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Szydłowiec and Ćmielów private estates as some examples of industrialization in the late 18th and the 19th centuries

Dobra Szydłowiec i Ćmielów jako przykłady uprzemysłowienia w końcu XVIII i w XIX wieku

Szydłowiec and Ćmielów are currently seen as tiny towns, however, still recognised as parts of the broadly understood region between the Vistula and Pilica rivers. Back in the 18th and 19th centuries, they served more important purposes than small towns usually did. It appears that the Szydłowiec estate of the Radziwiłł family and the Ćmielów estate of the Małachowski family constitute some interesting examples of industrialisation efforts undertaken in the late 18th and in 19th centuries, which were not limited to private estates.

Szydłowiec, Ćmielów, industrialisation, the 18th and 19th centuries

Szydłowiec i Ćmielów, obecnie kojarzone jako niewielkie miasta, są wciąż powszechnie rozpoznawalne w szeroko rozumianym regionie między Wisłą a Pilicą. W wieku XVIII, ale też i w XIX stuleciu pełniły one ważniejsze funkcje niż typowe dla małych miasteczek. Dobra szydłowieckie Radziwiłłów i ćmielowskie Małachowskich u schyłku wieku XVIII i w wieku XIX są jednym z ciekawszych przykładów prób uprzemysłowienia, nie tylko w majątkach prywatnych.

Szydłowiec, Ćmielów, uprzemysłowienie, XVIII–XIX wiek

The Szydłowiec estate of the Radziwiłł family and the Ćmielów estate of the Małachowski family in the late 18th and the 19th centuries seem to constitute some of the more interesting examples of industrialisation attempts under-

taken in the private lands located in the broadly understood area between „the Vistula and Pilica rivers”¹.

Anna Sapieżyna (1772–1859) purchased the Szydłowiec estate from the Austrian government at an auction in Kraków in 1802 after its prior owner², Maciej Radziwiłł³, had died heirless (on 2 September 1800). Little is known of her activities in the field of industrialisation⁴; she concentrated on working at the grassroots, e.g., she founded a primary school for 100 pupils and had a brick building constructed to accommodate them in the main town’s

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- ¹ On the regionalization and designation of the area “between the Vistula and the Pilica rivers” as a territorial unit whose boundaries are conventionally determined by historical, geographical and settlement factors and the so-called “long duration” in the regional historiography up to the present day, see: A. Gieysztor, *Krajobraz międzyrzecza Pilicy i Wisły we wczesnym średniowieczu*, [in:] *Studia sandomierskie. Materiały do dziejów miasta Sandomierza i regionu sandomierskiego*, ed. T. Wąsowicz i J. Pazdur, Sandomierz 1967, pp. 13–34; *Region świętokrzyski. Mit czy rzeczywistość*, red. J. Wijaczka, Kielce 2001, *passim*; J. Swajdo, *Między Wisłą a Pilicą. Dzieje podziałów administracyjnych w regionie kielecko-radomskim do 1975 roku*, Kielce 2005, *passim*; „Między Wisłą a Pilicą. Studia i materiały historyczne” science magazine (ed.: Jan Kochanowski University of Kielce).
- ² S. Wiech, *Anna Jadwiga z Zamoyskich Sapieżyna – ostatnia dziedziczka dóbr szydłowieckich*, [in:] *Zamek szydłowiecki i jego właściciele. Materiały sesji popularnonaukowej 24 lutego 1996 roku*, ed. J. Wijaczka, Szydłowiec 1996, pp. 125–152.
- ³ Z. Anusik, A. Stroynowski, *Radziwiłł Maciej*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny* (‘the PSB’ below), ed. E. Rostworowski, vol. XXX/2, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków, 1973, vol. 125, (1987), pp. 285–287.
- ⁴ On the earlier history of Szydłowiec, see: K. Dumala, *Szydłowiecka produkcja rzemieślnicza w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku, jej organizacja i formy zbytu*, „Rocznik Muzeum Świętokrzyskiego” 9, 1975, pp. 279–287; J. Muszyńska, *Cech rzemiosł drzewnych w Szydłowcu w XVII wieku*, [in:] *Studia z historii Szydłowca. Materiały z sesji popularnonaukowej 18 lutego 1995 roku*, Szydłowiec 1995, pp. 39–54; Z. Guldon, *Cech rzemieślników kunsztu żelaznego w Szydłowcu w XVIII wieku*, [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 55–72; F. Kiryk, *Urbanizacja Małopolski. Województwo sandomierskie XIII–XVI wiek*, Kielce 1994, pp. 144–145; K. Szpunar, *Gospodarka miejska Szydłowca w epoce nowożytnej (XVI–XVIII wiek)*, [in:] *Studia z dziejów Szydłowca XVI–XVIII wiek*, Szydłowiec 2017, pp. 25–59; Z. Guldon, J. Wijaczka, *Rola Szydłowca w handlu polskim XVII–XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Z dziejów Szydłowca. Materiały sesji popularnonaukowej*, ed. Z. Guldon, Szydłowiec 1993, pp. 22–43; W. Kowalski, *Dzieje parafii Szydłowiec do połowy XVII wieku*, [in:] *Hrabstwo szydłowieckie Radziwiłłów. Materiały sesji popularnonaukowej*, ed. Z. Guldon, Szydłowiec 1994, p. 41; P. Kardys, *Fratres armorum et domus Odrowąsinæ. Odrowążowie przez wieki – ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem terenów na północ od źródeł rzeki Kamiennej*, [in:] *Z dziejów powiatu Szydłowieckiego*, ed. M. Przeniosło, Szydłowiec 2009, pp. 9–42; W. Bujakowski, M. Figiel, *Stan badań archeologicznych na terenie zamku w Szydłowcu*, [in:] *Zamek szydłowiecki i jego właściciele*, Szydłowiec 1996, pp. 8–9; P. Zdon, *Zamek w Szydłowcu – wyniki i wnioski z badań archeologicznych*, [in:] *ibid*, pp. 21–35; B. Guerquin, *Zamki w Polsce*, pp. 298–300; J. Kieszkowski, *Kanclerz Krzysztof Szydłowiecki. Z dziejów kultury i sztuki zygmuntowskich czasów*, v. 1, Poznań 1912, pp. 353, 375; L. Michalska-Bracha, J. Wijaczka, *Szydłowieccy – pierwsi właściciele miasta i zamku w Szydłowcu*, [in:] *Zamek*, pp. 74–76; Z. Guldon, *Osadnictwo hrabstwa szydłowieckiego od XVI do początków XIX wieku*, [in:] *Hrabstwo*, p. 9.

square in Szydłowiec. The school provided education on three levels: beginners, advanced, and master⁵. What is important, Stanisław Staszic assisted her with managing the estate⁶. A straightforward assessment of industrial development under his management or the condition of the estate in the late 18th century i.e., at the time of the ownership change, is difficult, however.

The Polish Kingdom Treasury purchased the estate from Anna Sapieżyna on 17 May 1828 for the sum of 2,254,454 Polish zloty. The transaction unveils the potential and the development of the estate in the late 1830s.⁷ It consisted of the town of Szydłowiec, the villages of Podzamcze, Stara Wieś, Rybianka, Długosz, Janików, Wysoka, Zdziechów, Szydłówek, Sadek, Skarżysko Książęce, Posadajów (now Posadaj), Szczepanów, Kamienna, Milica, Ciórów, Pogorzałe, Majdów, Ciechostowice, Huta, Mroczków, Olszyny, and Młyn, Podzamcze, Marywil, Wysoka, Zdziechów, Szydłówek, and Sadek manors, a blast furnace in Mroczków, a brickyard in Jastrząb, mills in Podzamcze, Szydłówek, Długosz, Kamienna, and Mroczków, 3 forges and fineries in Kamienna, a sawmill in Długosz, and a fulling mill in Podzamcze. Initially, the estate, called *Ekonomia Szydłowiecka*, in the years 1828–1864 additionally included the village of Orońsko together with a grange and a mill, as well as the village of Krogulcza Sucha⁸.

The economic changes in Szydłowiec and its vicinity were noticeable from the 1820s on. The main street in Szydłowiec was paved, a result of an

⁵ J. Wiśniewski, *Dekanat konecki*, Radom 1913, p. 274.

⁶ S. Wiech, *Anna*, pp. 125–152. About the Rev. Staszic's role in the management of Anna Sapieżyna's Szydłowiec estate, see for instance: „Gazeta Rolnicza, Przemysłowa i Handlowa”, n° 5, 1859, pp. 33–35: „Wiekopomny Stanisław Staszyc, przyjaciel księżnej, który też dobra dla niej zlicytował, postawił tam ówczynie rządcę Grothusa, [...]”. However, the entire article shows that Staszic's merits are more “mythical” than factual, because it was only from 1815, i.e., when F. Pięglowski took over the management, that the estate began to bring a measurable income.

⁷ On the development of Szydłowiec estate from the Middle Ages to the 19th century, see: P. Kardys, M. Janakowski, *Miasto, Szydłowiec u progu ery industrialnej*, [in:] *Almanach Świętokrzyski*, *passim*.

⁸ Tax data from the late 1780s provide some idea, see: *Radom i region radomski w dobie szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej. Osadnictwo i gospodarka powiatu radomskiego w XVI–XVIII wieku*, ed. Z. Guldon, S. Zieliński, Radom 1995, p. 41; P. Kardys, M. Janakowski, *Miasto...*, *passim*.

active utilisation of the railroad tracks connecting Białogon, Suchedniów, Blizyn and Chlewiska⁹ to the modernised Cracow–Warsaw road¹⁰.

However, the industrialisation idea appeared anything but obvious in the first half of the 19th century. The Orońsko estate might be a good example as, despite Christiani's investments in public buildings (a commune office building, a courthouse, the house of commune clerk, an armed police station, an inn, a post office), the income still relied on tithes for several decades to come (they brought almost 70% of the annual income)¹¹. The industrial development of the then Szydłowiec estate seems to have been hindered by the events related to the November Uprising, especially the customs duties on the border of the Kingdom of Poland and Russia. Only when the customs duties on trade with Russia were lifted in 1851 did the economic activity in the area increase. It was at that time that sandstone mining and processing industry in Szydłowiec and its vicinity were revived in the quarries of Szydłówek, Śmiłów, Sadek, Zbijów, Pogorzałe, and Majdów. The demand for this easy to process, practical and popular building material rose significantly due to a discernible economic impulse of the 1850s within the Kingdom of Poland; the material was especially useful for Warsaw's development extension and other investments in the construction of public buildings as well as industry¹². It also became common in housing construction in the Radom and Kielce governorates. Its popularity

⁹ The case of Chlewiska is instructive by all means, see: J. Pielas, *Sumariusz dochodów i wydatków z dóbr chlewiskich z lat 1676–1678. Przyczynek źródłowy do dziejów gospodarczych okolic Szydłowca w dobie staropolskiej*, [in:] *Z dziejów powiatu szydłowieckiego. Sesja II*, ed. G. Miernik, Szydłowiec 2010, pp. 9–26; J. Wijaczka, *Hrabstwo szydłowieckie u schyłku XVIII wieku*, *ibidem*, pp. 27–45; R. Fidos, *Dobra Chlewiska w czasach Stanisława i Romana Sołtyków*, *ibidem*, pp. 47–56; M. Janakowski, „Żelazne” Chlewiska. Rozwój staropolskiego przemysłu górniczo-hutniczego klucza chlewickiego i jego obraz na tle regionu, [in:] *Almanach Świętokrzyski*, ed. S. Nowak, v. 1, ed. P. Kardys, A. Sopoćko, pp. 139–148.

¹⁰ B. Chwaściński, *Budownictwo drogowe w dawnej Polsce i na ziemiach polskich*, „Drogownictwo” 1979, pp. 7–8.

¹¹ F. K. Christiani, *Notions élémentaires pratique à l'usage des conducteurs des chaussées tirées du système général de la construction des routes des le Royaume de Pologne par la direction générale des ponts et chaussées*, Varsoviae 1820, *passim*; A. Moraczewski, *Franciszek Ksawery Christiani*, [in:] *PSB*, v. 3, ed. W. Konopczyński, Kraków 1937, p. 445; T. Palacz, *Franciszek Ksawery Christiani (1772–1842) twórca nowoczesnego drogownictwa polskiego, założyciel rezydencji wiejskiej w Orońsku*, [in:] *Z dziejów powiatu...*, pp. 85–128; T. Palacz, *Franciszek Ksawery Christiani. Orońsko – miejsca i ludzie*, 1997, pp. 85–127. State Archives in Radom, *Akt odbiorczo-podawczy dóbr rządowych Orońska...*, *Księga hipoteczna dóbr Orońsko*. Dowody, ref. 468, pp. 1–115; K. Dumała, *Przyczynek do dziejów kamieniarstwa w Szydłowcu*, „*Studia z Dziejów Rzemiosła i Przemysłu*” 4, 1964, pp. 57–58

¹² See: J. Urban. W. Kowalski, *Szydłowiec. Miasto na kamieniu. Interdyscyplinarna ścieżka edukacyjna*, Szydłowiec 2008, *passim*.

and availability resulted in its use in outhouses, fences, roadside figures, tombs¹³.

Despite the repressions inflicted in the aftermath of the January Uprising, the Szydłowiec sandstone remained the most important export commodity from the area of the then Szydłowiec estate, its reach even extended¹⁴. That mainly resulted from the development of a railroad from Dąbrowa Górnicza through Kielce, Radom to Dęblin (the so-called Iwangrodzko-Dąbrowska line) in 1885¹⁵. Although the railway station was situated 5 kilometres away from Szydłowiec, thanks to horse-powered transportation the amount of sandstone delivered to the Szydłowiec ramp was so significant that it became a recognised building material on the Russian market (large quantities were sold in Petersburg). The Jastrząb railway station played a similar role for the sandstone from Śmiłów quarries¹⁶.

Apart from the stone industry, other sectors also made their presence felt, however, to a more limited extent; they included the metal sector, foundries, and enamel shops of "Goldkorn&Kuperman" as well as "Zolberg&Pinkiert"¹⁷. Other establishments comprised breweries, tanneries, glassworks, a tiles manufactory, a brickyard, a watermill, a farm vehicles factory "Knabe-Wagner", and a farm tools and equipment factory "W. Walderowicz Company" ("Józef Szczepanowski&Co. since 1880")¹⁸. Kamienna deserves to be mentioned among the towns and villages constituting the estate of Szydłowiec in connection with economic changes and modern industry¹⁹. Others: Podzamcze, Stara Wieś, Rybianka, Długosz, Janików, Wysoka, Zdziechów, Szydłówek, Sadek, Skarżysko Książęce, Posadajów (now Posadaj), Szczepanów, Milica, Ciórów, Pogorzałe, Majdów, Ciechosłowice, Huta, Mroczków, Olszyny, and Młyn, the granges in Marywil,

¹³ As a curiosity, we can mention here the famous „whetstones” made of the Szydłowiec sandstone, made in Pogorzałe, see: J. Janiec, P. Kardyś, R. Sowa, A. Staškowiak, K. Zemęła, *Powiat Skarżyski – miejsca cenne przyrodniczo i historycznie*, Skarżysko-Kamienna 2008, p. 89.

¹⁴ J. Urban, W. Kowalski, *Szydłowiec, passim*.

¹⁵ See: M. Medyński, J. Krauze, *Miasto Kolejarzy nad Kamienną. Dzieje budowy i działalności węzła kolejowego Bzin – Skarżysko – Skarżysko-Kamienna od wieku XIX do roku 1945, z opisem zaszytych tu wydarzeń rewolucyjnych i wojennych, a także wszystkiego, co „na gruncie kolejowym wyrosło”, w tym osady i miasta, życia powszedniego, świątecznego i intelektualnego jego mieszkańców, ich kościołów i cerkwi, przemysłu oraz poczty. Poprzedzone krótkim zarysem historii kolei żelaznych na świecie i w Polsce*, Skarżysko-Kamienna–Warszawa 2008, *passim*.

¹⁶ The second most recognizable commodity were the Chlewiska steelworks products, especially cast iron.

¹⁷ See: J. Szczepański, *Modernizacja górnictwa i hutnictwa w Królestwie Polskim w 1. połowie XIX w. Rola specjalistów niemieckich i brytyjskich*, Kielce 1997, *passim*.

¹⁸ See: D. Słonimska-Paprocka, *Szydłowiec i okolice*, Szydłowiec 2003, pp. 51–55.

¹⁹ See: K. Zemęła, *Skarżysko-Kamienna – nadanie praw miejskich*, Skarżysko-Kamienna 2003, pp. 10–19; *Dzieje Skarżyska-Kamiennej, passim*.

Wysoka, Zdziechowie, Szydłówek, and Sadek, a blast furnace in Mroczków, a brickyard in Jastrzab, mills in Podzamcze, Szydłówek, Długosz, and Mroczków, a sawmill in Długosz, and a fulling mill in Podzamcze failed to generate long-term economic and demographic growth or stable high income²⁰.

The Ćmielów demesne of the Małachowski family also experienced substantial changes in the late 18th and the 19th centuries in the area “between the Vistula and Pilica rivers”²¹. Due to several complicated transactions (a redemption of pledge leases) conducted in 1750, Jan Małachowski leased Ćmielów, Denków, and 27 other villages for the amount of 400,000 Polish zloty; he extended the estate adding subsequent granges and villages within the next 3 years²². However, it was Izabela Małachowska, his widow²³, who contributed the most to the development of the estate in the 18th century, which she managed in the years 1762–1783. Finally, after completing property transactions between Jacek (Hiacynt) and Antoni, the sons of Jan and Izabela Małachowski, the former became the owner of Ćmielów and Bodzechów estates, which formed one economic “organism”. At the time, it comprised two demesnes (Bodzechów and Ćmielów) with the towns of Denków and Ćmielów as well as 26 villages inhabited by over 3000 people in total. Traditionally, the income earned on tithes, distilling and selling alcohol, and mills constituted its bulk.

It was only in the 1790s that the economy of the estates in question became redefined and directed at what seemed promising at the time in terms of the acquisition of cheap yet good quality material and sale markets. Despite an ongoing interest in metallurgy and metal industries, the estates concentrated on the development of pottery and broadly understood ceramics, especially faience (a clay tableware made of white clay), and later porcelain²⁴, industries. The abundance of fireproof Liassic sandstone and a wide availability of firewood were the expected foundations. Research proves that the tradition of the local pottery making was

²⁰ Cf. J. Piwek, *Szydłowiec i dobra szydłowieckie w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku*, Kielce 1996, *passim*; see: *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego*, ed. F. Sulimierski, B. Chlebowski, W. Walewski, vol. XII, Warszawa 1892, pp. 100–101; *Opisy zabytków starożytności w guberni radomskiej 1844–1846*, 1850, pp. 301–306.

²¹ See: M. Banaszek, *Dzieje Ćmielowa i gminy Ćmielowskiej*, Ćmielów 2005, *passim*; J. Piwek, *Działalność gospodarcza Małachowskich w XVIII i XIX w.*, Kielce 1999; P. Kardys, *Z dziejów Ćmielowa w średniowieczu (do nadania praw miejskich w 1505 roku)*, „Między Wisłą a Pilicą” 11, 2010, pp. 9–23. Cf. *Słownik*, v. I, Warszawa 1880, pp. 709–710.

²² J. Moniewski, *Kartki z przeszłości Ostrowca i jego okolic*, Ostrowiec 1991, p. 23.

²³ A. Zahorski, *Małachowski Jacek (Hiacynt) herby Nałęcz*, [in:] PSB, v. 19, pp. 393–394; P. Olszewski, *Kanclerz Jacek Małachowski (1737–1821)*, Kielce 2013, *passim*.

²⁴ Z. Wójcik, *Wkład Małachowskich w rozwój przemysłu ceramicznego w regionie świętokrzyskim*, [in:] *Garncarstwo na Kielecczyźnie*, Kielce 1985, pp. 74–97.

of little importance as the development of porcelain manufacturing was based on recognised foreign specialists²⁵. However, the exact start date of the porcelain production cannot be unambiguously established as the year 1790, frequently quoted, seems highly unlikely for at least two reasons. Firstly, source materials are absent, secondly, Jacek Małachowski would not have employed foreign specialists had there been locals skilled enough to perform the task. Additionally, he seemed to have been concentrated on brewery sector development since his main investment in 1797–1802 was purchasing the right to brew and sell beer from Ćmielów burghers as well as establishing a brewery in the Ćmielów castle. Hence, it might be assumed that the feudal view on economic undertakings and the manner of generating income dominated his activities.

Generally, most researchers believe the beginnings of Ćmielów porcelain production might be traced back to 1804 (1811?)²⁶. It is the year the source materials, for the first time, named a clerk of the faience manufacture, while a director of German origin was identified four years later. The following decade witnessed other employees of German sounding surnames listed in the source material along with locals, who might have been pottery craftsmen. Simultaneously, it needs to be mentioned that local pottery makers were still in operation, however, following trends in design and work management rather than competing. Any competition on the part of the locals was doomed to failure (even though the first products were not luxury), since J. Małachowski took advantage of local peasants, employing them as forced labour to excavate white clay in the forests of Bałtów, transport it, and to cut down and transport wood to the faience shop, which secured the initial growth of the Ćmielów manufacture. The manufacture was situated in the then Ćmielów village head office; it was certainly divided into the departments of production, clay preparation, ware rolling, paint shop, calcination shop, and readymade products workshop, which must have seemed modern at the time in the Polish lands.

Both the difficulties and the success of Ćmielów porcelain might be explained simply. Firstly, as long as Ćmielów faience products failed to be of a better quality and design than those of local pottery makers, the manufacture did not generate substantial income or offer favourable future opportunities; it was rather an enterprise of low profitability supported by cheap labour. However, the moment the foreign specialists were engaged and the manufacturing of luxury goods started, its income must have risen exponentially. The first information on the high quality of Ćmielów por-

²⁵ E. Kowecka, *Wytwórnice i produkcja ceramiki szlacheckiej w regionie sandomiersko-kieleckim w XIX w.*, Wrocław 1986, pp. 42–45.

²⁶ A. Zahorski, *Jacek Małachowski*, pp. 392–394.

celain emerged in February 1811, to be followed by reports from 1818 and 1821–1828²⁷.

The commercial success of the enterprise was the reason why J. Małachowski made subsequent investments. He established a stove tiles and clay ware manufactory in Denków (in 1812). Małachowski also employed a foreign specialist, which proved profitable as the products became recognised in Warsaw, Gdańsk, and Grodno²⁸. As far as the activities of these two ceramics manufactories in 1821–1830, i.e., from Małachowski's death until the purchase of Ćmielów by the family of Drucki-Lubecki, are concerned, the information available is scarce. Only Stanisław Staszic's (in 1823) and Ksawery Drucki-Lubecki's (in 1824) interest in the manufactories and clay deposits is confirmed²⁹. In the years 1827–1830, the faience manufactory in Ćmielów was leased to Jewish merchants who thus monopolised the Ćmielów faience trade in Warsaw by offering 34 different types of tableware of various designs, candle sticks, vases, inkwells, fonts, washbasins, soap tins, apothecary jars, pastry and dye shop bowls, garden furniture, fireproof brick, and stoneware. The income generated at the time amounted to 85,000 Polish zloty. The sole fact of putting the profitable property on lease proves that the owners rarely engaged in the production process themselves, they were rather satisfied with a smaller yet certain income they received from the leased manufactories, even if there was the risk of the property's devastation by the lease holders focused on fast gains.

After the stagnation caused by the November Uprising, the Ćmielów manufactory experienced a sudden growth and an increased recognisability of its products, probably a result of more transportation possibilities for such delicate goods and a rise in the population's purchasing power³⁰. It was also then that a group of foreign specialists arrived at Ćmielów, which rendered it possible to establish a porcelain manufacture, the first in the Kingdom of Poland. However, the unsatisfactory quality of Ćmielów products as well as an increased demand for kaolin remained problematic. As it couldn't be found in the neighbouring area, its import from Austria and France became necessary. The above-mentioned difficulties made the owners and the board of the manufactory continue the stoneware production as the profit was certain, while the involvement of unskilled workforce

²⁷ The products of the Ćmielów pottery factory attracted great interest at domestic industry winning medals, see: B. Kołodziejowa, Z.M. Stadnicki, *Zakłady Porcelany Ćmielów*, Kraków 1986, *passim*.

²⁸ M. Żakowska, *Denków, ośrodek przemysłu ceramicznego w pow. opatowskim*, „Ziemia” 1938, n° 3, pp. 47–48.

²⁹ J. Pazdur, *Działalność Stanisława Staszica na Kielecczyźnie*, „Małopolskie Studia Historyczne” v. 2, 1959, n° 2/3, pp. 53–74.

³⁰ E. Kowecka, *Wytwórnice...*, p. 52.

was smaller and the local cheap raw material was easily accessible. The condition of Ćmielów manufactory is well illustrated by the 65,000 Polish zloty profit it earned in the year 1851 and the employment of 60 to 100 workers. The good economic situation and the professional management of the manufactory allowed for the construction of a new (wooden) building in 1860 which housed the whole process of production and covering the faience ware in prints and hand painting. However, ownership shifts still occurred, Ćmielów estate lease holders changed frequently and each established a new administration. Additionally, the competition from the local pottery makers and clay excavators destabilised the condition of the Ćmielów porcelain and faience manufactory. Unfortunately, data from the 1760s prove the development of the Ćmielów porcelain manufactory failed to influence the development of the town itself, inhabited mainly by a dwindling agricultural population; the fairs and local markets did not attract buyers and the roads from Bzin to Zawichost³¹ or from Ostrowiec to Ożarów³² did not significantly impact the town or the trade.

The situation changed in 1863 when a merchant from Warsaw, Kazimierz Cybulski, leased the manufactory, extended its range of products and the sales market through multiple exhibitions and prizes for Ćmielów products (Warsaw, Moscow, Petersburg, Paris, Vienna, Florence)³³. The development of the manufactory after the 1869 fire and the construction of the railway (the Ostrowiec station in 1885) increased the number of workers, altered the production profile (replacing faience with porcelain and stoneware), and stimulated work on the manufactory's own decorative designs (e.g., the motifs of Polish towns and folk scenes)³⁴. All these activities (including an unsuccessful attempt at introducing the maiolica ware) did not produce the expected financial boom and all the production except

³¹ M. Nestorowicz, *Stan dróg kołowych Królestwa Polskiego*, Warszawa 1913, *passim*; *idem*, *Sprawa drogowa w Polsce*, Warszawa 1923, *passim*; R. Kowalczyk, *Rozwój sieci dróg kołowych w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1815–1918*, „Przegląd Nauk Historycznych” 2004, 3/1, pp. 63–86; J. Krauze, *Obudowie traktów bitych w Królestwie Polskim ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem drogi Warszawa–Kraków*, „Znad Kamiennej”, Biblioteka Skarżyska-Kamiennej 2012, *passim*; T. Suwara, „Drogi Królestwa Polskiego „Kongresowego”, „Drogownictwo” 2019, n° 7–8, pp. 227–234.

³² *Ibidem*.

³³ E. Kowecka, *Wytwórnice...*, p. 52. See the opinion published in *Kurier Warszawski* about the commercial stagnation on the occasion of providing information about the Ćmielów plant, n° 210, 1863, p. 1042.

³⁴ „Biesiada literacka” 1885, n° 17/486, p. 263; „Gazeta Radomska” 1886, n° 3; B. Kołodziejowa, Z.M. Stadnicki, *Zakłady...*, Kraków 1986, p. 20; M. Banaszek, *Dzieje miasta*, p. 45.

for porcelain had ceased in the early 1880s³⁵. Porcelain, despite its popularity among the wealthy and a relatively secure sales market for such luxury goods, was not in mass usage. In 1886, the manufactory was again in the hands of the Drucki-Lubecki family, who invested in infrastructure and staff at the beginning of the 20th century, which led to a substantial development of porcelain production, which in turn has cemented the position of Ćmielów manufactory on the porcelain market in Poland until today³⁶.

The above instances of the two urban centres in the 19th century, located in the widely understood area “between the Vistula and Pilica rivers”, seem to be informative. Due to space constraints and the scope of the issue in question, only some characteristics of the economic history of both the places have been considered. Firstly, the choice depended on the chronological and methodological assumptions defined in the outline of the volume. Secondly, these two instances have been chosen as both the estates belonged to private owners, who were among the most affluent and significant families in the region and the country at the time, i.e., in the beginning of the 19th century; the history of both the estates, with their knightly and then magnate properties, reached back over several hundred years. Last but not least, their economic growth depended on one dominating sector (stone excavation, its processing and sale, and pottery/ceramics). They also seem appropriate instances due to their evolving ownership and economic relations in the 19th century. Szydłowiec passed into the state ownership after three decades of the 19th century, while Ćmielów remained private until the times of the 2nd Republic. Despite the economic success described above, it would be difficult to confirm that any of them succeeded to the same extent as other towns founded later, such as Starachowice or Skarżysko-Kamienna, or those that sustained their position in the 20th century, such as Końskie or Opatów (their economic and ownership histories are similar to the ones discussed here). Hence, some conclusions should be drawn and a working hypothesis supported with facts should be presented.

It may be assumed that both these towns lacked leverage which the railway brought in the 1880s and 1890s to the broadly understood area between the Vistula and Pilica rivers, especially in the case of major railway junctions in Bzin (later Skarżysko-Kamienna), Starachowice, Ostrowiec, and Końskie. The instance of Kamienna is the most instructive. Before situating that major and substantial railway junction at the railway crossing

³⁵ Other initiatives, such as attempts at increasing income by launching a sugar factory in the nearby Brzóstowa in the 1840s, did not bring the expected results, see: J. Ablańowicz, *O cukrowni z buraków w dobrach Ćmielów we wsi Brzostowy*, „Korespondent handlowy, przemysłowy i rolniczy”, n° 37, 1847, pp. 2–3, n° 39, 1847, pp. 1–2.

³⁶ as.cmielow.com.pl/pl/content/6-o-fabryce [accessed: 16 January 2023].

of Iwangrodzko-Dąbrowka line, Kamienna was an insignificant village of little industry. At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, it became a booming industrial, trade and service provider of unusual demographical dynamics. The development of the “old” and “new” town centres also differed in terms of ownership structure. The initial signs of a fast-paced development of Kamienna may be traced in the source material concerning the times after the introduction of land-owning reforms in the 1850s and after abolishing forced labour in the 1860s. The availability of cheap labour and the establishment of small, self-sufficient farms were the most important effects. With its emerging diversified industry, trade and services basing their activities on the presence of the railway station and railway workshops as well as diminishing iron ore workshops and metallurgy, and a booming housing and industrial construction sector, the village of Kamienna attracted thousands of labourers, intelligentsia, traders, and entrepreneurs.

The history of Ćmielów and Szydłowiec in the 19th century took a different path. In both instances, owners and lease holders derived most of their income before the landowning reforms from tithes and alcohol sale and distillation taxes. The forced labour also decisively lowered the costs of Ćmielów products. The ranges for the external market showed little diversity, too. Certainly, investment must have been hindered by the century-old ownership relationships which hampered and hiked the costs of land trade, which blocked cheap and fast investment in the land, the base for fast industrialisation. Last but not least, the already-mentioned rail not only became the “window to the world” for ideas, the exports and imports of goods, but most of all enabled an easy, relatively cheap and fast migration for earning purposes across the region, country, and even the world.

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