

Shaping patriotic attitudes in the Pilecki family¹

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Abstract: The research refers to shaping of patriotic attitudes amongst renowned Polish families. The objective of the research is to answer to the following question: How patriotic attitudes had been shaped in the Pilecki family? The author applies the history-pedagogy method. Pilecki family history in the period between the second half of the 19th century and the thirties of the 20th century (repressions after the January Uprising in particular) has been analysed. Three generations of the Pilecki family have been described: Julian and Ludwika Pilecki, Witold and Maria Pilecki, and finally Witold and Maria's children. The author concentrates on the three following levels of the shaping of attitudes: emotional, behavioural, cognitive. *Results and conclusions:* The results of the analysis show that, in the Pilecki family, patriotism had been taking shape at all three levels. At the emotional level, an atmosphere of patriotism had been present and recollections of the Tsarist regime's injustices had been cultivated. At the behavioural level, young people had been encouraged to fill the ranks of scouting organizations and to cultivate Polish language and traditions. It happened to move to other places where Russification pressure had been weaker. The repressions had been met with both courage and determination. At the cognitive level, interesting discussions concerning Polish history were regularly organized. The knowledge on this subject had been shaped thanks to constructive games and working with books. Patriotism engraved in memories of the insurgents had also been consolidated. The research demonstrates how patriotism had been shaped in the volt. Polish literature and paintings itself in the Pilecki family. The next challenge is to find out how this information can be used in modern times. Situations and episodes from the Pilecki family's life, described in the article, can serve as inspiration in shaping patriotism.

Keywords: Witold Pilecki, Steadfast Soldiers, patriotism, history-pedagogy method, Pilecki family

Introduction

The name Pilecki has become widely known thanks to its distinguished representative, Rotmistrz Witold Pilecki, a celebrated hero of the Polish post-war anti-communist and independence underground.

Members of the underground, known as the Steadfast Soldiers², actively resisted the subjugation of Poland by communist authorities. For nearly the entire second half of the twentieth century, the history of the Steadfast Soldiers was distorted, and the truth was concealed. After 1989, they became known primarily to history enthusiasts, but gradually Poles became increasingly aware of the heroism of these forgotten heroes and their contributions to the homeland. The establishment of 1 March as the National Day of Remembrance of the Cursed Soldiers in 2011 signifies significant positive changes in certain areas of Polish civic consciousness. In academic terms, the biographies of many Steadfast Soldiers have been subjected to thorough historical analysis. However, the challenge now is to analyse these biographies from a psychopedagogical perspective. There is a gradual increase in studies of this kind (Juroszek 2022, 2023a, 2023b; Rybicki, 2022; Sabat, 2016, 2018), however, it still remains a proverbial "drop in the ocean." Thus, the author of this article aims to encourage educators, psychologists, sociologists, theologians, and other representatives of social and humanistic disciplines to take up this topic.

Both Polish historians (Cyra, Wysocki, 1997; Mandrela, 2019; Pawłowicz, 2017; Płużański, 2015; Tracki, 2014; Wysocki, 2013) and foreign scholars (Patricelli, 2011) regard Witold Pilecki as an outstanding

¹ Article in Polish language: https://www.stowarzyszeniefidesetratio.pl/fer/61P_Juro.pdf

² Another, commonly used term is "The Cursed Soldiers" (Śląski, 1996)

W. Juroszek

and steadfast figure. The renowned English historian Michael Foot included Witold Pilecki among the six bravest individuals fighting in the resistance during World War II (Foot, 2003). For researchers, the question of the educational environment that shaped him becomes particularly interesting. The analysis of the history of families like the Pileckis is valuable for all Poles, as it provides guidance for shaping patriotic attitudes in their own families.

In the literature on the subject, an attitude is defined as a relatively enduring evaluation of phenomena, people, objects, or ideas (Aronson, Wilson, Akert, 1997, p. 313). This evaluation is reflected in beliefs, emotions, and actions. In other words, an attitude consists of components that can complement, permeate, and occur in varying proportions: emotional (reactions towards the attitude object), cognitive (beliefs, thoughts about the attitude object), and behavioural (actions, observable behaviours). Many researchers emphasise that, in a significant simplification, an attitude is a stored evaluation – whether good or bad – of a given object (Aronson et al. 1997, p. 313).

1. Research objectives and method

This article aims to analyse how the process of shaping attitudes – in terms of patriotism – took place in the Pilecki family. The figure of Witold draws particular attention to the question of the educational environment that shaped him.

The research objective is to answer the following research question: How were patriotic attitudes shaped in the Pilecki family?

In this article, the term "family" is defined as a group of people descended from a common ancestor. A family encompasses at least three generations: grandparents, parents, and children. Patriotism is defined as love for one's homeland and readiness to make sacrifices for the good of its citizens (Rynio, 2018; Zwoliński, 2015; Żaryn, 2020). It is assumed that a patriot is someone who loves ones country and is willing to make sacrifices for it.

The historical-pedagogical biography method was employed, which aims to show the patterns and ideals of upbringing during a given historical period and the ways they were realised in practice (Szulakiewicz, 2004, 2015a, 2015b). The childhood and adolescence of Witold Pilecki (along with his siblings) were described against the backdrop of the history of his parents – Julian Pilecki and Ludwika Pilecka, born Osiecimska. Witold's youth was also described based on the memories of his adult children: Zofia Pilecka-Optułowicz (2017) and Andrzej Pilecki (Pilecki, Krzyszkowski, Wasztyl, 2015). Reference was made to a biographical study devoted to the childhood, adolescence, and youth of Witold Pilecki by Krzysztof Tracki (2014).

Witold Pilecki (1901-1948) came from a noble family with the coat of arms Leliwa. The Pilecki family's ancestral home was in the vicinity of Nowogródek. As a result of the repressions for Józef Pilecki's (Witold's grandfather) involvement in the January Uprising, the Tsarist authorities confiscated nearly all of the family's property (Pawłowicz, 2017, p. 25). In search of work, the Pileckis dispersed throughout the Russian Empire. Julian Pilecki, Witold's father, obtained the position of a forest inspector in northern Russia (in the Karelia region), in the town of Olonets. Julian married Ludwika Osiecimska, with whom he had five children, including his son Witold. After a few years, Ludwika Pilecka moved to the vicinity of Vilnius with her children. There, Witold met Maria Ostrowska (1906-2002), with whom he had two children: Zofia and Andrzej. The Pilecki family lived in the family estate of Sukurcze, rebuilt from ruins, and was the only estate that remained in the hands of the Pilecki family after the Tsarist confiscations (Pilecka-Optułowicz, 2017, p. 24, 27).

The historical context of these analyses coincided with a period of repression (and memories of them) following the January Uprising. The Tsarist authorities' policy towards Poland was decidedly reactionary, based on the principles of Tsarist autocracy, Orthodoxy as the state religion and politically privileged, and state centralism that was completely hostile to any aspirations of the Polish nation (Buszko, 2000, p. 67).

Tsarist repressions were drastic. The members of the uprising's authorities and commanders of the units were sentenced to death, which often also affected lower-ranking soldiers. As Jerzy Zdrada emphasises, for those up in arms, death was anticipated; for instance, in the territory of the Kingdom of Poland, no less than 475 people were executed, and in Lithuania, 180 (Zdrada, 2015, p. 497). At least 38,000 people were exiled to forced settlement or hard labour deep in Russia, widespread land confiscation and high tributes were imposed, as well as orders for the sale of land (especially in Lithuania, which allowed for extensive abuses by officials and gendarmes), (Zdrada, 2015, p. 497).

The process of shaping patriotic attitudes in the Pilecki family was analysed at three levels: emotional, behavioural, and cognitive.

2. Shaping patriotic attitudes in the Pilecki family – emotional level

Witold's emotionality was positively influenced by the warm, friendly, and cheerful atmosphere of the multi-generational family. Witold and his siblings often spent their holidays at the estate of their maternal relatives in Hawryłków, located at the eastern edge of Belarus.

"The summer in Hawryłków was like a ray of sunshine, a brief and idyllic episode, like one that occurs in the midst of a cold and cloudy day, as in Karelia" (Tracki, 2014, p. 56).

The young Pileckis spent their summer months there from early childhood. Carefree play, the affectionate approach of relatives, and the beauty of idyllic landscapes shaped the children's sensitivity, including their connection to their homeland's nature.

Researchers studying the theme of love for the homeland emphasise that in the biographies of wellknown patriots (such as Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński, Karol Wojtyła, Jerzy Popiełuszko), one can observe the phenomenon of linking the notion of patriotism with an emotional bond to one's nation and its history, as well as a spiritual belonging to the community that constitutes the homeland (Gronkowska-Koziar, 2021, p. 207; Rynio, 2019, p. 106)³.

In educating for patriotism, the Pilecki family often referred to the child's emotions, creating a family atmosphere full of warmth and emotional moments, which occurred, for example, during family celebrations expressed through singing patriotic songs. Zofia, Witold's daughter, recalled the time spent with her parents in the 1930s at the family estate in Sukurcze:

"Sometimes we played scenes where a little girl invites a hussar into the house to sing patriotic songs with the family. These historical images were close to us because we were raised in an atmosphere of patriotism and love for our homeland" (Pilecka-Optułowicz, 2017, p. 81).

In the Pilecki family, patriotic emotions were aroused in children from early childhood through constant references to the January Uprising. This uprising caused a significant shock throughout the family, among Witold's ancestors on both the paternal and maternal sides. Krzysztof Tracki, the author of the biography dedicated to Witold's youth, states that the uprising, including the tragic fates of its participants and their heroism, was continuously revived in the memory of his father, Julian Pilecki, and in the fervent stories of his mother, Ludwika. These stories ignited the children's imagination, shaped their sensitivity, and provided many emotional moments.

The Tsarist repressions left a lasting mark on the Pileckis' emotional landscape, intensifying negative feelings towards the Russians, such as bitterness, resentment, and grief. Following the January Uprising, the Polish nobility was perceived by the Russians as a strongly reactionary class that was a source of continuous unrest. In quoting Tracki's words:

"It is worth recalling that these were times of far-reaching depolonisation, when in the eyes of Russian elites the words Pole and Catholic meant the same as revolutionary and troublemaker. The Tsarist regime stubbornly pursued the Russification of the lands assigned to it and the complete 'de-Polonisation' of offices" (Tracki, 2014, p. 33-34).

The confiscation of property was a devastating blow to the Polish nobility. This blow also affected the Pileckis. In March 1864, six months after the fall of the January Uprising, Witold's grandfather, Józef Pilecki, was arrested and, after several months in prison, was exiled to Siberia, where he spent six years. This exile was associated with the loss of the

³ This emotional trait of patriotism, filled with feelings of love for the homeland, can be seen in the life of e.g. Stefan Wyszyński, who emphatically stated "I love my homeland more than my own heart" (Wyszyński, 2020).

W. Juroszek

family estate in Starojelnia. The family retained only the estate in Sukurcze, which, after years, was developed and rebuilt by Witold⁴.

The memory of the Tsarist repressions was very strong among Poles. In honour of this memory, Witold's mother instilled in her children recollections of the so-called "Hangman" notorious for his cruelty towards Poles⁵, whom he ordered to be murdered, proclaiming the terrifying thesis that the most useful for the Russian Empire were "Poles who are hanged" (Tracki, 2014, p. 25):

"When in 1898 this *prochvost* (scoundrel) received a monument in Vilnius (erected in front of the palace of the governor-general of Lithuania), it became the target of unrefined attacks from the city>s residents. The young Pileckis found themselves among the fervent opponents of this monument» (Tracki, 2014, p. 25-26).

The persecution of Poles had results contrary to the Tsarist regime's intentions and strengthened the repressed in their patriotic attitudes. They undertook actions that reinforced patriotic attitudes in their charges. One such action was signing children up for membership in scouting organisations. These initiatives, fitting into the behavioural aspect of shaping attitudes, were a manifestation of parents' concern for the continuous, unwavering reinforcement of the spirit of independence in their children.

The following part of the article will describe how the Pileckis shaped patriotism at the next, behavioural level.

3. Shaping patriotic attitudes in the Pilecki family – behavioural level

At the behavioural level, the promotion of patriotic attitudes occurred through participation in scouting organisations. These organisations aimed to develop courage, acuity, skill, and bravery in the youth. During the partitions, just before the First World War, when Polish scouting was just beginning to emerge, the readiness to fight for independence was regarded as extremely important, alongside the previously mentioned qualities. Andrzej Małkowski (1911), often considered the symbolic founder of scouting in Poland, claimed that Polish scouting is "scouting + independence".

Witold Pilecki was involved in scouting from an early adolescence. As his daughter Zofia recalled:

"He became a scout and a troop leader at the age of fourteen. Kids had to grow up, and mature very quickly those days" (Pilecka-Optułowicz, 2017, p. 143).

At the behavioural level, the shaping of patriotic attitudes in the Pilecki family was inseparably linked to the care for preserving the Polish language, customs, and traditions. In this regard, as Zofia noted in her memories, the grandparents decided to move to Vilnius. For financial reasons, Julian Pilecki did not change his family's place of residence and remained in Karelia, continuing to work for the State Forest Management (Pawłowicz, 2017, p. 24).

As great patriots, the Pileckis made a significant effort to protect their offspring from Russification and to relocate to another region of Eastern *Kresy* (borderlands), where the process was less intensified. It is worth quoting Zofia Pilecka-Optułowicz's words, who described the actions taken by her grandmother (Witold's mother):

"To prevent the Russification of the children, she sent the two oldest, Maria and Witold, to a Polish school in Vilnius to receive an education; at that time, she also moved with her four children to Vilnius to stay with her relatives. The grandfather remained in Olonets for financial reasons" (Pilecka-Optułowicz, 2017, p. 142).

Zofia further recounted her grandmother's efforts:

"She was very careful that the children did not succumb to Russification, that they did not even adopt a Russian accent. Witold's father was also a great patriot and cared about the upbringing of the children, but he worked a lot, so the greatest

⁴ At the Sukurcze estate, rebuilt after years by Witold, his family spent several wonderful years. Unfortunately, as a result of further wartime turmoil, this Pilecki estate was also completely destroyed.

⁵ Mikhail Muravyov (1796-1866) – Russian count, governor-general of Vilnius during the suppression of the January Uprising, known for his brutal eradication of Polish influence in Lithuania and Belarus. For Poles, he was a symbol of cruelty, nicknamed "Wieszatiel" – or "the Hangman".

role in their upbringing was played by their mother. The values instilled by her shaped their future lives and influenced their attitude towards their homeland" (Pilecka-Optułowicz, 2017, p. 142).

The behavioural aspect of shaping patriotic attitudes resonated particularly strongly in the case of the January insurgents. This was, after all, the most significant expression of patriotic actions – participating in the uprising knowing that one could face severe penalties. Witold's grandfather was punished with six years of exile to Siberia and property confiscation. His descendants were thus compelled to fight, to continuously mobilise their strengths to endure repressions, drastic declines in living standards, and separation from their families. The January Uprising, the largest and longest-lasting Polish national uprising, resulted in enormous persecution of Poles.

As previously mentioned, the shaping of attitudes in the young engages all spheres of their personality: both emotions (emotional level), intellect (cognitive level), and behaviour (behavioural level). This shaping will be all the more effective the more it engages each of these spheres. The strength and durability of these three spheres are also vital. Here, it is worth mentioning the process of modelling, one of the three types of classical learning. The fact that Witold's parents served as models of patriotic actions (as well as representatives of earlier generations – grandparents and great-grandparents) fits perfectly into the substantive aspect of the modelling process, according to which it is more effective the closer the learner is in an emotional relationship with the model.

As previously stated, in the analysis of shaping patriotic attitudes, it is essential to consider the coherence of the components of attitudes, i.e., the consistency between them. Low coherence of attitudes takes place when, for instance, at the behavioural level, a child is compelled to take patriotic actions (learning a given language), but at the emotional level, they feel a constant, significant reluctance towards them.

For the coherence of patriotic attitudes in a child, the consistency of the parents' attitudes is of significant importance. In other words, the more parents agree on raising a child towards love for the homeland, the more the child internalises this value conveyed by them. As many researchers emphasise, parental attitude consistency on crucial issues provides the child with the best conditions for development, while significant discrepancies result in ambiguity in the upbringing situation (Plopa, 2008, p. 227).

Witold's parents were characterised by significant consistency regarding patriotism. In other matters, they sometimes differed, for example, in the parenting tactics employed. Andrzej Pilecki, Witold's son, stated that his father inherited the best traits of the Pilecki family, including courage, patriotism, and a willingness to sacrifice for the homeland, while avoiding the flaws: obstinacy bordering on stubbornness, a harshness in his relations, and emotional coldness (Pilecki et al., 2015, p. 53). Witold's father, Julian, was known for his great diligence and conscientiousness, particularly in his professional sphere. The position of forest inspector, achieved through systematic advancement in his career, allowed the family to live relatively comfortably (considering, of course, the geographical location of distant Karelia, where living conditions were challenging). However, he was a very strict father with a volatile and explosive temperament, so the children were often afraid of him (Tracki, 2014, p. 55).

Witold's mother is described in the literature as an incredibly hard-working person with a great sense of organisation, open to others, and kind-hearted. A significant advantage which she was known for was her ability to combine the demands of strict discipline in raising her offspring with warmth and kindness. Biographers of Witold Pilecki highlight this fact: Ludwika Osiecimska was imbued with a sense of duty and love for her family and homeland (Mandrela, 2019; Tracki, 2014, p. 40). She had a profound sense of educational mission, which she carefully and lovingly fulfilled. Krzysztof Tracki emphasises that her role as the main transmitter of national and patriotic values was indeed impressive (Tracki, 2014, p. 42). Zofia Pilecka-Optułowicz expressed her views on the women of that time, of whom her grandmother was a prominent representative:

"I believe that in our Polish history, the family home constituted the steadfast root concerning our existence, and it was often thanks to the role that women played in the home" (Pilecka-Optułowicz, 2017, p. 143). Witold's parents, although they significantly differed in various matters, were very consistent regarding shaping patriotic attitudes. Tracki summarised the issue of the consistency of Witold's parents' educational attitudes concerning patriotism:

"Both lines, the Pileckis and the Osiecimskis, left in him, however, an essential trait of personality – an extremely strong sense of connection with the fate of his homeland" (Tracki, 2014, p. 43).

Eleonora Ostrowska, a relative, stated that Witold's patriotism was shaped by the history of his ancestors hailing from a military family, where duties performed for the good of the homeland were fundamental, something instilled from childhood (Tracki, 2014, p. 43).

4. Shaping patriotic attitudes in the Pilecki family – cognitive level

In shaping patriotism in the young, Ludwika Pilecka tried to influence various components of attitudes, including intellectual ones, for example, by providing her children with knowledge about Polish history. She showed tremendous initiative in this regard - reading them literature by the most famous Polish writers, referring to the memories of the January insurgents (both from her family and the accounts described in contemporary influential magazines). She stimulated the children's imagination using images by Artur Grottger, a leading representative of Polish Romantic painting, who depicted, often allegorically, the nation's struggle for the independence of their homeland. Grottger's paintings became symbols of the fight and resistance of the Polish nation against the Russian oppressor. As Zofia Pilecka-Optułowicz recalls (2017, p. 142):

"My grandmother cared about instilling patriotism in the children; she did this in every possible way, through literature and patriotic painting, reading them Sienkiewicz's Trilogy, and stories about the January Uprising illustrated with drawings by Artur Grottger. She told them about the immense sufferings of the Poles and about exiles."

In promoting patriotic attitudes in the Pilecki family, one can observe a remarkable authenticity – Ludwika Pilecka read to her children about the January insurgents. However, she herself also experienced repression (the confiscation of property). She endured these repressions patiently; she did not blame her ancestors for them – she was proud of her parents and their decisions and passed this pride on to her children. Thus, such a strong impact from the oppressors (and later communists) on the most valiant, steadfast, and resilient Poles was aimed at breaking them, for they are the core of Polish identity.

The transmission of knowledge fostering patriotism had been a planned effort. The literature on the subject emphasises that planning introduces the necessary order and fluidity in the execution of subsequent actions. The pursuit of fulfilling a previously outlined plan serves a motivational function and acts as a driving force for the individual's activities (Mądrzycki, 1996).

Tadeusz Mądrzycki, a Polish psychologist who passed away in 2002, studied the psychological principles of attitude formation for several decades. He emphasised the crucial role of planning, defined as the process of setting goals and actions enabling their achievement. Mądrzycki argued that planning is one of the most important of personality traits (Mądrzycki, 1996). The creation and implementation of plans (especially life plans) confirm, in Mądrzycki's view, that an individual is future-oriented while being firmly grounded in the present. A person's life largely consists of setting subsequent goals, as they lend meaning to that life (Mądrzycki, 1996).

In the Pilecki family, the shaping of patriotic attitudes had precisely this planned character. A defined daily plan and the successive activities, including reading to the children, introduced a specific order and provided a sense of security. As Zofia Pilecka-Optułowicz recalls:

"In families, care was taken to create family bonds; it wasn't the case that everyone did what they wanted; there was a certain daily plan. Even the aforementioned reading to the children was done at specific hours, so it was planned throughout the day. Father absorbed all these stories. Moreover, he adored his mother for providing him with so much" (Pilecka-Optułowicz, 2017, p. 143).

An example of developing patriotic attitudes cognitively were the intellectual games and activities during annual summer stays in Hawryłków. Alongside carefree, spontaneously undertaken banter, there were also activities led by the mother's niece, Wanda Winnicka (Tracki, 2014, p. 59). Wanda, a graduate of the Faculty of Pedagogy at Moscow University and a teacher at a Russian gymnasium, was known for getting children involved in a self-educating group, part of which was studying Polish history in groups, examining maps, and reading books, including Sienkiewicz's "Trilogy" (Tracki, 2014, p. 60). Tracki writes about the children playing in Hawryłków:

"(...) they sought various ways to broaden their mental acuity. This last goal was served, among other things, by so-called constructive games, puzzles, and daily work with books" (Tracki, 2014, p. 59).

Physical activities, often of a military nature, played an enormous role, especially in the case of boys (Tracki, 2014, p. 59).

In analysing the shaping of attitudes in the Pilecki family, one cannot overlook the issue of autobiographical memory. This memory, being one of the topics in cognitive psychology (specifically memory psychology and memory processes), is responsible for storing material related to an individual's life history: events and facts that build identity (Nęcka, Orzechowski, Szymura, 2007, p. 369).

Researchers of autobiographical memory emphasise that the primary distinguishing feature of its recordings is the type of memory material. This material is characterised by specific properties: a particular organisation (utilising the principle of hierarchy), the involvement of semantic and episodic elements, a strong connection with context as one of the components of autobiographical recording, and a low degree of generalisation, as this record usually takes the form of a specific event (Nęcka et al., 2007, p. 370). The fourth property of autobiographical memory is the substantial emotional charge of the recorded contents.

In analysing the issue of shaping patriotic attitudes in well-known Polish families, it is worth noting the role played by the first and last distinguishing feature mentioned. Regarding the hierarchical nature of the recorded memory material, the January Uprising and the descendants of the insurgents, was one of the most distinguishing themes. Many other issues took on an episodic, secondary character concerning it – as this uprising represented a category that was paramount to them. In other words, the January Uprising was at the top of the hierarchy of interests and societal references.

The second distinguishing feature was associated with a profound saturation of the memory material with emotions regarding the uprising. These emotions continued to resonate in the memories of the insurgents, which was thoroughly described in the section dedicated to the emotional level of shaping patriotic attitudes.

In the process of storing memory material, the recalling of the most important events in Polish history plays an extremely significant role. This takes place, for example, in the context of school education and encouraging young people to read literary works. Andrzej Nowak asserts that if, in the name of stripping Polish history of so-called artificial pathos, we detach it from its martyrological past and wish to forget tragic, cruel events, we will not understand their significance for subsequent generations which shaped Polish history after 1863 for at least the following 50-60 years (Nowak, 2022, p. 251). Only by reminding younger generations of what happened through uprisings and national movements can we confront the questions regarding the relationships between the pursuit of independence and the emergence of great national projects (ibidem, p. 251).

Summary

The aim of this article was to analyse how, over several decades following the January Uprising, patriotism was shaped in well-known Polish noble families. The Pilecki family was chosen, renowned through its distinguished representative, Witold.

The results of the analysis revealed that in the Pilecki family, the process of shaping attitudes occurred on three levels: emotional (the atmosphere of the family home brimming with patriotism, the nurturing of memories about the injustices of the Tsarist regime and feelings of resentment and disgust towards the Tsarist authorities), behavioural (membership in scouting organisations, care for preserving

W. Juroszek

the Polish language and customs, relocations to areas with weaker Russification, voluntary participation in the January Uprising, and courageously facing repressions and persecutions), and cognitive (conducting interesting discussions about Polish history and passing on knowledge in this area, reading literature, viewing richly illustrated albums together, planning cognitive activities, shaping the mental acuity of children during constructive games and

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reading; ensuring the preservation of Polishness in the autobiographical memory of the descendants of the January insurgents – both their children as well as their grandchildren).

The results of the analysis demonstrated how patriotic attitudes were formed in the Pilecki family. A challenge for the future remains the application of the findings obtained in the upbringing of subsequent generations of Poles.

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