

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In these circumstances it was the task of private schools for girls to introduce modern curricula, to take care of the moral improvement of the students, and to conduct the so-called national pedagogics aimed to lead to a national rebirth of the society⁷ and to prepare the young generation for independence and life in

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 160–161.

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

¹² Niklewska J. (1987), *op. cit.*, pp. 241–243.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 58–63.

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

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

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

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

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

With the establishment in the Kingdom of Poland of underground riflemen circles¹⁶ some of the students of the “school of the Jadwigas” would join in in

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

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

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

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

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

Although the school was deemed to be “progressive”, its prefect, doctor of theology and canon law, father Jan Mauersberger, enjoyed the status of an authority among the students. He was able to engage girls not only in problems of religion but also in social and national ones. Since 1912 he was a part of the scouts movement (as a member of the High Scouts Command, the commandant of the Polish Scouting and Guiding Association) he would educate them in traditional values and ideas of independence. He would form their religious and patriotic attitudes through, among others, captivating lectures on religious art, as well as the Holy Mass celebrated annually in the school chapel in the anniversary of the Constitution of May 3.¹⁹

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

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

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

¹⁸ Brzostowska B., *op. cit.*, pp. 27–28.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 29–30.

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

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

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

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

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

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

²³ Kuźmiński B. (1982), *op. cit.*, p. 49.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 178, 230.

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

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

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

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

²⁶ *Imieniny Marszałka* [Name day of the Marshall]. Website of Polskie Radio SA: www.polskieradio.pl [15. 04. 2018].

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

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

In the family archives of one of the students of the Sikorska²⁹ school there is a number of patriotic postcards sent by the girls to Madgeburg. It is difficult to establish the dates when they were written (most probably between the spring and the autumn of 1918), or to explain how and why they were preserved. One of the cards contains instructions for the students: "[...] Everyone is to write 2 identical ones. One of them is to be put into the mail box tomorrow, and the second one to me. I'm going to come after dinner at 3 PM, or later." At the address side there is the further part of the text: "Finally, you do not have to provide your address", and the information: "Here you have to write your address: regular students." On the addressee side one can read: "Komendantur Magdeburg. Herrn Brigadier Józef Piłsudski. Festung Magdeburg."

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

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

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

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

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

²⁹ Maria Zienkiewicz (1901–1977).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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