



Actions of the Ministry of Religions and Public Enlightenment aimed at removing educational differences between the former Partitions of Poland in the Second Polish Republic

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After 1918, the schooling authorities started to build of a national school system in Poland with proper legal acts (acts, edicts, and circulars). These pertained to such crucial issues as the establishment of school administration, the curricula, the rules of maturity exams, the establishment of state schools, and the implementation of obligatory schooling. The particular legal acts made it possible to systematically introduce the solutions to the organisation of schooling and to pedagogical practice. The legislative solutions were the first step in the removing of the differences between the former Partitions of Poland. That was not easy, because it was necessary to overcome the differences that were superimposed by the occupation governments as well as those developed by Polish society in the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century.

Key words: *Second Polish Republic; schooling system; legal acts*

Having regained independence, Poland inherited a number of differences between the schooling systems and the curricula of the former Partitions. The differences were related to the realisation of the fundamental aims of school education, such as obligatory schooling and common access to education. The particular levels of education would vary in duration and name. The availability and state of school buildings as well as teachers' qualification had a major influence on the school system of the Second Polish Republic. Developing an idea of how the young generation should be educated was crucial. Education needed to relate to the traditions of the times of the Partitions as well as the contemporary social and political reality.

We will consider November 1918 a symbolic date in the analysis of educational problems. The date marks the end of the education system

controlled by foreign governments and the beginning of a new historical period: one in which education became the responsibility of the Polish government. Nevertheless, the above statement needs to be complemented and explained in detail.

The year 1914 and the outbreak of World War I are important to the schooling system. It was then that intensive work on the future schooling system began. The initiatives originated in Warsaw. The initiated discussions and the proposed legislative solutions were intended to lead to the establishment of a national schooling system. However, it was only with the act on education of March 11, 1932 that the unification processes were concluded. In the years 1915–1916, in the lands of the former Kingdom of Poland (then under German and Austrian occupation) emphasis was put on secondary school education. Grammar schools, real established under the Russian government still functioned. The curriculum remained unchanged after August 1915. It was then that the work on secondary schooling and the curriculum was undertaken by the Secondary Schools Section of the Public Enlightenment Department. The Section functioned as part of the Warsaw-based Citizens' Committee, which was dissolved on February 16, 1916 by the German government. In the Austrian partition, similar initiative was organised by the Central Schooling Bureau, which was also dissolved in May 1916.

At the beginning of 1916, analogous actions of the occupation governments affected the Wilno-based Education Committee. The aim of the organisation was to establish new Polish primary schools in the Partition controlled by Russia.

In the first years of World War I, the National Schooling Council (*Rada Szkolna Krajowa* – RSK) in Galicia did not participate in the work aimed at the creation of the future Polish education system. People's schools, department schools, teacher training seminars (for men and for women), grammar school functioned in Galicia. The autonomy of Galicia allowed for the development of curricula of people's and secondary schools. These were, of course, based on Austrian regulations. Galicia joined in the works on the future education system at the turn of 1916 and 1917.

On January 14, 1917 the Provisional Council of State was organised, and it delegated the problems connected with schooling the Department of Public Enlightenment and Religions, transformed on January 17 into the Department of Religions and Public Enlightenment. The first act of the newly-established Department was entitled "Provisional regulations of primary schooling in the Kingdom of Poland"¹. The act set the legal bases

¹ Konarski, K. (1923): *Dzieje szkolnictwa w b. Królestwie Kongresowym* [History of Education in the Former Kingdom of Poland]. Kraków, p.18.

for the first level of education in the areas mentioned in its text. On October 1, 1917 the Department of Enlightenment took over the management of schooling under German occupation, and on November 1 – under Austrian occupation.

Simultaneously with the actions of the Department, made into the ministry of education in December 1917, the National Schooling Council and teachers' organisations of Galicia and the Kingdom of Poland joined in the work on the future schooling system.

Representatives from the Prussia-controlled Partition also took part in the discussion on the future organisation of schools and the curriculum. Elementary schools and secondary schools, including 9-grade gymnasiums and 6-grade pre-gymnasiums, traditional or real, functioned in this Partition. Furthermore, there were higher real schools, real schools, and teacher training seminars. There were also 10-grade secondary schools and higher secondary schools for girls.

Since the Autumn of 1917/1918 the conditions of the schooling system in the former Kingdom of Poland would become more stable, which, in turn, influenced the schooling system and the education system after 1918. They included:

- The proposition and discussion during the meetings of teachers' organisations of the former Kingdom of Poland with the teachers from the Austrian and the Prussian Partitions of the basic concepts of the future schooling system, the ideas of education, as well as the curricula and teaching methodology,
- Establishment of new teachers' organisations, or the increase in the power of those established formerly,
- In spite of the difficulties caused by the war, in the years 1916–1918 a number of new elementary and secondary schools was organised and the first stage of their nationalisation was concluded,
- Teachers' seminars were reorganised and developed, and it was ensured that their character was Polish,
- The first legal regulations were written and introduced, some of which remained in force in the independent state of Poland.

However, it also needs to be noted that in 1918–1920 the ministry of education was only able to directly manage the schools in the areas belonging to the former Kingdom of Poland.

In other regions the influence of the ministry was limited.

Apart from the Kingdom, it was also the Austrian Partition, especially Lwów and Kraków, that had a major contribution to the newly-organised Polish schooling. The model of the organisation of the schooling system was adopted in Galicia. This was particularly visible in gymnasiums and

school books. Teachers and school administration employees from this region provided great help in the integration and unification of the education system. Nevertheless, there were certain impediments to this process. These resulted from, among others, the bureaucracy, organisational structures, curricula, and teaching methodology shaped under the Austrian rule, which were a hindrance in the creation of a unified schooling and education system in Poland. The employees of the RSK and the departmental inspectorates were usually reluctant to recognise the authority of the central schooling administration in Warsaw. In the former Galicia, the reorganisation of the schooling system and its inclusion in the national education system was a slow process. It was for this reason, among others, that the spokespersons of the RSK proposed that all the districts be granted autonomy in organising their schools.

Considerable progress in the integration of schools in Galicia was made in the years 1920–1921. In February 1921 the RSK was dissolved. From then on, the schooling system of the former Austrian Partition would develop according to the same standards as that in the former Kingdom of Poland. Nevertheless, numerous original features of its organisation, didactics, and education remained throughout the entire interwar period.

The difficulties encountered in the organisation of the schooling system in the former Prussian Partition were of an entirely different nature. There, the considerable problems related to education resulted from the ongoing fighting between Poland and Germany.

The process of the Polish nationalisation of the schooling system in the former Prussian Partition was originally initiated in the Poznań voivodeship. It was on April 19, 1919 that new curricula were introduced in Polish schools in this region on the basis of the edict of Poland's regency government².

In the Gdańsk Pomerania, schools were supervised by the Department of Education at the Lower Commissariat of the Head People's Council in Gdańsk which functioned from November 1918 to February 10, 1920, when the Polish government took control of the entire Pomerania. Since July 1919, i.e. since the decision of the Allies to include a part of the Pomerania in the state of Poland, the local communities would contact their fellow countrymen from the Poznań voivodeship, the former Kingdom of Poland, and the Austrian Partition³.

² The act of August 1, 1919 established the Ministry of the Former Prussian Partition, and the Department of Religions and Public Enlightenment organised education as part of this body.

³ Trzebiatowski, K. (1970): *Szkolnictwo powszechne w Polsce w latach 1918–1932* [State Schooling in Poland in 1918–1932], Wrocław–Warszawa; *Oświata i szkolnictwo polskie*

Poznańskie voivodship and Pomerania were the regions where the implementation of common schooling was the most effective, reaching 94,7% of children in 1922/1923.

The decisive factors in this process were:

- efficient school system inherited from the former rulers,
- satisfactory state and location of school buildings,
- the habit of sending children to school, shaped during the Partitions,
- the work of highly qualified Polish teachers from former Galicia and the former Kingdom of Poland after 1918
- a wide teacher training programme.

Conflicts between the teachers newly-arrived from other regions and the methodological supervisors from the West impeded the integration of the schooling system of Poznańskie voivodship and Pomerania.

Eventually, by the act of the Council of Ministers of January 10, 1921, the schooling system of the former Prussian Partition was excluded from the authority of the Ministry of the Former Prussian Partition and it was from then on supervised by the Ministry of Religions and Public Enlightenment (Ministerstwo Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego – MWRiOP)⁴.

The region to remain the longest under Prussian rule was Silesia, where a proper organisation of a Polish education system started in 1921/1922.

The problems with the inclusion of the lands of the former Russian Partition in the national education system were entirely different. First of all, it ought to be emphasised that the state of schooling in the eastern borderlands was considerably worse than in other regions of Poland. The negative phenomena included: the weak school network, the lack of school buildings and Polish teachers, even those without necessary qualifications, the low position of schools in the local communities, and the common undermining of the value of education of children and youth. Because of these major problems, the work on the education system had to be intensified. However, in 1919–1922 this had to be done without any help from outside the region. Since October 1919 the issues related to education were supervised by the Public Enlightenment Section (until July 1, 1920)⁵. At the same time, the legal acts issued by the Commissar General of Eastern Borderlands were decisive in the development of the schooling system in north-eastern regions. These included, among

na Pomorzu Zachodnim w I poł. XX w. 1900–1939 (1961) [Polish Schooling System and Education in Western Pomerania in the First Half of the 20th Century 1900–1939], Poznań.

⁴ Dz. Ustaw RP 1921, Issue 7, pos. 38.

others, the “Commune self-government act” of September 26, 1919, and the “City self-government act” of February 4, 1919⁶, which regulated the finances of the school system. What is more, a provisional act of the Commissar General of Eastern Borderlands was issued. The act was in force in the entire territory governed by the Civil Administration of Eastern Borderland (Zarząd Cywilny Ziem Wschodnich – ZCZW) and it included a number of regulations pertaining to teaching Polish language in schools with ethnic minorities, the rules of establishing non-Polish schools, the obligation of the communes to finance state schools, etc⁷. The problems of the schooling system in Central Lithuania were delegated to the Department of Education of the Provisional Governing Commission. The expenditures on schooling and education would amount to 20% of the budget of Central Lithuania. Nevertheless, the problems of the schooling system remained immense, and despite the financial costs no immediate results could be expected.

The unification started by the department of education after 1918 encountered a number of issues related to the differences between the state of schooling systems in the particular regions and the educational traditions and the attitude of the society towards schools and education that had been shaped for years.

What were the problems that needed to be addressed and solved through effective unification in the Second Polish Republic?

1. The first stage was the assumption of the schooling of Polish citizens as well as the members of ethnic minorities by the Ministry of Religions and Public Enlightenment. The process lasted until the second half of 1922, i.e. until the moment when all the Polish lands were within the borders of the state of Poland. The subjection of the entire schooling system to the ministry of education allowed for the unification of the nomenclature and the structure of all the levels of education: state schools, gymnasiums, teacher training seminars, etc. The ministry also introduced obligatory curricula and textbooks.

⁵ Zarzecki, L. (1921): *Szkolnictwo i oświata na Ziemiach Wschodnich (w okresie od 1-go października 1919 r. do końca lipca 1920 r.)* [Schooling and education in the Eastern Borderlands (from October 1, 1919 to the end of July 1920)], *Przegląd Narodowy*, Issue 1.

⁶ Hartleb-Wojciechowska, Z. (1937): *Rola i zadania samorządu na terenie województw wschodnich* [The role and the prerogatives of the self-government in eastern voivodships], *Rocznik Ziem Wschodnich*.

⁷ On the basis of the order of the Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Army of May 12, 1919 “On the organisation of the Civil Administration of Eastern Borderlands”, *Dz. Urz. ZCZW 1919 Issue 3*, pos. 15; *Dz. Urz. MWRiOP 1919 Issues 12–13*, pos. 1.

The first document of independent Poland that was relevant to the organisation of common schools was the curriculum for one- and two-grade schools of four or five divisions, issued in 1918. The curriculum defined the organisational outline of common schooling in the country. While in the case of secondary schools the organisation, the curriculum, and the names of the grammar school were commonly accepted, in the case of the first level of education there remained some unregulated nomenclature. This tendency was particularly prominent in the eastern borderlands. The names of schools, such as people's, elementary, parish, and beginners' schools were typically sanctioned in the documents issued by local governments. The name "common school" was introduced in the 1922 Act on the establishment, maintenance, and building of public common schools⁸. (The act went into effect with the executive edict of May 30, 1923). Apparently, however, there must have been some doubts as to the organisation of common schools, because in 1925 an edict of the MWRiOP regulating a number of organisational problems of schooling⁹ and defining the term "common state school" was published.

In order to unify the schooling system at the secondary school level, a number of legal regulations was introduced. It was the statute of maturity examinations of January 19, 1920¹⁰ and the following documents related to it: the September 19, 1919 circular on accepting new students in secondary schools and the fees¹¹, and the April 27, 1920 circular on the dates of the start and the end of the school year and the maturity examinations¹². The regulations pertaining to, among others, the unification of the names of the types of secondary schools included the crucial edict of the MWRiOP of April 22, 1920 on granting

⁸ The act of 17 February, 1922, Dz. Urz. WRiOP 1922 Issue 18, pos. 143.

⁹ Edict on the execution of the Act of July 31, 1924, including certain decisions on the organisation of schooling, Dz. Urz. MWRiOP 1925 Issue 3, pos. 30.

¹⁰ The statute of maturity examinations Dz. Urz. MWRiOP 1920, Issue 2, pos. 15. It differed from the statute published at the end of 1917, because it introduced two types of maturity examinations: the regular exam – organised in state schools and private schools with necessary permissions, and the external (extended) exam – for students of schools without the necessary permissions, Araszkievicz, F. A. (1972): *Szkola średnia ogólnokształcąca w Polsce w latach 1918–1932* [General lyceums in Poland in 1918–1932], Wrocław.

¹¹ Circular on accepting new students in secondary schools and the fees, Dz. Urz. MWRiOP 1919 Issues 10–11, pos. 15.

¹² Circular on the dates of the start and the end of the school year and the maturity examinations, Dz. Urz. MWRiOP 1920, Issue 14, pos. 97.

private general lyceums the rights of state grammar school¹³. The last of the mentioned edicts not only made it possible for the ministry of education to formally supervise private secondary schools, but it also made it obligatory for the schools applying for full or partial permissions to introduce the state school curriculum and to observe the regulations pertaining to teachers' qualifications.

2. The first of the actions taken were related to the management of schooling. The act on provisional school authorities of June 4, 1920¹⁴ was the first unifying regulation. The state was thus divided into the so-called school districts, governed by chief education officers, who were the school authorities of the 2nd instance. The chief education officers were responsible for carrying out the decisions of the ministry of education on the lower level. Unfortunately, the boundaries of the school districts of the Second Polish Republic would change, which made it difficult to continuously attain educational goals¹⁵.
3. Yet another crucial problem was the introduction and the realisation of the 7-years-long obligatory schooling in the entire Second Republic of Poland. At first, the edict of the Chief of State of February 7, 1919¹⁶ was only in force in the territory of the former Kingdom of Poland. In 1920 it was introduced in the Poznań and Pomeranian voivodeships¹⁷. In the eastern regions of the former Russian Partition, in the Wilno, Nowogród, Poleskie, and Wolhynia voivodeships, the edict was introduced in 1928¹⁸. The edict was a crucial legal act, because in the former Russian Partition schooling had never been obligatory before. The edict on obligatory schooling "would at the same time provisionally regulate certain organisational problems of common

¹³ Edict of the MWRiOP of April 22, 1920 on granting private general lyceums the rights of state gymnasiums, Dz. Urz. MWRiOP 1920, Issue 8 pos. 59.

¹⁴ Dz. Ustaw RP 1920, Issue 20 pos. 304.

¹⁵ For example, in the 1922/1923 school year the country was divided into 12 school districts (with 11 district educational authorities and the Enlightenment Department of the Silesian Voivodeship Office in Katowice). In the 1932/1933 school year there were 8 district educational authorities and the Enlightenment Department in Katowice. Edict on school districts of July 7, 1932, Dz. Urz. MWRiOP 1932, Issue 9, pos. 98.

¹⁶ Monitor Polski 1919 Issue 167; Dz. Urz. MWRiOP 1919 Issue 2, pos. 3.

¹⁷ In the Poznańskie and Pomeranian voivodships the edict of the minister of the former Prussian Partition on obligatory schooling was in force since May 10, 1920, in Upper Silesia: edict of the Opolski District of October 11, 1912, in Śląsk Cieszyński: the act of May 14, 1869 and the edict of the Austrian Minister of Religions and Education of September 29, 1905, and for the southern territories: the act of May 23, 1895 on the establishing and organisation of public people's schools and children's attendance therein.

¹⁸ Dz. Urz. MWRiOP 1929 Issue 7, pos. 117

schooling”¹⁹, for example, it stated that whether a common school (of 1 to 7 grades) was established in a region was to depend on the number of children living there.

4. The act on building public common schools of February 17, 1922²⁰ regulated the problems related to school buildings. In relation to the act, the circulatory of April 6, 1922²¹ was published by the ministry of education; the document stated that communes were to finance 50% of the building costs, while the remaining 50% was financed from the so-called subsidy of the State Treasury.

The act on the subject of the permissions granted to commune authorities to temporarily occupy school buildings²² was greatly beneficial to the organisers of schooling. The edict of the ministry of education on the introduction of the act allowed for a temporary occupation of a building in the case when “not all of the children obliged to attend common schools can study”²³.

5. The training of teachers employed in common and secondary schools was of particular importance.

The edict of the Chief of State of February 7, 1919 stated that a 5-year teacher training seminar was to be obligatory for all those willing to work in education. Furthermore, the articles 23–27 introduced the so-called first and second examinations for teachers. The MWRiOP developed the “Curriculum for state teacher training seminars”, which was published in 1921 (2nd edition in 1926). The curriculum set high standards for the candidates. It was assumed that in order to be accepted into the seminar one had to be a graduate of a 7-grade common school. However, there were few highly organised schools. Most schools only had 4 grades. That is why it was necessary to either lower the standards of the seminars, or to create schools in which the education of the candidates could be completed. The second solution was chosen. The so-called “preparandy” – one- or two-years-long courses for children aged 12–15 – were organised. The idea dates back to the times of the Austrian Partition: in Galicia such courses were available in 1871 and 1872.

¹⁹ Trzebiatowski, K.: Problem powszechności nauczania w Polsce w latach 1918–1931 [The problem of obligatory schooling in Poland from 1918 to 1931], *Rozprawy z dziejów oświaty* [Discourses from the history of education], Vol. XII, p. 52.

²⁰ Dz. Urz. MWRiOP 1922 Issue 18, pos. 143.

²¹ Dz. Urz. MWRiOP 1922 Issue 12, pos. 113.

²² The act on the subject of the permissions granted to commune authorities to temporarily occupy school buildings in the commune to organise common schooling of August 8, 1923, Dz. Urz. MWRiOP 1923 Issue 87, pos. 677.

²³ Edict of the MWRiOP of October 23, 1923 on the execution of the act of August 8, 1923, Dz. Urz. MWRiOP 1923 Issue 20, pos. 182.

The teachers who started or continued their work in 1918 had diverse qualifications. They were graduates of: 1. Seminars: Polish – state and private in Galicia, the former Kingdom of Poland, and Wilno, seminars taught in German or Russian, 2. Universities: Polish and those in which foreign languages were used, 3. Grammar Schools, 4. Various European teacher training schools, 5. Schools for women, including boarding schools for girls.

That is why the ministry of education conducted a detailed analysis of the general education and pedagogical skills of teachers. It was made obligatory for those, whose qualifications did not meet the standards of Polish schools to complete their education.

Because of all the efforts of the MWRiOP, by 1928 all the teachers in the state schooling system had necessary general and pedagogical education. In the same year, the Edict of the President of the Republic of Poland “On professional qualifications required to teach in public and private common schools” of March 6, 1928²⁴, and the edict of the MWRiOP of December 14 introducing a practical examination, the so-called second teacher’s examination, necessary to achieve the status of the so-called stability in the profession, went into effect²⁵.

The above general outline presents a picture of the efforts made by the MWRiOP to unify the schooling system. Nevertheless, “paradoxically, the great interest in the problems of schooling, as well as their political character, used to paralyse the works on the unification of the system and providing it with a basis”²⁶. Many concepts pertaining to, e.g., the organisation of schooling were presented until the first years of the 1930s, but none of them were fully implemented.

It was only with the acts “On the organisation of schooling” and “On private schools and on scientific and educational departments” of March 11, 1932 that a new organisation of the education system was introduced. The system would include: preschools, common schools, general lyceums, vocational secondary schools, teacher training secondary schools. The document sorted out and unified the organisation of Poland’s schooling system and legal regulations pertaining to education. The “On the organisation of schooling” act addressed, among others, the problem of supplementary education for

²⁴ Dz. Urz. RP 1928, Issue 28, pos. 258; Issue 53, pos. 512.

²⁵ Dz. Urz. MWRiOP of January 10 1928 Issue 12 (208), issued on the basis of art. 7 of the edict of the President of the Republic of Poland of March 6, 1928.

²⁶ Sadowska, J. (2000): Reforma szkolnictwa prywatnego 1932 roku [The reform of private schooling in 1932]. *Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy* [The Historical and Educational Review], Issues 3–4, p. 58.

those younger than 18 years of age and the unconditionally obligatory character of schooling. The act divided vocational schooling into three levels: the lower level, the grammar schools, and the secondary schools, and it integrated vocational schooling for women into the system. Allowing the graduates of all secondary schools an access to higher education was a considerable advantage of the act. The legal solutions introduced by the 1932 act were aimed at making effective use of financial resources and generating an influx of well-educated employees into the economy, the administration, and culture. The act was aimed at educating good citizens of the Republic.

Following the organisational changes, the ministry of education prepared changes to the curriculum on the particular levels of education. The learning content, or more precisely, the learning and education content, constituted an essential element in the building of a new society based upon a defined system of values, in which the state played an important role. This was to be one of the ways leading to removing the differences between the former Partitions, although this process was not completed during the interwar period.

For example, it took considerably longer to unify the schooling in the Silesian voivodeship. The Legislative Sejm granted Upper Silesia autonomy by issuing the organic statute of July 15, 1920²⁷, which is why the schooling system of the region was supervised by the Department of Public Enlightenment at the Silesian Voivodeship Office, instead of the Ministry of Religions and Public Enlightenment. The national regulations pertaining to the organisation of schools, the curricula, and teachers' qualifications were introduced gradually in the years 1922/23–1928/29. At the same time the Silesian government kept some systemic differences, such as 4 hours of classes of religion a week, and "the so-called organic union between the position of the organist of the local parish with the position of school headmaster (in small schools, established during the Prussian Partition) in Upper Silesia"²⁸ as well as common schools of 8 grades and obligatory schooling starting at the age of 6. The act introduced by the Silesian Sejm in March 1926, which banned married women from paid labour, constituted yet another difference. The

²⁷ Dz. Ustaw RP 1920 Issue 73, pos. 497 and subsequent amendments: 1921, Issue 26, pos. 146; Issue 69, pos. 449; Issue 85, pos. 608.

²⁸ Glimos-Nadgórska, A. (1999): Szkolnictwo powszechne województwa śląskiego i problemy jego unifikacji [Common schooling in the Silesian Voivodship and the problems of its unification]. In: *Granice i pogranicza. Historia codzienności i doświadczeń* doświadczeń [Borders and Borderlands. The History of Everyday Life and Experiences], Białystok, p. 79.

regulation was annulled in April 1938. In the years 1929/20–1930/31 common schools with 7 grades and the 187 class hours – a solution typical for the entire state of Poland – were introduced, albeit not without certain difficulties. Following the aforementioned decisions, the curricula and learning content developed by the MWRiOP were gradually accepted by the Silesian Sejm and introduced in schools.

The unification of the Upper Silesian schooling system was to be completed on the basis of the Jędrzejewiczowski act of 1932. However, the Silesian Sejm rejected “the possibility of introducing the Jędrzejewiczowski act pertaining to the schooling system reform in the Silesian Voivodship” in 1933²⁹. In spite of this decision, voivod M. Grażyński issued a number of edicts and circulars aimed at completing the unification of the Silesian schooling system. That is why when in April 1937 the Silesian Sejm passed the act of March 11, 1932 it was a mere formality. Only the aforementioned differences were kept.

Starting in 1918, the ministry of education would restrict its actions aimed at the unification of schooling to the lands of the former Kingdom of Poland. The prerogatives of the Ministry of Religions and Public Enlightenment would expand when new regions were incorporated into the independent state of Poland. The unification of schooling was not an easy process. Although everyone declared their interest in the problems of education, there were many conflicts and political debates. It is certain that it was not possible to fully overcome the differences in the attitudes of the inhabitants of the former Partitions towards education during the interwar period.

In spite of the difficulties and impediments, the work of the ministry of education aimed at unifying the schooling system can be considered a success of the Second Polish Republic.

²⁹ Ibid. p. 80.