Abstract. The religious education and teaching religion in the light of the 1961 personal notes of Primate Stefan Wyszyński

The aim of the article is to present the educational issues of the Polish People’s Republic (Polska Republika Ludowa – later referred to as PRL) in the light of the 1961 personal notes of Primate Stefan Wyszyński (referred to as Pro memoria). The source base of this examination, is the manuscript of Primate Wyszyński, stored in the Archdiocese Archive in Gniezno. The first section of the article is the outline of the state of research on the PRL education, as well as, methodological matters. The second section is dedicated to a brief characteristic of education in the “people’s” Poland, regarding the spread of ideology until 1961. The third section is dedicated to the characteristics of the source material. The fourth section shows – in the light of the personal writings of Primate Wyszyński — issues such as: The 1961 Act on the Development of the Educational System, the educational and care institutions of the Roman-Catholic Church, monastic and parochial preschools, religious schooling, confessional secondary school education, catechesis, minor seminaries, major seminaries, higher education and academic ministry.

Keywords: Polish People’s Republic education, religious education, Primate Stefan Wyszyński, seminaries
characteristics of the source material. The fourth section shows – in the light of the personal writings of Primate Wyszyński – issues such as: The 1961 Act on the Development of the Educational System, the educational and care institutions of the Roman-Catholic Church, monastic and parochial preschools, religious schooling, confessional secondary school education, catechesis, minor seminaries, major seminaries, higher education and academic ministry.

The state of research and methodological matters

The state of research regarding education and educational policies of the PRL, including religious schooling, may be considered as advanced. The publishing market contains significant monographs and minor works dedicated to the varying levels of education, as well as, synthetic works, that apprehend the educational matters in a more particular scholarly perspective such as: core curriculum premises, organisational structure, educational policy during its creation and realisation, educational law, staff issues, curricula and contents that are taught, et. al. The attention turn to works written in a comparative manner, where the authors analyse the PRL education, comparing it to selected countries of the former Eastern bloc, i.e. considering the broader geographical and chronological aspect.

The general studies attempt to organise and grasp the PRL school reality in a particular interpretative manner. As a result of the pursuit for the generalisation of the processes taking place in the educational space, the presentation of events in accordance with a given interpretative aspect, causes the authors to recreate the describe reality, to a more or less faithful degree, and at times, maybe even get closer to it. Performing historiography in the form of syntheses in broad strokes, although prone to the risk of excessive generalisation, seems to be necessary for building at least an initial, general systematic of the examined issue. The available synthetic publications, are complemented, and enriched by memoir literature, journals, diaries, accounts, which record the events from the perspective of a witness, or a participant of the event. Although such positions are characterised by a sig-

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1 The 15 July 1961 Act on the Development of the Educational System. Law gazette 1961, no. 32, pos. 160.

2 Selected works: WOŁOSZYN, J.W., Szkoła jako instrument politycznej legitymizacji władzy partii komunistycznej w Polsce (1944–1989), Lublin 2015; MAUERSBERG, S., WALCZAK, M., Szkolnictwo polskie po drugiej wojnie światowej (1944–1956), Warszawa 2005; MAUERSBERG, S., „Nauczyciel wobec indoktrynacji komunistycznej w latach 1947–1956”, Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy 2004, no. 3/4, pp. 53–58; KOSINSKI, K., O nową mentalność. Życie codzienne w szkołach 1945–1956, Warszawa 2000 et al.

3 CONNELLY, J., Zniewolony uniwersytet. Sowietyzacja szkolnictwa wyższego w Niemczech wschodnich, Czechach i Polsce 1945–1956, Warszawa 2013; Wojdon, J., Świat elementarzy. Obraz rzeczywistości w podręcznikach do nauki czytania w krajach bloku radzieckiego, Warszawa 2015; DRAUS, J., TERLECKI, R., Historia wychowania, vol. 2: Wiek XIX i XX, Kraków 2005.

4 I.a. Krzysztof Kosiński was attentive towards the problem. In a review of the Captive University... book by J. Connelly, he notes that “From the Polish viewpoint, the comparative studies […] result in an inevitable relativisation of the communism experience”. More, see: KOSINSKI, K., „Polski przypadek szczególny”, Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość 2014, no. 2, p. 501.
significant level of subjectivity, the descriptive aspect, and the formulated evaluations, belong to the sources essential from the viewpoint of a historian, helpful in revealing the complexity of the examined phenomena. Such literature is important for the better understanding of human motivations, and their resulting attitudes\(^5\). Despite constituting a source that is relatively often used by authors of synthetic works, the publication gradually released journals, or memoirs, is still a challenge for the scholars. The *Pro memoria* by Primate Stefan Wyszyński, prepared for print and released successively, belong to such a category. From the viewpoint of the studies on the PRL education history, the 1961 volume seems to be essential, i.e. the one written in the year of announcing the first post-war Educational Act, which would regulate the entire framework of the PRL educational issues, as well as, organised, institutional, educational influences of extracurricular nature\(^6\).

### The outline of the educational issues in the “people’s” Poland until 1961

The spread of the ideology regarding schooling, introduced by the party and government authorities, organically combined with the programme of the communist indoctrination of children and youth, was related to every educational level: from preschool to the university, and it would stretch out towards areas of influence outside of school and education system. The pursuit of the “people’s” Poland was to assume absolute control over the direction of the education of the youngest citizens that were, in this aspect, treated as the property of the decision-makers of the educational policies, who acted in the role of an “ideological parent”\(^7\). The first ideological offensive in education, after the communists had assumed control, was stopped by the Post-October Thaw. However, the liberalisation of the course in education did not last long. Although it led to the irreversible removal of the debased ideological contents, from the teaching and upbringing curricula, that, during the Stalinist era would replace the true educational contents, the fundamental principles remained the same, particularly those related to the ideological basis of assuming control of education by party and government authorities. The ideological project of the PRL authorities, could still be found in the curricular, structural, organisational and staff solutions in education. After 1957, the second ideological offensive in education took place. Tightening the approach in educational policy manifested in the slogans of discarding the “post-October liberalism” which was perceived as the rejection of the formerly approved enforcement of the materialism world view on the youth. Władysław Gomułka, demanded that the school would once again receive the “socialist” face. The 1957 IX Plenum of KC PZPR (The Central Committee of the Polish United Workers’ Party), listed most important tasks in terms of the educational policy, such as, assuming care over the youth by the

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\(^5\) More, see. KAROLCZAK, K. (ed.), *Pamiętniki, dzienniki i relacje jako źródła do badań historycznych (XVIII–XX wiek)*, Kraków 2011, p. 5–6.

\(^6\) The 15 July 1961 Act on the Development of the Educational System. Law gazette 1961, no. 32, pos. 160.

\(^7\) More, see: WOŁOSZYN, J.W., op. cit., p. 99.
state, and the reconstruction of a unified youth movement at the disposal of the communist party. The secularisation action, stopped during the thaw, was now intensified. Based on the 4 August 1958 memo of the Minister of Education, the decrucification of schools was conducted. The Ministry directive, issued the same day as the memo, would deprive clergymen of the right to educate children and youth within the system of education.

Summarising the period of the creation of the so-called socialist school, during the KC PZPR plenum in January 1961, Gomułka said that: The conditions have matured to decide on the reform of education. In his speech, he did not omit the world view matter: In the centre of attention of the party instances and organisations, should be the ideological upbringing of youth, shaping their moral and political attitudes. The adopted premises, were decreed on 15 July 1961, with the Act on the Development of Education, which was in motion for almost thirty years.

**The Characteristics of the Source**

The source base for the study, is the manuscript of Primate Stefan Wyszyński, stored in the Archdiocese Archive in Gniezno. The source is currently an object of intensive research, and editing work, conducted by the National Programme for the Development of Humanities project, titled “The substantive and editorial work on the unpublished writings of card. Stefan Wyszyński’s Pro memoria. The director of the project is tit. Prof. dr hab. Jan Żaryn. The project is financed within the “Monuments of the Polish philosophical, theological, and social thought of the 20th and the 21st century”. The proponent was the Faculty of Historical and Social Sciences at the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University. In result of the conducted works, a source material series is being created, titled Pro memoria. Prof. dr hab. Paweł Skibiński, has become the head of the scientific editorial part, and the publishers are as follows: Gniezno Archdiocese, Warsaw Archdiocese, The Institute of National Remembrance (later, also referred to as IPN) – Commission for the Persecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation, and the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński.

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8 Ibidem, pp. 103–104.
9 The 4 August 1958 memo of the Ministry of Education, no. 26, regarding the compliance with the principles of the Secular School. Law Gazette of the Ministry of Education 1958, no. 9, pos. 123.
10 The 4 August 1958 directive of the Ministry of Education, regarding religion teachers. Law Gazette of the Ministry of Education 1958, no. 9, pos. 121.
11 GOMUŁKA, W., Przemówienie końcowe nad pierwszym punktem porządku obrad VII Plenum KC PZPR wygłoszone 21 I 1961 r., in: Przemówienia 1961, idem, Warszawa, Książka i Wiedza 1962, p. 11.
12 The 15 July 1961 Act on the Development of the Educational System. Law Gazette 1961, no. 32, pos. 160.
13 The Gniezno Archdiocese Archive (later: AAG), S. Wyszyński, Pro memoria 1961.
14 The list of applications qualified for financing within the programme “Monuments of the Polish philosophical, theological, and social thought of the 20th and the 21st century”. https://www.archiwum.nauka.gov.pl/g2/oryginal/2016_10/8f83f6cb74a467445481934aa5d860ed.pdf (access: 05.12.2018).
The religious education and teaching religion in the light of the 1961

Scientific Publishing. The series is accomplished with the editorship of dr. Rafał Łatka, within the Central Scientific Project of the Institute of National Remembrance, titled “The communist authorities against the Churches and religious groups in Poland, 1944–1989”. The subsequently released volumes, that are a part of the collection, are simultaneously a separate, individual element of a larger IPN publishing series titled: “The Catholic Church in documents”. The Pro memoria series consists of the subsequent year of life of Cardinal Wyszyński: since 1948 when he had become the Primate, until his final tome, closing his life, and his career as an exceptional hierarch. Until now, four volumes have been released, regarding the following years: volume 1: 1948–1952; volume 2: 1953; volume 3: 1953–1956; volume 4: 1958.

The Primate’s manuscript from 1961 is well preserved, and its readability raises no objections. The original writings from 1961 consist of 314 pages of A5 format. The Primate would conduct writings systematically, however, not every day. He resigned from notes during periods, where he was ill, or was enjoying some leisure. Considering the above, one must confirm the thesis that source retained the character of a document that was written on an ongoing basis, and relatively systematically. The source prepared for print possesses high scholarly value. On the one hand, the writings are a sketch of the individual portrait of the author, or of the persons mentioned on the pages of Pro memoria, while on the other – a group portrait of the Church and the PRL society from the beginning of the 1960s, with a broad social and vocational outline. The Primate is also directing his attention to the Polish diaspora, with particular consideration for the representatives of the exiled independence movement.

A reader interested with the history of education and schooling in PRL after 1956, will be particularly interested in the themes regarding the state-Church relations in this matter, therefore, the matters of schooling, particularly religious, as well as, religion and educational policies of the PRL.

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15 The Pro memoria programme board includes: bishop prof. dr hab. Jan Kopiec as the head, Iwona Czarcińska, rev. prof. Bogdan Czyżowicz, prof. dr hab. Antoni Dudek, dr Tadeusz Krawczak, ks. prof. dr hab. Józef Marecki, ks. prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Pawlina, bp dr Marek Solorczyk, prof. dr hab. Jan Zaryn.

16 WYSZYŃSKI, S., Pro memoria, vol. 1: 1948–1952, (ed.) P. SKIBIŃSKI, Warszawa–Gniezno, Archidiecezja Gnieźnieńska, Archidiecezja Warszawska, IPN, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UKSW, 2017; WYSZYŃSKI, S., Pro memoria, vol. 2: 1953, (ed.) E. CZACZKOWSKA, Warszawa–Gniezno, Archidiecezja Gnieźnieńska, Archidiecezja Warszawska, IPN, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UKSW, 2017; WYSZYŃSKI, S., Pro memoria, (ed.) I. CZARCIAŃSKA, A. GAŁKA, 2018; WYSZYŃSKI, S., Pro memoria, vol. 5: 1958, (ed.) M. KRUPECKA, Warszawa–Gniezno, Archidiecezja Gnieźnieńska, Archidiecezja Warszawska, IPN, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UKSW, 2018.

17 AAG, S. Wyszyński, Pro memoria 1961.
Education in the light of the 1961 personal writings of Primate Wyszyński

Summarizing the year 1961, the Primate concluded that for the Church, it was a time of calamities\(^\text{18}\). The growing tensions regarding the religious relations in PRL in the early 1960s\(^\text{19}\) were a result of the effects of the party and government policies, that did not assume any place for a real presence of the Church in the public and legal sphere. They perceived the Church as an enemy, an ideological or a political rival. The struggle between the state and the Church for the “reign of souls” was made particularly visible in the field of education. It was also clearly articulated by legal means, that finalised the process of the secularisation of education\(^\text{20}\), implemented on all educational levels. The adopted normative solutions, introduced the monopoly of the state in the aspect of education and upbringing\(^\text{21}\), where the actual participation of the private sector and social initiative, and particularly, a society treated subjectively, including the parents, could not come to terms with the adopted direction of monopolising and factionalising education.

The Act

The 15 July 1961 Act on the Development of the Educational System\(^\text{22}\), decreed the placement of education within the project of constructing the so-called socialist state\(^\text{23}\). The state appropriated the educational sphere, spreading its monopoly even in non-school institutional educational and upbringing influences\(^\text{24}\). Although de iure, a place was reserved for other solutions, deluding the society, regarding the freedom of establishing and

\(^{18}\) AAG, S. Wyszyński, Pro memoria, 31 XII 1961.

\(^{19}\) More, see: DUDEK, A., GRYZ, R., Komuniści i Kościół w Polsce (1945–1989), Kraków, Wydawnictwo Znak, 2006, pp. 160–216.

\(^{20}\) “Schools and other educational-upbringing establishment are secular institutions. The entirety of education and upbringing in these institutions is of a secular nature” (article 2). Law Gazette, 1961, no. 32, pos. 160.

\(^{21}\) “All non-school educational and upbringing activity, as well as, other forms of working with children and youth are subject to the supervision of the Minister of Education, who is eligible for setting the principles and the conditions of conducting this type of activity, or work” (article 39 pt. 1). Law Gazette, 1961, no. 32, pos. 160.

\(^{22}\) The 15 July 1961 Act on the Development of the Educational System. Law Gazette 1961, no. 32, pos. 160.

\(^{23}\) Ideological principles: “Education and upbringing are one of the basic pillars of the socialist development of the Polish People’s Republic. The purpose of the system of education and upbringing is to prepare qualified employees of the national economy and culture, conscious builders of socialism (a fragment of the preamble). “The purpose of education and upbringing in schools and other educational-upbringing establishments is the comprehensive development of the students and their upbringing, so that they become conscious and creative citizens of the Polish People’s Republic. […] Schools and other educational-upbringing establishments raise in the spirit of socialist morality and socialist rules of social coexistence” (article 1). Law Gazette, 1961, no. 32, pos. 160.

\(^{24}\) “The state establishes, manages, and maintains schools and other educational-upbringing establishments (article 4 pt. 1). Law Gazette, 1961, no. 32, pos 160.
managing educational establishments by non-state entities, in practice, they were limited to a subordinate circle, often of party concessionaires, removing the last obstacles for enforcing the unified educational option, the direction of which was dictated by the premises of the Marxist philosophy, and by the PZPR prescriptions.25

The educational Act, was an object of the proceedings of the Joint Commission of the Government and the Episcopate26, which took place on 11 July 1961. The announcement of the legal act, occurred during the vacation period. At the time, Primate Wyszyński was on a leave in Stryszawa. In his writings from 17 July, bishop Zygmunt Choromański the Episcopate representative for the state-Church relations, paid him a visit.27 Bishop Choromański reported on the Commission proceedings, judging, that on the one side, the state party intended to somewhat harass the bishops, so that they would remain “silent”, i.e. not raise official voice regarding the introduced Act. On the other hand, they intended to gain the favour of the Church authorities, justifying themselves as follows: acts will be acts, but truly the executive directives will decide. The statement was supposed to temper the anticlerical and ideological aspect of the act, and pass a message, that the Church claims regarding its presence in the educational sphere, would still be considered by the state. Therefore, the act was not to be treated as a legal rule, that would definitely close off the path of the religious education, or teaching religion. The Primate was considering appropriate steps, in order to protest against the Act resolutions. Possibly, he did not expect the future executive directives to improve the Church’s situation in the area of education. He treated the aforementioned promise as a tactical move, aiming at “silencing” the social discontent. There was substantial evidence, that the state wishes no displays of religion in education. The purpose of implementing the atheist school, was supported by the removal of any religious elements, by the introduction of secular upbringing and educational curricula, the removal of clergy from educational staff, and the dismantling of confessional schooling.30

25 “The Council of Ministers, by decree, sets the principles of establishing and managing schools, and other educational-upbringing establishments” (article 4 pt. 2). “Schools, educational, upbringing, educational-upbringing establishments, and other institutions or school establishments may be managed by vocational, youth organisations, social institutions, and other organisations, and institutions, natural or legal persons, only by permission of the Minister of Education, in compliance with the principles and conditions of his choosing, and under his supervision” (article 39 pt. 1). Law Gazette 1961, no. 32, pos. 160.

26 The Joint Commission of the Government and the Episcopate – created from the initiative of Primate Wyszyński in 1949. Initially, it operated as a Mixed Commission. The aim of the commission was to settle an agreement regarding religious issues.

27 The Sisters of the Resurrection monastic house was located in Stryszawa-Siwówka. The Primate used to visit the sisters, for leave. I.a. Karol Wojtyła was among his guests.

28 Zygmunt Choromański (1892–1968), the Warsaw auxiliary bishop in 1946–1968, the Episcopal Conference of Poland (Komisja Episkopatu Polski – later referred to as KEP), secretary in 1946–1968, a member of the Mixed Commission, and then the Joint Commission of the Government and the Episcopate.

29 AAG, S. Wyszyński, Pro memoria, 17 VII 1961.

30 WYSZYŃSKI, S., Wezwanie do sióstr wychowawczyń. Wawer 1961, in: idem, Dzieła zebrane, vol. 7: 1961, Warszawa 2008, p. 303.
The 1961 Act legally sanctioned the secularity of upbringing and education, as a struggle against religion, and its absence within the school sphere. The interpretation of this record, aspiring to the status of a modern, and ideologically neutral, was indeed based on a soviet model of the division of religion and state, characterised by the hostility towards the Church and faith. The 1961 act was to serve the purpose of preventing the infiltration of the young generation by the clerical influence. As the Primate noted, children and youth gave a brave testament to their affiliation with the Church, through religious practice, sacramental life, catechesis, and retreats.

In response to the Act’s resolutions, the Primate encouraged the faithful, so that their homes would become the cradles of the Catholic upbringing of the future generations of Poles. He raised the subject of household religious education, and Catholic formation, during his sermons and official speeches. He combined the project with the realisation of the programme of the V year of the Great Novena, under the slogan “The Family is strong in God” (“Rodzina Bogiem silna”).

Teaching religion

The 1958–1961 period is a time of an non-decree removal of religion from schools. The symptoms of the removal of religion lessons from the educational system were brought about by the proceedings of the Joint Commission of the Government and the Episcopate on 31 July 1958. The removal of more than two thousand monastic catechists from schools, on the basis of the directive of the Minister of Education, from 1958, disorganised, and in many cases, contributed to the actual shut down of school catechesis. 1961 ended the period of the non-decree removal of school religion teaching. It brought about the legislature, which gave the basis for the removal of catechesis from the educational system under the “law”. However, the Church had already managed to develop alternative forms of systemic Christian formation, which was conducted in catechesis locations, in parochial rooms, monastic houses, or private apartments. The state authorities estimated that, c. 16 thousand catechesis locations would function in the entire country. The authorities decided to fund he catechists from the budget. This seemingly beneficial (financially) solution, raised suspicion among the Church representatives. The Primate’s position in the matter was clearly negative. He would foresee, that by providing financial sources,
the state was planning to subject the teaching of religion, to the secular authorities, organisationally, staff-wise and programme-wise. Indeed, the state party presented the Church hierarchy with the following postulates: a) the organisation of the aforementioned locations – only in Church facilities, not private; b) catechists – only priests and laymen, no monks, as they were regarded as “fanatic” staff, which de facto, meant that they displayed zeal, engagement, and a high degree of environmental impact; c) sanitary state – would be evaluated by secular authorities; d) the obligation of signing an agreement by the provosts with state authorities; c) control – school inspectorate. Bishop Choromański, after visiting Tadeusz Żabiński, the director of the Department of Religion (Urząd do spraw Wyznań – UdsW), informed the Primate of the Ministry directive regarding teaching religion in catechesis locations.

Primate Wyszyński, inspired the circles of diocese clergy, monastic and lay individuals, to join the catechesis action. One should add, that the Primate considered the fact, that one shouldn’t endanger secular Catholics with legal sanction for providing the private apartments for the purpose of catechesis locations.

The catechesis subject was a recurrent theme in the writings of the Primate, in various aspects and contexts. In Pro memoria he would note the facts and conclusions from the proceedings of the Plenary Conference of the Episcopate (Konferencja Plenarna Episkopatu – KPE), during which the bishops would discuss the subject of non-school catechesis and the claims of the state authorities. Due to the proceedings, gathering bishops of all dioceses, the Primate had an insight into the general situation present in the country, and in particular dioceses. A Catechesis Commission was formed within the Episcopate structures. Due to the abolition of religious schools by the state, the School Commission of KEP had no reason to exist. Its members – as noted by the Primate – have filed a notion for the reorganisation of the direction of the proceedings and for renaming the unit to the Catechesis Commission, which at the time was much more needed.

The Primate was interested in the return of rev. Jan Charytański from specialist catechesis studies, conducted in Belgium. In the future, reverend Charytański will become...
a leading catechist\textsuperscript{43}. The Primate strived for the proper preparation of the clergy for teaching religion. In dioceses, catechesis courses were organised, in which the clergy participated in large numbers. During the courses, discussions were conducted about – in the words of the Primate – the Ministerial “ukase” regarding the catechesis locations. Priests were familiarised with the strategy of state authorities, and with the reaction of the bishops. Lectures were given, regarding methodological issues, and working with children and youth. The Primate advised to tighten the bonds with the families in parishes, to organise special services directed at the youth, and to expand the priestly care over children\textsuperscript{44}. The issue of catechesis was also raised during the conference of deans\textsuperscript{45}.

Female religious orders did not withdraw from non-school catechesis. The Primate was interested in the forms of catechesis education, founded by the Ursulines of the Roman Union. Due to the effort of training centres, the sisters, depending on the level of education, could begin studies. These were, the Higher Catechesis Institute\textsuperscript{46} and the Diocesan Catechesis Institute\textsuperscript{47}. The centres were created in Kraków, and so they were directly subordinate to the Church jurisdiction of Archbishop Eugeniusz Baziak\textsuperscript{48}.

In his personal writings, Primate Wyszyński noted that he raised the subject of catechesis and Catholic education during the ceremonial pontifical sum on 26 August 1961 at Jasna Góra: “I am holding a sermon regarding »The Family is strong in God«. I am raising the issue of the attack of the M[inistry] of E[ducation]” against the freedom of teaching in Churches. [...] The square is filling up with a crowd of the people”. The Primate tried to sensitise the faithful regarding the issue. He also overwatched the issuing of an appropriate letter to the government authorities, expressing the protest of the Episcopate against the decisions made\textsuperscript{49}.

The Primate continuously encouraged parents to take care of the catechesis of their children. The subject would return during homilies, meetings with parents, particularly during canonical inspections in parishes\textsuperscript{50}. In his personal writings, the Primate highlighted the great commitment, even the youngest, that attended the early classes of elemen-

\textsuperscript{43} AAG, S. Wyszyński, \textit{Pro memoria}, 10 VIII 1961.
\textsuperscript{44} AAG, S. Wyszyński, \textit{Pro memoria}, 28 VIII 1961.
\textsuperscript{45} AAG, S. Wyszyński, \textit{Pro memoria}, 9 XI 1961.
\textsuperscript{46} The Higher Catechesis Institute (Wyższy Instytut Katechetyczny – WIK), later referred to as the Intermonastic Higher Catechesis Institute (Międzyzakonny Wyższy Instytut Katechetyczny – MWIK) — commissioned by Cardinal Adam Sapieha in 1951, as a centre for the training of catechesis and formation, for female religious orders, who received the certificate of secondary education. WIK was created at the request of sister Emanuela Mrozowska OSU in Kraków.
\textsuperscript{47} The Diocesan Catechesis Institute (Diecezjalny Instytut Katechetyczny – DIK) — commissioned by Cardinal Adam Sapieha in 1950 in Kraków, at the request of sister Emanuela Mrozowska, OSU, at the monastery of the Ursulines of the Roman Union, as a centre of catechesis training for young sisters, and candidates that apply to cloisters. DIK had an intermonastic boarding house.
\textsuperscript{48} AAG, S. Wyszyński, \textit{Pro memoria}, 11 IX 1961.
\textsuperscript{49} AAG, S. Wyszyński, \textit{Pro memoria}, 26 VIII 1961.
\textsuperscript{50} AAG, S. Wyszyński, \textit{Pro memoria}, 18 V 1961.
tary schools. They had to take great effort, to participate in the catechesis organised outside the school. For example, the children preparing for the holy communion, from one of the villages, had to travel c. 5 kilometres from home to the church. However, he noted, that despite the obstacles and difficulties, the students would frequent the religion lessons en masse, and that the Church events were accompanied by a “crowd” and an “incredible” one at that, even in cases, when the local secular authorities organised numerous appealing events, just to “draw” the youth away from the Church and from religious events. He stated: *The old practice of drawing away the youth for the time of the bishop’s arrival, is back*.52

The Primate – to the best of his capability – supported the local ministry for children and youth, expressing interest in it. The example may be the parish catechesis contests. The Primate noted, that the catechesis attendants, participated in them eagerly, and the competition was treated seriously and with excitement. The patronage of the Primate, probably raised the rank of such contests.53

Due to the defeat of the Church, in the battle for the presence of catechesis in school, Primate Wyszyński did not hide away his disappointment with the attitude of the secular Catholics, associated with the “Sign” (“Znak”) parliamentary club.54 He hoped for their increased involvement in the defence of the Church cause. In his opinion, the representatives were relatively passive, even defensive. The Primate wrote:

*The great debate regarding the validity of the minimal postulates*, presented by dr. St[omnia]55. Dr St[omnia] wishes to defend the Church in the last remaining trench, on the basis of principles, from which one cannot depart. Everything else, he gives away without a fight. I consider this method to be strategically and psychologically flawed. One must defend the Church in the front trench, on the ground of the just postulates of the Church and the faithful. Only, when one cannot defend the front line, one may withdraw to the second, however, always highlighting the rights of the Church to the position, from which the Church was driven away with such force. I oppose this minimalism, that may be considered as a weakness or a departure from the truth, by the opponent. D[octo]r St[omnia] cannot be persuadedd, as his programme arises from his psyche

– the Primate deplored.57

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51 AAG, S. Wyszyński, *Pro memoria*, 18 V 1961.
52 AAG, S. Wyszyński, *Pro memoria*, 21 V 1961.
53 AAG, S. Wyszyński, *Pro memoria*, 30 V 1961.
54 The “Sign” (“Znak”) parliamentary club – a circle of Catholic activists associated with “Tygodnik Powszechny” and “Znak” as well as KUL; they ran for the PRL Sejm elections as a separate group.
55 A reference to the theory of Stanisław Stomma, announced in an article titled “*The maximum and minimum social tendencies of Catholics*” (“Maksymalne i minimalne tendencje społeczne katolików”), released in “Znak” in 1946.
56 Stanisław Stomma (1908–2005), lawyer, politician, Catholic activist. A representative for the PRL Sejm from “Znak” in 1957–1976. A Senator in 1989–1991.
57 AAG, S. Wyszyński, *Pro memoria*, 8 IX 1961.
Seminaries

The Primate dedicated much attention to the issue of seminaries\(^{58}\). The actual intentions of the PRL authorities, in reference to the formation of the future clergymen, were denounced by the UdsW department in 1961, which indicated that the state aims at assuming complete control over the seminary attendees, in order to shape them “in the spirit of respecting the people’s authorities” and “socialist beliefs”. After being subjected to indoctrination, the alumni, after receiving ordination, were supposed to fill the ranks of the so called progressive clergy, and work for the legitimisation of the system in local societies. The first seminaries were covered with inspections at the beginning of 1960. The representatives of Church authorities, issued a protest letter on this matter to the government on 17 November 1960\(^{59}\). The Episcopate issued instructions to rectors of seminaries, so that they wouldn’t agree for inspection of philosophical and theological subjects\(^{60}\). UdsW responded to the Episcopate’s complaints on 23 January 1961. The bishops’ claims, regarding the Church jurisdiction over seminaries, were refuted as illegitimate\(^{61}\).

Primate Wyszyński’s *Pro memoria* turns one’s attention to the fact, that the Polish Episcopate often raised the subject of the spiritual seminaries during meetings with state authorities, with the debates being conducted from the initiatives of both sides interchangeably. At the end of January 1961, after visiting Minister Jerzy Sztachelski, bishop Choromański shared his observations with the Primate, regarding the reactions of the Minister who complained that the Episcopate was resistant to the state inspections. Additionally, Minister Sztachelski complained that the Primate would personally involve himself in the object of argument. Bishop Choromański told the Primate, that he made a statement to the Minister, that the Episcopate does not agree for the state to assume control over the seminaries\(^{62}\). He referred to the Polish Primate’s position\(^{63}\). Despite the fact, that the Church considered the inspections of the Ministerial officials as assuming “drastic forms”, Minister Sztachelski claimed, that there was no reason for concern. The inspections were supposedly conducted peacefully and calmly. The Episcopate was supposedly responsible for confrontation and the negative reactions to state control: *It’s just the bishops that are nervous, and the*

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\(^{58}\) AAG, S. Wyszyński, *Pro memoria*, 3 II 1961; 11 II 1961; 13–14 XI 1961 et al.

\(^{59}\) The first government actions attempting to assume control over the seminaries, were brought about by the turn of the 1950s and the 1960s. The entities that were appointed as competent to supervise seminaries were the Ministry of Education and UdsW. The Episcopate outright protested against the decision. KRAWCZYK, M., „Urząd do spraw Wyznań a funkcjonowanie seminarii duchownych i służba wojskowa kleryków – studium historyczno-prawne”, *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Przyrodniczo-Humanistycznego w Siedlcach. Seria: Administracja i Zarządzanie* 2016, no. 108, pp. 32–35.

\(^{60}\) AAN, UdsW, 148/3, Episkopat a sprawa nadzoru nad seminariami, „Urząd do Spraw Wyznań. Informacje i materiały” (for official use only), January 1961, k. 18; AAG, S. Wyszyński, *Pro memoria*, 24 I 1961.

\(^{61}\) It is about administrative and pedagogical supervision. Decisions on management, staffing, the curriculum and education in the seminaries were the responsibility of the church authorities.

\(^{62}\) The issue regarded the administrative and pedagogical control. Decisions regarding the management, the staff, and the curriculum in seminaries belonged to the Church authorities.

\(^{63}\) AAG, S. Wyszyński, *Pro memoria*, 24 I 1961.
Primate is just putting his authority at risk with no reason.\textsuperscript{64} The Primate noted, that rev. Józef Pacyna\textsuperscript{65}, the rector of the Archbishop Spiritual Seminary in Gniezno, who refused to accept the inspection of the seminary library, had in result, a number of issues with the authorities. However, he was eventually “acquitted” by the prosecutor, as his behaviour was evaluated within the categories of “mild social hazard”\textsuperscript{66}.

Minister Sztachelski demanded the agreement of the bishops for the inspection of theological subjects. He thought, that creating a distinction between subjects, that were to be subject to control, was a symptom of the lack of trust of the Church regarding the competence of the Ministry inspectors. Bishop Choromański reported his reply to the accusations to the Primate, where he stated, that the inspectors practically disqualified themselves, as they began [to inspect the seminaries] with the kitchen and sanitary measures. In February, Minister Sztachelski, complained about the Higher Metropolitan Seminary in Warsaw, where he could not perform an inspection. He explained that the UdsW seemingly defended the seminary from the consequences demanded by the Education Office of Warsaw. Therefore, he regretted that the seminary officials would not appreciate the gesture, and additionally, the Primate involved himself personally in the matter. The Primate commented: \textit{Mr Sz[tachelski], does not know that a bishop without a seminary is as an eye without a pupil.}\textsuperscript{67}

State inspections were continued\textsuperscript{68}. In 1961, in 103 seminaries 77 were inspected, including 19 higher diocesan seminaries, 29 monastic, and 20 minor seminaries. During the 1961/1962 school year, the majority of seminary authorities would submit to the directives of state authorities, and the inspections would take place without any disruptions. However, objections were made against the inspections of theological subjects\textsuperscript{69}. The Primate monitored the situation in the entire country and issued appropriate prescriptions. During the KPE proceedings, it was reported, that the state authorities would still attempt to interfere with the work of the seminaries. Attempts were made to enter the lectures against the rector’s will, as in Opole, in Lublin\textsuperscript{70}.

In case of the rector’s objection against the external control, the party and state authorities would use retaliatory means, as drafting the alumni, disorganising the work of the seminaries. In May 1961 UdsW issued a memo addressing the Voivodeship religious administration in order to optimise the primary draft of 1961\textsuperscript{71}. As the Primate noted, semi-

\textsuperscript{64} AAG, S. Wyszyński, \textit{Pro memoria}, 3 II 1961.

\textsuperscript{65} Józef Pacyna (1906–1985), priest, doctor of theology, PWSD rector in Gniezno in 1947–1963.

\textsuperscript{66} AAG, S. Wyszyński, \textit{Pro memoria}, 4 I 1961.

\textsuperscript{67} AAG, S. Wyszyński, \textit{Pro memoria}, 11 II 1961.

\textsuperscript{68} AAN, UdsW, 148/3, Wizytacje seminariów duchownych, „Urząd do Spraw Wyznań. Informacje i materiały” (for official use only), February 1961, k. 49.

\textsuperscript{69} KRAWCZYK, M., \textit{Urząd do spraw Wyznań...}, pp. 32–35.

\textsuperscript{70} AAG, S. Wyszyński, \textit{Pro memoria}, 16 III 1961.

\textsuperscript{71} KRAWCZYK, M., op. cit., p. 44.
naries that displayed higher degree of cooperation with the claims of the secular authorities, did not avoid various repressions. He summarised: *inspections are treated in various ways; in places, where the inspections were partially accepted, the drafts were also introduced, a thing that was not always done in places, where the inspections were not allowed. We must tighten the defence of the seminaries*.

The Primate advised the clerics, that were drafted by the authorities, to make use of their time in military units, as a period of priestly service. He wrote: *in my speech, I said that in the army, there too are souls, that were redeemed by the blood of Christ. Kielce clerics leave the army, well trained in the apostolic work*.

Simultaneously, he intervened in MON and UdsW for the dismissal of the clerics. Generally speaking, the interventions and petitions of the Episcopate met with a negative response. However, they did not pass unnoticed, and at times, they yielded partial results. For example, bishop Lucjan Bernacki, who met with Edward Kędzierski the director of the Department of Religion in Poznań, told the Primate, that he met with the regret of Kędzierski, that the Primate did not take the trouble to visit him personally. On the other hand, the director appreciated the fact, that the Primate issued an official petition. He considered this attitude as „respectful” for the state authority. Therefore, „the government” decided to dismiss the alumni of the V and VI course, from the army. The rest were to remain in the units.

Additionally, the Church struggled against the activity of shutting down the minor seminaries, initiated by the Political Office of KC PZPR in 1960. The head of the seminary in Warsaw Prague, Adam Hofman, reported the sealing of the seminary building to the Primate. The decrees on securing the building were issued on 4 August, and the directive on shutting down the school, on 8 August, with 14 days for appeal. The shutdown was not stopped by the protest of the Episcopate, expressed in the letter to the Council of Ministers Office from 17 August 1961. The shutdown was preceded by secular inspections, that were supposed to demonstrate the low quality of education and the inappropriate educa-

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72 AAG, S. Wyszyński, *Pro memoria*, 15 XI 1961.
73 AAG, S. Wyszyński, *Pro memoria*, 25 III 1961.
74 AAG, S. Wyszyński, *Pro memoria*, 1 X 1961.
75 AAG, S. Wyszyński, *Pro memoria*, 29 IX 1961; 30 IX 1961; 28 X 1961.
76 Lucjan Bernacki (1902–1975), auxiliary bishop of Gniezno 1946–1975, vicar general and vicar capitular of the Gniezno Archdiocese since 1948.
77 AAG, S. Wyszyński, *Pro memoria*, 28 X 1961.
78 AAG, S. Wyszyński, 10 VIII 1961, 12 VIII 1961, 22 VIII 1961.
79 Adam Hofman (1911–1964), priest, doctor of philosophy, the director of the Minor Seminary in Warsaw.
80 AAG, S. Wyszyński, *Pro memoria*, 10 VIII 1961.
81 AAG, S. Wyszyński, *Pro memoria*, 11 VIII 1961.
82 KRAWCZYK, M., op. cit., p. 41.
tional direction of the institutions. The primate noted, that the educational authority would send an invitation to the students’ parents, filled with concern about the boys’ future, offering them help in placing them in different schools, and stipend support. Smart work, just to draw the people away from the path of priestly calling – the Primate commented.

Educational-upbringing institutions and confessional education

The anti-monastic religious policy of the communist authorities aimed at the complete elimination of monastic persons from education. The monastic sisters were to be deprived of the influence on the education of children and youth, therefore, they were transferred to work in special institutions and nursing homes. These establishments were often underfunded, and they required staff. The sisters were to be requalified to manage institutions for children with disabilities. The Primate noted the visit at such an institution, managed by the Dominican sisters in Mielżyn:

The children are specially selected, the most severe cases, mostly as a result of the alcoholic background of the parents. Here one can find the children of i.a. today’s dignitaries. The institution is prepared in an exemplary, aesthetically appealing way; lots of greenery, flowers, the rooms are cheerful, there are lots of toys. But the sight of the children is painful. They are all victims, cursed to live their entire life in a golden cage. The impression is horrible; it is difficult to speak of compassion, when the lips shut themselves. I leave the place almost ill.

The Primate was addressed by the mother superiors of congregations, in order to ask about the course of action, in cases, when the state authorities instructed them to reorganise their former activity, e.g. in orphanages, i.e. transform the existing establishments into institutions for children with disabilities, in order to protect the monastic property from nationalisation. The Primate advised: I think that the process should not be accelerated. There is still something good that can be done for ordinary people.

During KPE – as noted by the Primate – the situation of the remaining Catholic schools was discussed, as they were gradually directed to shutdowns, despite the agreement between the state and the Church. The bishops reported on the situation which occurred...

83 The State Archive in Warsaw, The Board of the Voivodeship National Council of the Department of Religion, 14, F. Nitka, T. Żabiński, Report from the inspection of the Order of Franciscans Minor Seminary in Niepokalanów, conducted on 7 February 1961, Warszawa, 14 III 1961, k. 15.
84 AAG, S. Wyszyński, Pro memoria, 22 VIII 1961.
85 The issue concerned primarily the institution managed by the Dominican sisters. Until 1952 the sisters managed an orphanage. The state authorities deprived them of their fosterlings in 1952. The orphans were replaced with c. 100 children of special care.
86 The decision of state authorities.
87 AAG, S. Wyszyński, Pro memoria, 5 I 1961.
88 AAG, S. Wyszyński, Pro memoria, 13 IX 1961.
in the dioceses that they supervised. For example, bishop Zdzisław Goliński⁸⁹ presented the facts regarding the nationalisation of the school of the Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth in Częstochowa⁹⁰. The primate advised to react to illegal acts. In this particular situation, bishop Choromański was to issue a petition to the government and turn its attention to the violation of the agreement between the government and the Episcopate⁹¹.

The Primate wrote down a quick account of the meetings with the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, from Szymanów, who spoke of the difficulties in managing the school: *The inspectors, who were hostile towards the school, refused the rights*⁹². The Catholic representative, Jerzy Zawieyski did not care about intervening⁹³. The Primate advised the sisters to “mobilise” the students’ parents⁹⁴.

The Primate recollected the facts of the nationalisation of the monastic and parochial preschools. He noted visits of mother superiors of congregations who informed about the shutdown of preschools managed by the sisters⁹⁵. He also noted his stay at the Daughters of Charity, whose main building was partially taken by a state preschool. At the opportunity, Primate Wyszyński visited the children in still operational religious preschools⁹⁶.

During the KPE at Jasna Góra, the sisters of the President of USA, were requesting to visit the Primate⁹⁷. He considered the meeting to be publicity-oriented, and he attempted to avoid it. Primate Wyszyński noted: *Moreover, at the time, cordons of state police surrounded the house of the Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth, shutting down the pre-

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⁸⁹ Zdzisław Goliński (1908–1963), bishop of Częstochowa 1951–1963, postdoc in theology.

⁹⁰ On 30 VIII 1961, by the decision of the Minister of Education, without any legal grounds, the state took over the secondary school of the Sisters of Nazareth in Częstochowa, without any compensation, i.e. an object comprising of 27 rooms with equipment, a yard, and a garden. At the opportunity of the nationalisation of the school, the monastic preschool that operated there was shut down. 26 Sisters of Nazareth were deprived of employment and means to live.

⁹¹ AAG, S. Wyszyński, *Pro memoria*, 1 IX 1961.

⁹² The School of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Szymanów – established as an educational-upbringing institution in 1907. Officially opened as a boarding high-school in 1908. During World War II it was a place of underground education, and a shelter for civilians, including Jews. After the war it was continuously threatened. The sisters, harassed by difficult inspections, taught in partial secrecy. They employed a double lesson curriculum. The official one was for the state inspectors. The internal one was conducted on a daily basis. Despite repressions, the school survived.

⁹³ Jerzy Zawieyski (1902–1969), Catholic activist, since 1957, president of the Warsaw KIK, politician, member of the State Council in 1957–1968, a “Znak” representative in 1957–1969, vice-president of ZLP in 1947–1969, editor of the “Tygodnik Powszechny” journal in 1946-1953, and since 1956.

⁹⁴ AAG, S. Wyszyński, *Pro memoria*, 1 III 1961.

⁹⁵ AAG, S. Wyszyński, *Pro memoria*, 13 IX 1961.

⁹⁶ AAG, S. Wyszyński, *Pro memoria*, 21 V 1961.

⁹⁷ At the beginning of September 1961, the sisters of the President of the USA, John Kennedy: Eunice Kennedy Shriver and Jean Kennedy Smith, came to Poland for a couple of days. Their visit included: Zakopane, Kraków, Częstochowa and Warsaw.
school and the school. In this situation, the Sisters of Nazareth are more important than the sisters of President Kennedy\(^{98}\).

The primate turned attention to the social reactions accompanying the nationalisation of religious institutions: *In Kutno, the state authorities took the ‘Caritas’ preschool by force\(^{99}\), also attempting to take the Catholic house. The mothers stood in defence of the preschool. A huge riot broke out. The result – initiation of administrative proceedings against the priests of Kutno*. He mentioned the sisters being evicted from their own homes, by the representatives of the state authorities\(^{100}\).

The Primate intended to retain confessional schools. He was interested in their development, the possibilities of increasing qualifications by the employed personnel. He noted the efforts of the Franciscan Sisters Servants of the Cross, who took care of the blind in an institution in Laski\(^{101}\).

**Higher education**

The religious higher education was an entirely different issue. Among the most important subjects appearing in *Pro memoria* by Primate Wyszyński, one should mention: the Catholic University of Lublin (Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski – KUL), the Academy of Catholic Theology in Warsaw, and academic ministry, particularly the pilgrimage of students on Jasna Góra.

Despite the repressions: excessive taxation, fines, shutting down departments, and blocking promotions, KUL developed as if against the state authorities\(^{102}\). The news on the activity and the situation of the University were reported to the bishops by the Lublin ordinary, bishop Piotr Kałwa\(^{103}\) during KPE\(^{104}\). Additionally, Primate Wyszyński noted the meetings with rev. Marian Rechowicz\(^{105}\), the rector of KUL. The subjects raised in the conversations were mostly related to how the state authorities reacted to the University and their results, particularly, economic sanctions and staff issues. In terms of economic claims, the Primate advised utmost care. The priority of the KUL activities, both the

\(^{98}\) AAG, S. Wyszyński, *Pro memoria*, 4 IX 1961.

\(^{99}\) The preschool in Kutno at Kościuszki 1 street, was managed by the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary.

\(^{100}\) AAG, S. Wyszyński, *Pro memoria*, 16 IX 1961.

\(^{101}\) AAG, S. Wyszyński, *Pro memoria*, 8 V 1961.

\(^{102}\) AAG, S. Wyszyński, *Pro memoria*, 27 I 1961; 26 V 1961; 30 V 1961; 9 VIII 1961.

\(^{103}\) Piotr Kałwa (1893–1974), bishop of Lublin since 1949 r. Member of the Main Board of KEP.

\(^{104}\) AAG, S. Wyszyński, *Pro memoria*, 12 I 1961.

\(^{105}\) Marian Rechowicz (1910–1983), priest, historian of the Church, senior professor of theology, rector of KUL in 1956–1965. In 1967–1973, the head of the Institute of the History of the Church. Since 1974, bishop. Since 1979, the director of the Scientific Board of KEP.
actual, and those presented outside its walls, were the matters of higher values – intellectual and formation-oriented. Executing the University’s rights could not focus on material issues – the Primate highlighted. However, that does not mean, that he withdrew from the fight for the material basics of the further existence of the Catholic University. He simply intended to maintain the proper hierarchy of things.\footnote{AAG, S. Wyszyński, Pro memoria, 9 VIII 1961.}

He instructed rector Rechowicz to refuse paying income taxes, explaining that KUL was not a “profitable enterprise”. He added that the University must be protected from the 65% taxation on academic cafeterias. The Primate highlighted: KUL cares not only for the scientific issues, but also – the existential ones of the professors and the youth, being a historical accomplishment of Universities in general.\footnote{AAG, S. Wyszyński, Pro memoria, 29 XI 1961.} Primate Wyszyński was informed of searches performed by the secular authorities’ representatives within the KUL hall of residence.\footnote{AAG, S. Wyszyński, Pro memoria, 9 VIII 1961.} In terms of staff, he regretted: The people working at KUL are being devastated. Still he did not stop against the difficulties. The Primate raised subjects related to the development of the scientific theological reflection, particularly within the context of the preparations for Vaticanum II, i.a. ecumenism and ecclesiology, within the context of inter-religious dialogue.\footnote{AAG, S. Wyszyński, Pro memoria, 27 I 1961.}

The Primate noted the remarks by rector Rechowicz, regarding the increasing hostility of UMCS towards KUL.\footnote{AAG, S. Wyszyński, Pro memoria, 10 X 1961.} At the opportunity of discussing the issues of KUL and UMCS,\footnote{Regarding the KUL and UMCS situation, see: GAŁASZEWSKA-CHILCZUK, D., „Wrogie” uniwersytety. Polityka państwa komunistycznego wobec Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego i Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej (1944–1969), Warszawa 2013.} it is worth mentioning, that in his personal writings, remains an interesting outline of the personal portrait of the special pedagogue Zofia Sękowski.\footnote{AAG, S. Wyszyński, Pro memoria, 10 X 1961.} After receiving a PhD at the University of Warsaw (UW) she paid the Primate a visit. Privately, Sękowska was the wife of Modest, a blind director of the cooperative for the blind in Lublin, as well as, a mother of four sons. The Primate recalled:

\begin{quote}
A true mulier fortis\footnote{Lat. a strong, tough woman.} in a petite body. This woman deserves a few words. First she belonged to the „Ósemki“. During her studies at KUL, she aided a blind student, Modest Sękowski, who
\end{quote}
was taught in Laski, and whom I taught in a vocational school. Sękowski gained his secondary school diploma aided by Zofia, who was his instructor, during Modest’s studies at KUL. Thanks to her, Sękowski graduated KUL. Out of compassion for the blind man, Zofia accepted his proposal. Knowing her aesthetic style, I was against it. I feared resentments of the young girl, who, in the face of reality with living with a blind man, could only grow stronger. My fears were correct. However, Zofia dealt with it bravely, due to her profound faith and supernatural sensitivity. It is still not easy today, but the power of God prevails. After graduating KUL, Zofia became to work as a scientific staff member, in the special pedagogy department. Currently, she has four sons, five to be exact, including her blind husband. Against all odds, she received a PhD under the supervision of prof. Grzegorzewska from the University of Warsaw. Now she has doubts, what to do next, whether to continue her academic career, get a postdoc, or dedicate herself to raising children. There is no support here at KUL. She got an offer from UMCS, to do a postdoc there. However, knowing her delicate psyche, I advise her to remain at KUL, and attempt to overcome the unfavourable atmosphere.

Moreover, Pro memoria from 1961 show the attempts, and efforts of the Primate, to give ATK a truly Catholic face. Among the academic and non-academic staff of the Academy, there were, the so-called progressive priests, associated with PAX and not subordinate to Church hierarchy. The Primate worried, that rev. Stanisław Huet would hold lectures at ATK, and that the director of its library was still rev. Czesław Borawski. The Primate strongly opposed their employment. He stated: As ATK did not yet meet the conditions, I too will delay my actions for ATK. The cases of the so-called patriot priests, returned in the conversations between Primate Wyszyński and the ATK rector. During the conversations, Primate Wyszyński indicated, that the nominations of the aforementioned priests were not canonical, and in reality, it was a decision of the UdsW director, against the bishop’s will.

The traces left in the notes show, that despite difficult relations, Primate Wyszyński attempted to build and maintain a bond with ATK, a university that operated under strong supervision of state authorities. The primate noted the visit in the ATK theological hall of

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115 Maria Grzegorzewska (1888–1967), pedagogue, founder of the Polish special pedagogy. The director of the State Institute for Special Pedagogy (currently the Maria Grzegorzewska University).
116 AAG, S. Wyszyński, Pro memoria, 4 IV 1961.
117 AAG, S. Wyszyński, Pro memoria, 3 III 1961.
118 PAX Association – an organisation of secular Catholics, that operated in 1952–1993. Founded by the circles directed by Bolesław Piasecki. Conducted activities loyal towards the communist authorities. Attempted to include the Catholics in the propaganda, and the creation of the socialist state in Poland.
119 Stanisław Huet (1904–1961), a priest in the Lviv diocese, theologian. A lecturer and an associate dean of the UW Catholic Theology Faculty since 1949. UW associate professor since 1953. ATK lecturer since 1954. Associated with PAX. In 1953–1956 enforced upon the Church by communist authorities as a vicar general of the Kraków Archdiocese.
120 Czesław Borawski, priest, director of the ATK library in 1956–1961. Associated with the circles of the so-called patriot priests.
121 AAG, S. Wyszyński, Pro memoria, 3 III 1961.
122 AAG, S. Wyszyński, Pro memoria, 9 VI 1961.
residence, and the meetings with the professors. He delivered a speech to the academic community, listened to the speech of rector Wincenty Kwiatkowski¹²³ and other speakers, as well as, the head of the students. The Primate raised the issues regarding the relations between faith and intellect (fides quaerens intellectum)¹²⁴. After the theoretical, scientific part of the event, the Primate went – as he mentioned – to meet all the professors. He summarised his visit as follows: I strive to increase the Church level of the professors, to improve the selection of audience, and so, to create better conditions for making ATK canonical, in the future, when the conditions allow it¹²⁵.

**Academic ministry**

The academic ministry is a different issue. Priests involved in working with students would address Primate Wyszyński – as he himself noted. They were debating the difficulties in the area of ministry¹²⁶. Among them, the Primate listed i.a. Józef Gniewniak by name¹²⁷.

The state authorities expressed their concern with the systematic meetings of youth within ministry, as well as, with the influence of the priests on students, the mass religious events organised by priests, particularly the pilgrimage movement. Bishop Choromański told the Primate about the conversation he had with the Minister Jerzy Sztachelski of UdsW. The Minister, in a “gentle tone”, was supposed to warn, that the academic pilgrimage would be too much of a risk because it could transform into an “anticommunist” and an “anti-Jewish” event¹²⁸.

Primate Wyszyński strongly supported the organisation of academic pilgrimage. However, he consulted this matter with a wide circle of concerned clergymen – bishops and academic priests. For example, the Jesuit priests, Tomasz Rostworowski¹²⁹ and Józef Majkowski¹³⁰, out of fear from repressions, proposed to resign from the pilgrimage.

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¹²³ Wincenty Kwiatkowski (1892–1972), priest, senior professor of theology, rector of ATK in 1956–1965. Associated with the movement of the so-called patriot priests. The creator of the Warsaw apologetic school.

¹²⁴ Lat. Faith seeking understanding.

¹²⁵ AAG, S. Wyszyński, *Pro memoria*, 5 XII 1961.

¹²⁶ AAG, S. Wyszyński, *Pro memoria*, 17 I 1961.

¹²⁷ Józef Gniewniak (1922–2000), academic priest in the St. Jacob parish in Warsaw, catechist in secondary schools in 1957–1973.

¹²⁸ AAG, S. Wyszyński, *Pro memoria*, 8 V 1961.

¹²⁹ Tomasz Rostworowski SJ (1904–1974), priest, doctor of theology, musicologist, revered retreat preacher. The priest of academic circles and Catholic intellectuals in Łódź and Lublin in 1957–1963. In 1967–1974, the director of the Polish section of the Vatican Radio.

¹³⁰ Józef Majkowski SJ (1915–1987), academic priest at the St. Andrzej Bobola Church in Warsaw. Since 1980, the member of the Church editorial board of the Mass transmissions by the Polish Radio.
However, rev. Mieczysław Jabłonka\textsuperscript{131} and rev. Tadeusz Kozłowski\textsuperscript{132}, stood in support of it. Eventually, the Primate decided that the pilgrimage will happen, even if a few academics arrived, just like during the time of German occupation\textsuperscript{133}. However, he noted that he wasn’t without fear, when attending the pilgrimage. Before the leave, information would reach him regarding the behaviour of the state authorities’ representatives towards students who would participate in the pilgrimage. The Primate considered the taken actions as acts of terror. Rectors were obligated to expel the pilgrimage participants, the press propaganda, which the Primate called “communist” was intensified, the control was intensified as well. The Primate assessed, that the psychosis, fear, and intimidation were increasingly discernible\textsuperscript{134}.

The final victory was achieved by the educational influences and the authority of the Church. The words of Primate Wyszyński give testament to the prevailing atmosphere:

\textit{I hold a mass at the St. Mary chapel. There is already plenty of youth. They stand quietly and pray. There are fears that, they will not come through. [...] The youth fills entire nave completely, right until the tower, as well as, the right aisle. There is more of them than we expected. When I was approaching the pulpit, I was passing through a tight crowd. One of the priests tells me that there are plenty of intelligence officers on the walls. He asks if we couldn’t denounce them. I reply: better not to pay attention to them – let us do our duty. The view from the pulpit is remarkable: head to head, it is tight, crowded and stuffy. I speak [...]. Three quarters pass; the audience stands in silence. The renewal of vows begins. All the youth have typescripts of vows. [...] The vows make a powerful impression. We sing the Jasna Góra Appeal. Next, ‘We Want God’ [My Chcemy Boga – ed.] and the youth is slowly leaving. The Pauline F[athers] prepared a ‘pottage’ for them, in two cafeterias, and at the cloister garth. Youth singing can be heard from there. We are all amazed, where did they all come from? They were identified in trains, at the exit, in the streets. Terror – to the highest degree\textsuperscript{135}.}

To summarise, in the 1961 \textit{Pro memoria} of Primate Wyszyński, the issue of the educational policy of the state was exposed, in the context of the 15 July 1916 Act on the Development of the System of Education. The attention of the author of the personal writings was turned particularly towards the issue of teaching religion, seminaries, secondary religious education, and higher education. The Secularity of teaching and upbringing, decreed with the Act, was not a sign of world-view neutrality, but of a war against religion, inspired by ideological premises. Despite the fact that the fight, started by the party and government authorities, was a success in the public and legal spheres, meaning that the religion and religious matters were expelled beyond school walls, the significant part of

\textsuperscript{131} Mieczysław Jabłonka (1914–1986), priest, head of the Archdiocese Commission for Academic Ministry, a member of the council of the department for ministry and the commission of special ministry.

\textsuperscript{132} Tadeusz Kozłowski (1923–2000), priest in the St. Anna Academic Church in Warsaw. A member of the Archdiocese Commission for Academic Ministry. An inspector of religion teaching.

\textsuperscript{133} AAG, S. Wyszyński, \textit{Pro memoria}, 24 V 1961.

\textsuperscript{134} AAG, S. Wyszyński, \textit{Pro memoria}, 27 V 1961.

\textsuperscript{135} AAG, S. Wyszyński, \textit{Pro memoria}, 29 V 1961.
society, including youth, would manifest, to the best of their possibility, their bond with the Church and their attachment to religious values.

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