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FRANCONIA AS SEEN BY PRINCE
STANISŁAW PONIATOWSKI IN 1784

1. Prince Stanisław Poniatowski (1754–1833)

In the 18th c. Poles did not set out abroad as frequently as in previous centuries, however, many persons, for various purposes, travelled to foreign countries. While in the first half of the 18th c. these travels were made above all by magnates, rich noblemen and clergymen, in the second half of that century they were more and more frequently taken up by writers, politicians, scientists and scholars. The magnates, e.g. Counts Michał Jerzy and Józef Mniszech, did not drop their travelling habits, either. In August and September 1765 the brothers visited Germany, and the description of this journey, left by Michał Jerzy, shows its modern, physiocratic character, typical of the Enlightenment period¹. One of such Polish peregrinators characteristic of Enlightenment was the nephew of the last Polish King, Stanislaus Augustus.

Stanisław Poniatowski was born in Warsaw on 23 February 1754 as the son of Kazimierz and Apolonia née Ustrzycka². He was educated in Warsaw, first in the Theatine boarding school, and from the autumn of 1766 till 1769 in the Knights' School. Since he was the favourite nephew of King Stanislaus Augustus, who saw him as his successor, he was soon in the good graces of the monarch; among other things, as a fifteen year old boy he was appointed the colonel of the royal guards.

¹ M. Bratuń, *Die polnische Deutschlandreise in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts am Beispiel von Graf Michael Georg Mniszechs Reisebeschreibung 1765*, "Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert" Y. 24, 2000, No 1, pp. 13–24.

² So far there has appeared no scholarly biography of Prince Stanisław Poniatowski; the basic biographical data have been drawn from: J. Michalski, *Poniatowski Stanisław (1754–1833)*, *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 27, Wrocław 1983, pp. 481–487; M. Brandys, *Nieznaný książę Poniatowski (The Unknown Prince Poniatowski)*, 2nd ed., Kraków 1996.

In 1771 Poniatowski was sent by Stanislaus Augustus on a trip to England. He reached London in September, in 1772 made a journey around the country, followed by several months of studies in Oxford. His stay in England made a great impact on his views as well as his manners. His plans to visit Scotland and Ireland were not fulfilled; because of family problems he returned to Poland. He did not stay here long, and at the end of 1773 we find him in Paris, from where through Southern France and Switzerland he went to Italy. In August 1775 he returned home where he was posted to the command of three royal regiments of cavalry. In 1776 he was elected deputy to the Sejm, at the end of which the King appointed him as a member of the Commission of National Education.

At the beginning of December 1776 Poniatowski went on an official diplomatic mission to Petersburg, to thank Catherine II of Russia for support given to the King and the Permanent Council and for her consent to abolish some acts of the Partition Sejm. His task was also to endeavour to obtain Russian support against the difficulties and devious practices directed against Polish commerce by the Prussian administration. In case of a good reception and favourable atmosphere, he was to undertake negotiations on a Polish–Russian alliance and further reforms of the Polish system. The mission was unsuccessful.

In 1778 Poniatowski delivered his first speech at the Sejm (the 4th of November). It was devoted primarily to the problems of Polish foreign trade. He was also deputy to the Sejm of 1780, where he was chosen the Speaker of the Permanent Council. During the 1786–1787 term he was President of Treasury Department of this Council. In 1783 he took up a general lease of the royal domain in Lithuania, and a year later he was appointed Grand Treasurer of Lithuania. His activities in this post are not known.

In the spring of 1785 he went to Italy, from where he returned next year. In the last years before the Great Sejm he took part in the sessions of a group of several leaders of the royal party. He was critical of the Sejm itself and was not very active at its sessions. At the end of 1790 he resigned his office as Grand Treasurer of Lithuania as well as his other functions and posts. He was not in favour of the 3rd of May Constitution, for he did not believe it could be put into practice. In November 1791 he left the country. Via Vienna, where at the request of Stanislaus

Augustus he tried to obtain Austrian support for the Constitution of the 3rd May, he went to Rome. He came back to Poland in 1795 to take the oath of allegiance and regain his estates seized by the Russians. He stayed in Grodno, Petersburg and Moscow, then went to Warsaw where he made a decision to sell all his estates in the territory of the old Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and emigrate. Upon the death of Stanislaus Augustus he took over a considerable part of the huge royal archives, and took to Austria the items that he considered the most valuable; their whereabouts are unknown to this day.

At the beginning of the 19th c. he settled in Rome, then moved to Florence. Henceforward he devoted himself to artistic interests, building up a rich collection of paintings, drawings, antique sculptures, vases and gems.

Having left the country, Poniatowski, although interested in the course of events in Poland, never took part in them any more. In 1814 he refused to give his financial support to the construction of a monument memorial to his cousin, Prince Józef Poniatowski. On 31 August 1830 he legalized his long-standing concubinage with Cassandra Luci. He died in Florence on 13 February 1833.

2. Stanisław Poniatowski's travel around Germany in 1784

In the spring and summer of 1784 Stanisław Poniatowski made a three months' journey around the countries of Germany. He set out with his retinue from Warsaw on 11 May 1784. His diary does not show how many people accompanied him. One can suppose that they were many, including musicians and draughtsmen who made sketches of the highlights which Prince Stanisław thought worth remembering. We know that his aide on this journey was a man named Hackel. From Georg Forster's diary we learn that there were also Lust, an Englishman, the Prince's physician and secretary, as well as Jan Jaśkiewicz (1750–1809), a physician and naturalist, professor of Cracow University³. The fourth participant in the journey we know of was Mateusz Nielubowicz–Tukalski, the secretary of the Lithuanian Treasury, well-known

³ *Polska stanisławowska w oczach cudzoziemców (Poland Under Stanislaus Augustus in the Eyes of Foreigners)*, vol. 2, edited and with an introduction by Waclaw Zaważki, Warszawa 1963, pp. 44 and 801, note 2.

scientist and close associate of Bishop Adam Naruszewicz and Tadeusz Czacki⁴.

Poniatowski started along the route generally taken by Poles: through Błonie, Sochaczew, Słupca to Poznań. Hence the road led straight to the Silesian border. Apart from Berlin Poniatowski visited such towns as Frankfurt-an-der-Oder, Magdeburg, Helmstedt, Wolfenbüttel, Brunswick, Hanover, Hameln, Göttingen, Kassel, Goslar, Wittenberg, Halle, Merseburg, Leipzig, Dresden, Erlangen, Nuremberg, Augsburg, Munich, Landshut, Regensburg, Prague, Vienna and many other minor localities.

He made this journey to Germany on an official state mission. Stanislaus Augustus, while sending his nephew, entrusted him among other things, with a duty to represent Poland at the annual manoeuvres of the Prussian Army, which took place near Berlin. Poniatowski, who was then general-lieutenant of the Polish Crown Army and commander of guard infantry, was to take part as an observer. However, of more importance were the economic purposes of the young Prince's mission. The economic relations between Poland and Prussia were not among the best at that time⁵, Poles were affected above all by Frederick the Second's unfair custom system. Poniatowski knew these problems, made speeches at the Sejm on Polish tariff policy, and maintained wide-ranging contacts with German merchants and bankers. Therefore he was ordered to intervene in the matter of taxes, as well as find out whether the economic exchange between Poland and German countries might be animated⁶. Among these economic matters there was one that seemed most concrete. "One of the reasons for my journey to Germany was to seek the manner of utilization of the investments near Grodno, where Mr. Tyzenhauz spent millions on the construction of six-storey buildings and a whole town surrounded by a wall, where manufactories and workers were to be placed. Fortunately, out of the whole project only the buildings were erected. However, something had

⁴ M. Brandys, *Nieznany książę Poniatowski*, p. 69.

⁵ On this subject see, among others J. A. Wilder, *Traktat handlowy polsko-pruski z roku 1775. Gospodarcze znaczenie utraty dostępu do morza (The Polish-Prussian Trade Treaty of 1775. The Economic Significance of the Loss of Access to the Sea)*, Warszawa 1937; *Relacje Jerzego Woyna-Okołowa, przedstawiciela Rzeczypospolitej w Królewcu w latach 1792-1794 (The Report by Jerzy Woyna-Okołow, Poland's Representative in Königsberg in the Years 1792-1794)*, ed. J. Wijaczka, Toruń 1999.

⁶ M. Brandys, *Nieznany książę Poniatowski*, p. 67.

to be done. I went to Herrnhut and talked to the manager of these works, and met some respectable persons. They told me frankly they had no specialists to whom, with full confidence, they could entrust such a great enterprise. Therefore the whole matter had to be suspended”⁷. This is how Prince Stanisław Poniałowski himself presented briefly in his diaries the economic purpose of his journey in 1784.

A testimony to Prince Stanisław Poniałowski's travels around the German countries is his diary, preserved in the Ossoliński Library in Wrocław. This diary has not aroused much interest among Polish historians, although it had been known for a long time and used among others by Jerzy Wojtowicz⁸. The reason for this might perhaps be the fact that it related mostly to the history of Germany⁹. A little fragment of this document, concerning Poniałowski's journey across Silesia, was published by Andrzej Zieliński years ago¹⁰. The diary was discussed and used in Stanisław Poniałowski's biography by Marian Brandys¹¹;

⁷ Stanisław Poniałowski, *Pamiętniki synowca Stanisława Augusta (The Memoirs of Stanislaus Augustus' Nephew)*, translated and with an introduction by Jerzy Łojek, in: J. Łojek, *Stanisław August Poniałowski i jego czasy*, Warszawa 1998, pp. 244–414, here p. 316.

⁸ J. Wojtowicz, *Miasto europejskie w epoce oświecenia i rewolucji francuskiej (The European City in the Age of Enlightenment and the French Revolution)*, Warszawa 1972, p. 18. The manuscript of the *Diary*, written in Polish on both sides of the paper, runs into 292 pages numbered by the author in the right upper corner up to page 244, where the text of the diary comes to a stop; the further numbering was made later in pencil. We may guess that some part of the diary is missing, since on page 245 begins a “Register of material and places contained in this diary”. It shows that the further journey led the Prince's retinue from Grzybowa Góra near Wąchock, where the manuscript breaks off, to Grodno. The diary is written in the first person, all by one hand, however, this is not the hand of Prince Poniałowski. Some of its records show that the text was most probably prepared on the basis of the notes made earlier. We do not know when the diary was written out. The date of its preparation may be guessed on the basis of the information it contains about the wife of the Chamberlain of Radom, Ludwika Podkańska. Considering that the office of Chamberlain of Radom appeared only in 1794, the diary was probably written after that date.

⁹ In this context the diary was discussed by Ignacy Z. Siemion, *O podróży rekonesansowej księcia Stanisława Poniałowskiego. Przyczynek do historii polsko-niemieckich kontaktów naukowych (On the Reconnaissance Journey of Prince Stanisław Poniałowski. A Contribution to the History of Polish-German Scholarly Contacts)*, “Analecta. Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Nauki”, Y. 2, 1993, fasc. 2, pp. 133–153.

¹⁰ *Polskie podróże po Śląsku w XVIII i XIX wieku (do 1863 r.) (Polish Travels Around Silesia in the 18th and 19th Century, Until 1863)*, comp. by A. Zieliński, Wrocław 1974, pp. 54–59.

¹¹ M. Brandys, *Nieznaný książę Poniałowski*, pp. 67–92.

the latter, however, seems to have given too much rein to his imagination, for he wrote that its final record of 25 August runs: "While leaving Brno, I saw on the way some Negro with a few hussars, who called himself the chief of some pirates..."¹² There is no such fragment in the manuscript. Probably Brandys, a publicist, wanted to add some colour to the diary, which he terms as "a boring text, here and there difficult to wade through"¹³. The fact remains that the diary is filled with details, since Prince Stanisław was interested in literally everything, including the types of soil. He described in minute detail manufactories and mines, as well as technological processes, and pondered on the possibility of commercial exchange. This was, however, in keeping with the purpose of his travels. The diary is full of information on the extent of labour dues and rents, data concerning agricultural techniques and animal-breeding or observations concerning the state of forestry. With the economic purpose of his travel in view, he rarely jotted down any remarks on the landscape through which he passed. A beautiful country, in his opinion, was above all synonymous with one that is densely populated and well administered.

Only a year ago the diary, running into two hundred pages, was published in full¹⁴.

3. Franconia in Prince Stanisław Poniatowski's travel diary

One of the German regions through which Stanisław Poniatowski passed during his travel was Franconia¹⁵. Coming from Bohemia, he reached Bayreuth on 31 July 1784. As he himself said, this was his second stay in this city, therefore he did not bother to see the sights¹⁶. Unfortunately, it is not known when he had visited this town for the first time. Probably he had seen Bayreuth

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 92.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

¹⁴ *Stanisława księcia Poniatowskiego Dziennik podróży w roku 1784 w kraje niemieckie przedsięwziętej* (*The Diary of the Travel to the German Countries Taken up by Prince Stanisław Poniatowski in 1784*), ed. J. Wijaczka, Kielce 2002 (henceforward cit.: *Diary*).

¹⁵ Franconia is here understood as the area of the so-called Ostfranken, embracing the bishoprics of Bamberg and Würzburg, the abbeys of Fulda and Hersfeld, a few counties, among others Henneberg and Hohenlohe, and among bigger cities Nuremberg and Augsburg.

¹⁶ *Diary*, p. 194.

during his earlier journeys to France in 1771 or 1775. This time, he only stayed one night. Next morning he resumed his journey. He reached Truppach by a good road, and from there he made two miles to Streitberg by a very bad road; as he observed, roads in the Bamberg bishopric were not repaired at all.

According to Poniatowski, this part of the country, beginning with Streitberg, looked best in comparison with those the Prince had seen so far. The peasants sowed various types of grain, on lighter soil they planted tobacco, while on better land they set up numerous orchards and nurseries, where the young trees were planted close together. The local peasants traded in fruit-trees, which they sold to Russia, Poland and Lithuania. This brought them good profit, although the prices were not high¹⁷. The most prosperous merchants trading in trees lived in the village named Poxdorf, where the Prince stayed, and in the village Effeltrich¹⁸. Apart from the seedlings the peasants sold much fruit in Erlangen and Nuremberg, and when there was an especially good crop of apples, pears and plums, they used part of it to produce alcohol, drunk by common folk. The orchards were not very large, but there were many of them on mountain slopes. Apart from that, many plum and cherry-trees were planted in rows which surrounded the fields. The Prince was interested why the trees were not planted one next to another in the fields. The peasants answered that experience showed that if the corn was sown between the trees for several successive years this made the trees wither. It was better to plant the trees in the orchards or in rows.

On these estates the peasants were not bound to any labour dues or manorial work, but only paid a general rent. Poniatowski saw many handsome houses, although most of them had a timber-framed brick-filled construction. All the buildings were covered with tiled roofs, and some were surrounded by a fine wall made of stone blocks. Some of the public ovens for bread had stone fronts, too. The small river Wisent flowing through this valley enhanced the landscape and largely contributed to the benefit of the inhabitants. On both of its banks extended beautiful meadows, irrigated, and crossed by ditches. In Bayreuth there

¹⁷ K. Kupfer, *Forcheim. Geschichte einer alten fränkischen Stadt*, Nürnberg 1960, pp. 121–123; F. Schnellbögel, *Die wirtschaftliche Bedeutung ihres Landesgebietes für die Reichstadt Nürnberg*, in: *Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte Nürnbergs*, ed. Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, vol. 1, Nürnberg 1967, p. 265.

¹⁸ *Diary*, p. 195.

were many big iron-smelting furnaces, and among the ores excavated in this principality there was copper, and recently discovered layers of cobalt, supposedly of good quality.

Both principalities, Ansbach and Bayreuth, were said to bring an annual revenue of 1,800,000 imperial guildens¹⁹, while in the Bamberg and Würzburg bishoprics this revenue amounted to 3,000,000 guildens²⁰.

In the evening Poniatowski reached Erlangen and there he was visited by the professor of the local academy²¹, Johann D. Schreiber²², who lectured on botany and economics. While describing this city Poniatowski remarked that there were several factories, among others one of mirrors²³ and one of *Kattun* (thick cotton)²⁴. The city itself was quite nice and built on a regular plan. The local academy taught 300 students, among them large groups of those from Courland, Livonia and Russia, as well as a few Englishmen²⁵.

¹⁹ *Diary*, p. 197; in 1791 J. D. A. Höck published statistical tables where he presented among other things the revenues of Franconian rulers. According to him the Duchy of Ansbach brought one million guildens, while the Duchy of Bayreuth 900,000 guildens; J. D. A. Höck, *Statistische Tabelle über die GröÙe, Volksmenge und Einkünfte der Fränkischen Kreisländer*, "Journal von und für Franken" 1971, 16, pp. 711-713; R. S. Elkar, *Franken im Bild seiner Journale — ein Überblick am Ausgang des Alten Reich*, in: *121. Bericht des Historischen Vereins Bamberg 1985*, p. 203.

²⁰ R. S. Elkar, *Franken im Bild seiner Journale*, p. 203, says that in 1791 the bishopric of Würzburg brought one million guildens, while the bishopric of Bamberg 700,000 guildens.

²¹ The University of Erlangen was opened with ceremony on 4 November 1743, and its founder was margrave Friedrich von Brandenburg-Bayreuth (1735-1763); A. Wendehorst, *Geschichte der Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg 1743-1993*, München 1993, pp. 11-32.

²² Johann Daniel Schreiber (1739-1810), obtained his doctorate at the University of Uppsala (Sweden) in 1760 as a student of Linnaeus; in 1769 he was appointed professor of botany and natural history (*Naturgeschichte*) as well as economics and cameralistics (*Kammeralwissenschaften*) at Erlangen; A. Wendehorst, *Geschichte der Friedrich-Alexander-Universität*, pp. 39-40.

²³ *Diary*, p. 199; The mirror factory was established in 1744, and about 1775 it produced about 800 mirrors per week; R. H. Paulus, *Strukturwandlungen der gewerblichen Wirtschaft Erlangens vom Spätmittelalters bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Erlangen 1963, pp. 62-63.

²⁴ In 1751 one of the dyers applied for the privilege to establish and run a "Gewand-, Kattun- und Seidendruckerei" in Erlangen. In 1775 there were already three factories of *Kattun* in this city, one of them much bigger than the other two. In 1775 it produced 18,000 pieces of *Kattun*, 1/3 of which were exported; R. H. Paulus, *Strukturwandlungen*, pp. 52-53.

²⁵ *Diary*, p. 199.

Poniatowski stayed in Erlangen until the next day (2nd of August). As he wrote, he found no curiosities there. He only mentioned a garden near the margravine's palace, regular in shape, at the end of which there was a theatre²⁶. After dinner he left for Nuremberg, situated two miles away. The prince recorded that he reached this town through the Ansbach principality, through villages with fine houses showing that the peasants were quite rich. Although the fields were sandy, they yielded a good crop of corn. A lot of tobacco was also grown. The road was well-tended²⁷.

The territory of the Ansbach principality reached almost to Nuremberg itself, which state extended for six miles in the direction of Bavaria. Although this area was full of townships and villages, Nuremberg could not finish paying the debt it incurred during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) in order to provide its military contingent of 1,200 people to the imperial army²⁸.

Nuremberg had a population of 25,000 at that time. Both in the city and beyond its toll-gates there were many factories producing local goods, such as toys for children, various steel items and other simple household effects, as well as paper. There were also factories producing *Kattun* and mirrors. They were not big enterprises. The merchants bought what they needed there. This trade developed most energetically with America, Turkey, Russia, Poland and several other states. However it had suffered great losses and shrunk considerably since the time similar factories were established in other countries.

The city was in debt²⁹, not so much, however, as to be unable to pay it off with time, especially as its annual revenues amounted to over 4 million German guildens, half of which was brought by the territories belonging to the city, and another half by the tariffs, municipal taxes and interest on capitals.

Poniatowski thought that the city would be in a much better financial situation if it did not have to pay numerous, and

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ In 1776 Nuremberg had a debt of 9,243,357 florins; I. Bog, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im Merkantilismus*, in: *Nürnberg — Geschichte einer europäischen Stadt*, ed. G. Pfeiffer, München 1971, p. 322 as well as *Über den Finanz-Zustand der freien Reichs-Stadt Nürnberg*, "Ansbachische Monatsschrift", Y. 1, 1793, pp. 287–296.

completely superfluous officials. He thought this was the result of the rule of the urban aristocracy³⁰. The city was involved in boundary disputes, the longest of which, with the margrave of Ansbach, had continued for 200 years. This litigation had cost both sides enormous sums.

Prince Stanisław Poniatowski visited the town hall, where his eye was attracted only by a few portraits of emperors as well as the picture representing the banquet given by the city on the occasion of the implementation of the Resolutions of the Peace of Westphalia. This picture, entitled "Friedensmahl", was painted by Joachim von Sandrart (1606–1688). Then he visited two churches, Sebalduskirche³¹ and Lorenzkirche, (the latter appealed to him more). In the latter church there was a reliquary built in the form of tower, so light and delicate, it seemed unbelievable it could be made of stone. Rumour had it that the sculptor knew the secret of softening stone, however, Prince Poniatowski supposed he might have used a mass similar to cement³². Besides, he thought the reliquary not to be in the best taste. In the vestry he was shown various robes of the priests studded with pearls, which remained from Catholic times. Since the inhabitants of Nuremberg, the Prince said, had a special predilection for trinkets, the Lutheran pastors paraded in these robes every Sunday³³.

The Prince emphasized that tolerance was so great in this city that the municipalities turned over one of its Lutheran churches to the Catholics, who did not have their own church.

Subsequently Poniatowski visited a third church, one holding a very beautiful picture by Anthony Van Dyck (1599–1641), representing the deposition of Christ from the Cross. The church in question was that of St. Aegidius, the oldest church in Nuremberg, the construction of which began about 1150.

The Prince also visited the museum (a collection of curiosities) established by Johann Paul Ebner von Eschenbach (1641–1691), where he found nothing particularly interesting. He also saw the merchants trading in copperplate engravings and many

³⁰ *Diary*, p. 200.

³¹ Sebalduskirche — the first big parish church in Nuremberg built around 1273 in honour of the local, later officially canonized saint.

³² *Diary*, p. 201.

³³ *Ibid.*

other things, among them strings for musical instruments, imported from Rome and subsequently sent also to Poland. Then he visited a tradesman called Wild who dealt in copperplate engravings, drawings and paintings, but — in Poniatowski's opinion — his trade was dishonest, based on fakes³⁴. Then he went to see a performance of German comedy. The theatre turned out to be poor, without boxes, and the play itself awful.

The next day (the 4th of August) Poniatowski visited The Braun Museum, enjoying the greatest renown, which had a collection of many objects as well as drawings and paintings, however, in the Prince's opinion of mediocre value. Bischof, the physicist, showed him some experiments with electricity, among other things he imitated a thunderbolt hitting one of the houses in Nuremberg, where two slates were knocked off, and fragments of wooden window-frames were singed, etc.

Prince Poniatowski left Nuremberg on the morning of 5 August 1784. The first 6 miles of his journey were through a thinly-wooded sandy land; nevertheless the townships and villages seemed quite prosperous. One might wonder at their good condition, and even more at the fact that they thrived on forest trade. All this territory belonged to the Duchy of Ansbach. The Prince passed this city by, however, he did not find anything interesting to see there. Having covered those 6 miles he entered a nicer country, which seemed even more beautiful as he approached Bavaria. Near the bank of the Danube he passed by the beautifully situated Kaiserkloster monastery, as well as small ponds and forests where potash was produced, extending towards the Danube. This river — he wrote — can be crossed near Donauwörth, and then you go across the plains continuing up till Augsburg. He wrote that here the soil was very fertile, the architecture fine and it could be seen that the people were rich. The Prince had dinner at Donauwörth, and reached Augsburg at 7 in the evening on the 6th of August.

The next day (the 7th of August) the Prince saw the factory-owner Johann Heinrich von Schüle³⁵, who at that time owned the

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

³⁵ Johann Heinrich von Schüle (1720–1811), entrepreneur, inventor, chemist. Born at Künzelsau in Hohenlohe, he received commercial education at Strasbourg and Kaufbeuern, and from 1745 started trading in *Kattun* in Augsburg. In 1759 established his own manufactory, and in 1771 he was the first in Germany to introduce the printing of materials with the aid of copperplates. He exported his

biggest factory of *Kattun* in Germany with, as he maintained, 4,000 workers. Schüle did not conceal from Poniatowski his methods of dyeing the materials. He imported *Rubinstinctoria* from the Netherlands or Baden where this plant thrives on sandy soil, while it was not yet planted in Bavaria. Schüle employed many women, since work in his manufactory required much skill. Besides, as the factory-owner said himself, if one of them made a mistake, he struck her "with his hand and foot", and such cases were not isolated³⁶.

Then Poniatowski saw a water machine that supplied water to all the city, and pumped it to a tower. He also visited the Haide brothers, Johann Jacob and Johann Elias, copperplate engravers, who conducted a large-scale trade with Italians. He visited a constructor of "machines" called Mache, and saw a model of the pump that could be used for quenching fire and watering gardens. Then he visited a goldsmith called Benz.

After dinner he went to Johann Andreas Stein (1728–1792), the constructor of organs and harpsichords (clavichords). Stein had been living in Augsburg since 1751 and looked after all the organs in the city's Protestant churches³⁷. Then the Prince saw the Cathedral, where his eye was caught by a stone balustrade, which he admired; he also saw St. Anne's Church.

As Poniatowski wrote, the territory of Augsburg was very small, so the city revenues were not big, however, the industry seemed to be better developed than in Nuremberg. The factories were many and various, among others five producing textiles³⁸. There was also a factory of glazed, "Turkish" paper.

Poniatowski found a great difference between Augsburg and Nuremberg, although the latter had better revenues. The difference was due to the form of administration. Nuremberg was

products to France, Russia, Poland, Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, Britain and overseas. In his best days (the 1770s), he employed 3,500 people; J. Waitzfelder, *Der Augsburger Johann Heinrich von Schüle, ein Pionier der Textilwirtschaft im 18. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1928; F. Herre, *Das Augsburger Bürgertum im Zeitalter der Aufklärung*, Augsburg-Basel 1951, p. 45; *Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg. 2000 Jahre von der Römerzeit bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. G. Gottlieb u.a., Stuttgart 1985, 2nd ed., pp. 475–476.

³⁶ *Diary*, p. 205.

³⁷ F. Göthel, *Stein, Familie*, in: *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 12, Kassel 1965, pp. 1230–1234.

³⁸ *Diary*, p. 206; P. Fassel, *Wirtschaft, Handel und Sozialstruktur 1648–1806*, in: *Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg*, p. 476.

governed by a tiresome aristocracy, while in Augsburg the municipalities were more equitable in their rule and imposed moderate taxes. Most houses in this town were covered with coloured plaster; some murals, quite well executed, represented historical events. Augsburg, as he noted, was surrounded by plains, and the scenery outside the city was very nice.

About the town hall of Augsburg Poniatowski wrote that its architecture was not very beautiful, but the building was spacious.

From Augsburg Poniatowski went to Munich, passing through a country that was not very nice, with gravelly, sandy, sometimes calcareous soil. The court of Munich lived on a modest scale³⁹, without extravagance, since the sovereigns wanted to pay off as soon as possible a debt of about 10 million, and then raise enough money to enlarge their army from 22,000 to 30,000 or 40,000. The whole population of this town was 40,000. The environs of Munich were not very fertile, gravelly or sandy soil, very beautiful lakes, and roads in a good state of repair.

It should be added that Bavaria, one of the biggest German countries, in the second half of the 18th century was on the decline. This agricultural country could hardly support the extravagant economy of its rulers, Maximilian Joseph (1745–1777) and Karl Theodor (1777–1799). In 1760 a quarter of the state revenues was devoted to paying off the interest on the state debt, and a fifth went for the expenses of the court.

Prince Poniatowski was granted an audience by the Elector of Bavaria Karl Theodor, with whom he had dinner at Nymphenburg. Then he visited the palace-park complex where, he wrote, he found nothing extraordinary, apart from the water channels and basins that adorned it. The trees were crooked, because of the bad soil, like in all of Upper Bavaria. He did not find in the palace anything indicative of great wealth or good taste. There were 130 deer in the menagerie.

The Elector's wife, Elisabeth Maria Auguste von Sulzbach (1721–1794), preferred to live in the Palatinate, while the Elector

³⁹ In 1782 the court at Munich numbered, apart from the guards, 4,234 people; M. P. Heimers, *Die Strukturen einer barocken Residenzstadt — München zwischen Dreißigjährigem Krieg und dem Vorabend der Französischen Revolution*, in: *Geschichte der Stadt München*, ed. R. Bauser, München 1992, p. 227.

himself resided in Bavaria, since he wanted to develop the industry of this country.

In Munich Poniatowski visited its gallery, which — in his opinion — did not contain many good paintings. What he liked the most were two pictures by Philip Wouwermans (1619–1668), two pictures by David II Teniers (1610–1690), a picture of Our Lady by Anthony Van Dyck and of the Apostles Peter and Paul by Peter Paul Rubens.

He also saw the performance of a comedy, *The Recruiting Officers*. He found the theatre building in Munich not pleasing to the eye, however the sides of the boxes were so constructed that the view was good. He also praised the acoustics⁴⁰.

Bavaria brought a revenue of 5 million German guildens, while the Electoral Palatinate 4.5 million⁴¹. The Prince considered the economics of this country faulty, and attributed it to the resistance of the estates which delayed reforms.

On the 9th of August Poniatowski visited the Elector's Treasury. On his arrival he asked the Elector to be allowed to see his rare and valuable collections. He was told that although the Treasury was in a great disorder because of suspected embezzlement, he would be allowed to see it as soon as possible⁴². In the Treasury the Prince could see many beautiful objects: a very large ruby, a blue diamond, but, according to him, the objects from the 16th century were most worth seeing, i.e. big swords, many beautiful golden dishes, or stone dishes framed with gold. Poniatowski regretted all these objects were stored in such bad conditions and often damaged. He saw there, among other things, a vase made of pure gold, which must have been part of the treasury of the Polish King Sigismund III and had been probably presented to him by the city of Smolensk as a gift on the occasion of its conquest in 1610⁴³. The inscription on this vase was discovered by Mateusz Nielubowicz-Tukalski, lawyer and historian who accompanied Prince Poniatowski on this journey⁴⁴. The Elector

⁴⁰ *Diary*, p. 209; The Court Theatre in Munich was established in 1779. Karl Theodor, Elector of Bavaria, also maintained an excellent court opera.

⁴¹ In 1777 Bavaria was united with the Palatinate.

⁴² Stanisław Poniatowski, *Pamiętniki synowca Stanisława Augusta*, p. 317.

⁴³ *Diary*, p. 210.

⁴⁴ Stanisław Poniatowski, *Pamiętniki synowca Stanisława Augusta*, p. 317. We do not know the dates of Nielubowicz-Tukalski's life, at any rate he was active between 1780–1826.

of Bavaria Karl Theodor, having learnt that Poniatowski was so interested in this vase, sent it to him by a special messenger, who caught up with the Polish Prince in Vienna⁴⁵.

Poniatowski visited two more churches: the Jesuit and the Augustine ones, saw the portrait painter Heinrich Carl Brandt (1724–1787), Doctor Johann Elert Bode (1747–1826), as well as the owner of the collection of natural history and painter J.J. Dorn the Elder (1741–1813), and left Munich in the afternoon⁴⁶. He stopped for the night at Freising. The road to this township led among villages which did not seem too wealthy. Many houses were made of wood, and covered by straw thatch. The land was rocky, the soil was only half a foot deep. Freising itself was situated on a little eminence, and similar to Landshut (on the Isar). When you leave this city you cross the Isar and enter a “mixed country”, which continues up to Regensburg. Poniatowski found this country much nicer. The land was more fertile, covered with fir and pine forests. Some of them were interspersed with other varieties of trees. There were many nice castles, among them Moosburg, two miles away from Freising; the castle had for some years been the domicile of Prince Radziwiłł, the voivode of Wilno⁴⁷. His stay there had been remembered by postmen and wine-merchants as “a golden age”⁴⁸. They also remembered his chancellor, a certain Murawski⁴⁹, who was the only man in his retinue who spoke German.

⁴⁵ Stanisław Poniatowski, *Pamiętniki synowca Stanisława Augusta*, p. 317.

⁴⁶ *Diary*, p. 211.

⁴⁷ The person in question is most probably Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł nicknamed “Panie Kochanku” (“Dear Sir”) (1734–1790), voivode of Wilno, who appeared in Bavaria in the second half of 1775 and stayed there till 30 May 1777. The only source saying he lived at Moosburg, is Poniatowski’s account, in: *PSB (Polish Biographical Dictionary)*, vol. 30, 1987, pp. 257–258; *Korespondencja ks. Karola Stanisława Radziwiłła wojewody wileńskiego “Panie Kochanku” 1762–1790 (Correspondence of Prince Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł “Panie Kochanku”)*, Voivode of Wilno 1762–1790), published on the basis of his family archives by K. Waliszewski, Kraków 1888, pp. 121–125. It seems that the editor of Radziwiłł’s correspondence made a mistake, saying that Radziwiłł was staying then in Issareg; this probably happened because the full name of this locality runs: Moosburg an der Issareg.

⁴⁸ *Diary*, p. 212; during his stay in Bavaria Radziwiłł incurred a debt running to 30,000 ducats.

⁴⁹ Probably the man in question was Ignacy Morawski (1744–1790), Officer Cadet of Radziwiłł’s hussars, and from 1764 the husband of Teofila, sister of Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł.

The further journey of Poniatowski led him to Regensburg, so he left Franconia.

4. Recapitulation

This is what Friedrich Schulz, a German living in Livonia, wrote about the travels of Poles at the end of the 18th century:

“It is a usual thing among the members of rich Polish families to stay abroad, no other nation spends so much time travelling. The fact that they live far from the civilized countries and cannot see at home the things they read about in books and descriptions, their longing for novelty and enlightenment, a need to complement their political principles with observations on the systems of other nations, as well as a necessity to learn of the improvements in the economy, industry and trade of those countries which may be the example for others, and can be applied in Poland, their desire to see the works of art and more refined life, of necessity stimulate them to travelling. These are the main reasons, but many venture abroad because of idleness which engenders spiritual unrest, or because of simple fashion, a wish to «keep up» with others, for political reasons, because of dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in their homeland, or to avoid persecution by the opposing party, finally, to improve their health or for reasons that are even harder to explain than those mentioned above”⁵⁰.

Having enumerated the countries which the Polish gentry visited most willingly, he observed that their manner of travelling was more expensive than that of other nations. He did not fail to point out, however, that during these travels the Poles “do not make any effort at all to obtain useful information, essential to their country and beneficial to their subjects; by obtaining more information of this kind they could help to improve their agriculture, industry, trade, learning and moral education...”⁵¹.

⁵⁰ F. Schulz, *Podróże Inflantczyka z Rygi do Warszawy i po Polsce w latach 1791–1793 (The Journeys of a Livonian from Riga to Warsaw and Around Poland in 1791–1793)*, in: *Polska stanisławowska w oczach cudzoziemców*, vol. 2, edited and with an introduction by Waclaw Zaważki, Warszawa 1963, pp. 497–498.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 501.

Hubert Vautrin, a French priest staying in Poland in the years 1777–1781, wrote down that “Travelling arouses in Poles a predilection for entertainment and comfort which they would like to transmit to their country; with this aim in view they employ craftsmen and artists. One comes back home with an upholsterer, another with a musician, painter, cook, architect, carpenter, brewer etc. But arts and skills do not take root there and soon they disappear together with the craftsman or artist who, displeased, drops his place of work”⁵². The same foreigner considered travelling to be the main reason for the downfall of patriotic spirit among the Polish gentry. This was because the delights of life and the development of arts in southern countries aroused among the Poles a contempt for their own homeland, which had nothing to offer to them in this respect. “As long as the Poles had known only their own country and their own customs, they served their homeland with blood and property, but when a visit abroad taught them that life might be a stream of pleasures, they sacrificed their motherland for them, and put these attractions before their duty”⁵³.

Unfavourable remarks about Polish travels abroad in the 18th century were expressed by Jean-Claude Méhée de la Touche, the editor of “Gazette de Varsovie”: “Running around the world out of vanity, pride, exposing one’s ignorance and awkwardness, ruining oneself, getting bad habits and becoming ridiculous — this is the aim and result of this vagrancy which the Poles call travelling”⁵⁴.

These unfavourable opinions were frequently quite justified. A good example may be Prince Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł and his travel around Europe of 1721–1723. This was a typical “bachelor’s tour” of foreign countries, which was to ensure him some experience of the life of the world of courts and aristocracy. The Polish magnate was interested exclusively in the life of the court, balls, hunting, merry-go-rounds, receptions and parties, and therefore “the experience of his long stay abroad [...] did not change Radziwiłł’s conservative mentality or his way of life,

⁵² H. Vautrin, *Obserwator w Polsce (An Observer in Poland)*, in: *Polska stanisławowska w oczach cudzoziemców*, vol. 1, compiled and with an introduction by Waclaw Zawadzki, Warszawa 1963, p. 732.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 798.

⁵⁴ Quoted from: *Polska stanisławowska w oczach cudzoziemców*, vol. 1, p. 946, note 47.

characteristic of an old-Polish squire"⁵⁵. No wonder, since Radziwiłł's visit to a burgher's house was one of the unusual events during this journey⁵⁶.

The negative assessment of Polish travels abroad certainly cannot refer to Prince Stanisław Poniatowski's peregrinations. During his journey in Germany in 1784 the Prince was the least of all interested in the life of the court, but in all the localities he passed through he endeavoured to see their architectural highlights: churches, monasteries, fortresses, the seats of princes and counts. He paid attention not only to the aesthetic values of buildings, but also to their usefulness. He made his draughtsmen record the forms of the most interesting buildings on paper. In his diary he made note of the works of art he found in these buildings: pictures, statues, musical instruments, objects of luxury, old coins and precious stones. He got acquainted with the book collections and archives assembled by some private owners. He was interested in the organization of the schools training military men, veterinary surgeons, theologians and even the deaf-and-dumb. He saw many theatrical performances. As a graduate of the Knights' School he paid attention to the construction of fortresses. Willingly and with much interest he visited the fields of the past battles, especially those of the recent Seven Years' War (Kunersdorf, Torgau, Rossbach, Maxen, Hochkirch and Kolin), and on the pages of his diary he showed his knowledge of history. Wherever he was able to, he saw with much interest various mechanical contraptions, and tried to learn about their construction and operation. Sometimes he could witness some physical and chemical experiments. And from time to time he also paid attention to the costumes and customs typical of the regions through which he passed⁵⁷.

⁵⁵ J. Dygdała, *Młody magnat na drezdeńskim dworze Augusta Mocnego. Fragment europejskiej podróży Michała Kazimierza Radziwiłła z 1722 roku (A Young Magnate in Augustus the Second's Dresden Court. A Fragment of the European Travel of Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł in 1722)*, in: *Stosunki polsko-niemieckie XVI-XVIII wieku*, p. 223.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 214. For other accounts of Polish travels abroad in the Saxon era see among others: A. Iwanowska, *Polskie rękopiśmienne relacje podróżnicze z epoki saskiej (Polish Manuscript Accounts of Travelling in the Saxon Era)*, in: *Staropolska kultura rękopisu*, ed. by H. Dziechcińska, Warszawa 1990, pp. 123-154.

⁵⁷ On the subject of travelling and the social reality at the end of the 18th century, see: *Reise und soziale Realität am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. W. Griep, Heidelberg 1983.

During all his journey he met and talked to people representing almost the full cross-section of society. In Vienna he met Emperor Joseph II, and in various towns and manors he was entertained to dinners or suppers (sometimes he entertained guests, too), he talked to builders, engineers, scholars, scientists, artists, apothecaries and goldsmiths. Sometimes he visited the homes of more notable burghers. He talked to educators and theologians, merchants, bankers, gardeners, horse-breeders, and even peasants, as, for instance, in Franconia.

The experience and information gained by Prince Poniatowski during his peregrinations around the economic centres of Germany, as we have already mentioned, did not save Tyzenhaus's manufactories⁵⁸. It should be added, however, that having visited the mining academies at Freiberg and Clausthal, Poniatowski thought of establishing a mining college in Poland; this was rendered impossible, as he said, "because of the change in the situation, which soon ensued"⁵⁹.

Beyond any doubt Prince Stanisław Poniatowski's diary of travel round the German countries in 1784 is one of the most interesting Polish testimonies to the era. This source carries a lot of valuable material, especially concerning the history of technique, learning and military science, but it also reflects the changes in aesthetic views, above all on art, that appeared among the contemporary élites⁶⁰. This diary definitely stands out advantageously from the travels of other Poles around Germany in the second half of the 18th century⁶¹.

Prince Stanisław Poniatowski's travel around the German countries cannot be ranked among any type of travel previously

⁵⁸ J. Wija c z k a, *Gospodarczy aspekt podróży księcia Stanisława Poniatowskiego po krajach niemieckich w 1784 roku (The Economic Aspect of Prince Stanisław Poniatowski's Travels Around the German Countries in 1784)*, in: *Stosunki polsko-niemieckie w XVI–XVIII wieku. Materiały konferencji naukowej, Kielce–Szydłowiec, 19–21 października 2000*, ed. J. Wija c z k a, Kielce 2002, pp. 225–239.

⁵⁹ Stanisław P o n i a t o w s k i, *Pamiętniki synowca*, p. 317.

⁶⁰ On the subject of interdisciplinary research on travelling see: M. M a u r e r, *Der interdisziplinäre Zugriff auf das Reisen*, in: *Neue Impulse der Reiseforschung*, ed. M. M a u r e r, Berlin 1999, pp. 296–298.

⁶¹ B. R o k, *Podróże Polaków po Niemczech w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku (The Travels of Poles Around Germany in the Second Half of the 18th Century)*, in: *Z dziejów Galicji, Śląska, Polski i Niemiec. Prace ofiarowane Profesorowi Adamowi Galosowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. by M. C z a p l i Ń s k i, A. G a l o s, K. M a t w i j o w s k i, Wrocław 1994, pp. 55–65.

described in secondary literature, which is nothing unusual, since the same is true of many other journeys, for example the peregrination of the Italian Giacomo Fantuzzi a century earlier⁶². It should be stressed that Poniatowski's travel was to a certain extent a kind of an economic reconaissance.

Finally, it should be emphasized that the diary of Prince Stanisław Poniatowski's journey is a valuable source relating primarily to the history of Germany.

(Translated by Agnieszka Kreczmar)

⁶² Giacomo Fantuzzi, *Diariusz podróży po Europie (1562) (The Diary of Travel Around Europe, 1562)*. Translation from the manuscript, introduction and notes by W. Tygielski, Warszawa 1990, p. 11.