

CZECH-POLISH HISTORICAL AND PEDAGOGICAL JOURNAL
Volume 3/2011/1

Journal of the Faculty of Education of Masaryk University Brno

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The Czech-polish historical and pedagogical journal publishes results of the research project
Ministry of Foreign Affairs the Czech Republic.

ISSN 1803-6546

Czechs in Lower Silesia in the 18th-20th Century

Jaroslav Vaculík

Velké množství českých náboženských exulantů odešlo do pruského Slezska po jeho ztrátě Marii Terezií roku 1742. Z podnětu berlínského kazatele Jana Liberdy přišlo ve 40. letech 18. století do pruského Slezska na dva tisíce tajných evangelíků z východních Čech. Emigranti zde založili v roce 1749 několik osad, zejména Husinec u Střelína. Na Střelínsku vznikly roku 1764 Poděbrady u Husince, kde se většina Čechů přihlásila k reformované církvi. Evangelíci žili i v Kladsku zabraném Pruskem, a to ve Stroužném, Čermné a Chudobě.

Klíčová slova: *pruské Slezsko; čeští protestanti; 18.-20. století*

1) The Strzelin Region and Other Protestant Settlements in Prussian Silesia

The loss of Silesia in 1742 and the coloniser's ambitions of the Prussian court caused a new wave of Czech religious emigration in the forties of the 18th century, especially from the area of Eastern Bohemia to the already Prussian parts of the Silesian duchy. Such an emigration was caused not just by religious, but also social, reasons.

After the breakout of so-called Silesian Wars between Austria and Prussia, king Frederick II dealt with an idea of colonising some of the sparsely populated regions of newly acquired Silesia, devastated by repeated wars. Colonising activities of Prussian kings had already had a tradition of their own. In the short period between 1713–1740, 600 thousand colonists immigrated to Prussia from other countries; between 1740 and 1756, another 300 thousand colonists moved in.¹ As the king had had positive experiences with the Czech colonists near Berlin, he took advantage of the dissatisfaction of some vassals in Bohemia with the religious situation, winning them for the colonisation of Prussian Silesia. In the name of the king, his emissaries disseminated the promise to protect the Protestant religion, and due to that the country people considered the king their deliverer.

Frederick II entrusted the principal emigration campaign to the protestant priest Jan Liberda, who had already repeatedly visited Northeastern Bohemia in secrecy. He was the author of several religious books. Liberda returned from Berlin to Bohemia promising that all the emigrants to Silesia would receive a free place to settle, land would be given to them, they would have their own church and school, and they would be given a Bible and hymn books in the Czech language.

Before the signature of the Peace of Breslau on 11th June 1742, with which Frederick II had already acquired almost the whole of Silesia, around 1,500 people emigrated from Bohemia with the support of the Prussian army. They gathered in the immigration camp in Münsterberg (today's Ziębice).

The immigrants came mostly from the Náchod, Opočno, Nové Město, Poděbrady, Smiřice, Litomyšl and Lanškroun estates. However, immigrants from areas around Prague and North Bohemia could also be found among them. They comprised one large group of vassals among whom there were not important social differences, because they had left all

¹ REZEK, A.: *Dějiny prostonárodního hnutí náboženského v Čechách*. Praha 1887, p. 110.

their immovable property and the majority of their movable property in Bohemia. Differences became visible only after the foundation of new settlements and after the first years of farming on new land. Deserters were also among the immigrants who left for Prussian Silesia to escape from years-long military service.

During the Prussian occupation of Northeast Bohemia, emigrants could take horses, beef cattle and other property with them. However, after the Prussians left, emigrants were leaving illegally, and therefore they could take only the most important things. They took such possessions which they considered the most valuable, such as Bibles, hymnbooks and sometimes also a handful of their native soil.

The initial enthusiasm after crossing the Austrian – Prussian border was soon over. When passing through the territory of the County of Kłodzko, the local Catholics used to assault and rob them, and often also seized them and extradited them back to the imperial Habsburg authorities. After the arrival at Münsterberk, they found out that nothing had been prepared for them. The king was afraid that the immigrants would return to Bohemia due to the unbearable living conditions, thus discouraging other emigrants. The immigrants also did not agree with their location on estates of the nobles as they did not want to become the nobles' vassals, and they did not want to be separated into several groups.

For this reason, the majority of immigrants remained in Münsterberk, where they waited for further solution of their situation. A rather small part settled on individual estates and soon they were assimilated and they merged with the local German population. The situation of the Czech emigrants was further complicated due to their division into Lutheran and Reformed, the latter being a majority.

No sooner than the end of the 1840s, permanent settlement was finished; there were three main streams of emigration heading to the regions of Syców, Strzelin and Opole. In 1749, fifty Czech families founded a settlement called Velký Tábor on the land of the Duke of Courland in the Syców region; out of this settlement, Malý Tábor originated in 1752, and Čermín in 1756 (Fridrichstabor and Czermin were the German names of these; after the annexation to Poland in 1919, such settlements were called Wielki Tabor, Maly Tabor and Czermin in the Kępno district, Poznań voivodeship).

In 1749, other 147 Czech families founded a village called Husinec (Hussinetz in German, Gęsiniec since 1945) on the outskirts of the town of Strzelin (nowadays Strzelin) south of Wrocław. The new incoming colonists after the Seven Years' War – in which Prussia, among others, fought against Austria – founded the town of Poděbrady in 1764, which later on was divided into Upper, Intermediate and Lower Poděbrady (Ober, Mittel, Nieder Podiebrad, now Gościęcice Górne, Srednie, Dolne).

Efforts at the Germanisation of the Czech immigrants date back to the beginning of 19th century. From 1830, education in schools was supposed to be provided only in the German language. Only German teachers were appointed to schools in Czech villages. In churches, sermons in German were celebrated first once a fortnight; later on complete masses were celebrated in German. Czech immigrants converted to the Reformed Church as it was the closest to the Church of Czech Brethren. In religious ceremonies, they used neither crosses nor candles, and there were no paintings in their churches. During the Eucharist they broke and took unleavened bread, not the host. One of their Ten Commandments said: "You shall not make for yourself an idol, whether in the form of anything that is in heaven above..." The objective of the Prussian government was the unification of the Protestants in a unified state Evangelic Church. In 1845, during the period of the Czech resistance, the authorities permitted them to celebrate services in the Czech language in a reformed manner in two congregations – in Husinec and Tábor. On the other hand, the towns of Bedřichův Hradec (Friedrichsgrätz, now Grodzice) by Opole in Upper Silesia, and Stroužné (Straussenei,

now Pstrážna) in Kladsko acceded to the union and the local congregations had both crosses and candles in their churches.²

Nationally-conscious priests and teachers tried to maintain the Czech national consciousness, as after the arrival of German teachers, the German language began to prevail in schools and in some families. Germanisation was further strengthened by military service in the Prussian army, by mixed marriages and also by the distance between the individual Czech villages.

In 1876, the congregation in Husinec registered a total of 2,860 Czech people; it had its own church and a school with 220 pupils and two teachers. A total of the following eight localities belonged to it: Husinec (1,300 Czech people), Horní Poděbrady (300), Peňč (110), Toeppendorf (310), Eichwald (135) and Melta (107). Other Protestant congregations were founded in Bedřichův Hradec in the Opole region (2,251 Czech) and in Tábor by Syców on the border with Russian Poland (1,876 Czech).³

The Czech people in Husinec lived, besides agriculture, mainly by weaving. They spoke pure Czech and they maintained Czech customs. They sang spiritual songs and psalms; only seldom did they sing profane national songs. They were typically devotedly religious and they did not organise any noisy village fairs.⁴ The land in Husinec was more fertile, and even sugar beet grew there. People did not have to leave to seek jobs; on the contrary, seasonal workers came there from Bohemia to work in country estates and in the sugar mill during sugar beet harvesting campaigns. The local Czechs were also engaged in the production of home-made woven products; a new textile mill was built between Husinec and Strzelin. Czech national consciousness was much more alive there, although Germanisation penetrated there from the town, factory and German school. The church also became German from 1912. The Prussian Czechs provided valuable services for their new homeland during the Prussian – Austrian War in 1866, as they served as interpreters and took care of food supplies. Being loyal citizens and Prussian patriots, they fulfilled their obligations with devotion.

On the other hand, weavers' crafts in Bedřichův Hradec in the Opole region disappeared, and many people left to seek jobs in the German industry. In 1912, about 150 local people worked as workers in iron mills; there were also many shoemakers there. The national consciousness of the local Czechs was very weak.⁵

People from Velký Tábor left to seek jobs (in 1910, a total of 627 inhabitants) in Saxony and Westfalia due to the infertile land in the area. In the German environment, they succumbed to Germanisation, in spite of the fact that some of them had not spoken any German before. National consciousness was stronger there than in Bedřichův Hradec. The Czech language was forced out of the schools. Children were able to speak Czech, and maybe also to read the language, but they could not write in it.⁶

After World War I, the issue of the return of Czech emigrants from Prussian Silesia became important. A delegation led by priest Josef Novák from Bedřichův Hradec arrived in the Czechoslovak Republic. From 200 to 300 families considered the possibility of re-emigration, especially those from Upper Silesia, where a strong argument over the territory had taken place between the Germans and the Polish. The Czech Evangelicals of Upper Silesia complained of suffering from "a terrible Polish oppression".⁷ The Czech of Strzelin, especially those coming from Husinec and Dolní and Horní Poděbrady, wanted to use the earnings from the properties sold in Prussia to purchase estates of the same size in the

² SLAVÍK, F. A.: *Česká emigrace roku 1741-1742*. In: *Osvěta* 1877, pp. 891-901.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 898-899.

⁴ AUERHAN, J.: *Osady českých emigrantů v Prusku, Polsku a Rusku*. Praha 1920, p. 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁷ National Archives Prague (NA), f. Czech National Council (NRČ), box 363/2.

Czechoslovak Republic. The Czechs from Husinec inquired after the exchange rate of the German mark and crown in the Czechoslovak Ministry of Finance. Contrary to the Czechs of Hradec, they were willing to settle also in Slovakia. However, the German party did not like seeing them leave as they were model citizens, their villages were tidy and clean, and their household economy was rational.⁸

After the foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic, the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren also carried out missionary activities among the Czechs of Strzelin. In 1920, Vladimír Míčán of Brno, the Secretary of the Bible Union, visited them. Thanks to his initiative, a youth association was founded in Husinec, in which children learnt religious songs. In 1921, he brought thirty-six Czechs from Strzelin to the festival in Růžový Palouček (The Rose Glade), and in 1923, with the help of České Srdce (The Czech Heart), he organised a trip of thirty-two children to Bohemia. In the same year, a Czech school for eighty children was successfully founded in Poděbrady.⁹

The Polish diplomacy also followed the situation of the Czech minority in Prussian Silesia very closely. The Warsaw Ministry of the Exterior charged the Berlin embassy with the task to consider the involvement of the Czechs in Lower Silesia in the minority movement.¹⁰ The Berlin embassy received information from the Polish consulate in Wrocław. In 1930, it was reported that Germanisation in the Strzelin region was “well on the way”, that the Czechs lacked national consciousness, young people had forgotten the Czech language and they spoke German, and nobody cared for the Czech minority. The consulate warned that the Protestants would not vote for the Polish Catholics; the list of candidates should have been named Polska Partja Ludowa, and it would have obtained a maximum of 200 votes. Before the Parliamentary elections in 1928, the Polish issued an election proclamation in the Czech language, obtaining thus 69 votes in the Strzelin region.¹¹ The Polish also enabled the Beseda Czech association in Wrocław to organise their activities, such as a St. Nicolas Day dance party, in the local Polish House.¹²

Germanisation became stronger when the Nazis came to power in 1933. Moravian names in the Hlubčice and Ratiboř regions disappeared and the names of the villages of Czech expatriates near Strzelin, Husinec and Poděbrady were eliminated. Even devotional pillars with Czech inscriptions were destroyed.¹³

2) Czechs in Kłodzko in the period of 1871 – 1947

The Czechs from Kłodzko, who were isolated from their national corpus by the separation of Kłodzko from Czechia in 1742, were exposed to Germanisation, in particular after the unification of Germany in 1871, similarly to the Moravians in the Głubczyce and Racibórz regions. Unlike Czech minorities in various other countries of the world, they were autochthonous population, like the Moravians.

In a situation when they had no Czech schools or Czech Masses, when men were leaving to serve in the Prussian army or to work in German cities, the Czech national consciousness gradually faded away because it lacked new incentives from the Czech side.

⁸ Ibid., box 185.

⁹ VAŠUT, K.: *Potomci českých emigrantů na Střelínsku v pruském Slezsku*. In: *Naše zahraničí*, 1923, pp. 178-179.

¹⁰ Archiwum Akt Nowych Warszawa (AAN), f. Ambasada RP w Berlinie, box 409.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ FIEDOR, K.: *„Sukcesy” gaulaitera Wagnera czyli jak usuwano ślady polskości na Śląsku*. Katowice 1985, pp. 109, 113, 140 and 209.

The Czechs from Kłodzko appreciated the Prussian order and social security in old age and illness. Prussian patriotism and loyalty to the ruling family dominated. The Czech language and the Czech nationality did not arouse such inspiration. Some Germanized their surnames even before the Great War. They did not read Czech books or magazines. They did not have any organizations or leaders. They were merely Czech-speaking Prussians.

In a census, the statistics of the German Reich only took into account the mother tongue, not the nationality. In the province of Wrocław, which also included the descendants of Czech exiles in the Strzelin region and Czech economic emigrants from the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries in Wałbrzych, there were a total of 10,557 Czech-speaking people and 397 people speaking both Czech and German languages in 1910.¹⁴ However, Czech statistician Antonín Boháč stated in 1909 that 15 thousand Czechs lived in the Kłodzko and Strzelin regions.¹⁵

After World War I, an organization of the Czechs from Kłodzko was established in Náchod – the National Union of Kłodzko. In its letter of 1921 addressed to the chairman of the Czechoslovak National Council, the Union stated that the Czechs from Kłodzko would be satisfied with some compensation, which would include the use of Czech language at schools and official places. The efforts to annex the Kłodzko region or at least the so-called Czech Corner around Kudowa to Czechoslovakia were based rather on the wishes of policymakers in the Czech lands than on the actual needs of the Czechs in Kłodzko.¹⁶

In the interwar period, the process of gradual assimilation of the Czech ethnic group in Kłodzko continued. This showed in the census of 1925, when only 3,309 Czech-speaking people and 2,380 people speaking Czech and German were counted in the province of Wrocław. In 1933, it dropped further to 1,299 Czech-speaking people and 1,591 people speaking both Czech and German languages.¹⁷ According to Czech observers, the Czech Corner was bilingual at that time, with 3,456 people speaking Czech, 3,910 German and other Czechs lived in the interior of Kłodzko.¹⁸

The events of 1945 surprised the Czechs in Kłodzko. They did not want to move from Kłodzko, thus they started to strive for annexation to Czechoslovakia. This encountered opposition from the Polish authorities, because the German areas to the east of the Oder and Lusatian Niesse were assigned under their administration by the Potsdam Conference. The Minister of Public Administration, Edward Ochab, had already written in June 1945 to the voivod of Wrocław, who resided in Legnica, that the authorities should keep their position in the event of Czech actions in Kłodzko and he promised to send Polish troops to Kłodzko.¹⁹

The first Polish settlers started to move to Czech municipalities; in June 1945 Polish commissars already worked in all municipalities. The number of Polish officials and soldiers kept growing, the municipalities started to acquire a Polish character due to Polish signs and Polish as an official language. The Czechs from Kłodzko were afraid that the Polish authorities wanted to change the national structure of Kłodzko before an eventual plebiscite and that the expulsion of Germans would affect Czechs as well. The Polish authorities also took over German property, in which they also included the property of the Czechs. They considered “German” the property of all former members of the German Reich, which most Czechs from Kłodzko were. The local Czechs were only exceptionally Czechoslovak citizens.

¹⁴ NA, f. Ministry of Foreign Affairs-cutting archives (MZV-VA), box 739.

¹⁵ BOHÁČ, A.: *Boj o české menšiny v zemích českých v posledních dvou letech*. Praha 1909, p. 37.

¹⁶ NA, f. NRČ, box 351.

¹⁷ NA, f. MZV-VA, box 739.

¹⁸ *Naše Kladsko*. Praha 1946, p. 84.

¹⁹ *Wojewódski Archiw Państwowy Wrocław (WAP)*, f. *Urząd Wojewódstwa Wrocławskiego (UWW)*, VI, box 262.

In July 1945, the voivod of Lower Silesia appointed his plenipotentiary to negotiate with the local Czechs. They spoke of the acceptance of provisional identity cards issued by the Kłodzko Commission at the District People's Committee in Náchod, the formation of local Czech national committees, preservation of radio receivers, non-incorporation of Czechs to the expulsion, non-confiscation of their property, butter rations for Czech children, permission for children to go for holidays to the Náchod region, allowing Czech Masses and pilgrimages to Wambierzyce, holding Czech language courses for adults, establishment of Czech schools, studying of Czech apprentices in the Náchod region, consent with flying Czechoslovak flags and organization of Czech political parties.²⁰

New settlement in the former county included agricultural and business establishments regardless of whether the previous owners were of German or Czech origin. According to the mayor (*wójt*) of Kudowa Władysław Twardy, all land belonged to the Polish state and the state allocated it to its farmers. The previous owners could stay and work as wage labourers under Polish control.²¹

Complaints by the Czechs from Kłodzko, which also concerned their safety and supplies, were downplayed and politicized by the Polish authorities, claiming it was a "political subversion" of the reactionary Czech centres who strived for disagreements between the democratic governments of the Republic of Poland and Czechoslovakia."²² According to the Polish government plenipotentiary in Kłodzko, the Czech complaints were "at least angry": "Mass fabrication of good democratic Czechs from among the Hitler Germans and various Hitlerophiles cannot absolutely change our negative attitude to similar elements, regardless to their hatched nationality, because we apply the strictest stringency to Hitlerites and collaborators from among the Poles. Astonishing is the short-sightedness and stupidity of the Czech reaction, putting on their filthy masks turned against the Polish and Czech democracy."²³

In August 1945, the Polish authorities in Kłodzko performed registration of foreigners. As regarded Czechs, both the citizens of Czechoslovakia and persons without citizenship were taken into account. They found 508 citizens of Czechoslovakia and 2,512 Czechs without citizenship, i.e. a total of 3,050 compatriots.²⁴ In spring 1946, the expulsion of Germans from Kłodzko started, leading to a stronger flow of refugees to Czechoslovakia. Refugees were divided in three categories: Czechs, Germans with Czech ancestry and Nazi Germans.²⁵ Refugees crossed the border illegally to the Náchod region and were concentrated by the Czechoslovak Red Cross in Náchod where they were registered and received identity cards. Some refugees lived unregistered in the border villages.²⁶ According to the Kłodzko commission, the number of refugees from Kłodzko reached a total of 1,777 people in March 1946. Most of them were incorporated in the work process.²⁷

By August 1946, 2,318 Czechs from Kłodzko left for the Czechoslovakia, 800 people applied for Czechoslovak citizenship; verification of their national and state reliability was done by the Kłodzko commission.²⁸

According to a report by the inspector of the ministry of recovered territories, Samuel Ehrenwert, in January 1947, there was an increased activity of Czechoslovak agents in the Kłodzko region who were looking for "Czech souls" among the Germans, it was in 1945

²⁰ NA, f. Office of Government (ÚPV), box 966.

²¹ NA, f. ÚPV-T, box 543.

²² WAP, f. UWW, VI, box 262.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ NA, f. ÚPV, box 966.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

under the guise of the Kłodzko Communist Party of Germany. One of their members was the former mayor of Kudowa Josef Bernard, whom the Polish authorities from Kłodzko labelled as a “former Hitlerite”, who co-organized the Kłodzko commission in Náchod. Ehrenwert requested verification while the Czech origin should have been confirmed by the Czechoslovak authorities and the data on the petitioner were to be gathered by the Polish police, whose negative standpoint was supposed to mean disapproval with the petitioner’s stay in Poland.²⁹ The head of the Czechoslovak repatriation mission in Katowice kpt. Krátký discussed the situation of the Czechs from Kłodzko in the voivodship of Wrocław in February 1947, particularly the question of their property and verification. He stressed that the right to verify and to recognize a citizen as a person of Czech nationality must remain the right of the Czechoslovak authorities. Verified Czechs from Kłodzko were to be returned their property.³⁰ He managed to have some Czech families released from the expulsion camps and they were returned to their homesteads.

A mixed Polish-Czechoslovak commission was established to verify the nationality of the Czechs from Kłodzko. People recognised as having Czech nationality could not be transferred to Germany. Verification could only be challenged if a previous membership in NSDAP and related organizations was found. Verified Czechs from Kłodzko received a Certificate of Registration.³¹

In November 1947, in connection with the verification of people declaring Czech nationality, the ministry of recovered territories obliged the mayor of the Kłodzko region to adopt a fast regulation for disputed property issues of those people.³²

The migration of most Czechs from Kłodzko to the Czechoslovakia resulted in a decline of the Czech enclave in Kłodzko. The signature collection in August 1946 for annexation of Kłodzko to the CSR was supported mainly by refugees from Kłodzko in the Náchod region. Of the total number of 11 thousand signatures, only 247 were from the Czechs still living in Kłodzko.³³ From the Czech point of view, these were compatriots whose Czech nationality was necessary to preserve, preferably by annexation at least of the Czech Corner in the south-western part of Kłodzko to the Czechoslovakia. On the other hand, the Polish settlers saw the Czechs in Kłodzko as citizens of the former German Reich, who in the time of Nazis in many cases joined the NSDAP or various Nazi organizations; thus they actually did not differ from the Germans in Kłodzko who were subject to expulsion.

²⁹ AAN, f. Ministerstwo Ziem Odzyskanych (MZO), box 504.

³⁰ NA, f. Office of Government-secret (ÚPV-T), box 543.

³¹ WAP, f. UWW, VI, box 740.

³² Ibid.

³³ BUREŠOVÁ, Z.: Kladští Češi v pohraničí severovýchodních Čech. In: Etnické procesy v pohraničí českých zemí po roce 1945, tom I. Praha 1985, p. 255.

**History of Silesia in 17th – 20th Centuries and Current Textbooks of History
(contents and teaching media)**

Kamil Štěpánek

Text příspěvku se zabývá obsahovou analýzou současných českých učebnic dějepisu. Předmětem výzkumného zájmu je uplatňování regionální, resp. lokální historie v učebnicích a výuce - důležitého prvku při utváření územních, národních i etnických obrazů. Autor sleduje frekvenci výskytu verbálních i nonverbálních informací o historickém území Slezska zejména v 18.-20. století. Rámcově věnuje pozornost pozici tématu v rámci kurikula a šíři nabídky aktuálně používaných učebnic dějepisu.

Klíčová slova: české dějiny; dějiny Slezska; didaktika dějepisu; učebnice dějepisu

Introduction

There are numerous analyses of domestic and foreign textbooks focused on the proportion, selection and interpretation of the history of the respective territory. The authors of these analyses mainly focus on the volume of information about various historic facts and actions related to the territory in question. They often also investigate the extent of emotional input of the author of the textbook account on the local issues. However, the frequent cases of division of historic territories between transforming neighbouring states, i.e. cases with characteristic cross-border or regional contexts, are rather absent in the research.

If the information is communicated through a well-selected image, the process runs more quickly and straightforwardly than through linguistic means. In history teaching visualisations are a must and are required for processing at least part of the knowledge for textbook compilations. Although the effect of non-verbal elements on pupil understanding has not been sufficiently profoundly investigated yet, and at least current research in the Czech Republic is still missing, the general benefit is not questioned.¹ Therefore this brief account will focus on not only verbal but also non-verbal elements in Czech textbook chapters on Silesian history.

The text of this contribution will therefore try to outline frequency of the phenomenon of historic Silesia through an analysis of the current Czech textbook production. The essay does not want to integrate theoretical analysis of textbooks of history and practical research into actual knowledge of the key milestones of Silesian history, their interpretation and value approach, and attitudes on these phenomena. The objectives of this text do not even reach beyond a description of the current situation, thus, except for certain exceptions, giving up conceptual recommendations of content and interpretation changes. And yet it is quite clear that it is the local facts included in history textbooks that are most relevant for development of

¹JANÍK, T.- KNECHT, P.: *Transformace, artikulace a reprezentace vzdělávacího obsahu v učebnicích: k roli didaktických znalostí obsahu autora učebnice [Transformation, articulation and representation of educational content in textbooks: further, the role of didactic knowledge by the author of the textbook]*. In: KNECHT, P.- JANÍK, T. et al.: *Učebnice z pohledu pedagogického výzkumu [Textbooks through the eyes of pedagogic research]*. Brno: Paido, 2008, pp. 95-105.

not only territorial but also national and ethnic ideas. They can help eliminate the hostile approaches in history rendering and cultivate the positive approaches, empathy and mutual understanding.²

History of Silesia in Czech Curriculum

Looking at the current Czech curriculum, the subject of history can be seen to be divided into eight chronological thematic units.³ The generality of the document does not allow for any regional specification in relation to Silesia. Indirect classification by the authors of the textbooks may however be inspired by the syllabus of the chapter entitled Czech state and powers of 15th – 18th centuries.⁴ Another traditional stimulus is represented by the theme of the origin of the Czechoslovak state, its economic and political history, social and ethnic problems, and the International political and economic situation, totalitarian systems – consequences for Czechoslovakia and for the world. .

Czech Textbooks of History

Pupils in the Czech Republic can currently use three, or four sets of textbooks⁵, corresponding to the current requirements of the reformed Czech system of education.

Allow me at least a brief account on the current situation on the Czech market of history textbooks. In a certain respect the market can be defined as over-saturated. The reason is that since 1989 it has offered around 60 textbooks or workbooks of nine series of six publishers for history teaching at elementary schools. Today, under the effect of the ongoing reform, after virtually twenty years of use, these textbooks have become obsolete. They are continually replaced by three new editions already based on the reformed requirements, two covering all nine years of elementary education, and one ending with the textbook for 8th grade. This is the situation in the current school year 2010-2011.⁶ Despite this, history teaching misses other types of teaching aids, abundantly offered abroad, such as interactive textbook formats. Although this form of educational media already exists on the Czech market, there are only a few titles available at the moment.⁷

The curriculum currently effective in the Czech Republic comes from 2004, and gives teachers extensive freedom in textbook selection. This unlimited selection of freedom is limited by financial limits of each particular school, though. The textbooks favour not

² Compare GRACOVÁ, B.: *Obraz Čechů a Poláků a jejich minulosti u studující mládeže [Image of Czechs and Poles and their past in the minds of students]*. Spisy Filozofické fakulty Ostravské univerzity 115/1998, Ostrava 1998; *Historické vědomí české studující mládeže a nejvýznamnější postavy a vývojové etapy sousedních národů. [Historic awareness of Czech students and major figures and development stages of neighbouring nations]*- In: Školní výuka dějepisu a překonávání stereotypních obrazů sousedních národů [School history teaching and overcoming of stereotypes in imaging neighbouring nations], I. - Ostrava : FF OU, 1999, pp. 101-118; *Stereotypní vnímání Čechů a Poláků u studující mládeže [Stereotypes in perception of Czechs and Poles by students]*. In: Česká a polská historická tradice a její vztah k současnosti [Czech and Polish historic tradition and its relationship to the present]. In: Sborník Ústavu českých dějin FF UK, series A, vol. 1. – Praha : UK, 2003. - pp. 9-25; *Slezsko ve školních učebnicích českých a československých dějin [Silesia in school textbooks on Czech and Czechoslovak history]*. - In: Slezsko v dějinách českého státu [Silesia in the history of the Czech state]: Sborník příspěvků z vědecké konference k 50. výročí Slezského ústavu SZM v Opavě. Opava : Tilia, 1998, pp. 47-54.

³ *Rámcový vzdělávací program pro základní vzdělávání*. Praha : Infra, 2004, pp. 36-39.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 38.

⁵ Fraus, SPN, Nová škola [New school]. Fourth edition of textbooks produced by SPL- Práce ALBRA spol. s r.o. currently shows the biggest delay. There is only the textbook for 6th grade available on the market now in the fourth year of the ongoing reform of the system of education. On the other hand, the series by PRODOS publishers is only innovated.

⁶ The already-published editions are produced by FRAUS, Nová škola and SPN. SPL Práce publishers joined in the course of 2010 by commencement of a fourth edition of history textbooks.

⁷ Czech history teachers can currently use interactive titles by Fraus publishers for 6th grade and by Nová škola for 6th to 8th grades.

European or local history but national history. However, the traditional effort to cover histories of many countries by a wide, but necessarily rather encyclopaedic survey, still plays a non-negligible role. The survey is chronological with an emphasis on political history.

Content Analysis of Czech History Textbooks (Silesia and Its History till the End of 17th Century)

The first mention of Silesian history is limited to a single textbook for 7th grade in the cartographic depiction of the Czech lands under the rule of the last members of the Přemysl family, where Upper Silesia is even marked with a different colour, but without any further context.⁸ On the other hand the territories under control of Jan Lucemburský represent traditional information, including general facts about the spread of the fame of the Kingdom of Bohemia accompanied with information about extensions of its frontiers. The king acquired the Chebsko and the Lužice regions as well as part of Silesia. The period condition is illustrated by a map.⁹ The following chapter on the king and the emperor Karel IV confirms the situation and develops its description further by characterizing the state of the Czech Crown. The text reminds us that in addition to the Kingdom of Bohemia the state also included Silesia, Upper and Lower Lužice, Morava, Brandenburg Lands and other smaller territories. The situation is again shown on a map.¹⁰ The scope and form of the information provided by the other comparative textbooks are similar. The marginal comments on the side flap of the pages of one of the analysed editions include a “bonus” piece of information about the localisation of historic Silesia. The text informs the pupil that most of the territory of Silesia is part of Poland. The Silesian towns in the territory of the Czech Republic include Opava and Krnov or Český Těšín. The illustrative photographs show the city hall in Wroclaw and a church in Opava.¹¹ This is the complete survey of mentions of historic Silesia before 18th century in Czech textbooks of history.

Content Analysis of Czech History Textbooks (Silesia and Its History in 18th – 20^h Centuries)

The level of attention paid to historic Silesia in the period of 18th to 20th centuries by Czech textbooks of history is not substantially different from the previous historic period in the scope of information provided. The chapter on Maria Theresia and the Pragmatic Sanction only includes a factual note of the efforts of Friedrich II to acquire Silesia at the expense of the Habsburg empress.¹² There is nothing more detailed about the deep causes of the conflict. The detailed account provides a similarly laconic piece of information. Maria Theresia did not get Silesia back and the territory remained owned by Prussia¹³. The Habsburg empress only kept a small southern part of the territory.¹⁴ The text continues on the next page with the first period of reforms after the loss of the Austrian Silesia in the wars for the heritage.¹⁵ Similar information is included in the final summary.¹⁶

The verbal parts of the history textbooks are similarly laconic in the case of 20th century history. The results of the search for mentions of Silesia in them ended with discovery of a map of the Second Republic. Its clue includes information about the Těšínsko region as a

⁸ *Dějepis 7*. Praha : Fraus, 2009, p. 55.

⁹ VÁLKOVÁ, V.: *Dějepis 7*. Praha : SPN, 2008, p. 99.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

¹¹ *Dějepis 7*. Praha : Fraus, 2008, p. 80.

¹² *Dějepis 8*. Praha : SPN, 2008, p. 37.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

¹⁴ ČAPKA, F. - VYKOUPILOVÁ, L.: *Dějepis 8*. Brno : Nová škola, 2009, p. 17.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

territory occupied by the Poles.¹⁷ The chapter The Beginning of the War includes a paragraph about the provocative attack on the radio transmitter in the town of Gliwice,¹⁸ on the period border between Germany and Poland.¹⁹ The incident is illustrated by excerpts from the alleged broadcasting by the Polish rebels. The pupils are asked to find the town in the current map of Poland and to compare the past and the present frontier between Poland and Germany.

The theme Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia includes a map with a clue mentioning information about annexing of the Těšínsko region by Poland in October 1938 and by Germany a year later.²⁰ The same theme is further indirectly mentioned in the account of the new frontier between Germany and Poland. That mention also includes the river line of the Odra and the Nisa and the corresponding territorial loss of Germany in favour of Poland.²¹

Conclusion

The analysis suggests that the history of historic Silesia forms a permanent part of Czech history textbooks for elementary schools. However, the presentation is mostly enumerative and repeats past patterns. This fact logically leads to unevenness and a fragmentary nature by no means allowing for perception of continuity of development of the given territory as a whole or in part. If the historic territory of Silesia is mentioned at all, then the information is limited to a couple of facts and does not involve any skill development. We have to accept the fact that the available history textbooks for junior schools (5th to 9th grade) only contain verbal mentions of the region in the context of “large” political chapters and non-verbal mentions in the exclusive form of historic geography. Thus economic and cultural development of the region is completely missing, as well as mention of historic personalities of the region. The individual textbook editions do not substantially differ in the amount of the provided information. The authors first note Silesian history when dealing with the period of the Luxembourg dynasty. Therefore Czech history textbooks are limited to just a few pieces of information about history of Silesia both before and in the course of the period in question. Further, the statements are mostly limited to the smaller Bohemian part of historic Silesia despite the fact that it was a densely populated region on both sides of the frontier, with significant raw material resources and fertile land. Another dimension is represented by the potential of both industrial revolutions, transforming large areas of both the Bohemian and the Polish part of historic Silesia to a status of European significance, which remains completely unmentioned by history textbook authors. Verbal as well as non-verbal examples in the form of period pictures, comparative plans of towns, industrial complexes and other documents of the effect of both industrial revolutions on the overall transformation and appearance of the landscape can therefore be recommended as legitimate parts of any prepared textbook with nationwide impact. The ethnically rather complicated region further offers an example of the complexity of the Czech – German – Polish relations in modern history. Another aspect worth documenting is the impact of the global economic crisis on this region, and specifics of the occupation and the geo-political plans of the victorious powers concerning the post-war territorial and ethnic appearance of Silesia.

The basic cause of the found facts is probably represented by the overall concept of the curriculum and residual stereotypes in approaches to history, with the surviving trend towards national rather than regional concepts of history teaching, despite certain recent positive changes. Different approaches, more deeply demonstrating national history with particular

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 44.

¹⁸ *Dějepis 9*. Brno : Nová škola 2010, p. 55.

¹⁹ Localisation speaks about southern Poland, not explicitly about Silesia.

²⁰ *Dějepis 9*. Brno : Nová škola 2010, p. 60.

²¹ Ibid., p. 85.

local examples of cultural, religious, economic, social and everyday historic stories, still lack deeper anchoring in the Czech educational system.

**Scientific Research of the Polish Academy of Learning in Cieszyn Silesia in 1930s
(The Outline of the Problem)**

Witold Chmielewski

V roce 1933 byl vytvořen Výbor slezských vydavatelství Polské akademie věd, který prováděl rozsáhlou badatelskou činnost ve Slezsku. Největším jeho úspěchem bylo vydání Dějin Slezska od nejstarších dob do roku 1400. Zajímavé badatelské iniciativy probíhaly i v oblasti etnografie, geografie a geologie.

Klíčová slova: Výbor slezských vydavatelství PAU; třicátá léta 20. století; Těšínské Slezsko; vědecký výzkum

The Polish Academy of Learning started between the wars a wide scientific research and publishing activity concerning Silesia which is a geographic region placed in the area of three countries: Poland, Germany and Czechoslovakia, with special attention paid to the Silesian voivodeship of those days. The reasons for such research in Silesia were national, political and scientific. For Polish scientists from Kraków and Lwów the most important were scientific issues. Politicians, on the other hand, were mostly interested in political matters, whereas the Silesian people involved in the activities of the Polish Academy of Learning focused on national aims. There was one more significant reason: the need to oppose and leave behind German initiatives as far as the research on history, culture, tradition and natural resources of Silesia was concerned. And most of all, it was important to emphasize and depict the Polish roots of Silesia.

The initiator of these numerous activities was the governor of Silesia, Michał Grażyński, supported by Stanisław Kutrzeba, the secretary general of the Polish Academy of Learning. The positive and direct relations between the two men were conducive to the dynamic development and harmonious realization of this significant initiative. As early as in 1920s the Polish Academy of Learning got involved in the topic of Silesia. At that time the historians under the management of Stanisław Kutrzeba created a huge *Historia Śląska. Od najdawniejszych czasów do roku 1400 (The History of Silesia. From the Eldest Times to 1400)* appeared as a big scientific achievement of the Polish Academy of Learning in this region. The issue of Cieszyn Silesia was discussed in numerous places of this dissertation¹. The Polish Academy of Learning supported also some initiatives concerning the preparation for publishing Silesian folk songs².

In order to conduct the research and scientific activities efficiently, the Silesian Committee for Publishing was created on March 27, 1933. A priest born in Silesia, Konstanty Michalski,

¹For instance: KUTRZEBA, S. (ed): *Historia Śląska. Od najdawniejszych czasów do roku 1400*. Kraków 1933, pp. 42-51, 75, 76.

²HULEWICZ, J.: *Wydawnictwa śląskie Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności*. In : Polska Akademia Umiejętności 1872-1952. Nauki humanistyczne i społeczne. Materiały z sesji jubileuszowej. Kraków 1974, pp.48-49, 69; ZIELIŃSKI, W.: Śląskie zainteresowania krakowskiego ośrodka naukowego w okresie międzywojennym. In: *Zaranie Śląskie* 4, 1973, p. 759; CHMIELEWSKI, W.: *Z działalności Komitetu Wydawnictw Śląskich Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności w latach 1933-1939*. *Studia Śląskie*, vol. XXIX, 1976, pp. 329, 330.

became the head of the Committee. The representatives of Silesian voivodeship became the members of the committee: the governor Michał Grażyński, the marshal of Silesian Parliament Konstancy Wolny, the president of the Society for the Friends of Sciences in Silesia priest Emil Szramek, the director of the Silesian Museum Tadeusz Dobrowolski and the director of the Department of Public Education of the Silesian Voivodeship Office. The scientific world was represented initially by general secretary of the Polish Academy of Learning Stanisław Kutrzeba, Franciszek Bujak, Adam Krzyżanowski, Kazimierz Nitsch, Jan Nowak, Kazimierz Moszyński, Jerzy Smoleński, Władysław Szafer, Władysław Semkowicz - the secretary of the Committee, Kazimierz Dobrowolski, doctor Józef Żurowski and Oskar Lange. In the following years there were some changes and the Committee was enlarged and Karol Grzesik took the position of Konstancy Wolny. There were new members of the Committee, for instance, Roman Lutman, the director of the Silesian Institute in Katowice³ and other scientists representing other regions of Poland. Research, publishing and scientific works conducted by the newly-created body of the Polish Academy of Learning described mainly prehistory, anthropology, history, ethnography, linguistics, economy, biology and geology⁴. The research was sponsored by the government of Silesian voivodeship (Silesian Parliament and the Silesian Voivodeship Office). The tasks of the Silesian Committee for Publishing were supported by Polish scientists, the Society for the Friends of Sciences in Silesia, the Silesian Institute and the Silesian Museum in Katowice. Additionally some dwellers of Silesia were helpful; for instance, the teacher from secondary school in Mikołów, Stanisław Bąk and the representatives of school administration, for instance, Stanisław Kuśnierz, the school inspector in Chorzów⁵. Some of the Silesian works of the Polish Academy of Learning were conducted in Cieszyn Silesia at its Polish area. Numerous initiatives involved researching the part of the Czechoslovakian area so-called Transolza (Zaolzie).

The Silesian Committee for Publishing paid much attention to humanistic studies. It continued its work on the next volumes of *Historia Śląska. Od najdawniejszych czasów do roku 1400*. Numerous elements concerning Cieszyn Silesia were either already placed in the book or they were planned to be placed and described there. Separate studies for this region were not planned. Nevertheless, individual initiatives to depict some events from the history of this region appeared and they were financially supported by the Silesian Committee for Publishing. Szczotka proposed describing economic and cultural relations of Cieszyn Silesia in 1490-1621⁶. Franciszek Szymiczek wrote a dissertation entitled *Walka o Śląsk Cieszyński* asked to publish it with the help of the Silesian Committee for Publishing. Its level was estimated by the Institute of History of Arts of the Jagiellonian University. It was said that this text did not fulfill the rules of the Academy but it was finally published by the Silesian Institute in Katowice⁷. During the meeting of the Committee on December 2, 1937, the

3 The Archives of Science of Polish Academy for Sciences and the Polish Academy of Learning in Kraków. The documents of the Polish Academy of Learning (further: Archives of Science). The documents of the Silesian Committee for Publishing are not enumerated, sign. the Polish Academy of Learning I-40. The document of the General Secretary of the Polish Academy of Learning from November 24, 1934 to the director of the Silesian Institute informing that the Board of the Polish Academy of Learning accepted the decision of the Silesian Committee for Publishing to give a membership of this Committee to R. Lutman.

4 *Sprawozdanie z czynności Komitetu Wydawnictw Śląskich od marca 1934*. Kraków 1934, pp. 1-11; HULEWICZ, J.: op. cit., p. 51.

5 Archives of Science, sign. the Polish Academy of Learning I-42, A letter from S. Kuśnierz to the Polish Academy of Learning from June 18, 1937 concerning biological research.

6 Ibid, sign. the Polish Academy of Learning I-39, *Protokół Komitetu Wydawnictw Śląskich Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności w dniu 2 grudnia 1937; Protokół posiedzenia Komitetu Wydawnictw Śląskich Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności w dniu 30 listopada 1938*.

7 Ibid, sign. the Polish Academy of Learning I-40, *Uwagi o pracy mgra Fr[anciszka] Szymiczka "Walka o Śląsk Cieszyński" sporządzone 24 czerwca 1936 r. przez Zakład Historii Sztuki UJ*.

possibility of publishing the work of Kaszper MA *Osadnictwo Księstwa Cieszyńskiego*⁸ discussed.

The prehistory of Silesian voivodeship was researched to a huge extent. The leading organizer and the head of the project was assistant Józef Żurowski, and after his death in 1936 Tadeusz Sulimirski⁹. They were successfully supported by Józef Kostrzewski, Rudolf Jamka, Włodzimierz Antoniewicz and Roman Jakimowicz - the director of the National Archeological Museum in Warsaw. The prehistoric works organized by Józef Żurowski in 1933 concerned Cieszyn Silesia. They concentrated on Old Bielsko (a settlement, so-called Stary Wał) and Bielsko county and Międzyzwieć (a settlement next to the agriculture school) near Skoczów. Additionally, under the leadership of J. Kostrzewski, successful research was conducted in Podłęże in Bielsko county. The research, which after the death of Żurowski was conducted by Jan Bartys was very successful¹⁰. Both settlements appeared in the *Atlas grodzisk i zamczysk śląskich*¹¹ following the initiative of Józef Żurowski. Doctor Stanisław Bąk placed there toponymical material collected in the settlements¹². The result of the archeological research in Cieszyn Silesia was described in the work of the Committee entitled *Prace Prehistoryczne*¹³. must be mentioned that two settlements on the Czechoslovakian side were to be researched: Český Těšín and Hrádek near Jablunkov. Unfortunately the research was never finished¹⁴.

The Committee of Anthropology and Prehistory of the Polish Academy of Learning asked, taking into consideration the good financial situation of the Silesian Committee for Publishing, to support systematic anthropological research in Silesia¹⁵. It was accepted. Kazimierz Stołyhwa was responsible for the research, which started in summer 1934. All the counties of Silesian voivodeship were to be researched in this way but the outbreak of the war made it impossible to research the areas which were part of Cieszyn Silesia.

As far as ethnography is concerned, some interesting initiatives were begun. Mieczysław Gładysz conducted for a few years, even before the Committee was created, research concerning wood carvings in the area of Beskid Śląski on both Polish and Czechoslovakian sides near Brenna, Wisła, Istebna, Koniaków, Jaworzynka, Bukovec, Jablunkov, Pisek, Mosty, Milíkov, Košariska, Horní Lomná a Dolní Lomná¹⁶. He also took into consideration the exhibits gathered in museums in Kraków, Cieszyn, Jablunkov, Orlová, Frýdek, Místek, Opava, Brno and Vienna¹⁷. Kazimierz Moszyński highly praised the research described in a big dissertation. The publication, following the positive opinion of Philological Department of the Polish Academy of Learning, was accepted as a part of the publishing plan of the

8 Ibid, sign. the Polish Academy of Learning I-39, *Protokół Komitetu Wydawnictw Śląskich Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności w dniu 2 grudnia 1937.*

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid, sign. the Polish Academy of Learning I-47 R. Jakimowicz - J. Żurowski: *Wykaz grodzisk, które będą badane i planowane w r. 1933*; *ibid*, A letter J.Kostrzewski (August 12, 1933) to S. Kutrzeba informing about the results of the research.

11 ŻUROWSKI, J. - JAKUMOWICZ, R.: *Atlas grodzisk i zamczysk śląskich*, brochure 1. Kraków 1939.

12 *III sprawozdanie z czynności Komitetu Wydawnictw Śląskich od połowy listopada 1934 do czerwca 1936*, Kraków 1936, p. 2.

13 ANTONIEWICZ, W. - JAKIMOWICZ, R. - KOSTRZEWSKI, J.: *Badania prehistoryczne w województwie śląskim w latach 1934-1935*. Kraków, 1936, pp. 1,4; JAKIMOWICZ, R. - KOSTRZEWSKI, J. - BARTYS, J.: *Badania prehistoryczne w województwie śląskim w latach 1937-1938*. Kraków 1939, pp. 59, 61-67.

14 Archives of Science, sign. the Polish Academy of Learning I-39, *Protokół. II posiedzenie Komitetu Wydawnictw Śląskich dn. 16 listopada 1933.*

15 Archives of Science, sign. the Polish Academy of Learning I-42, a letter from the Committee of Anthropology and Prehistory of the Polish Academy of Learning to the Silesian Committee for Publishing asking for support of anthropological research of the Silesian population.

16 GŁADYSZ, M.: *Góralskie zdobnictwo drzewne na Śląsku*. Kraków 1935, pp. 2, 3, *Mapa zasięgu zbadanego terenu* -not numbered.

17 Ibid, p.13.

Committee. Another small work by Gładysz about sheds in Silesia was also to be published¹⁸. One more dissertation by this author was devoted to metal decoration. He started the research in 1930s and he observed more than 100 country men from 50 villages. Although the research concerned mainly the southern part of Upper Silesia it mostly concerned the counties of Bielsko, Cieszyn, Český Těšín, and part of Fryšták and Frýdek counties and Čadec county, that is the area on both sides of the frontier¹⁹. Gładysz collected many interesting illustrations concerning metal decoration in August and September 1935. He also described the relations and the atmosphere at Transolza at this time. People, in his opinion, behaved as if "at least tomorrow the war was supposed to break out: 'Poland is on fire,' repeated everybody"²⁰. In mid 1930s Mieczysław Gładysz started to describe colorful decorations in Silesia²¹. The book entitled *Zdobnictwo barwne na Śląsku* supposed to comprise three parts concerning decoration of equipment, clay objects and leather. It was planned that the dominant part of the book would be devoted to decorations created in Cieszyn Silesia. Gładysz conducted his research in this area in August and September 1936²². The outbreak of the war prevented him from finishing his work.

Józef Obrębski intended to conduct his own ethnographic and social research. He wanted to devote his research to social analysis and the social structure of villages in Cieszyn area. Unfortunately, because of organizational problems the research was never conducted²³. Franciszek Strzałko made a scientific excursion in 1934 in Cieszyn region to Transolza in order to find material for research of church architecture in Silesia²⁴. In the following years he researched other parts of Silesia.

The book by Tadeusz and Agnieszka Dobrowolska entitled *Strój haft i koronki śląskie* was highly appreciated at that time. It was a continuation of the previous studies of A. Dobrowolska²⁵. The work represented such a high level and was so well-published that the scouts wanted to give it to an honourable guest at the meeting in the Hague in August 1937²⁶. There were two chapters in the book devoted to Cieszyn laces, dresses and embroidery of Silesian mountaineers. The material for this topic was gathered in Cieszyn and Bielsko counties²⁷.

Longin Malicki, cooperating with the Silesian Museum in Katowice, asked a secretary of the Silesian Committee for Publishing in 1937 to support financially his research of social and spiritual culture of the mountaineers of Silesia²⁸. As a result of ethnographic works it was decided in 1939 that the research should be conducted in eight Cieszyn counties: Istebna, Skalité, Dolní Lomná, Horní Lomná, Ligotka Kameralna and in Fryšták county it was Louky

18 Archives of Science, sign. the Polish Academy of Learning I-40, a letter from S. Kutrzeba (November 21, 1933) to M. Grażyński about the publication of the Silesian Committee for Publishing of the Polish Academy of Learning.

19 GŁADYSZ, M.: *Zdobnictwo metalowe na Śląsku*. Kraków 1938, pp. IX, X.

20 Archives of Science, sign. the Polish Academy of Learning I- 43, a postcard from M. Gładysz (September 22, 1935) to W. Semkowicz informing the secretary of the Silesian Committee for Publishing about the research conducted. M. Gładysz informed also W. Semkowicz about the research in his postcards from August 24 and September 22 1935.

21 *III sprawozdanie z czynności Komitetu...*, op. cit., p. 9.

22 Archives of Science, sign. the Polish Academy of Learning I- 43, a letter from M. Gładysz (October 31, 1936) to W. Semkowicz informing about the results of the ethnographic research.

23 Ibid, sign. the Polish Academy of Learning I- 43, a letter from K. Muszyński (January 29, 1934) to W. Semkowicz informing about the scientific research of J. Obrębski.

24 *II sprawozdanie Komitetu Wydawnictw Śląskich od 1 lipca do połowy listopada 1934*. Kraków 1934, p. 6.

25 DOBROWOLSCY, A. and T.: *Strój, haft i koronka w województwie śląskim*. Kraków 1936, p. 1.

26 Archives of Science, the Polish Academy of Learning I- 43, a letter of T. Dobrowolski (July 23, 1937) asking to prepare especially bound book.

27 DOBROWOLSCY, A. and T., op. cit., pp. 126-135.

28 Archives of Science, sign. the Polish Academy of Learning I-43, a letter from L. Malicki (June 15, 1937) to W. Semkowicz asking to support financially ethnographic research.

and Věřňovice. Finally, the research was conducted successfully in Wisła and Istebna in Cieszyn county, Skalité in Čadec county and Louky in Fryšták county. Ten researchers, that is, six ethnographers, a musicologist, a sociologist, a dialectologist and a drafter were mostly interested in material culture (architecture, dresses, food), spiritual culture (knowledge, beliefs, literature, songs, music) and social culture (family and seasonal ceremonies, interpersonal relations etc). In addition, the readership in the country was checked²⁹. The results of the scientific research in Cieszyn area were published in a series, comprising all results from the whole Silesia - *Prace Etnograficzne*³⁰ the Committee.

There was a traditional cooperation between the Polish Academy of Learning and Silesia as far as gathering and publishing of Silesian songs was concerned. The facts which support this statement can be found in a letter of the Academy (July 18, 1920) to the famous collector of the folk songs of the region, Łukasz Walis from Rozbark. Additionally, it is proved by letters from vice director of the Society for the Friends of Sciences in Silesia, priest and doctor Emil Szramka, concerning the publishing of the collection of Silesian folk songs which were provided by the Polish Academy of Learning in 1920. Jan Stanisław Bystroń, Kazimierz Nitsch, Jan Łoś and Zdzisław Jachimecki were also interested in this issue³¹. The first volume of *Pieśni ludowe z polskiego Śląska* in 1927³².

Priest Szramek wanted to publish the rest of the Silesian songs not only to save the product of spiritual culture but also as a part of publishing initiative on the German side of Silesia³³. A positive aspect was the creation of the Silesian Committee for Publishing which during its second meeting discussed the issue of financing the folk songs prepared for publication³⁴. A big number of them came from the area of Cieszyn, Istebna, Wisła, Skoczów, Bielsko and Transolza. Jan Tacina was particularly involved in gathering folk songs (he collected more than 550). First he lived in Oldřichovice in Czechoslovakia and then moved to Ustroń Śląski where he worked as a teacher. At some point his passion for gathering the songs went beyond the merits. In his letter to the secretary of the Silesian Committee for Publishing of the Polish Academy of Learning he wrote: "I paid much attention now to the Czech part of Cieszyn Silesia and I want to describe it in best possible way for political reasons. (...)"³⁵. Each of the people collected more than 100 songs: Wiktor Kiszka from Cieszyn, Feliks Nowowiejski from Istebna, Paweł Pustówka from Goleszów and Henryk Doffek from Bukowiec. Alfons Brzuska, a teacher from schools near Jablunkov, Ludwik Brożek, Karol Hławiczka, Jan Jeleń, Jan Samiec, Karol Piegza, Eugeniusz Fierla from Lazy near Orlová and many others collected a particularly big number of songs. A number of folk songs were found in "Zaranie Śląskie"

29 Ibid, the Polish Academy of Learning I-43, a letter from the Polish Academy of Learning (June 22, 1939) to the Silesian Voivodeship Office, Social and Political Department in Katowice enumerating counties and places chosen for the ethnographic research; GŁADYSZ, M.: *Prace nad etnograficzną monografią Górnego Śląska*. In: *Etnografia polska*, vol. I, Wrocław 1958, p. 88.

30 Within *Prace Etnograficzne* appeared three works: GŁADYSZ, M.: *Góralskie...* op.cit.; GŁADYSZ, M.: *Zdobnictwo...* op. cit.; DOBROWOLSCY, A., T.: op. cit.

31 Archives of Science, sign. the Polish Academy of Learning I-49, a letter from E. Szramka (November 23, 1924) to the Polish Academy of Learning concerning the publication of Silesian songs; Ibid, the letter of the same person (November 26, 1924) to the Polish Academy of Learning concerning the discussion with the representatives of the Academy on the same topic of songs; compare: HULEWICZ, J.: *Wydawnictwa...*, p. 69.

32 BYSTRONŃ, J. (ed): *Pieśni ludowe z polskiego Śląska z rękopisów zebranych przez ks. Emila Szramka oraz zbiorów dawniejszych A. Cinciały i J. Rogera*, vol. 1 *Pieśni balladowe*. Kraków 1927.

33 Archives of Science, sign. the Polish Academy of Learning I-49, a letter from priest E. Szramek (May 15, 1928) to the Polish Academy of Learning about the publishing of the second volume of Silesian folk songs.

34 BYSTRONŃ, J. (ed): *Pieśni ludowe z polskiego Śląska z rękopisów ...*, vol. I, part 1, *Pieśni balladowe*, part 2, *Pieśni o zalotach i miłości*. Kraków 1934.

35 Archives of Science, sign. the Polish Academy of Learning I-49, a letter from J. Tacina (August 27, 1934) to J. Bystroń about the work of a teacher taken up by the author.

and biweekly publication "Ogniwo" in Český Těšín³⁶. The Association of Polish Choirs managed to gather numerous songs in Cieszyn Silesia, and in this way tried to save Polish folk creativity. Two hundred songs were collected and given to the Polish Academy of Learning to have them published in the next volume of songs published by the Silesian Committee for Publishing³⁷. The whole collection was well described and there was a big number of new melodies. The material was supposed to be published in thematic groups: volume II - wedding songs, family songs; volume III position songs (military, hunting, mining, shepherds' songs) and similar; volume IV – general songs (religious, patriotic, occasional, humoristic etc). The plan was never fulfilled. In 1938 another volume of *Pieśni ludowe z polskiego Śląska*³⁸ (with different order of topics). It included a large number of songs from Cieszyn Silesia³⁹. In August 1939 the first part of the third volume of *Pieśni* was published⁴⁰. It was bound during the war. The rest of the songs prepared for the third volume disappeared. The other songs appeared many years after World War II as the second part of volume III⁴¹. Władysław Semkowicz constantly strived for the publication of the songs. He often addressed Józef Ligęza and Stefan Marian Stoiński who worked on them. He noticed all the mistakes, especially the lack of unified phonetic transcription of the texts placed in the publication⁴².

There was supposed to be conducted simultaneously to the research of the songs the research of Polish language in Cieszyn Silesia. It had been researched earlier by Kazimierz Nitsch from Kraków. It was reflected in the book entitled *Dialekty polskiego Śląska*⁴³ in 1909 which was financially supported by the Silesian Committee for Publishing of the Polish Academy of Learning in 1939⁴⁴. In 1929 Nitsch, during his visit in Cieszyn, suggested researching dialects of particular villages in this region as there were different language elements in each of them. The whole region was divided by the famous dialectologist into various language areas, among them being: "Czech borderland, mountains, area between Cieszyn and Skoczów, north-western corner near Dziedzice - they represent different dialects and all mountain areas use different dialects: different in Łomna, different in Istebna, and different in Wisła"⁴⁵. Nitsch perceived Cieszyn Silesia as one geographical region and wanted to linguistically research dialects on the Czechoslovakian side as well⁴⁶. Nevertheless, no further research sponsored by the Silesian Committee for Publishing was

36 LIGĘZA, J. - STOIŃSKI, S. M. (ed): *Pieśni ludowe z polskiego Śląska*, vol. II, *Pieśni balladowe o zalotach i miłości*. Kraków 1938, pp. XXII-XXIII.

37 Archive of Science, sign. the Polish Academy of Learning I-49, a letter from the Association of Polish Choirs (June 14, 1937) to the Polish Academy of Learning concerning the edition of Cieszyn Silesia folk songs.

38 Ibid, J. Ligęza, S. M. Stoiński *Sprawozdanie*, Katowice September 19, 1936; *ibid*, a letter from Tacina to W.Semkowicz concerning the edition of the songs gathered.

39 LIGĘZA, J. - STOIŃSKI, S. M. (ed): vol.II, *op.cit.* Kraków 1938.

40 LIGĘZA, J. - STOIŃSKI, S. M. (ed), *Pieśni ludowe z polskiego Śląska*, vol. III, part 1, *Pieśni o miłości*, Kraków 1939.

41 LIGĘZA, J. - STOIŃSKI, S. M. (ed), *Pieśni ludowe z polskiego Śląska*, vol. III, part 2, *Pieśni rodzinne*, Katowice 1961, pp. 5-8.

42 Archive of Science, sign. the Polish Academy of Learning I-49, a letter of S. M. Stoiński (February 4, 1937) to W. Semkowicz concerning the rules of transcription used for the texts; *ibid*, a letter of S. M. Stoiński (February 5, 1937) to W. Semkowicz concerning the mistakes of the type-setter in the prepared publication of the songs.

43 NITSCH, K.: *Dialekty polskiego Śląska* (with a map). In: *Materiały i Prace Komisji Językowej Akademii Umiejętności*, vol. IV, 1909, pp. 85-356.

44 *Ibid*: *Dialekty polskiego Śląska*, second edition. Kraków 1939. Language issues in Cieszyn Silesia were also discussed on pages 4, 6, 10, 162-167 and 186.

45 *Ibid*, *W sprawie naukowego zbioru tekstów śląskich. Zmieniony ustęp na jubileuszu "Znicza" w Cieszynie, "Zaranie Śląskie" 1929*, part 4, p. 195.

46 *Ibid*, p.196.

conducted in this region⁴⁷. Only Stanisław Bąk took up the research connected with edition of *Atlas grodzisk i zamczysk śląskich*.

Biological research was conducted and controlled by Władysław Szafer and under the leadership of assistant Aniela Kozłowska who was the creator and custodian of the Science Department of the Silesian Museum in Katowice and who also worked at Warsaw University of Life Sciences and was chosen a member of the Silesian Committee for Publishing. Regional research supported financially by the Silesian Museum and conducted by a few researchers in 1920s and at the beginning of 1930s was supposed to describe in detail forests of Cieszyn Silesia⁴⁸. Aniela Kozłowska described forests of Pogórze Cieszyńskie. The research of moss flora in Silesian Beskid was conducted by Rudolf Wilczek and the liverworts flora was researched by Irena Rejment. Izabela Książkówna observed and described the bedding of the forest, especially arachnids. Zdzisław Stuglik described the butterflies and flora. On southern slopes of Czantoria near Cisownica he collected numerous interesting specimens of butterflies. Bronisław Jaroń described turbary in the whole of Silesia, including its southern part. Additionally, the scientific research was conducted by many young scientists. When Kozłowska left Silesia the research was continued by Wiktor Nechay de Felseis from the Silesian Museum⁴⁹. The result of the research was, among others, the publication of the first part of monographic work in 1936 entitled *Prace Biologiczne*⁵⁰. There were also other works published, comprising, for instance, the result of the research conducted in Cieszyn Silesia⁵¹. Józef Fuldakowski from the Jagiellonian University conducted the research of frontier area in Silesia⁵².

Jerzy Smoleński undertook geographical research of Cieszyn and Bielsko the result of which was supposed to be published in a monograph⁵³. The Geographical Institute of Jagiellonian University prepared a geographical atlas and a magnetic map of Silesia. The geographical and settlement analysis of a village in Silesian Beskid and of the settlement in the whole Cieszyn Silesia were prepared⁵⁴.

The research team under the leadership of Jan Nowak undertook the geological research. Its result was intended to be useful for the economy of the country. Nowak presented the geological research plan during the meeting of the Silesian Committee for Publishing on March 27, 1933. An important part of the work was taken up by the continuation and new research in Cieszyn⁵⁵. As early as in the first years of activity of the Committee the works on

47 Compare: CHMIELEWSKI, W.: *Z badań językoznawczych Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności*. In: FRYCIE, S. (ed): *W świecie humanistycznych wartości. Rozprawy i artykuły o języku, literaturze i humanistycznych pasjach historyka literatury i badacza kultury - profesora Witold Nawrockiego*. Piotrków Trybunalski 2006, pp. 81-82. The research financed by the Silesian Committee for Publishing was mainly conducted in the Upper Silesia and Opole Silesia.

48 KOZŁOWSKA, A.: *Charakterystyka zespołów leśnych Pogórza Cieszyńskiego*. In KOZŁOWSKA, A. - WILCZEK, R. - REJMENT, I. - KSIĄŻKÓWNA, I. - STUGLIK, Z.: *Biocenoza lasów Pogórza Cieszyńskiego*. Kraków 1936, pp. VII, VIII.

49 Archive of Science, sign. the Polish Academy of Learning I-42, letters from A. Kozłowska (December 29, 1935, June 15, 1936) to W. Semkowicz concerning the research in Silesia; *ibid*, B. Jaroń, *Sprawozdanie z badań torfowiskowych na Śląsku*, November 23, 1935; *ibid*, *Sprawozdanie z dwutygodniowej pracy (od 12 kwietnia do 25), odbytej przez Zdzisława Stuglika w Beskidach; III sprawozdanie z czynności Komitetu Wydawnictw Śląskich od połowy listopada 1934 do czerwca 1936*. Kraków 1936, pp. 7, 8.

50 KOZŁOWSKA, A. - WILCZEK, R. - REJMENT, I. - KSIĄŻKÓWNA, I. - STUGLIK, Z.: *op. cit.*

51 For instance, KOZŁOWSKA, A.: *Szata roślinna województwa śląskiego*. Katowice 1936.

52 Archives of Science, sign. the Polish Academy of Learning I-42, a letter from the general secretary of the Polish Academy of Learning (June 30, 1939) informing about the fact that J. Fudalski conducts the research.

53 *III sprawozdanie...op.cit.*, p. 6.

54 Archives of Sciences, sign. the Polish Academy of Learning I-43, *Sprawozdanie z działalności Instytutu Geograficznego UJ*, November 20, 1934; *Sprawozdanie z czynności Komitetu Wydawnictw Śląskich od marca 1933 do końca czerwca 1934*. Kraków 1934, p. 9.

55 *Ibid*, the Polish Academy of Learning I-43, Geological works plan suggested by J. Nowak according to the

a map edited in 1937 *Mapa Karpat Śląskich* continued and developed. Jadwiga Burtan⁵⁶ described the source of the rivers Brennica, Vistula, Olza and the area around Cieszyn and Istebna. Kalikst Konior, who cooperated with the Physiocratic Committee of the Polish Academy of Learning, conducted cartographic research in the area near Bielsko. Marian Książkiewicz described particular areas of cartographic sheets of Cieszyn⁵⁶. The results of the research allowed them to outdistance Czechoslovakian scientists who were also working on this problem in Cieszyn Silesia.

In 1936 geological research was also undertaken by Wilhelm Krach⁵⁷. Jan Zerndt made an international career researching coal megaspores in 57 coalmines in Polish Silesia⁵⁸. The issue was not directly connected with the discussed area but it had a positive influence on the general view of the Silesian voivodeship.

Edward Stenz made, with modern methods, magnetic measurements in Cieszyn and Bielsko⁵⁹ whereas Tadeusz Ślósarz conducted, under the leadership of the famous mathematician and astronomer Tadeusz Banachiewicz, the measurement of weight intensity in the Silesian voivodeship⁶⁰. The results of the research were published in *Prace Geologiczne*. of them concerned either the whole analyzed region or parts of it⁶¹.

Walery Łoziński made in 1934 a plan of soil study in Silesia. There were supposed to be two studies of soils conducted in Cieszyn Silesia: in the Carpathian Mountains and near the Vistula river area⁶². The fulfillment of this task was postponed to the end of 1930s and it was never started.

Works concerning agriculture of Silesia began. In the Cieszyn region a number of farms were to be checked and the sales and consumption of milk was to be described. To fulfill this task the materials of Agriculture Association in Cieszyn were to be used. Stefan Szmidt from the Jagiellonian University presented the concept of the research⁶³.

Joining Transolza to Poland in 1938 enlarged the area of research conducted in Silesia by the Polish Academy of Learning. It was supposed to be taken into consideration by Stanisław Kutrzeba in budget estimate prepared for 1939. In his letter to the Silesian Voivodeship Office he wrote: "I want to emphasize that the sum of 80 000 zlotys is hardly enough to cover all the needs of the Committee (the Silesian Committee for Publishing) in the budget year 1939/1940 which is the result of the fact that the Polish Republic acquired the area of Silesian Transolza and the program of the works of the Committee must be enlarged not only to the works planned for this year but also the ones which have already been started"⁶⁴. Stanisław Kutrzeba announced a discussion of a detailed budget division of the Silesian Committee for

information from December 13, 1933.

56 Ibid, the Polish Academy of Learning I-43, *Sprawozdanie naukowe z badań geologicznych wykonanych na Śląsku Cieszyńskim w roku 1934*. Kraków, November 5, 1934; *Plan geologicznych prac terenowych na obszarze województwa śląskiego, projektowanych na rok 1935*.

57 Ibid, W. Krach, *Sprawozdanie z badań geologicznych*, October 14, 1936.

58 Ibid, the Polish Academy of Learning I-41, a letter from J. Nowak J. Zerndt (March 10, 1934) concerning the results of the research of coal megaspores.

59 Ibid, E. Stenz, *Sprawozdanie z prac magnetycznych, dokonanych w sierpniu 1936 r. na Śląsku z zasilku Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności*, Warsaw, November 16, 1936.

60 STENZ, E. (ed): *1. Zdjęcia magnetyczne północnej części Śląska*, ŚLÓSARZ, T. (ed): *2. Pomiar natężenia siły ciężkości w woj. śląskim w r. 1937*. Kraków 1939, pp. 24, 25.

61 KSIĄŻKIEWICZ, M.: *Utwory czwartorzędowe Pogórza Cieszyńskiego*. Kraków 1935; KONIOR, K.: *Zarys budowy geologicznej brzegu karpaccyckiego w obrębie arkusza Biała – Bielsko*. Kraków 1938; STENZ, E.: op. cit., ŚLÓSARZ, T., op. cit.

62 *Sprawozdanie z czynności Komitetu...*, p. 10.

63 Archives of Science, sign. the Polish Academy of Learning I-42, a letter from S.Schmidt (February 1934) concerning the research on Silesian agriculture.

64 Ibid, sign. the Polish Academy of Learning I-39, a letter from S. Kutrzeba (October 25, 1938) to the Silesian Voivodeship Office concerning the grants for the Silesian Committee for Publishing of the Polish Academy of Learning and financing new scientific Polish Center in Wrocław (14 000 zlotys)

Publishing for 1939 including Transolza. Within the next 5 years there were supposed to be numerous research projects conducted in the cooperation with the Society for the Friends of Sciences in Silesia, the Silesian Institute and the Silesian Museum in Katowice. They were to comprise ethnographic research in the area of Frýdek and Čadca area on Czechoslovakian side. Kazimierz Moszyński and Kazimierz Dobrowolski became scientifically responsible for the project. Mieczysław Gładysz was meant to be responsible for the organization of the project⁶⁵. Walery Łoziński planned to investigate the soils in Cieszyn Silesia, including Zaolzie⁶⁶, and Jan Nowak intended to describe cartographically newly acquired areas of Poland. The project was to be conducted by Marian Książkiewicz, Jadwiga Burtanówna and Wiktor Nechay de Felseis⁶⁷.

The editorial achievements of the Silesian Committee for Publishing of the Polish Academy of Learning concerning Cieszyn area were outstanding and made a tremendously positive impact on popularizing the knowledge of this area. It would definitely have been more impressive if not for the outbreak of the war. Particularly impressive scientific achievements can be observed in the realms of history, ethnography, geology and prehistory. The results of scientific research conducted in Cieszyn Silesia in 1933-39 were also placed in publications of the Silesian Institute in Katowice and other publications. One of the undeniable achievements of the Committee was using the help and experience of the Silesian people. In this way the representatives of Polish society in Silesia were working for the good of Polish science. It is important to emphasize that scientific research was undertaken either directly by Polish scientists or under their control.

Roman Lutman from the Silesian Institute was the editor of the dissertation which described the state, perspectives and needed direction of scientific research in Silesia⁶⁸. Numerous suggestions in the work concerned Cieszyn Silesia. The outbreak of World War II in 1939 destroyed successfully developing scientific research.

* * *

The course of war and its numerous consequences changed the political relations between the exiled governments of the countries in the area which was Cieszyn Silesia. It also concerned the issues of education. During the first years of the war there was organized in Oxford by the Council for Education in World Citizenship a pedagogical conference of the allied countries. Representatives of Polish government in London, with General Józef Haller, participated in the conference. There were also present the representatives of the Czechoslovakian government. There was much contact between the two groups and a discussion. "It was assumed at the meeting that there should be a common resolution and a number of desiderata in the future concerning cooperation in order to make the cultural gap smaller by creating correspondence groups, exchanges and visits, lectures, language manuals, leaflets concerning cultural relations between the nations etc. It was decided that in the future there should be a common congress of Polish and Czechoslovakian teachers"⁶⁹.

The accepted decisions resulted in some forms of cooperation. During the first congress of Polish teachers in the United Kingdom in Perth, Scotland on March 6, 1941 (with more than

65 GŁADYSZ, M.: op.cit., p. 88.

66 *Rocznik Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, Rok 1938/1939*, Kraków 1945, p. 11.

67 Archives of Science, sign. the Polish Academy of Learning I-39, *Protokół posiedzenia Komitetu Wydawnictw Śląskich Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności w dniu 30 listopada 1938; Rocznik Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności. Rok 1938/1939*. Kraków 1945, p. 11.

68 LUTMAN, R.: *Stan i potrzeby nauki Polskiej na Śląsku*. Katowice 1936.

69 The Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum, London, the team: the Ministry of Religions and Public Education, sign. A.19.I/9, *Sprawozdanie z działalności Urzędu Oświaty i Spraw Szkolnych za rok 1941*, not numbered.

200 participants) there were three representatives present from Czechoslovakia. At the head of the group there was a minister, J. Slávik. J. Haller presided over the group of Poles during the congress of Czechoslovakian teachers in Leamington Spa on May 28, 1941 ⁷⁰. During these visits there were further discussions concerning cooperation in educational matters. The General was the advocate of Polish - Czechoslovakian cooperation aiming at federation of both countries.

The conference in Oxford with representatives of both Polish and Czechoslovakian countries was a significant event on the way to the creation of the United Nations' Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

70 Ibid.

Parallels and Specifics of Repopulation of the Czech Border Regions and the Polish Recovered Territories after 1945

František Čapka

Studie přibližuje jednu ze stěžejních otázek poválečného vývoje v Československu a v Polsku, tj. proces osídlování vysídlených oblastí českého pohraničí (Sudet) a polských západních zemích. Jsou zde přiblíženy jednak podstatné analogie, a jednak zvláštnosti vybraných aspektů osídlovací politiky v obou zmíněných středoevropských zemích.

Klíčová slova: *osídlování, odsun, vyhnání, živelnost, rabování, konfiskace, nová společnost, kulturní tradice*

For Czechoslovakia and Poland, the solution of the population transfer and the subsequent process of repopulation of abandoned areas turned out to be one of the crucial outcomes of World War II. In the case of Czechoslovakia, the frontier territory of the Czech lands in question was so-called Sudetenland (areas by today's Czech – German, Czech – Polish and Czech - Austrian borders, which is an area of approximately 26 thousand km²); in the case of Poland, such an area comprised the Recovered Territories, *Ziemie Odzyskane*, which included a part of Upper Silesia, the whole of Lower Silesia, Prussian Pomerania, the eastern part of Brandenburg and Eastern Prussia (approximately 101 thousand km²). Political representatives of both countries were challenged with the following key issues: where millions of displaced people should go; the manner and form of repopulation; efficient consolidation and integration of such territories in the liberated states so that these could become a guarantee of the general stability of the states. Fundamental analogies are brought forward as well as specifics of certain aspects of the repopulation policy in both above-mentioned Central European countries.

1. The Forming of the Question of Displacement and Repopulation in the Conceptions of Czechoslovak and Polish Political Representations in the War Years

For the Czechoslovak exile, the priority issue was restoring the post-war state within the historical boundaries of the Czech Crown (confirmed by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919), which meant the boundaries prior to the annexation by Nazi Germany (i.e. before October 1938 or before the Munich Agreement), and also solving the problem of the German minority which gradually took the form of the displacement of Germans from Czechoslovakia.

For Polish politicians, that was a secondary problem. First, their capability to integrate a territorial space in the Polish state, which would secure a new border of strategic importance by the Oder and Neisse rivers; such a border would guarantee the future sovereignty of a restored Poland had to be demonstrated. The Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia, unlike the Germans coming from so-called *Ziemie Odzyskane*, formed a compact and almost closed population group, interconnected politically and economically, which from the mid 19th century had showed strongly nationalist feelings against the Czech population in the historically Czech lands, while the German population of western territories was united by a common state identity. If a comparison is made of the preparation of the post-war policy during World War II, it is possible to say that in terms of repopulation, the preparedness of the Polish was better and more exhaustive as compared to that of Czechoslovak political

representation; practically the only Czechoslovak repopulation plan was drawn up by the national resistance in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.

The visit of the president of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile from London, Edvard Beneš, to Moscow in December 1943 became one of the most important milestones in the enforcement of the origin of the transfer of the Germans from Sudetenland; one of the four memoranda claimed that "at least 67 % of Slavonic population be settled in every frontier village," which meant that repopulation of frontier areas by the Czech and Slovak people would be necessary. As late as the spring of the year 1945, gradual "retuning" was carried out according to the concept of the future form of the Czech borderland (Sudetenland).¹

A certain co-ordination principle may also be found in the plans of both governments-in-exile in London, related to the concept of the creation of a Central European Czechoslovak – Polish confederation. The objective of such a confederation should have been (according to the wishes of Great Britain) the creation of a stable state capable of supporting the western policy regarding Germany and the Soviet Union. The failure of the confederation plans also influenced post-war Polish - Czechoslovak relations (problems of the Cieszyn county and Kladsko, Glubczyce and Ratibor counties on the Czech – Polish border).²

2. The Initial Phase of Repopulation

The final military operations took different courses in the territories in question. The Allied troops entered Sudetenland as the territory of a state belonging to the antifascist coalition, because it had been internationally recognized as Czechoslovakian territory within those borders before the signing of the Munich agreement, as early as 1942. (The Red Army liberated all of Moravia and the major part of the Bohemian territories, while some parts of West and South Bohemia were liberated by US troops.) In contrast, new Polish territories were conquered as a part of a Nazi Germany. The level of damage caused by the war was the consequence of such a situation: the Czech lands were rather less affected and damaged as compared to the area of western territories. At the end of the war, Sudetenland even became a refuge and transit territory for the evacuated and fugitive German population from the East (also from Silesia), which means that the population in the Czech borderland grew, and besides many production enterprises, hospitals and military ambulances were transferred there. On the contrary, new Polish regions became rather depopulated. At this point, population numbers in the territories in question should be mentioned. According to data based on the population census in Czechoslovakia, in 1930 there were approximately 3.5 million inhabitants in Sudetenland, out of whom 2,822,000 were German and 738 thousand were Czech (this number grew in the course of 1944 to approximately 3,800,000 inhabitants). According to Polish data, there were approximately 10 million inhabitants in the western territories territory towards the end of the war.

A common feature of the situations in Poland and Czechoslovakia was the form and course of the first phase of the expulsion and displacement, in the Czech case dubbed "wild displacement" (May – July 1945, expulsion of German citizens from their homes to neighbouring Austria and Germany), which took place immediately after the end of military operations in Sudetenland. Although the Sudeten Germans were generally afraid of "revenge

¹ More details: ČAPKA, F. - SLEZÁK, L. - VACULÍK, J.: *Nové osídlení pohraničí českých zemí po druhé světové válce*. Brno, Academic press CERM, 2005, pp. 9-23.

² More details: DVOŘÁK, T.: *Pohraničí a Ziemie odzyskane. K vybraným aspektům sídelní politiky v poválečné střední Evropě*. Časopis Matice moravské 122, 2003/2, pp. 447-452.

and vengeance“ of the Czech people as a reaction to injustice and crimes committed by the Hitler’s Germany in the territory of the occupied Czechoslovakia, the large majority of the Sudetenland Germans had remained faithful to Nazi ideology. The Germans in Czechoslovakia were declared a “security risk“ and they were subject to obligatory labour service, they were forbidden to move freely in the borderland, a timetable for shopping was established for them, etc. The typical features of this first phase of transfer both in Czechoslovakia and Poland were spontaneity, disorganisation and disorder, and in the Czech borderland, the desire for revenge by radical Czech nationalist groups, which were reflected in violent actions including murders of innocent German civilians, women and children, together with looting and thefts committed by many settlers and self-constituted armed groups. Instead of the official denomination for these groups, “Revolution Guards“ they were rather called “looting guards,“ or gold miners. A principle of “collective guilt“ was applied against the German population.³

In terms of the beginning of the repopulation of the Czech borderland, it may be said that it started immediately after the end of military operations. For the settlers, it was a journey into the unknown, into a strange place, which, in the majority of the cases, was rather hostile. At the beginning, Czech and Slovak settlers had to count on the fact that for some time, they would have to live side by side with the local German population, that they would have to create a certain *modus vivendi*. The situation in the borderland then was quite difficult to understand and dangerous; only later on, the territorial self-government was created, order was enforced by the army and security forces, composed of members of Czechoslovak international units and also by various hastily-organised armed groups. The memories of a local settler describe the situation: “*Anyone had a weapon in his hand; we were shot at from every second little forest*“. Due to the atmosphere of those times, the borderland was called “the Land Gone Wild“ or “the Wild West“.⁴

The Decree of the President of the Republic no. 5/1945 Col., issued on 19th May 1945, became the “take-off platform“ for the establishment of the repopulation process. The Decree established a so-called “national administration“ of properties of the Germans, Hungarian, collaborationists and national traitors.⁵ The initial phase of repopulation was characterised by the simultaneous coming and going of the settlers; however, in most cases, this phase did not lead to permanent settlements. It is very difficult to define the number of settlers in this phase, as well as it is difficult to express the results of the wild displacement in numbers; the estimated number of expelled Germans is around 560 thousand people, in spite of the fact that many of them returned to their places of residence in the borderland within several days.

The inflow of Polish expellees had a rather different form. These were so-called repatriates from eastern regions which had been assigned to the Soviet Union; they came to western territories, where an exchange of population took place on the basis of treaties from the year 1944; it was necessary to assure living conditions for such people and at the same time, they were used for the re-Polonisation of the new territories. The Polish government was aware of the risk that if the de-Germanisation of those territories failed, the local administration could be transferred to the Soviet administration.

The result of the initial phase of repopulation of western territories did not have a successful outcome. The return of the refugees was not successfully prevented, members of the Polish army looted abandoned properties, and conflicts between members of the Polish

3 Compare: STANĚK, T.: *Odsun Němců z Československa 1945-1947*. Praha 1991, pp. 32-51. Also: *Rozumět dějinám. Vývoj česko-německých vztahů na našem území v letech 1848-1948*. Praha 2002, pp. 136-141.

4 The atmosphere of the disturbed times of the first post-war months in the Czech borderland is reflected in the work: BIMAN, S. - CÍLEK, R.: *Poslední mrtví, první živí. České pohraničí květen až srpen 1945*. Ústí nad Labem 1989.

5 More details: *Dekrety prezidenta republiky 1940-1945. Dokumenty*. Ed. Jech, K.. - Kaplan, K. Brno 1995.

and Red Army troops became stronger. The repopulated region became the objective of so-called *szabrowniks* (a Polish variety of the Czech gold-diggers).

Differences may be also found when considering the system of various internment camps and other establishments for the detention of “undesirable“ persons; while in such Czech establishments, the Sudeten Germans represented the majority of internees (in the Czechoslovak territory, 1,215 such internment camps were established through which 350 thousand people passed), in the Polish camps, so-called *Volksdeutsche* represented the majority of internees, who were pre-war Polish citizens who during the war opted for the German nationality. A similar situation could be observed in the area of the legal status of the German population, as in Czechoslovakia such standards had been adopted which sentenced the Sudeten Germans to a general forfeiture of Czechoslovak nationality and subsequent expulsion and confiscation of their properties. Polish legal regulations enforced certain pre-war standards on German citizens, which enabled a temporary internment of foreign citizens or expulsion of foreigners who put state interests at risk. Otherwise an absence of specific legal regulations prevailed, and Polish authorities often proceeded quite arbitrarily. In compliance with the Polish law, German property was treated as abandoned property, which meant it became property of the state. The legal status of the citizens of western territories was thus different as compared to the situation of the Sudeten Germans and to the status of German citizens in pre-war Poland.

3. Repopulation Process and the Organisation of the Administration in the Repopulated Territories

In the initial phase, local, district and regional committees (in the Bohemian and Moravian interior) were the first organisers and promoters of the repopulation of the Czech borderland; in the borderland, so-called administration committees were in charge, as the German citizens were excluded from civilian and political life, which meant representative national committees could not be established there. Special departments for repopulation of the national committees organised direct recruitment campaigns. For quite a time, a central body was missing; only after the issuance of the decree of the President of the Republic on 17th July 1945 no. 27/1945 Col., on a unified control of the interior repopulation, the Settlement Office in Prague was founded for the execution of colonisation in the territory of the Republic. Other legal regulations followed related to the repopulation in general, the most important of these being another Decree of the President of the Republic no. 108/1945 Col. issued on 25th October 1945 on the confiscation of the property of enemies and on the National Reconstruction Fund; according to such a decree, all movable and immovable property of the German, Hungarian, collaborationists and traitors to the nation (belonging both to individuals and institutions) was confiscated without any compensation. In the borderland, no special office for the new territory in general was established (contrary to Poland); in the borderland, which was a Czechoslovak territory, Czechoslovak legislation was in force and the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic was in charge.

In the Czech borderland, two basic forms of repopulation are distinguishable: agricultural and non-agricultural repopulation (trading and industrial enterprises and companies). First, agricultural repopulation took place as it was necessary to assure harvest-related agricultural work in the summer of 1945. In the borderland, there were almost 2 million hectares of land (out of which 1.3 million was farmland), which had been confiscated from 238 thousand hectares from German farmers; allocation applied to approximately 157 thousand of families of new settlers recruited among the Czech, Slovak and re-emigrants (especially the Czech population from the Volhynia). Those who were interested in leading national management

boards of industrial and trading enterprises could choose among more than 8,200 production plants with approximately 376 thousand employees, out of whom almost 200 thousand were German (53 %). The recruitment of labour for such production plants faced serious problems. The majority of such production plants produced articles for export – there were textile, stoneware, glass and paper industries there, but also the mining and coal industries, toy production, production of musical instruments and artificial jewellery. Missing labour (especially miners in mines) had to be substituted by voluntary workers from the interior. Phases of labour recruitment followed one after another. The recruitment of settlers was supported by allocation of confiscated enterprises to new settlers. Immediately before the first post-war parliamentary elections in Czechoslovakia (in May 1946), settler-farmers received both land and buildings to their possession, which was reflected in the result of the elections; the communists won clearly in the borderland districts.

The shortage of labour in industry resulted in the restriction of production plants, and some factories were transferred to economically underdeveloped regions of Slovakia and partly also to less developed regions of the Czech lands.

The situation of new Polish regions was different. The western allies perceived such regions as parts of occupied Germany, and the provisional Polish administration was legalised as late as after the Potsdam Conference (July - August 1945); until that moment, it was subordinate to the Soviet occupational administration. In this situation, the Polish administration was gradually created under the co-operation with the military administration of the Red Army. When the Polish provisional government of national unity was formed, the ministry of public administration was created including the Office of Plenipotentiary for western territories; later on, an independent ministry for western territories was created, led by W. Gomułka, Secretary General of the Polish Workers' Party. New territories were gradually included in the Polish state. The Polish government broke *Ziemie Odzyskane* into four administrative districts: Opole Silesia, Lower Silesia, Pomerania and East Prussia.

What did the new state administrations in the Czech borderland and Polish western territories in common? In both cases, the common point was the key role which the communists played in their respective administrative bodies; it should be noted that in Czechoslovakia, the communists took up two key ministries (the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Agriculture) and also the implementing institutions – the Settlement Office and National Land Fund. In Poland, the most important office responsible for the settlement policy was also subordinate to the new ministry – *Polski urząd repatriacyjny*, with which the Polish communists acquired an absolute monopoly on the implementation of the settlement policy in the recovered territories. In May 1946, new voivodeships and districts were established in the recovered territories, while a part of such territories was transferred to the original voivodeships.

In both cases, the 2nd day of August 1945 was the turning point, when without previous violent actions, the preparation phase of organised displacement was initiated based on the decision taken in the Potsdam Conference on the transfer of the German minority from Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary. In Czechoslovakia, this phase began on 25th January 1946 and it finished at the end of October of 1946. In approximately the following four years, individual displacement still continued (but on a much lower scale) of particular families to the German occupational zones. In this phase of organised displacement, about 2,256,000 Germans were transferred from Czechoslovakia to German occupational zones via rail transports (about 1.5 million to the American zone and about 0.75 million persons to the Soviet zone). The organised displacement of Germans from Poland (“Operation Swallow”) was prolonged until the year 1947, during which time the British occupational zone received approximately 1.3 million Germans in 1946, and the Soviet zone received little less than 1

million (however, together with the previously displaced people, the total number reached almost 2 million).⁶

The problem of the inflow of settlers to Polish western territories was partly alleviated due to so-called repatriates, who in fact were expellees transferred from the eastern regions; their participation in the total repopulation of western territories reached 1.3 million inhabitants as compared to 2.3 million settlers from central Poland. The situation in Poland was greatly influenced by the long distance of some regions from the border, as the already insufficient transport infrastructure had been severely damaged.

Let's compare the approach of the general public and political representatives of both countries towards the problem of repopulation. While in Czechoslovakia, where the borderland had been re-included in order to fit in historical frontiers, there was a general consensus, Polish society was far from reaching such a consensus: pro-Moscow politicians had to stand up for the westward frontier shift (compensation for the territories transferred to the USSR), basing their arguments on the former idea of having a claim to the western territories, inhabited mainly by German population (heritage of the Piast governors). The recovery of such territories was to complete Polish national unification and reintegration of the historic land.

The issue of the new settlers' confidence in the sustainable guarantees of life in their new environment was related to such a situation. In the Czech borderland, the changing post-war situation (escalation of conflicts among the Allies due to the deepening of the so-called "cold war") caused rumours, raising fear of possible loss of acquired properties and the return of the German population. For such a reason, from the year 1947, an organised partial transfer of the remaining Germans to the Czech interior took place with the objective of the assimilation of these with the "Slavonic element". There was a similar attempt at the permanent transfer of Hungarian population from south Slovakia to the borderland; however, both campaigns failed. There were also large problems with the confidence of the settlers in Poland, which was reflected in continuous gold mining (*szabernictwo*) in the recovered Polish territory.

4. Brief Evaluation of the Repopulation Process

In both cases, it may be stated that during several years after World War II, both the Czech borderland and the Polish western territories went through the most radical changes in their history, which resulted in a closer economic and national connection with the Czech and Polish interiors in one compact whole. However, this did not go without serious complications (particularly of economic and landscape-forming nature), which continued in both territories for the two following decades.

In post-war Czechoslovakia, more than 5 million people were on the move; repopulation was organised at the same time and in the same space as the displacement of the German population. These were two sides of the same token, two phases of the same process, which intermingled and conditioned one another. At the end of March 1947, approximately 2.5 million people lived in the Czech borderland (approximately 1 million less than before the war), 93 % of whom were Czech and Slovak. Among the new settlers, Czechs prevailed, there were about 150-190 thousand Slovaks and approximately 100 thousand re-emigrants (in following years, the number of those grew up to 200 thousand).⁷

The inflow of Polish inhabitants from the east and from the central Polish regions was far from filling the empty spaces left by the original population; for such a reason, recolonisation

6 *Osídlení pohraničí v letech 1945-1952. Zprávy a rozborů SÚS. Praha 1953, s. III.*

7 DVOŘÁK, T.: *Ibidem*, pp. 452-489. Also: KAMIŃSKI, M. K.: *Polsko-czechoslowackie stosunki polityczne 1945-1948. Warszawa 1990.*

(assimilation) of the Germans and populations with non-defined nationality was taken into consideration. Together with so-called nationality verification, recolonisation represented the base of the assimilation policy of the Polish state. People who wanted to avoid displacement and wished to stay in their homes, had to sign a declaration of loyalty, in which they undertook to remain loyal to the state. This is a direct parallel with the Czechoslovak policy, and the so-called re-slovakisation of the Hungarian in South Slovakia. The new society of Polish western territories was composed of three main population groups: settlers from central Poland, so-called repatriates (however, these were in fact expellees from territories annexed by the Soviet Union), and finally so-called autochthones, a native population often of non-defined national identification, who became the object of large-scale and aggressive polonisation campaign after the war. For this reason, in contrast to the Czech borderland, a question "Where do you come from" prevailed for quite a time in the Polish repopulated regions.

What both repopulated areas had in common was the fact that the settlers and the remaining original population formed a new homogeneous society at a very slow pace. Such a process included the creation of very specific social relations and the formation of general values of co-existence. In many cases, the incoming population was heterogeneous from the social and cultural point of view. After the displacement of the Germans, many local cultural traditions, religious and church customs died out as well as ethnographic and folkloric customs and complete institutions. Settlers brought with them different working, social and cultural experience to their new homes; in many cases, they had to get used to different living conditions and learn different and unknown ways of farming.⁸ For those who stayed in spite of many obstacles, injustice and uncertainties, both the Czech borderland and Polish western territories represented new homes.

8 Survey of the complete process of repopulation of the Czech borderland is reflected in the monograph: ČAPKA, F. - SLEZÁK, L. - VACULÍK, J.: Ibidem, pp. 33-206.

The Czechoslovak-Polish Club in Brno (1925–1939)¹

Roman Baron

Téma československo-polské vzájemnosti doposud nebudilo větší pozornost badatelů. Studie se věnuje tomuto fenoménu na příkladu Československo-polského klubu v Brně. Klub si kladal za cíl navazovat a pěstovat přátelské styky československo-polské a také poznávat polskou kulturu. Kvalitní členská základna, podpora představitelů města Brna, Masarykovy univerzity či oficiálních míst v Praze a ve Varšavě umožňovaly vytčený cíl zdárně naplňovat. Postupné zhoršování mezistátních československo-polských vztahů od roku 1934 sice neznamenal konec mnohotvárné spolkové činnosti, avšak její směřování proti proudu politiky se ukázalo nelehkým úkolem i pro osvědčené brněnské polonofily. Německá okupace v letech druhé světové války pak představovala skutečný zánik Československo-polského klubu v Brně.

Klíčová slova: Československo-polská vzájemnost; československo-polské vztahy; spolky; Brno; meziválečné období

State of the Research

To date, the literature on this subject that has been available has been lacking a complex treatment of the activities of the Czechoslovak-Polish Club in Brno. However, it is necessary to draw attention right at the outset to the work of Jacek Doliwa, who, within the framework of his widely-conceived research, introduced the scholarly community to the issue of Czech “associations of Czechoslovak-Polish solidarity”, as he himself designates them in the title of his article.² Unfortunately, however, the author’s detailed conclusions are rather inaccessible. This is because they are contained within his doctoral dissertation, which was not published.³ It seems that this fact has determined that this otherwise valuable monograph will remain outside of the purview of specialists in the questions of Polish-Czechoslovak relations in the interwar period, even though it treats in detail not only the problem of Polonophilic and Polish patriotic leagues in Czechoslovakia, but also of Czechophilic associations in Poland. The problem of the life of organizations of Poles in Brno (between the years 1911–1939) has been grappled with mainly by Zenon Jasiński.⁴ The Czechoslovak-

¹This study was written as a part of the Research Aim of Institute of History, Academy of Science of the Czech Republic (Historický ústav AV ČR, v. v. i.), AV0Z80150510 *Český dějinný prostor v evropském kontextu. Diverzita, kontinuita, integrace* [The Czech History Space in the European Context. Diversity, Continuity, Integration]. The author has prepared an expanded version of this article that will be published in Poland (Na obrzežích politiky, no. 8, Poznań 2010).

²DOLIWA, J.: *Towarzystwa czechosłowacko-polskiej wzajemności na terenie Kraju Morawsko-śląskiego w okresie międzywojennym, part 1 (1918–1934)*. Zeszyty Muzeum Ziemi Kłodzkiej, no. 2, 1987, pp. 45–60; idem, *Towarzystwa czechosłowacko-polskiej wzajemności na terenie Kraju Morawsko-śląskiego w okresie międzywojennym, part 2 (1934–1939/40)*. Zeszyty Muzeum Ziemi Kłodzkiej, no. 3, 1990, pp. 64–78.

³Idem, *Polsko-československé kulturní vztahy v letech 1925–1934 v činnosti organizací polsko-československé vzájemnosti* [manuscript], Brno 1985, 342 pp. See: Catalogues of the Masaryk University.

⁴JASIŃSKI, Z.: *Polskie życie organizacyjne w Brnie do wybuchu II wojny światowej*. In: KWIATEK, J. – MAREK, F. A. (eds.): *Oświata – tradycje i współczesność*. Prace ofiarowane Profesorowi dr. hab. Stanisławowi Gawlikowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin. Opole 1999, pp. 81–92. See also: PÁNEK, J. - RAKOVÁ, S. - HORČÁKOVÁ, V.: *Scholars of Bohemian, Czech and Czechoslovak History Studies*, vol. 2 (J–P). Prague 2005, pp. 14–19.

Polish Club in Brno, however, did not have the character of a patriotic league; it was a Czech association that focused on the development of Czechoslovak-Polish cultural relations. This is why this outstanding expert in the history of Poles in Czechoslovakia deliberately excluded it from his treatise.⁵ František Čapka, an outstanding Czech historian hailing from Brno, researched the problem of ethnic minority associations in Brno between 1918 and 1948, so including the Polish associations.⁶

The state of research in the area that interests us was not changed by the otherwise productive international interdisciplinary conference with the eloquent bilingual title of “Poláci v Brně (jazyk, literatura, kultura, politika) – Polacy w Brnie (język, literatura, kultura, polityka)”; however, in a recently published conference symposium texts were brought forward by Roman Madecki and Roman Baron which made use of, among others, materials that were included in the memorial symposium *Jdeme dál! K desátému výročí Československo-polského klubu v Brně (1925–1934)* – that was created on the occasion of the ten-year anniversary of the Brno Czechoslovak-Polish Club.⁷ There are many indications that the former of these two scholars was led to taking an interest in the club’s activities by the personality of Maxmilián Kolaja (1883–1966) – the first instructor of Polish language at Masaryk University in Brno and also, which is particularly important for us, the chairman of the local Czechoslovak-Polish Club for the entire period of its existence.⁸ One of his delegates, actually his vice-chairman, was the then well-known Brno historian Zdeněk Hájek (1894–1958),⁹ to whom we are grateful for uncovering the fate of Polish political prisoners in Špilberk. It is a wonder that even among Hájek’s estate remains, which are found in the Moravian Land Archive, we have still not come across any documents that would testify to his public activities within the framework of the club.¹⁰ It was only after research into the archival file “Československo-polský klub v Brně” (The Czechoslovak-Polish Club in Brno) which is enshrined in the Brno City Archive that changed our knowledge of this area.

Genesis and Origin of the Club

The Polish-Czechoslovak conflict which flared up at the very beginning of both states’ independence¹¹ was not, nor could it have been, well-disposed toward the creation of Polonophilic attitudes in Czechoslovakia and Czechophilic ones in Poland. Additionally, it led to the reduction of both groups, and even in circles of very distant daily politics. Czech Polonophilia and Polish Czechophilia could be outwardly displayed for the first time only

⁵ JASIŃSKI, Z.: *Polskie życie organizacyjne*, p. 81; idem: *Polska diaspora w Czechach i Słowacji*. In: WALASZEK, A. (ed.): *Polska diaspora*. Kraków 2001, pp. 265–274. But see also: idem: *Rzecz o niektórych przejawach czesko-polskiej współpracy naukowej i kulturalnej (casus Śląska Opolskiego)*. In: JASIŃSKI, Z. – CIMAŁA, B. (eds.): *Wybrane problemy czesko-polskiej współpracy kulturalnej, naukowej i gospodarczej*. Opole 2009, pp. 17–40.

⁶ ČAPKA, F.: *Národnostní spolky v Brně v první polovině 20. století*. In: XXII. Mikulovské sympozium 1992, *Politické strany a spolky na jižní Moravě*. Brno 1993, s. 229–238.

⁷ MADECKI, R.: *Poláci v Brně a na jižní Moravě*. In: MADECKI, R. – ŠTĚPÁN, L. (eds.): *Poláci v Brně – Polacy w Brnie a na jižní Moravě*. Brno 2008, pp. 11–26; BARON, R.: *Polscy więźniowie w Szpilbergu jako temat badań historycznych*. In: *Poláci v Brně – Polacy w Brnie*, pp. 133–147.

⁸ MADECKI, R.: *Polský jazyk v Brně (průkopníci výuky a pokračovatelé)*. In: *Poláci v Brně – Polacy w Brnie*, pp. 51–62; idem: *Maxmilián Kolaja – zakladatel brněnské polonistiky. K 85. výročí založení lektorátu polštiny v Brně*. In: PANČÍKOVÁ, M. (ed.): *85 výročí polonistiky na Univerzitě Komenského v Bratislavě*. Bratislava 2009, s. 197–204.

⁹ VACULÍK, J.: *K 50. výročí úmrtí Zdeňka Hájka*. Sborník prací Pedagogické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity, řada společenských věd, no. 22, 2007, pp. 183–186. See also: KUDĚLKA, M. – ŠIMEČKA, Z. et al. (eds.): *Československé práce o jazyce, dějinách a kultuře slovanských národů od r. 1760*. Praha 1972, pp. 137–138.

¹⁰ BARON, R.: *Polscy więźniowie w Szpilbergu*, p. 134.

¹¹ KAMIŃSKI, M. K.: *Konflikt polsko-czeski 1918–1921*. Warszawa 2001; SZKLARSKA-LOHMANNOWA, A.: *Polsko-czechosłowackie stosunki dyplomatyczne*. Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków 1967; VALENTA, J.: *Česko-polské vztahy letech 1918–1920 a těšínské Slezsko*. Ostrava 1961.

after the demarcation of Polish-Czechoslovak borders at Cieszyn Silesia, Zips and Orava under the above-mentioned political conditions - conditions that were already reflected in the Beneš-Skirmunt Pact on November 6, 1921.¹² One such manifestation of this was the origin of associations that pursued the ideals of Czech-Polish rapprochement and cooperation.

The first association of this type in Moravia in the interwar period was the Czech-Polish Club in Brno, which was founded in March 1925. After a change in its statute (probably in 1934) it continued its operation under the name of Czechoslovak-Polish Club in Brno. Theoretically, it could have linked itself to the tradition of the earlier patriotic organizations in Brno such as the Polish Circle [Polskie Koło] that existed between 1910 and 1921. However, there was no relationship between the people or the ideas in the Club and the Circle.¹³

According to the above-mentioned statute the name was bilingual: “Československo-polský klub v Brně – Czechosłowacko-polski klub w Bernie”.¹⁴ And it is just these two languages – Czech and Polish – that were mentioned in the second article of the statute. The goal of the association was formulated thus: “To establish and cultivate friendly Czechoslovak-Polish relations and acquaint ourselves with Polish culture and life, to promote, support, and accomplish Czechoslovak-Polish rapprochement by means permitted by law.”¹⁵ The indefinable goal was to have been accomplished with the help of the following: “1. A club library and reading room; 2. Lectures; 3. Relations with other associations, both domestic and abroad, that share similar propensities; 4. Organizing social evenings and parties; 5. Organizing other entertainment and cultural enterprises.”¹⁶ There also appeared a statement that the association is apolitical, which the law required.

Readership

The sources that have come down to us allow us to make the claim that the Club, since its inception, developed - in concordance with the above-mentioned points - a rich array of activities. The catalogue of the Club's library¹⁷ evidences a rather modest collection,¹⁸ which, however, could still have fulfilled the expectations and needs of members. The collection was built through purchases, subscriptions, gifts and exchanges. Polish *Belles lettres* – both in the original and also in numerous Czech translations (only a few of these books were in French). Among the authors we therefore find mostly the names Michał Bałucki, Maria Dąbrowska, Aleksander Fredr, Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, Adam Mickiewicz, Zofie Nałkowska, Eliza Orzeszkowa, Bolesław Prus, Kazimierz Przerwa-Tetmajer, Stanisław Przybyszewski, Władysław Stanisław Reymont, Henryk Sienkiewicz, Juliusz Słowacki, Leopold Staff, Stanisław Wyspiański and Stefan Żeromski. Nor was the library lacking literary publications testifying to the relations of the Club with the Polish-Czechoslovak Association in Poznań [Towarzystwo Polsko-Czechosłowackie w Poznaniu]. In this regard, we are primarily looking at work by Kazimierz Kiersku and Ignacy Hanus from the 1930s. Publication novelties from Zaolzie were probably contributed personally by students of Polish nationality who had come

¹² *Československá zahraniční politika a vznik Malé dohody 1920–1921*, vol. 2.; DEJMEK, J. – KOLÁŘ, F. (eds.): Praha 2005, pp. 321–323; *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 4; ŁOSSOWSKI, P. (ed.): Warszawa 1995, pp. 188–191.

¹³ DOLIWA, J.: *Towarzystwa czechosłowacko-polskiej wzajemności*, part 1, pp. 47–48, 76; ČAPKA, F.: *Národnostní spolky v Brně*, s. 230.

¹⁴ Archiv města Brna [Brno City Archive] (AMB), R 47, Československo-polský klub v Brně (ČPKB), no. 3, kart. 1, stanovy [statute].

¹⁵ AMB, R 47, ČPKB, no. 3, stanovy. See also: JASIŃSKI, Z.: *Rzecz o niektórych przejawach*, p. 19.

¹⁶ AMB, R 47, ČPKB, no. 3, stanovy; JASIŃSKI, Z.: *Rzecz o niektórych przejawach*, pp. 19–20; DOLIWA, J.: *Towarzystwa czechosłowacko-polskiej wzajemności*, part. 1, pp. 48–49.

¹⁷ AMB, R 47, ČPKB, no. 2, katalog knihovny [The catalogue of the Club's library].

¹⁸ In 1935 – 185 volumes and in 1936 – 204 volumes.

from there and studied in Brno. The Club collected, among other such works, the Lvov publication “Ruch Słowiański”. Members of the Club were able to also enjoy scholarly works by the authors Marian Szykowski, Henryk Barycz and Jan Stanisław Bystroń. It is understandable that journalistic work that dealt with the realities of Poland of that period were also collected. It is further worth mentioning the presence of the anti-Polish publication by Jaroslav Vozka (*Polsko žalář národů, nebezpečí pro světový mír*, Praha 1932) and the anti-Czech publication by Tomasz Janowicz (*Czesi. Studium historyczno-polityczne*, Kraków 1936).¹⁹ We hasten to add, however, that “The Club joined together in action against Vozka’s brochure.”²⁰

The Club also contributed to the enrichment of the Polish-language collection of the Moravian Land Library, and thus also to expanding the circle of potential readers of Polish books in Brno.²¹ There are many indications that it was chiefly the Club’s chairman Maxmilián Kolaja who took care of the library, and who was also the author of the last entry in the catalogue recorded on June 6, 1939. Besides his signature, we also find those of Bohumila Spohrová and Zdeněk Hájek, i.e.: of persons whom we have to assume were participating in the Club’s final activities. About three years earlier Alois Novák was elected as the librarian as well as archivist. Kolaj’s words reveal much about the difficulty of finding a suitable person for this position: “Miss L. Pýchová was elected as the librarian for the year 1928. The books were registered by her assistants – students, and it was done irregularly and imprecisely. Then the books were signed for by the chairman, even when someone else (a student) had been elected as the librarian.”²²

Lectures

In conformity with the statute, lectures were ascribed with a considerable importance. In the earliest period of the Club’s existence Jiří Horák (1884–1975), who was one of Kolaj’s peers, was especially active. At that time this exceptional professor was also occupationally associated with Masaryk University. His return to Prague’s Charles University in 1927 without a doubt weakened the Slavophilic and Polonophilic circles in Brno. As if to balance the loss, Marian Szykowski (1883–1952), a member of the Czech Polonophilic associations and Polish Club in Prague, came from Charles University to lecture in Brno. Julius Heidenreich (from 1945 Dolanský), the first vice chairman of the Brno Club acquainted readers with the personality of the notable 19th century Czech Polonophile Edvard Jelínek (on June 9, 1925). We also know that in 1926 professor Vilém Kurz delivered a lecture in which he spoke about the festivals of Fryderyk Chopin in Warsaw. Let us remind ourselves that before the World War neither the social-cultural activity nor the Polish milieu were foreign to Kurz, for he was active in the Czech Club in Lwów. The other lecturers also maintained a very high level of scholarship. It would suffice to recall Tadeusz Lehr-Spławiński (May 2, 1928) from Jan Kazimierz University in Lwów or Mieczysław Kozłowski from Poznań University (January 31, 1929).²³ As is well known, both were representatives of Polish Czechophilic circles. Lehr-Spławiński was, at that time, before his departure for Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Chairman of the Polish-Czechoslovak Club in Lwów.²⁴ W. M.

¹⁹ AMB, R 47, ČPKB, no. 2, katalog knihovny.

²⁰ AMB, R 47, ČPKB, no. 7, souhrnný výkaz činnosti spolku 1925–1933.

²¹ AMB, R 47, ČPKB, no. 7, souhrnný výkaz činnosti spolku 1925–1933.

²² AMB, R 47, ČPKB, no. 2, katalog knihovny.

²³ AMB, R 47, ČPKB, no. 7, souhrnný výkaz činnosti spolku 1925–1933. See also: DOLIWA, J.: *Towarzystwa czechosłowacko-polskiej wzajemności*, part 1, pp. 50–51.

²⁴ PIWOWARCZYK, M.: *The image of the Czechs in Polish society. Polish and Czech Cooperation Exemplified by the Polish-Czechoslovakian Club in Lviv (Lwów) in the period between 1926–1935* (38). *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, vol. 2, 2010, pp. 17–33; GRUDZIENI, S.: *Henryk Batowski a współpraca słowiańska (do 1939 roku)*. In: *Henryk Batowski 1907–1999. Materiały z Sesji Naukowej PAU w dniu 18*

Kozłowski belonged among the founders of the Polish-Czechoslovak Circle in Poznań [Koło Polsko-Czechosłowackie w Poznaniu], which had since 1925 borne the name Polish-Czechoslovak Association in Poznań [Towarzystwo Polsko-Czechosłowackie w Poznaniu].²⁵

The interest of Polish diplomacy in the activity of the Brno Club stood behind, among other things, the genesis of the lecture cycle by employees of the Consulate of the Polish Republic in Moravian Ostrava. "Ruch Słowiański" published a brief announcement: "The Polish Consulate in Moravian Ostrava has organized a cycle of lectures about Poland after an agreement with the Czech-Polish Club in Brno. The first lecture (on May 28 of last year) about the economic situation in Poland was delivered by Consul Karol Ripa, the second (October 24 of last year) about the naval question and port in Gdynia by consul official Mr. Kobiela, and the third (November 14 of last year) about Polish-Czech relations from the dawn of history up until today by consul official Mr. Jan Holczak. Further lectures should touch upon all questions of contemporary Poland. It is necessary to add that these lectures enjoy significant interest in the Polish as well as the Czech society in Brno".²⁶ Not even vice chairman Hájek avoided giving a lecture, in which he commemorated the anniversaries of important Polish historical events such as the ratification of the Constitution on May 3 and the Polish November Uprising (100th anniversary of its outbreak in 1930). Besides this, he also acquainted members of the Club with the results of his own research on the subject of Polish political prisoners from Galicia in Špilberk prison in Brno (1839–1848). Eugeniusz Racznas, vice chairman of the Brno League of Polish Academics from Lithuania "Samogitia" [Związek Akademików Polaków z Litwy "Samogitia"] reported on Poles in Lithuania (October 16, 1929).²⁷ Racznas designed a club emblem and he was the author of an illustration that graced the title page of one of this association's publications.²⁸ The examples of lectures provided above should merely illustrate this aspect of the Club's activity. In reality, there were many more. On average there were probably about five lectures held per year. The most were given in 1928 (nine) and 1929 (eight). A complete overview for the years 1925–1935 is supplied in the jubilee brochure *Jdeme dál!*²⁹

Network of Contacts

As implied by all the above, some of the lectures provided not only the possibility of expanding one's knowledge of Polish culture but also the possibility of fulfilling another article of the statute, which mentions maintaining relations with other associations of the same orientation. In this sense, the Brno club was particularly closely affiliated with Czechophilic groups in Poznań, Lwów and Cracow. Already in the first year of its existence the Club had welcomed students from Poznań (June 12–14, 1925).³⁰ Taking in various Polish excursion groups became one of the most important forms of its activity. The peak of this came in 1928,

kwietnia 2000 r. Kraków 2003, p. 37; idem: *Europa Środkowa i Południowo-Wschodnia okresu międzywojennego w działalności i piśmiennictwie Henryka Batowskiego w latach 1925-1939*. Doctoral dissertation, Jagiellonian University in Cracow 2009, pp. 31–32. See also: LEHR-SPŁAWIŃSKI, T.: *Zarys dziejów słowianoznawstwa polskiego*. Kraków 1948, pp. 28–29.

²⁵ LESIEWICZ, E.: *Wielkopolska wobec stosunków polsko-czechosłowackich w latach 1918–1939*. Poznań 2000, pp. 121–125; *Uniwersytet Poznański w pierwszych latach swego istnienia za rektoratu Heljodora Święcickiego. Księga pamiątkowa*. Poznań 1924, pp. 465–467.

²⁶ *Ruch Słowiański*, 1929, no. 1, p. 34, *Odczyty o Polsce w Bernie*. See also: DOLIWA, J.: *Towarzystwa czechosłowacko-polskiej wzajemności*, part 1, pp. 51, 60; *Jdeme dál! K desátému výročí Československo-polského klubu v Brně (1925-1935)*. Brno 1935, pp. 11–13.

²⁷ AMB, R 47, ČPKB, no. 7, souhrnný výkaz činnosti spolku 1925–1933. See also: DOLIWA, J.: *Polsko-československé kulturní vztahy*, p. 156; JASIŃSKI, Z.: *Polskie życie organizacyjne*, p. 92.

²⁸ *Jdeme dál!*, p. 2.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 10–14.

³⁰ AMB, R 47, ČPKB, no. 7, souhrnný výkaz činnosti spolku 1925–1933.

when members of the Club undertook the care of as many as seventeen Polish excursions that arrived in the Moravian metropolis for the Exhibition of Contemporary Culture in Czechoslovakia. The impressions of the guests were certainly positive, if we consider the reaction of students of the Poznań University of Economics [Wyższa Szkoła Handlowa w Poznaniu], who, after their return, intensified the activity of their own Academic Circle of Friends of Czechoslovakia [Akademickie Koło Przyjaciół Czechosłowacji].³¹

A strengthening of the Club's ties with Poznań also developed in 1929 in connection with the General Land Exhibition. Brno then hosted the secretary of the Polish-Czechoslovak League, Bohdan Jarochoowski (who in the following year became its chairman). He delivered a lecture at the Philosophical Faculty of Masaryk University on the theme of this exhibition. Chairman Kolaja also informed the listeners of Brno's radio waves about this event. Among other activities, the Club distributed handbills and brochures that promoted this important social event in Poland. Eventually, the Club's delegation, numbering thirty-eight persons, set out to Poznań for the exhibition. Before their departure Kolaja gave plentiful advice to the participants in the excursion, and he himself ran a free course in Polish language for them (ten two-hour lessons). At the train station in Poznań the Czech guests were awaited by representatives of the local Czechoslovak consulate, the Polish-Czech League, and last but not least, by the city mayor, Cyryl Ratajski. Members of the Club viewed the exhibition, placed flowers by Mickiewicz's memorial, visited the Czechoslovak Consulate and with satisfaction, and then left the capital city of Greater Poland. Afterward, they journeyed to Hniezdne, Gdańsk, and Gdynia (among other reasons, in order to see the Baltic Sea). In Warsaw they were received by the delegate from the local Polish-Czechoslovak League, Kiltynowicz. In Cracow they were then taken care of by the Academic Circle of Friends of Czechoslovakia [Akademickie Koło Przyjaciół Czechosłowacji], with Chairman Franciszek Błoński at its head.³²

The members of the Club were not given this special welcome only by coincidence. Even the establishment of the Czechoslovak Consulate in 1921³³ was received very positively by Poznań's political and economic circles. Let us recall that at that time feelings over events relating to the contention over Transolza, Zips and Orava were still quite sensitive. The first Czechoslovak consul in Poznań, Jan Glos, informed the embassy in Warsaw with satisfaction of the positive tone to his negotiations with the city's mayor Jarogniew Drwęski, rector Heliodor Święcicki, and W. M. Kozłowski and T. Lehr-Spławiński.³⁴ Not long afterward, Glos imparted to his superiors: "The visit of Professors Kolaja and Jokl Poznań was positively commented upon on the press.³⁵ The question of Czech-Polish cultural rapprochement has again come somewhat to the fore, for the local university is well disposed toward this matter." The Polish-Czechoslovak League in Poznań, which was founded earlier than the Brno club, since its inception, could count upon support from the city's leadership, from the university, and of course, also from the Czechoslovak Consulate.³⁶ That the capital city of Greater Poland played the leading role as a center of Czechophilia is testified by, at the very least, the

³¹ DOLIWA, J.: *Towarzystwa czechosłowacko-polskiej wzajemności*, part 1, p. 52.

³² AMB, R 47, ČPKB, no. 5, Jednatelská zpráva Česko-polského klubu v Brně za rok 1929; AMB, R 47, ČPKB, no. 7, souhrnný výkaz činnosti spolku 1925–1933.

³³ BESTRY, J.: *Služba konsularna Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej w Czechosłowacji*. Wrocław 2005, p. 60.

³⁴ Archiv Ministerstva zahraničních věcí [Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Czech Republic] (AMZV), Politické zprávy [political notes], Poznań, letter from consul Dr. Jan Glos to Czechoslovak Legation in Warsaw, July 9, 1921.

³⁵ AMZV, Politické zprávy, Poznań, p. 7, letter from consul Dr. Jan Glos to Czechoslovak Legation in Warsaw, September 5, 1921.

³⁶ AMZV, Politické zprávy, Poznań, Spolek polsko-československý v Poznani [Polish-Czechoslovak Society in Poznań]. Zahájení činnosti, letter from consul Dr. Jan Glos to Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia in Prague, December 6, 1923.

convocation of Polish-Czechoslovak associations that took place there in 1931 and the selection of Poznań as the seat for the Advisory Committee of Polish-Czechoslovak Associations in Poland [Komitet Porozumiewawczy Towarzystw Polsko-Czechosłowackich w Polsce].³⁷

Among the most successful cultural events of the Brno club belonged the evening with Emil Zegadłowicz (December 10, 1929), which was prepared with the Union of Czech Philologists. The meeting with this important Polish writer of Czech origin took place in the Assembly Hall of Masaryk University. Preliminary remarks were given by Professor Arne Novák. The gala reception took place in the Hotel Passage (today called Slovan).³⁸ Let us also add that a few days earlier Zegadłowicz had stayed in Prague, where he was a guest of the Polish Academic Circle of Friends (AKPP) [Akademické Koło Przyjaciół Polski].³⁹ The special role of Prague in Czech-Polish scholarly and cultural relations was indubitable. Since the academic year 1923/1924, the first department of Polish language outside the borders of Poland had existed in the Czechoslovak capital. This is where Marian Szykowski from Jagiellonian University in Cracow had been invited.⁴⁰ In the metropolis above the Vltava, associations promoting Czech-Polish solidarity, such as the above-mentioned Polish Academic Circle of Friends and the Czech-Polish Social Club, which was later renamed as the Czechoslovak-Polish Association in Prague, developed active operations. The presence of the Embassy of the Polish Republic and the General Consulate of the RP were also of great importance. A specific milestone in the Polonophilic activities in Prague was passed in 1924, when wide circles in the Czech society gave up their claim to the remains of the Polish Nobel Prize winner Henryk Sienkiewicz. Members of the Prague Czech-Polish Club, with Dr. Josef Fuhrich at their head, were at the same time members of the committee for the celebration of H. Sienkiewicz.⁴¹ If we are going to speak of relations of the Brno club, and chiefly of those of his chairman Kolaja, we cannot pass silently over the relationships that connected it with Czechs who were born in Poland, concretely, those in the Volhynia region. This is testified by correspondence that has been preserved and photographs that illustrate the Czech social and economic life in the territory.⁴²

Regular and Annual Meetings

In 1930 the Club celebrated the birthday of President Thomas Garrigue Masaryk (March 7) and the name day of Marshal Józef Piłsudski (March 18). The hundredth anniversary of the outbreak of the November Uprising was ceremoniously commemorated. With the participation of the delegate from the RP Consulate in Ostrava, on this occasion a

³⁷ KOZEŃSKI, J.: *Towarzystwo Polsko-Czechosłowackie w Poznaniu w latach 1923–1939*. Przegląd Zachodni, 1960, p. 341; DOLIWA, J.: *Polsko-československé kulturní vztahy*, pp. 160–166; BYLINA, S. et al.: *Stosunki literackie polsko-czeskie i polsko-słowackie 1890–1939*. Wrocław 1978, pp. 55–57.

³⁸ AMB, R 47, ČPKB, no. 5, Jednatelská zpráva Česko-polského klubu v Brně za rok 1929. See also: DOLIWA, J.: *Towarzystwa czechosłowacko-polskiej wzajemności*, part 1, pp. 57–58; ZEGADŁOWICZ, E.: *Do przyjaciół Czechów*. In: *Jdeme dál!*, pp. 23–24.

³⁹ Ruch Słowiański, 1929, no. 10, pp. 445–446, *Emil Zegadłowicz w Pradze*.

⁴⁰ KREJČÍ, K.: *Založení stolice polského jazyka a literatury na Karlově univerzitě v Praze*. In: BEŠTA, T. (ed.): *Padesát let polonistiky na univerzitě Karlově v Praze*. Praha 1977, pp. 21–23; KARDYNI-PELIKÁNOVÁ, K.: *Uwiedzeni przez literaturę polską. Czeska polonistyka literacka*. Warszawa 2003, p. 262.

⁴¹ AMB, R 47, ČPKB, in. no. 5, Jednatelská zpráva výroční, jednatelská zpráva česko-polského klubu v Praze podaná na valné hromadě 27. 1. 1925. See also: KREDBA, V.: *Kult Sienkiewicza w Czechosłowacji*. Ruch Słowiański, 1930, no. 8–9, pp. 281–291; PAŃKO, G.: *O tych, którym na porozumieniu Polaków i Czechów w okresie międzywojennym zależało*. In: CIESIELSKI, S. - KULAK, T. - RUCHNIEWICZ, K. – TYSZKIEWICZ, J. (eds.): *Wokół historii i polityki. Studia z dziejów XIX i XX wieku dedykowane Profesorowi Wojciechowi Wrzesińskiemu w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*. Toruń 2004, s. 626.

⁴² AMB, R 47, ČPKB, no. 8, seznamy. Seznam státních i soukromých (matičních) škol v oblastech českých na Volyni v Polsku. See also: VACULÍK, J.: *České menšiny v Evropě a ve světě*. Praha 2009, p. 109 ff.

wreath was placed upon the memorial plaque for General František Zach (November 29), which had been, with participation of members of the Club, unveiled about two and a half years earlier (June 29, 1928).⁴³ The beginnings of Brno Polonophilia also connect Zach with Adolf Kellner, the author of the outline of the Club's history in the jubilee publication *Jdeme dál!*⁴⁴ At that time it still was not known that although Zach had set off to join the uprising he had not actually managed to get there. From today's point of view – and also with regards to further generations of Czech Polonophiles in Brno – we must add that the memorial plaque on the Bašta street on the house where Zach had lived from the time of his return to Brno until the end of his life is no longer there. Zach's grave in the central cemetery has, however, remained until the present time. Members of the Club were unable to bring to fruition the idea of honoring Polish prisoners of Špilberk, which had been particularly promulgated by historian Hájek. It was only 30 years later (two years after Hájek's death) that a memorial plaque was installed at Špilberk and there was founded a Museum of Polish Prisoners, which, after some changes, still exists to this day.⁴⁵

The location for regular Wednesday club meetings was the Academic Café found only a few steps away from the Philosophical Faculty of Masaryk University. Here it was possible to browse Polish publications – the titles “Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny”, “Rzeczpospolita” and “Polska Zachodnia” were available.⁴⁶ Polish readers were informed about important events in the life of the Club mainly by the mouthpiece of the League of Silesian Catholics in the Czechoslovak Republic [Związek Śląskich Katolików w Republice Czechosłowackiej]: “Nasz Kraj”⁴⁷ and the Slavicist “Ruch Słowiański”. We can easily imagine that Slavicist magazines held the idea of Polish-Czech rapprochement dear, and therefore they willingly published contributions that spoke of bringing this ideal to life.⁴⁸ The situation of the magazine “Nasz Kraj” was different with regard for the various difficulties of “everyday” co-existence for Poles and Czechs in Zaolzie. From the Brno Club, and later mainly from the Moravian Ostrava club, this magazine was able to enjoy the possibility of exerting a positive influence on local relations.⁴⁹ Czech readers could also find out about the existence and activities of the Club on the pages of “Lidové noviny”.⁵⁰ The number of members mostly grew, which is documented by the following numerical data: 1925 – 31 members; 1929 – 101 members; 1930 – 130 members; 1931 – 100 members; 1935 – 226 members. Counting up to the year 1935, there were 403 persons altogether who became members of the Club.⁵¹

In the Sponsorship of Polish Diplomats

Certainly the support that the Club enjoyed from the city's leadership, the university, the RP Consulate in Moravian Ostrava and from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Prague was of fundamental significance for its activity. The forms this support took were of course various, and depended on the character of the institutions and the current state of Czechoslovak-Polish relations. The activation of the Club's activities in the years 1929–1930 was not at all coincidental with the timing of the origin of associations with the same orientation in Moravia. It is necessary to ascribe inspiration and initiative in this direction

⁴³ AMB, R 47, ČPKB, no. 7, souhrnný výkaz činnosti spolku 1925–1933.

⁴⁴ KELLNER, A.: *Deset let Československo-polského klubu v Brně (1925–1934)*. In: *Jdeme dál!*, p. 8.

⁴⁵ BARON, R.: *Polscy więźniowie w Szpilbergu*, pp. 142–144.

⁴⁶ AMB, R 47, ČPKB, no. 5, Jednatelská zpráva Česko-polského klubu v Brně za rok 1929.

⁴⁷ JASIŃSKI, Z.: *Rzecz o niektórych przejawach*, p. 20.

⁴⁸ JAROSZEWICZ-KLEINDIENST, B.: *Idea zblíženia polsko-czeskiego w polskich czasopismach slawistycznych w latach 1918–1939*. *Slavia Occidentalis*, vol. 30, 1972, p. 74 ff.

⁴⁹ GAWRECKI, D.: *Politické a národnostní poměry v Těšínském Slezsku 1918–1938*. Český Těšín 1999, pp. 147–148.

⁵⁰ PAŃKO, G.: *Polska i Polacy w czeskiej opinii publicznej w okresie międzywojennym*. Wrocław 1996, p. 68.

⁵¹ *Jdeme dál!*, pp. 19–20; DOLIWA, J.: *Polsko-československé kulturní vztahy*, pp. 55–56.

above all to the RP Consulate in Moravian Ostrava. For we can read in the letter of Consul K. Ripa to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Warsaw, regarding the matter of the origin of a Czechoslovak-Polish club in Valašské Meziříčí: “I evaluate this spontaneous expression positively. As is otherwise known to the Ministry, the impulse for creation of the four presently-existing clubs was given by the office there. Furthermore, I have come to know that spontaneously and without the initiative of the Consulate, in January or February of next year there will arise a Czech-Polish club in Hranice na Moravě, which will be created by all the Czech political parties.”⁵² If Consul Ripa was speaking about four clubs, he certainly had the clubs in Brno, Moravian Ostrava, Znojmo, and Olomouc in mind. If we can agree that Consul Ripa was right in the matter of how the last three associations he mentioned originated, it then appears very improbable that “Kolaja’s Club” also originated on the initiative of Polish diplomacy. This is indirectly confirmed at least by the fact that Consul Ripa took office in Moravian Ostrava more than a year after the Czech-Polish Club was founded in Brno.⁵³

The Brno club, according to its possibilities, supported the initiative that led to the founding of kindred associations in Moravia. It sent its own statute to Moravian Ostrava and through its representative it took part in the gala establishment of the club there (March 10, 1929). Znojmo played the greatest role in the origin of this club. In November 1929 a Polish-Czech celebration was organized that gave the impulse for creating the Znojmo Czechoslovak-Polish Club (February 2, 1930). Shortly afterward, Kolaja left for the gala establishment of the Czechoslovak-Polish Club in Olomouc (April 29, 1930). As we already know, another club originated spontaneously in Valašské Meziříčí (November 15, 1930).⁵⁴ Clubs were subsequently founded in, among other locations, Přerov, Prostějov and Frýdek. The push of the Polish Consulate was for founding Czechoslovak-Polish clubs in Moravia, but not allowing for them to arise in Zaolzie on account of the large Polish ethnic minority that lived there. Consul Ripa wrote about this matter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: “The Consulate considers it inadmissible that Cz-Pol clubs arise in Czechoslovak Silesia, particularly in the Fryštát and Český Těšín districts, however it supports their creation in the territory of Moravia, considering their positive activity for the good of the Polish population.”⁵⁵

Leon Wolf, a representative in the Czechoslovak Parliament of Polish nationality, pointed out the fundamental difference between the Czechoslovak-Polish Club in Brno and the one in Moravian Ostrava. When during a meeting at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in March 1929 he spoke about the origin of the Czechoslovak-Polish Club in Ostrava, he stated that by contrast with the analogous club in Brno it had a more political character.⁵⁶ In a period when there were still attempts being made at Polish-Czechoslovak rapprochement at the international level, Polish diplomacy was trying to utilize the potential of the Czechoslovak-Polish clubs. During the annual meeting of the Club in Brno on January 20, 1932, Vice-

⁵² Archiwum Akt Nowych [Archives of New Records in Warsaw] (AAN), Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych [Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Poland] (MSZ), sygn. 10402, p. 54, letter from consul Karol Ripa to Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland, December 30, 1930. Powstanie klubu w Wałaskim Międzyrzeczu – Valašské Meziříčí. See also: Ruch Słowiański, 1930, no. 8–9, p. 328, *Klub czesko-polski w Wałaskim Międzyrzeczu na Morawach*; PIWOWARCZYK, M.: *The image of the Czechs in Polish society*, p. 24.

⁵³ JANUSZEWSKA-JURKIEWICZ, J.: *Zaolzie w polityce rządu i opinii społeczeństwa polskiego (1925–1937)*. Katowice 2001, p. 60.

⁵⁴ AMB, R 47, ČPKB, in. no. 7, souhrnný výkaz činnosti spolku 1925–1933. See also: DOLIWA, J.: *Towarzystwa czechosłowacko-polskiej wzajemności*, part 1, pp. 55–56.

⁵⁵ AAN, MSZ, sygn. 10392, p. 89, letter from consul Karol Ripa to Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland, December 10, 1932. See also: MISZEWSKI, D.: *Aktywność polityczna mniejszości polskiej w Czechosłowacji 1920–1938*. Toruń 2002, s. 181.

⁵⁶ AAN, MSZ, sygn. 10392 (1929–1932), p. 11, Protokół z posiedzenia odbytego w dniu 13 III 1929 r. w sprawach mniejszości polskiej w Czechosłowacji [Protocol of meeting related to the Polish minority in Czechoslovakia, March 13, 1929].

Consul Adam Synowiecki envisioned a platform for Polish-Czech cooperation mainly in their mutual resistance against German revisionism. In this context he appealed to those present thus: “And here opens for Czech-Polish clubs a rewarding area of activity – awakening the Slavic solidarity that fortifies the independence of both of our nations. (...) All of this facilitates the work of Czech-Polish clubs, whose ideology is still widely disseminating into society. And therefore, with regard to the positive manifestations of strengthening the comity between both of our nations, I express in the name of Consul Ripa deep conviction and faith that the activity of the Czech-Polish Club in Brno, under the energetic and self-sacrificing leadership of Kolaja will contribute in great measure to the realization of the goals that we all desire; i.e.: the establishment of lasting and utterly unclouded concordance and friendship between both of our brother nations”.⁵⁷

Against the Stream

The Czechoslovak-Polish Club in Brno very actively joined in an activity whose goal was combining the forces of individual clubs in a situation which had, since the mid-1930s, been continually contributing to the deterioration of Czechoslovak-Polish relations. On the day of October 26, 1935, a congress took place in Přerov for delegates of Moravian-Silesian clubs. The following officers were elected to leadership positions: Jan Sedláček, Mazur (Prostějov); Berčík, Kubis, Blatný, Karol Skawiński (Olomouc); Maxmilián Kolaja, Paweł Kriebelt (Brno); Jan Král, Emanuel Chobot (Moravská Ostrava); Jaromír Měsl, František Kalabus (Přerov). Kolaja was elected as the chairman, which can testify that it was thanks to Kolaja and the Brno club he represented, that these circles were recognized. Twenty-three delegates decided that the Czechoslovak-Polish clubs would not be abolished, and that active functioning would be initiated and mutual efforts developed. In the accepted resolution we read: “It was unanimously decided to create a working committee which should without delay initiate massive action leading toward the clarification of the recent alarming events in the mutual relations of both nations and states in general and on the borders of Czechoslovakia specifically. (...) to initiate the activity by calling upon the Czech and Polish camps within the Czechoslovak Republic to continue their work.”⁵⁸

Besides the integration of Polonophilic centers in Moravia, this was a form of defensive reaction to the dominant conditions that were unsuitable for social-cultural work, and for connecting Polonophilic activities to the wider stream of Slavophile activities. Thus, various social and cultural events were organized, in which, besides the members of the Club, also representatives of Yugoslavophile, Luzic-Serbophile, Russophile and Ukrainophile associations took part. Even in this area, M. Kolaja was still active, who after the death of Prokop Miroslav Haškovec in 1936, actually became the leader of the Brno Committee for Slavic Solidarity.⁵⁹

Despite the attempts of primarily Prague-based Polonophilic functionaries, neither a unity of statewide organizations nor an institutional form that would unify individual associations at the statewide level developed. Let us remember that in the Czech lands there existed, besides those in Prague, clubs or associations of Czechoslovak-Polish solidarity in cities like Benešov, České Budějovice, Hradec Králové, Mladá Boleslav, Pardubice, Plzeň, Písek, Příbram and Tábor. The creation of others was thwarted by increasingly tense

⁵⁷ AAN, MSZ, sygn. 10392, p. 35, Walne Zebranie Klubu Czesko-Polskiego w Bernie 20 I 1932 – wicekonsul dr Adam Synowiecki [Protocol of General Assembly of the Czechoslovak-Polish Club in Brno, January 20, 1932 – viceconsul Adam Synowiecki].

⁵⁸ AMB, R 47, ČPKB, in. no. 6, Zápis o sjezdu moravskoslezských klubů konaném 26 X 1935 v Přerově za účasti 23 delegátů z Mor. Ostravy, Brna, Olomouce, Prostějova a Přerova [Protocol of meeting of Moravian Clubs in Přerov, 23 delegates from Moravská Ostrava, Brno, Olomouc, Prostějov and Přerov, October 26, 1935]. See also: DOLIWA, J.: *Towarzystwa czechosłowacko-polskiej wzajemności*, part 2, p. 72.

⁵⁹ DOLIWA, J.: *Towarzystwa czechosłowacko-polskiej wzajemności*, part 2, p. 74.

international relations. The branch of the Czech-Polish Social Club in Prague was located in Bratislava.⁶⁰ There was even a branch of the Polish-Czech Club in Paris.⁶¹

A manifestation of the worsening relations between Poland and Czechoslovakia was the withdrawal of Polish students organized in the Association of Student Poles in Brno (1930–1938) [Związek Studentów Polaków w Brnie] from the Brno Club. This took place on June 13, 1934. Officials considered this decision to be a political act and reacted to it by conducting home searches of the students, with interrogations and warnings that they should refrain from political actions.⁶² As it were, from “the other shore” we can also show an example of a representative of the Czech nation who later gave up membership in the Club. Professor Vilém Steinman, the founder and director of the Community of Friends of Choral Art “Opus” in Brno was unanimously appointed as an honorary member of the Club at a special general assembly on April 15, 1936. Above all else, he was appreciated for the extraordinarily successful tour of “Opus” in Poland in the fall of 1931. Steinman returned his diploma of honorary membership “after the events of 1938”.⁶³ As for honorary membership in the Club, it is necessary to add that these honors had already been awarded to Consul Ripa (his correspondence with Kolaja was not interrupted even by the naming of Ripa as Consul of the RP in Pittsburgh),⁶⁴ and Kolaja’s longtime friend, the Cracow architect Artur Romanowski⁶⁵ and finally even to Kolaja himself.⁶⁶ The Polish state, by contrast, rewarded the merits to the chairman of the Club when in 1929 they conferred the officer’s Order of Polonia Restituta cross upon him; which, however, its bearer later returned in protest against the annexation of Zaolzie to Poland.⁶⁷

In the fall of 1933 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Warsaw decided to acquire complex information about university departments of Slavic Studies, Slavic Studies lectureships, and above all, about Polish Studies abroad.⁶⁸ The Consulate of the RP in Moravian Ostrava utilized its relations with representatives of the Association of Student Poles in Brno for these purposes.⁶⁹ The representative of the Association, Józef Wardas, recognized the lecturer of Polish language and chairman of the Czech-Polish Club, M. Kolaja, the lecturer of Slovak language and member of the same Club, Alois Gregor, and professor of History, Vladimír Groh, as supporters of Czech-Polish rapprochement. He broadly characterized the relation of Professor Arne Novák to Poland and Poles: “(...) his opinions on the question of Czech-Polish rapprochement are very inconstant. One time he claims real rapprochement is possible, another time then he shows that it is possible only in the areas of culture and literature. He is a member of the Polish-Czech Club and maintains active relations

⁶⁰ Idem: *Polsko-československé kulturní vztahy*.

⁶¹ PAŃKO, G.: *Polska i Polacy w czeskiej opinii*, pp. 68–69.

⁶² JASIŃSKI, Z.: *Polskie życie organizacyjne*, p. 88; *Jdeme dál!*, p. 19.

⁶³ AMB, R 47, ČPKB, no. 1.

⁶⁴ AMB, R 47, ČPKB, no. 10, dr. Ripa – korespondence s M. Kolajou (1929–1934) [Correspondence K. Ripa – M. Kolaja (1929–1934)]. See letter from consul Karol Ripa to Maxmilián Kolaja, December 15, 1933.

⁶⁵ DOLIWA, J.: *Polsko-československé kulturní vztahy*, p. 267.

⁶⁶ *Jdeme dál!*, p. 20.

⁶⁷ AMB, R 47, ČPKB, no. 12, korespondence 1918–1960 [Correspondence 1918–1960]; Ruch Słowiański, 1929, no. 4, pp. 188–189, *Odznaczenie polonofila czeskiego*. See also: KUDÉLKA, M.: *Zemřel Maxmilián Kolaja*. Slovanský přehled, 1967, no. 1, s. 47; DOLIWA, J.: *Towarzystwa czechosłowacko-polskiej wzajemności*, part 2, p. 74.

⁶⁸ AAN, Konsulat RP w Morawskiej Ostrawie [Consulate of Poland in Moravská Ostrava], sygn. 189, katedry polskie i slawistyki w Czechosłowacji, wykazy, korespondencja 1933–1936, p. 3, circular from Political Department of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland, November 3, 1933.

⁶⁹ AAN, Konsulat RP w Morawskiej Ostrawie, sygn. 189, p. 4, Konsulat RP w Morawskiej Ostrawie do Związku Polaków w Bernie, poufne [Consulate of Poland in Moravská Ostrava to Association of Student Poles in Brno], November 22, 1933.

with M. Szykowski from Prague. It is possible to enlist him for Polish matters.”⁷⁰ We do not know who provided the Consulate with information some three years later; however, we do know that they evaluated Kolaja very unfavorably: “the lectureship in Polish language, founded in 1924, wretchedness, the chairman of the Czech-Polish Club in Brno. He teaches Czech language at a technical academy. He is a very mediocre specialist in the Polish language, he maintains contacts with Romanowski from Cracow.”⁷¹ That Kolaja maintained his independence from Polish diplomacy is testified by the following message from the RP Consulate in Moravian Ostrava to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: “(...) the Polish language lecturer does not draw upon support from the side of the office there.”⁷²

On the occasion of the ten-year anniversary of the Club’s activity, a celebration was held. An “invitation to an EVENING for the 10th anniversary of its existence and its work in the field of rapprochement of the Czechoslovak and Polish nations”⁷³ signed by Chairman Kolaja and Vice Chairman Kriebelt was sent around. The jubilee gathering took place on Saturday March 16, 1935. On this occasion a special occasion publication was released with the title of *Jdeme dál!* [Let’s Keep Going!], whose title itself expressed the stance of the Club’s membership – to keep going despite the obstacles created by the cooling-off of Polish-Czechoslovak relations. The standpoint of the Brno Polonophiles was most fully expressed by Kolaja in his preamble, where he stressed that: “We only wish for one thing: that we would not as a group be made to bear the consequences ensuing from the current political situation, of someone finding a weakness or even an insufficiency of national pride! (...) We gladly repeat at every occasion the words of President T. G. Masaryk, that without a free Poland there will not be a free Czechoslovakia, but also without a free Czechoslovakia there will not be a free Poland – let’s be mindful of these prophetic words! (...) At the same time we naturally, being constrained by the present situation, pose the question: What next? (...) Let’s keep going!”⁷⁴ The editors were able to publish in the symposium texts by such persons as the mayor of Brno Karel Tomeš, Tadeusz Zieliński (Warsaw), Kazimierz Kierski (Poznań), Franciszek Błoński and Artur Romanowski (Cracow), Marian Szykowski and Karel Krejčí (Prague), Cyril Bařinka (Bratislava), František Král and Emanuel Chobot (Ostrava), and P. M. Haškovec, Zdeněk Hájek, Paweł Kriebelt, Adolf Kellner, Josef Rabenstein (Brno).

The Club did not cease its activities as a result of the crisis in Polish-Czech relations in the fall of 1928, but rather under the conditions of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. According to the message that Kolaja submitted to the police headquarters, this should have taken place on June 30, 1939. The Club was officially stricken from the register of organizations on September 27, 1939. On the basis of a directive from the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia beginning on the day of April 16, 1940, there was a final liquidation of organizations of Czechoslovak-Polish solidarity.⁷⁵ If we want to find an answer to the question of what was the meaning of the Czechoslovak-Polish Club in Brno from the point of view of those who had the most at stake, we may use the words of the chairman of the Club: “(...) the center for Poles in Brno and of Czechs who want membership in the club makes evident their sympathy for the thought of Czech-Polish rapprochement. The idea is here, it is

⁷⁰ AAN, Konsulat RP w Morawskiej Ostrawie, sygn. 189, p. 7, Związek Studentów Polskich, Brno, Ewidencja katedr slawistyki, letter from Józef Wardas to consul Karol Ripa, November 29, 1933.

⁷¹ AAN, Konsulat RP w Morawskiej Ostrawie, sygn. 189, p. 13, letter from Consulate of Poland in Moravská Ostrava to Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland, November 18, 1936, answer for the circular, October 15, 1936.

⁷² AAN, Konsulat RP w Morawskiej Ostrawie, sygn. 189, p. 13, letter from Consulate in Moravská Ostrava to MSZ, November 18, 1936, answer for the circular, October 15, 1936.

⁷³ AMB, R 47, ČPKB, no. 8, seznamy.

⁷⁴ *Jdeme dál!*, pp. 3–6.

⁷⁵ DOLIWA, J.: *Polsko-československé kulturní vztahy*, p. 24; idem: *Towarzystwa czechosłowacko-polskiej wzajemności*, part 2, pp. 74–75.

endorsed by the best people on the Czech and the Polish sides. It is therefore upon us, in order to fulfill it.⁷⁶

Epilogue

After the war, the Club did formally renew its activity (1945–1950); however, the circle of Brno Polonophiles was concentrated in the local branch of the Society for Cultural Relations with Poland. The branch was founded on January 16, 1947 in the Brno hotel Slavia. The tried-and-true Polonophile Maxmilán Kolaja, who was imprisoned at Špilberk during the war for a certain time by the Germans, became its leader. Professor František Chmelař from the Agricultural University became the first Vice Chairman, and the second known functionary from the prewar club was Zdeněk Hájek, who was after the war appointed as the first director of the Department of History at the Pedagogical Faculty at Masaryk University. Rank-and-file members of the Brno branch included, among others: the excellent historian Josef Macůrek (1901–1992), who was at that time Dean of the Philosophical Faculty of Masaryk University, and who had once been a student of the same university. Later, the renowned Slavacist Milan Kudělka (1922–2005), noted architect Jiří Kroha (1893–1974) and the future ambassador of Czechoslovakia in Poland, František Pišek, joined the Club.⁷⁷ During the members' meeting that took place in one of the assembly rooms of the hotel Slavia on May 17, 1949, the name of the organization was changed to the Society of Czechoslovak-Polish Friendship, Brno Branch.⁷⁸ On the basis of the newly-passed law on organizations from July 12, 1951, the central office in Prague formally as well as de facto ceased to exist, as did its Brno branch (April 30, 1952).⁷⁹

A Return to Tradition?

Nearly half a century had passed when, under the above-mentioned social-political conditions in a certain sense the idea of the prewar club came back to life. It is “in a certain sense” because it was above all an association of the Polish minority, which was moreover emphasized in the very name: “POLONUS” Klub Polski w Brnie – Polish Club in Brno. As it had been in many other analogous cases of prewar Czechoslovak-Polish clubs in Moravia, the General Consulate of the RP in Ostrava was a source of inspiration and also provided the decisive impulse for this case. On November 6, 1996, at the instigation of the Polish Consulate, the leaders of the city of Brno met with representatives and as early as January 13, 1997, a new Polish organization was registered in this Moravian city. Let us add that the relationship of the municipal council to the operations and cultural activities of national minorities (for example, Greek, Bulgarian, German, Hungarian, Romany, Slovak and Polish groups) was – and is – extraordinarily positive. The beginnings of the new organization for the local Polish minority's actions, open to wider society, fell into the period when the function of Lord Mayor of the City was executed by Dagmar Lastovecká. The activities of the Consulate – represented by General Consul Bernard Błaszczyk and Consul Piotr Szwarz – in the Moravian metropolis did not at all slow the momentum toward founding the Club; on the contrary, it increased. Polish state holidays are celebrated, exhibitions of Polish artists are held, and once a month Holy Masses are celebrated in the Polish language. The Club also engaged in the activities of the Congress of Poles in the Czech Republic. The organization of

⁷⁶ AMB, R 47, ČPKB, no. 5, Jednatelská zpráva Česko-polského klubu v Brně za rok 1929.

⁷⁷ AMB, R 47, ČPKB, no. 8, seznamy, Společnost pro kulturní styky s Polskem – odbočka v Brně [Society for Cultural Relations with Poland, Brno Branch]. See also: MADECKI, R.: *Poláci v Brně*, p. 20.

⁷⁸ AMB, R 47, ČPKB, no. 8, seznamy, členská schůze Společnosti československo-polského přátelství, odbočka v Brně [Meeting of Society of Czechoslovak-Polish Friendship, Brno Branch].

⁷⁹ MADECKI, R.: *Poláci v Brně*, pp. 20–21.

various cultural events was aided by the fact that at that time the well-known Polish poet Renata Putzlacher-Buchotová moved from Transolza to Brno.⁸⁰

And again, as in years before, the irreplaceable role of the intelligentsia, or to be more specific, people from the university, has come to bear. They have returned to using the same title they used before the war, symbolizing their connection with the First Republic. Among the founders of the Club was Kardyni-Pelikánová, who represented the face of Polish Studies in Brno at that time. In the first year of its operation the Club was awarded with the Commission for National Education [Medal Komisji Edukacji Narodowej].⁸¹ After a brief period when Izabela Vašourková was chairwoman, Polish Studies scholar Roman Madecki became the second chairman in 1998, and remains in this function to this day. It is precisely because he is a Polish Studies scholar, linguist and research worker for Masaryk University that the heritage of the prewar Czechoslovak-Polish Club in Brno and the contributions of its chairman Maxmilián Kolaja are close to his heart. The tradition of Czech, or if we will, Moravian Polonophilia is currently represented in the Club by Vice-Dean of the Law Faculty and concurrently the honorary Consul of the Polish Republic in Brno, Petr Mrkývka.

Every year since 1999, on the occasion of Polish national holidays, members of the Club have placed a bouquet on the memorial plaque for Polish prisoners at Špilberk. In this way they can connect with their heritage from previous generations. In this context, let us still add that – outside of the Club – Jaroslav Vaculík from the Pedagogical Faculty also follows Hájek's Polonophilic tradition. A broader concept of the various ties between Brno and Poland in distant and recent history is expressed in the symposium of research papers *Poláci v Brně – Polacy w Brnie a na jižní Moravě*, which was mentioned at the beginning of this article. The co-publisher of the symposium was the above-mentioned "POLONUS" Klub Polski w Brnie. In this work there are many places dedicated to the Polish men and women of Brno, beginning with Eliška Rejčka, the daughter of the Polish king Přemysl II., who was the wife of the Czech and Polish king Václav II. She now reposes eternally in the abbey church at the base of Špilberk, which she herself founded. In the pages of this book we also find many names of Brno Czechs who were with their lives or their scholarly work connected with the land north of the Vistula and its inhabitants. Some of them certainly deserve to be called Czech Polonophiles. In this place it would be remiss to forget the co-editor of the referred-to publication, Ludvík Štěpán (1943–2009).

Conclusion

This article is only a small fragment of the mosaic that represents the picture of Czech interwar Polonophilia. It is only now thanks to the results of a great number of partial studies that researchers are able to formulate questions with wider validity. And certainly historians will approach the problem differently than literary scholars or experts in cultural studies. An interdisciplinary approach is in this case warranted in the utmost. We can catch sight of one of the important assumptions guiding such research while undertaking deeper analyses of the interaction between the ideal of Czech-Polish solidarity and politics. Was this only a meeting of idealism with realism, or of humanistic generosity with the hard rules of political struggle? Where did the common path of these two worlds begin and where did it end? Another phenomenon, which, however, is not completely separate from the one above, may be described as the defining of boundaries of principles upon whose basis the co-existence of love for one's own and for an "adopted" country, for one's own and for a foreign nation, in this case, for the Czech and the Polish, are born and die. Did Czech Polonophilia and its

⁸⁰ *Klub Polski w Brnie POLONUS Polský klub v Brně (1997–2002)*. Český Těšín 2002; *Klub Polski w Brnie POLONUS Polský klub v Brně (1997–2007)*. Český Těšín 2007.

⁸¹ GRABCZYŃSKA, M.: *Brneński portret w polskiej ramie czyli o życiu i twórczości Krystyny Kardyni-Pelikánovej*. In: *Poláci v Brně – Polacy w Brnie*, p. 267.

Polish mirror (and so long as they did, then to what extent) enjoy true backing within the realities in which their supporters were enmeshed? How would a composite portrait of Czech Polonophilia of the period appear? What roads, or rather footpaths, led toward Czech Polonophilia and how much did they succumb to changes over time? Answers to these and to other questions can only be found by further creative seeking.

Edith Stein's vision of marriage and family

Andrzej Ładyżyński

Edyta Steinová je pravděpodobně nejznámější občankou Vratislavi. Žila na přelomu 19. a 20. století. Narodila se v tradiční židovské rodině. Díky své neobyčejné inteligenci získala doktorát z fenomenologie. Nezískala univerzitní kariéru, ani neuzavřela manželství, po kterém toužila. Realizovala se jako vědecká pracovnice a učitelka. Věnovala řadu statí postavení ženy, roli muže a ženy v rodině, mateřství a otcovství. I když své názory formulovala ve 20. letech 20. století, řada z nich neztratila na své aktuálnosti, naopak jsou novátorské.

Klíčová slova: *Edit Stein; Vratislav; žena; manželství; rodina*

Introduction

Edith Stein is an untypical scholar, saint of the Church, feminist or, using Jan Turnau's expression, „variously wise young lady”¹. None of her biographies can fully present her description as a person. The wealth of her life is multidimensional and completely unidentified. It is possible to observe her life story from different perspectives. Biographers emphasize her life failures, such as: early half-orphanhood, depression, unfulfilled loves, not entering into a marriage compared with her desire to it, underestimation at work in spite of her commitment, the impossibility of pursuing her academic career, closing the way to school teaching, rejection by the Jewish community or the closest members of her family, and finally, her martyr's death. In my opinion the best category with which to understand her life is the criterion of a change, or even of paradoxes. She was born as a Jew in a house of practising Israelites, died as a Christian. All her life she sought the truth, although not always could she share the truth with her loved ones. She loved two men, but it was unrequited. For the men in whom she was interested, she was rather a good conversationalist, then correspondent or a reliable co-worker. They might have been scared of her female independence attitude and of her ability to express her desires. Apart from her Jewish origin, she was a German patriot. Roman Ingarden even uses the expression of a Prussian patriot. The country where she was a faithful citizen, became the direct reason of her death. In her early youth she had the leftist-liberal attitude, as a considerable part of the Jewish intellectual life around her. As she matured, she assumed rather a conservative position². During her lifetime she was relatively little known outside her environment; after her death she became popular.

She was born on 12th October 1891 as the youngest child of a family who had come to Wrocław searching for better life and work conditions. It was a Jewish family of middle income. Her father's death occurred in 1893, when Edith was only a two-year-old child. From 1913 to 1916 she studied German, history, psychology and philosophy at Wrocław University. After finishing it she took part in PhD studies under professor Edmund Husserl, completed with the dissertation titled *On the Problem of Empathy*. She fulfilled the role of professor's assistant. All her efforts to achieve habilitation and the title of professor were

¹ DADEJ, I.: *Edith Stein - święta feministka. Wspomnienie o Edycie Stein*, <http://www.feminoteka.pl>, 30.10.2010.

² STEIN, E.: *O zagadnieniu wczucia*,. In: INGARDEN, R.: *O badaniach filozoficznych Edith Stein*, Kraków 1988, p. 158.

foredoomed to failure. In 1922 she accepted baptism in the Catholic Church. She worked as an educationalist in the Teacher Institute in Speyer (1923-1931) and the German Institute of Scientific Pedagogy in Münster (1932-1933). There she joined the Carmelite Order (1933). She was deported to Auschwitz in 1942 and killed there on 9th August the same year. Her beatification took place in 1988 and ten years later she was canonized in the Catholic Church³. The legacy of Edith Stein is very rich, and it can be described as a great oeuvre. There were works in philosophy, literature, women's rights, religious dialogue, relations between nations, and tolerance.

Edith Stein's biography is an excellent illustration of the religious intricacies of interwar Germany. She was born in Wrocław. Every year after leaving the family home, she spent holidays in her mother's house. By coincidence, the last time she was seen here was at the railway station on 7th August 1942, two days before her death⁴. The city is a symbolic clasp linking her life and death.

Marriage and family in Edith Stein's understanding

Edith Stein's work allowed her to reveal her visions and understanding of the marital community and family. To investigate her views, I concentrate mainly on her lectures given in 1928-1933, which make up a volume titled *Kobieta i jej zadanie według natury i łaski*⁵. The author looks at reality from a woman's perspective, her position and life's vocation. Edith Stein's views on femininity and ways of fulfilling it caused her to be called a feminist.

The balance of woman's and man's roles

Edith concentrates here on a woman and her roles. She knows her and understands her. She depicts a woman in the context of her tasks and relations. She sees her as equal to a man, but different from him. She has a different body, soul, interests, way of thinking and life roles to accomplish. Femininity for Edith Stein is a vocation to *precisely identified tasks*. The term vocation itself is in her understanding a profession and a vocation in a wide sense, as it were, a way of life. Woman's tasks outline her nature. The body in turn determines her to be a mother.

A woman is different than a man. She acts and thinks in a disparate way. „The natural way of female learning is not notional-analytic, but rather aiming at concrete terms, it is intuitive (empathizing). This natural basic predisposition helps a woman to look after and bring up her own children”. The object of woman's care is personal life matters⁶.

The equality of both, a man and a woman, derives from the biblical Book of Genesis. It puts pressure on a woman as an appropriate help for a man. She uses here the expression *Ester kenegdo*— meaning literally „a help equal to him and different at the same time”. She compares a woman to a mirror thanks to which a man can discern his own nature. She thinks that a woman is an appropriate help for a man, but she emphasizes their equality, understood as complementing each other, as one hand's work complements the other's. Towards a woman living also in matrimony she uses an expression of husband's independent companion⁷.

Marriage

3 SZYCHTE, A.: *Kobieta wobec powołania Bożego*. In: *Św. Teresa Benedykta od Krzyża (Edyta Stein) – Kobieta i Karmelitanka Bosa – Patronką Europy*, Poznań 2001, p. 12.

4 DAVIES, N. – MOORHOUSE, R.: *Mikrokosmos. Portret miasta środkowoeuropejskiego, Vratislavia – Breslau – Wrocław*. Kraków 2007, pp. 383, 429.

5 STEIN, E.: *Kobieta i jej zadanie według natury i łaski*. Kraków 1995. Published in English as: *Essays on Woman*; German as: *Frau: Ihre Aufgabe nach Natur und Gnade*.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 25, 37.

Marriage for Edith Stein is fundamental. Within the relationship a man is considered to be the managerial power. He is the head of a family and a woman owes him obedience. But it is not blind obedience in every matter. Edith Stein thinks that if a woman wants to participate in man's life, she must submit. A man achieves a goal defined by him – „it is natural that he serves his matter. A woman serves it on account of him and it is right that she is responsible to his management”⁸. We deal here with a traditional patriarchal approach. But the variously wise young lady adds that this presentation of woman's natural characteristics is not by any means the assessment of her values. A man is appointed as a head following the example of Christ and in a woman he finds a companion and a helper. He does not rule over her. Their task as a couple is to be together so closely, to cling to each other, to become one body. Marriage values are then unity and inseparability⁹.

For a woman marriage has – according to Edith Stein – a deep sense. It is in accordance with the biggest desire of her heart. She writes about it in the following way: „To give yourself over in love, to become somebody's property and at the same time possess him completely”. Simultaneously for Edith Stein marriage is the Christian community. In Edith's understanding the decline of a human couple happened after the original sin. The collapse of the original community of love caused the change of woman's position. From an independent companion she became a subject. A man was submitted to the heroic struggle, a woman – the effort of giving birth. After changing these relationships of a man to a woman, the relationships with children collapsed as well¹⁰. This persistent fighter for women's rights, being a Christian, wonders how it happened that a man was created before a woman. She thinks that his „man's priority” is not explained.

Edith Stein, in her thoughts on marriage, goes quite far. She thinks that most of these communities are marked by distress. A woman in her marriage lives in accordance with her vocation and even if it is unhappy, for her it is a more favourable solution than the lack of marriage¹¹.

Motherhood and fatherhood

Femininity following its vocation appears through motherhood. A woman's goal is to support a life, watch it over, protect it, feed it. As a person she devotes herself to fulfil those maternal aims, to treat other tasks only as supporting or serving the main aim¹².

A woman has special predispositions to fulfil the role of a mother and this aspect makes her an attractive man's companion. In this motherhood, this companion in all cases, all circumstances, Edith finds a woman's gift and happiness. In her opinion a man fulfils himself, using her expression, he is preoccupied with „his matters”, he expects interest and help in achieving his goals, although, paradoxically, he is not able to turn himself to others and their circumstances. In contrast, a woman has this ability. She combines this gift closely with the motherhood that increases her strength and enhances it. Worth emphasizing is the fact that a woman accomplishes motherhood towards little children, towards adolescents and also – and it is especially worth emphasizing in Edith Stein's transmission – the more they grow up, the more they need a mother, as it were, to accompany them¹³.

Another interesting aspect of so creative an attitude toward motherhood is Edith's thesis, that a mother should not treat her child as her own property. A mother who fears for a

8 Ibid., p. 11.

9 Ibid., pp. 11, 25, 30.

10 Ibid., pp. 17, 34.

11 Frauenleben. In: *Ganzheitliches Leben. Schriften zur Bildung*. Werke band XII, 117-118, quoted in: SCZYCHTA, A.: *Kobieta wobec powołania Bożego*. In: *Św. Teresa Benedykta od Krzyża (Edyta Stein) – Kobieta i Karmelitanka Bosa – Patronką Europy*. Poznań 2001, p. 12.

12 STEIN, E.: *Kobieta i jej...*, op. cit., p. 9.

13 Ibid., p. 10.

child too much can try to grow attached to it which controls its freedom of development. She can also turn away a child from its father¹⁴. The relevance of this warning is worth stressing not only during Edith's lifetime. This phenomenon is timeless in character.

Edith Stein does not think that a mother is the most important person in bringing up a child. Her position is very unique on account of her physical contact with a child and woman's special abilities to look after a child. But what is essential in her "teaching" is the acknowledgement of parental couple's complementarity. A mother and a father should complement each other in upbringing, because a child needs not only care but also management. The acceptance of motherhood by a woman should encourage a man to take care of both a mother and a child. A man and a woman are created together to act in aid of next generation, which will create something new of its own. This thought from several dozen years ago brings back the system attitude to a family, so current nowadays. She acknowledges the young generation which should be brought up to freedom and self-realization¹⁵.

The role of a father is as essential as the role of a mother. And not only for a child but also for himself. Edith Stein says that fatherhood appears as an original vocation given to him apart from a particular vocation. The author sees quite clearly men's weaknesses at performing the role of father. She says frankly that fathers using sexuality without being responsible for a child, or caring for it financially but omitting its upbringing, or treating the child brutally, is what consequently strips a child of its developmental possibilities. A husband's brutal willingness of domination threatens a wife, her position as a husband's independent companion and degenerates her compared to him. Also a woman can adhere to her own urges and give up maternity¹⁶.

In reality Edith Stein concentrates not only on criticizing fathers' improper attitudes, but also shows them the way to act. It must be admitted that she sets difficult tasks to fathers. First of all, it is to care for the whole family – providing for it with an ample income and external propitiousness, caring for the health of the whole organism. But his efforts should go deeper. He should provide all members of the family with the possibility of development of inborn gifts, and gained ones – using Edith Stein's expressions – from nature and grace. A father is responsible for order and harmony in family life. A difficult thing is demanded of him. He is to treat family members so they can develop themselves, but at the same time respect the others. A father – a family head – is expected to oversee his wife's spontaneous development and to support it if it proceeds smoothly. If a woman cannot find her own way, a husband should help her to find it, to increase her self-esteem and to motivate her to self-development. She makes a man responsible for development of woman's spiritual values. She thinks that tasks appointed to a man are too difficult do be performed alone. He should be ready to accept his wife's help and even to be led¹⁷. These last sentences cannot be interpreted differently than as a proposal to build a marriage or a family of equal partners.

Edith Stein's deliberation on a career and its relationship with family life has extraordinary relevance. She thinks about the meaning of a woman's career made outside the house. Edith Stein respects the development of a woman's career outside the house. She thinks that it should not threaten family life, that is the community of parents and children. What is interesting is that she condemns forcing married women to work outside the house. Just after the disquisition on a woman's career, Edith refers to men's excessive involvement in professional roles. This is not a good way for them¹⁸.

14 Ibid., pp. 12, 37.

15 Ibid., p. 35.

16 Ibid., pp. 35, 37.

17 Ibid., pp. 39-40.

18 Ibid., p. 41.

A family apart from the state and the Church is the fundamental community forming a man. It is not able to fulfil all undertaken tasks alone. But it has priority in the process of bringing up children. It deserves priority in the process of upbringing, described by Edith Stein as work on „a body, a soul and a spirit with all their power”. This activity includes looking after children, working on senses and later shaping will ¹⁹.

Marriage and family set in the world of faith

Edith Stein does not build her own conception of marriage and family life. She relies on many bases. She knows family, because she was brought up in it, experienced it as well as the lack of a father. She observes family as a theoretician and practitioner – a tutor of girls and young women. One of Edith’s important experiences was the discovery of Christianity and in consequences of it, the change of religion. The bases of her thinking on marriage and family are biblical.

Seeking the model of a woman-mother, she finds a perfect example in the New Testament. This Catholic feminist makes religious references by putting Mary, as a woman with appropriately developed predispositions to play the role of a wife and a mother, forward as a model to mothers. Mary Immaculate also becomes the shining example of a wife ²⁰.

Edith refers to Paul’s words, directed to Timotheus, concerning the fact that Eve as a woman was deceived first. Paul concludes that she will be saved by giving birth to children. Edith Stein „polemicises”, as it were, with Apostle Paul adding in brackets – all women will be saved. A childless, unmarried, today called single, woman was not afraid of expressing her own opinion. A man is to protect, lead and take care but first of all, he is to fulfil God’s will because out of concern “for the natural good of an individual and all the home, it is not allowed to neglect the preternatural life” ²¹.

Conclusion

A few conclusions can be drawn from these fragmentary deliberations, done out of necessity, on masculinity, femininity, marriage and family. The vision of man’s and woman’s life roles fulfilment was directed to their fundamental vocation such as marriage or family, which Edith Stein pays attention to. A man and a woman are equal. He is given the palm, the title, „ head of a family”. But they both are to keep the balance, provide help to each other at every stage of their life, to act as mirrors for each other. Their task is to fulfil family aims together. Indeed a woman has more predispositions to take care of children, but in their upbringing there is also a place for a man – a father. A fundamental vocation – in Edith Stein’s understanding – is based on religious tenet. The author derived her attitude to the family community of humans from the Holy Bible. She refers also to the documents of the Church. In my opinion, the necessity of giving freedom to children, not appropriating them to a mother, not keeping them for herself, not excluding fathers, stressed by Edith Stein should be emphasized as well. It appears important to bring up the youngsters for themselves, for the future, for achieving their own aims. The portrait of a father as the one who is to care for multidimensional development of his own family members is sketched interestingly. Worth emphasizing also is Edith Stein’s attitude to work. She does not ignore its meaning, but suggests the necessity of putting it in an appropriate measure. Outside-the-house work is to serve the family community.

Edith Stein’s views on separation of adolescent children, treating a family as an organism or stressing complementarity of men’s and women’s roles proves the penetrating insight of this outstanding scholar and very attentive life observer. It suggests current popular

19 Ibid., p. 159.

20 Ibid., p. 12.

21 Ibid., pp. 32, 35, 39.

thinking of the family as a system. In some fields, opinions stated by Edith Stein were ahead of her time. The element of balance (partnership) between a man and a woman, emphasizing the meaning of both parents in the process of upbringing and also appreciating woman's outside-the-house work should be counted in these fields. These are modern views of a woman, a Jewess, a feminist becoming a Christian, and finally, a saint of the Church ahead of the thinking of her time and clearing the way for the next generations.

Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal
European Dimension in History Teaching as a Way to Tolerance and Understanding

Jana Stejskalíková

Jelikož evropská dimenze představuje v současnosti jeden z nejvýznamnějších principů ve vzdělávání, její rozšíření v národních kurikulech jednotlivých členských zemí EU včetně ČR je víc než patrné. Příspěvek se zaměřuje na problematiku evropské dimenze v dějepisném vyučování, neboť školní předmět dějepis má obrovský potenciál k jejímu uplatnění.

Klíčová slova: *evropská dimenze; evropské školy; dějiny Evropy; výuka dějepisu v české škole.*

The enhancement of the European dimension in the national curriculum is a large scale educational innovation that affects countries in the European Union (EU) including the Czech Republic. The European dimension in education presents one of the most important and topical educational principles. The school subject of history has a great potential for the realization of basic European dimension aims in education. Therefore, this article is focused on the problems of European dimension as a particular didactic phenomenon in history teaching.

Introduction

Looking back over Jean Monnet's work, whose vision of a united Europe led to the original economic and trade cooperation taking place between a number of countries in Europe, remarked, "*If I had to start it all again, I would start with education*".¹ This reflection emphasizes the role that education can play in helping to bring people together, for by reviewing his life's work, Monnet was able to identify a means of moving forward. Although education has only latterly come into the European equation, it is steadily assuming a more important position, appearing in all the most recent legislation and documentation.²

The reason why the European dimension in education is important can be summarized as follows. First of all, there is an international political consensus on the importance of the European dimension in education. The expression „*the European Dimension of education*” seems to have been used for the first time in the Treaties of Rome from 1957 and then in the Resolution of the Council of European Ministers of Education of 1976.³ Following the 1988 resolution, the Council of Ministers of Education defined the European dimension as “*to strengthen in young people a European identity and make clear to them the value of European civilization and of the foundations on which the European peoples intend to base their developments today, that is in particular the safe-guarding of the principles of democracy, social justice and human rights*”.⁴ According to the 1988 resolution, in addition to cultivating a sense of European identity among youth, the European dimension in education is supposed to prepare young people to participate in the economic and social life of the EU, make them

¹ WALTEROVÁ, E.: Strategie realizace evropské dimenze ve vzdělávání učitelů. In *Připravujeme učitele pro 21. století a vstup do Evropy? (Pregreduální a postgraduální příprava učitelů)*. Sborník z konference 27. – 29. května 1998. Olomouc : UP, 1998, p. 283.

² CONVEY, A. et al. : *Pupils' Perception of Europe. Identity and Education*. London : Cassell, 1997, p. 1.

³ *Resolution of the Council of European Ministers of Education, meeting within the Council of the European Community, of 9 February 1976, containing a programme of action in education, JOEC, No. C38 of 19 February 1976.*

⁴ *Resolution of the Council and the Ministers of Education meeting within the Council on the European dimension in education of 24 May 1988 (88/C177/02), OJ C 177 of 06.07.1988.*

aware of the benefits and challenges of being a member, and develop their knowledge of both the EU and its Member States in terms of their historical, cultural, economic and social features.⁵ A great number of European countries have agreed that the European dimension should get a structural place in their education systems. It means to create targeted programs and teaching materials, to support developing contacts between students, teachers and parents.⁶

The texts above, and further the Single European Act from 1986, the Maastricht Treaty from 1992 (specifically articles 126 and 127)⁷, the Green Paper on the European dimension in education from 1993⁸ and the White Paper on education and training from 1995 contain principia, i.a. relating to the European dimension.⁹ All of these texts clearly suggest that the European dimension is not a new and separate curriculum element, but a new way of approaching lesson content, the aim being to adjust certain emphases and, above all, bring out the specifically European aspects of certain trends or problems.¹⁰

Like the European Community, the Council of Europe became increasingly concerned in the late nineteen-eighties with promoting the development of the European dimension in education in its Member countries.¹¹ Since 2001 there has been no crucial text considering the European dimension in education adopted by the European Commission; however, there are partial texts that were adopted in the European Parliament.¹² The Council of Europe made a reflection on the social changes in Europe and in 2004 adopted the *Recommendation on Education for Europe*.¹³ 4 years later the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted a specific recommendation that supports the European dimension - the *Recommendation on promoting the teaching of European literature*.¹⁴

⁵ SAVVIDES, N.: The European dimension in education. Exploring pupils' perceptions at three European Schools. *Journal of Research in International Education*, vol. 7, nr. 3, 2008, p. 304–305. Retrieved 24. 12. 2010 from <http://jri.sagepub.com/content/7/3/304>.

⁶ WALTEROVÁ, E.: *Evropské záležitosti: výzva pro českou pedagogiku*. *Pedagogika*, vol. 51, nr. 1, 2001, p. 42.

⁷ The Maastricht Treaty. (1992). *Text of the Treaty establishing the European Community*. Retrieved 9. 11. 2010 from <http://www.eurotreaties.com/maastrichtec.pdf>. The Treaty gave for the first time a legal foundation to the development of European dimension in education, and in that sense, aimed at developing a sense of European identity among young people. The Maastricht Treaty tied the notion of European identity more powerfully to a new concept of European citizenship. For instance, the Treaty's article 127 states: „developing the European dimension in education, particularly through the teaching and dissemination of the languages of the Member States“. More in SAKKI, I.: *A Success Story or a Failure? Representing the European Integration in the Curricula and Textbooks of Five Countries*. Helsinki : University of Helsinki, 2010, p. 24–26.

⁸ *Commission of the European Communities, Green Paper on the European dimension of education (COM(93)457), September 1993*. Retrieved from http://aei.pitt.edu/936/01/education_gp_COM_93_457.pdf. The European dimension in education, which is expressed in a normative way in the last issue Green paper as well as in its concrete programmes, must be a faithful reflection of this special and political-territorial reality of power, widely collected and based upon the so-called conception of Europe about regions. For more see PEREYRA, M. A.: The social participation in the Construction of the European dimension in Education. *Comparative Education Society in Europe (CESE) Newsletter*, vol. 36, 1994, p. 17.

⁹ *Commission of the European Communities, White paper on education and training – Teaching and learning – Towards the learning society, COM(95)590, November 1995*. DAMANAKIS, M. European and Intercultural Dimension in Greek Education. *European Educational Research Journal*, vol. 4, nr. 1, 2005, p. 79–80.

¹⁰ LECLERQ J. M.: The European Dimension in the initial and further training of teachers and head teachers: problems and possible solutions. In *The European Dimension in secondary education*. Strasbourg : Council of Europe Publishing, 1997, p. 94.

¹¹ RYBA, R.: On Progress in the Development the European Dimension in Education. *Comparative Education Society in Europe (CESE) Newsletter*, vol. 36, 1994, p. 4.

¹² LOCHMAN, O.: *Realizace evropské dimenze v kurikulu základní školy*. Dissertation work. Praha : UK PdF 2009. p. 32.

¹³ *Recommendation 1682 (2004) Education for Europe adopted by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe in 2004*.

¹⁴ *Recommendation 1833 (2008) Promoting the teaching of European literature adopted by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe in 2008*.

Besides on the level of policies and programmes, Europeanization can also be seen in class-rooms of primary and secondary schooling.¹⁵ The establishment of European schools is a practical example of how the European dimension is brought to education. The first European school for children of EC-officials was founded in Luxemburg in 1953. The European Schools are official educational establishments controlled jointly by the governments of the member states of the European Union and they are legally regarded as public institutions.¹⁶ Thus, the European schools can be seen as a real example of European-level cooperation, enhancing understanding of the diversity of European cultures and languages. In the Czech Republic we can find The European Primary School of Brno.¹⁷ How the European Schools are promoting the European dimension through the subject of history is demonstrated in table 1.

Tab. 1: Summary of the concept of the European dimension in history teaching.

Topic (What?)	Explanation (Why?)	Examples (How?)
Teaching pupils to be aware of the cultural similarities and differences of European nations and peoples in a variety of spheres.	Learning about national customs, festivals, arts, myths and stories in different European countries should sensitize pupils to the importance of these in the lives of nationals.	Taught across the curriculum, especially in humanities and social sciences. Project work.
	To increase pupils' awareness of their own cultural identities and those of others, make comparisons, and build tolerance. To reduce prejudice and xenophobia based on false stereotypes and increase tolerance.	

¹⁵ Evidently, the place occupied by the European dimension in secondary school curricula in Europe is a function of their structure. The subject of history should pay attention on study of the construction of the European Union, the historical position of countries and 'trans-European' concepts such as the European institutions, conflicts, alliances, etc. See NICAISE, J. - BLONDIN, CH. *The European Dimension in Secondary Education in Europe. A comparative study of the place occupied by the European Union in the secondary education curriculum in the Member States and in the candidate countries.* Luxembourg : European Parliament, 2003, p. 39. Retrieved 8. 12. 2010 from www.europarl.europa.eu/studies.

¹⁶ The idea of European schools has two main characteristics. First, all teaching takes place in multinational classes allowing direct contact between pupils from different nationalities. The second characteristic is to emphasize the role of foreign languages in teaching. More in SAKKI, I. *A Success Story or a Failure? Representing the European Integration in the Curricula and Textbooks of Five Countries.* Helsinki : University of Helsinki, 2010, p. 29.

¹⁷ The school has been operating there since the academic year 2002 at address: Čejkovičká 10, Brno Vinohrady and provides education for children from abroad in their mother tongue, i. e. mainly English. For more see: <http://www.ezscejkovicka.brno.indos.cz>

Teaching pupils to learn about the history of Europe.	To prevent a repetition of war and, so that young people do not take the benefits of the EU for granted, pupils should learn about what divided Europe as well as the steps taken towards peace, co-operation, unity and growth.	Through history and other humanities and social science.
Teaching pupils to be aware of the lives and achievements of significant and well-known European individuals (past and present) in various fields.	To foster European awareness. To promote European heroes.	Through subjects such as history, art, music, science, etc.

Table 1 demonstrates the importance of four key areas: (1) imparting knowledge (e.g. teaching pupils about Europe); (2) developing skills that will enable pupils to live and work in Europe (e.g. social); (3) encouraging certain attitudes (e.g. respect for others and tolerance) and (4) promoting European values (e.g. democracy, freedom, equality and human rights).¹⁸

A broader and more profound knowledge of European items must lead the pupils to a greater awareness of their European identity, and to a greater involvement in European issues, so that they can function as responsible and critical European citizens.¹⁹ The intention of the European dimension is to promote the development of education *for* Europe by promoting education *on* Europe and developing operational strategies to deal with education *in* Europe.²⁰

The issue of the European dimension is grounded in the Framework Educational Programme for Primary Education (FEP PE) in the Czech Republic. This curriculum document acknowledges the European dimension as one of its priorities in education. In FEP PE it was regarded as a so-called cross-section topic, an integrating principle presented across the curriculum. One cross-section topic, Education for Global and European Thinking, puts emphasis on education through the European dimension.²¹

¹⁸ For more see SAVVIDES, N.: The European dimension in education. Exploring pupils' perceptions at three European Schools. *Journal of Research in International Education*, vol. 7, nr. 3, 2008, p. 306–308. Retrieved 24. 12. 2010 from <http://jri.sagepub.com/content/7/3/304>.

¹⁹ *The quality of textbooks: a basis for European collaboration*. Paper presented at the Bologna Children's Book Fair „European qualifications for European mobility; Books Teaching Language. International Meeting Bologna, Italy, 17th April 1993, p. 6.

²⁰ RYBA, R.: The European Dimension pedagogical materials programme: its conception, implementation and outcomes. In *The European Dimension in secondary education*. Strasbourg : Council of Europe Publishing, 1997, p. 40. Compare with SHENNAN, M.: *Teaching about Europe*. Strasbourg : Council of Europe Publishing, 1997. See also LABISCHOVÁ, D.: Současné trendy v dějepisném vyučování: učení o Evropě, z Evropy a pro Evropu. In: *Historica 12. Profesoru Lumíru Dokoupilovi k sedmdesátinám. Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty Ostravské univerzity 219/2005*. Ostrava : FF OU, 2005, p. 322.

²¹ *The Framework Educational Programme for Primary Education*, 2007, p. 95. Retrieved 13. 1. 2009 from <http://www.msmt.cz>.

The European dimension, however, is not the same as teaching about Europe.²² The European dimension is more than learning about Europe and should include learning to be European. The general aim of the European dimension is to provide young people with meaningful opportunities to acquire the knowledge, insights, attitudes and skills necessary to participate constructively in a changing Europe. The essence of the European dimension can therefore be determined in terms of the quality of educational content, and in terms of the learner's behavior. Learning to be a responsible European citizen implies an active role of the pupils.²³

When teaching the European dimension teachers have to make choices. Not everything that has ever been said or written about Europe is relevant for pupils to become responsible European citizens. Nor is it possible in the existing curriculum to deal with Europe extensively. Therefore it can be useful to choose a minimum of core contents and skills relating to the European dimension. The following key themes can serve as a guideline for the core contents:

1. a dynamic concept of Europe as a continent constantly changing and developing, as a number of countries cooperating in the economic, social and cultural fields, with common problems and often different interests in all those fields;
2. European collaboration and integration;
3. cross-border problems like the environment, migration, human rights, Europe and the Third World;
4. East-West relationships.²⁴

The European Dimension is a cross-curricular theme that has to be given attention throughout the curriculum, especially in the social subjects. Some of the social subjects have always dealt with Europe at some stage. Chronologically speaking European history can be traced back to ancient times. Ancient Greece and Rome, the Middle Ages, the renaissance, industrial revolution, fascism, post-war Europe, just to mention a few European themes that are traditionally dealt with in history lessons. There are enough opportunities to build the European dimension into curriculum. The European dimension promoted through the subject of history, for instance, should provide pupils with opportunities to critically investigate historical events and processes which have contributed to the concept of modern European civilization.²⁵

The following aspect of European history might be used to help pupils gain an understanding of events and processes which have contributed to modern European civilization, bearing in mind the objectives suggested below. Accordingly, the matrix overleaf suggests by way of example some key political, social, cultural, scientific, economic and

²² Find more In SHENNAN, M.: *Teaching about Europe*. Strasbourg : Council of Europe Publishing, 1997.

²³ *The quality of textbooks: a basis for European collaboration*. Paper presented at the Bologna Children's Book Fair „European qualifications for European mobility; Books Teaching Language. International Meeting Bologna, Italy, 17th April 1993, p. 7.

²⁴ THOLEY, M.: On the importance of textbook analysis in educational innovation. In BARR, I. - HOOGHOFF, H. (Eds.): *Report on the Third International Dillingen Symposium „The European Dimension in Education“*. Enschede : National Institute for Curriculum Development, 1992, p. 39.

²⁵ *The quality of textbooks: a basis for European collaboration*. Paper presented at the Bologna Children's Book Fair „European qualifications for European mobility; Books Teaching Language. International Meeting Bologna, Italy, 17th April 1993, p. 7.

religious ideas which can be traced at various times or epochs in European history and some of which can be drawn out when teaching any era.²⁶

The development of...	Greece	Rome	Early medieval times	Feudalism	The beginnings of the Modern period	Rationalism & Nationalism	Industrialization & Capitalism	Nationalism & Fascism and Racism	European integration & the world	On the way to a global society
political concepts and social systems	1			4				8	9	
culture (art, language, architecture)		2								
science and technology					5				9	
economic systems and ecological aspects							7			10
religion and ideology			3			6		8		

Tab. 2 Examples of projects and lessons with respects to the European dimension in the subject of history.

Series of history lessons:

1. The roots of democracy. *Rights, rules and participation of people, groups and classes in Greece.*
2. The Roman heritage. *Influences of Roman expansion and impact on different European cultures and countries.*
3. Christian religion and secular rule. *The implementation of Christian religion and the effects on European and non-European countries.*
4. Kings-knights-peasants-beggars. *Social situation of various groups, social status and political influence.*
5. The whole world is changing. *Discoveries, technical inventions, social revolutions and religious reformations change the "pictus mundi".*
6. "Sapere aude". *The impact of rationalism on the development of modern philosophy and economics in Europe.*
7. Industrial progress by expansion? *Resources, exploitation and the development of industrialization in Europe.*
8. Ruling the world. *Nationalism and political/economic competition; racism, fascism and their impact on European culture, people and peoples.*
9. The European vision. *Confrontation and integration; common interests and national egoism.*
10. Global problems-local solution? *On the way towards a global society; conflicts, structures, visions and concepts. Europe's splendid isolation?*²⁷

If we understand, explain and think about European history, making use of such valuable tools, then we will be able to replace it with another method, capable of analyzing the complex trajectories which constantly link, separate, and interface themselves. Then

²⁶ The topics may have formed the backbone of European history, but they reflect mainly a western European point of view. See PINGEL, F.: New Structures for a Medium in the State of Change. In: HORSLEY, M. (Ed.): *The future of textbooks?* Sydney : University of Sydney, 2006, p. 27.

²⁷ THOLEY, M. - NOORDINK, H.: The European Dimension in the subjects History and Geography. In: BARR, I. - HOOGHOFF, H. (Eds.): *Report on the Third International Dillingen Symposium „The European Dimension in Education“*. Enschede : National Institute for Curriculum Development, 1992, p. 53.

multidimensional history will be able to aspire to be universal right, and it will restore a diversity of European culture itself.²⁸

To emphasize the European dimension in schools does not mean that one wishes to impose specific points of view on pupils. It is meant to encourage them to find out about, to learn from, and to critically evaluate things as they are. This does not mean European propaganda, but making people aware of the reasons for and different perspectives of the integration process and explaining why people have supported and opposed it.²⁹ The following total list represents the theme elements for history concerning the European dimension as crucial outputs of pupils.

- Pupils are aware of the process of integration and cooperation within Europe (economic, ideological and military motives).
- Pupils have knowledge of the forms of government within Europe (totalitarian and parliamentary-democratic forms of government). Pupils have insight into the political establishment (democratization of the political establishment). Pupils are aware of the importance of human rights (e. g. the right to free expression).
- Pupils have knowledge of the functioning and working of the European institutions (ECSC, EC, EUROATOM, Council of Europe, EFTA, European Commission, Council of Ministers, European Parliament, the leading political parties within the European Parliament) and decision-making bodies (the relation between decision-making at European and national levels, the influence of decisions at the European level on their own lives, the influence of the individual on the decision-making process and the possibilities for legal protection).³⁰
- Pupils have knowledge of the changing position of Europe on a demographic, economic or social-cultural level in relation to other superpowers and the Third World.
- Pupils have knowledge of European cultures (a changing multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society). Pupils are aware of the value of multi-cultural differences.
- Pupils have insight into and are aware of making their own contribution towards the future of Europe. Pupils have the skills concerning Europe to collate information about political, cultural, social and economic matters and form an opinion on their own contribution towards the future of Europe).³¹

The European dimension is in fact a dynamic reality which can cut across curricula and the whole of school life. It arises out of the act of teaching itself, and is built up by those who create it. It is a project which is still developing and is one of the major factors in

²⁸ FONTANA, J.: *Evropa před zrcadlem*. Praha : NLN, 2001, p. 150.

²⁹ BOMBARDELLI, O. Europe and Schoolbooks for civil and history. In: BOMBARDELLI, O. (Ed.): *Die europäische Dimension im Schulbuch für politische Bildung und Geschichte*. Trient : Internationale Tagung, 1993, p. 95–96.

³⁰ According to Bombardelli the history of European integration is studied in schools with reference to the period after 1945. The question of present Europe is often crammed into a few hours at the end of the school year, or it is even neglected all together. For more see BOMBARDELLI, O. Europe and Schoolbooks for civil and history. In: BOMBARDELLI, O. (Ed.): *Die europäische Dimension im Schulbuch für politische Bildung und Geschichte*. Trient : Internationale Tagung, 1993, p. 96.

³¹ NOORDINK, H.: The European dimension and the social subjects; handout for authors and publishers for the analysis of their learning materials. In BARR, I. - HOOGHOFF, H. (Eds.): *Report on the Third International Dillingen Symposium „The European Dimension in Education“*. Enschede : National Institute for Curriculum Development, 1992, p. 67–68.

education in the new century, especially after the significant political and cultural enlargement of Europe.³² The implementation of the European dimension in education does not require a blueprint for a new educational system, but a series of strategies related to particular national contexts. It is intended more as a kind of development framework which might guide the introduction of a European dimension into the teaching of one or two topics in a syllabus or more wide-ranging changes.³³

Conclusion

The European dimension cannot be successfully incorporated into subject teaching without giving further thought to ways of re-arranging curricula for this purpose or the detailed planning required. At least in the teaching of history, the process of European integration, its roots, and its future chances need to be discussed. Moreover the European dimension promoted through the subject of history should provide students with opportunities to critically investigate historical events and processes which have contributed to the concept of modern European civilization.

³² BIRZÉA, C.: The European dimension in education: suggestions for the designers of school and out-of-school projects. In: *The European Dimension in secondary education*. Strasbourg : Council of Europe Publishing, 1997, p. 61.

³³ STRADLING, R.: *Teaching 20th-century European History*. Strasbourg : Council of Europe, 1991, p. 33.

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CZECH-POLISH HISTORICAL AND PEDAGOGICAL JOURNAL
Volume 3/2011/1

AUTHOR GUIDELINES

The Czech-polish historical and pedagogical journal is an international academic journal edited by the Faculty of Education of Masaryk University. The journal welcomes articles of between 5 000 and 6 000 words. Articles may be written in English. Editorial correspondence should be sent electronically to the Deputy editor at vaculik@ped.muni.cz. All contributions received are submitted for blind review by two peers, additionally to review by the Editorial Board.