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NATIONALISM, VIOLENCE, AND EDUCATION – SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN THE POLISH-UKRAINIAN BORDERLAND BETWEEN 1918 AND 1919

Abstract

The aim of this article is to take a closer look at school communities in the Polish-Ukrainian borderland in the 1918/1919 school year. Their members, particularly the headteachers, previously focused on teaching the students obedience and loyalty towards the emperor in Vienna, had to completely redefine their roles in order to find themselves in the new reality in the late autumn of 1918. Moreover, another year of the turmoil of war, countless teachers and students in the army, enormous economic problems, exacerbated by the fights for dominance on the disputed territory, forced the headteachers to deal with matters as they arose, and the decisions they made did not always work in practice. What cast a shadow over secondary school activity apart from the Polish-Ukrainian war was also Polish-Jewish relations.

Keywords: nationalism, violence, secondary education, schools, Eastern Galicia, Lviv, Przemyśl, Sambir, Yavoriv

INTRODUCTION

The school year 1918/1919 was one of the most unexpected in the history of education in East-Central Europe. This was also the case for Galicia, where the Spanish flu epidemic, the demise of the Habsburg monarchy, the Polish-Ukrainian war over disputed territories and numerous anti-Jewish riots made the world in July 1919 completely different than in September 1918, when the lessons started. The aim of this article is to take a closer look at the school

communities in the Polish-Ukrainian borderlands in the school year of 1918/1919. Their members, particularly the headteachers, previously focused on teaching the students obedience and loyalty towards the emperor in Vienna, had to completely redefine their roles in order to find themselves in the new reality in the late autumn of 1918. I am also interested in finding out to what extent another year of the maelstrom of war along with the numerous teachers and students in the army, enormous economic problems, exacerbated by the fights for dominance on the disputed territory, forced the headteachers to deal with matters as they arose and how much they could implement familiar managerial practices.

The selection of this topic stems from the significance of schools in these circumstances and the role played by teachers. Eight-year secondary schools prepared students to take up higher education, and before 1918 there were still so few of them that their graduates enjoyed considerable prestige. In a time when education at that level was still available to a small group of people, secondary school teachers were obliged to carry out their so-called social mission. This consisted in creatively improving the quality of life in their towns and making up for civilisational deficiencies compared with Western Europe.¹ Teachers would therefore become members of many associations as well as political, economic, and socio-cultural organisations, and were initiators of many events in the public space. Consequently, they enjoyed considerable authority, even if their salaries were not as high as those of professionals. Still, as public servants, they were obliged to be loyal to the ruling house, which in turn secured them a sense of stability and appropriate status in society.²

The methodological inspiration for writing this text were the considerations of the Lublin scholar, Grażyna Karolewicz. She postulated paying attention to ordinary and typical individuals because it is through them that it is easier to reach “the characteristics and social patterns of behaviour in particular milieus and periods”.³ Therefore, paying attention to smaller milieus, where the process of change took place more slowly than in large metropolises, allows us to capture the specificity of the transformation after the collapse of Austria-Hungary. In the

¹ See: Denis Sdvižkov, *Epoka inteligencji. Historia porównawcza warstwy wykształconej w Europie*, transl. by Justyna Górny (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2011); Maciej Górny, *Wielka Wojna profesorów. Nauki o człowieku (1912–1923)* (Warszawa: Instytut Historii PAN, 2014), 15–43; Tomasz Pudłocki, “Leisure time or another field of the intelligentsia mission? Austrian Galician university professors and high school teachers on holiday at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries,” in *Leisure and Elite Formation. Arenas of Encounter in Continental Europe, 1815–1914*, ed. Martin Kohlrausch, Peter Heyrman, Jan de Maeyer (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 57–77.

² See: More about that in: Maria Stinia, “Rola i znaczenie średniego szkolnictwa prywatnego w Galicji 1867–1914,” in *Historia wychowania. Misja i edukacja*, seria: *Galicja i jej dziedzictwo*, vol. 20, ed. Kazimierz Szmyd, Julian Dybiec (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, 2008), 115–131; Jarosław Moklak, *W walce o tożsamość Ukraińców. Zagadnienie języka wykładowego w szkołach ludowych i średnich w pracach galicyjskiego Sejmu Krajowego 1866–1892* (Kraków: Historia Iagellonica, 2002).

³ Grażyna Karolewicz, *Potrzeba badań nad biografistyką pedagogiczną* (Lublin: Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski, 2002), 5.

number of studies on multiculturalism, regime changes, and post-imperialism, I found Paul Gilroy's research particularly useful. He uses the idea of "conviviality" to refer to the processes of cohabitation and interaction that have made multi-culturalism an ordinary feature of social life in Britain's urban areas and in postcolonial cities elsewhere. He hopes an interest in the workings of conviviality will take off from the point where multiculturalism broke down⁴. From the perspective of my own research, Gilroy's approach is very inspirational even if geographically far away from post-Habsburg Galicia. Gilroy explains that conviviality has another virtue that makes it attractive and useful – "it introduces a measure of distance from the pivotal term identity, which has proved to be such an ambiguous resource in the analysis of race, ethnicity, and politics"⁵. I could not agree more, especially for such a multicultural and ethnically complicated region as Eastern Galicia. Moreover, it was the region where education was a great tool in the discourse of power, which sought to consolidate its domination. If there was no Austria-Hungary anymore, it was an open question who would gain power and control over the region. As Michel Foucault states, knowledge serves power. Its strategic function is to conceal the form of how power is exercised, obtained, and sustained. From the point of view of my research, control over secondary schools was crucial. It made it possible to supervise who was teaching, what teaching content was conveyed, and who was taught – so who in the future could form the elite and participate in the further distribution of power and who could not⁶.

As the majority of state secondary schools at that time educated boys and the teachers were men, this article presents corresponding examples. They seem to be representative and typical. By exploring topics such as local relations between the sexes and practical applications of male research, this text examines the problems of the junction of power, education and male domination in a world that arose on the ashes of a multinational empire and aimed at homogenisation of society⁷. I decided to look at the situation in the region focusing on four places: the capital city of Lviv (the largest city in Galicia), Przemyśl (with a population of about 35–40,000) and the smaller Sambir (where Poles and Jews predominated) and Yavoriv (the only town in the region where Ukrainians predominated in the population). These places have been selected due to their diversification (i.e., they present various perspectives of life on the the Polish-Ukrainian borderland), but also due to the fact that they were relatively close to each other and various sources on them have been well preserved, documenting the existence of the school community at the time. Analysing the state of education can give us a better understanding of the relationships among Poles, Ukrainians, and Jews – schools were important institutions not only enabling the acquisition of knowledge, and

⁴ Paul Gilroy, *Postcolonial Melancholia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), XV.

⁵ Gilroy, *Postcolonial Melancholia*, XV.

⁶ See more: Ewa Bińczyk, "O czym szeperze władza (w ujęciu Michela Foucaulta)," *Przegląd Artystyczno-Literacki* 9 (1999): 67–72.

⁷ See more: Robert William Connell, *Masculinities* (St. Leonards, N.S.W: Allen & Unwin, 1995).

thus social advancement, but also preparing pupils for adult life. So, what happened in them was sooner or later visible in the social life of succeeding generations⁸.

SECONDARY EDUCATION DURING THE DECLINE OF THE HABSBURG MONARCHY

The beginning of the school year 1918/1919 was relatively normal. Although the war was still going on, the so-called hinterland was quiet. Hostilities had ended there in June 1915 with German and Austro-Hungarian units driving Russian troops out. Local residents, however, had to face the effects of the war: enormous destruction, food shortages and advancing disintegration of the state which was functioning increasingly worse. It was also becoming more difficult to preserve unity within the Monarchy, especially on peripheral territories like Galicia. Poles, even those most loyal to Vienna, after the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in February 1918, were disappointed with Vienna's politics and the Central Powers' arbitrary granting to Ukraine the territory which they regarded as ethnically Polish. Since Ukrainian statehood was recognised in the area of the former tsarist empire, Galician Ukrainians hoped for either extra concessions within the Dual Monarchy, or for getting joined to Kyiv. Jews, the second largest (after Poles) ethnic group in the towns of Eastern Galicia, unless they had been deported by Russians in 1915 or had stayed in Austria, Styria or Bohemia after the 1914/15 emigration, took a wait-and-see attitude. For them Austria-Hungary's survival guaranteed keeping the status quo, and the creation of independent Poland and Ukraine could bring considerable weakening of their political and social positions.⁹

In early September 1918 there was no sign of the enormous change which schools were to see in the following months. The analysis of school documentation indicates that during teachers' conferences and in everyday work headteachers focused on fulfilling their daily duties: seeing to lessons being carried out regularly, examining late enrollers, enforcing obedience to the rules, keeping discipline and meeting urgent needs.¹⁰ In Secondary School No. 1 with Polish as the language of instruction in Przemyśl, the same activities went on as before (i.e., carpentry workshops, plant cultivation in the botanical garden and charity events for the Red Cross), though because most students were Jewish, the illegal

⁸ About the problems of the Polish secondary schools between 1914 and 1923 in a broader perspective see more: Stefania Walasek, *Szkolnictwo średnie ogólnokształcące na ziemiach polskich w latach 1914–1923* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1996).

⁹ See: Kamil Ruszała, *Galicyjski eksodus. Uchodźcy podczas I wojny światowej w monarchii Habsburgów* (Kraków: Universitas, 2020).

¹⁰ See: Tomasz Pudłocki, "Między lojalizmem a patriotyzmem – gimnazja męskie w Przemyślu w okresie 1915–1918," *Rocznik Przemyski. Historia* 55, issue 4 (24): *Przemyśl i Galicja Wschodnia w okresie kształtowania się granic II Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. Łukasz Chrobak, Tomasz Pudłocki (2019): 47–74.

National Youth Organisation recruited their members mainly from among the boys from the Polish Secondary School No. 3.¹¹ Some headteachers in the region tried to meet the students' financial needs. For instance, Ferdynand Bostel, head of Secondary School No. 2 with German as the language of instruction in Lviv, asked the teachers to suggest to the students that a war kitchen operated not far from their school building at the Metropole Hotel, serving cheap and good lunches. He also stressed that due to high prices and the considerable impoverishment of society he had bought a lot more textbooks than usual so they were more widely available to students. The National Educational Council (provincial ministry of education, German: Landesschulrat) also realised how expensive everything was and recommended reducing the amount of homework and working with textbooks to the barest minimum. The organ obliged headteachers to bring the needs of families with several schoolchildren in particular to the teachers' attention.¹²

During the first two months of the school year, the lessons followed an almost normal path and in secondary schools, just like in the previous decades, besides the teaching the focus was on developing loyal attitudes towards the ruling house. With that goal in mind, church services for the living and deceased members of the Habsburg dynasty were held. Catechists complained, however, that while before the war such services had been attended at schools by all members of the teaching staff, after 1914 headteachers took to appointing three or four teachers to conduct so-called surveillance. They were supposed to keep an eye on the students during the service and during listening to the funeral sermons preceding the service. The other members of the teaching staff went about their own business on Sunday mornings.¹³ While in Secondary School No. 1 in Przemyśl the headteacher Władysław Bojarski, loyal towards the authorities, saw to that on the day of the name-day party of the Emperor the school community turned up *in corpore*, the headteacher of Secondary School No. 3, Franciszek Ksawery Kuś did not take any appropriate measures against the senior students, who boycotted the event.¹⁴ This might have resulted from the fact that the Manifesto of the Regency Council of 7 October 1918, forecasting Poland's independence, was accepted very enthusiastically by the Poles in the town and Kuś was not sure what was more binding for him – the oath to the ruling house of Habsburg or patriotism towards his own state *in statu nascendi*. Another thing was that in September and October those ideas did not have to be mutually exclusive. After

¹¹ Tomasz Pudłocki, *Blask szarości... Życie codzienne w I Państwowym Gimnazjum im. Juliusza Słowackiego w Przemyślu w latach 1918–1939* (Przemyśl: Regionalny Ośrodek Kultury, Edukacji i Nauki, 2004), 65.

¹² State Archive of Lviv Region (DALO), fond 81, descr. 1, case 867, 2–3.

¹³ "Udział w nabożeństwach szkolnych gron nauczycielskich szkół średnich," *Miesięcznik Katechetyczny i Wychowawczy* 7, issue 9–10 (1918): 365–367. For more on the role of catechists in secondary schools in Galicja see: Czesław Chrzęszcz, *Wychowawcy elit. Działalność katechetów galicyjskich szkół średnich w latach 1867–1918* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo M, 2014).

¹⁴ Pudłocki, *Blask szarości*, 65.

all, the new Poland was supposed to be a monarchy governed by one of the members of the Habsburg dynasty.¹⁵

While senior public servants could have double identities (in terms of their ethnicity as well as loyalty to Austria), a definite majority thought about Poland in different terms than the defeat of the Central Powers. Those sentiments also infected the communities of both Polish secondary schools. As the local press reported:

Last Sunday [13 October 1918] at the Castle near the rock commemorating the 3 May Constitution, a ceremonial demonstration of Polish youth took place, on the occasion of proclaiming the Regency Council. After a speech by one participant and the singing of the Rota, Professor [Władysław] Tarnawski took the floor and outlined the tasks awaiting society when rebuilding an independent Poland. Afterwards, Professor [Adam] Münnich stood on the rock and in an inspiring speech he called on the young students to work under the great Filaret slogan. All the speakers were applauded. After singing several patriotic songs, the large group dispersed peacefully.¹⁶

In Yavoriv, too, the Polish secondary school celebrated the creation of the Polish state, taking part in a celebration in the building of the Falcon (“Sokół”) Gymnastic Society, during which a speech was delivered by the Polish studies teacher Professor Bronisław Popiel.¹⁷

Meanwhile, apart from solemn events which called on people to be ready to accept political changes, other events took place, typical of the time: funerals. For instance, the community of Secondary School No. 2 in Lviv on 16 October participated in the funeral of Franciszek Rybka, an eighth-grade student, a would-be school graduate. He had died two days earlier. As headteacher Bostel wrote in the book of directives, “We have lost a model student, the best in his grade, one of the best in school”.¹⁸ Rybka’s death was one of the many thousand cases which in the autumn of 1918 affected young people above all. The Spanish flu epidemic raging worldwide took such a heavy toll that also in Galicia it was decided to close schools with the end of the month. As early as 16 October, Secondary School No. 1 with Polish as the language of instruction in Przemyśl was closed, and in the following days, other secondary schools. It was the same in Yavoriv.¹⁹ The National Education Council closed all schools in Lviv on 20 October and a district doctor in Sambir – five days later.²⁰ Teachers were supposed to remain

¹⁵ See: Edmund von Gleise-Horstenau, *Upadek Austro-Węgier*, transl. by Katarzyna Mróz-Mazur (Oświęcim: Napoleon V, 2016), 243–300.

¹⁶ *Ziemia Przemyska* 4, no. 4 (1918): 2. [Translated by the author].

¹⁷ *III Sprawozdanie Dyrekcji Prywatnego Gimnazjum Miejskiego w Jaworowie za rok szkolny 1918/1919* (Jaworów: Nakładem Wydziału Szkolnego, 1919), 10.

¹⁸ DALO, fond 81, descr. 1, case 867, 69.

¹⁹ *Ziemia Przemyska* 4, no. 3 (1918): 2; *III Sprawozdanie Dyrekcji Prywatnego Gimnazjum Miejskiego w Jaworowie*, 10.

²⁰ DALO, fond 81, descr. 1, case 867, 68v; DALO, fond 1262, descr. 58 *Gimnazjum im. Adama Mickiewicza w Samborze*, case 260 *Księga rozporządzeń dyrekcji* (1 V 1916 – 1 V 1920), 53.

at their superiors' disposal and report daily to their offices. In Secondary School No. 2 in Lviv the headteacher encouraged his fellow teachers to advise him of material losses they had suffered during the turmoil of the war, as the government announced payment of one-off relief amounting to 4,000 Kronen.²¹ It was, however, the swansong of Austrian rule in Galicia.

IN THE FACE OF EASTERN GALICIA OCCUPIED BY UKRAINIAN UNITS

Along with the demise of Austro-Hungarian rule, power in particular towns was gradually being taken over by local organs. Most frequently, due to the towns' complicated ethnic makeup, the governing organs were to be mixed councils. For instance, out of eight members of the council in Przemyśl, as many as three were teachers at local secondary schools: one Pole, Feliks Przyjemski, and two Ukrainians – headteacher Andryi Aliskevych (Андрій Алискевич) and Professor Mykhailo Demchuk (Михайло Демчук).²² This by no means meant that both Poles and Ukrainians renounced their aspirations to independence. Already on the night of 31 October/1 November the power in Lviv, Yavoriv and most towns of Eastern Galicia was taken by force of arms by Ukrainians, and on the night of 3/4 November in the eastern part of Przemyśl. Their rule was the shortest in the westernmost part of Przemyśl, where the whole town was recaptured by Poles on 11 November. About a fortnight later, on 22 November, they regained Lviv. Both Poles and Ukrainians took part in the fighting, standing – armed – opposite each other.²³ In both towns Jews were accused of supporting Ukrainian rule or being passive towards it. While in Przemyśl, thanks to the leader of the local National Democracy, lawyer Dr Leonard Tarnawski, no pogrom took place, in the capital city of Lviv plundering of Jewish property lasted a few days.²⁴

Ukrainians took control of Sambir after several days of fighting on 5 November and they ruled in the town and its vicinity until 19 May 1919. It was the same

²¹ DALO, fond 81, descr. 1, case 867, c. 71.

²² Zdzisław Konieczny, *Walki polsko-ukraińskie w Przemyślu i okolicy, listopad–grudzień 1918* (Przemyśl: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 1993), 26–27.

²³ For more see: Микола Романович Литвин, *Українсько-польська війна 1918–1919 рр.* (Львів: Інститут українознавства НАНУ, 1998); Олег Павлишин, “Організація цивільної влади ЗУНР в повітах Галичини (листопад–грудень 1918 року),” *Україна модерна* 2–3 (1999): 132–193; Konieczny, *Walki polsko-ukraińskie w Przemyślu*, passim; Lucjan Fac, “Przemyśl 1918,” in *Miasto walczone. Przemyśl w 100. rocznicę odzyskania niepodległości* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 2018), 19–43; Ewa Nizińska, “Postawy i nastroje społeczne samborzan podczas I wojny światowej,” in *Metamorfozy społeczne*, vol. 20 *Studia i materiały do dziejów społecznych Polski 1914–1918*, ed. Katarzyna Sierakowska (Warszawa: Instytut Historii PAN, 2018), 226–229.

²⁴ For more see: Tomasz Pudłocki, “Tarnawski Leonard Michał,” in *Przemyski Słownik Biograficzny*, ed. Lucjan Fac, Tomasz Pudłocki, Anna Siciak (Przemyśl: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 2011), 147–159; Grzegorz Gauden, *Lwów – kres iluzji. Opowieść o pogromie listopadowym 1918* (Kraków: Universitas, 2019).

in Yavoriv. Their rule did not last a few or a dozen days like in neighbouring Lviv and Przemyśl, but over half a year.²⁵ While in Sambir throughout that period lessons in Polish were not taught in the local secondary school and the teaching was not resumed until early June, in Yavoriv the situation was slightly more complicated.²⁶ The head of the Polish secondary school, Zygmunt Skorski, was under constant surveillance by various inspections and it was probably the reason why he decided to start the lessons in junior grades on 18 November and a week later in senior ones. When on 27 November, as a result of the movement of Polish troops, Ukrainians withdrew from Yavoriv for a while, Polish units began to be organised there. Skorski took a few Polish students to the recruitment point – volunteers. Already on the next day they were arrested by returning Ukrainian troops, and the fighting in the suburbs ended in the death of a few others. The head of the school, Professor Ludwik Tuleja, and four other students, ended up among the hundred other Poles arrested on 3 January 1919 and deported to an internment camp in Ternopil. They did not return until 7 June, i.e., after the fighting for Eastern Galicia had finished.²⁷

It is worth remembering that owing to the closure of secondary schools, teachers and students took active part in the fighting and in the new distribution of power. In Sambir at the end of October, secondary school youth tried to assist in capturing arms from Austrian warehouses. One of the warehouses was located near the school's gym. It was occupied by young Poles, but young Ukrainians – taking advantage of the other students' inattention – made off with a few cartons of ammunition.²⁸ After Ukrainian rule was established, Ukrainian teachers were involved in consolidating the rule and constructing a new order. Among the most active were the catechist and parish priest of the Greek Catholic parish, Rev. Franc Rabiŭ (Франц Рабій), and Professor Oleksandr Boytsun (Олександр Бойцун).²⁹ Although the Polish press called on officials to give up their posts, in many towns of Eastern Galicia in the first months of the Ukrainian state Poles and Jews did not make a unanimous decision about withdrawing from political life. Even if higher posts were occupied by Ukrainians, there were too few of them to fill all the levels. Although many Poles were arrested, the local secondary school teachers were not, even though the new authorities did not succeed in introducing Ukrainian as the language of instruction in schools. The pretext for not opening the secondary school was the raging Spanish flu; the Ukrainian press commented maliciously that Polish teachers went to great lengths to find a pretext for not

²⁵ Ewa Nizińska, "Mieszkańcy Sambora wobec powstania i kształtowania się wybranych instytucji Zachodnioukraińskiej Republiki Ludowej w pierwszych miesiącach jej funkcjonowania," *Rocznik Przemyśki. Historia* 55, issue 4 (24): *Przemyśl i Galicja Wschodnia w okresie kształtowania się granic II Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. Łukasz Chrobak, Tomasz Pudłocki (2019): 135.

²⁶ "1915–1920," in *Sprawozdanie Dyrekcji Państwowego Gimnazjum I. imienia Adama Mickiewicza w Samborze za rok szkolny 1921* (Sambor: Nakładem Wydziału Szkolnego, 1919), 2.

²⁷ *III Sprawozdanie Dyrekcji Prywatnego Gimnazjum Miejskiego w Jaworowie*, 10.

²⁸ Nizińska, *Mieszkańcy Sambora*, 133.

²⁹ Nizińska, *Mieszkańcy Sambora*, 136–137.

taking the oath of allegiance to the Polish state.³⁰ This does not mean that lessons did not start. When headteacher Józef Szafran did not want to open the school, he was removed from his managerial post and replaced as the head of the secondary school with Ukrainian as the language of instruction by a teacher from the local teacher training college, Teodor Bilenki (Теодор Біленькі), who had returned after a few years' Russian captivity in Simbirsk (today's Ulyanovsk). In the school, Ukrainian and Jewish teachers worked until Sambir was recaptured by Polish troops.³¹

LEARNING WITH WAR IN THE BACKGROUND

Both in Przemyśl and in Lviv, Ukrainian rule soon ended, but with ongoing Polish-Ukrainian war in the background, the conditions of work were quite special. In Przemyśl, schools with Polish were already opened on 19 November. Due to fuel shortages, they had to be closed as early as 1 December.³² The Ukrainian secondary school was closed. Headteacher Andryi Aliskevych, one of the leaders of Ukrainian rule in the town, fled, and those teachers who stayed and had been engaged in consolidating Ukrainian power, were interned.³³ It soon turned out that the units of the West Ukrainian People's Republic wanted to regain the town. On 13 December 1918 there was a decisive clash near Nyzhankovyci, in which over a dozen students died, mostly from the Polish Secondary School No. 3.³⁴ Both they and particularly the young Poles, students of Lviv schools who were killed at the time, would originate the legend of the Eaglets fighting for the Polish Borderland, whose greatest symbol in the interwar period was the monumental Cemetery of Eaglets in Lviv created in their honour.

In Przemyśl, the funeral ceremony of the student defenders of the town's Polishness turned into a national demonstration, attended by all the Polish schools with teaching staff and headteachers. After the funeral service in the Roman Catholic Cathedral, on the way to the cemetery, the procession stopped in front of the building of Polish Secondary School No. 1, where Dr. Władysław Tarnawski said the following:

³⁰ Nizińska, *Mieszkańcy Sambora*, 148.

³¹ DALO, fond 1262, descr. 58 Gimnazjum im. Adama Mickiewicza w Samborze, case 260 Księga rozporządzeń dyrekcji (I V 1916 – I V 1920), c. 54–56; http://esu.com.ua/search_articles.php?id=39980. Accessed 11 April 2021; http://sambir-gymnasium.edu.kit.lviv.ua/informaciya_pro_zaklad/istoriya. Accessed 11 April 2021.

³² Pułłocki, *Blask szarości*, 66.

³³ See more: Олег Павлишин, “Доля і недоля діячів Перемиської Української Національної Ради,” in *Перемишль і перемиська земля протягом віків*, part 3 *Інституції*, ed. Степан Заброварний (Перемишль – Львів: Наукове товариство ім. Т. Шевченка у Польщі, 2004), 107–117.

³⁴ Konieczny, *Walki polsko-ukraińskie w Przemyślu*, 73–81; Jacek Błoński, “Przemyskie OrleTA – obrońcy polskich Kresów,” in *Miasto walczone. Przemyśl w 100. rocznicę odzyskania niepodległości* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 2018), 44–57.

War has its moments of joy, happiness, fulfilment – when victorious banners are flapping over the recaptured towns, when the bronze of the captured cannons is shining in the sun, when soldiers are falling into the arms of their fathers, mothers, wives, children and siblings, on return after the commendable fulfilment of their duty. But it has also moments of sorrow, pain, despair – when the overwhelming enemy enters the captured town, when the news of defeat comes flying on the wings of terror, when those who had gone to fight for their home country are carried in, covered with blood, pale with eternal paleness, sleeping an eternal sleep. [...] “Whom the gods love, die young!” [...] There they were, raring to fight for the sacred cause, grabbing arms in their still boyish hands, to help their country win – and now here they are, fallen at the gates to their home city, fallen at the moment of failure and retreat. Little did they know, when their glazing eyes were looking towards Przemyśl, what was going to happen in a few hours, and their last thought apart from God and home country must have been desperate concern for their loved ones, whom they saw with their mind’s eye left at the mercy of the vindictive enemy, and for the Polish eagles which they saw torn off and roughed up with this enemy’s hands. But it is not only tragedy that this sacrificial death entails. Though tears come to our eyes, it is hard to resist pride in such young men that our town produced. Once again, they confirmed its Polish nature with their own blood, once again they showed us what they are like, this young generation in whose hands lies the future of our nation. Oh Przemyśl, be proud of those who in a moment will be buried in their home soil – and you, young people, pride yourselves on your peers! [...] You will not forget that terrible loss until the end of your lives, and nor will Przemyśl, as long as the Polish language is heard in it, forget its best sons. It will always speak about them with both regret and pride. Fathers will show this grave to their sons and grandfathers to their grandsons, telling them that it covers mortal remains of heroes. [...].³⁵

With these words, Tarnawski not only paid tribute to the dead, comforted the families and friends, but at the same time found meaning in the death of young people who were only just starting their adult life. In another year of the war the mourners were in a way reconciled with the sense of loss, hopelessness and emptiness, so the speaker tried to emphasise the uniqueness of the sacrifice of those who had perished. Omnipresent death was taking on a special dimension: the enemy was not distant like before (Russians, Serbs, Italians), but, hiding among Poles in Przemyśl, tried to wrestle the town out of Polish hands. What had only been depicted through the decades – the long Polish-Ukrainian rivalry in the public space, turned into an open armed conflict. Tarnawski was therefore one of the first to lay the foundations of the later cult of the Przemyśl Eaglets. He emphasised that the students’ death confirmed the bond between Przemyśl and other Polish areas and became part of the basis for the creation of an independent state. Thanks to their sacrifice, the people of Przemyśl contributed to defending the territorial integrity of Poland. Therefore, what was happening in schools relates to the development of nationalist myths so important not only on a regional level, but also on a much bigger scale. Even if the Przemyśl example was not so famous, the case of the Lviv Eaglets (students of Polish primary and secondary schools fighting against Ukrainians) became crucial for the 20th-century Polish identity³⁶.

³⁵ *Ziemia Przemyska* 4, no. 37 (1918): 1 [translated by the author].

³⁶ See more: Stanisław Sławomir Niciejka, *Lwowskie Orłęta. Czyn i legenda* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Iskry, 2009); Rafał Galuba, “*Niech nas rozśdzi miecz i krew...*”. *Konflikt*

Others also realised the unique character of the last weeks of 1918. In Lviv, headteacher Bostel issued an appeal to the teachers of Secondary School No. 2:

I would like to ask all of you, sirs, to collect and send to our school any daily newspapers which were published in the period of 1 to 21 November 1918 in Lviv in the following languages: German, Ukrainian and Jewish (jargon). Later issues are also welcome.³⁷

This entry in the book of directives proves that the management realised the significance of the events which everyone had witnessed and wanted to preserve for future generations sources attesting to what was experienced. If sources for the history of the Polish-Ukrainian war were collected systematically, at least part of the community believed that its outcome was a foregone conclusion and at any time it would end in full victory of the Polish side.

And indeed, many schools were gradually returning to normality. As soon as 29 November headteacher Bostel called a teachers' conference during which several significant documents were passed. Because of Polish-Ukrainian fighting going on around Lviv and poor contact with educational authorities, it was decided to take an oath of loyalty to the Polish state and change the language of instruction from German to Polish. It was only a few months later, on 10 March 1919 that the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education officially established Polish as the school's language of instruction, allowing German and Polish to be used while conducting classes until the end of the school year.³⁸

Throughout the winter, the management had different problems than whether lessons were taught in Polish or German. Already at the turn of November and December a few students declared their desire to leave the school and the headteacher was forced to hand them certificates of leaving. These were not isolated cases; by the end of February 1919, another 33 students had left school and others followed suit in March. It is hard to say whether this was connected with the change of the language of instruction or problems in paying the rent for the first semester (the fees were due by 16 December), or maybe individual situations. The number of students giving up education was high and disturbing.

The lessons in Lviv Secondary School No. 2 began on Tuesday 10 December.³⁹ It soon turned out, however, that many students attended them very irregularly or not at all. In the case of many students, the date of paying the school fee had to be postponed and in many cases cancelled for the period in question or a discount granted. The headteacher had to appeal to the boys to find out their schoolmates' whereabouts and remind them about the necessity to excuse their absences. The law clearly stated that the headteacher was obliged to cross off the list those students who did not obey school regulations. Bostel was also concerned about the students' acts of hooliganism. The law forbade students to leave the

polsko-ukraiński o Galicję Wschodnią w latach 1918–1919 (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2004).

³⁷ DALO, fond 81, descr. 1, case 867, 72.

³⁸ DALO, fond 81, descr. 1, case 867, 84.

³⁹ DALO, fond 81, descr. 1, case 867, 73–74.

school building during breaks, but actually many of them threw snowballs at each other and at passers-by, or met with various “irresponsible, shady characters, harassing school students” and “spreading a variety of false news.”⁴⁰ Moreover, at that time as many as four teachers joined the Polish Army either as conscripts (Dr Eugeniusz Wójcik, Jan Rybarski) or volunteers (Jerzy Dunin-Wąsowicz, Antoni Schönbuber) and on 24 January 1919 Professor Maksymilian Kochman died.⁴¹ Those cases did not make it easy for the management to organise education but then... the lessons only lasted two weeks. After the final grades were given, another break, this time including Christmas and New Year, lasted from 22 December 1918 to 14 January 1919.⁴²

GROWING POLISH-JEWISH TENSIONS

Przemyśl is an example of a town where after direct hostilities had ended, in both Polish boys' secondary schools some things spiralled out of control. This is a very good case study of power, ethnicity, and education in the post-imperial sphere.

By the end of January 1919, both schools had been attended by junior students mainly and there was relative peace; moreover, as a result of the many breaks there was not much learning to do. The situation changed drastically when on 31 January 1919 senior students were released from army service and returned to schools.⁴³ On their return, they joined those schoolmates who had not taken part in the war, instead attending lessons legitimised by the governors, learning not only school subjects but also languages: French and English, which were outside the main curriculum for the secondary school.⁴⁴ There was considerable bitterness about this. Faced with the already existing economic competition, student-soldiers were afraid that Jews were going to outdo them in education, too, and in the future take better jobs in the country.⁴⁵

On Saturday, 1 February 1919, representatives of Polish youth of all grades in Secondary School No. 3 in the Zasanie district in Przemyśl, issued an ultimatum to their Jewish schoolmates, demanding that they leave school buildings because of “joining Ukrainian bands and refraining from joining the Polish Army in order to defend the Republic of Poland.”⁴⁶ It was a clear violation of school discipline and an act of lawlessness, regardless of the young Poles' motivation. That is why

⁴⁰ DALO, fond 81, descr. 1, case 867, 75v.

⁴¹ DALO, fond 81, descr. 1, case 867, 80.

⁴² DALO, fond 81, descr. 1, case 867, 78.

⁴³ *Ziemia Przemyska* 5, no. 25 (1919): 2.

⁴⁴ Central State Archives of Ukraine in Lviv (CSAUL), fond 178, descr. 3 case 724 Pismo przedstawicieli młodzieży polskiej klas VII a, b i VIII a, b do dyrekcji gimnazjum III w Przemyślu of 5 II 1919 r.

⁴⁵ CSAUL, fond 178, descr. 3 case 724 Pismo przedstawicieli młodzieży polskiej klas VII a, b i VIII a, b.

⁴⁶ CSAUL, fond 178, descr. 3 case 724 Sprawozdanie dyrektora Franciszka Ksawerego Kusia w sprawie wystąpień w gimnazjum III z dn. 12 II 1919 r.

on 3 February headteacher F. K. Kuś summoned some of the students who had signed the ultimatum to his office, admonishing them that with this act they were violating all school regulations, and acting without the knowledge or agreement of the school management. Polish students of the two senior grades

[...] declared that they were not going to sit next to Jewish students for collegial reasons and if Jewish students from the seventh and eighth grades came to lessons, they were going to quietly leave the classrooms. And this really happened on Monday, 3 February. The school management tried long and hard to persuade the seventh- and eighth-grade students to return to school together with the Jews, but in vain; on Tuesday, 4 February the situation repeated; the management suspended lessons in those grades until further notice.⁴⁷

This was something unheard-of. Indeed, youth rebellions did already occur under Austrian rule, but in Przemyśl before the war it was the students from the Ukrainian secondary school that were notorious for it. They usually protested against too strict teachers or against downplaying Ukrainian holidays by educational authorities.⁴⁸ Other towns and cities handled things in different ways. Sometimes headteachers were helpless and had to dissolve a grade due to the attitude of young strikers⁴⁹ but such a case had not happened before in any of the Polish secondary schools in Przemyśl.

The attitude of the students of the Zasanie secondary school influenced their peers attending Secondary School No. 1. As early as 5 February they, too, issued an ultimatum to their Jewish schoolmates calling on them to leave the school by the next day.⁵⁰ The ultimatum was signed by 19 students altogether, representatives of grades four to seven. It was a large representation, considering the specific ethnic conditions in Secondary School No. 1, as well as the fact that the school was the smallest. Of the three boys' secondary schools in Przemyśl, No. 2 (with Ukrainian as the language of instruction) was attended by Ukrainians, in the Zasanie one Poles dominated and in the early stage of World War I and in the early 1920s – Jews. That is why the situation of Jews and Poles in Secondary School No. 1 was incomparably different than in Secondary School No. 3.⁵¹ Thus when Professor Apolinary Garlicki wrote that in Secondary School No. 1 “all Christians as one joined the army and no Jew did, though before all of them had

⁴⁷ CSAUL, fond 178, descr. 3 case 724 Sprawozdanie dyrektora Franciszka Ksawerego Kusia w sprawie wystąpień w gimnazjum III z dn. 12 II 1919 r. [translated by the author].

⁴⁸ See e.g.: *Nowa Reforma* 30, no. 483 (1911): 3, *Nowa Reforma* 31, no. 146 (1912): 3, *Nowa Reforma* 31, no. 150 (1912): 3.

⁴⁹ See e.g.: *Nowa Reforma* 30, no. 148 (1911): 3, *Nowa Reforma* 31, no. 71 (1912): 3, *Nowa Reforma* 31, no. 151 (1912): 3, *Nowa Reforma* 31, no. 166 (1912): 3.

⁵⁰ CSAUL, fond 178, descr. 3 case 724 Ultimatum młodzieży polskiej I gimnazjum w Przemyślu do uczniów Żydów of 5 II 1919.

⁵¹ In the school year 1918/1919 in Secondary School No. 1 in Przemyśl, out of 327 students attending 11 grades according to religion, which criterion was almost equal to nationality, there were: 18 Greek Catholics, 108 Roman Catholics and 201 students of the Jewish faith, most (or all) of whom can be identified with Jews and e.g. the eighth grade, consisting of 8 students, was attended by Jews only.

declared themselves Polish,⁵² he actually meant a small group. Yet it was that small group that definitely took over the initiative in the school, setting the tone. The headteacher W. Bojarski wrote the following about the events in Secondary School No. 1 after the ultimatum was issued:

Having learned about this, I went to those students, pointed out the inaccuracy of the demand and expressed my hope that Catholic youth were not going to carry out their plan. Then I called three seventh-grade students who had signed the ultimatum and in a private conversation once again pointed out how inappropriate that step was. On the same day, Catholics from the seventh grade presented the matter to Professor Błażek, who taught them three subjects. Professor Błażek took a stance according to the general sentiment. On the following day, Thursday, Catholic students from the sixth, seventh and eighth grades appeared in the schoolyard with their schoolbooks; they did not stop Jewish students from getting into the school building, yet they did not enter the school themselves. Having noticed that, I called those students to gather in a separate classroom that I had chosen. There the students told me that they were withdrawing their ultimatum and taking the stance that the Catholic students of the three senior grades could not attend lessons together with Jewish students because the Catholics had done the military service and the Jews had dodged it. The Catholic students assured me with utter respect that they were not fighting Jewish students as schoolmates of a different religion but as those who would not take on a burden imposed on the youth by the Polish government. I then felt forced to suspend public education in the three senior grades and advise the RSK (Catholic Schools Council) of that.⁵³

Headteacher Bojarski, like Headteacher Kuś, organised private lessons for the Catholic students based on the People's School Association (Towarzystwo Szkoły Ludowej, TSL) but unlike his colleague, he emphasised that the staff's stance was in accordance with his.⁵⁴ Indeed, the preserved reports written by Professors: A. Garlicki, B. Błażek, A. Münnich and B. Stojanowski clearly confirm that they fully supported the management's decision, and in particular the stand of the Polish students, stressing (each of them separately) that the Catholic youth from Secondary School No. 1 had not acted against the Jews because of their religion but their attitude. Błażek wrote:

The stance of the students, in which I do not see a trace of anti-Semitism, I regard to be as beautiful and ethical as can only be imagined. It was they who defended Przemyśl, after all, and it is thanks to them that the Polish school exists. And if they demand the duty be fulfilled by others, too, if they cannot stand the draft dodgers, it only proves that the baptism of fire they had undergone made them mature citizens of this state. The school ought to be grateful to them, because it was they who secured its existence, and if the school did not take good care of them now, it would equal betrayal".⁵⁵

⁵² CSAUL, fond 178, descr. 3 case 724. Sprawozdanie Apolinarego Garlickiego.

⁵³ CSAUL, fond 178, descr. 3 case 724. Sprawozdanie dyrektora Władysława Bojarskiego [translated by the author].

⁵⁴ CSAUL, fond 178, descr. 3 case 724. Sprawozdanie dyrektora Władysława Bojarskiego.

⁵⁵ CSAUL, fond 178, descr. 3 case 724. Sprawozdanie Bolesława Błażka, profesora gimnazjum I w Przemyślu of 14 II 1919 [translated by the author].

Furthermore, Professor Błażek wrote that in a private conversation with him the students confirmed: “let [the Jews] enrol, let them do their service, like we did, on the front, and we’ll be their best friends”.⁵⁶

The case received a lot of publicity in the town, making the school’s everyday life a public topic. A lot of people expressed their opinions on the attitudes of the students, and local and national press wrote about them. But this was not the major issue in the whole business. The event revolutionised the students’ position in the school, which is clearly seen in Bolesław Błażek’s words. He saw in them not only defenders of Przemyśl but of the Polish school, too, those who deserved gratitude and respect. Through their participation in fighting for the country, the students had suddenly risen to the position of heroes, and heroes should not only be taken care of but also have a right to demand. Any other reaction was equal to betrayal, which Błażek clearly states. All of a sudden, a new myth appeared and set in – the myth of the student soldier, defending his town against the enemy by force of arms. Błażek realised he was not dealing with ordinary mediocre boys but with heroes.

The change in behaviour and attitude was not only seen in the professors. The headteacher, Bojarski, though much more reserved in what he said, behaved in a different way towards the students as well. He treated them almost like his equals. Although he “called them to his office,” he did not demand, he did not force them to do anything. He just “pointed out” and “expressed his hope,” stressing the respect the students still had for him. His behaviour was by no means impartial. “He felt forced” to dissolve the grades, but he soon organised an alternative form of learning for the Polish students. Officially he tried to be impartial, although behind the scenes he leaned towards the demanding party, even though with their attitude they interfered in his headteacher’s powers. On the other hand, “Kurier Poniedziałkowy,” a periodical by all means pro-Jewish, mentions him as one of those who took “a worthy and civic stance in that sad case”.⁵⁷ Bojarski writes about himself: “while I categorically condemn the ultimatum issued to the Jewish students, the stance taken by the [Catholic] youth I consider to be right and I excuse it not as anti-Semitic but civic, Polish”.⁵⁸ He also emphasises there was a consensus of opinions about the case among the teaching staff. On the other hand, the attitude of the staff towards the death of the only Jew among the teachers at the time, Dr Leon Zeisler-Rosenzweig, who died on 11 May 1919, may raise objections as to that unanimity. The funeral was attended by the whole teaching staff led by headteacher Bojarski, but, as “Nowy Głos Przemyski” wrote, “What made an unpleasant impression was the lack of even a modest obituary from the professors, no humble, conventional wreath on the coffin, not one word of farewell from the colleagues from the same school”.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ CSAUL, fond 178, descr. 3 case 724. Sprawozdanie Bolesława Błażka, profesora gimnazjum I w Przemyślu of 14 II 1919.

⁵⁷ CSAUL, fond 178, descr. 3 case 724. Sprawozdanie Bolesława Błażka, profesora gimnazjum I w Przemyślu of 14 II 1919.

⁵⁸ CSAUL, fond 178, descr. 3 case 724. Sprawozdanie dyrektora Władysława Bojarskiego.

⁵⁹ *Nowy Głos Przemyski* 16, no. 33 (1919): 3.

In a word, there must have been animosities, if the staff decided to violate – consciously, for sure – an established social custom. On the other hand, funerals of younger members of teaching staff were not rare at that time. For instance, on 9 May 1919 a teacher from Secondary School No. 2 in Lviv, Mieczysław Kwiatkowski, died.⁶⁰ There were more examples of this kind: diseases, fatigue, neuroses, constant anxiety about the future, were the reasons why many men in their twenties and thirties could not stand the pressure and died prematurely.

Irrespective of the situation among secondary school teachers in Przemyśl, it was unacceptable that some students should have private tuition, though in the school building, and others be deprived of learning. Hence the supervising organ attempted to intervene in the matter. The person who took on mediation was the school inspector Franciszek Majchrowicz, who tried to bring the relations in both secondary schools back to normal. In vain. Eventually, until the end of the school year 1918/1919, the senior grades in both schools remained officially dissolved and the students had private lessons: the Poles as part of TSL courses supervised by their former professors and the Jews on their own. Public opinion differed as to this unconventional solution. Regardless of any response in the press, however, nothing changed until the end of the school year. The school-leaving exams were held as usual in June in both schools,⁶¹ though the majority of Jewish students from Secondary School No. 1 did not take them until September.⁶² This was another novelty, as until then the students had been taking the school-leaving exam on the same days, irrespective of nationality or religion.

It seemed that the conflict would become less acute with time, especially after the Polish-Ukrainian war had finished. The situation, however, began to be exacerbated. In June, students got involved in the action of distributing an appeal to buy goods around the town, in particular school equipment, only in Christian shops.⁶³ That is why in July the school authorities decided to put an end to the six-month predicament. Headteacher Bojarski, who had not been able to curb his students and subordinate teachers was replaced by a man completely new in Przemyśl. He was the previous headteacher of the secondary school in Yavoriv, Zygmunt Skorski,⁶⁴ who had just returned from Ukrainian internment and was known for having cooperated with Jews. Transferring Skorski to Secondary School No. I, the school authorities must have decided that in Przemyśl, torn between passions, there was a need for a man with a fresh view, and the summer holiday period would help abate the antagonisms.

The situation in secondary education in Przemyśl was so unique that none of the boys' secondary schools functioned normally. The Ukrainian one was also closed for many months, as both in the main building and in its branch Polish

⁶⁰ DALO, fond 81, descr. 1, case 867, 88.

⁶¹ *Ziemia Przemyska* 5, no. 118 (1919): 2.

⁶² *Ziemia Przemyska* 5, no. 184 (1919): 2.

⁶³ *Ziemia Przemyska* 5, no. 15 (1919): 3.

⁶⁴ *Ziemia Przemyska* 5, no. 17 (1919): 4. For more on Zygmunt Skorski see: Tomasz Pudłocki, "Zygmunt Skorski," *Rocznik Gimnazjalny. I Liceum Ogólnokształcące im. J. Słowackiego w Przemyślu* 6 (2002): 180–233.

military units were stationed. It was only on 4 May 1919 that the new headteacher Roman Hamchykevych managed to open the school for junior grades (I–V) in the school's hall of residence. Senior students were still missing. Many of them still served in the Ukrainian army and other for various reasons preferred not to return to Pole-dominated Przemyśl.⁶⁵

In Lviv, too, it turned out that lessons in the second semester in the German secondary school were not going to start too soon. The school building had been taken by the army and Headteacher Bostel had to suspend lessons until further notice.⁶⁶ It was only on 1 May that education was resumed. The teaching, however, took place not in the school building but in the afternoon, between 2 and 6 p.m. in the branch of Secondary School No. 7, i.e., the former building of the Bernardine monastery. The director sensitised the teachers to supervise the students so that they would not soil or break equipment in the building that had been made available to them. He also reminded them not to demand from Jewish students any homework on Saturdays, as their religion forbade them to write then.⁶⁷ When on 2 June 1919 headteacher Bostel started a teachers' conference in Secondary School No. 2, he asked the staff about the carrying out of the teaching plans. In the light of the fact that the school (like many others in Lviv) had been closed for half a year and the school year was to end on 28 June, the teachers agreed that they would try to compensate for the lost time in the next school year.⁶⁸ How real this was and to what extent it remained wishful thinking is another question.

The 1918/1919 school year was so hard from an economic point of view that managements did what they could to keep students at schools. With raging inflation, food shortages and ongoing warfare, collectability of school fees was very poor. This is clearly visible in the example of the materials preserved from the Polish Secondary School in the Zasanie district in Przemyśl. Its headteacher Franciszek Ksawery Kuś wrote to the Education Council in Lviv on 25 July 1919 that he had collected a total of 15,840 Kronen for both semesters. Unfortunately, the sum had been spent on school management, especially that according to the resolutions of the teachers' conference "a certain number of students were exempt from paying the fee." A thorough analysis of the account book shows what is meant by that mysterious phrase. Out of the 732 students who had started learning at the school in September 1918 as many as 486, i.e., 66%, were exempt from payment in the first semester and only 43, i.e., 0.5% in the second one. That meant the teachers realised that closing the school for the most part of the semester, in connection with the Spanish flu epidemic, the change in the state status as well as the Polish-Ukrainian war and considerable impoverishment of

⁶⁵ Tomasz Pudłocki, *Iskra światła czy kopczą pochodnia? Inteligencja w Przemyślu w latach 1867–1939* (Kraków: Historia Jagellonica, 2009), 73; CSAUL, fond 189, descr. 3, case 491, Sprawozdanie dyrekcji gimnazjum z ukraińskim językiem wykładowym za rok szkolny 1919/1920.

⁶⁶ DALO, fond 81, descr. 1, case 867, 79.

⁶⁷ DALO, fond 81, descr. 1, case 867, 84–87.

⁶⁸ DALO, fond 81, descr. 1, case 867, 11.

society, for many parents and caregivers was not a good time to raise the school fees. In this number we also need to include the 24 students who served in the Polish Army at the end of July 1919, and one who was in Ukrainian captivity.⁶⁹

CONCLUSION

Summing up his reflections expressed at the first teachers' conference after recapturing Sambir by the Polish units, headteacher Józef Szafran wrote:

We are entering a new era. This historical event – restoration of a united, independent Poland – entails some instant changes in educational plans and a different understanding of school discipline. [...] I would like to emphasise the necessity to take particular care of teaching the Polish language. In readers and textbooks, we should omit those fragments aimed to arouse in students the feeling of being citizens of Austria and enhance those which can teach them love for and attachment to Poland. We should also develop religious and ethnic tolerance, cultivate willpower, fortitude, a sense of duty and genuine religiousness in young people, not tire them out with abstractions, definitions, and dry formulas. Let inductive method and heuristics become the basis of teaching and a means of developing self-reliance and getting the students interested in the subject.⁷⁰

Szafran's words should be treated as a certain plan, and in many aspects as wishful thinking. This is because Polonisation of the teaching content and transforming secondary education to adapt it to the new post-war conditions was progressing slowly, despite solemn promises. Even such obvious elements of the old system as emblems remained in public space for a long time. In the Secondary School in Sambir it was only in June 1919 that Austrian eagles were removed and the name of the school, "Archduchess Elizabeth Imperial and Royal Secondary School", changed; in the Polish Secondary School No. 1 the Austrian emblem survived a few months longer – until September.⁷¹ Changes were hindered by the warfare still going on in East Central Europe, disastrous economic situation and hyperinflation, frequently changing governments, as well as by the fact that it was not until March 1923 that the Supreme Council of Ambassadors granted Poland Eastern Galicia, thwarting Ukrainian plans for the area to at least gain autonomy within the Second Republic of Poland. Hostility between Poles and Ukrainians, expressed the strongest during the 1918–1919 war, did not make work easier either; no wonder then that many secondary school teachers gladly accepted the appeals for supporting education in the former Prussian and Russian partitions, where there were shortages of teachers, and moved far away. Staff traffic was intense. It also involved those who had not been able to support Polish

⁶⁹ The author's own calculations based on: CSAUL, fond 178, descr. 3 case 724, fond 178, descr. 3, case 695.

⁷⁰ DALO, fond 81, descr. 1, case 867, 56v [translated by the author].

⁷¹ Nizińska, *Mieszkańcy Sambora*, 144.

authority at the right moment and dissociate themselves from the loyalty towards the Habsburg Monarchy: they were made to retire.

I am aware of being focused primarily on Przemyśl and paying less attention to schools in the other locations. This is strongly connected with the fact that the school milieus in Sambir, Yavoriv and L'viv in the period examined are still under researched. Even if examples from one particular place overshadow the others, some general conclusions are typical of the whole area.

The school year 1918/1919 was a time of ordeal, when in the face of omnipresent violence and death connected with war, school communities became fragmented and polarised, and in the case of Przemyśl schools, roles were reversed, as it was students that for half a year decided about the education. The Poles and the Ukrainians were fighting for months about including Eastern Galicia either in Poland or in Ukraine. The Jews mainly remained neutral, even if there are plenty of examples of their engagement on both sides. In post-imperial realities in the situation of the prolonged Great War the students were expected to take responsibility and actively participate in warfare. When they came back to schools from the front, they didn't feel like minors anymore, but like adult men and soldiers. Therefore, in their eyes those who were not able to choose the proper side were no longer good enough to be educated and to play an important role in the future. Moreover, they were not masculine enough. Surprisingly there were students who wanted to decide about their colleagues' future in the emerging Poland, and the adults were either idle or just passive. Therefore, the young Poles were undermining the idea of equal rights in access to public education. Using the term from Gilroy, the processes of cohabitation and interaction in post-1918 former Austria-Hungary, in this case the educational process was not only stopped several times on the Polish-Ukrainian borderland for many reasons, but it was also drastically interfered in. When the authority of the former state disappeared, represented by its organs (local government officers, police, the army, headteachers) and the new one had not yet acquired sufficient legitimisation, the result was redefinition of traditional values and the reversal of order. Verbal violence would turn into physical violence or was expressed in the forms of exclusion (almost) no-one was able to control. It should not be a surprise that returning to normality in the education process was very hard after 1918–19. Those Ukrainian teachers who had been the most active in the fighting either emigrated or had to find other jobs, others had to swear an oath of allegiance to the Polish state if they wanted to keep their posts. The same was with students-soldiers of Ukrainian origins. Some of the most active Polish teachers were promoted to bigger centres (like Błażek to Bydgoszcz, Tarnawski to L'viv or Skorski from Yavoriv to Przemyśl with Tuleja as his successor in the post of headteacher), the others were trying to find their future in politics (like Garlicki who was elected as Member of Parliament). Those who didn't prove themselves strong enough or were seen as too connected with the old system were soon retired (the case of Bojarski, Szafran and Bostel)⁷². The Jews tried to be loyal to the Polish state, but it did not

⁷² See more: Pudłocki, *Między lojalizmem a patriotyzmem*, 71–72.

guarantee peaceful coexistence as Ewa Bukowska-Marczak proved by analysing the life of the L'viv university students of 1918–1939⁷³. Moreover, till the very end of 1939 interethnic relations at schools were far from peaceful and calm⁷⁴. Therefore, what was happening in schools relates to the development of nationalist myths and the growth of antisemitism.

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⁷⁴ See more: Karol Sanojca, *Relacje polsko-ukraińskie w szkolnictwie państwowym południowo-wschodnich województw Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* (Kraków: Historia Jagellonica, 2012).

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