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Before and After Suppression: Jesuits and Former Jesuits in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, c. 1750-1795

In some ways the Jesuits exercised more influence in the eighteenth-century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth than anywhere else in Europe. Whereas elsewhere the Society of Jesus provided confessors and spiritual advisors to princes, in the Commonwealth it educated generations of nobles as republicans. The Jesuits ran more schools and colleges than all the other orders combined, and Jesuits were more numerous than any other single order. The research of numerous scholars has illuminated the multi-faceted activity of the Society of Jesus in the decades before suppression, allowing the revision of older verdicts on their supposedly pernicious cultural, political and educational role. This research is ongoing, but the present chapter will endeavour to synthesize some of it. It will first review the condition of the Polish-Lithuanian Jesuits in the last decades before suppression, and then consider some of the ways in which former Jesuits adapted to a variety of new roles within what was left of Poland-Lithuania. The Commonwealth was truncated by partition in 1772, reduced again in 1793, and its remnants were dismembered completely in 1795.

Catholic Europe's religious orders reached their 'brim of prosperity' in the middle decades of the eighteenth century.¹ In East-Central Europe, the cup of monastic prosperity continued to fill throughout the 1750s and 1760s. This tendency certainly applies to the Society of Jesus in the Commonwealth. Following the announcement, but before the ratification of the First Partition, the papal nuncio to the Commonwealth, Giuseppe Garampi, carried out a thorough survey of its regular clergy. Among 995 male

abbeys, monasteries, priories, friaries and other houses, he counted 137 that belonged to the Jesuits. Only the Dominicans, with 166, had more. Garampi computed that the total number of male religious clergy was 14,601, of whom 2362 were Jesuits – slightly more than any other order. In comparison, the total number of female religious was just 3211, in 156 houses, while latest estimates of the secular clergy are about 8400. Therefore, Jesuits constituted 9 per cent of the Polish-Lithuanian clergy as a whole, over 10 per cent of the male clergy, 13 per cent of the regular clergy of both sexes, 16 per cent of the male regular clergy, and among the regular clerics (as opposed to true monks, mendicants and regular canons) they constituted 67 per cent. Only about half of the Jesuits were fully ordained priests – a reflection both of their extended theological studies and of their need for numerous non-ordained brothers (coadjutors) to carry out administrative, economic and other practical tasks. Given that the overall number of regulars of both sexes in Europe peaked during the mid-eighteenth century at about 350,000 (in over 25,000 houses), while the total number of Jesuits in Europe was less than 20,000 (about 23,000 worldwide) before the wave of expulsions that began in 1759, it is clear that Poles were disproportionately numerous within the Society of Jesus as a whole.² On the eve of its suppression the Society of Jesus ran an academy at Wilno (Vilnius), 35 colleges, 32 lower schools and 88 other educational establishments, while 556 Jesuits were engaged in pedagogical work in the Commonwealth. This was several times the educational provision offered by their nearest rivals, the Piarists, but was still only a quarter of the total number of Jesuits in the Commonwealth. Most of the others, however, would have taught for a while before being assigned other tasks.³

Between 1700 and 1773 both the total number of Polish-Lithuanian Jesuits and the number of professors teaching in the order's schools and colleges grew by 69 per

cent. The order's dynamism is also reflected by the high number of novices. In 1772/73 115 of 317 novice male regulars in the Commonwealth were Jesuits.⁴ This expansion resulted in 1756 in the division of the two (Polish and Lithuanian) provinces of the Society into four. The Great Polish, Little Polish, Mazovian and Lithuanian provinces did not correspond to the internal boundaries of the Commonwealth, but did fit the distribution of Jesuit houses. The Lithuanian province included parts of Prussia, while the Mazovian province ran across the southern part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to the border with the Russian Empire. There was one exception to the upward trend. Of the ten diocesan seminaries in the Commonwealth that at some point were run by the Jesuits, only four remained in their hands on the eve of suppression. Bishops seem to have preferred priests trained to administer the sacraments and offer basic pastoral care, rather than learned defenders of the True Faith.⁵

The flourishing of the Society in the Commonwealth during the decades before 1773 was marked by the construction, extension or refurbishment of many magnificent churches and colleges. Many of the architects were themselves Jesuits. The crest of this wave was reached around 1750, but the works carried out after that date, not counting the continuation of work begun earlier, include the commencement of thirteen churches, ten colleges and three astronomical observatories. The fact that so much of the building work was undertaken in smaller towns in the Commonwealth's eastern reaches reflects the Society's continued expansion into areas with few Latin-rite Catholics.⁶

An excellent example is the church and college at Hłukszta (now Ilūkste in Latvia) in the Duchy of Courland, a feudal dependency of the Commonwealth, which had a preponderantly Lutheran population. The Jesuits had first been brought to

Courland as missionaries by the newly converted Zyberk (vel Sieberg) family in the mid-seventeenth century. This family, several of whose sons joined the Society of Jesus, successively founded a residence, a new church and a school. The latter was raised in status to a college in 1761, offering study up to the level of a one-year (rather than the full, two-year) course of philosophy, in new, brick-built premises. Following the destruction of the wooden church by fire in 1748, an impressive new brick church was raised between 1754 and 1769, again thanks to the munificence of the Zyberk family. The architect was initially Tomasz Żebrowski SI (1714-1758), professor of mathematics and astronomy at Wilno Academy, where he had built the observatory. Although he had also studied architecture in Prague and Vienna in 1750-1752, the final result, following changes made by an unknown master builder, was recognizably an example of the late Vilnan Baroque. Two slender, tapering towers flanked a slightly withdrawn concave west facade, allowing for the rippling play of light and shade. An apse formed the east end. Although the central dome was low, not rising above the roof, the interior, richly stuccoed in the rococo style, was high-vaulted with elongated windows. The high altar contained an early work by Franciszek Smuglewicz, depicting *The Sending Out of the Apostles*. This was appropriate, given the nature of the pastoral work at Iłłuksza. Sermons were preached in both Polish and Latvian, occasionally in German. The residence was at the heart of a network of eight permanent mission stations. The effects can be seen in the rising number of confessions recorded at Iłłuksza: 13,285 in 1740; 27,906 in 1769.⁷

In the last years before the suppression, the Jesuits undertook between 1500 and 1600 missions annually – more than any other order. The incultation of the basic prayers and precepts of post-Tridentine Catholicism among the population remained

work in progress.⁸ Even in the oldest heartlands of the Catholic Church in Poland, around Gniezno, Poznań and Kraków, parishes usually included several villages. In the central areas of the Polish Crown they typically extended over a hundred square kilometers, and covered twice that in those parts of Lithuania and Ruthenia in which the Latin rite was most firmly established. Further east, from the right-bank Ukraine in the south through the Polesian marshes in the middle to the lands beyond the Dvina in the north, Latin-rite parishes sprawled over thousands of square kilometers.⁹ In these areas, the principal contest for souls was waged between the Ruthenian rite of the Catholic Church (the Uniates) and Orthodoxy. Jesuits and other orders of the Latin rite aided Uniate Basilian monks in conducting missions among the rural and urban populace, but in these parts Jesuits ministered principally to the Polonophone nobility. That said, it tended to be less erudite and perhaps more compliant mendicant friars who were usually employed as chaplains in noble households, and as assistants in parishes run by the diocesan clergy. Similarly, while the Jesuits were responsible for ** of the 3995 parishes in the Commonwealth on the eve of partition, their contribution in this regard was surpassed by several other orders, led by the the Lateran Canons Regular with ** parishes.¹⁰

Among the regular clergy in the Commonwealth, the Jesuits had an exceptionally high proportion of members born into the nobility (*szlachta*). Right up until their suppression they were able to attract novices from aristocratic families. The mid-eighteenth century saw the opening of elite schools with boarding houses. The total number of boarding houses (*konwikty*) reached 18 by 1773; they ranged from the house attached to the prestigious Warsaw *collegium nobilium* to the modest facilities offered in provincial towns. It was also in these decades that public performances in poetry,

rhetoric and drama, given by pupils under the direction of their teachers for the local nobility, particularly flourished.¹¹

Much of the Jesuits' popularity among the szlachta derived from the rigour of the classical education they provided. Under the *Ratio studiorum* the progression of classes was clear and straightforward, from grammar through poetry and rhetoric to philosophy, although the exact arrangements varied according to the size of the school. The most talented youths were encouraged to study theology and enter the Society as novices. Less gifted boys from poorer families might take the first two or three classes and still benefit considerably. Latin, taught as far as possible in Latin according to the system of Emmanuel Álvarez SI, provided nobles either with the training they needed for legal practice or at least with stock phrases that enabled them to cut a better figure in the socio-political world. The severe corporal punishment routinely administered by the teachers was entirely in line with common practice in noble households.¹²

The Jesuits also adapted their message to the political culture of the szlachta. Initially, in line with their strategy elsewhere in Catholic Europe, they had supported the efforts of Stephen Báthory (1576-1586) and Sigismund III (1587-1632) to strengthen monarchical authority. This played into the hands of their opponents. The revolt of part of the nobility against Sigismund III in 1606-09 was accompanied by anti-Jesuit polemics. Not all of them were penned by Protestant and Orthodox writers. The Dominicans offered an alternative version of post-Tridentine Catholicism which proved especially attractive to nobles in south-eastern Poland. It did not take long, however, for the Jesuits to make noble republican ideas their own. The Polish-Lithuanian nobles who largely replaced foreigners in the early seventeenth-century Society of Jesus found it easier to present the Commonwealth's *aurea libertas* as a gift of Divine Providence.

The corollary was that Poles must remain faithful, obedient and generous to the True Church if that Divine favour was to continue.¹³

At their best, Jesuits encouraged the Commonwealth's noble citizens to put into practice the ubiquitous slogans of patriotic virtue in public life. But many shared the vices of those whom they educated and those from whom they were recruited. They also participated prominently in an increasingly pervasive public discourse and praxis that by the early eighteenth century had largely excluded 'heretics' and 'schismatics' from the body politic and substantially constricted the religious freedom permitted to non-Catholics. Some of the Jesuits' finest scholars were also among the most energetic foes of Protestantism. For example, Jan Poszakowski SI (1685-1757) published polemical histories of Lutheranism, Calvinism and Anglicanism, took the fight to 'atheism' and combated the astrological prognoses that filled the almanacs which were extremely popular among the szlachta.¹⁴

From the 1670s leading Jesuits were only too aware that standards in their schools had slipped since the beginning of the seventeenth century. In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, however, thanks to stimulation from the Wilno Academy, the decline was not been as pronounced as in the Polish Crown, and recovery began earlier. From the 1730s the most promising Jesuits were again sent abroad to study. By the 1750s modern languages and experimental science were being taught at Jesuit colleges across the Commonwealth. Studies in Paris and contacts via the court of King Stanisław Leszczyński in Lorraine played an important role in acquainting Polish-Lithuanian Jesuits both with the achievements and the "enlightened" enemies of their French colleagues. Following the expulsion of the Jesuits from France in 1762, twenty-six of them came to the Commonwealth.¹⁵

Following heated discussions in the early 1750s, an eclectic approach prevailed in philosophy. Various systems, including Cartesianism, Wolffianism and Newtonianism were taught, but the arbiter between them, judging what was healthy and what was harmful, remained Divine Revelation. While sometimes criticized from strictly logical viewpoints, this approach permitted significant and ongoing changes to the curriculum.¹⁶ In consequence, however, philosophy was purged of much of its metaphysical content and was often presented in a stripped down fashion as little more than experimental physics and logic.¹⁷

Stanisław August Poniatowski was elected King of Poland in 1764. As a well-travelled adept of *les lumières*, he had no taste for confessional controversies. He also despised most regulars, especially mendicant friars, as purveyors of “superstition” and “fanaticism”, but he believed in a Providential God, and maintained an exemplary public piety. He also needed “enlightened” allies among the clergy. Apart from the Jesuits he favoured the Theatines, whose elite Warsaw school he had attended in the 1740s, the Priests of the Mission (Lazarists), and the Piarists, whose most respected member was the polymath Stanisław Konarski (1700-1773). Stanisław August recruited such luminaries to his cause of political, social, economic, intellectual and cultural reform. Among this royal party Jesuits were the most numerous, including the distinguished rhetorician, dramatist and essayist Franciszek Bohomolec SI (1724-1784). However, the king did the Jesuits an injustice by stating in his memoirs that they had only begun to reform their schools when prompted to do so by Piarist competition. Their prowess in astronomy led him to assign them the ultimately uncompleted task of mapping the Commonwealth.¹⁸

Stanisław August's ambitions collided with the suspicions both of the szlachta and of Catherine II of Russia, who had gifted him the throne. The empress was determined to keep the Commonwealth weak and manipulable. She resolved on restoring equal political rights to the Commonwealth's non-Catholic noble citizens and pursued this policy despite the fervent opposition of the great majority of Polish nobles and the Holy See. The resulting convulsions led to the First Partition in 1772.¹⁹

The Commonwealth lost about a third of its territory and population. Thirty-seven Jesuit houses with about 500 Jesuits were in the lands annexed by Russia, Prussia and Austria.²⁰ These powers demanded that the Commonwealth ratify the amputations. Under threat of further loss of territory a delegation, selected from among the members of the sejm, was empowered to conduct business on behalf of the full sejm. This was an enabling device familiar from the previous sejm, held in 1767-68, which Russia had bullied into conceding equal political rights to non-Catholic religious dissidents. It was during this second "delegation sejm", which lasted from April 1773 to ** 1775, that news arrived in Warsaw that Clement XIV had on 21 July 1773 signed the breve suppressing the Society of Jesus, *Dominus ac Redemptor*. By early September 1773 it was also known that on 16 August the suppression had been executed in Rome, and that on 18 August instructions had been sent to all papal nuncios to proceed with the suppression in the territories under their jurisdiction. This meant that the dissolution of the order in Galicia fell to the nuncio in Vienna, while the question of the suppression in other former Polish-Lithuanian lands became a matter of negotiation with Frederick II and Catherine II. It was because of the First Partition, therefore, that the former Jesuits survived as Jesuits – until 1780 in Prussia and 1820 in Russia.

The nuncio to the Commonwealth, Giuseppe Garampi, formally delivered the breve to the Chancellor of the Polish Crown, Andrzej Młodziejowski, who was also bishop of Poznań.²¹ He handed the matter to the sejm's delegation, which discussed it in mid-September, before referring it to the full sejm. On 28 September the sejm agreed in principle to accept the suppression, despite several speeches on behalf of the Jesuits, and a desperate offer, organized by the rector of the Warsaw *Collegium Nobilium*, Karol Wyrwicz SI (1717-1793), that the Jesuits would give up their property to the Commonwealth and depend only on alms, if the king and the sejm would prevent the implementation of the breve.²²

By the terms of the breve, the Jesuits became secular clergymen. Most Jesuits were not directly involved in teaching at that point; we shall look at their fate later. It was however the Jesuit colleges that most concerned the szlachta. Faced with an educational catastrophe if no action were taken (perhaps 20,000 pupils were taught in Jesuit schools)²³ and unwilling to countenance a vast expansion of episcopal wealth and influence if the suppression was treated as a purely ecclesiastical matter, the sejm decided that the order's property would become an educational fund. Similar solutions were adopted in other Catholic states – the Holy See had little choice but to acquiesce. On 14 October 1773 the sejm established the Commission for National Education, chaired by the bishop of Wilno, Ignacy Massalski. The Commission enjoined the Jesuits to stay at their posts, especially in schools, and the bishops implemented the suppression in the course of November 1773. 1869 Jesuits in 104 houses were affected. Wilno University and all the schools and colleges remaining in the truncated Commonwealth, 46 institutions in all, continued their work under the auspices of the Commission.²⁴

There was a sting in the tail – the work of the corrupt clique paid by Russia to procure the ratification of the partition treaties. Before the former Jesuit property was handed over to the Commission, it would be surveyed. The surveyors appointed by the sejm were powerless to prevent the former Jesuits' neighbours, including several bishops, from appropriating harvests, livestock, furniture, silver, fields, woods, and even peasants. Indeed, many surveyors were among the worst pillagers. After four months, in March 1774, the sejm delegation established two Distributive Commissions, for the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, chaired by Bishops Młodziejowski and Massalski respectively, to complete the surveying and sale of the former Jesuit properties. The purchasers of landed estates would have to pay the Educational Fund 4.5 per cent of the income. Thirty-two commissioners each enjoyed salaries of 8000 złotys a year – four times the income to be had from a respectable parish. They failed, however, to pay the ex-Jesuits anything like the modest annual sum of 300,000 złotys designated by the sejm for their sustenance. The commissioners undervalued many properties, before buying them for themselves, or else selling them to their friends and clients. In these various ways the Educational Fund was pillaged of at least a third of its theoretical value, to a growing tide of criticism, before the king and his allies were finally able to expose and halt the malefactions.²⁵

The sejm of 1776 abolished the Distributive Commissions and entrusted the Educational Commission with direct responsibility for the Educational Fund. Bishop Massalski, complicit in the abuse, was sidelined. Henceforth, under the energetic leadership of the king's youngest brother Michał Poniatowski, since 1773 bishop of Płock and from 1785 archbishop of Gniezno and primate of Poland, the Commission's finances were administered with honesty and rigour. Former Jesuits began to receive

modest but adequate salaries as teachers in the Commission's schools, or pensions if they were deemed too infirm to continue. Nevertheless, much damage had been done. The Commission struggled to maintain the educational provision existing in 1773, while many former Jesuit teachers were utterly demoralized. Many left, never to return. Many of those weakened by their tribulations probably died prematurely. Many school buildings lost their roofs and windows, leading to the ruin or theft of libraries and scientific instruments. Some of the former Jesuit schools were transferred to other orders (the Piarists, Basilians, Benedictines and Cistercians) along with the responsibility for maintaining them. The Priests of the Mission took over at Iłkuksza in 1787. A few schools were closed down altogether.²⁶

Massalski, who as bishop of Wilno was also chancellor of the university, was unable to prevent its decline after the suppression. The Educational Commission's visitor, Józef Wybicki, found few signs of life in 1777. However, given that the Commission lacked the funds to establish a new university in Warsaw, it decided to transform the existing Academies of Kraków and Wilno into the 'Principal Schools' of the Crown and Lithuania respectively. They had their curricula and structures reformed, were given responsibilities for training lay teachers and for visiting and supervising the Commission's secondary schools. The Vilnan reform was long compared unfavourably with that conducted in Kraków. The reform in Wilno began more slowly, but after Marcin Poczubut was appointed rector in 1780 it proceeded smoothly. Due to the friendlier relations between ex-Jesuit visitors and teachers, the new procedures worked with less friction than in the Crown, while there is no evidence of lower standards. At Wilno University former Jesuits worked harmoniously with Piarists, secular clergymen and laymen. Much credit must go to the rector's efforts and emollience. As Massalski's

star waned among the clergy and nobility of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, so Poczobut's waxed. It was a pity that he now had little time to observe the heavens from the state-of-the-art observatory.²⁷

The Commission for National Education got to work on new curricula and primers. The latter were the responsibility of the Society for Textbooks (*Towarzystwo do Ksiąg Elementarnych*) established in 1775.²⁸ Of its twenty-two employees over two decades, ten were former Jesuits. As in Wilno, older rivalries were set aside as they worked fruitfully with Piarists and laymen. Two ex-Jesuits, Andrzej Gawroński (1740-1813) and Szczepan Hołowczyc (1742-1823) went on to become bishop of Cracow and archbishop of Warsaw respectively at the end of their lives.²⁹

By far the most important member of the Society was the former Jesuit Grzegorz Piramowicz (1735-1801). He was the protégé of Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski and Ignacy Potocki, both educational commissioners, whom he advised and assisted, and who presented him to two well-endowed parishes, but nobody questioned his talent, industriousness, patriotism or character. Besides numerous primers, including *Wymowa i poezja dla szkół narodowych* (Rhetoric and Poetry for the National Schools, 1792), one work stands out: *Powinności nauczyciela* (Duties of the Teacher, 1787) remains a pedagogical classic because of its child-centered humanity and common sense. Unlike many of the commissioners, Piramowicz regarded primary education for the common people as a priority. His last three works, written after the Third Partition, were intended to console and improve the peasantry.³⁰

Twenty-three ex-Jesuits worked for the Educational Commission as school visitors; 119 held positions as rectors, pro-rectors and prefects of the Commission's schools. At least 308 taught and 47 preached in those schools. At least 445, known by

name, worked in various capacities for the Commission during the twenty-one years of its existence. The actual numbers may have been twice as many. Ninety were left in 1790/91. Until the early 1780s, however, they predominated among the teachers of the Commission's own schools.³¹

In some schools former Jesuits managed to work concordantly with newly trained lay teachers. Unsurprisingly however, lifestyles and belief systems did sometimes clash, scandalizing parents. Not all of the complaints against lay teachers and new-fangled curricula should be attributed merely to the bitterness of former Jesuits and the unthinking conservatism of the szlachta.³² An instruction from the Educational Commission to the University of Wilno, dated 9 March 1789, reacted to the scandal caused by the absence of some lay teachers from confession for over a year by renewing the requirement of monthly confession, made together with the pupils.³³ Many highly educated nobles were concerned by the ambitious new methods of teaching Latin, which by focusing on students' ability to understand classical texts, left many of them unable to communicate orally in the language.³⁴

During the Polish Revolution, or Four Years' Parliament of 1788-92, amidst unprecedented public discussion of diverse subjects, controversies raged around the Commission for National Education. Alarmed by threats to use the Educational Fund to pay for the much larger army that was being recruited and equipped, Poczobut formed an unlikely alliance with his fellow astronomer at the University of Kraków, the radically "enlightened" layman Jan Śniadecki. Together they lobbied the sejm, so effectively that the renewed statutes for the Commission extended its autonomy and prerogatives. Then in the autumn of 1790, the ex-Jesuit Stefan Łuski published an offer that former Jesuits would teach for nothing, relying on Providence and alms, if the

Commonwealth would ask Pope Pius VI to restore the Society of Jesus. The Educational Fund could then be applied to the army. A majority of their local assemblies (sejmiks) of the szlachta duly called on the sejm to seek the restoration of the order, amidst a welter of complaints against the Commission. This criticism came despite the best efforts of Marcin Poczubut, who co-ordinated the campaign for restoration in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. However, given the evident diplomatic impossibility of restoring the Society of Jesus, the king, the papal nuncio and their allies were able to deflect calls made in the sejm during 1791 to make such a request to the Pope. The row did however contribute to a polarization of opinion. Members of Ignacy Potocki's circle spread fears that ex-Jesuits, in constant contact with their former brethren in the Russian Empire, could spread Russian influence. While the king publicly praised the Society's contribution to knowledge and religion, he privately disparaged the "fanatisme jesuitique" of those who sought the Society's restoration. In no way, however, did the episode diminish his respect and affection for individual ex-Jesuits.³⁵

Many if not most former Jesuits were not engaged in pedagogical work in or after 1773. For the best connected, many opportunities opened up – as they did in Catholic parts of Germany.³⁶ The most prominent ex-Jesuit was the court poet and historian Adam Naruszewicz (1733-1796). Having gained the patronage of the Czartoryskis while a professor in Wilno, he subsequently became a favourite of King Stanisław August, who in 1771 entrusted him with his monthly literary periodical, *Zabawy Przyjemne i Pożyteczne* (Pastimes Pleasant and Useful), which featured translations of Latin and French poetical and prose works into Polish, accompanied by new compositions. Naruszewicz reacted to the suppression with a heartfelt lament. Royal friendship brought him fame, especially as the author of the six-volume *Historia*

narodu polskiego (History of the Polish Nation), but it also meant that he was expected to hold time-consuming offices of state. He became coadjutor to the bishop of Smolensk in 1774, and thereby titular bishop of Emmaus, but he achieved independence only when he became bishop of Łuck (Lutsk) in 1790. The destruction of the Commonwealth contributed to the terminal melancholy of his last years.

Not dissimilar was the career of Jan Albertrandi (1731-1808), an assiduous scholar who had been professor of Hebrew in Warsaw. He assisted Franciszek Bohomolec with the king's essay periodical *Monitor* in the late 1760s and in 1770-71 edited *Zabawy Przyjemne i Pożyteczne*. Having spent the years 1771-74 in Rome as preceptor to the young aristocrat Feliks Łubieński, on his return he gave his Roman and Greek medals to the king, who made him his archivist and custodian of the royal collections of antiquities and numismatics. Having joined the Society for Textbooks in 1775 Albertrandi spent long periods abroad, searching for and copying documents relating to Poland in foreign archives. He became canon of Gniezno in 1785, and titular bishop of Zenopolis, with responsibility for the Warsaw archdeaconry, in 1795. As an ecclesiastical censor he kept a watch for signs of 'Jacobinism' in the 1790s, and he spent the last eight years of his life as the *spiritus movens* of the Warsaw Society for the Friends of Science.³⁷

Jowin Bystrzycki (1737-1821) was another royal protégé. Having excelled in astronomy at Wilno, he was recommended by Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski to the king, who created him astronomer royal after the suppression, entrusting him with the Royal Castle's own observatory. In return Bystrzycki received some choice benefices, including a canonry of Warsaw. His parish of Stężyca, acquired in 1783, brought him a comfortable annual income of over 5000 złotys without counting other emoluments.³⁸

Stefan Łuski (1725-1793), another distinguished astronomer and mathematician, was the last rector of the Warsaw college. Following the suppression he offered the king his collection of astronomical and scientific instruments and received a lifetime privilege to publish *Wiadomości Warszawskie*, of which he had succeeded Bohomolec as editor. Shortly renamed *Gazeta Warszawska* (Warsaw Gazette), this twice-weekly newspaper took an ambivalent, but increasingly critical line towards ‘age of enlightenment’. On the one hand he drew attention to new discoveries, favourably reported the work of the Educational Commission and criticized popular “superstitions”. For the most part, however, *Gazeta Warszawska* reported court ceremonies and grand funerals lengthily, but foreign news tardily and without comment, apart from the occasional sardonic aside on the fate of the Jesuits. During the French Revolution the *Gazeta*, assailed by ideologically radical competitors, hardened its stance. Łuski, together with his friend Karol Wyrwicz, also had a sideline in the wine trade.³⁹

Gazeta Warszawska faced some competition from the monthly *Pamiętnik Historyczno-Polityczny* (Historical and Political Recorder), published by another ex-Jesuit, Piotr Świtkowski (1744-1793). Having not yet completed his theological studies in 1773, Świtkowski drew a pension from the educational fund, although he had hardly taught at all, and became a canon of Livonia. For a decade after 1782, on the pages of *Pamiętnik* and other, more ephemeral periodicals, he campaigned in the conjoined cause of ‘enlightenment’ and ‘tolerance’ by calling attention to scientific discoveries, economic and commercial advances, social improvements and diverse ‘enlightened’ policies all over Europe. He was enamoured of Joseph II’s ecclesiastical reforms, and took a particular interest in schemes to ameliorate the condition of the Polish peasantry.

Wyrwicz took Świtkowski to task for his unqualified endorsement of religious tolerance and corrected numerous errors in three volumes titled *Pamiętnikowi pro memoria*.⁴⁰

Franciszek Bohomolec remained in charge of the Jesuits' Warsaw printing house, renamed the 'National Printing House', until his death in 1784. His brother Jan (1724-1795), who in 1772 had published an influential, carefully argued rational case against the great majority of alleged cases of apparitions, vampires, witchcraft, prognosis and such like in *Diabeł w swojej postaci* (The Devil in his own Guise), became tutor to the sons of the magnate Franciszek Bieliński, before acquiring the lucrative and populous parish of Praga – a suburb of Warsaw. He dispensed considerable sums in philanthropy, much of it benefiting the parish school.⁴¹

Most former Jesuits, however, neither achieved this degree of intellectual celebrity, nor enjoyed comparable patronage. If they could not teach, they were forced to seek parish work, including that of humble mansionaries (*mansjonarze*) or assistants (*wikariusze*), or employment as chaplains to wealthier nobles. Most benefices in the Commonwealth were far from lucrative, and many ex-Jesuits faced the prospect of a destitute old age.⁴²

Testimony to these problems comes from the pitiful requests for pensions from the Educational Commission, addressed to the rector of Wilno University. Augustyn Badowski, born in 1717, who had worked as a missionary both in the Commonwealth's easternmost reaches and in Mazovia before the suppression, pleaded for help in 1791: 'deprived of my presbytery on account of advanced age, I am in the direst poverty'.⁴³ Not all of the supplicants were septuagenarians. For example, Mikołaj Myszkowski, who taught in Wilno and later in Grodno, begged Poczobut to be allowed to retire and

draw a pension, citing the poverty of his parish and his failing health and strength, for five years before he was finally able to step down in 1791 at the age of fifty.⁴⁴

At the close we return to the pivotal figure of Marcin Poczobut. After the national calamities of 1792-95 he adapted the post-Jesuit university to the harsher realities of the Russian Empire before handing on the torch of enlightenment to Śniadecki. The University's golden age would last into the 1820s. Poczobut lived out his last years quietly in the Jesuit house in Dyneburg – annexed by Russia in 1772. He died just four years before the restoration of 1814. Poczobut exemplifies a balance between religious orthodoxy and scientific curiosity characteristic of “enlightened Catholicism”. His intellectual stance was at once eclectic and empirical. He retained an unshakeable attachment to his order while engaging wholeheartedly in the work of the Commission for National Education at the highest level. By word and deed he articulated a fervent Polish-Lithuanian patriotism. Poczobut's life and work prompts the reflection that while the suppression of the Society of Jesus by no means ended Jesuits' contribution to the life of the Commonwealth,⁴⁵ it was the partitions of the country in which they had enjoyed most popularity that created the conditions for the continuous existence of the Society of Jesus between suppression in 1773 and restoration in 1814. That paradoxical situation is explained by Marek Inglot SI's contribution to this volume.

Notes

¹ The title of part I of Derek Beales, *Prosperity and Plunder: European Catholic Monasteries in the Age of Revolution, 1650-1815* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2003).

² Jan Poplatek SI, *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej. Udział byłych jezuitów w pracach Komisji Edukacji Narodowej* (WAM: Kraków, 1974), 31, 415-20, revises the number of personnel to 2341 and the total number of houses (colleges, residences and mission stations) to 141. See Ludomir Bieńkowski, “Ankieta zakonna Garampiego z 1773 roku”, in *Zakony męskie w 1772 roku*, eds. Ludomir Bieńkowski, Jerzy Kłoczowski and Zbigniew Sułowski (KUL: Lublin, 1972), 115-60, and the tables between pp. 183-294. Garampi’s survey remains the best basis for comparisons between orders. For European comparisons, see Beales, *Prosperity and Plunder*, 2, 147. For the Jesuits worldwide: Inglot 1997, p. 5.

³ Poplatek, *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej*, 415-20.

⁴ Stanisław Bednarski SI, *Upadek i odrodzenie szkół jezuickich w Polsce. Studium z dziejów kultury i szkolnictwa polskiego* (WAM: Kraków, 1933, repr. 2003), 112-18, tables II-VIII. Stanisław Litak, “Jezuici na tle innych zakonów męskich w Polsce w XVI-XVIII wieku”, in *Jezuici a kultura polska*, eds. Ludwik Grzebień SI and Stanisław Obirek SI, Kraków: WAM, 1993, 185-98 (192). Jerzy Flaga, *Formacja i kształcenie duchowieństwa zakonnego w Rzeczypospolitej w XVII i XVIII w.* (KUL: Lublin, 1998), 146-47.

⁵ Ludwik Piechnik SI, “Jezuickie seminaria diecezjalne w Polsce (1564-1773)”, in *Jezuicka ars educandi. Prace ofiarowane ks. Ludwikowi Piechnikowi SJ*, eds. Maria Wolańczyk and Stanisław Obirek SI (WAM: Kraków, 1995), 75-96.

⁶ The new churches ere at Iłkuksza (Ilūkste), Kamieniec Podolski (Kam'an'ets Podil's'kyi), Kościeniewiczach, Łęczycza, Nowogródek (Navahrudak), Owruć (Ovruch), Stanisławów (now Ivano-Frankivsk), Wałcz, Włodzimierz (Volodymyr Volyns'kyi), Wschowa, Żodziszki (Zhodzishki), Żuromin and Żytomierz (Zhytomyr). Significant rebuilding work was undertaken at Grodno (Hrodna), Jarosław, Lublin, Pińsk (Pinsk), Płock, Przemyśl and Wilno (Vilnius). The new colleges were at Bar, Bobrujsk (Babruisk), Dyneburg (Daugavpils), Kowno (Kaunas), Łomża, Mścislaw (Ms'tislavl'), Piotrków, Owrocz, Winnica (Vinnitsa) and Żodziszki. The observatories were at the academies or colleges of Lwów (L'viv), Poznań and Wilno. Jerzy Paszcenda SI, 'Geografia budowli jezuickich w Polsce', in idem, *Budowle jezuickie w Polsce XVI-XVIII w.*, 3 vols. (WAM: Kraków, 1999) i. 15-23. Cf. Litak, "Jezuici na tle innych zakonów", 194-96.

⁷ Jerzy Paszcenda SI, 'Kościół jezuitów w Iłkukszcie', in idem, *Budowle jezuickie*, i. 25-52. Kristīne Ogle, 'Contribution of the Society of Jesus to the Heritage of Architecture of Latvia', in *Jėzuitai Lietuvoje (1608-2008): gyvenimas, veiklas, paveldas/Jesuits in Lithuania (1608-2008): Life, Work, Heritage*, ed. Neringa Markauskaitė (Lietuvos nacionalinis muziejus: Vilnius, 2012), 105-21 (115-17). Marek Ingot SI, *Kolegium księży jezuitów w Iłkukszcie* (WAM: Kraków, 2000). *Encyklopedia wiedzy o Jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy 1564-1995*, eds. Ludwik Grzebień SI et al. (WAM: Kraków, 1996), 227-28. The Church was ruined during the First World War, and not rebuilt.

⁸ Jerzy Flaga, *Działalność duszpasterska zakonów w drugiej połowie XVIII w. 1767-1772* (KUL: Lublin, 1986), 159-85.

⁹ Stanisław Litak, *Parafie w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI-XVIII wieku. Struktura, funkcje społeczno-religijne i edukacyjne* (IESW: Lublin, 2004), 45, 56-68.

¹⁰ Stanisław Załęski SI, *Historia zniesienia zakonu jezuitów i jego zachowanie na Białej Rusi*, 2 vols. (*****: Lwów, 1874-75), ii. 9. Flaga, *Działalność duszpasterska zakonów*, 41-80, 128-38. Idem, *Zakony męskie w Polsce w 1772 roku*, ii:2, *Duszpasterstwo* (KUL: Lublin, 1991), 200-01.

¹¹ Załęski, *Historia zniesienia*, ii. 22, 25. Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie*, 439-64. Ludwik Piechnik SI, “Jezuickie Collegium Nobilium w Warszawie”, in *Z dziejów szkolnictwa jezuickiego w Polsce. Wybór artykułów*, eds. Jerzy Paszenda SI (WAM: Kraków, 1994), 151-82. Kazimierz Puchowski, “Collegium Nobilium Societatis Iesu w Wilnie. Z dziejów kształcenia elit politycznych w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej”, in *Jezuicka ars educandi. Prace ofiarowane ks. Ludwikowi Piechnikowi SJ*, eds. Maria Wolańczyk and Stanisław Obirek SI (WAM:Kraków, 1995), pp. 221-38.

¹² Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie*, 98-111, 156-213, 393-99. Ludwik Piechnik SI, “Działalność Jezuitów polskich na polu szkolnictwa (1565-1773)”, in *Jezuici a kultura polska*, 243-59.

¹³ Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie*, pp. 24-30. See Stanisław Obirek SI, *Jezuici w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów w latach 1564-1668. Działalność religijna, społeczno-kulturalna i polityczna* (WAM: Kraków, 1996), esp. 105-49, 198-99, 230-44, 266-73, 283-89; cf. Piotr Stolarski, *Friars on the Frontier: Catholic Renewal and the Dominican Order in Southeastern Poland, 1594-1648* (Ashgate: Farnham and Burlington, VT, 2010).

¹⁴ Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie*, 84-85. Bronisław Natoński SI, *Humanizm jezuicki i teologia pozytywno-kontrowersyjna od XVI do XVIII wieku. Nauka i piśmiennictwo*, 2nd edn (WAM: Kraków, 2003), p. 201. Wojciech Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy w epoce saskiej (1696-1763). Sytuacja prawna, organizacja i stosunki*

międzywyznaniowe (Semper: Warsaw, 1996), pp. 176-77. Rita Urbaitytė, ‘Lietuvos jėzuitų vaidmuo naujienų perdavime’, in *Jėzuitai Lietuvoje*, 219-31.

¹⁵ Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie*, 63-81, 249-53, 338-74. Ludwik Piechnik SI, “Przemiany w szkolnictwie jezuickim w Polsce XVIII wieku”, in *Z dziejów szkolnictwa jezuickiego w Polsce. Wybór artykułów*, ed. Jerzy Paszenda SI (WAM: Kraków, 1994), 183-209. Idem, *Dzieje Akademii Wileńskiej*, 4 vols. (*****: Rome, 1983-90).

¹⁶ Stanisław Janeczek, *Oświecenie chrześcijańskie. Z dziejów polskiej kultury filozoficznej* (KUL: Lublin, 1994).

¹⁷ Roman Darowski SI, “Zarys filozofii jezuitów w Polsce od XVI do XIX wieku”, in *Wkład jezuitów do nauki i kultury w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów i pod zaborami*, ed. I. Stasiewicz-Jasiukowa (WAM: Kraków, 2004), pp. 119-52 (138-39).

¹⁸ *Mémoires du roi Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski*, 2 vols., St. Petersburg/Leningrad, 1914-24, ii. 206-10. Emanuel Rostworowski, “Religijność i polityka wyznaniowa Stanisława Augusta”, in *Życie kulturalne i religijność w czasach Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego*, ed. Marian Marek Drozdowski (Wydawnictwo Sejmowe: Warsaw, 1991), 11-24. Cf. Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie*, 31-32, 48, 54-57, 88-90, 144-54, 232-33, 242-47; Irena Kadulka, “Miejsce Franciszka Bohomolca w osiągnięciach teatru jezuickiego”, in *Jezuici a kultura polska*, 113-20.

¹⁹ See Zofia Zielińska, *Polska w okowach systemu północnego 1763-1766*, Kraków: Arcana, 2012; Władysław Konopczyński, *Pierwszy rozbiór Polski*, ed. Zofia Zielińska, Kraków: Arcana, 2010; Jerzy Lukowski, *The Partitions of Poland: 1772, 1793, 1795*, Harlow: Longman, 1999, 52-81.

²⁰ Inglot 1997, 5, 7-8, gives slightly higher figures for the number of Jesuits who found themselves in Russia than Poplatek, *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej*, p. 415.

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- ²¹ Larry Wolff, *The Vatican and Poland in the Age of the Partitions: Diplomatic and Cultural Encounters at the Warsaw Nunciature* (Columbia University Press: Boulder, CO, and New York, 1988), **-**.
- ²² Załęski, *Historia zniesienia*, ii. **-**.
- ²³ Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie*, 117-18.
- ²⁴ Poplatek, *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej*, **-**.
- ²⁵ *Volumina Legum*, 8 vols. (Jozafat Ohryzko: St. Petersburg, 1859-60), viii. **-**. Poplatek, *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej*, 41-51. Ambroise Jobert, *La Commission d'Education Nationale en Pologne (1773-1794). Son oeuvre d'instruction civique*, (****: Paris, 1941), 164-174.
- ²⁶ One former Jesuit, Bartłomiej Rukiewicz, continued to teach rhetoric and poetry at Hłuszcza until 1792. Poplatek, *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej*, 291-93.
- ²⁷ Irena Szybiak, *Szkolnictwo Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim* (Ossolineum: Wrocław, 1973), 44-67, 117-94; Janina Kamińska, *Universitas Vilnensis. Akademia Wileńska i Szkoła Główna Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego 1773-1792* (*****: Pułtusk and Warsaw, 2004); Mark O'Connor SJ, "Oświecenie katolickie i Marcin Poczobut SJ", in *Jezuici a kultura polska*, 41-49.
- ²⁸ Jobert, *Commission d'Education Nationale*, 197-202.
- ²⁹ Poplatek, *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej*, 81-84. Irena Stasiewicz-Jasiukowa, "O współpracy jezuicko-pijarskiej w Towarzystwie do Ksiąg Elementarnych. 'Concordia parvae res crescunt, discordia vel maximae dilabuntur'", in *Jezuicka Ars Historica. Prace ofiarowane Księdzu Profesorowi Ludwikowi Grzebieniowi SJ*, eds. Marek Ingot SI and Stanisław Obirek SI (WAM: Kraków, 2001), 515-37.
- ³⁰ Poplatek, *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej*, 71-74.

³¹ Ibid., 394-401.

³² Such was the interpretation popularized by Władysław Smoleński, “Żywioty zachowawcze i Komisya Edukacyjna”, in idem, *Pisma Historyczne*, 2 vols. (*****: Kraków, 1901), ii. 95-206.

³³ “Pisma oryginalne Komissyi Edukacyi Narodowej do Szkoły Głównej W. X. Litewskiego z l. 1781-1794”, Vilnius Universiteto Biblioteka, Fondas 2, DC 30, f. 109.

³⁴ Smoleński, “Żywioty zachowawcze”, 159-61; Stanisław Janeczek, *Edukacja oświeceniowa a szkoła tradycyjna. Z dziejów kultury intelektualnej i filozoficznej* (KUL: Lublin, 2008), 101-06.

³⁵ Richard Butterwick, *The Polish Revolution and the Catholic Church, 1788-1792: A Political History* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2012), 45, 162, 218-29, 290-94.

³⁶ Cf. Michael Schaich, “Zwischen Beharrung und Wandel. (Ex-)Jesuitische Strategien im Umgang mit der Öffentlichkeit”, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 17 (2002): 193-217.

³⁷ Poplatek, *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej*, 75-77.

³⁸ Ibid., 237-38.

³⁹ Ibid., 60-61. Irena Łossowska, “Kontrowersje wokół Stefana Łuskiny SJ – dziennikarza i redaktora”, in *Wkład Jezuitów*, 663-82. Cf. Jerzy Łojek, “*Gazeta Warszawska*” ks. *Łuskiny 1774-1793* (Książka i Wiedza: Warsaw, 1959).

⁴⁰ Irena Łossowska, “Piotr Świtkowski”, in *Pisarze polskiego Oświecenia*, eds. Teresa Kostkiewiczowa and Zbigniew Goliński, 3 vols. (PWN: Warsaw, 1994), ii. 305-31.

⁴¹ Dorota Pietrzekiewicz-Sobczak, “Jan Bohomolec SJ – oświecony filantrop” in *Wkład Jezuitów*, 683-712.

⁴² Poplatek, *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej*, 389.

⁴³ A. Badowski to M. Poczobut, Mikuć, 2 August 1791, Vilnius Universiteto

Biblioteka, Fondas 2, DC 38, no. 8. *Encyklopedia*, 24.

⁴⁴ Poplatek, *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej*, 290, 382. M. Myszkowski to M. Poczobut, Grodno, 29 December 1786, 24 February 1789, 16 April 1790, 22 July 1791, Vilnius Universiteto Biblioteka, Fondas 2, DC 44, ff. 189-94.

⁴⁵ Irena Stasiewicz-Jasiukowa, "O kondycji naukowej jezuitów polskich", in *Wkład jezuitów*, 15-30 (16-20).