

Agnieszka Stopińska-Pajak

WSB University

Socio-educational activities of Izabela Moszczeńska (1864–1941): contribution to adult and women education

ABSTRACT: The article presents the activity of Izabela Moszczeńska, a very active figure in many fields: pedagogy, andragogy as well as socio-educational, political and women's movement. Two groups of issues have been presented. The first – biographical, in which the subsequent stages of Moszczeńska's life and activity are discussed, particularly those referring to the involvement in the work of social, educational and feminist organisations conducting various forms of adult education, including those among women. Second – in which Moszczeńska's views regarding both women's education and adult education are recalled, based on her numerous publications published in many magazines as well as book editions.

KEYWORDS: Andragogy, adult education, women's education, Izabela Moszczeńska.

Introduction

Nowadays, in the postmodern/liquid-modern era, in the culture of discontinuity and oblivion (Bauman, 2004, p. 182), when the memory of the past is no longer a pillar of culture, it seems to be particularly important to remind and bring out from oblivion the achievements of people significant for our permanence. It is difficult, as Zygmunt Bauman writes, to “imagine a culture indifferent to eternity and rejecting everything that is permanent”, because it leads human culture into “an unmarked and unexplored territory” (Bauman, 2006, p. 200). Finally, the condition of contemporary andragogy itself would benefit if it was rooted in tradition and history, even if it was critical towards

it. Unfortunately, there is still no reference to our heritage in the andragogical discourse. There are many reasons for this phenomenon and this is not the place for discussing them. It is also connected with a wider problem of forgetting, omitting or even lack of memory about the Polish andragogical past. And yet we should be aware that the memory of the past is the basic building block of identity, in our case the group identity of andragogs. Whenever memory disappears, the sense of community and the social group disappears as well (Assmann, 2008; Assmann, 2009]; Szacka, 2006;). The past is not static, it has to be constantly re-constructed and re-presented through communication, through making it present in the present (Ricoeur, 2007).

The memory of pioneers of adult education, andragogy, socio-educational work, who with their commitment initiated and created the basis for the development of adult education and the formation of andragogical thought, is of particular importance. Restoring the memory of these people is our common task. As Ralph Emerson wrote, “there is no history, only biography” (1997, p. 6). Of course, it should be remembered that although memory does not equal history, history without memory, collective memory in particular, is not possible. Especially now, when various forms of forgetting the past, as Marc Auge wrote (Auge, 2009), are applied in social life to make the past forgotten, while simultaneously extracting from it the facts which, for various reasons, serve to legitimize the discourse of the government that limits women’s rights. Therefore, referring to – and drawing from history – the women who had the courage to take up the so-called women’s issue – is justified and serves the contemporary discourse. One of these characters that deserves to be remembered is Izabela Moszczeńska.

The state of research on Moszczeńska’s work and socio-educational activity is still insufficient, although it should be noted that in recent years in various publications on the development of the feminist movement, the struggle for Polish independence and others, there are references to her activity, and there is also a publication/anthology containing selected texts by Moszczeńska and an outline of her biography (Siwiec, 2017).

Izabela Moszczeńska was an extraordinary figure, extremely involved and active in many fields: pedagogy, andragogy, social and educational activity, political activity and the feminist movement; a journalist, *promoter of new slogans and methods of education* (Chmaj, 1963) and propagator of the achievements of European thought in the scope of social sciences. She was a pioneer of both the feminist movement in Poland and in the scope of adult education, especially for female education, and her numerous publications also concerned the theoretical fundamentals of andragogy. The pedagogical interests and the

related publishing activity of Iza Moszczeńska were inseparably connected with her socio-educational activity, her membership in many organizations and societies, as well as her life circumstances. She has released over 1000 different publications, including 28 books. It is often difficult to write about these different fields of activity separately. However, taking into account the requirements of the article, in its first part I will discuss the trajectory of Moszczeńska's biography, together with an analysis of her socio-educational activity, and then I will address her views on adult education, especially education for women. Of course, the framework of the article does not allow for a full analysis of the discussed issues, so I will put a special emphasis on those of them, which she devoted the most attention to and in which she was the most active.

Biography and socio-educational activity of Izabela Moszczeńska

Various sources have been used to illustrate the outline of Moszczeńska's biography, as well as her activities and analyses of her work. These were both materials from family archives as well as printed sources dealing with the functioning of various organizations and societies in which she participated, and also her numerous publications, both books as well as articles in various journals¹. Moreover, I have used various historical-educational studies, which contained references to Moszczeńska, and my earlier publications devoted to her (Stopińska-Pająk, 1989, 1990, 1998, 2001, 2007, 2011).

Izabela Moszczeńska was born on 28 October 1864 in Rzczyca in Kujawy (in the Prussian partition, in the Inowrocław powiat), in a landowning family, and died on 20 March 1941 in Warsaw. The family environment she grew up in had patriotic traditions, both on the part of her father and her mother. Her father was an activist for independence of Poland, and her mother – Eufemia Krukowska (her father's second wife) – also came from a socially engaged family. Initially she was home schooled, and during this period she learned French, German and English – the languages that later became her livelihood.

A very important stage of her education was the education she received at Jadwiga Sikorska's boarding school in Warsaw, which she started at the age of 14 in 1878. Although it lasted only two years, she completed there – il-

¹ The materials from the family archive were made available by the daughter-in-law of I. Moszczeńska – Mrs. Rzepecka. It contained memoirs, notes, correspondence and a copy of a book written by her daughter Hanna Pohoska, entitled "Iza Moszczeńska. Wspomnienia i listy 1864–1941" ("Iza Moszczeńska. Memories and letters 1864–1941"); the book can be found in the Special Collections of the The University of Warsaw Library Department of Manuscripts.

legally – the fifth and sixth grade. As a result, she did not receive a formal school-leaving certificate, which closed her way to further institutional education. While staying at Sikorska's boarding school, Moszczeńska met outstanding pedagogues, philosophers who made her interested in positivist ideology, represented by the so-called "Warsaw positivists", social issues and, above all, it was there that she became acquainted with the slogans and ideas of female emancipation, the so-called "women's issue", as it was then called, which directed her activity basically for her entire life. As she wrote years later, during this education *she had gathered the mental resources* necessary for living and a conviction about the need for lifelong learning (Moszczeńska, 1927). After completing school, in the years 1880–1890 she mainly stayed in the countryside with her family. This ten-year period of intensive independent work on her own development was supported by several trips to Warsaw for a couple of months, where she studied painting under Wojciech Gerson and attended the so-called Flying University. She participated in lectures given by well-known pedagogues and philosophers such as: Jan Władysław Dawid, Adolf Dygasiński, Ludwik Krzywicki, Adam Mahrburg, which deepened her feminist and pedagogical interests. The Flying University – operating secretly, established in 1885 mainly thanks to the involvement of Jadwiga Szczawińska-Dawidowa (1864–1910), was an unusual institution of adult education. It was also given a different name – "Women's University", as the women dominated among students, especially in the initial period of its activity (Cywiński, 1996). It is a testimony not only to the enormous educational needs of women, who at that time had limited opportunities to satisfy these needs, but also to the activity and determination in the learning effort. The studies at the University lasted from 5 to 6 years and required a lot of courage from its students (should any student be discovered, it could result in their arrest), they had to study regularly, prepare papers, prepare for various exercises and discussions, and take active part in them, pass tests or exams, and it should be added that although certificates of completion of the course were obtained (Mackiewicz-Wojciechowska, 1934), it did not give any formal certificates or any permissions. It was to be for everyone, as Szczawińska-Dawidowa called it, "any desire for knowledge already grants right to it" (Sempołowska, 1910, p. 123). It can therefore also be classified as a public university. It was not only a place of gaining knowledge, but also was supposed to stimulate social activity, further self-improvement, learning through action, it was aimed at forming the mentality of the listeners (Cywiński, 1996, p. 69). It is worth noting that among the University's students there was the later double Nobel Prize winner Maria Skłodowska-Curie and her sister Bronisława, one of the first female doctors in Poland (Pietruszewski, 2011; Pospieszny, 2015).

At that time, around the year 1885, she started her journalistic and literary activity, mainly in Warsaw and Poznań journals.

Since 1890, the financial situation of Moszczeńska's family had deteriorated significantly due to the death of her father, and she had to take up employment in order to support herself. She undertook various professional activities, starting from working as a home teacher in wealthy families, running a secret boarding home for girls in Warsaw together with her mother, and finally undertaking activities to which she devoted herself throughout her life. These were mainly two types of activities that complemented each other. One of them was journalistic activity, which includes original articles published in journals and numerous translations of important socio-pedagogical works. The second area of activity was working as a teacher, tutor, lecturer in various organizations, mostly women's.

In 1894, at the age of 30, she married Kazimierz Rzepecki (1866–1902). The Rzepecki and Moszczeński families, apart from a similar social status, were united by a tradition of fighting for independence. Kazimierz Rzepecki took over from his father the editorial office of *Wielkopolska Herald* ("Goniec Wielkopolski"), which was published in Poznań, where they soon settled. Moszczeńska quickly joined the socio-educational community in the city. She published a lot, especially for "Przegląd Poznański" ("Poznan's review"), addressing mainly issues related to the feminist movement and the emancipation of women, presenting their quite radical views. She also joined the women's movement, took part in the activities of the Association for Educational Help for Girls (Towarzystwa Pomocy Naukowej dla Dziewcząt), established in 1871, and in the Reading Room for Women (Czytelnia dla Kobiet), of which she became the first chairwoman in 1895, giving a series of lectures and presentations on the emancipation of women. Unfortunately, due to repressions from the Prussian authorities, she resigned as a sign of protest. At the same time, she was involved in the women's association "Warta", where, among other well-known activists, she spoke out against the Germanization policy and presented a programme of raising children and youth in Polish families based on national values. In September 1896 Moszczeńska took part in the International Women's Congress in Berlin, where she gave a lecture on the socio-educational work of women from the Russian partition. In 1897 Moszczeńska and her family moved to Lviv, where she joined the social work of Lviv women, but as soon as in 1899 she moved to Warsaw. It was there, in the Warsaw community, that Moszczeńska was particularly active in various fields. In the second half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, Warsaw was the centre of scientific, socio-educational and political life, in-

cluding the shaping of Polish pedagogical thought. Moszczeńska was its prominent representative. She participated in research activities carried out by Jan Władysław Dawid and systematically published in the journal "Przegląd Pedagogiczny", where she addressed the issues of mental, moral, physical and aesthetic education of children and youth. She cooperated with feminist journals such as "Ster", "Nowe Słowo" and other social journals – "Przegląd Tygodniowy", "Głos". She conducted lectures for women from working and rural communities, mainly through her involvement in a secret political organization called the Association of Women of the Crown and Lithuania (Koło Kobiet Korony i Litwy – KKKiL). In KKKiL she participated in the works of many sections, distributed folk publications in Wielkopolska, transported illegal literature across borders, gave lectures, organized libraries, and was involved in many national events. She was also involved in an openly active women's organization – the Women's Labour Association at the Museum of Industry and Trade in Warsaw, in which, being part of the social section, she gave lectures highlighting the issues of women's working conditions in factories.

It is impossible to present all the activities of Moszczeńska. It should be noted that they were taking place during a period of significant family moments. In 1895 her daughter Hanna, and in 1899 her son Jan, were born². The family was constantly struggling financially. It was mainly Moszczeńska who had to support the family and secure the basic needs. The husband failed in this respect, although he supported his wife in her activities and shared her radical views (Siwiec, 2016). The marriage soon came to an end, only 8 years after the wedding, with the death of her husband in 1902³.

The period preceding the turbulent revolutionary events of 1905, as well as the years of the revolution, was the time of Moszczeńska's increased activity. At that time, she joined the radical intelligentsia gathered around the ille-

² Daughter – Hanna Rzepecka-Pohoska (1895–1953), pedagogue, researcher at the University of Warsaw, wife of the Vice President of Warsaw – Jan Pohoski, close co-worker of Stefan Starzyński, editor of "Zrąb", author of numerous pedagogical publications. Son – Jan Rzepecki (1899–1983), historian, colonel, since 1918 in the Polish Army. In the years 1935–1939 a professor at the Higher War School, a participant of the September Campaign, fought in the resistance movement during the occupation. In 1940–1944, he was the head of the Bureau of Information and Propaganda of the Union for Armed Struggle of the Home Army, an employee of the General Staff Academy, and since 1955, a researcher at the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Author of historical papers.

³ Moszczeńska's husband died in Berlin on March 6, 1902. His body was excavated from the Spree and although it was believed that the cause of death was a heart attack, the circumstances were not explained (Rzepecki, 1977).

gal journals “Kuźnica” and “Nowe Tory”, in which she discussed issues concerning the shape of the future Polish education. I. Moszczeńska’s activity led to her being arrested and imprisoned in March 1905, and then deported out of the Russian partition. She secretly returned to Warsaw in autumn 1905, still operating under the pseudonyms Bel, Bell or Omikrorz.

During the turmoil of the revolution, Moszczeńska was involved also in the women’s movement. In 1903, a very interesting series of her articles was published in “Słowo” under the title *Kwestia kobieca w chwili obecnej* (*Women’s issue at present*). She harshly criticized the current achievements of the women’s emancipation movement. In 1905 she took part in the Polish National Congress of Women in Krakow, which gathered representatives of all fractions of the women’s movement from the three partitions. The program of the congress was very rich and included not only women’s issues, but also other important social and political issues. The delegates expressed their support for the fighting proletariat, which should be appreciated because it was an admirable uniformity of attitudes of all the delegates, despite the fundamental differences between organizations. On the first day she gave a lecture entitled *Polityczny ruch kobiet w chwili obecnej* (*The women’s political movement at present*). The result of the discussion was the adoption of a resolution in which women undertook to cooperate with political parties seeking political freedoms for the country and considered it necessary to grant women electoral rights. She also spoke on co-education and took part in a discussion on the fight against prostitution, which was an important part of the meeting. In addition to well-known activists of the progressive women’s movement, among others: Paulina Kuczalska-Reinschmit, Maria Turzyna, Teodora Męczkowska, who demanded the abolition of prostitution rationing, Moszczeńska pointed to the economic and social causes of prostitution and, referring to her own research on the sex life of middle school students, pointed to errors in education and adverse influence of adults (Moszczeńska, 1905).

In 1907 Moszczeńska took part in the next Congress of Polish Women, which was held in Warsaw on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of Eliza Orzeszkowa’s literary and civic activity. Moszczeńska’s contribution, both in the preparatory phase of the congress and during the meeting, was significant; she was a member of the preparatory committee chaired by Maria Konopnicka and a member of the jubilee committee established at the congress to raise funds to celebrate Orzeszkowa’s merits. Several times she has spoken on the most important issues: electoral rights of women, provisions of the Civil Code, prostitution issues. The problems tackled and the way they were presented were extremely progressive. Moszczeńska herself assessed the conven-

tion as a breakthrough in the women's movement. She was also entrusted with the task of elaborating, together with Julia Dicksteinówna and Cecylia Walewska, the results of a survey intended to show the influence of Orzeszkowa on the shaping of women's social views, compiled in a separate publication (*Ich spowiedź*, 1912; Moszczeńska, 1911).

In 1910, she joined the Women's Affairs Committee (Komisja do Spraw Kobięcych), which was established at the Polish Culture Society (Towarzystwo Kultury Polskiej). Her activities were soon interrupted by another arrest. After being released, she returned to her work in the women's movement. In 1913, together with other activists (Jadwiga Marcinowska, Helena Ceysinger), she established a new women's organization – the Women's League for War Aid (Liga Kobiet Pogotowia Wojennego – LKPW), where she was unanimously elected president. After the outbreak of World War I, Moszczeńska started a very active agitation activity among women, establishing local LKPW circles and creating her own magazine “Na Posterunku”, edited in cooperation with Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska. It is worth noting that the LKPW was guided mainly by patriotic, less feminist motives, but it was also perceived to be important for the issue of equality of women in independent Poland (Moszczeńska, 1917; Gawin, 2015). The period of World War I mainly involved working in the LKPW, which was very turbulent, which in the end led to conflicts (Pająk, 1999) and loss of popularity, or even rejection of the community. For, among other things, publishing the open letter “Do brygadiera Piłsudskiego, byłego członka Rady Stanu” (“To Brigadier Piłsudski, former member of the Council of State”), she was removed from the list of members of the Association of Writers and Journalists.

Thus, the period of Moszczeńska's activity between 1913 and 1918 was mainly defined by giving a new face to the women's movement. In order to activate women in the cause of liberation of the nation, Moszczeńska combined the slogans of the emancipatory movement with current social and political problems, as well as with adult education. The latter was in her area of interest earlier, during the revolution of 1905 and in later years, she participated in the efforts of numerous organizations, societies and socio-educational institutions involved in the dissemination of adult education, e.g. Association of Courses for Adult Illiterates (Stowarzyszenie Kursów dla Analfabetów Dorosłych; Weychertówna, 1907), in which she was a member of the board next to Bolesław Prus, Ludwik Krzywicki, Władysława Weychert-Szymanowska and Maria Rotwandowa, the Polish Culture Society (Towarzystwo Kultury Polskiej), where in 1910 a Women's Affairs Committee (Komisja do Spraw Kobięcych) was established with a significant participation of Moszczeńska,

the Society of Warsaw Reading Rooms (Towarzystwo Czytelni m. Warszawy), the Society for the Promotion of Education “Światło” (Towarzystwo Szerzenia Oświaty „Światło”), the Society for the Promotion of Education (Towarzystwo Krzewienia Oświaty) in Łódź and the University for All (Uniwersytet dla Wszystkich) in Warsaw. She was particularly involved in the efforts of the University for All, operating from 1906 to 1908 (Moszczeńska, 1907c; 1909), where, alongside Stanisław Karpowicz, she headed the pedagogical section. This institution, connected through its activists with the environment of socialist and radical intelligentsia, developed a broad educational activity, mainly in the working-class communities (Miąso, 1960). Various educational forms were conducted, mainly lectures popularizing knowledge from various fields, self-education groups were established and counselling was provided. In November 1908, as a result of repressions from tsarist authorities, the University was closed down and then in May 1909 it was liquidated. The andragogic issues were also the subject of many of her articles and speeches in socio-educational journals.

The next stage of Moszczeńska’s activity in the women’s movement and in adult education was the period after Poland regained independence. She was still active, although she joined more moderate groups.

In May 1934, at the age of 70, she was severely paralyzed, and in the autumn of 1937, she suffered another attack that made her unable to move around. However, she continued to work and publish a lot in the press, wrote diaries and memoirs, and led a social life. She died on 20 March 1941 in Warsaw and was buried at the Powązki Cemetery.

Adult/female education in Moszczeńska’s journalism

Moszczeńska’s contribution to the development of the women’s movement and adult education, as can be seen from the above analyses, was manifold and significant. However, what is particularly valuable is her theoretical and journalistic work, through which she shaped the consciousness of female and male activists and added important issues to the feminist and andragogical discourses.

She was very critical of the main slogans of the feminist movement – knowledge and work for women – which, in her opinion, became obsolete and outdated at the beginning of the 20th century. To the “real” problems of women’s emancipation she added such issues as: women’s hygiene, living and working conditions, infant mortality, prostitution and the accompanying social diseases, the issues of the so-called “wet nurses”, infanticide (Moszczeńska,

1903a; 1904). The problems she mentioned did not concern women in privileged social classes, but mainly those in the lowest classes of society. For the women from the working class – as she wrote – work was not a novelty, because they had already been working for a long time, and yet they did not have thrown off *the yoke of enslavement by men*, did not ensure their independence, nor did they rise to a higher level of humanity. She has expressed her position on this matter very clearly:

(Work) does not provide a guarantee and personal independence today to all those who work through sweat and tears in the fields, in factories or constructing houses, work on an equal with men, often facing double exploitation, by an employer who uses the strength of their hands and by a husband who uses or squanders their wages (Moszczeńska 1903a: 132).

She also accused educated women of betraying the interests of women who brought nothing new to science and became similar to men. She wrote: “They went ahead, but in the crowd of the general procession, the badges and banners were carried by men before them.” (Moszczeńska, 1903a, p. 390). Being very critical of the positive programme of women’s emancipation, which she considered to be too single-sided, she demanded new ideas in the women’s movement, which would lead to the full liberation of humanity in women, and to them being treated as human beings with full potential for independent and comprehensive development. The aim of the women’s movement was therefore to equip women with the necessary general, professional, pedagogical and psychological knowledge and to fight for decent living and working conditions, enabling them to combine professional work with the fulfilment of the care and educational function towards children (Moszczeńska, 1899; 1911). According to Moszczeńska, the new ideal of a woman is a creative, active woman who transforms the conditions of life to her own needs and those of other, “a new type of woman [...] will perhaps emphasize – *she wrote* – the features of natural individuality to a higher degree and will be no less feminine, yet much more human” (Moszczeńska, 1903, p.132). It is also worth noting that she noticed the need to see feminist issues in connection with various spheres of human life, especially family life, and the need for a moral man to be reborn. She stressed the need for both genders to work together “in such reorganization of existing social relations and orders so as to improve the lives of all men and women without distinction” (Moszczeńska, 1903, p. 140). The adult education was to take these needs into account and, through an adequate program, forms and methods of work, ensure the possibility of the most comprehensive development of every woman, inspire and stimulate

auto-creative and self-educational aspirations (Moszczeńska, 1898; 1900; 1903). Therefore, she saw that the goals of the women's movement are in line with the goals of adult education, which in turn should be seen against the background of other social problems. She pointed out that they cannot be analyzed in isolation from the actual educational and social reality (Moszczeńska, 1901; 1902; 1903b).

In addressing andragogical issues, she paid a lot of attention to the possibilities and conditions of adult education. She noted that the poor quality of adult education results from the conviction that there are no possibilities for education and development of adults. However, referring to psychological research, e.g. by E.L. Thorndike, J.W. David, the experience in educational work with adults of M.F.S. Grundtvig and the domestic experience, she argued that the thesis on the effectiveness of adult education is not subject to questioning. She pointed out that there are many factors characterizing an adult person which make this period of life even more suitable for education than the earlier stages. Among these are awareness of the purpose of learning, the voluntary nature of education, mental resilience and experience of overcoming difficulties. However, she noticed the specificity of educational work with adults, who, due to a lack of previously developed intellectual skills, require a specific approach (Moszczeńska, 1907; 1907a; 1907b; 1907c). Many of her texts focused on the issues of organization and methods of educational work with adults (Stopińska-Pająk, 1990).

The most important, however, was the self-education of adults. She understood it very broadly, as the development of the learner's own personality. She wrote: "Self-education, however, is not about taking in other people's thoughts, but about working and developing one's own ability to think". (Moszczeńska, 1927, p. 92). She emphasized the importance of every *source of knowledge* from which one learns, including everyday life, because, as she wrote, only life can adapt to life:

A person who is able to perceive and think, in whom the ability of careful observation and logical reasoning has been developed since childhood, can be educated through books, lectures, galleries, theatre and travel, as well as through insufficient means, such as talking to people or a journal (Moszczeńska 1896, p. 304).

These considerations are reflected in virtually all of her articles, polemics and other publications. She was convinced that a person who, in their youth, wanted to acquire as much education as possible in order to have enough for the rest of their lives makes a mistake. At the same time, in all forms of adult education, the participants were not prepared for independent educa-

tional work. They lacked the skills necessary to manage their own education, choice of field or to critically assess the knowledge. The education of adults was supposed to support them in shaping these competences.

The andragogic views of Iza Moszczeńska have both practical and scientific value. Their main aspect is the integral treatment of theory and practice, and thus – an attempt to create theoretical foundations for practical educational activity among adults. This valuable contribution of Moszczeńska – rarely noticed by researchers thus far – deserves special emphasis. At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, the need for separate scientific reflection on andragogical issues had not yet been felt, as the specificity of adult education processes remained unnoticed. Opinions were transferred from pedagogy, which often proved to be unreliable when dealing with adults. Moszczeńska explained the reality of adult education by generalizing practical experiences, at the same time referring to psychology and new theories of human education. She pointed to the different psyche and socio-cultural conditions of adult students, especially those with lower social stratification, including female students, as well as to the adaptation of methodological and practical methods of educational work to this specificity. Her considerations are not only of historical value, but also of value currently.

Final thoughts

The life of Izabela Moszczeńska is an example of a biography, which she was able to realize through her activity, creativity and not giving in to adversity. What distinguishes and characterizes Moszczeńska in particular is her constant, lifelong and dedicated studying in various ways and forms, from various resources, as she wrote herself, from different *sources of knowledge*. What is important, she was not doing this for diplomas – since she did not have any – but for the passion and need of individual shaping of her life and biography. These characteristics of her biography make her a *source of inspiration* for the contemporary human being, who is often lost and uncertain about tomorrow. In one of her publications she described her work, or rather her life, as follows:

Happy are those who can devote themselves professionally to that activity, which they would devote themselves to for pleasure if they did not need to make a living from their own work. Such was my work and I consider it to be the only, invaluable gift of fate – among the numerous obstacles and difficulties that I had not been spared of (Moszczeńska, 1927, p. 60).

Undoubtedly, to present her life in full, including her social and educational activity, political activity, involvement in the feminist movement and adult education requires deeper analysis and diverse, multithreaded assessment, which of course goes beyond the scope of the article.

Bibliography

- Assmann, J. (2008). *Pamięć kulturowa. Pismo, zapamiętywanie i polityczna tożsamość w cywilizacjach starożytnych*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.
- Assmann, J. (2009a). Kultura pamięci. In: M. Saryusz-Wolska (eds.), *Pamięć zbiorowa i kulturowa. Współczesna perspektywa niemiecka*. Kraków: Universitas.
- Assmann, A. (2009b). Przestrzenie pamięci. Formy i przemiany pamięci kulturowej. In: Saryusz-Wolska M. (ed.). *Pamięć zbiorowa i kulturowa. Współczesna perspektywa niemiecka*. Kraków: Universitas.
- Auge, M. (2009). *Formy zapomnienia*. translated by A. Turczyn. Introduction by J. Mikułowski-Pomorski. Kraków: Universitas.
- Bauman, Z. (2004). *Życie na przemiał*. translated by T. Kunz. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.
- Bauman, Z. (2006). *Płynna nowoczesność*. translated by T. Kunz. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.
- Chmaj, L. (1963). *Prądy i kierunki w pedagogice XX wieku*. Warsaw: PZWS.
- Cywiński, B. (1996). *Rodowody niepokornych*. Warsaw: Świat Książki.
- Emerson, R. (1997). *Mysli*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Test.
- Gawin, M. (2015). *Spór o równouprawnienie kobiet (1864–1919)*. Warsaw: Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne, Wydawnictwo Neriton.
- b.a. (1912). *Ich spowiedź. Wyniki ankiety dla uczczenia Orzeszkowej*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Komisja do Spraw Kobiectw przy Towarzystwie Kultury Polskiej.
- Kwieciński, Z. (2004). Pedagogiczne aspekty wyzerowania. In: E. Anna Wesołowska (eds.), *Człowiek i edukacja*. Płock: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Novum sp. z o.o.
- Mackiewicz-Wojciechowska, J. (1934). Uniwersytet „Latający”. Kartka z dziejów tajnej pracy oświatowej. „*Zagadnienia Pracy Kulturalnej*”. *Rocznik I*. Warsaw.
- M.I. (Moszczeńska) (1909). Likwidacja Uniwersytetu dla Wszystkich. *Prawda*, no. 22.
- Miąso, J. (1960). *Uniwersytet dla wszystkich*. Warsaw: PZWS.
- Moszczeńska, I. (1896). Książka i życie. „*Przegląd Pedagogiczny*”, no. 17.
- Moszczeńska, I. (1898). Emancypacja i rodzina. *Tydzień*, no. 0.
- Moszczeńska, I. (1899). Praca kobiet. *Bluszcz*, no. 36.
- Moszczeńska, I. (1900). Tragizm kobiecości. *Głos*, no. 15.
- Moszczeńska, I. (1901). Oświata kobiet wiejskich. *Głos*, no. 36.
- Moszczeńska, I. (1902). Kobieta wobec badań nauki współczesnej. *Głos*, no. 34.
- Moszczeńska, I. (1903). Mężczyzna i kobieta. In. (no eds.). *Głos kobiet w kwestii kobiecej*.
- Moszczeńska, I. (1903a). Kwestia kobieca w chwili obecnej. Part 1. *Głos*.
- Moszczeńska, I. (1903b). Błąd zasadniczy. *Nowe Słowo*, no. 23. Kraków: Nakładem Stow. Pomocy Naukowej dla Polek im. J.I. Kraszewskiego.
- Moszczeńska, I. (1904). Walka z kobietami w Poznaniu. *Głos*, no. 47.
- Moszczeńska, I. (1905). Sprawozdanie ze Zjazdu, *Nowe Słowo*, no. 20.
- Moszczeńska, I. (1907). Organizacja pracy kulturalnej. *Nowe Tory*, no. 10.
- Moszczeńska, I. (1907a). Wykład i książka. *Nowe Tory*, no. 8.

- Moszczeńska, I. (1907b). Wykłady popularne. *Nowe Tory*, no. 1.
- Moszczeńska, I. (1907c). *Do światła. Rzecz o znaczeniu Uniwersytetów Powszechnych*. Warsaw: Wydawca Uniwersytet dla Wszystkich.
- Moszczeńska, I. (1911). *O życiu i pracach Orzeszkowej*. Warsaw: Komisja do Spraw Kobięcych przy Towarzystwie Kultury Polskiej.
- Moszczeńska, I. (1917). Bezprzymiotnikowa Liga Kobiet. *Wiadomości Polskie*, R. III, no. 118.
- Moszczeńska, I. (1927). *Źródło siły i szczęścia*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo M. Arcta in Warsaw.
- Pająk, J.Z. (1999). Liga Kobiet Polskich Pogotowia Wojennego wobec sporów w obozie aktywnym (sierpień 1915–sierpień 1916). *Kieleckie Studia Historyczne*, vol. 15.
- Pietruszewski, M. (2011). *Wielkie Biografie. Maria Skłodowska-Curie. Polka wszech czasów*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo: Literat.
- Pospieszny, T. (2015). *Nieskalana sławą. Życie i dzieło Marii Skłodowskiej-Curie*. B.m.w.: Wydawnictwo: Novae Res.
- Ricoeur, P. (2007). *Pamięć, historia, zapomnienie*, translated by J. Margański, Kraków: Universitas.
- Rzepecki, J. (1977). Moszczeńska. In. *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*. Vol. XXII. Wrocław–Warsaw–Kraków–Gdańsk. Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk.
- Sempołowska, S. (1910). Uniwersytet Latający. „*Spółczeństwo*”, no. 11.
- Siwec, A. (2016). Kazimierz Rzepecki – idealista i mąż nieidealny Izabeli Moszczeńskiej. *Autobiografia*, no. 1 (6).
- Siwec, A. (2017). *Publicystyka społeczna Izabeli Moszczeńskiej. Wybór*. Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego.
- Stopińska-Pająk, A. (1989). Myśl pedagogiczna i działalność społeczno-oświatowa Izabeli Moszczeńskiej (1864–1941). In. W. Bobrowska-Nowak (eds.), *Szkice z historii psychologii i pedagogiki. Prace pedagogiczne 24*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.
- Stopińska-Pająk, A. (1990). Problematyka andragogiczna w publicystyce Izabeli Moszczeńskiej. In. B. Zechowska (ed.), *Z metodologicznych i empirycznych problemów pedagogiki*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.
- Stopińska-Pająk, A. (1998). Moszczeńska (Moszczeńska-Rzepecka) Izabela. In. W. Bobrowska-Nowak, D. Drynda (eds.), *Słownik pedagogów polskich*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.
- Stopińska-Pająk, A., (2001). Wkład Izabeli Moszczeńskiej w rozwój polskiego ruchu kobiecego. In. W. Jamrozek i D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk (eds.), *Rola i miejsce kobiet w edukacji i kulturze polskiej*. Volume 2. Poznań: Instytut Historii UAM.
- Stopińska-Pająk, A. (2007). Izabela Moszczeńska i jej rodzina – w służbie polskiej oświaty. In. W. Jamrozek, K. Kabacińska, K. Ratajczak, W. Szulakiewicz (eds.), *Powiązania rodzinne wśród twórców polskiej teorii i praktyki edukacyjnej*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie sp. z o.o.
- Stopińska-Pająk, A. (2011). Izabela Moszczeńska – działaczka społeczno-oświatowa i prekursorka andragogiki w perspektywie biograficznej. In. A. Frąckowiak (ed.), *Seniori polskiej andragogiki*. Radom: Wydawnictwo ITeE-PIB.
- Szacka, B., (2006). *Czas przeszły, pamięć, mit*, Warsaw. Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, Wydawnictwo Naukowe SCHOLAR.
- Weychertówna, W. (1907). Stowarzyszenie Kursów dla Dorosłych. *Nowe Tory*, z. 1.