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DOI: 10.17460/PHO\_2018.3\_4.05

## GERMAN EDUCATION IN ŁÓDŹ BEFORE 1914 – THE ORGANIZATION, STRUCTURE, AND THE DIRECTIONS OF DEVELOPMENT<sup>1</sup>

Representatives of many nations arriving and settling down in Łódź – which in 1820 upon the decree of the authorities of the Kingdom of Poland was designated for the textile settlement<sup>2</sup> – created their own living space. Within this space, different cultures, languages, customs and rituals met. An important factor supporting the group bond and ethnic awareness was also religious life, focusing on its own religious community, the church and the parish.

Among newcomers – linen and cotton weavers, settling in Łódź from 1823 until the 1950's – there was a high predominance of people from German countries: Saxony, Prussia and Silesia, and from Wielkopolska and the region of the Noteć river, which were at that time part of the Prussian partition, as well as from the Czech lands and Moravia<sup>3</sup>. Those arriving from Germany belonged to

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<sup>1</sup> The aim of this article is to synthesize the issue discussed herein, organize knowledge about the German education in Łódź until the outbreak of World War I, and to present wide historiography on that matter.

<sup>2</sup> Józef Zająček, governor of the Polish Kingdom, issued a decision regarding the plan for industrialization of the Polish land, and Rajmund Rembieliński, president of the Commission of the Mazowieckie Voivodeship, after visiting the city, requested the Governmental Commission of Internal Affairs and Police to allow a factory settlement in Łódź. At that time, it became an important issue to recruit professional textile workers who were encouraged to settle down in Łódź and offered incentives and privileges, reliefs and financial aid. More information, see: G. Missalowa, *Studia nad powstaniem łódzkiego okręgu przemysłowego 1815–1870, t. 1, Przemysł* [Studies on the establishment of the industrial district in Łódź 1815–1870, Vol. 1, Industry], Łódź, Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 1964, p. 88–95.

<sup>3</sup> K. Woźniak, *Wstęp* [Introduction], in: *Gdzie są Niemcy z tamtych lat? – wspomnienia łódzkich Niemców* [Where are the Germans from those years? – the memories of Germans from Łódź], Łódź, Wydawnictwo Literatura 1999, p. 9; *Niemieccy osadnicy w Królestwie Polskim 1815–1915* [German settlers in the Kingdom of Poland 1815–1915], ed. W. Caban, Kielce, WSP, 1999, p. 31; T. Stegner, *Polacy-ewangelicy w Królestwie Polskim 1815–1914. Kształtowanie się środowisk, ich działalność społeczna i narodowa* [Poles-Protestants in the Kingdom of Poland 1815–1914. Formation of environments, their social and national activities], Gdańsk,

a large extent to the Evangelical-Augsburg Church, while the Catholics came mainly from the Czech lands or Germany. Thanks to the protective policy run by the Kingdom authorities, they found favorable conditions in Łódź to multiply the capital they had brought in, to build factories, launch textile production or for professional development<sup>4</sup>, while having at the same time influence on the functioning of the city in many areas such as: economic, social, cultural, educational and religious<sup>5</sup>. It should be noted that economic privileges and possibilities to create social and cultural organizations and institutions supporting integration among the group in the city were aimed at tightening the ties between the newcomers and their new place of residence<sup>6</sup>.

Immigration and the accompanying economic development of Łódź, which from a little insignificant town was then promoted to the second largest (after Warsaw) urban center in Poland, implied great changes in the demographic and social structure. From 1820 to 1914, the number of inhabitants increased more

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Wydawnictwo UG, 1992, p. 18. The first settlers who contributed to the development of the city were i.a. K. F. Wendisch, K. Saenger, J. T. Lange, L. Geyer, T. Kopisch. In subsequent years i.a. K. Scheibler (the second stage of the development of cotton industry in Łódź should be related to this person, K. G. Steinert, E. Wicke, L. Meyer, J. Heinzel, K. Wuttke, A. Starke, J. Gampe, J. Richter, E. Kindermann, F. Ende, F. W. Schweikert came to the city. See: W. Puś, K. Badziak, *Gospodarka Łodzi w okresie kapitalistycznym (do 1918 r.)* [*The economy of Łódź in the capitalist period (until 1918)*], in: *Łódź. Dzieje miasta, t. 1: Do 1918 r.* [*Łódź. The history of the city, Vol. 1: Until 1918*], ed. R. Rosin, Warszawa-Łódź, PWN, 1980, p. 221–333; M. Łapa, *Wielokulturowa Łódź – współistnienie i współpraca 1820–1945* [*Multicultural Łódź – coexistence and cooperation 1820–1945*], in: *Serce Łodzi. Historia i współczesność* [*The heart of Łódź. Its history and modern times*], ed. P. Machlański, Łódź, Narodowe Centrum Kultury, 2014, p. 47–48.

<sup>4</sup> It should be noted that for several decades German and Polish historians have had a debate about the role of Germans in the process of transforming Łódź – from the 1870's – into a large textile center (Jewish historians reported their remarks as well, however, on a lesser scale). The dispute on the role of individual nations in the development of the city, and in particular the process of industrialization, resulted, i.a. in exaggerating the numbers of particular nationalities. More: K. Woźniak, *Spory o genezę Łodzi przemysłowej w pracach historycznych autorów polskich, niemieckich i żydowskich* [*Disputes over the origin of industrial Łódź in the historical works of Polish, German and Jewish authors*], in: *Polacy – Niemcy – Żydzi w Łodzi w XIX–XX w. Sąsiedzi dalecy i bliscy* [*Poles – Germany – Jews in Łódź in the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Distant and close neighbours*], ed. P. Samuś, Łódź, Wydawnictwo Ibidem, 1997, p. 9–26; K. P. Woźniak, *Uwagi nad relacjami między społecznością polską a mniejszością niemiecką w Łodzi w latach 1918–1945. Stan i perspektywy badań. Egzemplifikacje* [*Comments on the relations between the Polish community and the German minority in Łódź between 1918–1945. The research status and perspectives. Exemplifications*], „Studia z Historii Społeczno-Gospodarczej XIX i XX wieku” 2003, No. 1, p. 192–212.

<sup>5</sup> S. Pytlaś, *Rola poszczególnych grup narodowościowych w rozwoju gospodarczym miasta* [*The role of individual national groups in the economic development of the city*], in: *Wpływ wielonarodowego dziedzictwa kulturowego na współczesne oblicze miasta* [*The influence of multinational cultural heritage on the contemporary face of the city*], ed. M. Koter, M. Kulesza, W. Puś, S. Pytlaś, Łódź, Wydawnictwo UŁ, 2005, p. 40–76; K. Woźniak, *Miastotwórcza rola łódzkich ewangelików w latach 1820–1939* [*The city-forming role of Evangelists from Łódź between 1820–1939*], in: *Przeszłość przyszłości. Z dziejów luteranizmu w Łodzi i regionie* [*The past for the future. From the history of Lutheranism in Łódź and its region*], ed. B. Milerski, K. Woźniak, Łódź, Wydawnictwo Ewangelickie św. Mateusza, 1998, p. 83–116.

<sup>6</sup> K. P. Woźniak, *Aktywność społeczna (do 1918 r.)* [*Social activity (until 1928)*], in: *Niemcy łódzcy. Die Lodzer Deutschen* [*Łódź Germans. Die Lodzer Deutschen*], ed. A. Machejek, Łódź, Wydawnictwo Hamal, Andrzej Machejek, 2006, p. 35.

than 623 times – from 767 people to 477,862<sup>7</sup>. The city became a national and religious conglomeration with the Polish, German, Jewish, and Russian population, and representatives of other nations such as: Czechs, Austrians, Frenchmen, Russians and Belarussians<sup>8</sup>. Until 1914, the social tissue was co-created by the population of several beliefs: Catholic (Roman Catholics, Mariavites), Protestant (Lutherans, Calvinists, Baptists, the Moravian Church, the Unity of the Brethren, Adventists), Orthodox and non-Christian confessions (Jews and Muslims)<sup>9</sup>. Among the Protestant population in Łódź, Augsburg Evangelicals (Lutherans) had a dominant position<sup>10</sup>. It should be added that the period of special city development in terms of its demography fell in the last years before the outbreak of World War I. In a five-year period between 1908–1913, the population increased by 165,000 residents, including 118,000 of migrant origin. Those people who were coming to the city were mainly Poles, but also Jews escaping from villages and towns seeking employment.

Without doubt, Łódź was the largest concentration of Germans in the Kingdom of Poland, which gave them a privileged position in the city, and – as Alina Barszewska-Krupa and Paweł Samuś believe – resulted from the economic superiority of the large and medium sized industrial bourgeoisie composed

<sup>7</sup> J. Janczak, *Ludność Łodzi przemysłowej 1820–1914 [The population of industrial Łódź 1820–1914]*, Łódź, Wydawnictwo UŁ, 1982, p. 38–40; See also: W. Puś, *Warunki i czynniki rozwoju Łodzi (1820–1939) [The conditions and developing factors of Łódź (1820–1939)]*, in: *Dzieje Żydów w Łodzi 1820–1944. Wybrane problemy [The history of Jews in Łódź 1820–1944. Selected problems]*, ed. W. Puś, S. Liszewski, Łódź, Wydawnictwo UŁ, 1991, p. 16; A. Ginsbert, *Łódź. Studium monograficzne [Łódź. A monographic study]*, Łódź, Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 1962, p. 25.

<sup>8</sup> W. Puś, *Zmiany liczebności i struktury narodowościowej ludności Łodzi do roku 1939 [Changes in the number and the ethnic structure of the population of Łódź until 1939]*, in: *Wpływ wielonarodowego... , p. 17. On nationalities and religions in Łódź: A. Gałęcki, B. Natorka, Z. Onufrzak, A. Różańska, S. Wojtkowiak, Łódź wielonarodowa i wielowyznaniowa a idea tolerancji [Multinational and multi-faith Łódź and the idea of tolerance]*, Łódź, Fundacja Ekumeniczna „Tolerancja”, 1997.

<sup>9</sup> K. Badziak, K. Chylak, M. Łapa, *Łódź wielowyznaniowa. Dzieje wspólnot religijnych do 1914 roku [Multi-faith Łódź. The history of religious communities until 1914]*, Łódź, Wydawnictwo UŁ, 2014, p. 41; Idem., *Chrześcijańskie wspólnoty wyznaniowe (bez Kościoła rzymskokatolickiego) w Łodzi do wybuchu I wojny światowej [Christian religious communities (excluding the Roman Catholic Church) in Łódź until the outbreak of World War I]*, in: *Rola wspólnot wyznaniowych w historii miasta Łodzi [The role of religious communities in the history of Łódź]*, ed. M. Kulesza, M. Łapa, J. Walicki, Łódź, Wydawnictwo Ibidem, 2010, p. 47–49.

<sup>10</sup> At the end of the 1820's, the Lutherans constituted almost a third of the population, while Catholics – 58%, in the second half of the 1930's – about 41–45%, while Catholics 42–47%, and at the beginning of the 1940's the Lutherans outnumbered Catholics. The majority of the Evangelic population who settled down in Łódź included: weavers, clothmakers, textile workers, and journeymen. Until the end of the 1880's, there was a slight prevalence of Evangelicals among permanent and temporary residents (in 1870, Catholics – 38.7%, Protestants – 39.2%, in 1885 – 38.2%). In 1895 there were already 42% Catholics, 39.6% Protestants, and 25.5% Jews. Before the outbreak of World War I, 122,900 Lutherans had lived in Łódź and its surroundings. In absolute figures, although the number of Protestants was increasing, but the percentage relation between Protestants and Catholics gave an advantage to Catholics (1909 – 50.9% and 25.8%, 1914 – 50.7% and 25.7%). J. Janczak, *Ludność Łodzi...*, p. 39–40, 108–109.

mainly of people of German origin<sup>11</sup>. In 1842, when the number of Łódź inhabitants oscillated around 20,000, Germans constituted almost two thirds of the total population. At the beginning of the 1860's, the percentage of Germans among the permanent city population was about 62%, while till the middle of 1880's, it ranged between 40–44% and, according to Krzysztof Paweł Woźniak, it was a period of clear social German dominance in various areas of life, even to the point that some factions of the Jewish, Czech and Polish population were in favour of this nation<sup>12</sup>. In subsequent years, when among Germans living in Łódź, the processes of assimilation intensified and the inflow of new inhabitants with a German background subsided, the proportion of this nation in the total number of permanent residents of Łódź decreased, and in 1914 amounted to 32.7%. The Germans continued to shape the social, economic and cultural life of the city.

Education was such an element of culture that made it possible to cultivate and preserve mother tongue, tradition, customs, and thus, the national identity. Those were the objectives of the efforts made the German community to organize and develop their own schools in Łódź. German educational institutions, as it was noted by Krystyna Radziszewska, were an inseparable part of the cultural landscape of Łódź at that time<sup>13</sup>. By educating children and youth in their native language, Germans wanted to cultivate their national tradition in an obvious way, while the school itself, apart from its educational and upbringing role, was supposed to be an opportunity to maintain a sense of belonging to their own ethnic group and their religion. It is worth noting that apart from establishing the parish and constructing the church, founding the school was a fundamental element of the process of settling down and at the same time, an aspiration of the Protestants coming to the Kingdom of Poland<sup>14</sup>. The purpose

<sup>11</sup> A. Barszczewska-Krupa, P. Samuś, *Życie polityczno-społeczne. Między powstaniem a rewolucją (1865–1904)* [Political and social life. Between the uprising and the revolution (1865–1904)], in: *Łódź. Dzieje...*, p. 399–400. The differences of particular ethnic groups were also evident in the class-layer division where cultural patterns were formed. At the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the bourgeoisie brought together 4–7% of the total population of Łódź (with the domination of Germans and Jews), the most numerous were workers (65–70%, with a predominantly Polish population), the petit bourgeoisie (lower middle class) constituted 15–20% (with the majority of Jews), the intelligentsia – 5 to 10% (according to the estimates by S. Pytlaś: 2–3%). S. Pytlaś, *Struktura społeczności łódzkiej w XIX i XX wieku (do 1939)* [The structure of the community in Łódź in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (until 1939)], in: *Rola nauczycieli łódzkich w tworzeniu dziedzictwa kulturowego Łodzi* [The role of teachers from Łódź in creating the cultural heritage of Łódź], ed. S. Gała, Łódź, Łódzkie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1998, p. 19; W. Puś, *Zmiany liczebności...*, p. 34.

<sup>12</sup> K. Woźniak, *Wstęp* [Introduction], p. 10. The Polish population share ranged from 21% in 1862 to over 34% in 1865, while Jews increased their share in the total number of residents of Łódź from over 16% to over 21%, respectively. Until World War I, these proportions had changed in favor of the Polish and Jewish population. The prevalence of German over Polish residents among the permanent inhabitants was stable until 1909. J. Janczak, *Ludność Łodzi...*, p. 121, Table 21; p. 127, Table 23.

<sup>13</sup> *Niemieckimi śladami po „Ziemi obiecanej”* [Following the German traces on the promised land], ed. K. Radziszewska, Łódź, Wydawnictwo Literatura, 2001, p. 94.

<sup>14</sup> E. Podgórska, *Rozwój szkół elementarnych w miastach przemysłowych okręgu łódzkiego (1808–1830)* [The development of elementary schools in industrial cities in the region of Łódź (1808–1830)], „Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy” 1960, No. 4, p. 30–31.



of the government, administration and educational authorities of the 1820's was to assimilate immigrants and force them to learn the Polish language<sup>15</sup>, whereas the followers of Martin Luther, in line with the instructions to study the Bible on their own, had to learn literacy<sup>16</sup>.

Education in Łódź in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, similarly as other areas of social life in the city, depended on economic conditions and demographic processes, but above all, was determined by political, legal and administrative decisions adopted by the authorities of the Kingdom of Poland. As far as the of education in Łódź is concerned, including German education which is the subject of this outline, the following phases can be distinguished<sup>17</sup>:

1. The initial period (the period between 1820–1830) – the time when the population of German origin settled down in Łódź and the school facilities for their children were established. Thanks to their own efforts and friendly policy of the authorities, the Protestants were able to pursue religious and moral education of the youngest. In fact, the method and the content of education depended on general regulations, the elementary education applied in the Kingdom of Poland at that time responded to the educational expectations of this community. Establishing the first Evangelical parish in Łódź in 1826, the parish of the Holy Trinity, was conducive to life stabilization of German immigrants.

2. The first stage (the period between the uprisings in 1831 and 1863) – the system of education was under the direct control of the educational authorities in

<sup>15</sup> E. Podgórska, *Szkolnictwo elementarne w Łodzi w latach 1808–1914 [Elementary education in Łódź between 1808–1914]*, Łódź, Łódzkie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1966, p. 20; A. Winiarz, *Szkolnictwo Księstwa Warszawskiego i Królestwa Polskiego (1807–1831) [Education in the Duchy of Warsaw and the Kingdom of Poland (1807–1831)]*, Lublin 2002, p. 135.

<sup>16</sup> Lutheranism distinguished two types of upbringing: serving the Gospel (preaching, pastoral and teaching activities), and secular/public service (upbringing through school education). An important element of education was literacy. B. Milerski, *Religia a szkoła. Status edukacji religijnej w szkole w ujęciu ewangelickim [Religion and school. The status of religious education at school from the evangelical point of view]*, Warszawa, Chrześcijańska Akademia Teologiczna, 1998, p. 137–138.

<sup>17</sup> H. Czembor, *Dzieje parafii luteranckich w Łodzi do 1939 r. [The history of Lutheran parishes in Łódź until 1939]*, in: *Przeszłość przyszłości...*, p. 46–56; K. Radziszewska, K. Woźniak, *Pod jednym dachem. Niemcy oraz ich polscy i żydowscy sąsiedzi w Łodzi w XIX i XX wieku [Under one roof. Germans, and their Polish and Jewish neighbours in Łódź in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries]*, Łódź, Wydawnictwo Literatura, 2000, p. 9–35; K. P. Woźniak, *Aktywność społeczna...*, p. 35–43; E. Podgórska, *Rozwój oświaty w Łodzi do 1918 r. [Development of education in Łódź until 1918]*, Łódź, Prezydium Łódzkiego Komitetu Frontu Jedności Narodu Uniwersytet Łódzki, 1973, p. 5–37; H. Krajewska, *Protestanci w Łodzi 1815–1914. Między edukacją a ewangelizacją [Protestants in Łódź 1815–1914. Between education and evangelization]*, Warszawa, Oficyna Wydawnicza ASPRA, 2014, p. 280–317; D. Sztobryn, A. Kozłowski, *Szkolnictwo niemieckie w Łodzi [German education in Łódź]*, in: *Niemcy w dziejach Łodzi do 1945 roku [Germans in the history of Łódź until 1945]*, ed. K. A. Kuczyński, B. Ratecka, Łódź, Wydawnictwo UŁ, 2001, p. 77–85; *Walka caratu ze szkołą polską w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1831–1870. Materiały źródłowe [The struggle of the tsar with the Polish school in the Kingdom of Poland between 1831–1870. Source materials]*, ed. K. Poznański, Warszawa, WSPS im. M. Grzegorzewskiej, 1993, p. 36; P. Kędzia, *Szkolnictwo elementarne miasta Łodzi w dobie zaboru rosyjskiego. Analiza i refleksja na przykładzie łódzkich periodyków [Elementary education in Łódź in the era of the Russian partition. An analysis and reflection on the example of Łódź periodicals]*, in: *Czasopiśmiennictwo XIX i początków XX wieku jako źródło do historii edukacji [The periodicals of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century as a source of the history of education]*, ed. J. Michalska and G. Michalski, Łódź, Wydawnictwo UŁ, 2010, p. 27–39.

St. Petersburg, and had a religious and national character. According to E. Podgórska, it was aimed at maintaining the national distinctiveness of the German people<sup>18</sup>. The policy of the partitioning powers allowed to continue implementing the concept of religious and moral education of the young generation. Religious education at school made evangelization possible, and the cooperation between church and school provided education according to the principles of the Protestant religion. The institutions educating the German children in Łódź were developing further, though, moderately.

3. The second stage (the period between 1863 and 1905) – upon the ukase dated 1864 issued by the tsar, a new educational organization was introduced in the Kingdom of Poland, which established 10 the so-called school managements, under the direction of the Russian officials. The religious nature of elementary schools was abandoned for the benefit of joint education of students of different nationalities<sup>19</sup>. It was the intention of the tsarist government to involve the students into the process of stronger russification. The tsar's ukaz of 1871 introduced to the elementary school curriculum the obligation to learn to read, write and to use the Russian language. Thus, the development of municipal schools and private schools with the German language was ceased. It should be noted that education in Łódź, including initial education, was in a miserable condition at that time. In 1883, there were 16 urban elementary facilities, i.e. supported from the contributions of the residents from Łódź, after more than a decade, in 1900, slightly more – 24<sup>20</sup>. In 1897, among the general population of Łódź (314,000) at the age of 10 years old or more, only half of it (50.5%) was literate, while the literacy rate, i.e. the ability to read and write, amounted to 59% among the German population and 47% – the Polish and Jewish nation<sup>21</sup>.

4. The third stage (from the revolution 1905–1907 to World War I) – there was a numerical and qualitative development of education in Łódź, including German educational institutions, and institutions with German as the language of instruction. It should be mentioned that along with the aspirations of national liberation, the struggle for education became one of the fronts of the revolution, including – education in the language of a given nation. In October 1905, the tsar issued a decree which stipulated and guaranteed that the native language of particular national groups might be used freely. The actual evidence of the post-revolutionary changes in the educational system in Łódź included i.a. establishing a separate school council (subsequently the school commission) for each national community, even though the issue of dividing primary Christian schools into Polish and German ones, and the issue of school fees

<sup>18</sup> E. Podgórska, *Rozwój oświaty...*, p. 9.

<sup>19</sup> According to the findings presented by Hanna Krajewska, the term “Evangelical elementary school” survived in Łódź only in documents until 1873. Later, the name “the elementary school No. ...” was used instead. The statistics included the Christian (for Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox children) and Jewish schools. H. Krajewska, *Protestanci...*, p. 298.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> The educational skills of women living in Łódź were different – 54% German women were literate, and only 35–36% Polish and Jewish women could read and write. J. K. Janczak, *Struktura narodowościowa Łodzi w latach 1820–1939 [The ethnic structure of Łódź between 1820–1939]*, in: *Dzieje Żydów...*, p. 49.

aroused much controversy among representatives of both nations<sup>22</sup>. Nevertheless, Germans at that time made independent decisions regarding their own educational institutions. Schools of higher level were established as well. Despite the general situation which encouraged organizing primary education in the city, Łódź with almost 500,000 residents in 1913 had 92 elementary schools, which were attended by 16,221 students, which constituted only 25% of school-age children<sup>23</sup>.

In the period studied herein (1823–1914), German education included institutions with a diverse structure and several organizational forms such as: elementary schools (with one or two classes, and different courses of study), middle schools (gymnasiums/junior high schools), schools of vocational profiles (including Sunday craft schools, and craft schools) and teaching seminaries. The largest organizational diversity concerned elementary education: firstly, government and municipal government offices of religious profiles (in this case Evangelical and Catholic), secondly: cantorial schools of a typically religious character which belonged to parish evangelical communities and, thirdly: private schools (including factory schools, philanthropy and social organizations). Some of those mentioned above were co-educational, whereas others were intended only for girls or boys.

In elementary schools in the Kingdom of Poland, great emphasis was placed on teaching religion, which, in addition to writing, reading and counting/doing calculations, was one of the basic skills. The first German elementary school in Łódź was established within the framework of municipal structures in 1826, i.e. three years after the time when the first settlers had arrived in the city<sup>24</sup>. According to Eugenia Podgórska, it was only a class for children of the colonists, created at a single-branch elementary school operating since 1808. They hired a second teacher – Fryderyk Otto; Karol Mikines was employed next, and was followed by Gottfryd Kirsch<sup>25</sup>. The school was located in the Old Town on Kościelna Street, next to the wooden building of the municipal council<sup>26</sup>. According to the findings presented by Dorota Sztobryn and Aleksander Kozłowski, the classes for evangelical children were significantly over-

<sup>22</sup> The school commission divided 28 elementary schools existing at that time, allocating 19 schools with 52 branches to Polish children, 9 schools with 19 branches to German children, and 1 institution to Russian children. The representatives of the German minority, whose contributions paid to the local budget for school purposes discharged at the time amounted to 63%, were not satisfied with this decision and demanded establishing next German schools in various parts of the city. The mutual, until then Christian, school fund was divided into a Polish and a German part. D. Sztobryn, A. Kozłowski, *Szkolnictwo niemieckie*..., p. 86.

<sup>23</sup> Out of the school institutions existing at that time, 27 schools were intended for Polish children, 22 – for German, 12 – for Jewish children, and 3 for Russian and Mariavite children. There were also 23 factory schools. E. Podgórska, *Szkolnictwo [Education]*, p. 525.

<sup>24</sup> K. Radziszewska, K. Woźniak, *Pod jednym dachem*..., p. 10; *Niemieckimi śladami*..., p. 94.

<sup>25</sup> E. Podgórska, *Szkolnictwo elementarne*..., p. 20–21.

<sup>26</sup> The school ran two classes: one with Polish as the language of instruction and Catholicism, which was attended by Catholic children – both of Polish and German origin, and the second – with German and Polish as the languages of instruction, and Protestantism. In 1827, after the brick town hall at the New Town Square had been erected, the school was relocated to a wooden building of the municipal council, whereas the class for children of the colonists remained in its former place. H. Krajewska, *Protestanci*..., p. 281.

crowded – one teacher, with the assistance of older students, taught up to 120 children divided into several groups<sup>27</sup>. A four-year process of elementary education included mastering reading skills, reading the Bible, learning the basics of arithmetic, rewriting the printed text, learning the catechism, biblical stories and a few church hymns. The educational level presented by the school increased when the second teacher was employed and the school supervisor was appointed, i.e. when a social representation taking care of the institution, teachers and students was provided.

After next three years (1829), another school class for children, located in the factory settlement, called *Łódzka* was given to the German community. In the room rented for the Catholic and Evangelical Elementary School, Catholic children – mainly of German speaking Catholics from the Czech Republic and the Austro-Hungarian monarchies – and evangelical children studied together; religion was taught separately<sup>28</sup>. The curriculum included literacy and counting lessons. At school an attempt was made to cultivate the German language and culture. Polish was taught as well, and since 1838 two hours of Russian were introduced as well. Edward Solms from Berlin, who spoke Polish, German and French, and an auxiliary teacher F. Kaschke were employed as teachers. School supervision was conducted by the representatives of both religions: Rev. Józef Krygier and pastor Fryderyk Metzner<sup>29</sup>. The institution was supported thanks to school contributions collected from the residents of Łódź, and in 1832 the city started to co-finance the institution. In 1853, 519 students attended the Catholic and Evangelical Elementary School, including 296 Evangelicals, 218 Catholics and 5 Jewish children<sup>30</sup>. Still, only 2 teachers were working here<sup>31</sup>.

A significant reorganization of the “school network” took place in Łódź in 1834, because as a result of the findings presented by the Russian authorities – on the one hand, and the efforts made by the German community – on the other hand, the previously existing class for evangelical children at the elementary school in the Old Town was transformed into a separate institution, which was called the Evangelical Elementary School<sup>32</sup>. It was located in a rented flat at 39 Średnia Street, near the New Town Square (currently Plac Wolności), and subsequently, in a private house

<sup>27</sup> D. Sztobryn, A. Kozłowski, *Szkolnictwo niemieckie...*, p. 78.

<sup>28</sup> K. P. Woźniak, *Aktywność społeczna...*, p. 41–42; D. Sztobryn, *Działalność kulturalno-oświatowa diaspory niemieckiej do 1939 roku [Cultural and educational activity of the German diaspora until 1939]*, Łódź, Wydawnictwo „Dajasz”, 1999, p. 94–95.

<sup>29</sup> E. Podgórska, *Szkolnictwo elementarne...*, p. 14. In view of the provisions of March 11, 1817, the position of an organizer of primary schools was established. This could be either a secular person or a clergyman. Financial resources for teaching positions were also provided.

<sup>30</sup> The schools in Łódź were not divided in terms of religion in a consistent manner. The Catholic school at the New Town Square was also attended by evangelical children, while the evangelical school – by Catholics. Jewish children sometimes attended all schools.

<sup>31</sup> D. Sztobryn, A. Kozłowski, *Szkolnictwo niemieckie...*, p. 80.

<sup>32</sup> H. Krajewska, *Protestanci...*, p. 283; E. Podgórska, *Rozwój oświaty...*, p. 9. According to the findings presented by Dorota Sztobryn and Aleksander Kozłowski, the evangelical elementary school was established in 1829. See: D. Sztobryn, A. Kozłowski, *Szkolnictwo niemieckie...*, p. 78.



on the same street, which belonged to Gottfried Kirsch, an organist and a teacher<sup>33</sup>. The School Act of 1833 introduced organizational changes to the elementary education – instead of the previously existing social school supervision, the position of a school superintendant was introduced, i.e. an intermediary between the institution and the administrative authorities. Pastor F. Metzner held this function for 18 years.

It should be emphasized that elementary schools of religious profiles – and in the case of Germans living in Łódź – mostly evangelical, were not run by the Church, but by the city. They were also subject to supervision and control of the central educational authorities in Warsaw. Although they implemented the tenets of Protestantism, the participation of the Evangelical Church in the educational process depended largely on the policy of the tsarist authorities. The expression: evangelical or Catholic informed what religion the children who attend school follow, and who takes care of them: a pastor or a Catholic priest. In this sense, it was a religious school. Evangelical teachers recommended by the consistory or the pastor, who until the middle of 1960's were approved by the educational authorities, were employed there<sup>34</sup>.

Elementary schools in the Kingdom of Poland were co-educational, however, with time, girls' classes started to be established. At the beginning of the 1840's, only boys were allowed to attend the evangelical institutions in Łódź, while girls of Protestant origin starting from the 1840–1841 school year began to receive education in a newly opened elementary school for girls following various religions. This institution was located in the Old Town, initially in the house belonging to Jakub Kamieński, and later – Karol Reyman, at 37 Zachodnia Street<sup>35</sup>. Only from 1858 girls between 5 and 11 years old were allowed once again to attend the evangelical school. The educational system was changed thanks to the efforts undertaken by pastor Karol Gustav Manitius, who three years earlier had become the parish priest of the evangelical parish of the Holy Trinity, situated at the church with the same name, next to the New Town Square<sup>36</sup>. Pastor K. G. Manitius became as well a curator of Protestant elementary schools.

In the 1860's, as a result of constant efforts undertaken by the residents, the total number of state primary schools in Łódź increased. According to the decision of the Government Commission of Religion and Education in 1862, the city had five elementary Catholic schools with 5 teachers and four elementary evangelical schools with the same number of teachers.

<sup>33</sup> E. Podgórska, *Szkolnictwo elementarne...*, p. 35. G. Kirsch was a long-serving teacher at this school – he began working there while it was a branch located in the Old Town.

<sup>34</sup> H. Krajewska, *Protestanci...*, p. 292.

<sup>35</sup> E. Podgórska, *Szkolnictwo elementarne...*, p. 32–33.

<sup>36</sup> H. Czembor, *Dzieje parafii luterańskich...*, p. 50–51. The first classicist Lutheran Holy Trinity Church in Łódź was erected between 1826–1828. In place of this building, a new, spacious Neorenaissance church holding the same name was built in 1889–1891. It was the first stone church building in Łódź. Currently, it is a Roman Catholic Holy Spirit Church at 2/2a Piotrkowska Street. K. Stefański, *Architektura sakralna Łodzi w okresie przemysłowego rozwoju miasta 1821–1914 [The Sacral architecture of Łódź during the industrial development of the city between 1821–1914]*, Łódź, Wydawnictwo UŁ, 1995, p. 22–25, 62–63.



After the fall of the January 1863 Uprising, together with the implementation of the School Act of August 1864 and several executive regulations, head of the School Directorate in Łódź became the direct supervisor and guardian of the elementary schools in Łódź. The position was held by Ernest von Berg<sup>37</sup>, who appointed civilians recruited among factory owners as auxiliary guardians of such facilities. Thus, the immediate impact of the church on school matters ceased to exist. The representatives of the evangelical clergy were present in the educational authorities only until 1867<sup>38</sup>. In July 1867, when the Warsaw Scientific District (Pol. Warszawski Okręg Naukowy) was formed, basically only Russians became the curators. Starting from 1880, Juliusz Heinzel (No. 1–5, 10, 13 and 14), Ludwik Meyer (No. 6–9, 11–12) and Henryk Grohman (No. 17) became the guardians of 15 elementary schools in Łódź. According to Eugenia Podgórska, this decision is linked with the increase of confidence and trust of school authorities in the bourgeoisie in Łódź<sup>39</sup>. The owners of the factories did not want to be outdone – their actions were meant to show a bit of loyalty towards the tsarist policy. A significant example thereof was the situation which took place in 1880, when to celebrate the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the governing of Tsar Alexander II, one of the schools was renamed to “Alexandrińska”<sup>40</sup>.

A natural consequence of the growing population in the city (1830 – 4,300; 1840 – 18,600; 1867 – 40,700; 1880 – 77,400<sup>41</sup>) was an increase in demand for educational institutions. Three schools for German students which operated in the 1830's did not meet the educational needs of this nation. In such circumstances, unofficially – because it was prohibited by the Act of 1833 – schools defined as illicit (privately organized schools) (*Winkelschulen*) were established<sup>42</sup>. Most of the students from such schools were Protestant girls<sup>43</sup>. Educational authorities did not tolerate this form of education, so in 1841 they adopted an act for private schools, tutors and home teachers, as, on the one hand, they wanted to increase supervision over education, and on the other hand – expected institutions run independently by teachers to register on their own<sup>44</sup>. The private establishments being created at that time compensated, in a way, for the insufficient number of elemen-

<sup>37</sup> E. Podgórska, *Rozwój oświaty...*, p. 19.

<sup>38</sup> On the basis of the decision of the Warsaw Gubernatorial Government, the previous keepers, i.e. the parish priest and the pastor, handed officially the seals and the school files to president of the city. In 1865, the files of the evangelical schools were separated from the church files, and after 3 years the evangelical church college was moved away from the finances run by the schools. H. Krajewska, *Protestanci...*, p. 292–293.

<sup>39</sup> E. Podgórska, *Szkolnictwo elementarne...*, p. 106. Herman Konstadt became the guardian of the Jewish schools.

<sup>40</sup> P. Kędzia, *Szkolnictwo elementarne...*, p. 31.

<sup>41</sup> W. Puś, *Zmiany liczebności...*, p. 13.

<sup>42</sup> *Niemieckimi śladami...*, p. 94.

<sup>43</sup> According to Eugenia Podgórska, the families living on the outskirts of the city, due to the distance, were not willing to send their daughters to the girls' school in Łódź. E. Podgórska, *Prywatne nauczanie elementarne w Łodzi w latach 1833–1870 [Private elementary education in Łódź between 1833–1870]*, „Rocznik Łódzki” 1962, Vol. 5, p. 89–107.

<sup>44</sup> E. Podgórska, *Szkolnictwo [Education]*, in: *Łódź. Dzieje...*, p. 511.

tary schools, satisfying mainly the educational needs of the German community. These institutions were attended by children of richer inhabitants of Łódź who were able to provide the teachers of these institutions with financial resources and, in addition, systematically transferred obligatory school fees to the fund of the state elementary school. Private institutions operated on the basis of a government education program, which was, however, implemented in a limited scope. Nevertheless, they provided education at the elementary level, and thus, also in the field of Protestant religion, which was one of the elements of education<sup>45</sup>. In 1869, there were four private elementary schools in Łódź, in 1884 seventeen, and in 1894 only five. This decrease resulted from the growing didactic requirements, mainly regarding the knowledge of the Russian language.

It was possible to classify institutions run by philanthropy and social organizations founded by representatives of various religions as private schools as well. An example thereof is an elementary school belonging to the Christian Charitable Society in Łódź, established in 1898 on the basis of the permission granted by the curator of the Warsaw Scientific District. It was attended by both Catholic and evangelical children who spoke mostly German<sup>46</sup>. Approximately at the same time, a religious elementary school for children from the Evangelical Orphanage run from 1886 by the Holy Trinity parish was established. From 1900, the institution had its own building erected thanks to the entrepreneurial spirit of pastor Rudolf Gustav Gundlach<sup>47</sup>. In the 1902–1903 school year, there were 65 children from 4 to 15 years old living in the orphanage (36 girls and 29 boys)<sup>48</sup>.

The structure of private institutions included as well factory schools – common in Łódź since the 1880's. They were established by the owners of factories and enterprises recruited mainly from the German community<sup>49</sup>. The Polish and

<sup>45</sup> R. Kucha, *Oświata elementarna w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1864–1914* [Elementary education in the Kingdom of Poland between 1864–1914], Lublin, KAW, 1982, p. 165–166.

<sup>46</sup> More information, see: J. Sosnowska, *Działalność socjalna i opiekuńczo-wychowawcza Łódzkiego Chrześcijańskiego Towarzystwa Dobroczynności (1885–1940)* [Social, and care and educational activity of the Christian Charitable Society in Łódź (1885–1940)], Łódź, Wydawnictwo UŁ, 2011, p. 246–248.

<sup>47</sup> G. Schedler, *50 Jahre Evangelisches Waisenhaus in Lodz*, Łódź, Libertas Verlagsgesellschaft, 1937, p. 6; K. Radziszewska, K. Woźniak, *Pod jednym dachem...*, p. 77; J. Sosnowska, *Działalność duszpasterska i społeczna pastora Rudolfa Gustawa Gundlacha (1850–1922). Przyczynek do historii dobroczynności w Łodzi* [The pastoral and social activity of pastor Rudolf Gustav Gundlach (1850–1922). A contribution to the history of charity in Łódź], „Studia z Historii Społeczno-Gospodarczej XIX i XX Wieku” 2012, Vol. 10, p. 93–94. Children from evangelical families from the city could attend the newly built school – for a monthly fee in the amount of 1 Russian Rubel.

<sup>48</sup> As the evangelical press wrote: *Boys, according to their abilities, are educated and trained for good craftsmen, girls for talented cooks, and better maids and caretakers in kindergartens* (Pol. *Freblówki*); *all children learn handicrafts and dressmaking, and, if possible in their free time, deal with gardening*. See: *Ewangelicki dom sierot w Łodzi* [An evangelical orphanage in Łódź], „Zwiastun Ewangeliczny” 1904, No. 7–8, p. 221.

<sup>49</sup> On education at the factory schools see: E. Podgórska, *Szkolnictwo elementarne...*, p. 104–106; K. Bądziaż, *Prywatne szkoły fabryczne w Łodzi w końcu XIX wieku* [Private factory schools in Łódź at the end of the 19th century], „Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego” 1975, Vol. 111, p. 125–134; Ibid., *Szkolnictwo fabryczne w Łodzi w latach 1905–1919* [Factory schools in Łódź between 1905–1919], „Acta Universitatis Lodziensis” 1978, „Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne”, Vol. 40, p. 125–140.

German children of both clerical and working class attended those schools located in the premises of the factories. The first facility of this type was established in 1876 at the cotton factory belonging to Karol Scheibler<sup>50</sup>. In the subsequent years, more factory schools were established by a few industrialists in Łódź which included: the School of Juliusz Heinzel's Joint Stock Society (Szkoła Towarzystwa Akcyjnego) (founded in 1882), the School of Heinzel and Kunitzer's Joint Stock Society (Szkoła Towarzystwa Akcyjnego) (1883), the School of Leonhardt, Woelker and Girbardt's Joint Stock Company (Szkoła Spółki Akcyjnej) (1891), the School of Ludwik Geyer's Joint Stock Society (Szkoła Towarzystwa Akcyjnego) (1899) and the School of Markus Silberstein's Joint Stock Society (Szkoła Towarzystwa Akcyjnego) (1900)<sup>51</sup>. Other institutions on the educational map of Łódź were created after 1906. In 1912, there were 21 schools of this type in Łódź, which were also established by entrepreneurs of Jewish, Polish and Russian origin<sup>52</sup>. A larger group of students of such educational institutions operating on the premises of factories was composed of Roman Catholic children, however, every school taught also students following other religions such as evangelical pupils. Two independent units in terms of religions – the German and the Polish factory school (*deutsche Fabriksschule* and *polnische Fabriksschule*) were run only by the Leonhardt, Woelker and Girbardts Joint-Stock Company producing wool products<sup>53</sup>. The school authorities supported this action, and at the same time recommended the municipal council in Łódź to exempt the entrepreneurs from the general fee for municipal schools. After the revolution (1905-1907), the educational institutions operating at the factories lost their impetus. A large number of Germans, who were sending their children to schools at the factories so far, moved them to the municipal German elementary schools set up in Łódź. The children of Polish workers continued attending factory schools<sup>54</sup>.

A certain gap in demand for primary education, which was found also among the residents of German origin, was filled by Sunday craft schools established in Łódź from the 1830's. Their main task was to improve the qualifications of apprentices who worked during the week in craftsman workshops, and to accelerate the elimination of illiteracy<sup>55</sup>. They were created on the initiative of

<sup>50</sup> S. Pytlaś, *Łódzka burżuazja przemysłowa w latach 1864–1914 [Industrial bourgeoisie in Łódź between 1864–1914]*, Łódź, Wydawnictwo UŁ, 1994, p. 191; W. Puś, *Udział w życiu oświatowym i kulturalnym miasta [The participation in the cultural and educational life of the city]*, in: *Wpływ wielonarodowego...*, p. 80.

<sup>51</sup> J. Sosnowska, *Opieka nad dziećmi w Łodzi w latach I wojny światowej [Care of children in Łódź during World War I]*, Łódź, Wydawnictwo UŁ, 2017, p. 489–490.

<sup>52</sup> K. Badziak, *Prywatne szkoły fabryczne...*, p. 129.

<sup>53</sup> J. Sosnowska, *Opieka nad dziećmi...*

<sup>54</sup> According to H. Krajewska, most German entrepreneurs did not discriminate against them. See H. Krajewska, *Protestanci...*, p. 309.

<sup>55</sup> In the 1840's only 11,3% of the residents in Łódź were literate. E. Podgórska, *Rozwój oświaty...*, p. 11. Another message of the Sunday craft schools was to counteract the immoral behavior of young people and to dedicate their free time to education. K. Poznański, *Oświata i szkolnictwo w Królestwie Polskim 1831–1869. Lata zmagania i nadziei, t. 2, Szkoły rzemieślniczo-niedzielne [Education in the Kingdom of Poland 1831–1869. Years of struggle and hope, Vol. 2, Sunday craft schools]*, Warszawa, APS, 2001, p. 101–102.

the city authorities and craftsmen from Łódź, mainly weavers, and took advantage of the premises of institutions of elementary education which were closed on Sunday and during holidays. The costs of running schools organized on Sundays were covered by the starosts of craft guilds in Łódź. The first Sunday craft school was opened in 1834, and the next one – four years later<sup>56</sup>. This type of schools enjoyed great popularity, although some researchers of the history of education, such as E. Podgórska, questioned their educational level<sup>57</sup>. In 1839, 456 boys studied in them, and in 1853, over 700 eager students attended several Sunday schools. The largest group were students aged between 14 and 16 years old. Evangelicals, learning together with Catholics, constituted about a half of the total number of pupils. In 1862, separate branches for the Protestant and Catholic apprentices were organized. The Sunday craft schools were organized as institutions with two branches: a lower branch – for apprentices beginning their education, with the curriculum including literacy and learning to count, and a higher branch – for advanced students, which offered obligatory technical drawing classes and a wider scope of accounting materials. Each branch was run by two teachers, who worked on a daily basis in elementary schools. In the middle of the 1880's, six municipal elementary schools were dedicated to young people of craft origin in Łódź<sup>58</sup>.

At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, another type of institutions was set up in the system of primary school education in Łódź, where German children were studying, i.e. cantorial schools, also known as: parish, religious, or church schools, created on the initiative of the representatives of the Evangelical-Augsburg Church. Evangelical parishes and cantorats (Pol. *kantoraty*)<sup>59</sup> – smaller units of this religious community, were the centers of religious, social and cultural life, and their members headed by priests animated the activity of many institutions, societies, associations, confraternities and circles<sup>60</sup>. Cantorial schools in Łódź were meant to improve the unfavorable situation of elementary education for the German community, especially for the youngest who came from poor families. The first cantorial school was established in 1899 by the Holy Trinity Church. Soon, five cantorial schools operated in this

<sup>56</sup> H. Krajewska, *Protestanci...*, p. 300.

<sup>57</sup> E. Podgórska, *Szkolnictwo...*, p. 512.

<sup>58</sup> H. Krajewska, *Protestanci...*, p. 301.

<sup>59</sup> Cantorats – this name includes two institutions associated with the evangelical Church: 1. the office of a cantor, i.e. the place of work in a cantorial unit in a given parish; 2. an evangelical school run by a cantor.

<sup>60</sup> K. Woźniak, *Parafia ewangelicka w środowisku wielkomiejskim [An evangelical parish in the urban environment]*, in: *Łódzcy luteranie. Społeczność i jej organizacja [Lutherans in Łódź. Community and its organization]*, ed. B. Kopczyńska-Jaworska, K. Woźniak, Łódź, the Polish Folkloric Society (Pol. *Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze*), 2002, p. 11.

parish – all of them were created thanks to pastor R. G. Gundlach<sup>61</sup>. Other similar institutions were organized by St. John Evangelical-Augsburg parish, with its church at 60 Dzika Street (later Mikołajewska Street, today: Sienkiewicza Street)<sup>62</sup>, operating under the direction of pastor Wilhelm Piotr Angerstein. Until 1914, 7 cantorial schools functioned in this parish<sup>63</sup>. Cantorats were schools run by reliable teachers, recruited among parish cantors, which provided children with a good level of education. These institutions had only one class, and the course, which consisted of two preparatory branches and the first class, lasted 3 years. The curriculum developed by pastors included: German, Polish, Russian, accounts and basics of geography. As the turnout in cantorats was very high – approximately 140 children attended one school – in order to teach as many students as possible, the classes were organized in two shifts (between 8 am–12 pm, and 2 pm–6 pm). The cost of funding cantoral schools was covered by voluntary contributions made by each parish community. Free of charge education was provided for poor children. Cantorats in Łódź did not function for a long time, as some of them were transformed into municipal German elementary schools before the outbreak of World War I, while others were closed due to financial reasons.

Powiat schools and gymnasiums (junior high schools) were, in terms of organizations, a higher type of educational institutions than elementary schools in the district of Łódź, although in Łódź itself the situation regarding creating general secondary education was not favorable<sup>64</sup>. Powiat schools and gymnasiums were created on the basis of the ukase of 1840 issued by Tsar Nicholas I. The industrialists from Łódź supported this type of education, especially secondary vocational

<sup>61</sup> They were placed in the city center on: Średnia Street (at present: Pomorska Street), Pańska Street (Żeromskiego Street) and on its outskirts: in the Bałuty district on Młynarska Street, in Żubardz on Aleksandrowska Street and in Antoniew, Stoki. Compare: R. Gundlach, *Das evangelische Waisenhaus in Łódź*, Łódź, no place of publication, 1903, p. 9; G. Schedler, *Eben-Ezer: eine Jahrhundertgeschichte der evangel. St. Trinitatisgemeinde zu Lodz*, Łódź, Libertas Verlagsgesellschaft, 1929, p. 60; H. Czembor, *Dzieje parafii luteranickich...*, p. 55; D. Sztobryn, *Działalność kulturalno-oświatowa...*, p. 99–100.

<sup>62</sup> St. John the Evangelist Church belonging to the parish was built in 1880–1884. Currently, it is the Holy Name of Jesus Church, Roman Catholic, at 60 Sienkiewicza Street, belonging to the Society of Jesus. H. Czembor, *Dzieje parafii...*, p. 47–48, 51–52. K. Stefański, *Architektura sakralna...*, p. 57–60.

<sup>63</sup> They were located at: 33 Milscha Street (currently Kopernika Street), 271 Piotrkowska Street, 3 Kijowska Street (does not exist any more), 68 Nowozarzewska Street (Przybyszewskiego Street), in Chojny next to Łódź and in Dąbrowa, and the last one – situated in one of the parish buildings. K. Woźniak, *Parafia ewangelicka...*, p. 28.

<sup>64</sup> The article by Grzegorz Michalski is about the efforts undertaken by the residents, supported, i.e. by the journalist community of the Polish press, but also on the “atmosphere” regarding establishing the first state male and female gymnasium in Łódź in 1886. See: G. Michalski, *Okoliczności powstania pierwszych na ziemi obiecanej gimnazjów rządowych w świetle doniesień „Dziennika Łódzkiego” z lat 1884–1892 [The circumstances of establishing the first state gymnasiums in the promised land in the light of reports by „Dziennik Łódzki” from 1884–1892]*, in: *Z badań nad tradycją polskiej pedagogiki. Tom II. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Profesor Danucie Koźmian [From the research on the tradition of Polish pedagogy. Volume II. A jubilee book dedicated to Prof. Danuta Koźmian]*, Szczecin, the Scientific Publishing House of the Faculty of Humanities, the University of Szczecin, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Wydziału Humanistycznego US Minierwa, 2016, p. 227–237.



education<sup>65</sup>. In institutions with a professional profile, they noticed the possibility of educating their own children<sup>66</sup>, although at the beginning of the settlement, they sent their children to renowned institutions abroad. The first secondary school with four classes – the Poviát German-Russian Poviát School<sup>67</sup> – was opened in Łódź in 1845<sup>68</sup>. Initially it occupied the leased premises, but after a decade, in 1856, the institution was moved to a newly erected building located at the New Town Square. The researchers of educational history from Łódź noted that the building, present till today, was the first building in the history of the city which had been erected exclusively for school purposes<sup>69</sup>. The following subjects were obligatory for students: German, Russian, Polish, geography, mathematics, natural sciences, drawing, calligraphy, Catholic and evangelical religion<sup>70</sup>. The curriculum was implemented by 8 teachers headed by the inspector, and 5 out of 15 teachers who were working there in the period of its operation, i.e. 17 years, had a university degree<sup>71</sup>. In 1862, when the Act on Public Education was introduced, real schools were liquidated, and the Poviát German-Russian Real School was transformed

<sup>65</sup> Until the second half of the 1880's, Warsaw had been almost the only center of vocational education in the Kingdom of Poland. Most of the governorates did not have vocational schools – even governorate in Piotrków Trybunalski which was the center of textile industry and the mining and steel industry. In Łódź, the situation changed in 1869, when the Craft Academy (Pol. Wyższa Szkoła Rzemieślnicza) was established. E. Podgórska, *Szkoły rzemieślniczo-niedzielne w Łodzi (1838–1914) [Sunday craft schools in Łódź (1838–1914)]*, „Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty” 1962, Vol. 5, p. 75–110.

<sup>66</sup> The graduates of the German Real Gymnasium established in Łódź in 1866 were German manufacturers, i.a. Karol Anstadt, Józef Gampe and Ludwik Peters, but also one of the largest industrialists in Łódź – Izrael Poznański. K. Badziak, *Wielkość i upadek fortuny Poznańskich [The magnitude and collapse of the Poznański's fortune]*, in: *Dzieje Żydów...*, p. 81.

<sup>67</sup> According to Aleksander Kozłowski and Dorota Sztobryn, a four-class German and Russian real school should have a German-Polish name, as at least 50% of its students at that time were Poles; from 1850, education was also provided in the Polish language. It should be mentioned that in this period, Łódź was dominated by the German population (about 78%), Poles accounted for 13%, and Jews only 9% of the total population. The first Russians among the permanent residents were recorded not earlier than in the 1860's. See: D. Sztobryn, A. Kozłowski, *Szkolnictwo niemieckie...*, p. 80.

<sup>68</sup> The institution was moved to Łódź from Warsaw, where it had existed since 1843 as the school for children of Germans and Russians. Education at the school in Warsaw was provided in German and Russian, and the curriculum included: religion, mathematics, natural history, physics, chemistry, health sciences, geography, linear and technical drawings. However, the institution did not enjoy popularity among the German and Russian residents, so it started to accept Polish children as students, and teach them in foreign languages. In this situation Iwan Fiodorowicz Paskiewicz – governor of the Kingdom of Poland, decided to eliminate this useless school in Warsaw and move it to Łódź. E. Podgórska, *Szkolnictwo [Education]*, p. 512–516; D. Sztobryn, A. Kozłowski, *Szkolnictwo niemieckie...*, p. 80; A. Kozłowski, *Niemieckie szkolnictwo w Łodzi na przełomie XIX i XX wieku [German education in Łódź at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the 20<sup>th</sup> century]*, in: *Niemcy w Łodzi do 1939 roku [Germans in Łódź till 1939]*, ed. M. Wilk, Łódź, Ośrodek Badań Niemcoznawczych UŁ, 1996, p. 21–27. See also: H. Krajewska, *Szkoła i nauka religii – udział łódzkich protestantów w procesie kształcenia młodzieży 1820–1914 [School and religious education – the participation of Protestants from Łódź in the process of educating young people 1820–1914]*, „Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty” 2000, Vol. 40, p. 59–86.

<sup>69</sup> A. Kozłowski, *Niemieckie szkolnictwo...*, p. 25; E. Podgórska, *Szkolnictwo [Education]*, p. 514. At present this building is the headquarter of the Museum of Archeology and Ethnography in Łódź.

<sup>70</sup> E. Podgórska, *Szkolnictwo [Education]*, p. 513.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

into the German Special Poviát School<sup>72</sup>. Such educational institutions in the last, fifth grade were to familiarize their students with vocational subjects. At the same time, after completing four classes, students were allowed to move to the upper classes of gymnasium – to German secondary vocational schools. A significant group of students selected this type or undertook a paid job. As a result, there was no recruitment to the fifth class with an apprenticeship training, so in 1866 the institution changed its status again, and became the German Real Gymnasium with seven classes (*Deutsches Realgymnasium*) and the German language of instruction<sup>73</sup>. As such, it functioned until 1869. The institution employed teachers from Germany, enjoyed a very good reputation in the community, and the lessons could be continued not only by the children of the factory owners, but also the youth from middle-income families and children who came from places more distant from Łódź<sup>74</sup>. However, after the visit of Dmitry Tolstoy, the Minister of Education, on the pretext of a too high level of humanities, the institution was reorganized again – into the Higher School of Crafts in Łódź with four classes<sup>75</sup> and the Russian language of instruction<sup>76</sup>. It underwent another transformation in the subsequent years. Thanks to the efforts undertaken by the entrepreneurs from Łódź in 1891, the institution became the Industry and Craft School available to all students regardless of their nationality and religion, however, the majority of students were German young people. From 1899, the institution had a technical profile and was called the School of Handicraft and Industry.

The first German secondary school in Łódź was the private gymnasium of Angelica Rothert in 1878, but then still as the co-educational school with five classes of Emilia Remus<sup>77</sup>. Until 1896, the institution was located in a private flat at 118 Piotrkowska Street, but when the agreement was terminated, the new owner – A. Rothert decided to build her own school building. After one year, the institution already had its headquarter at 29 Nowo-Spacerowa Street (71 Kościuszki Avenue). It soon became a four-class institution, and limited its education to teaching girls only. In 1905, the school management received the permission to open three upper classes and the right to run a seven-grade girls' gymnasium. With the next year, the language of instruction at the Gymnasium of A. Rothert was the German language, so in the environment of the German people residing in Łódź the school became an important institution for nurturing their national

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., p. 516; J. Miąso, *Szkolnictwo zawodowe w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1815–1915 [Vocational education in the Kingdom of Poland between 1815–1915]*, Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1966, p. 103.

<sup>73</sup> D. Sztobryn, A. Kozłowski, *Szkolnictwo niemieckie...*, p. 80.

<sup>74</sup> K. P. Woźniak, *Aktywność społeczna...*, p. 41–42.

<sup>75</sup> This name is misleading – it was a state technical secondary school with six classes. The students had classes on textile and mechanics.

<sup>76</sup> J. Miąso, *Szkoły realne w Królestwie Polskim [Real schools in the Kingdom of Poland]*, „Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty” 1963, Vol. 6, p. 93–123.

<sup>77</sup> K. P. Woźniak, *Aktywność społeczna...*, p. 41–42. A. Rothert became a teacher at this school in 1883. When after several years, in 1897, E. Remus left this institution due to her illness, A. Rothert became its owner.

identity. It should be noted that this school was also attended by Polish children. Without doubt, it was affected by the second language of instruction – Polish, but also by the favorable atmosphere in the gymnasium<sup>78</sup>. The teaching staff consisted of qualified pedagogues. The curriculum assumed social activity, and a sign thereof was the involvement of teachers and female students – headed by the their manager, A. Rothert – in charitable campaigns for children. First of all the pupils from the 2<sup>nd</sup> Orphan Asylum of the Christian Charitable Society in Łódź (Pol. II Ochronka Łódzkiego Chrześcijańskiego Towarzystwa Dobroczynności) and the children from the Evangelical Orphanage were supported<sup>79</sup>.

According to Krzysztof Paweł Woźniak, the most important educational institution, with a wide range of social impact, but above all the influence on raising the national awareness among the Germans from Łódź, was the German Male Gymnasium in Łódź (*Lodzer Deutsche Knabengymnasium*), founded in 1906 as the German Real Gymnasium<sup>80</sup>. The organization created in the same year (from the funds of the Constitutional and Liberal Party) called the German School and Educational Society (*Deutsche Schul- und Bildungsverein*) played an important role in its creation. The priority task of the society was to strengthen the rank of German education in and around the city, by establishing and maintaining German elementary schools, and creating the foundations for developing secondary education. During one of the meetings organized before establishing the gymnasium, Heinrich Johannson, a teacher from Łódź and future headmaster of this school, emphasized the necessity to cultivate own native language and thus, German traditions and customs. *The mother tongue – as he convinced the gathered people – is the most sacred thing we have. Mastering it precisely will keep us from the miserable international absence of expression [...]. Only when the native language becomes the language of instruction, the school can rely on a national basis, only it can convey clear and comprehensive knowledge, and protect young people from the danger of believing in false conclusions that could flourish only on the foundation of spiritual confusion, the fruit of forcing us to think in a foreign language*<sup>81</sup>.

Putting the institution into operation required considerable financial resources, that is why, the German community from Łódź and adjacent areas, as well the German citizens of the Reich were asked to support this project. The funds were collected by the Gymnasium Committee headed by the industrialists from Łódź: Ernest Leonhardt, Ludwik Schweikert, Juliusz Kindermann and others. The German Real Gymnasium was consecrated on December 29, 1906<sup>82</sup>. The institution located in a rented building on Pańska Street (Żeromskiego Street) had four classes and

<sup>78</sup> K. Radziszewska, K. Woźniak, *Pod jednym dachem...*, p. 31–32.

<sup>79</sup> A. Rothert was a member of the Women's Committee of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Orphan Asylum of the Christian Charitable Society in Łódź (Pol. II Ochronka Łódzkiego Chrześcijańskiego Towarzystwa Dobroczynności). Compare: J. Sosnowska, *Działalność Łódzkiego...*, p. 251.

<sup>80</sup> K. P. Woźniak, *Aktywność społeczna...*, p. 42.

<sup>81</sup> A quotation from: K. Radziszewska, K. Woźniak, *Pod jednym dachem...*, p. 19.

<sup>82</sup> *Niemieckimi śladami...*, p. 95.

58 students. The teaching staff was composed of: H. Johansson, headmaster, pastor Gustaw Manitus, Waldemar Kroenberg, a district teacher, and teachers: Fridrich Lehr and Herman Günther<sup>83</sup>. The gymnasium headmaster eagerly sought its own space, so in September 1908 a resolution was adopted to erect a school building. The ceremony of its opening took place one year later and the foundation stone was laid. A magnificent building, present till today, was built in December 1910, on its own building plot at 65 Nowo-Spacerowa Street (Kościuszki Avenue). This wide and modern school building was then described as *model*<sup>84</sup>. The gymnasium gained the title of the best German school outside the Reich. The high level of teaching was guaranteed by the facilities such as a number of laboratories and classrooms equipped with modern didactic aids, as well as highly qualified teaching staff. Hugo von Eltz, the counsellor, held the post of manager of the institution<sup>85</sup>. The number of students was gradually increasing. In the 1908–1909 school year, the institution had 194 students, in 1910–1911 the number was 349, and in 1913–1914 there were 481 male students. It is worth mentioning that the German Gymnasium in Łódź was attended as well by Polish, Jewish, Russian students and young people of other nations. By graduating from this school, further education at the university level was possible. In 1911, 311 Germans, 64 Jews, 2 Frenchmen, 2 Czechs and a Pole were educated<sup>86</sup>. The first ten graduates left the school in June 1914. After the outbreak of World War I, the activities run by the school and many other educational institutions in Łódź were suspended. Most of the teachers from the German Gymnasium left Łódź, the building was taken over by the Russian army and transformed into a military hospital. The standard course of classes began in the 1915–1916 school year, after the building had been made available by the German authorities occupying the city.

The German School and Educational Society contributed to the functioning of another educational institution of higher level in the city. On its initiative, in 1911, the Evangelical Teachers' University, which educated future teachers, moved from Łódź to Warsaw<sup>87</sup>. It should be noted that in the Russian partition

<sup>83</sup> K. Radziszewska, K. Woźniak, *Pod jednym dachem...*, p. 20.

<sup>84</sup> The architecture of the three-story building corresponded to the tendencies prevailing in the Berlin architecture of this period. A representative staircase, wide corridors, spacious classrooms with large windows and well-equipped workshops provided young students with very good conditions for studying. The school had a modern gym, an auditorium and its own astronomical observatory located in a round turret at the corner of the building. The German Male Gymnasium was located in this building until 1945. Currently, the buildings are owned by the University of Łódź. K. Stefański, *Gmachy użyteczności publicznej dawnej Łodzi [Public utility buildings in old Łódź]*, Łódź, Wydawska Oficyna Wydawnicza „ZORA”, 2000, p. 42–43.

<sup>85</sup> *Niemieckimi śladami...*, p. 95.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94.

<sup>87</sup> In 1899, the Evangelical German Primary School (Pol. Ewangelicka Niemiecka Szkoła Główna) was established in Warsaw which included the Male Gymnasium, the Female Gymnasium and three-year pedagogical courses (seminar) with one common management. In 1907, when its further operation was questionable, the Evangelical Church College in Warsaw decided to eliminate this institution. Then, the German Educational Society in Łódź headed by Johann Szulc, a merchant, made efforts to transfer the institution educating teachers to Łódź. K. Radziszewska, K. Woźniak, *Pod jednym dachem...*, p. 11–12; H. Krajewska, *Protestanci...*, p. 306. See also: T. Stegner, *Polacy-ewangelicy...*, p. 112.

there was a considerable demand for qualified staff for German schools, especially cantors, as their didactic level was described as low<sup>88</sup>. The new educational institution in Łódź received significant financial support from the owners of the factories, that is why, its organizers rented a flat in the building belonging to the Bank of the Industrialists in Łódź (Pol. Bank Łódzkich Przemysłowców) situated at 11/13 Ewangelicka Street (Roosevelt Street), so that they could equip it with necessary teaching aids and arrange a boarding school. Religious education was a priority in the university. The classes began with morning prayers, and particular subjects involved future work in evangelical parishes<sup>89</sup>. Particular attention was paid to music education, especially in relation to the education of cantors-organists. Although the primary goal of the Evangelical Teachers' University was to prepare students in terms of pedagogy, the aspects of nurturing their national identity were not ignored in the education of the German youth. The education at the university lasted three years. Its graduates worked in evangelical, German and cantor schools, but also in institutions for Polish children. Some students continued their education and studied theology in Tartu and became pastors<sup>90</sup>. After the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the university shared the fate of many educational institutions in the city – it was temporarily closed. The German authorities authorized the institution to commence its operation at the end of August 1916<sup>91</sup>.

Over the period of almost 90 years following the establishment of the educational institution for children of German colonists in Łódź until the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the German education underwent significant transformations. Significant factors of these changes, which had an impact on the entire educational system in Łódź at that time, included political, social and economic issues, which, in particular between 1863–1905 contributed to inhibiting its development. The persistent efforts undertaken by the Germans residing in Łódź concerning setting up their own schools with various organizational degrees were a positive impulse, which implied changes in the German education. Special care was given to the minimum level of education, i.e. making the elementary level institutions available to the youngest members of this community. Many entities participated in establishing them: public (governmental and municipal) administration, church and religious authorities, representatives of professions, management boards of philanthropy and social organizations, and private individuals. The educational needs of young people were not neglected. The perspectives related to the opening of gymnasiums followed the revolutionary events (1905-1907), and the Germans living in Łódź, similarly as other national groups, seized this opportunity.

<sup>88</sup> K. P. Woźniak, *Aktywność społeczna...*, p. 42–43.

<sup>89</sup> K. Radziszewska, K. Woźniak, *Pod jednym dachem...*, p. 17.

<sup>90</sup> H. Krajewska, *Protestanci...*, p. 306.

<sup>91</sup> The institution was given the name: the German Evangelical Teachers' University in Łódź. In 1918, the institution was nationalized, and became the State Teachers' University in Łódź with German as the language of instruction. K. Radziszewska, K. Woźniak, *Pod jednym dachem...*, p. 11.



In the development of education, the German community spotted the possibility of maintaining their national identity, cultivating traditions, customs and rituals, and above all, preserving and nurturing their own language. On the one hand, the school, as an institution, fulfilled an educational and upbringing role, and on the other hand – it was a place of belonging to your own ethnic group and religion. Without doubt, the increase in the number of German schools in Łódź, as well as the improvement of their structure and organizational forms, contributed to raising the general state of education in the city. However, until 1914, the issue of universal access to education – and not only for German children – remained an unsolved problem in the city. Elementary schools, the number of which, due to a huge population growth, did not satisfy social needs at all, were mainly overcrowded, and situated in rented rooms. Moreover, the implementation of the curricula was subject to strict supervision by the Tsar authorities. Despite various types of educational institutions offering elementary level of education in the city, such as public, private, religious, cantorial, vocational or factory schools, and the specific measures undertaken by the German nation residing in Łódź were aimed at setting up educational institutions for the youngest members of their nation, a significant number of school-age children was not subject to education at all.

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### ***German education in Łódź before 1914 – the organization, structure, and the directions of development***

#### **Summary**

Łódź, the city developing dynamically after the arrival of the first group of settlers, mainly Germans, in the 1820's had to satisfy many everyday needs of its residents. Such needs included education, which was treated in a special manner by the newcomers, as in German countries, where new residents of Łódź came from, elementary education was obligatory since the 1880's. Moreover, for the German community settling down in Łódź, education was an element of culture which made it possible to nurture and save their language, tradition, customs, and, what follows, their national identity; therefore, the community wanted to organize its own schools in the city. The first German school in Łódź was established in 1826, i.e. three years after the arrival of the first group of settlers. The curriculum included reading, reading the Bible, basics of arithmetic, copying a printed text, and knowledge of the catechism, Bible stories, and church hymns. In the period studied herein (1823–1914), German schools had various structures and organizational forms. They included elementary schools, secondary centres (gymnasiums), occupational institutions (Sunday craft schools and schools of crafts), and a teaching college. Elementary schools were the most diverse in terms of their organization, as they included: 1. government and municipal religious (evangelical and Catholic) centres; 2. religious cantor schools, which belonged to evangelical parochial communities; 3. private schools (operating in factories, and established by philanthropic and social organizations). Some of them were co-educational; other ones were only for girls or boys.

**Keywords:** German schools in Łódź before 1914; Łódź evangelical schools; cantor schools, factory schools; Sunday craft schools.