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**JERZY DAWIDSON, MERCHANT AND MAGISTRATE
OF OLD WARSAW.
A CONTRIBUTION TO STUDIES ON THE MUNICIPAL
GOVERNMENT OF OLD WARSAW IN THE 18TH CENTURY***

The power elite in cities, its social, professional and religious composition, is an important issue addressed by historians dealing with the history of cities in the Middle Ages and modern times. This is both prosopographical and biographical research devoted to the most important city officials. This area of studies has been developed the most extensively in relation to the cities of Royal Prussia¹. Furthermore, the medieval and early modern municipal government of Krakow has been the subject of studies². For several years now, a programme has been implemented to prepare directories of officials from the most important cities in the Republic of Poland, Silesia and Western Pomerania until the end of the 18th century³.

The issue of the personal composition of the municipal governments of Old and New Warsaw in comparison with other cities of the Polish-Lithuanian

* The article is a translation of the Polish version of the text.

1 *Elity mieszczańskie i szlacheckie Prus Królewskich i Kujaw w XIV-XVIII wieku*. Collection of studies, ed. J. Staszewski, Toruń 1995.

2 See Z. Noga, *Krakowska rada miejska w XVI wieku: studium o elicie władzy*, Kraków 2003.

3 The series included e.g. the following: R. Czaja, *Urzędnicy miejscy Torunia: spisy*, part 1: *Do roku 1454*, Toruń 1999; K. Mikulski, *Urzędnicy miejscy Torunia: spisy*, part 2: *1454-1650*, Toruń 2001; J. Dygdała, *Urzędnicy miejscy Torunia: spisy*, part 3: *1651-1793*, Toruń 2002; M. Goliński, J. Maliniak, *Urzędnicy miejscy Świdnicy do 1740 r.*, Toruń 2007; Z. Noga, *Urzędnicy miejscy Krakowa*, part 2, *1500-1794*, Kraków 2008; R. Czaja, *Urzędnicy miejscy Elbląga do 1524 roku*, Elbląg 2010; K. Mikulski, *Urzędnicy miejscy Elbląga w latach 1524-1772*, Elbląg 2010; M. Wyżga, *Urzędnicy miejscy Bochni do 1772 roku*, Toruń 2018.

Commonwealth in the Middle Ages and modern times has not been studied in a comprehensive manner. The aforementioned series did not include a list of city officials⁴. The most advanced studies concern the operation of the municipal authorities in the latter half of the 18th century. This research was initiated by Władysław Smoleński, who, in his work on the Warsaw burghers at the end of that century, listed the most important bourgeois families and pointed to their family and professional ties⁵. The research was continued by e.g. Jerzy Michalski, Krystyna Zienkowska and Zofia Niedziałkowska-Korzon⁶. The biographies of three mayors of Old Warsaw have been prepared; these were Wojciech Lobert⁷, Jan Dekert⁸ and Tadeusz Wyssogota Zakrzewski⁹. Historians were interested in the related issues of the city system and functioning of the municipal government of Old and New Warsaw as well as in the outlying settlements (so-called *jurydyka*)¹⁰. Taking into account the current state of research and available archival records, research on the Warsaw power elite in the first and second half of the 18th century is still greatly needed.

This article is devoted to Jerzy Józef Dawidson, a merchant and elder magistrate in Old Warsaw. The name of this distinguished townsman repeatedly appears on the pages of municipal documents but so far he has not been given due attention to; a mere three short biographies have come out. The first of them was written by Franciszek Maksymilian Sobieszczański¹¹, another one was published in *Słownik Polskich Teologów Katolickich*¹². A very short biography can be found in *Encyklopedia Warszawy*¹³. Dawidson is briefly mentioned by Anna Biegańska in an article dedicated to Scottish merchants active

4 Only a list of officials of Mazovia came out. See A. Supruniuk, *Mazowsze Siemowitów (1341-1462). Dzieje polityczne i struktury władzy*, Warszawa 2010.

5 W. Smoleński, *Mieszczaństwo warszawskie w końcu wieku XVIII*, Warszawa 1976.

6 J. Michalski, "Rola polityczna mieszczaństwa w dobie Sejmu Czteroletniego", *Rocznik Warszawski*, 1965, vol. 7, p. 173-177; K. Zienkowska, *Stawetni i urodzeni: ruch polityczny mieszczaństwa w dobie Sejmu Czteroletniego*, Warszawa 1976; M. Niedziałkowska-Korzon, "Władze miejskie Nowej Warszawy w XVIII wieku (do 1791 r.)", in: *Warszawa XVIII wieku*, issue 3, *Studia Warszawskie*, Warszawa 1975, vol. 22, p. 173-190.

7 H. Szwanowska, "Lobert Wojciech", in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 17, Wrocław 1972.

8 W. Smoleński, *Jan Dekert prezydent i sprawa miejska podczas Sejmu Wielkiego*, Warszawa 1912; K. Zienkowska, *Jan Dekert*, Warszawa 1982.

9 A. Zahorski, *Ignacy Wyssogota Zakrzewski - prezydent Warszawy*, Warszawa 1963.

10 A. Karpiński, "Organizacja i funkcjonowanie władz Starej i Nowej Warszawy w latach 1525-1764. Uwagi o warszawskim samorządzie w epoce nowożytnej", *Rocznik Warszawski*, 2008, vol. 36, p. 143-169; J. Grabowski, "Zarys ustroju i organizacji władz Starej i Nowej Warszawy do końca XVIII w.", in: *Między Zachodem i Wschodem*, vol. VI. *Organizacja władz miejskich na obszarze Pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej i na Śląsku w XIII-XVIII w.*, ed. M. Goliński, K. Mikulski, Toruń 2013, p. 184-218; Z. Rejman, "Jurydyka Leszno w czasach Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego", part I, *Rocznik Warszawski*, 1985, vol. 18, p. 61-119; eadem, "Jurydyka Leszno w czasach Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego", part II, *Rocznik Warszawski*, 1987, vol. 19, p. 5-42; J. Biernacka-Gruszecka, "Władze jurydyki Grzybów (1650-1791)", in: *Warszawa XVIII wieku*, issue 3, *Studia Warszawskie*, vol. 22, ed. J. Koweci, Warszawa 1975, p. 191-211; J. Waszkiewicz, "Jurydyka Bielino", in: *Warszawa XVIII wieku*, *Studia Warszawskie*, vol. 12: issue 1, Warszawa 1972, p. 79-147.

11 F.M. Sobieszczański, "Dawidson Jerzy Józef", in: *Encyklopedia Powszechna S. Orgelbranda*, vol. 6, p. 835.

12 W. Murawiec OFM, "Dawidson Jerzy Józef", in: *Słownik Polskich Teologów Katolickich*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1981, p. 368-369.

13 *Encyklopedia Warszawy*, ed. B. Petrozolin-Skowrońska, Warszawa 1975, p. 109.

in Warsaw in the 17th and the 18th centuries¹⁴. This individual example will present the issue of the openness of the elite of Old Warsaw to people from outside and the possibility of promotion of newcomers in the new environment. It will also contribute to the research on the personal composition and functioning of the municipal government of Old Warsaw in the 18th century.

Jerzy Dawidson was one of the foreigners settling down in Warsaw in the 18th century. The authors of his biographies to date have not conclusively resolved the matter of his origin. According to Kazimierz Władysław Wójcicki, he was either Swedish or Irish¹⁵. According to F.M. Sobieszczański, he was a scion of an Irish family who had settled down in Poland a long time before¹⁶. He himself, receiving the citizenship of Old Warsaw in 1740, represented that he was born in *civitate Inverurie dicta in Anglia sita oriundus*¹⁷. With a high degree of probability, if not certainty, it can be assumed that this is the city of Inverurie, within the borders of today's Scotland. It follows that Jerzy Dawidson was of Scottish origin. When he remembered his homeland, England, he probably meant the United Kingdom of Great Britain founded in 1707¹⁸.

The Anglo-Scottish community, as it is described in the literature on the subject, settling in the modern Commonwealth, has often been an object of historians' interest¹⁹. In the light of previous research, the beginning of mass immigration of Scots and Englishmen to Poland occurred in the first half of the 16th century and lasted until the mid-17th century²⁰. First of all, immigrants reached Royal Prussia and then appeared in other districts of the Republic. Jacek Wijaczka, based on tax data from 1651, established the territorial division of English-Scottish colonies. There were 53 colonies in Royal Prussia, 31 in Wielkopolska, 18 in Małopolska and 17 in Mazovia and Podlasie²¹. The wealthiest representatives of this community obtained citizenship of such cities as Gdańsk, Elbląg, Poznań, Kraków, Lublin, Zamość, and Lviv²². Large Eng-

14 A. Biegańska, "Scottish Merchants and Traders in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth Century Warsaw", *Scottish Slavonic Review*, 1985, vol. 5, p. 25.

15 K.W. Wójcicki, *Cmentarz Powązkowski pod Warszawą*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1855, p. 102.

16 F.M. Sobieszczański, "Dawidson Jerzy Józef"..., p. 835.

17 AGAD, SW 519, k. 76.

18 It was established in the wake of a real union between England and Scotland. In the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the United Kingdom of Great Britain was commonly referred to as England. See E. Rosztworowski, *Wiek XVIII*, Warszawa 2002, p. 218.

19 A. Wejnert, "Prawa i swobody Szkotów w Polsce do końca XVIII wieku", *Gazeta Polska* 1877, p. 20-30; Z. Guldón, L. Stepkowski, "Szkoci i Anglicy w Koronie w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku", *Kieleckie Studia Historyczne*, 1977, vol. 2, p. 31-61; eae, *Ludność szkocka i angielska w Polsce w połowie XVII wieku*, KHKM, 1981, vol. 30, no. 2, p. 201-214; A. Biegańska, *Wielka emigracja Szkotów w Polsce druga połowa XVI-koniec XVII wieku*, Katowice 1974 (doctoral dissertation defended at the University of Silesia); eadem, "The Learned Scots in Poland (From the Mid-Sixteenth to the Close of the Eighteenth Century)", *Canadian Slavonic Papers. Revue Canadienne des Slavistes*, 2001, vol. 43, p. 1-27; P.P. Bajér, *Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 16th-18th Centuries. The Formation and Disappearance of an Ethnic Group*, Boston 2012.

20 J. Wijaczka, *Szkoci*, in: *Pod wspólnym niebem. Narody dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. M. Kopczyński, W. Tygielski, Warszawa 2010, p. 201-214.

21 Ibidem, p. 204.

22 See H. Zins, *Anglia a Bałtyk*, Wrocław 1967; A. Groth, *Kupcy angielscy w Elblągu w latach 1583-1628*, Gdańsk 1986; J. Sadownik, *Szkoci w Lublinie XVII wieku*, Leszno 1937; J. Feduska, *Szkoci i Anglicy w Zamościu w XVI-XVII wieku*, *Czaszy Nowożytnie*, 2009, vol. 22, p. 52.

lish-Scottish groups were set up also in smaller towns, such as Tuchola, Czołp, Wałcz, Łobżenica, Bydgoszcz, Brzeziny, Sieradz, Warka, Zakroczym, Raciąż, Sierpc, Krosno, and Tarnów²³. In the mid-17th century, the English-Scottish population is estimated to number between 800 and over 30,000 people²⁴.

English-Scottish migrants started to arrive in Warsaw in the early 17th c. The few families which settled down in the city were merchants, trading mainly in cloth, wine and beer. Since the mid-17th century burghers of Scottish origin were also members of the Old Warsaw government²⁵. The most recognisable representative of this community was the royal merchant Alexander Chalmers (Aleksander Czamer), Mayor of Old Warsaw between 1697 and 1698²⁶. The same office was held by his son Wilhelm (in the years 1711–1712)²⁷.

The growing political and economic position of Warsaw in the 18th century made the city attractive for immigrants coming from outside the borders of the Commonwealth. The analysis of eighteenth-century admission books to the municipal law of Old Warsaw indicates that foreigners constituted a significant group of new citizens. Clearly dominant were immigrants from the German Reich states, followed by newcomers from France and Italy²⁸. In the case of immigrants from England, on the other hand, during the entire 18th century, two people adopted municipal law. It was merchant Joannes Baxter, who was entered into the town book in 1734 as recommended by merchant Joannes Jaster. In 1740, the citizenship of Old Warsaw was granted to Jerzy Dawidson, who was supported by the then Mayor of Old Warsaw Joannes Benedictus Loupia²⁹.

As far as the estimation of the size of the English-Scottish community in Warsaw is concerned, we can rely on the data presented in the table "Specifying the number of foreigners in Warsaw until November 11, 1792", published in *Korespondent Warszawski*³⁰. A total of 32 men and 13 women from the "English state" were living in Old Warsaw. The data quoted above show that Anglo-Scottish immigrants constituted a small percentage of the population of Warsaw. Importantly, however, the most influential banker of eighteenth-century Warsaw, Piotr Fergusson Tepper, openly admitted his Scottish origin³¹.

The biography provided by *Gazeta Warszawska* indicates that Jerzy Dawidson (b. 1702) came to Poland in 1720. Extant records do not indicate the reasons

23 Z. Guldon, L. Stępkowski, *Ludność szkocka i angielska...*, p. 206.

24 J. Wijaczka, *Szkoci...*, p. 205.

25 A. Kersten, *Warszawa kazimierzowska 1648–1668. Miasto–ludzie–polityka*, Warszawa 1971, p. 146.

26 *Encyklopedia Warszawy*, p. 101.

27 *Ibidem*.

28 See K. Zienkowska, "Obywatelstwo miejskie Starej Warszawy przed Sejmem Czteroletnim (przyjęcia do prawa miejskiego w latach 1745–1788)", in: *Spółeczeństwo polskie XVIII i XIX wieku. Studia o uwarunkowaniu i ruchliwości społecznej*, ed. W. Kula, J. Leskiewiczowa, Warszawa 1970, p. 5–35.

29 AGAD, SW 519, k. 76.

30 *Korespondent Warszawski*, 1792, no. 90, insert.

31 See B. Hensel-Moszczyńska, "Dane do uproszczonej i skróconej genealogii Tepperów-Fergus(s)onów", *Almanach Muzealny*, 2013, vol. 7, p. 65–72; eadem, "Z dziejów warszawskich Tepperów i Fergus(s)onów-Tepperów", *Almanach Muzealny*, 2013, vol. 7, p. 10–32; A. Biegańska, *Scottish Merchants and Traders...* p. 26.

that led him to leave his country of origin and settle permanently in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The motives for Scottish migration to Poland include the difficult economic and political situation in Scotland, religious persecution, but also the spatial mobility characteristic of this population³². Certainly the route was paved before him by numerous English and Scottish immigrants, who via Gdańsk reached other cities of the Commonwealth in the 16th and 17th centuries³³. In the majority of cases, these were the youngest sons of moderately wealthy families. Characteristically, they were between 15 and 16 years of age, which enabled them to take up education in the new country and then engage in craft or commercial activities³⁴. It was probably the same with the young Dawidson. However, the lack of available sources makes it impossible to trace the early stage of his stay in Poland, including his place of education. It is also difficult to determine his possible family ties with Scottish immigrants living in Warsaw.

In 1730 Dawidson started trading in Łowicz³⁵ and in 1736 he moved to Warsaw. This was connected with a watershed event in his life, since at that time he decided to convert to Catholicism³⁶. The event took place in Częstochowa in 1737³⁷. In the first half of the 18th century, Roman Catholicism had a privileged status in Warsaw, therefore access to city citizenship and further to the trade confraternity and guilds was reserved exclusively for Catholic burghers. Purely practical reasons most likely played a role in the decision to change the faith, namely the chance to run a legitimate business. Undoubtedly, however, in the following years Dawidson actively joined the life of the parish at the Collegiate Church of St. John the Baptist, near which he lived. It was his religious involvement that was emphasized in the obituary published in *Gazeta Warszawska* of 8 January 1793: "he was second to none in carrying the umbrella over the Most Holy Sacrament, not only in Church during the Procession, but also when it was carried through the Streets to Jail for the Delinquents"³⁸. Dawidson invoked his conversion in one of his books published at the end of his life:

[...] Glory be to You and infinite gratitude for the entire eighty two years Thou hast powered me; i.e. the Eighteen years in my Homeland and – having guided me through the seas that could have swallowed me to their bottom – had it not been for the Almighty Goodness of Thy angelic Hand which directed the Ship- for the sixty-three years I have spent already in this Foreign Land. Thou hast protected me from

32 See P.P. Bajer, *Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth...* p. 16.

33 Aberdeen was the birthplace of William Davidson (1593–1669), a physician, chemist and botanist connected with the royal court. See A. Birkenmajer, W. Ziembicki, *Davidson William, Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Warszawa 1938, vol. 4, p. 457–458; A. Biegańska, "Andrew Davidson and his descendant in Poland", *Scottish Slavonic Review*, 1988, vol. 10, p. 7–18.

34 P.P. Bajer, *Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth...* p. 135.

35 The extant books of the merchants' guild make no mention of his being admitted as a member. APW, merchant's guild in Łowicz, file no. 318.

36 The absence of historical records does not make it possible to determine his religion before his conversion to Catholicism. Most likely Dawidson was a member of the Evangelical Reformed Church.

37 *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1793, no. 4.

38 Ibidem.

various perils, both related to the soul and the flesh, from the fire that might have burnt me down, from the waters that could have flooded me, from the thieves that could have killed me, from heavy yet unforeseen sicknesses which I have not succumbed to, and above all that Thou hast not let me stay in the faith in which I was born and raised, but Thou hast called me to the true Faith of the Holy Roman Catholic Church, without which no one can be saved³⁹.

Along with his attachment to the Catholic faith, Dawidson emphasized his strong ties with his country of origin. After sixty years in exile, he spoke out unequivocally: "I am on my way and expect any day now to reach another homeland, alas not England I was born in, but the eternal Homeland I have been born to"⁴⁰. Poland, where he spent all his adult life, was called by him "a foreign country" and "a foreign land". In none of the preserved texts did he describe it as his new home country. Nevertheless, he undoubtedly quickly blended in with the Warsaw community, as he signed the city documents using the Polish version of his name, Jerzy. He was also proficient in using the Polish language in writing⁴¹.

The initial stage of his career in Warsaw was the admission of Jerzy Dawidson to the Archconfraternity of Letters, a religious fraternity affiliated at the Collegiate Church of St. John the Baptist⁴². In the 18th century, the fraternity focused on charity and social activities. In 1737, as can be seen from a copy of the files of the Warsaw Chapter, he was elected the treasurer of the fraternity and held the position until the end of his life⁴³. The fraternity's patrons were Kings Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki and John III Sobieski, and its members included numerous high-ranking clergy and lay people, most likely also citizens of Old Warsaw⁴⁴. His membership in this most important religious association in Warsaw certainly made it easier for him to attain further honours and offices.

Four years after he became a citizen of Old Warsaw, in 1744, Jerzy Dawidson was the first time chosen the elder of the Warsaw merchant confraternity. This means that he enjoyed trust of the city's major merchants of the day. He held this office until 1751. He was the elder in the years 1762–1764 and 1768–1770⁴⁵. Achieving this position was certainly prestigious and could have helped in his further career as an official in the Old Warsaw Municipality. It is important to note that the older members of the confraternity were the future

39 *Nabozenstwo codzienne, osobiwiew w piątek, do cudownego Pana Jezusa Ukrzyzowanego [...] w Kollegiacie s. Jana [...] do druku podane piąty raz*, Warszawa 1784.

40 *Ibidem*.

41 Researchers point out the quick assimilation of the Scots settling down in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. See P.P. Bajer, *Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth...*, b p. 16.

42 APW, Zbiór Korotyńskich, file no. 72/201/0/9/3.

43 AP Łódź, Archiwum rodziny Bartoszewiczów, file no. 746. Copy from the file of the Warsaw Chapter of 1841; AGAD, WE 23, k. 176; on the title page of the book *Nabozenstwo z Krótką Nauką...* published in 1780 Jerzy Dawidson signed himself as a junior magistrate and treasurer of the Archconfraternity of Letters.

44 *Encyklopedia Warszawy*, p. 26; J. Bartoszewicz, *Kościół warszawskie rzymsko-katolickie opisane pod względem historycznym*, Warszawa 1855, p. 19–20.

45 A. Zaleski, *Konfraternia kupiecka miasta Starej Warszawy*, Warszawa 1913, p. 139–140.

presidents of the city: Franciszek Witthoff, Wojciech Lobert, Jan Dekert, and Józef Łukaszewicz⁴⁶.

In 1747 Jerzy Dawidson was elected one of the junior magistrates (*viginti viri*)⁴⁷. Apart from the city councillors and the aldermen, these were the third group (college of magistrates) making up the municipal government of Old Warsaw⁴⁸. Initially the college of magistrates was composed of 12 people; as of 1560 of 20 persons. Junior magistrates took part in the decision-making process and in the audit of the financial policy carried out by the borough council. According to the municipal electoral law of Old Warsaw, magistrates, like councillors and aldermen, were appointed for life; their office was a stepping stone towards a further career development of a city official. When a junior magistrate was advanced to the group of aldermen, an election of his successor had to be held. A candidate had to receive the recommendation of the council, which submitted a number of candidacies for the magistrates to choose from⁴⁹. This procedure was likewise applied to merchant Jerzy Dawidson.

At that time, the elder magistrate was Stanisław Szymański, senior of the fishermen's guild⁵⁰. In case of his absence, he appointed a substitute delegate. In 1755 Dawidson was such a substitute⁵¹. As of 1765 he held this office alternating with Jan Gidelski, Szymon Gabryszewski (Gabryszewicz)⁵², Laurenty Czempiński, and Kazimierz Martinkowski⁵³. In 1769 the college of junior magistrates submitted to the city government two candidacies for the position of an elder. As was stressed in the public announcement, "in recognition of the merits of His Honourable Jerzy Dawidson happily experienced in this city for a good many years"⁵⁴, it was he who received the recommendation and was elected elder magistrate. He took the appropriate oath prior to assuming office.

In 1789 Dawidson, at that time 87 years of age, presented during a public appearance a statement where he appointed Andrzej Plath as his deputy, a substitute elder magistrate, a merchant from Royal Prussia⁵⁵. The candidacy was univocally adopted and the candidate was sworn in. At the same time a reservation was made that following Dawidson's death, an election will be held for the office of the elder magistrate, while A. Plath, if he was promoted to the group of the city aldermen, would not obstruct the appointment of a new deputy elder magistrate⁵⁶. A decision was moreover taken to increase the remuneration of the elder⁵⁷. In recognition for all the work performed for the sake of the city, his salary of 1,000

46 Ibidem, p. 139–141.

47 AGAD, WE 540, k. 201.

48 See J. Ptański, *Miasta i mieszczaństwo w dawnej Polsce*, Kraków 1934, p. 132.

49 S. Ehrenkreutz, *Z dziejów organizacji miejskiej Starej Warszawy*, Warszawa 1913, p. 11, 17–18.

50 AGAD, SW 519, k. 74. He became a citizen of Old Warsaw in 1739.

51 AGAD, WE 541, k. 56.

52 S. Gabryszewski was a glazer. AGAD, SW 518, k. 8.

53 AGAD, WE 541, k. 285, 286, 295, 299.

54 Ibidem, k. 309.

55 He became a citizen of Old Warsaw in 1786.

56 AGAD, WE 7, k. 72v.

57 It was justified as follows: "the honourable Jerzy Dawidson, an elder magistrate of a few dozen years, performed his office with dignity and now has been defeated by ill fortune and old age". Ibidem, k. 72v.

Polish zlotys was to be supplemented by an additional 500 zlotys from the city coffers. A life stipend was established in the amount of 500 zlotys for his wife Agnieszka (Latin Agnes), which she was to receive upon her husband's death. That very year Dawidson once more exercised his right to nominate a deputy elder magistrate. Andrzej Plath, who became an alderman, was succeeded by saddler Michał Sperl from Moravia, indicated by Dawidson⁵⁸. Since 1790, the office of deputy elder magistrate was held also by Jan Ludwik Koch⁵⁹. In 1791 Wenceslaw Karer was deputy elder magistrate⁶⁰, while Michał Sperl became an alderman⁶¹. A year later, in connection with the activity of the Targowica Confederation, the composition of the Old Town magistrate was restored to that from before the changes introduced by the Four-Year Parliament. Elected members of individual districts were required to take an oath before taking office⁶². Jerzy Dawidson wanted to take this oath in connection with his re-election as elder magistrate, but was unable to arrive at the Town Hall for health reasons. It follows from the contents of public announcements that he continued to appear at some sessions of the city government, yet due to his advanced age his duties were increasingly performed by deputy elder magistrate Wenceslaw Karer⁶³. After Dawidson's death, on 29 January 1793, in line with the municipal electoral law, elections for the senior magistrate took place. Out of two candidates, Jan Ludwik Koch was elected and Wenceslaw Karer became a fire order officer⁶⁴.

Even a cursory examination of Old Warsaw's city records allows us to see Dawidson's robust activity in taking care of the city's interests. It seems that this involvement in fulfilling the duties of a city official relegated his business to the background. This would explain the small number of references to his activity as a merchant. Information appearing in the Warsaw press mentions Dawidson's sales of his own books but provides no evidence to imply that he owned a retail store⁶⁵. His name does not appear in customs documentation from the period 1765–1766⁶⁶. It is therefore most likely that he was not involved in international trade. Nor was he listed among the most important Warsaw merchants in 1791⁶⁷. Krystyna Zienkowska's studies show that other members of Old Warsaw government also valued work benefiting the city more than the profits they could reap from their trade⁶⁸.

It follows from the contents of public announcements that Jerzy Dawidson was an active elder magistrate and took part in the resolution of many issues

58 Ibidem, k. 80.

59 Ibidem, k. 86v, 105, 111v.

60 Ibidem, k. 123, 126, 130.

61 AGAD, WE 544, k. 7.

62 Por. W. Smoleński, *Miejszczaństwo warszawskie...*, p. 195–196.

63 AGAD, WE 544, k. 4, 6, 8.

64 Ibidem, k. 26.

65 *Wiadomości Warszawskie*, 1766, no. 101.

66 B. Grochulska, *Warszawa na mapie Polski stanisławowskiej. Podstawy gospodarcze rozwoju miasta*, Warszawa 1986, p. 137–144.

67 AGAD, SW 332, k. 589.

68 K. Zienkowska, *Jan Dekert...*, p. 146.

of vital importance from the point of view of the city's interest. Researchers of the eighteenth-century history of Warsaw associate his name primarily with the household and population census he prepared in 1754. Various studies call it Dawidson's census. The decision to conduct the census, which was to be the basis for determining the poll tax, was made during the meeting of the Old Warsaw government on 1 March 1751. Initially, neither Dawidson nor Kozłowski were among the junior magistrates elected to perform the task⁶⁹. Most likely those entrusted with it did not fulfil their job properly and therefore Dawidson was tasked to step in⁷⁰.

Each of the three institutions of the Old Warsaw self-government had a defined scope of competence. Twice a year, the Old Warsaw government chose poll tax collectors (March and September instalments) from among the magistrates. In 1750, appointed to collect the March instalment were Jerzy Dawidson and Stanisław Szymański. The former was later called to submit accounts of levying the tax. The matter dragged on until 1753, when a second election of councillors and aldermen to listen to the report on the levying of the tax was to take place. The matter had most likely a positive outcome since the following year Dawidson was elected to collect the March instalment of the poll tax (along with junior magistrate Piotr Kaliński). In 1755 he submitted to the councillors a report on his activities. Relevant documents were sent to the city archives. Once more, this time with merchant Jakub Kemzer, Dawidson was elected in 1759 to collect the September instalment of the poll tax. The next year the junior magistrates submitted a report to the delegation of the councillors, aldermen and junior magistrates⁷¹.

Since his nomination as junior magistrate, Dawidson was entrusted with a number of other major tasks. In 1755, along with a trustee, he was paid to seek documents concerning Szulczyk (Solec) in the economic ledgers kept in the city archives. In 1757 he was elected a member of a delegation of representatives of all three tiers of municipal government to settle the dispute with the Carmelite Order in accordance with the interests of the city. The following year the municipality elected a delegation composed of aldermen Józef Putschur and Jan Hoeker and junior magistrates Jerzy Dawidson and Michał Rother to audit municipal property in Solec, where some vendors stored timber and other goods on undeveloped city plots and sands on the Vistula River. The magistrates were to inspect the timber warehouses, with a view to levying taxes on them. They were compensated for this work from the city treasury. In 1761, they were called upon to transfer the rent collected at that time. The following year Jerzy Dawidson became a member of the deputation appointed

69 AGAD, WE 541, k. 13.

70 As the municipal government admitted, the census was carried out "with the highest effort and utmost diligence"; Dawidson's remuneration for the work amounted to 12 red zlotys from the first collection of the poll tax. AGAD, WE 541, k. 74. More on the subject of the census in historical research see B. Grochulska, "Statystyka ludnościowa Warszawy w drugiej połowie XVIII w.", *Przegląd Historyczny*, 1954, vol. 45, p. 588.

71 AGAD, WE 541, k. 10, 21, 43, 61, 65, 95, 99.

to audit the accounts related to the administration of the city powder house, which was managed by alderman Jan Christian Walter. In 1764, Dawidson participated in the work of the deputation whose task was to determine the amount of public tax. It was to help erect a triumphal gate for the entry to Warsaw of King Stanislaus Augustus⁷².

The elder magistrate convened and presided over meetings of the magistrates' college. In his official capacity, the elder magistrate was often appointed as a delegate of the municipality to resolve specific urban issues, e.g. the supervision of property under the jurisdiction of Old Warsaw and the control of municipal income and expenses. In 1772 Jerzy Dawidson was elected to a delegation who was to hear the report on the activities of the Economic Office and then audit the accounts related to the construction of dykes around the city. In the same year he participated in the efforts to restore the jurisdiction of Old Warsaw over the Strubicz estate⁷³.

One of the sources of financing the city's expenses were loans granted by private individuals. In 1772 Dawidson offered the municipality 10,000 zlotys, which went to meet the needs of the city and was secured against municipal property⁷⁴. In 1773 the elder magistrate was a member of a delegation for talks with Andrzej Stanisław Młodziejowski, the Grand Chancellor of the Crown, to restore the city's right to sell gunpowder. The delegation tasked with the revision of the municipal property in the vicinity of the city brick factory was set up in the same year. It was composed of Mayor Wojciech Lobert, councillors Jan Christian Walter and Jan Gidelski, elder councillor Stanisław Mietelski, and elder magistrate Jerzy Dawidson⁷⁵. In 1775 the elder magistrate participated in drafting a manifesto submitted to the city acts against the idea of taxing Old Warsaw citizens for the sake of Russian army barracks. The following year Dawidson took part in the drafting of the tax tariff for city hall police and municipal services⁷⁶. At the same time, a deputation was appointed with his participation to find a place to build a city slaughterhouse after Old Warsaw was granted this right by the Permanent Council⁷⁷. In 1787 Dawidson took part in the drafting of a new poll tax tariff; a new list of properties and their owners was compiled for this purpose⁷⁸.

In 1777 riots broke out among the apprentices of different guilds active in Warsaw. The upheavals were triggered by the arrest of 206 apprentice tailors of German extraction by marshal guards. The Germans demanded the setting up of their own inn, separate from that available for Polish apprentices⁷⁹. During a public session of the Old Warsaw government, convened to reduce the

72 Ibidem, k. 60, 74, 90-91, 120, 134, 169.

73 AGAD, WE 542, k. 9-10.

74 Ibidem, k. 20v.

75 Ibidem, k. 46, 58.

76 Ibidem, k. 96v, 134v.

77 Ibidem, k. 212, 214.

78 AGAD, WE 7, k. 51.

79 AGAD, WE 6, k. 771.

tension, Jerzy Dawidson and the entire college of magistrates (as plenipotentiaries of all guilds) submitted concrete demands to the councillors and aldermen. They boiled down to the release of the tailor apprentices from the marshal's prison. They detainees moreover objected to the form of punishment, as they were arrested in the street with the use of force, which was against the articles of the tailors' guild statutes⁸⁰.

In 1775, by virtue of the judgment of the Assessors' Court, inhabitants of the Warsaw cities of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession and of the Evangelical Reformed Church obtained the right to the citizenship of Old and New Warsaw on a par with that of Catholics. Dawidson participated in the ongoing talks between the representatives of the magistrate and the Grand Chancellor of the Crown Andrzej Stanisław Młodziejowski on the conditions under which the court's decision was to be implemented. That year the elder magistrate, apart from councillors Jan Gidelski and Antoni Różański and senior alderman Stanisław Mietelski, took part in the drafting of an agreement with the bookseller Michał Gröll to grant him an exclusive right to hold public auctions in the city⁸¹.

Another type of cases in which Jerzy Dawidson was involved should also be mentioned. In 1771 he was tasked with organizing a service of thanksgiving in St. John's Collegiate Church for rescuing the king from the hands of kidnappers during the Bar Confederation. Members of the city government and guilds were to attend the mass. At that time the tolling of bells of the monastery churches was to be heard⁸².

The content of the city's announcements indicates that the Old Town government financially supported the widows of deceased officials. In 1772 the municipality granted the request of alderman Jan Wiśniewski, who due to poverty could not bury his deceased wife, and via Jerzy Dawidson earmarked for this purpose one hundred zlotys⁸³.

An important task of the City Hall was to take care of the interests of the city, especially in situations of political crises in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. At that time, deputations were appointed, composed of representatives of councillors, aldermen and magistrates, meant to develop the position of the city authorities on specific matters. In 1774, a deputation was appointed (e.g. with Dawidson) to hold negotiations with the Grand Chancellor of the Crown and the Marshal of the General Confederation⁸⁴. Such actions were also taken in connection with the convening of the Sejm. In 1786, Old Town authorities appointed persons, including Jerzy Dawidson, to secure the rights and privileges of the town in the context of Jewish settlement⁸⁵.

During the Four-Year Parliament, Warsaw was the centre of political events. According to K. Zienkowska, in 1788 "the ferment of minds, the mood of excite-

80 AGAD, WE 542, k. 184.

81 AGAD, WE 542, k. 116, 120v.

82 Ibidem, k. 5.

83 Ibidem, k. 15.

84 Ibidem, k. 76.

85 AGAD, WE 7, k. 44.

ment and hope particularly strong in Warsaw, the political, cultural and administrative capital of the country, was shared by the Warsaw bourgeoisie”⁸⁶. A month before the deputies and senators started proceeding, the City Hall of Old Warsaw appointed a twelve-person deputation, more numerous than usual, to prepare a draft document listing the city’s demands. The Memorial and other letters prepared at that time were to be printed and distributed during the sessions of the Sejm⁸⁷. The delegation was composed of: Mayor of Old Warsaw Wojciech Lobert, councillors Jan Dekert, Andrzej Rafałowicz, Antoni Chevalier, Józef Łukaszewicz, Józef Rzempełuski, Stanisław Rafałowicz, Franciszek Makarowicz as well as junior magistrates Jerzy Dawidson, Antoni Zader, Andrzej Plath, and Michał Sperl. Extant written records do not allow one to trace the work of the deputation and learn about the dominant opinions of its members, especially those aired by the elder magistrate Jerzy Dawidson. In the following years, due to his frail health, he could no longer actively participate in the endeavours undertaken by the members of the Old Warsaw government to gain support for the urban affairs of ministers, senators and deputies coming to the Sejm, but he participated in the sessions of the city government when important decisions were made, e.g. to send letters to local governments of the major cities of the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, calling on them to send delegates to Warsaw⁸⁸.

Jerzy Dawidson was one of the four elders of the college of magistrates in the 18th c. The first one was Jan Jaster, a merchant from Poznań, granted citizenship of Old Warsaw in 1698, recommended by Laurentius Ehenowicz, elder of the college of magistrates⁸⁹. He was elder magistrate between 1718 and 1738, until he was advanced to the group of aldermen. Jan Wiśniowski (Wiśniewski)⁹⁰ was elder magistrate between 1738 and 1753, except the years 1745–1747, when Jan Heokier held the position. In 1754 both became aldermen. Then Stanisław Szymański became elder magistrate and held the office until 1769⁹¹. In line with the municipal law, an absent elder was substituted by his deputy. This position was held, according to public announcements, by the following magistrates: Adam Głowacki, Bartłomiej Szpakowski, Hiacynt Uziemski, and Józef Gierczyński. This shows that the office of a senior magistrate was held for a longer time. It was a starting point for a further career of a city official. Unlike his predecessors, Jerzy Dawidson held the office until his death. Contrary to the information provided by the authors of his brief bio-notes, he was not advanced to the group of aldermen⁹².

86 K. Zienkowska, *Jan Dekert...*, p. 143.

87 Ibidem, k. 61v.

88 Ibidem, k. 71.

89 AGAD, WE 746, k. 174.

90 J. Wiśniowski was entered into the *Album civium* of Old Warsaw in 1730, recommended by Wilhelm Czamer, City Mayor. The record does not specify his profession.

91 In 1739 he became the citizen of Old Warsaw on recommendation of councillor Mathias Kostrzewski. The record does not specify his profession.

92 One historical record has survived where Jerzy Dawidson was called an alderman. In the register of baptisms of the parish of St. John, in a record from 1787, he was called a *senior scabinus*. This was most likely a mistake on the part of the scrivener of the parish chancellery. See the register of baptisms of the parish of St. John from the years 1783–1790, k. 186.

Further detailed research on the composition of the Old Town magistrate will provide an answer to the question of the factors that foster the achievement of successive levels of civil servants' careers by those admitted to the college of magistrates. We can point to careers of people not born in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania who moved up the career ladder and were elected councillors, such as Jan Christian Walter, a baker from Magdeburg⁹³. However, merchant Georgius Kemzer from Bavaria, who was elected a junior magistrate in 1758, did not get promoted⁹⁴. Neither did Joannes Georgius Porn, a baker from Bavaria, admitted to this body in 1738⁹⁵.

Certainly, being a member of the Old Warsaw government and moving up the career ladder in the civil service depended to a large extent on family connections. The careers of the representatives of the following families may serve as examples: Witthoff (the founder of the family, Gerard, was in 1691 city mayor, just like his son Franciszek), Loupia (Józef Benedykt Loupia was the city mayor), Andrychowicz (first Franciszek Andrychowicz and then Paweł Andrychowicz were elected city mayors). Against this background, a spectacular career was made by Jan Dekert, a merchant from Bledzew, who went through all levels of the civil service career, crowned with his becoming Mayor of Old Warsaw in 1789. A review of the names of the Old Town's councillors and aldermen indicates that it was a group to which access was significantly limited. Its members were linked by family and professional ties which can be traced in part in the register of baptisms of the parish of St. John the Baptist.

For this reason, it is worth checking out the family and social conflicts of Jerzy Dawidson. In the light of the books of admissions to the municipal law of Old Warsaw, throughout the period of public activity, he recommended eighteen persons applying for citizenship. The recommendations were principally related to his senior position in the merchant confraternity and then elder magistrate. The group of persons recommended by him was dominated by merchants from Warsaw and also foreign nationals. These included merchants from Bavaria Joannes Georgius Kemzer⁹⁶ and Georgius Bauhoffer⁹⁷ as well as Joannes Georgius Kryner⁹⁸, from Saxony – Christianus Bezold⁹⁹ and from Bohemia – Benedictus Kreybich¹⁰⁰. The recommended individuals included also a merchant from Italy Filipus Antonius Campion¹⁰¹ and Joannes Rautenstrauch from Warsaw¹⁰². Data obtained from municipal records supplement the information contained in the register of baptisms of the Collegiate Church of St. John the Baptist. Dawidson's name as a witness to the nuptial cer-

93 AGAD, WE 543, k. 74v.

94 AGAD, WE 541, k. 90.

95 AGAD, WE 540, k. 139.

96 AGAD, SW 520, k. 80.

97 AGAD, WE 747, k. 215.

98 Ibidem, k. 86v.

99 AGAD, WE 749, k. 68.

100 AGAD, WE 748, k. 6.

101 AGAD, WE 747, k. 85.

102 Ibidem, k. 23.

emony¹⁰³ and as godfather¹⁰⁴ can be repeatedly found. However, It should be emphasized that the list of names in the church records does not contain those most influential in the Warsaw community, including the members of the Old Warsaw government. An exception to the rule was Joannes Jaster, elder magistrate, a closer friend of Jerzy Dawidson's, as witnessed by the fact that Dawidson was Jaster's daughter's godfather. The ceremony took place in 1746, i.e. in the year preceding the admission of Dawidson into the group of junior magistrates¹⁰⁵. Because of Dawidson's own experience, we may mention that in 1787 he took part in the ceremony of baptism of the Jew Godefrid Michael Joseph Lebrecht¹⁰⁶.

Not without significance for the assessment of Jerzy Dawidson's position is the fact that he did not acquire his own property in the city. In none of the surviving censuses of residents of Old Warsaw and its suburbs does his name appear as a property owner. According to the 1754 census, the merchant and his wife lived in Świętojańska Street in a tenement house belonging to Dorota Rybczyńska, the wife of Andrzej Franciszek Cichocki, Crown Metricant and Royal Secretary¹⁰⁷. In 1792, in turn, he lived in a brick tenement house, the property of the Warsaw Chapter, at 76 Jezuicka Street. The record mentioned him, his wife and domestic servants (one man and three women)¹⁰⁸. It is worth

103 In 1743, along with Antonius Michciński, he was the best man at the wedding ceremony of Lutheran Jan Koch and Marianna Mościcka. In 1763, along with merchant Jacob Kemzer, he was the best man at the wedding ceremony of merchant Gregorius Rauscher from Bavaria and Friderika Helmin, and in 1764 at the wedding of Andrzej Kanarkiewicz and Marianna (along with Mathias Taliński). In 1767 he was the best man at the wedding ceremony of Stanisław Bobrowski and Ewa Żurkowska (along with Kazimierz Dobrowolski), and in 1786 at the wedding of Palus Casasopr and Barbara Bianka (along with Josephus Amodio). That very year he took part in the wedding of Mathias Szymański and Christina Gwiazdowska, Jan Haweman's daughter. Register of weddings of the parish of St. John the Baptist from the years 1740–1750, k. 63; from the years 1762–1764, k. 60, 86, 184; from 1785, k. 129, 149.

104 In 1744 he took part in the christening of Carol Ludvic and Marianna Likander's son, in 1745 in the christening of Thomas Rzecznik and Marianna's daughter and of Mathias Kozuborski and Anna's son. In 1746 he was the godfather of the child of Adam Dachnowski, a theologian of the Warsaw seminary. In 1748 the christening of Franciszek de Paul's daughter took place, and in 1749 Dawidson was the godfather of Michał Gadowski and Marianna's son. In 1772 he was the godfather of Andreas Kanarkiewicz and Marianna's daughter (the godmother was Anna Kornikiewiczowa). In 1785 he took part in the baptism of Jakub Wołosowicz and Teresa's son (the godmother was Marianna Offmanowa). That very year he was the godfather of Michał Filklewicz and Margareta's daughter (the godmother was Anna Keyserowa) and of Franciszek Rzewuski and Agneta's son (the godmother was Marianna Fontana). In 1786, during the baptism of Michał Krzywicki and Katarzyna's son, the godparents were Jerzy Dawidson and Marianna Wiadrowska. In 1787 Dawidson was the godfather of Simon Keshoffer (the godmother was Marianna Iwanowska). That very year he was the godfather of Ignacy Szrezycki and Clara's daughter (the godmother was Barbara Oswaldowa). In 1789 he was the godfather of Franciszek Rzewuski's daughter with Filipina Braunowa. Register of baptisms of the parish of St. John the Baptist from the years 1744–1747, k. 4, 106, 138, 189; from the years 1747–1751, k. 22, 84; from the years 1771–1772, k. 375; from the years 1783–1790, k. 92, 96, 105, 127, from the years 1783–1790, k. 186, 222, 318.

105 Register of baptisms of the parish of St. John the Baptist from the years 1744–1747, k. 143.

106 Apart from him, in attendance at the ceremony were Enerentina Gastell, Regina Tremo and Josephus Oswald, treasurer of St. Benno's Fraternity. Register of baptisms of the parish of St. John the Baptist from the years 1783–1790, k. 218.

107 Apart from the landlords, two servants were registered at this location. See *Źródła do dziejów Warszawy: rejestry podatkowe i taryfy nieruchomości Warszawa 1510–1770*, wyd. A. Berdecka, Warszawa 1964, p. 397.

108 AGAD, WE 15, k. 15.

noting especially that every new citizen of Old Warsaw pledged to purchase real estate in the area under city jurisdiction. Accepting citizenship, acquiring real estate and paying taxes were treated as tangible signs of a permanent bond between the new citizen and the city. In practice, however, due to the rising costs of real estate and the attendant tax burdens, many new citizens of Old Warsaw did not meet this obligation. This was the case with Warsaw Lutherans, many of whom rented rather than purchased real estate. According to municipal sources, this also applied to foreigners arriving in the city, who, despite having acquired Old Town citizenship, were reluctant to invest in real estate¹⁰⁹.

Jerzy Dawidson warrants attention not only because of his activity as the magistrate of Old Warsaw, but also due to his authorship of eight religious booklets¹¹⁰. This was absolutely unique in the entire Old Warsaw government in the latter half of the 18th c. The publications allow us to get to know the views of the author, an active participant in events connected with the nascent bourgeois political movement, symbolised by the black procession of 1789.

Dawidson's first book came out in 1755 in the publishing house of the Piarist Fathers in Warsaw. The title was *Kalwaria w Ujazdowie pod Warszawą przez Augusta Wtórego wystawiona* [Calvary in Ujazdów near Warsaw erected by Augustus the Second]¹¹¹. He dedicated it to King Augustus III, the founder of the calvary in Ujazdów n. Warsaw. The book included reflections on the Passion and Death of the Lord at 27 chapels. His second publication comes from the very same period. It was titled *Sposób, jak nabożnie obchodzić groby na wielki piątek na pamiątkę Grobu Jerozolimskiego* [The way of a pious visitation of the tombs of the Lord, commemorating the Jerusalem Sepulchre]¹¹². In 1762 a prayer book came out titled *Okręt płynący po burzliwym morzu świata... to jest nauka o modlitwie, życiu dobrym i szczęśliwej śmierci...* [A ship traversing the tempestuous sea of the world... an instruction about prayer, good life and happy death]¹¹³. Three years later, the publishing house of the Jesuits in Warsaw printed Dawidson's book dedicated to the merchants' confraternity: *Katechizm albo nauka chrześcijańska nie tylko świeckim ale y pannom zakonnym, także y plebanom wielce bardzo pożyteczny teraz dla pożytku Dusz*

109 More on the purchase of property by new citizens see K. Zienkowska, *Obywatelstwo miejskie Starej Warszawy...*, p. 13.

110 K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia Polska*, vol. 9. <https://www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl> [access: 16 VIII 2019].

111 *Kalwaria w Ujazdowie pod Warszawą albo pamiątka męki y śmierci Zbawiciela Pana naszego Jezusa Chrystusa. Przez Augusta Wtórego dla rozmyślenia tajemnic Męki Pańskiej na wzór Kalwarii Jerozolimskiej wystawiona, a ku wiekopomnej pamiątce ... szczeniobliwosci ... Augusta III ufundowana. W dwudziestu siedmiu tajemnicach z tekstami Pisma S., Warszawa 1755.*

112 *Sposób jak nabożnie obchodzić groby na Wielki Piątek na pamiątkę onego Grobu Jerozolimskiego, do którego Chrystus Pan po śmierci swojej był złożony. Oraz nauka o tajemnicy Grobu Chrystusa Pana z Pisma Świętego*, [no date and no place of publication].

113 *Okręt płynący po burzliwym morzu świata tego do portu szczęśliwej wieczności, to jest nauka o modlitwie, o życiu dobrym y szczęśliwej śmierci etc. Modlitwy ranne, y wieczorne, nabożeństwo do Pana Jezusa, dla podróżnego Nauka o pokucie, spowiedzi, y komunii, obieranie stanu, na którym zawisła cała wieczność, y wiele innych nauk y modlitw, zgoda wszystko co należy do prawdziwego katolika; aby był zbawiony, Warszawa 1762.*

Chrześcijańskich [Catechism or Christian teaching not only for the laity but also for religious virgins as well as for parish priests, most beneficial for Christian Souls]¹¹⁴. The fifth book, published in 1766, was *Nabożeństwo codzienne, a osobliwie w Piątek do Cudownego Pana Jezusa Ukrzyżowanego, w Kaplicy Kolegiaty S. Jana Warszawskiej, Uwagi przedniejszych Taiemnic Męki Pańskiej przez cały tydzień na Stacye podzielone* [Daily service, especially on Friday to the Miraculous Crucified Jesus in the Chapel of the Collegiate of St. John in Warsaw; Remarks on the first Mysteries of the Passion of the Lord, divided into Stations of the entire week]. The book, along with the image of the Crucified Jesus, was available in Jerzy Dawidson's shop¹¹⁵. Subsequent editions of the book came out in the following years. The last, fifth one, from 1784, was revised and extended¹¹⁶. This edition was dedicated to the "Highest King of Kings, of Heaven and Earth, the Living and the Dead, the Judge God and the Saviour Jesus Christ". Probably an abridged version of this booklet titled *Krotkie nabożeństwo codzienne* [A short daily service] came out, too¹¹⁷. Dawidson's last book coming out in print in 1780 was *Nabożeństwo z krótką nauką dla braci Archikonfraterni Literackiej Niepokalnego Poczęcia Nayprzedostojniejszej Maryi Panny w kaplicy kolegiaty warszawskiej świętego Jana oraz dla zbawienego pożytku wszystkich wiernych...* [A service with a short instruction for the brethren of the Archconfraternity of Letters of the Immaculate Conception of the Most Holy Virgin Mary in the chapel of the Warsaw collegiate of St. John, for the salvific benefit of all the faithful]¹¹⁸. Jerzy Dawidson was moreover the author of a publication which has not survived: *Postrzeżenia meteorologiczne wraz z notami szczególnych zdarzeń w Warszawie* [Meteorological observations with notes on particular events in Warsaw]¹¹⁹.

Jerzy Dawidson's books are on the one hand typical religious texts, stressing the importance of faith in a person's life and encouraging regular religious practice. They no doubt testify to the author's profound piety. On the other hand, Dawidson included there much more than one might expect judging solely from the titles of the publications. The introduction of the *Catechism or Christian teaching* was addressed to "the Confraternity of Merchants of the

114 *Katechizm albo Nauka chrześcijańska, nietylko świeckim ale i pannom zakonnym także y plebanom wielce bardzo pożyteczny teraz dla pożytku Dusz Chrześcijańskich do druku podany*, Warszawa 1765.

115 *Wiadomości Warszawskie*, 1766, no. 101.

116 *Nabożeństwo codzienne osobliwie w piątek do Cudownego Pana Jezusa Ukrzyżowanego łaskami słynącego w Kolegiacie Ś. Jana albo Modlitwy poranne y wieczorne, przed y po Komunii Świętej Litania o Męce Tegoż Pana dla szczęśliwej śmierci, y wiele innych Nauk, Modlitw, o życiu dobrym y szczęśliwej śmierci, trochę obszerniejszych iak przeszłe; z Odpustem zupełnym, wiecznemi czasami nadanym, od Terazniejszego Papieża Piusa VI do druku podane piąty raz*, Warszawa 1784.

117 *Krotkie nabożeństwo codzienne a osobliwie w Piątek do Cudownego Pana Jezusa Ukrzyżowanego w Kaplicy Kolegiaty Warszaw. S. Jana....* https://www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl/staropolska/baza/wpis/?sort=nazwisko_imie&order=1&id=75197&offset=0&index=4; [access: 28 III 2019].

118 *Nabożeństwo z krótką nauką dla braci Archikonfraterni Literackiej Niepokalanego Poczęcia Nayprzedostojniejszej Maryi Panny w kaplicy Kolegiaty Warszawskiej S. Jana ord. dla zbawienego pożytku wszystkich wiernych do druku podane przez Jerzego Dawidsona Miasta Starej Warszawy JKMcI Rezydencyonalnego Gminnego Starszego, a w teyże Archikonfraterni Podskarbiego*, Warszawa 1780.

119 Information about the manuscript was provided by F.M. Sobieszczański, *Dawidson Jerzy Józef...*, p. 835; K.W. Wójcicki, *Cmentarz Powązkowski pod Warszawą*, Warszawa 1855, vol. 1, p. 102.

Capital City of Old Warsaw, Residence of H.M. the King”, in which he probably not without reason and not by chance stressed the importance of the development of domestic and international trade for the successful economic growth of the country. He justified it in this way: “The merchant profession does indeed enjoy the respect and comes highly recommended because it is beneficial both internally in the country and externally, with foreign merchants, to the whole Nation and to particular citizens in particular”¹²⁰. The author stressed that those who rule the country are duty-bound to take efficient measures, such as the adoption of adequate laws to further a quiet and safe commercial trade. Then he instructed merchants as to the principles which they should adhere to: “they are obliged to follow solely Christian and National laws, justice and fair conscience, to reliably, laboriously and moderately work for the common good”¹²¹. He also stressed the need to ensure that children are properly educated. He pointed to the Christian faith as the cornerstone of good education, the source of virtue and good manners.

When the booklet came out, some magazines published by the Saxon Wawrzyniec Mitzler de Kolof, including *Monitor* regarded as the major periodical of Polish Enlightenment, had been in circulation for a few years at least¹²². At that time, Michał Gr II commenced his activities as a book publisher and seller. Both are seen as the main promoters of bourgeois ideology of the Enlightenment on Polish soil¹²³. In the periodicals they published and edited, they often discussed the importance of the development of commerce and craft for building the welfare of the state. They pointed out the necessity of taking care of the condition of cities and the welfare of their inhabitants. In opposition to the ideology of the nobility, they promoted bourgeois virtues such as diligence, modesty, piety, and work for the common good. They moreover stressed the significance of the Christian faith as a source of bourgeois virtues and customs¹²⁴. The affinity of thought and judgement expressed by Jerzy Dawidson with the ideals proclaimed by the bourgeois editors of the Evangelical-Augsburg magazines is unquestionable.

Jerzy Dawidson died in 1793, at the age of 91¹²⁵. According to the press release, the funeral was a very solemn celebration¹²⁶. He was buried in the Collegiate Church of St. John the Baptist. He was outlived by his widow, Agnieszka,

120 *Katechizm albo nauka chrześcijańska...*

121 Ibidem.

122 More on the periodical: *Monitor 1765–1785. Wybór*, ed. E. Aleksandrowska, Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków, Gdańsk 1976.

123 See M. Klimowicz, R. Kaleta, *Prekursorzy Oświecenia: Monitor z roku 1763 – na tle swoich czasów; Mitzler de Kolof – redaktor i wydawca*, Wrocław 1953; M. Klimowicz, *Polsko-niemieckie pogranicza literackie w XVIII wieku: problemy uczestnictwa w dwu kulturach*, Wrocław 1998.

124 M. Kuc-Czerep, *Niemieckojęzyczni mieszkańcy osiemnastowiecznej Warszawy*, Warszawa 2018 (typescript available in the Library of the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences).

125 Register of deaths of the parish of St. John the Baptist from the years 1780–1796, k. 181.

126 The funeral rites were described as follows: “The Body of the Deceased was led by the Right Reverend *Malinowski*, auxiliary bishop of *Miedniki*, in a solemn Procession in the Presence of numerous Clergy, Magistrates and Guilds, to the local Collegiate Church; the corpse was accepted at the Church door from the Chapter of the local Collegiate”. *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1793, no. 4.

whom he married in 1755, when he was 53 years old¹²⁷. The couple most probably did not have any offspring, although the lack of baptismal records from that period does not allow us to be absolutely sure about it.

Summing up the discussion of Jerzy Dawidson's life and work, it is important to stress the issues important also from the point of view of the history of eighteenth-century Warsaw. One concerns migration to the city in this period. Dawidson is an immigrant from Scotland, who repeatedly emphasizes his status as a foreigner. He wrote about himself: "to me, a Foreigner in this Kingdom"¹²⁸, and on another occasion: "I, too, a Stranger arriving in Poland"¹²⁹. This individual example demonstrates the strategies adopted in the new environment. Another issue is that of the openness of the city's inhabitants and its political elites to newcomers. Dawidson was admitted to the group of Old Warsaw citizens and was a member of the merchants' confraternity. However, his career as a clerk stopped at the level of the elder magistrate, although his activity for the benefit of the city earned him great respect and recognition. The third issue is connected with the process of social and political emancipation of the bourgeoisie and Warsaw's role as the major centre of the bourgeoisie political movement in the era of the Great Sejm. Jerzy Dawidson, a senior municipal official, actively participated in the activities undertaken by the government of Old Warsaw with Jan Dekert as City Mayor. Their aim was to defend the rights and privileges of towns and bourgeoisie in the Commonwealth. His publications prove that the ideals of enlightened bourgeoisie were close to his heart.

Jerzy Dawidson, Merchant and Magistrate of Old Warsaw. A Contribution to Studies on the Municipal Government of Old Warsaw in the 18th Century – summary

The article is devoted to Jerzy Józef Dawidson (1702-1793), a merchant and municipal of Old Warsaw. He was a part of a small English-Scottish community functioning in Warsaw from the first half of the 17th century. He came from the Aberdeenshire County in Scotland and through Gdańsk and Łowicz he arrived in Warsaw. On this individual example the foreigners' abilities of the promotion in a new, Warsaw environment have been investigated. The next career levels achieved by Dawidson are presented. He started as the lord treasurer of the Literary Archconfraternity. Then he was elected the senior of the merchant fraternity and the municipal authorities to be promoted to the position of the senior of the commune circle of Old Warsaw. On the one hand there were indicated the prerequisites, which facilitated achieving the

127 In view of the gaps in the registers of the parish of St. John the Baptist, it is impossible to establish her maiden name.

128 *Kalwaria w Ujazdowie...*

129 *Katechizm albo nauka chrześcijańska...*

next career levels such as the interfaith conversion made in 1737. On the other hand there were obstacles that prevented him from taking up the senior positions within the framework of the old town magistrate. Apart the social and political activities Dawidson prepared and printed eight booklets of devotional character. This certainly distinguished him from among the officials of Old Warsaw. Due to the large activity as the senior of the commune circle, this article is a contribution to the research on the municipal government of Old Warsaw in the 18th century.

Keywords: Jerzy Dawidson, urban community, Warsaw, foreigners, XVIII century