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Health and Diseases in the Correspondence of the Sapieha Family of Krasiczyn. A Study of Selected Cases

STRESZCZENIE

The purpose of the article is to present selected problems associated with health and disease which were discussed in the correspondence of the Sapieha family of Krasiczyn. Only some problems were presented, such as those associated with the attitude toward doctors and their recommendations, as well as the attitude toward baths, blood-letting and vaccinations. The state of the health of children and the adult members of the family was partially discussed. An attempt was also made to reconstruct the patterns of behaviour which regulate the attitudes and decisions of the Polish aristocrats.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE

health, disease, Sapieha, Polish aristocrats, 19th century

Health is one of the most important human values. It played a fundamental role in the consciousness of people of various periods of history, an example of which is furnished *inter alia* by the results of research conducted by Bożena Popiołek. The latter demonstrate that in the pre-partitioned Rzeczpospolita, health, and therefore the struggle against diseases, were one of

the main manifestations of womanly care for the family.¹ A similar thing was the case in the 19th century. Nevertheless, along with the development of medicine the approach toward diseases and their treatment was subject to certain transformations. Doubtlessly a considerable influence upon these transformations in the consciousness of Polish aristocrats was the cosmopolitanism of these people.² It was an extremely mobile group whose representatives travelled a great deal. Owing to this, these people familiarized themselves with various novelties, including medical ones, and were eager to benefit from them.

The basic goal is to present selected problems associated with health and diseases which were mentioned in the correspondence of the Sapieha family of Krasiczyn. One presented some of the problems engaged in the letters, such as the attitude to the doctor and to his recommendations, as well as baths, blood-letting and vaccination. One discussed the state of the health of the adult members of the family and of the children on the basis of selected cases. The chronological scope of the period in question is determined by the problems and cases discussed in the text. The choice of the themes determines the temporal framework to the present considerations – the latter involve the years 1850–1877. The source material on which my article is based is constituted by a selection of the correspondence of the particular members of the Sapieha family of Krasiczyn as well as the people who were closely related by blood and marriage with them. However, one should emphasise that the majority of the letters which were selected were written by women. I also decided to utilize the memoirs (those written for posterity) and the posthumous memoirs (i.e. the memoir by Paweł Sapieha, a brother of Cardinal Adam Stefan, written after the death of their oldest brother Władysław – the third owner of Krasiczyn). The correspondence of the Sapieha family abounds in pieces of information about the health and the diseases of the particular members of the family. Due to the limitations associated with the volume of this text, the present article will engage only certain problems associated with health and diseases.

The Sapieha family was one of the most powerful families of magnates of Lithuanian origin, whose representatives made their name in history in various ways due to their political activity and patronage. The origins of the

¹ B. Popiołek, *Kobiety świat w czasach Augusta II. Studia nad mentalnością kobiet z kręgów szlacheckich*, Kraków 2003, p. 151.

² K. Karolczak, *Czas pokoju i zawieruchy w życiu arystokraty*, [in:] *Lwów. Miasto, społeczeństwo, kultura. Studia z dziejów miasta*, t. 9: *Życie codzienne miasta*, red. K. Karolczak, Ł. T. Sroka, Kraków 2014, p. 352.

family date back to the 15th century, and it was also at that time that a division into two lines occurred. The older line used the names *czerejska*, *siewierska* and *różańska* – since Lew Sapieha, the grand chancellor of Lithuania, purchased an estate in Różana. The younger line was always referred to as *kodeńska*, from name of the seat of the family in Kodeń.³ The Sapieha family produced 27 voivodes, 11 castellans. As far as ministerial offices are concerned, there were four grand hetmans, two field hetmans of Lithuania, three grand chancellors, four deputy chancellors of the treasury, three court marshals, one grand undertreasurer and eight court undertreasurer.⁴ One should emphasize that among the aforementioned offices in many cases a person who advanced in his career initially was a vice-chancellor and then a chancellor, but he was classified as a representative of both of these offices.

The Sapieha family of Krasiczyn is descended directly from the younger Kodeń line, whereas the name of the branch is derived from the new seat – Krasiczyn.⁵ The first owner of the estate was Leon Sapieha (1802–1878). He was the son of Anna Sapieżyna (Zamoyska)⁶ (1772–1859), a woman who was educated (according to the standards of the period),⁷ of considerable financial capabilities,⁸ and of Aleksander Sapieha (1773–1812), a traveller and a geologist.⁹ The reason that Leon purchased a new seat and moved there was associated with his active participation in the November Uprising.¹⁰ After the failure of the uprising, he did not strive to achieve amnesty – contrary to his mother's wishes. Thus, the estate in the Russian partition was confiscated, and he himself was forced to seek a new home for himself and his family. He decided to settle in the Austrian partition – in Galicia.¹¹ He secured a full-validity Galician passport for himself and his family.¹² By means

³ T. Zielińska, *Poczet polskich rodów arystokratycznych*, Warszawa 1997, pp. 337–405.

⁴ E. Sapieha, *Dom Sapieżyński*, Warszawa 1995, p. 698.

⁵ Krasiczyn – a village, formerly a town in the Przemysł powiat, located at the San River.

⁶ There are maiden names in all brackets within the text.

⁷ Since 1781 Stanisław Staszic was a teacher of Anna z Zamojskich and her siblings.

⁸ S. Wiech, *Anna Jadwiga z Zamojskich Sapieżyna – ostatnia dziedziczka dóbr sztydłowieckich*, [in:] *Zamek Sztydłowiecki i jego właściciele: materiały sesji popularnonaukowej*, red. J. Wijaczka, Sztydłowiec 1996.

⁹ A. Sapieha, *Podróże w krajach słowiańskich odbywane*, Wrocław 2005; J. Skowronek, *Z magnackiego gniazda do napoleońskiego wywiadu: Aleksander Sapieha*, Warszawa 1992.

¹⁰ Leon Sapieha was decorated with the Golden Cross of the Virtuti Militari for his service.

¹¹ L. Sapieha, *Wspomnienia*, Lwów 1914, p. 328.

¹² Ibidem, p. 330.

of the money that his mother managed to recover from the estate in the Russian partition, Leon began to make gradual purchases of land estates in the Przemyśl district, and in 1835 he purchased Krasiczyn.¹³ From that time on the castle¹⁴ that is located there became the main seat of the family, until the outbreak of the Second World War, when the Sapieha family had to leave Krasiczyn forever due to the approach of the Russian army.¹⁵ At the subsequent stage of this life, Leon Sapieha was *inter alia* a marshal of the Galician *sejm*, he was a hereditary member in the Austrian House of Lords (German: *Herrenhaus*, Polish: *Izba Panów*), and he also initiated the construction of railways. He was also renowned for his engagement in organic work [Polish: *praca organiczna*].¹⁶ His wife was Jadwiga Sapieżyna (Zamoyska) (1806–1890) – a cousin. Their son, Adam Stanisław (1828–1903) – the only representative of numerous children who lived until adulthood – was the second person to be the owner of Krasiczyn. During his lifetime he distinguished himself by engaging in social and political activities (he was, among other things, a member of the Sejm Krajowy).¹⁷ Adam Sapieha's wife was Jadwiga Sapieżyna (Sanguszko) (1830–1918). Her correspondence abounds in content and it provides a great deal of information about private life – including information associated with health and diseases.

In the letters to her mother, Jadwiga Sapieżyna (Sanguszko) provided information about her ailments, sometimes offering a more comprehensive description: “Od kilku dni wybieram się z listem do Mamy, a nie mogłam go napisać, gdyż cierpiałam trochę na oko. Więcej niż miesiąc jak to oko było zawsze czerwone. Temi dniami zaczęło się na nim coś formować i Gembarzewski zakazał abym go natężała.”¹⁸ Sometimes there are very brief pieces of information dispersed among other pieces of information: “Zdrowa je-

¹³ J. Pezda, *Ludzie i pieniądze. Finanse w działalności Adama Jerzego Czartoryskiego i jego obozu na emigracji w latach 1831–1848*, Kraków 2003, p. 65.

¹⁴ R. Aftanazy, *Materiały do dziejów rezydencji*, t. VIII A, Warszawa 1991. The castle in Krasiczyn exists to this day. It was restored and is partially available for visitors.

¹⁵ A. Tłomacki, *Sapiehowie Kodeńscy: historia rodu od kolebki do współczesności*, Warszawa 2009, p. 288.

¹⁶ J. Szpak, *Działalność organicznikowska i polityczna ks. Leona Sapiehy w latach 1825–1861*, [in:] *Model przywództwa. Wymiar lokalny, krajowy, międzynarodowy*, red. A. K. Pia-secki, Kraków 2006, pp. 95–120.

¹⁷ S. Kieniewicz, *Adam Sapieha 1828–1903*, Warszawa 1993.

¹⁸ “I have been meaning to write a letter to you, Mommy, but I could not write it because something was wrong with my eye. For more than a month my eye was always red. These days something began to form on it and Gembarzewski disallows me from straining it”. Jadwiga Sapieżyna's (Sanguszko) letter to Izabela Sanguszkowa (Lubomirska), Krasiczyn 17 IX 1852, The National Archives in Krakow (ANK), ARS rkp 69, p. 609.

stem bardzo, tylko mam wielki katar,”¹⁹ then after ten days she remarks that “Mój katar przeszedł bez żadnego kaszlu.”²⁰ What is worthwhile to note is that coughing may be a consequence of a running nose.

The names of doctors which recur are attention-worthy. This suggests that usually there was mainly one person who took care of a given person or family and frequently travelled with this person. The figure of the home doctor became a permanent fixture of the family landscape in the 19th century.²¹ One should emphasize that a relative was advised to give more heed to the opinion of a given doctor instead of a different doctor, whose diagnoses were unreliable. “Oczekuje więc z niewymowną niecierpliwością, co Mamunia droga mnie o swoim zdrowiu doniesie, co też doktorowie udecydowali? [...] Ja bym najwięcej życzyła, żeby Mama droga [doktora] Jaślikowskiego rad się trzymała.”²² The recommendation of strict trust in reference to the doctor was very important. His opinion is final, it is he who is in charge as far as further treatment is concerned. “Śliczny mamy czas, kąpiemy się co dzień w Sanie – Gembarzewski mnie pozwolił.”²³ One should remark that at that time Jadwiga was pregnant, therefore there are no superstitions associated with carefulness in reference to taking a bath in this state. Obviously Sapieżyna, who wrote these words to her mother, adds that she received the consent of the doctor.

A relevant example is the situation which refers to baths in the sea. Even though these baths failed to help earlier, and the doctor advised to continue such treatment, therefore she did so. A similar case had to do with making a journey – if the doctor disallows this, then unfortunately travelling will experience a delay. The submission supposedly depended on the character of the patient, but the correspondence demonstrates that nevertheless the opinion of a doctor was crucial.

¹⁹ “I am very well, but I have a great running nose”. Jadwiga Sapieżyna’s (Sanguszkowa) letter to Izabela Sanguszkowa (Lubomirska), Krasiczyn 30 XII 1852, ARS rkp 69, p. 623.

²⁰ “My running nose was over and there was no coughing”. Jadwiga Sapieżyna’s (Sanguszkowa) letter to Izabela Sanguszkowa (Lubomirska), Krasiczyn 10 I 1853, ANK, ARS rkp 69, p. 627.

²¹ E. Badinter, *Historia miłości macierzyńskiej*, Warszawa 1998, p. 151.

²² “It is with extreme impatience that I am eager to learn about the state of Mommy’s health, what was the decision of the doctors? [...] It is my sincere desire that my dear Mom would follow the advice of [doctor] Jaślikowski”. Jadwiga Sapieżyna’s (Sanguszkowa) letter to Izabela Sanguszkowa (Lubomirska), Krasiczyn 5 IX 1852, ANK, ARS rkp 69, p. 605.

²³ “The weather is beautiful, we take baths in the San River everyday – Gembarzewski allowed me to do so”. Jadwiga Sapieżyna’s (Sanguszkowa) letter to Izabela Sanguszkowa (Lubomirska), Krasiczyn 25 VII 1854, ANK, ARS rkp 69, p. 769.

Bogu dzięki, że Mamuni kąpiele morskie nie szkodzą jak dawniej – bardzo się tej nowej kuracji obawiałam, teraz strach mnie myśleć, że ją Mamunia tak wcześniej przetrwie bez całkowitego uleczenia. Żebyśmy choć mieli zapewnienie od Jaślikowskiego, że nie będzie [to] szkodliwym.²⁴

The subject of bathing in the San River and in the sea recurs a number of times. In the 19th century bathing was still considered a therapeutical method. Many kinds of bathing were distinguished. Their consequences depended on e.g. the temperature of the water and were associated rather with hydrotherapy than with maintaining hygiene.²⁵ A different kind of bathing, this time in warm water, is mentioned in Helena Sanguszko's letter, who wrote about a strong desire of her sister Jadwiga Sapieżyna (Sanguszko) to indulge in bathing:

Bogu dzięki [twojej] Mamie spacer długi nie zaszkodził, bo kąpiel ciepłą wzięła. Czy myślisz, że w Krasi[czyni] możliwym by jej było po przyjeździe wziąć choć jedną ciepłą kąpiel w pokoju, bo to jedynie jej potrzebnem jest – z resztą mieszkanie na drugim piętrze szkodzić jej nie będzie, skoro na pierwszym wszystko się odbywa.²⁶

The aforementioned example is associated with a bath in one's home but it is also associated with treatment instead of hygiene, although one cannot accuse Sapieżyna, and even more so her sister, of a lack of concern about hygiene.

Adam Sapieha, Jadwiga's husband, was of ill health, and the concern about health manifests itself in the correspondence of the close relatives until his death. After their wedding she wrote the following:

Niech Mamunia się nie niepokoi o zdrowie Adasia, jest teraz znowu bardzo dobrze. Prawda, że po tej grypie miał przez parę tygodni ciężkość na piersiach, taki był smutny

²⁴ "Thank God that thanks to dear Mommy bathing in the sea is not harmful as it used to be – I was very concerned about this new treatment, now I fear that if Mommy may interrupt it without being completely cured. Would that Jaślikowski at least reassured us that [it] would not be harmful". Jadwiga Sapieżyna's (Sanguszko) letter to Izabela Sanguszkowa (Lubomirska), Krasiczyn 5 X 1852, ANK, ARS rkp 69, p. 613.

²⁵ G. Vigarello, *Higiena ciała i wypracowywanie wyglądu*, [in:] *Historia ciała: Od Rewolucji do I wojny światowej*, t. II, red. A. Corbin, Gdańsk 2013, pp. 277–278.

²⁶ "Thank God that a long walk did not turn out to be harmful to [your] Mommy because she took a warm bath. Do you think that in Krasi[czyn] it would be possible for her to take at least one warm bath in a room after her arrival – for it is the only thing she needs – after all, an apartment located at the second floor will not be harmful for her, considering that everything is done on the first floor". Helena Sanguszko's letter to Maria Żółtowska (Sapieha), 10–11 I 1877, The Raczyński Library in Poznań (BR) rkp 2998/I, p. 15.

[...] i mnie to bardzo martwiło, ale [doktor] Gemb[arzewski] dał jakiś plaster na pierś i znowu Bogu dzięki zdrow jest zupełnie.²⁷

However, soon after this she reported the following: “Bałam się przez kilka dni o Adasia – dostał był grypy i ciężkości na piersiach, a on [...] [tak słabego zdrowia, że] trzeba zaraz uważać.”²⁸ This tendency to frequent submissions to disease recurred throughout Adam’s entire life. As we carefully explore the content of the letters we learn about the diseases which haunted the representatives of the Sapieha family as well as the methods of treatment: “U nas dobrze dosyć, tylko Adaś ciągle cierpiący. Wczoraj mu znowu krew puszczali, zdaje się, że wielka była potrzeba, może też Pan Bóg pozwoli, że teraz lepiej będzie. Gembarzewski tylko wielkie starania i spokojność nakazuje.”²⁹ The aforementioned fragment dates back to 1854, as we can judge by the description, in the consciousness of the aristocratic families there was a belief about the utility of its application. However, we do not learn about the method the treatment was administered. Leeches were used to administer one of such treatments and this method was used on Adam many years later. We learn about this owing to the letters of Helena Sanguszko,³⁰ to her niece Maria, who was also particularly concerned about his health, and this is what she recommended to do:

[...] te nieszczęśliwe pijawki podobno biedna Księżna wymogła na Ziembickim, a one o mały włos, że nie zabiły chorego. Niechże teraz już ślepo słuchają [doktorów] Szew-

²⁷ “Mommy, do not be concerned about Adaś’s health, now he is fine. It is true that after he suffered from influenza he experienced heaviness in his chest during a few weeks, he was so sad [...] and I was concerned about this very much, but [doctor] Gemb[arzewski] administered some sort of a bandage on his chest and now, thank God, he is completely well again”. Jadwiga Sapieżyna’s (Sanguszko) letter to Izabela Sanguszkowa (Lubomirska), Krasieczyn 10 I 1853, ANK, ARS rkp 69, p. 631.

²⁸ “During a few days I was afraid about Adaś – he contracted influenza and experienced heaviness in the chest, and his [...] [health is so weak that] now we have to be careful”. Jadwiga Sapieżyna’s (Sanguszko) letter to Izabela Sanguszkowa (Lubomirska), Krasieczyn 3 II 1853, ANK, ARS rkp 69, p. 641.

²⁹ “We are doing fairly well, it is only Adaś who is constantly suffering. Yesterday they let his blood again, it seems that it was extremely necessary, perhaps God will allow that now it will be better. Gembarzewski advises only to make careful arrangements and to be calm”. Jadwiga Sapieżyna’s (Sanguszko) letter to Izabela Sanguszkowa (Lubomirska), Krasieczyn 25 VII 1854, ANK, ARS rkp 69, p. 768.

³⁰ For many years Helena Sanguszko had an affair with her brother-in-law Adam – two children were supposed to be produced by this relationship. M. Jastrzębska, *Dama w jedwabnej sukni. Opowieść o księżniczce Helenie Sanguszkównie*, Łomianki 2012, pp. 63–76.

czyka i Merczyńskiego! [...] nie dziwność, [że] starszym osobom nowa metoda leczenia nie wzbudza ufności.³¹

After twenty two years we may discern a completely different attitude toward letting blood of a sick person. However, we perceive that the older generation, in this case Adam's mother, was a follower of the old methods. Here we are dealing with antagonisms between the younger and the older generation, which chose earlier methods due to a lack of trust toward new medical methods. These earlier methods were believed to produce the desired results. The correspondence of the sister-in-law also furnishes information about the problems associated with caring for the sick person: "trzeba ostrożności, starań i spokoju przy chorym. Do zmiany łóżek najlepiej jest przysunąć drugie łóżko do tego na którym chory leży i tak na prześcieradle przesunąć go jeśli sam się podnieść nie może albo nie powinien."³²

The 19th century was a century which, unlike no century before, placed the child in the centre of the family.³³ The representatives of the Sapieha family frequently mentioned the youngest members of the family. In their private lives, Leon and Jadwiga Sapieha had to face many family-related tragedies. It is likely that the close kinship between himself and his wife, and the low standard of medicine of that time, was responsible for the great mortality rate of their children. Leon and Jadwiga were very fertile. During their life together, eight children were born to them. Seven of the eight children died in infancy i.e. only two daughters lived until their adolescence. Teresa died aged 19, and Zofia – aged 16, the remaining children died before they reached the age of seven.³⁴ Zofia Sapieżanka died of tuberculosis

³¹ "These miserable leeches were supposedly extorted from Ziembicki by the Duchess, and they almost killed the sick one. Let them now listen blindly to [the doctors] Szewczyk and Merczyński! [...] it is no wonder that the new method of treatment does not inspire the trust of older people". Helena Sanguszko's letter to Maria Żółtowska (Sapieha), 11 XI 1876, BR rkp 2998/I, p. 9.

³² "One must be careful, concerned and one must provide peace to the sick person. In order to change beds the best solution is to move a second bed to the one on which the sick person is lying and move the sick person, if he cannot rise or if he is not supposed to rise". Helena Sanguszko's letter to Maria Żółtowska (Sapieha), 11 XI 1876, BR rkp 2998/I, p. 9.

³³ M. Perrot, *Postaci i role*, [in:] *Historia życia prywatnego*, t. 4: *Od rewolucji francuskiej do I wojny światowej*, red. M. Perrot, Wrocław 1999, p. 150.

³⁴ In 1827 their first child, a daughter called Celestyna, was born. She died in early 1834 in Karlsbad, where her parents took her to offer her treatment. When they returned, they learnt about the death of another child. This time it was their son Włodzimierz, who was left by his parents to stay with Jadwiga's sister – Celestyna Działyńska. The boy, who was

on the eve of 24 February 1850 in Krakow.³⁵ She lived a mere 16 years. In a letter to his grandmother, Anna, Adam Sapieha wrote that Zofia was perpetually sick.³⁶ The funeral rites were held probably on 2 March.³⁷ Jadwiga Sapieżyna (Zamoyska) wrote the following: “będzie złożona u Kapucynów w kaplicy, aż do chwili gdy ją do Krasiczyna Leoś odwieść każe.”³⁸ The last daughter, Teresa, was lost by Jadwiga and Leon Sapieha on 27 March 1859 in Vienna – she was twenty at that time.³⁹ Teresa suffered from Bright’s disease i.e. [glomerular] nephritis.⁴⁰ During her sojourn in Vienna, the disease progressed rapidly. At the same time Jadwiga Sapieżyna contracted the typhus disease, but Sapieha’s wife managed to recover.

Gdy już była zdrowsza, pragnęła córkę odwiedzić. Ja ją wstrzymywałem pod pozorem, że po chorobie jeszcze źle wygląda [...], a rzeczywiście lękałem się wrażenia, jakiego sama dozna, gdy córkę tak zmienioną zobaczy [...]. W końcu już jej wstrzymać dłużej nie mogłem. Biedna ubrała się starannie, aby na niej nie znać było zmiany po chorobie. Wziąłem ją i poprowadziłem do pokoju córki [...]. Myślałem, że mi serce pęknie.⁴¹

born in 1832, died on Christmas Eve on 24 December 1833. Adam was the second child to be born, in 1828. He was the only child to live until old age and he died at the age of 74. The third child to be born was a daughter, Maria. She was born in 1831 and she died at the age of four. Then Leon was born in 1836 and he died in the following year. The youngest of the children was Władysław, who was born in 1846. He died as he was travelling by train near Mysłowice in 1849. S. Kieniewicz, op. cit., pp. 6–7; L. Sapieha, op. cit., p. 218.

³⁵ *Sapiehowie. Materiały historyczno-genealogiczne i majtkowe*, t. III, Petersburg 1894, p. 439.

³⁶ Adam Sapieha’s letter to Anna Sapieżyna (Zamoyska), 28 II 1850, The Princes Czartoryski Library in Krakow (BCz), rkp 7043 t. 14.

³⁷ The letter bore the date 28 February 1850, J. Sapieżyna wrote the following to her mother-in-law: “The day after tomorrow we will render the last rites to our beloved Zosia”, which would indicate Saturday, 2nd March.

³⁸ “Her body will be placed in a Capuchin chapel until Leoś orders her to be moved to Krasiczyn”. Jadwiga Sapieżyna’s (Zamoyska) letter to Anna Sapieżyna (Zamoyska), 28 II 1850, BCz, rkp 7043 t. 14.

³⁹ *Sapiehowie. Materiały...*, op. cit., p. 439.

⁴⁰ L. Sapieha, op. cit., p. 248.

⁴¹ “When she was better, she desired to visit her daughter. I held her back under the pretext that she still was not well after her disease [...], and I was really afraid about her reaction when she would see the altered state of her daughter [...]. Eventually I could not hold her back any longer. A poor thing, she carefully dressed herself so that no changes associated with the disease could be visible. I took her and directed her to our daughter’s room [...]. I thought that my heart would break”. *Ibidem*, p. 249.

Soon after this, “after having suffered terribly,” Teresa died. The diseases and the death of their children took a heavy toll on the Sapieha family. They tried to save their lives in many ways. They sought help not only in the country but also abroad. They went to doctors *inter alia* to Wysock and Lviv. They also went to sanatoria in Kościelisko, Truskawiec, Szczawnica, Sohwald and Frywalden.⁴² These difficult experiences took a heavy toll on Jadwiga Sapieżyna’s (Zamoyskich) health. There were times when both she and her children were sick. This took a heavy toll on Leon: “gdy te chwile pamięcią przechodzę, dziwię się, że je przeżyć mogłem,” “trudno wyrazić, przez jakie w ten czas męczarnie przechodziłem.”⁴³

The only child who lived until old age was Adam Stanisław Sapieha, who was mentioned previously. The experiences associated with the death of his siblings took a heavy toll on the life of the first generations of the Sapieha family of Krasieczyn. When we browse through the correspondence the health-related problems appear all the time. It is not only about Leon Sapieha’s children, but also about the subsequent generation. One should emphasize that the two subsequent generations of the owners of Krasieczyn were also parents of numerous children. Adam Stanisław managed to father five sons and two daughters,⁴⁴ whereas his son Władysław (1853–1920) – eight sons and two daughters.⁴⁵ However, there were no more cases of mortality of children.

The circumstances which surrounded the birth of a child were a subject which was frequently discussed in feminine correspondence. The latter features announcements about becoming pregnant, and then about the state of health of the women in that period:

[...] mieliśmy do Gumnisk wyjechać, tem czasem [doktor] Gembaszewski mnie nie pozwolił, gdyż ostatniego miesiąca nie przyszła moja regularność. Ja zawsze myśla-

⁴² J. Szpak, *Rodzina arystokratyczna w Galicji w XIX wieku. Analiza psychologiczna, historyczna i socjologiczna: Studium przypadku Jadwigi i Leona Sapiehów z Krasieczyna*, [in:] *Mundus hominis – cywilizacja, kultura, nauka*, red. S. Rosik, P. Wiszewski, Wrocław 2006, p. 539.

⁴³ “When I recall these moments, I wonder that I was able to live through them”, “it is difficult to express the agony that I was going through at that time”. L. Sapieha, op. cit., p. 249.

⁴⁴ Władysław (1853–1920), Maria Żółtowska (Sapieha) (1855–1929), Leon (1856–1893), Helena Stadnicka (Sapieha) (1857–1947), Paweł (1860–1934), Jan (1865–1954), Adam Stefan (1867–1951) – Cardinal.

⁴⁵ Kazimierz (1882–1909), Leon (1883–1944), Józef (1887–1940), Aleksander (1888–1980), Adam (1892–1975), Władysław (1893–1956), Andrzej (1894–1945), Stanisław (1896–1919), Anna Bielska (Sapieha) (1901–1965), Teresa Drucka-Lubecka (Sapieha) (1905–1995).

łam, że to tylko opóźnienie kilku dniowe bez żadnego znaczenia. Teraz się zdaje, że Pan Bóg tyle łaskaw i że to jest początkiem tyle przeze mnie oczekiwanego szczęścia.⁴⁶

The subject associated with the health of the children crops up all the time, which is a manifestation of the concern about their health and development. One should emphasise that in the period in question the care and the raising of children was one of the tasks of a woman,⁴⁷ although this does not mean that women who represented higher social strata did not have people who helped them perform these tasks. Paweł Sapieha, the son of Adam and Jadwiga, emphasised that he and his siblings owed their robust health to his mother.⁴⁸ However, this does not mean that Adam Sapieha's children did not fall sick at all: "przez dłuższy szereg lat był Władzio bardzo delikatnego zdrowia, tym bardziej nieograniczoną władzę przekazano bonie pani Grochowskiej która, jak mówiono, z zupełnym pominięciem zasad pedagogii, chuchała i pielęgnowała nas wszystkich."⁴⁹ However, one should emphasise that despite the presence of a nursemaid, Jadwiga Sapieżyna (Sanguszko) did assume the role of the main carer.

Among the representatives of upper social strata a fashionable practice was associated with entrusting a wet nurse with the task of feeding the baby, who thus relieved the biological mother. However, in the 19th century, increasingly greater emphasis was placed on the mother who was supposed to feed her children herself, that it was a moral obligation of a mother and a great benefit for the baby. It was also emphasized that such a practice solidified the relationship between a mother and her baby.⁵⁰ Jadwiga Sa-

⁴⁶ "We were supposed to go to Gumniska. However, [doctor] Gembarzewski would not allow me to do so, for last month I did not menstruate. I always thought that it was an irrelevant delay of a few days. Now it seems that the Lord was gracious enough to provide the beginning of the happiness that I desired so much". Jadwiga Sapieżyna's (Sanguszko) letter to Izabela Sanguszkowa (Lubomirska), Krasieczyn, 18 X 1852, ANK, ARS rkp 69, p. 617.

⁴⁷ M. Nowak, *Model idealny i rzeczywisty polskiej rodziny arystokratyczno-ziemiańskiej funkcjonujący w drugiej połowie XIX oraz na początku XX wieku*, [in:] *Rodzina i gospodarstwo domowe na ziemiach polskich w XV–XX wieku*, red. C. Kuklo, Warszawa 2008, p. 457.

⁴⁸ *Wspomnienie o śp. Bracie Władysławie (A recollection of Dec. Brother Władysław)*, The National Museum in Krakow (MNK), rkp 1604.

⁴⁹ "Over a longer series of years Władysław's health was quite poor, therefore limitless authority was accorded to the *bona* [i.e. nursemaid] Grochowska, who, as it was told, nursed and cared for us all with complete disregard for the principles of education". *Ibidem*.

⁵⁰ A. Bóldyrew, *Matka i dziecko w rodzinie polskiej. Ewolucja modelu życia rodzinnego w latach 1795–1918*, Warszawa 2008, p. 62; E. Badinter, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

pieżyna (Sanguszko) fed her firstborn son herself. Another important question was associated with the awareness of a woman that her mode of life and the food that she consumes exerts a crucial influence upon the milk of the mother.⁵¹ Jadwiga, being a young mother, she was also aware of these dependencies:

Co do karmienia jestem zupełnie zdania Mamy drogiej. Niepodobieństwo jest bywać na wieczorach, nie wyspać się, a potem to zepsute mleko dziecku dawać. Dlatego też zdecydowaną jestem odłączyć małego jak tylko zaczną się wieczory lub bale, ale tego pewnie przed styczniem nie będzie. W każdym razie zdaje mi się, żebym długo karmić nie mogła gdyż pokarmu mam mało.⁵²

The correspondence also features information about the subsequent stages of feeding the baby: "Od czterech dni zaczyna jeść swoje zupki. Jednego dnia bułeczka tarta z rosołkiem, drugiego dnia kleik na takim samym rosołku, ale mu to jeszcze wcale nie smakuje. Chciałabym go karmić jeszcze do końca przyszłego miesiąca."⁵³ One should emphasise that Jadwiga decided to wean the son when he reached the seventh month of age.

Infancy consists of many important stages of the development of a baby. One of such stages, which was also very important for the people of the period, was teething. There is an abundance of content related to this problem, and it is associated with almost all new members of the family. I will adduce a fragment dated 25 July 1854 which refers to Władysław, who was mentioned before: "zdrow, Bogu dzięki chociaż od kilku dni niedobrze wygląda i stracił całkiem apetyt – zapewne ząbki go męczą. Dziwna rzecz, że tak pomału wychodzą, dotychczas ma tylko dwa"⁵⁴ – at that time Władysław

⁵¹ Ibidem, p. 149.

⁵² "As far as feeding the baby is concerned, I subscribe to the opinion of you, my dear Mommy. It is unacceptable to attend evening parties, to fail to get enough sleep and then to give this spoiled milk to the baby. Therefore I am set to wean the baby as soon as the evening parties or balls begin, but it is likely that such things will not occur before January. Anyway, it seems to me that I will not be able to breastfeed for long, because I am running out of milk". Jadwiga Sapieżyna's (Sanguszko) letter to Izabela Sanguszkowa (Lubomirska), Krasiczyn 23 IX 1853, ANK, ARS rkp 69, p. 692.

⁵³ "It is four days that he began to eat his baby soups. One day there are breadcrumbs with a broth, the second day a gruel with the same kind of broth, but it is still not tasty for him. I would like to feed him until the end of the next month". Jadwiga Sapieżyna's (Sanguszko) letter to Izabela Sanguszkowa (Lubomirska), Wiedeń 20 XI 1853, ANK, ARS rkp 69, p. 710.

⁵⁴ "He is well, thank God, although he did not look very good for a few days and he completely lost his appetite – it is likely that his teeth annoy him. It is a strange thing that they appear so slowly, at present he has only two of them". Jadwiga Sapieżyna's (San-

was 14 months. The teething that began was discussed by Jadwiga almost eleven months before. She was convinced that the teeth would grow soon: "będzie miał bardzo wczesnie ząbki, bo już się ślinić zaczyna."⁵⁵ Another symptom which indicated the imminent appearance of teeth was supposed to be associated with the fact that "On bardzo zaczyna ząbków szukać swojemi paluszkami."⁵⁶ However, as it is indicated by the correspondence, after the two teeth that were mentioned before, further teeth began to grow in a regular manner.

Vaccines became a very important question in the struggle against infectious diseases at the end of the 18th century. The so-called *krowianka*, a vaccine against smallpox, turned out to be an efficient means of combatting this disease⁵⁷. Chickenpox was classified as a disease which frequently caused the death of small children.⁵⁸ The firstborn son of the Sapieha was vaccinated on the day of his first birthday:

[...] nie mówię Mamie najważniejszej rzeczy dla mnie, to że wczoraj po południu zaszczepili Władyska, wszystko to się galopem zrobiło, daj Boże żeby na dobre. [...] gdybym była coś złego w tym widziała nie byłabym dała, ale Gembarzewski z taką to robił ostrożnością, przynajmniej od krowianki nie dostanie skrofułów, obawa była, że nadto jest mocne, ale on bardzo mało włożył, więc mam nadzieję, że to szczęśliwie się skończy. Zdaje mi się, że trudno było dłużej czekać, bo ospa bardzo panuje.⁵⁹

guszko) letter to Izabela Sanguszkowa (Lubomirska), Krasiczyn 25 VII 1854, ANK, ARS rkp 69, pp. 769–770.

⁵⁵ "He will have teeth very early because he starts salivating". Jadwiga Sapieżyna's (Sanguszkowa) letter to Izabela Sanguszkowa (Lubomirska), Krasiczyn 2 IX 1853, ANK, ARS rkp 69, p. 685.

⁵⁶ "He starts searching for his teeth by his fingers". Jadwiga Sapieżyna's (Sanguszkowa) letter to Izabela Sanguszkowa (Lubomirska), Krasiczyn 23 IX 1853, ANK, ARS rkp 69, p. 693.

⁵⁷ G. Vigarello, *Historia zdrowia i choroby. Praktyki sanitarne od średniowiecza do współczesności*, Warszawa 2011, p. 221.

⁵⁸ A. Bołdyrew, op. cit., p. 91.

⁵⁹ "I do not relate to Mom the thing which is most important to me – that yesterday in the afternoon Władysiek was vaccinated, everything was done expeditiously, God willing everything will turn out well. [...] If I had seen anything wrong in this I would not allow Gembarzewski to administer this treatment with such caution, at least he will not get scrofula from the *krowianka*, there was also a concern that the substance is very strong, but he administered a very small portion therefore I hope that eventually everything will be well. It seems to me that it was difficult to tarry further because the smallpox epidemic is intensive". Jadwiga Sapieżyna's (Sanguszkowa) letter to Izabela Sanguszkowa (Lubomirska), Krasiczyn 31 V 1854, ANK, ARS rkp 69, pp. 741–742.

The doctor's decision to vaccinate the child against smallpox should not be considered a strange thing, for it was as early as in the first two decades of the 19th century that the children of upper social strata were vaccinated.⁶⁰ In this case the doctor decided about the time when the child was supposed to be vaccinated himself. Of course, the parents could refuse such treatment but as Sapieżyna remarked, she saw nothing wrong with this. Another very important reason was associated with a smallpox epidemic in the region, therefore prior preventive vaccination was advised. After a week the woman notified her mother that: "Ospa Władziunia, Bogu dzięki, bardzo się dobrze przyjęła – dotychczas nawet nie miał jeszcze gorączki, zapewne jutro lub pojutrze przyjdzie. Cieszę się teraz, że zaszczepiony, bo i tutaj zaczyna panować ospa."⁶¹ In further letters Sapieżyna fails to mention any complications associated with the vaccination, even though she devoted much attention to her son in her letters.

One may clearly see that in the letters health is a great value, equally important as belief in God. These two values are interrelated. The representatives of the Sapieha family recurrently referred to God in their correspondence. Jadwiga Sapieżyna (Sanguszko) repeatedly referred to God when she discussed health-related issues: "Cały dom już przeszedł przez tę słabość, tylko Adaś, dzieci i ja z łaski szczególnej Pana Boga całkiem zdrowi jesteśmy."⁶² Health and belief in God are the two values which were strictly related in the 19th century. This relationship may be accounted for by the helplessness in reference to diseases. A healthy or a recuperating man experiences God's grace all the time: "Władziunio [...] z łaski Pana Boga dzisiaj zdrowszy,"⁶³ "Nie uwierzy Mamunia, jak z łaski Pana Boga on teraz dobrze wygląda."⁶⁴

⁶⁰ A. Bołdyrew, op. cit., p. 92.

⁶¹ "Władziunio's smallpox, thank God, did not take a heavy toll on him – heretofore he did not even have a fever, it will supposedly come tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. I am glad now that he was vaccinated, for smallpox begins to dominate here as well". Jadwiga Sapieżyna's (Sanguszko) letter to Izabela Sanguszkowa (Lubomirska), Krasiczyn 7 VI 1854, ANK, ARS rkp 69, p. 745.

⁶² "The entire family already experienced this disease, only Adaś, the children and myself are completely well, due to God's particular grace". Jadwiga Sapieżyna's (Sanguszko) letter to Izabela Sanguszkowa (Lubomirska), Krasiczyn 24 VII 1855, ANK, ARS rkp 69, p. 792.

⁶³ "Thanks to God's grace [...] Władziunio is better today". Jadwiga Sapieżyna's (Sanguszko) letter to Izabela Sanguszkowa (Lubomirska), Gumniska 18 X 1853, ANK, ARS rkp 69, p. 701.

⁶⁴ "Mommy will not believe that he looks fine today, due to God's grace". Jadwiga Sapieżyna's (Sanguszko) letter to Izabela Sanguszkowa (Lubomirska), 14 VI 1854, ANK, ARS rkp 69, p. 751.

In conclusion, I would like to mention that the correspondence of the Sapieha family of Krasiczyn also furnishes other kinds of information about diseases but they do not refer directly to the Sapieha family but to the epidemics which ravaged the 19th century and their intensification, e.g. cholera: "Papa mnie pisał, że chociaż jest cholera bardzo jest słaba zapewne i my jej nie unikniemy. Mówią, że w Rzeszowskim się pokazuje."⁶⁵ In another letter Adam Sapieha wrote the following: "cholera, która u nas już ustała teraz na całej drodze do Francji, i [...] w samym Paryżu już panuje. Przebywszy więc tę zarazę tutaj [w Krasiczynie] szaleństwem, by było jechać znowu w nią, bo i tak niemało i my przecierpieli tak moralnie jak fizycznie."⁶⁶ One should remark that "in the mid-1850s 74 thousand of Galicians died of cholera."⁶⁷ It was this epidemic that was mentioned by Sapieha in his letter.

When one discusses the problems in the Sapieha family of Krasiczyn that were mentioned one should bear in mind that to a certain extent the attitude toward health and disease was determined by experiences associated e.g. with the death of one's children or the frequent instances when a husband fell sick. The presence of a doctor in the family was of paramount importance. His recommendations exerted a considerable influence upon the life of the family. When his diagnoses proved effective, he enjoyed considerable authority among the representatives of the family and thus he could influence their decisions, e.g. by prohibiting departure from home or even by recommending a sojourn at a therapeutical facility. When one studies the attitudes toward diseases and the methods of treatment one may observe changes in mentality. A pertinent example of this is the attitude toward blood-letting, which at the beginning of the second half of the 19th century continued to be considered a reliable method of treatment, and which twenty years later was considered even life-threatening. One may discern

⁶⁵ "Father wrote to me that even though cholera was very weak, we are likely to suffer from it as well. They say that cases of cholera may be discerned in the Rzeszów district". Jadwiga Sapieżyna's (Sanguszkó) letter to Izabela Sanguszkowa (Lubomirska), Krasiczyn 10 I 1853, ANK, ARS rkp 69, p. 629.

⁶⁶ "The cholera which subsided in our parts is on its way to France, and [...] it already dominates in Paris itself. Therefore having been subjected to the disease here [in Krasiczyn] it would be folly to venture in its clutches again, considering the fact that we already suffered a great deal both morally and physically". Adam Sapieha's letter to Izabela Sanguszkowa (Lubomirska), Krasiczyn 13 IX 1855, ANK, ARS rkp 69, p. 806.

⁶⁷ K. Meus, *Profilaktyka przeciwepidemiczna w Galicji na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, [in:] *Epidemie w dziejach Europy. Konsekwencje społeczne, gospodarcze i kulturowe*, red. K. Polek, Ł. T. Sroka, Kraków 2016, p. 305.

the importance of the position of the child in the family. One of the basic manifestations of the concern about his welfare has to do with the idea that the baby should be fed by its mother instead of a wet nurse. Even though the fact that one had a son – especially in the higher social strata – was an important element, but the concern about the health of a child was not conditioned by its sex. According to what is demonstrated by the examples which were discussed in the text, the correspondence of the family members provides a great deal of information about diseases and the medical condition of its authors, their relatives, and even about epidemiological cases.

O ZDROWIU I CHOROBACH W KORESPONDENCJI RODZINY SAPIEHÓW Z KRASICZYNA.
STUDIUM WYBRANYCH PRZYPADKÓW

STRESZCZENIE

Celem artykułu jest zaprezentowanie wybranych zagadnień dotyczących zdrowia i chorób poruszanych w korespondencji rodziny Sapiechów z Krasiczyna. Przedstawione zostały niektóre podejmowane w listach problemy, takie jak stosunek względem lekarza i jego zaleceń, a także kąpiele, upuszczania krwi i szczepień. Częściowo omówiono stan zdrowia dzieci oraz dorosłych członków rodziny, a także podjęto próbę odtworzenia wzorów zachowania, które regulują postawy oraz wybory polskiej arystokracji.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE

zdrowie, choroba, Sapieha, polska arystokracja, XIX wiek

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