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**THE ROLE OF PRINCE ADAM JERZY CZARTORYSKI
IN DEVELOPING THE CONTACTS BETWEEN THE VILNA
SCIENTIFIC DISTRICT AND ENGLAND (1803-1824)**

Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski was appointed by the Russian Tsar Curator of the Vilna Scientific District in 1803. He remained at this post for exactly twenty years. During this period he attempted to reorganise and raise the level of both high school and university education on the area that was subject to him, basing mainly on the examples of Western Europe. The country he considered the worthiest example to follow was England. It was not an accidental choice. This country was then a leader in numerous fields of economical, social or scientific life. The prince had an opportunity to see it for himself during his one and a half year's journey across the British Isles, which he made in his youth. In the 18th century the remote land of English Albion was relatively little known in the Republic of Both Peoples (Poland and Lithuania).

Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski was born in 1770, in a Polish aristocratic family in which the interest in English culture was already a certain tradition. The Prince's father Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski made two journeys to Great Britain. For the first time he went alone in 1758, during which time he studied philosophy, literature, pedagogy and English constitution under the care of lord Mansfeld, the Chairman of the Supreme Court. He made there numerous acquaintances with English aristocracy, which he later maintained by means of frequent correspondence and during the second journey with his wife Izabella Czartoryska, maiden name Fleming, in 1864. From this trip, abounding in numerous contacts with great families of England, Prince Adam's parents brought many souvenirs, which later found themselves in the famous "Sibyl's Temple" (one of the first Polish museums). Among others there were: Mary Stewart's portrait, a plaster imprint of Cromwell's face, Henry VIII's gunpowder horn and a locket of Elizabeth Woodville, Edward VII's wife.

The Prince and Princess Czartoryski created in their mansion a special atmosphere, pervaded with elements of English culture. The palace in Pulawy, where the young Prince was brought up, was surrounded with a big, romantic "English park", in the arranging of which the Princess Izabella had a significant contribution (she

even published a work on gardens, basing on English examples). One of the typical English elements decorating the Pulawy park were English stairs in its central part. Reading English books from the library in Pulawy, which consisted of ca. 60 thousand volumes, had the greatest influence on Prince Adam. His parents constantly enriched their book collection with English positions either bringing them from their voyages or from England. As for those times, Prince Adam received a very careful education. Many famous scientists lectured at the lords' school founded by the Czartoryskis in Pulawy, also from Western Europe. The lifestyle of the court in Pulawy had also a significant influence upon the Prince's upbringing, since the palace was always full of guests and among them many the most illustrious people of the age. The Czartoryskis kept contacts even with European royal families. In 1777 the last Polish king, Stanislaw August Poniatowski, visited Pulawy. Prince Adam's father's Anglophile attitude had also considerable influence on the Prince's diligence in learning foreign languages. The young Prince, apart from Latin, knew French, English, German and Italian fluently. He read a lot, especially belles-lettres, among others Catullus, Goethe, Shakespeare or Tasso.

However, it was the young Prince's first journey to Great Britain, where he went with his mother Princess Izabella in 1789, that exerted the most significant influence on him. The tempo of the tour and the number of visited places is amazing. After their arrival to London they had their base in the house of lord Mansfield, the Prince's father's friend from the time of the father's journey to England. In London the Princess rented a villa with a garden, where she lived together with her son. During their stay in England they got to know many families, such as: the Hamiltons, the Douglasses, the d'Argyles, the Straffords or the Lansdowns. They also renewed the acquaintance with the Gordons, with whom the Czartoryski family was distantly related. They also got in touch with artists, among them many famous painters. Together with his mother, the young Prince listened to the proceedings of the British Parliament. He also witnessed the famous trial of the governor of India, Warren-Hastings, accused of numerous abusements of authority, which he committed while performing his duties. Burke's speeches attracted the Prince's special attention and his political theories exerted a considerable influence on the Prince; it was in England where he formulated his own programme of liberal Toryism. He was also impressed with the speeches of Pitt and Wilberforce against slave trade. The Czartoryskis were surprised that the English Parliament dealt with such minor matters. In her memories from the journey, entitled "Tour through England", the Princess wrote: "What I admire very much in England is the way they take care of the people who cannot take care of themselves, I have not seen a country where – like here – all facilities and pleasures for people would be thought of, and not at one place, not accidentally, but everywhere and constantly". The Czartoryskis were also interested in the matters of economy and industry, they visited London shipyard and port, witnessing launching of a ship, which they later also visited together. During the nine-month tour through many towns of England and Scotland they stayed mainly in the mansions of English aristocracy, among them in the properties of lords Buckingham, Fitzwilliam or Percy. They visited Oxford and Prince Arundel's famous collection of

antique marble sculptures. In Worsley they even went down into a mine, which the Princess perceived as “the picture of hell”. Scotland made a deeper impression on the Princess than England, especially Edinburgh, whose lively description by her is a document of historical value today. Apart from Edinburgh they visited such places as Linlithgow, Carron, Strirling, Perth, Scone or Keswick. The young Prince was also interested in English factories, which he saw in Bath, Brodley, Wegwood, Liverpool and Manchester. He was in the ports in Plymouth and Portsmouth, as well. While staying in Edinburgh, he got to know Clark, Robertson and Hume. During this journey he got in touch with Brougham, Burdett and Macintosh. After the return to London he studied English constitution under the supervision of Gregory. In these studies he also had help of Walker and L’huillier¹.

In March 1791 the Czartoryskis left England for Poland. This one and half a year’s stay on the British Isles made a lasting impression on the young Prince; it was the most important and the longest journey of his youth. He brought out of it not only the principles of liberal Toryism, to which he remained faithful till the end of his life, but also a wide knowledge of English constitution, the social and political system, economy, industry and the great culture of England and Scotland. During all his long (he died in 1861) and chequered life, the Prince remained to a great extent directed towards England; it was also true during the period when he discharged the function of the Russian minister of foreign affairs, in the years 1803-1806, when he attempted to form a coalition against Napoleon, basing on English-Russian alliance. This was true also during the proceedings of the Vienna Congress, in which he participated, when he tried to move the English public opinion in support of Polish cause.

But only as the Curator of the Vilna Scientific District he could to the greatest extent devote himself (especially after 1815) to the matter of raising the level of education – basing mostly on the examples of English education. This side of Prince Czartoryski has never been wholly analysed in any dissertations. In the rich literature dealing with the activities of Prince Czartoryski there is a considerable gap; no dissertations have shown the general outlines and models on a basis of which Czartoryski started reorganisation of the educational system in the Vilna Scientific District². None of the authors has indicated that the basic model (but not the only one),

¹ I. Czartoryska, *Z dziennika podróży 1787-1791*, wydał L. Dębicki, Lwów 1886, „Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki”, 1886 (*From the Diary of the Journey 1787-1791*, published by L. Dębicki, Lvov 1886, “The Scientific and Literary Guide”); A.J. Czartoryski, *Pamiętniki i korespondencja z carem Aleksandrem I*, Kraków 1904, vol. I (*The Diaries and Correspondence with Tsar Alexander I*); B. Zalewski, *Żywot księcia Adama Jerzego Czartoryskiego*, Poznań 1881, vol. I (*The Life of the Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski*); Z. Żygulski, *Dzieje zbiorów puławskich*, [in:] *Rozprawy i sprawozdania Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie*, Kraków 1962, vol. VII (*The History of the Puławy Collections*, [in:] *Dissertations and Reports of the National Museum in Cracow*).

² M. Żmigrodzki, *Historia Wileńskiego Uniwersytetu za czasów księcia Adama Czartoryskiego*, „Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki” 1886, vol. I, p. 136 (*The History of the Vilna University in the Times of the Prince Adam Czartoryski*, “The Scientific and Literary Guide”); J. Kallenbach, *Kuratoria Wileńska (1803-1823)*, „Biblioteka Warszawska” 1904, vol. III, pp. 421-448 (*The Vilna Curatorship (1803-1823)*, “Warsaw Library”); J. Bieliński, *Uniwersytet Wileński 1795-1831*,

which was – according to Czartoryski – worthy of imitation, were the achievements in science and educational system of England and Scotland.

It is the aspect of the activity of a School Curator – Czartoryski that is the substance of the present dissertation. The problem has been revealed basing on the correspondence between A.J. Czartoryski and English scholars employed or applying to be employed at the University of Vilna and also those residing in England with whom the School Curator got into close touch.

The correspondence between the School Curator and lecturers who used to go on scientific trips to England and Scotland has been considered as well. The present work concerns mainly the University of Vilna and there are only some mentions of Krzemieniec Secondary School³.

vols. I-III, Kraków 1900 (*The Vilna University 1795-1831*); idem, *Żywot księcia Adama Jerzego Czartoryskiego*, vols. I-II, Warszawa 1905 (*The Life of the Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski*); L. Janowski, *Historiografia Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego*, cz. 1, Wilno 1921 (*The Historiography of the Vilna University*, part 1); idem, *Oświata na Rusi po rozbiorach*, Wilno 1920 (*Education in Russia after Partitioning of Poland*); idem, *Słownik bio-bibliograficzny dawnego Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego*, wyd. M. Mienicki, Wilno 1939 (*Dictionary of Bio-Bibliography of the former Vilna University*); idem, *Uniwersytet Charkowski w początkach swego istnienia*, Kraków 1911 (*The Kharkov University in the Beginnings of its Existence*); idem, *Uniwersytet Wileński i jego znaczenie*, Wilno 1923 (*The Vilna University and its meaning*); idem, *W promieniach Wilna i Krzemieńca*, Wilno 1923 (*In the rays of Vilna and Krzemieniec*); idem, *Wszechnica Wileńska 1578-1842*, Wilno 1921 (*The Vilna University 1578-1842*); D. Beauvois, *Lumières et société en Europe de L'Est: L'Université de Vilna et les écoles polonaises de l'Empire Russe (1803-1832)*, vols. I-II, Lille-Paris 1977; idem, *Adam Jerzy Czartoryski jako kurator wileńskiego okręgu szkolnego*, „Przegląd Historyczny” 1974, vol. LXXV, f. 1, pp. 61-85 (*Adam Jerzy Czartoryski as the Curator of the Vilna School District*, “Historical Papers”); K. Mrozowska, *Uniwersytet Wileński i jego szkoła w latach 1795-1803. Studia z dziejów Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego 1579-1979*, Zeszyty naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace historyczne, z. 64 (*The Vilna University and its schools in the years 1795-1803, Studies from the History of the Vilna University 1579-1979*, Scientific Fascicles of the Jagiellonian University. Historical Papers, fascicle 64); idem, *U progu nowej ery. Dyskusja nad statutem Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego w latach 1806-1808*, [in:] *Studia z dziejów oświaty i kultury umysłowej w Polsce XVIII-XIX w., Księga ofiarowana Janowi Hulewiczowi*, Wrocław 1977, pp. 65-79 (*At the Threshold of a New Era. A Discussion over the Statute of the Vilna University in the years 1806-1808*, [in:] *Studies from the History of Education and Intellectual Culture in Poland in 18th-19th centuries, A Book Dedicated to Jan Hulewicz*).

³ A. Anczewicz, *Krótki szkic dziejów szkolnictwa na Litwie i Rusi w latach 1795-1824*, [in:] *II sprawozdanie dyrekcji Państwowego Gimnazjum im. Tomasza Zana w Mołodecznie*, Mołodeczno 1932, pp. 7, 8 (*A Short Sketch of the History of Education in Lithuania and Russia in the years 1795-1824*, [in:] *II Report of the Headmasters of the Tomasz Zan National Grammar School in Mołodeczno*); J. Bieliński, *Uniwersytet Wileński...*, t. III, s. 531 i in. (*The Vilna University...*); idem, *Żywot księcia...*, vol. II, p. 8 (*The Life of the Prince...*); D. Beauvois, *Adam Jerzy Czartoryski...*, p. 61; L. Janowski, *Historiografia...*, p. 15 (*Historiography...*); idem, *Oświata na Rusi...*, p. 2 (*Education in Russia...*); J. Lipski, *Materiały do dziejów szkolnictwa polskiego z rękopisów Muzeum Czartoryskich i Biblioteki Popielów w Krakowie*, Kraków 1923, p. 11 (*The Materials for History of the Polish School System from the Manuscripts of the Museum of the Czartoryski Family and the library of the Popiel Family in Cracow*); informs that the number of schools amounted to 78 in the area of the Vilna Curator. The original title of *About Principles* was: *Principes de la formation d'enseignement national en Russie*; J. Goclon; *Kontakty wileńskiego*

In this dissertation only “English” influences exerted on the University of Vilna are presented, however it should be emphasised that many lecturers coming from Germany as well as from France or Italy worked in this University, too.

In the universities of England and Scotland certain differences were observed as to a profile of learning and teaching but in this dissertation this differentiation is of little importance.

Adam Czartoryski was appointed Curator of the Vilna Scientific District on January 24th, 1803 and remained on this position till April 5th, 1824 i.e. nearly over the whole period of the reign of Tsar Alexander I. At that time the Vilna Scientific District covered with its range all schools of eight west provinces of the Empire including the University of Vilna. With respect to the territory, this district corresponded with the Russian sector of the partitioned Poland⁴. All parish schools were submitted to the adequate district schools in the region whereas the district schools were subordinated to the secondary schools which, in turn, were submitted to the University of Vilna, particularly, to its School Committee consisting of selected professors. The University was headed by the Rector and University Council composed of all professors. The Rector was subordinated to the School Curator, who, together with remaining five curators and other members, formed Main School Government with the Minister of Education at the head. The Ministry of Education was responsible to Cabinet Council and Senate. The latter reported directly to Tsar⁵.

The state of education that was found by Czartoryski in 1803 within the Polish lands incorporated to Russia appeared to be alarming. Such a situation was, among others, caused by a shortage of the adequate teaching-staff both in district and secon-

środowiska naukowego w okresie kuratorii księcia Adama Jerzego Czartoryskiego (1803-1823). Zarys problemu, „Przegląd Historyczny” 1985, p. 658 and other (The relations of academic environment in Wilna with England in the year 1803-1823, i. e. in the period when Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski held the office of chief education officer. An outline, “Historical Papers”); J. Bieliński, Żywot księcia..., vol. II, p. 9 (The Life of the Prince...); L. Janowski, Historiografia..., p. 29 (Historiography...); idem, Oświata na Rusi..., p. 2; W. Studnicki, Polityka Rosji względem szkolnictwa zaboru rosyjskiego, Kraków 1906, p. 29 (The Russian policy towards the Education in the Russian Partition of Poland); Szkoły wyższe Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Warszawa 1930, p. 347 (The Universities of the Republic of Poland).

⁴ They covered following provinces (guberniyas): Vilna, Mińsk, Mohylev, Volhynia, Podolia and Kiev; in 1818 the Kiev Province was separated and included in Charkov Scientific District whose curator was Earl Seweryn Potocki. In 1824 The Vitebsk and Mohylev provinces were also separated. After the year 1832 the Vilna School District died and two new districts: White Russia and Kiev were formed. See: S. Kutrzeba, *Historia ustroju Polski*, vol. III, part. I, Lwów 1820, p. 183 (*The History of the Polish Political System*); J. Goclon, *Kontakty...*, p. 659 (*The relations...*); L. Janowski, *Oświata na Rusi...*, p. 5 (*Education in Russia after Partitioning of Poland*); idem, *Uniwersytet Charkowski w początkach swego istnienia*, Kraków 1911, p. 50 (*The Charkov University at the beginning of its existence*).

⁵ Act of January 24th, 1803 resolved to form six scientific districts in the empire headed by curators: Moscow (M. Muraviev), Vilna (A.J. Czartoryski), Dorpat (T. Klinger), Charkov (S. Potocki), Petersburg (M. Novosilcov) and Kazan (S. Rumowski). See: S. Truchim, *Współpraca polsko-rosyjska nad organizacją szkolnictwa rosyjskiego w początkach XIX wieku*, Łódź 1960, pp. 48, 53 (*The Polish-Russian Cooperation with respect to Russian Educational System in early 19th Century*).

dary schools. The most alarming was the state of the Vilna University. Since the moment of Poland's partitions this academy could hardly exist; many professors did not meet the requirements made for the university of this type and many chairs were not appointed. After introduction of new rules and regulations it appeared that thirteen chairs were vacant and this deficiency increased in the subsequent years when a number of professors retired. A lack of scientific equipment was also painfully felt. The university library needed a lot of books, especially with respect to foreign writings⁶.

To overcome this adverse situation Adam J. Czartoryski decided to prepare a draft of the act which was to reform the University of Vilna. This draft was approved by the Tsar on May 18th, 1803 and was issued under the name: "Act of Vilna University and Schools of its District". According to this Act, the professors were to be appointed by open competitions⁷. The Curator assented that the best solution would be fetching for the vacant chairs the professors from the 2 countries with a top level of science. In his opinion such a country was Britain. English universities had a different profile of teaching from that occurring in continental academies. In the English universities – similarly to French ones – a bigger stress was laid on precise schooling of students, contrary to German academies which were treated as centres of research rather than didactic institutions⁸. It was the English profile that satisfied the Curator; he treated it as a model for the University of Vilna. In his opinion the nation destitute of their own state needed as many extensively educated people as possible in order to resist the superiority of the invaders, at least in the field of education and culture. The travels of Czartoryski to England and Scotland might result in his taking the pattern from England's achievements. During the first journey of Czartoryski, made together with his mother in the years 1789-1791, he got to know many personages of the world of science, politics and culture and got familiar with local socio-political, economical and cultural conditions. This travel, very rich in different events, exerted a considerable influence on 19-year old Prince. Czartoryski remained true to the principles of liberal Toryism till the end of his life⁹. A consequence of this journey and several subsequent travels to Albion were dissertations (preserved till now) devoted to law, judicature and political system of Great Britain. The ideas, received from the primary education in Puławy where a great stress had been laid on the knowledge of British affairs, could be of certain importance with respect to "English" orientation of the Curator. However, it does not seem that Czartoryski in his actions as a curator has followed the fashion of leading the English way of life which was very popular those days. The Curator wrote to the authorities of the Uni-

⁶ D. Beavois, *Adam Jerzy Czartoryski...*, p. 61 and other; J. Bieliński, *Uniwersytet Wileński...*, vol. II, p. 741; vol. III, p. 530; J. Goclon, *Kontakty...*, p. 659.

⁷ J. Goclon, *Kontakty...*, p. 660; S. Truchim, *Współpraca...*, pp. 50-104 (*The Polish-Russian Co-operation*).

⁸ J. Bieliński, *Uniwersytet Warszawski, 1816-1831*, Warszawa 1907-1912, vol. III, p. 697 (*The Royal University of Warsaw, 1816-1831*).

⁹ Z. Żygulski, *Dzieje zbiorów puławskich, Rozprawy i sprawozdania Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie*, vol. VII, Kraków 1962, p. 102 (*The History of the Puławy Collections, Dissertations and Reports of the National Museum in Cracow*).

versity: "I daresay that it is not for the government to intrude upon the citizens any persons or impose a way of upbringing their own children, however, if we become convinced that when selecting foreign teachers no appreciation of their superiority is observed, and only blind prejudice and funny imitation of a higher class takes place, we should not be indifferent to this problem"¹⁰.

Thus, it can be believed that imitating of the achievements of England in aspiration for increasing a level of science and education in the University of Vilna had deeper grounds.

On November 1st, 1803 circular letters were sent to different scientific institutions, societies and European institutes, among others, to the Royal London Society of Science as well as to Oxford and Cambridge universities¹¹, throwing the vacant chairs in Vilna open to competition. Such letters were also sent to Napoleon's France, however less importance was attached to them. Napoleon's France which consolidated its own model of the state, society and economy through the conquests did not seem to be ideologically safe, so the Curator wanted to bring only representatives of exact sciences (math-physics) from this country¹². The University of Vilna was well salaried and this could attract scientists from foreign countries; Czartoryski renewed his former connections with the influential personages of political and scientific life of British Islands. Lord Buchanan played here a considerable role; with the time he became a mediator in contacts of the Prince with the world of British scientists¹³. John Sinclair – an English economist and agronomist, president of the English Government Office of Agriculture and J. Gregory, under whose care Czartoryski studied the English political system during his travel in 1789¹⁴, played the similar role. Perhaps, Jeremias Bentham – a well-known English lawyer exerted a certain influence on the Prince. At special desire of A. Czartoryski he prepared a plan of education patterned upon the English system which was to provide a basis for the intended reform. "As far as the plan of education is concerned – wrote Bentham – it should apply to higher branches of science and both to higher and middle classes of the society"¹⁵. It is difficult to estimate what influence this plan exerted on behaviour of Czartoryski.

The following scientists, recommended by Buchanan, Sinclair and Gregory, applied to Vilna: faculty of medicine – Peter Reid; faculty of logic – Duncan Ferbes; faculty of

¹⁰ Quot. after: J. Bieliński, *Żywot księcia Adama...*, vols. I-II; W. Lipoński, *Polska-Brytania 1801-1830. Próby politycznego i cywilizacyjnego dźwignięcia Polski w oparciu o Wielką Brytanię*, Poznań 1978, p. 86 (*Poland and Britain 1801-1830. The Attempts of the Political and Civilizing Raise of Poland on a basis of Great Britain*).

¹¹ J. Bieliński, *Uniwersytet Wileński...*, vol. II, p. 829.

¹² D. Beavois, *Adam Jerzy Czartoryski...*, p. 67; *Historia nauki polskiej 1795-1862*, ed. B. Suchołowski, vol. III, ed. J. Michalski, Wrocław 1977, p. 79 (*The History of the Polish Science 1795-1862*).

¹³ J. Lipski, *Materiały do dziejów szkolnictwa...*, p. 64; J. Goclon, *Kontakty...*, s. 661.

¹⁴ J. Goclon, *Kontakty...*, s. 662; Z. Żygulski, *Dzieje zbiorów puławskich...*, p. 98.

¹⁵ Bentham prepared this plan of education together with H. Brougham, I. Macintosh and J. Romilly, *The Library of the Czartoryski Family*, manuscript 5451, k. 69, The letter of J. Bentham to A.J. Czartoryski, London June 21st, 1805.

political economy – Stevenson; faculty of law – Clayburne; all of them came from Edinburgh. Wright from Cambridge competed for the chair of Greek literature and James Luke – for the chair of Latin literature. Dussno applied to the faculty of general history and Isvin – to the faculty of natural philosophy. For the chair of political economist also competed Bayer who was to teach English at the same time. James Headnick, specially recommended by Sinclair, applied to the faculty of agricultural economy. An English poet – Thomas Campbell¹⁶, recommended by Lord Buchanan, wanted to carry on the classes of English literature. This was of special importance to the Curator. He desired to instil English culture into the Polish ground to a possibly great extent, so this appointment was very important to Czartoryski. Campbell was also promoted by Lord Minto, the secretary to whom was the English poet. Campbell wrote exaggeratedly: “The fame of Vilna is well-known and popular”¹⁷. Unfortunately, entering of Campbell upon the duties at the University of Vilna could not be materialised. His famous verses: “Decline of Poland” and “Pleasures of Hope” were not a proper recommendation in Tsar’s Russia. He predicted himself that in such a political climate he would not be able – after undertaking his classes – to express his opinions freely. All above was the reason that the negotiations in this question were broken off¹⁸. Many years later Czartoryski sent the medal of Tadeusz Kościuszko to the poet¹⁹.

Finally, professor Joseph Saunders, an artist-engraver, undertook to carry on classes of English literature. In the years 1810-1819 he lectured on English language and literature in Vilna in addition to history of art and it was he who lectured at University of Vilna longer than any other foreigners. Before his arrival to Vilna Saunders was the engraver in Hermitage. He was a respected artist, a fellow of Tsar’s Academy of Art and Royal Academy in Stockholm²⁰.

Professor Saunders carried on classes in the University of Vilna basing on the following writings: “The Vicar of Wakefield” by Goldsmith; “Spectator” by Addison; “History of England” by Hume; “Essay of Man” by Pope; “History of America” by Robertson; “Paradise Lost” by Goldschmid and “Deserted Village and Traveller”²¹. At the same time he became the master of the School of Engraving formed at the University of Vilna on a initiative of the Prince Curator. At the beginning the level of the school was very low; even the printer Giovanni Romani, specially brought from Italy, could not print all his woodcuts because the engraving press was incomplete. The valuable things were printed in Petersburg. The situation became better when Saunders assumed management of the school. He made a donation to the school of about seventy woodcuts. Saunders himself made engravings which

¹⁶ J. Lipski, *Materiały do dziejów szkolnictwa...*, pp. 59, 64.

¹⁷ J.A. Tesler, *Poland in the Poetry and Life of Thomas Campbell*, Rome 1968, p. 275.

¹⁸ Ibidem, p. 276; J. Goclon, *Kontakty...*, p. 662.

¹⁹ J. Goclon, *Kontakty...*, p. 662; C. Bloch, *Spoleczeństwo angielskie wobec polskiej walki wyzwolenczej w 1831 roku*, „Studia i materiały do historii wojskowości” 1964, vol. X, f. 1, p. 161 (*The English Society in relation to the Polish Liberation Movement in the Year 1831*, “Research and Materials for the history of the Army”).

²⁰ J. Bieliński, *Uniwersytet Wileński...*, vol. III, pp. 316, 756.

²¹ Ibidem, vol. II, p. 732.

represented a very high artistic level. The best one is: "Portrait of the surgery professor – Niszkowski". He brought to Vilna the whole collection of plaster figures, among others, statues of Apollin Sycoński, Venera and Laokoon²². Saunders educated many excellent engravers. In Vilna he was one of the most popular lecturers. When carrying on the classes on history of art he used the examples of the countries in which – in his opinion – the fine arts were best developed i.e. Italy, France, Flanders and England. Out of the letters frequently exchanged with the Curator, only 21 ones have been preserved²³. They throw the light on the relationships prevailing in the Faculty of Fine Arts.

"The remarks that I would like to present Your Majesty – wrote Saunders to the Curator – concern the methods applied when teaching elements of sketching. Your Majesty surely remember my proposals which were to oblige the mentioned schools to send samples of pupils talents to the University twice a year but I regret to say that no information like that has got to the University and no sketches have been sent till now. In fact, there prevails a strange apathy here which makes it impossible to achieve goals even in case when individual efforts are involved. At present the arts are put in chains, the artists at the University can do very little or nothing. In order to stimulate them for development I pledged myself to bear in mind the glory of the University and the public weal in any case and this oath makes all private efforts more precious. Considering this I am quite sure that the artists should be strong enough to form their own committee independent on the authorities of the faculty of literature as such authorities will never be more interested in development of the arts than the artists themselves. All proposals concerning the artists should be lodged to this committee and it should issue all instructions approved by the University authorities"²⁴. This letter was written in 1816 and the assessments contained in this letter seem to be too pessimistic although, in the years 1812-1819, the development of the faculty of fine arts was hindered, specially a shortage of funds was felt painfully then²⁵.

The authorities of the University had a high opinion of Saunders. This Englishman who took a Polish wife was very popular among students. He wrote: "I am very pleased to inform Your Majesty that my lectures in the Faculty of Arts reached popularity beyond my all expectations, and the number of students participating in the classes keeps increasing"²⁶. These classes were characterised by serviceableness, too. Saunders wrote to Czartoryski: "I think that a portion of the sum assigned for the School of Engraving should be spent on purchasing of a dozen or so pictures,

²² Ibidem, p. 733; J. Saunders had a better opinion about University of Vilna than about Cambridge, L. Janowski, *Historiografia...*, p. 20.

²³ J. Lipski, *Materiały do dziejów szkolnictwa...*, p. 47.

²⁴ The Library of the Czartoryski Family, manuscript, k. 229, J. Saunders to A.J. Czartoryski, Vilna, July 28th, 1816.

²⁵ K. Bartnicka, *Polskie szkolnictwo artystyczne na przełomie XVII-XIX wieku (1764-1831)*, Wrocław 1971, p. 71 (*The Polish Artistic Educational System on the turn of 18-19th Century (1764-1831)*); J. Goclon, *Kontakty...*, p. 663.

²⁶ The Library of the Czartoryski Family, manuscript 5466.

without which, the discussion on differences in methods of painting between various school is unsuccessful²⁷. Saunders was among exceptionally keen collectors but he also attached importance to the production of less known painters. He was particularly anxious to increase prestige of fine arts in the awareness of public. "At present I am engaged in collecting the works of Szymon Czechowicz who is a very talented artist – he wrote to the Prince Curator – and I am anxious to present his works of art in this country and Europe in the best possible way"²⁸.

In 1812 Saunders prepared the exhibition of his students works, however it did not take place because of outbreak of the war. Such an exhibition was arranged only in 1820, after Saunders had already left Vilna²⁹. Custody of the English artist was manifested by recommending the most talented students to the Curator. Many times Saunders applied to the Curator with a request of advancing his plans concerning the edition of a small book of anatomy for Vilna artists or establishing a paper mill³⁰. He was the author of a new handbook of "calligraphy" written in Polish, Russian and German "containing twofold volume of the substance of all books hitherto used and embracing teaching from the initial elements up to excellent writing and costing one third of the price paid hitherto"³¹. For unknown reasons this handbook has not been published. Saunders managed to waken in Vilna the concern in England and her culture. He also popularised artistic achievements of his students. He wrote some poems which were published in "Dziennik Wileński" (Vilna daily paper) in English and Polish³². In 1819 Sanders left Vilna because of a bad state of his health and went away to Italy where he stayed till his death in 1830. During this period he did not produce anything as an engraver. Saunders published his reflections and opinions about the University of Vilna in his work: "The University of Vilna"³³.

Classes of English literature were then carried on by Benjamin Haustein, a German who had lectured earlier (since the year 1805) on the German language and literature at the University of Vilna. His lectures were not so popular as those of Saunders and they did not represent such a high level. In 1806 Haustein published in Vilna a handbook of the English language titled: "An Easy Way of Learning to Read English according to the Rules of Sheridan and Walker with some Elements of Prose and Poems" Since the year 1805 he had taught elementary English at the University of Vilna basing just on this handbook³⁴. The duties of the master of the School of Engraving were assumed after Saunders by his assistant – Michał Podoliński³⁵.

²⁷ Ibidem.

²⁸ Ibidem; Saunders in the literary meeting of the Vilna University presented a paper on "Information about the Life and Activity of Szymon Czechowicz", J. Bieliński, *Uniwersytet Wileński...*, vol. III, p. 316.

²⁹ K. Bartnicka, *Polskie szkolnictwo...*, p. 70.

³⁰ The Library of the Czartoryski Family, manuscript 5466, k. 229.

³¹ Ibidem, J. Saunders to A.J. Czartoryski, Vilna January 25th, 1811.

³² J. Bieliński, *Uniwersytet Wileński...*, vol. II, p. 732.

³³ L. Janowski, *Słownik bio-bibliograficzny...*, p. 380.

³⁴ Ibidem, p. 145; W. Lipoński, *Polska-Brytania...*, p. 87.

³⁵ J. Bieliński, *Uniwersytet Wileński...*, vol. II, p. 760.

The chair of the Faculty of Agricultural Economy was to be occupied in Vilna by James Headnick, specially recommended by Sinclair. When he had been appointed to a post he wrote to Lord Buchanan: "I think that it is necessary to suggest you what seems to be extremely needed to obtain a raise in life of the society. The methods of cultivation which should be implemented in each region of the extensive property of the Emperor mean, first of all, getting familiar with the structure of agriculture, climate and soils. An experimental farm would be a very useful addition to a position of the professor of economy as it would be useful for young people to see the agricultural practice. In order to show the proper cultivation of different plants it would be desired to change a part of the farm in a wet meadow and indicate benefits of irrigation. It is advisable to separate an economical garden within the farm where the plants would be cultivated before they are propagated. Such an undertaking would require a supervisor who is familiar with the agricultural practice. This supervisor would implement all what has been planned by the professor. It is advisable that the supervisor comes from Scotland because this country has the best organisation of the agricultural system. The professor should also recommend and demonstrate state-of the art agricultural machines as well as methods of cultivation of the most useful species of plants. Besides, he should have suitable apparatus to demonstrate analyses of soils, manure and vegetable products. For this purpose, apart from the personal salaries, the professor would need additional funds. The experimental farm can be also a place for education of farm workers which would be conducive to improvement in agriculture"³⁶. For unknown reasons Headnick did not assume the chair in the Faculty of Agricultural Economy in Vilna.

John Feron, recommended by Lord Buchanan, tried to occupy the chair in the Faculty of Veterinary. He express this will in his correspondence with the Lord: "With reference to the letter which I have received from Dr. Gregory I am sending you a copy of my work on veterinary which should be presented to Prince Woroncowow in London as quickly as possible and then – to Prince Czartoryski in Petersburg or to Bishop Strojnowski, the rector of the University of Vilna. I am also sending a draft of my lectures on the same subject because I am a candidate for the post of a professor at Vilna University"³⁷. The reason for which he did not manage to occupy this chair is unknown.

In the years 1810-1816 Adam Czartoryski was somewhat less engaged in the problems of education because of his intensive political activity and not clear political situation of his own. At that time the authorities of the Vilna University sent all letters, applications and petitions directly to the Ministry, very often over Curator's head, although he was not formally relieved from his position. Only in August 1816 when Minister Razumowski had resigned his post which was then occupied by Prince Alexander Golicyn Czartoryski was again approved as the Curator of the Vilna Scientific District. Several years of Czartoryski's absence did not result in particularly

³⁶ The Library of the Czartoryski Family, manuscript 5529, k. 5 and other, J. Headnic to Lord Buchanan, Edinburgh, March 5th, 1804.

³⁷ Ibidem, J. Feron to Lord Buchanan (no place and date).

negative consequences. The Prince was familiar with most problems of the University due to wide correspondence with the Rector Śniadecki and a trusted man – Ernest Groddeck. He also consulted many problems with his father – General of Podolin lands. He granted the University large sums of money from his own funds. Czartoryski also maintained several students at his own charge in the English agricultural colony near Petersburg and purchased Porycka Library after Czacki, with his own money. The father of the Curator aided the University of Vilna as well and thanks to his patronage Groddecki could establish the seminar of philology³⁸. Jan Śniadecki, the Rector of the Vilna University in the years 1807-1816, played an exceptional role in doings of Czartoryski³⁹. He was oppose to appointing the foreigners to the chairs and perhaps it was he who caused a change in the personal policy of the Curator. He persuaded intensely the Prince and his father – Adam Kazimierz⁴⁰ of how dangerous is appointing too many foreigners to the chairs. Śniadecki admitted occupation of the foreigners only in necessary cases and “only for the defined number of years with the obligation of the effective teaching the students directed to their classes. After this period [...] when they realise their obligations they will be released from the service unless their talents and merits make them worthy of being kept”⁴¹. He also tended for the establishment of the Polish language as the language of instruction and his efforts were generally crowned with success⁴². He believed that “even at the best knowledge and concept it is impossible to be a really effective public teacher without the deep knowledge of the native language”⁴³. However, in this question and with respect to the education of own scientific staff he agreed later with the Prince Curator⁴⁴. Śniadecki also appreciated highly the achievements of England and Scotland in the area of science⁴⁵, however he did not want the Vilna exhibitors to start their scientific trips from Germany but just to finish them in that country in order to protect young brains against the plague – a misconception of those who do not know the level of sciences in other nations that in Germany the

³⁸ In the period of the Curatorship of Czartoryski the functions of the Rector of the Vilna University were performed subsequently by: H. Strojanowski, J. Śniadecki, S. Malewski and J. Twardowski; L. Janowski, *Historiografia...*, p. 31; D. Beauvois, *Adam Jerzy Czartoryski...*, p. 63 and others; J. Bielański, *Uniwersytet Wileński...*, vol. I, p. 8, vol. II, p. 740, vol. III, pp. 184, 537; S. Kościałkowski, *Z dziejów ofiarności na rzecz nauki i nauczania na Litwie*, „Nauka Polska” 1925, vol. V, p. 254 (*The History of Liberality in favour of Science and Teaching in Lithuania*); W. Lipoński, *Polska-Brytania...*, s. 90; J. Goclon, *Kontakty...*, p. 665; M. Pezia, *Geneza seminarium filologicznego G.E. Grodka*, „Eos” 1962, vol. LII, pp. 411, 418 (*Genesis of the Philological Seminar G.E. Grodka*, “Eos”); W. Studnicki, *Polityka Rosji względem szkolnictwa zaboru rosyjskiego*, Kraków 1906, p. 43 (*The Politics of Russia with respect to the Educational System of the Russian Part of Partitioned Poland*).

³⁹ J. Śniadecki, *Pisma pedagogiczne*, Wrocław 1961, p. 36 (*Pedagogical Papers*).

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 40.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 41: Jan Śniadecki to A.J. Czartoryski, Vilna, April 6th, 1810.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 42.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 39: Jan Śniadecki to A. Kazimierz Czartoryski, May 14th, 1810.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 45.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 30.

science is at the highest level⁴⁶. Śniadecki exaggerated in minimising the merits of the foreign lecturers in development of the Vilna University⁴⁷.

After the year 1816 the Prince Curator laid a greater stress on education of the national scientific staff and tried to restrict filling the vacant chairs with the foreigners. These scientists were recruited from the exhibitioners sent abroad for further education who then replaced the foreign lecturers in Vilna. At that time European Universities were considerably differentiated both as to structures and methods of teaching. Especially rapid changes took place in the universities of Napoleon's France packed into the centralist system⁴⁸.

Curator Czartoryski was an advocate of the scientific travels to England and Scotland and owing to his influence so many students went to Great Britain. The Curator deeply believed that the British influences would bring the country considerable benefits and he desired the people visiting British Islands to get familiar with the recent achievements in science and culture and then to implant them into the Polish ground⁴⁹. During the period of rectorate of Jan Śniadecki the trips of the exhibitioners became more scheduled. It was he who elaborated the basic assumptions upon which the studies of exhibitioners out of Poland were to be based.

The number of the exhibitioners leaving the country increased only after the year 1815⁵⁰. Three thousands roubles a year were assigned from the University funds for all travels, both to Britain and other countries. The Curator gave letters of recommendation to those who were leaving the country. The letters were addressed to his acquaintances in England and Scotland and were aimed to ensure the Polish scientists custody and protection⁵¹. The travels of the exhibitioners leaving for England also covered Germany, France, Holland and Italy. Not all of them reached Great Britain; some people finished their journey in a country of the continent.

⁴⁶ The Ossoliński Library, manuscript II 656 II, k. 140: Jan Śniadecki to S. Wodzicki, October 10th, 1820.

⁴⁷ J. Śniadecki, *Pisma pedagogiczne...*, p. 40.

⁴⁸ K. Mrozowska, *Rola uniwersytetów w hierarchicznych ustrojach szkolnych doby Oświecenia*, [in:] *W kręgu wielkiej reformy*, wyd. K. Mrozowska, R. Dutkova, Kraków 1977, p. 111 (*The Role of the University in the Hierarchic School System in the Age of Enlightenment*, [in:] *In the circle of the great reform*, ed. K. Mrozowska, R. Dutkova).

⁴⁹ J. Dybiec, *Zagraniczne studia naukowe stypendystów wileńskich (1803-1831)*, *Zeszyty naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace historyczne*, f. 64, p. 101 (*Foreign Scientific Studies of the Vilna Exhibitioners (1803-1831)*, Scientific Fascicles of the Jagiellonian University. Historical Papers, fascicle 64).

⁵⁰ J. Lipski, *Polska-Brytania...*, p. 71.

⁵¹ The importance that the Curator attached to the foreign travels is considerably reflected in his correspondence. In the year 1816 he wrote (*Historia nauki polskiej...*, p. 89 to Jan Śniadecki: "Listening to great masters, observing the new and different structures, customs and factories, different world and different opinions broad the mind and intellect and also remove the scales from the eyes of the small and narrow district, create a new man and make the purpose of science saint, considerably increase the experience and develop the opportunity. Nothing can replace these results and all sciences need all these so that the classes in the universities are of high level". J. Kallenbach, *Kuratoria wileńska (1803-1823)*, „Biblioteka Warszawska” 1904, vol. III, pp. 421-448 (*The Vilna Curatory (1803-1823)*).

Since the year 1816 following holders of the scholarship left Vilna: Prof. Mianowski, W. Herberski Ph.D., L. Sobolewski, M. Poliński, W. Górski, M. Bobrowski, F. Drzewiński, J. Oldakowski, J. Daniłowicz, P. Sławiński, J. Jundziłł, K. Podczaszyński. Many of them travelled to several countries of Europe, however Great Britain was the most important goal for them. These journeys were made by: Prof. M. Oczapowski, K. Lach Szyrma, M. Wiśniewski, F. Miechowicz, J. Skrodzki and the librarian of Puławy – K. Sienkiewicz.

The schedule of travels was normalised by the instruction in which the exhibitioners were recommended to visit London, Oxford and Cambridge. The indications were contained in the instruction both as to the subject of a study and the college at which the holder of a scholarship was to continue his education; the names of the professors whose classes he should attend were sometimes given, too⁵². As early as in 1816 Jerzy Skrodzki went to England as the first. He stayed there for three years getting familiar with new achievements of the British science. On his way to Britain he visited Holland and Germany. After coming back home he became a professor of physics at the University of Warsaw⁵³. In 1818 Wincenty Herberski, assistant professor of Joseph Frank went to England to see the achievement of English medicine. Herberski knew English very well. He learned this language during his longer stay on the English farm near Petersburg. Herberski was highly appreciated by J. Saunders. “My wish was – he wrote to Czartoryski – to publish a small book of anatomy written in Polish, with technical terms being in Latin, for the exclusive use of the artists. Mr Herberski undertook to translate this book and gave a very useful proposal: to carry on classes of anatomy *gratis*. However, my disease delayed these efforts. On my arrival to Florence he visited me at once with the book of anatomy about him which he had purchased in Rome and which was similar to that we were intending to publish in Vilna and he desired to continue this project; he offered once again to carry on classes of anatomy and hence I conclude that Mr Herberski deserves of good opinion”⁵⁴. In the next year i.e. in 1819 the following scientist were to be sent to England on the personal order of Czartoryski: Ignacy Oldakowski, Walerian Górski, and Piotr Sławiński. The first one for unknown reasons finished his journey in Germany whereas Górski, who visited Germany, France and Holland on the way, studied in England mathematics and physics for two years. After coming back home in 1821 he was appointed as a lecturer of practical mechanics and construction of roads, bridges and canals in the University of Vilna. He also dealt with the construction of machines. He carried on his classes basing on Hachett’s and Borguis’s works. Górski published his theories, among others, in his work “Wiatrak Szkocki” (The Scottish Windmill). He had lectured in Vilna till the University was closed in 1832⁵⁵. The travel of Piotr Sławiński was of different

⁵² J. Dybiec, *Zagraniczne studia...*, p. 101; J. Bieliński, *Uniwersytet Wileński...*, vol. I, p. 188.

⁵³ J. Bieliński, *Uniwersytet Wileński...*, vol. III, pp. 388, 472.

⁵⁴ The Library of the Czartoryski Family, manuscript 5466, k. 269, J. Saunders to A.J. Czartoryski, 2 Florence, September 30th, 1819; J. Bieliński, *Uniwersytet Wileński...*, vol. I, p. 192, vol. III, pp. 193, 195; J. Frank, *Pamiętniki*, vol. II, Wilno 1913, p. 76 (*Diaries*).

⁵⁵ J. Bieliński, *Uniwersytet Wileński...*, vol. III, p. 183; L. Janowski, *Słownik bio-bibliograficzny...*, p. 135.

type; Piotr Sławiński was a learner of Jan Śniadecki. He went away to purchase research equipment for the astronomical observatory in Vilna. When staying in the British Islands he visited astronomical observatories in Greenwich, Cambridge, Oxford, Dublin and London. He got to know many reputed scientist, among others, the famous Herschel family: the father and the son. In London Sławiński purchased a Hardey's clock with mercury compensation which appeared later to be the best instrument of that type in the University of Vilna. After coming back home he became (in 1823) the first and the last professor of theoretical astronomy in the Vilna University. On January 15th, 1824 he presented, at the literary meeting at the University, his famous report on the discoveries of the reputed English astronomer – Brewster. These discoveries have been published by the latter in his work: "A Treatise on New Philosophical Instruments". Sławiński also edited his work: "Slavinsky – Summary of the Observations made for the Determination of the Latitude of the Observatory of Vilna". This book occurred in 1826⁵⁶.

A Vilna exhibitioner Alexander Becu also went away to Great Britain. He visited medical schools and hospitals there and in Scotland he met Edward Jenner – the inventor of the vaccine against the smallpox. A botanist – Józef Jundziłł has travelled to England as well. On the way he also visited Germany. After coming back from his journey he became the director of the botanical garden in Vilna introducing to it many innovations. It was he who took up the mineralogical description of the Vilna region⁵⁷. Czartoryski attached a special importance to the travel of his favourite – Krystyn Lach Szyrma. In the year 1813 Szyrma graduated from the University of Vilna where he had studied at the Faculty of Literature and Fine Arts and attended the philological seminar of Grodeck. He passed the final examination, among others, in English literature. His concern with England and her culture has been waken by J. Saunders. After finishing the studies he became a tutor of Adam Konstany Czartoryski – the nephew of the Prince Curator. In 1820 Szyrma left, together with his pupil, for Edinburgh via Switzerland, Germany, Paris and London. He stayed in Edinburgh for three years⁵⁸ and he used to go to the classes of the most eminent professors that lectured in Britain at that time: Dugald Stewart, John Wilson lecturing on moral philosophy and the history of the English literature, James Pillans – an acquaintance of the Czartoryski Princes lecturing on Latin literature, William Hamilton – the lecturer of the general history and John Mac Culloch lecturing on the political economy. In Edinburgh Walter Scott has written his compositions and there have been issued famous magazines: "Edinburgh Review" and "Scotsman". In this city there were two large libraries containing many Polish historical documents⁵⁹. Lach

⁵⁶ J. Bieliński, *Uniwersytet Wileński...*, vol. III, p. 320; idem, *Stan nauk matematyczno-fizycznych za czasów Wszechnicy Wileńskiej*, Warszawa 1890, p. 89 (*The Level of Mathematical and Physical Sciences in the Times of the Vilna University*); J. Dybiec, *Zagraniczne studia...*, p. 103.

⁵⁷ J. Dybiec, *Zagraniczne studia...*; J. Goclon, *Kontakty...*, p. 668.

⁵⁸ J. Goclon, *Kontakty...*, p. 668; W. Chojnacki, J. Dąbrowski, *Krystyn Lach Szyrma syn ziemi mazurskiej*, Olsztyn 1971, p. 34 (*Krystyn Lach Szyrma – the Son of the Masuria Land*).

⁵⁹ J. Dybiec, *Życie i twórczość Michała Wiszniewskiego*, Wrocław 1970, p. 23 (*The Life and Creation of Michał Wiszniewski*).

Szyrma was also interested in writings of Thomas Brown and Adam Smith. During his stay of three years in Great Britain he made a lot of trips round Scotland and England trying to get familiar with the structure of the secondary and academic systems of education. He studied the level of English economy and industry and visited major historical places. In 1823, during his stay in Scotland, he wrote a book: "Letters Literary and Political on Poland" which he published anonymously. It was the work presenting Slavonic civilisation, written with patriotic fervour. This work constituted, to some extent, chorus of praise for the Polish nation, its history and culture⁶⁰. This publication met with a warm reception; one of the reviews was nearly enthusiastic. This work was published in the issue of April of: "The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal"⁶¹ by Thomas Campbell. Also John Bowring expressed his opinion in the letter full of applause written to the author in April 1823. And thus, the acquaintance and friendship between the Vilna exhibitioner and the reputed politician, traveller and poet have been started. Bowring was interested in the Polish culture and Czartoryski made an excellent use of this fact: at his suggestion Lach Szyrma made Bowring publish the work titled: "Specimen of the Polish Poets". In the introduction to this work Lach Szyrma inserted a review of the Polish and Slavonic history. In this publication several compositions have been included, beginning from "Bogurodzica" (Mother of God) to the recent poetry, among others, poems by Kochanowski, Jezierski and Niemcewicz⁶². During his stay in Great Britain Lach Szyrma made a lot of friends, among others, with Wentworth Beaumont – later President of the Society of Poland's Friends in London⁶³.

The stay in the British Islands exerted a considerable influence on Lach Szyrma. After returning to Poland he published many writings in English including: "Introduction to Philosophy" or "Connection of Thoughts" which was devoted to moral philosophy so called "Scottish" one. In 1828 his work of three volumes: "England and Scotland, reminiscences of the travel in the years 1820-1824" was published. Lach Szyrma wrote: "The present fame of the University of Edinburgh occurred owing to the very talented men whose inborn genius seems to be assigned for extending the human knowledge"⁶⁴. In 1825 Lach Szyrma was appointed as a full professor in the Faculty of Philosophy at the Warsaw University where he lectured on elementary philosophy, anthropology, law of nature, philosophy and logic. He used the method of the detailed analysis of major principles of the best authors according to the models accepted in teaching of English. When the Institute of Technical Sciences was established in Warsaw in 1827 Lach Szyrma was appointed as a professor of the English language. For the purpose of teaching he wrote: "The Book of English Selected Pas-

⁶⁰ H. Hleb-Koszańska, *Letters Literary and Political on Poland of Krystyn Lach Szyrma*, Wilno 1932, p. 8.

⁶¹ W. Chojnacki, J. Dąbrowski, *Krystyn Lach Szyrma...*, p. 54.

⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 56.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 54.

⁶⁴ K. Lach Szyrma, *Anglia i Szkocja, przypomnienia z podróży w roku 1820-1824*, Warszawa 1828, p. 109 (*England and Scotland, Recollections from the Journey in 1820-1824*); J. Goclon, *Kontakty...*, p. 669.

sages together with the Dictionary”. With his own expenditure he issued a lot of volumes of the English poems in the printing office which was established in 1827. After bringing beautiful types from England this printing-office became the most modern of all in the capital city. In the year 1829 Lach Szyrma became an associate fellow of the Royal Society of the Friends of Sciences and in that year he presented at the meeting of this Society the paper: “About Arrangements of Prisons and Houses of Correction in England”⁶⁵. The effect of the journey of Lach Szyrma to Great Britain has surpassed all expectations of Prince Czartoryski.

The travels of the scholarship holders abroad have brought considerable benefits both to the scientists and community; owing to these journeys, in the final period of performing the function of the Curator by Prince Czartoryski, most faculties at the University of Vilna were occupied by the enthusiastic Polish scientists, extensively educated, being familiar with the recent achievements in science. “Older students – wrote Joachim Lelewel in 1816 – are nearly at the top of their studies. Vilna is assigned for their academic stay and then their education is to be completed in the foreign countries”⁶⁶.

Adam Czartoryski tried to send to England not only young Vilna men but also older lecturers. One of them was Michał Oczapowski who dealt with the problems of the farmsteads. In 1819 he went to Germany to get to know the agricultural school in Moegelin headed by Prof. Thaer. In his letter of November 28th, 1819 addressed to Czartoryski he presented the structure and detailed description of the equipment of that school. On February 28th, 1820 – on special demand of the Prince – he also sent him: “The Remarks concerning Collection of the Rents from the Peasants in all Countries”. Oczapowski left Moegelin for Paris from where, before his travel to England, he sent the Curator (on August 26th, 1821) “The Opinions concerning the Way of Perception and Lecturing on a Farmstead with the Benefit for the Country”⁶⁷. The correspondence between Michał Oczapowski and Adam Czartoryski embracing the period when Oczapowski stayed in England, has been preserved. In these letters the description of the English agriculture has been given and its advantages and disadvantages have been pointed out. After several months of his stay in England Oczapowski wrote to the Curator (on January 23rd, 1822): “I made my trip around England during which I tried to get familiar with the English agriculture, so I visited many leading agricultural provinces such as Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Essex, Middlesex, Suffolk, Norfolk. When I arrived in England I recollected the advice of Your Majesty saying that during my stay in the foreign countries I should also get familiar with the trade as well as with the situation of different industrial branches and relationships between them etc. None of the countries I have visited in order to get familiar with the agriculture and its influence on the prosperity of different industrial branches and the country itself is not so interesting as England. As a matter of fact England is, at present, a country which draws general attention.

⁶⁵ J. Goclon, *Kontakty...*, p. 669; W. Chojnacki, J. Dąbrowski, *Krystyn Lach Szyrma...*, p. 67.

⁶⁶ J. Lelewel, *Listy*, vol. I, Poznań 1878, p. 247 (*Letters*).

⁶⁷ J. Lipski, *Materiały do dziejów szkolnictwa...*, p. 42; J. Goclon, *Kontakty...*, p. 670.

When I came to England all the things I met here were very interesting and delightful.

Excellent cultivation of fields, towns with wonderful building as well as many factories, roads with numerous vehicles and coaches on them! – all these testify to the general prosperity of this country. However, the discussions made with the farmers, craftsmen and merchants have given a different opinion about England and the prosperity of her inhabitants. I have never heard so many complaints as in England. The workers cannot live on their own work. Such a situation results from considerable taxes imposed upon the citizens. These taxes affect, first of all, the farmers and are the reason of disproportional raise in prices of all goods which expels a great deal of capitalists abroad and does not attach any industry to the land. Together with the capitalists, a huge capital has moved to France, Netherlands, Italy and Switzerland making a considerable harm to England”⁶⁸.

Michał Oczapowski has not belonged to the people infatuated with England; he could soberly estimate the English economy, especially agriculture. He wrote to the Curator: “In spite of the high development of the English farmstead I found there a lot of faults difficult to be forgiven; unfortunately some people imitate these faults for this reason only that they are of English origin. I found a lot of things that are very good for England but not suitable for Poland at all. It is difficult to describe in this letter all the problems I would like to talk about, so I will discuss one circumstance only which seemingly is not very important: many things exert the influence on the change in relationships between Poland and England. The climate of England, if not considered in terms of agricultural products, seems to be very similar to ours, however considering its impact on the ground we can find a striking difference. In Norfolk on the sandy soils where one can hardly cultivate the rye, the English farmers bravely plant the wheat as well as the famous Norfolk barley. It is the humidity of the climate that gives the soil, light in its nature, all these what we can obtain from the clayey soil only and with the help of good fertilisation. However, we cannot compare the wet climate of England with our rainy and frequently harmful summers. If we add to this a beneficial influence of the wet climate on rich growth of the fodder plants and all kinds of grass [...] it is easy to explain why some of our farmers [...] who have introduced the Norfolk system of crops rotation to the cultivation do not succeed. In summer the English climate (in the part of England I have visited) may be colder than ours, however it is milder in winter and cultivation in this region lasts till the end of January or even till March”⁶⁹. Oczapowski also found positive sides of the English farmstead which deserve of imitation and are possible to be introduced. “It does not mean that there is nothing deserving of imitation on the English farm – he wrote in the same letter – due to the English farmers a spirit of the improved cultivation is now developing in all Europe. Their method of cultivation is adequate to the English conditions but after a proper modification it can be

⁶⁸ The Library of the Czartoryski Family, manuscript 5462, k. 108, M. Oczapowski to A.J. Czartoryski, Paris, January 23rd, 1822.

⁶⁹ Ibidem, k. 109.

implemented in our country. At present machines and equipment appear to be not only a support for the farmer but they also constitute the only condition for developing of almost all kinds of production and they act an important role in the English farmsteads drawing special attention⁷⁰.

The travel of Michał Oczapowski to England had a significant effect for the University of Vilna; The Prince Curator, bearing in mind the proposal of Oczapowski, carried in the University Council his point as to establishing the new faculty of agriculture whose chair was taken up by Oczapowski⁷¹. The Prince also consulted with him the problem of forming the department of agronomy in the Krzemieniec Secondary School. After returning to Poland Oczapowski published his remarks of English agriculture in the daily paper: "Dziennik Wileński". He published, among others, the article: "About importance of a farmstead in the society and measures for the improvement of its condition in each country by Sir John Sinclair"⁷².

In order to provide the University library with the recent and valuable foreign scientific writings Czartoryski sent a librarian of Puławy – Karol Sienkiewicz – to travel around Europe. At first he went to Paris where he got letters of recommendation from the acquaintances of Prince Adam: Lord Spencer, Dr. Crichton and a well-known orientalist – Langlez which he presented to the British librarians: J. Plant, J. Banks and H. Baber. These librarians were to facilitate his getting familiar with London collections. In July 1820 Sienkiewicz arrived in London. He visited all major libraries on the Island and studied their catalogues. Sienkiewicz went in quest to antiquaries and book-sellers as well as to private collectors. This Polish librarian collected the English books about Poland and writings of the Polish authors, published in England. He made copies of many valuable manuscripts which concerned the Polish affairs. Owing to the letters of recommendation written by the acquaintance of Prince Adam – Lord Wilberforce to Archbishop of Canterbury, Sienkiewicz got the permission to copy the manuscript written by Modrzewski to Emperor Ferdinand about the Turkish War. This manuscript was housed in the private library of Archbishop in the Lambeth Palace. The stay of Sienkiewicz abroad appeared to be very successful; when leaving England in the end of the year 1821 Sienkiewicz carried with him several chests of writings purchased and he also had his very interesting "Diary of the Travel to England 1820-1821". This diary includes, among others, the translation of the poem: "The Lady of the Lake" by Walter Scott⁷³.

Adam Czartoryski took care not only of the University of Vilna but also of the Krzemieniec Secondary School. He tried to bring the teachers to this school from abroad or sent the Polish teachers of Krzemieniec to other countries, among others to England for a better education. The remarkable Krzemieniec teachers who travelled abroad are Franciszek Miechowicz and Michał Wiszniewski. The first one

⁷⁰ Ibidem.

⁷¹ Ibidem, k. 115, A.J. Czartoryski to M. Oczapowski, Puławy, May 15th, 1819.

⁷² J. Bieliński, *Stan nauk...*, p. 155.

⁷³ K. Sienkiewicz, *Dziennik podróży do Anglii 1820-1821*, Wrocław 1953, p. 16 (*The Diary of the Travel to England 1820-1821*); J. Goclon, *Kontakty...*, p. 673.

was a pupil of the Krzemieniec Secondary School; when he had finished the school and his studies he travelled to England in the years 1816-1821. After returning from this country he lectured in the Krzemieniec Secondary School on architecture, mechanics and descriptive geometry. He brought several thousands of drawings of the English machines which he gave the school as a present. He moved, later, to the University of Kiev where he occupied the chair of the full professor. He made his name as the outstanding builder of many churches, Orthodox churches and palaces in Volhynia and Ukraine. His most important work is: "The Theory of Machines for their Easy Calculation Applied for the Use of Farmers, Practical Mechanicians and Machine Constructors Written by [...] the Teacher of Mechanics, Architecture and Administrator of the Institute of Mechanics in the Volhynia Secondary School", published in Krzemieniec in 1827 and in Warsaw in 1828⁷⁴.

The journey of Wiszniewski to England was very successful. He commenced his travel at his own charge and only in Paris (after he had visited Germany, Switzerland, France and Italy) he applied officially at the authorities of the Vilna University for funds to travel to England and Scotland. From Paris he sent his work for the competition concerning the filling of the vacant chair in the Faculty of Philosophy after the death of Jan Abicht. However, under not completely clear circumstances Józef Gołuchowski won this competition and Wiszniewski, due to efforts of the Curator, went away to England as an exhibitioner of the Krzemieniec Secondary School. In Great Britain he studied economy and philosophy. He attended the lectures in Edinburgh and led a very rich social life. He often went to visit Lord John Wilson and James Pillans and got to know Lord John Russell and Walter Scott. In New Lanark Robert Owen himself took Wiszniewski round his Institute. Besides, Wiszniewski visited many English towns and cities, galleries, museums, libraries and pedagogic departments. In London he met a friend of the Prince Curator – Henry Brougham. He also visited Oxford and Cambridge, handicraft shops in Birmingham, Glasgow and Liverpool as well as coal mines in Wallsend. During his stay in Scotland Wiszniewski prepared a comprehensive report on his English studies and expressions⁷⁵. He published a lot of articles in "Times". Probably during his stay in Scotland he started to write his work: "Bacon's Method of Explanation of the Nature"⁷⁶.

Wiszniewski brought from England to Krzemieniec a lot of valuable writings, especially philosophical dissertations as well as encyclopaedias and recent historical works, among others, those by F. Guizot and J. Lacroix. After coming back to Poland he expressed in his report to the Curator a lot of interesting remarks about his studies and economical knowledge gained⁷⁷. Following works of Wiszniewski were very important for the pupils of the Vilna Scientific District: "The History of the

⁷⁴ D. Beauvois, *Adam Jerzy Czartoryski...*, p. 64; J. Bieliński, *Stan nauk...*, p. 51; idem, *Uniwersytet Wileński...*, vol. II, p. 203; M. Rolle, *Ateny Wołyńskie*, Lwów 1823, p. 37.

⁷⁵ J. Dybiec, *Życie i twórczość...*, p. 35.

⁷⁶ J. Bańka, *Poglądy filozoficzno-społeczne Michała Wiszniewskiego*, Warszawa 1967, p. 40 (*Philosophical and Social Views of Michał Wiszniewski*); J. Goclon, *Kontakty...*, p. 673.

⁷⁷ J. Goclon, *Kontakty...*, p. 673; J. Lipski, *Materiały do dziejów szkolnictwa...*, s. 76.

English Literature with the Selected Passages and Explanations”, “About England and English People” and “The Polish-English Dictionary”. In 1830 he was appointed as the professor of philosophy at the Jagiellonian University⁷⁸.

The Krzemieniec Secondary School was the first school where the English language was systematically taught. The teachers of English were J. Froster and J.E. Rose. According to the Prince, Rose lectured on “the English literature with heart and soul trying to instil liking for it to our youth so that the minds of the young people and all our literature, infected with the French customs, assume a better orientation resulting in beneficial effects to our country”⁷⁹. The Curator also brought to Krzemieniec a doctor of medicine – John Bartsch, a fellow of the American Society in Edinburgh⁸⁰. A great contribution to the acquaintance with the English science had a Vilna man – M. Choiński lecturing in the Secondary School on the writings of Say, Ricard, MacCulloch and Adam Smith⁸¹. The school program with respect of teaching English was written down by the Prince Curator; on his request a Vilna man – Jan Znosko summarised the work of A. Smith⁸².

The Prince Curator succeeded, to a high extent, in producing the concern with England and her culture in many pupils of Vilna and Krzemieniec. A lot of them have taken up the translation of the English literature⁸³. One of the translators was a Vilna man – Alfons Walicki, the excellent translator, appointed to the University of Kharkov in 1834⁸⁴. Many books were also translated by Antoni Odyniec, among others, “The Lady of the Lake” and “The Lay of the Last Minstrel” by Walter Scott⁸⁵. In the year 1816 there were published in the daily paper “Dziennik Wileński” the article of Michał Bielański: “The Picture of the State of Great Britain with a Brief Description of Major Details for Recognition of this State”, articles of T. Narbutt on economy: “About the present condition of the Agriculture in England” and “The English Manual Plough, its Theory and the Lecture on the Equipment with a Drawing”, J. Kossakowski’s: “About the Reasons of Differences between the English and French Agriculture” or Kumelski’s: “Description of the Pneumatic Machine invented by S. Brown”. The reprints of English works have also occurred, among others, “The Machine for Stubbing the Field” by Mackay and “The Theory of Dew” by Weels or “About the Action of some Oils” by Walker. Unnamed articles on English problems have also been printed; they include: “About Forming and Elementary Activities of the Agricultural Society in England”, “English Saws” and “The Second Letter of the Traveller reporting about the Present State of Agriculture in England”⁸⁶. A lot of works on oriental matters have been published in the English language by a Vilna man – Aleksander Chodźko; he also edited the

⁷⁸ J. Dybiec, *Życie i twórczość...*, p. 59.

⁷⁹ Quot. after: W. Lipoński, *Polska-Brytania...*, p. 87.

⁸⁰ J. Lipski, *Materiały do dziejów szkolnictwa...*, p. 113.

⁸¹ J. Bieliński, *Uniwersytet Wileński...*, vol. III, p. 386.

⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 361.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 491.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 457.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 495.

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, vol. II, pp. 93, 110, 161, 164, 166, 203, 406.

Polish-English and the English-Polish Dictionaries according to Johnson, Webster and Walker⁸⁷. After the year 1830 a Vilna man – Walerian Krasieński settled in England; he has written and printed a lot of writings on the history of East Europe, among others, the dissertation about the role of Protestantism in Poland⁸⁸. A Vilna man – the sculptor, Henryk Dmochowski played a significant role in the United States where he produced under the pen-name of “Henry D. Saunders”. He was the author of the Monument of Puławski in Savannah and sculptures of many personages of America that have adorned the rooms of the Capitol in Washington up to the present time. Aleksander Tyszyński, the author of the novel “American” made thorough studies on Shakespeare⁸⁹.

Adam Czartoryski also took care of appointing the representatives of the British science as the honorary members of the Vilna University. Among others, following scientists became such members: William Saunter, Jacob Sims – the President of the Medical Society in London, Joseph Banks – the President of the Royal Scientific Society in London and Edward Jenner – an English doctor, the inventor of the vaccine against small-pox⁹⁰.

When assuming the Office of the Curator in 1803, Prince Adam stated that “the fame of the University and the benefit essential for the country require that, if not all, then at least the considerable part of chairs should be filled by Polish scientists”. At the end of discharging his Office Czartoryski could state in his work: “The Report on the State of the Vilna District in the Time when I Resign the Management” that most chairs were occupied by Polish, graduates of the University of Vilna who were additionally educated abroad. His conviction of a value of the British culture has sometimes assumed an utmost forms. When appointing Józef Głuchowski to the chair of the Faculty of Philosophy in Vilna, Czartoryski considered him to be too Germanised, so he ordered Głuchowski to travel to England and Scotland before assuming the chair⁹¹. The same situation took place with respect to Lelewel who refused travelling abroad for further education hurting the feelings of Czartoryski in this way⁹².

The period of 1815-1824 constituted a culminating point of the influence of the Vilna University on a wider range of the society. At that time two faculties were

⁸⁷ A well-known work of A. Chodźko *Specimen of the Popular Poetry of Persia* (ibidem, vol. III, p. 382).

⁸⁸ The most popular English publications of Krasieński included: *Historical Sketch of the Raise Progress and Decline of the Reformation in Poland and of Influence which the Scriptural Doctrines have exercised on that Country in Literary, Moral and Political Respects; Russia and Europe or the Probable Consequences of the Present War; Sketch of the Union of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania with Poland, Polish Aristocracy, Samogitia and Polish Titles; Pan Slavism and Germanism* and also *Poland, its History, Constitution, Literature, Manners etc.*, ibidem, vol. III, p. 428.

⁸⁹ Ibidem, pp. 388, 488; L. Janowski, *W promieniach Wilna i Krzemieńca*, Wilno 1923, p. 152 (*In the rays of Vilna and Krzemieniec*).

⁹⁰ J. Bieliński, *Uniwersytet Wileński...*, vol. III, pp. 620, 623; *Historia nauki polskiej...*, p. 77.

⁹¹ Quot. after: J. Dybiec, *Życie i twórczość...*, p. 26; D. Beauvois, *Adam Jerzy Czartoryski...*, p. 83; J. Bieliński, *Uniwersytet Wileński...*, vol. II, p. 405; J. Goclon, *Kontakty...*, p. 675.

⁹² J. Goclon, *Kontakty...*, p. 675; *Historia nauki polskiej...*, p. 94.

formed in Vilna: Faculty of Pharmacy and Faculty of Veterinary. Many new subjects were introduced to be lectured on: political economy, moral philosophy, pastoral theology and foreign languages. On the initiative of the Prince Curator, the Engraving School was formed. The university library as well as astronomical observatory were supplemented. The number of students as well as pupils in other schools under Curatory increased several times⁹³. The number of teachers increased as well⁹⁴. Czartoryski was the first to notice a chance for the Polish education in dissemination and application of the achievements of England. The concern with England and her culture waken in the Vilna scholarship holders brought the results, sometimes many years later.

Streszczenie

Rola księcia Adama Czartoryskiego (1803-1824) jako kuratora wileńskiego okręgu naukowego

Książę Adam Jerzy Czartoryski znany jest w powszechnej świadomości jako polityk europejskiego formatu, ale raczej emigracyjny (szczególnie po upadku powstania listopadowego w 1831 r.). Natomiast dużo mniej lub prawie wcale wiadomo o jego działalności na stanowisku kuratora wileńskiego okręgu naukowego (obszar ośmiu zachodnich guberni Cesarstwa Rosyjskiego), którą to funkcję pełnił w latach 1803-1824. Obejmując ów urząd uznał, że do przeprowadzenia reformy nauki i oświaty, szczególnie Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego, wzorem godnym naśladowania powinny być osiągnięcia Wielkiej Brytanii. Na swoiste anglofilstwo księcia niewątpliwie znaczny wpływ miała podróż do Anglii i Szkocji, którą odbył w latach 1789-1791 wraz z matką Izabelą Czartoryską, poznając wówczas wiele osobistości brytyjskiego świata nauki, kultury i polityki, zaznajamiając się przy tym z angielskim ustrojem społeczno-politycznym oraz stosunkami gospodarczymi i kulturalnymi. Nie bez znaczenia dla zainteresowań księcia była również atmosfera rodzinnego domu w puławskim pałacu i otrzymana tam początkowa edukacja,

⁹³ Since the year 1808 there were six universities in the Empire: Vilna, Moscow, Dorpat, Kharkov, Kazan, and Petersburg (formed in 1808). The University of Petersburg was the second university which developed as quickly as Moscow university, however, after the year 1824 the process of its developing was rapidly stopped. In the year 1808 there were 278 students in the University of Vilna, in the year 1820 – 893 students and in the year 1830 – 1322 students. During all this period it was the largest university of the Empire. D. Beauvois, *Lumières et société en Europe...*, p. 516; J. Goclon, *Kontakty...*, p. 675.

⁹⁴ J. Kallenbach, *Kuratoria wileńska...*, p. 243, reports that in the year 1808 within the Vilna School District there were 69 schools, 349 teachers and about 10.000 pupils, whereas in 1820 there were 430 schools, 983 teachers and about 20.000 pupils; also compare with: W. Studnicki, *Polityka Rosji...*, p. 56; J. Bieliński, *Uniwersytet Wileński...*, vol. I, pp. 175, 182, 190, vol. III, pp. 6, 61, 539, 541; idem, *Żywot księcia...*, vol. II, p. 38; L. Janowski, *Historiografia...*, p. 54; idem, *Wszelchnica Wileńska...*, Wilno 1923, p. 22; W. Lipoński, *Polska-Brytania...*, p. 91; *Szkoły Wyższe Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa 1930, p. 347 (*Universities of the Republic*); W. Wakar, *Sto lat walki o oświatę polską*, Warszawa 1916, p. 15 (*100 Years of the Battle for the Polish Education*).

w której kładziono nacisk na znajomość osiągnięć angielskiej kultury. Kontakty nawiązane przez Czartoryskiego w czasie podróży do Anglii i Szkocji, odnowione po latach, umożliwiły zaproszenie do Wilna sporo znanych angielskich wykładowców (szczególną rolę odegrał w tym lord Buchanan, polecając konkretnych przedstawicieli brytyjskiego świata nauki). Z polecenia księcia wielu wileńskich stypendystów wyjechało na dalsze studia na Wyspy Brytyjskie. Po powrocie objęli oni większość katedr na Uniwersytecie Wileńskim. Do Wilna sprowadzono w tym czasie znaczną liczbę angielskich książek o Polsce i prace polskich autorów wydane w Anglii. W okresie kuratorii A.J. Czartoryskiego honorowymi członkami Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego zostało dwóch brytyjskich uczonych. Wprowadzono również lektoraty języków: angielskiego i włoskiego. Niewątpliwie kurator dostrzegł dużą szansę dla polskiej nauki i oświaty w stosowaniu i upowszechnianiu osiągnięć Anglii, a rozbudzone w wileńskich stypendystach zainteresowania angielską nauką i kulturą owocowały jeszcze długie lata.