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## Family and Parenthood of Polish Girls Scouts and Polish Boy Scouts in the Years 1911–1939 and 1939–1945

The paper discusses the issues of family and parenthood in the education pedagogies of Polish scouting organisations in the years 1911–1939 and 1939–1945. It analyses source materials of Polish scouting organisations, the Polish Scouting and Guiding Association ZHP (Związek Harcerstwa Polskiego), the Polish Girl Scouts Organisation/Clover Association/Be Ready (Organizacja Harcerek/Związku Koniczyn/Bądź Gotów), the Grey Ranks (Szare Szeregi), the Polish Scouting Regiments (Hufce Polskie). In those years, there were different dominating pedagogies of educating Polish boy scouts and girl scouts. The pedagogies addressed to Polish girl scouts, focused on indoctrinating girls into the roles of mothers raising future generations and complementing the man. In the latter period, the bravery of women was included in those pedagogies, as well as their vocational training, but only in professions that were socially useful. Pedagogies addressed to Polish boy scouts were more stable. The following two types were alternately dominant: the soldier and the citizen, whereas the theme of family and parenthood is mentioned directly only in the period 1939–1945, in the Polish Scouting Regiments organisation.

**Keywords:** Polish girls scouts, Polish boy scouts, family, parenthood, Polish scouting

### **Rodzina i rodzicielstwo skautek, skautów, harcerek i harcerzy w latach 1911–1939 i 1939–1945**

W artykule poruszono kwestie rodziny i rodzicielstwa w pedagogiach wychowania harcerskiego, skautowego, w latach 1911–1939, 1939–1945. Analizie poddano materiały źródłowe organizacji skautowych, Związku Harcerstwa Polskiego, Organizacji Harcerek/Związku Koniczyn/Bądź Gotów, Szarych Szeregów, Hufców Polskich. W analizowanych latach dominowały różne pedagogie wychowania harcerek i harcerzy. W pedagogiach adresowanych do harcerek i skautek akcentowano inkulturację do ról matki, wychowawczyni przyszłych pokoleń, która miała być uzupełnieniem mężczyzny. W drugim okresie pojawiły się wątki dzielności

kobiet oraz przygotowanie do życia zawodowego, jednakże w zawodach, które są społecznie pożyteczne. Pedagogie, których adresatami byli harcerze i skauci, cechowała większa stałość. Naprzemiennie dominowały dwa typy: żołnierza i obywatela, wątek rodziny i rodzicielstwa pojawia się bezpośrednio tylko 1939–1945 w organizacji Hufce Polskie.

**Słowa kluczowe:** polskie harcerki, polscy harcerze, polskie skautki, polscy skauci, polski skauting, rodzina, rodzicielstwo

## Foreword

For more than a hundred years, Polish scouting<sup>1</sup> organisations have attracted youth and adults to specific Polish scouting and ideals. Members of the respective associations raise new generations according to specific educational programmes, which concern, in particular: patriotism, citizenship, respect for the nature and brotherhood<sup>2</sup>. In this paper, I will analyse whether the Polish scouting pedagogy<sup>3</sup> extends also to the area of the family and parenthood and, if it does, then to what extent. I intended to discuss this issue without making gender-based distinctions, but, following a preliminary analysis of source materials, which contained different descriptions of girls/women and boys/men, I decided to divide the article into the family and parenthood of: Polish girl scouts and Polish boy scouts and from scouting organisations: the Polish Scouting and Guiding Association ZHP in the period 1911–1939, and the Polish Girl Scouts Organisation/Clover Association/Be Ready, the Grey Ranks, the Polish Scouting Regiments in the period 1939–1954. Having analysed the literature<sup>4</sup> concerning the period of my interest, I found out that there was only one book directly discussing the family and parenthood published in that period. It was Marian Wolanczyk's book entitled *Dom – szkoła – skauting. Trójkąt wychowawczy (Home – School – Scouting – the Educational Triangle)* published in 1919. Accordingly, these deliberations are based on

<sup>1</sup> The term “Polish scouting” used in the article covers two Polish scouting categories: “harcerstwo” and “skauting”.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. K. Marszałek (2016). *Dziedzictwo, którego nie można odrzucić. Próba interpretacji wybranych źródeł do dziejów Związku Harcerstwa Polskiego w latach 1918–2015*. Kraków: Oficyna Wydawnicza IMPULS.

<sup>3</sup> I assume that the Polish scouting pedagogy is a universal method of enculturating (supporting individual development and at the same time socialising) children and youth in scouting, which is a unique (due to its specific features) socialising environment (ibid., p. 139).

<sup>4</sup> Based on the books W. Błażejowski (1981). *Bibliografia Harcerska 1911–1960*, Warszawa: Młodzieżowa Agencja Wydawnicza and K. Marszałek (2018). *Harcerska lista (nie)obecności. Analiza polskiej bibliografii harcerstwa za lata 1989–2017*. Kraków: Oficyna Wydawnicza IMPULS.

an analysis of source materials that only mention the family and parenthood. The analysed materials included: statutes, resolutions, ideological declarations, manifestos, commentaries, newspaper articles, books<sup>5</sup>. I found the documents<sup>6</sup> in the Archiwum Akt Nowych Archives in Warsaw<sup>7</sup>, The Polish Scouting Association Museum in Warsaw<sup>8</sup> and in my own resources.

<sup>5</sup> Publications from the series of Oficyna Wydawnicza IMPULS „Przywrócić Pamięć” and available in the Digital Library Polona.

<sup>6</sup> Almost all of those documents were published in: K. Marszałek (2014). *Wybór źródeł do dziejów ZHP*. Vol. 1. *Utworzenie ogólnopolskiego Związku Harcerstwa Polskiego i czas próby ruchu harcerskiego (1918–1944)*. Kraków: Oficyna Wydawnicza IMPULS. I also used sources previously published in two books: 1. *Szare Szeregi. Związek Harcerstwa Polskiego w czasie II Wojny światowej, Główna Kwatera Harcerzy „Pasieka”*. *Ocalałe Dokumenty* (1982). Londyn: Polonia Book Fund. 2. G. Ciura (1998). *Pełnić służbę Bogu i Polsce, Harcerstwo Polskie („Hufce Polskie”) 1939–1945*. Warszawa: Alfa.

<sup>7</sup> I researched the units:

– 76, Archives of the Polish Scouting Association, years 1913–1939. I checked the following files: 1. Scouting organisation in 1913–1920, Scouting Headquarters in Lvov and ZHP Headquarters 2. ZHP Chief commanders 1918–1939 files General Assembly; files Secretariat General; Files concerning the organisation; General correspondence and materials concerning the organisation; Correspondence with state and authorities and institutions, editorial offices, courts; Internal correspondence and assorted materials; Central Museum, 3. The Main Headquarters 1918–1939, Department for Military Training, Correspondence, 4. ZHP publications 1914–1938, Newspaper files, 2597. – 2278, Polish Academy of Science, History Institute in Warsaw, Totalitarian Systems and the History of World War II Unit, years 1928–1956, 1957–2005. Files: The Grey Ranks documents – originals, copies, file no. S/122; Response to the survey of the Historical Commission of ZHP Chief commanders, file no. S/124, Grey Ranks materials – copies from Florian Marciniak and Eugeniusz Stasiecki archives, file no. S/125; Materials from scoutmaster Edward Zürn’s archives – notes, instructions, articles, file no. S/7; Documents from the period 1942–1945, including from Witold Dunin-Wilczyński’s archives concerning the Grey Ranks, file no. S/14; Materials from ZHP archives from the period 1939–1945, book I, Warsaw 1946, file no. S/14; Materials from scoutmaster Edward Zürn’s archives – documents from the period of occupation, file no. S/18; Response to the survey of the Historical Commission of ZHP Chief commanders, file no. S/26; Guidelines for the organisation and activity of Grey Ranks, file no. A288/65; Girl Scout Organisation 1939–1945 – Girl Scout Emergency Headquarters – ZHP Chief commanders, file no. 2/11; Girl Scout Organisation 1939–1945 – individual accounts, memories, file no. 2/10; Girl Scout Organisation 1939–1945 – documents from the period 1939–1945 – copies of originals or preserved copies, file no. 2/12; Girl Scout Organisation 1939–1945 – documents from the period 1939–1945 – copies of originals or preserved copies, file no. 2/51.

<sup>8</sup> I reviewed: 1. printed documents: ZHP statutes, documentation from ZHP Assemblies, “Official Information” from ZHP Chief commanders, 2. periodicals: *Harc mistrz*, *Harcerz*, *Skaut*, *Skrzydła*, *Na Tropie*, *Harcerstwo*, 3. In the Archives, I reviewed the unit 39–45, Files collection 1939–1944.

## 1. 1911–1939<sup>9</sup>

### 1.1. The Polish girl scout: the mother and educator of future generations, the housewife and a complement to the man

In the first British scouting book, published in 1912, dedicated solely to girls and women, the author, Agnes Baden-Powell defines the role of a British girl scout:

“The woman as a mother and educator of future generations serves as a Guide in daily life. It is her duty to complement the man and help him in his life struggle, but she should not imitate him, even in his childish games and pastimes” (Baden-Powell, 1914, p. 5). She also emphasised that

We should never imitate men. It is better to stay within our innate borders of occupations and duties and try to develop the traits of character that may make the female life struggle easier and strive for perfection in the conditions and relationships that we must find ourselves in. It is much more difficult to be a real woman than to become a failed man. A nice and kind girl is liked by all and becomes a bright ray in the life of its environment, because she knows how to soothe suffering and bring help to those tired of hard labour. (ibid., p. 13).

And then “The purpose of the exercise is to make girls develop independence. Readiness to fulfil their duties, ability to run the house and raise children are the characteristics of every Girls Guide, because her goal is to make herself and her community happy” (ibid., p. 7).

The Polish translation of the above book, made by Kazimiera Skrzyńska and published in 1914 also emphasised that the woman should be

ready to fulfil the most important obligation in the life of a woman – raise future citizens. Poland had great people – raised by heroic mothers. A Guide should first raise herself so that later, she can guide the lives of others, help them develop strength, bravery, honesty, eagerness to work and readiness to serve their brothers (ibid., p. 15).

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<sup>9</sup> In those years, the British scouting, international scouting and Polish scouting movements developed. I analysed the Polish scouting movement that developed on Polish lands (the Polish state did not exist before 1918 and Polish scouting organisations were established in territories governed by the three occupants) and in the Republic of Poland. I make references to the publications of Agnes Baden-Powell and Robert Baden-Powell, which, although addressed to British scouting and international scouting organisations, were translated to Polish and influenced the development of the Polish scouting movement. It is also important for these deliberations that on 28 November 1918, Polish women received the same voting rights as men.

In 1917, it was emphasised that “The goal of the Polish Girl Scouts Association is to educate young women to be good citizens who can work for independent Poland and are brave, morally and physically strong and able to live in the society” (Opieńska-Blauth, 1988, p. 47) The roles of the mother, citizen and protector of the family and the home reflected the social and cultural expectations of girls and women of those times. Ewa Grodecka, describing in 1936 the beginnings of the Polish female scouting movement, stated that:

Polish female scouting, probably the same as female scouting in any other country, encountered much more difficulties than male scouting. Male scouting did not propose a new ideal of a person, rather, it set a new path for achieving the ideal, which did not make the movement revolutionary. Polish female scouting, by making a girl independent, joined the women’s emancipation movement. No wonder then that the majority of the older society worried that awakening in a girl the activity of her innate powers, the way Polish scouting did it, and making her a full and independent person would collide with her duties as a wife and a mother, contributing to the breakup of the family. Is it not that strength and fortitude rule out the love of people and the ability to bring order, peace and serenity to one’s environment? The leaders of the Polish female movement believed that would not be the case and the “womanhood” would not be harmed by the scouting school; to the contrary – it would be strengthened by the consciousness of strength and fullness of life and an increased sense of duty, serenity and resourcefulness in tackling with hardships and obstacles in life would always be desirable (Grodecka, 1937, p. 62–63).

The difference between boy scouts and girl scouts was emphasised. Even Robert Baden-Powell did so in his book, stating that: “The girl scout association is a sister organisation that educates girls according to similar, though obviously differing in details, rules and principles (1938, p. 16). Also in Poland, it was accentuated that:

Polish girl scouts work differently than boy scouts, although they have a lot in common with them. What makes them similar to Polish boy scouts is their willingness to serve the national interest and learning to cope in any circumstances. This way, Polish girl scouts will be developing their characters and learning to be good Polish citizens. The plan of the Polish girl scout organisations, however, has no room for imitating the militarism or field drills of Polish boy scouts (Polish, 1913, p. 5).

This attitude was reaffirmed at the second ZHP Assembly (1922), when it was decreed that the members of the Association would be obliged to participate

in physical exercises and military training. A document determining the principles of cooperation between ZHP and the Ministry of Military Affairs stated that ZHP would conduct military training of its members on a regular basis. All the ZHP military training programmes were to be discussed with the Chiefs of the Ministry of Military Affairs<sup>9</sup>. (Document, p. 82–83). Also, ZHP undertook to introduce in its regulations the obligation of every Polish boy scout to obtain the rank of private (or non-commissioned officer). Polish girl scouts were supposed to qualify in one of the auxiliary military services (Document, p. 84–85). In 1923, at a conference of ZHP Chief commanders and Ministry of Military Affairs, the following principles of the military training of Polish girl scouts were determined:

The goal of Polish female scouting is to provide comprehensive education to the woman-citizen, capable both of home and family life, conscientious and persistent professional work and considerable effort for the state at times of peace and war. 1. Polish female scouting prepares for auxiliary service in the event of war, mainly through rational moral and physical education and through the entire programme covering a system of tests and skills. [...] Professional auxiliary military skills include: military medical assistance, communication, logistics, education.

Preparing women for auxiliary military service included: general military training and specialist training. Girls scouts could obtain a certificate of general military training by completing the 1st degree Samaritan course, which covered: topography, handling weapons, communication, army organisation, poison gases (general knowledge, defence, rescue). The lectures and classes in this course were restricted to girls aged above 16 years (Letter, p. 85–86).

Not all girls scouts followed the restricted programme of action offered to them<sup>10</sup>.

## 1.2. Polish boy scout: soldier, citizen

In this period, the two dominant types in Polish scouting education were: the soldier and the citizen. The two were interconnected.

Aleksander Kamiński, when comparing British scouting and Polish scouting, emphasised that “Poland is located at a different latitude than the UK, it is inhabited by a different nation than British people and its social system [...] and politi-

<sup>10</sup> Those were, for example, Zofia Plewińska and Wanda Gertz. The latter tried to enlist into the army using the false ID of Kazimierz Żuchowicz and the help of her Scout Leader. See: A. Nowakowska (2009). *Wanda Gertz. Opowieść o kobiecie żołnierzu*. Kraków: Avalon.

cal development are different” (2001, p. 23). Polish scouting “while maintaining a vivid link with its prototype, has developed its unique format in many elements. First of all, it bears a strong military stigma. The ideal of service is first and foremost understood as serving to defend the country. The concept of «loyalty» is replaced with that of «discipline»” (ibid.).

The resolutions of ZHP General Assemblies of the years 1920-1932 called for “educating such citizens who, if need be, would willingly reach out for arms and, with the training received as scouts, quickly organise an army the members of which would have the qualities of a good soldier [...]” (Abstract, p. 65–66).

Then “[...] the goal of the overall military training of boy scouts should be to ensure that, if a situation required defending the country, the Polish Scouting Organisation would be ready to stand in the ranks of the defenders of the Homeland, fully aware of their civic and military duties and trained to perform those duties” (Resolutions II, p. 70).

Promoting such model of education was in line with the overall trend of those times, which was to exert impact on the entire society through various associations. One proof of this is the “Regulations of military training in associations in D.O.K. IV” According to this document: “the idea of military training adopted by the Chief commanders of the Polish Army is to prepare the entire nation to defend the country’s borders and independence. The purpose of military training is to prepare citizens both mentally and physically to perform the above duties of citizens – defenders of the state” (Regulations).

Military education in Polish scouting was supposed to be based on physical education emphasising self-reliance, as “developing self-reliance already in young boys is one of the first needs in training a contemporary soldier” (Presentation). The ultimate goal of physical education was to be “health: physical, moral, intellectual, which would serve the perfection of the race, whose final value is reflected in the thought, will and action” (ibid.).

Union Delegates at the II Assembly (1921) cut short the discussion – in the association – on the education of boy scouts – soldiers. The instructors discussed how to reconcile two contrary postulates: “1. The boy scout is forbidden to kill [...] and 2. Educating the boy scout – soldier” (Presentation). It was determined that the conclusion that a boy scout was educated for peace whereas a soldier – for war was wrong. The contradiction was reconciled by adding a comment to the former postulate that killing was forbidden, unless absolutely necessary (ibid.).

Also the Ministry of Military Affairs emphasised that: “[...] the soldier and the boy scout is one and the same, and the differences are minimal (Colonel Krauss’ speech), later [...] the duty of Polish scouting is to help the state defend the country” (General’s speech).

The type of boy scout-citizen was promoted in the early stages of the development of British scouting and Polish scouting. This is how Robert Baden-Powell defined the goal of British scouting education:

– “to replace egoism with service, to educate a boy to become a morally and physically valuable individual who will use his value for social service. By this, I do not mean only serving in the Army or Navy, neither the goals nor the means of our education are militaristic; what I mean here is the ideal of serving fellow-men” (1938, p. 10).

– “to improve the standard of our future citizenship, especially in Character and Health; to replace Self with Service, to make the lads individually efficient, morally and physically, with the object of using that efficiency for social service. Citizenship has been defined briefly as «active loyalty to the community»” (1998, p. 25).

In 1936, education aimed at developing a Polish boy scout-citizen ceased to be dominant (the association determined that the main reasons for changing the direction were the socio-political conditions of those times (Resolution XIII, p. 120). At the XVI Assembly (1936), the Polish boy scout-soldier was once again promoted: The Assembly

calls on the Polish boy and girl scouts to earnestly implement the ideological testament left to Poland by Marshal Piłsudski, which involves constantly strengthening one’s sense of Poland’s moral power and military spirit. In this, the scouting association will always remain closely linked with the Polish Army as the Guarantor of the Independence of the State. At the same time, the General Assembly concludes that, given the current political situation in Europe, ensuring full readiness to defend the country is urgently needed and it must become the goal of an organised effort of the entire society (Motion, p. 125).

The preparedness of Polish boy scouts to perform the role of boy scouts-soldiers was to be tested in the year 1939. In that year, ZHP declared that Polish boy and girl scouts were ready “to fulfil all the orders of the Chief Commander fighting for the greatness of Poland and fame of the Nation [...] and, in the face of the war, [...] they will stand to fight side by side with our victorious Army, which will beyond any doubt reinforce the fame of the Polish name and honour” (Resolution XVII, p. 132).

## 2. 1939–1945<sup>11</sup>

I will present the pedagogy of Polish scouting education<sup>12</sup> at the time of war and occupation on the basis of a review of documents of selected Polish scouting organisations: the Polish Girl Scouts Organisation/Clover Association/Be Ready (Organizacja Harcerek/Związku Koniczyn/Bądź Gotów), the Grey Ranks (Szare Szeregi), the Polish Scouting Regiments (Hufce Polskie). They were underground organisations and their documents have survived and are available. Of course, there were more underground Polish scouting organisations.

### 2.1. Polish girl scout

Both underground organisations analysed by me discussed the role of girl scouts in families and their parenthood. Girl scouts, as “brave women” were supposed to learn to serve the society, which included learning a profession, but one that would be “Socially useful”.

#### 2.1.1. The Polish Girl Scouts Organisation/Clover Association/Be Ready

The programme of action was developed before the outbreak of World War II and it was published in the form of guidelines of the Girl Scout Emergency Service Headquarters<sup>13</sup> on the role of service in Polish scouting. This document states the goal of Polish female scouting is “to educate a person whose dominant trait is an attitude of dedicating one’s life to the service of others. This may only be achieved by developing such attitude to service that it becomes the goal for every girl. By this, we mean service in all aspects of a girl’s life: at home, at school, at work, in social service and in the organisation” (Guidelines, p. 257–258).

A girl scout was supposed to serve Poland by undertaking various activities, such as:

- b) managing the service of individuals at home and in the family (at work, in civic life, etc.);

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<sup>11</sup> The time of World War II, when the Polish state was under German and Soviet occupation and some of the Polish scouting organisations continued to operate underground.

<sup>12</sup> I did not find source materials concerning Polish scouting – “skauting” – organisations discussing issues of relevance for these deliberations.

<sup>13</sup> The Polish Girl Scout Emergency Service was established by the order of the Chief Leader of the Polish Girl Scouts of 24 September 1938 in association with the campaign in Zaolzie.

c) organising the activities of Polish girl scouts and scouting units outside the association involving:

- increasing the level of the home and family as the basic units that guarantee the internal force of the nation and State,
- serving the wellbeing of a child as a future citizen of Poland,
- increasing the value of the work of individuals and their professional training,
- serving in order to increase the security inside the country and its external defence; [...]

4) managing independent field units of the Polish Girl Scouting Association of different nature, such as educational, educational-medical, child care, economic, manufacturing, sport and tourism and other units (Annex, p. 128–129).

Based on the surviving documents the following activities of girl scouts in the underground period may be reconstructed – cf. figure 1.

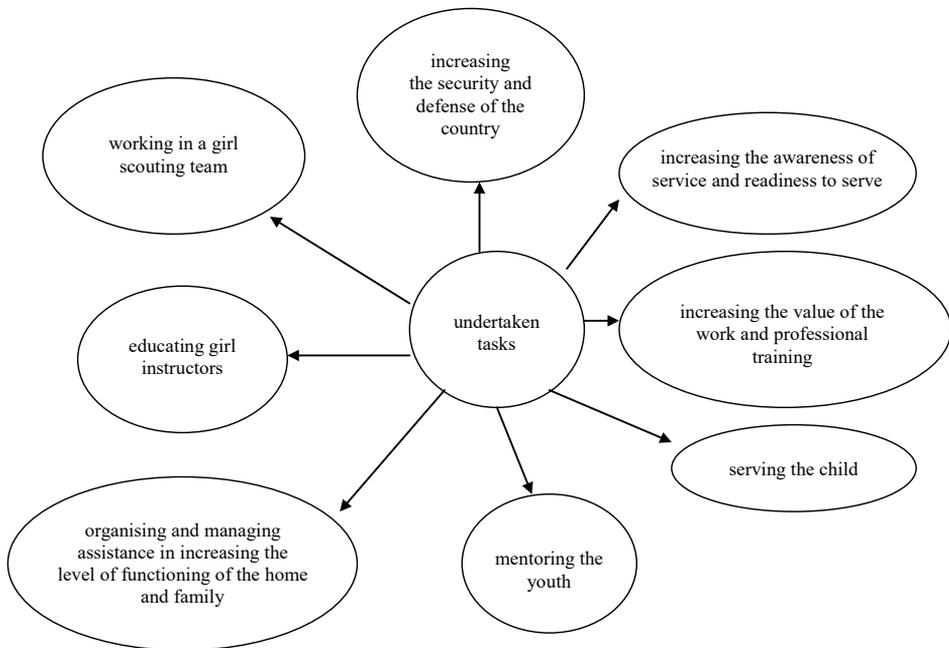


Figure 1. Activities to be undertaken by Polish girl scouts according to documents

Source: Marszałek (2016), p. 62

### 2.1.2. The Polish Scouting Regiments

A book by Stanisław Sedlaczek of 1941 outlines the ideological and organisational foundations and the pedagogy of educating Polish girl scouts. The author states that a Polish girl scout is a brave woman in the broadest meaning of the term (1941, p. 358). She is

in every respect a worthy sister of Christian knights. She follows into the footsteps of brave and noble Polish women. She combined bravery with wisdom, ability to do great things and perseverance in daily hardships. She can reconcile serving Poland and fellow-men and serving her own family, bearing in mind the fact that the family is a basic unit of the Nation. Such women were Queen Jadwiga, General Zamojski's wife and many other nameless and devoted Polish female fighters (*ibid.*, p. 357).

The association set the paths for Polish scouting to pursue its goals. Two of them directly concerned the family, including the parenthood of Polish girl and boy scouts.

d) Fostering Polish scouting ideals in the families of boy and girls scouts and striving to closely unite those families with Polish scouting. Polish scouting organisations invite the families and guardians of boy and girl scouts to cooperation. They focus in particular on those boy and girl scouts who already have established their own families and tries to bind them with the Polish scouting as closely as possible. This way, by feeding their Catholic and national ideologies to families and bringing the younger and older generations closer through joint work in one field and according to the same principles, Polish scouting organisations help strengthen the culture of family life in Poland.

e) Instilling the belief that true labour for the God and the Nation begins in the family in Polish boy and girl scouts. Polish scouting organisations teach that only good, wise and brave families can make the Nation. Thus, they strive to achieve full harmony between the work of the youth in the organisation and their family life. They are also of the opinion that the family is the basic social unit and family obligations are no less important than obligations towards the organisation, as some of its young members wrongly think (*ibid.*, p. 365).

Also, the principles of cooperation between Polish scouting organisations and the families of boy and girl scouts were formulated "To bind the families of Polish boy and girl scout with the organisation and to enable their close cooperation with the organisation as well as to ensure the moral and material support of the society for Polish scouting organisations" (*ibid.*, p. 367).

## 2.2. Polish boy scout

In this period, the same as in the years 1911–1939, there were two dominant types in the pedagogies of educating Polish boy scouts: that of the soldier and the citizen. Also, the Polish Scouting Regiments organisation focuses on the family and parenthood of boy scout, as was discussed above.

### 2.2.1. The Grey Ranks

The pedagogy of the Grey Ranks was developed to support three areas of work: work for today – serving the Polish Underground State; work for tomorrow – preparing for armed combat; work for the day after tomorrow – preparing to serve the Independent Polish State (Guidelines for the Plan, p. 119).

Different activities were planned for different age groups of the members: 1<sup>st</sup> group – ages 13 to 16; 2<sup>nd</sup> group – ages 16 to 19; 3<sup>rd</sup> group – ages 19 to 25.

Those age groups functioned in the organisation since 1942:

“In the first phase, the gravity point was [placed – K.M.] on the older youth, those who were mature enough to fight in the war as soldiers. In the next phase, we extended our reach to younger groups. For conspiracy reasons, we focused on youth aged above 16 years in the first place” (Briefing speech, p. 321–322).

The guidelines for the activity of the Grey Ranks, which probably date to the year 1940, present the following pedagogy of the organisation in that period:

At times like this, the childhood is shorter and young people grow up faster and become interested in serious problems and start thinking like adults faster. [...] What values should we propose to young people as a self-education ideal? We create our own type of a new Pole, the Pole of Tomorrow, who is not only able to defend the country, but also prepared to act in a creative and broad manner. We build our own type based on Polish knightly, military and democratic traditions and the tradition of many centuries of resistance - we do not look for foreign models and we reject today's suggestions /Nazism, fascism, communism/. We use what we get today to develop a self-education model. The attempts we make today will build the character of the future. The man of the future is a man of labour, strong and noble (Activity Guidelines, p. 281–282).

### 2.2.2. The Polish Scouting Regiments

Stanisław Sedlaczek wrote that a boy scout of the Polish Scouting Regiment was a “Christian soldier” (1941, p. 358). He claimed that

when developing and building a scouting type of a Pole, one must always take into consideration the following three things: This is associated with the irresistible need to associate scouting education with the Catholic religion. [...] The second consequence is a strong bond between Polish scouting and the national tradition, preparing Polish scouts to be a part of the history of the Nation. Rejecting the principles of the class conflict and international subordination of the Nation to foreign goals. [...] Thirdly, one must remember that Polish scouting could not be and cannot be, at the current stage of social development, a mass organisation. The high ethical requirements and the requirement of certain fondness of – a sort of vocation for the military status, mean that not everybody is fit to be a member of the Polish scouting movement. Polish scouting is not the only or even the best way to national reconstruction. It would be shallow megalomania and untrue to say so. But, Polish scouting in itself is a beautiful and good way for youth who have the scouting vocation and are of a special, military type and fond of goodness (ibid., p. 357–358).

## Conclusions

The analysis of Polish scouting documents substantiates the thesis that in the years 1911–1939 and 1939–1945, Polish scouting organisations had different dominant pedagogies of educating Polish girl scouts and Polish boy scouts. The pedagogy addressed to Polish girl scouts in 1911–1939 focused on developing the roles of: mothers, educators of future generations, housewives who were supposed to complement the man. In the years 1939–1945, the bravery of women was accentuated, yet the dominant element remained the training of women to serve their homes and families. There was also a programme to provide vocational training to women, however, only in professions that were socially useful. The Polish boy scout pedagogy concerned two interwoven roles: of the soldier and of the citizen. The Polish Scouting Regiments touched the issue of the family and parenthood. The themes of parenthood and family are rarely mentioned.

Table 1

*Pedagogy slogans addressed to girls/women and boys/men in specific years*

| Target group/years | 1911–1939  | 1939–1945   |
|--------------------|--|---|
| girls/women        | the mother and educator of future generations, the housewife and a complement to the man | brave woman in the family and at home, preparing herself to serve the society. Learning a profession in which she will be “working for the society” |
| boys/men           | soldier, citizen   |   |

Source: Own elaboration based on

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