking. In fact the Piarist schools, which reflected the Konarski reforms of 1753, could be considered the model upon which the schools of the Educational Commission were to a large degree fashioned.

Stanislaw Konarski, in the Ordinationes, continually referred to the curriculum and methods of the Collegium Nazarenum of Rome.⁹⁴ Konarski was a student and a teacher at the Collegium Nazarenum and very familiar with the reforms of Chelucci.⁹⁵ Chelucci was instrumental in introducing modern languages, native languages, arithmetic, geometry, physics, philosophy, etc., into the previously totally humanistic curriculum of the Collegium Nazarenum.⁹⁶ The educational approach used

⁹⁴ Ordinationes, p. 54, 265, 270, 281, 288, 292, 294, 310, 319, 365, and 400.

⁹⁵ Ordinationes, p. 42, 61, 62, 81, 96, 164, 213, 217, 227, 231, 270, 343, and 344. Konarski refers to him as Paulinus Chelucci.

⁹⁶ See discussion of the Chelucci reforms in Chapter II, Section E: Activities of the Piarist Order.

at the Collegium Nazarenum and finally reflected in the Konarski and Poplawski plans established the base for the educational reforms of the Commission. Jobert offered the following evaluation of the Poplawski plan:

Le Projet de Poplawski sur l'éducation civile l'emporte de beaucoup sur les mémoires de Bieliński, --un amateur--, et du P. Kamiński, -- esprit médiocre. Le staroste de Czersk⁹⁷ se réfère à l'Encyclopédie et à l'abbé Felbiger. Kamiński cite l'Éducation civile de l'abbé Garnier. Poplawski connaît à fond les écoles de l'Europe occidentale, les manuels français. Il se révèle familier avec toute la littérature pédagogique depuis Montaigne, Locke et Fleury jusqu'à Rousseau et aux ouvrages les plus récents. Il expose dans une première partie sa doctrine de l'éducation. Le Piariste utilise largement D'Alembert et son Discours préliminaire à l'Encyclopédie sur la classification des connaissances humaines; avec Condillac, il préconise la plus rigoureuse méthode analytique.⁹⁸

The Poplawski plan was a detailed, innovative, and practical plan which reflected the leading educational thinking of the time. But, most importantly it reflected, in the main, a functioning school system with which the Commission members were familiar.⁹⁹

G. The Proposal of Pierre-Samuel Du Pont

Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours¹⁰⁰ plan was received by the

97 Le staroste de Czersk was Franciszek Bielinski, supra.

98 Ambroise Jobert, La Commission d'Éducation Nationale en Pologne, p. 181.

99 Some of the members were even graduates of the Konarski Collegium Nobilium, e.g., Potocki and Czartoryski.

100 Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours (1739-1817), Foreign Correspondence Secretary of the Educational Commission from 1774-1775. See: Protokoly Poseidzen KEN 1773-1885, p. 21, 6 mai 1774, item 3^o. Leading educational reformer in the French reforms later in the XVIIIth century. See: B. G. Du Pont, National Education in the United States of America, New ark, University of Delaware Press, 1923, p. viii-ix.

Educational Commission on 30 September 1774.¹⁰¹ The plan, "Vues generales Moyens d'établir les Écoles Paroissiales," was completed by DuPont on 23 September 1774.¹⁰² The Educational Commission considered the plan during the months of September¹⁰³ and October.¹⁰⁴

The DuPont plan reflected a hierarchical school system, which began with the parish schools and culminated with the universities.¹⁰⁵ The elementary schools, according to the plan, should have a three year curriculum and employ one teacher. The curriculum should include reading and writing the first year; arithmetic and measurement the second year; and mechanics, hydrolics, and moral education the third year. Catechism classes were to be conducted on Sundays and holy days. Classes during the first year were to be conducted for one hour in the morning and one hour in the afternoon. During the second year classes were to be held for one hour in the morning. The third year classes were to be held in the afternoon for one hour and an additional one hour every other day. For the second and third years, DuPont suggested early Sunday morning walks to acquaint the students with various aspects of farm life. In the

101 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 39, 30 septembris 1774, item 2^o.

102 A copy of this plan was not available for inspection. It was never printed. The original copy is at the University of Krakow, Biblioteka Czartoryskich, No. 2220, II, PAN, Education Nationale, 818. Description based on Zygmunt Kukulski, op. cit., p. LXXXII-LXXXIV, and verified through Ambroise Jobert, op. cit., p. 185-187.

103 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 39, 30 septembris 1774, item 2^o.

104 Ibid., p. 40, 17 Octobris 1774, item 3^o.

105 Zygmunt Kukulski, op. cit., p. LXXXIII.

afternoons on Sundays second and third year students were to engage in military drills, physical education, games, and songs.¹⁰⁶

Secondary education in the DuPont plan was divided into two units: the district schools (Grande École ou Collège ordinaire de District) and chief district schools (Collège Palatinat ou Grand Collège).

The district schools, according to DuPont, were to have a three year program of studies. Classes were to be held every day for four hours; two hours in the morning and two in the afternoon. Each of the district schools was to have three teachers and a prefect. The duties of the prefect were to include the overall supervision of the school; the chairmanship of all teacher meetings; and the teaching of a number of subjects. The subjects to be taught by the prefect were moral education, natural law, social, civil and political law, world history, and Polish history. The first teacher was to teach arithmetic, basic algebra, geometry, mechanics and hydrolics, world and Polish geography. The second teacher was to teach the Latin and Polish language, the elements of grammar, logic, and rhetoric. The third teacher was to teach the German language, botany, agriculture, farm economics, zoology and mineralogy. Recreational activities and sports were to be the same as in the parish school with the addition of horseback riding.¹⁰⁷

106 Ibid., p. LXXXIII.

107 Ibid., p. LXXXIII-LXXXIV.

The chief district schools, according to DuPont, were to offer a six year program.¹⁰⁸ The first three years were to be identical to the district schools' curriculum. The chief district schools were to have six teachers each and a prefect. The first three teachers were to teach the same subjects as were to be taught in the district schools. The fourth teacher was to teach military subjects and physical education. The fifth teacher was to teach the French language, world history, geography, political geography, and common law. The sixth teacher was to teach Polish law.

The district schools were to be for the children of the landless gentry, while the chief district schools were for the children of the gentry interested in military and governmental careers.¹⁰⁹

At the top of the school hierarchy were to be the universities, the chief learning centers for the Commonwealth.

The Educational Commission in formulating its plans for educational reform may have to some degree used the DuPont conceptualization of establishing a hierarchical system of education. Some authors claim, e.g., Pohoska,¹¹⁰ that the genesis of the centralized and hierarchical system may rest in the work of DuPont.

108 Ibid., p. LXXXIV

109 Ibid.

110 Hanna Pohoska, Wizytatorowie Generalni Komisji Edukacji Narodowej: Monografia z Dziejow Administracji Szkolnej Komisji Edukacji Narodowej (The General Inspectors of the Commission for National Education: Monograph on the History of School Administration under the Commission for National Education), Lublin, Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1957, p. 27.

Whether his influence or ideas were instrumental is yet to be determined. For example, the Commission clearly indicated that a hierarchical system of education was being established in its "Instrukcyz dla Wizytatorow" approved on 20 June 1774.¹¹¹ The tenth paragraph of these rules required that each parish school report its status to the rector of the district school; the rector of the district school was to report to the rector of the chief district school; and he in turn was to report to the university and the Educational Commission concurrently.¹¹² The DuPont plan, as stated earlier, was only received by the Commission on 30 September 1774,¹¹³ which was over three months after the approval of the "Instrukcyz dla Wizytatorow."¹¹⁴ It appears that the Potocki plan was more influential in the development of the hierarchial structure than was DuPont's plan.¹¹⁵

Even though the DuPont plan may have been innovative and progressive, it was submitted to the Commission months after action had been taken on a number of important regulations.

¹¹¹ Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 23, and p. 26. See also footnotes 11, 12, and 13 of Chapter VII.

¹¹² "Instrukcja dla Wizytatorow" (Instructions to Visitors), 10th paragraph in Zygmunt Kukulski, op. cit., p. 17.

¹¹³ Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 39, 30 septembris 1774, item 2^o.

¹¹⁴ See discussion of this point in Chapter VII, Part A.

¹¹⁵ See Potocki's plan supra.

H. Summary

On 24 October 1773 the Educational Commission appealed to the public for suggestions on how to reform the schools of the Commonwealth. In response to this appeal the Commission received eleven proposals for school reform. Of these the proposals of Franciszek Bielinski, Adolf Kaminski, Ignacy Potocki, Adam Czartoryski, Antonio Poplawski, and Pierre-Samuel DuPont were the most comprehensive.

The Educational Commission made use of a number of the proposals in the formulation of its reform plans. From Bielinski, it appears, the Commission adopted certain aspects of language instruction for girls. From Kaminski the Commission may have adopted the ideas of foreign language instruction. From Potocki the Commission adopted the structuring of the district schools, the organization of textbook production, and possibly the centralization and hierarchical structure of education. From Czartoryski, it appears, the Commission adopted the ideas for allowing social class intermobility within the educational establishment. It appears that the major reform plans were taken from Poplawski's suggestions, which were based on the Piarist schools and the Konarski reforms of 1753. The plans submitted by DuPont may have been influential, but their degree of influence has not been established.

CHAPTER V

OVERVIEW OF THE EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

The Educational Commission, after receiving all of the various reform suggestions and proposals, carefully discussed and reviewed them. With the reform projects in mind the Commission began a systematic examination of the existing school situation and began the process of formulating rules and regulations which would be needed to reform the entire existing school structure. The actual reform process began in 1773 and continued into 1783, when the Educational Commission finalized the school reforms. The finalization of school reforms came with the promulgation, in 1783, of the Statutes of the Educational Commission.

The reforms of the Educational Commission influenced not only the ex-Jesuit schools, but touched all segments of the educational establishment. All schools in the Commonwealth came under the control and regulation of the Educational Commission. This chapter will present an overview of the rules and regulations enacted by the Commission that formed the basis of the educational reforms. The discussion of the reforms will be presented in three parts: (1) Actions of the Commission affecting school structure and control; (2) Decisions affecting elementary/secondary education; and (3) Decisions affecting post-secondary education.

The first part of this chapter, dealing with the actions of the Commission affecting school structure, considers, in general, three elements basic to school administration. These elements are: (1) legislative--the basic educational regulations issued by the Commission; (2) structural--the evolution of the school organization and administration; and (3) supervisory--the basic methodology for control and inspection of the schools. The legislative and structural elements are considered in greater detail in this chapter, while the supervisory element was selected for in-depth consideration and is presented in full in Chapter VII.

The second part of this chapter, dealing with the decisions of the Commission affecting elementary/secondary education, considers in general three types of schools: (1) private, (2) elementary, and (3) secondary. The private and secondary schools are considered in greater depth in this chapter, while the elementary schools were selected for in-depth consideration and are presented in full in Chapter VIII.

The third part of this chapter, dealing with decisions affecting post-secondary education, considers in general two types of post-secondary institutions: (1) teacher training colleges or seminaries; and (2) universities. The affects of the Commission's decisions on the universities are presented in greater depth in this chapter, while the teacher training seminaries were selected for in-depth consideration and are presented in full in Chapter VI.

A. School Structure and Control

On 24 October 1773 the Educational Commission issued its first formal announcement, the Komissya Edukacyi Narodowey Korony Polskiej y W. X. Litewskiego.¹ This announcement, usually referred to as the Uniwersal, requested that all school rectors, superiors of religious houses, as well as school directors, submit to the Educational Commission detailed reports on the status of the schools under their jurisdiction.² The Commission also directed that Joachim Chreptowicz³ be responsible for the compilation of these reports for the schools in Lithuania and that Michal Poniatowski⁴ assume the same responsibility for the schools in Poland.⁵

The Commission was able to determine that in Lithuania there were a total of thirty-five secondary schools. The Jesuit Order had twenty secondary schools (or colleges). They were located in the

1 "Komissya Edukacyi Narodowey Korony Polskiej y W. X. Litewskiego," reproduced in Zygmunt Kukulski, Pierwiastkowe Przepisy Pedagogiczne Komisji Edukacji Narodowej z lat 1773-1776 (The Primary Educational Regulations of the Commission for National Education 1773-1776), Lublin, Nakladem Lubelskiego Komitetu Obchodu 150-iej Rocznicy Ustanowienia Komisji i Zgonu St. Konarskiego, 1923, p. 5-9. Discussion of this document found supra, p. 98.

2 Ibid., p. 9. See translation of this document, supra, p.99, second section of the Uniwersal.

3 Vice-Chancellor of Lithuania. supra, p. 107., footnote 81.

4 Bishop of Plock, brother of the king, supra, p. 103.

5 Mieczyslaw Mitera-Dobrowolska, comp., Protokoly Posiedzen Komisji Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1785 (Minutes of the Meetings of the Commission for National Education 1773-1785), Wroclaw, Polska Akademia Nauk, Pracownia Dziejow Oswiaty, 1973, p. 7, 23 octobris 1773, item 24.1^o. All references to this publication will be cited as Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785.

following towns and cities: Bobruiskas,⁶ Lithuanian Brasta,⁷ Gardinas,⁸ Jurevičiai,⁹ Kaunas,¹⁰ Kražiai,¹¹ Merkinė,¹² Minskas,¹³ Mozyrius,¹⁴ Naugardukas,¹⁵ Nesvyžius,¹⁶ Pinskas,¹⁷ Pašiaušė,¹⁸ Šlonimas,¹⁹ Sluckas,²⁰

6 See "Szkoły jezuickie: III Rezydencja jezuicka w Bobrujsku," in Józef Łukaszewicz, Historia Szkół w Koronie i Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim od najdawniejszych czasów aż do roku 1794 (History of the Schools of the Kingdom and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from Earliest Times through the year 1794), Volume IV, Poznań, Nakładem Księgarni Jana Konstantego Zuparskiego, 1851, p. 49. This volume of Łukaszewicz's work contains most of the known facts about the schools of Poland and Lithuania. Cited hereafter as Łukaszewicz, Historia Szkół-IV.

7 Ibid., p. 55-57, "Kollegium jez. w Brzesciu Litewskim."

8 Ibid., p. 68-71, "Kollegium jez. w Grodnie."

9 Ibid., p. 76, "Missya jez. w Jurewiczach."

10 Ibid., p. 88-91. "Kollegium jez. w Kownie."

11 Ibid., p. 97-98. "Kollegium jez. w Krosnie."

12 Ibid., p. 112-113, "Rezydencja jez. w Mereczu."

13 Ibid., p. 116-117. "Kollegium jez. w Minsku."

14 See Kalina Bartnicka and Irena Szybiak, comp., Raporty Generalnych Wizytatorów Szkół Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim 1782-1792 (Reports of the General Inspectors of the Schools in Lithuania under the Commission for National Education 1782-1792), Warszawa, Polska Akademia Nauk, Ossolinski, 1974, p. 29. For some reason this school was not listed by the Educational Commission as an ex-Jesuit school until the visitation by F. Bienkowski in 1782. His report is in the University of Vilnius Library. See VUB, Cart. f., DC 98 1-11. The Bartnicka and Szybiak volume will hereafter be cited as Raporty Gen. Wiz. Lit.

15 Łukaszewicz, Historia Szkół-IV, p. 121-123, "Kollegium jez. w Nowogrodzku siewierskim."

16 Ibid., p. 119-121, "Kollegium jezuickie w Nieswieżu."

17 Ibid., p. 127-129, "Kollegium jez. w Pinsku."

18 Ibid., p. 133, "Kollegium jez. w Poszawsku."

19 Ibid., p. 151, "Rezydencja jez. w Slonimie."

20 Ibid., p. 151-152, "Kollegium jez. w Slucku."

Vilkoviškai,²¹ Vidžiai,²² Vilnius,²³ Višniava,²⁴ and Zodiškiai.²⁵ The Piarist Order had a total of eight secondary schools or colleges in Lithuania. They were located in the following towns or cities: Lyda,²⁶ Dubrovičiai,²⁷ Liubisavas,²⁸ Lužkai,²⁹ Panevežys,³⁰ Raseiniai,³¹ Ūkmergė,³² and Šciučinas.³³ The Basilian Order had four secondary schools in Lithuania. They were in the following towns: Beresvičiai,³⁴ Borūnai,³⁵ Švieženė,³⁶ and Žirovičiai.³⁷ The University of Krakow operated a

21 Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p.19. Vilkoviskai = Wolkowysk. In the visitation report of Bienkowski of 1782.

22 Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p.142. Vidžiai = Widze. In the visitation report of Pilchowski of 1783.

23 Lukaszewicz, Historia Szkol-IV, p.1-47. Description included with the University of Vilnius. See also Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 55.

24 Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p.64. Visniava=Wisniewsk. In the visitation report of Piramowicz of 1782.

25 Lukaszewicz, Historia Szkol-IV, p.194-195, "Kollegium jez. w Zodziszczach."

26 Ibid., p.204-206, "Kollegium pijar. w Lidzie."

27 Ibid., p.197-198, "Kollegium pijar. w Dambrowicy."

28 Ibid., p.206-209, "Kollegium pijar. w Lubieszowie."

29 Ibid., p. 217, "Kollegium pijar. w Luzkach."

30 Ibid., p. 222-224, "Kollegium pijar. w Poniewiezu."

31 Ibid., p. 238, "Kollegium pijar. w Rosieniach."

32 Ibid., p. 260-261, "Kollegium pijar. w Wilkomirzu."

33 Ibid., p. 241, "Kollegium pijar. w Szczuczynie lit."

34 Ibid., p. 263-264, "Monaster bazylianski w Berezwezu."

35 Ibid., p. 264, "Monaster bazylianski w Borunach."

36 Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 27. Same report as in supra 21.

37 Lukaszewicz, Historia Szkol-IV, p.274-275. "Monaster bazylianski w Zyrowicach."

secondary school in Biala,³⁸ and the Evangelical Synod operated two secondary schools, one in Kedainiai and the other in Sluckas.³⁹

The Uniwersal did not include in the reporting requirement the two post-secondary institutions, nor did it specifically request information on the activities and status of the elementary schools in the Commonwealth.⁴⁰

While information on the present status of the secondary schools was being amassed, the Commission began reviewing and evaluating the various reform proposals being submitted as a result of the request contained in the Uniwersal. The Commission was certain that a reform of the entire school structure was necessary, but it tried to decide "...when the best time would be to take the first steps toward change and reform."⁴¹ One of the first indications that the Commission was planning a tri-level school system came on 2 March 1774 when the Commission issued its first budget.⁴² The budget indicated that at least four types of schools would receive support: universities, district schools, sub-district schools, and parish schools.

38 Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 11. Reported in the visitation report of Bienkowski of 1782.

39 A. Šidlauskas, "Vidurinės Mokyklos Lietuvoje XVIIIa. Pabaigoje," (Secondary Schools in Lithuania Toward the End of the XVIIIth Century) in Iš Lietuvių Kultūros Istorijos, Vol. IV, Vilnius, LTSR Mokslo Akademija, Istorijos Institutas, 1964, p. 124.

40 See footnotes 1 and 2 supra.

41 Jozef Lewicki, Ustawodawstwo Szkolne za Czasow Komisji Edukacji Narodowej, Rozporządzenia, Ustawy Pedagogiczne i Organizacyjne 1773-1793 (Promulgation of Regulations by the Educational Commission and the Provisions of the Regulations dealing with Education and School Organization 1773-1793), Krakow, Nakladem M. Arcta a Warszawie, 1925, p. 22.

42 Ibid., p. 9-11; or Ztgmont Kukulski, op. cit., p. XCII-XCIII; or see Chapter III, Part E: Financial Operations.

1. Legislation Governing the Schools of the Commonwealth

Even though the Commission projected a tri-level school system in its first budget, no concrete plans were in existence for their operation or control. Therefore, the Commission began considering the preparation of appropriate rules and regulations to govern the schools. One of the first decisions concerning school control came on 24 March 1774 when the Commission decided to entrust all parish schools to its chairman, Bishop Massalski.⁴³ During the month of April, 1774 the Commission continued discussions and considerations of the various reform proposals which it had received.⁴⁴ By 6 May 1774 the Commission decided that each of its members was to visit the schools within his departments,⁴⁵ as was specified in the Ordynacja.⁴⁶ Finally, after much continued discussion and consideration of various plans,⁴⁷ the Commission on 25 May 1774 assigned the preparation of the first regulations to members of the Commission.⁴⁸ Bishop Massalski was assigned the preparation of a regulation to govern the parish schools,⁴⁹ and Ignacy Potocki was assigned the preparation of

43 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 19-20, 24 martii 1774, item 3^o.

44 Ibid., See Minutes for April, 1774.

45 Ibid., p. 22, 6 maja 1774, item 8^o.

46 See the provisions of the Ordynacja in Chapter III. Each of the members were assigned a department or district to supervise.

47 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, See minutes for months of March, April, May.

48 Ibid., p. 23, 25 mai 1774.

49 Ibid., p. 23, 25 mai 1774, item 4^o.

a regulation to govern the district schools.⁵⁰ On 27 May 1774 the Commission discussed the preparation of a regulation to govern school visitations and inspections, and requested Potocki to prepare this regulation as well.⁵¹ By 2 June 1774 the Commission decided on the structure of the school system.⁵² The structure was to be tri-level, hierarchical, and centralized. The main elements of the structure were to be the parish schools, two types of district schools, and the universities. These elements were to be placed in a hierarchical structure where all parish schools were to be under the control of the sub-district schools, all sub-district schools under the district schools, and all district schools under the universities. All schools were under the control of the Educational Commission, with the district schools reporting to the universities and the Commission at the same time.⁵³ The regulation to govern the district schools was presented to the Commission on 14 June 1774, and approved.⁵⁴ Also presented at that meeting were two other regulations, which, along with the district

50 Ibid., p. 23, 25 mai 1774, item 5^o.

51 Ibid., p. 23, 27 mai 1774, item 4^o.

52 Teodor Wierzbowski, Protokoły Posiedzeń Komisji Edukacji Narodowej z lat 1773-1777 (Minutes of the Meetings of the Commission for National Education 1773-1777), Warszawa, Druk Piotra Laskauera, 1912, Part 37, p. 20, Meeting of 2 June 1774.

53 Ibid. See also Jozef Lewicki, op. cit., p. 13; and Algirdas Šidlauskas, op. cit., p. 124.

54 Protokoły Posiedzeń KEN 1773-1785, p. 25, 14 junii 1774, item 2^o. Also in Teodor Wierzbowski, Protokoły Posiedzeń Komisji Edukacji Narodowej z lat 1773-1777, p. 22.

school regulation, were signed by the Chairman of the Commission on 20 June 1774.⁵⁵ These new regulations were: (1) the Parish School Regulation of 1774;⁵⁶ (2) the District School Regulation of 1774;⁵⁷ and (3) the Rules for School Visitations.⁵⁸ Thus, within four months of the Ordynacja the Commission succeeded in developing and approving regulations governing the parish schools and the district schools, as well as a regulation which provided the elements of control over these two types of institutions. The Rules for School Visitations as well as the District School Regulation were supplemented by a series of reporting requirements: (1) Rector's Report about Teachers;⁵⁹ (2) Prefect's Report about Directors;⁶⁰ (3) Teacher's Report about First-Year Students;⁶¹ (4) Teacher's Report about Second-Year Students;⁶² and (5) Teacher's Report about Third-Year Students.⁶³ These supplements to the basic regulations dealt

55 Teodor Wierzbowski, Protokoły Posiedzen Komisji Edukacji Narodowej z lat 1773-1777, p. 22; see also Zygmunt Kukulski, op. cit., p. XCIV

56 "Przepis do szkół parafjalnych," in Kukulski, op. cit., p.22-30.

57 "Przepis Komisji Edukacji Narodowej na szkoły wojewódzkie," in Kukulski, op. cit., p. 31-51.

58 "Instrukcja dla wizytatorów," in Kukulski, op. cit., p.15-17. See also footnote 12 in Chapter VII.

59 "Raport Rektora o Nauczycielach," in Kukulski, op.cit., p.20.

60 "Raport Prefekta o Dyrektorach," in Kukulski, op.cit.,p.20.

61 "Raport Nauczycielów Pierwszej Szkoły o Uczniach," in Kukulski, op.cit., p. 21.

62 "Raport Nauczycielów Drugiej Szkoły o Uczniach," ibid., p. 21.

63 "Raport Nauczycielów Trzeciej Szkoły o Uczniach," ibid., p. 21.

primarily with the status of teachers and students in the district schools. The Commission did not overlook the specification of a reporting procedure for the status of the schools themselves. In the ninth and tenth paragraphs of the Rules for School Visitations⁶⁴ the Commission specified a detailed reporting procedure to be used by the schools. Each parish school was to report its status to the rector of the sub-district school. Each rector of a sub-district school was to report on his school as well as the parish schools to the rector of the district school. The rector of the district school was to report the status of his school and all the schools in his district concurrently to the university and the Educational Commission.⁶⁵

The Commission, in order to gain a better understanding of the school situation, in accordance with its own Rules for School Visitations, required that each of the members of the Educational Commission inspect schools in a specified area. Two days after the approval of the Rules for School Visitations, 22 June 1774, the Commission assigned to each member a specific area to visit and inspect.⁶⁶ This was the first territorial distribution of the schools and was used through 1780 not only for school inspections, but for all other administrative matters.

64 "Instrukcja dla Wizytatorów," in Jozef Lewicki, op. cit., p. 13.

65 Ibid.

66 Protokoły Posiedzeń KEN 1773-1785, p. 25-26, 22 June 1774, item 4^o.

During the next few years the Educational Commission issued a number of other regulations, most of which, were supplements to the original regulations of 1774. The more important regulations issued after 1774 were: (1) Act Establishing the Society for Elementary Books (1775);⁶⁷ (2) Regulation for the Operation of Private Schools, Pensions, and Education of Girls (1775);⁶⁸ (3) Instructions for the Writing of Books for the Elementary Schools and District Schools (1775);⁶⁹ (4) Regulation for School Rectors (1774);⁷⁰ (5) Regulation for School Prefects (1774);⁷¹ (6) Regulation Dealing with Reports to be Prepared by Teachers to the Educational Commission About Their Classrooms (1776);⁷² (7) Program of Studies and Order in the District Schools (1776);⁷³ (8) Program of Studies and Order in the Sub-District Schools (1776);⁷⁴

67 "Ustanowienie Towarzystwa do Ksiąg Elementarnych," in Zygmunt Kukulski, op. cit., p.52-56. The Society for Elementary Books was discussed in Chapter III: Part G.

68 "Przepisy od Komisji Edukacji Narodowej Pensjomistrzom i Mistrzyniom dane," in Kukulski, op. cit., p. 57-73. This regulation will be discussed later in this chapter.

69 "Obwieszczenie od Komisji Edukacji Narodowej względem napisania książek elementarnych do szkół wojewodzkich," in Kukulski, op. cit., p. 74-84.

70 "Przepis dla rektorów szkół," in Kukulski, op. cit., p. 85-88.

71 "Przepis dla prefekta szkół," in Kukulski, op. cit., p. 89-91.

72 "Przepis dla nauczycieli względem reportów, które dawać mają Przesławnej Komisji Edukacji Narodowej o naukach swoich klas," in Kukulski, op. cit., p. 92-93.

73 "Układ nauk i porządku między niemi, w szkołach wojewodzkich," in Kukulski, op. cit., p. 94-95.

74 "Układ nauk na szkoły powiatowe," in Kukulski, op. cit., p. 96-97.

- (9) Model for Reporting Learning in the District Schools (1776);⁷⁵
(10) Model for Reporting Learning in the Sub-District Schools (1776);⁷⁶
(11) Regulation for School Directors (1774);⁷⁷ and (12) Supplemental Regulation for School Visitations (1777).⁷⁸

In 1776 the Sejm made two important decisions which had an effect on the operations of the Educational Commission.⁷⁹ These decisions expanded the membership of the Commission from eight to twelve members, and gave the Commission control over all financial matters. The latter decision disbanded the Distributing Commissions. The Commission thus became directly responsible for the administration of all ex-Jesuit properties, school finances, and the adjudication of financial problems.

No new developments appeared in the activities of the Commission until 13 June 1780, when the Commission decided to re-organize the school structure by placing all schools under the direct supervision of the universities.⁸⁰ The Commission decided that all

75 "Wzor raportow o naukach. Szkoły wojewodzkie N.," in Kukulski, op. cit., p. 98-101.

76 "Wzor raportow o naukach, Szkoły powiatowe N.," in Kukulski, op. cit., p. 102.

77 "Przepis dla dyrektorow," in Kukulski, op. cit., p. 103.

78 "Instrukcja wyznacznoym do wizytowania szkol," in Jozef Lewicki, op. cit., p. 138-139.

79 Volumina Legum, op. cit., p. 859-865. See discussion of this decision in Chapter III: Sections D and E.

80 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 130-135, minutes of the meeting of 13 June 1780.

schools in Poland would be under the direct supervision of the University of Krakow and all schools in Lithuania would be under the control of the University of Vilnius. Specifically the Commission required that the University of Vilnius announce at the start of the academic year, but no later than November of 1780, that all of the schools in the Lithuanian districts were under its control.⁸¹ This same decision had implications for school inspections⁸² which would now have to be conducted by each of the universities.

Another important decision made on 13 June 1780 was the reorganization of the school administrative structure initially established 22 June 1774.⁸³ Lithuania and Poland were divided into educational districts. Lithuania was divided into four districts and Poland into six.⁸⁴ The new educational districts within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were:

LITHUANIAN DISTRICT, with its center and chief district school in Gardinas (Grodno) and district schools in Lyda, Merkinė, Pastovis, Ščiutinas, Vilnius, Vyšniava, and Vilkaviškis.

SAMOGITIAN DISTRICT, with its center and chief district school in Kražiai (Kroze) and district schools in Kaunas, Kretinga, Panevėžys, Raseiniai, and Ūkmergė.

81 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 134-135.

82 Implications detailed in Chapter VII.

83 Initially Lithuania was divided into two areas, the ethnographic area and the non-ethnographic area. See Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 25-26, 22 June 1774, item 4^o.

84 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 132-135.

BELORUSSIAN DISTRICT, with its center and chief district school in Naugardukas (Nowogrodek) and district schools in Berezwech, Cholopienicze, Minsk, Luck, Bobrujsk, Nieswicz, and Sluck.

RUSSIAN DISTRICT, with its center and chief district school in Lietuvos Brasta (Brzesc Litewski) and district schools in Biala, Dambrowica, Pinsk, Zyrowice, and Lubieszow.

The initial administrative organization was based on political subdivisions, i.e., districts and counties.⁸⁵ This initial organizational plan resulted in an unbalanced number of schools in various areas of the country. For example, some districts had no district school, some districts had two district schools, other districts had only a sub-district school, while still other districts had as many as eight sub-district schools.⁸⁶ Under the revision of 13 June 1780, each of the four educational districts had one chief district school and any number of district schools.⁸⁷ The educational differences between the chief district schools and the district schools will be presented in the following section. All of the chief district schools in Lithuania were to report directly to the University of Vilnius.

85 Reference here is to the administrative division of 22 June 1774. See footnote 82, supra. The Commission also made a specific assignment of responsibility over the two Lithuanian areas: Massalski was to supervise the ethnographic areas; while Chreptowicz was to supervise the non-ethnographic areas. See Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 60, 17 decembris 1775, item 5^o.

86 See Hanna Pohoska, Wizytatorowie Generalni Komisji Edukacji Narodowej: Monografia z Dziejow Administracji Szkolnej Komisji Edukacji Narodowej (The General Inspectors of the Commission for National Education: Monograph on the History of School Administration Under the Commission for National Education), Lublin, Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1957, p. 295.

87 Note that the district schools became chief district schools (at least one in each educational district) and the sub-district schools became district schools.

As early as 17 April 1779 the Educational Commission expressed concern over the increasing number of rules and regulations being issued,⁸⁸ and discussed the possibility of preparing a codification of them, as was suggested in one of the proposals it had received in 1774.⁸⁹ The Commission, after further study and consideration, decided⁹⁰ that the Society for Elementary Books should be delegated the responsibility for preparing a draft codification of the legislation.

The Society for Elementary Books, acting on the motion of Ignacy Potocki, decided on 27 December 1780 that a collection of the rules, regulations, proclamations, and instructions be prepared and printed.⁹¹ But, the Society, after further discussion and consideration, decided on 11 January 1781 that the collection should in fact be codified into a statute book.⁹² The Society, at that same meeting, enumerated the chapters and assigned individuals responsible for each:

Chapters: houses, rectors, prefects, directors, lecturers, confessioners, pensioners, students, servants, mass, vacations, and rest periods are assigned to the member of the Society for Elementary Books, A. Jakubevičius; chapters: teachers, substitute teachers, classrooms, and student appearances are assigned to G. Piramovičius; chapters: various convents, parish schools, and school inspections are assigned to K. Narbutas; chapters: punishments, rewards, and seminaries are assigned to A. Kopčinskas.⁹³

88 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p.114, 17 kwietnia 1779. 3^o.

89 Reference had to be to Poplawski's proposal. See Stanislaw Tync, op. cit., p. LXIV, and Chapter IV: Part F.

90 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p.141, 23 listopada 1780, 1^o.

91 Teodor Wierzbowski, Protokoly Posiedzen Towarzystwa do Ksiag Elementarnych 1775-1792, Part 36, p. 48, meeting of 27 December 1780.

92 Ibid. p. 49, meeting of 11 January 1781.

93 Ibid.

The Society for Elementary Books from 15 January 1781 through 28 April 1781 held a total of twenty-four meetings to discuss and revise the various chapters.⁹⁴ While discussions at the Society for Elementary Books were still in progress, Piramowicz on 10 March 1781 began reading the revised chapters of the draft statute to the Educational Commission.⁹⁵ Piramowicz continued to read the draft and discuss its contents with the members of the Educational Commission through 11 May 1781, when the Commission approved the draft as the Proposed Statutes of the Educational Commission, and ordered copies to be sent to all the schools.⁹⁶ The Commission also ordered that all school rectors attend a meeting to discuss the new Statutes.⁹⁷ Meetings were held on 3 September 1781 in Vilnius and in Warsaw, where the rectors were told to abide by the new Statutes and send any comments they had directly to the Commission.⁹⁸

In accordance with Chapter IV of the 1781 Statutes the University of Krakow became the Chief School of Poland and the University of Vilnius.

94 Ibid. See also Algirdas Šidlauskas, "Mokyklų Reforma Lietuvoje XVIIIa. Pagaigoje," (Educational Reform in Lithuania During the End of the XVIIIth Century), in Lietuvos TSR Mokslų Akademijos Darbai, Serija A, 2(13), 1962, p. 50.

95 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 156-157, 10 marca 1781. The draft was titled: "Projekt. Ustawy Komisji Edukacyi Narodowej dla stanu akademickiego i na szkoly w krajach Rzeczypospolitej przepisane," (Project. Statutes of the Commission for National Education and Regulations for the Academic Class and the Schools of the Countries of the Commonwealth), 1781. The project had 76 sheets, 2 tables, and 19 pages of anexemplary report.

96 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 163-164, 11 maja 1781, item 1^o.

97 Ibid., item 3^o.

98 Stanislaw Tync, op. cit., p. LXVI.

became the Chief School of Lithuania (Schola Princeps Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae).⁹⁹

Basically the Educational Commission made few revisions in the Statutes of 1781, other than a rearrangement of the chapters,¹⁰⁰ before ordering the Statutes to be printed and distributed to the schools. The Commission ordered the printing on 11 April 1783.¹⁰¹

The following were the chapters of the 1783 Statutes:¹⁰²

- I. The Academic Class
- II. Chief Schools
- III. Contests Between Colleges of the Chief Schools
- IV. Inspection/Visitation of the Schools
- V. Candidates to the Academic Class
- VI. Academic Gatherings-Organizations
- VII. Meetings of the Academic Organizations
- VIII. Rector and Prorector
- IX. Homes
- X. District Treasury
- XI. Holy Mass and Religious Services
- XII. Distinguished Teachers
- XIII. Prefects
- XIV. Teachers
- XV. Classes and Subjects (eight sub-sections)
- XVI. Schools Having Less than Six Teachers
- XVII. Examinations
- XVIII. Students
- XIX. Scholarships
- XX. Directors
- XXI. Vacations and Reopening of Schools
- XXII. Parish Schools
- XXIII. Salaries
- XXIV. Adjudication, Punishment, and Reward
- XXV. Physical Education

⁹⁹ Chapter IV of the 1781 Statutes, paragraph 135. See Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, footnote 17 on p. 157.

¹⁰⁰ For example, Chapter IV of the 1781 Statutes became Chapter II in the 1783 Statutes. For comparative analysis of the chapter changes see Stanislaw Tync, op. cit., p. 565-567.

¹⁰¹ Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 235, 11 kwietnia 1783, item 3^o.

¹⁰² Ustawy Kommissyi Edukacyi Narodowej dla Stanu Akademickiego i na Szkoły w Krajach Rzeczypospolitej Przepisane, w Warszawie, roku 1783. Reproduced in full by Stanislaw Tync, op. cit., p. 575-723.

Chapters I, II, III, IV, V, VI, XII, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XXI, XXII, and XXV of the Statutes of 1783 contained new directives and concepts not found in the 1774-1775 rules and regulations. The most important new changes were contained in the following chapters:

Chapter I: The Academic Class¹⁰³

The Commission established a new social class--the academic class. Teachers in the secondary and post-secondary levels were members of this class.

Chapter II: Chief Schools¹⁰⁴

The Commission renamed the universities as chief schools and gave them broad powers over all schools in each of the countries.

Chapter IV: School Visitations and Inspections¹⁰⁵

Commission created the position of general inspector and vested the general inspectors with broad powers over the schools.

Chapters V and VI¹⁰⁶

Contained various rules and regulations pertaining to the selection, preparation, behavior, duties, and acceptable life-styles of members of the academic class.

Chapter XVII: Examinations¹⁰⁷

The Commission specified the content and conduct of examinations given in the secondary schools.

Chapter XXII: Parish Schools¹⁰⁸

The Commission made significant changes in parish school organization and operation, when compared to the 1774 Regulation. See Elementary/Parish School chapter.

103 "Stan Akademicki," in Tync, op. cit., p. 576-580.

104 "Szkoły Głowne," in Tync, op. cit., p. 581-600.

105 "Wizyta Zgromadzeń Akademickich i Szkół Narodowych," in Tync, op. cit., p. 605-612.

106 Chapter V: "Kandydaci do Stanu Akademickiego," and Chapter VI: "Zgromadzenia Akademickie," in Tync, op. cit., p. 612-623.

107 "Egzamina i Popisy," in Tync, op. cit., p. 679-681.

108 "Szkóły Parafialne," in Tync, op. cit., p. 699-701.

Chapter XV was the main chapter of the Statutes which regulated the organization, courses of study, and administration of the secondary schools.¹⁰⁹ In substance, it did not differ significantly from the initial District School Regulation of 1774, nor the 13 June 1780 decisions of the Commission affecting district schools. Chapters of the Statutes relating to the district school organizational network and curricular practices were: IV, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XIII, XIV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI, XXIII, XIV, and XXV. The provisions of these chapters will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

From various reports of the general inspectors¹¹⁰ it appears that the schools did not have copies of the Statutes during the 1782/1783 academic year,¹¹¹ even though the Commission ordered their distribution in 1781.¹¹² The general inspectors indicated that the use of the Statutes should begin with the academic year 1783/1784.¹¹³

The Statutes of 1783 were revised on three occasions. Once by the Commission and twice as a result of actions taken by the Sejm.

109 "Klasy i Nauki," in Tync, op. cit., p. 661-677.

110 Individuals sent by the Educational Commission and later the Chief Schools to conduct school inspections. See discussion later in this chapter and in Chapter VII.

111 For example see the inspection reports of F. Bienkowski for 1783 and D. Pilchowski for 1783 in Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 97-144.

112 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 163-164, 11 maja 1781.

113 See inspection report of D. Pilchowski for 1783 in Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 120.

The first revision occurred as a result of a decision of the Four Year Sejm of 1788-1792. The Sejm approved a new administrative structure which placed control of the parish schools under Local Administrative Councils.¹¹⁴ The second revision was made by the Educational Commission in 1790. This revision eliminated the position of school prefect and set forth a requirement that all members of religious orders, before teaching in the schools, were to complete a three year program of studies at the Chief School.¹¹⁵ The third, and final revision, was necessitated by a directive from the Gardinas Sejm of 1793.¹¹⁶ The directive required that all educational matters, decisions, and orders be submitted first to a special department of the Permanent Council for approval. This decision removed from the Commission the authority to deal directly with the schools. The Sejm also removed from the Commission the control of private schools.¹¹⁷ The Sejm's actions were influenced by the presence of Russian military forces, who had entered the Sejm and forced the members to approve all suggestions presented.¹¹⁸

114 See "Konstytucja Oblatowana," 19 November 1789 in Volumina Legum, Vol. IX, p. 142. Further discussion of this matter is in Chapter VIII: Elementary/Parish Schools: Part D

115 1790 revision reproduced in J. Lewicki, op. cit., p. 209-330.

116 1793 revisions reproduced in J. Lewicki, op.cit., p. 368-388.

117 Konstytucja Sejmu Grodzienskigo 1793 roku, Vol. II, Article IV, paragraph 60.

118 See Chapter I: Lithuanian Political, Social, Economic and Cultural Conditions from the XIIth through the XVIIIth Centuries: Part A: Political Developments from the XIIth to the XVIIIth Centuries.

With the Third Partition of 1795, Lithuania and Poland ceased to exist as political entities. With the annexation of the remaining lands of the Commonwealth, all governmental units, including the Educational Commission, ceased to exist. The last recorded meeting of the Commission was held on 10 April 1794.¹¹⁹

2. School Organization and Administration

The Ustanowienie,¹²⁰ the Uniwersal,¹²¹ and the Ordynacja,¹²² formed the basis for the legal status of the Educational Commission and layed the foundation for its functional aspects. An analysis of these acts and proclamations as well as the rules, regulations, instructions, and statutes issued by the Educational Commission from 1773 through 1783 reveals the evolution of a hierarchical and centralized system of state education. The organizational structure of the school system has been diagrammatically illustrated in Figure 1. The organizational structure in Figure 1 represents a total developmental picture of the Educational Commission for the years 1773-1783.

119 Tadeusz Mizia, Protokoly Posiedzen Komisji Edukacji Narodowej 1786-1794 (Minutes of the Meetings of the Commission for National Education 1786-1794), Wroclaw, Zaklad Narodowy imienia Ossolinski, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1969, p. 383, minutes of the meeting of 10 kwietnia, Sesyja 31, 1794.

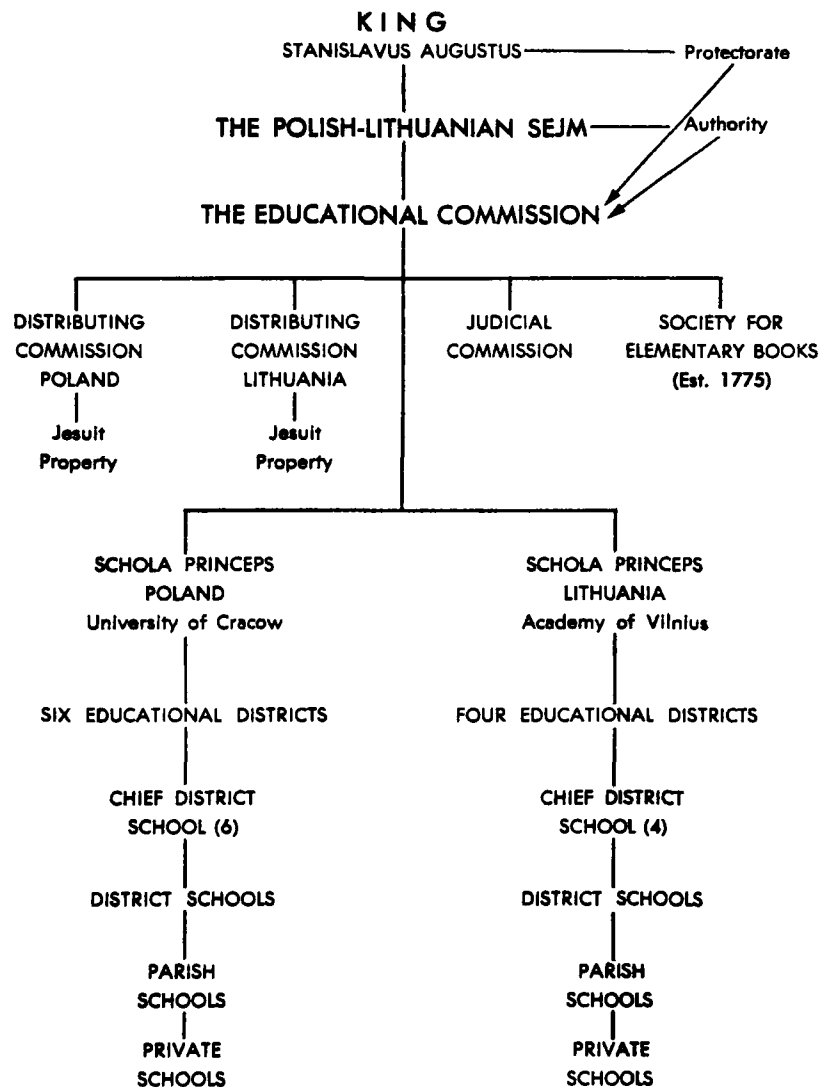
120 The Ustanowienie Kommissyi nad Edukacją Młodzi Narodowej Szlacheckiej Dozor Maiącej, 14 October 1773. This is the act establishing the Commission. See Chapter III for details.

121 The Uniwersal Ogłaszający Komisję Edukacyjną, 24 October 1773, This is the first proclamation of the Commission. See details in Chapter III.

122 The Ordynacja Komisji Rzeżypospolitej Edukacji Narodowej, 21 February 1774. This is the basic organizational document of the Commission. See details in Chapter III.

Figure 1

**The Commission for National Education of the Kingdom
of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania
1773-1794**



SOURCE: Reproduced from J. A. Račkauskas, "The First National System of Education in Europe--The Commission for National Education of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (1773-1794), in *Lituanus*, Vol. 14, No. 4, Winter, 1968, p. 17.

The authority for the establishment of the Educational Commission is contained in the Ustanowienie, which was an act of the Sejm of 1773.¹²³ The Sejm, within its constitutional authority, delegated to the Educational Commission the authority to control, organize, and administer all educational activities within the Commonwealth. The Sejm also established the Distributing Commissions and the Judicial Commission, whose primary responsibility was the administration of all ex-Jesuit properties and through that administration the provision of funds to the Educational Commission for school operations. The Commission itself issued the Uniwersal, which informed the schools and the public, that under the authority delegated by the Sejm, the Commission would control, organize and administer all educational activities in the Commonwealth. The Commission proceeded to organize itself and establish its own organizational procedures, which it detailed in the Ordynacja. In order to develop new textbooks and provide pedagogical advice to the Commission and the schools the Commission established the Society for Elementary Books in 1775.

The organization of the school structure began in 1774 with the issuance of the various rules, regulations, and instructions. In accordance with the Uniwersal all schools in the Commonwealth were under the control of the Educational Commission, thus their inclusion in Figure 1 under the Commission. The organizational structuring of the schools in Figure 1 reflects the 2 June 1774 decision of the Commission

123 Each of the statements made in this analysis of the organizational structure is based on material already discussed in detail earlier in this chapter or in Chapter III. Footnotes will be used only in cases where they are deemed appropriate.

to subordinate parish schools to the sub-district schools and the sub-district schools to the district schools and these to the universities and to itself. This same subordination is reflected in the rules and instructions of 1774-1775. For example, this clear subordination is detailed in the following regulations and rules: District School Regulation of 1774; the Rules for School Visitations, and the supplementations detailing various reporting requirements. The subordination is even more clearly evident in the 1774 Regulation for School Rectors; Regulation for School Prefects; and the Regulation Dealing with Reports to be Prepared by Teachers to the Educational Commission About Their Classrooms.

The placement of the private schools under the parish schools in Figure 1 is based on an analysis of the Rules for School Visitations for 1774 and its supplementation of 1777. These Rules specified that parish schools should be visited, and that if any private schools were found in the area, that they too should be inspected, etc. If the parish schools were subordinated to the private schools, then the visitor would inspect the private schools first, and then inspect the parish schools. Also, reporting requirements clearly specified in the supplementations to the District School Regulation of 1774 and the Rules for School Visitations required reporting information on students in the parish schools, but not on the students in the private schools.

The placement of the district schools in the organizational chart in Figure 1 is based on the decision of the Commission of 13 June 1780, which was later included in the Statutes of 1783. Before that date,

the placement would have to reflect a line to the universities and the Commission. The dual reporting requirement specified by the Commission in the District School Regulation of 1774 required reports to be sent to the Commission and the Universities at the same time. The decision of 13 June 1780 eliminated this dual reporting requirement and clearly subordinated the district schools to the universities.

The fact that the Commission's organizational efforts were aimed toward centralization as well as hierarchical structuring is indicated by the decision of 13 June 1780 which changed the names of certain district schools to chief district schools and reorganized the territorial divisions into a limited number of educational districts. This in effect limited the number of district schools which were to report to the universities. For example, after the decision of 13 June 1780 only four schools in Lithuania were named as chief district school. These four chief district schools were to supervise the activities of the district schools within their respective educational districts. The decision of 13 June 1780 maintained the hierarchical structure, but added centralization to the school organizational structure.

The 1781 Statutes changed the names of the universities to Schola Princeps, thus completing the sequence of Chief Schools, Chief District School, District School, and Parish School. The Statutes of 1783 specified two types of parish schools, the smaller and larger, but this classification did not alter the direct subordination of the parish school to the district schools.¹²⁴

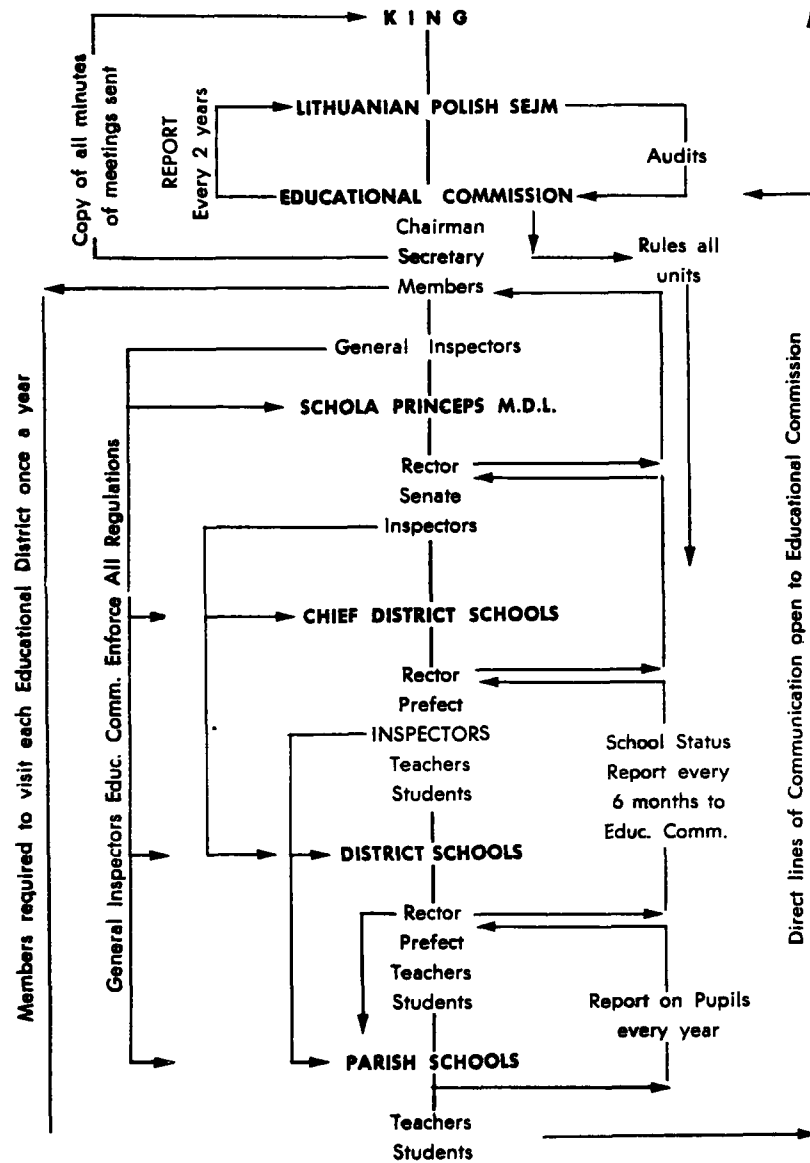
124 See Chapter on Elementary/Parish Schools.

The administration of the schools was closely tied to the organizational structure. An analysis of the various rules, regulations, and instructions provides a good indication of the administrative procedures used, or at least mandated, for use throughout the school structure. Through such an analysis it is possible to identify three elements of administrative procedure. These administrative elements, diagrammatically illustrated in Figure 2, are (1) Reporting, (2) Inspection, and (3) Communication. When an analysis of the administrative requirements for each level in the school structure is completed, then joined with requirements imposed on other levels of the structure, and then the total requirements are further imposed on the organizational chart of the school structure, a flow chart indicating each element (as illustrated in Figure 2) can be developed.

The Ustanowienie, issued by the Sejm, specified that the Educational Commission was (1) to report their activities to the Sejm every two years and that (2) the Sejm would audit the financial operations of the Commission. The Commission in its Ordynacja established its own administrative procedures, most of which were internal. The Ordynacja did specify that copies of the minutes of all Commission meetings be sent to the king. In the Uniwersal, the Commission informed all school personnel that it would issue rules and regulations governing all the schools.¹²⁴ All of these administrative activities are illustrated in Figure 2.

¹²⁴ Discussion of the Ustanowienie, Ordynacja and Uniwersal is in Chapter III: Establishment and Organization of the Educational Commission.

Figure 2

Reporting, Inspection, and Communications Procedures

SOURCE: Reproduced from J. A. Račkauskas, "The First National System of Education in Europe--The Commission for National Education of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (1773-1794), in *Lituanus*, Vol. 14, No. 4, Winter, 1968, p. 26.

The requirement that members of the Educational Commission visit schools in their assigned educational districts was contained in the Rules for School Visitations of 1774. These Rules were revised and supplemented in 1777, 1781, and 1783. The changes in these Rules are all included in Figure 2. For example, under the 1781 changes general inspectors were dispatched by the Educational Commission. By 1783 the general inspectors were appointed by the Chief Schools of Poland and Lithuania. Under the District School Regulation, as revised, the Chief District Schools were to inspect the subordinated schools.

Rectors and teachers, in accordance with the Parish School Regulation, the Regulation for School Rectors, as well as the District School Regulation were to report the status of their schools to the next higher level every six months. These same regulations specified that on a yearly basis reports on pupils in the schools should be prepared and sent to the next higher level. The inspectors and rectors were to insure that these reports were being completed and sent. The entire issue of school visitations and inspections will be considered in detail in the chapter on School Visitations and Inspections.

The Educational Commission maintained open lines of communication with every level of the school structure. Students were able to write to the Commission requesting redress for unjust treatment. This was a specific right given to students in Chapter XVIII of the Statutes of 1783. Pastors, for example, wrote numerous complaints in 1776 regarding the financial status of the parish schools in Lithuania.¹²⁵

¹²⁵ Discussed in Chapter VII: School Visitations and Inspections and Chapter VIII: Elementary/Parish Schools.

Other administrative matters were presented in the Statutes of 1783. For example, financial accounting for funds received from the Educational Commission was detailed in Chapter X: District Treasury. Other requirements were contained in each of the rules and regulations, for example, the accounting of ex-Jesuit property and funds was detailed in the Ordynacja, and in the 1777 supplement to the Rules for School Visitations.

3. School Supervision, Inspection, and Control.

The Commission realized that without proper supervision and inspection the school structure, it was in the process of developing, would never function efficiently. As early as 21 February 1774 the Commission obligated each of its members to engage in school visitations and inspections.¹²⁶ By 22 June 1774 the Commission had divided the Commonwealth into educational departments and assigned to each member the responsibility of visiting and inspecting the schools within a specific department.¹²⁷ The task of supervising and inspecting the schools of the Commonwealth was no small undertaking. The physical land area and number of schools within it was staggering (See Map 4). The Commission soon realized that its eight members could not solely accomplish such a large task and thus allowed the members to delegate this responsibility.¹²⁸

126 Ordynacja in Kukulski, op. cit., p. 11.

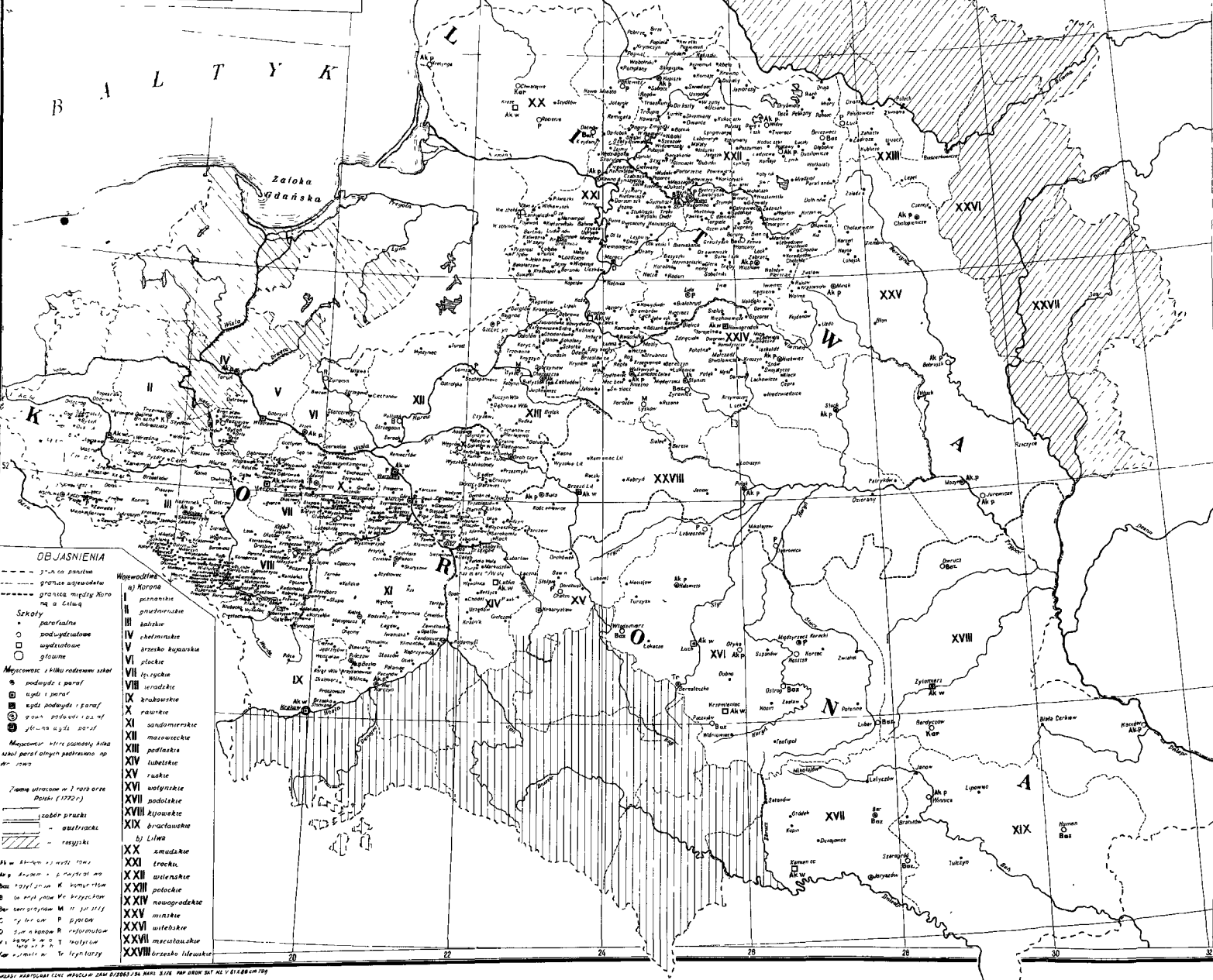
127 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 25-26, 22 June 1774, item 4^o.

128 In accordance with paragraph 1 of the Rules for School Visitations of 1774. See Kukulski, op. cit., p. 15

MAPA SZKÓŁ KOMISJI EDUKACJI NARODOWEJ

opracowali S. Tync i S. Sępka

0 50 100 km



MAP 4: SCHOOLS UNDER THE COMMISSION FOR NATIONAL EDUCATION OF POLAND AND LITHUANIA IN THE LAST QUARTER OF THE XVIIIth CENTURY

LEGEND

BOARDS

- State
- Palatinate
- Poland-Lithuania

SCHOOLS

- Parish
- District
- Chief District
- Chief School (Schola Principes)

SCHOOLS IN TOWNS: Multiple Indicators

- * District and Parish
- Chief District and Parish
- District, Chief District and Parish
- Chief School, District and Parish
- Chief School, Chief District and Parish School.

LAND LOST DURING THE PARTITION OF 1772

- to Prussia
- to Austria
- to Russia

SCHOOLS OPERATED BY THE COMMISSION AND/OR RELIGIOUS ORDERS AS INDICATED BY ABBREVIATIONS

- Ak.w - Academeal Chief District (EDUC COMM)
- Ak.p - Academeal District (EDUC COMM)
- Baz. - Basilian
- B. - Benedictine
- Ber. - Bernardine
- C. - Cisterciene
- D. - Dominican
- K.I. - Canonics Reg. Lateranensis
- Kar. - Carmelite
- K. - Eucharist
- Kr. - Teutonic
- M. - Missionary
- P. - Piarist
- R. - Evangelical (R)
- Tr. - Trinitarian
- T. - Teatyn

PALATINATES OF POLAND AND LITHUANIA

KINGDOM OF POLAND

Palatinates as indicated from I-XIX

LITHUANIA

- XX - Żemaičių-Samogitian
- XXI - Trakų
- XXII - Vilniaus
- XXIII - Polocko
- XXIV - Naugardo
- XXV - Minsko
- XXVI - Vitebsko
- XXVII - Mscibovo
- XXVIII - Lietuvos Brasto

SOURCE: Map reproduced from Stanisław Tync, Komisja Edukacji Narodowej (Commission for National Education), Biblioteka Narodowa, Nr. 126, Seria 1, Wrocław, Zakład imienia Ossolińskich-Wydawnictwo, 1954.

The initial territorial distribution of the schools resulted in Bishop Massalski being assigned the supervision of the ethnographic Lithuanian palatinates, and Joachim Chreptowicz the non-ethnographic. In terms of Map 4, Massalski was assigned palatinates XX, XXI, and XXII; and Chreptowicz palatinates XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, and XXVIII. This administrative distribution was in effect through 13 June 1780,¹²⁹ when the Commission divided the Commonwealth into ten educational districts. In terms of Map 4, the new Lithuanian districts were as follows: (1) LITHUANIAN DISTRICT--palatinates XXI and XXII; (2) SAMOGITIAN DISTRICT--palatinate XX; (3) BELORUSSIAN DISTRICT--palatinates XXIII, XXIV, XXV, and XXVI; and (4) RUSSIAN DISTRICT--palatinates XXVII and XXVIII.

All school inspections and visitations after 1781 were conducted using the territorial distribution of 13 June 1780. The Commission and later the Chief School conducted seventeen general inspections of the Lithuanian districts between 1782 and 1792. These were (1) 1782--Bienkowski and Piramowicz; (2) 1783--Bienkowski and Pilchowski; (3) 1785--Bienkowski; (4) 1786--Bienkowski and Pilchowski; (5) 1787--Erdman and Pilchowski; (6) 1788--Erdman and Jaška; (7) 1789--Erdman and Jaška; (8) 1790--Erdman; (9) 1791--Obrapalski; and (10) 1792--Obrapalski and Piotrowski.¹³⁰ The conduct of these inspections and the applicable rules, regulations, and instructions are discussed in detail in Chapter VII: School Visitations and Inspections.

¹²⁹ Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 130-135, minutes of 13 June 1780.

¹³⁰ Reports of these inspections are reproduced in Raporty Gen Wiz Lit.

The Educational Commission relegated local school supervision to the various administrators within the school organizational structure. The rector and senate of the chief school, in accordance with Chapter II of the Statutes of 1783, were responsible for the operation of the chief school and the supervision of all chief district schools. The rectors of the chief district schools, in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Statutes of 1783, were responsible for the operation of the chief district schools and the supervision of all district schools within their districts. The district school prorectors were responsible, in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Statutes of 1783, for the operation of their schools and the supervision of all parish schools within their districts.

Supervision over the schools implied the power of control. The Educational Commission had the power to enforce its regulations. For example, the Commission closed two schools, in 1782-1783, for not following the instructions contained in the District School Regulation.¹³¹ When in 1783 the General Inspector Pilchowski found two schools operating without the knowledge of the Educational Commission, and not in accordance with Chapter XV of the Statutes, both schools were ordered closed.¹³² A number of other district type schools found operating without the knowledge of the Commission and not in accordance with the Statutes were ordered to be reduced to parish schools.¹³³

131 Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 11-30

132 Ibid., p. 119-144.

133 A. Šidlauskas, "Vidurinés Mokyklos Lietuvoje XVIIIa.

Pabaigoje," p. 126.

B. Elementary and Secondary Schools

Three distinct types of schools were under the control of the Educational Commission. These were (1) the pensions or boarding schools, (2) the elementary or parish schools, and (3) the secondary or district schools. Each of these schools will be discussed in this section.

1. Private Boarding Schools or Pensions

The Educational Commission had under its control not only the ex-Jesuit schools and schools of other religious orders, but also private schools. These schools for the most part were pensions. On 2 November 1775 the Educational Commission assigned to Adam Czartoryski the task of preparing a regulation to govern the pensions.¹³⁴ By 24 March 1775 Czartoryski submitted a draft regulation, which the Commission approved.¹³⁵ All private schools and pensions were governed by the new Regulation for the Operation of Private Schools, Pensions, and Education of Girls.¹³⁶ This regulation defined in great detail the operation and curriculum for these schools. All individuals operating boarding schools had to file requests with the Educational Commission for permission to continue to operate. Schools found operating, the regulation stated, without the permission of the Commission would be fined 1000 gulden. Persons operating these

¹³⁴ Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 41-42, 2 novembris 1775 item 2^o.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 51, 24 martii 1775, item 7^o.

¹³⁶ "Przepisy od Komisji Edukacji Narodowej Pensjomistrzom i Mistrzyniom dane," reproduced in full by Kukulski, op. cit., p. 57-73.

schools, once granted permission, were to report their status to the local district school on a monthly basis. Every teacher employed by a private school had to present his qualifications to the Educational Commission for approval, as well as undergo an examination given by the district school in whose district the school was located. This examination was to be administered by the district school inspector or prorector.

All private schools had to maintain a school library in accordance with a published list of library books.¹³⁷ This list specified that, at a minimum, twenty-six titles had to be in the school library,¹³⁸ and that a yearly budget be provided for the purchase of additional books. The Regulation specified that there be separate schools for boys and for girls, and that the schools teach, at a minimum, the Polish, German, and French languages, arithmetic, music, and dancing.

The Regulation devoted much attention to the education of girls. The Polish language was emphasized and the goal set for the girls was to become honorable wives and mothers. The girls should become capable of inspiring their husbands, sons, and brothers to perform the most honorable deeds.¹³⁹

137 See attachment to the basic regulation entitled: "Catalogue des Livres," in Kukulski, op. cit., p. 66-71.

138 See supplement to the basic regulation entitled: "Suplement do Przepisow," in Kukulski, op. cit., p. 72.

139 Most of these ideas were contained in the Czartoryski proposal sent to the Educational Commission. See Chapter IV: Proposals for Educational Reform, Section E: The Plan of Adam Czartoryski.

From an examination of the reports of the general inspectors it is possible to establish the existence of pensions in every educational district in Lithuania. An examination of the reports of the general inspectors of the Lithuanian District for 1782¹⁴⁰ and 1788¹⁴¹ revealed the existence and operation of at least twelve pensions. It is, nevertheless, impossible at this time to determine the total enrollment figures for pensions. The reports of the general inspectors mentioned only the existence of a pension in a specific town, but did not detail the total attendance.¹⁴²

The Statutes of 1783 did not contain any specific directives dealing with private schools, pensions, or boarding schools. It must be assumed, since no mention was made in the minutes of the Educational Commission to the contrary, that the Regulation for the Operation of Private Schools, Pensions, and Education of Girls of 1775 was in force at least through 1793, at which time the Sejm removed from the Commission the authority to control private schools.¹⁴³ This assumption is further supported by the fact that reports of the general inspectors continued to mention the existence of pensions through 1790.¹⁴⁴

140 See the inspection of Piramowicz in Raporty Gen Wiz Lit, p. 31-96.

141 See the inspection of Erdman in Raporty Gen Wiz Lit, p. 280-329.

142 For example see the Piramowicz' report on the Vilnius pensions in Raporty Gen Wiz Lit, p. 110.

143 Konstytucja Sejmu Grodzienskigo 1793 roku, Vol. II, Article IV, paragraph 60.

144 See for example the report for 1790 by Erdman in Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 481-521.

2. The Elementary or Parish Schools

With the establishment of the Educational Commission control over the parish schools passed from the Church to the Commission. All parish schools in the Commonwealth were governed, from 1774 through 1783, by the Parish School Regulation of 1774.¹⁴⁵ This regulation, authored by Bishop of Vilnius Massalski, was a progressive educational document which attempted to improve the parish schools and in so doing improve the conditions of the peasantry. The greatest growth in the parish school network, which the Commission had projected at 2,500 schools,¹⁴⁶ occurred under the leadership of Massalski. Using his ecclesiastical authority, Bishop Massalski ordered pastors to establish and maintain parish schools. Thus, by 1777 there were 450 parish schools in the Commonwealth, with over 74 percent of them in Lithuanian districts.¹⁴⁷ Due to financial problems in the Lithuanian districts, for which Massalski was accused, and a developing resistance on the part of the gentry toward parish schools and peasant education, Bishop Massalski resigned from the chairmanship of the Commission in 1780.¹⁴⁸ With the resignation of Massalski the parish school network entered a period of decline. The Statutes of 1783 did not reflect the progressive ideals of the Parish School Regulation of 1774, nor did they encourage social class interplay.

145 "Przepis do szkół parafjalnych," in Kukulski, op. cit., p.22-30.

146 Supplement-Budget published to the Ordynacja, supra.

147 See figures in Chapter VIII: Elementary/Parish Schools; footnotes 92 and 95. See also Map 4.

148 See discussion in Chapter VIII.

The parish schools continued to decline into the 1790's. The Four Year Sejm of 1788-1792 removed control over the parish schools from the Commission and in effect gave it back to the Church.¹⁴⁹ But, because of the political situation in the Commonwealth, this action came too late to yield any positive results.

The entire area of elementary/parish schools is presented in detail in Chapter VIII.

3. Secondary Education: The District Schools

On 25 May 1774 the Educational Commission assigned the preparation of a regulation governing the district schools to Ignacy Potocki.¹⁵⁰ The new regulation was presented to the Commission on 14 June 1774 and approved.¹⁵¹ This new regulation titled the District School Regulation of 1774¹⁵² was signed by the chairman of the Commission of 20 June 1774.¹⁵³ It basically was a collection of instructions on teaching methods and curriculum outlines to be used by all schools until appropriate textbooks were published by the Educational Commission. The introduction dealt with teaching methodology, while the body of the Regulation was devoted to curricular requirements in the fields of

149 Volumina Legum, Vol. IX, Chapter II, Paragraph 8, p. 156. Full discussion of this decision found in Chapter XVIII.

150 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 23, 25 mai 1774, item 5^o.

151 Ibid., p. 25, 14 junii 1774, item 2^o.

152 "Przepis Komisji Edukacji Narodowej na szkoły wojewodzkie," in Kukulski, op. cit., p. 31-51.

153 Ibid., p. XCIV.

mathematics, moral education, grammar, logic, rhetoric, poetry, metaphysics, physics-chemistry, history, geography, religion, writing, and composition.

The Regulation for District Schools of 1774 was supplemented with a series of directives.¹⁵⁴ These were: Rector's Report About Teachers, Prefect's Report About Directors; Teacher's Report About First-Year Students; Teacher's Report About Second-Year Students; and Teacher's Report About Third-Year Students. This series of directives required reports from district school rectors regarding teachers, prefects regarding directors, and teachers regarding pupils. Each of these directives presented sample forms to be used in completing the specified evaluations. The rector's evaluation form for teachers included such items as teacher's health, his suitability for the job, his performance and dedication, and personal habits.¹⁵⁵ The Rules for School Visitations specified that the inspector examine copies of these evaluation forms and make certain that they were being completed properly.¹⁵⁶

The Regulation for District Schools of 1774 was further supplemented by a series of regulations.¹⁵⁷ These were: Regulation for School Rectors, Regulation for School Prefects, and Regulation

154 Each of the directives listed here has been cited earlier in this chapter, supra, p. 169.

155 See form in Kukulski, op. cit., p. 20

156 "Instrukcja dla Wizytatorów," in Jozef Lewicki, op. cit., p. 13.

157 Each of the regulations has been cited earlier in this chapter, supra, p. 171.

for School Directors. The main points of each of these regulations will be presented in the following paragraphs.

The Regulation for School Rectors (1774) required that the rector supervise the work of the teachers, prefects, and directors. The Regulation held the rector responsible for the implementation of all applicable rules, regulations, and instructions issued by the Commission. The rector, along with his other duties was required to supervise the work of all parish schools within his area. The rector was required by the Regulation to consult with the Educational Commission on all matters of policy not contained in the Regulation, as well as respond to all reporting requirements established by the Commission. He had the obligation for maintaining unity and accord among the staff, whom he was to advise and supervise. If the school prefect became ill, the rector was to assume his duties. Furthermore, the rector had to visit all classrooms on a monthly basis, participate in the administration of examinations, and prepare and send a semi-annual report to the Educational Commission. The rector was also charged with the responsibility of recommending to the Commission suitable candidates for the teaching profession. In general, the rector was the chief administrator of the school.

The Regulation for School Prefects (1774) required that the prefect select directors and supervise their work. The prefect was also given the responsibility of arbitrating students' arguments and administering punishments. He was also to examine the rooms of all students and directors, and to supervise their physical education and development. The prefect was charged with the maintenance of order and discipline in the school.

The Regulation for School Directors (1774) required that the directors assist in the education and guidance of students. They were to give advice to students during study hours, never leave the students unsupervised, accompany them to classes and church, take part in games, and assist students with their homework. The directors were under the direct supervision of the prefect, but, as specified in the Regulation, they had the right to appeal any decision made by the prefect to the rector or even the Educational Commission. Normally directors were older students from financially less secure families.

The teaching staff of each district school had to follow the methodological directives contained in the Regulation for District Schools. The methodological directive, in the introduction to the Regulation, reflected the same modern outlook toward education, as did the Parish School Regulation of 1774.¹⁵⁸ The Educational Commission explicitly emphasized that the curriculum in the entire district school system was to be uniform and that all teachers were to follow the Commission's directives and suggestions. Apparently such a strong stand was necessary to make it clear that the old Jesuit pedagogy was no longer acceptable and the teachers were to follow the new curriculum outlined by the Educational Commission.

According to the methodological directives the educative process could only be carried on at an optimal level when the students were healthy, had realized what their goals in life were, and understood the benefits of a diligent pursuit of knowledge. Teachers were instructed by the Regulation to direct all their efforts toward producing humanistic,

158 See Chapter VIII: Elementary/Parish Schools.

rightious, responsible, and charitable student characters, as well as intelligent, sensitive, and productive members of the Commonwealth and Church. Teachers were directed by the Regulation to improve their own subject competence and teaching methodology through extensive reading, study, and contemplation. They were not to teach anything that they themselves did not fully comprehend. Students' questions were to be answered courteously and teachers were to encourage inquisitiveness on the part of the students. Teachers were to foster paternal friendship with students, act as impartial judges in student disputes, mete out disciplinary punishment in a measured and just manner.

The Regulation for District Schools specified two types of district schools: the district school and the sub-district school. The district school was to have a seven year curricular program, with six teachers; while the sub-district school was to have a six year program with three teachers. Igancy Potocki, along with the Regulation for District Schools, presented to the Commission a table which outlined the entire curriculum for the district schools (See Table VI).¹⁵⁹ The Table specified the seven year program of studies, divided into three classes, with six teachers. The fifth year was to be taught over a two year period, using the same teacher. The Regulation specified the detailed content of each of the subjects found in Table VI. For the sub-district schools, the Regulation specified the same basic curriculum as found in Table VI, but had only three teachers, each of whom were to teach a "school class". For the sub-district school the fifth year program

¹⁵⁹ Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, see minutes of meetings for 25 mai 1774, item 5^o, and 14 junii 1774, item 2^o.

Table VI

Program of Studies for District Schools Outlined in 1774

Class	FIRST SCHOOL CLASS		SECOND SCHOOL CLASS		THIRD SCHOOL CLASS	
School Year	First Year	Second Year	Third Year	Fourth Year	Fifth Yr. (2 yrs)	Sixth Year
No. of Instructors	one	one	one	one	one	one
General Classes held daily for all students	Arithmetic, Moral Educ.	Arithmetic, Beg. Algebra, Moral Educ.	Geometry, Moral Educ.	Trigonometry, Common Law	Higher Geometry, Economics	Mechanics, Political Law
Specific Subjects provided	Latin and Polish	Latin, Discussion of Authors, and Figures of speech	Logic, Rhetoric, Reading of Classical Authors, Application of logic to life.	Metaphysics, Poetry, reading of various classical authors	General Physics	Special Physics
Classes on Tuesday and Thursday only	History and Geography of Poland-Lithuania Intro. to Agriculture	Contemporary History and Geography of Europe, Agriculture	Ancient History and Geography, Animal Husbandry, and Zoology	Natural Geography, Mineralogy	Astronomical Geography, Botany	Geometry Astronomy Natural History
Supervised Activities in Student Housing	Character Development, Counting, and Corrective Instruction	Translation of Authors, discussion of problems, and Corrective Instruction	Discussion and clarification of questionable facts, Corrective Instruction	Discussion and clarification of questionable facts, Corrective Instruction	Discussion and clarification of questionable facts, Corrective Instruction	Discussion and clarification of questionable facts, Corrective Instruction
Religious Subjects on Sundays and Holidays only	Catechism, Reading of the 4th Epistle	History of the New and Old Testament	Deliver Sermons in Church on moral issues and problems	Deliver Sermons in Church on moral issues and problems	Deliver Sermons in Church on moral issues and problems	Deliver Sermons in Church on moral issues and problems
Monthly Examinations	Examinations for all subjects	Examinations for all subjects	Examinations for all subjects	Examinations for all subjects	Examinations for all subjects	Examinations for all subjects

SOURCE: Translation of original document "Porzadek i Układ Nauk w Szkołach Wojewodzkich," as reproduced by Z. Kukulski, *Pierwotkowe Przepisy Pedagogiczne Komisji Edukacji Narodowej z lat 1773-1776* (Lublin: Skład Główny w Księgarni m. Arct, 1923), pp. 18-19.

REPRODUCED FROM: J. A. Rackauskas, "The First National System of Education in Europe: The Commission for National Education of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (1773-1794)," in *Lituanus*, Vol. 14, No. 4, Winter, 1968, p. 37.

of studies was only one year long. For both types of district schools the first two school classes were devoted to general subjects, while the third school class was devoted to specialized subjects. The program for the district schools included activities for the entire week, since most students lived in student housing. Extra-curricular activities were organized by the school and included work on agricultural projects, training in speech, and student delivery of sermons in church on Sundays and holidays.

New programs of study were established by the Statutes of 1783.¹⁶⁰ In substance the 1783 programs were not different from the original programs of 1774. The new program of studies provided for a timetable (See Table VII) specifying the number of hours each subject was to be taught. Under language instruction the new program provided for a division of classes for beginning, intermediate, and advanced students. The total number of hours of instruction reflected in Table VII does not take into account the non-formal learning experiences students were required to engage in as part of their total school program. Again, as in the 1774 plan, two types of district schools were specified in the Statutes, but because of the decision made by the Commission on 13 June 1780,¹⁶¹ the schools were no longer district and sub-district schools, but became chief district schools and district schools. Because Lithuania was divided into four educational districts,¹⁶² only four

160 Chapter XV of the Statutes of 1783, supra.

161 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 130-135, 13 June 1780.

162 Division detailed on pages 173-174, supra.

Table VII

Program of Studies for the Chief District School as Outlined
in Chapter XV of the Statutes of 1783

SUBJECT	I	II	III	IV	V(a)	V(b)	VI	Total No. of hours per week
<i>I. Polish and Latin</i>								
<i>Languages:</i>								
Grammar	9	9	8	—	—	—	—	26
Excerpts from Latin trans.	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	3
Speech	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Speech and poetry	—	—	—	—	3	3	6	12
Total	9	9	8	3	3	3	6	41
<i>II. Mathematics and Drawing:</i>								
Arithmetic	6	6	2	—	—	—	—	14
Geometry	—	—	4	4	4	—	—	12
Algebra	—	—	—	4	—	2	—	6
Geometrical drawing and other	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2
Total	6	6	6	8	4	4	—	34
<i>III. Natural and Applied</i>								
<i>Sciences:</i>								
Botany	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	2
Gardening	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	3
Agriculture	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	2
Physics	—	—	—	4	6	6	—	16
Mining	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2
About health	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2
History of arts and crafts	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
Total	—	—	3	6	9	9	2	29
<i>IV. Humanism Other Than</i>								
<i>Languages:</i>								
General history	—	—	2	2	3	—	—	7
National history	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
Geography	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	4
Moral science	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7
Law	—	—	—	—	—	3	7	10
Logic	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
Total	3	3	3	3	4	4	12	32
<i>V. Character Formation</i>								
Total	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	4
GRAND TOTAL	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	140

REPRODUCED from: J. A. Račkauskas, "The First National System of Education in Europe: The Commission for National Education of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (1773-1794)," in *Lituanus*, Vol. 14, No. 4, Winter, 1968, p. 40.

schools became chief district schools.

In 1773 the Commission determined that there were thirty-five secondary schools in the Lithuanian districts.¹⁶³ By 1783 the Commission had a total of thirty-one secondary schools¹⁶⁴ in the Lithuanian districts (See Table VIII). Of the original twenty Jesuit schools in Lithuania the school in Merkine was given to the Dominicans, four were closed or converted to parish schools, and fifteen remained in operation under the control and support of the Commission.¹⁶⁵ All schools operated by the Commission were called academical schools. The Commission also opened four new schools in Lithuania.¹⁶⁶ Thus, Table VIII lists nineteen academical schools, eight schools operated by the Piarists, two schools operated by the Dominicans, and two schools operated by the Basilians, for a total of thirty-one schools.¹⁶⁷

Enrollment figures for the Lithuanian district schools are incomplete. An analysis of the enrollment figures that are available,

163 See complete list of the thirty-five schools on pages 164, 165, and 166 of this chapter.

164 This figure does not include the two schools operated by the Evangelical Synod, while the original figure of thirty-five does include these two schools.

165 Documentation of these changes can be found in A. Šidlauskas, "Vidurinės Mokyklos Lietuvoje XVIIIa. Pabaigoje," p. 125, as well as through an analysis of the inspection reports of Piramowicz for 1782 and Bienkowski for 1782 in Raporty Gen Wiz Lit.

166 The Commission opened a new school in Kretinga in 1775; in Balstogė in 1777; and Pastoviuose and Cholopeničiouse in 1778. See Protokoly Posiedzen Ken 1775-1785 and the inspection reports Piramowicz and Bienkowski for 1782 in Raporty Gen Wiz Lit.

167 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 252-254, 3 maja 1783.

Table VIII

The District Schools in the Educational Districts of Lithuania in 1783

District/School	Type	Faculty Head	Operation
LITHUANIAN DISTRICT			
1. Gardinas	Chief District	6 rector, prefect	Academical
2. Vilnius	District	6 prorector	Academical
3. Višniava	District	3 prorector	Academical
4. Pastoviai	District	3 prorector	Academical
5. Balstogė	District	3 prorector	Academical
6. Volkoviskas	District	3 prorector	Academical
7. Merkinė	District	3 prorector	Dominican
8. Lyda	District	3 prorector	Piarist
9. Ščiucinas	District	3 prorector	Piarist
SAMOGITIAN DISTRICT			
1. Kražiai	Chief District	6 rector, prefect	Academical
2. Kaunas	District	3 prorector	Academical
3. Kretinga	District	3 prorector	Academical
4. Ukmergė	District	3 prorector	Piarist
5. Panevėžys	District	3 prorector	Piarist
6. Raseiniai	District	3 prorector	Piarist
7. Virbalis	District	3 prorector	Dominican
NAUGARDUKAS DISTRICT (BELORUSSIAN)			
1. Naugardukas	Chief District	6 rector, prefect	Academical
2. Minskas	District	6 prorector	Academical
3. Nesvyžius	District	3 prorector	Academical
4. Sluckas	District	3 prorector	Academical
5. Bobruiskas	District	3 prorector	Academical
6. Cholopeničiai	District	3 prorector	Academical
7. Mozyrius	District	3 prorector	Academical
8. Lužkai	District	3 prorector	Piarist
9. Berezvečiai	District	3 prorector	Basilian
POLESE DISTRICT (RUSSIAN)			
1. Lietuvos Brasta	Chief District	6 rector, prefect	Academical
2. Pinskas	District	3 prorector	Academical
3. Bialos	District	3 prorector	Academical
4. Lubiševas	District	3 prorector	Piarist
5. Donbrovicos	District	3 prorector	Piarist
6. Žirovicos	District	3 prorector	Basilian

SOURCE: Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 252-254, 3 maja 1783.

indicated considerable variance in the size of enrollment and the rate of increase in enrollment during 1782-1791 (See Table IX). The largest enrollment and growth took place in the Vilnius district school. The size and growth of the enrollment may be attributed to the proximity of the University of Vilnius and the size of the city. In schools shown in Table IX an overall growth in enrollment for the entire period of 52.5 percent was indicated. The growth rate for enrollment seemed to have reached a peak by 1786 and stabilized thereafter. The effects on enrollment by the Partition of 1793 cannot be determined from the available data. Examination of district schools on the Partition borders of 1793 also did not reveal any trends.

Even though the majority of students attending district schools were from the gentry class, a significant percentage of students may have been from the burgher class. For example, the Gardinas Chief District School's original class lists, in the University of Vilnius Archives,¹⁶⁸ indicated that in 1782, of the 218 pupils attending, 22 percent were non-gentry. The Minsk District School, on the other hand, indicated an enrollment of only 10 percent non-gentry.¹⁶⁹ In Samogitia, the Kretinga District School had a higher percentage of non-gentry children vs. gentry, while the Raseiniai District School had peasant children, who could not even afford to pay for their textbooks.¹⁷⁰

168 VUB, Cart. F., DC 99, II, 4-12.

169 VUB, Cart. F., DC 100, 1, 37-45.

170 Inspection report of Bienkowski for 1783 in Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 112.

Table IX

Enrollments of Selected District Schools in the Ethnographic
Lithuanian Educational Districts: 1782-1791

District and School	1782	1783	1786	1787	1788	1789	1790	1791	% Net Change
Lithuanian District									
Baltstogė	113	106	143	224	146	150	129	122	8.0
*Gardinas	113	139	190	213	244	210	254	244	115.9
Merkinė	71	75	108	84	91	92	83	80	12.7
Pastovis	46	50	100	120	120	110	?	107	132.6
Vilnius	87	292	524	504	500	487	574	576	562.1
Vilkaviškis	60	89	87	73	85	70	64	79	30.2
Average Enrollment	82	125	192	203	198	188	(221)	201	138.5
Samogitian District									
Kaunas	79	70	126	104	112	110	106	128	62.0
*Kražiai	114	170	218	260	324	341	376	383	327.1
Kretinga	108	106	140	?	189	170	220	242	124.0
Panevėžys	24	31	36	?	81	80	?	?	233.3
Raseiniai	109	129	165	153	173	162	?	?	46.8
Ukmergė	91	85	81	?	74	101	?	?	11.0
Average Enrollment	88	99	128	x	159	161	x	x	134.0

NOTE: Chief Schools indicated by asterisk.

SOURCE: Based on information found in "Lietuvos Mokyklos Istorijos Apybraiža--14," Tarybinis Mokytojas (Vilnius), 8 January 1969, No. 2, p. 3 and A. Šidlauskas, "Vidurinės Mokyklos Lietuvoje XVIII a. Pabaigoje," in Iš Lietuvių Kultūros Istorijos, Vol. IV, Vilnius, Lietuvos TSR Mokslų Akademijs, Istorijos Institutas, Leidykla "Mintis," 1964, p. 129-130.

REPRODUCED From: J. A. Račkauskas, "The First National System of Education in Europe: The Commission for National Education of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (1773-1794)," in Lituaus, Vol. 14, No. 4, Winter, 1968, p. 42.

Social class tensions existed in some of the schools. This can be confirmed through an examination of the various reports of the general inspectors.¹⁷¹ It should be noted that some gentry refused to send their children to the schools operated by the Educational Commission because of the social class interplay; instead they employed private tutors for home instruction. The rector of the Schola Princeps of Lithuania, M. Počobuta, in numerous letters confirmed that many of the graduates of his school were employed by the gentry as tutors.¹⁷² This fact may explain some of the gentry/non-gentry enrollment figures in the district schools, but nevertheless, social class barriers were broken.

C. Post-Secondary and Professional Education

Within the educational structure created by the Commission only one type of post-secondary institution was evident--the university. But, along-side the university, as a result of a need created by the dissolution of the Jesuit Order, emerged for a short time a second type of institution, whose purpose was the preparation of teachers for the schools of the Educational Commission. This second type was the teacher training college or seminary.

171 For example, the inspection report of J. Erdman for 1788 cited a number of instances where social class frictions were very disruptive to the entire school situation. See Raporty Gen Wz Lit., p. 280-329.

172 For documentation see A. Šidlauskas, "Vidurinės Mokyklos Lietuvoje XVIIIa. Pabaigoje," p. 131 and A. Šidlauskas, "Mokyklų Reforma Lietuvoje XVIIIa. Pabaigoje," p. 47.

1. Teacher Training Seminaries

With the Commission's assumption of control over all schools in the Commonwealth, many of the ex-Jesuits left the teaching profession.¹⁷³ Also, the Educational Commission realized that without properly trained teachers, the educational reforms would never be fully implemented. The first real shortage of teachers appeared in the parish school sector. As a result, Bishop of Vilnius Massalski, requested that the Commission establish in Vilnius a Teacher Training Seminary. This request was approved on 24 December 1774¹⁷⁴ and the new seminary was officially opened 1 April 1775.¹⁷⁵ Its main goal was the education of elementary teachers. The curriculum consisted of catechism, rhetorical reading, writing, bookkeeping, botany, surveying, and the principles of agriculture. The students were also taught singing and organ playing, so that they could act as organists in the parish churches.

The Educational Commission provided 25,000 gulden for the operation of the Seminary (this was an average of 833 gulden per student).¹⁷⁶ During the first year of operation the Seminary had sixteen students;

173 See Jan Popłatek, SJ, Komisja Edukacji Narodowej: Udział Byłych Jezuitów w Pracach Komisji Edukacji Narodowej (Participation of Ex-Jesuits in the Work of the Commission for National Education), Krakow, Wydawnictwo Apostolstwa Modlitwy, 1973, 512 p.

174 Protokoły Posiedzeń KEN 1773-1785, p. 44-45, 24 decembra 1774.

175 Kukulski, op. cit., p. XCVIII.

176 Protokoły Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 44-45, 24 decembra 1774, item 1^o. The Commission appropriated 25,000 gulden for a projected student enrollment of fifty students.

in 1776 the number rose to thirty.¹⁷⁷ In 1776 the Commission failed to make an appropriation for the Seminary's operation.¹⁷⁸ Bishop Massalski, in order to keep the Seminary functioning, provided funds from his own sources.

Bishop Massalski's operation and planning of the Seminary reflected his emphasis on education of the peasant class. The vast majority of students attending the Seminary were from the lower social classes.¹⁷⁹ Bishop Massalski believed that in order to be successful in teaching at the parish school level, where the majority of students were from the peasant class, the teacher also should come from the lower class. This would permit greater identification with the problems experienced by the peasants.

The Vilnius Teacher Training Seminary was closed in 1783.¹⁸⁰ The preparation of teachers for the parish schools after 1783 was modified by the Educational Commission. The Commission decided that teachers for the parish schools could be prepared in the normal district schools with the help of a teaching methods book.¹⁸¹

177 See J. Gvildys, "Edukacijos Komisijos Švietimo Darbai Lietuvoje," (The Work of the Educational Commission in Lithuania), in Zidinsys, Vol. XIII, No. 5/7 (76-77), 1931, p. 492-493.

178 See minutes of the meeting for 1776 in Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 62-78. See also Chapter VII: Visitations and Inspections for some of the possible reasons why the Commission restricted the funds.

179 J. Gvildys, op. cit., p. 493.

180 Many authors claim that the Seminary was closed in 1780. The research efforts of Šidlauskas and Račkauskas seem to indicate that the Seminary was in operation into 1783. See Algirdas Šidlauskas and J. A. Račkauskas, "The Education of Lay Teachers in Lithuania under the Educational Commission of Poland and Lithuania (1773-1794)," in Paedagogica Historica, Vol. XIV, No. 2, 1974, p. 443.

181 See Chapter VI, footnote 46.

The Commission also provided support and direction to the preparation of teachers for secondary schools. Initially, in 1780-1781, students from Lithuania were sent to the University of Krakow to receive their teacher training.¹⁸² This practice ended in 1783 when the Commission formulated in Chapters I and V of the Statutes a complete four-year training program to be offered at each of the chief schools or universities.¹⁸³ The graduates of this program became the first lay teachers in the Lithuanian schools. The details of the teacher preparation at the chief school are fully presented in Chapter VI.

Of importance was also the decision of the Commission to create a new societal class--the academic. The first chapter of the Statutes of 1783 provided the specifications.¹⁸⁴ This new academic class was to be largely autonomous, have high entry standards, good pay, and high social status. It would also serve as an avenue of social mobility for the lower classes. The new academic class was required by the Commission to maintain all of the outward signs of the clergy, even though most of its members were laity. The decision made by the Commission to maintain the outward signs of the clergy for the teaching profession protected the new lay teachers from the hostility that was to result from its secularization efforts.

182 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 124, 28 kwietnia 1780.

183 See Chapter I and V in Tync, op. cit., p. 576-580 and 612-619.

184 Ibid.

With the Statute assigning the responsibility for secondary teacher preparation to the Schola Princeps, prof. J. Stroinovsky was assigned the task of continuing teacher education efforts.¹⁸⁵ Teacher training at the Schola Princeps continued into 1795.¹⁸⁶

As a result of the teacher training efforts begun in 1775, the Educational Commission was able to change the composition of the teaching staffs of the schools from 100 percent religious in 1773 to 52 percent lay in 1792-1793.¹⁸⁷

2. The University of Vilnius--Schola Princeps

With the authorization of the Sejm the Educational Commission took under its control and administration the University of Krakow and the University of Vilnius (Academia Vilmensis).¹⁸⁸ In November of 1773, the King requested that Joachim Chreptowicz and Adam Czartoryski direct a letter, in his name, to the rector of the University of Vilnius, indicating the King's displeasure with the dissolution of the Jesuit Order and requesting that the ex-Jesuits maintain the University in status quo,

185 VUB, Cart. f., DC 31, I., 54 and DC 40, I. not numbered.

186 After that year the Russian government reorganized the University of Vilnius and attempted to establish its own commission.

187 Figures derived from those provided by A. Bendžius, J. Kubilius, and J. Žiugžda, editors, Vilniaus Universitetas, Vilnius, Mintis, 1966, p. 55.

188 Based on the Ustanowienie issued by the Sejm on 14 October 1773, see supra, p. 94. See also: Pranas Čepėnas, editor, Lietuvos Universitetas 1579-1803-1922 (The University of Lithuania), Chicago, Lietuvių Profesorių Draugija Amerikoje, 1972, p.3-70; and L. Vladimirovas, "400 metų Kultūros, Švietimo, ir Mokslo Tarnyboje," (400 years in the Service of Culture, Education, and Science), in J. Lebedys, editor, Kultūrų Kryžkelėje, Vilnius, Mintis, 1970, p. 5-88.

continuing teaching and administrative duties until new directives were received.¹⁸⁹ Administratively little change occurred, since the Bishop of Vilnius Massalski, who became the Chairman of the Educational Commission, was also the Chancellor of the University of Vilnius from 1762-1773.¹⁹⁰ In accordance with the decision of the Sejm the Distributing Commission listed the property of the University. The listing began from the date of the announcement of the Papal Bull, 12 November 1773,¹⁹¹ through 13 January 1774.¹⁹² The Commission appointed a new rector in 1774, Professor of Theology, Ignacy Żaba.¹⁹³ He accomplished little during his tenure, which lasted until his death in 1780.¹⁹⁴ Even during the rectorship of Ignacy Żaba, a new and dynamic individual, Professor of Astronomy, Martynas Počobutas, was appointed by the Commission, as Rector pro

189 Stanisław Ksiadz Zaleski, Jezuici w Polsce (Jesuits in Poland), Volume V, Krakow, Drukiem i Nakładem Drukarni, 1907, p. 79.

190 See Algirdas Budreckis, "Vilniaus Vyskupai XVIII Amžiuje," (The Bishops of Vilnius in the XVIIIth Century), in Naujoji Viltis, No. 9, 1976, p. 56-65.

191 Łukasz Kurdybacha, Kuria Rzymska wobec Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w Latach 1773-1783 (The Roman Curia Faced with the Commission for National Education), Krakow, Polska, Akademia Umiej., Archiwum Kom. do Dziej, Oświaty i Szkoln. w. Polsce nr. 7, 1949, p. 6-13.

192 See report of this property listing in Jozef: Łukaszewicz, Historia Szkół w Koronie i w Wielkiem Ksiestwie Litewskiem od najdawniejszych czasów aż do roku 1794 (History of the Schools of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania From Early Times Through 1794), Poznań, Nakładem Księgarni Jana Konstantego Żupanskiego, 1850, p. 188-200.

193 Protokoły Posiedzeń KEN 1773-1785, p. 28, 11 julii 1774, item 3^o.

194 See Ignas Żaba (1713-1780) in Paulius Rabikauskas, "Żaba," Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Vol. XXXV, sub verbum.

Tempore. After the death of Žaba, Počobutas was appointed rector, a post he maintained until 1799.¹⁹⁵

The Commission was able to make a number of changes at the University of Vilnius during the time period 1773-1781. The first improvement was the establishment of a College of Medicine (Collegium Medicum) in 1774.¹⁹⁶ Along with the new college, the Commission began improvements in other colleges which made possible expansion of architectural studies.¹⁹⁷ Further improvements were hampered by a report made to the Commission by general visitor J. Wybicki.¹⁹⁸ Wybicki reported that the University was in need of vast reform, reorganization, and improvement. As a result the Commission in 1777 ordered that a reform plan be prepared and submitted for its approval.¹⁹⁹ The plan was prepared by Počobutas and presented to the Commission in 1780.²⁰⁰

Both the University of Krakow and the University of Vilnius were supported by funds from the Commission. On the average, the

195 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 26, footnote 67. and p. 28, 11 julii 1774, item 3^o.

196 Teodor Wierzbowski, Komisya Edukacyi Narodowej i jej Szkoly w Koronie; Protokoly Posiedzen Komisyi Edukacyi Narodowej z lat 1773-1777, Part 37, p. 43.

197 Bendžius, Kubilius, and Žiugžda, op. cit., p. 55-56. The Commission provided funds for new faculty members with the needed skills.

198 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 90-91, 18-21 pazdier-nik. 1777. See Chapter VII: School Visitations and Inspections for more details.

199 See Irena Sybiak, op. cit., p. 50 for discussion.

200 Ibid., p. 136, 2 listopada 1780, item 1^o.

Commission appropriated 100,000 to 150,000 gulden per year to each university.²⁰¹ This amount was for normal operating expenses. Special projects, such as the purchase of new astronomical equipment and the rebuilding of the University of Vilnius Observatory,²⁰² were paid through special appropriations made by the Commission.²⁰³

With the revisions in the rules and regulations of the Commission and the approval of the Statutes of 1781, the universities were to be renamed chief schools, be reorganized, and have additional responsibilities.²⁰⁴ Joachim Chreptowicz notified the Rector of the University of Vilnius on 30 August 1781 of the changes to be made in accordance with the Statute of 1781.²⁰⁵ By 12 October 1781 Chreptowicz notified the Commission that the University had accepted the new rulings.²⁰⁶ On 24 November 1781, during a very impressive ceremony, the name of the University was changed to Schola Princeps Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae.²⁰⁷

201 See Chapter III: Part E--Financial Operations Under the Distributing Commissions and Part F--Financial Operations Under the Educational Commission.

202 P. Slavėnas, "Senoji Vilniaus Astronominė Observatorija," (The Old Vilnius Astronomical Observatory), in J. Lebedys, editor, Kultūry Kryžkelėje, Vilnius, Mintis, 1970, p. 134-143.

203 For example see Protokoly Posiėdzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 89-90.

204 In accordance with Chapter IV of the Statutes of 1781. See supra, p. 176-178.

205 Protokoly Posiėdzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 172, footnote 70.

206 Ibid., p. 172, 12 pazdziernika 1781, item 1^o.

207 See description of this event in Josef Bielinski, Universytet Wilenski 1579-1831 (University of Vilnius), Vol. III, Krakow, Druk W. L. Anczyca i Spolki, 1899-1900, p. 574-577.

The new Schola Princeps was reorganized, in accordance with the Statutes, into two faculties or colleges: Collegium Morale and Collegium Phisicum. The Collegium Phisicum taught such subjects as astronomy, higher mathematics, physics, chemistry, natural sciences, medicine, geometry, mechanics, and architecture. The Collegium Morale taught dogmatic and moral theology, scripture, Church history, cannon law, common law, Roman law, world history, rhetoric, and literature. The already established Collegium Medicinae did not become a separate college or faculty, but was a sub-division of the Collegium Phisicum.²⁰⁸

The administration of the Schola Princeps was composed of the Rector, the Chairman of the Collegium Morale, and the Chairman of the Collegium Phisicum. Since one of the principal duties of the Schola Princeps was the administration and supervision of the Educational Districts of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and more directly the four chief district schools, the senate of the Schola Princeps assumed this responsibility. The senate became responsible for all matters dealing with organization, financing, and general administration of the lower schools. The senate was composed of the Rector, the two chairmen, and all full professors.²⁰⁹ The Schola Princeps also had the responsibility of conducting general inspections of all subordinated schools. Along with the administration of the lower schools the Schola Princeps was also required by the Commission to organize scholarly research and disseminate results of studies to the public.

208 Josef Bielinski, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 12-25.

209 Bendžius, Kubilius, and Žiugžda, op.cit., p. 54.

Under the leadership of M. Počobutas the Schola Princeps made major improvements in the scholarly stature of the institution. A new observatory was built in 1788, equipped with the latest astronomical equipment, purchased in London. The Collegium Medicum had a full staff of medical experts and operated clinics. The faculties of Physics, Botany, Biology, Zoology, and Chemistry became known for their work throughout Europe, attracting scholars like John A. G. Forster. Faculties of Art, Architecture, Philosophy and Law all made outstanding contributions. The groundwork was laid during this period for the first agricultural college in Europe, which was established at the University in 1803.

D. Summary

The Educational Commission, established by the Sejm and vested with the authority to control and administer the schools of the Commonwealth, established a tri-level, hierarchical, and centralized school structure. The Commission governed the schools through the promulgation of various rules, regulations, and instructions, which were eventually codified and published as the Statutes of the Educational Commission. Initially, in 1774-1775, the Commission issued a series of rules, regulations, and instructions, which organized the school structure. The most important regulations of 1774-1775 were the Parish School Regulation, the District School Regulation, and the Rules for School Visitations. These three regulations were supplemented and modified by a number of other rules and regulations, which were in 1781 codified into a statute.

The Statutes of 1781 not only included most of the previous rules and regulations, but introduced a number of other innovative structural changes. The most important of these was the subordination of all schools to the universities. Also important was the creation of a new social class--the academic. The Statutes of 1781 were reissued in 1783 with minor editorial changes. The Statutes of 1783 remained in force through 1792, with some changes being made by the Commission as well as the Sejm.

The administrative and organizational requirements set forth by the Commission were contained in the various rules and regulations. Reporting requirements were established for informational and control purposes. All of the reporting and administrative matters were within the hierarchical structure. All teaching as well as administrative personnel reported to the Commission through defined lines of communication. Each person within the school administrative structure had their duties and responsibilities defined in regulations issued by the Commission.

The school system, as defined in the Statutes of 1783 consisted of parish schools, district schools, chief district schools, chief schools, and the Educational Commission. Each unit within the system was responsible to the next higher unit for its operation and at the same time was responsible for supervising the activities of the next lower unit in the system. The Commission itself was responsible to the Sejm.

Control over the entire structure was not limited to rules and regulations. The Commission created an inspection system, which provided continuous information on the status of the schools and the degree to which the schools were implementing the rules and regulations.

The reforms initiated by the Commission affected all schools in the Commonwealth. All private schools or pensions were regulated through a separate set of rules. The parish schools were restructured and their curriculum revised as a result of the 1774 Parish School Regulation. Less attention was given the parish schools after Bishop Massalski's resignation from the chairmanship of the Commission. In the 1780's the parish schools entered a period of decline. In 1789 the Sejm removed the parish schools from the direct control of the Commission and in effect returned control to the Church. This action did little to restore the parish school network to its original 1777 levels.

The reforms initiated by the Commission affected the secondary schools in a more direct manner. The Commission, first through the District School Regulation of 1774 and then in seventeen chapters of the Statutes of 1783, completely redefined the courses of study as well as the duties of the administrators of the district schools. The Commission had, in Lithuania, a total of thirty-one district schools.

The Commission was also concerned with the preparation of teachers for the parish and district schools. As early as 1775 it established a teacher training seminary in Vilnius. The main goal of this seminary was the preparation of teachers for the parish schools. After 1783 the preparation of parish school teachers was relegated to the district schools. The preparation of secondary or district school teachers required attendance at the university for a four year period. The district school teachers were included in the academic class and maintained the outward signs of the clergy.

Along with all other educational institutions the Commission also assumed control over the universities. Initially little action was taken by the Commission toward their reform. But, by 1781 the universities were brought under more direct control. They were assigned the supervision of all schools in their respective countries. Their curriculum and faculties were rearranged into different colleges, with expanded offerings and new faculty.

CHAPTER VI

TEACHERS IN THE REFORMED SCHOOLS

It is important to examine the preparation and performance of the teaching personnel utilized by the Educational Commission because an educational system can be only as good as the teachers who serve it. In general the Educational Commission utilized the ex-Jesuits as teachers in the schools, since they were the only available teaching force. In time the Educational Commission realized that this teaching force had to be changed if the new curriculum was to be implemented in the schools. With this realization the Educational Commission embarked on a series of projects to begin the training of new lay teachers for the reformed schools. This chapter will discuss the performance of the ex-Jesuits in the reformed schools of Lithuania, the preparation of lay teachers by the Educational Commission, and the performance of the new lay teachers in the Lithuanian schools.

A. The Ex-Jesuits in the Reformed Schools

The majority of teachers working in the secondary and higher schools supported by the Educational Commission were ex-Jesuits or in a few cases secular clergy. There is no clear record indicating the exact number of ex-Jesuits working in the schools, but a recent research effort by Jan Popłatek¹ resulted in a list of 445 ex-Jesuits

¹ Jan Popłatek, S.J., Komisja Edukacji Narodowej: Udział Byłych Jezuitów w Pracach Komisji Edukacji Narodowej (Participation of Ex-Jesuits in the Work of the Commission for National Education), Krakow, Wydawnictwo Apostolstwa Modlitwy, 1973, 512p.

employed, at one time or another, by the Educational Commission. This list included ex-Jesuits employed in parish schools, district schools, chief district schools, the schola princeps, as well as those employed by the Educational Commission directly and by the Society for Elementary Books.² Poplatek also presented a summary table which clearly showed the decline of the ex-Jesuits' role in the schools during the period 1773-1794. His figures indicated that in 1773-1774 a total of 294 ex-Jesuits were employed by the Educational Commission. By 1776 there were 265 ex-Jesuits employed, in 1783 only 165 remained, while by 1786-1787 only 138 were still working in the schools. The decline was more dramatic in the 1790-1791 figures where only ninety ex-Jesuits were found, while in 1793-1794 there remained only fifty-one in the schools.³ This decline in the ex-Jesuit population was attributed, for the most part, to a combination of factors which center around old-age, i.e., retirement, sickness, and death.

From the figures presented above it appears to be clear that the Educational Commission began its educational reforms with a teaching staff composed primarily of ex-Jesuits and clergy. In Lithuania, even ten years after the establishment of the Commission some schools were

2 Ibid., p. 421-443. This is Table III: Wykaz imienny byłych Jezuitów Polskich w służbie Komisji Edukacji Narodowej (List of Ex-Jesuit Names in Poland Working for the Commission for National Education).

3 Ibid., p. 444-445. See Table IV: Wykaz liczebny byłych Jezuitów czynnych w służbie Komisje Edukacji Narodowej (List of the Numbers of Ex-Jesuits Who Were Active and Employed by the Commission for National Education).

still fully staffed by ex-Jesuits. For example, the general inspector Grzegorz Piramowicz⁴ in 1782 conducted the first complete inspection of the Lithuanian schools for the Educational Commission⁵ and found that in the district schools of Vilnius⁶ and Gardinas⁷ all of the teachers were ex-Jesuits. But, Piramowicz reported that in Kretinga,⁸ Kaunas,⁹ and Pastoviai¹⁰ he found only secular priests teaching, while in Kražiai¹¹ and Višniava¹² there was a mixed teaching staff. As a

4 Grzegorz Piramowicz, ex-Jesuit, worked in Warsaw for the Educational Commission from 1774-1782 as a general school inspector, as well as being the Secretary of the Society for Elementary Books from its establishment in 1775 to its demise in 1792. Complete biographic data can be found in Jan Opolatek, op.cit., p. 71-75.

5 "Raport z wizyty generalnej szkół W. Ks. Lit., wydziałów litewskiego i zmudzkiego, odbytej przez Grzegorza Piramowicza w 1782 r.," original copy in Vilnius State University, Research Library, Manuscripts Section, Second Document Fund, File DC 88, p. 1-36, (Citation: U, MB RS, R.2-DC 88). This report is now reproduced from the original in Raporty Generalnych Wizytatorów Szkół Edukacji Narodowej w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim (1782-1792), Warszawa, Polska Akademia Nauk, Ossolin-skich, 1974, pp. 31-97. Citations to this report will be made using the published version, hereafter cited as Raporty Gen Wiz Lit.

6 See "Wizyta zgromadzenia akademickiego wydziałowego i szkół wilenskich", in Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 55-61.

7 See "Wizyta zgromadzenia akademickiego i szkół grodzieskich," in Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 46-51.

8 See "Wizyta szkół kretyngskich," in Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p.84-85.

9 See "Wizyta zgromadzenia i szkół kowienskich, in Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 87-91.

10 See "Wizyta szkół postawskich," in Raporty Gen Wiz Lit.,p.66-67.

11 See "Zgromadzenie akademickie i szkoły kroskie," in Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 72-83.

12 See "Zgromadzenie akademickie i szkoły wiśniewskie," in Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 64-66.

rule, however, all rectors and prorectors of the schools were ex-Jesuits, except in Bialystok where a graduate of the University of Krakow was the prorector.¹³ In 1782 there was a total of seventy-two teaching positions in the district schools of Lithuania. Of these only five positions were not filled.¹⁴ This would tend to indicate that in 1782 the supply of teachers of the district schools of the Educational Commission was not at a critical stage.

At the beginning of the second decade of the reformed schools (1782-1783) about thirty teachers left their teaching posts in Lithuania.¹⁵ Aged teachers retired and left their posts, making them available for younger teachers, who may have been more favorable to the reforms of the Educational Commission. This attrition on the part of the older teachers may have been a positive event, as far as the Educational Commission was concerned. The teachers who did leave were older, had a more difficult time with the new educational program and did not adapt well to the new teaching methodology. During the school year 1784-1785 several more teachers resigned their posts because of illness, and some resigned because they were unable to accept the reforms con-

13 See "Wizyta szkol bialostockich," in Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 41-44.

14 Irena Szybiak, Szkolnictwo Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim (The Educational Activities of the Committee of National Education in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania), Warszawa, Polska Akademia Nauk, Monografie z Dziejow Oswiaty, Tom XV, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1973, p. 91.

15 Ibid.

tained in the Statutes of the Educational Commission.¹⁶ In the school year 1786-1787 only forty-six teachers with more than six years' experience were still working in the district schools. Most of these forty-six were ex-Jesuits. Of those original forty-six ex-Jesuits listed in the Educational Commission's budget tables in 1786-1787¹⁷ only twenty-four names were listed in the budget tables for the year 1791-1792.¹⁸ The remaining forty-nine teachers listed in the budget tables were new, having started teaching only after 1783.

Because of the teachers' attrition rate many schools were unable to fill all of the teaching positions. For example, in 1784-1785 the Cholopienicze school had a great deal of difficulty in finding teachers.¹⁹ But, records indicate that they were able to find two ex-Jesuits for the school year 1786-1787.²⁰ There was a teacher

16 Ibid., p. 218-219. The Statutes of the Educational Commission, entitled, "Ustawy Komisji Edukacji Narodowej dla Stanu Akademickiego i na Szkoły w Krajach Rzeczypospolitej Przepisane," are reproduced in Stanisław Tync, Komisja Edukacji Narodowej, Biblioteka Narodowa, Nr. 126 Seria 1, Wrocław, Ossolineum, 1954, p. 575-723. Future references to the Statutes will be made using the following citation: Ustawy KEN-1783.

17 Tadeusz Mizia, Protokoly Posiedzen Komisji Edukacji Narodowej 1786-1794 (Minutes of the Meetings of the Commission for National Education for the Years 1786-1794), Warszawa, Polkiej Akademii Nauk, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk Ossolinski, 1969, p. 45-53.

18 Ibid., p. 281-287.

19 Letters from the school to the Rector of the Chief School of Lithuania can be found in VUB, RS, Cartoryski Fund, DC 108. See letters for 15 IX 1784, and 1 X 1784.

20 Jan Poplatek, op.cit., p. 444.

shortage in Naugardukas (Nowogrodek), Lithuanian Brast (Brzesc Litewski),
and elsewhere.²¹ Because of this shortage some individuals with little
or no training were hired as teachers. There was a special shortage of
teachers in the areas of science and mathematics.²² Because of this
some teachers taught subjects which they were not prepared to teach.
The Educational Commission began to slow down the processing of requests
for retirement from older teachers and began urging them to continue
teaching.²³ The Educational Commission had a vested interest in having
the ex-Jesuits continue in the schools. As was discussed previously,
all ex-Jesuits were given a pension upon retiring. The longer the
Educational Commission could keep the ex-Jesuits teaching, the more
money would be saved for other purposes.

The ex-Jesuits were also beginning to make a variety of demands
on the Educational Commission. They began requesting that teaching
experiences before the dissolution of the Jesuit Order be counted when
calculating teaching time for pension purposes. Since many of the ex-
Jesuits were of advanced age, they proposed that their salary not be
suspended during periods of illness, but that a substitute teaching
staff be established.²⁴ The ex-Jesuits also requested that longer

21 Irena Szybiak, op.cit., p. 219.

22 Ibid., p. 220.

23 Teodor Wierzbowski, Komisja Edukacji Narodowej i jej
szkoly w Koronie, 1773-1794, Part 39, p. 12. (Part 39 contains the
minutes of the meetings of the Educational Commission for 1782-1785).

24 Irena Szybiak, op.cit., p. 91-92.

vacation periods be granted to improve health. This idea was brought to the attention of the Educational Commission by the general inspector Grzegorz Piramowicz after his visits of 1782.²⁵

During the first decade of the reforms, the schools in Lithuania were not visited regularly by representatives or inspectors of the Educational Commission. The teaching personnel, for the most part, were neither prepared to implement the new curriculum, nor were they furnished new textbooks and manuals. This condition continued through the entire first decade.²⁶ Many ex-Jesuits did not pay attention to the instructions and regulations of the Educational Commission, and did not make an effort to understand them correctly. Education in some of the schools continued under the old curriculum and teaching methods.²⁷ The Educational Commission was not fully informed about the difficulties in the realization of the new curriculum. It was only after the regular visits by the general inspectors began that teachers started to pay more attention to the new requirements.

B. First Efforts at Preparing Lay Teachers for the Elementary Schools

The Educational Commission announced a broad plan for the

25 Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 93-96.

26 For examples of this situation see the letters of Mikalojus Velička, Rector of the Chief District School of Kražiai to the Rector of the University of Vilnius (Schola Princeps) M. Počobut. (VU, MB, RS, F.2--DC 112, 410 sheets)

27 For an example of this see letter by Velička to Počobut dated 18 December 1783 in VU, MB, RS, R.2--Dc 112, sheets 95-96.

development of elementary education by suggesting that one elementary school be established for every ten parishes in Poland and Lithuania.²⁸ This plan was first announced in the Educational Commission's Budget of 2 March 1774, which proposed no less than 2,500 elementary schools.²⁹ The most enthusiastic supporter of this plan was Bishop of Vilnius, Massalski, who as early as 24 March 1774 suggested to the Commission that he would surpass the original plan and establish one elementary school for every three parishes in Lithuania.³⁰ This enthusiastic plan was approved by the Commission and Massalski began implementation. He soon realized, however, that there were no teachers for his network of elementary schools. On 24 December 1774 Bishop Massalski suggested to the Educational Commission that a parish school teacher training seminary be established.³¹ The Commission approved this suggestion the same day and authorized Bishop Massalski to establish the school in Vilnius. The Commission provided 25,000 gulden for the support

28 See minutes of the meeting of the Educational Commission for 2 March 1774 contained in T. Wierzbowski, Komisja Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1794, Part 37, p. 55.

29 Z. Kukulski, op.cit., p. XCII-XCIII, also detailed in Chapter III, Part E.

30 See minutes of the meeting of the Educational Commission for 24 March 1774 in Mieczysława Mitera-Dobrowolska, Protokoly Posiedzen Komisji Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1785, (Minutes of the Meetings of the Commission for National Education), Warszawa, Polska Akademia Nauk, Pracownia Oświaty, Ossolinski, 1973, p. 19, 24 Martii 1774, item 3^o. Hereafter cited as Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785.

31 Ibid., p. 44-45, 24 Decembra 1774, item 1^o.

of an estimated fifty students.³² The Parish School Teacher Training Seminary was opened on 1 April 1775. Its main goal was the preparation of primary/elementary teachers for the Lithuanian schools. The curriculum consisted of catechism, rhetorical reading, writing, bookkeeping, botany, surveying, and principles of agriculture. The student teachers were also taught singing and organ playing, so that they also would be able to function as organists in the parish churches.³³

During the first year of operation the Seminary had sixteen students. In 1776 the number of students rose to thirty.³⁴ In 1776 due to Bishop Massalski's various financial problems, especially with the Distributing Commissions, the Educational Commission failed to make an appropriation for the Seminary's operation.³⁵ Bishop Massalski, in order to keep the Seminary in operation, provided funds from his own sources.³⁶ In February of 1777 Bishop Massalski reported to the Educational Commission that he, as the Bishop of Vilnius, proposed in his name, as well as in the names of his successor bishops, to establish

32 Ibid.

33 Z. Kukulski, op.cit., p. XCVIII, and "Lietuvos Mokyklos Istorijos Apybraiža--13," p. 3.

34 J. Gvildys, "Edukacijos Komisijos Švietimo Darbai Lietuvoje" (The Work of the Educational Commission in Lithuania), in Židinys, Vol. XIII, No. 5/7 (76-77, 1931) p. 492-493.

35 See minutes of the meeting for 1776 in Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 62-78.

36 J. Gvildys, op.cit., p. 492-493.

a parish school in every parish in the Diocese of Vilnius. All of these schools, Massalski continued, were to be for all time under the jurisdiction of the Educational Commission.³⁷ The Commission in turn approved the allocation of 25,000 gulden for the Parish School Teacher Training Seminary, and authorized an enrollment of fifty students.³⁸ According to Gvildys, in subsequent years the Commission continued allocations of 14,000 gulden for the Seminary's operation.³⁹

Bishop Massalski's operation and planning of the Seminary reflected his emphasis on education of the lower classes. The vast majority of the Seminary's students were from the lower social classes. Bishop Massalski believed that in order to be successful in teaching at the primary level, where the majority of the students came from the peasant class, the teacher also should be from the lower class. This would permit, according to Massalski, a greater identification with the problems experienced by the peasants.⁴⁰

According to Wierzbowski this Seminary was closed in 1780.⁴¹

37 See minutes of the meeting of the Educational Commission for 18 February 1777 in Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 82.

38 Ibid., p. 83.

39 J. Gvildys, op.cit., p. 493.

40 R. Szreter, "Europe's First Ministry of Education and the Problem of the Supply of Teachers," in British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. XXII, No. 2, June, 1974, p. 188.

41 Teodor Wierzbowski, Szkoly Parafjalne w Polsce i na Litwie za czasow Komisji Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1794 (Parish Schools in Poland and Lithuania during the Time of the Educational Commission 1773-1794), Krakow, Ministerstwo Wyznan Religijnych i Oswiecenia Publicznego, 1921, p.103

However, Witkowska claimed that lay teachers were being trained at the Lithuanian Chief School (Schola Princeps) not only in 1780, but in the following years as well.⁴² Šidlauskas and Račkauskas indicated that a search of the sources at the University of Vilnius failed to reveal any data that would substantiate Witkowska's position.⁴³ However, there was a strong indication that the Seminary was in fact operational from 1775 through at least 1783. An examination of the budgets of the Educational Commission revealed two important items, which may shed light on this problem. This first such item was in the budget for Lithuania in 1782, where the Commission allocated 13,460 gulden for the Szkola Parafialnych Dyrektorow (Seminary for Teachers of the Parish Schools).⁴⁴ The second item appeared in the budget for 1783 where the Commission allocated 76,200 gulden "For the support of the teachers' seminary and hostels."⁴⁵ Since no other teachers' seminary was established by the Educational Commission, and since the Educational Commission did in fact approve the establishment of a teachers

42 H. Witkowska, Komisja Edukacji Narodowej, Warszawa, 1905, p. 22.

43 Algirdas Šidlauskas and J.A. Račkauskas, "The Education of Lay Teachers in Lithuania under the Educational Commission of Poland and Lithuania (1773-1794)," in Paedagogica Historica, Vol. XIV, No. 2, 1974, p. 443.

44 See budget presented by the Educational Commission on 22 August 1782 in Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 208.

45 Jozef Lukaszewicz, Historia Szkol w Koronie i w Wielkiem Ksiestwie Litewskiem od najdawiejszych czasow as do roku 1794, Poznan, Nakladem Ksiegarni Jana Konstantego Zupanskiego, Vol. 2, 1850, p. 250-251.

seminary, these two budget entries may indicate that the seminary established in 1775 was still operative through 1783.

The preparation of teachers for the parish schools after 1783 was modified by the Educational Commission. The Commission decided that teachers for the parish schools could be prepared in the normal district schools (secondary) with the help of a teaching methods book.⁴⁶ This decision and the status of the parish school teacher will be fully considered in the chapter dealing with the parish schools.

C. The Education of Lay Secondary Teachers in Lithuania⁴⁷

The preparation of lay secondary teachers in Lithuania has received limited attention. The major portion of the primary source documents dealing with the preparation of teachers in Lithuania has not been published. These documents are in the manuscript section of the University of Vilnius Library. The documents housed there include the reports of the general inspectors, the minutes of the meetings of Lithuanian Chief School, letters from teachers to the rector of the Lithuanian Chief School, and all of the materials relating to the students and their progress through the teacher training program. This section is based on the manuscripts found at the University of Vilnius

⁴⁶ See minutes of the Educational Commission in Teodor Wierzbowski, Komisja Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1794, Part 38, p. 141.

⁴⁷ Research for this section was completed at the University of Vilnius, Vilnius, Lithuanian SSR; USSR during October of 1972. As a result of this research effort a joint article with Prof. A. Sidlauskas, of the University of Vilnius, was prepared and published in Paedagogica Historica. That article forms the basis for this section. See: A. Sidlauskas and J. Račkauskas, op.cit.

Library as well as some of the published sources.

1. Training at the Chief School of Poland

Plans for the preparation of new teachers were drawn up by the Piarist Antoni Poplawski and Hugo Kollataj.⁴⁸ The Educational Commission, having reviewed them on 28 April 1780, established an institute at the Chief School of Poland which would train teachers for the district schools of Lithuania.⁴⁹ As a result, the Commission ordered that Lithuanian candidates be sent, with a prefect, to the Chief School of Poland for three years of study. After the initial three-year course, the teachers were to return to Vilnius, where they were to complete their studies at the Lithuanian Chief School.⁵⁰ This decision indicated that, contrary to the statement by Witkowska,⁵¹ the institute for teacher preparation at the Chief School in Vilnius began to function only in the year 1783, and not in 1780. But, on the other hand, this decision did not influence the preparation of elementary teachers, which may have been in progress during this time

48 These projects are discussed in detail by Kamilla Mrozowska, Walka o nauczycieli świeckich w dobie Komisji Edukacji Narodowej na terenie Korony, Wrocław, Polska Akademia Nauk, Ossolineum, 1956, p. 14-32.

49 See minutes of the meeting of the Educational Commission for the 28th of April 1780 in Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 124; also see Kamilla Mrozowska, op.cit., p. 19.

50 VUB, Cart.f., DC 31, I. 34. (Vilnius State University Library, Cartoriski Fund, Manuscripts Section).

51 H. Witkowska, loc.cit.

period.⁵²

In 1781, six Lithuanian students arrived at the Krakow Teachers' Institute,⁵³ accompanied by J. Stroinovski, a professor from the Vilnius Chief school. Although his task was merely to supervise the Lithuanian candidates, the prefect managed to ingratiate himself and his candidates at the Institute by working to ease the strained relations between the Lithuanians and the Poles.

At the completion of the three-year course, four of the six candidates, with their prefect Stroinovski, were given a grant of 2,600 gulden and advised to continue their remaining education at the Chief School in Vilnius, as had been specified in the original plan.⁵⁴ However, two of the students remained to teach in Poland.⁵⁵ Stroinovsky, who was also professor of natural and civil law, was charged with the further supervision of the future teachers at the Vilnius Chief School.⁵⁶

52 Personal conversation with Kamilla Mrozowska, of the Institut Pedagogiki, Uniwersytet Jagiellonski, Krakow, at the University of Vilnius on the 27th of April 1975.

53 Kamilla Mrozowska, op.cit., p. 36 and 347. Five of the students were: Mykolas Dymidavičius, Mykolas Mardovskis, Tadas Šmidtas, Pranas Sopovičius, and Ksaveras Reforovskis. Mrozowska presents only the five names mentioned here, but I. Szybiak, op.cit., p. 93 indicates that a total of eight candidates were sent from the Chief School of Lith. to Krakow. The same figure, i.e., eight, is found in Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 134, footnote 60, and p. 164, footnote 43. The date cited by Šidlauskas and Račkauskas, op.cit., p. 445 is in error. The correct year is 1781 and not 1780.

54 VUB, Cart. f., DC 31, I, 47.

55 Kamilla Mrozowska, op.cit., p. 131-132.

56 VUB, Cart. f., DC 31, I. 54 and DC 40, I. not numbered.

2. Training at the Chief School of Lithuania

The program directives for teacher education at the Lithuanian Chief School were formulated by A. Poplawski, who had also authored the original plan for the Educational Commission. In his directives, Poplawski maintained that communal living and dining, and a common treasury would develop a strong and constant peer discipline. Through this type of life style the teachers were to develop similar customs and opinions which would be beneficial to the structuring of a unified teaching perspective. Poplawski's aim was to develop a teaching class having common goals and views. The mark of the teaching class was to be the cassock.⁵⁷ Poplawski understood the necessity of the reformed schools; however, he did not understand that a change in curricula required a change in form of the schools as well. For otherwise, either the old system would jeopardize the new programs, or the new programs would raise havoc in the old system.

The Rules,⁵⁸ published in 1783, determined the necessary preparatory work and the criteria for admission to the Chief School. Candidates could be sent from the district schools to the Chief School in Vilnius to prepare for a teaching career. When leaving the district school for the Chief School candidates were required to take a sacred

57 Stanislaw Tync, op.cit., p. 319.

58 The Rules were published as Chapter V of the Statutes of the Educational Commission. See Ustawy KEN-1783, p. 612-619 (Supra footnote 16).

oath⁵⁹ that was kept with their records at the district school that sent them. However, students could also apply directly to the Chief School for admission without going through the district school. Since those sent from the district schools were non-religious, on completing their studies they were the first lay teachers in the Lithuanian district schools.

The candidates were free to choose their teaching field, but the Chief School assigned the mandatory lectures. It also supervised their studies, and ascertained that they were of good moral character and God fearing. An appointed professor or the secretary of the Chief School presided over the orientation, at which time the candidates familiarized themselves with the Regulations and their future duties. These included work as tutors or directors of studies, or as substitutes for teachers of the district school affiliated with the Chief School.

59 VUB, Cart. f., DC 72, 1, not numbered. The text of the translated oath follows: I promise, affirming it by my signature, that on entering the academic vocation, i.e., the teaching profession, of my own free will, I am signing up as a teacher in the district to which the Chief School will appoint me. I promise that in the course of my first year at the Chief School, supported in the aforesaid vocation, and subsequently during the following three years when I shall be perfected in the assigned courses, I will travel to the district to which the Chief School will assign me and teach there for six years in fulfillment of this obligation, unless the illustrious Commission should transfer me to another district. In the following year, teaching voluntarily, I will belong to the teaching class. In the event I should wish to withdraw from the teaching class, I will inform the Chief School of this one year in advance. If I were not to fulfill all this, I would abide by the ruling of the Chief School and the Educational Commission. I affirm all this by my word of honor and by my handshake with the rector of the Chief School, and sign this in the presence of witnesses.

Although these duties acquainted the students with the practical aspects of teaching, they were not related directly to their studies at the Chief School.

The work of a director of studies normally required that a candidate work with one or, at the most, three students. His task was not to teach but to assure that the students made the best possible use of their study time. Needless to say, the close supervision required of the students by the candidates deprived the candidates of a considerable amount of study time.

In accordance with the Statutes, after one year of study the candidates were required to take an examination which would determine whether they were qualified to pursue their studies further. The board consisted of the deans of the colleges of physical and moral sciences and the most noted professors. The prestigious membership of the examining board indicated the consequence and seriousness of these examinations.⁶⁰ Before the examination was given, the college deans, professors, and the secretary of the Chief School each prepared evaluations of all candidates. On the successful completion of the examination the

60 See VUB, Cart. f., DC 10, l. 17

candidates were required to take a second solemn oath,⁶¹ obligating themselves to adhere to the Statutes and not to abandon the teaching profession upon completion of their studies. These were prerequisites for continued enrollment in the Chief School.

The Statutes stipulated a four-year course of studies.⁶² After passing the final examination and receiving a good professional recommendation, the candidate was awarded a doctorate.⁶³

The candidates lived in pensions (bursae). To cover their expenses, they received 300 gulden the first year and 400 the second year.⁶⁴

61 VUB, Cart. f., DC 72, l. not numbered. The text of the translated oath follows: I promise, affirming it by my signature, that in entering the academic class, i.e., the teaching class, of my own free will, to fulfill them exactly. I hereby obligate myself to: (1) teach for six years in the district to which I will sign up and in the class for which I shall be selected. I will move to another district if the illustrious Commission would require it. I will work, receiving the annual salary allotted to one teaching the obligatory six years; (2) I will fully implement in teaching the guidelines of the illustrious Educational Commission and will be totally obedient to its suggestions in this area; (3) Reserving the right to withdraw from the teaching class, I will not take advantage of it until I have completed the obligatory six years of teaching, and subsequently will notify my superiors a year in advance of leaving. If I should fail to fulfill one of these promises or break a rule of discipline, I will abide by the ruling of the Chief School and the illustrious Educational Commission. In addition, I promise that regardless of my ultimate vocation or profession, I will always support education and the academic class. I affirm all this by my word of honor and my handshake with the rector of the Chief School and in the presence of witnesses.

62 Ustawy KEN-1783, p. 612.

63 Ustawy KEN-1783, p. 618. See: Paragraph 11 of Chapter V of the Statutes of the Educational Commission.

64 Ibid. See: Paragraph 12 and 13 of Chapter V of the Statutes of the Educational Commission.

The scholarships, which covered all living expenses, apparently were intended to provide an opportunity for the children of the poorer population to become teachers.

In 1783, the Lithuanian Chief School accepted eight candidates as prospective lay teachers for the district schools. Altogether, about sixty-nine lay candidates were enrolled between 1783 and 1793 at the Teacher Institute.⁶⁵ However, the minutes of the meetings of the Chief School indicate that not all of the candidates completed their studies. Several dropped out because of poor health,⁶⁶ others for different reasons.⁶⁷ A total of seven candidates did not complete their studies at the Chief School.

There are no sources to indicate the social background of the candidates; thus, only a few facts can be deduced about this important question. It is probable that most of the candidates were from the poorer gentry and the burgher class. But, since the teaching profession was not held in high regard in the Commonwealth, the number of candidates from the poorer gentry had to be smaller than that of the burghers. This speculation seems probable since careers in education may well have drawn

65 Leonid Zytkowicz, Rzady Repnina na Litwie w latach 1794-1797, Wilno, p. 220. It appears that sixty-nine candidates were accepted, but only sixty-three candidates were on scholarships. For example, Irena Szybiak, op.cit., p. 184, cites this figure.

66 VUB, Cart. f., DC 9, I. 80 re: Jokubas Alseika; DC 9, I. 38 re: Ignas Bulhakas and Stanislavas Mackevicius; DC 10, I. 25 re: Andrius Cimermanas.

67 VUB, Cart. f., DC 9, I. 18 re: Simonas Chroscickis; and DC 10, I. 22 re: Stanislavus Semaška.

more candidates from the burghers, because education was the only walk in life, besides that of a religious, that provided an opportunity for economic advancement. Since the candidate Jokubas Alseika, for example, entered the Lithuanian Chief School from Kretinga,⁶⁸ a school with almost no students from the gentry,⁶⁹ it can be speculated that some of the candidates were also of peasant parentage. It should be noted that the conservative gentry were against the secularization of the teaching profession, since by tradition, only the clergy were capable of performing these duties.⁷⁰

Some of the candidates were religious, i.e., members of the Piarist, Dominican, or Basilian orders. At least two of the orders, the Piarists and the Dominicans, had been training their own teachers in monasteries even before the establishment of the Institute at the Chief School in Vilnius. For example, the Piarists had begun to train teachers in 1781 at their novitiate in Šnypiškiai. At Šnypiškiai the students were taught physics, mathematics, and logic. After completing these courses they continued their studies in Lubiseve, where they were taught

68 VUB, Cart. f., DC 88, I. 29; DC 89, I. 15. See the report of the General Inspector Piramowicz to Kretinga in Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 84-85.

69 VUB, Cart. f., DC 82, I. 73. During the visit to this school Piramowicz wrote: "there were almost no students from the gentry class in the school, but most students were from the burgher and peasant class," see Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 84.

70 Irena Szybiak, op.cit., p. 222.

modern languages and rethoric.⁷¹ The Dominicans also conducted teacher training courses. They emphasized mathematics and physics in the program and employed the most noted Lithuanian mathematician, Erdman.⁷² Piramowicz, during a visit to the Dominican school in 1782, noted that its teachers were very skilled in geometry and taught the students in an exceptional manner.⁷³ The Statutes of the Educational Commission did not allow religious orders to train their own teachers.⁷⁴ All teacher candidates had to be trained in the Teacher Institute at the Chief School in Vilnius. Thus, together with the lay candidates there also were some young Piarists, Dominicans, and Basilians.

3. Curriculum and Instruction at the Lithuanian Chief School

The new curriculum for the district schools, introduced by the Educational Commission, required the preparation of new teachers, who would be capable of teaching the natural and physical sciences. These new teachers were to form the basis for the gradual replacement of the ex-Jesuits and other religious personnel. The training of teachers at the Chief School took on an air of monastic life in that the lay candidates maintained the outward signs of the religious class. For

71 VUB, Cart. f., DC 88, I. 15; and Irena Szybiak, op.cit., p. 95. The program of studies was based on Konarski's reforms. See Chapter IV. Part F.

72 VUB, Cart. f., DC 88, I. 34. Jan Erdman, SJ, was a professor at the University of Vilnius (1773-1777); a district school rector (1777-1783); and finally the general inspector for the Lithuanian schools (1787-1790). See Jan Poplatek, op.cit., p. 350 and 425.

73 VUB, Cart. f., DC 88, I. 34; or Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 91-93

74 Ustawy KEN-1783.

example, the Statutes emphasized piety and fear of the Lord in the training of the candidates.⁷⁵ Other indicators of the Educational Commission's reluctance to make any outward radical changes in the teaching class were: (1) the wearing of the cassock; (2) the emphasis on celibacy; (3) communal living; and (4) the continual reliance on oaths.⁷⁶ These outward signs of the religious class were maintained so that the new teachers would more readily gain acceptance in the school situations. This is understandable in the context of the period since completely secularized education at the end of the XVIIIth century was unthinkable in either Lithuania or Poland. Nevertheless, lay teachers trained to think freely and to evaluate their environment critically for teaching the natural and physical sciences were bound to lessen the influence of the former system of education.

The professorial records of the Lithuanian Chief School, which were brief summaries of the courses and lists of students attending them, indicated which lectures were most frequently attended. They also showed that at the beginning of the school year each student registered with each of the professors in order to attend the courses. All of the candidates attended lectures in higher mathematics and physics. The professorial records evidence concern that the candidates become acquainted with scientific theories and their practical application. Professor

75 Ustawy KEN-1783, p. 615.

76 Ibid., p. 612-619.

P. Norvaiša wrote that, according to Isaac Newton, the causes of natural phenomena must be sought in the results of extensive experimentation and observation, and not in preconceived certainties. It was therefore the opinion of Norvaiša that it is better to admit ignorance than to draw false conclusions about the secrets of nature and submit them to weaker minds as fact.⁷⁷ These assertions of Norvaiša indicated that he based his lectures on Newton's Philosophiae naturalis principia Mathematica.

All candidates attended lectures in rhetoric and natural law; all studied languages. Some deviation from the general program can be explained by a candidate's particular interest in a certain area of studies. For example, Tadas Ivanauskas attended a course on canon law during the 1789-1790 academic year.⁷⁸ The fact that many candidates attended elementary mathematics and higher mathematics courses simultaneously would indicate that the general education which the candidates received in the district schools did not prepare everyone equally.⁷⁹ The disciplines that the candidates pursued at the Teacher Institute indicate no apparent specialization providing individual candidates with a unique direction in their studies. The candidates' course of study had a general preparatory character. Because of the lack of data, it is difficult to ascertain how useful the lectures were to the candidates; however, the work of the lay teachers after completion of their

77 VUB, Cart. f., DC 10, I. 10

78 VUB, Cart. f., DC 10, I. 14

79 VUB, Cart. f., DC 16, I. 217

studies was highly regarded by the general inspectors.⁸⁰

The Educational Commission in the Statutes provided the basic principles for teachers' preparation, but established no guidelines directing the candidates to a specific course of studies. Also, the Statutes did not define the rights and obligations of the candidates. There was another basic flaw in the preparation of teachers--the lack of any theoretical pedagogical course. Although the Educational Commission directed that there be meetings in which the candidates become acquainted with the Statutes and with their future work, it is clear that these meetings did not replace a course in pedagogical theory. It should be noted, however, that the Society for Elementary Books specified that all new books which were to be prepared had to have not only the content elements, but a clear methodological-pedagogical base as well.⁸¹ This would indicate that the Commission was aware of the importance of the pedagogical method, but nonetheless little effort was directed toward this end.

Almost throughout its existence the Teacher Training Institute was headed by J. Stroinovski. Only in 1788 was he temporarily relieved by D. Pilchovski.⁸² In 1792, when Stroinovski was elected to the civil and criminal court, his duties were assumed by Simonas Malevski, a

80 VUB, Cart. f., DC 75, I. 38; DC 82, I. 55; and DC 96, I. 7.

81 Czeslaw Majorek, "Zarys Teorii Podrecznika Szkolnego Komisji Edukacji Narodowej" (Outline of the History of the School Textbooks of the Commission for National Education), Studia Pedagogiczne (Warsaw), Vol. XXIX, p. 147, 180.

82 VUB, Cart. f., DC 30, I. 50.

graduate of the Institute and lay vice-professor of the Chief School of Lithuania.⁸³

D. Lay Teachers in the Lithuanian Secondary Schools

From the yearly enrollment figures, which fluctuated between six and eight candidates during the first few years,⁸⁴ it can be deduced that the Educational Commission planned to replace the old ex-Jesuit teachers with the new lay teachers very gradually. The main reason may have been to make the replacement less noticeable. This hypothesis may be supported by the decision of the Educational Commission, of 30 January 1781, not to increase the ranks of the pensioned teachers.⁸⁵ New teachers, the Commission decided, should be sent to replace only those who were deceased or who had retired.⁸⁶ Thus, the lay teachers were able to take over only after the death or retirement of an ex-Jesuit.

Teachers graduating from the Teacher Institute had to accept positions as substitute teachers, because of the lack of regular teaching positions. This was beneficial to the schools since finally a trained individual was available to take over classes of those teachers who were ill or too old to continue teaching. Thus, in June of 1791 the Educational

83 VUB, Cart. f., DC 9, I. 80-81

84 Leonid Zytkowicz, op.cit., p. 220. For example: 1783--eight; 1784--six; 1785--eight; 1786--six; 1787--eight; 1788--seven; 1789--ten; 1790--two; 1791--nine; 1792--three; and 1793--two.

85 Teodor Wierzbowski, Komisja Edukacji Narodowej i jej szkoły w Koronie 1773-1794, Part 39, p. 12.

86 Ibid.

Commission finally proclaimed that substitute teachers would become part of the school system, and receive the same salary as the regular teachers.⁸⁷ The young teachers were not satisfied with the functions of a substitute teacher. However, with the growth of the number of students in the secondary schools there arose a need for parallel classes, and many of the substitute teachers advanced to the status of regular teachers.

The Statutes of the Educational Commission set high standards for the teachers, not only for their morality, but with respect to their teaching abilities and educational preparation as well. The teacher was to consider the teaching of a student as a duty of his country. The pupils, having completed their education, were to be wholesome, honorable, able to reason, and to take care of their homes, and to be friendly and loving towards others. Moreover, they were to be just, ready to defend their country, highly principled, and respectful of the property of others.⁸⁸ As the Statutes pointed out, "all this is the objective of teaching and comprises the purpose of the teacher's efforts."⁸⁹ This purpose of education differed from the teaching and guiding objectives of the Jesuits. The Statutes did not emphasize religious education as the basic function of the school, nor was unconditional obedience

87 See minutes of the meeting of the Educational Commission in Tadeusz Mizia, op.cit., p. 260 and 284.

88 Kalina Bartnicka, Wychowanie Patriotyczne w szkołach Komisji Edukacji Narodowej (Patriotic Education in the Schools of the Educational Commission), Warszawa, Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1973, p. 1-296.

89 Ustawy KEN-1783, p. 656.

to superiors stressed. Love for one's country and its protection were predominant in the Statutes.⁹⁰ Also conspicuous was the directive contained in the Statutes to instill in the pupils a "sacred respect for the property of others."⁹¹

The educational aims were to be achieved through the reformed curriculum. In physics, the teacher would focus attention on various elements of mechanics, which were necessary for practical purposes, such as innovations to increase the productivity of farms.⁹² These aims were also reflected in the teaching of mathematics, where the emphasis was placed on measurement and drafting.⁹³ In the teaching of the history of art and crafts, an attempt was made to arouse an interest in crafts. Finally, in the teaching of law and the basic principles of political economy,⁹⁴ the physiocratic principles were detailed and studied. The curriculum was to interest the pupils in the development of agriculture in the country, to strengthen commerce, and to strengthen the role of the burghers. The curriculum also stressed the need for meaningful reforms that would strengthen the government of the republic.

With the increase in the number of lay teachers the level of

90 Kalina Bartnicka, op.cit.

91 Ustawy KEN-1783, p. 656.

92 Ibid., p. 673. Section XV, Part titled: Nauczyciel fizyki

93 Ibid., p. 671. Section XV, Part titled: Nauczyciel matematyki

94 Ibid., p. 674-675. Section XV, Part titled: Nauczyciel moralnej nauki prawa)

education rose in the individual district schools. From the reports of the general inspectors it is clear that they were satisfied with the preparation that the lay teachers received.⁹⁵ The general inspectors in their reports praised the pedagogical ability and suitable presentation of the school program by a number of the lay teachers. Specifically the general inspectors were very pleased with the performance of V. Eismontas,⁹⁶ S. Malevski,⁹⁷ M. Vonsevičius,⁹⁸ and T. Žicka,⁹⁹ all lay teachers in the district schools. The reports of the inspectors maintained that the pupils of these lay teachers understood the subjects taught them and were able to answer correctly questions addressed to them. The lay teachers brought into practice a new teaching methodology and the biological and physical sciences assumed an important role in education.¹⁰⁰ However, the influence of the lay teachers was not limited to the schools in which they worked. For example Mrozowska, maintained that in Poland the lay teachers indirectly influenced the improvement of the quality of education in religious schools as well.¹⁰¹ This

95 See Irena Szybiak, op.cit., p. 182-194.

96 VUB, Cart. f., DC 93, I. 19; and DC 82, 1, 55.

97 VUB, Cart. f., DC 75, 1. 38.

98 VUB, Cart. f., DC 82, 1. 55.

99 VUB, Cart. f., DC 96, 1. 11.

100 VUB, Cart. f., DC 83, I. 55.

101 Kamilla Mrozowska, op.cit., p. 243.

statement also held true for Lithuania.

It is understandable that the results of the lay teachers' work were not the same in all schools. Various factors were responsible for variations in performance from school to school. One of the factors was that not all of the teachers completed their studies. For example, because of a teacher shortage, a student, J. Volodzka,¹⁰² was assigned to a teaching position in the Kaunas school after finishing three years of study at the Vilnius Chief School. Also, among lay personnel there were some who did not attend the Institute at all. For example, Albertas Bartalomiejus Čirinskis, who taught at the school in Biala, was not mentioned in the list of candidates of the Teacher Institute,¹⁰³ nor was he listed as a religious in the reports of the general inspectors.¹⁰⁴

The work of the teachers was hindered by a shortage of textbooks and other educational resources.¹⁰⁵ This was a difficult situation for the young and inexperienced teachers. However, the graduates of the Teacher Institute attempted to improve their teaching conditions. A. Vonsovičius, a teacher from Kražiai, built his own teaching aids for physics.¹⁰⁶ In 1788, a teacher from Kaunas, V. Eismontas, built the

102 VUB, Cart. f., DC 72, l. Not Numbered.

103 Ibid.

104 VUB, Cart. f., DC 82, l. 1; and DC 96, l. 14.

105 VUB, Cart. f., DC 91, l. 11; DC 89, l. 8; DC 90, l. 19; DC 89, l. 10.

106 VUB, Cart. f., DC 82, l. 55.

necessary materials for surveying in order to enable his students to carry out the necessary field work required by the Educational Commission.¹⁰⁷ Of course, there were also lay teachers without any initiative. A teacher from the Vilnius School, Petras Kozuchovski, not having the necessary materials, chose not to use the experimental method and, not having a suitable textbook, used classical Latin excerpts in his teaching.¹⁰⁸ Also, it might be concluded that the first lay teachers were met with distrust and suspicion by the gentry, which would also have increased the difficulty of their work.¹⁰⁹ For example, Drazdauskis, the lay teacher at the district school in Kražiai had explained to the students in his class the natural causes for rain and storms. This lesson started a strong protest from the gentry's parents and even other teachers.¹¹⁰ Drazdauskis was accused of "demoralizing the youth" and in the academic year 1788-1789 his name disappeared from the payroll of the Educational Commission.¹¹¹ The general inspector Erdman, acting as representative of the Chief School, mentioned in his report on the Drazdauskis case that he was not very religious.¹¹²

107 VUB, Cart. f., DC 92, l. 19.

108 VUB, Cart. f., DC 96, l. 11.

109 Kamilla Mrozowska, op.cit., p. 93.

110 Irena Szybiak, op.cit., p. 223-224.

111 Tadeusz Mizia, Protokoly Posiedzen Komisji Edukacji Narodowej 1786-1794, p. 51, 112, 172.

112 VUB, Cart. f., DC 93, l. 8 through 10; also reproduced in Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 298-299. This is the 1788 visitation by Erdman.

In the schools, two groups developed among the teachers--the old ex-Jesuits, who were bound to the old methods, and the new lay teachers, and of course some younger ex-Jesuits and other religious. The ex-Jesuits of the Vilnius School, with the rhetoric teacher M. Klot at their head, did not want to submit to the demands of the Educational Commission.¹¹³ The lay teachers were united in that they, as evidenced by their work, understood the necessity for reform and supported the reforms of the Educational Commission.¹¹⁴

The lay teachers who graduated from the Teacher Institute of the Lithuanian Chief School were not to be assigned to schools supported by religious orders.¹¹⁵ Because of this policy the secularization process was limited to the nineteen schools that were supported directly by the Educational Commission. In the 1782-1783 school year all of the nineteen schools were staffed with religious personnel, for the most part ex-Jesuits.¹¹⁶ Ten years later, in 1792-1793, of the fifty-two teaching positions authorized, twenty-eight positions were filled by lay teachers (53.8%).¹¹⁷ In 1796, after the demise of the Educational Commission, a total of fifty-six teaching positions were found in those schools, with twenty-six positions being filled by lay teachers (46.4%).¹¹⁸

113 VUB, Cart. f., DC 88, I. 13.

114 Ibid.

115 A. Šidlauskas and J. Račkauskas, op.cit., p. 451.

116 VUB, Cart. f., DC 88 (Piramowicz School Inspection Report)

117 VUB, Cart. f., DC 25, I. 103-105.

118 VUB, Cart. f., DC 25, I, 107.

The Lithuanian schools achieved positive results in the secularization of education.

The salary of the lay teachers, as evidenced by the complaints of the young teachers to the general inspectors, was low.¹¹⁹ The new teachers were committed to teach for six years because of the scholarship they had received to attend the Chief School. The 1,050 gulden annual salary was not sufficient, since the teachers received only 400 gulden directly (600 gulden being deducted for room and board).¹²⁰ The Educational Commission, however, did not respond to the numerous complaints, and the salary was not raised. Only after the six-years' service was completed was the salary increased, and then at the rate of only 50 gulden every two years.¹²¹

In spite of the hardships, the general inspectors evaluated the work of the teachers more highly each year, and lay teachers such as Simonas Malevskis and Tomas Žicka were recommended for professorial positions at the Vilnius Chief School.¹²²

E. Teachers and the Statutes of the Educational Commission

The plans for teacher training and the rules governing teachers were prepared by Antoni Poplawski and Hugo Kollataj.¹²³ The suggested

119 VUB, Cart. f., DC 93, l. 16; and DC 96, l. 7.

120 Ustawy KEN-1783, p. 702.

121 Ibid. p. 702-703.

122 VUB, Cart. f., DC 30, l. 174.

123 Projects can be found in Kamilla Mrozowska, op.cit. p. 14-32.

reforms by Kollataj were primarily directed toward the instrumental ends which would enable the new teachers to receive a better education in the "difficult--hard subjects."¹²⁴ Poplawski, on the other hand, was more interested in the "expressive goals of education, viz. character training of teachers and their charges."¹²⁵ Not without influence in this matter was Grzegorz Piramowicz, the secretary of the Society for Elementary Books, who seemed to have placed an equal emphasis on the learning of the sciences as well as the development of character and morality. Piramowicz on the one side aimed to develop the pastoral functions of the teacher in the broad civic education for life, while stressing the need for strong methodological approaches to the new curriculum.¹²⁶ Piramowicz, who was an ex-Jesuit, implied in his plan a conciliatory role for the teacher: "defending the common man against the landowner or the priest, but also calming down popular discontents and tumults."¹²⁷ A commingling of the ideas of Poplawski, Kollataj, and Piramowicz resulted in the formulation of a number of regulations dealing with teachers. The collected regulations were published as various chapters of the Statutes of the Educational Commission.¹²⁸

124 R. Szreter, op.cit., p. 186.

125 Ibid.

126 Piramowicz was primarily concerned with the preparation of teachers for the elementary schools, but his thinking did include the secondary teachers as well. See: R. Szreter, op.cit., p. 128.

127 Ibid.

128 Ustawy KEN-1783 (Supra, footnote 16).

The basic rules applicable to secondary teachers were formulated by Antoni Poplawski. The rules were based on his Memorandum of 1777 which presented perceptively and comprehensively the structure of the teaching profession.¹²⁹ In fact, with the promulgation of the regulations governing teachers, the Educational Commission introduced a new and largely autonomous class into the social structure of the Commonwealth.¹³⁰ This new teaching class,¹³¹ according to the Statutes, was to be composed of all secondary school teachers, candidates, and professors at the chief schools.¹

Chapter I of the Statutes began: "The Commission warrants great honor and respect, and its gratitude, to the academic class because of its vocation and dedication, for its selectivity and the experience of its members, and for the service which it will render to the country."¹³³ In accordance with the Statutes the teachers were to enjoy a largely autonomous status, and were not subject to any governmental body other than the Educational Commission. The highest judge of the academic class was the rector of the Chief School. Furthermore, the Statutes continued, "The

129 "Projekt na Seminarium Profesorow, 1777," reproduced in full in Stanislaw Tync, ed., Antoni Poplawski: Pisma Pedagogiczne, Wroclaw, Polska Akademia Nauk, 1957, p. 147-228.

130 Mieczysława Mitera-Dobrowolska, "Komisja Edukacji Narodowej: 4 Reforma Szkol Glownych," in Lukasz Kurdybacha, ed., Historia Wychowania, Vol. I, Warszawa, Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1967, p. 678, She cites the 29th of September 1780 as the date of the decree.

131 Some authors refer to the "Academic Estate" vs. "Teaching Class" or "Academic Class." For example see: R. Szreter, op.cit., p. 187.

132 See "Stan Akademicki" in Ustawy KEN-1783, p. 576-580.

133 Ibid., p. 576.

communion of every academic community, which is one of its obligations, is to be manifested in the uniformity of the academic apparel, in communal living, and communal dining."¹³⁴ Every communal activity of the academic community was described in detail in the Statutes. For example, only the members of the academic community and their servants could reside in the communal houses. This requirement directly influenced the marital status of the teachers. Teachers were also forbidden to give private lessons and even more importantly to accept any duties or offices in the government. The extent to which the private life of the teacher was stifled is clearly seen in the following requirements set forth in the Statutes:

The rector, or prorector, will assign a room to everyone in the community, according to his age, his duties, and his accomplishments. He will see to it that on the outside door of each person's room there is a chart for the convenience of those individuals who would like to visit him. The chart should be surrounded with a paper which indicates where the inhabitant of the room might be at any time of the day, for example, church, school, home, library, etc. By every category, there must be a hole, in which a peg would be placed indicating where the inhabitant of the room is at any given time.¹³⁵

This item in the Statutes was not only for the convenience of visitors, but also served as a way of controlling the teachers.

A great deal of attention was given in the Statutes to the general dining table: "No one, not even the rector will receive food in his own room, except in case of illness."¹³⁶ Dining together was to be the

¹³⁴ Ustawy KEN-1783, p. 620.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 639-640. Chapter IX, para 6.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 621, Chapter VI.

basis for the unity among the academic community. This demand, however, was difficult to enforce. According to the 1783 reports of the general inspector Bienkowski¹³⁷ only five of the nineteen schools he visited had a general dining table. The five schools were those at Balstogė,¹³⁸ Gardinas,¹³⁹ Vilnius,¹⁴⁰ Kretinga,¹⁴¹ and Vyšniava.¹⁴²

As already noted, the Statutes forced a religious life style on the lay teachers. The young lay teachers disagreed and fought against this. They did not wish to wear cassocks, to pass their leisure time in the academic community houses, or to spend many hours in church;¹⁴³ instead, they wanted to have families and lead a secular life.¹⁴⁴ This, however, was considered immoral and not suitable for those in the teaching profession. During the end of the XVIIIth century the gentry believed the normal lay person's life was not appropriate for a teacher. The religious used all means in their power against those who would not adapt to the religious atmosphere of the academic communities. For

137 Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 97-117 or VUB, Cart. f., DC 89, I. 1-

138 Ibid., p. 103 or DC 89, I. 8 (30-31 May 1783)

139 Ibid., p. 106 or DC 89, I. 10 (9-10 Jun 1783)

140 Ibid., p. 108 or DC 89, I. 12 (14-23 Jun 1783)

141 Ibid., p. 112 or DC 89, I. 15 (3-5 July 1783)

142 Ibid., p. 116 or DC 89, I. 17 (23-24 July 1783)

143 See the inspection reports of J. Jaska in 1788 as well as those of A. Obrapalski of 1791 in Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 330-380; 522-549.

144 VUB, Cart. f., DC 111, I. Not Numbered.

example, on 4 April 1791, the rector of the Žemaičiai district, M. Velička, wrote to the rector of the Chief School in Vilnius, M. Počobut, that M. Šzulc, a teacher at the Kretinga School, was dressed in civilian clothes while paying a call to a bishop visiting in Kretinga.¹⁴⁵ The bishop was displeased with this behavior and, when he mentioned this to other priests, they complained that Šzulc was a person of loose morals, citing that he was disrespectful toward the Crucifix in the presence of pupils. The bishop promised to contact the Educational Commission.¹⁴⁶ After this incident the general inspector, A. Obrapalski, on a visit to the school in Kretinga on 6 June 1791,¹⁴⁷ ruled that the accusations against Michal Šzulc were unfounded.¹⁴⁸ The rector of the school nevertheless demanded that the general inspector remove Šzulc from the school.¹⁴⁹ In spite of the fact that M. Šzulc was rated very highly by other general inspectors,¹⁵⁰ as well as Obrapalski, he was transferred to the

145 Letter in VUB, Cart. f., DC 112. (Velička to Počobut)

146 Irena Sybiak, op.cit., p. 223 as well as VUB, Cart. f., DC 112

147 See "Raport wizyty generalnej szkol wydzialowych grodzienskich brzeskich, kroskich, podwydzialowych akademickich: wilenskich, wolkowyskich, bialskich, bialostockich, kretyngskich, kowienskich, podwydzialowych zakonnych: mereckich, wierzbolowskich, zyrowickich, odprawionej przez ks. Antoniego Obrapalskiego sw teologii doktora, kanonika inflanckiego, szkol litewskich generalnego wizytatora roku 1791 Szkole Głownej dany," in Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 540-542.

148 Ibid., p. 541-542. The general inspector investigated items relating to article 16, Chapter VI, of the Statutes. (Ustawy KEN-1783.)

149 Ibid., p. 542 or see VUB, Cart. f., DC 83, I. 19.

150 For example see the visitation report by J. Erdman, op.cit., p. 513-514. (Visit of 16-18 July 1790).

school in Vilnius the following school year.¹⁵¹

From the case of M. Šzulc it is seen that neither the prorector of the school, nor the general inspector, nor the rector of the Chief School, M. Počobut, defended the teacher who was accused unreasonably. After the 1791-1792 school year, Šzulc left teaching.¹⁵²

Life in the academic communities limited the family life of the lay teachers and forced celibacy upon them. An example of the problems encountered in these circumstances is the case of F. Abramowicz, a teacher of mathematics in Kretinga.¹⁵³ On 8 October 1789, Abramowicz wrote a letter to the rector of the Chief School in Vilnius, indicating his desire to get married:

In accepting the academic class, I had no vocation to enter the priesthood. Upon examining the regulations of the illustrious Educational Commission, nowhere did I find written that the academic class was tied to the single life. The examples we have at the Chief Schools in Warsaw and Vilnius, prove¹⁵⁴ that marriage does not interfere with the academic duties of its members. Besides that, the academic community at Kretinga will have no difficulty because of my marriage, if it should occur, since I will not be released from any of my academic duties, even my wife would not live with me...¹⁵⁵

151 See minutes of the meeting of the Educational Commission in Tadeusz Mizia, op.cit., p. 282, where he is listed as a teacher in the Third class of Vilnius District School.

152 His name can no longer be found in the budget of the Educational Commission for the year 1793-1794. See: Tadeusz Mizia, op.cit., p.353

153 Franciszek Abramowicz's teaching career is documented in the following reports of the general inspectors: F. Bienkowski, 22 June 1786; D. Pilchowski, 25 July 1787; J. Erdman, 14 July 1788; and J. Jaska, 30 June 1789. These reports are in Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 167, 274-275, 313-315, and 460-464.

154 Some of the University professors at the Chief Schools were married.

155 Letter in VUB, Cart. f., DC 111, I, Not Numbered.

Abramowicz continued his letter by stating that if his request for permission to marry were denied by the rector, he would request, due to his long service (eight years) and poor health, to be declared an invalid and paid a pension.¹⁵⁶ The record is unclear as to what finally happened to Abramowicz. It is known that he never received permission to get married,¹⁵⁷ and was transferred to Wiszniew during the school year 1789-1790,¹⁵⁸ where he remained through 1791.¹⁵⁹ After 1791 his name no longer appeared on the records of the Educational Commission.

A similar situation occurred in 1792, when one of the candidates at the Vilnius Chief School, upon completing his studies, announced his intention to marry. The rector of the Chief School protested, but the candidate, Geistaras, appealed to the Educational Commission.¹⁶⁰ The Commission did not want to lose a new lay teacher and granted him permission to marry, unless the Chief School could find some other reasons which would hinder his performance in the academic community.¹⁶¹ The Chief School reconsidered the case and decided that Geistaras was not

156 Ibid.

157 Irena Sybiak, op.cit., p. 224.

158 See minutes of the meetings of the Educational Commission in Tadeuz Mizia, op.cit., p. 172 (Kretinga), p. 214 (Wiszniew).

159 Ibid., p. 282.

160 Ignacy Giesztorf (Giejsztor) wrote to the Commission on 17 May 1792, See Tadeuz Mizia, op.cit., p. 316.

161 Ibid., p. 316. Decision of the Educational Commission of 9 June 1792, paragraph 4.

fit for teaching, not because of his impending marriage, but due to other faults.¹⁶² It appears that this decision was made in order that a precedent not be established.

The lay teachers were often accused of religious indifference, especially if they rarely received the Sacraments. The general inspector Erdman, for example, when visiting the schools not only collected information on the teachers' professional abilities, but also on how often they went to confession. In his inspection report for the school in Brzesc, Erdman noted that Maciej Wojtkiewicz went to confession only once a year.¹⁶³ This intolerant practice on the part of Erdman, although not seen in the reports of the other general inspectors, seemed to have its roots within the Educational Commission. In giving the general inspectors additional instructions in 1788, the Educational Commission directed them to pay attention to the moral habits of the teachers, as well as how they carried out their religious duties.¹⁶⁴ Later the Educational Commission made its instructions pertaining to religious practices even more stringent. The basic reason appears to have been the fear of the Educational Commission that any laxity on the part of the lay teachers could provoke the gentry against the schools. Thus, in

162 Irena Sybiak, op.cit., p. 225.

163 Raporty Gen. Wiz. Lit., p. 289. Report of Erdman for visit on 29 May through 2 June 1788.

164 See minutes of the meeting of the Educational Commission for 12 January 1788, item 15, in Tadeusz Mizia, op.cit., p. 124.

1789 the Educational Commission directed that all lay teachers go to confession at least once a month.¹⁶⁵

In general it appears that most of the teachers, both religious and lay, did adhere to the stringent regulations and rules of the Educational Commission. Those who did not, were dealt with in accordance with established procedures, by being punished or eliminated from the academic class. The Statutes of the Educational Commission of 1783 included rules which governed almost all aspects of a teacher's life.

F. Summary

The Educational Commission was considerably ahead of its time in the area of teacher education, especially the preparation of elementary school teachers. In the rest of Europe elementary teacher training, even in principle, was generally not accepted until the middle of the XIXth century. The Commission did not begin the training of secondary school teachers until the 1780's. This may have been a mistake in judgement since the Commission had this alternative open to it in the early years of its existence, but directed its efforts toward the revision of the curriculum and the preparation of new textbooks for that curriculum. The assumption was that the present teaching corps, which was composed of ex-Jesuits and other religious, would implement the revised curriculum. This did not occur, and as early as 1776 and 1777 reports began to arrive indicating that the resistance was great and other means would have to

¹⁶⁵ See minutes of the meeting of the Educational Commission for 9 March 1789, item Decimo sexto, in Tadeuz Mizia, op.cit., p. 194.

be taken to implement the curriculum. Two major efforts were launched by the Commission: (1) Systematic school inspections with general inspectors having the power to make on-the-spot corrections; and (2) the establishment of teacher training institutes for the preparation of new lay teachers, who would be trained in the new curriculum. Both of these efforts provided results.

The Commission, in order to impress the importance of the teacher in the implementation of the reforms, established a new societal class. This new class, the academic, was to be largely autonomous, have high entry standards, good pay, and high social status. It would also serve as an avenue for social mobility for the lower classes. It appears that the Commission may have been wise in its insistence that the teaching profession maintain all of the outward signs of the clergy. In this way it may have protected the new lay teachers from the hostility that was to result from its secularization efforts. Even though some lay teachers resented the quasi-clerical status, most accepted it and worked in a superior manner in the schools.

In summary it can be stated:

1. Teacher preparation was an organized and defined effort, having structure, finances, and a body of rules.
2. Lay teacher education was centered at the university level, using regular university personnel.
3. Lay teacher education in Lithuania under the Educational Commission began for the elementary level in 1775 and the secondary level in 1783.
4. The lay teachers were required to maintain the outward signs of the religious, i.e., communal living, cassocks, etc.

5. The Statutes of the Educational Commission set high standards for teachers, not only in respect to their teaching methodology and preparation, but in their morality as well.
6. The reform curricula of the Educational Commission was implemented to a large extent through the new lay teachers.
7. The fact that the Commission made use of the available ex-Jesuits in its work not only allowed the schools to keep functioning but many cases proved invaluable to the reforms.
8. Lay teachers were assigned to schools only after the death or retirement of an ex-Jesuit.
9. The curriculum for teacher preparation was for the most part individualized. The preparation did not include a specific course in theoretical pedagogy.
10. The teaching profession was open to all social classes. Representatives from the peasant, burgher, and gentry could be found in the schools.
11. Within a ten year period the Educational Commission was able to change the make-up of the teaching staffs in the district or secondary schools from 100 percent religious to 53.8 percent lay teachers.

The Lithuanian schools achieved positive results in the secularization of education because the reforms of the Educational Commission were well-suited to the directions in which the country was developing. The aims of the curriculum to related schools more closely to agricultural needs and everyday life did, in fact, meet the objectives of improving the farms, of establishing manufacturing industries, and increasing commerce. This school reform was considered a necessity by the progressive gentry and burghers, who strove for governmental reforms.

THE COMMISSION FOR NATIONAL EDUCATION
OF POLAND AND LITHUANIA (1773-1794):
A HISTORICAL STUDY OF SOME ASPECTS
OF ITS EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

by

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CHAPTER VII

SCHOOL VISITATIONS AND INSPECTIONS

The Commission for National Education realized that without proper supervision and inspection of the schools the educational reforms, no matter how ingenious or beneficial, would remain solely on the statute books. Therefore, early in its existence the Educational Commission began considering methods of providing proper supervision to fully implement these reforms in the schools of the Commonwealth.

As early as 1774 the Educational Commission issued its first regulation dealing with school inspections. This regulation was supplemented and enlarged and by 1783 became an integral part of the school Statutes of the Educational Commission. This chapter will discuss the first attempts of the Educational Commission to conduct school inspections, the provisions of the school Statutes of 1783 relating to school inspections, and the inspections conducted during the period 1784-1798 in the Lithuanian schools.

A. School Visitations Conducted by the Educational Commission

The idea that schools should be visited and inspected on a regular basis appears to have been on the minds of various members of the Educational Commission as early as 1773. The first concrete statement regarding school visitations and inspections can be found in the second organizational document issued by the Educational Commission on 21 February 1774. This early document was entitled: Ordynacja Rzeczypospolitej Edukacji

Narodowej.¹ One of the provisions of this document obligated every member of the Educational Commission to engage in school visitations and inspections.² The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was divided into educational departments each of which was then assigned to a member of the Educational Commission. A member of the Commission was to visit each of the schools in that department at least once a year.³ The Ordynacja did not delineate the procedures to be used in these visitations.

The second section of the Uniwersal, issued by the Educational Commission on 24 October 1773, contained a requirement for all school directors to submit to the Educational Commission a report detailing the functioning of the school and its pedagogical program.⁴ One of the members of the Commission, Ignacy Potocki, formulated a plan which contained detailed instructions for the utilization of these school status reports in connection with proposed school visitations.⁵ Potocki's plan, outlined in his Mysli o edukacji i instrukcji w Polsce ustanowic

1 "Ordynacja Komisji Rzeczypospolitej Edukacji Narodowej," (Rules of the Commission for National Education of the Commonwealth) in Zygmund Kukulski, Pierwiastkowe Przepisy Pedagogiczne Komisji Edukacji Narodowej z lat 1773-1776 (The Primary Educational Regulations of the Commission for National Education 1773-1776). Lublin, Nakladem Lubelskiego Komitetu Obchodu 150-ej Rocznicy Ustanowienia Komisji Edukacyjnej i Zgonu St. Konarskiego, 1923, p. 10-12.

2 Ibid., p. 11. The other provisions of this regulation were presented in full in Chapter III.

3 Ibid.

4 "Uniwersal Oglaszajacy Komisje Edukacyjna," in Z. Kukulski, op. cit., p. 8.

5 Ignacy Potocki, Secretary of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and member of the Commission from 17-X-1773 through 26-III-1791.

sie majacej,⁶ proposed that school reports should be short, but complete and clear. He further proposed that all rectors should report on school operations and status as well as on the functioning of their prefects and teachers. Likewise all teachers were to report about their students. The reports were also to include statements regarding student health, behavior and discipline. Potocki was of the opinion that these reports should then be used by the school inspectors during visitations. The main purpose of the visitations would be, according to Potocki, the verification of the school status reports.⁷

With the school status reports on hand and the reform plan proposed by Potocki before them,⁸ the Educational Commission made its first decision concerning school visitations on 6 May 1774.⁹ According to this decision the members of the Educational Commission were to visit the schools

6 Ignacy Potocki, "Mysli o edukacji i instrukcji w Polsce ustanowic sie majacej," (Thoughts about education and teaching which should be adopted in Poland) in Kamilla Mrozowska, ed., Pisma i Projekty Pedagogiczne doby Komisji Edukacji Narodowej (Writings and Projects dealing with Education submitted to the Commission for National Education), Wroclaw, Polska Akademia Nauk, Komitet nauk pedagogicznych, Ossolineum, 1973, p. 156-168.

7 Ibid., p. 166-168. Contained in Section Three of his plan, which is entitled: Jakim sposobem utrzymywac sie powinny juz ustanowione szkoly, co utrzymuje szkoly? Dochody, nauczyciele, uczniowie, dozor (By which means should already established schools maintain themselves. Who supports schools? Finances, teachers, students, and supervision).

8 Minutes of the meeting of the Educational Commission of 24 March 1774 indicate that the Commission received the Potocki proposal. See: Mieczyslawa Mitera-Dobrowolska, comp., Protokoly Posiedzen Komisji Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1785 (Minutes of the Meetings of the Commission for National Education 1773-1785), Wroclaw, Polska Akademia Nauk, Pracownia Dziejow Oswiaty, 1973, p. 19. See 24 Martii, item 1^o and footnote 23 on that page. Please note that all references to the minutes of the meetings of the Educational Commission will be cited as Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785.

9 Protokoly Posiedzen KWN 1773-1785, See minutes of 6 May 1774, item 8^o, p. 22.

within each of their departments¹⁰ before the summer vacation. If a Commission member could not visit the schools, due to another commitment, he was to delegate this responsibility to an alternate.

The second major decision regarding school visitations and inspections was made at the meeting of the Educational Commission held on May 27, 1774.¹¹ As a result of the discussions at that meeting a formalized set of rules was adopted by the Commission on June 20, 1774.¹² These rules, entitled: Instrukcja dla Wizytatorów,¹³ defined the procedures to follow in making school visits. The introductory statement to the rules elucidates some of the reasons for school visits:

In an effort to become better acquainted with the status of the schools, and later operate them under its own discretion,

10 Each of the schools in the Commonwealth was assigned to an educational department, which was under the care of a member of the Educational Commission. The distribution of the schools into departments and the Commission members responsible for each can be found in Hanna Pohoska, Wizytatorowie Generalni Komisji Edukacji Narodowej: Monografia z Dziejow Administracji Szkolnej Komisji Edukacji Narodowej (The General Inspectors of the Commission for National Education: Monograph on the history of school administration under the Commission for National Education), Lublin, Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1957, p. 293-295.

11 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, See minutes of 27 May 1774, item 4^o, p. 23

12 The 20th of June 1774 is held as the date of these instructions, but that is only the date that the rules were officially signed. From the 27th of May 1774 meeting, the rules were again discussed at the Commission meeting of 3 June 1774 and then finalized and signed on the 20th of June 1774. See: Zygmunt Kukulski, op. cit., p. XCIV.

13 These instructions are reproduced in Zygmunt Kukulski, op.cit., p. 15-17. The original set of these instructions can be found in the Warsaw Archiwum Glowne, E. 33 b, folio 3-4. These instructions can also be found in Teodor Wierzbowski, Komisya Edukacyi Narodowej i jej Szkoły w Koronie 1773-1794, Part 24, III: Raporty generalnych wizytatorów z roku 1774, Warszawa, Druk Piotra Laskauera, 1906, p. 51-53.

the Educational Commission has appointed a visitor for each province from its own ranks. Trusting in both his judgement and ability, the Commission sends Prince Ignas Massalskis, Bishop of Vilnius, to Lithuania.¹⁴

The first paragraph of the Rules repeated the Commission's decision of 6 May 1774 requiring each of the Commission members to visit the schools in his department. Although the Rules allowed a Commission member to appoint a sub-delegate to visit the schools, they also emphasized that the members themselves should visit the more important schools.¹⁵ This right to delegate the visitation responsibility can be fully justified in light of most of the Commission members being men of high responsibility in other areas as well.

The second paragraph of the Rules specified responsibilities of the visitor regarding school finances and ex-Jesuit properties. The visitor was to secure a copy of the censor's report for the school property¹⁶ and verify the accuracy of the report.¹⁷ Furthermore, any problems or misunderstandings originating from the censor's listings were to be adjudicated by the visitor. This paragraph seems to indicate

14 Zygmunt Kukulski, op. cit., p. 15. See also: Jozef Lewicki, Ustawodawstwo Szkolne za Czasow Komisji Edukacji Narodowej Rozporzadzenia: Ustawy Pedagogiczne i Organizacyjne (1773-1793) (Les reglements scolaires au temps de la Commission de l'Education Nationale), Krakow, Nakladem M. Arcta w Warszawie, 1925, p. 12.

15 "Instrukcja dla Wizytatorów" (Instructions to Visitors), first paragraph, in Zygmunt Kukulski, op. cit., p. 15 and Jozef Lewicki, op.cit., p. 12.

16 See Chapter III: Establishment and Organization; Section E. Financial Operations under the Distributing Commissions.

17 "Instrukcja dla Wizytatorów," second paragraph, in Zygmunt Kukulski, op. cit., p. 15 and Jozef Lewicki, op. cit., p. 12.

that the Commission intended the visitors to monitor the work of the censors and that it did not fully delegate all responsibility for financial operations to the Distributing Commissions.

The Rules further empowered the visitors to judge the suitability of the ex-Jesuits for teaching positions in the schools.¹⁸ The visitors were also empowered to appoint the rectors, prefects, and teachers, in all ex-Jesuit institutions. They were also to determine which of the ex-Jesuits could continue to live in the school buildings.¹⁹ In parish schools the visitors were instructed to arrange with the local bishop for the independent functioning of both religious and educational activities in the schools.²⁰ The visitors were also, after appointing the various school personnel, to present to the personnel the various regulations of the Commission and set salaries in accordance with the following schedule:²¹

District School Rectors:	8,000 gulden
Sub-District School Rectors:	4,000 gulden
Prefects:	3,000 gulden
Teachers:	2,000 gulden ²²

18 "Instrukcja dla Wizytatorów," third paragraph, in Zygmunt Kukulski, op. cit., p. 15 and Jozef Lewicki, op. cit., p. 12.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 "Instrukcja dla Wizytatorów," in Jozef Lewicki, op. cit., p. 14.

22 The 2,000 gulden salary for teachers did not materialize. Finally in 1783 the Statutes, Section XXIII, redefined the salary and established a scale which increased with the number of years in service.

These same instructions to school visitors also detailed a series of reporting procedures that the schools were to follow.²³ This section of the Rules required that each parish school report its status to the rector of the district school. The rector of the district school was to report to the rector of the chief district school, and he in turn was to report to the university and the Educational Commission concurrently.²⁴ This procedure appears to indicate that even as early as 1774 the Educational Commission was moving in the direction of a hierarchical and centralized system of state education.²⁵ The school visitors were to check that each of the schools was, in fact, preparing and dispatching the required reports.²⁶

The original plan presented to the Educational Commission by Ignacy Potocki²⁷ also found its way into these instructions. The Rules contained a series of reporting requirements: (1) Rector's Report about Teachers;²⁸ (2) Prefect's Report about Directors;²⁹ (3) Teacher's Report about First-Year

23 "Instrukcja dla Wizytatorów," ninth paragraph, in Jozef Lewicki, op. cit., p. 13.

24 "Instrukcja dla Wizytatorów," tenth paragraph, in Jozef Lewicki, op. cit., p. 13.

25 Further speculation on this matter is made by Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., p. 19.

26 Jozef Lewicki, op. cit., p. 13.

27 "Myśli o edukacji i instrukcji i Polszcze ustanowić się mającej," op. cit., p. 166-168.

28 "Raport Rektora o Nauczycielach," in Zygmunt Kukulski, op. cit., p. 20.

29 "Raport Prefekta o Dyrektorach," in Zygmunt Kukulski, op. cit., p. 20.

Students;³⁰ (4) Teacher's Report about Second-Year Students;³¹ and (5) Teacher's Report about Third-Year Students.³² The format and information required in these reports much resembled the Potocki plan. The visitors were instructed by the Commission to ascertain the preparation and accuracy of these reports.

It should be noted that even though the 1774 Rules for School Visitations contained thirteen specific instructions they did not specify:

(1) how long the visit should take; (2) how often the visits should be made; (3) which time of year the visitations should take place; or (4) exactly how the visitation should be made. As a result of these deficiencies many of the schools were not visited during the 1774-1781 period.

Two days after the approval of the Instrukcja dla Wizytatorów, on 22 June 1774, the Commission assigned to each member a specific school area which he was to visit and inspect.³³ The areas were distributed as follows:

Ignacy Massalski	Lithuania
Joachim Chreptowicz	Lithuania
Michał Poniatowski	Plock, Sandomiersk, Krakow
August Sulkowski	Wielkopolska
Antoni Poninski	Wielkopolska
Ignacy Potocki	Lubelskie, Podlasie
Andrzej Zamoyski	Mazowsze
Adam Czartoryski	Braclaw, Kijev, Wolyn, Podole

³⁰ "Raport Nauczycielow Pierwszej Szkoły o Uczniach," in Kukulski, op. cit., p. 21.

³¹ "Raport Nauczycielow Drugiej Szkoły o Uczniach," in Kukulski, op. cit., p. 21.

³² "Raport Nauczycielow Trzeciej Szkoły o Uczniach," in Kukulski, op. cit., p. 21.

³³ Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, See minutes of 22 June 1774, item 4^o, p. 25-26.

This was the first territorial distribution of the schools and was used for a number of years not only for school visitations, but for all other administrative matters.

The first school visitations under the new Rules began in June of 1774. These visitations were conducted by either the members of the Commission or their delegates.³⁴ During the time period 1774-1781 a number of school visitations were made by either the members of the Commission or their delegates (See Table X). The most conscientious of the Commission members was Adam Czartoryski, who made a total of five visits personally and had thirty-one visits made by his delegates.³⁵ The report of the 1780 visitations to the Ukrainian and Podolian territories made by Adam Czartoryski was so complete and detailed, that this report was later used by the Commission as the model report for the conduct of school visitations.³⁶ The Commission also used the Czartoryski report in the formulation of the new Instructions to School Inspectors contained in the Statutes.³⁷ Some members, like Joachim Chreptowicz,³⁸ who shared the visiting responsibilities for the Lithuanian territories with Bishop Ignacy Massalski did not present a single formal report to the

34 Ibid., item 2^o, page 25, and Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., p. 21.

35 "Wykaz Wizytacji w Latach 1774-1781: IV Department Adama Czartoryskiego," in Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., p. 302.

36 "Raport wizyty departamentu szkół ukraińskich i podolskich przez J0. Ks. Generała ziem podolskich w r. 1780, 23 maja zaczętej, a 14 lipca zakończonej," Tync, op.cit., p. 38-50.

37 Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., p. 22.

38 "Wykaz Wizytacji w Latach 1774-1781: V Department Ignacego Massalskiego i Joachima Chreptowicza," in Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., p. 303.

VISITS MADE BY MEMBERS OF THE EDUCATIONAL COMMISSION
OR THEIR DELEGATES DURING THE TIME PERIOD 1774-1781

Commission Member Responsible	1774	1775	1776	1777	1778	1779	1780	1781	Personal Visits	Delegate Visits	Total Visits
Ignacy Massalski ^d	0 ^g	1		4					1	4 ^f	5
Joachim Chreptowicz ^e						-			0	0	0
Michał Poniatowski	7	1	1	3	1				0	13	13
August Sulkowski ^c	21	1							0	22	22
Antoni Poninski ^a	3	-							3	0	3
Michał Mniszech ^b						-		-	0	0	0
Ignacy Potocki	3		-						1	2	3
Andrzej Zamoyski									0	0	0
Adam Czartoryski	16				8	7	5	-	5	31	36

NOTES: a Antoni Poninski served on the Commission only up to 7-IV-1777 and had the shared territorial responsibility with August Sulkowski.
b Michał Mniszech began serving on the Commission 11-IV-1777 as a replacement for Antoni Poninski. He made no visits during 1777-1781.
c August Sulkowski was primarily responsible for the visitations in the assigned territory. Thus the delegated visitations are carried under his name.
d Ignacy Massalski shared responsibility for visitations in the Lithuanian territories with Joachim Chreptowicz, but he was the prime visitor.
e Joachim Chreptowicz shared the responsibility for visitations in the Lithuanian territories with Ignacy Massalski.
f The four delegated visitations were not at the request of Massalski, but under orders from the Educational Commission. Józef Wybicki was the appointed visitor.
g Massalski did visit a number of schools in 1774. This fact is reflected in the minutes of the Educational Commission, but no record of the report or the schools he visited can be located.

SOURCE: "Wykaz Wizytacji w Latach 1774-1781," in Hanna Pohoska, Wizytatorowie Generalni Komisji Edukacji Narodowej: Monografia z Dziejów Administracji Szkolnej Komisji Edukacji Narodowej (The General Inspectors of the Commission for National Education. Monograph on the history of school administration under the Commission for National Education), Lublin, Towarzystwo Naukowe Katalickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1957, p. 301-303.

Educational Commission, even though it is known that he personally visited a number of schools.³⁹ In 1774 Bishop Massalski visited a number of Lithuanian schools. The minutes of the Educational Commission record the fact that he presented a detailed report of the visits,⁴⁰ but up to now that report has not been found in the Archives of the Educational Commission.⁴¹ It is also known that another member of the Educational Commission, Stanislaw Poniatowski,⁴² made some visits to the Lithuanian schools, but it is not known which schools he visited.⁴³

The only recorded visits to the Lithuanian schools during the period 1774-1781 were as follows:

1. 1777 visits by the General Inspector Jozef Wybicki to (a) Vilnius; (b) Gardinas; (c) Kaunas; and (d) Merkinė⁴⁴
2. 1775 visit by Bishop Massalski to Gardinas.⁴⁵

Other visits may have been made to the Lithuanian schools during this time period, but no records of such visits could be found.

39 Ibid., see footnote 2, p. 303.

40 The report was presented to the Educational Commission at its meeting of 24-VIII-1774. See Protokoly Posiedzen KWN 1773-1785, 24 Augusti 1774, item 1^o, p. 31.

41 See Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., p. 22, footnote 24.

42 Stanislaw Poniatowski became a member of the Educational Commission on 2 November 1776. During the meeting of the Educational Commission held on 26 November 1776 Poniatowski was appointed as a visitor to the schools of Lithuania. See Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, 26 Listopada 1776, item 5^o, p. 75.

43 See Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., p. 303, footnote 2.

44 Jozef Wybicki (1747-1822) visited under orders from the Educational Commission. See Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, 27 Maja 1777, item 1^o, p. 85.

45 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, 17 Decembris 1775, item 5^o, p. 60; and Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., p. 73 and 303.

As can be seen from an examination of Table X, the majority of school visitations made by members of the Educational Commission or their delegates were conducted in 1774. After 1774 the number of school visits declined. Some members did not make any visits after that year, while some, like Adam Czartoryski, continued making visits through 1780. The Commission members were heavily engaged in a variety of administrative matters as well as almost continuous meetings of the Educational Commission. It should be noted that their membership on the Commission was not their only responsibility. Most were individuals with high governmental or ecclesiastical responsibilities. As a result the majority of the schools in Poland and Lithuania were never visited during the seven year period. As early as 1774 a suggestion was made in the Commission that school visitors be hired and paid by the Educational Commission.⁴⁶ This proposal would have eliminated the need for the members of the Commission to visit the schools or appoint delegates to visit for them. Although this proposal was considered, the Commission finally decided to utilize these proposed funds for paying teachers in the parish schools and for providing support to local pastors for the use of their facilities.⁴⁷

As a result of the various initial visitations by the members of the Educational Commission a number of suggestions were presented to the Commission

⁴⁶ Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, 29 Augusti 1774, item 7^o, p. 33.

⁴⁷ Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, 23 Decembra 1774, item 4^o, p. 44.

for adoption as supplements to the Rules of 20 June 1774. These suggestions included: (1) that each visitor should pay special attention to the textbooks in use in the schools, especially in the parish schools; (2) that a determination should be made as to the suitability of the teaching staff to implement the proposed curricular reform; (3) that the visitor should make revisions in the curriculum so that it more closely resembles the thinking of the Educational Commission.⁴⁸ These additional responsibilities of the visitors expanded even further their authority, especially in matters of curriculum.

The provisions of the 20 June 1774 Rules for School Visitors contained procedures which indicated that the Commission was planning a centralized and hierarchical system of state education.⁴⁹ Some authors claim, e.g., Pohoska,⁵⁰ that the genesis for this centralized and hierarchical system may rest in the work of Samuel DuPont de Nemours.⁵¹ Whether his influence or ideas were instrumental is yet to be determined, since his plan was submitted to the Commission on 30 September 1774, while the Rules were already approved and signed by the 20th of June 1774.⁵²

48 Teodor Wierzbowski, Protokoly Posiedzen, Part 37: Komisji Edukacji Narodowej z lat 1773-1777, 5 December 1774, p. 37.

49 "Instrukcja dla Wizytatorów," tenth paragraph, in Jozef Lewicki, op. cit., p. 13

50 Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., p. 27

51 Samuel DuPont de Nemours (1739-1817) first appears in the Minutes of the Educational Commission on the 6th of May 1774 when the Educational Commission voted to approve a salary for him and a Mikaloj Gintowt-Dziewialtowski.

52 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, 30 Septembris 1774, item 10, p. 39.

In 1776 two important decisions of the Sejm had an effect on the continued school visitations by members of the Educational Commission. These decisions were: (1) to turn over all ex-Jesuit Property directly to the control of the Educational Commission; and (2) to expand the membership of the Educational Commission from eight members to twelve.⁵³ These decisions of the Sejm placed heavy administrative burdens on the members of the Commission and thus forced them to curtail their school visits. But, these same decisions had very important implications for the conduct of school visits, for now the Commission was directly responsible for auditing school finances as well as adjudicating any problems arising from financial dealings. The delegated school visitors began to ask for additional help in the conduct of school visits.⁵⁴ The Commission responded on 26 November 1776 by deciding that all members of the Commission should visit schools regularly and further expanded the requirements for visitations to all schools, not just those supported by the Educational Commission.⁵⁵ The Commission made a special request of Stanislaw Poniatowski to visit the schools of Lithuania.⁵⁶ Thus, with all of the additional administrative burdens before them, the Commission members instead of limiting the visitations, expanded the visitations to all schools in the

53 For a complete discussion of this refer back to Chapter III: Establishment and Organization of the Educational Commission, Sections D and E.

54 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, 8 Listopada 1776, item 8^o, p. 73.

55 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, 26 Listopada 1776, item 5^o, p. 75.

56 Ibid.

Commonwealth and further emphasized that each and every member of the Commission engage in school visitations. Judging from the number of school visits made in 1776 and 1777 (see Table X) it can be ascertained that these instructions from the Commission had very little impact on the continued school visitation plans.

By 1777 a new conceptualization of the school visitor emerged. The genesis of this new conceptualization was a developing problem with the Lithuanian districts. The Commission realized that the vast network of schools in the Lithuanian districts, under the control of its own-Chairman, Bishop of Vilnius, Ignacy Massalski, was not being visited. Furthermore, the Commission was receiving a number of complaints from various school rectors, teachers, etc. that they were not being paid their salaries, or that the salaries were less than what the Commission had established.⁵⁷ Some individuals were being paid up to a year late.⁵⁸ Certain irregularities appeared in regard to the Parish School Teacher Training Seminary, where students even complained that they were not being fed properly.⁵⁹ The Commission, it should be noted, did not appropriate monies for the Parish School Teacher Training Seminary in 1776,⁶⁰ because of the reported irregularities. The problems with the

57 For a complete discussion of this matter see Teodor Wierzbowski, Szkoły Parafjalne w Polsce i na Litwie za czasów Komisji Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1794, Kraków, , Skład Główny w Książnicy Polskiej w Warszawie, 1921, p. 94-103.

58 Ibid., p. 100.

59 See the memoirs of Jozef Wybicki reprinted in Stanislaw Tync, Komisja Edukacji Narodowej, Biblioteka Narodowa, Nr. 126, Seria 1, Wroclaw, Ossolineum, 1954, p. 510. This reprinted section is entitled: "Sprawki Massalskiego," and was first printed in Pamiętniki Józefa Wybickiego (Memoirs of Jozef Wybicki) published in 1840.

60 Protokoły Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 62-78 (Minutes for 1776).

Parish School Teacher Training Seminary and various other complaints reaching the Educational Commission from school rectors prompted the Commission to reach a decision on 27 May 1777 to send to Lithuania two school visitors: Jozef Wybicki and K. Narbutas, both members of the Society for Elementary Books.⁶¹

With the decision of the Educational Commission to send school visitors to the Lithuanian schools the Commission established another distinct type of school visitor. Until this time there were only two types: (1) members of the Educational Commission; and (2) individuals delegated to visit by members of the Educational Commission. Now emerged a third type which will be referred to as General Inspectors.⁶² These individuals were appointed by the Educational Commission and had all of the power and responsibility vested in them to enforce the regulations of the Educational Commission. A new problem arose in connection with the appointment of the General Inspectors. This problem centered around the Rules of 20 June 1774, which were written for the use of the members of the Educational Commission but were not directly applicable to the General Inspectors. The Commission acted swiftly and adopted a new supplemental set of rules for school visitations on 30 May 1777.⁶³ It appears, however, that these Rules were developed and formulated even before the General Inspectors

61 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, 27 Maja 1777, item 1^o and 2^o, p. 85-86.

62 The term General Inspectors is being used here instead of General Visitors in order to make a stronger distinction between roles, especially for those General Inspectors operating under the Statutes of 1783.

63 The supplemental set of rules was signed 30 May 1777 but actually approved 27 May 1777. See Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, 27 Maja 1777, item 2^o, footnote 40, p. 86.

were ever selected. The appointment of the General Inspectors placed a different perspective on the implementation of the basic plan to visit each of the schools in the Commonwealth.

The new supplemental rules were entitled: Instrukcja wyznaczonym do wizytowania szkół and were dated 30 May 1777.⁶⁴ The supplemental rules totaled thirteen items divided into two parts: (1) rules pertaining to the administration of the schools; and (2) rules pertaining to financial management. The rules governing school administration encompasses eight items, while the rules for financial management had five items.

The first part of the 1777 Rules supplemented administrative requirements specified in the 1774 Rules. The major supplementation consisted of the following points:

- a. The general inspector had to determine whether the rector and the prefect were effectively supervising the performance of teachers and directors.
- b. The general inspector had to determine if the teachers and professors were working in accordance with the requirements established by the Educational Commission.
- c. The general inspector had to obtain a copy of the various reports⁶⁵ being completed by the school and verify the accuracy of these reports.

⁶⁴ A copy of this new supplementation is reproduced in Jozef Lewicki, op. cit., p. 138-139. The original copy of these instructions is found in the Archiwum Głowne (Warszawa), A. 14, folio 77-80.

⁶⁵ As reproduced in Zygmunt Kukulski, op. cit., p. 20-21.

- d. The general inspector had to check the curriculum of the school and verify if it was in accordance with the prescribed curriculum.⁶⁶
- e. The general inspector had to determine the number of teachers in the school, their capabilities, and dedication to their responsibilities.
- f. The general inspector had to determine the teachers' and the students' degree of religious practice.
- g. The general inspector had to check on student progress by (1) attending classroom instruction and observing class participation, (2) conducting examinations of students in a variety of subject matter areas, (3) checking books being used and work completed by the students.
- h. The general inspector had to pay special attention to the identification of gifted students. He had to record any gifted students, by name, in his records. He also had to check on the status of the school library.

These were additions to the original thirteen rules published in 1774.

Each of the above enumerated rules supplemented one of the original rules.

Although the second part of the 1777 Rules partially supplemented the original 1774 Rules, for the most part they were new additions dealing with financial matters which became a primary concern of the Educational Commission after the demise of the Distributing Commissions of 1776.

⁶⁶ Table outlining the curriculum to be followed is reproduced in Zygmunt Kukulski, op. cit., p. 18-19. A translation of that table is published in J. A. Račkauskas, "The First National System of Education in Europe: The Commission for National Education of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania 1773-1784," in Lituanus, Vol. 14, No. 4 (1968), p.37.

In General the rules governing financial matters consisted of the following main points:

- a. The general inspector had to check the maintenance of the lists of ex-Jesuit properties, inspect the income for the two year period beginning with 24 June 1774 and ending with 23 June 1776.
- b. The general inspector had to examine the expenditures made by the school and/or projected for the period 24 June 1776 - 23 June 1777.
- c. The general inspector had to examine and approve the proposed budget for the period 24 June 1777 - 23 June 1778.
- d. The general inspector had to require that a complete inventory of all property, school and church, be taken and maintained, and that a proposed budget for major repairs and renovations be established.
- e. The general inspector had to inform and instruct the school rector and prorector as to their duties in maintaining financial accountability.⁶⁷

When the first Rules issued in 1774 are compared with the second Rules issued in 1777 it is found that the first set contained only general statements regarding financial and administrative matters but emphasized the organizing role of the visitor. The first Rules emphasized that the visitor should appoint the school administration and engage in a more fact-finding mission, while the supplementation of 1777 was more didactic and emphasized to a much greater degree educational matters.

⁶⁷ The 1777 supplementation is more fully discussed in Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., p. 33-35.

The Commission's Chairman, Bishop of Vilnius, Massalski did not attend any of the Commission meetings deliberating the 1777 supplementation to the Rules for School Visitors.⁶⁸ The Commission's efforts to identify and appoint the General Visitors, Wybicki and Narbutas, were also undertaken without the presence of Bishop Massalski.⁶⁹

With the appointment on 27 May 1777 of Wybicki and Narbutas the Commission undertook its first systematic school evaluation effort, Wybicki, a trusted member of the Society for Elementary Books, was ordered to inspect the schools under the jurisdiction of Massalski.⁷⁰ This assignment was significant in two ways: (1) It revealed the relationship of the Educational Commission to its Chairman by casting doubt on the Chairman's ability to care for the schools under his control; and (2) It was significant in terms of educational reform by initiating the orderly inspection of schools under the Educational Commission. Wybicki, even though not a trained educator, was perceptive and understood the essence of the reforms being initiated by the Educational Commission. He also understood the need for school reform and was convinced that educational reform would eventually lead to social and political reforms as well.⁷¹

68 It appears that Bishop Massalski was not present because the inspections proposed by the Commission were of the schools under his care. For a further discussion see Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., p. 34-35.

69 A detailing of the procedures used by the Commission to select the first General Inspectors is presented in Teodor Wierzbowski, op. cit., p.95-96.

70 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, 27 Maja 1777, item 1^o and 2^o, p. 85-86.

71 The importance Wybicki attached to his new responsibility is revealed in his memoirs. See: "Pamietniki Jozefa Wybickiego" in Stanislaw Tync, op. cit., p. 507-514. See also Jozef Wybicki, Zycie moje (My Life), Krakow, Biblioteka Narodowa, Serija I, Nr. 106, xxxiv-355p.

Jozef Wybicki was given two specific instructions by the Educational Commission: (1) to visit the schools in Lithuania and inspect them in accordance with the new regulations and (2) to look into the financial dealings of Bishop Massalski.⁷² In an attempt to comply with the request of the Educational Commission Wybicki visited the former Jesuit colleges of Vilnius, Gardinas, Kaunas and Merkinė.⁷³ There he found gross financial problems and verified that most of the complaints being received from the Lithuanian schools by the Educational Commission were, in fact, correct.⁷⁴ He found that the schools he visited were in need of major repairs, that the teachers were not being paid on a regular basis,⁷⁵ that monies appropriated by the Commission for the purpose of preparing teachers for the parish schools were being misappropriated, and that in general the condition of the schools was very poor.⁷⁶ Wybicki completed his inspection in October of 1777 and returned to Warsaw, where on October 18, 20, and 21 he presented his findings to the Commission.⁷⁷ Bishop Massalski was present during Wybicki's entire report.⁷⁸ After Wybicki completed his report, Bishop Massalski officially thanked Wybicki and commented that the report was excellent.⁷⁹

72 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, 28 Maja 1777, item 4^o, p. 86.

73 Teodor Wierzbowski, Komisya Edukacyi Narodowej i jej szkoly w Koronie, 1773-1794, Raporty Generalnych Wizytatorow, Part 25, Raporty z lat 1774-1782, Warszawa, Druk Piotra Laskauera, 1906.

74 "Pamietniki Jozefa Wybickiego," in Stanislaw Tync, op. cit., p. 508-509.

75 Ibid., p. 510.

76 Ibid., See also Teodor Wierzbowski who presents in detail the conditions at the schools in Vilnius: Szkoly Parafjalne w Polsce i na Litwie za czasow Komisji Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1794, p. 97-105.

77 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 90-91.

78 "Pamietniki Jozefa Wybickiego," in Stanislaw Tync, op. cit., p. 513.

79 Ibid.

After Wybicki's inspection of the Lithuanian schools there were no further inspections or even a mention of inspections until the 13th of June 1780.⁸⁰

It should be mentioned that Wybicki was a member of the gentry⁸¹ and thus was in a delicate position in terms of his charges against Massalski. Even though the Commission received the Wybicki report favorably and then praised him for his efforts, the Commission took no action against the Prince-Bishop. Even Wybicki in his memoirs admits that he reported the condition of the schools honestly, but that he could not directly accuse the Bishop for the poor status of the schools.⁸² Wybicki contended that he placed the blame for the entire problem on one of Massalski's administrators.⁸³

The Commission's appointment of K. Narbutas to visit the Lithuanian schools along with Wybicki appears to have been only a diversionary tactic used by the Educational Commission to mask Wybicki's mission.⁸⁴ An examination of the minutes of the Society for Elementary Books reveals that Narbutas attended all of the meetings of the Society during 1777⁸⁵ and there is no mention of his visits in to any schools in Lithuania in the records of the Educational Commission.⁸⁶

80 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, 13 czerwca 1780, p. 130-135. This is the date for the adoption of the major structural reform in school visitations and inspections.

81 See Hipolit Stupnicki, ed., Herbarz Polski i Imionospis..., Lwow, 1862, Tom III, p. 202-203.

82 "Pamietniki Jozefa Wybickiego," in Stanislaw Tync, op. cit., p. 512.

83 Ibid., p. 513. Wybicki accused Jozef Dubynski, Treasurer of the Educational Commission's Fund for the Lithuanian Schools.

84 Thus maintains Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., p. 35.

85 Teodor Wierzbowski, Protokoly Posiedzen Towarzystwa do Ksiag Elementarnych 1775-1792, Warszawa, Druk Piotra Laskauera, 1908, 118p. See the year 1777.

86 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 79-95, See Minutes of 1777.

During the time period after the Wybicki visits to Lithuania (1777-1781) members of the Educational Commission or their delegates made only 21 visits. These visits were made by Michal Pniatowski (1 visit) and Adam Czartoryski (20 visits).⁸⁷ No further visits were made to the Lithuanian schools during this time period.

B. School Inspections in the Statutes of the Educational Commission (1783)

Chapter IV of the Statutes of the Educational Commission contains all of the various provisions governing school inspections.⁸⁸ This chapter of the Statutes is based on the 1774 Rules for School Visitors, the 1777 Supplementation, and a number of other decisions made by the Educational Commission following the Wybicki inspection of the Lithuanian schools. The first major decision made regarding school inspections came as a result of the positive efforts of Hugo Kollataj⁸⁹ to bring the University of Krakow under more direct control of the Educational Commission. Throughout the period 1774-1780 the Educational Commission met with great resistance from the universities in terms of basic control over university governance. This resistance was especially strong at the University of Krakow.⁹⁰ Once the

87 "Wykaz Wizytacji w Latach 1774-1781," in Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., p. 301-303. See also Teodor Wierzbowski, Raporty Generalnych Wizytatorów, Part 25, Raporty z lat 1774-1782.

88 Reproduced in Stanislaw Tync, Komisja Edukacji Narodowej, p.605-612.

89 Member of the Society for Elementary Books from 1776 to 1786, delegated by the Commission to visit and inspect the University of Krakow by the Educational Commission. See: Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, 1 kwietnia 1777, item 3^o, p. 84-85.

90 The problem was finally resolved with the appointment of Hugo Kollataj as the Rector of the University of Krakow. The problems Kollataj had at the University of Krakow are fully presented by Mirosława Chamcowna, Uniwersytet Jagiellonski w dobie Komisji Edukacji Narodowej: Vol. I Szkoła Główna Koronna w Okresie Wizyty i Rektoratu Hugona Kollataja 1777-1786 (The University of Krakow during the visit and rectorate of Hugo Kollataj 1777-1786), Warszawa, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1957, p. 57-148.

basic resistance from both universities (Vilnius and Krakow) was abated, the Educational Commission initiated a reorganization of the entire school structure.⁹¹

The reorganization began on 13 June 1780 when the Educational Commission made its first significant decision regarding schools and school inspections.⁹² The Commission decided that all schools in Poland would be under the control of the University of Krakow and that all schools in Lithuania would be under the control of the University of Vilnius. The Commission further decided that the University of Krakow would have three General Inspectors who would provide the necessary supervision and control over the Polish schools. The University of Vilnius would have two General Inspectors who would provide the supervision and control over the Lithuanian schools. The specific points of the 13 June 1780 decision, as it related to Lithuania, are as follows:⁹³

- (a) The University of Vilnius must announce at the start of the academic year, but not later than November of 1780, that all of the schools in the Lithuanian districts were under its control.
- (b) The University of Vilnius must announce, no later than January of 1781, that General Inspectors will be sent to visit the schools.
- (c) There will be a total of two General Inspectors for the Lithuanian districts.
- (d) For at least the first six years the General Inspectors will be appointed by the Educational Commission, thereafter they will be appointed by the University of Vilnius.

91 This reorganization was fully presented in Chapter V: Overview of the Educational Reforms.

92 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, 13 czerwcz 1780, p. 130-135.

93 Ibid., p. 134-135. Also reproduced in Hanna Pohoska, op.cit., p. 39.

- (e) The General Inspectors must be selected and approved by the Educational Commission no later than January of 1781.
- (f) The General Inspectors must begin their visits no later than April of 1781 and complete the visitations within a three month period.
- (g) The first General Inspectors will be selected for a three year term.
- (h) The University of Vilnius must determine which schools should be visited the first year, so that each following year the General Inspectors can visit different schools.

In light of this new decision by the Educational Commission, the universities were given the basic responsibility of supervising and inspecting all schools within their jurisdiction.

During the period 1774-1780 the Educational Commission enacted many rules and regulations regarding school administration, supervision and curriculum. Since these were continually supplemented and refined by the Commission, in time it became necessary to collect and publish them in a single volume.⁹⁴ After due consideration and considerable work on the editing of the various rules and regulations the Commission decided to delegate to the Society for Elementary Books the accomplishment of this task.⁹⁵ The decision to delegate this responsibility came after

94 See Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., p. 38.

95 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, 23 listopada 1780, item 10, p. 141.

Adam Czartoryski gave his report about school visitations.⁹⁶ This report was so detailed and clear that the Educational Commission decided to incorporate much of its format into the Rules for School Visitors and to require much the same type of information from its new General Inspectors.⁹⁷ The Czartoryski report was read to the Society for Elementary Books on 5 December 1780.⁹⁸ During the succeeding few months members of the Society for Elementary Books discussed and proposed various changes to the Rules for School Visitors.⁹⁹

Five proposals for the revision of the Rules for School Visitors emerged from the Society for Elementary Books.¹⁰⁰ These were as follows:

- (1) Onufry Kopczynski proposed the consideration of eleven questions about the use of textbooks in the schools.¹⁰¹
- (2) Gregorz Piramowicz proposed seven points which were to encompass three main areas: (1) curriculum; (b) control; and (c) administrative matters.¹⁰²

96 The Czartoryski report is reproduced in full in Stanislaw Tync, Komisja Edukacji Narodowej, p. 38-50.

97 Teodor Wierzbowski, Protokoly Posiedzen Komisji Edukacyi Narodowej z lat 1778-1781, Part 38, Meeting of 21 November 1780, p. 222. On 24 November 1780 the Commission recommended the use of the format for all General Inspectors, see: Ibid., p. 225.

98 Teodor Wierzbowski, Protokoly Posiedzen Towarzystwa do Ksiag Elementarnych 1775-1792, Part 36, Meeting of 5 December 1780, p. 48.

99 Ibid., 5 December 1780--7 March 1781, p. 48-75.

100 Originals of these proposals are found in the Warsaw Archiwum Glowne Fund E 29 A., entitled: Rozne akta Towarzystwa do Ksiag Elementarnych.

101 More detail is given in Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., p. 41.

102 Ibid., p. 42.

- (3) K. Narbutas proposed four additional duties consisting of
(a) collection of material for local history; (b) collection of various sermons; (c) preparation of sample report forms; and (d) possible preparation of a dictionary.¹⁰³
- (4) Jozef Kobylanski proposed six points. These, however, added nothing new to the existing Rules, other than an emphasis on local history and some items dealing with the treatment of less progressive students.¹⁰⁴
- (5) This proposal was anonymous, but is believed to be either that of Potocki, Hollowczyc, or Jakakiewicz.¹⁰⁵ The proposal suggested that the Rules be divided into two main sections (a) The Objectives of the School Visitation, and (b) The Procedures for Visitation. The specified objectives were three: (1) The visitation was the basic means the Educational Commission had of determining the educational status of the schools and their economic well being; (2) The visitation provided the Educational Commission with the basic information about the educational personnel in the schools; and (3) The visitation established the economic position of the school and determined if any corrective measures were necessary in the school's operations. The second part of the visitation, the proposal suggested should consist of five duties/actions performed by the visitor. The first

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 42

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 43

¹⁰⁵ Pohoska speculates that these three members of the Society for Elementary Books had to be the authors of this proposal. Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., p. 43.

of these actions should be the inspection of all books maintained by the school. The proposal specified thirteen books that should be maintained by each school. The second action to be performed was to convene a meeting of all the teaching personnel and during the meeting ask fourteen questions about educational matters, as well as, an additional four questions about the economic condition of the school. The third action contained in the proposal required that the visitor inspect the classrooms during school hours and complete four required sets of observations regarding the performance of the students and the teacher. The fourth action required by the proposal was a conference with the "directors"¹⁰⁶ during which the visitor was to ask a series of eight questions regarding the "director's" own performance in his studies and the example he was setting for other students. The fifth and last action outlined in the proposal required the visitor to prepare a detailed report to the Educational Commission which should consist of two parts: (a) report forms which provided information regarding the school, the teachers, the students, and the economic condition; and (b) a narrative report detailing the entire visitation and providing the information sought in the first four action requirements of the visitation.¹⁰⁷

106 The term "director" is equivalent to the English "monitor" in use during this time period. These were older students who, for room and board were given tutorial responsibilities as well as supervisory responsibilities in the residential houses or dormitories.

107 The original of this proposal is found in Warsaw, Archiwum Głowne, Fund E 29 A, folio 175-178. Proposal also reproduced in an abbreviated version in Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., p. 43-46.

The complexity of these proposals, especially the fifth proposal, indicated the importance that was attached to school inspections by the members of the Society for Elementary Books. The specificity of the proposed rules showed that the members did not want any questions to go unanswered. Thus, these five proposals were used by Kazimierz Narbutas, who on the 11th of January 1781 was assigned the task of preparing the provisions of the Statutes dealing with school inspections.¹⁰⁸ Narbutas did not waste any time in preparing the inspection proposal for the Statutes. He completed his assignment on the 22nd of January 1781 and submitted it on that date to the Society for Elementary Books.¹⁰⁹ The Narbutas proposal consisted of thirty specific instructions.¹¹⁰ The Society for Elementary Books considered the Narbutas proposal, along with the other proposed sections of the Statutes during the months of February, March, and April of 1781. Finally, by mid-summer the Educational Commission received the proposed Rules and distributed them at a meeting of school rectors in Warsaw on the 3rd of September 1781.¹¹¹ The Narbutas proposal contained a total of thirty points; the new approved Rules contained in the Statutes of the Educational Commission numbered only twenty-seven points.¹¹² Some of the items in the Narbutas proposal were deleted by the Society for Elementary

108 Teodor Wierzbowski, Protokoly Posiedzen Towarzystwa do Ksiag Elementarnych 1775-1792, Part 36, See minutes of the meeting of 11 January 1781.

109 Ibid., See minutes of the meeting of 22 January 1781.

110 Original of these instructions can be found in Warsaw, Archiwum Glowne Fund E 29 A., folio 209-211. These instructions were entitled: Wizyta szkol przez Wizytatora akademickiego; podposano: Narbutt. The Narbutas proposal, with all thirty point is also presented in Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., p. 47-48.

111 Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., p. 62.

112 See Statutes of the Educational Commission reproduced in Stansilaw Tync, op. cit., p. 605-612.

Books, while others were combined into a single point by the Educational Commission.¹¹³ The Statutes of the Educational Commission, which became effective in 1781 were later published as the Statutes of 1783. In the 1783 revision of the Statutes the chapter sequence changed. The rules pertaining to school inspections found in the 1781 Statutes were in Chapter II, while in the 1783 Statutes they were found in Chapter IV.¹¹⁴

The following are the major points contained in each of the twenty-seven rules of Chapter IV of the 1783 Statutes of the Educational Commission:¹¹⁵

- (1) The first point revealed the objectives of the visitations established by the Educational Commission. Here the Commission indicated that all schools would be visited at least once a year in order to insure that the regulations of the Educational Commission were being followed.
- (2) The second point defined the types of school visits. The first type would be conducted by the rectors of the chief district schools. The second type would be the General Inspector visitations conducted through the Chief School.
- (3) The third point defined the procedures for selecting General Inspectors and defined their tenure as General Inspectors.
- (4) The fourth point defined the special instructions to be given the General Inspector prior to his visitations.

113 Hanna Pohoska presents a detailed analysis of the Narbutas and the final approved regulations indicating what points were changed and by which body. See Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., p. 49-62.

114 Comparative analysis of these chapters was completed by Stanislaw Tync, op. cit., p. 566.

115 "Rozdział IV: Wizyta Zgromadzen Akademickich i Szkol Narodowych," of the "Ustawy Kommissyi Edukacyi Narodowej dla Stanu Akademickiego i na Szkoły w Krajach Rzeczypospolitej Przepisane," in Stanislaw Tync, op. cit., p. 605-612. Future references to the Statutes will be made using the following format: Ustawy KEN-1783.

- (5) The fifth point detailed the additional stipend to be paid General Inspectors prior to their departure.
- (6) The sixth point spoke to the attitude of the General Inspector when he was visiting schools. The point made it clear that the General Inspector must demonstrate a great degree of understanding and should be sympathetic to the problems of the schools.
- (7) The seventh point set the time limitations for the conduct of school visits. All visits must be started no later than April and end before the close of school in July.
- (8) The eighth point defined the procedures to be followed if a General Inspector became ill during the visitations and could not complete his tasks. Detailed procedures for the selection of a replacement were presented.
- (9) The ninth point detailed how the General Inspector was to begin the inspection upon his arrival at the school. It specified that he must call a meeting of the entire staff and announce that the inspection had begun. An example was provided for the General Inspector to follow.
- (10) The tenth point defined the records to be examined. The records to be examined were listed in Chapter VIII of the Statutes. This point made a special request to check if the school being visited had a copy of the Parish School Regulations.
- (11) The eleventh point defined the conduct of personal interviews with the entire staff beginning with the school rector and ending with the teaching staff.
- (12) The twelfth point instructed the General Inspector to note the habits of the school staff and investigate their religious practices.

- (13) The thirteenth point explained in detail the conduct of the economic/financial inspection, as well as the inspection of the physical facilities and inventory of the school.
- (14) The fourteenth point gave guidance on the conduct of student examinations in accordance with the provisions of paragraph nine of Chapter XV of the Statutes.
- (15) The fifteenth point instructed the General Inspector to visit the classrooms, observe student responses to teacher questions, note the quality of the teaching, and review the curriculum being followed in each class.
- (16) The sixteenth point gave guidelines for identifying gifted students who could qualify for the academic life and the procedures to follow after identification.
- (17) The seventeenth point detailed the right of every member of the academic community, as well as, any student to speak in private to the General Inspector.
- (18) The eighteenth point instructed the General Inspector to note the treatment and status of students from the non-landed gentry and how to process requests for scholarships from these students and those from poor families.
- (19) The nineteenth point instructed the General Inspector to identify and visit any private schools in the area and inspect them in accordance with paragraph 22 of Chapter VIII of the Statutes. The point notes, however, that the General Inspector does not have the authority to inspect private schools being operated within the homes of the gentry.
- (20) The twentieth point instructed the General Inspector to seek out

any schools in the district he was visiting that were operating without the permission of the Educational Commission. If such schools were found the General Inspector would be required to report them to the Educational Commission. The General Inspector was also to check whether the local bishop was complying with the Concordat which provided religious services to all schools.

- (21) The twenty-first point instructed the General Inspector to visit parish schools in the area and comment on the conditions and status of the educational program. If schools were being operated by the gentry in their manors or homes, the General Inspector was to thank the noblemen in the name of the Educational Commission and encourage others to establish similar schools. He was to encourage the gentry to give reports on the status of these private schools to the rector of the local district school.
- (22) The twenty-second point provided guidance to the General Inspector in cases where students were transferring from one school to another without a valid letter from the school prefect. This point gave the General Inspector the power to issue letters of transfer if the student had not been dismissed from the school under the provisions of Chapter XXIV of the Statutes.
- (23) The twenty-third point empowered the General Inspector to conduct judicial proceedings in cases where such proceedings were mandated. The point detailed the composition of the "court" and cited as guidance for proceedings the provisions of Chapter XXIV of the Statutes.
- (24) The twenty-fourth point detailed the procedures for concluding the inspection and for the recording of certain facts about

individuals that may have been in violation of some rule.

All such actions against individuals were to be recorded in a special book, a sample of which was provided by the Educational Commission.

- (25) The twenty-fifth point gave instructions for preparing the final inspection report. It required that two copies of the report be prepared and signed by the General Inspector, the rector, all professors, and teachers. The signed copies were to be delivered to the Rector of the Chief School.
- (26) The twenty-sixth point set up guidelines for preparing a special report to the Chief School which would contain an abstract of the detailed report pertaining to the special subjects for the inspection. The format, as well as, the type and size of the paper to be used in the preparation of this report were listed here. After the report was read to the Senate of the Chief School, it was to be signed by the secretary of the senate and then sent to the Educational Commission.
- (27) The twenty-seventh point instructed the General Inspector to stay and eat at the school being visited. After the completion of the visitation he was to pay for his meals at the established rate for that school.

The Statutes of the Educational Commission were detailed and provided all of the necessary general guidance needed for the conduct of the school inspections. The Statutes of 1781/1783 gave much broader authority to the General Inspectors than did the earlier Rules of 1774 and the Supplementation of 1777.

The first General Inspectors appointed by the Educational Commission under the 1781 Statutes were Grzegorz Piramowicz¹¹⁶ and Szczepan Holowczyc.¹¹⁷ They were appointed 2 March 1781 and instructed to visit all of the Lithuanian district schools (See Table XI).¹¹⁸ But neither of them made any visits during 1781 because of the on-going school reorganization and the fact that the actual discussions and approval of the Statutes did not occur until the end of the summer of 1781. The school visits authorized 2 March 1781 did not begin until the spring of 1782. The Educational Commission reassigned General Inspectors and Franciszek Bienkowski¹¹⁹ took the place of Holowczyc.¹²⁰ The Educational Commission in dispatching the new General Inspectors gave them additional guidance in the form of a new instruction¹²¹ and also requested them to pay special attention to the new Statutes so that any flaws contained therein could be noted and recommended for revision.¹²²

116 Grzegorz Piramowicz (1735-1801), was an ex-Jesuit, eminent educator, poet, the Secretary of the Society for Elementary Books, the co-author of the Statutes of the Educational Commission, and the author of many textbooks. An excellent report on his work can be found in Jan Poplatek, Komisja Edukacji Narodowej: Udział Byłych Jezuitów w Pracach Komisji Edukacji Narodowej, Krakow, Wydawnictwo Apostolstwa Modlitwy, 1973, p.71-75.

117 Szczepan Holowczyc (1741-1823), priest, Cannon of Warsaw, secretary to Michal Poniatowski, Primate of Poland, and Member of the Society for Elementary Books from 1775-1791. Appointed to the Society for Elementary Books on 10 February 1775. See Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1784, 10 Februarii 1775, item 4^o, p.47.

118 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1784, 2 Marca 1781, item 3^o, p. 155.

119 Franciszek Bienkowski (1730-1786), ex-Jesuit, vice-rector of the Warsaw school (1773-1777), General Inspector (1782-1786). See Jan Poplatek, op. cit., p. 248-249.

120 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1784, 5 kwietnia 1782, item 1^o, p. 193. This change occurred 5 April 1782.

121 This new instruction contains nine points. It is reproduced in Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1784, 5 kwietnia 1782, items 1^o-9^o, p. 194-195.

122 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1784, 5 kwietnia 1782, item 9^o, p. 195

Table XI

The Proposed List of District Schools in Lithuania to be
Visited by Piramowicz and Holowczyc During 1781

DISTRICT	Chief District School	District School
Vilnius	Vilnius	Widzy Postawy Walerianów Boruny Berezwecz Wiśniew
Kaunas	Kaunas	Kražiai Kretinga Panėvėžys Raseiniai Ukmergė
Gardinas	Gardinas	Białystok Lida Szczucin Merecz Tykocin
Brasta	Brasta	Biała Drohiczyn Pinsk Lubieszów Dąbrowica
Minskas	Minskas	Bobrujsk Chołopienicze Jurewicze
Naugardukas	Naugardukas	Słonim Nieswież Słuck Wolkowysk Żyrowice Łysków

SOURCE: Hanna Pohoska, Wizytatorowie Generalni Komisji Edukacji Narodowej: Monografia z Dziejów Administracji Szkolnej Komisji Edukacji Narodowej (The General Inspectors of the Commission for National Education: Monograph on the History of School Administration under the Commission for National Education), Lublin, Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1957, p. 61-62, and 296.

Grzegorz Piramowicz began his inspection of the Lithuanian schools on 3 May 1782 and completed them by 14 July 1782.¹²³ He was able to visit fourteen district schools and fifteen parish schools.¹²⁴ Of the schools that he visited he rated the schools of Gardinas, Vilnius, Szczucin, Kražiai, and Kretinga as being very good. The school at Wiszniew he rated average. The other schools visited at Merkinė, Lida, Kaunas, Ukmėrgė, Panėvėžys, and Raseiniai he rated either as fair or bad.¹²⁵ Piramowicz presented his report to the Educational Commission on 21 September 1782.¹²⁶ His report was prepared with great care and provided the details required by the Statutes. He was commended by the Educational Commission for this report.¹²⁷

Franciszek Bienkowski also began his inspection of the Lithuanian schools during May of 1782. His inspection visits lasted into July of that year. During his visit he was able to inspect a total of twenty-one schools.¹²⁸ He was not as critical in his evaluations of the schools as was Piramowicz. An analysis of his reports indicates that of the fourteen district schools he visited only one school received a rating of average.

123 "Raport z wizyty generalnej szkol W. Ks. Lit., wydziałow litewskiego i zmudzkiego, odbytej przez Gregorza Piramowicza w 1782 r." found in VUB, Cart. f., DC 88 f 1-36. Reproduced in full by Kalina Bartnicka & Irena Szybiak, compl., Raporty Generalnych Wizytatorów Szkol Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w Wielkim Ksiestwie Litewskim 1782-1792 (Reports of the General Inspectors of the Schools in Lithuania under the Commission for National Education 1782-1792), Warszawa, Polska Akademia Nauk, Ossolinskich, 1974, p. 31-97. This document collection will be cited as Raporty Gen Wiz Lit.

124 Ibid.

125 Ibid.

126 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1784, 21 wrzesnia 1782, item 1^o, p. 214.

127 Ibid.

128 "O stanie szkol W. Ks. Lit. repartacji ruskiej podczas wizyty generalnej w miesiacu maju, czerwcu i lipcu w roku 1782 znalezionym." VUB, Cart. f. DC 98, f. 1-11. Also in Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 11-29.

while the other thirteen received a rating of very good.¹²⁹ Bienkowski's reports were not greatly detailed. They did not even contain the date of the inspections.¹³⁰ His final report to the Educational Commission was not presented, because on 12 November 1782 the Commission decided that the reports of all General Inspectors be sent to the Society for Elementary Books for analysis and discussion.¹³¹

On 4 April 1783 the Educational Commission reassigned General Inspectors for the Lithuanian schools. Bienkowski was reappointed and Dawid Pilchowski¹³² was appointed as a new General Inspector.¹³³

Bienkowski began his inspection on 12 May 1783 and completed the visits by 24 July. He inspected a total of seventeen district schools,¹³⁴ including two schools that were assigned to Pilchowski.¹³⁵ Bienkowski rated sixteen of the schools as being very good, while only one school,

129 The school in Nieswiez, Nowogrodzki District, received the poor rating. Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 11-29

130 Ibid.

131 Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., p. 92.

132 Dawid Pilchowski (1735-1803), ex-Jesuit, Doctor of Theology and Church Law, Professor of Theology at the University of Vilnius, from 1783 Professor of Literature at the Chief School of Lithuania, and Chairman of the Moral College. See Jan Poplatek, op. cit., p. 363-365.

133 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1784, 4 kwietnia 1783, item 8^o, p. 235.

134 "Raport o szkolach W. Ks. Lit. w wydziale litewskim i zmuzykowanym w roku 1783 w miesiacu maju, czerwcu i lipcu, dany Przeswietnej Komisji Edukacji Narodowej i Szkole Glownej W. Ks. Lit. przez ks. Franciszka Bienkowskiego s. t. i obojga praw doktora, proboszcza dywinskiego," VUB, Cart f., DC 89, f. 1-17. Also in Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 97-117.

135 The two schools were Zyrowice and Lida. See Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., p. 350-351. Even though Bienkowski visited these two schools his report does not contain any record of the visits. The record does appear in the report of Pilchowski. See Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 97.

that of Zyrowice, he rated as being weak.¹³⁶

Pilchowski only began his inspection on 5 June 1783 and completed it by 30 June 1783.¹³⁷ He began late because he did not get his instructions or advance funds until June. He was able to visit a total of eleven district schools in Lithuania all of which he rated as very good.¹³⁸

The ratings assigned each of the schools by the General Inspectors appear to lack any real reliability. In examining the ratings given the two schools visited by both Bienkowski and Pilchowski in 1783 great discrepancies are found. For example, in rating the school in Zyrowice, Bienkowski assigned a rating of weak, while Pilchowski assigned a rating of very, very good.¹³⁹ In rating the school in Lida, Bienkowski assigned a rating of very good, while Pilchowski assigned very, very good.¹⁴⁰ The Lida discrepancy is understandable, but the rating of the Zyrowice school is hard to understand, especially in light of the great detail and specification contained in the Statutes regarding the conduct and rating. A possible explanation could be the fact that Pilchowski did not have as much time to conduct the visits as did Bienkowski, or that Pilchowski was not as familiar with the Statutes as was Bienkowski.

136 See the summary rating tables developed by Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., p. 351.

137 "Raport o szkołach W Ks. Lit. w wydziale nowogrodzkim, a po części Litewskim i poleskim, wizytowanych roku 1783 w miesiącu czerwcu i lipcu, dany Przesławnej Komisji i Szkole Głównej od ks. Dawida Pilchowskiego, wyzytatora generalnego," VUB, Cart f., DC 90, f. 1-29. Also in Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 119-144.

138 VUB, Cart f., DC 90, f. 1-29. Also Hanna Pohoska, op.cit., p. 350-351.

139 Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 97, 129. Hanna Pohoska, op.cit., p. 351.

140 Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 97 and 122. Hanna Pohoska, op.cit., p. 350.

With the completion of the 1783 visitations by Pilchowski and Bienkowski the Educational Commission did not authorize any further visitations for 1784. Further visitations were to be conducted by the University of Vilnius and the University of Krakow.

C. General Inspectors from the Chief School of Lithuania (1784-1798)

The 13 June 1780 decision of the Educational Commission¹⁴¹ to appoint General Inspectors for a period of six years before turning that responsibility over to the universities was changed in 1784.¹⁴² From 1784 each of the universities, now called the chief schools, were to select and appoint able individuals to conduct the school inspections.¹⁴³ Thus, the Chief School of Lithuania, acting in accordance with the provisions of the Statutes, elected two professors to be General Inspectors for a period of two years.¹⁴⁴ The two were B. Sirutis, professor of Roman Law, and V. Tautkevičius, a member of the faculty of the Moral College. The official records indicate that their election was motivated not only because of their abilities and merits, but also because the Chief School would miss them least, since they were often ill and missed their lectures.¹⁴⁵

141 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1784, 13 czerwca 1780, item 7^o, p. 134-135.

142 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1784, 19 marca 1784, items 1^o through 12^o, p. 360-365.

143 In accordance with paragraph 3 of Chapter IV of the Statutes of the Educational Commission (1783). See Tync, op. cit., p. 605.

144 VUB, Cart f., DC 8, I, Not Numbered.

145 Ibid.

Prof. B. Sirutis, because of illness, was forced to resign as a General Inspector and soon thereafter died. He was replaced on 10 May 1784 by Jozef Bogucki, a member of the Moral College.¹⁴⁶ V. Tautkevicius and Jozef Bogucki were assigned to visit a total of fifteen schools each.¹⁴⁷ Judging from the minutes of the meetings of the Chief School, Tautkevicius and Bogucki did visit some schools, but it cannot be determined which schools they visited, since their reports cannot be found.¹⁴⁸ Possibly, since both of the General Visitors were in poor health, both failed to produce a written report of their visits.

In 1785 the Chief School again experienced difficulties with the appointed General Inspectors. Jozef Bogucki became ill and resigned.¹⁴⁹ Franciszek Bienkowski was elected to take his place.¹⁵⁰ V. Tautkevicius also became ill and was replaced by D. Pilchowski.¹⁵¹ Again, it appears that both of the new General Inspectors did visit schools, but no written record of the Pilchowski inspections can be found. The inspection report of Bienkowski has remained.¹⁵² From his report it appears that

146 VUB, Čart f., DC 9, I, Not Numbered.

147 Ibid.

148 Ibid. Also see Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., p. 101.

149 VUB, Čart f., DC 103, I, Not Numbered.

150 See Letter of Poczobut to the Educational Commission of 17 Jan 1785 in Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., p. 104-105.

151 VUB, Čart f., DC 9, I, Not Numbered.

152 Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., does not mention the Bienkowski reports, but his work was published in 1957. The more recent publication of the Polish Academy of Sciences, 1974, does contain the entire Bienkowski report. See: "O stanie szkol W. Ks. Lit. wydziału ruskiego roku 1785," in Raporty Generalnych Wizytatorów Szkol Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w Wielkim Ksiestwie Litewskim: 1782-1792, Wrocław, Polska Akademia Nauk, Pracownia Dziejow Oswiaty, Ossolinski, 1974, p. 145-155. This Bienkowski report was reprinted from the original found at the University of Krakow, BUJ, 6340, p. 55-64.

he visited the district schools in Bialystok, Wolkowysk, Vilnius, Wiszniew, Minsk, Berezwech, Luck and Walernianow, Cholopienicze, Pinsk, Bobrujsk, Sluck, and Nieswicz. He began his visits on the 20th of May and completed them by the 23rd of July 1785.¹⁵³

During 1784-1785 the Chief School of Lithuania apparently was indifferent toward its responsibility of electing General Inspectors and conducting inspections of the schools. The General Inspectors elected were all old and ill, unable to fulfill the important and difficult job of conducting school inspections.

In 1786 the Chief School of Lithuania finally began the formal inspections required by the Educational Commission. General Inspectors Dawid Pilchowski and Franciszek Bienkowski were dispatched and given a detailed set of instructions to follow.¹⁵⁴

Franciszek Bienkowski began his inspection on 17 May 1786 with the school at Brzesc and continued to Biala.¹⁵⁵ Bienkowski inspected all of the schools in the Samogitian district, six of the schools in the Lithuanian district, and completed his inspection with the school at Zyrowice on 27 July 1786.¹⁵⁶ He visited a total of sixteen district schools, and assigned most of the schools a rating (see Table XII).

153 See: "O stanie szkol W. Ks. Lit. wydzialu ruskiego roku 1785," in Raporty Generalnych Wizytatorow Szkol Komisji Narodowej w Wielkim Ksiestwie Litewskim: 1782-1792, p. 145 and p. 154.

154 VUB, Cart f., DC 9, I, Not Numbered.

155 "O stanie szkol W. Ks. Lit. przez nizej podpisanego wizytowanych roku 1786," in Raporty Generalnych Wizytatorow Komisji Narodowej w Wielkim Ksiestwie Litewskim: 1782-1792, p. 157-173. The original is at the University of Vilnius Library, VUB, Cart f., DC 76, 1-20.

156 Ibid., p. 173.

Table XII

INSPECTIONS AND RATINGS OF THE DISTRICT SCHOOLS OF LITHUANIA 1782-1791

DISTRICT/SCHOOL	1782	1783	1784	1785	1786	1787	1788	1789	1790	1791
LITHUANIAN DISTRICT										
Grodno/Gardinas	P=2	B=2	Bo-	T-	B-	P1=2	E=3	J=2	E=2	O=2
Wilno/Vilnius	P=2	B=2	P1-	B-	S-2	E=2	J=2	E=2	E=2	O=2
Wiszniew/Višniava	P=3	B-	T-	B-	P1-	E=2	J=2	E=2	J=2	Pr=2
Postawy/Pastoviai	B=2	P1=2	T-	B-	P1-	E-	J-	E=2	J=3	Pr=2
Białystok/Balstogė	P-	B=2	Bo-	T-	B=2	P1=2	E=2	J=2	E=2	O=2
Wolkowysk/Volkoviškas	B=2	B=2	Bo-	T-	B-	P1=2	E=2	J=2	E=2	O=3
Merecz/Merkinė (Dom)	P=5	B=2	Bo-	T-	B=2	P1=2	E=2	J=2	E=2	O-
Lida/Lyda (Piar)	P=5	B-	Bo-	T-	B=2	P1=5	E=2	J=5	-	-
Szczucin/Sčiučinas (Piar)	P=2	B=2	Bo-	T-	B=2	P1=2	E=2	J=2	-	-
SAMOGITIAN DISTRICT										
Kroze/Kražiai	P=4	B=2	Bo-	T-	B=2	P1=2	E=4	J-	E=2	O=2
Kowno/Kaunas	P=5	B=2	Bo-	T-	B-	P1=2	E=2	J=2	E=2	O=2
Kretynga/Kretinga	P-	B=2	Bo-	T-	B-	P1=2	E=5	J-	E=2	O=2
Wilkomierz/Ūkmergė (Piar)	P=5	B=2	Bo-	T-	B=2	-	E=5	J=3	-	-
Poniewież/Panevėžys (Piar)	P=5	B=2	Bo-	T-	B=2	-	E=5	J=5	-	-
Rosienie/Raseiniai (Piar)	P=5	B=2	Bo-	T-	B=2	P1=3	E=3	J=5	-	-
Wierzbolow/Virbalis (Dom)	-	-	-	T-	B=2	P1=3	E=2	J=2	E=2	O=2
NOWOGRODEK DISTRICT										
Nowogrodek/Naugardukas	B=2	P1=1	T-	B-	P1=1	E=1	J=2	E=1	J=2	Pr-
Minsk/Minkas	B=2	P1=2	T-	B-	P1=3	E=1	J=2	E=2	J=2	Pr=2
Nieswiez/Nesvyžius	B=3	P1=3	T-	B-	P1=2	E=2	J=2	E=2	J=2	Pr=3
Sluck/Šluckas	B=2	P1=2	T-	B-	P1=3	E-	J=2	E=2	J=2	Pr=2
Bobrujsk/Bobruiskas	B-	P1=2	T-	B-	P1=2	E-	J=2	E=2	J=2	Pr=5
Mozyr/Mozyrius	B-	P1=2	T-	B-	P1=3	E=2	J=5	E=3	-	Pr-
Cholopenicze/Cholopeniciai	B=2	P1=3	T-	B-	P1-	E=3	J=2	E=3	J=3	Pr=2
Luzki-Walerianow (Piar)	B=2	P1-	T-	B-	P1=5	E=2	J=2	E=3	-	-
Berezwecz (Basil)	B=2	P1=2	T-	B-	P1=2	E=2	J-	E=3	J=2	Pr=2
POLESK DISTRICT										
Brzesc/Lith Brasta	B=2	B=2	Bo=	T-	B=2	P1=2	E=2	J-	E=2	O=2
Pinsk/Pinskas	B=2	P1=2	T-	B-	P1-	E=2	E=2	E=2	E=2	Pr=2
Biala/Bialos	B=2	B=2	Bo-	T-	B=2	P1=2	E=2	J=2	E=5	O=2
Lubieszow (Piar)	B=2	P1-	T-	B-	P1=4	E=2	J-	E=1	-	-
Dabrowica (Piar)	B-	P1-	T-	B-	P1=2	E=2	J=2	E=3	-	-
Zyrowice (Basil)	B=5	B-	-	-	B=2	P1=5	J=2	J=2	J=3	O-

NOTES: B=Bienkowski; Bo=Bohusz; E=Erdman; J=Jaxa; O=Obrapalski; P=Piramowicz; Pr=Piotrowski; P1=Pilchowski; S=Stroynowski; and T=Tautkiewicz.

School Ratings: 1=Very Good; 2=Good; 3=Average; 4=Satisfactory; 5=Poor.

"-" Indicates that school not inspected, or if next to a letter, visited, but not rated or reported.

Schools operated by religious orders: Dom=Dominican; Piar=Piarist; Basil= Basilian

SOURCES: Primarily adapted from tables presented by Hanna Pohoska, Wizytatorowie Generalni Komisji Edukacji Narodowej: Monografia z Dziejow Administracji Szkolnej Komisji Edukacji Narodowej (The General Inspectors of the Commission for National Education: Monograph on the history of school administration under the Commission for National Education), Lublin, Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1957, p. 345-347. Also checked and supplemented Pohoska tables from: Raporty Generalnych Wizytatorów Szkol Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w Wielkim Ksiestwie Litewskim: 1782-1792, Wrocław, Polska Akademia Nauk, Pracownia Dziejow Oswiaty, 1974.

Dawid Pilchowski began his inspection on 10 May 1786 and completed it on 18 July 1786.¹⁵⁷ He inspected schools in Wyszyn and Postawy, all of the schools in the Nowogrodzki and Polocki districts as well as the schools in Dabrowicz, Lubieszow, and Pinsk.¹⁵⁸ He visited a total of fourteen district schools. Pilchowski, because of the summer vacation, was unable to visit the district schools in Vilnius. The Chief School appointed J. Stroynowski, a professor of natural law, to visit the Vilnius schools.¹⁵⁹

Pilchowski, in his report to the Chief School, noted that it took a total of eighty days to visit all of the schools assigned to him for inspection. Of those eighty days a total of forty was spent in traveling. Pilchowski was therefore able to devote less than three days per school. In his opinion three days were not sufficient to complete all of the tasks assigned in the Regulations. Pilchowski estimated that a minimum of eight days was required for each school inspection.¹⁶⁰

For the 1787 school year the Chief School of Lithuania again elected Dawid Pilchowski and a new General Inspector Jan Erdman.¹⁶¹ They were

157 See: "Raporty wizyty generalnej szkol postawskich, berezwechich, walerianowskich, cholopienickich, minskich, sluckich, bobrujskich, mozyrskich, dabrowickich, lubieszewskich, pinskich, nieswiskich, nowogrodzkich, wyszniewskich odprawionej prez ks. Dawida Pilchowskiego teologii i prawa kosc. doktora kanonika inflanckiego, przydenta Collegii Moralis i profesora literatury w Szkole Glownej W. Ks. Lit., wizytatora generalnego szkol roku 1786, dany Szkole Glownej," VUB, Cart f., DC 77, 1-37.

158 Ibid.

159 VUB, Cart f., DC 75, 37-40.

160 VUB, Cart f., DC 77, 1-37.

161 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1786-1794. See minutes of 30 December 1786, item 3, p. 57.

given by the Chief School a detailed set of instructions which listed the schools each had to inspect.¹⁶² Dawid Pilchowski inspected fourteen schools, but was unable to visit schools in Ukmerge and Panevežys because of a flooding condition.¹⁶³ The ratings he assigned the schools are presented in Table XII.

The General Inspector Jan Erdman was a professor at the Chief School of Lithuania. He held a doctorate in Theology and Church Law. In 1780-1784 he was the rector of the district school in Vilnius. Piramowicz, visiting the school in 1782 wrote in his report that Erdman caused difficulties in the realization of the various regulations of the Educational Commission.¹⁶⁴ This characterization indicates that Erdman was an opponent of the reforms initiated by the Educational Commission. But, in 1783, when Bienkowski visited Erdman the characterization changed. Erdman was described as being cooperative and the Vilnius school was given a good rating.¹⁶⁵ Apparently Erdman adapted to the reforms since the Chief School did elect him to conduct school inspections.

Erdman visited a total of sixteen schools. He began his inspection trip on 24 April and completed all visits by 27 July 1787. Erdman, as did Pilchowski before him, complained to the Chief School that he did not have sufficient time to conduct proper inspections of the schools as required by

162 VUB, Čart f., 73, 1, Not Numbered.

163 See: "Wypisy z protokolow wizyt odprawionych roku 1787 przez Dawida Pilchowskiego," VUB, Čart f., DC 79, 1-26. See also Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., p. 115.

164 See: "Raport z wizyty generalnej szkol W. Ks. Lit., wydziałow litewskiego i zmudzkiego, odbytej przez Gregorza Piramowicza w 1782r," VUB, Čart f., DC 88, 1-36. In Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p.55.

165 Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 108.

the Instruction issued by the Chief School¹⁶⁶ and the Statutes of the Educational Commission.¹⁶⁷ Nonetheless, Erdman assigned the highest rating to the schools in Naugardukas and Minsk (See Table XII).¹⁶⁸ This was the first time that any General Inspector assigned the highest rating to two schools in any one year.

For 1788 the Chief School of Lithuania elected only one General Inspector.¹⁶⁹ Jacob Jaška was elected and Jan Erdman remained, since he was elected for a two year term. Jaška, a doctor of theology and philosophy, was a member of the Moral College of the Chief School and a pro-rector of the Pinsk sub-district school.

Jacob Jaška began his inspection visits on 12 May and completed them by 30 July 1788. He visited all of the schools in the Naugardukas district, three schools in the Polesk district, and three schools in the Lithuanian district, for a total of fifteen schools.¹⁷⁰ In his reports he also complained about the time allotted to the inspections and the great difficulties

166 VUB, Čart f., 73, 1, Not Numbered.

167 Ustawy KEN-1783, Chapter IV.

168 See: "Raport wizyty generalnej szkol wilenskich, postawskich, berezwickich, luzskich albowalerianowskich, cholopienickich, minskich, sluckich, bobrujskich, mozyrskich, dabrowickich, lubieszowskich, pinskich, nieswiskich, nowogrodzkich, wiszniewskich, odprawionej przez ks. Jana Erdmana, teologii i praw koscielnych doktora, Collegii Physici w Akademii Wilenskiej towarzysza, wizytatora generalnego szkol, roku 1787 dany Szkole Głownej," VUB Čart f., DC 81, 1-23.

169 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1786-1794, See minutes of 8 Kwietnia 1788, item 4, p. 138

170 See: "Raport wizyty generalnej szkol...odprawionej przez ks. Jakuba Jaske, teologii, nauk wyzwolonych i filozofii doktora, Kolegium Moralnego w Szkole Głowniej W. Ks. Lit. towarzysza, kanonika smolenskigo, prorektora pinskiego, wizytatora generalnego szkol litewskich, roku 1788 dany Szkole Głownej Wilenskiej W. Ks. Lit.," VUB, Čart f., DC 91, 1-13.

encountered in traveling from school to school.¹⁷¹

Jan Erdman began his inspection on 14 May and completed it on 27 July 1788. Erdman inspected all of the schools in the Samogitian district (See Table XII) and three schools in the Polesk district. He visited a total of sixteen schools.¹⁷²

In 1789 the Chief School of Lithuania re-elected for a two year term the General Inspectors Jan Erdman and Jacob Jaška.¹⁷³ That year Jan Erdman inspected all nine schools in the Naugardukas district, the Vilnius, Višniava and Pastoviai schools in the Lithuanian district, and the Pinskas, Dobrovicos and Liubisevas schools in the Polesk district. He, thus, visited a total of fifteen schools and assigned each a rating.¹⁷⁴ He was unable to visit the school in Lithuanian Brasta because of a number of interruptions which occurred during his trip.¹⁷⁵

The General Inspector Jacob Jaška, in 1798, inspected all seven schools

171 VUB, Čart f., DC 91, 1-13.

172 See: "Raport wizyty generalnej szkol wydzialowych: grodzienskich, brzeskich, kroskich, podwydzialowych akademickich: wolkowyskich, pinskich, bialskich, bialostockich, kowienskich, kretynskich, podwydzialowych zakonnych: lidzkich, szczuczynskich, mereckich, wierzbowskich, rosienskich, poniewieskich, wilkomierskich, odprawionej przez ks. Jana Erdmana teologii i prawa koscielnego doktora, kanonika inflanckiego, towarzysza Skoly Głownej, wizytatora generalnego w roku 1788 Szkole Głownej dany," VUB, Čart f., DC 93, 1-26.

173 VUB, Čart f., DC 74, 1, Not Numbered.

174 See: Wypisy z protokolow szkolnych wizyty ksiedza Erdmana, 1789," VUB, Čart f., 95, 1-17. Reproduced in full in Raporty Generalnych Wizytatorow szkol Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w Wielkim Ksiestwie Litewskim 1782-1792, p. 381-406.

175 VUB, Čart f., DC 95, I. 8.

in the Samogitian district, the Biala and Zyrowice schools in the Polesk district, and six schools in the Lithuanian district. He visited a total of fifteen schools and assigned thirteen schools a rating.¹⁷⁶

In 1790 the Chief School of Lithuania did not appoint any new General Inspectors, since both Erdman and Jaška had been elected for a two year term. The conduct of the school inspections was upset by the growing political unrest in the Commonwealth. The Piarists refused to allow schools operated by their order to be inspected by the General Inspectors from the Chief School of Lithuania. After much deliberation an agreement was reached between the Chief School and the Piarist Order. In essence the Chief School returned basic control over the schools to the Provincial of the Piarist Order, who in turn appointed one of the Piarists, J. Lang, to inspect the schools.¹⁷⁷ The Piarists operated a total of eight district schools in Lithuania, none of which was visited by a General Inspector during the years 1790-1791.¹⁷⁸

176 See: "Wypisy z protokolu wizyt szkol bialskich, bialostockich, grodzienskich, kowienskich, domininkanskich mereckich, wilkomierskich, pijarskich poniewieskich, pijarskich rosienskich, kroskich, kretyngskich, pijarskich szczuczynskich, pijarskich lidzkich, wolkowyskich i bazylianskich zyrowickich odblytych przez ks. Jakuba Jaske w czasie od 11 V do 13 VII 1789 r.," VUB, Cart. f., DC 82, 1-93.

177 For a discussion of this matter see Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., p.76. It should be noted that this time period precedes the Second Partition.

178 Table XII does not indicate any school inspections or visitations for any of the Piarist schools for the years 1790 and 1791. It should be noted that J. Lang did begin visiting the Piarist schools in 1791, but did not continue the inspections after that year. See Hanna Pohoska, op. cit.

With the Piarist schools no longer in the inspection schedule the 1790 visits made by the General Inspector Jan Erdman were reduced to a total of twelve schools.¹⁷⁹ Jaška visited seven of the schools in the Nowogrodek district as well as the schools in Wiszniew, Postawy, . . , and Zyrowice.¹⁸⁰ The Mozyr district school in the Nowogrodek district could not be visited because of military movements in the area.¹⁸¹

In 1791 the Chief School of Lithuania elected A. Obranpalski¹⁸² and M. Piotrowski from among seven candidates for the two positions of General Inspector. Both were elected for a two year term.¹⁸³

Antoni Obranpalski, a doctor of theology and a prefect of the district school in Lithuanian Brasta, inspected four schools in the Samogitian district, five schools in the Lithuanian district, and three schools in the Polesk district.¹⁸⁴ In his report Obranpalski revealed

179 See: "Raport wizyty generalnej szkol, wydzialowych grodzienskich, brzeskich, kroskich, podwydzialowych akademickich wilenskich, wolkowyskich pinski, bialskich, bialostockich, kretynskich, kowienskich, podwydzialowych zakonnych mereckich, wierzbolowskich, odprawionej przez ks. Jana Erdmana, teologii i prawa koscielnego doktora, kanonika inflanckiego, towarzysza Skoly Głownej Wilenskiej, generalnego wizytatora, roku 1790 Szkole Głownej dany," VUB, Cart. f., DC 96, 1-19.

180 VUB. Čart f., DC 97. Not Numbered.

181 VUB, Čart f., DC 97 and VUB Čart f., DC 9 1. 71-72. See also Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., p. 120

182 Obranpalski was the same General Inspector that was sent by the Chief School of Lithuania to make a determination in the case of M. Szulc (See Chapter VI).

183 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1786-1794, Minutes of 25 Kwietnia 1792, p. 309.

184 See: "Raport wizyty generalnej szkol...przez ks. Antoniego Obrapalskiego sw teologii doktora, kanonika inflanckiego, szkol litewskich generalnego wizytatora roku 1791 Szkole Głownej dany," VUB, Čart f., DC 83, 1-28.

the effect of the tenuous political situation on the schools. He wrote: "I urged the teachers to fulfill their obligations zealously even in these critical times, instilling in the hearts and minds of the students a feeling of unity, showing them the terrible results of wrong-doing."¹⁸⁵

In 1792, because of increasing military activity, which was being caused in part by the Confederation of Targowica (1792-1794), the Chief School of Lithuania had to curtail many of its inspection plans. The General Inspector Obranpalski in his report for 1792 indicated that he was able to visit only the schools in Pastoviai, Minskas, Naugardukas and Nesvyčius.¹⁸⁶ Even one of those four schools, the Nesvyčius, was without students because of the war activities.¹⁸⁷

The General Inspector Michael Piotrowski, a former prorector of the Vilnius district school, inspected eleven schools in 1791, but left no report of his inspections.¹⁸⁸ In 1792 he was able to inspect only the Lithuanian Brasta school.¹⁸⁹

185 VUB, Čart f., DC 83, 1-2.

186 See: "Raport wizyty generalnej szkół wydziałowych nowogrodzkich, podwydziałowych akademickich postawskich, cholopienickich, minskich, sluckich, bobrujskich, mozyrskich, pńskich, nieswiskich, wiszniewskich, zakonnych berezweckich i uszackich--odprawionej przez ks. Antoniego Obranpalskiego s theologiae doktora, kanonika inflanckiego, generalnego szkół narodowych wizytatora W. Ks. Lit. Szkole Głownej Wilenskiej dany roku 1792," VUB, Čart f., DC 83, 73-79.

187 "Szkoly nieswiskie stanu akademickiego w wydziale ruskim," in Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 556.

188 Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 7.

189 See: "Wizyta generalna szkół brzeskich litewskich zgromadzenia akademickiego wydziału polskiego odprawiona roku 1792," VUB, Čart f., DC 83, 93-95, wypis z protokołu wizyt ks. Michała Piotrowskiego, sprodzony przez ktoregos z nauczycieli szkoły.

In 1793 the Chief School of Lithuania, due to the unrest in the Commonwealth, decided not to conduct any school inspections and did not elect any new General Inspectors.¹⁹⁰ In 1794 the professors at the Chief School of Lithuania decided that because of the reduction in territory resulting from the Second Partition only one General Inspector would be needed to conduct the school visitations.¹⁹¹ They elected professor of mathematics, Kundzicas, to serve as the General Inspector.¹⁹² No information can be found to substantiate any school visitations conducted by Kundzicas.

From 1793 through 1798 no information regarding school inspections can be found. The first indication that school inspections were to be conducted came in 1798 from the Lithuanian Educational Commission. The Commission in a letter to the Chief School of Vilnius indicated that school inspections were mandatory and that the Vilnius Chief School should dispatch school inspectors.¹⁹³ In a letter read at the Vilnius Chief School from the Lithuanian Educational Commission on 9 May 1798 is found that the Lithuanian Educational Commission did appoint two General Inspectors: Bochaviecki and Sistovski.¹⁹⁴ No information remains regarding any school inspections conducted by these two individuals.

190 VUB, Čart f., DC 9, 1.97 and Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., p. 127.

191 VUB, Čart f., DC 9, 1.104.

192 Ibid.

193 Letter of 26 April 1798, VUB Čart f., DC 33, 1.18.

194 VUB, Čart f., DC 9, 1.118.

From 1782 through 1791 the General Inspectors conducted their evaluations of the schools in accordance with the Statutes of the Educational Commission. To the extent that the school being inspected complied with the various provisions of the Statutes the General Inspectors assigned the school a rating. Ratings used by the General Inspectors were: (1) very good, (2) good, (3) average, (4) satisfactory, and (5) poor (See Table XII). The evaluation report normally contained one of these ratings. At times the General Inspector did not give a clear rating, but presented various facts about the school, its student population, textbooks, teachers, administration, etc. Most of the General Inspector reports cited sub-paragraphs of Chapter IV of the Statutes when presenting an evaluative narrative. The reports of the General Inspectors give fairly good indications regarding the quality of the school and the extent the school was complying with the regulations and orders of the Educational Commission.

From the evaluation reports of the General Inspectors we can make certain comparisons between the schools operated under the Chief School of Lithuania and the Chief School of Poland. Hanna Pohoska, in her analysis of the reports of the General Inspectors, concluded that of the seventy-four district schools in the Commonwealth only thirty-four were evaluated/rated "very good" or "good".¹⁹⁵ Twenty-three of the thirty-four schools were under the Chief School of Lithuania and the remaining eleven under the Chief School of Poland.¹⁹⁶

195 Hanna Pohoska, op. cit., p. 170-171.

196 Ibid., p. 171.

The school receiving the largest number of "very good" ratings was the Chief School of the Nowogrodek district. The Naugardukas school received four such ratings. The second largest number of "very good" ratings was received by the Piarist operated school in Warsaw. That school received a total of three such ratings.¹⁹⁷ Hanna Pohoska contends that the number of high ratings received by the schools under the Chief School of Lithuania was due to the leniency of the General Inspectors.¹⁹⁸ But, Pohoska also concedes "that many of the Lithuanian schools, and especially the Nowogrodek school, did do a very imposing job."¹⁹⁹

D. Summary

The Educational Commission developed and managed a school inspection system which operated under detailed rules and established procedures. In an effort to assure compliance with its reforms the Commission empowered the General Inspectors with administrative and judicial authority. The entire visitation/inspection system was at first centralized and operated by the Educational Commission. Once the hierarchical school structure was adopted and the Educational Commission was able to bring under its direct control the universities, the basic responsibility for school supervision was transferred to the universities. This action by the Educational Commission established the universities as the supervisory

197 Ibid., p. 169-170. See also data presented in Table XII in this chapter.

198 Ibid., p. 170.

199 Ibid., p. 171. See also the rating data summarized by Pohoska in her tables on p. 297-300.

arms of the Educational Commission, thus, bringing more direct control over the school structure. The rules established by the Educational Commission for the conduct of school inspections were detailed and comprehensive. In many instances they may still be applicable to modern day school inspections. The detailed reports prepared by the General Inspectors present a wealth of first-hand information about the educational practices in the schools of XVIIIth century Poland and Lithuania. Much of the progress made in education during this time period may be attributable to the fact that the Educational Commission provided the supervisory mechanism, via the General Inspector, to control the schools.

CHAPTER VIII

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION UNDER THE EDUCATIONAL COMMISSION: THE PARISH SCHOOLS

One of the areas of concern of the Educational Commission was the establishment and maintenance of elementary or parish schools.¹ This concern by the Educational Commission for elementary education was manifested in a number of ways, but mainly through the various regulations and rules promulgated by the Commission. This chapter will present (1) a short introduction which outlines the status of elementary education prior to the Educational Commission and the motivating forces which guided developments in elementary education; (2) elementary education under the Parish School Regulation of 1774; and (3) the provisions for elementary education in the Statutes of the Educational Commission of 1783.

A. Status and Motivating Forces in the Establishment of Parish Schools

The Educational Commission inherited an elementary school system which, since the time of the Counter-Reformation, had been in a continual state of decline. The status of the elementary schools, or parish schools, prior to the XVIIth century was fully presented in Chapter II of this study. Since the Counter-Reformation had placed great emphasis on the

1 It should be noted that the term "Parish Schools" is being used in reference to elementary schools of all types. The "Parish" was the lowest administrative subdivision in Lithuania and Poland. See: Zenonas Ivinskis, "Parapija: Didžiojoje Lietuvos Kunigaikštijoje," (The Parish in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania), in Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Vol. XXI, p. 536-537.

establishment of schools at the beginning of the XVIIth century a vast network of parish schools was in operation. Evidence to support this can be found in the reports to the Pope made by the Lithuanian bishops. For example, as early as 1609 the following statement concerning parish schools was found in the report of the Bishop of Vilnius, Benedictus Woyna:

... Scholae pro iuventute artibus liberalibus instruenda, praeter Academiam Vilnensem et collegia supra nominata, penes singulas pene parochiales ecclesias cum illarum praefectis et magistris habentur...²

Later in the XVIIth century, in a report to the Pope by the Bishop of Samogitia, Georgius Tiškevičius, dated 1646, was found this very positive statement about the status of elementary education in Samogitia:

... Qui praeterea parochi omnes et ferme singuli scholas penes suas ecclesias habent earumque rectores, bacculaurei nuncupati, catechismum in scholis, praecepta decalogi et alia pietatis christianae officia, praeterea grammaticam, musicam, et alias scientias pro capacitate puerorum docent, certum salarium ab iidem parochis percipientes...³

It should be noted that, according to the above report, the pastor paid the teacher his salary and that a wide variety of curricular offerings

2 Arch. Cong. Concilii, Relationes dioecesium: Vilnensis 1609, Fol. 660 r. Found in Relationes Status Dioecesium in Magno Ducatu Lituaniae, 1. Dioeceses Vilnensis et Samogitiae, Fontes Historiae Lituaniae, Vol. 1, Rome, Italy, Sectio Historica, Academiae Lituanicae Catholicae Scientiarum, 1971, p. 40.

3 Arch. Cong. Concilii, Relationes dioecesium: Samogitien, 1646. Fol. 793r. Found in Relationes Status Dioecesium in Magno Ducatu Lituaniae, op. cit., p. 282.

were being presented in the schools. Therefore, it can be inferred that the status of elementary education toward the middle of the XVIIth century in Lithuania was at least on an adequate footing. But toward the end of the XVIIth century and the beginning of the XVIIIth century other factors began to emerge which greatly influenced the growth and continued support of elementary schools.⁴ Lithuania and Poland began losing much territory to their neighbors; the liberum veto was still paralyzing the political scene; and the countries had no unified leadership which would lead them out of a perilous condition of decline. In this situation cultural advancement had to assume a secondary position.

With the deteriorating political and social situation in Lithuania-Poland the start of the XVIIIth century brought a decline in the number of parish schools. The poor parishes did not have the funds to support the schools. The local pastors simply did not have the funds to pay teachers. Another factor which worked against the further development of elementary schools was the success of the Counter-Reformation. The pressure from Church authority dissipated. By the middle of the XVIIIth century the economy was in a perilous condition. The mainstay, agriculture, was backward; manufacturing activities were scarce and far between; commerce was sluggish and frowned upon by the

⁴ These factors are fully discussed in Chapter I: Lithuanian Political, Social, Economic and Cultural Conditions from the XIIth through the XVIIIth centuries.

gentry; and the decline of towns in this time period was notorious. As far as the peasantry was concerned the economic problems of the times were more important than schooling. The gentry considered the education of the peasantry to be unimportant, and thus did not give money to support the parish schools. Only the progressive Lithuanian magnates, who were influenced by the ideas of the French Physiocrats saw the necessity of providing education to the peasants.⁵ Through education they could change the farming system and thus increase the profits of their estates.

Emergence of the Physiocrats in Lithuania was stimulated by the links between the country's ruling circles and France and its economists.⁶ Most of the members of the Educational Commission were known to espouse the Physiocratic ideals.⁷ In the Lithuanian sphere of influence Joachim Chreptowicz was one of the most enlightened and progressive men of the period.⁸ Both he and the Chairman of the Educational Commission, Bishop of Vilnius Ignacy Massalski, were staunch Physiocrats and in several instances had set some serfs free to work their lands.⁹ Both of these men became the leaders in the parish school

5 Ambroise Jobert, Magnats Polonais et Physiocrates Français (1767-1774), Dijon, Université de Lyon, Imprimerie Darantière, 1941, p.87.

6 Juozas Jakštas, "Physiocrats," in Encyclopedia Lituanica, Vol. IV, p. 265; and P. Padalskis, "Fiziokratai Lietuvoje," (Physiocrats in Lithuania), Ekonomika (Kaunas), No. 1, 1937.

7 Ambroise Jobert, op. cit.

8 See: "Jokimas Chreptavičius," Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Vol. III, 1954, p. 540.

9 P. Padalskis, op. cit.

movement and were instrumental in the growth of parish schools in Lithuania.

In Lithuania Physiocratic doctrine received a somewhat more original interpretation than elsewhere. The leading Physiocratic thinker was Jerome Strojnowski, a member of the faculty of the University of Vilnius.¹⁰ Strojnowski, while sharing with the French school its commitment to centralized government, opposed its preference for a hereditary absolute monarchy; he recognized the government elected by the nobility in the unified Polish-Lithuanian state. But in his social doctrine he was close to the French Physiocrats. Arguing against serfdom, which by that time had long been abolished in Western Europe, he showed that the subordination of the peasantry to the nobility contradicted the doctrine of man's natural rights and obstructed the growth of economic prosperity and the improvement of social well-being. He defended each individual's rights to own property and to engage freely in economic exchange and competition, and urged that serfs be released from their legal dependence on landowners and transformed into free tenants. The impact of these doctrines of natural rights and of the irrationality of serfdom, coupled with the influence of French rationalism, prompted some Lithuanian landowners to introduce liberal reforms on their estates.¹¹ But, the growing trend of liberalization was cut off by the subsequent

10 J. Strojnowski was also a member of the Educational Commission from 16-XII-1793 to 14-IV-1794, later Rector of the University of Vilnius and Bishop of Vilnius. See: Rapolas Krasauskas, "Jeronimas Strojnovskis," Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Vol. XXIX ((1963), p. 50.

11 Juozas Jakštas, op. cit., p. 256.

partitions of Lithuania and Poland. Nevertheless, in keeping with the basic ideas of the French Physiocrats the Educational Commission tried to promote economic progress chiefly by seeking to raise the quality of agricultural labor. The approach adopted by the Educational Commission was dual: (1) combatting general ignorance and (2) promoting higher standards of fitness and health.¹² The approach was directly transferred into two thrusts: (1) the establishment of a network of elementary schools, and (2) the inclusion in their curricula of specific elements of economic knowledge and understanding.¹³

B. The Parish School Regulation of 1774

In the Educational Commission's first proclamation, the Uniwersal, parish schools were not specifically mentioned.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the Uniwersal did specify that "all schools" would be under the control of the Educational Commission. Thus, in effect, the Educational Commission did subordinate the parish schools to itself, and did include them in the school hierarchy. This becomes evident when an examination of the activities of the Educational Commission is undertaken. As early as

12 For further discussion see: R. Szreter, "Education for Nation-Saving: Poland between the Partitions," in The History of Education in Europe, London, Methuen for the History of Education Society, 1974, p.53-66.

13 Ibid., p. 60.

14 See: "Uniwersal Oglaszajacy Komisje Edukacyjna" in Z. Kukulski, Pierwiastkowe Przepisy Pedagogiczne Komisji Edukacji Narodowej z lat 1773-1776 (The Primary Educational Regulations of the Commission for National Education 1773-1776), Lublin, Nakladem Lubelskiego Komitetu Obchodu 150-iej Rocznicy Ustanowienia Komisji Edukacyjnej i Zgonu St. Konarskiego, 1923, p. 8.

10 December 1773 the Educational Commission began to consider the support and operation of the parish schools.¹⁵ The Commission found that as a result of its Uniwersal control over the parish schools had, in fact, passed from the Church to the Commission. This situation concerned the Commission, since the Commission had neither funds nor personnel to undertake such control and operation. Thus, having little other choice the Commission proposed that the various monasteries in Poland and Lithuania be charged with the maintenance and operation of the parish schools.¹⁶ The Commission considered these institutions to be the only ones that had the personnel who could teach in the parish schools and the time to devote themselves to this work.¹⁷ This proposal turned out to be rather complicated, since the monks in the monasteries would have to leave the monasteries for some time in order to undertake the teaching mission. Leaves of absence from the monasteries required special permission from the Pope. The Educational Commission requested Bishop Massalski to draft a letter explaining the Commission's position to Garampi, the Papal Nuncio in Warsaw.¹⁸ The letter requested the

15 See minutes of the meeting of 10 December 1773 in Teodor Wierzbowski, Protokoly Posiedzen Komisji Edukacji Narodowej z lat 1773-1777, Warszawa, Druk Piotra Laskauera, 1912, Part 37, p. 9 and 12.

16 Ibid., and Lukasz Kurdybacha, Kuria Rzymska wobec Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w latach 1773-1783 (The Roman Curia Faced with the Commission for National Education), Krakow, Polska Akademia Umiej., Archiwum Kom. do Dziej Oswiaty i Szkoln w. Polsce nr. 7, 1949, p. 28-29.

17 See Teodor Wierzbowski, Protokoly Posiedzen Komisji Edukacji Narodowej z lat 1773-1777, p. 20-21.

18 Ibid.

following: (1) that monasteries be obligated to maintain an elementary school on their premises for the children of the burghers and peasants; (2) that the monasteries delegate members of their communities to teach in schools outside of the monasteries, especially schools for peasant children; and (3) that convents establish elementary schools for girls.¹⁹ The letter was sent to the Nuncio on 14 January 1774.²⁰ Nuncio Garampi responded on the 29th of January 1774 stating that the Holy See would not obligate the monasteries and convents to establish schools and provide teachers, but that the Educational Commission could appeal to each of the monasteries asking for their assistance.²¹ Most of the religious orders, after such a query from the Commission, responded in a negative fashion, offering a variety of reasons for their inability to act on such a request.²² This first plan for establishing a network of elementary schools, therefore, ended without great success. The Commission had to seek other ways to influence the growth and development of elementary education.

19 Lukasz Kurdybacha, Kuria Rzymska wobec Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w latach 1773-1783, p. 25. The original copy of this letter is in Volume 25 of the Archives of the Papal Nuncio in Warsaw.

20 Mieczysława Mitera-Dobrowolska, compiler, Protokoly Posiedzen Komisji Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1785 (Minutes of the Meetings of the Commission for National Education), Polska Akademia Nauk, Pracownia Dziejow Oswiaty, Ossolinskih, Warszawa, 1973, p. 16, 14 Januarii 1774, item 1^o. This reference will be cited as: Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785.

21 See Lukasz Kurdybacha, op. cit., p. 26. See also: Teodor Wierzbowski, Szkoły Parafjalne w Polsce i na Litwie za czasow Komisji Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1794 (Parish Schools in Poland and Lithuania in the times of the Commission for National Education), Krakow, Sklad Glowny w Ksiaznicy Polskiej w Warszawie, 1921, p. 21-22.

22 Lukasz Kurdybacha, op. cit., p. 26-27.

Discussion on the establishment of elementary schools continued during the months of January and February 1774.²³ Finally, still without a final plan, the Commission issued its first budget on 20 February 1774.²⁴ The budget included an item for the support of parish schools. Specifically, the budget contained 250,000 gulden for the support of 2,500 parish-elementary schools at 100 gulden per school.²⁵ This would indicate that the Commission projected the establishment and operation of at least one parish-elementary school for each ten villages in Poland and Lithuania. Finally, on 24 March 1774 the Educational Commission entrusted all elementary education to its Chairman, Bishop Massalski.²⁶ Bishop Massalski was a strong supporter of peasant education and a well known Physiocrat. He believed that immediate steps should be taken to establish the network of elementary schools.²⁷ Since the plan to obligate the monasteries with the responsibility for elementary education failed, Massalski decided to develop the network with the help of parish priests.

23 See minutes of the meetings of the Educational Commission for January and February, 1774 in Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 16-18.

24 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 18, 20 februarii, item 1^o; Budget figures are reproduced in Jozef Lewicki, Ustawodawstwo Szkolne za Czasow Komisji Edukacji Narodowej Rozporzadzenia: Ustawy Pedagogiczne i Organizacyjne (1773-1973) (Les règlements scolaires au temps de la Commission de l'Education Nationale), Krakow, Nakladem . Arcta w Warszawie, 1925, p. 9-11.

25 Supplement-Budget published in Gazeta Warszawska, 2 March 1774, as a supplement to the Ordynacja issued on 21 February 1774.

26 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 19-20, 24 martii 1774, item 3^o.

27 Ambroise Jobert, Magnats Polonais et Physiocrates Français (1767-1774), p. 17-26.

He believed that a large number of the gentry would also accept his ideas and come to support the elementary school network. As a result, Massalski promised the Educational Commission on 24 March 1774 that not only would he take on the responsibility for the organization of elementary education, but that in Lithuania he would establish an elementary school in every third parish.²⁸ With such enthusiastic planning and guidance the Educational Commission felt that the elementary sector was now in good hands.

With the proposed establishment of 2,500 parish schools in Lithuania and Poland it became apparent that some kind of clear regulation was needed to guide and direct the parish schools. This was accomplished by the Educational Commission on 25 May 1774 when the Commission authorized Bishop Massalski to prepare a regulation to govern the elementary schools.²⁹ Less than a month later, on 20 June 1774, Bishop Massalski presented the new regulation to the Commission.³⁰ That same day the Commission approved the regulation.³¹ The new regulation entitled: "Regulation for Parish Schools" or

28 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 20, 24 martii 1774, item 3^o. For further discussion of this matter see: Jonas A. Račkauskas, "Pradinis Švietimas Lietuvoje iki Trečiojo Padalinimo (1795m.)," (Primary Education in Lithuania up to the Period of the Third Partition of 1795) in Lietuvių Tautos Praeitis, Vol. III, Book 1(9), 1971, p. 92-94.

29 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p.23, 25 mai 1774, item 4^o.

30 ³⁰ Teodor Wierzbowski, Protokoly Posiedzen Komisji Edukacji Narodowej z lat 1773-1777, Part 37, p. 19 and 22.

31 Ibid., and Teodor Wierzbowski, Szkoly Parafjalne w Polsce i na Litwie za czasow Komisji Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1794, p. 26.

"Przepis do szkół Parafialnych," contained many modern and progressive ideas.³² Some authors believe that Bishop Massalski wrote the Regulation together with his noted co-workers Antoni Poplawski³³ and Michał Karpowicz.³⁴

The "Regulation for Parish Schools" attempted to change the parish schools in terms of their make-up and administrative responsibility. The provisions of the Regulation were grouped into three sections: (1) Teachers and their preparation; (2) Discipline and order in the schools, and (3) Methods of teaching and character development.³⁵ In the introduction to the Regulation, Bishop Massalski set forth a rather modern tone for education. He justified the Educational Commission's emphasis on elementary education on the grounds that "the child's development, thinking, and behavior depends on the very first experiences of childhood."³⁶

32 "Przepis do Szkół Parafialnych," (Regulation for Parish Schools) is reproduced in Zygmunt Kukulski, Pierwiotkowe Przepisy Pedagogiczne Komisji Edukacji Narodowej z lat 1773-1776 (The Primary Educational Regulations of the Commission for National Education 1773-1776), Lublin, Nakładem Lubelskiego Komitetu Obchodu 150-iej Rocznicy Ustanowienia Komisji Edukacyjnej i Zgonu St. Konarskiego, 1923, p. 22-30.

33 Antoni Poplawski (1739-1799), Piarist, Physiocrat, and one of the greatest educators of XVIIIth century Poland-Lithuania. Confer: Antanas P. (Paplauskas) Ramūnas, Iš Sutamų į Aušrą, Toronto, Tėviškės Žiburių Spaustuvė, 1967, p. 390-391.

34 For example see: Lukasz Kurdybacha and Mieczysława Mitera Dobrowolska, Komisja Edukacji Narodowej, Warszawa, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1973, p. 146.

35 Przepis do szkół parafialnych. 1774, p. 2; in Kukulski, op.cit., p. 22. The regulation contains seven sub-headings which can be grouped into the three main sections outlined above.

36 Przepis do szkół parafialnych, 1774, p. 1.

The first section of the Regulation concerned itself with teachers and their preparation.³⁷ The section consisted of seven parts and displayed a rather modern pedagogical outlook. A summary of each of the seven parts follows:³⁸

A-1 In the first part the Commission requested that all individuals seeking to continue their education begin their work as elementary school teachers, continue as secondary school teachers, and only then attempt teaching at the university or higher level. ✓

A-2 The second part made an appeal to dispell the prevailing attitude that teaching at the elementary level was debasing. Until the Commission prepared suitable teachers for the elementary schools, the local pastors were to select the individuals for these positions. A footnote was attached to this second part which attempted to place the burden of support for the schools on the local pastor, the public-at-large and the gentry.³⁹

37 This section as well as the other two sections are fully discussed in J.A. Račkauskas, "Edukacinės Komisijos Nurodymai Parapijų Mokykloms (1774)," (The Parish School Regulation of 1774 issued by the Educational Commission) in Lituanistikos Instituto 1971 metu Suvažiavimo Darbai, Chicago, Institute of Lithuanian Studies, 1971, p. 63-84.

38 Each of these sections and parts are discussed using the Przepis do szkół parafialnych, 1774.

39 This footnote is as follows: The Commission has hope that the religious in accordance with requirements of the Council of Trent using their own resources will support parish schools until such time that the government can provide the necessary funds. The local gentry, those that have serfs, will provide funds to pastors not having sufficient means to support local schools. In the Vilnius Diocese, for the public good, the gentry will provide funds to maintain and establish schools. See: "Przepis do szkół parafialnych," in Z. Kukulski, op. cit., footnote on p. 22.

- A-3 This part explained that not only religious but also secular individuals, married or single, could also serve as elementary teachers.
- A-4 The fourth part specified that the parish schools would be inspected at least once a year. During the inspection, which was to be made by a representative of the District School, teachers were to receive awards, etc.
- A-5 The fifth part indicated that the basis for teacher promotion would be formed through the visitations/inspections and the noted performance of the children in the school.
- A-6 This part was very indicative of the control over the schools the Educational Commission was working toward: "Even though the pastors support the schools with their own funds, they non-the-less have no control over them, apart from reporting to the District School Rector any questionable habits demonstrated by the teacher."⁴⁰
- A-7 The last part dealt with substitution in the case of illness on the part of the regular teacher. The Regulation specified that if a teacher was ill, the pastor was to communicate this fact to the District School Rector, and if no substitute was available, the pastor or his assistant was to take over in the classroom.

⁴⁰ "Przepis do szkół parafialnych," in Z. Kukulski, op. cit., p. 23. or J.A. Rackauskas, "Pradinis švietimas Lietuvoje iki Trečiojo Padalinimo (1795)," p. 118.

The second main section of the Regulation dealt with teaching and character development. Within this section there were four sub-sections: (1) Formation of the Mind; (2) Reading; (3) Writing; and (4) Counting.⁴¹ The main section was entitled: The Physical and Mental Development of Youth.⁴² This section presented the thinking of the Commission on the role of the home, physical development and education, and the development of good work habits in the education of youth. It strongly projected the Physiocratic doctrine with its emphasis on good work habits and the development of healthy bodies.⁴³ A summary of each of the five parts follows:⁴⁴

B-1 "The child's home is his first classroom, there children are supervised and taught order, so that when they do come to the parish schools they are more easily taught."⁴⁵

B-2 In the second part the Commission felt that children should "be accustomed to the cold, inconvenience, and unpleasantness of life, so that they could develop strength and endurance."⁴⁶

41 "Przepis do szkół parafialnych," in Z. Kukulski, op. cit., p. 23-28.

42 Ibid., p. 23.

43 R. Szreter, "Education for Nation-Saving: Poland between the Partitions," p. 60.

44 J. A. Račkauskas, "Edukacinės Komisijos Nurodymai Parapijų Mokykloms (1774)," p. 77-78.

45 "Przepis do szkół parafialnych," in Z. Kukulski, op. cit., p. 23.

46 Ibid.

- B-3 The third part dealt with the physical care of children in the school and at home. This part had a footnote in which the Commission indicated that books available in all parts of Europe, dealing with the physical care of children would be translated and published by the Commission.⁴⁷
- B-4 In the fourth part the Commission outlined the importance of physical education and games. It even cited Plato as a strong supporter of games and indicated the need for rules in games, so that strength and quickness could be developed.
- B-5 The fifth part explained the importance of physical labor. The Commission explained that it is through physical labor that the body develops, and that this development was of extreme importance to the country and its citizens. The goal, as indicated by the Commission, "was to have citizens who had a healthy soul in healthy and strong bodies."⁴⁸

The remaining sub-sections gave methodological instructions to the teachers. After a general introduction contained in the "Formation of the Mind" sub-section,⁴⁹ the Regulation continued with eight detailed instructions dealing with reading. Some of these instructions were very informative and were really teaching suggestions being provided to the teacher by the Educational Commission. For example, in the fourth suggestion under reading the Commission proposed that moveable type be used in the formation of words.⁵⁰

47 Ibid., p. 23-24.

48 Ibid., p. 24.

49 Ibid.

50 Ibid., p. 25-26.

The fifth suggestion dealt with the use of a primer in conjunction with the moveable type letter board.⁵¹ The sixth suggestion was very interesting and had implications for large scale peasant education:

If these boards were available or could be placed under the care of the teacher or pastor in villages or in homes, then a student who has already learned to read could be very useful to the entire village by teaching reading. In this way the desire to learn could be kindled and illiteracy could begin to disappear from the villages. All gentry, who are educated and wish to do good for their villagers, should contribute toward the acquisition of such boards.⁵²

The eighth suggestion in the reading instructions could be the causal factor for the wide-spread use of Lithuanian language primers in the parish schools.⁵³ This suggestion, in part, stated:

The first words that a child learns to read and write must be in his country's language. The words should be simple and comprehensible to all.⁵³

At this point it is only speculative whether Bishop Massalski included this suggestion in the Regulation so that the Lithuanian language could be learned and used by the children attending the parish schools.

The next two sub-sections were writing and counting. The sub-section on writing had four suggestions⁵⁵ while the sub-section on counting

51 Ibid., p. 26.

52 Ibid.

53 The use of Lithuanian language primers will be discussed in Chapter IX.

54 "Przepis do szkol parafialnych," in Z. Kukulski, op. cit., p. 26.

55 Ibid., p. 26-27.

had three suggestions.⁵⁶ Some interesting suggestions were presented for the teaching of writing. The Regulation suggested that waxed paper be used to copy letters and words;⁵⁷ that the words being copied be simple and in the child's language;⁵⁸ and that constant repetition be used in the teaching of writing. The sub-section dealing with counting suggested that counting was necessary for a wide variety of occupations, and that children be intensively taught to count. The second suggestion in the counting sub-section reflected the methodology of the time. For example:

Arithmetic can be learned more easily if objects are used. For example, the use of peas or other grains can be used to teach simple numeration. Placing grain next to grain, or taking grain away from grain will simply reveal to the child the meaning of add and subtract. The same method can be clearly used to show that multiplication is the same as addition, but repeated several or many times. Division can be shown to be the same as single or multiple subtraction.⁵⁹

The counting sub-section continued by suggesting that all the mathematical symbols should also be taught to the children.⁶⁰

56 Ibid., p. 27-28.

57 Ibid., p. 27., Part 2 of the Sub-Section on Writing.

58 Ibid., p. 27., Part 3 of the Sub-Section on Writing.

59 Ibid., p. 27., Part 2 of the Sub-Section on Counting.

In the Braunschweig-Lüneburg school decree of 1737 appeared directions for beginning number work by counting the fingers, apples, etc., and basing the multiplication table on addition. A few German writers during the XVIIIth century suggested better instruction; Basedow tried to institute reform in the teaching of the subject; but it was left for Pestalozzi to give the first real impetus to the rational teaching of mathematics. This Regulation of 1774, with its heavy emphasis on concrete experiences with numbers reflects much of the Pestalozzian school.

60 "Przepis do szkół parafialnych," in Z. Kukulski, op. cit., p. 28.

The third and final section of the regulation was entitled "Discipline and Order in the Schools."⁶¹ This section contained twelve parts. The main provisions were:

C-1 "All of the child's education in the schools should be completed in 12 years. Therefore, children from the ages of 4 or 5 should begin their elementary education, so that by ages 17 or 18 they can be useful to their nation."⁶²

C-2 In this second part the Commission pleaded for equality: "Equality should be maintained in dealings with all children, be they from the gentry or from the peasant family, since in the eyes of society they are all children."⁶³

C-3 "Children should be kept happy and lively, since these contribute to bodily as well as spiritual health."⁶⁴

C-5 "Discipline should not be imposed through fear, but through mature leadership and understanding the child must be led to understand through the use of his own mental powers."⁶⁵

C-6 The sixth part dealt with methodology. The Commission again reminded the teacher that concrete experiences

61 Ibid., p.28-29.

62 Ibid.

63 Ibid.

64 Ibid.

65 Ibid.

should be the base of the teaching act versus abstract ideas, which the child may not be able to grasp. This part made a strong plea for experience in learning and for the delay of abstractions for the later grades.⁶⁶

C-9 In the ninth part the Commission instructed the teacher on freedom in learning: "Allow the child the freedom to act, as long as he does not use this freedom to hurt himself or others, so that the child from an early age can have a taste of freedom and realize its worth."⁶⁷ This statement projected the true pedagogical stance of the author, Bishop Massalski and the Commission. Freedom seemed to be a continuous theme in all of the regulations.

C-10 The tenth part described the classroom: "The classrooms, in which children learn, should be large, with high ceilings, in dry places, with good ventilation, have a fireplace and a good stove. The classrooms should be as cheerful as possible, decorated with paintings and pictures, maps of cities, etc., and always kept clean, so that children would not look upon school as a prison, but as a pleasant place. The teacher with his kindness will sweeten learning."⁶⁸

p. 28. 66 "Przepis do szkół parafialnych," in Z. Kukulski, op. cit.,

67 Ibid., p. 29.

68 Ibid.

C-11 This eleventh part dealt with awards and prizes for good performance in the schools. The Commission suggested that the prizes or awards be selected to match the age of the child and that: "The teacher should make the awards with love and understanding, so as to capture the child's heart, and to rouse confidence in the teacher and the desire to learn."⁶⁹

C-12 The last part of this section specified that the teacher was to keep accurate records on each child, that each year the child's record was to be sent to the district school. The form for keeping the child's record was specified in a separate circular.⁷⁰

The concluding statements made in the Regulation recognized the fact that "the child is under the influence of the parents, the teachers, and the environment." "Because of this," the Regulation continued, "all efforts of both the parents and the teachers should be directed toward the new generation, so that all from their childhood would have a healthy soul in a healthy body. Orandum est, ut sit mens sana in corpore sano."⁷¹ The Regulation in many ways conveyed the intellectual projection of the Enlightenment. It reflected the sense experience principles of Hume and in part of the Lockian school, as well as the thinking of Jean Jacques Rousseau.

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid. The reporting form "Raport Nauczycielow Pierwszej Szkoły o Uczniach," is reproduced by Z. Kukulski, op. cit., p. 21.

71 "Przepis do szkół parafialnych, in Z. Kukulski, op. cit., p. 29.

The Regulation for Parish Schools did not completely reflect some of the suggestions received in response to the Uniwersal.⁷² Even though the proposals for school reorganization suggested the inclusion of practical subjects like agriculture and gardening, these remained unmentioned in the Regulation. It should be noted that the teaching of religion was also not included in the Regulation. This was due to the strong desire to separate the responsibility and administration of education from the Church. This desire is further substantiated by the Regulation's clear definition of the pastor's authority over the teacher as being indirect and only through the district school rector.⁷³ This indirect authority over the school, on the part of the pastor, did not in fact materialize, since the subordination of the parish school to the Educational Commission existed only in theory. The district school rectors had little time to devote to the parish schools nor did they have the travel funds for their visitation.⁷⁴ In fact, the parish pastor, living in the parish and maintaining the school, was indeed the true supervisor of the school.

The task of the parish schools, in the opinion of Bishop Massalski, was to prepare children for secondary and higher schooling.⁷⁵

72 See Chapter III, Section C: The Initial Organizational Activities of the Commission; and Chapter IV: Proposals for School Reform.

73 "Przepis do szkół parafialnych," in Z. Kukulski, op. cit., p. 23.

74 Lukasz Kurdybacha and Mieczysław Mitera Dobrowolska, op. cit., p. 147.

75 "Przepis do szkół parafialnych," in Z. Kukulski, op. cit., p. 23.

The parish schools were meant not only for the peasant children, but for the burgher children and the gentry children as well.⁷⁶ For Massalski the parish schools were not class-segregated, as was proposed by the authors of the various educational reform projects.⁷⁷ Thus, as can be seen from the Regulation, Massalski proved himself to be a progressive educational reformer. In attempting to avoid conflicts which could arise in the parish schools between peasant and gentry children, Massalski placed into the Regulation a specific instruction to the teachers. He stated: "Equality should be maintained in dealings with all children, be they from the gentry or from the peasant family, since in the eyes of society they are all children."⁷⁸ Children it appeared to Massalski, who was himself of high birth, were all equal--they differed only in their abilities and efforts. Lukasz Kurdybacha⁷⁹ in attempting to evaluate this passage of the Regulation notes: "Even if we admit that these demands for equality were utopian and unrealistic for the feudal system, we must nevertheless admire the author for his courage to raise and offer such progressive ideas for the solution of the social problems present in the elementary schools of the day."⁸⁰

76 Ibid., p. 28-29.

77 See Chapter IV: Proposals for School Reform

78 "Przepis do szkól parafialnych," in Z. Kukulski, op. cit., p. 28-29.

79 Lukasz Kurdybacha, founder and former Director of the Institute of the History of Education of the Polish Academy of Sciences died in Warsaw on 22 December 1972. He was Poland's leading historian of education, he was chiefly interested in educational thought and in the secularisation of education in the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries.

80 Lukasz Kurdybacha and Mieczyslaw Mitera-Dobrowolska, op. cit., p. 151.

With the Parish School Regulation approved by the Commission Bishop Massalski began organizing the parish school network. The implementation was two-fold. The Educational Commission sent copies of the new Regulation and orders for its implementation.⁸¹ Along with this official action Bishop Massalski, using his ecclesiastical post, ordered all pastors in the Vilnius Diocese to establish schools.⁸² This order required that at least one school be established for every three parishes. He then turned his efforts to the financing of these schools. On 27 August 1774 he received from the Commission 18,500 gulden.⁸³ He then requested from the Commission certain ex-Jesuit properties in the Diocese of Vilnius, so that the properties could be used to support elementary education. The Commission granted these properties on 23 December 1774.⁸⁴ The 18,500 gulden he received in August were to be used to pay eleven pastors for the establishment of schools. The Commission also authorized fourteen inspectors for the elementary schools of Lithuania on 29 August 1774.⁸⁵ In the following year, 1775, the Commission appropriated, at the request of Bishop

81 Teodor Wierzbowski, Protokoly Posiedzen Komisji Edukacyi Narodowej z lat 1773-1777, Part 37, p. 19 and 22.

82 Ibid., p. 16.

83 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 32, 27 augusti 1774, item 2^o.

84 Ibid., p. 44-45, 24 decembra 1774, item 8^o.

85 Ibid., p. 33, 29 augusti 1774, item 7^o. Also Teodor Wierzbowski, Protokoly Poseidzen Komisji Edukacyi Narodowej z lat 1773-1777, Part 37, p. 29-30.

Massalski a total of 164,800 gulden for the support of the parish schools of Lithuania.⁸⁶

Bishop Massalski used his diocesan deans as the main organizers of the parish schools. The deans' duties were to visit each of the parishes under their control, select sites for parish schools, and to talk to the local gentry and persuade them to cooperate in the support of the schools. The deans were also to talk to the peasants and convince them of the necessity of attending the new parish schools.⁸⁷ The deans carried copies of the Regulation as well as a plan for the building of new parish school buildings.⁸⁸ This plan for the new school building was reflective of the Regulation and followed Bishop Massalski's thinking.

The diocesan deans organized the schools in the Vilnius Diocese. Outside of the Vilnius Diocese, according to the overall plan, the fourteen inspectors were to accomplish the same actions as the diocesan deans. In order to assist all of the organizers Massalski prepared a special regulation: "Przepis dla wizytatorów wybranych na rozpoczęcie szkół parafjalnych w Wielkiem Księstwie Litewskiem."⁸⁹ This new regulation outlined the duties, procedures,

86 Teodor Wierzbowski, Szkoły Parafjalne w Polsce i na Litwie za czasów Komisji Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1794, p. 79.

87 Ibid., p. 84-85.

88 A copy of this plan is reproduced in Lukasz Kurdybacha, Historia Wychowania (History of Education), Warszawa, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1967, p. 684.

89 Copy of this can be found in Akty Komisji Edukacyjnej, Volume III, Book 7, page 45. See: Teodor Wierzbowski, Szkoły Parafjalne w Polsce i na Litwie za czasów Komisji Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1794, p. 85-86. It consists of only five statements.

and responsibilities of the school inspectors.

Early in 1774 Bishop Massalski realized that if the network of elementary schools was to function, a large number of new teachers for these schools would have to be trained. Therefore he developed a plan for the establishment of a teacher training seminary in Vilnius, which the Commission approved on 24 December 1774.⁹⁰ The new Teacher Training Seminary was opened in April of 1775.⁹¹

The efforts of Bishop Massalski to establish parish schools began to produce results. By 1777 there were 330 parish schools operating in Lithuania (See Table XII).⁹² A report issued 3 July 1777 indicated that of the total 4,956 pupils attending, 78.8 percent or 3,973 were children of the peasants and burghers.⁹³ The 21.2 percent gentry children enrolled indicated that more than a token number of the gentry were sending their children to the parish schools. The gentry enrollment in Samogitia was, on the average, higher than in the Lithuanian district. In general, these figures tend to indicate that the Massalski parish schools were acceptable to all social classes.

⁹⁰ Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 44-45, 24 decembra 1774, item 1^o.

⁹¹ This activity is fully discussed in Chapter VI: Section B: First Efforts at Preparing Lay Teachers for the Elementary Schools.

⁹² Teodor Wierzbowski, Szkoly Parafjalne w Polsce i na Litwie za czasow Komisiji Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1794, p. 86-87. See also J. Gvildys, "Edukacijos Komisijos Švietimo Darbai Lietuvoje," Židinys (Kaunas), Vol. XIII, No. 5/6(76-77), 1931, p. 491-492.

⁹³ Report titled: "Raport dziekanow diecezji wilenskiej podany ksieciu pasterzowi, liczbe szkol parafjalnych, oraz uczacych sie w nich dzieci kondycji szlacheckiej, miejskiej i wiejskiej zawierajacy, w roku 1777 dnia 3 miesiaca iulii wyegzaminowany." In Teodor Wierzbowski, Szkoly Parafjalne w Polsce i na Litwie za czasow Komisiji Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1794, p. 86.

TABLE XIII
Enrollments by Social Class in the Parish Schools
of Educational Districts in the Grand Duchy of
Lithuania, Reported by Diocesan Deaneries for the
Year 1777

Educational District and Deanery	Number of Schools	Total Enrolled	% Gentry Enrolled	% Non-Gentry Enrolled
A. Lithuanian District				
Vilnius	19	293	19	81
Gardinas	19	423	3	97
Alytus	19	408	11	89
Lyda	15	167	16	84
Ašmena	15	180	26	74
Trakai	14	217	20	80
Rodunia	11	220	25	75
			Avg 17	Avg 83
B. Samogitian District				
Kupiškis	19	337	12	88
Kaunas	19	178	26	74
Pabaiskas	16	209	20	80
Ukmergė	15	295	36	64
			Avg 23.5	Avg 76.5
C. Unclassified Deaneries				
(Total)	149	2,029	23	77
Totals/Averages	330	4,956	21.2	78.8

NOTE: Totals reflect only 18 of 22 Diocesan Deaneries reporting.

REPRODUCED from: J. A. Račkauskas, "The First National System of Education in Europe: The Commission for National Education of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (1773-1794,)" in Lituanus, Vol. 14, No. 4, Winter, 1968, p. 34.

Further analysis of parish school enrollments reveals that even in areas where a sub-district school or a district school was in operation, the percentage class distribution did not differ to any significant degree. For example, Ukmerge had a district school, but still had a 36 percent gentry enrollment in the parish schools, while Pabaiska, which did not have a district school had a gentry enrollment of 20 percent. Likewise, Vilnius had a district school but maintained a gentry enrollment of 19 percent in the parish schools, while Trakai did not have a district school, but still had a 20 percent gentry enrollment.⁹⁴ The case of Gardinas, which had a chief district school, is an exception to these examples. The parish schools of Gardinas had only a 3 percent enrollment of gentry children. It would appear that the gentry children were first taught at home, which was the normal procedure, and then sent directly to the district school.

The total number of parish schools under the Educational Commission during 1777 was 450. This in fact translates to 74 percent of all parish schools being in the Lithuanian districts, while only 26 percent of the parish schools were in the six Polish districts. The three Lithuanian districts had 330, while all of the Polish districts had only 120 parish schools.⁹⁵ This vast difference can only be attributed to the efforts of Bishop Massalski and the cooperation of the Lithuanian

94 Comparisons made using Table XIII, this chapter, and Table XI and XII, Chapter VII.

95 Teodor Wierzbowski, Protokoly Posiedzen Komisji Edukacji Narodowej z lat 1773-1777, Part 37, p. 168. See also Teodor Wierzbowski, Szkoly Parafjalne w Polsce i na Litwie za czasow Komisji Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1794, p. 84, 86-87.

clergy in the establishment and operation of parish schools.

The cooperation of the Lithuanian clergy with Bishop Massalski in the establishment and operation of the parish schools was not as voluntary as one may be led to believe. Funds given for the support of parish schools in Lithuania were sent through Bishop Massalski. Some of these funds never reached the schools.⁹⁶ Funds were being used to a great degree in the Vilnius Diocese, but not in the other Lithuanian educational districts. Also, the Educational Commission realized that a formal concordat was never prepared with the Vilnius Diocese on the matter of support for the parish schools.⁹⁷ At the same time the pastors, under heavy pressure from the Bishop, were being forced into supporting parish schools. The result was that a synod was called for the purpose of rejecting Bishop Massalski's orders and alleviating his pressure on them.⁹⁸ Bishop Massalski, knowing that a synod was being called, had each of the pastors, individually, sign an agreement to establish parish schools.⁹⁹ When the capitulary of the diocese learned of this action, they had little choice but to approve the parish school orders made by Bishop Massalski.¹⁰⁰

96 Teodor Wierzbowski, Protokoly Posiedzen Komisji Edukacyi Narodowej z lat 1778-1781, Part 38, pp. 132-142, 168-169, and p. 178.

97 Ibid., p. 19. and Teodor Wierzbowski, Szkoly Parafjalne w Polsce i na Litwie za czasow Komisji Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1794, p. 89.

98 Irena Szybiak, Szkolnictwo Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w Wielkim Ksiestwie Litewskim (The Educational Activities of the Commission for National Education in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania), Wroclaw, Zaklad Narodowy im. Ossolinski, 1973, p. 100.

99 Teodor Wierzbowski, Szkoly Parafjalne w polsce i na Litwie za czasow Komisji Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1794, pp. 84, 86-87.

100 Irena Szybiak, op.cit., p. 101.

Most of the parish schools, having been established by the pastors or progressive gentry, followed the program suggested by Bishop Massalski in the Regulation. Thus, reading, writing, and arithmetic were taught. The latter it should be noted, was taught only when a teacher who knew arithmetic was available. In all of the Lithuanian parish schools religion was also taught, even though it was not a curriculum area mentioned in the Parish School Regulation. The religion program included catechism, hymns, prayers, and daily Mass.¹⁰¹

The educational program in the parish schools did not reach the projected level, as outlined in the Regulation, since it lacked the trained teachers. The Educational Commission had no means of controlling the teacher's qualifications or their teaching. The Commission also did not attempt to regulate the parish teacher's salary. The form and the amount of the teacher's salary depended upon the agreement reached with the local pastor. Often compensation was in the form of farm goods or simply board in conjunction with money collected from the pupils' parents. Teachers who also played the organ were in better financial condition, since the organist's job was more highly rewarded than that of the parish school teacher.¹⁰² Hardships of this kind on the parish school teacher created a strained relationship between the teacher and his pupils. Many teachers, unable

101 Ibid., p. 112.

102 M. Lukšienė, Lietuvos Švietimo Istorijos Bruožai XIX a. pirmoje pusėje (Outline of Lithuanian Educational History during the First Half of the XIX Century), Kaunas, Lietuvos TSR Švietimo Ministerijos Mokyklų Mokslinio Tyrimo Institutas, Pedagogikos Darbai IV Tomas, "Šviesa" 1970, p. 18-20.

to cope with the conditions left the parish schools. Conditions were not as bad in schools that were maintained by the rich and progressive gentry or rich parishes. Also, schools maintained by various religious orders, such as the Piarists, were in a much higher status than the normal parish school.¹⁰³

Due to financial difficulties many of the Massalski plans were also not realized. The requirement, for example, that special school buildings be constructed alongside rectories could not be met. The diocesan deans wrote to Bishop Massalski that most of the poor parishes could not raise the funds to construct these school buildings. Thus, the parish schools held their classes in either the teacher's lodging, in the rectory, or in a rented room.¹⁰⁴

Even though Bishop Massalski was successful in winning the clergy's support for the establishment of parish schools, he was unable to change the negative attitude of the gentry toward peasant education. In 1777 Bishop Massalski appealed to the Educational Commission for assistance in his fight to convince the gentry of the necessity for elementary education. His statement to the Commission documented numerous instances where gentry not only did not encourage the peasants to attend the parish schools, but forbade their attendance.¹⁰⁵ Massalski requested that the Commission issue a directive as well as make a request to the

¹⁰³ These conditions are more fully presented in J.A. Račkauskas, "Pradinis Svietimas Lietuvoje iki Trečiojo Padalinimo 1795m.," p.96-97.

¹⁰⁴ Irena Szybiak, op. cit., 110, and M. Lukšienė, op. cit., p. 18-21.

¹⁰⁵ Teodor Wierzbowski, Protokoly Posiedzen Komisji Edukacyi Narodowej z lat 1773-1777, Part 37, p. 168.

Sejm for a strong policy statement regarding elementary education. The Commission, after long discussions, responded by issuing a "Circular to the Citizens," in which the meaning and necessity of elementary education was explained.¹⁰⁶ This mild reaction on the part of the Educational Commission against the severe opposition of the gentry did not bring any results. Shortly thereafter, Massalski again alarmed the Commission by reporting the gentry's opposition and their actions against the establishment of new parish schools and even the forbidding of serfs to attend them. This time the Educational Commission decided to take no action on Massalski's request.¹⁰⁷ The Educational Commission, it seems, was reluctant to take any action which might bring the Commission into conflict with the conservative gentry, especially when within a short time the Sejm would be meeting and the Commission would try to propose the Zamoyski Code.¹⁰⁸ The Zamoyski Code, as it applied to the parish schools, required that there be an elementary school in each parish under the jurisdiction of the Educational Commission, and that their maintenance would be assured through financial support of the Commission.¹⁰⁹ It was thought that once the Zamoyski Code

106 See "List cyrkularny do obywatelow," in Teodor Wierzbowski, Protokoly Posiedzen Komisji Edukacyi Narodowej z lat 1773-1777, Part 37, p. 168.

107 Ibid., p. 181

108 Ambroïse Jobert, La Commission d'Éducation Nationale en Pologne (1773-1794), Paris, Société d'Édition Les Belles Lettres, 1941, p. 219-224.

109 Lukasz Kurdybacha and Mieczyslaw Mitera-Dobrowolska, op. cit., p. 162.

was accepted by the Sejm of 1780, the educational problems of the elementary schools would all be solved. However, the Zamoyski Code was rejected by the Sejm of 1780 and the cause of more progressive and universal elementary education was lost.¹¹⁰

Bishop Massalski began to lose interest in the activities of the Educational Commission, especially after the Wybicki Report of 1777.¹¹¹ With the rejection of the Zamoyski Code by the Sejm, Bishop Massalski finally resigned from the Chairmanship of the Educational Commission, but remained a member through 1794.¹¹² One of his final acts before his resignation was the deliverance of the Concordat with the Diocese of Vilnius dealing with parish schools.¹¹³ The chairmanship was assumed by the King's brother, Michael Poniatowski, Bishop of Płock and later, Primate of Poland.¹¹⁴

C. Elementary Education in the Statutes of the Educational Commission of 1783

The failure of the Zamoyski Code in the Sejm of 1780 seriously affected the attitude of the Educational Commission toward the parish

110 See Irena Sybiak, op. cit., p. 114; Lukasz Kurdybacha and Mieczyslaw Mitera-Dobrowolska, op. cit., p. 162-163; Ambroise Jobert, La Commission d'Education Nationale en Pologne (1773-1794), p. 222-223.

111 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, 18 pazdziernika 1777, 20 pazdziernika 1777, and 21 pazdziernika 1777, p. 90-91. This report was fully discussed in Chapter VI: School Visitations and Inspections.

112 Massalski resigned in 1780, but Poniatowski did not become Chairman officially until 1786. See Irena Sybiak, op. cit., p. 31; Ambroise Jobert, La Commission d'Education Nationale en Pologne (1773-1794), p. 226.

113 Teodor Wierzbowski, Protokoly Posiedzen Komisji Edukacji Narodowej z lat 1778-1781, Part 38, p. 140-142.

114 See Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. IX-X and footnotes 3 and 4 on p. 4.

schools. The Educational Commission, without the leadership of Bishop Massalski, began to concentrate its attention on the district schools and the universities. The entire parish school situation gave way to the thinking of the more conservative gentry and the liberalism of the Parish School Regulation of 1774 was lost. The attitude of the Educational Commission toward parish school education was clearly evidenced in the Statutes of the Educational Commission of 1783.¹¹⁵ In the Statutes the entire issue of elementary education was reduced to one chapter consisting of ten paragraphs.¹¹⁶ The more important provisions of this chapter will be examined and compared to the Parish School Regulation of 1774.

As previously noted the original plan of the Educational Commission projected 2,500 parish schools in Poland and Lithuania. Bishop Massalski proposed that he would establish one parish school for every three parishes for the children of the peasants, the burghers and the gentry. The Zamoyski Code proposed that a parish school be established in each parish. The Statutes, on the other hand, were silent as to the number of parish schools.¹¹⁷ The Statutes

115 The Statutes of the Education Commission of 1783 are reproduced in Stanislaw Tync, "Ustawy Kommissyi Edukacyi Narodowej dla Stanu Akademickiego i na Szkoły w Krajach Rzeczypospolitej Przepisane," Komisja Edukacji Narodowej, Biblioteka Narodowa, Nr. 126, Seria 1, Wrocław, Ossolinum 1954, p. 575-723. Citations to the Statutes of the Educational Commission of 1783 will be in the following format: Ustawy KEN-1783. The page number cited will refer to the Tync page number.

116 Chapter XXII of the Statutes "Szkoły Parafialne," in Ustawy KEN-1783, pp. 699-701.

117 Ustawy KEN-1783, p. 699-701.

divided the existing parish schools into what was termed "smaller" and "larger" schools.¹¹⁸ The Statutes stated: "Schools that are in small towns or villages, near parish churches or more distant from them, will be called the parish schools. Some of them, especially those in the towns, can be larger, thus they can have more subject matter taught, others, will have less subject matter taught and will be called the smaller schools."¹¹⁹ The Statutes continued by stating that: "the larger schools will be for the children of the burghers, and that the smaller schools will be for the children of the peasants."¹²⁰ Nothing was mentioned in the Statutes about the children of the gentry, even the poorer gentry. It appears that as a result of the conflicts with the more conservative gentry over the issue of peasant education the gentry negated the efforts of the Educational Commission to guide and educate their children together with children of the lower classes. Thus, the Educational Commission retreated from the Massalski progressive, but unrealistic, vision to have a general parish school for all classes.

In attempting to convince the gentry of the benefits of educating the peasantry, the Educational Commission used the basic Physiocratic doctrine in the Statutes. First the Commission defined the purpose of the parish schools as being: "To teach the poor people religion, their class obligations--duties, as well as the work or

118 Ustawy KEN-1783, p. 699

119 Ibid., p. 699, paragraph 1.

120 Ibid.

trade befitting their class."¹²¹ This same paragraph continued by explaining the benefits derived from providing the lower classes with this training: "Everyone will be more inclined to, and be more precise in, the execution of their duties; everyone will perform their work or trade better...if they understand why and for what reason they must be dependent."¹²² The Statutes clearly indicated that the aim of the parish schools was not only to educate the lower classes in order to increase productivity, but also to perpetuate serfdom. The same paragraph concluded: "The burghers and peasants will more willingly fulfill their duties, if from their very youth they are prepared for them in the school."¹²³

The Statutes of 1783 very closely emphasized the class status of the parish schools, while the Massalski Parish School Regulation did not even notice social class differences. In the Statutes the social class differences were emphasized even further when the curriculum was specified for the parish schools.¹²⁴ In the "larger" parish schools for the children of the burghers the curriculum was to consist of religion, customs, reading, writing, arithmetic, geometry (as much as was needed for measurement), gardening, farming, hygiene, animal health, business study, and aspects of manufacturing.¹²⁵ The "larger" parish school

121 Ustawy KEN-1783, p. 699, paragraph 2.

122 Ibid.

123 Ibid.

124 Ibid.

125 Ibid.

curriculum was more directly reflective of the economic aspirations of the country. The curricular specifications dealing with aspects of manufacturing instructed, for example, the teaching of dye making from certain plants as well as the usefulness of wool, bark, rags, ashes, and other materials in various manufacturing processes.¹²⁶

In the "smaller" parish schools, where the children of the peasants were to be educated, the curricular program specifications were much more limited. The teacher was instructed by the Statutes to devise his own program, after consultation with the pastor, estate owner, and rector of the sub-district school. The program, as specified required more physical exercise--physical activities in the open air so that the children would become accustomed to various discomforts.¹²⁷

The Statutes specified that in the parish schools customs of the country should be studied.¹²⁸ How were these customs to be taught in the parish schools? The answer to this question comes from the textbook prepared for the parish schools by the Educational Commission. At its meeting of 19 March 1784 the Educational Commission requested that Grzegorz Píramowicz¹²⁹ prepare a textbook for the

126 Ustawy KEN-1783, p. 700, paragraph 4.

127 Ibid.

128 Ibid.

129 Grzegorz Píramowicz was the secretary of the Society for Elementary Books. He was an ex-Jesuit and one of the leading educational planners for the Educational Commission. He is most famous for his methods and instruction book published in 1787 entitled: Powinności Nauczyciela Mianowicie zaś w Szkołach Parafialnych i Sposoby ich Dopelnienia, Warszawa., Drukarni Nadworney J. K. Mci i P. Kom. E. Naro, 1787.

parish schools, that would reflect the provisions of Chapter XXII of the Statutes.¹³⁰ Piramowicz prepared the textbook and it was printed in 1785.¹³¹ A chapter entitled "The Knowledge of Customs" sheds light on the teaching of customs in the parish schools. According to Piramowicz, the purpose of studying customs was to persuade children to be obedient to the social order, in which everyone had a place in accordance with their social class. The neglect of one's duty, Piramowicz explained, produced hardships on all of society.¹³² The children of the serfs were to be taught to spare and save the property of the estate, to avoid any damage to the estate, and to fulfill their duties conscientiously in order to increase the fortune of the landlord. The serfs were to show their respect, obedience, and gratitude to the landlord for his protection. In order for a serf to be a productive worker, he had to care for his health and be accustomed to hard work. Therefore, in the Piramowicz instructions, emphasis was placed on physical activity for the peasant children.¹³³ Without a doubt the contents of these instructions were a complete concession to the conservative gentry on the part of the Educational Commission.

¹³⁰ Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 308-309, 19 marca 1784, item 2^o.

¹³¹ Lukasz Kurdybacha and Mieczyslaw Mitera-Dobrowolska, op. cit., p. 166-167. Also see: Kamilla Mrozowska, ed., Gregorz Piramowicz: Powinnosci Nauczyciela oraz Wybor Mow i Listow, Wroclaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Nr. 171, Seria I, Ossolinski, 1958, p. LVII.

¹³² Gregorz Piramowicz, Elementarz dla Szkol Parafialnych Narodowych, Warszawa, 1785, p. 2-3, 5, 15-16, 42-43.

¹³³ Ibid.

According to paragraph 5 of Chapter XXII of the Statutes the teacher was to decide the length of the school year.¹³⁴ The paragraph states:

The parish school teacher in adjusting the school term, especially in the villages, must consider the time during which children may be needed and necessary for help in farm work. The decision will be made after consulting with the pastor. Most probably the peasant children will attend school daily from St. Michael's¹³⁵ until St. Vaitekus¹³⁶ and during the summer months on Sundays to review and retain what had been learned...

No specification is contained in the Statutes for the "larger" parish schools.

The Statutes made no mention of the social class status to be given to the elementary school teacher, but did accord the secondary school teacher a new social class status. Specifically, secondary school teachers were to belong to the Academic Class.¹³⁷ This can be considered a variation from the Parish School Regulation which specifically attempted to elevate the elementary teaching profession and continually stressed the importance of elementary education.

The qualifications for teaching in the elementary schools were not specified in the Statutes. After the closing of the Vilnius Parish School Teacher Seminary in 1780 the Educational Commission was to find other ways of preparing elementary school teachers. By 1783 the Commission had not yet decided on how to prepare elementary teachers.

¹³⁴ Ustawy KEN-1783, p. 700.

¹³⁵ St. Michael's is 29 September.

¹³⁶ St. Vaitekus' is 24 April.

¹³⁷ See: "Kandydaci do Stanu Akademickiego," in Ustawy KEN-1783, p. 612-619.

Even though the Commission had decided that teachers for the elementary schools would be prepared at the district schools, no specific curricular program had been devised.¹³⁸ The program of the district schools did not include any pedagogical courses. In order to remedy this situation the Commission requested that Gregorz Piramowicz prepare a teacher's handbook for the parish schools.¹³⁹ The handbook, Powinnosci Nauczyciela¹⁴⁰ was prepared and published in 1787.¹⁴¹ The book consisted of four main parts and three supplements. In part one Piramowicz discussed the tasks and aims of educational work in the parish schools.¹⁴² In part two physical education was presented with emphasis on health and hygiene.¹⁴³ Part three presented a discussion of moral education.¹⁴⁴ It is interesting to note that Piramowicz placed obedience to the gentry and to the government in first place.¹⁴⁵ He also included a special discussion of religious education

138 Teodor Wierzbowski, Protokoly Posiedzen Komisji Edukacji Narodowej z lat 1778-1781, Part 38, p. 141.

139 Protokoly Posiedzen KEN 1773-1785, p. 308-309, 19 marca 1784, item 20.

140 Gregorz Piramowicz, Powinnosci Nauczyciela oraz Wybor Mow i Listow (Teacher's Obligations and Selections from Speeches and Letters), published in Warsaw, w Drukarni Nadwornej J. K. Mci i P. Kom. E. Naro, 1787.

141 Complete original text of Powinnosci Nauczyciela reproduced in Kamilla Mrozowska, ed., Gregorz Piramowicz: Powinnosci Nauczyciela oraz Wybor Mow i Listow, Wroclaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Nr. 171, Seria I, Ossolinski, 1958, p. 1-250. References to this text will be cited as Powinnosci Nauczyciela.

142 Powinnosci Nauczyciela, p. 10-37.

143 Ibid., p. 38-54.

144 Ibid., p. 55-71.

145 Ibid., p. 59.

with an emphasis on devotion. The last part dealt with the methods of teaching the various subjects in the parish school curriculum.¹⁴⁶ It should be noted that the teaching methodology stressed concrete and practical approaches to the curriculum.

The supplements to Powinnosci Nauczyciela consisted of three parts: (1) The Education of Girls;¹⁴⁷ (2) The Examination of Candidates for the Teaching Profession;¹⁴⁸ and (3) Establishing Teacher Training Seminaries.¹⁴⁹ Of interest is the supplement dealing with the education of girls. Piramowicz suggested that girls receive the same instruction as boys in terms of reading, writing, and arithmetic, but that home-making instruction be substituted for business and skill subjects.¹⁵⁰ In the supplement dealing with the examination of teachers heavy emphasis was placed on knowledge of the Powinnosci Nauczyciela.¹⁵¹ The last supplement indicated that Piramowicz was convinced of the necessity of teacher training seminaries for the elementary school teacher.¹⁵²

146 "Jakim Sposobem ma Nauczyciel Dawac z Pozytkiem Nauki Przepisane Szkolom," in Powinnosci Nauczyciela, p. 72-104.

147 "O Mistrziniach dzieci plci Niewiesciej," in Powinnosci Nauczyciela, p. 105-108.

148 "Sposob i Punkta Egzaminu Tych, Ktorzy Nauczycielami byc Mają," in Powinnosci Nauczyciela, p. 109-114.

149 "O Zalozeniu Szkoły, Czyli Seminaryi Nauczycielow Parafialnych," in Powinnosci Nauczyciela, p. 109-114.

150 Powinnosci Nauczyciela, p. 107-108.

151 Ibid., p. 108-109.

152 Ibid., p. 109-110. Piramowicz in his first sentence cites the important role of the Vilnius Teacher Training Seminary, which had already been closed.

Piramowicz urged the civil and ecclesiastical authorities to establish teacher training seminaries.¹⁵³ It appears that Piramowicz sensed the shortage of trained parish school teachers and was not in full agreement with the plans of the Educational Commission to prepare teachers for the parish schools in the normal district schools.

The Powinnosci Nauczyciela was the sole source of pedagogical information available to the elementary school teacher. It was the first systematic methods book which reflected the requirements set forth by the Educational Commission. Information contained in the reports of the general inspectors indicates that not only did the parish school teachers have copies of Powinnosci Nauczyciela, but that the suggestions contained therein were being followed by the teachers.¹⁵⁴ The books enjoyed wide circulation in Lithuania and Poland. Since its first printing in 1787 it had been reprinted a total of seven times before the start of the XIX century.¹⁵⁵

According to paragraph 3 of Chapter XXII of the Statutes the supervision and direct control of the parish schools was in the hands of the district school prorektor.¹⁵⁶ In essence this was not a change from the specifications contained in the Parish School Regulation of 1774.

153 Powinnosci Nauczyciela, p. 111.

154 See Teodor Wierzbowski, Szkoly Parafjalne w Polsce i na Litwie za czasow Komisiji Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1794, p. 144, 158, and 180.

155 First edition published in 1787, another 15 editions were produced with the last being in 1958. The 16th edition was that of Kamilla Mrozowska, Gregorz Piramowicz: Powinnosci Nauczyciela oraz Wybor Mow i Listow, Wroclaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Nr. 171, Seria 1, Ossolinski, 1958.

156 Ustawy KEN-1783, p. 699.

Parish schools were also mentioned in the chapter of the Statutes dealing with school inspections. Paragraph 21 of Chapter IV specified that the general inspector should visit parish schools in the area of his inspection and comment in his report on the conditions and status of the educational program.¹⁵⁷ If the school was being operated by the gentry in their manors or homes, the general inspector was to express the gratitude of the Educational Commission as well as encourage others to establish similar schools. The general inspector was also instructed to encourage the gentry to report on the status of these private schools to the rector of the local district school.¹⁵⁸ All individuals contributing their time or money to the operation of the parish school were to be thanked by the general inspector.¹⁵⁹ These instructions to the general inspectors confirm earlier discussions regarding control of the parish schools. They also indicate that the Educational Commission desired to maintain the leadership and control over the parish schools, but at the same time clearly left the task of establishing and maintaining parish schools in the hands of the Church and the gentry. As a result, the parish schools were completely dependent on the clergy and the estate owners. It is very difficult to identify the benefits derived by the parish schools from the Educational Commission.

157 "Rozdział IV: Wizyta Zgromadzen Akademickich i Szkol Narodowych," of the "Ustawy Komissyi Narodowej dla Stanu Akademickiego i na Szkoły w Krajach Rzeczypospolitej Przepisane," in Ustawy KEN-1783, p. 610.

158 Ibid.

159 Ibid.

Even though the Statutes did require the general inspectors to visit parish schools, very few were actually visited. Inspectors were to visit the secondary/district schools during the May-July time frame. During this period most parish schools were no longer in session since most of the children were in the fields helping their parents. Wierzbowski, after a review of the various instructions given the general inspectors during 1785-1789, could not find any references to the parish schools.¹⁶⁰ Nevertheless, in the reports of the general inspectors of the Chief School of Lithuania are found some parish school inspections. One of these inspection reports, for example, was prepared by the general inspector, J. Erdman in 1788:

Upon approaching Aukstadvaris¹⁶¹ I came upon children playing ball in the yard. I asked them if they were pupils, and they answered that they were. To the question 'who is your teacher?' they answered, 'a retired priest.' The more bashful children, who stood at a distance quickly ran to their teacher to tell him about the arrival of the inspector and the braver children remained by me. The retired priest took me to a brick building which was near the church. There was the school, consisting of two rooms--one for the beginners, and the other for the advanced pupils. In a short time thirty pupils gathered, of which some read, others answered to catechism questions correctly, others showed their written work. The regulations for pupils were attached to the wall as required by the Statutes for parish schools. Just one failure--Latin grammar was being used here. After a short examination, since it was after eight and the sun was setting, I praised the students' diligence and the teacher's valuable work.¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰ Teodor Wierzbowski, Szkoly Parafjalne w Polsce i na Litwie za czasow Komisji Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1794, p. 105.

¹⁶¹ Aukstadvaris-Wysokie Litewskie.

¹⁶² VUB, Cart. f., DC 93 l. 16; or Kalina Bartnicka and Irena Szybiak, comp., Raporty Generalnych Wizytatorów Szkol Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w Wielkim Ksiestwie Litewskim 1782-1792 (Reports of the General Inspectors of the Schools in Lithuania under the Commission for National Education 1782-1792), Warszawa, Polska Akademia Nauk, Ossolinskich, 1974, p. 307.

Only four other general inspector reports of parish school visits were as detailed as the Erdman report.¹⁶³ All of the other known general inspector reports, if they mention parish schools at all, contain very brief statements. Šidlauskas reports that only seventeen parish schools were actually visited by general inspectors during the time period 1782-1791, even though sixty two parish schools are mentioned in the reports of the general inspectors for the Lithuanian districts.¹⁶⁴ These figures indicate that only 5.1 percent of the original 330 parish schools in Lithuania were ever visited by a general inspector.

D. The Decline of the Parish School Movement

It is very difficult to determine exactly how many parish schools were in operation in the Lithuanian districts during the time of the Educational Commission. Wierzbowski identified a total of 405 parish schools that were either established during the 1773-1794 time frame or were in operation prior to it in the Lithuanian educational districts.¹⁶⁵ Šidlauskas, through a search conducted at the University of Vilnius Archives, identified forty six parish

163 The other four inspection reports were as follows: (1) Gregorz Piramowicz in 1782. Report found in VUB, Čart f., DC 88 l. 32, or Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 31-96; (2) J. Erdman in 1787. Report found in VUB Čart f., DC 80 l. 21, or Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 210-253; and (3) J. Jaška in 1789 prepared two detailed reports. Reports found in VUB, Čart. f., DC 82, l. 43, or Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 407-480.

164 Personal conversations with A. Šidlauskas, University of Vilnius, and his unpublished manuscript on this subject, examined in Vilnius 28-IV-75.

165 Teodor Wierzbowski, Szkoly Parafjalne w Polsce i na Litwie za czasow Komisji Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1794, p. 198-230. Wierzbowski identified the school by name, its location, diocese, and cites the document used to substantiate the school's existence during this time period.

schools in Lithuania, not listed by Wierzbowski.¹⁶⁶ If the figures derived by Wierzbowski and Sidlauskas are correct, then a possible 451 parish schools may have been in operation in the Lithuanian districts during the 1773-1794 time frame. With the records available at this time, it can be speculated that the largest number of parish schools operating at any one time was in 1777 when 330 parish schools were reported functioning in the Lithuanian districts.¹⁶⁷ In 1781 there were only 276 parish schools operating in Lithuania with a total student enrollment of 3,391.¹⁶⁸ When the 1781 enrollment figures are compared to the figures for 1777 (Table XIII) a 31.5 percent decrease in parish school attendance is found. In 1782 there were only 251 parish schools operating in Lithuania with a total student enrollment of 3,286.¹⁶⁹ The 1782 figure constitutes a decrease of 3.09 percent from the enrollments in 1781 and a total decrease from 1777 of 33.7 percent. The school enrollments dropped by a significant percentage during a short five year period, but so did the number of schools. If 1777 is used as the base year, then in 1781 there were 16.4 percent fewer parish schools and in 1782 the number of parish schools decreased by a total of 24 percent. In 1783 there were only 230 parish schools

166 A. Šidlauskas, "Žinios apie Lietuvos Provincijos Pradines Mokyklas," (Information about the Elementary Schools of the Lithuanian Districts), unpublished manuscript, 16 pages, Vilnius, 28 April 1975.

167 See Table XIII, this chapter, and related discussion for documentation. See also footnotes 92 and 93.

168 Teodor Wierzbowski, Szkoly Parafjalne w Polsce i na Litwie za czasow Komisji Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1794, p. 92.

169 Ibid.

operating in Lithuanian districts.¹⁷⁰ This figure yields a net decrease in parish schools from 1777 of 30.3 percent. Available information indicates that by the end of the XVIIIth century only 195 parish schools were in operation in the Lithuanian districts.¹⁷¹ If this information is correct, then the number of parish schools during the period 1777-1799 decreased by 40.9 percent.

It would be extremely difficult to determine the percentage of all children attending parish schools, since the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth did not have a general census of the population until 1790.¹⁷² From very fragmentary data it can be speculated that in the parishes that did have schools in 1777 a possible 40 percent of the boys and 15 percent of the girls were in attendance.¹⁷³ These figures are in the speculative range and apply only to one parish in Lithuania.

There is evidence to indicate that in areas where the parish school remained in operation larger numbers of gentry children began

170 See Lukasz Kurdybacha, "Powstanie i Glowne Kierunki Dzialalnosci Komisji Edukacji Narodowej," in Jan Aleksy Borrelly--Plan Reformy Nauczania Elementarnego (Jan Aleksy Borrelly Plan to Reform Elementary Education), Warszawa, Panstwowe Zaklady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1973, p. 23.

171 See J. Gvildys, "Edukacijos Komisijos Švietimo Darbai Lietuvoje," p. 491-492. This figure appears to be correct since figures for 1804 reported by M. Lukšienė indicate that a total of 177 parish schools were in operation at that time. See: M. Lukšienė, Lietuvos Švietimo Istorijos Bruožai XIX a. pirmoje pusėje, p. 82.

172 Refer to discussion of this matter in Chapter 1.

173 Figures derived from examination of the enrollment figures for the Suvalku Kalvarijos parish. The parish census reported 182 boys between the ages of 7 and 11 and 176 girls of the same age. The school enrollment figures for the parish school were 80 boys and 25 girls. These figures yield an enrollment percentage of 43.9 for the boys and 14.2 for the girls. See "Lietuvos Mokyklos Istorijos Apybraiza--14," (Outline History of Lithuanian Education), Tarybinis Mokytojas (Vilnius), No. 2 (1361), January 8, 1969, p. 3.

to attend.¹⁷⁴ For example, in 1777 the Pabaiskas parish schools had a 20:80 percent distribution of gentry vs. peasant children enrolled in the schools. Five years later, in 1783, the distribution changed to 35:65 percent respectively.¹⁷⁵ The Pabaiskas example is one of many where larger percentages of gentry children began to attend the parish schools. The gentry children attending the parish schools were from the poorer or landless gentry. Even though the Commission had established special pensions for the children of the poorer gentry, most of these pensions did not have the room to accept all of those who applied.¹⁷⁶ For example, the Vilnius Pension in 1791 had seven vacancies. A total of 148 applications were received to fill those seven vacancies.¹⁷⁷ As a result children of the landless gentry were forced to attend the regular parish schools.

The Educational Commission lost control over the parish schools as a result of the decisions of the Four Year Sejm of 1788-1792. The Sejm approved a new administrative structure which placed control of the parish schools under Local Administrative Councils.¹⁷⁸ These

174 Irena Szybiak, op. cit., p. 235.

175 See Table I for distribution in 1777 and R. Krasauskas, "Pabaiskas," Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Vol. XXI (1960), p. 286-287. Figures can be verified in Teodor Wierzbowski, Szkoły Parafjalne w Polsce i na Litwie za Czasow Komisji Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1794, p. 198-230.

176 Regulations governing pensions can be found in Z. Kukulski, op. cit., p. 57-73.

177 Item published in Gazety Wilenskie on 15-X-1791. Cited by Irena Szybiak, op. cit., p. 238.

178 See "Konstytucja Oblatowana" 19 November 1789 in Volumina Legum, Vol. IX, p. 142.

councils were formed by the Sejm for military matters and for the maintenance of order in the various districts of the Commonwealth. The Sejm in order to assure the establishment of more parish schools made local pastors responsible for the maintenance of a school and a teacher in each parish and town. Funds for these schools were to be provided by the councils through taxation of local estates and lands. Heavy fines were imposed on those pastors who did not comply with this order of the Sejm. The local councils were to supervise the proper observance of this decision.¹⁷⁹ With this decision of the Sejm control over elementary education was in reality given back to the Church. The decision of the Four Year Sejm reflected the provisions of the Zamoyski Code which the Sejm of 1780 rejected. Most of the elements of the Zamoyski Code, as it applied to parish schools, were contained in the 1789 decision.¹⁸⁰ It appears that this action by the Four Year Sejm was a reaction to the deteriorating condition of the parish school network. But, that reaction came too late to yield any positive results. As was detailed earlier the parish school network continued to decrease in size. The socio-political situation by 1790 had become extreme and the Commonwealth was facing its second partition.¹⁸¹

179 Volumina Legum, Vol. IX, Chapter II, Paragraph 8, p. 156. See also Lukasz Kurdybacha, "The Commission for National Education in Poland 1773-1794," in History of Education (Newton Abbot, Devon), Vol. II, No. 2, June, 1973, p. 138.

180 See earlier discussion and footnotes 108 and 109.

181 Refer to Chapter I for a discussion of the socio-political situation at this time.

E. Summary

In 1774 the Educational Commission proposed the establishment of 2,500 parish school in Lithuania-Poland. In order to control and regulate these schools, as well as existing parish schools, the Commission in 1774 approved the Parish School Regulation. This regulation expressed a bold and new conceptualization of elementary education, not only in terms of its curriculum and conceptualization of the student, but also in that elementary education was to be taken away from the control of the Church. The Educational Commission had as its aim universal and obligatory education for all social classes. The Parish School Regulation even required parish schools to educate gentry as well as peasant children and the teachers were instructed not to discriminate in any way whatsoever between the children of peasants and gentry. This requirement was never fully realized because of the resistance on the part of the gentry, who wanted separate schools for each social class. The curriculum included not only the teaching of reading and writing, but envisaged the introduction of physical education and general knowledge in the fields of agriculture, horticulture, hygiene, and secular moral education. The teaching of various subjects was based on such up-to-date methods as composing words with the help of mounted letters and visual aids. Stress was placed on concrete experiences in all subject matter areas.

With Bishop of Vilnius Massalski providing the leadership to the parish school organization effort, 330 parish schools were in operation in Lithuania by 1777, with a total enrollment of 4,956 students. This

achievement, remarkable for those times and conditions, began to diminish after 1780, when Bishop Massalski resigned from the Chairmanship of the Educational Commission. Massalski's forceful efforts aimed at improving and increasing education for the lower classes began to become too fruitful. The conservative gentry in opposition to increased peasant education failed to approve the Zamoyski Code of 1780, which would have mandated not only the establishment of parish schools in each parish, but would have also required that the schools be provided funds for their maintenance. With the failure of the Zamoyski Code Bishop Massalski resigned.

With the conservative gentry's opposition to universal peasant education, the Statutes of the Educational Commission of 1783 were not as forceful in their demands for quality parish schools and programs. With the continued decline of parish schools the Four Year Sejm passed in 1789 a new regulation which took direct control over the parish schools away from the Educational Commission, but included most of the provisions of the Zamoyski Code. This new regulation was enacted too late to accomplish any positive results for the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was already facing its Second Partition and more pressing matters took precedence.

Unlike other school reforms of the XVIIIth century the reforms of the Educational Commission viewed elementary education as an integral part of the educational system. The rules and regulations issued by the Educational Commission were progressive educational documents of the XVIIIth century. Their implementation was hindered by a number of factors, which also can be offered to explain the demise of the

parish school network. The most important reasons appear to be the following: (1) strong opposition to the education of peasants on the part of the conservative gentry; (2) the resignation of the Bishop of Vilnius Ignacy Massalski; (3) the failure of the Zamoyski Code; and (4) lack of financial support of the schools by the Educational Commission. Corollary reasons for the demise appear to be the following: (1) lack of any real control over the schools by the Educational Commission; (2) opposition by the clergy over nominal secular control without financial support; (3) the shortage of trained teachers to implement the new programs in the parish schools; (4) irregular inspections of the schools by either general inspectors or district school recotrs; and (5) the establishment and maintenance of bakalarios (home schools) by the peasants for their own children.

CHAPTER IX

IMPLICATIONS AND INFLUENCES OF THE REFORMS

The implications and influences of the educational reforms of the Commission for National Education were many and varied. They can be considered from a number of different viewpoints. The basic structure for the consideration of the implications and influences can be established using the following two frameworks: (1) the intra-commonwealth implication and (2) the extra-commonwealth influences of the reforms. Since this study concerns itself primarily with the work of the Commission in Lithuania, then within the intra-commonwealth framework, factors having more direct implications for the Lithuanian children in the schools will be considered. Within the extra-commonwealth influences the same consideration did not apply.

Specifically, this chapter will consider two types of intra-commonwealth implications. The first to be considered will be the extent to which the Commission reacted to the thinking of the conservative gentry in the formulation of its reforms. The second will be an examination of the implications of the reforms on Lithuanian nationalism, as viewed through the curriculum and language of the district and parish schools. Corollary to this consideration is the conduct of the Lithuanian peasants in terms of the education of their children. Finally, within the extra-commonwealth framework, the influences of the reforms on the educational systems of Chile, the United States, Prussia, and Russia will be examined in an overview fashion.

A. The Gentry and Educational Reform

Discussion of the Educational Commission's reforms and a thorough evaluation of its work requires consideration of the historical circumstances which served as a backdrop and surrounded the Commission's functioning. Clearly, the latter half of the XVIIIth century presented an unfavorable climate for cultural and educational reforms in Poland and Lithuania. The Commonwealth's domestic affairs were in a state of disarray and at the same time external affairs posed a threat to its sovereignty. Radical and broad reforms were seen as the only alternative by the progressive gentry, who were in the minority. For the majority of the gentry, who were conservative, social reforms were anathema. They perceived the reformers as enemies of the people. The gentry felt that reforms of the existing social order, with the granting of more rights to the burghers and more humanitarian concessions in terms of an easing of the conditions the peasants were forced to endure, would directly affect the gentry's rights and privileges. Reforms would place the lower social classes into a direct conflict with the gentry, and in effect result in a substantial opposition to their interests.

Another major impediment to the reforms was the underdeveloped economy. At the beginning of the XVIIIth century, the economy was in a disastrous state. By the middle of the XVIIIth century the economy had improved, but its recovery was not aided by the constant state of internal anarchy. But, following the First Partition of 1772, some efforts were initiated to improve the economic system. The king, and his government, along with an interested few took steps to improve the state

of affairs. Commercial traffic was improved with new road construction and major repairs were undertaken on existing roads. To facilitate the movement of raw materials, the king ordered the construction of new canals. Industrial developments in the towns were meager, since the burghers were primarily poor and victims of oppression by the landed gentry. Those who were wealthier maintained their status by engaging in trade. The wealthy magnates were the most important figures in the industrialization process, since they possessed the necessary capital to engage in such enterprises. Most of their estates were the sites for the construction of factories. For example, the most prolific industrialist of that era, A. Tyzenhausen, exhibited a particular capacity and flair for factory building, by establishing twenty-five factories on rented governmental estates.¹

The estate owners, in order to produce as much profit from their estates as possible, continued to press their serfs for more and harder work. In fact, the majority of the landed gentry was only concerned with increasing the dependence of the serfs on the estate. Discussion of the abominable conditions under which the serfs were forced to live and work, the neglect of their education, and the abolition of serfdom was held in disrepute by the gentry. Bishop Massalski had fruitlessly tried to persuade the gentry to contribute toward the establishment and maintenance of the parish schools, but the gentry, for the most part, felt that the peasants did not need any education whatsoever.

1 Regarding A. Tyzenhausen see: Adolfas Šapoka, editor, Lietuvos Istorija (History of Lithuania), Kaunas, Švietimo Ministerijos Knygų Leidimo Komisijos Leidinys, 1936, p. 427-429.

Unlike the conservative gentry, the progressive gentry were influenced by the ideas of the French Physiocrats. The Physiocrats suggested that an educated peasantry would be able to work more efficiently and thus increase the wealth of the estate owners. The conservative gentry did not accept the thinking of the Physiocrats and ridiculed suggestions that the peasants receive an education. For example, at the Vilnius Conference of Gentry on 24 September 1776, the eminent prelate Karpavičius,² at the request of Bishop Massalski, delivered a sermon on the moral obligation of the gentry toward the education of their peasants. Even during the sermon, some gentry began laughing, ridiculing the prelate, and calling him names. After the sermon, they continued to treat the prelate with disrespect, maliciously misrepresented his conclusion, and unfavorably commented on his expressed ideas.³

The educational problems of the peasants were of secondary concern to the conservative gentry, who were more interested in protecting their interests and economic affairs. The Jesuit schools, which served the needs of the gentry for generations, were the most important institutions in the eyes of the Lithuanian gentry. The dissolution of the Jesuit Order was considered by most a public disaster.⁴ The Sejm, upon learning of the dissolution made a loud

2 Rapolas Krasauskas, "Mykolas Pranciškus Karpowicz (1774-1803)," Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Vol.XI, p. 87.

3 Teodor Wierzbowski, Szkoly Parafjalne w Polsce i na Litwie za czasow Komisji Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1794 (Parish Schools in Poland and Lithuania in the times of the Commission for National Education), W Krakowie, Sklad Glowny w Ksiaznicy Polskiej w Warszawie, 1921, p. 81-84.

4 Lukasz Kurdybacha and Mieczyslaw Mitera Dobrowolska, Komisja Edukacji Narodowej, Warszawa, Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1973, p. 274.

though ineffective protest against it.⁵ The Order was dissolved, and since no other viable alternatives were available to the Sejm, the Educational Commission was established.⁶

The progressive gentry welcomed the establishment of the Commission, for they saw it as an essential factor in gaining needed educational reforms. The majority of the gentry, on the other hand, were disturbed by it and generally resisted its institution and reforms. "One of the most difficult problems faced by the Educational Commission," wrote Kurdybacha, "was the opposition to its reforms by the majority of the gentry, as well as the conservative clergy, who were overtly determined to resist school reform."⁷

The Educational Commission chose to win the gentry's support and approval for its school reforms by positive means, attempting judicious avoidance of any conflict with them and exhibiting a willingness to make great concessions and engage in compromise. The Commission tried to foster a fuller participation by the community in school activities. School doors were kept open not only to encourage student

5 See the transcription of the minutes of the Sejm of 1773 for this reaction: "Protokol albo opisanie zaszlych czynnosci na delegacyi od Stanow Rzeczypospolitej...dnia 19 maja roku 1773 wyznaczonej, a dnia 19 marca r. 1775 zakonczonej," Warszawa 1775, p. 25-27. Reproduced in Stanislaw Tync, Komisija Edukacji Narodowej, Nr. 126 Biblioteka Narodowa, Seria I, Wroclaw, Zaklad imienia Ossolinski--Wydawnictwo, 1954, p. 20-24.

6 Kazimierz Sporny, "Mysl Pedagogiczna Rousseau na Gruncie Polskim w Okresie KEN na Przykladzie Tworczosci Pedagogicznej D. M. T. Krajewskiego," (La pensée pédagogique de Rousseau en Pologne du temps de la Commission de l'Éducation Nationale étudiée sur l'exemple de l'oeuvre pédagogique de D. M. T. Krajewski), in Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Lodzkiego Nauki Humanistyczno-Spoeczne, Seria I, zeszyt 88, Lodz, 1972, p. 103.

7 Lukasz Kurdybacha and M. Mitera Dobrowolska, op. cit., p. 274.

contact with the outside world, but also to allow parents to freely enter and familiarize themselves with the educational work of the schools. This policy also allowed the parents to directly evaluate the content of the curriculum. These means were chosen by the Commission to popularize its schools and encourage their broader acceptance.

General inspector Jaška in his visitation report on the district school in Kražiai wrote:

This school was acquainted with the instructions to the inspectors, in which is said, that the education of youth is the concern of the whole society, and therefore, everyone has a right to observe the positive and negative aspects of teaching. The school has endeavored to have as many of the local land owners at the student presentations as possible.⁸

The significance of the student performances cannot be overstated. In the middle of the XVIIIth century, the student presentations acquired a festival atmosphere, during which the schools demonstrated their students' achievements, presented and displayed the latest scientific and technological innovations, many of which were yet unknown to the gentry. The presentations provided a forum for discussion, in which the gentry participated. Of particular interest to most in attendance were experiments in physics and astronomy.

King Stanislaus Augustus and the Educational Commission

8 Kalina Bartnicka and Irena Szybiak, compl., Raporty Generalnych Wizytatorów Szkół Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim 1782-1792 (Reports of the General Inspectors of the Schools in Lithuania under the Commission for National Education 1782-1792), Warszawa, Polska Akademia Nauk, Ossolinskich, 1974, p. 447-448. Hereafter Raporty Gen Wiz Lit.

established gold and silver medals as awards for the more diligent students. The ceremonies surrounding these awards were conducted with great solemnity and under the watchful eyes of invited government officials and gentry. According to Tync, this practice was a major contributor to popularization of the new reformed schools among the gentry.⁹

From the reports of the general inspectors it can be seen that the inspectors used every opportunity during their inspections of the schools to visit those landed gentry, whose sons were either enrolled in the reformed schools, or who supported them. For example, the general inspector Pilchowski, in a report prepared in 1786, wrote:

The gentry, especially those sending their sons or relatives to the reformed schools or who are supportive of the current teaching methods and teachers, were visited and given thanks for their kindness and support.¹⁰

The same kind of statement can be found in the reports of Bienkowski¹¹ and Erdman.¹²

In other reports of the general inspectors, for example the visitation of Bienkowski in 1782, the nobleman Radvilas was praised for taking part in school examinations and for inviting two gentry students to dine with him.¹³ The inspector Erdman included an expression of gratitude, in his report, to noblewoman Krakowska in Balstogè for building

9 Stanislaw Tync, op. cit., p. CII.

10 Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 177.

11 Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 97-118.

12 Ibid., p. 210-253.

13 Ibid., p. 12.

a school using her own funds.¹⁴ These comments, along with others by the general inspectors, serve as substantive evidence of a mellowing in some of the gentry's attitudes toward school reforms. Bienkowski's report on the Merkine school cited the gentry's satisfaction with the system and expression of gratitude to the inspector for his concern.¹⁵ In 1782, members of the Lithuanian Brasta judiciary, asked that the inspector express their thanks to the Educational Commission for its concern with the education of the young.¹⁶

Curriculum in the reformed district schools consisted of metaphysics, rhetoric, poetry, and other subjects basic to the traditional humanistic approach of the Jesuit schools. This curriculum represented a concession to the gentry by the Educational Commission. Kurdybacha's analysis of the situation led him to believe that the retention of metaphysics by the Educational Commission was in response to an anticipated opposition from the conservative gentry, who favored its retention.¹⁷ Yet, at the same time, the Educational Commission was fearful of criticism from the progressive gentry for the retention of metaphysics. In order to resolve this dilemma, the Educational Commission, included metaphysics in the 1774 Regulation for District Schools, but instructed the teachers not to teach metaphysics until proper textbooks

14 Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 510-511.

15 Ibid., p. 164.

16 Ibid., p. 14.

17 Lukasz Kurdybacha and Mieczyslaw Mitera Dobrowolska, op. cit., p. 112.

in metaphysics could be prepared and printed.¹⁸ The textbook in metaphysics was never prepared or published by the Commission, furthermore, the Commission dropped metaphysics from the curriculum of the district school in the Statutes of 1783.¹⁹

The Polish language was not included in the curriculum as a separate language due to the popularity of Latin and the opposition expressed by the ex-Jesuits. As a result, the Commission included Polish and Latin under the single rubric "grammatica."²⁰ Thereby, they maintained their goal of teaching Polish without making it evident to the conservative gentry.

A pronounced difference in the organization of science teaching was introduced in the Statutes of 1783, when compared to the 1774 Regulation for District Schools. The 1783 Statutes contained the following changes:

- (1) Science programs were begun in the third year with gardening.²¹ Agricultural topics were introduced in the fourth year, followed by botany in the fifth year.
- (2) Zoology was completely excluded from the curriculum.²²

18 Zygmunt Kukulski, Pierwiastkowe Przepisy Pedagogiczne Komisji Edukacji Narodowej z lat 1773-1776 (The Primary Educational Regulations of the Commission for National Education 1773-1776), Lublin, Nakładem Lubelskiego Komitetu Obchodu 150-ej Rocznicy Ustanowienia Komisji Edukacyjnej i Zgonu St. Konarskiego, 1923, p. 45.

19 See Chapter XV of the Statutes in Tync, op. cit., p.661-677.

20 See "Porzadek i Uklad Nauk w Szkolach Wojewodzkich," in Kukulski, op. cit., p. 18-19. This same table reproduced in this work on page 202.

21 Chapter XV, Statutes of 1783 in Tync, op. cit., p.667.

22 Ibid., p. 664-673. See also page 204 of this work.

Why were such changes made in the teaching of science? Partially, they were due to the combined unfavorable view of the natural sciences, especially zoology, on the part of the ex-Jesuits and the conservative gentry. Zoology was considered an undesirable subject for the sons of the gentry. The conservative gentry circulated a caricature of a youth pictured sitting backwards on a horse holding on to its tail. Under the caricature was the statement: "Why burden a youth's mind about holding a horse by its reins and not its tail?"²³ Again, the Commission in a compromise effort included the following directive in the 1783 Statutes: "Those interested in zoology can attend private lectures on the subject."²⁴ In fact, even though zoology was a non-mandatory subject the Commission published a textbook for zoology in 1789 written by Kluk.²⁵

Criticism of the Commission by the gentry was not fully without cause. After the first ten years of operation, a dearth of textbooks, ill-prepared teachers, and continued lack of administrative control, still plagued the school structure. These problems produced a climate of distrust and negative evaluation of the structure by the gentry. Kurdybacha concluded that "the negative attitude of the gentry toward the new educational system was reasonable in light of the mistakes made by the Commission."²⁶ One of the major mistakes made by the Commission was the failure to estimate the consequences of the radical reforms. Enactment of

23 Kajetan Kozmian, Pamiętniki (Memoirs), Poznan, J. K. Zupanski, 1858, Vol. 1, p. 9. See also Lukasz Kurdybacha and M. Mitera Dobrowolska, op. cit., p. 126, regarding the views of the gentry and clergy on science.

24 Chapter XV of the Statutes of 1783 in Tync, op. cit., p. 672.

25 Krzysztof Kluk, Zoologia, Warszawa, KEN, 1789, 420p. Approved for publication on 28 XII 1787.

26 Lukasz Kurdybacha and M. Mitera Dobrowolska, op. cit., p. 280.

legislation changing the curriculum and organization of the schools did not guarantee that it would change in the schools. The failure on the part of the Commission to fully comprehend the consequences of the radical reforms appeared in three critical areas: (1) dearth of textbooks for the new curriculum, (2) critical shortage of trained teachers to implement the curriculum at the secondary level, and (3) lack of control over implementation evidenced by sporadic school inspections. These problems were most evident in the first ten year period, even though the Commission did take steps to correct some of its mistakes. For example, in 1775 the Commission established the Society for Elementary Books, whose mission was to prepare, publish, and distribute the necessary textbooks for the new curriculum. The changes in school visitation procedures, evidenced by revision of the Rules in 1777, was another step toward correcting the problems of control over the structure. The only major problem not attended to by the Commission was the preparation of a new cadre of teachers, who would be able to implement the reformed curriculum. This problem was attended to only in the next decade.

The sensitivity of the Educational Commission to the reaction of the conservative gentry was most reflective in the careful formulation of its initial regulations and the minute changes made in guarded areas of the curriculum. Some of the examples used in this section may appear to be pedantic, but these details best reflect the sensitivity of the Commission to the gentry. The gentry's thinking was not as veiled, as was clearly indicated in the complete failure of the Zamoyski Code in the Sejm.

B. The Educational Commission and Lithuanian Nationalism

The Educational Commission perceived its mission to be the renewal of the country through the education of its youth. The vehicle for this renewal was the reformed schools. In fact, the Commission's official title: "The Commission for National Education," clearly labeled and identified the goal as being the pursuit of national education. The Commission stated its goals as being: "The education of youth to be patriotic citizens, who would not only love their country, but would also be prepared for intelligent and useful activity in the various aspects of national life."²⁷ At that time, the political misfortunes and the economic backwardness of the Commonwealth were being attributed to the mistakes and inadequacies in the educational system, which was unable to instill in the youth a feeling of patriotism and public service.²⁸ The progressive gentry were of the opinion that the reformed schools would be able to instill the needed patriotism and thus prepare the youth to overcome and solve the politico-economic problems.

As another objective, the Educational Commission chose to cultivate the Polish language. Typically, the era of the Enlightenment comming led nationality and language. The fight, which began a great

27 Quoted from the preamble of the Uniwersal. See "Uniwersal Oglaszajacy Komisje Edukacyjna," reproduced in Zygmunt Kukulski, op. cit., p. 5-9. See also Lukasz Kurdybacha and Mieczyslaw Mitera Dobrowolska, op. cit., p. 244.

28 Complete monograph on this subject prepared by Kalina Bartnieka, Wychowanie Patriotyczne w Szkolach Komisji Edukacji Narodowej (Patriotic Education in the Schools of the Commission for National Education), Warszawa, Panstwowe Zaklady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1973, 295 p.

deal before the establishment of the Commission, for the right to use the Polish language in the schools and its cultivation in Poland, again emerged.²⁹ The basic conflict was directed against the supremacy of Latin in the schools and public life. Later, the conflict, was redirected against the emerging Polish-French mixture. Consequently in order to advance Polish nationalism the Educational Commission introduced Polish into the schools as the official language in lieu of Latin. Since it was viewed that Latin had value in the formation and improvement of the Polish language, it remained in the curriculum, but in a secondary position to Polish. The Latin classics were also maintained in the curriculum for the express purpose of developing an esthetic taste for classical literature. Thus, the Commission was able to perpetuate the Latin cult and maintain both language and literature, but for slightly different reasons. The conservative gentry, who maintained that Latin was the basic element in education, were thus satisfied, while the Commission continued, unbeknown to them, to foster the primacy of Polish in the schools.

In those countries, where the population consisted of one nationality, as in Prussia or France, the development of nationalism through the schools and the acceptance and use of a single language did not pose a problem. However, in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth the problem was real and further complicated by an unresolved interpretation of what was the native or national language. During the feudal era

²⁹ For a discussion of this matter see Lukasz Kurdybacha, Historia Wychowania (History of the Schools), Warszawa, Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1967. See Chapter 5--18.

the noble class constituted the nation. It was only later that the concept of nationality encompasses the burgher and peasant classes. In ethnographic Lithuania--the western and northern sections--not only did the peasants speak Lithuanian exclusively, but so did the vast majority of the gentry. In other parts of ethnographic Lithuania--the eastern and southern sections--although the peasants spoke Lithuanian, the gentry no longer spoke it.³⁰ Thus, the important concept of native or national language was not the same for the Lithuanian gentry from various sections of ethnographic Lithuania. The non-Lithuanian speaking gentry spoke Polish, as a result of centuries of Polonization.³¹

The Polish magnates and ruling class had long since formed a singular goal which was the formation of a single state based on the Polish national heritage.³² For centuries efforts were directed, through what is referred to as Polonization, to accomplish a complete merger of Poland and Lithuania politically and culturally through the singular use of the Polish language. This idea was alive throughout the XVIIIth century.³³ The schools, therefore, could accomplish a very important

30 M. Lukšienė, Lietuvos Švietimo Bruožai XIXa. Pirmojoje Pusėje (Characteristics of Lithuanian Education in the First-Half of the XIXth Century), Pedagogikos Darbai IV, Lietuvos TSR Švietimo Ministerija, Mokyklų Mokslinio Tyrimo Institutas, Kaunas, Šviesa, 1970, p. 24.

31 See discussion of this issued in Chapters I and II of this work.

32 B. Dundulis, Lietuvos Kova Dėl Valstybinio Savarankiškumo XV Amžiuje (Lithuanian Efforts to Establish State Autonomy in the XVth Century), Vilnius, Mintis, 1968, p. 274.

33 M. Lukšienė, op. cit., p. 26.

objective--the equalization of the existing differences throughout the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The schools, under a single centralized controlling force, could strive toward the creation of one language and one culture in the two countries. It appears that this may have been an unwritten and unspoken objective of the leadership of the Educational Commission.

Without regard for the Lithuanian national and linguistic identity, the Commission introduced the Polish language into all of the schools of Lithuania. Children were taught in Polish, while instruction in the Lithuanian language was completely ignored. The dissatisfaction expressed by the conservative gentry with the introduction of Polish into the schools could be interpreted as a reaction to the resumption of the Polonization of Lithuanian youth, while efforts on the part of the Commission to veil the introduction of Polish as the main language of instruction could be interpreted as a shrewd move directed toward continuation of Polonization in a subdued fashion. Polonization, unlike the previous efforts in centuries past, took on a new and more powerful form. For the first time it cut across all social classes and embraced, in one way or another, the entire school-age population. The fact that the Commission provided access to education to all social classes can be considered a positive event based on democratic ideals, but in Lithuania this wider access to education simultaneously provided a means whereby Polonization could begin to influence the lower classes.

The composition of the student body in the secondary or district schools was of a mixed social class, with children of the gentry, burghers,

and peasants attending the same schools. The majority of the district school population was composed of gentry children. For example, in the Balstogė district school, in 1793, there were seventy-three students enrolled in the first class. Of these, nine were from burgher families, and twenty-four from peasant families.³⁴ In the Gardinas district school in 1789 there were 218 students, forty-eight of whom were from the burgher class.³⁵ The general inspector Bienkowski in 1783 recorded 106 students in the Kretinga district school and noted that of that total only a few students were of the gentry class. The majority of the students in the Kretinga school were from the lower classes.³⁶ The Educational Commission, in order to encourage children of lower social classes to attend the district schools, appropriated funds for the purchase of textbooks. These textbooks were distributed by the general inspectors. For example, Jaška in 1788, while visiting the district schools, distributed 152 copies of needed textbooks.³⁷ It must be assumed that the textbooks were primarily given to the peasant children, since the gentry, were generally in a position to pay for the textbooks.³⁸

34 Algirdas Šidlauskas, "Vidurinės Mokyklos Lietuvoje XVIIIa. Pabaigoje," (Secondary Schools in Lithuania Toward the End of the XVIIIth Century) in *Iš Lietuvos Kultūros Istorijos*, Vol. IV, Vilnius, LTSR Mokslo Akademija, Istorijos Institutas, 1964, p. 130.

35 Ibid.

36 Raporty Gen Wiz Lit., p. 97-118.

37 Ibid., p. 330-379.

38 Šidlauskas, op. cit., p. 131.

Once the school doors were opened to the lower social classes there was a massive influx of students. Some schools experienced a 100 percent increase in enrollment;³⁹ while some schools, e.g., the schools in Vilnius, Gardinas, Kretinga, and Kražiai, even doubled their enrollments.⁴⁰ Overall, the four chief district schools in Lithuania experienced an increase in enrollment. For example, in the Samogitian district, which had an enrollment of 525 students in 1782 and 964 in 1789, an enrollment increase of 83 percent was experienced.⁴¹ In the Lithuanian district the enrollment for all district schools in 1782 was 928 students. This figure increased to 1,303 by 1789, indicating a growth rate of 41 percent. The growth rates for district schools in Lithuania during the 1782-1789 period reflected the effects of the broad changes introduced by the Educational Commission. Changes which permitted children of various social classes to attend the schools, and thus, continue their education in the Polish language.

Polonization through the parish school network is more difficult to establish since little direct evidence can be found to determine the language of instruction used in these schools. An examination of a number of factors is necessary in order to determine the extent of Polonization through these schools. The factors that appear to be important in this determination are: (1) language of instruction mandated by the

39 See Table IX: Enrollments of Selected District Schools in the Ethnographic Lithuanian Educational Districts 1782-1791, on page 208.

40 See table contained in the article by Algirdas Šidlauskas, "Vidurinės Mokyklos Lietuvoje XVIIIa. Pabaigoje," p. 130-131.

41 Ibid.

Educational Commission; (2) the use of primers in reading instruction; (3) the teaching methodology in use during the time period; (4) the prevailing Polish educational practices with language usage in the schools; and (5) the degree of control exercised by the Commission over the parish school network. The analysis of this question will be presented using this analytical framework.

The Educational Commission remained silent as to the language of instruction to be used in the parish schools. The Parish School Regulation of 1774 contained the following statement regarding the use of language in the teaching of reading:

The first words that a child learns to read and write must be in the country's language. The words should be simple and comprehensible to all.⁴²

The words "in his country's language" could indicate that the children in Lithuania were to be taught in the Lithuanian language, but no direct evidence can be found to indicate that this was the case. The author of the Parish School Regulation of 1774 was the Lithuanian Bishop of Vilnius, Massalski. Did Massalski infer that the Lithuanian language be used in the parish schools? An examination of his behavior in other areas sheds light on his intentions relative to language usage. In 1776 Massalski ordered that in all churches of the Vilnius diocese only Polish be used for hymnal singing.⁴³ Likewise, on 16 July 1787, Massalski ordered that during the time

42 "Przepis do szkół parafialnych," in Zygmunt Kukulski, op. cit., p. 26.

43 Kazimieras Prapuolenis, Lenkų Apaštalavimas Lietuvoje (Polish Apostolic Work in Lithuania), New York, Tevynės Spauda, 1918, p. 144, 147.

the Four Year Sejm was in session all supplications normally sung in the Lithuanian language be sung in Polish.⁴⁴ These two orders made by Bishop Massalski do not indicate that he was a strong advocate of Lithuanian language usage. It can be deduced that his intention in the Parish School Regulation was to mandate the usage of Polish vs. Lithuanian. It appears that, as far as the Educational Commission was concerned, the use of the Lithuanian language in the schools did not even become a matter of discussion. The assumed language of instruction was Polish. This is further supported by the fact that in the Statutes of 1783 the language question did not appear in any of its chapters. Thus, the Educational Commission did not mandate the use of Polish in any of its rules or regulations, but may have assumed that the language of instruction was to be Polish.

The use of primers in the teaching of reading during the period 1773-1794 presented some interesting dilemmas in the analysis of the language problem. The primer in use in Lithuania during the period 1776-1799 was Mokslas Skaytima Raszta Lietuvizka diel Mazu Wayku, Kuriemi Padiety ira Wisoki Mokslay Krikscioniszki, teypogi yr trumpas Nabozenstwas Kaznos Dienos Wirams yr Moterims Sluzijetes.⁴⁵ During the period 1776-1790 a total of 14,108 of these primers were sold by the University of Vilnius Press.⁴⁶

44 Algirdas Budreckis, "Vilniaus Vyskupai XVIII amžiuje," (The Bishops of Vilnius during the XVIIIth Century), in Naujoji Viltis, No. 9, 1976, p. 58.

45 See: "Mokslas Skaityma Rašta Lietuviška diel Mažų Vaikų, kuremy padiety ira Visoki Mokslay Kriksčioniški..." in Lietuvos TSR Bibilografija: Serija A: Knygos Lietuvių Kalba, Tomas 1 (1547-1861), Vilnius, Lietuvos TSR Knygų Rumai, Mintis, 1969, Nr. 742--756., p. 266.

46 M. Lukšienė, op. cit., p. 94.

During the same time period 25,467 Polish language primers were sold.⁴⁷ Lithuanian language primers accounted for 39.21 percent of the total 39,575 primers sold by the University of Vilnius Press.⁴⁸ Both of these primers were identical in terms of their contents. The first primer prepared and published by the Educational Commission did not appear until 1785.⁴⁹ This new primer was in the Polish language and prepared in accordance with the requirements of Chapter XXII of the Statutes of 1783.⁵⁰ This 1785 primer was the first and only primer published by the Commission. The Commission did not publish the primer in the Lithuanian language or any other language in use in the various educational districts of Poland and Lithuania. Thus, the Commission published only one primer, which was in the Polish language, for use in all of the schools. This fact, along with the practice of the Educational Commission in the district schools, appears to indicate that the Commission was clearly in favor of using Polish as the language of instruction in the parish schools. But, the fact that over 14,000 Lithuanian language primers were sold by the University of Vilnius Press during the time period 1776-1790 establishes the existence of Lithuanian language instruction in Lithuania. Where most

47 See table indicating the sales figures for the primers reproduced in J. A. Račkauskas, "Pradinis Švietimas Lietuvoje iki Trečiojo Padalinimo (1795m)." (Primary Education in Lithuania up to the Period of the Third Partition of 1795), in Lietuvių Tautos Praeitis, Vol. III, Book 1(9), 1971, p.104.

48 Ibid. See also M. Lukšienė, op. cit., p. 94.

49 Stanislaw Tync, op. cit., p. 82

50 See Statutes reproduced in Tync, op. cit., p. 699-701.

of the Lithuanian language primers were used is difficult to determine. The Lithuanian peasants maintained their own private rural schools where Lithuanian was being taught. The existence of these schools and their activities will be presented in the next section of this chapter.

Teaching methodology in use during the latter half of the XVIIIth century and the first quarter of the XIXth century in the elementary/parish schools centered around an individualized approach. Individualization of instruction was necessitated by a lack of standardized teaching texts.⁵¹ Children were taught to read mainly from books they brought from their homes. The schools did not supply the necessary textbooks to the pupils. Since the University of Vilnius Press sold over 14,000 Lithuanian language primers during the 1776-1790 time period, it is resonable to suspect that some of these primers were brought to the parish schools and used in the teaching of reading. Even in the beginning of the XIXth century little standardization of teaching texts had taken place. For example, two professors from the University of Vilnius visited a parish school in Vilnius in 1809.⁵² They reported that the children did not have the proper books for the study of reading. They observed that each child had a different textbook necessitating individual instruction in reading from the teacher. The language of instruction in the school, as indicated by the visitors, depended on the book the child brought from home. If the parents had decided to purchase a Polish language primer then the child was taught to read Polish.

51 M. Lukšienė, op. cit., p.339.

52 Ibid., p. 303-304.

The choice of primers was contingent on the parental view toward the utility of one or the other language. Since Polish was the language used in the district schools, as well as the dominant language of the public-commercial life, most parents selected it as the primary language for learning. Consequently, this parental choice indirectly supported the Polonization process in Lithuania.⁵³

Prevailing Polish policy toward the use of languages other than Polish in the schools indicated that Lithuanian in the non-ethnographic Lithuanian educational districts was rarely, if at all used. As an example, the practices engaged in by the Polish authorities in the Warsaw Duchy in 1807 help illustrate and further clarify the language question in the parish schools.⁵⁴ After the Third Partition the Warsaw Duchy emerged as an independent area and annexed a portion of Lithuania, the Užnemunė Territory. This territory was populated by an absolute Lithuanian majority. The Polish authorities of the Warsaw Duchy prohibited the teaching of the Lithuanian language in the schools of the Užnemunė Territory. Furthermore, children caught speaking Lithuanian in the schools had to wear a sign with the word "jackass" around their necks.⁵⁵ The same situation did not exist

53 M. Lukšienė, op. cit., p. 103, cites the following example from 1824 school records: "The school in Šipyčiai had twelve students, eight were reading from Polish primers and four from Lithuanian primers. All of the girls studied in Lithuanian, except one, while all the boys in Polish."

54 M. Lukšienė, op. cit., p. 102.

55 Description from the memoirs of the Rev. Antanas Tatarė who attended one of the parish schools in that territory. See M. Gustaitis, Kunigas Antanas Tatarė: Pirmutinis Suvalkų Gubernijos Švietėjas, Vilnius, Lietuvių Mokslo Draugija, 1913, 48p. See also M. Lukšienė, op. cit., p. 102 who cites other examples.

in the Lithuanian territories annexed to Prussia. In the Prussian areas the Lithuanian language was used in the schools on an equal basis with Polish.⁵⁶

The last factor in the examination of possible Polonization through the parish schools is the degree of control exercised by the Commission over the parish school network. For a number of reasons, presented in Chapter VIII of this study, it was determined that the Commission did not have complete control over the parish school network.

The examination of all five factors appears to reveal that some degree of Polonization was present in the parish schools of the ethnographic Lithuanian educational districts. But, the Polonization appears to have been indirect. Furthermore, the existence of large numbers of Lithuanian primers points to the possible use of the Lithuanian language in the parish schools of the ethnographic Lithuanian educational districts.

C. Folk Culture Centered Pedagogy vs. School Centered Pedagogy

Education in Lithuania can be divided into two broad forms, which appear to transcend Lithuanian educational history. These broad forms are (1) folk culture centered pedagogy and (2) school centered pedagogy. These two forms seem to be at constant odds, especially during periods of cultural stress. As defined in Chapter II, folk culture centered pedagogy is that educational activity which takes place within the confines of the

56 The school situation in the lands annexed by the Prussians during the Partitions was presented by B. Sakalauskas, "Mokyklos ir Prūsų Mokyklų Politika Naujuosiuose Rytų Prūsiose," (Schools and Prussian School Politics in New Eastern Prussia), Praeitis, Vol. I, Kaunas, 1930, p. 164.

home, family, and the immediate societal group and attempts to (1) maintain and transmit the cultural heritage, (2) retain a common language of discourse, and (3) keep a common object of social allegiance. The school centered pedagogy is that activity which occurs within the confines of a formal school setting and is exclusive of the home. The school centered pedagogy may or may not attempt to reach the same goals as the folk centered pedagogy.⁵⁷ If these two broad pedagogical forms transcend Lithuanian educational history, and are at constant odds during periods of cultural stress, then they should have been in evidence during the last quarter of the XVIIIth century. There appears to be little problem in the identification of school centered pedagogy during this time period. This form was in evidence in the schools of the Educational Commission. The goals for the school centered pedagogy were established and maintained by the Commission. The form and goals of folk centered pedagogy are more difficult to determine.

Existing evidence indicates that a vast network of peasant operated independent schools was functioning during the last quarter of the XVIIIth century in ethnographic Lithuanian educational districts.⁵⁸ These peasant schools were called bakalarios.⁵⁹ They operated in the

57 See Chapter II of this study for documentation, specifically footnote 8, p. 39.

58 M. Lukšienė, op. cit., p. 86.

59 The term bakalarios has its roots in the Latin: baccalarius. The term was used to describe these schools in the various writings of XVIIIth and early XIXth century authors. For example K. Bogušas of the University of Vilnius uses the term in 1803. See M. Lukšienė, op. cit., p. 86.

homes of peasant families. If one of the peasant families was more centrally located, then the school operated in their home, if not, then the school operated on a rotating basis. Usually, only a small number of families supported each school. Fundamentals of reading, writing, catechism, and arithmetic were taught during the winter months. The instructors were generally tradesmen, traveling beggars, or others who had attended a parish or secondary school. The quality of the instruction depended on the erudition of the instructor. Some schools provided a bare minimum of reading, while other compared favorably to the parish schools. Compensation for the instructor's services took the form of room and board at one of the households, as well as an occasional monetary contribution from the parents. These schools, in addition to serving as primitive educational institutions, were important in terms of keeping alive the Lithuanian language, since most of the instruction was exclusively in Lithuanian.⁶⁰

The use of the Lithuanian language in these folk centered schools is supported by sales' figures of the Lithuanian language primers printed by the University of Vilnius Press. During the greatest period of growth in the parish school network (1773-1780) only 29.77 percent of the Lithuanian language primers was sold. While in the period of greatest decline in the parish school network (1785-1790) a total of 51.07 percent of these primers were sold.⁶¹ During the same two time

60 This method of education continued into the XXth century. For more detail on the bakalarios see M. Lukšienė, op. cit.

61 Of the 14,108 primers a total of 4,200 were sold prior to 1781; while from 1785 to 1790 a total of 7,205 were sold. See J. A. Račkauskas, "Pradinis Švietimas Lietuvoje iki Trečiojo Padalinimo," p.104.

periods sales of the Polish language primer increased only 6 percent, while the increase in the sales of the Lithuanian language primer was 21.3 percent. The total usage of the Lithuanian primer cannot be attributed solely to the bakalarios. Some of the primers, as indicated earlier, had to be used in the parish schools as well.

The peasants, through folk centered pedagogical practices, appear to have been the main supporters of the Lithuanian language and folk traditions. The reasons for this support of the language could have been the peasants' common social class bondage, as well as their nationalistic feelings. In all probability, the greatest of these two factors was the social class bondage.

D. Influences of the Reforms on the Educational Systems of Other Countries.

Influences of the Commission's educational reforms extended beyond the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth. Consideration of the influences on other educational systems requires greater depth than is possible in this study. An overview of the possible influences on the educational systems of Chile, the United States, Russia, and Prussia is presented here.⁶²

62 This section of the chapter is based on the work reported by this writer in 1974. See J. A. Račkauskas, "Lietuvos ir Lenkijos Edukacinė Komisija ir Jos Itaka Kity Krašty Švietimo Sistemoms," (The Educational Commission of Poland and Lithuania and its Influence on the Educational Systems of Other Countries) in Actes du Huitième Congrès de l'Académie Lituanienne Catholique des Sciences, Roma, 1974, Vol. VIII, p. 399-422.

1. Implications for Chilean Education

Some authors claim that the Chilean educational reforms of 1843-1846 were based on the organizational patterns established by the Educational Commission for the schools under the University of Vilnius.⁶³ An investigation of these claims revealed that the author of the Chilean educational reforms was Ignas Domeika,⁶⁴ who was a graduate of the University of Vilnius. Domeika was invited by the Chilean government in 1838 to teach in Chile. There he became a noted professor and mineralogist, identified new minerals, expanded mining, and became the rector of the University of Santiago.⁶⁵ It appears that early in Domeika's career in Chile he became interested in school reform. At the request of Mott, the minister of education, Domeika prepared a plan for the reform of Chilean education. This plan was presented to the ministry in 1845.⁶⁶ Domeika, in his memoirs, referred to his plan "Memoria sobre la instruccion publica-1845," and stated that this plan was based on the organizational pattern of the old University of Vilnius.⁶⁷ A comparison of the original plan with

63 For example see Vaclovas Biržiška, "Ignas Domeika," in Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Vol. V, p. 106

64 Ignas Domeika (1801-1899), see Biržiška, op. cit., p. 105-106.

65 From 1867-1883. See Ibid., p. 106.

66 See Povilas Ragažinskas, "Ignas Domeika kaip Lietuvis ir Mokslininkas: Igno Domeikos Lietuviškumas jo paties užrašų šviesoje," (Ignas Domeika as a Lithuanian and a Scientist: In the Light of his own Memoirs) in Tautos Praeitis, Vol. II, Book 3/4, 1967, p. 123-153.

67 Ignacy Domeyko, Moje Podroze: Pamietniki Wygnanca: Czterdziecie Szesc Lat: Mego Zawodu Nauczycielskiego i Naukowego w Chile (Memoirs), Warszawa, Zaklad Imienia Ossolinski--Wydawnictwo, 1963, Vol. III, p. 27-28.

the actual reforms and the Statutes of 1783 is necessary before any definitive influence can be established.

2. Implications for Education in the United States

The Educational Commission's influences on educational reform in the United States can be traced through Pierre-Samuel Du Pont de Nemours.⁶⁸ In 1772 the king of Poland invited Du Pont to come to Warsaw, where, after the establishment of the Educational Commission, Du Pont became the foreign correspondence secretary of the Commission.⁶⁹ He was active in the affairs of the Commission, and even submitted a reform proposal.⁷⁰ After a total of four years in Warsaw, Du Pont returned to France and worked with Turgot.⁷¹ His duties were in the field of economics and diplomatic service, through which he became a close friend of Thomas Jefferson, the then United States Ambassador to France. Jefferson, upon his return to the United States, was elected governor of Virginia. In a letter to Du Pont, dated 12 April 1780, Jefferson asked Du Pont to prepare a plan for educational reform in the United States.⁷² Such a plan

68 Biographical data in B. G. Du Pont, National Education in the United States of America, Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1923, p. viii-ix.

69 See Chapter III and Chapter IV of this study.

70 See Chapter IV: Part G: The Proposal of Pierre-Samuel Du Pont, p. 155-159.

71 Nicholas Hans, "Polish Schools in Russia: 1772-1831," The Slavonic and East European Review, Vol. 38, No. 91, p. 397.

72 Gilbert Chinard, The Correspondence of Jefferson and Du Pont de Nemours, London, Oxford University Press, 1931, letter of 12 April 1800 reproduced on p. 11.

was prepared by Du Pont and sent to Jefferson on 24 August 1800.⁷³

The plan was entitled Sur l'Education nationale dans les Etats-Unis.⁷⁴

The Du Pont plan was in essence a proposal for the establishment of a Commission for National Education of the United States. This proposed commission was to establish a tri-level, hierarchical school structure, where the universities would control all secondary and elementary level schools.⁷⁵ Many of the ideas presented by Du Pont found their way into the various legislative proposals made by Jefferson. Historians at the University of Virginia maintain that the Jefferson plans for the establishment and organization of the University of Virginia were based directly on the Du Pont plan.⁷⁶ The historian Philip Bruce suggested that Jefferson received not only most of his suggestions for school reform from Du Pont, but most of the encouragement as well.⁷⁷ Jefferson's last proposal for school reform made in 1817 very clearly resembled the Du Pont proposals.⁷⁸

73 Ibid., see letter of 24 August 1800, p. 28.

74 Translation of the entire original plan found in B. G. Du Pont, op. cit., p. 1-161.

75 Ibid.

76 See for example Herbert B. Adams, Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia, U. S. Bureau of Education, Circular of Information, No. 1, 1888, p. 51.

77 Philip A. Bruce, The History of the University of Virginia, 1818-1919, V Vol, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1920, Vol. 1, p. 64.

78 See the "Jefferson School Bill of 1817," in Roy J. Honeywell, The Educational Work of Thomas Jefferson, New York, Russell and Russell, Inc., 1964; Harvard University Press, 1931, p. 233-243. See also: Robert D. Heslep, Thomas Jefferson and Education, New York, Random House, 1969, p. 87-112.

In Du Ponts correspondence with Madame de Stael of 26 February 1805

he stated:

Moreover, I do not deny that America presents an attraction to me that it cannot offer you. There I have made, and had approved by Jefferson and Madison, both of whom had asked me for them, all the plans for national education; and when I return, we shall carry them out.⁷⁹

There appears to be no doubt that Du Pont influenced the thinking of Jefferson in matters of school reform, but, to what extent did the reforms of the Educational Commission influence the thinking of Du Pont? The similarities of the Du Pont reform plans and those of the Educational Commission may be indicative, but the answer to this question can come only after further research efforts.

Du Pont was not alone in his association with Jefferson. A member of the Educational Commission, Julian Niemcewicz,⁸⁰ left Poland after the Partitions, came to the United States, became a citizen and a close friend of Thomas Jefferson. Through Niemcewicz, Jefferson could have received first hand information on the activities and reforms of the Educational Commission.⁸¹ Little information can be found detailing the Niemcewicz-Jefferson relationship. No implications can be drawn.

79 James F. Marshall, editor, De Stael-Du Pont Letters: Correspondence of Madame de Stael and Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours and of Other Members of the Necker and du Pont Families, Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1968, p. 266., also footnote 13, p. 271.

80 Member of the Educational Commission from 17-XII-1791 to 30-VI-1792. See Table I of this study on p. 103-105.

81 See The Jefferson Papers, Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 1900, Series 7, Vol. 1. Also: Nicholas Hans, "Educational Reform in Poland in the Eighteenth Century," Journal of Central European Affairs, Vol. XIV, No. 4, January, 1954, p. 302.

3. Implications for Russian Education

The Statutes of 1783 and the various regulations of the Educational Commission had a substantial and direct influence on the Russian educational reforms of 1802-1803. Especially direct was the influence of the Statutes on Russian school administration and organization. A recent study by Truchim examined the means by which the Statutes and regulations were adapted to the Russian educational system, and how they functioned.⁸² Some aspects of the Truchim study will be examined here.

In general, the influences of the educational reforms of the Educational Commission are not mentioned by the majority of authors examining Russian educational history.⁸³ Other authors, for example Nicholas Hans, in writing about the educational reforms in Russia during 1802-1803 did not negate the possible influence of the Educational Commission. He only noted that the Russian educational reforms were influenced by Western Europe, and that it was insignificant as to whether the reforms were influenced by the Commission or the French.⁸⁴

82 Stefan Truchim. Wspolpraca Polsko-Rosyjska nad Organizacja Szkolnictwa Rosyjskiego w Początkach XIX wieku (Polish-Russian Cooperation in the Organization of Russian Schools in the Beginning of the XIXth Century), Lodz, Lodzkie Towarzystwo Naukowe Societas Scientiarum Lodziensis, Wydział II, Section II, Nr. 30, 1960, p. 1-144.

83 For example: William H.E. Johnson, Russia's Educational Heritage, New York, Octagon Press, 1969, xvi-351p; Patrick L. Alston, Education and the State in Tsarist Russia, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1969, ix-322p; or William K. Medlin, The History of Educational Ideas in the West, New York, The Center for Applied Research in Education, Inc., 1964, x-118p.

84 Nicholas Hans, The Russian Tradition in Education, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963, p. 20; or Nicholas Hans, Comparative Education, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958, p. 308-309; as well as Nicholas Hans, History of Russian Educational Policy (1701-1917), London, King, 1931.

The majority of the authors credit the French with the greatest influence on Russian educational reforms.

On the whole, both Polish and Russian historiographers, do not negate the fact that the Russian reforms were influenced by the Statutes of the Educational Commission, But, on the one hand the Polish writers tend to engage in faulty reasoning and fantasy, while the Russian writers attempt to diminish the influence of the Commission.⁸⁵ The majority of the Russian historians attribute to Condorcet, the authorship of the 1802-1803 reforms, while others attribute it to Jankowicz de Myriewo.

Without diminishing the contributions of Jankowicz de Myriewo to the Russian reforms, it must be noted that according to the Minutes of the Russian School Commission for 4 October 1802, the reform plan of de Myriewo was rejected.⁸⁶ The Condorcet reform plan was compared by Truchim with the 1803 reforms approved by the Russian School Commission. He found that there were twelve substantive differences between the Russian reforms of 1803 and the Condorcet plan.⁸⁷ Most of the differences were in basic organization and administration of the school structure.

In 1802 the Russian School Commission received the reform plan prepared by Adam Czartoryski. The Czartoryski plan, after discussion and supplementation by M. Fus, was approved and adopted by the Russian School Commission, and in November of 1804 approved by Czar Alexander I.⁸⁸

85 Stefan Truchim, op. cit., p. 8-11.

86 See: "Zhurnal Komissii ob uchilishchakh," in I. Kornilov, Sbornik materialow dla istoriji prosveshcheniya Rossii, , Pietersburg, 1897, Vol. II: 1802-1804, p. 15.

87 Stefan Truchim, op. cit., Chapter II, p. 51-90.

88 Ibid., p. 75.

Adam Czartoryski was one of the most active members of the Commission.⁸⁹ His reform plans submitted to the Russian School Commission reflected the Statutes of 1783 as well as a number of other directives issued by the Educational Commission. An examination of the Russian Instructions for School Visitors, approved by the Russian School Commission on 5 May 1803, revealed that the entire regulation was a synthesis of the Educational Commission's 1774 Rules for School Visitations, the 1777 Supplemental Regulation for School Visitations, and Chapter IV of the Statutes of 1783. Of the seventeen paragraphs contained in the Russian Instructions for School Visitors of 1803, a total of fifteen have direct counterparts in the regulations of the Educational Commission.⁹⁰

The Truchim study of the Russian reforms offers substantive proof for the determination of the influences of the Educational Commission on the Russian reforms. There appears to be little doubt that the major Russian reform legislation had its roots in the Statutes of 1783.

4. Implications for Prussian Education

A number of indications have appeared in the literature that begin to link Prussian schools with the reforms of the Educational Commission. The genesis of the link between Prussian schools and the reforms of the Commission can be found in the fact that after the Second Partition many

89 See Chapter III of this study and Chapter IV: Part E: The Plan of Adam Czartoryski, p. 139.

90 Comparison of the Russian regulation and those of the Educational Commission can be found in Truchim, op. cit., p. 82-89, and in Račkauskas, "Lietuvos ir Lenkijos Edukacinė Komisiija ir Jos Itaką Kraštų Švietimo Sistemoms," p. 417-419.

areas of Poland and Lithuania were annexed to Prussia. These areas had functioning schools, which were organized under the Statutes of 1783. A total of seventeen district type schools came under the control of the Prussian authorities after the Partitions. The schools were located in an area referred to as East Prussia. This area was administered by a provincial school administrator who was responsible to the minister of education in Berlin. Sakalauskas, after extensive investigation using the Geheimes Staatsarchiv in Berlin,⁹¹ prepared a detailed study of the status of the schools in East Prussia after the Partitions.⁹² A letter found in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv from the school administrator of East Prussia, Schrotter, to his superior in Berlin, Massow, indicated that in the absence of overall school reform legislation, the schools in East Prussia would continue to be governed by the Statutes of 1783.⁹³ A number of other sources tend to indicate that the reforms of the Educational Commission continued to influence the schools in East Prussia into the XIXth century.⁹⁴

91 Geheimes Staatsarchiv: Repertorium von den Akten des Neuostpreussischen Departaments des ehemaligen General--Directorii.

92 B. Sakalauskas, "Mokyklos ir Prūsų Mokyklų Politika Naujuosiuose Rytų Prūsiose," (The Schools and Prussian School Politics in East Prussia), Praeitis, Vol. 1, Kaunas, 1930, p. 139-165.

93 Letter of Schrotter to Massow, found in Geheimes Staatsarchiv, reference Rep 76. I. 1145. Cited by Sakalauskas, op. cit., p. 152.

94 Ideological influences of the Educational Commission on the Prussian reforms are detailed in Wanda Bobkowska, Pruska Polityka Szkolna na Ziemiach Polskich w Latach 1793-1806, Warszawa, Skład Główny, Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1948, 391p. Also see Za zachodnią miedza Stanisław Szenic: Polacy w życiu Niemiec XVIII i XIX wieku, Warszawa, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1973, p. 71.

E. Summary

This chapter considered some of the intra-commonwealth implications and extra-commonwealth influences of the reforms of the Educational Commission. The following were the findings:

The Educational Commission, in the planning and implementation of its educational reforms, was very sensitive to the reactions of the conservative gentry. Every effort was made to appease them and recognize their contributions. The Commission made a number of minute changes in the various rules and regulations, but at the same time attempted to maintain its basic educational goals.

Directly or indirectly the Educational Commission became a vehicle for the Polonization of Lithuania. Through its efforts to advance Polish nationalism the Commission introduced Polish into the schools as the official language, in lieu of Latin. Without regard for the Lithuanian national and linguistic identity, the Commission introduced the Polish language into all of the schools of Lithuania. This new Polonization, unlike the efforts in previous centuries, took on a new and more powerful form. For the first time it cut across all social classes and embraced, in one way or another, the entire school-age population. Polonization was more direct in the district schools, where the only language of instruction was Polish and the only available textbooks were in the Polish language. Polonization through the parish schools was less direct. The main reason appeared to be the lack of direct control over the parish schools by the Commission. Another important factor was the existence of two primers,

one in Lithuanian and one in Polish. It appears that children were taught using the primer they brought to school. But, children who desired to further their education, had to use the Polish primer, since Polish was the language of instruction in all of the district schools.

The Lithuanian peasants maintained their own network of home schools or bakalarios. These schools used the Lithuanian language exclusively. The existence of these schools furthers the concept of folk centered vs. school centered pedagogy in Lithuanian educational history.

The activities and reforms of the Educational Commission appear to have influenced the educational systems of other countries. Influences on Chilean, United States, Russian and Prussian educational systems were discussed.

The possible influence of the Commission on Chilean education can be traced via Ignas Domeika, who was the author of the Chilean educational reforms of 1843-1846. Domeika was born in Lithuania and studied at the University of Vilnius. In his memoirs he credits the organizational plan of the old University of Vilnius as the source of his reform plan.

The Educational Commission's influences on educational reform in the United States can be traced through Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours. Du Pont served with the Educational Commission as the foreign correspondence secretary. He later worked in Paris and then in the United States. He was a close friend of Thomas Jefferson. Evidence was

presented that Du Pont's Sur l'Education nationale dans les Etats-Unis contained many of the operational ideas of the Educational Commission. Jefferson appears to have later used the Du Pont proposal as a basis for the organization of the University of Virginia and the School Bill of 1817. A former member of the Educational Commission was also a close friend of Jefferson. Julian Niemcewicz had primary experience in educational reform and may have been influential in the formulation of the Jefferson plans.

The Educational Commission's influence on educational reforms in Russia appears to have been substantial and direct. Especially direct was the influence of the Statutes of 1783. The identified link between the Educational Commission and the Russian School Commission appears to have been Adam Czartoryski, who was a member of both Commissions. Some evidence was presented to indicate that the popular attribution of authorship of the Russian educational reform legislation to Condorcet and Jankowicz de Myriewo was not completely factual. It appears that the proposals of Adam Czartoryski were the primary proposals accepted by the Russian School Commission. An examination of rules issued by the Russian School Commission, for example the Instructions for School Visitors of 1803, revealed that they were a synthesis of a variety of rules issued by the Educational Commission. There appears to be little doubt that the major Russian reform legislation of 1802-1803 had its genesis in the Statutes of the Educational Commission of 1783.

A number of indicators have appeared that link the educational reforms of the Commission with the reforms of the Prussian school system,

especially in East Prussia. After the Second Partition a total of seventeen district schools came under the control of the Prussian authorities. East Prussian school administrators appear to have used the provisions of the Statutes of 1783 to govern the schools.

SUMMARY

The Commission for National Education of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was established 14 October 1773. By purpose and design it combined the educational systems of both countries under one national controlling body, thus directly taking over responsibility for education from the Church.

The development of the Educational Commission was a direct outgrowth of the dissolution of the Jesuit Order, by Pope Clement XIV's bull, Dominus ac Redemptor Noster, in 1773. The dissolution of the Jesuit Order was the condition sine qua non of the educational reforms in Poland-Lithuania. Since education in Lithuania and Poland was mainly in the hands of the Jesuits, the dissolution would have left the educational system in complete disorder. The Lithuanian Vice-Chancellor, Joachim Chreptowicz and Bishop of Vilnius, Ignacy Massalski, proposed to the Polish-Lithuanian Sejm that a special educational commission, responsible directly to the Sejm, be established not only to continue the work of the Jesuits, but to control all educational activities. The Sejm approved the proposal and appointed to the Educational Commission eight members with Bishop Massalski as chairman.

The Educational Commission decided that all schools from the elementary level to the university must undergo basic reform. The Educational Commission began by issuing on 24 October 1773 its first Uniwersal, which described the Educational Commission's aims and requested

suggestions for educational reform. In response to this appeal the Commission received eleven proposals for school reform. Of these the proposals of Franciszek Bielinski, Adolf Kaminski, Ignacy Potocki, Adam Czartoryski, Antonio Poplawski, and Pierre-Samuel Du Pont were the most comprehensive.

The Educational Commission made use of a number of the proposals in the formulation of its reform plans. From Bielinski, it appears, the Commission adopted certain aspects of language instruction for girls. From Kaminski the Commission may have adopted the ideas of foreign language instruction. From Potocki the Commission adopted the structuring of the district schools, the organization of textbook production, and possibly the centralization and hierarchical structure of educational institutions. From Czartoryski, it appears, the Commission adopted the ideas for allowing social class inter-mobility within the educational establishment. It appears that the major reform plans were taken from Poplawski's suggestions, which were based on the Piarist schools and the Konarski reforms of 1753. The plans submitted by Du Pont may have been influential, but their degree of influence has not been established.

On the basis of the reform proposals received, the Commission evolved a hierarchical and centralized system of national education. The system was composed of a tri-level school structure, consisting of elementary or parish schools, secondary or district schools, and post-secondary or chief schools. Each unit within the system was responsible

to the next higher unit for its operation and at the same time was responsible for supervising the activities of the next lower unit in the system. The Commission itself was responsible to the Sejm,

The Commission governed the schools through the promulgation of various rules, regulations and instructions, which were eventually codified and published as the Statutes of the Educational Commission. Initially, in 1774-1775, the Commission issued a series of rules, regulations, and instructions, which organized the school structure. The most important regulations of 1774-1775 were the Parish School Regulation, the District School Regulation, and the Rules for School Visitations. These three regulations were supplemented and modified by a number of other rules and regulations, which in 1781 were codified into a statute. The Statutes of 1781 not only included most of the previous rules and regulations, but introduced a number of other innovative structural changes. The most important of these was the subordination of all schools to the universities. Also important was the creation of a new social class--the academic. The Statutes of 1781 were reissued in 1783 with minor editorial changes. The Statutes of 1783 remained in force through 1792, with some changes being made by the Commission as well as the Sejm.

The administrative and organizational requirements set forth by the Commission were contained in the various rules and regulations. Reporting requirements were established for informational and control purposes. All of the reporting and administrative matters were within the hierarchical structure. All teaching, as well as administrative,

personnel reported to the Commission through defined lines of communication. Each person within the school administrative structure had his duties and responsibilities defined in regulations issued by the Commission.

Control over the entire structure was not limited to rules and regulations. The Commission created an inspection system, which provided continuous information on the status of the schools and the degree to which the schools were implementing the rules and regulations. In an effort to assure compliance with its reforms the Commission empowered general inspectors with administrative and judicial authority. The entire visitation and inspection system was at first centralized and operated by the Educational Commission. In 1781 the Commission was able to bring the universities under its direct control and transfer the basic responsibility for school supervision to them. This action by the Commission established the universities as its supervisory arms, thus bringing more direct control over the school structure. The detailed rules established for school inspections by the Commission were ahead of their times and are applicable to most modern educational situations. The detailed reports prepared by the general inspectors present a wealth of first-hand information about the educational practices in the schools of XVIIIth century Poland and Lithuania. Much of the progress made in education during this time period may be attributable to the fact that the Commission did provide the supervisory mechanism via the general inspector.

In order to control and regulate the parish schools, the Commission approved in 1774 the Parish School Regulation. This regulation expressed

a bold and new conceptualization of elementary education, not only in terms of its curriculum and attitude toward the student, but also in that elementary education was to be taken away from the control of the Church. The Educational Commission had as its aim universal and obligatory education for all social classes. The Parish School Regulation even required parish schools to educate gentry as well as peasant children, and the teachers were instructed not to discriminate in any way whatsoever between the children of these classes. This requirement was never fully realized because of the resistance on the part of the gentry, who wanted separate schools for each social class. The curriculum included not only the teaching of reading and writing, but envisaged the introduction of physical education and general knowledge in the fields of agriculture, horticulture, hygiene, and secular moral education. The teaching of various subjects was based on such up-to-date methods as composing words with the help of mounted letters and visual aids. Stress was placed on concrete experiences in all subject matter areas.

With the Bishop of Vilnius, Massalski, providing the leadership to the parish school organization effort, 330 parish schools were in operation in Lithuania by 1777, with a total enrollment of 4,956 students. This achievement, remarkable for those times and conditions, began to diminish after 1780, when Bishop Massalski resigned from the chairmanship of the Educational Commission. Massalski's forceful efforts aimed at improving and increasing education for the lower classes began to become too fruitful. The conservative gentry, in opposition to increased peasant

education, failed to approve the Zamoyski Code of 1780, which would have mandated not only the establishment of parish schools in each parish, but would have also required that the schools be provided funds for their maintenance. With the failure of the Zamoyski Code, Bishop Massalski resigned from the chairmanship of the Commission.

With the conservative gentry's opposition to universal peasant education, the Statutes of the Educational Commission of 1783 were not as forceful in their demands for quality parish schools and programs. With the continued decline of parish schools the Four Year Sejm passed in 1789 a new regulation which took direct control over the parish schools away from the Commission, but included most of the provisions of the Zamoyski Code. This new regulation was enacted too late to accomplish any positive results, for the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was already facing its Second Partition and more pressing matters took precedence.

Unlike other school reforms of the XVIIIth century the reforms of the Educational Commission viewed elementary education as an integral part of the educational establishment. The rules and regulations issued by the Commission were progressive educational documents of the XVIIIth century. Their implementation was hindered by a number of factors, which also can be offered to explain the demise of the parish school network. These factors will be listed in the next section.

The reforms initiated by the Commission affected the secondary schools in a more direct manner than the parish schools. The Commission, first through the District School Regulation of 1774 and then in seventeen chapters of the Statutes of 1783, completely redefined the courses of

study as well as the duties of the administrators of the district schools.

Curriculum changes initiated by the Educational Commission were largely based on the work of the Piarists, S. Konarski and A. Poplawski. The district schools (six year) had a curriculum which included mathematics, geometry, algebra, geometric drawing, moral education, grammar, logic, speech, poetry, metaphysics, physics, chemistry, history, geography, writing, and composition. The curriculum of the chief district schools (seven year) was only slightly different. The Commission further specified extra-curricular activities, such as agricultural projects. In general the district school curricular requirements and methodological directives conveyed the intellectual projection of the Enlightenment, reflected the sense experience principles of Hume and Locke, as well as the thinking of J. J. Rousseau and the Physiocrats.

The Educational Commission was considerably ahead of its time in the area of teacher education, especially the preparation of elementary school teachers. In the rest of Europe elementary teacher training, even in principle, was generally not accepted until the middle of the XIXth century. The Commission, as early as 1775, established a teacher training seminary for elementary school teachers in Vilnius. After 1783 the preparation of elementary school teachers was relegated to the district schools. The Commission did not begin the training of secondary school teachers until the 1780's. The preparation of secondary school teachers required attendance at the university for a four year period. The secondary teachers were included in the academic class and maintained the outward signs of the clergy.

The Sejm, in order to provide financial resources to the Educational Commission for the operation of schools, turned over to the Commission the control of all Jesuit properties. These properties were to be leased at $4\frac{1}{2}$ percent per year, while monies were to be lent at an annual rate of 5 percent. The financial task was assigned by the Sejm first to the Distributing Commissions (1773-1776) and later taken over directly by the Educational Commission. The total worth of Jesuit properties in Lithuania and Poland was estimated to have been over forty million Polish gulden. The income of the Educational Commission in 1783, for example, was 1,311,875 gulden, the larger part of which was derived from properties in Lithuania. The Educational Commission thus had a large source of continuing income, which by law could only be used for education.

In terms of schools within the total structure, the Commission proposed in 1774 the establishment, in addition to the two universities, of twenty-six district schools, fifty-two sub-district schools, and 2,500 elementary schools. By 1783 over 94 percent of the district schools were in operation, while only 22 percent of the elementary schools had been established.

The Commission was an advocate of universal education and supported social class interplay within the educational structure. It made constant attempts to have elementary and district schools include children of peasants, burghers, and gentry. Some progress was made in this area. Of the 4,956 parish school children attending school in 1777 some 78.8 percent were peasant and burgher children. By 1783 the distribution changed in some

schools to a 35/65 percent gentry vs. peasant / burgher ratio.

The Educational Commission, in the planning and implementation of its educational reforms, was very sensitive to the reactions of the conservative gentry. Every effort was made to appease them and recognize their contributions. The Commission made a number of minute changes in the various rules and regulations, as a result of gentry pressure, but at the same time attempted to maintain its basic educational goals.

Directly or indirectly the Educational Commission became a vehicle for the Polonization of Lithuania. Through its efforts to advance Polish nationalism the Commission introduced Polish into the schools as the official language, in lieu of Latin. Without regard for the Lithuanian national and linguistic identity, the Commission introduced the Polish language into all of the schools of Lithuania. This new Polonization, unlike the efforts in previous centuries, took on a new and more powerful form. For the first time it cut across all social classes and embraced, in one way or another, the entire school-age population. Polonization was more direct in the district schools, where the only language of instruction was Polish and the only available textbooks were in the Polish language. Polonization through the parish schools was less direct. The main reason appeared to be the lack of direct control over the parish schools by the Commission. Another important factor was the existence of two primers, one in Lithuanian and the other in Polish. It appears that children were

taught using the primer they brought to school. But, children who desired to further their education, had to use the Polish primer, since Polish was the language of instruction in the district schools.

The Lithuanian peasants maintained their own network of home schools or bakalarios. These schools used the Lithuanian language exclusively. The existence of these schools furthers the concept of folk-centered vs. school-centered pedagogy in Lithuanian educational history.

The activities and reforms of the Educational Commission appear to have influenced the educational systems of other countries. Influences on Chilian, United States, and Prussian educational systems appear probable, while the influence on the Russian educational reforms of 1802-1803 appear to be substantial and direct.

CONCLUSIONS

The research reported in this study appears to support the following conclusions regarding the activities of the Commission for National Education of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

1. Education prior to the establishment of the Educational Commission was in the hands of the Church and the various religious orders, especially the Jesuits and the Piarists.
2. The dissolution of the Jesuit Order was the condition sine qua non of the establishment and reforms of the Educational Commission.
3. The Educational Commission was established in 1773 by the authority of the Polish-Lithuanian Sejm, which delegated to the Commission the authority to control, organize, and administer all educational activities within the Commonwealth.
4. The major reforms of the Commission can be traced to the Piarist, Stanislaw Konarski and through him to the Italian Piarist, Paulus Chelucci.
5. The Masonic and Physiocratic movement, active during this period, influenced the reform activities of the Commission, especially in the areas of elementary education for the peasants.

6. The Commission organized and established, during the time period 1773-1783, a national system of education, which was characterized by a centralized, hierarchical, and tri-level school structure.
7. The Commission subordinated all educational institutions in Lithuania to the University of Vilnius and all institutions in Poland to the University of Krakow. This was the first such subordination in educational history, even though the idea was first expressed by the unknown English author of the New Solima in the XVIIth century and restated by Rolland in the XVIIIth century.
8. The Commission governed the schools through rules, regulations, and instructions. These were codified in 1781 and reissued in 1783 as the Statutes of the Educational Commission.
9. An inspection system was established by the Commission for control and informational purposes. General inspectors were required to visit and inspect all of the schools.
10. The curricular changes made by the Commission in the elementary and secondary schools conveyed the intellectual projection of the Enlightenment, reflected the sense experience principles of Hume and Locke, as well as the thinking of Rousseau.
11. In 1775 the Commission established a teacher training seminary in Vilnius for the preparation of elementary teachers. From 1783 teachers for the secondary schools were required to complete a four year university level course of study.

12. Teacher preparation, by the Commission, was an organized and defined effort, having structure, finances, and a body of rules.
13. The fact that the Commission made use of the available ex-Jesuits in its work not only allowed the schools to keep functioning after the dissolution of the Jesuit Order, but in many cases proved invaluable to the implementation of the reforms.
14. The teaching profession was open to all social classes. Representatives from the peasant, burgher, and gentry could be found teaching in the schools.
15. The Commission created a new social class - the academic class. This new social class was largely autonomous, had high entry standards, adequate salary, and social status commensurate to that of the gentry.
16. Within a ten-year period the Educational Commission was able to change the make-up of the teaching staff in the district schools from 100 percent religious to 53.8 percent lay teachers.
17. Under the leadership of Ignacy Massalski the parish school network in Lithuania grew to 330 schools, with a total enrollment of 4,956 students. After his resignation from the chairmanship of the Commission, the parish school movement declined. The major reasons for the decline appear

to be the following: (1) strong opposition to the education of peasants on the part of the conservative gentry; (2) the resignation of Ignacy Massalski; (3) the failure of the Zamoyski Code; and (4) lack of financial support of the schools by the Commission. Corollary reasons for the demise appear to be the following:

(1) lack of any real control over the schools by the Commission; (2) opposition by the clergy over nominal secular control without financial support; (3) the shortage of trained teachers to implement the new programs in the parish schools; (4) irregular inspections of the schools by the general inspectors or district school prorectors; and (5) the establishment of home schools by the peasants, i.e., bakalarios.

18. The Commission was very sensitive to the reactions of the conservative gentry in the planning of its reforms.
19. Directly or indirectly the Commission became a vehicle for the Polonization of Lithuania. Through the introduction of Polish as the official language of instruction the Commission was able to advance Polish nationalism in the ethnographic Lithuanian educational districts. Polonization was more direct in the district schools.
20. Use of the Lithuanian language in the parish schools of the ethnographic Lithuanian educational districts can be deduced

from an examination of the sales' records of the University of Vilnius Press for a Lithuanian language primer. During the time period 1776-1790 over 14,000 of these primers were sold.

21. Existing evidence indicates that a vast network of peasant-operated independent home schools was functioning during the last quarter of the XVIIIth century in the ethnographic Lithuanian educational districts. These schools used the Lithuanian language exclusively, and can be considered as part of the Folk-Culture pedagogy, which is one of the broad educational forms that transcends Lithuanian educational history.
22. The activities and reforms of the Educational Commission appear to have influenced, to some degree, the educational systems of Chile, the United States, and Prussia.
23. The activities and reforms of the Educational Commission appear to have had a substantial and direct influence on the educational reforms of Russia in 1802-1803.

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Date	General Inspector	Univ of Vilnius #	Raporty page
1782	Bienkowski, F.	DC 98, 1-11	11-30
1782	Piramowicz, G.	DC 98, 1-36	31-96
1783	Bienkowski, F.	DC 89, 1-17	97-118
1783	Pilchowski, D.	DC 90, 1-28	119-144
1785	Bienkowski, F.	Krakow Univ only	145-156
1786	Bienkowski, F.	DC 76, 1-20	157-174
1786	Pilchowski, D.	DC 77, 1-37	175-209
1787	Erdman, J.	DC 81, 1-23	210-253
1787	Pilchowski, D.	DC 79, 1-26	254-279
1788	Erdman, J.	DC 93, 1-26	280-329
1788	Jaska, J.	DC 91, 1-13	330-380
1789	Erdman, J.	DC 95, 1-17	381-406
1789	Jaska, J.	DC 82, 1-93	407-480
1790	Erdman, J.	DC 96, 1-19	481-521
1791	Obrapalski, A.	DC 83, 1-28	522-549
1792	Obrapalski, A.	DC 83, 73-79	550-556
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Article presents the entire sequence of events from the invitation made by Bishop of Vilnius Protasevičius to the arrival of the Jesuits in 1568. Discussion is based on primary source documents from the Vatican Archives. Heavily documented.

-----, "Pirmosios Jėzuitų Kolegijos Įsiegimas Lietuvoje, Vilniuje (1570)," (The Establishment of the first Jesuit College in Lithuania in 1570), in Tautos Praeitis, Vol. II, Book 3/4(7-8), 1967, p. 3-93.

Work is based on primary source documents found in the Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu. Study deals with the first years of the new Vilnius Academy in Lithuania. Narrative descriptions and texts are found on p. 3-56. Following pages present thirteen documents, twelve of which were found for the first time. The documents are classified into (1) Kronikos; (2) Laiskai; and (3) Manuscriptai. All documents are reproduced in Latin.

Bielinski, Josef, Universytet Wilenski-1579-1831, (University of Vilnius), Krakow, Druk W. L. Anczyca i Spolki, 3 vol. 1899-1900.

Comprehensive history of the University of Vilnius.

Biržiška, Vaclovas, Aleksandrynas: Senųjų Lietuvių Rašytojų, Rašinių prieš 1865 m. Biografijos, Bibliografijos, ir Biobibliografijos, (Aleksandrynas--Biographies, Bibliographies, and Bio-bibliographies of Old Lithuanian Writers to 1865), Chicago, Institute of Lithuanian Studies and Lithuanian-American Cultral Fund, Inc., 3 vol., 1960-1965.

Volume I presents XVI-XVII centuries. Included are 100 authors; volume has 431 pages. Volume II presents XVIII-XIX centuries. Included are 151 authors; volume has 497 pages. Volume III presents remainder of XIX century. Presents 119 authors; volume had 454 pages. Major and most authorative and exhaustive work on Lithuanian authors from the XIVth century through 1865. Covers a total of 370 authors who wrote in Lithuanian. Important for educational history since the descriptions of works and the authors background aid in the analysis of educational trends.

-----, "Ignas Domeika," in Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Boston, Lithuanian Encyclopeda Press, Vol. V, 1955, p. 105-106.

Author describes the work of Domeika in Chile and details possible influence of the University of Vilnius organizational pattern on the Chilian educational reforms of the 1860's.

-----, "Iš Jėzuitų Mokyklos Praeities Lietuvoje XVIII amžiuje," (From the History of Jesuit Schools in the XVIIIth Century), in Praeities Pabiros, Rinkinys Straipsnių iš Lietuvos Praeities, Brooklyn, Karys--Tevai Pranciškonai, 1960, p. 60-66.

Originally published in Šaulių Kultūra, 1931, No. 6-7, p. 334-338. Author signed as "Vc. Bk." Offers a brief view of education in the Jesuit schools of Lithuania. Deals specifically with the Jesuit theater.

-----, "Kryžiuočių Keliai į Lietuvą XIV amž.," (Movements of the Teutonic Knights into Lithuania during the XIVth Century), in Praeitis, Vol. 1, 1930, p. 1-63.

Discussion of the Teutonic Order's affect on the development of the Lithuanian nation.

-----, Lietuviškų Knygų Istorijos Bruožai, I Dalis: Senosios Lietuviškos Knygos, (Main Points in the History of Lithuanian Books; Part I- The Old Lithuanian Books), Kaunas, "Spaudos Fondas," 1939. 131 p.

Cultural developments in Lithuania viewed through the history of publishing in the Lithuanian language.

-----, "Lietuvių Mokykla ligi XVIII a. pabaigos," (Lithuanian Schools up to the End of the XVIII Century), in Laisvosios Valandos, Nr. 3(6), 26 Kovo 1918. Corrected and republished in Is Mūsų Kultūros ir Literatūros Istorijos, Vol. II, Kaunas, Vytauto Didžiojo Universiteto Humanitarinių Mokslų Fakulteto Leidinys, 1938, p. 173-178.

Short and at times inaccurate treatment of educational history. Author cited the 1397 Chronicle of Konrad von Kyburg as rereference for statements that additional schools were established in Lithuania prior to 1397 by the Franciscan Monks.

-----, Senasis Vilniaus Universitetas, (The Old University of Vilnius), London, Nida Press, 1955. First printing of this books was for the Senate of the University of Vilnius in 1940, printed by Spindulio Press. The book appeared only in 1942, but was pre-dated in order to avoid German censorship.

Contains a listing of names and publications of the old University of Vilnius. Has three main chapters: (1) Academia et Universitas Vilnensis; (2) Imperatoria Universitas Vilnensis; and (3) Universiteto Sviesos Spinduliai.

Bobkowska, Wanda, Pruska Polityka Szkolna na Ziemiach Polskich w Latach 1793-1806, Warszawa, Skład Głowy, Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1948, 391 p.

Details the ideological influences of the Educational Commission on the Prussian educational reforms. Specifically deals with the influences during the period following the Second Partition up to the Treaty of Tilsit.

Borrelly, Jan Aleksy, Plan Reformy Nauczania Elementarnego: Odpowiedz na apel Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego, skierowany w 1775 roku do wybitniejszych uczonych Europy, (Plan for the Reform of Elementary Education and the Program of Studies submitted at the request of Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego in 1775), Warszawa, Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1973, 240 p.

Plan submitted by Jan Akelsy Borrelly, a member of the Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences and professor at the Academy of Berlin, to the King. Plan was prepared at the king's request and detailed a reform of elementary education.

Boswell, A. Bruce, "Educational Reform in Poland After the First Partition," in The Slavonic Review (London), Vol. III, No. 7, June, 1924, p. 131-140.

First article in the English language dealing with the Commission for National Education.

-----, "Poland and Lithuania in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in J.B. Bury's Cambridge Medieval History, New York, Macmillan Company, 1936, p. 556-586.

Good authoritative treatment of XIVth and XVth century Poland and Lithuania.

Budreckis, Algirdas, "Vilniaus Vyskupai XVIII Amžiuje," (The Bishops of Vilnius in the XVIIIth Century) in Naujoji Viltis, No. 9, 1976, p. 56-65.

Good summary treatment of the Bishops of Vilnius in the XVIIIth century. Based on secondary and tertiary sources. Good as an overview of the topic.

Bulavas, Juozas, Vilniaus Universitetas (The University of Vilnius) Vilnius, Valstybinė Politinės ir Mokslinės Literatūros Leidykla, 1956.

Popular history of the University of Vilnius written under the influence of Soviet historiography.

Bruce, Philip, A., The History of the University of Virginia, 1818-1919, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1920, Vol. I-V.

Comprehensive history of the University of Virginia. First volume deals with the establishment and the work of Thomas Jefferson. Reference is also made to Du Pont.

Celichowski, Zygmunt, editor, Cronica Conflictus Wladislai Regis Poloniae Cum Cruciferis Anno Christi 1410, Poznan, Nakladem Biblioteki Kornickiej, 1911, 51 p.

Source closest to the battle of Tannenberg.

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Cepenas, Pranas, editor, Lietuvos Universitetas 1579-1803-1922, (The University of Lithuania), Chicago, Lietuvių Profesorių Draugija Amerikoje, 1972, xvi-896 p.

The most comprehensive work on the University published to date by Lithuanians. The first section of this work deals with the history of the University (p. 3-346). The next two sections deal with XXth century activities.

-----, "Stanislaw Konarski," in Lietuviu Enciklopedija, Boston, Lithuanian Enciklopedia Press, Vol. XII, 1957, p. 303-304.

Overview of the work of Stanislaw Konarski.

Chamcowna, Mirosława, Uniwersytet Jagiellonski w dobie Komisji Edukacji Narodowej: Vol. I: Szkoła Główna Koronna w Okresie Wizyty i Rektoratu Hugona Kollataja 1777-1786 (The University of Krakow during the Visit and Rectorate of Hugo Kollataj 1777-1786), Wrocław-Warszawa Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1957, 386 p.

Details the work of Hugo Kollataj in reforming the University of Krakow. Activities at the University under the Commission for National Education. Based on primary source documents. Comprehensive and detailed analysis.

-----, Uniwersytet Jagiellonski w dobie Komisji Edukacji Narodowej: Vol. II: Szkoła Główna Koronna (The University of Krakow under the Commission for National Education: The Chief School of Poland 1786-1795), Wrocław-Krakow, Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1959, 259 p.

Details the activities of the University of Krakow as the Chief School of Poland during the period 1786-1795. Based on primary sources. Comprehensive and detailed analysis.

Chinard, Gilbert, The Correspondence of Jefferson and Du Pont de Nemours, London, Oxford University Press, 1931, cxxiii-293 p.

One of the series of the Johns Hopkins Studies in International Thought. Reproduces the letters of Jefferson and Du Pont. Introduction on Jefferson and the Physiocratic movement. A primary source. Especially useful in detailing the educational exchanges between Du Pont and Jefferson.

Clementis XIV, "Breve Suppressionis Societatis Iesu," in Institutum Societatis Iesu: Bullarium et Compendium Privilegiorum, Florentiae, Ex Typographia a SS. Conceptione, 1892, Volumen Primum, p. 313-328.

Reproduces the documents relating to the Jesuit Order. Also the Papal bull which disbanded the Jesuit Order in 1773. Primary Source collection.

Compayre, Gabriel, The History of Pedagogy, Translated, with an introduction, notes and index by W. H. Payne, Boston, D. C. Heath and Company, 1901, Heath's Pedagogical Library No. 1, xxvi-598 p.

The well known history of education by Compayre. Good treatment of the French Reforms.

Cubberley, Ellwood P., Syllabus of Lectures on History of Education, Totowa, N.J., Rowan and Littlefield, 1971, xv-360.

A well classified and critically annotated general bibliography on educational history, followed by references on specialized areas/phases. A bibliographical guide to intellectual and cultural history up to the end of the XIXth century. Valuable tool for the periodization of educational history.

-----, Readings in the History of Education: A Collection of Sources and Readings to Illustrate the Development of Educational Practice, Theory, and Organization, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company. 1920, xxv-684 p.

Interesting collection of sources and readings for the study of educational history. Chapter XX: "The Beginnings of National Education," details, through sources the thinking of La Chalotais, Condorcet, and others. Good as a overview to the subject, when used with Cubberley's basic text.

-----, The History of Education: Educational Practice and Progress Considered as a Phase of the Development and Spread of Western Civilization, New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920, xxiv-850 p.

Cubberley's comprehensive history of education. Especially good for the understanding of XVIIIth century developments in education.

Czartoryski, Adam (Kazimierz), Prawidła moralne dla Szkoły Rycerskiej przez S. p. Xiecia Adama Cz-go bylego teyze szkoły kommandanta w r. 1774 ulozne. Warszawa, N. Glucksberg, 1824, 77p.

Moral code for the Szkoła Rycerska developed by Adam Czartoryski, who was the schools director.

Dainauskas, Jonas, "Lietuvos D. K. Istatymai ir Statutai iš 1457-1563 metų," (Laws and Codes of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from 1457-1563), in Tautos Praeitis, Vol. II, No. 2 (6), 1965, p. 81-106.

Study deals with the Lithuanian Statutes and Codes of 1457 and 1563. Study based on primary source documents and the Dzialynski Codes.

-----, "A Study on the Formation of the Lithuanian State," Lituanus, Vol. IX, No. 2, 1963, p. 68-70.

Commentary-review of V. T. Pashuto's Obrazovanie Litovskega Gosudarstva of 1959.

Daukantas, Simanas, Buda Senowes Letuwiu Kalnienu ir Zamajtiu iszrasze pagal Senowes Rasztu Jobub's Laukys, Petropilie, Spaudinie pas C. Hintze, 1845.

Daukantas, the first national Lithuanian historian (See Jakštas), presents information on teaching and learning in pre-Christian Lithuania. Second edition of this work appeared in Plymouth, Pennsylvania in 1893.

Daukša, Mikalojus, Prakalba (Introduction), Chicago, Pedagoginis Lituanistikos Institutas, 1963, 23 p.

This publication reproduces the introduction to the Postile, which was one of the most important Catholic publications of the XVIth century. First, it was the first Catholic book published in Lithuania. Second, the author, Daukša, raised the issue of Lithuanian nationalism, which was an important issue in the multi-national Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Domeyko, Ignacy, Moje Podroze: Pamietniki Wygnanca: Czterdziecie Szesc Lat: Mego Zawodu Nauczycielskiego i Naukowego w Chile (Memoirs of Ignas Domeika from his work in Chile), Warszawa, Zaklad Imienia Ossolinskich--Wydawnictwo, 1963, Vol. I-III.

Important reference in his memoirs to the University of Vilnius may establish the influence of the Commission on the educational reforms in Chile.

Dundulis, B., Lietuvos Uzsienio Politika XVI amž. (Lithuanian Foreign Policy in the XVI Century), Vilnius, Mintis, 1971, 307 p.

One of the best studies on the functioning of the Lithuanian state in the XVth century. See review of this work by Juozas Jakstas in Lituanus, Vol. 19, No. 2, Winter, 1973, p. 74-75.

-----, Lietuvos Kova del Valstybinio Savarankiskumo XV Amž., (Lithuanian Efforts to Establish State Autonomy in the XVth Century), Vilnius, Mintis, 1968, 312 p.

Excellent analysis of the geo-political situation in XVth century Lithuania.

Du Pont, B. G., National Education in the United States of America, Newark, University of Delaware Press, 1923, xxi-161 p.

First English translation of the Du Pont plan given to Thomas Jefferson in 1780. Text of this plan is valuable for comparison with the reforms of the Educational Commission.

Endzinas, A., "Mokymui Naudotų Lietuviškų Knygų Rytų Prūsijoje Klausimų XVIII amž pagaiba-XIX amž pirmasis ketvirtis," (The Question of the Use of Lithuanian Language Books in East Prussia toward the end of the XVIIIth century and the first quarter of the XIXth century) in LTSR Aukstųjų Mokyklų Moksliniai Darbai Bibliografininkystės ir Bibliografijos Klausimai, Vol. V, 1966, p. 139-157.

Useful study to determine the usage of Lithuanian language books in the schools in East Prussia after the Second Partition of 1793.

-----, "Liaudies Švietimo Klausimai Rytų Prūsijoje," (Peasant Education in East Prussia--Some Considerations), in Pedagogika ir Psichologija, Vol. IX, 1967, p. 85-97.

Study based on primary sources details the education of the peasants after the Second Partition.

Feigelmanas, N., Senoji Lietuviška Knyga Vilniaus Universitete (Leidinių iki 1800 m. bibliografijos rodyklė), (Old Lithuanian Books at the University of Vilnius: Bibliographic Guide to Publications Prior to 1800), Vilnius, Vilniaus Vlastybinis V. Kapsuko Vardo Universitetas, Moksline Biblioteka, 1959, 130 p.

Lists 174 original publications and six photocopies of publications in the University of Vilnius collection.

Fitzpatrick, Edward, St. Ignatius and the Ratio Studiorum, New York, Macmillan and Company, 1933.

Useful source for overall comparison of the Piarist reforms of 1753, the reforms of the Educational Commission of 1783, and the curricular requirements of the Ratio Studiorum prior to the dissolution of the Jesuit Order.

Ford, Gordon B., Jr., Old Lithuanian Texts of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, The Hague, Morton, 1969, 43p.

Provides copies of the original texts of books for comparison and analysis of linguistic variations.

-----, The Old Lithuanian Catechism of Martynas Mazvydas (1547), Assen, Royal Vangorcum, Ltd., 1970, xvi-105p.

This work is a new edition and translation of the first Lithuanian book, Martynas Mazvydas' Catechism of 1547, which is essentially a translation of Martin Luther's Small Catechism. The Mazvydas Catechism, which was written in a Samogitian or Low Lithuanian dialect modified by High Lithuanian influences, is unquestionably one of the most important documents in the Lithuanian language.

Gidžiūnas, Viktoras, "Katalikų Bažnyčia Lietuvoje: Didžioje Lietuvos Kunigaikštijoje," (The Catholic Church in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania) in Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Boston, Lithuanian Enciklopedia Press, Vol. XV, 1968, p. 131-165.

Excellent summary presentation of the history of the Catholic Church in Lithuania.

-----, "Pijorai," (Piarists) in Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Boston, Lithuanian Enciklopedia Press, Vol. XXII, 1960, p.478-483.

The work of the Piarists in Lithuania is presented in outline form. Each of the schools operated by the Piarists in Lithuania is presented and described.

-----, "Vienuolijos Lietuvoje XIII-XX amžiuje," (Religious Orders and Congregations in Lithuania during the XIII-XX Centuries) in Etudes de l'Academie Lithuanienne Catholique des Sciences, Vol. V, 1970, p. 261-299.

Historical development of religious orders and congregations in Lithuania based on primary source documents.

-----, "Vienuolijos Lietuvoje IX-XV amžiuje," (Monastic Orders in Lithuania IX-XV Centuries), in Actes du Sixieme Congres de l'Academie Lithuanienne Catholique des Sciences, Vol. VI, 1969, p. 243-275.

In this article the author examines the influence and the activities of the monastic orders from the time when the first monks met Lithuanians through the final acceptance of Christianity by Lithuania. The article is based on primary source documents.

Gimbutas, Jurgis, "Lietuvos Bažnyčių Chronologija ir Statistika," (Chronology and Statistics of Church Construction in Lithuania) in Etudes de l'Académie Lituanienne Catholique des Sciences, Vol. V, 1970, p. 215-260.

The author, through an analysis of primary source documents, attempts to establish a comprehensive list of parish church buildings in Lithuania from the first church built in Vilnius in 1320 into the XVIth century. Good source to compare parish school figures during this time period.

Gimbutas, Marija, "The Ancient Religion of the Balts," Lituanus, Vol. 8, No. 4, 1962, p. 97-109.

Authoritative presentation of ancient Baltic religions.

-----, The Balts, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1963, 285p.

The best source available for information on the ancient Baltic tribes.

Grabski, Wladyslaw Maria, "Geneza Finansow Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1776," (Genesis of the Finances of the Commission for National Education), in Studia Pedagogiczne, Vol. XXIX, 1973, p. 72-98.

Comprehensive treatment, based on primary sources, of the financial dealings of the Commission in support of the educational structure.

-----, "Pierwsza audyencja "ministrow" KEN u Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego," (Première audience des "ministres" de la Commission de l'Éducation Nationale chez Stanislas Auguste Poniatowski) in Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne, Seria I, zeszyt 88, Łódź, 1972, p. 45-62.

Description of the first audience of the Commission with the King of Poland.

Greulich, Dariusz, "Wzór wychowawcy w Ustawach KEN," (Modèle de l'Éducateur dans les statuts de la Commission de l'Éducation Nationale) in Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne, Seria I, zeszyt 88, Łódź, 1972, p. 87-98.

Educational model proposed in the Statutes of the Commission is described and discussed.

Gučienė, G., "Misių Kelias į Vaikų Auklėjimą," (Education of Children through Riddles) in Is Lietuvių Pedagoginės Minties Istorijos, Vilnius, Vilniaus Universitetas, Pedagogikos ir Psichologijos Katedra, 1969, p. 139-182.

Historical development of the use of riddles in education. Valuable in the development of folk-culture pedagogy in Lithuanian educational history.

Gudaitis, Kristupas, "Evangelikų Bažnyčios Lietuvoje," (Protestant Churches in Lithuania) in Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Boston, Lithuanian Encyclopedia Press, Vol. XV, 1968, p. 166-179.

Overview of the history of the Protestant churches in Lithuania.

Gvildys, J., "Edukacijos Komisijos Švietimo Darbai Lietuvoje," (Work of the Educational Commission in Lithuania), in Židinys, Vol. XIII, No. 5/6 (76-77), 1931, p. 478-494.

First article to appear on the Educational Commission in Lithuanian. Presents the historical development and aims at establishing Polonization through the Commission.

-----, "Lietuvos Švietimas Praeityje: Lietuvos Mokyklos ligi Jėzuitų Gdynės," (Lithuanian Education in the Past: Lithuanian Schools up to the Jesuit Era) in Lietuvos Mokykla, 1929, Nr. 2, p. 47-56.

First effort to trace the development of Lithuanian education up to the arrival of the Jesuits in Lithuania.

-----, "Lietuvos Švietimas Praeityje: Jėzuitų Gdynė," (Lithuanian Education in the Past: The Jesuit Era) in Lietuvos Mokykla, 1929, No. 3, p. 113-119; No. 4, p. 164-167; and No. 11/12, p. 363-377.

Overview of the developments in Lithuanian education during the Jesuit era.

Hans, Nicholas, "The Dissolution of the Society of Jesus in the Eighteenth Century and its Financial Consequences," in Robert King Hall and J. A. Lauwerys, editors, Education and Economics: The Year-book of Education--1956, Yonkers-on-Hudson, World Book Company, 1956, p. 137-146.

Description of the various actions taken by European countries as a result of the dissolution of the Jesuit Order. Stress is placed on the use of the properties made in each of the countries. Description of the activities in Poland and Lithuania to utilize the Jesuit properties for education.

-----, "Educational Reform in Poland in the Eighteenth Century," in Journal of Central European Affairs, Vol. XIV, No. 4, January, 1954, p. 301-310.

Description of the establishment and reforms of the Educational Commission. Author identifies a number of individuals involved in the activities of the Commission as members of the Masonic Order.

-----, History of Russian Educational Policy: 1701-1917, London, King, 1931, xiii-255p.

General description of the educational reforms in Russia. Author fails to directly attribute Russian reforms to the Educational Commission, but leaves the question open.

-----, New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1951, 261 p.

Deals primarily with the developments in education in England during the XVIIIth century.

-----, "Polish Schools in Russia 1772-1831," in The Slavonic and East European Review, Vol. 38, No. 91, p. 394-414.

Functioning of Polish and Lithuanian schools in those parts taken over by Russia after the First, Second, and Third Partitions.

-----, The Russian Tradition in Education, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963, vii-196 p.

Traces the developments in Russian education from Western Russia and the first Russian Schools to the present Marxism in the schools.

-----, "The Training of Teachers in Tsarist Russia," in George Z. F. Bereday and Joseph A. Lauwerys, The Education and Training of Teachers, New York, Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc., 1963, p. 320-328.

Interesting study of teacher education in Tsarist Russia. Useful for preliminary comparisons of teacher education during the early time periods in Russia with the same efforts in other countries.

-----, "Tsar Alexander I and Jefferson," in Slavonic Review, Vol. XXXI, No. 78, December, 1953.

Interesting to the extent that contacts between most world leaders, especially those involved during this time period, in educational reform, were being maintained.

Honeywell, Roy J., The Educational Work of Thomas Jefferson, New York, Russell and Russell, Inc., 1964; and Harvard University Press, 1931, xvi-295 p.

The best presentation of the educational work of Thomas Jefferson available to date. Includes copies of the most important documents prepared by Jefferson, including the "Jefferson School Bill of 1817."

Ivinskis, Zenonas, "Die Druckerei der Jesuiten in Vilnius und die ersten litauischen Bucher," (Jesuit Printing and the First Lithuanian Books) in Commentationes Balticae, Vol. I, Bonn, 1954, p. 27-67.

History of the University of Vilnius Press, the printing of Lithuanian language books and Lithuanian nationalism.

-----, "Ikišioliniai Lietuvių Kultūros Istorijos Tyrinėjimai," (Current Status of Research on Lithuanian Cultural History) in Aidai, January, 1960, No. 1 (126), p. 22-30.

Review of research relating to the study of the cultural history of Lithuania.

✓ -----, "Lietuvių Kalba Viesajame Lietuvos 16-17 amž. Gyvenime: Ziupsnelis Medžiagos iš Romos Archyvų," (Lithuanian Language in Everyday Public Life in Lithuania during the XVI-XVIIth Century) in Aidai, October, 1953, No. 8 (64), p. 360-368; and November, 1953, No. 9 (65), p. 408-417.

Well documented paper which presents primary source materials mainly from the Vatican Archives documenting the use of the Lithuanian Language in some official government functions.

-----, "Lietuvos ir Apstatų Sosto Santykiai Amžių Bėgyje, iki XVIIIto amž. Galo," (Lithuanian Relations with the Apostolic See through the XVIIIth century) in Actes du Quatrieme Congres de l'Academie Scientifique des Catholiques Lithuaniens, 1961, p. 117-152.

Study based on primary source documents detailing the Lithuanian relations with the Apostolic See.

-----, "Merkelis Giedraitis: Arba Lietuva Dviejų Amžių Savartoje," (Merkelis Giedraitis: Or Lithuania Between Two Centuries) in Aidai, March, 1951, No. 3(38), p. 110-120; April, 1951, No. 4 (39), p. 163-170; May, 1951, No. 5 (40), p. 207-216; June, 1951, No. 6 (41), p. 254-263; and September, 1951, No. 7 (42), p. 317-324.

This series of articles presents the history of Bishop Giedraitis (ca 1536-1609) and the cultural conditions in Lithuania during the XVIth century. Ivinskis published this series of articles in outline form. During this period he was preparing a complete study of Giedraitis, which he completed in 1955, but left it in manuscript form. The study has not been published. Giedraitis won appointment as Bishop of Samogitia in 1576 after a long struggle with an opponent, Uchanski. The appointment by the Pope of Giedraitis was based on the fact that he spoke Lithuanian. Giedraitis was responsible for reorganization of the diocese of Samogitia, which was in a state of disorder and under Protestant influences. Among his co-workers was M. Daukša, the author of the Postile (see Daukša in this bibliography). Giedraitis financed the publishing of the Postilė. He was instrumental in bringing the Jesuits to Lithuania and was one of the protectors of the new Academy of Vilnius (1579). The most comprehensive work on this time period, the 1955 manuscript by Ivinskis, is still awaiting publication.

-----, "Parapijos D. L. Kunigaikštijoje," (Parishes in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania) in Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Boston, Lietuanian Enciklopedia Press, Vol. XXI, 1959, p. 536-537.

Religious and political position of the parish in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is presented in this short article.

-----, "Pirmasis Lietuvos Karalius Mindaugas ir jo Palikimas," (Mindaugas, the First King of Lithuania and His Legacy), in Etudes de l'Academie Lithuanienne Catholique des Sciences, No. 1, 1965, p. 53-116.

The formation of the Lithuanian state under Mindaugas, the first King of Lithuania.

-----, "Žemaičių (Medininkų) Vyskupijos Įkurimas (1417) ir Jos Reikšmė Lietuvių Tautai (1417-1967)," (Medininkai--The Bishopric of Samogitia (Žemaičiai)--Its Founding (1417) and its Significance for Lithuania (1417-1967), in Actes Du Septieme Congres De l'Academie Lituanienne Catholique des Sciences, 1962, p. 55-132.

First complete analysis, using primary source documents from the Vatican Archives, on the establishment and activities of the Samogitian Bishopric and later Diocese.

J., S., History of Poland from Its Origins as a Nation to the Commencement of the Year 1795: To which is prefixed an accurate account of the geography and government of that country, and the customs and manners of its inhabitants. London, Vernor and Hood, 1795, 12+500p. and Map with Index.

This is the first complete history of Poland and Lithuania in the English language. Published in 1795 it drew on all available sources of the time. Especially interesting are the sections on customs and manners of the inhabitants. The establishment of the Educational Commission is noted on p. 63 as well as p. 70-75.

Jablonskis, Konstantinas, Lietuvių Kultūra ir jos Veikejai, (Lithuanian Culture and its Workers), Vilnius, LTSR Mokslo Akademija, Istorijos Institutas, "Mintis," 1973, 424 p.

Collection of various articles and studies published by K. Jablonskis dealing with the growth of Lithuanian culture.

-----, Lietuvos Valstybės ir Teisės Istorija nuo XIVa. pabaigos iki XVIa. vidurio, (History of the Lithuanian State and Law from the XIVth Century to the XVIth Century), Vilnius, LTSR Aukštojo ir Specialiojo Vidurinio Mokslo Ministerija, Vilniaus V. Kapsuko Universitetas, "Vaizdas," 1971, 48p.

Overview of Lithuanian national and statutory development during the XIVth through the XVIth centuries.

Jablonskis, K., M. Jučas, compilers and editors, Lietuvos Inventoria XVII a. (Lithuanian Inventories of the XVIIth Century), Vilnius, Valstybinė Politinės ir Mokslinės Literatūros Leidykla, 1962, 463 p.

Selected documents from the archives in Lithuania dealing with all aspects of life in XVIIth century Lithuania. Inventories were books kept by land owners and governmental units listing property, people, and various conditions and incidents. This is considered a primary source publication.

Jablonskis, K., J. Jurginis, and J. Žiugžda, editors, Lietuvos TSR Istorijos Šaltiniai, Vol. I: Feodalinis Laikotarpis (Sources for Lithuanian History, Vol. I: The Feudal Period), Vilnius, Lietuvos TSR Mokslo Akademija, Istorijos ir Teisės Institutas, Valstybinė Politinės ir Mokslinės Literatūros Leidykla, 1955, 614 p.

Collection of primary source documents starting with the mention of Lithuania by Tacitus in AD 98 and ending with 1860. This is the first volume of four. The first volume contains 552 documents. Can be considered a primary source.

Jakštas, Juozas, "Dlugosz About the Battle of Tannenberg: Vytautas and the Lithuanians Through the Eyes of a Chronicler," in Lituanus, Vol. 8, No. 3, Fall, 1962, p. 71-84.

Description and discussion of the Dlugosz Chronicles.

-----, "How Firm was the Polish-Lithuanian Federation?" in Donald W. Treadgold, editor, The Development of the USSR: An Exchange of Views, Seattle, The University of Washington Press, 1964.

Discussion of the Polish-Lithuanian union into a commonwealth.

-----, editor, Jogaila, Kaunas, Švietimo Ministerijos Knygų Leidimo Komisijos Leidinys, Nr. 450, 1935, 333 p.

Monograph on Jogaila, which includes a good discussion on the cultural aspects of Lithuania during the time period.

-----, "Pavėluotas Lietuvos Krikštas," (The Delayed Conversion of Lithuania) in Actes du Sixieme Congres de L'Academie Lithuanienne des Sciences, 1969, p. 173-188.

Discussion of the effects on Lithuania as a result of its late conversion to Catholicism.

-----, "Physiocrats," in Encyclopedia Lituanica, Boston, Lithuanian Encyclopedia Press, Vol. IV, 1975, p. 265.

The activities of the Physiocrats in Lithuania are summarized and the leading figures in the Lithuanian Physiocratic movement are identified.

-----, "Placet," in Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Boston, Lithuanian Encyclopedia Press, Vol. XXIII, 1961, p. 77-78.

Description of the development and use of the Placet right.

-----, "Russian Historiography on the Origin of the Lithuanian State: Some Critical Remarks on V. T. Pashuto's Study," in Lituanus, Vol. 11, No. 4, Winter, 1965, p. 25-46.

Critical review of Pashuto's study Obrazovanie Litovskogo Gosudarstva of 1959. Review is a revised critical evaluation of a paper delivered to the 1964 meeting of the Institute of Lithuanian Studies.

-----, "Simonas Daukantas: Pirmas Tautinis Lietuvos Istorikas," (Simonas Daukantas: The First Lithuanian National Historian) in Tautos Praeitis, Vol. II, Book 2(6), 1965, p. 3-18.

Discussion of the historical work of Simonas Daukantas. See listing of Daukantas' first book in this bibliography, sub verbum.

-----, "Šis Tas Dėl Atskiro Žemaičių Krikšto," (Why Samogitia Was Not Converted with the Rest of Lithuania) in Etudes de L'Academie Lithuanienne Catholique des Sciences, Vol. III, 1967, p. 1-9.

Jakštas proves that the popular position of maintaining that Samogitia was not baptized because of its occupation by the Teutonic Order is false.

Jasas R., and L. Truška, Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės Gyventojų Surasymas 1790 m. (The 1790 Census of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania), Vilnius, LTSR Mokslo Akademijos Centrinė Biblioteka, 1972, 96p.

Publication presents all the major figures from the 1790 census of Lithuania.

Jobert, Ambroise, La Commission d'Éducation Nationale en Pologne (1773-1794), Paris, Collection de l'Institut Français de Varsovie, Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1941, 491p.

Major work on the Commission for National Education in the French language.

-----, Magnats Polonais et Physiocrates Français (1767-1774), Dijon, Université de Lyon, Imprimerie Darantière, 1941, 87p.

Study devotes much attention to Bishop Massalski, Mirabeau, L'Abbe Baudeau, Chreptowicz, and Du Pont. Details each visit by one of these individuals to France and/or Poland.

Johnson, William H. E., Russia's Educational Heritage, New York, Octagon Press, 1969, xvi-351 p.

Author presents an analysis of the influences on Russian education and traces Russian educational history through the ages, but fails to even mention the Commission for National Education or its influence on the Russian educational reforms.

Jonikas, Petras, "Lietuvių Studentų Pavardės XV-VIII amž. Europos Universitetuose," (Lithuanian Student Surnames in European Universities from XV-XVIIIth Century) in Lituanistikos Darbai Vol. III, 1973, p. 201-216.

Important study for the determination of influences and activities of Lithuanian students in the various European universities. Also indicative of the lack of a strong university in Lithuania during this time period, which could provide for the needs of most students.

Jučas, M., Baudžiavos Irimas Lietuvoje (The Collapse of Serfdom in Lithuania), Vilnius, LTSR Mokslo Akademija, Istorijos Institutas, Leidykla "Mintis." 1972, 319 p.

Comprehensive treatment of the collapse of serfdom in Lithuania. Author traces the beginning of the demise from XVIIIth century farm practices through the final collapse in the middle of the XIXth century.

-----, "Prekyba Lietuvos Kaime XVIII amž.," (Trade in Lithuanian Towns in the XVIIIth Century) in Iš Lietuvių Kultūros Istorijos, Vol. IV, Vilnius, Mintis, 1964, p. 109-122.

Historical development of trade in Lithuanian towns in the XVIIIth century. Based on primary source documents, this study provides a good indication of the status of trade and the conditions of the peasants and burghers during the time of the Educational Commission.

-----, "Baudžiavos Kritika Lietuvoje XVIII amž. pabaigoje ir XIX amž. pradžioje," (The Criticism of Serfdom in Lithuania During the End of the XVIIIth Century and the Start of the XIXth Century) in Lietuvos Istorijos Metraštis, Vol. V, 1971, p. 55-67.

Using primary sources the author documents the various aspects of dissatisfaction with the conditions of serfdom and criticism leveled by members of the gentry and religious orders against it.

Jurginis, Jurgis, Renasansas ir Humanizmas Lietuvoje, (Renaissance and Humanism in Lithuania), Vilnius, Vaga, 1965, 287p.

Detailed examination of the period and its effect on cultural conditions. Author concludes that the Reformation can be considered to be the founding force of the Lithuanian schools, learning, and spiritual freedom.

-----, Baudžiavos Išigalėjimas Lietuvoje, (The Development of Serfdom in Lithuania), Vilnius, LTSR Mokslų Akademija, Istorijos Institutas, 1962, 344p.

Comprehensive history of the development of serfdom in Lithuania.

-----, "Pedagogikos Praktika Vilniaus Akademijoje," (Educational Practice in the Academy of Vilnius) in Kai Kurie Lietuvos TSR Pedagoginės Minties ir Svetimo Istorijos Klausimai, Vilnius, LTSR Svetimo Ministerija, Mokyklų Mokyklinio Tyrimo Institutas, Vilnius, 1965, p. 6-9.

Deals with educational practice at the Academy of Vilnius in the XVIth century.

Kantautas, Adam and Filomena Kantautas, A Lithuanian Bibliography: A check-list of books and articles held by the major libraries of Canada and the United States, Edmonton, The University of Alberta Press, 1975, xxxix-725 p.

This bibliography refers to books representing all points of view. The scope of the work is extensive, the authors present 10,168 numbered entries of books and articles by 3,587 different authors in nearly every European language. The bibliography is arranged by broad subject areas. Each of the major headings is subdivided further into smaller and more specific subject headings or topics. Location symbols have been given showing which libraries in the United States or Canada possess the item. Has a comprehensive list of serials, with their locations in libraries and holdings.

Karbowiak, A., Dzieje Wychowania i Szkol w Polsce (History of Education and Schools in Poland), Petersburg, Nakladem Ksiegarni Kazimierza Grendyszynskiego, Vol. I, 1898, 339 p.; Vol. II, 1903, 490 p.

First volume of this work deals with the history of education in Poland from 966 to 1363 AD. Volume II deals with history of education from 1364 to 1432. Most comprehensive work on education in the middle ages in Poland.

Kazamias, A.M. and B. G. Massialas, Tradition and Change in Education: A Comparative Study, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965.

Present interesting conceptualization of social class differences in educational attainment.

Koialovich, Mikhail Iosifovich, Dnevnik Liublinskago Seima 1569 goda: Soiedinenie Velikago Kniazhestva Litovskago Skorelevstom Pol'skim, St. Peterburg, Pechatnia V. Golovina, 1869, 786p.

This source contains the minutes of the Liublin Sejm of 1569.

Kornilow, Spornik matierialow dla istoriji proswieszczenija w Rossiji, Pietiersburg, Tipografiia A. P. Lopukhina, 1897. 2 Vol.

Volume II contains the minutes of the Russian School Commission for the years 1802-1804.

Korsakas, et. al., editors, Mykolas Lietuvis Apie Totorių Lietuvių ir Maskvėnų Papročius: Dešimt Įvairaus Istorinio Turinio Fragmentų, Vilnius, Vaga, 1966, 137 p.

Contains the full text of: Michalonis Lituani, De Moribus Tartororum Lituanorum et Moschorum: Fragmina X, Multiplici Historia Referta, Basileae, Apud Contradum Waldkirchium, MDCXV.

Kotlowski, Karol, "O funkcjonalności wychowawczego modelu KEN," (Qualites fonctionnelles du modele de l'education de la Commission de l'Education Nationale), in Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Lodzkiego, Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne, Seria I, zeszyt 88, Lodz, 1972, p. 1-16.

Article describing the functioning of the educational model established by the Educational Commission.

Krasauskas, Rapolas, "Antoni Poplawski," in Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Boston, Lithuanian Encyclopedia Press, Vol. XXIII, 1961, p. 294.

Short biographical article on Poplawski.

-----, "Ignacas Jokūbas Massalskis," in Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Boston, Lithuanian Encyclopedia Press, Vol. XVII, 1959, p. 435.

Short biographical article on Massalski,

-----, "Katalikų Bažnyčia Lietuvoje XVI-XVII amžiuje," (The Catholic Church in Lithuania during the XVIth--XVIIth Centuries) in Lietuvių Katalikų Mosklo Akademijos Suvažiavimo Darbai, Vol. VI, Roma, 1969, p. 189-241.

Comprehensive investigation of the development of the Catholic Church in Lithuania. Study based on primary source documents.

-----, "Mykolas Pranciškus Karpowicz," in Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Boston, Lithuanian Encyclopedia Press, Vol. XI, 1956, p. 87.

Short biographical article on Karpowicz.

Krzeminski, Stanislaw, Komisya Edukacyjna (Educational Commission), Warszawa, Nakladem i Drukiem M. Arcta, 1908, 111 p.

Short history of the establishment and activities of the Educational Commission

Kukulski, Zygmunt, Pierwiastkowe Przepisy Pedagogiczne Komisji Edukacji Narodowej z lat 1773-1776 (The Primary Educational Regulations of the Commission for National Education 1773-1776), Lublin, Nakladem Lubelskiego Komitetu Obchodu 150-ej Rocznicy Ustano Wienia Komisji Edukacyjnej i Zgonu St. Konarskiego, 1923, cix-184 p.

Contains all of the basic regulations issued by the Commission for National Education between 1773-1776. Considered a primary source. Pages i-cix contain commentary by the author on the various documents contained in the remaining part of the book. Pages 1-184 contain the basic documents as well as reports to the Sejm and reports by the Sejm of the audits conducted by a special committee of the Sejm.

Kurdybacha, Lukasz, "The Commission for National Education in Poland 1773-1794," History of Education (Newton Abbot, Devon), Vol. II, No. 2, June, 1973, p. 133-146.

Article of general nature describing the activities and reforms of the Educational Commission.

-----, Historia Wychowania (History of Education), Warszawa, Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1967. 2 Volumes.

The comprehensive history of education in Poland in two volumes. The first volume (772 p.) covers educational history through the XVIIIth century. Volume two (893 p.) covers the history of education in the XIXth and XXth centuries.

-----, compiler, Stanislaw Konarski: Pisma Pedagogiczne (The Educational Works of Stanislaw Konarski), Wroclaw, Polska Akademia Nauk, Komitet Nauk Pedagogicznych, Ossolinskich, 1959, 419p.

Contains all of the major works dealing with education written by S. Konarski. Included is the Ordinationes. Considered a primary source.

-----, Kuria Rzymska wobec Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w latach 1773-1783 (The Roman Curia Faced with the Commission for National Education), Krakow, Polska Akademia Umiej., Archiwum Kom. do Bziej Oswiaty i Szkoln w Polsce, Nr. 7, 1949, 90 p.

Scholarly study of the relationship of the Educational Commission to the Papal Nuncio in Warsaw and the Holy See. Based on primary sources.

-----, Reforma Litewskich Szkol Pijarskich w 1762," (Reform of the Piarist Schools of Lithuania in 1762), in Rozprawy z Dziejow Oswiaty Vol. XV, 1972, p. 3-23.

Analysis of the reforms of the Piarist schools in Lithuania completed in 1762. Since the Lithuanian Piarist schools were in their own province, the reforms of Konarski had to be adopted by the Lithuanian Piarists. In essence they adopted the Konarski reforms in toto and proceeded to reform the Lithuanian Piarist schools.

Kurdybacha, Lukasz and Mieczysława Mitera-Dobrowolska, Komisja Edukacji Narodowej (Commission for National Education), Warszawa, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1973, 321 p.

Book begun by Kurdybacha, but completed by Mitera-Dobrowolska after the death of Kurdybacha. Popular history of the Educational Commission.

Kurczewski, Jan, Biskupstwo Wilenskie, od jego założenia aż do dni obecnych, zawierające dzieje i prace biskupów i duchowieństwa diecezji Wilkieskiej, oraz wykaz kościołów, lasztorów, szkół i zakładów dobroczynnych i społecznych, Wilno, J. Zawadzki, 1912, 614 p.

Well known history of the Bishops of Vilnius.

-----, Kolciol Zamkowy: Źródła Historyczne na Podstawie Aktów Kapitułowych i dokumentów Historycznych Opracował Ksiądz Jan Kurczewski, (Church in the Castle: Historical Sources based on the Acts of the Capitulary and Historical Documents collected-selected by Jan Kurczewski), Vilnius, Nakład i druk Josefa Zawadzkiego, 3 volumes, 1908-1916.

Collection of source materials on the diocese of Vilnius and the Vilnius Cathedral.

Kuzmickis, Zg., "Jėzavitai Lietuvoje," (The Jesuits in Lithuania), Švietimo Darbas, 1929, No. 6 (117), p. 513-520.

Descriptive article on the activities of the Jesuits in Lithuania.

Kyngeston, Richard, Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land Made by Henry Earl of Derby in the Years 1390-1 and 1392-3; Being the Accounts Kept by His Treasurer During Two Years, edited by Toulmin Smith, Westminster, Camden Society, 1894, cxiv-360 p.

This source contains an eyewitness account of one of the crusades of the Teutonic Knights against Lithuanians.

La Fontainerie, F., Translator and Editor, French Liberalism and Education in the Eighteenth Century: The Writings of La Chalotais, Turgot, Diderot, and Condorcet on National Education, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1932, ix-385p.

Contains translations of the writings of the above mentioned.

Lappo, Jonas, "Istorinė Vytauto Reikšmė," (Historical Significance of Vytautas) in Praeitis, Vol. II, 1933, p. 1-71.

Comprehensive article on the role of Vytautas the Great played in the establishment and development of the Lithuanian state.

Laužikas, J., "Pirmųjų Mokyklų Atsiradimo Lietuvoje ir jų Pabūdzio Tirtini Klausimai," (Research Questions Concerning the Establishment and the Characteristics of the First Schools in Lithuania) in Mokyklų Mokslinio Tyrimo Instituto Mokslinės Konferencijos Pranešimų Tezės, Vilnius, Lietuvos TSR Švietimo Ministerija, Mokyklų Mokslinio Tyrimo Institutas, 1964, p. 60-61.

Presents a series of questions that need research in the area of educational history.

Lažauskienė, M., "Kai kurie Lietuvių Liaudies Pedagogikos Tyrinėjimo Klausimai," (Some Research Questions Dealing with Lithuanian Folk Pedagogy," in Pedagogika ir Psichologija, Vol. XI, 1971, p. 103-108.

Lists some of the areas for research in folk pedagogy in Lithuania.

Lebedys, J., Mikalojus Daukša, Vilnius, Valstybinė Grožinės Literatūros Leidykla, 1963, 423p.

Monograph on the author of the Postilė.

Lewicki, Jozef, Geneza Komisji Edukacji Narodowej: Studium Historyczne, (Genesis of the Commission for National Education: Historical Study), Biblioteka Filomacka, Tom 7, Warszawa, Ksiaznica Polska twa Nauczycieli Szkol wyz, nowy swiat 59, 1923, 88 p.

Short analysis of the developments toward the establishment of the Commission for National Education. One of the standard references.

-----, Ustawodawstwo Szkolne za Czasow Komisji Edukacji Narodowej Rozporzadzenia Ustawy Pedagogiczne i Organizacyjne 1773-1793 (Promulgation of Regulations by the Educational Commission and the Provisions of the Regulations Dealing with Education and School Organization 1773-1793), Biblioteka Polskich Pisarzy Pedagogicznych, Nr. 2, Ministerstwo wyznaw religijnych o oswiecenia publicznego., Komisja do badania dziejow wychowania i szkolnictwa w polsce, Krakow, Nakladem M. Arcta w Warszawie, 1925, LXXViii-456 p.

Major collection of regulations issued by the Commission for National Education. Standard reference text to the regulations and the Statutes of the Educational Commission.

Lewitter, L. R., "The Partitions of Poland," in A. Goodwin, editor, The New Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII: The American and French Revolutions 1763-1793, London, Cambridge University Press, 1965, p. 333-359.

Good reference on the sequence of the Partitions of Poland and Lithuania.

"Lietuvos Mokyklos Istorijos Apybraiža," in Tarybinis Mokytojas, Lapk. 1, 1968, No. 88 (1343) to Spalis 1, 1969, No. 79 (1438). In all 81 parts.

Only full treatment of the history of Lithuanian education. Published in eighty-one parts in the Soviet Lithuanian educational newspaper Tarybinis Mokytojas. Presents the development of Lithuanian education from early times to Soviet Lithuanian educational policy. Written by a number of individuals, each noted for research in a specific area of educational history. No documentation is presented with the text. Original plan, stated in the early issues, was that the documentation would be added one the entire series is re-published in book form. Since 1969 no such book has appeared.

Lietuvos TSR Ministrų Tarybos Valstybinis Spaudos Komitetas, Lietuvos TSR Knygų Rūmai, Lietuvos TSR Bibliografija: Serija A--Knygos Lietuvių Kalba 1547-1861 (Lithuanian SSR Bibliography: Series A--Books in the Lithuanian Language 1547--1861), Vol. I, Vilnius, Mintis, LXiii-728, plus plates.

The major bibliography of Lithuanian language books ever to appear. Systematic and scholarly, each book is listed in all of its editions and printings. Included are reviews, review articles, and descriptions of reprints of each book, as well as where the book is located. Definitive bibliography of Lithuanian language books.

Lietuvos TSR Mokslų Akademijos Centrinė Biblioteka ir Istorijos Institutas, Lietuvos TSR Istorijos Bibliografija: 1940-1965, (Bibliography of Lithuanian History 1940-1965) Vilnius, LTSR Mokslų Akademija, 1969, 709 p.

Bibliography of materials published on Lithuanian history by Soviet Lithuanian authors from 1940-1965. Lists 5456 items.

Lietuvos TSR Mokslų Akademijos Centrinė Biblioteka ir Vilniaus Valstybinio V. Kapsuko Universiteto Mokslinė Biblioteka, Lietuvos TSR Mokslininkų Disertacijos 1945-1968 (Theses of Lithuanian Scholars from 1945-1968), Vilnius, LTSR Mokslų Akademija, 1971, 483 p.

Comprehensive list of all theses submitted for degrees at Lithuanian SSR institutions from 1945 to 1968. Lists 2692 items. Of little value to the researcher outside of the Soviet Union, since theses are not allowed to be sent anywhere outside of the Soviet Union.

Lukaszewicz, Jozefa, Historia Szkół w Koronie i Wielkiem Księstwie Litewskiem od najdawniejszych czasów aż do roku 1794 (History of the Schools of the Kingdom and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from Earliest Times through the year 1794), Poznań, Nakładem Księgarni Jana Konstantego Zupanskiego, Vol. I, 1849, 470 p.; Vol. II, 1850, 492 p.; Vol. III, 1851, 516 p.; and Vol. IV, 1851, 355 p.

The most comprehensive history of the schools of Poland and Lithuania. Standard reference. Over 2,000 pages, includes source documents, financial matters relating to the schools, comprehensive lists of schools established in Poland and Lithuania, and a variety of other materials.

Lukšaite, Ignė, "Lietuvių Kalba Reformaciniam Judėjime XVII amž.," (The Lithuanian Language in the Reformation Movement during the XVIIth Century), in Acta Historica Lituanica, Vilnius, Lietuvos TSR Mokslų Akademijos Istorijos Institutas, Vol. 5, 1970, 68 p.

Major study of the role the Lithuanian language played not only in the public and religious life, but also in the schools of the Protestants of Lithuania. Research presented by Lukšaite indicates that the Lithuanian language was used in the Protestant schools in Biržai and Papilys toward the end of the XVIIth century. The author also presents primary source evidence that the members of the various Protestant churches gave funds for the support of books printed in the Lithuanian language and allowed only Lithuanian speaking candidates attend the Protestant seminaries/universities.

Lukšienė, Meilė. Lietuvos Svietimo Istorijos Bruožai XIXa. Pirmoje Puseje (Elements of the History of Education in Lithuania during the First Half of the XIXth Century), Kaunas, Lietuvos TSR Svietimo Ministerijos Mokyklų Mokslinio Tyrimo Institutas, Pedagogikos Darbai IV Tomas, Sviesa, 1970, 514 p.

First comprehensive study of education in the first half of the XIXth century. Based on primary sources, the study is one of the best educational research efforts to date. It is divided into two parts, containing a total of twelve chapters. Every aspect of education from 1803 through 1863 is presented.

-----, "Pirmosios Vidurinės Mokyklos Lietuvoje," (The First Secondary Schools in Lithuania), in Mokslas ir Gyvenimas, 1967, Nr. 7. p. 31-33 + map.

Short summary article on the development of secondary education in Lithuania. Map presented indicates location of secondary schools in Lithuania and the date of their establishment. Covers schools established prior to the XIXth century.

Maciūnas, Vincas, Lituanistika Pensilvanijos Universiteto Bibliotekoje (Lithuanian Books and Books in Foreign Languages at the University of Pennsylvania Library in Philadelphia), Chicago, J.A.V. Lietuvių Bendruomenė, Lietuvių Profesorių Draugija Amerikoje, Leidinys Nr. 2, 1964. 119p.

Lists a total of 3,018 books found at the above library.

Madurowicz-Urbanskiej, Heleny, editor, Bibliografia Historii Polski (Bibliography of Polish History), Warszawa, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1965, Vol.I(1), 759 p.; Vol. I(2), 399 p.

Major bibliographic tool for the study of Polish/Lithuanian history. Volume I, of two parts, covers history to 1795.

Majorek, Czesław, "Zarys Teorii Podrecznicka Szkolnego Komisji Edukacji Narodowej," (Outline of the History of School Textbooks of the Commission for National Education), in Studia Pedagogiczne, Vol. XXIX, p. 147-180.

Considers the development of the textbooks for the schools under the Commission for National Education. Lists various books published by the Society for Elementary Books, including the production data.

Marshall, James F., editor, De Stael-Du Pont Letters: Correspondence of Madame de Stael and Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours and of other Members of the Necker and du Pont Families, Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1968, xxvii-400 p.

Of importance is letter on page 266, which states that not only did Jefferson know of the Du Pont plan, but so did Madison. Only this one letter in the entire series refers to Du Pont's educational relations with Thomas Jefferson.

Mitera-Dobrowolska, Mieczysława, compiler, Protokoly Posiedzen Komisji Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1785 (Minutes of the Meetings of the Commission for National Education 1773-1785), Warszawa, Polska Akademia Nauk, Procownia Dziejow Oswiaty, Ossolinski, 1973, xiii-491 p.

Minutes of the meetings of the Educational Commission for the years 1773-1785. Can be considered to be a primary source.

Mizia, Tadeusz, Protokoly Poseidzen Komisiji Educakcji Narodowej 1786-1794 (Minutes of the Meetings of the Commission for National Education 1786-1794), Wroclaw, Zaklad Narodowy imienia Ossolinski, Wydawnictwo Posliej Akademii Nauk, 1969, viii-408 p.

Minutes of the meetings of the Educational Commission for the years 1786-1794. Can be considered to be a primary source.

Mrozowska, Kamilla, editor, Gregorz Piramowicz: Powinnosci Nauczyciela oraz Wybor Mow i Listow, Wroclaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Nr. 171, Seria I, Ossolinski, 1958, cxxxix-250p.

Reproduced copy of Piramowicz's Duties of the Teacher and other materials by Piramowicz, such as his talks and letters. Primary Source material.

-----, Walka o nauczycieli swieckich w dobie Komisji Edukacji Narodowej na terenie Korony (The Education of Teacher under the Commission for National Education), Wroclaw, Zaklad Narodowa. imienia Ossolinski, 1956, 360 p.

Various projects for the education of teachers proposed by the Commission for National Education.

-----, compiler, Pisma i Projekty Pedagogiczne Doby Komisji Edukacji Narodowej (Writings and Projects Dealing with Education Received by the Commission for National Education), Wroclaw, Polska Akademia Nauk, Komitet Nauk Pedagogicznych, Ossolinski, 1973, Lxxix-374 p.

The reform proposals/projects of Kaminski, Bielinski, Czartoryski, Potocki, and materials prepared by Piramowicz are reproduced. Can be considered a primary source.

Ochmanski, Jerzy, Historia Litwy (Lithuanian History), Wroclaw, Zaklad Narodowy im Ossolinski-Wydawnictwo, 1967, 347 p.

Popular history of Lithuania written in Polish. Major emphasis is on the Lithuanian nation and not only Lithuanian history. every chapter contains a section on education and culture in Lithuania.

-----, "Zaludnienie Litwy w roku 1790," (The Inhabitants of Lithuania in the Year 1790), Historia, 1967, Nr. 7, p. 271-275.

Estimates of population from the 1790 census are evaluated and analyzed.

Petrauskienė, I., Vilniaus Akademijos Spaustuė 1575-1773 (The University of Vilnius Press 1575-1773), Vilnius, Lietuvos TSR Mokslų Akademija, Istorijos Institutas, "Mokslas," 1976, 248 p.

Monograph on the history and activities of the University of Vilnius Press. Based on an analysis of primary sources at the University of Vilnius.

Piramowicz, Gregorz, Powinnosci Nauczyciela oraz Wybor Mow i Listow (Teacher's Obligations Especially in the Elementary Schools and How to Fulfill Them), Warsaw, w Drukarni Nadworey J. K. Mci i P. Kom. E. Naro, 1787, 173 p.

Original text of Piramowicz methods books for elementary teachers. Also cited under Mrozowska, supra.

Pahoska, Hanna, Wizytatorowie Generalni Komisji Edukacji Narodowej: Monografia z Dziejow Administracji Szkolnej Komisji Edukacji Narodowej (The General Inspectors of the Commission for National Education: Monograph on the History of School Administration under the Commission for National Education), Lublin, Towarzystwo Naukowe Kotalickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1957, 353 p.

Authoritative and scholarly work on the General Inspectors of the Commission for National Education. Has eleven summary tables of information on various visits and ratings. Recognized as the most comprehensive treatment of the subject to date.

Poplatek, Jan, Komisija Edukacji Narodowej: Udzial Bylych Jezuitow w Paracach Komisji Edukacji Narodowej (Participation of the Ex-Jesuits in the Work of the Commission for National Education), Krakow, Wydawnictwo Apostolstwa Modlitwy, 1973, 512 p.

Major study on the work of the ex-Jesuits in the schools of the Educational Commission. Very comprehensive and scholarly. Based entirely on primary sources. Provides lists of all known ex-Jesuits who worked in the schools.

Poplawski, Antoni, O Rozporzadzeniu i Wydoskonaleniu Edukacji Obywatelskiej Projekt Przeswietnej Komisji Edukacji Narodowej Korony Polskiej i w Ks. Lit. w Marcu 1774 Podany, Warsaw, w Drukarni J. K. Mci i Rzeczypospolitej u O. O. Scholarum Piarum, 1775., 184 p.

Original of the text submitted by Poplawski to the Commission as his reform proposal. Reprinted in Tync, infra.

Rabikauskas, Paulius, editor, Relationes Status Dioecesium in Magno Ducatu Lituaniae, Vol. 1: Dioeceses Vilmensis et Samogitia, Fontes Historiae Lituaniae, Vol. 1, Rome, Sectio Historica, Academiae Lituanae Catholicae Scientiarum, 1971, LV-542 p.

Reproduces the reports of the Bishops of Vilnius and Samogitia sent to the Pope during the period 1605 - 1807 for Vilnius and 1625 - 1869 for Samogitia. Documents are reproduced in the original Latin and are commented and explained in footnote form. First of a series of document collections to be published by the Lithuanian Catholic Academy in Rome.

-----, "Medžiaga Senojo Vilniaus Universiteto Istorijai," (Materials Pertaining to the History of the Old Vilnius University) in Etudes de l'Academie Lituanienne Catholique des Sciences, Vol. III, 1967, Roma, p. 221-245.

Reproduction of primary source documents relating to the establishment of the University of Vilnius, as reported to the Pope, and the Jesuit superiors in Rome.

-----, "Moksline Pažanga Vilniaus Akademijoje," (Wissenschaftlicher Fortschritt an der Vilniuser Universitat 1579-1773), Actes du Septieme Congres de l'Academie Lithuanienne Catholique des Sciences, Roma, 1972, p. 203-234.

The academic level and scientific achievements of the University of Vilnius are presented in comparison to other Western European universities of the same time period.

-----, "Vilniaus Akademia (Academia Vilnensis=Collegium Academicum Vilnense, Collegium Vilnense Societatis Iesu)" in Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Boston, Lithuanian Encyclopedia Press, Vol. XXXIV, 1966, p. 132-144.

Comprehensive overview of the development and activities of the University of Vilnius from 1576-1773.

-----, "XVIIIth Amžiaus Lietuvos Bruožai--Is Pašiaušės Jėsuitų Kolegijos Metraščių," (Sketch of XVIIIth Century Lithuania from the Pašiaušės Jesuit College Records) in Tautos Praeitis, Vol. 1, Book 3, 1961, p. 345-391.

Article deals with the establishment and operation of the Pašiaušės Jesuit College, including the Jesuit church and other activities. Author presents a series of primary source documents (p. 383-391) dealing with the establishment of the college found in the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu in Rome. The old Jesuit college in Pašiaušė was established in 1654 and was in operation through 1773, when it became a district school under the Educational Commission. It was the preparatory school for the College in Kražiai and the Academy of Vilnius.

-----, "Medžiaga Senojo Vilniaus Universiteto Istorijai," (Materials Pertaining to the History of the Old University of Vilnius), in 4 parts: I: "Prančiškus Sunierio Informacija Apie Naujai Isteigta Vilniaus Kolegija (1570)" (Information sent by Prančiškus Sunieris about the newly Founded Vilnius Academy-1579), in Etudes De l'Academie Lituanienne Catholique des Sciences, Vol. III, 1967, p. 221-266.

Reproduction of source materials and general introduction to the problem of historical research dealing with the University of Vilnius. Parts II, III, and IV of this same study are published in the Etudes for the years 1968 (p. 321-386) and 1970 (p. 301-338). In these sections of the study the Inventorium bonorum Collegii Vilnensis (1573) and the Indices Privilegiorum et contractuum Collegii Vilnensis (1574-1575 and 1586) are reproduced. The last part (IV) reproduces document regarding the arrival of the Jesuits and their initial activities. Some of the documents reproduced are the same as in Bičiūnas, supra.

*Račkauskas, John A., "Education in Lithuania Prior to the Dissolution of the Jesuit Order (1773)" in Lituanus, Vol. 22, No. 1, Spring, 1976, p. 5-41.

Presents an overview of the development of Lithuanian Education prior to the establishment of the Educational Commission.

-----, "Educational Commission," in Encyclopedia Lituanica, Boston, Lithuanian Encyclopedia Press, Vol. II, 1972, p. 136-138.

Overview of the establishment, organization, and reforms of the Commission for National Education.

-----, "The Educational Commission of Poland and Lithuania 1773-1794: 200th Anniversary of its Establishment," in Lituanus, Vol. 19, No. 4, Winter, 1973, p.62-70.

General report on the Educational Commission and its importance in the study of educational history in Europe, especially in commemoration of its 200th anniversary

-----, "Edukacinės Komisijos Nurodymai Parapijų Mokykloms (1774)," (The Parish School Regulation of 1774 issued by the Educational Commission) in Lituanistikos Instituto 1971 Metų Suvažiavimo Darbai, Chicago, Institute of Lithuanian Studies, 1971, p. 63-84.

Translation of the Parish School Regulation of 1774 and analysis of its contents as applied to educational practice in the schools of Lithuania.

-----, "Lietuvos ir Lenkijos Edukacinė Komisija ir Jos Įtaka Kitų Kraštų Švietimo Sistemoms," (The Educational Commission of Poland and Lithuania and its Influence on the Educational Systems of Other Countries), in Actes du Huitieme Congres de l'Academie Lituanienne Catholique des Sciences, Roma, 1974, Vol. VIII, p. 399-422.

Detailed analysis of the influences of the Educational Commission on the educational systems of Chile, the United States, Russia, and Prussia. Also detailed introduction on the state of educational reform in other countries during this time period.

-----, "The First National System of Education in Europe: The Commission for National Education of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania 1773-1794," in Lituanus, Vol. 14, No. 4, Winter, 1968, p. 5-53.

First comprehensive article on the Educational Commission since Boswell (*supra*) in 1924. Presents all major aspects of the reforms of the Educational Commission. See review of this article by R. Szreter, "Komisja Edukacji Narodowej w Anglosaskiej Literaturze Naukowej," (The Commission for National Education in the English Language Scientific Literature), in Kwartalnik Pedagogiczny, Vol. XVIII, No. 1 (67), 1973, p. 77-80.

*See also Šidlauskas and Račkauskas, *infra*.

-----, "Pradinis Švietimas Lietuvoje iki Trečiojo Padalinimo (1795)," (Primary Education in Lithuania up to the Period of the Third Partition of 1795), in Lietuvių Tautos Praeitis--Lithuanian Historical Review, Vol. III, Book 1(9), 1971, p. 63-134.

Comprehensive study tracing the development of elementary education from the first school in Vilnius to the parish schools under the Commission for National Education.

-----, "School Visitations and Inspections Under the Commission for National Education of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania 1773-1794," in Lituanus, Vol. 22, No. 4, Winter, 1976, p. 5-44.

Detailed study of the school inspection procedures used under the Commission for National Education.

Ragazinskas, Povilas, "Ignas Domeika Kaip Lietuvis ir Mokslininkas," (Ignas Domeika as a Lithuanian and a Scientist), in Tautos Praeitis, Vol. II, Book 3/4, 1967, p. 123-153.

Examination of Domeika and his work from his own memoirs. Important information on Domeika and his activities in Chile.

Ramūnas, Paplauskas, Antanas, Iš Sutemų į Aušrą, Toronto, Teviškės Žiburių Spaustuvė, 1967, 453 p.

Sections of this book deal with Lithuanian educational philosophy and methodology. Important for the conceptualization of Lithuanian education. Also important section evaluating the work of Antoni Poplawski.

-----, "Antanas Paplauskas--Pedagogas," Draugas, 9 January 1960. Analysis of the work and writings of Antoni Poplawski, as a leading educational reformer of XVIIIth century Europe.

-----, "Pedagogika," in Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Boston, Lithuanian Encyclopedia Press, Vol. XXII, 1965, p. 239-241.

Conceptualization of education in general and education in Lithuania.

Raulinaitis, A., "Medžiaga Lietuvos Mokyklų Istorijai: Apie Pirmąją Katedrinę Mokyklą," (Sources for the Study of the History of Education: The First Cathedral School), in Pedagogika ir Psichologija, Vol. VI, 1964, p. 111-114.

Reproduction of document establishing the first cathedral school in Lithuania. Discussion of other possible schools during this time period.

Reisner, Edward H., Nationalism and Education Since 1789: A Social-Political History of Modern Education. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927, xiii-575p.

Classic treatment of education and nationalism.

Rose, William J., "Stanislaw Konarski: Preceptor of Poland," in The Slavonic Review, Vol. IV, No. 10, June, 1925, p. 23-40.

Presents Stanislaw Konarski in his educational as well as political roles.

-----, Stanislas Konarski--Reformer of Education in XVIIIth Century Poland, London, Jonathan Cape, 1929, 288p.

Doctoral thesis prepared for the University of Krakow on Konarski. Good analysis of Konarski's educational reforms, but much of the book deals with Konarski's political activities in the Sejm.

Rousseau, Jean Jacques, Consideration sur le gouvernement de Pologne et sur sa Reformation projettee, Paris, A. Londres, 1782, 274 p.

Project for the reform of Polish education prepared by Rousseau at the request of the King of Poland. Written in 1772.

Sakalauskas, B., "Mokyklos ir Prūsų Mokyklų Politika Naujuosiuose Rytų Prūsuoje," (Schools and Prussian School Politics in New Eastern Prussia), Praeitis, Vol. I, Kaunas, 1930, p. 139-169.

Study of the schools in those sections of Lithuania annexed by the Partitions to Prussia. Based on primary sources from the Prussian school archives. Important guide to Prussian reform formulation and possible influences of the Educational Commission.

✓ Šapoka, Adolfas, editor, Lietuvos Istorija (History of Lithuania), Fellback/Wurttemberg, Patria, 1950, 688 p. + maps.

Standard history of Lithuania. Edited by Šapoka, with main chapters by J. Jakštas, Z. Ivinskis, A. Šapoka, P. Šležas, and P. Klimas.

-----, "Kultūriniai Lietuvių-Lenkų Santykiai Jogailos Laikais," (Cultural Relations of Lithuania and Poland During the Times of Jogaila), in J. Jakštas, et. al., Jogaila, Kaunas, Šviesos Spaustuvė, 1935, p. 269-290.

Good conceptualization of cultural conditions in Poland and Lithuania during the time of Jogaila.

-----, "Kur Senovėje Lietuviai Mokėjo Ieškojo?" (Where did Lithuanians Seek Education in Older Times) in Zidinys, Vol. XXII, No. 10 (130), 1935, p. 316-327; and No. 11(131), p. 417-430.

Analysis of the major universities of Europe where Lithuanian students were in attendance. Related article/subject: Jonikas, supra.

-----, "Lietuvos kaimo ir dvaro santykiai XVIII amž. antroje pusėje," (Relationship of the Estate and the Village in the Second Half of the XVIIIth Century), Lietuvos Praeitis, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1940, p. 1-36.

Good analysis of the relationship of the estate and village, including economic and social interaction. Burghers and peasants were in a continual stress relationship with the gentry estate owners.

Šidlauskas, Algirdas, "Istorija XVIIIa. Lietuvos Jėzuitų Mokyklose," (History in XVIIIth Century Jesuit Schools in Lithuania), in J. Lebedys, editor, Kultūrų Kryžkeleje, Vilnius, "Mintis," 1970, p. 173-209.

Discussion of the teaching of history in XVIIIth century Jesuit schools in Lithuania, the methodology and textbooks used.

-----, "Kova dėl gamtos mokslų įvedimo Lietuvos mokyklose XVIIIa. pabaigoje," (Efforts to Introduce the Natural Sciences into the Lithuanian Schools During the End of the XVIIIth Century), in Lietuvos TSR Mokslų Akademijos Darbai, Serija A, 2(11), p. 133-142.

Details the attempts to broaden the curriculum to include the natural sciences and the efforts to resist this introduction by the Educational Commission.

-----, "Mokyklų Reforma Lietuvoje XVIIIa. Pabaigoje," (School Reform in Lithuania Toward the End of the XVIIIth Century), in Lietuvos TSR Mokslų Akademijos Darbai, Serija A, 2(13), p.37-56.

Detailed presentation of the reforms of the Educational Commission. Article based on primary sources and its emphasis is on the schools in Lithuania.

-----, "Tikslųjų ir Gamtos Mokslų Vadovėliai Lietuvos Mokyklose XVIIIa. pabaigoje," (Textbooks for the Natural and Applied Sciences in Lithuanian Schools toward the end of the XVIIIth century), in Bibliotekininkystė ir Bibliografija, Vol. II, 1963, p. 155-194.

Examination of natural and applied science textbooks in use in the Lithuanian schools under the Educational Commission.

-----, "Vidurinės Mokyklos Lietuvoje XVIIIa. Pabaigoje," (Secondary Schools in Lithuania Towards the End of the XVIIIth Century), in Iš Lietuvių Kultūros Istorijos, Vol. IV, Vilnius, LTSR Mokslo Akademijs, Istorijos Institutas, 1964, p. 123-132.

Examination of secondary schools under the Educational Commission in Lithuanian educational districts. Based on primary source materials found in the archives of the University of Vilnius.

Šidlauskas, Algirdas and John A. Račkauskas, "The Education of Lay Teachers in Lithuania under the Educational Commission of Poland and Lithuania (1773-1794)," in Paedagogica Historica, Vol. XIV, No. 2, 1974, p.434-457.

Study of the preparation of lay teachers for the parish schools of Lithuania and the preparation of lay secondary teachers for the district schools at the University of Vilnius. Study based on primary source materials found at the University of Vilnius.

Slavėnas, P., "Senoji Vilniaus Astronominė Observatorija," (The Old Vilnius Astronomical Observatory) in J. Lebedys, editor, Kultūrų Kryžkeleje, Vilnius, Mintis, 1970, p. 134-143.

Developments in astronomy at the University of Vilnius during the period of the Educational Commission.

Sužiedelis, Simas, "Edukacinė Komisija," in Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Boston, Lithuanian Encyclopedia Press, Vol. V, 1955, p. 338-340.

Overview of the establishment and organization of the Commission for National Education.

-----, "Švietimas ir Auklėjimas: Švietimas Didžiojoje Lietuvos Kunigaikštijoje," (Education and Pedagogy: Education in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania) in Lietuvių Enciklopedija, Boston, Lithuanian Encyclopedia Press, Vol. XV, 1968, p. 744-751.

Brief authoritative description of education in Lithuania from 1387 to the end of the XVIIIth century. Author includes the following headings: (1) First Lithuanian Schools and Study Abroad; (2) Humanism and the Reformation; (3) Jesuit Colleges and the Academy of Vilnius; (4) Piarist Schools and a New Educational Direction; and (5) The Educational Commission and National School Reform.

Szreter, R., "Education for Nation-Saving: Poland Between the Partitions," in The History of Education in Europe, London, Methuen, for the History of Education Society, 1974, p. 53-66.

Overview of the educational reforms of the Educational Commission.

-----, "Europe's First Ministry of Education and the Problem of the Supply of Teachers," in British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. XXII, No. 2, June, 1974, p. 182-190.

Brief statement on the activities of the Educational Commission in the area of teacher education.

Szybiak, Irena, Skolnictwo Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim (The Educational Activities of the Committee of National Education in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania), Warszawa, Polska Akademia Nauk, Monografie z Dziejów Oświaty, Tom XV, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1973, 260 p.

Comprehensive treatment of elementary education in Lithuania during the administration of the Commission for National Education. Based on a majority of primary sources, this monograph in many ways updates and refines the initial work on the subject prepared by Wierzbowski in 1921 (*infra*).

Truchim, Stefan. Współpraca Polsko-Rosyjska nad Organizacją Szkolnictwa Rosyjskiego w Początkach XIX wieku (Polish-Russian Cooperation in the Organization of Russian Schools in the Beginning of the XIXth Century), Łódź, Łódzkie Towarzystwo Naukowe Societas Scientiarum Łodziensis, Wydział II, Section II, Nr. 30, 1960, 244 p.

Detailed and complete analysis of the Russian school reforms and the Statutes and regulations of the Commission for National Education. Author, in comparing the work of the Educational Commission and the school reform legislation of the Russian School Commission finds a direct and indisputable connection between the regulations of these two bodies. The Russian school reforms, he concludes, were based on the Statutes and regulations of the Educational Commission.

Tync, Stanislaw, Komisija Edukacji Narodowej: Pisma Komisji i o Komisji (The Educational Commission: Writings of and about the Commission), Wroclaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Nr. 126, Seria I, Zaklad Imienia Ossolinskich, 1954, ccvi-730.

Major collection of documents and materials about the Commission. Most important is the reproduction of the Statutes of The Educational Commission of 1783.

-----, Antoni Poplawski--Pisma Pedagogiczne (Antoni Poplawski--Educational Works), Wroclaw, Zaklad Narodowy imienia Ossolinskich, 1957, cxxv-412 p.

The major works of Antoni Poplawski dealing with education. Included is Poplawski's reform proposal to the Educational Commission of 1774.

Volumina Legum: Przedruk zbioru praw stareniem xx. Pijarow w Warszawie od roku 1732 do roku 1782, wydane, Peterburg, Nakladem i drukiem J. Ohryzki, 2nd ed., 1860, Vol. VIII.

Official actions of the Sejms were recorded and published in the Volumina Legum.

Wibicki, Jozef, Zycie Moje (My Life), Krakow, Biblioteka Narodowa, Serija I, Nr. 106, xxxiv-355 p.

Memoirs of Wibicki, one of the first general inspectors for the Educational Commission.

Wierzbowski, Teodor, compiler, Komisija Edukacji Narodowej i jej Szkoły w Koronie 1773-1794 (Commission for National Education of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania 1773-1794), Warszawa, Druk Piotra Laskauera, Kasa Jozefa Mianowskiego, 1901-1915, 45 parts, as follows:

- 1-22 Reports from schools in Poland--District Schools (1901-1915)
- 23 Reports from Parish Schools 1776-1793 in Poland (1908, 172 p.)
- 24-34 Reports of the General Inspectors for Poland 1774-1793.
- 35 Minutes of the Meetings of the Distributing Commission for Poland (1912, 159 p.)
- 36 Minutes of the Meetings of the Society for Elementary Books for 1775-1792 (1908, 118 p.)
- 37 Minutes of the Educational Commission for 1773-1777 (1910, 190p.)
- 38 Minutes of the Educational Commission for 1778-1781 (1913, 246p.)
- 39 Minutes of the Educational Commission for 1781-1785 (1915, 235p.)
- 40 Minutes of the Educational Commission for 1786-1789
- 41 Minutes of the Educational Commission for 1790-1794
- 42-45 Income and Expense Records of the Commission 1773-1794.

This is the most extensive series of documents dealing with the activities of the Educational Commission. Every aspect of its work is contained in the Wierzbowski series, except the general inspection reports from the Lithuanian Educational Districts, which were published only in 1974 (See Bartnicka and Szybiak, supra).

-----, Komisija Edukacyi Narodowej 1773-1794, Monografia Historyczna (Commission for National Education 1773-1794: Historical Monograph), Warszawa, Drukarnia i Litografia Jana Cotty, 1911, 186p.

Volume 1 of the monograph has two parts. The first part deals with all published works on the Commission and part two identifies all archival materials.

-----, Szkoly Parafjalne w Polsce i na Litwie za czasow Komisiji Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1794 (Parish Schools in Poland and Lithuania during the Time of the Educational Commission 1773-1794), Krakow, Ministerstwo Wyznan Religijnych i Oswiecenia Publicznego, 1921, 244p.

Comprehensive monograph on the parish school in Poland and Lithuania. Second part of the monograph lists all of the known parish schools in Poland and Lithuania and cites all known facts, as well as the origin of those facts.

Zielinski, Kazimierz, compiler, Komisja Edukacji Narodowej 1773-1973: Materialy do Bibliografii, Warszawa, Centralna Biblioteka Wojskowa, 1973, 58 p.

Complete list of the holdings of the Warsaw library of materials and publications dealing with the Commission for National Education, including reviews of books, biographical materials on individuals involved with the Commission, etc. Bibliography lists 700 items.

Zohorski, Andizej, "Szkola Rycerska," Kultura, Vol.IV, 1966, No. 9 (142), p. 1-9.

Historical sketch of the organization, development, and role of the Szkola Rycerska.

APPENDIX 1

ABSTRACT OF

The Commission for National Education
of Poland and Lithuania (1773-1794):
A Historical Study of Some Aspects of
Its Educational Reforms¹

The Commission for National Education of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was established 14 October 1773. By purpose and design it combined the educational systems of both countries under one national controlling body, thus directly taking over the responsibility for education from the Church.

The study consists of nine chapters. The first two chapters establish a historical framework for the activities and reforms of the Commission. The framework includes a discussion and analysis of the social, economic and cultural conditions, as well as an overview of the status of education prior to 1773.

The next three substantive chapters provide a chronological development of the establishment, reform proposals, and reforms of the Commission. The reforms are presented in terms of their affect on school structure and control, elementary/secondary education, and post-secondary education.

The next three substantive chapters provide in-depth considerations of three aspects of the reforms, as they apply to Lithuanian schools. The three aspects are: (1) teacher education; (2) school supervision and inspection; and (3) elementary education.

¹ John A. Rackauskas, doctoral thesis presented to the School of Graduate Studies of the University of Ottawa, Ontario, March, 1977, xiv-458 p.

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The last chapter considers influences and implications of the reforms. The chapter presents these under two frameworks: the intra-commonwealth implications and the extra-commonwealth influences. The implications of the reforms on the gentry, Lithuanian nationalism, and folk-centered pedagogy are discussed under the intra-commonwealth framework. Influences of the reforms on the educational systems of Chile, the United States, Russia, and Prussia are discussed under the extra-commonwealth framework.

The major conclusion reached by the study was that during the period 1773-1783 in Poland-Lithuania a Commission was organized and established, which created a national system of education, that was characterized by a centralized, hierarchical, and tri-level school structure. A number of other conclusions were reached, which are correlary to the major conclusion.