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Female adult educators on Polish Lands 1880s–1910s: a group portrait

ABSTRACT: This article is a sketch of a group portrait of a generation of women actively involved in participating in, organizing, running, and remaking a great number of educational provisions for adults. Most of them belonged to a generation of "the unsubdued", usually born after the January Uprising (1863), who became adults in the mid-1880s. The group portrait consists of 14 female adult educators, whose lives are depicted with a relevant political, social, and economic background of the period, including their country of residence.

KEYWORDS: Female adult educator, women's emancipation, adult education associations, clandestine education, higher education for women.

Educational work conducted amidst adults, the process of raising the general level of the education and culture of a given society, as well as awakening social and national awareness, constituted the work of thousands of educators and hundreds of activists. The article presented below outlines portraits of just 14 women – particularly acclaimed initiators and prime executors of educational undertakings, authors of programmes, lecturers, and scholars, who represented assorted political views, but shared involvement and belief in the need for their activity.

Educational undertakings addressed to adults – planned and organized on a larger scale – date back to the 1880s. Earlier campaigns were sporadic and, as a rule, remained the initiatives of particular persons. Now, the situation had changed and women assumed an increasingly significant role among persons and newly emergent institutions and organizations.

It is for all practical purposes impossible to determine the range of illegal educational provisions for children, youth, and adults simply due to conditions demanding to leave as little evidence of pertinent activity as possible. Thus available sources are absent, partial, or random. The predominant category is composed of memoirs and other accounts written by organizers, teachers, and participants, as well as reminiscences left by their contemporaries (Bron, 1994). Their attitudes, opinions, and appeals are to be found in various texts: educational, informative, polemics published in journals, newspapers and brochures, and in speeches delivered at conferences or public lectures. First and foremost, we know about schools, courses, organizations, etc. that had been uncovered, and about preserved documents of the tsarist secret police (Dufrat, 2001; Micińska, 2008; Nietyksza, 1995).

This article is a sketch of a group portrait of a generation of women actively involved in participating in, organizing, running, and re-making a plethora of educational provisions for adults. The titular 14 female adult educators did not create a single adult educational association or a women's party with a statute and programme that would facilitate the analysis. Quite the opposite. They represented a variety of organizations and different ideological worldviews. However, the presented group portrait comprises women who contributed most to the development of various adult education initiatives and exerted an impact on a great number of adult learners. Most of them belonged to a generation of "the unsubdued" (a term coined by Cywiński, 1971), usually born after the January Uprising (1863), whose members reached adulthood in the mid-1880s and refused to be(come) submissive to tsarist duress. The group portrait is composed of the lives of a mere 14 women among the numerous and largely nameless group of educational activists[1] (Bron, 1984).

Drawing a collective portrait of women pioneering in adult education requires placing the depicted group in a historical context. Its elements include data about the identity of the adherents of the group, their social background, attended schools, achieved education, family and professional lives, activity in adult education, and, most importantly, their contribution to educational provisions for adults.

[1] The following three Polish adult education pioneers: Iza Moszczeńska, Stefania Sempołowska and Jadwiga Szczawińska-Dawidowa are mentioned here only sporadically, as they are the subject of separate articles in this issue. A list of those 14 female adult education pioneers is available at the end of this article.

Poland: one nation – three countries

In 1795 Poland ceased to exist as an independent state. In three consecutive steps (1772, 1775, 1795) three neighbouring powers – Russia, Prussia and Austria – divided its territory. Before regaining independence in 1918, Poles instigated several uprisings against the partitioning powers (especially tsarist Russia). All ended in military defeat and brought about reprisals against the Polish population. The failure of the January Uprising of 1863–1864 resulted in immediate executions, confiscations of property, and deportations to Siberia. In March 1864 Russia liberated peasants living in its partition area. The abolishment of serfdom accelerated the growth of towns and industry. From the late 1860s Poland (i.e. Polish lands) experienced profound social and economic changes. Due to many agrarian setbacks affecting Polish lands in the 1870s and 1880s numerous Polish landowning families were compelled to move to towns in the Russian partition and to seek employment.

Russian and Prussian authorities implemented a harsh policy of suppressions aimed especially against Polish culture. In 1868 Russian was introduced as the language of instruction in all secondary schools; in the following year the decree included also all private schools. Although it sounds absurd, school attendance as such was a threat to Polish national identity. A similar situation developed in the Prussian partition, where schools became an instrument of Germanization. In response, an extended and effective network of all kinds of independent underground activity was created and put into operation to preserve "Polishness", particularly in the Russian partition. Illegal courses in Polish language and history (attended by children, adolescents, and adults), the publication of booklets and their distribution, and public (although illegal!) lectures were organized. While in Russian and Austrian partitions the core of activists in educational, women's or social movements came from a newly emergent social stratum – the intelligentsia, representing various political stands (Theiss, Bron, 2014, p. 52), in the Prussian partition this stratum was very narrow (and mostly conservative). The Austrian partition was the least oppressed by the state. The far-reaching reforms of the entire Habsburg monarchy (1860s––1870s) granted autonomy to the Empire's provinces. Political power was, to some extent, in the hands of the Poles. Kraków and Lwów were the only urban centres on all Polish lands in which Polish universities operated.

The frequent imprisonment or exile of male relatives left women in positions of great responsibility for the survival of the family. As a result of the policies applied by the partition authorities against the Poles, basic education

and patriotic upbringing of young generations became the prime task of the family, or rather – explicitly – of women. Schools turned into almost an addition to private teaching. Courses were aimed at children and adults both in villages and cities. Initially, these activities were developed spontaneously, but gradually, particularly since the mid-1870s, they were granted organizational forms (Nietyksza, 1995, p. 65). Increasingly, adolescent and adult women began to participate in illegal education. With time, they took over its organization and management (Bron, 1994).

The vital necessity to undertake paid work faced by many women contributed to their self-reliance. Professional requirements and personal ambitions inspired women to obtain education higher than the one received at schools for girls (Dufrat, 2001, p. 23). Many attended clandestine secondary schools, and eventually participated in illegal higher education courses. A few enrolled at universities abroad.

Attending and organizing clandestine education was an important factor for women, enabling them to show their usefulness, to demonstrate organizational skills, and to ensure their sense of conspiracy. In short – to prove that they were equal to male partners in their struggle for national identity and independence. It also provided experience in collaborative work (Bron, 1984; Dufrat, 2001, p. 33).

Family – childhood – primary education

Many of the adult education pioneers came from families with patriotic traditions. Justyna Budzińska-Tylicka's father, a veterinary surgeon, was deported to Siberia for his participation in the January Uprising, and her mother tended the family. After her mother's early death, Kazimiera Bujwidowa became a ward of her aunt, a participant in the January Uprising. Paulina Kuczalska-Reinschmit's mother was one of the so-called "Enthusiasts" – pro-emancipation women gathered around Narcyza Żmichowska. Jadwiga Marcinowska was the daughter of an 1863 insurgent. Tsarist authorities seized the estate of Maria Wysłouch's father as punishment for his involvement in the January Uprising. The most remarkable is the biography of Teresa Ciszkiewiczowa, who at the age of 15 actually took part in the Uprising by supplying weapons, correspondence, and food to insurgent units.

Another characteristic feature of these women was their origin as the daughters of destitute landowning families. For instance, Ciszkiewiczowa was born in a landowners' family in Samogitia; Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska was born in Warsaw in a family of impoverished landowners; Zofia Kirkor-Kie-

droniowa was born on a family estate; Kuczalska-Reinschmit was born in Warsaw in a landowning family and grew up on its estate in Ukraine. After her father's death she moved back to Warsaw together with her mother and older sister, Helena (a pioneer of women's physical education). Maria Szeliga was born in a wealthy landowners' family; Wysłouchowa came from impoverished landowners. Others, for example, Jadwiga Dziubińska and Władysława Weychert-Szymanowska, were born in middle-class families.

Practically all the women came from Catholic families, with the exception of Teodora Męczkowska (born in a Protestant pastor's family) and Helena Radlińska (from an assimilated Jewish family).

Primary education available for girls was usually a six-grade school; although with least supervision by Russian authorities, it was not a full primary school. It was possible to obtain a licence to run a full seven-grade school, but at a price – the headmistress was obligated to accept control by a tsarist school inspectorate. Not all school principals were willing to comply. There were two reasons for such refusal. First – consenting to state control could result in social boycott (Nietyksza, 1995, p. 73). Secondly – the illegal part of teaching, quite common in schools, would become even more difficult and risky. In many primary schools *"children became accustomed to conspiracy. Whispering, they taught each other how to behave in the presence of an inspector and how to reply to his questions*" (Radlińska, 1931, p. 321). Families that could afford to avoid state-schools did so. Consequently, many of the women presented here received basic education either at home (e.g. Kirkor-Kiedroniowa, Irena Kosmowska Jr, Marcinowska, Męczkowska, Szeliga) or in various private schools for girls (e.g. Budzińska-Tylicka, Kuczalska-Reinschmit, Marcinowska).

Adolescence – secondary education

Since the early 1880s, attempts were made in the Russian partition to counterbalance the unyielding shortage of government schools. Several private secondary schools, officially with the same curriculum as their government counterparts, were established. These were the so-called *pensje* – boarding schools for girls.

Many legal secondary schools often taught school subjects forbidden by the Russian authorities (Polish language, history, and literature were taught in Polish – the prohibited language of instruction). Parallel schools, even entirely undercover ones, managed to exist. Despite their remarkable character they often lasted for as long as over a decade (Nietyksza, 1995, p. 72; Żurawicka, 1978, p. 254). The best-known and valued *pensje* in Warsaw were conducted

by Jadwiga Sikorska, Henryka Czarnocka, Izabella Smolikowska, Jadwiga Papi, Jadwiga Paprocka, and Leonia Rudzka. Czarnocka was an acknowledged and appreciated headmistress, whose staff exerted a great influence on the intellectual and patriotic development of their charges.

Many future adult educational pioneers graduated from schools for girls. It was among the alumni of Warsaw *pensje* that the idea of organizing lectures on various fields of science was born (Ceysinger, 1948). Soon, these courses and various study-circles turned into *uniwersytet latający* (UL – flying university).

Among the 14 women depicted in this group portrait Bujwidowa graduated from a Warsaw school for girls, took state exams, and won the qualifications of a home teacher. Marcinowska and Weychert-Szymanowska were also graduates of schools for girls (in Radom and Warsaw, respectively), and both sat for teacher's exams. Dziubińska attended the Czarnocka *pensja*. Maria Gomólińska finished secondary school in Warsaw. Kosmowska Jr was a pupil at a clandestine school, whose teachers included such acclaimed figures as Piotr Chmielowski, Tadeusz Korzon, and Ludwik Krzywicki (all eventually lectured at UL). Męczkowska attended the 2nd Girls' Secondary School in Warsaw while, at the same time, participating in a clandestine self-education study-circle.

Even the finest school for girls would, at best, offer merely credentials for teaching, and then usually only in elementary schools. The ambitions of young Polish women, however, went much further.

Adulthood – spheres of life

Family

The family life of the women described in this article varied greatly. Some found allies and advisers in their husbands, others on the contrary, while yet others deliberately resigned either from family life or from having children.

For example, with time Budzińska-Tylicka's marriage fell apart. Daszyńska-Golińska found support in her husbands and did not have children – instead she devoted herself to professional work and educational activities. Similarly, Męczkowska deliberately resigned from children of her own in the belief that they would impede carrying out professional and social activities. Dziubińska, Gomólińska, and Sempołowska did not set up a family. Kirkor-Kiedroniowa married twice: with the first husband she had one son, and with the second – two. Wysłouch became her husband's associate – she was the author of many speeches, leaflets, and propaganda material signed by him. Fate proved most cruel to Kuczalska-Reinschmit. Her marriage (1871)

to a private clerk, Stanisław Reinschmit, turned out to be a disaster. Not only did he squander the family's wealth, but also infected her with a venereal disease that resulted in the loss of one eye. Bujwidowa – wife of the bacteriologist Odon Bujwid – enjoyed the best possible relation based on partnership. In spite of her exceptionally active educational and social work she worked as an assistant in institutes managed by her husband, with whom she had four daughters and two sons. The daughters took full advantage of the rights their mother fought for: three followed in the footsteps of their parents, choosing medicine-related studies – Zofia Mostowska was one of the first Polish women with a Ph.D. in surgery (1914), Helena Jurgielewicz became the first female veterinarian in Poland (1923), and Kazimiera Rouppertowa studied medicine in Lwów.

Higher education

The chance for women to attend a higher education institution in the Russian and Prussian partitions was non-existent. In the Austrian partition the situation was diametrically different.

After the defeat of the January Uprising the Polish university in Warsaw was closed down, and in its stead tsarist authorities established the Imperial University of Warsaw (from 1869 with Russian as the language of instruction). In 1870 the Imperial University employed 36 Polish professors, in 1910 – only a single one (Micińska, 2008, p. 15). Since it was closed to women the only plausible way of continuing education assumed the form of underground study-circles (Szwarc, 1995). From 1886 the "flying university" – an institution created by, and for women – constituted the centre of higher education in Warsaw. During its early stage women were the only students. With time, the high level of this exceptional university began to attract also men.

There was no Polish research or higher education institution in the Prussian partition. The aspirations of women to acquire university degree were scarce. Women from the Russian and Austrian partition were treated as perfect examples**,** and some Polish periodicals followed women's struggle waged for the sake of admission to universities (Abram, 1995, p. 175; Kondracka, 2000, p. 272).

The Austrian partition was the site of two Polish universities – in Kraków and Lwów. From 1870 Polish was the only obligatory language of instruction at Kraków university, and in the following year Lwów university introduced two languages of instruction – Polish and Ukrainian (Micińska, 2008, p. 18). Originally, women gained the right to enrol at both schools of higher learning only as guest students (in 1879 in Lwów, and a year later in Kraków), and

thus were not entitled to receive diplomas. In 1894 the university in Kraków permitted women to attend as full-fledged students. In 1894– 1918 47% of its female students came from the Russian partition (and only 0,1 % – from the Prussian partition) (Kondracka, 2000, p. 271f).

Before women in the Austrian partition won access to universities they could benefit from two forms of higher education: from 1868 Kraków offered Wyższe Kursy dla Kobiet (Higher Courses for Women), available to female students from the age of 16 and established by Adrian Baraniecki. A second opportunity was created by Powszechne Wykłady Uniwersyteckie (Universal University Lectures), organized in the eastern part of the partition in 1898–1939. In 1900 lectures were held in four towns, and in 1910 – already in 28 cities and small towns. In Lwów most of the participants were women, while "in the provinces" men formed a majority (Suchmiel, 2000, p. 48).

Studies abroad, predominantly in Switzerland and France, were chosen primarily by women from the Russian partition; their counterparts in the Prussian partition demonstrated lesser interest, while those in the Austrian partition could benefit from higher education on the spot.

The course of the academic career of the 14 described women was as follows: after graduation from secondary school Bujwidowa, Dziubińska, Gomólińska, Kirkor-Kiedroniowa, Marcinowska, and Wyechert-Szymanowska continued their education at UL (Kirkor-Kiedroniowa, 1986). Education abroad was chosen by, among others, Budzińska, who in 1892 left to study medicine in Paris (graduated in 1898). In order to earn a living she learned the art of massage – a single patient three times a week guaranteed daily dinners. In 1873 Ciszkiewiczowa went, against her parents' will, to university in Bern, where in 1879 she was granted a diploma in medicine. Daszyńska-Golińska studied political economy and economic history in Zurich, where in 1891 she became the first woman permitted to present a Ph.D. thesis; she then spent a year studying in Vienna. In 1888–1892 Gomólińska studied pedagogics and foreign languages in Munich. Thanks to the financial support of her family, in 1887 Kuczalska-Reinschmit embarked upon university studies in natural sciences in Geneva, and later in Brussels. In 1900/1901 Marcinowska studied literature at the Sorbonne.

Kosmowska Jr made use of an opportunity to enrol at one of the Polish universities (Kraków or Lwów) – as an extramural student she attended courses at the University of Lwów (1905–1908), where she met Maria and Bolesław Wysłouch. Marcinowska studied literature and philosophy in Kraków (1898/99) as a guest student. Rather late, i.e. in 1909, Wyechert-Szymanowska enrolled at the university in Kraków as an external student.

Two of the 14 women represent rather unusual educational careers. Męczkowska first received her university degree in natural sciences at Geneva University (1892–1896), and after returning to Warsaw she enrolled at UL, where she studied psychology and philosophy (1896–1900). Wysłouch, unlike others, went East in her quest for higher education. Having reached the age of consent, she left for St. Petersburg, where she attended "higher courses for women" conducted by Konstantin N. Bestuzhev-Ryumin. The courses lasted four years and took place at two departments: humanities-literature and natural sciences-mathematics.

Interestingly, Polish (and Russian) women decided to study at certain French and Swiss universities earlier than the female citizens of those two countries (Mazurczak, 1995, p. 187).

Work

Social and economic consequences of the January Uprising forced Polish women to venture beyond their traditional duties. Previous responsibilities were now accompanied by the necessity of attaining economic independence (Żarnowska, 2000). Accomplishing this goal, however, was hampered by the lack of education. The issue was discussed publicly, with women taking a conspicuous part in the debates (Bednarz-Grzybek, 2010, p. 31).

Salaried employment of women from more prosperous social strata was, as a rule, unacceptable in their milieus. Nonetheless, the seizure of estates and the exile or incarceration of men forced numerous women to seek wage-paying occupations (Żarnowska, 2000). The attitude towards professional work was influenced by examples of women proving that they managed quite well in activity traditionally preserved for men (Nietyksza, 2000, p. 16).

Despite their involvement in educational work, social commitment, and writings many of the 14 women were salaried employees. For instance, Bujwidowa worked as an assistant in her husband's laboratory. In 1893 the family moved to Kraków, where Odom Bujwid began working at the university, and Kazimiera took over first the administration and, subsequently, in 1918, the management of Zakład Produkcji Surowic i Szczepionek (Serums and Vaccines Manufacture), established by her husband. In 1879–1883 Ciszkiewiczowa was employed as Professor Marceli Nencki's assistant at his Chair of Physiological Chemistry at Bern University. In 1883 she passed a state examination in St. Petersburg and became one of the first female medical doctors in Warsaw. In 1894 Daszyńska-Golińska left for Germany, where she worked at Humboldt University in Berlin; here, she was granted the degree of an associate professor (*dozent*). Upon her return to Kraków, Daszyńska-Golińska lectured at the

local Uniwersytet Ludowy im. A. Mickiewicza (the Adam Mickiewicz People's University – ULiAM), Szkoła Gospodarstwa Domowego (Home Economics School) in Lwów, and the Baraniecki Courses in Kraków. From 1919 she was professor at Wolna Wszechnica Polska (Free Polish University), where she gave lectures on political economy. While studying Dziubińska worked until 1896 in Czytelnie Warszawskiego Towarzystwa Dobroczynności (CzWTD – Reading Rooms of the Warsaw Charity Society). In 1900–1904 she held the post of headmistress at an agricultural boarding school for boys and men in Pszczelin, the first of its kind on Polish lands. She left when the Pszczelin institution – organized according to the educational principles of Danish folk high schools – was taken over by the adherents of a Polish nationalist party – Narodowa Demokracja (National Democracy – ND or *endecja*). In 1905 Dziubińska became co-founder and headmistress of a boarding agricultural school for peasant girls in Kruszynek. In both instances she worked closely with Kosmowska Jr. Kirkor-Kiedroniowa passed a state examination for teachers of mathematics. Marcinowska worked for several years as a governess in assorted manor houses in the Radom gubernia. Already in independent Poland she held the office of consul in Chicago, and then was employed by the Polish Embassy in Washington. From 1900 Męczkowska taught natural sciences and physics at schools for girls (among others, the one ran by Jadwiga Sikorska) and the clandestine school established by Stefania Sempołowska. At the time of the German occupation (1939–1945) she held underground lessons in natural science. At the end of the 1870s Szeliga taught history and Polish literature (forbidden subjects) in Warsaw and conducted discussion groups. In 1880 – after one such group became uncovered – she emigrated to France. Weychert-Szymanowska worked as a teacher in Warsaw. Parallel to her official employment she taught history and Polish literature at a clandestine school. In late 1905 she was one of organizers of Stowarzyszenie Kursów dla Analfabetów Dorosłych (SKdAD – Association of Courses for Adult Illiterates). The chairman of SKdAD was Ludwik Krzywicki, Weychert-Szymanowska was head of its Scientific Committee, and Iza Moszczeńska was one of the Steering Committee members. Parallel to literacy courses (61 in Warsaw alone) for workers SKdAD held public lectures. The Association was active in all three partitions (Weychertówna, 1907). One of its goals was to counteract the conservative and nationalistic Polska Macierz Szkolna (PMS – Polish Motherland Education Association). Weychert-Szymanowska co-founded Uniwersytet dla Wszystkich (UdW – University for All). Eventually, she moved to Kraków, where she became a dedicated lecturer at ULiAM. Upon graduation from higher courses in St. Petersburg Wysłouch began working as a teacher at girls' schools (*pensje*) in Warsaw.

Associations and other activities – from attending to organizing

Activity in educational organizations enabled numerous women to win and develop organizational skills, gain experience in steering public activity, and create a network of societal contacts (not merely those based on their social life). The outstanding part played by women in clandestine education appears to be unquestionable and is stressed outright in numerous reminiscences and accounts (Nietyksza 1995, p. 65).

It follows from the biographies of education activists that a significant part in their socialization was played by family traditions and the atmosphere prevailing at Warsaw secondary schools, where the interests and stands of young girls assumed shape. Attending these open-secret schools was accompanied by a feeling of fulfilling a mission, which the graduates subsequently attempted to instil into others (Nietyksza 1995, p. 71; Dufrat 2001, p. 24). Family traditions played a meaningful role also in the life choices made by education activists from the Austrian partition. They do not, however, contain an "illegal episode", universal among female adult educators in the Russian partition (Żarnowska & Szwarc 2008, p. 24).

The onset of the 1870s was a time of the establishment of numerous organizations created upon the initiative of women, who were also their sole members. The organizations in question focused on philanthropy, self-help, education, professions, and sometimes also politics. Women dealt with the organizational aspect (seeking sites, guaranteeing lecturers, etc.) and, additionally, assumed the roles of lecturers or distributors of illegal publications (Dufrat 2001, p. 29).

Many male education activists were reluctant towards the participation of women in illegal organizations. This resistance became an impulse for women to take over initiative, an excellent example being the Brzezińskis. A clandestine Koło Oświaty Ludowej (KOL – People's Education Circle), headed by Mieczysław Brzeziński and Bolesław Hirszfeld, had been active in Warsaw since 1882. The two men protested against plans made by Kasylda Kulikowska and Róża Brzezińska (wife of Mieczysław), aimed at expanding the underground work of the Circle so as to encompass educational activity conducted among peasant women. The conflict provided an impulse for creating a separate women's organization (Abram 1999, p. 82). In this fashion, the as if imposed establishment of a distinct women's organization made it possible to set into motion and exploit intellectual potential and enthusiasm indispensable in social work. In 1883 both above-mentioned women, together with Faustyna Morzycka (Brzezińska's sister), established Kobiece Koło Oświaty Ludowej

(KKOL – Women's Circle for Popular Education). They persuaded a group of increasingly active young women – including Maria Bouffalówna (later: Wysłouch), Jadwiga Jahołkowska, Paulina Sieroszewska, Julia Sikorska, Jadwiga Szczawińska (later: Dawidowa), and Wanda Umińska – to co-operate. The Circle was soon joined by Maria Dzierżanowska, Gomólińska, Radlińska, Sempołowska, and Weychert-Szymanowska. In this way, in the course of several years KKOL managed to concentrate a group of female activists, who played an outstanding role in various domains of social life (Nietyksza 1995, p. 66).

In 1894 the Circle joined forces with another women's organization – Koło Kobiet Korony i Litwy (KKKiL – Association of Women of the Crown and Lithuania), established in 1886 as a three-partition venture. Its active members included Ciszkiewiczowa, Daszyńska-Golińska, Dzierżanowska, Dziubińska, Jahołowska, Męczkowska, Moszczeńska, and Wysłouch (Dufrat 2001, p. 27).

In comparison with the Russian partition the situation in the Prussian partition differed diametrically. Even the local Polish press charged the intelligentsia with opting for a passive stand in the face of political and social events, with doing little to "*enlighten the nation*" and, in general, with "*avoiding participation everywhere where it should play a foremost role* ("Dziennik Poznański" 1881, no. 249 – cited after: Molik 1991, p. 157).

The situation in the Austrian partition differed even more – local legal organizations and adult education institutions included the largest such institution on Polish lands – ULiAM, established in 1898. This was a forum of pro-independence-educational work performed by women from two partitions: Austrian (e.g. Helena Witkowska, Helena Landau) and Russian (e.g. Morzycka, Radlińska, Weychert-Szymanowska) (Dufrat 2001, p. 52).

Although some of the 14 women had families and several performed salaried work, it seems that their real commitment was to associational life. All were very active in several organizations, often at the same time. They established them, sat in their governing bodies, led their specialized units, ran courses, wrote and published, and initiated various educational endeavours. By way of example, Ciszkiewiczowa was active in several educational organizations, especially KKKiL. Daszyńska-Golińska became involved in women's movements early on – both in Polish territories and on the international scene. In the late 1880s she joined KKKiL. In 1907, together with Kuczalska-Reinschmitt, she established Związek Równouprawnienia Kobiet Polskich (Union of Equal Rights for Polish Women), in which Budzińska-Tylicka was also active. Daszyńska-Golińska gave a multitude of public lectures and taught different courses, frequently in institutions designed for women or in

which female students/public comprised a majority, as well as being active in two abolitionist associations. Dziubińska co-founded KKKiL and Towarzystwo Kultury Polskiej (Polish Culture Association), and initiated several associations addressed to peasants. In 1915–1918 – as a representative of Towarzystwo Pomocy Ofiarom Wojny (TPOW – Society to Assist War Victims) – she visited POW camps in Northern Russia (even beyond the Ural Mountains). TPOW is perceived as a predecessor of the Polish Red Cross. Gomólińska was the co-initiator, board member, or active member of CzWTD, Towarzystwo Kursów Naukowych (TKN – Society of Scientific Courses), People's University, and Centralne Biuro Kursów dla Dorosłych (Central Office of Adult Courses), where she co-operated with Radlińska and Stanisław Michalski. Marcinowska conducted clandestine teaching courses in Warsaw under the cover of courses for the staff of orphanages/nursery schools and, as a consequence, found herself under police surveillance. In 1913 she was the co-founder of Liga Kobiet Pogotowia Wojennego (*Women's* War *Emergency League*), and, together with Iza Moszczeńska, the co-author of the League's statue. Soon, they were joined by Budzińska-Tylicka and Ciszkiewiczowa. Męczkowska was a member of the pedagogical section of KKKiL. In 1890 Wysłouch, together with her husband, Bolesław, established Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Oświaty (Society of Friends of Education), which initiated the organization of village reading rooms, lectures, and talks as well as the distribution of educational brochures. In 1882–1899 about 300 libraries and 100 reading rooms were set up in villages.

Journalism and publications

One of the forms of legal work performed by the Warsaw intelligentsia was the initiation of such multi-volume publications as: dictionaries, encyclopaedias, and assorted aids for self-taught readers. *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego* (Geographical Dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland; co-editor: Bronisław Chlebowski – lecturer at UL and, subsequently, TKN) was published in 1880–1902. Under the guise of a description of neighbouring countries the dictionary encompassed all Polish lands (Żurawicka, 1978, p. 248). The publication of *Encyklopedia Wychowawcza* (Encyclopaedia of Education) was inaugurated in 1880, while the year 1890 marked the onset of issuing *Wielka Encyklopedia Powszechna Ilustrowana* (The Grand Universal Illustrated Encyclopaedia), whose editor-in-chief was Krzywicki. Undoubtedly the most prominent publication addressed to self-learners was *Poradnik dla Samouków* (Guide for Self-learners, 1898–1915), which presented studies by numerous UL lecturers. *Przegląd Pedagogiczny* (Educational Review) – a periodical popularising knowledge among wide social circles – was issued in War-

saw since 1883 (Białowiejski, Jaczynowski, Król, Łagowski, Szycówna, 1907). UL lecturers provided methodical directives intended for teachers and study-circle participants (Żurawicka, 1978, p. 252f).

In all three partitions provincial periodicals fulfilled a significant function of centres for the activation and integration of small-town intelligentsia (Abram 1995; Notkowski 1991).

Most of the women presented here were also occupied with their own writings, alongside organizational and teaching activities.[2] Budzińska-Tylicka was an author of several books and reports published within her area of professional competence, namely on feminine hygiene, mindful maternity, and the social and political rights of women. Some of these publications were written in a more popular style and addressed to the general public. In 1902–1911 Kazimiera Bujwidowa co-operated with several periodicals (including "Ster" / Helm/), in which she published texts dealing predominantly with the political and professional rights of women as well as children's schools and the education of women. She was also the author of feminist brochures. Dziubińska, Daszyńska-Golińska, and Weychert-Szymanowska co-authored *Praca oświatowa* (Educational Work), the most important Polish adult education publication of the time (1913). They wrote about agricultural courses for adult peasants as well as the propagation of culture and education among this social group, the battle waged against alcoholism, adult education, and combating illiteracy. Between 1891–1933 Daszyńska-Golińska published 26 books and reports (among others in German and French) on such broad topics as economic history, demography, the suffrage movement, alcoholism, and temperance. In 1909–1915 Kosmowska Jr was co-editor of "Zaranie" (Dawn); responsible for the education section, she wrote under the pen name: *Jasiek z Lipnicy*. "Zaranie" was a weekly addressed to the rural population and dedicated to popular science, politics, and the economy. Kuczalska-Reinschmit embarked upon her journalistic pursuit already at the age of 22 in a Warsaw-based periodical "Echo". She established the first Polish feminist journal – "Ster", devoted to educational and work-related issues involving women. "Ster" contributors included Bujwidowa, Daszyńska-Golińska, Moszczeńska, and Wyechert-Szymanowska. Kuczalska-Reinschmit published regularly in "Przegląd Tygodniowy" (Weekly Review) – a periodical of, and for the progressive intelligentsia. In 1902 she contributed to the German *Handbuch der Frauenbewegung* a chapter entitled: *Der Stand*

[2] The extensive publishing activity of Moszczeńska and Szczawińska-Dawidowa is described in separate articles on these women.

der Frauenbildung in Polen. Męczkowska often wrote in two opinion-making periodicals – "Ster" and "Ogniwo. Tygodnik Naukowy, Społeczny i Polityczny" (Link. Scientific, Social and Political Weekly). Between 1906 and 1938 she published fifteen booklets on women's movements, school manuals dealing with natural sciences, schools for girls and young women, and higher education for women. While residing in Poland Szeliga contributed (from 1870) to several periodicals. In France she published "Bulletin de l'Union Universelle des Femmes" (1890), "Revue feministe" (1895–1897) and "Ognisko" (Bonfire; 1922–1927). Apart from social publicistics and texts on women's issues she was the author of six novels and a poetry collection. Between 1889 and 1934 Weychert-Szymanowska published ten books on education for adults, illiteracy, and Polish literature. In 1889 Wysłouch, together with her husband, began issuing "Przyjaciel Ludu" (Friend of the People) – a socio-political weekly, which appeared first in Lwów and from 1903 in Kraków (until 1933).

Apart from their own writings, numerous women were engaged in the dissemination of books, brochures, and the press. By way of example, KKKiL activists distributed within the Russian and, sometimes, Prussian partition clandestine press and publications brought over from the Austrian partition. The women in question included Ciszkiewiczowa, Daszyńska-Golińska, Dziubińska, Męczkowska, and Wysłouch.

Ideology

More or less until the 1903–1905 period a characteristic feature of illegal education activity in the Russian partition was the co-operation of persons representing diverse ideological orientations (Dufrat, 2001, p. 39; Nietyksza, 1995, p. 75). An excellent example of the collaboration of women expressing totally different political and ideological views was the above-mentioned KKKiL. Its activists included Sempołowska, a Socialist, Kulikowska and Wysłouch, members of the peasant movement, Cecilia Niewiadomska, Helena Ceysingerówna, Ciszkiewiczowa, and Dzierżanowska from the National Democracy (a nationalistic and conservative party), and two Communists: Ester Golde-Stróżecka and Marta Marchlewska. Student organizations of Polska Partia Socjalistyczna (PPS – Polish Socialist Party) worked jointly with young members of the ND within Koło Oświaty Ludowej, as confirmed by Radlińska's recollections (1932, p. 58).

The first split took place in 1903 against the backdrop of different stands towards illegal education. At a time when women close to the nationalist party objected against participation in conspiracy movements, activists representing leftist views became increasingly frequently involved in political campaigns

(Wolsza, 1995, p. 90). For example, while taking an active part in clandestine education, Moszczeńska and Radlińska were, simultaneously, members of the underground PPS (Radlińska was involved, among other things, in the transference and storage of weapons for the Combat Organization) (Dufrat, 2001, p. 37f).

A successive conflict generated by a school strike in the Russian partition took place in 1905. The decision made by the *endecja* not to join the strike but, on the contrary, to express loyalty towards the Russian partitioner was unacceptable to patriotic groups – both liberal and Socialist.

Antonina Morzkowska, actively involved in clandestine education work, severed all ties with the ND after the leaders of this party opposed another school strike (1911): *I left the National Democracy firmly convinced that it has no other programme than combating Socialism and actually does not know what it is to do* (quoted from Dufrat, 2001, p. 37). Ceysingerówna, Ciszkiewiczowa, Dziubińska, and Śniegocka also broke their ties with the ND. In this manner *the All-Polish camp lost its most outstanding education activists, who became acclaimed as the organizers of several associations and mass-scale campaigns, authors of publications and, above all… social activists* (Wolsza, 1995, p. 91).

Political views held by the described 14 women were extremely diversified and sometimes even variable. Already while studying in Paris Budzińska-Tylicka established contact with the Socialist movement, and worked for the sake of hygiene and health in local working-class districts. In the conservative Kraków environment Kazimiera Bujwidowa had the courage to openly declare her atheism and leave the Catholic Church, thus causing ostracism of the Bujwid family. Contacts maintained by her with the Socialist and feminist circles also did not render the Bujwids popular among the town residents. Nonetheless, the Bujwid family kept open house – here Socialists Stefania Sempołowska and Justyna Budzińska-Tylicka, peasant activists Maria and Bolesław Wysłouch, or the ND member Cecylia Śniegocka met. Ciszkiewiczowa was active in several conservative and nationalistic organizations, including Towarzystwo Oświaty Narodowej (National Education Society) and PMS. However, in 1908 she left the National League (formerly: National Democracy) while protesting against the conciliatory position taken by its leader – Roman Dmowski – towards tsarist Russia. Studying in Zurich, Daszyńska-Golińska, initially fascinated by Marxism, in time turned into its vehement critic and a supporter of the co-operative movement. After the May 1926 coup d'état, she became affiliated with the *sanacja* (sanation) movement. Somehow she managed to continue combining her new conservative political outlooks with pro-women activities and rather progressive women organizations. In independent

Poland Dziubińska and Kosmowska Jr became elected to Sejm Ustawodawczy (Constituent Assembly) as representatives of the progressive peasant party Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe "Wyzwolenie" (PSL "W" – Polish Peasants' Party "Liberation"). Their parliamentary work focused mainly on educational issues. Kirkor-Kiedroniowa and Marcinowska were members of the ND and PMS activists; yet in 1908 Marcinowska left the *endecja* and joined the peasant movement. During her university studies in Geneva Męczkowska was active in nationalist organizations of Polish emigrants. However, in 1904 she renounced *endecja* and become engaged in various democratic feminist organizations. After the 1926 coup d'état Męczkowska was an adherent of Piłsudski and active in pro-government women's associations. Szeliga was an ardent socialist. In France she created a League Against Cruelty, condemning acts of Russian and Prussian authorities aimed against Polish children. Together with another Polish women's activist – Kuczalska-Reinschmit, and four other women she was elected member of a committee entrusted with writing the statutes of Union Universelle des Femmes (1890). After Poland regained its independence Weychert-Szymanowska joined the PPS and worked for its Towarzystwo Uniwersytetu Robotniczego (Workers' University Association) and Towarzystwo Oświaty Demokratycznej – Nowe Tory (Democratic Education Society – New Paths). Together with Kosmowska Jr and Radlińska, she opposed the state educational policy and struggled for a secular school system and educational provisions for adults.

The specificity of the Polish women's movement in the 1870s–1890s lay in the fact that women did not wage a battle for the right to vote. Demanding identical rights as those granted to men, i.e. extremely restricted civic and national rights, would have denoted the acceptance of such limitations. Moreover, it would pose the threat of a split into three parts active in different conditions. In those years the Polish women's movement remained above all partitions.

In time, however, this stand was abandoned. On the one hand, warring ideological currents (and emergent political parties representing them) played a growing role. On the other hand, Polish suffragettes concentrated increasingly distinctly on the emancipation of women. For instance, Paulina Kuczalska-Reinschmit was known for, and accused of, putting women's suffrage above the goal that all (!) Poles must (!) struggle for – namely, Poland's independence.

Contribution to adult education

The early years of the twentieth century were a period of the creation of theoretical foundations for adult education conceived as an academic dis-

cipline. This was the time of first attempts at training teachers for the purpose of adult education, an empirical recognition of reality, a verification of accepted solutions, and a creation of generalisations. The pinnacle of research and theoretical reflections was the publication of a copious collected work: *Praca oświatowa* (1913), acknowledged as the first academic textbook on andragogy. A special role in conceptual work was played by the Warsaw milieu of education activists, who devised teaching methods and didactic aids, and prepared teachers for adult education. The second centre was Kraków, where female activists from the Russian partition sometimes worked and published. It is characteristic for the role and significance of women in the creation of scientific foundations of adult education that 13 authors of *Praca oświatowa* included six women (Daszyńska-Golińska, Dziubińska, Zofia Kruszewska, Maria Orsetti, Radlińska, and Weychert-Szymanowska).

Dziubińska's main contribution to adult education is her so-called "agricultural schools", which concealed illegal institutions modelled on Scandinavian folk high schools. Much attention was paid to students' individual development and their social activism. Study trips to dairies and rural co-operatives as well as two-week sightseeing excursions were organized in order to broaden their education. A revolutionary decision was made to introduce classes on ethics instead of lessons focused on religion (Catholic catechism). Naturally, this led to hostile reactions from the clergy and conservatives. Dziubińska was the co-founder and first chairperson of Instytut Oświaty i Kultury im. S. Staszica (the Stanisław Staszic Institute of Education and Culture) in Warsaw. Other co-organizers included Kosmowska Jr, Radlińska, and Weychert-Szymanowska. At the Institute Dziubińska encouraged work aimed at facilitating the self-education of rural youth and adults. Kosmowska Jr concentrated especially on professional and civic education for young peasant women. Weychert-Szymanowska conducted teaching courses designed for active adult educators, a novel approach in Poland. Along with Radlińska and Dziubińska she was an important figure in education aimed at adults and in reflections about its social and academic significance. As a self-learner she obtained an insightful understanding of adult education.

The discussed 14 women are not tantamount to the large group of committed female educators. Their biographies demonstrate the nature of a generation of women who reached adulthood in the mid-1880s, their aims and motives, and the manner in which they reached people. These women – devoted to their cause – were creative, selfless, active, and ready to make sacrifices. In fact, they were outstanding event-making figures. They created a number of educational, social, and suffrage organizations. They initiated several

journals focused on escalating the social, patriotic, women's, and civic awareness of their readers. This group portrait enables us to better understand the significant influence that an individual could exert on masses of women (and men) gathered in various associations and institutions.

A noticeable feature of their work was endurance of engagement, namely, from being a student to becoming an organizer and teacher of other study-circles, as well as maintaining active participation despite different setbacks and failures. Lack of success and encumbrances did not create an obstacle for commitment.

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Appendix 1. Female adult education pioneers

Justyna Budzińska-Tylicka (1867–1936) – physician, feminist, Socialist and social activist, adult educator, politician

Kazimiera Bujwidowa (née Klimontowicz, 1867–1932) – social activist, publicist, feminist and atheist, adult educator. Chief representative of the women's movement in Galicia

Teresa Ciszkiewiczowa (1848–1921) – physician, adult educator, political activist

Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska (née Poznańska, 1860–1934) – economist, economic historian, sociologist, adult educator, social activist, Socialist politician, feminist

Jadwiga Dziubińska (1876–1937) – adult educator and educationist, social activist, journalist, co-founder of Polish folk high schools

Maria Gomólińska (1866–1935) – adult educator

Zofia Kirkor-Kiedroniowa (1872–1952) – teacher, adult educator, social activist

Irena Kosmowska (Jr) (née Kosmowska, 1879–1945) – educational activist, journalist, organizer of the peasant educational movement, member of adult education organizations (clandestine and legal), member of editorial boards of feminist periodicals, co-founder of Polish folk high schools

Paulina Kuczalska-Reinschmit (1859–1921) – suffrage leader, journalist, one of leading figures in education for adults

Jadwiga Marcinowska (1877–1943) – writer and poet, educator, activist of peasant and women's movements

Teodora Męczkowska (née Oppman) (1870–1954) – teacher, feminist, columnist

Maria Szeliga [pseud. Maria Chéliga or Chéliga-Loevy] (1854–1927) – writer, publicist, Socialist education activist

Władysława Weychert-Szymanowska (1874–1951) – educator and teacher, prominent organizer of education for adults

Maria Wysłouch (née Bouffał, 1858–1905) – teacher, education and social activist, publisher of brochures and periodicals addressed to peasant women, co-organizer of the peasant movement in Galicia

Appendix 2. Acronyms

CzWTD	–	*Czytelnie Warszawskiego Towarzystwa Dobroczynności* – Reading Rooms of the Warsaw Charity Society
KKKiL	–	Koło Kobiet Korony i Litwy – Association of Women of the Crown and Lithuania
KKOL	–	Kobiece Koło Oświaty Ludowej – Women's Circle for Popular Education
KOL	–	Koło Oświaty Ludowej – People's Education Circle
PMS	–	Polska Macierz Szkolna – Polish Motherland Education Association
PPS	–	Polska Partia Socjalistyczna – Polish Socialist Party
TKN	–	Towarzystwo Kursów Naukowych – Society of Scientific Courses (legalized successor of the "flying university")
UL	–	'uniwersytet latający' – 'flying university'
ULiAM	–	Uniwersytet Ludowy im. Adama Mickiewicza – Adam Mickiewicz People's University

Translated by *Aleksandra Rodzińska-Chojnowska*