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THE SWAROŻYŃ LINE OF THE CZAPSKI FAMILY  
OF THE COAT OF ARMS OF LELIWA IN THE EARLY MODERN TIMES\*

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Previous historical research on individual families of Royal Prussia has not exhausted the research fields on this subject. For over a hundred years publications have appeared, both in books and in scientific articles, touching upon genealogical and property issues of particular noble families. It is impossible to present in this short outline even the partial achievements of Polish or German historiography on the subject of the privileged social strata in Royal Prussia in early modern times. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning pre-war works concerning, for example, the Jabłonowski family,<sup>1</sup> the Bażyński family<sup>2</sup> or the Czema family.<sup>3</sup> These publications still have a high scientific value and are often included in the research conducted by contemporary historians. Recently, there have been studies concerning successive Prussian families that have undoubtedly been recorded in the history of Pomerania, Kuyavia, Warmia [Erm-

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<sup>1</sup> Wojciech KĘTRZYŃSKI, *O Jabłonowskich herbu Prus III*, *Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki*, vol. 4: 1876, no. 11, pp. 979–1000.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, *O Bażyńskich*, *Roczniki Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk Poznańskiego* (further cit. RTPNP), vol. 10: 1878, pp. 113–131.

<sup>3</sup> Robert von FLANSS, *Die von Zehmen (Czema) in Westpreussen*, *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für den Regierungsbezirk Marienwerder*, H. 10: 1884, pp. 33–64.

land] and Chełmno. A case in point here are studies describing the genealogy and political careers of the Konopacki,<sup>4</sup> Piwnicki<sup>5</sup> and Wybicki<sup>6</sup> families.

This outline shall concern the Czapski family of the Leliwa coat of arms, more precisely: of one of its lines. Although this family belonged to the most powerful ones in the area of Royal Prussia, there has been no comprehensive study of the family done so far. It should be mentioned, however, that Elżbieta Walczak made some attempts to do research on the family, but it turned out unsuccessful. The author unfortunately made quite a few substantive errors regarding the genealogy of the family. For example: she mistook Antoni Czapski for Paweł Tadeusz. What is more, she failed to conduct archival query in the Czartoryski Library in Cracow, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin-Dahlem and in many other scientific institutions.<sup>7</sup> However, in the recent years the first generation of the family was examined by Krzysztof Mikulski, who in his preliminary studies, first of all undermined the credibility of the armorials, which often mistakenly treated individual representatives of the Czapski family.<sup>8</sup> It should also be noted that Jerzy Dygdała contributed to organizing the Czapski family tree of the Leliwa coat of arms. This historian in many publications has emphasized the role that this Pomeranian family played especially in the Saxon era.<sup>9</sup> Also biographies published in the *Polski słownik biograficzny* [Polish Biographical Dictionary] and *Słownik biograficzny Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego* [Biographical Dictionary of Pomerelia] bring us closer to

<sup>4</sup> Wiesław NOWOSAD, *Konopaccy herbu Odwaga – dzieje pomorskiej rodziny senatorskiej w XV–XVIII w. Studium genealogiczno-majątkowe*, Warszawa 2014.

<sup>5</sup> Bartosz DRZEWIECKI, Tomasz SŁAWIŃSKI, *Piwniccy herbu Lubicz odmieniony od XVI do XX wieku*, Warszawa 2016.

<sup>6</sup> Jacek KOWALKOWSKI, *Wybicy herbu Rogala od XVI do XX w. Studium genealogiczno-majątkowe*, Warszawa 2015.

<sup>7</sup> Elżbieta WALCZAK, „Czapscy jako ród magnacki na Pomorzu w XVIII w.,” Gdańsk 1986 (a typescript of the PhD thesis). A few years after the defense of her PhD thesis, the author described the general history of the family in an article published in „Rocznik Gdański”, see: eadem, *Kariera rodu Czapskich w XVI–XVIII w.*, Rocznik Gdański (further cit. RG), vol. 46: 1996, no. 1, pp. 65–85.

<sup>8</sup> Krzysztof MIKULSKI, *Najstarsze dzieje Czapskich herbu Leliwa (Ze studiów nad genealogią szlachty pomorskiej)*, [in:] *Między wielką polityką a szlacheckim partykularyzmem. Studia z dziejów nowożytnej polski i Europy ku czci profesora Jacka Staszewskiego*, ed. Kazimierz WAJDA, Toruń 1993, pp. 353–364.

<sup>9</sup> Jerzy DYGDALA, Krzysztof MIKULSKI, *Zmiany w elicie władzy Prus Królewskich w XV–XVIII w. (czynniki awansu, trwania i upadku)*, [in:] *Szlachta i ziemiaństwo na Pomorzu w dobie nowożytnej XVI–XX w. Materiały sympozjum 9 kwietnia 1992 r.*, ed. Jerzy DYGDALA, Toruń 1993, pp. 7–29; Jerzy DYGDALA, *Sarmata oświecony – życie i poglądy polityczno-pedagogiczne ostatniego wojewody chełmińskiego Franciszka Stanisława Czapskiego*, [in:] *Oświecenie. Myśl, kultura*, ed. Julian PLATT, Gdańsk 1995, pp. 319–342; idem, *Podskarbi wielki koronny Jan Ansgary Czapski – budowa pozycji społecznej i prestiżu nowego magnata w pierwszej połowie XVIII w.*, *Zapiski Historyczne* (further cit. ZH), vol. 70: 2005, no. 1, pp. 27–52.

the genealogy of the family as well as the careers of individual people. However, due to their nature, these biographies cannot give a synthetic account of the history of this noble family.<sup>10</sup> What is more, the reader will not find much information about members of the Czapski family originating from Swarozyn in this type of publications. It is worth mentioning, however, that some issues concerning the political and property role of the Czapski family are treated by numerous publications of Waclaw Odyniec. However, they concern representatives of other family lines.<sup>11</sup> Information about the family may also be found in the memoirs of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and later, including the ones written by Marcin Matuszewicz or Maria Czapska.<sup>12</sup>

In the first place, before exploring more specific issues, one should focus on discussing the coat of arms which the Czapski family used to seal. Their coat of arms was Leliwa, which – as Włodzimierz Dworzaczek observes – was extremely frequent in the area of Pomerania.<sup>13</sup> Incidentally, Karol Górski in his research pointed out that in the coats of arms of knighthood, and then the Pomeranian and Kashubian nobility, the motifs of stars and the crescent appeared.<sup>14</sup> The aforementioned Krzysztof Mikulski also draws attention to the fact that the (presumed) Czapski ancestors used seals with the above-mentioned motifs.<sup>15</sup> This coat of arms was already known in the Middle Ages, and examples of it appear in the records of Jan Długosz and the armorials: the Golden Fleece [Złote Runo], Gelre and Bellenville.<sup>16</sup> It is of marginal significance to the above considerations that the Czapski family's legend refers to the German knight Heinrich von Hutten, who in 930 received the count's title from Emperor Henry I. Interestingly, this tale was developed by other authors

<sup>10</sup> *Polski słownik biograficzny* (further cit. PSB), vol. 4, Kraków 1938, pp. 177–196: biographies of 26 representatives of this family (i.e. by Rev. Alfons Mańkowski); *Słownik biograficzny Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego*, vol. 1, ed. Stanisław GIERZEWski, Gdańsk 1992, pp. 247–261.

<sup>11</sup> Waclaw ODYNIĘC, *Dzieje Prus Królewskich 1454–1772*, Warszawa 1972, passim; idem, *Przystąpienie województwa pomorskiego do konfederacji barskiej*, ZH, vol. 34: 1969, no. 3, pp. 147–153.

<sup>12</sup> Maria CZAPSKA, *Europa w rodzinie*, Paryż 1970; *Pamiętniki Marcina Matuszewicza, kasztelana brzesko-kujawskiego 1714–1765*, ed. Adolf PAWIŃSKI, vol. 1–2, Warszawa 1876; *Listy Jana Jerzego Przebendowskiego podskarbiego wielkiego koronnego do Jana Szembeka podkanclerzego i kanclerza wielkiego koronnego z lat 1711–1728*: „... Jako sobie pościelemy na tym sejmie, tak spać będziemy...”, ed. Adam PERŁAKOWSKI, Kraków 2010; *Podróże litewskiego magnata do Gdańska, Człuchowa, a nawet i dalej...: fragmenty „Diariusza” Michała Kazimierza Radziwiłła „Rybeński” z lat 1721, 1737 i 1752*, ed. Jerzy DYGAŁA, Warszawa 2013.

<sup>13</sup> Włodzimierz DWORZACZEK, *Leliwici Tarnowscy – z dziejów możnowładztwa małopolskiego. Wiek XIV–XV*, Warszawa 1971, p. 45.

<sup>14</sup> Karol GÓRSKI, *Pomorze w dobie wojny trzynastoletniej*, Poznań 1933, pp. 299–301.

<sup>15</sup> K. MIKULSKI, op.cit., pp. 355–356.

<sup>16</sup> See more about the Leliwa coat of arms: Sławomir GÓRZYŃSKI, Jerzy KOCHANOWSKI, *Herby szlachty polskiej*, Warszawa 1992, pp. 91–92.

of armorials and mentioned the ancestor of the Leliwites, who in the years 1118–1120 fought with the Pomeranians.<sup>17</sup> It was from this legendary figure that the later nickname of the family – von Hutten – was to come. According to the findings of Edward Breza, this nickname was taken from the hat (from the German language *der Hut*). The ending -en was used by analogy to many personal names in the plural form of the Goddentowen, Jarocken, *etc.* Curiously, this author gives interesting information about Jan Karol Dachnowski, who did not know this nickname. The “von Hutten” unit itself was to be added later to the manuscript of this armorial by a “foreigner”.<sup>18</sup>

The object of investigation is the Swaróżyn branch of the Czapski family, which undoubtedly is much less known than the Bąkowo or Smętowo line. In the literature, the Swaróżyn branch was treated marginally, because the Czapskis of Swaróżyn in terms of property and politics differed from other lines of the family. Also, some armorials fail to mention the Czapskis of Swaróżyn. In turn, the studies which talk about this branch, devote relatively little space to it. Seweryn Uruski wrote: “Jan, the heir in Swaróżyn, whose descendants settled in Pomerania and Kashubia, and who from the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century were for the most part Germanized, did not have any significance in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth”.<sup>19</sup> It is not entirely appropriate to agree with these words, because at least one member of the Czapski family from this line held several significant offices. Nevertheless, the vast majority of the representatives of this line, due to a number of circumstances, did not make brilliant careers or earn substantial land estates in comparison with the relatives from the Bąkowo or Smętowo line. Obviously, in this article I will not be able to discuss all aspects related to this line in its entirety, so I will limit myself to genealogical issues so as to characterize in general the history of this Prussian family in the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries. I try to focus my research on those centuries, but at some points I will go beyond this time framework, discussing the ancestors of the family who were active in the area of politics and the accumulation of property in the Pomeranian region. In the outline I will also try to present briefly property matters and the development of the political careers of individual members of the Czapski family from Swaróżyn.

To understand how the Swaróżyn line emerged, the first generations of the Czapski family should be brought closer, without going into detailed aspects of their origins, as well as into toponymy studies. In the armorials, the family begins Marcin, a lay land judge who married Małgorzata (?) – a sister of Jan and Jerzy Konopackis. We are not sure about her name, and an addi-

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<sup>17</sup> K. MIKULSKI, *op.cit.*, p. 354.

<sup>18</sup> Edward BREZA, *Pochodzenie przydomków szlachty pomorskiej*, Gdańsk 1986, pp. 99–100.

<sup>19</sup> Seweryn URUSKI, *Rodzina. Herbarz szlachty polskiej*, vol. 1, Poznań 1904, pp. 361.

tional difficulty in sorting out the genealogy is caused by Teodor Żychliński, who in his work included much erroneous information referring to the affinity of individual members of the Czapski family.<sup>20</sup> Recent studies by Wiesław Nowosad bring us closer to the figure of Małgorzata. It is possible that this representative of the powerful family of Royal Prussia might not have been the wife of Marcin I, but his son Marcin II.<sup>21</sup> We know, however, that Marcin I lived in 1570, when he was recorded in the sources as the owner of Czapelek (“Klein Czapel alias Popussin”).<sup>22</sup> In turn, his offspring, regardless of who his wife was, were represented by Juliusz, Sebastian, Walerian and Zofia. Unfortunately, we cannot give exact dates of the birth of his sons and daughter. Let us focus on Juliusz, who was one of the sons of Marcin II. It was from him that the later branches of the Czapskis came from. In the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, Juliusz got married to Helena Wierzbowska, which allowed him to become the owner of Bąkowo, part of Płochocin, half of Łęg Lake and Rybitwy Lake in Puszcza. Thanks to his activity, he managed to accumulate quite a large fortune, which put him in among wealthy landowners of the region. At the end of his life he could boast about having not only Bąkowo, but also Smętowo, Czaple, Swaróżyn and Białe.

Juliusz died on 17 August 1595, leaving six sons and two daughters.<sup>23</sup> The oldest of his descendants was Marcin, who in the division of wealth from his father inherited Smętowo and Smętówko, and was also the leaseholder of the commune belonging to the Włocławek bishops. He was the progenitor of the slightly poorer Smętowo branch of the Czapski line. The second son of Juliusz was Sebastian, the founder of the richest Bąkowo line. The next was Jan, who founded the Swaróżyn branch of the family, which is the subject of interest to us. In his possession, apart from part of Smętowo, there was also Goszyn and Swaróżyn in the Tczew county. It should be noted that the last two villages were handed over to him upon his marriage with the heir of the wealthy Swaroczyński family. Other sons of Juliusz: Andrzej and Krzysztof left Pomerania and went east. The first of them settled in Ruthenia, while the other in Lithuania. The sixth and last son was a character whom we know the least. Probably he was a Dominican monk of Toruń known under the name of Seweryn.<sup>24</sup>

Jan, who founded the branch of the family that interests us, was not only the owner of Swaróżyn in the Pomeranian Voivodeship (the Tczew county),

<sup>20</sup> Teodor ŻYCHLIŃSKI, *Złota księga szlachty polskiej*, vol. 11, Poznań 1889, pp. 50–51.

<sup>21</sup> W. NOWOSAD, *op.cit.*, pp. 65–66.

<sup>22</sup> *Źródła dziejowe*, vol. 23: *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, vol. 12: *Prusy Królewskie*, pt. 1, ed. Ignacy Tadeusz BARANOWSKI, Warszawa 1911, p. 185.

<sup>23</sup> K. MIKULSKI, *op.cit.*, p. 359.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 361.

but also the heir of the villages located outside the boundaries of Prussia.<sup>25</sup> Jan Karol Dachnowski in his armorial writes about Jan: “The third son of Juliusz, Jan Czapski of Swaróżyn, at first married Swaróżyńska, with whom he received Swaróżyń; he had two sons and three daughters with her”<sup>26</sup> [trans. A.Ch.]. He had the offspring with his first wife, unknown by name, whose surname was Swaróżyńska. After her death, he entered into a second marriage with Anna von Felden Zakrzewska from a well-known noble family, who also had estates in Royal Prussia.<sup>27</sup> Unfortunately, it is not known if he had any offspring from the second marriage. There are some records that say that he had a daughter, Małgorzata, who died after 1630.<sup>28</sup> Three years before the death of his second wife (1628) he appeared as a party in a dispute concerning the Swaróżyń estate with the Krokowski family.<sup>29</sup> According to T. Żychliński, he was the leaseholder of Hodynie and Żytowa Wola in the Mościska starosty.<sup>30</sup> While on the subject of his property, it should be noted that he paid tax on his Swaróżyń property, which amounted to 1 florin (fl.) and eight cents (gr. – groschen).<sup>31</sup> He also managed to acquire a much larger place – Goszyn in the Tczew county. He paid there 8 florins and 20 groschen.<sup>32</sup> Unfortunately, the exact date of his death is not known, which causes further problems in the research on the future fate of the Czapski family. Around 1629, he appeared with his sons as the heir of Swaróżyń in a dispute with the Krokowski family.<sup>33</sup> We have more information about his offspring. An example are the marriages of his daughters. The oldest of them – Barbara, born probably in 1588, married a representative of the

<sup>25</sup> E. WALCZAK, op.cit., p. 72.

<sup>26</sup> Jan Karol DACHNOWSKI, *Herbarz szlachty Prus Królewskich z XVII w.*, ed. Zdzisław PEN-TEK, Kórnik 1995, p. 141.

<sup>27</sup> The problematic issue is the fact that in Royal Prussia there lived several families with the surname of Zakrzewski. Anna might have come from the Zakrzewski family of Malbork Province. Wiesław Nowosad writes about it in: idem, *Szlachta województwa malborskiego w świetle badań nad procesami migracyjnymi XV–XVIII w.*, [in:] *Szlachta i ziemiaństwo na pograniczach kulturowych dawnej Rzeczypospolitej od XVI do początku XX w.*, ed. Dorota MICHALUK, Krzysztof MIKULSKI, Warszawa 2016, pp. 123–124.

<sup>28</sup> I would like to thank Prof. dr hab. Wiesław Nowosad for this information.

<sup>29</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku [States Archive in Gdańsk] (further cit. APG), Akta miasta Pucka, entry no. 519/56, p. 216. Probably the party in the conflict was Ernest Krokowski (Ernst von Krockow), see: Franz SCHULTZ, *Materialen zu einer Geschichte des Hauses Krockow*, Zeitschrift des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins, H. 46: 1903, pp. 137–187.

<sup>30</sup> T. ŻYCHLIŃSKI, op.cit., pp. 51–52.

<sup>31</sup> *Registr poboru podwoynego dnia 25 juny 1648 w Malborku [...]*, ed. Stanisław KĘTRZYŃSKI, RTPNP, vol. 6, Poznań 1871, pp. 8–12.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Card index of Prof. Krzysztof Mikulski: record files (further cit. Dane metrykalne), p. 197. I would like to thank the owner of the data for sharing the information with me. It should be noted that the database was also complemented by the author of this article.

Kawęczyński family.<sup>34</sup> His second daughter – Anna, born in 1593, got married to Mikołaj Kos, with whom she had as many as 10 children.<sup>35</sup> What is worth mentioning, the affinity with the Kos family at the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries meant being connected to the well-known and rich clan of Royal Prussia.<sup>36</sup> Katarzyna, the youngest of the sisters, in 1612 married Jerzy Dembiczy.<sup>37</sup>

To describe the next generation of the Czapskis from Swarożyn, one should focus on the male descendants of Jan. As has been mentioned above, he had two sons. The first was Mikołaj (II), who was also the oldest of the offspring; the second was Krzysztof (II). All armorials mention them, but unfortunately the authors of this work only provide rudimentary information about these characters, which constitutes a major problem in the genealogical research.<sup>38</sup> His oldest descendant Mikołaj (II), born around 1585, was characterized by small activity.<sup>39</sup> He married Aleksandra Bąkowska, with whom he had four children: Hieronim, Mikołaj, Marianna and Aleksandra.<sup>40</sup> Jan Karol Dachnowski mentions him in the following way: “he married Bąkowska, a daughter of the Pomeranian chamberlain”.<sup>41</sup> This obviously shows that he entered a large family of noblemen, which was a significant achievement of the family policy. Unfortunately, the sources do not give us too much information about his career. We only know that he was still alive in May 1628, and he probably died in April 1629.<sup>42</sup> His wife did not remain a widow for a long time because she managed to get married to Eremian *vel* Remigian Dembinski, who was the castellan of Rogoźno.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Scarce information about those marriages may be found in the armorials: Kasper NIESIECKI, *Herbarz polski*, vol. 3, ed. Jan Nepomucen BOBROWICZ, Lipsk 1839, p. 178; T. ŻYCHLIŃSKI, *op.cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>35</sup> The children of Anna and Mikołaj Kos are as follows: Władysław, Andrzej, Kazimierz, Aleksander, Jan, Jerzy, Helena, Elżbieta, Justyna, Zofia, see: *Das Totenbuch des Prämonstratenserinnen-Kloster Zuckau bei Danzig*, hrsg. v. Max PERBLACH (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Westpreussens, Bd. 5), Danzig 1906, p. 23.

<sup>36</sup> The Kos family of their own coat of arms in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century started to strengthen their position and may be regarded as one of the most significant noble families in the discussed territory, the evidence of which are senatorial careers of its representatives; see: Wiesław NOWOSAD, *Archiwa szlachty Prus Królewskich*, Toruń 2005, p. 21.

<sup>37</sup> J. K. DACHNOWSKI, *op.cit.*, p. 141.

<sup>38</sup> Adam BONIECKI, *Herbarz polski*, vol. 3, Warszawa 1900, p. 276; J. K. DACHNOWSKI, *op.cit.*, p. 141; K. NIESIECKI, *op.cit.*, p. 173; T. ŻYCHLIŃSKI, *op.cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>39</sup> Dane metrykalne, p. 94.

<sup>40</sup> J. K. DACHNOWSKI, *op.cit.*, p. 141.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> Dane metrykalne, p. 97.

<sup>43</sup> Włodzimierz DWORZACZEK, *Eremian lub Remigian Dembiński h. Rawicz*, [in:] PSB, vol. 5, Kraków 1939–1946, p. 64. Remarks about this figure also made by J. K. DACHNOWSKI, *op.cit.*, p. 141.

The other son of Jan, Krzysztof (II) (born around 1590, and deceased after 1662), was much more successful. He married Małgorzata Manteuffel, who brought him a dowry of Lubocin and Kamlewo in the Pomeranian province.<sup>44</sup> She was the widow of Piotr Lubocki, who was the judge of Tczew in the years 1608–1620.<sup>45</sup> It is likely that she was his second wife, because the first one could have been Barbara Gorazdowska (from 1617). Unfortunately, the source materials do not allow the complete confirmation of this thesis. It cannot be ruled out that Małgorzata was married to another Krzysztof Czapski, who lived more or less in the same years as Krzysztof II<sup>46</sup> – discussed in this article. In addition, he was also the owner of the village of Barłomino. The village had 5 voloks [Polish: *włóka*], half of which was occupied by a village administrator [Polish: *sołtys*]; the remaining area was settled by five peasants [Polish: *gbur*], obliged to do their serfdom for four days a week with the help of draft animals, and manually for two days.<sup>47</sup> Krzysztof II led a very prudent wealth policy, thanks to which his offspring, which were quite numerous, could build their own property foundations. It is known that in 1648 he was in possession of Swaróżyn, ½ Goszyn, Kłębowo, Tyłowo and Lubocim. In addition to increasing his wealth, he was actively involved in politics at the regional level, as on 22 February 1638 he was elected a Member of Parliament.<sup>48</sup> He had seven children, which will be discussed later.

Let us focus on the offspring of Mikołaj, who formed the third generation of this line. His eldest son was Hieronim, who was born around 1615. Unfortunately, we do not know the exact date of his death. However, some sources lead us to the supposition that he was still alive in 1640.<sup>49</sup> Given the lack of information on this subject in the sources, we can guess that he did not make any career, did not earn a fortune or simply died in his youth. A similar situation can be observed in his younger brother – Mikołaj (IV). He was born around 1617 and, like Hieronim, he could not repeat the successes of his father or grandfather. However, Anna, the oldest of his daughters, was born around 1620.<sup>50</sup> She

<sup>44</sup> APG, Akta Miasta Pucka, entry no. 519/55, fol. 93; E. WALCZAK, op.cit., p. 72.

<sup>45</sup> *Urządnicy Prus Królewskich XVI–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, ed. Krzysztof MIRULSKI, Wrocław 1990, p. 149.

<sup>46</sup> Teki Dworzaczka > Grodzkie i ziemskie > Poznań > Rezygnacje > XVII wiek > Część 1, 4267 (no. 1410) 1617; [http://teki.bkpan.poznan.pl/index\\_regesty.html](http://teki.bkpan.poznan.pl/index_regesty.html) [access: 23 Sept 2017].

<sup>47</sup> Waław ODYNEC, Jan GODLEWSKI, *Ziemia pucka. Przeszłość i terażniejszość*, Gdańsk 1974, p. 53.

<sup>48</sup> See more about his political-economic activity in: APG, Akta miasta Pucka, entry no. 519/57, fol. 1, 83v, 214–216, 365, 803.

<sup>49</sup> „Anna, Aleksandra, Hieronimus et Nicolaus, liberi Nicolai et Aleksandrae Bąkowska, nepotis olim Joannis Czapski avi eorum” (Archiwum Państwowe w Poznaniu [States Archives in Poznań, further cit. APPoz], wypisy z ksiąg kcyńskich, entry no. 37, fol. 547).

<sup>50</sup> Dane metrykalne, p. 98.

was the wife of Paweł Czarliński, a representative of the middle-class Prussian nobility.<sup>51</sup> According to the armorial of Adam Boniecki, she died in 1660.<sup>52</sup> The youngest daughter of Mikołaj was Aleksandra, of whom we know the most. Presumably, she was born in 1623. She was the wife of Baltazar Bystram, the Tarnawa coat of arms, with whom she had three children: Remigian Ludwik, Konstancja and Zofia Anna. Alexandra did not enter the senatorial family, but she married a person who was active in the political field in Royal Prussia.<sup>53</sup>

The children of Krzysztof II were: Małgorzata (1625), Piotr II (around 1627), Zofia (around 1630), Ferdynand (1634), Jan IV (1636), Adelgunda (around 1639), Katarzyna (around 1643).<sup>54</sup> The eldest daughter of Krzysztof II Małgorzata lived in the years 1625–1684. She was buried in the crypt of the Franciscan monastery in Wejherowo. In February 1645 she married Jerzy Wejher.<sup>55</sup> He was a representative of a poorer line of the well known family from the Lębork county.<sup>56</sup> However, the other daughter – Zofia – lived much shorter than Małgorzata – about 20 years. She was married to Jan Kos in 1650.<sup>57</sup> And the third daughter, Adelgunda, was married twice. Her first husband was Stanisław Poklatecki, while the second one – Aleksander Biskupski.<sup>58</sup> The last daughter, Katarzyna, married Jan Zieleniewski in 1664.<sup>59</sup> As can be seen, Zofia made the greatest social advance, as the Kos family was a Prussian family with considerable property and political potential, which is confirmed by the offices they held.

<sup>51</sup> The Czarliński family never managed to acquire the senatorial status. Its representatives held lower, less prestigious offices in the Prussian province, see: W. NOWOSAD, *Archiwa szlachty Prus Królewskich*, pp. 24–25.

<sup>52</sup> A. BONIECKI, op.cit., p. 276.

<sup>53</sup> Baltazar Bystram was a juror in the court of Tczew in the years 1648–1663, see: *Urządniczy Prus Królewskich*, no. 1233. Interestingly, the son of Aleksandra and Baltazar – Remigian Ludwik, later held this office only to be promoted to the office of the standard-bearer of Chełmno, next the sub-chamberlain of Pomerania; he was also the starost of Radzyń and Sobowidz, see: *ibid.*, no. 18, 880, 1245.

<sup>54</sup> K. NIESIECKI, op.cit., p. 178.

<sup>55</sup> Archiwum Diecezjalne w Pelplinie [Archives of the diocese in Pelplin] (further cit. ADPelplin), Żarnowiec, *Metricalia* 145, fol. 224.

<sup>56</sup> The Wejher family of the Lębork county from the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries belonged to the most influential magnates in Royal Prussia. The evidence for this are their careers, which in the years 1605–1657 consisted of seven senatorial chairs. However, it must be noted that only Catholic families made careers – the Protestant ones did not – the example of which is one of the lines of the Wejher family, see: J. DYGDAŁA, K. MIKULSKI, op.cit., p. 12.

<sup>57</sup> 25 Sept 1650 (ADPelplin, Żarnowiec, *Metricalia* 145, fol. 230).

<sup>58</sup> Neither of the noblemen came from Royal Prussia. They both came from Greater Poland, see: Teki Dworzaczka>Grodzkie i ziemskie > Konin> 10651 (no. 63) 1680; [http://teki.bkpan.poznan.pl/index\\_regesty.html](http://teki.bkpan.poznan.pl/index_regesty.html) [access: 23 Nov 2017].

<sup>59</sup> See: Teki Dworzaczka> Grodzkie i ziemskie > Kalisz > Inskrypcje > XVII/XVIII wiek, 9634 (no. 58) 1664; [http://teki.bkpan.poznan.pl/index\\_regesty.html](http://teki.bkpan.poznan.pl/index_regesty.html) [access: 23 Nov 2017].

Due to the expansion of the property and the political role of the Swarożyn line, it is advisable to focus primarily on the male offspring of Krzysztof II: Piotr (II), Ferdynand and Jan (IV), who tried to operate actively in Royal Prussia. The first brother, Piotr, became a tenantry of the village of Barłomino,<sup>60</sup> and in his estates included also such towns as Lubocin, Kębłowo and Tyłowo. According to the tax tariff he paid 5 zlotys and 15 groschen for the first place, while for the second – 5 zlotys and 27 groschen.<sup>61</sup> He was born around 1627 and died in 1697.<sup>62</sup> In addition to a well-run economic policy, he managed to achieve the office of the lay juror of Puck on 2 October 1689.<sup>63</sup> Apart from this, he was a deputy from the Tczew county, and was elected an MP on 17 October 1667. However, it was not Peter who made a great career, but his younger brother Jan (IV), who was born in 1636.<sup>64</sup> It is worth noting that his godfather was Aleksander Bialochowski – sub-starost, and his godmother was Emiliana Krokowska. Previous studies do not allow us to determine the exact date of his death. It is known, however, that he was active in 1695.<sup>65</sup> It will not be a mistake to say that he led the most effective political life out of the representatives of the Czapski line. He was repeatedly elected as a parliamentary deputy from the Tczew county, and also served as the treasurer of the land of Oświęcim<sup>66</sup> and the juror of the land of Tczew.<sup>67</sup> He is also another example of a representative of the Czapski family associated with the Wejhers. He married Brygida Wejher, who brought him a dowry of towns such as Tyłów, Kłębocin and Lubocin in the county of Puck. We also know that Jabłonowo, which previously belonged to the Wejher family,<sup>68</sup> also belonged to his estates. The last of the given villages appears in the inspection records of Royal Prussia. According to this source, a few years before the takeover of Lubocin by Czapski, this village was to be inhabited by just one inhabitant.<sup>69</sup> At the end of his life, Jan (IV) fought fierce

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<sup>60</sup> *Regestr poboru podwoynego dnia 25 juny 1648 w Malborku [...]*, p. 195; A. BONIECKI, op.cit., p. 281; *Opis królewsczyzn w województwach chełmińskim, pomorskim, malborskim w roku 1664*, ed. Józef PACZKOWSKI (Fontes TNT, 32), Toruń 1938, p. 352.

<sup>61</sup> Dane metrykalne, pp. 103–104.

<sup>62</sup> Franz SCHULTZ, *Geschichte der Kreise Neustadt und Putzig*, Danzig 1907, p. 449.

<sup>63</sup> ADPelplin, Żarnowiec, Metricalia 145, fol. 224; *Urządnicy Prus Królewskich*, p. 148.

<sup>64</sup> APG, Akta klasztoru cysterek, później benedyktynek w Żarnowcu (further cit. Cysterki, Żarnowiec), entry no. C. 418, fol. 106.

<sup>65</sup> APPoz, Józef Szaniawski, entry no. 55, fol. 115.

<sup>66</sup> Biblioteka Czartoryskich [The Czartoryski Library] (further cit. BCz.), entry no. 979, fol. 203–206v.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.; *Urządnicy Prus Królewskich*, p. 163 (no. 1246).

<sup>68</sup> A. BONIECKI, op.cit., p. 281; *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, ed. Filip SULIMERSKI, Bronisław CHLEBOWSKI, Władysław WALEWSKI, vol. 12, Warszawa 1980, p. 746.

<sup>69</sup> *Lustracja województw Prus Królewskich 1765*, vol. 1: *Województwo pomorskie*, pt. 3: *Powiaty świecki, tucholski i człuchowski*, ed. Jerzy DYGDAŁA, Toruń 2005, p. 116.

disputes over Swarozyn with Adam Potulicki.<sup>70</sup> Without going into the details of the situation, it should be said that Jan finally sold the property to Potulicki for 14 000 Polish zlotys.<sup>71</sup>

Unfortunately, we have scant information about Ferdinand, who was born in May 1634.<sup>72</sup> We do not know the exact date of his death. It may be assumed that he died between 1681 and 1684. His godfather was Jan Białobłocki.<sup>73</sup> Ferdinand married Anna Katarzyna Krokowska, with whom he had two daughters: Anna Małgorzata Weronika and Anna Katarzyna. Later, he became the owner of the Pietrzykowy village in the Człuchów county, which he owned together with Franciszek Goltz. In 1669, he probably participated in the sessions of the Sejm. However, there is no direct evidence of this information. The lack of a male descendant caused the branch of the family to die out. His estate was partly taken over by the Potulicki family, because the first daughter married Adam Wawrzyniec Potulicki.<sup>74</sup> The second daughter was a Benedictine nun in Żarnowiec.<sup>75</sup> The issue of the first daughter is interesting because her cousins from the Bąkowo line contributed to her marriage with Potulicki (probably Aleksander Czapski).<sup>76</sup>

In order to learn about the further history of this Czapski line, one should focus on the offspring of Jan (IV), or rather only on one child – Krzysztof (IV) Teodor, because his daughter, Konstancja Anna, died as early as 1764, at the age of eight.<sup>77</sup> The other child, Krzysztof (IV) Teodor managed to start an active career. He was born around 1669. In his youth he had the opportunity to learn from his father and his relatives how to build the family's splendor. There is no doubt that he followed their example. He took part in noblemen's conventions often called at the turn of 1696 and 1697 in Royal Prussia, where he demanded the defense of the province against the confederated Polish army. He was elected a member of the Royal Election Sejm in 1696 from the Puck county and a judge in the Pomeranian Province. In May 1697, he was still in Brodnica, actively operating in the mobilization of armed forces – *pospo-*

<sup>70</sup> BCz., entry no. 979, fol. 305v–308v.

<sup>71</sup> APPoz, Józef Szaniawski, entry no. 55, fol. 117.

<sup>72</sup> Dane metrykalne, p. 102.

<sup>73</sup> APG, Cysterki, Żarnowiec, entry no. C. 418, fol. 100. We will find here the date of the birth of Ferdinand – 30 May 1634; the death took place in the first half of the 1680s; see: APPoz, Józef Szaniawski, entry no. 87, p. 24; entry no. 55, pp. 29, 59.

<sup>74</sup> E. WALCZAK, op.cit., p. 72; Sławomir Leitgeber, *Potuliccy*, Londyn 1990, p. 82.

<sup>75</sup> APPoz, Józef Szaniawski, entry no. 55, p. 71.

<sup>76</sup> T. ŻYCHLIŃSKI, op.cit., p. 53.

<sup>77</sup> Teki Dworzaczka > Metrykalia > Katolickie > Część 2, 8384 (Nowe Miasto); [http://teki.bkpan.poznan.pl/index\\_regesty.html](http://teki.bkpan.poznan.pl/index_regesty.html) [access: 23 Nov2017].

*lite ruszenie*.<sup>78</sup> Also in May of the same year, he participated in the *Suffragia województw y Ziem Koronnych y Wielkiego Xięstwa Litewskiego zgodnie na najjaśniejszego Augusta II*.<sup>79</sup> In his life he had the opportunity to be a royal courtier, which undoubtedly enabled him to get acquainted with the political environment of the reigning Saxon dynasty. His political activities were of great importance for the region, the evidence of which was his participation in noble conventions called in order to organize the defense of Prussia against the forces of the king of Sweden Charles XII. In 1704 he was a Confederate judge in the Pomeranian Voivodeship, when the confederates in Sandomierz supported the policy of August II.<sup>80</sup> Even before the entry of King Charles XII to Royal Prussia, Krzysztof Teodor was to be sent as an envoy to August II to intervene in the issues connected with the expulsion of Mennonites and Quakers.<sup>81</sup> He was a popular figure among the nobility and at the same time quite influential, the evidence of which is the fact that he was three times elected a parliamentary deputy. These honors were not the culmination of Krzysztof Teodor's career, because on 15 May 1702 he managed to reach the office of the Pomeranian standard-bearer, and on 13 December 1710 he obtained the office of the Pomeranian sub-chamberlain.<sup>82</sup> However, Krzysztof Teodor did not stop there: three years before his death, i.e. 1721 he was promoted to the position of castellan of Gdańsk. Unfortunately, it is not known exactly when he received this prestigious office. According to Krzysztof Mikulski's research, he was castellan in February 1721.<sup>83</sup> It cannot be concealed that supporting the policy of August II by him and other representatives of the Czapski family (mainly his relatives from Smętowo and Bąkowo) resulted in many honors for him and the whole family. Receiving this office, he confirmed not only the great ambitions of the Czapski family, but also his position in the area of Royal Prussia. In addition to the successful development of the political career, he successfully multiplied his fortune. He owned Lubocim, Kamlewo and Bielsko.<sup>84</sup> His property also included Barłomino, Jabłowo, Bielsk, Lipinki and Sopocin in the

<sup>78</sup> Stanisław ACHREMCZYK, *Czapski Krzysztof Teodor h. Leliwa*, [in:] *Słownik biograficzny Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego*, vol. 1, p. 256.

<sup>79</sup> *Volumina legum. Przedruk zbioru praw staraniem XX. Pijarów w Warszawie [...]*, vol. 5, Petersburg 1860, p. 458.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Toruniu [States Archive in Toruń], Akta miasta Torunia, Kat. II, entry no. VII/42, fol. 218; *Urzednicy Prus Królewskich*, p. 132.

<sup>83</sup> *Urzednicy Prus Królewskich*, p. 92 (no. 420).

<sup>84</sup> *Taryfy podatkowe ziem pruskich z 1682 roku*, ed. Stanisław KĘTRZYŃSKI (Fontes TNT, 5), Toruń 1901, p. 168; Max BÄR, *Der Adel und der adlige Grundbesitz in Polnisch-Preussen zur Zeit der preussischen Besitzergreifung*, Leipzig 1911, p. 199.

Tczew county.<sup>85</sup> The example of Krzysztof Teodor proves that the Czapkis from Swaróżyn were often associated with the Wejher family, which I mentioned several times in the discussion of the Swaróżyn line. Czapski got married to Anna Brygida Wejher, which was obviously the effect of the political connotations of these two Prussian noble families. Krzysztof Teodor died on 8 November 1724,<sup>86</sup> leaving one but worthy descendant – Jan Jerzy, who, like his father, succeeded in consolidating the position of the Czapski family of Swaróżyn in the political scene of the Prussian province. According to Kasper Niesiecki: “This whole family is Protestant, from Krzysztof Czapski castellan of Gdansk, who married Wejherówna and had his only son with her; the son moved to Pomerania, where the large family of respectable citizens lives under the Prussian rule”<sup>87</sup> [trans. A.Ch.]. As the author of the armorials proves, the Czapskis of Swaróżyn were Protestants, which would explain their marriages with other non-Catholic families, including the Protestant line of the Wejher family.

The next generation represented by Jan Jerzy (III) also did quite well. This Czapski descendant was born in 1700, but we do not have exact information about the date of his death.<sup>88</sup> Teodor Żychliński wrote in his armorial that he had died in adolescence, but this information should not be considered reliable.<sup>89</sup> He probably lived to an old age and died at the age of 79.<sup>90</sup> He was another representative of this line of the family, who got married to a representative of the Wejher family. On 17 July 1736, he married Maria Małgorzata Wejher, widow of Karol Fryderyk von Böhm, daughter of Henryk Krzysztof.<sup>91</sup> Like his father, Jan Jerzy (III) enjoyed great popularity among the nobility, which enabled him to receive the title of marshal of the parliament Łębork and Bytów. He held this honorable function in the years 1749–1751.<sup>92</sup> Undoubtedly, for most of his life he cared about expanding his wealth, although the beginnings were quite difficult. The reason for this was the loss of Lubocino, Tyłowo and Kłębocin in 1725 to the benefit of Jakub Dunin.<sup>93</sup> He managed to regain the aforementioned properties, but after some time he leased them to the go-

<sup>85</sup> T. ŻYCHLIŃSKI, *op.cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>86</sup> Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, *Archivum conventus Novensis*, p. 272; Paweł CZAPLEWSKI, *Senatorowie świeccy, podskarbowie i starostowie Prus Królewskich 1454–1772* (Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, vol. 26/28), Toruń 1921, p. 31.

<sup>87</sup> K. NIESIECKI, *op.cit.*, p. 182.

<sup>88</sup> T. ŻYCHLIŃSKI, *op.cit.*, p. 53.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> Marek DZIĘCIELSKI, *Organizacja i funkcjonowanie sądownictwa szlacheckiego w ziemi łęborsko-bytowskiej w XV–XVIII w. Urzędnicy*, Gdańsk 2006, pp. 227–229.

<sup>91</sup> T. ŻYCHLIŃSKI, *op.cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>92</sup> M. Dzięcielski, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

<sup>93</sup> Teki Dworzaczka > Grodzkie i ziemskie > Kościan > Inskrypcje, 9449 (no. 316) 1729; [http://teki.bkpan.poznan.pl/index\\_regesty.html](http://teki.bkpan.poznan.pl/index_regesty.html) [access: 23 Nov 2017].

vernor of Chełmno, Jakub Zygmunt Rybiński, and then to the widow of Rybiński – Helena from the Potocki family. It was not the end of leases of these estates – they later came into the hands of the Przebendowski family. At first, they were leased by Józef Przebendowski, the standard-bearer of Pomerania, son of the castellan of Elbląg – Jakub.<sup>94</sup> Then the estates went to the Prussian chamberlain Jan Nepomucen Przebendowski. What were the problems of Jan Jerzy connected with the maintenance of the estates (III) caused by? Like his father, he was a Lutheran, although in his youth he had been raised in a Catholic spirit. When he became a declared follower of Lutheranism, he was punished with the confiscation of some property.<sup>95</sup> Jan Jerzy spent most of his life in the estates in the Land of Łęborg and Bytów. Thanks to his economical way of life, he managed to enlarge his property by adding part of Pogorszewo (1739), Rozgorze, Janowice and Janowiczki (1756). The first two villages belonged to von Natzmer, but after his death they were incorporated into Czapski's estate.<sup>96</sup> It should be noted here that Jan Jerzy (III) did not avoid litigation. An example of this is the trial in 1729 with Katarzyna Poklatecka, the daughter of Jan Józef Oski, which ended at the Piotrków Tribunal.<sup>97</sup> One of his biggest political opponents was Phillip Otto von Grumbkow (1684–1752), who lost the office of President of the Szczecin Chamber and the high starost upon the initiative of Jan Jerzy.<sup>98</sup> This can only prove the strong position that this nobleman occupied among the political elites of the region. The year 1741 was intense in political terms for Jan Jerzy (III). During this period he competed for the office of the Marshal of the Łęborg and Bytów with Christoph von Somnitz, supported by King Frederick II. Nevertheless, the support that the nobility gave him caused that office fell to Czapski.<sup>99</sup> Czapski reappears in the sources in 1746,

<sup>94</sup> Józef Przebendowski in the 1740s and 50s enlarged his property by adding the above mentioned villages, see: Jerzy DYGDALA, *Przebendowscy – osiemnastowieczni magnaci w Prusach Królewskich*, [in:] *Najstarsze dzieje Wejherowa (Materiały z sesji naukowej)*, ed. Regina OSOWICKA, Wejherowo 1988, p. 82.

<sup>95</sup> S. ACHREMZYK, *Czapski Krzysztof Teodor*, p. 256.

<sup>96</sup> See the descriptions in the footnotes concerning the report of Philipp Otton von Grumbkow from the tax dietine of 18 March 1749, [in:] *Źródła do dziejów ziemi łęborsko-bytowskiej 1657–1815. Od statusu lenna polskiego do inkorporacji do Królestwa Pruskiego i integracji z Pomorzem pruskim*, vol. 2: 1740–1815, pt. 1: 1740–1772/1773, ed. Zygmunt SZULTKA, Warszawa 2011, p. 162.

<sup>97</sup> Teki Dworzaczka > Grodzkie i ziemskie > Kościan > Inskrypcje, 9449 (no. 316) 1729; [http://teki.bkpan.poznan.pl/index\\_regesty.html](http://teki.bkpan.poznan.pl/index_regesty.html) [access: 23 Nov 2017].

<sup>98</sup> Pismo tajnego radcy, nadprezydenta Pomorza pruskiego Philippa Ottona von Grumbkowa do króla Fryderyka Wilhelma I w sprawie zwołania sejmiku łęborskiego, [in:] *Źródła do dziejów ziemi łęborsko-bytowskiej*, p. 10.

<sup>99</sup> Protokół z obrad sejmiku, Szczecin 1 V 1741 r., [in:] *Źródła do dziejów ziemi łęborsko-bytowskiej*, pp. 37–40.

when excise officials confiscated him vodka, as they did to a lady v. Pirch.<sup>100</sup> The tax register of 1749 throws some light on his possessions. According to this document, under the information about Janowice and Janowiczki (land of Lębork and Bytów) it reads “h. castellanic Czapski 13½ besetzten, 6 wüste huben, 6 gertner, 1 mühle”, of which he paid 72 florins and 25 groschen. The same Czapski is also mentioned in the description of the town of Krępowice, of which he was a co-owner. Here he was recorded as “h. Czapski 3½ vorwerk huben, 2 gertner, ½ mühle”.<sup>101</sup>

The only descendant of Jan Jerzy was Teodor (II) Henryk, who was born around 1737, and died only three years after his father's death. It cannot be concealed that this generation of the Czapskis of Swarozyn along with subsequent generations, played a much smaller role in the political life of Royal Prussia. Naturally, it was influenced by many factors, such as the “slightly weaker” biological potential, which became evident with some exceptions in the last generations. Teodor Henryk was a more “anonymous” figure than his father or grandfather. Unlike his ancestors, he did not hold important political functions, nor did he lease his estates from which he could make profits. He married Adelgunda Wobeser, but we have no evidence that the marriage had any significant effect on the increase of his financial status. This is confirmed by the fact that the Swarozyn branch could not get closer to their relatives from Bąkowo and Smętowo in terms of importance. Teodor Henryk accumulated in his hands the following estates: Janowice, Janowiczki, Rozgórze, part of Pogorszewo; Lubocino, Kębłowo, Tyłowo.<sup>102</sup> He participated in the sessions of the Lębork-Bytów dietine in 1768. He was a member of the commission dealing with stationing of units of von Belling in the starosty of Lębork.<sup>103</sup> Three years before his death, the matter of the confiscation of his goods purchased in Gdańsk went to the council of the dietine. The reason for this was his failure to pay excise duty to the treasury, which caused the Prussians to confiscate the goods transported by Teodor Henryk.<sup>104</sup>

He had the following offspring: Marcin August, Małgorzata Luiza, Henrietta Fryderyka, Wilhelmina and Henryk Aleksander. As for his daughters, unfortunately we cannot say anything more about them. It is difficult even

<sup>100</sup> Protokół z przesłuchania świadków z 15 III 1746 r., [in:] *Źródła do dziejów ziemi lęborsko-bytowskiej*, pp. 119–123.

<sup>101</sup> Rejestr podatkowy szlachty lęborskiej oraz miast Lęborska i Łeby, [in:] *Źródła do dziejów ziemi lęborsko-bytowskiej*, p. 167.

<sup>102</sup> M. DZIĘCIELSKI, op.cit., pp. 227–229.

<sup>103</sup> Uchwała komisji doraźnej sejmiku lęborsko-bytowskiego w sprawie stacjonujących w starostwie dwóch eskadronów husarów regimentu von Bellinga, Lębork, 30 IX 1768 r., [in:] *Źródła do dziejów ziemi lęborsko-bytowskiej*, p. 298.

<sup>104</sup> Protokół z posiedzenia sejmiku, Lębork, 22 X 1772 r., [in:] *Źródła do dziejów ziemi lęborsko-bytowskiej*, pp. 347–348.

to determine their exact date of birth. We know a little more about the sons of Teodor Henryk. The first of them – Marcin (V) August was a co-owner of Janowice, Janowiczki, Rozgórze,  $\frac{1}{5}$  of Krępkowice,  $\frac{1}{4}$  of Unieszynko, part of Pogorszewo in 1784. However, we do not know the dates of his birth and death. The death of Marcin (V) Augustus was certainly after 1784.<sup>105</sup> Henryk Aleksander Ferdynand was the owner of Janowice, Janowiczki, Rozgórze,  $\frac{1}{5}$  of Krępkowice,  $\frac{1}{4}$  of Unieszynko, parts of Pogorszewo; as Ferdinand Eugen he was the owner of Niedamowo in the Kościerzyna county in the years 1798–1802.<sup>106</sup> An interesting fact is that the property he owned was passed into the hands of the von der Osten family. As with his brother, we do not know his date of birth and death, which makes it difficult to examine the next generations of the family.<sup>107</sup>

As has been mentioned earlier, the Czapskis of Swaróżyn were often associated with representatives of the Wejher family, especially with its Protestant line. This was not accidental, of course, because this Wejher family at the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries achieved a significant position not only in Royal Prussia.<sup>108</sup> On the other hand, the daughters of the Czapskis from this line, like their cousins, married the representatives of the poorer (but not poor) nobility. For sons, they tried, as far as possible, to choose wives with a similar property position, which ensured that they would remain in the circle of influential Prussian families for a long time.<sup>109</sup> Certainly, the position of individual members of this line was influenced by the fact that they were Protestants. Perhaps it was even the main reason for the situation.

The analysis of the data and information presented here allows us to state that the career of the Czapski family of Swaróżyn developed steadily. Obviously, compared to the related Bąkowo and Smętowo lines, their position was not so strong in Royal Prussia, as evidenced by the number of senatorial chairs achieved by them. In the years 1697–1772 the Bąków line had seven castellans, three voivodes and one bishop. The Smętów line, on the other hand, had one voivode and one bishop.<sup>110</sup> Large variations may be seen in external signs of prestige, for example in foundations. It was the effect of several factors. First of all, the policy conducted by the representatives of the Smętowo and Bąkowo line resulted in achieving stability in the richest circles. Secondly, the Czapskis from Swaróżyn did not make spectacular military careers unlike their cou-

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid.; M. BÄR, op.cit., no. 1499.

<sup>106</sup> M. BÄR, op.cit., no. 1190, 1499.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., no. 1190.

<sup>108</sup> J. DYGDAŁA, K. MIKULSKI, op.cit., p. 12.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>110</sup> Jerzy DYGDAŁA, *Uwagi o magnaterii Prus Królewskich w XVIII stuleciu*, ZH, vol. 44: 1979, no. 3, pp. 66–69.

sins.<sup>111</sup> They cannot be certainly included in the groups of magnates, because in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century five families belonged to this group of landowners in Prussia: the Przebendowski family, the Grabowski family, the Skórczewski family and the Smętowo and the Bąkowo lines of the Czapski family.<sup>112</sup> In spite of their affinity with other families, even with the significant ones (the Wejhers, the Czapskis from other lines), they did not manage to develop senatorial careers, unlike the Czapski family of the Bąkowo line (Piotr Jan, Jan Ansgary and many others). Teresa Zielińska and Jerzy Dygdała have devoted much space to these careers in their works.<sup>113</sup> One might be tempted to say that one of the most important obstacles preventing the Czapski family of the Swaróżyn line from being promoted to the wealthy group was the lack of adequate material support along with their Evangelical denomination. They may be regarded as members of average moderately wealthy noblemen. None of the representatives of this line concentrated in their hands a property greater than a few villages. Meanwhile, carrying out effective political activity on a larger scale required more substantial financial resources.

The above article does not present all the knowledge about the Swaróżyn branch. Undoubtedly, it deserves a thorough monograph, which would allow the full analysis of the functioning of this moderately wealthy noble family in the Prussian province. The example of the information provided here suggests that it is necessary to undertake further source research on the genealogy of the nobility of the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries on the basis of the reliable Polish armorials. It is necessary to conduct further research on the genealogy to understand the path of social advance and decline in the significance of the nobility in Royal Prussia.

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<sup>111</sup> Many members of the Czapski family took active part in various war campaigns. The Czapskis appear in the battle of Beresteczko in 1651, in the Polish-Swedish war 1655–1660, see: Ludwik KUBAŁA, *Wojna szwedzka w roku 1655 i 1656*, Lwów 1913, p. 327. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century many of them held important military positions, e.g. Paweł Czapski, who reached the rank of General Major, see: Jerzy DYGDAŁA, *Czapski Paweł Tadeusz h. Leliwa*, [in:] *Słownik biograficzny Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego*, vol. 1, pp. 257–258.

<sup>112</sup> J. DYGDAŁA, *Uwagi o magnaterii*, p. 70.

<sup>113</sup> Teresa ZIELIŃSKA, *Magnateria polska epoki saskiej. Funkcje urzędów i królewskich czyn w procesie przeobrażeń warstwy społecznej*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1977, p. 235; J. DYGDAŁA, *Uwagi o magnaterii*, pp. 75–76; idem, *Na marginesie badań nad magnaterią polską epoki saskiej*, RG, vol. 40: 1980, no. 1, pp. 187–198.

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THE SWAROŻYN LINE OF THE CZAPSKI FAMILY  
 OF THE COAT OF ARMS OF LELIWA IN THE EARLY MODERN TIMES

Summary

**Key words:** Royal Prussia, noblemen [szlachta], dietines, Lębork-Bytów Land, genealogy

The article addresses the subject matter of the Czapski family of the coat of arms of Leliwa – in particular one of its lines, whose name comes from the name of the village Swarożyn in Royal Prussia. Unlike their relatives from Smętów and Bąków, representatives of the Swarożyn line did not make any spectacular political careers. The outline presents the correct genealogy of the family, which in historiography was often shown erroneously. It should be underlined that no complex study of this family has ever been made despite the fact that the family was quite significant in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Swarożyn line of the family remained in the shadow owing to its Protestant denomination and weaker biological potential. Still, despite problems, several representatives of the Swarożyn line of the Czapski family reached a high social status in the Prussian province.

DIE SWAROŻYN-LINIE DER FAMILIE CZAPSKI  
 VOM WAPPEN LELIWA IN DER FRÜHEN NEUZEIT

Zusammenfassung

**Schlüsselwörter:** Königliches Preußen, Adel, Sejmik, Land Lauenburg und Bütow, Genealogie

Der Beitrag behandelt die Thematik des Geschlechtes Czapski vom Wappen Leliwa und genauer einer der Linien, die ihren Namen der Ortschaft Swarożyn (dt. Swaroschin) im Königlichen Preußen verdankt. Im Gegensatz zu ihren Verwandten aus Lauenburg und Bütow machten die Vertreter der Linie Swarożyński keine großen politischen Karrieren. Der vorliegende Abriss präsentiert eine geordnete Genealogie dieses Geschlechtes, welche in der Geschichtsschreibung oft fehlerhaft geschildert wird. Erwähnenswert ist dabei, dass dieses Geschlecht – trotz seiner großen Bedeutung im 18. Jh. – wissenschaftlich nie ausführlich behandelt wurde. Die Linie Swarożyński blieb jedoch im Hintergrund, u. a. wegen der protestantischen Konfession sowie ihres schwächeren biologischen Potenzials. Trotz Hindernisse erreichten einige Vertreter der Linie Swarożyński des Geschlechtes Czapski einen hohen gesellschaftlichen Status in Preussen königlichen Anteils.

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