



EWELINA MARIA KOSTRZEWSKA

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8790-5619>

Uniwersytet Łódzki (Polska)

University of Lodz (Poland)

Their Words, Their Deeds. The January Uprising in the Memory of Women (1864–1914)¹

Abstract

This article examines lesser-known dimensions of women's memory of the January Uprising, focusing on the emotional experiences of female participants and observers of the events of 1863–1864. It primarily considers autobiographical memory, reconstructed from diaries and memoirs written by women who lived through the insurrection. These personal narratives are enriched by literary imagery and metaphors that shaped not only how women recalled the uprising but also how they understood their role within it. Women's memories were not detached from the male world—they were informed by shared revolutionary experiences, mutual inspirations, and aspirations for emancipation. Their involvement in the uprising and in shaping its legacy extended into the male-dominated spaces of tsarist prisons and detention centers, where emotional experiences in captivity helped shape individual, gendered identities. This analysis highlights the emotional landscape of women's engagement with the January Uprising.

Keywords: women's history, January Uprising, historical memory

¹ Publikacja przygotowana/dofinansowana ze środków budżetu państwa w ramach programu „Społeczna odpowiedzialność nauki II” Ministra Edukacji i Nauki. Jest wynikiem udziału w projekcie „Ośrodek Badań Historii Kobiet – kontynuacja II”.

ICH SŁOWA, ICH CZYNY. POWSTANIE STYCZNIOWE W PAMIĘCI KOBIET (1864–1914)

Streszczenie

Artykuł przybliży mniej znane aspekty pamięci kobiet o powstaniu styczniowym. Dotyczą one emocjonalnych doświadczeń i przeżyć uczestniczek oraz obserwatorek wydarzeń 1863–1864 roku. W przeważającym stopniu jest to charakterystyczna dla weteranek i weteranów powstania – pamięć autobiograficzna, odczytywana z pamiętnikarskich relacji i wspomnień. Zostają one uzupełnione literackim kontekstem opisów i metafor również kształtujących pamięć własną kobiet o styczniowej insurekcji oraz własnym w niej miejscu. Nie było ono izolowane od świata mężczyzn, od wzajemnych powstańczych kontaktów, inspiracji czy emancypacyjnych dążeń kobiet. Ich udział w powstaniu i tworzeniu pamięci o nim to także męski świat poznawany za murami carskich więzień i aresztów, związanych z pobytami w nich emocji służących określaniu siebie samych oraz własnych, indywidualnych, kobiecych przeżyć. Ich analiza pomogła w zauważeniu emocji towarzyszących kobietom czasów Stycznia.

Słowa kluczowe: historia kobiet, powstanie styczniowe, pamięć historyczna

Introduction

“Women finally play such an incredibly important role in this uprising that no foreigner could imagine it without seeing it with his own eyes. ... [W]omen are the real soul of the uprising.”² It is impossible to overestimate the value of such an observation made by a colonel in the Swiss army and a participant in the January Uprising, Hans Franz Ludwig von Erlach. His opinion – a tribute paid to women – begs the question of whether the women themselves were aware of their contribution to the national uprising. To answer this question, one needs to dig deeper into how the uprising was remembered by women during the difficult years of repressions from the tsarist regime after its defeat and how they preserved that memory. This brings us close to the interesting issue of “whether

² Franciszek L. von Erlach, *Partyzantka w Polsce w roku 1863. Na podstawie własnych obserwacji zbieranych na teatrze walki od marca do sierpnia*, ed. Emanuel Halicz, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1960), 148.

memory has a gender.”³ Research in this area aims to de-masculinise the memory of the past, mainly that of uprisings and wars,⁴ an enterprise that involves a re-reading of already known sources, including memoirs.⁵ These include women’s diary accounts of the January Uprising, as well as of the memory of it.⁶

In this paper, I would like to present women’s memory from the perspective of a range of emotions experienced by both some of the female participants of the uprising and its eyewitnesses. Reported in memoirs and diaries, which are personal non-fiction, they require a special approach.⁷ Women writing about the January Uprising assumed the triple role of authors, narrators and protagonists. Being aware of this allows for a better understanding of individual texts, as well as the character of women’s memoirs. The way they were written down depended on both the cultural patterns of the epoch and personal predispositions in perceiving oneself and the world, which was of particular importance in the case of women.

Everyday experiences during the uprising, reflections and impressions, as well as various forms of combat were described by women from various social environments and from several generations. Their common thread was preserving and co-creating the

³ Jolanta Sikorska-Kulesza, *Przeszłość w walce o prawa wyborcze kobiet na ziemiach polskich (Uwagi wstępne o „używaniu” historii)*, in: Marek Przeniosło, Katarzyna Sierakowska (eds.), *Pamięć historyczna kobiet*, (Kielce: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Humanistyczno-Przyrodniczego Jana Kochanowskiego, 2009), 11; Teresa Kulak, “Wstęp”, in: Teresa Kulak, Joanna Dufat, Monika Piotrowska-Marchewa (eds), *Postawy i aktywność kobiet w czasie powstania styczniowego 1863–1864, (Na tle polskich konspiracji i działalności powstańczej doby zaborowej)*, (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Chronicon, 2013), 15.

⁴ „Przedmowa”, in: *Pamięć historyczna kobiet*, 6–9.

⁵ Agnieszka Gabrys, “O badaniu pamięci”, *Historyka. Studia Metodologiczne*, 2005, Vol. 35, 138, 147. On methodological problems in memory research: Lidia Michalska-Bracha, “Powstanie styczniowe – przestrzeń pamięci w XIX i XX wieku”, in: Agnieszka Kawalec, Jerzy Kuzicki (eds.), *Powstanie styczniowe w pamięci zbiorowej*, (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, 2017), 24–38.

⁶ Cf. the discussion of women’s memory in the context of the evolution of the Polish historiography by Lidia Michalska-Bracha, *Miedzy pamięcią a historiografią. Lwowskie debaty o powstaniu styczniowym (1864–1939)*, (Kielce: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Humanistyczno-Przyrodniczego Jana Kochanowskiego, 2011), 205–297.

⁷ For remarks on the cognitive value of diaries from the perspective of a personal document and the specificity of women’s writing in this respect, see Barbara Kubis, *Poznawcze i kształtujące walory literatury dokumentu osobistego*, (Opole: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 2007); Anna Pekaniec, *Czy w tej autobiografii jest kobieta? Kobieta literatura dokumentu osobistego od początku XIX wieku do wybuchu II wojny światowej*, (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2013); eadem, *Autobiografki. Szkice o literaturze dokumentu*, (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2020).

memory of the national uprising during the half-century following its fall. Without losing sight of the influence of the *Zeitgeist* on the character of women's accounts and making use of men's memoirs and the fiction of the period, one can attempt to indicate both individual and common features of women's memory, as well as its diversity. In this paper, women's experiences are shown through the prism of autobiographical memory on the basis of selected episodes. In selecting them, I have aimed to account for themes recurring in the sources used, possibly indicating the most characteristic features of women's memory and emotions, which belong to phenomena experienced subjectively. The idea of this sketch is primarily to recall the past preserved in the hearts and minds of the female inhabitants of the Kingdom of Poland, where the tragedy of the uprising unfolded. Naturally, this is where most participants and eyewitnesses of the uprising came from. Without completely abandoning comparative aspects, I treat the echoes of women's experiences from beyond the border cordons as a complement to the outlined problems. Importantly, apart from the numerous women who took part in the uprising spurred on by their love for their homeland, there were probably many more who manifested their patriotism for cultural reasons: exaltation, social expectations and vogue for romantic impulses. It would be difficult to provide any statistics now and anyway such women are not considered in this paper. However, it appears necessary to mention that they did exist; having done so in the beginning, I will not return to this topic anymore. I should add here that I used the scientific method of content analysis in the text. The analysis concerned the topics of source messages relating to various contexts of memory, mainly autobiographical and communicative, which form the image of January 1863 in the collective imagination.⁸

Love of the homeland – the imperative to act, the obligation to suffer

More than forty years after the fall of the uprising, Eliza Orzeszkowa, its eyewitness, created a literary model of its female partic-

⁸ She writes about methodological and theoretical issues of memory: Lidia Michalska-Bracha, „Powstanie styczniowe”, 24–38.

ipants. She called them “daughters of the homeland,”⁹ referring to women who during the uprising stepped beyond the traditional roles of wives and mothers to assume the more important duties of defenders of the national cause. When reminiscing many years later about the experiences and emotions of those days, they reduced them to a common denominator: their love of their homeland. It was also invoked by women who, having not taken part in the insurrection (for various reasons), saw it as the imperative to fight, while also declaring their own feelings.

The symbiosis of love, fight and memory was expressed in the fullest terms by Seweryna Pruszkowa-Duchińska (1816–1905), a writer and columnist known for her insurrectionary activity, who volunteered to raise funds for the national treasury; a wife to a landowner and, after his death, to a historian and ethnographer married in exile.¹⁰ In her memoirs she wrote: “When I cast my mind back to the long-gone past with a hope to catch the notes that once stirred my soul and today come echoing back to me, I feel that one of those notes has absorbed all the others, resounding ever since in my heart and memory with all its power. This ever-present echo from the past is the love of my homeland, a deep faith in its future rebirth.”¹¹ Similar feelings were shared by many women struggling with the post-uprising reality of the Polish Kingdom, in which the memory of the uprising and love for the homeland had to be hidden at the bottom of the soul. Maria Górska née Łubieńska (1837–1926), sister of insurgents and wife to a landowner from Wola Pękoszewska in the Skierniewice region, a supporter of the Whites, who distanced himself from the armed action, wrote about the accompanying despondency. Before leaving for Warsaw, like many other landowners, and then, together with her husband, going abroad for the duration of the uprising, she could hardly hide her emotions and tears when seeing insurgent units going into battle. She constantly prayed for their success. Not having taken part in the uprising, after a quarter of a century she kept coming back to those days. Under the date of 4 May 1889, she noted: “to write today is a challenging task. So many memories come flooding back, all of them painful, a happier and freer note not given

⁹ Eliza Orzeszkowa, *Hekuba*, (Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1986), 140. This story was included in the collection entitled *Gloria victis*, written between 1906 and 1910.

¹⁰ The wedding took place on 26 November 1864, the anniversary of the death of Adam Mickiewicz. Seweryna Duchińska, *Wspomnienia z 29-cio letniego pożycia z mężem moim 1864–1893*, (Paryż: Drukarnia Polska Adolfa Reiffa, 1894), 18.

¹¹ Eadem, *Pisma. Pamiętnik–Poezye*, (Lwów: Księgarnia Gubrynowicza i Schmidta, 1893), 1.

to our generation There is yet another and even greater difficulty, and that is the fear of calling people by their names. One must keep silent about the dearest things, about those who have importance for us and the future, so as not to betray oneself or others.”¹² The same worries were shared by many women writing their accounts in the years of national enslavement. In the opinion of her husband and relatives, Maria was regarded as an overly exalted patriot. She herself did not share those opinions, believing that “[t]here is never too much of Love of Country, if prudent naturally.”¹³ She was also convinced that once could not experience this feeling without loving the memory of the past itself. For her, the events of January 1863, assessed in a matter-of-fact tone, hold a prominent place in that memory.

The accusations of feminine exaltation levelled at her by her relatives are nothing else but a product of popular beliefs reflecting a stereotype that was deeply rooted in the model of education and upbringing, contained in the *ratio contra affectio* antithesis. According to the antithesis, while rationalism was the domain of men, women had the “privilege” of being driven in life by emotions, with love inseparable from sacrifice becoming the essence of femininity. This model was promoted in women’s magazines published in Warsaw in the period of several years preceding the outbreak of the uprising, representing the ideal woman as endowed with goodness, innocence, religiousness, nobleness of feelings, naivety and sentimentalism.¹⁴ Having such virtues, that sweet and delicate idealist subordinated to her husband, focused on her home and family, more a child than a woman, was implicitly supposed to love with the vibrations of her soul and, while embracing the love of her homeland, pass it on to the young generation.¹⁵ Female readers enriched this image with the myth, inherited from the Romantics, of giving up personal happiness for the sake of their homeland. Men, irrespective of

¹² Maria z Łubieńskich Górską, *Gdybym mniej kochała. Dziennik lat 1889–1895*, (Warszawa: Twój Styl, 1996), 8.

¹³ Ibidem, 25.

¹⁴ “Kwestia kobieca”, *Magazyn Mód. Dziennik Przyjemnych Wiadomości*, No. 19, 1860, 2.

¹⁵ The model of a domestic woman was promoted in the magazine also by Seweryna Pruszkowa, “Do Polek”, *Magazyn Mód. Dziennik Przyjemnych Wiadomości*, 1860, No. 1, 1–2. For more information about the model of upbringing and the efforts made to maintain Polish national identity, see Barbara Jędynak, *Dom i kobieta w kulturze niewoli*, in: Barbara Jędynak (ed.), *Kobieta w kulturze i społeczeństwie*, Vol. 1, (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej. Interdyscyplinarny Zespół Badań Feminologicznych, 1990), 70–105.

any rational reasons, were supposed to prove their love of their country by laying down their life for it, while their suffering female partners gained the status of citizens. Jadwiga Prendowska (1832–1915), one of the icons of feminine self-sacrifice, a wife of an insurgent and leaseholder of the Mirzec estate, a courier and exile, recalled this interdependence. She wrote about how much she had been moved by the words of her confessor, when he had showed her the sacrifices and duties of the Polish woman in that light in the years of a moral revolution.¹⁶ Equipped with a signpost bearing a religious sanction, she embarked upon the paths of the uprising, where emancipatory perspectives co-existed with sacrifice, devotion, love of the homeland and the will of God. Benigna Małachowska (1795–1873), the widow of General Kazimierz Małachowski, a hero of the November Uprising,¹⁷ was convinced about necessity of making a sacrifice for the homeland. In Paris, she anxiously awaited any piece of news about her nephews, Bronisław and Witold Marczewski, fighting in the Kingdom of Poland.¹⁸ When they were imprisoned in the Citadel, and news was coming from the country about relatives killed in skirmishes, she noted in her diary under the date of 23 April 1863: “Sacrifices for our poor Homeland are needed, so let them die, as long as Poland can exist.”¹⁹

Benigna Małachowska, devastated by the defeat of the November Uprising and absent from the country as it took up arms, referred to men in her remarks. She thus accepted the fact that the homeland required the sacrifice of one’s own life, but should it be also made by women? Małachowska did not comment on this.

¹⁶ Jadwiga Prendowska, *Moje wspomnienia*, eds. Eligiusz Kozłowski, Kazimierz Olszański, (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1962), 38.

¹⁷ Among emigrants, Benigna Małachowska was held in high esteem, being known for her activity in the Polish Ladies’ Benevolent Society. *Nie znane losy uczestników powstań narodowych 1830–1831, 1848, 1863–1864*, ed. with an introduction by Jan Ziólek, texts selected by Ryszard Matura, Jan Skarbek, (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 2000), 32.

¹⁸ Bronisław Marczewski was involved in the underground activity of the Reds. Imprisoned in the Citadel, he was sentenced to penal servitude, from which he returned in 1883. His brother Bronisław, arrested several times, became prior of a Camaldolese monastery after the fall of the uprising.

¹⁹ “Generalowej Benigny Kazimierzowej Małachowskiej pamiętniki 1830–1870”, *Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki. Dodatek Miesięczny do „Gazety Lwowskiej”*, Sec. 47, Vol. 45V, Lwów 1919, 1145.

The scale of sacrifice of the daughters of the homeland – from trauma to pride

The female participants of the January Uprising marked their fates, which varied to a considerable extent, as did their reflections at that time and many years after its falls, with a feminine sign of a black dress, a piece of clothing supposed to be worn by Polish women as a sign of national mourning, proclaimed by the Church before the uprising broke out. Even this attribute of mourning is referred to in memoirs in quite different ways. Jadwiga Prendowska, the previously mentioned participant of the uprising, and at the same time a lady, did not hide her irritation because of the “unimaginable prices” of black veils and crinolines in fashion magazines.²⁰

A daughter of a pharmacist from Kałuszyn, Józefa from Przybyłków 1v. Burchard 2v. Wojdacka (d. 1899), also mentioned modest dresses while staying in her prison cell, humiliated and helpless in the face of the situation. Arrested together with her mother for her involvement in women’s clubs, she was imprisoned as a young girl in the Warsaw Citadel. Going back to those days, she wrote about the trauma of the morning toilette, supervised by people who were not only men, but also enemies of her homeland: “I was indeed quick to do it: I would put my modest, black, high-collared dresses like sacks over the petite crinoline I was wearing, but even that was taken away from me, as it had steels.”²¹ Another political prisoner, Teodora Kiślańska (1844–1920) from the bourgeois Heurich family, was also subjected the inquisitive gaze of a gendarme in the intimate spheres of her femininity. When she tried to protect her sister, who shared a cell with her, from that gaze, she was brutally tugged by her hair, so that a so-called “rat,” i.e. a filler used to put it up, fell out.²² Instead of losing her head, Teodora demanded to be taken to an investigative committee to be able to report the situation and, when making the complaint, she presented the hairpiece as part of

²⁰ Jadwiga Prendowska, *Moje wspomnienia*, 32.

²¹ Józefa Wojdacka, in: *Gdzie mógł powstańczy kopce... Wspomnienia radomskich weteranów powstania styczniowego*, ed. and with an introduction by Przemysław Bednarczyk, Sebastian Piątkowski, (Radom: Muzeum Wsi Radomskiej, 2009), 98.

²² *Wspomnienia Emilii ze Szwarców Heurichowej (1819–1905) i jej córki Teodory z Heurichów Kiślańskiej (1844–1920) z czasów powstania styczniowego*, prep. for print, commentary and footnotes by Lidia Michalska-Bracha, Emil Noiński, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2023), 165.

her own haircut that had been torn out. The following day, Russian women servants appeared in the cell to supervise the prisoners' toilette. Our heroine did not hide her pride in her own resourcefulness and took credit for changing the prison regime and thus improving the situation of her fellow inmates. She demonstrated her ingenuity, or even fantasy, also on earlier episode: when in prison, Teodora wove straw garland to thank a doctor for the meals he had won for the female prisoners. Through a cell window, she blessed the women kneeling before him in adoration at the Pawiak walls.²³ The aura of a martyr for the national cause gave her splendour, moved her deeply, but also pleased her.

When recalling the memory of the various forms and fields of activity during the uprising, women did not hide their fears and uncertainty. They mentioned an excess of orders and tasks or the too eager exploitation of their enthusiasm and readiness to rise to the challenge. They also raised the problem of constant fatigue during their wanderings as couriers. By breaking the moral norms, they gained independence motivated by patriotic duties. The price they had to pay for this was loneliness and a longing for a sense of security. In some cases, admiration, respect and good emotions made up for the hardships. The "daughters of the homeland" experienced emotions tinged with satisfaction when, while bringing reports and orders to insurgent units in the name of their love for the homeland, they paraded along a line of men presenting arms to them or when, on their way to prison, they received flowers as a tribute paid to them as heroines. Such episodes were brought to relief or, quite the contrary, hidden on the margins of their memoirs. They can be found in the following account by Józefa Wojdacka of her and her mother's activity: "They exerted such an influence with their energy and opinions that they were listened to and respected."²⁴ Mrs and Miss Przybyłko gained this respect by harbouring insurgents and working in clubs called "Fives." Scattered across many regions of the country and different environments, they gathered women helping insurgents and their families.²⁵ They comforted prisoners and convicts. At their request, they were often

²³ Ibidem, 138–139, 142–143.

²⁴ Józefa Wojdacka, in: *Gdzie mogił powstańczych kopce*, 96.

²⁵ Wiesław Caban, "Kobiety i powstanie styczniowe", in: Anna Żarnowska, Andrzej Szwarc (eds.), *Kobieta i świat polityki. Polska na tle porównawczym w XIX i w początkach XX wieku. Zbiór studiów*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 1994), 59–72; cf. Dionizja Wawrzykowska-Wierciochowa, *W kręgu miłości i bohaterstwa (Z dziejów humanitaryzmu polskiego*

present at public executions. They prayed and often acted as depositaries of their last will, obliged to pass it on to their next of kin. Sometimes, due to mental exhaustion and insomnia, their immunity collapsed, and they fainted at the sight of insurgents on the gallows. Some of them, like Marianna Wiśniewska, literally “had their heart broken.”²⁶ They wrote about similar experiences in an emotional way, sometimes giving them a literary form. This is the case with Seweryna Pruszkowa’s account of her own farewell with her homeland when in November 1863, threatened with arrest, she had to leave the Kingdom of Poland and settled permanently in Paris: “It is time to go It did not occur to us to tell the cab driver to pass Grzybów I raised my eyes and saw two gallows with the stiff bodies of patriots on them This is how Warsaw appeared to my eyes for the last time.”²⁷ She took this memory with her to France, where those who emigrated from Poland after the defeat of the November Uprising listened attentively to the news from their country.

The range of experiences accompanying the daughters of the homeland included also resignation and thoughts about God’s judgments. One of the most active women in the pre-insurrection patriotic movement, the mother of the assertive Teodora, Emilia Heurich (1819–1905), appealed to God’s will at the time of her arrest in 1862.²⁸ When confronted during the investigation with her nephew, Bronisław Szwarce, a prominent activist of the Reds, according to his account, she appeared as a “black, mournful figure,” consumed by pain, as well as resignation and helplessness which found an outlet in the sobs that she gave out at the sight of her close relative.²⁹

On the scale of emotions incited by women’s involvement in the uprising, crying – traditionally attributed to the female psyche – was one of the reactions to resignation, pain, humiliation, fatigue and helplessness.

i prekursorów Polskiego Czerwonego Krzyża), (Warszawa: Państwowy Zakład Wydawnictw Lekarskich, 1965).

²⁶ Jadwiga Prendowska, *Moje wspomnienia*, 170.

²⁷ Seweryna Duchńska, *Pisma*, 149.

²⁸ *Wspomnienia Emilii ze Szwarców Heurichowej*, 48.

²⁹ Bronisław Szwarce, “Założenie Komitetu Centralnego w r. 1862”, in: *W czterdziestą rocznicę powstania styczniowego 1863–1903*, (Lwów: Drukarnia Ludowa, 1903), 453–454.

Men, women and the Uprising

The model of the woman as the guardian of the hearth, responsible also for maintaining the national identity of children, appeared unquestionable. However, during the years of struggle, it was sometimes challenged, not only by women who made their autonomous decisions to join the insurrection, but also by men who encouraged them to do so and benefited from their support and assistance.

Mutual inspirations of women and men took also the opposite direction: the female promoters of patriotism incited its prudent opponents to fight. Echoes of similar situations can be found in the memoirs of former insurgents, including Ludomir Cywiński,³⁰ a landowner known for his involvement in the armed struggle. He considered the decision to start the insurrection to be “great madness,” disastrous for the country.³¹ However, like many others of his ilk, he deemed it his duty to take part in the uprising; this decision was accelerated by the pressure from female neighbours who threatened to humiliate him by sending a “harelip.”³² It was under the influence of the patriotic enthusiasm of Eufemia Skłodowska née Komornicka, about whom a family legend said that she carried “the office of the national government under her skirt,” that Władysław Komornicki, son of the owner of the Grabów estate on the Pilica River and uncle of the Young Poland poet Maria Komornicka,³³ also joined the uprising. After his unit, commanded by Władysław Kononowicz, had been defeated, he hid in a forest tar mill. His hiding place was disclosed by one of the inhabitants to the Cossacks pursuing him, and they “chopped up the defenceless man on 3 June 1863.”³⁴ His bloody shirt was kept in Grabów as a family relic, a symbol of both memory and the tragic sacrifice of the Polish patriot.

³⁰ Wiesław Caban, *Z dziejów powstania styczniowego w rejonie Gór Świętokrzyskich*, (Warszawa-Kraków: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1989), 80 et seq.

³¹ Ludomir Cywiński, “Wspomnienia z lat ubiegłych”, *Wiś i Dwór*, Vol. 2, 1912, 19.

³² Ibidem, 18.

³³ Anna Komornicka, “Maria Komornicka w swych listach i mojej pamięci”, in: *Maria Komornicka. Listy*, collected and edited by Edward Boniecki, (Warszawa: Biblioteka Warszawska, 2011), 15.

³⁴ *Pamiętka dla rodzin polskich. Krótkie wiadomości o straconych na rusztowaniach, rozstrzelanych, poległych i zmarłych na wygnaniu syberyjskiem i tułactwie ofiar z 1861–1866 roku*, collected and edited by Zygmunt Kolumna, Vol. 1, (Kraków: Wytłoczono u Władysława Jaworskiego, 1868), 122.

Not only women from the Kingdom, but also female residents of Galicia and Poznań believed that it was the duty of men to take part in the uprising. In her memoirs written down from about 1878, Anna Potocka née Działyńska (1846–1926) captured the atmosphere of patriotic exaltation among ladies from aristocratic homes, who “scorned those among themselves whose brothers were not in the uprising.”³⁵ She also mentioned her own romantic plans to run away from home and, like her compatriots from behind the cordon, to join the insurrectionary movement of the Kingdom of Poland. It was her desire to pass on her feelings and the moods of those times to her children as the spiritual heritage of her generation, created also by women, who, just like Anna herself, were free from the naive, girlish dreams of active participation in the fight for the freedom of their homeland. Those dreams were also shared by her peer Joanna Arkuszewska née Rudzka (1842–1919), a landowner from the Sandomierz region, who lamented: “I only regret that as a woman I cannot participate directly in the liberation of my beloved homeland.”³⁶ Enjoying the “privilege” of demonstrating her emotions and youth, she admitted: “my mind was incapable of any serious analysis of that terrible national question; my young head treated it more like a pleasant movement. I was pleased with the patriotic songs, the flags and eagles on the caps of the insurgents. I was extremely proud of being able to carry various orders, which I braided into my abundant plaits as little notes. In a word, I was radiant and believed in the good outcome of the uprising.”³⁷ Before the experiences of the uprising changed that joy into bitterness and mourning, Joanna was one of the enthusiasts of the national uprising, free from the fears accompanying their clear-headed men. In the end, her husband did not shirk his patriotic duties, while Joanna had to add a year’s service as an emigrant’s wife to the patriotic costs. A similar fate was shared by numerous female inhabitants of the Kingdom of Poland, who – unlike Anna Działyńska, who only dreamt in the palace interiors of Kórnik about suffering for her country in a Prussian prison – had to face the real threat of such suffering, inherent in the struggle against the Russian partitioner. After the defeat of the uprising, they accompanied their husbands in exile or emigration, or, when widowed or awaiting their hus-

³⁵ Anna z Działyńskich Potocka, *Mój pamiętnik*, ed. by A. Jastrzębski, (Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy PAX, 1973), 57.

³⁶ Joanna Arkuszewska, in: *Gdzie mógł powstańczych kopce*, 26.

³⁷ Ibidem, 25.

bands' return from exile, they undertook the difficult task of managing their estates on their own in the new political and economic reality. Such situations offered the daughters of the homeland the possibility, and often the necessity, to re-evaluate their mutual relations with men, which appeared on their common journey towards freedom. They also had an impact on the emancipatory aspirations of some of the women involved in national service. The emancipatory spirit could be seen also in the voices of women's circles, who, at the Galician forum for the anniversary celebrations of the January Uprising, pressed demands for their own memory to be recalled and, most importantly, to be included in the collective memory of subsequent generations. In 1903, such a proposal was put forward by Rozalia Mielnicka, among others, who described, in an extremely emotional way, the landscape after the guerilla skirmishes in the Kingdom of Poland that she knew from her own experience. Speaking on behalf of the women involved in the uprising, she stated: "Women are not allowed to fight for the independence of our dear Homeland with arms in their hands – other duties have been assigned to them – so, loving and sacrificial, they quietly contributed their modest bricks to the foundation on which our Whole and Independent Country was supposed to stand. When the nation was in need, the Polish woman always stood by the man's side So she also earned the right to be counted among the brother warriors, loving the memories of that sad year of our uprising."³⁸ When creating the memory of "silent heroines," Mielnicka did not claim the merits of women fighting in insurgent units with arms in their hands. It is difficult to say whether this was due to her personal convictions or whether it was rather an expression of the opinion voiced by women from her generation, who were ambivalent about the armed involvement of ladies. It is significant that also during the January Uprising the presence of women among the insurgents was controversial, resulting in the dislike of both public opinion and the commanders of the insurgent units. Thus, Mielnicka did not challenge the established canons. It appears, however, that she stepped beyond the conventions by making a call for the "loving and sacrificing women" to be taken into account and for the female veterans to be included in the history of the insurrection. Her voice sounds like today's efforts to de-masculinise history. Despite em-

³⁸ R. z Makarowiczów Aleksandrowa Mielnicka, "Pod Wrzącą. Wspomnienie z lat młodocianych", in: *W czterdziestą rocznicę powstania styczniowego*, 272–273.

phasising the modesty of the bricks, she appealed for the daughters of the homeland to be placed among the ranks of the “brother warriors”.

The memory of the January Uprising in the public forum and in private houses

The poet and publicist Maria Ilnicka née Maykowska (1825–1897), who joined the uprising with her husband and is believed to be a co-editor of the January Manifesto,³⁹ adhered to the Romantic idea of a tragic fate and perceived life through the prism of the religious dictates of destiny, penance and humility. In the half-century after the defeat of the uprising, for 32 years (1865–1899), she passed this philosophy to wide circles of readers of the “*Bluszcz*” magazine. True to this spirit, she shaped its ideological face and, using Aesopian language, conveyed and created the memory of the January Uprising.⁴⁰ As perceived by her contemporaries, Ilnicka personified the already mentioned model of the perpetually immature woman, one living in the world of emotions, sentiments and tender hearts. Using such a solemn style, she appealed for some three decades to women to be faithful to tradition, religion and love of their homeland. In accordance with the message of the insurrectionary manifesto, she believed it to be one of the national duties to enlighten the poorer classes and have respect for work.

The memory of the January defeat, which was still alive in the circles of the editorial staff and the magazine’s collaborators – former insurgents, as well as the personal hardships of its female editor, who had been a prisoner of the Citadel and a deportee’s widow, translated into a martyrological tone in journalism, a programme for the moderate emancipation of women and the upbringing of the young generation in the spirit of all-embracing love.⁴¹ She addressed the following appeal to its female representatives:

³⁹ Stefan Kieniewicz, *Powstanie styczniowe*, (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1972), 361; idem, *Manifest 22 stycznia 1863 roku*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Interpress, 1989), 8, 141–159.

⁴⁰ Alexander Kraushar, *Polki twórcze czasów naszych*, (Warszawa: Księgarnia F. Hoesicka, 1929), 73–109.

⁴¹ Cf. Jerzy Franke, *Polska prasa kobieca w latach 1820–1918. W kręgu ofiary i poświęcenia*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo SBP, 1999), 120 et seq.

To the girl with a rose

You must love – oh, girl! oh, girl!
Through the silver tears that flow from your eyes,
Love will give you the strength to make the sacrifice,
The secret power that flows from faith,
A never-ending hope is its name.⁴²

On the wave of criticism of the January Uprising, “sober enthusiasts” strove to direct the woman brought up in such an atmosphere, of whom it was said that “[w]hen she loves ... she loves completely, she can hardly hear the word ‘homeland’ without being violently moved,”⁴³ towards a new programme for the rebirth of the country.⁴⁴ When, after years of struggle, they left the social and national scene, their ideological female opponents left it with them. It was then that a paradox emerged which is illustrated most starkly by Ilnicka’s case. When she left the editorial office of “*Bluszcz*” in 1896 and died in solitude less than a year later, the young generations in the Kingdom of Poland were more and more clearly calling for the memory of the uprising and the heroism of its participants to be brought back to life. Those calls did not protect the editor of “*Bluszcz*”, who had similar aims, from a crisis of readership, as the rhetoric, language and style of her arguments were already too anachronistic. The echoes of those changes or paradoxes can be heard in the memoirs of the already mentioned leaders of the national cause. Seweryna Duchńska, almost Ilnicka’s peer, published them in Lviv in 1893, when Jadwiga Prendowska, 16 years her junior, also started to write them down. Despite declarations to the contrary, they did not manage to free themselves from outbursts of sentimentality. Prendowska, in a style not much different from that typical of the editor of “*Bluszcz*,” did not avoid sentimental descriptions of small lace curtains and bows decorating altars during patriotic manifestations, or references to women’s “alabaster hands”, building crosses and piling up mounds.⁴⁵ At the same time, she

⁴² Maria Ilnicka, “Do dziewczynki z różą”, *Bluszcz*, No. 5, 1865, 17.

⁴³ Stanisław Wasylewski, *O miłości romantycznej*, (Lwów: Wydawnictwo Polskie, 1921), XX–XXI.

⁴⁴ Cf. Aneta Skóra, “Rola polskiej kobiety w życiu społecznym epoki pozytywizmu w świetle opracowań, pamiątek i wspomnień”, in: Krzysztof Jakubiak (ed.), *Partnerka – matka – opiekunka. Status kobiety w dziejach nowożytnych od XVI do XX wieku*, (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwa Uczelniane Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej, 2000), 320–327.

⁴⁵ Jadwiga Prendowska, *Moje wspomnienia*, 35–38.

kept in her memory and did not miss the occasion to comment ironically upon the exaltation of a home-made poet writing “odes to Father Joseph, to the white eagle, to the grey sparrow.”⁴⁶ It is significant that the author of these words, a woman of strong character, wrote about her own manifestations of love for her homeland in a tender way, rooted in the cultural specificity of the gentry and landed gentry from which Maria, Seweryna and Jadwiga originated.⁴⁷ It was from those environments that they inherited a specific system of values, a way of perceiving reality, as well as a style of articulating their own attitude to it, to which they remained faithful even when they joined the ranks of the intelligentsia.

A different style of writing about patriotic love, characterised by greater simplicity of expression, was demonstrated by Teodora, brought up in a bourgeois family following the evangelical precepts of faith. Years later, Maria Komornicka would recall her as a frequent participant of so-called “żurki” meetings, the only place where one could freely manifest one’s national and patriotic feelings in the company of others without being censored by the Russians.⁴⁸ The “żurki” meetings, attended by women, sometimes still in their mourning dresses, provided not only an opportunity to discuss forbidden matters, but also a forum for shaping and preserving the memory of the uprising. Its female participants and eyewitnesses already belonged to the ranks of the January Uprising veterans, who not only made their love of their homeland the leitmotif of their memoirs, but also sought in it a justification for their decision to start the uprising and for their participation in the national movement.

At this point, it is worth mentioning the silent veterans of the January Uprising. Rozalia Mielnicka remembered them at a forum in Galicia. While claiming the right to women’s own memory, she was referring to all of them, including peasant women. They came down in the history of the uprising in their unique way, but

⁴⁶ Ibidem, 39.

⁴⁷ The language and style of expression was one of the attributes and distinguishing marks of belonging to these environments. Throughout the 19th century, it laboured under the influence of the educational ideal preserved in the writings of Klementyna Hoffmanowa, who, while paying attention to linguistic skills, wrote: “The organ of voice and speech are the interpreters of the soul; they betray man and indicate what kind of upbringing he received. ... Watch your [speech] carefully, Amelia. Let it excel in grace, sweetness, purity and handsomeness.” “Pamiętka po dobrej matce”, in: *Dzieła Klementyny z Tańskich Hoffmanowej*, Vol. 8, ed. Narcyza Żmichowska, (Warszawa: nakł. Spółki Wydawniczej Księgarzy, 1876), 324.

⁴⁸ Maria Komornicka, “List do Anny Komornickiej w Grabowie, Warszawa, 15 maja 1901”, in: *Maria Komornicka. Listy*, 223.

in the half-century after its fall, they did not speak about their love of their homeland and the ways of experiencing it with their own voice. This was because this voice most often belonged to the representatives of “enlightened classes,” who, when mentioning their sisters from the lower classes, perceived their attitudes and feelings through the prism of their own experiences, opinions, goals and ideas. These issues need to be considered separately.

Literary visions of the uprising

To present an idealised picture of the martyrdom of women during the uprising in Lithuania, Eliza Orzeszkowa used a metaphorical language.⁴⁹ The heroines of the five stories in the collection entitled *Gloria victis* exude love for God, homeland and people. They strive to understand their enemies, they love like saints, they suffer in silence, and they mourn the men killed in the uprising in solitude. Love is their signpost and their vocation in life, while the rebirth of their homeland remains their ultimate goal. In Lithuania, it is not only heroes with long roots in this land who fight for its rebirth, but also compatriots from other partitions. The trees in *Gloria victis* hum over one grave where a girl in love – a sister of a newcomer from a distant district and the beloved of a borderland insurgent – is shedding tears. The motif of joint struggle and love in the writer’s literary works became a symbol bringing the nation together. She reminded about it from the perspective of four decades, when the years of the revolution, 1905–1907, seemed, in her opinion, to threaten the legacy of the January Uprising. This collection of short stories was treated by Orzeszkowa as personal memories of events known to her from personal experience, about which she decided to tell at the end of her life. She published them in 1910, which was also the date of her death. A year earlier, she entrusted the editors of “*Bluszcz*” with the right to edit a short story entitled *Hekuba*, for which Zofia Seidlerowa had applied. Published under her direction since 1905, the periodical favoured the slogans

⁴⁹ Por. Małgorzata Chwedczuk, “Kobieta o kobietach, czyli *Gloria victis* Elizy Orzeszkowej”, in: Jadwiga Zacharska, Marek Kochanowski (eds.), *Wiek kobiet w literaturze*, (Białystok: Trans Humana, 2002), 150–157; Marian Marek Drozdowski, “O roli kobiet w narodzinach Niepodległości lat 1918–1922”, in: Jolanta Załęczny (ed.), *Niepodległość z kobietą twarzą. Różne przejawy aktywności kobiet w drodze do niepodległości (od upadku powstania styczniowego do 1920 roku)*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Muzeum Niepodległości, 2019), 20–21.

of moderate feminism.⁵⁰ The writer collaborated with it but did so only reluctantly in the years when it was managed by Ilnicka. The mutual animosity of the former participants of the January Uprising resulted both from their different outlooks on the programme of women's emancipation, as well as the poet's dislike of the writer, a woman who did not keep her marital fidelity to a political exile. Separated by the choices they made following the defeat of the uprising, its female veterans took equal care to preserve the memory of the uprising and the role that women had played in it. Even with the passage of years, it still troubled the partitioners and, due to the censor, the edition of *Hekuba* was quickly discontinued.⁵¹ Less than a year later, her text, included in the aforementioned collection, found its way into readers' hands. Together with the remaining stories, it constituted a kind of testament, the depositories of which were women.

This deposit, resembling a romantic legend, was somehow tarnished by the story of the eponymous Hekuba's daughter. Unable to bear the burden of national martyrdom, the girl succumbed to the charm of Russian soldiers, falling in love in one of them. Having agreed to play the role of his mistress, she left with him for St Petersburg. Her portrait reflected the ambiguity of the patriotic phrase present in Orzeszkowa's last will and testament, with its motif of black and white crinolines, which became both an expression of genuine mourning and an empty gesture, incommensurable with the scale of despair: "For the homeland... for freedom... for those who are bound for death."⁵² This duality of feelings can be found in the colour of the "white dress spotted with black spots"⁵³ worn by the Polish woman entangled in the dilemmas of her heart and national stereotypes, which demanded contempt and hatred towards the invaders.

Sometimes, they declared their love to women in prison, as was the case with Miss Heurich. Humiliated in their pride as daughters of the homeland, they were not always able to protect

⁵⁰ Teresa Kulak, "Trybuna umiarkowanego feminizmu. «Bluszcz» pod kierownictwem redakcyjnym Zofii Seidlerowej w latach 1906–1918", in: Piotr Perkowski, Tadeusz Stegner (eds.), *Kobieta i media. Studia z dziejów emancypacji kobiet*, (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2009), 70–92.

⁵¹ Eliza Orzeszkowa, "List do T. Bochwica z 6.5.1909 r.", in: eadem, *Listy zebrane*, Vol. 5, prep. for print and commentary Edmund Jankowski, (Wrocław: Zakład im. Ossolińskich, 1961), 202.

⁵² Eadem, *Hekuba*, 122.

⁵³ Ibidem, 120.

themselves against their own sentiments, and not all Russians aroused in them only disgust.⁵⁴ Recurring through women's diaries, this thread was also a characteristic element of the women's memory of the experiences of the January Uprising.

Two years after Orzeszkowa, the task of documenting them was undertaken by Maria Bruchnalska, a writer from Lviv, an activist of the women's movement and a co-author of the characteristically emotional image of the "silent heroines" of the January Uprising, presented in the reference work, published after Poland had regained independence. The spiritual meaning of this image, created "under the care" of veterans and their families, can be seen in the sharp polemic with Stefan Żeromski and his "domestic fable" presented in *Wierna rzeka* (published in 1912). As the way in which the story portrayed women was considered a "grave error" on the part of the writer, the honour of the daughters of the homeland was defended in all seriousness.⁵⁵ The confrontation of the two legends testified to the strength of emotions in the unresolved disputes about the history of the January Uprising as well as the memory of it, featuring women and their love for their homeland. Legends, as we know, were part of the depository of Polish culture, which was used for decades to come.

Conclusion. Daughters of the homeland in black crinolines

The January Uprising was part of a triad recurring ever since Poland lost independence: lost battles for freedom, retaliation from the partitioners and national mourning. For a century and a half, it was marked not only by men's deeds of arms, but also by the black dresses worn by women during the thirty-three months of patriotic manifestations and insurrectional struggles. After the ban imposed by the authorities in the autumn of 1863, women wore white as a sign of national mourning, this black and white forming a mosaic of colours alluding to the legend of the January Uprising. That legend was created not only by literary and painterly representations

⁵⁴ *Wspomnienia Emilii ze Szwarców Heurichowej*, 135–136.

⁵⁵ Maria Bruchnalska, *Ciche bohaterki. Udział kobiet w powstaniu styczniowym*, Vol. 1, scientific description, commentary and footnotes Lidia Michalska-Bracha, Emil Noiński, (Warszawa–Wrocław: Muzeum Historii Polski, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 2024), 533–534.

of the national tragedy,⁵⁶ but also by women's memoirs. The black dresses to which they referred are given pride of place in almost every publication about the history of the uprising. Therefore, they can be treated as national imponderables, a symbol of martyrdom and collective depression after failed hopes, a cultural manifestation or a sign of the political situation. But one can look at them also through the eyes of women living in those times. Some of them were not entirely free from the temptation to dispel the myth of national mourning-women and did not hide the fact that the participants and enthusiasts of the uprising paid a high price for the black dresses also in commercial terms.

The last thing that can be read from the black dress and, at the same time, the most obvious and simple one can be summarised in the following sentence: the symbol of the January Uprising has the face of a woman dressed in a black dress. Being part of iconography, such a symbol cannot be overestimated, especially in these days of image culture, trademarks and brand names.

References

Diaries, memoirs, letters

Arkuszewska, Joanna, in: Przemysław Bednarczyk, Sebastian Piątkowski (eds.), *Gdzie mogił powstańczych kopce... Wspomnienia radomskich weteranów powstania styczniowego*, (Radom: Muzeum Wsi Radomskiej, 2009).

Cywiński, Ludomir. *Wspomnienia z lat ubiegłych*, „Wieś i Dwór”, Vol. 2, 1912.

Duchińska, Seweryna. *Pisma. Pamiętnik. Poezye*, (Lwów: Księgarnia Gubrynowicza i Schmidta, 1893).

Duchińska, Seweryna. *Wspomnienia z 29-cio letniego pożycia z mężem moim 1864–1893*, (Paryż: Drukarnia Polska Adolfa Reiffa, 1894).

Generałowej Benigny Kazimierzowej Małachowskiej pamiętniki 1830–1870, „Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki. Dodatek Miesięczny do «Gazety Lwowskiej»”, Sec. 47, Vol. 45, 1919.

Górska z Łubieńskich, Maria. *Gdybym mniej kochała. Dziennik lat 1889–1895*, (Warszawa: Twój Styl, 1996).

⁵⁶ In Artur Grottger's paintings *Farewell and Greeting of an Insurrectionist*, women in black send men off to the fight for freedom, while the defeated are greeted in white.

- Komornicka, Anna. „Maria Komornicka w swych listach i mojej pamięci”, in: Edward Boniecki, (ed.), *Maria Komornicka. Listy*, (Warszawa: Biblioteka Warszawska, 2011).
- Komornicka, Maria. „List do Anny Komornickiej w Grabowie, Warszawa, 15 maja 1901”, in: Edward Boniecki (ed.), *Maria Komornicka. Listy*, (Warszawa: Biblioteka Warszawska, 2011).
- Mielnicka, R. Aleksandrowa z Makarowiczów. „Pod Wrząca. Wspomnienie z lat młodocianych”, in: *W czterdziestą rocznicę powstania styczniowego 1863–1903*, (Lwów: Drukarnia Ludowa, 1903).
- Orzeszkowa, Eliza. „List do T. Bochwica z 6.5.1909 r.”, in: Eliza Orzeszkowa, *Listy zebrane*, Vol. 5, prepared for print and commented by Edmund Jankowski, (Wrocław: Zakład im. Ossolińskich, 1961).
- Pamiętka dla rodzin polskich. Krótkie wiadomości o straconych na rusztowaniach, rozstrzelanych, poległych i zmarłych na wygnaniu syberyjskiem i tułactwie ofiar z 1861–1866 roku*, collected and edited by Zygmunt Kolumna, Vol. 1, (Kraków: wytłoczono u Władysława Jaworskiego, 1868).
- Potocka z Działyńskich, Anna. *Mój pamiętnik*, edited by Andrzej Jastrzębski, (Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy PAX, 1973).
- Prendowska, Jadwiga. *Moje wspomnienia*, edited by Eligiusz Koźłowski, Kazimierz Olszański, (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1962).
- Szwarc, Bronisław. „Założenie Komitetu Centralnego w r. 1862”, in: *W czterdziestą rocznicę powstania styczniowego 1863–1903*, (Lwów: Drukarnia Ludowa, 1903), 441–449.
- Wojdacka, Józefa, in: Przemysław Bednarczyk, Sebastian Piątkowski (eds.), *Gdzie mogił powstańczych kopce... Wspomnienia radomskich weteranów powstania styczniowego*, (Radom: Muzeum Wsi Radomskiej, 2009).
- Wspomnienia Emilii ze Szwarców Heurichowej (1819–1905) i jej córki Teodory z Heurichów Kiślańskiej (1844–1920)*, edited by Lidia Michalska-Bracha, Emil Noiński, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2023).

Press sources

- „Bluszcz”, No. 5, 1865.
- „Magazyn Mód. Dziennik Przyjemnych Wiadomości”, No. 1, No. 19, 1860.
- „Wieś i Dwór”, Vol. 2, 1912.

Literature sources

Orzeszkowa, Eliza. *Hekuba*, (Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1986).

Literature

Bruchnalska, Maria. *Ciche bohaterki. Udział kobiet w powstaniu styczniowym*, Vol. I, edited by Lidia Michalska-Bracha, Emil Noński, (Warszawa–Wrocław: Muzeum Historii Polski, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 2024).

Caban, Wiesław. „Kobiety i powstanie styczniowe”, in: Anna Żarnowska and Andrzej Szwarc (eds.), *Kobieta i świat polityki. Polska na tle porównawczym w XIX i w początkach XX wieku. Zbiór studiów*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 1994), 59–72.

Caban, Wiesław. *Z dziejów powstania styczniowego w rejonie Gór Świętokrzyskich*, (Warszawa–Kraków: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1989).

Chwedczuk, Małgorzata. „Kobieta o kobietach czyli Gloria victis Elizy Orzeszkowej”, in: Jadwiga Zacharska, Marek Kochanowski (eds.), *Wiek kobiet w literaturze*, (Białystok: Trans Humana, 2002), 150–157.

Drozdowski, Marek Marian. „O roli kobiet w narodzinach Niepodległości lat 1918–1922”, in: Jolanta Załączny (ed.), *Niepodległość z kobietą twarzą. Różne przejawy aktywności kobiet w drodze do niepodległości (od upadku powstania styczniowego do 1920 roku)*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Muzeum Niepodległości, 2019), 9–27.

Erlach, Franciszek L. von. *Partyzantka w Polsce w roku 1863. Na podstawie własnych obserwacji zbieranych na teatrze walki od marca do sierpnia*, edited by Emanuel Halicz, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1960).

Franke, Jerzy. *Polska prasa kobieca w latach 1820–1918. W kręgu ofiary i poświęcenia*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo SBP, 1999).

Gabryś, Agnieszka. *O badaniu pamięci*, „Historyka. Studia Metodologiczne”, Vol. 35, 2005.

Hoffmanowa, Klementyna. „Pamiętka po dobrej matce”, in: Narcyza Żmichowska (ed.), *Dzieła Klementyny z Tańskich Hoffmanowej*, Vol. 8, (Warszawa: nakł. Spółki Wydawniczej Księgarzy, 1876).

Jedynak, Barbara. „Dom i kobieta w kulturze niewoli”, in: Barbara Jedynak, (eds.), *Kobieta w kulturze i społeczeństwie*, Vol. 1, (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej. Interdyscyplinarny Zespół Badań Feminologicznych, 1990), 70–105.

Kieniewicz, Stefan. *Powstanie styczniowe*, (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1972).

- Kraushar, Alexander. *Polki twórcze czasów naszych*, (Warszawa: Księgarnia F. Hoesicka, 1929).
- Kubis, Barbara. *Poznawcze i kształcące walory literatury dokumentu osobistego*, (Opole: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 2007).
- Kulak, Teresa. „Trybuna umiarkowanego feminizmu. «Bluszcz» pod kierownictwem redakcyjnym Zofii Seidlerowej w latach 1906–1918”, in: Piotr Perkowski, Tadeusz Stegner, (eds.), *Kobieta i media. Studia z dziejów emancypacji kobiet*, (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2009), 70–92.
- Kulak, Teresa. „Wstęp”, in: Teresa Kulak, Joanna Dufrat, Monika Piotrowska-Marchewa (eds.), *Postawy i aktywność kobiet w czasie powstania styczniowego 1863–1864. (Na tle polskich konspiracji i działalności powstańczej doby zaborowej)*, (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Chronicon, 2013), 7–16.
- Manifest 22 stycznia 1863 roku*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Interpress, 1989).
- Michalska-Bracha, Lidia. *Między pamięcią a historiografią. Lwowskie debaty o powstaniu styczniowym (1864–1939)*, (Kielce: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Humanistyczno-Przyrodniczego Jana Kochanowskiego, 2011).
- Michalska-Bracha, Lidia. „Powstanie styczniowe – przestrzenie pamięci w XIX i XX wieku”, in: Agnieszka Kawalec, Jerzy Kuzicki (eds.), *Powstanie styczniowe w pamięci zbiorowej*, (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, 2017), 24–38.
- Nie znane losy uczestników powstań narodowych 1830–1831, 1848, 1863–1864*, ed. with an introduction by Jan Ziólek, texts selected by Ryszard Matura, Jan Skarbek, (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 2000).
- Pekaniec, Anna. *Autobiografki. Szkice o literaturze dokumentu*, (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2020).
- Pekaniec, Anna. *Czy w autobiografii jest kobieta? Kobieta literatura dokumentu osobistego od początku XIX wieku do wybuchu II wojny światowej*, (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2013).
- Sikorska-Kulesza, Jolanta. „Przeszłość w walce o prawa wyborcze kobiet na ziemiach polskich (Uwagi wstępne o «używaniu» historii)”, in: Małgorzata Przeniosło, Katarzyna Sierakowska (eds.), *Pamięć historyczna kobiet*, (Kielce: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Humanistyczno-Przyrodniczego Jana Kochanowskiego, 2009), 11–16.
- Skóra, Aneta. „Rola polskiej kobiety w życiu społecznym epoki pozytywizmu w świetle opracowań, pamiętników i wspomnień”, in:

Krzysztof Jakubiak (ed.), *Partnerka – matka – opiekunka. Status kobiety w dziejach nowożytnych od XVI do XX wieku*, (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwa Uczelniane Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej, 2000), 320–327.

Wasylewski, Stanisław. *O miłości romantycznej*, (Lwów: Wydawnictwo Polskie, 1921).

Wierciochowa-Wawrzykowska, Dionizja. *W kręgu miłości i bohaterstwa (Z dziejów humanitaryzmu polskiego i prekursorów Polskiego Czerwonego Krzyża)*, (Warszawa: Państwowy Zakład Wydawnictw Lekarskich, 1965).