Provincializing Enlightenment: the Ideas and Portrayals of Volhynia and Podole by Its Residents

Tetiana Onofriichuk

Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to
obtaining the degree of Doctor of History and Civilization
of the European University Institute

Florence, 19 September 2017

European University Institute
Department of History and Civilization

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Abstract

This thesis explores how the *szlachta* and residents of the geographically, socially, and politically distinctive regions of Volhynia and Podole reflected on and made representations of the Enlightenment in the 1790s – 1860s. By focusing primarily on the memoirs of the local actors in Volhynia and Podole, this dissertation addresses the ways they experienced and responded to changes in social practices and intellectual communication within their local context and environment.

The chapters of this dissertation tackle issues such as education, reading habits, the practice of translation, scientific exploration, emancipation, toleration, and the role of religion in society. By building on these topics, this thesis argues for the importance of peripheral areas in order to uncover the geographical diversity of the Enlightenment. It also contributes to the discussions on cultural superiority/inferiority that were prevalent during the age of Enlightenment, and elucidates the new vocabulary that the residents adopted in their works between the 1790s and 1860s.

By focusing on the narratives offered by the landed nobility and residents, this study makes a case for the transfer of ideas and their cultural (dis)placement. The ambition of this work is to trace the full spectrum of changes that occurred within this provincial community, in order to provide a fresh perspective on blending and transformation of ideas in a specific context. Simultaneously, the local actors' works are also examined as indicators of identity formation in the face of foreign imperial domination.

Contents

List of Illustrations

Acknowledgements

I owe a great deal of gratitude to the people who made this research possible. I would like to thank Dr. Kateryna Dysa, whose sage and sensitive ideas and original seminars at the National University of the "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy" formed my interest on the Enlightenment. The intellectual milieu of the Central European University and especially the enduring support and guidance of Professor László Kontler inspired me to ask more challenging questions. As so often happens with the early modern history of Ukraine, the absence of sources seemed to pose a resolute obstacle to this project. I would like to thank Professor Nataliia Iakovenko, who turned my gaze towards the memoirs of the landed nobility, and Dr. Frank E. Sysyn, who provided useful constructive criticism during our discussions at the University of Toronto. My deepest gratitude goes to the Center for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies where I was able to engage with the most current research on the Ukrainian studies.

I would like to thank the commission of the European University Institute for putting their trust in my project. During the last five years, I have enjoyed discussions with scholars working in the most congenial atmosphere. The seminars with Professors Dirk Moses and Lucy Riall deepened my knowledge of European and global history and made me challenge and push my own research. The crafting of this thesis owes much to the meticulous work of my supervisor, Professor Pavel Kolář, who supported this project with interest and patience and provided thought-provoking comments to the numerous disorganized drafts of the text. I thank Professor Ann Thomson, who always made me consider and re-consider what Enlightenment was, and whose perceptive criticism ensured that this project never veered off track.

I am grateful to have had the opportunity to participate in the exchange program with the University of St Andrews, which allowed me to become acquainted with current research trends in transnational history while residing on the beautiful Scottish shores. I would like to thank Dr. Bernhard Struck, who kindly offered his expertise, and whose avid interest in the project, encyclopedic commentaries, and overall enthusiasm improved the final version.

It is possible that the melancholic nature of the sources influenced the pace of my writing and extended it beyond my scholarship's limits. I would like to thank the Leibniz Institute of European History in Mainz for its financial assistance. It provided every convenience for me to finish the thesis and to discuss it with the peers over a glass of the finest Riesling. In particular, I would like to thank Dr. Christopher Voigt-Goy for his insightful observations on education and religion in the German Enlightenment. I highly appreciate the grant from the Centrum Europejskie Natolin for the opportunity to access the libraries and archives in Warsaw and Krakow.

This thesis was produced in English by a Ukrainian native speaker and is based on the sources that were written mostly in Polish. I would like to thank the translator, Tristan Korecki, who worked with me to respect the complexities of language, and who took great pains to make the often unreadable quotes accessible. Given these circumstances, comprehending the final version of this work was an especially demanding task, and my deepest gratitude goes to Lisa Dallavalle, whose infinite attention to details and absolute dedication improved every line of this text. I would also like to thank the administrative staff at the EUI, who always responded kindly and consistently to my many questions and requests.

I could not have completed this project without my friends and colleagues. I thank Zoriana Melnyk, who became a dear friend and a loyal correspondent in spite of the long distance, and Aysegül Argit, who shared her passion for research with me and turned my research stay in Mainz into an invaluable experience of German life. Over a number of years, Anastacia Felcher has remained a great source of confidence. Andrea Talabér, Florian Wagner, Zeynep Talay, Zane Rasnača, Bartosz Marciniak, Sabine Mair, Kornelia Kończal, Maryna Batsman – I thank you all for making this experience worthwhile.

Of course, this research would not have been completed without the support and help of my parents. For a decade, they masterfully hid their frustration over my constant absence and disinterest in household matters, yet were always there for me, for which I am grateful.

I am most thankful for everyone's generous help and support, and any shortcomings remaining in the thesis are my own responsibility.

Introduction

Henrietta Błędowska, the wife of general Alexander Błędowski, resided in Bludów, a town in Volhynia, throughout the 1790s–1830s. In her memoirs, Henrietta recounts several stories about a local noblewoman Trypolska, a 'fantastess', who "willed to excel in her originality" in relation to her neighbours in the province.[1] In particular, Trypolska had a garden, which she had designed herself for her country seat in Polesia. Four man-made hills adorned this garden, each representing one part of the world. One hill was for 'Europe', and was covered with wheat, rye, linen and some vegetables. A big wooden statue of a Turk smoking a wooden pipe stood on the hill that epitomized 'Asia'. In 'Africa', on some sand, Trypolska placed a black statue of a man and an artificial palm tree; and finally the world of America came to life through several statues of people, a stuffed parrot, and potatoes that grew on the hill. In the center of this garden grew a massive locally sourced pear tree, which Trypolska named the 'Cape of Good Hope', and invited her astonished guests, who expected to see a garden of an English or French style, to have a coffee under its splendid branches.[2]

Trypolska's afternoon gathering was quite politically meaningful. It took place after the third and final partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1795 in her family seat, which was in a territory that belonged to the Russian Empire, and bordered on the Duchy of Warsaw that at the time was under Napoleon's control. Her guests included several members of the Volhynian *szlachta*. The *szlachta* were the landowning nobility and the political elite of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The body of the *szlachta* consisted of Polish as well as eastern Ruthenian and Lithuanian nobles, who often preserved their regional consciousness. The provincial diets (*sejmiks*) and the national diet (*Sejm*) made crucial decisions, including the election of kings, by upholding the principle of unanimity, *liberum veto*. Still undisturbed by the political alterations, this local landed nobility in the Volhynian and Podolian governorates, the

[1] Henrieta Błędowska (Działyńska), *Pamiątka Przeszłości. Wspomnienia z lat 1794-1832* (Warszawa, 1960), 301.

[2] In the text: Wychodzą parapetowymi drzwiami do kwadratu oparkanionego. Na czterych rogach górki wysypane, pośrodku duża grusza z ławkami naokolo i stołem. Z miną triumfalną rzecze: „To są cztery części świata. Ta górka Europa, na niej trochę pszenicy, żyta, lnu, po trochę produktów krajowych i zwierząt wypchanych. Zobaczycie" […] W Azji Turek z lulką z drzewa wyciesany siedział, tytuń, ryż itd. rosł obok. W Afryce Murzyn wyciesany, piaskiem wysypano, palmowe drzewo, także wyciesane i pomalowane. W Ameryce znowu [ludzie] z miedzianą płcią, z papugą wypchaną, kartofle rosły i jeszcze jakaś roślina. Między tymi częściami świata zamiast morza muszle rozrzuczone rozmaite. "Chodźmy teraz do Przylądku Dobrej Nadziei" […] "Tu dobra nadzieja – rzekła – gdyż tu nam kawę przyniosą", in Błędowska, *Pamiątka Przeszłości*, 301.

entities formed by the Russian empire from some of the territories it annexed from the Commonwealth, continued to enjoy their specific intellectual microclimate, contemplating Europe, the Enlightenment, and idea(s) of civilization in their family seats amid their administratively altered environment. Henrietta Błędowska was one of many who at the end of the eighteenth century described herself as being brought up *à la* Rousseau. She made meticulous notes on her literary tastes throughout the 1790s – 1830s, which seemed more important to her than the outcomes of the partitions or the Kościuszko Uprising in 1794, although, she credited these events with a single sentence in her memoirs.

The style of Trypolska's garden was not unique to aristocratic tastes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Architecture and landscape design were often the ways for the landed nobility to promote themselves as worldly citizens. However, the way in which Błędowska depicted these 'fantasies' in her memoirs in the 1850s raises several questions about the notions and practices of the nobility in these annexed territories. Why is lady Trypolska known as 'fantastess'? Was she the only one who endeavored to reflect on her place in the world from her seat in Volhynia in the 1800s? What practices and ideas do other memoirists refer to and what agenda do these recollections serve in their discussions of cultural and intellectual life in their region? What place does the idea of the Enlightenment hold in these recollections? Was the fact of naming a home-grown pear tree the 'Cape of Good Hope' in the Volhynian governorate a symbolic action, or a mere rhetorical caprice that reflected the political fluctuations at the turn of the nineteenth century? Finally, what was the role of landed women in this provincial spectacle of self-representation?

This thesis explores how the *szlachta* and residents of the geographically, socially, and politically distinctive regions of Volhynia and Podole reflected on and made representations of Enlightenment in the 1790s – 1860s. By focusing primarily on the memoirs of the local actors in Volhynia and Podole, this dissertation addresses the ways they experienced and responded to changes in social practices and intellectual communication within their local context and environment.

Debates on (the) Enlightenment

The historiography of Enlightenment studies is manifold, and while understanding it as a European or a worldwide phenomenon, historians continue to argue that it is concurrently

unified, incoherent, national, and global in each particular case. The dominant scholarship has focused on the lay-philosophical aspect and subsequently has constructed a unified image of Enlightenment thought that ignited modernity in Europe.[3] Rarely preoccupied with practices and mediators, such studies built a linear history, which outlined the origins of the Western modern world. Somewhat later, arguments in favour of diversity of the Enlightenment were voiced. J.G.A. Pocock was the first to suggest the scheme of "many Enlightenments" instead of *the* one Enlightenment. For him, only within the paradigm of "many Enlightenments" could various processes be apprehended within each particular context.[4]

Gradually, the Enlightenment came to be seen as a process that cut across different themes and practices of everyday life in a specific milieu. Specifically, Roy Porter and Margaret Jacob conveyed this new line of thought.[5] Cultural historians Robert Darnton and Roger Chartier further exposed a more compounded structure of the Enlightenment within the domain of a social history of ideas and variety of cultural practices. They uncovered this new domain through the study of reading habits and networks within each given society.[6] Specifically, Darnton demonstrated that the Enlightenment was not only about the lives of great thinkers and about their imposing texts, but there was also a down-to-earth process, represented by the works of numerous journalists, pamphleteers, and nameless writers, who competed for the tastes of the reading public.[7] While scrutinizing the French Enlightenment, Darnton suggested it to be a cohesive process that uncovered individual liberties, the rights of man, and the idea of progress. Still, he claimed that it is important to understand the mechanism of how the members of society responded to and appropriated those notions and ideas.[8]

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[3] Tsvetan Todorov, *In Defense of the Enlightenment* (London, 2009), 12. For a grand idea of the Enlightenment, see Peter Gay's *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation* (Knopf, 1966); Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1995); John W. Yolton, Pat Rogers, Roy Porter, Barbara Stafford, eds., *The Blackwell Companion to the Enlightenment* (Oxford, 1992).

[4] J.G.A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion,* Vol. 1, "The Enlightenments of Edward Gibbon, 1737 – 1764" (Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[5] Roy Porter, *The Enlightenment* (Macmillan, 1990); Margaret C. Jacob, *The Enlightenment: A Brief History with Documents* (Bedford/St. Martin's, 2001).

[6] See Daniel Roche, *Le Siècle des Lumières en province, Academiés et académiciens provinciaux*, 1670 – 1789 (Sorbonne, 1973); Robert Darnton, Daniel Roche, eds., *Revolution in Print. The Press in France 1775-1800* (University of California Press, 1989); Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (Norton, 1996).

[7] Robert Darnton, *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (Harvard University Press, 1982).

[8] Robert Darnton, *George Washington's False Teeth: An Unconventional Guide to the Eighteenth Century* (W. W. Norton, 2003), 3 – 24.

Over time, Enlightenment studies became increasingly specialized with the recognition of national contexts and local specificities. The paradigmatic collection of essays *The Enlightenment in National Context* presented a de-centered image of *the* Enlightenment by remarking on the peculiarities of each national context and by interweaving the center with the periphery in hope to show correspondence in the process of Enlightenment of each.[9] The central drawback of this study is that France remained as the archetype of *the* Enlightenment, and national explications were often compared to the model of the French Enlightenment. In addition to this shortcoming, the authors often took the idea of the 'national' for granted, disregarding various social layers within each society. Paschalis Kitromilidies and Manolis Patiniotis recently offerred a more representative example of diversity: they identified the Enlightenment not as a network of ideas with one center, France, but examined multiple scientific practices in different geographical and social settings, and concluded that they followed their own individual paths towards Enlightenment.[10] In particular, Kitromilidies already in his earlier study posited that "regional Enlightenments, emerging out of the interplay of local conditions of social change [...] were articulated in a reconsideration of the basic problems confronting the specific societies in which they emerged".[11]

Simultaneously, John Robertson continues to oppose decisively such tendencies in the field and argues for a connected intellectual movement across geographically diverse, even detached, parts of Europe.[12] By comparing Scotland and Naples and the discussions about human nature, political economy and opinions on the historical advancement of society, Robertson insists that his case studies shared *one* Enlightenment, intellectually cosmopolitan yet patriotic. Robertson acknowledges the contribution of Franco Venturi, who previously declared that the Enlightenment could be both cosmopolitan (through practising foreign languages and ideas) and patriotic (through putting these ideas into public use).[13] Albeit controversially, Antony Pagden also found a way to bring dissimilar French, English and

[9] R. Porter and M. Teich, eds., *The Enlightenment in National Context* (Cambridge University Press, 1981).
[10] See Paschalis Kitromilidies and Manolis Patiniotis, "The Sciences in Europe: Transmitting Centers and the Appropriating Peripheries," in *The Globalization of Knowledge in History*, edited by Jürgen Renn (Max Planck Research Library for the History and Development of Knowledge, 2012).
[11] Kitromilides, *Enlightenment, Nationalism, Orthodoxy: Studies in the Culture and Political Thought of South-eastern Europe* (Variorum, 1994), 52.
[12] John Robertson, *The Case for the Enlightenment. Scotland and Naples 1680 - 1760* (Cambridge University Press, 2005).
[13] Franco Venturi, *Italy and the Enlightenment: Studies in a Cosmopolitan Century* (New York University Press, 1972).

Italian Enlightenments to a common platform of universal human rights and international law.[14]

Hence, within several decades, the scholarship of the Enlightenment studies turned into a series of debates and attitudes, and continues to be revised and re-examined. Simultaneously, the Enlightenment can denote radical Spinozism[15] and constitute an integrated intellectual movement within the networks of the public sphere. Nevertheless, scholars continue to insist on reconstructing geographical, intellectual, social and cultural contexts prior to examining their cases for the Enlightenment. It is becoming increasingly popular to search for the traces of the Enlightenment in various (forged) peripheries, to establish global intellectual connections, or to introduce the topics of urban and rural Enlightenment.[16] These studies either focus on the transfer of French or English ideas or else insist on the unique character of Enlightenment processes within specific national settings, such as Spain, Scotland, Russia, Italy, the Netherlands, Latin America, or Greece.[17]

I maintain that Enlightenment in a specific geographical space should be viewed as a process of intellectual inquiry performed and enacted by the inhabitants. Despite the ostensible geographic and national frameworks, there was a common set of values promoted by individuals, such as their focus on educational improvement, openness towards ideas of emancipation and equality, and belief in the importance of reading, translating, and publishing. Their approaches towards civility and their devotion to the dissemination of knowledge within the community are also the indicators of the sentient process of Enlightenment.

The Age of Enlightenment in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

The period of Enlightenment in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is believed to have taken place during the reign of the last king, Stanisław August Poniatowski (1764 –

[14] Anthony Pagden, *The Enlightenment and Why it Still Matters* (Oxford University Press, 2013).
[15] See Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment. Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650-1750* (Oxford University Press, 2001).
[16] See Borsay, Peter, Lindsay Proudfoot, eds., *Provincial Towns in Early Modern England and Ireland: Change, Convergence, and Divergence* (Oxford University Press, 2002); Bob Harris, Charles McKean, *Scottish Town in the Age of the Enlightenment, 1740-1820* (Edinburgh University Press, 2014).
[17] See Richard Butterwick, Simon Davies, and G.S. Espinosa, eds., *Peripheries of the Enlightenment* (Voltaire Foundation, 2008).

1795). Scholars rarely integrate this brief episode into the broad-spectrum of the European Enlightenment. For instance, a focal study *The Enlightenment in National Context* ignored the Enlightenment in the Commonwealth in favour of Enlightenments in Bohemia and Austria. Despite different methodological and geographic approaches, uncovering the facade of the Enlightenment in the Commonwealth is problematic due to the ephemeral intellectual and scientific microclimate, which appears to be vacuous until the 1760s.[18] Even though the word for Enlightenment, *oświecenie*, existed in Poland long before the eighteenth century, it held a religious implication of bringing a soul and a mind to the light. Scholars of the Polish Enlightenment are still discussing whether later this concept denoted a solid phenomenon or a set of practices, and whether it was part of the European Enlightenment altogether. However, there is a consensus that by the late eighteenth century, a process of continuous educational reform had altered the transcendental meaning of *oświecenie*, and from then on, it meant enlightenment – spreading the reason and knowledge.[19] Even though religious connotations of the term persisted, Richard Butterwick in his deliberations about the form and content of the Polish Enlightenment argues that the Polish reading public was introduced to a new meaning of the term "and its basic meaning was education or learning, without any necessary religious content".[20]

The *Monitor*, the Polish analogue of the *Spectator,* which was published throughout 1765 – 1785, popularized the ideas of *oświecenie* among the Polish reading nobility from the early years of its publication. Its editors emphasized that enlightenment [oświecenie] of the people is the most important source of improvement of the government. Simultaneously, a Piarist priest Stanisław Konarski (1700 – 1773) argued that only with the help of a new educational system could the gentry attain the Enlightenment. Eventually, in the 1790s the poet Franciszek Jezierski (1740 – 1791) further clarified the meaning of Enlightenment – "our age is called the age of enlightenment, for the concept of truth has further expanded among people and superstition has decreased".[21]

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[18] Lisbet Koerner, "Daedalus Hyperboreus: Baltic Natural History and Mineralogy in the Enlightenment," in *The Sciences in Enlightened Europe,* edited by William Clark, Jan Golinski and Simon Schaffer (University of Chicago Press, 1999), 395.

[19] Janusz Maciejewski, "Oświecenie Polskie. Początek Formacji, Jej Stratyfikacja i Przebieg Procesu Historycznoliterackiego," in *Problemy Literatury Polskiej Okresu Oświecenia*, edited by Z. Goliński (Wrocław, 1977), 28.

[20] Richard Butterwick, "What is Enlightenment (Oświecenie)? Some Polish Answers, 1765-1820", 23.

[21] Franciszek Jezierski, "Niektóry wyrazy," in *Wybór pism*, ed. Zdzisław Skwarczyński and Jerzy Ziomek (Warsaw, 1952), 233. Also see pp. 121 – 122.

Somewhat incompatibly with the rest of Europe, the process of Enlightenment in the Polish lands was still in an embryonic phase by 1770s, attempting to co-exist with countless challenges, such as foreign political influences and the consequences of the partition in 1772. Poniatowski and his few devoted reformers were heavily restrained and could not introduce much political change due to the overbearing control of the Russian tsarina Catherine II. For this reason, the magisterial narrative of the Polish Enlightenment is centred on Warsaw and rests on several pillars, which include Stanislaw August Poniatowski (1732 – 1798), his brother, Michał Poniatowski (1736 – 1794), several priests and reformers, such as Hugo Kołłątaj (1750 – 1812), Stanisław Staszic (1755 – 1826), and Stanisław Konarski. A cluster of issues that was discussed and implemented by these men includes, among others, the abolition of the principle of unanimity, the educational reform, constitutional monarchy, equal political partitipation of the city-dwellers and nobility. Discussions of these issues ran alongside the debates about agrarian improvement and the emancipation of peasants and Jews.[22] These intellectual advances are habitually associated with the period of Enlightenment in the Commonwealth. Eventually they culminated in the resolutions of the Great Diet in 1788 – 1792, yet were never implemented because of the partitions in 1792 and 1795. In this context, the reform of the educational system, which was implemented by *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej* [the Commission of National Education], arguably the first Ministry of Education in Europe, during the 1770s – 1790s is still considered the highest achievement of the Polish Enlightenment.[23]

Not only the partitions, but also the reactionary environment to the reformatory milieu often leads to the concession that the Commonwealth of the eighteenth century became a territory of sequential failures in political, military, economic, intellectual, and cultural spheres. Whereas the second half of the eighteenth century was a period of *enlightened absolutism* in Austria, Prussia, and the Russian empire, in the Commonwealth it was a domain of resilient republican tradition, when numerous noblemen deliberated each of the monarch's

[22] See Angela Soltys, Zofia Zielińska, eds., *Stanisław August i Jego Rzeczpospolita. Dramat Państwa, Odrodzenie Narodu* (Warszawa, 2011); Zdzisław Libera, "Narodziny kultury polskiej," in *Wiek oświecony. Studia i Szkice z Dziejów i Kultury Polskiej XVIII i początków XIX wieku* (Warsaw, 1986); Maria Bogucka, *Dzieje Kultury Polskiej do 1918 roku* (Wrocław, 1991); John Stanley, "Towards a New Nation: The Enlightenment and National Revival in Poland," *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* 10:1 (1983): 83-110; Jerzy Lukowski, *Liberty's Folly. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 18th century, 1697-1795* (New York, 1991); Jerzy Jedlicki, *A Suburb of Europe. Nineteenth-century Polish Approaches to Western Civilization* (Central European University Press, 1999).

[23] On the reforms in Poland see Klaus Zernack, *Polska i Rosja: Dwie Drogi w Dziejach Europy* (Warszawa, 2000); Samuel Fiszman, ed., *Constitution and Reform in Eighteenth-Century Poland* (Indiana University Press, 1997).

endeavours, and often relentlessly opposed to any changes. The ideology of Sarmatism best exemplifies such outlook of the *szlachta.*[24] Thus, even though between the 1760s and 1790s the debates on political and social changes in the Commonwealth were fierce and multifaceted, the fruit of the Polish Enlightenment, the reform of education and constitutional reform, are repeatedly measured against similar developments in other European countries. Every examination always reaches the same diagnosis – that there was minimal diffusion of the ideas of European Enlightenment into Polish terrain.[25] Such a result confirms the scheme of an uneven dissemination of ideas from the "Western European core to the peripheries of the continent and beyond", adopted by many scholars.[26] Nonetheless, the influences of French and English cultures on the habits and practices of the Polish aristocracy appeal to some historians. The accession of Stanisław August Poniatowski to the throne undoubtedly intensified the influence of English and French culture on the country's life.[27] From this point onwards, Poniatowski became the embodiment of an enlightened nobleman, as he travelled abroad, exchanged letters with Montesquieu, and dressed in French fashion. This led the historian Jerzy Michalski to portray the King as a persistent reformer[28], while Jean Fabre argued that Poniatowski molded the European Enlightenment to the uniqueness of the Polish – Lithuanian state.[29]

The chronological framework of the Polish Enlightenment is also a matter of continuous debate. While there is a tendency to agree that during the 1760s – 1820s the state experienced specific cultural and intellectual phenomena, the views continue to vary, especially with regard to the end of the Enlightenment in Poland. The political and social reforms were thought to have concluded in 1795, and thus the enlightened reforms are believed to have perished with it.[30] Yet, Richard Butterwick observed that while

[24] The ideology of Sarmatism emanated from the belief that the entire Polish nation originated from the Sarmat tribe that lived in these territories in II century BC – IV century AD. By the seventeenth century, this appellation was reserved to the representatives of older families of *szlachta*, the *knights of honor*, who were stationed between Orient and Occident, and acted as *antemurale christianitatis* [bulwark of Christianity] for the protection of the Polish nation and Europe. Since the mid-eighteenth century, 'Sarmat' became a synonym for "conservatism, bigotry, backwardness, and ignorance" of the provincial *szlachta*. For more on the topic see S. Cynarski, "The Ideology of Sarmatism in Poland," *Polish Foreign Affairs*, 32 (1992).

[25] See Barbara Grochulska, "The Place of the Enlightenment in Polish Social History," in *A Republic of Nobles. Studies in Polish history to 1864*, edited by J. K. Fedorowicz, Maria Bogucka, Henry Samsonowicz (Cambridge University Press, 1982), 244 – 257.

[26] Carla Hesse, "Towards a New Topography of Enlightenment," *European Review of History*, 13:3 (2006): 500.

[27] See Richard Butterwick, *Poland's Last King and English Culture: Stanisław August Poniatowski 1732-1798* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1998).

[28] Jerzy Michalski, *Rousseau and Sarmacki Republicanism* (Warszawa, 1977).

[29] Jean Fabre, *Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski et l'Europe des lumières* (Paris, 1952).

[30] Barbara Grochulska, "The Place of the Enlightenment in Polish Social History," 245.

"*oświecenie* never enjoyed quite the same currency as *Aufklärung*, a self-consciously 'enlightened age' (*wiek oświecony*) began in Poland-Lithuania in the 1760s and lasted until the 1820s".[31] Around the same time, scholars of eighteenth and nineteenth century Polish literature have introduced a more complicated chronological framework: (1) an early phase that took place from 1740 – 1772, (2) a phase of Stanisław August Poniatowski and his reforms from 1772 – 1795, and (3) a phase after the partitions, 1795 – 1822. The publication of *Ballady i Romanse* [Ballads and Romances] by Adam Mickiewicz in 1822 is believed to mark a definite end to the Enlightenment period and a start to the epoch of Romanticism, which glorified the Polish past and the ideals of national freedom and equality.[32]

Henceforth, the short period of Enlightenment in the Commonwealth is placed between the inflexible ideology of Sarmatism of the petty nobility of the sixteenth – eighteenth centuries, and the period of Polish Romanticism and nationalism of the first third of the nineteenth century. Understandably, it is hardly possible to disconnect the values of each, and therefore some scholars point out the fusion of the periods. For instance, Jean Fabre justly observed that the Sarmatian values influenced the *szlachta's* negative sensitivity towards the reforms during the Enlightenment period in the eighteenth century.[33] At the same time, Janusz Maciejewski postulated that the ideas of the Enlightenment allowed the residents "to preserve and continue these Sarmatian values, the most notable of which were: mainly, republicanism, equality, freedom".[34]

Still, the ideas of Enlightenment are believed to be rare and haphazard outside of Warsaw.[35] Throughout the vast territories of the Commonwealth, the *szlachta* are represented as equal political citizens, without regard to their historical affiliation to any territory or province, which is often misleading. For example, according to historian Andrzej Walicki, the

[31] Richard Butterwick, "What is Enlightenment (Oświecenie)? Some Polish Answers, 1765-1820", 36.
[32] Teresa Kostkiewiczowa, red., *Problemy Kultury Literackiej Polskiego Oświecenia*. Studia (Wrocław, 1978).
[33] See Jean Fabre, *Lumières et Romantisme: Énergie et Nostalgie, de Rousseau à Mickiewicz* (Klincksieck, 1963).
[34]Janusz Maciejewski, "Oświecenie Polskie. Początek Formacji, Jej Stratyfikacja i Przebieg Procesu Historycznoliterackiego", 100; Also see Adam Zamoyski, "The Art of the Possible," in *Constitution and Reform in Eighteenth-Century Poland. The Constitution of 3 May 1791*, edited by Samuel Fiszman (Indiana University Press, 1997).
[35] See, for instance, Richard Butterwick, *Poland's Last King and English Culture: Stanisław August Poniatowski 1732-1798* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1998); Józef Andrzej Gierowski, *The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the XVIIIth Century. From Anarchy to Well-Organized State* (Kraków, 1996); Andrzej Walicki, *Philosophy and Romantic Nationalism: The Case of Poland* (Oxford University Press, 1982).

Enlightenment concept of the Polish nation denoted politically active citizens without reference to any linguistic, cultural or ethnic differences.[36]

In the light of this, the clear-cut picture of the Polish Enlightenment remains a problematic subject. In addition, there is a temptation to represent the intellectual processes that occurred in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as being part of a larger East Central Europe and its seemingly unique geographical, multicultural and multi-religious setting.[37] Some historians are suspicious about the Enlightenment in Poland, Hungary or Romania altogether, since it differed from the rationality and scientific empiricism of the French Enlightenment, or from the metaphysical idealism of the German.[38] Instead, the notion of patriotism is proposed as a common denominator for the East Central Europe at the turn of the nineteenth century. As László Kontler argues, amidst national struggles of the early nineteenth century, a patriotic citizen had to possess a comprehensive knowledge of the conditions of his state in order to participate faithfully in political, social and agrarian improvements as well as contributing to the good of his fellow citizens.[39]

In this context, I believe that problematizing the region further will only contribute to the studies of the Polish lands, the peripheries of the Russian empire, to the East Central European framework, and to the body of scholarship on the European Enlightenment overall. The case of the annexed eastern provinces of the Commonwealth is well suited for this task.

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[36] See Andrzej Walicki, *The Enlightenment and the Birth of Modern Nationhood: Polish Political Thought from Noble Republicanism to Tadeusz Kosciuszko* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1989).

[37] See Larry Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia. History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture* (Stanford University Press, 2010), in which the author shows how the imagined identity of Galicia became politically meaningful in the nineteenth century; Derek Beales, *Enlightenment and Reform in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (New York, 2005); R. J. W. Evans, ed., *Austria, Hungary and the Habsburgs: Central Europe c. 1683 – 1867* (Oxford, 2006) and *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy* (Oxford, 1979); Michael Yonan, *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art* (Penn State University Press, 2011); Rita Krueger, *Czech, German and Noble: Status and National Identity in Habsburg Bohemia* (Oxford University Press, 2009); and Teodora Brnardić, "The Enlightenment in Eastern Europe: Between Regional Typology and Particular Micro-history," *European Review of History*, Vol. 13, no. 3 (September 2006): 411 – 435.

[38] See László Kontler, "The Enlightenment in Central Europe?" in *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1770 - 1945).* Vol. One*: Late Enlightenment: Emergence of Modern 'National Idea',* edited by Balázs Trencsényi and Michał Kopeček (Central European University Press, 2006), pp. 34 – 45.

[39] László Kontler, "The Enlightenment in Central Europe?", 37. For more on the notion of patriotism in the period of Enlightenment see: Otto Dann and John Dinwiddy, eds., *Nationalism in the Age of the French Revolution* (London: Hambledon Press, 1988); Roberto Romani, *National Character and Public Spirit in Britain and France, 1750–1914* (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Enlightenment in the Provinces: Approaches and Methodology

The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, or *Rzeczpospolita*, was proclaimed as a dual state in 1569, and consisted of the lands of the Polish crown and of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The territories of Podolian and Volhynian Voivodeships inevitably became a part of the Commonwealth in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively, as these lands had belonged to the Duchy of Lithuania and to the province of Lesser Poland. Polish and Lithuanian magnates and the lesser landed nobility gradually appropriated massive territories in Volhynia and Podole as their private latifundia. Throughout the region, their power was rooted not in towns, which were scarce, but in their mansions in the countryside.[40] In the provinces, the nobility enjoyed the benefits of a separate judicial system and their 'historic rights' to the land, and from the sixteenth century onwards proclaimed themselves as "Rzeczpospolita [republic] of the Volhynian Voivodeship".[41] After a series of partitions in 1772, 1793 and 1795, the Russian empire, the Kingdom of Prussia, and the Habsburg monarchy gradually absorbed the vast lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, together with its landed nobility and peasants. The Volhynian and Podolian voivodeships became new administrative units of the Russian empire.

Subsequently, these political and administrative alterations in the years immediately after the partitions and during the first decades of the 1800s prompted the landed nobility and cultural elite from these historical regions to re-evaluate their past and re-define the role of their provinces in the Polish and Russian states. Numerous memoirs thus came from their pens, and became a comfortable space for such reminiscing. In there, the writers accentuated their regional singularity within the Russian empire. Writing the memoirs in the 1820s – 1860s, the residents of the Volhynian and Podolian governorates gave a meaning to their present. Through the medium of memoirs, the writers conversed between themselves, using the same language of codes and meanings, and established connections to the intellectual and political developments abroad.

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[40] See Maria Bogucka, *The Lost World of the "Sarmatians": Custom as the Regulator of Polish Social Life in Early Modern Times* (Warsaw, 1996).

[41] Наталя Старченко, *Культура Ворожості Шляхти Волині (на прикладі убивств та їх сприйняття в кінці XVI ст.),* 133. [Natalia Starchenko, *The Culture of Hostility of the Volhynian Szlachta* (example of murders and their perceptions in the 16th century)], 133.

Figure 1 - The Three Partitions of Poland.

The map created by Joachim Lelewel (1786 – 1861) in 1830.[42]

The texts of the memoirs amplified the tension between the public and private character of the narrative, since the memoirists do not simply recounted their personal lives, but through self-understanding and self-interpretation, they proved their commitment to self-improvement and the betterment of their society in general. The writers primarily accentuated their provincial autonomy and participation in the local educational reform and economic improvements during the events of the 1800s – 1830s; as such, their memoirs

[42] Joachim Lelewel, *Geschichte Polens von Joachim Lelewel: Atlas enthaltend die chronologischen und genealogischen Tafeln und die geographischen karten der verschiedenen Zeiträume* (Leipzig, 1847), 13.

become statements to civility and self-fashioning.[43] In addition to the memoirs and other writings of the petty nobility, the memoirs and other writings of an actor and a poet of humble origins, who resided in Volhynia and Podole, as well as of the Russian count and several travellers are assessed. *Chapter One* of this thesis will further discuss the specificities of the primary sources as well as a social framework of the territories in question.

Conventionally, the eastern provinces of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth are entangled in several, often conflicting, discourses. Habitually, intellectual developments in Volhynia and Podole are represented within a dominant paradigm of either Polish or Russian nationalism, which either pulled the actors towards their Polish heritage or pushed them towards their Russian reality in the nineteenth century.[44] In a way, the Volhynian and Podolian lands become a 'twofold' periphery, enveloped within the programmatic power plays of two centers – Warsaw and Moscow. The analysis of the memoirs of the residents from the provinces grants the territories with their own voice within a politically transformative period. Therefore, the aim of this thesis is to undermine the widely accepted belief produced by present-day historiography that there existed only one Polish civic nation that transgressed ethno-political boundaries and merged the Polish, Lithuanian and Ruthenian nobility.[45] The residents of the Volhynian and Podolian governorates were acutely aware of their geographical as well as their intellectual position and potential, and the events of the late eighteenth – early nineteenth century only amplified the political and ideological differences between them. Living in the 'Western margins' of the Russian empire, the residents continued to tell the history of Poland and to emphasize the importance of their historical connections to Lithuania.

One way to discuss the development of ideas and practices in the regions of Volhynia and Podole is to approach them as a *periphery*. However, using the term *periphery* inevitably

[43] For the topic of self-fashioning through the process of writing, see Suzanne R. Kirschner and Jack Martin, eds., *The Sociocultural Turn in Psychology. The Contextual Emergence of Mind and Self* (Columbia University Press, 2010).
[44] The discussion of the Western provinces of the Russian empire in the eighteenth century is present in: Andreas Kappeler, *The Russian Empire: A Multiethnic History* (Routledge, 2014); Alexei Miller, *The Romanov Empire and Nationalism: Essays in the Methodology of Historical Research* (Central European University Press, 2008); Jane Burbank, Mark Von Hagen, Anatolyi Remnev, eds., *Russian Empire: Space, People, Power, 1700-1930* (Indiana University Press, 2007); Mikhail Dolbilov, Aleksei Miller, eds., *Zapadnye Okrainy Rossiiskoi Imperii* (Moscow, 2007); Theodore R. Weeks, "Defining Us and Them: Poles and Russians in the "Western Provinces", 1863-1914," *Slavic Review* 53, 1 (Spring, 1994): 26 – 40; Benjamin Nathans, *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia* (University of California Press, 2004).
[45] See Andrzej Walicki, *Poland between East and West: the Controversies of Self-Definition and Modernization in Partitioned Poland* (Cambridge, Mass. 1994), and Timothy Snyder, *The Reconstructions of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569 – 1999* (New Haven and London, 2003).

presupposes the existence of a single center. The main drawback of such an approach is that its focus is often on the transmission of ideas – cultural, scientific, and revolutionary – from the center to the peripheral territories within countries, cities, and continents. Thus, there is a risk of over-emphasizing the science that was produced in specific scientific centers and how this knowledge was utilized in the periphery due "to its indisputable truthfulness and its widely appreciated usefulness".[46] Recent studies that discuss magnates' residences or the educational system in Volhynia and Podole in the eighteenth – mid-nineteenth centuries often simplistically conclude that "the library of a magnate […] was composed according to the ideas of the Enlightenment, popular in Europe in those times"[47] or that "the system of schooling in the Volhynian and Podolian provinces was organized according to philosophy of the European Enlightenment".[48] In this way, a model of the 'European Enlightenment' has been imposed on the passive *periphery*, often misleadingly, and any comprehensive explanation as to what exactly this concept and idea meant for the residents has been lacking. It is important not to forget that these territories can simultaneously be considered as peripheries of the Russian empire, the Duchy of Warsaw and later – the Congress of Poland, the Habsburg lands, and of Europe altogether. Also, during the 1790s – 1850s, the residents of Volhynia and Podole had a range of opinions regarding the affiliation of their region in relation to Warsaw, Moscow, or even 'Europe' as centers of power and culture.

In contrast to this, my thesis will follow the approach offered by Charles Withers, who argues in favor of abandoning a center-periphery framework, since it postulates the existence of a *major* Europe, from where the Enlightenment was exported, and of a certain "secondary market" where it was "sent to". Withers affirms that the Enlightenment was the result of various geographical arrangements across the world. In its basic geographical sense, the Enlightenment appropriates several components, such as a national manifestation, recognition of a universality, and attention to local settings.[49] However, Withers pointed to

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[46] Manolis Patiniotis and Kostas Gavroglu, "The Sciences in Europe: Transmitting Centers and the Appropriating Peripheries," in *The Globalization of Knowledge in History*, ed. Jürgen Renn (Max Planck Research Library for the History and Development of Knowledge, 2012), 331.

[47] For example, I. Ціборовська - Римарович, *Родові книгозбірні Правобережної України XVIII ст. у фондах НБУВ: історія та бібліографічна реконструкція* (Київ, 2001). [I. Tsiborovska – Rymarovych, *Family Book Collections of the Right Bank Ukraine of the Eighteenth century in the funds of the NLUV: history and bibliographical reconstruction*].

[48] For example, Анджей Шмит, *Кременецький Ліцей як Зразок Просвітницької Моделі Школи на Території України у першій половині XIX століття* (Кременець, 2012). [Andrzej Schmit, *Krzemieniec Lyceum as an Example of the Enlightened Model of School in the Territory of Ukraine in the first half of the Nineteenth centruy*].

[49] Charles W. J. Withers, *Placing the Enlightenment: Thinking Geographically About the Age of Reason* (University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 1 – 42.

the multiplicity of specific contexts and their layered geographical and epistemological implications. From this perspective, the geographical element becomes a key element for instilling the Enlightenment at the local level. Thus, in this thesis, the territories in question will be approached from several angles – as a real territory, as an imagined space, and as a social construct. The memoirs of the residents are well suited for the uncovering of these complementary and contrasting images of Volhynia and Podole.

By following the narratives offered by the landed nobility and other residents, I hope to avoid exoticizing the regions of Volhynia and Podole. In spite of them being habitually bypassed by the historiographies of Poland and Russia, and absent from the map of European Enlightenment altogether, from the late eighteenth – mid-nineteenth centuries, the residents of these provinces responded to the same notions, the system of values and modes of improvement as the rest of the world. Although their responses to the same challenges differed in content and style. This study will endeavor to grasp various opinions, attitudes, and ideas on the educational and moral improvements and strategies in Volhynia and Podole, in order to establish how the process of Enlightenment was negotiated in a specific geographical context. I am following the approach outlined by the contributors of *The Enlightenment in Scotland*, who insist on studying the Enlightenment 'within the local situations and diversity' and not within the scheme of influence and imitation.[50] Such an approach targets the disunity rather than the unity of the Polish lands and emphasizes the particularities of each province[51], while contributing to the discussions on cultural superiority/inferiority that were so prevalent during the age of Enlightenment.[52]

The case of the provinces will further problematize the chronological framework of Enlightenment in the Polish lands. I believe that in the annexed provinces of Volhynia and Podole, the Enlightenment began in the 1790s, when the changes to the local education system, introduced by the Commission of National Education, were in full effect and lasted until the 1840s. The closure of the Krzemieniec lyceum (a type of provincial academy) by the

[50] Jean-Francois Dunyach and Ann Thomson, eds., *The Enlightenment in Scotland. National and International Perspectives* (Oxford University Studies in the Enlightenment, 2015), 2.
[51] In the historiography of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, several studies accentuate the peculiarities of different lands of the state. For example, Jerzy Snopek and his *Prowincja Oświecona. Kultura Literacka Ziemi Krakowskiej w dobie Oświecenia 1750 – 1815* (Warszawa, 1992); A. Klonder, A. Janowski, eds., *Cywilizacja Prowincji Rzeczypospolitej Szlacheckiej* (Bydgoszcz, 2004).
[52] On this topic see Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford University Press, 1994); Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford University Press, 2009); Larry Wolff, *The Singing Turk: Ottoman Power and Operatic Emotions on the European Stage from the Siege of Vienna to the Age of Napoleon* (Stanford University Press, 2016).

Russian authorities in 1831 coincided with an unexpected advance of publishing and individual intellectual explorations in the fields of medicine and botany. These developments testify to the self-conscious process of Enlightenment since the local residents formed their opinions and chose to participate in it, by promoting developments in literature, translation, and schooling.

I am aware that the memoirs represent a reversed view of the Enlightenment period since they were written and published decades after the events that are usually considered enlightened took place, especially with regard to the texts published in the 1860s – 1870s. Each writer had time to contemplate the significance of these changes, and to construct a personal story of 'the Enlightenment', looking back at it through the lens of the events and aspirations in the mid-nineteenth century. However, such 'chronological elongation' further uncovers the geographic and historical specificities of Volhynia and Podole and the lasting effect of ideas in these regions.[53] In order to show that the memoirs constructed personal stories while reflecting contemporary discussions, I will support their narratives with private correspondence, travel memoirs, speeches, and scientific articles. As an example of the public opinion in the region, I will also study the articles of the satirical weekly *Wiadomości Brukowe* [The Street News], published in Wilno in 1816 – 1822.

The ambition of this work is to trace the full spectrum of changes that occurred within this provincial community, in order to provide a fresh perspective on the process of blending and transformation of ideas within a specific context.[54] According to Józef Gierowski, a noted scholar on the period of Enlightenment in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, there has been no single study that examines whether the numerous public schools, salons, libraries in the residences of the magnates, existence of freemasons, or local journals introduced any changes to the mentality of the landed *szlachta* throughout the 1780s – 1830s.[55] This thesis is a contribution to this persistent problem.

Until now, I have referred to 'the Enlightenment', 'Enlightenment' and *oświecenie*, without specifying the differences between these terms. In view of the inexhaustible bulk of

[53] On this approach, see Dimitris Dialetis, Kostas Gavroglu, Manolis Patiniotis, "The Sciences in the Greek Speaking Regions During the 17th and 18th centuries. The Process of Appropriation and the Dynamics of Reception and Resistance," in *Archimedes. New Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology,* Vol. 2, ed. Jed Z. Buchwald (Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1999), 42.
[54] For one of the examples of such an approach see Kapil Raj, *Relocating Modern Science. Circulation and the Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe, 1650 – 1900* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
[55] Józef A. Gierowski, *The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the XVIIIth century: From Anarchy to Well-Organized State*, translated by Henry Leeming (Kraków, 1996), 206.

literature, we encounter 'the Enlightenment', 'Enlightenment', 'enlightenment', and 'Enlightenments', which only contributes to a general disorientation within an already complex field. In this research, I will be using the terms *enlightenment* as a direct translation of *oświecenie* that is present in the sources, and *the* Enlightenment as a shared global phenomenon. In Volhynia and Podole, the concept of enlightenment was malleable, and occupied a significant part of daily life; it was a program and a view of the world. Ideas of the Enlightenment in these territories were inevitably intertwined with the moral, political, and aesthetic realms. I will be paying attention to the circumstances and contexts in which the provincial residents employed the term *oświecenie*, since it often embraced various, sometimes complementary meanings, referring both to the processes and practices.

The chapters in this dissertation tackle issues such as education, reading habits, the practice of translation, scientific exploration, emancipation, toleration, and the role of religion in society. In *Chapter One* I examine a selection of memoirs that were written by the residents of the eastern provinces and indicate the possible methodological difficulties of working with these texts. I discuss the place that the territory held in their narratives. *Chapter Two* focuses on the pivotal and dramatic accomplishments of the Polish government – the reform in education that was implemented by the Commission of National Education in the 1770s – 1790s, and the response it received from the provincial nobility. While examining the connections between education and enlightenment, I will analyse how the texts written during the first half of the nineteenth century denoted the perception of a philosophy of education in Volhynia and Podole and attempt to ascertain why certain practices of education became important for provincial society between the 1800s and 1860s. This chapter could potentially contribute to discussions of the reception of ideas of the French and German Enlightenment and their creative appropriation. Thus, I hope to cast some light on the transnational influences in the field of education in the first third of the nineteenth century by highlighting French, German and Polish influences.

Cultural historians of the Enlightenment believe that human beings have shaped and have been shaped by social and discursive practices.[56] In *Chapter Three* I focus on the place and the meaning of reading for the residents throughout the 1790s – 1850s. Here I study the practices of communication through the example of private correspondence and the

[56] As an example of such an approach, I take the studies by Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution* (Durham, 1991) and Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Cornell University Press, 1996).

discussions of the literary habits. Thus, the method of cultural transfer will be applied. In the 1980s, Michel Espagne and Michael Werner introduced the term 'transfert culturel', which they believed negated any passive role in the process of 'reception' and 'adoption' of ideas and objects.[57] By encouraging a focus on mediations and connections, they hoped to challenge the national histories and their seemingly robust borders.[58] Still, one has to be aware that such a replacement of terms, from 'reception' to 'transfer' together with a more nuanced attention towards individuals does not fully salvage transnational histories from the 'territorialized' mode of thinking; it is only that the scopes of research have altered. The discussion of reading practices and their various meanings for provincial society will contribute to the study of geographies of reading, and the section on the meaning and procedures of translation will provide a glimpse into the local cultural and intellectual identities of the authors. This perspective will tone down the idea of a single center.

During the 1790s – 1860s, the residents of the provincial territories revealed an acute perception of the locations of intellectual life, such as schools and academies, but also of the new place of women in their society, and they responded to the challenges of emancipation of other social groups in the context of their political realities. Thus, *Chapter Four* uncovers the multitude of attitudes towards the emancipation of Jews and peasants, addresses the gender aspect of the provincial enlightenment, and provides an insight into the specificity of such discussions in the said period. Finally, *Chapter Five* explores the problem of the Anti-Enlightenment in the region as well as the anti-French debates. In so doing, I juxtapose the images of Europe and France that were present in the memoirs and other sources in order to question a prevalent idea in the historiography of the Polish Enlightenment that the decades after the Napoleonic Wars became the period of Anti-Enlightenment sentiments for the residents in the eastern provinces. A discussion on the idea of civilization is part of this chapter, and it contributes to the overall argument on the multiple localities of the Enlightenment.

By building on these topics, this thesis argues for the importance of peripheral areas in order to uncover the geographical diversity of the Enlightenment. The authors of the

[57] See Michel Espagne, *Les transferts culturels franco-allemands* (Presses universitaires de France, 1999); Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, "Deutsch-französischer Kulturtransfer im. 18 und 19. Jahrhundert. Zu einem neuen interdisziplinären Forschungsprogramm des C.N.R.S.," *Francia* 13 (1985): 502 -510.
[58] See Michel Espagne, "Comparison and Transfer: A Question of Method," in *Transnational Challenges to National History Writing,* edited by Matthias Middell and Liuis Roura (The European Science Foundation, 2013), pp. 36 – 54.

memoirs defined these issues as the most essential when writing their memoirs, and noted the transition in these practices consistently from the end of the eighteenth – mid-nineteenth century. Such an approach allows challenging the orthodox wisdom that Enlightenment yielded to Romanticism in the nineteenth century. As Sebastian Conrad argues, the period of Enlightenment did not necessarily end in the eighteenth century, but persisted into the nineteenth, encouraging local actors to respond to particular circumstances by employing the concept and philosophy of the Enlightenment.[59] Therefore, in this thesis, I will navigate through such grand designs as the European Enlightenment, Anti-Enlightenment, and Counter-Enlightenment, since these concepts have been recently shattered, and the validity of Counter-Enlightenment questioned.[60] Simultaneously, the local actors' works are also examined as indicators of identity formation in the face of foreign imperial domination.

This research contributes not only to the history of ideas in the former Polish – Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Russian Empire, it also problematizes the region of East Central Europe by revealing the competing intellectual discourses that occurred during the political alterations of the 1790s – 1860s.

[59] Sebastian Conrad, "Enlightenment in Global History: A Historiographical Critique," *The American Historical Review* (2012) 117 (4): 1001.
[60] See Robert E. Norton, "The Myth of the Counter-Enlightenment," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 68, no. 4 (2007): 635 – 658.

Chapter One:

The Text and the Territory: Writings of the Residents in Volhynia and Podole

Before talking about the connections between the memoirs and the space they were conceived in, I would like to expand on the social and political context of the territories that were located in the south-eastern palatinate of Poland. In the end of the eighteenth century, the *szlachta* in the Podolian governorate comprised 8.3% of the total population (clergy – 1.3%, city dwellers (Jews and Christians) – 5.6%, and close to 77% of peasants). However, as the reports indicate, even though the general number of *szlachta* was extraordinary and reached 95 000, only approx.. 9 000 of them were the landowners. The rest did not have a single servant, owned hardly any land or property; as such, they often became servants to wealthier magnates, fulfilling various administrative and clerical duties, as did, for example, a *szlachcic* Antoni Chrząszczewski, who served as a clerk and a superintendent in the residence of the magnate Stanisław Szczęsny Potocki in the 1790s – 1840s. With regard to Volhynia, the count of *szlachta* was lower, yet still substantial – almost 65 000. The census of 1795 showed that in the governorates of the Right Bank Ukraine the *szlachta* amounted to 7.7% of total population.[61] Such an abundance of 'political nation' was responsible for a distinctive political climate in these territories.

Local Politics in the 1760s – 1790s: 'Conflict of Opinions'

There were many ardent supporters of the Confederation of Bar (1768 – 1772) among the nobility in the provinces of Volhynia and Podole. The Confederation was organized against Stanisław August Poniatowski and the increasing influence of the Russian empire on the Polish government. The magnate Michał Wielhorski (1730 – 1794), who originally protested against the election of Poniatowski and insisted on the *liberum veto* principle, was one of many enthusiasts of the Confederation. In his attempt to draw international attention to the internal problems of the Commonwealth, Wielhorski departed for Paris where he

[61] А. Л. Перковський, "Етнічна і соціальна структура населення Правобережної України у XVIII ст.," *Історичні джерела та їх використання,* Вип. 4 (Київ, 1969), pp. 200 – 203. [A.L. Perkowsky, "Ethnic and social structure of the population in the Right Bank Ukraine in the 18th century," *Historical Sources and their Usage*, no. 4 (Kyiv, 1969)].

corresponded with Gabriel Bonnot de Mably (1709 – 1785) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712 – 1778). Mably even spent a year in Volhynia, and left it with painful disappointment upon having witnessed the extravagances in the everyday life of the *szlachta*. He later poured his sad feelings on the pages of his *Du gouvernement et des lois de Pologne* (1781), articulating an unwavering disbelief that an effective governmental reform in the Commonwealth could be achieved.[62] In contrast, Rousseau argued for the national identity of the Poles in his *Considérations sur le gouvernement de Pologne et la réforme projetée* (completed in 1771, appeared in 1782), where through his many opinions on education and Polish language he also rooted for the emancipation of the peasants.[63]

Considering himself a disciple of Rousseau, Wielhorski already in 1766 reflected on the necessity of abolishing of the evil principle of the unanimity.[64] In his speech at the Diet in Warsaw, Wielhorski claimed that all countries, including the absolutist states, had governments based on Rights, "which even a most powerful authority does not dare to move or to break".[65] Furthermore, he agreed that "the Liberum veto, so often not appropriately fetched, interferes with the good government of the fatherland, and what was before a cornerstone of the unbreakable freedom, now in our century is an obstacle for reaching this goal".[66] However, even though such claims were legit, Wielhorski admitted that everyone has to use his own reason according to this Right, and specifically called out to "write the contemporary laws in such way, that we ourselves would not need to bypass or to break them in a year or two".[67] At the end of his speech, Wielhorski appealed to the King and asked him to contribute everyone's happiness, and to leave *liberum veto* intact. In 1775, he wrote and published a treatise *On the Restoration of the Ancient Government of Poland*, where he argued for a return to the government based on common law.

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[62] Lukowski, *Disorderly Liberty*, 123 – 124.
[63] C. E. Vaughan, ed., *The Political Writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau*, Vol. 2 (New York, 1962), 379 – 380.
[64] Wielhorski, *Mowa J. W. JMci Pana Wielhorskiego Kuchmistrza W.X.Litt: Posła Wołyńskiego, na Seymie Ordynaryinym Warszawskim miana Roku 1766 Dnia 30 Octobris*.
[65] Wielhorski, *Mowa J. W. JMci Pana Wielhorskiego*, 1. [Wszystkie Państwa, y absolutnych ne wyłączam, maią pewne rząd gruntujące Prawa, ktorych naywielowładniejsza moc wzruszać, y łamać nigdy nie odważa się].
[66] Wielhorski, *Mowa J. W. JMci Pana Wielhorskiego*, 2-3. [Wolne Krolow obieranie, przez bojaźń rewolucyi wstrzymuje zawsze Obywatelowi od dobrego gospodarstwa; Broni Im wspaniałemi kray zdobić Pałacami; Bezkrolewia Obywatelow niszczą, y kray pustoszą; Liberum veto tylekroć razy nie należycie naciągane, dobremu Oyczyzny przeszkadza rządowi, y co przedtym gruntem, y nie wzruszonej Wolności było kamieniem, tego wieku iest tylko zawadą do zamierzoney doyścia mety: Więcey powiem, co za Przodkow Naszych powszechnym było zwyczaiem, to jest iednomyślność, teraz iest cudem przezwana].
[67] Wielhorski, *Mowa J.W.JMci Pana Wielhorskiego*, 4. [myśl nasza szczególnie do tego przywiązywać, abyśmy ciemne objaśniali, szkodliwe odmieniali, a teraźnieysze tak rozważnie opisywali ustawy, żebyśmy ich sami w rok, albo dwa przestępować, y łamać nie byli przymuszeni].

Such opinions of the magnate from the eastern provinces were in stark contrast to the views of the reformers in Warsaw. Since the 1760s, there were debates on the abolition of *liberum veto* in the political environment of the noble nation.[68] In 1760 – 1763, Stanisław Konarski wrote his seminal work *O Skutecznym Rad Sposobie* [The Means of Effective Council], where he argued that the Commonwealth could survive only if its political citizens abolished the principle of unanimity, learn their native language, acquire practical knowledge and become enlightened [oświeconi]. Józef Wybicki (1747 – 1822), being influenced by the writings of Hume and Montesquieu, also declared that the anarchy in the Commonwealth resulted from the excess of liberty of magnates and *szlachta*, who took a habit of copying them. Such bizarre mixture of declarations in favor of patriotism and the unvawering resolution to keep *liberum veto* in Poland puzzled many foreign observers in Poland.[69]

Hugo Kołłątaj (1750 – 1812), one of the authors of the Constitution of May 3rd and priest from Volhynia, continuously emphasized that the petty nobility in the eastern provinces developed a strong sense of belonging to their own territory and group; everyone led the way of life that they liked best without any control, in their manor houses. Their self-definition brewed within the limits of their local context and privileges. In 1792, Kołłątaj even warned the King about the "spoiled citizens" from Volhynia during the proceedings of the Great Diet.[70] By the 1800s, Kołłataj acknowledged that these provinces constituted an impediment for a successful unification of Poland after the partitions, and awaited Napoleon to fix this difficulty. He hoped that these territories would eventually join the Duchy of Warsaw, and "will no longer be divided into provinces, into voivodeships, but into departments which will immediately adopt the same organization; […] civil, criminal and commercial law will be one and the same for all, through the acceptance of the Code Napoleon […] None will henceforth be a Lithuanian, or Volhynian, or a Podolian, or a Kievan, or a Ruthene, and so on, but all will be Poles".[71] Possibly, because of such views, and especially because he advocated an effective executive authority and abolishing *liberum veto*, Kołłątaj was unpopular among provincial writers and almost never mentioned in their

[68] For the comprehensive assessment of the debates about the abolition of the veto during the years of the Great Diet see Butterwick, *Poland's Last King and English Culture: Stanisław August Poniatowski 1732-1798,* pp. 245 - 275.
[69] Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia,* 19 – 20.
[70] Natalia Iakovenko, *Narys Istorii Ukrainy z Naidavnishykh Chasiv do kintsia XVIII stolittia* (Kyiv, 1997), 266.
[71] Hugo Kołłataj quoted in Walicki, *Philosophy and Romantic Nationalism: The Case of Poland* (Oxford University Press, 1982), 87. Also see a description of Kołłataj's politics in Daniel Stone, *The Polish-Lithuanian State, 1386 – 1795* (University of Washington Press, 2001), 318.

memoirs. The Volhynian marshal Józef Drzewiecki (1772 – 1852) deprecatingly remarked on the affairs in Volhynia during the Kosciuszko's wars:

> The spirit of covert societies that have pushed their way through to our country, breathing with demagogical principles, was becoming apparent already then: and it was out of this source that the conception expanded which denigrated the great attributes of Kościuszko, highlighting the talents of [Hugo] Kołłątaj and the bravery of [Jakub] Jasiński, regarding them more capable of running the revolutionary government.[72]

A zealous admirer of Kościuszko, Drzewiecki believed that Kołłątaj and the so-called Jacobin Jasiński were pseudo-revolutionaries, even though the ideal form of government for Kołłątaj was a balanced representative system, which aimed at restoring the sovereignty of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth after the First Partition of 1772.

If Kołłataj was hoping for a possible assimilation of the *szlachta's* many 'faces' at the turn of the century, scholars of the post-partitioned lands continue insist that the mind-set of the provincial *szlachta* opposed the changes advocated by the Great Diet of 1788 – 1792. These changes included the emancipation of peasants, a new code of civil law, education for women, and the obligation of general mobilization.[73] Often, these novelties were not met in a friendly manner. For example, the chamberlain Franciszek Ksawery Grocholski (1730 – 1792) was against the reforms and explained his political position by declaring that if it was difficult to erase the government that is "forcibly imposed" onto the residents, then what can be done about the decisions of the government, which they "accepted voluntarily".[74]

The topic of the Constitution was yet another matter of heated discussions. In 1792, an economist Walerian Antoni Stroynowski (1759 – 1834) spoke about the Constitution at the local Volhynian assembly.[75] He spoke to the Volhynian *szlachta* that the Great Diet had strengthened the country and made her equal to the Moscow monarchy. Catherine II had agreed to the norms of the Constitution, as she was convinced by her loyal enlightened servants that "Her Countries are not happier than they used to be when She took the Throne".[76] Thus, it was important for the provincial residents to know that the empress

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[72] Drzewiecki, *Pamiętniki Józefa Drzewieckiego*, 32.
[73] Ryszard Przybylski, *Krzemeniec. Opowieść o Rozsądku Zwyciężonych* (Warszawa, 2003), 90.
[74] Franciszek Ksawery Grocholski, *Głos Jaśnie Wielmożnego Franciszka Grocholskiego Miecznika Koronnego, Posła Wwodztwa Bracławskiego Na Sessyi Seymowey Dnia 10. Maja R. 1790. Miany* (Warszawa, 1790).
[75] Walerian Stroynowski, *Mowa na Seymikach Wołyńskich Trzech Powiatow, dnia 18 lutego 1792 roku miana*.
[76] Stroynowski, *Mowa na Seymikach Wołyńskich*, 13 - 14. [iey Kraie nie więcey teraz są szczęśliwe, niż były przed wstąpieniem Jey na Tron].

improved the changes in the central government. By the end of his speech, Stroynowski insisted that he does not praise nor blame the Constitution, but is obedient to it, and careful not obliterate any of its effects.[77]

The memoirs written throughout the 1820s – 1860s rarely epitomise such a rich political narrative that the nobility expressed in their speeches. Even though the texts of memoirs are often divided according to political events, the writers remain focused on their internal affairs, namely kinships, practices of education, reading and translation. Despite the claims that provincial *szlachta* frequently sabotaged the reforms of the Diet, which they considered a threat to their "golden liberties", some of the memoirists estimate its outcomes rather enthusiastically. For instance, a historian Jan Ochocki (1766 – 1848) claimed that "[I]n the beginning of 1788, almost an entire nation, as if touched by an electric spark, felt a sudden need for the reform of the government, the troops, to restore former rights, which were either forgotten or worn out, to improve those that did not correspond to the needs of time, and so they equalled themselves to the order and civilization of the neighbouring countries".[78] He specifically indicates that journals and periodicals instilled such opinions among the residents. However, such evaluations were conditional. Even though Antoni Chrząszczewski viewed the years of the Diet as a time of a "more sensible patriotism"[79], he criticized the *szlachta* for their unwillingness to contribute financially to the state treasury.

The relationship between the voivodeships and the central government should be discussed in a more detailed way. The representatives of the petty nobility preferred service to the King's rivals, the magnates Adam Czartoryski (1770 – 1861) and Stanisław Szczęsny Potocki (1751 – 1805).[80] The Podolian marshal Adam Moszczeński (1731 – 1823), who opposed the Constitution, wrote about Czartoryski saying that "he had much reason, which is called l'esprit, great knowledge of things, languages".[81] In a similar way, a resident of Volhynia Henrietta Błędowska (1794 – 1869) indicated that in her sister-in-law's house in Woronczyn there was a portrait of a Prince Adam Czartoryski, which took precedence over the other paintings in the salon, and overlooked a rich collection of engravings, books, stuffed birds, and fruit. Since the family of Czartoryski donated to the Corps of Cadets,

[77] Stroynowski*, Mowa na Seymikach Wołyńskich,* 24.
[78] Ochocki, *Pamiętniki Jana Duklana Ochockiego,* T. 2, 33. For a similar description of the Great Diet, see Drzewiecki, *Pamiętniki Józefa Drzewieckiego,* 11.
[79] Chrząszczewski, *Pamiętnik Oficjalisty Potockich z Tulczyna,* 66.
[80] See, for example, Adam Moszczeński, *Pamietnik do Historii Polskiej w Ostannich latach panowania Augusta III i pierwszych Stanislawa Poniatowskiego,* 60.
[81] Moszczeński, *Pamietnik do Historii Polskiej,* 60.

which was established in Warsaw in 1765, the nobility had a positive opinion about this educational establishment that, in their opinion, formed enlightened [educated and useful] people in the country, and viewed him as a patron of arts and sciences. However, at the same time Czartoryski's lack of political ambitions was seen as the result of romances and his light spirit. In contrast, Poniatowski was hardly ever credited with such positive accomplishments. If Julian Niemcewicz (1758 – 1841) provided a positive evaluation of the King's party, many other writers were more cautious and perceived Stanisław August's court as a shelter for "fraudsters, […] a meeting point of everything that was most disgusting in Europe".[82] A writer from Volhynia, Henryk Cieszkowski (1808 – 1873) expressed a similar opinion in his *Notes*. He recalled that in his grandmother's house "King Stanisław August, I remember, was an object of hatred, outrage, and endless jokes of my grandmother".[83] The King's portrait in the main hall of the house remained permanently shielded with a cloth.

The disparagement of the King's authority stemmed from the long political tradition in the Commonwealth and the actual absence of political equality, professed by the "golden liberties". Before the 1750s, all prominent positions in the government were available only to the magnates and their *protégé*, without regard to their education or a lack of one. However, Stanisław August Poniatowski believed that educating a larger amount of nobility and then promoting them to serve the state would result in the further modernization of his government.[84] Since the King felt a sense of rivalry from the magnates, especially from the Czartoryski and Potocki's families, he gradually started to promote the lesser *szlachta* to the key posts, which was not received well by the magnates. Adam Moszczeński, an ardent opponent of the reforms in the Commonwealth, noted one of these examples in his memoirs. Moszczeński refers to a *szlachcic*, whom the King appointed as an ambassador to the Porta: "elected was Mr. Alexandrowicz, a particular nobleman, of exiguous property, possessing no knowledge or talent whatsoever, and knowing no languages, this only merit did he possibly have that he walked around in the Polish way, was a white-skinned, pudgy man, with a black moustache".[85] Thus, after the election of the new King the traditional structures of power in the provinces changed. The King gave public offices in Bracław, Wołyń, and

[82] Józef Zajączek, *Józefa Zajączka Pamiętnik albo Historja Rewolucji Czyli Powstanie roku 1792* (Poznań, 1862), 14 – 15.
[83] Henryk Cieszkowski, *Notatki z Mojego Życia* (Poznań, 1873), 9 – 10.
[84] See Zofia Zielińska, „Nowe Świata Polskiego Tworzenie. Stanisław August – Reformator, 1764 – 1767," in *Stanisław August i Jego Rzeczpospolita. Dramat Państwa, Odrodzenie Narodu*, red. Angela Soltys, Zofia Zielińska (Warszawa, 2011).
[85] Moszczeński, *Pamietnik do Historii Polskiej,* 99.

Podole to people whose opinions he approved of.[86] As a result, even if minimally, this situation allowed the lesser *szlachta* to acquire a taste of political equality, which was a rather beautiful myth than the truth in the Commonwealth. However, his main aim was to challenge the power of the magnates. Immediately after the partitions the nobility benefitted from the loyal policies of the emperor Paul I (1796 – 1801) and later of Alexander I (1801 – 1825), who at the beginning left their subjects to their freedoms and to their language. While the reign of Paul I was brief, they nevertheless remembered him as "earnest about the good of his newly adopted children".[87] Later on, a friendship between Adam Czartoryski and Alexander I resulted in "flowering of Polish learning and culture"[88] during the 1800s – 1820s, even though it was not a conscious tactic of the monarch, but merely lack of attention towards his subjects, whom he believed were obedient.

Therefore, in around the 1800s, the noble communities of the Volhynian and Podolian governorates were embedded into the political orbits of several aristocratic families in addition to the two centers of power – Polish and Russian. Still, despite the lack of strong governmental control or even its disregard, the local residents managed to acquire their own voice. At the level of the high aristocracy, such as was the magnate Czartoryski, there was no abrupt break between the old republicanism of the *szlachta* and modern ideas of nationality within the context of the empire.[89] The case of the provinces provides another disposition – specifically of nationality based on ethnicity. Provincial *szlachta* frequently expressed contrasting opinions on the future of their lands. In the opinion of Count Michał Starzeński (1757 – 1823), who was himself a participant in Kościuszko's uprising, which had been designed to counteract Russian influences in 1794, the *szlachta* from the eastern provinces were famous for their "kwestya poglądów" [conflict of opinions].[90] Some envisioned their political salvation in Prussia, while some admired the French Revolution and its social backlash, and these two parties constantly fought with the numerous Russian supporters during the 1790s.

[86] Moszczeński, *Pamietnik do Historii Polskiej,* 99 – 102.
[87] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty Starego Detiuka o Wołyniu,* T.1, 139.
[88] Butterwick, "Catholicism and Enlightenment in Poland-Lithuania", 348.
[89] See, for instance, Paul Brykczynski, "Prince Adam Czartoryski as a Liminal Figure in the Development of Modern Nationalism in Eastern Europe at the turn of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries".
[90] See a lengthy description of diversity of political persuasions of the *szlachta* in Michał Starzeński, *Na Schyłku Dni Rzeczypospolitej. Kartki z pamiętnika Michała Starzeńskiego* (1757 - 1795) (Warszawa, 1914), 84 – 85.

New Borders of the Provincial Lands

After the partitions in 1793 and 1795, the Podolian and Volhynian Governorates were formed. In 1795, Catherine II decreed that the Volhynian governorate was to "stay under the sceptre of the Russian State", and its people of "every kind, sex, age, and status is in its eternal subjugation".[91] Initial changes, introduced by the Russian empire, were mostly nominal, such as new administrative divisions of these territories and the assignment of new capitals. By the early nineteenth century, the Volhynian and Podolian Governorates consisted of 12 counties each, with the capitals in the towns of Żytomierz and Kamenets-Podolskiy respectively.

During the first decades, the Russian monarchs Paul I (1796 – 1801) and Alexander I (1801 – 1825) resolved to send jurists, botanists, and countless inspectors to the newly acquired lands with the task to gather information about its nature, resources and population. One of these inquisitive appraisers was a historian from St Petersburg, Stepan Russov (1768 – 1842). He was appointed as a district prosecutor to Żytomierz in the Volhynian governorate and simultaneously was assigned with an important mission – to typify the province and its people. "Even though Volhynia was never an independent state", wrote Russov in his *Notes on Volhynia* in 1809, "the events that occurred there could justly constitute a separate history".[92] In the final pages of his account, Russov draws a poignant and even a philosophical conclusion, saying that Volhynia,

> being comprised of three different nations, being not far away from the point of connection of three greatest empires in the world, and a border between the two of them, being constantly flooded with numerous natives of all nations, offers to a curious observer a chance to see that all nations contain good and evil people in equal proportion, and if some of them [people] are distinguished by their vices or their virtues, it is only temporary and circumstantially.[93]

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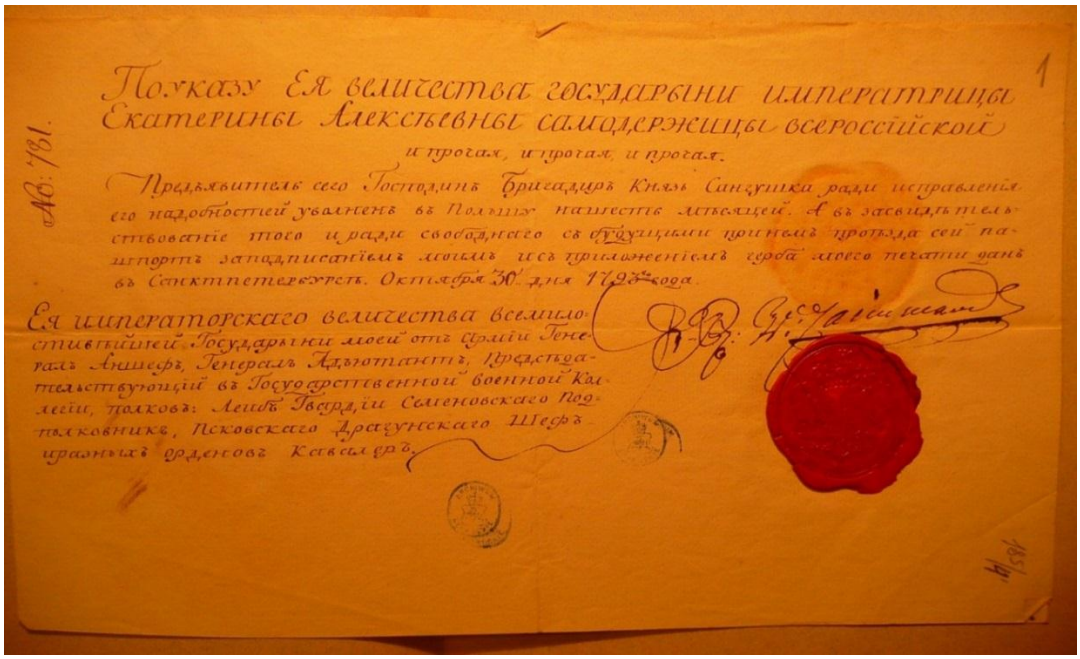
[91] *Полное собрание узаконеній о губерніяхъ по хронологіческому порядку съ 1775 по 1817 июнь мѣсяцъ* (Спб, 1818), 164. ["Волынская губернія всегда имѣютъ состоятъ подъ Скипетромъ Россійской Державы", "всякого рода, пола, возраста и состояния в вѣчномъ подданстве онаго"].

[92] Степан Руссов, *Волынскія записки, Сочиненныя Степаномъ Руссовымъ въ Житомирѣ. По Высочайшему Повелѣнію* (Спб, 1809), 1. [Хотя Волынь никогда не была особеннымъ государствомъ, но произшестія въ ней случившіяся могутъ по справедливости составлять особую историю].

[93] Руссов, *Волынскія записки*, 183 – 184. [состоя изъ трехъ разныхъ народовъ, не далеко отстоя отъ точки соединения трехъ величайшихъ в свѣте Имперій, и какъ граница между двухъ изъ нихъ, наводняясь безпрестанно множествомъ выходцевъ изъ всѣхъ народовъ, даетъ любопытному наблюдателю способъ удостовериться, что всѣ націи состоятъ въ одной пропорціи добродѣтельныхъ и злыхъ людей, и естьли какіе изъ нихъ отличаются пороками или добродѣтелями, то временно и по обстоятельствамъ].

Thus, Russov delicately implies that Volhynia was a historical *borderland* contested by its powerful neighbors, and this situation often led to adverse conflicts and hybrid identities of its inhabitants. For him, however, a *borderland* was not merely a periphery of several states, but an important place for creation and (re-)invention of history. In the eyes of a Russian historian of the early nineteenth century, the Volhynian governorate was geographically unique, yet at the same time, its people were similar to the rest of the population of the Russian empire, which arguably was a key purpose for writing the *Notes*.[94] Russov further analyzed Poles and offered a quotation from a German philosopher Samuel von Pufendorf (1632 – 1694) that "Poles are honest and know no trickery".[95] Yet, he categorically decried this opinion, affirming instead that these features were inherent only to *natural* Poles, who comprised no more than 1/10 of all the inhabitants of the province, and to women, true keepers of uncontaminated Polish traditions.

Figure 2 - Passport to travel to Poland, 30 October 1793



(Source: The Wawel Royal Castle Archive in Kraków, *Akty X.X. Sanguszków*, Teka 185, pl. 4).[96]

[94] Руссов, *Волынскія записки,* II.
[95] Руссов, *Волынскія записки*, 180.
[96] There were other passports, among them several were issued by Paul I in 1798. The originals can be found in The Wawel Royal Castle Archive in Kraków, *Akty X.X. Sanguszków*, Teka 80, pl. 10.

Since the annexation of these lands by the Russian empire and the founding of the Duchy of Warsaw in 1807, Volhynia and Podole were equally perceived as political *borderlands* by the Russian authorities and the Polish aristocracy in Warsaw. For instance, during his visit to Warsaw in 1815 the emperor Alexander I was met by the hostile Polish nobility who demanded the return of the seized territories of Mogilev, Vitebsk, Volhynia, Podole, and Lithuania.[97] At the end of that visit, according to the Count Mihaylovski-Danilevski's notes, the emperor and his court did not feel at home, or abroad in Warsaw, because the residents of the Duchy were still too agitated about the long since taken provinces.

At the same time, for the residents of Volhynia and Podole, a visit to Warsaw already in the 1790s meant a visit abroad, and they had to obtain *passports* in order to travel to 'Poland', or further, to Austria or Prussia. What's more, opinions on the reunification of the eastern provinces were not necessarily mutual between the residents of Warsaw and the aristocracy in the newly proclaimed governorates. Shortly after the partitions, the local aristocracy forged a scientific dialogue between the Russian empire and its newly acquired territories by means of writing the histories of the Volhynian and Podolian provinces. A magnate Jan Potocki (1761 – 1815), who resided in Podole, composed *Histoire anciènne du gouvernement de Volhynie: pour servir de suite à l'histoire primitive des peuples de la Russie* and *Histoire anciènne du gouvernement de Podolie*, which were published in St Petersburg in 1805.[98] In this work, Potocki postulated his views on gradual social and economic formation of Volhynia and Podole from the Ancient Empires onwards, and justified their present arrangement within the Russian empire, arguing that such a process was natural and inevitable.

The elites on the eastern provinces of the Commonwealth combined their attachment to local traditions with their critique of the central government in Warsaw, their conservatism regarding the philosophy of education with their appreciation of freedom and equality. In this, the Volhynian and Podolian nobles differed from the Galician ones, who from the 1772 onwards became targets of an exclusive 'messianic absolutism' by the Habsburg emperors,

[97] А.И. Михайловский-Данилевский, «Мемуары 1814 - 1815», 325. [Между тем поляки смотрели, вообще, на нас пасмурно. Они покорены нашим оружием, Россия возвратила им политическое существование и самое имя их, которого они двадцать лет были лишены. Император наш, кажется, желает предугадывать желания народа и частных людей, однако же, они казались недовольными и даже не скрывали в разговорах, что им надлежит возвратить Могилев, Витебск, Волынь, Подолию и Литву. Это не заслуживало другого ответа, кроме известного стиха Дмитриева: "Всяк в свих желаньях волен"].

[98] Jan Potocki, *Histoire anciènne du gouvernement de Volhynie: pour servir de suite à l'histoire primitive des peuples de la Russie* (St. Petersburg, 1805); *Histoire anciènne du gouvernement de Podolie: pour servir de suite à l'histoire primitive des peuples de la Russie* (St. Petersburg, 1805).

who set out to eliminate barbarism and eradicate backwardness among its residents.[99] The Viennese as well as the Galician intelligentsia forged an ideology of belonging to the Habsburg Empire during the era of Joseph II, whilst the residents of the now-Russian governorates opted for their own mental and intellectual choices. Regarding the social aspect of integration in the provinces, the lands enjoyed a relatively unperturbed transition, managing to keep their economic and educational infrastructure and confessions well into late the 1820s. During the 1830s, following the November Uprising of 1830 – 1831, the Volhynian, Podolian and Kiev Governorates were incorporated into a single entity of the *Southern Krai General Governorate*. At this point, the s*zlachta*'s aristocratic privileges and titles began to be questioned and gradually terminated by the Russian authorities.

Notably, the Russian officials and scholars were creating their fables which reinforced the longevity of tradition between the center and the peripheries of the empire, claiming that Volhynians descend from one of the tribes, who from the medieval period onwards had lived near the river Volga (thereby – Volgh-ynians).[100] By simultaneously drawing these *historical connections* between the two peoples, the elite of the Russian empire were trying to accommodate new territories within the scope of their geographic as well as mental mapping of the empire. For example, an anonymous traveller from St Petersburg to Warsaw insisted on a separation between the *old* Poles and the *new* Poles. The *new* Poles were the residents of the Duchy of Warsaw who faced a different, better and more successful fate than prior to the partitions.[101] Until the late nineteenth century, the scholars in Warsaw accepted that the designation *Wołyń* [Volhynia] did not delimit specific political or geographical borders, since "every period of history changed the territorial scope [of Volhynia], extending or reducing it with regard to its political power or power of its rulers".[102] Again, the territory of Volhynia was being assessed as a *borderland*.

For centuries, the lands of the eastern palatinate of the Commonwealth were also a religious *melting pot*. Since the sixteenth century, these predominantly rural south-eastern provinces of the Commonwealth were the realms of Catholic *szlachta*, Jews, as well as

[99] See Larry Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia. History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture*.
[100] Руссов, *Волынскія записки*, 1.
[101] *Путевые записки въ проѣздъ Польши или Царства Польскаго*, 1815 г. (Спб, 1817), 21.
[102] „Wołyń," in *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i Innych Krajów Słowiańskich.* T. XIII (Warszawa, 1893).

Protestant settlers and Muslim Tatars.[103] The Catholic branch was not exclusively Catholic, as it comprised Catholics and Greek Uniates. From the 1810s onwards both groups had frequently clashed with the Russian Orthodox Church that was strengthening its position by seizing Catholic churches and monasteries in the region, and meddling with the religious allegiances of Uniate peasants. The exclusion of the Bernardines, a branch of the Franciscans in East Central Europe, was over by the 1820s. During this period, the local petty nobility continued to promote themselves as protectors against the Muslim threat as enthusiastically as they portrayed themselves to be the pillars of Catholicism within the Russian empire.

Considering these historical and geographical idiosyncrasies of the provinces, I nevertheless believe that applying the concept of a *borderland* to the annexed territories – *kresy* – can be forced at times. One of the dangers of approaching the territories and their residents from the point of view of *borderlands* is that it can inevitably allude to a discussion about conflicts, inclusion/exclusion of social groups with the ensuing exoticization of some of them, and presupposingly enveloping these debates within the myth(s) of national belonging. In a nutshell, a *borderland* as a space is a territory where any identity is susceptible to interrogation. In order to avoid such implications, I approach these territories from the point of view of the writers – as historical regions, where the nobility could exercise their habitual routine as the Polish natives of the Volhynian, Podolian, and Lithuanian lands.

In 1861, an intellectual Michał Grabowski (1804 – 1863) claimed in his widely debated article *The Answer of a Pole to the Russian Publicists' Question about Lithuania and the Western Provinces* that these territories were not "Western Russia" as some Russian writers indicated at the time. Instead, he claimed that they were the "Polish provinces of the Russian empire" as Europe recognised them in this way at the time of the partition.[104] In Grabowski's view, the Russian empire consisted of a monolithic center around which many different provinces could be arranged, which would allow them to preserve their autonomy over time and through particular circumstances.[105] During the 1820s – 1860s, the nobility in the annexed territories chose to think of themselves as inhabitants of *Terre Russiennes*, or south-eastern provinces, as it was known within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from the sixteenth

[103] On inter-religious co-habitation and shared space of the towns in the provinces see Barbara Skinner, *The Western Front of the Eastern Church: Uniate and Orthodox Conflict in 18th-century Poland, Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia* (Northern Illinois University Press, 2009); and David Frick, *Kith, Kin, and Neighbors: Communities and Confessions in Seventeenth-Century Wilno* (Cornell University Press, 2013).
[104] Михаł Грабовски, *Ответ Поляка русским публицистам, по вопросу о Литве и западных губерниях* (Москва, 1862), 5.
[105] Грабовски, *Ответ Поляка русским публицистам*, 37.

to the eighteenth centuries. After such elongated period of inclusion, Grabowski argued that by the 1800s it was nearly impossible to know who was a 'natural Pole' and who – a 'natural Ruthene'. In a somewhat similar way Joachim Lelewel, a historian of mixed Byelorussian – Prussian – German origins, who admitted that he had not a drop of Polish blood, appealed to the 'people of Poland' in 1844, who were "Lithuanian, Krakowian, Ruthenian, Mazurian, Ukrainian, Great Polish – all are Poles".[106]

Thus, it is safe to say that nobility in the Ruthenian lands perceived themselves and were perceived as diverse agents within the Polish lands and new borders only contributed to such self-assessment. Obviously, their geographic position influenced the mindset and political stand of the residents. For example, Antoni Chrząszczewski in Podole noted in a poem: "*Who live close to one's border, / Bow low to him, in order. / Those who live even closer / Will bow down lower, oh sir",* insinuating the flexibility of the *szlachta's* political persuasions.[107] Inspite of precise demarcation of their geographic space, 'Volhynia' became rather a conceptual category for its inhabitants as well as for the *szlachta* from the rest of the Commonwealth. Researchers of the annexed areas often follow the two approaches towards these lands. For example, a French historian Daniel Beauvois affirmed that especially in the early nineteenth century, the lands of Volhynia and Podole were on the border between two countries and worlds of ideas, Polish and Russian.[108] Yet, according to a Canadian historian Frank Sysyn, the category of 'Volhynia' connected space, people and their practices into a unique regional identity.[109] Examination of the residents' memoirs will resolve this discordance in opinions, introduce other possible cultural agents, and will let the *szlachta* speak for themselves.

Pamiętnik and Its Author(s)

After marking the milestones of the region's history and placing it in the mental landscape of Polish and Russian citizens, it is necessary to outline the main characteristics of

[106] Joachim Lelewel, *Polska, Dzieje i Rzeczy Jej*, Vol. 20 (Poznań, 1864), 436 – 37, quoted in Steven Seegel, *Mappring Europe's Borderlands. Russian Cartography in the Age of Empire* (University of Chicago Press, 2012), 59.
[107] Chrząszczewski, *Pamiętnik oficjalisty Potockich z Tulczyna*, 60. [*Kto czyjej granicy blisko, /Ten się jemu kłania nisko; /A kto mieszka jeszcze bliżej / Ten się kłania jeszcze niżej*].
[108] See Daniel Beauvois, *Trójkat Ukraiński. Szlachta, carat i Lud na Wołyniu, Podolu i Kijowszczyźnie, 1793 – 1914* (Lublin, 2005).
[109] F. E. Sysyn, "Regionalism and Political Thought in Seventeenth-Century Ukraine: The Nobility's Grievances at the Diet of 1641", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1982): 167 – 180.

the sources that this research is primarily based on – the memoirs of the lesser landed nobility. Before the end of the eighteenth century, Polish literature would only have provided a few original texts written in Polish. A historian and a publisher of memoirs Józef Ignacy Kraszewski (1812 – 1887) observed in the 1840s that nobles' private library collections contained only foreign titles, and the primary reason for this was that the literature written in Polish had not been disseminated widely, quite the contrary, it was nearly absent.[110] However, the 1820s – 1860s warranted a surplus of memoir writing in Polish among the aristocracy as well as the petty nobility, and priests. Through this fund of texts, it is possible to observe the strategies of political and cultural endurance that were adopted by the community in the annexed territories.

'Memoirs' is a translation of the term *pamiętnik*. *Pamiętnik* designates a genre that in prose tells a story of events that the author lived through, indicating a context of those events, and highlighting personal and public attitudes to them. This genre was present in the Polish literary canon from the early sixteenth century, when as a literary scholar of early-modern memoirs Marian Kaczmarek indicates, the principal politicians of the country attempted to answer the questions "the way we were and who we are".[111] The authors of these early modern memoirs were governors, bishops, ministers, diplomats, members of the *szlachta* and city-dwellers. These memoirs were abundant and were written in various ways, which prompted the origin of a theory of *pamiętniki* with an aim to categorize these texts according to their contents. For instance, Kaczmarek maintains that *pamiętnik* should denote only an authentic, first person account told by a narrator; in his turn, the literary historian Władysław Czapliński uses a different criteria and argues that only a text where exclusively the personal recollections of the author are written deserves to be called *pamiętnik*. Czapliński's approach excludes the process of history telling in its broader sense, and limits various interpretations of memory in *pamiętniki*. In this research, *memoirs* are assessed as a single text written during a separate period or at the end of the author's life, and are considered a personal commentary to social and political events that the author lived through or associated himself with.

The nobles refer to their texts by many names. It can be, for example, *pamiętniki, wspomnienia* [memories], *pamiątka przeszłości* [reminder of the past], *wspomnienia pamiętnikarskie*

[110] Józef I. Kraszewski, *Obrazy z Życia i Podroży*, Vol. 2 (Wilno, 1842), 148.
[111] Marian Kaczmarek, *Antologia Pamiętników Polskich XVI wieku* (Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków, 1966), VII. [„jacy byliśmy, jacy jesteśmy"].

[memoir of memories], and *notatki z życia* [notes from a life]. It is not clear whether the authors themselves chose their titles, or whether it was done by publishers later, yet one thing is clear – all of the texts tell personal stories that were embedded in the memory of the local community, state, and history of Europe. While autobiographies show the past based on facts, memoirs always aim for more – they attempt to reconstruct the past from the point of view of the author at a particular time of his life.[112] In order to make his account vibrant and distinctive, a memoirist can follow an example of a history novel, which often amalgamated the fact and the fiction for the readers.

Generally, memoirs present a multitude of temporal identities that the writer adopted. Maurice Halbwachs has already established that by the mid-twentieth century there were different microcosms of memory – family, class, religious community, political domain – and the narratives of memoirs cut across these categories.[113] Since every memory is limited in space and time, and every individual is simultaneously a member of several social groups, a multiplicity of memory occurs, because memory is always structural and results from a "collection of material artefacts and social practices".[114]

The manner of writing in a memoirs often obliterated any separation between the public and the private, and by the end of the eighteenth century, the category of *pamiętnik* acquired a rather blurred definition. From the 1770s onwards in Poland, *pamiętnik* served to denote not only a personal memoir, but also a periodical that discussed politics and foreign affairs. A prime example is *Pamiętnik Historyczno-Polityczny*, that was published by a Jesuit Piotr Świtkowski in Warsaw from 1782 – 1792. In this publication, Świtkowski campaigned to battle ignorance and fanaticism among the members of the lesser nobility. Arguably, the existence of this official periodical contributed to the creation of public opinion in the Polish lands after the First Partition in 1772, since it discussed international affairs during and after the French Revolution, and provided a platform for debates on the emancipation of the Jewish population and peasants during the sessions of the Great Diet from 1788 – 1792.

[112] On the topic of memoirs and autobiographies see Thomas Ahnert and Susan Manning, eds., *Character, Self, and Sociability in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); R. Porter, ed., *Rewriting the Self. Histories from the Renaissance to the Present* (Routledge, 1997); and Michael Mascuch, *Origins of the Individual Self: Autobiography and Self-Identity in England, 1591-1791* (Polity Press, 1997).
[113] Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (University of Chicago Press, 1992).
[114] Kerwin Lee Klein, "On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse," *Representations* No. 69, Special Issue: Grounds for Remembering (Winter, 2000): 127-150 (130).

There were plenty of reasons for writing *pamiętniki* in earlier centuries. A specialist of the early modern Polish literature Alojzy Sajkowski postulates that it could be the love of history, indulged by historical chronicles and yearbooks.[115] In addition, while writing their recollections, memoirists could have pursued a very practical goal – to tell a history of their family so that their descendants could claim their rights to the family's land and property.[116] It remains difficult to answer the question why so many memoirs were written and published during the period of the 1800s – 1870s. The fact that the writers from the annexed territories wrote and published a great deal of memoirs in Polish is fascinating by itself, taking into consideration that from the 1820s onwards, publishing works in Polish was banned, as was the use of Polish in schools or within the administration of the Western governorates of the Russian empire.[117]

Undoubtedly, abrupt political changes, such as the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars from 1803 – 1815 pushed the representatives of the aristocracy, city-dwellers, and soldiers to record their experiences and what is more important – to make them public. For instance, there was an outbreak of memoir-writing among British soldiers during the 1780s – 1830s. Neil Ramsey, a scholar of Romantic literary culture, claims that the popularity of this genre was dictated by the soldiers' wish to mediate their experience of warfare to the reading public. The memoirs thus transcended the personal sufferings of soldiers, re-established their relationship with the common people, and made the image of the war accessible to thousands of civilians.[118] If to consider the partitions, the Kościuszko's revolt, the Napoleon's presence, the two uprisings of the nobility and the subsequent reaction from the Russian authorities, then the wish to mediate and record such cataclysmic experiences could have overcame the provincial writers. Having become the subjects of new colonial power they needed to validate their origins.

At the same time, if we are to follow Peter Fritzsche's argument, which studies the connection between nostalgia and modernity, it is possible to assert that the residents of the annexed provinces experienced a memory crisis. The partitions prompted the process of

[115] Alojzy Sajkowski, *Nad Staropolskimi Pamiętnikami* (Poznań, 1964), pp. 15-16.
[116] Władysław Czapliński, Wstęp do *Pamiętniki* Jana Paska (Wroclaw – Warszawa – Kraków, 1968), X – XIII.
[117] For more on the topic of the gradual removal of Polish from the system of schooling see Beauvois, *Szkolnictwo Polskie na Ziemiach Litewsko-Ruskich, 1803 – 1832*, Tom II: Szkoły Podstawowe i średnie, 195.
[118] See Neil Ramsey, *The Military Memoir and Romantic Literary Culture, 1780–1835* (Ashgate, 2011).

remembrance and nostalgia[119], as was similarly performed by the members of the aristocracy after the French Revolution. As Fritzsche stated, nostalgia not only denoted a longing for the past, but also established its absence.[120] As a result, selfhood began to depend on the recognition of the loss, and this process became an indispensable part of a modern identity.[121] Yet, in the case of the residents of the governorates, as disruptive as the events were, the writers referenced their shared social and cultural practices and insisted on their inimitability within the new context.

The attempts to keep up with the rapid political changes in the nineteenth century prompted the residents experience a heightened sense of their participation in history.[122] For example, Julian Niemcewicz observed in his memoirs, published in 1840s, that "we live in the times of memoirs; never have there been published more than now", and he further encouraged the nobles to write about their lives, because they were "the witnesses and sometimes the actors of important events in the world and in your country".[123] For Niemcewicz, it was one's duty to write his experiences down, because then it could be for the benefit of his descendants, while also being a pleasant labour for a writer. Each writer chose to pen memoirs because "only he can describe his life, who himself or by influencing other outstanding people of the country, secured honor for himself, or did things worthy of remembering", wrote Seweryn Bukar (1773 – 1853) in the mid-1850s.[124] For the same reason a Volhynian Marshal Józef Drzewiecki (1772 – 1852) began his recollections by acknowledging "the influence of the society and the age" in early 1800s.[125] In some cases, the publishers ordered the memoirs, as was the case of Borejko's *pamiętnik*, which was ordered by Michał Grabowski, who declared in the introduction that he did not alter Borejko's text in any way. Grabowski insisted that "not the professional writers could do something, but people who are mature, those, who spent their lives in their provinces, and are familiar with

[119] See Peter Fritzsche, "Specters of History: On Nostalgia, Exile, and Modernity," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 106, No. 5, (Dec. 2001): 1587 – 1618.
[120] Fritzsche, "Specters of History: On Nostalgia, Exile, and Modernity", 1592.
[121] Fritzsche, "Specters of History: On Nostalgia, Exile, and Modernity", 1616.
[122] See Peter Fritzsche, "Drastic History and the Production of Autobiography," in *Controlling Time and Shaping the Self. Developments in Autobiographical Writing since the Sixteenth Century*, edited by J. Arianne Baggerman, Rudolf M. Dekker, Michael James Mascuch (Brill, 2011), pp. 77 – 95.
[123] Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki Czasów Moich*, 1.
[124] Seweryn Bukar, *Pamiętniki z końca XVIII i początków wieku XIX* (Warszawa, 1912), 5.
[125] Drzewiecki, *Pamiętniki Józefa Drzewieckiego: Spisane Przez Niego Samego*, 1.

the relations and former events".[126] These texts were brought to the attention of the reading public shortly before or immediately after the November and January Uprisings, and arguably were summoned to internalize the shared experiences of the residents. It leads to assertion that the memoirs were not just individual confessions. Authors of *pamiętniki* debated with their ancestors and between themselves, and as a result, a communicative memory culture was produced.[127] For instance, a clerk Antoni Chrząszczewski (1770 – 1851) referred to the memoirs by Karpiński, while Andrzejowski noted the literary labors of Chrząszczewski, etc.

To date, attempts to use memoirs of the lesser nobility as primary or even secondary sources for historical research have been scarce and fragmentary, which always derived from an explanation that these texts are rather literary tributes or commentaries rather than accurate historical accounts. Only recently, some historians consider analysing a broader number of memoirs written in the eighteenth – nineteenth centuries as a unified body of sources. One of such examples is the work by Dariusz Rolnik in his *Portret Szlachty Czasów Stanisławowskich,* which consists of a detailed research into the image and mentality of the members of the *szlachta* during and after the reign of Stanisław August Poniatowski.[128] However, even though Rolnik recognizes different senses of territorial belonging among the authors of the memoirs, he approaches them as a unified collection created by the 'Polish *szlachta'*. The memoirs by Jan Ochocki, Wacław Borejko and Kajetan Koźmian are at the center of Antoni Mączak's study of the early modern system of patronage among the Polish magnates and lesser nobility, and its changes after the partitions.[129] Another attempt to study a selection of memoirs, this time exclusively from the 'Western confines' of the Russian empire, is by Andriy Portnov in his article *Population of the Western Confines of the Russian Empire in Polish Memoirs of the first third of the 19th century*, which focuses on social diversity in the region.[130]

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[126] Borejko, *Pamiętniki Domowe. Pamiętnik pana Wacława Borejka* „O obyczajach i zwyczajach", 9 [nie literacy z powołania zrobić coś mogli, ale ludzie dojrzali, ci, którzy spędzili cały wiek w swojej prowincji, i dokładnie ze stosunkami i wypadkami dawniejszemi byli obeznani].

[127] See Jan Assmann and John Czaplicka, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," *New German Critique*, No. 65, Cultural History/Cultural Studies (Spring - Summer, 1995), pp. 125-133.

[128] Darusz Rolnik, *Portret szlachty czasów stanisławowskich, epoki kryzysu, odrodzenia i upadku Rzeczypospolitej w pamiętnikach polskich* (Uniwersytet Śląski, 2011).

[129] Antoni Mączak, *Klientela: Nieformalne Systemy Władzy w Polsce i Europie XVI-XVIII w.* (Warszawa: Semper, 1994).

[130] Андрій Портнов, "Население Западных Окраин Российской Империи в Польских Мемуарах Первой Трети XIX века", *Славяноведение*, №5 (2006): 60-67. [Andriy Portnov, "Population of the Western Confines of the Russian Empire in the Polish Memoirs of the first third of the 19th century"].

Despite these few exceptions, in most cases historians prefer to use only well-known memoirs, such as those written by the poets Julian Niemcewicz (1757 – 1841) and Kajetan Koźmian (1771 – 1856), a priest Jędrzej Kitowicz (1727 – 1801), prince Adam Czartoryski (1770 – 1861), and King Poniatowski (1732 – 1798). These remarkable memoirists lived through the reforms of the Commonwealth from the 1770s – 1790s, and were connected by their political roles during that time. For instance, Julian Niemcewicz remained a devotee to the cause for a united Poland until his final days, and in the memoirs of his long life tells a story of harmony that lasted among the *szlachta*, supposedly long after the partitions. A precarious account by Jędrzej Kitowicz, a priest from Greater Poland, is a singular source for studying negative observations about Poniatowski's personality and his court throughout the 1760s – 1790s. The poet and translator Kajetan Koźmian in his comprehensive and detailed account provided a critical evaluation of politics and everyday life, frequently condemning the longing for the long-gone past and outlining the conflicts within society. The distinguishable particularities of these stories usually serve either to strengthen or to refute scholar's arguments. For example, Jerzy Skowronek and Paul Brykczynski have focused on Czartoryski's memoirs extensively in ther biographical studies.[131] In his turn, Larry Wolff refers to the memoirs by Niemcewicz and Koźmian in order to show the variations in perceptions in Galicia after the First Partition of the Commonwealth in 1772.[132] Therefore, scholars usually turn to the memoirs of the Polish nobility to look for their responses to the partitions and their commentaries on the political and social changes that ensued.

My belief is that the memoirs of the lesser nobility and representatives of the cultural elite provide an inimitable material to the history of ideas and practices in the region, and uncovering these layers challenges a politically dense narrative of the annexed territories. The assortment of texts written by the residents from the annexed territories during the 1820s – 1860s may help to shift the focus of discussions about Enlightenment in the Polish lands away from the reforms implemented during the Poniatowski's reign towards manifold and self-conscious responses on behalf of the residents, and place a greater emphasis on geographic variations of the Enlightenment.

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[131] Jerzy Skowronek, *Adam Jerzy Czartoryski 1770 – 1861* (Warsaw, 1994); Paul Brykczynski, "Prince Adam Czartoryski as a Liminal Figure in the Development of Modern Nationalism in Eastern Europe at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries," *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity Vol. 38, no.5 (2010):* 647 – 669.

[132] Larry Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia. History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture*.

Specificities of the Texts Published throughout the 1820s – 1860s

The texts were written by the nobles with wide-ranging vocations. Among them we find the nobles, who were engaged in the political life of the region, such as the governor marshal Eustachy Erazm Sanguszko (1768 – 1844), his contemporary, Marshal Józef Drzewiecki (1772 – 1852), a foreman Michał Starzeński (1757 – 1823), an actor Kazimierz Michał Skibiński (1786 – 1858), as well as several ambassadors and soldiers. There were also residents, engaged in scientific and educational life of the region, such as historian Jan Ochocki and a member of the Commission of National Education, Wacław Borejko. Nearly all the writers of memoirs worked as translators, educationalists, publicists, poets and occasionally dramatists during the 1800s – 1860s. The provincial life of the residents was denoted by family ties, a network of protectors, or simply groups of friends, who remained in close contact from their childhood years until the old age. Thus, in their *pamiętniki* they cannot avoid discussing the gamut of human vulnerabilities, emotions, and the common social activities that they adhered to as a group.

Most of the memoirs are voluminous publications, which comprise up to six volumes. For example, *Pamiętniki Jana Duklana Ochockiego* consist of six volumes, yet the last two of them are the memoirs of a relative, an abbot Józefat Ochocki. The memoirists accentuate their belonging to the territory in the opening lines. While exploring the connections that these texts present between the private and the public, one cannot help noticing that the content of the memoirs is usually shaped according to important events that happened not only in authors' lives, but also in the history of their province, the Commonwealth, or Europe in general. The writers structure their memories in various ways, arranging their recollections around political events in the region, and including numerous names of the residents as well as the system of patronage in the years preceding Poniatowski's coronation in 1764. Marcin Matuszewicz (1714 – 1773) provides a good example in this case – he structured his entire work according to the minute social and political events in Polesia, outlining hidden personal motives, and the time frame of the events was later applied by the publisher.[133]

Repeatedly, the chapters of memoirs discuss such themes as education, voyages within the region and abroad, practices of everyday life, family matters, and the reforms of the Great Diet. These texts disclose the story of everyday life and customs of the people from the

[133] Marcin Matuszewicz, *Pamiętniki Marcina Matuszewicza 1714-1764*, T. 1 – 4 (Warszawa, 1876).

region as well as their engagement with political events. Even though the authors claim that they do not intend to write a *history*, nevertheless they end up writing a social and political synopsis of more than one generation. The texts written in and after the 1840s further explore the themes of family, love, courtship, unique sociability of the provinces, as well as marriages that were emotional, and not economic in their nature. This transformation in the content of the memoir in favour of domestic contexts played a crucial role in the national transformation.[134] The following examples of two authors and their memoirs illustrate the similarities and differences between texts that were published 50 years apart.

Wacław Borejko was born in the Volhynian voivodeship in 1764. His memoirs were ordered and published by Michał Grabowski, a historian and literary critic, under the title "Pamiętniki domowe" [Household Memoirs] in 1845, nine years before the author's death.[135] Having been educated by the Piarist School in Volhynia, Borejko became a local deputy in the 1780s – 1790s. However, his expertise rested not only in his knowledge of jurisprudence. Borejko was one of the most celebrated park architects in the region, he was commissioned to work on the residences of the magnates in Kyiv, and was one of the creators of a botanical garden in the Krzemieniec lyceum. Still, in his memoirs, Borejko defines his chief mission as a resident of the provinces to advance the reform of education in the region. He emphasizes his close personal ties with the main organiser of the lyceum, Tadeusz Czacki, and with a great piety informs the readers that he invested tremendous efforts into fundraising for the Commission of National Education. Borejko spent most of his time in the Volhynian province, only going to Kyiv or to Lublin on occasion for a gardening *project* or for legal affairs. Such a flexible set of practices in a provincial context influenced his recollections, as they were full of themes, such as, children's upbringing, the leisure activities of the provincial *szlachta*, and homage to the patrons of local schools.

Another notable representative from the provinces is the poet and the historian Szymon Konopacki (1790 – 1884). He was the author of *Pamiętniki,* which were first published in 1899, and of another biographical account *Moja druga młodość* [My Second Youth], which tells the story of his life from 1816 - 1826. He was one of the directors of the Krzemieniec lyceum. In the beginning of his memoirs, Konopacki notes that he is writing a personal story about the people he knew throughout his life, and a reader can find many

[134] See Fritzsche, "Drastic History and the Production of Autobiography".
[135] Borejko, *Pamiętnik pana Wacława Borejka* „O obyczajach i zwyczajach" (Warszawa, 1845).

features of that period, which are unknown nowadays. Subsequent chapters focus on the years that Konopacki spent in the Piarist School, his reading practices, the leisure activities among the nobility in the provinces, such as popularity of masquerades and the infatuation with Kabbalah in around the 1810s – 1830s.

These two texts are illustrative for they talk about the same territory, period and practices, but they were written and published 50 years apart. Each of the authors focuses exclusively on domestic and personal affairs, and on social networks within the region. It is important to emphasize that both of the texts focus on the time period of 1790s – late 1820s, when there were intense educational reforms in the region and when the reading taste of their peers took form. These authors are minor figures in Polish and Russian history overall, but were major names in their provinces. Specifically these people, as well as many of their contemporaries, were recipients of the educational reforms of the 1780s – 1830s and the enactors of local improvements in areas such as gardening, translating, and publishing. These members of provincial society represent a case where the transmission of ideas arguably began abroad, either in France or in the German lands, yet in their opinion, these ideas were brought to action only within the context and territory of their provinces.

The memoirs were intended for public consumption and the forewords by the authors or their publishers emphasize this resolution. It is essential to discuss the role of publishers, editors, and censors. None of the texts were published locally, within the governorates of the Russian empire. Instead, the publishing houses in Warszawa, Poznań, Wilno, Kraków, or Lwów brought the memoirs of provincial writers to life. In this way, most of the texts avoided strict censorship, which was inherent in the Western provinces of the Russian empire, especially after the 1830s. Norman Davies indicates that the system of censorship in the newly acquired provinces in the early nineteenth century was instantaneously harsh and "strangulated all works in non-Russian languages, and on non-approved subjects"[136], which included but were not limited to the Partitions, the Constitution, elections, republicanism, sex, and Catholic theology, since these topics were perceived as nationalistic agitations. However, the attitude of such censors can be applicable to the period after the January insurrection in 1860s, when the censorship in the Russian empire proliferated. Until then, the censors merely observed the process of publishing, and similarly to France at the end of the

[136] Norman Davies, *God's Playground. A History of Poland*, Vol. 2 (Oxford, 1981), 98.

eighteenth century, in the Polish territories commerce and censorship rivalled each other, which enhanced the publishing market.[137]

Dariusz Rolnik's scrupulous examination of more than 200 *pamiętniki* from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries largely negates the influence of censors, pointing out that it was often a publisher who fundamentally adjusted the content: "the publishers were more dangerous to pamiętniki than the censors",[138] especially in the nineteenth century. The reason for this was that the publishers were also responsible for editing. They formed a logical narrative of the memoirs, since their authors often wrote impulsively, or customarily left and came back to writing years later. Hence, the publishers often changed the structure of the written material, avoided publishing some parts, or even took the liberty to debate with the memoirists in the footnotes of the text. For example, the publisher decided which parts of the text by the Volhynian governor Eustachy Sanguszko to leave aside, only presenting some quotes from the unused material in the introduction. The memoirs by Antoni Chrząszczewski still have not been published in full either. There are hand-written texts by Antoni Andrzejowski and Henrietta Błędowska, which are yet to be contrasted with their published versions. It could provide a better insight into the editing strategies of the publishers.

Among the publishers, two names come up repeatedly: Michał Grabowski (1804 – 1863) and Józef Kraszewski (1812 – 1887), who were literary critics and editors of the journals and weeklies**.** Grabowski was a conservative, who professed a desire for the reconciliation with Russia as means to guarantee the social order, and passionately opposed any revolutionary tendencies or foreign influences. The memoirs that he published in the 1840s aim at telling the history of the provincial society, which, in his opinion, did not exist anymore. Grabowski frequently made enthusiastic remarks concerning matters of education and practices of everyday life in affluent footnotes throughout Karol Micowski's and Wacław Borejko's texts. He conversed with the authors throughout dozens of pages, discussing his personal views of specific people. In contrast, Józef Kraszewski rejected the negative stereotype of "the West", and approved of the refinement that relations with Europe brought. Negative attitudes towards Western Europe began to soften after 1860s, and

[137] Darnton, Robert, Daniel Roche, eds., *Revolution in Print. The Press in France 1775-1800* (University of California Press, 1989), 25.
[138] Rolnik, *Portret Szlachty Czasów Stanisławowskich,* 31.

another outlook started to prevail – that of "lasting ties of Polish culture with the West".[139] Thus, while reading the narratives we should be aware of common vistas and tendencies in Polish intellectual and political scenes in the mid- and second half of the nineteenth century. Keeping in mind the possible interventions by relatives, publishers, and censors, it is possible to separate the memoirs into two groups based on the decades in which they lived and their participation in the events of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The 'first generation' of writers were born in the second half of the eighteenth century, and wrote their memoirs in and around the 1820s – 1840s. Respectively, the authors of the 'second generation' were born after the 1800s and produced their memoirs by the 1860s.

It is possible to agree with Rolnik's argument that the *szlachta* of Stanisław's era did not die out immediately in 1795. The same principle can be applied to the selection of sources in this research, where many themes overlap in spite of almost 100 years difference between the authors, and the representatives of the 'second generation', they discuss Poniatowski with the same level of fluency as the contemporaries of the last king. Therefore, in places where separating the writers according to two generations proves insufficient, monitoring their individual political and cultural preferences could be advantageous.

I am aware of the fact that the writers of the second generation had a constructed, second-hand, memory of the events from the 1790s – 1810s. Thus, following Jan Assman's examination of the process of commemoration, the authors of *pamiętniki* simultaneously produced and consumed symbolic representations of memory that they related to, such as events, names of people and places, and works of art. Consequently, through the process of such repetitive memory-making, the community acquired its own narrative of memory.[140] Yet, all of the writers were the students of the Krzemieniec, and until the 1840s were connected through a network of education and private as well as public practices (reading, writing, and translating). In any case, all of them wrote their recollections after the 1830s, when the reforms from the early 1800s had been terminated. Following Nora's argument in *Les Lieux de Mémoire,* Volhynia and Podole became repositories of memory that determined

[139] Jerzy Jedlicki, "A Stereotype of the West in Postpartition Poland," *Social Research*, Vol. 59, No. 2 (Summer, 1992): 345 – 364 (359).
[140] Jan Assmann, "Kollektives und kulturelles Gedächtnis. Zur Phänomenologie und Funktion von Gegen-Erinnerung," in *Orte der Erinnerung. Denkmal, Gedenkstätte, Museum*, edited by U. Borsdorf, H. T. Grütter (Frankfurt - New York, 1999), pp. 13-32.

their behaviour.[141] The focus of this research remains on the personal reflections of the memoirists on their ideas and practices in the dense political environment of the 1790s – 1860s. Each text is a product of several self-identifications of its author, who was Catholic, a Greek-Catholic resident of the lands of Volhynia or Podole, a Pole from the Polish provinces of the Russian empire, independent from the King, the emperor, and the magnates in his landing and in his craft. Therefore, it is possible to rely on a selection of memoirs as primary sources, supplementing their personal reflections with other accounts from the same period: speeches at the local assemblies, correspondence and articles penned in journals. In addition, in many cases together with the manuscript of the memoirs, the publishers also provide a selection of the author's personal correspondence, which is an invaluable source for contrasting or complementing the narratives of their recollections.

The challenges of working with the memoirs are plenty. The principal among them is that they were written at the end of the authors' lives, when they had had the opportunity to change their views on political and social matters several times. Also by definition, *pamiętniki* possess an aspect of subjectivity. For instance, Koźmian Kajetan concluded his introduction with the words "if somebody ever decides that my memoirs can help in writing the history of my times, then it is not enough to separate the seeds from the chaff, but he would also have to sift the good and the bad grains of my memory through the sieve".[142] In addition, these narratives, although being intimate, were shaped and formed by their community and pursued a certain agenda – either to show the (dis-)engagement with politics, or to explain political or personal choices. Their accounts are chronologically inaccurate at times, as the memoirists often confuse the names and the dates of events. Some authors misattribute the dates or those are scarce altogether in the text. One of the most interesting cases is from the memoirs of a Lithuanian actor Kazimierz Skibiński (1786 – 1858) – first he completed the text, and only then inserted the dates of some events in the margins. As the publisher of Skibiński's memoirs noted, the dates were hardly ever correct.[143] Another major difficulty is the language. People, who were originally educated in Latin or French by their tutors, write their texts in Polish. For them, the Polish language was still undergoing a process of systematization at the time, and the writers often used Latin syntax and livened it with

[141] Pierre Nora, ed., *Rethinking France / Les Lieux de Mémoire*, translated by Mary Trouille (University of Chicago Press, 2001-2010).
[142] Kajetan Koźmian, *Pamiętniki Kajetana Koźmiana obejmujące wspomnienia od roku 1780 do roku 1815* (Poznań, 1858), 4.
[143] See Kazimierz Michał Skibiński, *Pamętnik Aktora* (Warszawa, 1912).

Byelorussian, Lithunian, or Ruthenian vocabulary. This inadvertently influenced the process of translation of the sources. However, I believe that such linguistic peculiarity, not to speak of complexity, only contributes to the richness of their narratives.[144]

In Place of a Conclusion: Territory through the Memoirs

Territory, whether it is a long-term homeland or a temporary space, always imprints on the work of an author, and writers always produce their works while having a specific location in mind. Thus, no writing can be disengaged from the space it was conceived in.[145] According to Michel Foucault, all populations are partially defined by their location and at the same time, inhabitants demarcate territories.[146] In memoirs as well as in other works written by the residents from the eastern provinces, the issue of belonging to the politically and geographically entangled space of the Volhynian and Podolian governorates remains central, even if it is resolutely non-political or delicately implied. The writers perceive Volhynia as a separate territory within the eastern palatinate of the Commonwealth, and in each particular case adhere to anecdotal portrayals of such distinctiveness. Seweryn Bukar provided one of such scenic accounts. In the early spring of 1787, long after the First Partition, King Stanisław August Poniatowski was passing by a small town of Labuń in Volhynia on his way to meet the empress Catherine II. At that time, Labuń was the capital of the Volhynian voivodeship and the family seat of the magnate Józef Gabriel Stempkowski (1710 – 1793), one of the King's favorites. Local *szlachta* organized a grandiose reception for the King. In the reception hall: "[a]t one of the room's edges, under the cornice, a part of the earth's globe appeared represented in the painting, and there above was an inscription reading, 'Volhynian Land', with the sun rising up there. At the other end was the royal figure [i.e. ornamental initials]".[147] Above each of the doors there was an inscription in gold that said *a l'amitié et aux plaisirs*.

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[144] I employed the professional translator of the eighteenth century Polish language to translate the quotes used in the text. The focus was on keeping the translations as close to the original as possible, in order to showcase the geographic location and linguistic particularity of the region.

[145] Joan Elizabeth Brandt, *Geopoetics: The Politics of Mimesis in Poststructuralist French Poetry and Theory* (Stanford University Press, 1997).

[146] M. Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France 1977 – 1978,* transl. by G. Burchell (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

[147] Bukar, *Pamiętniki z końca XVIII i początków wieku XIX,* 17. [W jednym końcu sali, pod gzemsem, wyobrażono w malowidle część kuli ziemskiej, a nad nią napis był: „Ziemia wolyńska" ze wschodzącem w

By providing this idealized representation of the Volhynian land, bathed by the sun, and the local nobility wearing the uniforms in the color of their voivodeship when greeting their King, Bukar already from the beginning imposed distinctions between the Volhynian *szlachta*'s and the other Polish residents. In addition, in his own words, Bukar completed an inaccurate account of the King's visit to Volhynia that a Jesuit historian Adam Naruszewicz (1733 – 1796) initially provided. Thus, in his memoirs he aimed to improve and correct the Polish history from the point of view of a provincial resident. In other cases, the territory is used to claim the contribution of the younger generation, who, as the botanist Antoni Andrzejowski noted, left "from our provinces" to join the legions of Jan Henryk Dąbrowski and the French army around the 1800s.[148] Another way was to indicate a specific regional mentality, as Franciszek Karpiński did, when he specified that *szlachta* in the provinces were preoccupied with serving their local magnates and did not fear for the fate of their nation during the decades of the partitions.[149] The writers were adamant about one thing – territory nurtured and defined them through in the events of the 1790s – 1860s.

Persistent attention towards their geographical and economic distinctiveness and their participation in political life first within the Commonwealth and later within the Russian empire is expressly conspicuous in their writings. The lack of connection to the Left Bank of the Dnieper is repeatedly emphasized. Even though this could be perceived as a negative thing from a commercial point of view, Henrietta Błędowska (1794 – 1869) postulated that "that side had no relations with the citizens from beyond the Dnieper, as if it was a completely foreign country, and Dnieper was its border".[150] Even in the late nineteenth century Marcin Zaleski (1826 – 1891), who was born in Volhynia and had resided in Podole since 1873, differentiated between the Lithuanian *szlachta* and the *szlachta* from "our prowincja", Volhynia, advocating their social and political differences in their viewpoints and modes of self-representation even in far-away Siberia.[151] Antoni Chrząszczewski, who emphasized a geographic division of Ukraine and Volhynia, presents another example of such unwavering separation: "count Potocki […] visited a part of Volhynia that was bordering on Ukraine"[152], and reported that there was no danger of peasant riots in the 1780s. Of course,

górze słoncem. W drugim końcu była cyfra królewska]. Also, see a description of the same visit in Ochocki, *Pamiętniki Jana Duklana Ochockiego*, T.1, pp. 127 – 140.
[148] Antoni Andrzejowski, *Ramoty Starego Detiuka o Wołyniu*, T. 1, 139.
[149] Franciszek Karpiński, *Historia Mego Wieku i Ludzi, z Którymi Żylem*, 106.
[150] Błędowska, *Pamiątka Przeszłości. Wspomnienia z lat 1794 – 1832*, 257.
[151] Zaleski, *Wspomnienia Marcina Zaleskiego* (Lviv, 1893), 246.
[152] Chrząszczewski, *Pamiętnik Oficjalisty Potockich z Tulczyna*, 63 – 64.

having a particular purpose in mind (presenting his benefactor as a benevolent lord) Chrząszczewski nonetheless absolved any internal connections between the neighbors. In addition, the writers emphasize their remoteness from Warsaw, or any ruler, even if only symbolically. Interestingly, the view from the Galician lands on this problem is different. Henryk Schmitt (1817 – 1883), a historian and teacher in Lwów, reflected on the reasons of Polish political ineffectiveness in the eighteenth century. If a Galician resident viewed the partitions of the Commonwealth to be the end of the Polish state, the Volhynian and Podolian residents envisioned them if not as a beginning of a new era for themselves, then a continuation of their tradition.[153]

While being aware of its geographical and political uniqueness, provincial writers also rationalize their territorial belonging through social and economic codes. For instance, the translator and poet Karol Micowski (died in 1847) claimed that in comparison to Ukraine his homeland Volhynia "was a sterile province [...] but a good administration and appropriate expenses rewarded deficiency of its soil; everyone preferred to have their private oak bench rather than a mahogany one borrowed from some poor man".[154] In such a figurative way, Micowski described Volhynia as a self-sufficient land of plenty and the personal interest of everyone that contributed to this. The network of *szlachta* mansions was profuse and comprised a set of residences concentrated around the residences of the magnates.[155] The Radziwiłły, Czartoryscy, Sanguszkowie, Lubomirscy, and Potoccy dynasties represented the magnate families. Each manor house had its own agricultural territory, frequently its own small manufacturers, its own army, a private theatre, sometimes a hospital, pavilions, orange groves, and parks.

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[153] In the 1780s, a poet Julian Niemcewicz (1758 - 1841) travelled from Greater Poland to the newly created province of Galicia, which had belonged to the Habsburgs since 1772. On his way, he passed through Podole and Ukraine, and acknowledged the differences of the region from the rest of the Commonwealth: "The land was becoming more and more open, beautiful, and plentiful; asparagus was in bloom everywhere in the unattended fields, it did not need manure, the land after so many Tatar attacks, after Cossack wars, deserted of people, with rare villages and with even rarer towns. People were still singing ballads about the famous Khmelnycky, a Cossack rebel against the szlachta in 1640s, about their wars with Poles". At the same time, Niemcewicz spoke rather sentimentally about the region of Galicia, recognizing the familiarity of it and its historical belonging to the Commonwealth: "not without pain in my heart could I look at this beautiful land detached from the Polish Kingdom". Thus, he treats the eastern provinces as having a different history, memory and practices. Larry Wolff in his study *The Idea of Galicia* further advances the multitude of perceptions of Galicia both by Polish and by Austro-Hungarian governments in the late 18th century.

[154] Micowski, *Pamiętniki domowe. Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego*, 113. For a similar description see Antoni Andrzejowski, *Ramoty Starego Detiuka o Wołyniu*, T. 2, 123: "Volhynia was affluent, tranquil, and therefore, gleeful; and, be it in the palaces of countless magnates, or in modest manors of one-village nobles, beatific abundance and genuine prosperity prevailed everywhere, nobody envied anybody else, everyone was uniting and the whole of the province was happy". See other abundant descriptions of Podole and Volhynia in the memoirs of Franciszek Kowalski, *Wspomnienia: Pamiętnik Franciszka Kowalskiego*.

[155] Roman Aftanazy, *Dzieje Rezydencji na Dawnych Kresach Rzeczypospolitej*, T. 5, Województwo Wołyńskie (Wrocław, 1994), 15.

The nobility frequently indicated that the residences of their magnates were modelled on the French and English examples. Thus, Chrząszczewski wrote about the magnate Michał Wielhorski (1730 – 1814), who resided in Horochów in Volhynia and was distinguished for his close contacts with Jean-Jacques Rousseau during the 1770s: "Wielhorski, a lover of music and an artist himself; he was the first in Volhynia to arrange a house into a French style. There were no kontush-fashioned courtiers anymore; there was a societal theatre, coquetry and Parisian cuisine, and pleasing masked balls too", and this all attracted the attention of young Volhynian women.[156] Others underline that the magnates in the provinces owned not only mansions, but also entire provinces, which equalled to the territories owned by the German princes at the time. The specificity of these manors led Józef Kraszewski to describe Volhynia as a beautiful and spacious *kraina* (province), which could be a separate princedom.[157]

The repudiation of the nobility's status during the rule of Emperor Nicholas I (1825 – 1855) had its effects. Still, the nobility continued to dominate the social hierarchy of these lands until the 1830s, even after the first wave of disassembling of the lesser *szlachta* happened due to the outcomes of the November Uprising (approx.. 200 000 lost their social denomination as *szlachta*).[158] After the partitions, the residents in the governorates ceased to identify their nationality with their political citizenship, because it would mean that Poles had to become Germans or Russians.[159] Attention to the specificities of the historical development of Volhynia and Podole, and their sentimental references to it as to their homeland, is compatible with the notion of a *heimat*,[160] a territory denoted by common social, cultural, and political practices. The feeling of belonging was the result of sharing actual experiences – locality, education, religion, and public sphere created by reading practices, the press, and the language within the Polish provinces of the Russian empire.

[156] Chrząszczewski, *Pamiętnik Oficjalisty Potockich z Tulczyna*, 48.
[157] See Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, *Wspomnienia Polesia, Wołynia i Litwy* (Warszawa, 1985).
[158] I. Rychlikowa, "Deklassacja drobnej szlachty polskiej w Cesarstwie Rosyjskim. Spór o „Pułapkę na szlachtę" Daniela Beauvois," *Przegląd Historyczny*, t. 79 (1988): 121 – 147.
[159] Walicki, "The Idea of Nation in the Main Currents of Political Thought," 170.
[160] Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials. The German Idea of Heimat* (University of California Press, 1990).

Figure 3 - Residences of the *szlachta*

(Source: https://sites.ualberta.ca/~german/AlbertaHistory/Volhynians.htm)

Dipesh Chakrabarty posits that 'the private ritual' of autobiographical writing was one of the crucial elements for obtaining the modern individuality within the colonial space.[161] If to analyze the incentive to produce memoirs after the annexation further, then it could be assessed as a symptom of "colonial consciousness" by the residents in this particular territory, who attempted to re-colonize their land after the partitions. Such an approach to memoir-writing could also explain its popularity during the 1820s – 1860s, as around the 1840s the members of the *szlachta*, officials, translators and poets, underwent the irrevocable transition within the social structure of the Russian empire, and thus endeavored to re-possess their historical territory as well as their community.

Geographic locations, among other factors, alter the reception of the Enlightenment, making it a global concept, different for each space and society. The processes and reforms of the Enlightenment always advanced in the context of an established political and social

[161] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial thought and historical difference* (Princeton University Press, 2009), 34.

order, not outside or against it.[162] According to some historians, after the partitions the noblemen developed a certain escapist mode of behaviour and embarked on a carefree social life.[163] I believe such explanations to be far-fetched and simplistic. The nobility turned to their local conditions during the 1790s – 1850s, and focused exclusively on their historic rights to the land, which had been subjected to the Russian monarchs. According to Gabriel Paquette who studied the process of the reforms in the age of Enlightenment, the people of the eighteenth century believed that "the system in which the monarch possessed a full legislative power […] was the best form of government and the best hope for securing rational reforms".[164] Thus, it was possible for the *szlachta* to imagine themselves as citizens of the Russian empire, yet also as residents of the provinces, who saw an entire homeland in their villages.

On the subject of territory, I examine the memoirs written by the *szlachta* and the other residents in Volhynia together with those from Podole, as well as other territories of the Commonwealth that were annexed by the Russian empire, such as the lands of Lithuania and the region of Polesia. These lands neighbored each other geographically and many families had their properties, extended family relations, and belonged to the same system of patronage. For example, I include the memoirs of Adam Moszczeński (1731 – 1823), who was a client of a Ruthenian magnate Szczęsny Potocki, and was fluent in local political dialogue.

Taking into consideration the temporal, geographical, political, and social layers of the sources and their authors, the choice of a strategy to assess them is particularly challenging. Approaching the memoirs from the point of view of identity formation and new self-understanding is beneficial in order to examine the memoirists' narrative strategies in the context of foreign imperial domination. I argue that the four topics that the writers discussed – education, reading, emancipation, and religion – simultaneously challenged the instrumentalized policies of the Russian empire and were instrumentalized by them in order to emphasize their separation from it. At the same time, the methodology of cultural transfers when analyzing the practices of education, reading, scientific encounters, and translation will

[162] Gabriel Paquette, ed., *Enlightened Reform in Southern Europe and its Atlantic Colonies, c. 1750 – 1830* (Ashgate, 2009), 11.
[163] Piotr Stefan Wandycz, *The Lands of Partitioned Poland, 1795-1918* (University of Washington Press, 1984), 22-23.
[164] Paquette, *Enlightened Reform in Southern Europe and its Atlantic Colonies, c. 1750 – 1830*, 5.

provide a solid framework for discussions about the re-interpretation of scientific ideas in this region.

The complexity of the case does not necessarily presuppose particularity, since similarly to France at the end of the eighteenth century, in the territories of Volhynia and Podole the Enlightenment was accepted as "a comfortable ascent towards progress".[165] Since the *szlachta* had a particularly close relationship with their peasants, the owners of inns, and the citizens of small towns, discussions about emancipation, public education and economic improvement were not theoretical but rooted in their everyday conditions. In addition, their relative remoteness from the big cities like Warszawa, Kraków and Wilno affected communicational strategies and the means of obtaining books, as well as other goods. At the same time, the changes were not merely a transfusion of ideas from abroad into the region. While residing in small towns or village-residences they had more freedom to convey their views and visions, and could rethink and affirm their practicality.

[165] Darnton, *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (Harvard University Press, 1982), 15.

Chapter Two:

Education and the Process of Enlightenment in the Provinces throughout the 1780s – 1850s

Even though there are variations in the content and formula of the Enlightenment in different societies and geographic units, the commitment to social reform by means of education can be traced across the globe.[166] The process of education inevitably influenced people's understanding of nature and society, and the reform of education automatically marked a positive impulse for the age of Enlightenment. The domain of education merged the idea of reform, the process of Enlightenment (as an intellectual journey towards self-improvement), means of social control, and the idea of improvement within a particular society. As the *Journal encyclopédique* concluded in 1774, "[t]here is no country today, regardless of how little civilized it may be, in which people do not seriously give their attention to the important matter of education".[167] In this chapter, I analyse debates on education during the late eighteenth century, and establish what an education consisted of for a citizen in the territories that were annexed by the Russian empire during the first third of the nineteenth century. I will examine how local political and social circumstances changed the views of the landed nobility on education as a practice and a necessity, as well as their attitudes towards education as the form of Enlightenment.

The correlation between popular education and Enlightenment, and the debates about the significance of each, exploded by the mid-eighteenth century and involved not only philosophers and priests, but also monarchs and political thinkers, who asserted that all people must be educated in order to contribute to the welfare of any state.[168] In fact, Voltaire (1694 – 1778), Denis Diderot (1713 – 1784), Claude Adrien Helvétius (1715 – 1771) and Baron d'Holbach (1723 – 1789), despite their many disparities, they simultaneously condemned ignorance and appealed for a useful education that could create a sociable

[166] Richard van Dülmen, *The Society of the Enlightenment. The Rise of the Middle Class and Enlightenment Culture in Germany* (Cambridge, 1992), 2.
[167] *Journal Encyclopédique*, 1774, III, p. 89, quoted in Harvey Chisick, *The Limits of Reform in the Enlightenment: Attitudes Toward the Education of the Lower Classes in Eighteenth-Century France* (Princeton University Press, 2014), 43.
[168] See H. Silver, *The Concept of Popular Education: A Study of Ideas and Social Movements in the Early Nineteenth Century* (London, 1965).

individual from whom a state could ultimately profit.[169] Debates on the different virtues of private and public education occupied the mind of Rousseau, who attempted at reconciling theories of self-interest with the process of public education – the formation of a free individual by means of a common educational process.[170] The discussion on how to reconcile the two approaches and what was the connection between education and Enlightenment was thus allocated. Rousseau's approach to education focused on educating a child's character, an idea that was later taken up by Immanuel Kant (1724 – 1804) in the late eighteenth century.[171] Nonetheless, both of them acknowledged that the system of education had to educate citizens. Rousseau advocated for a mix of private and public education throughout a person's life, and eventually in France during the second half of the eighteenth century, "more and more parents desired to train their children, first through domestic education and then through public instruction".[172]

The centralizing tendencies in education and the re-modelling of the educational systems after the Jesuits were expelled have frequently been depicted as necessary revitalization of society in France, Austria, Prussia, and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from the 1770s onwards, and later in the Russian empire. When in the first quarter of the eighteenth century Charles-Louis de Montesquieu (1689 – 1755) considered the Commonwealth to be an imperfect state in his *Persian Letters* (1721), and David Hume (1711 – 1776) regarded it as the most backward country in Europe[173], the reformers in Poland in the mid-eighteenth century responded very quickly. The discourse on public education in the Polish lands turned into a comprehensive debate in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Ideas about the reorganization of the educational system in the Commonwealth initially surfaced during the reign of Poniatowski's predecessor, August III (1734 – 1763). In 1740, the Piarist priest Stanisław Konarski (1700 – 1773) founded the *Collegium Nobilium* in Warsaw, an elite school for the children of the upper aristocracy. In his view, a child's education had to be submitted entirely under the guidance of the state. By the 1750s, Konarski continued to

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[169] See Natasha Gill, *Educational Philosophy in the French Fnlightenment: From Nature to Second Nature* (Ashgate, 2010). See also James A. Leith, ed., *Facets of Education in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1977); Gertaint Parry, "Education Can Do All," in *The Enlightenment and Modernity*, edited by Norman Geras and Richard Wokler (New York, 2000); Larry Wolff, "When I Imagine a Child: The Idea of Childhood and the Philosophy of Memory in the Enlightenment," *Eighteenth Century Studies*, 31/4 (1998): 377 – 401.
[170] Gill, *Educational Philosophy in the French Enlightenment*, 187.
[171] Gill, *Educational Philosophy in the French Enlightenment*, 264.
[172] Popiel, *Rousseau's Daughters*, 23-24.
[173] Józef Andrzej Gierowski, *The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 18th century. From Anarchy to Well-Organized State*, translated by Henry Leeming (Kraków, 1996), 145-146.

promote the need for education based on the philosophy of training good Polish citizens. In many ways, Konarski followed Charles Rollin's (1661 – 1741) belief that education had to deliver practical knowledge in the vernacular language. Drawing on the methods of John Locke (1632 – 1704) and François Fénelon (1567 – 1622), Konarski stated that in order to achieve a superior position in society and to attain a higher level of Enlightenment, a *szlachcic* must follow a detailed and well-organized program of education.[174] Subsequently, Konarski affirmed that a true citizen should be faithful to his fatherland, even if it meant sacrificing personal interests and ambitions. Konarski's desire for reform in the Commonwealth was intertwined with his desire to end its political stagnation. He believed that this was caused by the centuries old practice of *liberum veto,* the principle of unanimity, which continuously obstructed any fruitful political onsets either during the Diet or during provincial assemblies. Konarski stigmatized petty nobility from the eastern provinces and labelled them as backward citizens, who were resistant to any productive changes and who were therefore a liability to a reformed state.

On his accession, Stanisław August Poniatowski continued the grandiose undertaking to change the schooling system throughout the country. In 1773, the Diet that had just approved the First Partition also sanctioned the banishment of Jesuits and launched the Commission of National Education [later in the text – the Commission]. The Commission's proclamation specified that the training and education of young people was the only way to establish an ambience for happiness in the state.[175] With this mandate, it began submitting the entire state's school system under its control. To a large degree, such opinions of Polish reformers were similar to the conclusions of the French pedagogical thinkers of the first half of the eighteenth century, who argued that education was the key to the well-being of the nation.[176] The Commission included the primary noble names in the country – a priest and author of schoolbooks Grzegorz Piramowicz (1735 – 1801), a celebrated satirist and translator Franciszek Zabłocki (1752 – 1821), an editor of the *Monitor* Antoni Michniewski (1743 – 1776), and an educationist from Volhynia Tadeusz Czacki (1765 – 1813). Together they appealed to the notions of *national education*, *national good*, and *making of a good Polish citizen* in their speeches and decrees. Other members, such as the political philosopher Hugo

[174] Jerzy Lukowski, "Stanisław Konarski (1700 - 1772). A Polish Machiavelli?" In *Enlightenment and Catholicism in Europe. A Transnational History*, edited by Jeffrey D. Burson and Ulrich L. Lehrer (University of Notre Dame Press, 2014).
[175] See S. Kot, ed., *Uniwersał Komisji Edukacji Narodowj, Źródła do Historii Wychowania* (Warszawa, 1930).
[176] Gill, *Educational Philosophy in the French Enlightenment*, 243.

Kołłątaj (1750 – 1812), Prince Adam Czartoryski (1770 – 1861), and a priest Stanisław Staszic (1755 – 1826) drew largely on the views of Locke and Rousseau. Principally, Stanisław Staszic, who later became an educational reformer in the Duchy of Warsaw (1807 – 1815) and co-founded the Society of the Friends of Learning (1800), reinforced Rousseau's opinion that education should be a carrier of morality and nationalism.[177] Overall, the twenty years of the Commission's activity changed the dynamic between the nobility and the Polish government to such an extent that even now Polish historiography views the Commission as an extraordinary success.[178] Despite the fact that the Commission formally only functioned until the Third Partition in 1795, the seeds of a universalist approach to education was planted in the country's mind. In the meantime, Towarzystwo Ksiąg Elementarnych [The Society of Elementary Books], which was founded in 1775, focused on providing utility-oriented educational materials for the growing network of schools.

Despite the Commission's many shortcomings, Emperor Alexander I used its program during the educational reform in the Russian empire, when the Russian administration had to deal with its newly acquired territories. Alexander I appointed the magnates Adam Czartoryski and Seweryn Potocki (1762 – 1829) as superintendents of the Wilno educational district of the empire that included the Podolian and Volhynian governorates.[179] In this way, the Russian emperor knowingly submitted his newly acquired subjects to their familiar local administration. During this time, the Russian ministers of education accurately renewed the decrees of the Commission for the Polish governorates until 1803, only repeating them in Russian.[180] The Ministry of Enlightenment in the Russian empire, organized in 1802, benefitted from the Commission's curriculum and its school district system. The counter-revolutionary Joseph de Maistre (1753 – 1821), who resided in St Petersburg in 1803 – 1817, noted that even though Russia was still untouched by the ideas of the French Revolution and remained largely isolated from the intellectual undercurrents of the European Enlightenment, "ideas of the Enlightenment were ascendant in Russian domestic politics"[181], owing to Alexander's experimentation with educational reform. Gradually, the Russian Enlightenment

[177] Walicki, "The Idea of Nation in the Main Currents of Political Thought," in *Constitution and Reform in Eighteenth-Century Poland*, 165.
[178] Grochulska. "The Place of the Enlightenment in Polish Social History," 255; also see A. Nowak, "Intelligentsias in the Structure of the Empire: The Assimilative Function of the Central Counter-Elite," *Acta Poloniae Historica*, 100 (2009).
[179] Kappeler, *The Russian Empire: A Multiethnic History*, 84.
[180] Daniel Beauvois, *Szkolnictwo Polskie na Ziemiach Litewsko-Ruskich, 1803 – 1832. Tom II: Szkoły Podstawowe i średnie* (Lublin, 1991), 20.
[181] David Edwards, "Count Joseph de Maistre and Russian Educational Policy, 1803 – 1828", 51.

entangled the critical and reformist attitude of Catherine II with a more cultural and historical approach towards bringing knowledge to the commoners during the 1800s. However, after the Russian intellectuals became disillusioned with Europe during the Napoleonic wars, the idea of Enlightenment lost its critical and philosophical allegations and was turned into a utility-driven process.[182] By 1817, the Ministry of Enlightenment primarily focused on restraining the minds of the *szlachta* by modifying the educational curricula.[183]

The historiography of the Commission's activities throughout the Commonwealth during the 1770s – 1790s is complex and repeatedly focuses more on its flaws than its successes. The initial idea of the Commission was already problematic, since, according to Daniel Beauvois, the notion of *national* education was driven by the ambitions of several people in Warsaw who rarely cared for the Polish society as a whole across such a vast and not very well governed country. Additionally, as Jerzy Lukowski posits, until the late eighteenth century provincial *sejmiks* often opposed any revisions to the Jesuit educational system.[184] As a result, the failures of the Commission were blamed on the ideology of Sarmatism that stood as a bulwark between the practices of the European Enlightenment and stubborn individualism. Some researchers even go as far as to claim that the opposition of the *szlachta* to the reform was so strong (especially in the lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania), that hardly any changes were introduced.[185] Moreover, during the last decades of the eighteenth century, opposition on behalf of the Russian administration is often listed as another obstacle for the Commission's performance across the territories.[186]

Having analyzed a considerable amount of sources, I believe that the representations of the provincial nobility as being unyielding to the reform are unjustified. The particularity of the governorates' case is that the debates about education extended beyond the writings of several reformers and penetrated into every aspect of life of the residents during the period of 1800s – 1860s. In their memoirs, they admit that they positively responded to the Commission's incentives. There are lavish accounts of salutations to the reform, and as

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[182] For more on the specificities of the Russian Enlightenment see Simon Dixon, "'Prosveschenie': Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Russia," in *Peripheries of the Enlightenment*, edited by Richard Butterwick, Simon Davies, and G.S. Espinosa (Voltaire Foundation, 2008), pp. 229 – 249.

[183] Beauvois, *Szkolnictwo Polskie na Ziemiach Litewsko-Ruskich, 1803 – 1832. Tom II: Szkoły Podstawowe i średnie,* 30.

[184] Jerzy Lukowski, "Political Ideas among the Polish Nobility in the Eighteenth Century (to 1788)," *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 82 (2004): 24.

[185] See Irena Szybiak, *Szkolnictwo Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w Wielkiem Księstwie Litewskiem* (Wroclaw, 1973).

[186] See Danuta Gorecki, "The Commission of National Education and Civic Revival through Books in Eighteenth-Century Poland," *The Journal of Library History*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Spring, 1980): 138 – 166.

Seweryn Bukar (1773 – 1853), a *szlachcic* from Podole and a student of the Corps of Cadets in Warsaw stated in his memoirs, Stanisław August Poniatowski did everything for the "good of the Republic".[187] Bukar in particular believed that the foundation of the Corps of Cadets was the first real "progeny" of the new King, because his predecessors continuously ignored any novelties in the realm of education. However, their local circumstances after the partitions altered the association between public education and the state. In the 1840s, Gustav Olizar (1798 – 1865), a *szlachcic* from the Kyiv governorate, wrote in a short address to his compatriots to "maintain […] that expensive fruit of freedom of thought and of a thorough education for the future of our Fatherland, which we can no longer collect on our enslaved soil!"[188] It is this recognition of the universal role of education that I intend to show in the subsequent pages by outlining the main topics of discussion in the memoirs and other sources from the 1780s – 1860s.

In order to outline the connection between education and enlightenment, I will be following three paths. First, I will discuss the shift in attitudes towards the Commission and its personnel. Next, I will present the residents' estimations of enlightenment, its content and meaning. Here, the reforms of the 1800s and the shift towards the vernacular languages will be discussed. The third approach consists of problematizing the place and space of the Krzemieniec lyceum in the memory of the provincial residents as well as on the scientific map of the Enlightenment. While discussing these themes, I will pay attention to their perceptions of the developments in France, Prussia and the German lands in around the 1800s.

The Reform of the Commission: Sentiments in the Provinces

To begin with, the destiny of Stanisław August Poniatowski often prompts the memoirists to plunge into bitter reflections and moral condemnation of the reform implemented by the Commission in the 1770s – 1790s. The nobles cannot avoid discussing his political talents considering the measure of patriotism and degree of Enlightenment his court possessed by the end of the eighteenth century. For example, a general Józef Zajączek (1752 – 1826) asks the reader of his memoirs to devote some time and to deliberate whether

[187] Bukar, *Pamiętniki z końca XVIII i początków wieku XIX*, 22-23.
[188] Olizar, *Kazanie Dla Rodaków w Kraju i za Krajem* (Paryż, 1847), 5-6.

Stanisław, who did not represent himself as a great thinker, at least deserves to be called a good politician.[189] To him, Stanisław August was neither, because his government was a clumsy assortment of republican vices. Thus, Poniatowski was blamed for the military default that happened during the Targowica Confederation of 1792 and subsequent partitions. Another major accusation concerns the distribution of public offices among the *unenlightened* people, who allegedly supported the pro-Russian forces at court, and this situation eventually contributed to the downfall of the Commonwealth. Zajączek goes on to proclaim that the king had a "wicked Machiavellian thinking" in terms of politics, because even if he did appoint somebody *enlightened* to an office it was only to assist the Russian enemy.[190]

In their negation of the King's choices, Zajączek, who was visibly biased and attempted to ascend above the petty nobility, and Niemcewicz, who was blatantly anti-Russian, nevertheless agreed that the schooling system of the late eighteenth century established the basis of *reasonable patriotism* among the youth that was the ultimate goal of Enlightenment in Poland.[191] Linking the Enlightenment to patriotism was not unique in the eighteenth century. In this case, the readiness and persistence to devote one's efforts to strengthening the political independence of the Polish state are seen as manifestations of enlightenment. While describing the Polish youth as the main agents of improvements, the general was resolute in his negative perceptions of provincial nobility, who, although did not stop being 'the citizens of Poland' after the partitions, were more preoccupied with keeping their freedoms than with patriotism. In contrast, the residents from the provinces are less conclusive in their analysis of Russian influence because they do not view the partitions as the end of their denomination as the Polish *szlachta*. Provincial writers reveal a comprehensive picture of their shared educational practices before the Poniatowski's reign in order to show the groundbreaking changes they went through by the late eighteenth century.

The most important fragment of any memoir is the domestic upbringing of children and every writer presents a comparable educational path from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. At first, children were educated at home, under the guidance of their mothers and

[189] Zajączek, *Józefa Zajączka pamiętnik*, 10.
[190] Zajączek, *Józefa Zajączka pamiętnik*, 15. Also J. Ochocki and J. Niemcewicz similarly reflected on Poniatowski's persona in the 1840s. The poet Julian Niemcewicz shared Zajączek's views and acknowledged Poniatowski's role in the ruination of the country's morality: "[King] Stanislaus Augustus may be alleged of having introduced into this country immorality in the mores-and-morals, trampled the matrimonial trust. The Muscovites staying across the country disseminated perverseness all over the provinces. Gallantry was at the peak of its vogue: not even a single woman would not neglect to have a lover" in Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki Czasów Moich*, 24.
[191] Zajączek, *Józefa Zajączka pamiętnik*, 17.

later – fathers and from the sixteenth century onwards, this was believed to be the best style of education.[192] Wacław Borejko (1764 – 1854) at the beginning of his memoirs claims that "the happiest children were those, who received their education under the guidance of a virtuous mother; and it was not difficult at the age of Stanislaus Augustus, especially in its early days, until libertine customs ruined mothers' sensitivity".[193] Mothers nurtured and stood at the basis of education, and their care and attention was important for preparing a child for the life within the society. In Borejko's view, the early years of children's education instilled them with morality, and the mores of parents influenced the children's upbringing before they were emancipated and became masters of their own will.

The female writers repeatedly laid emphasis on the beneficial role of mothers, who chose how to educate their sons and daughters. In their rhetoric on child-rearing they emphasize the importance of motherly love for an individual's self-control and civic autonomy, similarly to the one promoted by Rousseau in *Emile* (1762).[194] For example, Henrietta Błędowska writes about her childhood during the 1790s. After the disastrous experience with the governess her "mother began educating me into the Rousseau manner, and [there was] all the liberty whether to learn or not".[195] Even the absence of systematic education for girls at the end of the eighteenth century was legitimized through Rousseau's methods and theories, as roaming free in the countryside was associated with the philosophy of education. However, Błędowska's confession can be perceived as a woman's right to education at the end of the eighteenth century. At the turn of the century, the legacy of Rousseau was thriving among the provincial dwellers, and the nobility associated his theories with that of a freedom and individual conditions, especially for young girls. Ewa Felińska (1793 – 1859) also reflected on her pitiful experience with the governess and noted that "[o]ur heads were not unnecessarily loaded with learning, we were not in danger of being too smart [sophisticated]"[196] in the 1790s. Thus, the presence of the governess was questioned while the role of a mother in educating an autonomous citizen remained undisputable and

[192] Dorota Żołądź-Strzelczyk, *Dziecko w Dawnej Polsce* (Wydawnictwo Poznańske, 2006), 196.
[193] Borejko, *Pamiętnik pana Wacława Borejka*, 13.
[194] Popiel, *Rousseau's Daughters. Domesticity, Education, and Autonomy in Modern France*, 165.
[195] Błędowska, *Pamiatka Przeszlosti. Wspomnienia z lat 1794 – 1832*, 37 – 38. [matka bowiem *a la* Rousseau wychowywac mnie zachela i [byla] wszelka wolnosc uczyc się lub nie].
[196] Felińska, *Pamiętniki z życia Ewy Felińskiej,* Vol. 1, 181. [Naukami nie obciążano zbytecznie głów naszych, nie groziło żadne niebezpieczeństwo abyśmy przemądrzały].

resembles similar opinions of the French reformers of the early eighteenth century, who primarily insisted on the needs of children within a sensationalist educational theory.[197]

The formative role of a mother for her son ended when he turned five years old. From this time on, a father as the head of the family became the figure of morality and the example to follow. A father chose a private tutor for his sons, and this choice often depended on his own experience. Alternatively, a father also could send his sons abroad to study in Prague or Paris, or opted for a school in their region. Often, a father chose the same teacher or school for his children as the one he frequented himself. Through this process, every *szlachcic* became a part of a larger society: with the careful guidance of a mother, the central authority of a father, the supervision of a tutor or a local magnate, as well as the company of a household treasurer, the family priest, dependents of their lesser properties, and countless servants. Education was a collective enterprise in nobles' families.

In Volhynia and Podole in the late eighteenth century every noble family was a unique entity with its own rules of social interaction that were oriented towards their province, not towards the centre, Warsaw. In their memoirs, writers associate their upbringing with 'clean and untouched Polish habits', and the eighteenth century is described as a great epoch when under the guise of shifting political loyalties "deeper emotions existed, together with a healthy rhythm of life".[198] The authors appeal to a special atmosphere of parental affection, mutual respect, politeness and understanding that their families shared during the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth until the late eighteenth century, and receiving a proper education was an essential part of that period. The reform of the Commission shocked this customary system, and writers devoted extensive pages to appease opposing discussions and tendencies within their community: a parental influence and teachings, religious instruction, public education, developing the individuality of every child, and changes in perception of human nature were the main components of education as the process of enlightenment.

[197] Popiel, *Rousseau's Daughters. Domesticity, Education, and Autonomy in Modern France*, 13. Also see Natasha Gill, *Educational Philosophy in the French Enlightenment*, pp. 235 – 246; and Lesley H. Walker, *A Mother's Love: Crafting Feminine Virtue in Enlightenment France* (Bucknell University Press, 2008).
[198] Ochocki, *Pamiętniki Jana Duklana Ochockiego*, T. 1, 15.

Piarist Opposite to Jesuit Education in the Provinces

Over the course of the eighteenth century, Jesuits became the victims of their earlier scholarly endeavors, which prompted their suppression in many countries.[199] Until the late eighteenth century, the educational system of the Jesuits dominated the vast lands of the Commonwealth. Even though the Society was officially dismissed from the Commonwealth in 1773, across the country as well as in the eastern provinces numerous ex-Jesuits remained in their teaching positions until the 1820s. In the rest of Europe, Jesuits were likewise present when the system of education was being restructured, and from time to time fiercely objected to it, as was the case in France in the first half of the eighteenth century, where Jesuits were perceived as "socially useless" elements in the society by the reformers.[200] As Derek Beales puts it, due to the strong influence of Jesuits, the *philosophes* of the eighteenth century doubted whether it was possible to establish "any kind of secularized system of universal education".[201] Such an uncertain situation prompted the educational reformers in the Austrian provinces and Prussian lands to start designing such a mechanism and to reform the system of education not just as a means of maintaining a social stability, but also as a way of achieving a social reform in their lands.

In the annexed provinces, opinions regarding the banishment of Jesuits fluctuated, which highlights the instability of the educational practices in the region during the eighteenth century. Already in 1775, the residents of the provinces defined different types of education as their most pressing problem, which prevented a mutual understanding between different social groups and generations. The *szlachta* in Volhynia and Podole associated Jesuits with their locality; the only true education of their fathers because Jesuits were ethnic Poles who spoke Polish.[202] In Volhynia, there were Jesuit schools in the towns of Łuck, Dubno, Krzemieniec, and Międzyrzecz. The representatives of the first generation of writers were mainly educated by Jesuits, with the rare exception of those, who received their education abroad, such as the governor Eustachy Erazm Sanguszko (1768 – 1844), or from governesses, as was the case of the female writers Ewa Felińska and Henrietta Błędowska. The styles of education in the late eighteenth century was a code for the writers to distingush

[199] For more on the topic of Jesuit suppression see Jeffrey D. Burson, Jonathan Wright, eds., *The Jesuit Suppression in Global Context: Causes, Events, and Consequences* (Cambridge University Press, 2015).
[200] Gill, *Educational Philosophy in the French Enlightenment. From Nature to Second Nature*, 235.
[201] Beales, *Enlightenment and Reform in 18th-Century Europe*, 23.
[202] Burson, Wright, *The Jesuit Suppression in Global Context*, 237.

the residents in the provinces, and they insisted on precise demarcation between *szlachta*, educated in the Jesuit schools, and those, educated by the Piarist Order.

Understandably, approval of the Jesuit system of education was common among the memoirists of the 1820s. For example, the head of administration in the Tarnopol region, Count Michał Starzeński (1757 – 1823) recognized that "everything I can do, I owe this knowledge to my uncle Jesuit".[203] He negated even the slightest prospect of any other form of teaching for the *szlachta*, since "the French and German teachers, who at certain designated hours came to give us lectures, were real caricatures of educationists".[204] Such derogative opinions about foreign teachers did not change throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, as a representative of the second generation, poet Franciszek Kowalski (1799 – 1862), also insisted that French and German teachers did not accomplish much in the schools in Winnica because students refused to listen to them.[205] It remains a matter of debate whether it was the teaching qualities that discouraged the residents, or a mere hostile view of foreigners in the region.

The traditional Jesuit education was equaled to the proper intellectual sanitation and contrasted with uncertain medical progress in the early nineteenth century. Thus, the youth that was "mostly educated upon the Latin classics, those young men have drawn from the works of immortal masters valuable guide-lines for the hygiene of spirit and no less of the body. […] Beside this, vaccine and inoculation against small-pox was not known commonly then as-yet in Poland, which I consider to be a means highly detrimental to health".[206] Thus, instruction provided by Jesuits was the answer to the needs of the society, and the novelties in education were examined together with the novelties in science. It is necessary to mention that at this time, the doctor and botanist Hiacynt Dziarkowski (1747 – 1828) was popularizing the practice of inoculation in Poland, which, according to some, rendered him a place in the 'enlightened society' in Warsaw.[207] Reflections on education instantaneously involved comments on morality, discipline and personal development. Claiming that he had no idea about the way children were educated in palaces or castles, a historian from

[203] Starzeński, *Na Schyłku Dni Rzeczypospolitej*, 22.
[204] Starzeński, *Na Schyłku Dni Rzeczypospolitej*, 12. [Nauczyciele Niemcy i Francuzi, którzy w pewnych oznaczonych godzinach przychodzili udzielać nam lekcyj, byli istnemi karykaturami pedagogów].
[205] Franciszek Kowalski, *Wspomnienia: Pamiętnik Franciszka Kowalskiego* 1819 – 1823 (Kijów, 1912), 5 – 6.
[206] Starzeński, *Na Schyłku Dni Rzeczypospolitej*, 2.
[207] See Tomasz Dąbrowski, *Kazanie w czasie żałobnego nabożeństwa za duszę ś.p. Hiacynta Dziarkowskiego, medycyny i filozofii doktora, pierwszego z dziekanów i professora Królewsko-Warszawskiego Uniwersytetu, członka Królewskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk w Warszawie, Kawalera Orderu ś. Stanisława, dnia 17 marca 1828 roku w kościele XX. Dominikanów miane* (Warszawa, 1828).

Zhytomierz Jan Dukłan Ochocki (1766 – 1848) highlighted that for the petty nobility there was only one method – Jesuit or Basilian (Greek Catholic) schools, whose teachers often refused to comply with the changes in the program introduced by the Commission. In the 1840s, Ochocki wrote: "in the mid-eighteenth century education in Poland was still at a very low level; however, it fit the needs of the times and of the country. A student coming out of the schools, knew Latin better and deeper than his native language, knew how to skilfully work with the whips, and even with a sword; moreover, he was accustomed to blind obedience, and it was a good basis for the future development of a man".[208] Yet, later he admits that Jesuit schools promulgated darkness.[209] In general, reflections on the Jesuit system of education were inevitably intertwined with the issue of social hierarchy, since such instructions were the first step to establish oneself in the local society.

The testimony of Ewa Felińska further collaborates the story of the differences between the old habits of education in the eighteenth century and the infiltration of new techniques after the French Revolution. In particular, before the 1790s provincial noblemen had not quite surrendered to French fashion and customs (i.e. public schooling), they still maintained their native "Polish" character in education, when children had to be taught foremost how to govern their private estate, engage with the matters of the province and then the country. This had been a continuous tradition since the sixteenth century: a good education for boys and men was considered a Jesuit education, with a subsequent service at the house of a magnate or any wealthier relative, where a young man would acquire an appropriate elegance and sophistication.[210] Simultaneously, girls and young women would learn to read, some basic arithmetic, and writing. In the 1780s, the patron of the *szlachta* Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski (1734 – 1823) believed that it was needless for girls to be submitted to the care of a French mistress, because it could provoke unnecessary emotional distress and stir an inappropriate imagination in their adolescent heads.[211] In many ways, such

[208] Ochocki, *Pamiętniki Jana Duklana Ochockiego*, Tom 1, 9-10.
[209] Ochocki, *Pamiętniki Jana Duklana Ochockiego*, Tom 1, 92.
[210] For more on the education of children in magnate families in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries see Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, „O Wychowaniu Dworskim," in *Źródła do Historii Wychowania*, ed. by S. Kot (Kraków, 1929).
[211] See Małgorzata Kamecka, "Educating and Passing Knowledge: The Role of Private Tutors in the Formation of Polish Youth of Noble Origins in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries," *Paedagogica Historica. International Journal of the History of Education*, Volume 43 (2007): 509 – 523.

an approach to female education echoed the views of the theologian François Fénelon (1567 – 1622), who believed that girls should learn only the basics.[212]

Certainly, the writers did not deny that Jesuit schools were full of the teacher's vices, who sometimes did not know their topics well enough[213], and this resulted in a poor quality of education and abusive punishments. However, a good many members of the provincial nobility admitted to hiring Jesuits as private tutors for their children until the nineteenth century, sometimes even prior to their departure to the Piarist schools. As Józef Drzewiecki (1772 – 1852) noted, the "Educational Commission preoccupied with public education, embraced the country with its influence; and this went on with considerable effort. The Jesuits, with their higher abilities, undertook different purposes for themselves; only young alumnae from their Order, or infirm oldsters, have remained"[214] and those permanently attached to the houses of the landed nobility. When an inspector Józef Muszyński was sent to the provinces to assess the Commission's success, he reported that as late as the 1790s "education has monks against it", mainly representatives of the orders in Łuck, Winnica, and Kraków.[215] Yet, at the same time, some of the writers indicate that the Commission was willing to cooperate with the ex-Jesuits. In particular, Kajetan Koźmian (1771 – 1856), the poet and a member of the Congress of Poland's administration, who was himself from the Lublin Voivodeship, recognized that during the 1770s – 1780s the Commission did not hesitate to use all the means necessary to open the eyes of people *to the light*.[216]

There was a common perception among the memoirists that even though the reform of the Commission did not attempt to secularize the schools, the education, provided by the Piarists, was still an attempt of a social reform.[217] In 1775, the priest Antoni Iżycki voiced his opinions on Piarist education in a speech during the opening of a Piarist school in Międzyrzecz in Volhynia. On the one hand, Iżycki admitted that those nobles, who were educated abroad, mainly in France or Italy, considered their fellow citizens ignorant, ill

[212] Paula Findlen, "A Forgotten Newtonian: Women and Sciences in the Italian Provinces," *in The Sciences in Enlightened Europe*, 320.
[213] Karpiński, *Historia mego wieku*, 43.
[214] Drzewiecki, *Pamiętniki Józefa Drzewieckiego*, 6-7. [Komisja Edukacyjna publiyznem wychowaniem zajęta, ogarniała kraj wpływem swoim; szło to z trudnością. Jezuici z wyższemi zdolnościami inne sobie przedsiębrali cele; młodzi z ich zakonu alumni, lub starcy niedołężni pozostali tylko].
[215] Raport Józefa Muszyńskiego r. 1790 w Wydziale Małopolskim, Wołyńskim, Ukraińskim, Pijarskim (Rkps. Arch. Główne, Warszawa, E. 34 A) in Henryk Barycz, Jan Hulewicz, eds., *Studia z Dziejów Kultury Polskiej. Książka Zbiorowa.* (Warszawa, 1947), 424 – 425.
[216] Koźmian, *Pamiętniki Koźmiana Kajetana*, T. 1, 4.
[217] For example, see Eustachy Iwanowski, *Wspomnienia Lat Minionych*, T. 1 (Kraków, 1876), 56.

mannered, and backward.[218] On the other hand, the *szlachta* who received their education at home were inclined to neglect even the most useful suggestions of those, who arrived home from abroad, because they deemed them as harmful to their local community. In this situation, Iżycki believed that only a Piarist education within the province could produce "useful citizens", as private schooling and studies abroad would inevitably resulted in damage to the community and eventually to the country.[219] Further, Iżycki maintained that reform of education soothed the social and political problems of the state.[220]

Altogether, the Commission established new schools in Winnica, Łuck, Krzemieniec, and Olyka, and two Piarist schools in Międzyrzeć. Two Basilian schools remained (in Ostrog until 1795, and in Uman, until the 1830s), which provided an education for peasants and poor *szlachta* since the mid-eighteenth century. In general, in 1803 the annexed territories accommodated 76 schools, 50 out of which belonged to different religious orders.[221] A resident of Volhynia, the translator Karol Micowski, who was educated in one of the Piarist schools, insisted on the benefits of a Piarist-led education because youths always received a better education from the Piarists. Although admitting that Jesuits and Piarists were mostly preoccupied with mutual enmity rather than with the educating children in the provinces, Micowski postulated that "the labours of [the Rev. Stanisław] Konarski, contending with the hardships that have broken-down several, the grammar by [Onufry] Kopczyński, genuinely testify to their merits, when compared to Alvar, the Syllogisms, the preposterous disputes, and the dyalogues, not to include the disasters that the Jesuits have brought into Poland through the obliterated language, and spoiled taste".[222] At the same time, Micowski differentiated between 'higher education' and the education received in the 'lower schools', and assessed the decision of Tadeusz Czacki to combine the Piarist educational systems of Lithuania and Poland as disadvantageous for the province, because the districts were too different. Thus, even in the matters of public schooling the regional patriotism of the *szlachta* continued to define their attitudes. In Micowski's view, this union prompted the arrival of Lithuanian Piarists, who were spoiled by the mores of the university in Wilno, to the provinces, and subsequently forced Volhynian Jesuits into their eventual and ultimate

[218] „Mowę ks. Antoniego Iżyckiego Przy otwarciu szkól wojewódzkich Międzyrzecza Koreckiego Scholarum Piarum w Departamencie J.O. Księcia Jmci Adama Czartoryskiego," in Platt, red., *Zabawy Przyjemne i Pożyteczne (1770 - 1777)* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 2004), 134 – 135.
[219] Ibidem.
[220] Ibidem.
[221] Beauvois, *Szkolnictwo Polskie na Ziemiach Litewsko-Ruskich, 1803 – 1832. Tom II: Szkoły Podstawowe i średnie,* 94.
[222] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego*, 163.

resignation, and "piety, a foundation of life of every citizen, also abandoned the town of Międzyrzecz".[223]

Even though Micowski admitted that Jesuits could instil moral maturity of youths, only Piarist schools were responsible for *public enlightenment* [oświecenie publiczne] at the end of the eighteenth century. After the banishment of the Jesuit order, "the Piarist youth was being educated more properly than before, because it established the studies of the French language in the seminaries; and for this reason all the Professors, who were there during my time, knew that language".[224] Alongside the introduction of Polish terminology in geometry, which had previously been entirely Latin, the inclusion of French into the curriculum was seen as a considerable improvement in the provinces. If Jesuit schooling provided individual discipline and reinforced a strict social hierarchy within the community, the new curriculum of the Piarists was perceived as enlightening because it was society-turned.

The continuous competition between the two forms of schooling in the provinces, Jesuit and Piarist, resulted in a gradual change of mentality among the *szlachta*. A provincial marshal Józef Drzewiecki noted a favourable assessment of the activities of the Commission, saying that although "there may be weren't a great progress among the learners, yet this new form of science was absorbed".[225] Also, in Starzeński's opinion, "[p]ublic education, conducted by the Piarist Friars, was excellent, though not quite thorough. The Cadets' School was of the same nature".[226] Within a decade of the Commission's establishment, the inspectors noted a positive response in the provinces. Since the 1780s, Volhynian citizens began to willingly give their children to the schools.[227] From 1790, an inspector Józef Muszyński indicated that there was a decent academic level in Krzemieniec, Łuck, Olyka, Włodzimierz, Winnica and Żytomierz, but he had has reservations regarding the schools of the Basilian Order, because the level of education among Greek-Catholic clergy was still questionable.[228]

The various evaluations of Jesuits and Piarists by memoirists signify that their personal experiences shaped their attitudes towards the style and practices of education. In the early

[223] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego*, 198 – 199.
[224] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego*, 165.
[225] Drzewiecki, *Pamiętniki Józefa Drzewieckiego*, 10.
[226] Starzeński, *Na Schyłku Dni Rzeczypospolitej*, 23.
[227] See Teodor Wierżbowski, red., *Raporty generalnych wizytatorów z r. 1785* (Warszawa, 1914).
[228] Henryk Barycz, Jan Hulewicz, eds., *Studia z Dziejów Kultury Polskiej. Książka Zbiorowa* (Warszawa, 1947), 423.

nineteenth century, some noblemen continued to recognize Jesuit teachers as carriers of sacred Polish traditions, and believed that Jesuit collegiums educated young men with a solid system of conduct, which was no longer the case in the new public schools introduced by the Commission. Karol Micowski's judgment of Jesuits as a destructive force in education and the manners of the *szlachta* was instantaneously challenged by the publisher of his memoir, Michał Grabowski (1804 – 1863). Born in Volhynia long after Jesuits were banished, he nevertheless indicates that "a publisher has a freedom to have knowledge about Jesuits". Grabowski, who criticized foreign, mainly French, aspirations in the provinces, commented in methodical footnotes to Micowski's text that the nobility should preserve the "traditions of their fathers", and Jesuit education was one of them. A prolonged presence of Jesuits in the Russian empire until the 1820s could have influenced such untimely appraisal. The residents of the Lublin voivodship even demanded the return of Jesuits in their speeches at *sejmiks*[229], even though Tadeusz Czacki acknowledged that even in 1811 Jesuits continued to overwhelm Piarists in the provinces.

Still, despite the contradictory assessment, the residents of the provinces recognize the importance of the education that was provided by the Jesuit and by the Piarist Orders, leaning towards the acknowledgment that education was a socially beneficial exercise. If Jesuit schooling was assessed as a traditional and comfortable style of education, the Piarist program was designated as *enlightened* due to its novel subjects, mainly the French language, and the better level of education that they provided. Despite such colorful portrayals of either Jesuits or Piarists, the core of the problem for the residents laid in the altered assessment of a child's individuality and the transformation of social responsibility to new teachers during the process of education.

Sensitivities towards New Teachers and Methods of Teaching

When appropriating parochial schools, the reformers of the Commission had to reconcile the medieval theocentrism of the Jesuits with the principles of Enlightenment philosophy, such as rationalism, human nature, empiricism, and economic and social progress. This was implemented through the introduction of new curricula that included

[229] Koźmian, *Pamiętniki Koźmiana Kajetana*, 2.

classes on general history, geography, natural history, poetry, and moral sciences. Undoubtedly, residents reflected on these novel subjects and their use.

In general, transmission of the scientific view of the world among the learning public in the eighteenth century Commonwealth was problematic, since "the fact that the Earth revolves around the sun was never referred to in print"[230], and so the reformers had a great deal to achieve. The reports of inspectors from the 1780s suggest that in classes held in Bracław and Volhynian Voivodeships there was hardly the sufficient means to provide a satisfactory level of training. Even the most necessary things such as globes, maps, tools for mathematical and physical cabinets were highly inadequate. Nonetheless, the *szlachta* from the Bracław Voivodeship repeatedly requested these materials from the Commission at local *sejmiks*, proving their openness to novel subjects.

According to the memoirists, the long-term results of the new scientific curriculum in public schools were still questionable. In the early 1810s, a poet and translator Franciszek Kowalski (1799 – 1862), having just finished his studies in one of the public schools in Winnica and on his way to the lyceum in Krzemieniec, debated with a "learned Jew" on the likelihood that "the Earth stands on fish" and this was the reason for the frequent 'earth-shakes'.[231] On the persuasion of Antoni Andrzejowski, only an enlightened [oświecona] person could comprehend the phenomenon of solar eclipse in Volhynia in the 1800s and explain it to his fellow citizens.[232] Thus, there is an understanding that the process of education did not necessarily guarantee enlightenment as intellectual discovery. At the same time, some of the residents acknowledge that no religion could provide answers to the mysterious cause of earthquakes.

Another subject that was frequently commented upon was the introduction of gardening. The residents wholeheartedly believed in practical education, and thus positively evaluated gardening and agriculture. Micowski abundantly commented on the tradition of having a garden in every noble home. He especially welcomed a practical method of grafting fruit trees, because "if there ever was a pear tree or an apple tree of the best sort [...] it turned so wild that it did not differ from any other regular tree; grafting was neither known nor wished to be known [here]; and I remember that more than once [they] laughed when the

[230] Lisbet Koerner, "Daedalus Hyperboreus: Baltic Natural History and Mineralogy in the Enlightenment," in *The Sciences in Enlightened Europe*, edited by William Clark, Jan Golinski, and Simon Schaffer (University of Chicago Press, 1999), 395.
[231] Kowalski, *Wspomnienia: Pamiętnik Franciszka Kowalskiego 1819 – 1823*, 58 – 60.
[232] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty Starego Detiuka o Wołyniu*, T. 1, 111 – 112.

Commission for National Education required the study of agriculture, foresting, and gardening".[233] Micowski's relative, who started his own garden, differed from the rest of he residents because unlike them he was not opposed to *progress* that resulted from education and taste. The introduction of novel subjects enabled the residents to discuss the progress and prosperity of their region.

The reformers of the Commission placed greater emphasis on the lessons of moral philosophy, explanation of religious practices, and discussions about obedience within the walls of the schools, since the moral education of the youth was placed at the center of the reform. The philosopher and economist Hieronim Stroynowski (1752 – 1815) was in charge of writing books on moral instruction for the fifth and seventh grades, which focused on the duties and rights of man. This new curriculum aimed at reconciling natural law with religion, and taught children basic human and social relations, such as relationships between parents and children, teachers and students, masters and servants, and between citizens and the monarch. Therefore, the process of learning had to denote a social utility of a citizen. From the start of the reform, the Piarist priest Stanislaw Konarski was cautious about the curriculum in the provincial schools, and made sure not to introduce discussions about the *liberum veto* and the abolition of serfdom, even though these topics were present in the curricula in Warsaw.[234] In Konarski's opinion, these topics were too sensitive for the provincial nobility, who frequently blocked the Diets' decisions with their *I do not allow* vote and opposed the emancipation of peasants in their possession. Hence, the curricula were carefully calibrated taking geographic and mental particularities of the different regions of the Commonwealth into account, and often incorporated the suggestions of their residents. For instance, according to the reports of the inspectors from the late the 1780s, the provincial nobility questioned the prevalence of German language over French in Volhynia. If the residents in Podole specifically requested the introduction of German because it was "more needed for their sons than French" due to their proximity to the border with Habsburgs, then the Volhynian gentry complained about the lack of French in 1788. Inspector Józef

[233] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego,* 79.
[234] Jerzy Lukowski, „Stanislaw Konarski (1700 - 1772) *A Polish Machiavelli*?" in *Enlightenment and Catholicism in Europe. A Transnational History,* 438.

Muszyński reported that in Volhynia, the citizens recognized only the benefits of books in French and not in German.[235]

Rare discussions about the content of the reform were overwhelmed by the writer's opinions on the new personnel in the provinces – the teachers, and their social conduct in the community. The arrival of teachers from Kraków, Warszawa and Wilno to the eastern provinces caused heated debates at the local assemblies and most of the memoirists respond to this occurrence with disdain. Mainly, they perceive the newcomers as profane, because they abstained from visiting churches. Their mores were repeatedly questioned by the first generation of writers on the basis of their religious devotion. For instance, Michał Starzeński recollected that during the local assembly in Podlasie in 1782, a new "member of the Commission" wanted to address the assembly, and "the moment he was commencing his oration, he was interrupted by a query whether he could say the Lord's Prayer. As it appeared, he could not; and then he was made leave the church".[236] To Starzeński, this occurrence signified that although the residents of the provinces were "without proper education" [wykształcenia], they still mastered the notions of religion and justice. Even though the local *szlachta* lacked refinement, they advanced in morality and this is why none of the nobles stole silverware during the assembly's get-together, while it was frequently done during banquets in Paris.[237] Thus, moral refinement and education often ran along separate paths in the provinces in the 1780s. The outfit of new teachers also disturbed the residents of the provinces, who were used to Jesuit's mantles. Józef Drzewiecki vividly described the moment of the new teachers' arrival in Volhynia in the 1790s, focusing on their appearance more than on their academic skills:

> The turning-up of young academicians wearing stockings and ankle-boots, with coatees hanging on their backs, overcast the ex-Jesuits' faces, raising various presumptions and estimations. Soon afterwards, however, the arrival of the revered inspectors […] clothed the young-ones in a sort of sobriety, in the eyes of their parents; […] Later on, more teachers were sent over, and those even danced! This endued them with conviviality; the respectable houses called them to attend their gatherings; the academic coatees whiffled when they waltzed with our damsels.[238]

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[235] Raport Józefa Muszyńskiego in Henryk Barycz, Jan Hulewicz, eds., *Studia z Dziejów Kultury Polskiej. Książka Zbiorowa.* (Warszawa, 1947), 423. [większą wzietość języka francuskiego nad niemiecki i powszechne od obywatelów uznanie większej korzyści ksiąg francuskich niżli niemieckich].
[236] Starzeński, *Na Schyłku Dni Rzeczypospolitej*, 57.
[237] Starzeński, *Na Schyłku Dni Rzeczypospolitej*, 58.
[238] Drzewiecki, *Pamiętniki Józefa Drzewieckiego*, 10 – 11.

Gradually, provincial homes began to open their doors to the newcoming teachers, and their inhabitants no longer attended to local Jesuits. Drzewiecki associated these changes in habits with the Great Diet in 1788 – 1792 – a time when the nobles upheld reforming and patriotic aspirations.[239] Thus, clearly in and around the 1790s there was a tendency not to accept Jesuit schooling, and instead to opt for the new schooling practices. At the same time, he acknowledged that there was not a substantial progress in education, and the teaching of languages was still 'in a cradle'.

In Warsaw during the Diet, the nobility wore traditional Polish clothes as a sign of their patriotic incentives to free the country from Russian influence. Yet, in the provinces, nobility gave preference to the French style of clothing. Józef Drzewiecki himself used the symbolic meaning of clothing in his philanthropist activity in Volhynia in the 1800s. As his contemporaries noted, Drzewiecki frequently went with the reformer Czacki to collect money for the public schools from the local *szlachta*: "Czacki would catch with him mister the chief and had him carried along, dressed in a French uniform, in order to *save*, or, as they were then facetiously wont to say, to *crave* the contributions for the Volhynian school".[240] The change to the system of education in the provinces had to possess a symbolic demonstration and the French clothes of the representative of local authority and an educationalist guaranteed the success of this modification amidst the political changes. The Polish nobility began favouring French clothes from the 1750s, yielding to every French fashion that overcame Europe. The German lands, invaded by French fashion since the eighteenth century, were only one of many examples. Peter Gay compares the longing for French fashion among the German aristocracy and artists to 'political slavery' and argues that it was an outward explication of Germany's dependence on everything French.[241] Frequently, the tendency among the *szlachta* to adopt French fashion was seen as a tragic immaturity or political futility. Yet, I believe that the residents in the provinces chose the French style as a way to present their 'social maturity' in the Russian empire and as a means to disconnect themslves from the past.

[239] Almost 60 years later Antoni Andrzejowski assessed the developments in education in a similar fashion: "the generous statute on national enlightenment has opened the sanctuaries of sciences to all the estates. The country lived, breathed quietly, and could not fathom itself in the joy of its rebirth. And I can well remember Volhynia yielding herself to joy at that time", in Andrzejowski, *Ramoty Starego Detiuka o Wołyniu*. T. 1, 9

[240] Drzewiecki, *Pamiętniki Józefa Drzewieckiego*, XVII [Czacki porywał z sobą pana szefa i ubranego w mundur francuzki woził z sobą, dla *zebrania*, a jak żartownie wówczas mówili dla *żebrania* ofiar na szkolę Wołyńską].

[241] See Peter Gay, "Burdens of the Past," in *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation* (1969).

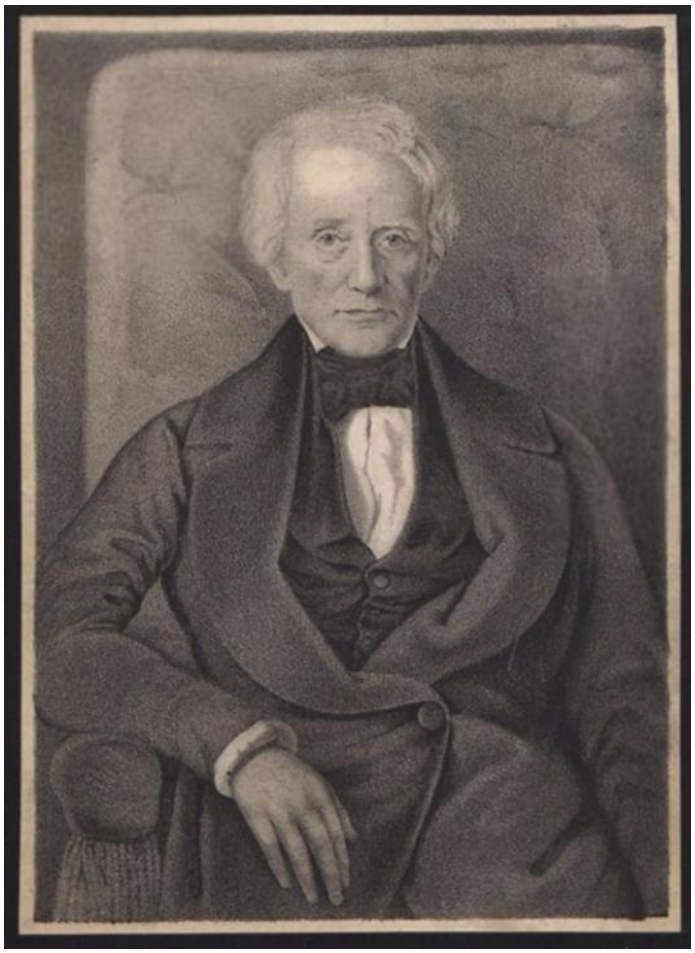

Figure 4 - Józef Drzewiecki (1772 – 1852):

'Pan Szef' in the old age.[242]

If letters, drawings and books were under scrutiny at the time, foreign fashion was deemed benign by the new authorities, and therefore the nobility could exercise it to its fullest extent, seeing it as a symbolical extension of their individuality and refinement after the partitions.

Ewa Felińska (1793 – 1859) noted that the last time she saw members of the *szlachta* dressed in Polish clothes was when she was eight years old. Even though there "was always something funny" about those, who changed into French clothes[243], almost none of the nobles were wearing *kontusz* (Polish outfit) when dancing a Polish dance in the early 1800s.[244] The role of fashion at the turn of the nineteenth century was not mundane, as shown by Alexander Maxwell.[245] He explores how a nation works as a practical category and what makes it effective within a given context. Education, just like clothing, became another marker of status, identity, taste and eventually, "a problematic emblem of modernity"[246], which, in the provincial *szlachta's* case, they chose for themselves around the 1800s.

The most heated debate in the memoirs touched upon the physical punishments that were dealt to the youths. For the writers, this topic exemplified attitudes towards human nature, individuality, autonomy and obedience. This topic accentuated influences of foreign

[242] Source: https://polona.pl/item/858242/0/
[243] Felińska, *Pamiętniki*, T.1, 148 – 149.
[244] Felińska, *Pamiętniki*, T.1, 105.
[245] See Alexander Maxwell, *Patriots against Fashion. Clothing and Nationalism in Europe's Age of Revolutions* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
[246] Jennifer M. Jones, *Sexing La Mode: Gender, Fashion and Commercial Culture in Old Regime France* (New York, 2004), xvii.

philosophical thought and its re-interpretation in the context of the provinces. Although describing the amicable and loving atmosphere of children's upbringing by their mothers and fathers, the memoirists remain preoccupied with the benefits of punishments for the moral strength of young pupils during the late eighteenth century. The authors emphasize the necessity of punishment and these views united them with the representatives of the cultural elite. For instance, Julian Niemcewicz when describing the methods of education in the Corps of Cadets perturbedly wrote in the early 1840s that "this what the children later on found pleasing to utter, has come upon no-one amongst us: The rights of children are equal to those of a man. How much evil has been generated by this conceitedness in the inexperienced minds!"[247] Thus, the rights of children and the rights of man were disengaged, and only the latter could lead a life free of physical punishments. Education, being a pre-requisite of a healthy life and sound mind, still had to be reinforced by physical punishments, as that was how it used to be practiced.

Physical punishments at school were perceived as a necessary mean of cleansing a child from sinful thoughts and deeds. Karol Micowski dedicated as many as eight pages to reflect on the necessity of punishments and the harm that the new philosophy of education supposedly inflicted on this practice. Micowski postulated that a man's "virtue is already the result of maturity and of more experienced years; and lust is part of youth and not thinking; when it is not tamed by all possible means, it will exert its influence in the consequential life".[248] Whereas Micowski passed his judgement on the absence of Catholic mores in the provinces, the publisher Grabowski continued such deliberations, emphasizing the evils that resulted from the absence of punishments in their schools. He rhetorically asked whether children are of a human or angelic nature: if they are of an angelic nature then let them develop freely, but if they are of human nature, they need to be punished.[249]

Conversing with Rousseau in the mid-1840s, both Micowski (died in 1847) and Grabowski (1804 – 1863) were inclined to consider children to have a human nature, and maintained that the punishments were the only means with which to educate a virtuous

[247] Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki Czasów Moich,* 25. [I nie przyszło żadnemu z nas to, co się później podobało wyrzec dzieciom: Są prawa dzieci równie jak prawa czlowieka. Ileż zarozumiałość ta w niedoświadconych głowach sprawiła złego na świecie!]
[248] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego,* 190-197. Borejko also provides a lengthy account of the popularity of physical punishments of children in families and schools in *Pamiętnik pana Wacława Borejka,* 23 – 25.
[249] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego,* 198.

human being. Grabowski further reflected on philosophical dimensions of punishments for children:

Russo [i.e. Rousseau], who would sent his own children to an infirmary, whilst forbidding the dainty and weakly woman to be helped out by a foster-mother, has also cast a philosophical curse upon the birch-rod. And, he was obeyed utterly: as I have even read somewhere, the Polish children, indebted to the Genevan citizen for a more benign dealing, and abandonment of the formula they had once been acquainted with: 'The Holy Ghost ordains …, etc. [… that children be beaten with a twig]'. However, the subject-matter has not ceased being worthy of something more thorough than Russo's sentimental aphorisms; or, perhaps it has not been of detriment that his teachings have been tested in practice. – The thing is whether it is beneficial from the cradle-time to overindulge hauteur, the most primary human weakness? As a matter-of-fact, this most excruciating transformation of the child's penance into a stain upon human honour that has directly ensued from the sophistic ideas of Russo and his adherents.[250]

Michał Grabowski treated the absence of punishments as an ambiance that nurtured arrogance among the nobility, and to support this argument further he provided a picturesque example – a story that was circulating since 20 years about a local student, who dreaded the punishment at school to such an extent that he always carried a gun in his pocket:

But what can I say about the education which elevated a young passion so untimely and unwisely, and advised him to kill rather than be punished at school, since the school punishment could not be considered a measure of disgrace. That, precisely, was the most disgusting transformation of a child punishment [...] that came out of the sophistic understanding of Rousseau and his supporters.[251]

Thus, the follower's of Rousseau's views were discarded as sophists, who pursue their private interest by means of empty rhetoric. Rousseau argued that education has to educate a child and a human being, therefore insisted that children have an inborn dignity and must be treated with respect. These arguments left an indelible mark on the writings of the provincial nobility. Even though Grabowski considered such views inapt, it is clear that Rousseau's

[250] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego,* 197-198. [Russo, który sam dzieci swoje oddawał do szpitala, a zabraniał kobiecie delikatnej i słabowitej wyręczyć się mamką, rzucił także filozoficzne przekleństwo na rózgę. Usłuchano go bezwzględnie: czytale, nawet gdzieś, że i dzieci Polskie, winne Genewskiemu obywatelowi łagodniejsze obchodzenie się z sobą, i zarzucenie znajomej in niegdyś formuły: „Ruszczką Duch Święty i t.d." Rzecz wszakże nie przestaje być godną gruntowniejszego czegoś, jak sentymentalnych aforyzmów Russa, a może nie zaskodziło, że praktycznie wyprobowano jego naukę. – Idzie o to, czy korzystnie od kolebki rozpieszczać najgłówniejszą słabość ludzką, pychę? otóż właśnie to najpotworniejsze przeobrażenie pokuty dziecka, w ujmę honoru człowieka, wypłynęło już wprost z sofistycznych pojęć Russa i jego stronników].
[251] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego,* 198-199.

principles spread into the provinces through the philosophy of the new schooling system, when reformers synthesized the views of Rousseau in their approach to education, while the readers discovered Rousseau's works. In the provinces, the petty nobility and educators joined the debate about social duties and individual needs, which were ascendant in France throughout the eighteenth century.[252] In their own way, the memoirists were still decoding human nature in the 1840s, in reaction to the public enlightenment and the absence of social discipline of the Jesuits. By the mid-nineteenth century, the writers continue to treat 'human nature' in relation to original sin and the corruption of man. They believed that Rousseau granted 'human nature' feelings and sensibilities, which were unacceptable and foreign, even though they denoted 'progresses'.

Hereby, as Grabowski postulated, the interpretation of Rousseau's philosophy by the students were responsible for an individual's self-love and feelings of pride, which the philosopher did not intend to encourage. As the writer from the second generation, he was certain that Rousseau argued for self-respect and sympathy, and not for socially destructive feelings that distorted the initial idea of the reform. Possibly, Grabowski's hostile reception of Rousseau was caused by the fact that the philosopher wrote a treatise on the request of anti-Russian nobles in the 1760s. In this light, the connections between the punishments and individual pride seem to be logical. From the provided estimations it is clear that only one philosopher of the French Enlightenment (Rousseau) was responsible for the changes in perceptions to 'human nature' and the rights of man, and that he also continued to exert his influence in the realms of education and children's upbringing in the provinces after the partitions. The teachings of Rousseau were comprehended as 'sentimentalist', untimely and therefore unsuitable for the Polish context in the 1840s. However, the fact remains that the writer of the 'second generation' imposes Rousseau's philosophy onto the practices of the nobility throughout the 1800s – 1840s.

During the 1780s – 1840s, physical punishments in the annexed territories were not a means of developing a good Polish citizen, but a way of securing an obedient member of the community. A child had to learn his responsibilities and to face the consequences of his disobedience, which was still established by God and a community and was based on a

[252] See Natasha Gill, *Educational Philosophy in the French Enlightenment. From Nature to Second Nature*, pp. 227 – 255.

hierarchy that determined their status.[253] In essence, it was a discussion about freedom and individual performance within the socially bounded norms of the provinces. In a way, it was the only system that the residents still controlled – the form of education that the schooling system offered.

The pattern of obedience and physical punishments continued to be omnipresent in the narratives of the memoirists, and was the result of the continuous struggle of local reformers with Jesuit traditions. The botanist Antoni Andrzejowski (1785 – 1868) in his memoirs indicated that a reformer Tadeusz Czacki cancelled corporal punishments when he described the important achievements of the reformers.[254] Czacki, who embarked on a cardinal change of the educational system in the Volhynian and Podolian governorates, had more than a few difficulties with the tradition of administering beatings to children. For instance, a prefect of one of the schools severely punished a child, which initiated a long legal procedure. However, the father of the beaten child praised the punishment and the case was dropped. In another case, in 1811 a teacher was accused of killing a pupil in Winnica.[255]

Albeit skeptically, the writers of both generations underline the pattern of human dignity that was introduced by a new type of public schooling. The introduction of a new philosophy of education resulted in the belief that the decline of parental society simultaneously decreased the tyrannical power of teachers in schools, and the birch-rod ceased to be present in the system of education. Even though some writers still viewed Jesuit schooling with feelings of nostalgia, they could not but agree that the new generation was better educated and could serve as better members of their community. Kajetan Koźmian in the old age attempted to make a deeper analysis of the outcomes of the reform in his *Pamiętniki*:

by removing these youngsters from severe and merciless conduct of Jesuits [...] by instilling the feelings of human dignity, that generation, while being distinguished by enlightenment [oświeceniem], humanity and sweetness, influenced slightly their strict fathers, and those became ashamed of their prejudices, their severe behaviour towards their children, and towards their servants and peasants.[256]

[253] Popiel, *Rousseau's Daughters*, 5.
[254] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty Starego Detiuka*, T. 2, 231-240.
[255] K. Czajkowski i A. Czajkowska, eds., *Pomiędzy Krzemieńcem a Wilnem. Z nieznanej korepondencji Tadeusza Czackiego z Janem Śniadeckim (1809 - 1811)* (Częstochowa, 2006), 77 – 78.
[256] Koźmian, *Pamiętniki Kajetana Koźmiana*, 8 – 9. [usunąwszy tę młódź spod gróźnego i niemiłosiernego surowością prowadzenia oo. Jezuitów […] zaszczepienie uczucia godności człowieka i jak to plemię znowu, tak odróżniające się oświeceniem, ludzkością i słodyczą, wpłynęło nieznacznie na surowych ojców, że ci wobec ich zawstydzili się swoich uprzedzeń, swego gróznego z dziećmi a następnie z sługami i włościanami obchodzenia].

Thus, there is a persistent indication of the disconnection of practices of 'fathers' and 'sons'. Even though recognizing the benefits of such humane treatment of children, Borejko nevertheless believes such views among the parents to be demagogic.[257] These parents, influenced by the new mores, attempted to alter the methods of the school instruction for their children. They specifically demanded the absence of corporal punishments and the presence of comfortable conditions (for example, the ability to hire a personal laundress for his sons). Grabowski commented that during this time, the meaning of 'purity' [czystość] changed for the nobility, who began to use the term exclusively in hygienic terms. Thus, even though externally the secularization of the schooling system did not happen, the practices changed externally – a pupil's body acquired needs and rights. Representatives of the provincial nobility used the topic of public education to form their narrative of the reform's penetrating influence on social communication in the region. Overall, in the early 1800s the nobility opted for the notions of human dignity, order and stability, and moved away from the Jesuit's control.

A dialogue between the generations concerning the purpose of education was still on-going after the partitions. In 1817, a satirical weekly *Wiadomości Brukowe* printed a story about a son of *szlachcic* from the periphery who "contracted a new fashion" of the contemporary world – an aspiration for learning. His father, a cup-bearer, frantically complained to his fellow citizens: "but what purpose is it for a noble-man, of worthy origin, to preoccupy himself, uselessly, and badger himself about with learnings; as for myself, I have not read my Primer completely yet […] and still did I hold some rather important offices. […] and whatever else may this University of Wilno demand to-day? I have heard that they have already required the nobility to become educated".[258] During this time, Wacław Borejko (1764 – 1854) was administering a new system of public education in the Volhynian and Podolian lands. In his memoirs he provides an example of a similar conversation yet with the opposite message – a father asks his son to "[l]earn; education honors a szlachcic, without it he is no good for anything in this world".[259] These two complementary estimations of the place of education in the life of the *szlachta* make a case for the importance of public education for the residents, who throughout the late eighteenth – first third of the nineteenth

[257] Borejko, *Pamiętnik pana Wacława Borejka*, 24.
[258] *Wiadomości Brukowe*, No. 25 (1817), 103. [ale naco szlachcicowi, godnie urodzonemu, zaprzątać się niepotrzebnie i suszyć sobie głowę naukami; ja sam ne doczytalem Elementarza [...] a jednak piastowałem urzędy dosyć ważne. [...] Licho wie, czego już ten Uniwersytet Wileński dziś żąda? Słyszałem, że oni już wymagają, ażeby się szlachta uczyła].
[259] Borejko, *Pamiętnik pana Wacława Borejka*, 22.

century arguably experienced a similar enthusiasm for learning to the one detected by Daniel Roche amongst the French people in the eighteenth century.[260]

From the point of view of the residents in the 1840s, public education was important because it introduced the idea of equality of "all children" – noble and peasant. For instance, Borejko claimed that in the late eighteenth century "everybody preferred […] public education of their sons to home-based schooling, and [even] in the most affluent families I cannot recall the sons being taught at home: for public education inculcated [*resp.* expressed] a uniform manner of comprehending science, preserving the mores, it rendered all the estates [i.e. classes] equal, and tied the relationships of friendship between disciples".[261] In Borejko's opinion, such attitudes towards public shooling were the result of absence of any distinction between the children of landlords and peasants in the villages.[262] Yet, the reformer nonetheless admits that still there was a hierarchy among the students from wealthy families. Such a favourable picture of public schooling in the provinces is easily undermined by the reports of the Commission's inspectors at the end of the eighteenth century, who indicated that the nobility did not frequent public schools. For instance, inspector Muszyński noted in his report in 1789 that the schools of the Commission "are becoming the institutions for the urban and rural poor; wealthier *szlachta* began to return to home tutoring or to go abroad".[263] Muszyński's report also has to be considered with a pinch of salt, since often public schools did not have an adequate number of students and remained closed for a long period of time, as it happened to the Basilian school in Kaniów. There are several entries from the 1790s that say that "on this day the opening of the school according to the rules prescribed by the splendid Commission of Education did not happen due to the lack of visitors".[264] Its directors continued to perceive that the school was the legacy of the Commission, until it was re-classified as a district school of the Russian empire in 1833. In October 1819, in Kaniów there was even a memorial service intended "to save the good deeds of public education".[265]

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[260] Roche, *France in the Enlightenment*, 13.
[261] Borejko, *Pamiętnik pana Wacława Borejka*, 20.
[262] Borejko, *Pamiętnik pana Wacława Borejka*, 15.
[263] Rkps. Archiwum Główne, Warszawa, E. 30, 1c. in Henryk Barycz, Jan Hulewicz, eds., *Studia z Dziejów Kultury Polskiej. Książka Zbiorowa.* (Warszawa, 1947) [Szkoły Komisji zaczynały coraz bardziej stawać się zakładami biedoty miejskiej i wiejskiej, bogatsza szlachta zaczynała wracać do wychowania domowego lub wyjeżdżać za granicę].
[264] *Opis Dzienny w Szkołach podwydzialowych Kaniowskich IIXX Bazylian zaczęty 29 Wrzesnia Roku 1783*. Kyiv, Institute of Manuscripts at the National Library of Ukraine, F. II, No. 4963, s. 39 [W tym dniu otwarcie Szkół sposobem od Przeświętney Kommissyi Edukacyiney przepisanym dla niedostatku gości nienastąpił].
[265] *Opis Dzienny w Szkołach podwydzialowych Kaniowskich IIXX Bazylian zaczęty 29 Wrzesnia Roku 1783*. [żalobne nabożenstwo ku ratunku Dobrodzejań Edukacyi Publiczney].

Thus, even though Catherine II, who believed that the Commission schools were propagating French philosophy in the provinces, hurried to close many of them, and the success of the reform of education continued to live, and in the 1840s Borejko felt the need to accentuate the Commission's success in the annexed territories.

If the reformer saw public education was a favourable means of professing equality among all citizens, the level of education amongst peasants was deemed unnerving even at the end of the nineteenth century. According to the Polish ethnographer Oskar Kolberg (1814 – 1890), "these people [peasants] are without the slightest enlightenment [oświecenie], are sad and uncared; they have neither the industry of the villages of the Greater Poland, nor the humorous conviviality of Krakow, and do not seem to know any other happiness except for the excessive use of alcohol".[266] In this case, the Polish intellectual attributed the meaning of enlightenment not only to education, but also to the habits of the fashionable and civilized society of the city that contrasted with the level of refinement in the provinces.

The ultimate views on the reform of education expressed in the memoirs of the 1820s – 1860s were influenced by the activities of Tadeusz Czacki (1765 – 1813) in the Volhynian and Podolian governorates. In 1803, Czacki contended that the Volhynian governorate differed in status from the other governorates of the Russian empire, and its abundant resources had enabled its improvement and "higher civilization" in contrast, for example, to northern Siberia. For this reason, he was not asking for contributions from other provinces of the Russian empire, because the needs of Volhynians were incompatible with the rest. By granting Volhynia its cultural and economic autonomy within the Russian empire, Czacki nonetheless contended that in order to compare Volhynia to other enlightened [oświeceni] European countries, especially to the German lands, it had to have at least a couple of universities.[267] For him, the process of Enlightenment was necessarily linked to the growth and improvement of educational network amidst their new political situation. Hence, I argue that in the annexed provinces as late as the 1860s the partitions did not necessarily give start to the Anti-Enlightenment or Counter-Enlightenment philosophy, nor a rapid nationalism, but modified the perceptions of the landed nobility about the most suitable form of educational, cultural and religious preservation. As a result, their reception of what should constitute the values of the Enlightenment altered.

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[266] Agata Skrukwa, ed., „Oskar Kolberg. Wołyń" (Poznań, 2002), 13 – 14.

[267] Czacki, *O gimnazium w wołyńskiey gubernii i innych dla oboiey płci ustanowieniach uczynione przedstawienie przez Tadeusza Czackiego, roku 1803 w grudniu* [S.l.: s.n., 1803], 2 – 3.

Figure 5 - Tadeusz Czacki (1765 – 1813)

Miniature, c. 1815.[268]

Even if it is not entirely clear what Czacki had in mind – Herder's ideas of cultural identity, or Kant's philosophy of individualism, or the fact that German was replacing French as the language of learning and philosophy, it is possible to assume that in early 1800s Czacki implied the cultural patriotism of the German lands, which did not yet correspond to the national identity.

The German lands were not the only exemplary to which the reformers and contributors in the governorate referred to. In 1805, the philosopher and physiocrat Antoni Jarkowski (1760 – 1827) noted that the "spirit from the river Seine" finally spread and the "laws and liberties" known in Paris and Oxford became the property of "northern peoples".[269] In this, Jarkowski heavily imitated Świtkowski's opinions, who already in 1783 acknowledged that enlightenment had finally established itself in the North, alluding to the tendencies in the overall improvement of the sciences in the enlightened countries from which Poland could benefit.[270] In 1800s, Jarkowski believed that there were no privileges in education anymore, and the "gothic structures of the government and sciences" were no longer valid under the rule of Alexander I. As the elements of enlightenment, Jarkowski highlights the freedom of speech and education that exemplify the maxims of "charitable/tolerant enlightenment". As

[268] Source: http://cyfrowe.mnw.art.pl/dmuseion/docmetadata?id=20541

[269] Antoni Jarkowski, „Mowa Jmc Pana Antoniego Jarkowskiego, prefekta Gymnazium Wołyńskiego, przy odebraniu Monarszego Dyplomatu dla tegoż Gymnazium wydanego dnia 1. października 1805 roku w Krzemieńcu miana" [S.l.: s.n., 1805].

[270] Richard Butterwick, Simon Davies, G.S. Espinosa, eds., *Peripheries of the Enlightenment* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2008), 209.

one of the examples, he offers the regulations of Frederick II (1712 – 1786) in Prussia. Thus, provincial reformers and philosophers already in the early 1800s recognize enlightenment in their lands to be a link in a chain of processes that initially began in France, transformed in Prussian lands, and finally was approved by Alexander I as a public system of education and scientific improvement that promoted toleration and freedom of speech.

Ultimately, Czacki's key tenet was "the good of his fellow-citizens and enlightenment"[271] and was grounded in the idea that schools and universities were the conveyors of *Aufklärung*. However, he also declared that it was not the number of schools that made the difference, but the uniformity and close connection in the system of enlightenment. A teacher of natural history Antoni Andrzejowski described the eighteenth century as the time when, "*Wołyń* did not sparkle with enlightenment" because then Volhynia, Podolia and Ukraine barely had ten schools together while Lithuania had three times as many. He further acknowledged that it was "the reign of Stanisław August, which ended so unfortunately, raised enlightenment in the country, emboldened talents, encouraged the arts and crafts and gave a strong impulse to industries".[272]

It is unclear whether at later stages, after 1803, Czacki or any other provincial residents forged parallels between the governorates and the developments in Prussia, where the reforms were designed to regain cultural and political independence. Throughout the 1790s – 1820s the Prussian reformers abolished servitude, gave the Jews the same rights as citizens of the state, introduced freedom of trade, and reformed the system of education. Prussia embarked on these reforms in response to their military defeats during the 1800s, under the guidance of Queen Louise and Baron Stein.[273] The reforms reached their climax with the foundation of the university in Berlin in 1810. However, whilst Stein and Hardenberg aimed at bringing the nation into a closer relationship with the central government and withheld from perpetuating provincialism[274], the opinions in the governorates were diametrically opposite – Czacki insisted on the special status of their provinces within the Russian empire and within the history of the Commonwealth. In 1805, he evaluated the Commission's

[271] Michał Jurkowski, *O demonach czyli geniiuszach u filozofów greckich w stosunku do duszy człowieka: rozprawa czytana na publiczném posiedzeniu w czasie obchodzonéy pamiątki J. W. ś. p. Tadeusza Czackiego [...] przy dokończeniu roku szkolnego dnia 16 lipca 1814* (Krzemieniec, 1814), 1.
[272] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty Starego Detiuka o Wołyniu*, T. 1, 34.
[273] For the more on the reforms in Prussia in the early nineteenth century, see John Breuilly, *Austria, Prussia and The Making of Germany: 1806-1871* (Routledge, 2014).
[274] For the agendas of the reformers in the context of foreign cultural domination refer to Michael Rowe, "The French Revolution, Napoleon, and Nationalism in Europe," in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism*, edited by John Breuilly (Oxford University Press, 2013).

activity during the 1770s – 1790s as a period when only some changes were introduced rather than as a time of general and penetrating improvement.[275]

The testimonies of the residents from the annexed provinces present a complicated picture of the Commission's place and its role in the reform of education in society. Their stories of the Commission were ultimately tainted by the educational reform within the governorates. In their memoirs, they welcomed the reform, stressing the importance of Piarist-led schooling, which in their opinion provided 'public enlightenment', even though private education often remained a norm among the wealthier nobles. By emphasizing the moral pitfalls of their fathers, who were brought up by the Jesuits, the memoirists nonetheless remained faithful to the tradition of educating obedient citizens of their community until the mid-1840s. For them, the reform of education had a combined influence on all spheres of life in noble society – family relations, cultural sensitivities, and master/servant dynamics by means of the new curriculum and teaching habits. Writers of both generation link the reform to the idea of progress, which corresponds to Rousseau's philosophy of progress of the human kind.

Developments in the perceptions of a *proper* education, and its link to punishments and religious instruction at the turn of the nineteenth century coincided with similar developments in the German lands in the 1770s – 1820s. There, the system of education, elicited from Rousseau's theories, was combined with ideas of the German Enlightenment, and manifested in the theories of *philantropismus* of Johann Basedow (1723 – 1790) and Joachim Campe (1746 – 1818). Their philosophy relied on a balanced use of religious teachings and they argued that it be replaced with teachings on morality and toleration. Both educationalists believed that children ought to be educated in a friendly and gentle manner. In the German context, their thinking further flourished and developed under the guidance of Alexander von Humboldt (1769 – 1859), who believed that instead of preparing young individuals for specific vocations, education ought to be perceived as a necessary precondition for the improvement of society in general.[276] The memoirists do not indicate the sources of their knowledge of the reforms or political developments in other countries.

[275] Czacki. „O postępie edukacyi w prowincjach niegdyś polskich, a teraz wcielonych do Rossyi," *Dziennik Wileński* 1 (1805), 6 – 10.

[276] For the history of *philantropismus* see Jürgen Overhoff, *Die Frühgeschichte des Philanthropismus (1715-1771): Konstitutionsbedingungen, Praxisfelder und Wirkung eines pädagogischen Reformprogramms im Zeitalter der Aufklärung* (Tübingen, 2004); for the specificity in treatment of a child in the German Enlightenment see Dorinda Outram, *Panorama of the Enlightenment* (Getty Publications, 2006), pp. 124 – 127.

Yet, it could be assumed that reading, habitual trips abroad, personal contacts and articles in the journals, especially the ones published in Wilno, were used as channels of information.

In the opinion of the residents, only after the partitions did the Volhynian governorate secure the continuous advancement of the reforms of the late eighteenth century. These views differ substantially from the opinion of some Polish Romantics of the nineteenth century, who completely negated the legacy of the Commission and judged it as an artificial construct brought to Poland from Europe. For instance, a national bard Adam Mickiewicz (1798 – 1855) observed that the entire structure of public instruction had a confusing program unbased in any moral truth. Yet, he still recognized the benefits of that education for the image that it conveyed to the rest of Europe about the Poles – this new generation could at the very least change their negative opinion about the Polish *szlachta*.[277]

Language(s) of Enlightenment

Composing their memoirs in Polish, the problem the writers do not wish to disregard is the language of communication in the provinces, same as the language of school instruction, or the language of style and enlightenment throughout the period of 1780s – 1850s. All these characteristics in turn used to belong to different languages during different segments of time, and every memoirist points out the inconsistencies in the use of languages within the province as well as outside of it.

The writings of more than seventy residents confirm that they were adequately literate in French. In the eighteenth century, receiving an education in French was a widely acknowledged European trend.[278] What is peculiar is that all of them insist on the French language as means of refined social representation. In order to achieve a prominent position within the province, a member of nobility had to articulate his refinement [polor] through learning French, even though its quality was sometimes questionable, and they themselves admit that their most important task around the 1800s was to learn French "so-so" [jako tako], without a deep knowledge of accents or vocabulary.[279] Although essentially foreign,

[277] Adam Mickiewicz, *Literatura Słowiańska*, T. II, (Poznań, 1865), 169. For similar reflections, see Koźmian, *Pamiętniki Kajetana Koźmiana*, 14.
[278] See, for example, Rab Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe* (Routledge, 2014).
[279] Alongside Ewa Felińska and Szymon Konopacki, Jan D. Ochocki also reflected on mediocre level of foreign language(s) spoken by the *szlachta* in the provinces.

French was recognized as the primary language of schooling and therefore fathers concerned themselves with the language of instruction of their children in provincial schools. When in the 1840s Micowski evaluated the introduction of French to be a progressive decision that had an improving influence on the level of education of youths in the region during the 1780s – 1810s, Grabowski commented that "this seemingly minor detail had colossal implications".[280] Altogether, Karol Micowski's memoirs, published in 1845, reads as a dialogue between the representatives of two generations, who, despite sharing the same province, developed different views on the role of French in the lives of their countrymen.

Fluency in French and knowledge of French culture during this time were also standard requirements for the Russian nobility. For them, a French veneer symbolized their belonging to new cosmopolitan ideas, which brought the notions of individual liberty, equality, and membership in the *republic of letters*.[281] Yet, in the Polish context, matters were more complicated. During the late eighteenth – early nineteenth century, aristocracy in Warsaw and the provinces spoke different languages. Ewa Felińska in her writings recollected that when her relatives from Warsaw came for a visit to the village of Holynka in the 1810s, "[t]he whole of the new assemblage continually gibbered between themselves in French, and whenever someone addressed in Polish, our native speech was so murdered that even no Jew could have made a severer harm".[282] In her opinion, French had nothing to do with education or enlightenment but only with the fashion that was prevalent in the capital around the 1800s. Even the articulation of visitors was described as 'childish' and 'soft', attributing this peculiarity to the spineless character of the residents that lived in the capital. Instead, Antoni Andrzejowski drew his reader's attention to a reversed situation, when he recalled a story about a widow from the province, who went to Warsaw to forge new connections. While at court, this lady could not understand a word of what the men were saying: "your words, Sir, are the language of the court of Stanisław August, they are called gallantry in the great world and are understood there, but for us, provincial simpletons, they are incomprehensible"[283], she lamented when responding to one of her admirers, and described the language at court as being too theatrical, insincere, and even comical at times. Andrzejowski turned this amusing story into a moral parable – only the religious and moral

[280] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego,* 165.
[281] For more on the topic of French culture in the Russian empire in the eighteenth century see Inna Gorbatov, *Catherine the Great and the French Philosophers of the Enlightenment: Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot and Grim* (Academica Press, 2006).
[282] Felińska, *Pamiętniki z życia Ewy Felińskiej*, Tom 1, 399 – 400.
[283] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty Starego Detiuka o Wołyniu,* T. 2, 106-108.

heart of the unspoiled person from the province could decipher the right from wrong, and detect the evils of fashionable society.

By insisting on their native Polish language from the 1780s onwards and acknowledging the threat that foreign language represented, the residents henceforth reinforced their provincial position within the Commonwealth. Still, I treat these stories as coming from the 1850s – 1860s, from the time they were writing their memoirs. Even though the Commission introduced Polish as the language of schooling, and made the German, Italian, French and English languages part of the curriculum, the relationship between the *szlachta* and the French language remained permanently tempestuous. In the words of Stanisław August Poniatowski himself,

> Even the French language alone, which is learned today by every adolescent, slowly and imperceptibly makes the nation whose mother tongue it is feel predominant, in some way, over the others; added thereto ought to be the affinity in good and bad inclinations, to which we have long owed a strict sympathy between Poles and French people, a very real one indeed, and which cannot possibly be denied, like undeniable is France's antipathy towards her neighbours. For me, it was a novel junction still.[284]

The attention of the Polish reformers to Polish began to manifest already in the 1770s. Already since the 1770s, the articles in the *Monitor* instructed the nobility to learn French in order to be regarded as intelligent. Yet, it was Polish that had to delimit the nation and preserve its potential after the partition in 1772. Similarly, in the eighteenth century the reformers of public education in the Habsburg Empire focused on the mother tongue.[285] Yet, there was no acknowledged solid strategy by the Russian empire regarding its Polish provinces in 1800s. Catherine II's approach to her Polish subjects in the Western governorates of the empire was different from that in Galicia, where German almost immediately replaced Latin and Polish as the language of the administration. The Russian state reformers already in the mid-eighteenth century acknowledged that there were excessive differences between the indigenous Russian-speaking citizens and the other ethnicities of the empire. Therefore, immediately after the partitions the approach of the Russian authorities towards educational system in the provinces of Volhynia and Podole was to delegate the task of establishing a curriculum to the local reformers.

[284] Poniatowski, *Pamiętniki Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego* (Drezno, 1870), 127.
[285] R.J.W. Evans, ed., *Austria, Hungary and the Habsburgs: Central Europe c. 1683 – 1867* (Oxford, 2006), 111.

The politics of language intensified in around the 1790s – 1800s. In 1803, Jędrzej Śniadecki wrote to Hugo Kołłątaj that the "language is the most important and most significant instrument for the advancement of sciences and enlightenment"[286] and reproached the translators of Kant and Fichte, who in his opinion ruined Polish. Kołłątaj in his turn argued that enlightenment grants prestige to all nations.[287] In pursuit of his views, Kołłątaj recognized the Polish language as the only medium for education in Kraków University. A superintendent of the academic region of Volhynia and Podole, Adam Czartoryski (1770 – 1861) further advanced Kołłątaj's arguments. In particular, Czartoryski wrote in 1801 that only through the Polish language could Poles attain and spread enlightenment amidst themselves.[288] In both these cases, enlightenment was inseparable from the process of standardizing the language. In this regard, they echoed the intellectual Stanisław Kostka Potocki (1755 – 1821) who declared the Polish language to be "a living organism" in need of systematization.[289] In 1805 in his correspondence with Czacki, Kołłątaj acknowledged that emperor Alexander I's policy facilitated enlightenment of the population of the provinces:

> When we justly doubted whether the scholarship and language of our fathers could be successfully recovered, Providence had mercy on us and prepared sanction for [our language and scholarship] in the most powerful Slavic state. As soon as Alexander I took the sceptre of this boundless Monarchy, he immediately embarked [on a program of] disseminating *the light* of scholarship in all lands; and even though he desired uniformity in this great system, still he acted with fatherly kindness toward everyone. Inspired by a higher acumen than normal, he preferred that none of his peoples find any obstacles in their path to *enlightenment* due to a foreign and imposed language, for he was especially aware that it is more convenient to rule over *enlightened* people than it is to compel all to speak the same language.[290]

Kołłątaj believed that education in Polish would help both the *szlachta* and the Russian authorities to avoid any confrontation within the new boundaries. In 1800, *Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk* [The Society of Friends of Learning] was established as a type of academia that embarked on a mission to promote the Polish language and Polish history amongst the French-speaking nobility in the Duchy of Warsaw.[291] Due to the favourable politics of Alexander I in the Duchy, Polish became the language of the administration in spite of the French-speaking majority, and the possibility to study in Polish at the University in Wilno

[286] *H. Kołłątaja Korespondencja Listowna z Tadeuszem Czackim*, T.1 (Kraków, 1844), 101.
[287] Hugo Kołłątaj, *Stan Oświecenia w Polsce w Ostatnich Latach Panowania Augusta III,* 3-4.
[288] See Czartoryski, *Myśli o Pismach Polskich*.
[289] Kamusella, *The Politics of Language and Nationalism in Modern Central Europe*, 372.
[290] *H. Kołłątaja Korespondencja Listowna z Tadeuszem Czackim*, T. 3 (Kraków, 1844), 262.
[291] Wandycz, *The Lands of Partitioned Poland, 1795-1918,* 92.

streamlined the process, meaning that by the 1830s Polish was the standardized language. As Tomasz Kamusella concludes in his study of the connections between the language and nationalism, this process was successfully completed before the same happened to the modern Czech, Magyar, and Slovak languages.[292]

In contrast to such opinions, the Volhynian reformer Tadeusz Czacki specified in 1803 that Latin and Greek were the languages of the past, Russian was the language of administration, French and German were the languages of "truly educated people" that could contribute towards enlightenment in mathematics and physics, while Polish remained the only true possession of the Polish *szlachta* after the partitions.[293] He further reflected on the connection between the mothertongue and enlightenment. In the nations, where education was in a foreign language, only very few people could attain it and Barbarity consumed the rest. However, if education was provided in the mothertongue, enlightenment replaced Barbarity. Still, for Czacki, French was necessary to attain the same level of enlightenment as other enlightened nations in Europe, referring to the practice of receiving education in French. The triangle formed by public education – enlightenment – and the French language was sealed in the provinces. In his memoirs, the poet Szymon Konopacki vividly recollected that at his Piarist School in 1803, he thoughtfully reported to Czacki in French, while the rest held their speeches in Polish, Latin and German, to convey the level of improvement in the sciences and enlightenment.[294]

After the partitions, the nobility in the governorates focused on solidifying their status, and the French language could best testify to their scientific and intellectual merits. At the same time, the Russian historian Stepan Russov in 1809 declared that there was no special class of educated people in Volhynia, as not so many members of the gentry could speak French, and instead many conversed in Latin, while the women only "make the sign of the Cross in this language [Latin]".[295] Amidst such contradictory testimonies it is possible to deduce that the feeling of superiority adopted through learning and conversing in French were applied by the provincial residents in their memoirs in the context of self-fashioning after the partitions, responding to a situation, when the French language together with the

[292] Tomasz Kamusella, *The Politics of Language and Nationalism in Modern Central Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 381.
[293] Tadeusz Czacki, *O gimnazium w wołyńskiey gubernii i innych dla oboiey płci ustanowieniach uczynione przedstawienie przez Tadeusza Czackiego, roku 1803 w grudniu* (S.l.: s.n., 1803), 6 – 7.
[294] Konopacki, *Pamiętniki Szymona Konopackiego*, 28.
[295] Russov, *Волынскія записки,* 121. [Особого класса ученых людей нет. Не многие из шляхты говорят по французки, чаще на Латыни, а дамы на семъ языкѣ только крестятся].

proper French attire demarcated the success of a Polish nobleman in the service of the Russian empire. Also "white gloves and knowledge of French mattered more than military skills"[296], contending with the commonality of French in the provinces potentially equalled the residents to the French-speaking Russian aristocracy and turned them into valid subjects of the emperor. At the turn of the nineteenth century, enlightenment for the residents of the governorates meant embracing social reform of the public schooling system and a conversation in French.

The citizens, who insisted on their personal choice to be educated in Volhynia, enthusiastically picked up the idea of singularity of the Volhynian government. Even if only in rhetoric, a conscious separation from the Commission and a focus on the regional specificities of the governorates resulted in the profusion of ideas about public education for the nobles and commoners, which would eventually equal them to the enlightened nations. Local residents in particular envisioned a link with the German lands at the turn of the nineteenth century, as in 1799 – 1804 those were heavily influenced by the politics of the Napoleon's consulate. Recognizing their belonging to the Russian empire, the residents nonetheless alluded to the cultural patriotism of Germans and possibly, nationalist tendencies in Prussia, negating its role in the partitions but accentuating its cultural role in providing a system of education for the commoners. Rare allusions towards the connection between schooling and the process of attaining enlightenment in the memoirs of the first generation multiplied in the memoirs of the second, when discussing the role and place of the lyceum in Volhynian Krzemieniec.

The Lyceum in Krzemieniec: a Laboratory of Enlightenment

Despite the assessment of the process of Enlightenment as a unified, dispersed, political or cultural phenomenon, it consisted of similar intellectual engagements in dissimilar geographic and national units, where individuals took the liberty to put forward their projects for improvement. Studies of South Eastern Europe and the Atlantic colonies that examined the reforms and practical use of Enlightenment ideas concluded that those should no longer be considered as having derived from the actions of a central government. Instead, debates and reforms in colonial terrains, as well as in the peripheries of absolutist states ought to have

[296] Zaleski, *Wspomnienia Marcina Zaleskiego*, 80.

been the results of complex interactions between state governments and "merchant, agrarian, and intellectual elites that flourished in a heterogeneous, and surprisingly robust, civil society".[297] Therefore, an examination of many local explications of the Enlightenment in any region inevitably necessitates a research into the local actors, their unique networks that secured their interactions, and multiple institutions that filled the gap between the centre and the provinces.[298] Such associations often created unequivocal internal politics, and as a result influenced or challenged any traditional social and political arrangements within communities. Yet, this process does not seem so linear in the governorates where the educational establishments were created to serve the provincial residents and did not connect their society with the central government of the Russian empire. The network formed by educational connections in the Volhynian and Podolian governorates draws attention to the formation of a provincial academic society.

Changes in geography after the partitions resonated with the visions of a proper and useful education throughout the 1790s – 1830s. Adam Czartoryski, who maintained close relations with the emperor, advanced new administrative division of the annexed territories. Alexander I also appointed Czartoryski as the School Superintendent of the Wilno School District, and Tadeusz Czacki (1765 – 1813) as a supervisor of the Volhynian region. The Wilno educational district embraced eight governorates, and almost entirely covered the historical area of the Volhynian province before the partitions. This form of zoning made the local *szlachta* particularly happy. In addition to the public schools in Zhytomyr, Łutsk, a Greek Orthodox Seminary in Ostrog, and a school for deaf pupils in Romanów were established. This last institution was the topic of serious debate between the reformers Hugo Kołłątaj and Tadeusz Czacki. Kołłątaj believed such a school to be redundant at the time, because the deaf could be educated, but they would not enlighten [oświecać] others, and in the circumstances of limited financial resources, they had to be very considerate. Czacki nonetheless proceeded with its foundation.[299] Thus, active communication and participation in spreading and promoting education was seen as one of the elements of spreading enlightenment by the reformers. Finally, at the center of this educational district was the University in Wilno, which, according to the Russian mineralogist and traveler Vasiliy Severgin (1765 – 1826) was deemed the first place that deserved any attention in the newly

[297] Paquette, *Enlightened Reform in Southern Europe and its Atlantic Colonies, c. 1750 – 1830*, 15.
[298] On the topic of cultural and intellectual exchange between the capital and provinces, see Daniel Roche, *France in the Enlightenment* (Harvard Historical Studies, 1998), 209 – 249.
[299] *H. Kołłątaja Korespondencja Listowna z Tadeuszem Czackim*, T. 2, 414.

acquired territories.[300] The history of the Wilno educational district can be separated into two periods: a decade of the loyalty from Russian authorities (1800s – 1815), and a period of political change (1815 – 1831), when the Russian authorities reacted to Polish patriotic aspirations. The decades after the fall of the Duchy of Warsaw in 1815 are described in Polish historiography as a period of conservative crisis in the ideology of Enlightenment.[301] Instead of a political nation that embraced the entire nobility in the sixteenth – eighteenth century, came a nation that defined itself through Polish culture and language, since a unified state no longer existed.

In the memoirs of male residents, the discourse about enlightenment is crowned by the discussions on the foundation of the *Krzemieniec Gymnasium* in 1805, which they conjointly organized, and in 1819 it was upgraded to a lyceum. In this section, I examine the place and importance of the lyceum for the community in the Volhynian and Podolian governorates in 1820s – 1860s. Specifically, how the residents tied their culture, language, tradition, and their identity to the existence of the lyceum throughout the 1800s – 1830s. In order to do this I will focus on their contributions to its foundation and sustained existence, be it financial or intellectual.

The historiography of the Polish Enlightenment interprets the lyceum in Krzemieniec as a provincial delay in the process of Enlightenment in the Commonwealth, and as a place of refuge for academics from Kraków and Warsaw after the partitions. However important this institution was for the local residents in the governorates, it is believed to be of little representative value for the history of education and the Polish *oświecenie* overall. At the same time, some researchers claim that Krzemieniec altered the attention to educational practices in the Western governorates of the Russian empire.[302] The underlying idea being that everything that happened in these governorates, in the cultural or political sense, was directly influenced by 'the ideas of European Enlightenment', such as the creation of libraries,

[300] Василий Севергин, *Записки Путешествія по Западнымъ провинціямъ Россійскаго Государства или Минералогическія, хозяйственныя и другія примѣчанія, учиненныя во время проѣзда черезъ оныя въ 1802 году* (Санкт-Петербургъ, 1803), 49.

[301] For more on the problem of interaction between the Russian authorities and the Polish reformers after the partitions see: Tomasz Kizwalter, *Kryzys Oswiecenia a Poczatki Konserwatyzmu Polskiego* (Warszawa, 1987); Tomasz Kitzwalter, *Ludzie i Idee Oświecenia w Polsce Porozbiorowej* (Warszawa, 1987); Jerzy Jedlicki, *Jakiej Cywilizacji Polacy Potrzebują. Studia z Dziejow Idei i Wyobrazni XIX wieku* (Warszawa, 1988); Andrzej Walicki, *Philosophy and Romantic Nationalism: The Case of Poland* (Notre Dame, 1994).

[302] Анджей Шмит, *Кременецький Ліцей як Зразок Просвітницької Моделі Школи на Території Україні у першій половині XIX століття* (Кременець, 2012). [Andrzej Schmitt, Kremenets' Lyceum as An Example of the Enlightenment Model of A School in the Territory of Ukraine in the first half of the 19th century (Kremenets', 2012)].

mineral collections, or the establishment of printing houses. These elements were seen as progressive forms of local improvement that contributed to the birth of a patriotic intelligencia after the partitions. Overall, either of the approaches to the history and importance of the lyceum are valid, depending on the type of a national history produced. I argue that the discussions of the network of schools and the lyceum are used by the residents to validate their claims of their individual participation and their public role in the Enlightenment.

Towards the end of the century, Immanuel Kant (1724 – 1804) encouraged the public use of reason, which partly resulted in free expression through print, while Moses Mendelssohn (1729 – 1786) believed in a combination of culture and theoretical knowledge as means to spread Enlightenment among the common people.[303] Somewhat paraphrasing Kant and expressing his views on the matter, Czacki argued that the Russian emperor wanted to have such a type of enlightenment, which would allow citizens to fulfill their duties in public and in private.[304] Thus, if the idea of the Commission in the eighteenth-century Commonwealth was to create a good Polish citizen, in the nineteenth century these citizens had to be able to act within their new geographical boundaries and political realities. Here the issue of geography is crucial. Establishing the new scientific boundaries of the Volhynian governorate, Czacki emphasized that his main aim when organizing the lyceum was to counterbalance the monopoly of Wilno. Indicating the mileage that the residents have to travel to receive education, Czacki claimed that it is inappropriate when some poorer residents had to travel many miles to receive education, while others did not need to make an effort at all. Interlinking economy and geographic position of the lands, Czacki appealed to Alexander I's resolution to have enlightened officials in his coutry. At the same time, he chose Krzemieniec, and not Łuck, which used to be the capital of the Volhynian voivodeship. Thus, the new system of education was given new geographic as well as intellectual coordinates.

The residents of Volhynia and Podole exercised Czacki's approach to its fullest. From the 1810s, the funds previously intended to contribute to Wilno educational region, in particular its university, were instead donated exclusively to Krzemieniec. When the directors

[303] See Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment* (Cambridge University Press, 2005); Rebekka Horlacher, *The Educated Subject and the German Concept of Bildung: A Comparative Cultural History* (Routledge, 2015).
[304] Tadeusz Czacki, *O gimnazium w wołyńskiey gubernii i innych dla oboiey płci ustanowieniach uczynione przedstawienie przez Tadeusza Czackiego, roku 1803 w grudniu* (S.l.: s.n., 1803), 2 – 6.

of the University demanded the donations from the Volhynian residents, the latter protested.[305] In 1805, Count Hieronim Janusz Sanguszko (1743 – 1812) made repeated donations to Jarkowski in order to raise the sciences as "a citizen of a great nation".[306] In this context, the Volhynian governor saw no contradiction in affirming his national belonging through local citizenship. In 1810, there happened what Daniel Beauvois calls a "schism" between Wilno and Krzemieniec, when the latter completely left the orbit of the University.[307] From this time on, the community perceived Krzemieniec as their public investement. In 1815, the director of the lyceum Alojzy Feliński (1771 – 1820), who also wrote the hymn for Alexander I, wrote his heart-felt confessions to his fellow citizens:

I do pride myself in that I am a Volhynian. I shall find it pleasing to confess a-loud that what the other Writers owned to the Monarchs caring about the sciences, I shall be owyng to the citizens amidst whom I was born unto, with whom I live and to whom, as the very first, do I dedicate my works.[308]

In his poems, which were rather mediocre in style, but gained popularity at the time of their publication, Feliński convinced his readers that by working towards the common good and improving local education, they would convey greatness in their fall. It is in Volhynia that "Men of varied class, faith, estate, entitlement, / Bring their offerings to the shrine of enlightenment".[309] Although Feliński admitted that this process initially began in Warsaw, where the King's attention to "Sciences growing, light progressing, youth all clever: Marks so pretty of his governance, and apt devoir", nonetheless the tangible and practical development was in the hands of the local residents:

[305] For more details on the "fights" between Wilno and Volhynia see Beauvois, *Szkolnictwo Polskie na Ziemiach Litewsko-Ruskich, 1803 – 1832. Tom II: Szkoły Podstawowe i średnie*, 114 – 123.
[306] Receipt of a donation made by Hieronim Janusz Sanguszko to Antoni Jarkowski, from 1.09.1805, in *Akty XX Sanguszków*, Teka 53, pl. 26.
[307] Beauvois, *Szkolnictwo Polskie na Ziemiach Litewsko-Ruskich, 1803 – 1832. Tom II: Szkoły Podstawowe i średnie*, 206.
[308] Alojzy Feliński, *Dziela Aloizego Felińskiego,* Tom 2 (Wrocław, 1840). [Chlubią się tem, żem Wołynianin. Miło mi bydzie głosno wyznać, że to co inni Pisarze byli winni opiekującym się naukami Monarchów ja będę winnim obywatelóm wposzród których się wrodziłem, z którymi zyią i dla których naypierwszych prace moie poświęcam].
[309] Feliński, *Dziela Aloizego Felińskiego*, 95. [Różnych klas, różnych stanów, różnej ludzie wiary, / Na oltarz oświecenia niosą swe ofiary]. Similar description of Krzemieniec as a collective enterprise is also provided by Leon Dembowski in *Moje Wspomnienia,* T. 1: After Wilno, „Drugim punktem w obszernym tym udziale był Krzemieniec, także za łaską panującego, wskutek starań Tadeusza Czackiego i składek obywateli wołyńskich i podolskich powstały", 68 – 69.

Once owned by Stanislaus, estimable store of tomes, Confirmed at Warsaw now for us, back from distant homes: So that Volhynia may, with the models most supreme, Issue their Lokkes' some day, and Russos'[310], Kornels'[311] whole team.[312]

The intellectual efforts of the lyceum in the first decades of the nineteenth century, as its 'poetic seer' acknowledged, were being projected somewhat backwards, towards the philosophy and the writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At this time, the cultural elite in Volhynia were eager to represent themselves as enlightened through their local means yet still according to French and English standards. Even though 'Voltaires' would have also rhymed, Feliński appealed to the French dramatist Pierre Corneille (1606 – 1684), alongside the empirical philosophy of John Locke, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who argued for republican virtues and equality, and comprehended humans in their original state.

Czacki believed that the sciences at the turn of the nineteenth century were detached from life, and so his aim was to unite theory of schooling and its practical employment. Each of the governorates had to have a school for physicians, a school for midwives, a school for agriculture and gardening as well as a seminary for the governesses. Together with the political writer Hugo Kołłątaj, who was never mentioned by any of the memoirists, Czacki insisted that education should be useful for local people: "Rural schools should respond to the needs of peasants, urban – to townsfolk".[313] Both of the reformers wanted Krzemieniec to be a center of a scientific thought in Volhynia. In a letter to Jędrzej Śniadecki (1768 – 1838), a rector of Wilno University and a pupil of Jacques Delille (1738 – 1813), Czacki indicated that "so that our country live commonly at a higher degree of enlightenment, so that the male and female gender be animated by one spirit, so to express it; so that influence of benevolent sciences may aid the husbandman, artisan, and minister".[314] Eventually, the syllabus was designed to promoted unity [jedność] among its students, and included the following subjects: the languages (Greek, Latin, French, German, English, Russian and Polish), arithmetic and geometry, physics, chemistry, theoretical and practical mechanics, botany, mineralogy, natural history, ancient and modern history, numismatics, natural law,

[310] I.e. Locke and Rousseau.
[311] I.e. Pierre Corneille (1606 - 1684).
[312] Feliński*, Dziela Aloizego Felińskiego*, 96.
[313] *H. Kołłątaja Korespondencja Listowna z Tadeuszem Czackim*, T. II (Kraków, 1844), 151 – 152.
[314] Cited in Danilewicz-Zielińska, „Ateny Wołyńskie. Dawne Liceum Krzemienieckie (1805 - 1832)," in *Proby przywołań. Szkice literackie*, 67 [aby powszechnie kraj nasz w wyższym żył stopniu oświecenia, aby płeć męska i żeńska jednym, że tak rzekę duchem ożywiona była, aby wpływ dobroczynnych nauk pomógł rolnikowi, rzemieślnikowi, i ministrowi].

civil law, political economy and bibliography.[315] The standardization of the educational program meant equality for all students and secured the continuity and stability of the reform. System of education in the governorate, being modelled onto the German context, became a shortcut to conquer the maxims of the French and English Enlightenment and to deliver intellectual advance by securing a utilitarian approach to the sciences, and possibly, toleration.

Residents of the governorates assessed the importance of the lyceum several decades after its closure in the 1830s in their decision to represent the lyceum as a likely and expected outcome of enlightenment that had lingered from the eighteenth century. Marshall Drzewiecki specified that during the first decades of the nineteenth century, the wealthy *szlachta* and magnates in the region established schools, invited foreign educators and prepared the local ones, because "[e]xpanding the light is the spirit prevalent there, the key-note and the purpose of endeavours of the benevolent dwellers of Krzemieniec".[316] The memoirists are adamant to represent the reformatory activities in Krzemieneic to go in harmony with the events in Europe. For example, the year 1809 was a remarkable one for the residents of the governorate because France initiated a war with Austria, which meant that part of Western Galicia was returned to the Duchy of Warsaw, the Tarnopolski obvód (district in Ukraine) became part of the Russian empire, and the lyceum in Krzemieniec received a new library.[317]

Indeed, between 1808 and 1809 Krzemieniec obtained the library collection of several notable scientists, among them the entire library collection of Franciszek Scheidt (1759 – 1807), a professor of natural history from Kraków who had taught in Krzemieniec since 1805. Wanda Grębecka in her research of the botanical history in Krzemieniec postulates that the natural sciences sprang into motion in the lyceum specifically after it acquired Scheidt's library, which had excellent samples, mostly obtained in Vienna.[318] The works of naturalists such as Carl Linnaeus, Johann Georg Gmelin, Anton Johann Krocker, Nicolaus Thomas Host, and Jean Senebier formed the bigger part of the collection. For the residents and students of Krzemieniec this incident meant that the lyceum performed the functions of their own academia, encouraging the intellectual pursuits in private homes as well as for the public

[315] Olizar, *Pamiętniki Gustawa Olizara. 1798 – 1865,* 26.
[316] Drzewiecki, *Pamiętnik Józefa Drzewieckiego,* 325 – 326.
[317] Koźmian, *Pamiętniki Kajetana Koźmiana Obejmujące Wspomnienia od roku 1780 do roku 1815,* 315; also see Andrzejowski, *Ramoty Starego Detiuka o Wołyniu,* T. 2, 229 – 233.
[318] Wanda Grębecka, "Księgozbiór Franciszka Scheidta (1759 – 1807)," *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki* No. 3/4 R.48 (2003), 81.

purposes. For example, in 1818 a young botanist Antoni Andrzejowski dedicated his first botanic discovery, which he presented in Warsaw in French, to Tadeusz Czacki and his wife, Barbara. In it, Andrzejowski described a new flower, which he was able to categorize with the help of the 'scientists of the Enlightenment' that he assessed in Krzemieneic, such as Linnaeus, Senebier and Jussieu, and proposed to name it *Czackia* – in a dedication to Czacki's private and public role in his 'country'.[319]

During the 1810s and 1820s, the lyceum generously funded Andrzejowski's educational trips, when he set out to categorize the plants and minerals of Volhynia, Podole, Kyivschyna, and the region of the Black Sea, in order to emphasize their equality in resources with other European countries (*sic*!). Andrzejowski described his findings in the *Botanical Features,* published in Wilno in 1823.[320] In it, he described Volhynia and Podole as "two provinces because of the differences in land and resources", yet some of them were more abundant than Europe.[321] In this case, his knowledge of 'Europe' originated primarily from Willibald Besser's and baron Friedrich August Marschall von Bieberstein's works. Andrzejowski proudly climed that his research trip allowed him to discover plants "new in the entire science".[322] Thus, a provincial botanist assumed agency in the universalizing tendencies within natural sciences. Apart from focusing on plants, Andrzejowski made valuable observations about the types of soil and different agricultural techniques these types required from the residents, drawing comparisons between the mentality and skills of the German, Russian, and Italian settlers in the region, emphasizing their abilities and character and inventing his own 'science of man'.[323] In this, Andrzejowski adhered to the system of classification advocated by the scientists in the University of Wilno, Jędrzej Śniadecki and Willibald Besser, who were influenced by Linnaeus' system of classification. Andrzejowski did not consider his work to be a contribution to the system of knowledge in the Russian

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[319] Antoni Andrzejowski, *Czackia: Genre Déterminé et Décrit* (Krzemieniec, 1818), pp. 4-5. In the text: "Qu' il me soit permis de lui donner le nom de *Czacki*, le nom d' un homme dont les vertus et le génie sont respectés même chez l'Etranger, d'un homme qui tut l'ornement de son pays et dont la perte nous est à jamais funeste – Qu il me soit permis, dis je de conserver dans une plante qui est indigéne à ma Patrie, le nom de celui, qui non seulement a été le Restaurateur et le Protecteur de lettres en Pologne, mais, qui s' est montré encore celui des arts et des sciences, et particuliérement de la Botanique ; le nom de cet homme qui a été constamment le pére du pauvre, de la veuve et de l'orphelin – De cet homme enfin, à qui notre Patrie s'honore d'avoir donné le jour, dans la quelle il reçu son education, ou il a terminé sa carriére ; carriére qu' il a illustré tant en homme public, qu' en homme privé".

[320] Antoni Andrzejowski, *Rys botaniczny krain zwiedzonych w podróżach pomiędzy Bohem i Dniestrem od Zbruczy aż do Morza Czarnego odbytych w latach 1814, 1816, 1818 i 1822*, Ciąg 1 (Wilno, 1823).

[321] Andrzejowski, *Rys botaniczny krain zwiedzonych*, 70 - 72.

[322] Andrzejowski, *Rys botaniczny krain zwiedzonych*, 113.

[323] On the origin and geographic evolution of the 'Science of Man', see Withers, *Enlightenment: Thinking Geographically,* 136 – 163.

empire. Instead, he insisted on the classification of the governorates and their comparison exclusively with Europe and between themselves. It could be that by evoking the name of the *Cape of Good Hope* with regard to their region that was being discovered just now, lady Trypolska also implied that it was in need of classification and systematization. Such an approach to botanical endeavors contributed to the way that the residents of the governorates perceived their efforts in the local enlightenment, which to them was a socially useful intellectual exercise, following the examples of the eighteenth century Swedish and German scientists.

If the founders and directors of the lyceum were hopeful and optimistic in the early 1800s, the residents in the governorates who invested greatly in the lyceum remained unhappy with the results. Already in 1817, Józef Drzewiecki was critical of the lyceum because it aimed at 'enlightenment in the highest degree' and its rich students returned home: "The school has no use, because they have to enhance civilization of the whole nation. You cannot find a teacher, a physician, a mechanic or an architect among the rich for the poor".[324] To correct this situation, Drzewiecki proposed to establish a school for physicians that would produce doctors exclusively for the villages. His was not singular critique of the lyceum's performance. The first generation of memoirists described Krzemieniec lyceum as a "lustful and liberal" institution that provided a depraved education. The poet Karol Micowski, himself educated by the Piarists, dedicated dozens of pages to the description of the lyceum. In the 1840s, Micowski was very sceptical about the institution where "earthly pleasures were equalled to studies":

When somewhat later, owing to the endeavours of Pr.[ince] Czartoryjski [= Czartoryski], and persistent labour of Tadeusz Czacki, and the magnificence of Emperor Alexander the Ist, the Universities, Lyceums [grammar schools], Gymnasiums [junior grammar schools] were instituted, and the district schools were organised, and the higher sciences were introduced in all the institutes, the education has assuredly benefited from it, yet it is no less certain that the religious and moral principles, the principles constituting the future felicity of man, have lost a lot -– It namely being known how lecherously-liberal Krzemieniec, the main school and the star of these provintses, was; where the disciples had their liberty restricted, and none of watchlikely eyes above them; where the patisseries, billards, were the site for learning the lessons; where dancing soirées, visits of both genders paid to the constantly dwelling parents, would distract the attention of their sons from the learning, who afterwards would not listen at the class-room to what they were taught by the

[324] Drzewiecki, *Pamiętniki Józefa Drzewieckiego,* 322 – 324.

professor, but instead thought of what Amelia the maiden was saying,-–where instead of the lessons, the dances were rehearsed for the coming evening, and so forth.[325]

The first generation valued the level of education at the lyceum as regrettable because it did not correspond to the standards of morality requested by the residents. As the writer Henryk Cieszkowski (1808 – 1873) recalled, the attendants of the lyceum's classrooms "did not learn a lot, cared more about so-called talents, such as music, painting; taught me dancing, riding a horse – and it was not a mature view of things, sciences went shaggily, superficially, and nothing good came afterwards".[326] The worst thing was that such "liberal example" disseminated through provinces, and this resulted in the total negligence and disobedience in the schools in Winnica, because the methods of teaching changed, and physical punishments were banned. Earlier in his memoirs, Micowski described the learning process of the classrooms in a neighbouring school in Międrzyrzecz. Already in 1799: "it was dark from the pipes that 16-year olds smoked, they shouted, gambled, and during the hours that had to be dedicated to studying, they were playing violins, shouting, somebody would be showing some 'English tricks' in gambling; in general it was a pure Chaos".[327] It is possible, that the style of education in the lyceum was influenced by a common carelessness in education in the provinces, since the Commission's inspections were no longer in action. The curricula of the lyceum received similar deprecating remarks from the residents who commented that it "comprised all the vices of the world, and indeed Krzemieniec became this entire world"[328], which was conveniently located within the Volhynian and Podolian governorates.

The second generation have a different story to tell about the lyceum. Michał Grabowski partly supported Micowski's opinion about the abundance of entertainments and their bad influence on the process of education. Grabowski commented that the

[325] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego,* 188-189. [Gdy nieco później za staraniem Ks. Czartoryjskiego, i usilną pracą Tadeusza Czackiego, a wspaniałością Cesarza Alexandra Igo zaprowadzono Uniwersytety, Licea, Gymnazyja, i szkoły powiatowe zostały urządzone, i wyższe wprowadzono do wszystkich zakładów nauki, niezawodnie, iż oświata na tem zyskała, lecz i to pewna, że zasady religijne i moralne, zasady stanowiące przyszłe człowieka szczęście, wiele straciły – Wiadomo bowiem, jak Krzemieniec, główna szkoła i gwiazda tych prowincyy, był rozpustno-liberalny; gdzie uczniowe nie ograniczoną mieli wolność, i żadnych nad sobą oczu stróżliwych; gdzie cukernie, bilardy, były miejscem uczenia się lekcyy, gdzie wieczorzy tańcujący, wizyty obojej płci oddawane ciągle mieszkającym rodzicóm, odrywały od nauk uwagę ich synów, którzy potem w klassie nie tego słuchali czego uczył professór, lecz myśleli o tem co mówiła panna Amelija, - gdzie zamiast lekcyy repetowano tańce na przyszły wieczór, i t.p.].
[326] Cieszkowski, *Notatki z Mojego Życia,* 17 – 18.
[327] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego,* 189.
[328] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego,* 192.

contemporaries accepted only "the genuine sciences and enlightenment emerging out of them" together with the moral education of students.[329] Yet, "it was the general spirit of time that was introducing these changes, the *progresses*, in the concept of some".[330] One of the *progresses* was the education of women. Czacki's efforts to educate both men and women were viewed rather favorably, because "having fondness for the sciences, he would expand country-wide enlightenment across both genders".[331] Simultaneously, Gustaw Olizar (1798 – 1865), who attended the Krzemieniec lyceum from 1808 – 1810, depicted its teachers as enlighteners [liuminarze], such as the historian Joachim Lelewel, a numismatist Besser, and Alojzy Feliński. Olizar recognized that some teachers were not the finest, as was the case with Paweł Jarkowski, a professor of French who "had a ghastly pronunciation"[332], still these teachers changed over time and "gradually reached perfection", and "we lived to see a cathedra run by entirely European people".[333] Most certainly their 'Europeanism' was defined by their craft as teachers who were "enlightening their children", rather than by their citizenship. Thus, the initial ideas of modelling the system of education in Volhynia on "Europe" found its way in the memories of the nobility.

By building a self-sustained academia in their lands, the provincial residents insisted that an autonomous and efficacious education was the only mean towards enlightenment that embodied the sciences, equality, and social contribution. Michał Czajkowski, a writer from Volhynia (1804 – 1886) peculiarly observed that Krzemieniec not only produced the best results in the sciences, but also contributed to the fact that Polish 'salons' (in this case – private residences) adopted the French language, style and manners while simultaneously abstaining from contacts with "the Slavs of the Russian empire".[334] He called such phenomenon a "krzeminiecki volterianism", which was drawing talents from the region. Families from the neighboring governorates moved to Volhynia to educate their children in Krzemieniec. Thus, for the writers of the second generation, the existence of an independent academy in the provinces was equaled to the intellectual rivalry against the Russian state.

The link to "Europe" became especially pronounced in the memoirs of the second generation. The residents in the provinces were adamant about one thing – the lyceum was

[329] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego,* 191.
[330] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego,* 196.
[331] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego,* 192.
[332] Olizar, *Pamiętniki Gustawa Olizara. 1798 – 1865,* 27 – 28.
[333] Olizar, *Pamiętniki Gustawa Olizara. 1798 – 1865,* 27.
[334] Michał Czajkowski, *Pamiętniki Sadyka Paszy Michała Czajkowskiego* (Lwów, 1898), 20.

important and necessary for their self-representation as successful and educated governorates despite the fact that the level of education was of poor quality. Throughout seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, rich families among provincial nobility believed that an educational trip to Paris was a necessary requirement to be perceived as an educated and worldly citizen back in their native land. Anna Markiewicz in her study of the grand tours undertaken by the nobility from the eastern territories of the Commonwealth examined the change in educational practices of the children of magnates and wealthy *szlachta* throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[335] A grand tour included an obligatory two-year study in a Jesuit college in Paris, the *Lycée Louis-le-Grand*, with synchronous journeys to Prague, Brussels, Berlin, Dresden, Hamburg, Amsterdam, the Hague, London, Madrid, Rome, as well as a compulsory detour to Lunéville, where the residence of the Polish king in exile Stanisław Leszczyński (1677 – 1766) was located. These youth excursions, since the boys were usually aged between 10 – 15 years old, were carefully planned by their fathers, who selected Jesuit tutors from the provinces and wrote detailed instructions that specified their plan of studies and the languages the children had to learn during their studies abroad. The cities on the map of grand tours could change, yet Paris remained a center of such an educational enterprise, and this tradition did not change until the end of the eighteenth century.[336] Educational journeys abroad, which could last up to six or more years, were an essential requirement for coming of age, and acquiring the necessary skills for taking public offices back at home. Upon their return, young nobles were ready to take on political and social roles in their communities; they could marry, and forge intellectual circles abroad and at home.

However, as was stated by Antoni Jarkowski earlier, by the 1800s the privileges in education gradually dissolved as increasingly members of the nobility could represent themselves as successful and reliable members of the political nation by copying the habits of the magnates and wealthier patrons and by sending their children to Krzemieniec. At the turn of the century, the Volhynians needed no more teachers from France, or educational trips to Paris, because they had their own academy of 'European' teachers in Volhynia where Krzemieniec was their "little Paris". The historian Szymon Konopacki noted that "from the first days of January 1820 and for three years I lived in Krzemieniec, at that time *petit*

[335] Anna Markiewicz, *Podróże Edukacyjne w czasach Jana III Sobieskiego. Peregrinationes Jablonovianae* (Warszawa, 2011).
[336] Markiewicz, *Podróże Edukacyjne w czasach Jana III Sobieskiego*, 272.

Paris".[337] In 1825, the chamberlain W. Piotrowski penned a letter from Dubno to his relative in Paris in which he specified that education of a son was unnecessary in the world, and there was no reason "to breathe Voltaire" abroad if a child could be educated at home and provided with seeds of religion.[338]

Krzemieniec became the cultural capital of the governorates by the 1820s. A visit from the famous Italian opera singer Angelica Catalani in 1827 sealed its fate and forced the writers to compare Krzemieniec to the centre of Europe more frequently:

> eventually the rumours about entertainments in Krzemieniec became so widespread, that famous at that time European singer Catalani, touring the northern countries, did not disdain Krzemieniec […] From that time on, Krzemieniec was called little Paris; in reality, refinement which the older students received by attending civil societies, influenced greatly their later education in the world, even though it diminished their educational qualities.[339]

Catalani's visit created a popular anecdote about Drzewiecki laying his coat down in front of her to allow her to step over a wet patch on the day of her arrival in Krzemieniec. Such longing for "Europeanism" was combined with a longing for the Polish past, when in 1817, Drzewiecki organized a mourning procession in memory of Tadeusz Kościuszko in Krzemieniec.[340] During this time, in their efforts to preserve Krzemieniec the residents also had to keep the Russian administration at bay during the 1810s – 1820s, when local families were suspected of forming an alliance with Napoleon. In the years surrounding 1812 many residents had to flee Volhynia and move to Podole or Galicia, while the Austrian forces, one of the 'foreign' regiments of the Napoleon's army under the guidance of Karl Schwarzenberg, were stationed in Volhynia. Daniel Beauvios in his study of Polish-Russian relations after the partitions belives this incident to be the explication of loyalism of *szlachta* towards the emperor Alexander I.[341] Amidst such uncertain political and military events, the lyceum was the only place of social constancy in the region.

In their efforts to disparage the Russian administration, the residents appealed to the benevolence of Alexander I, because his consideration made the Polish residents in the

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[337] Konopacki, *Pamiętniki Szymona Konopackiego*, 144.
[338] Iwanowski, *Wspomnienia Lat Minionych*, T. 1, 236 – 237.
[339] Olizar, *Pamiętniki Gustawa Olizara. 1798 – 1865*, 36. Also, Franciszek Kowalski in great detail described the visit of the opera singer Catalani, in Kowalski, *Wspomnienia: Pamiętnik Franciszka Kowalskiego*, 100; and Micowski, 194.
[340] Drzewiecki, *Pamiętniki Józefa Drzewieckiego*, 332.
[341] Beauvois, *Trójkat Ukraiński. Szlachta, carat i Lud na Wołyniu, Podolu i Kijowszczyźnie, 1793 – 1914* (Lublin, 2005), 181.

provinces happier, and more hopeful about their future. The multitude of religions and languages in the provinces did not bother the monarch, as Antoni Andrzejowski maintains in his memoirs in the 1860s:

> The fatherly hand of the wise monarch [i.e. Tsar Alexander I] has wiped tears of those crying of the demise of the homeland, while his though-generous [i.e. magnanimous] care for his new subjects has never made us feel, whatsoever, that we live under a foreign sceptre. The establishment of an educational government has fostered dissemination of *enlightenment*, and development of a taste for sciences. Zawadowski's ministership constitutes a great epoch in the history of enlightenment of Russia. With their zealousness and devotion to a cause so important, the selected, most enlightened men at the steering-wheel of the *enlightenment* have deserved the monarch's favours, gratefulness of their fellow-countrymen and admiration from posterity.[342]

In 1803, the chemist Alexander Chodkiewicz (1776 – 1838) "as a member and a citizen of this land" almost identically appealed to Alexander I during his speech in Krzemieniec: "for what a sweetening from the fortune it is after the loss of the home-land, to be subject to the verdicts of this Mighty Ruler who places law and enlightenment upon his own Throne". It is the benevolence of "the Serenest ALEXANDER" that reinstates "our position amidst the enlightened Nations".[343] Attention to the Russian monarch was omnipresent in educational endeavours of the region. For instance, in his speech during the opening of a gymnasium in Kyiv in 1812, Adam Rzewuski nicknamed Alexander I as a "Northern Titus" who "enlightened the minds" and as a guardian of the sciences; he prevented the possibility of civil wars.[344] The educational achievements under the rule of Alexander I were compared to the Polish king Jan III Sobieski (1629 – 1696) and Henry III of France, who briefly reigned in the Commonwealth from 1573 – 1575. These foreigners were believed to have instilled a desire for learning among the *szlachta*. Thus, the reforms of Poniatowski were for the most part bypassed in the process of memory making in the 1810s, and the residents declare that it was with the fall of their country that the scientific spirit awoke, and enlightenment and sciences came to fruition[345], in the form of the lyceum "enlightenment

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[342] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty Starego Detiuka o Wołyniu*. T. 2, 123.

[343] Aleksander Chodkiewicz, „Mowa Alexandra Chodkiewicza, członka Zgromadzenia Warszawskiego Przyjaciół Nauk, jmieniem tegoż Zgromadzenia przy otwarciu Wołyńskiego Gimnazyum dnia 1 października 1805 roku w Krzemieńcu miana", 1805. [Dobroć Nayiaśnieyszego ALEXANDRA wraca nam mieysce między oświeconemi Narodami, które Przodkowie nasi mieli, a Kommissya Edukacyina utrwalać szczęśliwie zaczeła].

[344] Adam Rzewuski, „Mowa przy otwarciu Gimnaziium w Kiiowie mianá przez JW. Adama grafa Rzewuskiégo dnia 30. stycznia 1812 roku" (Krzémiéniec, 1812), 6 – 7.

[345] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty Starego Detiuka o Wołyniu*, T. 2, 37-38. [Zaledwie koniec XVIII stulecia ujrzał więcej zamieszkane możnemi Wołyń, Podole i Ukrainę, i smutno powiedzieć, że upadek dopiero kraju obudził ducha

woke up from the lethargy".[346] In the 1810s, 'a sweet governing of Alexander'[347] in the governorates could be equaled to the joyful Galicians' opinions about Leopold II (1747 – 1792), who assumed "the sweet name of Titus" because of his resolution to rescue the citizens of Galicia from barbarity.[348]

The paternalistic aspect at the age of Enlightenment was a demanding issue during the 1790s – 1820s, and the centralizing power of the monarch and the ruler was under scrutiny in many countries. In the German lands, there were anti-French revolts in the regions of Münster and Westphalia, when citizens protested against the centralizing policies of Napoleon, instead favouring the reforms of Stein. In Austria, there were tendencies to re-assess the reforms of Joseph II. In this context, it was the inactive attitude of the Russian emperor that empowered the provincial *szlachta* to employ their efforts for the benefit of local community. As Andrzejowski pledged, the residents could effortlessly adhere to a self-definition through "worthy of benevolence of their monarch, worthy of being a student at Krzemieniec, worthy of a name of a Pole", because they remained faithful to their local conditions.

After the November insurrection in the 1830s, the lyceum was closed, and the university in Kyiv was created using the funds and library of more than 30 000 volumes.[349] For many, Czacki's death and the closure of the Krzemieniec lyceum was the end of independent education and enlightenment. Many professors became unemployed, and the *szlachta* hired some of them to educate their children privately.[350] In 1832, the Russian emperor closed all Catholic schools in the Polish provinces, and further banned the use of Catholic teachers as private educators in the houses of the nobility.[351] Still, the heritage of the Krzemieniec lyceum endured in the memoirs. For instance, Kazimierz Skibiński, an actor from Wilno, turned to Krzemieniec in 1849:

The city, though desolated to-day, is not however without allure and reminisces its brilliancy once owed to the lyceum. The edifices whereat the Volhynians, Podolians, and

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naukowego. Czyż te ziemie, mlekiem i miodem płynące, niemogły na żyznych niwach swoich, dać wczećniej wschodzić, krzewić się i kwitnąć, wydać owoce, oświeceniu!!]

[346] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty Starego Detiuka o Wołyniu*. T. 2, 135.

[347] Ochocki, *Pamiętniki Jana Dukłana Ochockiego*, T. 5, 5.

[348] Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia*, 43.

[349] Timothy Snyder, "Ukrainians and Poles," in *The Cambridge History of Russia*, Volume II, *Imperial Russia, 1689 – 1917*, ed. Dominic Lieven (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 176.

[350] Zaleski, *Wspomnienia Marcina Zaleskiego, 1830 – 1873* (Lwów, 1893), 38.

[351] On the repressive politics of the empire after the insurrection in 1830s, see Beauvois, *Szkolnictwo Polskie na Ziemiach Litewsko-Ruskich, 1803 – 1832. Tom II: Szkoły Podstawowe i średnie*, 177.

Ukrainians were imbued with education; the magnificent temple, which in terms of structure could have graced every capital-town; […] all this is dolefully reminiscent of its [= the city's] former splendour. Presently, the edifices and the church are occupied for a Russian seminary. Of the three churches, none has remained for the Roman Catholic confession. Service for the parishioners is held at some casual house.[352]

The "fall of Krzemieniec" produced a greater emotional response than the partitions, and was accompanied by metaphors of the fall of the Catholic Church in the provinces:

Founding the entire importance of the *higher enlightenment* upon religion, Czacki strictly supervised that genuine piety be instilled in the young hearts, so that all the ceremonials prescribed by our Church be observed most strictly, since he did knew that, like a plaintive prayer reinforce the spirit, these superficial forms, exerting a strong impact on the young spirits, inculcate in them love toward God and esteem for those who performed the offering of the altar.[353]

Thus, if the first generation insisted on equal access to education and the sciences, the writers of the 1850s – 1860s introduced the notion of a "higher enlightenment", a blend of piety and scientific inquiry, strikingly similar to the philosophy of *Aufklärung*. For the residents, public education was the only means of maintaining social stability in the Polish provinces of the empire. It was not the first time that Andrzejowski stated so bluntly that Volhynia did not support Napoleon. Yet, the combination of a "cultivated enlightenment" in the lyceum and social engagement in the provinces could suggest that in the 1860s Andrzejowski, who himself became a victim of tsarist politics towards education and had to change his place of work several times, attempted to argue that when the residents in the provinces had autonomy in their self-cultivation, that is had their own system of education and could exercise their religious duties, there was "the absence of any movement in Volhynia in 1812".[354]

The case of the annexed provinces presents us with the diffusing power of the Enlightenment. Whilst the reformers clearly see the differences in the system of education, provided by the Commisison in the second half of the eighteenth century, and the one implemented after the partitions, the memoirists discuss the importance of education in their

[352] Skibiński, *Pamiętnik Aktora*, 277. Similar views on the connection between the lyceum and the Catholic Church in the region are presented by Aleksander Jełowicki, *Moje Wspomnienia* (Poznań, 1877), 177 – 178. Jełowicki somewhat romantically declared that even though Nicholas I destroyed Krzemieniec and turned its Cathedrals into Orthodox Churches, the spirit of Czacki continued thrives.
[353] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty Starego Detiuka o Wołyniu*, T. 2, 249.
[354] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty Starego Detiuka o Wołyniu*, T. 2, 248 – 249.

homes using the rhetoric of the eighteenth-century French reformers. In the first half of the nineteenth century, public debates about the place of education in the governorates resembled the discussions about the education of an individual and/or a citizen, common in the eighteenth. The reformers as well as the residents synthesized the views of French and German intellectuals in order to express their fluctuating society's place in the Enlightenment. Having begun in Warsaw under the influence of French philosophical ideas in the 1750s, the reform of education continued to melt down into the Volhynian and Podolian governorates during the 1790s – 1830s. However, during this time the reformers and participants chose a different vessel for their ideas – that of the German Enlightenment. A place where local cultural patriotism was modelled on the German context and pursuit of the examples of the French Enlightenment overlapped, the lyceum was seen as the embodiment of *progress, equality* and *improvement*. Twenty years of joint activities proved formidable, and the lyceum became a collective academic creation that held its place in the civic life of the community and enhanced the fellow-feeling among the citizens until the 1860s. In this process, it is possible to trace similarities between the Volhynian governorate and the educational developments in Dessau initiated by Campe.

The new regulations of the Russian empire, and the educational system of the Wilno region proved that the lyceum was simultaneously the start and the culmination of discussions about education and enlightenment in the annexed territories. While describing their own process of education first in the families and then in public schools, the residents in the early- and mid-nineteenth century assumed that they adopted a French idea of Enlightenment – they were educating citizens. The writers, brought up during the f*in de siècle* decades, analyzed the changes to the schooling system because it signified their autonomy and subordination only to their local social institutions and practices. In the 1800s, the lyceum put the provincial community on the intellectual map of the Russian empire, allowing them to exercise in science and Polish language for the benefit of their community. The emphasis on the German type of Enlightenment, even though exercised through the network of schools and the lyceum, and not by the universities, possibly indicated that in the case of the governorates, the residents' public participation was limited to a collective reforming of the educational system, and did not have anything to do with the political dimension.

The connection between *education* and *enlightenment* remained ambiguous for the writers until the 1860s. The memoirists addressed the connections between intellectual and

philosophical dimensions of enlightenment and the more down-to-earth education that took place in France in the eighteenth century. The term *enlightened* [oświecony], which they often use, was connected to education but was not limited to it. They are aware that the term *enlightenment* [oświecenie] encompassed much more than references to education, as is proven by the existence and popular usage of the terms *education* [edukacja / oświata], which refers to schooling or tutoring. To be *enlightened* meant to develop habits of critical and analytical thinking, and to allow the mind to know and criticize the known. The reformer Czacki himself believed that after receiving education the residents should "raise the level of enlightenment in order to keep the language of their familial society at schools, to assist in understanding and imagination of how the most important ideas were related".[355]

The specificity of the Russian absolutism of the early nineteenth century enabled an especially strong inclination towards the reforms in the governorates, which according to Tim Blanning was the usual situation in the peripheries of absolutist states.[356] I would argue that after the Russian repressive politics in the 1830s, the ideas of rational Enlightenment that had to educate a citizen were retrospectively turned into a blend of education, religious pietism, and public performance. Even if somewhat badly articulated, through their appeals to enlightenment the writers appealed for cultural unity in the provinces in 1840s – 1860s. Unlike in France during Napoleon, when education had to exemplify the efficiency of the state in conveying national greatness and to produce state servants[357], in the governorates public education of the 1800s – 1830s ensured cultural continuity and the stability of the community, separate from the apparatus of the Russian empire. Here the elites were at the service of their community, and not at the service of the state.

In this context, enlightenment acquired moral connotations, unlike 'philosophy', 'progress', 'selfishness' or 'improvement' that the writers usually associate with the rational French Enlightenment of the eighteenth century. Even though they recognized the "invaluable benefits of today's enlightenment", they argued for the presence of "hearts amidst sciences", useful inventions and mental improvement.[358] In the mid-nineteenth century, an enlightened person in the governorates had to possess somewhat comprehensive

[355] Czacki, "Mowa I.W. Tadeusza Czackiego Dnia 1 Pazdziernika 1805 Roku przy otwarciu Gimnazium Wolyńskiego w Krzemieńcu," *Dziennik Wileński* 3, no. 8 (1805), pp. 368-369.
[356] Blanning, *Reform and Revolution in Mainz, 1743 - 1803*, 34 – 37.
[357] See Michalina Clifford-Vaughan, "Enlightenment and Education," *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (Jun., 1963): 135-143.
[358] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty Starego Detiuka o Wołyniu*. T. 1, 187.

knowledge of the world and recognize the cultural tradition he belonged to, and in this, the residents' visions of enlightenment could be compared to the concept of *Bildung*. In particular, Herder perceived *Bildung* as opposite to the rational Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, and similarly argued for 'the presence of hearts' during the process of rational modifications.[359] Czacki's allusions to the German Enlightenment during the creation of an autonomous educational region in the early 1800s and the multiple references of the residents towards the harmony of enlightenment and religion in their provinces, or *higher enlightenment*, signified their interest in the ethical preservation of their community, while also combining a rationalist attitude to sciences and religion. It was one of the definitive features of the German Enlightenment.[360]

Attention to the practices of education endured among the members of the *szlachta* and intelligentsia, causing a lawyer Florian Ziemiałkowski (1817 – 1900) in Lwów to note in his memoirs in 1859 that "youth movement in the annexed territories began to […] move to Warsaw. There were formed two circles: one, under the guidance of Jurgens and Gołembiecki, who established it as their task to encourage the youth to work, and by spreading education among people to contribute to nation's revival".[361] Ziemialkowski claimed that because of the powerful influence from abroad, the other circle of the political conspiracy gained more importance, which inadvertently led to the insurrection in the 1860s. However, the residents from the provinces in their memoirs in the 1820s – 1860s continued to discuss public education as the primary path towards enlightenment in their society.

[359] For a detailed assessment of Herder's philosophy of Bildung see Rebekka Horlacher, *The Educated Subject and the German Concept of Bildung: A Comparative Cultural History* (Routledge, 2015), 12 – 13.
[360] See Sabine Roehr, A *Primer on German Enlightenment: With a Translation of Karl Leonhard Reinhold's The Fundamental Concepts and Principles of Ethics* (University of Missouri Press, 1995).
[361] Floryan Ziemiałkowski, *Pamiętniki Floryana Ziemiałkowskiego* (Kraków, 1904), 23. [ruch młodziezy w zabranych krajach zaczął się [...] przenosić do Warszawy. Zawiązały dwa koła: jedno, pod prewodnictwem Jurgensa i Gołembieckiego postawiło sobie za zadanie zachęcać młodzież do pracy i przez szerzenie oświaty w narodzie działać na jego odrodzenie. Drugie, pod przewodnictwem Jankowskiego, dymisyonowanego oficera rosyjskiego i malarza Nowakowskiego przyjęło od razu cechę konspiracyi politycznej].

Chapter Three:

A Provincial Community of Readers and Translators

As Charles Withers argues in his assessment of the Enlightenment from a geographical point of view, it is more important to know how ideas travelled and through which mediums they could be appropriated rather than to focus on the question of whether the Enlightenment was present in a particular society.[362] In general, the transfer of ideas between cultures and societies occurred through intimate conversations, correspondence, curricula and teachers in local academies, libraries, conversations in salons, coffee-houses, taverns, and last but not least through voyages across countries and continents. At the same time, it is the practice of reading that best epitomizes the national character of the Enlightenment, because it shapes the character, sensitivities and perceptions of individuals.[363] Thus, paraphrasing Robert Darnton, a study of the reading habits and the meaning of reading in a specific society fascilitates uncovering the ideas of the Enlightenment present in it, as well as exposes the geography of the Enlightenment.[364]

The 1790s – 1850s was a time of abrupt political change in the Volhynian and Podolian governorates, when the provincial nobility were preoccupied with authorizing their status as residents within the new boundaries of the Russian empire. As such, it is imperative to know what literature they were exposed to and chose to identify with while creating their local intellectual ambiance. 'Poland' was now a state across the border, and the intellectual influence of the Russian empire over these historical provinces was not recognized by its residents. Thus, the memoirists focus on forging their local community of readers and translators, and their references to the titles of books, ideas, and authors are ubiquitous in their memoirs as well as in their correspondence. Emphasizing their role in the local process of education and its connection to enlightenment, the residents of the provinces indicate the authors that they read and the role that their works had in their everyday life. The analysis of this discourse facilitates our understanding of what resources the residents had at their disposal and ways in which they employed their knowledge when writing about the

[362] Withers, *Placing the Enlightenment: Thinking Geographically About the Age of Reason*, 60.
[363] See William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge University Press, 2007).
[364] See Darnton, *The Business of Enlightenment: A Publishing History of the Encyclopédie, 1775-1800* (Harvard University Press, 2009).

philosophy of Enlightenment, Europe, Poland, and their own territory. Moreover, the memoirs and personal correspondence of the lesser nobility can provide answers to the questions 'who and how did they read?', thus uncovering the social fabric of the Enlightenment in the provinces, and 'why reading suddenly became important during the 1790s – 1830s?'

In this chapter, I will be following three approaches. The first is to analyse the context and accessibility of reading materials for provincial residents in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, given that during this period they were located at the crossroads between Warsaw and Wilno. Secondly, I will identify whether there were different traditions of reading in the country seats. Finally, my third approach consists of tackling how foreign ideas were appropriated through their translation into Polish. Through the type of books that the gentry obtained, the translations they produced, and their interpretations, it is possible to trace the transfer of ideas. Moreover, through their discussions and the topics that were debated in the satirical newspaper *Wiadomości Brukowe* [The Street News] we can assess the importance of the local publishing houses and the availability of books in the local private libraries. Recurrent anecdotal references to specific titles and authors will serve as a necessary part of this study in showcasing the change of attitudes towards reading in the provinces.

Overall, I believe this chapter to be a contribution to the problem of the geographies of reading and how participating in a reading culture and making translations connected the residents and enhanced their understanding of the Enlightenment. Uncovering the reading practices in the provinces also opens up another topic: the works that the residents refer to in the nineteenth century were largely still the eighteenth century texts. Therefore, the appropriation of eighteenth century philosophy and sciences was altered in the governorates by many conditions, among them political or purely economic shortages. As Robert Darnton and Daniel Roche proved in their study, the practice of reading was inevitably intertwined with the process of self-fashioning in the reading community.[365] Looking at the problem from this point of view helps us to understand why particular eighteenth century works were important for nineteenth century readers in the partitioned lands. The texts of the memoirs themselves provided a reading material when there was an absence of the abundant Polish literature, and as such, they should be accepted as channels of communication at the time.

[365] See Robert Darnton, Daniel Roche, eds., *Revolution in Print. The Press in France 1775-1800* (University of California Press, 1989).

The Availability of Books and Journals in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

A reconstruction of reading practices in the provinces of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is a difficult task irrespective of the period of research, since there are no comprehensive catalogues from the regional publishing houses or private libraries that were created by the nobility. Moreover, the catalogues from the monasteries' libraries often remain untraceable. In this regard, the catalogues that were found in the convents from the Hungarian countryside are more suitable for representing the early-modern reading tastes of the religious orders in East Central Europe.[366] Catalogues of collections held in monasteries as well as magnates' private libraries were scattered across the vast lands of the Commonwealth, and if they are located, often contain only sporadic and momentary entries. In this context, the complete catalogues such as those for the Potocki's library in Tulczyn, created in early 1810s, are far more valuable as they provide an impression of the reading tastes of the nobility in the eastern palatinate. However, historians of the book in the eighteenth century Commonwealth focus exclusively on Warsaw when reviewing the reading tastes of the Polish aristocracy.[367]

The book publishing trade in Warsaw in the mid-eighteenth century was represented by several names of foreign publishers, who benefited from the deficiency of state censorship and Poniatowski's personal generosity and benefaction. For example, Lorenz Christoph Mizler (1711 – 1778), a German musicologist and a self-made publisher, arrived to Warsaw in 1743, found himself under the direct sponsorship of both the king and the magnate Adam Czartoryski, and frequently published works on their request.[368] Another German, Michael Gröll from Dresden, together with Pierre Dufour from Paris, printed books in Polish, Hebrew and even in Cyrillic. In total, by the mid-1770s in Warsaw there were eleven privately owned printing houses.[369] At this time, the migration of English or German texts to the Commonwealth was tedious and done exclusively through translations in French. This was

[366] See Eszter Andor and István György Tóth, eds., *Frontiers of Faith: Religious Exchange and the Constitution of Religious Identities, 1400-1750* (Budapest, 2001); Jaroslav Miller, László Kontler, eds., *Friars, Nobles, and Burghers, Sermons, Images, and Prints: Studies of Culture and Society in Early-Modern Europe, in memoriam István György Tóth* (Budapest, 2010).
[367] See Michael F. Suarez, S. J., H. R. Woudhuysen, *The Book: A Global History* (Oxford University Press, 2013).
[368] See D. J. Welsh, "At the Sign of the Poets: Gröll's Printing House in Warsaw," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 41, no. 96 (December, 1962): 208.
[369] Suarez, S.J., H. R. Woudhuysen, *The Book: A Global History*, 474.

the case of the English texts by Daniel Defoe and Jonathan Swift, who became known in Warsaw only after having been translated into French first. Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) only appeared in Polish in 1769, and Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) – in 1784. Arguably, these utopian fantasies immediately influenced two notable Polish writers of the eighteenth century – a Jesuit Ignacy Krasicki (1735 – 1801) and a Piarist Michał Krajewski (1746 – 1817), who produced their 'original' utopian works in the Polish language in the 1780s.[370] The exchange of literature between the Commonwealth, or rather, between Warsaw, and Europe was not one-sided. The publishers in Warsaw imported books from Berlin, Amsterdam and London to Warsaw, but also exported books in Polish to Germany and France.

Despite such a seemingly vibrant printing culture in Warsaw, the situation in the provinces of the Commonwealth was different, even though a vogue for popular literature was introduced in the second half of the eighteenth century. Since the emerging printing houses did not fall under the censorship of the Church, but instead belonged to the secular realm, it was even possible to print forbidden works, and to sell them around the country.[371] Polish printing house behaved no differently to their counterparts in the rest of Europe where, as Robert Darnton postulated, restrictions worked as the best advertisement.[372] Gradually, the works by Voltaire in French became accessible to the broader reading public beyond Warsaw. The lists of prohibited books in the Volhynian voivodeship from the 1770s – 1790s suggest that the French books were available in abundance during region's annual markets, as well as in Kyiv. New novels and historical works, published in France, Holland or Germany, even those that were the most libertine in spirit, were available in the provinces during the regular markets in the Volhynian Dubno.[373]

The case of the eastern provinces in the late eighteenth century presents several problems to discuss – the lack of literature, the lack of literature in Polish, and the deficiency of a reading culture. The publishing and marketing industry was decentralized, and further disintegration of territories after the partitions and the introduction of new borders only deteriorated the situation. In 1816, the publishers in Warsaw complained that they knew

[370] Stanisław Helsztyński, "English Literature in 18th century Poland," *Slavonic review,* vol. 6, no. 16 (June 1927).
[371] A. Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, „Dyskusje o Wolności Słowa w Czasach Stanisławowskich," *Kwartalnik Historyczny,* no. 102 (1995): 53 – 65.
[372] See Robert Darnton, Daniel Roche, eds. *Revolution in Print. The Press in France 1775-1800* (University of California Press, 1989).
[373] See J. Łojek, "Series Librorum Prohibitorum z 1793 roku," in *Przegląd Humanistyczny,* No. 3 (1965): 125 – 132.

nothing of what was published in former territories of the Commonealth, and even suggested creating catalogues of published materials.[374] The new boundaries also altered the nature of literature trafficking, when the provincial *szlachta*, eager to acquire books from abroad for their private libraries, had to ask their relatives or friends in Warsaw for them or even to illegally smuggle the books into their province. A channel that was most frequently used for smuggling was through the Habsburg Galicia border. For example, in 1791 the border police detained the nobleman Tomaszewski who was trying to smuggle books to the Rus'ka province.[375] The local authorities immediately ordered the border police to release Tomaszewski together with the materials that he was carrying.[376]

Importing and smuggling books was not the only way for provincial readers to enrich their private collections. Throughout the eighteenth century, the needs of the reading public in the eastern provinces were satisfied by several publishing houses in the region, one of them belonging to the Basilian Salvatorian order in Supraśl. It provided mostly religious titles, as well as some useful literature for the villagers, such as *Zasady o rolnictwie* (1790) [The Rules of Agriculture], and was often the first to publish Polish translations of French and English titles. For instance, Gaspard Guillard Beaurieu's *L'élève de la nature* and Voltaire's *Zadig* appeared in late 1780s; a collection of excerpts from the works of a physician Samuel-Auguste Tissot (1728 – 1797) titled *Porządek życia w Szerstwości Zdrowia w długie prowadzący lata* [The Command of Life in the Vigour of Health that Guarantees Long Years] was published in 1789.[377] Tissot's work conveyed a new understanding of health and social improvement for the commoners. Other smaller publishing houses in Berdyczów, Zamość, Łutsk, Lwów, and the publishing house of a Jesuit college in Przemysł provided only three – five per cent of the total number of books published in Polish, and focused mainly on religious literature,

[374] David Althoen, "That Noble Quest: From True Nobility to Enlightened Society in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 1550-1830." PhD dissertation (University of Michigan, 2000), 509 – 510.

[375] A geographic denomination that incorporates the Ukrainian lands, in a geographic sense, prior to the first partition of the Commonwealth in 1772. The term may have been used in the administrative language of the region until the late eighteenth century.

[376] Institute of Manuscripts (Kyiv), F. II, No. 20716. *Kopia Rezolucyi Przeswiętney Kommissyi Skarbu Koronnego,* 1791 r., s. 7. [Report by Olszewski, the naturall-born, Comptroller-Generall of the Russyan Province … whereby he informs the Commissyon about the detention of books conducted from A-broad by RtHon M-r Tomaszewski, and of RtHon M-r Tomaszewski him-self. – I hereby instruct the natural-born Super-intendant of the Russyan Province that he non-postponedly release RtHon M-r Tomaszewski, upon receipt of This-Present Instruction, together with the things and papers, being detained above the Prescription of the Arrangements of His Commissyon].

[377] See Roman Stępień, „Wkład Bazylianów do Kultury i Oświaty Polskiej na Terenie Korony i Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w drugiej połowie XVIII w.", in *Rola Mniejszości Narodowych w kulturze i Oświacie Polskiej w latach 1700 – 1939,* red. A. Bolewica i S. Walasek (Wrocław, 1998).

sermons, and occasionally on educational theories.[378] After the partitions, there were four publishing houses in Volhynia and only one in Podole.[379] At the turn of the century, the fashion for publishing library catalogues appeared and they provided the readers with lists of French books that could be found in the rare libraries in Volhynia.[380] The publishing house in Zamość (active from 1593/94 – 1784) and in Krzemieniec displayed similar catalogues, although with a stronger focus on the books in Polish, including the works of local scientists and geographers.[381]

One of the obstacles to the birth of a reading public throughout the Commonwealth was the level of literacy in the eighteenth century. Barbara Grochulska in her study on the social history of Enlightenment in the eighteenth century Commonwealth asserted that by the end of the century, the total number of nobles, who could grasp the ideas of the Enlightenment was a small group, and that they did so mainly through literature in French.[382] However, she only refers to the provinces of Greater Poland, since arguably there was no dynamic reading milieu elsewhere in the country. Before the 1750s, approximately 80% of magnates, 60% of the middle nobility, and only 8% of the lesser nobility were literate (whereby they had the ability to write their own name).[383] As for the commoners in the areas of Podole and Kyivschyna, the situation was even less favourable. Here, the level of literacy was almost non-existent, since even in the 1830s the character of public education was similar to that of the previous century, when commoners' children memorised portions of religious handbooks by heart and did exercises on the basics of arithmetic.[384] In such a context, members of the lesser nobility, who were subjected to the reforms of the Commission,

[378] For example, a library of the Karmelite monastery in Wiśniowiec, Volhynia, had mostly Latin titles on theology written by Jesuits from the sixteenth – seventeenth century, and some literature in Polish from Warsaw, such as *Manualik poczciwego czlowieka* [A Manual of An Honest Man], published in Warsaw in 1774. Several French titles included the works by Isaak-Joseph Beruyer, *Remarques theologiques et critiques sur l'histoire du people de Dieu* (Alethopolis, 1755)*;* V. E. Flechier, *Sermons de morale preches devant le roi. Nouvelle edition augmentee*, Vols. 1 and 2 (Lyon, 1774); Nicholas Lenglet Du Fresnoy, *Principes de l'histoire pour l'éducation de la jeunesse, par années et par leçons*. Nouvelle edition, revue. Vol. 2 (Amsterdam et a Leipzig, 1759). See the annex in Ціборовська-Римарович, *Родові бібліотеки Правобережної України XVIII століття*.

[379] See Beauvois, *Szkolnictwo Polskie na Ziemiach Litewsko-Ruskich, 1803 – 1832. Tom I: Universytet Wileński*.

[380] For example, *Catalogie de livres, qui se trouvent chez Louis Fietta, libraire a Dubno et Berdyczów* (1804).

[381] For example, Franciszek Ksawery Giżycki, *Rys Ukrainy Zachodniey* (1810).

[382] Barbara Grochulska, "The Place of the Enlightenment in Polish Social History", 248 – 250. Also see Ewa Rzadowska, ed., *Voltaire et Rousseau en France et en Pologne* (Warsaw, 1982).

[383] Andrzej Wyczański, *Polska Rzeczą Pospolitą Szlachecką* (Warsaw, 1991), 264-265.

[384] Максим Яременко, "Навчатися чи не Навчатись? До питання про освітні стратегії посполитих Гетьманщини у XVIII ст. та пов'язану з ними соціальну мобільність," *СОЦІУМ. Альманах соціальної історії*, вип. 8 (2008): 225. [Maksym Yaremenko, "To Study or not to Study? The problem of educational strategies of the society of Hetmanschyna in the 18th century, and its social mobility," SOCIUM. *The Almanac of Social History*, no. 8 (2008)].

remained the most obvious and active participants of the reading public in and around the 1800s.

The limited availability of the literature and its problematic assessment by the residents resulted in a situation when there were hardly any books in the homes of the lesser nobility in the provinces. Even though the memoirists tended to have recollections of the books that their parents had in their family seats at the end of the eighteenth – first half of the nineteenth century, the book titles themselves were hardly ever mentioned. The reason for that, in the opinion of the poet Julian Niemcewicz, was that the Polish kings before Poniatowski's era, before the 1750s, were not interested in promoting a taste for reading among the petty nobility, and therefore the *szlachta* in their small towns and villages read only the books that used to belong to their fathers or even grandfathers. Such as the *Il Calandro fedele* by Giovanni Marini (1641), the romance *Légende de la Belle Maguelone*, which had been translated into Polish at the end of the sixteenth century and became the most popular novel in the eighteenth century, or *Argenis* by John Barclay (1582 – 1621), published in 1621.[385] For the most part, by the late eighteenth century the literature owned by the lesser nobility in the provinces was limited to early modern romances and novels that had been passed from a generation to generation. *Argenis* arguably appealed to their tastes due to its plot, because it focused on the rivalry between the king and landed aristocracy, even if it was set in seventeenth-century France. Writing his memoirs, Niemcewicz believed that such an obvious deficiency of reading tastes signified the fact that the nobility in the provinces were not particularly interested in books and were more preoccupied with festivities and hunting.[386]

However, the profusion of printing throughout the 1790s – 1830s facilitated a rise in the number of printed texts, and this process reached the provincial regions of Europe. The infiltration of the fashion for reading accelerated by the 1820s in the lands of East Central Europe, where the reading public gradually advanced from *intensive* to *extensive* readers.[387] At a first glance, such argument seems to be problematic in the eastern provinces, as a highly cultivated man of his time bishop Adam Krasiński (1810 – 1891), who was born in the Volhynian governorate, wrote that in his home there were only several issues of the weekly *Wiadomości Brukowe*, and a Cyrillic edition of the *Lives of Saints* by a Jesuit Piotr Skarga, first

[385] Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki Czasów Moich*, 36.
[386] Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki Czasów Moich*, 36.
[387] Arguably, Rolf Engelsing first introduced this distinction in *Der Bürger als leser, 1500 – 1800* (Stuttgart, 1874).

published in 1579.[388] Such a limited selection of literature could indicate that the provincial residents did not complete the transition from intensive to extensive readers, and did not adopt a practice of creating private libraries in their mansions until the early 1810s.

Nonetheless, judging from the memoirists' reflections, the problem seems to be of a more complex nature. In a chapter of her memoirs entitled "Our Studies", the writer Ewa Felińska (1793 – 1859) recollected that in their home there was a library exclusively for children filled with French titles. There were several dictionaries and such works as *Abrege de Toutes les Sciences*[389] and a Polish translation by the Comtesse de Genlis' *Adèle et Théodore*[390], as well as her other works.[391] Children restlessly read this accessible literature and in Felińska's opinion, this helped to animate the darkness of complete ignorance that existed despite the presence of a French governess: "[l]ittle-by-little, it offered an idea of all the sciences; and, since there was no-one to lead us toward the fount from where one might draw more, even this dispelled, a little, the thick darkness of complete unknowingness".[392] Therefore, Felińska recognizes that the 1800s became a watershed in the attitudes towards reading and learning among the landed nobility. During this time, the residents paid attention not only to the education of children and to the presence of literature in their homes, but also indicate a separation of children's literature and its special purpose – to introduce children to the knowledge of the world.

The question of a deficiency of books in provincial mansions occupied a central position in the memoirs. The main problem for Felińska was not the lack of literature in their mansion, but a common disinclination to read among its inhabitants. After stating that there were other books in their house, Felińska rhetorically asked "but why were they there? I do not know; because nobody ever took them into their hands".[393]

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[388] Adam Stanisław Krasiński, *Wspomnienia biskupa Adama Stanisława Krasińskiego* (Kraków, 1900), 4.
[389] *Encyclopedie Des Enfans, Ou Abrégé De Toutes Les Sciences A L'Usage Des Enfans Des Deux Sexes* (1804).
[390] *Adèle et Théodore ou Lettres sur l'éducation contenant tous les principes relatifs aux trois plans d'éducation des princes, des jeunes personnes et des hommes* (Paris, 1782).
[391] Felińska, *Pamiętniki z życia Ewy Felińskiej*, Vol. 1, 182 - 183 [Adele y Teodor czyli Listy o edukacyi, zawieraiące w sobie wszystkie maxymy i prawidła stosowane do 3 układów edukacyi dam, mężczyzn i osób przeznaczonych do rządu, 4 Vols, published throughout late 18th – early 19th century], and *Wieczory zamkowe albo Ciąg nauki obyczaiow do poięcia młodzi przystosowany*, published in Warsaw in 1804.
[392] Felińska, *Pamiętniki z życia Ewy Felińskiej*, Vol. 1, 182-183.
[393] Felińska, *Pamiętniki z życia Ewy Felińskiej,* Vol. 1, 182 - 183.

Figure 6 - Ewa Felińska

A lithograph by Maksymilian Fajans (1825 – 1890), c.1851 – 1862.[394]

From her point of view in the 1850s, Felińska evaluated the lack of books for positively, because children who grew up being exposed to a limited amount of books had a better chance to explore them in depth and to develop their own opinions, while an abundance of books, on the contrary, often caused children to be sluggish, since they had neither wish nor time to digest the available information. Henrietta Błędowska (1794 – 1869), when describing her stay in Paris and her wish to meet de Genlis there, also reflected on the connection between children's education and a desire for reading.[395]

At the turn of the century, the residents perceived reading as an essential prerequisite for the moral guidance of young people. Form their testimonies; it is possible to deduce that they went hand in hand with the rest of Europe, where reading primarily remained "a means of advancing religion, morality, and knowledge".[396] Children's literature gained an important place in memoirs to show that from their early childhood years they were educated properly and given the 'right' books to read, mostly by French authors that were also approved by their parents. Both Błędowska and Felińska seemed to agree that the shortage of literature resulted in a 'hunger' for books and an enthusiasm for their reception, even though an unwillingness to read among the nobility remained until the 1800s. Thus, it is not the limited literature that bothers them, but the proper guidance of children in their studies by the governesses that is questioned. In the 1800s, as Andrzejowski noted, during the "peaceful rule of Paul in the country" his mother was reading a newly published translation of Madame de Genlis to her children.[397] Supposedly, it was a popular work for children *La Religion Considérée Comme L'unique Base du Bonheur*, published in 1787, and which aimed against the

[394] https://polona.pl/item/816355/0/
[395] Błędowska, *Pamiątka Przeszłości. Wspomnienia z lat 1794 – 1832*, 99.
[396] St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period*, 11.
[397] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty starego Detiuka o Wołyniu*. T. 1, 140.

French *philosophes*.[398] The works of de Genlis were especially widespread among the provincial *szlachta* around the 1800s. Henrietta Błędowska, after having read *Les Petits Emigres* by de Genlis, revealed that she credited de Genlis in giving her an interest in reading at a young age. In the 1850s, Błędowska complained that the current available literature did not inspire "to mould the reason, the heart with a religious penchant, with fulfilment of the duties".[399] In her turn, Felińska was puzzled by the fact that her own governess did not like to read, and even felt threatened by the books on geography, which she never explained to her young students. Similarly with the writers in England in the 1800s, the memoirists of the 1850s recognize the importance of imaginative literature for children. By focusing on their own experience, Błędowska and Felińska accentuated the role of literature in developing reasoning and creativity in the young.[400]

Interest for French authors among provincial dwellers is unquestionable. In the Commonwealth during the eighteenth century, there were various opportunities for the nobles to obtain them: private libraries contained 1195 copies of works by Voltaire, 605 copies of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and 400 copies of François Fénelon.[401] Titles such as *Héloïse*, *Emile*, *Candide* and *Persian Letters* had the largest presence in the magnate libraries. In general, Voltaire appeared in the Commonwealth within few years of it being published in Paris.[402] Clearly, there were more books written by Voltaire in the country than there were editions of the *Monitor*, which account for no more than 500 copies. Yet, these numbers are based on lists of catalogues for magnates' libraries from Greater Poland, and do not indicate that the lesser *szlachta* also accessed these works. For example, Franciszek Karpiński, Antoni Chrząszczewski, Karol Micowski, Wacław Borejko, Antoni Andrzejowski, Ewa Felińska, and others acknowledge that they used Czartoryski's and Potocki's libraries in the early nineteenth century, and all of them had access to Krzemieniec at different stages of their lives where they could access the lyceum's library.

It is possible to retrieve the catalogues from the private libraries of Stanisław Szczęsny Potocki (1751 – 1805) in Tulczyn (Podole), Michał Jerzy Mniszech (1748 – 1806) in

[398] McMahon, *Enemies of the Enlightenment, 30.*
[399] Błędowska, *Pamiątka Przeszłości. Wspomnienia z lat 1794 – 1832*, 99.
[400] For a detailed discussion of the children's literature, see James Holt McGavran, *Romanticism and Children's Literature in Nineteenth-Century England* (University of Georgia Press, 2009).
[401] See the study of Ewa Rzadkowska, *Francuskie Wzorce Polskich Oświeconych: Studium o Recepcji J. F. Marmontela w XVIII* (Warszawa, 1989).
[402] See Stanisław Helsztyński, "English Literature in 18th century Poland," *Slavonic review*, Vol. 6, No. 16 (June 1927): 142-149.

Wiśniowiec (Volhynia), and from a family seat of Mikoszewski in Trusylivka (Volhynia), which were all organized throughout the late 1770s – early years of the nineteenth century.[403] The first catalogue of Michał Jerzy Mniszech's library was created in 1777, and listed 3444 volumes. The catalogue for Potocki's library was created no later than 1813 and comprised more than 2000 volumes. The most popular titles included dictionaries, grammar books, books on natural history, such as *Historical and Critical Dictionary* by Pierre Bayle (1697), *Social Contract* by Rousseau (1762), *On Crimes and Punishments* by Cesare Beccaria (1764), *Histoire Naturelle*, *Générale et Particulière* by Comte de Buffon (various volumes published throughout 1749 – 1788).[404] Among the novels, there were *History of Charles XIII* by Voltaire (1731), *Pamela* (1740) and *Clarissa: Or the History of a Young Lady* (1748) by Samuel Richardson, *The History of Tom Jones, the Foundling* by Henry Fielding (1749), *The Adventure of Telemachus* by François Fénelon (1699), and various stories and tragedies by Jean-François Marmontel. Altogether, historical and dramatic texts had an abundant presence in most libraries. In these catalogues, books in Polish comprised only three – five per cent and the rest were largely books with French and German titles.[405] Such a situation was not unique, since most private libraries in eighteenth century Europe were predominantly comprised of French works.[406]

Only recently have scholars started to pay attention to the ideas and logic that the private collectors relied on while creating their libraries in their country seats. Encyclopedias, dictionaries, and works on natural history as well as medical handbooks prevailed in Potocki's house in Podole. There the residents had in their disposal *Les Vapeurs Et Maladies Nerveuses, Hypocondriaques, Ou Hystériques: Reconnues & Traitées Dans Les Deux Sexes* by Robert Whytt (1767), *Dictionnaire des Jardiniers* (Paris, 1783), *Theorie de l'art des jardins* (Leipcig, 1785), *Dictionnaire universal d'agriculture* (Paris, 1800), *Flora Atlantica* (Paris, 1800), and *Rzecz o Hispanskich Owcach co do ich Przychowku* [Spanish Sheep and their Offspring] (Lublin, 1803). Naturally, it is impossible to know when the book was brought into the library – was it bought at the time of its publication, or much later, by the early nineteenth century, as well as when or if it was read. However, it is possible to deduce that specific titles indicate consumption, since Potocki built an English park named *Zofiówka* between 1796 and 1802, improved local agriculture by introducing new sorts of wheat, rye and oat, and brought Spanish sheep and Hungarian cows to his lands. Of the writers of the French Enlightenment,

[403] І. Ціборовська-Римарович, *Родові бібліотеки Правобережної України XVIII століття* (Київ, 2006).
[404] Ціборовська-Римарович, *Родові бібліотеки Правобережної України XVIII століття*, 171.
[405] Ціборовська-Римарович, *Родові бібліотеки Правобережної України XVIII століття,* 175.
[406] See G. Gargett, G. Sheridan, eds., *Ireland and French Enlightenment, 1700-1800* (Springer, 1999), pp. 7 - 12.

there was mainly Voltaire and his historical works about Louis XIV, Charles XII, and Peter I, and a completed edition of Rousseau's works, published in 1783. Montesquieu, Condorcet, Condillac, Smith, Hume, Gibbon, Locke, and Beccaria were likewise represented in several individual volumes.

The reception of the *Encyclopédie,* the seminal work of Enlightenment, was unambiguous in the provinces, and some residents duly applauded its importance. First, *Encyclopédie* (various volumes published throughout 1751 – 1765) was listed in the Mniszech library's catalogue in Volhynia. In addition, this library also had a sufficient number of issues of *Mercure Danois* (1753 – 1760), specifically those that published excerpts from Voltaire's works, *Encyclopédie*, Hume's treatises, various articles from *Mercure de France*, Alexander Pope, and Montesquieu. Franciszek Karpiński noted in his memoirs that in the 1780s he was creating a catalogue of Adam Czartoryski's library. In the process Karpiński noticed that many books were missing from the library, especially "central books" by Voltaire, Rousseau, and the *Encyclopédie*, about what he immediately notified the prince. When Czartoryski learned that these books were missing, he instantaneously and bitterly reproached his private secretary, who was responsible for the collection.[407] A scandal thus ensued, and ended with Karpiński falling out of favour and returning to Galicia. This could suggest that the influence of books extended beyond the libraries of their owners, and the scarcity of books excited appetites for stealing. Another case of book theft occurred in early 1810s and was noted by Szymon Konopacki. His friend "borrowed" a three-volume French edition of Alexander Pope's poetry without asking, and subsequently presented it to a lady as a sign of his affections. Konopacki devoted nearly five pages of his memoirs to describing the indignation he felt towards the "scoundrel". Their argument nearly resulted in a duel between the two nobles, but was prevented by the timely intervention of their friends, who nonetheless viewed this dispute as trivial.[408] Possibly, Konopacki aimed at separating himself from the rest of the residents by displaying his passion for literature. Such a vigilant treatment of books by the nobles could suggest that in the situation of scarcity and high prices, the sheer materiality of the book acquired a symbolic capital that was prioritized by the members of the *szlachta*. Konopacki recalled that his father was heartily asking him to be careful with the books he bought, because they cost "entire zloty".

[407] Karpiński, *Pamiętniki Franciszka Karpińskiego,* 98 – 99.
[408] Konopacki, *Pamiętniki Szymona Konopackiego,* 135 – 139.

As for the journals and newspapers, available in the provinces, the situation is less certain. The reign of Stanisław August Poniatowski in the second half of the eighteenth century proved to be highly favourable for the market of journals and weeklies in the Commonwealth, even if it mostly meant that there was a dialogue between the intimate circle of the 'republic of enlightened poets', who discussed their ideas and views of the world between themselves and on the pages of the *Monitor*. Nevertheless, the broader public of the capital could observe this dialogue.[409] Such publications as the *Monitor*, *Gazeta Warszawska* [Warsaw Newspaper] *Zabawy Przyjemne i Pożyteczne* [Useful and Pleasant Pastimes] published excerpts from French and English works, and articles about scientific discoveries, and thus were also of interest to readers outside Warsaw. Apart from providing some insights into contemporary literature at the end of the eighteenth century, these periodicals were also a medium for establishing a public opinion on the Commission, the reforms of the 1770s – 1790s, the Constitution, and the partitions. For this reason, Poniatowski recognized that it was important for a larger number of the gentry to have access to these periodicals. According to Stanisław Kosmowski (1752 – 1821), an officer during the Kosciuszko uprising who fought against the Russian forces, Poniatowski encouraged members of the provincial nobility to purchase weeklies and journals, believing it would change their minds towards the reforms initiated during the years of the Great Diet from 1788 – 1792. In 1807, Kosmowski wrote in his memoirs:

> It was, moreover, the king's will for the citizens across the voivodships, who in former times used to scarcely read public writings, to become *enlightened* [oświeceni] and thereby rectify their opinions, adjudicating in things without superstition; he ordered, with me attending, to General Komarzewski, who was his adjutant-general, and possessing his trust, that the Polish news-papers in which every-thing was printed which had been written in the news-papers of Hamburg and Paris, be dispatched without a charge, at his cost-and-expense, to quite many a person into the provinces.[410]

However, the assessed sources suggest that newspapers were not very popular among the residents, and were hardly mentioned by them. The periodical that was mentioned was *Wiadomości Brukowe* [The Street News], a satirical weekly published in Wilno from 1816 – 1822. It was notorious for targeting the prejudices and backwardness of the *szlachta* in the provinces. Popular topics discussed by *Wiadomości* included the problem of education and

[409] Teresa Kostkiewiczowa, „Rozważania o Kulturze Literackiej Czasów Stanisławowskich", 17 – 18.
[410] Kosmowski, *Pamiętniki Stanisława Kosmowskiego z końca XVIII wieku*, 5.

literacy, the emancipation of women, new fashion, religious dogmatism, the emancipation of Jews and peasants, and the *szlachta*'s obsessive clinging to traditions during the local assemblies. In 1817, one of its most explicative articles stated that outside Wilno and as far south as the Black Sea, there were no bookstores because historically there used to be none:

> And do send for these books indeed, to as far as Wilno, for it is known to you, Honourable Sirs, that those extortionist book-dealers are no-where, save for Wilno, in the Polish guberniyas across the territory, from the baltic [*sic*] up to the black sea [*sic*]; because they ought not to be there indeed, for there were none in time of yore: and finally, may it be so that somebody has found the courage to buy a book, and what follows of it, now do read and learn. And may the friendly fortune save us from this![411]

The article went on further to suggest that instead of inventing a machine for beating their peasants (a suggestion that was printed in the previous issue), the *szlachta* should purchase a machine for reading books, since "it is very difficult for us to read books, and for this, neither our fathers gathered them, nor we try to do so".[412] The article proposed obtaining such machine from Germans as it would correct the situation in the provinces, because "there are such amidst us who are in no need even for district offices, carrying forth honourably, instead, from childhood until old-age, those high dignities taken after the great-grandfathers that magnificently end with *-icz*, *-ic*, or *-nic* [i.e. patronymic (sur)names]".[413] By painting the petty nobility as Sarmatian figures who prided themselves only in their history, family name and tradition, the publishers in Wilno were showing themselves to be out of step, as the realities of previous century were no longer viable. Thus, at the turn of the century the public discussion in the governorates focused on studying and reading for the purposes of contributing to the change of social relations within the society.

Reading as a Commonplace Activity in the 1790s – 1850s

In the years immediately after the partitions and following the outcomes of the French Revolution, the *szlachta* from the Volhynian and Podolian governorates found themselves bordering on France. At least, from the point of view of the Russian authorities. In 1799, when "Bonaparte was becoming dangerous to Europe", the emperor Paul I asked count Ivan

[411] *Wiadomości Brukowe*, No. 27 (June, 1817), 111.
[412] *Wiadomości Brukowe*, No. 27 (June, 1817), 110.
[413] *Wiadomości Brukowe*, No. 27 (June, 1817), 112.

Gudovicz (1741 – 1820) to inspect whether "the French spirit was spreading in the provinces".[414] When Gudowicz in the middle of the night arrived to a small town Tuczyn in Volhynia, the first scene he witnessed upon entering the house of the governor Hieronim Sanguszko (1743 – 1812) was some sort of a clandestine reading: a group of *szlachta,* dressed in French frocks, vests, "clothes completely different from the one prescribed by the tsar himself", and in wigs, were listening to Andrzejowski's mother reading a newly translated book by de Genlis out loud.[415] The following day, Gudowicz, who was rather intolerant to matters concerning the nobility in the Polish provinces, explained that he had arrived to examine whether the revolutionaries from France were residing here, spreading their "philosophical principles" and causing the youth to flee abroad. In the course of the next few days, during which the local nobility of Tuczyn remained faithful to their choice of French dress, food, and music, the governor Sanguszko did his best to persuade the count that "like him, all Volhynian citizens exude the same spirit of devotion and loyalty to their monarch".[416] In return, Gudowicz promised to give a favorable report to the emperor, yet warned Sanguszko to be careful and not to receive any letters, books, drawings from abroad and not to keep those in his home.

Antoni Andrzejowski vividly described this incident in his memoirs, and it informs us about the political and social realities in the governorates after the partitions. A witness of the mentioned events himself, Andrzejowski demonstrated that through a considerate policy of acknowledging the power of Paul I, the Volhynian governor Sanguszko safeguarded a peaceful life for the Volhynian residents, and shielded many families from a watchful eye of the Russian monarch. Their adherence to French styles and manners during the 1790s – 1830s was secured and de-politicized. However, while exhibiting a laidback approach to foreign styles of clothes, their choice of literature and channels of communication came under scrutiny. Even though neither Gudowicz nor Andrzejowski specified the 'dangerous' titles, it is clear that French books were primarily responsible for spreading "philosophical principles". In late 1790s, Paul I officially banned foreign books in the Polish provinces. However, a more lenient Alexander I later annulled his decree in 1801.[417] In spite of these

[414] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty starego Detiuka o Wołyniu,* T. 1, 139.
[415] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty starego Detiuka o Wołyniu,* T. 1, 140.
[416] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty starego Detiuka o Wołyniu,* T. 1, 143.
[417] Beauvois, *Szkolnictwo Polskie na Ziemiach Litewsko-Ruskich, 1803 – 1832. Tom I: Universytet Wileński,* 162.

official restrictions, residents of the governorates emphasized their individual choice in literature through which their community formed their independent lines of communication.

Robert Darnton in his study of the low culture of the French Enlightenment argued that books represented philosophical ideas, which eventually contributed to the incidence of the French Revolution.[418] However, whether "philosophical" meant "enlightened" or "revolutionary" is still a matter of debate, especially with regard to chronological differences and the social variety of readers in the provinces. The catalogues of private libraries in the governorates did not list the works by Mercier, Voltaire's *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie* (1770 – 1772) or *La Chandelle d'Arras* (1765), which conveyed the radical philosophical trends in the Enlightenment. Also, there were no distinguished erotic works, such as Voltaire's *La Pucelle d'Orléans* or Diderot's *Les Bijoux indiscrets* (1748), and none of the memoirists mentioned these titles. However, Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes* (1782, Vol. 3), Raynal's influential *Histoire philosophique des deux Indes* (1772 – 1774) and also his *L'Orateur des États-généraux pour 1789* (published in Warsaw in 1789) were listed in the private libraries in Podole and Volhynia. Being cautious in naming book titles, Andrzejowski nevertheless confessed to reading "dangerous" books and defined it as a popular habit among the residents after the French Revolution:

> Such readings and knowledge spontaneously acquired through listening to higher reasoning, spilled its sweet poison in my heart and mind and undermined the principles of morality and religion that were part of my upbringing, and I studied the freethinking of our philosophers, and even enjoyed them.[419]

In the late eighteenth – early nineteenth century Volhynian society adopted philosophy as a new fashion. Andrzejowski further broadly reflected on the nature of reading, and admitted that there are benefits as well as evils in reading, and one should not read everything without careful consideration because this might influence one's public performance and quality of life. They do not argue against reading, yet indicate that the men who travelled to Paris brought the 'inappropriate' literature into the provinces. Thus, the practice of reading had to be carefully calibrated within the new realities. Once again, the practice of reading had

[418] See Darnton, *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (Harvard University Press, 1982).

[419] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty starego Detiuka o Wołyniu*. T. 2, 18. [Takowe czytania i nabyte mimowolne z nasłuchania się zdań tych wyższych rozumów maksymy, rozlewały słodką truciznę po moim sercu i umyśle i podkopywały zasady moralności i religji w jakich wychowany byłem, nawczałem do wolnych mniemań naszych filozofów i nawet ich smakowałem]. Also see Ochocki's discussion of the 'ungodly literature' and its influence in T.1, 78.

to be carefully guided by a fellow citizen from the region, and not by the person who was educated in Paris. Eventually Andrzejowski admits that he overcame his youthful infatuation with "philosophy" and began studying "useful" books on natural history instead.

As we learned, Czacki professed that there was a *higher civilization* in Volhynia in comparison to other governorates of the empire because of its funds and because of the needs of its residents.[420] According to their statements, reading was one of such needs. "Many noblemen have libraries"[421], wrote a Russian jurist Stepan Russov in his *Notes on Volhynia* in 1809, and in his opinion, this is where they spent their time after the partitions. The writers admit that reading foreign literature was their utmost passion at the time. At times, they read books in foreign languages in order to better master that language, as was the case of Leon Dembowski (1789 – 1878), who read Friedrich von Schiller (1759 – 1805) on a daily basis in an attempt to master German. Yet, if to consider the political events of the 1810s – 1820s, the libraries and the reading became a field contested by the local residents and the imperial powers.

For instance, the image of a ransacked library is evoked to emphasize the emperor's reaction to the nobility that joined Napoleon. Antoni Chrząszczewski (1770 – 1851) in his letter from 1813 mentioned that now there were sausages on the shelves where Corneille and Racine used to be, and called it vandalism.[422] The process of the destitution of the nobility influenced their secluded lifestyle and their interest in reading. Marshall Józef Drzewiecki (1772 – 1852) in a letter from the village Kunka in Podole tenderly described his daily routine in the autumn of 1825, one month before the Decembrist's revolt: in the morning "[Jean Baptiste] Massillon told me his prayer", then "Skarga rehearsed his sermons" with me. Next, Drzewiecki "conversed with Fouschet" [i.e. Joseph Fouché] about his memoirs and argued with him about his "bad faith"; after dinner, Drzewiecki went through his library and "met with Cicero"; and in the evening, there was a theatre, and Racine and Molière "came to rescue me from my loneliness".[423] Leaving aside a curious reference to the memoirs by a contemporary revolutionary atheist Fouché, which has not been published, a conservative taste in literature with a focus on the seventeenth century authors was prevalent until the late

[420] Czacki, *O gimnazium w wołyńskiey gubernii i innych dla oboiey płci ustanowieniach uczynione przedstawienie przez Tadeusza Czackiego, roku 1803 w grudniu,* 2.
[421] Russov, *Волынскія записки*, 121.
[422] Chrząszczewski, List do Nieokreślonego Adresata, 17 VIII 1813. The re-print in: Chrząszczewski, *Pamiętnik Oficjalisty Potockich z Tulczyna*, 168 – 170.
[423] Drzewiecki, *Pamiętniki Józefa Drzewieckiego*, 361 – 362.

1820s. The affectionate descriptions of the private reading tastes remained and in 1846, Chrząszczewski compared books to sweets, yet noted that the works of Marie-Joseph "Eugène" Sue (1804 – 1857) were not his type of candy.[424]

Communication within the region is also an interesting subject for discussion. After the partitions, the mobility of the *szlachta* was limited, and they could not easily travel across the border to acquire books from Warsaw effortlessly, thus the process of obtaining books was strenuous and frequently resulted in disappointment. One example would be that of Józef Drzewiecki. In 1829, he wrote to his relatives in Warsaw asking them for copies of François Fénelon and Łukasz Górnicki, a poet of Polish Renaissance, because they were "needed in the library, and for me would be pleasing".[425] In other cases, according to the correspondence between the poets Micowski and Chrząszczewski, they exchanged books between their mansions, thus enhancing their discussions of content as well as formulating their tastes and opnions, specifically for the German literature of the early 1800s.

Often, obtaining the works of the Polish philosophers was difficult because of the scarcity of books and their high prices. For example, in 1846 Antoni Chrząszczewski in his letter to Karol Micowski in Volhynia asked for *Filozofia i Krytyka* (1845) [Philosophy and Critique] by Karol Libelt (1807 – 1875), a Hegelian philosopher from Poznań, who popularized the ideas of Polish messianism. Libelt was fascinated with the active form of nationalism, and his clear philosophical style, "not damaged by the barbarism of the Polish language", prompted Chrząszczewski to call his works a "literary delicacy".[426] In the same letter, he mentioned that he was returning *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, written throughout 1827 – 1835 by an Austrian orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774 – 1856). The voluminous work left Chrząszczewski unimpressed, and he described it as tedious, even though it was very expensive. Probably Chrząszczewski's aversion towards the German literature was the reason he refrained from commenting on this book. At the end, he reminded Micowski to return the translation of the political history of the Polish people written by C. F. Pyrrhys de Varille.[427] The fact that this work remained unpublished possibly indicates that the translation was done for individual pleasure. Thus, the readers were aware

[424] Chrząszczewski, List do Karola Micowskiego, 6 V 1846. The re-print in: Chrząszczewski, *Pamiętnik Oficjalisty Potockich z Tulczyna*, 204.
[425] Drzewiecki, *Pamiętniki Józefa Drzewieckiego*, 369.
[426] Chrząszczewski, List Do Karola Micowskiego, 6 V 1846. The re-print in: Chrząszczewski, *Pamiętnik Oficjalisty Potockich z Tulczyna*, 205.
[427] Chrząszczewski, *List Do Karola Micowskiego*, 6 V 1846. The re-print in: Chrząszczewski, *Pamiętnik Oficjalisty Potockich z Tulczyna*, 205.

of the current works in Polish and German history and philosophy, and remained faithful to the French literature from the eighteenth century.

Figure 7 - Podolian Governorate, c. 1800s.

(Source: А. М. Вильбрехт, Российский атлас "Из сорока трех карт состоящий и на сорок одну губернию империю разделяющий" (1800). Лист 40. Подольская губерния).

The poor accessibility to books in Polish persisted. In the early 1850s, Ewa Felińska wrote a letter to the publisher in Wilno where she indicated that the closest place where the books in Polish could be obtained was Kyiv, which was too far away.[428] However, such statement is contradictory. As Józef Drzewiecki indicated a decade earlier, in 1841, the fairs supplied an enormous amount of literature, and even called this process "a literary fever", when nearly everyone was trying to write and wrote a lot. Drzewiecki further reflected that

[428] Althoen, "That Noble Quest: From True Nobility to Enlightened Society in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 1550-1830", 527.

"enlightenment [oświecenie] which once wheeled around the globe now appears to have taken hold of our territories, and it endeavors ahead as if using the railway".[429] It was possible that these strong metaphors for movement were evoked to underline the social utility of the printed product. It was not the quality of the published literature in Polish that impressed Drzewiecki, but the fact that the process was unstoppable, and thus enlightenment was no longer in question – it was at full speed. This is especially stunning if we remember that only twenty years earlier the publishers of *Wiadomości* complained that the nobility needed a machine to make them read books.

Their testimonies indicate that community was defined through sociability, politeness, and literary exchange in the 1820s – 1840s. The residents forged their own *republic of letters* through correspondence, books, translations and manuscripts. For a reading *szlachcic*, a successful procurement of literature depended on the local network within the province and consisted of borrowed books, rather than of purchased ones. Inevitably, the lesser nobility followed the example of the magnate libraries in Volhynia and Podole, and through their personal networks obtained works by French, German, and Polish historians and philosophers. A selection of books that Henrietta Blędowska, as well as Ewa Felińska, Józef Drzewiecki, and Antoni Andrzejowski mentioned in their memoirs differ significantly from the selection available to the young Julian Niemcewicz, who recalled the book shelf in his grandfather's house in Lithuania in 1760s. In particular, Niemcewicz recollected that his grandfather had the *Lives of Saints* and other sermons by a Jesuit Piotr Skarga, Tacitus, Horace, and several early modern historic chronicles.[430]

While the generation of the mid-eighteenth century was reading the writers of antiquity, historians, and useful medical treatises, the generation of the 1800s shifted their literary tastes and horizons. At the turn of the century noblemen felt that the literature they read had to correspond to the life they lived and to the habits that they exercised in their mansions. Therefore, books became a standard, anticipated and pursued subject of conversation in a country seat. For the writers, it was through the habits of reading and conversation that the residents were able to convey their "worldliness" and style in the provinces. Henrietta Blędowska recalled her brother's impressions after visiting the Hołowiński family in Mikolajówka in Ukraine in the 1810s. Upon his return back to Volhynia, he supplied

[429] Drzewiecki, *Pamiętniki Józefa Drzewieckiego*, 416.
[430] Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki Czasów Moich*, 11-12.

Błędowska with meticulous descriptions: with "elegance and sumptuousness; their house fashionably adorned; a conversation, in French, about literature, new romances, and Walter Scott".[431] The residents of the mansion responded to the global success of the Scott's historic novels. "It is a house that knows the world" was the verdict of Błędowska's brother, who had just returned from Berlin. Perhaps, he was implying that an enlightened man of the time had to know the popular literature of the world as well as his own local conditions. It would be good to know in what language he described his encounters to his sister, however, fluency in French, an adopted French fashion in the interior, and contemporary reading habits set the standard for expressions of enlightenment in the seats.

Reading for the residents was incompatible with war, and therefore their recollections about reading overshadowed memories of political events of supposed grandiose importance in their territory. Reading was an activity that could be exercised during peacetime, and for this reason the reign of Paul I was emphasized – because this short period enabled the provincial residents to exercise their individual choices within the boundaries of their mansions. Even though there is an internal contradiction to the statement, since Paul I banned foreign literature in the new acquired territories. Błędowska gives another example of reading in the time of war. Immediately following the partitions, Błędowska's father was captured in Volhynia for plotting a rebellion, Prussians seized their house and the valuables, and yet her mother was focused on preserving her scientific work and educating her children during this period. When Błędowska's family moved to Trojanów, in the region of Zhytmoyr, she recollected that "the library also had its place, same as a mineral collection and botanic collection, herbs, flowers, carefully dried and classified".[432] Local political events in the 1800s contributed to the emancipation of landed women in their private sphere, and this topic will be addressed *Chapter Four*.

Błędowska was especially focused on describing her friends and relatives in the Volhynian towns as rabid readers, writers and collectors. Specifically, in Woronczyn, surrounded by a beautiful scenery and nature, a "citizen of Volhynia" Ludwik Kropiński (1767 – 1844) wrote arguably the first Polish novel *Julia i Adolf*[433] in 1810 in a pledge to "show that with a smooth and immersing style of Polish language it was possible to describe

[431] Błędowska, *Pamiątka Przeszłości. Wspomnienia z lat 1794 – 1832*, 214 – 215.
[432] Błędowska, *Pamiątka Przeszłości. Wspomnienia z lat 1794 – 1832*, 45.
[433] *Julia i Adolf, Czyli Nadzwyczajna Miłość Dwojga Kochanków nad Brzegami Dniestru* [Julia and Adolf, Or the Extraordinary Love of Two Lovers on the Dniester Shores].

the feelings of amorous ardor and to entertain the reader, just as Rousseau did in his *Nouvelle Héloïse*".[434] She specifically credits the nature of Volhynia for enducing the author's emotions. Thus, the Polish literature was thought not only to convey knowledge, but also feelings. Reading was deemed so important that the members of *szlachta* took books with them into exile to Siberia. A general from Volhynia Marcin Zaleski (1826 – 1891) immediately after the pronouncement of his sentence was given so little time to pack that he decided to take only books for his long journey across the Russian empire, which lasted through an entire winter. Upon his arrival to Siberia, Zaleski characterized his reading routine in the 1860s: by a happy accident he took a "method of Robertson" with him, and now could enjoy it.[435] After some time, he was giving lectures on European and Polish history to other Polish exiles, until he was pardoned and allowed to return to Warsaw in 1871 as long as he forfeited his wish to return to his home in Volhynia.

Together with substantiating their traumatic experiences of wars and exiles, omnivorous reading and scientific experimentation in the seats were pronounced ordinary activities by the residents, including the women. Literature became an indicator of their civility, and since they read the memoirs of each other, accounts of reading could serve as a means of self-fashioning as a *reading nation* amidst political turmoil. In addition, in their writing attempts, the residents employed the examples of the French literature from the eighteenth century, in order to advance the authority of Polish language.

Reading and Passions

The desire for reading and the passion for creating botanical collections were often mentioned in order to accentuate their universal involvement with the region's life during the period of active systematization and experimentation. The writers also indicated equal intellectual paths between men and women, as well as between citizens of different regions. At this time, the lyceum in Krzemieniec was not the only place where the study of botany was actively advanced. In their country manors, the gentry endeavored to engage in 'systematizing' the resources of their province. For instance, Henrietta Błędowska mentioned a love story between her young cousin and the Russian officer Andrzej Fediejev, which

[434] Błędowska, *Pamiątka Przeszłości. Wspomnienia z lat 1794 – 1832*, 210.
[435] Zaleski, *Wspomnienia Marcina Zaleskiego*, 1830 – 1873, 253.

happened while they were spending their days "reading and doing science": "Their affair began with the greatest scientific work, with walks, during which they collected flowers, classified them according to Linnaeus, Jussieu[436] and placed them into a botanical collection. They read Metastasio[437] together, learned Italian poetry, and when they finally said "Amo, amo te solo", their relatives intervened".[438] Błędowska's cousin provided this story in justification of her romantic feelings for an Orthodox Christian, which were awoken by scientific practices. Possibly, such eroticism was implied in relation to the overt sexuality of the Linnaeus' systems, which influenced the feelings of the young, whilst even in Paris some scholars were repulsed by it.

A popular exercise in natural history as a form of courtship and entertainment opens a debate between amateur and scientific approaches to botany. The future naturalist Andrzejowski wrote about his early literary infatuations in the 1810s "One could learn a lot from translations and from a dry botanical terminology, eloquently put by Linneaus, whom ks. Jundzille[439] had in his possession".[440] Although Andrzejowski did clarify that at 14 years old, he studied for pleasure, not for a degree. Thus, young Andrzejowski admitted that anyone could easily understand and learn from the system of Linneaus due to its translation. If the teachers in the Krzemieniec lyceum preferred the categories of Linnaeus, popular readers and experimenters subscribed to the symbiosis of views by Linnaeus, Jussieu and Buffon, which signified their intellectual curiosity rather than methodological exercise. These individual scientific pursuits coincided with the tasks of the Russian representatives, who came to Volhynia to research, categorize and systematize its resources as well as its people at the turn of the century.

According to the memoirists, the practice of reading not only influenced the level of education or scientific curiosity, but also altered traditions of courtship in the provinces. In the mid-1840s, Wacław Borejko involuntarily responded to the sensual activities described by Błędowska. In particular, Borejko underlined that previously people in the provinces married

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[436] Bernard de Jussieu (1699 - 1777), a French botanist.
[437] Pietro Antonio Domenico Bonaventura Trapassi (1698 - 1782), an Italian poet.
[438] Błędowska, *Pamiątka Przeszłości. Wspomnienia z lat 1794 – 1832,* 131. [Zaczal romans od najgorliwszej pracy naukowej, od spacerow, gdzie zbierali kwiaty, suszyli, klasyfikowali podlug Lineusza, Jussieu do botanicznej kolekcji. Metastazego razem czytywali, wierszy wloskich się uczyli, nareszcie, jak wymowili: „amo, amo te solo", tak rodzice się wmieszalisię ich].
[439] Stanisław Bonifacy Jundziłł (1761 - 1847), a priest, naturalist and botanist, who worked in Wilno.
[440] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty starego Detiuka o Wołyniu*. T. 2, 17. [Pod szczęśliwym darem zajmującego tłumaczenia się, w suchej nawet nauce terminologji botanicznej i w wymównym wykładzie systematu Linneusza, jaki mieliśmy w ks. Jundzille, można było wiele się nauczyć].

without any courtship, "without falling in love", and further complained that "these forms became part of the custom only as foreign romance stories flew into the country: so that one be able to play-out all the scenes therein described, in the shapes conceived by the romancists [i.e. romancers]".[441] Borejko called these practices "false affections" or French "prudence"[442] that originated from some special book. For him, their traditions were open and honest, natural. In his opinion, literature was a primary reason for the extensive and uncontrolled sensuality. The traditions were ruined "since the mid-reign of a King Stanisław and since fashionable demagogic rules came to fruition in our lands, and romanticism, applied to it".[443] Thus, the discovery of romantic love happened in the second half of the eighteenth century, however, it intensified by the 1800s, similarly to England, where views on the nature of partnership within family also changed at this time. However, if Randolph Trumbach and Lawrence Stone argue that the process of industrialization and economic independence introduced these changes during the seventeenth century[444], the idea of romantic love in the provinces was believed to have been under the influence of French literature and manners. Not only sensuality, but also a more practical approach to partnership, such as the rise in the number of divorces in Warsaw, was blamed on the "civilization" that Napoleon introduced in his Code.[445]

The essence of the debate about the change of partnership in the provinces revolved around the notions of romantic love and personal freedom. If Andrzejowski, Błędowska and Drzewiecki underlined their independent and willful choice of literature and scientific work, Borejko and Micowski argued that the French residents, who arrived in Volhynia after the French Revolution, influenced any changes to their habits. Since then, the daughters and young wives of nobles instantly desired to discuss Voltaire and Diderot with the "cousins of the Bourbon", because often French soldiers in order to thank their Polish hosts gave *gratis* lectures to women in the households, using such popular books as *Héloïse*, or other "erotic"

[441] Borejko, *Pamiętnik pana Wacława Borejka*, 34 – 35.
[442] Borejko, *Pamiętnik pana Wacława Borejka*, 41.
[443] Borejko, *Pamiętnik pana Wacława Borejka*, 42 – 43.
[444] Randolph Trumbach, *The Rise of the Egalitarian Family: Aristocratic Kinship and Domestic Relations in Eighteenth-Century England* (Academic Press, 1978); Lawrence Stone, *Uncertain Unions: Marriage in England, 1660-1753* (Oxford University Press, 1992). Their views on the discovery of modern love were recently reconsidered.
[445] For more reflections about the practice of divorces see Iwanowski, *Wspomnienia Lat Minionych*, T. 1, 48 – 52; Karpiński, *Historia mego wieku*, 104.

stories.[446] What more, women began to frown upon their household duties, so needed "for a wife and a mother", and deemed them worthy only for parishioners.

Provincial male writers deemed that Rousseau's novel about natural feelings was erotic and therefore only women were susceptible to such influences. Consequently, local women learned the French language very quickly, because, as Micowski insisted, they became lovers of the French emigrants, and within a short period of time it was impossible to converse in the "native" language with any woman of a young age.[447] A native *szlachcic* who spoke only Polish became a foreigner for his people in his land. Hence, it was not only reading, but also the reading of French literature by women that unnerved the male residents and caused a rupture in intimate and domestic relations in provincial households. Those "who knew or have memorised Wolters [i.e. Voltaires], Diderots, and others, have exerted a great impact upon the previously strict mores and manners!"[448] Interestingly, Voltaire and Diderot are mentioned together, which would indicate that the residents differentiated their rational and anti-clerical views from the rest of the French philosophers and writers.

The writers mention the names of Voltaire and Rousseau exclusively to deny any moral autonomy to women. For example, Andrzejowski mentioned a local widow, who in the 1790s surrendered to inappropriate passions with her close relative while they read *La Nouvelle Héloïse* by Rousseau together. Andrzejowski further moralized: "This lady, similarly educated, sensitive and dignified, who read Rouseau and Voltaire and English novels, could not be indifferent to the affections and treatments of her nephew".[449] Such "slavery to affections" was not received well within the community. A woman who was known for reading French or English novels would usually be considered not only gauche, but also downright libidinous. Male writers transmuted their emotions concerning love, sexuality and death into symbols of ungodly life. In the eighteenth century, the philosophy of sensationalism, promoted by Diderot and Condillac, professed a new way of experiencing feelings in the present moment of sensation. This approach influenced the realm of art that responded with new features in order to emphasize bodily expressions.[450] Yet, if the philosophers equalled sexual awakening to intellectual expansion, the male memoirists as late as the 1860s believed

[446] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego*, 211.
[447] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego*, 213.
[448] Micowski, *Pamiętniki domowe*, 211. [osoby, które znały lub zapamiętały Wolterów, Diderotów, i innych, wielki wywarły wpływ na surowe dotąd obyczaje!]
[449] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty starego Detiuka o Wołyniu*. T. 1, 51.
[450] Brewer, *The Enlightenment Past. Reconstructing Eighteenth-century French thought*, 3.

that the depravity of the mind influenced the body. Andrzejowski describes the French impact on domestic relations simultaneously with describing the Russian political and military attack on the provinces during the years of the Kosciuszko's war. It remains a question whether such a narrative was produced in order to explain the political destiny of the provinces, enfolded within conflicting cultural and political traditions.

Such reflections uncover a common non-acceptance of a novel, since for a long time the writers of novels had to deal with "theological hostility to the reading of imaginative literature"[451], because stories of love and romance aroused unhealthy appetites, especially in women who were believed to be prone to surrendering to melancholic mania, and to collapse into passions. From the perspective of male writers, women were denied any rationality behind their choice of literature and for this reason were believed to favour novels and not useful literature. Sexual relations before and outside of marriage were seen as a products of the French culture and literature, since as wrote Micowski in 1845 "a married woman may have as many favourites as her heart chooses, and so on. It is, hence, not surprising that the principles adulating the sensuousness were propagated by the French".[452] Perhaps accidentally, but the male writers in the 1840s – 1860s unanimously acknowledged that Rousseau introduced the taste for reading among the popular public, and as Robert Darnton asserted, since *La Nouvelle Héloïse* reading and loving went hand in hand.[453]

In contrast to male writers, who "read Voltaire's poetry in their free time"[454] in the early 1800s, none of the female writers admitted to reading the works by Rousseau or Voltaire, favouring Locke, Hume and La Harpe instead. However, women also contemplated the notion of personal freedom and sexuality. Błędowska provocatively declared that in a "truly enlightened world" there was more sincerity, women did not seal their lips, did not restrain their emotions or sensations, as it was done in "our parish".[455] Instead, they acted *naturally*. Thus, she categorically denied Borejko's judgement of female character and sympathetically reviewed the sexual frivolities of one of her male relatives, who enjoyed a life style "à la Louis XV un Parc aux Cerfs" in Volhynian Bludów.[456] Such a lifestyle, Błędowska believed, made

[451] James Van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), 95.
[452] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego*, 210.
[453] Darnton, „Readers Respond to Rousseau: The Fabrication of Romantic Sensitivity," in *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Basic Books, 1984), 228.
[454] Iwanowski, *Wspomnienia Lat Minionych*, T. 1, 226.
[455] Błędowska, *Pamiątka Przeszłości. Wspomnienia z lat 1794 – 1832*, *102.*
[456] Błędowska, *Pamiątka Przeszłości. Wspomnienia z lat 1794 – 1832*, 206.

him different from the rest of society, and therefore, free. If male writers recognized reading as a means of arousing passions that were harmful for the putative provincial sociability, a woman, who was brought up "à la Rousseau", believed passions to be a form of personal release from social constraints.

The testimonies of the memoirists present us with the inconsistent readings on the reception of Rousseau, as well as of other writers of the French Enlightenment. If we analyse references to the Rousseau's feminocentric novel and its supposed influence on manners alongside the disapproval of Rousseau for encouraging women to breastfeed and for denying corporal punishments for children, then it is possible to deduce that the memoirists were bothered by the new enlightened domesticity that their women discovered.[457] Together with romantic love and the happiness of motherhood, they could build a happy and productive family life. Such a reading of Rousseau in the provinces did not differ from the French and English examples in the late eighteenth century, where women actively engaged with his views on motherhood and female education. Yet the fact that such a discourse is presented by the male memoirists of the 1840s – 1860s could indicate an internal social shift in the provinces during the first half of the nineteenth century, following the destitution of nobility and their emigration. It is possible to suggest that landed women, who originally had similar rights as male landowners, acquired new cultural agency within a family. However, more research into the problem is needed.

The Reception of Kant and His Philosophy in the Provinces

Being pronounced as an everyday activity, reading connected members of the provincial community and contributed to the change in norms of social interaction between male and female residents. In addition, the reading of specific authors shaped their image of Europe and the Enlightenment. One of the authors who influenced the lives of the residents and their ways of contemplating their individual and political setting in the early 1800s was Immanuel Kant. In the 1780s, Georg Forster (1754 – 1794), who lived and worked in Wilno at the time, cheered at the fact that *Berlinische Monatsschrift* found its way to these remote

[457] For a discussion of enlightened domesticity and sexual politics in the household, see Mary Seidman Trouille, *Sexual Politics in the Enlightenment: Women Writers Read Rousseau* (State University of New York Press, 1997), 4 – 26.

territories, as for him it was a clear sign of the dissemination of the ideas of *Aufklärung*.[458] Thus, we can assume that readers in the provinces were aware of Kant's ideas on Enlightenment and education from around the late eighteenth century.

At the same time, different members of society assessed Kant's ideas differently. For example, the chief advocates of the ideas of Polish *oświecenie*, that is patriotic education, the philosophers and priests Hugo Kołłątaj and Stanisław Staszic, utterly despised Kantianism as they believed it to be a step backwards, which would bring the *szlachta* back to scholasticism and idealism, which was so loved in the Jesuit models of education.[459] The representative opinions of the first generation of writers can be read along the same lines. In the 1820s, Franciszek Karpiński wrote that Kant was widely studied in Królewec [Königsberg], "and when he [Kant] by sheer force through his writings began to introduce the peripatetic yet again, he only harmed himself, because the useful philosophy, based on physics and geometry, returned to the old *eas rationes*".[460] Polish residents were sensitive regarding the change of philosophy in schools. The works of the Prussian philosopher were blamed for the evils in the Commonwealth, which was not in the least the result of the political outcomes of the partitions. Similarly, Julian Niemcewicz (1758 – 1841) wept that Kant's philosophy was responsible for inseminating fanaticism and crisis in political identity and self-determination among his compatriots during the crucial years of the partitions:

> Since the entering of the Prussians into Poland, many an our man, not only affluent ones like firstly but also the rather pauper, began proceeding to the German universities. Kant's philosophy has *canted* the heads of many: the evidence being Kalasanty Szaniawski, darting himself into all the metaphysical wilderness: an atheist to-day, a fanatic tomorrow, then a Napoleonist, and Muscovite then again, never a Pole.[461]

It was possible that Niemcewicz was describing the stages of political variability among the nobility from the eastern provinces of the Commonwealth, who underwent each of these

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[458] Larry Wolff, Marco Cipolloni, eds., *The Anthropology of the Enlightenment* (Stanford University Press, 2007), 152.

[459] See Henryk Hinz, "The Philosophy of the Polish Enlightenment and its Opponents: The Origins of the Modern Polish Mind," in *Slavic Review*, vol. 30, No. 2 (1971): 340 - 349.

[460] Karpiński, *Historia mego wieku*, 41. [Porzucił ją z czasem świat oświeceńszy i kiedy świeżo uczony Kant w Królewcu gwałtem znowu do szkół wprowadzić perypatetykę pismami swoimi usiłował, sobie tylko uczynił krzywdę, że użyteczną teraźniejszą filozofią, na doświadczeniach fizycznych i geometrii zasadzoną, do dawnego eas rationes powrócić chciał].

[461] Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki Czasów Moich*, 74-75. [Od wnijścia Prusaków do Polski, wielu naszych, nie tak jak wpródy majętnych tylko, ale nawet i uboższych, so uniwersytetów niemieckich udawać się zaczęło. Filozofja Kanta wielu skantowała głowy: dowodem Kalasanty Szniawski, rzucający się we wszystkie metafizycznie manowce: dziś ateusz, jutro fanatyk, znów Napoleonista, znów Moskal, a nigdy Polak].

stages during the 1790s – 1820s. A common critique of Kant, who argued for pure reason outside of any sensual experience, focused on the impression that he denied any possibility of true knowledge, and such views were prevalent at the end of the eighteenth century. The higher aristocracy regarded Kant's philosophy to be fundamentally ineffective for the nobility. Adam Czartoryski was also renowned for his skepticism towards Kant. As Dembowski wrote ironically "for the Prince had antipathy towards two things: Kant's philosophy, and unpowdered hair sheared *à la Brutus*, as they then called it. Whilst Kant mattered little, since the *canted* head could have still been *de-canted*, with the sheared hair you could do nothing".[462] Dembowski indicated that in order to show his contempt for the shaved heads of the *szlachta*, Czartoryski ordered them powdered. Another intellectual, Jędrzej (Andrzej) Śniadecki, the rector of the University in Wilno, considered Kant a philosopher who terminated eminent facts, such as the fact that material world exists independently of the senses, and that all knowledge originates from the senses. Śniadecki was a true disciple of the rational French Enlightenment, and considered any scientific system to be the result of only empirical observation.[463]

To the contrary, residents in the provinces admitted their fascination with Kant's philosophy, and related to it in their everyday life. Firstly, their comprehension of Kant was not devoid of political implications, even though rested predominantly within the realm of philosophical thinking and enlightenment. In 1821, Antoni Chrząszczewski penned a rather peculiar letter to his friend, the aristocrat and a bookworm Herman Hołowiński (1788 – 1852), which can facilitate an insight into the philosophic and informative aspects of reading:

With the poets burrowed through, I will go [i.e. pass on] to the arts-and-sciences. A comparison shall follow of Kondylak's [i.e. Condillac's] logic, the principle of reasoning founding [= founded] upon the senses, against Mesmer's magnetism, which through making the senses dormant infuses in man the gift of superhuman knowledge. Then on, the delight over the wisdom of the illuminates, admiration for Kant's philosophy, crossing the scope of human mind, the round rebuke of Śniadecki for his audacious encroachment upon the glory of the Konigsberg sage, acknowledgement to [Józef] Kalasanty Szaniawski for his enrichment of the Polish language with the terminology of German philosophy, which greatly resembles the speech of Molier's [i.e. Molière's] pretiosa and blue-stockings.[464] To end with, a

[462] Dembowski, *Moje Wspomnienia*, 105.
[463] On the reception of Kant by the Polish intellectuals see Milena Marciniak, „Recepcja filozofii Immmanuela Kanta w Polsce na przełomie 18 i 19 wieku": https://repozytorium.umk.pl/handle/item/1741
[464] A reference to *Les Précieuses ridicules* (1659) by Molière.

considerate concern that the Celtic peoples, on the one hand, and the Slavonic ones, on the other, not suppress that wonderful giant of Europe with their pressure.[465]

It was the summary of what Chrząszczewski wanted to express in his satirical poem, *Pochwała Niemców* [Praise for the Germans], and was asking for reassurance. The poem was provoked by the author's feeling towards "the evil Germans". Since it was a letter to a close friend, it is possible that Chrząszczewski expressed in it his true feelings. Equal access to the works of European philosophers and dramatists enabled a highbrow dialogue between the member of the poor *szlachta*, who was earning his living by serving the magnate, and a learned aristocrat. For Chrząszczewski, who was at the center of the process of shifting borders and allegiances, the image of Europe was formed by conflicting as well as contributing trends in literature and science. Precisely the works by German and French philosophers and dramatists defined the European "arts and sciences". The philosophy of Étienne Bonnot de Condillac (1714 – 1780), expressed in his *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines* (1746), and the Austrian physician and mystic Anton Mesmer (1734 – 1815) were credited with equal scientific merit because in Chrząszczewski's opinion, even though they used different means they both endeavored to advance the ways of reasoning and problematize capacities of human mind. Perhaps, here the comparison between the two was humorous. Still, reason and its use was a central idea for the resident, who admired the Constitution of May 3rd.

Since the 1770s, during the decades when predominantly systems and classifications were prioritized, mesmerism implied unity of a human body with the universal cosmic energy.[466] Arguably, French crowds appreciated the labours of Mesmer in a similar way in the period after the Revolution.[467] The reception of mesmerism in the aristocratic circles of England in 1830s was also positive, and Victorian upper class regarded mesmeric trances to

[465] Chrząszczewski, *List do Germana Hołowińskiego*. Kowalówka, 10 II 1821. The re-print in: Chrząszczewski, *Pamiętnik Oficjalisty Potockich z Tulczyna,* 178 - 179 [Po przetrząśnięciu poetów pójdę do umiejętności. Nastąpi porównowanie logiki Kondylaka, zasady rozumowania na zmysłach zakładającego, z magnetyzmem Mesmera, który zmysłów uśpieniem wlewa w czlowieka dar wiadomości nadludzkich. Dalej zachwycenie się nad mądrością iluminatow, uwielbienie filozofii Kanta, zakres rozumu ludzkiego przestępującej, ostre zgromienie Śniadeckiego za zuchwałe targnienie się na chwałę mędrca królewieckiego, podziękowanie Kalasantemu Szniawskiemu za zbogaczenie języka polskiego terminologią folozofii niemieckiej, podobną wielce do mowy pretiozów i sawantek Moliera. Na koniec troskliwa obawa, żeby z jednej strony ludy celtyckie, a z drugiej słowiańskie tego cudownego olbrzyma Europy ciśnieniem swoim nie zadusiły].

[466] For a more detailed explanation of the essence of mesmerism, see Jessica Riskin, *Science in the Age of Sensibility. The Sentimental Empiricists of the French Enlightenment* (University of Chicago Press, 2002), pp. 189 – 225.

[467] Roche, *France in the Enlightenment,* 606.

be part of science.[468] In the historiography of the Enlightenment, Mesmer's belief contrasted him to Condorcet and d'Alembert, and is viewed as the end of the rational Enlightenment, or even as the "Enlightenment gone wrong".[469] Chrząszczewski could have turned to the philosophy of the eighteenth-century thinkers in order to search for means of transformation of individual thinking that would eventually contribute to social changes.

Taking Chrząszczewski's known disdain for the German Romantic literary tradition into consideration, his fears that it could eradicate Kant's philosophy seem reasonable. He approached Kant as the most important representative of the Enlightenment and evaluated his philosophy according to its influence on the human mind. Comparisons of German terminology with the sensual plays of Molière were somewhat peculiar. It is unclear whether Chrząszczewski read Kant's works in their original version, yet the fact that he indicated the name of the translator Józef Kalasanty Szaniawski (1764 – 1843), who translated Kant's works in Lwów, could mean that Kant was known through a local mediator. However, it is also important to note that Molière's works were widely translated into Polish at the end of the eighteenth – early nineteenth century (this will be discussed in detail in a next chapter). Thus, I would assume that in this context, it is the overall contribution of German philosophical terminology to the Polish language that bothered Chrząszczewski. Similarly to Błędowska, who admired Polish for its sensual eloquence, Chrząszczewski was preoccupied with its vocabulary. A translator of French himself, he soundly assessed different ways of refining the Polish language by means French and German thinkers from the seventeenth – eighteenth century. Possibly, it was the complexity of the German vocabulary that was mocked here, or Kant's provincialism implied. Or, Chrząszczewski's comparison of Kant's terminology to Molière's pretentious characters could be a reference to a learned ignorance of Kant's readers. During the same period in England, many disregarded Kant for the same reasons and even named him an enemy of Enlightenment.[470] Even though it is impossible to know what particular aspect was mocked, it is clear that Kant's philosophy was popular among the readers.

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[468] For the place of mesmerism in Victorian England see Alison Winter, *Mesmerized: Powers of Mind in Victorian Britain* (University of Chicago Press, 1998).

[469] See Robert Darnton, *Mesmerism and the End of the Enlightenment in France* (Harvard University Press, 2009); also see Vincenzo Ferrone, *The Enlightenment. History of an Idea* (Princeton University Press, 2010), pp. 130 – 135.

[470] For the reception of Kant's philosophy in England, see René Welleck, *Immanuel Kant in England, 1793 – 1838* (Princeton University Press, 1931).

Józef Kalasanty Szaniawski popularized Kant's philosophy among Polish readers in his essay *Co iest filozofia?* (1802) [What is Philosophy?][471], and *Rady przyiacielskie młodemu czcicielowi nauk i filozofii* (1805) [Friendly Guidance to a Young Worshipper of Sciences and Philosophy].[472] There he advocated ideas of learning and self-education, and argued against the French philosophers, whom he found self-indulgent. Specifically, Szaniawski set out to clarify the place of *philosophy* in the lives of his fellow citizens and to indicate its appropriate usage, because in his opinion readers were often misconstruing the concept and giving it adverse meanings. For Szaniawski, *philosophy* was a science about mind and spirit that erases the unenlightened will. He thus encouraged thinking about things *philosophically*, because in that case, any man would acquire a higher understanding of things and events, or as he wrote in 1802, *philosophy* develops minds and enables progress.[473] Thus, he recited Kant's idea that individuals were capable of achieving progress by themselves.[474]

At the same time, Szaniawski cautioned that one should not look for strict guidance in the writings of foreign philosophers, but take them only as a point of departure in their intellectual pursuits. In his philosophical manoeuvres, Szaniawski instructed "the party of Condillac" to stop searching for "torches in philosophical works".[475] Making Kant the intellectual equal of Nicolaus Copernicus, Szaniawski appealed to carefully reading and understanding of Kant, Reinhold, and Fichte.[476] "Metaphysical suicide" was redundant because it was "unnatural for reason to know things outside of reason"[477], and Szaniawski concurred with Kant, who warned against the unlimited use of reason. Thus, he rejected the Condillac's body of work, which postulated that experience comes from sensory perceptions. Possibly, in negating Condillac they also negated the idea of individual self-interest, which was historically prevalent among the nobles, in favour of a more considerate and useful application of reason. Once again, as in the case of education in Krzemieniec, the community turned their gaze to Locke, who advocated the combination of sensation and reflection in the matters of knowledge.[478] In this context, it is possible to draw a conclusion that acquirers of

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[471] Józef Kalasanty Szaniawski, *Co iest filozofia?: niektóre myśli służyć mogące do porozumienia się względem odpowiedzi na to pytanie* (Warszawa, 1802).
[472] Józef Kalasanty Szaniawski, *Rady przyiacielskie młodemu czcicielowi nauk i filozofii: pragnącemu znaleść pewnieyszą drogę do prawdziwego i wyższego oświecenia* (Warszawa, 1805).
[473] Szaniawski, *Co iest filozofia?: niektóre myśli*.
[474] See Sankar Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire* (Princeton University Press, 2003), 162.
[475] Szaniawski, *Rady przyiacielskie młodemu czcicielowi nauk i filozofii*, 232.
[476] Szaniawski, *Rady przyiacielskie młodemu czcicielowi nauk i filozofii*, 236.
[477] Szaniawski, *Co iest filozofia?: niektóre myśli*, 33.
[478] Fore a detailed analysis of the philosophy of sensationism see John C. O'Neal, *The Authority of Experience: Sensationist Theory in the French Enlightenment* (The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), 14.

Kant's philosophy in the provinces emphasized productive self-cultivation instead of intangible reasoning. The sensationalism of Condillac was contrasted by the practical and useful philosophy of the Germans, and Condillac's appreciation of reason as emanating from the exercise of language and art[479] misfired among the provincial reading public. If Chrząszczewski appropriated Kant's philosophy through Szaniawski, then the exercise of reason for him was defined through private self-cultivation and its cautious public use.

Kant's philosophy on self-government and cosmopolitanism was the subject of thorough review by several other writers. In one of the rare comments on the application of ideas, a Basilian (Greek Catholic) abbot Józefat Ochocki (1750 – 1806) acknowledged that he followed the 'method of Kant' in his ordinary activities when describing his daily routine during his exile in Siberia in 1794 – 1796:

> One who makes no plan, still today, for the chain of tomorrow's affairs, lives not, but drags the load of life around with him; that life is a burden for him is proved by the complaining and moaning that accompanies him. The most efficient method of making use of life was described by Kant in his *Anthropology*, recommending securely continuous engagements alternating. I always got up at four hours and devoted the whole morning to Christian affairs and duties, conducting my priestly prayers.[480]

Upon beginning his day with deep Christian devotion, abbot Ochocki then proceeded to read books that he had in his possession during his secluded life in exile. Among those were Millot's history[481] and other French books, which he borrowed from a Swiss doctor. To Ochocki, they were a great opportunity to train his French, and a great source of entertainment. If Ochocki referred to the *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View*, published in 1798, then he could not have applied this 'methodology' in 1795 in Siberia. Instead, he found it fitting to mention Kant when he was writing his recollections after his return to Volhynia in 1797. The choice of *Anthropology* for a provincial priest in exile was not necessarily haphazard. In there, Kant did not see discordancy between patriotism and

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[479] For a description of Condillac's philosophy in the context of the mid-eighteenth century see Jonathan I. Israel, *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man 1670-1752* (Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 778 – 779.

[480] Ochocki, *Pamiętniki Jana Dukłana Ochockiego*, T. 5, 3. [Ten, który nie robi planu dziś jeszcze na ciąg spraw jutrzejszych, nie żyje, ale wlecze za sobą ciężar życia, a dowodem, że ono jest brzemieniem dla niego, nieustanne narzekanie i stękanie, które mu towarzyszy. Najskuteczniejszy sposób używania życia napisał Kant w swej Antropologii, zalecając porządnie po sobie następujące ciągłe zatrudnienie. Wstawałem zawsze o godzinie czwartej i cały ranek poświęcałem sprawom i powinnościom chrześciańskim, odprawując kapłańskie moje modlitwy].

[481] Claude-François-Xavier Millot (1726 – 1785).

cosmopolitanism, and discerned the main prerequisites of a true cosmopolitan attitude for a citizen – the recognition of the cultural and political merits of other states and continuous self-engagement in learning foreign languages.[482] Through these practices, any citizen could be a patriot and a cosmopolitan at the same time. The residents, who were still deeply attached to the history of their provinces after the partitions, might have favourably received such a theory. They focused on forging a new identity by means of reading and learning in order to become good and useful citizens within their present political situation. The idea of reading and performing religious duties as a means of individual self-cultivation signified personal independence from any state authority. This was particularly relevant for abbot Ochocki during his political exile to a hostile territory. Thus, the life continued to be untroubled for the residents. Yet, in their novel political context, they found it necessary to envelope their practices within the discource on private autonomy. Certainly, in the references to Kant's philosophy it is possible to trace some similarities with the notion of *Bildung*, common in the German lands at the end of the eighteenth – early nineteenth century.[483]

Apart from Szaniawski, who translated works by German philosophers in Lwów, the majority of the provincial residents could grasp Kant's ideas during their studies or travels abroad, as was the case with Bledowska's brother, who in the early 1800s took courses with the philosopher Johann Gottfried Kiesewetter in Berlin. After his return to Volhynia in the 1810s, he was spending his free time enlightening his young sister about the German philosophy, because he "liked to train [my] brain":

> he explained his writings to me, and facilitated for me to have an idea. He also gave me a conception of Fichte. I have developed an extraordinary taste for metaphysics, and it was with fancy that I listened to it being expounded by my brother, who was delighted about the progress I was making. We moreover read sometimes Mme Staël about Germany, which I became keen on very much, he also read to me Homer's Iliad and Virgil's Aeneid and drew my attention to all the beautiful parts.[484]

Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762 – 1814), who in the early 1800s was lecturing in Berlin and arguing that cultural autonomy should be formed conjointly by the nation, religion and

[482] For a close analysis of Kant's ideas on cosmopolitanism, see Pauline Kleingeld, *Kant and Cosmopolitanism: The Philosophical Ideal of World Citizenship* (Cambridge University Press, 2011).
[483] Blanning, *Reform and Revolution in Mainz 1743 – 1803*, 313.
[484] Błędowska, *Pamiątka Przeszłości. Wspomnienia z lat 1794 – 1832*, 154.

education, provides yet another link between the self-cultivated provincial community of the governorates and the German Enlightenment. At the time, Fichte actively opposed any French cultural influence over Germans. Fania Oz-Salzberger in her comparative study of the Scottish and German Enlightenments articulated that Fichte was a representative of the more nationalist generation of thinkers, who advanced the idea of cultural autonomy of the German lands further into a nationalist definition of the German nation in early 1800s.[485]

However, it is unclear whether the reading public in the governorates reciprocated anti-French sentiments or whether they focused more on discussing the Russian domination. And here is where the French Protestant Madame de Staël (1766 – 1817), the most popular commentator of the time, came into the picture. In 1819, Antoni Chrząszczewski, who was very cautious when matters concerned German literature of the early nineteenth century, was reading the second volume of her work *De l'Allemagne*, and disagreed with her about the overall significance of the German writers, whom he compared to medieval barbarian tribes.[486] Still, he read De Staël's work already in 1813, when he received *Corinne, ou l'Italie* (1807) from his friend. At the same time, Chrząszczewski's correspondents held her works in high esteem. German readers also admired her, and Tim Blanning attributes her popularity to the candidness with which she highlighted the political indifference of German citizens. De Staël observed that Germans cared more for religion and ethics during the French Revolution.[487] Such views eventually resulted in belief in cultural and ethnic ties that would bring detached territories together prior to 1871.[488] Conceivably, the landed nobility of the partitioned lands sympathized with de Staël's assessment of political ineptness, when they were suffering their own political crisis, although such a view of de Staël's opinions as being a conservative reaction has been questioned recently.[489] Perhaps, the readers have turned to her to in order to acquire a better understanding of the proceedings of the French Revolution. Either way, provincial residents did not stay on the side lines of current political and journalistic debates.

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[485] See Fania Oz-Salzberger, *Translating the Enlightenment: Scottish Civic Discourse in Eighteenth-century Germany* (Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 10 – 56.
[486] Chrząszczewski, *List do Germana Hołowińskiego*. Swerdłykowa 10 IV 1819. The re-print in: Chrząszczewski, *Pamiętnik Oficjalisty Potockich z Tulczyna*, 176 – 177.
[487] Blanning, *Reform and Revolution in Mainz 1743 – 1803,* 316.
[488] Silvia Cresti, "Kultur and Civilisation after the Franco-Prussian War: A Debate between German and French Jews," in *Jewish Emancipation Reconsidered*, edited by Michael Brenner, Vicki Caron and Uri. R. Kaufmann (Leo Baeck Institute, 2003), 98 – 99.
[489] See Harold Mah, *Enlightenment Phantasies: Cultural Identity in France and Germany, 1750-1914* (Cornell University Press, 2004), pp. 116 – 156.

The residents emphasized the importance of reading only useful literature, which delineated their tastes and countered the *philosophy* of the French, who were believed to have tainted the values of a religious upbringing and mores, and were not productive for personal development. The testimonies demonstrate that Kant's philosophy was widely accepted in provincial homes in around the 1800s, and was used not only to broaden intellectual horizons on metaphysics and education, but applied to daily occupations and to self-improvement by means of autonomous reading and performing religious duties. During the 1800s – 1820s, the residents were aware of the *Metaphysics of Morals*, discussions on idealism and critical knowledge. We need not forget that during the same years the reformers turned to the German context in search for a suitable model of educational network that combined good school management and the process of enlightenment, as a practical improvement that joined individual intellectual advance and its public use.

In *Metahysics of Morals* (1797), Kant implied that the states should not divide the territories of other states, arguably referring to the partitions of Poland.[490] From this angle, the favourable reception of Kant by the residents of the annexed territories seems utterly justified. Also, since Kant argued that the state should not have an impact on a subject's individual freedom and self-cultivation, through his philosophy the residents could find their own path amidst the integrating tendencies of the Russian empire, which had already begun to manifest during the 1820s. Kant also denied any form of organized and individual resistance to the state.[491] Therefore, he could have been attractive to the landed nobility who in their private sphere occupied themselves with the prospect of human progress and individual freedom, and indicated the impact the German philosophy had on the Polish language, even if it was still undergoing the process of systematization at the time.

One peculiar detail with regard to the provinces was the absence of the public sphere, which Kant passionately argued for in his writings. As we observed, reading was reserved for the private space or even exercised in the conditions of the political exile. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the public sphere in many of the European states was more structured, inclusive and charged with political and proto-nationalist agendas.[492] However, the public sphere in the annexed governorates was condensed within the walls of private

[490] See Immanuel Kant, "The Metahysics of Morals," in *Immanuel Kant. Practical Philosophy*, edited by Mary J. Gregor (Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 353 – 605.
[491] See Reidar Maliks, *Kant's Politics in Context* (Oxford University Press, 2014), 8 – 9.
[492] See for instance, Woddruff D. Smith, *Public Universities and the Public Sphere* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

residences, correspondence, and intellectual exchanges between certain individuals. Therefore, it did not reach the level of critical public opinion of the eighteenth century, if we are to follow Habermas' argument.[493] Nonetheless, preoccupation with reading and the practical use of philosophy for individual self-cultivation proved to be an anti-thesis to the unreceptive individualism of the Sarmatian identity. In their testimonies, we see the two approaches – Kant's *sapere aude*, which for them was an escape from their provincial political condition, and that everyday life practices should be governed by reason.

Self-Fashioning through Reading

The memoirists have provided an in-depth analysis on the assortment of books in their private libraries and admitted to the benefits of thoughtful and scientific reading and its use for their residences and governorates. They have also listed some anecdotal stories about the older generation that attempted to channel sociability, eloquence and fashion through imitating popular habits. Often, members of this older generation were preoccupied with associating themselves with the important French writers of the eighteenth century. For the writers of the memoirs, such stories serve as a device to underscore the substantial changes that occurred in reading habits throughout the 1790s – 1830s, and its role in the self-fashioning of the lesser *szlachta*.

In the 1780s, the magnate Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski (1734 – 1823) periodically hosted dinners in his residence, where the lesser *szlachta* from the provinces could also participate. The poet Franciszek Karpiński (1741 – 1825) recollected one of those dinners, during which a Lithuanian governor Radziwiłł, who "loved to fabricate a lot, was telling at that time that he corresponded with Rousseau and Voltaire, and when we told him that they have long been deceased, he replied: probably the letters were travelling by post for a long time, because I have just received them".[494] Thus, at the end of the eighteenth century the provincial nobility were inspired by the public culture that was common in the capital and aimed at copying it. The magnates as well as the rich aristocracy in the provinces were

[493] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991).
[494] Karpiński, *Pamiętniki Franciszka Karpińskiego* (Poznań, 1844), 100. [lubił on niezmiernie zmyślać, powiadał nawet wtenczas, że koresponduje z Russem i Wolterem, i kiedźśmy mu powiedzieli, że już oni dawno pomarli, odpowiedział: zapewne listy na poczcie zaległy, bo kilka ich swieżo odebrałem].

dedicated to represent any possible links to French thinkers in the pursuit of seeming more valid in the eyes of the influencial magnate. They aimed to transfer the vogue of the capital to their residences.

Coffeehouses, theatres, a public library, and the renowned 'Thursday Dinners' with the king Poniatowski formed the intellectual ambiance of Warsaw at the time. These public spaces imprinted on the cultural life of society in the capital during the 1770s. The 'Thursday Dinners' were regarded as a 'melting pot' for European ideas and Polish national concerns, providing a platform for the participants to discuss social, economic, and political reforms that eventually blossomed during the Great Diet.[495] In order to enhance intellectual exchange and communication between different strata of nobility, Poniatowski invited not only renowned writers and artists, but also the lesser nobility, such as a Jesuit Franciszek Bohomolec (1720 – 1784), a dramatist Franciszek Zabłocki (1752 – 1821), a writer Józef Wybicki (1747 – 1822), a poet Franciszek Karpiński (1741 – 1825).[496] Representatives of the cultural elite, they were the pillars of the refined society in the eighteenth century, renowned for their intellect and wit, for their efforts to employ their skills for the benefit of the republic, and for their involvement with French culture, as was said about Karpiński, "whose poems appealed to national spirit, but were glazed in French varnish".[497]

By the late eighteenth century, a model of sociability set by the magnates' residences spread far beyond into society. If not reading per se, self-representation as readers or collectors was deemed sufficient to seem 'fashionable', 'civilized', and 'walking hand in hand with time'. For example, Ewa Felińska recollected that in 1802 the chamberlain Zaręba was widely recognized for his love of French books, which he retained in abundance despite the fact that he could not read French, a fact well known to his contemporaries. Zaręba acknowledged the symbolic power that French literature represented and the impression it made on his compatriots. Every time he visited other gentry's manor houses, he carried a chest filled with books to impress them with the "titles of Voltaire, Pope, and Rousseau".[498]

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[495] Janina M. Konczacki, "Stanisław August Poniatowski's "Thursday Dinners" and Cultural Change in Late Eighteenth Century Poland," in *Canadian Journal of History / Annales Canadiennes d'Histoire XXI* (April 1986): 25-36.

[496] Teresa Kostkiewiczowa, „Od Obiadów Czwartkowych Do Klubów i Gabinetów Lektury. O przemianach życia kulturalnego stanisławowskiej Warszawy", in *Stanisław August i Jego Rzeczpospolita. Dramat Państwa, Odrodzenie Narodu*, red. Angela Soltys, Zofia Zielińska (Warszawa, 2011), 153.

[497] Dmochowski, *Wspomnienia z lat 1806 – 1830*, 44.

[498] Felińska, *Pamiętniki z życia Ewy Felińskiej*, Vol. 1, 191 - 192.

Since collections of books acquire meanings through their owners[499], and each book is given different meanings by different readers[500], for Zaręba a collection of French titles was his private 'cabinet of curiosities'. Felińska was certain that his collection was the result of a spirit of the age that nurtured personal and behavioral uniqueness. In the early 1800s, Teodor Urbanowski in the village of Cepcewicze in Volhynia, who spoke some French, was happy that Antoni Andrzejowski also knew the language. Urbanowski had plenty of French books at his home, and employed young Antoni to create a catalogue of his library.[501] The members of lesser nobility, who copied the habits of the magnates and recognized the importance of library classification, absorbed the fashion of owning foreign titles. The poet Franciszek Kowalski also indicated a shift in habits among the generations that occurred during the same period. Some magnate came to the house of the reformer Tadeusz Czacki in Krzemieniec to inspect his library in the early 1800s. When Czacki began to list the names of the authors he had, such as Horace, Carl Linnaeus, Comte de Buffon, Johann Gottfried von Herder, Edward Gibbon, and Immanuel Kant, the magnate promptly remarked that he had read each of them. Then he noticed a thick volume and inquired about its nature, and when Czacki explained that it was a "bibuła" [a tissue paper], the magnate pompously admitted that he read that one too.[502] The memoirists of the 1860s used such comical references to distinguish between intellectual curiosity and superficial intellectual snobbery that became widespread and was reflected upon by the publishers and readers in the eighteenth century.[503] Still, the fact remains that in each particular case it was the foreign authorship of the book, almost exclusively in French, which mattered for self-representation within their community.

Ewa Felińska believed that public opinion was responsible for the aspirations of the lesser *szlachta.* This becomes an interesting topic when we consider the issue of space in the governorates. In the eighteenth-century Commonwealth, public opinion among the noble residents was formed by the *Sejm* and *sejmiks* and was further boosted by a restrained public culture, that was limited to intimate gatherings in the mansions and palaces of the magnates in Puławy, Lwów, Tulczyn, or Łutsk. Over time, journals such as *Monitor* and *Zabawy Przyemne*

[499] See Walter Benjamin, Unpacking My Library. A Talk about Book Collecting," in *Illuminations,* edited by Hannah Arendt (New York, 1968).
[500] For more on geographies of reading and different approaches to reading see Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford University Press, 1994).
[501] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty starego Detiuka o Wołyniu*. T. 2, 125.
[502] Kowalski, *Wspomnienia: Pamiętnik Franciszka Kowalskiego 1819 – 1823,* 83 – 84.
[503] For more on the character of reading in the eighteenth century see Darnton, *The Business of Enlightenment: A Publishing History of the Encyclopédie, 1775-1800,* pp. 319 – 325.

i Pożyteczne [Useful and Pleasant Pastimes] could be credited with contributing to the change in morals and perceptions, as well as in the refinements and culture in the second half of the eighteenth century. As everywhere else in eighteenth-century Europe, the residents adopted a civil and political order that required politeness and courtesy, qualities that had to be accessible to everybody.[504] In Warsaw periodicals, discussions about politeness, morality and enlightenment [oświecenie] were already present from the 1770s. The attention was devoted to instilling *politeness* among the gentry, and the main target for cultivating politeness was the provincial gentry. Older generations throughout the country were brought up in the spirit of Sarmatian politeness, which deviated from the model of the Stanislaw era. In the 1770s, Franciszek Bieńkowski took the effort to instruct the *szlachta* and believed that the best way to learn *politeness* was by interacting with people, who were knowledgeable and polite. Bieńkowski indicated that *politeness* and *courtesy* were not the same qualities. *Courtesy* meant understanding what should be said and done, and when, but *politeness* required that it was said and done in the most *pleasant* and *useful* way for the community.[505] Bieńkowski argued that commoners could be *gentile*, but they would not necessarily be *polite*, or *enlightened*. The main problem of the enlightened [oświeceni] people in the Commonwealth was their limited number, and thus they could not easily engage with the rest of the citizens.[506]

It took a while before *szlachta* in the provinces appropriated both the term and the idea of enlightenment, and its relationship to politeness and refinement. In a region, influenced simultaneously by external and internal politics, the ideas and practices were something altogether different from the centres. At the time, when Warsaw welcomed the arrival of Prussians, who were bringing their "civilization" in a form of civil and administrative laws, many members of aristocracy retreated to their country seats, and social life concentrated in the villages[507], wrote Leon Dembowski, who spent most of his time in Puławy. For Jan Ochocki, the concept that embodied courtesy, style and politeness in the late eighteenth century was vigour [tężyzna] that originated among the noble youth in the provinces. Vigour denoted politeness, friendliness, cheerfulness and honesty, it was a decoration of salons, and was sought for in the finest societies.[508] Even though such norms of sociability somewhat reflected the Sarmatian habits of the earlier period, Ochocki claimed that provincial society

[504] Roy Porter, *The Enlightenment in National Context* (Cambridge University Press, 1981), 14.
[505] Franciszek Bieńkowski, „Myśli o Grzeczności" (1771) in *Zabawy Przyemne i Pożyteczne* (1770 – 1777), 101.
[506] Bieńkowski, „Myśli o Grzeczności" [Ludzie *oświeceni* w tym są nieszczęśliwi, iż mało takich znajdują, którzy im do serca przypaść mogą].
[507] Dembowski, *Moje Wspomnienia*, 70 – 77.
[508] Ochocki, *Pamiętniki Jana Duklana Ochockiego,* T. 1, 14.

copied the manners, habits, language, and even vices, of the upper aristocracy in the provinces, who were well accomplished, talented, had a sufficient level of education and politeness.[509]

Tadeusz Czacki kept the particularity of the governorates in mind, and the fact that a nobleman's life revolved around their residence and not a town was a starting point of his approach to reforming the system of education – he had to bridge the disseminated country seats by a common practice. Education was one of them. Yet, the memoirists have their own strategies to bring their society together through shared habits. For example, in the little towns of Korzec and Hołownica social life circled around several orangeries that were frequented by the locals who called their walks the "promenade du beau monde".[510] Of course, one need not forget the fact that it was the botanist who wrote it. Such minute references indicate that in and around the 1800s, provincial society created and participated in the exchange of leisure and culture, which became an important part of their lives. They attempted to create their own sociable and polite world. Chrząszczewski mentioned that the works of a French feuilletonist Jules Gabriel Janin (1804 – 1874) were responsible for enticing the manners and norms of etiquette among the *szlachta* in the provinces by the early 1820s.[511] Possibly, the openness of Janin's impressions and his awareness of eighteenth century culture that was pursued by the residents. Inevitably, such a rural and individual social network differed between the governorates to such extent that Marcin Zaleski complained about the absence of "confectionary, coffee-houses and billiards, those great entertainments" near Poltava in the 1830s. Jewish inns were also regarded as an important part of public culture in the western governorates of the empire, providing the space for intellectual communication and exchange.[512]

In 1817, a satirical weekly *Wiadomości Brukowe* reacted to the specificity of "public opinion" and the new tendencies in self-fashioning of the *szlachta* in the provinces. One of the articles mocked a new "disease", "The Pseudo-Count (Lycanthropy)", when a person "acquires disgust for work", "cannot stand sciences and books", except occasional reading of tasteless and humorless novels. Its later symptoms are more grave, and include melancholia and frequent preposterous reflection so that by "pretending pensiveness, they forget

[509] Ochocki, *Pamiętniki Jana Duklana Ochockiego,* T. 1, 13.
[510] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty Starego Detiuka,* T. 1, 42.
[511] Chrząszczewski, *Pamiętnik oficjalisty Potockich z Tulczyna*, 44.
[512] Zaleski, *Wspomnienia Marcina Zaleskiego, 1830 – 1873,* 69.

themselves to the extent that, while speaking, they often lack the Polish word, which they endeavor to replace with a not-the-most-exquisite French talk; at the end, the fever intensifies so strongly that the sick begin constantly fancying themselves to be counts, barons, dukes, and so on, and so forth".[513] The author of the article claimed that these "pseudo-counts" were emphasizing their supremacy over other members of the lesser *szlachta*, city-dwellers, not to mention peasants, and were creating their own "restricted society" in the provinces. The appropriation of new habits of sociability influenced social dynamics within the community, where the system of Jesuit education was no longer there to provide a strict discipline and hierarchy. Fashion, education, and access to literature were believed necessary to bridge the gap between the representatives of different strata of the *szlachta*.

The writers differentiated between useful and enjoyable reading, which conveyed education, pleasure and the sciences, and discerned "false aspirants", who aimed to achieve public recognition. Similarly with the nobility and gentry in England in the eighteenth century, members of the *szlachta* in the provinces fashioned themselves following the French model of sociability and style, at the same time admitting their disdain for French philosophy and sexual appetites and desires.[514] Still, there was a universal aspiration for learning among the members of the community. As Kowalski reflected, there was a difference in versatility [wielostronność] among the most enlightened [oświecone] ages, the sixteenth and the nineteenth.[515] In the sixteenth century, everyone could exibit the highest level of versatility, when a poet could be a mathematician, an engineer, or an artist. In the nineteenth century, however, only the teachers in universities, lyceums, and gymnasiums could equal them. Yet, others also tried. Apart from the external representations, many residents occupied themselves with translating foreign books into Polish and immersing themselves into French or English style of writing, arguably creating a Polish literary sphere, even though its content remained foreign.

[513] *Wiadomości Brukowe*, 1817, No. 5, 23 – 24; No. 22, 88.
[514] For more on the issue of self-fashioning through foreign examples see Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century* (Routledge, 1996).
[515] Kowalski, *Wspomnienia: Pamiętnik Franciszka Kowalskiego 1819 - 1823,* 85 – 86.

Participating in Enlightenment: Translating and Publishing

The translation of foreign works into vernacular languages was an essential practice that contributed to the rise of the *republic of letters* in the eighteenth – nineteenth centuries.[516] In view of that, the exchange of enlightened thought within and between societies often materialized through the process of translation.[517] Following the methodology offered by Stefanie Stockhorst, in addition to studying the procedure of translation one should also examine how the adaptation of meaning happened within a particular geographic and cultural context.[518] Thus, by admitting that each text was inevitably subjected to some level of cultural 'localization', a study of 'translation' of any text eventually becomes a study of the process of its adoption (decontextualizing) and its subsequent adaptation (re-contextualizing), which was a common practice from the Renaissance until the nineteenth century.[519] Eventually, as Peter Burke argued, any reader could recognize his own culture in a foreign text. Recently László Kontler further advanced this argument, emphasizing that the differences in meaning(s) between the original and translated product discloses information about the characters of authors as well as the concepts prevalent in their culture.[520]

Even though cultural transfers appear to resemble a process of exchange between nations and cultures on the macro-level, it was the individuals who did the transferring, guided by their personal tastes, infatuations with particular styles, and shaped by their backgrounds.[521] Subsequently, these minute specificities among translators encouraged particularities in the reception of ideas in certain regions and contexts. The study of cultural exchanges contributes to the deconstruction of national histories. As Michel Espagne argues, it is no longer the issues of influence and power that are in question, but the reinterpretation of texts and objects, their rethinking, and resignification. Such an approach also allows us to reveal the agents in this process of transfer.

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[516] For more on the mechanism of the transfer of ideas through translation see Ann Thomson, Simon Burrows and Edmond Dziembowski, eds., *Cultural Transfers: France and Britain in the long Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2010).
[517] See Fania Oz-Salzberger, "Translation," in *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, edited by Alan Charles Kors (Oxford University Press, 2003), Vol. 4, 181-188.
[518] See Stefanie Stockhorst, ed., *Cultural Transfer through Translation. The Circulation of Enlightened Thought in Europe by Means of Translation* (Amsterdam-New York, 2010).
[519] Peter Burke, "Translating Knowledge, Translating Cultures," in Michael North, ed., *Kultureller Austausch in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2009), 69 - 77.
[520] László Kontler, *Translations, Histories, Enlightenments: William Robertson in Germany, 1760 – 1795* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
[521] See Wolfgang Schmale, "Cultural Transfer," *European History Online*, 2012: http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/theories-and-methods/cultural-transfer

Researchers of the methods of translation and cultural transfers encourage us to ask the questions 'what' was translated and 'how'. Since answering the second question would require a separate thesis to explore this problem in detail, in this chapter I will focus on the questions 'what' was translated and 'why', as these are the problems that the residents preoccupied themselves with. Already since the 1780s, the *szlachta* began to recognize the importance of translation for the spread of knowledge and enlightenment [oświecenie] in their region. Later on, after the partitions of the 1790s, representatives of the *szlachta* retired from politics to their country residences, as was noted by a Russian historian Stepan Russov, and in addition to taking an active role in bringing educational novelties to their provinces, they also at times vigorously translated foreign, mainly French, texts into Polish. In their memoirs written throughout the 1820s – 1860s, the writers remarked on the popularity of this practice among their peers as well as its importance for their local community and for the Polish nation in general, since a cohesive and bounteous Polish book market was still non-existent at the time.

To begin with, the choice of books for translation and its wavering throughout the 1780s – 1820s was a matter of thorough reflections of the memoirists. Firstly, they indicated that they translated books from their private libraries. Secondly, they translated the works of early modern French writers to practice their own stylistic abilities. For example, a wealthy patron of the *szlachta* Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski (1734 – 1823), the father of Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, in the late 1770s encouraged a young Julian Niemcewicz (1758 – 1841) to translate:

> in the will, assuredly, to train and inure myself to the style and involvements with some light work, he gave to me the old French romance *Histoire secrète de la Reine de Navarre*, to translate. Later on, I translated another old novel – *Histoire de Jean de Bourbon prince de Carency, le siege de Calais*; all that gave me some ease in style, and a habit of engagement; but, would it not have been incomparably better, had I been offered something of higher importance and benefit for translation, such as, e.g., the history of Charles V by Robertson. […] I therefore embarked on translating the poesies that first fell under my hands, that is, Volter's [i.e. Voltaire's] *Henriade*, and translated two songs [from it]; having nevertheless learnt that Mr. Chomentowski had already translated this very poem, I took my leave [of it].[522]

[522] Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki Czasów Moich*, 43. [chcąc mię zapewne zaprawić do stylu i zatrudnień łatwą jaką pracą, dał mi do tumaczenia dawny romans francuzki „Histoire secrete de la Reine de Navarre". Później tłumaczyłem inne stare romanse: „Histoire de Jean de Bourbon, prince de Carency, le siege de Calais". Wszystko to dalo mi jakąś łatwość w stylu, zwyczaj zatrudnienia; lecz jak nierównie lepiejby było, gdyby mi dano bylo coś wyżniejszego i pożyteczniejszego do tlumaczenia, jak n.p. historję Karola V. Przez Robertsona. [...] Jąłe, więc tłumaczyć pierwsze poezje, co mi wpadły pod ręce, to jest Henrjadę Voltera, i przetłumaczyłem dwie pieśni; dowiedziawszy się atoli, że pan Chomentowski już poema te przełożył, dałem pokój].

Throughout the 1770s – 1780s, the practice of translation was a purely individual business among the nobles, who often failed in communicating the results of their efforts to each other properly. The ultimate result of a translation exercise was the author's private amusement, and he did not necessarily intend to publish his literary probes. Writing his memoirs before 1841, Niemcewicz believed that translating the works of the Enlightenment writers would be more useful for him and for his community. By referencing the history of Charles V, it is possible that in the 1840s Niemcewicz regarded this work as more useful because it discussed the issues of absolutism and religious wars. Having lived through the decisions and failures of the Great Dieat and the pre- and post-partition wars, Niemcewicz obviously dwelled if such a timely translation could have influenced the outcomes of those events. However, he explained that perhaps at that time he was not intellectually mature enough and could not comprehend the meaning of William Robertson's (1721 – 1793) texts.

The fact of choosing to translate French literature was not striking, since French was a medium of intercultural communication throughout the eighteenth century, and overwhelmingly the books were initially translated into French, and only then into other vernacular languages, and this tradition lasted well into the nineteenth century. Gradually, the 'itch' for translation overcame the lesser nobility and their range of interests broadened to include geographies and fabulas. In particular, Niemcewicz noted that in the 1780s, the poet and satirist Tomasz Węgierski (1756 – 1787) simultaneously wrote witty and sarcastic poems and also translated the 'moral tales' by Jean-François Marmontel; Wincenty Jakubowski (1751 – 1826) translated the works of Jean de La Fontaine; Karol Wyrwicz (1717 – 1793) focused on the popular works on geography; while Niemcewicz translated historical romances, which he deemed as an unfortunate (presumably useless) activity.[523]

In the 1780s – 1790s, the nobility continued to exercise their skills on the works of Voltaire, such as *Lettre sur l'égalité du sort humain* and *Epître à Madame du Châtelet sur la philosophie de Newton*, which were translated and adapted by Węgierski, arguably the most anti-Catholic representative of the aristocracy. In 1796, Niemcewicz translated the philosophical work *Ce qui plaît aux dames* (1764).[524] However, in his memoirs he did not reflect on the reception of these translations or provided any explanations as to whether they were done for private purposes or for public circulation. During this time, the works of Voltaire were present in the

[523] Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki Czasów Moich,* 71.
[524] Wanda Dzwigala, "Voltaire and the Polish Enlightenment: Religious Responses," *The Slavonic and East European Review,* Vol. 81, No. 1 (Jan., 2003), 73.

sphere of education. Specifically, in the second half of the eighteenth century, Voltaire was well received by Jesuits and Piarists in the Commonwealth, who believed his works to be suitable for the discussions on moral ethics.[525] The tragedies of Voltaire were also present in the curriculum of the *Collegium Nobilium* in Warsaw in the 1750s.[526] Voltaire was so successful among the Polish gentry, that it led Niemcewicz to declare him "a god of literature" while discussing the literary tastes of the Polish aristocracy, and admitting that in 1788 Voltaire became "a symbol of new era" among the writers and the clergy, who repeatedly read and translated his works.[527] At the same time, translations of Rousseau's works were less common, and appeared only within the 1780s – 1790s[528], probably because of Rousseau's engagement with the reforms in the Commonwealth.

Understandably, such an exuberant influence of Voltaire bothered local religious authorities. In the 1760s, the bishop of Kyiv Józef Załuski organized a contest for the best-written refutation of the ideas of Voltaire and Rousseau. Prior to this, Załuski himself translated Rousseau's *La fortune* in 1754, and published a letter *Sur la mort de la marquise du Châtelet Amie de Mr. de Voltaire*. Hence, even in their attempts to challenge Voltaire's overbearing presence, clerics simultaneously encouraged the public to read his works in more detail in order to debate his views. Voltaire's popularity lasted well into the first half of the nineteenth century not only in libraries or in private cabinets of the nobility but also on the stage. In 1821, Voltaire's *Alzire ou les Américains* entertained the local public in Kraków.[529] It is still unclear, in light of these testimonies, whether the usage of Voltaire's works underwent any change – from a mere exercise in stylistic sharpness to a more sound intellectual appropriation of his ideas. However, as the poet and translator Franciszek Dmochowski (1801 – 1871) admitted, until the early 1800s, the sole purpose of translators was refinement of their writing, and even though Voltaire in his fame outshined Racine and Moliere, the translators celebrated all of them just as much. Most probably, public readings and translations of Voltaire lasted until the late 1830s, when in 1837 a tsarist court order

[525] See I. Stasiewicz-Jasiukowa, ed., *Wkład Pijarów do nauki i kultury w Polsce XVII – XVIII wieku* (Warszawa, 1993).
[526] Józef Andrzej Gierowski, *The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 18th century*, 160.
[527] Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki Czasów Moich*, 24.
[528] Władysław Smoleński, *Przewrót umysłowy w Polsce wieku XVIII: studya historyczne* (Kraków: G. Gebethner; Petersburg: B. Rymowicz, 1891), 153.
[529] Skibiński, *Pamiętnik Aktora*, 150.

prohibited public access to the libraries of Voltaire and Diderot in St Petersburg.[530] Yet, this does not mean that the residents did not continue to enjoy his works privately.

The quality of translations and their meaning for the community received due attention in the memoirs. In Niemcewicz's opinion, during the 1770s – 1790s the number of literary works grew hastily and disproportionally to the skills of these household translators. However, sometimes translation was not only the practice of refinement of style, but also an intellectual exercise. For example, Franciszek Karpiński prided himself in translating Delille's work *Jardins, ou l'art d'embellir les paysages* (1782) into Polish when he served as a tutor at the Czartoryski's family.[531] Together with his student, he translated only the parts written in prose, which discussed the instructions to gardening, and the 'poetic' fragments Karpiński translated himself into a poem in Polish. In this way, the translation of the work was also a private lesson in French and a way to reflect about the importance of gardening.

Slowly, translators became interested in publishing their works. In general, the success of any translation depended on the personality and taste of the publisher, and the magnates regulated the publishing business. Often, some works could not be published because of personal principles or public opinion about the author of the original work. For example, the poet Kajetan Koźmian (1771 – 1856) mentioned a situation when Jacek Przybylski (1756 – 1819) translated Voltaire's *Candide* (1759) in Kraków in the 1780s, and presented it to the magnate and patron of arts Ignacy Potocki (1741 – 1809), who was genuinely appalled by such a present and refused to publish it because Voltaire, and especially his *Candide*, was deemed inappropriate for the readers at the time.[532] Koźmian provides this example nearly at the beginning of his memoirs in the context of the reforms of the Commission, underlining the careful guidance of the reform by magnates and reformers. Eventually, the translation of *Candide* was published anonymously in Lipsk. Thus, even though Voltaire was a popular author with which to practice one's translation techniques, not all his works could be claimed publicly.

The infatuation with foreign writers of the eighteenth century among the Polish nobility seemed to be unchangeable. Franciszek Dmochowski, who lived and worked in the Duchy of Warsaw (1807 – 1815) and later in the Congress of Poland, declared that no original works were published in Warsaw in Polish at that time, only the translations from French and

[530] Gorbatov, *Catherine the Great and the French Philosophers of the Enlightenment,* 105.
[531] Karpiński, *Historia mego wieku,* 123.
[532] Koźmian, *Pamiętniki Kajetana Koźmiana Obejmujące Wspomnienia od roku 1780 do roku 1815,* 5.

English.[533] Such a tendency resulted in a popular perception of translators as 'original authors', because any foreign language was esteemed as being higher in status than native during the 1800s – 1820s. Dmochowski even praised those, who refused to imitate and translate. Yet, as bishop Jan Paweł Woronicz (1757 – 1829) claimed in his speech at the *Society of Friends of Learning* in 1803 in Warsaw, there was nothing fraudulent in translating French works and staging French plays. He believed that Racine as well as Homer educate the taste, and in the end, translations improved Polish language.[534] Similarly, Russian translators in St Petersburg also responded to this idea. In 1803, Jacques Delille's *Les Jardins, en quatre chants* was published "to educate taste in common people", as the front page of this translation indicated.

By the early 1800s, the idea behind the procedure and the aim of translation changed, and this was influenced not in the least by the instructions of Adam Czartoryski (1770 – 1861). In 1801, he published his *Myśli o Pismach polskich, z uwagami, nad sposobem pisania w rozmaitych materyach* [Thoughts on Polish Writings, with Notes on how to Write about Various Things], where he methodically explained the aim and necessity of any translation for a Polish reader:

> Whoever wishes for himself to multiply amidst his fellow-countrymen love for sciences, taste, and light, through translation; whoever wishes for himself to prevent damage and corruption of the language that was being spoken by our valorous ancestors, to preserve this precious and singular residue that is remnant with us, together with the blood, after so many losses suffered; may he not pretermit (I greatly so advise him) to maturely consider what acquaintances, namely, are those that we need the most urgently, to what degree their generality has arrived amidst those who have grasped exactly as much from the foreign languages.[535]

A critical approach to the procedure of translation thus surfaced. In Czartoryski's opinion, since a product of translation brings fame to its writer, he ought not to think only about his personal benefit, but consider his input into the overall enlightenment. Even though Czartoryski connected enlightenment and translation, he still cautioned that in the enlightened countries a good translation is rare and very professional business.[536] However, in

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[533] Franciszek Dmochowski, *Wspomnienia z lat 1806 – 1830* (Warszawa, 1858), 148 – 149.
[534] Jan Paweł Woronicz, *Pisma Jana Pawła Woronicza, Arcybiskupa Warszawskiego Prymasa Królewstwa Polskiego* (Kraków, 1832), 89.
[535] Adam Czartoryski, *Myśli o Pismach Polskich z Uwagami nad Sposobem Pisania w Rozmaitych materyach* (Warszawa, 1801), 88.
[536] Czartoryski, *Myśli o Pismach Polskich*, 86 – 87.

the countries that only stood on the path towards enlightenment, as Czartoryski believed, the purpose of any translator should be none other but to familiarize his compatriots with the works written in an alien language or which were indifferently understandable to them, and in this way propagating knowledge and style amidst them.[537]

The accessibility of a written text had habitually preoccupied the reformers since the eighteenth century. The emperor Joseph II (1741 – 1790) already in the 1780s recognized that the free practice of reading and the availability of literature to the common folk in his lands was an important factor in destroying superstitions and spreading knowledge.[538] Thus, the business of translation and publishing was prioritized. In Czartoryski's opinion, this process had already begun during Stanisław August's era, when two foreigners, Michał Gröll and Piotr Dufour, brought commerce into these lands, introduced printing houses, and encouraged everyone to write and publish. This situation subsequently changed and the process of translation spread into society. Czartoryski encouraged the *szlachta* to approach the task of translation *critically* and to consider the need for the translated product carefully. At the time when *they are among enemies,* the duty of any *reasonable* person should be a consideration for

> the mass of enlightenment, in general, of the nation for whom he assumes for himself to do the translating. Secondly, what he ought to consider is what pieces-of-knowledge are the most urgently needed to this nation, in the current condition which is the case with the largest part of the nation, with regards to its advancement in the sciences as well as to the types of these, to their accommodations to the usefulness of its most-primary need, so to express it. And, once he has maturely reconsidered all this, may he get-down to work.[539]

Thus, translators acquired agency in the process of mediation of knowledge and style. Czartoryski persuaded amateur translators that the books they choose to translate must be useful for a great number of people and correspond to a general level of understanding of the subject, and most importantly – a translation had to aim at the preservation of the Polish language. In accordance with this view, bishop Woronicz in his speech believed that in order to preserve the country and the language one need not look further than to focus on science,

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[537] Czartoryski, *Mysli o Pismach Polskich*, 109.
[538] Derek Beales, *Enlightenment and Reform in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 74.
[539] Czartoryski, *Myśli o Pismach Polskich*, 109-110. [massy oświecenia w ogóle narodu dla którego tłumaczyć zakłada sobie. Powtóre, zważać mu należy, jakie wiadomości są temu narodowi naypilniey potrzebnemi, w stanie aktualnym w jakim się naywiększa część tegoż narodu znajduje, tak względem posunienia się swego w naukach, jako też co do ich rodzajów, co do ich przystosowań ku użyteczności dla niego naypierwszey, że tak rzekę, potrzeby. A nad tem wszystkiem zastanowiwszy się doyrzałe, niech dopiero zasiada do pracy].

light, and mutual assistance. As an example, Woronicz turned to the German people, who managed to preserve the language and customs of the ancient Germans in spite of the political diversity of their lands.[540] Thus, the intellectual elite in Warsaw was acutely aware of the linguistic identity common in the German lands, advocated among others by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729 – 1781) in the second half of the eighteenth century, which was not yet openly nationalist in its approach.[541]

At the same time, Czartoryski encouraged potential translators to be different from the rest of Europe, where anything could be translated and published without criticism, as 'empty words', and considered any translation of a 'book about Metaphysics' to be a waste of one's time, because such a translation would be even less intelligible than its original in German. Still, he agreed that his fellow citizens should not be deprived from current foreign literature, especially if it could 'improve' their language and reading skills. Therefore, as an alternative to Kant, he recommended the works of Lessing, who was "Saxon by origin". In recognition of his appreciation for a true German character, Czartoryski gave preference to the philosophy of religion and idealism that preceded Kant.[542] It could be that Lessing's views on religious toleration and humanitarian ideals appealed to Czartoryski much more than the philosophy of Kant of the late eighteenth century. Lessing, who was trying to educate the taste for sophisticated communication in Germans answered to the ideology of the *Society of Friends of Learning* in Warsaw, where Czartoryski and Woronicz both held their memberships.[543]

The ultimate result of any translation was its subsequent contribution towards the sciences. According to the chief intellectuals in Warsaw, a translated work was not just a mere translation into Polish, but a way of 'appropriating' the knowledge and style from the best examples of European literature for the benefit of the Polish nation. Czartoryski kindly reminded the readers of a contemporary philosopher Józef Kalasanty Szaniawski (even though he was known foremost as a translator of Kant) and Braun's (Brown) *Essays on Criticism,* whom he deemed to be exemplary translators for the 'enlightenment of the youth':

the said tribe shall enter into their old rights to fame in the sciences, and in those will it contrive to display anew in their works: with the strength of reasoning and deep disputation

[540] Woronicz, *Pisma Jana Pawła Woronicza, Arcybiskupa Warszawskiego Prymasa Królewstwa Polskiego*, 124.
[541] See Oz-Salzberger, *Translating the Enlightenment*, 33.
[542] On Lessing and the context in which he worked, see Toshimasa Yasukata, *Lessing's Philosophy of Religion and the German Enlightenment* (Oxford University Press, 2002).
[543] For the Lessing's approach to the German public see Benjamin W. Redekop, *Enlightenment and Community. Lessing, Abbt, Herder, and the Quest for a German Public* (McGill-Queen's Press, 2000), pp. 61 – 65.

of things, as justly attributed to the English; with the German endurity and deferential precision; with the taste of the French; and Polish wit.[544]

Amidst such a grandiose analysis of the procedure and aims of translation, Adam Czartoryski had a very low opinion about the translations that were made in the Volhynian and Podolian governorates. They were recognized as separate works to those translated by other 'Poles', as their works did not intend to preserve the Polish language. Czartoryski harshly disapproved of their intellectual choices and linguistic pursuits: "[b]y way of what an unremitted manner the citizens of the formerly Polish provinces that have been brought under the Russyan sceptre murder their native language, and also, in translations of all governmental documents revert the meaning of the originals!"[545] As one of the examples, he offers a common habit of translating the Polish word *czynsz*, a form of tax for the peasants, into the Russian *obrok*, which are 'completely different in their meaning'. He did not explain further whom or for what reasons changed the content of the original works, nor speculated about the possible hidden motives of the translators who substituted the terms of duty of peasants. However, this only strengthened the argument of *Myśli o Pismach Polskich* that any translation had to be an accurate, exact and factual work, and not an acculturation or any change in the original, since it also reflected on the quality of the Polish language.

One of the most vivid examples of such a 'careless' approach to translation was provided by the poet and translator Franciszek Kowalski (1799 – 1862), who wrote about the years he spent in Krzemieniec, 1819 – 1823. In his memoirs, Kowalski revealed that he was so impressed with the level of knowledge among the provincial doctors that while working on a translation of Molière's *L'Amour médecin* (1665) in the early 1820s he inserted the names of five famous contemporary doctors, who then worked in Krzemieniec, instead of the original names in the play. In particular, Kowalski singled out a renowned local physician and teacher of hygiene Karol Kaczkowski (1797 – 1867) and doctor Jacub Michaelis (died 1820), who disparaged the benefit of cold baths and founded the school for midwives, because he "found some similarities" between them and Molière's characters.[546] Kowalski was not bothered by the fact that in his play, Molière expressed his contempt for the pretentious

[544] Czartoryski, *Myśli o Pismach Polskich*, 262.
[545] Czartoryski, *Myśli o Pismach Polskich*, 204. [Jakim też nieodpuszczonym sposobem kaleczą język swóy oyczysty obywatele prowincyi dawniey polskich, co pod berło rossyiskie poszły, jak też w tłumaczeniach pism wszelkich rządowych przewracają sens oryginału!]
[546] Kowalski, *Wspomnienia: Pamiętnik Franciszka Kowalskiego*, 93.

doctors, who inflicted more harm than helped their patients, an opinion shared by many *philosophes*. For Kowalski, it was a way of advertising the skills of local doctors. Krzemieniec society received such re-contextualization with substantial disputes, and in the end reckoned that it was a successful practical joke. Thus, translations had to be critically assessed and approved by the local community of readers, who at the same time were already aware of the original from the late eighteenth century, and could comprehend the possible alterations. An important question that needs to be asked here is how the broader audience could access the adapted translations. Were they published? Or did they circulate in the form of the manuscript and were read and debated in public? Even though the author does not give an answer to these questions, my point is that the local residents not only appropriated the knowledge through translations, but also produced new knowledge about the importance of medicine and popularized it in public using the vessel of well-known works.

The fascination with medicine and with the power and ability of the human brain and its purpose attracted much attention at the time. During their intellectual discoveries in the provinces, the nobility found out about the works of a German physiologist and a pioneer of phrenology Franz Joseph Gall (1758 – 1828). Błędowska's mother frequently travelled with a skeleton and a skull that had "numbers according to Gall",[547] which she brought to their new home in the province. In his turn, Karol Kaczkowski recorded his journey across Volhynia, Podole, and Crimea, and commented profusely on the popularity of Gall's principles in the region. However, Kaczkowski, who treated the brain defects as physical malfunctions, stated that "his [Gall's] works are excellent in nature yet often are erroneously received".[548] In his opinion, Gall's discovery not only "spreads much light onto the organization of a brain", which until recently has been discarded by doctors. Kaczkowski further reflected on morality and its connection to the physiological dimension of a body.[549] He postulated that any malfunction of the brain could be corrected, just as a broken leg could be healed, and praised the work of a German physician Johann Christian August Heinroth (1773 - 1843) which had just appeared in Polish. It is unclear whether Kaczkowski subscribed to the new and revolutionary theory of phrenology. He denied that there was any negative aspect to Gall's work, yet at the same time, he praised the practice of "moral anthropology" which was

[547] Błędowska, *Pamiątka Przeszłości. Wspomnienia z lat 1794 – 1832*, 44.
[548] Karol Kaczkowski, *Dziennik podrozy do Krymu Odbytej w Roku 1825*, T. 1. (Warszawa, 1829), 35 – 36.
[549] Kaczkowski, *Dziennik podrozy do Krymu Odbytej w Roku 1825*, T. 1, 36.

different from the "unsuccessful empiricism" of the past, practiced in the hospitals.[550] Apparently, the reading of Gall's work was so popular among the public that in 1817 *Wiadomości Brukowe* mocked this habit by printing "spooky news" about a corpse in a local cemetery that has been anatomically dissected according to the "method of Gall".[551]

During his travels through the governorates in 1825, Kaczkowski visited a psychiatric institution near Kamieniec, which he described as a suitable place for the sick to find solace because of its quiet location and clean air, which could be one of the first attempts of medical environmentalism performed onto the provincial society.[552] In his notes, Kaczkowski encouraged the doctors in Kamieniec to investigate the techniques performed on the mentally ill in *Sonnenstein* near Dresden and in *Salpêtrière Hospital* in Paris, specifically their new approach to employ the sick to work.[553] His reflections provide an interesting sketch of the habitual visits that the king and his court officials paid to the sick in the psychiatric homes in Dresden. In Kaczkowski's opinion, such practice emulated the sick, contributed to their self-awareness, and returned them to the 'world of morality'.[554] Thus, there was a dubious reception of psychiatric institutions – on the one hand, they belonged to the physical world and thus could benefit from its resources, yet their residents were deemed as outsiders. David Livingstone in his analysis of geographic loci of scientific knowledge analysed such arrivals of the sane into the world of insanity as one of the means of social control and of further demarcation of space in the century preoccupied with systems and categories.[555] Simultaneously, as we have learned, the botanist Antoni Andrzejowski assessed the different techniques in agriculture that diverse settlers performed in his natural categorization of the Volhynian and Podolian resources.[556] In his opinion, the 'character' of a specific community, such as idleness of Italians and ingenuity of Germans, dictated behaviours as well as modes of cultivation and the variety of crops in the rich lands of the provinces. These developments in the local 'science of man', apart from being a consequence of intellectual curiosity and experimentation, were awoken by the political situation and social statistics in the region at the turn of the century. Locally educated residents attempted to question the variances of

[550] Kaczkowski, *Dziennik podrozy do Krymu Odbytej w Roku 1825,* T. 1, 37 – 38.
[551] *Wiadomości Brukowe*, no. 21 (1817), 83-85.
[552] See Roy Porter, "Medical Science and Human Science in the Enlightenment," in *Inventing Human Science: Eighteenth-century Domains,* edited by Christopher Fox, Roy Porter, and Robert Wokler (University of California Press, 1995), pp. 53 – 88.
[553] Kaczkowski, *Dziennik podrozy do Krymu Odbytej w Roku 1825,* T. 1, 34 – 38.
[554] Kaczkowski, *Dziennik podrozy do Krymu Odbytej w Roku 1825*, T. 1, 40.
[555] See David N. Livingstone, "Site: Venues of Science," in *Putting science in its place: geographies of scientific knowledge* (University of Chicago Press, 2003), pp. 17 – 87.
[556] Andrzejowski, *Rys botaniczny krain zwiedzonych*, 70 – 72.

actions, modes of civic participation, and to evaluate the utility of each community from a scientific point of view through the process of encounters and descriptions. Such an exploration of local society was performed through translations of the works on medicine and natural history of the eighteenth – first third of the nineteenth century.

A vivid example of such a cultural transfer is presented by the publication of the correspondence between Gustaw Olizar, a philanthropist and avid reader, and Karol Kaczkowski, a physician. Their letters from 1840 were published in Kyiv in 1847. Upon having outlined the competing philosophical trends in the region (specifically, Hegelianism and mysticism), the publisher explained his decision to publish the correspondence – to introduce men who cultivate the sciences due to their vocation, even though none of the contemporary scientists could be compared with the scientists in France, Germans, and England. In "Homeopatya?" the two correspondents discuss Christian Friedrich Samuel Hahnemann's (1755 – 1843) views on the homeopathy.[557] Olizar argues that homeopathy has become a system, similar to *boerhaave-ism, gall-enism, brown-iaism*, but in "our country" none such thing happened. He employs the name of the Greek-Orthodox bishop, thus acknowledging the new religious power in the region, when implying that even the unfavorable conditions should contribute to the development in the sciences.[558] To support his claim about the benefits of homeopathy he provides the names of foreign doctors who abandoned their "scholarly" training and turned to the homeopathic system. In his turn, Kaczkowski argued that homeopathy did not have any scientific method, nor a system, that could be proved or disproved. For him, homeopathy is only a little part of scientific medicine. Nonetheless, it has the right to exist, just as Mesmer had the right to propose his theories. Even if at the end he was pronounced a fraud, the ideas of magnetism were being used successfully nonetheless. Their rich and dense discussion deserves a more detailed study on the rethinking and re-signification of ideas. However, their attempt to argue for the progress in medicine in public view, as well as their rational reflections about the conditions of human life signify the pursuit of local improvement through foreign examples. It was an attempt to join the scientific discussion, as the authors clearly believed that Europe at that time was a place of intense communication and systematization.

Such rational reflections and the use of translation from the 1840s are contrasted with the memoirists' references to the provincial translators as 'victims of fashion' in the 1800s.

[557] Jacub Jurkiewicz, ed., *Listy o homeopatyi* (Kijów, 1847).
[558] Jurkiewicz, *Listy o homeopatyi*, 3.

Ewa Felińska (1793 – 1859) provides a rather peculiar investigation into the pervasiveness of the practice of translating among the provincial petty nobility. In her memoirs, Felińska described a situation that involved the chamberlain Zaręba. On one occasion he visited their house in Holynka with his chest full of books, and upon discovering that Felińska could read French he immediately asked her to read the titles of all his books out loud. One of the titles said "Sur l'Optimisme"[559], and upon hearing this rather philosophical headline, Zaręba asked Felińska to translate something from that book so that he could appreciate its contents. Recalling this incident in her memoirs in the 1850s, Felińska frantically asked the reader how she could translate anything if she had no idea what the book was about to begin with. Nonetheless, she tried. Even though she felt as though she was 'between Scylla and Charybdis', Felińska attempted to grasp the meaning of the text by translating the words she knew and explaining them in the most coherent way possible. What followed was that "Pan Zaręba was so satisfied with my translation that he declared himself that he would choose and bring-along some beautiful French book so that I translate it into the Polish language, and he shall prepare it for printing, to mine benefit".[560] Luckily, as Felińska later remarked, the chamberlain forgot about this idea and she never saw him again. One important detail to know here is that Ewa Felińska was only about nine years old at the time of this incidence.

Felińska's experience invites us to reflect on the problem of different experiences in reading and translating in the provinces as well as education for women at this time. In the early 1800s, young girls could read and speak some French, while the older members of the nobility did not adopt this fashion at all. At the same time, French literature was a matter of prestige and means of self-representation for the members of nobility. Voltaire's *Candide* had been branded as "one of the most irreligious and harmful books"[561] by the Polish clergy in the 1760s, but by the 1800s attitudes were more relaxed. This could suggest that not so many readers could assess its content even though they had the book in their private collections. In addition, the process of translating a book and publishing it was seemingly easy: the original book had to be French, the translator was often of minor importance, and the product was intended to be published immediately. Often, local residents themselves regulated the demand for translations. Only some decades later Felińska pointed out that it was necessary for any translator to be acquainted with concepts and not only with the language of the work,

[559] I assume *Candide ou l'Optimisme* by Voltaire (1759).
[560] Felińska, *Pamiętniki z życia Ewy Felińskiej*, Vol. 1, 194.
[561] Dzwigala, *Voltaire and the Polish Enlightenment: Religious Responses*, 85.

thus appealing to the 'linguistic purism' of the translated product. The indication of possible financial benefits could explain the popularity of translations – the demand for the works in Polish fed the home-grown translators of the French literature.

Everything described here by Felińska was the opposite of the Czartoryski's instructions. During the 1800s – 1820s, translators among the provincial nobility hardly shared Czartoryski's opinions on a critical selection of literature, even though they collectively attempted to deal with the lack of Polish literature. For example, in 1810 Konstanty Piotrowski wrote from Wilno that there were no new books on chemistry or botany published in Polish when they were so greatly needed. In spite of this urgency, that year Lenkiewicz translated only the tragedies of Voltaire[562], even though Paweł Czajkowski had already translated these works in 1809.[563] Thus, the practice of translation remained an individual practice, without consideration of the needs of a broader public.

The ever-increasing literacy rates resulted in a fashion for reading for pleasure and translation became part of this process. At this point, the practice of translation became a means of conveying sociability. The provincial residents translated not because their contemporaries could not access these works in original languages, but to create their regional 'republic of translators'. In the 1820s, a clerk in Podole Antoni Chrząszczewski translated Jean-Jacques Barthélemy's travelogue/novel *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis en Grece* (1788), and later worked on translating *Réflexions Politiques Sur La Pologne* (1772) by Pyrrhys de Varille.[564] The flamboyant narrative of the *Voyage*, which was a best seller until the 1830s, might have been compelling for a petty nobleman who hardly ever left Volhynia and Podole.[565] Still, his translational endeavor remained unpublished. The choice of de Varille's work was remarkable, since its author was known for his careless reproduction of negative stereotypes that the French had held about Poles since the seventeenth century. It could be that Chrząszczewski was attempting to draw attention to the political feebleness of the Commonwealth with his translation. Alternatively, he could have wished to bring fame to the author, who used to be a home tutor in the Sanguszko family. These examples would suggest that residents in the governorates did not envisage a possible systematic influence of their

[562] Iwanowski, *Wspomnienia Lat Minionych*, T. 1, 226 – 229.
[563] Feliks Bentkowski, *Historya Literatury Polskiej Wystawiona w Spisie Dzieł Drukiem Ogłoszonych*, T. 1 (Warszawa: Zawadzki i Komp., 1814), 501 – 502.
[564] Chrząszczewski, *Pamiętnik oficjalisty Potockich z Tulczyna*, 11.
[565] For the reception of the *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis en Grece* in the nineteenth century see Carlo Ginzburg, "Anacharsis Interrogates the Natives: A New Reading of an Old Best Seller," in *Threads and Traces. True, False, Fictive* (University of California Press, 2012), pp. 115 – 125.

craft on the reading public. For that reason, their translations remained private in choice and individual in nature, and were meant not for commercial or educational purposes but for private indulgence and practice. The practice of translating for pleasure persisted until the 1850s – 1860s. An actor from Vilnius, Kazimierz Michał Skibiński, noted in his memoirs that while residing in Podole and having nothing better to do, he translated *La guerre des femmes avec leurs maris* (I assume *La guerre des femmes* (1845) by Alexandre Dumas Senior).[566]

Interestingly, while the memoirists confessed to translating the eighteenth century French works in the provinces throughout the period of the 1800s – 1850s, some groups of Polish nobles were publishing Polish books in Paris, mainly the works of Adam Mickiewicz, in order to convey the meaning of their 'noble brotherhood' to the world.[567] These discrepancies could testify to the differences of reading tastes in the provinces and their self-fashioning in the first third of the nineteenth century, which remained grounded in French literature that could secure their personal style and importance. Provincial translators also exchanged their renditions and expected their works to be commented on. Thus, one should look not only for cultural exchanges between Europe and the periphery, but also within the region itself. For example, Antoni Chrząszczewski sent his translation of de Varille to a friend Karol Micowski in Volhynia and eagerly awaited to receive his comments. It was not just the procedure of translation, but also the process of communication through translation.

Occasionally, the residents in the governorates translated French works of the eighteenth century to give their territories a legacy in the ongoing discussion about a 'useful' enlightenment. For that, they used the works of priests or counter-revolutionaries. In 1822, a Catholic priest from Łutsk Jan Jabłonowski translated a book of sermons by a Dominican Jean Baptiste Massillon (1663 – 1742), the bishop of Clermont, whose passionate style was highly esteemed by every nobleman who had a private library in the provinces. In the introduction to this translation (its hand-written original has not been studied yet) Jabłonowski stated that "[w]hen in the Elements of enlightenment reinstating itself to Poland, a crowd of litterateurs out of the need solicits for the barratrous service of enriching our Country with Books of Foreign Scholars […] for to multiply the intensifying light", he wished to further enrich the region "with the high Maxims of our Faith, with which the

[566] Skibiński, *Pamętnik Aktora*, 280.
[567] Jełowicki, *Moje Wspomnienia*, 351 – 352.

zealous Massilion [i.e. Massillon] warmed-up the Spirit of Religion in the French".[568] Apart from referring to some entity called "Poland", and thus acknowledging the temporal distance from it, Jabłonowski believed that he was fulfilling his public service as a translator and *litterateur* by introducing the works of the "foreign scientist" to spread enlightenment in the region. In this case, enlightenment was confined to the procedure of translating French work on religion into Polish. Possibly, the choice of Massillon was not a singular one, since already in the 1820s there occurred tensions between the Catholic and Orthodox churches in the region, and Jabłonowski could only pursue his goal to strengthen the Catholic religious tradition. Nonetheless, through his public service, an enlightened man assumed his role in enlightenment communication, and the translators were aware that their works were a primary mean of mediation of enlightenment.[569]

Even though many residents desired to do translations in the first third of the nineteenth century, the procedure of publishing continued to be excruciating and depended on the will and tastes of the local authorities as well as the censors. Józef Drzewiecki (1772 – 1852) in 1813 was asked to assist with obtaining permission from the censorship committee in Krzemieniec to publish a translation of Chateaubriand's *Duch chrześciaństwa* [le Genie du chrestianisme, 1802]. In the end, it was unknown whether that translation was ever published. Nonetheless, the publisher, who knew Drzewiecki personally, commented on this effort saying: "It is a pity that the translators who were unwilling to sign their work have chosen not the Chateaubriand in the original but its rewritten version for the youth readers, I do not know by whom, which was issued in 1808 at Herman's in Paris".[570] Still, for him the most important thing was that it was a collective initiative. Again, the anonymous translators followed a common trend of translating the works into Polish after they were initially translated to French. Drzewiecki himself mentioned that in the late 1820s he translated *Przewodnik Duchowny* [*Institutio Spiritualis,* 1551] by the Flemish monk Louis de Blois (1506 – 1566) not from the early-modern Latin but from the eighteenth-century French.[571] In other countries, there were already aspirations for conducting precise translations already in the

[568] *Kazania Massiliona Biskupa Klermontaskiego z Francuskiego Przełożone Przez JO Janusza Jabłonowskiego Kanonika Katedralnego Łuckiego i Warszawskiego. Przepisane w Krzemieńcu roku 1822.* Институт Рукопису НБУВ, Київ, Фонд II, № 27/225, 2 [Kiedy w Pierwiastkowych przywracaiącego się oświecenia Polsce, tłum literatorow z potrzeby ubiega się przedayna usługa Kray nasz bagacic Księgami Zagranicznych Uczonych. [...] do pomnożenia wzmagaiącemu się światłu. [...] wysokiemi Wiary naszey Maksymami, któremi gorliwy Massilion roygrzewał Ducha Religii w Francuzach].

[569] For the assessment of Enlightenment as the highest achievement of the practice of mediation see Clifford Siskin, William Warner, eds., *This is Enlightenment* (The University of Chicago Press, 2010), pp. 1 – 64.

[570] Drzewiecki, *Pamiętniki Józefa Drzewieckiego*, 292.

[571] Drzewiecki, *Pamiętniki Józefa Drzewieckiego*, 366.

1760s, and Voltaire, Diderot and especially Chateaubriand supported these endeavors. Gradually, ambitions for conducting direct translations from the original surfaced. By the 1850s, the search for an accurate method of translation reached the members of the nobility in the governorates.

In their literary endeavors during the 1800s – 1850s, provincial writers and translators opted for French titles from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The only visible pattern is that while Voltaire's novels were translated for pleasure, the writings of the seventeenth - eighteenth century French priests and Chateaubriand were deemed useful and necessary in the process of communicating knowledge about Catholic traditions. Arguably, provincial residents wanted to strengthen the Catholic spirit in the provinces by translating the sermons in the times of tensions between the Orthodox and Catholic churches. Translation of German titles was under-represented, at least in the memoirs. Thus, the argument advanced by Stefanie Stockhorst that the practice of using the German language as a hub before translating the texts into vernacular languages in Eastern Europe does not find its place in this case.[572] It could be that the *szlachta* did not adopt this practice simply because they did not speak the language, and read even their much-loved Kant in Polish.

In their arguments for using translation as a means to preserve the Polish language, the intellectuals in Warsaw foremost took the German lands as a fine example of cultural patriotism in the context of political and cultural separation of the Polish lands. Yet, in the provinces the procedure and choices for translation nonetheless suggests a cosmopolitan choice of literature performed by educated nobility. The examples provided here uncover the ongoing debate between the translators – a debate about what a translation should be. Simultaneously, two approaches co-existed: the one in Warsaw, which focused on accurate translation of the works, and the other one that denoted a more literary venture.[573] Until the late 1820s, at least, the translators preferred to experiment with the choice, the language and the content of translated works.

[572] Stockhorst, "Introduction," in *Cultural Transfer through Translation. The Circulation of Enlightened Thought in Europe by Means of Translation*.

[573] For more on the topic of the methods in translation see Samuel Baudry, "Imitation and Translation: the Debate in eighteenth-century Britain and Ireland," in *Intellectual Journeys. The Translation of Ideas in Enlightenment England, France, and Ireland*, edited by Lise Andries, Frederic Ogee, John Dunkley and Darach Sanfey (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation Press, 2013), pp. 17 – 33.

Researchers of peripheral territories ask to pay attention to the accomplishments of European thought in divergent contexts.[574] The residents in the Volhynian and Podolian governorates demonstrated that their choices of literature and scientific practices were matters of personal choice within the political and social conditions of their territories. By the turn of the century, readers in the annexed territories did not experience a definitive shift in reading habits from religious to secular tastes, exercising both with equal devotion. Reading for them was an activity that indicated their peaceful solitude, a path towards self-government and freedom amidst the political events and educational reforms of the 1790s – 1830s. Various accounts suggest that even though books were scarce and this often led to intensive rather than to extensive reading, the citizens of the governorates were enthusiastic in their reception of the authors that contributed to the mediation of the French and German Enlightenment in their country seats. Their reflections indicate that by the early nineteenth century they obtained books through personal networks within the province, enhancing their communication. In particular, they were interested in advancing reason and contemplating the use of philosophy for self-development and improvement.

After the new system of education was introduced, with public schools and the Krzemieniec lyceum, the differences between the magnates and the lesser *szlachta* in terms of their access to literature gradually disappeared. Moreover, the fashion for private libraries and collections became popular among the petty nobility. Reading the authors of the French Enlightenment refined their tastes, modified and challenged the power play within their households, and influenced the reception of sensuality. In addition, the practice of reading French, Italian and German authors was given scientific merit and for that, the works of eighteenth century botanists were often used to classify resources within their provinces. The interest in botany and its further development in the governorates throughout the nineteenth century should be researched as a separate topic.

The public sphere in the age of Enlightenment was essential to contrast a society to a state, and to distinguish between the political realm that was dominated by the state and a private one, in which individuals could connect and pursue their interests without restrictions. Even though a group of intellectuals in the *Society of Friends of Learning* in Warsaw in and around the 1800s argued for the preservation of the Polish language by means of translating French and German titles, the residents in the governorates pursued a different goal in their

[574] See Manolis Patiniotis and Kostas Gavroglu, "The Sciences in Europe: Transmitting Centers and the Appropriating Peripheries".

literary endeavors until the late 1820s. In the absence of any institutionalized network, the memoirists from the governorates represent a rational and harmonious society that was connected by the practice of reading and translating as a means of individual participation in the public enlightenment.

Chapter Four:

Accommodating Emancipation and Equality in the Provinces

Alongside the investigation of the place of education, libraries, and local variations of the practices of reading and translating, the interpretation of Enlightenment ideas in the governorates in 1790s – 1850s ought to be studied through the tangible cracks in a discourse on emancipation and toleration, especially in a society that was habitually branded xenophobic and abnormally different by the government in Warsaw. Arguably, after the reform of education, military augmentations and some economic improvements during the period of the 1770s – 1790s, nobility across the country faced improvements in science, politics, history, religion, economy, and everyday life. In this regard, Andrzej Walicki was correct when he declared that the Polish Enlightenment of the second half of the eighteenth century was a blend of a tradition of political equality among the members of nobility, and selected ideas of the French Enlightenment, such as universal human values, attention to educational improvement, and a focus on individualism and personal freedom, even though these principles were often reserved to the political elite of the country.[575]

The residents of the annexed territories consciously embraced and participated in the discussions on emancipation and toleration after the 1820s, when the restrictive policies of the Russian empire forced the nobles to assess the previously uncomfortable topics that formed a substantial part of their landed life. In the early 1820s, the wife of Adam Czartoryski, Countess Anna Zofia Sapieha (1799 – 1864) in a letter to Józef Drzewiecki in Volhynia reflected on the specific attitudes within the nobility in Warsaw: "There pervades in the minds a general will to hoist our country, and to align it with the foreign civilised countries: they are busying themselves with agriculture, founding of factories, advancing the commerce – and in this do I also found my hope, for the betterment of our lot".[576] Thus far, as a countess Sapieha believed, their misfortunes had not been without a good outcome, for their inconsiderate pretences of vanity were turned into a useful purpose.

[575] For the analysis of the blend of the ideas of Enlightenment and Polish Romanticism, see Andrzej Walicki, *Philosophy and Romantic Nationalism: The Case of Poland* (Oxford University Press, 1982).
[576] Drzewiecki, *Pamiętnik Józefa Drzewieckiego*, 315. [W umysłach panuje powszechna chęć podniesienia kraju naszego, i zrównania go z obcemi cywilizowanemi krajami: zatrudniają się rolnictwem, zakładem fabryk, podniesieniem handlu – w tem i ja zasadzam nadzieję moję, dla ulepszenia losu naszego].

Next to the prolific and philosophical reflections on the importance of education in their provinces, the writers in Volhynia and Podole are keen to discern the role of women in their homes as well as the alterations in perceptions to other social and religious groups. Their reflections and statements, even though they admitted to a change in practices in a favorable way, were their way of reacting to contemporary politics of the Russian administration during the 1830s – 1860s.

Gender and Science in the Provinces in the 1780s – 1830s

Discussions about gender and the role of a woman in male society were most impassioned during the age of Enlightenment. Arguably, the rise of the public sphere in many countries by the mid-eighteenth century allowed women to contribute to political and aesthetic debates within society as governesses, salonnieres, writers and translators – overall as autonomous actors, and that was met with different levels of enthusiasm.[577] The residents of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth likewise participated in debates on the inclusion of women into their public space, and disputed their representation as citizens, which would give them equal rights. The topic that none of the writers wished to ignore concerned the education of women and the notion of equality that it introduced to their society, alongside their reflections on the traditional place of a woman in their community.

To begin with, male writers in their testimonies remain largely unconvinced about the tangible involvement of women in the civic life of their provinces. In 1815, a Volhynian governor Eustachy Sanguszko (1768 – 1844) in his moralizing efforts even doubted the possibility of the situation changing:

> The influence [i.e. inflow] of women to public works was a severe disadvantage among us, and one of the reasons for the evil. The fine and highly-sensitive minds of women are like their needles, which may only be used for light labours. Ingenious with the ready-made, create and resurrect is not a thing for them to do. Talk to a woman about wheat, and she will be thinking of buns and crumbs. Speak of a forest, and she will, thriftily, take off some fire-wood from the fireplace.[578]

[577] See Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters. A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Cornell University Press, 1996); Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Cornell University Press, 1988); Sarah Knott, Barbara Taylor, *Women, Gender, and Enlightenment* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Carla Hesse, *The Other Enlightenment: How French Women Became Modern* (Princeton University Press, 2001)

[578] Sanguszko, *Księcia Eustachego Sanguszki Pamiętnik, 1786 – 1815*, L.

The male writer employed the gender aspect in an effort to reduce the role of women and to reclaim his masculine status within the family sphere during politically uncertain times in the governorates. Male residents responded to changes in the patriarchal relations within their households, which was not a unique situation on a European scale. In the eighteenth – nineteenth centuries, debates on masculinity and patriarchy within a family sphere and on the reshaping of the women's power outside of it sprang in the houses of the Scottish aristocracy and gentry, where women became more active in the domestic and public spheres through writing and publishing.[579] Even though Sanguszko candidly acknowledged that the activity of women intensified, he nonetheless insisted on the potentially devastating outcomes it could have for society due to their depraved knowledge and intellectual immaturity.

Such metaphors of women's sensitivity and their exclusion and detachment from essential problems are particularly striking given the fact that women enjoyed a comparable status as landowners in Poland as well as in Russia, could bring legal charges against other owners, and could employ other agents in their estates.[580] Nonetheless, the male memoirists were united in professing that prior to the 1800s women were completely absent from the political and social life of the country and the region. For example, the poet Szymon Konopacki was rather confused when in the early 1820s a group of young women openly speculated on when the struggle for the Greece's independence would end and with what results, because it was unlikely for women to do so.[581]

Instead of an active involvement in political discussions, male writers expected a woman to perform her domestic duties well, and to be an obedient wife and devoted mother. In the mid-1840s, the scholar Michal Grabowski (1804 – 1863) insisted on maintaining the "old way" of life in the provinces because it was "Divine way", and therefore, when a woman was in charge then both a husband and a wife became despicable.[582] Similarly, when describing the habits "before his time", the poet and translator Karol Micowski (? – 1847) unveiled the extreme contrast between the practices performed by women in the late

[579] See Katie Barclays, *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland* (Manchester University Press, 2011).
[580] On the equal role of women in the eighteenth century household in Russia, see Michelle Lamarche Marrese, *A Woman's Kingdom: Noblewomen and the Control of Property in Russia, 1700-1861* (Cornell University Press, 2002); on the rules of ownership in Poland see Lynn Lubamersky, "Inheritance, Custom, and Economic Power among Polish Noblewomen. The Case of Barbara Radziwiłłowa," *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 52 (2003), 4: 509 – 525; and Bogna Lorence-Kot, *Child-rearing and Reform: a Study of the Nobility in Eighteenth-century Poland* (Greenwood Press, 1985).
[581] Konopacki, *Pamiętniki Szymona Konopackiego*, 144.
[582] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego*, 207.

eighteenth century and in the mid-nineteenth century. Micowski commented profusely on the position of a woman and within the household and the bond of marriage between a husband and wife:

> I am no adherent of the imbalance that existed in that age betwixt the genders; but, as much as I can remember, the married couples were quiet. The laxness of the morals, and licentious turpitude of all sorts, which has flooded the western Europe for several dozens of years, was not known in the provinces of Volhynia. For, albeit Warsaw (then being greatly populated by aliens, as the capital of the Kingdom) began well imitating France; however, Volhynia, and women in particular, had so little contact with it that depravity has not penetrated thereinto.[583]

As elsewhere in Europe until the late eighteenth century, in the Polish provinces the virtues of women were determinedly placed within the domestic sphere in an attempt to shield them from the supposedly corrupting influences of the fashionable society of the capital.[584] It was not only the flexibility of mores that male residents believed women to be guilty of, but women's wish to study was altogether questioned. In his chapter *The Habits of Women*, Karol Micowski principally claimed that in earlier periods women in the provinces could only read some religious books, "others with difficulty, because there were no books at all. There were even less of those who could write"[585], because writing was thought to be a male business. There was a popular anecdote about a Jesuit historian and bishop of Łuck Adam Naruszewicz (1733 – 1796) who remarked about one woman "[t]hat's why I like her, because she is silly, and her silliness amuses me. If I want some intelligent entertainment, I go to my study and spend some time with a book".[586] In the eighteenth century, men of letters recognized women as seducers and unreliable companions in their intellectual ventures. Such opinions on the role and place of women were also being expressed in the major debates of the eighteenth century. Rousseau, Montesquieu and Kant viewed women as feeble and intellectually inferior; Diderot argued that women should be subjected to the will of their husbands, while Condorcet believed them to be equal to men and likewise able to contribute to cultural and political domains.

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[583] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego*, 206-208.
[584] See Jane Rendall, "Virtue and Commerce in the Making of Adam Smith's Political Economy," in *Women in Western Political Philosophy: Kant to Nietzsche*, edited by Ellen Kennedy and Susan Mendus (Brighton, 1987), 56-71.
[585] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego*, 204.
[586] Bukar, *Pamiętniki z końca XVIII i początków wieku XIX*, 20. [Właśnie ją dlatego lubię, że głupia, bo mnie głupstwa jej rozśmieszają. Gdy chcę rozumnie się zabawić, idę do swojego gabinetu i z książką a piórem czas przepędzam].

The political events of an ostensibly global measure contributed to women's emancipation in this small area in the early nineteenth century. Referencing the wars of the Fourth Coalition against Napoleon in 1806 – 1807, Micowski, Borejko, Andrzejowski, and Sanguszko concentrated not on the military strategies or political outcomes of these military events, but on the long-term cultural consequences of the foreign presence in their region. In particular, within a short space of time women in the provinces learned French due to the persistent company of the French nobility and soldiers. Such anti-French attitudes in the provinces coincided with a similar process in Spain in 1808, when the French were forced out of Madrid and the local aristocracy regained its cultural authority. The memoirists testified that after the members of the French aristocracy and soldiers, having taught the local women some French, finally left Volhynia during the reign of the emperor Paul I (1796 – 1801), women could rightfully claim their position within society as "zealous citizens", who became such out of their own persuasion and as a result of their equal education.[587] Thus, men regarded local women as independent agents within the process of emancipation, even though knowledge of French was instilled by foreign measures.

The popularity of French among women in the provinces was a sensitive topic. French became a requirement for the women in the provinces after the French Revolution. The memoirists represent a unique discussion of the problem, completely opposite to the one present in the Romantic literature of the same period. For example, a novel *Pan starosta Zakrzewski*, written in the 1850s and dedicated to the Volhynian context, discussed this problem. In a very long monologue its main male character expressed his disdain for the foreign languages among women in the province: "as for me, I could not bear those *szołdra*s ['*Schulters*' = 'swine'; pejorative/colloquial] the Germans and those *nonsie* [prob., 'monsieurs'] *parle franse* […] none has been found amidst the courtly maidens who would be able to parle franse [phoneticised, parler français], for at that time, this *bonjoury* language was not prattled around like it is today".[588] Since the French language was believed to be a device for self-proclaimed superiority and style, it is possible that men observed women who mastered French as superior and therefore untrustworthy.

[587] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego,* 214 [prawdziwa oświata, wsparta na podstawie religijnej […] zniszczyła aż do zarodów tej zarazy; a nasze kobiety wyszedłszy ze stanu, który trącił niewolnictwem, przypuszczone do wspólnej oświaty, zrównane godnością z mężami, rządzące się religiją i honorem, są teraz przykładnemi żonami, czułemi matkami, gorliwemi obywatelkami]; also see Borejko, *Pamiętnik pana Wacława Borejka,* 38 – 41.

[588] Ciechoński, *Pan Starosta Zakrzewski,* 18. This novel is an example of a genre known as 'gawęda szlachecka', a Romantic tale that celebrates old traditions of the *szlachta,* and was popular in the first third of the nineteenth century. The genre developed under the influence of Adam Mickiewicz's literary works.

In her study about female writers in eighteenth century Edinburgh, Pam Perkins argues that a general tendency to reduce the civic participation of women only increased their involvement within the domestic sphere, and gradually, the housewife's identity was transformed into an active one, even though they still remained non-political citizens.[589] In the annexed territories, a similar transformation occurred - the idea of equal citizenship and the participation of men and women happened impulsively through the medium of the French language, which created a possibility for women to read foreign works. Gaining equality through French and the ability to put it in use in the provinces after the partitions was a means of female sociability. In view of that, local women could decide what literature to read and scientific pursuits to engage in, and could exercise them in their homes independently. In 1816, a weekly *Wiadomości Brukowe* commented on this situation with some humor, and reported that ladies nowadays have less *spasms*, because as "the other worshiper of Kondylak [i.e. Condillac] has deduced the conclusion that a modest life, whilst using the in-born freedom of walking with one's own legs, would have become the most efficacious a medicament to cure spasms with".[590] Thus, having "carriage lacqueys", or in other words, complying with foreign fashions, was replaced with the ability to use one's own will and power in the society.

Women's access to education and learning became the main point of discord for the residents in the governorates. Debates about education for women and the concept of appropriate femininity were central to discussions on local processes of education and enlightenment, as well as self-improvement and self-representation of provincial society. A reformer of education Hugo Kołłątaj (1750 – 1812) treated female aspirations to learn and write in French to be a mark of style and refinement among women at the turn of the century:

> Our ladies began to write in French and Polish very beautifully, not only in nature, but even in style; began to appreciate reading the works which are more important than novels; acquired knowledge of history and geography, other decorative talents such as music, drawing, a skill of national dance and other skills that were used in Europe.[591]

[589] See Pam Perkins, *Women Writers and the Edinburgh Enlightenment* (Amsterdam, 2010).
[590] *Wiadomości Brukowe*, No. 4 (1816) [drugi czcieciel Kondylaka, wywodzi wniosek, że życie skromne przy używaniu wrodzoney wolności chodzenia wlasnemi nogami, stałoby się nayskutecznieysze, na spazmy lekarstwem].
[591] Kołłątaj, *Stan Oświecenia w Polsce w Ostannich Latach Panowania Augusta III*, 136.

Yet, as we learned in the previous chapters, local reformers of the education system, such as Tadeusz Czacki and Wacław Borejko, were very careful in their educational strategies towards women, even though they recognized the importance of their education. For Czacki, the prospect of public education for women was unnecessary, because women ought not to be seduced by the corrupt atmosphere in towns or cities since their lives had to revolve around their homes. Czacki believed that if educated in a public school in a city, a woman would return home and eventually succumb to feelings of boredom.[592] Since the life of the nobility in the governorates was concentrated around the network of their household, and not in towns, Czacki proposed establishing a school for governesses in the governorate, which would educate a new generation and improve the habits of men in the region.[593] He believed that when the best education could not influence male behavior, a nicely educated woman would succeed in no time.[594] Such opinions heavily resembled the philosophy in Mary Wollstonecraft's essay *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* (1787), where she acknowledged the civilizing influence of women upon men, and passionately debated with Rousseau, who was unconvinced about the merits of educated women.[595] Therefore, the reformers of education in the provinces acknowledged same norms of refinement for men and women and that both contributed to the culture of sociability in the region. At the same time, the personal freedom and civic activities of women continued to deeply trouble them, and for that reason, reading French and English romances was believed to evoke sexual fantasies in women, to change their rationale in choosing a suitable partner, and to contribute to the domestic emancipation. Together with the reformers, most of the male residents in the provinces perceived such practices as a form of degradation of tradition and mores.

The change in opinion about the role of education and enlightenment and its influence on the domestic emancipation happened in the eighteenth century. In Micowski's words, *higher enlightenment* [wyższe oświecenie] gradually changed men's attitudes: "higher Enlightenment and suave customs have rendered us more gentle [appeasable], which our

[592] Czacki, *O gimnazium w wołyńskiey gubernii i innych dla oboiey płci ustanowieniach uczynione przedstawienie przez Tadeusza Czackiego, roku 1803 w grudniu* (S.l.: s.n., 1803), 19.
[593] Tadeusz Czacki, „Mowa IW Tadeusza Czackiego Taynego I.I.M Konsyliarza, i.t.d. Dnia 1 Pazdziernika 1805 Roku, przy otwarciu Gimnazium Wolyńskiego w Krzemieńcu," *Dziennik Wileński* 3, No. 8 (1805), 377.
[594] Czacki, *O gimnazium w wołyńskiey gubernii i innych dla oboiey płci ustanowieniach uczynione przedstawienie przez Tadeusza Czackiego, roku 1803 w grudniu*, 17.
[595] For more on criticism of the philosophy of Rousseau see Siân Reynolds, "Falling out of Love with Rousseau: Madame Roland, Mary Wollstonecraft, and Emancipation by the Pen," in *Enlightenment and Emancipation*, edited by Susan Manning, Peter France (Bucknell University Press, 2006), pp. 132 – 145.

ancestors did not consider a right thing to do"[596], possibly implying the influential role of enlightenment as *Bildung* among the male residents. Yet, he still admits that such opinions were prevalent among those who have 'seen the world' - they began to concern themselves with education for women and admitted that a woman was there not only for bearing children.

From the perspective of the female residents, a shift in perceptions and the effects of education in the provinces was no less obvious. The women in the 1800s – 1820s participated in the process of enlightenment through reading, writing and experimenting. As Countess Anna Zofia Sapieha wrote, since the 1800s, a Polish woman "reads books, literary treatises, and political economy, in the companies does she reckon on comedies, on new romance-stories, and discourses about agriculture, commerce, administration".[597] Ewa Felińska offered her explanation for the change in practices and perceptions on the place of women in their society. For Felińska's generation who were educated in the 1790s – 1800s, the main purpose of a girl's education was to obtain the necessary knowledge to govern an estate, and to be fluent in French manners and fashion, which was necessary if a girl wished to be considered a refined and promising bride. As elsewhere in Europe, French was perceived as a polite accomplishment for young women. Mothers of this generation, educated in the second half of the eighteenth century, realized that the type of education they received would not benefit their daughters after the 1800s. Felinska's mother, herself educated in the "old fashion" and taught to knit, cook, and mend stockings, insisted on sending her daughter to a boarding school, because "[a] different time and different customs have now supervened. […] Everybody are learning to-day more intensively than they used to do before, men as well as women. For someone to lag behind, would be awkward; one should, unavoidably, follow the others".[598]

Another new custom was that mothers were no longer involved in educating their daughters, as was the case before the French Revolution and the reforms of the Commission, so often underlined by the memoirists. Moreover, in and around the 1800s education could not be just any type – "not parochial; not provincial; but, of-city-capital, fashioned after the French mould: this having been an impression signifying the proprieties", and those who did

[596] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego*, 203. [wyższe oświecenie, i łagodniejsze obyczaje, zrobiły nas wyrozumialszemi, do czego się nasi przodkowie nie czuli].
[597] Drzewiecki, *Pamiętnik Józefa Drzewieckiego*, 315.
[598] Felińska, *Pamiętniki z życia Ewy Felińskiej* Vol. 1, 139 – 140.

not manage to get this "impression" were "pushed to the lower steps of society".[599] By sending her daughter to a boarding school, Felińska's aunt thus acknowledged that she needed a French type of education. Distinguishing these changes within their society and dwelling on the external pressures, the provincial residents recognized the process of education as a key category that bridged the disparities between social and gender groups. The discourse on education and emancipation that sprung from it also bothered the poet Franciszek Karpiński who learned in the early 1800s that where there is *higher education* [edukacja wyższą], it is possible to find greater awareness about matters between a husband and wife.[600] Possibly, this *higher* education denoted not only the process of schooling, but also an overall recognition of the changing norms of the age. However, whilst men were the bearers of the *higher* enlightenment, women had access only to the process of education. My point is that enlightenment in this case also encompassed the ability to spread knowledge, which was still questionable with regard to women. Still, the male nobility negotiated education and speaking French as means of correlation in status, and often rebelled against it.

The emancipation of women was influenced both by external and internal factors. It was possible that men's prolonged absence from home when they participated in political and military events, such as Kościuszko's revolution of 1794 or Napoleon's campaigns, allowed their wives to be more active in the domestic and public realms. Henrietta Błędowska described the year 1812, when she was 18 years old, through her's and her mother's, Szczęsna Felicjana Działyńska's, reading routine in their new residence in Volhynia:

> Our time was passing on with ordinary activities. My mother and I read classical works from time to time, also Milton's *paradise* [*sic*] *Lost*, poesies by Ossian, Hume['s] *English history* [= *The History of England*], all in this one language. I was enthralled by La Harp[e]'s *Course of literature* and the works by Delil[le], and knew my little scientific library by heart, having read [these books] so many times from cover to cover. […] Meanwhile, the war has come to an end.[601]

Female members of the Działyńska family exhibited an example of enlightened improvement, yet within their domestic spaces, which was their only attainable public space. Działyńska entertained herself not only with reading. In their new dining room in Trojanów there "stood an electric and pneumatic machine. A salon and all rooms were not furnished

[599] Felińska, *Pamiętniki z życia Ewy Felińskiej* Vol. 1, 299.
[600] Karpiński, *Historia mego wieku,* 51.
[601] Błędowska, *Pamiątka Przeszłości. Wspomnienia z lat 1794 – 1832*, 133.

with ornamented furniture, because my mother would say that it is not worth in the province, as long as it was *comfortable*".[602] Amidst the military crisis in the years following the partitions, a landed woman deemed machinery and the library as the chief components of her domestic comfort. For Henrietta Blędowska, her mother was a highly educated woman who was introduced to Poniatowski, and who had many friends among the local scientists and freemasons, and read the works of the mystic Emanuel Swedenborg (1688 – 1772) "for pleasure" at home.[603] Thus, in their testimonies, landed women conveyed their identity through reading and education.[604]

The Działyńska's family was not exceptional. Even though male residents rarely commented on the particular contributions made by local landed women to the improvement of their region, their private residences provided a space for experimentation. One the first landed women who turned her gaze from foreign cultures to local context was Countess Anna Jabłonowska (1728 – 1800), the wife of a Bracław governor Jan Kajetan Jabłonowski. In the 1770s, Jabłonowska travelled through Denmark, Switzerland, and Holland to learn about agriculture, gardening, and specifics of city administration. In early 1780s, she retired to her country seat that was located across the territories of Podole, Volhynia, and the region of Podlasia. In 1786, Jabłonowska penned a letter to Stanisław August:

> What I wanted was to offer the country an attempt, basing upon certain experiences, of what may still be done. Why, to ameliorate and expand might be a work of every righteous citizen; but there is the need to commence some thing, and to execute some thing firstly, in order to make the others know that to alter and improve is not a thing impossible.[605]

Jabłonowska's most famous project was her residence in Siemiatycze, located in the historic region of Podlasia. By declaring her will to serve her country, she aimed at multiplying the wealth and possessions of her town. The countess believed that it was impossible to promise anyone a long and peaceful life and freedom without introducing internal order, a stern administrative structure, or conditioning the rights of her citizens. In her seminal eight-volume work *Ustawy Powszechne Dla Dóbr Moich Rządców* [Common Laws for

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[602] Błędowska, *Pamiątka Przeszłości. Wspomnienia z lat 1794 – 1832*, 45. [stala machina elektryczna i pneumatyczna. Salon i wszystkie pokoje wcale nie ozdobnymi meblami ubrane, gdyz mowila matka, ze to na prowincje nie warto, byle było *comfortable*].
[603] Błędowska, *Pamiątka Przeszłości. Wspomnienia z lat 1794 – 1832*, 53.
[604] For the analysis of the practices of women in the private sphere, see Rosalind Carr, *Gender and Enlightenment Culture in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh University Press, 2014).
[605] Antonina Chorobińska-Misztal, *Z dziejów Siemiatycz drugiej połowy XVIII wieku: działalność reformatorska Anny Jabłonowskiej* (Białostockie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1978), 40.

the Properties of My Governors], which were immediately published in Warsaw in 1786, she reflected on the proper ways of feeding domestic animals, the rules of gardening, and public administration. In Siemiatycze, Jabłonowska introduced self-government, a local police force, and for the first time in the history of these lands, the town had its own midwife, a barber, a surgeon, a chimney sweeper and a watchmaker. Another important development was her strategy to defend consumers by introducing a unified set of weigh measures, a 'watchman of good order', and her encouragement to spell the weights in Hebrew for Jewish buyers, so that they would know that "the cheating are out of question here".[606] Together with regulating and modifying every aspect of life and work, she also exchanged serfdom on her lands for a *czynsz*, a tax to be paid by peasants.

Jabłonowska's instructions in the agricultural and gardening sphere were well received and were even implemented by the male gentry on their estates. For the first time a literature of this kind was published in Polish, and since she referred to the common territory, the endeavors were recognized as trustworthy. For instance, Seweryn Bukar (1773 – 1853) noted that Countess Jabłonowska, "famous for her reason and importance":

> in her estate in Podlachia, in the country-town of Siemiatycze, she has established an exquisite institute of midwifery, whose graduate, named Kurczmińska, I have had [i.e. hosted] three or four times at my home; she has the constitutions for estate administrators and scribes of varied degree, dwelling in her properties, edited in several volumes; there, comprised have been many a remark and good precepts regarding economy and husbandry, among them certain experiences and prescriptions designed for conveniences and rendering life enjoyable.[607]

The first school for midwives in the region, founded by Jabłonowska in 1783, generated an especially positive response from the residents. This school accepted girls from around the province. The process of selection for the students itself was not difficult – the girls did not even need to be literate, but they had to be healthy, and not to be too young or old. The institute made a difference in the region by introducing modern views on hygiene for the delivery process, which resulted in a reduction of childbirth deaths. One of the prominent students from that school was Lady Kurczmińska, who frequented the houses of the local residents on demand. Jan Ochocki (1760s – 1848) described Jabłonowska's school as outstanding and its students visited Ochocki's family several times. Szymon Konopacki

[606] Witold Kula, *Measures and Men* (Princeton University Press, 1986), 145.
[607] Bukar, *Pamiętniki z końca XVIII i początków wieku XIX*, 50-51.

recollected that he regularly enjoyed "sessions of Kabbalah" with "renowned accoucheuse Kurczmińska"[608] in Volhynia in the 1820s.

Another topic that the residents seem to agree upon is that Jabłonowska succeeded in her efforts to arrange a cabinet of curiosities and a natural collection, which was a fashion in the provinces at that time, and was picked up by many in their country seats. In the words of Anna Teofila Sanguszko (1758 – 1813), Jabłonowska's efforts made her into "an example to our gender"[609] because she supported principles of sciences through her efforts in collecting and classifying. Jabłonowska's focus on the sciences and the disemination of knowledge for the purpose of improvement was praised in a poetic anonymous ode (I am assuming female authorship) in 1787:

Thou generously gather fruits of Nature, wonders;
In secrecy remanent, to thine Lakhs[610] thou unveil
Now, in thy dear Cabinet, things innate: cherish'd grail. […]
Curiosity-gripped, Fellow-Countryman, Out-lander,
May now all taste, cost-free, in the delight and candour; […]
The Proprietress shall gladly host him, and enlighten.
Though great are the honours of the Land of gentle Franks[611],
Deshulier[612], Lamberts, Dacier[613], Sevins[614]: all worth' of thanks;
Our ANNA, view'd against them, appearth no inferior:
The Seine doth have merits; – swift Vistula's superior!
Should all Ladies be of strengths so neat, and ambitions,
The world would well stand Salian Laws, and superstitions,
For, Kingdoms to embellish is no task of gender;
Reason and science-laden mind: these do add Splendour.[615]

[608] Konopacki, *Pamiętniki Szymona Konopackiego*, 143.
[609] Anna Teofila Sanguszko, *Na Odiazd jasnie Oswieconey Xiężney Jeymci z Sapiehow Jabłonowskiey, Woiewodziney Bracławskiey od JO. Xiężney Woiewodziney Wołynskiey Jey Bratanki* (Library of the Institute of Literary Research of the Polish Academy of Sciences, no later than 1780).
[610] I.e. Polish visitors.
[611] I.e. the French.
[612] Deshoulière, could be a reference to Antoinette Du Ligier de la Garde Deshoulières (1638 – 1694), a poet.
[613] A possible reference to Anne Le Fèvre Dacier (1654 – 1720), a translator.
[614] Sévigné, possibly a reference to Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, marquise de Sévigné (1626 – 1696), a writer.
[615] *Oda do Jaśnie Oświeconej Księżny Jeymsci z Xiążat Sapiehów Anny Jabłonowski Woiewodziny Bracławaskiey*, 26.07.1787 [To Her Grace Duchess, the Hon:Lady / née Duchess Sapieha / ANNA JABŁONOWSKA / WIFE TO THE VOIVODE OF BRACŁAW, / The generous FOUNDRESS of the Cabinet naturall, & of varied Curiosities at Siemiatycze, / a LADY privileged with particular Knowledge of things &

A demonstration of "scientific wonders" in the collection was described as a proper act of Enlightenment that avoided superstitions for the benefit of the community because it encouraged learning. What is striking in the *Ode* is that in an attempt to prove reason and science as hallmarks of Enlightenment, the writer denounced gender differences and yet, ironically, compared Jabłonowska to other French women of letters and writers of the seventeenth – early eighteenth century. It is hardly possible that recent developments in the natural sciences and classifications were unknown to the writer, especially since the works on natural history were present in all library collections across the region. Thus, if to follow Ludmilla Jordanova's argument, when gender was evoked in the eighteenth century, it was evoked to emphasize the difference in roles and performances.[616] Another particularity is that even though the approach to Enlightenment should be "worldly", the writer is unable to avoid a persistent comparison with the French one.

The discourse about creating natural collections and museums and its link to enlightenment had been well-known in Volhynia since the 1770s. In 1775, a Volhynian magnate Michał Jerzy Mniszech (1742 – 1806), who supervised Volhynian and Podolian schools, published an article where he proclaimed that: "Light is scattered, the order of sciences is established, the requirements are laid for the teachers, these are indeed most solid steps with respect to unceasing education of the youth".[617] However, in Mniszech's opinion, the Commission's efforts would be more effective if they were followed by practical endeavours, such as the creation of a museum – as it would contribute to instantaneous and infallible knowledge because then Enlightenment would set everything in its "proper place and time" for the community in the province. Thus, a sentiment towards classifying knowledge persisted until early 1800s, when male and female residents believed that such effort were of use to the public.

Even though Jabłonowska's pursuit of the sciences touched the entire region, and not only her household, she was nonetheless regarded as a writer rather than a scholar. Upon visiting Jabłonowska's properties in the late eighteenth century, Hipolit Kownacki (1761 – 1854), a historian from Kraków, noted that "famous for the books in economy which she published" this lady "enlightened and learned in economics, for the other measures – is not

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Reason, / breathing onely with Love for Sciences and with the desire to multiplicate these peerless Adornments of the Community, / on the Name-Day of Hers 1787, 26th of July. An O D E].

[616] Ludmilla Jordanova, "Sex and Gender," in *Inventing human science: Eighteenth-century Domains,* edited by Christopher Fox, Roy Porter, and Robert Wokler (University of California Press, 1995), pp. 152 – 184.

[617] Platt, ed., *Zabawy Przyemne i Pożyteczne* (1770 - 1777), 67.

only a charlatan, impressing the public with excerpts from books and observations collected from things heard and commonplace discourses, to which [her] own house-hold does not at all conform".[618] The discrepancy between theory and practice troubled the readers of her works. Because of her bankruptcy, Jabłonowska's knowledge was considered false, and the practices she implemented – insufficient and impractical in comparison to the ventures of the other gentlemen. When in 1792 the Countess expressed her wish to present her mineral collection to Poniatowski, he refused to accept it because it was a peculiarity of no use to the Commonwealth during its political adversities and uncertain future prospects.[619] Jabłonowska's collection was deemed too "exotic" even by the Russian historian Stepan Russov, who listed it among the most remarkable things to see in Volhynia in 1809, specifying that it had more European specimens than Russian ones. In the end, the collection was taken to Moscow in the 1810s. Nonetheless, the fame of Jabłonowska's pursuits lasted long after her death, and Franciszek Karpiński even implied that it was because of her worldly education that she managed to introduce improvements.[620]

These often contradictory statements reveal a surprisingly consistent story. It is that female writers commented on each other's public and scientific activities, underlining their civility, worldliness, and their deliberate response to internal developments, while pushing an argument that they were independent in their scientific pursuits. At the same time, male writers insisted that education among women was a novel habit, caused by external challenges, and disaproved of their social or domestic success. For example, Błędowska's mother, who "nearly burnt the house down by doing various experiences at the laboratory", was able to perform equally well socially and scientifically. Public shows involving an experimental knowledge of electricity were already well known in the early eighteenth century, and provided a great deal of entertainment for the viewers and participants. In the Polish lands, the first experimenter who gained prominence was the physicist Franciszek Scheidt (1759 – 1807). In 1786, he published his seminal work *O Elektryczności Uważanej w Ciałach Ziemskich i Atmosferze* [On Electricity Found in the Earth's bodies and Atmosphere] that was reviewed by the Commission of National Education.[621] Scheidt taught in Kraków

[618] Chorobińska-Misztal, *Z dziejów Siemiatycz drugiej połowy XVIII wieku*, 41.
[619] Anna Jabłonowska do Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego [przed 16 VI 1792], rkps 922 IV Bibl. Czart in Kraków, s. 151 – 153; and Stanisław August Poniatowski do Anny Jabłonowskiej, Warszawa 27 VI 1792, rkps. 922 IV Bibl. Czart. in Kraków, s. 155.
[620] Karpiński, *Historia mego wieku*, 50.
[621] Franciszek Scheidt, *O Elektryczności Uważaney W Ciałach Ziemskich i Atmosferze* (Kraków: w Drukarni Szkoły Główney Koronney, 1786).

until the 1790s, and later moved to the lyceum in Krzemieniec. In all probability, he ignited Działyńska's interest in electricity at the turn of the century.

Even though on a large scale women were "learning from men" nonetheless they conceived of science as a sociable endeavor, as integrating fantasy against the bizarre and alienating habits of male gentry. One *szlachcic*, for example, insisted that every person passing through his property must dance, and everyone avoided visiting his countryseat. In contrast, lady Trypolska, who had an artistic taste for gardening, through her cosmopolitan fantasy made a garden that represented the entire world in her country seat. The difference was that she reached out to *useful* knowledge and created a symbiosis of museum of nature and a garden full of plants, animals, and statues of people that the visitors could enjoy and reflect on, even though Trypolska's aim was to amaze and bewilder. Among her other memorable achievements was the ball, where she promised to use marble statues as embellishments. When asked where she would get them from, Trypolska replied "what do you need your head for?" To the great surprise of her guests, they found statues so beautiful, it was as if Antonio Canova (1757 – 1822) made them, but when one of the guests touched a statue it moved and screamed – as it appeared that Trypolska covered young peasant girls with some chalk (lime?) and made them stand in various poses on platforms. This "performance" was counted as a day of serfdom for peasant girls, and the guests had an experience that would remain a topic of conversation for years to come. Perhaps, such ingenuity bewildered Sanguszko, who denied that women had any practical imagination.

Paola Bertucci in her research on domestic experimentation in eighteenth century Italy argues that both men and women performed scientific spectacles, and that they were popular from the 1750s onwards. The home setting produced and consumed experimentations on natural philosophy in equal measure.[622] However, the examples of Jabłonowska, Błędowska and Trypolska present women who remained confined to the private sphere of their homes, but managed to find a balance between scientific expression in public and private sphere, while also being the owners of strong households. In their familiar home setting, these women endeavored to advance their economic, agrarian, and natural philosophical knowledge to broader audiences, in particular to their daughters.

[622] Paola Bertucci, "Domestic Spectacles: Electrical Instruments between Business and Conversation," in *Science and Spectacle in the European Enlightenment*, edited by Bernadette Bensaude-Vincent and Christine Blondel (Ashgate Publishing, 2008), 87.

In contrast, at the end of the eighteenth century, male writers focused on the virtuous habits of a woman who - as we learned in *Chapter Two* - was foremost a mother and responsible for the domestic upbringing of her children. Still, even if disapprovingly, the men of letters reveal that noble women were not passive representatives of the process of refinement and civilization in the provinces throughout the 1800s – 1830s. The political circumstances of the Napoleonic wars and the social exclusion of women from the public sphere allowed them to become "mindful citizens" and companions to the men of *higher* Enlightenment. As Dena Goodman suggested, the new forms of social interaction in the eighteenth century created opportunities for a more inclusive citizenship, specifically salons and coffeehouses.[623] Yet, in the provinces, the memoirists unanimously agree that the practice of reading and learning foreign languages gradually helped to balance the level of education between men and women, and enabled women to become more active in their self-representation of everyday life. By the turn of the century, landed women in the governorates became modern individuals who could contribute to public discussions, whilst male residents remained devoted to exercising their influence through their contributions to the system of education and their individual routine of translating. Even though the traditional units of public culture, such as coffeehouses and salons were absent, from the female writers' point of view they had always been active participants in the public life of their country seats. Through collecting and demonstrations, they devoted their time to spreading knowledge in the community.

[623] See Dena Goodman, *Becoming a Woman in the Age of Letters* (Cornell University Press, 2009).

Toleration and Equality: Interpretations in the Governorates

The proceedings of the Great Diet in 1788 – 1792 are believed to have contributed to the transition of the Polish nation "from the Renaissance and Baroque ideal of the "noble republic" to a modern concept of universal citizenship embracing commoners".[624] Arguably, Enlightenment ideas of equality and realization of interdependence of the estates played an important role in this evolution. However, from the memoirs we learn that the concept of equality between the different strata of nobility was a myth, and in reality, the lesser *szlachta* and the magnates had a different political and economic influence and importance within the Commonwealth. Additionally, their interpretations of *equality* and *toleration* were often relative to a particular situation. If we consider the nobility in the annexed provinces as a group that shared a common history, traditions, everyday practices and political discourse, it is possible to decipher their position on Jewish residents and peasants in their lands. In this brief examination of the views towards the notions of *toleration* and *emancipation* at the turn of the nineteenth century, I will combine two discourses: the first traces the memoirs of the residents, and the second shows the views that were present in the reform projects throughout the 1790s – 1840s. This will enable an examination of the receptions over the topics of *toleration* and *emancipation* and to analyse why they felt it was (un)necessary to discuss these problems in their memoirs in the 1820s – 1860s.

Tolerating Whom?

In eighteenth-century Europe, the idea of toleration contained the right to worship freely and to practice one's religion without prejudice. Since the issue of religion was central to the Enlightenment, the problem of religious tolerance engaged the minds of philosophers and politicians, who aimed at reconciling the idea of toleration as a right along with the idea of freedom of expression in public and in private.[625] The negotiations of toleration were different in character. In France after the French Revolution, the position of the Jews underwent a certain change within the overall transformation of society – a transition of

[624] Stone, *The Polish-Lithuanian State, 1386 – 1795*, 317.
[625] See Ole Peter Grell, Roy Porter, eds., *Toleration in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2000).

"Jews from barely tolerated individuals and communities into fully-fledged citizens".[626] It was a rational approach - many reformers were searching for a way to integrate the Jews into mainstream economic, social, and political life. In the German lands, a discussion of the character of religious toleration was reserved to a legal sphere. During the Napoleonic wars, the German states extended rights to the Jews, in hope to gain more support aginst French influences.[627]

The great debate on the broader inclusion of the Jews into the social and political life of the Commonwealth was introduced during the Great Diet in 1788 – 1792 and was discussed in detail by *Pamiętnik Historyczno-Polityczno Ekonomiczny*, whose publisher, a Jesuit Piotr Świtkowski, was a known adherent of tolerance and equality.[628] Historically, Świtkowski claimed, the Jews were perceived as "intruders" because of their language and habits. However, "it would befit to bear in mind the Right of the Nations whereby every arrival is subjected to the Laws of the nation, and no foreign Superior Authority of the country he has departed from may possibly stretch his rule over the arrival".[629] Such was his argument for equality – to treat social and religious groups according to the same laws. He further argued that incentives "to foster happiness in the country", which were the opposite of fanaticism and despotism, could originate in the Commonwealth only under the influence of education and enlightenment: **"**the light of useful sciences and knowledge had shined in the Nation, the need was that our Law-givers be induced by Equity, Justice, Love for people and the will for universal good, in place of egoism, private interest and consideration of some one class of people".[630]

In 1789, an ambassador from Pinsk Mateusz Butrymowicz (1745 – 1814) in his *Sposób uformowania Żydów polskich w pożytecznych krajowi obywatelów* [Means of Transforming the Polish Jews into Citizens Useful for the Country] further advanced the idea of inclusion and suggested to make Jews

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[626] Jacob Katz, *Emancipation and Assimilation* (Fanborough, Hants., 1972), ix.
[627] See David Sorkin, „The Jewish Question in Eighteenth-Century Germany," in *Discourses of Tolerance & Intolerance in the European Enlightenment*, edited by Hans Erich Bödeker, Clorinda Donato, Peter Reill (University of Toronto Press, 2008).
[628] Świtkowski, *Pamiętnik Historyczno-Polityczno Ekonomiczny*, Tom III – IV, 761. [The Commonwealth … is not populous, for the most part badly cultivable, no industry, no factories: all this evidences that to discard people (to which Intollerancza [intolerance] contributes the most) is what we ought not, but rather, attach them, for which the allurement is liberty of conscience, personal freedom, and righteousness secured to every body].
[629] Świtkowski, *Pamiętnik Historyczno-Polityczno Ekonomiczny*, Tom III – IV, 790.
[630] Świtkowski, *Pamiętnik Historyczno-Polityczno Ekonomiczny*, Tom III - IV, 1152.

Useful subjects of the Commonwealth like the other inhabitants of Poland. Knowing that Jews are people who through only the guilt of the Government have become not only useless for the country but also detrimental thereto, the present *Seym* [parliamentary assembly] applies endeavours so that henceforth they might be decorous people and good citizens.[631]

For Butrymowicz, it was the weakness of the government rather than issues over religion that was to blame for the poor policies towards the Jews. In order for the Jews to become a functional part of the Commonwealth, Butrymowicz encouraged them to settle in towns and to take up trades, because "for them and for the country it would be good if Jews could partake in agriculture and craftsmanship".[632] Furthermore, the Jews should also sign up to serve in the army because this would help them to obtain proper *polor* [refinement]. In regards to education, Butrymowicz believed that the Jews should be taught to read and to write in Polish and that all their books should be Polish: "Sciences would suffer no detriment by a loss of Jewish (not Hebrew) books and language, and the Jewish nation would considerably benefit upon it. For, instead of two, they would merely learn one language, and read not only Jewish but also other of our books, and through them made significant progress in Enlightenment".[633] In this context, the Polish language was assessed as a means of inclusion, and receiving an education in Polish would result in refinement and enlightenment. It is interesting that Mendel Lefin reciprocated such opinions. An advocate of the Jewish regionalism, he encouraged Podolian Jews to study Polish, or "Polish-Jewish", as he called it.[634]

Even though enlightenment for the Jews was limited only to an education in Polish, it was still an essential component in making them useful to their homeland. Butrymowiz believed that the Polish lands should follow Holland's example where the Jews were given the same status as the rest of its citizens.[635] Thus, including the Jews in the process of Enlightenment seemed rather unproblematic from the reformers' perspective, as it only required giving them a Polish education and equal participation in economic advancements. Moshe Rosman in his research on Polish-Jewish connections justly argues that the

[631] Świtkowski, *Pamiętnik Historyczno-Polityczno Ekonomiczny,* Tom III - IV, 1153-1154.
[632] Świtkowski, *Pamiętnik Historyczno-Polityczno Ekonomiczny,* Tom III – IV, 1168.
[633] Świtkowski, *Pamiętnik Historyczno-Polityczno Ekonomiczny,* Tom III – IV, 1170. [Przez zagubienie książek i języka Zydowskiego (nie Hebrayskiego) nie szkodowalyby nauki. A narod ten wieleby na tem zyskał. Gdyż zamiast dwoch iednegoby się tylko języka uczył, mogłby czytać nie tylko Zydowskie, ale też i inne nasze książki, a przez nie znacznieby w oświeceniu postąpił].
[634] Nancy Sinkoff, *Out of the Shtetl: Making Jews Modern in the Polish Borderlands* (Brown Judaic Stadies, 2004), 9.
[635] Świtkowski, *Pamiętnik Historyczno-Polityczno Ekonomiczny,* Tom III - IV, 1158.

Commonwealth displayed a peculiar sort of toleration that was driven by utilitarian rather than philosophical attitudes; it was a "sloppy toleration" throughout the sixteenth – eighteenth centuries.[636]

In present-day historiography, the history of the annexed provinces became almost synonymous with a problematic multicultural co-existence, a case for the borderland studies with the focus on either non-inclusion or exclusion.[637] Traditionally, the 'social face' of the territories was shaped in the following way – the Polish and Lithuanian *szlachta*, Polish and Ukrainian peasants and city-dwellers, Jewish merchants, and German colonists. As to the confessions, there were Orthodox, Catholic, Greek-Catholic, Protestant (Lutheran and Calvinists), Jewish, and Muslims. In light of the recent studies on the Jewish question in the Polish lands, the Volhynian and Podolian provinces present a unique case. Specifically, the demands to introduce a reform during the Great Diet of 1788 – 1792 came only from Lithuanian and Mazovian nobles, and even those were rare.

In the south-eastern part of the Commonwealth, the situation with the Jewish population did not seem to cause political or philosophical discussions, despite the substantial number of the Jews inhabiting the area.[638] It was possible that the absence of discussions were rooted in the economic interdependence of the Jews and magnates in the region. In 1795, close to 85% of Jews who lived outside of *shtetls* in the eastern regions were innkeepers of whom the *szlachta* greatly profited by selling them patents for the sale of alcohol. In such a way, Jewish merchants generated huge incomes for the nobility. Thus, a solid system of economic reliance was created. Regarding the numbers, by the 1850s in provinces of Volhynia, Grodno, and Podole the proportion of Jewish merchants was higher than three quarters of total mercantile community.[639] In this context, it is impossible to limit discussions

[636] Moshe Rosman, "Innovative Tradition: Jewish Culture in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth," in David Biale, ed., *Cultures of the Jews: A New History* (Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2012), 521.
[637] See J. Michalski, 'Sejmowe projekty reformy położenia ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w latach 1789 – 1792', in *Studia historyczne z XVIII i XIX wieku*, ed. W. Kriegseisen and Z. Zielińska, 2 vols. (Warsaw, 2007); K. Zienkowska, "Citizens or Inhabitants? The Attempt to Reform the Status of the Polish Jews During the Four Years' Sejm," *Acta Poloniae Historica*, 75/76 (1997); Anna Michałowska-Mycielska, Marcin Wodziński, eds., *Małżeństwo z rozsądku? Żydzi w społeczeństwie dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (Wrocław, 2007).
[638] Richard Butterwick-Pawlikowski, "Jews in the Discourses of the Polish Enlightenment," *Polin. Studies in Polish Jewry*, Vol. 27 "Jews in the Kingdom of Poland 1815 - 1918", ed. by Glenn Dynner, Antony Polonsky and Marcin Wodziński (Oxford-Portland, Oregon: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2015). For the discussions of the Jewish question during the provincial sejmiks see Jerzy Lukowski, *Disorderly Liberty*, pp. 205 – 222.
[639] Benjamin Nathans, *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia* (University of California Press, 2002), 40.

on toleration and emancipation to just religion, since the inn keeping was just as important as the synagogues in the area, as Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern argued.[640]

Even though the problem of providing enlightenment by means of education in Polish to different social groups seemed important, what the reformers in the Commonwealth truly cared about was the economic status of the Jews, in relation to state regulations and possible profit they could deliver. The projects for agrarian colonization and economic utility begun in the 1770s and went hand in hand with the Commission's ideas for agrarian improvement. For instance, Jews who worked on the land were exempted from tax, according to the decree issued in 1775.[641] This exemption was introduced in order to regulate Jewish inns in the countryside. The reformers and political philosophers Stanisław Staszic (1755 – 1826) and Hugo Kołłątaj (1750 - 1812) believed that the inns were harmful for local peasants as provided a source for cheap alcohol.[642] Their idea, however, was not to isolate the Jews, but to involve them in agricultural business and trade while keeping them away from the production of alcohol.

After the partitions, the ideas of social and economic enclusion of the Jewish population persisted. Specifically, Alexander I and Adam Czartoryski worked together to improve the legal position of the Jewish community in the region. Their enlightened changes also included a network of schools for the Jews and in return demanded that they learn Rusian or Polish and abandon alcohol production. The emperor's decision to involve Czartoryski in the discussion signified the connection between the reforms in the governorates and the reforms proposed by the Great Dieat.[643] This great debate on the economic inclusion of the Jews continued and climaxed from 1815 – 1822.[644]

During the course of these debates about agrarian colonization, the society in the region responded by staging theatre plays and popularizing opinions about the reform. For instance, in 1813 there was a play in a local theatre *Alojzy i Jego Kredytorowie* [Alojzy and His Creditors], which was a loose translation of a comedy by Pigault-Lebrun and staged by Alojzy

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[640] For more on the culture of Jewish inns in Western gubernias of the Russian empire, see Йоханан Петровський-Штерн, "Право на чарку: Корчми, Шинкарі й Горілчана війна у штетлі (Волинська, Подільська та Київська губернії, 1780 - 1840)," *Judaica Ukrainica* 2 (2013), 64.

[641] Marcin Wodziński, "Wielkiem Orać". Polskie Projekty Kolonizacji Rólnej Żydow 1775 – 1823," in *Małżeństwo z rozsądku? Żydzi w społeczeństwie dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (Wroclaw, 2007), 108.

[642] Arthur Eisenbach, *The Emancipation of the Jews in Poland, 1780 – 1870*, ed. Antony Polonsky, trans. Janina Dorosz (Oxford and Cambridge, 1991).

[643] Sinkoff, *Out of the Shtetl*, 108 – 109.

[644] Einsenbach, *Emancypacja Zydow na Ziemiach Polskich 1785 – 1870 na Tle Europejskim* (Warszawa, 1989); also see Wodziński, "Wielkiem Orać". Polskie Projekty Kolonizacji Rólnej Żydow 1775 – 1823".

Żółkowski (1777 – 1822). In it, the actor Kazimierz Skibiński performed the role of 'Jew the creditor'. A year later, Skibiński had one of his greatest performances with a comedy *Żyd dzierżawca włości* [Jew the Leaseholder of the Estate]. Skibiński recognized the political and social implications of the topic behind the stage: "a lot depended upon production of the play, for allowing the Jews to take properties into possession was spoken of openly. It was somehow helped, in that the censorship passed it".[645] For this performance, Skibiński had to borrow old and dirty *żupan* from a local inn-keeper, and amused the audience when he danced *polonaise* in this "Jewish costume".[646] For Skibiński, this humorous incident was a symbolic illustration of the struggle to include the Jews into the social and economic structure of the Polish lands.

Amidst the debates on economic inclusion, the situation of ethnic and religious intolerance in the region was frequently discussed in a satirical weekly *Wiadomości Brukowe* [The Street News], which epitomised the problem of tolerance as a controversial subject. In particular, its contributors mocked the unreasonable wishes of the provincial gentry to eradicate any other religion, except Catholicism, in their neighborhoods. One of the articles described the list of instructions given to a delegate to be presented at the diet. Among other things, this instruction insists on "the freedom of religion to abolish once for-ever […] all the heretics to draw into [i.e. enter in] the *Arianism* register; Protestant chapels or *kircha*s, mosques, schools forbid to repair, and God forbid erecting new ones".[647] Thus, it is safe to say that the notion of religious toleration lagged behind the discussions on economic and social inclusion.

In this context, the discussions that were possibly introduced by the residents of the region, who undoubtedly witnessed the debates or even participated in them is of particular interest. Among other things, it could uncover the picture of social and religious integration of the szlachta, who often employed the Jewish agents in their country seats. To begin with, the most iconic representative of the Lithuanian lands, Julian Niemcewicz (1757 – 1841), who was born near Brest, noted that "pretty unfortunately, all of our towns, this one is all circumfused by Jews. It has come to the Blackfriars' mind to drive the Jews into their church so that they listen to Father Obłoczyński's proselytising. The coercion of listening for several

[645] Skibiński, *Pamętnik Aktora*, 89.
[646] Skibiński, *Pamętnik Aktora*, 307-310.
[647] *Wiadomości Brukowe*, No. 28 (1817), 116. [wolność wyznania znieść raz nazawsze, do regestru Arianismi wszystkich różnowierców pociągać; zbory kirchy, meczety, szkoły reparować zabronić, a broń Boże nowe stawiać].

hours to what they could not understand, and were not willing to believe, exasperated them not a little".[648] After the partitions, all seems lost to Niemcewicz, because Jews and the Russians overwhelmed the Polish population in the annexed territories. Describing Wilno in the 1840s, Niemcewicz wrote that the "residents are only Jews, or those worse than they are, Muscovites".[649]

Thus, the introduction of the Pale of Settlement (the term usually referred to a territory where Jews were allowed to settle and trade, covering the territory of Vitebsk, through Kalisz, and all the way to the Crimea) does not go unnoticed. Uncovering the social and political layers within the Pale of Settlement at the turn of the nineteenth century is problematic. The introduction of the Pale added social tensions amidst the absence of strong regulation. As Benjamin Nathans argues, because of the external pressure of the Russian empire and Polish nobility, the Jewish community had broken down in the 1780s.[650]

The memoirists declared that economically their region was torn in half. Antoni Chrząszczewski repeatedly emphasized the differences between provincial life during the magnate Potocki's rule at the end of the eighteenth century, and after the territory was taken by the Russian empire and it began recruiting people for military service and stationing troops in the villages.[651] On the one hand, the Russian troops disturbed the peaceful life in the provinces, yet on the other, it was the constant presence of the Jews, "these true leeches on the agricultural population"[652], who presented a great disadvantage to the region. Throughout the nineteenth century, a description of any town in the province goes as such: "Today it is one of the worst towns in Volhynia, where residents are mostly Jews, who are engaged in petty trade and in smuggling of goods which is available through the proximity of the Austrian border".[653] The Jewish community was blamed for trading with the Prussians and for some kind of political propaganda: rooting for the Prussian king.[654] They were blamed for conspiring with the Russian troops against the Polish army. Michał Starzeński (1757 – 1823),

[648] Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki Czasów Moich,* 6.
[649] Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki Czasów Moich,* 55.
[650] Nathans, *Beyond the Pale,* 9.
[651] Chrząszczewski: "It is with delight that I will reflect upon the beatific and joyful condition of the populace of the country subordinate to this magnate [Potocki]. There were no sumptuous manor houses visible in the countryside, or wretched mud-houses: *no châteaux, no chaumières*. Cottages gleaming with snowy whiteness are not built [i.e. arranged] into a line, as is the case with the disgusting Jewish towns," in *Pamiętnik Oficjalisty Potockich z Tulczyna,* 51
[652] Chrząszczewski, *Pamiętnik oficjalisty Potockich z Tulczyna,* 104.
[653] F. Sulimierski, red., *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i Innych Krajów Słowiańskich,* T. 4 (Warszawa, 1883), 776.
[654] Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki Czasów Moich,* 6.

a member of the administration in the Tarnopol region, notes that the Jews were secretly preparing "stocks of grain and hey for the Russian army".[655] In 1815, Count Eustachy Sanguszko (1768 – 1844) commented on the social pyramid in the region:

> Jews strive to be a class intermediating between the manor and the peasants. Whatever may fall down or break off from above, a Jew readily holds his skull-cap to catch. The most certain rule about them is, interfere as little as possible, and repudiate their economics. I see one thing of advantage about them: that stinging the citizens with their astuteness, they serve as a whetstone to grind away their rust-coated minds.[656]

In light of these testimonies from the 1820s – 1840s it is fair to say that the debates on the Jewish population and the benefits of their economic inclusion failed to penetrate into the minds of the landed nobility. They thus identified the involvement of the Jews in the local economy as the main obstacle. Yet, the presence of the Jews was regarded as beneficial in a way that it polished the minds of peasants and made them more sociable. If Sanguszko argued for the exclusion of the Jews from the economy, other memoirists offer their reflections on their social inclusion and the different mediums that were used to influence public opinion on the subject. Mostly they recognize both sides were unwilling to commit to the dialogue that many conflicts occurred. A case described by Leon Dembowski in his memoirs serves to prove that the Jews were acknowledged as necessary intermediaries between the *szlachta* and peasants in the region who aimed at productive cooperation. When in 1810s a large sum of money was stolen from the count, a rabbi claimed that he had the money and promised to return the sum if the he agreed to forgive the thief and to take the money back without asking the rabbi how he came into possession of it. Instead, the count decided to visit the rabbi, and the following occurred:

> Having approached the bed, the Prince began talking in Polish. Magiet nodded his head but did not reply. Thinking he does not understand Polish, the Prince used the German language: silence, again. So, the Field-Marshal spoke in Hebrew, since he knew the language very well as well; but the effect was the same, once again. Thus, seeing the implausibility of extracting even a littlest word from the saint, we returned to the inn for a dinner. Like before, we were escorted by crowds of Jews, and their enthusiasm manifested itself also in honour of

[655] Starzeński, *Na Schyłku Dni Rzeczypospolitej*, 82-83.
[656] Sanguszko, *Księcia Eustachego Sanguszki Pamiętnik, 1786 – 1815*, XLIX – L. [Żydzi usiłują być stanem pośredniczącym między dworem i chłopami. Co z góry spaść lub oderwać się może, pod to żyd krymkę podstawioną trzyma. Reguła z niemi najpewniejsza, wdawać się jak najmniej i odcisnać ich od ekonomiki. Jędnę w nich zaletę widzę, że przebiegłością swoją parząc obywateli, służa za osełkę do szlifowania zardzewiałych ich rozumów].

the rabbi – our Magiet, what a wise man, he – was repeatedly heard, and I do not know whether his stubborn silence was regarded as evidence of his wisdom.[657]

The count was skeptical about the rabbi, whom he hardly saw as wise, yet his unwillingness to communicate is what perturbed him. In such a way, Dembowski was possibly implying that their dialogue was lost to their mutual suspicions and attempts to retain power within their communities. Interestingly, Dembowski represented the count as conversant in several languages while the other, "wise", side was silent. The difference between the two cultures of knowledge – one communicative, displaying the willingness to reach out and converse, while the other is locked up and restrained – was repeatedly emphasized. Franciszek Kowalski, who mentioned his encounters in Podolian inns in the 1810s where "wise rabbis" did not talk because "there was no need for them to", presented similar references.[658] However, Kowalski was still eager to discuss the differences between their religions with a Jew who read the Torah. Such willingness to participate in the dialogue could signify openness to cultural and intellectual communication that surfaced at the turn of the century. Szymon Konopacki noted the popularity of the practice he called 'Kabbalah' in the homes of the *szlachta* in around 1812. Within the Jewish community in Volhynia and Podole in the eighteenth century, Kabbalah did not represent a mystical philosophy but a key to the divine secrets of life, and during this period, it enclosed every aspect of Jewish life.[659] Yet, as Konopacki admitted, "Kabbalah" in nobles' homes designated "foretelling the future" during a time of political changes and especially the Napoleonic wars. Konopacki credited a fortune-teller Marie Anne Lenormand (1772 – 1843), whom was believed to have advised Napoleon, with igniting a popular interest in Kabbalah. Enveloped into a modern practice, the mythical tradition of Kabbalah was appropriated as social entertainment by the nobility.

The memoirists unanimously disapprove of violence against Jews in the region, attributing it to the violent habits of their 'fathers'. Julian Niemcewicz described one of the most famous cases. In 1730, a foreman from Kaniv murdered a Jew who worked on his land: "So, when he killed a Jew of his neighbour in 1730, and the latter complained about it, then he commanded that Jews be piled on a large horse-drawn carriage, carried away to the neighbour's gate, and the carriage overturned; the letter contained these very words: 'Fifty for

[657] Dembowski, *Moje Wspomnienia*, T. 1, 53 – 55.
[658] See Kowalski, *Wspomnienia: Pamiętnik Franciszka Kowalskiego*, 57.
[659] Moshe Rosman, "Innovative Tradition: Jewish Culture in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth," in David Biale, ed., *Cultures of the Jews: A New History* (Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2012), 547 – 551.

one. Brother and servant to you my lord".[660] This case resonated and became illustrious for inter-ethnic violence in the region so that nearly 50 years later Leon Dembowski also duplicated it: "mister the sub-prefect of Kaniów who, having hit a Jew with a mace and killed him, when he was reprimanded for it by voivode Żaba, ordered that a whole cartful of them be carried to his place, thus retaliating for the one".[661] Such hyperbole might have been a comforting device for the writers during the 1820s – 1860s to explain the change in habits in the provinces. Niemcewicz and Dembowski recollected this incidence in the context of local *eccentrics* [dziwak] and *oryginals* [oryginałów], whom there "were more than enough in our nation by the end of the eighteenth century" and who could compete with the oryginals in England, and used it as a pretext for arguing that in the nineteenth century their community was different. Even though there were more recent cases, as for example in 1782, when a *szlachcic* killed a Jew because he refused to work during the Sabbath[662], the memoirists appealed to the same 100-year old case to lay emphasis on the extent of the older generation's regretful cruelty. They also used it to emphasize their gentle modernity: their toleration of the Jewish community in the nineteenth century meant a lack of physical mistreatment. Thus, in the context of examined material it is possible to suggest that the *szlachta* in the first half of the nineteenth century were preoccupied with their personal interest and did not consider religious toleration of the Jewish community as conceivable. Instead, they were preoccupied with demarcating their space within the new borders and in the context of the Pale, and with preserving their habitual freedoms, only embedding them within a fluid rhetoric of co-existence, influence and cultural appropriation in the governorates in the 1800s – 1850s.

The problem of religious tolerance in the Commonwealth in the sixteenth – eighteenth century is an extensive topic. Traditionally, as some historians claim, the nobility in the Commonwealth was defined by its religion as much as by its language, and the idea of nation and religion very much coincided.[663] From the sixteenth century onwards, the territories of Volhynia and Podole presented a *melting pot* of several religions, and the co-existence of so many confessional groups arguably resulted in a weakening of the Roman Catholic Church in the region.[664] From the sixteenth century, Ruthenian princely elites, magnates and the petty nobility exhibited a superficial type of religiosity, easily abandoning their rites on convenience

[660] Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki Czasów Moich*, 64.
[661] Dembowski, *Moje Wspomnienia*, T. 1, 58 – 59.
[662] Збірка В. Антоновича. Папери до 1789 року. *Sąd Grodzki Kijowski*. F. II, No. 20705 (1789), s. 7
[663] R.J.W. Evans, *Austria, Hungary and the Habsburgs: Central Europe c. 1683 – 1867* (2008), 105.
[664] See Daniel Beauvois, „Religie a Narody w Walce Rosyjsko-Polskiej na Ukrainie Prawobrzezbej w latach 1863 – 1914," *Przeglad Historyczny*, Vol. 88 Issue 1 (1997): 73 – 94.

or marrying outside their confession. In this exercise, as Natalia Iakovenko postulates, they were no different from the Polish nobility.[665] Arguably, this situation changed with the radical confessionalization of the seventeenth century, when the local aristocracy had to choose between Roman Catholicism and Greek Orthodoxy. Subsequently, in the course of the seventeenth century Poland lost its image as a tolerant state for many religions.[666]

As Daniel Beauvois claims, a peaceful co-existence of several Churches in Poland-Lithuania throughout sixteenth – eighteenth centuries existed only in official rhetoric. He presented Volhynia and Podole as territories of grave religious confrontations and intolerances. Further Beauvois argues that since the mid-nineteenth century most of the disassembled or outclassed *szlachta* in the region opted to construct amicable relations with their Orthodox peasants, and so were not particularly consistent in their Catholic religious practices. Taking into consideration the fact that there was only a small number of Catholic clergy in the region, such confessional insensitivity inevitably prompted large numbers of petty nobility to turn to Orthodoxy under the watchful eyes of the Russian monarchs.[667]

From 1796, the Russian emperors set out to limit the number of churches and monasteries in the region, appropriating their buildings either for the Russian Orthodox Church or for different administrative purposes. During the 1800s – 1830s, the town of Łutsk was a center of Catholicism in the entire south-western region of the Russian empire. In the early 1830s, the Russian authorities closed the Carmelite monasteries, while at the same time several other monasteries were destroyed by fire. The closure of the lyceum in Krzemieniec and the coming of the Moscow Patriarchate happened almost simultaneously, during the 1830s. Simultaneously, the gradual removal of the Uniate Church in Volhynia and Podole was initiated, and by 1839, it had been completely liquidated. Julian Niemcewicz left a heart-breaking description of the situation: "Muscovites left only one cathedral out of seven in Brest, the rest were turned into shops; Greek Uniates are coerced into schism, the town turned into a fortress".[668] The edict issued by the Synod in 1832 about the "Governing religion in the empire" instructed noblemen to build Orthodox churches in the region at their

[665] Natalia Iakovenko, „Religious Conversions: An Attempt at a View from Within," in *The Parallel World* [Natalia Iakovenko, *Paralel'nyi svit: Doslidzheniia z Istorii Uiavlen' ta Idei v Ukraini XVI – XVII st.* (Kyiv, 2002)].
[666] Wojciech Kriegseisen, „Toleration or Church–State Relations? The Determinant in Negotiating Religions in the Modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth," *Acta Poloniae Historica*, T. 107 (2013): 83 – 99.
[667] Beauvois, „Religie a Narody w Walce Rosyjsko-Polskiej na Ukrainie Prawobrzezbej w latach 1863 – 1914," 80 – 81.
[668] Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki Czasów Moich,* 5.

own expense.[669] The Russian authorities also confiscated mansions from the nobility who participated in Napoleon's army or in the insurrection, to built Orthodox churches there. In 1891, the last Carmelite monastery in Dubno was confiscated.[670]

It was only to be expected that these events would turn the memoirists' attention to the idea of *religious toleration*. For instance, Niemcewicz's memoirs were filled with unambiguous comments towards the non-Catholic religions in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the eighteenth century. He reflected on a difficult case of inter-religious and political interactions from the 1760s, and provided several verses from a popular contemporary song: "Luthers, Calvinists, / Impious atheists, Tear off petals, thresh / Dear motherland's flesh".[671] Furthermore, he noted that during the Confederation of Bar in 1768 – 1772, the nobles were destroying Lutherans and Calvinists, but wished that they had focused on Muscovites instead. For Niemcewicz *tolerance* was another name for the politics of instrumentalized religion employed by Catherine II and the French *philosophes,* as their eloquent rhetoric was used to mask their cunning political motives. Niemcewicz believed that the conflicts among the *szlachta* were a consequence of Catherine II's deceptive politics, as she wanted "to acquire fame with promoting tolerance in the eyes of Europe and philosophers", and Voltaire and d'Alembert praised her a great deal.[672] Thus, in the nineteenth century the idea of *religious toleration* was perceived as a product of the French thinkers and was understood as a tool for engineering political mutiny, not of free religious expression. Unlike in the Habsburg lands where Joseph II envisioned his Edict of Tolerance as means of politically strengthening of his state, the memoirist saw any program of religious toleration during the 1780s – 1790s as political de-centralization.

Other writers defined *religious tolerance* as a right to practice their religion, which was under attack by the Russian state: "The synagogue in Krzemieniec is a symbol of religious toleration of the Moscow government"[673], and paradoxically, Catholic churches are closed. In this way, the poet Gustaw Olizar commented on the politics of religion and inclusion in the

[669] Edict issued by the Synod 12 02 1832 to Count Sanguszko, The Wawel Royal Castle Archive in Kraków, Akty X.X. Sanguszków, Teka 185, pl. 29.
[670] Beauvois, „Religie a Narody w Walce Rosyjsko-Polskiej na Ukrainie Prawobrzezbej w latach 1863 – 1914," 80 – 81.
[671] Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki Czasów Moich,* 13 - 14. [*Lutry, Kalwiny / Bezbożne syny, / Z ojczyzny matki / Chcą szarpać płatki*]. This passage in the memoirs of Niemcewicz could be borrowed from the text by Karol Lubicz Chojecki written in 1770s, but published in 1789, in Chojecki, *Pamięć Dzieł Polskich, Podróż i Niepomyślny Sukcess Polaków* (Warszawa, 1789), 13 – 14.
[672] Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki Czasów Moich*, 10-11.
[673] Olizar, *Pamiętniki Gustawa Olizara. 1798 – 1865*, 24.

governorates in the 1840s. Similarly, in the 1870s Eustachy Iwanowski wrote that while in Europe and the Duchy of Warsaw other religions, such as Judaism and Protestantism were protected, Catholicism was abused.[674] The politics of the Russian empire against its Catholic noble subjects influenced their self-identification within the region. Near the end of his life, Kazimierz Skibiński (1786 – 1858) wrote that "[r]esembling the wanderer Jew, we are wandering around the world, no-where able to find a permanent *locum standi*".[675] The geographical network of schools and churches was a necessary requirement for their 'imagined' community. Skibiński's frustration was influenced by the fact that he could not give his sons to the gymnasium in Żytomierz, because he was not of a noble origin.

Some memoirists were adamant to show that political and educational changes eventually influenced the reception of other religious and social communities. Thus, the state promoted policies of religious restriction are contrasted with the stories on the nobility's individual aspirations towards acceptance, and their flexibility of mind. The recognition of cultural and sometimes even religious toleration in the region was connected to education and the attempts at economic and social improvement that were introduced by Tadeusz Czacki in the 1800s – 1810s. Together with Hieronim Sanguszko, who insisted on polishing the minds of society, some residents believed that education was the answer to religious and economic intolerance in the region. In particular, Czacki's approach to enlightenment helped to combat fanaticism and prejudice. Antoni Andrzejowski indicated that in 1813 in Łutsk,

> Jews of all genders and ages swarm toward the synagogue whose first stone was laid by Czacki latterly, and following the goim [i.e. goy/gentile (sing. being meant in the orig.)], with the whole energy of eastern piousness and with sincere tears, call Jehovah's care for him. Oh yes! Because, regardless of the difference in the confession, the goim is their benefactor, for he has opened the gate to the shrine of sciences to their children; for he has dared, through enlightenment, to elevate himself above the superstitious and fanatic obscurantism![676]

Czacki's tolerant views on religion were unique to this territory at that time when the Jewish schools were only just being established. Opinions on social inclusion gradually changed, and Ewa Felińska, "accustomed to the physiognomy of Jews in our country so

[674] Iwanowski, *Wspomnienia Lat Minionych*, T. 1, 45.
[675] Skibiński, *Pamętnik Aktora*, 279.
[676] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty starego Detiuka o Wołyniu,* T. 2, 260. [Żydzi wszelkiej płci i wieku cisną się do synagogi, której pierwszy kamień Czacki niedawno położył, i za goimem, z całą energją wschodniej pobośności i ze szczeremi łzami, opieki Jehowy nad nim wzywają. O! Bo ten goim bez względu na różność wyznania, jest ich dobroczyncą, bo ich dzieciom bramy przybytku nauk otworzył, bo oświeceniem, nad zabobonną, fanatyczną ciemnotę wznieść się ośmielił!]

different from other classes" analyzed her change of heart when she met "an educated" Jew: "the thought never occurred to me to suspect a Jew in a man decently and neatly dressed, having an educated mind the way of the Europeans, and which, as he himself used to say, was educated at the University of Vienna".[677] By the 1850s, only a compatible education could enable communication and mutual recognition between the communities.

The private interests and potential economic benefits for the petty nobility, who felt threatened by the Jews economically, meant that they did not actively contribute to discussions on religious toleration in the region. Yet, in their memoirs from the 1820s – 1860s there was a clear shift in this ideology after the restrictive policy of the Russian state, specifically of Nicholas I, who ended the *szlachta's* personal interest. Their claims for religious *toleration* during the 1830s – 1840s were obvious reactions towards the empire's policies. The residents turned to the debates of the Enlightenment thinkers of the eighteenth century, admitting that *religious toleration* and the right to practice one's religion freely was their political right. In addition, through describing the Jewish community as resistant to communication, the memoirists from Volhynia and Podole presented themselves as enlightened and modern citizens, who co-habited their space with the Jews, and as a society that became *tolerant* through the process of education.

Problematizing Emancipation and Equality

The issue of the emancipation of serfs is of paramount importance for the memoirists from the territories of Volhynia and Podole. They wrote during the period of the 1820s – 1860s, when they lived through the nationalist tendencies and suppressions during Nicholas I's (1825 – 1855) reign, whose chief ideologist professed the trinity of Orthodoxy, autocracy and nationality. Then later, during Alexander II's (1855 – 1881) reign, they witnessed the debates on the abolition of serfdom, judicial and administrative reforms. Thus, in their narratives they often discussed the social and economic shifts in the provinces.

[677] Felińska, *Pamiętniki z życia Ewy Felińskiej*, T. 2, 13. [Przywykły do fizyonomii żydów naszego kraju tak różnej od klas innych, do ich stroju brudnego, bród niegolonych, pejsów, jarmółek, wymowy pokaleczonej w sposób właściwy temu plemieniowi, ani na myśl nie przyszło podejrzywać żyda w człowieku czysto I przystojnie ubranym, mającym umysł wykształcony na sposób europejski, i który, jak sam o sobie powiadał, pobierał nauki w uniwersytecie Wiedeńskim].

Their stories, which are hardly ever consistent in style, nonetheless revolved around the role of magnates in the region. Analyzing foreign, mainly French, influences, Ewa Felińska, who wrote her memoirs in Volhynia in the early 1850s, insisted that the main problem was rooted in the fact that land went from being of a "personal" to a "financial" commodity for its owners. In her words, *sfrancuziali* [frenchified/gallified] magnates searched for the goods that they needed from abroad, and stopped investing in local industries and development projects.[678] Felińska was not the only one to voice her mistrust on local management. The poet Franciszek Karpiński (1741 – 1825) blamed Russia as he lamented on the main cause of the partitions: "at last, as in all previously fallen people, in Poland, among other causes, the vices of the citizens brought the downfall of the motherland. Most abundant tables, carriages and clothes most precious, the search for benefits, whichever were possible to find, and libertinism, made the people effeminate to a great degree, and made them unsuitable for work and for military service".[679] He disapprovingly commented on the feminization of manners among the nobility, which was a common trait of the aristocracy in the late Enlightenment.[680] When writing this, Karpiński himself resided in a country seat in the province and anxiously waited for it to be ransacked and burned by the Muscovites, as it had allegedly happened to one of his neighbours. Thus, the nobility was aware of the situation when the magnates had to choose between the partitioning powers, and often chose to retain their property in the partitioned lands. For instance, when Adam Kaziemierz Czartoryski became an Austrian Field Marshall in 1797, he did everything in his power to secure his territories in the eastern provinces from expropriation, even sent his sons to St Petersburg.[681]

The apocalyptic descriptions of 'the fall', albeit very picturesque, were hardly maintained by other writers. Felińska herself later specified that it was up to the local residents themselves to become the "saviours" of their provinces. She provided an example of her husband, Gerard Feliński, who in the early 1800s decided that it was time to "turn the gaze from general questions to local conditions"[682], and to devote his efforts to spreading education. In so doing, Gerard believed that education would change the relations of personal dependency between owners and their servants and introduce peasants to happiness.

[678] Felińska, *Pamiętniki z życia Ewy Felińskiej*, Vol. 1, 419-420.
[679] Karpiński, *Historia mego wieku*, 171.
[680] See William Clark, Jan Golinski, Simon Schaffer, eds., *The Sciences in Enlightened Europe* (University of Chicago Press, 1999), pp. 169 – 307.
[681] Sinkoff, *Out of the Shtetl*, 107.
[682] Felińska, *Pamiętniki z życia Ewy Felińskiej*, Vol. 2, 135.

Thus, the now educated nobility could emancipate commoners and transform their conditions.

The relationship between the Ruthenian peasants and their masters in the late eighteenth century was turbulent, and some scholars point out a so-called 'noble isolation' from the 'savage Ruthenian'. During the Great Diet of 1788 - 1792, the Polish Ruthenian palatinates "was not a bulwark of Christendom, but a borderland of an enlightened well-ordered republic of nobles and a deserted steppe roamed by anarchic savages".[683] Arguably, at the end of the eighteenth century, the *szlachta* saw the peasantry and rebels as a threat to the peace in the country and to their lives in their fragile households. The Koliivschyna rebellion in 1768, which resulted in a massacre of Polish noblemen and Jewish residents in several towns, and an even more disastrous rebellion in 1789, when many peasants were tried and executed in Volhynia, only complicated the matters.[684] For that reason, we might believe an outsider Kajetan Koźmian, who indicated that in 1809 the nobility in Volhynia were afraid of losing their privileges over their peasants that were still kept intact by the Russian empire. For this reason, they did not approve the Duchy of Warsaw's constitution that argued for the equality of all peoples. Instead, the *szlachta* in the provinces focused on their present condition and not on the idea of reviving the nation.[685]

Since the 1830s, the situation in the governorates changed dramatically, under the influence of new Russian policies. As Daniel Beauvois claims, the police reports from the years immediately following the insurrection in 1830-31 indicated that after its failure, the *szlachta* reinforced their control over peasants. In this, the Volhynian and Podolian *szlachta* differed in their approach from the Byelorussian nobles, who, as Beauvois claims, were more liberal in their treatment. As a result, in this period the peasant revolts became a more common phenomenon, even though in their official reports the Poles persuaded the Russian authorities that the relations between the lords and the peasants were harmonious.[686] In this unstable situation, the General Nikolai Bibikov (1792 – 1870) resolved to "teach" the Poles

[683] Tomasz Hen, "Rabid Ruthenian: L'Homme Sauvage of the Late Eighteenth Century Polish-Lithuanian Semiosphere," *Acta Poloniae Historica*, No. 105 (2012): 121 – 155 (151).
[684] See Jerzy Michalski, „Propaganda konserwatywna w walce z reformą w początkach panowania Stanisława Augusta," *Przegląd Historyczny*, xliii (1952); Also see Kazimierz Waliszewski, ed., *Katarzyna Kossakowska. Listy Katarzyny z Potockich Kossakowskiej kasztelanowej kamieńskiej, 1754 – 1800* (Poznań, 1883), pp. 203 – 205.
[685] Koźmian, *Pamiętniki Kajetana Koźmiana Obejmujące Wspomnienia od roku 1780 do roku 1815*, 315.
[686] Beauvois, *Trójkat Ukraiński*, pp. 262 - 265.

to treat the peasants in a more human and humble way.[687] Moreover, during this period there was an on-going competition between the Russian aristocracy and the *szlachta* for the "Ukrainian souls": turning peasants towards Orthodoxy. The Russian officials employed the rhetoric of "forceful Catholization" in their attempt to detach peasants from their Polish lords.[688] Officially from 1832 only bishops could teach peasants and even then only in Russian, yet there remained numerous schools in the *szlachta's* and the magnates' mansions, where education was still taught in Polish. Therefore, the private interest of each of the powers remained prevalent throughout the first third of the nineteenth century.

Nonetheless, in their memoirs the nobility present a contrasting story of amicable co-habitation with no riots or rebellions during the late eighteenth – first half of the nineteenth century. The *szlachta* repeatedly emphasized that their provinces never fell victim to the peasant's riots because the gentry's fathers were considerate and kind masters, and they themselves were benevolent and caring landlords. Even though a philosopher Tomasz Kajetan Węgierski (1756 – 1787), having visited the islands of Martinique and Haiti in the 1770s, wrote that "the conditions of the Negros in Martinique are far more bearable whilst comparing to the condition of peasants in Hungary and Poland".[689] The publisher, who insisted that it was impossible to compare the slaves and the serfs, who could move up in the social pyramid in the Commonwealth, immediately decried his opinion.

A Volhynian Wacław Borejko (1764 – 1854) noted in his memoirs that the *szlachta's* children played together with peasants' children, and this was how "we were being made accustomed to humaneness, so was the teaching of love-for-thy-neighbour combined with its practice, and attachment of the folk to their future lords instilled".[690] Borejko even denied the possibility of peasant revolts in Volhynia, because his father

> similarly with his age-peers in Hubnik in Ukraine, had the droves so favourable to him that none got associated with Gonta [a leader of the Koliivschyna rebellion], according to the promise given, though he did frolic in the close neighbourhood; they have convincingly proved their faithfulness, for not only their own stewards but also the Jews, publicans, and even the neighbouring nobles […] did they harbour, with their properties".[691]

[687] Beauvois, *Trójkat Ukraiński*, 281.
[688] Beauvois, *Trójkat Ukraiński*, 416.
[689] *Podróże i pamiętniki Tomasza Kajetana Węgierskiego* (1850), 487: https://polona.pl/item/1987873/2/
[690] Borejko, *Pamiętnik Pana Wacława Borejka*, 16.
[691] Borejko, *Pamiętnik Pana Wacława Borejka*, 17.

Only three men from Volhynia joined the insurgency and were subsequently hanged in Dubno by the residents themselves. Hence, Borejko concluded that the widespread reports about the hatred among the peasants towards their Polish masters were false.[692] He even went as far as to declare that the love of the peasants for their lord, Henryk Niemirycz, compelled them to donate their money to save him from bankruptcy.[693] If to consider that in the 1790s – 1810s Volhynia was a territory of many turbulent peasant revolts[694] such declarations from a possible witness of these events are quite extraordinary. Perhaps, Borejko's short-sightedness was intentional, since the peasant rebellions against the *szlachta* in Volhynia during the 1780s – 1790s were part of a general policy of the Russian empire to convert the peasants to Orthodoxy.[695] Similarly, Seweryn Bukar (1773 – 1853), who wrote his memoirs at the same time as Borejko, insisted on a special atmosphere of affection:

> In his desire to see his serfs enlightened in their duties with regard to God, their superiors and the society entire, my father has established for himself that every year in a different village forming the Januszpol fee-tail, a Mission be held. [The responsibilities of the Basilian priest] Rev. Lesiewicz included having teachings to the commons, explaining to them the prescriptions of the Church, the articles of faith, and prepare them for accepting the holy Sacraments, by clarifying these mysteries; in a word, teaching the true Christian devoutness and morality.[696]

In Bukar's opinion, such was a policy to *enlighten* the peasants that made them knowledgeable of their duties and from which the landlords eventually profited. In this case, enlightenment was charged not only with religious meaning, but also had a heavy load of moral duty. Thus, the writers were compelled to write the history of their provinces in a specific way, emphasizing the individual interest of the lords towards their peasants.

At the same time, they also stressed that with the help of enlightenment and the norms of religious morality, the nobility was introduced to natural justice. Describing the details of the blood-soaked murder the noble Wyleżyńscy family in around 1790 by their servants, Karol Micowski embedded within it a rational explanation, and insisted on its absolute

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[692] Borejko, *Pamiętnik Pana Wacława Borejka*, 17. [Tak fałszywe są zdania o rzekomej całego ludu Wołyńskiego i Ukraińskiego nienawiści dla Panów w tych czasach]. Also see his reflections on the house servants, pp. 62 – 67.
[693] *Tygodnik Petersburski: gazeta urzędowa Królestwa Polskiego*, R. 15, no 37 (1844), 238.
[694] See Beauvois, *Trójkat Ukraiński,* 192 – 195.
[695] Beauvois, *Trójkat Ukraiński. Szlachta, carat i Lud na Wołyniu, Podolu i Kijowszczyźnie, 1793 – 1914* (Lublin, 2005), 78.
[696] Bukar, *Pamiętniki z końca XVIII i początków wieku XIX*, 15. For a similar description of relationships between the landlord and his serfs see Sanguszko, *Księcia Eustachego Sanguszki Pamiętnik*, 52.

exceptionality. Through a detailed investigation of everyone involved in the incident and their supposed hidden motives, the murder was not blamed on the villagers' general hatred for their lords. Instead, Micowski used this incident to argue against keeping peasant servants at home, and against severe punishments. Christianity condems those who observe the sufferings of others out of barbarian curiosity, wrote Micowski.[697] The sensible, tolerant, and practical approach to Christianity that was advocated by the Commission in the second half of the eighteenth century penetrated into the discourse of provincials in the nineteenth. While Micowski argued for natural justice and exposed corrupt members of society, the publisher of Micowski's memoirs indicated that to him this story was an example of the social unrest in the eastern provinces.

Amidst implications that enlightenment and education influenced minds and destroyed prejudices, there is some danger in taking the narratives of the memoirs for granted. For example, a clerk Antoni Chrząszczewski (1770 – 1851) was suspiciously silent about the fact that his patron Szczęsny Potocki actively participated in the Targowica Confederation in 1792, which was instigated by Catherine II against Poniatowski. Instead, he is full of praise for Potocki, who allegedly freed peasants and placed a prohibition on Jewish inns, which instigated alcoholism amongst the peasantry. In fact, Potocki was not alone in these efforts, since Starzeński also prided himself on his first undertaking as the administrator in the 1780s – the exclusion of the Jews from their business in the distilleries, and "appointing more deserving people" to the inns instead.[698] The continuous discussion about the change of power within the governorates enabled the memoirists to represent the nobility as lords, who cared foremost for the improvement of their estate. In reality, however, things were more complex.

Indeed, the magnate Potocki set his peasants free in 1787 to mark Poniatowski's visit to his lands. In general, since the 1780s some lands of the Commonwealth experienced a partial elimination of servitude. The Potocki's charter declared that all peasants were free from his service for "eternity" and specified that they were free to trade, establish manufacture without any taxation, and were allowed to build stone houses. Most importantly "personal freedom, Security of rights and property's is the dearest thing for man; securing these the most strongly for the residents of the town of Tulczyn they shall be free to sue the Squire at the Crown Assessorship [i.e. Assessors' Court] for not having kept the present law, and before that court

[697] Micowski, *Pamiętnik Pana Karola Micowskiego,* 241 – 245.
[698] Starzeński, *Na Schyłku Dni Rzeczypospolitej*, 53.

shall the Squire ought to appear".[699] Very shortly, however, Potocki revoked his 'progressive' decision. This case became a legal battle that lasted until 1837, long after Potocki's death in 1805.[700] Undoubtedly, the memoirist was aware of this on-going case, since he began writing his recollections in the 1820s. Still, he chose to disregard this incidence in favor of projecting Potocki as a progressive and enlightened reformer who went out into the fields and attended to the complaints and suggestions of his well-cared and well-fed peasants.[701] We cannot blame Chrząszczewski for his imprudence, since his and his children's material welfare depended on the generosity of Potocki family. Yet, this discrepancy shows that the stories narrated in the memoirs, especially with regard to local politics and the motives behind them were often ideologically skewed.

In the Russian empire, serfdom was a regulated political decision, while in the Commonwealth it was a matter of personal choice for the owner, as we have already seen in the 1780s in Potocki's and a Countess Jabłonowska's cases. Therefore, apart from glorifying their 'Polish past', the memoirists emphasized their engagement with the topic of emancipation long before the abolition of serfdom happened in the Russian empire in the 1860s. For instance, Chrząszczewski wrote:

> Albeit not a substantial emancipation of the peasant, the *obrok*s [i.e. personal tax payable (in cash) by serfs to the squire] arranged by Potocki, while not being an essential emancipation of the peasants, implied all the benefits of emancipation, giving no room to the dangerous consequences as brought-about by the general liberation of a populace that have no landed property at all. Had the other former land-owners have followed the example, the peasants would have come to a better existence, and with their increasing affluence, the profits of their lords would have been seen growing.[702]

The landowner's personal choice on the conditions of emancipation was emphasized, and even though equality was inherent to Christianity, either a government or a landowner could grant it.[703] Such an approach to emancipation somewhat resembled the opinions of the

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[699] Сергій Шамрай, *Боротьба Тульчинських міщан з графами Потоцькими (1797 - 1837)*. Фонд X, no. 15063, s. 10. [Sergiy Shamray, *The Struggle of the Citizens of Tulczyn with Potoccy* (1797 - 1837)].

[700] This long case is in detail described by Sergiy Shamray in *The Struggle of the Citizens of Tulczyn with Potoccy (1797 - 1837)*.

[701] Chrząszczewski, *Pamiętnik oficjalisty Potockich z Tulczyna*, 51 – 52.

[702] Chrząszczewski, *Pamiętnik oficjalisty Potockich z Tulczyna*, 104 – 105.

[703] In the text: Be it out of good will of the land proprietors, or by instruction of the government, liberation of the commons would be an equitable and most-appropriate thing to do, as the Christian religion and the very sense of humaneness refrains one from being the lord of an individual, as if the latter were a thing, of a sort. But, any expropriation at-no-charge from a thing fairly purchased may never follow without reversion of the societal principles.

nobility from the late eighteenth century. In 1791, Benedict Hulewicz declared that he was an admirer of freedom and was unable to tolerate serfdom, because "religion and republicanism create this feeling in me, and I must follow it".[704] Thus, partial emancipation that was implemented by the lords supposedly took the needs of the peasants into consideration, and focused on improving their conditions. However, Chrząszczewski begged not to use the good idea in a wrong way, as it could make the conditions worse. Denying the ideas of the Saint-Simonists and the Fourierists, he stated that the extravagances have to be abolished, yet the land, which was granted to the nobleman in return for his service to the King, should not be taken away. In this, it is possible to read a confident message against the repudiation of nobility's privileges over their land and the serfs that were tied to it.

Focus on the "betterment of conditions" of the populace in the provinces was a matter of detailed and comprehensive interest. After the partitions, the lesser nobility believed in their collective role to continue the "good deeds" of Czacki and to contribute their efforts and finances to the school system in the provinces. When Drzewiecki was organizing a school for surgeons that would serve peasants' needs, Gerard Feliński was "turning his eye from questions general to our own stance, he thought that personal bondage and excessive dependency are in our country the primary theme for spreading of education and well-being amidst our populace. While removing the former question was not his responsibility, he considered it his obligation to work on the latter, as far as his personal ability would allow".[705] Through education, Feliński explained to the peasants that the results of their work were their property, and through their work, any peasant could improve his conditions and his education, and so avoid social upheavals of the French Revolution. In their efforts to improve, the nobility took the events in France as the point of their departure, and described their individual initiatives as more thoughtful, caring, and premeditated. It is worth mentioning that in the 1830s, Felińska became involved in the patriotic organization *Stowarzyszenie Ludu Polskiego* (1835 – 1842), and due this affiliation, she was arrested and exiled to Siberia. The society's main agenda was to unite the nobility and the peasants towards a common goal: to reinstate Poland to its former borders. Her opinion of such a unity did not change until the 1850s.

Another notion that is relevant for understanding the discourse on emancipation in the memoirs is the concept of *equality*. Albeit marginally, the writers noted changes in their views

[704] Natalia Iakovenko, *Narys istorii Ukrainy z naidavnishykh chasiv do kintsia XVIII stolittia* (Kyiv, 1997), 267.
[705] Felińska, *Pamiętniki z życia Ewy Felińskiej*, Vol. 2, 135.

regarding the concept of an 'all-inclusive equality'. The representatives of the *szlachta* were accustomed to the term *równość* [equality] through their "golden liberties", which ensured the equal participation of the magnates and petty nobility in matters of the state. On the other hand, they were aware that this equality existed only as a rhetorical device. Chrząszczewski stated that the Constitution altered the notion of equality:

> As for the mass of nation, that is, the Commonwealth, which had so-far been composed of nobility alone, new members were incorporated to her and the civic estate was roused to share love for the homeland with the knightly estate. As a token of fraternal love, the reasonable nobles enrolled with the registers of urban citizens, yielding themselves to the municipal laws.[706]

Even though "the enlightenment of the minds has not yet expanded" enough so that their privileges might be comparable with those of the nobility, other residents were perceived as equal in their civic virtues.[707] In contrast to these statements, Niemcewicz exuded his hopes that "the time will probably come […] where the people will be enlightened enough so that they will be subject, instead of a man imperfect like themselves, to the laws alone. But, such time has not come over yet".[708] When describing the reforms of the "ineffective philosopher" Joseph II, Niemcewicz moralized that the situation when a monarch wanted to be seen a man equal to everyone was erroneous. While Kant and Condorcet believed that men should be subjected to no other laws than reason alone, the poet argued for the equal subordination to the law.

Thus, Kołłątaj's ideas on the equal participation of the *szlachta* and the commoners in government, which he expressed during the Great Diet in 1788 – 1792, were still thriving. Since the 1800s, the popular denomination for a *szlachcic* in became "a citizen", and some admitted that the Revolution introduced changes into their style of communication. For example, Henrietta Błędowska noted that many families followed new trends that were in the air in the 1790s: "women's clothing changed, following the example of the ladies in Paris. Jewels were abandoned; the relations within the *szlachta* became different".[709] Although, she does admit that her mother gave away her jewellery and other valuables to pay off her husband's debts. Błędowska also mentioned that forms of communication altered: "when

[706] Chrząszczewski, *Pamiętnik oficjalisty Potockich z Tulczyna,* 70.
[707] Chrząszczewski, *Pamiętnik oficjalisty Potockich z Tulczyna,* 70.
[708] Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki Czasów Moich,* 68.
[709] Błędowska, *Pamiątka Przeszlości. Wspomnienia z lat 1794 – 1832,* 53.

writing to her scribes or plenipotentiaries, my mother would commence thus: '*Citizeness Działyńska hereby requests Citizen N.*'. Whilst my grandmother did not accept this formula, my mother yielded herself to the new notions of equality with all her youthful zealousness".[710] It is unclear whether this formula was used when referring to anyone else but the *szlachta*, yet, either under the influence of the French Revolution or under the pressure of the new decrees of the Russian empire the writers told a story of continuous challenges to their traditions. Possibly, such a nominal change presupposed a leveling in the rights of the governorates' inhabitants, who were equally limited in their rights over political participation after the partitions. Yet, even though the writers based their arguments for equality on foreign influences, either the French Revolution or the reforms of the Great Diet, this concept remained limited to the members of nobility. Still, it is possible to say that the French Revolution altered the discourse on egalitarianism and displayed the cosmopolitan values of the nobility. Eventually, such tendencies resulted in the practice of employing the concepts of 'equality', 'freedom', and 'fraternity' during the uprisings in the 1830s and 1860s.[711]

In the memoirs of the 1820s – 1860s, the notions of *equality*, *toleration* and *emancipation* were central in the writers' attempt to represent their society as strong yet susceptible to change under the overwhelming influence of changes that they were subjected to since the 1800s. The male writers credited the *higher* enlightenment, a notion introduced, arguably, to differentiate between the down-to-earth process of education and the broader implication of social improvement and personal advance, as a reson that allowed ideas on female equality and toleration and their participation as citizens in the region from the 1800s.

Simultaneously, their assessment of the notions of *religious toleration* and *emancipation* were recognizable responses to the Russian empire's policies towards the peasantry and their repeated attempts to negate the *szlachta's* privileges. In the neighbouring Galicia, noble priviliges as well as the Polish administrative system have been abolished already in the 1780s. Joseph II's enlightened centralizing policies also undermined the notion of equality among the nobility, separating them into gentry and magnates.[712] While Alexander I flirted with the ideas of Enlightenment and his employment of Czartoryski in the matters of Jewish emancipation and new administrative division signified the link between the Polish

[710] Błędowska, *Pamiątka Przeszlości. Wspomnienia z lat 1794 – 1832*, 53.
[711] See Joseph Klaits, Michael Haltzel, eds., *Global Ramifications of the French Revolution* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 66.
[712] Sinkoff, *Out of the Shtetl*, 215.

Enlightenment and the Russian policies, Nicholas I was steadfast in his repudiation of individualism or personal interest of the nobility. Manifold texts thus became testaments to an alternative reality where the residents represented their entire society as a community that was independent from the influences of the Russian state, yet able to respond to the universal intellectual and social trends. In displaying their regional individualism, the ambiguities in the treatment of the Jews and the peasants, which is recognizable in the light of the official rhetoric, and their reservations regarding the new position of women were easily overlooked by the writers in favor of advancing the ideas of a pervading sense of individual enlightenment and their commitment to improving social conditions.

Chapter Five:

Territories of the Anti-Enlightenment?

The Enlightenment with its distinguishing practical and philosophical values remains an ambiguous subject concerning the different regions of East Central Europe. Repeatedly scholars dedicate further efforts to explaining how intellectual, reformatory or political stagnation contributed to the alteration of the Enlightenment's agenda in these areas. This was caused in part by the predominance of Catholicism and the attention paid to protecting religious practices and dogmas, alongside the development of vernacular languages, and the absolute repudiation of the French exemplars after the Revolution. In this context, the Volhynian and Podolian residents' thoughts on this politically and geographically contested region offer us a chance to study the 'clash of expectations' in a more detailed way.

The 'Anti-Enlightenment' arguably began long before the French Revolution, roughly around the 1740s, and developed concurrently with the Enlighthenment in opposition to its liberty of style and freedom of thought and expression.[713] The thought of the Anti-Enlightenment was represented by several generations of political writers and philosophers, and was not a solid intellectual paradigm. The first opponents of the Enlightenment's rationalism accused it of breaking the natural ties within communities and undermining religious tradition. In addition, ideas of the Enlightenment were blamed for indulging imperialistic appetites and of adopting a superior outlook regarding the 'uncivilized' peoples. This generation witnessed the fall of the *ancien régime* in the 1790s with the French Revolution, which they believed to be the practical realization of the minds of the French *philosophes*. Among others, the publicist Adam Müller (1779 – 1829), the philosopher Louis de Bonald (1754 – 1840), and the historian François-René de Chateaubriand (1768 – 1848) assumed their roles as counter-revolutionary writers, who saw the philosophy of the French Enlightenment as a destructive force. Their main concern was to solidify religious and historical tradition in the post-revolutionary world. Specifically, Müller perceived every nation to be a unique entity, and therefore the assumption of French style, language, and form of politics was a national betrayal.[714] Gradually, the Romantics, such as Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744 – 1803), who were also passionate enthusiasts for national ingenuity, united in

[713] Zeev Sternhell, *The Anti-Enlightenment Tradition*, transl. by David Maisel (Yale University Press, 2010), 4.
[714] See John Breuilly, "From Defeat to Triumph, 1806 – 1815," in *Austria, Prussia and The Making of Germany: 1806-1871* (Routledge, 2014).

their belief of a non-state arrangement that was free from any sort of moral corruption. However, it is worth mentioning that the reasoning of Herder's generation was influenced by Rousseau's philosophy, and was not an attack on the French culture per se, but on the image of cultural superiority professed by the French.[715]

German political writers of the nineteenth century, who advocated localism and nationalism, such as Moritz Arndt (1769 – 1860), often expressed their opinions in reaction to the overpowering French culture, and subsequent political hegemony of Napoleon over the administrative system in Prussia and Austria.[716] Following Napoleon's defeat, they argued in favor of national histories, cultures, and languages, while awaiting a centralized state regulation. Gradually, by the second half of the nineteenth century, the Counter-Enlightenment came to designate the rebuttal of the Enlightenment values in favor of national languages, religions, and form of politics. In this regard, the Anti-Enlightenment and the Counter-Enlightenment were productive intellectual movements that focused on national self-determination, political change, social improvement, and appealed to the principles of strong bureaucracy within the state. The focus was on a strong power of a hereditary monarch and on the social and political role of Church in the society.

More recently, historiography has placed less blame on the eighteenth-century *philosophes* for the French Revolution. Yet, in regards to the territories, annexed by the Russian empire in the 1790s, the seeming failure of the Enlightenment, mainly the French Enlightenment ideas, to penetrate into the hearts and minds of citizens is traditionally blamed on the French Revolution. The problem of agency in the Anti-Enlightenment thinking is a matter of debate. For instance, there is an assumption that Catherine II proceeded with the Second partition in 1793 primarily to prevent the spread of French revolutionary ideas into the Western provinces of the Russian empire, believing that those ideas would stop at the new border. The empress also allegedly used the French Revolution as a reason to terminate the activities of the Commission. At the same time, Richard Butterwick insists that the opinions, which might have been regarded as the Anti-Enlightenment thought among the writers in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, had been established prior to the 1800s,

[715] Sternhell, *The Anti-Enlightenment Tradition*, 15. Also see Darrin M. McMahon, *Enemies of the Enlightenment: The French Counter-Enlightenment and the Making of Modernity* (Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 8 – 9.
[716] See Breuilly, "Nationalism and National Unification in Nineteenth-Century Europe," in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism*, pp. 150 – 168.

while the absolute denial of the Enlightenment, or the Counter-Enlightenment, with its focus on language and tradition, surfaced only after the Napoleonic wars.[717]

In the specific context of the partitioned territories and their social content, the introduction of any sort of chronological framework does not justify the application of these (pseudo)comprehensive terms, especially when taking into consideration the on-going political change within the initially dissimilar, and then separated, provinces. In the circumstances of the provincial environment of the 1790s – 1850s, the ideas that could have designated the Enlightenment, the Anti-Enlightenment or the Counter-Enlightenment co-existed and fed on each other. Through examining the discussion and problematizing the split between ideas and practices at the end of the eighteenth – mid-nineteenth century, it would be possible to deliberate on how a provincial community encased their debates and how their beliefs and actions fluctuated in everyday life. In this chapter, I am going to discuss the following questions: (1) the image of Europe and the impact of the French Revolution; (2) the discussions of civilization; and (3) references towards philosophy and the place of religion in the narratives. These issues were at the center of the Enlightenment thought as well as the Counter-Enlightenemnt reasoning. Hence, their evoking in the context of the provinces will disclose the political and ideological stance of the residents. Taking into consideration the previously examined topics of education, reading, and emancipation and their role for the community throughout the 1800s – 1860s, it is possible to suggest that in the process of writing their memoirs the residents conceived their community with regard to 'Europe' and 'the Enlightenment'.

[717] Richard Butterwick, Między oświeceniem a katolicyzmem, czyli o katolickim oświeceniu i oświeconym katolicyzmie", *Wiek Oświecenia,* 30 (2014): 11-55.

Europe and the French Revolution: Points of Reference

On May 10th 1792, less than a year before the Second Partition that would annex the eastern provinces of the Commonwealth, a nobleman from the Kyiv Voivodeship Jan Chojecki (1748 – 1817) held a speech in Warsaw during the Great Diet of 1788 – 1792. Using lavish rhetoric, Chojecki appealed to the assembly asking them to forget about their private interest in favor of protecting the nation. He fervently declared that even though their country, Poland, had been partitioned by Austria and Prussia 20 years before, and turned into a mere province of Moscow, the reforms of the 1770s – 1790s had proven that "the Polish nation became separate from her [Moscow's] rule and in its freedom desires to have its former prominence in Europe".[718] The main argument of Chojecki's speech, however, lay in his demand that noblemen who might support the Russian troops should be stripped of their property, subtly hinting at the magnate families residing in the eastern voivodeships. An ardent supporter of the Constitution of May 3rd, Chojecki did not fail to point out that his property was in the immediate vicinity of the Russian empire, and thus amidst this political struggle his claim for unity among the Poles seemed sincere.

Chojecki's perseverance on the division between 'Europe' and Moscow, and his willingness to "forgive" Austria and Prussia (who in his opinion had already sated their appetites during the partition in 1772), in exchange for their political support during the reforms demonstrated the peculiarities of mental mapping and the non-acceptance of the new borders that were imposed on provincial noblemen as they had no historical justification. By displaying his patriotism, Chojecki admitted that there existed an entity called 'Europe' in the late eighteenth century, which was a politically stronger and an economically more desirable ally than the Russian empire. In fact, he considered the reforms in the Commonwealth to be a means of equaling Poland and 'Europe'. Even though this 'Europe' was represented by the partitioning powers, its main purpose was to counterbalance the political influence of the Russian empire.

At the end of the eighteenth century, discussions about Europe were inevitable topics among the elites across the world. This was in part due to the enlightened travelers' quest to report their experiences from overseas or across the continent back home, and the armchair

[718] Jan Chojecki, *Głos J.W. Jana Choieckiego Posła z Wojewodztwa Kiiowskiego dnia 10 Maia Roku 1792 na Sessyi Seymowey miany*. [Narod Polski został oddzielnym od iey władania, a w istotney wolności chce mieć dawne znaczenie w Europie].

intellectuals contributed to the idea of a civilizing mission of their countries. The boundaries of 'Europe', an umbrella term for a politically influential, cultivated and civilized space, were rather flexible for the provincial residents throughout the late eighteenth – mid-nineteenth century. For instance, upon his arrival in Siberia in the 1860s Marcin Zaleski, who was born and raised in Volhynia in the 1820s, "could comfort myself with an illusion that I was still in Europe. But after observations upon my arrival, this illusion was very sad".[719] Harsh weather conditions, a critical lack of roads or any systematic means of communication, and a vacuous intellectual and public sphere contributed to Zaleski's perception of the Siberian terrain as being non-European. It was a common habit among exiled nobles to reflect on the division between Europe and Asia on their long journey to the Siberian environment. For example, Karol Lubicz Chojecki (c.1740 – 1791) who commenced his journey to Siberia from Kraków almost a century earlier, in 1789, observed that he "left Europe and was brought to Asia".[720]

These minute references to 'Europe', both at the end of the eighteenth and later in the second half of the nineteenth century, invite us to analyze perceptions and the language used to decode the specific geographical position of the provinces throughout the 1790s – 1860s. As Larry Wolff argued, the Enlightenment men and women had to change the division of Europe common in the Renaissance, and to invent Western Europe and Eastern Europe together in order to profess the advancement of the former.[721] The view from the provinces was different already at the end of the eighteenth century – there was a complicated set of coordinates. While placing themselves in 'Europe' geographically and appealing to its political strength, the writers indicate that their meaning of 'Europe' gradually acquired new attributes. As was previously discussed, when establishing the school system in Volhynia in the 1800s, the reformers turned their gaze towards enlightend nations. In addition, they believed that their territories share the same Enlightenment, which finally reached their North. For Zaleski in the second half of the nineteenth century, social cultivation and commerce defined a European space and civilization. Yet, for many writers of the 1820s – 1860s it was the customs and habits that represented a degrading European spirit of the eighteenth century and the French were to blame. Thus, the French Revolution, the partitions, and the

[719] Zaleski, *Wspomnienia Marcina Zaleskiego*, 243. [ja mogłem się pocieszać iluzya, że jestem jezscze w Europie. Ale po rozpatrszeniu się na miejscu, była to na prawdę iluzya bardzo smutna].
[720] Karol Lubicz Chojecki, *Pamięć Dzieł Polskich. Podróż i Niepomyślny Sukcess Polaków*, Wstęp (Warszawa, 1789).
[721] See Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*.

subsequent shifiting borders, contributed to the discovery of several visions of 'Europe' among the provincial residents.

In general, the memoirists hardly ever discuss any other nation or state with such scrutiny as they discussed France and the French. The Polish clergy in the eighteenth century associated France and its aristocracy with Poniatowski's court in Warsaw. For them, the problems of the Commonwealth originated with the frivolities of the King in Warsaw, as a historian and a priest Jędrzej Kitowicz (1728 – 1804) pointed out in his *Pamiętniki* in the 1790s, the king was preoccupied with his private agenda and focused on "the gossips from France"[722]. A representative of the conservative nobility, Kitowicz treated every foreign individual who was in any way influential at court with mockery and disdain, and considered him or her to be a skilled political manipulator. In his opinion, these foreigners were advising Poniatowski in the same manner as the tsarina Catherine II, whom they believed was advised by Montesquieu. One particular foreigner was Korticelli, an Italian. As Kitowicz noted: "that hunchback [was] skilful in gambling and intrigues; the King accepted him into his intimate circle: amazingly, he could cleverly talk about human nature according to Voltaire, Rousseau, Helvetius and Spinoza; all of them together were secretly advising Poniatowski, who only pretended to be a Catholic".[723] Such an exuding hostility towards non-nationals is striking in comparison to the evaluations given by a member of "Thursday's Diners" Franciszek Karpiński, who in the 1820s described Korticelli in a fundamentally different way, emphasizing that this Italian knew Polish better than any other Pole at court. The priest Kitowicz was among those who declared the irreversible split between the French philosophers and Catholicism in Warsaw. In this case, just as elsewhere in the eighteenth century, the French Revolution did not invent the enemies of the Enlightenment in the Commonwealth, because they had already taken root decades earlier in the form of disliking foreigners and their knowledge.

The disdain towards the foreigners that surrounded Poniatowski prevailed in memoirs until the 1840s. The writers were ostensibly repulsed by any 'French connection' so much that they believed that Poniatowski's French lover was the cause of the licentiousness habits. Allegedly, Madam Lulli swayed Stanisław August: "she was already the third French woman, who at the expense of the country, at our expense, filled her dower chests while feeling no

[722] Kitowicz, *Pamiętniki do panowania Augusta III i Stanisława Augusta*, 247
[723] Kitowicz, *Pamiętniki do panowania Augusta III i Stanisława Augusta*, 247.

attachment to the country that accepted her and nurtured".[724] However, in the memoirs the writers talk less about Warsaw, and more about their own territories. Ultimately, they attempted to separate themselves from the degrading habits in Warsaw. For example, Karol Micowski insisted that the "licentiousness of customs, and other perverse corruptions that since couple of decades swept away Western Europe, were unknown in the provinces of Volhynia".[725] Not only did Micowski apply the concept of "Western Europe" in contrast to the Volhynian province, but he also turned this Western Europe into a shared space on the basis the manners and habits. Micowski insisted on the separation between Volhynia and Warsaw, and between their religious tradition and French culture, which in the light of other testimonies was rather a wishful thinking.[726] We have to bear in mind that in their everyday practices the writers enthusiastically admitted to exercising French styles and habits in their provincial homes. Also, inspite of their negative evaluations of French habits, many residents in Volhynia and Podole continued to perceive Paris as the center of Europe until mid-nineteenth century: "Paris was a number one capital in Europe" because of its public sphere and cultural importance.[727]

The French Revolution, arguably a global event, caused a stir in the minds of the reading public across countries and continents, and further skewed opinions about Europe, the French form of government, philosophy, style, language, and manners. Responses from the representatives of higher and lower societies were immediate, even though they were inconsistent. In the German lands, mostly in the villages that bordered France, peasant riots became a usual phenomenon, causing many landlords to flee their lands. At the same time, the nobility in England, Poland, Italy, Spain and Ireland reinterpreted their social and political events according to the model of the French Revolution.[728]

In England, the first one to attack the motives of the Revolution was Edmund Burke (1729 – 1797), who fiercely denied that there were any exalted ideas behind it. In his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) Burke argued that the Revolution was the product of "the

[724] Ochocki, *Pamiętniki Jana Dukłana Ochockiego*, T. 4, 78.
[725] Micowski, *Pamiętniki domowe,* 206 – 208.
[726] As a publisher Antoni Woykowski (1815 – 1850) claimed "What was French, what was created in France, seemed […] an ultimate choice for everyone. Foreign education eradicated our Slavic origins; [...] the politics were conceived in the wombs of King's odalisques, [the King] was only called a Christian, the entire republic of 'golden freedoms' wore 24cm powdered wigs in Warsaw, even though everyone understood that a bold head suited his face much more", in Kitowicz, *Pamiętniki do Panowania Augusta III i Stanisława Augusta*, iv.
[727] Jełowicki, *Moje Wspomnienia*, T. 1, 343. Also see Zaleski: Paris, "that capital of a civilized world fascinated me immeasurably", in *Wspomnienia Marcina Zaleskiego*, 157.
[728] See Jonathan Sperber, *Revolutionary Europe, 1780-1850* (Routledge, 2013).

intellectuals, who were destroying religion, who were undermining the legitimacy of the social order by depicting it as fundamentally unjust; it was produced by the bankruptcy of a ruling class weakened by its prosperity as well as by a false philosophy, and by the rise of another class with sinister intentions".[729] Burke united the deceitful *philosophes* of the French Enlightenment and made them responsible for the bloody outcomes of the Revolution. From this perspective, Burke aligned himself with John Locke and Charles-Louis de Montesquieu, and rejected Voltaire's and Jean-Jacques Rousseau's reasoning, whom he believed attempted to challenge the existing political order and argue in favour of a natural state.[730] Instead, Burke argued that a man's rights should go hand in hand with a man's duties, and any claims for "natural freedom" and "equality" would result in the exaggeration of a man's vices.[731]

Burke's declaration, although conclusive, did not cover the events of the Terror and the Napoleonic wars. The events of 1789 – 1793 and a subsequent decade of wars had a powerful influence on the ideology and choices of a good many local elites, albeit they often struggled to secure different arguments. Remarkably, the intellectual elites in the Russian empire were reluctant to report on the instance of the French Revolution. Catherine II herself vigorously tried to shield her country from its impact, and her successor Paul I continued her policy. However, Alexander I, having been educated in the spirit of the French Enlightenment by his grandmother, acceded to some public discussion about the Revolution, which arguably resulted in the popularity of secret societies in the 1820s and in the ultimate Decembrist Uprising in 1825.[732] Such a situation contributed to a limited reception of Enlightenment ideas in the Russian empire. Mark Raeff in his assessment of the age of Enlightenment in Russia posits that the ideas of rationalism, criticism of authority, and exposure to self-improvement pervaded in the Russian upper society prior to the 1820s.[733]

Despite the fact that Burke's *Reflexions* were immediately translated and widely read, none of the writers mentioned it, even though Burke was known to oppose the dismemberment of Poland. The only instance when Burke was referenced in the memoirs was regarding his approval of the Polish Constitution.[734] However, Ochocki abstained from

[729] Sternhell, *The Anti-Enlightenment Tradition*, 61.
[730] Russell Kirk, *The Conservative Mind. From Burke to Eliot* (Library of Congress, 2001), 17.
[731] Kirk, *The Conservative Mind. From Burke to Eliot*, 63.
[732] On the reception of the French Revolution by the Russian elites see Dmitry Shlapentokh, "The French Revolution in Russian intellectual life, 1789 – 1922," in *Global Ramifications of the French Revolution*, ed. by Joseph Klaits, Michael Haltzel (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 72 – 89.
[733] Raeff, "The Enlightenment in Russia and Russian Thought in the Enlightenment", 47.
[734] Ochocki, *Pamiętniki Jana Dukłana Ochockiego*, T. 3, 74

discussing any connections between constitutional tradition and the French Revolution. Testimonies of provincial writers indicate that they favored the works of the contemporary historian François-René de Chateaubriand (1768 – 1848), who believed in a religious revival after the incidence of the Revolution. Chateaubriand was anonymously translated in Volhynia in 1817, and meant for publication. Kajetan Koźmian in the introduction to his memoirs contrasted the thoughts of Chateaubriand to self-indulgent and feeble confessions of Rousseau, whom Koźmian read in his youth.[735] Still, these works did not persuade Koźmian that there could be any use from reading the memoirs.

Discussions about the French Revolution by the residents of the annexed provinces are unique to a certain degree because they reveal the mixed response of the landed nobility. The Revolution was assessed as an event that penetrated deep into society, while at the same time being a political incident that caused ideological changes, a philosophical movement, until the writers discarded it as having a fleeting impact on their manners. It is necessary to mention that during the Great Diet of 1788 – 1792 in Warsaw using the model of the French Revolution was in many ways out of context. While in France the revolutionaries united against their monarch, the *szlachta*, which did not care to introduce any reforms for the peasantry, argued for a stronger position of the king and misleadingly branded the devotees of the minute changes to the social and political order as 'Jacobins'. For example, Kosciuszko was labelled as a Jacobin, and he would never have been considered as such by the French. Occasionally there were some instances of peasant plots. For example, in 1797, a self-proclaimed 'Jacobin' Franciszek Gorzkowski instigated an anti-noble revolt amongst peasants in Podole, but the Austrians swiftly imprisoned him.[736] It is safe to say that the members of nobility at the turn of the nineteenth century subscribed to absolutism even after the partitions.

Considerations about the outcomes of the French Revolution in the provinces were multifaceted, and several different estimations of the Revolution should be discussed here. Primarily, the writers saw the French Revolution as a process of social upheaval. For instance, a Volhynian governor Eustachy Sanguszko noted in around 1815 that "in its beginnings, the French revolution was shaking the nations; there was in the air that inflammable spirit of an even dissolute freedom. Hungary, as is known, was not tranquil. Austria occupied itself with

[735] Koźmian, *Pamiętniki Kajetana Koźmiana Obejmujące Wspomnienia od roku 1780 do roku 1815*, xxi.
[736] See Monika Senkowska-Gluck, "La conspiration de Gorzkowski, tentative de révolution pays-sanne en 1797," in *Région, Nation, Europe. Unité et diversité* (Paris, 1988), pp. 195 – 203.

permanent wars against France which was murdering it"[737], and this uncertain situation was getting under the populace's skin. Sanguszko recollected meeting a Galician peasant on his way to Lwów, who approached his carriage only to ask about what was going to happen to "his country". Sanguszko further reflected on the commoners' earnest attachment to their land. Leaving aside the curious case of 'national awakening' of the Galician peasantry in the 1790s, Sanguszko used the model of the Revolution to reflect about the difficulties of commitment between the peasants and the nobles. In her turn, Ewa Felińska in the 1850s believed that the Revolution freed a man from ignorance and selfishness, and tore at the social fabrics of 'Europe', not just in France. For her, the eighteenth century marked an era of strong social appeals in Europe, but not in "this territory". In Felińska's opinion, the Revolution awoke such opinions among some representatives of the nobility:

> It was an age when social questions were strongly touched upon, if not in our country then in Europe, arousing activity of at least those who would not take their own interest as a solution of the mystery of life. The French revolution and the philosophy of the eighteenth century handled and treated these questions many-sidedly.[738]

In English political culture, the revolutionaries were not viewed favorably, and they were declared vagabonds and lawless people.[739] In contrast, different representatives of Polish nobility saw revolutionaries in a different light. Leon Dembowski (1789 – 1878) in his comments on the arrival of the French aristocracy to Warsaw in and around the 1790s – 1800s focused on the new practices of sociability and civility, such as "the method of carrying a conversation in which, neither dealing with politics nor vilifying or back-biting the neighbors, animation and preoccupation has been successfully maintained".[740] Opinions in the provinces were somewhat different. For example, a teacher in Krzemieniec and later at the University of Kyiv, Antoni Andrzejowski (1785 – 1868) noted that during his childhood

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[737] Sanguszko, *Księcia Eustachego Sanguszki Pamiętnik, 1786 – 1815*, 46.

[738] Felińska, *Pamiętniki z życia Ewy Felińskiej*. Ser. 2, T. 2, 135. [Była to epoka, w której kwestye socyalne silnie były potrącane, jeżeli nie u nas, to w Europie, i obudzały zajęcie tych przynajmniej, którzy nie brali interesu własnego za rozwiązanie zagadki życia. Rewolucya francuzka i filozofija XVIII wieku obrabiały te kwestye różnostronnie].

[739] David Andress, *The French Revolution and the People* (Hambledon Continuum, 2006), Xii.

[740] Dembowski, *Moje Wspomnienia*, 70. [The invasion of an alien nationality has brought about two effects, in particular. Firstly, a certain kind of revulsion for the French revolution, whose good facet faded out in the minds at the sight of those victims, and under the influence of the cruelties they described, which the convent cold-bloodedly committed. Secondly, there was a certain memento remaining of them in the social habits. Not for me to say, engraftment of salon courtesy, for this one had existed to an even higher degree than presently without them, but the method of carrying a conversation in which, neither dealing with politics nor vilifying or back-biting the neighbors, animation and preoccupation has been successfully maintained].

in the 1800s, "[t]he revolutionary spirit hovered over Europe and among us France had more adherents than among its own wandering princes".[741] Even though many French families settled in Russia, Andrzejowski claimed that "our lands" suffered the most. The foreign invasion signalled the end of their economic and cultural independence, possibly also alluding to the internal colonizing politics of the Russian empire. As a result, in the memoirs of the second generation the image of the provinces was enfolded within two cultural traditions, and the Romantic allegations of cultural independence was beginning to appear. For Ewa Felińska, the Revolution was a test of local [national] identity:

> The urge for foreignness has made severe harm to the nation. Even the Tatars did not defeat this nation through their several invasions as severely, for, with the robbery and demolition completed, they would withdraw, and the country remained, albeit destroyed, with however its moral strength unimpaired. There was nobody ever willing to transfigure into a Tatar, or go all the way to the Volga to ape their customs whilst disdaining his own ones.[742]

Felińska thus acknowledged the ideological choice that society had to make, and obviously appealed to its inner resources rather than its outward representations. Albeit harsh, her language somewhat resembles Rousseauist argument in the *Contrat Social*, where he advised the Russian empire to focus on 'making Russians', instead of copying French or Germans.[743] Eventually, the image of the Revolution became unambiguously negative and in the 1840s Ochocki described it as the result of a dreadful combination of bad local government, philosophy of natural law, and freemasonry, which ruined societies:

> The company have gradually acquired a disposition towards it [the Revolution], through debilitated faith, exuberation of ideas concerning natural laws, the natural condition, and equality of people; the particular circumstances, the weak position of the sovereign, developed the abandoned principles and brought about the excesses which the sans-culottes, the illuminates, the [Paris] fish-women [Fr., *les poissardes*] had distinguished themselves with, and at the lead of that rampaging horde, the Marats and the Robespierres.[744]

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[741] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty Starego Detiuka o Wołyniu*. T. 1, 129. [Duch rewolucyjny unosił się nad Europą i u nas Francja więcej miała stronników, niż jej książęta tułacze].
[742] Felińska, *Pamiętniki z życia Ewy Felińskiej*, Vol. 1, 419.
[743] See Jacob Lehne, *The Glittery Fog of Civilization: Great Britain, Germany, and International Politics, 1854 – 1902* (PhD Thesis, EUI, 2015), 45.
[744] Ochocki, *Pamiętniki Jana Dukłana Ochockiego*, T. 1, 72 – 73. [Towarzystwo usposobiło się do niej powoli, osłabieniem wiary, wybujaniem wyobrażeń o prawach przyrodzonych, stanie przyrodzonym i równości ludzi; okoliczności szczególne, słabość panującego, rozwinęły rzucone zasady i sprowadziły te ekscesa, którymi się odznaczyli sankiuloty, illuminaci, rybacki, a na czele tej rozhulanej zgrai Maraty i Robespierry].

Ochocki grouped the philosophy of the French Enlightenment and the years of the Terror together, accentuating the fact that it was the government's weakness that eventually led to the downfall of the state, and that the French society, who refused priests, published frivolous literature, and became freemasons was responsible for it alone. Viewing the Revolution as having such a degrading influence was somewhat similar to the views held by the opponents of the Enlightenment in eighteenth-century France, who alluded to their good old past that lacked the *philosophy*, when "men and women were pious, faithful, upright, and loyal to their king".[745] In France, priests deliberated that the works of the *philosophes* resulted in nothing else but in "a frightening inundation of every sort of crime – impiety, injustice, cruelty, *libertinage*, deception, fraud, and suicide".[746] Also, such opinions were in tune with that of the Scottish ministers in the early nineteenth century, who envisioned that the main result of the Revolution was the outbreak of social violence around the 1800s due to the religious institutions being disrupted.[747]

In this context, the fact that the Piarists' had propagated ideas of equality, and Hugo Kołłątaj advocated for the abolition of serfdom and natural religion from the 1770s onwards was easily overlooked in favor of connecting these notions to the results of the Revolution. If to consider the values of the republican nationalism, with its focus on equality, unity, and the strong relationship between the citizens and their government, then the *szlachta* should have been exposed to such views long before the revolution. However, according to the writers in the 1840s, these notions were estimated to be foreign to their society namely because they were meant to appeal to the commoners. Michał Grabowski saw the influence of the Revolution only as a temporary infatuation, since in the 1840s "there are almost no traces of corruption that once together with the putative *refinement* and *enlightenment* burst into the provinces"[748], because finally the citizens assumed their cultural agency within their provinces in the Russian empire.

Often, clandestine societies were seen as being a by-product of the French Revolution's influence in East central Europe.[749] Yet, the atomisation of society, present in France

[745] McMahon, *Enemies of the Enlightenment, 52.*
[746] McMahon, *Enemies of the Enlightenment, 36.*
[747] Thomas Anhert, *The Moral Culture of the Scottish Enlightenment, 1690 – 1805* (Yale University Press, 2014), 123.
[748] Micowski, *Pamiętniki domowe,* 208. [prawie śladów niema tego zepsucia, które niegdyś razem z mniemanym *polorem* i *oświeceniem* wtargnęło].
[749] For more on the role of lodges in society see Margaret Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment* and Van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe*, 252.

throughout the eighteenth century, and in German lands by the 1800s, was generally unknown in the governorates, where the lyceum was the only landmark for public opinion. However, there are several testimonies about the local freemason lodges, which disturbed the traditional hierarchy. After the partitions, several lodges were created[750], and two more, in Luck and in Zhytomyr, opened throughout the 1800 – 1810s. The rare instances when the lodges were mentioned do not explain their role in the provinces. However, the residents were suspicious of its members, though it is not exactly clear whether this was due to their different views of philosophy or because the freemasons were considered a foreign influence. Freemasons were usually blamed for their obscene morality and libertinage their loyalty to the local community was often questioned, and any foreigner was usually viewed with suspicion as being a potential freemason. For example, a popular doctor Hincz, who was sent to Volhynia to organize a lodge for men and women "could not have great influence on our high society because of the old superstition that doctors and freemasons were always lower in status than the *szlachta*".[751] In addition, the new political realities of the governorates within the Russian empire, who was suspicious of their loyalty, contributed to the deprecating remarks about the freemasons. For instance, the future bishop Adam Krasiński recollected that in 1824, when he was 14 years old, the Russian inspectors came to collect signatures from the students in his Volhynian school as proof that they did not belong to the masons.[752] Possibly, the Russian administration attempted to avert the Decembrist Uprising in 1825. Interestingly, in both of these cases the abbot and the bishop jointly insist that freemasons were antireligious.

Being recognized as a foreign product did not automatically mean that attitudes towards the Revolution acquired anti-French opinions. Antoni Chrząszczewski, an admirer of the intellectual advances of the Enlightenment, strongly opposed the ideological connection between the Revolution and philosophy. For him, the Revolution was a product of several individuals who would have ended the Enlightenment if it had not been for the centralized policymaking skills of Napoleon. In the 1820s, Chrząszczewski believed that the philosophical ideas of the Enlightenment and the existence of governmental institutions were in no way contradictory, and he yearned for strong state regulation:

[750] Ochocki, *Pamiętniki Jana Dukłana Ochockiego*, T. 6, 40.
[751] Ochocki, *Pamiętniki Jana Dukłana Ochockiego*, T. 6, 40.
[752] Krasiński, *Wspomnienia biskupa Adama Stanisława Krasińskiego*, 11.

there are such amongst them [emigrants] who, perhaps resulting from a longing for their family's country, have begun believing in a dreamful messianism or, infected with the rabidness of demagogism, disseminate the most pernicious rules, inconsiderate of the so-far-ineradicable traces of the French revolution, which would have thrust into barbarism the most enlightened of European nations, had its farther course not been restrained by Napoleon's brave arm.[753]

Interestingly, observations about Napoleon amidst descriptions of the French Revolution were rare. There were few anecdotal references to Napoleon, for instance a provincial priest made a heartfelt declaration that "Napoleon cannot be dead" and if he was absent from politics it meant that he wanted to be absent, anything to the contrary was a fabrication of the German newspapers[754], or admiration of Napoleon as an "Italian hero".[755] Obviously, Napoleon was popular, yet the memoirists are predominantly silent on the subject of his personality and influence. Thus, a myth about a Franco-Polish friendship in Warsaw during Napoleon's reign did not find its way into the noblemen's memoirs.[756] They probably avoided discussing Napoleon, or giving him any favorable evaluations due to censorship, since in the nineteenth century the Russian empire vilified Napoleon. A supporter of Napoleon in 1812, three years later Sanguszko wrote that "his aim was to incarnate vileness in his people and to crush honour that is innate in them".[757] Such opinions could have been influenced by the French troops' behavior. Numerous accounts of rape, murder, and robbery changed the *szlachta's* opinion about the French. Even the houses of well-known officials and supporters of Napoleon, such as Hieronim Strojnowski's or Stanislaw Staszic, suffered from the French soldiers' wicked treatment. Many nobles might have felt the same way as Emperor Alexander I, who frankly opined about the French during the dinner in Warsaw in 1815: "there [in France] live 30 million of beasts, gifted in verbiage, with no rules, no honour, and how anything can be there, where there is no religion?"[758]

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[753] Chrząszczewski, *Pamiętnik oficjalisty Potockich z Tulczyna*, 105. [Ale niektórzy z nich, może skutkiem tęsknoty za krajem rodzinnym, uwierzyli w jakiś wymarzony mesjanizm lbo zarażeni wścieklizną demagogizmu rozsiewają najzgubniejsze zasady, niebaczni na niezatarte dotąd ślady rewolucji francuskiej, która naród najoświeceńszy w Europie byłaby w barbarzyństwo wtrąciła, gdyby dalszego jej biegu nie wstrzymało dzielne ramię Napoleona].

[754] Dmochowski, *Wspomnienia z lat 1806 – 1830,* 41.

[755] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego,* 91.

[756] For more on this myth see John Stanley, "French Attitudes toward Poland in the Napoleonic Period," *Canadian Slavonic Papers / Revue Canadienne des Slavistes* Vol. 49, No. 3/4 (September-December 2007), pp. 209-227.

[757] Sanguszko, *Księcia Eustachego Sanguszki Pamiętnik,* 81.

[758] Михайловский-Данилевский, «Мемуары 1814 - 1815», 320 [живут тридцать миллионов скотов, одаренных словесностию, без правил, без чести, да и может ли быть что-нибудь там, где нет религии?]

Together with the discussions on the reform of education, the French Revolution and its connection to tradition and the Enlightenment, a second debate rumbled away in the background, which concerned the presence of foreign tutors in provincial homes and their involvement in the matters of education. The presence of the French in the provinces exasperated this issue, as they popularized French language during the 1780s – 1820s. The French language and style dominated the mind-set of nobility in the provinces, who believed that by forging French wonts they could represent themselves as refined and polished individuals. Therefore, they employed French tutors and governesses and used the French language. This detail challenges the writers' discourse about the non-acceptance and opposition to ailien instructors in the provinces in the 1800s:

> [A] whole lot of varied rag-tag fry flowed in, under the titles of dukes, comtesse, marquises, barons, unto our land; a multitude such that there was almost not a house in which you would fail to find a Frenchman: this be a chaplain, a governor, or a maître of some sort; a friend, an advisor, let alone servants of all the types. And all those taught us the French speech, morals and manners, inseminating the young hearts, yet-uninfected with the reign of Stanislaus Augustus, with mean turpitude. It is this flood that we owe the laxity of our morality and transformation into Frenchmen: refugee Frenchmen, escaping from a homeland that demands their hands.[759]

The presence of foreign nobility forced Andrzejowski to insist on the patriotic manhood of the local nobility, who remained loyal to their lands after the partitions and became engaged in economic and intellectual development, unlike the capricious French. Accusations against the French newcomers in the provinces were so common that in 1817 *Wiadomości Brukowe* vividly mocked the situation by recounting the despairs of a fictional character: "A poet there lived in the barn; / By Fortune 'nd Muses, neglected: / Alas, moths ate-up his verse-yarns, / The French had his house infected".[760]

References to the subject of education became a meta-testament to the admonition of the revolutionary era in the provinces. Klementyna Czartoryska (1780 – 1852), the wife of the governor Eustachy Sanguszko, recollected in her memoirs on what her husband said to her near the end of his life in the 1840s: "It is shameful for a Pole to live, and I am ashamed to be

[759] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty starego Detiuka o Wołyniu*. T. 1, 129 – 130. Also see Micowski, pp. 205 – 214; Ochocki, Tom 1; and Borejko, pp. 34 – 45.

[760] *Wiadomości Brukowe*, No. 5 (1817), 25. [*Poeta żył w tey stodole: / Nie sprzyjał mu los, ni Muzy: / Wiersze jego zjadły mole, / A dom, zburzyli Francuzy*]. This was a general opinion about the French in the mid-nineteenth century, as for example, Ludwik Łętowski, a bishop from Kraków in the 1820s, noted that at that time it was a popular opinion amongst the *szlachta* to blame everything that was wrong in their homes on the 'French times' in Poland, in Łętowski, *Wspomnienia Pamiętnikarskie* (Wrocław, 1952).

alive still!"[761] The primary reason for Sanguszko's shame was the tragic fate of of his children. After the insurrection in the 1830s, many noblemen, including Sanguszko's son Roman, were sent to Siberia, undergoing a disgraceful march through Russian towns and villages. Eventually, Roman Sanguszko returned to Volhynia with a severe illness from which he never recovered. Furthermore, the children of those who partook in the uprising were sent to special orphanages, which in Sanguszko's opinion was just one example of Russian's devastating barbarianism. Nonetheless, in his own account from 1815 Sanguszko never referenced any of these feelings or events. Instead, he articulated the ethical downfall of the Poles, which was caused by their French style of education. In the first few lines of his notes, Sanguszko categorically claimed that the education he received at home was provided by foreigners and therefore was insufficient for a Polish nobleman:

> Not to use the Frenchman master in the rearing of the child, was to dissent oneself from decency. The recklessness immanent with Poles has been redoubled by an even more inconsiderate recklessness of this nation. The Frenchman (not to say, if taken from the street) had no idea whatsoever of the republican principles; we can see that when they finally arrived at the threshold of liberty, they solely got hold of its iniquities. […] Not formed into the disciple's country, laws, and morals, the alien teacher merely puts him into an even severer lunacy.[762]

For the superintendent, the possibility of reconciliation of governmental chaos after the partitions with a long tradition of noble republicanism remained a chief concern, and foreign tutors could not contribute to the appeasement of this crisis. For Sanguszko, education had to teach children the notion of personal responsibility, and only tutors from the provinces could harness this notion. Peculiarly, in the 1790s the reformer Hugo Kołłątaj, praised a foreign style of education as being beneficial for women, while simultaneously opposing it for men, since it had given Poland its greatest libertines. Thus, the residents adhered to the notion that a tutor, who prepared a child for school, or even relentlessly educated a child at home, influenced a child's personality. Franciszek Karpiński, who had been the home tutor of a magnate's son Dominic Radziwiłł in the 1790s, also shared this opinion.[763]

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[761] K. Firlej Bielańska, ed., *Roman Sanguszko, Zesłanec na Sybir z r. 1831* (Warszawa, 1927), 137.
[762] Sanguszko, *Eustachego Sanguszki Pamiętnik, 1786 – 1815. Wykaz Doświadczenia Ojca dla Dzieci w roku 1815 spisany,* 4. [Nie użyć do wychowania dziecięcia mistrza Francuza, było to odszczepieniem się od dobrych obyczajów. Podwajano lekkomyślność nieodzowną Polakom, lekkomyślnością, jeszcze płochszą tego narodu. Wyobrażenia nie miał Francuz (tem bardziej wzięty z ulicy) o zasadach republikanckich; widzimy, że gdy stanęli oni u progu wolności, zarazem jej zdrożności tylko się chwycili. Obcy nauczyciel nie stworzony do kraju, praw i obyczajów ucznia, wprawia go w gorze jeszcze obłąkanie].
[763] Karpiński, *Historia Mego Wieku*, 133 – 136.

French instructors "taken from the street" were a reference to a popular fashion that spread throughout the territories – to admit members of the French aristocracy as tutors. Yet, in most cases, the poor provincial nobility could only afford to take in humble French soldiers of questionable teaching capacity, as home tutors to their children. This practice remained until the 1810s, when the poet and translator Szymon Konopacki (1790 – 1884) recollected several comical stories about his tutor, an old French soldier who used to be a gardener, and who did not speak a word of Polish. This soldier enjoyed spending his time kissing grafts of fruit trees and conversing with asparagus and new sorts of salad in French.[764] Although Konopacki's father only had modest means, he yielded to the fashion of hiring French tutors and meticulously instructed this 80-year old legionnaire to introduce his novices to the basics of the French language by repeatedly reciting the Lord's Prayer in French to them, so that they would memorize all the necessary words. Konopacki's amusing experience made him question the habit of inviting unprofessional foreigners prevalent at the time. Similarly, it became easy to find a French governess for girls after the French Revolution:

> In that period, because of the first French revolution, it was facile to provide children with French governesses: that nation had namely ejected out of its womb considerable numbers of emigrants of either gender, who, prevented from returning to their fatherland, scampered into different countries, seeking for asylum and sustenance. Therefore, the parents intending to bring-up their children the foreign way did not need to discharge teachers from Paris as they could find them closer to where they resided, and even make a choice.[765]

If certain families could not afford to have a governess at home, then they would send their daughters to boarding schools to be educated by French governesses. Felińska further summarized that everything that was 'popular' in their province always had to originate in France, and after the French Revolution, this 'theatre of Europe', was transferred to Warsaw, then to the houses of magnates, and finally to the *szlachta,* who copied these fashions and habits. The *szlachta* was a copy of a copy, she claimed. The political situation in the provinces only added to their admiration of these new habits. During 1807 – 1813, when Napoleon was a protector of the Duchy of Warsaw and tempted the local *szlachta* to join him against Alexander I, promising the revival of Poland, adolescents, in particular, became especially interested in the bespoke French language and customs. After Napoleon's defeat in 1815, the

[764] Konopacki, *Pamiętniki Szymona Konopackiego,* 16 – 18.
[765] Felińska, *Pamiętniki z życia Ewy Felińskiej,* Vol. 1, 299-300.

observances of the same practices persisted as a matter of habit, and were used by the *szlachta* to position themselves in relation to the Russian empire.

After Napoleon's defeat and the launch of the new system of education, the local nobility abstained from hiring foreigners. A foreign teacher became synonymous with a freethinker, and the residents often indicated their philosophical discordancy with foreigners. Andrzejowski emphasized that only a few youngsters "received a diligent upbringing, and by a happy chance, people who took care of their early upbringing were not yet carried away by a present fashion of thinking and speaking French, taught their students only a foreign language, and could still convey our native feelings and way of thinking".[766] He referred to a teacher and ex-secretary of the late Commission, who taught French and indicated the benefits and evils of reading everything without careful consideration. Another example of such a "guide" was Józef Skoczkowski, who was educated by the local Piarists and learned French by himself. Ultimately, he represented a "happy mixture of national pious education" and the "maxims of the French revolutionary philosophy" that was spreading at the time.[767] At the turn of the century, it was important to be literate in French and contemporary philosophy while retain the focus on the needs of the children in the provinces.

The habit of educational journeys gets negated. In Andrzejowski's opinion, educational journeys were not successful because children only travelled for their entertainment and returned home with a hatred and disdain for their fatherland. Moreover, they brought home contemporary French philosophy, the perversity of the Italians, English arrogance and combined corruption of morals from all European nations.[768] While agreeing on the popularity and even the necessity of being educated by French tutors, they connected their presence with the spread of "harmful" ideas or *philosophy*, even though they do not necessarily specify the term. *Philosophy* was considered foreign, while enlightenment [oświecenie] was accepted as a native process of liberating, and of obtaining new skills, which were useful for the region, and could correct the political situation and preserve pious traditions. Consistently, Wacław Borejko claimed that the youth "lived on voyaging, and were losing out there the collections and the fame of their ancestors, and what they were bringing down was litter alone, and they disseminated it in their own country"[769], because they fancied the

[766] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty starego Detiuka o Wołyniu*. T. 1, 49.
[767] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty Starego Detiuka*, T. 1, 38.
[768] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty starego Detiuka o Wołyniu*, T. 1, 50.
[769] Borejko, *Pamiętnik pana Wacława Borejka*, 50.

Parisian seamstresses and laundresses more than the local ones. Gradually, it became crucial to receive their education in their province and from local teachers:

> The citizens' houses, so recently cram-full of the nomadising herd of the immigrant French, began searching for guides to educate their children amidst the fellow-countrymen, and the method of upbringing started altering. It is a nice thing to recollect that great epoch, for it has cast the cornerstone for the country's future auspiciousness and sounded with the fame of wise statutes far-away beyond the frontier.[770]

He mentions this change in the context of Czacki's efforts to establish a new network of education.

Throughout the 1800s – 1860s, the residents of the Volhynian and Podolian governorates recognized the universal impact of the French Revolution and their first hand impressions were formed by the prolonged presence of the French aristocracy in their region. Since we are dealing with memoirs that were conceived decades after the events, it is difficult to establish whether the reaction that they described towards the philosophy of the French Enlightenment was hostile before or after the French Revolution. If in Austria in the 1780s French influences automatically denoted "enlightened influences", through French language and philosophy[771], in the annexed provinces in the 1820s – 1850s, references to French influences signified a moral culpability of nobles who did not care for the conditions in their region. An abrupt shift in perceptions of the grand tour is striking since only a few decades earlier a young man would have been highly praised and honored upon his return, because he would have 'enriched the foreign lands with his name' and have been ready to start a political career in his region.

The generation that wrote their memoirs in the mid-nineteenth century, recognized themselves as 'enlightened' because they were educated locally, and no longer referred to Warsaw or Paris as cultural centers. They were reasonably fluent in French, wrote in Polish, and reclaimed their place among the enlightened nations of Europe by means of philosophical assessment of their social conditions. Thus, there was a definitive disconnection between the French philosophy of individualism and sensationalism in favour of a utility-driven enlightenment with its focus on education and self-cultivation for the purpose of community. Eventually, in the nineteenth century the provinces became a place

[770] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty Starego Detiuka o Wołyniu,* T. 2, 124.
[771] Derek Beales, *Enlightenment and Reform in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (New York, 2005), 99.

where the two stereotypes clashed: the French considered the Poles to be "barbarous people, arrogant and fickle"[772], while the Poles considered the French to be a hazardous 'horde', who were unreliable because they left their country. Such a hodgepodge of meanings and symbols were the result of exacerbated feelings of abandonment by France and Napoleon during the partitions and at the turn of the nineteenth century. The major cultural and political disenchantment with the strong rule of Napoleon caused the nobles to turn to the policies under Alexander I, and a belief in their local reformism survived in the memoirs until the 1860s.

Evaluating Their Community: Civilization and Civilized

While contemplating Europe and the French Revolution, the residents also discussed the notions of *civilization* and *barbarianism*. From the mid-eighteenth century, the term *civilization* embraced not only "refinements of the arts, sciences and culture; it had come as well to mean commercial society and civil society".[773] As Jean Starobinski argued, by the late eighteenth century, the meaning of *civilization* gradually expanded, and embraced the luxuries of comfort, advancement in education, refinement of the arts and sciences, and developments in commerce and industry. Eventually, *civilization* adopted a twin – *progress*. Moreover, in the nineteenth century, *civilization* lost its sacred content, and references to Christian civilization became scarce.[774]

Since the time of the partitions, when well-established families began to develop and improve the conditions on their lands, the language that they used to describe these sets of advancements also changed. As in other parts of the world, *civilization* became a part of their inquiry into their region and degree of its development. By the 1800s, the notion of *civilization* adopted an entire assortment of positive implications for the writers. For example, in Volhynia someone could be of "a nice arrangement and civilization" when referring to his love of good music and theatre as well as his ability to co-exist with his fellow citizens in a friendly manner.[775] When describing cultural and economic developments in Volhynia and

[772] For more on the perceptions of Poles as the 'Other' by the French aristocracy, see Wacław Zawadzki, *Polska Stanisławowska w Oczach Cudzoziemców* (Warsaw, 1963).
[773] Robert Wokler, *Rousseau, the Age of Enlightenment, and Their Legacies* (Princeton University Press, 2012), 44.
[774] Jean Starobinski, *Blessings in Disguise, Or, the Morality of Evil* (Harvard University Press, 1993), 3.
[775] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty Starego Detiuka*, T.1, 39.

Podole during the 1790s – 1830s, Henrietta Błędowska meticulously commented on the gradual evolution in perceptions and expectations when she described the lifestyle of the landed nobility in their country mansions in and around the 1800s:

> On the following day, he went to Mikolajówka, to visit Mr.&Mrs. Stanisław Hołowiński. […] At the ordinary Time, tea was served, with the ordinary accessory. 'This is a world-knowledgeable house now', my brother thought to himself. On the third day, he went to see the Poniatowski in Tahańcza. There, a talk was on factories, various machineries; on multiplication, enlargement of wealth. He was not treated to anything, not a glass of water. 'Here is', my brother said, 'a house truly stylish, and the most civilised.[776]

Civilization, for Błędowska, was hidden in the ability to attain profit.[777] Therefore, when writers attempted to critique their local social structure, they not only demarcated *civilization* as an expression of their magnates' luxury and excess, but it also indicated a positive influence on the economic development and educational progress in their provincial homes. Members of Błędowska's family perceived *civilization* to be the next step after Enlightenment, confirming Diderot's opinion that "true civilization was all that Enlightenment was about".[778] Communicative knowledge and means of commerce ultimately resulted in an appropriate style and *civilization* of a manor house and its lands. The quest for *civilization* was especially strong in the mid-1820s. In 1825, the physician Karol Kaczkowski departed from Kraków to Crimea. In his reflections, he set out to negate the previously negative opinions of some about the Volhynian and Podolian lands. Kaczkowski claimed that one needed much more than a fleeting conversation with the leaseholder or a postal worker to judge about *civilization*, or the developments of agriculture, or the employment of citizens, and the content of the local libraries.[779] In this case, Kaczkowski implied refinement together with the signs of progress among the commoners and their influence on the land.

Food was considered an important part of the shift in style and *civilization*, and Błędowska did not fail to emphasize the sociable connotation of their cuisine. There were houses that still treated their guests in a "Polish way", providing feasts and unlimited amounts of alcohol even at breakfast, yet, there were more and more houses in the provinces that preferred to welcome their guests with only tea and conversations about literature. The residents attempted to perceive such practices not as an exhibition of frugality, but as a

[776] Błędowska, *Pamiątka Przeszlości. Wspomnienia z lat 1794 – 1832*, 214.
[777] Błędowska, *Pamiątka Przeszlości. Wspomnienia z lat 1794 – 1832*, 205.
[778] See Anthony Pagden, *The Enlightenment: And Why it Still Matters* (Oxford University Press, 2013), 204.
[779] Kaczkowski, *Dziennik podrozy do Krymu Odbytej w Roku 1825*, Cz. 1, Wstęp.

common etiquette. For instance, she mentions a reception in the village of Mikolajówka, where they were only offered a small tray with tea and some "impractical and plain biscuits" even though they reminded their hosts several times, that there was not a single inn in the area.[780] Gradually, by the early nineteenth century the provinces appropriated confectionaries as "symbols of peaceful civilization", which had been present in France since the 1740s.[781]

In general, the type of cuisine on offer in the provincial residents' households was thought to be French, and they used it to denote the changing tastes and norms in the governorates. For Błędowska there was not much difference between the cuisine in Paris and the food they had at home in the province, because "at our home, in the countryside, the cuisine has always been French".[782] One of their cooks served at the court of Jérôme-Napoléon Bonaparte (1784 – 1860), the King of Westphalia. At the same time, she emphasized that some changes had to be made to accommodate the particular gastronomic tastes of their family. For instance, they would never consume raw meat, nor *faisandée*, and on one occasion, their famous cook sickened the family by bringing a whole rabbit, including its head, to the table. Therefore, even though the change was apparent, the residents still adjusted foreign gastronomical novelties to their tastes. The power of change in style was also expressed in their architecture. "Until the reign of Stanislaus Augustus, the magnates' houses and those of all the citizens had been furnished with goblins and tapestries, Persian, Turkish, and Chinese".[783] However, with the arrival of the French, "the spirit of time and the Parisian vogues have squandered everything away".[784] By the 1820s, provincial society opted for a French style in their private sphere because it designated style and comfort, not only necessity.

If conversations about literature carried out in French were credited as *cosmopolitan* and *enlightened*, the degree of *civilization* was measured according to the technical and scientific progress achieved in their country seats. In 1850s, Ewa Felińska associated *civilization* with the "bonds of industry" when describing the nature and resources near her native town Hołynka. However, she viewed it in opposition to the natural freedom given to man by God: "I am talking now of man's freedom with respect to the needs of a society and his own; to civilisation, I attach the meaning as commonly accepted, this being understood to mean

[780] Błędowska, *Pamiątka Przeszlości. Wspomnienia z lat 1794 – 1832*, 198.
[781] Roche, *France in the Enlightenment*, 627.
[782] Błędowska, *Pamiątka Przeszlości. Wspomnienia z lat 1794 – 1832*, 101.
[783] Moszczeński, *Pamiętnik do Historii Polskiej*, 117.
[784] Borejko, *Pamiętnik pana Wacława Borejka*, 52.

progress in commerce, in industry, in sciences, in multiple circles of social relations and obligations".[785] Felińska underlined the negative effects of *civilization*, including the loss of natural freedom, and insisted that Polesia "hid the freedom that was discarded by other countries in favor of needs". She contrasted *civilization* not with *barbarity* but with the notion of *personal freedom*. In this context, *civilization* acquired a negative meaning while *personal freedom* designated the ability to discard contemporary fashion:

> The Polesyan country-man, humble, hospitable as he is, with all his impoverishment [...] has hitherto been richer and more unconstrained than many a lord living in a palace, served all around by numerous court-retinue, yet who, with the excesses and pleasures of sophisticated industry, spends his dreamless nights thinking what it is that should satisfy the governess imported from Paris, whom he owes a pay for two years of service? What to equip his son for his trip abroad with? How to satisfy the debt for a new chaise, taken into [*sic*] credit in order to have his wife and his daughters decently presented?[786]

A man in chains, without a doubt. Kant, who largely respected Rousseau's philosophy and who by the late 1790s described current society as civilized to such an extent that it was overburdened with needs, could have influenced Felińska's judgement.[787] In general, Diderot, Kant and Herder were skeptical about *civilization* and regarded Europe as a space devoid of any political and social justice.[788] While their views can be viewed as anti-imperialist, Felińska had several enemies to argue against – the Russian empire, the French influences, and the Polish individualism. The needs of the 'father of a family' were dictated foremost by society, because if his son did not receive a proper education abroad, he would be unlikely to make a good match for himself, and his daughters would never belong to proper society without a French governess. This concern often prevented the 'father' from having a good night's sleep. Having been educated by a French governess, Felińska argued against such *civilization* that undermined cultural minimalism. She argued not in favor of a progress in education or economic development as a denominator of *civilization*, but in favor of the norms of social bonding between the nobles and peasants. Probably, she reciprocated the idea that education should primarily educate a child and not a citizen.

Felińska expressed her eager hopes that commerce, which was taking its toll throughout the territories, would not ruin the natural state of freedom in Holynka. It is almost as if she

[785] Felińska, *Pamiętniki z życia Ewy Felińskiej*, Vol. 1, 215.
[786] Felińska, *Pamiętniki z życia Ewy Felińskiej*, Vol. 1, 217 – 218.
[787] See Bruce Mazlish, *Civilization and Its Contents* (Stanford University Press, 2004), 12.
[788] Muthu, *Enlightenment against Empire*, 280 – 281.

found an isle with indigenous people still uncorrupted by the benefits of *civilization* of style and material excesses, who were happy to supply their table with fish from the local rivers and bread from their fields, and who wore coats made of animal's skin from their local forests. However, she did not go beyond such descriptive evaluations and did not argue in favor of the *noble savage* against the socially constructed and decadent lifestyle of the nobility. On the contrary, she believed that the nobility should explain to the peasants their present conditions, because only then would they learn how to appreciate them. If many philosophers in the eighteenth century, including Diderot, reckoned that peasants were resilient to any changes, Felińska sided with Kant instead, arguing that happiness a product that could be achieved by the exercise of the mind. If in Spain, the French revolutionaries perceived the commoners as dull and uneducated enemies[789], the memoirists, as I presented in the previous chapter, indicated that there were amicable relations between landlords and their peasants, as they focused on their mutual welfare. The important question remains whether in their pursuit of a natural bond between the nobles and peasants the writers were thinking about the Polish society overall, or restricted their musings only to their landings.

For the outsider Kajetan Koźmian, the individualism of the magnates in the provinces and its role in everyday life attracted particular attention. In particular, he pointed out the unnecessary extravagance in their expenditures. Koźmian deprecatingly commented on the style and superfluity of the local magnate Jan Kazimierz Stecki in the Volhynian Międzyrzecz in 1809. Among other things, Stecki erected a Dutch windmill, which only served to scare the horses in the town, as it was so loud. In addition, he constructed two mountains, Etna and Vesuvius, in his yard.[790] When the magnate pompously presented these "inventions of his own mind" to Koźmian, the latter could not stop wondering if there was a better way to be useful to the region. Specifically, Koźmian indicated the efforts of another magnate, Józef Klemens Czartoryski (1740 – 1810), who in 1783 established a porcelain factory in Korzec. Its products were well-known throughout the provinces and even in Warsaw. There were also manufactures of fabrics, glass and paper in Krzemieniec, and a manufacture of textiles in Tulczyn. When describing Czartoryski, Koźmian uses both the terms 'enlightenment' and 'patriotism'. In 1809, Stepan Russov, a newcomer to the province from St Petersburg, wrote in his *Notes* that "[n]otable aristocrats, having left state affairs, run these manufactures and in

[789] See Jean Paul Bertaud, *The Army of the French Revolution: From Citizen-soldiers to Instrument of Power* (Princeton University Press, 1988), 250.
[790] Koźmian, *Pamiętniki Kajetana Koźmiana Obejmujące Wspomnienia od roku 1780 do roku 1815*, 300 – 310.

them find their consolation".[791] For Koźmian it was precisely these activities by the magnates that "equal their land to other civilized European" territories. Thus, in spite of the shifting borders, the image of Europe as a cultivated and economically more advanced space prevailed. In addition to being conversant in French and having a grasp of contemporary literature and style of education, to be truly *civilized* in the provinces meant to invest in the economic development of the region from which society could profit. The writers objected to individualistic habits of the magnates who acquired luxuries, as they believed that *civilization* should hold their community together.[792]

Yielding to fashion and the egoistical eccentricities of the magnates in the provinces signified the chief impediment to natural growth and good social relations in the provinces. In the 1820s, Adam Moszczeński wrote that Stanisław August's politics have caused a split in good and favorable relations between the members of the republican society, "for the attachment through connection of blood and affinity collapsed; ever since, solely personal interest drove everybody, associated and disassociated the citizens, and abducted almost everyone to egoism".[793] Antoni Andrzejowski provided a similar description of the new habits, when he claimed that in "present-day civilization", "egoism unknown to our fathers has emerged, and is strongly increasing. It even seems that, with time, the blood-tied family relations will get dissolved, with merely speculative relationships remaining".[794] If Moszczeński, who was a political opponent of Poniatowski, believed that the selfishness was a result of the king's political favoritism, Andrzejowski associated egoism with the commercial side of civilization and economic development in the region. He believed that these developments further undercut the traditional notion of political equality by introducing financial and material disparity.

Even though the concept of *civilization* encompassed, for the most part, a similar set of meanings, the assessment of the long-term effect of *civilization* on the provinces differs. While for Błędowska and Koźmian it represented a positive, productive, and desired force towards social and economic improvement, Felińska and Andrzejowski viewed it as the path towards a corruption of morals. In the 1840s, Michał Grabowski further fortified this view by

[791] Russov, *Волынскія записки*, 180. [Знатные Вельможи успокоясь отъ дѣлъ государственныхъ, въ тихомъ уединении ими занимаються и находятъ в томъ утѣшение].
[792] For the description of civilization as a form of tight social structure, see Mazlish, *Civilization and Its Contents*, 18.
[793] Moszczeński, *Pamietnik do Historii Polskiej*, 121.
[794] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty starego Detiuka o Wołyniu*, T.1, 186-187.

describing *civilization* as a creation of the foreign enlightenment and a "false light" that resulted in disheartenment among the population in the provinces. Unlike his other contemporaries, Grabowski evoked the notion of *civilization* when discussing frivolous morals, adultery and promiscuity that were notorious in Warsaw during Poniatowski's reign, which eventually prevailed in the provinces:

> In the provinces, there were, though sparsely, the symptomates of this same illness, at times directly engrafted from the source of the pestilence, and some other time incubating resultant from the air of the age alone – Here and there, boorishness, crude mores despite the parentage and fortune, awkwardly fostered demoralisation arisen from false light and putrefied civilisation.[795]

The dichotomy of *civilized – uncivilized* was applied to describe the differences between the residents in the capital and in the provinces. Ewa Felińska's relative in the 1800s perceived the lands of Lithuania and Ukraine as well as its population to be "savage, uncivilised, and unbearable a people. And us, all the dwellers, she barely deigned to consider to be God's creatures moulded of the same clay as herself".[796] Such perceptions were shaped by the fact that the provincial residents could not speak French with an appropriate accent and did not master a sophisticated vocabulary. Keeping in mind that at this time French was deemed by Tadeusz Czacki to be the language of all the enlightened nations and was the language of style and education for the provincial nobility, Felińska's rebuttal of French as explication of civilization must have come from the 1850s. In ridiculing the common opinion prevalent at the turn of the century, namely, that *civilization* equaled literacy in French, she echoed her political persuasions of the 1830s: the ability to speak the same language with the peasants in the provinces was the only true and natural social bond capable of creating productive cooperation.

The known enemy of *civilization* was *barbarism*. The notion of *barbarism* in the eighteenth century predominantly rested within the domain of religion and referred to hostile people outside of imperial frontiers.[797] By the end of the eighteenth century, *barbarism* denoted

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[795] Micowski, *Pamiętniki domowe,* 208 - 209. [Na prowincyjach były choć z rzadka symptomata tej samej choroby, czasami wprost przeszczepione ze źrodła zarazy, czasami wyłegjące się skutkiem samego powietrza wieku – Gdzie niegdzie brak wychowania, obyczaje prostackie pomimo ród i fortunę, sprzyjały dziwnie demoralizacyi z fałszywego światła i zgniłej cywilizacyi powstalej].
[796] Felińska, *Pamiętniki z życia Ewy Felińskiej*, Vol. 1, 404.
[797] See J.G.A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion, Vol. 4, Barbarians, Savages and Empires* (Cambridge University Press, 2005).

religious fanaticism, prejudices, and a non-state immaturity of society.[798] While the discussions on *civilization* were more or less cohesive, references to *barbarism* were sporadic. The memoirists use the term *barbarian* when describing any person or culture that inflicted change or harm on their territory, or the absence of education in the people. In the Russian empire during the late eighteenth century, popular discussions about *barbarism* and *civilization* revolved around the topic of education. Denis Ivanovich Fonvizin's play *The Infant* (1782) told a story of ignorance that was blamed on *barbarism* and ineptitude of the Russian aristocracy, whose members did not attempt to become educated but only superficially represented themselves as learned and fashionable. Consequently, *barbarism* denoted the lack of a proper education.[799] If to consider the local reformer as a chief representative of the public opinion in the provinces, then the initial discussion about education and civilization was different. In 1803, Tadeusz Czacki declared that the Volhynian governorate possessed a *higher civilization* because of its abundant resources and schools, instilling his own vision of *Aufklärung* on the Volhynian province.[800] This type of *civilization* was conveyed by an education that encompassed tolerance, reason, and refinement. Thus, *civilization* was the basis for enlightenment.

The discussions about Europe since the end of the eighteenth century culminated in their evaluations of *civilization*. The residents attempted to relate themselves with it through education, manners, and economic adances in the region. The French Revolution influenced their understanding of the concepts of *civilization*, and later on, the partitions encouraged the evaluation of their community on a European scale. This process continued well until the second half of the nineteenth century. Another obvious and somewhat unexpected conclusion that is possible to draw from their reflections is that for the residents, *civilization* was devoid of any religious meaning, and encompassed only political, industrial, and cultural elements of progress. The point of departure for the level of *civilization* was 'Europe', which they constructed and harnessed with political strength. Depending on the ideological stance of the author, the notions of individualism, commercial development, personal freedom and education either contribute to or undermine the positive image of *civilization*.

[798] Wokler, *Rousseau, the Age of Enlightenment, and Their Legacies*, 30.
[799] John Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia* (Cambridge University Press, 2002).
[800] Czacki, *O gimnazium w wołyńskiey gubernii i innych dla oboiey płci ustanowieniach uczynione przedstawienie przez Tadeusza Czackiego, roku 1803 w grudniu*, 2.

The Enlightenment and Religious Tradition: Debate between Public and Private

In the historiography of the last ten years, the strenuous relationship between lay-philosophical Enlightenment and religion has been reconsidered, and the myth of an overwhelming secularization undermined.[801] Since then, the Enlightenment acquired a companion – the Catholic Enlightenment that is believed to have embraced a variety of meanings. In particular, after the influences of the French literature and philosophy during the eighteenth century, it amended the religious dogmas and teachings. The Polish lands in the second half of the eighteenth century have been represented through the lens of the Catholic Enlightenment as the Commonwealth embodied the compound connections between the secular Enlightenment and Catholicism.[802]

Eighteenth century priests, provincial preachers, as well as reformers enthusiastically spoke about the improvements in education and the elevation of morals through religious devotion. In so doing, they attempted to reunite those with rationalist and philosophical tendencies of the age because religious thought was seen as one of the elements that "valorized the practical improvement of humanity, education, and social reform".[803] In this way, the Polish lands were similar to the German lands, including Brandenburg-Prussia, where the representatives of the Church contributed to the reforms and practices of Enlightenment in provincial academies and schools.[804] Additionally, in the 1750s, a patron of the Piarist educational order Stanislaw Konarski (1700 – 1773) introduced the idea of enlightened Catholicism – his personal endeavor to cleanse the Catholic Church of its

[801] See Knud Haakonssen, *Enlightenments and Religions* (Athens: Institute for Neohellenic Research, 2010); Michael Printy, *Enlightenment and the Creation of German Catholicism* (Cambridge University Press, 2009); David Sorkin, *The Religious Enlightenment. Protestants, Jews, and Catholics from London to Vienna* (Princeton University Press, 2008). On the question of the Enlightenment and Orthodoxy see Paschalis M. Kitromilidies, "Orthodoxy and the West: Reformation to Enlightenment", in *The Cambridge History of Christianity V: Eastern Christianity*, ed. M. Angold (Cambridge, 2006), 187-209.

[802] Jeffrey D. Burson and Ulrich L. Lehner, eds., *Enlightenment and Catholicism in Europe. A Transnational History* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2014).

[803] Burson and Lehner, *Enlightenment and Catholicism in Europe. A Transnational History*, 12.

[804] For the German Enlightenment see: Jonathan B. Knudsen, *Justus Möser & the German Enlightenment* (Cambridge University Press, 1986); Rolf Grimminger, ed., *Deutsche Aufklärung bis zur Französischen Revolution 1680 – 1789* (Munich, 1980); Henri Brunschwig, *Enlightenment and Romanticism in Eighteenth-Century Prussia*, transl. by Frank Jellinek (Chicago, 1974); T.C.W. Blanning, *Reform and Revolution in Mainz 1743 – 1803* (Cambridge, 1974); Peter Hans Reill, *The German Enlightenment and the Rise of Historicism* (Berkley, 1975).

credulous practices.[805] The synthesis between the practices of Enlightenment, religion in general and Catholicism in particular inevitably transformed into a story of the Anti-Enlightenment and the Counter-Enlightenment across the provinces in the Commonwealth.[806] This caveat notwithstanding it is possible to speculate that for the residents in the governorates the relationship between religious practices and the philosophy of the Enlightenment did not necessarily correspond to either of these models.

Already in the 1770s, the poet and translator Tomasz Kajetan Więgierski, an ardent admirer of Voltaire, wrote: "Don't think that you are close to enlightenment, because you are still creeping in the shadows of barbarity".[807] The reason for such a situation, in his opinion, was the resolute command of Christianity over minds and deeds of his compatriots. In the 1820s, the problem and nature of a fusion between practices that were considered enlightened and religious observances enthralled the writers. When the noblemen reflected on the changes in mentality and habits of commoners in their memoirs, the adjectives "superstition" and "light" were the companions of these developments. Franciszek Karpiński was very sensitive to the superstitions among the commoners, and described his visit to the capital in the following way: "On my way, the closer I was coming to Warsaw, the people, even crowds, were more civilized; not that they had a more natural mind than our Galician population, but they had fewer superstitions".[808] Specifically, he referred to the agricultural practices of Galician peasants, who did everything according to the moon cycles. Simultaneously, some writers credit "philosophy" with sobering attitudes towards religious practices, because at the turn of the nineteenth century it was impossible to see the scenes that were common during the reign of August III (1733 – 1763):

> At every fair at the church, you could see the possessed, screaming with their appalling voice and uttering several words in different languages each, harassing women who, scared, would faint or get feebleness; again, priest exorcists conjuring the devils of the frenzied to keep mute, and when they placed holy relics upon them or splattered them with holy water, those ones emitted stupendous scream, groan, and roar, and made contortions and crookedness's inside their bodies.[809]

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[805] For more on the differences and distinctions between the Catholic Enlightenment and enlightened Catholicism see Richard Butterwick, "Catholicism and Enlightenment in Poland-Lithuania," in *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe,* ed. Ulrich L. Lehner, Michael Printy (Brill, 2010), 297-359.
[806] See Richard Butterwick, "Between Enlightened Catholicism and Anti-Enlightenment: Provincial Preachers in Eighteenth Century Poland-Lithuania", SVEC, no. 1 (2008): 203.
[807] Tomasz Kajetan Więgierski, *Myśl moja do JW. Stanisława Bielinskiego, starosty garwolińskiego,* quoted after Maciejewski, „Oświecenie", in *Słownik Literatury Polskiego Oświecenia,* 374.
[808] Karpiński, *Historia mego wieku,* 101.
[809] Moszczeński, *Pamiętnik do Historii Polskiej,* 20-21.

Such scenes signified the immorality and lack of true religious devotion in the Uniate Church. Moszczeński thus claims that it would have been different if the region would have enough Catholic churches and priests, who, in his opinion, were more enlightened. Hence, the issue and form of religious practices concerned the nobility. The writers of the first generation provided a story of 'awakening' – a path that led away from the fanaticism and unreasonable passions towards enlightenment. Fanaticism was sustained primarily by all kinds of religious practices that were "backward" or "prejudicial": witchcraft trials, tortures and exorcisms, which were just some activities that the local priests performed. In particular, Moszczeński referred to several witchcraft trials that occurred during the late 1780s, when a foreman in the Zhytomyr region accused a group of Jewish women of sorcery. Another instance occurred was when a woman was accused of causing drought in the region by means of sorcery and was subsequently burned in 1799.[810] Interestingly, Moszczeński did not perform a deep analysis of the possible economic or religious motives for these trials, as was often the case, but refuted them altogether as the remnants of the 'religious fanaticism'.

As the memoirists revealed, the 'death' of piety and a gradual secularization happened before the Russian empire officially closed the Catholic and Greek Catholic churches in the 1830s. A teacher of natural history Antoni Andrzejowski wrote that "[i]n France, the revolution overthrew religion, but the hearts longed for the altars of the Saviour! In our country, there were churches, and religious services, but very few would attend there to pray".[811] Thus, the flexibility of religious persuations found its way into the writings. The authors blame such situation on the appropriation of *philosophy*.

None of the writers gives a detailed explanation of what the philosophy was. In the 1800s, the philosopher Szaniawski defined the meaning of *philosophy* for the curious reader as a path towards self-development that ought not to be copied from the philosophers, but built individually. The memoirists were less consistent in their definitions. On the one hand, this *philosophy* resulted in reason subjugating emotions and prevailing over passions of religious yearnings. Thus, the cadets in Warsaw "having learned the French language through reading the books of philosophers of the recent age, which has become part of the vogue; know their maxims and talk about them, was customary in companies; thereby, not only have they

[810] For more on the case, see Władysław Smoleński, *Przewrót umysłowy w Polsce wieku XVIII: studya historyczne* (Kraków, 1891), 365.
[811] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty starego Detiuka o Wołyniu*. T. 2, 15.

abandoned fanaticism but, also, have lost the religion".[812] Yet on the other hand, the eighteenth century *philosophy* is approached as if it were a cradle of vices that had been inflicted upon their society. In Borejko's opinion, the reason that this *philosophy* spread was that many magnates left their region and escaped abroad, meaning that the children of the lesser nobility did not have proper examples to follow, and thus yielded to a corrupt education and habits. Thus, a social shift in the provinces became apparent – after the introduction of the public education system children were exempted from paternalistic and individual control. As a result, the members of the petty nobility in the provinces lacked social responsibility to the community. Borejko provided an example of this when he wrote of a man who shot himself after a woman refused to marry him. In this case, what Borejko bemoaned as *philosophy* could have been a story of unrequited love, which was hardly a novelty in the nineteenth century. However, for him it became a matter of social responsibility and perseverance. Borejko argued that even though there were numerous *philosophers* in Lublin, in the provinces of Volhynia, Podole and Ukraine the youth were known as 'moralists', emphasizing their devotion to their community rather than their religious devotion.[813] Thus, practices that could have potentially been interpreted as personal vices and passions became a testament to natural philosophy and sensationalism.

From the other writers' specific point of view "the army of the French emigrants, under the leadership of the count De Conde" were responsible for bringing *philosophy* to the homes of the gentry:

> Those apostles of the eighteenth-century opinions, gentle, mannered, adulatory, began diffusing their education; and their graceful elocution, gay humour, obsequiousness, and audacity very soon gave them primacy amidst our women. It was them to have inculcated the pernicious opinions that the voice of nature is the only and the true voice, the heart cannot be given away for it only gives itself away.[814]

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[812] Moszczeński, *Pamiętnik do Historii Polskiej,* 123. He estimated "a taste for the Polish attire […] has seen enough of the examples of the courtly haberdashery of Louis XV, the king of France, as introduced by Stanislaus Augustus, our king", in Moszczeński, *Pamiętnik do Historii Polskiej*, 123

[813] Borejko, *Pamiętnik pana Wacława Borejka*, 47 – 48.

[814] Micowski, *Pamiętniki domowe*, 210. [Ci apostołowie zdań XVIII wieku, grzeczni, manierni, pochlebcy, rozpoczeli swoję rozlewać oświatę; a wdzięczna ich mowa, wesoły humor, nadskakiwania i śmiałość, bardzo przedko dały im u naszych kobiet pierwieństwo. Oni to wszczepiali te zgubne zdania, że głos natury, jest to głos jedyny i prawdziwy, serca oddać nie można, bo to się samo tylko oddaje].
Almost identical references to the presence of the French aristocracy can be found in Ochocki: "nobility from the best families, our best aristocracy and ober-officers went into his service, they surrounded the impostor Louis XVII as the king of France, he had his court, his crown officials, the chancellor, marshals, great chamberlains; it was a pure comedy. Caesar Paul paid the army [of Louis XVII] and fed their king. His capital was Dubno", in Ochocki, *Pamiętniki Jana Dukłana Ochockiego,* T. 5, 93.

In this case, the writer refered to the philosophy of natural religion and, perhaps, sensualism. The moral authority of nature defined by Rousseau was questioned in the governorates, as human beings were still perceived as being part of the Godly order. Discussions about philosophy are always contrasted to the religious maxims of the older generation. In the early 1800s, a 25-year old painter Józef Oleszkiewicz (1777 – 1830) was condemned for gathering local "les ésprits forts", because the members of these meetings undermined the sanctity of religion. "Their conversations were so uncontrolled, same at their manners; and their philosophy is scary to remember even today; and their readings, everyone who wrote anything against religious morality and religious principles were their favourite authors".[815] Oleszkiewicz had just returned to Volhynia after his studies in Paris in 1805 – 1806 under the guidance of Jacques-Louis David, and "without a guide in his youth-full age, got hold of the French conceptions of the time and the liberal mores of [i.e. under] Stanislaus Augustus's rule".[816] Society never formally accepted Oleszkiewicz because of the most appalling of reason – he had no religion, and in the end, he went to St. Petersburg where he became a court painter.

Borejko and Ochocki repeatedly mentioned another incident from 1785/1786 that involved a local nobleman Henryk Niemirycz. After having been educated in Paris, Niemirycz misbehaved during the Blessed Sacrament: "intoxicated by new philosophy of the eighteenth century, he was a blasphemer and a profane, when he went to receive the Holy Communion without confession and, while holding a communicant in his hand, openly mocked religion in the church".[817] The witnesses of this blasphemy recalled that Niemirych was talking about "natural religion" against the revealed religion. A cupbearer Falkowski persuaded the local community to bring Niemirycz before the judge according to the edict on Arianism, which prescribed that a blasphemer's or a debaucher's tongue be cut out.[818] A similar instance of a public argument in favor of natural religion occurred in 1787. A Professor Obmiński gave a lecture in which he claimed that all religious practices were not

[815] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty starego Detiuka o Wołyniu*. T. 2, 15-16. [Rozmowy ich były tak wolne, jak ich obyczaje; a filozofja, wspomnieć dziś straszno; a czytania, wszyscy co przeciw moralnosti religijnej i zasadom religji samej pisali, najulubieńszmi ich byli autorami].
[816] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty starego Detiuka o Wołyniu*. T. 2, 15.
[817] Borejko, „Pamiętniki o Wołyniu,*"* in *Tygodnik Petersburski*, No. 37 (1844), 238. Also see Ochocki, T. 1, pp. 78 – 83.
[818] A lengthy description of the case is in: Władysław Smoleński, *Przewrót umysłowy w Polsce wieku XVIII : studya historyczne*, 137 – 150. Another instance of contempt against the new teachers came from 1785, when a philosopher and chemist Jędrzej Śniadecki (1768 – 1838) "bitterly reproaches a professor of mathematics Józef Florkowski in Kamieniec, because he scorned region with his unruly deeds, and boldly attacked the sanctity of religion", in Henryk Barycz, Jan Hulewicz, eds., *Studia z Dziejów Kultury Polskiej*, 432.

"traditions" but "prejudices", and was subsequently dismissed from his post by the Commission of National Education.

Similarly to the situation in France, it is possible to suggest that in the 1780s in the provinces the response to the philosophy of natural religion was not philosophical, but Catholic.[819] Some of the writers identified the main role of *philosophy* as being a predominantly anti-clerical philosophy of the French Enlightenment. Still in the destruction of superstitions and fanaticism, the writers believed that eighteenth century *philosophy* was directed against any form of organized religion and that it professed the spirit of uncontrolled freedom in passions. Reactions towards the French philosophers and their ideas varied according to the generation of the writer. For the first generation, the youth "who openly relinquished the faith, considered a Philosopher he is; who sneered at the good mores, a philosopher; who set out unto all sorts of lawlessness, a Philosopher, again".[820] The same trend was visible in he German lands, where religion and obedience dominated in public and private life until the 1820s.[821] The memoirists meticulously separated the practices and beliefs of their fathers in the eighteenth century from their own in the nineteenth century in an effort to show the change of religious expressions within their society. The reform of education during the 1800s – 1830s persuaded the writers of the second generation, as Eustachy Iwanowski (1813 – 1903) asserted, that the source of enlightenment was set in the intelligence of the mind and not in the Church.[822] Therefore, I argue that in their appeals towards philosophy, improvement and sciences they introduced a debate about civil autonomy in the region.

A Volhynian poet and translator Karol Micowski recalled several tales about his relative from the province, Jan Krukwa (1733 – 1815), the lord high steward of Łutsk, who was religious "as everyone in that age who was living far away from the capital".[823] Jan Krukwa was "blindly faithful" and believed in all kinds of miracles, which he had a habit of reciting to people that he met on the streets. Once, when Krukwa was presiding at the local tribunal, a widow who was not satisfied with the outcome of the tribunal cursed the crucifix, and the following happened:

On that same night, the hall was seen illuminated, and a great uproar [was heard], as if there was a multitude of people inside there. The Tribunal was convened on the following

[819] McMahon, *Enemies of the Enlightenment, 9.*
[820] Borejko, *Pamiętnik pana Wacława Borejka,* 47.
[821] T. C. W. Blanning, *Reform and Revolution in Mainz 1743 - 1803* (Cambridge University Press, 1974), 33.
[822] Iwanowski, *Wspomnienia Lat Minionych*, T. 1, 56.
[823] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego*, 82.

day, the Sessional Register opened, and, with enormous astonishment, they cannot find their opinion there but instead, an entirely contrary decree signed Beeltsebub, Asmodeus, and all of the elders of the infernal hierarchy. He [i.e. the narrating Lord High Steward (*Podstoli*)] also told a story of the marvellous crucifix conserved [i.e. preserved] therein, at the Bernardine Friars', completely in a reversed form, because the per-juror, willing to kiss the Christ according to the custom, had Him turn his back on him, and remain in this position ever since.[824]

To Micowski, Jan Krukwa's case was representative because he upheld civic power in the region, yet

one could give no sign of not only a mistrust but even of inattention; otherwise, the listener, even if matured in age and of reasonableness, he would have yielded to religious admonition, which, as the spirit of the time indicated, had to be borne in a humble manner, so as to avoid suspicion of being a disciple of Wolter's [i.e. Voltaire's], and to such one the citizenry would never entrust even a littlest function, upon which much heavily depended.[825]

Religiosity, traditions and patriarchal relations within the community were the sacred foundations since they sustained a social unity amongst the nobility. Thus, during the late eighteenth century in the provinces we can trace the continuation of the Polish Enlightenment from the first part of the century that was represented mostly by the Catholic clergy that were more preoccupied with refuting or praising the ideas of the French philosophers, a process that resulted in the partial acceptance or appropriation of their ideas through the translation of the works into Polish during the 1760s – 1790s.[826] For instance, *Les Erreurs de Voltaire* written by a Jesuit Claude-Adrien Nonnotte in 1762 was translated into Polish in 1782, but instead of turning the readers' gaze from his works, the translator popularized Voltaire even more. In the 1840s, Micowski explained that during the 1800s, Voltaire was evoked primarily in the context of social relations and reliability. Together with the *philosopher*, being a 'disciple of Voltaire' would entail playing the role of a troublemaker to the established social, political, and religious order. The reading practices of the new generation were frowned upon, and so was their ability to obey the social order in a paternalistic community. Yet what was interesting in this context was their inclination towards separating religious duties and administrative power in the region.

[824] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego*, 83-85.
[825] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego*, 85.
[826] Wanda Dzwigala, *Voltaire and the Polish Enlightenment: Religious Responses*: 70-87

In the memoirs, it is possible to detect a subtle yet persistent resistance to the control exerted by religious institutions on society. The situation in the annexed provinces imposed a distinction between public service and private expressions of style and rationality. Possibly, the peculiar religiosity of the Volhynian residents, discussed earlier, or the process of a gradual removal of the local Catholic administration by the Russian empire and the introduction of the Russian officials resulted in the particular place of religion in their lives. If previously religious practices were reserved for the public sphere where the community could jointly exercise the controlling influence of religion in order to make their society function, the new reality changed matters.

The example of Voltaire serves best to show the distinction between public and private, since Voltaire's success as a celebrity across Europe was unmatched. As Charles Withers stated in his study on the geographically diverse Enlightenment, "[d]epending where one was on the map of Enlightenment Europe, one encountered a different Voltaire".[827] He was praised at this time not only by the Polish, but also by the Russian aristocracy. In 1815, one of the generals of the Emperor Alexander I was deeply disappointed that they would not visit Genève on their way to Berlin and thus they missed their chance to see "classical places, praised by Jean-Jacques and immortalized by Voltaire".[828]

The narratives in the memoirs of the 1820s – 1860s suggest that Voltaire, who considered people with unphilosophical views to be fanatics[829], in Volhynia and Podole had several destinies. One was to be adorned by the residents in the 1790s – 1800s, who in such way could claim themselves as 'worldly' and modern citizens of the provinces; and another one – to be scorned by 'fanatics' in the provinces. The older generation esteemed Voltaire mainly as a philosopher and a provocateur. Alongside translating his works into Polish for their entertainment, the writers revealed that Voltaire was worshiped in their homes. A Volhynian painter Józef Mańkowski, who rented rooms from Andrzejowski's family in 1794, thanked his landlords for their hospitality by painting the rooms in a "Neapolitan style". He depicted a grave of Virgil and a view of the mount Vesuvius, and "in the second room, on the walls between the columns, on the beautiful consoles, there were four busts, of Voltaire, Montesquieu, Kochanowski and Naruszewicz, so nicely put that they seemed real to those,

[827] Withers, *Placing the Enlightenment: thinking geographically about the age of reason*, 52.
[828] Михайловский-Данилевский, "Мемуары 1814 – 1815", 301.
[829] Arthur Hertzberg, *The French Enlightenment and the Jews. The Origins of Modern Antisemitism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 313.

who would enter the room".[830] Another vivid story concerns the statue of Voltaire in Lady Chodkiewicz's garden in Młynów: "For to adorn the garden and the meadow thereto adjacent […] the lady has brought-over the busts of famous people of the eighteenth century. […] Falkowski by misfortune saw the inscription *Voltaire* on the base", and in anguish tore off its nose and ears.[831] Apparently, such practices were common since Michał Grabowski in his presentation of the change in habits in the provinces during the 1840s referred to new customs among the residents, and called them 'enlightened':

> Now we do have that corruption that came to us together with refinement and Enlightenment. Provinces borrowed it from the capital, and upper classes, adopting cosmopolitan customs, paid for it with self-ridiculing and voluntary self-humiliation, in the eyes of the larger part of the population.[832]

At the end of the eighteenth century, gardens and domestic interiors became spectacles of the cosmopolitan outlook of nobility. The artistic appreciation of Voltaire in the private sphere in the 1780s went hand in hand with the practice of translating his works, which in the opinions of many denoted a new era in their lives. Admitting to sharing their homes with Voltaire and creating their "pantheons", writers revealed their perception of the philosophers of the French Enlightenment to be primarily as historians and not as stalwarts of irreligion or philosophy. The noblemen saw Voltaire as a famous representative of the eighteenth century, and considered it symbolically necessary to represent him in their homes and gardens together with Polish historians. In 1781, the Basilian publishing house published an anonymous letter that idolized Voltaire, and among other things, referred to him as a "historian of the human kind".[833]

Unlike the generation of the eighteenth century, the nobility in the nineteenth discussed Voltaire and his influence within the domain of everyday life practices, and not within the context of religion or philosophy. Perhaps being influenced by Voltaire's interpretation of history, the residents who wrote and taught history also attempted to revise their traditional canons. A certain professor Bogucicki in Kraków during one of his lectures admired a groundbreaker of the Bohemian reformation Jan [John] Hus (1369 – 1415) and proclaimed that it was God's task to correct people's thought, not for people to wage "barbarous wars"

[830] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty Starego Detiuka*, T.1, 43.
[831] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego*, 234.
[832] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego*, 208.
[833] Władysław Smoleński, *Przewrót umysłowy w Polsce wieku XVIII: studya historyczne*, 166.

in the name of religion. Evidently, the local Jesuits did not agree with such rationale behind the negations of religious persecution. Jan Ochocki in his memoirs also responded to the historic events in an 'enlightened' way when he was critical about the Polish king Bolesław II (1042 – 1081), whom he called as a religious fanatic and not a hero-king worthy of praise in the Romantic tradition of Polish history. For similar reasons, King Stanisław August Poniatowski was no longer described in negative terms, as was done by the representatives of the first generation, but only with positive implications, indicating his principal achievement in the field of education and enlightenment.

The writers of the mid-nineteenth century revealed a dark past of religious devotion in the previous age. While their "blindly-faithful" fathers considered that the local "worshipers" of Voltaire were the wreckers of religious tradition and social relations in the community, the writers have had their own destructive members in society. Primarily, these were the people who refused to participate in the new public sphere and did not contribute to it with translations or readings and hence were socially useless. One of the representatives was the cupbearer W. Jerzy Falkowski, whom they called "warjat Polski" [Polish madman] and a "bigot" because of his uncontrollable hatred towards new customs. In Karol Micowski's opinon, if Falkowski had happened to be a king "the Spanish inquisition would have been tolerance in the relation of his administration".[834] There was not one man of the "new habits" who escaped Falkowski's harassment. One of the cases that he initiated concerned the presence of "women of easy virtues" during the regular markets in Dubno, and another concerned the freemasons, whom Falkowski did not know by name, yet accused them of serving Belzebub.[835] A particular public case that involved Falkowski occurred on 17th December 1785 in Łuck. On that day, Falkowski submitted a protestation against all kinds of apostates to the Catholic faith who read Voltaire, neglected their duties, despised the customs of old (such as drawing their broadswords when Gospels are read) etc. For the memoirist, Falkowski's rhetoric bordered on the grotesque when he demanded to "initiate an action against those who, having been filled up with Voltaire's vices, place his sculptures thereof over the image of their Saviour, [and an action against] libertarians and deists who are similar, and who follow the same paths as the former [Voltaire], who introduce and spread around the teachings of Freemasons, [and] ultimately [an action against] venomous atheists, who despise the holiness of the Lord, do not celebrate the Easter, as if they were some kind of a

[834] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego*, 233.
[835] Micowski, *Pamiętnik pana Karola Micowskiego*, 233-234.

devilish group, which is afraid of the Paschal Lamb".[836] Falkowski therefore demanded that the local Consistory establish a record of those, who would not partake in the Paschal Confession. The said court never took place because the people, including the Łutsk foreman Czartoryski, never showed up. After this fiasco, Falkowski wrote to the governor in 1786, persuading him to come to Łutsk to "judge a horrendous crime". The residents eventually deactivated Falkowski by falsely accusing him of plotting to kidnap the king. Thus, the unreasonable religious conviction could be counteracted and neutralized by the community.

Several instances that this case was mentioned by the memoirists, who could have been witnesses to the described events themselves in the 1780s, of course allows us to accept the possibility that it actually happened. Yet, what is interesting in this case is its interpretation in the 1840s. By penetrating the scenery and rhetoric of the provincial life, the writers revealed that the omnipresence of Voltaire led to the substitution of cults in the provinces at the end of the eighteenth century. Even though Voltaire was considered a philosopher who destroyed religion, the provincial residents regarded his active opponent Falkowski as a nonsensical lunatic because of his dogmatism, ignorance, and xenophobic treatment of the Jews and Hungarian peasants in the region. By displaying such extremities in behaviour among the representatives of the local authority in the late eighteenth century, the writers accentuated and pushed forward their image of modern tolerant residents.

Through exhibiting Voltaire in their private spaces and incorporating philosophy in their everyday life, the residents in the governorates built a story of their homeland that adhered to the explications of the philosophy of the Enlightenment since the 1780s, yet at the same time showed a non-acceptance of the local authority, religious or administrative. Their practices of religion were reserved to their domestic spaces. As Daniel Roche posits, in eighteenth-century France the city led the way towards secularization.[837] Yet, the private residences in the governorates provided a case of freedom of expression and will – there members of the landed nobility could read and translate the works of philosophers, perform experiments in natural philosophy and establish their own practices of refinement. The individualism of the nobility was once again reaffirmed.

The name of Voltaire was often used to provoke and denote self-affirmation within the process of social change in the region. By the late nineteenth century, it became a stalwart

[836] Ochocki, *Pamiętniki Jana Dukłana Ochockiego*, T. 1., 80 – 83.Also see Micowski, 232 – 240.
[837] Roche, *France in the Enlightenment*, 587.

symbol of the political and religious challenges to the *ancien régime* of the religious authority. By referring to their "blindly-faithful" ancestors, the memoirists of the 1840s – 1860s accentuated their ability to lead a morally upright life even outside of the church, as other citizens in the eighteenth century.[838] The partitions and the Russian administration thus brought disenchantment with the social function of religious tradition. As a result, the practices of a citizen and of a human being were perceived separately by the writers, since they were no longer citizens of the Commonwealth nor yet of the Russian empire, but were members of their provincial republic. They adhered to the notion that religious beliefs and observances should be treated as a private matter, while presenting the new interpretation of their local history through accommodating the cult of Voltaire and Montesquieu.

During this concert of individual expression, the institutionalized enlightenment in the form of public education brought the community together. Unlike the French philosophy or the different denomination of the Catholic church, *Aufklärung*, which was discussed in *Chapter Two*, was a socially mobilizing process. The lyceum's curriculum was equalled to the rites of the Church, emphasizing its productive social function.[839] While the practice of religion was dangerously linked to fanaticism and did not bring people together, education caused society to work in unity. Thus, in the first half of the nineteenth century, the residents of the provinces no longer 'creep in the shadows of barbarity'. It was a rationalist approach in the context of the Polish provinces of the Russian empire. Since the Russian authorities scrutinized any possible freemasons, the residents had to find another way to exercise their right to private morality after the partitions. By contrasting the religious traditions of the eighteenth century and the practices of sociability in their memoirs in the 1820s – 1860s, they articulated new habits and ideas while remaining in the shadows of political life in an absolutist state; proving what Koselleck identified as a public-private opposition.[840]

The memoirs present a rich material for the observation of the ideological shifts in the governorates, which were sometimes perceived to be located on the crossroads between Wilno, Warsaw, and Moscow. Other times it was seen as a territory that struggles to be European, or as a borderland between Europe and Russia; as a resolute border with Warsaw, or a territory where local traditions met French philosophy. However, at all times the

[838] See Sharon A. Stanley, *The French Enlightenment and the Emergence of Modern Cynicism* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 28.
[839] Andrzejowski, *Ramoty Starego Detiuka o Wołyniu*. T. 2, 249.
[840] See Reinhart Koselleck, *Critique and Crisis: Enlightenment and the Pathogenesis of Modern Society* (MIT Press, 2000).

provincial residents acknowledged their agency in the process of enlightenment, and remained an entity throughout the 1790s – 1860s. And the texts of the memoirs reiterated this position.

Concluding Remarks

This thesis has focused on the individual perceptions of enlightenment that were articulated by the residents of Volhynia and Podole throughout the 1790s – 1850s. The memoirs and other writings that the citizens produced made it possible to study the nature of the ideas of Enlightenment, their creative presentation and exchange within a historically specific and politically complex environment.

Throughout the 1780s – 1830s, Volhynia and Podole became real and imagined peripheries of Europe, Polish, Russian and the Habsburg lands; they were caught between several nation-building projects, and became the territories where the reform of education was initiated within the political context of the Russian empire. Immediately after the partition in 1795, the Polish aristocracy in Warsaw, Russian administration, and local residents assessed these lands as an ideologically and intellectually contested space. The partitions not only challenged these historical units in the geographical sense, but also influenced their political and social context. After the French Revolution, the region was flooded with the French aristocracy, some of whom took on teaching positions in the poorer nobles' mansions across the provinces. Napoleon's ideological presence, tangibly exercised through the hundreds of soldiers in the early 1800s, forced the residents to engage in the political and military schemes of the region and to incorporate foreign cultural influences within their narratives of self-preservation. Yet, even though the political changes in the region happened rapidly, the inhabitants of the then-Russian governorates proved through their memoirs that they were caught up in a longer cycle of change. After briefly commenting on political events, the residents chose to immerse themselves into their social and cultural practices during the 1800s – 1830s, focusing foremost on their evaluation of the system of education, local means of improvement, and the networks of knowledge mediation. In so doing, they acquitted their lands of being mere territorial appendages to Warsaw, Wilno, or Moscow.

Therefore, inwardly, the noble residents of the Polish provinces of the Russian empire acquired their own intellectual and cultural agency. They forged a seemingly blissful microclimate of provincial life, extrapolated from the schooling system; they developed individual reading practices, mused about the equal participation of male and female residents

in the social affairs of the provinces, and reflected about the toleration of foreign as well as local cultural and religious minorities.

The benefit of working with memoirs written throughout the 1820s – 1840s is that they provide a deeper insight into the intellectual and cultural life of their community. Having examined the memoirs as well as other writings of more than seventy residents, it is possible to assert that enlightenment was foremost associated with the process of education in the 1790s – 1830s. At the same time, the residents acknowledged that the process of Enlightenment in their lands was active and cut across different categories of science, enhancing their visions of the emancipation of women, introducing the notions of equality, and igniting the debates on the place of institutionalized religion in their society. On top of this, having carefully evaluated their local conditions in the 1840s – 1860s, the writers felt at ease using the concept of *civilization* with regard to their lands, and commenting on its main components – economic development and public participation in the *progress*. Therefore, the memoirs, although being an expression of an aggressive existential anguish during the 1820s – 1860s, were much more than just a sad melancholy or glorification of the Polish past. They represented men and women who appreciated new ideas, as well as habits and customs, and discussed them in reference to their local community; in so doing, they formed new citizens of the world. References to enlightenment in their territories in the 1800s – 1830s formed a common platform to refer to the practices that these territories shared after the partitions. Hence, I concur with Pocock who postulates that 'Enlightenment is used to isolate a variety of similar and interrelated phenomena, which were the product of a shared history'.[841] Foreign and domestic socio-political conditions as well as specific individuals defined social advancements in Volhynia and Podole at the turn of the nineteenth century. The memory of the residents originated from the network of schools and from the existence of the lyceum, which tied the geography of their enlightenment not to Warsaw or Wilno, but to the towns within Volhynia and Podole.

In the 1770s – 1790s, the educated elites and intellectuals of the Commonwealth held a universal faith in the power of education, which led them to declare that they lived in an age of Enlightenment, which finally 'reigned in the North'. However, enlightenment in the Volhynian and Podolian governorates was the result of a rigorous educational reform after the partitions that occurred in the 1800s – 1830s. Still, it is important to emphasize that the

[841] Quoted in Withers, *Placing the Enlightenment,* 26.

reform of the Commission and the debates it provoked imprinted on the minds of the residents in the nineteenth century the importance of education and enlightenment, which originated from the philosophy of education during the eighteenth century. Primarily, they focused on the notion that a public education was more beneficial than a private one, and reflected on the ways that they could restrain unproductive individualism in schools as well as new reasoning about human nature. Even though originally the reformers of the Commission professed that education had to produce good citizens, in their reflections the provincial memoirists adhered to the idea that their system of education had to produce good citizens for their territories. The memoirists indicated that the ideas, planted during the reform in the 1770s, lingered in their society until the mid-nineteenth century, specifically the philosophy of social duty and its emphasis on self-cultivation. They often substituted the Commission's reform of education and the reform of education in the 1800s – 1830s with the concept of enlightenment. They analysed this enlightenment as a logical development of the Commission's reform, yet rooted it in their specific social and ideological context.

The reformer Tadeusz Czacki's philosophy was commonly accepted among the residents of the governorates. He asserted that they would join the enlightened nations of Europe after education arrived in their lands. The lyceum in Krzemieniec, a provincial variant of academia, supplied the residents with a steady intellectual margin of their territories. I argued that Czacki adopted a Kantian approach towards the process of education, proclaiming that it should cultivate citizens, who would participate in the public enlightenment in their lands. Emphasis on the collective duty to enhance the system of education in the provinces further exemplified the tension between education and enlightenment. Whilst education denoted learning within the governorates' newly institutionalized schooling system, the idea of enlightenment signified intellectual advancement and individual contributions to the spread of knowledge within society.

In the 1840s – 1860s, the memoirists made multiple references to the system of education in the 1800s – 1830s and its connection to piety and religious tradition. This enables a conclusion that the local reformers as well as the broader community were aware of the differences between the French Enlightenment and the German one. In fact, by emphasizing the geographical and cultural differences of their governorates from the other provinces of the Russian empire or the Polish lands, the residents looked up to the German cultural patriotism in the preservation and enhancement of their language and through

improving their local conditions. Thus, enlightenment in the Volhynian and Podolian context was expressed through the educational advances modelled on the German Enlightenment, *Aufklärung*, which combined piety with academic developments. Simultaneously, the residents set out to categorize and assort the biological, natural and social variety of people and resources in the provinces during the 1820s, using French rational Enlightenment practices as a vessel. Gradually the residents' writings showed that the image and purpose of the lyceum changed. From the 1830s – 1850s, the Russian Emperor Nicholas I enacted more restrictive and aggressive policies, which meant that the late lyceum was presented as providing a French type of academia – being an institution that hosted philosophical freethinking and an anti-state intellectual revolt.

The memoirists admitted that throughout the 1800s – 1850s they opted for the French and German book market, translating any available literature in order to fulfil their social function of contributing towards enlightenment. Reading, exercised equally by men and women, was described as a routine activity of peaceful solitude and self-cultivation. The practice of reading created equal intellectual paths for men and women, and for the nobility of the different strata. The practice of creating private libraries spread among the lesser nobility, and in the 1820s – 1840s, we see them reading the French authors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in their private residences in the provinces. Their preference for French authors was emphasized when they described the change of mores and forms of communication within and without their households. According to male writers, reading Voltaire, Rousseau and Diderot was associated with female autonomy and introduced a new meaning to domesticity in the provinces. Simultaneously, the residents held agreeable opinions on the philosophy of Kant and Fichte. Their accommodation of Kant's idealism was explained by their attention to self-cultivation and autonomy during foreign political domination. The viewpoints of Fichte and Mme de Stael epitomized their cultural and religious patriotism, and both male and female residents accepted the arguments advanced by these philosophers in their private sphere. Even though their society subscribed to the paternalism of Alexander I, they appreciated the philosophical anthropology of Kant in their attempt to answer Nicholas I's politics in the 1840s – 1850s. In so doing, the memoirists showed their almost unanimous appreciation for the notions of equality, personal freedom and communication in their attempt to counteract imperial policy towards their peasantry. Therefore, in their use of Kant's and Fichte's philosophy, we can somewhat detect their anti-

imperial strain of Enlightenment – the right to resist others who occupy their lands.[842] The process of learning was the only way to fulfil social duties by the residents. The next step to contribute to enlightenment was through translations. Since the 1800s, the writers focused on the refinement of the Polish language. Yet, as the testimonies of various authors indicated, especially from those outside of the provinces, the residents of the Volhynian and Podolian governorates envisioned this process differently from the members of the *Society of the Friends of Learning* in Warsaw. Primarily, through translating foreign works they aimed to mediate enlightenment and knowledge of foreign authors within their community.

If we were to compare the governorates that Grabowski pronounced had a unique cultural identity within the Russian empire with other regions, then I believe the most suitable cases for comparison would be the Bohemian lands, Sweden, and Ireland. In these areas the great figures of the Enlightenment were received in a similar fashion, among the Irish gentry and aristocracy of the eighteenth century – Voltaire for the most part was perceived as a historian and a symbol of new literature by the educated generation. The focus on schooling as a primary force for the unification of society and its practical employment corresponds to the Bohemian case in the second half of the eighteenth century, where Piarist reformers as well as the nobility contributed to advances in education and developed the taste for the science of classification of the resources in their lands.[843] In addition, the Enlightenment in Bohemia ultimately contributed to a consolidation of the Czech consciousness in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Next, the change of heart from the French culture of Enlightenment to German Romanticism after the Revolution echoed the Swedish aristocratic milieu of the late eighteenth century.[844]

Yet, if we analyze the residents' references towards education and the practices of reading and translating in their memoirs from the 1820s – 1860s, the binary opposition between public participation and private exposition, a focal debate in the German Enlightenment, is especially remarkable. In the Polish governorates of the Russian empire, the previously political citizens became apolitical. However, they managed to express their political position publicly when they were establishing their system of education and by

[842] Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire*, 191.
[843] See Mikuláš Teich, "Bohemia: From Darkness into Light," in *The Enlightenment in National Context, edited by Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich* (Cambridge University Press, 1981); also see Rita Krueger, *Czech, German and Noble: Status and National Identity in Habsburg Bohemia* (Oxford University Press, 2009).
[844] See Tore Frängsmyr, "The Enlightenment in Sweden," in *The Enlightenment in National Context, edited by Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich*.

participating in the process of translation of the foreign, mainly French works, into the Polish language individually. If to advance this argument further, we should consider that the memoirs were also the exemplifications of the writers' public and political standpoint in the 1840s – 1860s. At the same time, the practice of reading was reserved for the private realm, providing the residents with the tools for intellectual freedom in the context of colonial rule. This situation bears a strong resemblance to the situation in the German lands, where, as Fania Oz-Salzberger postulated, the public participation of the German citizens was non-political, but literary. It was exercised through publications and personal correspondence, and thus their literary merits belonged to the private sphere.[845] Of course, to say that the Volhynian and Podolian petty nobility and the cultural elites modelled themselves upon German thinkers, such as Lessing, Kant, Fichte, Moser, Reinhold, or even Herder, would be an overstatement. However, repeated references to the educational reform showed that social obedience, pietism, and the improvement of the Polish language, as well as their ambivalent reception of the French Enlightenment thinkers were imprinted on their minds. Possibly, this is what Drzewiecki implied when commenting on the vigorous process of enlightenment in the 1840s. In this context the similarities surely introduce the space for comparison between the two societies.

From the 1840s onwards, the memoirs repeatedly refer of the term *higher enlightenment* [wyższe oświecenie]. This *higher enlightenment* was invoked when the writers needed to legitimize their discussions and standpoints on the equality of the genders, personal freedoms, the emancipation of the peasants and religious toleration. Upon analyzing the elements of such discussions, I believe that in its essence, the *higher enlightenment* was very close to the notion of *Bildung* of the late eighteenth – early nineteenth century and encompasses the notions of education and culture. Yet, *higher enlightenment* in the provinces was largely theoretical and was only limited to the male gentry, who were educated during the educational reforms from the 1800s – 1830s, and who were passive during the political events of their region yet active in their intellectual pursuits. Because of their *higher enlightenment,* male residents allowed women, Jews, and peasants into their community as equal citizens. Together, they would exercise their skills for the common benefit, regeneration, and self-identification of their society. Simultaneously, the process of education, reading and collecting upgraded the position of women to 'conscious citizens' of the provinces. Landed

[845] Fania Oz-Salzberger, *Translating the Enlightenment: Scottish civic discourse in eighteenth-century Germany,* 39 – 40.

women in their pursuit of sociability within the private sphere of their residences produced an experimental space that filled the void between the Krzemieniec lyceum, frequented by males, and the private sphere. In addition, for a female writer the *higher enlightenment* denoted sexual freedom outside of societal norms, and it was regarded as a prevalent notion absent in the provinces in the 1850s.

Local philosophers such as Szaniawski, as well as other residents underlined that they did not accept the sensationalist philosophy of the French Enlightenment. Their rejection possibly hinted at the common individualistic outlook of the *szlachta* in the eighteenth century, disparaging their bigotry, fanaticism, and opting for moderation between the religious practices and joys of everyday life. Along these lines, the French Enlightenment of the eighteenth century and its many instances in the Commonwealth was equated with libertinism and the total decline of the King's and the magnates' power. This Enlightenment is always referred to as the 'philosophy of the past century'. Surprisingly, the petty nobility in their writings hardly ever looked up to the strong administrative system of Napoleon, arguing in favor of self-government, which was their response to the instances of foreign political domination. As a result, the writers preferred to think about that the nineteenth century as being disconnected from the eighteenth century. Having been adapted to local conditions, the rationalism of the French Enlightenment, assessed through books on natural history and a fascination with the practice of reading accumulated and resulted in the new science of man in the provinces. Educated male and female residents turned their gaze towards cultural differences between the members of their community, such as peasants, Italian and German settlers, in their attempt to explain their social alterations. Thus, the residents broke with the past of their fathers, with the religious dogmatism and political futility, and became modern citizens under the authority of a new monarch.

Whilst the philosophy of natural religion was closely tied to the primary causes of the Revolution, the philosophy of individual improvement and the consideration of local conditions were seen as being responsible for the creation of civic virtues that would improve moral health and religion. Therefore, the residents were not passive appropriators, but active receivers that had agency in their context through the process of selective reading.[846] By the

[846] Following the model offered by Stefan Berger and Peter Lambert, "Intellectual transfers and mental blockades: Anglo-German dialogues in historiography," in *Historikerdialoge: Geschichte, Mythos und Gedächtnis im deutsch-britischen kulturellen Austausch 1750 – 2000,* ed. S. Berger, P. Lambert and P. Schumann (Göttingen, 2003), 9-61.

means of a selective and targeted usage of foreign literature, the ideas of the eighteenth century French and German philosophers were domesticated, eventually contributing to the fashioning of selfhood within the constrained territory.

The reform of education in the 1800s – 1830s and its connection to enlightenment and *higher* enlightenment provided the residents with ways to define of their society and its place on the map of Europe. The question that preoccupied the residents foremost from the late eighteenth century onwards was whether their territories were in any way *civilized* or *European*. Ultimately, in order to answer this question they looked to their social and political conditions. Their level of c*ivilization* was expressed through their compatible education, economic development, and individual participation in public improvement. However, in their assessment of the philosophy and place of the Enlightenment ideas in their society, the inhabitants of the "twofold periphery" also uncovered their ambivalences towards modernization.[847] For example, the concept of *progress* was often credited with breaking the natural ties between nobles and their peasants. The writers accentuate that only by bringing enlightened ideas through education, first with the help of the Commission in the eighteenth century and then as individual agents and landlords, this crucial problem would be resolved. By presenting themselves as civilized and 'worldly' citizens in their private habits and education, the petty nobility responded to the European cosmopolitan traditions of freedom and equality.

The restricted area of the governorates did not preclude the colossal debate between the Enlightenment and religion from taking place there in the 1790s – 1860s. Discussions on institutionalized religion understandably came to the surface in the memoirs, and the emphasis was once again put on the connection between the practices of everyday life and religion, stressing the separation between eighteenth-century *philosophy* and religious tradition. In the memoirs of both generations, there was an attempt to reconcile the question of religion with the problem of modernity, change, reform and morality. In *Chapter Two* we established that the connection between the presence of the Catholic Church in the region with the institutionalized enlightenment, or the network of schools, defined the main touching points between the process of enlightenment, education, and the maintenance of tradition at the turn of the century. References to new forms of sociability by means of

[847] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton University Press, 2009).

education, reading, and translating, together with their reflections on emancipation and toleration became a tool for self-fashioning at the turn of the nineteenth century. They were also used to demarcate their region, as we discovered in *Chapter Four*.

The success of the Enlightenment in a given society should be analyzed according to how traditions as well as religious and social patterns were mobilized towards preserving national identity. In this thesis, I tried to avoid discussing Polish nationalism, as there is a considerable amount of literature already written about this very complex subject. While Andrzej Walicki argued that Polish nationalism was political from the beginning and only at a later stage, in the 1850s, became preoccupied with cultural diversities, I hope that this thesis recalibrates this opinion.[848] Mainly, I hope it offers a deeper insight into the modes of thinking and self-fashioning among the nobility during the crucial decades of the 1790s – 1860s. Their intellectual debates about enlightenment even as late as the 1860s focus foremost on its active role within their society and denotes a cultural approach towards their self-definition. As Walicki himself admits, although unenthusiastically, the "nationalism" of the representatives from Volhynia were different from the one created by the intellectuals in Warsaw. For instance, a Volhynian Count Henryk Rzewuski (1791 – 1866) combined his idealization of the Polish Sarmatian past with his admiration of the Russian Empire.[849] For Walicki, such a combination denoted a radicalism of the Ruthenian aristocracy's viewpoint.

However, as I attempted to show, the representatives of the nobility did not subscribe to Romantic German literature, as is claimed by Walicki, instead they preferred the ideas of the German *Aufklärung*. Despite the presence of Russian bureaucracy, the residents insisted on their individual choice of philosophy before and after the French Revolution. They ascertained their unique historical and geographic locality with reference to Europe, and opted for enlightenment through communicative practices. They combined a network of schooling and freedom of self-cultivation with self-fashioning and a rational assessment and categorization of society and resources. Hence, throughout the 1790s – 1830s the residents underwent a process of transition from considering themselves to be provincial citizens, to developing a civilized and commercially viable community within the Russian empire by the 1860s. Their own agency in the process of self-cultivation was realized through the

[848] See Andrzej Walicki, *Philosophy and Romantic Nationalism. The Case of Poland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982).
[849] Andrzej Walicki, "Poland Between East and West. The Controversies of Self-Definition and Modernization in the Partitioned Poland. The August Zaleski Lectures," Harvard University, 18 – 22 April 1994 in *Harvard Papers in Ukrainian Studies* (Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University, 1994), 26.

combination of public and private spheres, yet the social network within the governorates represented both of them. The case of the annexed provinces presents a picture of transition from passive individualist republicanism within the Commonwealth to the enlightened cosmopolitanism in the Russian empire. The focus on self-cultivation, education and religious traditions in their community helped them to reconcile the religious tradition of their fathers with what they believed to be the modern culture through displaying the contrast between the aspects of French secular ideal of separation of Church and State. Therefore, during the process of religious suppression under the Russian authorities, the residents balanced their religiosity and the practice of their faith privately. As with their earlier ventures, the eastern provinces of the late Commonwealth consistently took their own intellectual path within the new political realities of the time. In their narratives, they altered the story of the Polish and Russian Enlightenments. It was possible that this specificity of the Ruthenian palatinate ultimately contributed to change the model of the January insurrection in the 1860s.

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