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## THE THEMATIC PROFILE OF THE INTERWAR PRESS FOR WOMEN IN THE POMERANIAN PROVINCE – THE OUTLINE OF THE PROBLEM\*

**Key words:** local press, social roles, press supplements, feminism, gender studies, press market, equality of men and women, press discourse, essentialism, cultural models

The subject of Polish women's magazines has so far not been sufficiently researched; while the majority of studies concern titles issued before the First World War.<sup>1</sup> The first relatively complete monograph of the Polish women's magazines of the interwar period appeared as late as 2010.<sup>2</sup> Before that, the only articles or studies available concerned individual titles.<sup>3</sup> In regards to research on regional women's periodicals, the situation is not too favourable either. There may be many reasons why it is the case. One of them is undoubtedly the absence of a representa-

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<sup>1</sup> Two important works in this field were written by Jerzy Franke, see Jerzy FRANKE, *Polska prasa kobieca w latach 1820–1918. W kręgu ofiary i poświęcenia*, Warszawa 1999; idem, *Wokół buntu i pokory. Warszawskie czasopisma kobiece w latach 1905–1918*, Warszawa 2000. The image of the woman in the press was presented in: Renata BEDNARZ-GRZYBEK, *Emancypantka i patriotka. Wizerunek kobiety przełomu XIX i XX wieku w czasopiśmie Królestwa Polskiego*, Lublin 2010. Moreover, other popular titles included: Maria ZAWIAŁSKA, „Świt” Marii Konopnickiej. *Zarys monograficzny tygodnika dla kobiet*, Wrocław 1978; Dagmara Ewa FLEMING-CEJROWSKA, *Warszawianka w kąpiel. Problemy higieny w warszawskiej prasie kobiecej lat 1860–1918*, Warszawa 2008.

<sup>2</sup> It refers to Kamilla ŁOZOWSKA-MARCINKOWSKA, *Sprawy niewieście. Problematyka czasopism kobiecych Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, Poznań 2010.

<sup>3</sup> Zofia SOKÓŁ, *Z badań nad polską prasą kobiecą w latach 1818–1939*, Kwartalnik Historii Prasy Polskiej (further cit. KHPP), vol. 22: 1983, no. 3, pp. 5–12; Jolanta CHWASTYK-KOWALCZYK, „Bluszcz” w latach 1918–1939. *Tematyka społeczna oraz problemy kultury i literatury*, Kielce 2003; Joanna GRABOWSKA, „Moja Przyjaciółka”. *Ilustrowany dwutygodnik kobiecy 1934–1939*, Żnin 1997; Mirosława DOŁĘGOWSKA-WYSOCKA, *Tygodnik „Kobieta Współczesna” 1927–1934*, KHPP, vol. 21: 1982, no. 3–4, pp. 57–72.

tive number of sources. The serious difficulties related to the absence of relevant statistical studies were already observed by Andrzej Paczkowski.<sup>4</sup> Also, not without significance is the overall development of research into the history of women. Despite significant progress of such studies in the last quarter century, they are still conducted in a relatively limited scope by Polish science.<sup>5</sup>

This article is an attempt to examine Pomeranian women's magazines primarily in regard to its thematic content. For this purpose, I analyzed the subject matter of Pomeranian periodic publications for women, described their attitude to the most pressing issues and identified the most frequently raised problems. Additionally, I juxtaposed the resulting material against information about the political preferences of particular publishers. This allowed for a fuller presentation of the magazines for women, as well as, partially, a disclosure of the imaginary female Pomeranian profile of the twenty-year interwar period. As it turns out, this did not differ significantly from the national standard.

The concept of Pomeranian women's magazines in this thesis constitutes titles that simultaneously appeared on the territory of the Pomerania Voivodship, and showed regional specificity, i.e. were directed in the first instance to the local recipient. Automatically therefore, journals from outside of the province were excluded, regardless of their participation in the Pomeranian readers' market. Similarly, I excluded the titles which had only become "Pomeranian" after the administrative reform of April 1938. It was troublesome to consider the newly attached districts representative for the research on the specificity of Pomerania both because of the novelty of this administrative solution and the considerable cultural disparity of the annexed regions.<sup>6</sup>

To determine the precise form of publication that can be considered typical of the concept of a women's magazine, I approved only independent periodicals and additions to newspapers with at least two pages, and which appeared for not less than one year.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, I omitted any ephemeral publications, because although they often contained interesting projects, their importance remained marginal.

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<sup>4</sup> Andrzej PACZKOWSKI, *Prasa Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej (1918–1939). Ogólna charakterystyka statystyczna*, Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego, vol. 11: 1972, no. 1, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> About the causes: Anna ŻARNOWSKA, *Wprowadzenie*, [in:] *Równe prawa i nierówne szanse. Kobiety w Polsce międzywojennej*, ed. eadem, Andrzej SZWARC, Warszawa 2000, pp. 5–6.

<sup>6</sup> In accordance with the administrative reform from 1 April 1938 Pomeranian Province was extended by some counties hitherto located in Poznań Province and Warsaw Province. Now, Pomeranian province included also: Bydgoszcz, Inowrocław and Włocławek. Women's press also developed here – in Inowrocław there was published "Dziennik Kujawski" with the supplement "Praktyczna Kujawianka". Wiktor Pepliński described Pomeranian in a similar way, see Wiktor PEPLIŃSKI, *Prasa pomorska w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej 1920–1939. System funkcjonowania i oblicze społeczno-polityczne prasy polskiej*, Gdańsk 1987, p. 5.

<sup>7</sup> An exception are extended columns in "Dzień Pomorski" and "Słowo Pomorskie". They were characterized by the publishing continuity and durability, which is the cause why they are subjects of the deliberations. Moreover, they were main periodicals of the central body of the Sanation and National Democracy [Polish: Endecja] in Pomeranian Province.

The significant expansion in the scope of research results, in this case, from the status of the women's press at that time. This was essentially a new, and even an experimental entity on the local publishing market, hence the variety of forms – from separate titles to permanent columns appearing for several years.<sup>8</sup>

Women's magazines first came out in Pomerania at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It seems that the first regular magazine addressed to women was published in German: "Jahresbericht," issued from 1887 by the Vaterländischer Frauen-Zweig-Verein. Also, in the period up to the end of the First World War there were at least two other supplements in the German language, and one in Polish. The latter was an appendix to "Gazeta Grudziądzka" ["Grudziądz Newspaper"] – "Dobra Gospodyni" ["The Good Housewife"], published since 1912.

This specific field of publishing increased in size after the First World War. In the geographical area of interest, until the late 1920's there occurred eight titles: "Dobra Gospodyni" ["The Good Housewife"], "Sprawy Kobiace" ["Women's Matters"], "Ziemianka Pomorska" ["The Pomeranian Lady Landowner"], "Ognisko Domowe" ["The Homestead"], "Gospodyni i Matka" ["Housewife and Mother"], "Echo Kobiace" ["The Women's Echo"], "Uroda i Zdrowie" ["Health and Beauty"], "Kącik Pomorzanki" ["The Pomeranian Lady's Corner"]<sup>9</sup> – all in the form of supplements to the following: "Gazeta Grudziądzka" ["Grudziądz Newspaper"], "Głos Pomorski" ["The Voice of Pomerania"], "Kłosy" ["Ears"], "Dziennik Pomorski" ["The Pomeranian Daily"] (and its version for the rural population – "Lud Pomorski" ["People of Pomerania"]), "Rolnik Polski" ["Polish Farmer"], "Echa Borów Tucholskich" ["The Echo of Bory Tucholskie"], "Dzień Pomorski" ["The Day in Pomerania"] (from 29 February 1936 "Dzień Pomorza" ["The Day in Pomorze"]) and "Ilustrowany Kurier Pomorski" ["The Illustrated Pomeranian Courier"] (and its mutation "Ilustrowany Kurier Tczeski" ["The Illustrated Tczew Courier"]). Only one of them – "Dobra Gospodyni" ["The Good Housewife"] – was a continuation of the pre-war title, whereas the others were first published after 1921, and thus after the final settlement of the border issue with the Weimar Republic. In some respects as the ninth title can be considered the column *Kobieta – matka – żona – obywatelka* ["Woman – mother – wife – citizen"], a weekly supplement to "Słowo Pomorskie" ["The Word of Pomerania"] – "Dom Rodzinny" ["The Family

<sup>8</sup> Zofia Sokół divided women's magazines into independent ones and supplements, stressing that both forms had equal importance. Non-independent magazines were considered to be women's magazines if they appeared as separate sections / columns in the general press. See Z. SOKÓŁ, op. cit., p. 8. In the case of a bigger territory, the criteria could be changed – normally women's magazines include then only independent publications. For example, K. Łozowska-Marcinkowska defined a women's magazine as an independent title of not fewer than six pages and issued for longer than 2 years. See K. ŁOZOWSKA-MARCINKOWSKA, op. cit., p. 6.

<sup>9</sup> The information about "Kącik Pomorzanki" was taken from: W. PEPLIŃSKI, op. cit., p. 191; a record about the supplement also in: Ewa ROGALSKA, *Prasa tczewska od połowy XIX wieku do 1939 roku*, Kocięski Magazyn Regionalny, vol. 19: 2004, no 2 (45), p. 7. I did not manage to find the supplement.

Home”].<sup>10</sup> In 1926, the column disappeared, however, and it seems that its functions were entirely taken over by the supplement in which it had previously appeared. “Dom Rodzinny” [“The Family Home”] was published continuously since the mid-1920s for nine years and the matters concerning women always took up at least two pages of the issue.

The next decade brought five new titles, including, which is rather significant, two stand-alone publications. They were: “Poradnik Ziemianki Pomorskiej” [“The Pomeranian Landowner’s Advisory”] and “Gospodyni Pomorska” [“The Pomeranian Housewife”] (extracted in 1937 from the women’s supplement “Kłosy” [“Ears”]). Additionally, the following supplements were released: “Głos Kobiety” [“The Woman’s Voice”] (a supplement to “Obrona Ludu” [“The People’s Defense”]), “Ruch Kobiety na Pomorzu” [“The Women’s Movement in Pomerania”] (a supplement to “Dnia Pomorskiego” [“The Day In Pomerania”]), as well as “Świat Kobiety” [“Women’s World”] (supplement to “Głos Wąbrzeski” [“The Voice of Wąbrzeźno”, from 1937 to “Głos Pomorza” [“The Voice of Pomerania”]). It is certain that “Dobra Gospodyni” [“The Good Housewife”], “Echo Kobiety” [“The Women’s Echo”] and “Dom Rodzinny” [“The Family Home”] were continually issued, as well as the column “Health and Beauty”, which kept appearing in “Dzień Pomorski” [“The Day in Pomerania”]. In conclusion, in the period between 1918 and 1939, in this area of interest there appeared altogether 13 titles focusing on issues concerning women. They included eleven publications in the form of a supplement – the most popular form in the Second Polish Republic, and two as stand-alone periodicals.<sup>11</sup> In addition, in the Pomeranian press there also appeared expressly oriented columns. Such a form was chosen on this territory by the main press body of sanitation, as well as by the national democrats.

In regard to the duration, in most cases the periodicals lasted not more than a few years, which was then a common trend in Poland. Thus there were only six titles (including the aforementioned columns), which came out continuously over at least five years, and the remaining three did not survive two years. The most enduring women’s magazine in Pomerania was “Dobra Gospodyni” [“The Good Housewife”] – until 1938. The second stable source is the supplement to “Kłosy” [“Ears”], which later became a stand-alone magazine: “Gospodyni Pomorska” [“The Pomeranian Housewife”] (1930–1939). Also fairly long-lasting was the supplement to “Słowo Pomorskie” [“The Word of Pomerania”] – “Dom Rodzinny” [“The Family Home”], which came out in the years 1925–1933.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> On the Pomeranian press market during the interwar period there came out several supplements the target of which was the family – “Rodzina Kaszubska” (supplement to “Gazeta Kaszubska”) or “Rodzina” (supplement to “Gazeta Kartuska”). They were indirectly dedicated to women (like the titles which are the subject matter of this article); this group did not constitute their only recipient.

<sup>11</sup> At the same time in the whole country there appeared from 50 to 100 independent periodicals for women. See K. ŁOZOWSKA-MARCINKOWSKA, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>12</sup> The years when the following periodicals and supplements were issued: “Dobra Gospodyni:” 1912–1938, “Sprawy Kobiety:” 1921–1926, “Ziemianka Pomorska:” 1922–1926, “Ognisko Domo-

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The query into the subject clearly brought to light a kind of duality in the Pomeranian publications for women.<sup>13</sup> On the one hand they revealed their diversity, mainly due to the presentation of different life styles, which followed the distinctions running along the lines of a woman-housewife, a “quasi modern” woman and an active woman.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, it is easily noticeable that certain content of the magazines overlapped in these three groups and therefore some titles can be assigned to more than one type. Partially this may have been caused by the lesser variety on the local political scene, as compared to the rest of the country – politics, as it stands, is a factor that fundamentally influences the press market. The centre-right political environment, together with a strong influence of the right-wingers and the conservatives against which the left-wing organisations were marginal, could cause – at least in the case of women’s magazines – the narrowing of their thematic content.<sup>15</sup> Another determinant could have been the peripheral situation of the Pomerania Voivoidship. It was deprived of large cities where the activity of progressive organizations was typically centered. The essential factor was, however, the common gender stereotypes which associated women with certain inherent features and interest, and which the press, among other media, would also amplify. The Pomeranian publications, regardless of their differences, were not deprived of such prejudices.

It is also worth pointing out that, as a rule, the women’s magazines involved a language register other than that used in general press publications. It also presented news in a different way. In most cases the language was reminiscent of a chat in a cafe. In “Świat Kobiety” [“Women’s World”], pieces of advice, in the form of a letter to close friends, were given by “Yours truly Marta,”<sup>16</sup> which gave the impression of exclusivity, of having been let in on a secret. Another characteristic was an omnipresent sense of community formation, by using pronouns “we” or “our.”

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we.” 1924–1929, “Dom Rodzinny.” 1925–1933, “Gospodyni i Matka.” 1926–1929, “Echo Kobiecte.” 1929–1932, the column “Uroda i Zdrowie” (further cit. “Świat Kobiety”): 1929–1938, “Gospodyni Pomorska.” 1930–1939, “Głos Kobiety.” 1931–1933, “Poradnik Ziemianki Pomorskiej.” 1934, “Ruch Kobiety na Pomorzu.” 1935–1938, “Świat Kobiety.” 1936–1937.

<sup>13</sup> Periodicals and supplements not taken into account in this part because of the lack of access to the sources: “Sprawy Kobiecte,” “Kącik Pomorzanki,” „Poradnik Ziemianki Pomorskiej.”

<sup>14</sup> The explanation concerning the types in the subsequent part of the article.

<sup>15</sup> W. PEPLIŃSKI, op.cit., p. 83. About the specific nature of Pomerania see also in: Ryszard MICHALSKI, *Obraz nieprzyjaciół Rzeczypospolitej na łamach polskiej prasy pomorskiej w latach 1920–1939 oraz 1945–1948*, Toruń 1999, pp. 10–12; Przemysław OLSTOWSKI, *Państwo a społeczeństwo na Pomorzu w latach Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej (1920–1939)*, [in:] *Metamorfozy społeczne*, vol. 8: *Państwo i społeczeństwo Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, red. Janusz ŻARNOWSKI, Warszawa 2014, p. 69; Roman WAPIŃSKI, *Życie polityczne Pomorza w latach 1920–1939*, Warszawa 1983, p. 47 f.

<sup>16</sup> The column *Listy do Marty* [“Letters to Marta”] appeared in the supplement “Świat Kobiety” 23 March 1937. It was normally signed by “Wasza Marta” or “Życzliwa Marta.” See *Świat Kobiety*, sup. *Głos Pomorza*, 23 III 1937. The number provided is the number of the main periodical.

For example: "Let's modernize our interiors!"<sup>17</sup> or "As we have already mentioned in our «petit magazine» [...]" as well as an indication of duty and necessity, e.g. "And what now?", "Beautiful ladies must immediately start the post-seasonal facial treatment,"<sup>18</sup> "Which books must be read?"<sup>19</sup>

The woman-housewife was the model presented by the largest group of magazines. It was adopted by the following: "Dobra Gospodyni" ["The Good Housewife"], "Gospodyni i Matka" ["Housewife and Mother"], "Świat Kobiety" ["Women's World"] and "Ziemianka Pomorska" ["The Pomeranian Lady Landowner"] and its stand-alone continuation "Gospodyni Pomorska" ["The Pomeranian Housewife"]. It must be noted, however, that the "woman-housewife" theme appeared in all of the studied magazines, though varied in its intensity.

The indicated group of magazines carried the characteristics of a guide, and the lion's share of the published articles were to provide help to their readers. Therefore, most of them included: culinary recipes, articles on poultry farming, the education of children, practical interior design tips, work organisation suggestions, ways of making use of agricultural goods, and other minor advice, i.e. on how to remove stains.<sup>20</sup> At the same time, an educational trend is noticeable. It refers to texts about nutritional needs of the body, or child psychology. For instance, "Ziemianka Pomorska" ["The Pomeranian Lady Landowner"] argued for the need to increase the role of the mother in child rearing. From the article *Kobieta – dziecko* ["Woman – Child"]: "It has been acknowledged that this child is not all fancy dressed, smiley-faced angel, nor is it a docile dummy meeting the will of the elders, but a living being."<sup>21</sup> Characteristic of this group is the lack, or only a small number, of headings about fashion and beauty (these are almost exclusively dress cutting patterns, sewing patterns, and occasionally tips on refreshing garments). Typically, general information as well as national and international news are rudimentary. The periodicals use simple, straight forward language with frequent references to religion and old wives' tales. The determinant of a woman's life is practicality.

Essentially, though, each magazine assigned to this group has its own distinct character. The supplement "Świat Kobiety" ["World of Women"] typically combined gossip with tips on beauty, and often created an image of a woman who works

<sup>17</sup> Świat Kobiety, sup. Dzień Pomorski, no 71, 23–24 V 1936.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., no 151, 29–30 VIII 1936.

<sup>19</sup> Ziemianka Pomorska, sup. Kłosy, no 22, 3 VI 1923.

<sup>20</sup> The issues touched presented there reflected everyday problems of women living in the countryside and did not show any significant regional differences. See Regina RENZ, *Kobieta w społeczeństwie międzywojennej Kielecczyny. Dom – praca – aktywność społeczna*, Kielce 2008, pp. 46–47.

<sup>21</sup> Ziemianka Pomorska, sup. Kłosy, no. 19, 17 V 1925. Focusing on the child was typical of the discussed period and was connected with the changes in the family patterns after the war, see Janusz ŻARNOWSKI, *Rodzina w czasach cywilizacyjnego przyspieszenia: Europa i Polska 1918–1989*, [in:] *Rodzina – prywatność – intymność. Dzieje rodziny polskiej w kontekście europejskim*, red. Dobrochna KAŁWA, Adam WALASZEK, Anna ŻARNOWSKA, Warszawa 2005, p. 39.

and makes money, (though rather not as a menial worker or servant). It portrayed a woman interested in novelties, who at the same time stays faithful to tradition. The staple articles were: *Przepisy kulinarne* ["Culinary Recipes"], *Porady Praktyczne* ["Practical Tips"], or *Listy Marty* ["Martha's Letters"], which primarily dealt with topics on how to effectively manage a household and care for the family.<sup>22</sup> The contents of an issue, next to articles on *O nakrywaniu stołu* ["Laying the table"]<sup>23</sup> or *Jak leczyć jesienny kaszel?* ["How to cure the autumnal cough?"]<sup>24</sup> were often filled with rather infantile curiosities of the world, such as *Mażeńskie przygody sióstr syjamskich* ["Marital adventures of conjoined sisters"].<sup>25</sup> *Głos Wąbrzeski* ["The Voice of Wąbrzeźno"] announced a competition for the best housewife.<sup>26</sup>

Other periodicals in this group were dedicated towards women from the countryside. The most traditional model was presented by "Dobra Gospodyni" ["The Good Housewife"], which was solely devoted to matters concerning the so-called woman's domestic establishment.<sup>27</sup> *Ochrona drobiu przed chorobami* ["Protection of poultry against diseases"], *Dzisiejsze i dawniejsze sposoby leczenia* ["Today's methods and old treatment solutions"],<sup>28</sup> *Czy i jak należy podskubywać gęsi* ["Whether and how to pluck geese"].<sup>29</sup> The division of male and female responsibilities, if only symbolically, indicated the prevailing patriarchal model.<sup>30</sup>

More extensively, the social activity of women was presented in "Ziemianka Pomorska" ["The Pomeranian Lady Landowner"], which was a supplement to an essentially agricultural periodical "Kłosy" ["Ears"]. "Ziemianka Pomorska" ["The Pomeranian Lady Landowner"] consisted of two pages of information about women's associations, meetings, and their locations. It also gave practical advice (i.e. referring to the seasonal fattening of geese), or encouraged participation in egg-laying hens' competition.<sup>31</sup> Additionally, the magazine contained texts which incited a sense of national belonging, as much as the sense of responsibility which

<sup>22</sup> For example in the issue of 29 May 1937 advice columns took up the whole space, see *Świat Kobiety*, sup. *Głos Pomorza*, no. 62, 29 V 1937.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 34, 27 III 1937.

<sup>24</sup> *Świat Kobiety*, sup. *Głos Wąbrzeski*, no. 124, 17 X 1936.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 136, 14 XI 1936.

<sup>26</sup> *Świat Kobiety*, sup. *Głos Pomorza*, no. 4, 9 I 1937. Similar competitions were common among women living in the countryside and small towns, see R. RENZ, *Kobieta w społeczeństwie międzywojennej*, p. 174.

<sup>27</sup> Here one may find minor exceptions, e.g. the article *Spółeczna rola kobiety. Po kongresie paryskim*, where described the event and referred to working women as "undoubtedly creative and outstanding individuals," see *Dobra Gospodyni*, sup. *Gazeta Grudziądzka*, no. 104, 5 IX 1933. However, such articles were very rare.

<sup>28</sup> *Dobra Gospodyni*, sup. *Gazeta Grudziądzka*, no. 10, 24 I 1933.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 95, 15 VIII 1933.

<sup>30</sup> Włodzimierz MĘDRZECKI, *Gospodarstwo chłopskie jako instytucja pracy*, [in:] *Metamorfozy społeczne*, vol. 9: *Praca i społeczeństwo Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. Włodzimierz MĘDRZECKI, Cecylia LESZCZYŃSKA, Warszawa 2014, p. 23.

<sup>31</sup> *Ziemianka Pomorska*, sup. *Kłosy*, no. 48, 29 XI 1925.

it implied. This citizen formation for women was built on the traditional model of the Polish Mother. Journalists wrote: "A woman, while distinct, should, on an equal footing to men, bring new values into the life of our nation. The values which stem from the properties of her psyche ought to flow into her natural vocation for the family, as much as into the social environment, politics and international affairs;" "[...] in order to produce a creative type of contemporary women, who preserves the complete separateness of her feminine nature, which derives from a deep sense of spiritual and physical motherhood, as her most essential feature, she will bring into the life of the nation – with a complete sense of responsibility for the future of the Motherland – the sense of the rule of law, the love for thy neighbour, responsibility, morality, and national unity."<sup>32</sup>

We find similar content in "Gospodyni Pomorska" ["The Pomeranian Housewife"]. However, these appeared after it had become an independent issue. Previously, in the form of a supplement, an issue, as a rule, consisted of self-help articles, such as: *Luty – zapusty* ["February – Pre-Lenten Season"], *Ogród warzywny* ["Vegetable garden"], *O czym pamiętać w lutym?* ["What to remember about in February?"], *Przypomnienia co do drobiu* ["Reminders on what to do with poultry"], *Smakolotyki zapustne* ["Shrovetide Delicacies"].<sup>33</sup> After becoming independent, the magazine underwent an overall qualitative change – texts grew and the style became more modern. The terms for sowing vegetables ceased to be the revealed truth and became a rational calculation. The dinner recipe had its explanation in the form of caloric and nutritional value. And as one of the most desirable characteristics of a village woman began to be considered entrepreneurship. The make-over of "Gospodyni Pomorska" ["The Pomeranian Housewife"] was probably related with the exacerbating situation on the European continent and undertaken in connection with the civic agitation of Polish women. In June 1939, on the first page appeared the slogan "In defense of the Motherland" and the text below advocated for women to take over male duties. The whole was summarized in the statement: "Such is the country as is its woman."<sup>34</sup> Until then, "Gospodyni Pomorska" ["The Pomeranian Housewife"] treated subjects of women's obligations toward the country marginally. Also the content on women's professional activity was occasional. All this caused that "Gospodyni Pomorska" ["The Pomeranian Housewife"] became the most progressive magazine addressed to rural women in Pomerania.

Paradoxically, the perception of women as citizens and entrepreneurs only added new responsibilities, whereas none of the other women's obligations were revoked. After all, house-keeping and dealing with children were treated as unquestionably inherent to women. Granting women the opportunity to make

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., no. 13, 29 III 1925.

<sup>33</sup> See *Gospodyni Pomorska*, sup. Kłosy, no 9, 6 III 1932.

<sup>34</sup> *Gospodyni Pomorska*, vol. 12: 1939, no. 6.

money mostly did not involve any lofty idea. Often, working outside the home was a necessity imposed by a financial hardship. In spite of that, the decrease in incitement for women to work was, in women's magazines, proportionate to the economic problems of the state and the increase in unemployment rate among men, who were still considered the main bread winners.<sup>35</sup> At the same time, while underlining the role of the woman as a citizen, some often resorted to a rather unfortunate argument used in the struggle for women's political equality. In 1918, in order to overcome the resistance by the decision-making bodies, as well as to counter social stereotypes, emancipation activists endeavored to emphasize two things: that women and their activities are necessary for the proper functioning of the State, and the undeniable, biologically inherent distinctness of women and men. Thus, granting women full rights as citizens had only to extend their current commitments to house and family onto caring activities in the public sphere. The "feminine nature" and gender relations were to remain firmly unchanged.<sup>36</sup> Throughout the twenty-year period this premise as if cemented the framework of women's activities against the background of the existing gender stereotypes, and at the same time allowed for a flexible extension of expectations toward them.

Some similarity to "Ziemianka Pomorska" ["The Pomeranian Lady Landowner"], and to "Gospodyni Pomorska" ["The Pomeranian Housewife"] are found in a "Rolnik Polski" ["The Polish Farmer"] supplement "Gospodyni i Matka" ["Housewife and Mother"], which was issued in Toruń. In accordance with the line of thought of the publishing house it represented a conservative view and was addressed mainly to landowners and their milieu. In addition to reports on the activities of women's associations it mainly contained practical advice for running a house and farm, with particular regard to horticulture, vegetable growing and poultry farming. In time the number acquired a fixed formula, which filled up with religious content and curiosities from the world. The latter usually referred to the women's world – for example, in the 5<sup>th</sup> issue from 1928 one could read about women's horse racing, the achievements of female swimmers or the woman chosen as the most stylishly dressed.<sup>37</sup> The publishers, however, undoubtedly visualised women at home, with the family, and on a farm. This was perceived as an element of woman's obligation to society. The inclusion of women into the national community was again – as in the case of magazines discussed earlier – based

<sup>35</sup> Renata KNYSPEL-KOPEĆ, *Polityka społeczna Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej wobec kobiet w latach wielkiego kryzysu gospodarczo-ekonomicznego*, [in:] *Metamorfozy społeczne*, vol. 8, pp. 315–316; Katarzyna SIERAKOWSKA, *Przegląd piśmiennictwa poświęconego dziejom kobiet w Polsce międzywojennej*, [in:] *Równe prawa*, p. 15.

<sup>36</sup> Joanna DUFRAT, *Dyskusje wokół „nowego typu kobiety-obywatelki” w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, [in:] *Metamorfozy społeczne*, vol. 7: *Procesy socjalizacji w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej 1914–1939*, ed. Anna LANDAU-CZAJKA, Katarzyna SIERAKOWSKA, Warszawa 2013, pp. 109–110.

<sup>37</sup> The copy discussed here included the extract of the Gospels and the set of advice given above, see *Gospodyni i Matka*, sup. *Rolnik Polski*, no. 5, 6 V 1928.

on traditional grounds and was implemented mainly in two main directions: raising children as patriots and promoting Polish growth through thoughtful house economy.<sup>38</sup>

Another type of woman present in the Pomeranian press was a “quasi modern woman.” The new times brought new opportunities not only in the field of setting up associations or political involvement, but especially in the layer of social emancipation. Paradoxically, without proper reflection, emancipation subjected women to an ever stronger imposition of being fashionable and attractive. To their existing commitments the magazines often imposed additional duties, mainly those which facilitated the sense of being modern without having to rebuild the relationship of gender and authority. This modernity was *de facto* nothing but the very traditional model of women in a new packaging.<sup>39</sup>

A “quasi modern woman” rarely worked professionally, but always took care of the house and paid special attention to her looks. In magazines presenting this type, one can find numerous articles on the latest trends in fashion, as well as make-up tips, and beauty treatments. *Front modnych kapeluszy* [“Fashionable hats Front”],<sup>40</sup> house decoration: *Meble z rurek stalowych ostatnim krzykiem mody* [“Steel pipe furniture – the latest fashion”],<sup>41</sup> child rearing, preparation of meals. Next to them appear gossip articles: *Sex appeal, czy klasyczne rysy* [“Sex appeal or classical features?”],<sup>42</sup> as well as content related to social equality of women – even articles on women pilots, women writers, and clubs for women. Nowhere, however, were purely political issues raised.<sup>43</sup> Frequently the stimulating (“Let’s..!”) was used, or the coercive (“it is necessary”), i.e. *Pierwszy szron. Farbowanie włosów jest zabiegiem koniecznym* [“First frost. Hair colouring is a necessary treatment”],<sup>44</sup> *Jaką powinna być pani domu?* [“What should a lady of the house be like?”].<sup>45</sup> The information was presented in such a way that a woman could feel modern even while laying the table.

A typical example of such a type of publication was a single page appendix to “Dzień Pomorski” [“The Day in Pomerania”]: “Uroda i Zdrowie” [“Health and

<sup>38</sup> In “Gospodyni i Matka” women were encouraged to support the proces of the reconstruction of the country throughbuying Polish products, see *ibid.*, no. 4, 14 IV 1929.

<sup>39</sup> Teresa KULAK, *Instytucjonalne organizowanie gospodarstwa domowego przez Związek Pań Domu w latach 1930–1939*, [in:] *Kobieta w gospodarstwie domowym. Ziemia polskie na tle porównawczym*, ed. Katarzyna SIERAKOWSKA, Grażyna WYDER, Zielona Góra 2012, pp. 183–184.

<sup>40</sup> Świat Kobiety, sup. Dzień Pomorza, no. 37, 11–13 IV 1936.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 48, 25–26 IV 1936.

<sup>42</sup> Uroda i Zdrowie, sup. Dzień Pomorski, no. 191, 20 VIII 1935.

<sup>43</sup> It is possible that the insignificant number of political issues touched upon in women’s magazines and supplements was caused by the fact that they were treated as the content typical of the general press. Such a thesis was put forward by Z. Sokół, see *eadem*, *op. cit.*, p. 7. However, it seems more probable that politics was considered to be in the focus of men’s interests.

<sup>44</sup> Świat Kobiety, sup. Dzień Pomorza, no. 169, 19–20 IX 1936.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 37, 11–13 IV 1936.

Beauty”] (later “Świat Kobiety” [“Women’s World”]).<sup>46</sup> In it, the articles on gender equality and social activity of women appeared mostly in the form of curiosities and were undoubtedly overshadowed by other content, particularly concerning fashion and beauty. And so, next to the notes entitled *Anna Stanisławska – pionierka polskiej literatury kobiecej* [“Anna Stanisławska – the pioneer of Polish women’s literature”] the editors placed an article titled *Letni strój pań* [“Summer Lady’s outfit”] which informed the readers about the latest fashion trends.<sup>47</sup> Side by side, an image of a woman pole-vaulter with a caption: *W pogoni za rekordami w sporcie kobiety nie ustępują w niczym mężczyznom* [“In the pursuit of sport records women are not secondary to men”], was a column called *Dobra gospodyni* [“The Good Housewife”] [with culinary recipes and an article titled *Czy rudowłose piękności są istotnie niebezpieczne?* [“Are red-head beauties dangerous indeed?”]].<sup>48</sup> Exceptions to the formula presented above happened very rarely.<sup>49</sup>

The profile of a “quasi modern” woman was also presented in a two-page long appendix to “Echo Borów Tucholskich” [“The Echo of Bory Tucholskie”] – “Echo Kobiety” [“The Women’s Echo”]. It often contained articles on fashion (*Krótką sukienka wychodzi z mody* [“Short dress goes out of fashion”]<sup>50</sup>), home decoration (*Hiacynty i tulipany jako ozdoba mieszkań zimą* [“Hyacinths and tulips as an ornament of interiors at wintertime”]<sup>51</sup>) and gossip columns (*Sensacyjne małżeństwo gwiazdy filmowej z miliarderem. Film, który stał się rzeczywistością* [“The sensational marriage of a film star and a billionaire. A film that has become reality”]<sup>52</sup>). At the same time it must be noted that this supplement frequently contained texts of a relatively high level of substance. Also, it often presented a broad and balanced argumentation and even showed a reporter’s engagement. In “Echo Kobiety” [“The Women’s Echo”] we find texts such as: *Kobiety w nauce* [“Women in Science”]<sup>53</sup> (the granting of the title of professor to Helena Grabowska and Cezaria Baudouin de Courtenay), *Policja kobieca* [“Women in the police”]<sup>54</sup> (describing the develop-

<sup>46</sup> The model for it could be a one-page “Kącik dla Pań,” a permanently appearing column in “Goniec Nadwiślański” with the most recent trends in fashion and short articles with advice.

<sup>47</sup> Uroda i Zdrowie, sup. Dzień Pomorski, no. 156, 9 VII 1935.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., no. 197, 27 VIII 1935.

<sup>49</sup> An example of such an exception was the article *Laureatka nagrody Nobla – Selma Lagerlöf a równouprawnienie kobiet* [“The Nobel Prize winner Selma Lagerlöf and the equality of women”], where it reads: “What can equal with a family? – there was only one answer that came to my mind – a state. A state, which so far has been created by men only. Does an ideal family exist? It does, but there are not many examples of a perfect family. Is there at least one ideal state? No, there is none. There is no perfect state, because women have not been allowed to contribute to its creation.” The frequency of the appearance of such texts was so rare that it could be treated only as a curiosity. Moreover, if they appeared, they referred to the canon of a mother-Pole (ibid., no. 163, 17 VII 1935).

<sup>50</sup> Echo Kobiety, sup. Echo Borów Tucholskich, no. 19, 1930.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., no. 28, 1930.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., no. 17, 1930.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., no. 33, 1930.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., no. 3, 1930.

ment of the phenomenon in Poland and the world), the *Wielkie wynalazki kobiety* ["Great inventions by women"]<sup>55</sup> (indicating the crucial role of women in the cultivation of land and pottery making) or *Dramat nieszczęśliwej kobiety* ["The Drama of an unhappy woman"]. The last of these articles is exceptional due to a public denouncement of psychological and physical violence against women, a subject hardly present in similar publications.<sup>56</sup>

A peculiar form of a press release was "Ognisko Domowe" ["The Homestead"], the free extra to "Dziennik Pomorski" ["The Pomeranian Daily"] and its rural mutation "Lud Pomorski" ["People of Pomerania"]. This weekly title, issued from 1924 combined a highly religious position with hearsay. This peculiar mishmash meant that, on one page, one could find mentions of the divine power and an article about the history of kissing, as well as an anecdote about an English heir to the throne.<sup>57</sup> While in the earlier period, the issue preferred to focus primarily on the development of the entertainment pages, over the years it became increasingly focused on its religious character. Subsequently, the first page was virtually in its entirety devoted to a fragment of the Gospel and its teaching, and increasingly the four-page-long appendix had only one page related to issues other than religious. In 1926 the name "Ognisko Domowe. Gazeta dla Kobiet" ["The Homestead. The Women's Paper"] was changed into "Ognisko Domowe oraz Gazeta dla Kobiet" ["The Homestead and The Women's Paper"]. In a further two years the contents basically got restricted to ecclesiastical affairs, and finally the word "woman" was removed from the title.<sup>58</sup>

The shift which occurred in just four years of the paper's existence, was clearly associated with the ongoing social changes after the First World War. In 1924, the newly liberated woman, recently freed from rigid conventions, wanted to read – next to gossip, tips for housewives or articles on *Jak znaleźć szczęście w małżeństwie?* ["How to find happiness in a marriage"]<sup>59</sup> – about the new Strauss opera *Helena Egipska* ["The Egyptian Helen"],<sup>60</sup> about *Kobieta w Indiach* ["Woman in India"], or a woman chauffeur.<sup>61</sup> However, already in 1925 this euphoric wave began to gradually fall. It does seem that women's preferences were not taken into consideration, as much as were they arbitrarily created. In April of that year, in the article *Kobieta dawniej i dziś* ["Woman in the past and today"] such statements

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., no. 4, 1930.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., no. 18, 1930. In the article the author positively comments on the acquittance of a woman by the president. She contributed to the death of her father, but was acquitted as she had been psychologically devastated by her father's treatment for years.

<sup>57</sup> Ognisko Domowe, no. 15, 28 IV 1925. In the National Library the periodical can be found by the entry number P.72860A, that is why only the number of the supplement is given.

<sup>58</sup> For example, in no. 20 of 1928 a set of articles looked as follows: an extract of *Fabiola* by Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman, *Gwoździe krzyżowe* (story), *Legenda o Chrystusie* etc.

<sup>59</sup> Ognisko Domowe, no. 40, 18 X 1925.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., no. 47, 6 XII 1925.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., no. 18, 17 V 1925.

could be found: "No-one will hinder the women's movement to seek education. It shall even be greeted with sincerity, due recognition, and best wishes for the future. But under one condition – a woman must not exit the domain which is most appropriate for her."<sup>62</sup> It was a clearly marked reaction manifesting a conservative response to the social transformation and political equality of women, which were present during and immediately after the war.<sup>63</sup>

A form similar to "Ognisko Domowe" ["The Homestead"] was adopted by the supplement to "Słowo Pomorskie" ["The Word of Pomerania"] – "Dom Rodzinny" ["The Family Home"]. In the early years, the title presented rather uniform content, but in time it began to develop quite well. In 1926, a sample number would include a part of the Gospel, practical knowledge (i.e. advice) and a fashion column. It was additionally topped up with rather trivial matters from the world, but to a lesser extent than the various types of short stories, anecdotes or poems.<sup>64</sup> In subsequent years, the proportions between the different components began to change to the benefit of self-help themes. Nevertheless, until the end of its existence, "Dom Rodzinny" ["The Family Home"] offered an interesting mix of topics, while representing a deeply religious woman and a housewife, who seeks the latest trends and gripping details.

The construct of the last type, "an active women," was undoubtedly strongly influenced by the postwar economic and political situation of the country. Economic instability and the large loss of men compelled many women to earn a living.<sup>65</sup> In "Ruch Kobiety na Pomorzu" ["The Pomeranian Women's Movement"] journalists wrote: "A Polish woman must be aware of her role in the life of the Nation and of the development of the State."<sup>66</sup> Commonly, the stance was the result of relationships between the publisher and a specific organization, i.e. the appendix "Głos Kobiety" ["The Voice of Women"] was a component of Women's Associations for Culture and Education. And "Ruch Kobiety na Pomorzu" ["Pomeranian

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., no. 15, 28 IV 1925.

<sup>63</sup> "Reakcja" (English: backlash), which means a conservative reaction to the extension of women's rights, is typical of the whole culture of the so called West; its mechanism was formed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and accompanied feminist movements from the very beginning. See Katarzyna PABIJANEK, *Backlash*, [in:] *Encyklopedia gender. Płeć w kulturze*, ed. Monika RUDAŚ-GRODZKA, Katarzyna NADANA-SOKOŁOWSKA, Agnieszka MROZIK, Kazimiera SZCZUKA, Katarzyna CZECZOT, Barbara SMOLEŃ, Anna NASIŁOWSKA, Ewa SERAFIN, Agnieszka WRÓBEL, Warszawa 2014, pp. 59–61. It is important to stress here that the backlash could be steered from the above in order to get more control over society or support from certain groups. In such a form the "backlash" appeared in Poland after WWII, in the period after Stalin's death, when the communist authorities needed it to legitimize its power and turned to the traditional family model. See Małgorzata FIDELIS, *Kobiety, komunizm i industrializacja w powojennej Polsce*, transl. Maria JASZCZUROWSKA, Warszawa 2015, pp. 257–258.

<sup>64</sup> Dom Rodzinny, no. 42, 22 X 1926. "Dom Rodzinny" also existed independently of the main periodical; that is why, the supplement number is provided.

<sup>65</sup> Anna NOWAK, Mirosław WÓJCIK, *Kobieta w rodzinie w II Rzeczypospolitej i współcześnie. Zagadnienia filozoficzne, społeczno-edukacyjne i prawne*, Katowice 2000, p. 29.

<sup>66</sup> Ruch Kobiety na Pomorzu, sup. Dzień Pomorza, no. 42, 18–19 IV 1936.

Women's Movement"] belonged to the Mediation Comity of Women's Organisations of Pomerania. It is because of that fact that in most magazines representative of this type, an extensive part of the published material was devoted to reports of upcoming meetings of the organizations, or to actions taken by them.

The primary objective of women's papers was the activation of women's circles. As a rule, women were summoned for taking part in social or political initiatives, for forming women's associations or cooperatives, and for exercising their civil rights. In these areas, political preferences were most clearly visible. For instance "Ruch Kobiety" ["The Pomeranian Women's Movement"] was inclined towards the Sanation movement. Depending on the political view they represented, the papers created an appropriate content: from tips, and the self-help articles, through appraisal of emancipation, to the religious-patriotic. "Głos Kobiety" ["The Women's Voice"], highlighting the National Labour Party, alongside numerous rows of patriotic verse against civil marriages and abortion, called simultaneously to the renewal of morals and the fight for labour rights. "Ruch Kobiety" ["The Pomeranian Women's Movement"] did not raise religious issues at all, and was instead quite keen on topics of social equality of women.

Parts of the model of an "active woman" can also be found in other previously mentioned magazines and supplements. For instance, "Ziemianka Pomorska" ["The Pomeranian Lady Landowner"], a component of the Circle of Village Housewives and connected to the Pomeranian Agricultural Society, served the objectives of the association which initiated its emergence. The Circle of Village Housewives in turn cared for expanding its activities, the general education of its members, as well as awakening their local activity and their intellectual interests. Consequently, in the magazine the texts frequently encouraged participation in agro-industrial exhibitions, announced the exchange of magazines among women, or organized lectures and encouraged participation<sup>67</sup> (e.g. in Kościerzyna a lecture on *Najprostsze wiadomości z chemii* ["The simplest information on chemistry"], in Sztum *Kościuszko i Pułaski w poezji polskiej* ["Kościszko and Pułaski in Polish poetry"]).<sup>68</sup> Also in the conservative "Dobra Gospodyni" ["The Good Housewife"], short notes encouraging women's development would sometimes appear. The magazine advertised, among others, the courses at peasant universities – "The only independent [magazine], and sponsored by the village Peasant University [...]. It is its objective to awaken the rural woman to creative tasks in the new rural culture."<sup>69</sup>

Usually these elements were linked to the contents focused on enhancing a sense of connection between women and the country. This was generally a characteristic element of the Pomeranian press publications, and particularly favoured

<sup>67</sup> Ziemianka Pomorska, sup. Kłosy, no. 21, 27 V 1923.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., no. 22, 3 VI 1923.

<sup>69</sup> Dobra Gospodyni, sup. Gazeta Grudziądzka, no. 27, 6 III 1934.

by the National Labour Party, which had a strong presence in the region.<sup>70</sup> And so, the calls for citizenship can be found in almost all magazines,<sup>71</sup> regardless of the political views they represented. Even in the “Ziemiańska Pomorska” [“Pomeranian Lady Landowner”], which lacked political substance, the authors urged women to be more involved in the affairs of the State. They wrote: “We, the women of the land, our hearts spilling over with hot love for the motherland, should be the link that connects the parties which sometimes feud about trifles.”<sup>72</sup> At the same time, however, as already mentioned, the place of the woman was seen as with her family and the attention to it still represented her constant attribute. As featured in “Gospodyni i Matka” [“Housewife and Mother”], the woman was both “the priestess of your hearth” and “the first soldier on the redoubt, fighting for the prosperity of the country.”<sup>73</sup>

What must be noted is that in the Pomeranian press, no feminist trend can be distinguished. This is nothing strange. The feminist movement of interwar Poland was concentrated in a small group of women and actually centred around two fairly elitist organizations: The Political Club of Progressive Women, and the Polish Association of Women with Higher Education.<sup>74</sup> Among all the Pomeranian magazines, “Ruch Kobiety na Pomorzu” [“The Women’s Movement in Pomerania”] was the most progressive. This was a periodical with a definite pro-Sanation stance, serving the interests of the ruling class. Its columns contained, as in other Sanation publications, pro-government propaganda. The very origin of the magazine was clearly connected to the electoral campaign, and from 1926, it followed a strategy from the Piłsudski government to exploit the potential of agitating women into building – in the course of its business activities with the Association – positive opinions and support for the ruling party.<sup>75</sup> In 1935, a supplement asked *Co kobiety polskie zawdzięczają Marszałkowi Piłsudskiemu?* [“What do Polish women owe Piłsudski?”] and outlined extensive actions to encourage electoral participation, reminding women of their civil responsibilities.<sup>76</sup>

Regardless of this, “Ruch Kobiety na Pomorzu” [“The Women’s Movement in Pomerania”] remained the strongest advocate for emancipation in the whole Pomeranian women’s press. It was characterized by the presence of small articles on

<sup>70</sup> In this case there was a conflict connected with the attitude towards the question of the uniting of Pomerania with the rest of the country. The government actions were supported by “Głos Robotnika” and “Obrona Ludu,” whilst local right-wing bodies from small towns were against. See W. PEPLIŃSKI, op. cit., p. 390 f.

<sup>71</sup> With the exception of “Dobra Gospodyni.”

<sup>72</sup> Ziemiańska Pomorska, sup. Kłasy, no. 3, 11 III 1923.

<sup>73</sup> Gospodyni i Matka, sup. Rolnik Polski, no. 4, 14 IV 1929.

<sup>74</sup> Dobrochna KAŁWA, *Model kobiety aktywnej na tle sporów światopoglądowych. Ruch feministyczny w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym*, [in:] *Równe prawa*, p. 148.

<sup>75</sup> Joanna DUFRAT, *Obóz rządzący w Polsce w latach 1926–1939 a aktywizacja kobiet*, [in:] *Meta-morfozy społeczne*, vol. 8, pp. 293–294.

<sup>76</sup> Ruch Kobiety na Pomorzu, sup. Dzień Pomorski, no. 184, 10–11 VIII 1935; no. 207, 7–8 IX 1935.

how to conduct the household. The achievements of women were cast in a positive light, as in the June 1935 issue, where are the articles about the literary work of Pola Gojawiczyńska, about a woman's altitude record in a sailplane, and the German film prize awarded to Leni Riefenstahl, here stressing the importance of winning against many exceptional male directors.<sup>77</sup> In the August 1935 issue, in the article *Kobieta kierowniczką radiostacji* ["Woman radiotelegraph station manager"], the high-flyers were described as "distinguished feminists."<sup>78</sup> In addition, the publication sought to stimulate women into action. They were encouraged to pursue a career – *Przygotowanie kobiet do pracy nad rozwojem ruchu spółdzielczego na Pomorzu* ["Preparing the women to work on the development of the co-operative movement in Pomerania"]<sup>79</sup> and the right to a career was asserted – *Protest Komisji Porozumiewawczych Pomorskich Organizacji Kobięcych przeciwko redukcjom kobiet zamężnych* ["A protest by the commission connecting Pomeranian women's organizations against reductions in the number of married women"].<sup>80</sup> The following January 1936 quote illustrates the significantly progressive nature of the supplement: "For women working professionally, work means not only money, but an element of her life, which legitimizes her existence, is a source of confidence, asserts its relevance, and is a weapon in the fight for an independent tomorrow."<sup>81</sup> In addition, it posted reports on various women's organizations, and next to the contents on the Union of Civic Women and the Society for the Rearing of the Physical Education Among Women were also reports on e.g. the activities of the Housewives' organisation in Toruń. "Ruch Kobięcy na Pomorzu" ["The Women's Movement in Pomerania"] thus aligned itself with the characteristics of the Sanation camp, which focused on the civic education of women and the direction of their activities.<sup>82</sup>

A feature common to all, even to the most progressive titles of the Pomeranian press, is to avoid socially controversial topics. Apart from a few exceptions, no mention was made of single mothers, marital violence, malnutrition, or housing problems. Intimate hygiene was also an avoided topic.<sup>83</sup> Health tips appeared frequently in the magazines but they focused on general health issues or child health. Striking is the lack in women's magazines of attention for women consciously deciding not to start a family, or women putting their professional development first. The Pomeranian publication cultivated the woman who is married, a mother. Sometimes she is gainfully employed, but her employment only serves to bring

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., no. 127, 1–2 VI 1935.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., no. 184, 10–11 VIII 1935.

<sup>79</sup> Ruch Kobięcy na Pomorzu, sup. Dzień Pomorza, no. 75, 28 V 1936.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., no. 1, 29 II – 1 III 1936.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., no. 24, 25–26 I 1936.

<sup>82</sup> D. KAŁWA, op. cit., p. 151.

<sup>83</sup> In the same vein, there did not exist articles concerning the problem of birth control. Tadeusz Boy-Żeleński addressed this issue, see Magdalena GAWIN, *Planowanie rodziny – hasła i rzeczywistość*, [in:] *Równa praca*, p. 234.

her family additional income in tough economic times,<sup>84</sup> and so she fulfills her civic duty. In most cases the woman leads the household with dedication – even “Ruch Kobiety na Pomorzu” [“The Women’s Movement in Pomerania”] posted recipes. This is often a woman smiling and well-dressed, who cleans, cooks, and brings up the children according to the latest pedagogical recommendations. At the same time a minimal male presence can be observed. He really appears in only two cases: in titles addressed to rural women, where marital cooperation concerning economic responsibilities is pointed out, and in gossip publications, as the protagonist in stories like *Kiedy mąż kocha i kiedy kochać przestaje* [“When does a man love and when is love no longer?”].<sup>85</sup> The inseparable association of the words “woman” and “family” were part of the natural order of things.

In scientific literature, the generally held view is that the traditional pattern of the family was particularly strongly rooted in the German part of the former Polish partition, which was supposed to effect the functioning of a strong societal layer of lower petty-bourgeois, adhering the Victorian system.<sup>86</sup> Not without significance were certainly the right-wing and Christian-democratic groups, constituting the main political power in the province, and the Catholic Church, a bastion of traditional customs.<sup>87</sup> Despite the relatively numerous content urging women to activities – gainful or civil engagement – it can however be concluded that the Pomeranian women’s press supported the traditional family model of the family, and subscribed to the general Polish norms.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>84</sup> In reference to the whole country the employment of women in the interwar period rose in comparison with earlier periods – mainly among burghers and intelligentsia. It did not change among female physical workers, who had been forced to earn a living. Janusz ŻARNOWSKI, *Praca zawodowa kobiet w Polsce międzywojennej*, [in:] *Kobieta i praca. Wiek XIX i XX*, ed. Anna ŻARNOWSKA, Andrzej SZWARC, Warszawa 2000, pp. 136–139. Perceiving the women’s work as additional employment is reflected in their remuneration – their salaries were significantly lower than those of men: in the case of women with secondary education it rose by 36,5%, while in the case of women with lower-secondary education by 25,7%. See Regina RENZ, *Praca zawodowa i pozycja kobiety w środowisku inteligencji prowincjonalnej w latach międzywojennych (na przykładzie Kielecczyzny)*, [in:] *ibid.*, p. 147.

<sup>85</sup> Świat Kobiety, sup. Dzień Pomorski, no. 19, 21–22 III 1936.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Roman WAPIŃSKI, *Kobiety i życie publiczne – przemiany pokoleniowe*, [in:] *Równe prawa*, p. 30. In the Polish territories under the Prussian occupation the following bodies operated under the area was taken over by the Polish administration: The General German Home Law (1794–1900) and the German Civil Code (from 1900), which sanctioned the total dependence of the woman to her male protector. A woman as an exemplary wife and mother was devoid of the status of the legal person. More about the situation of women in Western Prussia, see Aneta NIEWĘGŁOWSKA, *Średnie szkolnictwo żeńskie w Prusach Zachodnich w latach 1815–1914*, Toruń 2014, pp. 31–35.

<sup>87</sup> The evidence of the significance of the Catholic religion in Pomeranian province are the lists of the most popular titles – in 1936 four Catholic publishing houses issued four out of ten most popular periodicals in Pomerania, two of which occupied the first and second position. See W. PEPLIŃSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

<sup>88</sup> A similar type character was represented by “Moja Przyjaciółka,” one of the most popular women’s magazines. (Renata KNYSPEL-KOPEĆ, *Kobieta – gospodyni domowa w świetle czasopisma „Moja Przyjaciółka”*, [in:] *Kobieta w gospodarstwie*, p. 262 f).

Depending on the needs, women were offered successive obligations without ever removing her domestic responsibilities. Next to the attention to family and home (and so to cooking, cleaning, washing, sewing, dealing with children, preparation of dairy products), among the female obligations appeared others; primarily paying jobs.<sup>89</sup> Without exception, a job was seen only as a form of support that funds family finance, which in public opinion legitimized the worse wages, lower position and the ever-presence of the glass ceiling which strongly limited promotion opportunities. The press never saw any problem with this. Women's work, both at home and outside of it – with all the restrictions imposed – was often presented as the fulfillment of the obligation to the nation, which further tempered any potential civic activity of this group in other fields. The publication of similar content can be noted in the 1930s, in the period of the Great Depression.<sup>90</sup> The Pomeranian women's press often laid out how any possible free time of their readers may be spent, often encouraging them to deal with beauty care. Women were thus given successive burdens by trying to *de facto* have them serve their family and nation – seen as priorities, and all that wrapped in specific traditional limits. To a large extent, the nineteenth-century model continued apply. Only part of its components had changed, often inadequately so. Others stayed fixed or were slightly modified, and given a lining of the cloak of modernity.<sup>91</sup>

The Pomeranian women's press, although among its titles undoubtedly there were differences, and each of the editors usually had quite clear political opinions, cannot be precisely divided along the lines of political parties. Tested journals only occasionally (apart from "Ruch Kobiety na Pomorzu" ["The Women's Movement of Pomerania"]) added content relating to the current political situation in the country, and to only a small extent dealt with the civic education of women. In contrast to the general Pomeranian press, the German threat was also ignored.<sup>92</sup> More benevolently, the traditional duties women were addressed.

The interwar press was the only means of transferring information on such a large scale.<sup>93</sup> From the time when women formally became equal members of

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<sup>89</sup> About the work of women in the interwar period see in: J. ŻARNOWSKI, *Praca zawodowa*, pp. 119–140.

<sup>90</sup> At that time it was a tendency all over Poland. See Agnieszka JANIĄK-JASIŃSKA, *Unowocześnianie gospodarstwa domowego i wyposażenia mieszkań w Polsce międzywojennej*, [in:] *Równe prawa*, p. 197.

<sup>91</sup> See Regina RENZ, *Kobieta w społeczeństwie polskim w XIX i XX wieku*, [in:] *O kobietach. Studia i szkice. Wiek XIX i XX*, ed. Jadwiga HOFF, Rzeszów 2011, p. 35. Teresa Kulak wrote about this phenomenon as a paradox and asymmetry of social attitudes, see: T. KULAK, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

<sup>92</sup> The threat from the Germans and mutual relations between both states were a frequent subject matter in the Pomeranian daily press, see Ryszard MICHAŁSKI, *Obraz Rzeszy Niemieckiej na łamach polskiej prasy pomorskiej w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej (1920–1939). Studium z dziejów kształtowania się stereotypu wiedzy o rozwoju niemieckiego nacjonalizmu*, Toruń 1995, pp. 14, 19.

<sup>93</sup> Wiktor Pepliński also wrote about it in the introduction to his work, see W. PEPLIŃSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

society, theoretically completely new possibilities opened before them. Women had become a huge political power, making up around half of those entitled to vote in elections and winning their support could be decisive as never before for the very existence of a parliamentary party. Statistics on elections to the Sejm's legislative body clearly demonstrated that women are even more than half of the voting,<sup>94</sup> and are also more willingly than before to engage in the activities of various organizations.<sup>95</sup> Voting rights could no longer be taken away, but shaping the process of gender equality might be attempted. The granting of electoral rights for women only partially changed the border between the private sphere of women and the public sphere of men. Women still had to perform mainly in areas that are considered suitable for her. Thus throughout the country – including in the Pomeranian press – there is a discourse praising domestic work and glorifying the bringing up of children. At the same time, the two decades brought an increased popularity of scientific organization at home, which allowed for a sense of modernity and expertise.<sup>96</sup> In the Pomeranian press this was represented by most magazines. In the case of some of them, this sense still strengthened the portions of knowledge about the world served up to the readers, yet often stopped at fairly infantile curiosities.

At this point, it would fit to ask the question, to what extent journals and supplements had an impact on Pomeranian women. A small response may lie in the circulation of the magazines, but it must be remembered that this is not an ideal method. An exact number is possible in the case of titles alone, as the supplement circulation can only be regarded only as a guideline. In 1938, of the local Pomeranian publications, 72% was circulated inside the province. By analysing the data for 1936, the most widely-read title in Pomerania was "Obrona Ludu" ["The People's Defense"] with almost 13 000 readers.<sup>97</sup> "Dzień Pomorski" ["The Day in Pomerania"] had only half that at just over 6000 Pomeranian readers, but occasionally it sold even 15 000 copies.<sup>98</sup> Continuously, though, proceeds decreased, and the third in order of popularity was the "Gazeta Grudziądzka" ["Grudziądz Newspaper"] – in 1926 it reached 90 000 copies and a special edition for Pomerania enjoyed 21 000 readers. The 1930s caused a significant drop in the

<sup>94</sup> *Statystyka wyborów do Sejmu Ustawodawczego*, ed. Ludwik KRZYWICKI, *Miesięcznik Statystyczny*, 1920, vol. 2, no. 3–6, pp. 2–13.

<sup>95</sup> Grażyna SZELAŃGOWSKA, *Geneza społeczeństwa obywatelskiego a organizacje kobiece w Polsce niepodległej i czasach PRL – zarys problematyki*, [in:] *Działaczki społeczne, feministki, obywatelki... Samoorganizowanie się kobiet na ziemiach polskich po 1918 roku (na tle porównawczym)*, ed. Agnieszka JANIĄK-JASIŃSKA, Katarzyna SIERAKOWSKA, Andrzej SZWARC, Warszawa 2009, p. 18.

<sup>96</sup> A. JANIĄK-JASIŃSKA, op. cit., p. 190; Renata KNYSEL-KOPEĆ, *Gospodarstwo domowe jako firma w świetle prasy kobiecej*, [in:] *Metamorfozy społeczne*, vol. 9, pp. 231–233.

<sup>97</sup> "Obrona Ludu" was a magazine appearing in Pomerania, but it was read all over Poland. Its circulation was from 16 000 to 55 000 copies, in Pomerania in 1936 it reached the number of 12 952 readers, see W. PEPLIŃSKI, op. cit., pp. 33, 60.

<sup>98</sup> The circulation with local mutations, see pp. 35, 60.

“Gazeta Grudziądzka” [“Grudziądz Newspaper”] and in 1936 the number of readers in Pomerania stayed only within the limits of 2000.<sup>99</sup> A similar number is recorded for “Głos Wąbrzeski” [„The Voice of Wąbrzeźno”].<sup>100</sup> We do know that for the rural environment the most influential one was “Kłosy” [“Ears”], which reached 1500 copies in 1935,<sup>101</sup> and was the greatest effort for magazines dealing with agricultural issues relevant to Pomerania.

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As Roman Wapiński wrote; despite emancipation receiving such negligible coverage, further limited geographically only to larger urban centers,<sup>102</sup> without a doubt it can be concluded that the revised social situation and undermined traditional patterns of existence (including working women from the middle classes and the reduction in the number of servants) as well as the transfer of the discussion on the problems of everyday life to a public forum, at least recognized women as a topic.<sup>103</sup> Although earlier there had appeared publications addressed only to them, but these often had a very limited range; they were ephemeral, or served only as a forum for a particular organization to which all contents were related. The interwar period brought the development of the regional women's press women on an unprecedented scale. In the 1930s, a women's supplement became a staple among the most influential titles, or among those that had the intention to climb to this position. Undoubtedly, there was a demand for similar projects, but it also seems that the publishers themselves realized the potential of women as a slowly crystallizing customer group. In this context it is worth to reflect that emancipation should not be seen as a slow process of dressing women in a modern social fabric, of waking up aspirations and systematically broadening opportunities, but rather as a radical change in the position of women.

Despite the difficulties in establishing the impact of the content of the Pomeranian women's press on its readers, the presented analysis allows us to form certain ideas about Pomeranian women in the interwar period and the social context in which it operated. An overall picture is not possible only on the basis of the sources discussed here. Further research is therefore required for the other regions of Poland. This will eventually allow the everyday life of women in that era to emerge from the shadows.

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<sup>99</sup> Ibid., pp. 60, 129.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., p. 60.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., p. 141.

<sup>102</sup> R. WAPIŃSKI, *Kobiety*, p. 27.

<sup>103</sup> R. RENZ, *Kobieta w społeczeństwie międzywojennej*, p. 185.

Table 1

Magazines and supplements for women appearing in the Pomerania Province from 1920–1939

Title	Form of publishing	Date of publishing	Editor(s)
“Dobra Gospodyni” [“The Good Housewife”]	Appendix “Gazeta Grudziądzka” [“The Grudziądz Newspaper”]	1912–1938	Tadeusz Pokorski, Jan Zieliński
“Sprawy Kobiecte” [“Women’s Matters”]	Appendix “Głos Pomorski” [“The Voice of Pomerania”]	1921–1926	Maria Szmańdzina
“Ziemianka Pomorska” [“The Pomeranian Lady Landowner”]	Appendix “Kłosa” [“Ears”]	1922–1926	Maria Janta-Półczyńska
“Ognisko Domowe” [“The Homestead”]	Appendix “Dziennik Pomorski” [“The Pomeranian Daily”] and its rural affiliate “Lud Pomorski” [“The People of Pomerania”]	1924–1929	Leon Kum
“Dom Rodzinny” [“The Family Home”]	Appendix “Słowo Pomorskie” [“The Word of Pomerania”]	1925–1933	Maria Bogusławska; from 1928 interchangeably Andrzej Różański, Leon Kum, Waław Madejski, Edward Piszcz, Aleksander Wojder; from No 52 in 1931 onwards: no information
“Gospodyni i Matka” [“Housewife and Mother”]	Appendix “Rolnik Polski” [“The Polish Farmer”]	1926–1929	Jan Grabowski; from No 6 of 1927 on Aleksander Czarliński
“Echo Kobiecte” [“The Women’s Echo”]	Appendix “Echo Borów Tucholskich” [“The Echo of Bory Tucholskie”]	1929–1932	Otto Sabiniarz
Uroda i Zdrowie (“Świat Kobiety”) [Health and Beauty (“Women’s World”)]	Box in the „Dzień Pomorski” [“Day of Pomerania”] (from 1936 onwards „Dzień Pomorza” [“The Day in Pomorze”])	1929–1938	No information

“Gospodyni Pomorska” [“The Pomeranian Housewife”]	In the years 1930–1937 appendix “Kłosy” [“Ears”]. From 1937 stand-alone titles	1930–1939	Wanda Bogusławska; from No 5 of 1931: Zofia Skąpska; from No 4 of 1938: Jan Płazewski; from No 7 of 1938: Czesław Korewo
“Głos Kobiety” [“The Woman’s Voice”]	Supplement “Obrony Ludu” [“The People’s Defense”] and “Głos Robotnika” [“The Worker’s Voice”]	1931–1933	Franciszka Porazińska
“Poradnik Ziemianki Pomorskiej” [“Advisory for Pomeranian Women”]	Stand-alone title	1934	No information
“Ruch Kobiety na Pomorzu” [“The Women’s Movement of Pomerania”]	The supplement of “Dzień Pomorski” [“The Day in Pomerania”] (from 1936 “Dzień Pomorza” [“The Day in Pomorze”])	Redone	Janina Ginett-Wojnarowiczowa; from 1937 Maria Neymanowa
“Świat Kobiety” [“World of Women”]	Appendix of “Głos Wąbrzeski” [“The Voice of Wąbrzeźno”] (from 1937 “Głos Pomorza” [“The Voice of Pomerania”])	1937	No information

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# DAS THEMATISCHE PROFIL VON FRAUENZEITSCHRIFTEN DER ZWISCHENKRIEGSZEIT IN DER WOJEWODSCHAFT POMMERN – EIN PROBLEMAUFRISS

## Zusammenfassung

**Schlüsselwörter:** Lokalpresse, gesellschaftliche Rollen, Pressebeilagen, Feminismus, Gender Studies, Pressemarkt, Gleichberechtigung der Frauen, Pressediskurs, Essentialismus, kulturelle Muster

Auf dem Verlagsmarkt in Pommern waren Frauenzeitschriften in der Zwischenkriegszeit immer noch eine Neuheit und geradezu ein Experiment. Aber die Redaktionen am Ort erkannten schnell die Möglichkeiten, die in ihnen steckten, vor allem die Erweiterung des Leserkreises einzelner Zeitungen. Bis zum Ende der 1920er Jahre erschienen in der untersuchten Region acht Titel, die sich mit Frauenthemen befassten, alle in Form von Beilagen. Das folgende Jahrzehnt brachte fünf weitere Publikationen dieser Art, darunter zwei selbstständige.

Frauenbeilagen besaßen die Presseorgane aller wichtigen politischen Kräfte in der Wojewodschaft: "Gazeta Grudziądzka" ("Dobra Gospodyni", Die gute Hausfrau), "Słowo Pomorskie" ("Dom Rodzinny", Das Familienheim) und "Dzień Pomorski" ("Ruch Kobiety na Pomorzu", Die Frauenbewegung in Pommern). Eine Analyse des Inhalts der Frauenbeilagen und -zeitschriften, die in der Wojewodschaft Pommern erschienen, hat gezeigt, dass man sie bezüglich des Inhalts in drei Gruppen einteilen kann, die folgende Typen repräsentieren: die Hausfrau, die quasi-moderne Frau und die aktive Frau, wobei sich diese Typen häufig überlappen. Die pommerschen Frauenzeitschriften unterschieden sich nicht wesentlich von den Titeln, die in anderen Regionen des Landes herausgegeben wurden und sahen die Frauen weiterhin in der stereotypen Rolle der Mutter, Ehefrau und Wächterin des heimischen Herds.

# THE THEMATIC PROFILE OF THE INTERWAR PRESS FOR WOMEN IN THE POMERANIAN PROVINCE – THE OUTLINE OF THE PROBLEM

## Summary

**Key words:** local press, social roles, press supplements, feminism, gender studies, press market, equality of men and women, press discourse, essentialism, cultural models

Women's press in the Pomeranian publishing market in the interwar period constituted a new, or even experimental, phenomenon. Local editorial offices quickly noticed the opportunities women's press provided. By the end of the 1920s there had been issued eight

titles of women's press – all in the forms of supplements. The next decade brought another five titles – including two independent periodicals.

Women's press supplements were issued by the press bodies of all the most important political parties in the province: "Gazeta Grudziądzka" ("Dobra Gospodyni"), "Słowo Pomorskie" ("Dom Rodzinny"), "Dzień Pomorski" ("Ruch Kobiety na Pomorzu"). The analysis of the content of the supplements and women's magazines issued in the Pomeranian Province showed that they could be divided into three types: presenting a woman as a housewife, a quasi-modern woman, and an active woman. The types frequently overlapped each other. The Pomeranian press for women did not differ greatly from the titles issued in other regions of Poland. It continued to view a woman as a mother, wife and caretaker of hearth and home.

