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## ARTICLES

**American Czechoslovaks in the First Resistance**

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*American compatriots were also involved in the first Czechoslovak foreign resistance movement during the World War I. Their central organization was the Czech National Association, bringing together liberal and Protestant Czechs. The Czech National Social Association J. V. Frič was founded with the support of the Czech National Social Party. A very active part of the resistance was the American Sokol, Slovak Sokol and the National Association of Czech Catholics also participated in the resistance. The relationship with the resistance of the Czech department of the Socialist Party in America was more complicated.*

Key words: *Czechs; U.S.A; the Bohemian National Alliance*

On August 25, 1914 the Czech-American National Council issued a proclamation in which it stated that, “in the interest of the independence of the Czech lands, our nation will need material and moral support, and only its Czech-American branch will be able to provide this. In the life of our generation, there has never been a time more serious than this one.”<sup>1</sup>

The Bohemian National Alliance (BNA) was originally to be a global organisation taking in Czech minorities not merely in the U.S.A. (124 branches) and Canada (7 branches), but also in France (the Czech Colony in Paris), England (the Czech Committee), Russia (The Association of Czechoslovak Federations in Kiev) and Switzerland (The Alliance of Czechs in Switzerland). The headquarters of the BNA was to be in Paris, where the representatives of the foreign resistance who later established the Czechoslovak National Council (CNC) were located. The fortnightly publications *La Nation Tchèque* and *Československá Samostatnost* (Czechoslovak Independence) also came out here.

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<sup>1</sup> The Central Military Archive – Historical Military Archive Prague, f. The Bohemian National Alliance in America, k. 1, no. 1.

The Bohemian National Alliance in America (BNAA), which took in Czech organisations in the U.S.A., Canada and Latin America, became the organisation for Czech liberals and evangelicals in America. Its organisational structure consisted of local branches, regional committees and a central committee. The local branches comprised Czech associations that elected a chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, treasurer and a committee of two to six members. They chose a regional trustee as a member of the regional committee of the BNAA. This committee was made up of a secretary, the trustees of local branches and outstanding individuals. The executive body of the BNAA was its central committee which was based in Chicago and which consisted of the trustees of regional committees, representatives of Sokol clubs, the American Labour Sokol, the Association of Liberals and the Czech Branch of the Socialist Party in America. The presidium of the central committee represented the BNAA outwardly. There were a total of ten BNAA regions: Chicago, New York, Cleveland, Omaha, San Francisco, Oklahoma City, Cedar Rapids and St. Louis in the U.S.A, Winnipeg in Canada, and Buenos Aires for Latin America.<sup>2</sup>

Personal agitation was considered the best way of gaining members and financial means for the resistance. There were even “races” to find members in Texas, where individual farmers drove around allocated areas in their cars and strove to obtain the greatest possible number of applications. In Boston, the compatriots said that, “A dollar a year is too little, just two cents a week. I will give 10 cents, I will give 20 cents, I will give a dollar a week.”<sup>3</sup> Money was collected at public events – entertainments, festivities, lectures, concerts, excursions and evenings with friends. Old Bohemian fairs and charity bazaars were held. Valuable gifts and pillows and blankets embroidered by women were auctioned. State duty stamps, postcards, brochures and flowers were sold. Contemporary reports state that poor farmers from Louisiana and miners from Pennsylvania did more than the rich folk from the big cities.

The BNAA endeavoured to closely co-operate with other Czech organisations and also with Slovaks. The first advisory meeting of Czechs and Slovaks was convened in April 1915. The Slovak League expressed the standpoint that it is “definitely in favour of a joint political approach, since only in unison as two strong units within, but one entity outwardly, can we obtain political independence.”<sup>4</sup>

Czech-Slovak co-operation was to be assured by a joint organisation known as the Czecho-Slovak American Council which was made up of sixteen members, of which eight were Czechs and eight Slovaks. The council had four departments: political and consular, promotional and informational, military, and auxiliary.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid., no. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., no. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., no. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., no. 35 and 36.

A regular conference of the BNAA and the Slovak League was to be held once every two years.<sup>6</sup>

The J. V. Frič National Social Forum was an active participant in the first resistance in the U.S.A. It was founded in Chicago in 1907. It supported the Czech National Social Party of Václav Klofáč and issued its brochure *The Mission of the National Social Party in the Czech Nation*.<sup>7</sup> After the outbreak of the world war, a large proportion of Czech Americans were of the opinion that the moment had come when it would be necessary to reckon with Vienna, though many insisted that the European conflict was nothing to do with the Americans. On July 28, 1914, the Forum convened a large number of people at the Pilsen Park Pavilion in Chicago. In mid-March 1915, the Forum sent the first consignments to the Czechs from the Austro-Hungarian army who found themselves in captivity in Russia and Serbia. They received requests from the captives for Czech books and magazines, while they also needed linen and clothing. They sent packages to 230 places in Russia and Siberia and to 52 places in Serbia and Montenegro before the last two mentioned states were occupied by Austro-Hungary. From 1916 onwards, they also sent fourteen crates of tobacco to captives in Italy. Financial means were obtained by the holding of charity bazaars. The proceeds from the great bazaar held in Pilsen Park in Chicago in March 1917, where the Frič Forum had a stand, amounted to forty thousand dollars.

During his visit to the U.S.A., M. R. Štefánik held talks in Washington in summer 1917 regarding permission to recruit his compatriots to the Czechoslovak legions in France. The U.S.A. was still not at war with Austro-Hungary (until December 7, 1917). Štefánik wanted to find twenty thousand volunteers in the U.S.A., though this was unrealistic. Men aged from 20 to 31 were subject to conscription to the American army, and the growth in armament production demanded new labour which was well paid. Štefánik issued a manifesto on national mobilisation in September 1917 under the motto "We will win, as our mottos are Love, Labour and Honesty, mottos for, God willing, happier times in the future!" The first Czechoslovak volunteers from America sailed to France in October 1917.

Nine hundred thousand Czechoslovak magazines, forty thousand books and thirty-six crates of clothing and linen were sent to Czechs and Slovaks in prison camps and to volunteers. Seven thousand letters from prisoners and volunteers were delivered. A national tax was collected during visits to individual compatriots.

The "treasonous activity" of the Forum was even monitored by the police bodies in Vienna. Part of the extensive indictment against T. G. Masaryk held in his absence before a military tribunal of the divisional court in Vienna in 1917 is devoted to the J. V. Frič Forum which "was engaged principally in spreading the treasonous

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., no. 38.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., f. The J. V. Frič National Social Forum, k. 1, no. 1.

movement among Czech prisoners-of-war in Russia and Serbia. For this purpose, Czech-American newspapers of a treacherous inclination were sent in large quantities (612 packages by February 2, 1915) to prisoner-of-war camps in which Czech captives were held.”<sup>8</sup> The Frič Forum issued a resolution, which the American dailies refused to publish, in which it stated that “today, no nationally conscious Czech can be neutral – he can be either with us, or against us... There will come a time when accounts will be settled with all traitors and enemies of our cause.”<sup>9</sup>

American Sokol physical education organisations also contributed actively to the first resistance. As the Concise Overview of the Activity of Sokol Chicago states, “our Sokol sisters sought fabric and wool, and sewed and knitted everything needed by the boys there in the trenches with the industriousness of bees. The music teachers held concerts and donated the proceeds to buy smoking material and various other items for our golden boys over the water.”<sup>10</sup> The smallest Sokol club in Cleveland (Sokol Tyrš) with fifty-five members sent eight members to the Czechoslovak legions in France, while another nine joined the US army. It also contributed 600 dollars to the national tax. In 1915, Sokol Čech and Sokol Havlíček in Cleveland joined forces and at once held collections for the widows and orphans of fallen Czech soldiers. They also initiated the creation of the Slavic Sokol Association with the participation of Czech, Slovak, Slovenian and Croatian physical exercise clubs. In the same year, they held a collection of clothing, shirts and underwear for Czech captives in Serbia. In view of the continuing neutrality of the U.S.A., volunteers joined the Canadian army.

The National Association of Czech Catholics (NACC) joined the first resistance at the beginning of 1917. It could be seen from the circular of the NACC of October 18, 1917 that “the most important phase of our foreign movement to benefit the independent Czech lands and Slovakia is, at the present time, the organisation of the Czechoslovak army in France.”<sup>11</sup>

Labour American Sokol also joined the first resistance. In addition to collections in support of the Czech nation, its members also attended meetings of Slovak associations “where we urged them to do something, too, to the benefit of the nation at the present critical time.”<sup>12</sup>

The most active of the Slovak organisations was the Slovak Sokol physical exercise union and its organ Slovak Sokol edited by Milan Getting. Slovak Sokol had 275 groups with eight thousand members at that time.<sup>13</sup> While the older generation (conservatives) sought support in Russia, the generation of “Hlasists” saw a way out in a Czecho-Slovak cultural union. This group predominated

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., no. 9.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., no. 20.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., f. Other Czechoslovak Associations in America, k. 2, no. 51.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., k. 1, no. 32.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., k. 2, no. 84.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., no. 96.

in New York and Chicago. At the celebrations to mark the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the foundation of Slovak Sokol in 1916, 132 Slovak and 140 Czech male Sokol groups and 42 Slovak and 60 Czech female Sokol groups exercised in Chicago. A resolution was adopted at the IX convention of the Slovak physical exercise union Sokol in 1916 that included the following words: "The Sokol organisation, as a purely national Slavic organisation, sees at this time of world war the best opportunity for attaining the freedom and independence of the Slovak nation in the declaration of Czech-Slovak unity."<sup>14</sup> There were 1,600 Slovaks in the French legions, of which a thousand, mostly members of the Sokol movement, came from America. They fought under the motto: "We are few, but we must be the best."<sup>15</sup> According to a letter from Slovak Sokol to T. G. Masaryk, the aim was the "Liberation of Slovakia and securing its future in a fraternal and strong association with the Czech lands."<sup>16</sup>

A total of 2,309 volunteers answered Štefánik's call to leave the U.S.A. for the Czechoslovak legions in France from October 1917 onwards, of which 97 fell and 113 became invalids.<sup>17</sup>

The Czech socialists in the U.S.A. were torn in two directions, as they were in the Czech lands. One camp supported the nationalist liberationist movement along with other sections of the nation, while the second took the pre-war antimilitaristic and internationalist viewpoint. In June 1916, the executive committee of the Czech Branch of the Socialist Party received a letter from its French counterparts from the Parisian socialist organisation *Égalité* in which they wrote, "Under these historic circumstances, you have taken the right position on Czechoslovak independence, that you have spoken out against the oppressive endeavours of Germanising Austria and thereby defended the honour of the Czech socialist proletariat which must, under the present conditions at home, remain silent."<sup>18</sup>

In the second edition of the Bulletin of the Czech Branch of the Socialist Party in America in 1917, however, we can read that, "the BNAA has mostly fallen into the hands of extremely nationalist and jingoistic elements. Work for socialists is today mostly impossible within it unless they abandon their socialist principles."<sup>19</sup> Party organisations complained that the Czech Branch of the Socialist Party in America supported militarism with the contributions it made to the first resistance. The BNAA "calls upon the Czech people in America to proclaim their agreement to militarism of the coarsest kind and offers the establishment of

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<sup>14</sup> BIMO, K.: Slovenské sokolské hnutí v Americe. Praha 1926, p. 18.

<sup>15</sup> The Historical Military Archive, f. Other Czechoslovak Associations in America, k. 2, no. 96.

<sup>16</sup> BIMO, K.: op. cit, p. 20.

<sup>17</sup> The Historical Military Archive, f. Other Czechoslovak Associations in America, k. 1, no. 44.

<sup>18</sup> The Bulletin of the Czech Branch of the Socialist Party in America, vol. 10, 1916, no. 5.

<sup>19</sup> Bulletin, vol. 11, 1917, no. 2.

a Czech legion should there be war with Germany, and such activity and such a direction simply run counter to the principles of international socialism.”<sup>20</sup> The collection of money for the Czech national project was met with the criticism that the money should be given to the Czech Proletariat Fund: “If Vojta Beneš is truly a comrade, then he is not on the right path. If he takes down the whole Czech Branch of the Socialist Party, the Czech Proletariat Fund will be forgotten and all work will be performed exclusively for the Czech national project. We have also shown that we are in favour of Czech independence, though in a way that means that we working classes would truly be better off there, and we all well know that that will not happen with any Masaryk or any Kramář and Klofáč, and that we cannot expect that of them... Our comrades in the old land will need to support them financially to the greatest extent.”<sup>21</sup>

The greatest opponent of support for the Czech national movement was Karel Beránek, the editor of *Spravedlnost* (Justice), who refused to publish letters that he didn't agree with. He wrote to one author of a letter he rejected saying that, “Our position in favour of the Czech independence does not mean that we should give up the fight against militarism and capitalism... We are willing to make sacrifices for the Czech independence, but not to sacrifice our convictions.”<sup>22</sup>

In contrast, in a letter from the Czech Branch of the American Socialists (of which there were around eighty thousand), editor Tony Novotný characterised the Secretary of the National Council in Paris E. Beneš as follows: “He is a useful person in this matter, he knows a bit, has achieved something, no one can deny his merit. He is a dictator. What does that mean? That he understands things and wants to move forwards. Everyone who stands at the forefront of a movement of this nature must be such a dictator.”<sup>23</sup>

Certain socialists considered Masaryk and his provisional government to be anti-socialist. “The present provisional government headed by Masaryk and Kramář is clearly anti-socialist, as can be seen from their declaration of independence. Masaryk was sent to the Czech lands to keep the Czechs on a tight rein, and I am sure that he will not only be completely rejected, but that he will not even get as far as the Czech lands, but will remain in Paris... And all with the money and moral support of the Czechoslovak working classes in America... The Bolsheviks are purely international socialists who... instigated the present European revolution and are its greatest support, and also have the working classes in the Czech lands well organised... The Czechoslovak working classes should split from the BNAA at once, refuse all help to the CNC, this reactionary bourgeois

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<sup>20</sup> Bulletin, 1917, no. 3.

<sup>21</sup> The Historical Military Archive, f. Other Czechoslovak Associations in America, k. 2, no. 106, letter from the Labour Charity Association *Rovnost* Baltimore 7. 2. 1916.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 107.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 108, letter to Jaroslav Pichert of 10. 7. 1917.



organisation, and not merely financially, but also morally, and the workers should be organised...”<sup>24</sup>

In contrast, the nationally oriented social democrats headed by Vojta Beneš issued a call from Czech socialists to the American Socialist Party on February 25, 1918 in which they stated that they consider it “their socialist duty to call on the Socialist Party in the U.S.A. emphatically to at least now, in the interest of battered Russia, in the interest of democracy that is so sorely tried, to stand up for a serious standpoint articulating the necessities of life at this overwhelming moment in history. We ask that the Socialist Party in America declare itself in favour of the war against the Central Powers and to give this republic all its loyal help and support against enemies within and without everywhere where the social and democratic interests of this country are suffering in any way.”<sup>25</sup>

They addressed another memorandum to the Socialist International in which they demanded “the independence of our nation leading to the uplifting of the social welfare of the people in a Czech state free of militarism and a nation so advanced and based on socialism under the influence of a powerfully and culturally developed socialist party.”<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., no. 109, E. Horáček to J. Chour 13. 10. 1918.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., no. 115.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., no. 116.

## Women in the Service of Independent Poland

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*The paper presents the ideological assumptions of the educational work of National Organisation of Women and Women's Citizen Work Association. What is also discussed are the aims, the forms, and the means of the educational work used by the activists-leaders of the organisations, thanks to which Polish women, aware of their rights and duties, were educated to participate in service to the state and the society.*

Key words: *Second Republic of Poland; women's organisations; citizen education; civil education; Women's Citizen Work Association; National Women's Organisation*

After the restoration of Polish independence the situation of women in public life changed significantly. First of all, women were granted the right to vote. They have also been guaranteed the right to work and to associate freely, as well as to benefit from education on all of its levels. They would use these rights to various extents. This used to influence their attitudes and participation in social life, which was expressed in, among others, participation in women's associations which, in spite of their ideological differences, shared common aims. The most important of these goals included: improving women's position in the Polish society and making women more active in the realms of public, political, and social life, as well as the life of the state.<sup>1</sup>

The new reality (with the new legal status and social change) called for the creation of a new image of woman who could be the creator of social life equally with men. As Dobrochna Kałwa points out, the discourse of the first years of the Second Republic of Poland which was conducted by women's societies was characterised by the need to present women with new challenges, to articulate their own demands towards the state, to define the change that the women's work would bring in the future in the life of the society and the state, the life which had not been available to women previously.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Łozowska-Marcinkowska K. (2010). *Sprawy niewieście. Problematyka czasopism kobiecych Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* [Female problems. The problems discussed in women's journals in the Second Republic of Poland], Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, p. 35.

These new needs, as well as the new life attitudes, called for the creation of a new, clearly defined model and image of the woman as an active, dedicated individual who is aware of her rights and duties.<sup>3</sup>

The years 1918–1939 were characterised by enormous changes in the area of social and political activation of women in Poland. It was for the first time that they were able to run in parliamentary elections and vote; they were also able to work in women's organisations, with great dedication.<sup>4</sup> This new situation has substantially empowered women as citizens with full rights. Because of this, most women's organisations, regardless of their main profile, would attempt to shape their members as model citizens.<sup>5</sup>

The basic aims of the numerous women's associations and societies (except for the strictly charitable ones) included shaping citizen awareness and the awareness of the consequences of enjoying rights equal to those of men. Such aims were to be found in the programme and in the work of many organisations, among others, the Political Committee of Progressive Women (Komitet Polityczny Kobiet Postępowych), Association of Women with Higher Education (Stowarzyszenie Kobiet z Wyższym Wykształceniem), Women's Citizen Work Association (Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet), and National Organisation of Women (Narodowa Organizacja Kobiet).<sup>6</sup>

The programmes of many of the organisations included the same elements. The formation of pro-state and pro-citizen attitudes was emphasised, and slogans of self-help would be invoked. The women's organisations would differ in their stance on the question of the role and the place of women in Polish society. These were clearly visible ideological and political differences which were translated into the type of women who would become members and the aims defined in the programmes – in their scope, as Kamila Łozowska-Marcinkowska writes, revolutionary goals were hardly ever to be found. Women would not postulate

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<sup>2</sup> Kałwa D. (2000). Model kobiety aktywnej na tle sporów światopoglądowych. Ruch feministyczny w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym [Model of the active woman and ideological dispute. Feminist movement in the interwar period]. In Żarnowska A., Szwarc A. (eds.), *Równe prawa i nierówne szanse. Kobiety w Polsce międzywojennej* [Equal rights and unequal chances. Women in interwar Poland], Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, pp. 139–140.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 141.

<sup>4</sup> Skibiński P. (2018). *Polska 1918*. Warszawa: Muza. Sport i Turystyka, p. 440.

<sup>5</sup> Sierakowska K. (2009). Samoorganizowanie się kobiet w II Rzeczypospolitej: dążenia, szanse, realizacje [Self-organisation of women in the Second Republic of Poland: aims, chances, realisations]. In Janiak-Jasińska A., Sierakowska K., Szwarc A. (eds.), *Działaczki społeczne, feministki, obywatelki... Samoorganizowanie się kobiet na ziemiach polskich po 1918 roku (na tle porównawczym)*. Tom II [Social activists, feminists, citizens... Self-organisation of women in Polish lands after 1918 (against a comparative background) Vol II], Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton, p. 47.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 37.

breaking up ties with the family or to take up the roles and the positions of men. The women's movement in Polish lands had to take into consideration the generally prevalent attitudes, which is why there was no radical feminism in Poland.<sup>7</sup> That is why, the non-feminist women's organisations, which emphasised national, religious, social, and vocational aims, would attach great importance to working for the benefit of women through care, help, social activation, professional, cultural, and health education, and participation in the fight against legal discrimination.<sup>8</sup>

The most popular forms of women's work included all types of social and educational work, which allowed women to make use of their individual tastes, skills, and competences. Work as part of associations and organisation provided women with the opportunity to create the cultural character of local communities, development of their communities, and at the same time did not collide with their family duties. "Mission" – and such perception of women's activity was, according to D. Kałwa, the keyword for the protagonists of making women citizens – ought to be realised in all the forms of undertaken efforts. Therefore, what stood before women who would undertake any kind of work, was the necessity to answer the question about their potential input into the broadly understood public and social good.<sup>9</sup>

Most of women's organisations worked in accordance with the traditional division of gender roles, seeing in the women who take active part in public and civil life first and foremost the propagators of moral and ethical values. The ideas formulated in this way would attract numbers of women to the organisations which, using equal rights, saw their calling in fulfilling the roles of mothers and wives.<sup>10</sup>

Joanna Dufurat maintains that the organised women's movement characterised by a great diversity of aims and political associations would largely, in its public work, to the areas which had traditionally been reserved for women; the realms of care and education, in the broad understanding of the term.<sup>11</sup>

Women's organisations and associations, although numerous and diverse as to their political stance and subjects of their work, in spite of the favourable interwar legal conditions and the attempts made, never became mass organisations.

<sup>7</sup> Łozowska-Marcinkowska K. (2010). *Sprawy niewieście...*, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>8</sup> Kałwa D. (2000). *Model kobiety aktywnej...*, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 142–143.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 153.

<sup>11</sup> Dufurat J. (2009). Jak włączyć kobiety w świat działań publicznych? Problemy organizacyjne Związku Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet (1928–1939) [How to involve women in the world of public work? Organisational problems of Women's Citizen Work Association]. In Janiak-Jasińska A., Sierakowska K., Szwarz A. (eds.), *Działaczki społeczne, feministki, obywatelki... Samoorganizowanie się kobiet na ziemiach polskich po 1918 roku (na tle porównawczym)*. Tom II, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton, p. 295.

Organised women's movement remained an area of the work of narrow social circles; it remained an elitist movement, founded in the communities of landowners, intellectuals, and civil servants. However, this movement would greatly contribute to the broadening of the circle of active and reactive women, not only in the realm of politics, but also in other traditional and new areas of public life: education, culture, economy, and cooperatives.<sup>12</sup>

On the basis of the available sources and data it is difficult to precisely define the number of women engaged in the life of associations between the years 1918 and 1939. It is estimated that about 3% of women were active, from among the 11 million women over 15 years of age in 1930, which produces the number of about 330,000 women active in organisations.<sup>13</sup> On the national level, the participation of women in political life was insignificant. For example, the number of female members of parliament and senate in the years 1919–1939 never exceeded 2% of the MPS and 4% of the senators. Therefore, they were not numerous, taking into account that throughout these years there over 2,000 persons sitting in both the chambers.<sup>14</sup>

In the interwar period the women's activity was evidently led by educated persons from the circles of landowners, intellectuals, civil servants, and even aristocrats.<sup>15</sup> To an insignificant extent the role of the leaders of the women's movement was assumed by representatives of other social groups – workers, servants, or farmers. The female members of parliament, as Monika Piotrowska-Marchewa points out – elected between the years 1919–1938 came from the stratum of intelligentsia, with women of landowner and rural origins constituting exceptions.<sup>16</sup>

The engagement of women in the work of the organisations, even if we assume that the real group of women would only constitute a few percent of the general female population, was the proof that women in various social circles felt an increasing need to be active in public and civil life, and to work for the benefit of their local communities.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Chojnowski A. (2000). Aktywność kobiet w życiu politycznym [Women's activity in political life]. In Janiak-Jasińska A., Sierakowska K., Szwarz A. (eds.), *Równe prawa i nierówne szanse. Kobiety w Polsce międzywojennej*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, p. 48; Also: Żarnowska A. (2000). Obywatelki II Rzeczypospolitej [Female citizens of the Second Republic of Poland]. In Żarnowska A., Szwarz A. (eds.), *Równe prawa i nierówne szanse. Kobiety w Polsce międzywojennej*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, p. 291.

<sup>13</sup> Sierakowska K. (2009). Samoorganizowanie się kobiet w II Rzeczypospolitej..., *op. cit.*, p. 44.

<sup>14</sup> Piotrowska-Marchewa M. (2016). Nauczycielki polskich szkół powszechnych i średnich w życiu politycznym II Rzeczypospolitej [Female teachers in Polish public and secondary schools in political life of the Second Republic of Poland]. In Kulak T., Dajnowicz M. (eds.), *Drogi kobiet do polityki (na przestrzeni XVIII–XXI wieku)* [Women's roads to the politics], Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Chronicon, p. 333.

<sup>15</sup> Sierakowska K. (2009). Samoorganizowanie się kobiet w II Rzeczypospolitej..., *op. cit.*, p. 35.

<sup>16</sup> Piotrowska-Marchewa M. (2016). Nauczycielki polskich szkół powszechnych..., *op. cit.*, p. 333.

<sup>17</sup> Sierakowska K. (2009). Samoorganizowanie się kobiet w II Rzeczypospolitej..., *op. cit.*, p. 35.

According to J. Dufurat, in the Second Republic of Poland there existed 60 to 80 female associations, diverse as to their aims, programmes, methods of work, and social background. The avantgarde of the women's movement were the organisations of political character.<sup>18</sup> However, only two from among them: National Organisation of Women (NOK) and Women's Citizen Work Association (ZPOK) had political activity as part of their statutes.<sup>19</sup> Both were among the largest women's groups of the interwar period.<sup>20</sup>

NOK was undoubtedly the largest social and political organisation in the interwar period. According to its declarations the organisation had about 78,000 members in 1931, while ZPOK had from 31,000 in 1930 to about 50,000 in 1934.<sup>21</sup>

Both the organisations were established in a similar way, that is, they were created out of electoral committees in parliamentary elections: NOK in 1919 and ZPOK in 1928. They were linked with opposing political camps: the national and the Sanation ones, and so their members were perceived as rivals by the observers of political life in contemporary Poland.<sup>22</sup> Both – according to the political orientation assumed and expressed in their work – would promote to the end of the interwar period models of women's pro-civil and pro-citizen attitudes and stances.<sup>23</sup> NOK would cooperate with political parties from the national camp,

<sup>18</sup> Dufurat J. (2011). Narodowa Organizacja Kobiet i Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet – podobieństwa i różnice. Kilka uwag o funkcjonowaniu społeczno-politycznych organizacji kobiecych w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej [National Organisation of Women and Women's Citizen Work Association – similarities and differences. A few notes on the social and political functioning of women's organisations in the Second Republic of Poland]. In Wrzesiński W., Masnyk M., Kawalec K. (eds.), *Polska leży na Zachodzie. Studia z dziejów Polski i Europy dedykowane Pani Profesor Teresie Kulak* [Poland lies in the West. Studies in the history of Poland and Europe dedicated to professor Teresa Kulak], Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, p. 574; Also: Łozowska-Marcinkowska K. (2010). *Sprawy niewieście...*, *op. cit.*, p. 35; Also: Sierakowska K. (2009). *Samoorganizowanie się kobiet w II Rzeczypospolitej...*, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

<sup>19</sup> Dufurat J. (2011). *Narodowa Organizacja Kobiet i Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet...*, *op. cit.*, p. 574.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 575.

<sup>21</sup> Skibiński P. (2018). *Polska 1918...*, *op. cit.*, p. 444; Also: Piwowarczyk M. (2016). *Kobiety aktywne – działalność społeczno-oświatowa liderek Wileńskiego Zrzeszenia Wojewódzkiego Związku Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet (1929–1939)* [Active women – social and educational work of leaders of wileńskie voivodship circle of ZPOK]. In Dawid A., Lusek J. (eds.), *Kobiety na Kresach na przełomie XIX i XX wieku* [Women in the Eastern Borderlands of Poland], Opole: Wydawnictwo DIG, p. 43.

<sup>22</sup> Dufurat J. (2011). *Narodowa Organizacja Kobiet i Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet...*, *op. cit.*, p. 575.

<sup>23</sup> Maj E. (2016). *Wzorce aktywności kobiet w Narodowej Demokracji (1893–1939)* [Models of women's activity in National Democracy]. In Kulak T., Dajnowicz M. (eds.), *Drogi kobiet do polityki (na przestrzeni XVIII–XXI wieku)*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Chronicon, p. 153.

first with the National People's Association (Związek Narodowo-Ludowy), and from 1928 with the National Party (Stronnictwo Narodowe), however, not all the members of NOK were directly connected with the politics of the largest Polish right-wing party.<sup>24</sup> ZPOK cooperated with the Sanation camp, first and foremost with the Non-Party Bloc of Cooperation with the Government (Bezpartyjny Blok Współpracy z Rządem).

The rules of the work of NOK were unambiguously defined. The organisation aimed to call "all the women of Poland to consciously participate in political life on the grounds of Christian, national, and democratic principles."<sup>25</sup> The programme would strongly emphasise the traditional role of women as wives, mothers, and the caretakers of future generations, with a mission to defend the family community, the faith, and the "national spirit." According to the formulated slogans the activists of NOK were to, in accordance with the slogan "God and Motherland", be the guardians of faith and morality in public life while at the same time, as J. Dufurat writes, enrich it with the elements of "social solidarity, purity of ideas, and selfless sacrifice." Women ought also to purify the country and the society from the "influences and impacts of a culture alien to our spirit."<sup>26</sup> The NOK activists, who would actively participate in the legislative work of the Polish parliament for the sake of the protection of women's rights, declared that they would take action to protect the interests of women in the realm of civil, property, professional, and political rights.<sup>27</sup> In the context of organisation there was the issue of the activation of Polish women in accordance with the slogan that a woman engaged in national work protected Polish interests and a passive woman gave way to the enemies of Poland, was unaware of her duty to Poland, and was not able to combine her personal interests and those of the society.<sup>28</sup>

With the help of rallies, courses, lectures, and discussions the organisation would carry out its citizen work ("citizen-awareness-raising"), and educational ("educational-and-upbringing"), whose aims were to form an aware Catholic citizen "who is in every respect legally equal and equal to men."<sup>29</sup> As part of these forms of work what was represented and popularised were contents pertaining to hygiene and health, history of Poland, religion, or current politics. The activists of the organisation would combat illiteracy among women by organising reading and writing courses for the poor. For the sake of the promotion of the ideas and slogans

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<sup>24</sup> Skibiński P. (2018). *Polska 1918...*, *op. cit.*, p. 445.

<sup>25</sup> Dufurat J. (2011). *Narodowa Organizacja Kobiet i Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet...*, *op. cit.*, p. 576.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 576; Also: Kałwa D. (2000). *Model kobiety aktywnej...*, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

<sup>27</sup> Dufurat J. (2011). *Narodowa Organizacja Kobiet i Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet...*, *op. cit.*, p. 576.

<sup>28</sup> Maj E. (2016). *Wzorce aktywności kobiet w Narodowej Demokracji...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 155–156.

<sup>29</sup> Łozowska-Marcinkowska K. (2010). *Sprawy niewieście...*, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

their own press, for example the weekly “Hasło Polki” (“The Slogan of the Polish Woman”).<sup>30</sup>

In the opinion of the leaders of NOK (among others: Zofia Kirkor-Kiedroniowa, Irena Puzynianka, Józefa Szebeko, Maria Holder-Eggerowa) benefitting from equal rights in the sphere of women’s social and civil life was strictly connected with the maintenance of the theretofore role of women defined by tradition, teachings of the Catholic Church, and other social norms. In the new conditions of the independent state the function of the caretaker and homemaker were to not only be fulfilled in private life, but also in the public one.<sup>31</sup> Zofia Kirkor-Kiedroniowa<sup>32</sup> in October 1918 defined the public duties of Polish women as follows: “Undoubtedly in the near future providing women with political rights places on them the duty to not only be the of the ideas of men, to work out the ideas of their own and to bring into the political life the spirit which creates family bonds, the spirit of kindness and solidarity. A particular care of women ought to be social care, and the care of over the mother and child.”<sup>33</sup>

That is why the models of the activity of women were connected with the function of the member of a traditional family. What was formed and promoted was the image of a family-oriented woman, responsible for order at home in its moral and organisational aspects. According to Ewa Maj the personal model was the homemaker/housewife who has mastered the logistics of housework, took care of the “woman’s household”, could manage servants effectively, maintained order at home, took care of the internal organisation of the household. She was to serve the role of the daughter, sister, wife, mother, caregiver. Within the scope of her function there was motherhood, raising children, educating the young people in the immediate environment (younger siblings and cousins). She would also accept the duty to pass down national heritage and the models of patriotism to the younger generations as well as transmitting the culture of the family between the subsequent generations. What is more, she would serve the role of the “priestess of the hearth and home”; she would influence men, motivate them, tame their habits, and encourage to behave well.<sup>34</sup>

In the political realm the members of NOK conducted intensive civic and citizen propaganda, they would become engaged in electoral work all over the country, travelling with lectures, organising rallies and electoral meetings. Their dedication was politically profiled and supplemented with social work. The ideas

<sup>30</sup> Skibiński P. (2018). *Polska 1918...*, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

<sup>31</sup> Kałwa D. (2000). *Model kobiety aktywnej...*, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

<sup>32</sup> She was the sister of two national democratic activists: Władysław and Stanisław Grabski, and an outstanding national activist and member of the National Party.

<sup>33</sup> Kirkor-Kiedroniowa Z. (1988). *Wspomnienia, Cz.2, Ziemia mego męża* [Memories pt. 2, The land of my husband], Kraków, p. 271.

<sup>34</sup> Maj E. (2016). *Wzorce aktywności kobiet w Narodowej Demokracji...*, *op. cit.*, p. 158.



of national solidarity were realised by integrating various social classes, collecting human resources to work for charity (landowners, wealthier townsmen), for education (intelligentsia), for farmers.<sup>35</sup> A significant part of the activity of NOK was charity work: supporting repatriates from the east, feeding and materially supporting poor mothers and children, supporting cultural initiatives for the sake of Polish immigrants. The members of the organisation would also take care of shelters for the homeless, single mothers, help women preparing for work, run soup kitchens, organise field trips for girls,<sup>36</sup> field trips for children of farmers, prepared the action "A drop of milk", took care to help youth with difficult backgrounds. As part of NOK, as E. Maj maintains, women worked while focusing on national interests organised according to the order: home, motherland, religion.<sup>37</sup>

The activists themselves, as Andrzej Chojnowski emphasises, in their social and political work noticed many advantages and successes. First and foremost, they would value the effectiveness of their agitational efforts in parliamentary elections, as well as elections to city councils. They would emphasise their role in the preparation of the plebiscite in Warmia, Mazury, and Silesia. Great importance was attached to the collection of funds (gold and silver) organised by NOK to help the national treasury, which was aimed to support the carrying out of the currency reform in the years 1923–1924. In cooperation with other women's organisations the association was engaged in combating human trafficking, that is, the trafficking of Polish women to brothels in, among others, South America.<sup>38</sup> The leaders of NOK (including the MPs Gabriela Balicka and Zofia Sokolnicka) would stand in defence of women, in the parliament as well as in front of the general public, which they would always do in the spirit of the defined values: the unbreakable marital bonds, protection of the family, and Polish national upbringing in the religious spirit. In their work they used to undertake a number of problems and social tasks. The most important of them were: social support, in its broad understanding, care for the mother and the child, care for the physical and moral health of the young generation, combating alcoholism, combating pornography and human trafficking, supporting the national economy, the work of women and youth, and help, education, and religious guidance for the expatriates.<sup>39</sup>

This understanding of the broad and diverse work of NOK was treated by its members as civil and citizen work for the independent Poland.

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 167.

<sup>36</sup> Skibiński P. (2018). *Polska 1918...*, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

<sup>37</sup> Maj E. (2016). *Wzorce aktywności kobiet w Narodowej Demokracji...*, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

<sup>38</sup> Chojnowski A. (2000). *Aktywność kobiet w życiu politycznym...*, *op. cit.*, p. 43; Also: Skibiński P. (2018). *Polska 1918...*, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

<sup>39</sup> Chojnowski A. (2000). *Aktywność kobiet w życiu politycznym...*, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

The Women's Citizen Work Association (Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet, hereinafter: ZPOK) was one of the most influential women's organisations of the Sanation movement in Poland during the interwar period. It was established on March 25, 1928 and it was constantly active until the outbreak of World War II.<sup>40</sup> It had a clear ideological and political character (in the spirit of the Sanation political movement), which defined its aims and goals. What occupied the first position among the aims of the Association was the problem of the activation of women and their citizen, civil upbringing, the creation of a "new type of Polish female citizen", aware of her citizen rights and duties, interested in the problems of the state, independent, outstanding in her sense of responsibility for the state and participant in the work "to increase the moral, cultural, economic, and social level."<sup>41</sup> That is how ZPOK accepted a clearly defined, educational role. In reality it was implemented by numbers of women activists, among whom the members of the intelligentsia would be prevalent – the wives of top civil servants, teachers, doctors, lawyers – activists, social activists, connected with the Sanation camp,<sup>42</sup> whose main goal was to provide political, citizen, social, economic, and cultural education to the broad masses of women.

The most crucial educational aim undertaken by the members of the Association was the realisation of a new model of citizen and civil upbringing of women, a model compatible with the main goals of the state and of the Sanation camp. Assumptions and ideological bases were developed. The author of the programme, Hanna Pohoska, stated that: "our ideal is to be the creation of a citizen

<sup>40</sup> For more on ZPOK see: Piwowarczyk M. (2012). *Selected forms of social and educational activities of the Union of civil activities of women (ZPOK)*. In Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal. Volume 4, nr. 2, pp. 13–28; Piwowarczyk M. (2013). *Działania Związku Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet na rzecz pomocy rodzinie* [Work of ZPOK to help the family]. In Wychowanie w rodzinie. Od starożytnej myśli filozoficznej do współczesnych rozwiązań legislacyjnych. T. VII (1/2013), Wrocław-Jelenia Góra: ESUS Agencja Reklamowo-wydawnicza, p. 259–291; Piwowarczyk M. (2014). *Działalność Związku Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet na rzecz aktywizacji społeczno-politycznej i gospodarczej polskich społeczności lokalnych na Wileńszczyźnie w latach 1929–1939*. In Śleszyński W., Włodarczyk A. (eds.), *Obszary zgody czy konfliktu? Kresy Północno-Wschodnie II Rzeczypospolitej*, Białystok-Kraków: Wydawnictwo AVALON, pp. 51–71; Piwowarczyk M. (2014). *Civil education in the theory and practice of Women's Civil Work Association in the Second Polish Republic*. In Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal. Volume 6/1, pp. 30–39; Piwowarczyk M. (2014). *Działalność organizacji kobiecych na rzecz rozwoju opieki nad dziećmi i młodzieżą w województwie lwowskim w II Rzeczypospolitej*. In Herciuk D., Myshchysyn I. (eds.), *Rozwój ukraińskiej i polskiej oświaty i myśli pedagogicznej (XIX–XXI w.)*. T. 4, *Teoria i praktyka pedagogiki opiekuńczej w Ukrainie i Polsce (XIX–XXI w.)*, Lwów, pp. 127–142.

<sup>41</sup> *Z Kongresu Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet* [From the Congress of Women's Citizen Work], (1938). In „Kobiety w Pracy”, Issue 9; *Statut Związku Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet*, (1931), Warszawa.

aware of her duties to the state, able to fulfil them and equipped with an internal need to carry out the duties.<sup>43</sup> Ludwika Wolska, in turn, wrote that the aim of the organisation was to “turn poor, unaware, unorganised individuals in an active, aware, organised force bringing values into the life of the state.”<sup>44</sup> The idea was to “provide the members with political and citizen education, that is, to deepen and develop their citizen knowledge, shape their citizen stance, and lead their actions in the realms of the legal and moral duties of the citizen.”<sup>45</sup>

In the propagated image of the “new female citizen” what was emphasised the most was the importance of the social activity of women in the realised model of female citizenship. It was stressed that social work would awake the activity and the initiative of the members of ZPOK “in the interest of the common good of the society and the state”, it was to constitute an important element in the process of citizen and civil education as a way of forming the moral stance of the members and developing their sense of self-worth.<sup>46</sup> In the *Ideological declaration* of ZPOK it was assumed that the fundamental condition of a proper education of citizens was their value, which is why the leaders of the organisation were given the aim of instilling in the members “unconditional fairness, civil courage, a sense of individual and group responsibility, respect for the value of the human life, and deep faith in the spiritual values of men.”<sup>47</sup> In 1938 Hanna Jaroszewiczowa, vice-president of the Board of ZPOK and a senator wrote in the press organ of ZPOK, “Praca Obywatelska”, that in the educational work with the members “the educational aim was to be realised in the development of broad masses of women while at the same time developing an aware and active citizen and civil stance. Among the moral values the aim was to, first and foremost, awaken the sense of altruism, selflessness, honour, and the value of group work; the aim was to build perseverance in achieving the assumed goals and personal discipline, based in recognition of the rules governing the organisation and respect for the authorities of the organisation. Citizen awareness founded in knowledge of the most important problems of the life of the state was to be the basis of political thinking. Citizen education based on the understanding of the unbreakable bond between the individual and the group, the nation and the state, was to be the fundament of political and social work.”<sup>48</sup>

<sup>42</sup> See Piowowarczyk M. (2016). *Kobiety aktywne...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 43–60.

<sup>43</sup> Pohoska H. (1932). *Wychowanie obywatelskie [Citizen education]*. In *Almanach. Kalendarz Związku Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet. Rok 1932*, Warszawa, pp. 20–22.

<sup>44</sup> Wolska L. (1938). *ZPOK jako organizacja polityczna [ZPOK as a political organisation]*. In „Praca Obywatelska”, Issue 5–6, p. 8.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Śliwińska L. (1933). *Obowiązki członkiń ZPOK [Duties of the members of ZPOK]*. In „Praca Obywatelska”, Issue 24, p. 4.

<sup>47</sup> *Deklaracja ideowa (1938)*. In „Praca Obywatelska”, Issue 5–6, p. 2.

<sup>48</sup> Jaroszewiczowa H. (1938). 1928–1938 r. In „Praca Obywatelska”, nr 5–6, p. 6.

From the assumed ideological goals and aims resulted the educational goals and aims, accepted by the members of ZPOK – they were defined clearly in the *Ideological declaration*: “There where there is poverty – we come with help. There were there is ignorance – with education.”<sup>49</sup>

According to the activists, to the duties of modern, active female citizens belonged the aims connected with educating the society. Female citizens were to take care “that the Polish society be raised to a high level, that ethics in their broad understanding, unconditional fairness in public and private life, a deep sense of honour, righteousness in the selection of methods, and nobility in action were in the blood of the contemporary generation and were accepted by all the members of the Polish society.”<sup>50</sup> According to Hanna Hubicka, women ought to “serve (...) obligatory social duty, or civil duty. They cannot (...) not serve any duties. Is it bringing up children, managing the household, working in a workshop, office, or school, or a social organisation, everywhere, women ought to fulfil their civil duties, but carrying out these activities will only be perceived as efforts for the sake of the common good when they will be conducted with complete dedication, and not the other way around: let it be that first the good comes to me and my close ones!”<sup>51</sup>

In the image of an active woman citizen created by ZPOK high importance was attached to “woman’s nature” and women’s competences arising from their traditional social roles as mothers and wives that provided women’s citizenship with a special value in the life of the nation and the state.<sup>52</sup> In this context the activists of the organisation attached great importance to the educational role of the Homemakers, treating, at the same time, the work women carried out at home as their profession.<sup>53</sup> That is why women were expected to not only master the role of the Homemaker, in their numerous duties and works, but also to educate the home, the family, and its members in proper, rational functioning. Women’s education in proper management of the household was perceived as “teaching mothers to feed their children rationally, to teach them the rules of hygiene, to awaken their needs to use the time of prosperity to make even the smallest savings, in building a cottage, furnishing an apartment, and, first and foremost, to understand the importance of production, exchange of goods, and consumption.”<sup>54</sup> That is how ZPOK took care of the specialist education of women, which was also

<sup>49</sup> Matuszewska M. M. (1937). Celem naszym praca dla dobra państwa i społeczeństwa (I punkt Deklaracji Ideowej) [Our aim is the work for the good of the state and the society]. In „Praca Obywatelska”, Issue 3, p. 1.

<sup>50</sup> Moraczewska Z. (1932). *Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet*. Warszawa, p. 11.

<sup>51</sup> Hubicka H. (1928). Prawa i obowiązki kobiet. In „Praca Obywatelska”, Issue 2, p. 4.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., pp. 172–173.

<sup>53</sup> Siemińska H. (1936). Czy praca Pani Domu może być zawodem? [Can working at home be a profession?] In „Praca Obywatelska”, Issue 4, p. 5.

<sup>54</sup> Matuszewska M. M. (1938). Dzisiaj i jutro naszej organizacji [Today and tomorrow of our organisation]. In „Praca Obywatelska”, Issue 5–6, p. 10.

aimed to increase the economic and social status of women and their families. That is why a network of private, organisational, female, vocational schools was established and developed. Through the maintenance of their own schools the Association realised not only its own social, economic, and educational aims, but also the ideological and political goals: "Through educational in vocational schools we make citizens out of these enormous masses who have heretofore stood outside the state, we lead them to the life of the community and to work, to social and civil community."<sup>55</sup>

In its work ZPOK used numerous forms of citizen and civil education of women. These mainly included lectures on social and civil subjects, establishing educational institutions, day rooms,<sup>56</sup> organising courses,<sup>57</sup> and publishing periodicals,<sup>58</sup> in which the model of the active female citizen and the proper manner of her education were propagated.

The aims which were to be realised in the everyday work the specialised Departments of ZPOK (especially the Citizen Education Department)<sup>59</sup> were to be of "educational nature exclusively."<sup>60</sup> Ultimately the goal was "political awareness, raising the ideological and civil level"<sup>61</sup> of Polish women and their local communities.

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<sup>55</sup> Dziewulska J. (1938). Cele i zadania Szkolnictwa Zawodowego a ideologia Z.P.O.K. [The aims and the goals of vocational schooling of ZPOK], In „Praca Obywatelska“, Issue 5–6, p. 28.

<sup>56</sup> In the educational work the "most educational centres" were used first and foremost which included: Youth Clubs, dayrooms for youth and day rooms for the members of the Association. The work in the day rooms was deemed to be "the best and the fullest form of the cooperation of the members, facilitating their education", Jędrzejewiczowa M. (1938). Wytyczne referatów wychowania polityczno-obywatelskiego [Guidelines for the lectures in political and citizen education]. In „Praca Obywatelska“, Issue 24, p. 7–8.

<sup>57</sup> Chojnowski A. (1996). Moralność i polityka. Kobiecte lobby w Bezpartyjnym Bloku współpracy z Rządem. In Szwarc A., Żarnowska A. (eds.), *Kobieta i świat polityki w niepodległej Polsce 1918–1939*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, p. 167.

<sup>58</sup> ZPOK published two journals: "Praca Obywatelska" (which was the main press organ of ZPOK) and "Prosta Droga" (a popular women's weekly), which were to help the organisation realise "political and citizen education, that is, deepen and develop citizen knowledge, shape citizen and social stances, lead the conduct in legal and moral duties." More information on the subject of the periodicals of ZPOK, see: Piwowarczyk M. (2017). The Educational Role of the Journals of Social and Educational Associations in the Second Republic of Poland as Exemplified by "Citizen Work" of the Women's Citizen Work Association. In *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*. Volume 9, nr 1, pp. 7–18.

<sup>59</sup> In the ZPOK structure there were 8 Departments: Citizen Education, Women's Affairs, Care for the Mother and the Child, Economic Production, Rural Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Press, Financial. The Departments had their equivalents with the Board of ZPOK and the voivodship and poviaste level boards.

<sup>60</sup> Jędrzejewiczowa M. (1938). Wytyczne referatów wychowania polityczno-obywatelskiego..., *op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

NOK and ZPOK and their numerous women activists played – according to the assumed ideological, political, and social aims – a major role in creating a new type of female citizen – a woman of independent Poland; an active woman, interested in the issues of the state and the society.

The leaders of both the organisations served an educational role for thousands of Polish women, presenting them through, among others, direct work as well as publications the models and the forms of political and citizen work, as well as social, economic, cultural efforts, along with family and moral life. At the same time they would activate broad masses of women to work for the good of the state, the society, and their families, turning them into dedicated female citizens serving the state and the society, aware of their rights and duties. They awakened and inspired women to develop cultural life, strengthen the habits of everyday active participation in the shaping of their local communities. The activists of NOK and ZPOK as part of their work would shape citizen, political, and civil awareness of Polish women in the interwar period, influence their attitudes and dedicated efforts in numerous aspects and realms of contemporary life.

## T. G. Masaryk and the Russian Aid Operation in Czechoslovakia

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*An important chapter in the history of independent Czechoslovakia after the First World War was the Russian Aid Operation (Ruská pomocná akce, RPA), thanks to which around 25,000 Russian, Ukrainian, and other émigrés fleeing Bolshevik Russia made it to Czechoslovakia. The operation was made possible primarily thanks to the support of President Masaryk, who had an intimate understanding of Russia who had strong contacts with members of Russia's democratic intelligentsia. As a result, secondary schools and universities in Czechoslovakia welcomed a large number of young Russian and Ukrainian émigrés who, it was hoped, would form the foundations for a new democratic Russia after the anticipated defeat of the Bolshevik revolution.*

Key words: Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk; Russian Aid Operation; Czechoslovakia

Since the early 1990s, the question of Russian and Ukrainian émigrés in Czechoslovakia has been one of the most important and, even today, most topical subjects of Czech historiographical research relating to Russia and Eastern Europe. In this time, Czech and Slovak (and naturally also Russian) historians have managed to explore a large part of this important period in Czechoslovak history. Today, we have relatively detailed information on, among other things, the leading figures in the Russian and Ukrainian émigré community or the community's educational, cultural, and social institutions and associations.<sup>1</sup> In addition, many

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e.g.: Veber V. et al. (1993). *Ruská a ukrajinská emigrace v ČSR v letech 1918–1945* (sborník studií – 1). Praha: Univerzita Karlova v Praze; Veber V. et al. (1994). *Ruská a ukrajinská emigrace v ČSR v letech 1918–1945* (sborník studií – 2). Praha: Univerzita Karlova Praze; Veber V. et al. (1995). *Ruská a ukrajinská emigrace v ČSR v letech 1918–1945* (sborník studií – 3). Praha: Univerzita Karlova v Praze; Veber V. – Sládek Z. – Bubeníková M. – Harbulová L. (1996). *Ruská a ukrajinská emigrace v ČSR v letech 1918–1945*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova v Praze; Sládek Z. – Běloševská L. (1998). *Dokumenty k dějinám ruské emigrace v Československé republice (1918–1938)*. Praha: Slovanský ústav AV ČR; Kopřivová A. (2001): *Střediska ruského emigrantského života v Praze (1921–1952)*. Praha: Národní knihovna ČR – Slovanská knihovna; Anikina T. et al. (2008). *Dom v izgnanii. Očerki ruskoi emigracii v Čechoslovakii 1918–1945*. Praga: Izdatělstvo RT+RS servis; Babka L. – Zolotarev I. (eds.)

important archival documents have been published. We have quite in-depth information about the life of Russian refugees in Prague, but we still know significantly less about the Russian émigré community in Brno. And the subject of Ukrainian émigrés is still awaiting a comprehensive study and analysis.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the less numerous Belarusian émigré community has been relatively well studied.<sup>3</sup> But the volume of archival materials covering the full range of topics related to Russian and Ukrainian émigré life is so large that it will provide work for dozens of researchers to study the issue from various angles for the next several decades. Most publications mention T. G. Masaryk's indispensable role within the RPA but do not look at his involvement in more detail. This paper will outline the Czechoslovak president's role within this organization, based among other things on his correspondence with Russian and Ukrainian émigrés.

As a new European country formed just prior to the official end of fighting in the First World War, Czechoslovakia – like its newly founded neighbors – faced many difficulties in its early days: It had to assert its borders, deal with the question of its German and Hungarian minorities, endure the difficulties of the Czechoslovak-Polish conflict, quickly transform and stabilize its economy, and address numerous other issues. The country nevertheless succeeded in resolving its main problems relatively quickly, and by the early 1920s Czechoslovakia was a confident Central European state fully recognized by the major European powers and the United States of America. The country's two leading representatives, President T. G. Masaryk (1850–1937) and Prime Minister Karel Kramář (1860–1937),<sup>4</sup> had an unusually close (but not uncritical) relationship with Russia<sup>5</sup> and closely followed the tragedy that played out at the end of the Russian Civil War. These facts played an important role in Czechoslovakia soon taking an active

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(2012). *Russkaja akcija pomošči v Čechoslovakii. Istorija, značenije, nasledije*. Praga: Nacionalnaja bibliotěka Češskoj republiky – Slovjanskaja bibliotěka – Graždanskoje objediněnije “Russkaja tradicija” and more.

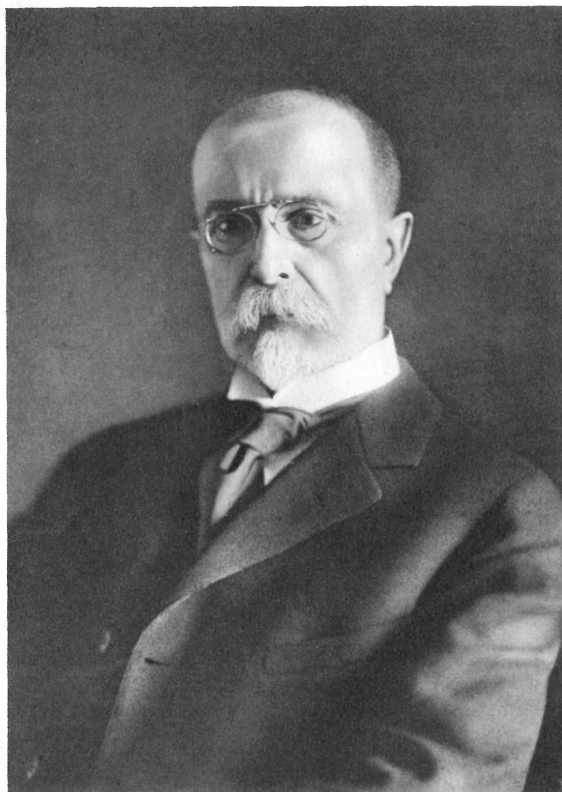
<sup>2</sup> Examples include Zylinskij B. (1995). *Ukrajinci v Čechách a na Moravě 1917–1945*. Praha: X-Egem; Zylinskij B. (2000). *Ukrajinci v českých zemích v letech 1945–1948*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR.

<sup>3</sup> Kolenovská D. – Plavec M. (2017). *Běloruská emigrace v meziválečném Československu. Studie a dokumenty. Sociopolitický aspekt*. Praha: Nakladatelství Karolinum.

<sup>4</sup> On Masaryk's and especially Kramář's ties to the Russian émigré community, see, e.g., Vlček R. (2012). Sopotavlenie vzgljadov T. G. Masaryka i K. Kramarža. Raznica v ponimanii pomošči ruskim emigrantam. In Babka L. – Zolotarev I. (eds.), *Russkaja akcija pomošči v Čechoslovakii. Istorija, značenije, nasledije*. Praga: Nacionalnaja bibliotěka Češskoj republiky – Slovjanskaja bibliotěka – Graždanskoje objediněnije “Russkaja tradicija”, pp. 19–28.

<sup>5</sup> Masaryk's systematic academic interest in Russia culminated in the publication, just prior to the First World War, of the first of two volumes of (Russia and Europe, first published in German in Jena in 1913). Of immense significance was his ten-month mission in Russia following the 1917 February Revolution, when he helped to establish an independent Czechoslovak fighting force.





Fec. Arch. Vaněk, MR. P. S. Praha.

*T. G. Masaryk.*

Photograph of T. G. Masaryk (postcard, 1920s).

stance on the international scene as a sovereign democratic state hoping to launch an extensive international aid operation for starving Russia.

The Czechoslovak public could read about their politicians' plans to begin talks for supplying aid to Russia in an open letter from President Masaryk to Foreign Minister Edvard Beneš from late July 1921, in which Masaryk responded, among other things, to a plea for help published by the writer Maxim Gorky (1868–1936): "Dear Minister, I have just read Gorky's call for aid to starving Russia. [...] I would like to help according to my abilities, but a merely private undertaking would be impossible and make no sense. It would become bogged down in small-scale philanthropy. What is required here is a large-scale organization, which is only possible if the European states – and of course the

Russian state as well – take up the matter and assume responsibility. [...] For such a new and large operation, we cannot forget the numerous Russian citizens living among us in Europe whom we are supporting already. I have just launched a new operation for the support of Russian academics. Here, too, we have heard Gorky's call for help."<sup>6</sup> Masaryk's open letter to Beneš on the subject of aid for starving Russia was published on August 5, 1921 in several leading Czech newspapers.<sup>7</sup> Masaryk counted on Czechoslovakia's full participation in the operation he described, but it should be organized on a broad international scale. At the time, a significant portion of Czechoslovakia's political scene was debating the nature of aid for Russia.

After discussing the matter with Masaryk, Foreign Minister (and later Prime Minister) Edvard Beneš (1884–1948) exerted significant international efforts aimed at organizing an international aid operation under the auspices of the International Red Cross and the League of Nations. On July 30, 1921, the Czechoslovak government contacted the chairman of the International Red Cross, and on August 3, 1921 it sent a special note to all diplomatic missions in Prague calling for an international conference aimed at coordinating joint aid for Russia. Thanks to this initiative, on August 15, 1921 a conference of the International Red Cross was held in Geneva with the participation of 80 representatives from 22 countries and aimed at launching a coordinated effort by Europe and the United States in support of Russia.<sup>8</sup>

One problem right at the outset, however, was that the United States, which was organizing its own aid operation, was not interested in a coordinated effort of this type. After the American representative, Herbert Hoover (1874–1964), rejected the function of commissioner, the operation's leadership went to the Norwegian polar explorer Fridtjof Nansen (1861–1930), who headed negotiations with the Soviet government. The result was the signing of two conventions on August 27, 1921. The first established a commission consisting of representatives from the Soviet government and from the relief operation, which was the only organization allowed to decide on the distribution of supplies for Russia. In the

<sup>6</sup> Hájková D. – Quagliatová V. – Vašek R. (2013). *Korespondence T. G. Masaryk – Edvard Beneš 1918–1937*. Praha: Masarykův ústav a Archiv AV ČR, v. v. i., letter from T. G. Masaryk to Edvard Beneš, Capri, 28 July 1921, no. 183, p. 267; see also Vašek R. – Fejlek V. (2007). *T. G. Masaryk: Cesta demokracie II. Projevy – články – rozhovory 1921–1923*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Praha: Ústav T. G. Masaryka, o. p. s., Masarykův ústav – Archiv AV ČR, v. v. i., p. 71.

<sup>7</sup> See, e.g.: Mezinárodní pomoc hladovějícímu Rusku. *Lidové noviny* 29, no. 388, August 5, 1921, p. 1; Československo na pomoc Rusku. *Československá republika* 242, no. 213, August 5, 1921, p. 4; Jak pomoci Rusku. *Národní listy* 61, no. 213, August 5, 1921, p. 3, and other periodicals.

<sup>8</sup> Olivová V. (1992): Politika Československa v ruské krizi roku 1921 a 1922. In Olivová V. (ed.), Masaryk, T. G. – Beneš, E. *Otevřít Rusko Evropě. Dvě stati k ruské otázce v roce 1922*. Praha: H & H, pp. 39–41.

second convention, the Soviet government entrusted Nansen with the authority to negotiate with the European governments in its name. This convention was met with a highly negative response in Europe, primarily because it made Nansen the Soviet government's de facto spokesman. The League of Nations rejected Nansen's request, and the "Nansen operation" thus continued its activities as a private volunteer organization coordinating the Red Cross's humanitarian aid efforts for Russia, but its activities were significantly limited in nature. After the failure of the Nansen operation, Czechoslovakia began its own independent aid efforts.<sup>9</sup>

The Russian Aid Operation was launched in Czechoslovakia in September 1921 after the Czechoslovak embassy in Constantinople received instructions from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to transport 1,000 students and 4,000 agriculturalists to Czechoslovakia from Constantinople, Gallipoli, and Lemnos.<sup>10</sup> After their arrival, the émigrés initially settled exclusively in Prague, where they soon founded tight-knit Russian communities in the districts of Dejvice, Bubeneč, and Strašnice, although during the interwar period the largest concentration of Russian émigrés was in Prague's Vinohrady district.<sup>11</sup> The second largest center of Russian émigré life was Brno. Here, the Orthodox Church of St. Wenceslas soon became the center of life for a significant portion of the émigré community, and refugees joined the city's newly founded Russian organizations. Russian and Ukrainian refugees settled elsewhere in Czechoslovakia as well, especially in the country's other cities with institutions of higher learning, namely Příbram and Bratislava.

By early 1922, Masaryk could say of the RPA: "In order to help the current suffering and with a view to our modest means, we have decided to specialize our aid operation. To this end, we have sent aid to Russian academics in St. Petersburg; we are also looking after a certain number of Russian children. In Prague, we are organizing a Russian university. So far, we have attended to around 1,400 students and 60 Russian professors. The guiding idea is to reacclimatize members of the Russian intelligentsia, and especially young people, to systematic work and thus to help them escape the vagaries and demoralization of their dreadful exile. Sometime in the future, a large number of trained and educated members of the Russian intelligentsia might be able to return to Russia. It would be possible to bring all [Russian] students from other countries to Prague, but we would need the financial support to do so."<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 41–42.

<sup>10</sup> Sládek Z. (1993). Ruská emigrace v Československu. (Problémy a výsledky výzkumu). *Slovanský přehled* 79, no. 1, p. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Kopřivová A. (2001). *Střediska ruského emigrantského života v Praze (1921–1952)*. Praha: Národní knihovna České republiky, Slovanská knihovna, pp. 24–46.

<sup>12</sup> Masaryk T. G. (1992). Pomoc Rusku Evropou a Amerikou. In Olivová V. (ed.), *Masaryk, T. G. – Beneš, E. Otevřít Rusko Evropě. Dvě stati k ruské otázce v roce 1922*. Praha, p. 21.

At first, the task of implementing the RPA was entrusted to politically-oriented private organizations. A leading position among these groups was held by the Committee of Zemstvos and Towns for the Aid of Russian Citizens Abroad, known by its Russian abbreviation Zemgor (Zemsko-gorodskoi komitet pomoshchi rossiskim grazhdanam za granitsej). Though Zemgor was headed by leading members of the Socialist Revolutionary Party, the Union for a Cossack Renaissance played an important role as well. Ukrainian émigrés were looked after by the Ukrainian Civic Committee and several other organizations.<sup>13</sup> The RPA underwent a fundamental reorganization in 1926, when control over the organization passed from Zemgor and the Ukrainian organizations to the Czechoslovak Red Cross and most of the educational funding was entrusted to the relevant ministries. The main reasons for this important change were an attempt at “depoliticizing” the operation and a new view of Russia’s future. Hopes for the émigrés’ return home had slowly faded, and along with them the Czechoslovaks’ political goals had changed as well.<sup>14</sup> Our estimate of the total resources expended on the RPA in Czechoslovakia amounts to something over half a billion crowns. Initially, the funding was provided without proper documentation, and the various organizations could use the money as they saw fit (within the framework of their organizations’ objectives). No accounting was required until 1924. The largest amounts provided as part of the RPA were in the first years of the program (1922–1923: 120 million, 1924: 99.65 million), with decreasing subsidies in the subsequent years (1928: 30 million, 1931: 7.5 million, 1934: 2.96 million).<sup>15</sup>

What kinds of organizations received funding through the RPA? Primarily, the money went to support Russian and Ukrainian educational institutions established in Czechoslovakia. Among colleges and universities, the main recipients were the Russian Law Faculty, the Russian Teaching Institute of John Amos Comenius, the Russian Institute of Agricultural Cooperatives, the Business College, and the Russian People’s University, which was an unconventional type of school. These schools had difficulties in Czechoslovakia because many of them did not receive state accreditation as institutions of higher learning. Most Russian émigrés also studied at Czechoslovak colleges and universities. Russian secondary schools in Czechoslovakia included a Russian high school (*gymnasium*) in Moravská Třebová that had been moved there from Constantinople, and another gymnasium in Prague’s Strašnice district. Besides these institutions, Russians living in Czechoslovakia also had their own trade schools, primary schools, and preschools.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Sládek Z. (1993). *Ruská emigrace v Československu*, pp. 4–5.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>16</sup> Veber V. – Sládek Z. – Bubeníková M. – Harbulová, L. (1996). *Ruská a ukrajinská emigrace v ČSR v letech 1918–1945*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova v Praze, pp. 15–17.

The main Ukrainian educational institution in Czechoslovakia was the Ukrainian Free University, which had moved to Prague from Vienna, but this school, too, lacked full recognition as a Czechoslovak institution of higher learning. Another Ukrainian school was the Ukrainian Academy of Economics in Poděbrady, which operated as a four-year Ukrainian postsecondary school. The Ukrainian Higher Pedagogical Institute of M. Drahomanov was a two-year school for the training of primary school teachers and other educational professionals; in 1925, the school was transformed into a gymnasium with headquarters in Řevnice (later in Modřany). Prague was also home to the Ukrainian Studio of Visual Arts.<sup>17</sup> Also receiving RPA funding were Russian and Ukrainian teaching institutions and student organizations, scientific institutions and organizations, cultural associations, and more. In its first five to eight years, the operation definitely fulfilled its purpose, for a large number of Russian émigrés in Czechoslovakia graduated from secondary school and went on to learn a trade or to study at university. This was because most of the émigrés were quite young, most of them young men aged 18 to 28 (i.e., born in the years 1893–1903). Other age groups were significantly smaller.<sup>18</sup>

Masaryk's correspondence with Russian and Ukrainian émigrés – individuals as well as leading representatives of various émigré institutions – includes numerous examples of refugees asking Czechoslovakia's president for help, as well as letters in which figures from Russian scientific and cultural life express their gratitude, either for themselves or in the name of their fellow citizens.

But Masaryk also received letters from Russian émigrés living outside of Czechoslovakia. One such letter was written by four leading Russian authors representing the Russian émigré community in France, Ivan Alekseyevich Bunin (1870–1953), Dmitry Sergeyevech Merezhkovsky (1865–1941), Ivan Sergeyevech Shmelyov (1873–1950), and Zinaida Nikolayevna Gippius (1869–1945). In their letter, dated February 12, 1924, they wrote among other things: “Highly esteemed Mr. President – In view of the difficult material conditions of life abroad, we Russian writers and émigrés turned to Kramář with a request that he intercede with you regarding aid for us. We have now received word that you have taken Dr. Kramář's intercession into consideration and that you have generously agreed to support him before the Czechoslovak government. Our letter to Dr. Kramář stated the motives that gave us the courage to seek help from the government of that consanguineous country sympathetic to our cause, which, in the hour of our great suffering, has provided and continues to provide such unforgettable aid to the representatives and guardians of Russian culture in exile. These motives, highly esteemed Mr. President, are known to you. In hope of the benevolent

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., pp. 17–18.

<sup>18</sup> Koprřivová A. (1997). Bludné cesty ruské emigrace. In Terlecký N., *Curriculum vitae*. Praha: Torst, p. 179.

settlement of our petition, we express to you and your government in advance our heartfelt gratitude and affirmation that we shall never forget that, through our persons, Russia has once again received proof of the brotherly sensibilities that join our two nations in the name of a grand future. [...].”<sup>19</sup>

The wave of émigrés coming to Czechoslovakia also included members of various ethnic and religious groups. One large group besides Russians were Ukrainians, whose scientific and cultural life was, as has already been remarked, very diverse. But members of the previously mentioned Belarusian exile community found asylum here as well. For instance, Masaryk received a letter of gratitude and a plea for help from two leading representatives of the Ukrainian émigré community in Czechoslovakia – the historian, lawyer, and politician Andrey Ivanovich Yakovlev (1872–1955) and the lawyer and politician Stanislav Severynovych Dnistryansky (1870–1935), the latter of whom had been living in Czechoslovakia since 1919. In their letter from 12 June 1931 requesting Czechoslovakia’s aid for Ukrainian and Belarusian émigrés, they wrote: “[...] The government of the Czechoslovak Republic has supported them [Ukrainian and Belarusian students – author’s note] in all possible ways in their efforts at completing their education. Graduation courses have been organized for those who have not completed secondary school; a Ukrainian gymnasium has been founded. Persons with a secondary school diploma were given the chance to go to Czech universities. And several Ukrainian schools were founded as well – a Ukrainian university in Prague, the Ukrainian Academy of Economics in Poděbrady, the Ukrainian Pedagogical Institute in Prague. Needy Ukrainian and Belarusian students have been given scholarships allowing them to study. The results of this support are enormous: Thanks to the brotherly help from the Czechoslovak nation, 931 Ukrainian and more than 150 Belarusian students graduated from Czech universities by the end of 1930. In addition, more than 500 students have graduated from Ukrainian schools of higher learning in the Czechoslovak Republic. The Ukrainian and Belarusian nations [!] have been enriched by around 2,000 highly qualified intellectuals and culture workers who had previously suffered during the war of liberation, who will be needed in the future, and for whom [our nations] will forever be grateful to the Czechoslovak nation and its governmental representatives. [...].”<sup>20</sup>

Russian and Ukrainian émigré leaders perfectly understood T. G. Masaryk’s role within the RPA. His death in 1937 shook the émigré community, for with him it had lost its moral support. Czechoslovakia was occupied less than two years later, followed soon thereafter by the start of the Second World War, which

<sup>19</sup> Doubek V. (2016). *Korespondence T. G. Masaryk – Slované. Rusové a Ukrajinci*. 2. svazek. Praha: Masarykův ústav a Archiv AV ČR, v. v. i., letter from I. A. Bunin, D. S. Merezhkovsky, I. S. Shmelyov, and Z. N. Gippius, Paris, February 12, 1924, no. 154, p. 224.

<sup>20</sup> Doubek V. (2016). *Korespondence T. G. Masaryk – Slované. Rusové a Ukrajinci*. 2. svazek, letter from S. S. Dnistryansky and A. I. Yakovlev to T. G. Masaryk, Praha, June 12, 1931, no. 390, p. 469.

significantly affected the lives of Russian and Ukrainian émigrés. In September 1937, the Association of Russian Émigré Organizations in the Czechoslovak Republic (Obyedinenie russkikh emigrantskikh organizatsii), a grouping of 43 professional, scientific, and cultural organizations, expressed their condolences to the political leaders of Czechoslovakia and honored the memory of T. G. Masaryk. In so doing, they repeatedly emphasized that the RPA would forever be indelibly associated with the name of the President-Liberator. In his letter of condolence to the new president, Edvard Beneš, written on the occasion of an official gathering in memory of President Masaryk on 23 September 1937, the association's president, professor Alexey Stepanovich Lomshakov, noted among other things: "[...] Russians in Czechoslovakia feel the immense grief of our national brethren as our own and are deeply moved by the passing of your unforgettable predecessor. Our shining memories of the noble, valiant, and genial President-Liberator, T. G. Masaryk, shall forever be preserved in our grateful hearts and be passed on from generation to generation among our children as a testament of our great love and undying devotion."<sup>21</sup>

Masaryk's support for the RPA in Czechoslovakia was of fundamental importance for its successful implementation. His correspondence with émigré associations, groups, and individuals represented a significant portion of his presidential agenda and his private correspondence. He knew many Russian and Ukrainian émigrés in person and provided ongoing financial support for others. He succeeded at his main goal – to educate a large intelligentsia for a democratic Russia so that the country might, following its immense suffering, develop on a solid economic and cultural foundation. But Masaryk, like his contemporaries, could not have guessed that the Bolshevik regime would remain in power in Soviet Russia for many decades to come, and that the Russians who had received their education in Czechoslovakia or in other European countries would remain in exile. Those who dared to return – for instance on the basis of Soviet promises of amnesty – often found themselves sentenced to death or, if they were lucky, sent to prison or into exile. As a lifelong critic of communism and Bolshevism, Masaryk felt it his moral duty to help revitalize Russia's democrats as they prepared to fight the forces of Bolshevism. Despite new developments in the USSR that democratic Europe could not have anticipated, the Russian Aid Operation in Czechoslovakia can be assessed positively, for not only did it help to preserve the Russian and Ukrainian intelligentsia, but many of the refugees who stayed in Czechoslovakia after completing their studies enriched Czech science and culture, the country's economic life, and many other areas of human activity.

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<sup>21</sup> *Pamjati T. G. Masaryka*. Praha [1937], pp. 12–13.

## The Road to October 28, 1918. The Idea of Czechoslovak Statehood

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*Czechoslovak statehood took shape gradually from the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, progressing from the thoughts of František Palacký and František Ladislav Rieger during the course of the Great War to take the specific form of a new state. It originated both on the battlefields, where the legions fought for a new independent state, and, first and foremost, in the diplomatic efforts of the foreign resistance movement of our leading politicians and future statesmen. It was Masaryk's idea of a Czechoslovak state that came to fruition in October 1918. Masaryk pursued the creation of a liberal democratic state along the lines of the Swiss model, though with two ethnic nations, in which all citizens would have equal standing regardless of their nationality, race or religion.*

Key words: *the idea of a Czechoslovak state; statehood; a liberal democratic state; ethnic nations; state independence; republic*

Was there a meaningful alternative to the creation of Czechoslovakia a hundred years ago? Was the foundation of our first republic a historical error? These are two of the questions that have been asked in our anniversary year. This anniversary has provided us with a unique opportunity of reflecting on our own past, while taking a close look at current events in the present day – of considering the questions of what is Czech identity, who we are and where we are headed. We are taught in school that Czechoslovakia was established by means of the actions of T. G. Masaryk and the circumstances accompanying and associated with the Great War. Today, we take this for granted. Was there, however, an alternative to the foundation of a republic before that time?

Let's begin by mentioning at least some of the alternatives. One of the other ways in which the complicated ethnic relations in the Austro-Hungarian union could otherwise have been organised was close co-operation between the Slavic nations which would have weakened the German elite and which may have led to possible federalisation; this option was known as Austro-Slavism. Another option was Austro-Marxism, consisting of the emancipation of national socialist democracies. A radical alternative was the vision of the now relatively unknown Czech writer, literary critic and journalist Hubert Gordon Schauer (1862–1892),



a pupil of Masaryk, who pondered in his introductory article *Our Two Questions*, which came out as an editorial in the journal *Čas*,<sup>1</sup> whether Czech society was large enough and morally strong enough to forge an independent culture and whether the effort put into the National Revival would not be better invested in general cultural work within the framework of German culture.<sup>2</sup>

The first Czech political programme was formulated by František Palacký in April 1848 when he refused to take part in the “Committee of Fifty” to which participants of all the countries of the German Confederation were invited. For the first time in modern history, a Czech bourgeois intellectual had acted as an Austrian statesman and European politician. The fact that Palacký had formulated the demands and ideas of the Czech national movement in their broader contexts shifted the original Brauner or Havlíček programme to a new level. In terms of its basic features, Palacký’s Frankfurt paper was the most universal formulation of the idea of the Austrian state as a common state of national communities living between the German lands and Russia. Palacký’s justification for his refusal to take part was the relationship between the Czech lands and Germany and, as a historian, he pointed out that all confederations to that time must be considered confederations of “ruler with ruler” and not of “nation with nation.” He took a stand, meanwhile, against attempts to break up Austria, not merely as a matter of principle, but also for considered tactical reasons, when he declared that “if the Austrian state had not already long existed, we would have to strive to create it as soon as possible ourselves in the interests of Europe and, indeed, humanity.” Palacký resolutely rejected attachment to Germany, since he believed that, in light of the given political situation and balance of power, the Habsburg Monarchy was a better guarantee of Czech national development than the German Empire as, “he who calls for Austria (and along with it the Czech lands) to join nationally with the German Empire is demanding of them suicide.”<sup>3</sup> Later, however, the course of

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<sup>1</sup> *Čas* (1886), volume I, no. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Schauer came from a linguistically mixed family from Litomyšl and studied law, philosophy and languages in Vienna. He published in the journals *Čas*, *Athenaeum*, *Politika*, *Literární listy* and *Národní listy*, and in *Ottův slovník naučný* (Otto’s Encyclopaedia). He was one of the founders of *Česká moderna* (Czech Modernism) and Masaryk’s Realist movement, and was an opponent of the Young Czech Party. The mentioned article caused great dispute about the meaning of Czech history; T. G. Masaryk was accused of co-authorship. For more detail see: Růžička J. (2002). *Hubert Gordon Schauer. Město Litomyšl*; Růžička J. (1969). *Litomyšlské dopisy H. G. Schauera T. G. Masarykovi* (H. G. Schauer’s Litomyšl Letters to T. G. Masaryk). In *Zprávy z muzeí od Trstenické stezky* (Reports from the Museums from the Trstenice Path), no. 7, pp. 35–40. Also: Dvořáková D. (1989). *Schauer a jeho koncepce národní literatury (Naše dvě otázky)* (Schauer and His Conception of National Literature (Our Two Questions)). In *Česká literatura* (Czech Literature), vol. 37, no. 6, pp. 496–514.

<sup>3</sup> A letter from František Palacký to Frankfurt (1971). In *Minulost našeho státu v dokumentech* (Our State’s Past in Documents). Praha, pp. 205–210.

events in Austro-Hungary forced him to change his mind. He demanded the creation of an Austrian federation based on natural law.<sup>4</sup> He elaborated his views in detail two years (1865) before the establishment of the dual monarchy in order to draw attention to its disadvantages. The Austrian government was meant to guarantee the independent development of smaller nations.<sup>5</sup>

Palacký's concept was followed up (and further elaborated) by his son-in-law František Ladislav Rieger who presented a political programme drawn up on the basis of historical law, though not including the Slovaks in joint self-determination, in *Národní listy* on 1 January 1861. From the 1860s, Rieger promoted a federalist solution to the constitutional issues of the monarchy. He defended a conservative conception of state-building that would respect historical entities. He arrived at the possibility of agreement with German liberals, while demanding national equality with extensive self-rule and basic liberal and civic liberties and freedoms "in the production of goods and their trade." It was becoming, however, more and more evident that a programme of national unity no longer corresponded to a socially developed society.

Over the course of history, there were also a number of German plans for the organisation of Central Europe that were gradually modified and shaped over time. "Pan-Germanism" (or the "all-German movement") first appeared in the form of the German nationalist movement during the Napoleonic Wars, when the Germans attempted to "join all German states in a single entity."<sup>6</sup> This "Pan-Germanism" involved programmes promoting either "Greater Germany" or "Lesser Germany." While Greater Germany counted on the unification of Germany and Austria (including the lands of the Czech Crown), the Lesser Germany movement strived merely for the unification of the German states without Austria. There were also efforts to unify all Germans living in non-German states within a single entity.

The outbreak of the war paved the way for two programmes. In May 1914, the distinguished Czech politician Karel Kramář presented the first sophisticated theory about a new integration of the Czech lands and Slovakia in Central Europe. A group of his colleagues from the Young Czech Party worked with him on the elaboration of this theory. Kramář's secret project was inspired by the work *Deutsche Bundesakte* (The German Federal Act).<sup>7</sup> His views were not always

<sup>4</sup> Urban O. (1982). *Česká společnost 1849–1918* (Czech Society 1849–1918). Praha, pp. 33–34.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 188.

<sup>6</sup> The "All-Germany" movement can be characterised as a movement striving for the connection of all Germanic nations, including the extinct eastern Germanic languages (Gothic) and the still living northern Germanic (Scandinavian) and western Germanic (German, English, Dutch, Flemish, etc.) languages. Krejčí O. (2009). *Geopolitika středoevropského prostoru. Pohled z Prahy a z Bratislavy* (Geopolitics of the Central European Region. The View from Prague and Bratislava). Praha, p. 94.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 149.

consistent; he was initially a leading opponent of Czech independence, a position he still expressed during a speech on the Sarajevo assassination in July 1914. He long sympathised with the idea of Slavism and attempted to develop relations between the individual Slavic nations. His position shifted gradually from loyal pro-Austrian politics to support for Austro-Hungary's war enemy Russia.<sup>8</sup> The initial Russian military successes in Galicia and the Carpathians at the beginning of the war convinced him of Russia's possibilities. His project conceived of Czech statehood within a Slavic federation which, in addition to the predominant Russian Empire, was to be made up of the Czech, Polish, Serbian and Montenegrin Kingdoms and the Tsardom of Bulgaria. This empire would stretch from the Pacific Ocean to the Bohemia Forest and have a population of more than two hundred million people.<sup>9</sup> Kramář prepared a *Constitution of the Slavic Empire* which envisioned the greatest powers being held by the Russian Tsar, who would appoint representatives (governors) in the individual lands. The principal language of command and communication would be Russian, with other Slavic languages being used only in the internal matters of the individual nations. Both Upper and Lower Lusatia, part of Glatz, and the territory below Weitra, Feldsberg (Valtice) and the southern border of Slovakia would be connected to the Czech lands. The connection of Subcarpathian Ukraine was also considered.<sup>10</sup> Kramář was also among the first to count on a corridor along the southern and western borders of Hungary as far as Serbia. His programme soon become meaningless. In 1915 the author was arrested and put on trial, and was only released thanks to an amnesty in 1917, and in 1917 the Tsar of Russia was deposed and the revolution began. By 1918, Kramář remained the only proponent of this vision.

The second propagator of the idea of Czecho-Slovak mutuality, and the more significant and decisive for future developments, was Professor Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk. His views also developed over the course of time. In the 1890s he had rejected the idea of state independence on principle (as had Palacký) and counted on the existence of Austria in the future as a democratically reformed monarchy. Under the influence of the new reality (the Hilsner Affair of 1899, the Zagreb Trial of 1908), he gradually came to the conclusion that the Habsburg Monarchy was "morally and physically degenerate", found itself in a deteriorated economic situation, and was increasingly controlled by Germany, making it practically unreformable. Practising a loyal pro-Austrian policy would not lead to equality for the Czechs within the monarchy. The war encouraged Masaryk in his demands for state independence under the assumption that Germany and Austro-Hungary

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<sup>8</sup> Galandauer J. (1988). *Vznik Československé republiky 1918* (The Establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic 1918). Praha, pp. 20–22.

<sup>9</sup> Krejčí O. (2009) *Geopolitika středoevropského prostoru* (Geopolitics of the Central European Region), p. 149.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 151–152.

were defeated.<sup>11</sup> Masaryk therefore decided to go into emigration in December 1914.

He arrived at the idea of joint Czecho-Slovak statehood during the course of his emigration.<sup>12</sup> In *The New Europe* he talks of cultural affinity and the closeness of the shared bond between the Czechs and the Slovaks.<sup>13</sup> He did not look at them from a cultural and ethnic perspective, but as Slavic nations that must be supported in their fight for political independence. He saw himself as a Moravian Slovak which meant that he considered himself a Czech and a Slovak.<sup>14</sup> He had considered the Slovak problem before the war and drew continual attention to Hungarian oppression. Ideas of joining the Czech lands with the Slovak lands were also born in the U.S.A. and Canada where around 650,000 expatriates lived.<sup>15</sup> Masaryk gradually attempted to encourage other Slovaks living abroad to join the foreign resistance and managed to win them over to finance the resistance. The first document considering Czecho-Slovak coexistence was the *Cleveland Agreement* (October 1915) which guaranteed the Slovaks equal standing within a federative arrangement. Similarly, the *Pittsburgh Agreement* was also closed in the United States (in May 1918) declaring a joint political programme escalating in the establishment of a Czechoslovak state with a republican form and a constitution. This agreement gave Slovakia an autonomous position with its own administration and assembly.<sup>16</sup> According to this agreement a hyphen was to be used in the name of the joint republic.<sup>17</sup> It also counted on the connection of Subcarpathian Ukraine. Emigrants from America also played a large part in its connection.

Masaryk altered the territorial extent of the future state many times in his plans. He finally came to the conclusion that it would be appropriate to create

<sup>11</sup> Galandauer J. *Vznik Československé republiky 1918* (The Establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic 1918), p. 31.

<sup>12</sup> Masaryk adopted the idea of joint statehood from Jan Kollár. They both agreed on the importance of the value of humanity. Kollár saw humanity in integrational relations that taught nations mutual co-operation and led them to “cosmopolitan sureties.” Várossová E. (1993). *Filozofické zdroje Masarykovej československé štátnosti a Ján Kollár* (The Philosophical Sources of Masaryk's Czechoslovak Statehood and Ján Kollár. In *Masarykova idea československé štátnosti ve světle kritiky dějin* (Masaryk's Idea of Czechoslovak Statehood in the Light of Criticism of History). Praha, pp. 19–20.

<sup>13</sup> Masaryk T. G. (1994). *Nová Evropa. Stanovisko slovanské* (The New Europe. The Slavic Standpoint). Supplement. Brno, p. 150.

<sup>14</sup> Šabata J. *Masarykova Nová Evropa* (Masaryk's New Europe). In Masaryk, T. G. *Nová Evropa* (The New Europe), p. 32.

<sup>15</sup> Švorc P. (1993). *Slováci v Amerike a vývin myšlienky česko-slovenskej štátnosti* (The Slovaks in America and the Development of the Idea of Czechoslovak Statehood). In Lacina V. et al., *Sborník k dějinám 19. a 20. století* (Anthology on the History of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries). Praha, pp. 115–116.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 127–128.

<sup>17</sup> Krejčí O. *Geopolitika středoevropského prostoru* (Geopolitics of the Central European Region), pp. 221–222.

a Czech state primarily with the use of historical borders and a Slovak state with ethnic borders: Slovakia was to be bordered to the north by the Hungarian-Galician border, to the east by the River Uzh, and to the south primarily by the Danube and the River Ipel' (with the exception of Žitný (Rye) Island). Masaryk also considered the connection of Lusatia, part of Glatz, the Hlučín region and small revisions in southern Bohemia (Weitra – Vitoraz) and southern Moravia (Feldsberg – Valtice). Like Kramář, he also demanded a corridor to Serbia, thereby assuring access to the sea.<sup>18</sup>

As far as the form of the future state was concerned, Masaryk initially anticipated that the state would not be a republic, but a kingdom “headed by some western prince”, preferably from Denmark or Belgium, later possibly from Russia. In his work *Russia and Europe* (1913) he presented himself as an opponent of Tsarism. In *The New Europe* (1920), in contrast, he emphasised the need for a strong and independent Russia as a guarantor of stability for the small Slavic states of Central and Eastern Europe against Germany. In comparison with Kramář, he was more sceptical about the suitability of a closer relationship with Russia.<sup>19</sup> He considered a decisive defeat of Germany by means of the combined efforts of all the allies to be the principal condition to the success of his programme. Masaryk became the first in this country to hold a western orientation. He turned to the western powers with memorandums containing the reasons for the desirability of creating an “independent Bohemia” (such as his memorandum to the British Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey entitled *Independent Bohemia*). In September 1914, before his emigration, Masaryk submitted to the British Foreign Service the first project for a Czechoslovak state incorporating the Czech lands and the “Slovak regions of Hungary” (as the Czech Kingdom).

Masaryk also performed one constitutional act important to the establishment of Czechoslovakia – in Washington, from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> of October 1918, he wrote a *Declaration of Independence of the Czechoslovak Nation*, also known as the *Washington Declaration*, published in Paris, the formal seat of the provisional Czechoslovak government, which was also signed by Edvard Beneš and Milan Rastislav Štefánik. This declaration adopted American democratic traditions and declared the fundamental principles of the civic freedoms of the new state, the future state system and the principles of its domestic and foreign policy. It proclaimed the Czechoslovak state as a republic comprised of the Czechs and their brothers the Slovaks that would guarantee “the complete freedom of conscience, religion and science..., of the press and the right of assembly and the right to

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 187. Galandauer J. *Vznik Československé republiky 1918* (The Foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic 1918), op. cit.

<sup>19</sup> T. G. Masaryk espoused a monarchy until 1917. In Galandauer J. *Vznik Československé republiky 1918* (The Foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic 1918), pp. 135–136.

petition.” The church was to be separated from the state, and a standing army replaced by a militia. Wide-ranging economic and social reforms were also to be performed – large estates expropriated and the privileges of the nobility abolished. This founding document of Czechoslovak statehood referred to historical and natural Czech law demanding independence from the Habsburg Empire.<sup>20</sup>

The two main arguments used by our political representatives were historical and natural state law, and these were also used in the Washington Declaration. The doctrine of historical-legal individualities emerged in around the 1860s and was considered successively by the historians and politicians V. V. Tomek, J. Kalousek and K. Kramář. This doctrine asserted that the Czech state had, in practice, never ceased to exist on a legal basis, even during the long period of domination by the Habsburgs.

The domestic and foreign resistance began to take shape at the very beginning of the war. As has already been said, the leading representative of the foreign resistance was T. G. Masaryk, supported primarily by E. Beneš and M. R. Štefánik. The *Council of Czechs in Russia* was formed at the beginning of September 1914, being renamed the *Union of Czecho-Slovak Societies in Russia* in March of the following year. The first bodies of the Czechoslovak foreign resistance in the West began to be formed at the end of 1915 (14 November, the *Czech Committee Abroad*), while the *Czech (Czechoslovak) National Council* was established in Paris in February 1916. The *Czech Association* and *National Committee* were established on home soil. In Russia, the Russian government approved the formation of the *Czechoslovak National Council in Russia* at the end of January 1917, with the *Branch of the Czechoslovak National Council in Russia* in Kiev being formed six months later. The domestic resistance initially took a predominantly activist approach, and did not take more emphatic action until 1917 with the publication on 17 May of the signing of a *Manifesto of Writers* by 222 Czech writers and cultural figures. The *Branch of the Czechoslovak National Council in Rome* became the supreme body of the resistance in Italy in October of the same year. These organisations were joined at the beginning of 1918 by the *Three Kings Declaration*, a declaration by members of the general assembly in the Municipal House in Prague, and April's *National Oath*. Following agreement between the Czech political parties, the dysfunctional National Committee was reorganised in the middle of July as the new supreme body of the domestic resistance the *National Czechoslovak Committee*. Its task was to prepare for the assumption of power, to draw up new laws and to organise the future state administration. The leadership of the foreign resistance coordinated its steps with the situation on the front lines where the imminent end of the war was expected. On October 14, 1918, Beneš

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<sup>20</sup> *Prohlášení nezávislosti československého národa zatímní vládou československou* (1998) (*Declaration of the Independence of the Czechoslovak Nation by the Provisional Czechoslovak Government*). Praha, pp. 9–25.

notified the Entente states of the constitution of a provisional Czechoslovak government headed by a president, prime minister and minister of finance (in the person of T. G. Masaryk), a foreign minister (E. Beneš) and a minister of war (M. R. Štefánik). This provisional government subsequently received diplomatic recognition from a number of countries (France, Great Britain, Serbia, Italy, Cuba, the U.S.A. and Belgium). Fourteen days later (October 28, 1918) the date that we are now celebrating in connection with the number “100” appeared on the calendar. Prague and central Bohemia were followed a day later by most of Moravia, and on 30 October a declarative assembly of Slovak political representatives took place in Turčiansky Svätý Martin, elected a Slovak National Council and adopted a *Declaration of the Slovak Nation* (the Martin Declaration) which declared for the Slovak nation, referred to as “part of the linguistically, culturally and historically united Czecho-Slovak nation”, the right of self-determination and independence within a joint Czechoslovak state.<sup>21</sup>

This concluding state-forming finale at the end of October demonstrated the extraordinary harmony of the entire Czecho-Slovak resistance at the end of the war with broader international and global events and its complete satisfaction. Both these triumphal October days took place in such close and rapid succession that they were essentially both independent and, at the same time, absolutely identical.

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<sup>21</sup> Čapka, F. (2010). *Dějiny zemí Koruny české v datech* (The History of the Lands of the Czech Crown in Dates). Praha, pp. 594–621.

## The Roads to Independence of the Female Students of Private Schools in Warsaw

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*The end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the Kingdom of Poland was a crucial period for the construction of Polish schooling and the fight for its survival. Russian authorities would attempt to limit the number of schools and their Polish character. A uniquely important role was played by schools for girls which, in their reply to the Russian indoctrination process, set as their aim the preparation of the young generation of women for independence and life in liberated Poland. The path to the realisation of this aim was through a double-track education process: simultaneously with official education the system of secret education and upbringing was organised. Thanks to this schools, in the conditions of enslavement, were able to disseminate national education and culture, form patriotic attitudes in their student, teach them to be responsible, and outline their future roles in the free fatherland.*

Key words: *Kingdom of Poland; private schooling for girls; Russian indoctrination; patriotic upbringing; independence*

The turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the lands of the Russian Partition of Poland (The Kingdom of Poland) was a crucial period in the construction of Polish schooling and its struggle to survive. The Russian authorities would attempt to limit the number of schools and their Polish character through, among others, introducing Russian as the language of instruction as well as eliminating Polish geography, history, and literature from the curriculum, which happened after the failure of the January Uprising. In the case of the newly established private secondary schools they were denied the rights enjoyed by (Russian) state schools, and, as a result, they did not receive financing. They were to rely exclusively on fees and donations. While it is true that they did enjoy a certain level of freedom in developing their curricula, selection of course books, the methods of education, and internal structure, the Russian school authorities placed particular focus on adjusting their teaching programmes to the curricula of government schools and they would carry out meticulous auditing in this regard.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Staszyński E. (1968). *Polityka oświatowa caratu w Królestwie Polskim: od powstania styczniowego do I wojny światowej* [The educational policy of the Tsarist government in the Kingdom of Poland: from the January Uprising to World War I]. Warszawa: PZWN, pp. 227, 234.



During the 1905–07 revolution the fight for national education subordinate to Polish society commenced.<sup>2</sup> One of the expressions of this fight was the school strike of 1905 and the decisive stance which the society expressed in mass street demonstrations. It was then that the address to the public was issued. It called for establishing “liberated schools”, and clearly defined the course of action: “[...] Let every home, almost every flat, become a school.”<sup>3</sup>

After the school strikes the process of Russian indoctrination in the Kingdom of Poland was weakened and the Tsarist government was forced to make certain concessions. A decree of April 17, 1905 allowed the Catholic Church to conduct religion classes in Polish in all schools, among others. A further decree of October 15 made it possible for private schools to organise the teaching of all the subjects in Polish, apart from Russian classes, geography, general history and Russian history, which were to still be taught in Russian. Especially the October act had a major impact on the development of private secondary schools for girls in the Kingdom of Poland.<sup>4</sup>

However, in 1908 the theretofore course of liberalisation was altered. In Polish schools a regulation was issued ordering changes in the teaching staff so that “Russian subjects” were to be taught by native Russians exclusively.<sup>5</sup> Since 1910 Russian was the language of instruction in literature, and with the beginning of 1912 it was made obligatory to have coursebooks accepted by educational authorities.<sup>6</sup> In spite of these strict regulations in most of the private schools teachers remained Polish, and they would teach in Polish using banned coursebooks, which led to the closing of schools and severe punishments.

In these circumstances it was the task of private schools for girls to introduce modern curricula, to take care of the moral improvement of the students, and to conduct the so-called national pedagogics aimed to lead to a national rebirth of the society<sup>7</sup> and to prepare the young generation for independence and life in

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<sup>2</sup> As early as January 1905 the Association of Educators, an organisation of radical pedagogues, held a rally during which they proposed the postulates to establish Polish schools with Polish as language of instruction and the freedom to found secondary schools: Kiepurka H. (1974). *Warszawa w rewolucji 1905–1907* [Warsaw during the revolution of 1905–07]. Warszawa, Wiedza Powszechna, p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> Kmiecik Z. (1961). *Postępowa myśl oświatowa w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1905–1914 (wybór materiałów)* [Progressive educational thought in the Kingdom of Poland (selection of sources)]. Warszawa, PZWS, p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> Miąso J. (date of publication missing). *Wybrane prace z historii wychowania XIX–XX w* [Selected works from the history of upbringing 19<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century]. Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Akademickie „Żak”, pp. 116–117.

<sup>5</sup> The decision was changed only with the decree of the Warsaw School District Authority of December 17, 1914.

<sup>6</sup> *Wychowanie w Domu i w Szkole* [1912] [Upbringing at home and school]. Vol. 1, p. 341.

<sup>7</sup> Wołoszyn S. (1964). *Dzieje wychowania i myśli pedagogicznej w zarysie* [Outline of the history of upbringing and pedagogical thought in Poland]. Warszawa, PWN, pp. 364–366, 389–390.

liberated Poland. A double-track organisation of the educational process was introduced to achieve these goals: the process was divided into the official and the secret part.<sup>8</sup> This was a response to indoctrination of the Russian educational policy, visible particularly in state schools, as well as to the deprivation of young people of their rights to have their own native language and to be brought up in respect to the values of the ages of Polish tradition.

In the years 1905–1915 in Warsaw there were 61 private secondary schools for girls with Polish as the language of instruction. These typically had 4 grades (with the lower secondary school curriculum) or they were schools of 6–7 grades, although girls could also study in two 8-grade trade schools. A number of these institutions were opened at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, some of them were closed after a time, others were reformed and still active in the Second Republic of Poland.<sup>9</sup> Each of them had its own specificity conditioned by the wealth of the parents and the social strata which the students came from, the level of teaching, the educational goals and aims defined by the school owners (typically also the principals/headmasters) as well as the accepted curricula, realised personally by the employed teaching staff. When selecting the school for their daughters the parents did not only have to take into account their finances, but also their expectations as to instruction and education.

The heretofore published monographs of schools for girls, with majority of them published before 1989, do not allow a realistic assessment of their work in regard to the formation of patriotic stances among the students. While it is true that their authors relate to archival documents and the memoirs of the students, however, it is clearly visible that they omit certain contents, overinterpret them, or oversimplify. This is confirmed by a contemporary query in the memoir literature used in the previously published monographs of the institutions, as well as in new, unpublished sources. Jolanta Niklewska's work entitled *Private secondary schools in Warsaw 1905–1959 (Prywatne szkoły średnie w Warszawie 1905–1915)*, published in 1987, may serve as an example. When referring to rich sources the author presents the schools against a background of various conditions. Nevertheless, when writing, e.g., about the postulate to include Polish history lessons in the official school curriculum, which was formulated by the youth who went on strike in 1905, she presents only one side of the argument, in coherence with the policy of correctness of the 1980s: "The expectations pertaining to these classes [in 1905] were limited to their having a role similar to that of Russian history classes in Russian schools. The latter were to convince students of the wisdom and the might

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<sup>8</sup> As part of the secret education illicit school subjects were taught (the subjects not included in the official school programme, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the list included sociology, physics, chemistry, some sections of biology) as well as the openly banned ones (Polish literature, history, geography).

<sup>9</sup> Niklewska J. (1987). *Prywatne szkoły średnie w Warszawie 1905–1915* [Private secondary schools in Warsaw 1905–1915]. Warszawa, PWN, pp. 250–256.

of its rulers, awakening an indiscriminate admiration for the contemporary structures of the state, and the Polish history lessons were to teach students about their heritage, awakening patriotic feelings and indiscriminate admiration for the Polish history and culture, which would set the Polish society apart from the alien occupants. [...] History lessons, therefore, were attributed with a charismatic function, and the lack of progress in this subject was perceived as indifference to the national cause.”<sup>10</sup> As a justification of her hypothesis Niklewska cites one of the students, told off by a teacher: “You don’t want to learn the history of Poland? – [...] Then you are a Chinese child, not a Pole!”<sup>11</sup> The author seems to “forget”, however, that the teaching of Polish history had a different aim than teaching Russian history and that in Polish private schools it was taught in completely different circumstances and conditions – it was a banned subject and it was taught illegally, which could be severely punished.

The way the author presents schools is also one-sided and formulaic, because she divides them into traditional, national, and progressive, creating a bipolar opposition between the traditional and the progressive institutions. The former were to be led by “accomplished and elderly superiors”, instilling in students formulaic moral rules on the basis of Catholicism. Obedience and discipline were expected of the students, and “proper behaviour” was understood superficially. As an example of a traditional institution the author presents the school for girls ran by Jadwiga Sikorska. In the progressive schools, in turn, the focus was placed away from moral rules (religion) in favour of an “internal truth”, which was to provide exclusive moral guidance for the youth. Individuality of ethical norms was accepted, and “knowledge, as well as the intellectual and civilizational level of an individual” were perceived as the source of morality. There was an atmosphere of trust, cordiality, and partnership due to innovative educational methods. The school run by Jadwiga Kowalczykówna and Jadwiga Jawurkówna, “the Jadwigas”, is presented as an example of a progressive institution.<sup>12</sup>

Niklewska applies a similar division to the contemporary teachers, identifying them with either the progressive or the national current. “The progressives” were characterised by high awareness and dedication to school reform as well as a pursuit of secularisation of schools (introducing ethics classes instead of religion lessons), and “the nationals” were represented by “elderly women of conservative worldview”, along with “more aggressive male colleagues from the circles close to National Democracy.”<sup>13</sup>

If and how, therefore, did the various types of schools for girls form the patriotic stances of their students? How did they prepare the young generation of

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp. 160–161.

<sup>11</sup> Gruszczyńska Z. (1959). *Czterdzieści lat w szkole. Wspomnienia uczennicy i nauczycielki* [Forty years at school. The memories of a student and a teacher]. Warszawa, PZWS, p. 48.

<sup>12</sup> Niklewska J. (1987), *op. cit.*, pp. 241–243.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., pp. 58–63.

women for life in independent Poland? Were the students aware of the importance of the subjects which were illegally taught in their schools?

One of the private educational institutions in Warsaw was the 7-grade school run by Jadwiga Kowalczykówna and Jadwiga Jawurkówna, established in 1903. It enjoyed great recognition among the so-called radical Polish intelligentsia.

From the very start of their education the girls were involved in the activities of the underground movement. After some subjects were removed from the curriculum to introduce more “Russian” ones (Russian language, geography, and general and Russian history), secret teaching of science commenced. Teachers with their didactic aids would enter and leave the classroom through a secret door. There were literature and general history classes conducted in Polish without permission, taught under the name “The history of nations and their cultures” (the subject in Russian had the telling title “The politics of states and the history of warfare”). The history and geography of Poland were taught as banned subjects. There were also Latin lessons and extracurricular history classes which were not permitted in schools for girls. After the school strike of 1905 additional classes were opened for the girls who were engaged in its organisation and thus not admitted into other schools.

In the case of illegal teaching a warning system was introduced, involving a bell signalling the approach of a Russian school inspector. This gave the teachers and the students time to take out handicraft works and put away maps and coursebooks, or even for the teacher who would teach without a permit to hide.<sup>14</sup>

The history of the school does not mention any of the students breaking the rules of the conspiracy. This is a proof of their maturity and responsibility, as well as the effectiveness of the work of the institution and the family homes. In the school the girls consciously joined in the initiative to help prisoners after 1905. They would help to carry parcels for the prisoners and they organised a collection of sugar under the slogan: “Instead of cookies and candies – sugar for the prisoners.”<sup>15</sup> It was one of the forms of their patriotic dedication under the supervision of the school.

With the establishment in the Kingdom of Poland of underground riflemen circles<sup>16</sup> some of the students of the “school of the Jadwigas” would join in in

<sup>14</sup> Brzostowska B. *Wspomnienia* [Memoirs], p. 18 [manuscript owned by the family].

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>16</sup> The Riflemen Association was founded in Lwów in 1910. Two years later District Headquarters were made subordinate to the Headquarters in Lwów; these included the Command of the Kingdom of Poland, whose riflemen organisations would function undercover. During World War I Polish Riflemen Teams were organised and in connection with the Riflemen Association they were combined, in 1914, into the Polish Military Organisation (Polska Organizacja Wojskowa – POW), constituting the armed force of J. Piłsudski’s legionnaires in the Russian-occupied Polish lands. In 1919 a Riflemen Association referring to the one from the years 1910–1914 was established: Lipiński W. (2016). *Walka zbrojna o niepodległość Polski 1905–1918* [Armed struggle for the independence of Poland 1905–1918]. Warszawa, Wydawnictwo LWT.

Warsaw. They would participate in lectures and trainings, complete paramedic and reconnaissance courses, preparing for the regaining of freedom. Frequently they were made to remain in concealment because they were being investigated by Russian political police.<sup>17</sup>

The founders of the school assumed that moral rebirth of the Polish society was to be achieved through moral improvement of the students at the school. It was believed to be indispensable for the future of Poland and would influence, first and foremost, the school environment. This approach brought substantial results: there was no cheating in class, because the girls perceived such behaviours as unhonourable, and in cases when the rules were broken fellow arbitration was conducted. The punishment consisting in placing the desk of the culprit sideways would stigmatise the wrongdoer.<sup>18</sup>

Although the school was deemed to be “progressive”, its prefect, doctor of theology and canon law, father Jan Mauersberger, enjoyed the status of an authority among the students. He was able to engage girls not only in problems of religion but also in social and national ones. Since 1912 he was a part of the scouts movement (as a member of the High Scouts Command, the commandant of the Polish Scouting and Guiding Association) he would educate them in traditional values and ideas of independence. He would form their religious and patriotic attitudes through, among others, captivating lectures on religious art, as well as the Holy Mass celebrated annually in the school chapel in the anniversary of the Constitution of May 3.<sup>19</sup>

The effective organisation and the didactic and educational success of the school for girls of “the Jadwigas” was mainly thanks to its founders. They were able to create a powerful bond between the students and to win their trust. This allowed the school to participate in underground activities, and its curriculum to prepare the students for new tasks in liberated Poland.

The private school for girls of Jadwiga Sikorska had an even longer tradition. The very idea of establishing a school in the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the Commission of National Education defined the directions of the educational work. What was essential, according to the tenets of positivism, was “learning, work, and responsibility.” Students were also instructed to “yearn for freedom and rebel against the occupying powers.”<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> The group included the student of the school, Bolesława Zienkiewiczówna. After the formation of the riflemen organisations she was a member of the first “six” of Riflemen Associations. She also established contact with the Riflemen Association in Kraków. She managed to avoid arrest by escaping through Moscow: Brzostowska, B., *op. cit.*, pp. 31–32.

<sup>18</sup> Brzostowska B., *op. cit.*, pp. 27–28.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 29–30.

<sup>20</sup> Kuźmiński B. (1982). *Pierwsza żeńska... szkoła im. Królowej Jadwigi w Warszawie* [The first Queen Jadwiga school for girls in Warsaw], Warszawa, PIW, pp. 12–13.

Sikorska's school was the state course of progymnasiums was opened in 1874, and previously it had functioned as a 4-grade institution. It was counted among the best secondary schools in Warsaw, during the 40 years of its work within the Russian empire, and well as in the interwar period. The school enjoyed vast popularity among Polish families even outside the borders of the Kingdom of Poland. The parents were not put off by the high fees, as well as the hostility of the Russian authorities. Similarly to the "Jadwigas' school" the institution was perceived as innovative, but its overall character was decisively more Catholic. In Sikorska's school students would speak Polish, although the official language was Russian. In 1906 the full curriculum of 7-grade gymnasiums for girls was introduced, although without the prerogatives of state schools. In this period, innovative subjects were introduced, such as civil law, social studies, propaedeutics of philosophy, human anatomy, and hygiene. The students were proficient in three foreign languages and educated in respect for the fatherland and labour.<sup>21</sup> The related activities included day trips to factories, listening to lectures, participation in field trips, and in the work of self-education circles and publishing a periodical with the telling title "The New Bell" at the school. These activities prepared the girls to function in the social life of future Poland and for the new roles which were to be played by women in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>22</sup>

Before the official beginning of the classes or after their end, often under the guise of handicraft classes or conversations about nature, in the older classes the banned subjects were taught – Polish history, literature, geography, and issues pertaining to Polish history and culture. Secret teaching was documented in an unofficial log, locked in the principal's desk. She would also, in her spare time, introduce the students to contemporary history by talking about January Uprising and its heroes such as Romuald Traugutt, whose family she had befriended.<sup>23</sup>

In 1917 grade 8 was introduced which allowed the students to take the baccalaureate exam and start higher education. On September 8, 1918, the principal officially transferred the school to the Polish authorities and the institution was transformed into Queen Jadwiga State Gymnasium for Girls with a neo-humanities profile. In the same year the banner of the school was funded with the money collected by the students and the teachers. On the banner one could see the white eagle on a red background alongside the positivist slogan: "In labour, knowledge, and brotherly love lies our future."<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Kędzierska H. (born Wróblewska), *Andzia* [memories of the graduate of the Sikorska school Anna Zienkiewiczówna], pp. 1–2 [manuscript in family archives]

<sup>22</sup> Women's emancipation was one of the symbols of the modernity of the Second Republic of Poland. On November 28, 1918, with the decree of the Head of the State on the electoral law the parliamentary elections in Poland became general. The voters and the candidates for both the houses of the parliament were not only to be men – women gained their electoral rights.

<sup>23</sup> Kuźmiński B. (1982), *op. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178, 230.

Since the opening of the school, for the following decades, the teachers employed there had unique impact on the young minds of the students. Among them were the contemporary and the future educational activists, pedagogues, members of the faculty and political elites – most of them teaching illegally: Jan Władysław Dawid, Stefania Sempołowska, Aniela Szycówna, or Jan Kucharzewski, a historian and the prime minister of the cabinet appointed on December 7, 1917, as well as Bronisław Chlebowski, a future professor of the history of Polish literature at the University of Warsaw and an editor of the *Geographical dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland*. A unique role was played at the school by the teachers who had been exiled to Siberia after the January Uprising, including Maria Ostromięcka, who in Tomsk became a teacher in a local gymnasium, which allowed her to later become a Russian teacher, Tadeusz Korzon, an outstanding researcher of Polish history, who after his return from exile in Orenburg would teach Polish history at illegal classes at the Sikorska school, or Aleksander Szumowski, also an exile from Orenburg, who would teach ancient languages and geography of Russia.<sup>25</sup>

At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the educational work of the school, especially its patriotic and national character, began to be inspired by Józef Piłsudski. From the establishment of the kernel of the Polish Legions in 1914 he was beginning to be perceived as the future leader who would lead the nation to a free Poland. In January 1917 he became a member of the Temporary State Council, and six months later with a single order he refused the Austrian-Hungarian and Germany the oath of allegiance of the Legions. Interned in Magdeburg, he became for Polish people a symbol of the fate of the entire nation, and his imprisonment boosted his popularity.

As early as 1915 the Legionnaires would celebrate Piłsudski name day.<sup>26</sup> However, the reach and the importance of these celebrations increased during the imprisonment in the Magdeburg fortress in 1918. Unexpectedly, the day of the patron saint Joseph mobilised numbers of Poles. Whole bags of letters and postcards with name day wishes were delivered to Magdeburg. On many of the postcards there were colourful illustrations with “scenes from Polish history or the imagined future of Poland.”<sup>27</sup> These proofs of remembrance were only given to the Marshall by the Germans after his release.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., pp. 57–78; Ostromięcka J. (2004). *Pamiętnik z lat 1862–1911* [Memoirs from the years 1862–1911]. Warszawa, Wydawnictwo DiG; *Polski Słownik Biograficzny (1968–1969)* [Polish biographical dictionary]. Warszawa, PAN. Vol. XIV, p. 178 [entry: Tadeusz Korzon]; *Polski Słownik Biograficzny (2013–2014)*, *op. cit.* Vol. XLIX, pp. 362–364 [entry: Aleksander Szumowski].

<sup>26</sup> *Imieniny Marszałka* [Name day of the Marshall]. Website of Polskie Radio SA: [www.polskieradio.pl](http://www.polskieradio.pl) [15. 04. 2018].

<sup>27</sup> *Z Piłsudskim w Rote Horn – Jako adiutant w twierdzy Magdeburg – wspomnienia K. Sosnkowskiego z lat 1917–1918* [With Piłsudski in Rote Horn – As an aide-de-camp in the Magdeburg fortress – Memories of K. Sosnkowski from the years 1917–1918]: [www.historiaposzukaj.pl](http://www.historiaposzukaj.pl) [Józef Piłsudski, a postcard with wishes for the marshal].

Among the wishes sent to Magdeburg were also postcards from the girl students of the Jadwiga Sikorska's school. Iza Moszczeńska-Rzepecka, a former student from the turn of the 1870s and 1880s who in August marched out alongside Piłsudski in the ranks of the First Cadre Company must have certainly played a role in this initiative.<sup>28</sup> What must have been crucial were the patriotic attitudes of the students who were brought up, at home and at school, in the spirit of national independence.

In the family archives of one of the students of the Sikorska<sup>29</sup> school there is a number of patriotic postcards sent by the girls to Madgeburg. It is difficult to establish the dates when they were written (most probably between the spring and the autumn of 1918), or to explain how and why they were preserved. One of the cards contains instructions for the students: "[...] Everyone is to write 2 identical ones. One of them is to be put into the mail box tomorrow, and the second one to me. I'm going to come after dinner at 3 PM, or later." At the address side there is the further part of the text: "Finally, you do not have to provide your address", and the information: "Here you have to write your address: regular students." On the addressee side one can read: "Komendantur Magdeburg. Herrn Brigadier Józef Piłsudski. Festung Magdeburg."

According to this template of a name day card for Piłsudski the student Maria Zienkiewiczówna wrote: "Dear Commandant! As a proof of our admiration for you, I send best wishes that you may return to the country and one again lead the soldiers fighting for the liberation of Poland, the Polish soldiers. M. Zienkiewiczówna. Warsaw 06. 03. 1918."

The text of one of the postcards with the painting of Włodzimierz Tetmajer entitled "The return home" refers to the title: "Return to us as soon as you can, glorious Polish soldier." The student is signed as "Compatriot."

The three following postcards were written for Christmas. They did not have a precise addressee, and there were no names of the senders. On the first one, with the printed wishes of "Merry Christmas", there is a uniformed soldier, with a Christmas tree branch and presents in his hands. The wishes of "Safe return to the fatherland, with admiration" are signed "Girl student."

The postcard titled "On the night of the Christmas Eve" was issued with the permit of the Warsaw War Censorship Office on October 30, 1914. It presents a soldier on a horse with a snow-covered forest in the background. The soldier turns towards a Christmas wafer lighted by a star with the wishes of "Happy New Year." The author of the card, signed Wanda J., is most probably Wanda

<sup>28</sup> Izabela Moszczeńska-Rzepecka (1864–1941), imprisoned repeatedly by the Tsarist authorities for working for national independence. She co-founded the secret education and teachers movement: Kuźmiński B. (1982), *op. cit.*, pp. 134–135.

<sup>29</sup> Maria Zienkiewicz (1901–1977).



Jankowska.<sup>30</sup> She writes to an unknown addressee: “Little Polish soldier! With the coming Christmas I’m sending you cordial wishes of all the best, and first and foremost that you may spend the future Christmas at home with your families. Honestly benevolent compatriot. Wanda J.”

One of the last Christmas cards is addressed “To a Polish soldier at the front.” On the postcard one can see a group of carol singers with a star, a violin, and sheet music, lighted by a Christmas tree. The wishes are written in ink by an unskilled hand and they take up the entire correspondence space: “Warsaw. Dear Polish Soldier! In the solemn day of the Eve of Christmas I’m sending you best wishes that you may return as soon as possible to your beloved fatherland. I break Christmas wafer with you, brave Polish soldier, which you can find between the postcards which I’m sending you, so that you can also write letters to your loved ones. P.S. My address is the Queen Jadwiga State gymnasium. Warsaw.” The author is signed in pencil – “A. Hulanicka, second grade.”<sup>31</sup>

In the family archives of the former student Maria Zienkiewiczówna one can also find a postcard sent by her classmate Jadwiga Ratomska to the Warsaw address: “Queen Jadwiga Gymnasium. For Grade 8.” One can see the stamp of the field post with the date November 25 (probably 1920) and the return address “10<sup>th</sup> Józef Piłsudski railroad battalion. J. Ratomska.” The postcard presents a graphic entitled “Commandant Józef Piłsudki in the trenches”, and Ratomska, writing to her classmates informs of her stay in Mołodeczno and the planned journey to Wilno.<sup>32</sup>

The girls from the private schools in the Kingdom of Poland were prepared for the regaining of independence by Poland. Their schools, regardless of their ideological character, would disseminate national education and culture in the conditions of enslavement, they would form patriotic attitudes, teach the students to be responsible and show them their future roles in the liberated fatherland. Many of the graduates in their struggle with the Russian occupier and after the twenty years of work for the Second Republic of Poland would fight against the Germans in 1939. After World War II they would oppose the Soviet occupation. On the foundation of their memory and their stance the free generation of “Solidarity” was formed.

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<sup>30</sup> The postcards come from the collection of the former student Maria Zienkiewiczówna, and Wanda Jankowska was her classmate: Kuźmiński B. (1982), *op. cit.*, p. 414.

<sup>31</sup> Anna Hulanicka, nickname “Ciuśka”, 1926 graduate of the gymnasium. In the years 1930–1939 she was a physical education teacher: Kuźmiński B. (1982), *op. cit.*, p. 198.

<sup>32</sup> Jadwiga Ratomska (1901–1982), a 1921 graduate of the school; future wife of Roman Rudkowski – commander of Squadron 303, a “Cichociemny” commando.

## **Poles and the European Migration Problem at the 100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Restoration of Polish National Independence**

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*Today, in the times of the immigration crisis which Europe is experiencing, a question arises as to whether Polish society is prepared to support the contemporary refugees. It is the aim of this paper to provide an answer to the question, as well as presenting Polish attitudes to accepting migrants in their country and an attempt to analyse the grounds of their convictions.*

Key words: *migrations; refugees; security*

Migrations, the movements of people, their peregrinations from one place to another are a process which has always accompanied mankind. They are one of the constant features of contemporary world in which dealing with the causes and consequences of migrations are becoming a challenge for the societies of numerous countries. This explains the focus of the attention of the representatives of particular scientific disciplines on the analysis of the roots of migrations, the process of the migrants' adaptation to new conditions, as well as the social, economic, and political consequences for the countries of destination.

A decision to emigrate is never an easy one, and the processes and events that are the grounds for such decisions are important and diverse. Analysis of the basis of migration make it possible to differentiate it according to the motives of the decision, dividing migrations into economic, social, political, and religious. Taking into account the freedom of decision migrations can be divided into voluntary and forced. The conditions of migrations influence their intensity (number of participants), their geographical direction, and their duration (permanent and temporary migrations).<sup>1</sup> Most of the contemporarily observed migrations occur on economic grounds (economic migrations), because their aim is to improve the migrants' material conditions (life conditions).<sup>2</sup> Political migrations are common, as well, and they occur when migrants seek protection from various forms of discrimination in their native countries, and when they are victims of civil wars, ethnic conflicts, and political turmoil. The boundary between them and economic migrations is fluent and it is difficult to be unambiguously defined, because

“political reasons are frequently powerfully connected with difficult material situation of the migrants who, when leaving their country, hope not only to increase their political freedom, but also to improve their level of life.”<sup>3</sup>

A crucial problem in the discussion on migrations are their consequences. What is taken into account in the undertaken analysis are the situation of the migrants and their families (stress, separation, loneliness) and the situation and the attitude of the societies of the destination countries.<sup>4</sup> For the latter, the otherness of the refugees, their religion, customs, traditions, language, and mentality may constitute a problem.<sup>5</sup> The otherness may lead to fears or even a sense of being in danger, which can justify the lack of acceptance of the “strangers” receiving help and support. The question gains particular importance in light of the migration crisis in Europe, which has been caused by a stream of refugees from war-torn countries outside of Europe and the limited capabilities of the destination countries to deal with them. The cultural differences (including religious ones) and the lack of acceptance of the differences in the behaviour, lifestyles, and the ways of manifesting needs and convictions of the arriving people encourage discussion over who ought to be granted help (asylum), and who ought not to be granted it (there is a clear tendency to label economic migrants non-refugees). At the same time, according to the references sources, “everyone who has been forced to leave their place of permanent residence as a result of political persecution, war, the will to improve their living conditions, natural disasters, economic breakdowns, and social and political changes” is to be considered a refugee.<sup>6</sup> International Human Rights Organisations state that “regardless of whether individuals are fleeing persecution, political violence, conflict, natural disasters, or poverty” they qualify as refugees.<sup>7</sup>

Many times in their history Poles have been refugees. The motives of the decisions to migrate (selection of the country of destination) would change in

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<sup>1</sup> Dziubacka K. (2010). Work as a value in the experience balance. *Czech – Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*. Brno, pp. 79–91.

<sup>2</sup> Pilch A. (ed.) (1984). *Emigracja z ziem polskich w czasach nowożytnych i najnowszych (XVIII–XX w.)* [Emigration from Polish lands in modern and contemporary times (17<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> century)]. Warszawa, PWN.

<sup>3</sup> Korczyńska J. (2003). Sezonowe wyjazdy zarobkowe Polaków do Niemiec [Polish seasonal travels to Germany for earning purposes]. Warszawa, Scholar, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Danilewicz W. (2007). Społeczne konsekwencje migracji zagranicznych [Social consequences of migrations abroad] *Migracja. Uchodźstwo. Wielokulturowość. Zderzenie kultur we współczesnym świecie* [Migration. Refugees. Multiculturality. A clash of cultures in the contemporary world]. Warszawa “Żak”, pp. 152–166.

<sup>5</sup> Jeznach A. M. (2007). Świat „innego”, świat „obcego” – świat uchodźcy [The world of the “other”, the world of the “stranger”]. *Migracja. Uchodźstwo ...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 122–126.

<sup>6</sup> Oleksiewicz I. *Uchodźcy w Unii Europejskiej – aspekty prawne i polityczne* [Refugees in the European Union – legal and political aspects]. Bydgoszcz – Rzeszów, p. 31.

<sup>7</sup> *Uchodźcy świata* (1998). [Refugees of the world]. Warsaw, PWN, p. 35.

connection with the character of the push factors. One ought to note that the migrations in the times of the Partitions of Poland (17<sup>th</sup> century) were motivated by political persecution, and those in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were of a typically economic character (the poorer members of the Polish society migrating “for bread”).<sup>8</sup> The years of the Nazi occupation (1939–1944) were a period of forced migration (e.g. for forced labour in Germany). It was strictly connected with the course of the war. In the 1960s it were mostly Poles with Jewish roots who migrated. The decisions of the 1980s were formed by both economic (travelling to find work) and political factors (e.g. repressions against the anti-communist opposition).<sup>9</sup> To confirm the coexistence of these two types of motivation, R. Habielski stated: “While the declared motive of the decisions to leave the country after the introduction of the martial law was the political situation in Poland, the *de facto* motives for migration were frequently of a mixed economic and political character. For many Poles, especially young people, the decision to emigrate had a significant economic basis. The economic crisis of the turn of the 1970s and the 1980s led to a substantial deterioration of the living conditions of numerous Polish families.”<sup>10</sup> The Polish accession to the European Union at the onset of the 21<sup>st</sup> century and the opening of the borders after signing the Schengen Treaty marked the beginning of the period of the free crossing of borders which lasts until today; people do not need visas to reside in EU countries, and they can also look for employment there. The changing face of Poland, with the rising parameters of the living standard, democratisation, and political stability, make it, along with other EU member states, one of the potential destinations of the journey of those individuals who have been forced to emigrate. However, are Poles and Poland ready to accept them? The accuracy of the thesis confirming the above question results from the earlier reflections and it is related to Polish memory: it is expected of those who remember their own history and the help which they have received to “pay back” the debt incurred throughout generations. The basis of the second premise is the proverbial Polish hospitality which has been confirmed by the numerous instances when political, religious, and economic refugees<sup>11</sup> needed help in the past. What follows is the Christian faith, to which the majority of Poles declaratively belong, which teaches an open and natural readiness to help all those in need. The accuracy of the conviction presented here has been undermined by the negative stance of the Polish

<sup>8</sup> Thomas W. I. – Znaniński F. (1976). *Chłop polski w Europie i Ameryce* [The Polish peasant in Europe and in America]. Warsaw, LSW.

<sup>9</sup> Korczyńska J. (2003). *Sezonowe wyjazdy zarobkowe Polaków do Niemiec*. Warszawa, pp. 34ff; Danilewicz W., *Społeczne konsekwencje ... op. cit.*, p. 153.

<sup>10</sup> Habielski R. (1995). *Emigracja* [Emigration]. Warsaw.

<sup>11</sup> <https://wiadomości.onet.pl/tylkowonecie/przyjelismy-14-tysiecy-greckich-uchodzcow-dzisiaj-potomek-mowi-polacy-nie-ucza-sie-z/tyqzb1z>

government on the relocation of refugees to Poland,<sup>12</sup> as well as the divided opinions of the Polish society.<sup>13</sup> This fact does not, however, allow one to cease to search for the answer to the question formulated above; it also dictates the need to broaden the area of investigation to look into the conditioning of the manifested convictions and attitudes. I tend to support the thesis that they are determined not only by the parameters of social capital but also the sense of security (vs. danger), which in the face of a territorial proximity of “strangers”/“others” may be weakened (or reinforced). When focusing on the “sense of security”, and thus making this sense the basis for the analysis in the empirical part of the present reflections, we need to point to reference sources, in which this sense is typically defined as the “lack of dangers.” Two aspects are defined: objective (real danger) and subjective (the sense of being in danger). The former includes real threats and is subject to rational judgement, whereas the latter focuses on psychological reception. People’s “sense of security” is typically connected with such areas of their functioning as the natural environment, the economy, the labour market, social life, politics, as well as conditions “in which the society may preserve and nurture the values decisive in their identity (ideals, spiritual values), which are directly linked to cultural security, and a certain way of life / lifestyle.”<sup>14</sup> Does then, indeed, conviction that the quality of the functioning of Polish people in certain aspects of their lives will decrease lie at the basis of their lack of willingness to accept refugees in their country? The answers to the formulated questions and doubts will be sought through author’s own research, conducted at the turn of 2017 and 2018.<sup>15</sup> They are a part of a larger project pertaining to the living conditions of Poles and the factors decisive in the attractiveness of places of residence. Sense of security was mentioned as one of the factors determining the above. The method organizing the course of the research was a diagnostic survey, and the tool was a questionnaire including 54 open- and closed-ended questions. The surveyed included residents of rural and urban areas: women and men over 25 years of age who are financially independent. The interviewees were a group of

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<sup>12</sup> Stolarczyk M. (2017). Stanowisko Polski wobec kryzysu migracyjno-uchodźczego Unii Europejskiej [Polish stance on the migration and refugee crisis]. *Krakowskie Studia Międzynarodowe* 2017/2, pp. 15–41 file:///c:/Users/Krystyna/Downloads/ksm\_2017\_2\_01\_Stolarczyk.pdf (retrieved: 03. 01. 2019).

<sup>13</sup> In May 2016 55% of Poles were opposed to accepting refugees: See: Public Opinion Research Centre. Research report No. 79/2016, source: [https://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.Pol/2016/K\\_079\\_16.PDF](https://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.Pol/2016/K_079_16.PDF) (06. 01. 2019).

<sup>14</sup> Michałowska G. (1997). Bezpieczeństwo kulturowe, w warunkach globalizacji procesów społecznych [Cultural security in the conditions of the globalisation of social processes]. Bobrow D. B. – Haliżak E. – Zięba R. (eds.), *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe i międzynarodowe u schyłku XX w.* [National and international security at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century]. Kraków Scholar, p. 132.

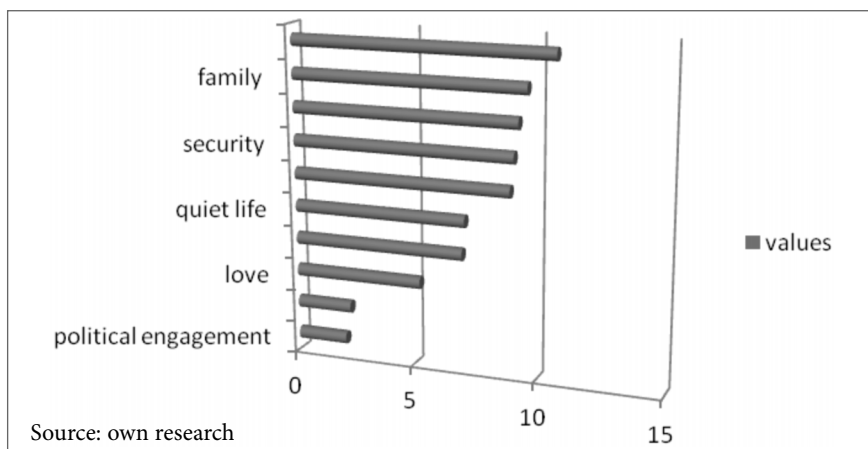
<sup>15</sup> Own research conducted as part of the statute donation to maintain research potential.

volunteer university students who had taken part in a few hours of training prior to the research. With their help, empirical material in the form of 2,986 questionnaires was collected in the course of four months. The collected data underwent statistical analysis. What was crucial to the entirety of the project was the layout of the particular variables and the relationships between them. Because of the limitations arising from the assumed scheme of the current study and its subject matter, some of the variables are not taken into account. The results cannot be treated as representative, nevertheless, they constitute a cognitively value source of knowledge.

We shall begin this part of the paper with a presentation of the features of the sociodemographic location of the participants of the study. That is done because of the role which is assigned to the particular features in conditioning the manifested convictions, attitudes, individual assessments of the observed phenomena and the mentioned problems. The researched was focused on the representatives of both genders, with women constituting 54.3% of the participants. The youngest participant was 25 years old, and the oldest 80. All were of Polish nationality and the prevailing majority were Christian. 38.8% resided in rural areas, and 27.3% in small cities. 19.58% resided in medium-size cities, and 14.3% in large cities. Analyses of the marital status have shown that married persons constituted 60.7% of the research participants, and persons in informal relationships made up 14.4%. 15.6% declared that they were single, 4.6% – widows and widowers, and 4.7% – divorced. The respondents' levels of education also varied: the most highly represented group was that of persons with higher education (Bachelor's and Master's degree) – 40.1%, and the least highly represented group was that of persons with primary education (or incomplete primary education) – 2.6%. Among the research participants 84.8% were in employment. 8.4% were retired or unemployed because of health reasons, 6.4% were unemployed, and 1.6% had never been employed. It ought to be added that in the assessments of living conditions (the economic aspect) 65.6% of the respondents declared that they were good, and 22.6% that they were very good. 11.3% were unsatisfied with their living conditions, with 0.3% assessing them as very bad. 59.6% assessed their present as better than their past, 30.2% did not notice any changes, and 10.1% stated that their situation now is worse than in the past. The future, when taking into account conditions of economic, political, and social nature, was considered by 48.1% participants as better than the present, in the opinion of 15% it was to remain the same, and 3.2% "predicted" that it would be worse. One-third of the participants of the study (33.5%) expressed a conviction that "you cannot know what to expect in the future." Let us also consider the sense of security, as conditioned by the administrative features of the place of residence. To the question on where it is safer to live, 23.2% replied that it was in rural areas, 38% indicated cities, and 38.8% of the research subjects perceived administrative divisions as irrelevant to the matter.

When analysing the basis of the system of values formed by the respondents it ought to be noticed that in principle it is consistent with the results of the studies published in reference sources by other Polish researchers and it is based on such values as health, family, and work.<sup>16</sup> The high ranking position of “security” is an exception.

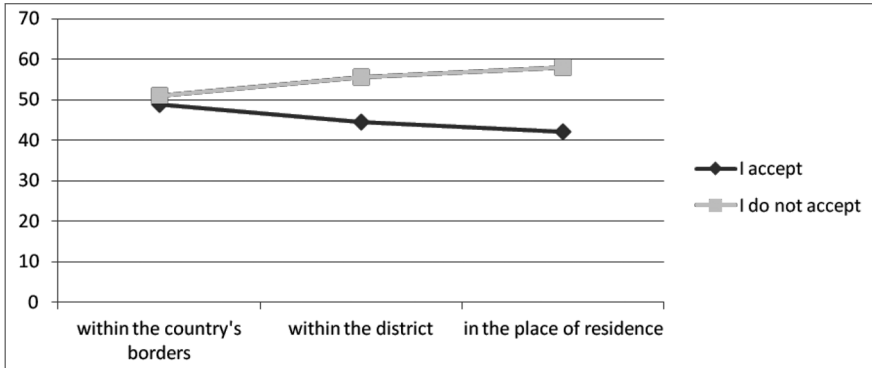
Graph 1. The system of values of the research participants.



When focusing on the attitudes towards refugees (migrants) within the country borders, it ought to be stated that the results of own research confirm their consistence with the available results of the polls pertaining to this subject. Let us, therefore, note that 51.1% of the respondents present a negative attitude to the project of the relocation of refugees to within Polish borders, with 48.8% accepting the idea. Let us add that the character of the declarations would change depending on the potential location of the refugees: the closer they were to be located to the place of residence of the respondent, the fewer respondents expressed their acceptance. This situation is presented in the graph below.

<sup>16</sup> Falkowska M. – Lewandowska J. – Wciórka B. – Wenzel M. (2005). System wartości materialnych i niematerialnych [System of material and immaterial values]. *Polska. Europa. Świat. Opinia Publiczna w okresie integracji* [Poland. Europe. The world. Public opinion in the period of integration]. Warsaw, Scholar.

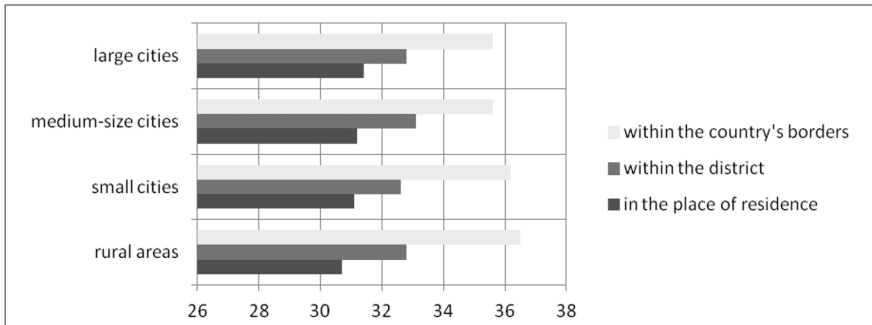
Graph 2. Acceptance of the presence of refugees in Poland.



Source: own research

When broadening the area of the undertaken analysis let us also note that a tendency (statistically insignificant) was observed of a correlation of the acceptance (of the lack thereof) with the place of residence of the respondents.

Graph 3. The level of the acceptance of the presence of refugees in Poland as conditioned by the place of residence of the respondents.



Source: own research

It has been shown, therefore, that with a low level of the acceptance of the presence of refugees in Poland the inhabitants of large cities are more frequently ready to welcome them in their place of residence than the inhabitants of smaller administrative units. The residents of rural areas, in turn, declare a slightly higher acceptance of the potential presence of refugees in their country, with a lower acceptance of such presence in the vicinity of their place of residence.



Consistently with the assumptions of the present study, in the analysis of the factors determining the declarations we make the attempt to answer the question as to the connection between them and the sense of security. Attributing significance to the above results from a high ranking position of “security”, which has been proven by the presented hierarchy of values, constructed on the basis of the individual preferences of the research participants. The high position of this value can be explained by recalling the “deficit hypothesis”, according to which we value the highest that which we lack, or that which is threatened. When a given value becomes a deficient article, or changes its instrumental character, its significance also decreases.<sup>17</sup> Qualitative analysis of empirical material made it possible to define three areas in which these fears were typically located. They include: personal security, cultural security, and economic security. Selected justifications of the negative attitudes of the respondents have been placed in the table below.

Table 1. The defined areas of danger.

<b>Personal security</b>	<b>Cultural security</b>	<b>Economic security</b>
<i>“I think it might be dangerous.”</i>	<i>“They don’t want to assimilate.”</i>	<i>“We can’t afford to accept migrants. There isn’t enough work for Poles.”</i>
<i>“You can hear about what they’re doing in the world. I wouldn’t want them to live nearby.”</i>	<i>“They should live in their own countries, their own motherlands, their own religion.”</i>	<i>“They are too costly for the country’s budget”</i>
<i>“I’m simply scared.”</i>	<i>“Too many things divide us. I want to live with Poles and among Poles.”</i>	<i>“And we’ll have to compete with them for jobs? It’s hard already, how hard is it going to be when they arrive?”</i>

Source: own research. Only the statements received in direct contact with the respondents have been included.

<sup>17</sup> Czapiński J. *Diagnoza Społeczna 2007. Warunki i jakość życia Polaków* [Social diagnosis 2007. The living conditions and the quality of life of Poles], p. 193.

Statements of the respondents referring to the functioning in the selected areas of life have also been made by those who expressed understanding of the necessity to accept migrants (personal and economic security, cultural security more rarely). The following arguments were made: "They work and they support the country's budget", "They can be here as long as they work and provide for themselves", "I don't see them as harmful", "I accept helping the migrants, but I'm worried about my family when I see what's going on in France and in Germany", "They are human and they need help", "They aren't a problem to me. Poles are also migrants in other countries", "If something bad was going on in my country I'd also like to have somewhere to run to", and "Poles also used to need help in the past."

At the end let us note that among the arguments there were also those of xenophobic and racist character: "I don't tolerate strangers. They have their own countries, let them stay there", "I don't tolerate different skin colours", "Depends who, but not blacks or Muslims." The problem of xenophobia in Poland is discussed by prof Czapiński who formulated the thesis (which has been confirmed by the work of his research team) that the percentage of persons with xenophobic attitudes is rising: from 26.8% in 2009 to 32.3% in 2015.<sup>18</sup> The connection between xenophobia and the sense of security (vs danger) is quite clear, because we fear that which we do not know, which is "strange", which is "different." That is why the arrival of the "other", as many are convinced, may constitute a threat to national stability, the achieved living standard, or the sense of security, in a broad understanding of the term.

The idea of the present paper was to attempt to contribute to the discussion around the migration crisis in western Europe while at the same time presenting the attitudes of the Polish society towards a potential relocation of some of the refugees to within the Polish borders. The analysis carried out on the basis of own research not only confirmed the consistence of the stance of the research participants with the results of the polls conducted by Public Opinion Research Centre (in May 2016 55.6% of Poles opposed the relocation of refugees to Poland), but they have also made it possible to confirm the role of the "sense of security" as a significant factor (not the only one) determining the character of the declarations provided. As a result of the analysis three areas of the everyday functioning of the research participants were defined as reference points. Therefore, in the areas of personal, economic, and cultural security an individual analysis of all the voices "for" and "against" was conducted. Let us refer also to the living standard and quality of life declarations of the respondents. Their parameters predestine, as it seems, to the preparedness to provide help and to the openness to the initiative to support the needy. On the other hand, however, the cost which is borne on the path to reach a certain status may facilitate fears

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid, p. 351.

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connected with losing it as a consequence of the arrival of “strangers.” The accuracy of the above is supported by the predictions about one’s future. Although optimistic convictions were prevalent (48.1%), there was also a group of 33.5% who were concerned and thus expressed the thought that “I don’t know what to expect in the near future.” Time will show whether the arguments made on the basis of the results of our research were justified.

## **Patriotic Upbringing of Women According to the Idea of the Blessed Marcelina Darowska as Preparation for the Fight for the Independence of the Republic of Poland**

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*From the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the educational system in Polish lands became a method of fighting for independence and preparation for life in free fatherland. Patriotic and civic upbringing would also include girls who, as wives, mothers, guardians of the homes, and social activists were to be responsible for the future of Poland. One of the educational systems aimed to form wise, reliable, honest, sensible, realistic Polish Christian women, capable of making sacrifices for the good of the fatherland, was developed and implemented by Blessed Mother Marcelina Darowska, founder of the Congregation of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. The institution for girls established in Jazłowiec became a model not only for the institutions subsequently founded by the Congregation, but also to the entirety of the Polish society. It became a great example of responsible education and preparation of Polish women for independence.*

*Key words: upbringing of girls; patriotic and civic upbringing; fight for Polish independence; Blessed Marcelina Darowska; Congregation of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary*

During the era of the Partitions of Poland the Polish society would constantly struggle to regain independence. The ways were numerous and not limited to battlefields and firearms. What the struggle consisted in was also the formation of civic, patriotic, and national attitudes, which was achieved through, among others, literature, art – paintings, music, songs, etc. One of the most effective methods leading to the regaining of independence was certainly upbringing, because it was thanks to it that national awareness and pride were formed, which would give one the strength to pursue liberation. Upbringing work was aimed to consciously form the young generations of Poles and to prepare them to live in free Poland. Girls were increasingly frequently included in these efforts, because it was they who, as mothers, wives, and grandmothers, would constitute the pillar of upbringing at home. It was required of them, in spite of their limited civil rights, to be aware, to

have a consistent worldview, and moral stance. One of the ideas of the upbringing of girls was created and implemented by the Blessed Mother Marcelina Darowska (1827–1911), a co-founder of the Congregation of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary (Zgromadzenie Sióstr Niepokalanego Poczęcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny, hence informally termed “niepokalanki” in Polish), and a founder of educational institutions for girls.

Anna Darowska had a long way to go to overcome the obstacles which prevented her from joining a monastery and taking the eternal vows. As a very young woman who had lost her husband and a little son she had to manage the family estate and the upbringing of her underage daughter, as well as provide for her and secure her future; she would also face strong opposition from her family who would disapprove of her choice to devote the rest of her life to God. Eventually she publicly took the eternal vows as late as 1861, assuming also supervision of the congregation which, according to the original ideas of its founders, Father Hieronim Kajsiewicz, Mother Józefa Karska, and Marcelina Darowska, was to not only serve the Church, but also Poland. The monastery life of Darowska was constantly accompanied by her conviction that “Poland will exist, but only when the society is reborn, and for this happen it is required that family be based on God. And the family shall be as the woman is.”<sup>1</sup>

In the attempt to form Polish women and their families she decided that the congregation founded in Rome need not function abroad but rather in the Polish lands, which is why Jazłowiec, a small town in the Austrian-occupied region, in Podole in Galitia, was assumed as the permanent seat of the Sisters in 1863. The congregation acquired a beautifully located yet severely devastated palace of the Koniecpolski family, constructed in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup>

Love of the fatherland, as M. Darowska recalled, was a feeling which used to accompany her since her earliest childhood.<sup>3</sup> She was greatly affected by the fall of Poland: “The Polish problem is like a stone unto my heart, (...) never for a single

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<sup>1</sup> Sister Mother Ewa of God's Grace (2009). *Nauczycielka życia. W hołdzie wdzięczności bł. Matce Marcelinie Darowskiej* [A teacher of life. In a tribute of gratitude to the Blessed Mother Marcelina Darowska], Szymanów, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> The property, along with the town, was occupied by the Turks in 1672. Impoverished and destroyed, it was liberated by the armies of the king John III Sobieski, and since 1747 the prince Stanisław Poniatowski, father of the king Stanisław August Poniatowski, was its owner. The new owner enlarged the palace, placed the coats of arms of the Poniatowski family (“Ciołek”) and the Czartoryski family (“Pogoń”) at the front, and from the side of the park placed the slogan “HONESTUS RUMOR ALTERUM EST PATRIMONIUM” – “Good fame is second heritage.” The last owner (half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century), baron Krzysztof Błażejowski, would only use the place occasionally (balls, hunting), leading to its even greater ruin and neglect. *Jazłowiec i jego dzieje* [Jazłowiec and its history] compiled by the Sister Mother Anuncjata of the Holy Trinity, <http://www.niepokalanki.pl/old/index.php?op=sanktuaria&pop=0301>.

<sup>3</sup> Sister Mother Ewa of God's Grace (2009), *op. cit.*, p. 4.

moment do I cease to suffer the wounds of this Country.”<sup>4</sup> She understood fatherland through the perspective of space as well as the people whom she would seek to help. Loving the country, she would also try to work as best as she could on the farm, first by the side of her father Jana Kotowicz, and then by her husband Karol Darowski.<sup>5</sup>

As the superior of the congregation she would make sure that the sisters believed that it was their calling to not only serve God and the Church, but also to work for the good of Poland, which was to regain its independence in the future thanks to their sisters stance, dedication, and bringing girls up to be good mothers and wives, serving the Church and the fatherland, and be open to the needs of the society.<sup>6</sup> In order to achieve this aim girls needed to be treated, from their earliest age, as intelligent women, “able to express independent, well-thought-out views, to form their families and environments in the spirit of Christian values.”<sup>7</sup>

Among the traits which she would value the highest in women and which she would instil in her subordinates were the purity of heart and mind, faithfulness, studiousness, clear thinking, realistic approach to the world, resourcefulness, sensibility, and readiness to make sacrifices.<sup>8</sup> Such mothers and wives, according to Darowska, Poland needed to escape the enslavement of the occupants and to rebuild its independence.

The most effective way of the education of Polish Christian women was the education and upbringing programme introduced in the institution in Jazłowiec. The pillar of the programme was the teaching of religion, the mother tongue, and history. M. Darowska would value greatly the teaching of Polish which, as she claimed, was the mirror of the soul and the character of the Polish nation, as well as an expression of God’s will.<sup>9</sup> She attached enormous importance to the level and the quality of the mother tongue. If this issue was neglected, she stated, one’s ability to take action was decreased, because words inspired action and expressed feelings, which is why taking care of the native language was completely justified.<sup>10</sup> The teaching of the mother tongue was a fundamental task not only for the school,

<sup>4</sup> *Zawsze będę z wami. Myśli i modlitwy Błogosławionej Matki Marceliny Darowskiej* [I will always be with you. The thoughts and prayers of the Blessed Mother Marcelina Darowska], compiled by Sister Grażyna of the Intercession of the Mother of God, Kosyra – Cieślak A., Szymczak R. (2008), Szymanów, p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> Even tough in her youth she desired to bind her life to God, she followed the will of her father, got married, and had two children. Her family happiness was put to an end only three years later, when she became a widow, left with little children and the estate which she was alone to manage. Sister Mother Ewa of God’s Grace (2009), *op. cit.*, pp. 6–7.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>8</sup> *Zawsze będę z wami...* (2008), *op. cit.*, p. 53.

<sup>9</sup> Sister Grażyna of the Intercession of the Mother of the Holiest Virgin Mary (1997). *Wychowanie to dzieło miłości. System pedagogiczny bł. Marceliny Darowskiej* [Upbringing is a work of love. The pedagogical system of the Blessed Marcelina Darowska], Szymanów, p. 92.

<sup>10</sup> *Zawsze będę z wami...* (2008), *op. cit.*, p. 55.

but the family as well, because the family was the environment in which children could be in touch with correct, beautiful Polish, and learn to respect the language. It was, therefore, required that care be taken to keep the language pure, to eliminate foreign borrowings, and to make certain that prayers at home were always said in Polish. Darowska believed that speaking Polish was particularly important in contacts with children.<sup>11</sup> She would emphasise that through beautiful language children automatically learn to know and love all that which is Polish. Because of this special approach to the teaching of Polish the learning of this language enjoyed a position of importance in the curricula of the schools ran by the Sisters second only to religion classes.

This did not imply that teaching foreign languages was neglected. It was underlined, nevertheless, that foreign languages ought never to replace the mother tongue in situations of communication. Darowska would warn that while learning foreign languages one should not use them at home in order not to create an alien environment around children, which could impede the formation of their national identities.<sup>12</sup>

In the formation of national identities and patriotic stances one of the most important roles was played, according to Darowska, by female history teachers.<sup>13</sup> She would address the past with respect, being fully aware of the integrity of the work of subsequent generations.<sup>14</sup> What happened in the past could not be changed, but it could be learned from and the mistakes made by one's ancestors could be corrected. The essential task of history teachers was, therefore, not to only to teach about the facts and events, but also to present their causes, specifics, and importance, so that the students were able to evaluate, judge, and differentiate between good and evil. The past of a nation can be evaluated, but it cannot be rejected, because it cannot be altered. It is possible and it is recommended to draw conclusions for a better future. It is worth it to use national history to show young people that which is beautiful and make them aware of the public responsibility for the fate of the country.<sup>15</sup>

Regardless of the history lessons, in the teachings addressed to the students they were made aware of the tragic situation of the country, awakening, at the same time, their hope in the freedom from enslavement and victory.<sup>16</sup> She would emphasise at the same time that although Poland could not be found on the maps

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<sup>11</sup> Sister Grażyna of the Intercession of the Mother of the Holiest Virgin Mary (1997), *op. cit.*, pp. 84–85.

<sup>12</sup> *Zawsze będę z wami...* (2008), *op. cit.*, pp. 55–58.

<sup>13</sup> Sister Grażyna of the Intercession of the Mother of the Holiest Virgin Mary (1997), *op. cit.*, p. 92

<sup>14</sup> *Zawsze będę z wami...* (2008), *op. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>15</sup> Sister Grażyna of the Intercession of the Mother of the Holiest Virgin Mary (1997), *op. cit.*, p. 93

<sup>16</sup> Blessed Mother Marcelina Darowska (2003), *Cztery pogadanki rekolekcyjne 1904 rok* [Four retreatal conversations for 1904], Szymanów, p. 18.

of Europe God did not allow the world to forget about it, thanks to great Poles achieving international success in various branches of science, in literature, art, defence of the Church, etc. Because of them the Polish spirit was constantly reborn, and it was the duty of every Christian woman to fight for this spirit at home and in her immediate environment.

These views present a link between religious, patriotic, and civic upbringing. Being a good, honest, and just citizen was perceived by Darowska as the fulfilment of God's will and a path to salvation. In the process of upbringing children and youth were made to understand that they are a part of their country and they ought to always be dedicated to it with all their hearts and spirits, and indeed all their lives.<sup>17</sup>

While teaching to comprehend the notion of the fatherland two sides of the issue were being presented – the material, physical side, which is the land, the towns and cities and villages, and the spiritual, moral side, that is, the nationality.<sup>18</sup> What was understood as nationality was the combination of a number of elements such as faith, God's truth, the spirit and the mentality of a nation, that is, the language, the literature, and the customs.<sup>19</sup> Impairing any of these factors meant harm done to the nation itself.<sup>20</sup> Who loves one's fatherland, she would say, respects it, supports it, defends it, and helps it to develop. This can be done by defending the faith, the language, and the traditions.<sup>21</sup> She called the fatherland "Mother" and that was how she would justify the necessity to take care of her, building a relationship with her, protecting her and nurturing that which is worthy in her and to love her.<sup>22</sup> Nationality understood as faith, God's truth, language, and literature, and a character unique to the nation, the traditions, were to be taken care of and respected in order not to allow their downfall and destruction.<sup>23</sup> Darowska would maintain that the characters of nations resulted from God's will. It was one's duty to God to preserve one's nationality and its particular elements, to pass it on to the next generation, while at the same time trying to eliminate that which is faulty and improper.<sup>24</sup>

She saw faith as the foundation and the internal strength of every nation.<sup>25</sup> The loss of faith, turning away from God, and failure to submit to his would become a source of weakness of the nation and lead to its decline.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Sister Grażyna of the Intercession of the Mother of the Holiest Virgin Mary (1997), *op. cit.*, p. 94

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>19</sup> *Zawsze będę z wami...* (2008), *op. cit.*, p. 47.

<sup>20</sup> Sister Grażyna of the Intercession of the Mother of the Holiest Virgin Mary (1997), *op. cit.*, p. 86.

<sup>21</sup> *Zawsze będę z wami...* (2008), *op. cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>22</sup> Blessed Mother Marcelina Darowska (2003), *op. cit.*, p. 76.

<sup>23</sup> *Zawsze będę z wami...* (2008), *op. cit.*, p. 45.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.



Vast damage, Darowska stated, was the introduction and the dissemination of “foreignness”, because it was destructive to national identity. She would harshly criticise those Poles who left the country in dire straits, only to enjoy better life abroad, and who, upon their return, would present a condescending attitude towards national values and the language.<sup>27</sup> The foreign, especially Western European cultures Darowska would define as a threat to the formation of national identity and maintenance of the continuity of the Polish nation, which was because they were attractive, tempting, and much more interesting than the Polish culture suffering under foreign occupation. Their influence lay in their attractiveness, which cunningly led to the erosion of the national identity of Poles.<sup>28</sup> It needs to be emphasised that in all things one ought to keep sense and moderation, which is what she would repeatedly point out to the sisters working as teachers and guardians in the institutions led by the congregation.<sup>29</sup>

Upbringing ought to be adjusted to the needs of the native country of the students, which is why “Polish girls are to be brought up to be Polish, German girls to be German, and French girls to be French.”<sup>30</sup> She encouraged girls to cherish the traditions of old, to organise days of celebrations according to old customs, because, as she claimed: “Each of our old customs has its thought, its secret of Christian beauty. The homemaker, the woman, the Polish woman is to be their guardian.”<sup>31</sup>

Darowska would not mince words when criticising the mothers who, instead of bringing their children up in the patriotic spirit, hired governesses from abroad, believing that this emphasised a higher social position of the family, and allowed the children to be better prepared for life and more open to the world.<sup>32</sup> She maintained that since God created us Polish we cannot educate our children in any other spirit, knowledge, or culture.

Teaching love for the fatherland needs to begin in the earliest years of life, that is, in the family.<sup>33</sup> She believed strongly in the power and the impact of Polish families. Their reconstruction appeared to her as an undeniable guarantee of the change of the country’s circumstances and the regaining of independence.<sup>34</sup>

The work connected with raising the country from ruin thanks to families ought to, according to Darowska, be carried out gradually by educating girls who

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<sup>27</sup> Sister Grażyna of the Intercession of the Mother of the Holiest Virgin Mary (1997), *op. cit.*, p. 86.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>31</sup> Blessed Mother Marcelina Darowska (2003), *op. cit.*, p. 76.

<sup>32</sup> Sister Grażyna of the Intercession of the Mother of the Holiest Virgin Mary (1997), *op. cit.*, p. 86.

<sup>33</sup> *Zawsze będę z wami...* (2008), *op. cit.*, p. 54.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

are to be future mothers. They need to be taught to be resourceful and thrifty, and to be aware that their efforts in homemaking will contribute to the improvement of the economic condition of the entire country. Their stance is to also influence the views and the actions of “shallow, unthinking, materialist, and weak spirit of men.”<sup>35</sup> The future of Poland was to depend on, first and foremost, how the children are brought up, and what roles and values they are taught.<sup>36</sup> In the privacy of their homes women were, thus, not only to educate their sons to be righteous citizens and their daughters to be active, aware citizens, but also, if need be, to motivate their husbands to be more active.

Among the faults of Polish people which Darowska would point out and which she would attempt to eliminate in her students was stubbornness leading to conflict and quarrel, and disorderliness. She would draw the girls’ attention to the necessity to maintain order and harmony in their homes.<sup>37</sup>

In the process of upbringing she would constantly make the girls aware that they are equal with men, that they are a part of the nation, and that they are responsible for its fate. They could not, therefore, remain indifferent to the fate of the fatherland.<sup>38</sup> Polish women had a calling to serve the Church, the family, and the society. They ought to be righteous Catholics, good wives and mothers, caretakers of the poor and orphans, and support such institutions as schools and day care centres, in which children from the poorest and the lowest social strata could receive education.<sup>39</sup>

Yet another area in which women could fight for the improvement of the situation of the country was social work. Darowska treated social work as an actual duty of all women.<sup>40</sup>

In the conversation “On our aim and task” Darowska emphasised that it was the duty of all women to take care of not only their own good and happiness, but also for the good and the happiness of the entire society “so that in it you are not nobodies, not parasites, but partners.”<sup>41</sup> She hoped that as Poles the girls would achieve a lot for the good of the country when using sense in their actions. At the same time she would convince her students that their contribution to the regaining of independence would be substantial.<sup>42</sup> In the Christian families which they were to establish she saw a new strength for Poland, and in the women she saw a power

<sup>35</sup> Sister Grażyna of the Intercession of the Mother of the Holiest Virgin Mary (1997), *op. cit.*, p. 90.

<sup>36</sup> *Zawsze będę z wami...* (2008), *op. cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59. On the disorderliness as a Polish fault cf.: Blessed Mother Marcelina Darowska (2003), *op. cit.*, p. 54.

<sup>38</sup> *Zawsze będę z wami...* (2008), *op. cit.*, p. 51.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>41</sup> Blessed Mother Marcelina Darowska (2003), *op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

affecting the form and the attitudes of the society. What was of enormous importance was that the spiritual development would turn into real action, so that all would not end with merely new ideas, with imagining great works, but that the dedication would turn into action and effective work.<sup>43</sup>

Being aware of the fact that in a single institution in Jazłowiec it was not possible to educate sufficient numbers of enlightened women fighting for Polish independence, M. Darowska would establish secondary and elementary schools in other towns and cities, including Jarosław, Niżniów, Nowy Sącz, Słonim, Komorów, or Szymanów. A particular gift from the congregation and its superior for Poland and their compatriots was the school in Niżniów. It was a free boarding school for 33 girls whose fathers had died defending the fatherland or had been persecuted for their participation in uprisings, and whose properties had been confiscated because of their work for independent Poland.<sup>44</sup> Darowska's aim was to use the institution in Niżniów to train future teachers – wise, mature, well-educated, and fully aware of their influence on society. Their education would commence at the age of 6 in Niżniów and go on for 9 years, subsequently it would be continued in Jazłowiec, and finally be completed with an exam in Lwów.<sup>45</sup> Darowska's idea was that the patriotically educated teachers, with properly formed worldviews and systems of values, would over the roles of the governesses from Western Europe, who were hugely popular at the time. What may serve as proof of Darowska's great dedication to the formation of Polish national awareness is the fact that the educational work was carried out not only in Galitia, where it could develop relatively freely because of the autonomy enjoyed within the Austrian-Hungarian empire, but also in the lands occupied by Russia, where it was the policy of Tsarist government to consistently destroy Polish national identity and the Catholic faith. In 1906, the sisters sent by her to Słonim began their semi-secret work with children and youth.<sup>46</sup> Yet another stage in the educational work among Polish children in the lands occupied and indoctrinated by Russia were the efforts undertaken in Komorów, and subsequently in Szymanów, in the vicinity of Warsaw.

However, it was not only necessary to prepare the girls from the so-called good homes to fight for independence. The rural population was also to play a major role, and thus they were also to be enlightened and educated to fight for freedom and to live in an independent country. That is why at the institution in Jazłowiec a free elementary school was founded for the children from the surrounding areas.

<sup>43</sup> *Zawsze będę z wami...* (2008), *op. cit.*, p. 54.

<sup>44</sup> *Sister Mother Ewa of God's Grace* (2009), *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 15–16. The delegated sisters assumed control of a declining monastery of the Benedictine order and they would officially function as members of that order, because the Tsarist government would not have allowed the appearance of a new congregation of the Roman Catholic Church.

The aim of the school was to prevent backwardness of the rural communities and preparation for the work for the fatherland. Apart from religion, which Darowska would teach herself, reading and writing classes, Polish history, calculations in the four basic mathematical operations, the system of weights and measurements, and handicraft were included in the teaching programme of the school.<sup>47</sup> Apart from the raising of intellectual level of the population in the vicinity, the education prepared girls for social work in their communities. In order to make the circle of the persons involved in education as broad as possible children from Catholic as well as Orthodox families, and Polish as well as Ruthenian families were all admitted. Similar elementary schools were active also with other institutions for girls ran by the Sisters.

As it would be frequently mentioned by Darowska, the short period of family life was to be of enormous assistance in the subsequent teaching of girls and allowed her to teach how to be a good wife, mother, and homemaker working for her household as well as the fatherland. Thanks to the co-founded and managed Congregation of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary she not only realised her mission of serving God, but also her childhood ambition of helping Poland. She could skilfully combine love of God and love of the fatherland, and that was the way of thinking which was instilled in the students of the schools ran by the congregation. The goal which would illuminate her way and drive her to overcome all obstacles was “work in the country for its Christian revival by educating the young generation.”<sup>48</sup> She believed that none of the faithful wishing to obey God’s commandments and seeking salvation and holiness could remain indifferent to the problems of the fatherland.<sup>49</sup> She would convince people to make sacrifices with even a touch of insanity, with great burning passion, regardless of the efforts, suffering, and sacrifice which often had to be made in the service of the fatherland. However, one ought not only to undertake such impulsive actions, because what was also important for the country were prayers, work, and honest life. What was also essential was the teaching of respect for the country, which was not only to be admired for its advantages and victories, but also respected regardless of the faults and the mistakes of the past. The latter ought to be understood, humbly accepted, and used to draw wise conclusions for the future from.<sup>50</sup>

The fact that Darowska was able to fill the hearts and minds of her students with hope for an improvement in the fate of Poland, thus motivating them to act, was crucial to the effectiveness of the education process.<sup>51</sup> She was persistent in

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>48</sup> Jabłońska-Deptuła E. (2010). *Marcelina Darowska Niepokalanka 1827–1911*, Lublin, p. 60.

<sup>49</sup> Blessed Mother Marcelina Darowska (2003), *op. cit.*, p. 75.

<sup>50</sup> *Zawsze będę z wami...* (2008), *op. cit.*, p. 47.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p. 62.

telling the students that they were to believe in the rebirth of Poland, because no enemy was capable of breaking the country down. What is more, she would claim that if God did not wish that Poland was saved, he would not have allowed the Congregation to be established, and he would not have allowed it to initiate its work in the country to educate Christian Poles.<sup>52</sup>

M. Darowska would share her teachings not only with her students, but also with graduates, for whom she organised reunions and retreats. Her views gained full recognition and acceptance of the archbishop Józef Weber who, when allowing the retreatal teachings of the Congregation to be printed stated that if all the students fully abided by the rules presented to them “everything would look different in this country of ours.”<sup>53</sup>

The upbringing work of Darowska was appreciated also by the representatives of the Polish nation whose voice could be heard by the general public. One of the was the writer Henryk Sienkiewicz who in his letter to the Mother Superior wrote: “You have taught them to love God, the land of their fathers, to worship all that is great, noble, yet unfortunate, which is why the great, yet unfortunate nation has appraised you. Allow me, as well, to bow my head over your achievements and pay you due tribute for your work, so long and so crucial for our society and so blessed in its results.”<sup>54</sup> These voices confirm the propriety of the assumed path and the idea of educating Polish women to be responsible for their country and to be prepared to fight for its independence.

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<sup>52</sup> Blessed Mother Marcelina Darowska (2003), *op. cit.*, p. 76.

<sup>53</sup> *List abp Józefa Webera do M. M. Darowskiej zezwalający na druk nauk rekolekcyjnych* [The letter of archbishop Józef Weber to Mother M. Darowska allowing the printing of retreatal teachings], [in:] Blessed Mother Marcelina Darowska (2003), *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>54</sup> *List Henryka Sienkiewicza do Matki Marceliny Darowskiej z okazji Jej Jubileuszu* [The letter of Henryk Sienkiewicz to Mother Marcelina Darowska on her anniversary], [in:] Blessed Mother Marcelina Darowska (2003), *op. cit.*, p. 6.

## Family as a Place of Ignacy Jan Paderewski's Upbringing. One of the Creators of Polish Independence

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*I. J. Paderewski was one of many people, to whom we owe the Polish independence of 1918. He belongs to the group of the most illustrious representatives of his generation. Experiences of home and family of each of those eminent figures were different including their descent, character of their homes, individual experiences in distinct social strata as well as various family constellations. It is an exceptional class of people coming from the generation raised in homes of national independence traditions and insurrection representing the whole spectrum of opinions and political views. Despite significant differences they were connected by insatiable desire to regain full independence and national sovereignty. Owing to their dedication to their homeland, their fortitude, talents and enormous determination, they had achieved what was just an unfulfilled dream to their predecessors.*

Key words: *family; Paderewski; biography; early experiences; restoration of Poland's independence*

Family is a primeval community, a fundamental cradle of culture. It was of a special value in the Polish society of XIX<sup>th</sup> century. As opposed to the brutal demolition of the institution of the Polish state, persecutions and repressions of any national activity, it became, along with the Catholic Church, an exceptional space shaping the generations of young Poles. Within the realm of familial community, a unique place for nurturing freedom and patriotic attitude has been created. It was especially viable for the society that had functioned for over 100 years under foreign Partitions. In consequence, the role of the family became even more crucial than in other countries, especially those enjoying independence.

The aim of the article is to show experiences from the childhood and youth as well as an attempt to interpret the importance of impact of the family and origin on shaping the attitude and character of Ignacy Jan Paderewski, the subsequent creator of independent Poland. He belongs to the group of extraordinary Poles raised in thralldom, who largely contributed to restitution of the Poland's independence.

For the purpose of deconstruction of his childhood and youth, I have used information drawn from the selected biographies of this eminent national leader. In order to analyse Ignacy Jan Paderewski's experiences, the following areas of his life were taken into account: the active opposition against the occupier by the particular family members, experience of the military control as a child, role of the father, stories and family myths. In case of I. J. Paderewski, knowledge of his childhood and youth is quite scarce. Many authors writing about this distinguished artist and politician refer to the fundamental source, which is the biography dictated by Mary Lawton.<sup>1</sup>

Ignacy Jan Paderewski (1860–1941) was a renowned musician, pianist, composer, political leader. He became acknowledged as one of the most preeminent pianist in the world.<sup>2</sup> His arrival to Poznań in December 1918 turned out to be the reason for an outbreak of the Greater Poland Uprising. He was a delegate for the Parisian conference finishing the World War I, a negotiator between two extreme political wings: Józef Piłsudski and Roman Dmowski. He used his artistic talent, interpersonal skills and the ability to bond with other people.

He was born on the 6<sup>th</sup> of November 1860 in Kuryłówka in Podolia.<sup>3</sup> His mother died few months after his birth. A few years later after the January Uprising, his father, who had not had taken part in the battle, was imprisoned for a year having been accused of storing the gun. The children, Ignacy and Antonina were looked after by their aunt.<sup>4</sup> Jerzy Waldorff, enthusiast of Paderewski's work, described this part of his life in the following way: the boy and his 5 years older sister Antonina are being looked after by the family, being moved around from one polish court to another. These courts having been renowned of a romantic nationalism and weakly rooted in harsh political reality were later described by Conrad Korzeniowski via stories from visits at Ignacy's uncle Bobrowski in Ukraine. This effusive atmosphere covered in gloomy tales of insurrectional defeats became a form of patriotic nursery for a highly sensitive, precocious boy, who displayed musical talent early on.<sup>5</sup>

Having been incarcerated, Ignacy's father lost his job and house. After leaving penitentiary, he was hired as an administrator in other affluent family in Sudytkiv near Shepetivka.<sup>6</sup> One of his biographers said: I. J. Paderewski originated from the

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<sup>1</sup> Paderewski I. J. (1965). *Pamiętniki*, Spisała Mary Lawton, Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne.

<sup>2</sup> *Nowa encyklopedia powszechna PWN*. (1996). Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, vol. 4, pp. 728–729.

<sup>3</sup> Popielówna S. (1932). *I. J. Paderewski*, Kraków, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Landau R. (1935). *J. I. Paderewski*. Warszawa: Wydaw. J. Przeworskiego, p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Waldorff J. (2012). *Wygrał Polskę na fortepianie*. In: *Ignacy Jan Paderewski – artysta, społecznik, polityk w opiniach jemu współczesnych*. Warszawa: Centrum Europejskie Natolin, vol. 1, p. 291.

<sup>6</sup> Zamoyski A. (1992). *Paderewski*. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, p. 16.

nobility from Podlachia that getting more and more poor turned to estate lease. "My family – as he recounted – brought forth landowners i.e., farmers, doctors, administrators, teachers, thereby people of high level of intelligence and social skills."<sup>7</sup>

Childhood, youth and adulthood of I. J. Paderewski fell for the post insurrection period. Despite the scarcity of the financial goods, his father cared about Ignacy and his sister's education. From age of 4 to 12, Ignacy was home educated by the teachers and French governess. "Initially he learned music passionlessly. Luckily, his innate talent was noticed by his father and his first teachers, which did not discredit his future education."<sup>8</sup> He was not enjoying an opinion of the wonderful child, though. As a 13-year-old boy, he left the family home in Podolia to never come back.<sup>9</sup>

His childhood had never been fully happy. He was very early devoid of maternal care, temporarily separated from his father due to his imprisonment and later on when he was seeking a new job. It must be added that in those days, relationships between a father and a child were not fond and cordial, but rather characterized by distance between a father and a son.<sup>10</sup> "Ignacy was a sensitive boy and in the setting he was in, he started to become melancholic. He was missing his mother, and his father being incarcerated made his fear of loneliness more profound. As the time went by, he became more aware of poverty and general difficulties he was surrounded by. He started to appreciate hard work of his father, who struggled to provide for his family."<sup>11</sup> His father got married again shortly afterwards. His wife was Anna Tańkowska, a widow, burdened by a bunch of children. She came to Paderewski's house with her father and several relatives.<sup>12</sup>

A polish child had not had much of a chance in building a career in the Russian Empire. The only way to succeed was leaving polish environment and converting to Orthodoxy. The only alternative path of career was that of art and Ignacy's father thought of it as an opportunity for his children and hired the old violinist, Runowski, to teach them. When their father was arrested, their aunt also watched over their continued music education.<sup>13</sup> In 1871 Ignacy and Antonina participated in the charity concert and subsequently matinees arranged by the wealthy bourgeoisie. As a consequence, Ignacy was enrolled to the Warsaw Conservatory at the Fryderyk Chopin University of Music.<sup>14</sup> Jerzy Waldorff, a writer, critic,

<sup>7</sup> Bokszańska G. (1993). *Polityka – Biografia – Przywództwo socjologiczne studium przywódczej kariery Ignacego I. J. Paderewskiego*. Łódź: Politechnika Łódzka, p. 80.

<sup>8</sup> Popielówna S. (1932), *op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Sidorowicz B. (1924). *J. I. Paderewski. Życie i dzieła*. Poznań: Towarzystwo Akcyjne PAR, p. 9.

<sup>10</sup> Wapiński R. (2009). *Ignacy Paderewski*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, p. 12.

<sup>11</sup> Zamoyski A. (1992). *Paderewski*. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, pp. 16–17.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 23–29.



essayist and an avid enthusiast of I. J. Paderewski's work commented on this in the following way: "the father mobilized all possible financial resources in order to bring his son to the Warsaw Conservatory in 1872."<sup>15</sup> Ignacy graduated from the Conservatory not without any difficulty. I. J. Paderewski was a courageous young man. As a 15-year-old boy he embarked on a tournée to Russia with his friend, cellist, which turned out to be a complete failure. They returned home penniless and prostrated, but enriched by the new life and artistic experience. According to his biographer's words: "In 1878 having had graduated from the Conservatory, Paderewski (...) took up the job as a piano teacher at his *alma mater*. Two years later, he married his own student Antonia Korsakówna, who died giving birth to his son Alfred. This son, crippled since birth, being very much loved by his father, was his greatest concern. He was carried from one sanatorium to another till his death at the age of 21."<sup>16</sup>

After I. J. Paderewski graduated from the Warsaw Conservatory, he pursued to master his skills of composition and instrumentalization in Berlin. Subsequently, he started to give concerts in the largest European capitals. His performances received a great acclaim in Vienna (1887), Paris (1888) and U.S.A, where he played a tour of 117 concerts.<sup>17</sup>

After the outbreak of World War I, I. J. Paderewski began to engage in providing the aid to the victims of the war in Poland. He gave passionate speeches, which he definitely revealed talent for. He evolved into an eminent artist, becoming remarkably popular in the U.S.A. "Against this backdrop and simple worship of a multimillion group of Polish emigrants, Ignacy Paderewski could insist on one of his friends, the President of the United States – Woodrow Wilson – to enlist the 13<sup>th</sup> point proclaiming the independence of Poland in the peace terms called Fourteen Points."<sup>18</sup>

Ignacy Jan Paderewski's father was imprisoned for a year for favouring the January Uprising in 1863. He faced the charges of storing the gun for the insurgents by the tsarist authorities. In turn, his mother Poliksena, née Nowicka, was a daughter of Professor at the Vilnius University.<sup>19</sup> She was born in Kaługa, where her father was exiled after the November Uprising.<sup>20</sup> "Ignacy's grandfather, Professor at the Vilnius University exiled to Siberia having spoken his dreams of Poland restoring its independence out loud. Before Ignacy even learned to speak and write, the word 'freedom' bore a profound meaning to him, it was a noble word."<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Waldorff J. (2012), *op. cit.*, p. 291.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 291.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 292–293.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 296.

<sup>19</sup> Śladowska M. (2008). *Ignacy Jan Paderewski pianista, kompozytor, mąż stanu*, Warszawa: Wyd. DiG, p. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Drozdowski M. M. (2001). *Ignacy Jan Paderewski*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo sejmowe, p. 12.

<sup>21</sup> Landau R. (1935). *J. I. Paderewski*, Warszawa: Wydaw. J. Przeworskiego, p. 15.

When Ignacy was 8 years old, his father brought his distant relative, Michał Babiński back home. He was an insurgent from 1830, who lived in the exile for 30 years. He became a private teacher of his children. He exerted a substantial influence on Ignacy. They became fond of each other and the boy grew to have the desire to “become someone” and “do something for Poland.”<sup>22</sup>

The particularly specific experience Ignacy had as a child was the imprisonment of his father. It was a traumatic incident for a child. He related this event in the following way years after it happened: “I remember everything what happened that day when they came to take him away. Suddenly, Cossacks surrounded the house and no one was allowed to leave it till the thorough inspection was carried out. There were many of Cossacks, maybe 150 of them, everyone on horseback. I, as a small boy, had an impression of them as being inordinately big and formidable.”<sup>23</sup> When they were taking his father away, a 3-year-old Ignacy having asked about his father was beaten up by one of them with a knout (a kind of whip). This lash was remembered by him till the day he died. “This first encounter with Russian authority had shaken me deeply for the rest of my life. The lashes were painful, cut through my skin, (...) hurt my soul.”<sup>24</sup>

One of the earliest biographers of I. J. Paderewski wrote: “The most crucial traits of I. J. Paderewski’s character were shaped – as it usually occurs – in childhood and youth. Amongst the most significant one was the permanent identification with the nation, which was expressed by highlighting his Polishness (...). Patriotism that was instilled by his father and teacher transpired to be a dominant feeling that was reflected in his daydreams from childhood about making a change in his country’s fate.”<sup>25</sup> However, on balance, it must also be pointed out that relationship with his father was not the most uncomplicated one. The modest biographical accounts reveal that Jan Paderewski was initially absent in his son’s life because of his arrest and search for a job. He then got married soon afterwards, put his wife with her children and numerous family members up in his house, which changed the whole atmosphere of family life for Ignacy and his sister. Ignacy recalls his step-mother as a warm-hearted woman. As a 13-year-old boy, he was sent by his father to the Warsaw Conservatory. On dictating his biography to Mary Lawton many years thereafter I. J. Paderewski mentioned: “It is difficult to recollect what I felt after so many years. What I recall is that I was a little terrified about this project.”<sup>26</sup> Later on, as a teenager, Ignacy was not given permission to return home when he was experiencing complex time in his education. His father did not approve of Ignacy’s decision to get married, he did not attend the wedding

<sup>22</sup> Zamoyski A. (1992), *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>23</sup> Paderewski I. J. (1965), *op. cit.*, pp. 22–23.

<sup>24</sup> Paderewski I. J. (1965), *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 32.

<sup>25</sup> Popielówna S. (1932), *op. cit.*, p. 83.

<sup>26</sup> Paderewski I. J. (1965), *op. cit.*, p. 55.

ceremony and even missed his wife's funeral, which was especially hard for his son. He bore this deeply rooted trauma in himself.

### Family stories and myths

Paderewski was very young when he learned to read and write. An anecdote circulating in the family said that as a 4-year-old boy he formulated the first letter to his father when he was in prison. He was the only one in his family to learn to speak Russian. He used to read the newspapers in Russian and books in Polish to his family. "My listeners liked my descriptions of the war as many of them remembered the Napoleonic campaign from 1812 and discussed it till then. These conversations largely contributed to the development of my patriotic attitude and earnest desire to prove myself helpful to my homeland. There were two generations of revolutionaries in our home: one of them was represented by my old educator – Babiański, the second – by my father. Apart from that, many of our friends came to us from the neighbourhood. They were freed and returned from Siberia or other places of exile; all of them exerted great influence on my childish mind."<sup>27</sup>

Early experiences shape our whole life. Ignacy Jan Paderewski was a half-orphan, who lost his mother in his infancy, being temporarily raised by his aunt, he left his family home early on. His life was full of losses and difficulties, which included: death of his wife at the age of 20 when giving birth to his son, handicapped son who suffered from muscle atony of legs, death of his brother in Polish Legions (1914). On the other hand, his father appreciated his musical talent and facilitated his development in this regard. Despite the fact that his life was tainted with pain, he succeeded to build a remarkable career, reach the peaks of virtuosity and popularity in Europe and U.S.A. Using his versatile skills: linguistic, oratorical, artistic, communication and his contacts as well as his exceptional and charming personality, he largely contributed to restoration of Polish independence and protection of its sovereignty.

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<sup>27</sup> Paderewski I. J. (1965), *op. cit.*, p. 53.

## Revival of the Poland and Belarus Issue as Reflected in the Western Belarusian Press, 1920–1921

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*The article focuses on relations between the revived Polish state and the Belarusian minority in Poland during 1920–1921 as reflected in the Western Belarusian press. While initially the press in Western Belarusian press was mostly positive about the revival of Poland and expected support for Belarusian national aspirations from Polish democracy, later this attitude changed for the worse as the Western Belarusian press and public became increasingly dissatisfied with the national policy of the Polish authorities towards the Belarusian minority.*

Key words: *family; Paderewski; biography; early experiences; restoration of Poland's independencerevival of Poland; Belarusian minority; national policy; culture; education*

In the course of the First World War, the standpoint of Belarusian politicians regarding the future political status of Belarusian lands evolved from the autonomy of a Belarusian region inside Russia to an independent Belarusian state. To a major extent, such an evolution resulted from the First World War and German policy on occupied Belarusian territory. As far as Belarusians and Lithuanians were concerned, the German occupational administration “supported their national aspirations as a counter-balance to Poles, who dominated in this region. During the German occupation a network of Belarusian educational institutions embracing a significant part of youth was created....”<sup>1</sup> When elaborating the model of a future Belarusian state, Belarusian politicians kept in mind the declaration of German Chancellor T. Bethmann Hollweg, who stressed that “occupied lands would never be returned back to Russia.”<sup>2</sup>

Fully aware of the insufficiency of their own resources and of the importance of foreign support for the creation of an independent Belarus, Belarusian politicians initially hoped to acquire a powerful and influential ally in Poland, which successfully revived its independence. Leaders of the Central Belarusian Council of Vilnius and Grodno regions established in Vilnius stated in their declaration of July 12, 1919 that “only with the support of fraternal Poland can we

<sup>1</sup> Miranovič, J. (2010). *Belarusy u Polščy (1918–1949)*. Vilnja, Belastok, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Luckevič, A. (2003). *Da historyi belaruskaha ruchy*. Minsk, p. 14.

achieve our ultimate goal – the independence of Belarus. Poland should help Belarusians liberate their land from Bolshevik and Moscow despotism.”<sup>3</sup>

The Grodno-based Belarusian periodical “*Belaruskae slova*,” arguing the necessity for an independent Belarus on the European political map, emphasized that “Belarus should be independent not only because of Belarusia’s population, but also to create stability in Eastern Europe. Polish democracy, which plays an extremely important role in the Belarusian question, should understand our aspirations better than anybody else. Just 2 or 3 years ago, Polish democracy was in our position – she was offered merely a modest autonomy inside Russia. But true Polish democracy led by Pilsudski did not accept this compromise. This example has great educational importance for us...”<sup>4</sup>

Initially “*Belaruskae slova*” demonstrated a sympathetic approach towards Poland, especially when writing about hostilities between Poland and Soviet Russia. Thus, “*Belaruskae slova*” published an article on October 2, 1920, which stressed the positive attitude of the inhabitants of Grodno towards J. Pilsudski. The newspaper wrote that the “leader of the Polish army, J. Pilsudski, arrived in Grodno right after Bolshevik troops had to leave the city. Crowds of people greeted the savior of Grodno from Bolshevik occupation.”<sup>5</sup>

However, all the hopes of Belarusian politicians that “true Polish democracy” headed by J. Pilsudski “should understand Belarusian aspirations better than anybody else” proved to be absolutely unfounded. From the very beginning, plans to create an independent Belarusian state did not meet a positive reaction in Warsaw, which had its own calculations regarding Belarusian lands. As it turned out, “a tolerant and positive attitude towards some Belarusian demands was only temporary, lasting from August until December 1919. But even during that period, the Polish authorities distanced themselves from those who supported an independent Belarus.”<sup>6</sup> When the Council of the Belarusian People’s Republic split into a group of Polonophiles and supporters of an independent Belarus headed by V. Lastouskij in December 1919, the Polish authorities arrested Lastouskij and his followers, accusing them of anti-Polish activities.<sup>7</sup>

The policy pursued by Warsaw was quite predictable and stemmed from traditional Polish political thought, which considered the Polish ethnic element on ethnically Belarusian, Lithuanian and Ukrainian lands as “the dominant civilizational factor, capable of political organization of those lands.”<sup>8</sup> In the words of Roman Dmowski, leader of the Polish national democrats, “Poland has the right

<sup>3</sup> Nacionalnyj Archiv Respubliki Belarus (NARB), f. 878, op.1, ed.chr.10, l.48.

<sup>4</sup> *Belaruskae slova. Palityčnaja, literaturnaja i ekanamičnaja gazeta* (1920), no. 1, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>6</sup> Hamulka, K. (2008). *Pamiż Polščaj i Rasijaj. Belarus u kancepcyjach polskich palityčnych farmiravannjau 1918–1922*. Vilnja, p. 88.

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, p. 94–95.

<sup>8</sup> Dmowski, R. (1926). *Polityka polska i odbudowanie państwa*. Warszawa, p. 17.

to spread beyond Polish ethnic borders to realize the civilizational potential of a great nation.”<sup>9</sup> The political opponents of the national democrats – Polish socialists – shared their view on that issue. Thus, J. Pilsudski considered all Eastern neighbors of Poles as “non-historical” nations and thought that Polish “political tutelage” over them was a quite natural phenomenon.<sup>10</sup>

Another crucial issue that caused overall disappointment among Belarusian politicians was the behavior of Polish troops and administration in Belarusian-populated lands. One of the leaders of the Belarusian national movement, A. Luckevič, published in Vilnius in 1920 a booklet under the title “Polish Occupation in Belarus” characterizing the Polish occupational regime in Belarusian territories as “a terror against the Belarusian population,” which culminated during a Polish offensive when Polish troops occupied “Grodno, Vilnius and Minsk.”<sup>11</sup> A. Luckevič accused the Polish administration of wide-scale repressions against Belarusian organizations and of mass terror against Belarusian civilians. As an example, A. Luckevič cited the shooting of 36 peasants and the arrest of around 200 local civilians in Slutsk region, the mass torture of peasants in the village of Dedovo near Mikaševiči station and the burning of 7 Belarusian villages in Bobrujsk region in Central Belarus.<sup>12</sup>

These actions of the Polish administration on Belarusian ethnic lands led to a growing disappointment of Belarusian politicians and public figures with the policy of Warsaw. The Chairman of the Belarusian Committee in Warsaw, A. Dubejkovski, in his open letter published by the Vilnius-based Belarusian newspaper “Belaruskija vedamasci” in September 1921 characterized the situation of the Belarusian population in Grodno as a tragedy. In his words, “anybody who considered himself to be a Belarusian, for this reason alone became a criminal in the eyes of the local Polish administration. Any Belarusian organization – cultural, educational, Christian, economic – is consigned by the administration to their death... Every Belarusian and Belarusian organization is suspected of being Bolshevik...”<sup>13</sup> Dubejkovski thought the essence of Polish policy in the Belarusian lands was “to discriminate against Belarusians and to provoke them into committing various misdeeds in order to provide the authorities with an excuse for their repression.”<sup>14</sup>

Belarusian newspapers were very critical about what they perceived as the arrogant attitudes of the Polish authorities towards Belarusians and Belarusian culture. The Vilnius-based Belarusian periodical “Belaruskija vedamasci”

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem, p. 17.

<sup>10</sup> Mironowicz, E. (2007). *Białorusini i Ukraińcy w polityce obozu piłsudczykowskiego*. Białystok: Trans Humana, p. 10.

<sup>11</sup> Luckevič, A. (1920). *Polskaja okupacyja u Belarusi*. Vilnja, p. 7.

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem, p. 11.

<sup>13</sup> *Belaruskija vedamasci* (1921), no. 1, p. 1.

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem.

complained in October 1921 that “attitudes towards Belarusians on the part of many Polish officials and a certain section of Polish society are very neglectful... We are considered to be either Muscovites or Bolsheviks or just second-rate citizens...”<sup>15</sup> In the words of J. Zaprudnik, Polish public opinion at that time tended to perceive Belarusians merely as “ethnographic material, which should be swallowed and digested.”<sup>16</sup>

Belarusian politicians and public figures expressed their dissatisfaction with what they perceived as “anti-Belarusian passages” in Polish media. Thus, “*Belaruskija vedamasci*” often criticized the Vilnius-based Polish newspaper “*Rzecz Pospolita*” for describing Belarusians as “savage, wild and uncultivated people, who should not be educated in their mother tongue, but exclusively in the Polish language.”<sup>17</sup> “*Belaruskija vedamasci*” reacted emotionally, characterizing these comments as “inhuman insults against the Belarusian and Lithuanian peoples.”<sup>18</sup>

The peace treaty between Poland and Soviet Russia signed in Riga in March 1921, which confirmed the incorporation of Western Belarusian lands into the Polish state, aroused a lot of critical comments among Belarusian politicians and press. The Vilnius-based newspaper “*Krynica*”, the organ of Belarusian Christian Democracy, when commenting on the Riga peace treaty on 3 April 1921, stressed that “this treaty is not based on justice, since it divided our Belarus... The border line, which cuts up Belarus, has no justification. Is it possible to base a border line merely on waterways? In our opinion, this is impossible.”<sup>19</sup> The situation in the Belarusian lands following the signing of the Riga treaty in 1921 was considered by the Western Belarusian press as a tragedy. “*Belaruskija vedamasci*” wrote that “Belarus was divided and totally devastated. The most nasty and terrible methods of politics were applied towards Belarus...”<sup>20</sup>

Overall disappointment with the policy of the Polish authorities in Western Belarusian lands was also characteristic of the Grodno-based periodical “*Belaruskae slova*”, which initially demonstrated favorable attitudes towards Poland. In particular, “*Belaruskae slova*” was concerned about the schools policy of the Polish administration, which demonstrated an obvious trend aimed at the polonization of the whole educational system in Western Belarus. The Western Belarusian press was full of complaints about the numerous bureaucratic pitfalls and barriers against establishing Belarusian schools, discrimination against

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<sup>15</sup> *Belaruskija vedamasci* (1921), no. 5, p. 2.

<sup>16</sup> Zaprudnik, J. (1993). *Belarus at a Crossroads in History*. Boulder-San Francisco-Oxford, p. 86.

<sup>17</sup> *Belaruskija vedamasci* (1921), no. 1, p. 2.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>19</sup> *Krynica. Bielaruskaja Chryścijanska-Demakracyčnaja hazeta* (1921), no. 10, p. 1.

<sup>20</sup> *Belaruskija vedamasci* (1921), no. 1, p. 2.

Belarusian teachers and the mass liquidation of Belarusian educational institutions.<sup>21</sup>

Quite often Western the Belarusian press voiced criticism of the anti-Belarusian stance of the Polish Catholic church towards Belarusian Catholics. Thus, Vilnius-based “Krynica” noted in December 1921 that “the Polish Catholic clergy make the church life of Belarusian Catholics in Vilnius simply terrible...”<sup>22</sup> complaining especially about discrimination towards the Belarusian language in the ecclesiastical sphere.<sup>23</sup>

The Western Belarusian press paid great attention to the Polish census of 1921, expressing skepticism about the census results and predicting numerous administrative abuses to show a higher number of the Polish population at the expense of Belarusians.<sup>24</sup> The mechanism of conducting the census confirmed all the fears of Belarusian politicians. The Western Belarusian press indicated numerous examples of administrative abuses by the local Polish authorities. Thus, “Belaruskija vedamasci” pointed out that “in rural areas the census was conducted by mostly Polish teachers who were doing their best to turn Belarusians into Poles... Thus, in the village of Dziagili the local teacher, Mr. Čiž, registered all peasants – both Catholics and Orthodox – as Poles without even asking them about their nationality. It should be noted that the number of Catholics in that village is very low...”<sup>25</sup>

In the words of Polish historian E. Mironowicz, “attempts by the Polish government to solve the Belarusian problem by the assimilation of Belarusians turned out to be counter-productive... and caused the rise of anti-government opposition among Belarusians.”<sup>26</sup> Analysis of the Western Belarusian press in 1920–1921 shows that the Belarusian minority started demonstrating discontent and dissatisfaction from the very beginning of the incorporation of the Western Belarusian lands into the Polish state.

<sup>21</sup> *Belaruskae slova. Palityčnaja, literaturnaja i ekanamičnaja gazeta* (1920), no. 58, p. 1.

<sup>22</sup> *Krynica. Bielaruskaja Chryścijanska-Demokratyčnaja hazeta* (1921), no. 1, p. 1.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>24</sup> *Belaruskija vedamasci* (1921), no. 3, p. 1.

<sup>25</sup> *Belaruskija vedamasci* (1921), no. 8, p. 2.

<sup>26</sup> Mironowicz, E. (2007). *Białorusini i Ukraińcy w polityce obozu piłsudczykowskiego*. Białystok: Trans Humana, p. 125.



## **Modern Scholarly Biography in the Humanities: its Teaching Potential and Possible Pitfalls in Post-totalitarian Czech Society**

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*This paper describes the changing role of biography in the context of historiographical methodology and the historian's approach to research. The primary focus is on biographies by history scholars, though the same developmental tendency may be observed in contemporary biographies of prominent literary historians, historians of the creative arts and music, ethnographers, archaeologists, pedagogues and so on. There is a description of certain methodological problems, the potential and the pitfalls of research in the field of modern historiography and other social sciences which have arisen as a result of changes in academic discourse during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, including specific restrictions in the availability or usability of sources, or the classical limits of ego-history as such.*

*Key words: family; scholarly biography; developments in historiography; didactics of history and historiography; life history; oral history*

It is now 30 years since the Velvet Revolution took place in Czechoslovakia, marking the end of government by one political party. Society, and with it education and research, have undergone – and continue to undergo – a complicated journey of transformation. Before attempting here to review the current situation regarding scholarly biographical works in Czech in the humanities, particularly in historiography, as well as in the teaching of these disciplines, it is necessary first to compare its level with that of world standards and examine specific ways in which the Czech situation is different. The extent to which it is possible to name and quantify these specific features is open to discussion; the current paper will focus primarily on those features of Czech scholarly biography which are shared with biographies of similar type in other post-totalitarian states. For comparative purposes, examples of changes in the academic discourse need not be limited to countries in the former Soviet bloc: equally pivotal changes have occurred relatively recently, for example, in South African historiography following the fall of apartheid, or a significant section of German or Italian historiography in the first half of the twentieth century.

A potential pitfall of biographical works may be the resistance of modern research and interpretational methods and approaches which go against the classical norms and to a significant extent even suppress them.<sup>1</sup> Such methods are often inspired by anthropology, sociology or psychology, plus elements from the literary or publicist sphere. The question thus arises as to whether or not this phenomenon is of benefit. This topic will be discussed in more detail below.

The current narrative of historiography as presented to the Czech academic community, and to an ever increasing extent particularly to students of history when the focus is on science, education and art, places emphasis on life stories. If these stories are absent, the scholarly biography begins to fossilise into a most undesirable form, consisting of dry, stereotypical details taken from textbooks or encyclopaedias and information in the form of reviews of published works by the person being studied. The style of narrative biography referred to as “life history”<sup>2</sup> – a specialist term which is usually left untranslated in non-English texts – should, however, really be “live.” Such works are even occasionally referred to as “live life history,”<sup>3</sup> with particular emphasis on the word “live”, if the development of historiography and other branches of the humanities are to be understood in context and to their full extent. This applies not only to the teaching of historiography at universities but also to primary research. It might have seemed that on the threshold of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, long after the so-called narrative turn in the social sciences, a discussion on the possibilities and limitations of oral interviews or the use of qualitative research would be passé. In fact, the opposite is true: the polemics of seeking and finding a discourse in this direction, including attacks and apologies, are still very much a topical issue,<sup>4</sup> especially as regards scholarly biographies.<sup>5</sup> Within the academic community of post-totalitarian societies, the sensitive observer will perceive a certain cautious conservatism and wariness towards non-standard methodologies. The most common argument against “too” innovative approaches are then mostly a product of the classically paradigmatic, logical scientific approach, which insists the most important

<sup>1</sup> See Caine B. (2010). *Biography and history*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

<sup>2</sup> Goodson I. F. – Sikes P. J. (2001). *Life history research in educational settings: learning from lives*. Buckingham: Open University Press; Goodson I. F. (2013). *Developing narrative theory: life histories and personal representation*. London: Routledge.

<sup>3</sup> Atkinson R. (1998). *The Life Story Interview*. Sage University Papers Series on Qualitative Research Methods. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

<sup>4</sup> Chamberlayne P. – Bornat J. – Wengraf T. (eds.) (2000). *The turn to biographical methods in social science: comparative issues and examples*. London: Routledge; Klein Ch. (ed.) (2009). *Handbuch Biographie: Methoden, Traditionen, Theorien*. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler.

<sup>5</sup> Renders H. – De Haan B. (eds.) (2013). *Theoretical discussions of biography: approaches from history, microhistory, and life writing*. Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press. From this volume mainly: Levi, G. The Uses of Biography, pp. 61–75; then Loriga S. The Role of Individual in History: Biographical and Historical Writing in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century, pp. 75–94.

consideration is facts, and academic style should ignore anything that is not strictly factual. The biases or emotional insights of readers or listeners are not a priority – indeed, quite the contrary: the idea that an innovative approach could jeopardise one's objective view of reality is still very much alive.

There exists an identical perception concerning supposedly uncorrelated and superfluous facts, such as details from an individual's personal life, which at first sight have no relevance for a characterisation of that person's professional life, artistic creativity or output. This is all the more so in the case of facts which overlap into someone's private life or even the intimate details thereof, whose publication by the researcher might become a matter of ethical correctness. The question is whether or not such details belong in a scholarly biography. If, however, they do not, then how else may the reader acquire an understanding of the motives and inspiration in the life and work of the subject? Even socio-political views, which in a totalitarian academic environment were an important factor in providing a complete portrait of a biographical subject, are unimaginable without a certain insight into the intimate family sphere. Such personal views could not be proclaimed publicly or appear in academic works if they were not in accordance with the valid ideological discourse of the day. Uncovering true opinions and comparing what might have been a necessary concession to the ideology of the times and what was genuine personal conviction, is impossible without entering into the private sphere of the subject. One proven method of great value here is oral history, given the availability of relevant contemporaries, or other types of personal sources, such as correspondence or diaries. Sometimes, paradoxically, even sources created by the political party or social bureaucracy of the era can also be of use: these sources would include various character references, so-called comprehensive evaluations, proclamations of committees or political and social organisations, and so on. There is more to be obtained from these sources than mere facts: the researcher can also use them as a means of gaining an insight into the atmosphere of the times as part of an attempt to understand the motivation behind the actions of the subject. Understandably, the extent of the biographer's voluntarism in applying such an approach becomes an issue in terms of objectivity. At the same time it might be said that a certain permissible level of subjectivity is a specific feature of live life history.

A further dilemma may occur with those biographical facts which fall into the category of not easily verified or even unverifiable. Such facts may come heuristically from oral histories and statements from witnesses, as well as via qualitative research, and also from traditional written memoirs, diaries, correspondence, and so forth. The question then arises of how to deal with information that cannot be definitively confirmed by further sources but at the same time is of fundamental significance for the life story. For the researcher such items are often of a greater value that transcends the boundaries of what is purely informative. Nonetheless, it is impossible to conceal the subjective character of such information; hence it is only to be expected that critics of its use will again

point out the pitfalls of voluntarism when interpreting reality. Oral history, similar to other methods of qualitative research within modern biography, attempts to challenge any devaluation of the validity of these sources by calling upon triangulation.<sup>6</sup> Just as the establishment of a geographical location must be conducted from three different points, so in verifying the truth of historical information the researcher should endeavour to use more sources. At the same time, it should be stressed that even if such verification is impossible, this does not mean the quest for information through qualitative research should be abandoned. It has considerable potential beyond the area of facts, enabling the biographer to see inside the person being analysed, understand the motives and mental barriers influencing their behaviour, possibly even how they interpreted certain information retrospectively or would wish it to be interpreted. These are most valuable elements in a biography.

It is at this point we come to the main arguments of those who defend the narrative approach in biographical heuristics and the life history approach. The initial consideration must be that any personality is a complex whole – an entity consisting at various moments of many different components. When examining the life and legacy of an individual, empirical facts need not always be the most important aspect. Contemporary biography works with these factors as a matter of course, and methods used in sociology, psychology or anthropology are by no means exceptional. There is a consensus of opinion at the theoretical level that if the image of someone in scholarly literature is to be complete, these approaches should not be ignored. Few would defend a policy of ignoring certain aspects of a life solely because their relevance to the work or professional legacy of the person concerned is not evident at first sight. Experience has shown, however, that in practice things are far less clear-cut. Meanwhile, there is an ever-present danger that the selection of facts on the basis of their capacity to be verified can result in a somewhat banal and impoverished description of the person, or even a completely distorted picture.

Nonetheless the question still remains of how to establish that thin borderline between facts which are necessary for illustrating a biography and facts which fall into an area which has limited or even zero value in heuristics or any subsequently published synthesis. Similarly the question of what belongs in the two above-mentioned categories is also a matter of debate: what is relevant, albeit only for the researcher, and what it is possible – or even necessary – to publish. The researcher definitely needs to establish such facts that the insight into the subject of the research will be as complete as possible; any dilemma as to what aspects of the findings might be published is a matter for reflection and academic debate. The fact that the heuristics must be as comprehensive as possible, and their subsequent

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<sup>6</sup> Flick U. (2004). Triangulation in Qualitative Research. In Flick U. (ed.), *A Companion to Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, pp. 178–183.

interpretation may be limited by other factors, is a generally established approach. What, however, tends to be less accepted are cases where the narration and so-called “soft” facts intrude in the final scholarly text. This is especially the case if these facts are not accompanied with the expected verification commentary or not placed in illustrative appendices.

The narrative turn in the humanities, which took place in the 20<sup>th</sup> century – even if its essence, to a greater or lesser extent, was suppressed, has been present in human instinct since time immemorial; it has rehabilitated certain methods of research, including rhetoric and stylistic constructions for a subsequent synthesis. In the age of enlightenment and positivism, such elements were undeniably beyond the scope and aims of a scholarly biography; however, it is important to appreciate the necessity of a dividing line between a biography written in the form of belles-lettres or journalistic style and one which is intended to be a scholarly text. That said, the defining characteristics of the last-mentioned cannot consist solely in the formal features of academic writing.

Change in the historiographical discourse at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century brought amongst other things a tendency towards methods of microhistory and a fondness for re-established forms of ego-history. Their usage, however, has given rise to a number of methodological dilemmas and a variety of responses from the academic public.<sup>7</sup>

Ego-history has experienced changes in terms of its importance. In the past the personality of the historian stood aside in the interests of history itself, with emphasis being placed on the subject’s work and professional opinions. Nowadays it is becoming increasingly common for scholarly biographies to include topics from the family, emotional, inner or even intimate sphere of the subject. In terms of relevance and especially space within the text as a whole, such content represents an attack on the erstwhile dominance of purely factual and so-called relevant biographical details.<sup>8</sup> Whether examples are cited from the by now classical text of George Iggers,<sup>9</sup> or from a speaker at the recent 11th conference of Czech historians, Lynn Hunt,<sup>10</sup> a comparison of this undeniable tendency as perceived by modern historiography on the one hand with, on the other hand, biographical reality and examples of fundamental biographical syntheses, it is evident that the current trend is one of much greater variety and a willingness to delve deeper and experiment more. This applies especially to world history.

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<sup>7</sup> Čermák I. (2002). Myslet narativně: kvalitativní výzkum „on the road“. In Čermák I., Miovský M. (eds.), *Kvalitativní výzkum ve vědách o člověku na prahu třetího tisíciletí*. Tišnov: SCAN, pp. 11–25.

<sup>8</sup> Denzin N. *Interpretative Biography*. (1989). Newbury Park – London – New Delhi: Sage.

<sup>9</sup> Iggers G. G. (1996). *Geschichtswissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert: Ein kritischer Überblick im internationalen Zusammenhang*. 2. durchgesehene Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

<sup>10</sup> Appleby J.– Hunt L. – Jacob M. C. (1994). *Telling the truth about history*. New York: Norton.

Written history then has considerable problems in how to reflect events and place them in context. One major difficulty is the fashionable tendency to forego the unambiguous nature of the genre described above; another is the fashionable methodological and thematic multidisciplinaryity. As regards history, for more than a century now, biographical writing in particular has willingly adopted methods and forms of research which were associated with the social sciences, anthropology, psychology sociology; more recently, however, it has also assumed forms which have more in common with belles-lettres and journalism.

One of the most useful methods within the development of historiography is qualitative research and oral history. For years such methods remained in the shadows of traditional approaches to the historian's work and, even though world historiography has long been accustomed to eye-witness accounts as a source and form of synthesis,<sup>11</sup> there are still occasional instances where Czech historians treat oral historical sources with a greater or lesser degree of underlying mistrust. Memoirs and diaries of course feature prominently in Czech historiography; however, the perception of their validity by the community of historians is a different matter. Nevertheless, qualitative research is necessary particularly in the case of most recent history. It is not uncommon for the researcher to encounter a kind of heuristic vacuum in which the subject of research and their life story is lost due to a lack of preserved classical sources somewhere in the recent past. If the given person's family does not archive their papers, if the researcher encounters an insensitive or deliberate premature shredding of archive materials or misses the time-restricted possibility of speaking to contemporaries of a deceased person, the writing of any provisionally planned biography might prove an extremely difficult task. This problem occurs especially at the level of local history, which aims to seek and often raise from the depths of recent oblivion such personalities who may not have made any great impact on a national scale, but from a regional perspective their lives and work are interesting. A typical example of instances where sources might be seriously lacking is that of teachers and their life story. The importance of teachers has always been traditionally undervalued, even if there have often been experts of outstanding quality and influence in the place where they lived and worked. Qualitative research can greatly enrich a work if it is properly conducted.<sup>12</sup> Nor need it be purely fact-based: a far more valuable contribution might consist in capturing personal reflections of the past or a text based on, say, *The past through the eyes of XY*. Immediately here the question arises of whether this, one of several forms of modern biography, may be considered an academic

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<sup>11</sup> It is worth mentioning outstanding ego-histories which at the same time form part of important academic works dealing with the history of historiography, e.g. Eliade M. (1990). *Autobiography. 1907–1986*. Translated from the Romanian Mac Linscott Ricketts. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

<sup>12</sup> Silverman D. (2005). *Ako robíť kvalitatívny výskum*. Bratislava: Ikar.

text. Together with Lévi in this context, one may remain optimistic.<sup>13</sup> Nonetheless, it is crucial that the historian be competent in using such an approach. One must also acknowledge scholarly work in the form of memoirs, which at the present time serve as a substitute for non-existent biographical syntheses, often recording facts and information which the historical record would otherwise be denied.<sup>14</sup>

In the field of qualitative research, especially concerning modern and most recent history, if forced to adopt a standpoint towards the legacy of the subject and their role in the history of the scholarly paradigm or even academic establishment, the researcher will frequently encounter complications connected with political or professional correctness. Such matters require a certain temporal distance which, however, the contemporary researcher does not have at her disposal. In historiographical terms, personalities who, for a variety of reasons, are perceived as controversial do not rank among the most popular or sought after subjects of scholarly biographies. Nevertheless, this is something with which, sooner or later, the discipline will need to come to terms. One interesting example of how to approach the task is Albert Hurtago's work on the historian Herbert Eugene Bolton;<sup>15</sup> other examples would include lives of historians associated with regimes which have either been supplanted or defeated, such as Nazism in Germany or apartheid in South Africa. A good example in a Czech context would be the life story of Zdeněk Nejedlý, which has already been analysed from a variety of points of view.<sup>16</sup> The biographies of such people may still influence the ideas or even emotions of researcher, reader or critic; thus the methodological demands increase especially when using the narrative method and qualitative research, a factor which must be taken into account. Analysis and reflection of the legacy of such personalities or a reflection of their work within professional institutions, plus relations with their academic contemporaries, may lead to the researcher necessarily skating on somewhat thin ice. As regards modern Czech historiography, the highly professional approach of the České Budějovice school is worthy of praise, in particular that of Bohumil Jiroušek who, it is true, does not

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<sup>13</sup> Lévi G. (1989). Los usos de la biografía. *Tomado de Annales ESC*, núm. 6, noviembre de 1989, pp. 1325–1336. Also available at: [www: https://es.scribd.com/doc/174281669/Giovanni-Levi-Los-usos-de-la-biografia](https://es.scribd.com/doc/174281669/Giovanni-Levi-Los-usos-de-la-biografia).

<sup>14</sup> One example for all is Polišínský J. (2001). *Historik v měnícím se světě*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova; Šmahel F. (2009). *Nalézání, setkávání a míjení v životě jednoho medievisty*. Praha: Argo; Hlaváček I. (2011). *O mých předchůdcích i současníkch: soubor studií k dějinám archivnictví, historiografie a pomocných věd historických*. Praha: Národní archiv; Spunar P. (2010). *Vlny vzpomínek: rodina – studia – akademie*. Praha: Academia.

<sup>15</sup> Hurtago A. L. (2012). *Herbert Eugene Bolton: Historian of the American Borderlands*. Berkeley – Los Angeles: University of California Press.

<sup>16</sup> Teichman J. (1938). *Zdeněk Nejedlý*. Praha: Girgal; Červinka F. (1969). *Zdeněk Nejedlý*. Praha: Melantrich; Král V. (1986). *Zdeněk Nejedlý a Gollova škola*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova; Křestan J. (2012). *Zdeněk Nejedlý: politik a vědec v osamění*. Praha: Paseka.

usually conduct qualitative research but ego-sources of archival provenience are a specific feature of his work. It is important to add that he treats these sources with the utmost caution and, in the case of personalities whose legacy is controversial, with commendable academic correctness. He definitely does not shirk from subject matter of this nature.<sup>17</sup> At the same time he endeavours sensitively to locate these topics within the overall context of national historiography, which in such instances is the most demanding task of all.

The form of Czech biography has clearly undergone development in recent years, albeit somewhat in the wake of world developments in this sphere.<sup>18</sup> Its major handicaps are certain difficulties which are specific to biography as a literary form, namely descriptiveness and a certain expected schematic structure. Nonetheless, there are signs of efforts to break out of this bind. Certainly one way to do this is narration. One very interesting item is a recent work by young historian Milan Ducháček on Václav Chaloupecký.<sup>19</sup> Ducháček undoubtedly possesses literary talent, including stylistic creativity, and does not hesitate to employ this in an academic text. In combination with academic honesty and heuristic endeavour, his technique works well. This innovative biography is certainly one of the most interesting examples of the genre in a contemporary Czech context. In this case, oral history research has created one of the most significant factual sources, as well as sources for constructing the author's "understanding" of his subject.

The school classroom is also an area in which a modern and attractively presented life story of a scientist or other well-known personality can be used in a number of ways. Evidently its most important role is in the sphere of motivation: despite its scholarly nature, biography can have an emotional effect, arouse feelings associated with pity, admiration, inspiration, patriotic pride, condemnation etc. Biography can add a human touch to classroom history, making it more attractive for pupils, more "lively" and "personal", referring to parallels between past and present. That said, much depends on the type of text and from a didactic point of view the appropriateness according to the age group of the pupils. Different facts from the life of, say, František Palacký, will be used with pupils at primary school than with students in a history seminar at secondary school. At the same time, the motivational aims might remain the same, namely to present Palacký as a real person with a human fate, shortcomings and weaknesses, implanted into the

<sup>17</sup> See e.g. Jiroušek B. (2011). *Historik Jaroslav Charvát v systému vědy a moci*. Praha: ARSCI; týž (2004). *Josef Macek: mezi historií a politikou*. Praha: Výzkumné centrum pro dějiny vědy; týž (2014). *Karel Sloukal: profesor obecných dějin*. České Budějovice: Halama.

<sup>18</sup> Ambrosius L. E. (ed.) (2004). *Writing Biography: Historians and Their Craft*. Lincoln – London: University of Nebraska Press. Also available at: [www: https:// www.questia.com/read/110189610/writing-biography-historians-their-craft](http://www.questia.com/read/110189610/writing-biography-historians-their-craft).

<sup>19</sup> Ducháček M. (2014). *Václav Chaloupecký: hledání československých dějin*. Praha: Karolinum.



society of his day – not, on the contrary, as a textbook icon suspended in a historical vacuum. Unfortunately, many personalities, as presented in current Czech textbooks, suffer from this demotivating statue-like image; the result is that pupils find texts about them demotivating. And yet a brief extract from a diary or personal correspondence, reminiscences by a descendant or close acquaintance, an amusing minor episode from the person's life, or even, for example, a caricature, providing it is within the bounds of acceptability – all these items can “light up” a standard biographical entry in a textbook. If, however, the authors of textbooks are to utilise this possibility, there needs to be a sufficient number of modern and well researched academic biographies available which may be drawn upon when creating texts for school study.

Since time immemorial biography has been a most useful genre for both historiography and didactics.<sup>20</sup> Contemporary biography, however, is complicated by issues which are encountered generally in modern historiography. In particular the use of methods which classical historiography regards with suspicion, such as qualitative research, the use of sources of a personal nature, capturing personal reflections, methods specific to anthropology or the social sciences, sometimes renders problematic the acceptance of biography as an academic or study text. However, this article suggests that heading away from conservative standpoints to greater variety in the genre is a demonstrable tendency of contemporary historiography and it is entirely possible to respect the basic principles of academic style in biography without being forced to renounce the methods described. The criterion for using personal materials as a factual source should be triangulation; for illustrative purposes regarding the subject's opinions and standpoints, a qualified commentary putting the relevant passages into context will suffice. The issue of subjectivity and objectivity in historiography is one of considerable relevance and frequent discussion. Hitherto no general consensus has ever been achieved and biography is a genre more likely to provoke rather than silence debate. At any event, for contemporary historiography, which often encounters a dearth of sources on a particular topic, to reject the use of personal materials as a source would represent an enormous loss. Every year sees a reduction in the number of witnesses to past events, together with their authentic view of the past and often unique memories.

A major issue concerning contemporary biography is the ethical aspect of research and, within that framework, also encyclopaedic biographical details within the context of developments and changes in academic discourse. The twentieth century in particular typifies this trend but still there is no need to cloud the issues or by-pass them altogether in a scholarly biography.

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<sup>20</sup> One excellent example is Plutarch's *Lives*, available in a high quality Czech translation by Jiřina Popelová – Plútarchos (1940). *Plútarchovy životopisy: Perikles Fabius Veliký Dion Brutus*. Praha: Melantrich.

A personal story is something inspirational in both a positive and negative sense, and as such it has great didactic potential. An experienced teacher who knows how to work correctly with such material in the classroom thus acquires a resource which can often have an unexpected impact. However, working with real-life stories requires preparation and professional competence, which should be provided first and foremost at faculties preparing future teachers. There also need to be appropriate thumbnail biographies available for teachers either within study texts themselves or in supplementary teaching materials. There is great didactic potential for the use of biography especially at primary schools in the Czech Republic, where local and national history is taught as a separate subject. Likewise family stories and histories as a didactic means or inspiration for a project have already proven very successful. Once again, however, it is necessary to emphasise the importance of the didactic erudition of the teacher since, as described above, the potential pitfalls are equally as great as the benefits this method undoubtedly brings.

Biography is, and will continue to be an important genre within the framework of the specialised text and subject didactics. It does have its specific features but a qualified expert, author and reader will know how to respect this factor and make use of it. It is a genre which definitely has a promising future and for the purposes of research there is no reason to shy away from it.

## Scientific Activity in Pedagogy and Education Field of Polish Students at John Casimir University in the 1930s

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*The reestablishment of Poland's independence in 1918 forced academic circles of a new state to the process of learning the history of education and culture of a native land. Polish students were among the most active participants in this sphere. They gathered in scientific societies. The Pedagogical circle of Polish students functioned in the John Casimir University in the 1930s.*

Key words: *Polish students; pedagogical science; student scientific work; student scientific circle; the John Casimir University; Second Polish Republic*

The 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the reestablishment of the independence of Poland forces us to draw attention to the first steps of the academic society of a new state in the deal of an investigation of the history of education, science, and culture of their society. Polish students of one of the oldest universities of the central part of Europe, the John Casimir University in Lviv, played vestile role in making these first steps.

The experience of an organization of student scientific life and the methods of self-realization of Polish students during the inter-war period gained the particular value. The historian of education and schooling, Kazimierz Szmyd, pointed out that “The University of Lviv contributed to the process of settling and development of different educational formations, methodological, theory-creative and theological concepts. It also gave a wide range of academic interests in the sphere of sciences about upbringing, creating the possibilities for continuation of the intellectual-scientific tradition.”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Szmyd K. (2003). *Twórcy nauk o wychowaniu w środowisku akademickim Lwowa (1860–1939)*. Rzeszów, p. 12.

As is known, the University of Lviv entered a new historical period of its development in 1918. It was caused by the fact of its passing to the jurisdiction of the reestablishment of a Polish state. The University gained the name of its founder – the King of the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth, John II Casimir. Important structural and methodical changes were made in the functioning of the academic institution. They were dictated by the demands of the formation of a system of the Polish higher education.

The scientific works of the Polish students of this University, it is worth mentioning, that it was a conceptual continuation of the certain researches of their teachers that are shown in the conceptual, methodological, and methodical aspects. Before the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a low level of the activity of managers of high pedagogical education of Galicia in the arrangement of student scientific performance is observed. It was caused by the low level of a methodological, organizing, and personal separating of pedagogy from general philosophy. The scientific separation of pedagogy was impossible due to the slow rates of development of scientific disciplines regarding upbringing in the University of Lviv and conservative beliefs among the overwhelming majority of the pedagogical staff. The professional preparation of the teachers as scientists in the University of Lviv started at the dawn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century owing to the proactiveness of Bolesław Mańkowski – in the sphere of general pedagogy and didactics; Kazimierz Twardowski – theory of upbringing and pedagogical psychology; Stanisław Lempicki – history of education and upbringing respectively.<sup>2</sup>

Scientific works of Polish students of the John Casimir University are withheld in the funds of State archives of a Lviv region. There are 35 (36) doctoral works and 14 (13) master's works (one of the master's works was added to doctoral works by mistake).<sup>3</sup>

Apparently, the historical-pedagogical theme (75.5% of a general amount) was more popular among students compared to the pedagogical one. It is due to several reasons. First, the history of a native land was more interesting for students on the emotional level during the period of independence reestablishment. The Department of History of Education and Schooling led by S. Lempicki also played an important role in this.

The most popular themes among the students and masters were the ones related to the history of Polish schooling (25 works, i.e. 77% of a thematic group and 55% of others works in general), especially the period of the activity of the Commission of Public Education and the District School Board in Galicia in Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and pedagogical figures (17 works, i.e. 46% of a thematic group and 35% of others works in general). Among the famous figures

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<sup>2</sup> Ibidem, pp. 301–302.

<sup>3</sup> Deržavnyj archiv Lvivskoj oblasti [hereinafter: DALO], f. 26, op. 4.

were: Hugo Kołłątaj, Stanisław and Szymon Konarski, acclaimed as renowned classics of the European pedagogical thought.

The scientific preparation of the students was conducted in educational lessons and classes such as “a proseminar of the history of education and schooling”, “a seminar of the history of education and schooling”, “didactic exercises”, and “psychological exercises.” The quality of the results of a student scientific work directly depended on a theory and practice of its organization by coordinators of a development of pedagogical science in the University of Lviv – K. Twardowski and S. Lempicki.<sup>4</sup>

It is obvious, that the main contributor to a student scientific work was professor Kazimierz Twardowski. The accustoming of students to an optimal organisation of an independent scientific work was considered by him as the major task of his work at the Department in the University. Most of his effort was spent on a clear and full understanding of students’ philosophical and pedagogical works as the sources of their knowledge. One of the methods he used was the process of making an abstract of the necessary works in the form of the thesis. For this purpose, the scientist primarily forced his students to comprehend text, deepen in author’s thoughts and their presentation, to express the main content in their own words.

K. Twardowski also advised using a method of a creative interpretation of a logical proceeding to make an abstract. Its aim was to attain student comprehension of a text even better than the author did himself to continue the flow of thoughts expressed in the work, by overcoming the obstacles that hindered the author’s thoughts. Such researches in scientific texts of determined judgments aligned with attempts of their further individual overworking and logical proceeding, according to the scientist’s belief, have to develop a creative thought and ability to interpret someone’s thoughts constructively. He also advised teachers who supervised student scientific work and forced young researches to use the abovementioned methods after mastering them in their own scientific works. That must have impacted their self-improvement and enable them to foresee the difficulties under way.<sup>5</sup>

Following the mentioned recommendations, the professor of history of education and schooling, a student of K. Twardowski, Stanisław Lempicki, formulated clear demands concerning a mastering of methodological knowledge and abilities to the participants of proseminars and seminars. Over a year, they had to pass a colloquium based on lectures’ content and pass self-assessment works, including summaries, reviews, reports, and analyses of a source of historical-pedagogical materials. The condition of acceptance of a whole period of the

<sup>4</sup> Szymd, K. (2003). op. cit., pp. 275–283.

<sup>5</sup> Okoń, W. (1993) *Wizerunki sławnych pedagogów polskich*. Warszawa, p. 378.

preparation consisted in accomplishment of certain individual “pensum” (a volume of didactic tasks) created by the professor out of the beforehand conditioned problems. Every student had to register their written work in a special book of a registration to maintain the rhythm and systematic character of the participants of a seminar and to achieve high level of their scientific and educational self-discipline. These works were kept in a laboratory of a seminar for a further consideration by the professor and his assistant. They decided on a scientific and methodic level of the works done by the students. For the proposes of their preparation, the participants of the seminar had the right to use the laboratory as well as scientific monographies, scientific-didactic collected volumes, and periodicals in a library of the Institute of History of Education and Schooling.<sup>6</sup>

Student scientific activity, within the framework of an educational programme of psychological and didactic practical tasks, was regulated in the same fation. Thus, the participants of the psychology seminar discussed and analyzed the outcomes of their own educational experiments. The knowledge gained in the process of using the equipping, created by Kazimierz Twardowski’s Psychological Laboratory of the University, was closey related to the practice gained during classes in Psychological Consultation of Lviv.<sup>7</sup>

It is worthy to note that a particular role in the process of intensification of scientific-pedagogical work of the students of the Lviv University was given to the forms of work done outside of the lecture halls. For instance, a powerful driver for the formation of young researches was self-organization of student scientific leisure. 43 student communities, circles, and scientific academic organizations were registered during the academic school year of 1926–1927.<sup>8</sup> According to Polish historian of pedagogical science, Kazimierz Szmyd, they created the environment of intellectual culture, a close-knit community of teachers and students, as well as triggered scientific search of future pedagogues.<sup>9</sup>

Since the 1930s, the archival documents feature the activity of student scientific society, named “Koło Pedagogiczne” (Pedagogical circle), functioning in the University. There are the reports of the society’s meetings of 1932–1939, kept in the funds of the Department of manuscripts of the Lviv National Vasyl Stefanyk Scientific Library of Ukraine. Though, it is known that the Society had even existed before. It is proved by the written message of the Head of the Government of the Society about the existence of the Book of reports about the past years, which disappeared for the reasons unknown.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> DALO, f. 26, op. 5, spr. 1060.

<sup>7</sup> DALO, f. 26, op. 5, spr. 1864.

<sup>8</sup> Kronika Uniwersytetu Jana Kazimierza we Lwowie za rok szkolny 1926/27: stanowiąca sprawozdanie Rektora i dziekanów. Lwów, p. 169–171.

<sup>9</sup> Szmyd K. (2003). op. cit., pp. 405.

<sup>10</sup> Lvivska nacionalnaja naukova biblioteka V. Stefanika. Viddil rukopisiv. [hereinafter: LNNB], f. 132, spr. 196/1, k. 1–3.

It is noteworthy that the functioning of student circles in the Second Polish Republic was regulated by the orders of the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Education of 1933<sup>11</sup> and 1937.<sup>12</sup> According to these documents academic societies of Poland were allowed to gain property and financial rights. The Pedagogic Society of the Students of Lviv also had these rights. It is proven by the librarian funds, which were on its balance, as well as numerous financial operations of the Society.<sup>13</sup> According to the Minister's Direction dated April 30, 1933, the minimum number of twenty students for the formation of a scientific society was established. There were periods when the Pedagogic society of the Students of Lviv was on the verge of disappearance.<sup>14</sup> Before the World War II, the number of participants slightly increased. For instance, in 1938 it made up 56 people,<sup>15</sup> in 1939–48 people, respectively.<sup>16</sup>

The activity of each society had to be regulated by the Statute confirmed by the Senate (Educational Board) of the University. The Senate also supervised the activity of the Society through the specially appointed curator. The Professor of the History of Education and Schooling, Stanisław Lempicki curated the Pedagogic Society of the Students of Lviv during the whole period of its activity.<sup>17</sup>

The controlling functions of the curator restricted the independence of the Society, which was shown in an obligatory character of his presence on all the meetings of the Society, confirming plans of the meetings and checking reports etc. The curator had the right of motion on all the meetings. He could also annul all the decisions made by the Society and cancel meetings. Furthermore, all declarations and appeals of the Society had to be approved by the curator.<sup>18</sup> The orders passed on October 14, 1936, narrowed the competences of academic societies even further compared to the former ones. For instance, student societies were prohibited to conduct political activities, while their premises should be located explicitly within campus. A stricter sequence of reports in front of a curator

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<sup>11</sup> Rozporządzenie Ministra Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego z dnia 30 kwietnia 1933 r. o stowarzyszeniach akademickich. *Dziennik Ustaw (DzUMWRiOP)* 1933, Issue 30, pos. 259.

<sup>12</sup> Rozporządzenie Ministra Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego z dnia 14 października 1937 r. o stowarzyszeniach akademickich. *Dziennik Ustaw (DzUMWRiOP)* 1937, Issue 78, pos. 572.

<sup>13</sup> LNNB, f. 132, spr. 196/1.

<sup>14</sup> LNNB, f. 132, spr. 196/1, k. 99.

<sup>15</sup> LNNB, f. 132, spr. 196/1, k. 93.

<sup>16</sup> LNNB, f. 132, spr. 196/1, k. 99.

<sup>17</sup> LNNB, f. 132, spr. 196/1. k. 4, 32, 91.

<sup>18</sup> Rozporządzenie Ministra Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego z dnia 30 kwietnia 1933 r. o stowarzyszeniach akademickich. *Dziennik Ustaw (DzUMWRiOP)* 1933, Issue 30, pos. 259, p. 628–631.

and the Board of the University was also foreseen.<sup>19</sup> A separate chapter of these directions concern the types of punishments for the violating the statute of a Society or the law in the sphere of academic societies, e.g. removing of managers of a society, temporarily stopping of society's activity and even its dismissal.<sup>20</sup> It is obvious that under such circumstances of the manifestation of independent activity and initiatives from student societies or separate students were a rare phenomenon and it was quickly pacified by curators. For instance, the official letter of S. Lempicki of March 27, 1939, is being kept in the archive funds. Therein he informed about the abolition of all the decisions of the former general meetings of societies from March 18 and their recurrence. The reason was a tardy informing him about the time of a meeting of the Society.<sup>21</sup>

Despite difficult juridical conditions for its activity, Pedagogic Society was famous for its active work in various statute's duties. The data about current state of the society deals are in the reports of conferences of its managers, which took place approximately once a month, as well as in the reports of general meetings of the society's participants, which took place several times a year.

The current financial deals concerning and ensuring of conducting preparational courses for the candidates for the position of primary school teachers, a report of responsible people on a conclusion of a catalogue of a pedagogical library, a concrete plan of measures on an organising of scientific readings and an invitation of lectors for the proclaiming summaries in front of the members of the Pedagogic society, as well as a financial report of the last teatime ceremony, informal meeting of the society's members, were studied during this meeting.<sup>22</sup>

Twelve men comprised to the leading organs, according to the Statute of the Pedagogical Society of the John Casimir University. The Government of a Society consisted of a Head, two assistants, a secretary, a treasurer, and a librarian. In addition, there were three men of the Revisionary commission and three men of the Society's low court.<sup>23</sup>

Archive documents show that the settling of the Pedagogical Society was a room of Institution of the History of Education and Schooling. All the meetings and scientific readings took place there and all the librarian funds were there. It was said in the report of the Government of the academic school year of

<sup>19</sup> Rozporządzenie Ministra Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego z dnia 14 października 1937 r. o stowarzyszeniach akademickich. *Dziennik Ustaw (DzUMWRiOP)* 1937, Issue 78, pos. 572, p. 1426–1428.

<sup>20</sup> Rozporządzenie Ministra Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego z dnia 14 października 1937 r. o stowarzyszeniach akademickich. *Dziennik Ustaw (DzUMWRiOP)* 1937, Issue 78, pos. 572, p. 1429–1430.

<sup>21</sup> LNNB, f. 132, spr. 196/1. k. 91.

<sup>22</sup> LNNB, f. 132, spr. 196/1. k. 27.

<sup>23</sup> LNNB, f. 132, spr. 196/1. k. 97.



1938–1939 that there were 170 positions of scientific-pedagogical literature and 26 periodicals in the funds of the library.<sup>24</sup> In the same year, by the power of the Society, 5 scientific readings were conducted, during which lecture speeches on interesting for students didactic, historic-pedagogical or psychological problems took place.<sup>25</sup> They could be even followed by a long discussion.

Feasible fundraising means to financially facilitate the realization of the Statute's tasks of the Society was the publication the synopsis by its participants of the lecture's courses of the University. For instance, the third part of the course "The Basis of the Psychology" by professor Mieczysław Kreutz was published owing to student resources.<sup>26</sup>

A particular attention should be paid to the organization of preparation courses by the participants of the Society those who prepared for the pedagogical qualifying exam and aimed for the positions of primary school teachers.<sup>27</sup> They took place in the room of Institution of the Psychology of the University. It is known that nearly 20 people attended the courses in 1939.<sup>28</sup>

Thus, Polish students organized the scientific Pedagogical Society in the 1930s, which demonstrated bright and effective attempts to join to the development of educational sciences in the John Casimir University of Lviv, existing within the juridically established borders. The society's activity attracted the Polish student environment that favored pedagogical ideas and provided an organized and didactic addition of a pedagogic preparation in the University. It became possible due to the organized and methodic activity of a coordinator of student scientific-pedagogical life in the University of Lviv, a Professor of the History of Education and Schooling, Stanisław Lempicki. The Pedagogic Society of Polish students of the John Casimir University stopped its activity due to the events surged by the World War II.

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<sup>24</sup> LNNB, f. 132, spr. 196/1. k. 99.

<sup>25</sup> LNNB, f. 132, spr. 196/1. k. 99–100.

<sup>26</sup> LNNB, f. 132, spr. 196/1. k. 100.

<sup>27</sup> LNNB, f. 132, spr. 196/1. k. 85.

<sup>28</sup> LNNB, f. 132, spr. 196/1. k. 100.

# Education as a National Value of Ukrainian Society on its Way of Gaining Independence in the West-Ukrainian Pedagogical Press of Galicia up to 1918

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*According to the materials of the Ukrainian speaking pedagogical press of Galicia (Austria-Hungary), one of the periods of the awareness of the Ukrainian community of the value of education is characterized in the article. There are established three levels of this process. During the first level (1863–1875), the educational value is propagandized by the pedagogical periodic of Moscofihiles. They declared about the Ukrainian public school of Austria which had its own demands and rights that were legally proved, but not realized in practice. During the second level (1875–1909) the value of the Ukrainian-speaking school education and upbringing was popularized and interpreted by the public-political flow and the pedagogical press of narodovtsi that formed national Ukrainian identity in the society. 1910–1914 – is the third, not completed level. The understanding of the importance of education for a person, community, state was popularized by press, which was created by teachers of public school, professors of gymnasiums and universities – in interaction, as well as during the competition between the co-existing communities before state and social institutions.*

Key words: *education as a national value; national school; pedagogical press; Galicia up to 1918*

Education as a value has a subject affiliation, and due to this, it is treated as the state, social (of a nation, a community or a community group), and the personal value – the value of a conscious person, accepted by them up to the current attitude to education in general and to their own in particular.

The state value of education is determined by its accepted declarative and legislative acts, the percentage of gross domestic product, which is given for the educational demands, by the scales of promoting and help – the financial and non-

financial support of the educational demands of people and the expanding the functionality of educational institutions.

The state value of education is included in the general politics of the government and the managerial, organizational activities combined with government organizations, institutions that promote the education of their country on the international and global level. At the same time, the state educational value can only be declared, ideologically distorted, not really guaranteed either by legal or financial mechanisms, its interpretations can be different from the national ones.

The educational value can also be realized by its society as a value of the nation, yet on the way to formation or restoration of a statehood. For instance, M. Hrushevskiy, the Ukrainian historian, a public and political figure (1917–1918 – the Head of the Central Rada of the Ukrainian National Republic), wrote in his work “Our School” “... it’s quite obvious that only the nationalization of school on the Ukrainian territory can give the basis of successful cultural and economic development for Ukrainian people, equip them with the equal weapon in the competition of nationalities, prevent from the prospect of lagging in the general cultural and economic progress.”<sup>1</sup>

The social value of education – the society, communities, organizations, groups that are united according to a national, religion, or a territorial feature, is determined by to which extent a community can realize, develop by its resources and defend the value of education in interaction or competition with co-existing communities, in front of public and social institutions. The author of the monograph “Philosophy of education for the 21<sup>st</sup> century” (1998) B. Hershunskii generalized that “The maturity of society ... is determined by the extent to which it manages to lobby educational priorities in higher state institutions.”<sup>2</sup>

Education was a national value for the Ukrainian, as the society that was included in the content of two monarchies: Austro-Hungary and Russia. It was realized, formed, developed, and defended. They fight for it by different methods on all levels of social organization. In general, all the aspects, priorities and goals of educational activity in society could not be achieved under the condition of the absence of a national state.

The aim of the article is the analysis of the processes of awareness, understanding, development of the value of national education and the experience of its defending by the Ukrainian of the East part of Galicia (the East part of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, the crown territory of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy), those who were presented in the West-Ukrainian pedagogical press from the beginning of its appearing in 1863 and up to 1918 (the year of the decay of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy).

<sup>1</sup> Hruševskij M. (1909). *Naša škola*. Kn. 1–2, Lviv, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Geršunskij B. (1998). *Filosofija obrazovanija dlja XXI. veka*. Moskva, p. 41.

Let's have a look on the running of the processes of realization, understanding, and interpretation of the national education as a value and possibility of the development by the Ukrainian of the East part of Galicia. The Supreme Ruthenian Council, the first legal organization of the Ukrainian of Galicia (founded in 1948), after the declaring itself a representative of the Ukrainian people, set its main task the awakening of its national consciousness and culture and proposed a program for the construction of a Ukrainian school in Galicia.<sup>3</sup> In 1949, the first Ukrainian-speaking newspaper in Galicia, "Zoria Galytska", introduced a special heading "Articles relating to schools and public education." Though, the main emphasis was made on the creation of Ukrainian-language folk schools, which was considered as a priority task in the actions for the revival of national culture. So the article "On the need for education for the Ruskyi society"<sup>4</sup> considers the general primary education as one of the means of raising the standard of life of Ukrainian society, its development and culture. However, such important tasks were slowed down by a lot of factors, e.g. a reaction period after the revolution and the spread of the ideology of Muscovite in Galicia.

The value of education for the Ukrainian society of Galicia was promoted by the pedagogical periodical which was filled with the ideas of Muscovite – a political trend oriented to the Orthodox Church, Russian culture and Russian identity with uncertain hopes to help Russia defend the interests of the 'Galician Rusyns.' Their social base was the Galician priestly intelligentsia. At this time, after the proclamation of the constitutional monarchy, the following reforms were conducted in Austro-Hungary, e.g. the reform of primary education, which becomes compulsory and free; the reform of pedagogical education, according to which they started to prepare a future teacher as a civil servant in the seminaries; the creation of state education authorities – central and local school councils.

Two pedagogical magazines "House and School" (1863–1864, edited by I. Gushalevich) were published in these years. The main authors of the articles were priests I. Naumovich, A. Danilovich, teachers M. Kernytsky, S. Dubravsky); the application "School" to the magazine "Letter to the community" (1864–1865, editor S. Shehovich); "Teacher" (1869–1874, editor M. Klemertovich).

The magazines contained a lot of religious and agricultural texts, as well as the articles about the upbringing of children, didactic materials for teachers. A great part of the texts was printed in Church Slavonic. The school was considered a place that gives elementary knowledge to a child and, more importantly, provides religious and moral education and maintains a close connection with the church. The press of this period does not often oppose the educational policy of the Austro-Hungarian government. The main problem it focuses on the state level is the withdrawal of the elementary school from the management of the consistory,

<sup>3</sup> Centralnyj deržavnyj istoryčeskyj archiv Ukrajinu u Lvovi, f. 180, op. 1, spr. 37, pp. 1–45.

<sup>4</sup> O potrebe prosvješčenija dlja ruskoho naroda. *Zorja Galicka* (1949). Lviv, no. 83, pp. 493–500.

because “priests were selected for school management,”<sup>5</sup> on the local level – the close cooperation between a teacher and a priest, and also the inexpediency of including “superfluous” knowledge (that is not necessary for a rural child) to the content of education.

However, among the teachers’ notes, the attempts to analyze the educational problems for Ukrainians were found: The system of education and the teacher training system do not correspond to the needs of the region, the anonymous author of the article writes.<sup>6</sup>

Let’s summarize that from 1863 to 1875, the Muscovophilian pedagogical periodical of Galicia, by its own existence, along with the government and pro-government pedagogical press, considered a Ukrainian folk school as a subsystem in the school system of Austria, which has its own needs and rights, which are legally enshrined but not implemented in practice. At the same time, exactly these rights were recognized and interpreted by the majority of active participants in the public-pedagogical movement rather carefully. Education was treated as a means of preserving the identity of the “Ryskyi nation” within the empire. Its task was the formation of the moral and religious values and knowledge, skills necessary for life according to its social origin. The main goals for which the activity of the community and the representatives in the Galician Sejm should have been directed were: 1) the maintenance of public education in the sphere of governing (influence) of the church; 2) the monitoring the professional training and activities of teachers for the public school by the church authorities; 3) the improvement of state financing of schools.

The value of Ukrainian language education and upbringing is interpreted for the Ukrainian population of Galicia by the pedagogical press, the founders and commentators of which were in opposition to the Muscovites in the political camp of the Narodovites. The socio-political current in Western Ukrainian society, the representatives of which realized and formed Ukrainian identity, focused on the culture of Ukraine as the ethnically united community. The social basis of narodovstvo was the Galician secular intelligentsia, mostly children of priests and a few indigenous Ukrainian families of Lviv residents, Stanislaviv, Przemysl and large towns of Galicia – teachers, lawyers, writers, journalists, doctors, etc.

The national movement was being expanded in Galicia during this period, the inclusion of Ukrainians to the political struggle took place at that time, as well as the entry of their representatives into the electoral authorities – the Galician Sejm and the Vienna Parliament, which allowed the Ukrainian community to take a more active part in the processes of state-building schools directly, however not so much influence on the provision of educational priorities for Ukrainians was done.

<sup>5</sup> Padenyje narodnych škol (1869). *Učitel*. Lviv, no. 29, p. 114.

<sup>6</sup> Zemlepisnaja nauka v narodnych školach. *Učitel*. Lviv, no. 3, p. 10.

The following pedagogical magazines appeared in this period of time: “Gazeta szkolnaya” (Lviv, 1875–1879), “School Newspaper” (Lviv, 1880–1888), “Teacher” (Lviv, 1889–1914); “Ruska school” (Chernivtsi, 1888, 1891); “The Beam” (Vashkivtsi, 1904–1907); “The Flag” (Lviv-Kolomyia, 1908–1912), which positioned themselves as printed authorities, or active sympathies of the educational societies of the region.

The press at that time was completely Ukrainian. It had a high, as for this time, scientific and pedagogical potential, providing a sufficient depth of showing school issues, covering all areas of school and socio-political life of the region. Moreover, it became the direct organizer of “Rus Pedagogical Society” (Galicia, the year of founding – 1881), the Community “Mutual aid Galician and Bukovina teachers and teachers” (Galicia, Bukovina, 1905); the Association of teachers of secondary and high schools in Galicia “Teacher Community” (1909) – social and educational organizations of teachers and community activists who focused their activities on lobbying interests of Ukrainian teachers and the Ukrainian school of Galicia in front of the official educational institutions and authorities, in a multinational environment of the region.

One of the logical and efficient disadvantages of this period was the unpreparedness of the multinational society of Austria-Hungary, including the Ukrainians and Poles in Galicia, to treat with a tolerance the competition of each other's to protect their constitutional rights, including the right for education, which was well supported by the central Austrian power.

Thus, defending the value of education for the society, which was the main focus of the socio-pedagogical movement, the activities of the press was being done in the context of the struggle for a native language school against its naming and polonization. The publications about such problems were written in the above-mentioned magazines. Numerous reports of folk teachers in the 70's and 80's of the 19th century about the denationalization of schools concerned the facts of changing the language of teaching in villages and towns where the Ukrainian-speaking population prevailed.<sup>7</sup>

It is worth emphasizing that the confrontation of the Galician Polish and Ukrainian communities on the basis of the school, (namely understanding its value for the development of national aims and the struggle for personal liberties under the conditions of the empire) was a typical consequence of the general colonial policy of Austria, but not the optimal and not the only possible way of gaining autonomy or independence for both national groups. The growing conflicts of this confrontation in the educational sphere were also one of the negative factors that contributed to further confrontation in the military and interwar years. The best way to characterize this phenomenon is to call it the immaturity of democratic values in the society of the former empire, which was

<sup>7</sup> V schidnoj Halyčyni (1879). *Hazeta školna*, no. 19, p. 162.

only at the beginning of the transition to a constitutional system and the protection of democratic freedoms and values.

At that time, the value of education is interpreted in the press as the value of a person for its development, as the value of the Ukrainian community, as an opportunity for its progress, as one of the tools for building a more perfect society – the community of Ukrainians in multinational Austria-Hungary, and at the same time more equal in their capabilities with others communities.

The first clear definition of the value of the Ukrainian national school was formulated as follows: “The national school must be national in the full sense of this word; its duty is to upbringing children in the national spirit.”<sup>8</sup> O. Partytsky, G. Vertyson, O. Vlasychuk, O. Ivanchuk, K. Malyts’ka, I. Kapustoy, M. Baran, M. Radetsky, I. Yuschyshyn, I. Petryshyn worked insistently on the development of the idea of the Ukrainian national school as an individual and social value in the 70–90s of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The most important aspect of the educational value, realized and propagandized by the teachers and socio-political figures of that time, was the statement that education and school is a national matter and all social groups are responsible for its implementation. Therefore, activities aimed at the developing of schools and education were one of the priorities tasks of the Ukrainian community.

In general, during the period from 1875 to 1909, thanks to the activities of pedagogical periodicals and societies of teachers, the public-pedagogical community of Galicia provided awareness of the value of education at all and the national education in particular. It started to initiate and popularize by itself the idea of education on all social levels as well as the need to support own school and a teacher with the whole community. It tried to reach the understanding of these ideas by the inhabitants of the region, especially by illiterate villagers.

The period between 1910 and 1914 is a new stage in the understanding and interpreting of the educational value in the Ukrainian environment of Galicia, which was interrupted by the First World War. The understanding of the value of education for a person, communities, and a state was brought to the society by the press, created by the national school teachers, professors of gymnasiums and universities, people and groups of people who can understand, develop by their resources and defend the value of education in interaction, as well as in competition with co-existing communities in front of public and social institutions. It is the period when Ukrainians in Galicia had already had their own political parties, deputies in the Sejm and Parliament, large-scale public organizations, professional associations.

The following magazines belong to the pedagogical press of this period: the magazine “Our School” (Lviv, 1909–1914); “Teacher” (up to 1914); “The teacher’s

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<sup>8</sup> Sprawy škol našych v deržavnoj Rade u Vidni (1884). *Školna časopys*, no. 7. p. 54.

word” (Lviv, 1912–1914, 1916). They interpret native-language education as a vital condition for the development of Ukrainian society and ensuring its autonomy, and subsequently the restoration of a statehood.

Describing this period, it’s worth emphasizing that the Ukrainian community, on its own experience, was convinced of the value of education. The community was largely able to realize, develop by its resources and defend the value of education before the state and social institutions. By the means of pedagogical periodicals, the idea of the necessity of a national school on the territory of Ukraine was spreading through the society. The Western Ukrainian and East Ukrainian educators, public and political figures were involved in its popularization. According to M. Hrushevsky, the task of nationalization of school (in the narrower sense – the introduction of the Ukrainian language of studying) stood before the Ukrainians in Russia. Before the Ukrainians in Austria, where certain elements of the national school had already existed, was the task of nationalization in the broad sense – the transformation of individual elements “into the uniform system of the national school from the bottom to the top”.<sup>9</sup>

Analyzing the importance of the native language education, M. Hrushevsky wrote: “But school deals are inseparable from other equally important issues, which in the end are reduced to one – the ensuring of national independence.”<sup>10</sup> On his initiative, the creation of the Regional School Union was founded as an alternative authority for teaching Ukrainian-language education in Galicia. The Union consisted of representatives of public pedagogical political and economic structures of Ukrainian society: “Teacher’s community”, “Mutual assistance of Galician and Bukovinian teachers”, “Ukrainian pedagogical society” of national democratic, radical and socialist parties, “Prosvita”, “Dniester”, directors of Ukrainian private schools, etc. In 1910, “Our School” published the program of the National School Union and the appeal to Ukrainians – “Peoples and Landlords!” and defined its tasks: to systematize all work concerning the organization of the Ukrainian school from primary to higher, to centralize the fragmented activities of various societies and communities, to give it a conscious feature, direction and aim, and at the same time to associate it with the widest circles of the Ukrainian public, to give them strength and energy, and to acquire the necessary money and means for it.<sup>11</sup>

The conceptual works of the Ukrainian national school in the pedagogical press of this period were published by M. Hrushevsky, O. Ivanchuk, I. Kapusty, I. Yushchyslyn, O. Kulinich. The Western Ukrainian teachers and professors such as M. Voznyak, M. Baran, O. Vlasiychuk, S. Tomashivskyi, East-Ukrainian Y. Chepiha-Zelenkevich, I. Radeky, M. Smirnov worked on the important directions

<sup>9</sup> Hruševskij M. (1909). *Naša škola. Naša škola*, Kn. I–II, p. 3.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> *Zemljaki i zemlačky* (1910). *Naša škola*, Kn. 1, p. 9.



of implementation of the concept of school in practice. Their main ideas concerned and were close to pragmatism, “free school”, social reconstructivism, Christian outlook. The most conceptually integral one was the theoretical development of the idea of a national school based on the principles of “free education” of Jan Chepig-Zelenkevich. The most comprehensive structurally and normatively competently concluded was a large-scale “Project to replace the state school law from May 14, 1869” in fact, it was the first Ukrainian draft law about education.

National education as a value in the interpretation of Western Ukrainian society at this stage covered all levels of education, including pre-school and university. Its main aim was the versatile harmonious development of an individual with the active life position. Accordingly, the activities of the representatives of the Regional School Union were aimed at “taking care of the schooling public, official, about the greatest presence of our youth in public schools.”<sup>12</sup> The “Native School” fund created for the development of private schools received 43,433 crowns only in 1911.<sup>13</sup> The magazines “Our School” and “Teacher” published guidelines for the establishment of private schools, secondary and primary schools, in accordance with the regional laws. Ukrainian deputies were obliged to seek government subsidies in the support of private schools. The teachers, dismissed from public schools for active civic positions, were offered a place of work. Thus, the state and private Ukrainian schools received substantial financial and public-pedagogical support. L. Salo wrote the instruction paper “Business Pragmatics for Private School Teachers”, O. Kulinich “On the Structure of Public Schools in Galicia”, and O. Soletis “A Primer for the Science of the Illiterate”.

Summarizing the public-pedagogical activity of Ukrainians in Galicia during this short period of protecting the value of education and lobbying for its priorities, it is worth emphasizing, first of all, on the scale from legal initiatives to scientific and theoretical intelligence and the fact that the issue of education has been really raised as a matter of the state level and its importance for every conscious person is accentuated.

Thus, there were three stages of development (awareness) of the value of education by the Ukrainian community in Galicia, in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries before the restoration of Ukrainian statehood. During the first period, it was announced about the Ukrainian folk school of Austria, which had its own needs and rights fixed by the law, but the very value of education was perceived and interpreted rather limitedly as a means of preserving the identity of the “Russian” people for the formation of moral and religious values and the acquisition of knowledge in accordance with the social origin. The second

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>13</sup> Okljad dojaknosti Krajevoho školnoho Sojuza (1912). *Naša škola*, Kn. 1, p. 59.

stage – the value of education was interpreted as the value of a person and community for further development, popularized by the need to support their school and teacher throughout the community. The third stage is not completed yet – the understanding of the value of education for a person, community, state, which needs to be developed by its own resources and the value of education in interaction should be defended, as well as in the competition with co-existing communities in front of state and public institutions.

## Poles in Siberia: A Database on Russian-Polish History

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*The paper objective is the bibliometric analysis of DB Poles in Siberia: to determine IA type-specific composition, characterize its elements, show the core periodicals (magazines with the largest number of publications), present complex materials on the Polish leaders (personalities), represent trends of scientific problems Poles in Siberia development.*

Key words: *bibliographic database; bibliometric analysis; Siberia; Poles; history; information source*

The history of Poles for several centuries is inseparably linked with the history of Russia and, in particular, Siberia. Unfortunately, Poles settling in Siberia did not have natural reasons commonly. Siberia was a place of exile – and not only in times of Tsarist Russia, but also in the more recent Soviet times. Members of the Polish uprisings of 1830 and 1863 were exiled in Siberia, Poles were deported here during the unrest in Poland in 1905–1907 and in the Soviet period those deported from Western Ukraine and Belarus. Some Poles moved to Siberia on their own, because they seemed to Siberia to be an economically advantageous region. Russia's largest Polish national community was formed in Siberia. Merging different peoples took place under various circumstances, but eventually there was a positive result – mutual (cultural, scientific, etc.) enrichment. The history of Polish people has become an integral part of Russian history [Solov'ev, 2003].<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that in Russia there are a significant number of public organizations dealing with the Russian Poles (culture, education, ethnic and national issues). In 1992, part of them joined the all-Russian public organization, the Federal Polish National-Cultural Autonomy “Congress of Poles in Russia”. It currently consists of over 50 organizations: Polish House (Moscow), “Ognivo” – the Polish cultural autonomy (Irkutsk), Polish House (Krasnoyarsk), “Polonia” – the Polish public organization

<sup>1</sup> Solov'ev S. (2003). *Istoriia padeniia Pol'shi. Vostochnyi vopros*. Moskva, AST, Asterel', p. 364.

(Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), as well as representatives of regional public associations of Poles in Russia.

State Public Scientific Technological Library of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences (GPNTB SO RAN) develops international cultural relations, exchanges experiences with foreign libraries. Russian-Polish ties in the field of book culture become a natural part of international scientific cooperation. In September–October 2012, GPNTB SO RAN together with Józef Mianowski Kassa (the oldest Fund of science support in Poland) implemented a project on organization of Polish-Russian scientific seminars “SIBIRICA – Poles history in Siberia in Polish and Russian scholars study” (<http://www.spsl.nsc.ru/win/poliak.htm>). The project involves Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie [the National Library of Poland] that shows the interest of the Polish units of scientific information in cooperation with the Russian documentation centers. In 2013 the Center of Polish Science and Culture was founded in GPNTB SO RAN to promote contacts, to maintain dialogue between the Polish and Russian researchers and artists, to disseminate information about the achievements of Polish science and culture, to propagate knowledge about Polish culture in Russia.<sup>2</sup> The international conference “Issues of Russian-Polish history and cultural dialogue” was held in GPNTB SO RAN the same year (<http://bsk.nios.ru/content/problemy-rossiysko-polskoy-istorii-i-kulturnyy-dialog.html>). Annually, events in frames of Days of Polish science and culture occur. Thus, in December 2016, the General Consul of the Republic of Poland in Irkutsk Krzysztof Swiderek took part in a “round table”. The conferences, workshops, and meetings discussed issues of methodology, historiography and source base of studying the history of Poles in Siberia were considered bibliologic aspects of the Polish-Siberian history. The topics of SIBIRICA bibliographic recording and reports on GPNTB SO RAN’s activities in the field of studying Poles history in Siberia presented at these scientific events<sup>3</sup> were of great interests.

Within the framework of the Polish-Siberian cultural dialogue GPNTB SO RAN has generated subjected bibliographic database (DB) Poles in Siberia, which reflects materials on the history of the Polish people life in Siberia. DB is unique and has no analogues abroad. It includes publications on the Russian Far East, as in certain periods of the history the term ‘Siberia’ designated the entire territory of Russia beyond the Urals. DB reflects the documents published mostly in Russian (95%). The National Library of Poland collects publications in Polish and other languages on the history of Poles (<http://www.bn.org.pl/katalogi-i-bibliografie>)

<sup>2</sup> Troyak I. (2014). *Novye aspekty pol'sko-rossiiskikh svyazei v oblasti nauki o knige*. Trudy GPNTB SO RAN, 7, pp. 681–686.

<sup>3</sup> Mandrinina L. (2013). *Problemy istorii poliakov v Sibiri: analiz dokumentopotoka materialov nauchnykh meropriyatii (na osnove baz dannykh sobstvennoi generatsii GPNTB SO RAN)*. *Problemy rossiisko-pol'skoi istorii i kul'turnyi dialog*. Novosibirsk, Institut istorii SO RAN, p. 524.

and it makes no sense to duplicate its work. DB Poles in Siberia is formed on the basis of fundamental DBs of GPNTB SO RAN's own generation: Scientific Sibirica, Siberian and Far Eastern Books (union catalog), The history of books and book business in Siberia and the Far East, as well as materials from secondary sources (electronic catalogs of other libraries, remote databases, monographs and articles' references.<sup>4</sup> On the 1<sup>st</sup> of March 2017 DB includes 1369 bibliographic records of documents (it is replenished currently). Most of the documents reflected in DB Poles in Siberia is available in SPSTL SB RAS's stocks. Each user may become a virtual reader of SPSTL SB RAS, and can order the document full text on the library homepage ([www.spsl.nsc.ru](http://www.spsl.nsc.ru)). The necessary item will be delivered by email in two working days.

The temporal frames of DB publications are 1989–2016. IA includes bibliographic records on monographs; theses and dissertations; articles from journals, anthologies, newspapers (optional), proceedings of conferences, meetings, seminars, etc. and other documents.

Scientific conferences, symposia, seminars are the most effective ways to promote scientific thought, to develop new ideas and directions. Lively views exchange, recent scientific findings are reported in their scenes. Proceedings of scholarly events make up 44.5% (606 titles) of IA. More than 200 international, national and regional conferences took place during the period from 1989 to 2016 on the mentioned above problem, some of them were held in GPNTB SO RAN: The problems of the Russian-Polish history and cultural dialogue.

Tracing the publications dynamics, it should be noted that rise of publications number in some years was primarily due to proceedings of humanities conferences (international, national, regional), where research results on the Polish history in Siberia were reported. Thus, 50% or more publications of 1992, 1998, 2003, 2005, 2007–2009, 2011–2014 are conferences' proceedings. The amount of publication for last 6 years is close to the previous 10-year period. Besides, it should be noted that literature published in 2016 comes to the library nowadays, that's why we can conclude that number of publications in 2010s will be much greater. It shows the growing interest of researchers to this problem.

The main topics of scientific events reports were the following:

- Polish scientists contribution in studying Siberia (geology, geography, hydrology, biology, ethnography, linguistics, etc.);
- memories, diaries of exiled Poles as sources on the history of Poles in Siberia;
- deportation of Polish citizens to Siberia (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the XIX century, 1940–1956);
- Poles children in Siberia (repatriation of orphans in Siberia, Polish children's home);

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<sup>4</sup> Busygina T., Lavrik O., Mandrinina L., Rykova V. (2015). Evoliutsiia bibliograficheskoi deiatelnosti v protsesse sozdaniia informatsionnykh resursov v GPNTB SO RAN. *Bibliosfera*, 4, pp. 49–56.

- peasants-immigrants (the late XIX – early XX centuries);
- Circum-Baikal uprising of Polish political exiles (1866);
- intercultural interaction in Siberia;
- museology (studying materials on the history of Poles in Siberia);
- Polonia movement;
- Polish village in Siberia;
- Polish diaspora in Siberia;
- Polish intelligentsia in Siberia;
- Polish literature and Siberia;
- Polish troops, military formations in Siberia (1830, 1920);
- Polish organizations and centers of Polish culture in Siberia;
- Polish special immigrants (1940–1941);
- Polish language in Siberia;
- Polish and Russian culture (libraries, education, music, art);
- Poles – Old believers in Siberia;
- Polish builders (Trans-Siberian, Taishet-Ust'-Kut Railways, etc.);
- religion (Catholicism) in Siberia;
- Poles exiling to Siberia (political, criminals).

More than 360 articles on the history of Poles in Siberia are included (over 26% of IA) in 124 collections of papers reflected in DB, 8 of which are the most “productive” – (160 articles or 45 % of this type of documents) including six collections devoted directly to the Polish issue: “Benedikt Dybovskii” (Novosibirsk, 2000), *Siberia in the history and culture of the Polish nation* (Moskva, 2002), *Memories of Siberia: memoirs, essays, diary entries of Polish political exiles in Eastern Siberia, the first half of the XIX century* (Irkutsk, 2009); *Poles in Buryatia* (Ulan-Ude, 2012); *Poles in Altai. Altai in Poland (XVIII–XXI centuries)* (Barnaul, 2013); *Polish exiles in Siberia in the second half of the XVIII – early XX centuries in the perception of the Russian administration, migrants and indigenous peoples of Siberia* (Omsk, 2015). The book “Sibir’ v istorii ...” is a commemorative edition dedicated to Bronislav Pilsudskii (1866–1918), an exile, convict, prominent researcher of culture of Amur and Sakhalin peoples. The book was prepared with the participation of the Congress of Poles in Russia, Wrocław University, Centre for Eastern Studies and the Department of Ethnology of the Seminary of the Divine Savior Society, “Polish Community” Association.

Articles in periodicals are 16 % of IA total number, 222 publications in 80 titles of journals. “Core journals” (the edition with the highest number of publications) consists of 10 periodicals. In the rest magazines the number publication varies from 4 to 1.

Among the journals that are not included in the “core” are editions of state universities (Buryatian, Omsk, Khakasian, Kemerovo, etc.) and local history magazines. We believe that the topic of the Polish-Siberian history is relevant and, therefore, it may be wise to think about a separate journal or thematic issues on

the history of Russian-Polish and Polish-Siberian relations considering the information dispersion on many sources.

Monographs are about 5 % of IA publications (63 titles). Point basic books published in 2015–2016: Korol'kov A. "Polish character in Siberia" (Irkutsk, 2016); Ostrovskii L. K. Poles in West Siberia in the late XIX – early XX centuries (Novosibirsk, 2016); Shostakovich B. S. Polish phenomenon of Siberian history (XVII century – 1917 (Moscow, 2015); Kuchin'skii A. Siberia. 400 years of the Polish Diaspora links, martyrdom and achievements of Poles in Siberia exploration (Moscow, 2015); Mitrenga-Ulitina S. Language of Polish inhabitants of the village Vershyna in Siberia (Lublin, 2015) (in Polish).

DB Poles in Siberia services provide information about the Polish famous people, whose activity has been related to Siberia. Categories dedicated to personalities, if possible, include information that gives a detailed description of a particular figure. For example: *Dybovskii Benedict T. I.* [in Polish: *Benedykt Tadeusz Dybowski*] – Polish-Russian geographer, zoologist, physician, linguist and social activist; 1833–1930.

The bibliographic DB provides information on the activities of approximately 200 Poles (about 450 publications). Some of the materials are devoted to Polish researchers of Siberia. They should be divided into two groups by their investigation directions: 1) natural-geographical research: geology, geography, hydrology, cartography, botany, zoology; 2) Human studies: archeology, anthropology, ethnography, linguistics (Table 2). It should be noted that some of the Polish leaders, possessing encyclopedic knowledge, were generalists and have been studying both the nature and peoples of the region. E.g., B. Pilsudskii was sent to Sakhalin for the organization of meteorological observations, and became a world-known scientist due to the work on studying indigenous peoples of the Far East – Ainu, Nivkh, Orok.

Not all DB publications are browsed for personalities and require further serious work on the direct study of texts to identify factual data about Poles, Polish organizations, etc.

The analysis of DB Poles in Siberia has shown that the study of the Polish theme in Russian history has a strong scientific basis, the publications dynamics is of a positive trend. Study results on the Poles history are presented at numerous conferences and published in books and magazines. There is a need to publish special journal or thematic issues on Siberian Poles history and Polish-Russian relations. The necessity of further analytical work on replenishing DB Poles in Siberia with documents of the pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary periods expanding the range of subjects of primary and secondary sources in order to reveal materials on the activities of Poles in Siberia is obvious.

## Ukrainian Academy of Economics in Poděbrady

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*The article highlights the Czech-Ukrainian educational and economic dialogue in the context of development of the agricultural technology education in Western Ukraine and the activities of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics in Poděbrady. The analysis of the cooperation of the Ukrainian Academy in Poděbrady with the Ukrainian economic institutions in Halychyna, in particular with the company “Silskyi Hospodar” and the Greek Catholic Metropolitanate of Halych has been carried out. The works of such scientists and economists as V. Domanytskyi, S. Borodayevskiy, M. Kholevchuk, Ye. Khraplyvyi, who were the theorists and practitioners of economic education development, were reviewed.*

Key words: *Poděbrady; dialogue; Western Ukraine; economic education; Ukrainian economic academy; vocational education institutions; Ukrainian Technical Economic Institute*

The first third of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was marked with the significant changes in the training of professional staff in European countries and the U.S.A.; the system of professional schooling was refined, which was caused by the development of agriculture, technology and new lines of industry. Similar processes were taking place in Western Ukraine as well, but much slower, which was caused by the peculiarities of the political, social and economic development of the region and the traditions of economic management.

Vocational education differed from general education provided by comprehensive schools or higher educational establishments. In professional schools learning process aimed at formation of a competent person, who possessed theoretical as well as practical knowledge and skills. Structurally, vocational and economic education in Western Ukraine was formed by trading, industrial and agricultural educational institutions, whose activities combined both local features and European experience.

The system of Ukrainian vocational education in Western Ukraine was mainly private. Foundation and activities of vocational education institutions were under control of Ukrainian associations and institutions like “Prosvita”, “Ridna Shkola”, “Revision Union of Ukrainian Cooperatives” (hereinafter – RUUC), “National Trade”, “Silskyi Hospodar”, and “Maslosoyuz”. The Silskyi Hospodar society played a particularly important role in spreading agricultural knowledge and introducing the latest technologies into agriculture and households. Organization of the



students' cooperatives and introduction of the theoretical course on cooperation were some of the lines of activity of "Ridna Shkola" community in the field of trade and cooperative education. Economic societies "National Trade" and "Maslosoyuz" focused on training skilled personnel for their own needs. RUUC performed informational and coordinating functions in the process of dissemination and implementation of cooperative learning.

There were no Ukrainian higher schools of polytechnic type in Western Ukraine in the interwar period. The only institution of such type was functioning in Poděbrady – the Ukrainian Economic Academy (hereinafter – UEA), founded in 1922 as a scientific and vocational education institution. UEA trained young people in economic and technical work in the fields of agronomy, forestry, hydrotechny, economics, statistics, and cooperation. Poděbrady Academy had three faculties: agronomic-forestry, economic-cooperative and engineering, in the structure of which there were more than 50 departments. In 1932, the Ukrainian Technical Economic Institute of Extramural training (hereinafter – UTEI) was set up at the UEA, where students were trained to work independently in various fields of industry, cooperation and commerce. UTEI had economic-cooperative, agronomic-forestry and chemical-technological departments, Ukrainian studies courses and the school of political sciences. As a rule, extra-mural student were teachers, craftsmen, government officials and cooperators.<sup>1</sup>

UEA and UTEI closely collaborated with the cultural, educational and economic institutions which functioned in Halychyna. In 1928, the "Committee on work of the travelling academic departments in Western Ukraine" was formed in Lviv upon the initiative of the "Silskyi Hospodar", RUUC and UEA in Poděbrady. In the summer Committee members organized "days of field trips" to villages, towns and cities of Western Ukraine for carrying out educational and scientific as well as economic and organizational work among urban and rural intelligentsia, especially among teachers, priests and cooperative activists. They visited Volhynia, Kholmshchyna, Polissia and Halychyna areas, namely the towns of Ternopil, Stanislaviv, Przemysl, Drohobych, Kosiv, Kolomyia, Myluvannia, Zalishchyky, Yanchyn and Dolne. Representatives of the agronomic-forest and economic-cooperative faculties of the UEA, whose intention was to attract attention of the most important Ukrainian cultural, educational and economic institutions to their campaign, were actively involved in the work of the Committee.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hipters S. (2005). The economic education of young people in Halychyna in the early twentieth century. In *Pedagogics and psychology of vocational education: scientific and methodological journal*, Lviv, No. 2, p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> Central historical archive of Ukraine in the city of Lviv (hereinafter – CSHAL), Fund 302, Series 1, File 283 (Letter of the Ukrainian Economic Academy in Poděbrady with the decision of the Senate of the Academy to send representatives of the department to Halychyna to give a lecture on agriculture, 1928), sh. 3.

The most successful was the cooperation of UEA with the “Silskyi Hospodar” society. In the structure of the given society there was a division that provided assistance to the Ukrainian Economic Academy, and the rector of the UEA, Professor Borys Ivanytskyi, visited it on some occasions. The members of this division promoted the educational process at the Academy by distributing leaflets among agronomists in Halychyna and publishing some information in the press, namely, in the periodicals of the RUUC – “Economic-Cooperative Journal” and “Life and Knowledge.”<sup>3</sup> In 1933, 4000 UTEI posters were published, 3600 of which were sent out with the periodical “Economic-Cooperative Journal”; 2000 “flyers” informed about the course of Ukrainian studies, 1,400 of which were sent out with the journal “Life and Knowledge.” Through the “Farmer” society UEA students and UTEI learners were trained in economic institutions and organizations which functioned in Halychyna.

The Assistance Division of the Ukrainian Economic Academy within the “Silskyi Hospodar” society was preparing for publication and publishing educational materials on the Ukrainian Studies course for students of UEA and UTEI; it was also engaged in the exchange of books. Particularly, in 1935 the Division organized an exhibition of the UTEI publications during the general meeting of the “Riy” cooperative. Members of the Division demanded the creation of the sections aiming at providing assistance to higher schools within the framework of T. Shevchenko Scientific Society or “Ridna Shkola.” However, this task could not have been fulfilled as it contradicted to the statutory norms of scientific and educational organizations.<sup>4</sup> The scholarship fund of the “Silskyi Hospodar” society, supported by the UEA in Poděbrady, provided scholarships for Ukrainian young people to study abroad, in particular in Belgium,<sup>5</sup> Denmark and the Netherlands.<sup>6</sup>

Representatives of the “Silskyi Hospodar” society and the Poděbrady Academy urged trainee students to actively participate in agricultural work abroad and apply the foreign experience they gained in Ukraine in order to improve the economic situation of the Ukrainians. They emphasized the importance of maintaining contact and reporting on work abroad: “While being in Denmark, we kindly ask you not to lose touch with our Society, and by means of regular correspondence

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., File 118 (Report of the division of assistance to the Ukrainian Economic Academy in the Czechoslovak Republic established within the Committee on work from September 28, 1932 to June 5, 1935), sh. 1–6.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., sh. 4–6.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., File 717 (Statements of employees on the appointment of a scholarship to continue studying abroad in order to obtain qualification of an agronomist, 1937), sh. 8, 10, 20; File 718 (The request of employees for the appointment of a scholarship to continue studying abroad in order to obtain qualification of an economist, 1937), sh. 8–10.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., File 280 (Private correspondence concerning obtaining agricultural practice abroad, 1921–1922), sh. 7.

keep us informed of the progress of your work. Updates and notices submitted by you, after being edited, will be published in our 'Economic-Cooperative Journal' in the form of articles."<sup>7</sup>

The dialogue concerning the functioning of the UEA in Poděbrady between the Metropolitan of the Greek Catholic Church Andrey Sheptytskyi and Czechoslovak government officials was extremely productive as well. In the early 1930s, when the economic crisis deepened, the Academy was under threat of being closed. On this particular issue, Metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi corresponded with the Minister of Czechoslovakia Ya. Shramek. In one of the letters the archbishop pointed out the importance of this institution for the Ukrainian people: "The Ukrainian School of Economics in Poděbrady has tremendous cultural and scientific significance not only for the Ukrainian emigrants, but also for the whole nation, as it is the only Ukrainian high technical school on this land." The Metropolitan stated that "the Ukrainians, being stateless people, feel today's crisis far more sharply than the Czechoslovak people. Although we are very much dependent on the fact that the Poděbrady Academy would exist in the years to come, our nation, unfortunately, cannot hurry now with really substantial material assistance that would ensure the further development of the Academy."<sup>8</sup> Andrey Sheptytskyi and Czechoslovak officials came to a compromise. The Ministry of Agriculture of the Czechoslovak Republic added the Economic Academy to the list of budget-funded institutions in 1933, and it continued its activity for some time.<sup>9</sup> Metropolitan Andrey personally awarded scholarships and material assistance to students who studied at the Poděbrady Academy, as well as to young people doing agronomic and economic courses at the Catholic University in Leuven (Belgium) and other educational institutions abroad.<sup>10</sup>

The Poděbrady Academy was not only a higher educational institution, but also a scientific institution where famous economists worked, namely a historian and an expert on cooperation, a social activist from Sumy region Serhiy Borodayevskiy (1870–1942).<sup>11</sup> According to the cooperative activist Illia Vytanovych, S. Borodayevskiy, along with M. Tuhán-Baranovskiy, was "the most famous figure in the scientific circles and in the international cooperative world." This scientist and economist was actively engaged in scientific and pedagogical activities at UEA, where he was awarded the title of the professor of history of

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., sh. 7.

<sup>8</sup> CSHAL, Fund 358, Series 3, File 227 (Correspondence of Sheptytskyi A. with the Minister of Czechoslovakia Shramek concerning the financial assistance for the Ukrainian Economic Academy in Poděbrady, 1932), sh. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., sh. 15.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., Series 1, File 125 (Letters of the Regional Economic Society "Silskiy Hospodar" in Lviv, Lutsk, Kolomyia, etc. to Sheptytskyi A., concerning their activity, 1912–1938), sh. 14–15, 22.

<sup>11</sup> Vlasenko V. (1999). Serhiy Borodayevskiy. In *Ukrainian cooperatives. Historical Essays, Book 1*. Lviv: Published by "Ukooposvita", Lviv Commercial Academy, pp. 201–210.

cooperation and credit co-operation. In 1928–1931 he held the post of the dean of the economic-cooperative faculty in UEA; he also worked in UTEI, Ukrainian Sociological Institute and Ukrainian Free University in Prague. S. Borodayevskiy was in touch with the well-known figures of cooperation (Sh. Zhid, G. Kaufman, E. Puanson and others). He wrote a number of books in the field of economic science, in particular “The history of cooperation”, “The history of cooperative credit”, “Theory and practice of cooperative credit” and “Cooperative credit” aiming at students of UEA and UTEI.

The Poděbrady Academy was also a place where a scientist and economist Viktor Domanytskyi (assistant, associate professor, head of the department of grain cultivation, dean of the Faculty of Agronomy, rector) worked – he closely collaborated with the “Silskyi Hospodar” society and other economic institutions. Taking into account the experience of European countries, V. Domanytskyi developed an organizational model of agriculture in Western Ukraine, which covered agronomic assistance of the peasantry, the development of Ukrainian agrarian science and education, and the activities of agricultural societies and cooperatives. V. Domanytskyi, as the associate professor in UEA in Czechoslovakia, during the First Western Ukrainian Crop Growing Congress in Lviv in September 1929 in the report “Basic Principles of the Organization of Ukrainian High School of Agriculture” put emphasis on the national character of agricultural school whose task was to educate exemplary citizens in the spirit of national consciousness, sacrifice, self-help, democracy, justice and universal morality: “One of the most pressing problems of modern Ukrainian life on the other side of the Zbruch and the Dnister, as well as on this side, is the proper organization of a Ukrainian high agricultural school that would function in the interests of Ukrainian people – in the new post-war life in Europe and the whole world.”<sup>12</sup> Comparing the system of agricultural schooling in Europe and the US, Viktor Domanytskyi came to the conclusion that the higher agricultural school in Ukraine should not be limited to training specialists in Economics only, but should be organized like in the US, where school is “actually a unit of state and public agronomy, and the rector and professors of a high agricultural school are trustworthy and responsible leaders of the whole agriculture in their state, who are accountable to the state and the people.”<sup>13</sup> In his opinion, the modern higher agricultural school in Ukraine should have been organized not as a “triune agronomic center” in the U.S.A; (higher agricultural school, research station, extension service), but as a “fourfold federated center” (agricultural school, scientific research institution, social agronomy, cooperation). The main ideas of V. Domanytskyi were presented in the research papers, such as “The most important tasks in the field of raising the agricultural culture”, “The main

<sup>12</sup> CSHAL, Fund 302, Series 1, File 606 (Reports and articles of Domanytskyi V.), sh. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., sh. 2.

principles of organization of the Ukrainian high school”, “For agronomization of our cooperation”, “Traditions of Ukrainian agricultural science”, as well as in the textbooks for economic schools.<sup>14</sup>

Mykhailo Kholevchuk, an agronomist engineer, veterinarian, zootechnician, veterinary medicine doctor, who studied at the Agricultural Academy in Děčín-Libverda, Higher German Technical School in Prague and vocational courses in Austria and Czechoslovakia, played an important role in promoting the agronomic education and economics in Western Ukraine. In 1923–1929 he worked as an assistant and a researcher in the Higher Veterinary School in Brno (Czechoslovakia). Holding the post of the director of the “Silskyi Hospodar” society, in 1929–1935 – being a zootechnician in the “Silskyi Hospodar” society, and in 1935–1939 – being the director of the Ukrainian Agricultural Lyceum in the village of Chernytsi, he stayed in touch with the Czech and Slovak scholars and economists.<sup>15</sup>

In the UEA Ukrainian economists had an opportunity to carry out some researches and receive academic degrees. For example, in 1933, in the UEA Yevhen Khraplyvyyi defended his doctoral dissertation “The View of the Cultivation of Cattle in Eastern Halychyna in the 1880–1930s” under the supervision of Professor Kost’ Matsiyevych.<sup>16</sup> Yevhen Khraplyvyyi was one of the initiators of promoting economic education and establishing farming school in Western Ukraine; he also was the director of the “Silskyi Hospodar” society, the Society of Ukrainian Agronomists and the State Agricultural Lyceum in the village of Chernytsi. The honorary doctor of economic sciences (honoris causa) of the Ukrainian Economic Academy in Poděbrady (1931) was Tyt Voynarovskyyi,<sup>17</sup> who also was a general administrator of the estate of the Greek Catholic Metropolitanate, an economist and expert on cooperation, and an deputy to the Vienna Parliament from the Ukrainian National-Democratic Party.

The scientific and educational activity of the UEA was a model for the establishment and functioning of economic educational institutions in Halychyna:

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<sup>14</sup> Babenko L., Aliman M. (2001). Viktor Domanyskyi. In *Ukrainian Cooperatives. Historical Essays*, Book 2. Lviv: Lviv Commercial Academy Publishing, pp. 294–308; CSHAL, Fund 302, Series 1, File 606 (Reports and articles by Domanyskyi V.), sh. 1–55.

<sup>15</sup> CSHAL, Fund 302, Series 1, File 761 (Personal file of the Society member Kholievchuk Roman, 1931–1932), sh. 1–3; Heley S. (2007). Mykhailo Kholevchuk. In *Ukrainian Cooperatives. Historical Essays*, Book 3, Lviv: Lviv Commercial Academy Publishing, pp. 154–167.

<sup>16</sup> Khraplyvyyi Ye. (1933). *Nurturing cattle in Eastern Halychyna. Essay covering the period from 1880 to 1930*. Lviv: the publication of the “Silskyi Hospodar” society, 40 p.; CSHAL, Fund 302; Series 1, File 762 (Personal file of the Society member Khraplyvyyi Yevhen, 1921), sh. 1–11.

<sup>17</sup> Sokhotskyi I. (1951). *What was given by the Greek Catholic Church and the clergy to the Ukrainian people*. Philadelphia: America, p. 74.

the Agricultural School in the village of Myluvannia (Mylovane), State Agricultural Lyceum in the village of Chernytsi, Professional School of Household for women in the village of Uhertsy Vyniavski, Economic School for women in Shybalyn, not far from Berezhany, and others. In 1933, the “Silskyi Hospodar” society filed a petition to the government concerning the establishment of the Ukrainian Higher Agronomy-Cooperative School in Poland. This decision was caused by several factors, in particular the lack of qualified professional forces for agronomic and cooperative labour and the threat of liquidation of the Ukrainian Economic Academy in Poděbrady. Since the government did not comply with the requirements expressed in the petition, the “Silskyi Hospodar” society provided young people with professional training through the activities of the “Agrarian Youth Training” organization, which embraced secondary and lower vocational education institutions.<sup>18</sup>

Ukrainian cultural, educational and economic institutions, in particular the “Silskyi Hospodar”, co-operated not only with the UEA in Poděbrady, but also with the “Association of Ukrainian Agrarian Students” and the “Rillia”<sup>19</sup> society in Prague, within which the “Union of Ukrainian Agrarians” functioned. It is worth mentioning that the “Union of Ukrainian Agrarians” set the task “to unite and take care of all peasant emigrants in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, to find suitable work for them, to organize agricultural courses, to issue an economic magazine.” The activity of the Union was supported by Czech officials and from time to time they provided a state subvention.<sup>20</sup>

Theoretical educational and economic experience was put by Ukrainian, Czech and Slovak scholars and economists in practice. For instance, in 1932 the “Farmer” society and the Ukrainian Technical Society in Lviv organized the First Congress of Ukrainian Engineers. The event was attended by representatives of the economic institutions of Halychyna, the UEA in Poděbrady (V. Domanytskyi, M. Synilnyk, V. Sheremetynskyy, etc.), the Ukrainian Engineers’ Association in Prague, the Union of Ukrainian Engineers in Bratislava,<sup>21</sup> who addressed a number of issues concerning the improvement of the economic situation of the West Ukrainian lands, in particular in the field of agriculture.

<sup>18</sup> Kovalchuk O. (2002). Peculiarities of staff training in cooperative societies in Halychyna (end of the nineteenth – first half of the twentieth century). In *Pedagogics and psychology of vocational education: scientific and methodological journal*, No. 6, pp. 395–396.

<sup>19</sup> CSHAL, Fund 302, Series 1, File 281 (Correspondence with an agronomist Kosar Volodymyr from Uzhhorod concerning the establishment of the household school in Transcarpathian region of Ukraine and undergoing agricultural training in Czech schools, 1922), sh. 5–8.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., File 280 (Private correspondence concerning obtaining agricultural practice abroad, 1921–1922), sh. 10.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., File 223 (Materials on the preparation and work of the First Congress of Ukrainian Engineers in Lviv (program, draft statute, correspondence, etc., 1932), sh. 32–34, 50–51.

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Thus, functioning of the UEA in Poděbrady in the 1920–1930 s is a vivid example of the Czech-Ukrainian dialogue in the educational, scientific and economic aspects. Poděbrady Academy was the only Ukrainian higher technical educational institution funded by the Czechoslovak government. The academy employed many Ukrainian and Czech scholars and economists who trained qualified engineers: agronomists, technologists, economists and cooperators.

# Comparative Analysis of the Secondary School History Textbooks of the V4 Countries – an Overview of Genocides in the History of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century<sup>1</sup>

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*The study deals with the comparative analysis of the secondary school history textbooks of the V4 countries from the perspective of teaching about the genocides of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the beginning of our work, we introduce the research sample of genocides and discuss the issue of textbooks itself. Thereafter, we characterize the content analysis as one of the fundamental aspects of our work and present the examined textbook sample. Every examined genocide is elaborated separately focusing mainly on the specific elements of each textbook. Regarding the Holocaust and its complexity, we primarily focus on the content-unique aspects embodied in the history textbooks of the V4 countries which represent their individual, life-sustaining experience with this issue.*

Key words: *content analysis; history textbook; genocide; the V4 countries*

In a comparative analysis of the secondary school textbooks of the V4 countries,<sup>2</sup> we primarily focus on the content processing of the studied issue as a historical phenomenon and on the frequency of occurrence of the individual genocidal events taking into account their range processing. As a research sample, which is composed by several genocides of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, we chose historical events having the character of mass murder and at the same time representing a specific, but also very similar events in the given time horizon. If the concept of “learning from Europe and for Europe”<sup>3</sup> is spread to the current European history

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<sup>2</sup> To the countries of Visegrád group (V4) belong the following countries: the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia which are “part of the same civilization based on the same cultural and intellectual values and common roots of religious traditions.” Available at: <<http://www.visegradgroup.eu/v4-110412-2>>.

<sup>3</sup> From many of the recommendations of the Council of Europe for the development of history education we choose, for example: strengthening history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the history



education, the same applies for a principle of the application of global education<sup>4</sup> and globalization in order to positively influence different cultures (multicultural education).<sup>5</sup> For this reason, we focused not only on the European issues of the Holocaust (1933–1945) and the famine in Ukraine (1932–1933), but also on the events beyond the European continent. Each of these genocides, whether we speak about Armenians in the Ottoman Empire (1915), the Pol Pot's regime in Cambodia (1975–1979) or the tribal conflict in Rwanda (1994), brings into the history teaching something new – characteristic for its uniqueness. The sampling of individual genocides was realized on the basis of the time determination of the topic as well as from the point of view of the diversity of examined genocides with regard to geographical, cultural, religious and racial aspects. In a more detailed analysis, the selected list of individual genocides may be defined as a sample of varied historical events that resemble in a number of certain things – via a selection of population on the ground of nationality (mainly Armenians, Ukrainians, Jews, Tutsis), social class (Armenians, Jews, Tutsis) or religious belief (Armenians, Jews and partially Cambodians). However, at the same time it is the selection which implies three continents, is geographically and racially diverse and last but not least, it represents a wide range of totalitarian regimes that did not hesitate to use violent policy against selected groups of people. Nevertheless, in our analysis, we are not dealing with the uniqueness or possible similarities of these genocides. We primarily focus on their content processing in one of the basic school didactic tools – a textbook.

A pedagogical dictionary describes textbook as a kind of book publication adapted by its content and structure for didactic communication. It has several types from which the most widely used is a school textbook. It works on one hand

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of Europe in particular, the need to place European history in a global context, to pay attention to multicultural education, education focused on multiperspectivity or understanding of forces, processes and events which formed Europe and the world in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Available on the internet: <<http://www.msmt.cz/vzdelavani/zakladni-vzdelavani/doporuzeni-rady-evropy-o-vyuce-dejepisu-v-evrope-21-stoleti>>.

<sup>4</sup> Global education “enables people to understand the links between their own lives and lives of people from other parts of the world; enhances understanding of economic, cultural, political and environmental influences which affect our lives and it develops our skills, attitudes and values that enable people to co-operate on a change and to take control of one's own life.” Návojský A. – Kríž M. – Zajac L. (2015). *Učíme (sa) v globálnych súvislostiach*. Globálne vzdelávanie vo vyučovaní predmetu dejepis na stredných školách. Bratislava: Človek v ohrození, o. z., p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Multicultural education focuses on a development of the abilities to respect the existence of other cultures, to get to know them and to learn to tolerate them. In this sense, it helps to destroy the acquired prejudices and stereotypes while it becomes a basis enabling deeper understanding of a given culture in order to achieve the acceptance of its differences. Kováčiková D. (2000). K otázkam multikultúrnej výchovy a vzdelávania mladej generácie. In *Mládež a spoločnosť*, no. 1., p. 17.

as an element of curriculum, i.e. it presents a part of the planned content of education, and on the other as a didactic tool, i.e. it is an information source for students and teachers. It conducts and stimulates students' learning processes.<sup>6</sup> Textbook belongs to the so-called summarizing texts whose content is made by the overall and generally agreed knowledge of a particular discipline. School textbooks provide basic information from a wider elaborated scientific discipline. They rarely include detailed and special knowledge. The particularity of school textbook lays also on the fact that it has to be equipped with an apparatus controlling learning and must be adapted to the student's age abilities.<sup>7</sup> We speak about the complex system composed of verbal, iconographic and graphic texts, including texts serving for control and self-control. In other words, textbook is a multimodal text consisting of various features which are systematized into one whole.<sup>8</sup>

Besides textbooks, there is a number of the other didactic medias used in the history teaching. Textbooks, along with workbooks, history atlases or reading-books, belong to the school didactic texts. Apart from them, we classify audio and multimedia, monuments and various objects (such as memorials, exhibits, models, etc.) to the didactic media as well.<sup>9</sup> However, in our study we focus specifically on the content analysis of history textbooks designated for secondary schools. To the content characteristics of textbooks, we put the issue of transformation of the scientific and cultural knowledge but also the issue of value orientation, attitudes and cultural patterns that can lead to stereotypes. However, it includes also persuasive aspects of textbooks which represent analyses examining the way how some components of the content of textbooks are presented and if they are interesting and convincing for students.<sup>10</sup> Due to the complexity of issues, we will not deal with the persuasive aspects in our work.

Before we will come to the analysis itself, it is necessary to mention that the research sample consists of 14 secondary school textbooks including 2 Czech, 3 Hungarian, 6 Polish and 3 Slovak textbooks. Due to the demanding availability of the individual foreign sets of textbooks, we tried to make the most extensive selection of examined literature from every country of the V4 group. A criterion of sampling from the time perspective was the year 2001 since our intention was to examine the textbooks already made for teaching and learning in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Another aspect of the selection was also a preference of use of the

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<sup>6</sup> Průcha J. – Walterová E. – Mareš J. (2009). *Pedagogický slovník*. Praha: Portál, p. 323.

<sup>7</sup> Průcha J. (1998). *Učebnice: Teorie a analýzy edukačního média. Příručka pro studenty, učitele, autory učebnic a výzkumné pracovníky*. Brno: Paido, p. 18.

<sup>8</sup> Beneš Z. (2003). České učebnice po roce 1989. In *Česko-slovenská historická ročenka*. Brno: Vydavatelství MU, p. 282.

<sup>9</sup> Beneš Z. (2008). Učebnice dějepisu. In Beneš Z. – Gracová B. – Průcha J. a kol., *Sondy a analýzy. Učebnice dějepisu – teorie a multikulturní aspekty edukačního média*. Praha: Tauris, p. 17.

<sup>10</sup> Průcha J. (1998). *Učebnice: Teorie a analýzy edukačního média...*, p. 45.

individual textbooks in the countries which have the so-called free market of textbooks (in our case all except Slovakia). Generally agreed, the problem of textbook production and replacing old sets with the new ones is a very exacting and sometimes lengthy process, influenced by reforms of school system, finance as well as by political-societal demand. For this reason, from the time and practical point of view, we could not have included either all older or newer editions of the selected sets of textbooks.

In the research of individual publications, we proceeded chronologically and applied the same procedure for the genocidal events themselves. For the sake of clarity of content analysis, we decided to present each genocide separately, as it was elaborated in each of the textbooks. In the conclusion, the reader is provided by a brief comparative overview as a result of our findings.

The first historical event, which we decided to analyse, was the genocide of Armenians<sup>11</sup> in the Ottoman Empire during the First World War. In the history textbooks, which represent our research sample, this religious-ethnic killing is mentioned only in some of the examined titles. The Czech textbook *Dějepis pro gymnázia a SŠ 3. Novověk* written by the group of authors led by P. Čornej in 2001 focuses quite a lot on the World War I but there is no reference to Armenian genocide at all. In the Hungarian textbooks, there is a shift in transformation of scientific knowledge about this event comparing the two most commonly used Hungarian history textbooks *Történelem IV. (2005)* by M. Száray and J. Kaposi and *Történelem 11. (2016)* by P. Borhegyi and R. Paksa. In the first mentioned

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<sup>11</sup> From January to April 1915, the Armenian soldiers serving in the Turkish army were gradually disarmed and secretly liquidated. From the 24<sup>th</sup> to the 25<sup>th</sup> of April 1915 more than two thousand Armenians were arrested for “revolt” and then murdered or deported to the Turkish provinces. Subsequently, the deportations and the destruction of Armenians from the seven eastern provinces (vilájets) began. The murdering took place under the guise of deportations, men were separated from women, children and elderly people and immediately slaughtered. The others went to the reception camp in Aleppo (most of the perished on the way there by hunger, diseases and by hands of Turks and Kurds). Thanks to the advance of the Russian troops, at least the part of Armenians from the Van region was saved. In August 1915, the first part of the extermination was completed. The second part of the plan – to exterminate Armenians in the rest of the country – was under way from August 1915 to July 1916. Only the Armenians from Istanbul escaped by hiding at foreign embassies. Further in Smyrna, where they were protected by a German general, and in Lebanon and Palestine. The others were deported to the camps in Aleppo, or more precisely in Syria and Mesopotamia. The two-thirds of Armenians, i.e. 1–1.5 million people, were killed in the Ottoman Empire. More about the Armenian genocide, see e.g.: Dadrian V. (1995). *The History of the Armenian Genocide. Ethnic Conflict from the Balkans to Anatolia o the Caucasus*. Providence: Berghahn Books, 452 p., Adalian R. (2013). *The Armenian Genocide*. In Totten S. – Parsons W. (eds.), *Centuries of Genocide. Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*. Routledge: New York, p. 117–156. Kaiser H. (2010). *Genocide at the twilight of the Ottoman Empire*. In Bloxham D. – Moses A. D. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies*. Oxford University Press: New York, p. 365–385.

publication, the authors do not write about the fate of Armenians but in the second textbook, students learn about the given issue via the topic Breakdown of the Ottoman Empire. The explanatory text which mainly includes basic information about this event (time determination, number of victims, problem of ethnicity) is complemented by the didactic (working) material such as questions to the text and a map of territories of the former Ottoman Empire.<sup>12</sup> The Polish textbooks comment on the Armenian genocide mainly in the context of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as a century of crimes. In the textbook *Odnaleźć przeszłość. Od 1815 roku do współczesności* (2003) by J. Wróbel it is written in the chapter The End of History? that it was “the first case of genocide of the 20<sup>th</sup> century”<sup>13</sup> and this event is put into the supplementary text along with the other well-known genocides of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, where the authors ponder on the constant “competition” of killing. In another Polish textbook *Historia – Wiek XX*. (2012) by D. Stola, Armenians are mentioned only marginally as a part of the thematic unit entitled The Extermination of Jews, and so on the question of uniqueness of Holocaust, where they are mentioned as the victims of mass crimes.<sup>14</sup> The last among the Polish selection of textbooks, which deals with the issue of the Armenian genocide, is the publication of the group of authors led by P. Galik *Zrozumieć przeszłość. Lata 1815–1939* (2014), namely in the topic Turkey after the First World War. Similarly to the above-mentioned Hungarian textbook *Történelem 11.*, students are familiarised with the picture of basic information about genocide, however, the authors commemorate these events in connection with the exchange of non-Turkish population (mainly Greeks) from the newly established Republic of Turkey (1923) for the Turks living in the Balkan and which should have prevented the “massacres of the past.”<sup>15</sup> The text is complemented by an apparatus controlling learning, more precisely a map work depicting the territories of the former Ottoman Empire. Armenians are mentioned in the Slovak textbooks only in the older edition of the textbook *Dejepis – svetové dejiny. Pre 3. ročník gymnázií* (2006) by D. Kodajová and M. Tonková. This issue was eliminated from the new conception where the connection of world and national history took place. Students are reminded of the killing of Armenians in the connection with the southern front of the First World War when the authors states that “the Ottoman Empire used the worldwide conflict in the years 1915–1917 for the upcoming genocide of Armenians living on its territory for several centuries.”<sup>16</sup> Just as in the mentioned Hungarian textbook and the Polish titles, also in here

<sup>12</sup> Borhegyi P. – Paksa R. (2016). *Történelem 11*. Budapest: Oktatáskutató Intézet, p. 115.

<sup>13</sup> Wróbel J. (2003). *Odnaleźć przeszłość. Od 1815 roku do współczesności*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne Spółka Akcyjna, p. 422.

<sup>14</sup> Stola D. (2015). *Historia – Wiek XX*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Szkolne PWN, p. 87.

<sup>15</sup> Galik P. (2014). *Zrozumieć przeszłość. Lata 1815–1939*. Warszawa: Nowa Era, p. 382.

<sup>16</sup> Kodajová D. – Tonková M. (2006). *Dejepis – svetové dejiny. Pre 3. ročník gymnázií*. Bratislava: SPN, p. 17–18.

there is a reference to the number of victims of this massacre. But at the same time, students can read about the fact that acts of violence against Armenians were realized earlier than just during the world war, which is documented in the textbook by a newspaper picture from 1909.

The next examined genocide of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, we dealt with in our work, is the famine in Ukraine<sup>17</sup> in the years 1932–1933 which is, in the present history education, related to Stalinism and collectivization in the USSR. When we look at the Czech history textbook *Dějepis pro gymnázia a SŠ 4. Nejnovější dějiny* (2005) again under the leadership of P. Čornej, we will find out that this issue is incorporated into the topic The Soviet-type totality, where one can find the following words about this event:

“Into the emerging agricultural cooperatives – kolkhozes, peasants had to hand over fields on which they farmed, livestock and agricultural machinery... The peasants, however, did not gladly give up their possessions and they were against violent collectivization. They rather let run wild the fields and slaughter flocks of cattle just not to hand it over to the state. This led to an enormous decline of agricultural production which caused famine. As a result, several million people died, mainly in the “granary of the Soviet Union” – Ukraine.”<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> The famine in Ukraine in the years 1932–1933 became one of the consequences of the practical application of violent collectivization and brutal Stalin policy. It was led by series of measures that the government of the Soviet Union, irrespective of human lives, began to implement on its territory in 1932. In August of that year, the party activists were given the right to confiscate grain in the kolkhozes and in the same month, the so-called shameful law, which determined the death penalty in a case of pilferage of “socialist property,” was passed. After mitigation of conditions, such “anti-state crimes” were punished by 10 years of forced labour in gulags. In order not to leave the kolkhozes and look for food somewhere else, because the law was introduced for peasants in November 1932 forbidding peasants to draw grain till the plan of state food supplies would be accomplished, the so-called internal passport mode was established. The situation became intolerable. In the cases when grain did not remain, peasants ate cats, dogs, mice, bark, leaves or even sewage. People often did not even avoid cannibalism. Despite of this fact, the party activists continued to confiscate bread without taking into account the consequences of famine in villages, in which the population gradually perished. The Soviet archive materials about the terrible results of famine in Ukraine are still largely unavailable. For this reason, it is difficult to find out how many people died between the years 1932 and 1933. However, it is estimated that on the basis of demographic development of the population of the USSR it could have been up to 3–6 million people in Ukraine. For more information, look at, e.g.: Conquest R. (1986). *The Harvest of Sorrow. Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-famine*. New York: Oxford University Press, 411 p., Wheatcroft S. – Davies R. (2004). *The Years of Hunger. Soviet Agriculture, 1931–1933*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 555 p., Mace J. (2013). Soviet Man-Made Famine in Ukraine. In Totten S. – Parson W. (eds.), *Centuries of Genocide. Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*. Routledge: New York, p. 157–189.

<sup>18</sup> Čornej P. (2005). *Dějepis pro gymnázia a SŠ 4. Nejnovější dějiny*. Praha: SPN, p. 46.

In this part of the text, the authors expressed the attitude of many peasants who, in this way, helplessly protested against violent removal of their subsistence. In this context, the text of textbook also points to the resettlement of population into Siberia and to gulags which were used by the Soviet regime as a form of pressure/punishment during collectivization. However, a significant information for students is presented by the fact that there was a ban on free movement for peasants meaning they were bound to the place of their residence. From this point of view, the authors associate the famine with the brutal enforcement of collectivization, the victims of which eventually became also the poorest classes of population. The Hungarian textbooks give a similar opinion about that. In the textbook *Történelem IV.*, it is mentioned that the first persecuted were kulaks, but later small peasants were punished, too. The authors also draw attention to the paradox of the whole situation when “millions of people were dying of hunger (Ukraine between the years 1929–1930) while grain was being exported so that the state could get to the foreign currencies.”<sup>19</sup> From the didactic point of view, a characteristic picture material is used for this issue, represented by a photograph of starving children (working with the students’ emotional side). The Polish textbook *Odnaleźć przeszłość. Od 1815 roku do współczesności* in the chapter *Totalitarianism*, the Stalin version deals with the famine also from the statistical point of view when it brings a comparison of the number of victims persecuted by the regime as well as those who died of hunger with the losses which the USSR suffered during the Second World War. The authors state that it is roughly something between 8 and 12 million dead which represents 8–9% of the population at that time.<sup>20</sup> By the text of this topic, students are encouraged to think about the successes of Stalin’s industrialization which was achieved at the expense of suppressing human rights and by the loss of human lives. In the next Polish textbook *Historia – Podrecznik klasa II. (2008)* by J. Czubyty and D. Stola, the famine is again connected with collectivization and apart from already mentioned information, the authors also work with a concept of propaganda when they speak about it in connection with the newly established kolkhozes, which were glorified by the regime but they “did not have either tractors or machinery, there was often lack of grain for sowing and the agricultural production on their fields was far lower than before collectivization.”<sup>21</sup> The content-enriched view of this genocide is brought by the textbook *Poznać przeszłość. Wiek XX. (2011)* by S. Roszak and J. Klaczek where it is, besides the basic facts, written that: “In the years 1932–1933 the southern regions of the USSR, including Ukraine, were affected by the catastrophe of crop failure. In spite of the very difficult situation, Stalin decided to continue

<sup>19</sup> Száray M. – Kaposi J. (2005). *Történelem IV.* Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, p. 64.

<sup>20</sup> Wróbel J.: *Odnaleźć przeszłość...*, p. 181.

<sup>21</sup> Czubyty J. – Stola D. (2008). *Historia – Podrecznik klasa II.* Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Szkolne PWN, p. 295.

with the exporting of grain on the same level and increased mandatory deliveries for the state.”<sup>22</sup> This statement relates more closely to the policy of Stalinism than to collectivization itself. The authors even mention the phenomenon of cannibalism which appeared due to the great hunger. The textbook presents also the legal attitude of some states to the issue when students read at the end of the text that: “At the beginning of the 21th century, the parliaments of 26 states, including Poland, recognized hunger in the USSR for the act of genocide against the Ukrainian nation.”<sup>23</sup> From the selection of Polish textbooks, we may also mention *Zrozumieć przeszłość. Lata 1815–1939* which deals with the famine in the subchapter Stalin’s state. In the main interpretative text as well as in the all examined Polish textbooks, the famine is being named as “The Great Hunger” but here it is clearly defined as “artificially caused” (or man-made) and for the first time, thousands of Poles are included in the number of its victims reminding students of the issue of national diversity of Ukraine, or more precisely the USSR. In the textbook, the so-called decree of 5 spikelets is written about which “prefigured the death penalty or 5–10 years in labour camp for those who wanted to protect grain, stole a small part of kolkhoz’s harvest.”<sup>24</sup> There is also information about cannibalism and students are informed about the reason why the peasants could have not travelled to the areas where there was still enough food as well: “...the government issued the so-called passports – the duty to have an identity document. The residents of the areas affected by the famine were not be given passports and for their arbitrary departure, they were threatened to travel to labour camp.”<sup>25</sup> This kind of description of scientific findings in the textbook supports cognitive processes when explaining historical phenomena which may primarily seem illogical for students (a traditional question of student: And why did they not go away when they had nothing to eat?). The Slovak textbooks, the older *Dejepis – svetové dejiny. Pre 3. ročník gymnázií* and the newer edition *Dejepis pre 3. ročník gymnázií a stredných škôl* (2015) by R. Letz, M. Tonková and A. Bocková describe the given issue very similarly. However, in the older set, there are, in connection with the violent collectivization, namely mentioned besides Ukraine also the regions of the Volga river, Moscow, the Caucasus and Crimea. The authors state in the text that there were sent “the penal expeditions of army and the security authorities” which took “all the harvest from peasants when they did not comply with mandatory deliveries.”<sup>26</sup> Thus, students are informed not only where these state interventions occurred but also who did it and for what reason. The newer textbook gives only the torso of information about this genocidal event, but the

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<sup>22</sup> Roszak S. – Klaczkow J. (2011). *Poznać przeszłość. Wiek XX*. Warszawa: Nowa Era, p. 39.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>24</sup> Galik P. (2014). *Zrozumieć przeszłość. Lata 1815–1939*, p. 377.

<sup>25</sup> Galik P. (2014). *Zrozumieć przeszłość. Lata 1815–1939*, p. 377.

<sup>26</sup> Kodajová D. – Tonková M. (2006). *Dejepis – svetové dejiny*, p. 44.

interpretative text is complemented by the didactic component and besides the visual material it offers (similarly as in the older version) a work with the archival source describing the situation in Ukraine at the time of famine.

The issue of the genocide, which was committed by the Nazis and their allies, is nowadays broadly popular and depicted in various scientific, popular-educational and art literature as well.<sup>27</sup> In history textbooks, the topic of the Holocaust holds an important place not only from the perspective of the specific process of this genocide but also for its philosophical-historical message. Because of the difficulty and complexity of the Holocaust as the issue itself and of its processing in materials, we decided to focus in our work primarily on the different and content-unique aspects of the examined textbooks. At the same time, however, we present a brief overview of the concepts and multi-word terms which represent the content intersection of the given issue and are gained from our examined sample of textbooks. During studying the individual secondary school history textbooks of the V4 countries, we came to the following list of concepts/multi-word terms which are minutely elaborated in them: 1. racism, 2. eugenics, 3. The Nuremberg Laws, 4. Crystal Night, 5. concentration camps, 6. victims (Jews, Slavs, Roma people, mentally/physically ill people, political opponents, Soviet soldiers, antisocial individuals, homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses), 7. Aryanization of Jewish property, 8. Jewish badge (Judenstern), 9. ghetto, 10. Master Plan for the East, 11. Einsatzgruppen/SS death squads, 12. "The Final Solution to the Jewish Question", 13. The Wannsee conference, 14. transports, 15. extermination camps, 16. gas chambers, 17. medical experiments, 18. collaboration, 19. help from "the others", 20. "death marches", 21. The Nurnberg trials, 22. Holocaust/Shoah. Each of the examined publications brings broader or narrower processing of the above-mentioned terms. However, their application into the educational material, in our case represented by history textbook, becomes the principal design.

<sup>27</sup> We state some of them: Arendt H. (1965). *Eichmann in Jerusalem. A Report on the Banality of Evil*. New York: The Viking Press, 312 p.; Goldhagen D. (1997). *Hitler's Willing Executioners – Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*. New York: Vintage, 634 p.; Hancock I. (2004). O Baro Porrajmos – The Romani Holocaust. In Hewitt, W. (ed.), *Defining the Horrific. Readings on Genocide and Holocaust in the 20th Century*. Pearson Education: Upper Saddle River, p. 333–345; Landau R. (2006). *The Nazi Holocaust*. London: I. B. Tauris, 356 p.; Browning R. Ch. (2010). The Nazi Empire. In Bloxham D. – Moses A. D. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies*. Oxford University Press: New York, p. 407–425.; Barša P. (2011). *Paměť a genocida. Úvahy o politice holocaustu*. Praha: Argo, 283 p.; Snyder T. (2011). *Bloodlands. Europe between Hitler and Stalin*. London: Vintage Books, 524 p.; Niewyk D. (2013). *The Holocaust – Jews, Gypsies, and the Handicapped*. In Totten S. – Parsons W. (eds.), *Centuries of Genocide. Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*. Routledge: New York, p. 191–247; Frank A. (2015). *The Diary of a young girl*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 368 p.; Boyne J. (2018). *The boy in the striped pyjamas*. London : Random House Children's Publishers UK, 256 p.



If we focus on the content-unique passages of the examined textbooks, we find out that it is not only about a standard description of the progress of genocide itself in the context of national history but also about the notice value of specific elements resulting from historical events which are related to the Holocaust in the particular country. Into the Czech textbook *Dějepis pro gymnázia a SŠ 4. Nejnovější dějiny* the authors embodied in connection with the Nazi occupation of the Bohemia and Moravia for example an attitude of the German Minister of State K. H. Frank who “asserted the tough and intransigent dealing with the Czechs,” which resulted even into his proposals of “the Final Solution to the Czech Question.”<sup>28</sup> It is necessary to realize that for Czech students this information is decisive since the conception proposed by Frank counted on the incorporation of all Czech lands into the Third Reich with the displacement and partial liquidation of the local population (including Jews and Roma people). In this part, the authors work with the phenomenon of national awareness of the Czech statehood and with a formation of students’ anti-fascist attitude. To the more significant events that have the national overlap, we put the assassination of R. Heydrich, who was Deputy Reich Protector and a prominent Nazi, whose death was punished by the burning and physical liquidation of the residents of two Czech villages – Lidice and Ležáky.<sup>29</sup> The Hungarian textbook *Történelem 11.* shows the interesting statistics when the authors state that every tenth Jewish victim of the Holocaust was from the former Hungary. At the same time, it is mentioned that Germany legally recognized the Nazi persecution of the Romani community only in the year 1982.<sup>30</sup> In addition, students learn from the chapter the Tragedy of Hungarian Jews that due to the preparations of deportations, Hungary was divided into the 6 districts and first of all it began with the Jews from the eastern part of the country because “if the Red Army came closer, its offensive would disrupt the plan of killing Jews.”<sup>31</sup> This text aims to inform the reader about the Nazi determination to kill Jews and about their so-called “priorities.” In the case of Polish textbooks, we mention in the connection with the Holocaust for example the title *Odnaleźć przeszłość. Od 1815 roku do współczesności* where the authors discuss also “the unpleasant” question of the share on the Nazi genocide of ordinary Germans. In a supplementary text entitled *Germans: Searching one’s consciousness*, the information about the Holocaust perception in the German society is presented by the short passages. By quoting a historian, it is written in the textbook: “The fact, that in 1943 the idiom ‘go through the chimney’ got into normal communication, suggests that the society was fully aware of the issue of gas chambers.”<sup>32</sup> On the other hand, it is stated in the text that despite some information of which people

<sup>28</sup> Čornej P. *Dějepis pro gymnázia a SŠ 4*, p. 79.

<sup>29</sup> The author’s note: The event is also reflected by some textbooks out of the Czech sampling.

<sup>30</sup> Borhegyi P. – Paksa R. *Történelem 11.*, p. 238.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 241.

<sup>32</sup> Wróbel J. *Odnaleźć przeszłość...*, p. 271.

were provided, it was not possible to create a detailed picture of the situation. The authors continue: “Despite the external circumstances after the year 1945, there was no collective experience with the terrible truth. Germans themselves felt to be the victims of war and the Nazi regime.”<sup>33</sup> In this way, students actually learn to think critically and perceive multiperspectivity in the context of looking at the past. The textbook *Poznać przeszłość. Wiek XX.* in the chapter *The Third Reich's policy against Poles* deals with the so-called “Sonderaktion Krakau” (Special Action Cracow) during which the Polish professors from the Jagiellonian University were arrested and sent to a concentration camp. Poles and especially the Polish intelligentsia were harshly persecuted by the occupiers, so the authors (not only) of this textbook try to point out such crimes of Nazism as well. The characteristic passage about the sign “Arbeit macht frei” is the only of its kind in our examined sample of textbooks and presents the origin, the nature and the fate of this sign above the gate of the most famous “death camp” – Auschwitz, and in the text, it is also mentioned that the same sign was possible to find in several other concentration camps.<sup>34</sup> Another of the Polish textbooks *Historia – Wiek XX.* includes in the connection with the Holocaust a complementary text by which the authors ask the question: “Was the Holocaust unique?” After naming several other well-known genocides, the authors present to students their conclusion that Holocaust had specific characteristics: “from the Nazi ideology emerging intention to kill all Jews, the continental dimension of crime and its reality... a bureaucratic organization of the whole action and the industrial methods of killing.”<sup>35</sup> If history at schools should build students’ historical consciousness,<sup>36</sup> it cannot be just memorizing facts in the form of dates and names, or isolated information, on the contrary, it is necessary to understand the nature, meaning of particular history events and perceive them in the global context. Also, the authors J. Klaczkow and A. Zielinska in the last Polish textbook from our examined sample *Zrozumieć przeszłość. Dzieje najnowsze po 1939 roku* (2015) try to respond to natural curiosity of young people when in the text *Jews against the annihilation* they write about several uprisings of Jews in the ghettos and camps where they were imprisoned. To the most well-known events belonged “The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising”<sup>37</sup> from 1943 which is mentioned in every Polish textbook.<sup>38</sup> Concerning

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 271.

<sup>34</sup> Roszak S. – Klaczkow J. *Poznać przeszłość...*, p. 217.

<sup>35</sup> Stola D. *Historia – Wiek XX.*, p. 87.

<sup>36</sup> It is created on the basis of retrieving the past, the difficulty is a possible manipulation with the historical reality. It allows people to be well informed about the world and it is imbedded in everyday life-experience. In Kmeť M. (2017), *História a dejepis. (Vybrané kapitoly z didaktiky dejepisu)*. Banská Bystrica: Belianum, p. 20.

<sup>37</sup> Klaczkow J. – Zielinska A. (2015). *Zrozumieć przeszłość. Dzieje najnowsze po 1939 roku*. Warszawa: Nowa Era, p. 45.

<sup>38</sup> The author’s note: The event is also reflected by some textbooks out of the Polish sampling.

the topic of the Holocaust, from the Slovak textbooks it is possible to mention *Dejepis pre 3. ročník gymnázií a stredných škôl* where it is written about the decree from the September 9<sup>th</sup>, 1941 known as the Jewish Code which “based on the German Nuremberg Laws.”<sup>39</sup> These laws are then explained to students in more detail. It is not just a matter of linking national and world history, but also a matter of the understanding of political processes and decisions leading to genocide. Another example is the unwillingness of the Slovak government to send more workers to the Third Reich and instead of them the government offered several thousand Slovak Jews with an absurd commitment to “pay Germany for each deported person ‘the settlement fee’ of 500 marks,”<sup>40</sup> which forces students to think about the logic of deportations and to polemize about the real and proclaimed independence of Slovak politics during the Second World War.

In conclusion, we may state that the topic of the Holocaust is, among all examined genocides, the most elaborated genocide when referring to the apparatus of controlling learning (the so-called non-textual part). Almost in every analysed textbook, there are various visual components situated in the passages about the Holocaust, which are complemented by tasks and control questions (the verbal components). In this case, it is also applied that the work with a written source or visual material often occurs with the apparatus presenting curriculum. In our study, we do not focus on these aspects in more detail, nevertheless in regard to the one of our goals – to examine the extent of processing of the individual genocides, we note that compared to the other genocides, it is a much larger didactic component which significantly helps to fix knowledge about the given issue. Not only in the terms of content, but also from the didactic point of view, the Holocaust as a topic is the most elaborated in the Polish textbooks, which is logical regarding to a regional context and curricular requirements, but it is necessary to state that this phenomenon appears in the Polish textbooks also when processing the other genocidal events.

To the content analysis of the history textbooks, we also included a genocide which historical community as well as writers of textbooks most often classify into the period of decolonization. However, the genocide in Cambodia<sup>41</sup> from the

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<sup>39</sup> Letz R. – Tonková M. – Bocková A. (2015). *Dejepis pre 3. ročník gymnázií a stredných škôl*. Bratislava: SPN, p. 165.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 166.

<sup>41</sup> In 1970, the pro-American government was established in the country, led by general Lon Nol who had significantly problematic relations with the former king Norodom Sihanouk. During the Vietnam War, the North Vietnamese communist troops entered to Cambodia and they used a significant part of this country as their rear for fighting against the South Vietnam. The Vietnamese subsequently went to the military conflict with the Cambodian army when they managed to besiege the capital city Phnom Penh for several months. Although the government troops were supported by the US, at the same time the border areas of the south-eastern Cambodia were bombed by the US Air Force in the years

second half of 1970s is possible to include in the events associated with the Cold War. For explanation of global relations and political development after the Second World War (not only in Asia), it has its fixed place in history education. The Czech textbook *Dějepis pro gymnázia a SŠ 4. Nejnovější dějiny* mentions this issue in the subchapter Victory of Communist Regimes in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos where (as the name of the passage implies itself) the authors state how the communist movement was asserted not only in Vietnam, but also in the neighbouring Indochinese countries. In connection with Cambodia and its communist government, the textbook informs about two basic facts which are presented in all textbooks including this topic that we examined – the Khmer Rouge and their leader Pol Pot. However, in the above-mentioned textbook, the explanation of these “concepts” is absented. Instead, there is the explanatory text providing basic information about the regime established in the country and the number of its victims as well. As a fundamental statement may be considered the fact that the Khmer Rouge “realized the accomplished genocide of their nation.”<sup>42</sup>

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1969–1973, in order to destroy the Vietnamese bases in the border area as well as to disrupt supply of the Vietnamese communist troops. It is estimated that up to 100,000 Vietnamese soldiers and Cambodian civilians died during this action. In 1975 Lon Nol's government already controlled just the capital city where many people of the starving country fled to survive. The rest of the country was controlled by the troops of ultra-communist Khmer Rouge. The armed struggle of the Khmer Rouge against the government powers gradually gained support of a large part of the Cambodian population. Thanks to that, they came to power and in April 1975 took the control of the capital Phnom Penh. At that time, their several year's tyranny began, taking the country a few centuries back and killing millions of people. The state was renamed to Democratic Kampuchea. A population of the country was moved to the countryside where it should have participated in the utopian ideas of agrarian communism. The Khmer Rouge closed the state borders and cancelled money. They introduced a general duty of labour for 12 to 16 hours per day. Even a minor offence was punished by death. Prisons were made around the country (e.g. Tuol Sleng in Phnom Penh – now a museum) where the prisoners were cruelly tortured, subsequently executed and buried in the mass graves. Pol Pot, the leader of the Khmer Rouge, kept even the government itself as a secret from his own people. The official head of state was Norodom Sihanouk who was, however, imprisoned by the Khmer Rouge in his palace. The citizens even did not know their state representatives. Out of fear of conspiracy, the purges increasingly appeared to happen in the ranks of the Khmer Rouge. At the end of the Khmer Rouge reign, Pol Pot attacked Vietnam which withstood the attacks and the Vietnamese armies then broke into the Cambodian capital city where they established a pro-Vietnamese government. Look more about this issue in, e.g.: Chandler D. (1991). *The Tragedy of Cambodian History – Politics, War and Revolution since 1945*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 396 p.; Fawthrop T. – Jarvis H. (2004). *Getting Away with Genocide? Cambodia's Long Struggle against the Khmer Rouge*. London: Pluto Press, 350 p.; Kiernan B. (2013). *The Cambodian Genocide, 1975–1979*. In Totten S. – Parsons W. (eds.), *Centuries of Genocide. Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*. Routledge: New York, p. 317–353.

<sup>42</sup> Čornej P. *Dějepis pro gymnázia a SŠ 4.*, p. 158.

Students even learn from the text about the development in Cambodia after the year 1979 when Pol Pot's regime was overthrown by the arrival of Vietnamese army. The following important events from the history of this state are briefly described in the textbook until 1993 when the free elections took place. In this sense, the historical development of the transition from totalitarianism to democracy is depicted on the example of a distant Asian country. The Hungarian textbooks are not endowed with this genocide. A similar attitude was chosen by the authors of the Slovak textbooks when they deal with this issue only in the latest textbook *Dejepis pre 3. ročník gymnázií a stredných škôl*, but also only marginally. Into the topic Complicated Face of Africa, the authors incorporated an information text about "The Year Zero" representing the beginning of the revolution of the Khmer Rouge. In this context, the term "agrarian communism" is presented to students as well.<sup>43</sup> Regarding to the Polish textbooks, we may mention several titles which deal with the given issue in the main explanatory text. The textbook *Odnaleźć przeszłość. Od 1815 roku do współczesności* deals with the Pol Pot's regime in the subchapter Marxism in "the Third World" when the authors mention, besides basic information, the fact that the leader of the Khmer Rouge studied in Paris and was inspired by the ideas of "the far-left circles in Europe".<sup>44</sup> Connecting the national (European) history with the history of the whole world is currently a modern trend in history education because among other things it helps to develop students' historical thinking.<sup>45</sup> Another of the Polish textbooks *Historia – Wiek XX* in the connection with the genocide in Cambodia writes that "private property, money and industry were liquidated, the population was displaced to the countryside and all the people were forced to slave labour."<sup>46</sup> Forced transfers of population and state terror became phenomenologically the key aspects of totalitarian regimes. The history teaching of the 21<sup>st</sup> century is characterized by a shift towards learning through the concepts of the so-called "first and second order,"<sup>47</sup> which help students to understand historical tendencies and models as well as the specific events. To the first group of the concepts, the so-called "first order," R. Stradling classifies totalitarianism, decolonization, the Cold War etc., so the concepts directly connected with the regime of the Khmer Rouge

<sup>43</sup> Letz R. – Tonková M. – Bocková A. *Dejepis...*, p. 203.

<sup>44</sup> Wróbel J. *Odnaleźć przeszłość...*, p. 390.

<sup>45</sup> Peter Seixas speaks about the six concepts of "historical thinking" which has, in his view, a clear structure and plainly identifiable features: 1. Establish historical significance, 2. Use primary source evidence, 3. Identify continuity and change, 4. Analyse cause and consequence, 5. Take historical perspectives, 6. Understand the ethical dimension of historical interpretations. See more about historical thinking at: <<http://historicalthinking.ca/historical-thinking-concepts>>.

<sup>46</sup> Stola D. *Historia – Wiek XX*, p. 175.

<sup>47</sup> See closer Stradling R. (2003). *Jak učit evropské dějiny 20. století*. Praha: Nakladatelství Rady Evropy, p. 60–65.

as well. The older set of the Polish textbooks *Poznać przeszłość. Wiek XX.* and the newer *Zrozumieć przeszłość. Dzieje najnowsze po 1939 roku* are, in the content-context of this topic, almost identical. However, the older version describes the nature of the Pol Pot's regime more specifically stating that it was the case of "the implementation experiments connecting Maoism with the extreme chauvinism."<sup>48</sup> We work again with the concepts (Maoism, chauvinism) as well as we notice that by using these terms and explaining them via teacher, it helps students to acquire historical events and to understand the nature of historical coherences. If students should understand what kind of regime was established by the Khmer Rouge, they must know basic information about the development of communist movement in Asia and the foreign relations of the former Indochina.

Among the examined genocidal events in the history textbooks of the V4 countries, it represents one of the latest manifestations of mass violence with the character of genocide which happened in the first half of 1990s in East Africa. Despite the shortest time interval of this historical event towards the present, it is possible to "ascertain" to the extensive content-based information only in one of the examined textbooks. The Polish textbook *Zrozumieć przeszłość. Dzieje najnowsze po 1939 roku* deals in the subchapter *Conflicts in Africa* with the tribal conflicts between Hutu and Tutsi which resulted into the genocide.<sup>49</sup> The issue of the relationship between the Rwandan majority (Hutu) and minority (Tutsi) is

<sup>48</sup> Roszak S. – Klaczkow J. *Poznać przeszłość...*, p. 280.

<sup>49</sup> The Rwandan genocide was a mass killing of the Tutsi ethnic group (most of the victims) and the moderate Hutus which was taking place from April to June 1994 in Rwanda. During that time, the Hutu radicals murdered up to one million Rwandan people and 2.5 million were forced to leave their homes. The tension between Hutu and Tutsi was not so big in the past because it was very hard to distinguish between two close ethnic groups. However, the Belgian colonizers introduced the identity cards with the mark of membership in 1933. Moreover, the membership of Tutsis was officially introduced according to physical features and property while supporting Tutsis for holding the higher working posts. Nevertheless, a mutual hostility increased after 1959 when Hutus took power after the anti-colonial coup. The invasion of Rwandan Patriotic Front from neighbouring Uganda in 1990 became a direct prelude to the genocide. The Rwandan president Juvenal Habyarimana apparently decided to radically solve the long-lasting ethnic conflict. The impulse for mass killing was initiated by the death of president Habyarimana on the April 6, 1994, when his plane was shot down near the capital city Kigali. A few days later, a command to "cut the tall trees" was spread through the radio across the country calling on the militia of the Hutu ethnic group to begin with the liquidation of the Tutsi minority. The symbol of genocide was represented by radio and machete. The fact that a large number of machetes was bought in bulk and then distributed mainly among the Interahamwe troops (meaning: Those who fight together) is a proof of a perfectly arranged preparation of the action. On this occasion, the UN was massively criticized for its inability to prevent the massacres. The international units presented at The United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) under the command of the Canadian Lt-Gen Romeo Dallaire were numerically weak and poorly equipped, so they were unable to prevent the massacres. Read more in, e. g.: Mamdani M. (2001). *When Victims*

described in detail and the authors inform students also about the failure of the UN units which “lost control...and retreated from Rwanda,”<sup>50</sup> or about the participation of priests and nuns in the killing. As we mentioned in the beginning of our work, the content analysis of textbooks aims at the cognition of the transformation of scientific and cultural knowledge into education, more precisely of their application in the educational texts and simultaneously explores how this piece of information form attitudes and perspectives of young people not only to history, but also to present-day actions. Conflicts in Africa continue, Europe is being influenced by them more and more. However, our research shows that for the countries such as the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia and to some extent also for Poland, the latest history of Africa is still a marginal part of history textbooks. The principle of actualization of history and the orientation of postmodern history teaching based on the functionality of factual account<sup>51</sup> is surely the way to the creation of textbooks containing also modern African history.

### The conclusion

On the basis of the stated goal of the project – to comprehensively examine and mutually compare the content aspect of history textbooks designated for secondary schools of the V4 countries from the perspective of the issue of genocides in the history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, we managed to create a rather extensive research sample of domestic and foreign history textbooks (14 textbooks in total) which we further analysed. We mainly dealt with the explanatory text, but we partially focused on the material part and non-textual components (exercises, tasks, etc.). We primarily took interest in the content-based processing as well as the extent of occurrence of individual topics dealing with genocides in a particular time frame.

The result of our analysis is based on the fact that the issue of the Holocaust is the largest and the most elaborated topic from the content point of view. It is

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*Become Killers – Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 364 p.; Jones A. (2004). *Gender and Genocide in Rwanda.* In Jones A. (ed.), *Gendercide and Genocide.* Vanderbilt University Press: Nashville, 336 p.; Caplan G. (2013). *The 1994 Genocide of the Tutsi of Rwanda.* In Totten S. – Parsons W. (eds.), *Centuries of Genocide. Essays and Eyewitness Accounts.* Routledge: New York, p. 447–475.

<sup>50</sup> Klaczkow J. – Zielinska A. *Zrozumieć przeszłość...*, p. 254.

<sup>51</sup> It puts emphasis on cognition, understanding and grounds for the importance of presented information as well as on the development of abilities to be informed about scientific knowledge, think about it more deeply, make intellectual and practical skills stronger and form one's own system of values. In Bocková A. (2009). *Výučba dejepisu ako pedagogický problém (Pohľad na funkčnosť dejepisného vzdelávania a funkčnosť faktografie).* In *Verbum historiae*, Prešov: Vydavateľstvo Michala Vaška, year 1, no. 1, p. 28.

followed by the famine in Ukraine associated with collectivization and displays of Stalinism. The other genocides are mentioned in a far lesser extent, rather in the context of the other historical events. Regarding the genocide of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, it is mainly about the global conflict of the World War I, the Pol Pot's genocidal regime in Cambodia is based on decolonization and the aftermath of the Cold War, and although the tribal conflict between Hutu and Tutsi in Rwanda comes under decolonization as well, we rather classify it as the issue of modern African conflicts.

If we deal with the research sample of the textbooks itself, the most extensive collection of history textbooks, included in our work, represents the Polish textbooks by which we came across with a significantly higher proportion of the Holocaust processing compared to the other genocides. When we speak about the least mentioned genocide, on the basis of our analysis we state that it is the genocide in Rwanda (represented more significantly only in one of the textbooks). The research of the V4 textbooks also suggests that the genocides located farther away from Europe, but closer to the 21<sup>st</sup> century from the time perspective, are marginally represented or they do not appear at all. The genocidal events from 1990s in Yugoslavia are the exception but they were not the subject matter of our research. This fact is mainly based on the reason that the V4 countries dedicate less space to the history of Africa and Asia, and on the contrary they focus more on Europe and national history. For this reason, the Holocaust is a historical phenomenon which is the most widely discussed one because it was present in the all V4 countries, and therefore it is possible to speak about the personal historical experience as well.

The examined issue is, in the history textbooks, supplemented with the non-textual materials in a form of various tasks and questions focused on fixation of curriculum or the development of critical thinking. The work with historical sources is significantly represented within the material (working) part of the individual genocides. For most of the genocides, however, this material is absent or more precisely, represented only minimally (illustratively). Regarding the issue of the Holocaust, students may work also with the visual materials (photos, maps, etc.) in some of the textbooks. For the other genocides, the pictures of purely illustrative character are rather applied, and so this can be found in each of the examined history textbooks.

The issue of transformation of scientific and cultural knowledge about history into the basic didactic tool – a textbook, depends not only on the curricular core of history as a school subject and a part of the educational system in the particular country, but also on the ability of authors to adequately provide the basic information about national and world history, which largely influenced human society and their consequences are perceived till now. Such historical events are undoubtedly represented also by the genocides of the 20<sup>th</sup> century which (showed in our research as well) have their irreplaceable role in the history textbooks of the V4 countries.



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##### a. Book (one author) *Format:*

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##### *Example:*

Vaculík, J. (2014). *Reemigrace a repatriace Čechů a Slováků po první světové válce*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita.

##### b. Book (two or more authors)

##### *Format:*

Author1, Author2 & Author3. (Year of publication). *Book title*. Place of publication: Publisher.

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Author(s) of chapter. (Year of publication). Chapter title. In Editors of the book (Eds.), *Book title* (Chapter page range). Place of publication: Publisher.

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Dmytruk, S. (2013). Čechy na pívdní Ukrajině. In L. Muchina, J. Vaculík (Eds.), *Istoria čechiv v Ukrajině*, Kijiv: Česka nacionalna rada Ukrajině, 316–365.

## 2. Article

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