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19th Century Veterinary Expertise and Methods of Treating Animals – in the Light of the Documents from the Archives of the Potocki and the Ostrowski Families of Maluszyn

*Wiedza weterynaryjna i metody leczenia zwierząt – w świetle
 dziewiętnastowiecznych dokumentów z Archiwum Potockich
 i Ostrowskich z Maluszyna*

ABSTRACT

Veterinary formulas were probably collected and written down by the Ostrowski family of Maluszyn. Written in four scripts on several sheets of paper, they are a valuable source of information on the treatment of animals, including, in particular, horse diseases (coughing, heaves (broken wind), strangles, glanders, etc.), as well as diseases of horned cattle (Equine infectious anemia (EIA – swamp fever), spleen gangrene, carbuncle and

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plague) and finally, domestic pig diseases (pharyngitis, palatitis, buttocks gangrene, dizziness, smallpox, leprosy, etc.). A valuable source of knowledge for the author of the article turned out to be also the first script entitled „Veterinary medicine of 7 October 1825”. It contains a range of guidelines on how to raise and care for animals. On the other pages of the scripts one can find additional notes on veterinary medicine, medicinal formulas for medicines eye problems, a list of plants for the first aid kit as well as advice on how to behave during the treatment of convulsions. The Ostrowski family of Maluszyn was an example to follow during the capitalist transformation in Polish agriculture. It was not without significance to collect information and write it down precisely in scripts, stored in Maluszyn library carefully. Their methods of animal breeding and care stood for were a model to follow for other landed estates.

Key words: scripts, veterinary medicine, breeding, agriculture, the Ostrowski family, Maluszyn

STRESZCZENIE

Przepisy weterynaryjne zostały prawdopodobnie zebrane i spisane przez rodzinę Ostrowskich z Maluszyna. Zapisane w czterech skryptach na kilkunastu kartkach – stanowią cenne źródło informacji dotyczące leczenia zwierząt, w szczególności opisane są choroby koni (o kaszlu, dychawicy, żołądkach, nosaciznie itd.), a także o chorobach bydła rogatego (o gorączkach z bagnisk, gangrenie śledziony, karbunkule i zarazach) i w końcu trzody chlewnej (o zapaleniu gardła, chorobie podniebieniowej, gangrenie pośladków, zawrotach, ospie, trądzie itp.). Cennym źródłem wiedzy dla Autorki artykułu okazał się również skrypt pierwszy pt. *Weterynaria z 7 października 1825 r.* Zawiera on szereg porad dotyczących wychowania i opieki nad zwierzętami. Na pozostałych kartkach skryptów można odnaleźć dodatkowe notatki z zakresu weterynarii, przepisy dla oczów, spis roślin do apteczki domowej, jak również porady dotyczące zachowania w czasie kuracji na konwulsje. Domena Ostrowskich z Maluszyna stanowiła wzór przemian kapitalistycznych w polskim rolnictwie. Nie bez znaczenia było zbieranie informacji i dokładne spisywanie ich w skryptach, pieczołowicie przechowywanych w bibliotece maluszyńskiej. Hodowla zwierząt i dbałość o nie stanowiła wzór do naśladowania dla innych majątków ziemskich.

Słowa kluczowe: przepisy, weterynaria, hodowla, rolnictwo, Ostrowscy, Maluszyn

The purpose of this article is to present the selected fragments from the documentation held by the State Archive in Łódź, in the Archives of Potocki and the Ostrowski families of Maluszyn, in the collection referred to as „Papers on veterinary medicine in Maluszyn estate – 1825”, bearing the reference number I/13. These handwritten notes – as one may think – are based on scripts intended for veterinary students. Among these „papers”, there are also excerpts from the books of a glossarial and encyclopedic character, guidebooks and farm calendars, containing medicinal and veterinary formulas, describing therapeutic methods and operation techniques. In this group of documents we can also come across recommendations concerning herbal medicine, and collection, storage and purpose of plants used in treatment of humans and animals.

The research overview of the source materials allows us – to some extent – to familiarize ourselves with the level of 19th century veterinary expertise, but above all, with the methods used in the farming practices of the owners of Maluszyn in the first half of the century. The character and form of the handwritten notes allow us to notice their educational as well as practical functions, related to running an animal farm that make up the demesne of the Ostrowski-Korabit family. In the given context, the materials will be presented in a fragmentary way in the following part of the article – as an example of the landowners' efforts to increase the level of veterinary expertise, the efficiency of breeding by providing better living conditions for animals and more effective veterinary treatment in cases of diseases and epidemics. We shall stress the fact that the aim of the research was the fundamental criterion in the choice of documents from the archives and of their presentation. The content of the documents reveals the scope of attention devoted to the issues of breeding and treatment of farm animals, methods of treatment, as well as achievements of veterinary theory and practice. By way of introduction, it is necessary to mention a few words about the history of veterinary medicine in Poland and about history researchers of those times – historians and specialists in the veterinary field fascinated with the description of the milestones in veterinary medicine that occurred in the past. Outlining this perspective will enable us to look at the presented source materials properly.

Farmers occupied with animal breeding have to deal with livestock illnesses – the problem has been bothering breeders since the beginning of husbandry and establishing of farmhouses¹. Archaeological research shows that the first domesticated animals were sheep, goats, cattle and pigs. Ill animals were aided in a way similar to treatment of humans. Enema and bleeding were commonly used. Many veterinary methods inflicted pain on animals and caused their suffering, as animals were pricked, mutilated or burned with branding iron. It is obvious that medical expertise was limited at that time, it was based on traditional and simple surgical methods, as well as on herbal medicine. Sometimes such irrational methods as undoing spells or witchcraft were used, as they were deeply rooted in culture and a sudden weakness of an animal may have caused anxiety and suspicion amongst superstitious farmers. With scientific progress, also the knowledge of illnesses, pathogenesis and of possible methods of treatment of humans and animals rose. In this respect, the 19th century inherited the belief from the Age of Enlightenment that there is a possibility to penetrate the secrets of nature, and veterinary

¹ W. Pastuszka, *Trudne początki hodowli*, „Archeowieści. Z pasją o przeszłości”, <https://archeowieści.pl/2014/02/26/ciezkie-poczatki-hodowli/> [dostęp: 23 III 2019].

medicine used the progress in biology and chemistry, as well as in human medicine, to eliminate ineffective, superstitious and harmful practices, which contributed to the greater effectiveness of treatment. One can notice a breakthrough in effectiveness of treatment methods in the recent times and in medical achievements of the 20th century, but also the previous century could be praised for undeniable progress. The process was well depicted by history of veterinary medicine. Although it is not a highly popular field of historical sciences, there are a few monographic and textbook works available that highlight the history of veterinary medicine.

As Stefan Tarczyński noticed, Aleksander Perenc and Konrad Millak had special merits in this respect in the Polish science. The former was the author of *Historia lecznictwa zwierząt w Polsce*² (*History of veterinary medicine in Poland*), a basic monograph on the history of Polish veterinary medicine. The latter was a science editor of the abovementioned work by A. Perenc and the author of the monograph entitled *Uczelnia weterynaryjna w Warszawie 1840–1965*³ (*Warsaw School of Veterinary Science 1840–1965*). One should also mention the merits of S. Tarczyński, who created *Zarys historii polskiej weterynarii z podstawami deontologii*⁴ (*Outline of the history of Polish veterinary medicine with elements of deontology*), and of Tadeusz Rotkiewicz, who, together with S. Tarczyński and Dariusz Liszewski, published *Historia weterynarii i deontologia*⁵ (*History of veterinary medicine and deontology*). Amongst authors of more recent publications, one should mention, inter alia, Aleksander Chrószcz, Maciej Janeczek, Tomasz Ożóg and Norbert Pospieszny – the authors of *Historia weterynarii i deontologia*⁶, as well as Jerzy Kita, who occupies himself with the history of veterinary medicine and education in Poland, and with the history of the Polish Society of Veterinary Sciences⁷. Moreover, interesting articles are included in a collective study edited by Mariusz Z. Felsmann, Józef Szarek and Mirosława Felsmann entitled *Dawna medycyna i weterynaria. Środowisko a zwierzę*⁸ (*Old-time medicine and veterinary science. Environment versus ani-*

² A. Perenc, *Historia lecznictwa zwierząt w Polsce*, oprac. i uzup. K. Millak, Warszawa–Wrocław 1958, quoted after: S. Tarczyński, *Společna rola zawodu weterynaryjnego na tle dziejów polskiej weterynarii*, „Notatki Płockie” 1976, 21, 5 (88), s. 9.

³ K. Millak, *Uczelnia weterynaryjna w Warszawie 1840–1965*, Warszawa 1965.

⁴ *Zarys historii polskiej weterynarii z podstawami deontologii*, red. S. Tarczyński, Warszawa 1990.

⁵ T. Rotkiewicz, *Historia weterynarii i deontologia*, Olsztyn 2006.

⁶ A. Chrószcz et al., *Historia weterynarii i deontologia*, Warszawa 2012.

⁷ J. Kita, *90 lat polskiej służby weterynaryjnej*, „Życie Weterynaryjne” 2009, 11 (84), s. 914–919.

⁸ *Dawna medycyna i weterynaria. Środowisko a zwierzę*, red. M.Z. Felsmann, J. Szarek, M. Felsmann, Chełmno 2013, passim.

mal). These publications enrich one's knowledge about the methods of veterinary treatment applied years ago in Europe and Poland. In this regard, one should indicate especially the articles by Sławomir Gonkowski⁹ as well as by a group of authors – Joanna Klećkowska-Nawrot, Renata Nowaczyk, Aleksander Chószcz and Maciej Janeczek¹⁰. What is more, in the volume one can find information concerning historical and legal conditions of environmental protection in terms of treatment of animals by humans¹¹.

Old Polish literature concerning veterinary medicine did not differ much from other similar medical works published in Poland and Europe. First books on the treatment of animals appeared as early as in the 16th century, together with the establishment of the first printing houses. Some of the publications from the 17th and 18th centuries gained popularity and were reprinted many a time. For instance, the work from 1603 by Krzysztof Monwid Dorohostajski entitled *Hippika to jest o koniach księgi (Hippica – a Much Needed Treatise on Horses and a Joyful Reading for the Men of the Sword, Published for the Clarity of the Subject)* was published for the last time in 1861¹², and the work by Jan Ostroróg entitled *O psiech gończych y myśliwstwie z niemi (Hunting with hounds)* had its last edition in 1914. Late issues of the abovementioned publications show that there was indisputable interest in the topics they covered. What is more, one may assume that there was historical passion or sentiment for the past, as it is hard to believe that the works had only an advisory role. In this respect, a 19th century reader had access to much more recent literature. Veterinary expertise was presented in both up-to-date textbooks as well as magazines, and especially in popular farm calendars or guidebooks, which spread recommendations concerning modern methods of running a farm and promoting progress in agriculture.

A reflection of the practice of treatment of animals in the 19th century, as well as of the veterinary expertise are, inter alia, material found

⁹ S. Gonkowski, *Zabiegi na zwierzętach w dawnej polskiej weterynarii*, w: *Dawna*, s. 95–113; idem, *Rozwój lecznictwa wścieklizny na ziemiach polskich*, w: *Dawna*, s. 115–131.

¹⁰ J. Klećkowska-Nawrot et al., *Ziołolecznictwo w medycynie weterynaryjnej*, w: *Dawna*, s. 217–239.

¹¹ M.Z. Felsmann et al., *Ochrona zwierząt w prawodawstwie polskim od 1918 do 1939 r.*, w: *Dawna*, s. 75–93.

¹² Quoted after: S. Tarczyński, *op. cit.*, s. 9. It is interesting to note that the abovementioned book by K. Dorohostajski has also been published in the recent times, in a nineteenth-century edition prepared by K.J. Turowski, a renowned publisher of old Polish and folklore literature, by Napoleon V publishing house in Oświęcim. Obviously, the present edition has the character of a bibliophilic reprint, hence its role is significantly different from the 1861 edition, and especially from earlier editions.

amongst the documents held by the Archives of the Potocki and Ostrowski families of Maluszyn (kept in the State Archive in Łódź). The handwritten notes are excerpts from specialist literature, but it is hard to tell without extensive library query what their original source was, thus it is difficult to state what publications they were taken from. However, it is not the purpose of this study. If one assumes that the notes reflect 19th century veterinary expertise and present the methods of animal treatment, one may familiarize oneself with everyday practices on a farm. These handwritten notes had specific purposes and were a valuable source of advice on how to deal with diseases or plague. Their handwritten character determines their source value – it shows the scope of interest of the owners, what their subject of attention was, the written tips and formulas that were the basis of procedures held on the Ostrowski family's farm in Maluszyn, as it belonged to this family, the Korab coat of arms, starting from 1783 till the end of the second half of 20th century, when it became the property of the heirs of the related Potocki family¹³. In other words – through these handwritten notes we do not only get to know veterinary expertise written in the handbook, but also the methods used in the farm practice.

On the basis of the source materials kept in Archives of the Ostrowski family, we have at our disposal, amongst others, information on animal husbandry carried out on Maluszyn farm, as well as on other manors that make up the demesne with the management center in Maluszyn. The breeding did not differ in its character from what happened on other farms on Polish lands in the 19th century¹⁴. What distinguished the place was the efficiency of management, efforts to procure its own good quality feed, modern methods of breeding, including diligence in the reproductive selection, however, in terms of animal husbandry it reflected the trends occurring on other local farms of that time.

In Maluszyn mainly horned cattle – cows and sheep – were bred, and in the case of sheep-farming, the production was focused on obtaining wool and supplying the developing textile industry, bringing quite considerable income. Breeding of pigs and poultry did not reach the level of industrial, i.e. highly commercial production, it rather aimed to satisfy own consumption needs, realized within the manor farm. The

¹³ More in: K. Studnicka-Mariańczyk, *Siedziba ziemiańska Korabitów Ostrowskich w Maluszynie*, Warszawa 2013; eadem, *Ludwika hrabina Ostrowska (1851–1926)*, Warszawa 2016.

¹⁴ The issue of animal breeding has been wider spoken on by W. Pruski, *Hodowla zwierząt gospodarskich w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1815–1918*, t. 1, Okres 1815–1880, Warszawa 1967; idem, *Hodowla zwierząt gospodarskich w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1815–1918*, t. 2, Okres 1881–1898, Warszawa 1968; idem, *Hodowla zwierząt gospodarskich w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1815–1918*, t. 3, Okres 1899–1918, Warszawa 1969.

surplus was sold on the local market, but they were rather insignificant. Similarly, the breeding of horses was carried out mainly for the purposes of satisfying own transport needs or of field work. However, in the case of horses, the importance of breeding was not only determined by the economic needs. What was important were cultural factors, tradition or knightly and noble commons, and finally – the ambition of the breeder. A sturdy specimen aroused interest and admiration in the community of landowners, it brought splendour upon its master and their stud farm and could also be the subject of a beneficial transaction. It is no coincidence that the oldest publications in the field of veterinary medicine concerned mainly horses and hunting dogs – these animals were treated with special care by nobility. It was no different in Maluszyn, where horses were proudly presented at exhibitions and agricultural shows¹⁵, and even tried to compete in sports. The importance of animal breeding ran by the Ostrowski family can also be proved by their participation in the Industry and Agriculture Exhibition in Częstochowa in 1909, where the following exhibition specimens were presented – Dutch cattle (5 bulls, 4 cows and 8 heifers), sheep (6 rams and the same number of ewes) and Arabian horses (as noted in the catalogue of the exhibition – imported, in the amount of 2 specimens)¹⁶.

In terms of animal breeding in the Kingdom of Poland, sheep farming developed earliest and best. There were a few reasons for that. In the first half of the 19th century, demand for fine wool increased enormously in Western Europe, which resulted in a significant rise in prices. In countries adjacent to Poland, i.e. Saxony, Silesia, the Czech Republic and Austria, breeding of fine-wool sheep developed particularly dynamically as a result of introduction of Merino sheep to these countries and their considerable improvement there. Benefits that local farmers derived from sheep farming encouraged our landowners to introduce Merinos on their farms as well¹⁷.

As it has already been mentioned, the Ostrowski family's manor farms raised horned cattle and pigs, but particular importance – in accordance with the national trend – was attached to the development of sheep

¹⁵ Wider perspective was pointed out by A.J. Zakrzewski, *Wyścigi pławieńskie, „Zeszyty Radomszczańskie”* 2006, 2, s. 147–174.

¹⁶ *Przewodnik po Wystawie Przemysłu i Rolnictwa w Częstochowie, Częstochowa 2009* (reprint), s. 174.

¹⁷ W. Pruski, *Kształtowanie się hodowli zwierząt gospodarskich w Królestwie Polskim w XIX w. Rozwój hodowli w latach 1815–1864*, w: *Studia z dziejów gospodarstwa wiejskiego*, t. 8, Warszawa 1966, s. 201.

farming. The flocks numbered about 6,000 animals in total¹⁸ and constant efforts were made to improve the species. The sheepfold in Maluszyn was one of the oldest and – as noted by contemporaries – the finest in the Kingdom of Poland¹⁹. According to the estimates in „Rocznik Gospodarstwa Krajowego” (Yearbooks of Agriculture) there were 6,169 sheep in Maluszyn estate in 1852; by comparison, the breeding flocks in the neighbouring estate of Chelmo numbered 1,931.

Merino sheep were brought from abroad by Aleksander Ostrowski²⁰. However, breeding them required special efforts: Merinos were – compared to other livestock – the most sensitive ones to climatic conditions. They did not tolerate humidity, sudden temperature changes and strong winds²¹. Breeding rams were brought to Maluszyn from Saxony and Silesia: from Klipphausen, Oschatz and Leutewitz. The success of breeding was the restoration of purebreds²².

Breeding in Maluszyn estate paid dividends, which was indicative of diligent grooming and proper care of the flock. Adrian Sommer, who served his apprenticeship in Maluszyn, in his correspondence with „Rocznik Gospodarstwa Krajowego” (Yearbooks of Agriculture) characterized this part of the farm in Maluszyn. He noted, amongst other things, that buildings for sheep were usually located on a dry hill, made of limestone, 4–6 ells high²³. The ratio of length to width was 1: 4. The windows were glazed, opening, 2 ells wide, „in sufficient number” to provide adequate access to light and air, 1½ – 2 ells above the plinth. They were protected by wooden, 2-winged shutters closed from the inside. In each sheepfold, space for entry/exit of animals was provided by 3–4 doors, usually 2½ ells wide²⁴. This width was sufficient to prevent possible accidents and animals pressing each other. A sheep occupied 3¼ to 4 square feet²⁵, which

¹⁸ R. Staczyński, *Dobra Maluszyn pod względem gospodarskim opisane*, „Przegląd Rolniczy, Przemysłowy i Handlowy” 1858, 27, s. 210.

¹⁹ W. Pruski, *Kształtowanie*, s. 202.

²⁰ Archiwum Państwowe w Łodzi [dalej: APŁ], Archiwum Potockich i Ostrowskich z Maluszyna [dalej: APiOM], Papiery osobiste Aleksandra Ostrowskiego, sygn. II/72; A. Sommer, *Opis gospodarstwa w dobrach Maluszyn w guberni warszawskiej, powiecie piotrkowskim położonych*, „Roczniki Gospodarstwa Krajowego” 1853, 22, s. 132.

²¹ W. Pruski, *Hodowla*, t. 1, s. 50.

²² A. Sommer, *op. cit.*, s. 132.

²³ Ell – a unit of length formerly used in Anglo-Saxon countries; 1 ell = 5/4 yard = 1,143 m; used in Poland since the 15th century, depending on the period and terrain was about 0.47–0.78 m.

²⁴ A. Sommer, *op. cit.*, s. 172–173.

²⁵ Foot – English and American unit of length; 1 ft = 0.30480 m; formerly used in Poland it was 0.2–0.45 m.

allowed it to lie down comfortably or to satisfy the need for movement, 8 square feet was used for preparing feed²⁶.

One of disadvantages of sheep farming was the easy spread of various diseases in the flocks. Unfortunately, veterinary expertise and pharmaceutical knowledge did not keep up with the development of breeding, and the production of medicines was at a very low level at that time. Also, the number of practicing physicians and feldshers was insufficient, therefore during periods of mass outbreaks of infectious diseases such as foot-and-mouth disease and smallpox, losses to livestock were enormous. For instance, in 1841 in the Kingdom of Poland, an estimated 1,100,000 sheep died as a result of an epidemic, which accounted for about 30% of their population at that time²⁷.

However, it should be pointed out that the breeds reared in the estates of the Ostrowski family were robust and strong, and therefore epidemic outbreaks occurred quite rarely. As noted by Adrian Sommer, smallpox, who decimated flocks in other sheepfolds, was not found in the Ostrowski family's farm at all. The most common disease which affected sheep was the so-called „zawrót”²⁸. This was an incurable disease, and infected animals were separated for shortages. Another disease attacking flocks of sheep was the fluke disease²⁹. In spite of these dangers, sheep farming was an important and profitable part of Maluszyn farm, providing regular income from wool harvested in spring and autumn.

In the years 1815–1864 sheep farming prevailed in the Kingdom of Poland over other branches of livestock production and contributed to an increase in livestock culture and national income³⁰. Traditional cattle and pig breeding usually did not reach the scale of industrial production due to relatively low demand for these products. Moreover, the demand was balanced by an influx of cattle from other areas. Cattle was mainly kept on farms located near large cities where there was a market for milk and meat. Manors raised cattle mainly for their own needs: to obtain fertilizer and for work in the fields.

One of the main reasons for the reluctance to invest more seriously in cattle breeding and in raising their value was frequent and violent pestilence outbreaks. Most probably, plagues were carried into the Kingdom of Poland by grassland cattle. Unfortunately, the state of veterinary

²⁶ A. Zabierzowski, *Praktyczne budownictwo wiejskie i przewodnik praktyczny dla budujących*, „Roczniki Gospodarstwa Krajowego” 1863, 52, s. 77–109.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, s. 51–52.

²⁸ Translator's note: English equivalent not found – the disease in question is caused by sheep bot fly (*Oestrus ovis*), and most probably the name in demand is „myiasis”.

²⁹ A. Sommer, *op. cit.*, s. 212.

³⁰ W. Pruski, *Hodowla*, t. 1, s. 102.

expertise at that time was very low and there were few specialists dealing with treatment or prophylaxis. The official record of doctors and pharmacists in the Kingdom of Poland listed only nineteen veterinarians³¹. Under these circumstances, anxious to improve the sanitary situation on domestic livestock breeding farms at least partially, on April 26, 1844, the Administrative Council of the Kingdom of Poland approved the first *Veterinary Control Act, that is, regulations designed to prevent and relieve prevalent and contagious diseases amongst domestic animals*. It was developed by E. Ostrowski, director of the School of Veterinary Medicine in Warsaw. It was an act of great importance, developed very well for those times, and was in force until 1902³².

The most dangerous cattle disease that prevailed in the Kingdom of Poland was rinderpest (cattle plague). The disease wreaked devastation in the years: 1825, 1827, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1844, 1849, 1852, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1859, 1860 and later. Since rinderpest caused great losses, the Administrative Council issued an *Ordinance of March 10, 1857 on compulsory insurance of cattle against losses due to the plague*. Provision was made for two types of insurance – ordinary or special³³. In the „Memoirs” of Helena Ostrowska there is a reference to the problems of breeding in one of the manors:

In May [1883 – K.S.M.], for the first time in our memory, rinderpest appeared in Bąkowa Góra. All the cattle, both in the village and on the manor farm, numbering 186, died, either from the plague at first, or under the knife of a person enforcing police regulations. Only the cattle shed of the local parish priest survived completely³⁴.

Basing on this testimony, we can assume that in the Ostrowski family's estates epidemics and pestilence of animals occurred relatively seldom, which was probably the effect of proper breeding conditions and of the efforts of the owners. Rudolf Staczyński, a graduate of a school in Marymont, gave the following account of cattle breeding in the estate while describing the farm in Maluszyn:

³¹ *Ibidem*, s. 109.

³² *Ibidem*, s. 110.

³³ *Ibidem*.

³⁴ „W maju [1883 – K.S.M] ukazał się u nas pierwszy raz za naszej pamięci księgosusz w Bąkowej Górze. Wszystko bydło, tak na wsi, jak na folwarku, w ilości sztuk okazało 186, padło – bądź na zarazę początkowo, bądź pod nożem wykonywającym przepisy policyjne. Jedynie obora proboszcza miejscowego ocalała zupełnie”. H. Ostrowska, *Dzieje Maluszyna i jego dziedziców z opowiadania i z pamięci zebrane*, wstęp i przyp. A.J. Zakrzewski, Warszawa 2009, s. 674.

The abundance of hay in the three manors, where the meadows were arranged, caused the most careful breeding of horned cattle in order to profitably monetize the feed. For, in addition to comfortable warm barns with feeding passages running across the barn, horned cattle are well fed in winter with a diet of fertile hay, beet pulp, scalded chaff previously moistened with water in which the oilcakes dissolve. To scald the chaff, they use a separate apparatus set up for this purpose in the shape of a samovar, designed by Mr. Sztatler. Steam, passing through pipes to the ladle, scalds the chaff placed in it.

They improve the domestic breed of horned cattle by crossbreeding, using breeding bulls from Żuławy and the Netherlands.

Each cow, for decent record keeping, has its number burned on its left side. Milking registers of which animals have low milk yields and need to be removed and allowed for fattening are also kept to calculate at the end of the year. Grangers' wives are obliged to raise calves³⁵.

Amongst the documents and records concerning farm economy of Maluszyn, one can also find a list of horned cattle in Maluszyn estates in March 1861. The analysis of this document shows that the highest number of oxen was kept in Rudka manor – 33 livestock units; the highest number of cows was in Pukarzów manor – 46 units; the highest number of heifers was in Polichno manor: 24 units. In conclusion, the highest number of cattle was in Pukarzów manor – 59 units, while the total number of cattle amounted to at least 399 livestock units.

The structure of the breeding farm in Maluszyn determined the landlords' interest in veterinary expertise. Therefore, in the above-mentioned archival materials we can find notes relating to diseases of cattle, sheep as well as of horses. Vastness of these notes makes it impossible to quote them in extenso, thus the necessity to make a choice and numerous

³⁵ „Dostatek siana na trzech folwarkach, gdzie urządzano łąki polowne, wywołał niejako najstaranniejszą hodowlę bydła rogatego w celu korzystnego spieniężenia paszy. Albowiem obok wygodnych ciepłych obór z korytarzami karmowymi w poprzek obory idącymi, bydło rogate ma zapewnione dobre utrzymanie zimową porą, dostając pokarm złożony z żyznego siana, wytlóczków buraczanych, siewki zaparzonej, poprzednio zawilgoconej wodą, w której rozpuszczają się makuchy. Do zaparzenia siewki używają oddzielnego na ten cel ustawionego aparatu w kształcie samowara, konstrukcji pana Sztatlera, z którego para, przechodząc rurami do kadzi, zaparza siewkę w niej umieszczoną. Rasę krajową bydła rogatego poprawiają krzyżowaniem, używając do rozplodu buhajów żuławskich i holenderskich. Każda krowa dla porządnego utrzymania rejestrów ma z lewej strony palony swój numer. Dalej prowadzone są rejestry udoju dla obliczenia z końcem roku, które sztuki z powodu mało wydawanego mleka należy usunąć i na opas przeznaczyć. Żony zaś ekonomów obowiązane trudnić się wychowem cieląt”. R. Staczyński, *op. cit.*, s. 210.

shortcuts. To some extent, the cognitive value of this study may seem to be reduced, but one is given an overview material, and the selected representative examples allow for an orientation in the character of the archival documents.

Let us begin the presentation of the source materials with a note on the administration of medicines.

On medicine administration

Medicines are given to animals in the form of drinks, jam, preserves, powder or pills. However, this administration is connected with difficulties and annoyances. How one shall do it in any case, we shall see, but first of all, let us talk about administering medicines to horses in the form of drinks.

It is common for one to pour such a drink by pulling horses' jaws on a thin string, which, as Pilger³⁶ says, spoils their gums, whereby bad ulcers are likely to form, and even decay can occur. With the aim of covering against these damages, he advises the following method of his invention. It is necessary to make a peg six inches long and an inch thick, which is prepared and put into the horse's mouth shaped as a snaffle bit, at both ends of which iron pegs should be fastened, through which a rope is pulled, with the help of which the horse's head is pulled up, and in this way it must open its mouth, to which medicine is poured at the same time. It is easier with horned cattle, for when one pulls the cattle by the horns well back, then they lift up their snouts, then another [person] easily opens their mouths and pulls out their tongues to one side, and pours a drink into them. But the most difficult thing is with pigs, because they resist and defend themselves in every way, so one can get into trouble, or this unit of livestock can be strangled. Relying on his experience, Pilger gives the following method. A strong man, having taken a pig between his legs, shall, with his left hand, squeeze its snout so tightly that it cannot breathe and is forced to open its mouth, whereupon the drink is poured into it. Secondly, when it comes to administering a medicine in the form of preserves, having pulled out an animal's tongue as far as possible with a paddle made of wood, one spreads as much jam as one needs at the back of its tongue; then, having let go of the tongue, which the

³⁶ *Pilger* – the reference probably concerns Friedrich Pilger, a German veterinary surgeon of considerable European renown, author of *Systematisches Handbuch der theoretisch-praktischen Veterinar-Wissenschaft*, Giessen 1801–1803, among others. Between 1805 and 1839, F. Pilger held the Chair of Veterinary Medicine at the Medical Faculty of the University of Kharkov, where many Poles – later outstanding physicians and veterinarians – studied; K. Millak, *Polacy w nauce i służbie weterynaryjnej u obcych*, „Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki” 1957, 2, 2, s. 295.

animal pulls into its mouth, one holds the mouth closed so that the animal swallows the jam at that time.

As for powders, these are sprinkled on the feed given to the animals, and as they can blow the powders away, in order to prevent this, they are simply sprinkled with water so that they adhere, as it were, to the feed.

As for pills: these are medicines usually administered to people when pain occurs locally. They are given by inserting a pill as deeply as possible into an animal's throat with a hand, but, Pilger says, it is both with preserves and with pills often impossible to administer them to animals, and therefore he advises to pour them dissolved and in that form have them administered³⁷.

³⁷ „O zadawaniu lekarstw / Lekarstwa zadawane bywają zwierzętom w kształcie napoju, powideł, czyli konfektu, proszku lub pigułek. Zadawanie atoli to jest połączone z trudnościami i przykrościami. Jak sobie w każdym razie postąpić, zobaczymy, a najprzód o zadawaniu lekarstw w kształcie napojów koniom. / Pospolicie wlewają takowy napój, przeciągając im szczękę na cienkim sznurku, przez co, jak mówi Pilger, psują się im dziąsła, skąd powstawać zwykły złe wrzody, nawet próchnienie nastąpić może. W tym zamiarze dla zasłonienia się przeciw tym szkodom, doradza następujący swego wynalazku sposób. Trzeba kazać zrobić sześć cali długi, a na cal gruby, kołek, który przyrządza się i wkłada koniowi w pysk na kształt wędzidla, po obydwóch końcach tegoż powinny być kołki żelazne przytwierdzone, przez te przeciągnąwszy postronek, za pomocą którego pociąga mu się do góry łeb, a tak musi otworzyć pysk, i w ten czas wlewa mu się toż lekarstwo. U bydła rogatego idzie łatwiej, albowiem zaciągnąwszy bydlę za rogi w tył dobrze, tedy pysk podnosi, w ten czas łatwo kto drugi otwiera mu pysk i ozór na jeden bok wyciąga, i wlewa mu się napój. Najtrudniejsza atoli sprawa z trzodą, gdyż ta na wszelki sposób opiera się i broni, można więc popaść nieszczęścia, albo owa sztuka trzody może zostać uduszoną. Pilger na swoim opierając się doświadczeniu, następujący podaje sposób. Mocny mężczyzna, ująwszy między nogi swoje ową sztukę trzody, silnie lewą ręką ścisła jej tak mocno ryjaka, żeby przezeń oddychać nie mogąc, przymuszoną została otworzyć pysk, a tak wtenczas wlewa jej się ów napój. Po wtóre, co do zadawania lekarstwa w kształcie powideł, czyli konfektu, tedy wyciągnąwszy zwierzęciu język, ile można, kopystką, czyli łopatką z drzewa zrobioną, nabrane (ile potrzeba) powidla smaruje mu się na język w tyle, puściwszy potem język, któren zwierzę w pysk wciąga, przytrzymuje się mu pysk zamknięty, żeby przez ten czas owe powidla połknęło. / Co do proszków, tymi posypuje się karmę dawaną zwierzętom, a ponieważ mogą je zadmuchiwać, przeto zapobiegając temu, zwyczajnie zwykło się je skrapiać, aby niejako przylegały do karmi. / Co do pigułek: Te są właściwie, względnie lekarstw ludziom zadawanych, konfektami boli. Zadawanie ich uskutecznia się, wkładając pigułkę w gardziel zwierzęcia ręką, tak głęboko, jak można, ogólnie atoli tak względem pigułek, jako też względem powidełek, mówi Pilger, iż często nie podobna prawie jest zwierzętom one zadawać, i dlatego doradza, aby je rozpuszczone w kształcie wlewać i zadawać zwierzętom”. APŁ, APiOM, *Papiery dotyczące weterynarii w dobrach Maluszyń, sygn. I/13, s. 11–12.*

The above mentioned excerpt from the records shows the methods presented in the veterinary literature and used in therapeutic practice. It is noteworthy that the author of the original text refers to the authority of Dr Pilger, a well-known and respected figure in the European medical and veterinary community at that time. Many of these methods are still in use today, whereby injections using appropriate syringes are the primary method of drug administering nowadays. In the first half of the 19th century, this method was not yet used except for a few experiments; it began to gain popularity only after a cylindrical syringe with a metal plunger and a thin needle was engineered in 1853. This invention was made by Alexander Wood and Charles Gabriel Pravaz³⁸. By the end of the 19th century, syringes with a glass cylinder and replaceable needle became widespread in clinical practice, –and so did cannulas based on the model developed by Hermann Strauss³⁹ in the early 20th century. In many other parts of the script enemas, purgatives and embrocation of animals were also mentioned. These treatments were amongst the major therapeutic methods.

An example of recommendations concerning dealing with illnesses is given in another fragment of notes from the Ostrowski's archive or library in Maluszyn, as the library kept handwritten notes on various farm matters⁴⁰. Again, the author of the script refers to the recommendations issued by F. Pilger⁴¹ and notes that the German physician-scholar warns against neglecting the principles of hygiene or abandoning the basic methods of veterinary treatment:

[Pilger] warns not to forget about enema of tobacco with salt or soap when in need, in order to maintain the circulation in the skin vessels and in external parts, the whole body to be well rubbed with straw, that the stables be frequently ventilated and cleaned, and that manure be thrown out. For feed he advises a thin drink of flour and oat straw, and not to give neither grass nor let the horse out to pasture, later the horse should be slowly accustomed to harder dry feed, that is oats and hay, at the beginning oats can be sprinkled with crushed juniper berries, gentian powder, mustard (*Sinapis*), etc. He concludes with the following warnings as remedies to prevent the spread of

³⁸ Ł. Strzępek et al., *Rozwój historyczny technologii medycznej dożylnego podawania płynów*, „Polski Przegląd Nauk o Zdrowiu” 2015, 43, 2, s. 126.

³⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁰ A. Rybka, *Biblioteka ziemiańska na przykładzie biblioteki Ostrowskich i Potockich z Maluszyna*, „Studia z Historii Społeczno-Gospodarczej” 2013, 12, s. 27–39.

⁴¹ F. Pilger F., *Systematisches Handbuch der theoretisch-praktischen Veterinar-Vissenschaft*, Giessen 1801–1803.

[...] the plague. And wherever the disease⁴² is found, there should be honest men appointed to take turns every week, who would see to it and that the cattle are healthy, decently reared, and the stables kept clean, and that whenever the disease appears, then:

1° Separate sick cattle from healthy ones within a decent time, right from the beginning.

2° Prescribe medication that is regularly administered until full recovery.

3° Take the manure outside the village and bury it properly.

4° Not allow sick cattle to be watered with healthy ones at a common water trough.

5° Give sick cattle neither feed nor drink in the same vessels in which healthy cattle are given.

6° Not allow people walking around sick cattle to come to healthy ones in the same dress, but to change their garments after washing.

7° Have dead cattle immediately buried in pits 8 feet deep in thick soil, and 12 feet deep in sandy or thin soil.

8° Be on guard that [dogs] do not dig up this carrion, as there is no shortage of cases of rabies in dogs that hence occurs.

9° Not allow servants or anyone to take such meat or fat home, but keep pelt in salt for a long time.

10° Have the stables of sick cattle cleaned every day.

B. Make efforts to have proper funds in relation to the costs of treatments.

C. Forbid, under penalty, quacks without examinations to treat cattle, especially to bleed them or give purgatives without a doctor's permission and knowledge⁴³.

⁴² This refers to what is known as swamp fever.

⁴³ „[Pilger] ostrzega, aby nie przepominać w potrzebie enem z tytoniu z solą lub mydłem, aby dla utrzymania cyrkulacji w naczyniach skórnych i częściach zewnętrznych, całe ciało słomą dobrze rozcierać, aby stajnie często wietrzyć i czyścić i gnój wyrzucać. Za karmię doradza cienki napój mączny i słomę owsianą i ani trawy nie dawać, ani na pastwiska nie wypuszczać, później należy przyzwyczajając powoli konia do twardszej suchej stawy, to jest owsa i siana, można z początku owies posypywać stłuczonymi jagodami jałowcowymi, proszkiem z goryczki, goryczy itd. Kończy nareszcie rzecz tę następującymi przestrogi jako środkami zaradczymi wiele zapobiegania szerszeniu się [...] zarazy. Ażeby wszędzie, gdzieby się ta choroba okazywała, byli oznaczani uczciwi ludzie mający się kolejno co tydzień odmieniać, któryby dopilnować i dostrzegać mieli obowiązek, aby bydło było zdrowe, przyzwoicie hodowane i stajnie czysto były utrzymywane, skoroby zaś tylko pokazywała się choroba, tedy: / 1° Żeby zchorzałe bydłeta od zdrowych odłączały, a to w przyzwoitym czasie, zaraz z początku. / 2° Żeby przepisać lekarstwa, regularnie zadawane były, aż do zupełnego wyzdrowienia. / 3° Żeby gnój poza wieś był wynoszony i tam należycie zakopany. / 4° Żeby chore bydłeta do wspólnego koryta ze zdrowymi do napojenia spędzane nie były. / 5° Żeby zdrowym bydłetom ani karmia, ani napój nie były

The procedures listed in the script indicate a relatively high level of 19th century veterinary expertise. Although the exact causes of many diseases were not yet known in detail, and the pathogenicity of bacteria was underestimated, observations and associations preceded by practical knowledge were rightly used as a basis for guessing the ways in which plagues spread, both amongst animals and humans. It should be noted that the hygienic practices around sick animals far outpaced the knowledge of pathogenic agents. Despite the insufficiencies of medical knowledge, many facts were rightly associated, and often disease symptoms were correctly identified and combined with potential causes. The medical nomenclature used at the time may be somewhat misleading in this regard. For instance, many diseases were referred to as fevers (*febres*), which seems to have meant a viral or bacterial infection. In veterinary medicine, names such as continual and intermittent, mild and raging fever were used. In search for the causes, swamp fever, contagious fever, or nerve fever were found. However, a distinction was made between fever being a symptom of a condition, a secondary and subsequent symptom, and fever being the source of infection – the cause of the disease. Here, to illustrate this issue, let us use another quote:

On causes of animal fevers

Among the first causes apparently is the composition of air, which by various modifications is capable of giving rise to numerous fevers. Pilger refers to his experience and observations, and says that only under certain modifications does the air act upon the vessels of the skin, it exerts its power, and thus expresses itself. The fact that the skin of animals is covered with hair, that it is full of pores, that it is separated from the rest of the animal body by various muscle fibres, may be the reason why animals do not respond to febrile stimuli so easily through the cutaneous organ, unless these are stronger and can make the organ react, as it is usually in epizootics and contagious diseases.

dawane w tych samych naczyniach, co chorym. / 6° Żeby ludzie około chorych bydłał chodzący nigdy w tych samych sukniach do zdrowych nie przychodzili, ale obmywszy się, odzież odmieniali. / 7° Żeby upadłe bydłał zaraz zagrzebywane były w dołach 8 stóp głębokich w gruncie tęgim, a 12 stóp głęboko w piaszczystym lub rzadkim gruncie. / 8° Żeby dawać bacność, iż by owych ścierów [psy] nie odkopywały, nie brakuje bowiem przykładów powstającej stąd u psów wścieklizny. / 9° Żeby czeladź lub ktokolwiek takiego mięsa, ani tłuszczu do domu nie brali, i żeby skóry przez długi czas w soli zostawały. / 10° Żeby stajnie u bydła chorego co dzień czyszczone były. / B. Żeby względem kosztów na kuracje stosowne urządzenia poczynione były. / C. Żeby konowałom nie egzaminowanym wdawanie się w kuracje bydłał zabronione było, osobliwie żeby krwi puszczenia i zadawanie purgansów [przczyszczenia] bez wiedzy i zezwolenia lekarza jak najsurowiej pod karami zakazane było". APŁ, APiOM, sygn. I/13, s. 72–73.

The main cause of fever are swamp fumes; these quickly and violently affect the body of an animal. Degradating and ruining it, they cause the so-called fevers caused by swamps (*febres paludoses*). The fumes are the most contagious and harmful when the swamps dry up to a certain degree in summer, especially during sunrise and sunset, and most often in low-lying places, i.e. valleys surrounded by mountains⁴⁴.

The following passage presents, in turn, medical intuitions regarding the pathogenesis of animal diseases, speculations connected with it, but also the vacillations resulting from the lack of relevant knowledge. These doubts, combined with the development of diagnostic methods and research techniques, opened the way to new discoveries.

On contagious fevers in horses

These diseases, as Pilger says, have not yet been described by authors, because there has been confusion and a desire to regard glanders, the disease also called farcy, as a contagious disease; that they are such is true, but they are not febrile illnesses, because the fever comes only later. Of these contagious fever illnesses you have no description, he indicates them as the reason for the breeding of horses to be after all more reasonable to that of breeding cattle, and they do not occur in horses as evident and as often as in cattle, and therefore referring to his own observations and experiences and the results drawn therefrom, he gives the following description.

The disease, (*febris perniciosa contagiosa aquod*) comes by transmission and contact from sick to healthy horses, is only peculiar to horses, no other animal takes this plague from a horse. He indicates three types of the disease.

⁴⁴ „O przyczynach gorączek u zwierząt / Między pierwsze przyczyny widocznie należy konstytucja powietrza, która przez różne modyfikacje jest zdolną dać powód do powstania rozlicznych gorączek. Odwołuje się Pilger, do swoich doświadczeń i spostrzeżeń, mówi, że pod pewnymi modyfikacjami tylko działa powietrze na naczynia skórne, moc swoją wywiera, tak się wyraża. Ponieważ skóra zwierząt jest sierścią pokryta, ponieważ skóra ta jest więcej dziurkowata, ponieważ od reszty ciała zwierzęcego różnymi muskularnymi rozciągniętymi włóknami jest oddzieloną, mogą być przyczyną, dlaczego zwierzęta bodźców gorączkowych przez organ skórny nie tak łatwo przyjmują, chyba jeżeli te działania są mocniejsze, iż mogą organ skórny do oddziaływania podniecić, tak się dzieć zwykło przy epizootiach i zaraźliwych chorobach. Najglówniejszą z przyczyn gorączki sprawujących są wyziewy bagniste, te szybko i gwałtownie działają na machinę ciała zwierzęcego. Poniżając ją i rujnując, sprawują tak nazywane gorączki z przyczyny bagnisk (*febres paludoses*). Wyziewy te najzaraźliwsze i najszkodliwsze bywają, gdy w lecie do pewnego stopnia wysychają bagna, osobliwie też podczas wschodu i zachodu słońca i to najwięcej w miejscach niskich, czyli dolinach opasanych górami”. *Ibidem*, s. 53.

The first is when the fever is continual, lasts from two to six weeks, is similar to slow nervous fever in humans and therefore he gives it the name *febris lenta nervosa benigna*.

He refers to the second type as having a rapid disease course with a headache, the disease comes in the form of a plague, and results in an abscess in the submandibular (submaxillary) glands and the parotid glands, thus affecting glands in particular, and he gives it the name *febris maligna nervosa* or *typhus gravior*.

The third one, as Pilger says, is often regarded by hippiatrists as a quick glanders, but it is not the one, although it has many similarities to it, yet, it is a real fever with bleeding from the nose, and although it starts similarly to glanders, a lot of terrible afflictions adjoin and it kills within a few days. Pilger calls the disease *febris nervosa mucosa maligna*⁴⁵.

Frequent references to the views of Dr Pilger in the quoted passages, as well as the formal and linguistic aspect of the text itself, allow us to assume that we are dealing with extracts from a script of a textbook character, based on the work of Friedrich Pilger, probably the work entitled *Systematisches Handbuch der theoretisch-praktischen Veterinar-Wissenschaft* (*Systematyczny podręcznik teoretyczno praktycznych nauk weterynaryjnych – Systematic Handbook of Theoretical-Practical Veterinary Sciences*), as this publication is referred to in historical studies of the history of veterinary

⁴⁵ „O zaraźliwych gorączkach u koni / Choroby te, jak mówi Pilger, nie były jeszcze przez autorów opisane, pomieszano bowiem i poczytywać chciano nosacizną, robakiem zwaną chorobę, za choroby zaraźliwe, że one nimi są, to prawda, ale nie są chorobami gorączkowymi, bo gorączka dopiero później przychodzi. Z chorób tych – z gorączkowym zaraźliwych – nie masz opisów, naznacza on za przyczynę, iż hodowanie koni przeciw do-rzeczniejsze jest jak bydła, przeto też nie przychodzą między końmi tak jawne i tak często, jak między bydłem, i dlatego też odwołując się do własnych spostrzeżeń i doświadczeń i stąd wyciągniętych rezultatów, następujący podaje opis. / Choroba ta, (*febris pernicio-sa contagiosa aquod*) przychodzi przez udzielanie i styczność od chorych do zdrowych koni, jest tylko właściwa koniom, żaden inny zwierz nie przyjmuje od konia tej zarazy. Choroby tej trzy naznacza gatunki. / Pierwszy jest, gdy gorączka jest ciągła, trwa od dwóch do sze-ściu tygodni, jest podobna do gorączki wolnej nerwowej u ludzi i dlatego nazywa ją *febris lenta nervosa benigna*. / Do drugiego gatunku odnosi szybki przebieg mający ból głowy, choroba przychodząca w kształcie zarazy, a kończąca się ropieniem w gruczołach pod-szczękowych i gruczołach zausznych, szczególnie więc atakująca gruczoły, i tę nazywa *febris maligna nervosa* albo *typhus gravior*. / Trzeci częstokroć, jak mówi Pilger, do hippia-trów poczytywany bywa za szybką faculsa nosacizną, nie jest atoli nią, chociaż wiele do niej podobieństwa okazuje, lecz jest prawdziwą gorączką z płonieniem posoki z nosa i lubo podobnie jak nosacizna poczyna się, mnóstwo atoli przypadłości przyłącza się okropnych i w kilku dniach zabija. Chorobę tę Pilger nazywa *febris nervosa mucosa maligna*”. *Ibidem*, s. 74.

medicine⁴⁶. The educational function is also evident in other excerpts from the collection of documents in question, which justifies the conclusion that the notes were based on academic scripts. Here is an example:

General treatment

To treat an illness means to try to restore the lost balance in the body, that is, to try to restore order in the body of an animal by means of appropriate measures. Thus, it is obvious that the doctor who performs this act should know the animal he is to treat, the disease it suffers from and the means by which he intends to cure it. It is not an easy matter to be effective, for there are many difficulties to overcome, and it is easy to see how careful, cautious and sensible one should be when treating an animal.

When beginning treatment, having recognized the extent of the disease, one begins with an act that is called indicating (*indicato*), that is, establishing what path to follow in treatment, what to undertake, what to administer next, etc. If circumstances come to the mind of the person considering the matter, which hinder his undertaking, and indeed sometimes induce him into an opposite opinion and method, this is called contraindication (*contrainticatio*). One will act most wisely if he is a slave to no method, if, clinging to his acquired knowledge, he does not forejudge *a priori*, but, forethinking, with the desire for earnest and impartial judgement and for making experiments, and so thinking, deliberating and judging, he will proceed by way of thorough experience, *a posteriori*.

Treatment means directing to recovery, that is, attempting by decent ways and means to return the animal to health. In fact, it is not the doctor, but nature that heals; a wise doctor considers its progress, learns to know its changes and aspirations and makes use of them, follows the path it itself has indicated, and it alone leads him, if he understands it well, to the true goal. Everything that nature wants is an indication for him, he should smooth away obstacles and satisfy its demands.

Treatment is either thorough (*cura radicalis*) or relieving (*cura palliativa*) or anticipating the disease (*cura preservativa*) [...] ⁴⁷.

⁴⁶ K. Millak, *Polacy*, s. 295; A. Chrószcz et al., *op. cit.*

⁴⁷ „Terapia ogólna / Leczyć chorobę jest to obaloną równowagę w ciele chcieć znowu przywrócić, czyli co jedno jest, za pomocą stosownych środków nieład w ciele zwierzęcym do porządku starać się nawrócić. Stąd więc jasna rzecz jest, że lekarz ten czyn na siebie przyjmujący powinien istotnie znać zwierzę, które ma leczyć, chorobę którą cierpi i środki, za pomocą których toż leczenie uskutecznić zamysła. Nie jest ta sprawa tak łatwą do uskutecznienia, bo wiele w tym przedmiocie następuje trudności, które mu przewyciężać przychodzi, a przeto domysł jest łatwy, ile baczny i ostrożny i rozsądnym być wypada podejmującemu się leczenia zwierzęcia. / Przystępując do leczenia, po rozpoznaniu, ile być

In the source documents of the Ostrowski's archive we can also find excerpts from works of a dictionary-encyclopaedic character and farm calendars, which, amongst others, dealt with veterinary or medical issues. Here is another example:

A safe cure for all diseases of horses written down from the „Dictionary of Medicine, Surgery, Anatomy, and the Art of Breeding Cattle”⁴⁸. [...] Take devil's dung (*Asafoetida*), [...] bay berries, green anise, cumin, four ounces of each. Turn these mixtures into powder separately, then mix them together, take half an ounce of the mixed powder and from it, adding fresh butter, make a pill that you give the horse to take in the morning, then you give it the crumb of the bread, and after that it shall eat again in three hours. It is to spend the greater part of the night without eating. The next day you will give it the same medicine, having tied him tightly to the trough. Whatever the disease, it may be cured with this remedy. As a warning, it must be stated here that this medicine is to be given to horses in three doses, one each day. But if circumstances require, it may be repeated in fifteen days, increasing the dosage a little⁴⁹.

może, jak należy, choroby, zaczyna toż leczenie od czynu, który się nazywa wskazaniem (*indicato*), to jest ustanawia, jakiej drogi w leczeniu trzymać się, co przedsiębrać, co zadawać następnie ma itd. / Jeżeli zastanawiającemu się nad tym nastęrczają się w uwadze jego okoliczności, które go przedsięwzięciu tym wstrzymają, i owszem, do przeciwnego nieraz skłaniają zdania i sposobu, to nazywa się przeciw wskazaniem (*contraindicatio*). Najrozsądniej postępować będzie, gdy żadnej metody nie będzie niewolnikiem, gdy trzymając się wiadomości nabytych, nie będzie zaciekał się z śledztwem *a priori*, ale zapatrując się sam, chęcią usilnego i bezstronnego uważania i czynienia doświadczeń, a tak myśląc, rozmyślając i sądząc, na drodze gruntownego doświadczenia, *a posteriori*, postępować będzie. / Leczenie jest kierowanie do powrotu do zdrowia, czyli usiłowanie przyzwoitymi drogami i środkami postawienia zwierzęcia w stanie zdrowia. Właściwie nie lekarz, lecz natura leczy, rozsądny lekarz uważa jej postęp, uczy się poznawać jej zmiany i dążenia i pożytkuje z nich, idzie drogą przez nią samą wskazaną, ona tylko sama doprowadza go, jeżeli ją dobrze zrozumiał, do prawdziwego celu. Wszystko, czego tylko natura chce, jest dla niego wskazaniem, powinien przeszkody i drogi uprzętać, jej żądaniom dogadzać. / Leczenie albo jest gruntowne (*cura radicalis*) albo ulżywające (*cura paliativa*) albo uprzedzające chorobę (*cura preservativa*) [...]”. APŁ, APiOM, sygn. I/13, s. 160–161.

⁴⁸ J. Demarque, P.F. Nicolas, P. De La Servolle, *Dykcyonarz powszechny medyki, chirurgii i sztuki hodowania bydła, czyli lekarz wiejski, zawierający rozciągłe wiadomości wszystkich części sztuki lekarskiej, dokładne i najszczególniejsze opisy zażywanych roślin, sposoby ratowania zdrowia ludzkiego i leczenia chorób bydłowych*, t. 1–9, Warszawa 1783–1793.

⁴⁹ Lekarstwo pewne na wszystkie choroby koni wypisane z „Dykcyonarza medyki, chirurgii, anatomii, sztuki hodowania bydła. [...] Weź smrodzieńca (*Asafoetida*), [...] jagód bobkowych, anyżu zielonego, kminu, każdego po cztery uncje. Obróć te mieszaniny na proszek oddzielnie, zmieszawszy je potem razem, weź proszku mieszanego pół uncji

The title in the heading of the note indicates the work by French authors (original title: *Nouveau dictionnaire de medecine et de chirurgie*, 1772), published by Peter Dufour, in Polish translation entitled *Dykcyonarz powszechny medyki, chirurgii i sztuki hodowania bydła, czyli lekarz wiejski...* The publisher dedicated this encyclopedia to King Stanisław Poniatowski, supplemented it with a dictionary of anatomy words and an index of terms, and added several chapters, compiling various publications by French authors, and thus the Polish edition was much more extensive and richer in content than the original. An excerpt found among the documents of Maluszyn archives proves that the book gained popularity in Poland and was treated as a source of useful knowledge. The notes also point to other, although few, periodical publications of a medical-advisory character, but the basis of the listed formulas and descriptions were academic scripts, intended for veterinary students.

Summarizing the above remarks, it should be emphasized once again that the presented material proves the efforts of the owners of Maluszyn to provide the best possible breeding conditions for their animals and to provide them with veterinary care. With this end in view, they relied not only on the knowledge and experience of the doctors they brought in, but also sought to acquire a basic level of veterinary expertise themselves, allowing for rapid intervention in emergencies and proper management of breeding, prophylaxis and treatment of livestock. The use of academic materials, therefore, is evidence not so much of educational aspirations – these could have been fulfilled by institutional education at institutes or academies of agriculture or medicine that had veterinary departments – as of efforts to improve one's own knowledge through self-education (as evidenced by handwritten notes and excerpts). Gathering information on how to treat animals is also a reflection of the desire to raise the level of breeding and increase its productivity. On the other hand, the academic character of the scripts from which the excerpts were taken, indicates that in this endeavor, the farmers of Maluszyn relied on the achievements of science, verifying them in everyday practice.

i z niego, dołożywszy świeżego masła, zrób pigułkę, dasz koniowi oną zażyć z rana, po czym dasz mu kawałek środka chleba a po tym za trzy godziny dopiero jeść. Większą zaś część nocy przepędzić ma, nic nie jedząc. Następującego dnia dasz mu toż samo lekarstwo, przywiązawszy go mocno do żłobu. Jakażkolwiek bądź choroba uleczoną być może za pomocą tego lekarstwa. Ostrzec tu należy, że to lekarstwo dawane koniom być ma na trzy dozy, co dzień jedna. Jeżeliby zaś okoliczności wymagały, można go powtórzyć w piętnaście dni, przyczyniwszy trochę dozę". APŁ, APiOM, sygn. I/13, s. 192.

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