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CHILD IN WEALTHY WARSAW BOURGEOIS FAMILY. SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH AND THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

I

The subject of the study are families of Warsaw's Great Bourgeoisie in 1850–1914 that includes merchants, members of two first guilds, and with attention given to families of owners of the largest Warsaw factories¹. Virtually all the families were of non-Polish extraction with roots in Jewish and German tradition. Some of the families were also of Swiss and French origin.

The second half of the 19th and the early 20th centuries witnessed the development and stabilization of the bourgeoisie living in the Polish territories. The period also marked a highly dynamic change in the economy, society, culture and customs. By selecting this long period and with attention given to its characteristic processes it was possible to avoid taking a static approach to the developments that constitute the subject of this study. I have also divided the analyzed class into two groups: the so-called generation of fathers — 1850–80 — and the generation of sons — 1881–1915.

As established by Joanna H e n s e l in her study based on the 19th century notary records of the Warsaw bourgeoisie, the problem of descendants was raised by the young couple in the marriage contract before the

¹ Of assistance was the list of the important factories in Warsaw in the 19th and 20th centuries drawn up by Witold P r u s s, *Rozwój przemysłu warszawskiego 1864–1914 (Development of Warsaw's Industry in 1864–1914)*, Warszawa 1977, pp. 218–221. Another source is the register of Warsaw's wealthy citizens in *Warszawa w świetle pieniędzy (Warsaw in the Light of Money)*, an article in "Tygodnik Ilustrowany", pp. 487–490. Listed were 66 names of the wealthiest businessmen in the city. The article is based on the history and life of 59 families called: Bloch, Berson (Bersohn), Borman, Brun, Daab, Epstein, Fajans, Fraget, Fukier, Gebethner, Gerlach, Glücksberg, Goldfeder, Goldstand, Granzow, Habermusch, Halpert, Hantke, Herse, Hoesick, Klawe, Kronenberg, Konic, Laski, Levy, Lesser, Levental, Lilpop, Machlejd, Margens, Michler, Natanson, Norblin, Pfeiffer, Popiel, Puls, Rau, Reichman, Rosen, Rotwald, Schiele, Seydel, Spiess, Strasburger, Simmler, Swzede, Szlenkier, Temler, Ulrich, Wertheim, Wawelberg, Wedel, Werner.

nuptials². This is evidence that the birth of children and their nurture was a matter discussed by the persons establishing a family or their parents far in advance. The future parents designated in their marriage contract the specific sums to be assigned to the nurture and support of their children. One may speak here of a kind of preparation for at least some of their parental duties. One may also say that the purpose of establishing a family was to guarantee that the business would remain in the hands of the family. There is no reason to believe that it is justifiable to use the term “planned family development”. The notary records do not provide the speculations about the expected number of children.

An analysis of the birthrate of the reconstruction of 272 Warsaw bourgeois families of 1850–1914 indicates that the first child of the young couple was usually born a year after marriage. In the fifties, sixties and seventies of the 19th century the mother was about twenty years old and at the turn of the century was twenty some odd years old. The older husbands became fathers at about thirty years old.

Analysis of the Warsaw bourgeois families in the period of the study indicates that the average number of children in these homes changed due to the influence of various factors (see Table 1).

Table 1. The average number of healthy births and an indicator of children's deaths of 272 Warsaw bourgeois families in 1850–1914

Average of children born and those who attained adulthood		
Years of marriages concluded	Number of children	Number of children surviving to the age of seventeen*
1850–59	6.0	5.3
1860–69	4.8	4.1
1870–79	3.4	3.1
1880–89	3.6	3.5
1890–99	2.6	2.1
1900–09	2.8	2.7
1910–14	1.7	1.6

Calculation on the basis of indicators of the children's deathrate up to the age of 17 seems to be reasonable for that is the age when the average young person reaches the level of physical and mental development of an adult.

Source: My own calculation on the basis of S. Ł o z a, *Rodziny polskie pochodzenia cudzoziemskiego osiadłe w Warszawie i okolicach (Polish Families of Foreign Extraction Settled in Warsaw and Environs)*, vol. I Warszawa 1932, vol. II Warszawa 1934; M. M i e s e s, *Polacy — chrześcijanie pochodzenia żydowskiego (Poles—Christians of Jewish Extraction)*, Warszawa 1938, vols. I, II, III; K. R e y c h m a n, *Szkie genealogiczne (Genealogical Studies)*, Warszawa 1936.

² J. H e n s e l, *Burżuazja warszawska w świetle akt notarialnych (The Warsaw Bourgeoisie in the Light of Notary Documents)*, Warszawa 1979, p. 206.

A declining number of children were born in the successive decades of the period studied here, from six in the mid-19th century to an average of two in the early 20th century. This tendency is observable over the brief ten year periods. The crucial turning point occurred in the seventies and eighties of the 19th century with over three born in the families and only two in the nineties. The family of the generation of the sons changed in form in comparison with the generation of the fathers. The changes were influenced, among others, observed in the sample group, by the later marriage of women at the turn of the century, thus shortening the marriage period and the potential fertility of women.

The reduced number of offspring in the Warsaw bourgeois homes may have been due to the transformation of the socio-economic system and changes in the conduct of the family firm hence also in the functions of each member of the family³. Only men, fathers and their grown up sons of working age, could be expected to be professionally active. The successors, the heirs had to be reared and educated with care and prepared for their future duties. Too great a number of children could provoke inheritance problems and lead to dangerous misunderstandings.

The research on child mortality in Warsaw bourgeois families conducted on the basis of an analysis of a reconstruction of families indicates that the largest number of children died in the fifties and sixties of the 19th century. It was the youngest, those under one, two and three years of age, who died. The highest death rate was observed among the large families, a fact which may indicate a tendency to guarantee the survival of descendents by means of a large number of births. It may also mean that more attention and care was devoted to children of smaller families, hence with benefit to their health and life. We may also note fewer deaths of small children in homes that observed and maintained Jewish religious traditions. Rules of hygiene and infant care, dietary customs, recommended baths and breast feeding were to the advantage of the children.

The conviction that influence can be exerted on the birth, life and child development became widespread in consequence of the development of hygiene and advance in the medical sciences at the close of the 19th century. The exhortations of teachers and psychologists were designed to reach the enlightened groups, including the wealthy strata of the bourgeoisie. Perio-

³ The influence exerted on family life by industrialization is taken up, among others, in: Ch. Glück-Christmann, *Familienstruktur und Industrialisierung. Der Wandlungsprozess der Familie unter dem Einfluss der Industrialisierung und andere Modernisierungsfaktoren in der Saarregion 1800-1914*, Frankfurt a/M 1993, E. Jaris, H. Witzig, *Brave Frauen, aufmüpfige Weiber. Wie sich die Industrialisierung auf Alltag und Lebenszusammenhänge von Frauen auswirkte (1820-1940)*, Zürich 1992.

dicals were published that promoted a hygienic and healthy mode of life and principles of child care. Books on infant and child care for parents appeared on the market⁴. The child mortality indicator fell in the final decades of the 19th century thanks to greater attention to hygiene and the latest medical developments.

Thus the process of observed changes in the bourgeois family in the second half of the 19th century was related to other transformations in the social life, economy and customs.

The intriguing question about the symptoms that would point to elements of family planning may be answered by an analysis of the number of descendents depending on the years of marriage (see Table 2).

Table 2. Average number of children in 261 Warsaw bourgeois families in 1850–1914 (in relation to the years of marriage of the parents)

Average Number of Children in a Family		
Years of marriage of parents	1850–1880	1881–1914
–9	2.0	1.7
10–19	3.1	1.75
20–29	4.5	3.9
30–	4.7	3.2

Source: My calculations on the basis of S. Łoza, *Rodziny polskie pochodzenia cudzoziemskiego* (Polish Families of Foreign Extraction); M. Mieses, *Polacy–chrześcijanie* (Poles–Christians); K. Reychman, *Szkice genealogiczne* (Genealogical Studies).

The research indicates that the number of children in families established in 1850–80 (the first generation) was clearly related to the years of marriage. Marriages of shorter duration had fewer children than families that lasted longer. The situation looked a little different in the next generation (1881–1914). Admittedly, fewer children were born in shorter marriages and more in marriages of longer duration, but the tendencies are not as clear as in the earlier period. Interestingly, marriages of over thirty years had fewer children on the average than marriages of ten years less. There are no great differences in the average number of children in marriage of a few years (average of 1.7 children) and a dozen years and more (average of 1.75%). Thus it may be said that in speaking of the second generation one can take note of a tendency that would indicate signs of the development of family

⁴ Some of the works that appeared at the turn of this century were: L. Mieroszevska, *Rady praktyczne o początkowym wychowaniu dzieci* (Practical Suggestions of Beginning Child Upbringing), Warszawa 1856; Bluckburn, *Jak należy ochraniać niemowlę, czyli przestrogi dane matkom* (Care of Infants or Admonition for Mothers), Warszawa 1877; [Pediatrician] (pseud.), *Niemowlę, opieka jego zdrowia, tudzież żywienie w chorobie. Poradnik dla każdej matki* (The Infant. Care for Its Health, As Well As Diet in Sickness. Instructions for Every Mother), Vienna 1899; M. Biehler, *Higiena dziecka* (Child Hygiene), Warszawa–Łódź–Lublin 1912.

planning. The results of the calculations presented here would indicate that the number of children in bourgeois families did not depend exclusively on the years of marriage hence on unplanned conception.

The reduced number of children in the Warsaw bourgeois homes created a new picture of these families and their life. The parents and care-givers concentrated on the care of one, two, or three youngsters. The family's concern and love and the family funds once divided among a larger number of persons now fell to fewer children.

II

The care of little children was above all a woman's duty. Close relatives and hired servants (nurses) often helped them.

Breast feeding was a mother's basic gesture toward a child. Matylda Hoesick (wife of the bookdealer and publisher Ferdynand Hoesick) breast fed her only child (a son born in 1867). Her mother gave birth to nine children in the mid-19th century and also fed them all by breast⁵. Mrs Lilpop, wife of the architect and entrepreneur Franciszek Lilpop, mother of Halina Rodzińska, did not breast feed any of her six offspring (turn of the century)⁶. The sources used here do not speak of other women of Warsaw's bourgeois homes. The articles published by physicians may lead one to assume that many women gave up breast feeding. This tendency would be also indicated by the numerous press ads of substitutes for feeding infants, addressed to the wealthy, including the bourgeois classes.

With the passage of decades, the consolidation of family finances, with larger homes, it was the custom to have more and more persons take part in child care. As was customary in aristocratic homes, bourgeois families employed foreign nursemaids, governesses and tutors. Children no longer grew up among the adults absorbing instruction unconsciously and without being aware of it. It can be assumed that planned and organized child care and supervision were practiced at the turn of the century.

Jan Gebethner wrote with great affection of the governess Mariana Narzyńska who took care of and nursed all five of the offspring of Robert Jan Gebethner and Maria née Herse⁷. Halina Rodzińska wrote about her childhood: "There was no lack of siblings or of the loving care of my parents, but my friend and constant companion from my earliest years was nurse Mania... She radiated warmth and joyful emotions all the time which

⁵ F. Hoesick, *Powieść mojego życia. Dom rodzicielski. Pamiętnik (The Story of My Life. Family Home. Memoir)*, vol. I and II, Wrocław 1959, p. 23.

⁶ A. Rodzińska, *Nasze wspólne życie (Our Life Together)*, Warszawa 1980, p. 39.

⁷ J. Gebethner, *Młodość wydawcy (The Youth of a Publisher)*, Warszawa 1989, p. 49.

she bestowed on everyone around, especially on the smallest of her charges, particularly on Antek... She carried out her daily duties cheerfully, washing us, dressing and combing with a rigor demanded by Mother. It is from Mania to a greater degree than from Mother that I learned the name of objects"⁸. Ferdynand Hoesick, on his part, remembered the old cook Helen who told him fairy tales as she had once told them to his father⁹.

Parents were not the only and often not the most important persons participating in the upbringing of their children:

In small families as, for instance, in that of the Hoesicks, the mother could take care of her children without help. Strong emotional ties and an awakened understanding were the result of whole days spent together. Matylda Hoesick strove to impart all she knew to her only child; she desired to instill in him her love of music and the theatre. Together they took care of the canary and together they wept for its loss, together they went shopping each week and spent the summer months in the countryside. The later writer and publisher remembered well his mother's tenderness, pleasant Sunday mornings when he could come to her bed. Stefan Spiess was also strongly attached to his mother. Mrs Spiess infected her son with her admiration for musical art¹⁰.

The Wertheim family was noted for the close contact between the parents and the children and especially for understanding between the children and the mother. Alexandra Wertheim was, as the author of *Wspomnienia melomana (Memoirs of a Music Lover)* very fond of her children's abilities: "This great lady fixed her attention with considerable concentration on her own talent and that of her children, her son Juliusz and daughter Joanna"¹¹.

Mrs Maria Gebethner also attended to the musical sensitivity of her son. "Mother awakened in me... a love of singing" Stanisław wrote¹². She played the piano and organized home concerts. Mrs Rosen on her part helped develop her son Jan Bogumił's artistic talent¹³.

⁸ H. A. Rodzińska, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

⁹ F. Hoesick, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 140.

¹⁰ Spiess wrote, "Mother... a pianist, pupil of Józef Wieniawski, created an atmosphere of admiration for music at home. Trained in the works of Chopin, she appeared in concerts already as a 13 year-old girl. It's no wonder that she drilled her children in music early in life... I often sat at the piano as a seven-year-old boy and soon afterwards played four hands with mother, for I had the gift of reading music *prima vista*", S. Spiess, W. Bacewicz, *Zewspomnień melomana (From the Memoirs of a Music Lover)*, Warszawa 1963, pp. 7-8.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

¹² J. Gebethner, *ibid.*, p. 88.

¹³ J. Rosen, *Wspomnienia spisane przez Annę Leo (Memoirs Written Down by Anna Leo)*, Warszawa 1933, pp. 15, 26.

All these mothers strove to impart to their children the skills they themselves possessed. They watched over their talents, instilled an interest in literature, art and music. It seems that they fully satisfied their children's desire for tender care, warm and close physical contact¹⁴. Recalling their mothers, observing also other homes, the authors of memoirs appreciate the devotion and the influence of their mothers' actions on the offspring and do not treat this situation as not typical of their circle.

It is certain that being the only child, Ferdynand Hoesick did not suffer a lack of parental love although he felt that he had a strict upbringing¹⁵. He experienced even as a grown man proof of his mother's tenderness and concern. In letters written to her son studying in Riga, she reminded him of dressing appropriately to the season of the year, of taking care of his health and sent him the small sums she had saved¹⁶. The mother and the son felt very close to each other. Jan Rosen "was pampered and immersed in art" in the period of his "radiant and happy childhood".

However, the authors of the memoirs, Kronenberg, Hoesick and Gebethner devoted decidedly more space to their fathers than to their mothers as if to say that the fathers had played a greater role in the development and care of their children, encouraging them to become independent. The father was an intermediary between the home and the public world; his decisions were unquestioned in family matters. Ferdynand Hoesick could not oppose his father, dispute his orders; he simply admitted that he was afraid of "daddy"¹⁷. He also saw the difference in the principles his parents had in bringing him up and in the home of their family friends, the merchants Langners. The children enjoyed greater freedom in the home of Langners, they behaved more boldly toward their seniors, they could argue; the parents tolerated criticism¹⁸. In this comparison Hoesick saw how utterly rigorous and peremptory his father was. Obedient in all and instilling in her son obedience to his father, his mother was afraid of her husband. Hoesick senior was also equally submissive to the decisions of his father

¹⁴ German researchers noticed the situations and misunderstandings between sons, raised in a male community; a school, boarding school, universities, and the mothers who had remained at home. There were conflicts at home, emotional ties were weakened. See G. F. B u d d e, *Auf dem Weg ins Bürgerleben Kindheit und Erziehung in deutschen und englischen Bürgerfamilien 1849–1914*, Göttingen 1994, p. 220. Available sources concerning the Warsaw bourgeoisie do not indicate that these problems existed.

¹⁵ F. H o e s i c k, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 122.

¹⁶ F. H o e s i c k, *Korespondencja. Listy od rodziców (Correspondence. Letters from the Parents)*, Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa (later BN), manuscript 7115, microfilm 48394, letter dated October 14, 1888.

¹⁷ F. H o e s i c k, *Powieść*, vol. I, pp. 122, 235.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 235.

some decades earlier¹⁹. This illustrates how customs are carried over from the home where one is born, establishing a family tradition and principles.

In view of their duties outside of their home, the fathers had less time to devote to their offspring. But it seems that they were close observers and consultants whose opinion was usually final. The fathers known from sources did not neglect their parental duties and did not leave them to the women or caretakers. Henryk Martens Junior (early 20th century) recalled: "Father (Henryk Martens Senior) was concerned with our education and the progress we had made, but lack of time did not allow him to devote himself as much as he would like to his children"²⁰.

Robert Gebethner and Ferdynand Hoesick devoted much of their free time to their sons. Both took long walks with them regularly every Sunday, organized the entertainment and took them skating, to the circus and the gym. While the women's concern was the emotional sphere, the men, though they did not neglect it, brought the children in touch with the outside world and introduced them to public life. The two memoirists quoted here remembered well the time spent with their father and devoted a good deal of space to this in their books. Jan Robert Gebethner, raised in the culture of physical hardiness, transmitted this tradition to his successors. He tried to interest his sons in equestrian sports, cycling, mountain treks, gymnastics. He planned all kinds of attractions so that the time spent together would provide the greatest pleasure and satisfaction. The author of *Młodość wydawcy (A Publisher's Youth)* spoke with pride of the ride through the city in a carriage, a ride in one of Warsaw's first automobiles and introduction to the cinematograph. Ferdynand Wilhelm Hoesick took his son for a walk every Sunday afternoon. This was a time for having a conversation, for visits to natural science exhibitions and museums.

The fathers were intent on arousing the interest of their children, to provide attractive diversions, to develop their character. The impression is that contacts with the children, the time spent together, were the weekly schedule of both Gebethner and Hoesick. It eliminates the element of spontaneity in the father-child relation. But it also seems that this was not due to a lack of emotional involvement with the children but rather the result of the numerous tasks and duties, the lack of time and the need to plan their work carefully. Despite the various matters that occupied them, the men wanted to and did indeed tend to their children. Though living abroad,

¹⁹ F. Hoesick, *Powieść*, vol. I, p. 43.

²⁰ M. Martens, *Historia rodziny Martensów (History of the Martens Family)*, Warszawa 1989, pp. 7, 8.

Leopold Kronenberg watched over his boys, although financial matters demanded that he leave his family. He wrote to Józef Kraszewski:

“I must absolutely live closer to Warsaw for business reasons... For my children I would like to be closer to Brussels. When I receive my passport, I’ll see what I can do”²¹.

Leopold Kronenberg’s attitude speaks of a serious and conscious treatment of his role as a father; as important as his economic activity.

In conjunction with the description of the roles of the father and mother in raising their children, it may be worthwhile to mention children growing up in single parent families. Jan Gebethner who lost his father when he was seventeen, missed his presence, aware that he needed a man’s hand, advice and companionship. It was this explanation he gave for his close friendship with his not much older brother-in-law, Mieczysław Pfeiffer²². He also drew closer at the time to his uncle Tadeusz, who stood at the head of the family council and extended a virtually paternal protectorship over Gebethner then still a minor²³. More distant kin and relatives felt also duty-bound to help the orphaned family. First of all, they had to represent the widow and children in the outside world. Daily matters of upbringing were left to the mother who had custody of the children. However, important questions such as choice of a school, departure for studies were taken up by the family council. Participation of the wider family circle in raising the children tended to strengthen family ties creating an impression of close family relations, and consolidating the system of family custom.

The problem of a children’s room appears frequently in the popular publications of the second half of the 19th century addressed by doctors and hygienists to the parents²⁴. It does not seem that separate rooms for children could be prepared in the homes of the Warsaw bourgeoisie in the mid-19th century; the living space was too restricted. Only when the financial situation became stabilized, the families grew larger and it was necessary to look for a new home. That was what happened in the case of the Kronenbergs who lived a few years in Leopold’s bachelor quarter before moving to a larger place²⁵. The same happened in the Gebethner family — “the parents began to look for something larger” [a home — M. S.] only when their five

²¹ J. I. Kraszewski, J. Kronenberg, *Korespondencja 1859–1876 (Correspondence, 1859–1876)*, ed. M. Dynowska, Kraków 1929, p. 296.

²² J. Gebethner, *Młodość (The Youth)*, pp. 137–138.

²³ *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

²⁴ L. Mieroszevska, *Rady praktyczne*, pp. 119–126; M. Biehler, *Higiena (Hygiene)*, Warszawa 1968, p. 25.

²⁵ R. Kołodziejczyk, *Portret warszawskiego milionera (Portrait of a Warsaw Millionaire)*, Warszawa 1968, p. 25.

offspring arrived in the world²⁶. The girls and boys were assigned two separate rooms in their new home. This was, as Gebethner reports, exceptional in their class. In his former home his bed stood in the hall between the dining room and the kitchen occupied by their nursemaid. Although Ferdynand Hoesick was the only child, he did not have a room of his own but slept in his parents' bedroom. Separate rooms for children were found in the palaces built by financiers and entrepreneurs in the last decades of the 19th century. Rooms were planned and designed for children in the stately palace built by Kronenberg, in the Szlenkier palace.

Concern for the proper physical development of a child became fashionable at the close of the 19th century. Outdoor walks, baths, gymnastics and sports were recommended. Physical fitness propagated by doctors would indicate that health and a proficient body of children had not been considered in the family's upbringing process up to now. According to Jan Gebethner, born in 1894, attention to the proper physical development of children, an activity so characteristic of his family home and of the home of his father, Jan Robert, which later became part of the family tradition, was an "absolute novelty" in Warsaw²⁷. But the novelty won ever wider circles of adherents. A famous Polish writer, Bolesław Prus, among others, was a fervent advocate of the new method. In his chronicles, the first written in the seventies as well as those from the nineties, he called for attention to the proper physical development of children²⁸. Since Prus still continued to admonish parents in 1898, pointing out their deficiencies, the old unhealthy habits which had a bad effect on the physical and mental condition of children, must have been deeply entrenched in families.

The influence of the mother and father on the upbringing of adolescents may be observed by analyzing parent-children relations. The significance and the role of the behaviour of parents had an effect on the behaviour of the descendants as adults. Writing in their memoirs, Jan Gebethner, Ferdynand Hoesick, Stefan Spies, Julian Leopold Kronenberg, Ludwik Temler and Henryk Martens Junior expressed their appreciation of the upbringing methods used by their fathers and mothers. They mentioned what they had gained thanks to their parents, what they were grateful for, such as musical skills, love or art, a well grounded knowledge, the quality of their disposition. They remember the friendly and cheerful home atmosphere. In their memoirs, the period of their childhood, quite

²⁶ J. Gebethner, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

²⁷ J. Gebethner, *op. cit.*

²⁸ B. Prus, *Kroniki (Chronicles)*, vol. II, Warszawa 1953, p. 423, vol. XV, Warszawa 1965, pp. 417-418, 457-458.

probably idealized with the passage of time, appears as the most beautiful period of their life. They demonstrate their gratefulness and respect for their parents by dedicating their books to them.

Although the children spent the better part of their time with their nursemaids, governesses and servants, yet one may note their deep emotional ties with the father and the mother, who were the most important persons at home, who had the greatest authority and demanded respect. They determined the daily educational methods, supervised the progress made and they were in charge both of their offspring and the employed caretakers.

Unfortunately, little is known of the relations between the siblings. We know that the Gebethner children were the closest playmates, that they all looked forward to the approaching holidays, were thrilled with the larger new home and enjoyed the diversions offered by their father. The daughters and son of Jan and Emilia Bloch formed a close knit group for, even as adults and with their own families, they met regularly in their family home even though some of them lived a distance from Warsaw.

In the mid-19th century, the wealthy bourgeois families gave greater thought to the development of the practical skills of their children, such as learning of foreign languages or ability to take charge of household duties²⁹. At the turn of the century an effort was made to develop skills useful in society which allowed the children to take an active part in the cultural and artistic life. The reason was the change in the function of the bourgeois family. A stable material condition, greater wealth, led to a broader range of consumption. Only men were the money earners and only they cashed in on the invested capital. These transformations, the change in the form of activity of the family members at the close of the 19th century, raised the aspiration of the bourgeoisie toward their children on a par with that of the aristocracy. Thus attention in the homes of the wealthy bourgeoisie was concentrated, in the same way as in those of the aristocracy, on the artistic skills of the children. Musical education was very popular and the grand piano was found in virtually every home. But interest in music was not a new custom among the families studied here. Hoesick's father played the violin, even as a bachelor he organized social gatherings for playing music³⁰. Years later he closely followed the progress his son made in the piano³¹. He

²⁹ For instance, Ferdynand Wilhelm Hoesick advised his younger sister to carry out her house duties with particular care. F. W. Hoesick, *Korespondencja. Listy do rodziców i sióstr 1858–59* (*Correspondence. Letters to Parents and Sisters, 1858–59*), BN, manuscript N° 7081, microfilm N° 49408. Letter of January 16, 1859.

³⁰ F. Hoesick, *Pamiętnik 1835–1897 (Memoir, 1835–1897)*, BN, Ms. II, 11.084.

³¹ F. Hoesick, *Powieść*, vol. I, pp. 29–30.

did not spare money when, as a student of the Riga Technical School, his son wished to take up the flute³². Teofil (b. 1816), Henryk Fukier's grandfather, had a grand piano and a harmonium in his home and had his daughter take music lessons³³. Widespread musical education in the homes of the Warsaw bourgeoisie bore evidence of an old custom.

For the families investigated here, development of the children's artistic talents (including painting and singing) was a step toward the aspired social advancement and acknowledgement. The object of the parents was to foster qualities that would enable their offspring to maintain and even improve their social standing. The daughters and son of the Blochs had to possess traits, assets that would find favour with Kościelski, Weissenhoff and Wodzyński families. The same applied to the daughters of the Kronenbergs. Not only did they bring a large sum as their dowry but also an education, social graces and other talents. Their personal careers realized the dreams and ambitions of their parents. There was one other skill what was part of the educational system, next to the selection of marriage partners, and the aspiration of the members of the bourgeoisie anxious to find themselves among the elite, the aristocracy and the landowners.

An element of the education which also illustrated the fact that the bourgeoisie adopted the models set by the aristocracy and gentry, one that was also to prepare the offspring for participation in the life of society, was the instruction in dance. At the age of over twelve, even before they made their debut in the world, the girls and boys received appropriate dance lessons. It was also the first conscious contact of young men with young women. Gebethner and Hoesick do not fail to mention this part of their education in their books³⁴. They realized that this was another aspect of their upbringing upon whose completion they were no longer treated as small children but became future participants of the dances, meetings and balls of "grown-ups".

The children of wealthy Warsaw businessmen were taught foreign languages from their earliest childhood. For the businessmen and financiers knowledge of foreign languages was necessary in the conduct of business. Those who became active, in the mid-19th century, like Leopold Kronenberg, Jan Bloch, Karol Jan Szlenkier and Ferdynand Wilhelm Hoesick, knew several languages. They usually acquired this ability during their numerous foreign journeys as well as by taking lessons in their free moments. Their

³² F. Hoesick, *Korespondencja. Listy do rodziców (Correspondence. Letters to Parents)*, BN, Ms. N° 7085, microfilm N° 49412, letter to the father — 1884.

³³ H. M. Fukier, *Wspomnienia staromiejskie (Old Town Reminiscences)*, Warszawa 1959, p. 62.

³⁴ F. Hoesick, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 295; J. Gebethner, *Młodość (The Youth)*, p. 95.

descendants had this stage of their education planned by their parents³⁵. They were deliberately trained for their future professional and social duties. This last aspect also determined the custom of teaching girls to speak foreign languages, which was useful in the social life as well as during travels abroad. The social customs, which gained popularity in the second half of the 19th century among the bourgeoisie attaining financial and social stability, affected the method of education of sons and daughters of this class.

The male members of these families were destined to carry on the business set up by their ancestors. They were prepared for the role of successors from their earliest years. Hoesick Senior gave his son Ferduś, a child of only a few years of age, a little printing press as a Christmas gift³⁶. Jan Robert Gebethner acquainted his son with the books published by his firm. Leopold Kronenberg's sons, each in turn, gained practical experience by serving as his secretary³⁷. These young men, born when the business were flourishing, were not free to choose their future as their father had. Several decades earlier the first generation established and developed the firms that were to be taken over now. Ferdynand Wilhelm Hoesick left school upon the decision of his parents and decided to become a bookseller³⁸. Adolf Daab's family gave him freedom to choose his profession³⁹. Though Kronenberg did take over his father's financial business, yet he was independent enough to make economic investments on his own. Bloch, Schiele and Habermusch also struck out on an independent course. But their sons did not enjoy the same freedom, owing to the family situation; their future was determined by their fathers⁴⁰.

The determination of parents that their sons should continue in the family business was illustrated by the custom of naming the children after their progenitors. One of the Kronenberg sons was called Leopold, the older and younger Szlenkier were Karols, the two Hoesicks were known as Ferdynand and the family name of the Temlers was Aleksander, of the Wertheims was Juliusz and of the Martens Henryk. A family name of wide

³⁵ Julian Leopold Kronenberg remembered that all the boys in the family began to study languages at the age of six. J. L. Kronenberg, *Wspomnienia (Memoirs)*, Warszawa 1933, p. 9.

³⁶ F. Hoesick, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 212.

³⁷ J. L. Kronenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

³⁸ F. W. Hoesick, *op. cit.*, pp. 8–10.

³⁹ A. Daab, *W Warszawie i na Krymie (In Warsaw and on the Crimea)*, Warszawa 1996, p. 26.

⁴⁰ They made the decision about their career like grown men. They took charge of the Habermusch and Schiele Brewery only after establishing a family. W. Świątek, *Zjednoczone Browary Habermusch i Schiele (United Habermusch and Schiele Brewery)*, "Jednota" 1987, № 3, pp. 11–15. Jan Bloch did not take over his father's small dye-works but devoted himself to his own interests. R. Kołodziejczyk, *Jan Bloch (1836–1902). Szkic do portretu "króla" polskich kolei (Jan Bloch, 1836–1902. Sketches to a Portrait of the "King" of Polish Railways)*, Warszawa 1983, p. 36.

reputation and familiarity was a guarantee of continued success of the business. The boys growing up under the watchful eye of their fathers must have realized what responsibilities they would have to assume.

III

One of the foremost aspirations of the bourgeois families was a good education. Homes with a Jewish as well as with a German tradition placed the same value on the knowledge and wisdom acquired through education⁴¹. The main effort of the businessmen who began their career about the mid-19th century was, as pointed out earlier, to learn practical skills that would be useful in their trade. Years of practical experience gave almost complete assurance of success. There was neither time, money or occasion to finish academic schooling. Ferdynand Wilhelm Hoesick (b. 1835), as it was recalled, dropped out of secondary school after four years. But he went on to learn his chosen trade and to improve his facility in foreign languages by studying them on his own and during his apprenticeship travels. Alexander Temler (b. 1825), co-owner of large tanneries, was a self-educated person. He visited some academies of Western Europe as a grown man⁴². Also Jan Bloch (b. 1836) studied in Berlin only when he had earned his first money. They could, however, insure their children a higher education.

But there were some who had the means and the time to study in the middle of the 19th century as well. According to Ireneusz I h n a t o w i c z , nearly 2/3 of the sons of Warsaw's businessmen, bankers and merchants, who had completed their academic courses, received medical diplomas⁴³. They were not trained in economics and business administration because all that was needed in running a business was extensive practice, shrewdness and an innate or acquired ability. The title of medical doctor served to consolidate, if not to enhance, their social prestige.

As soon as the children were sent to public or private schools, that is when they left home, there was a radical change in the upbringing regimen and education of the boys and the girls. At home they received the same instruction in music-playing, singing, foreign languages and dancing. The schools were to provide an education that would prepare the young for the

⁴¹ See A. Herz, *Żydzi w kulturze polskiej (Jews in Polish Culture)*, Warszawa 1987, pp. 132–133; A. Eisenbach, *Emancypacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich 1785–1870 na tle europejskim (Emancipation of Jews in Polish Territories in 1785–1870 against the European Context)*, Warszawa 1988, p. 234; T. Stegner, *Ewangelicy warszawscy 1815–1914 (Warsaw Protestants 1815–1914)*, Warszawa 1993, p. 149.

⁴² F. Hoesick, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 107–108. Hoesick quotes an excerpt of his son Aleksander Ludwik's memoir.

⁴³ I. I h n a t o w i c z , *Burżuazja warszawska (The Warsaw Bourgeoisie)*, Warszawa 1972, p. 133.

independent role in an adult life. The established customs, traditional models and social and legal rules demanded that a separate education be provided for the boys and the girls. Entirely different characteristics and abilities were expected from each of the two sexes⁴⁴.

Following tutoring at home, the sons were sent by the fathers to a secondary school (of six years) of their choice. The non-classical secondary school (six year course) was preferred to the classical secondary school (six year course) for it prepared the students for technical and business administration schools better. The parents also preferred the prestigious schools. When Kronenberg had to leave for France, he was worried that he had to take his boys out of school. His problem was to find new good centers of education. He wrote to Kraszewski:

“I am installing my wife in Pau, there is a good secondary school there supposedly, as good as in Paris and I shall locate my youngest boys there... If I don't find a place for Staś there, I'll take him to Paris with me”⁴⁵.

Having lived in Wrocław in 1862–64, the Rosens moved to Dresden because of their son's education. They chose the best school for him there⁴⁶. The secondary schools attended by Ferdynand Hoesick and Jan Gebethner were also among the best in Warsaw⁴⁷. Clearly then, they all looked for the best schools of high repute and with a high educational standard⁴⁸.

It should be said that the young men mentioned here pursued their studies while living with their parents at home, who thus could exercise direct control over their sons' upbringing and education. They did not send the boys to boarding schools far from home. However, there were families that decided on a separation with their still dependent children. In the seventies, Jan Robert Gebethner spent several years in a secondary school in Brzeg⁴⁹. The Martens brothers studied abroad in the eighties⁵⁰. In the early

⁴⁴ The women authors of works on behaviour models of girls of the Swiss bourgeois families indicate that the boys and girls played different games from early childhood. To develop “feminine traits”, the behaviour and sphere of activity permitted the girls were very limited. See U. Blosser, F. Gerster, *Die Töchter der guten Gesellschaft. Frauenrolle und Mädchenerziehung im schweizerischen Grossbürgertum, um 1900*, Zürich 1985, p. 138. The sources on the Warsaw bourgeoisie do not take up this subject as regards small children. Methods appropriate to the gender of the child were applied.

⁴⁵ J. I. Kraszewski, L. Kronenberg, *Korespondencja (Correspondence)*, p. 283.

⁴⁶ J. Rosen, *Wspomnienia*, p. 18.

⁴⁷ Authors of memoirs underscored the care their fathers took in selecting a school for them. They praised their teachers, educational standards, the directors of the institutions. F. Hoesick, *Powieść*, vol. I, pp. 163, 263; J. Gebethner, *Młodość*, p. 116.

⁴⁸ J. L. Kronenberg, *op. cit.*, wrote: “In Pau, I was placed in an excellent French lycée conducted according to the system passed by Napoleon where I perfected my French, Latin and learned Ancient Greek”, p. 27.

⁴⁹ J. Gebethner, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

20th century, Wincenty Herse was sent to a secondary school in Moscow⁵¹. In these cases contact between parents and children could be broken. The parents exercised less control and had no influence on their offspring. It may be that Leopold Kronenberg realized this and tried not to part with his boys, despite all the encountered difficulties.

Children of bourgeois families were under the constant supervision and control of their caretakers and parents. They had to give an account of the results of their education, how they spent their free time, and expenses. Ferdynand Hoesick wrote:

“Every evening I had to give an exact account (usually in German) of what I had been doing all day, what happened in school, what I was asked and what grades I got, what was my afternoon spent on. Father examined my home and school exercise books, he read my homework and sometimes helped me solve the more difficult arithmetic problems”⁵².

The sources confirmed the fact that the fathers felt it their duty to supervise the life of their children, especially of their sons, and devoted a good deal of attention to their education as well. Hoesick senior kept a notebook in which he put down the amounts he spent for his son's schooling and academic studies. He reminded Ferdynand when he grew up that he had received “a truly princely education”⁵³. Leopold Kronenberg directed each of his sons to a different profession or trade so that in the future each could devote himself to a different economic field. The oldest son, Stanisław, studied law and administration at *Szkoła Główna* (Main School), then he received a doctorate in philosophy in Heidelberg; the middle son, Władysław, received a technical education in the Central School in Paris, he had the title of engineer. Leopold Julian studied in an agricultural school, he was raised to go into farming⁵⁴.

It may be assumed that in these and other Warsaw bourgeois homes the wishes of the fathers diverged from those of their sons. Writing in his *Wspomnienia* (*Memoirs*) Leopold Julian Kronenberg does not give any glimpse of conflicts. But one may assume that the duties imposed on the young Kronenebergs had created problems that they took up their tasks unwillingly. It was written after the death of Władysław, the second son of the famous, no longer living businessman:

⁵⁰ J. Martens, op. cit., p. 27.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

⁵² F. Hoesick, op. cit., vol. I, p. 208.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

⁵⁴ Ignotus [Adolf Peretz], *Finansjera warszawska 1870–1925* (*Warsaw Financiers, 1870–1925*), Warszawa 1925, p. 51.

“There are people who are born in conditions and are forced to be active in an environment so highly at variance with their nature and disposition that life becomes an endless chain of friction between contents and form. Born in a home where tradition imposed activity in finance, commerce and industry, he was an artist in his soul and by temperament. The world of tones spoke to him in a kindred voice more loudly than the ring of gold in his father’s till or the clatter of the factories that he owned. Duties directed him to the road of a realist... but his inclination turned him to learning music... His profession forced him to manage the sugar mill, the paper mill, to work on the construction on the Vistula Shoreline Railroad but nature pulled him into the world of melody... But he could not make money. He did not make money as an industrialist and even suffered painful losses”⁵⁵.

It is not known what was the father–son relation because Leopold Julian does not mention it in his book. But their relation was observed by people outside the family, as testified by the press articles, quoted earlier about Władysław and others⁵⁶. But the life of the brothers indicate that they were obedient to their father’s decisions. They carried out their duties as best as they could, even against their own convictions. They did not rebel against their father nor did they defy the standards of behaviour that were mandatory among the businessmen, on the contrary, they assumed these standards when they took over the management of the various family enterprises.

The same occurred in the Szenkier family. When Jan Karol died, his son, Karol took over his father’s position when he attained majority even though he had other interests and other plans. Having been trained as an engineer he was involved in research work. His contemporaries called him

⁵⁵ “Przegląd Tygodniowy” 1892, № 18, p. 18.

⁵⁶ Also after the death of Władysław: “The deceased had withdrawn from the business and led a quiet life in the privacy of his home with his family. Financial speculation did not occupy him. He loved music and composed under the pseudonym Władysław Wieniec. He was more interested in art”, “Bluszcz” 1892, № 18, pp. 138–139. “From infancy a rain of gold fell on the banker’s son and originally he was raised to be a financier. Yet, his was the mind of idealistic raptures and artistic fantasy... Obedient to his father the late Władysław Kronenberg undertook various financial and industrial projects but he always lost. When his older brother Stanisław became incapacitated and it was necessary to stand at the head of the various huge businesses, the deceased begged to be released from the responsibility and placed the yoke on the shoulders of his younger brother Leopold”, “Wędrowiec” 1892, № 20, p. 809. After Stanisław’s death it was written: “Great honors but heavy duties awaited him. The founder of the house, Leopold Kronenberg, ended his life in 1878; his death summoned Stanisław to take the father’s place. He was 30 years old when he took upon himself the responsibility which demanded exceptional strength. But he took it up immediately”, “Tygodnik Ilustrowany” 1894, pp. 235–236.

a “businessman despite himself”⁵⁷. He took upon himself the management of the family business as stipulated by the will of his father who decided the son’s future even after death⁵⁸.

On the other hand, it is known that Henryk Bloch caused his parents much anxiety. As the only child he was expected to take over his father’s extensive interests. But he joined his father in the management of the family empire only for a short time. He preferred to live in the country and run a landed estate. “It must have filled Bloch Senior with anxiety and was the cause of the bitterness that accompanied the last years of his life”, wrote Ryszard Kołodziejczyk in his book devoted to one of Warsaw’s major economic leaders of the second half of the 19th century⁵⁹.

Jan Rosen (b. 1854) gave an interesting account of the quandary facing the Warsaw capitalists in selecting a course of studies for children. It contained a good deal of information about the factors contributing to the decision regarding the future of their sons. Rosen sums up the family discussion of that issue: “Then came the important decision of choosing a career... I went through an «engineering fever». I thought of engineering without considering what field I wished to study. But that artificial desire, born of the surrounding atmosphere and far from my essential inclinations, vanished, because it was indeed necessary to come to a decision... It became clear to me that I want to be a painter” [underscored by J. Rosen]. “Father may have been frightened by this decision that opened a strange and insecure future for his only son. I do not doubt that my sisters were fascinated by the idea and am sure that it answered my mother’s secret dreams... Without a fight therefore, I received my parents’ permission and father decided to send me to Munich for a course of one year which was also to be trial period of my true vocation”⁶⁰.

His parents, accustomed to their son’s fascination, did not try to suppress it, although Rosen does write that this was possible. It may be assumed that this sort of situation could arise in other families that were close to the Rosen’s in their social standing.

But conflict was not avoided in the Hoesicks’ home. Ferdynand’s humanistic interests were contrary to his father’s plans. The son submitted to his father’s wishes and left to pursue the technical studies in Riga. That

⁵⁷ T. S. Jaroszewski, *Pałac Szlenkierów (The Szlenkier Palace)*, Warszawa 1975, p. 16; P. Budrewicz, *Sagi warszawskie. Nowe serie sensacyjnych i powszednich, romantycznych i prozaicznych dziejów rodzin warszawskich (Warsaw Sagas. A New Series of Dramatic and Mundane, Romantic and Prosaic Events of Warsaw Families)*, Warszawa 1972, pp. 125–126.

⁵⁸ J. K. Szlenkier, *op. cit.*

⁵⁹ R. Kołodziejczyk, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

⁶⁰ J. Rosen, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

was due to his upbringing, to the inculcation of the principles of obedience and deep respect toward his father. Only later did Ferdynand become bolder and decided to present his interests and ask for permission to realize them. Exactly! Ask for parental permission! Ferdynand did not rebel but rather tried to bring them around, arguing long and insistently, trying to persuade his father to accept his reasons. Friends and acquaintances interceded for him. However, this family conflict should not be regarded as a confrontation and quarrel. "There was no lack of clashes and dissonances", Ferdynand wrote, "but Mother always smoothed the situation for she understood both, father and me; she always played the role of a tender and loving intermediary capable of reconciling the two adversaries"⁶¹. Hoesick Jr. transferred to the department of history and philosophy only upon receiving permission, hence in an understanding with his father and not against him.

It is possible to examine closely the relations between Ferdynand and his parents remaining in Warsaw thanks to the extant correspondence. Leaving for Riga the son promised to write home regularly, twice a week⁶². The parents were able to maintain contact, control his doings and exercise parental care owing to the detailed information they received. They recommended ways of spending his free time. Especially significant were the commands and suggestions of the father, the head of the family. He reprimanded him for neglecting his work, for being lazy and a spendthrift. Not trusting him in financial matters, he sent the money to a Riga bookseller he knew well, who meted out sums for concrete expenses to Ferdynand. Thus the young man was watched over indirectly by his parents and directly by an assigned guardian. Any attempt at insubordination could mean a reduction of the stipend payed out to him⁶³.

In describing the agreement with his parents, Ferdynand Hoesick does not consider it unusual. A frequent exchange of letters between the children and the parents, characterizing many aspects of their life was seen as perfectly normal in his family circle (Temlers, Pfeiffers, Granzows). Ferdynand gave also the latest news about his relatives and friends in his letters.

⁶¹ Excerpt from the father's memoir: "[Ferdynand — M. S.] was to take up his first job in the bookshop upon his return but he showed such disinclination for the business, that I did not think that there would be bread from the flour... I drew his attention to this, what annoyed him and it was easy to imagine how much it cost me... My poor wife also suffered much because of this and from then on we were as if we had something to blame each other for. Our son instead of strengthening the ties of love that united us weakened them", F. Hoesick, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 404–405.

⁶² Ferdynand Hoesick, *Korespondencja. Listy do rodziców (Correspondence. Letters to Parents)*, BN, Warszawa MS N° 7085, microfilm N° 49412.

⁶³ Ferdynand Hoesick, *Korespondencja. Listy do rodziców 1877–1885 (Correspondence. Letters to Parents. 1877–1885)*, BN MS N° 7113, microfilm N° 18392. Letter dated September 11, 1884.

It was a common practice in the family to read aloud the correspondence during the social family meetings. The young man was therefore subject to the control of his parents but also of a wider circle of relatives and friends.

The families studied here tried to develop such traits as industriousness, conscientiousness, economy, respect for elders and social graces. In his last will and testament Henryk Martens urged his sons: "From you, my dear sons, I expect that you will be a model for others, that you will be examples of industriousness, a conscientious attitude toward others, the co-workers, subordinates and persons with closer ties to you, that you will not harm anyone and that you will foster these traditions and transmit them to your sons and they will follow your example further on and your name will grow and the firm will always stand high and enjoy the finest opinion"⁶⁴. And a few years later he wrote to his grandchildren: "Work with your hands as we have requested of you, walk honestly before others, and suffer no privations. Everyone has to work because God has created us to work... Fast enrichment should not attract you because one cannot get rich fast without injuring one's soul"⁶⁵.

Conducting their business under the watchful eye of the father, the sons of Kronenberg had to learn from his experience and principles. Ferdynand Hoesick also received his practical training at the side of his father who tried to transmit to his son the accomplishments necessary in the trade. Parents also made an effort to instill in their children the principles and system of values as well as the standards and models that prevailed in their circles. Responsibility for the name they carried and for their families was inculcated in the descendants of the Warsaw bourgeoisie. This aspect of the upbringing of the children may indicate a sense of self-awareness of the Warsaw bourgeoisie.

One aspect of parental upbringing methods was their strict control of their children's development. Ferdynand Hoesick usually submitted to his father's demands and believed on the whole that his father's criticism was justified. An "independent student life offered many temptations, particularly as the technical studies gave him no satisfaction. At the same time, Ferdynand understood that improper conduct hurt his parents. Excusing himself for his laziness and neglect of his studies, he wrote: "I beg you, Father, on my bended knees, kiss Your feet and hands and beg you to forgive me. Do not be angry with me, Father, and forgive me because I promise You that I will mend my ways and give proof of my deep filial love"⁶⁶.

⁶⁴ Farewell letters and last will of Henryk Martens Senior in M. Martens, *History*, p. 4.

⁶⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

⁶⁶ F. Hoesick, *Korespondencja. Listy do rodziców (Correspondence. Letters to Parents)*, BN, MS 7086.

Even as a grown man completing his studies, Ferdynand was still dependent on his father's decisions⁶⁷. He tried to break away from his father's control and enjoy the pleasures of life only for a short few months in Riga. He was quickly called to order and from then on tried to do his parents' bidding.

Concern of the son's progress, checking on his behaviour was for Hoesick Senior also a sense of responsibility for his offspring. His father's saying, as Ferdynand recalls, that was the motto of his home was: "The family should be a small group of close friends. Parents and children should trust each other implicitly and have the greatest confidence in each other"⁶⁸.

Hoesick Senior spoke these words to his son upon his departure. A few months later Ferdynand referred to these words when, in secret from his mother, he confided his health problems to his father. He asked for permission to go to a brothel in the hope of curing his youthful indisposition⁶⁹. The fact that he consulted with his father on such an intimate matter, his request for help in making a decision and for permission, testifies to great trust and Ferdynand's submission to his father. The son regarded Hoesick Senior as a friend and advisor but above all as a person of great authority whose decision was final (even as regards the sexual initiation of the only child).

In another family of booksellers, mentioned here several times, the son managed to reconcile his own interests with the good of the firm. Jan Stanisław Gebethner studied the humanities and then went on to study business administration at the technical school. On the other hand, the son of Gebethner's business partner Robert Wolff, Józef, did not fulfill his father's hopes. Upon finishing the university he did not demonstrate the abilities and talents required in the book-selling business⁷⁰.

The ambition of the parents was that their children carry on their work and develop it. They, therefore, had to at least prove to be the equals of their fathers. The family name placed an obligation on the sons of Kronenberg, Gebethner, Wolff, Szlenkier, Wedel, but it could make life difficult and paralyze their activity on the social and economic scene. Antoni Zaleski wrote about this problem in the fragment concerning the descendents of the "Great Leopold". "The paternal inheritance weighed him down or at any rate doubled the sharpness of his judgments and heightened the scale of

⁶⁷ He asked for permission to leave the Paris university and continue his studies in Kraków, F. Hoesick, *Powieść*, vol. I, pp. 595–597.

⁶⁸ F. Hoesick, *Korespondencja. Listy do rodziców*, BN, MS N° 7086, microfilm N° 49413.

⁶⁹ *Op. cit.*

⁷⁰ F. Hoesick, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 404.

demands... I fully realize that the constant comparisons can annoy and even excite impatience, but on the other hand these are the natural consequences of the father's merits"⁷¹.

Jan Karol Szlenkier's bequest in his testament indicates that he made over the major part of the family fortune to his son upon the child's birth⁷². His sisters received smaller even portions. Favouring the son proves that a special role in and outside the family was attributed to the male sex and that is why a son attracted such exceptional parental attention.

IV

The smaller sums that Szlenkier bequeathed to his daughters implies that little money was also designated for their education⁷³. It also did not continue as long as that of the boys. As regards the education of girls, the majority of Warsaw's bourgeois families embraced the traditional model. This was education at home and at finishing schools for girls. These institutions were in Warsaw for the parents who did not decide on education abroad in German, French or English schools, something that was the practice of, for instance, the German speaking bourgeoisie⁷⁴. The socialization and development of life aspirations of the young ladies of Warsaw families was carried on at home under parental supervision and in close contact with them. It would seem that the girls grew up as inexperienced women, that they had no knowledge of the latest trends and ideas. However, Antoni Zaleski, a close observer of life in Warsaw, underscored the fine manners and gifts of the ladies of the bourgeois class. According to him, all were educated, well prepared for contacts with people of various interests. He described them as "witty", "attractive", "interesting". But this condition was not preceded by exact courses of studies, consequently a certain superficiality, chaotic thinking and lack of a well-grounded education may have been noted⁷⁵.

Other sources do not confirm the fact that the education of girls was neglected. For instance, Mathias Berson employed tutors, who were well qualified and educated to instruct his daughters at home (end of the 1860s and early 1879s). His daughter Jadwiga, later Mrs Kraushar and his daughter

⁷¹ A. Zaleski, *Towarzystwo Warszawskie. Listy przez Baronową XYZ (Warsaw Society. Letters from Baroness XYZ)*, ed. R. Kołodziejczyk, Warszawa 1971, p. 311.

⁷² K. Szlenkier, *op. cit.*

⁷³ The privileged position of boys regarding the financing of their education was the main bone of contention taken up by the German progressive women's movement. It was related to the insufficiencies in the traditional education of girls: *Frauenleben in Bayern von der Jahrhundertwende bis zur Trümmerzeit*, München 1993, pp. 99–100.

⁷⁴ U. Bloser, F. Gerster, *Die Töchter*, p. 180.

⁷⁵ A. Zaleski, *op. cit.*, pp. 253–256.

Hortensja, later Lewental, were tutored by the poet Jan Chęciński and the famous social and educational leader Kasylda Kulikowska⁷⁶. The ideas and models instilled in them were reflected in the later activity of Jadwiga and Hortensja. The first devoted herself to social work and thanks to the literary ambitions awakened in her youth succeeded to write scholarly works on the work of Alfred de Musset and Soeren Kierkegaard⁷⁷. Hortensja established close contacts with leading authors and artists. As the wife of Franciszek Salezy Lewental, bookseller and publisher, she exercised an important influence on her husband's decisions and after his death tried to take his position at the helm of his company⁷⁸. The two women clearly carried these interests out of the lessons at home as well as contacts with their father, an art enthusiast and authority on ancient history. The young Bloch ladies also received their educational polish in the family home. There was in their home a preminent respect for art, people with illustrious names were welcomed in their home and their ambitious mother was running her famous salon. The oldest daughter imitated later her mother by organizing social life. From her mother too she inherited an interest in literature and art, and aspiration to act as a patron of art. The surviving fragment of correspondence speaks of the close contacts of Maria née Bloch Kościelska with Julian Fałat, Lucjan Rydel, Ferdynand Ruszczyc and Henryk Sienkiewicz⁷⁹. Maria's attitude was certainly the effect of her home education, whether planned or unconscious. The same applied to the instruction the daughters must have received from their mothers on how to run the house, manage the servants and the household finances.

Matylda Granzow and her sisters were educated at Warsaw's prestigious finishing school. Their father, the grandfather of Ferdynand Hoesick, "did not spare money for the education of his daughters"⁸⁰. The Szlenkier girls learned practical skills, such as accounting and cooking. Ferdynand Wilhelm Hoesick gave that information, as a choice piece of news, in a letter to his son (1888)⁸¹. This case was rather not typical. The father of the young

⁷⁶ M. Wierzbicka, *Z burżuazji do inteligencji. Jadwiga Krausharowa (From the Bourgeoisie to the Intelligentsia. Jadwiga Krausharowa)*, in: *Kobieta i edukacja (Women and Education)*, Collected papers edited by A. Żarnowska and A. Szwarc, Warszawa 1992, vol. I, pp. 217–227.

⁷⁷ Z. Rabska, *Moje życie z książką. Wspomnienia (My Life with a Book. Memoirs)*, Wrocław 1959, vol. I, pp. 115–116.

⁷⁸ K. Polack, *Ze wspomnień starego dziennikarza warszawskiego (Reminiscences of an Old Warsaw Journalist)*, Warszawa 1961. Hortensja née Berson Lewental, *Korespondencja 1886–1914 (Correspondence, 1886–1914)*, BN, MS N° 7152, microfilm N° 50392.

⁷⁹ Maria née Bloch Kościelska, *Korespondencja (Correspondence)*, BN, MS N° II.10160, microfilm N° 77902.

⁸⁰ F. Hoesick, *Powieść*, vol. I, p. 24.

ladies, Karol Jan Szlenkier, cared for the education of his daughters not according to the models that were popular in the circles under study, but rather in accord with principles accepted in the poorer social groups where members of both sexes had to be wage-earners (the petty bourgeoisie, the poorer intelligentsia). The tradition of the class of craftsmen must have been very strong in the Szlenkier family for they did indeed come from it. This example as well as the lot of the Berson and Granzow daughters illustrates the fact, that attention was devoted to the education of young ladies and that it was planned. The decisions in this matter were taken by the parents.

The restricted choice of a career did not inspire the young women of the bourgeoisie to assume an active stance regarding their future. But it is the Szlenkier family which escapes this stereotype. The young women were trained in fields that were rather unusual for their class. One of them Zofia, became a nurse. She also studied medicine in Geneva and continued her studies in London⁸². An aunt of Jan Gebethner completed a school in Stockholm and became a specialist in the physical training of children⁸³. Upon returning to Warsaw she set up and ran her own gymnastic institution. Melania Bergson graduated from the department of social studies of the University of Zurich at the turn of the century⁸⁴. Of the more than fifty Warsaw bourgeois families under the investigation, only two girls, Zofia Szlenkier and Zofia Hoesick, tried to study at universities before 1914. Such course of education testifies to the aspirations and the ambition of Melania Bergson and the two Zofias as well as to the modern attitude of their families.

According to the figures obtained by Urszula Per k o w s k a, 660 women of bourgeois families studied at the Jagiellonian University from 1894 to 1918; it was nearly 22.2% of all female students⁸⁵. This seems to be a high indicator in a situation where exact information about female students from the Warsaw bourgeoisie is virtually unavailable. On the other hand, this figure does not seem very imposing when compared to the total number of women students, girls from the intelligentsia and landowners.

⁸¹ F. Hoesick, *Korespondencja. Listy od rodziców 1886–87 (Correspondence. Letters from Parents. 1886–87)*, BN, MS N° 7115, letters dated September 10, 1888.

⁸² She is one of the founders of modern training for nurses in Poland. Her sister Maria Anna must have also placed great value on a good education for she founded an agricultural school in Duboia near Pińsk. T. S. Jaroszewski, *op. cit.*, p. 16; O. Budrewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

⁸³ J. Gebethner, *Młodość*, p. 26.

⁸⁴ I. Ilnatowicz, *Obyczaj wielkiej burżuazji warszawskiej w XIX wieku (Custom's of Warsaw's Great Bourgeoisie in the 19th Century)*, Warszawa 1971, p. 102; K. Reychman, *Szkice genealogiczne (Genealogical Studies)*, p. 17.

⁸⁵ U. Per k o w s k a, *Studentki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 1894–1939. W stulecie immatrykulacji pierwszych studentek (Women Students at the Jagiellonian University, 1894–1939. On the Hundredth Anniversary of the Matriculation of the First Women Students)*, Kraków 1994, p. 52.

According to Perkowska's findings the girls were mostly daughters of the Cracow bourgeoisie, from Rzeszów and Częstochowa; 17.7% of all female students during the two decades investigated were girls from the Kingdom of Poland (or Congress Kingdom under tsarist rule during the partitions of the country). It may be assumed that only a small number came from the bourgeoisie. It is quite likely that still fewer young women set out for the distant Swiss centers.

Little change in the education of girls of Warsaw rich bourgeois families is noted in the course of the period under the investigation. Changes in the running of businesses and the comfortable financial situation of the entrepreneurs reduced the sphere of duties of the women in this group. Their activity shifted to the home and social sphere, rather far from family business. The transformation of the ways the wealthy bourgeoisie operated affected the way the young women were trained in order to meet their "adult" responsibilities. But it influenced only the content and not the form of the education of the young women.

V

There can be no doubt that the activity of the mother and the father influenced the life of their offspring. As evidenced by the above reflections on the subject. The decision regarding the future professional, social and material status of the children was made largely by their parents who also chose the way the plans they had laid were realized. The parents decided on the manner, nature and level of the education, its method, place and time. They also had a deciding say in the choice of the spouse. The children depended on the money, the permission, the friends, the letters of recommendation provided by their mothers and fathers. The rule was that the children gained independence from their parents and became self-reliant only after having established their own families. The man became the head of the new home, husband and father, the woman was placed in the care of her husband. However, adulthood, generally agreed to be reached at the age of 21, did not guarantee independence. The children were still dependent financially, which fact meant that they were under parental control and other restrictions. Józef Temler, son of Aleksander, co-founder and partner of the famous tannery, wrote to his friend: "You see I am 22 years old and must begin to think about myself, select from everything what is most useful for me so that I can soon get a firm grip on things and marry"⁸⁶.

⁸⁶ Ferdynand Hoesick, *Korespondencja do rodziców lat 1886–87* (*Correspondence. Letters to Parents in 1886–87*), BN, MS 7086.

These words indicate a strong desire to win independence, to become able to make his own decisions. The earning of money, financial independence would help him gain his freedom and start a grown-up life in marriage.

Ferdynand Hoesick also wished to become independent. His father cooled his ambition explaining: "At any rate, it cannot be imagined that you could earn as much as you need for your upkeep. You are only 23 years old, and at that age [underscored by F. W. Hoesick] no one can earn as much as he needs. So don't be concerned that I am helping you because it cannot be otherwise"⁸⁷.

The rule was that even upon ending his studies the son was financed by his parents. It was with the three thousand rubels borrowed from his father that Ferdynand Wilhelm could set up his own bookshop⁸⁸. Thus when he himself had a grown-up son, he paid him a monthly allowance. Separation from the family home and establishing a self-reliance was a slow process in the Warsaw bourgeois families. The children were not released all at once to swim in the deep waters. The period of submission to the parents ended only with the marriage. As a rule the new family lived separately. Their future home was established before the marriage so that the young couple could move in after the wedding and honeymoon.

(Translated by Krystyna Cękańska)

⁸⁷ Ferdynand Hoesick, *Korespondencja. Listy od ojca, 1890* (Correspondence. Letters from Father, 1890), BN, MS 7116, microfilm 48395. Letter of March 15, 1890.

⁸⁸ F. Hoesick, *Powieść*, vol. I, pp. 31, 45.