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APPLES, BOOKS, FRUIT PRESERVES... CULTIVATING
A HISTORY BY COUNTESS LUDWIKA OSTROWSKA,
LADY OF THE MALUSZYN MANOR — IN SEARCH
OF THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL DIMENSION
OF HISTORIOGRAPHY

Abstract: The article presents an analysis of the history included in a history textbook for peasant children, entitled ‘Stories from World History for Country Folk’, written by a landowner, domain manager, social activist, writer and historian — Ludwika Ostrowska of Maluszyn (1851–1926). The authors hypothesize that the cultural model of the Polish landed gentry played a crucial role in Ostrowska’s work. During their research, they wanted to show that the multiple social relations of the Polish gentry in the second half of the nineteenth century became a mirror image of the subjective aspects of human activity created in Ostrowska’s narrative. They point out that farm management (filled with a resource that creates a model of landowning culture) became the fundamental category of all intellectual reflections of Ludwika, outlining the general framework for her thinking about the world (both present and past). By suggesting that Ostrowska ‘cultivated’ history, they wish to draw attention to the need to search — supported by broader source research and methodological reflection — into the anthropological dimension of historiography.

Keywords: Ludwika Ostrowska, Polish landed gentry, nineteenth-century woman, history of historiography, anthropology of historiography.

Introduction

Scholarly papers on the Polish landed gentry of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century depict, above all, the history of men: men — fighters for a ‘liberated and independent homeland’, social and cultural activists, farmers modernizing their estates, or administrators introducing technological innovations as well as new breeds of farm animals and crops. Women usually constitute just ‘a second half’ of

these historical subjects, and as wives/mothers/daughters/mistresses, they create a home-and-drawing room sphere of Polish history. However, a closer insight into the life and activity of female representatives of the landed gentry uncovers a more genuine picture. Actually, not only did women affect their landed estate lifestyles but also, through increased activity, they sought to deconstruct an ancient role model of a wife/mother... and offer a new one — of an entrepreneurial patriot, reflective Catholic, self-reliant housekeeper and independent social activist. It is also the case of the intellectual outputs of women, primarily — which interests us the most — their historiographic reflection. Unable to study, carry out systematic research, or publish, they could only rarely present the results of their scholarly thinking. Their writings are often found in archives years later, stuffed between various records of the activities of their husbands or fathers. An excellent illustration of such a work is the ‘Stories from World History for Country Folk’, written by a landowner, estate manager, social activist, writer and historian, Countess Ludwika Ostrowska of Maluszyn¹. We decided to edit and analyse the handbook as an example of historical reflection by landowners on the one hand and the transformation of women’s historiography on the other. However, during our research, some research questions arose that we would like to answer in this article.

Research Problem and Aim

Countess Ludwika Ostrowska (1851–1926) came from a wealthy landowning family living at Maluszyn Manor, the ancestral home of the Ostrowskis, — bearing the Korab coat of arms.² Her father was Count Aleksander Ostrowski (1810–96), her mother Countess Helena *née* Morsztyn, with the Leliwa coat of arms (1815–92).³ Ludwika was their sixth and youngest

¹ *Opowiadania o historii powszechnej dla ludu wiejskiego Ludwiki Ostrowskiej: Źródło do dziejów historiografii polskiej XIX w.*, ed. Karolina Studnicka-Mariańczyk and Norbert Morawiec, Częstochowa, 2020. The manuscript can be found in the National Archives in Łódź, the Archives of Potocki and Ostrowski families of Maluszyn (hereinafter: APŁ, APiOM), ref. II/87, Personal papers of Ludwika Ostrowska, daughter of Aleksander.

² Karolina Studnicka-Mariańczyk, *Domena Ostrowskich z Maluszyna jako przykład przemian kapitalistycznych w polskim rolnictwie XIX wieku*, Warsaw, 2014; eadem, *Siedziba ziemiańska Korabitów Ostrowskich w Maluszynie*, Warsaw, 2014.

³ Jarosław Kita, ‘Pani na Maluszynie: Ludwika hrabina Ostrowska (1851–1926)’, *Wiadomości Ziemiańskie*, 28, 2006, pp. 53–60; idem, ‘Ludwika hrabina Ostrowska z Maluszyna (1851–1926) — życie i działalność’, in *Villa Maluschyn 1412–2012: 600 lat Parafii św. Mikołaja w Maluszynie: Księga jubileuszowa*, ed. Andrzej J. Zakrzewski and Łukasz Kopera, Częstochowa, 2012, pp. 257–82.

child. Beyond any doubt, her social origins determined the course of her later life. She stayed at home under her mother's tutelage, where wet nurses, governesses, and later, teachers, assisted in her upbringing and education. The social status of Aleksander Ostrowski's daughter must have eased the Countess's entry into Warsaw high-society circles and resulted in a good knowledge of the aristocracy and landed gentry, along with the clerical, economic and financial elites. Nonetheless, due to the lack of a suitable candidate combined with health issues, Ludwika never married.⁴ She turned her interests and passions to the palace 'farm'. She took care of the palace gardens in her youth; however, in time, she took over more and more responsibilities, tackling not only the logistics of the landowning family's existence but its economic aspect as well.⁵ She also worked for the local community's benefit, took care of orphanages and schools, and inspired parish work. For instance, her name can be found among the founding members of the United Circle of Women Landowners (officially, the United Women Landowners Society).⁶ She also inspired the creation of the society's local branch known as the 'Work' Circle at Silnica.⁷ The atmosphere of Maluszyn Palace contributed to the development of artistic, educational and scientific interests. Consequently, besides her 'economic' activities, Ludwika engaged in painting, literary and scholarly work. The general history handbook for peasant children she wrote to support the education of the country folk, aptly entitled 'Stories from World History for Country Folk', can attest to the latter. However, the analysis of Ostrowska's work in the context of her life and activities revealed a specific pattern. In the 'Stories', she often referred to the idea of 'farming'. We observed, moreover, that this idea could be found not only in her historical and educational work but also in her letters, diary, financial reports and ledgers, plans for the palace garden and kitchen, and even her writings on politics and religion. Thus, we decided to think more deeply about what might be the source of it. Our reflections were linked to the specific research assumptions we made and the nature of the sources. On the one hand, it was a reflection on the Countess's life and activities,

⁴ See: *Dzieje Maluszyna i jego dziedziców z opowiadania i z pamięci zebrane przez hrabinę Helenę [z Morstinów] Ostrowską*, ed. Andrzej J. Zakrzewski, Warsaw, 2009, p. 30.

⁵ Karolina Studnicka-Mariańczyk, *Ludwika hrabina Ostrowska (1851-1926): Kobieta, gospodarz, społecznik*, Warsaw, 2016.

⁶ See: Ewelina Kostrzewska, *Ruch organizacyjny ziemianek w Królestwie Polskim na początku XX wieku*, Łódź, 2007, p. 15 ff.

⁷ The business plan of 'Work' Circle: APŁ, APiOM, Papiery osobiste Ludwiki Ostrowskiej, córki Aleksandra, sign. II/87.

supported by broad archival research⁸, on the other. The analysis of her 'Stories' as a historiographic source allowed us to understand her historical writing.⁹ At one point, it became clear that to carry out a complete critical analysis of Ostrowska's writing, we needed to combine historical and historiographical reflections while thinking through the problem we were going to take up once again, studying the current state of knowledge of the topic, making research hypotheses, selecting a method, and — with a specific idea in mind — plan further studies. This forced us to perform many detailed, contributory, and verification studies to confirm or refute this 'idea' based on analysing other historical phenomena, processes, and historiographic studies. Finally, we attempted to understand the anthropological dimension of our protagonist's writing.

An analysis of the life, the social and economic activity, and the intellectual work of Ludwika Ostrowska, but first and foremost a reflection on her works' emphasis on religious values, social work, and the landed gentry ethos, has led us to a decision to investigate/research/look for the cultural matrix that shaped her thinking and deeds, generating her view of the world. Did Ludwika's reflection — introducing new species of apple and pear trees in her orchard, making fruit preserves, as a farmer and promoting new technologies — build up her educational, philanthropic, agricultural and scientific work? In other words, we would like to test a hypothesis whether Ludwika Ostrowska can be analysed as a woman, a social activist, an estate manager — or else as a landlady and author of memoirs — or else as a gardener and amateur historian. Did she *cultivate* history?

Methods

We would like to reflect on Ludwika-the-administrator, Ludwika-the-memoirs author and Ludwika-the-scientist/historian from an anthropological point of view, which calls for setting these reflections in the

⁸ Karolina Studnicka-Mariańczyk, 'Organizacja i zarząd w dobrach Ostrowskich na przykładzie klucza Maluszyn w XVIII-XIX wieku', in *Folwark — wieś — latyfundium: Gospodarstwo wiejskie w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI-XVIII wieku*, ed. Jadwiga Muszyńska, Szymon Kazusek and Jacek Pielas, Kielce, 2009, pp. 159–71; eadem, 'Siedziba ziemiańska rodziny Ostrowskich z Maluszyna', *Prace Naukowe Akademii im. Jana Długosza w Częstochowie. Zeszyty Historyczne*, 10, 2009, pp. 255–74.

⁹ Norbert Morawiec, 'Feminizowanie historii a soteriologiczny wymiar kobiecości — na przykładzie "Opowiadania o Historii powszechnej dla ludu wiejskiego" Ludwiki hrabiny Ostrowskiej, dziedziczki z Maluszyna', in *Portret kobiety: Polki w realiach epoki*, vol. 1, ed. Maria Korybut-Marciniak and Marta Zbrzeźniak, Łódź and Olsztyn, 2014 (*Życie Prywatne Polaków w XIX Wieku*), pp. 87–109.

perspective of cultural studies.¹⁰ Researchers perceived culture as a creator of a certain vision (image) of the world and the personal (outlook on the world), which — utilizing language concepts and categories — shapes values, builds up identity and determines the interrelations among the researchers. Each culture has its usual rules, which — in a way — it enforces upon the individuals living in it. Every culture has specific goals, values, norms, mores, and so on. It is, therefore, not possible for scientists — or historians — functioning within it to try to be ‘objective’ and thus place themselves outside of it and reconstruct past reality by a meticulous study of sources. Such researchers rarely realize that all components of the creative process, themselves and the analysed sources, the assumed concept, and used methods, are steeped in the culture and controlled by it. In this context, the culture becomes a matrix for any scientific cognition and creation. Therefore, understanding the writings of a specific historian requires understanding the culture which controlled and constructed them.¹¹

That is why understanding the model should help us notice the cultural context of Ostrowska’s activity, which will structure any perception of the present and past reality on the second and third levels of our study. As authors often emphasize, any intellectual work is immersed in the researcher’s own social-cultural ‘being’. He or she depicts the world through methodological reflection and not just through their contemporary culture — but through the full knowledge of culture and past conditions they possess. Consequently, in developing a critical reflection on the literary work of Ostrowska, we should look for the elements that shaped it beyond literature, history, or science and trace them to manifestations of her cultural existence. The Countess practiced intellectual reflection through elements controlling the culture she lived in. This ‘culture’ can be depicted as a model comprising specific cultural principles, certain symbols, and a harmonious relation of values and norms to attitudes and behaviors. Of course, rarely does one find a direct relation

¹⁰ This ‘method’ is a conclusion of reflections presented in: Norbert Morawiec, “‘Małe ojczyzny’ a transkulturowy, intertwingularny i transkluzyjny charakter historiografii”, in *Doświadczenie pokoleniowe a perspektywa osobista*, ed. Bożena Płonka-Syroka, Mateusz Dąsał and Kaja Marchel, Warsaw and Bellerive-sur-Allier, 2016, pp. 51–79.

¹¹ See: Andrzej Radomski, ‘Perspektywa kulturoznawcza w historiografii’, in idem, *Historiografia a kultura współczesna*, Lublin, 2006, pp. 11–26 (pp. 25–26). More (the cultural dimension of historiography): Wojciech Wrzosek, *Historia — Kultura — Metafora: Powstanie nieklasycznej historiografii*, Wrocław, 1995; idem, *O myśleniu historycznym*, Bydgoszcz, 2009. Also: Bożena Płonka-Syroka, *Medycyna w historii i kulturze: Studia z antropologii wiedzy*, Wrocław, 2013.

between a model and knowledge; still, it can be found in appropriate metaphors as seen from an epistemological perspective — the metaphors easily discernible in Ludwika Ostrowska's narrative.

It is worth stressing, however, that the matrix is always transcultural in nature, being constantly socially renegotiated simultaneously. Following Wolfgang Welsch's idea of transculturality, we understand that cultures today and in the past are primarily characterized by blending, interweaving and hybridization. The cultures have never had the homogeneity or distinctiveness of form suggested by earlier researchers.¹² The nature of an individual embedded in a culture is the same; their identity largely depends on 'foreign' elements. Cultures are characterized by trans-exchange, allowing new types of network-forming connections. In the course of existence, an individual comes in contact with various matrices and accepts or rejects different values, norms and behaviors. Thus, their view of the world has a hybrid nature, while the trans-relationships within the culture make it particularly sensitive to all transformations occurring within the society. What is more, both the matrix and the view of the world¹³ enforce specific categories which metaphorize the narration in the creative process.¹⁴ For this reason, the metaphorization of narration depends on the trans-relationships of the culture within which it is created or rather, structured. Therefore, in order to understand the writing of Ludwika Ostrowska, we need to reflect somewhat on three levels: cultural matrix, view of the world, and historiographical repertoire of metaphors.

¹² Wolfgang Welsch, 'Transculturality — the Puzzling Form of Cultures Today', in *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World*, ed. Mike Featherstone and Scott Lash, London, 1999, pp. 194–213 (pp. 209–13).

¹³ The term 'view of the world' is understood by the authors as a series of fundamental categories through which the historian experiences both the world and history, through which she expresses her experience, and with the help of which she structures the reality (makes the world familiar). See: Jan Pomorski, 'Punkt widzenia w współczesnej historiografii', in *Punkt widzenia w języku i kulturze*, ed. Jerzy Bartmiński, Stanisława Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska and Ryszard Nycz, Lublin, 2004, pp. 11–23 (p. 8); Marek Woźniak, *Przeszość jako przedmiot konstrukcji: O roli wyobraźni w badaniach historycznych*, Lublin, 2010, p. 122.

¹⁴ More on the metaphors in narration in: Norbert Morawiec, 'Mity/metafory w polskiej refleksji metodologiczno-historiograficznej', in *Aktual'ni problemy arkeologii, istorii ta istorychnoho kraieznavstva Buho-Dniprovs'koho mezhyrichchia: Zbirnyk naukovykh prats'*, ed. V.I. Marochko and A.H. Morozov, Uman', 2012, pp. 351–56. See: Rafał Stobiecki, *Bolszewizm a historia: Próba rekonstrukcji bolszewickiej filozofii dziejów*, Łódź, 1998; Marek Woźniak, 'Metafora jako narzędzie badań historycznych: Kilka uwag na marginesie pracy R. Stobieckiego: "Bolszewizm a historia. Próba rekonstrukcji bolszewickiej filozofii dziejów"', *Historyka*, 30, 2000, pp. 89–112; Wiktoria Werner, 'Wokół metafory wojny', *Pro Libris*, 2004, 1(6), pp. 69–82.

Matrix — Landed Gentry

To understand the cultural, or more appropriately, trans-cultural dimension of such a matrix, it is worth showing its main features by referring to previous research devoted to the gentry. Within this period, Poland had no state of its own, and failed insurrections led to constant persecutions by the partitioning powers. Landowners were terrified that their estates might be confiscated, so they were often forced to play a ‘double game’ in contacts with the invader and combine loyalty with the love of national independence.¹⁵ Landowners were terrified that their estates might be confiscated. This combined with capitalist transformations, which required adapting the management of farmsteads to the new supply and demand parameters.¹⁶ In this context, in the milieu of Andrzej Zamoyski (of which Aleksander Ostrowski was a member), there arose an idea of ‘work’ aimed at preventing such threats. Furthermore, developing new pro-development landowner awareness through mutual support by the Towarzystwo Kredytowo-Ziemskie (Land Credit Society), education, and popularization by the journal *Roczniki Gospodarstwa Krajowego*.¹⁷ The main directions of activities — which also survived in independent Poland — were to be ‘self-help of the gentry’, work ‘in the agricultural arena’, and ‘nationwide public work’.¹⁸ One may argue that they tried to create a model of ‘a nobleman-farmer’ with a specific axiology, which needed to be popularized.

Models of a perfect host/hostess were popularized in magazines, ‘encyclopedias’ and guidebooks on all sorts of topics, such as the organization and administration of a farm (including the proper location of farm buildings concerning roads and paths, the introduction of technological inventions in breweries, distilleries, mills and confectioneries) or housekeeping (health and hygiene, the raising and education of

¹⁵ Wiesław Śladkowski, ‘Powstania — przeszkoda czy katalizator procesów modernizacji na ziemiach polskich’, in *Polskie powstania narodowe na tle przemian europejskich w XIX wieku*, ed. Anna Barańska, Witold Matwiejczyk and Jan Ziółek, Lublin, 2001, pp. 217–26.

¹⁶ As early as in the 1850s, Karol Belina Brzozowski, a landowner, Marshal of the Olhopol county, published a peculiar nineteenth-century guide to managing land estates, see: *O nowoczesnym zarządzaniu majątkiem — rady dla potomnych Karola Belina Brzozowskiego: Źródła do dziejów gospodarstwa ziemiańskiego na Kresach w XIX wieku*, ed. Piotr Franaszek, Cracow, 2005.

¹⁷ Zdzisław Szymański, ‘Ekonomiczne i etyczne cele ziemiańskiego stronnictwa “klemensowczyków” w latach czterdziestych XIX wieku’, *Annales: Etyka w życiu gospodarczym*, 18, 2015, 3, pp. 85–98 (p. 87).

¹⁸ *Zemiaństwo w pracy społecznej*, ed. Stanisław Miklaszewski, Warsaw, 1929, p. 9.

children, social life). Even if not all the good advice was applied, still the ‘house-and farm-keeping’ literature of the second half of the nineteenth century played an essential part in creating a culture model that was eagerly copied because it was associated with a noble tradition.¹⁹ A material exemplification of this model were the estates of Count Brzostowski in Cisów with a foundry, of the Pacs in Dowspuda, of the Lutosławskis in Drozdowo, of the Chłapowskis in Turew and the Ostrowskis in Maluszyn. At the same time, their owners’ code of conduct and thinking served as a mental exemplification of this cultural model.²⁰ The old saying characterizing the noble gentry’s liberties and anarchy: ‘A nobleman on his farmstead is equal to a voivode’, expressed the idea that — despite deep divisions in the nobility — a belief in the solidarity of the whole noble estate. A sense of community, identification with other members of the gentry with the same religion, the same ideas, beliefs, customs, a common axiological and normative system (a normative aspect of the model) — all had to lead to a set of specific behaviors, efforts, deeds of the members of the gentry (the behavioral aspect of a model), and a shared sense of pride. At the same time, however, it raised reflection upon the possibility of losing this noble legacy (which meant losing cultural identity, as one would rather say these days), thus reminding them of an obligation to defend this legacy.²¹

As Wiesław Caban has shown, not all landowners of the Kingdom of Poland looked at the modernization of their farmsteads without fear.²²

¹⁹ See the following: Małgorzata Dajnowicz ‘Rodzina drobnoszlachecka w XIX wieku: Życie codzienne, autorytety, wzorce postępowania’ (pp. 4–469) and Mariusz Nowak ‘Model idealny i rzeczywisty polskiej rodziny arystokratyczno-ziemiańskiej funkcjonujący w drugiej połowie XIX oraz na początku XX wieku’ (pp. 455–69), in *Rodzina i gospodarstwo domowe na ziemiach polskich w XV–XX wieku: Struktury demograficzne, społeczne i gospodarcze*, ed. Cezary Kukła, Warsaw, 2008.

²⁰ More broadly in: *Szlachta i ziemiaństwo na Pomorzu w dobie nowożytnej XVI–XX wieku: (Przemiany struktur wewnętrznych)*, ed. Jerzy Dygdała, Toruń, 1993; *Aktywność gospodarcza ziemiaństwa w Polsce w XVII–XX w.*, ed. Wiesław Caban and Mieczysław B. Markowski, Kielce, 1993; Józef Borzyszkowski, ‘Życie codzienne w kaszubsko-pomorskich dworach i dworach na przełomie XIX i XX wieku: (Zarys problematyki i możliwości badawczych)’, in *Szlachta — społeczeństwo — państwo między Warmią a Rugią w XVIII–XX wieku*, ed. Mieczysław Jaroszewicz and Włodzimierz Stępiński, Szczecin and Słupsk, 1998, pp. 201–40; Witold Molik, *Życie codzienne ziemiaństwa w Wielkopolsce w XIX i na początku XX wieku*, part 1: *Kultura materialna*, Poznań, 1999; Mirosław Ustrzycki, *Ziemiaństwo polskie na Kresach 1864–1914: Świat wartości i postaw*, Cracow, 2006.

²¹ See analyses: Norbert Morawiec, ‘Chleb, książki, truskawki: Rawity-Gawrońskiego uprawianie historii (przyczynek do antropologii wiedzy/historiografii)’, in *Życie prywatne Polaków w XIX wieku*, ed. Maria Korybut-Marciniak and Marta Zbrzeźniak, Olsztyn, 2013, pp. 67–89.

²² See: Wiesław Caban, ‘O potrzebie badań nad udziałem ziemiaństwa Królestwa

Many landowners could not meet the demands of a capitalist economy, get funds to pay for the hired workforce, make necessary investments and pay taxes. This led to the purchase of their land by people from outside the nobility or mortgaging large landed estates. As a result of dramatic political, social and economic changes, an awareness of the need for profound economic transformation and opening up to outside influences was recognized by landowners. Without question, this awareness was enhanced by the fear of financial ruin, granting property rights to everyday citizens, colonization, serfdom reform, economic self-reliance of village communities, and unstable prices for agricultural produce. With the wind of change came modern sugar factories, breweries, mills, and massively imported new species of plants and animals. Large landed estates were undergoing structural changes due to the spread of a hired workforce and mechanization, the development of new economic ideas and disciplines, and any general knowledge helpful in managing a farmstead. No longer was it sufficient to simply register the cash and goods turnover on farms or estimate the property's value by its number of serfs or working days due to the landowner. Needless to say, landowners began calculating the profitability of serfdom reform they were willing to initiate, calculating the cost effectiveness of intended investments and organizational innovations, and undertaking efforts to write off the debts their estates had accumulated. Double-entry bookkeeping became increasingly popular in the Kingdom of Poland due to the landed gentry's growing interest in agricultural bookkeeping, land taxation, land pension, loans, and possibilities of writing off debts.²³ The analysis of the financial and quantitative condition of the estate became a core of interest for estate owners.

Looking at the activities of Polish landowners, one may notice that their ambiguous attitude to modernization also resulted from another problem — the need to ensure a period of stabilization and peace, without wars, national uprisings, or social revolutions, so necessary when planning, investing and awaiting an expected profit. The gentry's ego-documents were filled with fear of social movements but also of repressions of the partitioners against insurrectionary inclinations that could ruin all business projects. Modernization activity was also connected with making the country aware of the civilizational delay of the country. The remedy was to be a civilizational opening to Western technological

Polskiego doby przeduwłaszczeniowej w działaniach na rzecz rozwoju przemysłu', *Studia z Historii Społeczno-Gospodarczej*, 8, 2010, pp. 9–18.

²³ Krzysztof Firlej, 'Formy organizacyjne zagospodarowania ziem polskich na przestrzeni wieków', *Roczniki Ekonomiczne Kujawsko-Pomorskiej Szkoły Wyższej w Bydgoszczy*, 4, 2011, pp. 21–36 (pp. 28–29).

'novelties', and new forms of production.²⁴ Thus, the need to get to know 'Western' culture was widely proclaimed through travel, but also — based on the knowledge of a foreign language — studies. The need for social and mental changes was also realized in the name of advancement and progress. However, it was connected with the fear of dangerous ideas and actions which could adversely affect the identity of the native culture. In Poland, the lack of one's own state and the weakening of the national sense of value increased the sensitivity to the issue of cultural sovereignty. This did not facilitate finding a balance between the aspirations for modernization and the desire to protect tradition.²⁵ Therefore, it is unsurprising that landowners were interested in carefully following all national movements and social changes. It is also not surprising that an essential aspect of a landowner's land management was the skillful influence on the existence of the court and peasant communities subordinate to him. In this context, a landowner did 'organic work' and 'grassroots work', built schools and orphanages, supported churches and hospitals and provided shelter to less fortunate relatives; sponsored science, education and crafts; took care of the mental and physical development of his immediate community.²⁶ In the landowner milieu, in each of the partitioned areas of Poland, such activity was perceived as a post-insurrectionary or substitutive-of-insurrection means of fulfilling one's patriotic duty. Similar concerns about the cultural identity of the court and peasant communities can be noticed in the pedagogical thought of the landed gentry. Undoubtedly, they followed the discourse around elementary education, which intensified during the period of Aleksander Wielopolski and his 'Act on Public Education in the Kingdom of Poland' (1862) and continued in the following decades.²⁷ In this discourse of the 1880s, the necessity to move away from the

²⁴ See a collection of quotes from Alexander Kraushar's preface to the book: *'Moje przeprawy': Pamiętnik Andrzeja Zamoyskiego o czasach Powstania Listopadowego (1830–1831)*, 3 vols, Cracow, 1906, vol. 1, pp. 15–19.

²⁵ Tomasz Kizwalter, *'Nowatorstwo i rutyny': Społeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego wobec procesów modernizacji (1840–1863)*, Warsaw, 1991, pp. 182–83.

²⁶ See the above elements in the life and activity of outstanding women landowners: Jarosław Kita, 'Ostatnia z rodu — Ludwika z Korabitów Ostrowska', in *Ziemiaństwo na Lubelszczyźnie III: Panie z dworów i pałaców: Materiały III sesji naukowej zorganizowanej w Muzeum Zamoyskich w Kozłowiec 11–13 października 2006*, ed. Hubert Łaskiewicz, 2 vols, Lublin, 2007, vol. 1, pp. 172–90; Magdalena Syguda, 'Działalność społeczna Anny z Działyńskich Potockiej', in *Częstochowskie spotkania młodych historyków*, ed. Norbert Morawiec and Tadeusz Srogosz, Częstochowa and Radomsko, 2013 (Historia III^o, 1).

²⁷ Karol Poznański, 'Wokół 150 rocznicy reformy szkolnej Aleksandra Wielopolskiego', in *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej: Kontekst historyczno-pedagogiczny*, ed. Katarzyna Dormus et al., Cracow, 2014, pp. 322–42 (pp. 340–41).

'state' dimension of rural schools began to be proclaimed. They were to teach peasant children not only catechism and the basics of reading and counting but also to shape civic and patriotic attitudes and — also under the influence of positivist pedagogy — the 'spirit' of pragmatism and resourcefulness open to capitalist transformations, which was to help them find employment outside the rural environment, in a craft workshop or in a factory.²⁸

The activity of landowners influenced their self-consciousness. They did not necessarily see themselves as farmers, owners, and landlords. Many of them viewed themselves as 'rural intelligentsia' or 'provincial intelligentsia', who were to play an important role in the modernization of the Polish countryside.²⁹ The 'intelligentsia' also had a female face. The growing importance of the 'women's issue' in Polish society of that period was related to the popularity of positivist ideologies, an attempt to rethink the role of the 'Polish Mother'³⁰ and the desire to reject the ideal and the image of a Polish woman in the first half of the nineteenth century.³¹ The transformation affected women from all walks of life in different ways. Robert E. Blobaum wrote about the 'rebellion of landowners' daughters' that took place during the period, which was directed against the traditional patriarchal model of the family, and which was the rejection of the drawing room as a place that for decades marked the right place for a woman owning a landed estate.³² An excellent exemplification of such a landowner was the aristocrat, Countess and social and charity activist — Katarzyna Potocka *née* Branicka (1825–1907), the owner of Krzeszowice. Potocka was active in establishing rural schools, credit unions, philanthropic establishments, and a founder of churches in her landed estates. She also introduced the granting of pensions for clerks and servants in her estate.³³ Amongst other women landowners, the 'writer-housewife' — Józefa Kisielnicka (1865–1941) is worth mentioning. Through her literary

²⁸ Piotr Mazur, *Zawód nauczyciela w ciągu dziejów: Skrypt dla studentów z historii wychowania*, Chełm, 2015, p. 75; also: Danuta Mucha, 'Poglądy pedagogiczne pozytywistów na wychowanie młodego pokolenia', *Kultura i Wychowanie*, 2012, 3, pp. 30–47 (p. 30).

²⁹ See also: Jarosław Kita, 'Z dworu ziemiańskiego na uniwersytecką katedrę przyczynę do genezy inteligencji polskiej', *Studia z Historii Społeczno-Gospodarczej*, 19, 2018, pp. 101–22.

³⁰ Anna Kuroczycka-Schultes, 'On the Margins of Religion / On the Forefront of Culture: The Image of the *Matka Polka* (Polish Mother) in Contemporary Poland', *Journal of the Motherhood Initiative*, 5, 2014, 1, pp. 263–74.

³¹ See also: Małgorzata Stawiak-Ososińska, *Ponętna, uległa, akurata... Ideal i wizerunek kobiety polskiej pierwszej połowy XIX wieku (w świetle ówczesnych poradników)*, Cracow, 2009.

³² Robert E. Blobaum, 'The "Woman Question" in Russian Poland, 1900–1914', *Journal of Social History*, 35, 2002, 4 (Summer), pp. 799–824 (p. 801).

³³ 'Skon polskiej matrony', *Nowości Ilustrowane*, 5 October 1907, p. 2.

activity, she wanted to create a new model of a woman in society, actively participating in public life, focusing on charity and educational needs of the immediate environment — and at the same time being a co-manager of the property.³⁴ In these estates, more and more often, women appeared beside men as partners in economic undertakings and as independent businesswomen. The activities of women landowners included a rich offer, including breeding poultry, cattle and pigs, gardening, horticulture, beekeeping and fishing (in manor ponds and lakes). However, poultry remained the priority, followed by dairy production and gardening.³⁵ Moreover, the development of female intellectual creativity along with scientific and university aspirations were the most apparent manifestation of the emancipation aspirations of women landowners. In their works — based on the knowledge of literature, often in foreign languages — they raised many problems related to the farm and family. They aimed at increasing the level of knowledge and cultural development of the court and peasant community,³⁶ teaching (including teaching women themselves) and raising children,³⁷ and above all, the necessity of ‘telling the history of the Homeland’.³⁸ Since the *Pilgrim of Dobromil* by Izabela Czartoryska (1818), also Julia Wojkowska, Bibiana Moraczewska, Ludwika Leśniowska, Zuzanna Zajązkowska, Natalia Sokołowska, Klementyna Hoffmanowa, Felicja Boberska *née* Wasilewska, Konstancja Skirmunt, Julia Goczałkowska and others occupied themselves with history.³⁹

It is worth considering what the purpose of women landowners’ activities was. Researchers emphasized that they justified their participation in various forms of civic engagement not with an outright campaign for

³⁴ See also: Małgorzata Dajnowicz, ‘Polish Writers and their Influence on Women’s Public Activity: A Case Study of Józefa Kisielnicka and Eliza Orzeszkowa’, *Respectus Philologicus*, 27(32), 2015, pp. 43–51.

³⁵ Ewelina Maria Kostrzewska, ‘Ziemianki Królestwa Polskiego a gospodarka: Koncepcje i empiria (przełom wieków XIX i XX)’, *Studia Maritima*, 28, 2015, pp. 295–315 (pp. 296–98).

³⁶ See: Joanna Falkowska, *Ambasadorki wychowania: Poglądy pedagogiczne polskich kobiet w II połowie XIX i początkach XX wieku*, Toruń, 2018; Aneta Bołdyrew, ‘Wzorce wychowania dzieci i młodzieży jako element integrujący kulturę życia rodzinnego polskiego ziemiaństwa w dobie zaborów’, *Wychowanie w Rodzinie*, 1, 2011, pp. 53–85 (pp. 61–62).

³⁷ See: Joanna Dobkowska, ‘Poglądy w kwestii potrzeby oraz zakresu edukacji kobiet panujące w drugiej połowie XIX i na przełomie XIX i XX wieku’, *Acta Universitatis Lodzianis. Folia Historica*, 96, 2016, pp. 89–107.

³⁸ Bogumiła Kosmanowa, ‘Opowieści z dziejów ojczystych dla młodzieży w XIX wieku’, *Biuletyn Historii Wychowania*, 7/8, 1998, pp. 10–16.

³⁹ Łucja Charewiczowa, ‘The Position of Polish Women in the Historical Outreach and Scientific Work’, *APH*, 117, 2018, pp. 241–57 (pp. 246–47).

equality with men but with a concentrated concern for national education and the upbringing of future generations. Therefore, many of them distanced themselves from being called ‘suffragists’ or ‘feminists’. As Agata Zawiszewska explained, the women’s emancipatory movement was perceived as a threat according to conservative thinkers of Polish society. They feared that such a move would lead to an unjustified conflict between Polish men and women. It was considered an unnecessary depletion of the national strength in the fight against the invaders for the legal, political, educational and professional rights of the entire Polish nation, not only women.⁴⁰

Therefore, it is worth noting that the then landowning matrix showed care for their land property (the category of management), striving for the development of the closest court and rural/peasant environment (the category of missionism), their education (the category of educationism), and the awareness of the outstanding role of the family (the category of elitism), opening/closing to ‘novelties’ of the outside world (the category of xenolatry/xenophobia), the need to respect the woman landowner (the category of the female co-manager), and the concern for peaceful development (the category of anti-insurrectionism).

Matrix-Ostrowskis

Are the categories outlined above visible during the analysis of the subject of our research? Studying the cultural connections constructing the cultural matrix within which Ostrowska lived, it is worth focusing on the landowning environment related to her father, Aleksander Ostrowski. He was a renowned political activist, member of the *Polish Farming Annual* editorial board, vice-president of the Agricultural Society, member of the Council of State, and served as a civilian governor of Radom.⁴¹ Referring to theoretical knowledge, he presented a vision of a modern nobleman farmer in his publications. Also, he argued that, since farming work was subject to God’s laws, it should be the latter’s greatest good. Such a farmer should understand professional knowledge, the importance of

⁴⁰ Agata Zawiszewska, ‘Polish Suffragettes and the European Women’s Movement at the Turn of the 19th and 20th Centuries: Paulina Kuczalska-Reinschmit’s Social Activism and Journalism’, *Rocznik Komparatystyczny – Comparative Yearbook*, 8, 2017, pp. 299–315 (pp. 299–300).

⁴¹ See also: Karolina Studnicka-Mariańczyk, ‘Społeczno-gospodarcza działalność Aleksandra Ostrowskiego w latach 1832–1890, in *Silva Rerum Antiquarum: Księga Pamiątkowa dedykowana Prof. zw. dr. hab. Bartłomiejowi Szyndlerowi*, ed. Robert W. Szwed, Częstochowa, 2009, pp. 297–309.

economic balance, modernization, and the necessity of farmstead mechanization.⁴² His prime virtues were to be thriftiness, diligence and frugality. The idea was not just the 'augmentation' of the farmer's estate but also its 'preservation' and 'prudent use'.⁴³ This conceptual triad of 'augmentation, preservation and prudent use' was to become an *idée fixe* of the owners of Maluszyn, relativizing all aspects of their thinking and acting, and their intellectual reflections. Browsing the memoirs and letters of the Ostrowskis, the reader is struck by their obsessive frugality. Most reflections were related to the need to decrease expenses, and condemn 'idleness', 'slovenliness', and 'mediocrity'.⁴⁴ What we can find in these works, however, is the most profound respect for honest work. On the other hand, such work defined the Ostrowskis as belonging to the nobility, their elitism determined by their faith in the landed gentry's mission to lead the Polish nation. In this, their social and economic status was not simply a result of their social class but rather of the hard work of their noble ancestors. Such a belief generated an inter-generational sense of belonging, the need to work for the 'good' of the family and to include it in the past of the nation and nobility.⁴⁵

Examining the Ostrowskis, we may notice a certain dichotomy. Their economic and intellectual interests opened them to Western literature and 'foreign' innovations, conceptual, social, and technological. To conduct their activities in territories controlled by Russia required behaving loyally towards the Russian partitioners (which had to incur the disapproval of the anti-Russian part of Polish society). Simultaneously, the desire to preserve their 'Polishness' (against the threat of the Russification policy) demanded devoted worship of one's own tradition and aversion to anything threatening it. The Ostrowskis display this xenolatry-xenophobia discourse in their dealings with Russian

⁴² A perfect example of such a reflection was the sugar factory near the farm in Silniczka founded by Count Aleksander Ostrowski in 1845. However, economic changes meant that such a small production could not bring income, which is why in 1853 he established a company solely with landowners' capital and transformed the small plant into a profitable Beet Sugar Factory and Refineries. Jarosław Kita, 'Pomysły ziemiańskie dotyczące rozwoju przemysłu w Królestwie Polskim w okresie międzypowstaniowym: Teoria i praktyka', *Studia z Historii Społeczno-Gospodarczej*, 8, 2010, pp. 35–46 (p. 43).

⁴³ See: Aleksander Ostrowski, 'O głównych warunkach dobrego gospodarstwa', *Roczniki Gospodarstwa Krajowego*, 7, 1848, 13, 2, pp. 301–18 (p. 301 ff.); idem, 'O głównych warunkach dobrego gospodarstwa: O różnych rodzajach gospodarstwa rolnego', *Roczniki Gospodarstwa Krajowego*, 7, 1849, 14, 2, pp. 193–248 (p. 193 ff.). See: Morawiec, 'Feminizowanie historii', p. 94.

⁴⁴ Kita, 'Ludwika hrabina Ostrowska z Maluszyna', pp. 270–71.

⁴⁵ Morawiec, 'Feminizowanie historii', p. 95.

officials serving in the Polish territory (visible disapproval, reluctance to learn Russian). Moreover their belief in the nobility of the landed gentry, the superiority resulting from their 'hard work' separated them from other social classes.

Another essential trait of the Ostrowskis was acting deliberately to increase the family's importance. Therefore, while they engaged in social, journalistic and scientific activities, they saw their involvement in a broader context as a patriotic mission. Thus they founded orphanages and schools, sponsored poorer local youth who wanted to study, supported tradespeople in the area, patronized parochial life, and funded church construction.⁴⁶ The importance of their activities which involved founding elementary schools in their estate, was simply missionary.⁴⁷ So the Ostrowskis cared to prepare adequate school buildings, wanted to secure the livelihood of rural teachers, made efforts to provide appropriate educational means, and finally — realizing their inadequacy due to the development of modern pedagogics — began to create such means themselves (the 'Stories' by Ludwika Ostrowska are an excellent example). On the other hand, these activities entailed actual, pragmatic needs: the alumni of such schooling reinforced the estate's workforce, as they were needed not only at the palace itself but also at farms and processing plants.

There is one more discernible category involving, this time, the female part of the family. Aleksander Ostrowski often left his estate — performing public duties — in the hands of his wife, Helena, who took care of both childrearing and management of the palace and the estate.⁴⁸ Ludwika later assumed these duties. She supervised the life of the palace. She also participated in the financial endeavors of the family, which affected how the Ostrowskis and their closest milieu saw the role of a woman. Seeing themselves as no worse than men, women made decisions on the most critical issues concerning the estate. Furthermore, since they strove to 'augment', 'preserve', and 'prudently use' the family wealth together with men, they wanted to be called co-managers.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Kita, 'Ludwika hrabina Ostrowska z Maluszyna', pp. 269–71.

⁴⁷ Broader in: Łukasz Kopera, *Dzieje szkół elementarnych i powszechnych w dobrach Ostrowskich z Maluszyna (do 1945 r.)*, Sudzin and Włoszczowa, 2011; idem, 'Szkolnictwo elementarne w dobrach Ostrowskich z Maluszyna', *Częstochowskie Teki Historyczne*, 2: *Dyskurs humanistyczny początku XXI wieku w Częstochowie*, ed. Norbert Morawiec, Robert W. Szwed and Maciej Trąbski, 2011, pp. 143–72.

⁴⁸ Andrzej J. Zakrzewski, 'Z dziejów dziewiętnastowiecznej rodziny ziemiańskiej: Ostrowscy h. Korab z Maluszyna', in *Dzieje Maluszyna i jego dziedziców*, pp. 7–46.

⁴⁹ See: Morawiec, 'Feminizowanie historii'.

It seems that such an attitude results from the fact that the ‘women’s question’ had a serious meaning for the Ostrowski family – and also for the activists of the Agricultural Society and ‘The Annals’ related to the family. In 1873, Ludwik Górski, an associate of Aleksander Ostrowski, took over the journal *Kronika Rodzinna* (Family Chronicle). The journal was founded in 1867 by Aleksandra Borkowska (1867–72) and published for several years (in 1899, its editor-in-chief and publisher was Countess Cecylia Plater-Zyberkówna); it was supposed to support the idea of ‘work’, teach attachment to Polishness and Catholicism and was pro-family. It perceived the family as the mainstay of the family tradition of the landowner, in which the woman was perceived as the caretaker of the house and a socio-economic activist, simultaneously proclaiming the need to raise women in the spirit of the idea of a female co-manager.⁵⁰ Eleonora Ziemiecka (1819–69), the ‘first Polish philosopher’, published her articles in the journal. She postulated the comprehensive education of women and proclaimed the need for social and economic progress based on strictly Christian principles.⁵¹

However, the greatest impact on the formation of a new dimension of the ‘Polish Mother’ in the Ostrowski family was that of Mother Marcelina Darowska (1827–1911), co-founder of the Congregation of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the aim of which was the profound ‘revival of women, through a woman – of the family, and through the family – of the nation and the world’.⁵² The Ostrowski family

⁵⁰ Ewelina Maria Kostrzewska, ‘A Reportage at the End of the Century: European Economic Journeys of Countess Cecylia Plater-Zyberk in the Light of the “Kronika Rodzinna” (1899)’, *Review of Historical Sciences*, 16, 2017, 3, pp. 137–54 (p. 139).

⁵¹ Wiesława Sajdek, ‘Program wychowania kobiet wedle wskazówek Eleonory Ziemieckiej’, in *Niepodległościowe koncepcje i programy wychowania przełomu XIX i XX wieku: I Seminarium Polskiej Myśli Pedagogicznej ‘Myśl o wychowaniu dla Polski niepodległej 1863–1914/18’*, ed. Beata Gola, Dominika Jagielska and Janina Kostkiewicz, Cracow, 2015, pp. 93–104. In the magazine also other women published their works – a novelist and poets, activist of the Catholic Women Association, founder of the Association of Mentally Working Polish Women and organizer of courses for bodyguards – Teresa Prażmowska, Seweryna Duchcińska née Żochowska vel Pruszkowa, Deotyma – Janina Łuszczewska, Emilia Lejowa, Sabina Grzegorzewska née Gostkowska, Aleksandra Mraczewska and Bronisława Półjanowska. Marta Sikorska-Kowalska, ‘Kwestia kobieca w świetle programu społecznego “Kroniki Rodzinnej” Aleksandry Borkowskiej (1867–1872)’, *Acta Universitatis Lodzianae. Folia Historica*, 61, 1998, pp. 17–32.

⁵² See: Grażyna od Wszecpośrednictwa NMP [Grażyna Jordan], *Wychowanie to dzieło miłości: System pedagogiczny bł. Marceliny Darowskiej*, Szymanów, 1997. See: the pedagogical system of the Congregation of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Immaculate): ‘System pedagogiczny’, in *Niepokalanki.pl*, [n. pag.] <<https://walbrzych.niepokalanki.pl/system-pedagogiczny/>> [accessed in April 2021]. Analysis – Morawiec, ‘Feminizowanie historii’, pp. 101–02.

supported the Congregation and its founder; most of all, her pedagogy is summarized in four points. The first proclaimed: ‘God is everything — all through God. He is the goal — everything given to us by Him is the way to heaven’ indicating that the most critical task of all educational activities is transmitting Christian values and principles. The second — ‘God made us Poles’ — ordered them to raise children in the spirit of love for the Fatherland and form a national and religious identity. The third principle was ‘fidelity to the duties of the social status, of one’s place’, which presupposed that each person, per his or her social status, shall assume the duties, responsibilities, and tasks arising from it. Finally, the fourth, which said that one should ‘teach children to think’, prescribed raising the person so that he or she would make sound judgments and consciously shape his or her life.⁵³

However, there was one category that connected all the above: the belief in the peaceful dimension of any farming. All writings left by the Ostrowskis show extreme pacifism. All economic activities and pro-development plans could only be undertaken in periods of peaceful existence undisturbed by wars or insurgent uprisings. The thought of peaceful ‘farming’ enabled plowing, sowing and reaping, building irrigation networks to create pastures and increase arable areas, and delivering produce to newly constructed breweries, sugar refineries, and distilleries are interwoven in the reflections of individual members of the family. Still, such reflections entailed one more issue: a conscious objection to the Polish national insurrections, forcing the populace to cooperate with the invader. Even though the reflections of the Ostrowskis tied it to the programme of bringing Poles out of poverty after a period of military defeat, it could not please the ‘insurrectionist’ part of Polish society.⁵⁴

Therefore, by investigating the landed gentry matrix of the Ostrowski family, we can distinguish the categories of farming, missionism, educationism, elitism, xenolatry/xenophobia, the woman-co-manager and anti-insurrectionism growing into pacifism.

⁵³ Wojciech Osiał, ‘Chrześcijańskie inspiracje w pedagogice — refleksja nad wartością wychowania religijnego na przykładzie pedagogii bł. Marceliny Darowskiej (1827–1911)’, *Łódzkie Studia Teologiczne*, 20, 2011, pp. 235–50 (p. 243).

⁵⁴ Karolina Studnicka-Mariańczyk, *Siedziba ziemiańska Korabitów Ostrowskich*, pp. 43–45. Broader in: Andrzej J. Zakrzewski, ‘Społeczność dóbr Ostrowskich h. Korab wobec powstania styczniowego’, in *Powstanie styczniowe w regionie częstochowskim i w województwie kaliskim (1863–1864)*, ed. Maciej Trąbski, Norbert Morawiec and Robert W. Szwed, Częstochowa, 2014, pp. 69–80.

View of the World

In the next stage of our analysis, let us move on to Ludwika Ostrowska herself. Landowning cultural heritage, including the role models of parents and educational impact, strongly influenced the attitude of Ludwika Ostrowska, her identity, and awareness traits.⁵⁵ Thanks to Aleksander Ostrowski, his daughter acquired a comprehensive education. Apart from the typical home-schooling offered to girls of her status, she was taught science, biology, mathematics, physics and history, as well as practical skills and arts.⁵⁶ The knowledge and skills she learned in early home-schooling let her pursue her own studies in history, philosophy and sociology. Ludwika used her knowledge of botany and chemistry in planting a vegetable garden and cultivating fruit trees in the estate orchard, her mathematical and accounting skills, and her knowledge of law and economy – in managing the farm and the manor house.⁵⁷ Her broad horizons shaped in the process of home-schooling and self-education, as well as high moral family standards of social and patriotic activity, motivated Ludwika to get involved in the life of the local community. She tried her hand at literature, journalism, and scholarly work (scientific) and participated in disputes led by various landed gentry organizations on their programmes and methods.

These scientific interests of Ludwika and her father are particularly evident in their efforts to transform the surrounding arable land into efficient pastures (doing so required devising an optimum land reclamation method). The managerial actions undertaken to operate the family estate were another, though no less important, sphere of Ludwika's activities. Of course, the primary role in this regard was played first by Aleksander Ostrowski and, after his death, by Ludwika's brothers, mainly Józef and Jan Leon. Still, some of the responsibilities belonged to the youngest daughter and sister. Her responsibility, meticulousness, and organizational skills were invaluable in keeping and auditing financial books, statistical summaries, and balance sheet analyses. The confidence and respect for their sister are confirmed, among other things, by the act of establishment of the family's metallurgical-industrial company at Koniecpol, where the name of Ludwika Ostrowska can be seen among its founders and shareholders, which was extremely rare in those days. It is

⁵⁵ This is evidenced by the comparison of the writings and diaries of Helena and Ludwika. See: *Dzieje Maluszyna i jego dziedziców*.

⁵⁶ 'Pamiętnik Ludwiki Ostrowskiej', in *Świat dziecka ziemiańskiego: Antologia źródeł*, ed. Nina Kapuścińska-Kmieciak and Jarosław Kita, Łódź, 2012, pp. 63–146 (p. 123).

⁵⁷ More broadly in: Kita, 'Ludwika hrabina Ostrowska z Maluszyna', pp. 260–62.

worth noting that these ‘bookkeeping and accounting’ skills Ludwika had are visible in various aspects of her interests and activities. She applied similar methods to plan and calculate the number of trees in the orchard she had planted, and she needed to plant; and even to list the personal underwear she possessed and that she needed to purchase. It is evident in this context that Ludwika took after her parents in the idea of frugality: one could say that it became an essential value in her axiological repertoire. However, in any case, the Countess mentions ‘domestic’ resourcefulness and the necessity to make purchases and subsequent use profitable.⁵⁸

Let us stress that the activities of Ludwika Ostrowska as a manager (co-manager) of a demesne-estate had an economic dimension, serving the increase or preservation of holdings, as well as a social one, associated with a sense of responsibility for the prosperity of the Maluszyn community. The primary form of her social activity, sanctioned by a moral and social norm, was charity, that is, activities for the Church and parishes, care, education, and medical institutions, poor and suffering people, orphans, cripples, the elderly, and dispossessed veterans, which also included those morally astray or abused. Such activities grew from the soil of Christian pedagogy, ethical guidelines affirmed by the Church and broadly accepted cultural norms. The social activism of Ludwika Ostrowska was strongly influenced by this tradition of Christian charity and compassion.⁵⁹

Ludwika was also interested in the ‘women’s question’ in a broader, public context. As a co-founder of the United Circle of Women Landowners, she presented her ideas during frequently organized rallies, routs and lectures. She proclaimed above all that women’s education had to be directed to ensuring their livelihoods.⁶⁰ Whereas in her view, the primary obligation of women should be to establish a peaceful and relatively happy family, she agreed with the suffragettes that a married woman must not be her husband’s ‘plaything’ but should be his ‘assistant’ instead.⁶¹ She was not ashamed of the term ‘housewives’ (Polish ‘house-hens’) to describe women in the context of their daily chores. It was thanks to them — she argued — that the family could function, and all that cooking, cleaning, and

⁵⁸ Studnicka-Mariańczyk, *Domena Ostrowskich*; eadem, ‘Organizacja posiłków, czyli historia “od kuchni” w maluszyńskim pałacu Ostrowskich-Korabitów’, in *Życie prywatne Polaków w XIX wieku*, pp. 291–310.

⁵⁹ See: Karolina Studnicka-Mariańczyk and Norbert Morawiec, ‘Wstęp’, in *Opowiadanie o historii powszechnej dla ludu wiejskiego Ludwiki Ostrowskiej*, pp. 33–34.

⁶⁰ Ludwika Ostrowska, ‘O wychowaniu kobiet’, APŁ, APiOM, sygn. II/87, p. 1, Papiery osobiste Ludwiki Ostrowskiej, córki Aleksandra, Rękopis artykułu, as quoted in: Kita, ‘Ludwika hrabina Ostrowska z Maluszyna’, p. 273.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

'pacing' was to unite it internally with a 'strong link in the chain of mankind'. Ludwika believed that all these feminine duties were not just meaningless trifles but — brought together — became a major force driving towards 'a single great goal': to achieve the happiness for all by cultivating the happiness of the family.⁶²

One more category connects Ludwika to the matrix which shaped her. In many places in her intellectual production, we can reflect on the necessity to maintain peace, so important to a landlord who wants to develop his estate and a nation that intends to claim its independence. Her memoir written during World War I, is a case in point. At her palace, she received Polish soldiers fighting for the Austrians, who called on the estate's inhabitants to rise against the Russian occupants and fight for independence. Ludwika tolerated their agitation, convinced that, like the November and January Uprisings insurgents, all they could bring the martyred nation were blood and death, political collapse, and economic nothingness.⁶³

Which categories, therefore, comprised Ostrowska's view of the world? We observe her attachment to tradition, the Catholic religion, a patriarchal family, liberty, and private ownership; but also her fear of things 'foreign' — non-Polish, non-Catholic, other than that of landed gentry or noble origin — threatening not just the old liberty but above all — the possession of: the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (in a macro perspective), its part that is, Poland, Lithuania, Russia (in a medium perspective), or a single manor house with surrounding land (in a micro perspective). For Ludwika, not 'earning' but 'managing' became a culture model, and a drive for innovation and mechanization became a superior value, a sense of life. Her belief still strengthened these categories in a historical mission of the Ostrowskis of Maluszyn — land owners, defenders, contributors to the homeland, and their opposition to any political novelties, mindless conspiracy, or insurrections bringing about the economic destruction of the country. We can thus indicate that Ludwika adopted the most critical categories of the matrix: farming, missionism, educationism, elitism, xenolatry/xenophobia, women-as-co-managers and anti-insurrectionism.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ See: *I wojna światowa z perspektywy dworu: Źródła do dziejów wsi polskiej w XIX w.: Pamiętniki Ludwiki Ostrowskiej i Anieli Jałowieckiej-Belinowej*, ed. Karolina Studnicka-Mariańczyk and Andrzej J. Zakrzewski, Radomsko, 2014, pp. 157–58.

Metaphors

Bearing in mind Ludwika's entirely amateur way of 'cultivating' history, we shall now examine her interest in the past which, we believe, was an essential part of her awareness, a component of her Maluszyn identity. Undoubtedly, its function was the motivation to write the 'Stories from World History for Country Folk'. As the Ostrowskis sought to develop elementary schooling in their estates, Ludwika's work was to become a teaching aid necessary to implement the designated curriculum.⁶⁴ The concept of the development of popular education became very important for the owners of Maluszyn. Focusing on growth, mechanization, and development entailed the preparation of an appropriate workforce, which had to receive not just the necessary knowledge but also the mental categories helpful for agricultural and factory workers employed in the newly founded mechanized breweries, distilleries, sugar refineries and mills. The teaching material found in the work is very extensive, particularly the facts, which was not a problem for contemporary educators. In the school practice of the period, a handbook was more often an aid for the teacher than the student. The former indicated specific passages that the latter had to learn and repeat.⁶⁵ As an obvious consequence, the handbook contained no didactic framing, no educational measurement or evaluation apparatus, nor even a division into lesson units.⁶⁶ What stands out is the care with which Ludwika conveys the necessity of using and interpreting historical maps, which are useful for understanding historical phenomena.⁶⁷ Since Ostrowska's work was to be a general history textbook aimed at elementary school children, we will not find any scholarly apparatus in it. This does not allow the reader a quick insight into the scientific basis of the work. Therefore, it is difficult to recreate the selection of the literature on the subject used to create the narrative without being exposed to speculation and supposition. Probably, while writing her

⁶⁴ It is worth adding here that efforts to set up schools were already undertaken by Aleksander's Father, Wojciech Ostrowski (1782–1847). The first school in the estates of the Ostrowskis was opened in Radoszewnica in 1848, followed by elementary schools (nurseries) in Maluszyn (1849), Silniczka and Krzętów (1857), Trzebce (around 1863) and Łysiny (around 1875). Kopera, *Dzieje szkół elementarnych i powszechnych*, pp. 28–29, 89–90.

⁶⁵ Mazur, *Zawód nauczyciela w ciągu dziejów*, p. 67.

⁶⁶ See: Maria Bieniek, *Obudowa dydaktyczna polskich podręczników historii 1795–1914*, Olsztyn, 2001.

⁶⁷ More on the historical maps and atlases used in that period: Tomasz Kamusella, 'Szkolne atlasy historyczne: Niewidzialne ideologie w edukacji', *Autoportret: Pismo o dobrej przestrzeni*, 2014, 1(44), pp. 70–77.

work, Ludwika got acquainted with the older textbooks of Polish authors (for example, Father Stefan Sawicki)⁶⁸ as well as — recommended by the educational authorities — Russian, including Ivan Kaidanov, Semen Smaragdov and Dmitrii Ilovaiskii. However, during this period, teachers were encouraged to use other textbooks as ‘supplementary books’, including ‘Western ones’ — Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, Antoine François Claude Ferrand, Johannes von Müller, Arnold Hermann Ludwig Heeren and Karl Friedrich Eichhorn. The Countess begins her narration with information about the geography of the Earth, the origins of humanity, the ancient Near East, Egypt, Israel/Judea, Media and Persia, Greece, Rome, the German invasions, the Germanic and Slavic peoples, Arabia and Islam, the Franks and the Lombards, the Normans, France, England, Germany and Italy, Poland, the Crusades, Spain, Scandinavia, twelfth and thirteenth century Poland, the Mongol invasions, the Fragmentation of Poland and attempts to restore it, and the reign of Casimir the Great) (the work breaks off at the reign of Louis of Hungary. However, the writing of the handbook took longer and longer — considering the Countess’s involvement in the affairs of farming at the estate, her socio-cultural work, and intermittent trips to improve her health — and Ludwika’s efforts to publish the ‘Stories’ in print never succeeded.⁶⁹

Let us look at the narration itself. The author was interested in all state-formation processes, and she chose rulers — emperors, kings and princes — as the subjects of her history. She always discussed the fates of human communities in the same context, subjecting them to the traits of the rulers: their attitudes towards wars, economic development, education, craft (Ostrowska used the term ‘industry’), customs, and above all, religious faith. Reigns of those rulers who focused on war or wanted to impose their hegemony commanded no respect. Their conduct, having nothing in common with religiosity or loving one’s neighbor, generated nothing but the lack of peaceful existence for their subjects, the opportunity to ‘farm’, loss of income, and the inability to accumulate wealth. In this context, let us focus on a striking narrative

⁶⁸ Broader in: Wanda Zwolska, ‘Podręczniki historii w gimnazjach galicyjskich w latach 1867–1914’, *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego*, Series 1: *Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne*, 86, 1972, pp. 27–45; Zbigniew Michalik, ‘Na drodze ku integralnej wizji dziejów Polski: Podręczniki szkolne przełomu XIX i XX wieku’, *Przegląd Humanistyczny*, 25, 1981, 1–2, pp. 233–45; Maria Wierzbicka, ‘Popularne podręczniki dziejów Polski w latach 1864–1914’, in *Edukacja historyczna społeczeństwa polskiego w XIX w.: Zbiór studiów*, ed. Jerzy Maternicki, Warsaw, 1981, pp. 355–94.

⁶⁹ See. Morawiec and Studnicka-Mariańczyk, ‘Wstęp’, in *Opowiadanie o historii powszechnej dla ludu wiejskiego Ludwiki Ostrowskiej*, pp. 49.

dedicated to Alexander of Macedonia. The Countess observed that most historians called him ‘the Great’ to recognize his military conquests. However, his constant waging of wars, marching of armies accompanied by harassing the indigenous people, and fierce battles did not allow the farmers to farm. Due to the constant marching of troops, farmers could not plow, sow, or reap, leading to the collapse of manufacturing, commerce, and so on. At the same time, there was another ruler, a woman — which should surprise no one — Queen Semiramis, who was a true ‘farmer’. Ostrowska underlined the efforts of the — legendary, as we know from our research perspective⁷⁰ — queen towards creating the Hanging Gardens of Babylon. She thus had to import new species of plants and animals and support technological development to create systems for irrigation, reclamation of desert areas, and constructing a network of channels. Thanks to her initiative, the city’s economic importance increased, and so did the safety of its citizens, satisfied with the development and multiplied income. Alas, her legacy did not survive. Her demonstrably non-religious descendants chose military conquest over farming. This must have led to constant warfare, dynastic changes, and — consequently — to political and economic collapse.⁷¹

In subsequent sections of her book, Ostrowska discussed the history of Rome. The foundation of the city and later the whole state was — in her opinion — that of a typical military nature. Romulus, the very founder of Rome, ‘surrounded himself with a bunch of troublemakers’ and began forcing his rule upon his neighbours. Then, having conquered the nearby cities, Romulus razed them and resettled their inhabitants in Rome so that it kept growing. In Ostrowska’s words, ‘War begat Rome, war became the purpose of that state’.⁷² Being of a notably military nature, all its population was forced to participate in the conquests. War divided the society: the citizens who distinguished themselves with bravery gained increasingly significant positions, prevailed over others, and led them (the Senate). Significant families crystallized, and the people divided into the wealthy who inherited offices — patricians — and the free yet poor plebians. However, a newly elected king — Numa Pompilius — intended to change

⁷⁰ Present-day historians are still looking for the historical Semiramis. They believe the stories about the queen refer to the Assyrian queen Shammuramat, wife of Shamshi-Adad V (823–809 BCE), mother of Adadnirari III. For more about the historical queen, see: ‘Semiramis’, in Gwendolyn Leick, *Who’s Who in the Ancient Near East*, London and New York, 2002, p. 89. Historians frequently referred to the queen. See: Jolanta Malinowska, ‘Wizerunek kobiety w kronice mistrza Wincentego’, *Acta Universitatis Lodzianensis. Folia Historica*, 64, 1999, pp. 5–25 (p. 7).

⁷¹ *Opowiadanie o historii powszechnej dla ludu wiejskiego Ludwiki Ostrowskiej*, p. 74.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 93.

this predominantly militaristic nature of the state. Ostrowska praised this ruler because... he was averse to accepting the royal dignity he was offered. According to the Countess, it was due to his wisdom, as he knew the perils associated with power and what it required. First of all, however, Numa was a learned man who knew Greek customs and teachings. Influenced by them, he not only compiled 'wise laws' but also — being a just ruler — imposed them 'with his own example, which is always the best lesson'. He aligned the archaic Roman religiosity with the Greek, showing his subjects a system of beliefs, virtues, and proper conduct. Yet above all else, he admired peace, for 'during his reign, he never conquered a city'.⁷³ After his death — according to our historian — the Romans reverted to their warlike attitude. At the same time, the 'love of their fatherland so great that it had no equal in any of the ancient nations' and became their chief virtue. However, constant wars and incessant conquests had social repercussions. In those times, the Romans had no standing army: every free citizen called to arms grabbed 'whichever sword, spear, or bow and arrow he had at home, took food he could afford, and left his field or craft to defend his fatherland's borders at the command of the patricians'.⁷⁴ Nonetheless, during prolonged military campaigns, soldiers tended to face hunger, which led to the pillaging of the conquered countries and the economic destruction of whole regions. Moreover, Romans returned from war to their homesteads and farms: 'unsown fields brought no harvest when the wounded warrior could not work anymore'. This forced many of them to take loans. Then if some of them failed to pay the loan back on time, they could lose their homes, farms, and children and even become slaves themselves. Most frequently, it was the wealthy patricians who — holding wealth in their hands — were creditors of the plebeians. In time, the oppression of the plebeians by the patricians became more and more onerous.⁷⁵ Naturally, this led to an open conflict between these social groups. A rebellion broke out, which Ostrowska studied with due attention. However, her narration was not meant to attack social divisions; it only scolded excessive exploitation. Having decided to oppose the existing order, the plebeians 'gathered in an ordered formation, left the city and made camp on the Aventine Hill'. Even more so, they stopped working to protest against the one-sided accumulation of the spoils of war. In their view, only the patricians profited from the wars and conquests.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 94.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 95.

Seeing that, the latter sent an envoy to the talks, a 'wise man' — according to Ostrowska, who 'told a fable' to the plebeians. It was reportedly a tale of body members who rebelled against the stomach. They accused it that they had to work for it while it did nothing and, even worse, starved the organism. So the hands stopped passing food to the mouth, the mouth taking it, and the teeth biting and chewing. Obviously, it had natural consequences: 'all members languished' and learned that 'by using the foods, the stomach pours strength and life into the members'. The tale was a success. The plebeians understood that though the Senate and patricians 'worked not with their hands but heads and rule, they gave force to the whole state'. Ashamed of what they did, they returned to the city, gaining only certain concessions. They were granted two officials, Tribunes, whose role was solely to ensure there was no harm to the people and to accept complaints in the *fora* at all times of the day. These actions, however, did not bring social well-being: the Romans 'always looked for trouble', constantly sought enemies, and forever waged wars.⁷⁶

Similar divagations can be found in Ostrowska's subsequent historical analyses. Let us focus on the passage about Charlemagne's reign. He was, according to the Countess, 'quick-witted' and 'of indomitable will, valiant and extremely active'.⁷⁷ As a result, Charlemagne constantly waged wars to subjugate the neighboring peoples, for he wanted to subdue and 'transform' other people 'with violence'. The clergy followed his armies to force Christianity upon the conquered people as a term of peace. Nevertheless, there was a price. While the population appeared submissive, they only waited for an opportune moment to break the bonds, 'murder the priests and return to their idols'. It mattered little that his conquests and acceptance of the imperial dignity allowed him to ensure a peaceful rule where he focused on development, founded bishoprics, built monasteries, and backed education. His heritage, built upon war, violence, and human suffering, had to fall. Soon after the ruler's death, the conquered lands were divided between his ceaselessly infighting descendants. It was they who — between constant wars, murders, and violence — gave historical rise to Italy, Germany and France.⁷⁸

In this context, let us focus on the narration about the farmers — the Piasts. Contrary to the Franks or other Germanic rulers, they put forward peace and agricultural cultivation, not conquest and hegemony.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 131.

⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 132–34.

For the Germanic world was the world of conquest, the Slavic one of peace. Owing to such a policy, the Piasts were able to bring the surrounding tribes under their rule and created a statehood based on landowners-holders-farmers. The state of Mieszko I was — Ostrowska argued — comprised of peaceful ‘princes-peasants-farmers’. In contrast, the very foundation act of the Polish statehood was considered a rarity in Ostrowska’s book since solely Poland had been founded through peaceful policy and hard work.⁷⁹ Since Mieszko desired to develop his economic power, wealth, and the internal order, he intended to forge a Slavic alliance against the Germans. The way to it led through the marriage with the Czech princess Doubravka (Dobrawa). This marriage had yet another consequence. Doubravka convinced Mieszko to baptize himself, then other female members of the Piast dynasty continued her work, propagating Christianity to many nations through dynastic marriages.⁸⁰ The newly introduced faith — in the historian’s reflection — redefined a woman’s role and changed the perception of her duties as a wife and mother. In the Greek and Roman period, the wife who was a slave ‘to serve or play with’ gained freedom under Christianity. Her actions were only bound by the care for the good of the family and thus the obligation to share every toil and effort with her husband. The author noticed this willingness to share efforts, ‘accompany’, and co-manage while reviewing the lives and works of subsequent queens and princesses.⁸¹ One who studies Ostrowska’s work will find the essence of a ruler-farmer in the narration of the activities of the last of the Piast dynasty, Casimir the Great. What stands out most is the king’s policy addressing the Teutonic Knights’ problem resolution. He did not decide on war, armed resolution, and militarization of the country, suggesting a historically unusual solution — peaceful ‘farming’. The ruler’s focus on developing the state by peaceful coexistence with its neighbors, support for education, agriculture, commerce and construction, were not only necessary for the unification of the Polish state after the fragmentation period but, above all, propelled its progress for centuries to come.⁸²

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 187–91.

Recapitulation

To summarize our reflections, let us examine the ‘Stories’ in the context of their constituent metaphors. During our detailed studies, we have paid attention to the metaphor, or rather macro-metaphor, of ‘farming’. Let us note that this ‘farming’ determines all of Ludwika’s thinking. She wants to understand the surrounding world through it, the past, the present, and the future. The rule of monarchs is analysed in the context of their pro-development, pro-economic activities, their civilizational mission (the metaphor of missionism). In the Countess’s view, every ruler should be a good farmer, striving to develop agriculture, commerce, trade, and construction. He should have made efforts to learn technological innovations — such as appeared in the times when he lived and ruled. His attitude towards education was essential, for only through education could any civilisational development take place (the metaphor of educationism). Let us add that the narration elevated the significance of rulers as owners, while their affiliation with the ‘land’ was to stem from the hard physical/intellectual work (both theirs and of their ancestors), that is, from the generational accumulation of its results. ‘Work’ was meant to legitimize ‘power’ in all cases, not just the power of kings, as Ostrowska did not rebuke political or economic social differences. For instance, we might observe that she did not support the plebeians’ opposition to patricians’ domination. She believed that the latter ‘won’ their position on the battlefield and did not squander this wealth but multiplied it, providing credits to the plebeians (the metaphor of elitism). Interestingly, we might also notice admiration for some civilizational achievements of the ‘foreign’ (for example, Greeks, Romans, Franks) in the narration and stressing the necessity to implement it on the domestic soil (the metaphor of xenolatry).

On the other hand, many passages praising the Slavic/Polish/Catholic familiarity were colored by a dislike of the ‘foreign’ (the metaphor of xenophobia). What draws attention the most is the importance of women. Ostrowska saw the fundamental historical role of a woman-ruler in co-management with the ruler, such as her husband or son (the metaphor of a woman-co-manager). Such a woman had to display resourcefulness, economic passion, and was to support the ruler and all his ‘farming’ thoughts; caution against excess — contrary to the Bible and human justice — augmentation, and remind him of the need to preserve and prudently use all the civilizational gains he had achieved. Yet the woman-ruler was also meant to propagate the rules of Christianity and, in this context, to cultivate the family values, and be a guardian of morality, justice, and social order. She was meant to rebuke those men-rulers who — disobedient to

Divine Laws — led despotic, bloody, and unjust regimes... All these activities obviously depended on one key issue: peace — for all this ‘farming’ was linked to ‘peaceful’ growth, development, and thus accumulation of capital (the metaphor of anti-insurrectionism).

On studying the literary work of Ludwika Ostrowska carefully, we put forth a hypothesis that the cultural model of the Polish landed gentry played a crucial role in her work. Our proposed study shares a common objective: to show that the manifold social relations of landed gentry/nobility in the second half of the nineteenth century became a mirror reflection of subjective aspects of human activity created in Ludwika Ostrowska’s narrative. We can even speak of managing a farmstead (filled with categories made up by the landed gentry culture model), which in our opinion, was the foundation of any intellectual reflections of Ludwika and outlined the overall framework for her thinking of the world (its present state as well as its historical image). Indeed, the author not only built historical narratives as a reader of scholarly books, a farmer introducing new species of apple trees, and a historian-landowner but also — explored them as she learned and described the world through her scientific-methodological reflection of a historian-enthusiast and her personal experience of contemporary culture and historical tradition of the landed gentry. From this study perspective, one should indicate that the categories the Countess-historian took from her cultural background did not create the depicted world itself but rather all its meanings and general categories. These categories defined a landowner-nobleman’s acceptable culture matrix (view of the world/universe), which built up cognitive conventions and a historical metaphor. This resulted in a historical description based on the image of a landed gentry culture model. Therefore — thanks to our scientific research — we can see how a landed gentry culture model determined Ostrowska’s universe/view of the world, constituted her individual knowledge and generated her thinking/acting. It was that individual experience of the world of Ostrowska — a domain administrator/historian, generated by the landed gentry culture model, which designated both the set of categories formulating her cultural matrix/view of the world/universe, and structured her cognitive conventions, cognitive structures/universe, as well as her epistemologically-understood metaphors. It can thus be firmly emphasized that Ostrowska did ‘cultivate’ history. Naturally, our reflections constitute only an initial suggestion for studies into the cultural aspect of Ludwika Ostrowska’s research writing. Nonetheless, they may also contribute to a broader understanding of the anthropological dimension of historiography.

Summary

The article analyses the vision of history in a textbook for elementary education entitled 'Stories from World History for Country Folk' by Ludwika Ostrowska of Maluszyn (1851–1926). The authors of the text hypothesized that the culture of the Polish landed gentry played a crucial role in shaping Ostrowska's work. In this context — referring to contemporary research on the anthropology of knowledge — they decided to analyse the influence of the landowning cultural matrix on Ostrowska's worldview and all metaphorical categories of her narrative. They noticed that for the landowners of that time, it was important to care for the landed property (the category of management), the development of the court and rural/peasant environment (the category of missionism), its education (the category of educationism), awareness of the outstanding role of the family (the category of elitism), openness/closure to 'novelties' of the outside world (the category of xenolatry/xenophobia), respecting the woman landowner (the category of a female co-manager) and concern for peaceful development (the category of anti-insurrectionism). Therefore, the authors wanted to show how these matrix categories influenced Ostrowska's worldview (scientific interests, 'devotion to the farmland', social mission, the uniqueness of the family, opening/closing to the foreign, the need to educate the youngest and the rejection of insurrectionism). However, in the second part of the article, the researchers showed the influence of this worldview on the metaphorical resources in the history textbook written by the author. They concluded that farm management (filled with the resource created by the model of the landowner's culture) became the fundamental category of all intellectual reflections by Ludwika, outlining the general framework of her thinking about the world (both the present and the past).

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