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(1849-1859)

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Source: *The Polish Review*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (1991), pp. 283-308

Published by: University of Illinois Press on behalf of the Polish Institute of Arts & Sciences of America

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25778578>

Accessed: 12-10-2020 13:27 UTC

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PETER WOZNIAK

## MIDDLE SCHOOL TEACHERS IN WEST GALICIA DURING THE PERIOD OF NEO-ABSOLUTISM (1849-1859)\*

In the past ten or fifteen years scholars studying Polish society in the nineteenth century have produced much research on a social stratum known as the intelligentsia. The definition of this term has been the subject of considerable debate. The *Encyklopedia powszechna*, for example, defines intelligentsia as referring to "a segment of educated people professionally involved in mental work."<sup>1</sup> Jan Szczepański, the pioneering scholar of the Polish intelligentsia, points out that the primary characteristic of the intelligentsia was not merely its educational credentials, but its activity in maintaining Polish culture during the era of the partitions.<sup>2</sup> Other historians and sociologists have contributed to the debate, fine-tuning both their definitions and methodology.<sup>3</sup> In its broadest outline, a definition touching the most important points of agreement in this debate would include: the

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\* A shortened version of this article was delivered as a paper at the Midwest Slavic Conference at Indiana University, March 25, 1988. It is taken from my dissertation, "The Habsburg Middle School Reform 1849-1860: With Special Reference to West Galicia" (dissertation, Indiana University, 1987).

1. *Wielka encyklopedia powszechna*, (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1965), Vol. 5, p. 79.

2. Jan Szczepański, "The Polish Intelligentsia," in *World Politics*, Vol. XIV, No. 3 (April 1962), p. 408.

3. Irena Homola, *Kwiat społeczeństwa* (The Flower of Society) (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1984), p. 6, defines the intelligentsia as people engaged in "mental work" and possessing at least a high school education.

Józef Borzyszkowski finds the most important aspect of the intelligentsia in its role as a societal elite, fulfilling important leadership functions in the community. In Poland, this group was composed of individuals from all levels of society. See his *Inteligencja polska w Prusach Zachodnich 1848-1920* (The Polish Intelligentsia in Western Prussia 1848-1920) (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Morskie, 1986), pp. 6-7, 352. This book contains an excellent bibliography of works dealing with the development of an intelligentsia in various provinces of Poland. Like Homola, Borzyszkowski sees the employment of an "intelligent" in mental, as opposed to manual, labor as crucial.

attainment of a high school diploma (or its equivalent), a career in the intellectual field, and some sort of active interaction with society, preferably in a leadership position.

While scholars continue to argue the exact parameters of the intelligentsia, including some individuals and professions while excluding others, education clearly remains a central component of any definition.<sup>4</sup> Teachers, therefore, are always acknowledged as a constituent element of the intelligentsia. Teachers, however, are a broad profession group, embracing the foremost scholars at prestigious universities, as well as the poor country schoolmaster-sextons, common to Central Europe. Indeed, most scholarly studies have focused on university professors and primary school teachers. High school (English and German: *gymnasium*; Polish: *gymnazjum*) teachers, however, seem to have fallen between two stools. Most often they are portrayed as extensions of the university elite, completely separated from primary school teachers by virtue of their university training and concomitant superior social position.<sup>5</sup>

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Aleksander Gella and Juliusz Demel argue that the Polish intelligentsia was not a class, but a "stratum," united by a particular value system descended from the old Polish gentry. See Aleksander Gella, *Development of Class Structure in Eastern Europe* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1989), pp. 130-133, and Juliusz Demel, *Stosunki gospodarcze i społeczne Krakowa 1846-53* (The Economic and Social Conditions of Cracow 1846-53) (Warsaw: Ossolineum, 1958), p. 534, n. 265, where he quotes Józef Szujski's line, "We have here a szlachta of doctors, technicians, and bureaucrats."

It should be noted that in eastern Europe, unlike in Russia, the term "intelligentsia" does not necessarily imply a critical view of social problems. In addition to Gella, see Owen Johnson, *Slovakia 1918-1938. Education and the Making of a Nation* (Columbia University Press, 1985). Johnson also stresses the importance of "mental labor."

4. In addition to her comments in *Kwiat społeczeństwa*, see Irena Homola, "Inteligencja galicyjska w połowie XIX wieku," in *Spółeczeństwo polskie XVIII i XIX wieku* (Polish Society in the 18th and 19th Centuries) Vol. 5 (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1976) pp. 111-112, where the author develops the interesting concept of a "*pół-inteligencja*" (semi-intelligentsia) — lawyers, doctors, bureaucrats, teachers and artists, who first began congregating together in the 1850s in the cities and on rural estates. Homola does not see this group as yet "fully educated," and claims that it served only as the foundation of the later full-fledged intelligentsia. She excludes from this group those with some education, but not engaged in "mental work" (postmen, midwives, etc.).

5. Anthony J. LaVopa, *Prussian Schoolteachers: Profession and Office, 1763-1848* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), p. 66. See also Karl-Ernst Jeismann, *Das preussische Gymnasium in Staat und Gesellschaft. Die Entstehung des Gymnasiums als Schule des Staates und der Gebildeten, 1787-1817* (The Prussian Gymnasium in State and Society. The Rise of the Gymnasium as the School of Society and of the Educated Elite, 1787-1817) (Stuttgart: Industrielle Welt, Vol. 15, 1974), pp. 318-321, who views their status as based

In the Habsburg lands the development of high school teachers into active members of the intelligentsia received a major boost with the promulgation of a far-reaching educational reform in 1849 known as the *Organizational Outline of the Gymnasias and Technical Schools in Austria*.<sup>6</sup> This reform was part of a larger attempt to unify and centralize the various lands of the monarchy, known to historians as the Bach system. The educational reform was implemented by the energetic Minister of Education and Cults, Count Leo Thun. Thun supported the work of the two men most responsible for the reform, Franz Exner and Herman Bonitz, in the face of opposition from a regime most known for conservatism, centralization, and an increasingly opprobrious germanization policy.<sup>7</sup> Although providing for changes at both the university and at primary school levels, the reform was most complete in the gymnasias, or middle schools. It precisely outlined the structure, administration, and curriculum of the middle schools and addressed itself to all matters regulating the lives of students and teachers. In fact, the enactment affected teachers most particularly, by thoroughly overhauling the regulations governing their training, salaries, and pedagogy.

This article focuses on the effects of the reform on the 158 men who taught in the gymnasias in West Galicia from 1849 to 1860.<sup>8</sup> Polish historians have generally treated the 1850s as a dark era, comparing it unfavorably with the subsequent era of Galician autonomy (variously dated from 1861, 1867 or 1871 to 1914).<sup>9</sup> Some argue that the study of the Galician intelligentsia,

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more on bureaucratic service to the state than on pedagogical functions.

6. *Entwurf der Organisation der Gymnasien und Realschulen in Oesterreich* (Organizational Outline of the Gymnasias and Technical Schools in Austria) (Vienna: Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1849), hereafter cited as *Entwurf*. Also in *Allgemeines Reichs- Gesetz- und Regierungsblatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich (RGB)* I 1848/49, p. 711 *Ergänzungsband*. See Helmut Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens* (History of the Austrian Educational System) 4 volumes (Vienna: Bundesverlag, 1984).

7. For opposing assessments of the nature of the regime, see Oscar Jaszi, *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy* (Chicago: University Press, 1929), pp. 100-102, and Peter Wozniak, "The Habsburg Middle School Reform...."

8. During this period, West Galicia, the ethnically Polish half of the province, was treated as an organizationally separate entity from the predominantly Ukrainian section, East Galicia.

9. See Konstanty Grzybowski, *Galicja 1848-1914: historia ustroju politycznego na tle historii ustroju Austrii* (Galicia 1848-1914: A History of its Political Development Against the Background of the Development of Austria) (Cracow: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1959), and Stefan Kieniewicz, *Galicja w dobie autonomicznej (1850-1914)* (Galicia in the Period of Autonomy) (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1952), p. xii.

which was to play such a prominent role in both the period of autonomy and in subsequent Polish history, properly begins in the era of autonomy. Even histories of the education system concentrate on this period, with little or no reference to the earlier decade.<sup>10</sup> The beneficial aspects of the educational reform of 1849 have been ignored, largely, perhaps, because Poles are proud of the earlier restructuring of the Polish school system carried out by the National Education Commission in the reform era at the end of the eighteenth century (1772-1795).

Without denying the importance of the era of autonomy — it did represent the flowering of the intelligentsia — it is perhaps ironic and heretical to contend that the foundations of that flowering were laid during the Bach Era by a centralizing, germanizing regime. This, nonetheless, appears to be the case. Many of the teachers who went on to teach well into the period of autonomy were trained, “created” in a sense, by the system initiated in the monarchy in 1849. To a great extent, these teachers were children of two cultural worlds: the German-Austrian world of the institutions in which they were trained and in which they worked, and the Polish one of their everyday lives.<sup>11</sup>

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Both Polish and non-Polish historians present a negative assessment of the educational system in West Galicia in the 1850s.<sup>12</sup> This interpretation, however, seems to stem from a superficial reading of the official statistics. A true picture may only be obtained by continually comparing official information from the ministry with provincial data. This procedure illustrates that there were often major discrepancies between the theory of the reform as propounded in Vienna and the reality of the application of that reform in the provinces.

In regard to the actual constitution of schools, the situation in Galicia mirrored the theory of the reform document. The *Organizational Outline* posited an eight-year program of study, which was divided in half; the first four years constituted the lower gymnasium (*Untergymnasium*), and the latter

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10. See Stefan Możdżen, *Ustrój szkoły średniej w Galicji i próby jego modernizacji w latach 1848-1884* (The Development of Middle Schools in Galicia and Attempts at their Modernization in the Years 1848-1884) (Wrocław: Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, #230, 1974), and Homola, *Kwiat...*

11. See Borzyszkowski, pp. 355-356, for a similar development in West Prussia, and Nora Koestler, “Polska Inteligencja a niemieckie Bildungsbürgertum,” in *Inteligencja Polska XIX i XX wieku* Studia 5, ed. Ryszard Czepuli-Rastensis (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1987).

12. See Możdżen, *Ustrój szkoły średniej...*, Engelbrecht, *Geschichte...*, and Gustav Strakosch-Grassmann, *Geschichte des österreichischen Unterrichtswesens* (Vienna: Pichler, 1905).

four years the upper gymnasium (*Obergymnasium*). The goal of the gymnasium was “to impart a general education by means of the classical languages and literatures and through this . . . to prepare for university study.”<sup>13</sup> The lower gymnasium was meant to build a compact whole, allowing the student to enter either a profession or the upper gymnasium. A lower gymnasium could exist without the upper half, especially in places where there was a lack of funds for such a school, or where the majority of the students had no intention of going to a university and thus did not need an upper gymnasium. Conversely, an upper gymnasium could not exist without a lower gymnasium attached to it. This type of school, with a full eight-year curriculum, was known as a “complete” gymnasium.

Gymnasias would be either public or private, a classification to be determined by the Minister of Education. The Minister’s criteria for this were straightforward: public schools would be all those that had been public schools prior to 1848, together with all others that had awarded diplomas recognized by universities. Private schools could be founded and maintained by secular individuals or by theological institutions. Only “complete” public schools, however, were allowed to offer the final examination (*matura*), the successful completion of which was necessary for matriculation at a university. Students from private gymnasias thus had to apply to a public school in order to take the *matura*.

The administrative structure of the gymnasium flowed from the ministry in Vienna to the school itself. At the top was the ministry, composed of the minister, various advisors, and specialists on each province. Then came the provincial school board, located in the provincial capital and in charge of yearly reports on each gymnasium under its jurisdiction. Finally, there was the faculty of the gymnasium itself, headed by a director. This post was filled from among the full-time faculty of the school and was the real locus of power and authority. The director’s responsibilities included taking protocols of faculty meetings and keeping the archive, administering entrance examinations and the *matura*, and selecting new faculty members. In addition, he was ultimately responsible for the quality of the school in all matters, answerable to the school board and, if necessary, to the ministry.

West Galicia was served at first by five, and after 1857, six gymnasias, the most famous of which was St. Anne’s in Cracow. St. Anne’s, along with a school in Tarnów, were “full” gymnasias. Two other schools, in Rzeszów and Nowy Sącz, were six-class schools not offering the *matura*, while the remaining gymnasium in Bochnia constituted a lower gymnasium. In 1857, the Ministry of Education created another school in Cracow, St. John’s, to aid the by then overcrowded St. Anne’s. There was also one technical school (*Realschule*), which did not flourish until the following decade. Most of the instructors at this school were drawn from the faculty of St. Anne’s and the

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13. *Entwurf*, paragraph 1.

Jagiellonian University.

Although the reform of 1849 gave private individuals the right to organize private gymnasias, no such schools existed in this period. The only exceptions were a number of private institutions for girls, which were seldom constituted in a fully legal fashion and were not regulated by the state.<sup>14</sup>

Discrepancies between theory and reality first appear on the question of curricular reform. The classical languages (Latin and Greek) formed the core of a newly revised curriculum. The study of these languages took up well over 50 percent of the student's total time in the classroom. Other compulsory subjects were: religion, the native language, German, geography and history (treated as one), mathematics, natural history, physics, and philosophy. Students who were not going to continue to the upper gymnasium were relieved of the obligation to study Greek. If more than one language was spoken in a province, the gymnasium was required to offer language instruction in that tongue, though students were not obligated to take this course. In West Galicia, for example, this meant that Polish and German were required courses and that Ruthenian was to be offered, although not required. The schools could also offer additional courses such as: contemporary languages (English, French, Russian, etc.), penmanship, drawing, singing, and gymnastics.

The crucial issue of the curriculum reform in Galicia, however, turned out to be not which subjects would be taught, but rather the language of instruction in these various subjects. Although the *Outline* stated that all the languages of the monarchy were equal, in reality the policy set by the ministry led to an increasing use of German as the language of instruction over the course of the decade. This, in turn, led to complaints that the regime was intent on Germanizing the population. A glance at various curricula from West Galician schools does in fact bear out that use of the native tongue for instructional purposes was severely reduced, especially in the upper gymnasium.<sup>15</sup> Often, however, the fact that a course was listed in official school reports as being taught in German did not reflect the reality of the classroom. Some teachers did not possess an adequate knowledge of German

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14. See *Czas*, 1852, No. 219, September 24, and No. 220, September 25, for an editorial invective against unrecognized schools. The editorial board stated that home education was bad for Galician society because people hid behind it instead of becoming involved in the everyday affairs of the province.

15. See Appendix C. It should be noted that the increased use of German proceeded at a very uneven rate, quite in keeping with the notion that theory did not always match reality. Some schools were more "Germanized" than others in a shorter period of time. St. Anne's in Cracow always had the lowest percentage of hours taught in German.

to teach in it, while others simply refused to use anything but Polish.<sup>16</sup>

In fact, it was on precisely the issue of the faculty that there existed the widest disparity between the theory of Vienna and Galician reality. Producing trained teachers to staff the schools was one of the principal goals of the ministry. The previous system had been inconsistent in applying regulations regarding teacher training, often accepting individuals whose only qualification was that they were literate or perhaps members of the clergy. The framers of the *Outline* intended to put an end to such abuses, stating that, "a general education . . . can only be imparted by teachers who possess the same."<sup>17</sup> Indeed, one month prior to the publication of the *Outline*, the ministry had promulgated a law that created an extensive testing program for teachers.<sup>18</sup> Prospective candidates had to present diplomas from both gymnasium and university, a *curriculum vitae*, and proof of occupation during the past year. To pass the test, the applicant had to display enough knowledge to be able to teach one subject in all eight classes and have a general understanding of all the subjects. Grading was done by a commission of specialists on the basis of a written work completed over the course of six to eight weeks, on written and oral examinations, and on a trial lecture. After passing these tests, an applicant was appointed for a one-year probationary period, during which he was closely observed by other teachers and by the director.

The faculty at a gymnasium was usually composed of three types of teachers: full, or regular, teachers who had passed the qualification system in one or more subjects and who were often referred to as "professor"; *supplents*, or teacher candidates, who were preparing to take their examinations; and instructors, who taught such subjects as drawing or penmanship. Instructors did not have to undergo any special testing procedures and were usually

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16. One example will suffice here. In Cracow, starting in 1854, the records show that mathematics was supposed to be taught in German. Most likely, however, it was not. The teacher for this entire period was one Ignacy Gralewski, a native Cracovian and member of the city's educated elite. A product of Cracow's school system himself, Gralewski was widely respected by his colleagues and loved by his students. His spoken German, however, was poor. Memoirs state that he would use German only when the director or the supervisor were in the classroom, switching to Polish when they left the premises. Gralewski was also approved for teaching physics, so it may be assumed that a good deal of instruction in that subject, too, was in Polish.

Sources for this: Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (AGAD, Warsaw) *Akt c.k. Ministerstwa Wyznań i Oświaty*, 202u Visitationsbericht 27-31 March 1955; Verwaltungsarchiv (VA Vienna) *Bestand-Unterricht* fasc. 2114 sig. 10 Galizien #25886-855 ad 18150. See also the memoirs of Stanisław Tarnowski and Kazimierz Chłędowski in *Galicyjskie wspomnienia szkolne* (Galician School Memoirs), ed. Antoni Knot (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1955).

17. *Entwurf*, paragraph 91.1.

18. Ministerial Erlass, 30 Aug. 49. *RGB I*.



appointed by the director. In an ideal situation, the gymnasium would have a majority of full teachers (six to eight), especially for the classical languages, a smaller number of *supplents* (four to six), and two or three instructors.<sup>19</sup> In theory, then, experienced teachers could thus guide the younger members of their profession and build the foundation for the next generation.

The religion teacher held a special position. Although he could be a regular member of the faculty who also taught another subject, this did not have to be the case. The *Outline* did not provide guidelines as to the conditions that a prospective religion teacher had to fulfill. That was left for future regulation. In general, this teacher was a clergyman of the religion or sect represented by the majority of students. Boys of minority religious groups, however, did have the right to be taught by representatives of their own religion.

All teachers, except for the religion instructor, were employees of the state. Full teachers were tenured. An empty post was filled from among the pool of teachers certified by the ministry. There were no further competitive tests in this process. The position was advertised in the local newspapers and the provincial school board selected an individual from among the applicants. Final approval came from the ministry.

It was precisely the lack of what the ministry regarded as an acceptable faculty that caused central officials to view Galicia as a particularly weak link in the chain of schools throughout the empire. As noted, the pedagogical ideal was to have twelve full professors at each eight-year gymnasium. Each school was allowed to have a few *supplents* instead of full professors, but it was expected that, within a short time, these assistants would themselves advance to the higher level. None of the schools in West Galicia even approached this ideal in this decade. Turnover was rapid; there was rarely a three or even two-year period when all the teachers remained the same. *Supplents* lasted on average no longer than two years at a particular school, then moved on. In the entire monarchy, Galicia had the lowest percentage of full professors and the highest percentage of *supplents*.<sup>20</sup> The ministry viewed this lack of stability as pedagogically deplorable.

The ministry also questioned the quality of the teachers. Contemporary German observers noted that most teachers were poorly trained, even if they possessed a diploma. Some of these observations were based more on personal bias than on any objective criteria. Two Prussian professors, Wilhelm Kergel, who taught at the university in Lwów (German: Lemberg;

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19. Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv (HHStA. Vienna). *Kabinettskanzlei* MCZ 275/1855, Vortrag Thuns, 22 Jan. 1955. These instructors were part-time employees called in German *Nebenlehrer*.

20. Gustav Schimmer, *Statistik der Lehranstalten des österreichischen Kaiserstaates*. (Statistics of Educational Institutions in the Austrian Empire) (Vienna: Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1858), p. 50, and Wozniak, "The Habsburg Middle School Reform..." Appendix D.

Ukrainian: Lvi'v) and served on the accreditation examination committee, and Karl Weinhold, professor at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, left correspondence attesting to their low opinion of Poles. Weinhold wrote that Poles simply lacked the intellect necessary for philosophical or historical study.<sup>21</sup> Kergel maintained that the Galician Poles were almost all uneducated boors and that the partitions of Poland provided the German people with a golden opportunity, indeed a duty, to germanize in the name of cultural uplifting.<sup>22</sup> Objectively, Andreas Wilhelm, the school inspector for West Galicia from 1855 on, and an excellent and dedicated pedagogue, often repeated that the situation of teachers in Cracow was exceptionally bad. The story of one *supplent* who allegedly kept himself awake at night by working in a kneeling position in order to prepare for a class he was not trained to teach particularly depressed him.<sup>23</sup> Wilhelm dedicated himself to aiding these struggling young men by trying to arrange for further training at the newly-instituted philosophical-historical seminars in Lwów and in Vienna. These seminars put *supplents* through a rigorous training program, often lasting over one year, which, if completed successfully, ended in accreditation as full professor.

Pitifully low salaries in West Galicia were another major concern. In the first half of the nineteenth century, pay for teachers had varied from province to province due to a lack of bureaucratic standardization. Salaries were, in any case, low. In 1850, for example, middle school teachers were being paid at a rate set in 1807! The ministry in Vienna realized that the entire reform rested on producing trained and dedicated teachers who could actually afford to be teachers, and so introduced a provisional pay scale on October 26, 1851. This scale divided gymnasias into three classes.<sup>24</sup> First class status was assigned to schools located in a university town. In West Galicia, therefore, only St.

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21. Alfred Schneider, "Briefe österreichischer Gelehrte aus den Jahren 1849-1862," *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* Bd. 113, pt. 2 (Vienna: Holder, 1936), p. 296.

22. Kergel wrote succinctly, "Die Verbreitung der Cultur ist identisch mit der Germanisierung." *Ibid.*, p. 290.

23. This story is told by Wilhelm in his memoirs. See Andreas Wilhelm, *Das österreichische Volks- und Mittelschulwesen in den Hauptmomenten seiner Entwicklung seit 1812* (The Austrian Elementary and Middle School System and the High Points of its Development Since 1812) (Prague: Tempsky, 1874). It is repeated by Wilhelm's biographer Richard Rotter, *Andreas Ritter von Wilhelm* (Vienna: Graeser, 1884), pp. 258-275.

24. AGAD Akta c.k. Ministerstwa Wyznań i Oświaty 202u Vortrag Thuns, 30 Sept. 51. Irena Homola makes an error in regard to this division into three classes, arguing that it was first introduced in the period of autonomy. See Homola, "Wysztalcenie i uposażenie nauczycieli krakowskich w okresie autonomii galicyjskiej," in *Studia Historyczne*, Vol. 22, 1979, No. 2, p. 208.

Anne's in Cracow attained this position. Salaries here were the highest, ranging from 600 to 700 gulden yearly for a *supplent*, 700 to 800 for a full professor, and 800 to 900 for the director. Second class schools were those that had full eight-year programs but were not located in a university town. Here too, only one school (Tarnów) qualified for this rank. Pay averaged one hundred gulden less for each position than in a first class gymnasium. Finally, third class schools were those that offered four or six-year programs, with pay ranging from 400 to 500 for the *supplents* and 600 to 700 for the director. This was the status of the schools in Bochnia, Rzeszów and Nowy Sącz. In addition to base pay, extended service was rewarded by a maximum of two decennial allowances of 100 gulden each.

Although this system provided a degree of regularity previously lacking, it was not enough to keep up with economic developments. The cost of living in Cracow, for example, was the highest anywhere in Galicia, and teachers could expect to spend 20 to 25 percent of their yearly income on rent alone.<sup>25</sup> Complicating matters further was the fact that the economy of the entire monarchy declined in the mid-1850s and teachers found that their purchasing power decreased. As early as January 1854, Minister Thun was pushing for an increase in pay in order to improve the teachers' "deplorable situation and the even more deplorable prospects for the future."<sup>26</sup> By 1855, the base pay had been raised one hundred gulden and positions in the bureaucratic rankings finalized.<sup>27</sup> Another pay increase came a few years later but it was not enough. In July 1858, Hermann Bonitz wrote to Thun complaining that the goal of training and placing qualified men as teachers had not been reached. He blamed this failure on low pay that negatively affected both the number of those who chose the profession and the achievement of those who were already teachers.<sup>28</sup>

The ministry actually worsened the teachers' economic position further with two well-intentioned but untimely regulations. In 1850, teachers were forbidden to give private lessons for pay and, in 1854, were forbidden to hold a second state job.<sup>29</sup> The laws were designed to raise the level of professionalism among the faculty by preventing them from overtaxing

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25. Juliusz Demel, *Stosunki gospodarcze i społeczne Krakowa 1853-1866* (Cracow: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa [Biblioteka Krakowska, No. 107], 1951), p. 346.

26. HHStA *Kabinettskanzlei* MCZ 71/1854. Vortrag Thuns, 2 Jan 54.

27. Karl Megner, *Beamte. Wirtschaft- und sozialgeschichtliche Aspekte des k.k. Beamtenums*. (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1985). Tabelle 2. Directors were raised to the eighth class, all others were in the ninth.

28. HHStA *Thun Nachlass* A 3XXI D463 Gutachten über Gymnasial Unterricht. July 1858.

29. Ministerial Erlass, 24 Jan 50 Z9569 and Erlass 18 Aug 54 Z12.791.

themselves. Unfortunately, the effect was to close down a traditional source of sorely needed extra income. All in all, by 1860 a regulated system was finally in place, but it did not bespeak the needs of either the individual teacher or of the ministry.

The ramifications of the low standard of living for teachers in general, and *supplents* in particular, were far-reaching. Few youths were attracted to the profession and many already employed were forced to leave. Furthermore, advancement to professorship, and to the accompanying higher salary, was difficult. Two examples illustrate the difficulty of supporting a family on a teacher's salary. Ignacy Kulisseki had been working as a teacher in four of the five West Galician gymnasias since 1817, but in 1858 he was still only a *supplent*. He had to support his mother and sister, which put such a strain on his financial capability that he did not marry. Wilhelm considered it a shame, but was not able to do anything to improve the unfortunate teacher's position. Józef Kraska was a bit luckier. He was a *supplent* in Bochnia and had six children. On his salary he found it impossible to sustain the whole family. Wilhelm was able to intervene on his behalf at the ministry, where Thun himself agreed to an extraordinary supplementary payment. It is therefore clear that, even in as poor and backward a province as Galicia, the salary of most teachers was barely sufficient.<sup>30</sup>

Most teachers could not expect to solve their financial woes through rapid promotion. The minister had set high standards for promotion to full professor. In order to pass the examinations, *supplents* had to prepare thoroughly and many often took an unsalaried leave of absence from teaching in order to study. Of course, only those who had some income could afford to do so. The majority were concerned primarily with earning enough to survive; a leave of absence was out of the question for them. As a result, *supplents* in Galicia were not promoted quickly and did not receive permanent positions in the schools. Instead, they constantly moved around, applying for the accreditation exams when and where they could, year after year. Significantly, once salaries increased in the 1860s, more and more Galician *supplents* became full professors and consequently settled down at a single school.<sup>31</sup>

The ministry did not attempt to address the problems of Galicia for several years. In 1854, it passed a decree allowing professors who had obtained accreditation in an earlier period and under a different system to maintain their status as full professors. The same decree eased some of the restrictions on who was eligible to take the accreditation exam.<sup>32</sup> This action provided at

30. Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (AGAD, Warsaw) *Akt c. k. Ministerstwa Wyznań i Oświaty* 235u Nowy Sącz Visitationsbericht, second semester 1857/58, and AGAD *Akt Ministerstwa...* 189u Bochnia.

31. AGAD *Akt Ministerstwa...* 175u. Pay scales dating up through 1873 were particularly useful here.

32. Ministerial Erlass 23 Feb. 1854.

least a temporary pool of instructors until a new crop of qualified personnel could be turned out by the philosophical-historical seminars. By 1856, however, the seminars had not yet made great contributions. Therefore, the ministry felt forced to "import" teachers from other provinces, and even from abroad.<sup>33</sup> From this stemmed a common misconception — that the schools, which were being germanized through the curriculum, were to be run by Germans as well.

Thus the picture of degeneration is complete. Galicia allegedly suffered from underpaid, overworked teachers who were, at best, of mediocre quality. Furthermore, the regime seemed intent on replacing the native faculty with foreigners.

This traditional description, however, is faulty in several ways. A close examination of the faculty in West Galicia, for example, reveals that not too many non-Galicians were employed. Galicia was considered a "hardship" post and many North German, Austrian and Czech teachers demurred when offered the opportunity to transfer. Out of the 158 individuals who taught in West Galician schools as full professors and *supplents* from 1849 to 1859, only twenty-five (16 percent) were Germans or Czechs. Furthermore, only nine of these were unable to speak Polish.<sup>34</sup>

Who then were these teachers? Lack of data presents a problem for ascertaining the geographical origin and social provenance of many of these men. Nonetheless, some information is available in the documents kept by the ministry for the qualification examinations (*Qualifikationstabellen*). Appendix A, for example, lists seventy-seven men who were born (or most probably born) in Galicia. Another eleven were Poles born in either Prussian or Russian Poland. Twenty-seven were born abroad. Of the remaining forty-three teachers about whom there is no evidence as to birthplace, twenty-six were ethnic Poles. Assuming that a number of these twenty-six were from

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33. Ministerial Erlass 3 July 1856. Also Rotter, *Andreas Ritter von Wilhelm*, pp. 258-275.

34. The "foreigners" were: Bentfeld, Biehl, Cholava, Hamersky, Handschuh, Hrdina, Hülsenbeck, Klimpfinger, Lexer, Nedok, Neumann, Nowotny, Pecho, Riedmüller, Sacher, Schell, Schmidt, Schneider, Sternat, Svoboda, Tonner, Vyslowil, Weyrauch, Wörgerbauer, and Zavadil. Those who knew no Polish were: Cholava, Hamersky, Hülsenbeck, Lexer, Neumann, Pecho (though he married a Pole and, of course, soon learned the language), Sacher, Sternat, and Wörgerbauer.

The problem of determining the nationality of teachers is always difficult. Names are not necessarily a clear indication. For example, Felix Berdau, Zenon Heller, and Andreas Mai were Poles, and Theodor Stahlberger, though of German descent, was born in East Galicia and considered himself "a son of the country."

This material was retrieved by continually cross-checking the lists of teachers provided in Wilhelm's visitation reports and in provincial handbooks with biographical materials in Cracow, Warsaw, and Vienna, as well as with biographical dictionaries.

Galicia, it is safe to say that the majority of all the teachers were born and bred in Galicia.

In regard to social origin, the existing evidence shows that they came from all sectors of society. Twenty-two men were Roman Catholic priests, two were clergy of the Uniate rite. In addition, there was one Protestant minister. Thirteen teachers were definitely of the nobility, as proven by their titles as recorded in the *Qualifikationstabellen*. Four men were of peasant stock and one was a bourgeois. The body of teachers contained elements of impoverished noblemen, clergymen, peasant sons, and at least one scion of the fledgling middle class, and thus represented an interesting cross-section of Galician society.<sup>35</sup>

While the notion that the faculties were dominated by “foreigners” may be discarded, it is nevertheless true that the new system caused tremendous chaos in the teaching bodies of each school. In addition to the instability created by the *supplent* problem, the ministry weeded out unwanted individuals and replaced them with new personnel. By the middle of the decade, most of the teachers in West Galician gymnasia were new. Only five professors teaching in Galicia prior to 1849 were still there at the end of the 1850s, and only one who was added in 1849 survived the entire decade. A completely fresh body of teachers had been created.<sup>36</sup>

The instability of the faculties, although undeniable, may be viewed from a

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35. The priests were: Bielikowicz, Chelmecki, Chowaniec, Czajkowski, Dobiecki, Dymnicki, Faferko, Fox, Gondek, Grzegorzczek, Janota, LaCroix, Lewartowski, Lubiński, Nowicki, Piątkowski, Sękowski, Staroniewicz, Steczkowski, Then, Wolek, Zapalowicz. Barewicz and Zegadłowicz were Uniates. Otremba was the minister.

Nobles included: Czajkowski, Galecki, Hołyński, Kruczkowski, Lewartowski, Lubiński, Morowski, Nartowski, Sielecki, Studziński, Trzaskowski, Tuszyński and Widmann. In turn, three of these men were priests: Czajkowski, Lewartowski and Lubiński.

The peasants were: Mai, Nizioł, Otremba and Rypel. The bourgeois was Panek.

Sources for this information are: *Akta Ministerstwa ... Visitationsberichte und Qualifikationstabellen*; *Akta Gimnazjum i Liceum im. Świętego Jacka* (APKr. Kraków); *Gimnazjum i Liceum im. Bartłomieja Nowodworskiego* (APKr. Kraków).

36. While participation in any of the past Polish uprisings or disturbances was sometimes enough to cause dismissal, more often than not individuals were given a second chance by the authorities, at least for a time. “Compromised” teachers often remained at their posts, in spite of previous revolutionary activity, but were kept under strict police surveillance. These included one of the most beloved figures in West Galicia, Fr. Felix Dymnicki, who collected funds from all over Poland to build a dormitory for the poor students in Rzeszów. The building was constructed in 1875, the year before his retirement, and was named after him. Dymnicki had been accused of making anti-government statements and, as a result, was forbidden to pursue higher studies. There is evidence that the bishop’s consis-

different angle. The extreme mobility of the teachers may have had positive aspects. During the 1850s, for example, at least seventy men taught in more than one Galician gymnasium. Many teachers worked at several schools, moving, for example, from Cracow to Tarnów to Lwów and to schools in East Galicia. In fact, Cracow — a city that was openly anti-Austrian — was the hub of this movement. Sixty-five (41 percent) of all teachers taught at one time or another at St. Anne's.<sup>37</sup> Although the faculty at any one school was not stable, a corps of individuals, mostly Polish and intimately familiar with the province, was maintained. These men formed a cohesive group, familiar with each other and with the system. Rotating around the province, they came to play a unifying role, both on a personal and an institutional level.<sup>38</sup>

The idea that the faculty was, qualitatively speaking, a poor one also merits re-evaluation. The problem of *supplements* remained acute, but was not in itself a sign of total decay. In his capacity as inspector, Wilhelm saw fit to praise forty-six of the teachers very highly for pedagogy, while condemning only one outright. His judgments on the quality of the faculty in his visitation reports also became progressively better as the decade wore on. Among those praised by the inspector were many outstanding pedagogues spread throughout the province: Kalixt Kruczkowski in Nowy Sącz; Fathers Felix Dymnicki and Antoni Bielikowicz in Rzeszów; Ludwik Klemensiewicz, Bronisław Trzaskowski, and Zygmunt Sawczyński in Tarnów and later Cracow; Ignacy Gralewski, Eugeniusz Janota, the Mecherzyński brothers, and others in St. Anne's. Furthermore, twenty-two teachers were selected to take part in the seminar in Vienna, an honor reserved only for the best candidates. Seven more teachers at St. Anne's were simultaneously professors at the Jagiellonian

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tory in Przemyśl intervened on his behalf and secured a position for him as a full professor.

Some of the others who could not save their jobs defied the authorities by taking positions at private girls' schools. These included: Michał Giersza, who was cleared of treason but fired nonetheless; Fr. Ludwig Lewartowski, a "sly enemy of the government"; and Emmanuel Tonner, a Czech who was a member of the Czech-Moravian Brotherhood in 1848-49.

Sources for this information: VA, *Bestand Oberste Polizei Behörde* 48/1854.

37. Maria Estreicherówna, *Życie towarzyskie i obyczajowe Krakowa w latach 1848-63* (Social Life and the Customs of Cracow in the years 1848-63) (Cracow: Biblioteka Krakowska, 1936); Juliusz Demel, *Stosunki gospodarcze...* 2 p. 359; and Wozniak, "The Habsburg Middle School Reform...", pp. 222.

38. Contacts between schools were frequent. Faculty were often switched from one school to another for just a semester in order to fill in for a colleague. Wozniak, "The Habsburg Middle School Reform...", pp. 218-235.

University.<sup>39</sup> Viewed in this way, the faculty in West Galicia appears in a better light. While as a group the faculty may not have been a model as far as the ministry was concerned, neither was it pathetic.

One must also consider the participation of teachers in activities other than teaching — for example, scholarship, participation in societies, and interactions with the community — in order properly to assess their contributions as members of the intelligentsia. In this respect too, the faculty of West Galicia must be judged positively.

The most obvious and important impact the teachers had was on the boys they taught, since many of those educated in these schools went on to hold important leadership positions in society. Memoirs from this period — often backed up with observations made by inspector Wilhelm — describe a body of men who were at the very least competent in what they did.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, the teachers taught more than the classics and civic responsibility. Many were noted for their ability to nurture a Polish national consciousness in a time most noted for squelching such notions.<sup>41</sup>

Within the system there were two avenues for teachers to pursue scholarly inclinations, namely, the annual school reports and the monthly *Journal for the Austrian Gymnasia*.<sup>42</sup> Space in the latter was limited and was most often filled with articles by members of the ministry and university professors. As a result, most teachers published in the reports, which were then sent to the ministry in Vienna. From 1850 to 1860, the editors reviewed eighteen of these reports from West Galicia. Only one was singled out for exceptional praise, while several were criticized thoroughly.<sup>43</sup> Most were declared mediocre

39. Wozniak, "The Habsburg Middle School Reform...", p. 223.

40. In addition to Wilhelm's work, the most important memoirs are: Kazimierz Chłędowski, *Pamiętniki* (Memoirs) (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1951) 2 volumes; *Galicyjskie wspomnienia szkolne*, ed. Antoni Knot (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1955), *Pamiętniki urzędników galicyjskich* (Memoirs of Galician Bureaucrats), eds. I. Homola and B. Łopuszański (Cracow: WL, 1978), and Stanisław Tarnowski, *Szujskiego młodość* (Szujski's Youth) (Cracow: 1892).

41. While Wincenz Keidosch was busy listening to see if students sang forbidden, patriotic songs and searched students' rooms for forbidden books, Bronisław Trzaskowski always made it a point to teach his students the poetry of Mickiewicz! See Tarnowski, *Szujskiego młodość*, and Knot, *Pamiętniki*. Kulisseki was also noted for keeping Polish consciousness alive at Tarnów.

42. *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien*. This journal, along with many annual reports from schools all over the monarchy, is available in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

43. The work praised was written by the professor of religion and German at St. Anne's, Eugeniusz Janota. He was a Pole from Silesia who was perfectly bilingual. Ironically, Karl Weinhold was the editor who acclaimed Janota's work,



and were considered a reflection on the scholarly capabilities of the West Galician faculty. More likely, the poor quality of the work was due to working conditions in the province. The constant movement of the teachers, combined with the deplorable lack of research material in the school libraries, plus the simple fact that most *supplents* were already overburdened with teaching duties, did not make for an atmosphere conducive to scholarly study.<sup>44</sup> By the end of the decade, however, two Galician teachers, Stephan Cholava, a German from Salzburg who began his teaching career at St. Anne's, and Bronisław Trzaskowski, a promising Polish pedagogue, even managed to get articles accepted for publication in the *Journal*.<sup>45</sup> Both men were only at the start of distinguished scholarly careers. In the following years, they were joined by many more who first received their training in the 1850s, but who were simply not able to publish during that period. As time went on, and as faculty members became more secure in their positions, their work improved in both quantity and quality.

Teachers were able to benefit the general public in ways other than scholarship, however. Some gave public lectures and participated in various societies outside of school. The most famous example is perhaps that of François Aubertin, a Frenchman and long-time teacher at St. Anne's who, after losing a battle to make French a compulsory subject in the new curriculum, took to giving free lectures on French literature and history in the foyer of the Hotel Saski.<sup>46</sup> Some teachers donated books from their private collections to the school libraries (the ministry provided no funding at all for this purpose).<sup>47</sup> A number of senior teachers translated textbooks into Polish for use in their school. Others went on to serve in other bureaucratic positions within the educational system (school inspectors and examination committee members), as well as in religious posts (local pastors and chaplains).

which was on German philology, but managed to express his prejudices by wondering how it was that such a worthwhile and scholarly work on German linguistics could have been produced in Cracow! *Zeitschrift...*, Jhg. 7, 1856, p. 283.

44. AGAD Akt Ministerstwa... 179u.

45. Cholava published on classical philology in the October and November issues, 1858, again in November 1859, and finally in October and November 1860. Trzaskowski wrote on Polish linguistics in November 1860; he also published a book review in the *Zeitschrift* in 1854.

46. Demel, *Stosunki gospodarcze...* 2, pp. 531, 681.

47. Those who donated books to their respective school libraries were Łoziński, Sawczyński, Sobieski, Stahlberger, and Then. Sawczyński and Trzaskowski conducted a public appeal for books in the newspapers, taking the opportunity to lambaste the government for not having a centralized fund for this purpose; see *Czas*, No. 70, March 25, 1850.

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In summation, a re-evaluation of instructors in Galician gymnasias in the Bach Era is in order. This decade may be viewed as a seminal period for education rather than a dark era. Close examination of the faculties in each school presents a different picture from that shown by the central statistics. Bochnia, Nowy Sącz, and Rzeszów, despite problems with *supplents*, all had decent faculties, often with men of exceptional quality. Tarnów and Cracow more nearly approached the ministry's goal of qualified full professors, although they too had difficulty with the promotion of *supplents*.<sup>48</sup> Thus, a balanced judgment must be rendered. A few full professors who attained a high degree of pedagogical quality in whom the ministry could take pride, and who served society well. Simultaneously, the situation of the *supplents* improved only slowly and remained the bane of the system for a number of years to come. Finally, it should be noted that foreigners did not dominate the faculties; indeed, Poles maintained a remarkable degree of control. The attempt at germanization visible in the curriculum was balanced by the fact that the faculty was mostly native.

Most important, though, is the fact that by providing training for a sizable number of teachers, this ten-year period laid the foundation of a solidly professional body of faculty for the future. Some of the greatest pedagogues of the rest of the century were trained during this decade. While the faculties during the Bach Era cannot be described as stable, neither were they inadequate.

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48. See Appendix B.

## APPENDIX A

Alphabetical Listing of All Faculty Members Serving in West Galician  
Schools from 1850-1859

(B = Bochnia, CK = Congress Kingdom, R = Rzeszów, NS = Nowy Sącz, SA  
= St. Anne, SJ = St. John, T = Tarnów)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Schools</u>	<u>Birthplace</u>
Aubertin, François	SA	France
Baranowski, Martin	R	Galicia
Barewicz, Jacob, Fr.	NS, B	Galicia?
Bayli, Theophil	T	?
Bentfeld, Karl August	T	?
Berdau, Felix	SA	Cracow
Biehl, Wilhelm	SA	Nassau
Bieleccky, Josef	R	Galicia?
Bielikowicz, Anton, Fr.	R, SJ	Galicia
Bobrzyński, Vincenz	SA	?
Brzeziński, Karl	SA, T	Galicia
Buczowski, Leopold	B	?
Bugielski, Maxim	T, SA	?
Buliński, Johann	T	?
Chelmecki, Johann, Fr.	SA	Galicia?
Cholava, Stephan	SA	Salzburg?
Chowaniec, Josef, Fr.	T	?
Czajkowski, Josef, Ritter, Fr.*	B	Galicia
Czerkawski, Eusebius	T	Galicia
Daszkiewicz, Johann Nepomuk	NS, R	Galicia?
Dobiecki, Johann, Fr.	R	?
Drzymalik, Sylvester	R	Galicia
Dutkiewicz, Johann	NS, B	Galicia
Dymnicki, Felix, Fr.	R	Galicia
Eder, Leopold	NS	?
Faferko, Johann, Fr.	T	?
Fox, Franz, Fr.	NS	?
Fuk, Franz	R, SA, T	Galicia
Gałecki, Anton Ritter von*	T	Galicia?
Gielecki, Albert	NS, R	?
Giersza, Michael	SA	Galicia
Głowacki, Thaddeus	B, SA	?
Gondek, Felix, Fr.	B	?
Gralewski, Ignaz	SA	Cracow

Grzegorzczek, Adalbert, Fr.	T	?
Hamersky, Eduard	NS	Moravia
Handschuh, Laurenz	B, T	?
Heller, Zenon	SA	Galicia
Hołyński, Johann von*	B, T	Galicia
Hrdina, Franz	R	Bohemia
Huczyński, Michael	NS	Galicia
Hülßenbeck, Josef	SA	Swabia
Jabłoński, Vincenz	SA	Galicia
Jandaurek Julius	T	?
Janota, Eugen Anton, Fr.	SA	Silesia
Jaworski, Ignaz	T	?
Jüttner, Valentin	NS	?
Kamieński, Anton	SA	Galicia
Karpiński, Andreas	B, T	Galicia
Keidosch, Vincenz	B, T	Galicia?
Klemensiewicz, Ludwik	T, SA	Galicia
Klemsch, Johann	NS	Galicia
Kleşk, Karl	SA, SJ	Galicia
Klimitschek, Jan	T	?
Klimpfinger, August	T	Austria?
Kluczycki, Franz K.	T	Galicia?
Knapczyński, Valentin	SA	CK
Kośmiński, Alexander	T	Galicia
Kowalikowski, Jan	B, SA	?
Kowalski, Ignaz	SA	Galicia
Kraska, Josef	B	?
Krawczyński, Felix	T	?
Krolikowski, Leonard	R	Galicia?
Kruczkowski, Kalixt von*	NS	Galicia
Kuczyński, Stefan	SA	Galicia
Kuławski, Valentin	SA	CK
Kulisseki, Ignaz	T, R, B, NS	Galicia?
LaCroix, Franz, Fr.	T	Galicia
Lauszka, Moritz	SA	?
Ławrowski, Jan	SA	Galicia?
Leszko, Adalbert	SA	?
Lewartowski, Ludwik von, Fr.*	NS, B?	Galicia
Lexer, Matthias	SA	Carinthia
Łoziński, Ceslaus	R, T, SA	Galicia
Lubiński, Victor, Ritter von, Fr*.	T	?
Mai, Andreas**	NS, B, R, SA	Galicia
Małecki, Anton Josef	SA	Poznań

Malinowski, Marzell	B, SA, R	Galicia?
Markowicz, Michael	SA	?
Mecherzynski, Hieronim	SA	Cracow
Mecherzynski, Karl	SA, SJ	Cracow
Milski, Stefan	R, NS	?
Morowski, Andreas von*	T	CK
Mułkowski, Adolf Anton	SA	CK
Mur, Johann	T	?
Nartowski, Nikodem, Ritter von*	T, NS	Galicia?
Nedok, Josef	R, SA, SJ	Steiermark
Neumann, ?	R	?
Nizioł, Andreas**	SA, R	Galicia
Noire, Johann	R	?
Nowak, Valentin	R	?
Nowicki, August, Fr.	B	?
Nowotny, Franz Xaver	B, T, NS	Bohemia
Olszewski, Stanislas	R	Galicia
Orzechowski, Leonard	SA, R	?
Oskard, Andreas	T, SA, R	Galicia
Otremba, August, Rev.**	SA	Silesia
Pandura, Franz	T	Silesia
Panek, Andreas***	NS, R	Galicia?
Paszkowski, Peter	SA	Galicia?
Pecho, Karl	R	Bohemia
Petri, Ludwik	T	Galicia?
Piatkowski, Franz, Fr.	SA	CK
Piatkowski, Jan	T	Galicia?
Pogonowski, Stanislas	SA	CK
Pohorecki, Felix	R	?
Radziszewski, Jan Nepomuk	SA	Silesia
Riedmüller, Josef	SA	?
Rodecki, Ceslaus	B, T	Galicia
Romanowski, Jan	B	Poznan?
Rypel, Adalbert**	SA, B, R	Galicia?
Ryszkowski, Stanislas	SA, NS, B	Galicia
Sacher, Wenzel	T	Bohemia
Sarnecki, Josef	B, SA	Galicia
Sawczyński, Zygmunt	T, SA	Galicia
Schell, Nikolaus	SA	Austria
Schmidt, Wilhelm	B	Moravia
Schneider, Anton	T, SA	Moravia
Sękowski, Maximilian, Fr.	SA	Galicia?
Sielecki, Leonard von*	T?, NS, SA	Galicia

Skorut, Jan	SA, T ,SJ	Galicia
Sobieski, Stanislas	T, NS	Galicia?
Sołtykiewicz, Anton	R	Galicia
Stahlberger, Theodor	NS, B, SA	Galicia
Staroniewicz, Jan, Fr.	SA	Galicia?
Stawarski, Ignaz	B, T, NS	Galicia
Steczowski, Jan, Fr.	R	?
Sternat, Johann	NS	Carinthia
Studzinski, Marzell, Ritter von*	B, T ,SA, SJ	Galicia
Svoboda, Victor	SA	Bohemia
Świerczewski, Jan	SA	?
Świerz, Leopold	SA	?
Szayna, Edward	NS, T	?
Then, Josef, Fr.	NS, T	?
Tonner, Emmanuel	R	Bohemia
Trojanowski, Kajetan	SA	Galicia
Trzaskowski, Bronislas, Ritter von*	T, SA	Galicia
Tuszyński, Ferdinand, Ritter von*	T, R	?
Tymiński, Cyprian	NS	?
Tymiński, Sophron	R, SA	Galicia
Tyrchowski, Michael	SA	Galicia?
Uniszewski, Marzell	T, SA	?
Vyslouvil, Wilhelm	T	Bohemia?
Weyrauch, Robert	T	Prussia
Widmann, Ernst von*	R	?
Wincenz, Franz	R	?
Wiśniowski, Ladislas	SA	?
Wodak, Constantin	R	Bohemia
Wolek, Zygmunt, Fr.	SA	?
Wörgerbauer, Josef	T	Austria
Zapałowicz, Ignaz, Fr.	R	Galicia?
Zavadil, Wenzel	NS	Bohemia
Zawadzinski, Ludwik	SA	Galicia
Zegadłowicz, Titus, Fr.	B, R	Galicia
Zegestowski, Josef	B	?
Zgórek, Ludwik	SA	?
Zurowski, Julian	NS, T	?
Zwoliński, Jan	R	Galicia

\* = noble, \*\* = peasant, \*\*\* = bourgeois

N.B.: The spelling of Christian names here follows the German, as they appear in the documents of the Ministry of Education, rather than the Polish.

## APPENDIX B

Staff Differentiation (Full, *Supplent*, Assistant) by School\*

	<u>Cracow</u>	<u>Bochnia</u>	<u>Nowy Sacz</u>	<u>Rzeszów</u>	<u>Tarnów</u>	<u>Totals</u>
	<u>F/S/A</u>	<u>F/S/A</u>	<u>F/S/A</u>	<u>F/S/A</u>	<u>F/S/A</u>	<u>F/S/A</u>
1849		3/4/1	3/4/-	4/3/-	4/7/-	
1850	6/6/4	1/6/2	-/7/-	3/4/-	3/8/-	13/31/6
1851	7/8/4	1/8/2	-/9/2	3/6/-	5/8/-	20/39/8
1852	7/9/4	1/4/2	1/8/2	2/7/1	4/9/3	11/36/12
1853	6/7/6	1/4/2	2/7/1	2/7/2	5/8/3	14/34/15
1854	6/8/5	-/6/2	1/9/2	1/7/3	5/8/3	14/36/16
1855	6/9/5	-/4/2	2/8/2	1/8/1	5/7/2	13/32/14
1856	5/14/7	-/6/1	3/8/3	3/6/2	4/11/1	13/36/16
1857	8/8/6	-/5/1	2/7/2	4/4/3	4/9/2	18/28/14
1858	8/12/5	2/3/-	3/4/2	5/4/5	6/6/2	24/25/17
1859	6/10/6	2/3/-	3/4/2	5/5/3	6/6/2	22/28/13
<u>Totals</u>	65/91/52	11/53/15	20/75/18	33/61/20	51/87/18	162/325/131
<u>Avg</u>	7/9/5	1/5/1	2/7/2	3/6/2	5/8/2	16/33/13

\* Figures do not include the directors.

## APPENDIX C

Language of InstructionNowy Sacz:1854/55:

Polish: Religion I-VI

Latin I-VI

Greek III-VI

History I-II

Mathematics I-IV

Natural History I-III

Physics III-IV

German:

History III-VI

Mathematics V-VI

Natural History V-VI

Polish 125 hours (74.4%)

German 43 hours (25.5%)

1855/56:

Polish: Religion I-VI

Latin I-IV

Greek III

History I-II

Mathematics I-IV

Natural History I-III

Physics III-IV

German:

Latin V-VI

Greek IV-VI

History III-VI

Mathematics V-VI

Natural History V-VI

Polish 94 hours (58.7%)

German 66 hours (41.2%)

1856/57; 1857/58:

Polish: Religion I-VI

Latin I-II

History I-II

Mathematics I-IV

Physics III-IV

German:

Latin III-VI

Greek III-VI

History III-VI

Mathematics V-VI

Polish 68 hours (43.5%)

German 88 hours (56.4%)



St. Anne's1854/55:

Polish: Religion I-VIII

Latin I-VI

Greek III-VII

History I-II

Mathematics I-IV

Natural History I-III

Physics III-IV

German:

Latin VII-VIII

Greek VIII

History III-VIII

Mathematics V-VII

Natural History V-VI

Physics VII-VIII

Philosophy VIII

Polish 128 hours (57.3%)

German 95 hours (42.6%)

1855/56:

Polish: Religion I-VIII

Latin I-IV

Greek III-VII

History I-II

Mathematics I-IV

Natural History I-III

Physics III-IV

German:

Latin V-VIII

Greek VIII

History III-VIII

Mathematics V-VIII

Natural History V-VI

Physics VII-VIII

Philosophy VIII

Polish 116 hours (52%)

German 107 hours (47.9%)

1856/57:

Polish: Religion I-VIII

Latin I-IV

Greek III-IV

History I-II

Mathematics I-IV

Natural History I-III

Physics III-IV

German:

Latin V-VIII

Greek V-VIII

History III-VIII

Mathematics V-VIII

Natural History V-VI

Physics VII-VIII

Philosophy VII

Psychology VIII

Polish 99 hours (46.7%)

German 113 hours (53.3%)

1857/58; 1858/59; 1859/60:**Polish: Religion I-VIII**

Latin I-IV

Greek III-IV

History I-II

Mathematics I-IV

Natural History I-III

Physics III-IV

**German:**

Latin V-VIII

Greek V-VIII

History III-VIII

Mathematics V-VIII

Natural History V-VI

Physics VII-VIII

Philosophy VII

Psychology VIII

**Polish 98 hours (46.7%)****German 112 hours (53.3%)**Tarnów:1852/53:**Polish: Religion I-VII**

Latin I-VI

Greek III-VII

History I-II

Mathematics I-VI

Natural History I-V

Physics III-IV

**German: Religion VIII**

Latin VII-VIII

Greek VIII

History III-VIII

Mathematics VII

Physics VI-VIII

Philosophy VIII

**Polish 132.5 hours (59.6%)****German 89.5 hours (40.3%)**1853/54; 1854/55:**Polish: Religion I-IV**

Latin I-VI

Greek III-VII

History I-II

Mathematics I-IV

Natural History I-III

Physics III-IV

**German: Religion V-VIII**

Latin VII-VIII

Greek VIII

History III-VIII

Mathematics V-VII

Natural History V-VI

Physics VII-VIII

Philosophy VIII

**Polish 114.5 hours (51.5%)****German 107.5 hours (48.4%)**

1856/57:**Polish: Religion I-IV****Latin I-IV****History I****Mathematics I****Natural History I****German: Religion V-VIII****Latin V-VIII****Greek III-VIII****History II-VIII****Mathematics II-VIII****Natural History II-VI****Physics III-IV; VII-VIII****Philosophy VII****Psychology VIII****Polish 62 hours (29.8%)****German 146 hours (70.1%)**