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FEMALE EDUCATIONAL IDEALS IN POLISH PERIODICALS ON PEDAGOGY IN THE YEARS 1918–1939²

Summary: The phenomenon of educational ideals is immensely important to educators and teachers – they are used as tools to build images that determine goals, methods, forms, and means of educational works and so they have an impact not only on educational theory and practice, but also on the development of future generations and the entire society. The issue of female educational ideals is a particularly interesting one – the approach to women, their role in society and education, has changed hugely over the past centuries. In this paper, I wanted to present a certain excerpt of this process with regard to the Poland of the years 1918–1939.

The scientific goal of research presented in the article was to reconstruct female educational ideals functioning in the interwar period as found in educational periodicals and analysing their diversification against philosophical and ideological premises of various educational concepts. Results of research presented below constitute and attempt to identify a neglected or forgotten aspect of Polish pedagogical thought.

Keywords: educational ideals, female educational ideals, education in interwar period, educational ideals in Poland

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Introduction

The period post-World War I was the time when women were granted voting rights. It was one of the stages in the process of social and legal acceptance and legitimization of equality between women and men. In the case of Poland, this overlaps with the consequences of the country's political, economic, and social situation: regaining independence and resulting discussions and actions aimed at building a new statehood. Such huge transformations within the most important spheres of social life must have been reflected in educational concepts of that time and their basis – educational ideals, also those relating to women.

Problems of educational ideals are extremely important to educators and teachers – because how can we educate without having a vision of the man we want to educate in mind? Reconstruction of female educational ideals is interesting, especially within the context of the debate on coeducation in the interwar period³, but also due to an emerging diversity of female visions, which resulted from, among others, divergence from the dominating concepts of education of a man striving for restoration of independence, for a more diversified (from a philosophical and ideological perspective) vision of a man building a free Poland. Therefore, the scientific goal of research conducted was to reconstruct female educational ideals functioning in the interwar period as found in educational periodicals and analysing their diversification against philosophical and ideological premises of various educational concepts. Results of my own research presented below constitute and attempt to identify a neglected or forgotten aspect of Polish pedagogical thinking; discovering another unsurveyed area in the history of this sub-field of pedagogy and a sphere of Polish culture.

Outline of the current state of research on female educational ideals in Poland

Discussion on the role of educational ideals and their historical and contemporary examples constitute a part of studies conducted within general pedagogy and educational theory. However, the term 'educational ideal' seems to be used less frequently in contemporary Polish pedagogy – it has been replaced with a definition of educational goals or a graduate's profile, although these concepts do not fully represent what had been understood by an ideal. According to Nalaskowski⁴,

³ Compare for example: Janina Kostkiewicz, *Kierunki i koncepcje pedagogiki katolickiej w Polsce 1928–1939* (Kraków: Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls" 2013); Antoni Smolański, *Ideale wychowawcze w polskiej myśli pedagogicznej od XVI w. do końca II Rzeczypospolitej* (Opole: Uniwersytet Opolski 1994).

⁴ Stanisław Nalaskowski, *O ideale wychowania i celach kształcenia. Studium z pedagogiki porównawczej* (Toruń: Adam Marszałek 1993), 23–24.

the interwar period created favourable environment for discussion on educational ideals. In Poland, global and European tendencies (resulting from the development of science and a growing desire to build a new society, partly founded on experiences of atrocities of World War I) were juxtaposed with issues related to reinstating independence and organization of the statehood. All these changes were connected to debates on educational issues, selection and execution of educational goals – which was inseparable from the preferred vision of the new state and society. The abundance of reflections on the subject is visible in recent works on that period and such issues as: ideals of state and national education⁵, scouting ideals⁶, ideals in music education⁷, role models in the interwar period, both male and female⁸. In the world, and in Poland, also such topics as the necessity and importance of building educational ideals or dangers resulting from formulation of such ideals⁹ are being discussed.

Under Polish People's Republic, there was almost no debate on educational ideals whatsoever, perhaps due to existence of the only one, ideologically enforced, educational ideal – the ideal of a builder of socialism. On the other hand, at that time, references to concepts that were significant in the interwar period (especially founded upon Catholic or conservative grounds, which made up a large portion of scientific achievements in pedagogy in the years 1918–1939) were unappreciated, to say the least, and blocked by censorship if they did not fit the mainstream ideological profile of the ruling party¹⁰ and could even provide grounds for persecution. However, in the years 1944–1989, theoretical reflections upon these problems was present occasionally, for example Muszyński's concept of an educational ideal¹¹. Yet, these works catered for the dominating ideology of that time. Any attempts at continuation of reflections or pedagogical practices of the interwar period were circulated mostly as underground publications and existed outside the official educational concepts and activities.

⁵ Smołański, *Idealy wychowawcze...*

⁶ *Idealy wychowawcze i myśl polityczna harcerstwa polskiego*, ed. Grzegorz Baziur (Oświęcim: Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Zawodowa im. Rotmistrza Witolda Pileckiego w Oświęcimiu 2011); Bogusław Śliwerski, *Harcerstwo źródłem pedagogicznej pasji* (Kraków: Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls" 2016).

⁷ Violetta Przeremska, *Idealy wychowania w edukacji muzycznej w II Rzeczypospolitej* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego 2008).

⁸ *Idealy wychowania i wzory osobowe narodu polskiego w XIX i XX wieku*, ed. Elwira J. Kryńska (Białystok: Trans Humana 2006).

⁹ Compare: Robert M. Hutchins, "Ideals in Education", *American Journal of Sociology* 43 (1937), 1–15; Doret J. De Ruyter "The Importance of Ideals in Education", *Journal of Philosophy of Education* 37 (2003), 467–482; Frieda Heyting, "Beware of Ideals in Education", *Journal of Philosophy of Education* 38 (2004), 241–247.

¹⁰ Compare: Kostkiewicz, *Kierunki...*, 13–16.

¹¹ Heliodor Muszyński, *Idealy i cele wychowania* (Warszawa: Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych 1972).

In the case of the interwar period itself, problems of educational ideals seem to have been extremely important to Polish pedagogues and social activists. A number of authors joined, in their works, in the discussion on the educational ideal, its definition and understanding, its execution within the social reality. These were, for example: Chrzanowski¹², Czerwiński¹³, Klepacz¹⁴, Łempicki¹⁵, Granat¹⁶, Niesiołowski¹⁷, Sopoćko¹⁸, or Zarzecki¹⁹ and many others.

However, the richness of studies on the educational ideal from a theoretical perspective and case studies carried out in the interwar period does not refer to female educational ideals. Polish textbooks on the history of education in that period present some concepts of women's education, but most often this is a secondary thread and covers the period up to the beginning of the 20th century²⁰. In recent times, studies and reflections upon female educational ideals in Poland in various periods have been occurring more and more often. A majority of these works are joint publications presenting concepts of women's education, various role models, and practices in woman's education²¹. However, these are mostly broader works which do not focus on the interwar period or present biographies, often in great detail, or social and pedagogical activity of persons who may be

¹² Ignacy Chrzanowski, "Polski ideał wychowawczy", in: idem, *Okolo wychowania narodowego. Trzy odczyty* (Warszawa: Skład Główny w Domu Książki Polskiej 1932).

¹³ Sławomir Czerwiński, *O nowy ideał wychowawczy* (Warszawa: Dom Książki Polskiej 1934).

¹⁴ Michał Klepacz, *Kierunki organizacyjne i ideały wychowawcze we współczesnym szkolnictwie polskim* (Katowice: Księgarnia i Drukarnia Katolicka 1937).

¹⁵ Stanisław Łempicki, *Polski ideał wychowawczy* (Lwów-Warszawa: Książnica – Atlas 1938).

¹⁶ Wincenty Granat, "Katolicki ideał wychowawczy", *Miesięcznik Katolicki i Wychowawczy* 8, 9, 10 (1936).

¹⁷ Andrzej Niesiołowski, "O istocie, genezie i funkcji ideałów", *Kultura i Wychowanie* V (1938).

¹⁸ Michał Sopoćko, "Polskie i katolickie ideały i systemy wychowawcze", in: *Katolicka myśl wychowawcza. Pamiętnik II Studium Katolickiego w Wilnie w dn. 28.VIII–1.IX.1926*, ed. Stanisław Bross (Poznań: NIAK 1937).

¹⁹ Lucjan Zarzecki, *O idei naczelnej polskiego wychowania* (Warszawa-Poznań: M. Arct 1919).

²⁰ *Historia wychowania*, ed. Łukasz Kurdybacha (Warszawa: PWN 1965); *Historia wychowania, ed. Łukasz Kurdybacha* (Warszawa: PWN 1967); *Historia wychowania: wiek XX*, ed. Józef Miąso (Warszawa: PWN 1981); Stanisław Kot, *Historia wychowania* (Warszawa: Żak 1994).

²¹ See, for example: *Ideały wychowania i wzory...; Kobieta a patriotyzm. Konteksty historyczno-pedagogiczne XVI–XX wieku*, ed. Elwira J. Kryńska, Agnieszka Szarkowska, Urszula Wróblewska (Białystok: Trans Humana 2012); Wiesław Jamrożek, Dorota Żołądz-Strzelczyk, *Studia z dziejów edukacji kobiet na ziemiach polskich* (Poznań: WSE UAM 2001); *Rola i miejsce kobiet w edukacji i kulturze polskiej*, ed. Wiesław Jamrożek, Dorota Żołądz-Strzelczyk (Poznań: Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza 1998); *Kobiety na Kresach na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, ed. Adriana Dawid, Joanna Lusek (Bytom–Opole: DiG 2016); Janina Kostkiewicz, "Humanistyczna pedagogika społeczna jako pogranicze i obszar wspólny z katolicką nauką społeczną. Szkic zagadnienia", *Polska Myśl Pedagogiczna* 2 (2016), 51–81; Janina Kostkiewicz, "Status i tożsamość pedagogiki katolickiej 20-lecia międzywojennego w Polsce", *Paedagogia Christiana* 1 (2013), 45–69; Janina Kostkiewicz, "Wychowanie prorodzinne w myśli społeczno-pedagogicznej ks. Stanisława Podoleńskiego SJ (1887–1945)", in: *Spółczesność, kultura, wychowanie w poglądach polskich jezuitów okresu II Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. Stanisław Cieślak, Beata Topij-Stempińska (Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM – Akademia Ignatianum 2012), 141–167.

considered as role models. Therefore, developing a general characteristic of female educational ideals of the interwar period seems to be both significant and justified. Conducting such a reconstruction may enable us to understand the past better and see its contemporary consequences in pedagogical reflections and activity, as well as in the functioning of society. Re-read anew, these ideals may inspire educational theorists and practitioners alike.

Concept of the author's own research on female educational ideals in the interwar period

The baseline of my own research was Niesiołowski's definition of an ideal as 'a separate and objectified feature (of a system of features) of a substrate or activity category, considered by a subject (an individual or a group) to be perfect'²². Assuming, like the above-mentioned author, that an educational ideal is dependent on a group or an individual²³, I selected my research materials among articles on education of girls and problems of social life, related to the family and social functioning of women, of that age, published in the years 1919–1939 in Polish periodicals of varied philosophical and ideological colouring: Christian and conservative ('Miesięcznik Katechetyczny i Wychowawczy', 'Kultura i Wychowanie', 'Kwartalnik Pedagogiczny', 'Przewodnik Społeczny', 'Przegląd Powszechny', 'Prąd') and leftist ('Ruch Pedagogiczny', 'Głos Nauczycielski', 'Zrąb', 'Przegląd Humanistyczny', 'Pedagogium', 'Poradnik w Sprawach Nauczania i Wychowania', 'Polska Macierz Szkolna', 'Sygnały', 'Dźwignia', 'Nauczyciel Ludowy', 'Szkoła Powszechna', 'Po Prostu'). These inclinations, in a broad aspect, seem to be depicting the strongest social, political, and thus educational tendencies in Poland of the interwar period.

As many as 158 articles on women's issues were found and analysed for presence of female educational ideals. Below, I present extracted elements of educational ideals stated by authors who, in Polish periodicals on pedagogy in the years 1918–1939, published their works on women's issues. The periodicals were divided into categories of their philosophical and ideological orientation, which had been determined by relation of individual titles to social organisations and programme statements included in the periodical's first issues. The research was conducted by means of hermeneutic content analysis.

²² Niesiołowski, "O istocie, genezie i funkcji ideałów", 288.

²³ *Ibidem*, 300.

Female educational ideals in Christian-conservative periodicals

Pedagogical periodicals with Christian-conservative inclination include such titles as: 'Miesięcznik Katechetyczny i Wychowawczy', 'Kultura i Wychowanie', 'Kwartalnik Pedagogiczny', 'Przewodnik Społeczny', 'Przegląd Powszechny', 'Prąd'. They differ both in volume and publication period (some of them were being published throughout the interwar period while others survived several years and were discontinued), as well as their frequency (the titles listed above include quarterlies, monthlies, and weeklies) and the degree of scientific character of their content (from highly scientific articles to popular-science texts). They all, however, promoted openly the catholic and conservative perspective on the social reality and their pedagogical and social reasoning is based on Catholic social teaching.

Therefore, the mainstream of female educational ideals present in articles published in periodicals of conservative and Catholic-national inclination, expressed directly or indirectly, was constructed based on social teaching of the Catholic Church. Thus, they rather referred (although not in all aspects, which will be evident in the following part of this paper) to a traditional understanding of the woman and her position within society. These ideals originated directly in the Christian anthropology, Catholic perspective on the human and his nature. A majority of concepts of female educational ideals postulated in various articles released in the analysed Christian and conservative periodicals by authors, who additionally construct them in a quite extended and detailed way, trying to cover a number of spheres in which females function within society, show significant consistency.

The basic educational ideals which women are expected to fulfil, according to the authors of articles from such inclined periodicals, are the ideal of the wife and the mother. They are treated as inseparable both as ideals and social roles. Entering into the sacrament of marriage, according to the teachings of Catholic Church, is bound to a public declaration of will to accept and bring up children expressed before God. According to representatives of this current, the social role of the wife and maternity are the fundamental properties of the woman resulting from her nature and vocation, therefore every person of the female sex should be prepared properly to fulfil them. Thus, what qualities of a good wife are emphasised in articles of educators and social activists publishing their works in periodicals of Christian and conservative inclination?

As it seems, the most important requirement for the wife and the mother, the basic constituent of such an educational ideal, is the woman's high moral level²⁴. Spiritual beauty of the woman guarantees her respect of the man, who is always

²⁴ Stanisław Podoleński, "O poszanowanie kobiety", *Przegląd Powszechny* 181 (1929), 333–348; Jan Urban, "O zdrowie moralne w naszych rodzinach", *Przegląd Powszechny* 153/154 (1922), 420–438.

stronger physically and is able to use violence against her. A healthy morality in the woman fills every man with worship and respect for her moral greatness and, thus, provides her protection from the fall and humiliation and ensures her equality²⁵. A high moral level entangles certain features, whose development in women is especially important, which constitute elements of the educational ideal. They include, first and foremost, modesty, timidity, decency, naturalness, simplicity of manners²⁶, but they result not from cowardice or passiveness, but from conscious humility²⁷. Other strongly desired personal traits also include self-control, gentleness, patience, understanding²⁸, meekness, ability to focus, control one's emotions and their display, as well as level-headedness²⁹. Apart from that, according to authors who published in periodical of Christian and conservative inclination, the wife and the mother should be characterised by generosity, ability and willingness to make sacrifices³⁰, internal harmony³¹, forbearance and conscientiousness³². These elements of a female educational ideal seem to be executed in the most important role model in the Catholic world – Mother Mary. We might assume that they constitute a part of every woman's educational ideal, but they are especially important for her functioning in the role of a good wife and mother.

In the analysed articles published in periodic qualified as Christian-conservative, the wife is perceived, first and foremost, as the man's life companion³³ with equal rights, but different family and social duties³⁴; as the guardian of the hearth, characterised by an ability to share her husband's life for better and for worse, his sorrows and his joys, as her husband's rock and anchor, full of understanding for him and his problems³⁵. According to authors who published in the periodicals listed above, ideally, the woman subjects herself to her husband's leadership with

²⁵ Podoleński, "O poszanowanie...", 338; Stanisław Podoleński, "Czy zmierzch kobiety?", *Przegląd Powszechny* 168 (1925), 308–309; Urban, "O zdrowie moralne...", 420–438.

²⁶ Jan Urban, "Przeciwko zarazie moralnej", *Przegląd Powszechny* 143/144 (1919), 289–298; Stanisław Podoleński, "W sprawie niewłaściwej mody", *Przegląd Powszechny* 163 (1924), 215; Wera, "Zasadnicze błędy w wychowaniu dziewcząt", *Przewodnik Społeczny* 13 (1925), 577.

²⁷ Ibidem.

²⁸ Zofia Skwarczyńska, "Życie wewnętrzne rodziny", *Prąd* 26 (1934), 176; Maria Estreicherówna, "Zasady wychowawcze jenerałowej Zamoyskiej", *Przegląd Powszechny* 161 (1924), 208–218.

²⁹ Ibidem.

³⁰ Skwarczyńska, "Życie...", 173; Ludwik Jarosz, "Odnowienie rodziny katolickiej jako problem duszpasterski i społeczny", *Przewodnik Społeczny* 13 (1925), 565; Hanna Stęślicka, "Wykorzystanie odrębności natury kobiecej jako czynnik odrodzenia Narodu", *Przewodnik Społeczny* 2 (1927), 58.

³¹ Ibidem; Zofia Rzepecka, "Zagadnienia kobiece w oświeceniu katolickim", *Przewodnik Społeczny* 10 (1925), 433–438.

³² Stęślicka, "Wykorzystanie odrębności...", 58.

³³ Rzepecka, "Zagadnienia...", 433–438; Podoleński, "Czy zmierzch...", 306; Bożenna Szulc-Golska, "Wpływ kobiety na kulturalne życie społeczeństwa", *Przewodnik Społeczny* 4 (1927), 146.

³⁴ Franciszek Sawicki, "Era żeńska w czasach zamierchłych a w przyszłości", *Przegląd Powszechny* 189 (1931), 288.

³⁵ Szulc-Golska, "Wpływ kobiety...", 145–150; Jan Pewniak, "Cele i przeszkody wychowania młodzieży żeńskiej", *Przewodnik Społeczny* 6 (1925), 249–257.

respect. Especially with regard to external affairs of the family (its functioning within the external world), but, at the same time, she neither serves him nor yield to brute force³⁶, having her dignity and equality in mind along with the fact that the woman's and the man's tasks in marriage, and in society in general, complement one another. It seems that the consciousness of the goal in marriage³⁷, as emphasised, its resulting obligations³⁸, and indissolubility³⁹, as well as marital purity⁴⁰, seems to be of great importance. Another quality of a good wife, equally emphasised, is her understanding of negative consequences of birth control and abortion⁴¹. As we may see, the elements of a female educational ideal of the wife presented here are compliant with the social teachings of the Church and its preferred assumptions on the female nature, a person's dignity, and affirmation of the human life. The qualities of a perfect wife presented here coincide with the ones attributed to a good mother by representatives of Christian and conservative educational concepts – because both ideals and social roles are complementary to each other.

However, pointing to the educational ideal of a mother, we may find a number of supplementary elements defining the features of a good mother. According to humanists publishing in the analysed periodicals of Christian and conservative inclination, a mother should be characterised, first and foremost, by motherly love, ability and willingness to make sacrifices for her children, diligence, love for perfection and ability to teach her children values⁴². The basic skills that a women should be taught with regard to a wish to attain this educational ideal are the ones related to bringing up children and creating a family atmosphere⁴³, a generous selflessness, kindness⁴⁴, ability to understand the children's needs⁴⁵ resulting from

³⁶ Rzepecka, "Zagadnienia...", 433–438.

³⁷ Urban, "O zdrowie moralne...", 420–438.

³⁸ Edward Kozłowski, "Płace rodzinne w katolickiej nauce społecznej", *Przewodnik Społeczny* 7 (1938), 209–223.

³⁹ Franciszek Forecki, "Duszpasterz a kwestja kobieca", *Przewodnik Społeczny* 143 (1925), 622–623; Stanisław Podoleński, "Prawo rozwodowe a szczęście małżeńskie", *Przegląd Powszechny* 141/142 (1919), 420–431; 143/144 (1919), 111–126; 143/144 (1919), 403–415; Stanisław Podoleński, "Małżeństwo wobec Kościoła i państwa", *Przegląd Powszechny* 147/148 (1920), 229–238; Stanisław Podoleński, "Prawo rozwodowe a szczęście małżeńskie", *Przegląd Powszechny* 145/146 (1920), 120–134; 145/146 (1920), 200–211; Stanisław Podoleński, "Nemezis rozwodu", *Przegląd Powszechny* 161 (1924), 193–207; Stanisław Podoleński, "Dlaczego chcą nam narzucić rozwody?", *Przegląd Powszechny* 190 (1931), 57–70; 190 (1931), 184–205.

⁴⁰ Urban, "O zdrowie moralne...", 420–438.

⁴¹ Ibidem. Forecki, "Duszpasterz...", 622–623; 62. Stanisław Podoleński, "O życie nienarodzonych", *Przegląd Powszechny* 196 (1932), 161–176; 196 (1932), 301–324; 197 (1933), 147–163; Stanisław Podoleński, "Jeszcze w sprawie życia 'nienarodzonych'", *Przegląd Powszechny* 202 (1934), 25–33; Stanisław Podoleński, "W walce z poczęciem życia", *Przegląd Powszechny* 205 (1935), 3–23.

⁴² Szulc-Golska, "Wpływ kobiety...", 147.

⁴³ Forecki, "Duszpasterz...", 143.

⁴⁴ Stęślicka, "Wykorzystanie odrębności...", 58.

⁴⁵ Pewniak, "Cele i przeszkody...", 249–257.

knowledge of the fundamental obligations related to being a wife and a mother, with bringing up children⁴⁶. Justice and love for peace⁴⁷ are also among the maternal features, which help her to bring her children to be good Catholics and citizens. As full an execution of the ideals of a good wife and mother as possible also depends on whether the woman develops a certain manner of holiness⁴⁸ or piety⁴⁹ and on the depth of her faith⁵⁰. These will help her to fulfil her daily duties and constitutes an indispensable element of the female educational ideal according to authors publishing in the analysed Polish Christian and conservative periodicals.

However, not all women, for various reasons, are given a chance to follow the path defined by the sacrament of marriage. The authors who wrote on women's issues in Polish pedagogical periodicals of Christian and conservative inclination accept yet another ideal that may be executed by women. This, however, is only mentioned and remains undefined in detail. A woman may remain unmarried preferably as a Christian virgin willing to ere God⁵¹. She will do it best by taking monastic vows, but it is not the only option – after all, a single woman may also be active for the well-being of her community.

Regardless whether a woman marries, remains single, or enters an convent, according to educators publishing in the analysed periodicals of Christian and conservative inclination, she should possess other personal traits important to development and future salvation of every person. One of qualities that belong to a female educational ideal is attaining spiritual maturity. It consists of such features as: responsibility for one's actions and consciousness, belief in a high value of human dignity, regardless of individual or social differences, ability to assess one's life situation and find the best path, knowledge of principles of moral and physical hygiene, understanding for the necessity to sacrifice oneself for the sake of maternity, a sense of belonging to a social group and willingness to contribute to this group's, nation's, humanity's development⁵². Therefore, this spiritual maturity is manifested in orientation not only on matters of marriage and family, but also in going outwards to make one's group, society, or nation better – so that the conditions they create were favourable for the best possible development of a human as a person.

⁴⁶ Urban, "O zdrowie moralne...", 420–438.

⁴⁷ Stęślicka, "Wykorzystanie odrębności...", 59.

⁴⁸ Zofia Rzepecka, "Emancypacja kobiet", *Przewodnik Społeczny* 1 (1932), 26–33.

⁴⁹ Stęślicka, "Wykorzystanie odrębności...", 59.

⁵⁰ Barbara Łazarewiczówna, "Międzynarodowy katolicki ruch kobiecy", *Przewodnik Społeczny* 1 (1928), 7.

⁵¹ Ibidem.

⁵² Korczyńska, "Jakie przygotowanie umysłowe powinna kobieta wnosić w życie", *Przewodnik Społeczny* 3 (1924/1925), 105.

This is related to an assumption, visible in articles in periodical of Christian-conservative inclination, that the woman should combine a high, oral level with guarding the morality within both home and public domain⁵³ and exhibit the so called apostle character, which is most fully manifested in bringing up children, but may and should apply to social life as well⁵⁴. A sensible and deeply religious woman who uses her mind for a moral transformation of the world should act as an apostle in various Catholic organisations and institutions⁵⁵, striving for a positive change in the community to which she belongs. To do so, she needs such an education that will lead her to understanding and acknowledgement of the most crucial features of the woman and their importance to the development of the nation and society⁵⁶, which is related to indirect participation (bringing up children, inspiration) and direct (depending on the talents possessed) in the nation's cultural life⁵⁷, for the woman, equally to the man, assumes responsibility for the fate of her nation and society⁵⁸.

Thus, being a wife and a mother does not disqualify a woman as a citizen, oppositely – it puts her under an even more pressing obligation to be active within the public and social sphere. The woman should hold full citizen rights and cannot be discriminated on grounds of her sex. An educational idea pointed out by Urban⁵⁹ is a woman who fulfils her obligations to society properly – and this is possible only when she obtains full citizen rights not only formally, from the legal perspective, but also is able to exercise them in practice, in everyday social life and, secondly, when she has been prepared to do so, especially within the scope of morality, comprehension of the public welfare, and ability to spread the Christian culture. Thus, the educational ideal will be reflected in a woman who can exercise her rights to education, earning her living, and voting in accordance with the Catholic faith, for her own sake and for the sake of the community she lives in⁶⁰. The woman as a citizen should partake in the life of her state and community, in particular, she should elect wisely her representatives to authorities⁶¹. Apart from that, she should be able to contribute to society with new values, which female subtlety and ability to grasp deficits and defects in the existing solutions

⁵³ Paulina Cegielska, "Kobieta wobec zepsucia obyczajów", *Przewodnik Społeczny* V (1923/1924), 230–237.

⁵⁴ Jarosz, "Odnowienie rodziny...", 565.

⁵⁵ Łazarewiczówna, "Międzynarodowy...", 7.

⁵⁶ Stęślicka, "Wykorzystanie odrębności...", 60; Pewniak, "Cele i przeszkody...", 249–257.

⁵⁷ Sawicki, "Era żeńska...", 289–290.

⁵⁸ Łazarewiczówna, "Międzynarodowy...", 7.

⁵⁹ Jan Urban, "O prawa obywatelskie dla kobiet", *Przegląd Powszechny* 138/139 (1918), 276–293; 139/140 (1918), 414–431.

⁶⁰ Zofia Rzepecka, "Zagadnienia kobiece w oświeceniu katolickim", *Przewodnik Społeczny* 6 (1925), 299–303.

⁶¹ Apolonia Koperska, "Kobieta-obywatelka", *Przewodnik Społeczny* 1 (1919/1920), 37–42.

enables her to do⁶². The woman's social activity should be thus manifested not only in exercising her voting right, but, first and foremost, in social activities⁶³ and participation in all sorts of organizations⁶⁴. What is more, social activity not only does not hinder proper execution of duties of a good wife and mother, but is perceived, by Podoleński, as its indispensable completion, an expression of maternal love, which, thanks to the woman's courageous and accurate actions, changes the world for future generations⁶⁵. It is worth underlining that an educational ideal consist in an active woman which takes up political and social challenges. At this point, female educational ideals expressed in articles published in educational periodicals of Christian and conservative inclination diverge from such a traditional approach to the woman and expand the sphere of here influence, while referring to the female nature as to the basis of such change in the perception of the female ideal simultaneously. Thus, a visible re-evaluation of the woman's role occurs here, although it is a moderate one and it is justified in a way fully acceptable from the perspective of the Catholic teachings of the Church.

To fulfil the obligations related to one's role of a wife and mother, citizen and social activist, every woman should be also characterised by at least basic intellectual refinement⁶⁶ – because moral independence must be accompanied by intellectual independence⁶⁷. Therefore, a female educational ideal will consist in knowledge of both spiritual work, as well as intellectual and physical⁶⁸, development of true, individually determined talents⁶⁹, and possession of education equal to that of men's⁷⁰. These should be the goals of every woman, because they enable execution of the basic tasks related to the woman's role in society.

The final issue that comprises the female educational ideal presented in periodicals of Christian and conservative inclination is the one related to women's employment. The approach to professional career, especially if take up by married women, is the only area where authors publishing in the analysed periodicals differ in their interpretation. Some representatives of the Christian and conservative wing notes that the necessity to take up professional career by married women is disastrous for her family and her family obligations⁷¹, while others believe that

⁶² Stęślicka, "Wykorzystanie odrębności...", 56.

⁶³ Szulc-Golska, "Wpływ kobiety...", 147–148; Łazarewiczówna, "Międzynarodowy...", 10–11.

⁶⁴ Paulina Cegielska, "Udział inteligentnej kobiety polskiej w katolickim ruchu organizacyjnym", *Przewodnik Społeczny* 1 (1924/1925), 43–48; Łazarewiczówna, "Międzynarodowy...", 10–11.

⁶⁵ Podoleński, "Czy zmierzch...", 305–318.

⁶⁶ Korczyńska, "Jakie przygotowanie...", 104–105.

⁶⁷ Szulc-Golska, „Wpływ kobiety...", 148.

⁶⁸ Estreicherówna, "Zasady...", 208–218.

⁶⁹ Wera, "Zasadnicze błędy...", 578.

⁷⁰ Stęślicka, "Wykorzystanie odrębności...", 61.

⁷¹ Edward Kozłowski, "Płace rodzinne w katolickiej nauce społecznej", *Przewodnik Społeczny* 7 (1938), 209–223; Maria Skarżyńska, "Praca zarobkowa mężatek", *Przewodnik Społeczny* 5 (1938), 157–160.

proper preparation for professional career, improvement of abilities in one's chosen field of employment depending on intellectual and moral qualifications⁷², building passion for work and professional excellence⁷³, and deployment of skills that facilitate the development of home industry⁷⁴, which enables the woman to earn without leaving her house – these are crucial elements of the female educational ideal, which should be executed by means of home education and compulsory schooling. As we may see, the educators who published in the analysed periodicals do not agree on this – which most likely results from discussions on social and economic changes that occurred in the years 1918–1939 and forces or enabled (depending on the point of view) women to take up professional careers.

The female educational ideals presented above, extracted from articles released in the interwar period in the listed periodicals, are quite consistent and unambiguous. A majority of their constituents refer to the woman's role of a wife and a mother, which still is – despite social and cultural changes of the years 1918–1939 – treated by representatives of this educational option as basic, resulting from the female nature. Other roles defining further components of educational ideals are, to a large extent, derived from expansion of maternity to wider circles and social communities. The life-path of a woman who remains unmarried is considered good and useful only if it is related to service to God or society. Other possibilities are not regarded as elements of an educational ideal, they are even criticised from the perspective of principles of Catholic social teachings.

Female educational ideals in leftist periodicals

In my own research, I identified the following pedagogical periodicals to feature a leftist inclination: 'Ruch Pedagogiczny', 'Głos Nauczycielski', 'Zrąb', 'Przegląd Humanistyczny', 'Pedagogium', 'Poradnik w Sprawach Nauczania i Wychowania', 'Polska Macierz Szkolna', 'Sygnały', 'Dźwignia', 'Nauczyciel Ludowy', 'Szkoła Powszechna', 'Po Prostu'. Just like in the case of periodicals of Christian and conservative inclination, the leftist ones differ in volume, publishing period (from several to over a dozen years), and frequency (again, they include quarterlies, monthlies, and weeklies). Also the level of scientific character of pedagogical texts is varied – from broad theoretical compilations to short memos on educational practices or popularising scientific concepts. Articles released in periodicals which belong to this philosophical and ideological option are also more diversified within their ideological saturation: from texts of low ideological socialist content to ones which present the communist concepts of human development and education

⁷² Stęślicka, "Wykorzystanie odrębności...", 61–62.

⁷³ Pewniak, "Cele i przeszkody...", 249–257.

⁷⁴ Stęślicka, "Wykorzystanie odrębności...", 62.

favourably. Worth noticing is the fact that there are fewer texts on women's issues than in the former of the two inclinations.

It is thus worth taking a closer look on what female educational ideals are preferred by authors publishing in periodicals which were qualified as leftists in the research. Some elements of the ideal refer to issues related to personal traits, which are perceived as desirable in representatives of the female sex. Thus, every woman should be characterised by fortitude and self-confidence, respect for, and ability to understand, a person of the other sex⁷⁵. Shaping these traits is possible thanks to coeducation and co-instruction, because only spending time with representatives of the other sex may have an amplifying effect on the positive features and an inhibiting effect on the negative ones inherent to each respective sex⁷⁶. Moreover, differences between the sexes, according to authors of the analysed articles on psychology, are not unambiguous and undisputable, their existence is not as indubitable, as it had been believed before. Since research results feature a certain level of uncertainty and intense incongruity, they can neither serve as a source for conclusions on gender differences, nor for arguments against coeducation and co-instruction, nor any goals of education and teaching and pedagogical tips on educational forms and methods⁷⁷. Such an approach affects other postulates on education of women and building the image of her ideal features. In most cases, they are pointed to and marked with an apposition: 'the same as men' or 'regardless of sex'. Perhaps this results in a smaller number of texts on women's issues among articles published in periodicals qualified as leftist – since differences between the sexes are not so important to education, it may not be worth to discuss educational problems individually for each sex.

Lack of acknowledgement of inter-sexual differences results in further elements of female educational ideals characteristic for authors of articles published in pedagogical periodicals of leftist inclination. They include uniform teaching programme for both sexes⁷⁸ based on the same educational goals⁷⁹, gaining skills in independent intellectual work⁸⁰, as well as development of talents⁸¹ and individuality regardless of sex⁸². Therefore, schooling and intellectual education, according to representatives of this option, should be the same as for men and every woman should strive to acquire knowledge depending not on her own sex

⁷⁵ Teodora Męczkowska, "Zagadnienie koedukacji w teorii i praktyce", *Zrąb* 16 (1933), 48, 50, 64.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, 46–67.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*; Michał Friedlander, "Idea koedukacji i jej realizacja", *Ruch Pedagogiczny* 1 (1933), 26; 2 (1933), 65.

⁷⁸ Męczkowska, "Zagadnienie koedukacji...", 54–55.

⁷⁹ Friedlander, "Idea koedukacji...", 65.

⁸⁰ Męczkowska, "Zagadnienie koedukacji...", 63; Julia Kisielewska, "O potrzebie reformy szkoły średniej dla dziewcząt", *Polska Macierz Szkolna* 3 (1918), 9–15; 4 (1918), 5–10.

⁸¹ Michał Friedlander, "Koedukacja i koinstrukcja", *Ruch Pedagogiczny* 5 (1926), 303.

⁸² Janina Helm-Pirgowa, "Koedukacja w świetle opinii VI Międzynarodowego Kongresu Wychowania Moralnego w Krakowie", *Zrąb* 19/20 (1934), 128.

and its traditionally associated fields of knowledge, but, first and foremost, on her individual willingness, talents, and abilities⁸³.

However, not only intellectual or textbook education is important here, but also professional training⁸⁴. According to pedagogues writing for periodicals classified in my own research as leftist, the contemporary woman should develop skills needed for professional career and work despite being married⁸⁵. Apart from that, the elements of female educational ideal include developing one's femininity to the full and enabling her to co-participate in contemporary life⁸⁶, because activity in various organisations and social life⁸⁷ is treated here as a standard of social functioning for every person regardless of sex.

Elements of female educational ideals may also be seen in attempts made by authors publishing in periodicals classified in the research as leftists to defend against criticism of the Christian-conservative option on a negative impact of coeducation on the development of those qualities and properties of the woman, which are related to the social role of representatives of the female sex to the largest degree. This is an interesting aspect, because it seems to contradict the thesis posed earlier that separate educational goals cannot be implemented for each sex individually due to ambiguous results of research on gender differences. It seems to be a nod to a traditional perception of the woman, which still forms the mainstream social background and belongs to a vernacular vision of the ideal woman and man. What elements of the educational ideal may thus be identified here?

Coeducation and co-instruction, according to representatives of the discussed current, do not have a negative impact on the development of qualities perceived as typically female. What is more, not only does it not inhibit, but also supports such development. These features, amplified by coeducation, desired and defining the female qualities, include developing one's spiritual life, a sense of ethics, and consciousness of one's fundamental tasks and destination, as well as building willingness to serve others, ability to make sacrifices and devote oneself⁸⁸. Coeducation also helps to become more aware of a sensible relations to one's own desires and emotions, in refinement and sublimation of procreative instinct⁸⁹, but it also provides social refinement and a sense of belonging⁹⁰, so desired both in social life and in personal relations. A thorough knowledge of the opposite sex, favoured by coeducation, is also treated here as an element of a female

⁸³ Kisielewska, "O potrzebie reformy...", *Polska Macierz Szkolna* 3 (1918), 9–15; 5 i 6 (1918), 4–9.

⁸⁴ Ibidem.

⁸⁵ Helm-Pirgowa, "Koedukacja...", 126–127.

⁸⁶ Friedlander, "Idea koedukacji...", 66.

⁸⁷ Władysława Weychert Szymanowska, "Prawa kobiety", *Miesięcznik Nauczycielski* 1–2 (1937), 11–13.

⁸⁸ Michał Friedlander, "Życie duchowe młodzieży żeńskiej", *Ruch Pedagogiczny* 9–10 (1925), 302–305.

⁸⁹ Męczkowska, "Zagadnienie koedukacji...", 51.

⁹⁰ Friedlander, "Koedukacja...", 153.

educational ideal, because it creates favourable conditions for entering into and maintaining a good marriage⁹¹.

The above constituents of female educational ideals presented in articles in periodicals classified in my own research as leftist differ visibly from the ones characteristic for the Christian and conservative option discussed earlier. The leftist character of individual elements of the ideals is visible, although certain concession in favour of the more traditional take on female qualities are present as well. A smaller number of articles on the women's issues and education of girls is noticeable, and thus a smaller number of elements of female educational ideals is identifiable. Is it because the subject was regarded unimportant by representatives of this option? Or, perhaps, a small number of texts on education of women results from an assumption of complete equality between the woman and the man with regard to rights, obligations, valid ideals, and preferred educational goals, so that these issues are not discussed separately? I lean toward the latter hypothesis, but a more thorough study is required within that scope.

Conclusions

The phenomenon of educational ideals is immensely important to educators and teachers – they are used as tools to build images that determine goals, methods, forms, and means of educational works and so they have an impact not only on educational theory and practice, but also on the development of future generations and the entire society. The issue of female educational ideals is a particularly interesting one – the approach to women, their role in society and education, has changed hugely over the past centuries. In this paper, I wanted to present a certain excerpt of this process with regard to the Poland of the years 1918–1939.

The educational ideals reconstructed above clearly depict the social and historical changeability of the concepts of ideals and basic goals of educational practice. They confirm that in every society and state, a number of educational ideals coexist – sometimes they differ greatly, sometimes they complement one another or overlap. They are not defined once and for all, but change along with social development. One of the most basic indicators of these differences consist in the philosophical and ideological premises they adopt – and such diversification of female educational ideals, based on this criterion, is visible in the present reconstruction. In articles published in periodicals considered to be representative of the Christian-conservative option, a consistent and detailed concept of educational ideals is visible. Well-rooted in the social teachings of the Catholic Church, these ideals also refer to a traditional perception of the woman's role in society (of a wife and a mother, guardian of the hearth) and open, through

⁹¹ Hełm-Pirgowa, "Koedukacja...", 128.

reference to the very same outlook, her way into professional career and social activity. On the other hand, in articles published in periodicals considered to be leftist, a certain image of educational ideals appears as well, but they focus on a different understanding of gender equality, and thus tasks assigned to the woman, different than in the case of the former option. Although internal diversity in this group of postulated educational ideals seem to be greater (partly negation of and acceptance of differences between the male and the female sex), it does not mean a complete lack of such ideals in the case of the former of the two options discussed here (the issue of professional careers of married women).

Concluding, the Christian-conservative orientation of educational ideals dominated in Poland in the interwar period. The level of detail, complexity, and comprehensiveness of the concept points to its good grounding and social dissemination – and thus confirms expectations made based on the general history of Poland and the history of education and pedagogical doctrines. On the other hand, a smaller number of extracted articles on women's issues and women's education and less references to female educational ideals in periodicals representing the leftist option may be explained in various ways. Perhaps they were less popular with society, whose survival so far had depended on affirmation of national and religious values (since the final partition of 1795, Polish territory was ruled by the Prussian, Austro-Hungarian, and Russian authorities and Poland returned onto the map of Europe as an independent state as late as after World War I). Perhaps, the greater variety of leftist currents (from social-democratic to almost extreme communist) resulted in their increased dissipation within society and pedagogical thinking. Or, perhaps, it resulted from the assumption of equality between women and men they adopted. Whatever factor we determine as the reason, the qualitative difference and quantitative disproportion between the two analysed orientations is clearly visible.

Ideály wychowawcze kobiety w polskich czasopismach pedagogicznych z lat 1918–1939

Streszczenie: Problematyka ideałów wychowania jest niezwykle ważna dla pedagogów i nauczycieli – za ich pomocą buduje się obrazy, które wyznaczają cele, metody, formy i środki pracy pedagogicznej, a więc wpływają nie tylko na teorię i praktykę wychowania, ale również na rozwój przyszłych pokoleń i całego społeczeństwa. Kwestia ideałów wychowawczych odnoszących się do kobiety jest tym bardziej ciekawym zagadnieniem – podejście do kobiety, jej roli w społeczeństwie i edukacji zmieniło się bardzo na przestrzeni ostatnich stuleci. W niniejszym artykule chciałam przybliżyć pewien wycinek tego procesu przemian dotyczący Polski z lat 1918–1939.

Dlatego też celem naukowym prezentowanych w artykule badań była rekonstrukcja funkcjonujących w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym w czasopiśmiennictwie pedagogicznym ideałów wychowawczych kobiety oraz analiza ich zróżnicowania ze względu na założenia

filozoficzno-ideologiczne różnych koncepcji wychowania. Przedstawione poniżej wyniki badań własnych są rozpoznaniem zaniechanego czy zapomnianego obszaru polskiej myśli pedagogicznej.

Słowa kluczowe: ideały wychowawcze, ideały wychowawcze kobiety, edukacja w okresie międzywojennym, ideały wychowawcze w Polsce

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