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## CIVIC EDUCATION OF WOMEN AT THE DAWN OF THE SECOND POLISH REPUBLIC IN THE GALICIAN WEEKLY, TITLED *Na posterunku* (1917-1919)\*

**Introduction:** The outbreak of World War I and transformation of the political situation in Europe made the prospect of Poland regaining independence increasingly realistic. This posed new challenges for Poles and compelled redefinition of such concepts as patriotism and citizenship. The debate on this subject was carried out in numerous periodicals, including women's journals, such as *Na Posterunku* (1917–1919), an organ of the Women's League of Galicia and Silesia, and later of the Polish Women's League.

**Research Aim:** The aim of this article is to show how, on the eve of regaining independence, the issues of girls' civic education (its goals and methods of implementation) and the ideal of the Polish woman-citizen were presented in a women's weekly, titled *Na Posterunku*, as well as how the idea emerged of introducing civic education as a school subject and as a component of extracurricular education.

**Evidence-based Facts:** In recent years, Polish women's press published on the eve of independence has been the subject of numerous studies. The journal *Na Posterunku* also attracted scholarly attention, yet its content and message were analyzed more in political contexts or in relation to the issue of women's equality than pedagogy. Meanwhile, in the pages of *Na Posterunku*, in view of approaching independence, the question of women's civic education – as a novelty – was raised: preparation of women to fulfill a new role, that of a conscious citizen of the reborn state. This issue has not yet been discussed in the scholarly literature and will be addressed in this article.

**Summary:** Civic education was a subject of press debate at the threshold of independence. It was understood that the period of partitions had shaped a specific notion of patriotism; how-

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ever, with the emergence of an independent Polish state, it became necessary to give it a new meaning and link it with the concept of citizenship. The *Na Posterunku* weekly took part in this discourse. It promoted civic attitudes among women and the ideal of the Polish woman-patriot. It also presented the goals and methods of implementing civic education.

**Keywords:** civic education, Polish woman-citizen, women's press, Polish state

## INTRODUCTION

During World War I, as the prospect of Poland regaining independence became increasingly realistic, the press eagerly addressed the issue of preparing society for life in an independent state. Citizenship and patriotism became central slogans around which the discourse revolved. It was understood that Polish society would function under conditions very different from before, and that it would have to take responsibility first for the reconstruction and later for the existence itself of its own state. In this context, the question of citizenship and civic education emerged as a kind of novelty for a nation that had previously lived under partition, in conditions of subjugation.

Women increasingly raised their voices in this discussion. Women's press became an important forum for the exchange of ideas. As Maj (2019) points out, there was a correlation between the press discourse on the beliefs and attitudes of female readers and the formation of organizational structures of various women's groups, associations, and unions, which established their own press organs (p. 44). Such was also the genesis of *Na Posterunku* – a weekly addressed to women, published between 1917 and 1919.

## RESEARCH PROBLEM AND AIM

The purpose of this article is to show how, on the eve of regaining independence, the idea of women's civic education was born, what goals were set for it, what methods of implementation were proposed, and what model of a woman-citizen was promoted in the women's weekly, titled *Na Posterunku*. The choice of this weekly was dictated by the timing of its publication – already during the war years, when the discussion on women's civic education was only beginning – as well as by its high substantive and ideological level. The research problem is as follows: *How was the concept of women's civic education shaped in the pages of "Na Posterunku?"*

## METHODOLOGY

Qualitative content analysis is a methodological foundation of the article. The research was conducted based on a complete body of source materials published in the Galician weekly “*Na Posterunku*” between 1917 and 1919. Critical analysis of the press discourse was a primary research method. It allowed for the reconstruction of the concept of women’s civic education that was taking shape at the time. The authors focused on identifying and interpreting key themes, conceptual categories (such as “citizenship,” “patriotism,” “equal rights”), and proposed educational models and personal ideals (the model of the Polish female citizen). This method was supplemented by a historical-comparative analysis, contextualizing statements of the publicists and editors of the magazine within the broader historical, social, and ideological background of the era, considering the activities of the Women’s League and the contemporary independence and women’s movements.

## EVIDENCE BASED FACTS

The *Na Posterunku* weekly was published in Kraków from January 1917 to May 1919 (a total of 91 issues), initially under the editorship of Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska, and from May 1918 under Helena Witkowska. Ideologically and personally, it was at first linked to the Supreme National Committee (NKN) and the Women’s League of Galicia and Silesia (LKGiŚ). The journal featured contributions from well-known women’s movement activists, as well as social and independence activists from the Austrian and Russian partitions, such as Zofia Moraczewska, Władysława Weychert-Szymanowska, Stefania Bojarska, Irena Kosmowska, Jadwiga Petrażycka-Tomicka, Maria Gerżabkowska, Bronisława Bobrowska, Stefania Tatarówna, Helena Radlińska, Jadwiga Młodowska, Dorota Kłuszyńska, and Justyna Budzińska-Tylicka.

The first editor of the weekly was Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska, an economist and sociologist, graduate of the University of Zurich, where in 1891 she became the first woman to earn a doctorate. For a time, she worked at the University of Berlin before settling in Kraków. The academic community received her coldly due to her radicalism and liking for socialism. This was among the reasons her habilitation application, submitted in 1906, was rejected (Dadej, 2022; Owadowska, 2004).

Daszyńska-Golińska was deeply engaged in social and independence activities. When the war broke out, as she wrote, with it our hopes for the Polish cause immediately awoke... the Legions emerged... the cult of Piłsudski developed. Her husband joined the Legions and worked on organizing the quartermaster corps. Her son, Jan Goliński, also joined the Legions. As for her, she founded a circle for foreign propaganda and went to Munich. She stood firmly on the ideology of the Supreme National Committee. The NKN brought her to Vienna. There, and later in Kraków, she was entrusted with the leadership of the Bureau of Economic

Works, which she headed until the autumn of 1917 (Daszyńska-Golińska, 1932, p. 14). She was also entrusted with publishing *Na Posterunku*, which served as the political organ of women standing on the ideological platform of Commander J. Piłsudski (Daszyńska-Golińska, 1932, p. 15).

Daszyńska-Golińska held a deep conviction that building the foundations of the new state must rest on strong participation of women in public life, for during the war they proved their strength and efficiency, saving *Europe from hunger and culture from destruction* (Bołdyrew, 2013, p. 121). She believed that in reborn Poland, women must be granted full public rights – both as a form of recognition for their activity during the partitions and the war, and as a guarantee that the state would fulfill tasks related to social policy – since women possessed a strong sense of responsibility for the common good (Bołdyrew, 2013).

Her successor as editor was Helena Witkowska, a teacher and publicist. After completing her studies in social sciences at the University of Geneva, she returned to Poland and taught, among other places, at the first girls' gymnasium in Kraków. Already during the war – as it is reflected in her articles published in *Na Posterunku* – she became deeply interested in the issue of civic education. In the interwar period, she promoted civic education as a school subject, wrote textbooks, and trained teachers in this field (Dormus, 2018).

The *Na Posterunku* weekly was closely tied to the Women's League of Galicia and Silesia (LKGiŚ), an organization founded in 1915 on the initiative of the Supreme National Committee (NKN), which sought to unite scattered women's associations in Galicia into a single body supporting the Legion movement (Dufurat, 2002, 2008). In June 1915, the First Congress of the League was held in Kraków. Its main goals were defined as: raising national awareness among the broadest layers of Polish society, promoting the idea of the Legions, providing care for legionnaires and their families, assisting the civilian population, and supporting women in economic matters (Dufurat, 2002). At the Third Congress of the League in February 1917, the struggle for women's civil equality was added to these tasks (*Program Ligi Kobiet*, 1917). In Galicia and Cieszyn Silesia, more than 200 League circles were established, bringing together about 13,000 members, who represented a potentially wide readership for the journal (Dormus, 2006).

The League's first chairwoman was Jadwiga Strokowa, a teacher and writer (pen name "Jadwiga z Łobzowa"). After the Second Congress of the League in Kraków in June 1916, she was succeeded by Zofia Moraczewska, known for her leftist views and admiration for Piłsudski. Her husband, Jędrzej Moraczewski, belonged to his closest circle of collaborators (Dufurat, 2002). The choice of Moraczewska signaled that the League remained under leftist influence and no longer wished to be merely an auxiliary organization to the NKN (Cybułska, 2021).

This visible left-leaning orientation provoked a reaction from the episcopate. On May 12, 1917, the Archbishop of Lviv, Józef Bilczewski, issued a pastoral let-

ter entitled *Guidelines for the Clergy on the Women's League*, in which he accused League members of radicalism, liking for socialism, and the "passionate and public" practice of politics to the detriment of the Church and the nation (Cybulka, 2021; Dufurat, 2008). In fact, at first, members of the League did not display political views, even declaring themselves apolitical; later, however, the situation changed. The cause was the conflict between the NKN and the commander of the First Brigade of the Legions, Józef Piłsudski, who opposed subordinating the Legions to the Central Powers and in July 1917 triggered the so-called "oath crisis." (The "oath crisis" took place on July 9 and 11, 1917, when under Piłsudski's influence, soldiers of Polish Legions refused to swear an oath of allegiance to the Emperor of Germany and Austria-Hungary). Moreover, development of the women's movement led League members to feel called upon to express their own political positions (Dufurat, 2008). The League sided with Piłsudski and, at its final congress in Kraków in November 1917, announced its break with the NKN, which resulted in forced dissolution of the League. This, however, did not mark the end of its activity (Dufurat, 2002).

It should also be noted that the League's leftist orientation aroused opposition among some of its own members. Quite a few left the organization for this reason, leading to the decline of certain League circles. The secessionists established the Society for National Work of Polish Women in Kraków. Dufurat (2008) stated that politicization of the women's organization thus determined its downfall (p. 130).

On February 2, 1918, the Women's Civic Committee was founded in Kraków to replace the dissolved League. Then, in December 1918, a unification congress of women's leagues from the Austrian and Russian partitions took place in Warsaw. At that congress, the Polish Women's League (LKP) was established, which operated during the interwar period and included some former members of the LKGiŚ (Dufurat, 2002).

Despite the dissolution of the LKGiŚ, the *Na Posterunku* weekly continued to appear as the platform of all democratic Polish women, animated by fervent love of the homeland, no longer the organ of the LKGiŚ but of the Polish Women's League (Od Redakcji, 1917b, p. 1). In May 1919, the editorial board announced suspension of the journal due to financial difficulties (Od Redakcji, 1919). Regretfully, it stated that League members did not subscribe to the periodical, and at a time when the reconstruction of the state was possible and women's civic work could be carried out, these efforts found no response in society and could not overcome the obstacles hindering further development of the journal (Do czytelniczek, 1919, p. 1).

The weekly published articles on political, social, historical, and pedagogical topics. It also included sections such as *Chronicle of the War Work of Polish Women*, *Report of the Women's League*, *From Contemporary Literature*, and *From the Women's Movement Abroad*. The journal served as the bulletin of the LKGiŚ and later the LKP, publishing considerable information about their activities. How-

ever, although it was the League's organ, it directed its message to women from various social backgrounds, with different views and levels of education. It sought to be a forum for exchanging ideas and for providing up-to-date information (Od Redakcji, 1917a).

The weekly was marked by a distinctly political orientation. It promoted the policy of armed struggle and had a pronounced anti-Russian stance. Glorification of the Legion's endeavors, and above all approval of the political direction defined by Piłsudski, meant that the shaping of rules for women's activity took place on the basis of slogans affirming pro-state work, observes Maj (2019, p. 49).

The weekly often returned to the theme of the World War as a turning point through which women demonstrated diverse skills and proved their usefulness. In every country affected by the war, the journal noted, many posts in public and state service were staffed with women's labor. It turned out that the trial was successful (Prawa wyborcze, 1917, p. 5). This, in turn, translated into a rise in women's sense of self-worth and strengthened their drive to participate in public life. Unburdened by responsibility for the bloody drama of which they had been witnesses, women of all countries with redoubled persistence demand participation in government, in order to prevent similar catastrophes in the future, it was declared (Prawa wyborcze, 1917, p. 5). After the war, women will also be called to the great tasks of rebuilding life and laying the foundations for the new historical era approaching us, added Gerzabkowa (1917, p. 3). These tasks were to include: rebuilding the homeland on new, democratic principles, rescuing the Polish economy, and finally, penetrating all those spheres where, already within the framework of household duties, a woman is the soul and conscience – into the domain of education, care for minors, protection of women's labor, and supervision over the disturbed moral order (Słowa a czyny, 1917, p. 1). This, however, brought new challenges for women. We must no longer confine ourselves to the ideal of guarding the hearth if it warms and enlightens only our own family, the journal stated (Praca dla Polski, 1917, p. 1). Civic upbringing of the younger generation was an important task, since the Polish woman-citizen appeared unbidden and unexpected at the beginning of the war, stretching out her hands for work for Poland (Pamiętnik Zjazdu, 1918, p. 4), also demanding electoral rights, among other things (Daszyńska-Golińska, 1917b).

The journal, as Dufurat (2017) notes, can be described as a “modern” periodical, in which political content dominated, while religious content was absent and the sentimentalism characteristic of earlier women's magazines was rejected. The editorial board clearly advocated equal status for women and men in the public sphere. This position was the legacy of the Galician feminist movement, which promoted the model of a woman-citizen – distinguished by a strong sense of social and national duty and by conscientious fulfillment of these responsibilities (Żołądź-Strzelczyk & Jamrożek, 2001). Franke (1999) emphasizes that, thanks to Daszyńska-Golińska, the rhetoric typical of women's magazines – saturated with reflections on women's

vocation and destiny, limiting them to the private sphere – was abandoned. Instead, an image was created of a woman entangled in political events, active behind the front lines, whose views extended far beyond family and private matters.

A woman was to be a model citizen, but her citizenship was to differ from that of a man (Dufurat, 2013). Daszyńska-Golińska (1917b) wrote that although people are equal and therefore should have equal rights, each sex fulfills different tasks in society. It is not about equality, but precisely about difference. Woman and man, different physically, also contribute distinct cultural values to civilization (p. 1). Therefore, the scope of tasks for women and men was to differ. Women's domain was still to include matters of family, children, the sick, and household management, but with the granting of civil rights it was to expand into such areas as education, schooling, hygiene, alcoholism, social legislation, and housing policy (Daszyńska-Golińska, 1917b, p. 2). There were appeals for subordinating personal goals to service. No one was allowed to close themselves within the narrow circle of personal concerns, it was argued, for the measure of an individual's worth was the benefit they brought to society (Kronika, 1917, p. 7). Besides being a homemaker and educator, a woman must also remember that she is, that in the life of this state she already plays a certain role, and in the future, she will surely occupy an even more significant position, wrote Młodowska (1918, p. 5).

In the journal, the slogan of patriotism above all political and party divisions was proclaimed. It was written that Polish women have never recognized the artificially imposed borders; no regional patriotism has developed among them, they know only Poland as the goal and the Polish armed struggle that is winning it" (Od Redakcji, 1917a, p. 1). With this came the imperative that a Polish woman-patriot must not raise the banner of a party when the homeland calls! (Słowa a czyny, 1917, p. 1). Consequently, there was also the demand for solidarity within the women's community. Let us rise to the level of that high tolerance which enables cooperation for a great cause among people whose life paths once diverged, it was urged (Praca dla Polski, 1917, p. 2).

In a free state, equal citizens were to serve common national goals. The role of women was to consist in bringing ethical values into politics, mitigating social antagonisms, and raising the younger generation with the future in mind (Witkowska, 1918b), as well as working for the broad democratization of life (Praca dla Polski, 1917). Yet, it was noted, women could not be burdened with new duties without possessing civil rights. In demanding equal rights, they were motivated by concern for the homeland and the desire to serve it. In response to the aforementioned episcopal circular condemning women for engaging in politics, Daszyńska-Golińska (1917a) stated that women must strive to secure for themselves the position of citizens who, in assuming responsibilities, possess rights (p. 1).

In gaining new rights and striving to be full citizens, women not only had to struggle against men's reluctance and entrenched stereotypes. Above all against

their own lack of proper preparation for this new role. They lacked substantive training and many women involved in social and national work at every step encounter numerous technical difficulties, inability to master certain issues, lack of skill in resolving certain problems and questions (Krawczyńska, 1917, p. 1).

A second problem was reluctance of some women to undertake work for society and the nation. They explained that they were too occupied with domestic and family duties, not understanding that household management, even if only within the home, and the upbringing of children are thoroughly social tasks – but only when guided by a civic spirit and carried out skillfully. For how many housewives have ever studied household management in the sense of modern science? How negligible is the percentage of mothers who possess sufficient knowledge of physiology, hygiene, and pedagogy to properly care for and raise their children? (Krawczyńska, 1917, p. 1).

It was not only laziness but also selfishness that guided women, wrote Krawczyńska (1917) in one article. Polish women, she argued, were reluctant to place the common cause above the personal one, while a citizen has duties toward their society, for the fulfillment of which they are responsible – and in return they enjoy the rights and benefits that belong to all (Krawczyńska, 1917, p. 2) explained. The priority, therefore, was to properly prepare women for civic work from an early age and to raise awareness among broad layers of the nation, especially women. Various ways and paths led to this goal. The journal's publicists pointed to several, including: enlightening and educating the people (a task for educated women), systematic civic education of the younger generation (e.g., in schools), establishing compulsory social work for women, encouraging them to take active roles in local governments, and finally, creating their own organizations.

The democratic electoral law granted full civil rights to all citizens of Poland. Among them, however, were many who were entirely unprepared – lacking national awareness, uneducated, even illiterate. The primary task, therefore, was to raise the intellectual and spiritual culture of the people, both in cities and in the countryside. The journal explained that government institutions' efforts alone were insufficient; action was needed from various social groups, including women from the intelligentsia. They were to serve as educators, promoting intellectual and moral values. Legions of social workers and activists were to emerge from the ranks of Polish educated women, preparing the Polish people for life in an independent homeland (Maj, 2019). Specific measures were set before them, especially educational ones: organizing networks of itinerant general education courses, establishing libraries, and founding people's universities (modeled on Anglo-Saxon examples in cities and Scandinavian ones in villages). To carry out these tasks, however, it was necessary to prepare a qualified cadre of female instructors and librarians (Witkowska, 1919).

As already mentioned, for women to become promoters of education and propagators of national and civic values, they themselves had to be properly pre-



pared. Hence, the demand for introducing civic education for youth. Civic education, explained Krawczyńska (1917), must consist in enabling young people to subordinate their private lives to social life, to devote their strength and abilities to the service of an idea. That idea was to be the Polish cause (p. 2). Girls were to be instilled with patriotism and the desire to serve their homeland. They were to be taught love of order, conscientiousness, a desire for harmony rather than confrontation, punctuality – what Krawczyńska (1917) described as virtues of national and social value (p. 3). They also needed to acquire the habit of carrying out their duties in every profession diligently, with the understanding that in doing so they were serving the public good. Above all, they had to learn honest work based on solid substantive preparation – whether in household management, child-rearing, craftsmanship, art, or science. Girls could acquire these skills by participating in collective life; therefore, female organizations should be created on the principles of national-civic work. Girls between the ages of 15 and 20 had usually already finished school but had not yet taken up work, often leading purposeless lives with much free time. For them – drawing on the examples of other European countries (especially England and Germany) as well as the United States – various organizations should be established. These could include scouting organizations, self-education clubs, school circles and reading rooms, sports groups, or artistic circles.

In addition, from the earliest childhood, they should be provided with appropriate literature that instills patriotism and knowledge of the homeland, introduced to the functioning of state, social, and economic institutions so that they might understand the principles of how society operates. Girls should also acquire knowledge of the state system, as well as of law, administration, education, and economics. This could also be supported by excursions to industrial and commercial establishments, community centers, workers' homes, reading rooms, hospitals, childcare centers, orphanages, etc. Girls should also undertake internships in at least one of these institutions. Only by encountering real life could they understand the essence of civic duties. This also shaped their character, teaching selflessness, placing social and national concerns above personal ones, and fostering strength of spirit (Krawczyńska, 1917).

Reflecting on the civic education of girls, Witkowska (1917b) called for the introduction into the curricula of various types of educational institutions, both school and extracurricular, of a subject called *the study of contemporary Poland*. The purpose of this subject would be to teach how to assume and fulfill civic duties, provide orientation in the complex phenomena of contemporary life, foster patriotism, and encourage service to the Polish cause. Naturally, the subject would have to be adapted to the abilities of students at different levels of education. The study of contemporary Poland, Witkowska (1917b) argued, should also become part of the self-education program of all strata of Polish society, even the intelligentsia, which often lacked adequate knowledge in this field or possessed only

superficial knowledge. To this end, self-education circles, small libraries, communal readings during long winter evenings, discussions, and excursions should be organized. Witkowska (1917b, 1918a) also provided an outline of the curriculum for this subject, along with an extensive bibliography (Witkowska, 1918) to be used in its implementation. She divided the program into eight sections: geography, history, contemporary Poland in facts and figures, population, economic relations, cultural relations, the state and society, and current issues.

An experienced teacher, Młodowska (1918), also joined the discussion. She proposed a program for girls' secondary schools (*pensje żeńskie*). According to her, the entire seventh grade should be devoted to preparation for social life. In addition to religious studies, students in Polish language classes should become familiar with scholarly literature, especially socio-legal works concerning Poland. In mathematics, they should learn the principles of statistics, state accounting, and bookkeeping. In history, they should learn about the processes of society- and state-building. The core of the program, however, should be the study of law (civil, commercial, and company law, the principles of criminal law, and provisions on guardianship). The program should also include practical classes in nursing and social work. She further proposed introducing *social economy* studies, which would cover economics as well as acquainting students with the functioning of institutions such as banks, credit associations, and cooperatives.

Thinking about practical preparation of women, as well as their involvement in social work, *Na Posterunku* proposed the idea of introducing compulsory social service for women, which would be the equivalent of universal military service for men. Witkowska (1917a) was an advocate of this idea. She referred to the example of other European countries, which during the war (still ongoing at that time) had introduced such service, though nowhere had it been legislated. Therefore, Witkowska (1917a, p. 4) proposed that such a law should be enacted in Poland. According to it, every young woman, in a designated year of life, would be required to report for one year of unpaid social service, assigned to her by the proper authority in accordance with her abilities and preferences (p. 4). Women could work in childcare centers, shelters, hospitals; care for the sick; or look after children and the elderly. They could also oversee cleanliness and hygiene in villages and towns. They might work in workshops, gardens, fields, or engage in cultural-educational activities, such as giving lectures, or working in libraries and reading rooms. In this way, the state would gain a multitude of useful workers.

This idea was considered in February 1918 at the congress of democratic and independence-oriented parties in Kraków. (Father Jan Gralewski was the author of the project, which was the starting point for the discussion). A draft law was even drawn up for compulsory one-year social service for youth to prepare them for civic life. Girls between 18 and 20 years of age were to be subject to this obligation. During the service, they would not be allowed to marry. They were to serve in their

own municipality. Areas and places of women's work were outlined: nursing (hospitals, childcare centers, almshouses), cleanliness (maintaining streets and houses), aesthetics of villages and towns (parks, gardens, agricultural, and workshop labor), and education (elementary schools). In addition, women were to receive training for service in the event of war or epidemic. Girls were to be provided with pay and uniforms. As noted, the project's author added that he separated this issue from that of equal rights, regarding it not as a women's but as a national matter (*Kobieta w służbie cywilnej*, 1918, p. 4).

The project sparked debate at the congress; some critical voices called it a "noble utopia" or argued that women were already engaged in such tasks in their everyday lives (*Kobieta w służbie cywilnej*, 1918). Ultimately, a motion by Witkowska and Fleszarowa (presented on behalf of Dziubińska) was adopted in the following wording: The congress accepts the project of implementing compulsory women's social service, for the time being voluntary, and entrusts its execution to the Warsaw circle of the Polish Women's League, which must demand that the leadership of this organization, under the Ministry of Social Welfare, be assumed by a woman, at this moment Mrs. Jadwiga Dziubińska, to whom the Women's League entrusts with confidence the organization of the entire matter (Witkowska, 1918b, p. 11).

Considering women's preparation for and involvement in civic work, the issue of their participation in local governments was also raised. It was emphasized that the municipality is the starting point and the foundation of collective life; hence its immensely important role in the nation and the state (Gerżabkowska, 1918, p. 3), and it also had great educational value. On the one hand, it prepared women for civic work; on the other, women working in municipal councils or local administrations would bring a sense of responsibility for the public good, oppose partisan abuses, and foster civic discipline and attitudes (Tatarówna, 1919; Witkowska, 1918b).

## SUMMARY

At the threshold of independence, when rebuilding the Polish state was becoming a reality, the call to prepare women for civic work appeared with increasing frequency. Polish women could not have acquired experience in this field under the partitions, when the possibility (and even the desire) of active participation in public life connected with the functioning of the state was limited. Nor did they feel like full citizens of the states in which they had lived. When establishing the Polish state seemed imminent, the issue of women's civic preparation became important and urgent. This problem was repeatedly addressed in the pages of *Na Posterunku*, where civic education was considered in two contexts: one connected with the new understanding of patriotism as honest work and service to the Polish state and the other with the struggle for women's full civil rights. Civic education was meant to

instill certain values, awaken love and pride for the homeland, but it was also to have a practical dimension, introducing women to constitutional, legal, institutional, and economic matters related to the functioning of the state. Attention was also drawn to the various fields in which it should be pursued – for example, in schools as *the study of contemporary Poland*, or, in the case of girls who had already finished school, as compulsory social service for women. Appeals were also made for women's involvement in educational work among the people as a form of civic activity, and for their active participation in municipal and rural self-government.

The issue of citizenship was also closely linked with women's aspirations for full equality in the public sphere. It was emphasized that in order to fulfill the role of citizens, women must be full participants in public life. It was argued that obtaining rights imposed new obligations on women, but at the same time, women could not fulfill such obligations if they did not possess those rights. Equality was seen as a condition for building a modern, democratic society. Moreover, it was noted that Polish women would bring an ethical element into public life – above all, a desire for harmony and peace.

## CONCLUSIONS

Based on the articles published in *Na Posterunku*, one can reconstruct (though it was never explicitly defined) the model of a woman-citizen of the future Polish state that the journal promoted and which was to become the aim of civic education. Above all, it was emphasized that women's citizenship must be connected with a patriotic attitude. During the ongoing war, Polish women were to support the policy of armed struggle, but after independence was regained, they were expected to take an active role in rebuilding the state. In these new conditions, confining themselves solely to domestic and family matters would no longer be sufficient. Women had to actively and consciously engage in public life as full citizens. Promotion of civic attitudes and civic education aimed to instill values such as patriotism, a sense of duty, integrity, conscientiousness, diligence, social engagement, and pacifism. Consistently with the traditional vision of the role of Polish women, necessity of selflessness and sacrifice for the homeland, of placing its affairs above private concerns was also stressed. The model Polish woman-citizen should also be able to cooperate harmoniously with other women in the public sphere, rise above political, ideological, or social differences, and act in solidarity for the good of the homeland. Women were also expected to possess knowledge about the functioning of the state and public institutions, as well as basic knowledge of law and economics. Proposals regarding civic education, especially for girls, continued in the interwar period, with Helena Witkowska among its most ardent advocates, promoters, and implementers.

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## WYCHOWANIE OBYWATELSKIE KOBIET U PROGU II RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ NA ŁAMACH GALICYJSKIEGO TYGODNIKA “NA POSTERUNKU” (1917–1919)

**Wprowadzenie:** Wybuch I wojny światowej i przeobrażenia sytuacji politycznej w Europie sprawiły, że odzyskanie przez Polskę niepodległości stawało się realne. Stawiało to przed Polakami nowe wyzwanie i zmuszało do redefinicji takich pojęć jak patriotyzm oraz obywatelskość. Dyskusja na ten temat prowadzona była na łamach licznych pism, w tym kobiecych, takich jak np. pismo „Na Posterunku”(1917-1919) będące organem Ligi Kobiet Galicji i Śląska, a potem Ligi Kobiet Polskich.

**Cel badań:** Celem artykułu jest ukazanie, w jaki sposób w przededniu odzyskania niepodległości kwestie wychowania obywatelskiego dziewcząt (jego cele i drogi realizacji) oraz ideał Polki-obywatelki były przedstawiane na łamach tygodnika dla kobiet „Na Posterunku”, a także

w jaki sposób rodziła się myśl o konieczności wprowadzenia wychowania obywatelskiego jako przedmiotu do szkół oraz jako elementu oświaty pozaszkolnej.

**Stan wiedzy:** W ostatnich latach polska prasa kobieca ukazująca się u progu niepodległości doczekała się szeregu opracowań. Zainteresowanie badaczy budziło również czasopismo „Na Posterunku”, jednak analizowano jego treść i przekaz bardziej w kontekście politycznym lub w powiązaniu z kwestią równouprawnienia kobiet niż pedagogicznym. Poświęcono też sporo opracowań wychowaniu obywatelskiemu w okresie II Rzeczypospolitej, nie analizowano jednak szczegółowo jego początków przypadających na lata wojenne, ani roli jaką w tym zakresie odegrała prasa kobieca.

**Podsumowanie:** Wychowanie obywatelskie stanowiło przedmiot dyskusji prasowej u progu niepodległości. Zdawano sobie bowiem sprawę, że okres zaborów wytworzył swoiste rozumienie patriotyzmu, jednak wraz z rodzącym się niepodległym państwem polskim koniecznym było nadanie mu innego sensu i połączenie z pojęciem obywatelskości. W dyskursie na ten temat brał udział tygodnik „Na Posterunku”. Na jego łamach propagowano wśród kobiet postawy obywatelskie oraz ideał Polki-patriotki. Przedstawiano sposoby realizacji i cele wychowania obywatelskiego.

**Słowa kluczowe:** wychowanie obywatelskie, Polka-obywatelka, prasa kobieca, państwo polskie