

ARCHIVE *

Two texts written in the first half of the twentieth century have been translated for the purposes of this issue. There are definitely more differences than there are similarities between the two: the genres (a journalistic sketch, or essay, versus a scientific article, the authors' research discipline (physics versus history), the authors' experience with academic structures, the time they were written and, last but not least, the gender of the author. Common to both texts is the topic they address – namely, reflections on what the scientific domain being the object of the argument is like; what its definition, status in the society, and position in the academic hierarchy is; and, lastly (the major question, indeed), what the role of women was in these areas, and how visible they were.

The first of these texts appeared in print fifteen years after it was originally delivered as a popularising lecture; the second is a full-fledged scientific dissertation furnished with an apparatus of notes and first published in an industry journal. Being a first-class source of knowledge, both texts seem to be interesting due to the topics they deal with, as well as their authors' sophisticated style and journalistic verve.

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Marian Smoluchowski (Marian Wilhelm Theofil Ritter von Smolan Smoluchowski, 1872–1917) was a physicist whose recognition and fame far exceeded the limits of Austria-Hungary.¹ His intellectual qualities enabled him to pursue an intensive career with the academic institutions of Austrian Galicia (the Chairs of Physics at the Universities of Lwów and Cracow), make study visits to European universities (in Berlin, Paris, London, Glasgow), and enjoy international recognition and broad reception. His hobbies, such as alpinism (the activity he practiced with remarkable success), friendships with

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¹ I am indebted to Danuta Ciesielska (‘L. and A. Birkenmajer’ Institute of the History of Science, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw) for her scientific consultation and compilation of explanatory notes to the article by Marian Smoluchowski. The literature on Smoluchowski, biographical and popularising his output, is extremely extensive; the exemplary recommendable books are: Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar, Mark Kac, Roman Smoluchowski, and Roman Ingarden, *Marian Smoluchowski: his life and scientific work* (Warszawa, 1986, series ‘Polish Men of Science’); Bronisław Średniawa, *Essays Devoted To Scientific And Didactic Work of Marian Smoluchowski (1872–1917)* (Kraków, 1991).

Europe's leading physicists (including Albert Einstein, Gabriel Lippmann, William Thomson, Emil Warburg), aristocratic-and-professorial manners, family affinities, and youthful appearance all won him a status that would probably be called a celebrity today. Being a public figure and a cosmopolitan authority, Smoluchowski was often requested to share his opinion on socially important matters. His scientific and popular lectures, in which he dealt with the fields of his research as a scholar (Brownian motions, fluctuations in the refractive index of a fluid, liquid and gas, application of probability theory to radioactivity, heat conductivity of gases, aerodynamics, glacier movements) as well as topics of current interest, attracted crowds of listeners. His premature death of dysentery in 1917 no doubt solidified his legend as a physics genius and socially involved intellectual. Numerous mentions in international press (an obituary penned by Einstein), the naming of a crater on the Moon after Smoluchowski in the 1970s, the solemn celebrations of his death centenary at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow in 2017 distinctly speak in favour of the Polish physicist's undeniable and unceasing contribution of this physicist in the development of science worldwide.

The posthumous edition of Smoluchowski's completed works, edited by Władysław Natanson, comprise the author's scientific output. The three-volume publication reprints scientific texts first published in some of Europe's leading professional journals. Volume three, issued in 1928, offers popular lectures and papers as well as obituaries of leading European physicists. Smoluchowski's reflections on the importance of exact sciences in one's general education constitute a sort of manifesto of a modern man whose will is to revolutionise the schooling system and teach the society courage of thinking. In his address to the academic staff delivered shortly before his death, he urged for a deep and progressive educational and schooling reform:

Let us, therefore, afford a broadly and soundly premeditated work of educational reform. It is the highest time now for us to realise that we now live in the twentieth century; that we forge arms for ourselves, with which to fight in our day – that is, grounding in exact sciences, knowledge of the laws of nature, technical skills, and economic resourcefulness. There is a need for ... people of a modern world-view, being somewhat idealistic as to life; people passionately fond of science and capable of doing positivistic work. ... Such people can only be prepared through education applied to the life-oriented postulates of the present time.²

² Marian Smoluchowski, 'Znaczenie fizyki w wykształceniu ogólnem. Przemówienie wygłoszone podczas Zjazdu Członków Towarzystwa nauczycieli Szkół Wyższych, w dniu 27 maja 1917 roku w auli Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego', *Muzeum*, xxxii (1917), 286–94.

There is no surprise, then, that Smoluchowski had his own opinion on the 'new phenomenon' of appearance of first women-researchers; being a public intellectual, he willingly shared this opinion with the others. His lecture at the assembly hall of the Scientific and Literary Society in Lwów in 1912 focused on the presence and contributions of the first female physicists, chemists, and mathematicians in the development of exact sciences and their social perception and reception. The following text recapitulates the European public discourse over the status of women in science, albeit it is its author's own reflection on femininity as a potential (and, most frequently, real) obstacle to winning recognition in the world of science, which thitherto was homogeneous in terms of sex and class. It moreover serves as an example of the mindset and ideas present among (basically, male) scientists with respect to gender. Smoluchowski positions himself as an adherent of the newer trends and views currents where there is no room for a dogma of intellectual inferiority of women. Yet, he proposes the argument that, due to their sex, upbringing, education, and socialisation, women are not in a position to endanger men in creative and productive activities which call for a 'tint of genius'.³ Smoluchowski's stance is an important contribution to the attitudes typical of the corporative scientific community in face of the new challenges, which were mostly found ambivalent. As for the category of gender, femininity belongs to the sphere of functioning that should (also in scientists' opinion) be subjected to the established status quo. Smoluchowski was a product of his age, and his manifesto ought to be read in this context, with the 'new sources for science' – the first women scholars who, finally, came into being in science, which had thitherto been homogeneous as to sex. The address delivered by Smoluchowski in Lwów can also be understood as a reflection of a father and a husband (his wife was Zofia Baraniecka, whose family set up schools for girls in Cracow, under the name of 'A. Baraniecki' Higher Courses; her father was a professor of mathematics).⁴ To what extent are his reflections derived from private contacts with this progressive family, focused on educating its young members, whose university patent was a *conditio sine qua non*? The words of Marian's son, Roman Smoluchowski, about the relationship between the two of them are worth quoting:

³ Over more than forty years now, studies in the history of science in the gender context have shown the paths of the groundbreaking women to practicing their profession as scientists, along with mechanisms of excluding and 'concealing' females in official scientific institutions.

⁴ Janina Kras, *Wyższe Kursy dla Kobiet im. A. Baranieckiego w Krakowie 1868–1924* (Kraków, 1972).

He married in 1901 Zofia Baraniecka, a pretty, blue-eyed daughter of a professor of mathematics at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow. In spite of Smoluchowski's previous reserve he was passionately in love with his wife. This happiness, which he described as a 'new life' and which is attested to by his many letters to his wife, combined with the relaxed and unhurried atmosphere of Lwów contributed to his greatest period of creativity. ... His wife assisted him by editing his papers and correcting his galley proofs. She not only adored him as a husband but recognized and admired his genius.⁵

Smoluchowski's attitude towards the 'careers' or, rather, 'tacit presence' of the first women mathematicians, physicists and chemists at laboratories and university chairs is quite ambivalent: on the one hand, his progressive thinking appears as he notices the modernisation potential for the society the moment women are granted the right to practice science and to study. On the other hand, he assumes a clear position with respect to the requirements and self-abnegation connected with practicing science and producing knowledge. According to Smoluchowski, this absolutely excludes women from these processes, due to their biological determinants and socialisation model, and condemns them to do science in a dilettantish, or amateurish, manner.

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Łucja Charewiczowa fully deserves the name of 'acting thinker' [eingreifende Denkerin], a description proposed by Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey in reference to women doing creative and scientific work. Apart from involvement in production of knowledge and research of their own, such women publicly assume stances on socially, politically and scientifically important matters, endeavouring to influence the public life by means of their scientific and public position.⁶ Charewiczowa might have objected against such a classification, deeply convinced as she was that the term 'intellectual' only appertained to professorship-holding men.⁷

Charewiczowa is noted for her scientific output – at least, historians are familiar with it. A number of articles have recently appeared, along with

⁵ Roman Smoluchowski, 'Life of Marian Smoluchowski', in Chandrasekhar, Kac, Smoluchowski, Ingarden, *Marian Smoluchowski*, 12–13.

⁶ Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey, *Eingreifende Denkerinnen. Weibliche Intellektuelle im 20. und 21. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 2015).

⁷ This peculiar assumption has been covered, in the German context, by (i.a.) Karin Hausen, 'Eine eigentümliche Gewissheit ... dass Intellektuelle im 20. Jahrhundert ausnahmslos unter Menschen männlichen Geschlechts zu finden seien', in Gesa Dane and Barbara Hahn (eds.), *Denk- und Schreibweisen einer Intellektuellen im 20. Jahrhundert. Über Ricarda Huch* (Göttingen, 2012), 179–220.

a biographical miniature, outlining this scholar's role and importance for specified areas of historical research.⁸ Courageous enough to involve herself, as a scientist and publicist, in the two interwar decades, in propagation of new scientific perspectives, based on making the history of women part of the scientific stock, she was made patroness of the Seminar in History of Women and Gender, affiliated to the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN], which is described in more detail in this issue's Chronicle section. Born 1897 in Cieszanów, then in Austrian Galicia, she died in December 1943 as an inmate of the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp. Her whole adult life was associated with Lwów, where she studied and gradually pursued her academic and museum-related career. She completed her history studies – specialising in social and economic history, history of mediaeval culture and history of urban areas – at the local John Casimir University as a PhD in 1924, and immediately joined the editorial team of the quarterly *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, where she was the editorial board's secretary for a number of years.⁹ From 1931 on, she was member of the staff of the City of Lwów Historical Museum as a custodian, never quitting her striving for post-doctoral qualification. In January 1937, she obtained a *veniam legendi* based on the studies *The Black Tenement House* [in Lwów's Market Square] and its residents and Lwów's trade organisations in pre-Partition Poland. Along with her intensive teaching and scientific work, Charewiczowa was member of the Polish Historical Society's Board and of the Lwów branch of the Polish Association of University Women [PSKzWW]. Charewiczowa's biography and essays describing her biography emphasise, in unison, the influence of a 'school', thinking style and work of two local Lwów-based professors on her interests as a scholar. The

⁸ Alicja Kusiak, 'Łucja Charewiczowa – inicjatorka badań nad przeszłością kobiet polskich', in Anna Żarnowska and Andrzej Szwarc (eds.), *Kobieta i kultura: kobiety wśród twórców kultury intelektualnej i artystycznej w dobie rozbiorów i w niepodległym państwie polskim. Zbiór studiów* (Warszawa, 1996) 99–103; Helena Madurowicz-Urbańska, 'Łucja Charewiczowa j jej Lwów', in Krzysztof Broński and Jacek Purchla (eds.), *Kraków – Małopolska w Europie Środką. Studia ku czci profesora Jana Mateckiego w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin* (Kraków, 1996), 189–93; Dorota Malczewska-Pawelec, 'Łucja Charewiczowa (1897–1943)', in Jerzy Maternicki (ed.), *Złota księga historiografii lwowskiej XIX i XX wieku*, ii (Rzeszów, 2014), 517–35; Ольга Гуль, 'Луція Харевічова як історик Львова', in А. Івашко, Я. Єндрисяк, Н. Крилова, and Т. Наумова (eds.), *Польща та поляки в дослідженнях молодих вчених. Збірник праць Третньої міжнародної міжвузівської науково-практичної конференції молодих вчених, укладачі* (Маріуполь, 2008), 155–63; Jadwiga Suchmiel, *Łucja Charewiczowa (1897–1943). Życie i dzieło* (Częstochowa, 2001).

⁹ See more in the article by Iwona Dadej in this volume.

mediaevalists Franciszek Bujak and Jan Ptaśnik are believed to have shaped Charewiczowa's profile as a scientist and actively supported her academic aspirations. As a PhD holder, she was employed at the Chair run by Ptaśnik, as an assistant and associate. At this point, however, it is worth posing the question about the genesis of her formulation of novel – and, not necessarily convenient – paradigms, such as the need for historical studies on the past of women. To what extent her arguments in this respect may have ensued from her cooperation with the professors (who were in favour of women's studies), or from her non-scientific involvements?

Among the research desiderata concerning Charewiczowa's biography, her political attitude and involvement is worth emphasising – particularly in the 1930s. Her stance in respect of ethnic minorities inhabiting Lwów deserves a critical reflection. Her journalistic texts in dealing with this area show a deep political entanglement and a rejection, in this particular respect, of feministic references in favour of nationalist, anti-Ukrainian and anti-Jewish views.¹⁰

The following article was first published in 1933 in the *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, and soon afterwards came out as a booklet (so-called offprint).¹¹ The author gathers in it the arguments related to the promotion of the feminine perspective and feminine history in historiography and, as such, it corresponds with the address Charewiczowa delivered at the International Congress of Historians in 1933 in Warsaw.¹² The article offers a review of historical literature written by women: covered are amateur historical works by female authors since the Middle Ages, along with professional academic monographs of the first women-historians generation. It is definitely a name-dropping review, and it can make the reader weary with the multiplicity of names being referred to; yet, its very publication marks an important moment in Polish history of women. On the other hand, the article may serve as an excellent guide through the meanders of Polish history and historiography, including in

¹⁰ Łucja Charewiczowa, *Z przeszłości Lwowianek* (Warszawa, 1935); Cecylia Mikułowska [Ł. Charewiczowa's penname], *'Ukraiński' ruch kobiecy* (Lwów, 1937). For more on Charewiczowa's attitudes in the 1930s, see Alicja Kusiak, 'Polin, Patriotin, Frau. Über die Konstruktion von Weiblichkeit in Rekonstruktionen der Vergangenheit', in Johanna Gehmaher, Elisabeth Harvey, and Sophia Kemlein (eds.), *Zwischen Kriegen. Nationen, Nationalismen und Geschlechterverhältnisse in Mittel- und Osteuropa 1918–1939*, (Osnabrück, 2004), 183.

¹¹ Published by the Printing House of the Ossoliński National Institute, Lwów, 1933.

¹² Łucja Charewiczowa, 'Est-il fondé d'écrire une histoire spéciale de la femme?', in *La Pologne au VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques*, [ed. by] Société Polonaise d'Histoire (Varsovie [Warszawa], 1933).

*the gender perspective: among the individuals evoked in this text are (women) researchers known, noticeable and recognised till our day, alongside those no more remembered after the Second World War, and whose contributions to historical sciences has been neglected even in footnotes, quotations, or the like.*¹³

trans. Tristan Korecki

Iwona Dadej

¹³ Maria Wierzbicka and Barbara Jakubowska, 'Autorki i dzieła – kobiety w polskiej nauce historycznej w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym', in Żarnowska and Szwarc, *Kobieta i kultura*, 75–88, first attempted to reinstate some of these names.