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Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity. U, Řada pedagogická. 1997, vol. 46, iss. U2, pp. [129]-138

ISBN 80-210-1753-8

ISSN 1211-6971

Stable URL (handle): <https://hdl.handle.net/11222.digilib/104631>

Access Date: 29. 11. 2024

Version: 20220831

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THE TEACHING OF CIVICS AND CITIZENSHIP IN POLAND FROM HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE (16TH — 20TH CENT.)

1. Polish democratic tradition goes back to the early ages. In the Polish Kingdom, renewed in the first half of the 15th c., after overcoming the Period of Fragmentation, monarchic power was limited by privileges possessed either by some estates, or certain social groups, or particular towns. In the whole, all the privileged estates, in different degree of course, composed the „political nation“, taking part, according to possessed authority and real power, in public life. These estates were: the nobles, the clergy and towns. Each estate was governed by special rights and rules, its area of competence carefully circumscribed by a body of detailed legislation. The process whereby the clergy and the nobility reinforced their privileges in country as a whole matched by the actions of the Guilds in the cities¹. Outside the „political nation“ was the most numerous estate of that time — the peasantry. Among the privileged the first place took the nobles with magnets in the forefront. This very numerous class, almost a tenth of the population, ruled itself freely through the eligible representative bodies.

Reducing king's power this class conquered many fundamental rights what made which Poland of those days one of those lands in Europe which enjoyed the greatest public liberties.

Humanistic educated nobles, the said „political nation“ just as they took rule over the state, had to think also about a construction of their own ideal of education to create a certain tradition for the future.

Till then, in the Middle Ages which lasted almost five centuries in our country, the obligatory ideal of Pole was the faithful son of the church, and a Knight standing up for defence of his homeland and the catholic faith.

The ideal had to be widened with new values which were necessary in the new political situation. Freedom of speech, religious tolerance, immunity of person and property made the moral atmosphere in which innovator writers,

¹ Norman Davies: God's playground. a history of Poland. New York, Columbia University Press 1984.

politicians and educators desiring to educate young people full of civic virtues, proudly safeguarding conquered privileges, rights and civic duties could emerge. So, they wanted to widen, hitherto obligatory, the ideal of education consisting of religious and knightly education by education in freedom and to freedom in the spirit of the antique ideals of roman „vir bonus“ = good man, warrior, hero and „civis bonus“ — good citizen.

2. Thus let us look closer to what the pedagogues and publicists of the 16th — 17th c had to say.

Following the example of other European countries the pedagogical dissertations in Poland became influenced by the literature of antiquity. The humanistic school turned to works of Greek and Roman pedagogues: Aristotel, Plato, Plutarch, Quintilian, Cicero.

In 1526, issued in Cracow by Hieronim Wietor, appeared the dissertation of the professor of Jagiellonian University in Cracow Leonard Cox from England entitled „Libellus de erudienda iuventute“ („A booklet about teaching young people“) which discussed the program and method of teaching, the order of reading the ancient writers, the importance of Greek in the education of young people, emphasising simultaneously its aid in study of Latin. The competence of language was very useful for the nobles during debating in provincial dietines. The speeches of the members of Diet were the beautiful example of political knowledge as well as of education in the ancient history.

An alumnus, later the professor of Jagiellonian University, Gostyński, paid attention to the importance of humanistic culture in the education of young people in his printed work „A speech about the education of young nobles“ (1558). Young nobles should be educated not only in chivalrous arts („vir bonus“) but also in citizen sciences, understood as a preparation to performing the civic duties in a society („civis bonus“). One of the most brilliant pedagogues of the Polish Renaissance, Doctor Juris in Ferrara, Szymon Marycki arguet, in a comprehensive treatise entitled „De scholis sen academiis libri duo“ („About Schools or Academies. Two books“), issued in Cracow in 1551 physical exercises and training of minds made the most efficient pledge of the prosperity of State. „They ought to be a well equipped granary for State“ providing „laic and clergy officials capable wisely and bravely to deal with the causes of peace and war“.

According to Szymon Marycki only wisely arranged schools are the universal way of the education of nation from the rulers to the peasantry, they can be the „workshops of all virtues“ and educate intelligent citizens („civis bonus“).

Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, undoubtedly one of the outstanding political writers and polish moralists in 16th c., in his work widely known and priced in his time „Commentetorium de Republica emendanda“ („About renovation of Republic“) composed of five books („About customs“, „About laws“, „About war“, „About Church“, „About School“) proclaimed very modern and for those times unusual theories, namely, equality of all social groups in relation to law, identical penalty for the same offence for everyone, repealing certain legal restrictions relating to the townspeople and the peasantry. He postulated the radi-

cal modification of the existing law by widening range of freedom and rights for all people in State regardless of the estate membership. He ordered to educate young people according to the spirit of observance of the law and loyalty to the citizen virtues imitating the ideals of antiquity. School ought to be „like the originator of the best law“ by the fact that „it strengthens moral and religious notions in young people“ and simultaneously explains „rules of the law most exactly as far as the human mind can do it investigating the sources and causes of everything.“²

Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski was in the first place a politician not a pedagogue, he did not leave detailed programs of education and teaching, instead he indicated a way which the others followed.

Chancellor and the Great Crown Hetman Jan Zamoyski, student and executor of Padova University, was one of the most conscious and consistent initiators of the Polish educational system reform. The Academy that he founded and created (called Zamojska after him) was in his conception the chivalrous school, teaching the service for motherland in time of the peace and war.

The Academy was to educate young nobles in the field of the modern humanistic culture, it was to prepare them for future tasks and public work in the State thanks to the profound knowledge of the law, economy and foreign languages.

Reading of classical authors gave Zamoyski examples of civic virtues, generosity, love for the homeland.

He intended to inculcate these virtues in hearts and minds of young nobles („vir bonus“).

The program of that civil school expressed simultaneously the Renaissance model of versatile sensitive to the phenomenons of science and life, understanding the needs of his motherland and enlightened man and of good citizen („civis bonus“).

The broad vision of educational problems as the problems of man's and citizen's education realizes the above — cited motto „such will be Republics (Rzeczpospolite) as their citizen s'upbringing“.

It was also the matter of verifying of the traditional faith and of finding one's place among the crossing trends of Reformation and Counter-reformation of reaching knowledge and civil skills needed for the political aims opposing the misunderstood civil liberties.

Kasper Siemek, the alumnus of Cracow Academy, apostolic protonotary, the political writer in the first half of the 17th c., in his treatise „Civis bonus“ edited in Cracow in 1632 wrote „Great is the dignity of Polish Sovereigns because the other Kings are rulers of slaves and ours are rulers of free people. Now is the time to see who is a good citizen, now is the time to see through everyone's soul. And just in compliance with this let everyone expect either the immortal glory or the eternal infamy and disgrace“.³

² Andrzej F. Modrzewski: O poprawie rzeczy polskiej. /w:/ Dzieła wszystkie. Przekład E. Jedrkiewicz, Warszawa 1953.

³ Kasper Siemek: Dobry obywatel. /w:/ Wybór pism pedagogicznych Polski doby odrodzenia

Kasper Siemek's admonition may testify to misuse of freedom, to danger of nobles anarchy.

In 17th c. it proved that a Polish nobleman was a free man esteeming personal and civil liberty above all and in the case of conflicts, alas, even above the well-being of State.

Among the gentry there appeared the cult of „gold freedom“. It had the awful wrong ways of self_orderliness, of slighting of the needs and the authority of the State. It was one of the reasons of the decline of State. In 17th c. great intellectual ideals faded and political goals narrowed. Political and economical crisis deepened. In the first half of the 18th c. any effective political activity was almost impossible. Extremely expansive jesuitic educational system, slowly abandoning the intellectual ambitions, realised in its programs the nobles' mythic of the cult of „gold freedom“, „liberum veto“ (the right of any man to reject the legislation of the Diet), the free election of the King.

It preferred Catholicism, admitted as the national religion. This jesuitic educational system gained more and more popularity and regard among the gentry.

Fulfilment and continuation of this warped civic education were the lordly „Sarmatian (Polish Baroque culture and mythology) courts where young nobles showed off what they achieved in jesuitic colleges, namely, the florid orations, panegirics adulating the mighty, the declarations of devotion to the motherland and attachment to the noble's liberty, taking care of one's own affairs not always in accordance with the all—national interest. It came to the degeneration of the educational ideal. Instead of a Christian tolerant toward the other confessions we had an intolerant bigot, instead of a Knight — rhetor a **plitudinari-an** abusing civil liberties. A renovation of the educational ideal became necessary. However, it was only when **Piarist** Stanislaw Konarski overcame conformity and organised education as a way to revival and improvement of the state which was in an evident danger. In the founded by himself exclusive „Collegium Nobilium“ meant as the centre of influence on the governing elite, he decided to educate solely the young people out of aristocracy who would later cope with the crazy ideology of „gold freedom“ and with the social anarchy.

Educational ideology announced in the speech „On forming the honest man..“ was contained in two notions, an honest man („vir honestus“) and good citizen („bonus civic“). But he tried to give deeper sense to these notions reduced sometimes to the appearances of behaviour and sham brilliance of words. The religious education ought to be purified of superstition and bigotry. In the moral education one ought to restore essential sense to embezzled values such as honesty, justice which may not be the shallow appearances but must flow from „sincere, inner disposition“.

In the program of civic education Konarski gave priority to moral values which would have been a remedy for thrift lessnes and factiousness exposing land „to shock for (...) personal goals, for a post, profit, benefit, revenge or the conquest of a power“.

Konarski elaborated for his pupils about 200 rethoric themes including the main domains of contemporary public life discussed during the provincial dietines of the gentry.

They referred to religion, religious politics, the organisation of state authority, the Treasury, Diet election, finances, army, individual estates, the King economy, educational system, foreign policy. Uttered or produced in form of performances they attained large popularity and became the element of wider influence on society. Today we should term it the adult's education. Konarski's pupils together with the enlightened ex — Jesuits in the National Education Commission undertook the large educational task in order, as it was described by French physiocrat Dupont de Nemours who quite understood the Polish reality: „Créer une nation par l'instruction public“, to create Nation by public education.

3. There was a deep-seated belief in the mind of bright part of the English tennement Age society that the source of political defeat was both the mistakes of the regime and the economic underdevelopment of the State.

Pupils of the National Commission Education schools armed in the affection for their Fatherland had to fight for the new political, economical and cultural shape of the country. An interesting sociological process can be observed in the period of 20 years' long National Commission of Education activity. At first the Commission faced the resistance of the society. But towards the end of the Republic, especially when a new generation came into the public life, majority of nobles changed their attitude towards the native education. After the collapse of the country (1795) the most precious achievement of the Commission became a testament for the following generations.

4. Following the third partition of Poland an image of the ideal Pole—patriot was always strongly connected with a fight (not necessarily armed) for the country independence. It is important to emphasise that however the above—mentioned ideal was true for the whole country, its separate features were expressed differently in various regions of the country.

The Polish community lived in three different political, cultural and economical structures⁴. The shape of an ideal patriot was strongly influenced by class and territorial consciousness of Polish community. It is important to remember that the Polish people lived among five other nationalities (Germans, Jews, Lithuanians, White Russians and Ukrainians); whose attitudes also influenced the ideal of education. The image of a romantic average Pole eager to take up heroic effort in the name of the country independence, when studied in details turned out incomplete and superficial. The described image could not refer to the whole society however, but only to some groups living both in the country and abroad. Most of the patterns of attitude were suggested by literature and art creation those times. Those means were the roots of such a high moral opinion about fighting and suffering.

⁴ Norman Davies: *God's playground. A history of Poland*. New York, Columbia University Press 1984.

Vol.II (1795 to present), chapters: *The Russian Partition* (p. 81–111); *The Prussian Partition* (p. 112–138) and *the Austrian Partition* (p. 139–162).

The idea of a patriotic fighter found breeding ground among teenagers (secondary school pupils) and academic youth, as well as among some circles of intellectuals. They formed secret organisations and self-education groups, where the plans of future revolts were created. Those actions however often failed due to the shortage of armour and following deportations of their members to Siberia.

The motto of organic work appeared first in Grand Duchy of Poznań (about 1830, prepositivism), then after the January Rising it spread to the Congress Kingdom of Poland (1863). There is no doubt that the pattern of armed fights in Congress Kingdom of Poland influenced actions of young people in Grande Duchy of Poznań. Majority of the Polish society in Poznań accepted the motto of the organic work and from 1848 the Poles' effort was concentrated on the legal way of self-defence against the German language.

The brave views that appeared in Warsaw after 1863 and were mentioned above, need more detailed description. Some sort of analogy could be drawn between the described period and the struggle against the Saxon ignorant in National Commission of Education times.

Patriotic circles of nobles and townspeople were concentrated at the end of 18th century on country's reforms defence and tried to base their programs on French rationalistic philosophy. After 1863 they turned to positivism and evolutionism in both English and French philosophy.

Despite the influence of foreign theories the Polish positivism is different from the positivism in Western Europe. In the west the positivism was an intellectual movement of the philosophical tenet, in our country it was rather the ideology of a social economical movement. In the field of the social programme the Polish positivism formed the principles of renounce in the enclosed conditions of action (partition) for the possibility of real and effective work on fields which was not forbidden by the law.

5. The question is what chance the Poles had to realise the definite patriotic, moral and civic ideal of education.

In all three partitions school system was submitted to the policy of the country which always tended toward denationalisation of Polish lieges. Those intentions were realised in Galicia in the first half of the 19th cent. and in the Kingdom and the Grand Duchy in the second half of the century. In connection to that the society looked for such organisation forms which could be of help in the national education. Therefore, private and secret schools were created. Their greatest development came in the beginning of 20th cent. in the Congress Kingdom of Poland.

6. There is no doubt family played the main role in education. It was the carrier of Polish traditions — language, history and culture. However, the national consciousness of parents, their feeling of unity with the others speaking Polish and inhabiting the Polish territory, were absolutely basic for creating a young patriot. Only some parts of the Polish society in the first decades of the 20th century fully approved the national identity. Other expressed primarily their feelings connected with the low social status which was the result of the invader's volition, but also Polish aristocrats' actions.

One should show the role of the Catholic Church which had the above partition character in spite of the different political circumstances. Polish society has always been strongly connected with the Catholic Church. The Church from first years of slavery tried to awake common patriotic consciousness in the lower class, helped materially and spiritually the insurgents in the Kingdom (1830, 1863) and in Galicia (1848), enlighten national villagers in the Grand Duchy of Poznań and in Upper Silesia. The Church focused its own efforts on education of the lower classes and on the problems of periodical press. It founded libraries too, published hymn-books and prayer-books in Polish language and played a particular role in the awakening of the national consciousness.

The meetings like social evenings were organised in private houses and in churches for youth, craftsmen and young workers.

Between the revolts, the well-known action of the clergy was the foundation of the soberness solidarities in parishes. That action was aimed against the calamitous feature grim of the society which was alcoholism. Similar solidarities existed also in Galicia and in the Kingdom (in the letter they were forbidden by the tsar's government which recognised these actions as revolutionary activities and therefore they were abolished after the January Rising). The Church engaged itself in the underground movement (in the Kingdom 1861–1864), in organising the agricultural circles and in the Christian co-operative movement. In many of the Church initiatives mentioned earlier laic organisations and the laic societies also took part.

7. „The fundamental problem facing the republic was the problem of integration. The population, institutions and traditions of the three Partitions had to be melted into one new entity“⁵. The regaining of independence in 1918 imposed a new task to the education. It was important to establish the education functions of school and to create the curriculum.

Individual political groups: first National Democratic Party and the „sanacja“ system (Pilsudski's followers after 1926), had influence on the official government's policy regarding education matters. From the moment of regaining the independence till 1926 the National Democratic Party (nationalists) had a strong influence on education. They had the ideal of national education, that came into being under partitions adjusted to the needs of the contemporary Polish the society and reinforced it. That idea was the only official one for ideological education of society at the beginning of independence. One has to remember that one question was the national education during the bondage and another one — the element of ideology from National Democratic Party in curriculums of the Polish Schools. That was formulated in the first years of independence.

The idea of national derived from National Democratic Party was based on belief that the most important thing on earth is the nation and its defence. The moral ideal was to prefer national matters to the individual matters and the class needs. The religious issues were to be the base of patriotic upbringing, however they were interpreted rather pragmatically.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 401.

The ideology of the national education, proposed by National Democratic Party, was in general not prepared for practical realisation. National Democratic Party did not have enough political power and sufficient influences on the educators who prepared the constitutional projects of Polish educational system and the curriculums.

The curriculum was created by the experts of various political orientations who found it proper and necessary to implant national ideas into the programs of education. Still they often did not understand those ideas in a way the National Democratic Party did.

8. After the Pilsudski's coup d'état in May 1926 the „sanacja“ system entered the political arena and the problems of education were the matters of great importance to its representatives. In 1927 the conception of State education was proposed. That idea suggested that people should be above all matters in contestation: social, national, political ones — in the name of the commonweal of all Polish people.

„Sanacja“ system didn't deny and didn't throw away arguments of national education. It underlined only the anachronism of ideology which grew up at the time of partition — first of all there were no such feelings like loyalty for country respect for its emblem and authority but the difficulties in citizenship coexistence within the limits of the own, sovereign state did exist. Representatives of „sanacja“ system said it was important to create a new education ideal which would have been adapted to the needs of those times to aspiration of the citizens from free country. The new citizen had to comprise the elements of the romantic enthusiasm and the positivistic knowledge of work. He had to be a good man who understood the surrounding society life, was independent from his nationality and belief and worked efficiently on creating „the base of rise and power of Re public“. The meaning: good citizen wasn't shown precisely apart from his attributes that were underlined emphasized: discipline, loyalty, diligence and enthusiasm for duties that were put on him by State.

9. The turning point closing the period of civic education is the year 1937. Semi—official rejection of the early civic education ideas by the „sanacja“ system can be observed between 1937 and 1939. It was the result of the international situation with gradually increasing threat of Soviet and German invasion to Poland. The rising anxieties had their source also in the problems of national minorities. There was a conviction they would take advantage of the armed conflict with our enemies in order to realise their own political expectations.

Under such circumstances the idea of national education returned. It included the necessity of reunion of all Poles regardless of their political views, strong exposure of patriotic feelings, and also the idea of state upbringing with an emphasis on the need of fighting for country's sovereignty. The pattern of education from the last year of the Second Polish republic existence had turned out efficient and true in September 1939 and in the following years of Soviet and German occupation.

SUMMARY

In this paper the authors present the development of civic education set against a historical perspective (16th — 20th c.).

Polish democratic traditions go back to remote times. Already in the 16th c. the pedagogues and publicists gave directions how to bring up the young generation. The broad view of educational problems which include the upbringing of a man and a citizen was expressed best by the statement: „Such will be the Republics (Polish Republic) as theirs citizens' upbringing“. This idea could be fully developed only during the Second Polish republic when Poland regained independence after several ages of foreign rule.

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VÝUKA OBČANSKÉ VÝCHOVY A OBČANSTVÍ V POLSKU
V HISTORICKÉ PERSPEKTIVĚ (16.–20. STOLETÍ)

Článek pojednává o výuce občanské výchovy a o výchovném ideálu na pozadí historických událostí v Polsku. V obnoveném Polském království v první polovině 15. století se o politickou moc dělila šlechta, církev a města. Šlechta vzdělaná v humanitních vědách stanovila nový ideál výchovy. Dosud byl ideálem oddaný syn církve a rytíř připravený na obranu své vlasti a katolické víry. Tento ideál bylo třeba rozšířit o vlastnosti nezbytné pro nové politické zřízení: v duchu antičkého ideálu bylo třeba vychovat jak dobrého muže, hrdinu (vir bonus), tak dobrého občana (civis bonus).

Tak se pedagogové v 16. a 17. století inspirovali prací řeckých a římských myslitelů, zdůrazňovali vzdělání v humanitních vědách. Snahy o zlepšení vzdělávání se nesly v duchu hesla „Republika bude taková, jaké bude vzdělávání jejích občanů“. Polský šlechtic 17. století kladl na první místo svobodu, proto i vzdělávání mělo mít ducha svobody.

V jezuitském systému vzdělávání se v 1. polovině 18. století objevil kult „zlaté svobody“, který se stal jedním z důvodů rozkladu státu, protože měl za následek posun výchovného ideálu od tolerantního křesťana k náboženskému fanaticovi, který kladl na první místo svůj prospěch.

Po rozpadu státu (1795) byl ideál vlastence vždy spojen s bojem za nezávislost. Vlastenecké kruhy na konci 18. století se obrátily k pozitivizmu a evolucionismu v anglické a francouzské filozofii.

Hlavní roli ve vzdělávání hrála rodina, protože ta byla nositelem polských tradic- jazyka, dějin a kultury. Nezanedbatelná byla také úloha církve, která se zaměřila na vzdělávání nižších vrstev obyvatelstva a měla významnou roli v probouzení národního uvědomění.

Znovu nabytá nezávislost v roce 1918 znamenala potřebu vytvoření nového vzdělávacího obsahu. Národní demokratická strana prosadila myšlenku, že nejdůležitější je národ a jeho obrana. Morálním ideálem bylo dát na první místo zájmy národa. Tato idea národního vzdělávání nebyla připravena na praktickou realizaci.

V roce 1927 byla navržena nová koncepce vzdělávání. Ideálem byl občan disciplinovaný, loajální státu, nadšeně vykonávající úkoly, které mu stát ukládal.

Bodem obratu se stal rok 1937, kdy skončilo období občanské výchovy, což bylo důsledkem mezinárodní politické situace. Znovu se objevila myšlenka národního vzdělávání, která zahrnovala nutnost spojení všech Poláků a zdůrazňovala potřebu boje za národní nezávislost.

Marie Filipová