

The Starzeński Family of the "Lis" (Fox) Crest

Extract from *Złota Księga Szlachty Polskiej*
Published in Poznań in 1885, Publication No. VII

by Teodor Żychliński
Translated by Wanda Kemp-Welch, Oxford, England

Contents

Early Days to Mid 18th Century	1
Castellan of Gniezno Succession	17
Starost of Brańsk Succession	19
Podlasie Branch of the Starost Succession	26
<i>Pietkowo Line of the Podlasie Branch (28)</i>	
<i>Strabla Line of Podlasie Branch (31)</i>	
Mogielnice Branch (Galicia) of the Starost Succession	36
Olejów Branch of the Starost Succession	40
Krystynopol Branch of the Starost Succession	42
Deputy-hetman (Piotr) Succession	45
Dąbrówka Branch of the Deputy Hetman Succession	47
Grabownica Branch of the Deputy Hetman Succession	52

To the Reader:

In 1885, Teodor Żychliński published his monumental account of the lives and achievements of the noble families of Poland, *Złota Księga Szlachty Polskiej (The Golden Book of Polish Gentry)*.

More than a century later, Wanda Kemp-Welch of Oxford, England, translated portions of this book dealing with the Starzenski family for me. I found its stories to be lively and interesting, although some of them may well be apocryphal. This is not unusual. One prominent Polish family even claimed to be direct descendants of Alexander the Great.

In any case, I decided to make this work available as part of *Images of the House of Starzenski*. In particular, I draw the reader's attention to:

Page 11, where the exceptional bravery of Wohciech Starzenski of the eighth generation is recounted;

Page 14, which describes how Krzysztof Starzenski (generation 11) obtained for his son, Maciej, first Count Starzenski, the crucial patronage of Jan Klemens Branicki.

Page 15, which gives an alternate version of the story of a student's boldness in correcting Maciej's renowned brother Melchior, the Jesuit theologian (generation 12). Zamoyski identifies the student as Melchior's nephew Michał Starzenski, while Żychliński simply refers to the questioner as "a monk."

Page 32, the lengthy obituary notice for Wiktor Waclaw (generation 16) that appeared in the Polish publication *Czas (Time)*.

Żychliński also includes two stories dealing with the Deputy-Hetman Succession of the Starzenski family, which is discussed in *The Noble House of Starzenski*, but not in *Images*:

Page 46, an anecdote showing the great strength of Piotr Starzenski (generation 12), youngest son of Krzysztof and ancestor of the third main branch of the family.

Page 52, which describes Katarzyna, wife of Piotr's second son, Franciszek Ksawery (generation 13). She was renowned for her beauty, which Princess Lubomirski saluted by giving her the name, *La Belle Gabrielle*. *Noble House* contains a colour plate showing her portrait, painted by Girard, and an interesting discussion of her career, which was not notable for wifely submissiveness.

I hope you enjoy Żychliński's work, both as a source of colorful tales and as a sample of the genealogical writing of the nineteenth century.

Bruce Starzenski
Galway, New York

The Starzeński Family of the "Lis" Or Fox Crest

Motto: Serrat Et Aggreditur, Serve and Unite

Extract from "Złota Księga Szlachty Polskiej" by Teodor Żychliński

Published in Poznań in 1885, Publication No. VII

Early Days to Mid 18th Century

The Starzeński family is the oldest family in the Wieluń district. They settled in Starzenice in the 14th century. The Starzeńskis were distinguished landed gentry of considerable means. With the beginning of the Saxon period (1697-1763) their influence over public affairs grew steadily and they were associated with the most illustrious families in the country: the Baworowskis, Jaxa-Bąkowskis, Chomętowskis, Czarneckis, Czetwertyńskis, Czosnowskis, Dulskis, Gołuchowskis, Grzymalit-Jabłonowskis, Jundziłł, Kickis, Komorowskis, Koźmińskis, Krasickis, Kuczyńskis, Łączyńskis, Macińskis, Mieras, Morawskis of the "Dąbrowa" crest (through whom they became related to the Radziwiłł family), the Potocki-Piławits, Porajczyk-Pstrokońskis, Rogalińskis, Ronikers, Skórzewskis, Stadnickis, Świdzińskis, Trembińskis, Wołłowicz, Wyskot-Zakrzewskis and numerous others. Nowadays [the 1880s, tr.] the Starzeńskis are one of the more powerful families in Poland.

In the 15th and 16th centuries the Starzeńskis devoted themselves to farming the substantial areas of land in Wieluń, Sieradz and Kalisz districts, though they did not avoid serving the state and state offices in the districts they inhabited. Similarly, when the occasion arose they were always ready to protect their fatherland. Secluded in their ancient abodes though, they did not needlessly endeavour to move to a wider arena. It was only when, through a marriage to the Crown Chancellor Pstrokoński, they became associated with the powerful Lubieński family, that in the 17th century the attention was directed to the House of Starzeński which at that time produced five prelates, gifted and of merit.

The Zebrzydowski rebellion left the Starzeńskis with proud memories of the battle fought at Guzów, yet caused the family, divided into two opposing camps, to suffer the loss and destruction of many of their ancestral estates. Later, in appreciation of the Starzeńskis long-standing loyalty to the monarchy, King Stanisław Leszczyński (1704-1709) offered them full protection and took them into his court. This initiated the tradition of French elegance and refinement of the courts at Lunéville and Versailles that was to be so carefully preserved by the family. This courtly tradition went on to secure the Starzeńskis the Royal Court's favour

during the reign of King Augustus III (1733-1763) and the respect of the Hetman, or Commander-in-Chief. As of the Saxon period to the 19th century the family became involved in most of the national institutions and important matters of state. During the period of interregnum after the reign of King Augustus III, the Starzeńskis figured regularly in public affairs, and despite the King's reluctance, they gathered power in Podlasie voivodship through the Kuczyńskis (referred to by Święcki as the "Króliki Podlasia" or "little Kings of the Podlasie"). This led to their involvement in: the Confederation of Bar (1768); the Four Years Sejm (1791-1795); the War Commission; the Kościuszko Insurrection (1794); the Napoleonic wars (1807-1812); the parliamentary work of the Galician Estates Assembly and diets of the Congress Kingdom (1815-1918). Unable to prevent the tragic occurrences of the January Insurrection of 1863 though, they paid for their involvement with considerable losses, on the battlefields and later, in prison. The Starzeńskis left behind them countless reminders of their legislative and economic work. The creation and development of landowners' agricultural and financial societies in Warsaw and Lwów, served as opportunities for family members to display their administrative aptitude, as did: the People's Council of State in Warsaw; the Viennese House of Gentry; the district councils in the Podlasie and Galician provinces, and offices of the gentry in the Congress Kingdom.

Their influence was also considerable in social terms; contemporary memoirs and the novels of Zygmunt Kaczkowski bear witness to their prominence in Warsaw 'society' circles from as early as the time of King Stanisław Augustus (1764-1795). Castellan Dembowski, Łoziński, and Kazimierz Chłędowski all praise the Starzeńskis' salon in Lwów as having contributed from 1772 onwards, to the transformation of this once ordinary voivodship town into the cultural capital of Poland. There are numerous other records to substantiate this, amongst: the works of the Ossoliński Library; the contemporary press; the memoirs of Michał Starzeński, Starost of Brańsk; those of Stanisław Starzeński, Starost of Mogielnica; and the valuable notes of the recently deceased Count Aleksander Krasicki.

Bobrowicz, in his postscripts to the Niesiecki armorial (published in Lipsk, volume VIII page 510) mistakenly claims, on the basis of a misspelling (in a brevet produced by the Austrian authorities for the Austrian Countship), that the Starzeńskis changed the y in the original spelling of their name, to an e. He has, however, evidently confused them with either the Starzyński family of the 'Doliwa' crest, with whom they had no connections whatsoever, or with the Staržas of the "Topór" crest. The Starzeńskis came originally from Starzenice in Wieluń district, and, right from their earliest mention in records, have invariably spelled their name with an e, not with a y, and without a dot over the z.

Moving on from these few words of introduction, we come to the genealogy of the Starzeński family. Firstly, we must acknowledge the sources on which all the facts to follow have been based:

1. A summary of documents from Grodno in the Royal archives in Poznań, prepared by the office clerk Józef Lekszycki.
2. The family tree of Dr. Włodzimierz Bolesta-Kozłowski, documenting his descent from the Starzeński line, through his mother, registered by the highest Galician and Austrian authorities (presented in detail later).

3. The genealogical table detailing the descent of the brothers, Józef (Castellan of Gniezno), Maciej (Starost of Brańsk), Piotr (Colonel), and Antoni Starzeński (Lord High Steward of Sanok), presented before the District Court on 18th September 1775 and signed by Tadeusz "Wyszogota" Zakrzewski from Zakrzew, the District Chief Justice of the province of Poznań (Relat Costens. 1776 fol. 192); accepted on 9th May 1776 by the commission of Galician magnates (established to investigate such documents) and signed personally by Archbishop Sierakowski, General Mniszek of the Crown Army and Ignacy Cetner; recorded in the archives of the Ministry for Internal Affairs in Vienna together with a request for Austrian Countship on 19th December 1780; next noted on 21st December 1798 in the District Court of Oświęcim; on 7th December 1799 together with confirmation of their Austrian Countship recorded in the Białystok district in Prussia; on 8th October 1816 recorded in the State Registry of Galicia; on 21st February 1817 authorised by the Chamberlain's office in Vienna; and finally entered on 10th July 1817 into the genealogical documents of the Białystok archives with the signatures of Field-Marshal Dominik Ciecierski, Ludwik Meissner (a representative of the Drohiczyn district), and Stanisław Hryniewiecki (representative of the Bielsk district). This genealogical table spans six generations of the Starzeński family, from 1640 to 1776.

4. *Praeclarae Domus Starzensciana*, the genealogy of the Starzeński family, based on documents issued by the office of the Kalisz archives, covering the history of six generations from 1443 to 1640.

5. A table entitled *Genealogia rodziny de Starzenice Starzeńskich*, (the genealogy of the Starzeński family from Starzenice), published in 1882 by Count August Starzeński, a few details of which have been corrected and supplemented according to the original documents from the Kalisz archives.

The oldest ancestor of the family known to us is **Maciej Mzura Starzeński** of the "Fox" crest (I - 1st generation). He had settled in Starzenice, the Wieluń district, by 1395, according to the *Kodeks Wielkopolski*, the statute book of the Wielkopolska (Great Poland) province, (document No. 1790: *Bernadux werusch index welenensis protestatur Mathiam de Starzenice pro sexta parte hereditatis ejusdem Jacobum de Masłowice judicialiter evassise*).

He had one son, Mściszko:

(II) Mściszko of Starzenice also lived in the Wieluń district, according to a document from Sieradz District Court (*feria secunda infra Octav. Sti Francisci Confessorii A.D. 1413*). Mściszko's son was:

(III) Stanisław of Starzenice, Chief Justice of Wieluń, and the squire of Starzenice and Osjaków in the Wieluń district. His name appears more than once in the old parchment documents of Sieradz concerning privileges (1-37/1116, 1380-1587 No. 4 d.d. Wieluń *feria secunda post festum Sanctae Elisab. 1448, Lutholdus de Bida index, at Nicolaus Bystrzonowski Subindex generalis Terrae Wielunensis, Michael Kurowski et Stanisław de Starzenice index Wielunensis*). He is also mentioned in other documents from the district of Sieradz (No. 15 et 16/233 1467-69 No. 214 *feria secunda post festum Omnium Sanctorum 1468, Johannes de Konycepole a nobili Stanisław de Starzenice iudici Wielunensi etc.*). His son was:

(IV) Jan Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, the squire of Starzenice, Olewin, Siennicz, Czernice, Jaworzno, Osjaków, Masłowice and Krajkowice, and Chief Justice of Wieluń (according to document No. 1/1164 in Wieluń, Inscr. Castr. Wieluń 1516-29 *feria tertia post festum Circumcisionis Domini A.D. 1516*). Jan came into possession of Czernice and Jaworzno, which were bequeathed to him by Zaremba, Voivode of the Kalisz voivodship. His sister, Katarzyna Starzeńska, mentioned in documents of the Royal registry (L.14 f. 382. A.D. 1496 *feria quarta infra octav. festi Visitationis Beat Virginia Maria Cracoviae generosa*), was widowed on the death of Bogufal Jordanowski. He had two wives according to document No. 1/1167 and 22/260 (Inscript. Castr. Wieluńensis 1516-29 *feria tertia in vigilia festi Sti Thomae A.D. 1524*), in which Jan Starzeński, Chief Justice of Wieluń, makes demises in the event of his death. First, "nobilis" Hedvigis, whose maiden name, we gather from documentation of Jan's estates which include his wife's dowry, was Masłowska of the "Samson" crest. Then he married Zofia Golejowska of the "Kościeszka" crest, whose family are now Counts in Galicia, an Austrian title. According to the document mentioned above, Jan and his first wife had six children (5th generation): two daughters, Elżbieta and Helena, the second of whom married Piotr Stabrowski from Stabrowa of the "Łubicz" crest¹, and four sons: Wilhelm, who (according to a document in the Royal registry, L.54 fil. 197 *Leopoldi Sabbata post festum Assumptionis Virginis Mariae A.D. 1537*) was exempted from the war campaign; Jan, squire of Olewin, who married Anna; Jakób, and Maciej (1569). Rosław Starzeński, mentioned in a document in

1 Piotr Stabrowski was, in all probability, the father of Wojciech, the senior army administrator in Lithuania, 1573, and the grandfather of Piotr Stabrowski, the Castellan of Poznań and Starost of Trydeń, who married Teodora Sanguszkowa. He was one of the main instigators of the Zebrzydowski rebellion and, in 1606, he insulted the King in Lublin, together with "the devil" Stadnicki and Jakób Sieniński.

the royal registry dated 24th March 1581 (Metr. Kor. L. 124 f. 61) was probably a descendant of one of these four, as was Kasper Starzeński, who is mentioned in a document of the treasury (page 190 B), as having been a cavalry captain of the Podole province, commanding a detachment of 200 infantry and four mounted soldiers, based at the castle of Kijów [Kiev]. From his second marriage Jan Starzeński had seven sons: Marcin, Bartłomiej, Andrzej, Piotr, Feliks, Zygmunt and Stanisław.

(V) Marcin Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, joint heir of Olewin and Siewierz, married Małgorzata Stawska of the "Leszczyc" crest, previously the wife of one Bartłomiej Stawski (Akta gr. Wieluńskie, documents of the Wieluń district No. 1/1167 (2252/279) *feria secunda post Dominicam Oculi 1525*). She bore Marcin Mzura two daughters: Dorota, who married Jan Prawdzic Chotomski (No. 27 1579 403 of the documents mentioned above), and Agnieszka (sued by Andrzej Grabowski and Łukasz Siemikowski); and four sons: Andrzej, Marcin, Stanisław, and Waleryan.

(VI,1) Andrzej Starzeński, the squire of Osjaków, married twice, first Martyna and then, later, Anna Koźmińska of the "Poraj" crest, who bore him five children (7th generation): Stanisław (Inscr. Wielun. 1603-4 No. 17/1209 (56) *feria sda post festum Corporis Christi 1604*), Anna, Małgorzata, Magdalena, and Katarzyna (Insc. Wiel. No. 17, 1566 p. 107, No. 27, 1579 p. 474).

(VI,2) Marcin Starzeński, challenged Andrzej Grabowski over his charges levelled at his sister Agnieszka (*Varsaviae Sabbato ante Dominican Sexages. L. XIV f. 516 A.D. 1605*).

(VI,3) Stanisław Starzeński, the squire of Siennicz (Inscr. Castr. Wieluń. 1607-8 No. 49/1211 (484) *feria quinta festum Nativitatis Mariae A.D. 1608*), married Anna Grodzińska of the "Łabędz" crest (No. 104, 1601, p. 231, Wieluń). In 1606, together with his brothers Andrzej and Waleryan, Stanisław challenged Łukasz Siemikowski over the charges levelled at their sister Agnieszka, (*Varsaviae feria quinta ante festum pentecost., Liber Donationum. Castr. Vars. 33 f. 730*). He and Anna Grodzińska had three sons (7th generation): Jan, Mikołaj, and Marcin, of whose later lives no documentation is available.

(VI,4) Waleryan Starzeński is only mentioned once in the documents available to us, under the year 1606.

(V,2) Father Bartłomiej Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, the second son of Jan Starzeński and Zofia Golejowska, was a canon in Wieluń, according to a document in which, together with his brothers Andrzej, Piotr, Feliks, Zygmunt and Stanisław Starzeński, squires of the villages of Siewierz and Wierzchlas, he was in litigation against the Skrzyńskis and others over the property boundaries.

(V,3) Andrzej Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, the third son of Jan and Zofia Golejowska was a courageous soldier. On his return from Gdańsk in 1526 (according to royal registry documents L. 42. f. 123 d.d. Marienburg *feria sda post festum Sti Jacobi Apost*), he was granted the village of Bartoszewice, in the district of Kowel in the Chełm voivodship, together with the right to fish in its lake, as a reward from the King for his contribution to the war.

(V,4) Piotr Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, the fourth son of Jan and Zofia Golejowska,

was co-owner of Siewierz, Wierzchlas and Suchorzyn. Having succeeded Czerlenkowski as Esquire Carver [honorary title of land administrator] of Braclaw (Metr. Kor. Varsowiae 8 Novemb. L. 170 f. 414 Anno 1623), he was present when the border between Kamień and Komorów was established (Vars. *feria exta ante festum Sanctae Luciae 1629*). Piotr was accused by Urban Starzyński of attacking the house of his brother on St. Thomas' day (according to a document from the year 1551 entered in Insc. Castr. Wieluń. under No. 1/1164 (294/343) *feria quinta in vigilia festi Nativitatis Domini* and under No. 6/1169). He had two wives: Teresa de Błogie, then Katarzyna (surname unknown), (Wieluń. No. 27, 1577 p. 26; Metr. Kor. Conv. 1. 43 f. 873). He and Teresa had seven children, two daughters: Jadwiga and Małgorzata, and five sons (6th generation): Jakób, Roch, Wojciech, Jan (the squire of Wielkie Niedźwiedzie), and Marcin (the squire of Mantyki), who married Katarzyna de Stołacz of Wieruszów. Marcin and Katarzyna had six daughters: Anna, Bogumiła, Maryanna, Apolonia, Agnieszka (who married Jerzy Starża), and Helena (who married Jan Niżankowski), and four sons (7th generation): Maciej (who became a monk of the Jesuit order), Marcin (No. 171, 1664, p. 27, Sieradz), Sebastyan, and Jan.

(V,5) Feliks Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, the fifth son of Jan and Zofia, the squire of Siennicz (Metr. Kor. Conv. L. 43 f. 873) married a woman called Anna, but they were childless.

(V,6) Zygmunt Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, the sixth son of Jan and Zofia, married Anna Masłowska of the "Samson" crest and had one daughter, Małgorzata, who married Michał Rowiński.

(V,7) Stanisław Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, the seventh brother, squire of Starzenice and co-owner of Siennicz, Wierzchlas, Osjaków, Nowa Wieś and Mołędzin, was the one who carried on the main family branch. In 1538 he received royal permission for the introduction of a market in Osjaków (Metr. Kor. Lib. 59 f. 319). His wife was Zofia (surname not recorded), and document No. 18/1181 (Inscr. Castr. Wieluń. from the year 1567 pp.65-6 *feria secunda ante festum Sti Prisci*) states that Stanisław Starzeński, the squire of Nowa Wieś, Mołędzin and Osjaków, borrowed a sum of money from Jan Raczyński, lessee of the town of Szadek, in the presence of his

wife's relatives, Wojciech Rychłowski and Adam Mojkowski. From this document it would seem that his wife Zofia came from the Rychłowski household of the "Nałęcz" crest in Wielkopolska, and that her mother was from the Mojkowski household of the "Jastrzębiec" crest. Stanisław and Zofia had one daughter, Jadwiga, and four sons: Jan, Marcin, Wojciech, and Mikołaj (6th generation).

(VI) Jan Starzeński, the squire of Siennicz, married Dorota Upalska, but they were childless. In 1601 they accused Jan Boczkowski of conducting raids (Vars. *feria quinta in crastino festi S. Valent. 1601* Conv. L. 13 f. 445).

(VI) Marcin Starzeński, the squire of Nowa Wieś, had two sons (wife unknown): Mikołaj, and Łukasz (7th generation).

(VI) Wojciech Starzeński, and his wife Dorota Bartochowska of the "Rola" crest also had two sons: Maciej and Jan (7th generation).

(VI) Mikołaj Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, squire of Starzenice, Siennicz,

Wierzchlas, Mołędzin, and Osjaków was married (according to Liber Install. Capit. Gnesn. A. 773) first to Skrzyńska of the "Zaremba" crest, and then later to Anna Sułowska of the "Strzemię" crest (Akta Ziem. Sieradz. No. 56/148 (96) 1592-3 *feria secunda post Dominicam Paschae* year 1592). Documentation suggests that he died some time before 1592. He left one son, Jan, from his first marriage (according to the document mentioned above, and the conventionalia of the Royal archives L.13 f.1137 *Vars. feria tertia post Dominican Invocavit quadr. A.D. 1601*).

(VII,1) Jan Mzura Starzeński, squire of Starzenice, Olewin, Wierzchlas, and Świerczów, married Zofia Pstrokońska of the "Poraj" crest, from Burzenin (Inscr. Castr. Wieluń. No. 47/1209 (56) 1603 - 4 *feria secunda post festum corporis christi A.D. 1604*), and consequently made connections with several of the most illustrious, highly ranked households in the Commonwealth². Zofia Pstrokońska was an extremely pious woman (mentioned in *Opera posth. Stanisław Łubieński, Anverpiae 1643: Monito de gerendo episcopatu Math. Pstrokoński* page 246: *Dixi enim cum de vitae status ineundo agitarem, sororem, quae non sine opinione sanctitatis e vivis excessit, in somnis visam, eamque non solum vitae genus sed etiam meque et Sacerdotem et Episcopum futurum praedixisse*). She was widowed in around 1592, when her husband died of wounds received in his youth whilst defending his country, and she too died relatively young, before 1592.

Their eight sons: Maciej, Szymon, Mikołaj, Andrzej, Wojciech, Łukasz, Jan, and Marcin (8th generation), were taken into the care of their uncle, Father Maciej Pstrokoński, Crown Chancellor, and Bishop, first of Przemyśl and then of Kujawy. This relationship as well as the links - through their mother - with senior church dignitaries (such as Jan Łubieński, Bishop of Poznań, Primate Jan Tarnowski and Maciej Łubieński, and Stanisław Łubieński, Bishop of Płock, amongst others), together with their relationship with their uncle, were a major influence on the education of the young Starzeńskis. Under the protection of the Chancellor, they were prepared from an early age for the moment when they too would take their part in public affairs; they consolidated their deep faith and the passion for ecclesiastical matters. Not surprisingly, the four eldest brothers decided to enter the priesthood. The younger brothers, however, took to the sword, and defended the King in the Zebrzydowski Rebellion. Another member of the Starzeński family, probably their (paternal) cousin, (mentioned by Henryk Schmitt in the annuals of the Poznań Society of the Friends of Science, *Tow. Pozn. Przyjaciół Nauk*, ch.III, p.74), beguiled by Piotr Stabrowski, Castellan of Parnawy and a relation, signed

2 Zofia was the daughter of Zbigniew Pstrokoński who died courageously in the Hungarian war during the reign of King Kazimierz III, and Barbara Gajewnicka from Gajewniki "de domo Dolivarum et Prussorum" (Lib. install. Capit. Gnesn. A, 603b.; Acta decr. Capit. Gnesn. VIII, 425), who was born to Zofia Głowacka of the "Prus" crest, whose mother (therefore Zofia Starzeńska's great-grandmother) was the sister of the Bishop of Poznań, Jan Lubrański of the "Godziemba" crest (Nies). Zofia Starzeńska's brothers were: Jan Pstrokoński, Castellan of Wieluń married to Tarnowska of the "Rola" crest, the daughter of the Castellan of Inowrocław, and sister of Primate Jan Rolicz Tarnowski; and the famous Crown Chancellor Maciej Pstrokoński, Bishop of Kujawy. Their grandfather Maciej Pstrokoński was married to Małgorzata Tarnowska of the "Rola" crest whose sister, Sierakowska, was the mother of Jan Sierakowski, Voivode of the Łęczyca voivodship (Nies). Through the Pstrokońskis the Starzeńskis came to be related to the Łubieński family (see above genealogy of the Łubieńskis).

the rebels' manifesto on 24th June 1607 in a camp near Jezierna. The family was thus divided into two camps, and faced the risk of considerable property losses, but at the same time won considerable renown through the actions of Father Mikołaj.

(VIII, 1) Father Maciej Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, Canon of Poznań, was a priest by 1601 (according to *Vars. feria tertia post Dominicam Invocavit* Convent. L.n 3 f. 1137), and co-owner, with his brothers Łukasz and Wojciech, of the estates of Świerczów in Sieradz district and Starzenice in Wieluń district. By 1608 (according to *feria quinta post estum Nativitatis Mariae*, Inscri. Castr. Wieluń No. 49/1211 from the year 1607-8), he was the Canon of Poznań. Niesiecki, in his book (published in Lipsk, Vol.VIII, p. 511) wrongly suggests that he was of the "Ślepowron" crest.

(VIII, 2) Father Szymon Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, the second brother, was the Canon of Płock, (according to the document of 1608 mentioned above).

(VIII, 3) Father Mikołaj Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, Chancellor of Gniezno Curia, Canon of Płock and Łęczyca, Coadjutor of the Abbey of Sulejów, Doctor of both theological and secular law, and parish priest/Mitred Prelate of Łask (1612 to 1632)³, deserves a more detailed account, which we shall take straight from Father Korytkowski's invaluable work *The Prelates and Canons of Gniezno, (Prażaci i Kanonicy Gnieźn.*, 1882, bk. XII, pp. 580-590):

The son of Jan Starzeński of the "Bzura" crest and Zofia Pstrokońska, the sister of Maciej the Bishop of Kujawy of the "Poraj" crest⁴, was a man of great learning, rare discernment and dignity. As the parish-priest/Mitred Prelate of Łask, he received the estate of Żydówko in the Canonry of Gniezno as a provision from the Archbishop, made vacant after the death of Bartłomiej Mirczyński and which he took over on 7th September 1613, (refer previous quoted document A, 772b sqq). His oath and profession of faith were made at the chapter-house on 21st October of the same year (Acta. decr. capit. Gnesn. X, 303b.). He made an excellent Latin speech to greet Archbishop Wawrzyniec Gembicki, on his ceremonial entry to the Archbishop's See on 18th November 1616, on behalf of the metropolitan chapter by whom he had been instructed (refer to previous quoted document, X, 390). That same year, at the Crown Court of Justice, he defended the case

3 We learn of this fact from Father Kołodowski's "Wiadomość o Kościele i infułacyi łaskiej" in *Pamiętn. rel. moral.* [Religious and moral memoirs], Vol.VI p.500.

4 *Liber Install. Capit. Gnesn.* A. 773: "...Rudi Dni Albertus Łubieński, Joannes Grabowski, Adam Leszniewski, Canonici Gnesnenses, ac Nobilis Joannes Przeździecki medio corporali iuramento per eos iuxta conditionem uniuscuiuscunqve, videlicet per Rndos Dnos suprascriptos ad Sancta Dei Evangelia, per Nobiliem vero itidem suprascriptum tactis duobus digitis ad imaginem (Christi) Crucifixi praestito, deposuerunt et testificati sunt, eundem Rndum Dnum Nicolaum Starzyński ex utroque parente Nobili genitu et legitime procreatun esse, patre videlicet Joanne Starzynski de armis Bzura seu Lisz, avia paterna Nobilis...Skrzyńska, de armis Zaremba, matre Nobili Sophia Pstrokońska de armis Rosa seu Poraj, avia materna Nobilis Margaretha Gaiewniczka de armis?...etc." [footnote by Father Korytkowski]

of the Gniezno chapter with regard to the village of Ryszewo which had been handed over as a security from its squire, Ryszewski (evidence found in his statement sent to the Chapter, in which he reports of a generally hostile attitude of laymen to the clergy ⁵. The following year, Father Mikołaj visited the Archbishop Wawrzyniec Gembicki in his capacity as the Chapter's envoy; and busied himself with the task of measuring the extent of the forests on the Chapter's estates, namely those in Wieluń district, of which he was the lessor (Archiw. Kapit. Gnieźn. "Listy Prał. i Kanon. Gnieźn.", letters of the Prelates and Canons of Gniezno, Vol. XI, No. 66). That year, he also settled a dispute with Wojciech Niemierza, the Voivode of Podole, concerning the boundaries and his appropriation of the Chapter's pastures (same document, Vol. XI, No. 67, 68). Next he was sent on important church matters to Łowicz and also to regulate affairs in the estates of the Kalisz convent, donated by Archbishop Karnkowski after having retrieved them from their lessees (same document Vol. XI, No. 69). The Chapter delegated him Vice-president of the Crown Court of Justice in 1619 (Acta Decr. Capit. Gnesn. X, 572), where his knowledge of Polish law, his discernment and unflinching sense of justice won him such renown that in 1628, on the recommendation of Archbishop Jan Wężyk, the Chapter elected him president of the Royal Court of Justice, (previous quoted document XI, 156). In 1621 he was sent from the Chapter by Archbishop Wawrzyniec Gembicki to Rome on various public and church affairs. He carried out this mission commendably and successfully (previous quoted document X, 621). On 4th December 1622 he consecrated a newly built parish church, founded by the Canonry in Poźdzenice, which is today part of the parish church in Wygięzów, in the diocese of Łask of the Kujawy-Kalisz Diocese, (Rubryc. dyec. Kuj.-Kaliskiej, from the year 1879. f. 110). Following the death of Świętosław Sarnowski he went on to become Prelate General of Gniezno, on 15th October 1626 (Acta decr. Capit. Gnesn. XI, 69. Liber install. Capit. Gnesn. B. 44 Sqq). The highly promising Prelate died in his prime in 1632." (Acta. decr. Capit. Gnesn. XI, 284).

5 Archiv. Kapit. Gniezn, *Listy prał. i kanon. Gniezn*, Vol. XI, No. 65: "Admodum Rndi Domini etc. yesterday we dealt with Mr. Ryszewski who "variis modis et rationibus" wanted "labefactare ius nostrum," since he had reasons to support his claims "Non obfuit praesentia mean," because I pulled away Mr. Radlicki and Mr. Jasiński so that only one youth stood with him and Mr. Lisiecki defended himself beautifully and honourably; we did not beat without fear, though, because Mr. Ryszewski himself did not fight, and, secondly that in the presence of his wife "propinquoires de sangvine" they could not fight so that "exiguam aequitatem" saw in Mr. Rogowski who for 4000 took 9000. Therefore the Chancellor asked him: "Mr. Ryszewski, you feel yourself wronged by us, give us back our money and we shall release Ryszewo" Then the jury seeing our reasons realized we did not wronged him with our offer. I would also like to declare that the laity are very angry with the clergy and they want articles to abolish or to limit rights and liberties of the clergy. The Chamberlain wants to be harsh at the land diet, I expect him in Szadek. You will understand then "expedire" that I should have spoken as a countryman, citizen and vicar, and at that "de gremio Ecclesiae Metropolitanae." What shall happen there I shall not fail to let you know. I remain at your service, asking the Lord to preserve you in good health and happiness. Datum Piotrkoviae 5 Marcii A.D. 1616. Nicolaus Starzensky P.L.G.P.G."

(VIII,4) Andrzej Mzura Starzeński from Starzenice (8th generation), parish priest/mitred and Prelate of Łask, died before 1631 (according to Terr. Schadkoviensia 1635 No. 95/86 (203)), and his sister-in-law Dorota Bratkowska of Siemkowice, his grandson Mikołaj, and Jan Starzeński jointly inherited the villages of Chraplewo and Wola Łaska.

(VIII,6) Łukasz, (VIII,7) Jan, (VIII,8) Marcin Starzeński of Starzenice, on whom we have little documentation.⁶

(VIII,5) Wojciech Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, son of Jan and Zofia of the Pstrokoński family, brother of the four afore mentioned prelates and also Łukasz, Jan and Marcin Starzeński, was the forefather of today's flourishing branches of the Starzeński household. He was the squire of the estates of Starzenice, Świerczów, Osjaków, Siennicz, and Wierzchlas (Metr. Kor. L. 151 f. 348 Vars. 1st January A.D. 1608), as well as being a standard bearer of the Royal Army as of 1640 (according to the above mentioned *Series documentorum domus Starzenaciannae* recorded in the town of Kościan, Resign. Cost. in 1776 *feria secunda post Dominicam Jubilate* and the documents of the town of Kalisz N.

6 It is possible, though not certain, that the members of the Starzeński family listed below are descended from the above mentioned. Amongst them are:

Władysław Starzeński, the squire on the estate of Poszewie in the Podlasie voivodship, which he ceded to Gotard Wilhelm Butler (29th August 1658 Metr. Kor. L. 201 Fol. 45, 411.);

Świętosław Starzeński, married to Urszula Kamocka of the "Jelita" crest, against whom Melchior Grudziński lodged a claim for money owed (Var. Sab. Pridie Dom. Quadrag. Laetare 10 marca 1668 Metr. Kor. d. 207 f. 313, 51);

Felicjan Starzeński, Vice-Regent of the town of Mielnik, cousin of Anna Dadzibalianka (the wife of the Cup-Bearer of Mielnik, Gabryel Pisarski of the "Szreniawa" crest) who approved a transaction witnessed by Pisarski for Czartoryski (Donat. Castr. Vars. L. 59 f. 875);

Jakób Starzeński, the squire of Bogate and Chamberlain of the Nur district (7th September 1726 Metr. Kor. L. 224 f. 76);

Stanisław Starzeński, the squire of Osowo (Vars. 27th May 1727 Metr. Kor. L. 255 f. 184 and 25th May 1726 Metr. Kor. 224 f. 29);

Franciszek Starzeński, the Cup-Bearer of Żydaczów, married to Teresa Benozanka (Vars. Sab. in Cr. F. Sti. Franc. Conf. 1748. L. 38 f. 179); he had two sons, firstly Paweł, who in 1746 (7th December 1746 Sig. L. 27 f. 26/7), as a captain of the Crown army received a provision for the village of Zdzary in the Sandomierz voivodship; in 1748 he was Colonel of the cavalry under the Crown Hetman (Sigill, 1748, L. 27 f. 118, 2), the Cup-bearer of the Podole in 1748, registrar of the royal documents and the squire of Skipczka, Słoboda and Wola Skipiecka (Conv. L. 38 f. 179, Vars. in Cr. S.Franc. Conf. 1748), Chamberlain and the squire of Grzęda and Sieciechów in 1760, married to Teresa neé Wybranowska (9th April 1760 Vars, Sig. L. 29 f. 216. 5); in 1761, (Metr. Kor. L. 276 fol. 169, 29th May 1761), Lieutenant-General of the Crown army and the Starost of Sieciechów in 1761, the Starost of Mierzwin in 1767 (Metr. Kor. L. 272 f. 3, 7th August 1767); also in 1767 he became Knight of the Order of St. Anna and the squire of Jarmolince, Paniów, Murawne, Boguchwał, Zawale and Żłobień (Metr. Kor. L. 272 f. 7. 20th August 1767).

His brother Antoni, the Cup-Bearer of Żydaczów, the son of Franciszek and Teresa Benozanka (Conv. Vars. 1748 L. 38 f. 179 and Metr. Kor. L. 268 F. 284 A. 1749), in 1773 the Esquire Carver (Stolnik) of Łatyczów, in 1774 the Standard Bearer of Czerwonogród after Joachim Łoś (Sigill L. 32 f. 245, 26th January 1774).

Łukasz Starzeński, Standard Bearer of the cuirassier company and the squire of Goślinczyce, (Syg. L. 32 f. 17/16).

Stanisław Starzeński, Lieutenant of the national cavalry, hussars brigade, of the Braclaw voivodship.

12/172 (195, 196 and 197)). Wojciech Starzeński showed great courage on several occasions, as noted by various writers, amongst others: Bishop Stanisław Łubieński, in his works published posthumously, Batowski in *Teka*, and J. Ursyn Niemcewicz in his work on the life of Zygmunt III (vol.III, p.115). Father Korytkowski, in his biography of Bishop Maciej Pstrokoński states that "during the battle at Guzów Pstrokoński turned the balance of victory to the side of the King with his bravery and his presence of mind. A strong attack on the royal ranks by the rebel cavalry caused such panic and confusion that many of the royal soldiers turned and fled. Pstrokoński, undeterred, dug his spurs into his horse's flanks and sprang forward in pursuit of those dispersing. Wrenching the standard from the hands of the fleeing standard bearer, he passed it to his nephew, Wojciech Starzeński⁷, crying: 'this is no direction for the Polish Eagle, turn it around, and carry it where there is the enemy'. The royal soldiers, inspired by such bravery, proceeded to made a powerful onslaught on the rebels whose defeat was terrible".

Wojciech married twice, first Aniela Szoldrska then Dorota Bratkowska. Aniela, of the "Łodzia" crest, was the daughter of Maciej Szoldrski, administrator of the District Court in Poznań. Her mother was Katarzyna Gembicka of the "Nałęcz" crest, daughter of Cup Bearer of Poznań, (see Publication No.I, p.321, where she has been left out by mistake). On her father's side Aniela was the niece of Andrzej Szoldrski, Bishop of Poznań and on her mother's side she was the great niece of Wawrzyniec Gembicki, Primate, (see Publication No.IV, pp.105-106), besides being the niece of the three Gembicki Bishops: Piotr, Bishop of Cracow and Duke of Siewierz; Andrzej, Bishop of Łuck; and Jan, Bishop of Kujawy. Their brothers, her other two uncles were Stefan, Castellan of Rogoźno, and Krzysztof, Carver to the Crown and Starost of Gniezno (Publication No.IV, pp.106-107). Aniela, (according to the above quoted Kalisz document from the year 1640), and Wojciech had a son called Mikołaj (9th generation) from whom further generations of the Mzura Starzeński family in Red Ruthenia and the Kingdom of Poland are the descendants.

Wojciech Starzeński's second wife, Dorota Bratkowska of Siemkowice, of the "Świnka" crest (Akta Kaliskie 1641 *feria secunda post festum S.Laurentii*), was the daughter of Jan Bratkowski and inherited the estate of Błażki (Inscr. Castr. Wieluń. 1610 No. 51/1213 *feria secunda in crastino festi Sti Jacobi Ap.*). She also brought into the Starzeńskis' possession the estates of Burzenin, Grzmiąca, Wielka Wieś and Siemkowice. She had one daughter Anna, who married first Jerzy and then later Kazimierz Gomoliński of the "Jelita" crest, and three sons: Maciej, Jan and Łukasz (9th generation). Maciej Starzeński, was an administrator in the town and district of Kalisz (Sigill. L. 8 f. 43 1661 yr; Akta Kaliskie 1641 "*feria sda post festum Sti Laurentii*"), and also squire of Kamionka, Grzmiąca, Burzenin, Wielka Wieś and Siemkowice. Niesiecki wrongly suggests he was of the "Gryzima" crest (Lipsk publication vol. VIII page 509). He married Małgorzata from Potok and left one daughter, Katarzyna, and four sons (10th generation): Mieczysław, Mateusz, Franciszek and Wojciech (who married Konstancya Bielińska of the "Szeliga" crest). Jan Starzeński (9th generation) married Krystyna Krzeczowska of the "Odrowąż" crest, but

7 Father Korytkowski in every instance wrongly uses the spelling "Starzyński" which we are correcting.

they had no children and Krystyna went on to marry Samuel Pstrokoński. We have no details of the third brother, Łukasz, and it seems likely that he died young.

(IX) Mikołaj Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, the first son of Wojciech, the Standard Bearer, and Aniela Szoldrska, was the squire of Starzenice, Mantyki, Osjaków, Olewin, Wierzchlas, Siennicz, Chraplewo and Wola Łaska (Inscr. Castr. Wieluń. 1610 No. 51/1123), and, from the Szoldrski family, he was also the squire of Hówiec Wielki and Hówiec Mały near Czempiń. He entered into negotiations with the relatives of his stepmother, Zygmunt Bratkowski and his wife Jadwiga, of the Walknowski family, over the inheritance left by his brothers. According to a marriage certificate from the Kalisz archives (*feria sexta post festum Sti. Jacobi Ap. 1640* and *feria tertia post Dominican Sexagesimae in Castro Siradiensi A.D. 1641*, recorded in Poznań (Inscr. Posn. 1645 vol.I, f.375)), Mikołaj married Dorota Jaraczewska of the "Zaremba" crest from Jaraczewo, the daughter of Adam Jaraczewski and Małgorzata Szoldrska, (See Publication No. V p. 55), (the daughter of Maciej Szoldrski of Szoldry and Anna, née Nałęcz Skalawska). Dorota Jaraczewska bore him four sons (Inscr. Posn. 1677 vol.II, f.518): Franciszek, Burgrave of the Kalisz district (married to Helena Paczkowska of the "Łubicz" crest, but childless); Krzysztof (also childless); Stanisław, the squire of Olewin and Wierzchlas (who left one daughter, Dorota, who married Jakób Puchał Cywiński); and Jan (see next paragraph). Józef Starzeński, later Castellan of Gniezno became the inheritor of Franciszek Starzeński and of Dorota Cywińska after his brother Maciej, later Starost of Brańsk, relinquished all rights to this inheritance (Metr. Kor. L. 261 f. 98 *Vars. feria secunda pridie festi S. Egidii* 31st August 1748.).

(X) Jan Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, the squire of Olewin, Osjaków, Chraplewo, Hówiec Wielki and Hówiec Mały, married Teresa Świnarska of the "Poraj" crest, from Wybranowo (Inscr. Calis. No. 100/2403 *feria sda post festum Assumptionis Mariae A.D. 1681*), the daughter of Jan Świnarski and Teresa Skoroszewska of the "Habdank" crest (daughter of Walenty Skoroszewski and Bogumiła Łodzka Ponińska, daughter of the Sword Bearer of Poznań and the widow of Krzysztof Rozdrażewski⁸, see Publication No.IV, p. 224). Anna Starzeńska, of the Swinarski family, was a widow by 1706, according to a legacy given by her son Krzysztof in the town of Kościan (*Sabbato post fest. Innocentium Martyrum A.D. 1712*) and she remarried, to Konstanty Poklatecki. The estates of Skoroszów remained, however, in the hands of the Starzeńskis. Jan had three daughters: Małgorzata, Magdalena and Maryanna (who married Antoni Podkowski (Inscr. Cost. 1781 f. 28), and four sons: Krzysztof, Franciszek, Wojciech and Jan (11th generation).

(XI) Franciszek Starzeński entered a Benedictine monastery in Łubiń under the

8 Documents from Pызdry show that the daughter of Adryan Poliński, Sword Bearer (miecznik) of Poznań, and Zofia Chełmska of the "Ostoja" crest married (it was her third marriage) Jan Starzeński (Inscr. Resign. Pysdr. 1969 frol. 15). It is also possible that Jan, the son of Mikołaj married Bogumiła Ponińska, the widow of Rozdrażewski, and following her death married her granddaughter, Anna Swinarska. However, this could have been a different Jan Starzeński, probably the son of Marcin and Katarzyna de Stołacz. (See above)

name of Augustyn. On taking his holy vows he renounced all claims to his inheritance, bequeathing everything to his brother Krzysztof (Inscr. Coat. 1706 f. 289 *feria quinta post festa solemn. Paschae Religiosus in Saeculo Franciscus in religione Augustinus Starzeński olim gnsi Johannis Starzeński et Annae Świnarska pmo thoro procreatus filius...*). According to the *Genealogy* registered in the town of Kościan he was eventually made Prior of the Łubiń monastery.

(XI) Wojciech Starzeński, squire of Olewin and Osjaków, took his holy orders somewhat later, and became Rector of the Jesuit colleges in Brześć (Lithuania), and in Krasnostaw. He died in Jarosław in 1729, at the Cathedral of St. John (Niesiecki, Lipsk publication, vol VIII, f.510).

(XI) Jan Starzeński, a Jesuit, was, according to Józef Brown's *Lives of Famous Men from the Society of Jesus*, a political preacher of renown who held for a while the office of preacher at the parish church in Piotrków Trybunalski. He exerted great influence over the dignitaries at court with his exceptional powers of speech. He preached at numerous assemblies and published six political sermons which, despite their seemingly panegyric and macaronic character, are interesting political and moral reflections of the time. His published works are:-

- 1) Król. Trybunału powagą łaskawą ludzkością attemperowana, parlament koronny pod niebo wynoszaca za łaską JWP Jakuba Rybińskiego wdy Chełmińskiego, marszałka, Kalisz, 1724.
- 2) Sprawiedliwość na chwałę Bożą za wiceprezesa JW Jana Tarnowskiego, Schol. kuj. Kan. Gn., 1724.
- 3) Sprawiedliwość rozdzącym żadnym respektem nieskorumpowana, Kalisz, 1725.
- 4) Dusza Ojczyzny, Kalisz, 1725.
- 5) Pewna Ojczyzny Obrona, Sandomierz, 1727.
- 6) Surowy Trybunał, Częstochowa, 1726.

(XI) The eldest of Jan Starzeński's and Anna Świnarska's four sons was **Krzysztof Mzura Starzeński** of Starzenice, squire of Starzenice, Siemkowice, Chraplewo, Skoroszów, Hówiec Wielki, Hówiec Mały and Chmielnko. He was also the leaseholder of the estates of Kępy and Gąsawy, in Poznań voivodship, given to him as security by the son of Castellan Kašinowski, estates which were later passed down to his heirs (as disclosed in a document in Kościan *feria secunda post Dominicam Exaudi* (Inscr. Cost. 1710 fol. 311), the deed of agreement made with Kašinowski in Poznań, 1731: *feria sexta in vigilia festi Nativitatis Mariae*, and also the *Plenipotencye Kościańskie*, a collection of documents and letters of procuratory from 1748 fol. 100). Krzysztof married Konstancya Rola Bartochowska, Lady of Żelisławie and sister of Władysław Bartochowski, Castellan of Wieluń and representative at the Crown Court of Justice in 1746. She was the daughter of Stanisław Bartochowski, the squire of Żelisławie and Anna Ostoja Błociszewska (the daughter of Maciej Błociszewski and Anna Grodzicka of the "Gryf" crest), and the granddaughter of Mikołaj Bartochowski and Jadwiga Korzbok Zawadzka.

Krzysztof Starzeński was a member of the national party, headed at that time by Józef Potocki. He was devoted to the cause of King Stanisław Leszczyński, whom he was later to accompany to France. He stayed at the King's courts in Lunéville and Versailles, acquiring highly elegant manners. On the advice of Minister Brühl and that of Jan Klemens Branicki of Ruzszcz, whom he befriended whilst in France, Krzysztof returned to Poland and was reconciled with King August III who offered him a position at his court in Dresden. However, Krzysztof was aware that he had to provide for a large family and was unable to accept. He asked Brühl and Branicki to be the protectors of his seven sons (a fact mentioned in the memoirs of Count Stanisław Starzeński and the notes of Count Aleksander Krasicki). Towards the end of his life he became an adherent to the cause of the Confederation of Dzików.

Krzysztof's marriage to Bartochowska yielded ten well-educated children. They had three daughters. Maryanna Magdalena, Lady of the estates of Polna in Red Ruthenia and married first to Kazimierz Białecki of the "Jelita" crest, with whom she had one daughter: Anna Uniatycka (née Białecka), then later Filip Rogaliński of Dzwonowo, of the "Łodzia" crest, Master of the Royal Hunt of Pilzno (Inscr. Posn. 1763 vol.II, f.115), and, finally, Józef Uniatycki of the "Sas" crest (Relat. Biec. 1762 Lib. 207), a Colonel in the Crown Army and Chamberlain to the King, to whom she bore another daughter (who married Count Ankwicz). Maryanna Magdalena's sister, Wiktorya Maryanna married Andrzej Skórzewski of the "Drogosław" crest (Inscr. Poan. 1763 vol.II, f.115) and had a daughter who went on to marry Cyryak Gostkowski and then later Kasper Zakrzewski (Sigill. L. 32 f. 192/14 Vara. 1st December 1772). The third sister, Teodozja, married Franciszek Kemblan Chełkowski of the "Wczele" crest (Insr. Coat. 1787 f.1; see lineage of the Chełkowskis, above).

Krzysztof had seven sons (12th generation), who were, according to the memoirs of Count Michał Starzeński the Starost of Brańsk, "of great height and Herculean stature", each highly successful in his own field. Józef (Castellan of Gniezno), Maciej (Starost of Brańsk), and Piotr (Deputy of the company of the Hetman), became the heads of the three principal successions of the Starzeński household (these will be dealt with separately in subsequent chapters). The Castellan Branch had its foothold in Western Poland, the other two branches were for the most part based in the East and South-East (in Red Ruthenia). Krzysztof and Bartochowska's other four sons were Jan Mzura, Franciszek Mzura, Melchior Mzura and Antoni Mzura.

(XII) Jan Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice was Standard Bearer of the company of the Prince, the squire of the estates of Chmielnko and co-owner of the estates of Chraplewo, Kępy and Gąsawa. Having completed his Jesuit education in Poznań he enlisted as a guard in the regiment stationed in Dresden. He was rapidly promoted to the position of musketeer, then made a lieutenant, and was only dismissed when he had attained the rank of standard bearer. He lived for a time in Paris, acting as diplomatic agent to his brothers (according to the notes of Count Alexander Krasicki), before settling in the Podole voivodship. In a letter to Onufry Morski, the Castellan of Kamieniec, King Stanisław August wrote: "I was pleased to receive the news that a delegation from the diet of the Dunajów district has been sent in gratitude for the passing of this state constitution. Not only has it been well received at home but it seems generally admired by foreigners, and shall be all the more now. You must

yourself be greatly satisfied by all the zeal displayed for securing the country's wellbeing, as must be Chamberlain Lipiński and Standard Bearer Starzeński who acted alongside you unanimously at the diet." (*Przewodnik Naukowy* R.V. 1877 p.95, from the handwritten texts of Klemens Kantecki in the Poturzyce library). Jan Mzura died without having married.

(XII) Father Franciszek Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, was Abbot of the Benedictine Monasteries in Mogilno and Łubiń. He is mentioned in Niemcewicz's memoirs. Some time before 1750 (the closing date of Estreicher's *Bibliography*) he published some rare sermons. There is a copy of them in the collection of the well-known bibliophile Count Wiktor Baworowski, whilst Colonel Callier in Poznań also showed us a sermon dedicated to and marked with the crest of Abbot Franciszek Starzeński. Kitowicz, the Abbot's contemporary, wrote, "Franciszek Starzeński, brother of the Starost of Brańsk, famous Secretary to the Great Hetman of the Crown Jan Klemens Branicki, founded schools at his monastery and dedicated many years to the education of the monastic youth. He was so successful that the monastery went so far as to employ its own professors later on, and even to offer their services to other monasteries. The monastery showed its gratitude for the work of Father Franciszek in electing him Abbot. Sadly, however, the pious but exhausted man succumbed to mental illness a few years before his death. Nevertheless, the monastery continued to supported him right up to his death and provided curators to look after and run his estates." (*Opis zwyczajów i obyczajów za panowania Augusta III*, An account of customs and traditions during the reign of King August III, Tarnów edition, 1881, p.59).

(XII) Father Melchior Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, entered a Jesuit monastery where he became rector of several Jesuit colleges. Franciszek Karpiński wrote in his memoirs (*Pamiętniki*, p.37): "Starzeński, a Jesuit and my theology professor, was seated at table at the house of Hetman Wacław Rzewuski, alongside a monk of the Arian Brothers. A discussion concerning Rome was initiated. Starzeński had spent considerable time there and the Hetman asked him how far in a straight line it was from Lwów to Rome. Starzeński said he did not know precisely; the monk shouted out that it was at least thirty miles. Everyone laughed and the Hetman talked on, changing the subject. After dinner Father Starzeński and I bid goodnight to the Hetman. On leaving the house Starzeński set about scolding the monk for his foolish comment about the thirty miles to Rome. The monk quickly retorted "I think my reply was better than your Reverence's 'I don't know', if only for the reason that it is not good for a Jesuit not to know". Later (pp.47-8), Karpiński states: "In order of perfection I placed: God first; straight after him Starzeński: and after Starzeński, myself". Following the dissolution of the Jesuit order, Father Franciszek settled with his brother Maciej, the Starost of Brańsk.

(XII) Antoni Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, the Starost of Prusiek, Lord High Steward of Sanok, Standard Bearer of Royal Prince's company and, in 1749, a representative at the Crown Tribunal. He was the squire of the estates of Chraplewo and Chmielnko in the Poznań voivodship, and of Grabownica Starzeńska, Dołożnica, Humniska, Turza, Płowce and Prusiek in the Sanok region, (the total area of these

estates ammounting to over 21,000 magdeburg morgs)⁹. His first wife was Hełmen of the "Hełm" crest, the second, Chomętowska of the "Bończa" and "Lis" crests, and the third Brygitta, of Siecin, the daughter of Count Jan Krasicki, Castellan of Chełm, and Anna Starzechowska. Brygitta was the sister of Primate Ignacy Krasicki (see Publication No. II p.44). Following her husband's death she married Antoni Morski, the Castellan of Lwów. In 1748 Antoni Mzura was the Starost of Prusiek and shared his father's fortune in the town of Brańsk (*feria tertia in crastino festi Sti Philippi*) with his brothers: Józef, Boundary Judge in Poznań, Piotr, Standard Bearer, and Maciej, administrator of the town of Brańsk and Lord High Steward of the Podlasie voivodship. On 25th October 1760, in Warsaw (Sigill. L. 27 fol. 508/7) his wife, Brygitta of the Krasicki Counts, inherited (jointly) the estates of Płowce and Prusiek.

Whilst living in Ruthenia, Antoni was a firm supporter of the election of Hetman Branicki. Having settled on his estate in the Sanok region he was the first of the Starzeńskis to secure the favour of the local nobility. His exemplary character is reflected by the fact that his brother-in-law, Ignacy Krasicki, the Bishop of Warmia, used him as a model for his novel *Pan Podstoli* (Lord High Stewart) in which he set out to depict the ideal Polish landowner (ref. notes of Count Aleksander Krasicki). Antoni died childless some time before 1761, and the estates of Grabownica, Turza, Humniska and Płowce were inherited by Piotr Starzeński with the cession of Józef, Maciej and Jan. Chmielnko, however, was inherited by Jan Starzeński, (according to 1761 and 1762 documents from Poznań, documents from Sanok dated 1776 and the Galician registry of property for the year 1781).

9 A morg is a unit of land measure, usually 5,600 sq.m or 3,000 acres, the amount varying from region to region in this case it is the Magdeburg version of the measure.

Castellan of Gniezno Succession

Józef Starzenski of Starzenice (12th generation) was the Castellan of Gniezno and knight of the order of the White Eagle (Relat. Cost 1776 f. 191, 223). He was also squire of the estates of Ilówiec Wielki and Ilówiec Mały, Skoroszów, and inherited Chraplewo and Chmielnko on the death of his brothers. For a short period he was squire of Kępy and Gąsawy in the voivodship of Poznań, and on the death of his great uncle, he became squire of Skipiec and Wola Skipiecka (altogether around 20,000 magdeburg morgs). In 1741 he served as Boundary Judge in Poznań (nominated 31st December 1748 dd. Warsaw; Sigill. L. 28 f. 124/3). He was also Scribe of Nur, then of Poznań up to 23rd April 1763 (Sig. L. 29 f. 392/6). On 24th May 1755 he was appointed (in Warsaw) Colonel of the Crown Army (Sigill. L. 28 f. 475/3), and on 21st March 1763 he succeeded Roch Zbijewski as Castellan of Gniezno (Sigill. 1763 L. 29 f. 375/2) besides receiving the order of the White Eagle. On 18th September 1781 he resigned from his office, and was replaced by Ksawery Kęszycki (Sig. L. 35 f. 54/12). Józef gave his family tree to be registered in the records of the town of Kościan. It begins with Wojciech (8th generation), and his wife Szoldrska, and goes as far as Józef's generation. This family tree was approved by the commission of Galician magnates and the Chamberlain's office at the court in Vienna. According to the memoirs of Michał Starzeński, Starost of Brańsk, Józef Starzeński exerted a mediatory influence over the gentry of the voivodship of Poznań; throughout the reign of Saxon dynasty he was in good favour at court. However, he fell somewhat out of favour during the reign of Stanisław August - he was set at variance with the King by his brothers - and ceased dabbling in politics altogether, retreating instead to the seclusion of his home. Józef left a great many offspring, a fact which led to a scattering of the family wealth that was ruinous for his descendants. His first wife was Eufemia Glinkówna of the "Biała" crest, daughter of Jan Stanisław Glinka, Scribe of Nur and his wife Zuzanna Łuszczewska of the "Korczak" crest (Inscr. Terr. Cost. 1756 f.27). Józef and Zuzanna had three sons: Jacek, Krzysztof and Jan Józef; and three daughters: Anna (who married Franciszek Wyskota Zakrzewski, then later Sylwer Wyskota Zakrzewski, administrator of the town of Kościan (Inscr. Cost. 1780 f. 473; Publication No. I pp.350-1), Agnieszka (who married Tadeusz Ostoja Błociszewski, Adjutant General of the Crown army (Inscr. Coat. 1761 f. 36)), and Konstancya (who married Łaszczyński of the "Wierzbno" crest). Józef later married Katarzyna Poklatecka, daughter of Franciszek Poklatecki and Zofia Bystram (Inscr. Terr. Cost. 1762 f. 100). She was the widow of Ludwik Szoldrski, the son of the Castellan of Biechowo (Publication No. I page 319), and also that of Ignacy Korwin Bieńkowski (Inscr. Ter. Cost. 1762 f. 100). Józef and Katarzyna had three sons: Wawrzyniec (Inscr. Posn. 1792 f. 105) a Franciscan friar of the Minor fraternity, Jerzy, and Ludwik (Inscr. Cost. 1793 f. 198). They also had nine daughters: Weronika (who married Maksymilian Pruski (I. Coat. 1792 f. 289)), Ksawera (who married Michał Jagodziński (I. Cost. 1793 f. 198)), Zuzanna, Helena, Ludwika (I. Cost. 1784 f. 16), Aniela, Eleonora and Eufemia (I. Cost. 1793 f. 198), of whom nothing more is known to us.

(XIII, 1) Krzysztof Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, the eldest son from Józef's first marriage, was squire of Chmielnko. He married Wiktorya Godyńska, the daughter of Wojciech Godyński and Anna Czeluścińska and widow of Stefan Janowski, but they remained childless. Following his death she married Konstanty Koszutski, the son of Castellan of Śremsk (Inscr. Cost. 1784 f. 16; 1781 f. 39), who on 1st December 1772, in

Warsaw, was appointed guardian of Ludwika Gostkowska, the daughter of Cyryak Gostkowski and Konstancya Skórzewska, the granddaughter of Andrzej Skórzewski and Wiktorya Maryanna née Starzeńska (see above), (Sigill. L. 32 f. 192/14).

(XIII, 2) Jacek Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, under the name Hiacynt entered a Dominican monastery and later became its Provincial. He is mentioned in Orgelbrand's *Encyclopaedia*: "Jacek Starzeński, a Dominican and Doctor of theology, was born in 1753, and entered the monastery in 1776. On completing his studies he carried out many duties appropriate to his calling, and after seven years was made Provincial of Lithuania, and held office for 21 years. He died in Zabiąły in 1816. He was a very learned and virtuous man, generally admired by his contemporaries for his many good qualities. His published works are:

1. *Institutum ordinis praedicatorum*, Wilno, 1811
2. *Devotus Christianus*, 1811, in octavo
3. *Zbiór początków prawideł, potrzebę religii katolickiej dogmatyczno-moralnie wyświecających*, 1814, in octavo.

(XIII, 3) Jan Józef Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice was the squire of Iłowiec Wielki, Iłowiec Mały and Chraplewo. He was Chamberlain to His Royal Majesty (Nominated 26th March 1790. Sigill. L. 38 f. 105/8) and Standard Bearer of the Crown army. He married Ludwika Szoldrska of the "Łodzka" crest, daughter of Ludwik, son of the Castellan of Biechowo, and Katarzyna Poklatecka (Starzeńska from her second marriage), his stepmother's daughter. (Inscr. Terr. Cost. 1768 f. 150: Relat. Terr. Cost. 1768 f. 7). Jan Józef and Ludwika had four sons: Konstanty, Jerzy, Ludwik and Franciszek; and three daughters: Aniela (later Rembowska of the "Ślepowron" crest), Eleonora (later Łuszczyńska of the "Korczak" crest), and Eufemia (later Bieniecka of the "Korab" crest (Relat. Cost. 1789 f. 118)). Jan Józef's son Jerzy was Major in the Napoleon's Army who distinguished himself in a few battles and died without having married. As for Ludwik and Franciszek, we lack any further information.

(XIV, 1) Konstanty Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, elder brother of Jerzy, Ludwik and Franciszek, was the squire of Iłowiec Wielki and Iłowiec Mały. However, he sold these estates to Zaborowski and moved to the Łomża district, where, in around 1820, he bought the village of Białaczewo (covering around 3900 magdeburg morgs). He married Gomolińska of the "Jelita" crest, and they had one daughter, Ludwika (who married Karol Przeździecki of the "Prus I" crest), and five sons (15th generation): Sylwester, Julian, Józef, Jerzy Aleksander, and Telesfor (who lived in Łomża, and was married, without children, to Antonina Modzelowska of the "Pawęza" crest).

(XV, 1) Sylwester Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice left two sons (16th generation): Władysław and Stanisław, and a daughter Marya Bethley (private sources).

Starost of Brańsk Succession

Count Maciej Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice (12th generation), sixth son of Krzysztof Starzeński and Konstancya Rola Bartochowska, was the Starost of the town of Brańsk. He greatly increased the standing of the Starzeński family, and deserves some more attention. Maciej Starzeński succeeded Kazimierz Kuczyński as Lord High Steward of the Podlasie voivodship in 1746 (Sigill. L. 27 f. 27/4). In 1748 he became Scribe of the town of Brańsk (Metr. Kor. L. 261 f. 98), and later also became Scribe of the army and Chief of Staff to the Great Hetman of the Crown, Branicki. On 5th June 1752, he was appointed Starost of Brańsk, succeeding Jan Klemens Branicki (Sigill. L. 7 f. 219/2). Later, the towns of Bielsk, Goniądz and Mogielnica were granted to him by the King. These acquisitions and the estates provided by his wife's handsome dowry, together with his judicious administrative abilities, increased his wealth, in time comparable to that of a magnate's¹⁰. In 1764 he was a deputy at the Convocation Sejm (which had the power to elect the King), and President of the council of the Bielsk district (Matuszewicz *Memoires*, Vol.IV p.132). On 20th September 1781, he received the Austrian, hereditary title of Count, and consequently became entitled to cover his shield with an ermine cape. Earlier, on 13th December, 1760, King Augustus III had granted Maciej Starzeński a cavalry unit known as the 'Cuirassier Company', following the death of Stanisław Lanckoroński (Sigil. L.27, f.574. 8). On 2nd May, 1766 (Sig. L. 271 f.161) he lodged a complaint, intending to sue against the inspection that had been carried out in his territories. On 30th December, 1748, he conducted negotiations with Stanisław Ciołek Poniatowski, Voivode of Mazowsze (Metr. kor. L. 263 foll. 236), and on 30th August of that same year, he abandoned his rights to his inheritance from Franciszek Starzeński (Burgrave

10 Maciej Starzeński, Starost of Brańsk, owned the following estates:

1) **Strabla** with its neighbouring land in the Bielsk district, Pasyunki (Sig. 8th February 1772, L. 32 p. 158/4), Malesze (sig. 5th December 1752 L. 27 f. 264), Złotoryja, Jezowo (acquired some time before 1737 from the Branickis), Leśna and Doktorce (29th November 1762 Sig.L. 29 f.553/3) in the Podlasie voivodship.

2) The county of Żółkiew (Matuszewicz III, p.912, p.211, Vol.IV p.141), the estates of **Olejów** with **Bereniowice**, **Białokiernica**, **Bzowica**, **Harbuzow** and **Łopuszany** (acquired from Prince Karol Radziwiłł "Panie Kochanku") **Sasów** and **Pobocze** in the Złoczów district (Metr. Kor. L. 281 f. 210/4 fra 4 in Vig. S. Math. 1774), **Końtów** with its adjoining lands, **Markopol** and **Międzybórz** (Metr. Kor. L. 277 f.103. fer.3 in cr.f. Sti Luccae 1762), **Koniuszkowo** and its adjoining lands, **Szyszkowce**, and the estates of **Jezierna** with its adjoining lands in the Złoczów district.

3) The lands of **Mogielnica** with **Kulczyki** and **Podusielna**, **Ostrów**, **Wiśniowczyk**, **Romanówka** and **Chmielówka**, **Borki Wielkie** and **Borki Małe**, **Chodaczków** and **Krasówka** with its adjoining lands, and **Dobromirka** in the Tarnopol district.

4) The estates of **Krystynopol** with **Kłosów**, **Sulimów** etc. (acquired from the Potocki family) in the Żółkiew district.

5) **Barcice** and **Miodawa** (Sig. Var. 30th November 1762 L. 29 f.355/8) in the Cracow voivodship.

6) **Radenice**, **Koźnice** and **Jałwiegi** in the Przemyśl district. (Sig 9 December 1756 L. 27 f. 366/6).

7) **Kołaczkowce** with its adjoining lands in the Kołomyja district.

Using the Magdeburg land measure "morga" rather than the Polish or Austrian version and excluding the estates situated in the Kingdom of Poland (of which we have no information from private sources and which are not included in the *Geographical Dictionary*) the Starost of Brańsk had 199,415 morgs of land.

of Kalisz district) and Dorota (wife of Cyryak Cywińska), passing it instead to his brother Józef, at the time Scribe of Poznań (Metr. kor. L. 261 f. 98). Having acquired the estate of Barcice in the Cracow voivodship, in the part of Poland that had fallen to the Austrians in 1781, he was considered a member of the Austrian gentry. On 6th September, 1782, he was registered as a subject of both nations (with the privilege to vote) by the Magnate Curia of Galicia and Lodomeria (Kuropatnicki p. 19). On 7th December, 1799, his right - as well as that of his sons: Michał Hieronim (Starost of Brańsk), Stanisław (Starost of Mogielnica), Franciszek Ksawery, and Adam - to Austrian countship in Prussia was confirmed by the Prussian regency of Białystok. Some time before 1756 he married Aniela Trembińska of the "Rogala" crest (Sigill. L. 27 f. 365, 366), Lady of the Austrian Cross with Star and of the estates of Nowosiołki, Łaszki and Zeniów in the voivodship of Lwów. According to the marriage documents of her son Ksawery (A. Tab. Gal. L. Pact. Nov 10 p.48 haer.8 p.555), Aniela was the daughter of Waleryan Trembiński, Deputy Judge of Lublin, and Ludwika, née Rostworowska (daughter of Jan Wiktoryn Rostworowski, Castellan of Wizna and Counsellor and Chamberlain to Augustus III, and his wife Samuela, née Zbierzchowska of the "Grzymała" crest). Aniela was also the granddaughter of Marcin (Standard Bearer of Lublin) and Helena Trembińska; she was the great-granddaughter of Kasper, judge of Bełż, and Katarzyna Wierzbicka of the "Radwan" crest.

In his memoirs, Kitowicz mentions: "The Hetman's secretary was Maciej Starzeński, Starost of Brańsk, a man whom Branicki held in high esteem and helped to obtain the office of the Starost of Brańsk, the Cuirassier Company, and a considerable salary". The Starost of Brańsk was educated at the Jesuit school of Poznań. He showed exceptional loyalty towards Branicki, voluntarily accompanied his friend when he was imprisoned in the fortress of Kamieniec. He won the Hetman over to the extent that he completely controlled him; at meetings of the council he presided over both the gentry and the Hetman with brutal authority. Spirited and energetic, confident with a sword, Maciej Starzeński was a typically Saxon character. Keen huntsman, regular frequenter of local diets, a skilled and fiery canvasser, he was, together with Andrzej Mokronowski, the heart and soul of the Hetman's party. His character was despotic and he overcame all obstacles through sheer determination. He maintained independent relations with foreign courts, sending them his own agents. The Hetman's Court was composed of a large number of separate, semi-independent ministries and embassies, in each of which Starzeński's influence was to be felt (*Encykl. Pow.* by Orgelbrand, vol.IV, p.285). Similarly, Starzeński was extremely protective of his influence over the Hetman, the close friend who shared his political views.

Almost the entire life story of Maciej can be reconstructed from the memoirs of Matuszewicz, Castellan of Brześć. Matuszewicz does, however, make clear his debt to Starzeński for countless favours, amongst others his advancement to the rank of senator (vol.II, p.107). He describes him as a "deep and rational man, the Hetman's commissar for Polish affairs and a clerk to the Crown Army" (vol.I, p.194). Elsewhere, he refers to him as "a pleasant man, and of great social poise, with whom I have established a close friendship" (vol.II, p.105). However, this friendship was not altogether sincere, and weakened by personal rivalry (vol.II, pp.77, 195-6) both between them directly (vol. IV p.131) and involving Matuszewicz's nephew (vol. IV, p. 245). They made repeated complaints concerning what they considered to be Starzeński's antipathy (vol.IV, p.91), and were jealous of the Hetman's favour. Matuszewicz was prone to haggling over remuneration, but Starzeński

always dispensed these sums from the Hetman's resources conscientiously and economically. The Castellan's great cunning, negatively but accurately portrayed by Chmielowski in *Ateneum*, together with his unstable relationship with Matuszewicz, has sometimes led to malicious misrepresentations of Starzeński.

J.I. Kraszewski followed Matuszewicz's example in his novel *Grzechy Hetmana* (The Sins of the Hetman), in which the Starost of Brańsk is portrayed conspicuously but unflatteringly. Historians have used Matuszewicz and papers left by Rzewuski, who for reasons of political dissension could not abide Starzeński, uncritically, repeating numerous unfounded reproaches against the Starost. Matuszewicz states (vol.I, p.248): "At the Grodno Diet of 1752 Starzeński concealed the manifesto, at the moment when Branicki wanted to sign his protest". In 1755 Matuszewicz was present at the Senators' Council in Wschowa, and reports that as usual, Starzeński's impetuous tongue, adept at making enemies of people, got the better of him. He reportedly remarked, in the presence of several senators, that "the Saxon Court has no sooner found itself some fool that he is admitted to the Senate", and similarly that "the Czartoryskis have only to discover some foreign swindler, and they immediately invite him to join their party". Such comments clearly created considerable embarrassment to the dignitaries and supporters of that party present. Nevertheless, according to Matuszewicz, both Starzeński and Węgierski, natives of Wielkopolska province, received a ceremonious welcome there. Starzeński's correspondence concerning public and military matters, from this and subsequent periods, is in the manuscript collection of the Ossoliński Library in Lwów (press mark 2704). Among others is a letter from Białystok dated 10th March, 1757. Ten volumes of the Starost's correspondence, covering the entire period of his association with Branicki, were placed in the care of the Society of the Friends of the Sciences in Poznań by Starzeński's heirs.

Starzeński persuaded the Hetman to dismiss Bek following the uncovering of numerous plots he had been involved in whilst a member of the Hetman's household. He exposed Bek for posing as a diplomatic agent (Matusz., vol.III, p. 61), and colluding with Prussia, thus paralysing Starzeński's manoeuvres as a supporter of France. However, Starzeński's influence reached its height on the eve of, and during, the interregnum that followed the death of Augustus III in 1763. The Starost of Brańsk controlled all canvassing, summoned the Hetman's supporters to a meeting on 31st December, and sent agents all over the country. He was convinced that he would succeed in getting Branicki elected King, especially when the Prince died. While the Hetman dreamed of crown, Starzeński was aspiring to the baton of Hetman, already promised him by Jan Klemens. His considerable influence allowed him to win over the local diets in Podlasie voivodship. In a letter to Eustachy Potocki dated 15th May 1763 (Correspondence, p. 31), Kossakowska, wife of the Castellan of Kamień, cautioned; "I pray you, my good sir, to keep an eye on the diets in the Podlasie, for now the Cup-Bearer, as a result of his friendship with Starzeński, Starost of Brańsk, has connived with Tadeusz Dzieduszycki (his brother-in-law), to disrupt my plans". France however, remained passive, as did the greater part of the nobility, aware that if Branicki were to ascend to the throne, he would be ruled by Starzeński. Starzeński's iron hand was feared, and Matuszewicz claims that he "was of so harsh a humour that he seldom treated anyone with kindness" (vol.IV, p.132) As soon as Starzeński recognised that the election of Branicki was impossible, he wished to be given his independence. However, accusations to the effect that he conspired with the Czartoryski family, made by Szujski

(*Dzieje* vol. IV) and Schmitt (*Dzieje XVIII wieku*, p. 60), and based on Matuszewicz's confessions, are misfounded. Piotr Starzeński, the Starost's brother, Deputy Hetman, did negotiate in Branicki's name with the Czartoryskis, of whom he was a personal friend, but openly, not in secret. The Hetman knowingly authorised and instructed the Starzeńskis to negotiate a *modus vivendi* with the Czartoryskis, naturally though, they were all aware that this had to be done in secret from Radziwiłł and Krasiński.

After the failure of Branicki's candidature both the Starzeńskis moved to associate themselves with, and assume control of, the party that was going to gain the upper hand. They hoped to liberate the Czartoryskis from their loathsome foreign influences and to create a powerful ruling party founded on a policy of moderate compromising reform. Their aim was to protect the Hetman's influential position and, using his wife, to win the favour of the future King. Kossakowska refers to this plan for collusion with Poniatowski in a letter to Eustachy Potocki (Correspondence, p.59): "The Hetman ought, this time, to have more faith in you than in Starzeński. The Starost of Brańsk, will, I assure you, when he dismounts the Gryf [the Branicki coat-of-arms], climb directly astride the Ciołek ["the Calf", the Poniatowski coat-of-arms]; he has been promised a saddle. Indeed, a regiment could in the same way be offered to Szeptycki, Castellan of Przemyśl. He has for his wife, the sister of the wife of Starzeński, Starost of Brańsk, but the Castellan is our brother-in-law, and not the Starost of Brańsk's". Henryk Schmitt on the other hand states (*Materyały do historii bezkrólewia*, Documents of the History of the Interregnum, vol. I, p.56):

During the reign of King Augustus III (1733-1763) and after the expulsion of Leszczyński (1733-1736), Branicki became involved in a close and intimate friendship with Starzeński and Węgierski, upon whom he bestowed such boundless trust that he sought their advice and help in all matters. After he had received the baton of Hetman to the Crown, he bestowed them with wealth and allowed them to consort with him on familiar terms, convinced that they were his devoted friends... Branicki used them in his most important private and public affairs, and to introduce military discipline. His trust increased over the years and ultimately reached the point where Starzeński's authority in the army was far greater than his own. He was content with nominal leadership and honour, relinquishing virtually all his military power to one whom he took to be his friend. The Czartoryskis were aware of this and made good use of it; sparing no effort or endeavour to try to win over the Hetman's two confidants, especially Starzeński, who manipulated Branicki at whim, they achieved their aim in the end.

In his work *The Reign of Stanisław Augustus Poniatowski*, Schmitt writes (p.242-3): "The Hetman's favourites were Starzeński, Starost of Brańsk, and Węgierski... When the Hetman intended to sign the act of confederation as an attempt to encourage all those present (according to Waclaw Rzewuski's proposal of 10th May), Starzeński argued that in matters of such importance one should not act in haste but, first, carefully consider all circumstances and possible consequences from every angle. In this way he persuaded the Hetman, under the pretext that it was late, to postpone the whole thing until the next day, and then, himself went home. There, Starzeński pointed to him the dangers to which he would expose himself and all

his party if he were to set up a confederation in a camp which was, in some respects, the enemy one. He was of the opinion that the Hetman would do better to leave the capital and bring this plan to good effect in some safer place. Branicki informed those assembled that he had decided to leave Warsaw as he did not feel safe there". Schmitt claims that "The Czartoryskis, who ardently desired their opponents' withdrawal from Warsaw, instructed Starzeński to use all manner of persuasion to induce the Hetman to leave" (p.534). The Hetman withdrew, together with the Starzeńskis, moving to Piaseczno, Koźienice, Gniewoszów, Janowice, Tarłów and as far as Sandomierz (Schmitt's *Mat.* vol. I, p. 58), and then to Sambor, Chyrów, Tyczyn, Sanok and as far as Krosno, Dukla and Bardynów. The Chamberlain, General Poniatowski and General Ronikier pursued him. The Hetman sent Starzeński, Starost of Brańsk, and Colonel Malczewski to the Poniatowskis at Koniuszkowo to seek terms of agreement. However, Starzeński was a tough negotiator and demanded intransigently that the Muscovites relinquish their tenancy of the Commonwealth, and that the diet be considered null and void. The Poniatowskis response was evasive (Schmitt, *The Reign of Stanisław Augustus* p.246).

Shortly after the Hetman's retreat to Bardynów, Starzeński (it appears from correspondence) went to visit Empress Maria Theresa in Hungary. Whilst he was away, Krasiński, Bishop of Kamieniec, set about turning the Hetman against Starzeński and the Czartoryskis (according to Szujski, *Dzieje*, vol.IV, p.192), proposing that their agreement had been an act of betrayal. Starzeński returned on 28th June for the council of Bardynów, and noted the Hetman's altered disposition. The Poniatowskis too were hostile, and had failed to keep their promises to him. His disposition was not a patient one, and he gave vent to his irritation, addressing Branicki gruffly. Following a violent scene with Sołtyk he left the council, recognising that the Hetman's old allies and the unreliable Poniatowskis had disturbed his plans (Matuszewicz, vol.V, p.245). The fate that usually comes to men of moderation and compromise befell him: he had antagonized both sides, provoking vindictive reproaches of treason from all his opponents (Szujski, vol.IV). However, that the Hetman's friendship for Starzeński remained unaltered for the rest of his life, attests to the fact that Piotr's negotiations and the Starost of Brańsk's missions were merely executions of his instructions rather than acts of treason. Even Prince Karol Radziwiłł ("Panie Kochanku"), whose plans were forestalled by his action, later manifested high regard he had for Starzeński, and even did him many good turns (mentioned by Matuszewicz in his *Memoirs*). The only people thoroughly angry with him were those whom he had offended in his passionate outbursts: Sołtyk and Rzewuski. If their accusations¹¹ had any foundation, and were not merely the jealous statements of enemies, then the Hetman and especially Radziwiłł (to whom Starzeński was in opposition at this time), would certainly not have forgiven him his double-dealing. Radziwiłł rightly guessed that it was not Starzeński who was making a secret of this conciliatory action, but that it was the Hetman himself acting this way, as he knew full well, for the benefit of his cause. Starzeński, though, did rather less well out of this arrangement.

Embittered against the Hetman's friends on account of their intrigues, and against Poniatowski's supporters for not keeping their word, he prevented the Hetman from attending the coronation of Stanisław Augustus Poniatowski, arguing that it was not in the

11 Blindly repeated by historians with absolutely no regard to verifying the facts.

interests of his dignity and that his silent accession was perfectly sufficient (Schmitt rightly puts this incident down to Starzeński). Starzeński was ultimately the loser; after the Hetman's command ended, he came into conflict with the King, who had a grudge against him on account of his brother-in-law's silent accession. When Mokronowski (in letters to Stanisław Augustus still extant in Warsaw) put forward Starzeński's name for senator, the King refused categorically. Not only this though, promptly after his coronation, he removed Starzeński from all public appointments and military ranks. The Starost saw this as extremely ungrateful behaviour, given that prior to Poniatowski's elevation to the throne, he had rendered him many services. His career having been ruined, he became very acrimonious. Despite the constant friendship of Branicki and Radziwiłł (acknowledged even by Matuszewicz), he allowed them only with great reluctance to use him in public affairs. He declined all the titles and orders offered him after Branicki's death, and withdrew from the public domain, living thereafter for the most part in Galicia. There is a full-size portrait of him in armour, with cloak flung over his shoulders, in the Starzeński family collection, as is the portrait of his wife.

Countess Aniela Starzeńska, daughter of Count and Countess Trembiński and wife of the Starost of Brańsk, was one of the three Trembiński sisters known as the three graces. Her elder sister Salomea, wife of Tadeusz Dzieduszycki, Deputy Hetman and Starost of Żuków, is mentioned by a poet as:

*Famous in this Polish land
For virtue and fine children...*¹²

Salomea's son Antoni Dzieduszycki, who generally acted in conjunction with his cousin Michał, son of the Starost of Brańsk, in political affairs, is mentioned in the memoirs of Siewers and Bartoszewicz, in the *Diary* of Naruszewicz and in Dzieduszycki's *Chronicle* (p. 397).

The second Trembińska sister, married to Szymon Szeptycki, Castellan of Przemyśl and Starost of Kozice, made a name for herself in literature and was known as the Galician Sevigné (Marquise de Sevigné, 1626-96, famous for her letters to her daughter).

Starzeński's wife was the youngest of the sisters and famous for her physical charm and beauty and her great liveliness. Furthermore, her influence in politics was considerable. Won over by her maternal grandfather and by her Rostworowski uncles, who were firm supporters of the Saxon dynasty, she too always took the side of the Saxon court (according to a Memorandum sent to Catherine II by the Czartoryskis, the draft of which is reproduced in Schmitt's *Reign of Stan. Aug.*, p.337 who also mentions the fact on p.133, and is reinforced by numerous references in Matuszewicz's *Memoirs*).

The first and favourite residence of the Starost of Brańsk and his wife was Strabla, an estate with a fine palace built in the 18th century. Nowadays it is a station on the Brześć - Gajew railway line. The palace has fine collections, an interesting library of considerable size, a gallery of family portraits and many family relics. The Italian garden, with magnificent alleys of elms and yews and a view over the Narew river, was created in the 16th

12 See *Kronika domowa Dzieduszyckich*, the Chronicle of the Dzieduszycki Family.

century by Jan of Krajna, who was the doctor to the King Sigismund I and who received Strabla as a gift. Throughout the Hetman's lifetime, Starzeński lived here, conveniently close to Brańsk and Białystok. After the Hetman's death though, he settled his son Michał there, and himself, moved to Kołtów in the Złoczów district in Galicia. *The Geographical Dictionary* (vol.IV, p.293) informs us: "The family of the Counts Starzeński acquired Kołtów from the Radziwiłłs. The fact that the property belonged to Maciej Starzeński by 1782 is borne out by the inscription on the Sundial in the garden: M. Starzeński 1782. Maciej Starzeński owned vast estates, such as Sasów and Pobocze, Kołtów with adjacent lands, the estates of Olejów etc.". Count Starzeński published an *Album of Views and Drawings of Kołtów*. A description of Kołtów palace is given by Piller (Fascicle II, 1838) together with a drawing. Starzeński (and later his widow) had a third residence, in Olejów. He settled his son Stanisław in the castle at Mogielnica. Maciej and Trembińska's four sons were:

(XIII, 1) Michał Hieronim, Starost of Brańsk, founder of the Podlasie Branch of the Starost branch.

(XIII, 2) Stanisław, Starost of Mogielnica.

(XIII, 3) Franciszek Ksawery, a member of the Galician Estates Assembly.

(XIII, 4) Adam, a member of the Galician Estates, who, along with his brothers Stanisław and Franciszek Ksawery, settled in Galicia and formed the Red Ruthenia Branch of the Starost branch of the Starzeński family.

Podlasie Branch of the Starost Succession

Michał Hieronim of Starzenice, Count Mzura Starzeński, was born in 1759. He became: Captain in the National Cavalry, Starost of Brańsk (Vars. 25 Aug. 1774 Sigill. L.32 f.287/14), Colonel in His Majesty's Army, Deputy for the Bielsk district to the 1784 Sejm and also at the Four Years Sejm, and was elected a member of the war commission by the Sejm on 7th October 1788. He was also assessor of the Tribunal, by royal nomination under the presidency of Młodziejowski, Deputy Hetman of the Cuirassier Company (levying letter of 29th December, 1775 Sigil. L. 32 fol. 364/10), Deputy of Królewiec and Tarnopol, Knight of the Order of St. Stanisław and of the Russian Order of St. Anne, Marshal of the Białystok district, owner of vast estates near Warsaw, in Podlasie voivodship, and in Galicia¹³. He married Barbara Kuczyńska of the "Ślepowron" crest, daughter of Kazimierz, Chamberlain of Bielsk, Deputy of the Convocation Sejm, and his wife Anna Narzymska, the daughter of Jakub Narzymski, Voivode of Pomerania, and Czapska of the "Leliwa" crest.

Count Michał Starzeński, Starost of Brańsk, was educated at the university of Leipzig before entering public affairs in earnest. His *Memoirs* are of broad scope and interest and contain many unknown details about the Kościuszko Insurrection. They were edited and published by the keeper of the Poznań Society of the Friends of the Sciences, Klemens Kantecki. Evidence of Michał Starzeński's dedicated contribution to the Four Years Sejm is provided in Kalinka's *Sejm Czteroletni* (The Four Years Sejm, p.329). Before the Kościuszko Insurrection the Count formed a battalion of Fusiliers and a squadron of Cavalry Fusiliers, at his own expense, at the head of which he took part in battle himself. He found the exaggerated zeal offensive at times however, according to the memoirs of Bogusława Mankowska, née Dąbrowska:

Starzeński, Starost of Brańsk, a landowner of traditional Polish disposition, wishing to make show of his courage, detained a detachment that was passing through Tykocin. As the Commander-in-Chief of the Podlasie Insurrection was unsure as to the detachment's intentions, he arrested Dąbrowski. On discovering that Dąbrowski was his superior, he proclaimed Madaliński's opinion that Dąbrowski was a German partisan of the King Stanisław's, and that he was marching to Warsaw in order to win more supporters for his cause. Dąbrowski calmed his soldiers, for fear they might take up arms in an attempt to save their leaders. Then, inwardly calm, with a slight smile on his face he set off with the Commander-in-chief of the Podlasie voivodship to the tribunal of the Departmental War Commission. As chance would have it, Wybicki, who was later to become a famous voivode, had just taken the chair. On seeing Dąbrowski, of whom he had heard the flattering opinions of General

13 Count Michał Hieronim Starzeński owned the following estates: Strabla, Pasynki, Jezowo, Malesze, Złotoryja, Leśna, Doktorce in Podlasie province, Młociny near Warsaw (bought from Count Brühl), Markopol and Koniuszkowo in Galicia. He also owned the lands he and his wife inherited in Podlasie: the estates of Klukowo, Kuczyn with adjoining lands, Glinnik, Dembów, Jasionówka, Baczki and the Pietkowo estate together with Łukawica. In all about 81,000 magd.m.

Byszewski, he extended his hand cordially with an expression of astonishment on his face. After this unexpected and impulsive show, Starzeński, who had witnessed it, apologized to the Vice-brigadier and officers for his mistake. The Starost's embarrassment reached its peak when Wybicki informed him that the same Dąbrowski had recently exhorted General Byszewski to set an example by marching to Warsaw with his entire division so as to put pressure on the King to join forces with the Army and the Nation in Insurrection." (Pamiętniki, p.33).

Starzeński died in 1824 and was buried in Olejów, Galicia.

He left behind four children born of Barbara Kuczyńska: two sons; Józef, founder of the Pietkowo line; and Maciej Ignacy, founder of the Strabla line. They also had two daughters: Anna and Marya.

Anna married Count Augustyn Łączyński of the "Nałęcz" crest, squire of Szczuczyn in the Kingdom of Poland, and of Stojanów and Kutkorz in Galicia. He was a member of the Magnate Curia of the Galician Estates Assembly, and the son of Count Józef, General-Adjutant of His Majesty the King. They divorced though, and he died in 1822. Her second marriage was to Mikołaj Świdziński of the "Półkozic" crest, squire of Książenice and Nowa Wieś, son of Michał, Castellan of Radom, and of his wife, née Ossolińska (daughter of Stanisław, Voivode of Braclaw and of his wife, daughter of Dziul), great-grandson of Wawrzeniec Świdziński, Castellan of Sochaczew (Nies.). After his death Anna married a third time, to Jerzy Orsetti of the "Złotokłos" crest.

Her sister Countess Marya married Count Joachim Wołłowicz of the "Bogorya" crest, Governor of the Białystok guberniya, the squire of the estates of Święck and Jasionówka (which came to him through his wife), son of Senator Castellan Count Antoni Wołłowicz whose wife was the daughter of Matuszewicz of the "Łabędź" crest, Castellan of Brześć.

Pietkowo Line of the Podlasie Branch

Count Józef Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice (XIV generation) was heir of the estates of Pietkowo, Gródek, Baczki, Kuczyn and Klukowo in Podlasie voivodship (in total of around 35,000 magdeburg morgs). He was Deputy of the Tykocin district at the 1830 Sejm, and died in Warsaw, a prisoner of state, in 1831. He was registered on 10th July 1817, in the *Books of the Gentry of the Congress Kingdom* and received confirmation of his hereditary title of Count from the Senate on 19th October, 1819.

Józef's first wife was Teofila Morawska of the "Dąbrowa" crest, granddaughter of Ignacy, Marshal of the tribunal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Lieutenant-General of the Lithuanian Army, and Knight of Order of the White Eagle and Order of St. Stanisław. Her mother was Teofila Radziwiłł, daughter of Prince Michał Radziwiłł (Voivode of Wilno and Great Hetman of Lithuania) and of Urszula Wiśniowiecka (sister of Prince Karol Radziwiłł). Urszula's father was Karol Morawski, Castellan of Cracow (see House of Radziwiłł, R.IV, table III), head of the 2nd regiment of Lithuanian infantry, later General and Chamberlain of the Emperor of Russia, and then a General in the Napoleon's army; her mother was Anna, daughter of Jundziłł, Marshal of Grodno.

Famous for her beauty, Teofila née Morawska was not Count Józef's wife for long¹⁴. In Nieśwież she made the acquaintance of her cousin, Prince Dominik Radziwiłł, the owner of Nieśwież, son of the Chamberlain of Lithuania, later Colonel of the Napoleon's guard. Teofila inspired such love in him that he divorced his wife Izabella (née Mniszech) and offered her his hand. Countess Starzeńska separated from Józef and married him. Castellan Dembowski comments in his *Memoirs*, (published in the Warsaw *Ateneum* in 1882, vols. 2 & 3): "A fresh danger awaited Prince Dominik Radziwiłł in Nieśwież; his cousin Starzeńska, daughter¹⁵ of Morawska (Prince Dominik's aunt and the sister of Prince Karol 'Panie Kochanku') had come to visit her relation. An exceptional beauty, of medium height, blonde, with a fair complexion to be found only among English women and of regular, statuesque features, she performed the honours of the house and was unmatched in all the entertainments."

Count Józef Starzeński's second marriage was to Karolina née Benkin, the widow of

14 Teofila Morawska married Count Józef Starzeński, then Prince Dominik Radziwiłł. Her third marriage was to General Count Czernyszewow. She was was the great-granddaughter of Michał Morawski, Treasurer-Paymaster of the Nur district and of Katarzyna Mirowicka; the great-great-granddaughter of Jan and Ewa Lipska; the great-great-great-granddaughter of Jakób and Regina Tyimińska; the great-great-great-great-granddaughter of Marcin Morawski, owner of the estates of Kossaki, Biała and Murawskie in the Nur district and of his wife Katarzyna Godlewska (Bobrowicz).

15 She was not the daughter, but the granddaughter of General Morawski's wife (see above footnote).

Szczepanowski of the "Prus I" crest, former vice-Governor of Białystok¹⁶. Her father was Chamberlain to King Stanisław Augustus, inspector of the Białowieża forest and Lieutenant-Colonel of the Crown Army. She was imprisoned in Białystok by General Muravyev in 1863 (Agat. Giller: *Hist. Pow.* vol.III, p.365) and she died a prisoner in the Bernardine convent in Grodno. Józef and Karolina had one daughter, Zofia, who married Count Adam Ronikier of the "Gryf" crest, squire of the estates of Korytnica, in Poland (see Yearbook IV, pp.224-25) and also three sons: Kazimierz, Michał and Henryk:

(XV,1) Count Kazimierz Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, heir to the estates of Pietkowo, Niewodnica and Łukawica in the district of Łomża (in total to around 17,500 magdeburg morgs) was also Marshal of the gentry of the Augustów district until 1861. He was a member of the Council of State in 1860 (Henryk *Lisicki's Aleksander Wielopolski*, vol. III, p. 413), counsellor of the board of directors of the Land Credit Association (Towarzystwo Kredytowe Ziemskie) between 1846 and 1882, member of the District Council of Łomża, Justice of the Peace of the district of Tykocin for 16 years, member of seven delegations sent to St. Petersburg, Chamberlain of the Imperial Russian Court, and Knight of the orders of St. Anne and St. Stanisław. The senior member of the Starzeński family, he and his brothers received confirmation from Tsar Nicolas of their right to the title of Austrian Count. Tsar Alexander III, during his sojourn in Warsaw in 1884, granted him the dignity of Great Steward of the Imperial Court. Count Kazimierz Starzeński was one of the first to introduce the rent system for the peasants in his estates. The conservatively-inclined landowners from all over the country congregated at the memorable Sunday gatherings he held at his house in Warsaw between 1861 and 1863. He married Zofia Ożarowska of the "Rawicz" crest in 1842. She was the daughter of Count Franciszek Ożarowski and of Jadwiga, the daughter of Ignacy Wołłowicz (son of Niezabytowska of the "Łubicz" crest); granddaughter of Piotr Ożarowski of Alkantara, the Castellan of Wojnicz and Great Hetman of the Crown, and his second wife Maryanna née Dzierzbicka of the "Topór" crest; great-granddaughter of Jerzy Ożarowski (the son of Bobrowicka of the "Doliwa" crest), great Quartermaster of the Crown, Marshal of the 1732 Seym, envoy to France of the Confederation of Dzików (1734), and well-know hero of Zygmunt Kaczkowski's novel *Sodalis Marianus*. Count Kazimierz resided partly in Pietkowo, partly in Warsaw. He had two daughters by Ożarowska: Anna and Marya.

Countess Anna Gabryela (sixteenth generation) married Józef Komar (of his own crest), Counsellor of State of Imperial Russia, Superintendent of Charitable Establishments of the Novo-Aleksandrov district, and squire of the estates of Poniemuń and Czanosz.

Countess Marya remained unmarried.

(XVI, 2) Count Michał Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, owner of the estate of Nowe Dwory near Ciechanowiec in Podlasie (in total around 8000 m.m.), was a member of the Alexander II reception committee in 1860, and a member of the Łomża District Council in 1862. He married Elżbieta Ożarowska, the daughter of Count Ożarowski, the

¹⁶ Her son from her first marriage, Ignacy Szczepanowski, was an artillery officer, Adjutant of General Bem in 1831, Knight of the Virtuti Militari Cross, editor of *Wiadomości Polskie*. He died in Poznań on 29th September 1869.

sister of his brother Kazimierz's wife, and they had five children:

(XVI, 1) Count Adam Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice was the owner of the estate of Honorata near Birzuta in Podole voivodship. He married, in 1883, Jadwiga, daughter of the late Count Edward Ronikier of the "Gryf" crest, Marshal of the gentry of the Bałtów district, Colonel of the guard in the Russian Army, killed in the Turkish campaign of 1877, and his wife Olga Orłowska of the "Łubicz" crest, daughter of Count Seweryn Orłowski, President of the High Tribunal of Podole (see Yearbook IV pp. 223-225). They had one son, Count Krzysztof Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice (seventeenth generation), born in September, 1884.

(XVI,2) Count Józef, who died in 1881.

(XVI,3) Count Kazimierz Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, born in 1859.

(XVI,4) Countess Zofia.

(XVI,5) Countess Marya Ludwika.

(XV,3) Count Henryk Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice the third son of Count Józef and of Benkin's daughter, was the owner of the Klukowo estates in Podlasie voivodship (in total around. 5000 m.m.) which had not been sold for over four hundred years, but was inherited from the Kuczyńskis by the Starzeńskis, in whose possession it still remains today. Count Henryk was counsellor to the board of directors of the Land Credit Association (Towarzystwo Kredytowe Ziemskie) in Poland between 1860 and 1879 and twice chairman of the Electoral Assembly of the landed gentry of Łomża district to the Land Credit Association. He was a member of the editorial board of farming yearbooks and one of the founders and committee members of the Warsaw Agricultural Association. From 1859 to 1863 he and his brother Kazimierz were among the first to introduce the emancipation of peasants. Widowed after the death of Julia Trawna he left no offspring.

Strabla Line of Podlasie Branch

(XIV) Count Maciej Ignacy Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice (1789-1852), was the second son of Count Michał, Starost of Brańsk, and Barbara Kuczyńska. He was proprietor of the estates of Strabla (in total of around 12,500 m.m.), and of the estates of Hnilice Wielkie and Hnilice Małe in the Zbaraż district in Galicia (around 6000 m.m.), which came to him through his wife. On 19th October 1879 he received recognition of his right to an Austrian title of Count from the delegation of the Senate of the Kingdom of Poland, and further confirmation came from Tsar Nicolas in 1849. He married Marya Baworowska of the "Prus II" crest, daughter of Count Wiktor Baworowski and Marchocka of the "Ostoja" crest, and sister of Henryka, the wife of Seweryn Drohojowski. They had four children:

(XVI, 1) Adolf Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, an officer of the guard in the former Polish Army, renowned for his courage, and killed in duel, in 1837.

(XVI, 2) Countess Gabryela (1821-1849), was married to Count Cezary Męciński of Kurozwęki, the squire of Dukla, officer in the former Polish Army, son of Count Wojciech (a General in the Polish Army and a senator Castellan of the Kingdom of Poland) and Countess Helena née Stadnicka, daughter of the Starost of Ostrzeszów, and Lady of the Cross with Star (qv. Yearbook I p.176; Yearbook III p.281).

(XVI, 3) Adelaida, married Count Władysław Stadnicki of Żmigród, a member of the Galician Estates Assembly, brother of the late Count Aleksander and the venerable Count Kazimierz Stadnicki (both important literary figures), son of Count Antoni and Józefa of the prince Jabłonowski family (qv. R.III, pp. 281-84; and the genealogical chart of the Jabłonowski princes);

(XVI, 4) Count Wiktor Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice (born on 26th September 1826, died in St. Petersburg on 20th June 1882), was proprietor of the estates of Strabla and Niewodnica in Podlasie voivodship (in total of around 12,500 m.m.), officer in the Russian Army, Marshal of the gentry of the Grodno guberniya up to 1863, Knight of the Russian order of St. George. He was eventually made a prisoner of the state, but his role in Polish history between 1860 and 1863 is so important that a more detailed biography will be given below. He was married to Marya Aurora de Bezzi (who died in 1875), and they had eight children:

(XVII, 1) Count Wiktor (born in 1854), an officer in the Russian Imperial Cavalry Guard;

(XVII, 2) Count Maurycy (born in 1845);

(XVII, 3) Count Waldemar (born in 1859);

(XVII, 4) Count Maryan (born in 1865);

(XVII, 5) Countess Zofia (born in 1866);

(XVII, 6) Countess Gabryela (born in 1868);

(XVII, 7) Count Adam (born in 1872);

(XVII, 8) Count Aleksander (born in 1874).

Further information concerning Count Wiktor Starzeński is provided by: Count Ludwik Dębicki in *Czas* magazine, 1882; Muravyev in his *Pamiętniki (Przegląd Polski, Cracow, 1883)*; and *Kijewlanin* (1874); Ratch in his notes on the "rebellion in the north-west of the country" (*Istoricheskiye Akty, Wilno, 1865*); and also Prince Władysław Czartoryski's *Expose des affaires de Pologne* (Paris, Dec. 1863). First then, the obituary notice in *Czas*:

In speaking of the late Wiktor Starzeński, who died a few days ago in St. Petersburg, it is tempting to cite an entire novel-full of harsh experiences and dramatic situations, or to compose an ode to his truly heroic and tragic person. Most importantly though, one ought to write a chapter of history. Starzeński was known as the "Wielopolski of Lithuania", because whilst opposed to the movement he had various connections in Russia. His influence and popularity have been compared to those of Andrzej Zamoyski in the Congress Kingdom. Both encountered a series of disasters which for Starzeński thwarted his endeavours, ruined his name and consumed his property. On his return from exile he found no protective parental hearth, no roof over his family's head, and the entire country reduced to cinders.

Nature had intended him for a different fate; he had largesse and pride, and the upbringing and manner of a great nobleman. He was brave, chivalrous, magnanimous, elegant and sublime, capable of all sacrifices, and had an almost medieval sense of honour that astonished even his adversaries. It did nothing, however, to ease his political dilemmas in circumstances in which much had to be endured or concealed. Son of Maciej and Marya, daughter of count Baworowski, Wiktor Starzeński was not a Lithuanian by birth or by nature. His parents moved from Galicia to Podlasie, and then, following the death of their eldest son to estates in Strabla.

Wiktor had had a Western European, mostly French upbringing, befitting any nobleman. He was educated in Paris, and travelled extensively, joining the cavalry guard in St. Petersburg, where he made numerous contacts. He plunged headlong into the whirl of life with great gusto and won people over with his magnetic personality everywhere fate took him. However, the deeper sides of his nature were always uppermost. When he settled in the country, although his estates were of considerable size, he could not find sufficient scope for his activities. It was not in his nature to do anything by halves and he devoted himself with great fervour to costly investments and building projects. However, other matters soon distracted him from such economic enterprises, taking him out into a wider arena. Events in Lithuania have been hidden for so long by a dark shroud, that

even today nobody has succeeded in lifting it. It remains to be seen whether our descendants will manage to investigate it all, arrange the pieces to form a whole, and come to feel and understand what has taken place; whether they will find documentation of the long, silent history. A silence which descended Lithuania at the time of "filarets" [a political and social group of enlightened citizens acting against Russian oppression] and continued up to the awakening manifested, in acts and memorandum, by the Lithuanian gentry's undertaking of the initiative to give the peasants in the entire Russian Empire their freedom.

Wiktor Starzeński played a prominent role in those years of the reactivation of Lithuanian life. His cousin, Kazimierz Starzeński, held an office of Marshal of the gentry in the Augustów guberniya while Henryk Starzeński sat on the Committee of the Agrarian Society. Wiktor was nominated for leadership by the gentry of Grodno gubernya. His participation and ardent support contributed to the Lithuanian gentry's passing the resolution to free the serfs, and it is conceivable that the whole initiative was his, facts which will remain forever amongst the most creditable achievements in our country's history after the partition.

The Polish gentry in Lithuania began by taking up the cause of the peasantry. Several Russian guberniyas followed Lithuania's example and in accordance with their recommendations, delegates of the gentry were summoned to St. Petersburg in order to discuss emancipation of the serfs. Wiktor Starzeński was amongst those summoned and played a prominent role in proceedings. Wielopolski, as yet unknown in St. Petersburg, won recognition and power immediately with his charm and strength, accentuated by his pride. Starzeński, on the other hand, already had numerous friends and colleagues in St. Petersburg from his youth, and made no attempts at gaining power. Instead, he defied Tzar Nicholas's oppositionists and nihilistic progressionists, when they reared their ugly heads under the Milyutin leadership. He also attended a meeting with a number of Russian political leaders, amongst them Piotr Shuvalov. When he returned to his country, Starzeński took great pains to protect Lithuania from dangerous upheavals, in view of the intensification of the liberation movement in Warsaw. At one stage the Margrave intended to call Starzeński to Warsaw to participate in government, and perhaps their widely different personalities would have complemented one another. However, Starzeński was unable to leave his post in Lithuania. Starzeński and Wielopolski had similar opinions concerning their awareness of danger, and the need for compromise with the government. But the former, less centred on himself, had the tendency to explode with a sincerity more chivalrous than diplomatic. Incapable of concealing his thoughts and leanings, he pronounced his plan of action immediately. The Marshal of Grodno guberniya sent a memorandum concerning the country's needs to St. Petersburg. "He was imprisoned in 1862. Andrzej Zamoyski in Warsaw was deported at the same time, but Starzeński was taken to the North, Zamoyski towards the West. Seven years passed before Prince Alexander of Hessen, the brother of the Tsarina, succeeded in gaining for him the amnesty he had continuously pushed for. Starzeński returned from Bobrujsk with his spirit unbroken to find that everything had failed and that

terrible destruction reigned. But he had an active and enterprising mind, and immense energy; he was even able to conquer old habits and to break with the world. Still, even disguised as a humble contractor or miner digging for oil in the Tatra mountains, he acted on a large scale; his nature was a large and exuberant, one which could not be contained within the limitations of mediocrity.

The struggle became more and more difficult and the disappointments multiplied. The death of his beloved wife, his companion in exile with whom he shared all feelings and anxieties, was the last blow. The man born for abundance finally fell under these excessive trials. Had he not been Polish, Wiktor Starzeński would have had all the conditions for success and splendour, and would have achieved a great deal. Besides his gifts of birth and of estate, he was endowed with a shrewd mind, a generous heart and a boldness that made it possible for him to undertake great enterprises and persevere in their execution. Born in Poland and active in Lithuania though, he did not succeed in life. Despite the excess of misfortunes he suffered, he did not give in to fate or fall into apathy; he bore with him to the last the stone of Sysyphus that finally overwhelmed him.

In his *Memoirs*, published separately in the French original, and in the Polish translation in *Przegląd Polski* (vol.69, 1883, p.249) Muravyev writes:

At the beginning of May, in the days of Nazimov, almost all the intermediaries and district marshals of the gentry, together with a few Polish officials, handed in their resignations, proclaiming in their tenders, that the government was inciting the peasantry against the landed gentry. The intermediaries and marshals of the nobility, among them Count Wiktor Starzeński (Marshal of Grodno guberniya) and Łapa (Marshal of Minsk guberniya), stated that they saw it as unbecoming to serve under such a government. I gave orders for Count Starzeński to be brought to Wilno and imprisoned, and had him court-martialled. Starzeński was one of the most eminent persons instigating Polish propaganda and rebellion. He had once already been deported to the Caucasus, for politics, and had served in the ranks there, but was reprieved in 1856 and returned to Poland with a few other deportees. He was then elected Marshal of Grodno guberniya, in 1861. He succeeded in ingratiating himself to, and becoming intimate with, some of our highest authorities in St. Petersburg, simultaneously maintaining relations with all the other foreign agents, particularly those in Warsaw. He was taken under the wing of Wielopolski, the Minister of the Interior, who presented to him a project to resurrect Lithuania, separate it from Russia and unite it with Poland. He assured Starzeński that this was the only possible means to bring a peaceful end to the turmoil in the country that have already lasted three years. Starzeński was protected by Valuyev, Prince Dolgoruky and other persons all of whom were unfortunately of the opinion at that time (as they still were in 1866) that the western territory was not Russian, but Polish, and had been for centuries. Starzeński was presented to His Majesty and was allocated his own apartment in Tsarskoye Syelo, and, on more than one occasion he had the honour of being received by the Tsar and of reading his projects to him. In the winter of 1862, he was invited to accompany the Tsar to Moscow, where he remained for the

whole of His Imperial Majesty's sojourn there, trying by every means possible to persuade him that the only way to pacify the Poles was through mercy, kindness, and the restoration of the frontiers of 1772. The upper echelons of government were mad enough to trust Starzeński as though he were an oracle. He was even permitted, in secret, to present his views on the question of the future pacification of Poland, to the Minister of the Interior. On returning to Grodno in 1862, Starzeński did not even want to know the Governor-General, and treated him with blatant disdain. He told everyone about his magnificent reception by the Tsar and about the favour of the St. Petersburg authorities. His charm managed to win over the entire stupid Polish intelligentsia and the Poles saw in him their future saviour. When the uprising broke out in February 1863, Starzeński decided to act independently, and wrote letters to the Tsar and to the Minister of the Interior, accusing the government of conjuring up a democratic environment, of inciting peasants against landowners, of harsh repression, and the use of armed force against the Polish element. Starzeński declared that given this state of affairs, he did not consider himself bound to serve the government as marshal of the gentry, and that he would resign from office. He informed all the district marshals of the Grodno guberniya of his decision, that they might follow his example, which they did. The Minister of the Interior saw nothing contrary to the honour of a Pole or to the duties of a loyal subject, in such a gesture, and at Starzeński's request, released him from his duties, on condition that he continue to reside in Grodno. Governor-General Nazimov, who considered Starzeński's presence in Grodno to be both detrimental and dangerous, and saw his behaviour as outrageous and contrary to the law, endeavoured to have him brought to trial. Starzeński procrastinated whilst various summons were issued, and gave no answer. Having arrived in Wilno, I became convinced of the harm of Starzeński's presence in Grodno, and ordered that he be arrested and brought to Wilno, where I had him brought up for trial. I informed the Minister of the Interior of this and asked him to send me the complete correspondence file on Starzeński. It goes without saying that the minister did not dare to go against my orders. However, he supplied me with only scant explanations of Starzeński's activities in St. Petersburg. The court-martial condemned him to hard labour, but here again St. Petersburg intrigue continued to interfere. The highest quarters kept sending orders demanding information concerning the progress of the trial, obviously intending to conceal the Minister of the Interior's suspect dealings and relationship with Starzeński. As Starzeński kept invoking the government at St. Petersburg in his attempts to justify his conduct, it became necessary to settle for a more lenient sentence. Starzeński was to be exiled to distant districts, and to be kept in a fortress for one year, but even this sentence was modified by St. Petersburg. The fortress of Bobrujsk was selected for his imprisonment, in the middle of the country where Polish propaganda was still strongly operative; after this Starzeński was sent to the Voronezh guberniya.

The bust of Count Wiktor Starzeński, painted by Count Mniszech in Paris, is, together with another portrait by Karol Bareut, in the family collection.

Mogielnica Branch (Galicia) of the Starost Succession

(XIII) Count Stanisław Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, was owner of the estates of Mogielnica in the Tarnopol district, of Czyżów and Snowicz in Złoczów district, of Majdan in Podole province, of Wiśniowczyk, Ditkowce and Mszaniec in the Tarnopol district, and of Romanówka, Chmielówka and Ostrów in Galicia (about 51,000 m.m. all told). He was a member of the Magnate Curia of the Galician Estates Assembly, the second son of Maciej, Starost of Brańsk, and Countess Aniela Trembińska. Stanisław moved to Galicia and settled there permanently in the old castle of Mogielnica, which later burnt down. He took part in the Confederation of Bar and went as Legate of the Republic to Tzarograd. His involvement in the Confederation of Bar is mentioned by Schmitt in his *Dzieje XVIII wieku*, (The History of the 18th century, vol.II, p.245). Count Stanisław wrote with originality, and translated some poetry and prose from French to Polish, thus he is often confused with the considerably younger poet Stanisław Starzyński of the "Doliwa" crest, who translated Beranger (qv. Dr. Rolle *Zameczki Podolskie*). He left an interesting *Diary*, of which only a few extracts, of which we have made use, remain intact.

Count Stanisław Starzeński married Pelagia Jaxa Bąkowska of the "Gryf" crest, a Lady of the order of the Cross with Star. She was the daughter of Count Feliks, the squire of Wolica and Wiśniowczyk and Chamberlain of His Majesty, and his wife Petronella of the counts Dunin Borkowski family, daughter of the Starost of Radelnice and sister of Count Jan Jaxa Bąkowski, whose wife was Teofila Skarbek, and a niece of Count Jan Wincenty Bąkowski, Imperial Privy Counsellor, President of the Charitable Association, Statesman and philanthropist, who died in 1828 and who is mentioned in Klemens Kantecki's study of the Ossoliński Library, published in *Ateneum*, (1877, vol.IV). Countess Pelagia Starzeńska, née Bąkowska, ought to be remembered with gratitude for her initiative in the founding of the Charitable Association in Lwów, together with Countess Kordula Potocka (wife of Voivode of Bełż and grandmother of her nephew Count Aleksander Starzeński's wife (see *Gazeta Lwowska*, 1817, p.16; 1818, p.81 and 598; 1821, p.333)). Count Stanisław and Pelagia had two sons: Leonard and Leopold.

(XIV, 1) Count Leonard Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, was a captain of the former Polish Army. He joined the Napoleon's Army as a youth, and showed extraordinary courage. In 1809, whilst serving in Rzyszczewski's regiment, he took part in all military manoeuvres that were taking place, and (according to the article "The Occupation of Stanisławów by F.C.", printed in the *Dziennik Literacki*, 1869, p.616) entered into direct combat with General Piking, victor of the battles of Chmielówka and Wieniawka, launched an attack on his corps, and took him prisoner together with his surrounding platoon. He died a heroic death, aged 22, at the battle of Chorostków.

(XIV, 2) Count Leopold Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice (who died on 19th March 1860), was Captain of the former Polish Army, a member of the Magnate Curia of the Galician Estates Assembly, State Commissioner, co-founder and committee member of the Agricultural Association and co-founder and honorary curator of the Musical Association in Lwów. He was heir to the estates of Mogielnica etc. inherited from his father and brother (in total around 51,000 m.m.). Count Aleksander Fredro mentions

in his *Memoirs* that Leopold fought throughout the entire Napoleon's campaign. He made every effort to contribute to the country's prosperity and took an active part in all public affairs, to the extent that the economically and politically limited conditions of Galicia permitted. He was also an active member of Galician Estates Assembly, as shown in their printed reports. The published articles of the Agricultural Association (*Rozprawy*, 1846-60) contain many of his speeches and reports. He was devoted to the cause of peasant emancipation and was, together with Count Kazimierz Krasicki, Prince Leon Sapieha, Anastazy Kozłowski, Kazimierz Badeni and Maurycy Kraiński, one of the most active members of the State commission selected by the Assembly to settle the serfdom question¹⁷, (he is further mentioned in the biography of Count Kazimierz Krasicki in *Czas*).

Count Leopold married twice: first Marya Tekla Kolumna Czosnowska of Obory of the "Roch II" crest, daughter of Ignacy, Starost of Salnice and Deputy of Braclaw at the 1764 Seym (Const. f.4), General-Major of the Crown Army, and his wife Maryanna Załuska, whose father, the Count, was Great Master of the Kitchen of Lithuania (see Yearbook VI, p.114, where she has been erroneously left out, a matter that we have rectified here). Marya Tekla died in 1812, and Leopold married Marya Turkuł of the "Ostoja" crest, but they were childless.

Leopold and his first wife left one son, Józef, and one daughter, Malwina. She was born in 1809 and married Erazm Mora Korytowski, Imperial Chamberlain, the squire of Płotycz and Iwanów in Galicia, member of the Estates Assembly. (see Yearbook V, p.88). Her son, Juliusz Korytowski, was a Deputy to the Galicia Assembly and her daughter married Count Władysław Baworowski.

(XV) Count Józef Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, the brother of Malwina, was an officer of the Vistula Legion in 1831, a Member of the Magnate Curia of the Galician Estates Assembly, a division member of the Galician Musical Association, heir to the estate of Mogielnica, (in total around 51,000 m.m.), and distinguished himself in the battle of Ostrołęka. His first wife was Aniela Julia Gromnicka of Omelany, of the "Prawdziec" crest, heiress to the estates of Jajkowce, Baczów and Tudorów (in total around 7000 m.m.). Her sister Franciszka married Count Karol Łoś, and their father was Jan Gromnicki, squire of Laskowce, marshal of the gentry of the Trembowla district at the time of the Russian occupation and a deputy in 1816, who died on 3rd May 1833. Her mother was Countess Julia Dzieduszycka, a Lady of the Cross with Star (see Yearbook IV, p.80), and her grand-parents were Józef Gromnicki and Franciszka Sasulicz (see *Kronika domowa Dzieduszyckich*). Józef and Aniela had one son, Count Leopold (sixteenth generation).

Józef's second wife was Ernestyna Kicka of the "Gozdawa" crest, the daughter of Franciszek, a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Napoleon's Army, and the niece of General Kicki, who was killed at Ostrołęka. Ernestyna's mother was the daughter of Jan Rzczycki of the "Janima" crest, Starost of Rzczyce, and of his wife Countess Krasicka of the "Rogala" crest (with a mitre), who later became the wife of Count Edward Fredro.

17 See *Czynności Sejmu Stanowego* (Activities of the Estates Assembly), Lwów, 1846, p.40 and 41.

Countess Ernestyna was president of the Charitable Association in Lwów. She also wrote and translated comedies and novels and is mentioned by Estreicher in his work on Polish women of letters. She and Józef had one son, Count Edmund (sixteenth generation). Count Józef Starzeński died in 1860, leaving his two sons:

(XVI, 1) Count Leopold Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, born in 1835, proprietor of the estates of Jajkowce, Tudorów etc. in the district of Żydaczów (approx. 7,000 m.m.), was a playwright of high repute. He was author of dramas and comedies such as *Powrót Konfederata* (The Return of the Confederate), *Gwiazda Syberyi* (The Star of Siberia), *Starosta Wieluński* (The Starost of Wieluń), *Legat Hetmana* (The Hetman's Deputy), *Trynitarz* (The Trinitarian), *Banita* (The Outlaw), *Sen Trefnisia* (The Joker's Dream), *Żart królewicza* (The Prince's Joke), *Czarodziejka* (The Enchantress), and *Krwawe piętno* (Stigma of Blood), of which the second edition is presently being brought up in instalments by Łukaszewicz in Lwów. Many of his shorter poems are to be found in literary magazines, and his hunting poems, to which Count Starzeński devoted himself with particular enjoyment and success, appear in the periodical *Łowiec* (The Huntsman). His dramas were noteworthy for their skillful handling of plot, but also for their content. Infused with ardent patriotism they were generally received with considerable interest on account of their dexterous form, wonderful language and lofty inspiration. Count Leopold was masterful in his ability to introduce tragic situations to the stage; a combination of refined understanding of the stage with the ability to produce great effects made him a public favourite. A most memorable impression was created by an improvisation he performed during a reception in Lwów of guests from the Wielkopolska province. He married, in 1854, Leontyna Baworowska (born in 1837), the daughter of Count Michał, Imperial Chamberlain and member of the Estates Assembly, and of his wife Joanna Mora Korytowska, the daughter of Franciszek and Nikodema, daughter of Count Zabielski (see Yearbook V, p.88). Leontyna was the grand-daughter of Count Wiktor and Julia Marchocka of the "Ostoja" crest, whose dowry included the estates of Podkamień, Fraga and Jahlusz near Rohatyń (in total 14,500 m.m.) which had an exquisite castle on a rock, and a gallery of paintings. The castle was built by the Kazanowski family and is surrounded by a beautiful garden in which there are lindens planted by Hetman Jabłonowski himself. Count Leopold and Countess Leontyna had two sons: Henryk and Leonard.

(XVII, 1) Count Henryk Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, born in 1856, was lieutenant in the Austrian Army. He married Marya Gołuchowska of the "Leliwa" crest, the widow of Count Bronisław Łoś, daughter of the eminent statesman the late Count Agenor Gołuchowski, Governor of Galicia, "Ordynat na Skale" (lord of the manor-on-rock) Her mother was Marya Baworowska, a Lady of the Cross with Star, and lady of the court of the Empress of Austria (the daughter of Count Adam Baworowski and Countess Emilia Lewicka of the "Rogala" crest). She was grand-daughter of Count Wojciech Stanisław Gołuchowski and of Zofia née Czyż of the "Godziemba" crest.

(XVII, 2) Count Leonard Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, lieutenant in the Austrian Army, is Austro-Hungarian Vice-Consul in the East.

(XVI, 2) Count Edmund Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice (the son of Count Józef by his second wife Kicka), born in 1845, heir of the estates of Mogielnica (51,000 m.m.), was

Marshal of the gentry of the Trembowla district. He was an art collector and also possessed a fine library. He married Paulina, born on 1st January 1848, the daughter of Baron Henryk Heydel (who had his own coat of arms), owner of Ramaszówka and Świerkowce, and of his wife Walerya Podlewska of the "Bogorya" crest (see Yearbook II, p.88). Paulina died on 5th March 1876, and Count Edmund married the daughter of Sidorowicz. He and his first wife had two sons:

(XVII, 1) Count Józef Mzura Starzeński, born in 1869;

(XVII, 2) Count Adam Mzura Starzeński, born in 1872.

Olejów Branch of the Starost Succession

(XIII) Count Franciszek Ksawery Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, who died in 1804, was the third son of Maciej, Starost of Brańsk, and his wife Trembińska. He was a member of the Magnate Curia of the Galician Estates Assembly, heir to the estates of Olejów, Koltów etc. in Złoczów district, and of Kułaczkowce in Kołomyja district (in total around 49,000 m.m.). He married Marya Anna Jabłonowska of the "Grzymała" crest, daughter of Józef, Starost of Horyhlada, Grand Chamberlain of the Crown of Galicia etc. (NB 12) and of his wife Ludwika Grabiańska of the "Pomian" crest (daughter of the Starost of Smoleńsk), who after his death married Count Aleksander Starzeński of the Deputy-Hetman branch (see below). They had two children: Felicya and Michał.

Countess Felicya Starzeńska, a Lady of the Cross with Star, heiress of Koltów, married Count Józef Baworowski of the "Prus" crest, captain in the army of Napoleon, Knight of the Virtuti Military Cross, Imperial Chamberlain, who died on 20 November 1840. Countess Felicya died on 14th October 1837, leaving three sons: (1) Count Włodzimierz, Marshal of the Trembowla district, Deputy to the Lwów Assembly and the Council of State in Vienna, heir to the Strusów estates; (2) Count Wiktor, eminent patron of the arts, poet, and translator of Byron, founder of the Baworowski Library, squire of Myszkowce; and (3) Count Wacław, Cavalry Captain in the Austrian Army, owner of Koltów, Bohatkowce, Strusów, Podwołoczyska and Krzywca, married to Zofia Starzeńska, his cousin (see below).

(XVI) Count Michał Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, born in 1802, vice-president of the Agricultural Association of Galicia, member of the Magnate Curia of the Galician Estates Assembly and of the Land Credit Association's head commission, was the squire of the Olejów estates in the district of Złoczów, and of Kułaczkowce in the district of Kołomyja, of Ujkowice and Orzechowice in the district of Przemyśl (in total around all 45,000 m.m.). He was one of the landowners responsible for building up the economic foundations of present-day Galicia. He gradually introduced progressive farming on his vast estates, making investments and encouraging his neighbours to follow his lead. He was involved in the foundation of the Economic Association in Lwów, and was the key figure in this institution throughout his lifetime. The few dozen volumes of the Economic Association's *Reports* (1846-60), are evidence of his consistently wise, provident and sober work. His numerous speeches, answers to questionnaires, reports and scientific dissertations are provide an excellent basis for the study of Galicia's economic development. They display Count Michał's thorough education, ability to assimilate and apply foreign models to his own country with a highly practical and open mind. Perhaps most interesting of all are Starzeński's observations on issues of work and service, and a separate publication of his *Nauka chowu owiec*, [Sheep Breeding] Lwów, 1853, a review of which was written by Count Kazimierz Wodzicki and published in the *Rozprawy Tow. Rolniczego*, [the Reports of the Agricultural Association]. From 1846 onwards Count Starzeński was committee member and chairman of two divisions of the Agricultural Association: bee-keeping and sheep breeding. He was elected vice-president, then president of the Agricultural Association, and was its Chairman at the time of its heyday 1859-1860. He was also president of an association for regulating the Dniestr

river and transforming it into a navigable canal, formed on the initiative of Count Włodzimierz Baworowski. From 1849 to 1860, he represented the states, together with Count Borkowski, Count Bolesław Dunin and Count Leon Stadnicki, as a member of the commission, created under Chairman Maurycy Kraiński, for auditing the accounts of the Land Credit Association on behalf of the general assembly. His contribution to the economy and agriculture are referred to in Warzbach's *Biographisches Lexicon* (vol. 37, p.233). Shortly before his death in 1860, Count Michał received a well-earned reward from his fellow-landowners: the Lwów Agricultural Association paid public tribute to his unstinting efforts in improving the Association, on two separate occasions. The first marked the moment at which he brought its most flourishing period to a close and the Chairmanship over to Smółka, the second was a draft resolution passed after his death.

In 1828, Count Michał Starzeński married Gabryela Starzeńska of the Deputy-Hetman branch, daughter of Count Ksawery Starzeński and Countess Katarzyna née Jaworska of the "Sas" crest (see below). Besides their son Count Ksawery who died in 1849, they had one other son and two daughters:

(1) Countess Felicya, born on 13th December, 1830, a Lady of the Cross with Star. On 26th May 1849, she married Count Feliks Mier (who had his own coat of arms), owner of the estates of Radziechów and Witków in the district of Kamionek, Chamberlain of the Austrian Empire, who died on 25th January 1870. He was the son of Count Feliks, Chamberlain and Privy Councillor, great Chamberlain of the Crown and Austrian ambassador in Brussels. His mother was Countess Agnieszka Mier, a Lady of Cross with Star and Lady of the Imperial court. He was the grandson of Count Jan Józef, Castellan of Liconia (Inflanty), Starost of Hermanów, and of Anna, daughter of Count Tarnowski of the "Leliwa" crest. He lived in Lwów and Witków.

(2) Countess Zofia, born in 1834, married Count Wacław Baworowski of the "Prus" crest on 10th June 1853. He was a Cavalry Captain in the Austrian Army, owner of the estates of Kołtów¹⁸, Podwołoczyska, Krzywca, Sorocko, Bohatkowice, etc., and founder of charitable institutions in Lwów.

(XVI, 3) Count Juliusz Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, the brother of Felicya and Zofia, was owner of the estates of Słowita in the district of Złoczów (in total around 7000 m.m.) and of Bieniawa in the district of Podhajce (around 3200 m.m.). He married Stefania Jaźwińska of the "Grzymała" crest, daughter of Aleksander, an officer of the second Uhlan regiment in the Polish Army, and his wife Wincencya Błędowska of the "Półkozic" crest (they were later separated). He lived in Bieniawa.

18 According to *Słownik geograficzny* (vol.IV, p.293) their residence "Kołtów, the home of Count and Countess Starzenski became through marriage the home of Count Józef Baworowski, whose wife was Felicya neé Starzeńska. The present owners are Count Wacław Baworowski (son of Józef by Felicya Starzeńska) and Zofia neé Starzeńska".

Krystynopol Branch of the Starost Succession

(XIII) Count Adam Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, fourth and youngest son of Maciej Starost of Brańsk, and of his wife Trembińska, was proprietor of the estates of Krystynopol, Sasów, Markopol, Borki Wielkie and Borki Małe, Ostrów and the estates of Jeziorna, (in all 71,000 m.m.). He was a member of the Magnate Curia of the Galician Estates Assembly, officer of the Austrian Hussars and later officer in the guard of the gentry in Vienna under the leadership of the Prince-General of the Podole Lands (Prince Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski) and he died in 1826. He married Konstancya Jundziłł of the "Łabędź" crest, daughter of Tadeusz, Chamberlain and Marshal of Grodno guberniya, Deputy to the Assembly, and of Aniela Cygemberg Zaleska of the "Chomąto" crest. Konstancya's brother Franciszek was married to Teresa Burzyńska of the "Trzywdar" crest, and her father was the voivode of Mińsk. Her sister Barbara married Mokronowski, Starost of Złotoryja and her sister Anna married General Karol Morawski of the "Dąbrowa" crest (see above). Count Adam Starzeński and his wife lived in Krystynopol¹⁹. They had a daughter, Zofia, who married Count Adam Ożarowski of the "Rawicz" crest, son of Piotr, Great Hetman of the Crown, member of the Council of State and General of the Cavalry, who died in 1855. She was a Lady of the CIPHER and of the Russian Order of St. Catherine. Zofia went on to acquire the Krystynopol estates from her brother Alexander.

(XVI) Count Aleksander Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, Chamberlain of the Empire, Marshal of the Galician Estates Assembly, was one-time owner of the estates of Krystynopol etc. (see above) and of the Strzyżów estate in the Kingdom of Poland. He married Karolina Potocka, Lady of the Cross with Star and Lady of the Austrian Imperial Court of the Empress. She was born in 1799, and died on 27th September 1875. She was the daughter of Count Adam Potocki, Colonel in the former Polish Army, and of Maryanna Rostworowska of the "Nałęcz" crest; the grand-daughter of Teodor, Voivode of Bełż, and his wife Karolina Sapieha, whose father, Prince Sapieha, was Great Chancellor of Lithuania (see ch.I, chart IV of the Piławit Potockis).

After she and Count Alexander were divorced in 1827, Karolina Starzeńska née Potocka married Henryk Nakwaski, Deputy to the 1831 Diet, son of Voivode Nakwaski and of his wife Krajewska. The correspondence held in the Ossoliński Institute contains numerous interesting biographical details concerning both Count and Countess. They lived in Lwów, where their drawing-room in the Starzeński palace together with that of the Countess' grandmother, Kordula Potocka, née Countess Komorowska (wife of

19 *Słownik geograficzny* 1919 (vol. IV, p. 792) states that the Krystynopol estates passed from the heirs of Potocki, Voivode of Kijów [Kiev], to Maciej Starzeński, Starost of Brańsk, and that the residence: "Restored after the first fire, this ancient and magnificent castle has preserved the main outlines of its former appearance. It is from this palace that orders were given to enact the bloody drama described by Malczewski [in his poem "Maria" referred to below]. The vast garden adjacent to the castle has in no way changed, the same majestic trees beneath which Wacław mused upon Maria still rustle here. There is a legend that Gertruda [the prototype of Malczewski's Maria] moans in the castle's vaults where she is locked up. There is a description of this castle in *Czas* 1868.

Voivode of Belż) was for a long time the centre of Lwów high society. Count Starzeński held an eminent post in the Estates thanks to the personal favour of the Monarch, earned by the Count's urbane elegance and self-confident air. He was a magnate of the French rather than the Polish sort, and Dzierzkowski used him as the prototype for his novel. Whenever he went on duty to Vienna, accompanied by his charming wife, his refined manner distinguished him amidst the German aristocracy. His aristocratic whims and the sumptuous luxury he surrounded himself with, were quite a drain on his fortune. He had, at his home, which was always full of guests, the best orchestra in the land, directed by the renowned Karol Lipiński. When travelling from Sasów to Kołtów he would order that the road be illuminated with barrels of smouldering peat. At Count Aleksander's request, the Emperor Franz, during his sojourn in Galicia in 1817, accepted hospitality in the Count's palace in Lwów, which he had had decorated in his honour in truly oriental splendour. Kazimierz Chłędowski described the celebrations in *Fragmenty Towarzyskie* (Social Exerpts) in *Gazeta Lwowska*, 1879:

*Princess Potocka (wife of Adam) and her adolescent daughter Karolina played no small part in enlivening the drawing-room. Karolina's grand-mother (the wife of the Voivode) had married her off at an exceptionally young age, and on approaching the altar the young couple numbered no more than forty years of age between them. It is hardly surprising that the couple were set on amusing themselves and enjoying life; Grandma's task was a troublesome one. She was generally forgiving of her grand-daughter, but there was one unforgivable occasion: at her very first ball she made a tear in a very valuable lace dress that she had received as a wedding present. At the time when the visit of the Emperor was announced Starzeńska gave birth to a son, whose arrival was one of the main reasons for the celebratory ball given at Great Grandma's establishment during the Imperial visit. The Voivode's wife succeeded in asking the Emperor to be her great grandson's godfather, and the ball was an enormous success. The Emperor and Empress realized for themselves that a black picture painted of Galicia in Vienna was inaccurate. In gratitude to his hostess for the magnificent reception he had received, the Emperor agreed to be the infant's godfather, and gave permission for the child to be given his name. The mother of the Emperor's godson, the frolicsome roguish girl who had torn her lace dress, later became an excellent writer. After divorcing Adam Starzeński, she went to Cracow, and was transformed, becoming a serious and worldly woman of many qualities. She became famous for her wit and humour and married Nakwaski; Mrs. Nakwaska was a moral authority and an ideal efficient housewife. Sadly, Voivode Potocki's wife was already deceased by the time Karolina published *Dwór Wiejski* (The Country Manor), in which she discusses economy and other domestic virtues.*

An even more precise description of the Starzeński palace and the Emperor's sojourn there was given in *Gazeta Lwowska* in 1817 (p.686). The baptism of Count Franciszek

Starzeński by Archbishop Ankwicz, Primate of Galicia is also described, as are the Emperor's gifts: a gold snuff-box with a portrait set in diamonds for Count Aleksander; a medallion with solitaires for Countess Starzeńska; a 'kontusz'²⁰ buckle with diamonds, sapphires and the rank of officer, was given by the Emperor to his baby godson. The life of Countess Karolina Starzeńska née Potocka is given in *Kłosa* (vol. XXIII, p. 334), where "her fresh pen, with which she has enriched literature with works of pedagogical purport" is praised. Such works include *Do matek polskich* (To Polish Mothers), *Dwór wiejski* (The Country Manor), *Pamiętnik o Adamie Potockim, pułkowniku Jazdy II Pułku Księstwa Warszawskiego* (Memoirs of Adam Potocki, Colonel of II Cavalry Regiment of the Duchy of Warsaw, Warsaw, 1862), *Pamiętnik Cecylii Ożarowskiej née Plater* (Memoirs of Cecilia Ożarowska née Plater, Lwów, 1876). Her biography is also given in Orgelbrand's *Encyklopedia Powszechna*, and in *Historia literatury Polskiej* (History of Polish Literature) by Zdanowicz and Sowiński, together with an analysis of *Dwór wiejski*, which was, according to Sowiński, inspired by her long sojourn in the hospitable home of the Taczanowski family in Choryń in the Grand Duchy of Poznań.

(XV) Count Franciszek Ferdynand Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, born in 1816, already an officer of the Austrian Army whilst still in his cradle, later became Imperial Chamberlain and a member of the Magnate Curia of the Galician Estates Assembly, and Cavalry master of the Hungarian hussars. He was received into the Estates Assembly in 1841, and was proprietor of the estates of Sasów, Czyżów and Snowicz in Galicia and of the Strzyżów in the Kingdom of Poland. He married Princess Zofia Światopełk Czetwertyńska, a Lady of Cross with Star, who was the daughter of Prince Józef, Commander of Malta, and of his wife Salomea Myszkowa Chołoniewska of the "Korczak" crest who was the daughter of Count Adam Myszkowa Chołoniewski and Kamilla (daughter of Prince Czetwertyński) and granddaughter of Jan Chołoniewski, Grand Master of the Royal Hunt of Poland and of his wife Józefa Rzysszczewska of the "Pobóg" crest whose father was the Castellan of Lubaczów). Princess Zofia was the granddaughter of Prince Janusz Tomasz, Castellan of Czernichów, and of Princess Joanna Jabłonowska, daughter of the Starost of Kowal. Count Franciszek's second wife was Marya Czarnecka of the "Prus III" crest, the widow of Chrzanowski.

Although Count Franciszek and his second wife were childless, he and Princess Zofia had three children: Aleksander, Zofia (owner of Strzyżów in the Kingdom of Poland, who married Ludwik Skarżynski of the "Bończa" crest), and Karolina (who entered the Convent of the Nuns of the Visitation of Versailles).

(XVI) Count Aleksander Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice died tragically at Strzyżów in 1862 (see *Czas* and *Dziennik Poznański*, 1862).

20

Translator's note: an overcoat with split sleeves, following a semi-Turkish fashion.

Deputy-hetman (Piotr) Succession

(XII) **Count Piotr Mzura Starzeński** of Starzenice, youngest son of Krzysztof and Konstancya Rola Bartochowska, brother of the Castellan of Gniezno and of the Starost of Brańsk (founders of the two senior branches of the house of Starzeński), was the ancestor of the third branch, namely the Deputy-Hetman branch, which settled in Red Ruthenia. He was first Major, then Colonel, then Deputy Hetman in the Hetman's company, and Chamberlain to His Majesty. After the partition he was named hereditary Count of Austria with the addition of an ermine cape to the crest shield (in a brevet of 20th September, 1781), and member of the Magnate Curia of the Galician Estates Assembly as of 31st May 1786. He was the owner of the estates of Stare Miasto, of Dąbrówka Starzeńska and the adjacent lands, the estates of Grabownica and Prusiek in the Sanok district, etc. He had a Jesuit education in Poznań, and went on to the military school of Dresden. He served as a Standard Keeper in the Crown Company of the Prince, and was then taken to Dresden by Count Brühl and Hetman Jan Klemens Branicki and Standard Keeper Antoni Bolesta Kozłowski, on a mission to adapt the Polish regiments of the foreign contingent to the Saxon model. He went on to work in the Hetman's head office, and was sent by the Hetman to Red Ruthenia to canvass for his election. On his return he was appointed Deputy Hetman. He was a friend of the Czartoryskis, and following the failure of Branicki's candidature to the throne, he attempted to effect an understanding between the Hetman and the "Familia" (as the Czartoryskis were known). He used his brother Maciej, Starost of Brańsk, whom historians have repeatedly identified as an intermediary in this scheme. Count Piotr is mentioned by Szujski in *Dzieje Polski* (vol.IV), and by Schmitt in *Materyały do dziejów Bezkrólewia* and *Dzieje XVIII wieku* (vol.II, p.58), both of whom, however, mistakenly suggest there was an element of secrecy to his mission. Count Piotr's intention was openly presented to the Hetman, who in turn, unsurprisingly, kept it a secret. After the Hetman's Army retreated at Dukla, Piotr Starzeński accompanied him to Hungary, and was later sent to Vienna to reach an understanding with the Austrian Court. The Deputy Hetman had settled in Red Ruthenia by 1750, having acquired the Crown lands of Stare Miasto in the Sambor district (Insc. Psn. 1762 *feria secunda ante festum Nativitatis Mariae*; Sanok Oblata of 1776 *feria tertia post Deam Quadragesimam*, Acts of the registry of the real estate of Galicia, 8th June 1781 and 2nd July 1782). In addition, he inherited the lands of Grabownica (thereafter called "Starzeńska"), Humniska and Turze Pole, from his brother Antoni, Lord High Steward of Sanok, and on the death of his sister-in-law Brygitta, daughter of Count Krasicki, also the properties of Płowce and Prusiek. Through a contract of 20th January 1789 (signed in Lwów and entered in the acts of the property register of Galicia (Lib. Contr. Nov. 35 p. 155, Haer. 46 p. 407 nr. 5)) he acquired the estates of Dąbrówka and Gdyczyn in the district of Sanok. These came to him from Count Józef Rey of Nagłowice, legal Starost of Nowe Miasto and Przemyków, who had inherited them from his father-in-law Count Adam Parys. In total, Count Piotr owned in the vicinity of 34,000 m.m. of land. He resided mainly in Dąbrówka (thereafter called "Starzeńska") in an old castle that had once belonged to the Parys family and has been preserved to this day. The castle stands on a delightful hill above the San and is surrounded by an ancient park with a magnificent view of the

castle of Nozdrzec and the valley of the San. Count Piotr Starzeński's interesting correspondence is now in the Ossoliński Library in Lwów (cat.no.2704), and his earliest letter bears the date 10th October 1750. In his *Podróż w Polsce z r. 1793* (Journey in Poland in 1793, Dresden, 1870) Frederyk Schulz refers to Count Piotr as a Colonel, marching at the head of his regiment. Castellan Dembowski speaks of the influence of his house on the social life of Lwów (*Ateneum*, 1882, vol.II, p.304). He and his wife are also mentioned by Zygmunt Kaczkowski in his survey *Gniazdo Nieczui* (The Seat of Nieczuj) in a description of the company gathered for supper at Mrs. Kossakowska's in Lwów (*Dziela*, [Works], vol. IV, p. 181). He was considered a legendary figure for quite some time in the Sanok district; there was a somewhat exaggerated account of his duel with Chojnacki in circulation, also mentioned by Wincenty Pol and Kaczkowski. The fight took place on a ferry on the river San. Wounded in the head by Starzeński, a man of giant stature and athletic strength, Chojnacki keeled over into the waters of the San and never reappeared.

The Deputy Hetman wrote his final testament at Dąbrówka castle on 15th June, 1797, and it was entered on 9th August of the same year in the Galician register of property. There is a portrait of him, in armour and cloak, at Pietkowo, and another, of him and his wife, at Dąbrówka castle. Besides his landed estates the Deputy Hetman also left considerable sums of capital, invested with the Prince General of the Podole Lands (Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski), with Hetman Branicki's wife, with Count Franciszek Stadnicki and Tadeusz Prek.

Count Piotr Starzeński and his wife Maryanna Rogalińska of Dzwonów, of the "Łodzian" crest²¹ left two sons: Aleksander and Ksawery; and four daughters: Julianna (who married Paweł Wisłocki of the "Sas" crest), Kunegunda (who married first Kasper Wykowski of the "Jastrzębiec" crest, then later Splawski of the "Leliwa" crest), Antonina (who married Rogojski of the "Bończa" crest, whose father later took holy orders and became Bishop of Przemyśl), and Regina (who married Kajetan Ciechanowski). Deputy Hetman Piotr's two sons, Aleksander and Ksawery are the heads of the two ramifications of this branch of the Starzenski family, of the Dąbrówka branch and the Grabownica branch.

21 The wife of Piotr Starzeński neé Rogalińska, was the sister of Tadeusz Rogaliński of Dzwonów, Colonel in the former Polish army, and the daughter of Filip by Julia Piasecka. Filip Rogaliński was the son of Michał by Anna Rudnicka of the "Sas" crest (and the grandson of Jan Rogaliński of Dzwonów of Łodzian by Anna Werdzianka of the "Odrawąż" crest) (Inscr. Posn. 1692, f. 123). This according to Tadeusz's nobility patent from Pilzno, 1782. Tadeusz Rogaliński and Kunegunda Ujejska of the "Szreniawa" crest had one son Józef. He and his wife Tekla Jabłońska had three sons: Henryk, Jan, and Wincenty, the squire of Wólka Grzędzka, officer in the former Polish army in 1831. Wincenty and his wife Klotylda neé Wojnarowska had two sons: Mieczysław, the squire of Wólka Grzędzka, and Jan. (See below, Rogaliński section)

Dąbrówka Branch of the Deputy Hetman Succession

(XIII) Count Aleksander Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, born on 21st February 1779, who was "of gigantic height and of great courage", was a member of the Magnate Curia of the Galician Estates Assembly, owner of the estates of Dąbrówka Starzeńska and Gdyczyn (approx. 14,5000 m.m.), and, according to the *Memoirs* lived partly in Dąbrówka Castle, partly in Lwów. He married Maryanna Jabłonowska of the "Grzymała" crest, the daughter of Józef, Starost of Horyhlada, Vice-President of the tribunal of the gentry and Great Chamberlain to the Crown in Galicia²². She was the widow of his cousin Count Ksawery Starzeński of the Starost branch (see above footnote no.12). Countess Maryanna Starzeńska was renowned for her devotion to the activities of the Lwów Charitable Association (*Gazeta Lwowska*, 1818, p.81). The Emperor Franz ordered the Governor of Galicia, Count Ludwik Taaffe, to express his thanks to her for her devotion to this cause (*Gazeta Lwowska*, 1829, p.367 no.84), and during his sojourn in Galicia he stayed at Dąbrów castle.

Count Aleksander died on 19th December 1828 and according to his will of 3rd October, 1828, he left two sons: Wojciech and Adam, and one daughter, Aleksandra. She married Count Piotr Komorowski of Liptów and Orawa of the "Korczak" crest²³, squire of Bilinka and Siekierczyce in the Sambor district, member of the Magnate Curia of the Galician Estates Assembly, and Knight of the Order of the Iron Cross, who died on 29th April, 1881.

(XIV, 1) Count Wojciech Soter Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, member of the Magnate Curia of the Galician Estates Assembly, officer of the former Polish Army in 1831, a prisoner of state in 1846, was owner of Dąbrówka Starzeńska, Siedliska, Dylągowa Wola, Olesnin etc. (7,254 m.m.). He married Marya, daughter of Baron Wincenty Dulski of Łosznów of the "Przegonia" crest, member of the Estates Assembly. Her mother was Róża, daughter of Count Zabielski of the "Trzaska" crest. Count Wojciech was an extremely erudite man, with consummate judgement in matters concerning his country. After battling courageously in 1831, he took the helm of public

22 The grandfather of Countess Maryanna Starzeńska neé Jabłonowska was Stefan Grzymała Jabłonowski, Cup-Bearer of Nur district, married to Maryanna Drohojowska of the "Korczak" crest.

23 He was the son of Cypryan Komorowski, imperial privy councillor with the title of Excellency, imperial Chamberlain, Great Guardian of the Crown Silver of Galicia, Commander of the Order of Franz Joseph, and his wife Apolonia Horodyska of the "Korczak" crest, daughter of Sword-Bearer of Sochaczew. Countess Aleksandra Komorowska, neé Starzeńska, had two sons: Count Władysław, owner of Siekierczyce in the Sambor district, Imperial Chamberlain and Knight of Malta, married to Michalina Szeptycka, Lady of the Cross with Star, owner of Hawryłowka and Wołosów in the Stanisławów district, and Count Juliusz, the squire of Bilinka, married to Teofila Krasicka of the "Rogala" crest, daughter of His Excellency, the late lamented Count Kazimierz Krasicki.

opinion in the Sanok district upon himself and endeavoured to pacify the generally turbulent mentality and convert it to a mood for organic work. In an attempt to concentrate his peace efforts, he opened his house to the debates of the conservative landowner faction. They felt that they could safely consult on national affairs at Dąbrówka castle, protected from the storm of 1846 in a place which had offered hospitality to the Emperor. And so, along with Lesko castle, Dąbrówka became one of the main headquarters of the conservative party in the district of Sanok. The Kreishauptman of Przemyśl saw all this taking place with great distaste; he had felt the brunt of Starzeński's pride on several occasions. The latter had a contemptuous revulsion for German bureaucrats, to whom the doors of his house were firmly closed, and the Kreishauptman was only looking for a pretext to spite him. When the peasant rebellion broke out in Galicia in 1846, Starzeński went directly to Przemyśl. He demanded in the name of the landed gentry that the authorities curb the peasant excesses, a step that did not in any way impinge upon the law. The Kreishauptman ordered that he be imprisoned and searched. After discovering on Starzeński's person a neighbour's innocent invitation to go wolf hunting which said *Nous allons combattre notre ennemi commun* (We will attack our mutual enemy) he took this to be sufficient proof of Starzeński belonging to the conspiracy of which he was in fact one of the most notorious and eminent opponents. Several years of imprisonment in Przemyśl brought about Starzeński's premature death (*Notaty* [Notes], by Count Aleksander Krasicki). He left only one child, the son by Marya Dulska:

(XV) Count August Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, born in 1836, proprietor of the estates of Dąbrówka Starzeńska, Siedliska, Dylągowa Wola and Olesin (7,245 m.m), was Deputy to the Council of State, representing the large landed estates of the district of Tarnopol. In 1860, he married Helena, owner of the Hławcze estates (4,500 m.m.) in the district of Tarnopol, daughter of Baron Edward Dulski of the "Przegonia" crest, and of his wife Domicella, daughter of Count Jaxa Bąkowski. They had two sons: Count Edward Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice (1861-1874), and Count Wojciech Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice (born in 1862 in Krzywca in the district of Przemyśl).

In *Das Parlament, die politischen personlichkeiten Oestreichs in Wort und Bild* (Vienna, 1880), Eckstein mentions:

Count August Starzeński, Deputy to the Council of State for Galicia. Galicia is the country in the Hapsburg Empire most inclined to political movements. In view of the plethora of turbulent events that have taken place in the parts of Poland belonging to Austria, it is a natural that a large number of the deputies sent by Galicia to the Council of State, if they are not the living embodiment of some historical episode, at least reawaken memories deep-rooted in men's minds. Those deputies of the younger generation, who have not as yet been involved in eruptions appeased centuries ago, are often the envoys of some name hallowed by tradition. Whilst the increasingly democratic spirit of our times may prove

that merit (the only prerequisite for popularity), is not hereditary, the hereditary popularity of a father's son reveals all the same, a trace of pietism and gratitude. This legacy is doubly qualified when the son endeavours to earn general esteem through his own activities. Count August Starzeński is an example of precisely this. He is the son of Count Wojciech Starzeński, who distinguished himself as an army officer in 1831 with his courage and generosity, whom his fellow countrymen remember, deservedly, as an outstanding man in all respects. Count August's uncle was the late Count Kazimierz Starzeński, the squire of Ropczycka Góra, Privy Councillor of the Empire, Major in the Austrian Army and a member of the House of Gentry. Count August Starzeński was born in 1836 at his father's estate Dąbrówka Starzeńska, was educated in, and finished his schooling in Poland. He devoted himself to farming his estates in the districts of Sanok and Trembowla. In assessing the problems of the larger estate he brought about changes in agriculture and by increasing the income from his estates and farms, he inspired his neighbours to do the same, for which he deserves recognition. Count Starzeński was soon called to the District Council of Tarnopol, where his legendary name was used to forefront national issues and cultural enterprises. As of 1879 he became a member of the Council of State, elected as an independent candidate by the larger landowning contingent of Tarnopol. He naturally took up his position on the extreme right wing among his fellow Galicians.

He is also mentioned by Stanisław Koźmian in the pamphlet *Reprezentacja kraju naszego w Radzie Państwa 1879* (Our Country's Representation in the Council of State 1879), and in the Viennese *Reichsrathsalmanach* of 1879.

(XIV, 2) Count Adam Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, the second son of Count Alexander, was born in Lwów on 22nd March, 1812. Officer in the Polish Army in 1831, member of the Magnate Curia of the Galician Estates, he was the owner of the estates of Gdyczyn in the district of Sanok and of Krzywczyna in the district of Przemyśl (in total around 14,000 m.m.). In 1837, he married Celina Badeni of the "Bończa" crest, the daughter of the Great Crown Carver of Galicia, Count Badeni. Count Adam Starzeński, after the Austrian cadets, enlisted with the Legion of the Vistula, along with his brother Wojciech, and served there under Colonel Stanisław Starzyński of the "Doliwa" crest. Having been sent out on reconnaissance and showing distinction through his valour he returned seriously wounded in the forehead and with the rank of lieutenant. He was nursed back to health in Warsaw at the home of his kinsman General Ożarowski and returned to the battlefield.

This period of his life is mentioned in the *Diary* of Colonel Ludwik Szczaniecki (Poznań, 1863, p. 298), who met him near Rachów on 16th September in Ramorin's corps. After returning to Galicia, Count Adam settled in Gdyczyn, then in Krzywczyna, in order to work for the good of his country by some other way. He did not belong to the conspiracies of the Versailles Centralization nor to the insurrection of 1863, as he considered them to be detrimental. Although separated from the organizers of these movements by the great chasm of his aristocratic convictions, he continually sheltered them at his home from persecution by the authorities, and often had many of the most eminent enjoying his hospitality. He took an active part in the Estates Assembly in Lwów, and in the Agricultural Association, where despite his reluctance to promote his own person, he never shunned involvement of any sort. Count Adam, who died on June 28th 1868 in Krzywczyna, was universally loved for his quick wit, full of old Polish warmth, for his humour and his agreeable social assets. He incarnated the living tradition of the last generation of Poles, which survives on in inexhaustible anecdotes and jests, and on historical and genealogical tales. He was able to add colour to every moment anyone spent in his company. The type of Polish nobleman he epitomised is becoming an endangered species. In his letters and notes, his close neighbour, Count Aleksander Krasicki, makes repeated reference to Starzeński's hospital house in Krzywczyna (see the posthumous memorial to Count Adam Starzeński in *Opiekun domowy*, The Guardian of the Home, July, 1969 and *Notaty*, of Count Aleksander Krasicki). Count Adam and Celina Badeni, who now lives in Lwów, had three daughters: Gabryela, Jadwiga, and Marya. Gabryela, was born on 6th July 1839, in Gdyczyn, and married (on 22nd September 1857, in Krzywczyna) Zygmunt Bolesta Kozłowski of the "Jastrzębiec" crest. He was the owner of the estates of Zabłotowce Kozłowskie, Rożubowice and Stanisławczyk in the district of Przemyśl, of Malawa, Leszczawka and Rozsuczka in the Sanok district, and of Cieszyn and Szufranowa in the Jasło district, and also Deputy to the Austrian Council of State from 1873, to the Galician Assemblies of 1864, 1872 and 1884, and a member of the central commission for control of State debt. Gabryela died on 21st January, 1864. Her sister Jadwiga, was born in 1840 in Gdyczyn and died in Krzywczyna in 1857. Marya was born in Przemyśl in 1845, and married, in 1866, Leon Grot Grotowski of the "Rawicz" crest, owner of the Jaćmierz estate in Galicia, which is a model of farm management, the son of Franciszek Aleksander and of Marya Ostaszewska of the "Ostoja" crest. [A more extensive monograph on this family is to be

found in one of the ensuing volumes].²⁴

24 According to the birth certificate of 9th October, 1878 in Wojutyce, she was the daughter of Count Kazimierz Badeni, (born 1792; died 30th March 1854), owner of Gródek in the Cracow voivodship, Surochów in the Przemyśl district, Biskowice in the Sambor district and Borynicze in the Brzeżany district, Crown Carver of Galicia, member and deputy of the Galician Estates Assembly, Knight of the imperial Austrian Order of Leopold, twice imperial parliamentary commissar, custodian of e institution for the blind and of the Savings Bank of Galicia.

Her mother was Felicya Boruta née Ufniarska of the "Jastrzębiec" crest married to Count Badeni on 26th May, 1816; she died in 1830. According to the Testimonium Copulationis dated 9th October 1878, the marriage-act of 14th November 1796 and the Extractus ex Matricula Statuum r. Gal. et Lod. Libro Majest. Generali Tomo II pag. 95 die 14 Octob. 1782, Felicya was the daughter of Jan Gwalbert Boruta Ufniarski, Starost of Żydaczów, owner of Ostrów and Borynicze in the Brzeżany district, of Nizborek, Żydaczów and Czerłowce in the Stryj district, of Nadyby, Wojutyce, Kowenice and Lutowska in the Sambor district (whose mother was Salomea, daughter of Count Antoni Stadnicki of Stadniki of the "Szreniawa" crest, Starost of Radczyn, Knight of the Order of the White Eagle) and of Apolonia née Chronowska of the "Gryf" crest. According to the copy of birth certificate no 849 and a copy of the certificate of the Crown nobility of Galicia vol. XI p. 450 and XXIII p. 268 of 19th November, 1832, she was the granddaughter of Stanislaw Badeni (who died 1824), Great Regent of the Crown, deputy for the Cracow voivodeship to the Warsaw Diet, Chamberlain and secretary to His Majesty, knight of the Order of St. Stanislaw and of the Austrian Order of Leopold. He owned the estate of Rożnów in the Sącz district and of Brańce in the Cracow voivodship. His wife was Countess Katarzyna née Stadnicka of Rożnów of the "Szreniawa" crest, daughter of the burgrave of Cracow. According to the Sącz A. castr. Relationum 1745-49, 1751, 1766 item Inscr. 1769 and the last will of Antoni Stadnicki (I. 51 p. 131 in the land property register of Galicia) she was the daughter of Count Antoni Walenty Stadnicki, burgrave of Cracow, owner of Rzemień, Mogilno and Rożnów in the Sącz district, by Magdalena Morska, daughter of the deputy Cup-Bearer of Mozyr; according to Act. i Castr. Crac. post Deam Reminisc. prox. Die Scil. Decima feria Mensis Matrii A.D. 1784, 1. 399 p. 84, as likewise Actum in Castr. Cracov. Feria 6a a. Festi Sti Bartholomei Ap. proxima die scilicet 3a Mens. Aug. A., 1782, she was the great-granddaughter of Sebastyan Badeni, the Cup-Bearer of Winnice, magistrate of the government of Cracow, by Maryanna née Lissowska of Lissów of the "Madrostki" crest). According to A. Castr. Oświęcim. feria 5a post Deam Oculi quadragesimam die 11a Mensis Martis 1779, she was the great-great-granddaughter of Jan Kante Badeni by Aniela Węgrzynowska of the "Rola" crest.

The brother of Celina Starzeńska née Badeni, Count Władysław Badeni (owner of Surochów, Łubienie etc.) Imperial Chamberlain, deputy to the national diet, member of the national division and Marshal of Jarosław, was one of the most eminent administrators of Galicia. Well known for his efficiency, he has made an important contribution to the reconstruction of roads, a fact mentioned by Koźmian in Reprezentacja krajowa w roku 1879 (National representation in 1879). With his wife, Countess Cecylia née Mier, Lady of the Cross with Star, daughter of His Excellency Count Feliks Mier, imperial ambassador and privy councillor, Count Władysław Badeni had two sons: Count Kazimierz, legate of his Imperial and Royal Majesty in Cracow and court councillor, married to Marya Skrzyńska of the "Zaremba" crest, daughter of the late Ludwik Skrzyński and Count Fredro's daughter. His brother Count Stanisław Badeni, deputy to the national Diet, member of the Schools Council and Marshal of the Kamieniec district was married to Countess Cecylia née Mier, daughter of Count Feliks and Countess Starzeńska. A daughter Franciszka, born to Countess Celina Starzeńska's second brother Aleksander by Countess Michalina née Czacka was the owner of Gliniany and was married to Count Franciszek Potulicki.

Of the Countess Starzeńska's sisters from her father's second wife Seweryna née Piotruska of the "Sarykoń" crest, daughter of Crown Carver of Galicia: Marya, married to Count Bolesław Dunin Borkowski, and Kazimiera, married to Włodzimierz Niezabytowski of the "Łubicz" crest. The Badeni family was connected by marriage with the Potockis, the Stadnickis, the Wielogotowskis, the Popiels, the Wawrzeckis, the Lempickis, the Wężyks etc. (Author's footnote).

Grabownica Branch of the Deputy Hetman Sucession

(XIII, 2) Count Franciszek Ksawery Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, was the second son of Piotr the Deputy Hetman, and Rogalińska. Imperial Chamberlain, member of the Magnate Curia of the Galician Estates Assembly, owner of Grabownica Starzeńska, Humniska, Turza, Płowce, Prusiek, Góra Ropczycka etc. in the district of Rzeszów (in total around 15,000 m.m.), of Orzechowce and Ujkowice in the district of Przemyśl (7,045 m.m.), was an enthusiastic antique and art collector, who brought back many valuable objects from his frequent visits abroad to his residence in Góra Ropczycka. His wife, Katarzyna Jaworska of the "Sas" crest, last in the line of Counts of the house of Jaworski, was the daughter of Count Gabryel by Batowska of the "Trzy Zęby" crest. Kazimierz Chłędowski mentions in his "Dwa pokolenia" [Two Generations] in *Przewodnik naukowy*, Lwów, 1879, vol. VII):

Countess Katarzyna Starzeńska, later married to Pawlikowski of Medyka, was famous far and wide for her beauty. She was so beautiful that Princess Lubomirska, the Marshal's wife, found her name insufficiently poetic, too far removed from the names of the heroines of popular romances, and therefore nicknamed her "la belle Gabrielle" and that is how she was known henceforth; the Countess even knew how to win over the hearts of women. The Marshal's wife had her portrait painted in Paris by Gerard, and it is one of the most important portraits to be owned by the Ossoliński Library. Madame Recamier proclaimed her to be the most beautiful of women.

The portrait by Gerard, mentioned by Chłędowski, hangs in the Musée du Louvre in Paris. Its duplicate is to be found in the picture gallery of the "Ossoliński Library". In *Fragmenty literackie* (Literary Exerpts) published in *Gazeta Lwowska* in 1879, Chłędowski describes the effect produced by Countess Starzeńska on Parisian society, recorded in all Parisian newspapers of the time. "When she came out of the Louvre museum", writes Chłędowski, "the academic guard crossed arms and barred her way, observing courteously that they could not allow the Venus de Medici to escape".

Count and Countess Ksawery Starzeński left one son, Kazimierz, and two daughters.

(XIV) Count Kazimierz Mzura Starzeński of Starzenice, born in 1806, was owner of Grabownica Starzeńska, Turze Pole, Humniska, Góra Ropczycka, Ropczyce etc. (approx. 15,000 m.m.), Colonel in the Austrian Army, Deputy Hetman of the Krakus regiment in 1866, Imperial Privy Councillor with the title of Excellency, member of the Austrian House of Gentry, Marshal of the Ropczyce district, Commander of the order of Gregory the Great, Knight of the Austrian orders of the Iron Cross and those of Leopold, and of the Russian Order of St. Stanisław. He was a real character, deserving a lengthier account. He played his most important political role in 1866, when during the Austro-German war he sent an appeal to the Poles of Galicia calling upon them to join up with the Krakus regiment which he had formed at his own expense. He promised them the protection of the Emperor and that of the government. This moment in his life is mentioned by Kazimierz Chłędowski in an article entitled *Walka z centralizmem w*

Galicyi (The Struggle with Centralism in Galicia, published in *Ateneum*, 1880, vol.II, p.271). Bolelawita [the pseudonym of Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, novelist and editor of *Ateneum* - tr.] in his *Rachunki* (Accounts) for 1868 refers to Count Kazimierz on page 350, where mention is made of the conference of marshals called to Cracow by Counts Starzeński and Adam Potocki with a view to reaching an agreement concerning the question of putting the District Councils into force. In *Sprawy domowe* (Domestic Affairs, p. 16), Henryk Lisicki mentions Starzeński's mission to the Emperor of 1863. Wurzbach's *Biographisches Lexicon* (vol. 37, p. 332) gives the following information:

Count Kazimierz Starzeński, member of the House of the Nobility, born in 1806, died in 1877, came from an old nobility. He rose to the rank of Colonel in the army. As a member of the House of the Nobility he belonged to the conservative party, and was one of the first to introduce the Austro-Polish policy into his fellow-countrymen's plan. In 1866 he formed a Krakus regiment at his own cost. He was a favourite guest in elegant Viennese society for his pleasing, lively manner. He received the orders of Austria, Parma, Hanover and Russia for his commendable actions for the good of the State, in council and in war.

Stanisław Koźmian, in his *Listy o Galicyi* (Letters about Galicia, Cracow, 1877, p.81) writes:

Known for his great wit, Count Starzeński is a truly chivalrous character from olden times. Of strong will and inflexible character, he has never bowed before anyone and has always followed his personal conviction, even if it conflicted with the views of the majority. Times have changed and the current views of the majority are now the same as those held by Count Starzeński. In moments of inevitable unpopularity the Count would use the considerable influence he had in Vienna and at court solely and exclusively for the good of his country and to shield and help others. He played a significant political role during the German war by arming a Krakus regiment, with the permission of the Emperor; this was by now in accordance with serious public opinion, which had shifted. So it is not surprising that, despite his great unpopularity in the past, Count Starzeński now enjoys universal honour and is surrounded by countless friends. It was the desire to voice such feelings that led to his being chosen as President of the landowner's club in Cracow. The worthy Count has, at present, withdrawn from the broader political arena, and vacated his seat in the Viennese House of Gentry, finding that its atmosphere and the general trend of government are not to his liking. He restricts himself to a circle of friends and acquaintances.

The aptest portrait of Count Kazimierz Starzeński is that given by Count Dębicki in *Czas* (no. 269, 25th November, 1877):

Count Kazimierz Starzeński, who died recently, was such an individual in politics, that for many years he occupied an exceptional and

distinct position. He followed a path that was difficult for a Pole, and yet he proceeded without bowing his head. He was not motivated by his own career or honour, nor by courtliness or servilism. He proceeded openly with his head raised high, with the pride of a Polish aristocrat, with chivalrous nobility. A true nobleman, he was prepared for any sacrifice, and driven only by the light of his inner conviction. In his early youth he had attended military academy and found himself in the milieu of the French and Viennese aristocracy and Parisian legitimist circles. Without losing his sense of being Polish, of which his life provides ample evidence, he became imbued with a feeling unknown to the general public in Poland, the feeling of legitimacy and of dynastic aspirations. A conservative by birth and convictions, a steadfast opponent to revolution of any sort whatever, he believed firmly in the principles of social order. From an early stage he sought out a basis for legality as yet unrecognised in the country due to the fact there were not the necessary preconditions for legal order. Starzeński was able, with the personal charm of his inflexible character and chivalrous manner to influence and win the consideration, trust, and even the friendship of the Monarch, the Imperial family and the highest echelons of society. His Polish nature gave Starzeński a sense of independence, one might say of arrogance and imperiousness, which won him the privileged position that others tried in vain to attain through servility and flattery; Count Starzeński was not in search of honours or rank. But public opinion's intolerance of those who failed to surrender to current trends became increasingly evident. It manifested itself in lampoons, threats, ostracism, and isolation, and perhaps these drove the independent character further and further along his chosen track.

Despite all this however, even in his toughest moments, Starzeński never renounced the Polish sentiments so deep-rooted within him. Whilst he never shared the elated outburst, delusions and hopes of society, he was capable of high-minded vengefulness, and often pitied those who cast their vicious missiles at him. He never refused when people appealed to him for help in intervening on behalf of prisoners or others in dire straits. He saw this in some sense as being his mission, and would often say, "I shall not conspire with you, but I shall free you from prisons." Having proved his loyalty to the Monarch by his continual willingness to sacrifice his wealth and blood in moments of danger, he used his importance and confidence for the benefit of the country. Sometimes even members of the highest echelons sought his counsel. One can say without exaggeration, that Starzeński was the only mediator between his country and the Crown. He was stronger than those in office, because of his independence. With the change in the system of the monarchy, prejudice from above and the ill-will and resentment from below became more controlled. Starzeński became the natural intermediary in Polish-Austrian politics, and confirmed the country's entry on a path which he

had long waited for. In 1863, it was demanded of Starzeński that he make use of the trust in which the Emperor held him, and their proximity to sound out Austrian Government's political intentions vis-à-vis the insurrection. Starzeński told the Emperor that, as a Pole, he would sacrifice his property and his life for the cause, but that as a friend of the Monarch, he could only participate in the movement if it were supported by Austria, and that besides this he did not anticipate much success if he were to act in isolation. The Emperor's answer did away with any possible delusions and Starzeński made it publicly known lest any sacrifices should be made in vain. However, this warning from the firmest sources had no effect, and Starzeński was told to "keep quiet and not spoil the spirit". The second occasion on which Count Starzeński acted as intermediary between his country and the Monarch was the Prusso-Austrian campaign. He unfurled the standard under which the youth of Poland were to gather in the name of the Polish cause and its union to the power and survival of Austria. Having been appointed Deputy Hetman, despite his already advanced age, he became energetically involved in organizing the Krakus regiment of Galicia, the last Polish legion to be formed on Polish soil. This setting up of the Polish standard on a feasible basis was one of the last political and chivalrous achievements of a man whose political acumen was surpassed only by the chivalry of his spirit. A person of a higher order, not to be measured by the common yardstick, Starzenski's death was a great public loss. Particularly estimable because the dead man possessed good qualities besides faults, the absence of the former being the disease of our society. Independence of judgement, civil courage, unflinching valour, combined in him with a high feeling of honour and provided him with the strong foundations for his life. Swiftiness of intellect, a rare wit, and the gift of intuition were other of his characteristics. He was an aristocrat in his convictions, but aristocratic in the positive sense. He conceived of social hierarchy in terms not only of privileges but of duties, and recognised at the summit of this edifice the supremacy of the dynasty and the influence of religion as the two conditions of social order."

Count Kazimierz Starzeński's first wife was Teofila née Pawlikowska of the "Cholewa" crest. On his deathbed, on 31st November 1877, he married Maria Smorągiewicz, legitimising their four children:

- 1/ Count Edward Starzeński (fifteenth generation), born in 1854 who became Imperial District Commissar in Lower Austria, and married Minna Bandeson with whom he had children;
- 2/ Julia, born in 1857, is married to dr Antoni Doisenberg;
- 3/ Kazimiera, born in 1858, married dr Le Mair in Brzozów;
- 4/ Count Karol, born in 1860.

(XVI, 2) Countess Gabryela Starzeńska, b. 1810, daughter of Count Franciszek Ksawery and of Jaworska, married, in 1828, Count Michał Starzeński of the Starost branch, owner of the Olejów estates. She was the mother of Count Juliusz, Countess Baworowska and Countess Mier.

(XIV, 3) Ksawery's second daughter, Julia Starzeńska, born 10th November, 1813, died 10th February 1877 in Tamanowice, married Count Henryk Krasicki of Baranów, who died in 1830. She then married Count Karol Krasicki of the "Rogala" crest (with mitre), lord of Baranów estate, Major in the former Polish Army, Knight of the Virtuti Military Cross, Imperial Chamberlain, and Knight of the Austrian Order of Leopold. Her salon in Lwów is often mentioned in contemporary newspapers. Many details concerning her are contained in the *Memoirs* of the Marshal of Baranów Castle (which are in the possession of her son-in-law Count Kazimierz Drohojowski in Tamanowice). Her daughters were:

Countess Adam Skorupek (wife of Adam); Countess Anna Drohojowska; and Julia, Lady of the Cross with Star, who married first Count Franciszek Szirmay, Imperial Chamberlain, Deputy to Hungarian diets, and then Count Ludwik Herberstein, Imperial Chamberlain, owner of Opatowice in Moravia.

Over the course of the last century the Starzeński family owned around 350,000 m.m. (450,000 acres) of land. At present their possessions still amount to 98,108 m.m. of which 52,185 are in Galicia and 41,923 in Podlasie. This does not include their estates in the Kingdom of Poland, listed in the *Słownik geograficzny* (which, however, goes only as far as the letter L), the extent of which we are unable to ascertain from private sources.