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THE POSITION OF POLISH WOMEN IN THE HISTORICAL OUTREACH AND SCIENTIFIC WORK

I

A story of the times gone-by, of the national glory and defeats, has been spun since the earliest time by Polish mothers; moulding the child's first historical notions, they would inculcate in his soul a cult of the past. Thus, the Polish oral tradition has been passed, in the living word, from one generation to the other mainly owing to women.

The importance of the domestic influence on Polish historical sense has been intensified by the years of national bondage. None of the designs of the annexationist school managed to counteract the further growth of a grain once cast into the young minds. The less was the subject of the Homeland's history tended to by the professional pedagogues, the larger interest it did acquire extracurricularly amongst the youth. It is continuously supported, and aroused, by the clandestine teaching of history, in the organisation of which woman has a role of importance falling upon her. The women of Warsaw: how many secret lectures of such scientific notabilities as Tadeusz Korzon and Piotr Chmielowski were deep-covered by them!¹ ... This great role of women in promoting and sustaining the predilection for the past and in the extracurricular popularisation of history focuses, on the one hand, our attention on the sources from which the women drew their popularising knowledge, whereas on the other, it triggers the willingness to ponder upon whether there have been any trace of the methods of this popularisation left; whether, apart from the women's deep sentimental attitude toward the national history, there has existed any active connexion between the women and history as a source of exact knowledge on the past, with history as a science.

¹ Władysław Smoleński, *Studia historyczne* (Warszawa, 1925), 280, 288 ('Lessons in Polish history'; 'The conditions of scientific work in the former Kingdom of Poland in the period of Russian retaliation for the January Insurrection [i.e. the 1860s]. (This edition omits some of the author's notes.)

Like the former scientific requirements accepted the idea of history as a written-down narrative of bygone occurrences, the woman of a distant past satisfied herself with oral tradition. Illiterate for a long time, mentally uncreative for ages and ages, she enters the records of historiography, which is oriented onto a political viewpoint, as a dynastical and procreative factor only.

Her subsequent, invigorating though passive, influence upon the development of Polish national literature, which is created mainly with her in mind, introduces her into the sphere of written, prevalently prayerful, word. Also, the religious ideas inspired in Polish women a deeper labour of thought, when the need occurred in the time of humanism and Reformation to compare the new rules against the old ones. These appearances of women in the sixteenth century were unique indeed (to the extent that some literary historians denied them) in the area of writings, as were their contemporary voices of men that recognised the need for women to be educated (Andrzej Glaber of Kobylin, Marcin Bielski, Łukasz Górnicki). They were, namely, fed sparingly with all sorts of knowledge by the family home, as well as the monastery – the *Alma Mater* of women's upbringing over an enormous time-span. Woman: she was but an exceptional and half-legendary university phenomenon in Poland in the Mediaeval Ages.² The notice of her two-year stay at the Jagiellonian University has only been preserved in a Viennese annalistic account, whilst she is merely mentioned by the fundamental historiography of the Jagiellonian University. Even her appellation is unknown. In the event

² The name Nawojka denotes a fictitious young woman student in medieval Cracow. Created in the nineteenth century in numerous literary-historical essays or sketches, the figure excellently fits the Hobsbawmian 'invented tradition'. 'Of her love for knowledge', wearing a male attire, Nawojka attended lectures of Cracow professors; once her actual sex was discovered, she was dispatched to a nunnery. The legend was disseminated by the women's movement, emphasising the continuity of women's strivings for participation in the academic life. Women's organisations strove for having a house for first female students built. Finally, owing to the endeavours of the 'Jedność' association in 1939, a house for women students' of the Jagiellonian University was opened, with Nawojka as its patroness. For more, see Jadwiga Suchmiel, *Polskie Stowarzyszenie Studentek Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego "Jedność" w Krakowie w 1910–1939* (Częstochowa, 2005). The texts referred to by Charewiczowa include (*i.a.*): Antoni Karbowiak, 'Kobieta w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim w XV wieku', *Muzeum* (1904), 213–14; Władysław Prokesch, 'Pierwsza emancypantka polska w XV wieku', *Kraj*, xix, 28 (1900).

that she really existed, this would be evidence of a bodacious drive for knowledge – in a time when the like strivings tended at times to be judged on a par with sorcery.

The lack of knowledge in women proved at times to be severe and went hand-in-hand with inability to express oneself in writing – for, a couple of swallows do not make a spring, and a couple of writing women cannot give the basis for a more general judgement: they might only testify to a potential. A monastic refectory, a noble day-room, or a bourgeois bakery, being an economic kingdom of woman, were nowise fit at that time as a writing manufactory. No participation in non-household events, in more general affairs, sequentially implied no stimulus for writing-down the facts of importance, nor did it direct the women's critical or comparative regard on the contemporaneity or into the heretofore.

Unawakened by education, the restricted compass of female thought did not reach beyond the confines of one's own sentimentality, and thence every woman who ever, with time, wielded a quill, wrote primarily of herself, presenting the others against the background of her own self, and the occurrences happening around her. And this property of feminine spiritual constitution has left a marked imprint in the abundance of the writing legacy of women in those sections of literature which whose importance for historians of culture and mores is fundamental: in autobiography, diaristics, and epistolography. In so far as there is no trace of women's labour in the annalistics, chronicling, hagiography, and other sections of sources whose prime falls on the time of a predominating writing mutism of our women, in those three above-enumerated groups of sources the female past has, all the same, expressed itself to a fairly broad extent.

The first piece of a greater literary value written by a woman, from 1685, is an autobiography composed in verse. The eighteenth century saw the diaristic section practiced by female social noblesse on a large scale. Since their girlish years, Polish ladies wrote this exotic literature in the French language, and on its basis the life of madams of the Enlightenment period and the following years can be reconstructed almost in all its entirety. In her boarding-school-pupil age, Helena Masańska commenced her memoirs, whilst also Zofja Matuszewska, later on married Kicka, has passed on to us her girlish confidences. The thoughts of an active female politician were recorded by Teofila Sapieżyna [Sapieha], née Jabłonowska. Likewise, Urszula Tarnowska,

née Ustrzycka, and Ludwika Princess Radziwiłłowa, and Prince Józef [Poniatowski's] niece Anna Potocka, née Tyszkiewicz, and m[any] o[thers], did not remain strangers to the memoirist current; never the less, only the bibliography gives an appropriate idea about how numerous they were. J[adwiga Julia Wanda] Lubomirska, married de Ligne, passed down to us rich notes from the years 1815–50, comprising a considerable portion of manorial societal information and shedding light on the policies of Louis-Philippe. Gabrjela Countess Güntherówna [Günther], married Princess Pubynina [Puzyna], offered in her memoirs an abundant material for cognising the political and moral life in Lithuania in the years 1815–43.

In terms of literary value, outstanding memoirs from the nineteenth century have been left by Bogusława Mańkowska, daughter of General Henryk Dąbrowski, and Paulina Wilkońska. The former has yielded an excellent four-volume description of the times of the Congress kingdom, the latter, an exquisite representation of the social life of Warsaw and the Congress-kingdom province. The numerous other women's memoirs have been robed in print, and their great multiplicity fills the recesses of public and family archives. Their authoresses come most of the time from the topmost spheres of the Polish society of yore and so had an opportunity to really encounter the most important affairs and the most outstanding individuals of their epochs ...

The history of the national expatriate and insurrection martyrdom have found their express exposition in female diaristics as well, or in the recollections that were spun later in a later age (E[wa] Felińska, Kazimierzowa Małachowska [i.e. Benigna Małachowska, General Kazimierz Małachowski's wife], Anna Sapieżyna [Sapieha], E[milia] Heurichowa and her daughter T[eodora] Kiślańska, Z[ofia] Romanowiczówna, and o[thers]). Gradually, newer and newer memoirs and reminiscences from the nineteenth century are issued in a book attire [i.e. format]. In as late as 1919, on reviewing Heurichowa and Kiślańska's *Wspomnienia matki i córki z powstania 1863 r.* [Memories of a mother and her daughter from the Uprising of 1863], M. Dubiecki claimed these memories are a unique phenomenon and expressed his regret that those times and occurrences were depicted almost exclusively by male quills; female quills almost did not touch upon them, to the detriment of the characterisation of the sentiments of those days, for women repeatedly contributed considerably to the occurrences and documents with historical significance were written

in woman's hand, or else they were issued by male offices and were regarded a formation of male thought and hand.

The value of female memoirist records is of a diverse scale, whilst it is easy to extract from them the historical material with use of the rules binding in the critique of diaristics and knowledge of the feminine psyche. Whereas, for the history of Polish women, they form a prime source, somewhat from the point-of-view of a rather anecdotal novel.

Liberated from the mediaeval textbook templates, female letter repeatedly becomes in the historical studies an important and first-rate testimony, whilst the complete set of correspondence of certain individuals, the graphomaniac ballast rejected, is a valuable illustration of the entire life and intellectuality. The original letters (for the point is not the literary type [i.e. genre] developed in France) unveil an enormous domain of female influence, course of actions, intrigues and designs. Albeit our epistology has never had a Mme de Sévigné, and the variety of numerous letters scattered across the archives and the rare published letters, such as those of K[atarzyna] Kossakowska and Dionizja Poniatowska, are far from the virtuosity of her style. But, the former ones express the practical and political sense of a lady of the Partition period, whilst the latter testifies to the women's cultural influence and proves that, along with Madame [Ewelina] Hańska in the faraway Ukraine there also existed some other muses of literary inspirations. It is prevalently the spiritual facet of life that is reflected in letters, after all; the practical one, to a lesser extent

Out of the diaristic stem, descriptions of travel develop many a time into a special bough, as they more resolutely enter the sphere of belles-lettres. Their historical significance is not as important, though. A small ability of seeing things objectively shows through them, which blurs the acuteness of observations, but the way in which the impressions are sensed, the monuments of art and architecture comprehended, the feeling of nature, sensitivity to the national and moral differences, would constitute a rich-in-colours palette for a characterisation of the epoch in which ladies' travels were a customs-related epidemic, were they not covered by a cosmopolitan veneer, so frequent with the old hereditary aristocracy.

Therefore, the woman of yore has directly passed forth not-too-many source-bound merits for the past. Landladies were those who mainly pursued the recording of impressions and occurrences.

The third estate, so underdeveloped in this country, has generally yielded a weak and rather mediocre intellectual echo (Anna Siebieneicherowa, Jadwiga Piotrkowczykowa, Anna Memorata).

The pietism for the keepsakes of the spiritual and material past, the understanding for the need of protecting them against annihilation, was first actively delivered in Poland by a woman, Izabela Czartoryska, who in 1800 established in Puławy a 'Temple of Sybil', the country's first museum of antiquities and national mementoes, which was followed by the imitative 'Arcadias'. Czartoryska has also authored a sort-of-catalogue of that germ of a grand museum. It was also a woman that insurrection documents and correspondence of the National Government of the year 1863 owe its survival to, for Marja Ilnicka was their archive-keeper.

Being a domain of science that suffers the most from the invasion of dilettantism, history has oftentimes been the area for the female quill to attempt its best. And in spite of methodological deficiencies, these labours did attain certain successes. As far as popularisation of the Homeland's history is concerned, Izabela Czartoryska's *Pielgrzym z Dobromila*, the first popular historical essay in the Polish language, beats, with its thirteen editions (since 1818), the *Wieczory pod lipą* by Lucjan Siemieński, which enjoys, it has been supposed, record success whilst only having been published tenfold (in the years 1845–73). The footsteps of this first woman to have popularised history were followed by a number of writing women: J[ulja] Wojkowska (Leszno, 1845), Bibjanna Moraczewska (Poznań 1850) in Greater-Poland; L[udwika] Leśniowska in Cracow (1869); Zuzanna Zajączkowska (two eds., 1883–99) and Natalja Sokolowska in Warsaw (1881). K[lementyna] Hoffmanowa prepared a popular elaboration of the general history for girls' schools (1865–7), Felicja Boberska, née Wasilewska, has grasped in a textbook form the history of Polish literature (1867), whereas Konstancja Skirmunt wrote an outline history of Lithuania in the Polish and Lithuanian languages (1886–8). Julja Goczałkowska, a known authoress of writings designed for women by their content, ... proclaimed her plans in her personal journals. It was in the spirit of her programme that Marja Wyslouchowa, the rouser of country women and authoress of a number of popular historical pamphlets, pursued her activities in Lwów

Apart from the popularising activity, touring the country, now different from the former lordly traveller's note-booking, proves to

trigger greater interest. A great number of descriptions of localities and historical monuments penned by women are published by the periodicals *Wista*, *Kraj*, *Kłosy*, *Strzecha*, *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, *Kaliszanin*, and so forth. Women describe what they can see, rather than what they can feel resulting from seeing something. In the authorship of these descriptions, regionalism is most often alluded to by Ignacja Piątkowska (Sieradz region); the names of J[ózefa] [Śmigilska-]Dobieszewska, E[mma] Jeleńska, W[ilhelmina Zyndram-]Kościałkowska reappear, whilst the descriptions by Marja Sandoz excel. Dr Zofja Strzetelska-Grynb ergowa (d. 1932) has offered in a large volume a first attempt at a regional monograph. Marja Regina Korzeniowska demonstrated a real background in geography in as early as 1858, in an atlas with the text by J[oachim] Lelewel. Her posterior successor in the teaching of geography, Anna Nałkowska, an indefatigable collaborator of the labours of her husband Wacław, was also elected member of foreign geographic scientific societies.

Polish women-of-letters have demonstrated a considerable historical sense. On the basis of their displayed understanding of the past, endeavours were taken, crowned with no effect, to affiliate Klementyna Hoffmanowa, née Tańska, as member of the Society of the Friends of Learning; in the year 1897, Polish historians paid a solemn homage to Deotyma (Jadwiga Łuszczewska), emphasising her ability to portray the past. Eliza Orzeszkowa and N[arcyza] Źmichowska also excelled in historical knowledge.

The first woman to have tried her hand at Slavonic studies and construction of political history was Bohdan Zaleski's Beatrice, Mrs Djonizja Poniatowska, née Iwanowska, who wrote in Polish as well and in French. But this was contemporarily a singular appearance. Literary biography-writing was pursued by women more frequently than historical. The latter was mainly created with an edifying patriotic purpose for the youth, focusing the young readers' attention on the 'merited', 'illustrious', 'God-fearing', 'saintly': thus, beginning with the title, a tendentious stance was apparent from these elaborations (K[lementyna] Hoffmanowa, J[ózefa] Śmigilska-Dobieszewska, Al[eksandra] Borkowska, Teresa-Jadwiga [born Jadwiga-Teodozja] Papi have left a legacy of this sort).

About their history and their role, women spoke their mind relatively a little, and late. Tradition communicates that the Teresa Załuska (1676–1759), spouse of the Starost of Rawa, famous for her eloquence,

wrote a dissertation entitled *O przymiotach i wadach kobiety polskiej* [On the attributes and short-comings of Polish women], though it never reached the descendants. The following ones are E[liza] Orzeszkowa's studies on woman (1873, 1881) and a whole series of studies and contributions with a historical substratum, forming the arms wrought for female emancipatory combats.³

The leading names here are those of P[aulina] Reinschmidt-Kuczalska, Józefa Śmigiełska-Dobieszewska, Ludwika Jahołkowska-Koszutcka, Marja Dulębianka, Jadwiga Petrażycka-Tomicka, Cecylja Walewska, and others.⁴ The tendency vividly showing through them, their canvassing and polemical character, a one-sidedness of the depiction of the female past under the aspect of eternal wrong done to women, without taking into consideration the overall conditions of the development of humanity and the everlasting laws of distribution of labour, actually draw these elaborations back beyond the scientific historical brackets; yet, these publications are a telltale contradiction of a frequently encountered pernicious opinion that the emancipation movement of women was only excited by men.

The long-time charge of lack of criticism in the female mentality may, in turn, find support in the bibliographically establishable reluctance of prewar women. This section features but a handful of names: Eleonora Ziemięcka, Marja Ilnicka, Teresa Wodzicka and Antonina Machczyńska, but even they have rather provided reports from historical works, written from a literary point of vantage. In my critical depiction of the existing content, delineated with a conscious intent to give the most real balance of women's labour in the domain of history, I exactly realise that there have been more names than merit there. However, the small fund of historiographic merits of the more remote past is enriched by the conspicuously scientific agility of women in the recent decades.

³ Eliza Orzeszkowa (1841–1910) was a novelist who was socially involved against anti-Semitism and in favour of women's empowerment. Women's movement activists repeatedly held jubilee celebrations of her activity as an author during her lifetime and afterwards.

⁴ The names are ones of the leading activists of women's movement in partitioned Poland, who were active in Warsaw (Russian Partition) or in Lwów and Cracow (Galicia).

II

On entering the turn of the twentieth century, the Polish woman arms herself with a method of scientific research she has acquired through university learning. The first Polish university harbingers, or ‘swallows’, were however fleeting birds on their way from the home-country to foreign *Almae Matres*, particularly Swiss and French ones. They mainly craved for medical (Anna Tomaszewicz-Dobrska, Melanja Lipińska), or natural (Marja Curie-Skłodowska), knowledge; mastered the subjects of exact philosophy (Józefa Joteyko, Ludwika Dobrzyńska-Rybicka, Michalina Stefanowska), but their debuts in the field of historical sciences were made the least frequently.⁵ ...

In the first drive toward knowledge, the women willed to demonstrate, at the earliest, their mental worthiness in the areas thitherto most inaccessible: in the section of natural research, medical practice and philosophical speculations, whereas the section of humanistic sciences, proclaimed to be the most fitting for female intellectuality, did not attract the generation of women for whom the dominant slogan was to possibly most strictly imitate men. Those female individuals who had chosen history as the area of study, sought also for ‘male’ themes for their special works and therefore in the first women’s university elaborations so many descriptions of battles, war campaigns, diplomatic bargaining, ecclesiastical elections, papal policies, and the like, were comprised. In the area of these themes, the evidence of historical aptitude of women grew up not immediately. But, once in the economic and social terrain, the one of cultural and civilisational issues, the women’s efforts won appreciable successes. They were commenced by the works of the ladies Zofja Daszyńska-Golińska, Helena Orsza-Radlińska, and Helena Witkowska.⁶ The studies of the first, in the area of historical statistics, were a transitory step toward complete shift into the field of social economy and economic policy. From the social point-of-view, Orsza-Radlińska has depicted the history of Poland and maintained this elucidation in her further studies in the area of upbringing and education. The Western popularisation methods were transplanted into Polish soil, in her historical textbook elaborations and source extracts, by Helena Witkowska. ... When the

⁵ All these women were pioneers in their respective fields; apart from their professional activities, a vast majority were involved in the women’s movement.

⁶ See article by Aneta Bołdyrew in this issue.

gates of both Galician universities were thrown open for women, history became an area more exploited by women. In the foreign universities, they complement, in most cases, the knowledge acquired at home, considering learning not merely as a means of living but as the purpose behind a life.

Amongst women, individuals appeared with time who won themselves the name of 'aces' of humanistic sciences, as for instance Cezarja Baudouin de Courtenay Ehrenkreutzowa in the sciences auxiliary to history, professor of ethnology and ethnography at the Stefan Batory University in Wilno, and Helena Polaczkówna, a docent in heraldry with the University of Poznań.⁷ An outstanding position in anthropology was acquired by the late Marja Czaplicka, who occupied the chair of the subject at the university in Bristol (England), one of those individuals who extolled the name of Poland in foreign countries, at the time when Poland remained for the world merely a geographical concept.⁸ Having begun with the course in ethnology in the University of Oxford, she turned towards the research into social anthropology and became famous for her leadership of the scientific expedition to Siberia in 1914 Since the strongest intensification of her creative work falls on the time of war and the period of enormous deficiencies in our orientation bibliography, it has been not-too-well known to a broader Polish scientific public, all the more that she has only had a popular anthropology in the Polish language published to her credit.

In the section of auxiliary sciences, in a stricter and broader meaning of the term, many a female name has already left a durable imprint. The studies of the now-deceased Regina Lilientalowa in the field of Jewish folklore were published by the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences. A readership in the history of Polish literature in the University of Warsaw was obtained a year ago by Zofja Ciechanowska. A substitution professorship in classical archaeology was received with the Poznań University by Mieczysława Ruxerówna, whereas the faculty of linguistics in the Jagiellonian University, by Helena Wilmann-Grabowska.⁹

⁷ Aniela Kiełbicka, 'Polaczkówna, Helena', in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish Biographical Dictionary], xxvii (Kraków, 1983), 267–9.

⁸ Grażyna Kubica, *Maria Czaplicka. Płeć, szamanizm, rasa. Biografia antropologiczna* (Kraków, 2015).

⁹ Renata Czekalska and Agnieszka Kuczkiwicz-Fraś, *Helena Willman-Grabowska. Orientalistka – uczona – popularyzatorka* (Kraków, 2014).

In historical geography there stand out the works of Marja Polaczkówna, Stanisława Niemcówna, Regina Danysz-Fleszarowa, Kazimiera Paszkowska-Jeżowa, Marja Mrazek-Dobrowolska, M[aria] Kiełczewska, Z[ofia] Hołub-Pacewiczowa. It is in this domain that also the labour of Zofja Kozłowska-Budkowa has left its mark, but this scholar achieved the most considerable results in paleographic diplomatic and mediaeval studies. ... Those devoted to research of mediaeval art are Zofja Ameisenowa and Kazimiera Furmarkiewiczówna. The former principally takes into consideration the monuments of Cracow (mural painting, miniatures), the latter mainly elaborates on the Romanesque sculpture. ... The lead in women's bibliographic labour is wielded by Marja Mazanek-Friedbergowa, a painstakingly precise bibliographer of the Polish history, permanent continuator of the section in *Kwartalnik Historyczny* since 1926, who is compiling a 'Bibliography of bibliographies, librarianship, and bibliophilism' with *Przegląd Biblioteczny*; and Halina Bachulska, the moving spirit of the continuation work on the bibliography of modern Polish history for the years 1815–65 at the Warsaw Society of History Lovers. Among those operating the registration of the current Polish bibliography are the workers of the Ossoliński National Institute in Lwów: E[ugenja] Kurkowa, M[aria] Chmielowska, Z[ofia] Żebrowska. ... Whereas, criticism and publication of sources have basically evaded the reach of our female historians' output. Hitherto, a remarkable publishing effort has faultlessly been fulfilled only by Helena Polaczkówna. Helena Dadejowa has conscientiously carried out her studies on the manuscripts of the [Master Wincenty] Kadłubek chronicle.

The ranks of the authoresses in history's auxiliary work moreover comprise the remarkable names of music history scholars, these being: Bronisława Wójcik-Keuprulianowa, H[elena] Windakiewiczowa [-Rogalska], Stefanja Festenburg-Łobaczewska, Marja Szczepańska.¹⁰ Of the economic and social sciences, there belong Helena Landauowa, Róża Centnerszwerowa. It is not easy to explore further on at this point without being exposed to the charge of excessive spread of the notion of auxiliary sciences of history. And yet, to be more profound, history, being one of the acting, thinking and sensing mankind, must

¹⁰ For more, see Michał Piekarski's article in this issue; also, Michał Piekarski, *Przerwany kontrapunkt. Adolf Chybiński i początki polskiej muzykologii we Lwowie 1912–1944* (Warszawa, 2017).

use, apart from law, economy and sociology, also the achievements of psychology and exact philosophy; however, I am withholding the idea that women have contributed to the production of these areas.

The town-planning works of Łucja Charewiczowa rest on the borderline of economic and cultural research. Usually, historical urban planning and regionalism reveal a number of female workers. There is an evident enormous effort put into the history of Wilno, which Marja Łowmiańska has covered till the year 1655. The history of Cracow has recently been contributed to by the noteworthy studies of J[anina] Słomkówna, Krystyna Pieradzka, and Janina Dzikówna. Studies penned by female authors on the history of Warsaw are not as numerous. The history of Poznań is progressively worked out by Marja Wicherkiewiczowa, née Ślawska, and Marja Wojciechowska

There are not many female items in the history of law and constitutional systems. Ewa Maleczyńska's study on the Masovian feoff, 1351–1526, is an estimable exception; moreover, included here can be the tiny-sized studies by Janina Kelles-Krauzówna about the custody taken of minor orphans in the drafts of Stanislaus Augustus' Code (1927), and L[eokadja] Sadowska's, based on the letters to [Joachim] Lelewel [from 1815–30] on the Lithuanian Statute (1929). Dr Amelja Hertzówna is a docent in the history of ancient Orient at the Free [Polish] University [Wolna Wszechnica Polska] in Warsaw; though, generally, ancient history demonstrates a poor adherence of women.

Likewise, the section of historic theory has remained untouched.

The whole contemporary registration of women's participation in the country's independence, warfare, and feminist action, constitutes a positive symptom of women's turning toward their own past. This will finally negate the objections that women are incapable of even comprehending themselves. Their sense of need to evaluate their historical role has hitherto been so small that none of Polish female historians has chosen as the object of her study any larger chronological segment of the history of women of the past. Such a diversity of subject-matters is demonstrated by a review of historical writings penned by women, but they have said of themselves less after the Great War and the upheavals effected in the female question, comparing to the women of yore.

None the less, the time of bashfulness at this, out of the fear that the category of 'scholarship' not be denied to the 'womanish' themes, is passing away, whilst the willingness is clearly apparent to research

into the history of women by women themselves. A popular essay has come out on ancient woman (L[idia] Winniczukówna, 1932), biographical outlines of Elżbieta [*resp.* Jadwiga] Melsztyńska [the elder] (H. Strzelecka, 1929), Emilja Sczaniecka (H. Łuczakówna, 1930), and of Marja Dulębianka (Marja Jaworska, 1929); a whole series was initiated of ‘biographies of women of merit’ (with ten small volumes issued so far, on Jadwiga Petrażycka-Tomicka, [Jadwiga] Tejszerska, J[ózefa] Rodziewczówna, and so forth).¹¹

The women of the insurrections of the years 1830–1 and 1863–4 and defenders of Lwów have become the object of studies by Marja Bruchnalska; participants of the Women’s Legion have earned themselves several elaborations, including those penned by women (W. Kiedrzyńska, 1931). The female diaristics of the recent time is abundant, amongst which literary laurels have been won by the wartime literary memoirs of Zofja Kossak-Szczucka and Marja Dunin-Kozicka, spun against the background of reminiscences of Podolia, of the Polish *sejm* in Kiev, and so on. A collective memoirs volume is the recollections of participants of the combat for independence from the years 1910–15, edited by Aleksandra Piłsudska.¹² Interesting are also individual memoirs or a woman intelligencer, such as those of Zofja Zawiszanka, and of a combat soldier, such as those of Z[ofja] Nowosielska, and, a chronicle of women’s movement in the Revived Poland.

The idea to create in Lwów a ‘Museum of women of merit’ was conceived by the late Antonina Machczyńska, in a will to preserve the memory of the women to whose lot it fell to serve the great national and social ideas. And, this concept has been implemented in Lwów (1930). Different views might be taken with respect to this separatism

¹¹ A series of biographical miniatures of merited women’s movement activists, academics and/or politicians, was compiled under the title of ‘Życiorysy Zasłużonych Kobiet’ [The Lives of Women of Merit], on the movement’s initiative. The volumes in the series dealt with Maria-Curie Skłodowska, Jadwiga Petrażycka-Tomicka, Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska, Józefa Joteyko, and other Polish or European activists; the authors – Helena Witkowska, Helena Willman-Grabowska, and others – were no less merited for the women’s movement.

¹² Aleksandra Piłsudska, née Szczerbińska (1882–1963) participated in the socialist movement, and was a soldier in the First World War. During the 1918–39 *interbellum*, then as wife of Józef Piłsudski, she became a ‘providential lady’ for the women’s movement as well as for the circles of female war veterans. She had books published on women in the First World War. After 1945, an émigré in London, she wrote recollections of her life alongside her husband Józef Piłsudski.

of mementoes of the past and differentiation based on the criterion of gender, but as long as museums do not appropriately take into account the memory of women, this still-inconspicuous jewel-box of women's tokens of remembrance, most zealously collected and preserved by Marja Bruchnalska, Professor Bruchnalski's wife, shall deserve the most legitimate reverence amongst women themselves.

By way of, it may be presumed, atavistic inheritances, resulting from women's activity in this respect that is perhaps the oldest, woman has attained almost a supremacy in respect of didactics of history. The didactic and pedagogical traditions of Klementyna Hoffmanowa, Elżbieta Jaraczewska, Eleonora Ziemięcka, Felicja Boberska, née Wasilewska, Bibjanna Moraczewska, Antonina Machczyńska, Narcyza Żmichowska, and Aniela Szycówna are presently represented by a whole host of pioneers of new methods of history teaching: Hanna Pohoska, author of the country's only larger elaboration on didactics of history; Wisława Knapowska, the known modern history scholar and didactician; and, Wanda Bobkowska, researcher of problems of teaching in the past, all three being lecturers in didactics of history and history of pedagogy in the universities of Warsaw, Poznań, and Cracow. Similarly, a pretty fertile and popular author in the issues of history teaching is Natalja Gąsiorowska, whilst the interpreter of the new rules at skills-improvement courses for secondary-school history teachers is Halina Mrozowska, instructor with the M[inistry of] R[eligious] D[enominations] and P[ublic] E[nlightenment]. There are, on top of these, many merited female names belonging here: Wanda Moszczeńska, Ewa Malecyńska, Jadwiga Lechicka, Michałowska, A[licja] Hłasko-Pawlicowa and m[any] o[thers], with the names of Helena Orszaradlińska, Iza Moszczeńska, Stefanja Sempołowska, Helena Witkowska, Irena Pannenkowa, and Giza [Gizela] Gebertowa being their seniors.

In the history of education systems and pedagogy, those who have moreover expressed themselves include R[óża] Nussbaumowa, Cecylja Łubieńska, Marja Hornowska, H[elen]a Grotowska, W[anda] Stetkiewiczówna, M[arja] Śliwińska-Zarzecka, W[anda] Januszkie-wiczówna, St[efania] Koelichenówna, J[anina] Enderówna, A[nna] Brossowa, and others.

Furthermore, an enormous number of expert articles scattered across all the pedagogical and didactic publications appearing in print offers an irrefutable proof of continuous work of thought of a numerous host of women standing in the service of Polish education, in which

history has been meant to exert the principal influence upon the entirety of issues that form the new citizen.

The historical popularisation of women is founded to-day upon a basis different than in the earlier times. This activity is taken up, for the most part, by individuals who master the subject-matter in a scholarly manner, and supply the broader public with the results of their own studies, or, appropriately thought-over and controlled results of foreign effort, in an approachable form, with the ballast of scientific apparatus rejected: the outcome being that the popular elaborations of to-day deserve the name of a historiographic item and deserve being bibliographically considered; for they are not, contrary to what they previously used to be in prevalent measure, a scribbler's literary-and-historical debut. A full understanding of value and usefulness accompanied also the publications of Ewa Białynia (which is Hanna Pohoska's pen-name), Natalja Gąsiorowska, Orsza-Radlińska, I[rena] W. Kosmowska. By the year 1916, six editions of Stanisława Pisarzewska's history of Poland have been published; in respect of textbooks and historical extracts, numerous are also the works of [Zofia] Bukowiecka, [Kamilla-Florentyna] Chołoniewska, Marja Dąbrowska, [Maria] Dzierżanowska, [Gizela] Gebertowa, [Jadwiga] Jaroszyńska, [Julja] Kisielewska, [Natalia Korwin-]Krzyżanowska, M[arcelina] Kulikowska, [Zuzanna] Morawska, T[eresa] Prażmowska, J[adwiga] Warnkówna, and many others.

Popularisation of journalistic history is what the Poznań hub excels in (M[aria Świeżawska-] Wojciechowska, M[arja] Wicherkiewiczowa, M. Boberska, W[anda] Brzeska, R. Szymańska, Br[onisława] Chrząszczewska); in Wilno, Helena Romer-Ochenkowska renders the broader public acquainted, in dailies, with the most recent attainments of history. Considerable popularisation success has recently been attained by the style and historical informative versatility (with the nineteenth century prevailing) of Zofja Krzemicka.

Apart from the already-mentioned journals created with the writer's personal experiences in the background, the novels by Zofja Kossak-Szczucka astonish with their historical intuition: whilst standing outside the confines of history proper, for the sake of understanding and feeling history, they however fulfil amongst the reading masses a role that is uncommon in its intensity and scope, and which needs being emphasised here, in spite of this authoress' clearly conspicuous specific point of vantage.

Female editorial energy is not too much visible outside to-day also. However, within historical scientific publications, there is a lot of arduous, though second-rank, 'black' labour happening performed by women.

An awoken critical sense has already revealed itself also in a number of reviews penned by women. Whilst in the greatest disputes and discussions, woman has not yet achieved an eminent success with coherence of arguments and logic of argumentation, her judgment has already been objectively formulated and appropriately motivated in a number of critical appraisals (H[elena] Polaczkówna, Z[ofia] Kozłowska-Budkowa, E[wa] Maleczyńska). Also in review polemics, woman has lost her former muteness, and defends herself and the others, without exposing herself to a charge of pugnacity and womanish barbary.

Unfortunately, there has been a plenty of themes, which did promise much, that have been confined by women in reports of scientific societies. A few names of women would be identifiable who even several times have presented at the Academy of A[rts] & S[ciences] at the meetings of scientific Societies a variety of interesting issues, which have never been further elaborated on by their presenters, or published, for a whole variety of reasons. In most cases, they are distracted from scientific research by their occupational, social, or familial works, but sometimes it is a matter of lack of self-confidence, hyper-criticism, or, repeatedly, no support they might enjoy and inability to get published. As for the youngest generation, they most frequently come off through excerpts of their graduation theses inserted in various occasional publications.

Hence, since the time of great post-war subversions in the female cause, scientific labour of women ceased to be a rare occurrence. Also the conditions of women's studies have changed, but have deteriorated by the numerical force of the studying women. The formerly rare female colleagues, who were greeted with smile, have been replaced by a miscellaneous crowd of women forced to attain through learning a self-reliant attitude toward life. The blossom of the university oftentimes turned into its thorn. The prewar feminine privileges have been replaced by rivalry, racing, competition, whose effect on the 'scholarliness' of women was, however, beneficial. They are no more scholarly ephemeras; numerous bibliographic numbers tend now-a-days to gather around their names, thus proving a stronger sustainability of their passions.

If we took the opuscule by J[an] Sowiński *O uczonych Polkach* [On the learned Polish women] (1820) and subsequently, Estreicher's breakdown of female bibliography from 1872 and 1881 to help us in the comparisons as to the mental development of the woman of the past and of the present, and simultaneously could depict in chart forms the increase in women's scientific output since their commencement of university studies, then the proper relation that occurs between the creative activity of women and their education would visibly appear.

Whereas in history, women have produced no epoch-making works that would astonish with penetrating analyses, synthetic ability, or conciseness of constructions and extensiveness of horizons. They would not establish a school, or discover historic laws. Yet, they did firmly cross the proverbial fancy-workmanship, contributionism, and reproductiveness. With the whole ages of intellectual passivity behind them, within less-than-forty years of their tertiary studies have they not equalled man in the quantity and originality of creative efforts. However, they are not disturbed by a small credit of historical scientific merits in the past, because the mobility of the last decades gives them a warranty of further auspicious development in this field. The female intellect's distinction becoming pronounced is no more embarrassing, given the overpast masculinising tendencies.

And indeed, the belief is predominant amongst them to-day in the powerfulness of knowledge and labour, in the freshness of yet-unused female mentality and intellectuality, which, with adequate culture shall – finally, on a par with the male knowledge – widen the scientific horizon of mankind, contributing to this community of efforts the long-unacknowledged womanlike values.

First published as: Łucja Charewiczowa, 'Stanowisko kobiet polskich w popularyzatorskiej i naukowej pracy historycznej', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, xlvii, 1 (1933), or as a separate offprint issued by the Printing House of the Ossoliński National Institute (Lwów, 1933).

trans. Tristan Korecki