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## **Areas of Education and Care for Children and Youth of the Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Poland and the Borderlands of the Russian Partition in the Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century\***

Obszary działalności edukacyjnej i opiekuńczej wobec dzieci  
i młodzieży Kościoła Katolickiego w Królestwie Polskim  
i na Kresach zaboru rosyjskiego na początku XX w.

### **Abstract**

The article focuses on the role of the Catholic Church in organizing education and care for the young generation in the conditions of laissez-faire policy of the partitioner. The clergy's activity in the field of education, care and upbringing implemented the assumptions of the social teaching of the Church. Its foundations were formulated in the encyclicals of Leo XIII. In the Kingdom of Poland, they did not initiate a deepened theological and axiological debate, but for some of the clergy became a determinant of practical activities. Assistance and upbringing activities in the Kingdom of Poland and the Borderlands of

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the Russian Partition for children and youth included for example: ochronkas, orphanages, occupational class-rooms, artisanal enterprises and educational facilities, as well as resocialisation institutions. This activity was particularly noticeable in secret habitless congregations, founded by Capuchin Father Honorat Koźmiński. Diocesan clergy played an important role in the development of Polish education, including work of the Polish Educational Society (Polska Macierz Szkolna) and other educational initiatives.

### Abstrakt

Artykuł skupia się na roli jaką odegrał Kościół Katolicki w organizacji działalności edukacyjnej i opiekuńczej dla młodego pokolenia w warunkach leseferyzmu władz zaborczych. Działania kleru w obszarze edukacji, opieki i wychowania wdrażały założenia społecznej nauki Kościoła, której podstawy zostały sformułowane w encyklikach Leona XIII. W Królestwie Polskim nie wywołały one pogłębionej debaty teologicznej czy aksjologicznej, ale dla części duchowieństwa stały się wyznacznikiem dla kierunku działań praktycznych. Działalność opiekuńczo-wychowawcza w Królestwie Polskim oraz na Kresach zaboru rosyjskiego wobec dzieci i młodzieży obejmowała między innymi: ochronki, sierocińce, sale zajęciowe, warsztaty rzemieślnicze, jak również placówki edukacyjne i resocjalizacyjne. Działalność ta była szczególnie aktywna wśród tajnych zgromadzeń bezhabitowych, zakładanych przez kapucyna o. Honorata Koźmińskiego. Duchowieństwo diecezjalne odegrało istotną rolę w rozwoju polskiego szkolnictwa, dzięki pracy Polskiej Macierzy Szkolnej i innych inicjatyw edukacyjnych.

**Keywords:** education and care, early 20th century, Catholic Church, Kingdom of Poland

**Słowa kluczowe:** działalność opiekuńczo-wychowawcza, początek XX wieku, Kościół Katolicki, Królestwo Polskie

Repressions directed at the Catholic Church after the January Uprising in the Polish lands of the Russian partition not only made pastoral work more difficult, but also hindered various kinds of action in the social sphere. The most severe in restricting the position and rights of the Church were the repressions directed at clergymen who were accused of participating in the up-

rising, liquidation of congregations, administrative repressions and, finally, the liquidation of the Uniate Church in 1875<sup>1</sup>. In their efforts aimed at loosening the ties between the clergymen and the society, the tsarist authorities did not want to destroy the Church, recognising its institutions as important in preventing secularisation, development of freethinking trends and popularisation of socialist ideas<sup>2</sup>. However, actions which strengthened patriotic feelings were not tolerated. In fear of combining educational, care and upbringing initiatives with national goals, in the last four decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, activity of the clergy was radically restricted in areas of social life other than pastoral work. The faithful were also not allowed to conduct educational and care activities under the auspices of the Church. While remaining a means of communication with the society, the pulpit could not be used as a tool for organising systematic assistance for the local communities of Congress Poland.

The situation was even more difficult in other Polish lands under the Russian partition; they were referred to as the Taken Lands, Kresy or Eastern Borderlands. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, religious congregations were systematically dissolved, including those which provided care for the ill, elderly, children and youth. Some parishes were also liquidated, turning Catholic churches into Orthodox ones<sup>3</sup>. Dissolution of parishes and orders was related with closing the educational and upbringing institutions run by the lay and religious clergy. Repressions were intensified after the January Uprising, when a number of monastic houses were liquidated in the Borderlands, including those of Sisters of Charity, who, apart from the traditional activities in the area of care of the sick, also provided care and education for orphans and poor and neglected children. The authorities also dissolved a lot of secular charity organisations,

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<sup>1</sup> For more information see inter alia: P.P. Gach, *Kasaty zakonów na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej i Śląska 1773-1914*, Lublin 1984; S. Wiech, *Stosunek władz rosyjskich do duchowieństwa rzymskokatolickiego w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1864-1905*, "Almanach Historyczny" 2004, vol. 6, pp. 129-152; R. Kantor, *Postanowienia ukazami carskimi z 27.X.1864 r. dotyczące utrzymania i zarządu klasztorów w Królestwie Polskim*, "Prawo Kanoniczne" 2017, vol. 60, no. 4, pp. 131-148; A. Górecki, *Kościół katolicki w Królestwie Polskim po upadku powstania styczniowego*, "Christianitas" 2018, no. 71-72, pp. 103-136.

<sup>2</sup> A. Chwalba, *Historia Polski 1795-1918*, Kraków 2000, p. 343.

<sup>3</sup> J. Skarbek, *Organizacja parafialna w diecezji wileńskiej w latach 1772/3-1914*, "Studia Teologiczne" 1987-1988, vol. 5-6, pp. 118-143; J. Mandziuk, *Zakony w (archi)diecezji wileńskiej*, "Studia Teologiczne" 1987-1988, vol. 5-6, pp. 161-200.

with many of which clergymen cooperated. As a result of persecution of the Catholic Church and discrimination of Catholics, not only did parishes and bishoprics in the Borderlands become desolate, but also the social life (co)organised by ecclesiastical institutions was destroyed<sup>4</sup>. An effect of the anticlerical attitude of the Russian authorities and anti-monastic legislation in the Kingdom of Poland and the Borderlands was decomposition of ecclesiastical structures and serious difficulties with the implementation of social and religious undertakings.

Restricting the possibilities of undertaking care and educational activities was even more of a social problem, because, after 1864, as part of post-insurgent repressions, the tsarist authorities were guided by the laissez-faire principle in the areas of social welfare and health care. For both economic and political reasons, very limited activities, completely inadequate to the scale of needs, were conducted for creating a system of social welfare and public health care. The questions of education and upbringing of the young generation were also neglected. In the meantime, intensive socio-economic transformations which took place in the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> and in the early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries contributed to escalation of many alarming phenomena in the social sphere. Difficult living conditions of the working class and peasant population lead them to exclusion in the socio-political, economic and cultural dimensions. A response to the problems of the poor, especially workers, from the Catholic clergy in Europe was the development of the Church's social teachings, whose principles had been laid by Pope Leo XIII in 1891 in the encyclical "Rerum Novarum"<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> As Chwalba writes, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the Borderlands of the Russian partition *Polishness and Latin religious culture were in retreat [...] After 1905, the authorities abolished a number of anti-Polish and anti-Catholic regulations, the Polish community and civil service were revived, cultural institutions, schools, associations etc. appeared. Vilnius became the centre of Polish activity in the Borderlands. Minsk, Kaunas, Grodno, Zhytomyr and Kiev were of lower significance. However, after half a century of repressions and discrimination, the Polish circles were fairly sluggish. They lacked the community spirit, broader understanding for the concept of social service, work for the good of other people. The intelligentsia were sparse. The Polish were not very well organised and enterprising, inconsistent in action, often unconscientious. Their enthusiasm cooled off quickly, and their involvement burnt out.* A. Chwalba, *Dziedzictwo zaborów*, [in:] *Polski wiek XX*, ed. K. Persak, P. Machciewicz, vol. I, Warszawa 2009, p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> M. Janowski, *A Marriage of Convenience: the Roman Catholic Church and Modernity in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 2017, vol. 124, p. 67; J. Dębiński,

In the Kingdom of Poland, Leon XII's encyclicals, similarly to other papal documents, failed to inspire a deeper theological or axiological debate and did not become the subject of detailed analysis and original reception. As Ryszard Bender wrote, the clergy's practical social activity anticipated the theoretical reflection<sup>6</sup>. It must be noted here that the Church in Congress Poland treated the principles propagated by the Vatican with significant reserve. The Archbishop of Warsaw, Wincenty Chościak Popiel was not completely convinced about the rightness of the social concepts proposed by the Pope, which translated into absence of the Church's social teachings in the course of clerical students' education. According to Andrzej Gałka, reading social encyclicals by Leon XIII was punishable with dismissal from the seminar<sup>7</sup>.

Increased liberties after the Revolution of 1905 allowed the inhabitants of Congress Poland, including the clergy, to take numerous initiatives in the area of social activity. Many organisations were formed at the initiative of priests themselves at that time. They also participated in the works of numerous social associations, formed after 1905, which did not accept the Church's patronage, but were willing to include the clergymen in their ranks<sup>8</sup>. The prospect of the clergy participating in community initiatives triggered very diverse opinions and attitudes. On the one hand, many social activists regarded priests as particularly important allies in educational actions and care activities. Suffice it to mention that physicians related to the Warsaw Hygiene Society expected cooperation from parish priests and curates in propagating knowledge about protective vaccinations among rural and working-class populations<sup>9</sup>. They also called for popularisation of knowledge of anatomy and physiology among rural women, by disseminating guidebooks for masses through priests who were

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*Chrześcijański ruch robotniczy w Królestwie Polskim na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, "Polonia Sacra" 2002, no. 11, p. 80.

<sup>6</sup> R. Bender, *Chrześcijańska myśl i działalność społeczna w zaborze rosyjskim w latach 1865–1918*, [in:] *Historia katolicyzmu społecznego w Polsce 1832–1939*, ed. C. Strzeczewski et alii, Warszawa 1981, pp. 212–213.

<sup>7</sup> A. Gałka, *Kwestia robotnicza w archidiecezji warszawskiej na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, "Chrześcijanin w Świecie" 1983, vol. 15 no. 4, p. 36; K. Lewalski, *Kościół rzymskokatolicki a władze carskie w Królestwie Polskim na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, Gdańsk 2008, p. 133.

<sup>8</sup> For more information see S. Gajewski, *Spoleczna działalność duchowieństwa w Królestwie Polskim 1905-1914*, Lublin 1990, pp. from 15 on

<sup>9</sup> *Z Warszawskiego Towarzystwa Higienicznego*, "Medycyna" 1899, vol. 27, p. 43, 136.

members of the Warsaw Hygiene Society<sup>10</sup>. The space for cooperation between the lay community workers and the clergy were charity organisations<sup>11</sup>. Many clergymen recognised charity as an inherent part of their work. It was particularly true for various forms of assistance and upbringing activity for people from poor and neglected environments, including children and youth<sup>12</sup>. In 1903, Father Michał Rutkowski from Słonim in Grodno Governorate wrote in a letter to Michał Radziwiłł: *In addition to purely clerical activities, I have five hours every day in the local schools and, as the deputy chairman of the management of a charity society, I have an entire quarter of poverty of all kinds in my charge*<sup>13</sup>. The problem of clergy's participation in social activity was present many times in the Catholic papers. In 1906, in "Wiadomości Pasterskie" the editor-in-chief of the newspaper<sup>14</sup>, Father Marian Fulman wrote: *Parish priests have the duty not to shun any forms of social work. In charity and cooperative organisations they should appear not as an honoured ballast but as an exhilarating spirit [...] The*

<sup>10</sup> "Medycyna" 1900, vol. 28, p. 570.

<sup>11</sup> And so, for instance in the Płock Charity Society the function of chairman was fulfilled by clergymen several times: Rev. Antoni Julian Nowowiejski, the later bishop of Płock, Prelate Kazimierz Weloński, Czesław Tyszka, Rev. Adolf Modzelewski and Prelate Adolf Szelażek. A.J. Papierowski, *Okoliczności utworzenia w Płocku Towarzystwa Dobroczynności i jego działalność do wybuchu I wojny światowej*, "Notatki Płockie" 2009, vol. 54, no. 1, p. 26.

<sup>12</sup> In this article, the subject of analysis are not the forms of care over the sick and the elderly; however, it is worth reminding that it was one of the most important fields of activity for the secret monastic congregations. In the Kingdom of Poland, members of the Congregation of Franciscan Sisters of the Suffering (Franciscan Sisters) worked in many municipal shelters, ambulatories and hospitals (including such cities as Warsaw, Łódź, Lublin, Pabianice, Tomaszów Mazowiecki, Koźnice). Nuns from habitless congregations, such as servant sisters and members of the Association of Sisters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul provided care for the sick also at their homes. B. Urbanek, *Idea opieki nad chorym na ziemiach polskich w latach 1809-1914*, Wrocław 2001, p. 281; M.H. Mazurek, *Powstanie i rozwój ukrytych zgromadzeń bł. Honorata Koźmińskiego w latach 1874-1908*, Sandomierz 2009, pp. 256-269, 273-274; *Kalendarz ziemi radomskiej*, Radom 1912, p. 231; *Kalendarz Informacyjno-Encyklopedyczny na rok zwyczajny 1913*, Warszawa 1913, p. 504.

<sup>13</sup> The Central Archives of Historic Records (hereinafter AGAD), Correspondence of the Radziwiłłs from Nieborów, sign. 895, c. 2.

<sup>14</sup> Rev. M. Fulman propagated combining pastoral work with community-civil activity among priests. I. Zaleska, *Kościół katolicki a polityka. Udział duchowieństwa w życiu politycznym ziem byłego Królestwa Polskiego na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, [in:] *Rola Kościoła w dziejach Polski. Kościoły w Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. J. Krochmal, Warszawa 2017, pp. 250-251.

priest's job is made much more difficult by the lack of knowledge of what people think, what they love for and what they aspire at. Closing yourself up is the cause of divergent aspirations and desires between the priest and the faithful and a complete loss of influence on people. Certainly, not every priest has enough data to stand at the helm of the social sphere, but with work and good will everyone can become a useful link to connect people with God and one another. In parishes where several or a dozen priests work, the work can be divided during a meeting and everybody can be given a branch in which he might become useful. What loyal and joint work offers is the possibility for individuals to specialise in activities corresponding to their preferences or skills, and all that together forms a beautiful whole<sup>15</sup>.

On the other hand, many voices from the opponents could be heard undermining the arguments of priest-activists. In 1909, there was a heated discussion going on in "Przegląd Katolicki"<sup>16</sup>. One of the discussants stressed: *I know from private opinions of the clergymen, apart from a minority of the younger ones, that sacrificing and devotion to social issues is not generally accepted*<sup>17</sup>. Opponents of the clergymen becoming involved with community actions tried to convince that combining pastoral and social work stands in contradiction to the words of Christ: *My kingdom is not of this world*. They stressed that *orders, fraternities and other priestly institutions were created on the grounds of pastoral zeal [...] God's activity, rather than secular one, developed and undertaken by priests bore moral and spiritual and not earthly fruit*<sup>18</sup>. Not all clergymen were enthusiastic about priests' participation in the works of educational organisations – not all of them were enthusiastic about the school strike either<sup>19</sup>. In 1908, the bishop of Płock, Apolinary Wnukowski wrote in his letter to archbishop W. Popiel: *Polish schools offer no rights and are degenerate by disbelief and immorality. There is devilish hatred towards the Church and priests in this Polish educational system. The government oppresses us on one side, and on the other – there is even worse and*

<sup>15</sup> M. Fulman, *Wielkomięskie i fabryczne parafie*, "Wiadomości Pastorskie" 1906, no. 2, pp. 87-88.

<sup>16</sup> See "Przegląd Katolicki" 1909, vol. 47, no. 5, 12, 14, 15.

<sup>17</sup> "Przegląd Katolicki" 1909, no. 47, p. 349.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 382.

<sup>19</sup> J. Miąso, *Walka o narodową szkołę w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1905-1907: w stulecie strajku szkolnego*, "Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty" 2005, no. 44, p. 91.

*more dreadful oppression, since it comes from our fellow brothers*<sup>20</sup>. Failure to understand the importance of social work and emancipation aspirations in the area of education, as well as reluctance to dialogue with opponents, inspired criticism from those clergymen for whom the ideals of combining pastoral and community work were close. In evaluating his superior, the abovementioned bishop A. Wnukowski, Father Ignacy Charczewski stressed that his opinions could be summarised *in the slogan: Shut yourself up in the vestry. The pulpit, altar, confessional – this is the priest's entire world [...]* *In a word, the bishop is backwards by at least (50 years) half a century, because it was half a century ago that he moulded his opinions and now they have ossified*<sup>21</sup>.

Despite the indifference, and even reluctance from a certain part of the clergy towards activity that exceeded traditional pastoral work, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, a considerable proportion of priests were active in the social sphere. Educational and upbringing work was one of the most common areas of activity. In the literature of the subject, these issues have been discussed primarily in the context of the priests' involvement with the works of Polska Macierz Szkolna (Polish Educational Society), organising out-of-school education, initiatives of Catholic activists to establish schools and societies which provided support for students. Activities related to organising educational and care institutions for children and youth have been described significantly less frequently. The clergy's participation in creating resocialisation institutions has gone nearly unnoticed. Meanwhile, these were the areas of systematic and methodical activities. A special role in this area was played by secret habitless congregations, founded by Capuchin Father Honorat Koźmiński. These congregations, referred to as *skrytki*, based on the rule of St. Francis, in the conditions of anti-monastic policy of the partitioner's authorities, played an exceptionally significant role in the Church community and social life. Father Koźmiński re-

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<sup>20</sup> Quoted after: K. Lewalski, *Kościół rzymskokatolicki...*, p. 117.

<sup>21</sup> Quoted after: *ibidem*, p. 139. See also K. Lewalski, *Odstłony codzienności: rzymskokatolickie duchowieństwo parafialne na prowincji Królestwa Polskiego na przełomie XIX i XX wieku: wybrane zagadnienia*, Gdańsk 2019, p. 119; *idem*, *Między sacrum a profanum, czyli jak to wśród braci kapłańskiej bywało: duchowieństwo rzymskokatolickie w zaborze rosyjskim w II połowie XIX i na początku XX wieku (zarys problematyki)*, "Echa Przeszłości" 2006, no. 7, pp. 60-61.



garded them as *spiritus movens* for the spiritual and moral revival movement<sup>22</sup>. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the tertiary associations assembled about 7.5 thousand people, mainly women<sup>23</sup>. By 1908 the movement encompassed more than 380 towns. Over 670 monastic houses were established, and members of the congregations worked in about 840 facilities<sup>24</sup>. Habitless congregations conducted all kinds of educational and care facilities for children and youth which operated in the Polish lands at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and in the early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The largest number of such facilities functioned in the Kingdom of Poland, but the educational and care facilities which were formed in the Borderlands were of considerable importance for the Polish social life. In many places, they were ones of the few Polish organisations which cultivated national educational traditions. Further in the article, when listing governorates and specific towns in the territory of the Russian Empire where facilities run by “*honorackie*” congregations operated, I also provide information on facilities located outside the Borderlands (although the cultural meaning of this name and its geographic extent were not strictly defined). This concerns facilities established in towns where large groups of Polish people lived, including the educational institutions in Moscow and Petersburg.

One of the most important areas of the social care activities for children and youth was managing facilities for orphans. The Congregation of Sisters of Charity of Saint Vincent De Paul (often referred to as “szarytki” or sisters of mercy<sup>25</sup>), as well as habitless congregations had particular credit in this respect. The sisters worked in facilities for orphaned children, found in all governorate cities – Warsaw, Piotrków, Lublin, Kalisz, Radom, Kielce, Płock, Łomża, Siedlce and Suwałki, as well as in Łódź, Częstochowa, Włocławek, Łowicz and several other district cities. Definitely the largest number of facilities for orphans operated

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<sup>22</sup> M. Szymula, *Duchowość zakonna według nauczania bł. Honorata Koźmińskiego*, Warszawa 1998, pp. 116-117.

<sup>23</sup> R. Prejs, *Katolicki feminizm? Kilka uwag o zgromadzeniach honorackich*, “Teki Komisji Historycznej” 2016, vol. 13, p. 132; K. Lewalski, *Kościół...*, pp. 134-135.

<sup>24</sup> J. R. Bar, *Ruch religijny kobiet w XIX wieku na ziemiach polskich*, “Collectanea Theologica” 1967, vol. 37, no. 3, p. 171.

<sup>25</sup> A. Schletz, *Zarys historyczny Zgromadzenia Sióstr Miłosierdzia w Polsce*, “Nasza Przeszłość” 1960, vol. 12, pp. 59-172; A. Puszka, *Działalność Zgromadzenia Sióstr Miłosierdzia Wincentego à Paulo na ziemiach polskich w XIX wieku*, [in:] *Rola Kościoła w dziejach Polski. Kościoły w Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. J. Krochmal, Warszawa 2017, pp. 214-234.

in Warsaw. The two most important educational and care facilities were run by Sisters of Charity – the first was the Orphan Facility at St. Casimir Institute, functioning uninterruptedly since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and the other was the house for abandoned children and orphans, established by Rev. Gabriel Piotr Baudouin and operating since 1736; after being combined with the General Hospital in 1757, both facilities functioned under the common name of Christ Child Hospital (Szpital Dzieciątka Jezus)<sup>26</sup>. In the entire Kingdom of Poland, Sisters of Charity and members of habitless congregations worked in orphanages run by charity organisations or private individuals<sup>27</sup>.

Despite the significantly more unfavourable conditions, habitless congregations also ran facilities for orphaned children in the Borderlands and Russian cities. The largest number of orphanages were conducted by the Congregation of Daughters of the Most Pure Heart of Blessed Virgin Mary (*sercanki*), who established houses for orphaned children in Moscow, Pinsk (in Minsk Governorate), Zhytomyr (in Volhynian Governorate) and two facilities in Kiev. Apart from that, orphanages run by habitless congregations were located in Petersburg (Congregation of Sisters of the Name of Jesus), in Uman in Kiev Governorate (Congregation of Sisters Heralds of Reward i.e. Missionaries of the Holy Face) and in Slonim in Grodno Governorate (Congregation of the Little Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary). The hardships of running facilities for orphans before the First World War were described in her memoirs by Eliza Gołębiowska, member of the Congregation of Sercanki, and in the inter-war period and during World War II its general Mother Superior: *Everything that the sisters had at their disposal was spent on upbringing and education of children, who were admitted permanently in maximum numbers that the rooms could hold, solving the problem of cramping by arranging beds in stacks of two or three, similar to benches in a carriage. Saving enough money to buy at least one house was out of the question – the only desire of each Mother Superior was to increase the number*

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<sup>26</sup> M. Kolankiewicz, *Schronienie. Historia Domu Małych Dzieci ks. Baudouina*, Warszawa 1997, pp. from 10 on; Z. Podgórska-Klawe, *Warszawski dom podrzutków (1736-1900)*, "Rocznik Warszawski" 1975, vol. 12, pp. 111-145.

<sup>27</sup> A. Bóldyrew, *Opieka i wychowanie dzieci osieroconych w Królestwie Polskim na przełomie XIX i XX w.*, [in:] *Szkolnictwo, opieka i wychowanie w Królestwie Polskim: od jego ustanowienia do odzyskania przez Polskę niepodległości 1815-1918*, ed. H. Markiewiczowa, I. Czarnecka, Warszawa 2016, pp. 216-226.

of foster children, mostly orphans; despite the empty safe people said: God gave us an orphan so He will give us some for the orphan. And this was how our care facilities in Vilnius, Kaunas, Zhytomyr, Warsaw, Kiev originated, with a large number of children in rented rooms, left entirely to divine providence, because the liturgical vestment, hosiery, bookbinding and shoemaking workshops, despite intensive work of sisters, were not able to cover the cost of living<sup>28</sup>. The policy of the authorities did not allow the Sisters of Charity to continue the educational and care work with orphaned children. The most important facility of the sisters of mercy, established at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, was the Child Jesus Facility in Vilnius<sup>29</sup>. After taking the facility away from the congregation, and the later removal of the Sisters of Charity in 1864, they were not able to return to the facility until 1921.

To sum up, it must be emphasised that in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Catholic Church, particularly in Congress Poland, fulfilled the role of one of the most important organisers of educational and care facilities for abandoned and orphaned children, based on the model of charity from the Old Polish period. A success was the creation of a significant number of care facilities, a weakness – relying on traditional methods and forms of educational and care work, regarded in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century as anachronous by progressive pedagogists.

An important form of institutional care for children in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in the Kingdom of Poland was the so-called *ochronka*, a place where children up to 7 years old from the poorest environments received care and education. In the initial period, *ochronkas* were founded mainly in governorate and district cities as well as industrial settlements populated with people looking for employment in industry<sup>30</sup>. They were designed to provide many hours daily of care and education for children of poor, working parents. They were needed even more because at the time of intensive industrial development, it was necessary in many families also for the mothers to take up paid work. At

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<sup>28</sup> E. Gołębiowska, *Wspomnienia*, quoted after: J. Bar, *Zgromadzenie Córek Serca Maryi (SS. Sercanek) w latach 1885-1958*, "Prawo Kanoniczne" 1980, vol. 23, no. 1-2, p. 109.

<sup>29</sup> S. Rosiak, *Zakład Dzieciątka Jezus w Wilnie Zgromadzenia S.S. Miłosierdzia Św. Wincentego á Paulo*, Wilno 1934.

<sup>30</sup> For more information see B. Sandler, *Wychowanie przedszkolne i kształcenie wychowawczyń w Królestwie Polskim*, Wrocław 1968.

the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, *ochronkas* developed rapidly in small towns, settlements and villages. A particularly intense growth of the number of these facilities took place around 1905. Many priests became involved in establishing *ochronkas* in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. In many parishes, priests encouraged the local communities to collect money for maintaining an *ochronka*. Sometimes they devoted their own resources to this purpose. An example of involvement and effectiveness can be the work of an outstanding community activist, Rev. Wacław Bliziński, the parish priest from the village of Lisków<sup>31</sup>. On his initiative, in 1905, an *ochronka* was founded, initially attended by 16 children, and a year later their number increased to 30. The facility was located in a people's house and was financed by the parish priest. Owing to Bliziński's efforts, *ochronkas* were also opened in other villages of the Lisków parish. In 1913, there were 7 of them with more than 500 children attending<sup>32</sup>. Similar initiatives were taken by many clergymen. Usually a single *ochronka* was opened, sometimes – as in the Lisków parish – a chain of facilities was organised. This was the case in the parish of Ślesin, where 5 *ochronkas* were established in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century on the initiative of the local parish priest, Jan Langier<sup>33</sup>. In 1907 in Płock, Rev. Ignacy Lasocki opened an *ochronka* attended by 300 children<sup>34</sup>.

A fundamental role in creating and maintaining *ochronas* was played by habitless congregations. Sisters worked in facilities established by such social organisations as charity societies, Polish Educational Society, United Landowners' Circle or Catholic Association, founded by private donors (landowners, factory owners etc.), or in parish facilities. Without the participation of sisters

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<sup>31</sup> Rev. Bliziński became the symbol of a clergyman and involved community worker. Social and cultural press and daily newspapers often wrote about his activity in Lisków. *Rev. Wacław Bliziński, the parish priest from Lisków, indefatigable worker in the sphere of education of the nation, knew how to arouse and encourage the parishioners to establish a whole range of institutions, which improved the socialisation and well-being of the local people. Z kraju, "Łowiczanie"* 1911, no. 3, p. 4.

<sup>32</sup> W. Bliziński, *Wspomnienia z mego życia i pracy*, oprac. G. Waliś, Kalisz 2003, p. 48; M. Moczydłowska, *Wieś Lisków na podstawie wiadomości zebranych na miejscu*, Kalisz 1913, pp. 115-119; J. Molenda, *Chłopi – naród – niepodległość. Kształtowanie się postaw narodowych i obywatelskich chłopów w Galicji i w Królestwie Polskim w przededniu odrodzenia Polski*, Warszawa 1999, p. 92.

<sup>33</sup> A. Tomaszewicz, *Dobroczynność w guberni kaliskiej 1864-1914*, Łódź 2010, p. 97.

<sup>34</sup> R. Bender, *Spoleczne inicjatywy chrześcijańskie w Królestwie Polskim 1905–1918*, Lublin 1978, p. 126.

from habitless congregations, the intense quantitative growth of the facilities at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century would have been impossible. The largest number of *ochronkas* were run by the Congregation of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate (servants), who did not open a facility for small children only in Suwałki Governorate. Many *ochronkas* were also conducted by the Congregation of the Little Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary and the Congregation of Daughters of Mary Immaculate (Immaculatine Sisters)<sup>35</sup>.

In comparison with the Kingdom, in the territory of western governorates of the Russian Empire, there were considerably fewer Catholic social institutions which provided care for small children, because they focused to a greater degree on the educational and care activities aimed at older children and youth. However, there were some *ochronkas* run by *skrytki* there. And so the Congregation of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate (servants) ran *ochronkas* in Grodno, Vitebsk and Kaunas governorates, Congregation of Daughters of the Most Pure Heart of Blessed Virgin Mary (*sercanki*) – in Irkutsk, Kiev, Grodno, Petersburg and Volhynia governorates, Congregation of Sister Servants of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus – in Kaunas Governorate, Congregation of Daughters of Virgin Mary (*niepokalanki*) – in Vitebsk and Volhynia governorates, Congregation of the Vestiarki Sisters of Jesus – in Podole Governorate. In Vilnius Governorate, there were *ochronkas* run by the Congregation of Sisters Heralds of Reward i.e. Missionaries of the Holy Face (*obliczanki*) and the Congregation of the Little Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (factory sisters); the latter provided care for small children also in Vitebsk Governorate. The network of facilities was significantly less dense than in the Kingdom, where on the eve of World War I, institutional care over several-year-olds was becoming maybe not common but not an extraordinary practice anymore. At the scale of all the Polish lands in the Russian partition, Sister Servants were particularly distinguished; until 1918 they worked in 107 *ochronkas*<sup>36</sup>.

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<sup>35</sup> T. Wójcik, *Zgromadzenie Sióstr Służek NMP Niepokalanej*, vol. I: *Powstanie, rozwój i działalność w latach 1878-1918*, Poznań 1978, pp. 282-302; M.H. Mazurek, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-297; T. Wróblewska, *Działalność oświatowo-wychowawcza Zgromadzenia Sióstr Służek w latach 1878-1918*, [in:] *W dialogu z przeszłością. Księga poświęcona Profesorowi Janowi Hellwigowi*, ed. W. Jamrozek, D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, Poznań 2002, p. 209-211.

<sup>36</sup> T. Wójcik, *op. cit.*, pp. 319-321.

The quantitative growth of *ochronkas* was not always accompanied by improved educational practice. Many facilities strived at improving the methods and forms of work with children, but the difficult conditions, lack of teaching aids, constant financial deficiencies made it difficult to raise the standards of their educational and care activity<sup>37</sup>. It was also influenced by the expectations of the founders of these facilities. Many of them were guided mainly by commercial considerations. In his work published in 1899, Ludwik Górski, in order to encourage wealthy landowners to found village *ochronkas*, stressed the charitable dimension of their operation, but he also, if not primarily, emphasised their economic importance in the context of benefits for both manor owners and farm labourers. He devoted much less attention to pedagogical aspects. Writing about children's games, he stressed their utilitarian character, not noticing their intrinsic value. He regarded providing meals to children as inadvisable, because it might increase the maintenance costs. He did not see the need for modernising either educational objectives or methods of instructing the tutors who worked there. He stated that *the caretaker can be a simple, but religious woman, sagacious and with a passion for children. There is no need to require from her any academic qualifications higher than those necessary for teaching the children their prayers and slowly acquainting them with manual work. A sagacious caretaker should develop in children the principal notions of the good and evil, truth and lie and obligations towards God and people, while at the same time getting them accustomed to obedience, order and work*<sup>38</sup>.

It is not easy to determine to what extent the sisters from habitless congregations who worked in *ochronkas* were involved in improvement of the quality of children care and upgrading their qualifications. The preserved sources indicate that some of them improved their qualifications for working with children by way of self-education or participation in courses for caretakers. The valuable works of Maria Weryho and Stefania Marciszewska, based on the pedagogi-

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<sup>37</sup> Janusz Korczak wrote ironically about the paternalistic attitude of the charity activists who wanted to "enlighten" the children of poor parents: "Children don't learn to darn, sew, pray and love God here. Protected from evil influence of corruption, which would make them die eternally and earthly if they were left to their own devices, living the street life". g. (J. Korczak), *O trzy i pół metra*, "Głos" 1904, no. 20, p. 306; See also *idem*, *Tandeta dobroczynna*, "Głos" 1904, no. 11, p. 163;

<sup>38</sup> L. Górski, *Ochronki wiejskie*, Warszawa 1899, p. 16.

cal findings of the time, were used for this purpose<sup>39</sup>. The sisters wrote about the difficulties of the work to Father Koźmiński, who did not seem to fully appreciate the weight of the problem though. He wrote to Zyta Herdan, who wanted to *become qualified as a caretaker*<sup>40</sup> as follows: *Do not be worried about the little fruit of working with children, because you are but obliged to cast the seeds*<sup>41</sup>. Koźmiński's expectations as to the extent of activities in the sphere of education were far greater than the possibilities of their implementation. Thus, *ochronkas* were the "minimum programme", not fully satisfying with the scale of influence for the founder of secret congregations. In a letter to Maria Anastazja Szymańczak of around 1912, Father Koźmiński wrote: *The greatest reason for the poor life of peasants and their drunkenness [is] the fact that women can neither cook a decent meal, wash clothes, sew for the children nor maintain the home in order, which is why each of them prefers to go to the inn. If you could later, with greater freedom, teach them to read, write and the catechism etc., in order for them to be able to teach children at home instead of sending them to bad schools, you would have a tremendous influence on the entire rural population, greater than from the ochronkas*<sup>42</sup>.

In the social educational and care system, an important place was attributed to institutions in which children were taught the basic crafting skills. In the last twenty years of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, many occupational classrooms were established for this purpose. The demand for this kind of facilities increased after the tsarist authorities tightened the restrictions concerning *ochronkas* (in 1884 a ban was introduced on admitting children above 7 years old to *ochronkas*). As an effect, a large proportion of children remained beyond the educational system, owing to insufficient number of elementary schools. The occupational classrooms fulfilled educational and socialising functions for children from poor and neglected environments. Elementary teaching was provided there, and crafting skills were developed. Moral, religious and hygienic

<sup>39</sup> Cf. M. Weryho, *W sprawie ochron. Wskazówki dla osób zakładających ochrony wiejskie*, Warszawa 1906; S. Marciszewska, *Rady i wskazówki dla kierujących ochronami*, Warszawa 1906.

<sup>40</sup> H. Koźmiński, *Pisma*, ed. H.I. Szumił, G. Bartoszewski, vol. 5: *Listy do Zgromadzenia Sióstr Służek Najświętszej Maryi Panny Niepokalanej 1884-1916*, comp. H.I. Szumił, Warszawa 1997, p. 211.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 214.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 180.

education was also taken care of<sup>43</sup>. In many cases, it was combined with secret teaching of Polish history and culture. And so, for example, Rev. Franciszek Abramowicz, without permission from the partitioner's authorities, opened a school of crafting in the parish house, in which he, the curate and organist taught weaving, combining it with teaching the Polish language<sup>44</sup>.

Male and female members of habitless congregations worked in many classrooms opened by lay and clerical founders. In Congress Poland, activity conducted by two male orders – Congregation of Brothers Servants of Holy Virgin Mary and Congregation of the Sons of Our Lady of Sorrows, was of great significance. They ran occupational classrooms and crafting workshops for boys, mainly in cities of the two most industrialised governorates – Warsaw and Piotrków<sup>45</sup>. Female *honorackie* congregations established a number of sewing rooms, where they also taught girls, and tailor's shops, combined with teaching dressmaking to girls. In the Kingdom, such facilities were opened in most governorates<sup>46</sup>. Since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, intensive increase could be seen of the number occupational classrooms, sewing rooms combined with teaching girls and young women, and educational facilities for children from families of modest means in the Borderlands. Female *honorackie* congregations ran many such facilities in cities and villages in Vilnius, Grodno, Kaunas, Podolia, Vitebsk, Courland, Moscow, Petersburg, Livonia, Mogilev, Pskov and Volhynian governorates. In the scale of the entire area of Polish lands under the Russian partition, the largest number of various kinds of crafting and educational facilities for girls and boys were opened by the Congregation of Daughters of the Most Pure Heart of Blessed Virgin Mary (*sercanki*).

An important field of care activities of the Church was to provide help and support to girls who came to towns in search of work. Places where such help was provided to the "servant class" were the facilities in Warsaw, e.g. the support

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<sup>43</sup> A. Bołdyrew, *Spółczesność Królestwa Polskiego wobec patologii społecznych w latach 1864-1914*, Łódź 2016, pp. 300-301.

<sup>44</sup> *Bojownicy kapłani za sprawę Kościoła i ojczyzny w latach 1861-1915, Materiały z urzędowych świadectw władz rosyjskich, archiwów konsystorskich zakonnych i prywatnych*, comp. P. Kubicki, part 1, vol. 2, Sandomierz 1933, p. 331.

<sup>45</sup> National Archives in Warsaw, Warsaw Governoral Office for Associations, sign. 695; M.H. Mazurek, *op. cit.*, pp. 300-305.

<sup>46</sup> M.H. Mazurek, *op. cit.*, pp. 257-299; M. Certowicz, *Opis Włocławka pod względem sanitarnym i higienicznym*, "Zdrowie" 1912, no. 6, pp. 488-489.



houses for servants opened by the Congregation of the Sisters Servants of Jesus – in Wilcza Street and in Sewerynów<sup>47</sup>. In Łódź, the Association of Servants of Catholic Denomination, established in 1907, conducted a broad social, educational and care activity. It opened, among others, an orphanage, sewing house and employment agency<sup>48</sup>. Since 1906, educational and care activity for underage servants was provided in Otwock by the Congregation of the Sisters Servants of Jesus (Servants of Jesus)<sup>49</sup>. Among numerous organisations established under the auspices of the Church, which gathered people who worked as servants, it is worth reminding of the Association of Catholic Servants dedicated to St. Zita, established in Płock in 1907, and Association of Servants of St. Zita, formed in Kielce in 1909. They provided care over young servants and taught occupational skills<sup>50</sup>.

An important form of support for young, often underage female workers was the care organised for them by the Congregation of the Little Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, called the “factory sisters”. The congregation, established in 1888, was managed by Aniela Godecka<sup>51</sup>. The sisters created shelters and boarding houses in Warsaw and Łódź, where there were the largest number of girls and young women who came from the countryside and did not have support from their families. 20 to 30 workers lived in a single house. They chose one person among themselves who took care of the household. The houses were equipped with a library and a medicine cabinet. Each house was taken care of by a sister, who helped organise the daily living and taught reading, writing, national history and catechism. In Ewa Jabłońska-Deptuła’s opinion, *modus operandi* of the “factory sisters” differed from the paternalist models. It was based on recognising the women’s right to full subjectivity, independence from the

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<sup>47</sup> M.H. Mazurek, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83.

<sup>48</sup> M. Sikorska-Kowalska, *Kierunki i formy działalności dobroczynnej na rzecz kobiet w wielkich miastach Królestwa Polskiego. Od dobroczynności do wsparcia społecznego*, [in:] *Dobroczynność i pomoc społeczna na ziemiach polskich w XIX, XX i na początku XXI wieku*, vol. II, ed. M. and M. Przeniosło, Kielce 2010, pp. 64-65; *Czas. Kalendarz na rok 1914*, p. 91.

<sup>49</sup> M.H. Mazurek, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

<sup>50</sup> R. Bender, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

<sup>51</sup> M. Janas, *Nowe formy żeńskiego ruchu zakonnego i stowarzyszeniowego w kościele katolickim na ziemiach polskich w XIX i na początku XX wieku*, [in:] *Działaczki społeczne, feministki, obywatelki... Samoorganizowanie się kobiet na ziemiach polskich do 1918 roku*, ed. A. Janiak-Jasińska, K. Sierakowska, A. Szwarz, Warszawa 2008, p. 435.

benefactors, pursuing their own lifestyle and deciding about the socialisation patterns for girls<sup>52</sup>. According to Krystyna Krycińska, acceptance and affirmation of independence of the “factory sisters” – and the members of habitless congregations in general – was not a result of Father Koźmiński’s views, whom the scholar regarded as a supporter of patronalism<sup>53</sup>. Thus, departing from paternalistic models might have been more of a manifestation of the lack of control over the congregations than an implementation of the founder’s guidelines.

One of the key areas of educational and care activity of the Catholic Church was running facilities for the youth referred to as “morally neglected”. This term was discretionary in character, and included young people who were brought up in families regarded as inefficient and who were believed to be threatened with demoralising, the youth who posed upbringing problems, girls who practiced prostitution or were threatened with it. This group also included underage persons who broke the law and underage tramps and beggars. The Catholic Church became involved in the greatest degree with establishing institutions for girls and women who practiced or were threatened with prostitution; the institutions were supposed to be a place of sanctuary and “moral improvement”.

The most well-known shelter was the Holy Virgin Mary Care Centre the (so-called Magdalenes), functioning in Warsaw in Żytnia Street<sup>54</sup>. Since 1862, it was run by the Congregation of the Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy<sup>55</sup>, and then by the Congregation of the Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy. In 1902, 108 girls and women were staying there and in 1907 – 135. They included prostitutes, alcoholics and thieves. In the years 1881-1912, the facility was run by Ksawera Ożarowska, Mother Superior of the congregation<sup>56</sup>. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Congregation opened more facilities for girls and women threatened with demoralisation and prostitutes. Since 1881, the institution for girls operated in Derdy, Piaseczno district, called St. Joseph house or *Józefów*.

<sup>52</sup> E. Jabłońska-Deptuła, *Siostry fabryczne*, “Znak” 1966, no. 143, pp. 612-618.

<sup>53</sup> K. Krycińska, *Poglądy społeczne o. Honorata Koźmińskiego (1829-1916)*, “Roczniki Teologiczne” 1993, no. 4, *passim*.

<sup>54</sup> AGAD, Office of the General Governor of Warsaw, sign. 7663.

<sup>55</sup> S. Firer, *Matka Teresa Ewa z księżąt Sulkowskich hrabina Potocka: założycielka Zgromadzenia Sióstr Matki Bożej Miłosierdzia*, Kraków 2009, pp. 28-32. When taking monastic vows in July 1862, she took the name Maria Magdalena Teresa.

<sup>56</sup> J. Bar, *Rozwój stanów doskonałości w Polsce. Zgromadzenie Matki Bożej Miłosierdzia (1862-1962)*, “Prawo Kanoniczne” 1966, vol. 9, no. 3-4, p. 64.

In April 1913, the facility was transferred to the Walendów manor<sup>57</sup>. In 1899 in Płock, sisters from the Congregation of Our Lady of Mercy joined forces with the local Congregation of “Divine Love”, which ran the shelter called the Guardian Angel Institution, established in 1889 at the inspiration of Jakobina Łabanowska and Rev. Antoni Nowowiejski. Initially, it was designed for servants but finally it was decided to focus on resocialisation work among prostitutes. A combination of two congregations allowed the shelter’s activity to be developed, largely owing to the experience of the nuns from Płock who came to a several-month training to the Warsaw facility run by Madgalenes<sup>58</sup>. Another facility for prostitutes was opened in Częstochowa in 1908, after many years of endeavour. It was named a shelter for women in St. Barbara Street<sup>59</sup>. On the eve of regaining independence, one more facility of Madgalenes opened – in Radom, at the initiative of the bishop of Sandomierz, Paweł Kubicki, who also allotted a considerable sum of money for equipping the facility, designed for 50-80 girls and women. In addition, the Congregation of Our Lady of Mercy opened facilities for girls threatened with demoralisation in Zhytomyr and Vilnius; *nota bene* in Galicia, sisters were running a house “for fallen women” in Przemyśl<sup>60</sup>.

In 1895, Ludwika Moriconi, who belonged to a habitless Congregation of Servants of Our Lady of the Good Shepherd (*pasterzanki*), established the St. Margaret’s Shelter House for “the morally fallen” girls<sup>61</sup>. The shelter’s management was located in Warsaw and the facility itself was moved in 1897 to a new building in Piaseczno, designed to house 100 pupils<sup>62</sup>. The statute of the

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<sup>57</sup> *Zakład poprawczy dla moralnie zaniedbanych dziewcząt*, “Kronika Rodzinna” 1890, no. 21, p. 641; “Kronika Rodzinna” 1901, no. 1, p. 19.

<sup>58</sup> J. Bar, *Rozwój stanów...*, pp. 74-77.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 78-80; P. Gołdyn, *Pogarda dla zawodu, litość dla człowieka. Społeczno-edukacyjne formy działalności wobec kobiet zagrożonych prostytucją w Polsce (1918-1939)*, Kalisz 2013, p. 214.

<sup>60</sup> J. Bar, *Rozwój stanów...*, pp. 87-89; “Kronika Rodzinna” 1902, no. 2, p. 40.

<sup>61</sup> National Archives in Warsaw, Warsaw Governoral Office for Associations, sign. 482; *Warszawski Dom Schronienia św. Małgorzaty*, “Czystość” 1905, no. 6, p. 1; *Notatki. Dobroczynność w Warszawie*, “Kronika Rodzinna” 1905, no. 8, p. 114.

<sup>62</sup> M. Kor., *Towarzystwo Schronienia Ś-tej Małgorzaty*, “Prawda” 1908, no. 49, pp. 598-599.

association was approved in March 1900.<sup>63</sup> The shelter was inhabited by girls and women who escaped from brothels and wished to abandon their previous life. The sisters' aim was *to bring the fallen women to improvement, turn them to Christian duties, to passion for work and honest life*<sup>64</sup>. Similar shelters were also established in other cities of the Kingdom, inter alia at the initiative of the clergymen. Such institutions were often run with the help of members of habitless congregations. And so, in Ciechanów, care for "the fallen girls" was provided by the Congregation of the Sisters Servants of Immaculate Virgin Mary. The Congregation of Franciscan Sisters of the Suffering (Franciscan Sisters) helped run the shelter for "morally endangered" girls in Lublin, which existed from 1883 to 1890. In 1895 in Lublin, a shelter for women who wanted to quit prostitution was established by Rev. Ignacy Kłopotowski, who handed it over to the Lublin Society of Charity in the following year. Since 1896, the shelter operated under the name of St. Anthony Institution. Since 1906, it was run by sisters from the Congregation of Sisters Shepherds of Divine Providence, who came from Greater Poland and had gained experience in resocialisation work with girls by running a shelter for prostitutes in Winiary near Poznań<sup>65</sup>.

An important role in prevention of prostitution among girls and young women was played by the Christian Society for Protection of Women, established in 1902, which associated people of Catholic and Evangelical denomination<sup>66</sup>. The Society conducted mainly educational as well as cultural and social activities, organised occupational training, helped in finding work, and offered legal counselling. In Warsaw, the organisation founded a house devoted to St. Anna, designed for working women, who were temporarily unemployed, teachers and girls who attended various schools. A large part of the pupils were girls and young women. The institution was run by sisters from the Congregation of

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<sup>63</sup> W. Jaworski, *Przemiany legalnego życia społecznego w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1864-1914*, Sosnowiec 2006, p. 71.

<sup>64</sup> *Ustawa Warszawskiego Domu Schronienia Św. Małgorzaty*, Warszawa 1902, p. 3; St. Poraj, *Dusza prostytutki i środki służące do jej odrodzenia (Sprawozdanie z odczytu Ludwika Moriconi)*, "Ster" 1907, no. 9, pp. 375-378.

<sup>65</sup> P. Gołdyn, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

<sup>66</sup> AGAD, Office of the General Governor of Warsaw, sign. 7511, 7533; National Archives in Warsaw, Warsaw Governoral Office for Associations, sign. 872; *Nad otchłanią*, "Gazeta Sądowa Warszawska" 1902, no. 13, pp. 196-198; *Warszawskie chrześcijańskie Towarzystwo ochrony kobiet*, "Czystość" 1909, no. 33-34, pp. 524-525; "Rola" 1911, no. 7, pp. 119-120.

the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ (Resurrectionists)<sup>67</sup>. The congregation also ran the St. Jadwiga House – an institution for solitary, poor girls and women at the ages between 13-30<sup>68</sup>.

The activity of the Christian Society for Protection of Women enjoyed a good opinion among columnists and social activists. However, the methods of resocialisation applied by the closed institutions triggered ambivalent assessments. Particular controversy was raised by the activity of the shelter run by Magdalenes in Żytunia Street, where *there was an artificial gap between the pupils and the Magdalene sisters. Penitents and angels*<sup>69</sup>. The press wrote that there are not only prostitutes among the charges, but also girls who cause upbringing problems to their parents. The way the charges were treated was criticised: forced fasting, silence and long hours of work, as well as lack of proper care about health and hygiene of the pupils<sup>70</sup>. On the other hand, many columnists, including Bolesław Prus, wrote about the positive sense of the institution in care over the girls and women and its inspirational atmosphere. In his “Chronicles” Prus stressed that the pupils *do not show even the slightest fear or humility towards their superiors and look cheerful. During work, that is for almost the entire day, they pray aloud or sing*<sup>71</sup>. The issues related to functioning of resocialisation institutions run by monastic congregations certainly require further research with the use of findings of social history and contemporary theories and notions in the field of educational sciences. Undoubtedly, this question deserves thorough studies, *sine ira et studio*, carefully avoiding both apologetic and depreciative approach.

The operation of institutions for children and youth from poor and neglected environments played an important role in modernisation of the system of care and education of the young generation. Despite unfavourable political

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<sup>67</sup> E. Mazur, *Dobroczynność w Warszawie XIX wieku*, Warszawa 1999, p. 31; E. Henschke, *Pedagogia zmartwychwstańców [Zgromadzenia Sióstr Zmartwychwstania Pana Naszego Jezusa Chrystusa]*, [in:] *Pedagogie katolickich zgromadzeń zakonnych. Historia i współczesność*, ed. J. Kostkiewicz, vol. II, Kraków 2013, p. 314.

<sup>68</sup> *Dom św. Jadwigi*, “Kronika Rodzinna” 1901, no. 2, p. 35.

<sup>69</sup> A. Wróblewski, *Przytulki dla upadłych kobiet*, “Czystość” 1909, no. 26, p. 413.

<sup>70</sup> J. Sikorska-Kulesza, *Zło tolerowane. Prostyucja w Królestwie Polskim w XIX wieku*, no place of publishing specified. 2004, p. 341.

<sup>71</sup> B. Prus, *Kroniki*, comp. Z. Szwejkowski, vol. XV, Warszawa 1965, p. 227. See also *ibidem*, vol. XVIII, Warszawa 1968, p. 145.

circumstances and economic difficulties, a network of institutions was created in the Kingdom of Poland and the Borderlands, which provided care for children and youth in particularly difficult situation. Pedagogists and columnists had their reservations as to the principles of the operation of these facilities, which resulted both from their constant insufficient funding and the use of a fairly limited repertoire of methods of care and educational work. This concerned not only institutions run by the Catholic Church, but also care and educational facilities operating under the auspices of other churches and religious organisations, as well as those established by private donors. Another important thing in the popularisation of institutional care and education and support for children and youth were the sermons of the clergymen and texts published in Catholic press, which propagated ideals of religious charity. It seems that for a significant part of the public opinion, the concepts of traditional charity, supported with religious arguments were more important than slogans of “organic work”, promoted in positivist journalism<sup>72</sup>.

An inherent area of activity for a considerable part of the clergy was that in the field of education. This issue has been relatively well studied and described many times by social and ecclesiastical historians. This is the reason why only the most important areas of the clergy's activity in the field of school and out-of-school education will be recounted in this text. Cecylia Plater-Zyberkówna rendered considerable services in organisation of school education for girls. She was a member and later the Mother Superior of the Congregation of Sisters Missionaries of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. In 1883, she opened a handicraft school for girls in Warsaw, in which the Polish language and literature were also secretly taught. A female gymnasium also functioned at this school, transformed in 1917 into a fully-fledged secondary school. In 1917, she opened an agricultural school for girls in Chyliczki. She was an organiser of bookkeeping and pedagogical courses. Plater-Zyberkówna was also the initiator and patron of the Catholic Society of Friends of Young People, which supported pupils and students materially and morally, organised meetings, lectures and discussion gatherings. The Society had significant influences in the entire Kingdom, as well as in Vilnius and Petersburg. Zyberkówna was also active in

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<sup>72</sup> A. Jaszczuk, *Spór pozytywistów z konserwatystami o przyszłość Polski 1870-1903*, Warszawa 1986, p. 284.

the field of organising care for children. She also had great achievements as the co-founder of the Catholic Association of Polish Women, which assisted in a number of educational actions addressed at girls and women (including Higher Academic and Pedagogical Courses)<sup>73</sup>. Numerous educational institutions (elementary schools, courses in household keeping, farming, courses for nurses etc.) in the Kingdom of Poland and the Borderlands (in Kaunas, Courland, Grodno, Vilnius, Petersburg, Mogilev, Volhynian and Podolian governorates) were also operated by habitless congregations. And so for example the Congregation of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate during the First World War ran 12 elementary schools and 2 vocational schools. In addition, since the beginning of their activity in 1878, the sisters operated more than 100 *ochronkas*, in which secret teaching was systematically conducted<sup>74</sup>.

An interesting issue, investigated among others by Krzysztof Lewalski and Stanisław Gajewski, is the question of the clergy's attitudes towards the school strike and activities aimed at creating the Polish educational system. Lewalski excellently presented the ambivalence of the clergy in this respect<sup>75</sup>. On the one hand, many priests became involved in the works of the Polish Educational Society by initiating and popularising the organisation's operation in the local communities. Parish priests and curates allowed the Society's meetings to be held in parish buildings, initiated educational actions consolidating the parish community around the programme objectives of the organisation. Many clergymen belonged to management of the local circles<sup>76</sup>. And so, for example Rev. Józef Kulesza, who was the chairman of the local department of the Polish Educational Society, opened an elementary school in Różana in Płock Governorate<sup>77</sup>. In 1906, Rev. Ludwik Molle, curate of the Skierbieszów parish in Lublin Governorate, encouraged the parishioners to demand the authorities' consent

<sup>73</sup> M. H. Mazurek, *Działalność oświatowo-wychowawcza Zgromadzenia Sióstr Posłanniczek Maryi od Najświętszego Serca Jezusa w latach 1874-1908*, "Nasza Przeszłość" 1990, vol. 74, pp. 35-69; R. Bender, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-123.

<sup>74</sup> M. Wójcik, *Działalność Zgromadzenia Sióstr Służek Najświętszej Maryi Panny Niepokalanej z Mariówki (zarys dziejów)*, "Studia Płockie" 1980, no. 8, p. 235.

<sup>75</sup> K. Lewalski, *Kościół...*, pp. 111-119.

<sup>76</sup> S. Gajewski, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-136; W. Guzewicz, *Działalność społeczna duchowieństwa diecezji łomżyńskiej w okresie międzywojennym*, "Nasza Przeszłość" 2002, vol. 97, pp. 248-249.

<sup>77</sup> *Bojownicy kapłani...*, part 1, vol. 2, p. 567.

to establishing the Polish school<sup>78</sup>. In 1909, Rev. Edward Szubstarski collected money for founding Polish schools, organised an illegal school in Ostrówki, Siedlce Governorate, which provided elementary education and propagated aversion to the partitioner's authorities<sup>79</sup>. In the village of Tłuszcz, Warsaw Governorate, Rev. Stanisław Kuczyński spoke during meetings of the farmers' association about national and independence-related goals, the need to act *in order to sew what is torn, and to wake up and revive what is asleep*<sup>80</sup>.

On the other hand, some clergymen were critical of the boycott of the Russian school and feared the development of the Polish private school education system, whose organisers were attributed with the desire to introduce the secular model of education. Fears of secularisation of the school system were sometimes combined with formulating strong accusations and stigmatisation of opponents. In 1907, Rev. Hipolit Zieliński expressing his conviction of the need for caring about the religious upbringing of the young generation in "Wiadomości Pasterskie", criticised at the same time the attitudes of radical clergymen, who depreciated the activity of the Polish Educational Society: "Here, a serious institution was reprimanded from the pulpit, accusing it of being godless and heathen, and there, they did not even give absolution to those who send their children to the Society. It was a reprehensive abuse of the pulpit and the sacrament, which was only capable of kindling hatred towards the clergy and even the Church as such"<sup>81</sup>. Most priests did not formulate such negative opinions on the Society. However, the fear of introducing non-religious schools was common among the clergy. The conviction of the fundamental role of religion in upbringing children and youth was closely related with the confidence that the presence of religion is necessary in school education<sup>82</sup>.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 413.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 450.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibidem*, part 3, vol. 3, Sandomierz 1939, p. 371.

<sup>81</sup> H. Zieliński, *Z chwili bieżącej. Polska Macierz Szkolna*, "Wiadomości Pasterskie" 1907, no. 6, p. 375.

<sup>82</sup> On the role of religion in education and socialisation of the young generation see inter alia: T. Jadwiga, *Nauka religii*, "Przegląd Pedagogiczny" 1905, no. 4, pp. 39-40; vol., *Więści: w sprawie nauki wiary w szkołach*, "Gazeta Świąteczna" 1907, no. 1369, p. 1; mt., *Nauka wiary świętej w szkołach początkowych*, "Gazeta Świąteczna" 1909, no. 1460, p. 3; K. Bączkiewicz, *Kronika: w sprawie wykładów religii w szkołach*, "Prąd" 1909, no. 7-8, p. 245; Z. Fedorowicz,



Many priests belonged to local educational and academic organisations such as: Society of School Care of Piotrków Governorate (based in Częstochowa), Polish Educational Association in Czeladź, Polish Educational Association in Zawiercie, Educational Society of Kalisz Governorate, Society of Help for School Youth in Płock, Płock Academic Society, Catholic Society of School Youth in Warsaw<sup>83</sup>. One of the important objectives of the activity of clergymen as part of the out-of-school education was the propagation of reading, which was implemented by organising associations which established and operated libraries<sup>84</sup>. Priests opened vocational schools, propagated from the pulpit and Catholic newspapers the training courses run by the Central Agricultural Society<sup>85</sup>. The clergy rarely cooperated with educational organisations which were established by leftists, although such situations also occurred. And so, for example, Rev. Antoni Kwiatkowski, committed in the spiritual area – community activist from Bychawa (his numerous services include the creation of the Bychawa Society of Saving the Sick “Samaritan” in 1908 and initiation of the people’s house built in 1913) cooperated with the Lublin Society for Propagation of Education “Światło”<sup>86</sup>.

It is worth reminding that an important area of the Church’s activity in educational work was the promotion of sobriety<sup>87</sup>. The political situation made it impossible to establish sobriety societies, which operated in villages in an open

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*Ruch religijno-etyczny wśród młodzieży*, “Prąd” 1910, no. 7-8, pp. 238-244; Z. Fedorowicz, *Kryzys religijny młodego pokolenia*, “Prąd” 1911, no. 1, p. 6.

<sup>83</sup> AGAD, Office of the General Governor of Warsaw, sign. 7294; National Archives in Łódź, Office of the Kalisz Governor, sign. 1547; S. Gajewski, *op. cit.*, p. 151; A. Tomaszewicz, *op. cit.*, Łódź 2010, pp. 258-259; W. Jaworski, *Prowincjonalne stowarzyszenia oświatowe i wychowawcze w Królestwie Polskim (1886-1914)*, “Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy” 2008, vol. 51, no. 1-2, p. 18; idem, *Legalne organizacje społeczne w guberni płockiej w latach 1870-1914*, “Bieżuńskie Zeszyty Historyczne” 2014, no. 28, p. 163.

<sup>84</sup> R. Bender, *op. cit.*, p. 122; W. Jaworski, *Legalne organizacje...*, p. 164.

<sup>85</sup> S. Gajewski, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

<sup>86</sup> M. Gawrecka, *Lubelskie Towarzystwo szerzenia oświaty pod nazwą “Światło”(1906-1917)*, “Rocznik Lubelski” 1973, vol. 16, p. 200; S. Gajewski, *op. cit.*, p. 150. For archive materials on the organisation see inter alia: AGAD, Office of the General Governor of Warsaw, sign. 2714, 2718, 2803.

<sup>87</sup> *The Catholic clergy is obliged to fight alcoholism, because it has a great and adorable power – the power of religion, which is the most powerful source of mercy and sacrifice, the best means for improving and reviving nations - Walka z alkoholizmem*, “Przegląd Katolicki” 1900, vol. 38, p. 552.

or concealed mode in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Their operation was banned by the tsarist authorities in 1863, which contributed to propagating restraint from alcohol during sermons; some of these teachings were published in print<sup>88</sup>. Activity of the clergymen in this area may be regarded as a form of out-of-school education, rendered for the adult, and in large measure – for children and youth. Writing addressed to the masses became a form of implementation of the pastoral programme of fighting alcoholism, contributed to promoting knowledge of the harmfulness of alcoholic beverages and shaping attitudes towards alcohol<sup>89</sup>. The printed sermons and talks played an important role in propagating morality, whose integral element was the apotheosis of sobriety, which was endowed with religious justification. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the issue of harmfulness of drinking, not only with reference to the masses, but also as a society-wide problem, systematically appeared in Catholic newspapers.

Beginning with the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century an intensification could be noticed in the activity of parish clergy, who combined the systematic catechisation with promotion of sobriety among children, youth and adults in many places<sup>90</sup>. In many parishes, children took vows of abstinence from alcohol and cigarettes during the ceremony of the First Communion. Parishioners were encouraged to vow to renounce the habit by the youth and adults. Out of many clergymen who conducted systematic activity to promote abstinence in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, it is worth recollecting the prefect in Piotrków and the parish priest in Sulejów, Rev. Antoni Grochowski. In the parish book of abstinence, he entered about 200 adult people who declared complete sobriety. He also accepted vows of sobriety from children. Rev. Grochowski shared information on his activity in a letter to the “Przyszłość” monthly; his letter was a response to an article which accused the clergy of the Kingdom of Poland of the lack of sufficient involvement with the abstinence movement. Rev. Grochowski assured

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<sup>88</sup> One of the most popular guides and collections of sermons concerning the fight with alcoholism was the book by Franciszek Jakub Martynian Mozejewski, *Słowa prawdy o pijaństwie i trzeźwości oraz rady dla trzeźwych*, which had 4 issues – the first of them was published in 1863, and the last one in 1916.

<sup>89</sup> For more information see *Pijaństwo i alkoholizm w piśmiennictwie Królestwa Polskiego w XIX i na początku XX wieku. Aspekty społeczne, pedagogiczne i kulturowe*. Selection of sources and editing A. Bołdyrew, Łódź 2019, pp. 43-45.

<sup>90</sup> S. Bojarska, *Ruch trzeźwości wśród ludu w Królestwie Polskim*, “Zdrowie” 1910, no. 3, p. 158.

that many clergymen maintained and promoted abstinence from alcohol. He stressed that the clergymen care about the development of the writing movement on the question of alcohol by publishing texts devoted to this subject in Catholic newspapers, including “Wiadomości Pasterskie”<sup>91</sup>.

According to S. Gajewski’s estimations, about 1 100 out of the total of 2743 priests in the Kingdom of Poland in 1905, i.e. 40% were involved in social activity. The outstanding clergymen in this group were those who cooperated with the Polish Educational Society. In general, priests fulfilled different functions in 353 circles of the Society (priests held managerial positions in nearly half of the circles, usually occupying the position of chairman)<sup>92</sup>. A large portion of the diocesan clergy belonged to charity organisations. Monastic congregations rendered great service in work with children and youth; the educational and care activity was integrated with the charisma of the sisters of mercy and habitless monastic congregations. Institutions operated by the Catholic clergy played an important role in building the Polish system of education and care during the period of the Polish “entering the modernity” in Congress Poland and the Borderlands. The model of care, upbringing and education, propagated by the majority of clergymen did not envisage thorough modernisation, on the contrary – in large measure it consolidated the existing social order, which resulted in a criticism from the community activists who sympathised with the Polish Socialist Party as well as from the progressive intelligentsia. This does not change the fact that the importance of Catholic social initiatives of social, preventive and protective character for the poorest and neglected cannot be overestimated. Care and educational institutions provided assistance and support for children and youth in difficult situation, in numerous educational actions the Church also supported the national irredentism. Finally, it must be remembered that one of the key premises of the clergy’s initiatives for the young generation was the conviction that it constitutes the potential of social forces, necessary for the reconstruction of the country. Hence the institutional activity directed at children and youth was endowed with a religious, moral and national dimension.

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<sup>91</sup> A. Grochowski, *Z Piotrkowa*, “Przyszłość” 1907, no. 6, p. 61.

<sup>92</sup> S. Gajewski, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-136, 203.

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