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BOARDING SCHOOLS FOR MALE YOUTH IN POLISH LANDS AT THE TURN OF THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES

Pensje dla młodzieży męskiej na ziemiach polskich na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku

Abstrakt

Wśród szkół działających w epoce staropolskiej występowały od XVIII wieku pensje, czyli instytucje przyjmujące dzieci i młodzież na naukę i mieszkanie. Były to placówki odrębne dla dziewcząt i chłopców. Tym ostatnim poświęcony został niniejszy tekst. Chronologicznie obejmuje on okres schyłku Rzeczypospolitej, czasy reform Komisji Edukacji Narodowej oraz początki zaborów i czasy Księstwa Warszawskiego. Wykorzystane zostały rozmaite źródła, m.in. pamiętniki, przepisy KEN i Izby Edukacyjnej, ogłoszenia na łamach „Gazety Warszawskiej”. Ten rodzaj placówek oświatowo-wychowawczych przeznaczonych dla młodzieży męskiej nie cieszył się dotychczas specjalnym zainteresowaniem badaczy dziejów edukacji staropolskiej. Były to najczęściej niewielkie, zazwyczaj krótko działające placówki. Przyjmowano do nich niewielu uczniów, którymi opiekowała się osoba prowadząca pensję, wspomagana przez dyrektorów, metrów i służbę. Ze względu na to, iż przez długi czas nie podlegały one żadnym przepisom zakładały i prowadziły je osoby bez niezbędnych kwalifikacji, stąd w rozmaitych pismach krytykowano je i odradzano oddawania do nich dzieci. Sytuacja zmieniła się nieco, kiedy Komisja Edukacji Narodowej wydała rozporządzenia porządkujące ich funkcjonowanie, co kontynuowano również w okresie późniejszym. Wśród pensji dla młodzieży męskiej wyróżnić można dwa rodzaje. Pierwsze były szkołami z internatem, w których wychowankowie uczyli się i mieszkali razem pod opieką pensjomistrza, oraz drugi, w których uczniowie mieszkali, ale uczyli się w odrębnych szkołach.

Słowa kluczowe: edukacja, XVIII w., pensje dla chłopców, opieka

Abstract

Among the schools operating in the Old Polish era, boarding schools, or institutions that accepted children and youth for education and accommodation, began to appear from the 18th century. These

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institutions were separate for girls and boys. This text is dedicated to the latter. Chronologically, it covers the period of the decline of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the reforms of the Commission of National Education, the beginnings of the partitions, and the era of the Duchy of Warsaw. Various sources have been used, including diaries, regulations of the Commission of National Education and the Educational Chamber, and announcements in the "Gazeta Warszawska." This type of educational and upbringing institution for boys has not yet attracted special interest from researchers of Old Polish education history. These were usually small, often short-lived institutions. They accepted few students, who were cared for by the person running the boarding school, assisted by directors, teachers, and servants. Because for a long time they were not subject to any regulations, they were established and run by individuals without the necessary qualifications. As a result, they were often criticized in various writings, and parents were discouraged from sending their children to them. The situation changed somewhat when the Commission of National Education issued regulations to organize their functioning, which continued in the later period. Among boarding schools for boys, two types can be distinguished. The first type were schools with boarding facilities, where the students both studied and lived together under the supervision of the boarding school owner. The second type were those where students lived but studied in separate schools.

Keywords: boarding schools for boys, care, education, 18th century

A specific type of school in operation during the Old Polish period was the boarding school ("pensja"). These were institutions that accepted children for both education and residence. In Polish territories, they enjoyed popularity from the 18th century onwards. The present text will focus on the functioning of boarding schools for male youth during the late period of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the times of reforms carried out by the Commission of National Education, at the beginning of the partitions, and during the period of the Duchy of Warsaw. The basis for research into the history of these types of institutions includes notes found in memoirs from the late 18th and early 19th centuries, regulations by the Commission of National Education and the Educational Chamber, advertisements in the "Gazeta Warszawska," as well as a small book by Konstanty Wolski and Ludwik Osiański containing their observations on the boarding school being created. This type of educational institution for male youth has so far received little attention from researchers into the history of Old Polish education, although there were many such schools in various towns in the Republic of Poland.²

For a long time, boarding schools operated unsupervised, essentially according to the whims of their owners who were often foreigners. Usually, these were institutions for girls, but sources indicate that there were also boarding schools for boys. Interestingly, there were occasionally schools where both girls and boys were taught together. However, the latter type was scarce during the discussed period, and was generally prohibited by regulations.

Typically, these boarding schools admitted only a small number of female or male students, usually from a few to a dozen or so, who lived under the care of the school's owner. This person supervised the daily life, sometimes participated in teaching of the pupils, and arranged for other teachers and tutors. It was a relatively popular way to educate children and youth. Boarding schools were usually ephemeral in nature. They were often established by individuals without preparation or experience in educating young people, a point frequently

² Comments about them appear in various works, a.o., A. Winiarz, *Szkolnictwo Księstwa Warszawskiego i Królestwa Polskiego (1807-1831)*, Lublin 2002, p. 314-318.

raised in critical voices about them. This was particularly common in the case of boarding schools for girls, which led to criticism of this form of education appearing in various publications. People running these schools often did so for financial reasons, treating this occupation as a source of livelihood. Typically, these individuals had no predisposition or qualifications for working with children or teenagers. The exceptions were some boarding school owners who supplemented their teaching salary in this way.³

Boarding schools for boys operated in various cities, but most were in the capital, with reports indicating their number reached one hundred in the early period of the partitions.⁴ They were often run by foreigners. "Both boys' and girls' boarding schools were almost exclusively run by the French, among whom the most notable were: Messrs Rousseau, Gavard, Guilleau, Marchand, and Rouget [...], and although their number continued to increase, surpassing one hundred by 1800, they did not focus on truly necessary education but rather trained for entertainment and social life." Therefore, these schools primarily organized small balls and "taught boys to dance and socialise." People who ran boarding schools "mostly sought only their own profit, caring little about the future, morality, and disposition of their pupils; they limited themselves to teaching them a smattering of languages and otherwise turned a blind eye to their conduct or indulged their faults and harmful inclinations." Establishing such institutions was compared to opening shops, where the aim was to "entice a significant number of pupils," much like attracting customers to a store. The blame for this state of affairs lay not only with the boarding school operators but also with parents, who often changed schools for their sons, "believing that this way the child would learn more."⁵ This contributed to the fact that boarding school owners did not care much about the children entrusted to them, as they were uncertain if the children would stay with them for long.

Antoni Magier listed several of the boarding schools operating in the capital in his *Estetyka miasta stołecznego Warszawy*. He noted that "the number of boarding schools in Warsaw increased, with the more famous founders being: Hauke, Rousseau, Künthel, Guilleau, Bader, Wolski, Marchand, Dunekerk, Picard, Rouget, Meller, Neneke. The youth there received a decent education in terms of sciences and languages, with the help of teachers for music and dance."⁶ Not all of the mentioned schools can be identified.

The owners of boarding schools, especially those just starting their operations, advertised in the press and invited parents to send their sons for education. For example, in Warsaw, a certain Mr. Dumesnil did so in 1774, "having spent 25 years educating children in Poland and Ruthenia, began six months ago to provide education for young children aged 5 or 6 or older. He teaches French, German, Polish, Italian, the basics of writing, arithmetic, geography,

³ Among others, this was how Mikołaj Chopin earned a living; he worked at the Warsaw Lyceum and additionally ran a boarding school in his home. See M. Ptaszyk, *Liceum Warszawskie 1804-1831*, Toruń 2020, p. 61.

⁴ J. Schiller, *Warszawskie rządowe szkoły średnie w latach 1795-1862*, „Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty,” 36/1994, p. 46.

⁵ "utrzymując, iż dziecię tym sposobem więcej się nauczy," F.M. Sobieszczański, *Rys historyczno-statystyczny wzrostu i stanu miasta Warszawy od najdawniejszych czasów aż do 1847 roku*, Warszawa 1848, p. 188-189.

⁶ "pomnożyły się pensje w Warszawie, których sławniejsi założyciele byli: Hauke, Rousseau, Künthel, Guilleau, Bader, Wolski, Marchand, Dunekerk, Picard, Rouget, Meller, Neneke itp. Odbierała tam młodzież przyzwoite wychowanie co do nauk i języków, przy pomocy nauczycieli do muzyki, tańca," A. Magier, *Estetyka miasta stołecznego Warszawy*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1963, p. 143.

history, fencing, and dance, and also teaches Latin. Additionally, he provides music tutors for various instruments according to individual requests.”⁷

The advertisement stated that the school aimed to “instil good-heartedness in its students, to inculcate virtues and sentiments that make one a decent person and a good citizen.”⁸ It also mentioned that the young people would have suitable living conditions – “a house located in the best air, with a pleasant garden for the comfort and recreation of its students,”⁹ along with food and medical care.

At the beginning of 1769, Stanisław Wodzicki¹⁰ was sent to such a school. This was a boarding school in Krakow run by Mrs. Camelin, the wife of a professor of surgery at the Krakow Academy.¹¹ Other young men also studied there: “the two Tarnowski sons of Joachim, [...] and Ignacy Dembiński, son of the starost of Wolbrom.” This delighted the memoirist immensely, as “instead of the company of old, serious people, boring for a child, I found companions only slightly older than myself.” The boys were supervised by a tutor and the owner of the boarding school, Mrs. Camelin, whom Wodzicki resented for political reasons, noting in his memoir, “whom I disliked for the hatred she showed towards the confederates.”¹² From his education at the boarding school, he “benefited enough to understand and converse in French.”¹³

Seweryn Bukar mentioned the boarding school run by the cathedral canon of Zhytomyr, Father Mikoszewski. According to the memoirist, he was a “universal man. Besides excellent preaching eloquence, he was full of knowledge and talents.” This priest “had several young citizens to whom he gave various lessons.” Among the young people gathered around this clergyman were Henryk Hański, Dachowski, Gnatowski, Antoni Mikoszewski (the priest’s nephew), and the memoirist’s younger brother Adrian Bukar. “It was a kind of boarding school,” noted the memoirist, “for which an old house was given after a new one was inhabited.”¹⁴ This boarding school was probably located in Zhytomyr, near which was Januszpol, the Bukar family estate.

A well-known boarding school, gathering a dozen or so young people, not only from noble families but also the sons of Warsaw bankers and doctors, was run by Marcin Nikuta¹⁵ in the Ordynacki Palace in Warsaw. Nikuta came to Warsaw thanks to Jan Jerzy Grabowski of Königsberg and initially took a position in the Corps of Cadets (or School of Chivalry).

⁷ “strawiwszy 25 lat na edukowaniu paniąt w Polsce i na Rusi zaczął od sześciu miesięcy dla młodych dzieci mających lat 5. lub 6. albo i więcej dawać wychowanie. Uczy języków francuskiego, niemieckiego, polskiego, włoskiego, początków pisanania, arytmetyki, geografii, historii, fektowania i tańcu, uczy także języka łacińskiego, dostarcza także metrów do muzyki różnych instrumentów według każdego żądania,” Suplement, “Gazeta Warszawska,” 1774, no 69, of August 27.

⁸ “nakłonienia do dobrego serca swoich uczniów, do zaszczepienia w nich cnoty i sentymentów, które czynią poczciwym człowiekiem i dobrym obywatelem,” *ibidem*.

⁹ “dom [...] położony w najlepszym powietrzu, z ogrodem miłym dla wygody i rekreacji swoich uczniów,” *ibidem*.

¹⁰ *Stanisława hr. Wodzickiego wspomnienia z przeszłości od roku 1768 do roku 1840*, Kraków 1873, p. 36.

¹¹ It was likely the wife of Jan Camelin, a Krakow physician and botanist who passed away in 1774.

¹² “której nie lubilem dla nienawiści okazywanej konfederatom,” *Stanisława hr. Wodzickiego wspomnienia*, p. 73.

¹³ “tyle, że mogłem rozumieć i rozmówić się po francusku,” *ibidem*, p.76.

¹⁴ “Był to rodzaj pensjonatu, na którego pomieszczenie oddano dom stary po zamieszkaniu nowego,” *Pamiętniki Seweryna Bukara z rękopismu po raz pierwszy ogłoszone*, Drezno 1871, p. 4.

¹⁵ D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, *Pustelnik z Palacu Ordynackiego – dole i niedole Marcina Nikuty*, Wrocław 2022.

Persuaded by fathers who wanted him to provide private tutoring for their sons, he eventually succumbed to the persuasions of Jan Mikołaj Chodkiewicz, the starost of Żmudź, and left his position at the School of Chivalry to dedicate himself to educating young masters. Under Nikuta's care were, among others, Stefan Grabowski, the son of Jan Jerzy, and Karol Grabowski, likely the son of Tomasz; Chodkiewicz's sons – first Waclaw¹⁶ and later Aleksander; Józef Nowicki; Józef Poniatowski, the son of Ignacy; Józef Lewicki, the son of Samuel Wojciech; Józef Nowicki, the son of Feliks Stanisław; Ignacy Dąbski, the son of Józef; Henryk Ollier, the son of cloth merchant Izaak; and Daniel Fryderyk Tepper, from a family of Warsaw bankers.¹⁷

In addition to Nikuta, other teachers taught at the boarding school. Among them were language teachers – French was taught by Klaudiusz Gavard,¹⁸ Dupont, probably one of the brothers: Feliks or Armand who taught at the Corps of Cadets,¹⁹ and a certain Liewre (Liewr).²⁰ German and arithmetic were taught by Krystian Neumann. From the diary of young Chodkiewicz, which he kept during part of his stay at Nikuta's boarding school, it appears that drawing lessons were conducted by Mikołaj Kajzer, a miniaturist and government surveyor.²¹ The students' health was looked after by well-known doctors: Jan Czempiński²² and Walenty Gagatkiewicz.²³

From the time when Aleksander Chodkiewicz studied at Nikuta's boarding school, a schedule of activities is available. The wake-up call was at six o'clock, and the following hours were allocated to various lessons:

From seven to eight Latin lesson
 From eight to nine drawing and military architecture
 From nine to ten logic
 From ten to twelve German language and arithmetic
 From twelve to two free time
 From two to three French language
 From three to four English language
 From four to five free time

¹⁶ D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, M.E. Kowalczyk, *Nauki młodego szlachcica w Warszawie stanisławowskiej – Waclaw, syn Jana Mikołaja i Ludwika Chodkiewiczów*, „Klio. Czasopismo Poświęcone Dziejom Polski i Powszechnym,” 69/2024, no. 1, p. 53-78.

¹⁷ National Archives in Kraków, Archiwum Młynowskie Chodkiewiczów, ref. no. 785, *Diariusz życia Waclawa Chodkiewicza przez niego pisany od dnia 1 Junii 1783*, p. 177.

¹⁸ M. Cieśla, *Nauczanie języków obcych nowożytnych w Szkole Rycerskiej w Warszawie (1766–1794)*, „Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty,” 1958, no. 1, p. 72, footnote 59.

¹⁹ Ibidem.

²⁰ *Diariusz życia Waclawa Chodkiewicza*, p. 181.

²¹ See E. Rastawiecki, *Słownik malarzów polskich tudzież obcych w Polsce osiadłych*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1850, p. 213-214. It was likely during his studies with him that Waclaw created the preserved plan of Puławy which exists to this day. See BN ref. no. MS BOZ 1311, *Plan de Puławy; Plany różnych miast i miejsc w Polsce*, Waclaw Chodkiewicz, 1783.

²² Jan Baptysta Czempiński (1721-1786) – a physician at the School of Chivalry and royal secretary, performed the first smallpox vaccination in Poland. See A. Macieszka, *Czempiński Paweł*, in: *Polski Słownik Bibliograficzny*, vol. 4, Kraków 1938, p. 330-331; idem, *Dr. Med. Paweł Czempiński*, in: *Epoka wielkiej reformy. Studia i materiały do dziejów oświaty w Polsce XVIII wieku*, ed. D. Lempicki, Lwów–Warszawa 1923, p. 69-73.

²³ Walenty Gagatkiewicz (1750–1805) – a court physician to Stanisław August, co-founder of the surgical school in Warsaw, ennobled in 1788, see *Album biograficzny zasłużonych Polaków i Polek wieku XIX*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1901, p. 784-793.

From five to seven preparation for the next day's lessons
 From seven to nine free time
 At nine o'clock, bedtime"²⁴

Boarding schools, both for boys and girls, came under the supervision of the Commission of National Education, which issued a document in 1775 regulating their operations to some extent.²⁵ It was decreed that no boarding school was to be established without written permission, confirmed with the seal of the commissioner of the "department where the boarding school was to be located."²⁶ The definition of a boarding school was also established: "under the denomination of a boarding school is understood any house in which young persons of both sexes pay an annual fee for board and all educational expenses required, which also includes boarding houses."²⁷ A limit on the number of admissions was also introduced. The limit was set at ten students in Warsaw and twelve in other places. Additionally, admitting students of different sexes to the same school was prohibited. Since some existing boarding schools had either more students or had already admitted both boys and girls, a period from June 1, 1775, to June 1, 1776, was designated to resolve this issue, allowing time "to separate the girls or boys." A boarding school was to be either all-boy or all-girl; it could not be coeducational. It was allowed for spouses to run a boarding school for boys and girls, but "men and women had to be completely"²⁸ separated; there could be no communication between them, they could not eat at the same table, they could not study together, and they should not see each other at all. The administrators of the boarding school had to record the students in special tables and submit a monthly report on the school's state to the commissioner.

Further recommendations concerned the scope of education. Firstly, it was indicated that it was necessary to raise students in "the fear of God and a thorough knowledge of the holy faith."²⁹ Caretakers should ensure the moral purity of the young people entrusted to them. It was important to shape good citizens who loved their homeland and were aware of their duties towards it. The curriculum included teaching reading and proper writing in Polish, which had to be verified if a child wished to leave the boarding school.

The regulations included the curriculum prescribed for different years.³⁰ Thus, "the first years, from the age of 6 to 10, will be devoted to ensuring that the child first learns to read and write perfectly in Polish."³¹ During that time, it was also planned to teach French and German, as well as the beginnings of arithmetic. The next period, from the age of 10 to 12, was designated for the beginning of Latin studies and elementary knowledge of geography, while continuing the subjects previously started. From ages 12 to 14, "boys were introduced

²⁴ ANK, AMCh ref. no. 512, p. 5.

²⁵ See *Przepisy od Komisji Edukacji Narodowej pensjo-mistrzom i mistrzyniom dane*, in: *Ustawodawstwo szkolne za czasów Komisji Edukacji Narodowej*, edition and preface J. Lewicki, Kraków 1925, p. 69-83.

²⁶ "departamencie znajduje się to miejsce, w którym pensja ma być założona," *ibidem*, p. 69.

²⁷ "pod denominacją pensji rozumie się dom każdy, w którym młode osoby obojga płci, płaca pensją roczną za wikt i wszelkie wydatki na edukację potrzebne, pod którą denominacją i konwikty podciągają się," *ibidem*.

²⁸ "zupełnie mężczyźni od białychłów," *ibidem*, p. 70.

²⁹ "bojaźni boskiej i gruntownej znajomości wiary świętej," *ibidem*.

³⁰ *Ibidem.*, p. 72-73

³¹ "pierwsze lata od 6-tego aż do 10-tego na tym zejda, żeby dziecię doskonale najpierw po polsku nauczyło się czytać i pisać," *ibidem*, p. 72.

to the basics of geometry, hand drawing, and national history.”³² The persons in charge of the boarding schools should take care of the neatness of the pupils and teach proper table manners.

They are to provide them with adequate housing; a maximum of four people per room was envisaged. Rooms should be ventilated, heated in winter, but not too warm, as this is detrimental to health. Boarding school students should spend time not only studying but also outdoors. They should be allowed to run, but care must be taken to prevent them from overheating. In bad weather, they are to play ball or volant indoors.³³ If any of the children feel ill, this must be reported to the commissioner, and the doctor treating the students must be indicated.³⁴

Teachers employed at the boarding schools, known as “maîtres” (metrowie), had to be reported to the appropriate commissioner, to whom their absences also had to be reported. A condition for obtaining permission to establish a boarding school was that its owner possessed a library containing books listed in a special catalogue.³⁵ Existing boarding schools had to equip themselves accordingly. Not only employed teachers had to be presented to the commissioners; this also applied to the founders of the boarding schools. After an interview/examination, the commissioners assessed their “suitability for the event.”³⁶

The regulations also included comments on the need for parents to pay their children’s boarding school fees regularly and on time. If there are payment arrears, boarding school owners have the right, even the obligation, to send the child home. Moreover, in such cases, no other boarding school should accept that child under the threat of penalty.³⁷

Admissions to the boarding school should take place between the first of September and the fifteenth of October. Admissions at other times were prohibited.³⁸

Institutions of this kind continued to operate after the fall of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In the *Urządzenie konwiktów i pensji plci obojej* (*Regulations for boarding schools and houses for both sexes*) prepared at the session of the Commission of National Education in Vilnius in 1798, the relevant regulations were presented. It was noted that there was a need from parents who “are unable to find or maintain at their own expense separate tutors or governesses for their children honoured with particular competence and talent,” and therefore the existing boarding schools were placed under “special and diligent supervision”³⁹ by issuing appropriate regulations. It was stipulated that all boarding schools and houses could operate only with the appropriate permission, and obtaining it depended on the “competence and morals of the persons opening the boarding school or house” as well as the location of their operation.

³² “chłopcom lekkie początki geometrij,” rysunku ręcznego, historii narodowej,” *ibidem*.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 74.

³⁴ *Ibidem*.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 71, also the catalogue of books p. 76-81.

³⁶ „zdatność do tej imprezy,” *ibidem*, p. 71.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 74.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 75.

³⁹ “szczególnym i pilnym dozorem,” *Urządzenie konwiktów i pensji plci obojej*, Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich, ref. no. 6357, c. A.

It was strongly emphasized that “children of both sexes or ages cannot be kept and educated together under any pretext.”⁴⁰ Further provisions regulated matters related to studies, people managing boarding schools, the safety of the pupils, and their living and dining conditions.

Preserved memoirs show that sons were sent to boarding schools in various places. Franciszek Wężyk studied for some time (1798-1799) “in the private establishment of Karol Möller, once a fellow pupil of Kościuszko,” in Warsaw. “Under him, I listened to mathematics, geography, and history. He spurred the mind inclined towards learning, and after ordinary hours kept [pupils] busy with hasty reading of excellent works.”⁴¹ In his “Autobiography,” he recorded that in 1798 he was sent, along with his brother Ignacy, to the boarding school, and found in its owner “an ardent guide, especially as regards the study of history and mathematics.” However, he lacked “the inherent learning and knowledge of ancient languages.”⁴² He also expressed his opinion on private schools. He believed that “every private school can disrupt the purpose of education because it follows the ideas and disposition of only one person.”⁴³ The teacher was able to guide the young man’s interests who supplemented his school knowledge “with newspapers and numerous journals” and “assigned books.” However, as Wężyk noted, this somehow introduced “confusion in his imagination.”⁴⁴

Ignacy Dominik Radziszewski⁴⁵ mentioned the boarding school at Słupia as the place of his studies. Initially educated at home under “director Grabkowski, a former military man,” he was likely sent in 1790 to study with Fr. Mołętowski, “a very learned man who was a professor of rhetoric in public schools.” Mołętowski, “with the help of the professors assigned to me,” prepared him for further schooling.⁴⁶ Fr. Mołętowski, mentioned in the diary, was a Benedictine – Weremond Mołętowski – Doctor of Theology, and parish priest of Słupia.⁴⁷ One of the professors teaching at Słupia was Fr. Hugo Jopkiewicz.⁴⁸ Radziszewski studied under him around 1790, so the school at Słupia run by Father Mołętowski must have been established earlier and continued to operate for years.⁴⁹ In a letter from 1795 to an unknown recipient, Fr. Mołętowski writes, “we highly recommend our students and professors to your

⁴⁰ “dzieci obojej płci jakiegokolwiek bądź wieku pod żadnym pretekstem razem utrzymywane i edukowane być nie mogą.” Ibidem.

⁴¹ “Pod nim słuchałem matematyki, geografii, historii. On dodał ostrogi skłonnemu do nauk umysłowi i po zwyczajnych godzinach zajmował pochopnem dzieł znakomitych czytaniem.” Pamiętnik Franciszka Wężyka, Ossol. ref. no. 12313/II, p. 3.

⁴² “przyrodzonych nauk i znajomości starożytnych języków,” F. Wężyk, Autobiografia, BN, ref.no. MS 9989 II, c. 2.

⁴³ “każda prywatna szkoła sprowadzić może zwichnięcie celu wychowania, bo wykonywa myśl i usposobienie jednego tylko człowieka,” ibidem.

⁴⁴ “w wyobrażeniach zamęt,” ibidem.

⁴⁵ W.Z. Łyjak, *Ignacy Dominik Radziszewski (1782-1853) i jego familia*, “Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej,” 65/2015, p. 9-10.

⁴⁶ *Wspomnienia przeszłości od lat młodocianych aż do późnego wieku Ignacego Dominika Radziszewskiego*, ed. E. Kipa, “Pamiętnik Świętokrzyski” 1930, p. 237.

⁴⁷ F.T. Borowski, *Dekret kasacyjny z roku 1819 i jego wykonanie w stosunku do zakonów diecezji sandomierskiej*, “Studia Sandomierskie,” 18/2011, no. 1, p. 148; biography of Fr. Mołętowski see R. Stępień, *Pokasacyjne losy ostatnich zakonników z klasztoru benedyktynów na Świętym Krzyżu*, “Almanach Historyczny,” 24/2022, p. 120-121.

⁴⁸ See R. Stępień, *Pokasacyjne losy*, p. 117-118.

⁴⁹ See M. Derwich, *Szkoły w dobrach i parafiach opactwa łysogórskiego*, in: *Nauczanie w dawnych wiekach. Edukacja w średniowieczu i u progu ery nowożytnej. Polska na tle Europy*, eds. W. Iwańczak, K. Bracha, Kielce 1997, p. 58.

consideration, repeating the assurance expressed in the letter... which they have faithfully deserved with their dedication.”⁵⁰ This is further evidence of the school’s existence at the end of the 18th century. It might have initially operated as a boarding school, served as a boarding house for noble children, and then became a public school. It is known that the public school operated from 1807 onwards, still run under the leadership of Fr. Mołętowski, and had 79 students in 1815.⁵¹ Whether it was a school run by the Benedictines or if it really served as a boarding school is not entirely clear. It is also possible that there was a boarding house linked with the school, which is why it was referred to as a boarding school,⁵² as mentioned not only in Radziszewski’s memoirs.

Ignacy Humnicki was sent to the “excellent” boarding school run by the aforementioned Fr. Mołętowski at Słupia at the age of seven. This happened in 1805. About a dozen boys studied there. This boarding school had a good reputation and attracted young people “from distant regions.” The memoirist fondly recalls his education and observes that children aged ten or twelve should attend private boarding schools rather than public schools or study at home, where “the indulgence of mothers often undermines even the best intentions of teachers.” Humnicki remained at the boarding school for three years, where he learned “reading, writing, arithmetic, and the basics of French and German.” Because this school was near his family home, his parents often visited him, and he would spend holidays at home, and “almost every Sunday, his mother would send gingerbread cookies and pies.”⁵³ Interestingly, it is likely that girls, daughters of “local citizens,” also attended Fr. Mołętowski’s boarding school, sent there to learn French, taught by “Mafran, a Frenchman” and probably Fr. Mołętowski himself, who “spoke fluent French.”⁵⁴

From 1801 to 1807, there was a “higher male boarding school” in Warsaw, which “for the newly established Warsaw Lyceum served as what a noble boarding school was for the public schools of the Piarist Fathers.”⁵⁵ The founders were two former Piarists, Konstanty Wolski and Ludwik Osieński.⁵⁶ Both gained experience in teaching during their time as friars. “Gazeta Warszawska” reported: “with the permission of the authorities, Konstantyn Wolski and Ludwik Osieński are establishing a male boarding school. Their agreement covers all the necessary details concerning matters of the heart, mind, talents, and economic organization. The possibility and professional work aimed at becoming useful ensure that the effect of their agreement, and thus the hopes and trust of parents, will be met.” The founders encouraged parents to enrol their children and provided the opening

⁵⁰ “studentów naszych a profesorów [...] mocno ich względem polecamy powtarzając dla nich to zaręczenie, którem wyraził w liście [...] a na które sami aplikacją wierną zasłużyli,” Archiwum Państwowe w Warszawie, Oddział w Pułtusk, zespół 1 Archiwum konwentu plocko-pułtuskiego benedyktynów, ref. no. 417, p. 1.

⁵¹ J. Gacki, *Benedyktynski klasztor Świętego Krzyża na Lysej Górze*, Warszawa 1873, p. 140.

⁵² That is according to Gacki, see *Benedyktynski klasztor Świętego Krzyża*, p. 140.

⁵³ “matka prawie co niedziela przysyłała pierniczków i placków,” *Pamiętniki Ignacego Humnickiego podał Zygmunt Humnicki*, Warszawa 1913, p. 9.

⁵⁴ “mówiący płynnie po francusku,” J. Gacki, *Benedyktynski klasztor Świętego Krzyża*, p. 140-141.

⁵⁵ “wyższa pensja męska,” która „dla nowo założonego Liceum warszawskiego była tem, czem konwikt szlachecki dla szkół publicznych księży pijarów,” F.S. Dmochowski, *Życie, dzieła i epoka Ludwika Osieńskiego*, in: *Dzieła Ludwika Osieńskiego*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1861, p. VI.

⁵⁶ R. Skręt, *Osieński Ludwik*, in: *Polski Słownik Bibliograficzny*, vol. 24, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk, p. 339-346.

time of the boarding school “between Easter and St. John’s Day,”⁵⁷ which falls between April 5-6 and June 24, 1801.

The founders prepared an announcement for the “public” about their intentions. It was a publication issued in Warsaw titled *Układ edukacji w pensyi nowo otworzonej* (*Arrangement of Education in the Newly Opened Boarding School*). In it, the main principles, intentions, and aspirations of the boarding school founders were presented. They expressed their deep conviction that they were capable of fulfilling the task they undertook. Based on the assumption that “there is nothing more important for a person than education,”⁵⁸ the text systematically addressed the most significant issues related to education. According to the authors, education encompasses “reason, virtue, and talent.” In educating the mind, the most important aspect is the “development of reasoning and judgment”⁵⁹ in young individuals. The *Układ* outlines the scope of studies in the three planned classes.

In the first class, where students are “beginners,” they will be given “the first, shortest, and brightest knowledge from those sciences that appeal more to the senses.”⁶⁰ It was planned to include “reading in each language,” namely French, German, Polish, and Latin as well as subjects such as “arithmetic, geography, natural history, moral maxims” in these four languages. In this class, most attention will be paid to “engaging the children’s attention and alertness, sharpening their curiosity, arousing exaggeration, and keeping their minds active.”⁶¹

In the second class, in which students are “familiarized already with the initial knowledge of the sciences themselves and of the words, they will now enter a sequence of sciences and will be able to handle increasingly difficult matters with greater ease.”⁶² At this stage of learning, subjects from the first class will be continued but expanded with new elements. New subjects will be introduced, such as history, morals, grammatical rules of the four languages, geometry, and basic knowledge of algebra and physics. Supplementary to school learning were to be “private exercises” involving “translations of various authors’ thoughts from one language to another.”⁶³

The third class “will consist of students who can already reason and think for themselves” and is supposed to cover the following subjects: “history, both past and present, solid geometry, algebra, physics, logic, elocution, poetry, law, and political geography.”⁶⁴

Having presented the subjects in each class, the authors included remarks regarding important issues related to the functioning of the school on various levels. Firstly, pedagogical

⁵⁷ “between Easter and St. John’s Day,” “Gazeta Warszawska,” 1801, no. 30, p. 536.

⁵⁸ “nie masz nic dla człowieka ważniejszego nad edukację,” *Układ edukacji w pensyi nowo otworzonej za wiadomością i pozwoleniem Zwierzchności Krajowej pod dozorem Konstytyna Wolskiego i Ludwika Osińskiego*, Warszawa 1801, p. 4

⁵⁹ “tworzenie [...] rozsądku i zdania,” *ibidem*.

⁶⁰ “najpierwsze, najkrótsze i najjaśniejsze wiadomości z tych nauk, które więcej pod zmysły podpadają,” *ibidem*, p. 7.

⁶¹ “klasie na te najwięcej się będzie mieć baczności, aby dzieci wciągnąć w uwagę i przytomność, ciekawość w nich zaostrzać, wzbudzać przesadę i w czynności utrzymywać umysł,” *ibidem*, p. 8.

⁶² “oswojeni już przez początkowe wiadomości z naukami samemi i z wyrazami, wchodzić już będą w ciąg nauk i w trudniejszych coraz rzeczach z większą postępować łatwością,” *ibidem*.

⁶³ “tłumaczenia myśli rozmaitych autorów z jednego języka na drugi,” *ibidem*, p. 9.

⁶⁴ “historia średnia i terazniejsza, geometria o bryłach, algebra, fizyka, logika, wymowa, poezja, prawo i geografia polityczna,” *ibidem*, p. 12.

matters, or “remarks regarding the imparting of knowledge,” encompassing guidelines concerning an “interesting manner of imparting” it. It was necessary, therefore, to “enliven and maintain enthusiasm in the students,” to arouse their interest. Proper engagement of the teachers is indispensable. Furthermore, it is important to “repeat, bring images and knowledge closer together, demonstrate their usefulness,”⁶⁵ and to assess the acquired knowledge in semi-annual public examinations. In regard of language learning, it was envisaged that “the greatest amount of practice will be given to children,” meaning conversations, translations, and reading books in those languages.⁶⁶ Additionally, during leisure time away from school studies, it was envisaged that plays would be performed in foreign languages “thus developing confidence, alertness, and fluent pronunciation.”⁶⁷

Next, the “order of the day” was described, detailing the allocation of activities throughout the day to ensure that “students are not overloaded.” Thus, the daily schedule also included “playtime, rest, and personal tasks.”⁶⁸ The day was to begin at six o’clock; one hour was given for students to dress, recite morning prayers, and have breakfast. From seven to eight, there was time for individual preparation for school activities. Public classes were scheduled from eight to twelve, followed by two hours (until two o’clock) designated for “play, lunch, and private music lessons.”⁶⁹ The subsequent hours, “after lunch from two to five, a three-hour period will be devoted to public classes,” from five to half past five, “a break from work and afternoon snacks.”⁷⁰

The remaining time until eight o’clock “will be occupied by private tasks under the supervision of teachers in a room specifically designated for this purpose.” During this time, students could prepare for classes and read books. To conclude the day, common supper and recreation were scheduled from eight to ten. Two days, Wednesday and Saturday, after lunch were set aside for “exercises and private work.” On Saturday mornings, it was planned to “inspect each class and evaluate the students’ weekly progress as well as check the sexterns and books to see if they are properly maintained.”⁷¹

In the subsequent part of the brochure, the authors presented their plans regarding the number of students, aiming for a manageable number to maintain order more easily. They planned that there would be no more than fifteen local students. “There will be no more than thirty students attending public classes.”⁷² In total, there were to be forty-five students, with fifteen in each class. Before admission to the school, they planned to examine the boys to assign them to the appropriate class. There were to be four teachers: the authors themselves, along with instructors of French and German who were to participate in teaching not only languages.

In addition to the subjects mentioned above, skills such as dance, drawing, and music lessons were also considered, should parents so desire. Naturally, the curriculum included

⁶⁵ “powtarzanie, zbliżanie do siebie wyobrażeń i wiadomości, okazywanie ich użytku,” *ibidem*, p. 14.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 14-15.

⁶⁷ “przez co tworzyć się w nich będzie śmiałość, przytomność i gładka wymowa,” *ibidem*, p. 16.

⁶⁸ “zabawy, spoczynek i prywatne roboty,” *ibidem*.

⁶⁹ “czas na zabawę, obiad i prywatne lekcje muzyki,” *ibidem*, p. 17.

⁷⁰ “wytchnienie od pracy i podwieczerek,” *ibidem*.

⁷¹ “zwiedzanie każdej klasy i doświadczenie postępu tygodniowego w uczniach oraz przejrzenie seksternów i książek, czy są porządnie utrzymywane,” *ibidem*, p. 16-17.

⁷² “Przychodzących na same lekcje publiczne, nie będzie więcej nad trzydziestu,” *ibidem*, p. 18.

imparting moral principles and religious education. The authors assured that the students would be well cared for and would never be left unsupervised in any situation or place. They also outlined how they would guide and treat the children to ensure positive changes in their behaviour and protect them from corruption. The method involved closely monitoring the children, “constantly engaging the students and keeping their spirits active.”⁷³

The boarding school began its operations on June 1, 1801, not as planned at Podwale Street, but “in the house of His Excellency Chancellor Chreptowicz at Długa Street.” An announcement informing about the commencement of operations stated, “Citizens wishing to place their children in this school should apply early, before the intended number of students is reached.”⁷⁴ The mentioned building at Długa Street (currently numbered 8-14) previously belonged to the Theatines and housed their well-known boarding school for noble youth until 1787.⁷⁵

Despite various opinions, institutions of this kind operated and fulfilled a specific role. “What the boarding school at the Piarists provided was replaced at the Lyceum by private boarding schools for youth, operated by the very professors of those schools, which were housed in buildings belonging to the Saxon Palace,” writes Fryderyk Skarbek,⁷⁶ an alumnus of one such boarding school.

Some teachers associated with the Warsaw Lyceum ran boarding schools for its students, as mentioned by its rector in his inaugural speech. Listing the teachers, he noted that Konstanty Wolski and Józef Rousseau were engaged in “private education.”⁷⁷ Additionally, in an announcement regarding the Lyceum, it was mentioned that “among the Professors and teachers of the Lyceum, boarding students are accepted by the gentlemen Łęski, Stophasius, Rousseau, Beicht, Wolski, Werbusz, Kąkowski, with whom parents, etc., can arrange in advance.”⁷⁸ Another individual, Zuffi, received permission to open a “boarding school for boys affiliated with the Warsaw Lyceum.”⁷⁹

At the boarding school run by physics professor Michał Matuszewski, Andrzej Edward Koźmian resided. When his father enrolled him in the school, he decided to place the boy in “the best and least crowded boarding school,” from which his son would attend the Lyceum. Initially, there were only two or three students at this boarding school.⁸⁰ As the memoirist noted, “at first, there were only three of us at this boarding school. Later, with my father’s

⁷³ “zatrudnianie zawsze uczniów i utrzymywanie w czynności ich duszy,” *ibidem*, p.25.

⁷⁴ “Obywatele chcący w tej pensji umieścić dzieci swe, zachęca wcześniej się zgłaszać, nim zamierzona liczba uczniów dopełniona będzie,” *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1801, no. 46, p. 816.

⁷⁵ R. Pelczar, *Teatyni w Warszawie w XVIII w.*, “Nasza Przeszłość,” 108/2007, p. 147-181; K. Puchowski, *Edukacja „losem urodzenia wyznaczonych” w warszawskim kolegium teatynów (1737-1785)*, in: *Między barokiem a oświeceniem. Sarmacki konterfekt*, ed. S. Achremczyk, Olsztyn 2002, p. 79-94.

⁷⁶ “To, co u pijarów świadczył konwikt, to zastąpione było przy Liceum pensjami prywatnymi dla młodzieży, utrzymywanymi przez samych profesorów tej szkoły, które się mieściły w budowlach do pałacu saskiego należących,” *Pamiętniki Fryderyka Skarbka*, Poznań 1878, p. 12.

⁷⁷ “prywatną edukację”. S.B. Linde, *Na uroczystość otwarcia Królewskiego Liceum Warszawskiego*, Warszawa 1805 (no page numbers).

⁷⁸ “z JPP. Profesorów i nauczycieli Liceum pensjonarów do siebie przyjmują panowie Łęski, Stophasius, Rousseau, Beicht, Wolski, Werbusz, Kąkowski, z którymi więc rodzice itd. zawczasu układać się mogą,” *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1805, no.17, p. 277.

⁷⁹ “pensji płci męskiej przywiązaną do Liceum Warszawskiego,” *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1812, no. 75, p. 1438.

⁸⁰ *Wspomnienia Andrzeja Edwarda Koźmiana*, in: *Pamiętniki z dziejów nastęgo wieku*, vol. 1, Poznań 1867, p. 165.

permission, three new companions joined us.” These were Seweryn Nieprzecki, Wincenty Józefowicz, Gustaw Grabowski, Walenty Sobolewski, Janusz Czosnowski, and Cezary Męciński.⁸¹

Konstanty Wolski ran his boarding school even while working at the Warsaw Lyceum. After his death, his wife took over the operation. The “Gazeta Warszawska” reported that “to satisfy the rightful concerns of parents whose sons are at the boarding school of the late Konstanty Wolski [...], it is announced that this boarding school continues to operate as usual; the widow, along with her mother and the deceased’s sister, take care of the household needs and will continue to do so, and the same teachers as before are engaged in supervising the youth at this boarding school and preparing them for lessons given at the Lyceum.”⁸² The rector of the Lyceum, Samuel Linde, pledged to provide special care to this boarding school.

Similarly, the widow of another boarding school owner for boys, Józef Rousseau, announced that “it is my endeavour to maintain the boarding school for the aforementioned students in the same manner as during the life of my late husband, with the assistance of Mr. Siebert, a teacher at the Lyceum, who is particularly engaged in their lesson reviews, as well as a Frenchman for language practice.”⁸³ Samuel Linde also supervised this boarding school, without much flaunting this fact.⁸⁴ Kalikst Horoch mentioned staying at Professor Linde’s boarding school; in 1809, his father placed him and his brothers under the Lyceum rector’s care. The boys were looked after by the Piarist priest, Fr. Skolimowski, who lived with them in the Saxon Palace.⁸⁵ Fryderyk Skarbek, in turn, noted that Linde was reluctant to take in students, but made an exception for him, yielding to the pleas of Skarbek’s mother, who had once been his student, although “he did not keep other boarders.”⁸⁶

Boarding schools for boys also operated in other cities during this period. In Lviv, near the Bernardine monastery, a Frenchman named Glaise ran such a boarding school, having “a selection of youth under his care.” As noted by a local alumnus, Kalikst Horoch, “Glaise taught us French and geography, while Professor Nerunowicz taught German, arithmetic, and Latin.”⁸⁷

In the times of the Duchy of Warsaw, when education was overseen by the Chamber of Education, there was interest in such institutions accepting male youth. Among other things, Samuel B. Linde was commissioned to draft an examination for individuals

⁸¹ Ibidem, p. 167.

⁸² “dla zaspokojenia słusznej troskliwości rodziców mających synów swoich na pensji ś.p. Konstantego Wolskiego [...] donosi się, iż pensja ta zwyczajnym trybem utrzymuje się; że pozostała wdowa z matką swoją i siostrą nieboszczyka zaradzają i zaradzać będą domowym potrzebom, a metrowie ciż sami, co dawniej trudnią się dozowaniem młodzieży na tejże pensji zostającej i przygotowywaniem jej do lekcji w Liceum dawanych,” “Gazeta Warszawska,” 1810, no. 94, supplement, p. 1680.

⁸³ “staraniem mojem jest utrzymywać u siebie pensją dla wspomnianych uczniów tym samym trybem, jak za życia nieboszczyka ś. p. męża mego, a to przy pomocy JP. Sieberta, nauczyciela Liceum, który się szczególnie trudni repetycją z niemi lekcji, tudzież i Francuz dla wprawy języka,” “Gazeta Warszawska,” 1814, no. 21, p. 359-360.

⁸⁴ M. Ptaszek, *Liceum Warszawskie*, p. 114.

⁸⁵ *Pamiętnik Kaliksta bar. Horocha, kapitana kwatremistrzostwa wojska polskiego*, Lwów 1882, p. 2.

⁸⁶ “innych pensjonariuszy nie trzymał,” *Pamiętniki Fryderyka Skarbka*, p. 15.

⁸⁷ “Glaise uczył nas języka francuskiego i geografii, profesor Nerunowicz języka niemieckiego, rachunków i łaciny,” *Pamiętnik Kaliksta bar. Horocha*, p. 1.

wishing to establish boarding schools.⁸⁸ It was decided that anyone who wanted to run such an institution had to pass an exam before a special commission, but this applied only to those who wanted to set up new boarding schools and did not include those who were already running them.⁸⁹ Unfortunately, these plans were not implemented, and the boarding schools continued to operate according to the intentions of their founders. According to data from 1812, there were 67 boarding schools and higher education institutions for boys operating across the country, with approximately 800 students enrolled in them.⁹⁰ Such institutions were generally not viewed positively by educational activists; some, like J.K. Szaniawski, even proposed their abolition, while others pointed to the need for regulating their operations through legislation.

This was done, among others, by Józef Lipiński in his work published in 1815 reflecting on the state of education. According to his considerations, boarding schools for boys were primarily places where young people lived while attending public schools. As such, they should be subject to the supervision of the rectors of these schools. However, the existing boarding schools depended entirely on the people who run them and hence “there are indecencies everywhere.” Perhaps, according to Lipiński, boarding schools intended for a larger number of students would be better, and above all, permission should be granted for their establishment to “private individuals known for their qualities, learning, and predisposition to maintain such institutions.”⁹¹

During the period under discussion, boarding schools for boys underwent diversification. On the one hand, they were a kind of boarding schools where students lived together and received education under the supervision of the boarding school owner and teachers selected by him. The owners of these boarding schools cared not only for education and upbringing but also provided accommodation and maintenance for boys coming from outside the city where such an institution was located. Such boarding schools were regulated by the regulations of the Educational Commission. However, there were also other boarding schools, operating alongside schools. Young people attended school for education while residing in the boarding school. There, under the supervision and guidance of appropriate individuals, they could prepare for lessons, learn what was assigned at school, etc. In such cases, these institutions served as boarding houses rather than schools.

This type of educational institution continued to operate in subsequent periods of Polish history, although they did not play as significant a role as they did in the discussed period. This was seen as indicative of an increasing trust in public education.⁹²

⁸⁸ Z. Kukulski, *Udział Staszica w pracach Izby Edukacyjnej (1807-1812)*, Lublin 1927, p. 6.

⁸⁹ A. Winiarz, *Szkolnictwo Księstwa Warszawskiego i Królestwa Polskiego*, p. 315.

⁹⁰ Ibidem.

⁹¹ “osobom prywatnym znanym z przymiotów, z nauki i z wszelkiego do utrzymania takowych instytucyj usposobienia,” J. Lipiński, *O edukacji publicznej i o jej udoskonaleniu*, Warszawa 1815, p. 37-39.

⁹² A. Winiarz, *Szkolnictwo Księstwa Warszawskiego i Królestwa Polskiego*, p. 316.

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