

Parental instructions of Waclaw Rzewuski for his son Seweryn and daughters from the years 1754 and 1763/64

Abstract

Education of younger generations had long and rich traditions in the old Polish aristocratic family of Rzewuski. Especially domestic and foreign education of sons played major role in building the power and social position of the family. The main purpose of this article is to present unknown sources on the history of education of members of this family. Between 1754 and 1763 (or 1764) four instructions have survived, written by Waclaw Rzewuski for his son Seweryn and two daughters: Teresa Karolina and Ludwika Maria Róża. The first instruction for Seweryn Rzewuski comes from the period of his studies in Warsaw (1754) when the young magnate attended the college of Theatines. In this scripture, the father gives detailed instructions on civic education for his son. This instruction contains advices how to behave properly during social gatherings and religious ceremonies. It also applies to rules of moral education of the young boy.

The second instruction for Seweryn contains advice on the protection of the family residences in Podhorce and Olesko and was associated with political situation in which Waclaw Rzewuski and his sons lived in years 1763-1764. However, the two instructions for daughters are real rarity. Waclaw Rzewuski paid great attention to their security and safety and very good presence. One of the instructions was devoted to the conditions and circumstances of local journeys of the daughters to the nearby church or monastery. In particular, it concerns the staff of daughters' traveller suite. While another says about caution with fire during their stay in the palace in Podhorce. Both instructions are unique documents of the realities of daily life and domestic trips by young women from the aristocratic sphere and father's expectations with regard to their proper ostentation and maintaining good manners.

Keywords: modern epoch, education of polish aristocracy, parental instructions in Poland, Waclaw Rzewuski, Seweryn Rzewuski, daughters of Waclaw Rzewuski

As regards the Old Polish model of educating sons of the nobility and magnates in the eighteenth century, we traditionally distinguish three successive stages: home education by hired teachers, school education, mainly in Jesuit, Piarist or Theatine colleges, and finally studies abroad in the form of a study trip. Sometimes this scheme is simplified only to two components, namely the home and school education (or only home-based, conducted by private teachers), and a study trip abroad or a stay at a royal or magnate's court.¹ All components of this scheme occurred in the process of education of the sons of the Voivode of Cracow and Field Hetman (and later Great Crown Hetman) Waław Rzewuski. From his only marriage with the Chernigov Voivode's daughter Anna Lubomirska (circa 1717 to 1763) ten children were born, including seven sons, of whom only three lived to an adult age.² Considering the education of the youngest of Waław Rzewuski's sons, one should consider it in the broader context of the approach to education in the magnate class, the representatives of which considered this area of life a necessary requirement due to the status they had, confirmed with a certain level of mental and physical development that opens the way to public official or military career.³ The addressee of the analysed paternal instructions was Starost of Dolina Seweryn Rzewuski (1743-1811), and later Crown Field Hetman and one of the leaders of the Targowica Confederation.⁴ Further on in this paper, we will focus on the two parental instructions addressed to the daughters. The aim of this paper is to analyse the content of little known, or even unknown in the literature reference, Waław Rzewuski's educational instructions found of Podhorce. The Rzewuski's abundant instructional work is impressive, it can be attributed to the pedagogical ambitions of this author and to the good condition of the family archives preserved. The mere fact of his activity in this field seems to be an obvious consequence of the parent's care for the proper development of his adolescent children kept under his care and the inalienable father's right to give instructions and orders to the offspring, which had to be fulfilled in complete obedience, which was considered to be an absolute duty of children at that time.⁵

A few parental instructions were preserved as manuscripts from the middle eighteenth century, more specifically: fatherly instructions dedicated to the children of Waław Rzewuski. We have mostly the texts of several instructions directed to the

¹ KURDYBACHA, Ł., *Pedagogika szlachecka w XVI i XVII w. w świetle instrukcji rodzicielskich*, [in:] The same author, *Pisma wybrane*, compiled by J. MIAŚO, vol. 3, Warszawa 1976, pp. 33-35.

² ZIELIŃSKA, Z., *Rzewuski Waław h. Krzywda (1706-1779)*, *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (hereinafter: PSB), vol. 34, 1992-1993, p. 179.

³ CZAPLIŃSKI, W., DŁUGOSZ, J., *Życie codzienne magnaterii polskiej w XVII w.*, Warszawa 1982, pp. 23-30.

⁴ ZIELIŃSKA, Z., *Rzewuski Seweryn*, PSB, vol. 34, 1992-1993, pp. 138-151.

⁵ PARYSIEWICZ, B., *Z badań nad rozwojem polskiej myśli pedagogicznej o wychowaniu w rodzinie*, [in:] *Wychowanie w rodzinie od starożytności po wiek XX. Materiały z konferencji naukowej Katedry Historii wychowania czerwiec 1993*, Ed. J. JUNDZIŁŁ, Bydgoszcz 1994, p. 214.

youngest of his living sons, Seweryn. Of particular note is the collection of instructions entitled *Informacyja synowi memu jak się ma sprawować w Warszawie dana w Jezierny die 14 Junii R.P 1754 (Information for my son about how to behave in Warsaw, made in Jezierny, this day of 14 June A.D. 1754)*.⁶ It is a detailed programme of the day and a list of expectations about private learning and proper behaviour during public meetings in the capital city, required by the father from his eleven-year-old son. It is also worth mentioning that Waclaw Rzewuski was also the author of many political instructions, written in the 1860s, which were to govern the activity of the young Seweryn in his public and state-related activity.⁷ Waclaw Rzewuski also wrote travel instructions for his sons travelling during their study journeys across Europe. Two instruction documents of this type are known, addressed to his sons Józef⁸ and his younger brother Seweryn, later known as one of Targowica Confederates and one of the protagonists of this paper.⁹ As these are instructions related to travelling abroad, we will not discuss them here individually because they are separate types of instructions that constitute a different kind of guide literature.

When introducing the contents and meaning of the instructions concerned, a few words should be said about the education of the young Rzewuskis. Among the tutors employed by the father to teach young magnates, several famous persons from the community of Old Polish preceptors. Certainly, the most prominent personality in this group was the French priest Ludwik Antoni Caraccioli, who was the educator of all the three Waclaw Rzewuski's sons, both in Poland and abroad, starting from 1754. His role in upbringing the Rzewuskis was particularly important during their European journeys.¹⁰ Before him, one of tutors of young Rzewuskis was allegedly a famous Piarist Ludwik Stanisław Górski, who at he time was standing at the beginning of his teaching career.¹¹ The later Pomeranian suffragan certainly guaranteed a high level of education for the magnate's children, given his education and the beginnings of rhetorics and fine arts teaching in the reformed Piarist Colleges. However, the information contained in his biographic note that he taught only two sons: Józef

⁶ Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie, oddział na Wawelu (National Archives in Krakow, Wawel Branch) (hereinafter ANK), Archiwum Podhoreckie (PodhorceArchives) (hereinafter APodh) II 230, pp. 215-216; hereinafter *Informacyja synowi memu jak się ma sprawować w Warszawie*.

⁷ More on this topic see MAKSIMOWICZ, K., *Młodość i początki działalności publicznej Seweryna Rzewuskiego (lata 1743-1767)*, „Ze skarbca kultury” 1989, vol. 48, pp. 75-111.

⁸ *Informacyja synowi memu Józefowi dana w Ppodhorcach R.P 1755 D. 14 Augusti*; Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, manuscript 22, card 207v.-208.

⁹ *Informacyja synowi memu Sewerynowi do Wiednia i dalszych cudzych krajów jadącemu dana dnia 14 februarrii roku pańskiego 1759 w Podhorcach*; Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie (Wawel) (National Archives in Krakow, Wawel Branch, APodh I 126, pp. 383-384

¹⁰ WANICZKÓWNA, H., *Caraccioli Ludwik Antoni de (1721-1803)*, PSB, vol. 3, 1937, pp. 202-203.

¹¹ ZATORSKA, I., *Les Polonais en France 1696 – 1795. Bio-bibliographie provisoire*, Warszawa 2000, pp. 37.

and Seweryn¹² raises some doubts. It should rather be assumed that the education probably covered three sons for a some period or, more likely only the two older sons, i.e. Józef and Stanisław, because they were sent abroad in 1755, while Seweryn set out only four years later.

Returning to the 1754 instruction, it should be noted that this is an instructional document drawn up at the earliest of the four examined here, according to the present state of knowledge. It was written in the critical moment of life and education of Seweryn Rzewuski, who had just been studying at the Warsaw college of Theatines and soon was about to start home education under the direction of the renowned tutor Ludwik Antoni Caraccioli.¹³ Several years later he became a travel preceptor of Rzewuski accompanying him on his *Grand Tour* across Europe. The Theatine institution was chosen not only by educational reasons, but to a large extent by the willingness to manifest the prestige of the Rzewuski family as well as their growing wealth and political importance, as the college attracted the most wealthy students from the magnates and rich nobility due to high tuition fees.¹⁴ The Warsaw Theatines had yet another significant asset. At that time, despite their nearly 20-year period of school's operation, they offered a still fresh European perspective on the issue of educational needs and the associated need for reform in this field.¹⁵

Seweryn started attending the Theatine college perhaps even before 1754. In any case, in autumn of this year he still studied at this school, as evidenced by his participation in two theatrical plays. On 26 September 1754, he performed in the adaptation of the Italian tragedy "La clemenza di Tito" by Pietro Metastasio, playing the role of one of eight Roman soldiers. Just two days later, he played a feminine role of Hortensja, Grichard's daughter, in the French comedy "Zrządny Hałaśnik," ("The Grumbler") written by David-Augustine Brueys and Jean Palaprat.¹⁶ The continuity of Waclaw Rzewuski's educational programme is evidenced by the fact that older sons of Seweryn, Józef and Stanisław, attended earlier this school.¹⁷ This college, operating since the 1730s, was at that time a prestigious school with an innovative cur-

¹² CZAPLEWSKI, P., *Górski Ludwik Stanisław (1725-1799)*, PSB, vol. 8, Wrocław 1959-1960, p. 448.

¹³ ZIELIŃSKA, Z., *Rzewuski Seweryn h. Krzywda (1743-1811)*, pp. 138-139.

¹⁴ MAKSIMOWICZ, K., *W sprawie Collegium Varsaviense ojców teatynów*, [in:] *Europejskie związki dawnego teatru szkolnego i europejska wspólnota dawnych kalendarzy*, Ed. I. KADULSKA, Gdańsk 2003, p. 92.

¹⁵ PUCHOWSKI, K., *Przemiany w szkolnictwie zakonnym Rzeczypospolitej czasów saskich*, [in:] *Między barokiem a oświeceniem. Edukacja, wykształcenie, wiedza*, Ed. S. ACHREMCZYK, Olsztyn 2005, ps. 20-21.

¹⁶ *Dramat staropolski od początków do powstania sceny narodowej. Bibliografia*, vol. 2, part 2, *Programy drukiem wydane do r. 1765. Programy teatru pijarskiego oraz innych zakonów i szkół katolickich*, compiled by W. KOROTAJ, J. SZWEDOWSKA, M. SZYMAŃSKA, Wrocław 1978, pp. 322-323.

¹⁷ GRACIOTTI, S., *Od Renesansu do Oświecenia*, Warszawa 1991, vol. 2, p. 44.

riculum and a high level of teaching.¹⁸ The Waclaw Rzewuski's decision to choose the Theatine College as the place of study for the youngest son should be considered as a result of the great knowledge of this magnate on the Old Polish educational market in the mid-18th century. Theatines created a pioneering educational establishment, where implemented the latest Western European educational trends following elite colleges for noblemen. In some fields, they have outpaced in curriculum innovations the leading religious orders in Poland educating representatives of privileged classes, i.e. orders of Jesuits and Piarists.¹⁹

Entrusting college teachers with care for the education and upbringing of aristocratic and noble sons, common in Poland of the eighteenth century, created obvious mechanisms of networking and control by the Jesuits, Piarists and finally the Theatines on the education of the social elites. Rzewuski was not an exception in this respect. The influence of Theatines, whose origins were Italian, was also seen in his subsequent decisions concerning the education of his sons, namely in the designation of a preceptor for the foreign study trip, a French priest of Italian origins, a member of the Oratorians, Ludwik Antoni Caraccioli.²⁰ In 1755 he left with his older Seweryn's brothers (Józef and Stanisław), while the former one was beginning his military career in Poland.²¹ The three-stage system of education, including the stages of home education, school and travel studies, was enriched by the element of education during the stay at royal or magnate courts both home and abroad. This model of education was replicated, in various detailed variants and solutions, in the educational practice of many Polish aristocratic families. An excellent example of the vitality of these idea was the case of education of the young Mniszechs in the 1760s, who, by the decision of their mother Katarzyna Mniszech nee Zamoyska began their school education at the Piarist Collegium Nobilium and then continued their studies abroad. In this case, the care of the young magnates was entrusted in the hands of foreign tutors, which proved the popularity of European models of education among the Polish elites.²²

As stated in its title, the instruction for Seweryn from 1754 was written in Jezierzany on 14 June, in the Ukraine-located estate owned by Waclaw Rzewuski.²³ The text does not specify Seweryn's whereabouts at that time, but it can be presumed that

¹⁸ KURDYBACHA, Ł., *Kolegium teatynów w Warszawie*, [in:] *Historia wychowania*, vol. 1, Ed. Ł. KURDYBACHA, Warszawa 1967, pp. 579-581.

¹⁹ PUCHOWSKI, K., *Edukacja „losem urodzenia wyznaczonych w warszawskim kolegium teatynów (1737-1785)*, [in:] *Między barokiem a oświeceniem. Sarmacki konterfekt*, Ed. S. ACHREMCZYK, Olsztyn 2002, p. 79-81, 94.

²⁰ WANICZKÓWNA, H., *Caraccioli Ludwik Antoni de (1721-1803)*, PSB, vol. 3, Kraków 1937, p. 202.

²¹ Four years later, Caraccioli became also a preceptor for the Seweryn's travel; RZEWUSKI, L., *Kronika Podhorecka 1706-1779*, Kraków 1860, p. 36.

²² BRATUŃ, M., „*Ten wykwiniony, wykształcony Europejczyk*”. *Zagraniczne studia i podróże edukacyjne Michała Jerzego Wandalina Mniszcha w latach 1762-1768*, Opole 2002, p. 39-41.

²³ *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i Innych Krajów Słowiańskich*, vol. 3, Warszawa 1882, p. 571.

he was staying with his father, perhaps taking a break from studying at the Warsaw Theatine college and preparing to return to the capital city. If Seweryn did not stay at that time in Warsaw, he certainly remained with his father, who wanted to have the boy as close as possible, which also expressed in the instruction, where required from his son to be constantly “close to me and within my sight.”²⁴ The stay in Warsaw probably lasted about a month or two, since in July Waclaw had a conference with the Saxon minister Brühl, and already in August he supervised the organisation of the regional assemblies of noblemen (Sejmik) in the regions of Chełm and Podole, guarding the implementation of the King’s political plans.²⁵ However, the most important reason for the arrival to the capital was the preparation for participation in the Ordinary Diet (Sejm zwyczajny) (which was finally broken off), to be held in Warsaw from 30 September to 31 October.²⁶ The purpose of writing the father’s instructions was to make a detailed statement for the young Seweryn on how to practically acquire court and political skills. The stay in Warsaw with his father was supposed to be a practical implementation of education in socio-political skills, which since the time of Renaissance had been considered crucial in preparing for the future career of an official, including the acquisition of experience and civic knowledge by watching parliamentary or assembly sessions, hearing speeches or observing the manner of running political negotiations.²⁷ It needs to be added that Seweryn’s older brother who was fifteen years old at that time, the Starost of Drohobycz Józef Rzewuski, was already a deputy to this Sejm.²⁸ For these reasons, the instruction for Seweryn should be seen as a tool to stimulate the learning of court erudition, i.e. the ideal of a citizen and the competence of a future statesman and official. The main element of this process was “paideia”, which consisted in educating the mind and character, living in accordance with the law, and preparing for public service that embodies patriotism and work for the homeland.²⁹

The father’s instructions very precisely defined the framework of daily activities of the young boy. When reading subsequent points, we can see great importance attached by the father to absolute discipline and punctuality. The daily routine was planned with utmost detail, leaving virtually no room for hesitation in terms of tasks scheduled for a specific time or their assigned order. The day was about to start at five in the morning, and half an hour later the son was to appear in his father’s bedroom

²⁴ *Informacja synowi memu jak się ma sprawować w Warszawie*, p. 215.

²⁵ ZIELIŃSKA, Z., *Rzewuski Waclaw*, p. 171.

²⁶ KONOPCZYŃSKI, W., *Chronologia sejmów polskich 1493-1793*, Kraków 1948, p. 165.

²⁷ ŻOŁĄDŹ, D., *Ideaty edukacyjne doby staropolskiej. Stanowe modele i potrzeby edukacyjne szesnastego i siedemnastego wieku*, Warszawa-Poznań 1990, pp. 62-63.

²⁸ *Diarjusze sejmowe z wieku XVIII*, vol. III, *Diariusze sejmów z lat 1750, 1752, 1754 i 1758*, publ. W. KONOPCZYŃSKI, p. 286.

²⁹ PORAZIŃSKI, J., „Statysta głęboki”. *Kilka uwag o erudycji staropolskich polityków*, [in:] *Między barokiem a oświeceniem. Edukacja, wykształcenie, wiedza*, Ed. S. ACHREM CZYK, Olsztyn 2005, p. 9-11.

to receive specific instructions. The hurry was so important that the father even suggested reducing the morning dress to the necessary minimum: "at half past five you must appear at my room just dressed in any clothes you have at hand."³⁰ For an hour and a half Seweryn was to learn the subjects of study and matters as ordered by his father. It was only at seven o'clock that he was recommended to be properly dressed, and he was to use the rest of the time until nine o'clock for reading. He would then return to his father and go with him to appointed meeting or assist him at visits to his father paid at his residence. Waław Rzewuski wished to exercise absolute control over his son's behaviour in order to avoid any improper attitudes or acquaintances. He also advised his son to maintain and establish only useful contacts and to establish desirable social relationships, which was expressed in the requirement of keeping relations only "between the right people." However, he also reserved the discretion to decide about with whom Seweryn could maintain relationships or conduct conversations, by recommending him to always cultivate good manners, which was to be expressed by modesty and courtesy in conduct and conversations and by paying due respect to everyone³¹. The command of restraint and prudence in formulating statements was in general raised in the instructions for aristocratic and noble sons as one of the basic requirements of good conduct from an early age.³² Although the instruction lacks detailed statements, one can suppose that these contacts with the right people are understood by the author as acquiring the competence of appropriate behaviour and conduct in the aristocratic and nobility environment. This element could in turn be seen as an introduction to proper patriotic education manifesting itself as the care about interests of the Commonwealth and the noble nation.³³ It should also be noted that the desire to surround the son with friendly people derived from appropriate social background and social circles was the intention commonly manifested by fathers sending sons to schools, both domestic and foreign.³⁴

The regulations relating to the proper conduct in the circles of Warsaw society forbade the young Seweryn any gambling except in the cases of such entertainments in the paternal mansion and with father's knowledge. Waław also imposed on his son a significant limitation on alcohol, allowing him only to drink two glasses of wine mixed with water during dinner or supper. He also excluded the possibility of eating an evening meal out of the house, by setting the time of half past nine as a time for rest. For the participation in social events, probably balls, concerts or theatrical performances, Seweryn was to go to bed at ten o'clock. Waław was very concerned

³⁰ *Informacja synowi memu jak się ma sprawować w Warszawie*, p. 215.

³¹ „z modestą i respektem dla wszystkich” (“with modesty and respect to everyone”); *Ibidem*.

³² GAD, P., „Ojcowskim sercem i słowem” – *Instrukcja wychowawcza autorstwa Hieronima Floriana Radziwiłła*, „Ogrody Nauk i Sztuk” 2016, 6, p. 217.

³³ ŁEMPICKI, S., *Polski ideał wychowawczy*, Lwów-Warszawa 1937, p. 10-11.

³⁴ ŻOŁĄDŹ, D., *Rodzina szlachecka jako środowisko wychowawcze (XVI-XVII w.)*, [in:] *Wychowanie w rodzinie od starożytności po wiek XX, op.cit.*, p. 183.

about his son's security, instructing him to keep close to him during large public gatherings, such as during a holy mass with the monarch, to prevent the boy from getting lost in the crowd.³⁵ When analysing the above Waclaw Rzewuski's recommendations for his youngest son, they should be considered first of all as an attempt to implement the ideal of *honnête homme*. It was developed in France as a model of the nobleman's polite behaviour and was a necessary element of manuals of good manners, expressed in a wide range of virtues and attitudes: politeness, morality, brilliance, temperance and good manners and principles of honour or respect. This particular model of conduct, genetically related to the social condition and status of the magnate, born in the most elite sphere, was supposed to guarantee social recognition and political success.³⁶ Thanks to the above instruction, we can find the version of the ideal of *honnête homme* transferred to the Polish realities of the eighteenth century and applied to a specific time and specific public and social activities.

A separate section, titled "Pajucy" ("Valets"), was devoted to security and surveillance issues. For the reasons of due ostentation and elimination of threats, courtiers and stewards dressed in uniforms were to serve Waclaw and Seweryn. They had always to keep guard in front of the magnates' bedrooms, and for the son also inside them. The direct and constant supervision of father's servants was to ensure the proper development of his son's psychic and moral sphere and effectively separate him from all temptations. This confirms the thesis that, in practice, moral formation was the priority of the Old Polish educational program, always realized before intellectual education.³⁷ The fact that the servants were "pajucy" (servants in Turkish-style apparel) shows that Waclaw Rzewuski had a certain predilection to oriental fashion. These "pajuks" included a few Poles and one authentic Turk. Their duties included the protection of the Rzewuskis, both in their residence and during travel and guarding the family's silverware.³⁸

The above-mentioned instruction demonstrates that the classic model of education presented at the outset should be enriched, for Waclaw Rzewuski's sons, with the fourth type of civic and courtly education, established in the European tradition since the Renaissance, involving the formation of the sphere of morality and learning about the responsibilities related to specific offices, as well as acquiring social skills and experience and genteelness by participating in circles of power, by assisting alongside

³⁵ "At the Royal Mass my son has always to stand behind me and watch so as not to get lost"; *Informacja synowi memu jak się ma sprawować w Warszawie*, p. 215.

³⁶ SNYDER, J.R., *Dissimulation and the Culture of Secrecy in Early Modern Europe*, Londyn 2009, p. 12-13; MALINOWSKA, M., *Krytyka ideału honnêteté na tle nowoczesnych poglądów Poulaina de la Barre*, „Acta Philologica”, no. 43 (2014), p. 150-152.

³⁷ ŻOŁĄDŹ-STRZELCZYK, D., *Wychowanie dziecka w świetle staropolskiej teorii pedagogicznej*. [in:] *Od narodzin do wieku dojrzałego. Dzieci i młodzież w Polsce, cz. 1, Od średniowiecza do wieku XVIII*, Ed. M. DĄBROWSKA and A. KLONDER, Warszawa 2002, p. 98.

³⁸ „Jan Kowal may be added to the butlery and will sleep with the others guarding the silverware”; *Informacja synowi memu jak się ma sprawować w Warszawie*, p. 216.

his father in important public events. This element of practical training of a future politician, statesman and high civil servant was certainly seen as one of the most important elements of the whole educational process. In reference to this thread, we would like to introduce the second of the instructions addressed to Seweryn. It has the nature of a military manual as to how to proceed in case of threat of invasion by foreign troops.³⁹ There are two dates in the manuscript 1763 and 8 Julii 1764 (8 July 1764), which may suggest that the commandments were given by the father earlier, and just written in 1764. This instruction deals with military matters, and its origin is related to the political situation of that time, in which Seweryn Rzewuski, like his father, was a firm supporter of the camp called "Republikanci" and was in anti-royal opposition. The Waclaw's instruction was an expression of his concern for family interests and arose out of fear of the retaliation from Russian troops for his regional assembly and parliamentary activities, and projects directed against Stanisław August Poniatowski's plans to strengthen the royal authority with the support from Russia.⁴⁰ The content of the instruction is in essence a detailed list of the father's expectations regarding the vigilance and strengthening of the guards at the castles in Podhorce and Olesk. The concern for the invasion of the family residences not only by the regular Russian army, but also the "ordinary band" and the "opposite party", by which he understood the armies loyal to the king and the Familia (party). Suffice it to say that the instruction containing teachings for Seweryn, then the major general of the crown army and "elder son" (i.e. Józef or Stanisław Rzewuski), finally was concluded with a defeatist advice to defend themselves only against small numbers of troops, but to surrender to large troops of adversaries and to provide them with a hospitable reception: "Don't fight against large troops. Receive the visitors from the opposite side as best as possible, and not to hesitate to offer them much wine, even a couple of barrels."⁴¹ We do not pay more attention to these matters, we only want to emphasize the versatility of Waclaw Rzewuski writing, on an ongoing basis, instructions of different types for his children in response to the need of the moment. The excerpts from the instruction also show that Seweryn was under his father's strict custody until the death of his father in 1779⁴², and that dependence date from the very beginning of his public career.

On the other hand, the two instructions addressed to the daughters, which Waclaw Rzewuski wrote, apparently, within a relatively short period of time, are unusual. They deserve special attention, because we know very little documents containing such educational guidelines. The limited source database is also accompanied by little inter-

³⁹ *Informacja synowi memu staroście dolińskiemu dana roku 1763*; ANK, APodh II 2/95, p. 553; hereinafter: *Informacja synowi memu staroście Dolińskiemu*.

⁴⁰ MAKSIMOWICZ, K., *Seweryna Rzewuskiego droga do Targowicy*, Gdańsk 2002, p. 50.

⁴¹ *Informacja synowi memu staroście Dolińskiemu*, p. 553.

⁴² MAKSIMOWICZ, K., *Hetman Seweryn Rzewuski pod sterem swego ojca Waclawa w latach 1774-1779*, „Ze Skarbcza Kultury” 1989, vol. 49, pp. 149-189.

est in the topic, resulting in a few analytical works.⁴³ In some ways, this is probably due to the small interest of the ideologues of Old Polish pedagogical thought, which gave little attention to the issues of women's education. This attitude of the creators of pedagogical theories was based on the conviction that women were mainly responsible for their social roles, such as childcare and care for the family house.⁴⁴ Any deviations from this rule were left to parents and carers. This rule mainly concerned young ladies from rich noble and magnate families, and as a result, female education became elitist. In this context, we should consider two known Waclaw Rzewuski's instructions for his daughters.

The first of the instructions, which contains detailed guidelines concerning the rules of organisation of short journeys from Podhorce was written on 10 July 1763.⁴⁵ The education and upbringing of daughters were mainly the maternal responsibility, but Anna Rzewuska nee Lubomirska died prematurely in 1763, at the age of 46, so the father was obliged to care for the future of the nearly adult daughters. Out of three female descendants, two daughters lived to an adult age. The older Teresa Karolina was 21 years old at that time and soon married Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł, one of the most powerful Polish magnates. The wedding was held on 8 April 1764 in Podhorce. Two-years younger Ludwika Maria Róża married in 1766 the Samogitian Starost Jan Mikołaj Chodkiewicz.⁴⁶ Wishing to provide them with the best possible conditions and to express their expectations, Waclaw, just three weeks after his wife's death, wrote the first of his known instructions for his daughters. Probably from the same time comes the second instruction, not dated, which is essentially a collection of fire regulations.⁴⁷ The Polish pedagogical literature and practice on the upbringing of women generally employed two methods. The first, conservative one was primarily about forming the personality through religious and moral formation and the preparation for the role of wife, mother and housewife. The second, far less common, preferred broad education, similar to that for men.⁴⁸ Rzewuski's recommendations for adult daughters have a common-sense nature and give the impression that they were based upon

⁴³ Zob. AUGUSTYNIAK, U., *Instrukcja Bogusława Radziwiłła dla opiekunów jego córki, Ludwiki Karoliny (przyczynek do edukacji młodej ewangeliczki w końcu XVII w.)*, "Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce 1991", vol. 48, pp. 215-235.

⁴⁴ FREYLICHÓWNA, J., *Ideal wychowawczy szlachty polskiej w XVI i początku XVII w.*, Warszawa 1938, p. 155.

⁴⁵ *Dyspozycya około przejażdżki moich córek R.P. 1763 die 10 Julii w Podhorcach.*; ANK, APodh II 131, p. 343; hereinafter: *Dyspozycya około przejażdżki moich córek*.

⁴⁶ ZIELIŃSKA, Z., *Rzewuski Waclaw h. Krzywda*, op.cit. p. 179.

⁴⁷ *Dyspozycya około ostrożności od ognia w stancyi moich córek*, Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie (Wawel), APodh II 131, p. 343-344; hereinafter: *Dyspozycya około ostrożności od ognia w stancyi moich córek*.

⁴⁸ ŻOŁĄDŹ-STRZELCZYK, D., „Jako rządzić mają rodzice córki swe”. *Poglądy na wychowanie kobiet w XVI-XVIII w.*, [in:] *Rola i miejsce kobiet w edukacji i kulturze polskiej*, vol. 1, Ed. W. JAMROŹEK and D. ŻOŁĄDŹ-STRZELCZYK, Poznań 1998, p. 56.

the desire to protect them from unfortunate accidents or unwanted company. This allows us to conclude that the two instructions for daughters that were in their “premarital” period at that time, were intended to ensure the proper conduct which was to be overseen by chaperone Kozłowska mentioned in the text of the instruction. The marriages planned by Waclaw were an important instrument for the construction of political alliances, as evidenced by the earlier (1758) plan for the marriage of Ludwika’s younger daughter to the son of the royal minister Henry Brühl, without effect however.⁴⁹ Due to the relatively advanced age of the daughters, the instructions do not relate to educational issues at all, thus giving no knowledge on the education of Rzewuski’s daughters whatsoever. It should be presumed that it took place according to the fashion accepted in the Polish aristocratic environment, including home education under the care of governess and perhaps study in one of the female monastic schools.⁵⁰

The instruction drawn up in the summer of 1763 included guidance on the realities of travelling around the neighbourhood of the young magnate ladies. It defines the main goals of the trips and their detailed chronology. Its reading presents some problems because Waclaw Rzewuski described very generally, four target destinations of short trips from Podhorce which were evident to himself and the addressees. The author comprised in nine points another guidelines regulating the schedule and conditions of travel. Only three place names were listed. Most often, they were to go to the “monastery”, and these rides were scheduled five times a month - the first, the eighth, twelfth, sixteenth and twentieth day of the month. Waclaw Rzewuski did not specify what monastery it is about. Given the high frequency of these rides, it implies a very small distance. However, it could not be the church and the Basilian monks monastery in Podhorce, as it was being built as a Waclaw Rzewuski foundation (although from 1752), but it was consecrated only in 1766.⁵¹ Perhaps this reference was made to the monastery in Lviv, but it was quite a large distance away from Podhorce. On the 25th of each month, one could go to Olesko and 29th to Dubno or Hołoskowice. These were very short trips starting in the afternoon, and ended before dusk “to be in the castle back when there is still light.”⁵² In the case of Olesko and Hołoskowice this was absolutely reasonable, since Podhorce is at a relatively small distance of several kilometres from them. On the other hand, the expedition to Dubno had to be a long-term journey, considering the significant distance to travel. The destination of the trip was the estates and residences belonging to the Rzewuskis or their relatives. There was a Rzewuski castle in Olesko, and in the local church the Waclaw Rzewuski’s wife and mother of his children Anna nee Lubomirska was buried. In the Olesko Capuchin

⁴⁹ RZEWUSKI, L., op.cit. p. 38.

⁵⁰ ŻOŁĄDŹ-STRZELCZYK, D., JAMROŹEK, W., *Studia z dziejów edukacji kobiet na ziemiach polskich*, Poznań 2001, p. 45-75.

⁵¹ SZYSZKO-BOHUSZ, A., *Podhorce*, „Sztuki Piękne” 1925, R. I, no. 4, pp. 160-162.

⁵² *Dyspozycja okolo przejażdżki moich córek*, p. 343.

Church four young sons of Rzewuski and one of their daughters were also buried.⁵³ In Dubno resided the Lubomirski family who were relatives of the young Rzewuskis on their mother's side.

The instruction included also clearly articulated guidelines imposing manners guaranteed the appropriate level of magnate's ostentation and ensuring good conduct. To this end, father recommended travelling only in a small suite consisting of servants and a governess supervising the safety and proper conduct of the wards during the journey. In the microscale, it was a copy of the model of organisation and tasks of suites accompanying magnates' sons during their foreign study journeys.⁵⁴ Of course in this case it was a significantly different variation of this model resulting from the specificity of the women's journey. The suite of Teresa Karolina and Ludwika Maria Róża Rzewuski was to consist of at least six people, among whom the most prominent were chaperone Kozłowska, one of the company ladies, a coachwoman, a "courtier" riding in front of the carriage, a coach, and at least two servants handling the carriage. The general supervision was entrusted to "Mistress Kozłowska", and in the event of her illness, the oldest court lady of the Rzewuski's court. The court officials and servicemen also received detailed instructions on the preparation of these trips. Podhorce equerry Rulikovski or his substitute, had to choose only proven, calm horses, avoiding harnessing "coltish horses to the carriage, but rather those most reliable". The care about the safety of journey was also expressed in a categorical command for coachmen to keep the horses calm and to drive the carriage at a moderate pace.⁵⁵

The second instruction written for daughters is probably also from 1763 and concerns the issues of safety during the stay in Podhorce. This document does not provide information on the education of Rzewuski's daughters either, so probably it involved home education. Although in the middle of the 18th century, it was more and more popular among noblemen and magnates to send their young daughters to boarding schools for women run by female religious orders, especially the Visitation Sisters and the Benedictine Sisters of Perpetual Adoration.⁵⁶ However, we do not have information about similar education received by Teresa Karolina and Ludwika Maria Rzewuski. The mentioned instruction refer to the safe stay in the Podhorce castle, which is suggested by the name of the mosaic room on the first floor of the palace complex. This richly decorated room was Anna Rzewuska's bedroom. In the room,

⁵³ RZEWUSKI, L., *Kronika podhorecka 1706-1779*, Kraków 1860, p. 24.

⁵⁴ Zob. CHACHAJ, M., *Orszak młodego magnata odbywającego podróż edukacyjną (wiek XVI-XVIII)*, [in:] *Patron i dwór. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI-XVIII wieku*, Ed. E. DUBAS-URWANOWICZ and J. URWANOWICZ, Warszawa 2006, pp. 165-178.

⁵⁵ *Dyspozycja około przejażdżki moich córek*, p. 343.

⁵⁶ WLAŻLIK, B., *Wychowanie dziewcząt w XVI i XVII w.*, „Prace Naukowe Akademii im. Jana Długosza w Częstochowie” 2008, Pedagogika, vol. XVII, p. 208.

there was also her portrait.⁵⁷ Father's recommendations focused primarily on the repeatedly emphasised prohibition on leaving unattended candles, lamps or fire in fireplaces or irons. The sources of light could only be located in designated places, and only those that excluded any fire hazard: "far from anything that could be set on fire, especially from curtains."⁵⁸ Special care was entrusted to chaperone Kozłowska, who was supposed to ensure the safety of boxes, trunks and furniture and the separation of all equipment in safe rooms.

The researcher's attention is attracted by extremely meticulous, and at times quite obvious instructions on even elementary principles of taking care of health or maintaining safety in simple everyday situations. This raises questions about the actual reasons for such strict supervision of the upbringing of children and repeating similar or even the same guidelines. It is possible to indicate at least two probable sources of such Waław Rzewuski's overproduction and even impulsive writing. One of the reasons may be the love of written words and the passion of literature, although the language of instruction is not distinguished by its elaborate ornamentation, nor the richness of the vocabulary used or the beauty of expression, although Rzewuski himself enjoyed the fame of a talented and prolific author. The traces of family life, especially the deaths of several descendants in childhood, seem to be more important, because they marked by the stamp of loss and regret in the affection of Waław and his wife. According to the scholarly opinion, this may have influenced the Rzewuski's inclinations to excessive care, especially after the death of his wife.⁵⁹ This is likely to be the case.

The Waław Rzewuski's parental instructions presented above include both educational recommendations and logistical guidance on the organisation of journey and the stay of his children in both family-owned and non-family owned residences. The characteristic feature of these instructions is the almost complete absence of educational issues. This deficit cannot be balanced by general recommendations on the reading and study addressed to Seweryn. They comprise mostly the concerns of health, safety, protection of property and proper moral attitude of the children. At the same time, it can be noted that Waław Rzewuski, when formulating his parental orders, based primarily on his own experience without referring to any scholarly authorities or ideas of recognized pedagogical trends. This can be a result of some haste that is seen in their editorial form and in their intended use for a specific situation and quite a short period of time, rather than a long-term educational process, all the more so since three out of the four analysed instructions were intended for adult children. The significant value of the instructions presented, especially with regard to the information written for Seweryn, is the clarification of principles of court education which

⁵⁷ PRZYŁĘCKI, S., *Opisanie pałacu w Podhorcach*, [in:] *Dniestrzanka. Zbiór artykułów wierszem i prozą wydanych ku zabawie i nauce*, publ. S. JASZOWSKI, Lwów 1841, p. 12.

⁵⁸ *Dyspozycya około ostrożności od ognia w stancyi moich córek*, p. 344.

⁵⁹ MAKSIMOWICZ, K., *Seweryna Rzewuskiego droga do Targowicy*, pp. 17-20.

enabled them to follow the ideal of *honnête homme*. In this case, the instruction is not of a general nature, but is dedicated to a particular period. However, it presents the universal father's requirements and expectations towards his son, the adherence to which, together with education and connections, was believed to bring in the near future a tangible advantage in establishing social relationships and achieving political success and promotion as an official. The instructions addressed to the daughters, containing, above all, a set of teachings and guidance to ensure their safety, express their father's genuine concern for their health and successful future within the generally accepted model of young Polish magnate women.