

REVIEW ARTICLES AND REVIEWS

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On the biography of Leonard Marcin Świeykowski

(Rev.: D. Rolnik, *Leonarda Marcina Świeykowskiego [1721–1793] ostatniego wojewody podolskiego życie codzienne i polityczne oraz myśli o Rzeczypospolitej*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, Katowice 2016, pp. 756).

IT might be surprising that the latest book by Dariusz Rolnik¹, a well-known researcher of the time of Stanisław August Poniatowski's reign, is so large in volume and constitutes such an extensive collection of facts about Leonard Marcin Świeykowski who previously was not considered to be a particularly active or outstanding person, though he held the office of the voivode of Podole. Thus far, he might have been identified as a representative of the middle nobility, competing with the magnates only by the king's initiative. He could have been seen as a typical careerist who climbed the ladder by supporting the royal court. Although his name appeared in the studies on the political skirmishes in the Crown voivodships of Kresy, no individual or significant role was ascribed to him. Consequently, as emphasized by the author, he was perceived to be "a figurant of his times" whose political views are not worth learning (pp. 8–9). Especially that he was virtually not known to his contemporaries, at least until he was appointed as the Marshal of the Crown Tribunal (1782–1783) and Castellan

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of Kamieniec². His previous political activity was barely spoken of, except for the mentions that he acted as a deputy of Bratslav to the Convocation Sejm in 1764 and that he made efforts to become a deputy in 1778. Later, he was mostly involved in the grain trade with Russia. Thus, it seems natural that the historians could have confused the spelling of his name or even associate him with completely different families such as the family of Szwykowski (pp. 11–17).

The author was challenged by the lack of details on the life and achievements of the last voivode of Podole. The aim of his research, however, was not to write the biography of L.M. Świekowski, but rather to show career paths of King Stanisław August Poniatowski's supporters. Basing on the example of Świekowski, Dariusz Rolnik sought to present an image of an ordinary nobleman and his advancement to the circle of truly influential politicians of the period (p. 23, 25). Most importantly, he aimed to illustrate a complex nature of Świekowski's worldviews in which the republican spirit was combined with the readiness to support the king's aspirations to strengthen the executive power (p. 30). In order to implement such a structured idea, the author made use of the hitherto fairly unknown, scattered Archive of Świekowski family (preserved mainly in the Kórnik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences) and critically examined the literature on the subject which includes hardly any information on Świekowski and his family, but rather numerous mistakes, partially resulting from the marginalization of his significance. It should be emphasized that the author's evaluation of the former studies is highly critical and he engages into polemics with the opinions and statements of numerous researchers, including Bogusław Leśnodorski, Jerzy Łojek, Władysław Smoleński, Andrzej Stroynowski, Zofia Zielińska. In this criticism, he does not omit himself, asserting that: "The biographical sketch by Dariusz Rolnik fills the gap only to a lesser extent and is not free of flaws either" (p. 24)³.

² This is indicated by the fact that his name was not even mentioned in the diaries studied by Dariusz Rolnik, *Portret szlachty czasów stanisławowskich, epoki kryzysu, odrodzenia i upadku Rzeczypospolitej w pamiętnikach polskich*, 2nd ed., Katowice 2011.

³ Idem, *Poglądy polityczne Leonarda Marcina Świekowskiego wojewody podolskiego w latach 1790–1793. Między Stanisławem Augustem a opozycją antykrólewską*, [in:] *Faworyci i opozycjoniści. Król a elity polityczne w Rzeczypospolitej XV–XVII wieku*, eds M. Markiewicz, R. Skowron, Kraków 2006, pp. 495–520.

The book consists of two parts. The former, entitled *L.M. Świeykowski, his life, household, political activity and views* addresses the main subject matter, while the latter constitutes a thorough appendix: *The documents and “political” letters of L.M. Świeykowski*, comprising 14 letters from the sons and four longer texts from 1792, out of which the most important are: *Citizens’ thoughts on establishing a republican form of government* and *Cato’s view on the freedom of the Commonwealth and on political virtues*. The main body is preceded by a large, 30-page-long introduction and enriched with a bibliography and an index of people. The focus of this article is the first part of the book, divided into nine chapters, with the titles that accurately reflect undertaken themes and the author’s concept. The book is closed with a brief, four-page-long conclusion.

The first chapter I *The family and affinities – from “Świeykowo” under the “Tulczyn roof” of Stanisław Szczęśny Potocki* (pp. 37–100) perfectly illustrates the problems encountered while conducting a genealogical study of less known noble families. It turned out that even L.M. Świeykowski himself was getting lost in the genealogy and financial status of his own (p. 53)⁴. The author, nonetheless, managed to determine the most relevant facts about the affinities of the Świeykowski family in the 18th century, pointing to how meaningful the marriages of the voivode’s daughters were as Balbina and Ludwika became wives of the Moszczeński brothers, Adam and Ignacy. The remaining children married already after their father’s death and the most prestigious union was between Jan Nepomucen and Octavia, the daughter of Stanisław Szczęśny Potocki. It was a major leap in the standard of these marriages in comparison with the beginnings of Świeykowski’s career who managed to enter into his first marriage to Joanna Justyna Orłowska (sister of Jan Onufry Orłowski who later became a chamberlain)

⁴ This should not come as a surprise since similar difficulties were encountered while tracing the genealogy of the more prominent family of Lanckoroński (S. Cynarski, *Dzieje rodu Lanckorońskich z Brzezia od XIV do XVIII wieku. Sprawy kariery urzędniczej i awansu majątkowego*, Warszawa–Kraków 1996) or of the equally influential but split in many lines Walewski family (M. Kobierecki, *Walewscy herbu Kolumna w XVII–XVIII wieku. Genealogia, majątności, działalność publiczna*, Łódź 2008). Marcin Matuszewicz, who also promoted from a regular nobleman to a senator, faced the same problems with tracing his ancestry, *Dziariusz życia mego*, ed. B. Królikowski, comm. Z. Zielińska, vol. I, Warszawa 1986, pp. 428–445, p. 570.

in 1750 only thanks to the backing of Józef Lubomirski (p. 65). He remarried in 1773 with Izabela of the well-known Dunin-Karwicki family. It was also essential to prove the growing financial capabilities to provide each daughter with 100 thousand zlotys of dowry which was later supplemented (in total, the dowries amounted to 900 thousand zlotys, p. 148).

The second chapter *The properties and economic status – from the owner of Nowosielica to the voivode of Bratslav* (pp. 101–148) shows the improvement in Świeykowski's financial situation. At the beginning, he owned no estates but the village Nowosielice by virtue of a lien, which generated 3,133 zlotys of annual profit and which he did not buy until 1757. At the end of his days, his estate was worth approx. five million zlotys and it was burdened with only 0,4 million zlotys of debt. Thus, his position in the voivodship was comparable to those of the Sanguszki, Radziwiłł, Lubomirski and Potocki families (pp. 147–148).

The third chapter *Court proceedings – between the politics and the interests of own household* (pp. 149–236) is meant to demonstrate that despite Konstanty Podwysocki's previous opinion, Świeykowski did his best to follow the letter of the law and repeatedly succeeded, due to his adequate preparation for the confrontations, in court. He was usually the accused party and yet was able to successfully protect his properties, also against border usurpations. Świeykowski adhered to the principles of law and safeguarded them even in less significant arguments (p. 149). He happened to defend his position against the king who supported Marianna Wykowska (Wyhowska) in her dispute with the voivode and influenced the choice of judges that was favorable to her (p. 202).

The fourth chapter *The landlord and protector of peasants – the economy on the borderlands of big politics* (pp. 237–354) is devoted to the voivode's sources of economic success (s. 237), most of all consisting in diligence, skills and devotion rather than in politics. He could let his remote estates on lease, while taking out a lease on other properties himself. He also exercised discipline over his plenipotentiaries and overseers, frequently with the help of detailed instructions (p. 250). Taking care of his peasants, he prevented from rebellions or escapes. For safety reasons, he also kept at least 40 Cossacks and own unit of hayduks. Until 1792, he was selling grain and liquor to the Russian army at a profit. He also managed (up to 1792/93) to secure his goods against assaults of the Russian

troops (p. 297). It led to the growth of his estates which in the late years of his life were inhabited by tens of thousands of subjects (out of whom ten thousand were men, p. 354).

The fifth chapter *Political career – a road to honours* (pp. 355–422) reveals how skilled Świeykowski was at public activities which was meant to help him climb the ladder of status. For this reason, he always kept close to the crown (of August III and of Stanisław August Poniatowski) and knew how to gain the patronage of different figures: since 1743, Stanisław Lubomirski (later, the voivode of Bratslav), the Sanguszko family, Józef Stempkowski, Maciej Lanckoroński and finally, Stanisław Szczęsny Potocki. It is worth emphasizing that he was able to enjoy their favour for many years by avoiding conflicts and helping with their estates (he managed part of the Ostróg entail after the Kolbuszowa Transaction) and legal matters (as the judge of Bratslav, pp. 355–379)). In addition, he displayed a great deal of political intuition in the most crucial moments. For instance, during the Bar Confederation he minimized his contact with the king but at the same time renounced his plenipotentiary power over Stanisław Lubomirski's properties, turning away from politics and devoting himself solely to his own estate. At that time, he became involved with Józef Stempkowski, seeking his help with the threat of the haidamakas and the disputes over properties with Grocholski and Czetwertyński. He became a truly significant figure when in 1772, thanks to M. Lanckoroński, August Czartoryski and the royal support, he was appointed as the judge of Bratslav. Soon, he was said to be one of the candidates for position of the voivode of Livonia. Świeykowski's position of an influential royalist was strengthened by his close association with Szczęsny Potocki, which in 1781 brought him the Order of Saint Stanislaus and in 1782 he became the Marshal of the Crown Tribunal and the Castellan of Kamieniec – as the first senator in his family. It was a token of appreciation for his competence and talent, manifested in his previous economic and judicial activity (p. 422).

The sixth chapter *The Senator of the Commonwealth – between Stanisław August and the magnates of Kresy* (pp. 423–460) opens with a statement that since L.M. Świeykowski was appointed as senator, he was not particularly active in politics and ceased to attend the sessions of the Diet. His participation was limited to reading reports from his correspondents. Likewise, he did not enter great political disputes and avoided expressing his opinion on the

matter of Maria Dogrumova. His views could only be represented by both Moszczeński brothers, and later by his sons, Michał and Jan Nepomucen. Świeykowski also stayed away from engaging into the campaigns of sejmiks. Even though in 1786 he supported efforts of his brother-in-law, Jan Onufry Orłowski, to become the chamberlain of Letychiv, he probably did not join him at the memorable session of the Podole sejmik when the royalists clashed with Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski⁵. His absence at the sittings of the Diet was attributed to his poor health. As a declared royalist, he maintained good relationship with everyone. And so, he extended his influence on the provinces by offering noblemen his support in their contacts with the king, Szczęsny Potocki and Adam Czartoryski (p. 453).

The seventh chapter VII *The time of the Great Diet – the observer, executor and critic of the will of “Diet’s participants”* (pp. 461–534) confirms that Świeykowski was unwilling to get involved in political conflicts as he did not take part in the sittings of the Great Diet. For the sake of neutrality, he even limited his thus far close contacts with Szczęsny Potocki. The author considers it to be a manifestation of the pro-state attitude of his protagonist. After all, it brought him further benefits – in 1790, he took the seat of the Voivode of Podole (pp. 461–468). At the same time, however, he expressed an interest in the ongoing sessions of the Great Diet and in 1790, supported his son Michał in his efforts to become a deputy. While remaining at home, he privately criticized certain reforms, in particular the abolition of the Permanent Council and the lack of a new executive power. He also disapproved of garrulousness and ineffectiveness of Diet’s decisions and the ineptitude of the civil and military commissions. He opposed to teasing Russia, partly concerned about keeping his trade profitable; yet, he did not believe in developing close relationship with Prussia. At the same time, however, he zealously fulfilled his civic duties, like in the case of taxes and providing recruits. The Constitution of May 3, and especially the manner in which it was passed, proved to be a turning point that agitated the voivode. Only then did he realise that the king was the main initiator of this attack on traditional liberties of the nobility. Still, he avoided making unambiguous declarations and although his reluctant attitude was widely known, he did not join the battle

⁵ A. Stroynowski, *Cele i skutki rozdziwienia sejmiku podolskiego w 1786 roku*, “Wiek Stare i Nowe” 2015, vol. VIII (XIII), pp. 99–114.

for the result of the so-called constitutional referendum of February 14, 1792 (pp. 510–531).

The eight chapter *In the Targowica Confederation – advising the marshal of the crown general confederation?* (pp. 535–578) depicts a dramatic period after the establishment of the Targowica Confederation in St. Petersburg (Jan Nepomucen Świeykowski, son of the voivode, was already there in March 1792). At that time, Świeykowski already abandoned the pretense of neutrality and on May 14, 1792, joined the Targowica Confederation. Yet, it was not until July 31, that he took part in the congress of the nobility in Dubno and did not fulfil his obligations as an advisor of the marshal of the General Council which as usual he attributed to his ill health (pp. 541, 555). He still supported military operations of the Polish army, which was also due to the attitudes of Russian troops who were destroying his properties regardless of liberation that the confederation established. All the same, he naively believed in Catherine II's good will and that she was unaware of mass robberies. Also, he still trusted Szcześny Potocki and, in response to the appeal (of September 29, 1792) of the frequently criticized General Council, he sent him his project of reforming the country (pp. 570–576).

The ninth chapter *Political views – a republican by the king's side or a monarchist among republicans?* (pp. 579–610) constitutes a closing of the deliberations and an analysis of Świeykowski's writings which are published in the second part of the book. His ideas are believed to have been used by Szcześny Potocki in the anti-monarchical project meant to reform the political system (sent on October 6, 1792) which was rejected by Catherine II (p. 583). In the absence of evidence for his hypothesis that Świeykowski was an unofficial adviser of Szcześny Potocki, the author points to the low mental efficiency of the Marshal and high positions held by the sons and son-in-law of the voivode (pp. 584–586). Świeykowski's political concepts were founded on the conviction that the basis of a good system "is the nation made up of virtuous citizens" (p. 586). The said nation was to be characterized by: the love of freedom, law and the motherland. He feared that the king would reach an agreement with Russia bypassing the General Council. Hence, he wanted to limit the monarch's power by, for example, finishing with the only seemingly functioning three-estate system, narrowing it down to two chambers: of senators and nobles (p. 590). Glorifying freedom

and disapproving of the May coup, he wished to introduce a new political system skipping the lengthy Diet debates, suggesting the solution from 1717. For this reason, the author maintains that his protagonist became politically torn after 1791 (p. 610).

As stated in a brief ending of the discussion, L.M. Świeykowski was in fact underestimated by his contemporaries since he stayed in the side-lines and participated in politics through his relatives. Consequently, in 1794, his sons were denounced in absentia as traitors (pp. 611–612); yet, it happened after the voivode's death. Świeykowski himself took pride in obeying the law and adhering to the republican principles until the end of his days. Being a nouveau riche person, he could also boast that due to his diligence, abilities, good knowledge of economics and positive thinking, he was successful with his estate, held office and politics. Even though it was common to make use of the king's and magnates' backing, Świeykowski's career was based mostly on his own work and such patronage was only a contributing factor (pp. 613–614).

While the book provides a very broad coverage of the subject matter and is printed in a neat edition, certain shortcomings of the editorial nature cannot be ignored. For example, a nearly identical sentence appears twice on the same page (30): "S.Sz. Potocki was accompanied by the sons of L.M. Świeykowski – Michał and Jan Nepomucen, and his sons-in-law – Adam and Ignacy Moszczeński, virtually at all times". Next, writing of 1792, the young Świeykowski brothers are referred to as "sons of a castellan" and "sons of a voivode" on the two neighboring pages (pp. 562–563). This category of oversights includes the sentence: "This author no conclusion is drawn from this" (p. 381). The statement that Świeykowski "in a sense, remained a royalist, as he entrusted the absolute power to a narrow group of the wealthiest nobility, and he did so on behalf of the noble nation" (p. 610) is to be considered incomprehensible – what do oligarchic tendencies have in common with royalism? Lacking consistency or being overly influenced by a source text translated into the use of the term "house" while referring to "family" of Świeykowski (p. 50)⁶. What is more, the author includes in the bibliography publications which are not referenced in any

⁶ It should be noted that the use of the notion "house" in respect of the 17th and 18th centuries should be avoided, as decided at the conference "*Honestas et turpitudine. Magnates in the Commonwealth in the 16th–18th centuries*", held in Augustów on September 10–12, 2015, in which Dariusz Rolnik also participated.

footnote⁷. A more serious issue lies in the lack of references to the contemporary Ukrainian literature devoted to the political situation and properties in the south-eastern Kresy in the 18th century, while it seems essential to mention the works of Tatiana Czubina and Mykoła Krykun⁸. Neither did Rolnik include numerous Polish works that would offer a broader context of Świejkowski's political, and especially economic, activity⁹.

One may have certain reservations concerning some of the author's detailed claims. For instance, he insists that during the 1786 Diet's session, Adam Moszczeński maintained a moderate political stance rather than that of the opposition, and that his comments on the Russian violence stemmed simply from widespread indignation (p. 444). He forgot, however, that during the same ses-

⁷ T. Srogosz, *Początki budowy stronnictwa królewskiego na Ukrainie przez Józefa Gabriela Stempkowskiego (Koniec lat sześćdziesiątych – początek siedemdziesiątych XVIII w.)*, "Przegląd Nauk Historycznych" 2006, vol. V, No. 1 (9), pp. 171–183.

⁸ T.D. Czubina, *Rid Potockich w Ukraini (tulczinska linija). Sospilno-politiczni ta kulturologiczni aspekti*, Czerkasi 2008, pp. 124–166; M.G. Krykun, *Administratieno-teritorialnij ustrój Prawobiereżnoj Ukrainy w XV–XVIII st. Kordoni wojwodctw i siemli dżereł*, Kiiv 1993; idem, *Narodonasilenie podolskogo woewodstwa w XVI–XVIII ww. Autoreferat dissertacii na souskanie uczonej ctepeni kandydata istoriczeskich nauk*, Lwow 1965. Another useful, though less essential, work could be: Ewgenij Czerneczkij, *Branickije*, Bełaja Cerkow 2011.

⁹ A. Danilczyk, *Afera Dogrumowej a konsolidacja opozycji antykrólewskiej 1785–1786*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 2004, vol. CXI, No. 4, pp. 47–81; W. Filipczak, *Stronnictwo regalistyczne w województwie kijowskim 1780–1782*, "Przegląd Nauk Historycznych" 2009, vol. VIII, No. 1 (9), pp. 82–83; Z. Guldon, *Handel Polski z Mołdawią, Nowoserbią i Chersoniem w końcu XVIII w.*, [in:] *Polska, Prusy, Ruś. Rozprawy ofiarowane prof. zw. dr. hab. Janowi Powierskiemu w trzydziestolecie pracy naukowej*, ed. B. Śliwiński, Gdańsk 1995, pp. 57–61; R. Król-Mazur, *Miasto trzech nacji. Studia z dziejów Kamieńca Podolskiego w XVIII wieku*, Kraków 2008; M. Mądzik, *Polskie inicjatywy handlowe w rosyjskich portach czarnomorskich na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku*, Lublin 1984, pp. 54–67; E. Rostworowski, *Potocki Stanisław Szczęśny (Feliks) herbu Pilawa*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny [further on: PSE]*, vol. XXVIII, Warszawa 1984–1985, pp. 183–186; M. Ruszczyk, *Dzieje rodu i fortuny Branickich*, Warszawa 1991; W.A. Serczyk, *Projekty i realizacja reform gospodarczych w dobrach Stanisława Szczęśnego Potockiego na Ukrainie Prawobrzeżnej*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne" 1962, issue 9, pp. 103–120; A. Zahorski, *Stanisław August polityk*, Warszawa 1966; Z. Zielińska, *Republikanizm spod znaku buławy. Publicystyka Seweryna Rzewuskiego z lat 1788–1790*, Warszawa 1988; H. Żerek-Kleszcz, *Nominacje senatorskie Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego w okresie Rady Nieustającej*, "Przegląd Nauk Historycznych" 2006, vol. V, No. 1, pp. 209–233. Surprisingly omitted by the author of the book: *Ród Potockich w odmgie historii (XVII–XX w.)*, ed. Z. Janeczek, 2nd ed., Katowice 2010.

sion his closest “friend” Szczęsny Potocki was one of the leading oppositionists, and Moszczyński himself signed the famous manifesto of Kazimierz Rzewuski¹⁰. Likewise, it is difficult to agree with the statement that the postulates to establish three academies, one for each province of the Commonwealth, revealed a decentralization trend (p. 596), while in reality it solely reflected efforts at educational development, also manifested in repeated demands of the Greater Poland nobility to set up an academy in Poznań¹¹.

Nevertheless, all of these are just details that do not influence the evaluation of Rolnik’s work, which encourages deeper reflection and questions. To some extent, they are associated with a fairly understandable tendency to emphasize the merits of the protagonist, to stress the integrity of his character and disinterestedness of his actions, even if, in accordance with the spirit of the era, Świeykowski believed that merits should be rewarded (p. 581). This view is also expressed in the description of how the nature of his relationships with other magnates was changing. Initially, he was only a client of Józef and Stanisław Lubomirski; later, he was able to collaborate with Józef Stempkowski, Michał Walewski or even with Szczęsny Potocki – and benefited most from this relation, though he was not Potocki’s “creature” as the author advocates (p. 99). He grew closer to Tulczyn thanks to his sons-in-law, Adam and Ignacy Moszczyński, who were members of Szczęsny Potocki’s household (p. 69). It proves Świeykowski’s talent for arranging suitable marriages and true mastery of making friends, including Gen. Jan Komarzewski (considered him a relative) and Michał Jerzy Wandalin Mniszech, or even with some reservations: Bishops Antoni Okęcki and Antoni Ostrowski, and the castellan of Cracow, Antoni Barnaba Jabłonowski. Also, he enjoyed the support of Primate Michał Poniatowski. Świeykowski gained his position despite being just the judge of Bratslav. Before he was elected for the office, he skillfully outplayed Grocholski in the competition

¹⁰ Together with four senators and 21 deputies. See *Manifest... Senatorów, Ministrów, Posłów... 11 X 1786*, [in:] *Zbiór mów, głosów, przymówień, manifestów etc. Mianych na sejmie R. 1786*, vol. I, Warszawa 1787, pp. 172–178. The author does not make a reference to this source, limiting himself to the literature. See A. Danilczyk, *W kręgu afery Dogrumowej. Sejm 1786 roku*, Warszawa 2010, p. 191; E. Rostworowski, *Moszczyński Adam*, [in:] *PSB*, vol. XXII, Warszawa 1977, pp. 87–91; A. Stroynowski, *Opozycja sejmowa w dobie rządów Rady Nieustającej. Studium z dziejów kultury politycznej*, Łódź 2005, p. 99, 197.

¹¹ A. Stroynowski, *Opozycja sejmowa...*, p. 409.

to become the chamberlain of Bratslav, much as he did not care about it (pp. 373–375).

What can raise questions is the lack of comparisons between the course of life and achievements of Świeykowski and of other representatives of the senate from Stanisław August Poniatowski's period, especially those who, like him, just entered the senate elite. The prominent figures of bishops should be regrettably omitted as their way of social advancement differed from that of secular senators¹². And when it comes to the latter, more detailed studies were rarely conducted (apart from the short entries in *The Polish Biographical Dictionary*), at least in the case of those who joined the senate during the time of S.A. Poniatowski's reign. And hence, the author could not have used either the biographies of: Fryderyk Moszyński, the natural grandson of Augustus II¹³; Antoni Tyzenhauz, coming from a senatorial family¹⁴; Joachim Litawor Chreptowicz, related to the great Lithuanian houses¹⁵. Tadeusz Lipski, the castellan of Łęczyca, came from a similar background, yet no monograph was fully devoted to his person¹⁶. Therefore, there are not too many options for comparing Świeykowski with other senators who, during Stanisław August Poniatowski's reign, took up the office without falling back on their influential relatives¹⁷. In fact, the choice is limited to Jacek Jezierski¹⁸. While he was an incompa-

¹² The most positive assessment of this group of senators was done by Ewa M. Ziółek, *Biskupi senatorowie wobec reform Sejmu Czteroletniego*, Lublin 2002, p. 67. An inability to draw a comparison is all the more unfortunate that the biggest number of extensive biographies were written about this group.

¹³ Ł. Kądziela, *Między zdradą a służbą Rzeczypospolitej. Fryderyk Moszyński w latach 1792–1793*, Warszawa 1991.

¹⁴ T. Kościałkowski, *Antoni Tyzenhauz*, vol. I, Londyn 1970; vol. II, Londyn 1971.

¹⁵ K. Tracki, *Ostatni kanclerz litewski Joachim Litawor Chreptowicz w okresie Sejmu Czteroletniego 1788–1792 (z dodatkiem dziejów rodu i życia kanclerza w okresie wcześniejszym)*, Wilno 2007.

¹⁶ G. Tomczyk, *Tadeusz Lipski kasztelan łęczycki na sejmie 1776 roku*, "Rocznik Łódzki" 1988, vol. XXXVIII, pp. 227–233.

¹⁷ Drawing comparisons in the spheres of magnates is definitely easier, as demonstrated in Dariusz Rolnik's article, *Kasztelan krakowski Antoni Jabłonowski i inni "możnowładcy". O roli politycznej magnaterii w czasach Stanisława Augusta*, [in:] *Wobec króla i Rzeczypospolitej. Magnateria w XVI–XVIII wieku*, eds E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, J. Urwanowicz, Kraków 2012, pp. 207–233.

¹⁸ K. Zienkowska, *Jacek Jezierski, kasztelan łukowski (1722–1805). Z dziejów szlachty polskiej XVIII w.*, Warszawa 1963. See M. Kucharski, *Przyczynek do działalności Jacka Jezierskiego w dobie Sejmu Wielkiego*, [in:] *Cztery lata nadziei. 200 rocznica Sejmu Wielkiego*, ed. H. Kocój, Katowice 1988, pp. 202–214.

rably more notable figure, constantly participating in the sessions of the Diet and undertaking comprehensive business activities, the memoirists seem to have given him a comparable amount of attention as to L.M. Świeykowski¹⁹. It should be noted, however, that the castellan of Łuków was mentioned more frequently²⁰ and his name was not being twisted as it happened in the case of the voivode of Podole²¹. Making such a comparison would make it possible to achieve one of the main aims of the book, i.e. the portrayal of royalists' attitudes and their promotion from ordinary nobles to the circle of influential senators. And since it was not done, Świeykowski emerges as a unique phenomenon of the Stanisław August Poniątkowski period, which is clearly a misunderstanding as it was the era of fast promotions, gained mainly thanks to royal patronage²².

It would be also necessary to present his political attitude and concepts against a broader background in order to learn his methods of political activity in the center of action – Warsaw, as well as in the provinces, where he was one of the main leaders of the nobility. Given that he was unwilling to come to Warsaw, especially after he became a senator, it is not clear to what he owed his successes. He did not attend any of the Diet sessions, and so he remained anonymous, at least to those who were less involved in politics. The analysis of Dariusz Rolnik reveals that Świeykowski was not too active in the life of sejmiks either. After all, he did not have to attend the gatherings in person but simply prepare for them and delegate his trusted people to face direct confrontations. Hence, his withdrawal is surprising and hard to understand, especially when compared with the attitudes of other magnates, including those

¹⁹ They were completely overlooked by Kajetan Koźmian (*Pamiętniki*, vol. I, Wrocław 1972), Antoni Chrząszczyński writes only one time that Świeykowski transferred the dowry (*Pamiętnik oficjalisty Potockich z Tulczyna*, Warszawa 1976, p. 48) M. Matuszewicz mentions each of men once (*op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 454, 550).

²⁰ Jędrzej Kitowicz describes him as an opponent of the Church (*Pamiętniki czyli Historia polska*, ed. P. Matuszewska, comm. Z. Lewinówna, Warszawa 2005, pp. 402–403), while J.U. Niemcewicz portrays him as a brilliant speaker (*Pamiętniki czasów moich*, ed. J. Dihm, vol. I, Warszawa 1957, p. 267, 320, 325).

²¹ He appears as Świejkowski (M. Matuszewicz, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 550) and his son as Szweykowski (J.U. Niemcewicz, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 99).

²² Stanisław Kosmowski writes with a great enthusiasm on how the nobility was used to fight the magnate elite, *Rys panowania Stanisława Augusta Króla Polskiego*, [n.p.] 1807, pp. 8–9; *Pamiętniki Stanisława Kosmowskiego z końca XVIII wieku*, Poznań 1860, p. 14.

related to the royal court²³. It is also hard to grasp on what the author bases his claim that Świeykowski was not “a figurant of his times”. One can only agree with the fact that he could influence the course of events in the Bratslav voivodship as he remained there, but not in the voivodship of Podole, which he represented despite holding none of its properties (until 1791). Moreover, Rolnik’s study lacks further references to the literature while discussing the political concepts of the voivode and thus, it is difficult to assess to what extent they are credible. In particular, the author could have indicated, in particular, common views of nobility which Świeykowski repeated or argued with in his projects and deliberations. The analysis of his views also lacks a reference to the reforms of the Great Diet as they must have been influencing his thoughts, which is evident in, for example, the repetitions of the concept to introduce the equal number of Diet representatives for each province or make a new administrative division (p. 600).

However, certain errors or problems with the analysis do not affect the final, highly positive evaluation of the book. It is important to emphasize that at the time, the king did not expect the regional leaders to understand his plans, but to simply implement his directives. For this reason, during the Great Diet, he could have been greatly surprised at emerging independent attitudes of those who were thus far his supporters. It turned out that the king “either did not foresee the actions of the Castellan of Kamieniec or was not concerned about his political views... Until this turning point, the cooperation between Stanisław August and L.M. Świeykowski was going quite harmoniously. It was certainly motivated by economic

²³ T. Srogosz, *Między wojną a modernizacją. Studia z dziejów kresów południowo-wschodnich Rzeczypospolitej w XVII-XVIII wieku*, Częstochowa 2016; idem, *Początki budowy stronnictwa królewskiego na Ukrainie przez Józefa Gabriela Stempkowskiego (Koniec lat sześćdziesiątych – początek siedemdziesiątych XVIII w.)*, “Przegląd Nauk Historycznych” 2006, vol. V, No. 1 (9), pp. 171–183; idem, *Pokonanie hajdamaków jako podstawa znaczenia Józefa Gabriela Stempkowskiego na prowincji szlacheckiej*, [in:] *Ukraińsko-polski naukowy dialog v Umani. Zbiornik naukowych prac*, Humań–Gniezno–Łańcut–Częstochowa 2009, pp. 195–204. It was also possible to make a reference to a slightly earlier period, as the structure and functioning of the magnate “parties” of that time were already studied: M. Czeppe, *Kamaryla Pana z Dukli. Kształtowanie się obozu politycznego Jerzego Augusta Mniszcha 1750–1763*, Warszawa 1998; Z. Zielińska, *Mechanizm sejmikowy i klientela radziwiłłowska za Sasów*, “Przegląd Historyczny” 1971, vol. LXII, issue 3, pp. 397–419.

interest but also by issues of other nature, such as the prospect of restoration of the Commonwealth, even though to Świeykowski such an undertaking was limited to the reorganization of the country, or at least there are no indications that he thought otherwise. It was not until 1788 that certain cracks in their relationship started to show” (p. 421).

On the other hand, the most important advantage of Dariusz Rolnik’s extensive work is pointing to the new possibilities and problems of research in the field of biography writing, like in the provocative wording of the title of the last chapter: *a republican by the king’s side or a monarchist among republicans?* But even more importantly, the author undertakes a methodically engaging research on the management of Świeykowski’s properties, to which he devotes two chapters (the second and the fourth one). The methods and results of the study on the size and profitability of his properties are particularly appealing. As it appears, there are materials that allow for a fairly precise estimation of their value, as well as a detailed presentation of various economic activities of the nobility and magnates in Kresy. It gives a possibility of a more comprehensive approach to the issue of economic development in the south-eastern Kresy, which can also be referred to as a “right-bank Ukraine”²⁴, especially after 1783 as it was when a sharp increase in the profitability of these estates occurred, affecting the position and views of the nobility and the magnates, and most of all, their attitude to Russia. This process was reflected in that, after the partitions, the Polish nobility, along with Świeykowski’s sons, was engaging in the political system of the Russian Empire. It also applies to the possibility of a new approach to the peasant issue understood in both economic and social terms. Nonetheless, it posed an equally acute political problem since the living tradition of the haidamak movements must have influenced the attitudes and actions of the nobility and magnates from Kresy, making them markedly different than those of Greater Poland. Moreover, the author’s extensive considerations about the lawsuits over properties are also engaging,

²⁴ This term, which appears in the aforementioned recent works of Ukrainian researchers and of Władysław Serczyk, is also used by Tadeusz Srogosz, *Lekarze urzędowi na prawobrzeżnej Ukrainie, Podolu i Wołyniu u schyłku I. Rzeczypospolitej*, [in:] *Istoriczni, ekonomiczni, socjalno-filosofski ta osvitni aspekti rozvitku ochroni zdorovja*, eds I.J. Robak, G.L. Democzko, V.A. Mac, Charków 2013, pp. 72–74; *idem*, *Zabezpieczenie militarne aneksji Krymu przez Rosję w 1783 roku na Prawobrzeżnej Ukrainie*, “Hilea” [Kiiv] 2015, Vypusk 97, No. 6, pp. 24–30.

though legal historians could assess them better (chapter third). What is most relevant are not the results of the legal proceedings that Świeykowski was engaged in, but the procedures and methods allowing him to win. We are given a rare example of presenting bare court records as a passionate game for increasing one's estate, which also involves the struggle for respecting the law. To a political historian, the question remains of how the voivode of Podole managed to achieve such spectacular career advancement without active participation in politics on the state level, limiting himself to being a deputy in 1764 and an attempt to become one in 1778 or holding the office of the Marshal of the Crown Tribunal. He continued to neglect his duties as a senator, always making excuse about his poor health. Consequently, he might prove useful to the court solely on the regional level, the author does not provide too many examples of Świeykowski's engagement in this sphere either. All in all, the political career of the last voivode of Podole remains a mystery and an incentive for further research and a search of analogies which would allow to answer the probing questions. And that is what it is all about, the whole point of historians' work.

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