

Anna Żarnowska

EDUCATION OF WORKING-CLASS WOMEN
IN THE POLISH KINGDOM
(the 19th Century — Beginning of the 20th Century)

The dichotomous division of society into the “enlightened” and “unenlightened” classes was linked to the tradition of estate societies. In Poland, contrary to what was the case in many West European countries (Germany, France), these categories showed exceptional durability. Up to at least the end of the 19th century Polish sources present Polish society as divided into two separate parts which were defined by the adjectives mentioned above. In the 19th century these two categories were referred to in both the spoken and the written language; in the second half of the century these adjectives were also used in the press. What is more, to a great extent they reflected the actual state of education of Polish society at the beginning of the 20th century. They were also meant, at least in the Russian and Austrian parts of Poland, to perpetuate the simplified and mythicised picture of the social structure: the division into upper and lower strata. The semantic field of the category called “the enlightened strata” changed slightly in the second half of the 19th century thanks to the emergence of the intelligentsia. The term ceased to be a synonym for the aristocracy and the landowning class, but the bulk of the peasantry and the constantly growing working class population — a half of which was illiterate at the end of the 19th century, while the other half had only a rudimentary education — could still with reason be called “unenlightened strata”.

Were educational aspirations manifested only by the strata at the higher rungs of the social ladder at the turn of the 19th century? Did the workers have educational aspirations? What did the working class families think of the usefulness of school education for their sons and daughters? Did self-improvement aspirations come to light in working class milieus? What role did books and reading habits play in working class families? It is difficult to answer these questions for sources do not provide much information on

these subjects. There is no doubt that there were great differences in this respect not only between each of the three parts of Poland but also between the workers of individual regions and even industrial centres. There is no doubt either that the turn of the century brought major changes in working class families' attitude to education.

There were tangible differences in the educational aspirations of men and women. A closer analysis of these phenomena in the Polish Kingdom brings to mind many reflections.

General Educational Level of the Working Class

What should, above all, be taken into account is the general educational level of the lowest strata of population, including women, in the Polish Kingdom at the end of the 19th century. Unfortunately, the statistical sources which have come down to us make it possible to reconstruct the situation of the employed members of the working class only; the majority of women from working class families were outside the reach of statistics. However, it can be reasonably assumed that illiteracy was not less but rather more widespread among non-working women than among those employed, given the increasingly strict requirements on the labour market at the end of the 19th century. At that time it was the railways and handicrafts that were the most strict in demanding that candidates for physical and auxiliary work as well as trainees and apprentices, men as well as women, were not only literate but also had at least a rudimentary education. At the end of the 19th century these conditions were met by more than 60 per cent of the above mentioned persons¹. It should however be added that both the railways and handicrafts (except for the clothing craft) employed almost exclusively men.

Compared with "proletarian craftsmen" (journeymen, helpmates, apprentices) and railwaymen, industrial workers were on a lower educational level at the end of the 19th century (in 1897 only 40.5 per cent of them were literate — see Table 1).

It is worth stressing that as regards rudimentary education, the distance separating factory workers from workers employed in artisan workshops was at that time smaller in Warsaw than in other towns. In the generation born in the 1850s and 1860s Warsaw artisans clearly surpassed factory workers. An interesting phenomenon could be noticed. Not only locksmiths, turners, jewellers, tailors and shoemakers — that is men employed in artisan workshops — but also the women employed in tailoring, corset-making and sewing workshops were on a decent level of education; in the opinion of the

¹ A. Żarnowska, *Klasa robotnicza Królestwa Polskiego 1870–1914 (The Working Class of the Polish Kingdom 1870–1914)*, Warszawa 1974, pp. 251–254.

general public, a typical representative of the "craft proletariat" could read and write in the late 19th century.

Table I. Workmen's and Workwomen's Illiteracy in the Main Occupations in the Polish Kingdom in 1897 (percentage of all men and women employed)

Branch	% of women in the total workforce	Illiterates									
		of which		of which							
		men	wom.	17-19 year olds, born in 1878-1880		20-39 year olds, born in 1858-1877		40-59 year olds, born in 1838-1857		over 60 born before 1838	
men	wom.			men	wom.	men	wom.	men	wom.	men	wom.
Industry	24.0	54.0	55.5	52.0	54.5	52.5	65.5	67.0	79.0	67.0	79.0
Handicrafts and small-scale industry	8.2	38.0	39.0	38.5	46.0	41.0	31.0	37.5	53.0	37.5	53.0
Trade and catering businesses	11.0	40.0	65.0	36.5	60.5	44.5	61.0	48.0	84.5	48.0	84.0
Hotels	25.0	23.0	35.0	30.0	36.0	21.0	27.0	20.0	66.0	20.0	66.0
Railways	4.5	39.0	56.5	41.5	41.5	36.0	53.0	42.0	64.0	42.0	64.0
Public services	10.0	40.0	52.0	23.5	37.0	33.0	45.0	47.0	65.0	47.0	65.0
Unskilled and day labourers	33.0	75.0	80.0	70.0	78.0	70.0	75.0	79.0	86.0	79.0	86.0
Domestic servants	82.0	62.0	70.0	63.0	67.0	61.5	65.0	60.0	75.0	60.0	75.0
Services	78.0	32.0	68.5	24.0	32.0	31.5	62.0	57.0	82.0	57.0	82.0

Source: my own calculations based on *Chislennost' i sostav rabochikh w Rossii*, vol. II, St. Petersburg 1906, table III.

As late as the end of the 19th century, factories employed many illiterate workers; according to the census of 1897, 54 per cent of the men and 55 per cent of the women employed in factories were illiterate. The percentage of illiterates was larger among auxiliary workers who did not have a steady job and were employed per day. Illiterates accounted for 75 per cent of the men and 80 per cent of the women in this group. Rapid progress in the spread of elementary education was achieved at the end of the 19th century and in the

first years of the 20th. This “great leap forward” could be noticed above all in the middle generation of workers employed in the modern industry of the Polish Kingdom in the last three decades of the 19th century, that is, the generation born between the end of the 1850s and the mid-1870s. That generation reached school age at the end of the 1860s and in the 1870s, that is, before Apukhtin’s era, which was marked by decline in elementary education in the Polish Kingdom and its intensive Russification.

The increasingly evident advance of the industrial workers’ social position in the proletariat’s nascent educational and cultural hierarchy was, to a large extent, due to the fact that compared with other occupations, education was relatively widespread among women employed in industry, and at the end of the 19th century women accounted for more than a third of all persons employed there². Industry offered proletarian women the greatest opportunities to reduce the social distance separating them from male workers, not only because it gave them a chance to earn their living. To a certain extent, it opened a path — narrow as it still was — to the equalization of the chances of cultural advancement, for factories demanded literacy of both their male and female workers. This is why as regards the extent of elementary education, the distance between male and female workers was smaller in industry than in other sectors and was being eliminated the most quickly at the end of the 19th century. At that time only industry set male and female workers similar requirements. Therefore it was industry only that could stimulate women’s educational aspirations.

Apart from industry, women were employed on a larger scale in sectors which required no “enlightenment”, that is, in domestic and various other services, always as unskilled auxiliary workers. In these sectors illiterate women were in the majority, accounting for 70–80 per cent in 1897. And these were the sectors in which the majority of workers’ wives looking for odd jobs found employment. Thus, the handicap which women encountered on the labour market stifled their aspiration to gain education and achieve advancement, and perpetuated their lower social status, compared with men. Women’s underprivileged position with regard to cultural advancement and their lack of even an elementary education was the most evident in the older generations born in the 1840s and 1850s, especially among women employed in trade and catering enterprises. In these branches 85 per cent of women were illiterate while the percentage of illiterate men working in these

² See A. Żarnowska, *Kierunki aktywności zawodowej kobiet w Polsce w XIX i XX w.* (*The Directions of Women’s Vocational Activity in the 19th and 20th Centuries*), in: *Kobieta i edukacja na ziemiach polskich w XIX i XX w.* Zbiór studiów pod red. A. Żarnowskiej i A. Szwarca, part II, Warszawa 1995.

sectors did not exceed 50. This distance was preserved in these branches also in the next few proletarian generations born in the 19th century. Even in the youngest generation born at the end of the 19th century it was almost equally clear in trade and services while it tended to disappear in most branches of industry.

At the end of the 19th century in industry only one could see a trend towards the evening of the position of male and female workers on the level of elementary education. But as regards education above the elementary level, vocational education and the gaining of higher qualifications in general, the distance between male and female workers grew at that time even in industry.

It was only at the end of the 19th century that male workers began to link their educational and cultural aspirations with vocational aspirations, with endeavours to get a better job and higher earnings. As regards the working class, changes in the way of thinking about these matters and in the process of adaptation to the requirements of a modern labour market were the most delayed among women. Although they wanted to earn money, they were only beginning to look for the ways, usually outside the official Russified school, of gaining rudimentary general knowledge, of acquiring the art of reading and writing. But unlike men, women taking up paid work were not usually given a chance to gain vocational qualifications for, as a rule, they were pushed down to do auxiliary work. Consequently, the need to earn money rarely became a stimulus to gain general or vocational education.

Work in a textile mill was the most popular occupation of working class women. But in textile mills, too, women did mainly the kind of work that did not require long vocational training; they worked mostly in spinning rooms, dye-works, finishing sections, hosiery departments, embroidery sections and the like, doing work that could be carried out after a relatively short training in the factory. They did not learn a modern trade in the full sense of the word. The position of reelers who had only to be shown how to do their work and could without detriment to the factory be transferred to some other work, could not be compared with the high position, prestige and earnings of highly skilled weavers in, for instance, manual weaving mills³.

³ Cf. *Strajk żyrdowski (23–28.IV.1883) w dokumentach władz carskich (The Żyrardów Strike (23–28.4.1883) in the Documents of Tsarist Authorities)*, "Z Pola Walki", vol. I, 1958, N° 3, pp. 99–107 (report of the Warsaw governor, N. Medem, to the Minister of internal affairs, D. Tolstoy, of June 9/21, 1883).

The Attitude of the Working Class to School Education

The situation on the labour market described above was an important, though not the only factor, influencing the educational aspirations of girls and women in working class milieus. But it had an impact on working class families' opinions about the usefulness of vocational and general education for their children. However, the parents' decision to send or not to send their children to school is not an adequate criterion for drawing conclusions about the educational aspirations of working class and peasant families in the Russian part of Poland. It is a known fact that in the 1870s and 1880s the Russification of public schools was intensified and their network shrank rapidly. Although the number of primary schools began to increase slowly in the 1890s, the growth was much slower than the growth of proletarian population in towns.

Consequently, at the end of the 19th century only a small percentage of working class children of school age — in towns and other areas — had access to a public primary school (to say nothing of the level of teaching and the Russification of schools). This applied also to peasant children (at first to an even greater extent)⁴. It was not without reason that at the end of the 19th century Warsaw, a quickly developing working class centre, was called “the city of illiterates”. At the turn of the century working class children in Warsaw had a smaller chance than their counterparts in Łódź to attend a primary school (whether a public or a factory one); in the 1880s only 20 per cent of school-age children in Warsaw (from the age of 7 to 14) attended school and on the eve of World War I not much more than 25 per cent.

The fact that working class children had a small chance to become literate through school was naturally regarded as a handicap by working class milieus. In late 19th century memoirs Warsaw workers (as well as workers in other towns) repeatedly stressed that literacy would have given their children a better chance in life⁵. But as a rule, they confined themselves to giving their children an elementary education. Even these modest educational aspirations depended on the sex of their offspring. Working class families held the view that elementary education was necessary first and foremost for sons; they were much less rigoristic about the necessity of educating girls or even thought that girls did not need education.

It can be assumed that the underdevelopment of the educational aspirations of the working class at the end of the 19th century was, to a large

⁴ A. Żarnowska, *Klasa robotnicza, op. cit.*, table 16, p. 316.

⁵ Helena Ceysinger confirms this in her memoirs *Tajna szkoła w Warszawie w epoce caratu (The Secret School in Warsaw under Tsardom)*, Warszawa 1948, p. 10.

extent, a result of the partitioner's official educational policy (aimed at hampering educational progress in the Polish Kingdom) and of conservative views in the Kingdom itself, for according to public opinion, all a worker needed was an elementary education; this probably indirectly reflected the low level of technology in the Polish Kingdom even in the 1890s.

There is much to indicate that working class as well as peasant families did not think that the Russified one- or two-grade school could impart even basic knowledge to their children. As a rule, other ways of acquiring education were used; parents who could read and write taught their offspring, children tried to acquire basic knowledge by themselves or, especially in Warsaw, they were sent to a secret Polish school. At least one-third of the workers who were born or arrived in Warsaw before World War I tried to become literate outside the legal school⁶. But in Warsaw, too, the needs of sons were thought to be different from those of daughters. The dominant view was that the official primary school was more useful for sons, who might need the official language in contacts with the authorities, offices, the army, in short, in public life. Since the pattern upheld by the working class entrusted women with the role of wives, mothers and housewives, the possibility of their having contacts with the outside world was not taken into consideration. It was believed that they would stick to their home, family and neighbours and would not participate in public life.

When speaking about the awakening of educational aspirations in working class milieus, let us say a few words about their attitude to the possibility of sending their children to a private school, for this became ever more realistic at the beginning of the 20th century, in particular during and after the 1905 revolution⁷.

The early private schools set up before 1905 only very slightly facilitated the working class children's access to school education, in particular outside Warsaw. Even in Warsaw there were only some few one-grade private schools, which were attended by 600–800 children, that is, less than one per cent of all children of school age. The fact that they were often philanthropic foundations, pinpointed the low social position of the working class child; the result was that working class families were not always willing to send their children to these schools. The 1905 revolution brought

⁶ J. Grabiec-Dąbrowski quotes a statement of the Warsaw Governor General's commission of 1901 according to which secret Polish schools were attended by about one-third of the total population of the Polish Kingdom, see his *Czerwona Warszawa przed ćwierćwieczem (Red Warsaw a Quarter of a Century Ago)*, Poznań 1925, p. 135.

⁷ Let us recall that in accordance with official Russian terminology, private schools comprised schools founded by individual sponsors (also factory schools) as well as by various institutions (e.g. railways), philanthropic and social organizations (like the Polish School Promotion Society).

radical changes in this respect. There followed a great development of private schools, including primary ones, whose main aim was to counteract the influence of the official Russified schools. The new schools, which were inspired by various political orientations, were warmly supported by working class milieus.

This may indicate that the workers were already ambitious to give their children education and that this ambition was linked to their sense of national identity and their readiness to start a struggle against national oppression. We will return to this question later. The fact that before the outbreak of World War I Warsaw had more than 150 private primary schools which were attended by about 10,000 children, mainly of working class and artisan background, shows that working class families attached great importance to ensuring their children instruction in their mother tongue; not many more children, about 16,000, were then receiving tuition in the official schools. Despite the flourishing development of private schools before World War I, even in Warsaw only a minority of working class children were able to complete elementary education and boys outnumbered girls in this group. It should however be stressed that persons who had attended a legal school, whether public or private, were not the only literate workers. Young Warsaw workers were not the least educated part of the population. At the end of the 19th century the percentage of illiterates was smaller among working class children and young people (up to the age of 19) than among the other inhabitants of the same age. This was largely due to the well developed network of secret Polish schools.

In Warsaw from the 1890s and in Łódź, Lublin and many smaller towns of the Polish Kingdom and the Wilno region from the early 20th century, several thousand proletarian children benefited from secret instruction in the Polish language⁸. In these small group-schools set up by the Secret Teaching Society on the initiative of a group of women educational activists led by Cecylia Śniegocka, Helena Ceysingerówna, Anna Jałbrzykowska and Natalia Gašiorowska, boys and girls were offered an equal chance to acquire basic knowledge in the Polish language, Poland's history, geography, natural sciences, arithmetic and religion, as well as the Russian language. The secret Polish schools organized by representatives of the intelligentsia, mostly of the members of landowning class, did not ignore the teaching of Russian, being of the opinion that its knowledge was indispensable to the young inhabitants of the Polish Kingdom⁹.

⁸ H. Ceysinger, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁹ *Ibidem*.

Family Tradition and Educational Aspirations

There is no doubt that as early as the end of the 19th century the workers' self-education movement had a wider reach in Warsaw than in other working class centres of the Polish Kingdom and the distance between the capital and the provincial centres grew during the 1905 revolution¹⁰. The example of Warsaw shows irrefutably that the influence of a large town was instrumental in making working class families realize more quickly that education, even on the elementary level, was an indispensable condition for the social and material advance of their children. The stabilization of a working class family in town was another factor awakening the parents' aspiration to ensure their children's education, of course mainly on the elementary level. More and more often this applied also to girls. These endeavours were more evident in the families of workers who had struck roots in Warsaw, families in which parents had traditionally transferred the skill of reading and writing to their children, frequently during work. It is characteristic that mothers played a greater role in keeping up this tradition than fathers¹¹.

The habit of the whole family listening to a book being read aloud in the evening, a habit frequently referred to by diarists, also indicates that working class families in towns wanted to advance educationally and culturally¹². It seems that for women education was at that time first and foremost of autotelic significance (in working class families), while men began to treat education more instrumentally earlier.

Thus, at the turn of the 19th century the aspiration to educate children already had a tradition in many working class milieus. But even in Warsaw this aspiration did not, as a rule, go beyond the primary school level. Only in exceptional cases could a usually numerous working class family ensure further education to one child, for this meant the necessity of providing for several years for a member of the family who was already capable of earning money. It was obvious that in these sporadic cases such aspirations could apply only to sons. Education of girls above the primary school level was as a rule not taken into consideration until at least the outbreak of the 1905 revolution. It was exceptional for girls of working class families, even in Warsaw, to attend a secondary school and this could happen only in families whose earnings were much higher than the average ones, e.g. in the families

¹⁰ A. Żarnowska, *Robotnicy Warszawy na przełomie XIX i XX wieku (Warsaw Workers at the Turn of the 19th Century)*, Warszawa 1985, pp. 215 ff.

¹¹ See E. Pietraszek, *Rola wychowawcza matki w rodzinie robotniczej 1880-1939 (The Educative Role of the Mother in Working Class Families 1880-1939)*, in: *Kobieta i edukacja*, part I.

¹² See L. Rudnicki, *Stare i nowe (The Old and the New)*, vol. I, Warszawa 1955, p. 67.

of railwaymen, skilled metal workers, cabinet-makers, workers employed in gasworks and the like. But working class children rarely completed a secondary school. Even if at the cost of great sacrifices by the whole family one of the sons started attending a *Realschule* or a secondary school, he usually had to end his education after 2–4 years because of a difficult financial situation of his family¹³. Such decision was most frequently taken when the father, the main bread-winner, died or lost the ability to work.

There is no doubt therefore that the difficult financial situation of working class families was the main reason why they were reluctant to approve of their children's aspiration to acquire an education on a higher level than the primary one. However, this was not the only reason, as is proved by the fact that working class families were more often willing to bear the costs of educating an offspring in a vocational school. Such "investment" was considered more purposeful, for it offered the prospect of a quick return of costs, if the acquired qualifications promised higher earnings. Girls did not have such possibilities. In the conditions which existed in the Polish Kingdom before the outbreak of World War I, this way of advancement practically did not exist for girls (and women).

As to the extramaterial factors which shaped educational aspirations in working class families, a great role was played by the already mentioned belief that as regards elementary education, a primary school was enough for a worker and an artisan. Craftsmen's qualifications were held in high esteem, but since vocational schools were weakly developed in the Polish Kingdom at the turn of the century, in particular before 1905, young people were not specially interested in them, despite the high opinion they had of craftsmen's skill and the prestige craftsmen enjoyed.

At the end of the 19th century, the main form of vocational training in the Polish Kingdom was the guild-organized training which *ex definitione* was closed to women. The difficulty of overcoming the traditional, almost unsurpassable barriers to vocational specialization was reduced by the system of training workers in the operation of a machine in the factory; this system was widely applied in industry until 1914, but it did not open a way to promotion despite the great shortage of workers with medium technical qualifications. Since there were no secondary technical schools in the Kingdom, even in Warsaw (apart from Wawelberg's school opened in 1895), use was made of the experience of older workers; the qualifications they gained during many years of work were often a sufficient reason for

¹³ Many such examples can be found in the lives of Warsaw workers garnered by me from handwritten and published records, see A. Żarnowska, *Klasa robotnicza*, table 102, pp. 106–108.

promoting them to the rank of subformen¹⁴, or even foreman. Such promotion was, of course, possible only for men. The traditional norms then in force made it impossible for women to become even junior technical supervisors.

This decisively hampered the vocational aspirations of women employed in industry. No significant changes were effected in this respect at the beginning of the 20th century, although that was a period of major reshuffles in the internal structure of factory (and railway) staffs, which became more differentiated vocationally. This was probably an important factor which changed working class families' opinion of the value of vocational education. These changes were the most evident in the families of Warsaw workers, who more and more often began to regard the general education secondary school (and a certificate from the third or fourth grade of a *Realschule* or a secondary school) or more frequently the vocational school as the best way of promotion for their children. The few existing handicraft, trade and technical schools, as well as technical evening courses organized after the 1905 revolution, were also taken into consideration. The working class families' new rapidly growing educational aspirations, which however concerned boys only, were reflected in the fact that after the 1905 revolution more than 10 per cent of the pupils attending Święcimski's private technical school in Warsaw were workers' sons and that in some other schools (e.g. the Warsaw-Vienna Railway Technical School, the state artisan schools in Radom, Olkusz, Siedlce and also the Konarski Handicraft School in Warsaw) workers' sons became the dominant group¹⁵. But all these schools admitted boys only. Neither girls nor adult women were admitted to the Handicraft School in Łódź which trained expert textile workers, also in spinning and weaving, the occupations of many women¹⁶. The Vocational Schools Act of 1888 did not even mention vocational schools for women¹⁷.

Of even greater importance for the vocational promotion of young workers than the few existing vocational schools were various vocational courses which after 1905 began to be organized in the Polish Kingdom. But all these forms of education made it possible to acquire qualifications in

¹⁴ See *Wkwestii szkół rzemieślniczych i techniczno-przemysłowych (The Question of Handicraft and Technical-Industrial Schools)*, "Gazeta Przemysłowo-Rzemieślnicza" 1894, N° 4, p. 27.

¹⁵ J. Miąsło, *Szkolnictwo zawodowe w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1815-1915 (Vocational Schools in the Polish Kingdom in 1815-1915)*, Warszawa-Kraków-Wrocław 1966, pp. 165-167, 182, 259-267.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 270-271.

¹⁷ The only vocational schools to admit girls were trade schools for girls, but they were elitist schools inaccessible to proletarian girls because they were too expensive (*ibidem*, pp. 283-285).

men's trades only, such as fitters, locksmiths, electrotechnicians. At that time the first attempts were made to provide training, in the form of courses, in trades to which women began to be admitted, and women began to aspire to gain vocational stability, a phenomenon previously confined to male workers. Female trades began to form a separate group. Some of them became the aspiration of girls from working class families, but on the whole female trades were confined to tailoring, shirt- and corset-making, sewing, manufacture of artificial flowers and baskets, and the like. Like the daughters of poor artisans and peasants, they could learn these trades only in non-guild tailoring and flower-making shops, where they were exploited for many years as low paid trainees. The craft schools for girls, mainly cutting and sewing schools, which existed in the 1880s and 1890s, were practically inaccessible to proletarian women because of their high charges¹⁸. Let us remember that working class women only sporadically aspired to take up a white-collar job, though teaching, pharmaceutical and book-keeping courses were organized during the revolutionary and post-revolutionary years¹⁹, for financial barriers and the proletarian girls' inadequate general education were an insurmountable obstacle.

The revolution and the following years accelerated the democratization of society in the Polish Kingdom and stimulated the vocational and cultural aspirations of the working class. Members of working class became increasingly aware that their advance in the social hierarchy depended on their gaining an education above the elementary level. They were undoubtedly influenced by the working class of Warsaw, a fact which has already been mentioned above; all the changes analyzed above occurred in Warsaw earlier, and they were the most evident and profound there. This was particularly evident among the new generation of workers who entered productive age at the end of the 19th century and most of whom were at least second generation workers.

It is worth pointing out that in working class milieu family tradition played a great role in shaping the vocational and educational aspirations of both men and women. This tradition depended, to a great extent, on the social background of a worker and his family²⁰. The example of Warsaw shows that in aspiring to go beyond the level of primary education and acquire, at least, an incomplete secondary education, working class families descending from the nobility or the intelligentsia, unlike hereditary working class

¹⁸ J. Miąsło, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-182.

¹⁹ See Z. Chyra-Rolicz, *Pioniérki w nowych zawodach na początku XX w. (Pioneers in New Occupations at the Beginning of the 20th Century)*, in: *Kobieta i edukacja na ziemiach polskich*, part II.

²⁰ This is testified to by the biographic material mentioned in fn. 13.

families, took a greater interest in the general education school than a technical one²¹. Such aspirations were often manifested by first generation workers from impoverished families of clerks forced to take up physical work. They adopted the educational aspirations characteristic of the intelligentsia. In these families of socially degraded workers these aspirations as a rule survived for a long time and influenced wider working class circles. It is evident that working class families' plans for the education of their children were influenced, especially in Warsaw, by the intelligentsia's educational patterns. What is more, the influence of these patterns widened, favouring the inclusion of daughters in educational plans. According to Romana Pachucka, who started her teaching career in Warsaw at the beginning of the 20th century, 2–3 grade schools for girls were also attended by "girls from craftsmen's families, daughters of factory foremen and sometimes girls from better situated and more ambitious working class families"²².

The development of workers' educational aspirations was closely connected with the development of their national consciousness and the growing necessity of combating national oppression and eliminating the Russifying function of the official school. This is testified to by, among other things, the efforts made by working class families, especially mothers, to make it possible for their children to receive education in their mother tongue, even in a secret school.

In the autumn of 1905 a large section of workers' children, boys as well as girls, gained the possibility of acquiring education in their mother tongue when under the pressure of the revolution, all public primary schools in Warsaw and the majority of schools in the provinces arbitrarily decided to give instruction in Polish. At the same time the number of private schools, including many primary ones, in which instruction was given in Polish, increased rapidly. Many secret schools came out into open under the aegis of the Polish School Promotion Society. Under the auspices of this society 50 classes for elementary teaching were set up in Warsaw; they were attended by about 1,000 children, many of whom were from working class families. In addition to these elementary classes, the Society also organized a six-grade school in Warsaw with a more expanded programme of elementary teaching. The differences in the social structure of both types of school reflected differences in the social aspirations of the Warsaw proletariat. Children of domestic servants, janitors and shop assistants predominated in

²¹ A. Żarnowska, *Klasa robotnicza*, pp. 171 ff.

²² R. Pachucka, *Pamiętniki z lat 1886–1914 (Memoirs from the Years 1886–1914)*, Wrocław 1958, p. 21.

one-grade schools, while the families of skilled workers and workers employed in artisan shops had greater educational aspirations for their children and usually chose the six-grade school.

The second group was composed of the same working class groups which in the second half of the 19th century had tried hardest to become literate and which had always had the smallest percentage of illiterates. One can therefore speak of traditionally higher educational aspirations among those working class groups in which the parents, having acquired elementary education, did their best in the 20th century to ensure their children an education even minimally surpassing the elementary level.

The workers' interest in knowledge and their engagement in the struggle against the Russified school increased during the 1905 revolution; to some extent, this was a result of their participation in secret education at the turn of the century. But no less important was the influence of the revolutionary events themselves, for they strengthened the workers' emancipation aspirations also in the field of culture, encouraged them to launch an offensive and articulate their needs. During the strikes organized in Warsaw and other industrial centres in 1905–1906, workers not only demanded wage increases and better working conditions, but also insisted that factory owners should set up factory schools for their children.

Self-Education Aspirations

Educational aspirations increased the popularity of the self-education movement among workers, in particular during the mounting revolutionary atmosphere. The movement attracted adult workers and — what is significant — for the first time also many working women. Even before the 1905 revolution their had existed self-education circles for apprentices and other workers and sporadically, for seamstresses (also Jewesses); workers' educational circles organized by socialist organizations in the Polish Kingdom, in particular in Żyrardów and Łódź, from the end of the 1880s stimulated workers' aspirations for self-improvement, but women did not take part in them²³. Printers and railwaymen, that is men's trades, were the most intellectually awakened workers' groups in Warsaw. In about 1901 two groups which their participants called the Workers' Flying University were or-

²³ F. Ty ch, *Związek Robotników Polskich 1889–1892. Anatomia wczesnej organizacji robotniczej (Polish Workers' Union 1889–1892. The Anatomy of an Early Organization of Workers)*, Warszawa 1974, pp. 122 ff; P. Sa m u ś , *SDKPiL w Łodzi 1893–1918 (Social Democracy of the Polish Kingdom and Lithuania in Łódź 1893–1918)*, Łódź 1984, p. 26; J. Ka n c e w i c z , *Polska Partia Socjalistyczna w latach 1892–1896 (The Polish Socialist Party in 1892–1896)*, Warszawa 1984; J. G r z y w n a , *Z dziejów oświaty robotniczej na Kielecczyźnie (History of Education for Workers in the Kielce Region)*, Kielce 1990.

ganized for workshop and railway workers with the help of the local Polish Socialist Party Organization in the workshops of the Vistula Region Railways at Nowe Bródno. The "University" existed for about three years. It managed to continue its clandestine activity until the middle of 1904 thanks to the railwaymen's strong educational aspirations.

The desire to acquire education in the mother tongue was particularly strong among the workers of the Vistula Region Railways, for they were in daily contact with the almost completely Russified administration²⁴. Since only men were employed there, participation in this form of self-education was restricted to the male sex, but the influence of the "University" must have been wider; in one way or another it must have also involved the wives and mothers of railway workers, influencing, even if indirectly, their attitude to cultural advancement. The "University" could not have existed for several years without their co-operation and support. Unfortunately, no information on this subject can be found in records.

The workers' self-education groups organized by the socialists provided both political and general knowledge, thus stimulating workers' aspirations. But this applied only to a narrow elite of the working class. The educational activity initiated by the socialist movement was clandestine and was subjected to repression to the same extent as other forms of socialist activity. What was of great importance was that in spite of this, the majority of workers active in the socialist movement had taken part in these clandestine educational groups by the turn of the century. The fact that there were practically no women among them reflected the long-standing conviction, dominant in Polish society, that public life and politics were the exclusive domain of men. This strict division of social roles into the sphere of private life (home) reserved for women and matters connected with public life, the domain of men, was also in force in working class milieus. Until the turn of the 19th century the socialist movement had not succeeded in freeing itself of the pressure of traditional patriarchy. In the years preceding the outbreak of the 1905 revolution the influence of the socialist movement on working class women was insignificant, especially in the Russian part of Poland. Though some initiatives were addressed to certain groups of employed women (e.g. seamstresses), the possibility of attracting workers' wives staying at home was not taken into consideration. This changed during the revolution.

²⁴ F. Sternet, *Historia udziału głównych warsztatów kolejowych Dróg Nadwiślańskich na Nowym Bródnie w ruchu rewolucyjnym (A History of the Participation of the Nowe Bródno Main Workshop of the Vistula Region Railways in the Revolutionary Movement)*, manuscript, The Central Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw, Dept. VI, the old Central Archives of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, set 433, vol. 4/2.

It should, however, be emphasized that it was the socialist movement that tried to eliminate the inequality in the social opportunities of men and women. At first, this took the form of declarations rather than practical actions. Before the revolution such a programme could only reach and be understood by women from the intelligentsia. It is they who predominated in socialist organizations. It was only during the revolutionary years that the socialist movement expanded its work aimed at stimulating educational and cultural aspirations and showed greater determination to attract working class women.

During the revolution the working class "elite" became much more interested in cultural advancement and self-education, for thanks to the revolution it gained greater possibilities of developing a legal educational movement. Interest in self-education was manifested by wider working class circles than the most radical and politically-active groups of workers who had been attracted by the educational initiatives of socialist organizations before. To some extent, this was also evident among women. It seems, however, that they were more attracted by the less radical sections of the educational movement and extended support mainly to the social initiatives of the Catholic church.

There is no doubt that this attitude was due to their fear of the anti-clericalism of the socialist movement and, above all, to the Church-inspired stereotype identifying socialism with atheism. Another important reason for this sex segregation in the extraschool educational movement, a mass though politically differentiated movement during the revolution, was the fact that the socialist movement was interested in winning adherents among "enlightened" workers at least on the primary school level, workers who did not submit uncritically to the authority of the clergy. Consequently, the radical working class movement continued to influence above all the cultural and educational aspirations of male workers. At that time these aspirations were confined to making use of all opportunities in order to gain education above the elementary level. This was clearly evident among juvenile and adult workers in Warsaw and was reflected in the growing popularity of extra-school education which, initiated by many organizations of various shades of political radicalism, gathered momentum in the revolutionary years. For instance, the lectures (on the Polish language, arithmetic, geography, history etc.) conducted by the University for All in Warsaw (59 groups in the 1906/1907 school year, 38 in 1907/1908) and by provincial people's universities (e.g. the People's University of Łódź) enjoyed great popularity. The aim of these lectures was to supplement the listeners' elementary knowledge and prepare them for self-education. In 1906-1908, 3,300-3,500 persons

took part in this form of education in Warsaw, Płock, Radom, Lublin, Będzin, Sosnowiec, Dąbrowa, Zawiercie and some other towns²⁵. We have no detailed data about the participants. It is known, however, that industrial workers, railwaymen and shop assistants predominated. Women might have accounted for no more than a quarter of the persons employed in these branches. It is however impossible to ascertain the percentage of girls and women among the participants in this form of education.

No less popular were the public lectures organized by the University for All from the autumn of 1905 (the University was legalized in the autumn of 1906) not only in Warsaw but also in many other industrial centres in the Polish Kingdom (e.g. in the towns of the Dąbrowa Basin, in the city and district of Łódź, Częstochowa, Radom). These lectures popularized the latest achievements of the social, human and natural sciences. In Warsaw they were always attended by some 2,000 listeners and they were held mainly in working class districts.

The fact that a section of the working class developed high educational aspirations during the revolution is testified to also by the success of extraschool education (lectures and group teaching) organized by conservative organizations, mainly by the Polish School Promotion Society (politically akin to the National Democratic Party) and the Association of Christian Workers. The People's University of the Polish School Promotion Society, legalized in September 1906 (it started its activity in 1900), had a much smaller range of activity than the University for All, but the number of its listeners also increased rapidly from about 1,500 at the beginning to 3,500 in the second half of 1907. Among the participants in various forms of extraschool education organized by the Polish School Promotion Society were many women working as domestic servants or in other services. Particularly popular with women were group courses in the Polish language, arithmetic, history, geography and drawing organized by the Society in 1906–1908. The 75 such group–courses run by the Society in Warsaw were attended by factory workers (metal workers, tanners), building workers as well as men and women employed in handicrafts, trade and catering enterprises, and also by domestic servants (almost exclusively women), and men and women door–keepers. This section of the Warsaw proletariat was most interested in courses in the Polish language and arithmetic; they were chosen by two–thirds of all the participants in this form of extraschool education.

²⁵ J. Miąso, *Uniwersytet dla Wszystkich (University for All)*, Warszawa 1960, pp. 40–41, 63–71; T. Rechniewski, *Ruch kulturalny (The Cultural Movement)*, "Przegląd Społeczny", № 1 of January 5, 1907.

Fewer persons attended courses in history, geography and other subjects. According to the organizers of the People's University, this choice indicated that "the listeners wanted first and foremost to eliminate the most glaring shortcomings in their education"²⁶.

As we see, the proletariat's educational aspirations were differentiated and those of the majority were not high. Education was treated mainly instrumentally. The proletariat did not yet realize the necessity of a more far-reaching cultural advancement; even in Warsaw, wide circles of the proletariat were not fully aware of its usefulness, apart from some industrial workers, railwaymen and workers employed in handicrafts. It should, however, be stressed that the group with bigger cultural aspirations had greatly expanded since the pre-revolutionary days as regards its social composition, political orientation (it included not only the most radical workers) and gender.

Reading Habits

The rapid increase in the interest in books observed during the revolution among the most enlightened circles of the proletariat testified to the growth of educational aspirations, which were regarded first and foremost as a path to cultural advancement. Reading habits spread among workers, as is proved by the fact that one of the demands put forward by striking workers was the demand for reading rooms at factories. It is estimated that the percentage of workers with reading habits increased from about 1–2 per cent at the end of the 19th century to about 10 per cent during the revolution²⁷. This was, of course, closely connected with revolutionary gains, with the regulation and shortening of working hours, which gave workmen and workwomen more free time. However, because of household duties women were unable to make use of this gain and were unable to take part in cultural life.

Historical novels were the workers' favourable reading already in the 1890s, especially those by Sienkiewicz and Kraszewski. In working class families the mother had a greater influence in the children's reading preferences than the father. Workers' memoirs, those that have been published as well as those preserved in manuscript form, frequently speak of situations when passion for reading was shared by the whole family and was deliberately stimulated by parents. It was a tradition in many families to read a book aloud after or during work, especially in the families of cottage-workers, tailors and shoemakers. But young people's passion for reading was

²⁶ Report on the activity of the "People's University" circle of the Polish School Promotion Society for 1906; J. Stępień, *Polska Macierz Szkolna (The Polish School Promotion Society)*, in: *Nasza walka o szkołę polską*, vol. II, Warszawa 1934, pp. 177–178.

²⁷ J. Krąjevska, *Czytelnictwo wśród robotników Królestwa Polskiego 1870–1914 (The Reading Habits of Workers in the Polish Kingdom 1870–1914)*, Warszawa 1979, p. 127.

frequently regarded as extravagant even in Warsaw proletarian circles and was disapproved of by the older generation, in particular women²⁸.

In Warsaw there was a group of reading workers, small as it was, even before the 1905 revolution. It is impossible to ascertain if it included women. Most of these workers availed themselves of the libraries of the Warsaw Charitable Society, which included books on various levels, from classics to trash²⁹. Inculcation of reading habits was regarded as an essential element of the working class self-education movement. Actions encouraging workers to read were organized clandestinely by socialist organizations and legally mainly by the Warsaw Charitable Society (*WTD*). The *WTD* reading-rooms, organized by the liberal and the radical intelligentsia from 1861 on, were free of charge and were for many years the only book-collections accessible to workers. They were popular in the Warsaw working class milieu; already in 1895 some 18,000 persons, that is, several per cent of Warsaw's literate inhabitants, made use of them. Workers and their families constituted a large percentage of the readers, young people and children (of both sexes) being the largest group³⁰.

It was not only the revolutionary atmosphere which, by awakening hopes and aspirations in many fields of life, helped to enlarge the circle of workers interested in books. Workers' access to books was made easier thanks to the many reading-rooms and lending libraries set up by various social and educational organizations, political parties and trade unions not only in Warsaw. This was in line with the workers' growing interest in knowledge of the world and society. In 1907 the *WTD* libraries had over 14,600 registered readers³¹, and they were not the only place where workers could borrow books. In the autumn of 1906 a broad new network of lending libraries was set up in Warsaw by the Warsaw Reading-Rooms Society on the initiative of radical intelligentsia. It opened lending libraries mainly in Warsaw working class districts, such as Wola, Praga, Powiśle and Nowe Bródno. The Polish School Promotion Society as well as the Association of Christian Workers also set up their small libraries in these districts. Unlike the Warsaw Reading-Rooms Society, these two organizations had no intention of shaping more ambitious reading habits and acquainting their readers with serious literature. But the fact that such libraries were active also in

²⁸ See L. Rudnicki, *Stare i nowe, op. cit.*, vol. I.

²⁹ S. R. Dobrowolski, *W ręku robotniczego dziecka (In the Hands of a Working Class Child)*, in: *Z dziejów książki i bibliotek Warszawy*, Warszawa 1961, p. 463.

³⁰ Z. Rabska, *Ze wspomnień o pracy w czytelnich WTD (Reminiscences of Work in WTD Reading-Rooms)*, *ibidem*, pp. 457-458.

³¹ A. Wóycicki, *Instytucje fabryczne i społeczne w przemyśle Królestwa Polskiego (Factory and Social Institutions in the Industry of the Polish Kingdom)*, "Ekonomista" 1914, vol. III, p. 237.

those districts of Warsaw in which domestic servants were the predominant proletarian group shows that during the revolution also women from the least enlightened strata of the proletariat began to take an interest in books.

It is characteristic that the workers' interest in historical books and novels, e.g. those by J. I. Kraszewski, decreased during the revolutionary years while the popularity of novels dealing with social problems and popular sciences books increased³². For instance, 15 per cent of all the books lent out by the Wola district centre of the Warsaw Reading-Rooms Society were popular science books. This relatively great and constantly growing interest in popular science during the revolution was characteristic of the aspirations of workers with "advanced reading habits"³³. It has not been possible to ascertain the percentage of women in this group.

Factory libraries frequently organized by members of socialist parties, mainly the Polish Socialist Party, or by members of trade unions linked to the socialist movement were an interesting phenomenon during the revolutionary years. The book collections at factories were meant for the mass reader, not only for workers employed in a given factory but, what is worth emphasizing, also for members of their families, that is, also unemployed wives and daughters. The extent of their influence was not, on the whole, wide, but some of those collections were set up with the help of workers, which testifies to their growing passion for reading. For instance, at the beginning of 1907 several small libraries were set up in Warsaw (in factories and other places) on the initiative of workers and thanks to their contributions. As a radical paper emphasized, "women as well as men are taking part in (collecting) them"³⁴.

Elitist or Mass Educational Aspirations?

The 1905 revolution favoured the growth not only of that section of the working class which already had educational aspirations. The urge to acquire knowledge, to gain at least an elementary ability to read and write embraced wide circles of the proletariat. This is proved by the success of the campaign to teach illiterate workers. In the years 1906-1908 several thousand workmen and workwomen employed in factories, on the railways, in handicrafts and trade were acquiring education in various forms in Warsaw. This was one-third of the total number of illiterate workmen and workwomen in the town, excluding non-working people. The adult wor-

³² J. K r a j e w s k a, *op. cit.*, pp. 82 and 169.

³³ Report on the activity of the Warsaw Reading-Rooms Society for 1908 and 1909; S. P o s n e r, *Czytelnia wolska (The Reading-Room in the Wola District)*, "Wiedza" 1908, vol. I, pp. 696-697.

³⁴ *Z dzielnicy powązkowskiej (From the Powązki District)*, "Robotnik" N° 81 of March 15, 1906.

kers' aspiration to become literate manifested itself with great force during the revolution and was shared by men and women, irrespective of their nationality and religion. In Warsaw, extraschool education embraced many more women than in other working class centres, but here, too, women's aspirations, unlike those of men, were usually confined to getting elementary education through participation in various forms of teaching for adult illiterates. The need of elementary education became fully apparent when the Society for Courses for Adult Illiterates was set up on the initiative of radical intelligentsia. A similar activity was started by other organizations, in particular the Polish School Promotion Society. It was also conducted by socialist parties in their workers' circles which during, the revolutionary years were no longer composed of men only. Schools teaching illiterates functioned also in prisons, e.g. in the women's section, the so-called Serbia, of the Pawiak prison³⁵.

Although the Society for Courses for Adult Illiterates was not legalized until June 1906, at the end of that year it already ran courses for 3,000 illiterates in Warsaw in 37 groups. The teaching was free of charge. Elementary teaching was conducted by the Polish School Promotion Society (*PMS*). At the end of 1906 and the beginning of 1907 some 1,200 illiterates in Warsaw attended the *PMS* courses, which charged a small fee. All these figures, cited here as an example and referring only to Warsaw, show how quickly educational aspirations developed among the proletarian masses, especially workers employed in manufacturing industries. Although educational ambitions developed first and foremost among workmen, the new cultural habits, which were quickly growing during the revolution, were also adopted by workers' and craftsmen's wives and daughters who had no regular job. It was women who predominated in the four courses for illiterates organized in the centre of Warsaw by the Polish School Promotion Society. These were mainly 18–40 year old women who worked as domestic servants³⁶. Other records also testify to the growth of educational aspirations among working and non-working proletarian women. For instance, a paper of the Union for Equal Rights for Polish Women in its reports on public meetings organized by the Union for women of various social groups emphasized that the participants in the meetings mentioned shortcomings in education as their greatest handicap. According to "Ster", the meetings gathered "multitudes of people hungry for knowledge and demanding a solid foundation for an independent life". The paper mentions a workwoman who

³⁵ Z. Kruszevska, *Wspomnienia (Reminiscences)*, manuscript, The Central Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw Dept. V, N^o 3205.

³⁶ Report of the Warsaw Centre Circle of the Polish School Promotion Society for 1906/7.

demanded “a school which would give her the most elementary stock of knowledge after work, or on Sundays”³⁷. After the revolution these aspirations were manifest even in towns far away from Warsaw. Reports from Białystok published in “Ster” in 1911 admit that many women were still illiterate, but they “frequently take an interest in education”³⁸.

The men and women who attended elementary courses for adult workers had, on the whole, a serious and responsible attitude to learning but — as the organizers of the courses said — they were rather impatient. Władysława Weychertówna, an organizer of groups set up under the auspices of the Society for Courses for Adult Illiterates, emphasizes in her memoirs that the workers expected quick results; they said that a mechanical acquirement of the ability to read, write and count was not enough for them. They wanted to be sure that their effort was purposeful; they appreciated fluency in speech and writing. Some participants in these courses could read and write, but they wanted to achieve more. According to Weychertówna, even the workers who were only on the threshold of literacy were interested in lessons in history and natural science³⁹. Unfortunately, the sources which have come down to us make it impossible to determine whether this applied to women to the same extent as it did to men. However, women did take part in many forms of education and self-teaching for adult workers and craftsmen, such as courses for illiterates, popularization of reading habits and even in systematic education provided by people’s universities. This shows that women’s educational aspirations were by no means lower than those of men. But their participation in all forms of education was always less numerous than the participation of men, and it diminished in older age groups⁴⁰.

On the other hand, adult workers’ enthusiasm for education was not general and was frequently short-lived. Such was the opinion of educational workers who stressed that attendance at courses kept changing. But the lessons usually took place late in the evening after a whole day of work. What is certain is that, on the whole, adults were more persistent and systematic than young people. In analyzing changes in the composition of audiences at the lectures organized by the University for All, Ludwik Krzywicki noticed that as the revolutionary wave abated, fewer and fewer

³⁷ L., *Nasze wiece (Our Meetings)*, “Ster” 1907, № 1, p. 73.

³⁸ *4-te doroczne Zebranie Ogólne (The Fourth Annual General Meeting)*, “Ster” 1911, № 4, p. 161.

³⁹ W. Weychertówna, *Stowarzyszenie Kursów Analfabetów Dorosłych (Society for Courses for Adult Illiterates)*, “Nowe Tory”, № 1, January 1907, pp. 44 ff.

⁴⁰ B. Waśniewski (K. Krzeczkowski), *Byt i warunki pracy robotników w przemyśle cukierniczym Królestwa Polskiego (The Life and Working Conditions of Workers Employed in the Sugar Industry of the Polish Kingdom)*, Warszawa 1911.

young people attended them. In 1910 workmen and workwomen between the age of 30 and 40 and older ones predominated among the listeners; "today we look in vain for young people in the audience. We can see gray-haired old men and elderly women, but we do not see people who are entering life"⁴¹.

The decline in workers' educational aspirations in the post-revolutionary period was caused by the fact that they lost much of what they had gained in 1905-1906 as regards working conditions (working hours were prolonged again) and by political repression, which affected mainly workers. All social initiatives to teach adult illiterates were banned. It was only in the last few years before the outbreak of the Great War that the situation changed a little, reviving the working class's aspirations for cultural advance.

The results of this specific "cultural revolution" experienced by workers in 1905-1908 can hardly be overestimated. The deepest and most durable were changes in the attitudes of working class communities, men as well as women, the development of their requirements in the field of culture, in particular in education. Another manifestation of changes in working class attitudes was the parents' endeavours to give their children education.

(Translated by Janina Dorosz)

⁴¹ R. Żywicki (L. Krzywicki), *Nieco prawdy (A Little Truth)*, "Nowe Życie" 1910, № 18.

«Acta Poloniae Historica»

Semiannual edited under the auspices of the Committee
of Historical Sciences and the Institute of History
Polish Academy of Sciences

President: Jan BASZKIEWICZ
Editor-in-chief: Maria BOGUĆKA

Vol. LXXII, 1995

CONTENTS

STUDIES

- Ambroży Bogucki, The Administrative Structure of Poland in the Eleventh and Twelfth Century
- Stanisław Russocki, La naissance du parlementarisme polonais vue dans une perspective comparative
- Jan Harasimowicz, The Role of Cistercian Monasteries in the Shaping of the Cultural Identity of Silesia in Modern Times
- Włodzimierz Mędrzecki, Ukrainische Arbeiter zwischen der nationalen und sozialen Revolution in den Jahren 1917–1921
- Elżbieta Znamierowska-Rak, The Policy of the Second Republic Towards the Balkan States
- Czesław Madajczyk, En rang serré, les intellectuels d'Europe? La fonction des congrès mondiaux d'intellectuels
- Sylwester Fertacz, A Contribution to the Establishment and Activity of the American Slav Congress during World War II

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

- Maria Bogucka, "Wunder" im Amsterdamer Zuchthaus. Zur Geschichte der Disziplinierung der Gesellschaft an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit

REVIEWS — ABSTRACTS — NEWS

- Board of editors: Rynek Starego Miasta 29/31, 00–272 Warszawa, Poland
- Publisher: Wydawnictwo Naukowe *Semper*
ul. Bednarska 20A, 00–321 Warszawa, Poland
tel. (+48) (22) 635 49 73, fax: (+48) (22) 664 88 20
- Abroad subscription orders: «Ars Polona»
Krakowskie Przedmieście 7, 00–068 Warszawa, Poland
or: European Publishers Representatives, Inc.
11–03 46th Avenue, Long Island City, New York 11191, USA