

Adam Massalski

Faculty of Social Studies, Janusz Korczak Pedagogical University, Warsaw
ORCID 0000-0002-2410-3632

Ewa Kula

Faculty of Education and Psychology, Jan Kochanowski University, Kielce
ORCID 0000-0002-9529-2143

Education system in the Commonwealth's far south-eastern Kresy borderlands in the days of the Commission of National Education (1773—1795)

Summary: The article presents the transformation of the education system in the days of the Commission of National Education (KEN) in the area of the Commonwealth's south-eastern borderlands, i.e. the then provinces of Bratslav, Kyiv, Podolia and Volhynia, in the geographical, political and administrative context. Owing to their diversity in social, ethnic and religious terms and their distant location, these regions were particularly neglected in the Polish scholarly literature dealing with education. In 14 secondary schools operating within the Ukrainian and Volhynian Departments, students were being taught by former Jesuits and Basilians in the first period and secular teachers, graduates from the Crown's Main School, later on.

Keywords: Commission of National Education, Volhynian Department, Ukrainian Department, secondary schools, Basilian schools

The creation and functioning of the Commission of National Education (KEN) continues to be the centre of attention of many scholars of the history of education in Poland, as it represents an extraordinary example of an attempt to save Poland from collapse in the second half of the 18th century¹. The re-

¹ *Listy z prowincji. Korespondencja wizytatorów generalnych, rektorów i nauczycieli ze Szkołą Główną Koronną 1779—1794*, ed. K. Mrozowska, Warsaw, 1998; *Ustawy Komisji Edukacji Narodowej dla Stanu Akademickiego i na szkoły w krajach Rzeczypospolitej przepisane*, ed. K. Bartnicka, Warsaw, 2015; J., Kamińska, E. Kula, "Źródła do dziejów Komisji Edukacji Narodowej

forms introduced by the Commission had a significant impact in the Commonwealth's eastern regions where the poorly developed school network could hardly bear the task of educating young people who were diverse in terms of social and national origin and religion. Concerned about homogenous education for young citizens in Poland and in the eastern borderlands, Hugo Kollątaj wrote: "A fund for the flaming light of education must be created for Ruthenian dioceses once and forever so that it disperses all the darkness. [...] Education will alleviate the savagery of those regions, education will bring some rites to other rites and some people to other people."²

The education system in the said area covered the area of the Commonwealth's south-eastern borderlands, i.e. the then provinces of Bratslav, Kyiv, Podolia and Volhynia. Owing to their diversity in social, ethnic and religious terms and their distant location in the eastern borderlands, these regions were particularly neglected in the Polish scholarly literature dealing with education. Following the suppression of the Jesuit Order, these regions constituted the Ruthenian Department under the authority of Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski, and next, in 1778, the Volhynian Department derived from it. According to the Commission of National Education's Draft Acts of 1781, these regions actually constituted two departments, the Ukrainian and Volhynian Departments. There were 15 secondary schools operating in this area, including one from the Piarist Department which was not subject to the authority of the Volhynian Department. Such a state of affairs persisted until 1792 when, after the outbreak of the Polish—Russian War and the Third Partition of Poland the following year, the lands of the Ukrainian Department came under the sway of Empress Catherine II, keeping only in limited contact with the education authorities in Warsaw and Kraków³. On its part, the Volhynian Department remained under the Polish rule until 1794 and was consequently under the KEN's authority⁴.

As administrative units, both departments covered four provinces: the Bratslav and Kyiv Provinces in the Ukrainian Department and the Podolia and

w zasobach Rosyjskiego Państwowego Archiwum Akt Dawnych w Moskwie", *Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty* 53, 2016, 135—147; *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej — zarys działalności. Wybór materiałów źródłowych*, ed. R. Dutkova, Wrocław—Warsaw—Kraków, 1973; A. Jobert, *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej w Polsce (1773—1794). Jej dzieło wychowania obywatelskiego*, transl. M. Chamcówna, pref. H. Barycz, Wrocław—Warsaw—Kraków, 1979; C. Majorek, *Książki szkolne Komisji Edukacji Narodowej*, Warsaw, 1975; T. Mizia, *Szkoły średnie Komisji Edukacji Narodowej na terenie Korony*, Warsaw, 1975; J. Popłatek, *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej. Udział byłych jezuitów w pracach Komisji Edukacji Narodowej*, ed. J. Paszenda, Kraków, 1974; I. Szybiak, *Szkolnictwo Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim*, Wrocław—Warsaw—Kraków, 1973.

² I. Chrzanowski, *Komisja Edukacyjna i jej posiew*, Warsaw, 1924, 34.

³ W.A. Serczyk, *Historia Ukrainy*, Wrocław—Warsaw—Kraków, 2001, 161.

⁴ A. Jobert, *Komisja...*, 63.

Volhynia Provinces in the Volhynian Department. In the geographic sense, the northern verges of this territory covered lands that were hardly fertile, swamps, a big number of lakes and rivers, dense forests, whereas the south-eastern part was extremely fertile, covered partly by steppe (grasslands) vegetation, with many rivers such as the Horyn, the Styr, the Tetrew, the Boh and others, which are tributaries of the Dnieper in the east and of the Dniester in the south. In terms of the national diversity, the Ukrainian (Ruthenian) population prevailed in villages, the Polish, Jewish and Ruthenian populations prevailed in towns, whereas the owners of landed properties were either Polish or they were polonised Ruthenians⁵.

The landed property was dominated by gigantic latifundiums owned by such gallant magnate families as the Potockis, Lubomirskis, Poniatowskis, Czartoryskis, Sanguszkos and others. These areas had a poor transportation network because multiple wars had caused towns to be deserted and many villages to be wiped out, and consequently, many routes had been changed or neglected. A particular problem involved many roads being impassable in the spring and autumn when the level of water rose in many waterways and marshes⁶.

In religious terms, the transformation driven by the political developments at the end of the 17th and in the early 18th century caused the influence of the Orthodox Christian Church to decrease, with the rise in importance of the Ruthenian Uniate Church and the Roman Catholic Church. Most towns were home to men's Catholic monasteries of the Dominicans, Trinitarians, Bernardines, Franciscans, Carmelites and others, as well as the less numerous female orders. The only Ruthenian Uniate order was the Ruthenian Congregation of Saint Basil (*Ordo Sancti Basilii Magni Ruthenorum*) with some 150 monks⁷.

The Jewish population, concentrated usually in larger and smaller towns, possessed houses of prayer and synagogues⁸.

The Commonwealth's south-eastern lands were exposed to continual wars and peasant revolts. They caused periodic depopulation, disappearance of many larger and smaller towns and villages at the end of the 17th century, and consequently, enormous uninhabited areas covered with lush vegetation. Peasants from central Poland were coming to settle down in these lands, which were under threat of raids by haidamaka bands from Russian left-bank Ukraine. During

⁵ Z. Guldon, *Żydzi i Szkoci w Polsce w XVI—XVIII wieku*, Kielce, 1990, 134—135; N. Jakowenko, *Historia Ukrainy do 1795 roku*, transl. A. Babiak-Owad, K. Kotyńska, Warsaw, 2011, 476—477.

⁶ W. Ormicki, "Z geografii gospodarczej Wołynia", *Rocznik Wołyński* 1, 1930, 107—111; J. Smoleński, "Z geografii fizycznej Wołynia", *Rocznik Wołyński* 1, 1930, 5.

⁷ B. Lorens, *Bazylianie prowincji koronnej w latach 1743—1780*, Rzeszów, 2014, *passim*.

⁸ Z. Guldon, *Żydzi...*, 134—135.

one of them, in 1750, only in the Bratslav Province, 27 towns and 111 villages were destroyed. The founding of the Bar Confederation in February 1768 had a huge significance. War action in the initial phase of the Confederation concentrated in Ukraine. Hearing the ideas advocated by the confederates, the local peasant population skilfully provoked by the haidamaka from Transnistria and the Orthodox clergy mounted an uprising, called Koliyivshchyna. Eventually, Russia, worried by the spreading rebellion, dispatched its forces to contain the situation. From this moment on, Russian forces would continually remain in the south-eastern Kresy. As a result of Empress Catherine II's decision of May 1789, Russia withdrew its forces from the territory of the Commonwealth⁹.

These same territories became the place for military warfare in 1792 again, after the outbreak of the Polish—Russian war. Four Russian corps stepped into Ukraine in May that year. Given the immense advantage of the Russian troops and the scarcity of the Polish troops under the command of Prince Józef Poniatowski, the campaign turned into a continual retreat of the Commonwealth army. As a result, the front moved to the lands west of the Bug River.

After the end of the military campaign and as a result of the Second Partition in the autumn 1793, the south-eastern lands of the Commonwealth came under the Russian sway. They were the following regions: the Kyiv and Bratslav Provinces and a part of the Podolia Province (Kamianets and Letychiv Counties), and Volhynia, i.e. the lands of the KEN's entire Ukrainian Department and a part of the Volhynian Department¹⁰.

The period between the Second and Third Partitions was a very short one. The lands of the Volhynia Province created after the Second Partition were incorporated into Russia in 1795. This was synonymous with the ultimate collapse of the First Commonwealth¹¹.

The Draft Acts, drawn up in 1781 and passed by the Sejm two years later, provided for the creation of a new administrative division and new school departments. Under the Acts of 1783, the Crown was divided into six departments, including two in the south-eastern Kresy: Volhynian with its seat in Kremenets and the Ukrainian Department with its seat in Vinnytsia¹².

The existing province schools had now been converted into department schools with seven years of study and six teachers employed. The other schools were converted into larger sub-department schools, also with six teachers employed, but under the authority of the department rector. The lesser sub-de-

⁹ W. Serczyk, *Historia...*, 160—161.

¹⁰ R.H. Lord, *Drugi rozbiór Polski*, transl. A. Jaraczewski, pref. J. Łojek, Warsaw, 1984, 217—224.

¹¹ L. Bazyłow, *Historia Rosji*, Wrocław—Warsaw—Kraków, 1975, 238.

¹² *Ustawodawstwo szkolne za czasów Komisji Edukacji Narodowej. Rozporządzenia, ustawy pedagogiczne i organizacyjne (1773—1793)*, ed. J. Lewicki, Kraków, 1925, LV.

partment schools usually had three teachers, and some four or five. Eventually, in 1783, the academic department schools with six teachers, two *metr* teachers and seven years of study included the Kremenets school in the Volhynian Department and the Vinnytsia school in the Ukrainian Department. Six-class academic sub-department schools were situated in Kamianets and Zhytomyr.

In this period, schools were divided into academic (post-Jesuit and academy colonies) and monastic schools. In the territory of Volhynia and Ukraine, monastic schools were run by the Basilians, who had initially only educated their own friars without expanding this activity to include other social groups. Basilian schools in the said area can be divided into two groups: those established prior to the founding of the Commission of National Education (Uman, Liubar, Sharhorod, Volodymyr) and those taken over after the suppression of the Jesuit Order (Ostroh — 1777, Kaniv — 1779, Bar — 1781, Ovruch — 1783). In the mid-18th century, lower classes at Basilian schools provided instruction in the Latin, Greek and Old Church Slavonic languages and dogmas of the Catholic faith. The Basilian governing body's successive meetings addressed the issue of education in the context of the necessity to formulate new order provisions. Nevertheless, until the late 18th century, the Basilians failed to devise their own integral education system for public schools¹³.

In the first years of the KEN's activity, Basilian schools usually included four classes: 1 — *infima*, 2 — *gramatyka i syntaksa* (grammar and syntax), 3 — *poetyka i retoryka* (poetics and rhetoric), 4 — philosophy. There were usually four teachers employed in such schools. At the time, in province schools in Class 5, the curriculum of which was realised in two years, education covered all subjects. In the syllabi, the role of Latin was being reduced for the sake of Polish; efforts were also made to expand the scope of mathematics and introduce the teaching of nature and physics, as well as history and geography. However, the teaching of Latin still had the priority.

The Commission endeavoured to strictly supervise teachers' work, especially in the first period when the majority of teachers employed at the academic schools were the Jesuits. In order to keep discipline at the schools, the visiting school inspectors provided in writing a series of guidelines concerning the school organisation, methods of conducting classes, students' private lodgings etc. This is why, from 1782, each school was obliged to keep a book of warnings and recommendations left by general school inspectors, in which they placed recommendations of various contents until the closing of the KEN.

Religious associations were active at some of the schools, mainly Marian sodalities, maintained by fees paid sometimes by the students and sometimes

¹³ B. Lorens, *Bazylianie...*, 311—313.

by the parents. The school inspector suggested reforming these associations in such a way that part of the fees could be allocated for poor and sick students.

In many places, ex-Jesuit teachers who had retired requested that they be granted a pension, which the school inspector took note of requesting detailed information about their financial condition. It is worthy of note that the Commission decided at its session on 30 August 1774 that pensions for the ex-Jesuits would be paid to those people who were present in the place [*in loco loci*] during the visitation¹⁴.

At Basilian schools, religious holidays were celebrated in both rites, Unitary and Latin. At times, this caused fights between students, as the Basilians favoured the students of the Unitary rite.

Some rectors of the Basilian schools (except the Volodymyr school) paid little attention to the issues of education and were indifferent towards the ongoing changes, and as may be guessed, they opposed the Commission's reforms. This was why the KEN-siding Basilians suggested that all monastic schools have academics as prefects.

In order to relieve the persons managing the funds in Lutsk of the necessity to administer great sums of money paid for renting the lands, the Commission set up a provincial fund in Kremenets. It remained under the authority of the Volhynian Department rector and the Kremenets schools prefect. A similar fund functioned in the Ukrainian Department with its seat in Vinnytsia.

In 1787, the Kremenets and Vinnytsia schools discharged the administrative functions of department schools. Owing to the number of classes and teachers, the Zhytomyr and Lutsk schools were schools of a higher rank and they were not supervised by prefects but prorectors¹⁵.

In general, from 1773 to 1794, the following secondary schools functioned in the area of the Ukrainian and Volhynian Departments:

a) in the Ukrainian Department, the province and later department school in Vinnytsia, the province and later sub-department school in Zhytomyr (both of these schools were academic schools) and four schools under the Basilian authority in Human, Kaniv (a county academic school until 1783, a Basilian school later on), Liubar and Ovruch (a county academic school until 1783, a Basilian school later on);

b) in the Volhynian Department, the Kremenets school had been a county school until 1782, then a sub-department school, and finally, a department school; the Lutsk academic school had initially been a province school, briefly

¹⁴ *Protokóły posiedzeń Komisji Edukacji Narodowej 1773—1777*, ed. T. Wierzbowski, Warsaw, 1910, 30.

¹⁵ H. Pohoska, *Wizytatorowie generalni Komisji Edukacji Narodowej. Monografia z dziejów administracji szkolnej Komisji Edukacji Narodowej*, Lublin, 1957, 63.

a department school, and after the town fire, it was converted into a sub-department school; an academic county and later a sub-department school in Kamianets; an academic county and later a sub-department school in Olyka; and four Basilian schools: in Bar (an academic school until 1781 and a Basilian school later on), Ostroh (an academic school until 1777 and a Basilian school later on), Sharhorod and Volodymyr-Volynskiy. All Basilian schools in the Volhynian Department, except the Volodymyr school, had the status of a county or sub-department school, and only the Volodymyr school had six classes and six teachers.

The Vinnytsia province (and department from 1783) school was an academic school. Originally, it was solely former Jesuits that were the teachers; secular teachers, graduates from the Crown's Main School, started later on. It was headed by no fewer than five persons in the position of rector. They all were former Jesuits except Priest Jan Kuczkowski, who was a Bratslav official, i.e. a diocese priest. Each of the rectors until 1781 had had prefects as his deputy, of whom some were priests and some secular people. Of the 51 teachers, at least about 20 were secular individuals including some *metr* teachers of foreign languages¹⁶.

In the Ukrainian Department, Priests Jan Wrzeszcz and Edmund Popiel-Broszniowski were some of the most distinguished rectors.

Priest Wrzeszcz was born in 1743 and joined the Jesuit Order in 1760. Having completed his novitiate, he graduated from the Ostroh teacher training seminary, and after that, studied philosophy in Jarosław (1763—1766). He completed his theology studies in Lublin and was ordained as a priest there in 1773. Priest Wrzeszcz was appointed by the Commission as prefect of the county school in Bar from September 1774. Next, in 1781, he was promoted to the position of rector of the school and the Kamianets Department. Following the organisational change of the school administration in the eastern Kresy, in the years 1783—1787, he also acted as the prorector of the Kamianets sub-department school. Wrzeszcz was very meticulous in complying with the provisions of the Acts and promoted them not only on the school premises but also among the nobility living nearby, this way overcoming their disapproval of the Commission's regulations. In the years 1787—1790, he acted as the rector of the Ukrainian Department in Vinnytsia. In 1790, he retired. He died after 1792¹⁷.

Priest Edmund Broszniowski-Popiel, born 1746 in Red Ruthenia, was the other remarkable individual who filled the position of rector at the department

¹⁶ J. Poplatek, *Komisja...*, 153—154, 241, 271, 421—442.

¹⁷ *Raporty generalnych wizytatorów z r. 1783*, ed. T. Wierzbowski, Warsaw, 1910, 63—64; A.P. Bieś, "Wrzeszcz Jan (1743—po 1792)", in *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej 1773—1794. Słownik biograficzny*, ed. A. Meissner, A. Walega (in print).

school in Vinnytsia. He joined the Jesuit Order in 1763. At the time of the Jesuit suppression, Broszniowski-Popiel was a student of the second year of theology in Lublin. In 1781, he took the position of prefect at the sub-department school in Lutsk. Between December 1785 and February 1786, due to Andrzej Ślabniewicz's illness, he also filled the position of rector of the Volhynian Department. In 1790, still as the prorector, Priest Popiel-Broszniowski was recognised as an excellent school manager and an example to emulate for his superiors¹⁸. In 1790, he acted as the rector of the Ukrainian Department in Vinnytsia. In 1803, he worked in Kamianets¹⁹.

On average, some 400—500 students were taught at the school every year. Aside from the subjects set out in the Acts, the students could also attend classes of French and German²⁰. The school was housed in post-Jesuit buildings which, however, were not conserved and caused continual troubles to the Commission authorities, as they required repairs²¹.

In organisational terms, until 1781, the Zhytomyr school had been ranked as a province school, and then, in the years 1781—1783, as a department school. After the 1783 Acts were enacted and until the dissolving of the Commission of National Education, the school possessed the status of a sub-department school, but with six teachers and classes²². In the years 1773—1794, there were no fewer than 43 people of the didactic personnel: rectors, prorectors, prefects, teachers, school priests and *metr* teachers, i.e. foreign language teachers. At times, the Bernardines of the local monastery offered their support to the school as part of their evangelistic duties. About 18 teachers were secular, including the *metr* teachers. The Zhytomyr sub-department school was one of those schools causing a lot of trouble to the educational authorities due to the eternal conflicts among teachers and even cases of crime committed by teachers²³. On visiting with other teachers of the Zhytomyr school Bona Woroniczowa, wife of the Belz castellan, in Trojanów, physics teacher Józef Orzechowski stole two golden watches worth 60 Polish ducats. The case was revealed in early October 1786,

¹⁸ *Raporty Szkoły Głównej Koronnej o generalnych wizytach szkół Komisji Edukacji Narodowej 1787—1793*, ed. K. Mrozowska, Wrocław—Warsaw—Kraków, 1981, 132.

¹⁹ A. Królikowska, "Popiel-Broszniowski Edmund (1746—po 1803)", in *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej. Słownik...* (in print).

²⁰ T. Mizia, *Szkoły...*, 264; "Materialy dla istorii narodnago obrazowaniâ", *Kievskaâ starina* 2, 1882, 471.

²¹ *Raporty generalnych wizytatorów z r. 1774*, ed. T. Wierzbowski, Warsaw, 1906, 32—34.

²² *Raporty generalnych wizytatorów z r. 1783*, 75.

²³ *Komissiâ Edukacionnogo Funduša*, Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (hereinafter: RGADA), 1603, 3, 1355; *Memoriały 1782—1783*, RGADA, 1603, 1, 104, 147; J. Poplatek, *Komisja...*, 267—275, 421—442.

when his fellow teachers, while Orzechowski was asleep, were looking in his flat for some petty cash and found in his pocket one of the stolen watches. It turned out that Orzechowski was unable to explain where he got the watch from, and on the following night, he fled from Zhytomyr abroad, to Lviv. On his way to Lviv, he visited the wife of the Podlachia standard-bearer, Lady Moszkowska, whom he informed that he had been robbed in Brody of all his money. The lady gave a loan of three ducats which he promised to pay back after his return to Zhytomyr²⁴. Next, when travelling through Kremenets, he told the physics teacher of the local school, Maciej Oćwiejowski, that on his way from Kraków to Zhytomyr he was short of money and borrowed two ducats from him. When his belongings that he left behind were being searched, especially his documents, it turned out that his previous name had been Józef Poznański. Following his departure, the Orzechowski affair began escalating, as it was discovered that he had enormous debts in Zhytomyr. Eventually, the general assembly of the Zhytomyr school teachers found that the cause of Orzechowski's disgrace was his theft and his escape abroad, which constituted a punishable offence. All of his money in Lviv was seized, but Orzechowski was never captured and was never tried for any of the charges²⁵.

Priest Jan Odyniec was undoubtedly a significant individual in the history of education in the days of the Commission of National Education. Born on 4 February 1738 in Bar or its environs, he joined the Jesuit Order on 14 August 1753 in Kraków. After his philosophy studies in Kalisz and Lviv (1755—1758), he provided instruction in Bar, Przemyśl and Sandomierz and studied theology in Lublin (1762—1766). Having been ordained as a priest, he was appointed a professor of philosophy in Kamianets (1768—1769) and Lviv (1772—1773), where he made a doctorate degree. Following the Jesuit Order suppression, he left the Austrian Partition and arrived in Lutsk, where he initially provided instruction in logi was employed as a teacher of Class 4 in the province school after that. In the years 1777—1783, he taught physics at the county school in Vinnytsia. In 1780, Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski found him as worthy of both mention and praise, and school inspector Kolendowicz wrote in 1783 that Odyniec provided instruction in physics in quite a good taste. From 1783 onwards, Odyniec filled the position of prorector at the Zhytomyr sub-department school during quite intense internal tensions. In 1789, as a sub-delegate of the general school inspector Priest Muszyński, he visited the Zhytomyr school and the Basilian schools in Liubar and Kaniv, and he also elected as a clerical deputy (judge) of the Crown Court. He still remained in

²⁴ *Listy...*, 303—305.

²⁵ *Listy...*, 301, 304—306, 351.

this position in 1793. Odyniec received the title of Kyiv and Lutsk cathedral canon. He died after 1803²⁶.

The average number of students was 400—500 a year (the biggest number in 1781 — 600 students)²⁷. The school was housed in a wooden, crammed building that threatened collapsing. Therefore, next to the school, the construction of a new brick-and-mortar building started which was completed in the school year 1784—1785.

The Basilian-run Human school, initially a province, then a sub-department school, was in the years 1773—1779 one of the larger schools with four classes and four teachers (exclusive of the prefect and the *metr* teachers). The following year saw the number of classes and teachers rise to five. During the years 1783—1790, a reduction of the number of teachers and classes took place. There were only three teachers in three classes. From the autumn 1790, there were five teachers and five classes again, and the number of students had doubled. As a Basilian school, the Human school was subject to the monastic hierarchy. The authority, i.e. the control over the Basilian schools was exercised by the authorities of the Basilian provinces. At least six prefects headed the school in the years 1773—1791. In total, there were at least 55 teachers employed²⁸.

In 1786, the prefect fulfilled his duties quite well. He visited private lodgings where order was to be observed²⁹. In March 1794, Priest Innocenty Koncewicz in his letter from Human to the Main School, referring to the fact that he had managed and supervised national schools which had been under the governance of the KEN for a dozen or so years, requested the position of chaplain and preacher at the schools under the Main School's supervision. According to a school inspector in 1787, Prefect Koncewicz fulfilled his duties very well and provided instruction in mathematics and physics³⁰. Priest Koncewicz, the Human school prefect, reported in his letter that he had written an account of the massacre committed by the Hajdamaka bands in 1768 in order to better understand the character of the Ukrainian population. He handed this account in to the general school inspector in July 1787³¹.

²⁶ A. Królikowska, "Odyniec Jan (1738—po 1803)", in *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej. Słownik...* (in print).

²⁷ T. Mizia, *Szkoły...*, 264; "Materiały...", 474.

²⁸ B. Lorens, *Bazylianie...*, 439—480, 485—486.

²⁹ *Raporty generalnych wizytatorów z r. 1786*, ed. T. Wierzbowski, Warsaw, 1914, 77.

³⁰ *Raporty Szkoły...*, 26.

³¹ *Listy...*, 342.

The number of students fluctuated between 200—400 (600 only in 1790—1791)³². Until the end of the 1780s, the school buildings in Human had been in poor repair (they burnt down twice in 1782 and 1783). It was not until 1789 that the school was transferred to the newly erected brick-and-mortar buildings.

There is no unambiguous answer to when the Kaniv school began functioning as a secondary school and what its initial status was. In 1779, the school received a visitation, but its rank or number of students is unknown. Most certainly, in 1783, it was a sub-department academic school with three classes and three teachers. Most probably, in 1784, it was taken over by the Basilians. Four prefects headed the school from 1783 onwards. The number of 15 teachers employed from that year onwards has been identified³³. The average number of students in the years 1784—1791 was 200. In the school year 1783—1784, the Basilians were erecting a new building in Kaniv which was also to house classrooms. The foundations had been laid down and two walls up to the first windows were set up, but no information has survived as to when the construction was completed. School inspectors suggested transferring the school to Korsun, Bohuslav or Pavoloch, where the conditions for students and teachers would be better³⁴.

The Liubar school had the rank of a province school with four to seven teachers (exclusive of the *metr* teachers), under the prefect's authority, and it was solely financed by the authorities of the Basilian Order. According to the visitation report of 1783, the school had four classes. In 1784, the school was converted into a sub-department school and usually had three teachers, the prefect and two *metr* teachers. In 1791, the number of classes briefly rose to five with six Basilian teachers, and the prefect was positively evaluated as the principal³⁵. Unfortunately, the following year Liubar came under the Russian sway. This led to severing the direct ties with the Commission of National Education. There were 12 prefects in the years 1773—1794, and the number of teachers were at least 60, with frequent rotation by the Order authorities. The number of students was between 300 and 480 each year³⁶. Due to the military action and the capture of the south-eastern Kresy by Russia, no data is available about the number of students for the years 1792—1794. Initially, the Liubar school

³² B. Lorens, *Bazylianie...*, 334; *Raporty generalnych wizytatorów z r. 1784*, ed. T. Wierzbowski, Warsaw, 1911, 76.

³³ *Komissia...*, 1, 105, 132—139; "Materiały...", 482.

³⁴ *Memoriały 1782—1783*, 213; *Raporty generalnych wizytatorów z r. 1784*, 77.

³⁵ *Komissia...*, 1, 105, 132—139; 1, 106, 147—148; B. Lorens, *Bazylianie...*, 326, 329, 340, 346, 440—480, 486—488.

³⁶ T. Mizia, *Szkoły...*, 64; B. Lorens, *Bazylianie...*, 334.

was housed in a wooden building constructed in 1764 next to the Orthodox church. Basilian monasteries housed the Order's libraries which were used by preachers, confessors, missionaries and public school teachers. Like in Basilian schools, the provision of study supplies was extremely scarce³⁷.

As a county school, the Ovruch school had until 1783 three classes: 1 — for beginners, 2 — for “progress-makers” and 3 — for “the advanced”. In 1783, the Basilians took over the school, and under the 1783 Act, the Ovruch school (along with the Basilian schools in Liubar and Human) was incorporated into the Ukrainian Department and had the status of a sub-department school with three classes and three teachers (exclusive of the prefect, school priest and *metr* teachers). It is also established that in 1789 the sub-department school in Ovruch run by the Basilians had four teachers and four classes. No fewer than five prefects headed the school. The school's teachers were former Jesuits until 1783 and Basilians-Unitary after that, who remained there until the disentanglement of the KEN or even longer, into the 19th century. In total, there were at least 30 teachers, including 11 former Jesuits and 19 Basilians. The number of students never exceeded 200³⁸. The Ovruch school was housed in newly-built, incomplete buildings. Three classrooms for up to 300 students were located on the ground floor. Another material asset inherited from the Jesuits were the building foundations up to the windows that were fit for quick completion. Next to it was, also not fully completed, a three-domed church³⁹.

After it was taken over by the Commission of National Education, the Kremenets school was reorganised into a county school with three classes. In 1781, it was converted into a sub-department school and incorporated into the Lutsk Department. However, in the spring 1782, at the request of school inspector Szczepan Hołowcycz, a department academic school was set up in Kremenets with a prefect, six teachers, school priest and *metr* teachers of French and German. Two parochial schools were subjected to this school, in Kozin and Iziaslav. After the suppression of the Jesuit Order, there were six principals heading the school (prefects and rectors).

The number of teachers employed at the school was at least 38. In 1781, there were five former Jesuits; in 1790, there was only one⁴⁰. The number of students was gradually rising from 119 in 1783 to 500 in 1790. The number

³⁷ B. Lorens, *Bazylianie...*, 397; *Raporty generalnych wizytorów z r. 1784*, 65; *Raporty Szkoły...*, 110.

³⁸ *Raporty Szkoły...*, 31, 80, 153, 164; “Materialy...”, 479; J. Poplatek, *Komisja...*, 178—182.

³⁹ *Memoriały 1782—1783*, 189.

⁴⁰ RGADA, 1603, 1, 206, 66, 72, 75; Vilnius University Library (hereinafter: VUL), Manuscript Department, F2, KC 527, 115; KC 128, 626—627; KC 1132, 134—135; KC 531, 548—549.

fell to 400 in 1792 and 360 in 1793⁴¹. Both the school rooms and teachers' flats were in poor repair and required thorough refurbishment. After this was completed, the school rooms and teachers' flats were found in 1793 to be comfortable and in good repair⁴².

Until the Jesuit Order was suppressed, Lutsk was home to a full college, the so-called *studium universale*, with three professors of theology, three of philosophy, five secondary school teachers, the prefect, a *convictus* for nobles and a boarding house for music students with their own prefect. After the school was taken over by the Commission, the school functioned until 1774 as a province school, but its status was lowered in 1775 to that of a county school until 1778. Next, in the years 1778—1781, it was a province school, after which it was converted into an academic sub-department school with three professors, the prorector and a school priest. The school was headed first by two prefects and next by two prorectors. There were at least 27 teachers⁴³. It is worth mentioning the name of Priest Łukasz Świebocki among the school's supervisors. Born 1732 in the Lesser Poland region, he joined the Jesuit Order on 21 September 1749 in Kraków. After completing his philosophy studies in Ostroh (1751—1754), he provided instruction in lower classes in Bar and Vinnytsia. Next, he studied theology in Lublin and Lviv (1757—1761), and after he was ordained as a priest, he mainly pursued his priestly occupation. In the years 1768—1771, he worked as prefect at the Zhytomyr and Jarosław schools. After the Jesuit Order suppression, he arrived in Kremenets, where he contributed to the opening of the school on 1 September 1774 in the absence of Prefect Leśniewski. Two weeks later, he was appointed as the teacher of Class 2 by school inspector Jakukiewicz. He retired in October 1780. From the school year 1781—1782, he worked as the rector of the department school in Kremenets. The following year, he received a doctorate degree from school inspector Kolendowicz. Since Volhynian Department Rector Ślabniewicz remained in Lutsk in 1783—1784, Świebocki stayed in his position in Kremenets. After Ślabniewicz's death, on 4 April 1786, he was appointed by the KEN as rector of the Volhynian Department. At the same time, first criticisms appeared regarding his work. Despite many negative opinions, in the years 1788—1789, he visited, as part of his duties as rector, parochial schools in Korets, Kupyn, Płonna, Sataniv and Zaslawye, and in 1789, he was sub-delegated by Muszyński to visit the Velyki

⁴¹ "Materiały...", 282; J. Poplatek, *Komisja...*, 139—140; *Raporty Szkoły...*, 80, 152, 160, 205, 235.

⁴² *Memoriały 1786—1787*, RGADA, 1603, 1, 106, 36; "Materiały...", 281.

⁴³ *Raporty Szkoły...*, 3, 4, 5, 7, 15, 17, 56, 64, 65, 206, 235; *Listy...*, 9, 36, 43—44, 48—50, 55—57, 75, 271, 276, 289—291, 321—322, 324—325, 329, 371—374, 381—383, 387, 389—390, J. Poplatek, *Komisja...*, 164—172.

Mezhyrichi and Ostroh schools. Given that in 1790 he was not reelected by the academic assembly of the Volhynian Department for another term, in September of that year, the KEN granted him a retirement pension of 1,100 zloty. He died after 1792⁴⁴.

Above-mentioned Priest Andrzej Słabniewicz was born on 24 October 1722 in the Lesser Poland region and joined the Jesuit Order on 22 August 1742 in Kraków. He studied philosophy in Kalisz (1744—1747), mathematics in Lviv (1749—1751) and theology in Lublin (1751—1755), where he was ordained as a priest. Next, he became professor of rhetoric in Brest and philosophy and mathematics in Lviv, Kremenets, Lutsk and Krasnystaw (1757—1766), as well as professor of moral theology and canon law in Lutsk (1767—1769) and scholastic and polemical theology in Przemyśl and Lutsk (1769—1773). After the Jesuit Order suppression, he remained in his position. On 12 June 1774, the KEN recommended him for the position of rector or prefect in Lutsk. In October of that year, he received from Volhynian standard-bearer Sobolewski a nomination for prefect. At a meeting in Warsaw of 5 September 1781, he received the nomination for rector of the Lutsk Department. Meanwhile, Lutsk was badly damaged by a fire, which seriously impacted the functioning of the school. During Kolendowicz's visitation in 1783, he received the decision issued by the KEN on his appointment as rector of the Volhynian Department for a four-year term beginning on 1 October 1783. He remained in Lutsk arguing his health condition and the limited space of the dwelling in Kremenets. He carried out his duties conscientiously by visiting the sub-department and parochial schools under his supervision. Before 1781, he received the title of the Lutsk canon. In December 1785, he was put down on the retirement list with a pension of 500 zloty received in Lutsk and went down with an illness about the same time. He died on 26 February 1786 in Lutsk⁴⁵.

The number of students fluctuated from 52 in 1783 to 170 in 1792⁴⁶. By decision of the Commission of National Education of 1776, the Lutsk school buildings, like those of the other academic schools, were under custody of Commission architect Stanisław Zawadzki, who discharged his duties until the end of 1793. As a result of refurbishment and modernising works in the years 1782—1784, the school was housed in a brick-and-mortar building, in which three chambers were classrooms and one was a library.

⁴⁴ A.P. Bieś, “Świebocki Łukasz Jan Kanty (1732—po 1792)”, in *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej. Słownik...* (in print).

⁴⁵ L. Grzebień, “Słabniewicz Andrzej (1722—1786)”, in *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej. Słownik...* (in print).

⁴⁶ “Materiały...”, 292; J. Poplatek, *Komisja...*, 165.

The professors' building had one brick-built floor and private lodgings for seven professors⁴⁷.

Following the suppression of the Jesuit Order, the three-class college in Kamianets continued realising the old syllabi for another year. In 1774, a county school was founded here with three two-year classes, and in 1783, it was converted into a sub-department school. Such a state of affairs remained until 1793 when, as a result of the Second Partition, the town was incorporated into Russia. The school was headed by six principals, first prefects and then prorectors, and there were at least 45 teachers. The school was supervised in the following order: Rector Jan Dobraczyński until 1774, Prefect Ignacy Bartsch in the years 1774—1777, Prefect Jakub Iżycki in the years 1778—1781 and Prorectors Jan Wrzeszcz in the years 1781—1788, Jan Nepomucen Tylkowski in the years 1788—1790 and Kacper Łuczewski in the years 1790—1793⁴⁸.

The average number of students in the years 1774—1791 was 200 a year. Quite numerous groups of students attended the classes of French and German. The classes on drill were run by a non-commissioned officer for additional remuneration⁴⁹. The school was housed in the building of the old Jesuit college. As a result of the building having been used as military quarters, it was dilapidated, and some rooms were used for other purposes. The quartered troops never refurbished the premises. The premises previously used as the *convictus* were to be used for didactic purposes and as rooms for the teachers. However, despite multiple notices, no architectural analysis and no calculation of refurbishment works had been carried out till 1791⁵⁰.

In 1774, the Bar school obtained the status of a county school with the prefect and three teachers. In 1781, the KEN handed the post-Jesuit college and school in Bar over to the Basilian Order. In 1782—1783, the school employed four teachers in four classes of which three classes functioned in line with the guidelines, and the fourth class was a philosophy class for directors which was conducted by priest prefect. The school was headed by four prefects and one rector and employed at least 35 teachers⁵¹. Over the years 1783—1791, there were on average

⁴⁷ R. Mączyński, "Architekt Komisji Edukacji Narodowej. Nadzór nad budynkami szkół w latach 1777—1793", *Analecta. Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki* 15, 2006, 7—88.

⁴⁸ E. Kula, "Nauczyciele i uczniowie szkoły podwydziałowej w Kamieńcu Podolskim w czasach Komisji Edukacji Narodowej", *Prace Naukowe Akademii im. Jana Długosza w Częstochowie. Pedagogika* 25, 2016, 347—360.

⁴⁹ *Księga kopii raportów wizyt wydziałowych do Szkoły Głównej posyłanych 1783 r.*, Central State Historical Archive in Kyiv (hereinafter: CDIAU), 710, 1, 83a, 7, 16—17; "Materiały...", 288.

⁵⁰ E. Kula, "Organizacja i funkcjonowanie szkoły podwydziałowej w Kamieńcu Podolskim w czasach Komisji Edukacji Narodowej", *Prace Naukowe Akademii im. Jana Długosza w Częstochowie. Pedagogika* 25, 2016, 621—633.

⁵¹ RGADA, 1603, 1, 105, 132—139; 106, 147—148; 209, 118; *Listy...*, 9, 91—95, 342;

400 students attending the school every year⁵². The mathematics teacher was very successful in his work. The construction of the new brick-built edifice housing the school and the college had been started by the Jesuits in 1753, but they never managed to complete the building until the Jesuit Order was suppressed. The Basilians took over the school in 1781 and completed the building in 1789⁵³. As a result of the Second Partition, Bar came under the Russian sway.

The Olyka school was a former colony of the Zamojski Academy (*filia universitatis Zamosciensis*). This was the smallest sub-department school of the Volhynian Department, it had two classes, two teachers, even though Chapter 16 of the Acts provided that “there shall be no fewer than three professors”. From 1786, there were three prorectors heading the school, with at least 19 teachers⁵⁴. The number of students in the Olyka school in the years 1783—1792 was on average 85 every year. The teaching results were evaluated as mediocre⁵⁵. The school was maintained by Vilnius Province Governor Prince Radziwiłł’s fund, but the money had ceased flowing into the fund in the mid-1780s. The school building was a wooden one and required refurbishment⁵⁶. It housed three classrooms and four rooms for the teachers.

Prior to the founding of the Commission of National Education, Ostroh was home to a Jesuit college with an abridged course of philosophy and a noble *convictus*. It was not until 1774 that the college was transformed into a county school with three teachers and the prefect. In August 1777, Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski signed a privilege granting the Basilians the post-Jesuit college in Ostroh. They were eligible to acquire the monastery, schools, a church, a chemist’s and other real properties. This was where the Hoshcha Basilian school was transferred. In 1782—1783, the Ostroh school had four classes. Despite the Commission’s recommendations, also a school theatre was functioning. Until 1792, the school was headed by 10 prefects and employed 40 teachers. Of the teaching staff that had worked in Ostroh prior to the Commission’s establishment, there were six Jesuits, of whom three worked in Ostroh and three started work as teachers in Kremenets and Sharhorod⁵⁷. The number of students in the years 1776—1792 was 140 on average every year (the smallest number recorded in 1777 — 78, the biggest in 1783

J. Poplatek, *Komisja...*, 109—114.

⁵² *Raporty Szkoły...*, 80, 153, 163.

⁵³ *Raporty generalnych wizytatorów z r. 1783*, 67.

⁵⁴ RGADA, 1603, 1, 105, 132—139; 106, 147—148; 209, 118; VUB, Manuscript Department, F2, KC 526, 57. Visitation to schools of the Volhynia, Podolia and Kyiv governorships of 1804 by secret inspector Czacki: *Listy...*, 55—56, 58, 149—150, 173, 372—373, 393—395.

⁵⁵ *Księga...*, 21.

⁵⁶ *Raporty generalnych wizytatorów z r. 1783*, 91.

⁵⁷ RGADA, 1603, 1, 105, 132—139; 106, 147—148; 206, 6, 9—11; *Księga...*, 15, 29; J. Poplatek, *Komisja...*, 176.

— 245)⁵⁸. The Basilians acquired the post-Jesuit college in Ostroh with the obligation to provide public education and 2,000 zloty as a perpetual sum, obtained from the Commission's fund. The school building required refurbishment⁵⁹.

The beginnings of the Sharhorod Basilian school date back to the mid-18th century. In organisational terms, in the school year 1782—1783, it was composed of three classes in which education was provided in line with the KEN requirements. Aside from these, there was a fourth class teaching philosophy and a fifth teaching theology to students. The level of teaching could be rated as good in the years 1774—1780. The school supervised the work of the parochial school in Tulchyn and Brailiv. The latter, run by the Trinitarians, was forced to be closed, as it provided advanced studies, in violation of the KEN's recommendations. The school was headed by five rectors and seven prefects. At least 50 people worked there over the years 1773—1792. Two teachers, Julian Dobryłowski and Florian Szaszkievicz, had a professional record as writers⁶⁰. There were around 330 students every year⁶¹. Until 1783, the school rooms were spacious, but they required refurbishment. According to the Sharhorod owners, a construction began of a new, brick-built seat for the college⁶².

In the early 18th century, a school was established to teach secular youth in Volodymyr-Volynskyi. The school worked according to rules based on those laid down by the Jesuits. The school continued work also after the establishment of the Basilian province as a sub-department school with six classes. Formally, it was part of the Lithuanian Province, but because it was situated in the Crown, it was subject to the authority of the Crown's Main School. The school was headed by five prefects, including Priest Julian Antonowicz in the years 1784—1792, author of the English grammar for Polish people, Poland's first English coursebook, published in Warsaw in 1788. At least 35 teachers worked at the school⁶³. The priests employed by the school belonged to the Lithuanian Province and this was where the school had the financial supervision. The Basilian college in Volodymyr was one of the top KEN schools in the field of foreign language teaching, as the students could attend classes of English, French, German, Italian and Old Church Slavonic. The annual number of students was 390⁶⁴. From 1728, the school had possessed a foundation granted

⁵⁸ *Raporty Szkoły...*, 80, 153, 162, 208.

⁵⁹ *Memoriały 1782—1783*, 105.

⁶⁰ RGADA, 1603, 1, 105, 132—139; 106, 147—148; 209, 118; B. Lorens, *Bazylianie...*, 490—491.

⁶¹ *Księga...*, 27; *Raporty Szkoły...*, 80, 152, 162.

⁶² B. Lorens, *Bazylianie...*, 369.

⁶³ RGADA, 1603, 1, 105, 132—139; 106, 147—148; 209, 118; *Listy...*, 89—90, 94, 98, 397, 400—402.

⁶⁴ *Raporty Szkoły...*, 80, 152, 162, 236.

by Kyiv Archbishop Lev Kiszka. The school building was a wooden one, far from perfect, but fairly spacious and comfortable. From 1784, the school was expanded and refurbished. In 1794, the monastery and schools burnt down. After the Russian troops captured the town in 1795, the library and school facilities were destroyed⁶⁵.

The KEN secondary schools functioning in the south-eastern Kresy of the Commonwealth faced multiple diverse problems that were unfamiliar to schools of the other departments, especially those situated in central Poland. Over the 20 years of the activity of the Commission of National Education, these schools employed some 700 teachers. Their tenure varied greatly, as for example in the Basilian-run schools the friars did not teach longer than for a year. Those teachers possessed fairly extensive experience among the ex-Jesuit teachers who had begun work as young people before the suppression of the Jesuit Order and continued work as teachers until the end of the functioning of the Commission.

In the Ukrainian and Volhynian Departments, thanks to the work of secondary schools, education was provided over the 20 years to some 30,000 students. In 1786, in both the Ukrainian and Volhynian Department, there were 4,108 students: in the Ukrainian Department — 2,159, in the Volhynian Department — 1,949.

The characteristic feature of this region was that they were boys coming from Polish and Ruthenian (Ukrainian) families of different religions: Roman Catholic, Ruthenian Uniate and Orthodox Christian (to a lesser degree). It caused considerable problems, especially during religious holidays and church ceremonies. It was also significant that these areas, particularly those of the Ukrainian Department, spread far to the east all the way to the Dnieper River, separating them from the Russian Empire; consequently, there was a possibility of intrusion of the haidamakas that fired up the social and political order in the First Commonwealth. This proximity of the Russian Empire was the reason for the frequent encroachment of the Russian armies on the territories of Ukraine and Volhynia, disturbing the work of schools, as they captured the school buildings. This permanent threat from the eastern front caused the youth to particularly keenly attend drill and physical exercise classes.

The teachers's assembly in Kremenets, Kamianets and Lutsk were struggling with the deceptive practice of enlisting in the army students of these schools. In June 1789, teachers of the Kremenets school sent a complaint to the Commission about the violence used by soldiers against students. They explained that soldiers of the Ostroh regiment of Duke Michał Lubomirski un-

⁶⁵ *Raporty i uzupełnienia*, CDIAU, 707, 314, 8, 63.

military service. In response to his intervention in that case, Lutsk Prorector Edmund Popiel-Broszniowski received an explanation that “since Glicki is a son of a Greek Catholic priest, and sons of Greek Catholic priests should not provide or receive education, he will not be acquitted”. However, the Military Commission of the Commonwealth issued an order of 14 September 1789 to acquit Glicki⁶⁷. Kamianets Prorector Jan Nepomucen Tylkowski also wrote to the Commission in June 1789 about unlawful activities of the Kamianets garrison of forcing students to join the army. For example, son of a Greek Catholic priest, Teodor Jurkiewicz, student of Class 5 of the Kamianets school and a school principal, was forcefully abducted from his private lodging and forced against his will “to put on a uniform”. In that case, the prorector intervened with the military authorities, but the student was persuaded to declare that such had been his own will to join the military service. The prorector, therefore, had to grant him a permit. A different ending concluded the case of abduction of Class 5 student, nobleman Bartoszewski, “whose clothing was torn apart”. After Tylkowski’s intervention with the military authorities concerning a disgrace of a student’s honour, the student was released⁶⁸.

During the visitation of the Ovruch school in 1789, the school inspector was also informed that 28 students had been taken into the army “as a result of the draft”. In this case, there are no data about whether the conscripts were enlisted of their own free will⁶⁹.

Amid the recurrent cases of forcing students to join the army, the Commission of National Education issued a notice to the Military Commission of the Commonwealth. In its response to the notice, the Military Commission committed itself to issuing an order to the commands under its authority to refrain from enlisting any students or principals without a certificate from the relevant educational authority releasing the student from school⁷⁰. Such a decision dat-

⁶⁷ *Memoriały w roku 1789 podane*, 31, 40.

⁶⁸ *Memoriały w roku 1789 podane*, 17—18.

⁶⁹ “Materiały...”, 480.

⁷⁰ The text of the certificate issued by a school was (taking the example of the Vinnytsia school) as follows: “As Mr Jan Piotrowski declared to us that he intends to leave the school, we provide him with this certificate that in these Vinnytsia schools of the Bratslav Province he has not disobeyed any of the school laws or good manners. Indeed, he has given proof of his responsibility, diligence and good educational accomplishments. We hereby verify this certificate by affixing the stamp of the Vinnytsia school of the Bratslav Province and our own signature. Vinnytsia, 17 May 1775, Nikodem Mokrzycki, the Vinnytsia school prefect. When being under my instructions, he did not breach in any way any of the school laws, but instead he has given proof of his proper diligence, and I hereby recommend him to you as fit to fill the highest posts. S. Dunajewski, Teacher of Logic and Rhetoric, Magister” (*Świadectwa różnych szkół z terenu Podola, Wołynia i Ukrainy z lat 1761—1800*, National Library of Poland, Aleksander Czołowski’s collection, 6940, 20).

ed 27 July 1789 was signed by Michał Ogiński⁷¹. Like in most European armies, the Conscription Act of 7 December 1789 introduced a compulsory military draft. It was the essential source of expanding the army⁷².

The political events connected with the creation of the Constitution of 3 May 1791 and the Polish—Russian war of 1792 caused the entire Ukrainian Department and some region of Volhynia to come under the Russian sway, and the Commission of National Education's authority over these schools was purely illusory.

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⁷¹ *Memoriały w roku 1789 podane*, 25.

⁷² Cases of unlawful military enlistment also occurred later, e.g. during the draft in the Minsk Province, of which Minsk commissioners informed the Military Commission in 1790. According to Jerzy Gordziejew, this was caused by substantial deficits in the military personnel. For example, prior to the Four-Year Sejm, deficits in the Kaunas Hussars Brigade (the Grand Duchy of Lithuania) amounted to 126 hussars (*Komisje Porządkowe Cywilno-Wojskowe w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w okresie Sejmu Czteroletniego (1789—1792)*, Kraków, 2010, 274, 279).

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