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EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMES OF POLISH ELITES IN THE SAXON PERIOD. THE CASE OF HIERONIM FLORIAN RADZIWIŁŁ (1715–1760)

Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł, born in 1715 as the youngest child of the Lithuanian Chancellor Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł (1669–1719) and Anna neé Sanguszko (1676–1746), lost his father at the age of four. His upbringing was taken care of by his mother, an energetic, even despotic person, who mainly focussed on running the complicated financial matters of the family, with special consideration to the interests of Hieronim Florian.

His education in childhood and early youth is mainly known from scanty mentions in old descriptions of the Radziwiłłs' history by Edward Kotłubaj, Julian and Kazimierz Bartoszewicz, and also from equally scanty information in archival sources, which contain an incomplete, rough sketch of the Radziwiłłs' history penned by their archivist from the middle of the 19th c., Ludwik Bernatowicz¹. E. Kotłubaj says that Hieronim Florian was educated at home, but he profited little by it, having only learnt well the French and German language². On the other hand L. Bernatowicz, who came from a family which had been in the Radziwiłłs' service for a long time, and who could draw on their oral tradition, remarked

¹Edward Kotłubaj, *Galeria nieświeżska portretów radziwiłłowskich (The Gallery of the Radziwiłłs' Portraits from Nieśwież)*, Wilno 1857, pp. 423–431; Julian Bartoszewicz, *Zamek Biały (The Castle of Biala)*, Warszawa 1914, pp. 152–153; Kazimierz Bartoszewicz, *Radziwiłłowie (The Radziwiłłs)*, Kraków 1928, pp. 101–117. In contrast to the generally precise and well-documented information by Kotłubaj neither of the Bartoszewicz is very precise in his exposition. Bernatowicz's text deserves a separate analysis due to its convergence with Kotłubaj's work, but this is a separate matter. The biography of Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł in the Polish biographical dictionary, written by Hanna Dymnicka-Wołoszyńska, contains a list of major sources and literature concerning this person, cf. *Polski Słownik Biograficzny (Polish Biographical Dictionary — further on PSB)*, vol. 30, 1987, pp. 185–188.

²E. Kotłubaj, *Galeria*, p. 424. Hieronim Florian must have mastered foreign languages in speech, for his French writing arouses doubt, while his German text, written phonetically, is a sheer oddity, cf. The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw (further on CAHR), The Radziwiłł Warsaw Archives (further on RA). Section IV file 14 env. 159 № 1308.

that the indulgence of his mother served Hieronim Florian badly³. However, Anna Radziwiłłowa must have at least in part followed the educational methods applied during Chancellor Karol Stanisław's lifetime to their older sons. Some idea of these methods can be drawn from the reminiscences contained in the diary of Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł (1702–1762), Hieronim Florian's older brother. These accounts show that at the age of seven Michał Kazimierz received a tutor, Kazimierz de Latour, a major of the Lithuanian Army (who later, in recognition of his pedagogical merits, was promoted to the rank of colonel). A year later Mr. Więckowski, a servant of Michał Kazimierz's parents, taught him the Catechism, but in the same year he received a new teacher, Father Kamiński S.J. This Jesuit was, however, dismissed in 1717, for "he taught badly", and was replaced by several Piarists, who succeeded one another. Michał Kazimierz mentions one of them, Father Cezary, from whose teachings he benefited most. However, soon the whole programme of education was finished, since the fifteen-year-old Michał Kazimierz started spending most of his time accompanying his parents on their travels, attending the dietines, sessions of the tribunal (the Court of Appeal for the gentry), etc. As a sixteen-year-old boy he was sent to the residence of Hetman Adam Sieniawski at Brzeżany to start the courtship of his daughter, Maria Zofia Sieniawska, who was exactly his age. In 1720 he for the first time appeared in public life by assuming the office of *starosta (capitaneus)* (an official with judicial and administrative power) in Przemyśl, bestowed on him with great solemnity. Soon after, in 1721, he started a new stage of his education, commonly accepted in the aristocratic milieu, by setting out on a tour of Europe. His route led him through Berlin and Leipzig to Dresden. After a long stay in Saxony he went through Bohemia to Vienna, hence not to Rome or Italy, but to the South of Germany, and through Bavaria and Rhenish Palatinate to France, where his travel ended with a long stay in Paris. His way back led again through Berlin. There is no information about his visiting the Netherlands. The purpose of all this travel was not to deepen his school knowledge (in whatever form), but to give the young magnate a cosmopolitan touch and to introduce him to the milieu of the ruling courts especially valued in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Thus care was taken to introduce the young traveller to the rulers and their surroundings as well as to acquaint him and involve him in their occupations and pastimes. It was the duty of Michał Kazimierz, or rather of the trusted courtiers of his mother that accompanied him, to send her weekly reports of his travel until it finished

³L. Bernatowicz, *Historia domu radziwiłłowskiego (The History of the Radziwiłł House)*, CAHR, The Radziwiłł Połoneczka, unannotated records, file 2.

in 1723⁴. His return home put at the same time an end to his education, for from then on Michał Kazimierz's time was filled with financial matters, endeavours to gain a suitable position in public life and to get the right candidate for a wife.

From mentions in the notes of Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł we learn about his education merely that his teachers were monks, Jesuits and Piarists. According to Kotłubaj, at the age of fifteen Hieronim was sent abroad, from where he was to return five years later (1730–1735). The guardians that accompanied him were Father Latour, the Canon of Płock, and Tomasz Mogilnicki, an old courtier of Hieronim's father⁵. The same Mogilnicki's preserved reports from Leipzig and Dresden, submitted to Anna Radziwiłłowa in June and July 1730, show that Hieronim Florian stayed there together with his older brother, Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł, who frequently visited Dresden seeking successive offices at the court of King and Elector Augustus II. However, it is difficult to trace in the letters of this courtier any opinions or appraisals of Hieronim Florian's behaviour. Only from a later mention by Anna Radziwiłłowa do we learn that in Saxony Hieronim often behaved brutally, but being treated as a child, he got away with it⁶. His stay abroad was probably shorter than Kotłubaj says. At any rate, there was a break in it when in February 1731 he appeared in his country, where accompanied by his mother he ceremoniously assumed the possession of Słuck and other estates, once the property of an extinct line of the Radziwiłłs, Princes from Birże and Dubinki.

In 1730, as a result of Anna Radziwiłłowa's endeavours, an agreement was reached between her and other Radziwiłłs from the line of the Princes from Nieśwież on the one hand, and Rhenish Elector and Palatine Charles III Philip, an ex-husband of Ludwika Karolina (the last offspring of the Radziwiłłs from Birże, d. in 1695) on the other, about the marriage of one of the Elector's granddaughters, who came from his union with Ludwika Karolina and inherited her property, to Hieronim Florian⁷. In the spring of 1733, Hieronim Florian, then eighteen years old, set out to Mannheim where

⁴Notes in the diary of Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł in CAHR, RA Section VI N° II 80a *passim*. A fragment from reports on a journey from Dec. 6, 1721 to Oct. 10, 1723 in CAHR, RA, library MS, without call number (materials under annotation).

⁵E. Kotłubaj, *Galeria*, p. 424.

⁶Mogilnicki's reports from Saxony, written in June and July 1730, CAHR, RA Sec. V N° 9900. A note by Anna Radziwiłłowa in CAHR, RA Sec. XI N° 136, p. 378. The matter of endeavours to gain those estates, called Neuburg estates, since Ludwika Karolina née Radziwiłł's husband was a prince of Neuburg, including the courtship of Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł has been discussed by Jerzy Leśniewski, *Spory o dobra neuburskie (Quarrels over the Neuburg Estates)*, in: "Miscellanea Historico-Archivistica", vol. VI, Warszawa 1996, pp. 95–132. Records of negotiations with Elector Charles III Philip in CAHR, RA Sec. XI N° 138, pp. 1–159.

Elector Charles III Philip resided together with his granddaughters, the Princesses of Sulzbach (whose parents were already dead). Hieronim appeared as an official suitor, provided with an engagement ring. His mother, who saw the projected marriage as a crowning and safeguarding of her endeavours to obtain a great property, prepared his visit to Mannheim as carefully as possible. She had collected information about the way of life, habits and devotions of the grandfather–Elector, she knew who played the main roles in his court. However, she was the least interested in Princess Frances of Sulzbach destined to be the wife of Hieronim Florian. She undoubtedly regarded her as an object and not the subject of the projected marital contract, which was to endow the fiancée with the property inherited from Ludwika Karolina in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. At any rate Frances, born in 1724, was still a child. Anna Radziwiłłowa was most anxious about the expected behaviour of Hieronim Florian in a foreign environment. She sent him there in the company of the above–mentioned Father Latour as tutor, Tomasz Mogilnicki and Mr. Białożoz as well as an unidentified “Mr. Pantler”, to whom she assigned the leading and co–ordinating part in this group. However, Hieronim Florian remained directly under the charge of Father Latour, and was to obey him in everything.

Before departure, the “Mr. Pantler” and Father Latour received from the anxious mother “Information” in writing. She ordered “Mr. Pantler” to see to it that Hieronim Florian should please the Elector by his gay countenance, that he should not stay idle, for the Elector did not like it, but that he should join the local company in their games or conversations, that retiring to his quarters he should preoccupy himself with reading, for this would make a good impression, and also that he should be serviceable to the Elector and make a closer acquaintance with the Princesses. Father Latour was in the first place to take care of the piety and general good behaviour of her son, to watch that he took care of his health, did not eat too much fruit, for his stomach was not accustomed to it. His tutor was also to guard him against bad local company, and protect him from some godless companion from his country, should one follow him to Mannheim⁸.

Hieronim Florian himself received from his mother an extensive “Instruction”, numbering about 30 points (a large part of which consists of general recommendations regarding piety), and enumerating many religious practices that were required. It is amazing, considering the weight attached by Anna Radziwiłłowa to those matters, that she had to instruct her son not to cover his head and not to sit during the exposition of the Holy Sacrament.

⁸The originals of those texts in CAHR, RA Sec. XI N^o 136, pp. 382–396.

Her other remarks also give the impression that she perceived all the defects in his upbringing only when he was to present himself abroad, and as if she wanted to make up on this occasion for all the previous neglect. E.g. she recommended to him to restrain “his great appetite” at table, since people might think that he had not tasted such good food at home; furthermore, that he should not eat with his fingers, but with a fork (!) and he should not besmear himself. A lot of space is also given to directions referring to Hieronim’s contacts with his surroundings, above all with the persons from his retinue. His mother admonishes him for his brutality noticed earlier in Saxony. So he should not scold his servants too violently or threaten them with gallows. His bad treatment of his courtiers might ruin his reputation at Mannheim. His relationships with Father Latour need not have been best even earlier, for his mother orders him to forsake his obstinacy and not to give vent to his spleen, on the contrary, he should obey the Father’s instructions and those of other “elders”, who set out with him to Mannheim out of kindness. Moreover, he must give up all lies and godlessness, inculcated in his innocent soul by bad companions. At the same time Anna Radziwiłłowa warns her son not to become familiar with his pages, footmen and valets⁹.

All this programme presented in the form of orders and prohibitions was directed to a man, who although young, was already acknowledged as an adult, who officially had become the owner of great property and was just preparing for marriage, and yet he was here rebuked like a child. Nevertheless, it seems that all these admonitions and entreaties, calling for obedience under threat of a loss of God’s blessings, did not impress him much. The atmosphere at the beginning of his visit at Mannheim seemed good. According to Hieronim Florian’s accounts sent to his mother, he behaved in keeping with her instructions, and the Elector was very kind to him. However, months elapsed without any progress in his courtship and finally he realised that there was no purpose in staying any longer at the Elector’s court and decided to return home. His letters do not mention his relationship with Frances of Sulzbach and contain no appraisals of her person¹⁰. Tomasz Mogilnicki, sent to the Elector in 1737, did not succeed in advancing the matter, either. Charles III Philip wrote to Anna Radziwiłłowa that the young age of Princess Frances made it necessary to postpone marital negotiations to the future. The Radziwiłłs understood it as a breach of the earlier agreements¹¹. One can only surmise that the real cause was the bad impression made by Hieronim Florian at Mannheim.

⁹The original of this text in CAHR, RA Sec. XI N° 136, pp. 365–381.

¹⁰Hieronim Florian’s letters from this period to his mother in CAHR, RA Sec. IV file 11, env. 116–119.

The formation of Hieronim Florian's personality was probably strongly affected by his relations with his mother. From the earliest childhood he had been for years her favourite child treated with great indulgence, but deprived of independence, even when he reached maturity. This probably resulted from her distrust of his potentialities and capabilities. Finally he broke away from his mother's leading strings. He wanted at any cost to prove to everybody, and above all to himself, that he was a master who ruled on his own and would not let anybody share his power¹². In fact, however, he needed advice and support, which he sought from the persons he trusted, however not without disappointment. As a result he suffered a trauma which aroused in him a distrust of people, verging on psychopathy.

His attitude to the world, and especially to his closest surroundings, can be seen in a peculiar document, undated, written by his own hand and entitled: "Education which, when God Almighty lets me have children, I want to give them, and in the case of some misfortune come upon me, hence also death, I ask their guardians, appointed by me, to give to them..."¹³. The programme exposed here by Hieronim Florian was to embrace the life of his sons (he made no mention of his daughters at all) from their early childhood to maturity. His son, at the age of three, was to be separated from his nurses and entrusted to his tutor, who would be at least forty, sober (not a drunkard), sedate, not a heretic. His separation from women would prevent him from being coddled, the results of which were well-known to the author of the programme, as he emphasized. The upbringing was to be very strict. Thus e.g., once a week — on Friday — his sons were to sleep on the bare ground, on an outstretched coat, so as to save them from rheumatism and accustom them to discomfort. In summer they were to sleep in the meadows under tents. Their food was to consist of fresh and smoked meat, various vegetables, groats, often brown bread. No delicacies. Until they were twenty they were allowed to drink only water and that only at meals. He was taught this restraint by his parents and he thought it particularly advisable. By the way, it is difficult to understand how these ascetic habits corresponded with Hieronim Florian's greediness, mentioned by his mother. The same rigours concerned the time of sleep, which should not surpass seven hours; furthermore his sons should go to sleep at different times of day, to get seasoned

¹¹ Cf. J. Lesiński, *Spory*, p. 129.

¹² A more extensive discussion of Hieronim Florian's attitude to his mother in: Teresa Zie li ń s k a , *Przyczynki do konfliktu pokoleń na tle majątkowym w osiemnastowiecznym środowisku magnackim (A Contribution to the Discussion of Generation Conflict Over Property among the Magnates in the 18th c.)*, in: *Trudne stulecia. Studia z dziejów XVII i XVIII w.*, Warszawa 1994, pp. 135–139.

¹³ An autograph in MS N^o 1721, pp. 115–176 in the collections of the Czartoryski Library in Cracow. This text was known and used in part by Alojzy S a j k o w s k i , *Od Sierotki do Rybicki*, Poznań 1965, pp. 178–180.

to the hardships of life. They should be modestly clothed, not out of avarice, but because rich dress would arouse in them unnecessary ambition. Finally Hieronim Florian emphasized that they all should be treated alike, for making any differences between them, especially by parents, arouses eternal hatred. (Had he experienced it in his own childhood?)

These remarks concerning the living conditions of his sons are followed by the matter of their education. A lot of space is devoted to religious upbringing. Each boy should know his prayers (the simple ones) and Catechism at the age of three or four at the latest. They should make their confession and receive Holy Communion not earlier than at the age of ten, and they should have a lenient and wise confessor. They should not attend more than one Holy Mass, in order not to fall into bigotry. They should start learning at the age of six and continue until they are fifteen and do it at home, not in schools, under the direction of a clergyman but not a Jesuit, but a Piarist, since their teaching methods were better. The programme of education was very rich, including four foreign languages (Latin, French, German and Italian), general history, geography, engineering and artillery. Each subject should be taught by a specialist teacher. Lessons were also to be held by an economist, an accountant and a lawyer, teachers of fencing, dance, music and horse-riding. As to the latter subject, Hieronim Florian made a reservation that boys should not mount horses before they were twelve, for earlier it might harm their health. However, children might train on wooden horses. He also declared himself against sending children abroad for education, for this would not be of any benefit to their country. Not until they were thirty could they leave their homeland, and then only for military service; and here an unexpected reservation: only to fight against the French in the emperor's, Saxon or Prussian army.

Wishing to plan the whole lives of his expected sons Hieronim Florian also deals with their future public activity. He allows them to serve their country as deputies to Parliament and members of the deputation to the Tribunal. He does not advise them to join political parties, but if they decide to do so, they have to be loyal and reliable, not "in the French way". As far as pastimes are concerned, the programme mainly includes prohibitions. So the young Radziwiłłs should avoid playing dice or cards, as well as any drinking-bouts (Hieronim Florian himself loathed drinking), and the company of ladies; hunting is accepted, but with moderation. The latter restriction is surprising, for it comes from a man for whom hunting was a favourite, daily pastime.

Hieronim Florian devotes a lot of space to the wide sphere of inter-personal relations at various levels. Servants should be treated sharply, for

although they have souls (!), their nature is such that their attachment can only be achieved by fear. However, one should not do them any harm, their honour should be respected and good servants (which happens rarely) should be rewarded, if not to excess. Among courtiers one should avoid sycophants, informers and false advisers, who by nodding assent, lead young people astray. Bad companions should be avoided (for there are many traitors). One should get on well with the gentry, but not visit them often, regardless whether they are friendly or ill-disposed. As far as family relationships are concerned, he emphasizes again that children should be treated equally by their parents, and should not be allowed to fight or quarrel, for this “always arouses hatred”.

One of the final pieces of advice found in the “Education” is very significant: his sons should not get into conflict with three categories of people: priests, Jews and women. This is the expression of phobias, developed mostly in his childhood. Bad experience of contacts with clergymen probably comes from the period when Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł’s pedagogues were Jesuits, whom he disliked immensely. Mentioning Jews, he probably had in mind his once confidential counsellor, Szmojło Ickowicz, whom he later found a traitor¹⁴. His disappointment probably influenced from then on his attitude to other people, particularly Jews. His greatest complex as regards women was probably developed in him by his mother who disbelieved his personal assets and ruled him despotically. But he did not avoid social or sexual relations with women, although little is known about this aspect of his life¹⁵. In “Education”, however, he exposes rather peculiar views on marriage. He recommends it to his son, if he should “perceive in himself a proneness to lust”, but let him choose a wife of equal social status, and if she proves good, let him be faithful to her. However, he adds immediately a very characteristic reservation. Should his son’s wife behave badly, the first time he should tell her that he is displeased, the second time he should give an order to whip her, for she does not deserve to be punished by her husband personally. Let us add, however, that Hieronim Florian did not go so far as to be violent in his relations with his wives. He rather tormented his three successive wives psychologically. His behaviour

¹⁴On the relations between Hieronim Florian and Szmojło Ickowicz see Teresa Zięlińska, *Kariera i upadek żydowskiego potentata w dobrach radziwiłłowskich (The Career and Downfall of a Jewish Potentate in the Radziwiłłs’ Estates)*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny”, vol. 98, 1991, fasc. 3, pp. 33–49.

¹⁵I omit here Kazimierz Bartoszewicz’s exposition that is not based on source documentation. I find a more reliable mention in: Marcin Małuszczyk, *Diariusz życia mego (The Diary of My Life)*, vol. 2, Warszawa 1986, p. 101. CAHR, RA Sec. XI No 138, pp. 174–178 contains an opinion by J. S. Bachstrom, a court-doctor to the Radziwiłłs, probably concerning Hieronim Florian, about a cure for venereal disease which the young master contracted as a result of dissolute living.

was marked by a wish to dominate his wives and domestics and he went as far as to interfere in the details of their personal lives. E.g. he forbade his wife to drink coffee, for she would get from it “polyyps in her heart”¹⁶. In his recipe for happiness written down for his sons he subjects it to three conditions: 1 — you should be the sole master of the court; 2 — you should not give your wife any money, but buy her what she needs; 3 — you should not allow her to give even the smallest orders to the court or concerning the estate. If a wife should rule, it’s better to be a dog-catcher than a husband who allows it.

The programme outlined by Hieronim Florian features both a negation and an affirmation of methods which he experienced himself. The strongly emphasized and reiterated demands for strictness in dealing with children contain a clear criticism of “caresses” that he knew from his childhood. Even sending children abroad to round off their education, a general custom in his times, did not meet with his approval. The fact that he regards such voyages as useless, must probably be attributed to his experience. As regards the rich educational programme that he plans for his sons, it does not seem probable that the same was applied to him, even as regards foreign languages. However, he clearly accepts the organization of the home educational system, with a tutor-priest at the head, that he experienced himself.

Directions relating to the upbringing of his sons may be compared with another educational programme, also of his authorship, undated, but probably written later. It can be surmised that as the time of awaiting the much wanted offspring got longer, Hieronim Florian started to abandon the hope of ever living to see them. Then, probably, he conceived a project of supervising personally in his home the upbringing of the sons of the gentry, whom he wanted to train as officers for his court militia. Boys were to be accepted for education at the age of ten and continue until they were twenty (i.e. longer than he planned it for his own sons). The condition of acceptance was good health and cleverness. The educational programme did not differ much from that planned for the young Radziwiłłs. Only music was left out. A greater emphasis was put on learning law, which was to be taught by a skilled barrister, since the young officers were to be professionally engaged in judicature. For this reason they were also to learn the Cyrillic alphabet, used in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania till the end of the 17th c. in judicial books. This means that Hieronim Florian was also anxious to appoint his own people to the posts in judiciary. The most important condition, from

¹⁶Hieronim Florian writes in his diary of 1749, about forbidding his wife to drink coffee, which he did as “the head of the family”, CAHR, RA Sec. VI N° II. 81, p. 86 verso. In CAHR, RA Sec. XI N° 142, pp. 111–116 we find a complaint of one of his wives about what she suffered from him.

the point of view of the interested persons, was a radical demand to isolate his pupils completely from their parents' homes. Visiting was forbidden, and letters limited to four a year. The author of the programme meant to protect his charges from being coddled by their families. Probably for this reason parents would not be allowed to provide their sons with money for their needs or to send them in together with their own servants. The children were to be embraced with a full bursarial system, and receive clothing, maintenance, personally selected servants and health care (a doctor and barber–surgeon), at Radziwiłł's cost¹⁷.

The vision of upbringing in such a totalitarian system, and perhaps above all Hieronim Radziwiłł's established reputation as a psychopathic, cruel individual, discouraged the gentry from entrusting their sons to him, despite the tempting prospect of bursaries. Thus his project did not materialize, as can be inferred from a complete lack of information as to its being introduced into practice. However, Hieronim Florian tried to put into practice its modified version. He decided to replace the sons of the gentry with children of his subjects. This idea was at variance with the view he expressed in his project of education for the young Radziwiłłs. He wrote there that the sons of the burghers from his own estates (to say nothing of peasants) should not attend schools, for they needed no learning. At most they could train some craft performed by their fathers. In Hieronim Florian's diary of 1750 we find an explanation of his motives, when he decided to educate the sons of his subjects. He says nothing more about educating lawyers, whom he wouldn't be able to keep in such subordination. In March 1750 he writes down that he ordered some officer who was going to Berlin, to find there suitable teachers. It turns out that this time Radziwiłł was also thinking about the education of girls, undoubtedly from his subjects' families. They were to be taught various (?) foreign languages, good manners, ballet dances and also household chores. This design was certainly connected with Hieronim Florian's intention to strengthen the cast of his court theatre at Biała. This magnate is ranked among the most keen promoters especially of ballet and its best experts¹⁸. However, he had merely ten years of life ahead of him, and even if he achieved some results of his educational initiatives, there are no permanent traces of them left. The theatre at Biała ceased to exist. The

¹⁷An autograph of his project for educating the sons of the gentry in the Czartoryski Library in Cracow, MS N^o 1721, pp. 29–40.

¹⁸An autograph of notes concerning the education of his subjects' sons and daughters in Hieronim Florian's Diary of 1750, CAHR, RA Sec. VI N^o II 81, pp. 151 and 151 verso. On the role of Hieronim Florian in theatre history cf. Alojzy Sajkowski, *Hieronim Radziwiłł i jego teatr. Biała Podlaska i Sluck (Hieronim Radziwiłł and His Theatre. Biała Podlaska and Sluck)*, "Pamiętnik Teatralny", vol. 11, 1962, pp. 450–459.

officers educated by him, coming from among his subjects (if they had ever been promoted), must have certainly taken advantage of the situation and freed themselves from dependence on the Radziwiłłs and disappeared into the ranks of other armies.

The presentation of educational principles applied to Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł and those which he outlined himself may be finished by an attempt at their appraisal. How do they compare both with traditional methods of education and with its new directions that contributed to the educational reforms of the Enlightenment period?

In his study of the state of enlightenment in 18th c. Poland Hugo Kołłątaj writes that in the reign of Augustus III the upbringing of the magnates' children was still based on traditional home education¹⁹. This model was also accepted in the home of the Radziwiłłs. Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł supported it also in relation to his own sons, but he intended to educate the sons of the gentry in complete separation from their parents' homes. He also opposed the programme of supplementing education with travel abroad, although for a few centuries this had been the canon of lordly upbringing. In accordance with the custom sustained for many generations he regarded (Catholic) priests as the most appropriate teachers and tutors. His preference of the Piarist monks (*Ordo Clericorum Regularium Pauperum Matris Dei Scholarum Piarum* — an order established in Rome in 1597) to the previously most popular Jesuits was not only his personal view but one generally shared by the gentry of his era.

At the time when this magnate outlined his pedagogical concepts, an outstanding representative of the Piarist Order, Stanisław Konarski (1700–1773), was already putting into practice his programme of educational reform. Konarski had prepared himself for this task for a dozen-odd years during his studies in Rome and by learning modern teaching methods in Austria, Germany and France. He put his observations into practice by establishing in 1740 the *Collegium Nobilium* (a college for the gentry) in Warsaw, a boarding school destined mainly for magnates' sons. During 8 years of study the pupils learned the subjects that were traditional part of school curricula in Poland, with Latin as the language of instruction. The novelty of the programme consisted of an extensive inclusion of mathematics, science and natural science, new currents of philosophy (not only ancient philosophy as before), Polish and European law, Polish history and literature, modern writers, and foreign languages, mainly French and Ger-

¹⁹Hugo Kołłątaj, *Stan oświecenia w Polsce (The State of Enlightenment in Poland)*, ed. Jan Hulewicz, Wrocław 1953, pp. 13–14. Also Stanisław Konarski, *Ustawy szkolne (School Statutes)*, ed. Jan Czubek and Stanisław Kot, Kraków 1925, especially pp. 347–365; Stanisław Kot, *Historia wychowania (The History of Education)*, Warszawa 1924, pp. 310–345.

man. After the pattern of West–European schools for the gentry, the adepts trained good manners, the art of conversation, fencing and other disciplines connected with physical education. Konarski, who became the provincial of the Piarists in Poland, soon reformed all the schools run by this order. This influenced the transformation of the whole school system, since the example of *Collegium Nobilium* gained popularity in the whole country. Father Stanisław Konarski was not only a pedagogue, but also a political writer, striving to introduce in Poland reforms in the spirit of the Enlightenment. He influenced his pupils in this direction and prepared them for taking an active part in public life. He scored great successes in this field, for many of his pupils became politicians who played an important role in leading society out of its backwardness and stagnation.

Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł's ideas were a far cry from those wide horizons and patriotic principles, although he also mentions the preparation of youth for the service to their country. From all the directives concerning the multilateral formation of a graduate's character included in the principles of *Collegium Nobilium*, Radziwiłł mentions only the postulate of sobriety and the fight against drunkenness, although it is beyond denial that his voice was important and precursory, considering the realities of gentry custom. It does not seem probable that Hieronim Florian studied the principles of the *Collegium Nobilium*, but it must be admitted that his programmatic intentions sometimes resemble the educational programmes of this school. Teaching modern languages was a novelty in Polish schools, but not in private education in magnates' homes (where they were also taught to girls), on whose principles Radziwiłł based himself. He intended youth to learn mathematics and Polish law, however his objective was different from Konarski's, for he thought about the practical application of those subjects to the economy (accountancy) and the defence of his own financial interests. His programme of exercises training the physical proficiency (especially horse–riding) and preparing for military service is more extensive than in the *Collegium Nobilium*. A comparison of requirements concerning religious education indicates that although Hieronim Florian puts it at the head of his programme, his exposition shows that he does not have in mind education but religious practices, which he recommends to curtail. Konarski's college taught biblical history, but most of the religious teachings were shifted to extramural classes. What both authors have most in common is their striving to monopolize their pedagogical influence on their students. Neither of them conceals that for this reason he would like to limit their contacts with their families (in Radziwiłł's case this, of course, concerns the sons of the gentry and not his own). Hieronim Florian radically forbids his

pupils to see their families allows them to write letters only four times a year, and forbids them to accept any presents or money. In the *Collegium Nobilium* the students were allowed, to be sure, to go home for six vacation weeks, but they were advised against it; they were allowed to accept visits in the presence of a priest, pedagogue (or valet!), to write letters once a month, to accept money, but they should deposit it and account for what they spent.

In comparing Radziwiłł's concept with Konarski's programme one cannot forget, naturally, that the former, in contrast to the latter, was never put into practice and one cannot know how it would stand its test. It is surprising, however, that despite the great differences between the Lithuanian satrap and the enlightened reformer, one can perceive some convergence in their programmes.

(Translated by Agnieszka Kreczmar)