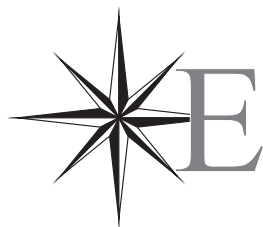


Melting Puzzle

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Leszek Zasztowt

MELTING PUZZLE

THE NOBILITY, SOCIETY,
EDUCATION AND SCHOLARLY
LIFE IN EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE
(1800s-1900s)

WARSAW 2018

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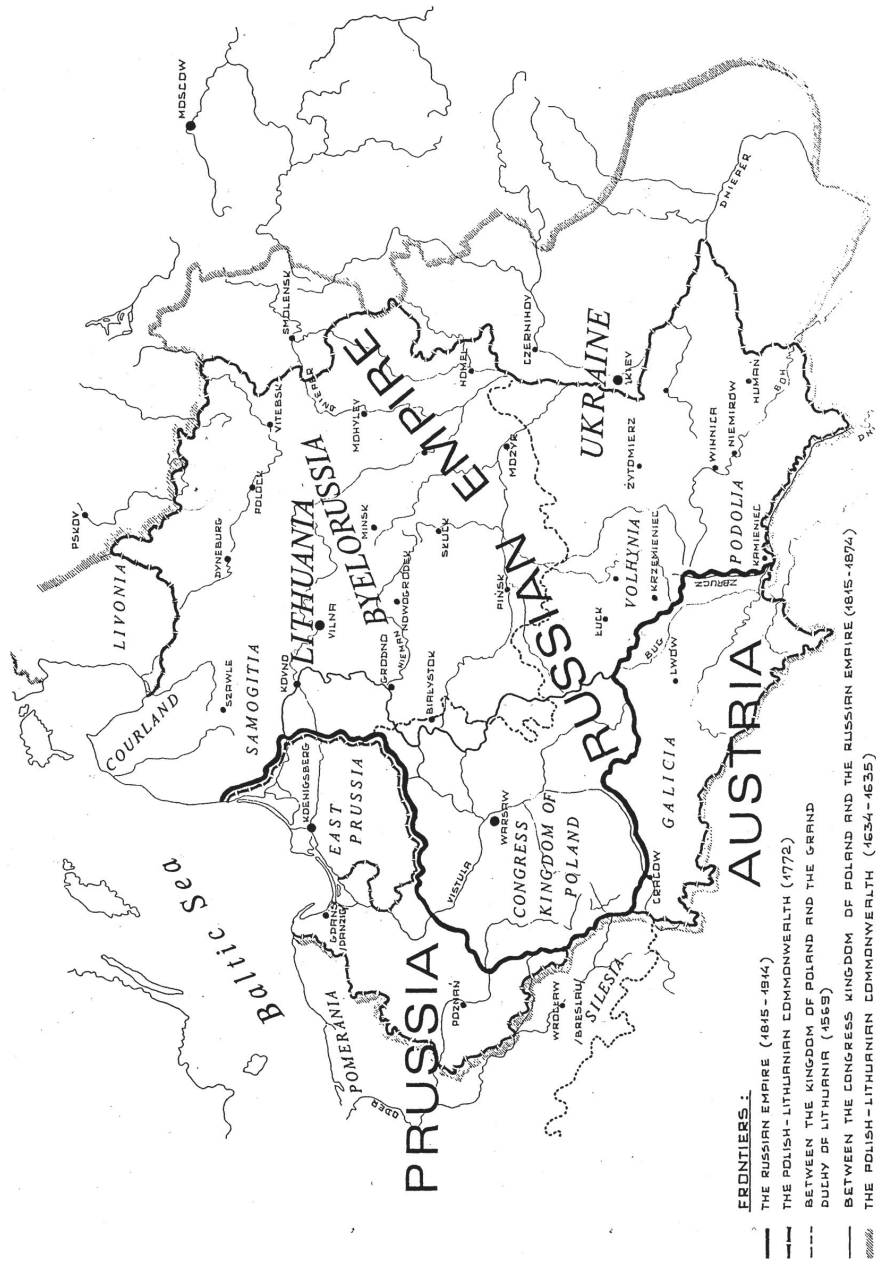
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The (Congress) Kingdom of Poland and the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 1569-1772, 1815-1914 (authors: Jerzy Sajdak, Leszek Zasztowt); first published in "History of Education" Vol. 19, June 1990, No 2, p. 150

INTRODUCTION

‘Nobility’ is probably of no relevance to anyone today. It is an archaic term and an archaic phenomenon. To borrow from Tadeusz Kantor, who now feels the need to discuss this “dead class”?¹ Even in the 20th century, it was a relic of ancient social divisions, having successfully been wiped out in a process that started with the French Revolution. It may seem like “social archaeology” to tackle such an opponent – akin to Kantor’s mannequin – who after decades of communist rule in East Central and East Europe, ceased to exist, with only a few remnants left behind on the Western peninsula. On the other hand, we “progressive people” do not like the gentry, and landlords in general. Those were people who – using *de mode* communist propaganda associations – were responsible for a lack of equality, of intensifying social divisions, for poverty, humiliation, degradation and all manner of adversity in the human environment. They were vampires, “blood suckers”, and they deserved contempt, on par with other bourgeois elements (to use revolutionary Marxist vocabulary). This conviction is still held even in the highest academic circles, and has resulted in our vision of Europe and its social (but also national) dysfunction up to the present time².

But when one begins to explore the final stages of the nobility’s existence as a stratum, it becomes evident that this social class – not only in the Eastern part of the European peninsula – was the most demeaned and humiliated social milieu. They were deprived of their property, displaced, sent into exile, and finally purged, condemned, eliminated, sentenced to oblivion – even death³.

However, we would do well to recall that the social group we are discussing was never united and never constituted a monolith. At its highest rung, there were just

¹ *The Dead Class* (in Polish: *Umarła klasa*) is one of Tadeusz Kantor’s most renown stage works. Created in 1975, in it the author suggested the end of a certain civilization depicted as a school class. The play was made into a TV movie by Andrzej Wajda, two years after its debut.

² See memoirs of D. Beauvois, *Mes pierres de lune. Essai d'autobiographie professionnelle*, “Organon. Numero Special”, No. 46: 2014.

³ T. Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations. Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569-1999*, New Haven & London 2003.

a few representatives of the aristocracy (called magnates, or later the oligarchy in East Central Europe), who were fairly separate – a limited elite within the upper class, itself. They were different from the rest of the nobility, because of their social status, which came directly from their ancient family roots and their state position (i.e. in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth or in Muscovy/Russia). They were the successors of historic knightly families, and held the hereditary titles of princes and dukes. In the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, until its partitions in the 18th century, the titles of earl, count or baron were not in use, while in the neighbouring countries of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, they were broadly implemented by monarchs, who ennobled and bestowed these distinctions on their lieges.

At first glance, there is not much difference between the magnates and – let us say – “regular” nobles. Both had ancient roots, ancient coats of arms, ancient estates and ancient traditions. But when we look closer, it is clear that those few magnates were in fact much closer to the kingly caste, than to the rest of society. They had their own principalities, their own towns, castles, palaces, and extensive villas, often ruled almost like separate states⁴. They bought the nobility’s votes during regnum elections, thus possessing a crucial voice on who would be the next king. They provided means for the existence of numerous clients and in some cases maintained vast groups of vassals, mirroring the feudal interrelations of the noble stratum. They even commanded large private armies, sometimes comparable in size to the armies of the crown. In the majority, they managed to survive during the Partitions of the Commonwealth, mostly thanks to their inter-family bonds with aristocratic families in the surrounding countries⁵.

Going down the social ladder, the next rung contained wealthy landlords, often called “crimsons”. Their situation was similar to the aristocracy, with whom they had numerous family and businesses interests. In fact, the line separating these two circles was sometimes blurred. This was also due to the fact that a significant portion of these people gained aristocratic titles shortly before, or just after, the Partitions. They began using the titles of earl, count or baron handed out by the Habsburgs and Romanovs, thus entering the ranks of the aristocracy. But some of them remained in their previous positions. Most landlords also managed to survive following the Partitions, despite that the number of them involved in uprisings against the partitioning powers was much more significant compared with the old aristocracy.

The third step down the social scale was occupied by “regular” noblemen, who possessed their own estates, but smaller in size compared to the aristocracy and the crimsons. This was the core of the gentry in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and in Russia. Their status was acceptable to the partitioning powers: they had land, they had their own peasants, and respectable financial means. Also, their noble status

⁴ M. Kowalski, *Księstwa Rzeczypospolitej: państwo magnackie jako region polityczny*, Warsaw 2013.

⁵ M. Czapska, *Europa w rodzinie; Czas odmieniony*, Cracow 2014. See French version: *Une famille d'Europe centrale 1772-1914*, préf. de Philippe Ariès, Paris 2013.

was indisputable. In this circle, the number of individuals involved in anti-Tsarist actions grew, and many of them were made to bear full responsibility for their conspiratorial activities – sent to Siberia or forced into exile.

On the lowest level of this scale was the petty nobility – the most numerous and most revolutionary. They can be divided into different categories, beginning from the petty nobility, that might own an estate and a few peasants, up to the various categories of something what might be called in English: the yeomanry. Their economic situation was similar to the peasantry, but they had ancient noble roots from the past – cultivating the tradition of being heirs of knights, as well as their fame – which among the nobility, was sometimes even more important than records and documents that proved their individual historical narratives. Such figures were quite visible throughout Europe, especially from the 17th and 18th centuries. Some of them were fictionally depicted by Alexandre Dumas in his novels, such as for example the character of d'Artagnan of Gascony in *The Three Musketeers* or *The Vicomte Bragelonne*. They worked hard physically, cultivating the land with their own hands. The deep feeling of their social position (as part of the “upper class”) was in direct contradiction to their real economic status. This contradiction created their permanent conviction regarding social injustice and inequality, which – in turn – provided opportunity for protest, which in many examples was directed against the partitioning powers, especially in the territories under Russian rule.

While the regular number of gentry in the Commonwealth hovered between 1.5–2% up to 8–10% of the total population, in some regions of the Kingdom of Poland (i.e. Masovia) or in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (mostly in the districts of historical Lithuania – contemporary Lithuania and Belarus) the number reached 15–20% – a situation the new Russian authorities found absolutely unacceptable. In the Empire, including Russia proper (the European part of the Empire), the nobility was quite often even less than 1% of the total population. The Russian authorities had to do something to get rid of these “gentry masses”, who – in their opinion – were not fit to even be called nobles.

The processes of social degradation and disintegration (depicted in this book) resulted in the mass shift of petty nobles into peasant categories in the years 1831–1869/71. The number of those expelled from “upper” to “lower” ranks is estimated at up to 350,000 individuals. This degradation process was unknown or forgotten for a long period, and was finally rediscovered and popularized in the mid-1980s by French Slavist and historian Daniel Beauvois⁶. He estimated the total number of those expelled during the above-mentioned period at over 450,000, in right bank Ukraine. In his other book, Beauvois underlined that the first Polish-Lithuanian Republic, until its end in

⁶ D. Beauvois, *Le noble, le serf, et le révizor: la noblesse polonaise entre le tsarisme et les masses ukrainiennes (1831–1863)*, Paris-Montreux 1985; Polish edition: idem, *Polacy na Ukrainie 1831–1863, szlachta polska na Wołyniu, Podolu i Kijowszczyźnie*, Paryż 1987; English edition: idem, *The Noble, the Serf and the Revizor: The Polish Nobility between Tsarist Imperialism and the Ukrainian Masses (1831–1863)*, Abingdon 1991.

1795, did not have the foresight to come up with any solution regarding what to do with the petty nobility that had no land – frequently and permanently called *golota*; the “naked” or “nude” gentry⁷.

Research into this question must be continued. The crucial issue is when the process of petty noble degradation started, what were its subsequent phases and stages, and – finally – what was the scale of the phenomenon?

As opposed to the quite common opinion held even in Lithuania before 1831, a significant number of those who might be defined as petty nobles were deprived of their gentry titles already by the 1820s – long before the aforesaid disintegration. After 1818, in Braslav District (and Braslav Roman – Catholic Deanery) of Vilnius Province, the total number of members of the gentry, taken from the church's registers, did not exceed 2%. And what is even more embarrassing, nearly all the registered names are “noble” names, but only a few used the title of Sir, Honourable Esquire or a different, strictly noble title (*Urodzony; Jaśnie Wielmożny, Szlachcic*). The majority are recorded and noted as “diligent” or “laborious” (*Pracowity*), what at the time identified one's social position as a non-noble⁸. There are examples, where one member of the same family is listed in the church register as “Honourable Esquire”, and another member as “Laborious”. This provides us with a certain clue, that relations between the petty gentry and the peasantry on Lithuanian and Ruthenian territories were much more complex than we can imagine now, and that the process of petty gentry disintegration was triggered much earlier, probably already in the 18th century (although it might have happened even earlier, perhaps even in the Medieval era). There are well-known documented sources concerning the tracing of evidence of gentry roots among people illegally claiming to be nobles at the beginning of the 17th century. One of the most famous is *Liber Chamorum*, written by Walerian Nekanda Trepka, who gathered a list of almost 2000 suspected imposters⁹.

The other important issue is culture. Both nobles and non-nobles lived in a specific environment. That environment was, especially in Catholic circles, closely connected with the higher culture of the nobility. On the one hand, there was the *Sarmatian*, Old-Polish traditions straight from the 16th and 17th centuries, while on the other, there was also the Enlightenment heritage of social advancement that might assure someone future prospects. In spite of Alexander Brückner's dark vision of the nobility's behaviour on the Lithuanian lands of the Commonwealth¹⁰, the example of the imperial Vilnius

⁷ D. Beauvois, *Trójkąt ukraiński. Szlachta, carat i lud na Wołyniu, Podolu i Kijowszczyźnie 1793–1914*, Lublin 2005, pp. 73.

⁸ Lietuvos Valstybės Istorijos Archyvas (hereinafter, LVIA), Records of the Braslav Roman-Catholic Deanery (birth-certificates, marriages-certificates, deaths), f. 575, 576, 627, 628, 632, 669 (1819–1845).

⁹ W. Nekanda Trepka, *Liber Generationis Plebeiorum* (“*Liber Chamorum*”), Wrocław 1995. As a manuscript composed in 1626.

¹⁰ A. Brückner, *Dzieje kultury polskiej*, T. IV: *Dzieje Polski porozbiorowej 1795 (1772)–1914*, Warsaw 1991.

University is striking. For many of those less wealthy petty nobles, education was the one and only way not to be alienated from their environment or – at least – to survive among their social class through this educational camouflage.

* * *

After over twenty years involvement in archival research, I have gathered thousands of pieces of information, notes, selected passages, extracts and chrestomathy, which were partly used in my minor sketches and essays, published mostly in Polish. However, my native tongue seems very limited and narrow, especially considering an international audience. Therefore, I have decided to publish some of these essays in English, despite the fact that some time has passed since their first appearance in Polish. Some of those articles were also published in English, but in deeply specialized, sometimes even rare, journals and books.

Why have I decided to do so? Most of the papers selected in this volume were prepared following Churchillesque “blood, sweat and tears” exploratory trips into Russian archives, mostly in St. Petersburg (I started at the end of the 1980s, when it was still Leningrad), Moscow, and – at that time – the republican archives of the USSR in Kyiv and Vilnius. The Belarusian archives in Minsk and Grodno were, for unknown reasons, forbidden and beyond my reach. Naturally, Polish archives, libraries and private records’ collections were also broadly utilized.

The crucial question driving my explorations was the issue of Russian policy towards the occupied Eastern territories of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which ceased to exist in 1795. This was after the third partition of the *Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów*. In the beginning, while preparing the book *Kresy* (Borderlands), about the school network in the Western Region of Russia, I was focused mainly on educational matters. Then, I moved into social areas – to the various spheres of Russian policy embracing the declining position of the nobility in the region, as well as the peasantry’s changing situation. Gradually, I also managed to explore libraries in the West – in London, at the University of California in Berkeley, and in the Hoover Institution for Peace, Revolution and War at Stanford University. Gradually, the landscape of Russian rule in Poland, Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine in the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century began to emerge, and was frequently displayed. Simultaneously – what should be mentioned here – the interest of scholars in the history of the Western provinces of imperial Russia started to also emerge. I discovered many magnificent books and monographs, and therefore my previously quite precursory (and to a certain degree, humble) studies were solidly settled in general literature, mainly published in English, but also in Polish, Russian, Ukrainian, French and Lithuanian.

I should mention some fundamental names of scholars who have made the deepest impressions on me. They are – among others – Daniel Beauvois, Juliusz Bardach, Stanisław Litak, David Frick, John Connelly, Andreas Kappeler, Theodore Weeks, Richard Pipes, Martin Malia, Nicolas Riasanovsky, but also Andrzej Walicki, Wiktor Sukien-

nicki, Andrzej Nowak, Julian Dybiec, Józef Miąso, Kalina Bartnicka, Irena Szybiak, Jan Malicki, Andrzej Rachuba, Henryk Lulewicz, Ales Smaliančuk, not to mention the Russians: Vladimir A. Diakov, Leonid E. Gorizontov and Alexei I. Miller, and a broad group of Lithuanians, including Tamara Bairašauskaitė, Egidijus Aleksandravičius, Antanas Kulakauskas, Rimantas Miknys, Darius Staliūnas, Alfredas Bumblauskas and many, many others.

The title of the book has been changed. Initially, I thought “Melting Pot” – to describe the general situation in the region, which was in fact a huge melting pot of different confessions, ethnic and social groups; a conglomerate of several individuals and communities. Gradually it became clear to me that the pot was already quite thoroughly discovered and broadly (almost perfectly) depicted. Thus, I decided on another key term, to explain this situation. I decided to use the phrase or designation: “Melting Puzzle”. This term (although a neologism) appeared more precise and reasonable, and was ultimately also justified because of the Russian authorities, who finally managed to find a solution in their ultimate drive to untie the Gordian “socio-ethnic” knot in the West of the Empire. In a certain sense, the puzzle was solved. The Polish question lay at the threshold of all Russian problems in the region. The Lithuanian-Ruthenian, but mostly Polonised – or simply Polish nobility – formed the crucial issue. They opposed Russian rule and formed the nucleus of all anti-Russian uprisings, as well as clandestine plots against Russia and its local authorities. Their anti-Tsarist behaviour differed, but – in popular Russian opinion from the 19th century – they acquired fame and came to a fundamental and very common conviction of genetic Polish hate towards Russians. All these convictions and real threats resulted in repressions, and were mixed with different scales of anti-Polish policy in the region; to a certain degree a “stimulus-response” reaction on the part of the Russian side. After the January Uprising of 1863, the Polish question (*Polski wopros*) was finally resolved. The gentry lost their influences, and was gradually replaced by the radical intelligentsia made up of different ethnic roots, mostly Jewish and Polish, but simultaneously also Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Belarusian and Russian, who took up the struggle against the Tsarist government. Many of the studies presented in this volume aspire to explain this final stage of Tsarist policy concerning Poles in the Western Region. However, this is also a picture of how the Polish population counter-reacted to strengthening Russian political actions, and how the ancient world of social divisions (where the nobility played the leading role) had to react to new trends of forming modern nationalities in East Central Europe. Finally, the title of the book emerged: “Melting Puzzle. The Nobility, Society, Education, and Scholarly Life in East Central Europe (1800s-1900s)”.

It consists of three parts devoted to: nobility and society, education and tradition, and to the scholarly life of the 19th and 20th century in East Central Europe. The first part: *Nobility and Society*, touches on the question of the nobility’s transformation. All studies presented in this part of the book are mostly focused on peculiar, often barely known issues concerning the petty nobility, yeomanry and surrounding social strata, involved in the tumbling wheel of the Russian bureaucracy, as “cogs in

the Soviet Wheel” – to quote Michael Heller in his monograph, *Homo Sovieticus*¹¹. This metaphor mirrors to some extent – but quite precisely – the previous, pre-revolutionary situation of Poles under Russian rule in the 19th century. The conclusion seems obvious – before the October Revolution of 1917, some actions implemented by the Tsarist authorities were a kind of testing ground for future social changes. In these experiments, Poles played the role of a kind of experimental material – of human guinea pigs, if you will.

The book opens with a text published in Polish in the quarterly journal, *Przegląd Wschodni* (Eastern Review) in 2006¹², and then in the book *East-Central Europe and Russia*¹³. It is entitled: “Education and Upbringing at the Border of Cultures – Ethnic Processes, Religious and Political Transformations, and their relation to education in East Central Europe”¹⁴. The next two chapters focus on the situation of the lesser gentry in the Western provinces of the empire. The first one is entitled: “The Degradation of the Petty Nobility in the Russian Empire’s Western Provinces (1831–1868)”, was primarily published in Polish in 1991/1992¹⁵, while the following text is entitled: “Petty Nobility in the Western Provinces of the Russian Empire – A Contribution to the Discussion on the Scale of Petty Noble Degradation”, first published in 2004¹⁶.

The subsequent article: Structure Modernised – Implementation of the “Honorary Citizen” Category into the Social Structure of the Russian Empire (1830–1900), was printed by Michael Branch in English in 2009, but first in Polish, in 2004, as a tribute to Professor Juliusz Bardach on the occasion of his 90th birthday¹⁷.

¹¹ M. Heller, *Cogs in the Wheel: The Formation of Soviet Man*, Westminster 1988.

¹² *Wychowanie na styku kultur. Procesy etniczne, przemiany wyznaniowe i polityczne a edukacja w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej*, “Przegląd Wschodni”, Vol. X: 2006 (2007), No. 2 (38), pp. 361–376.

¹³ *Europa Środkowo-Wschodnia a Rosja XIX-XX wieku. W kręgu edukacji i polityki*, “Bibliotheca Europae Orientalis”, XXVII, studia 3, Warsaw 2007, pp. 11–26. This text was also Partly translated into German language, and published as an introduction to a larger text on clandestine education in: *Illegale Schulen im Wilnaer Lehrbezirk in den 1870er Jahren*, [in:] *Bildungskonzepte und Bildungsinitiativen in Nordost-Europa (19. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Anja Wilhelmi, Wiesbaden 2010, pp. 193–218 (Veröffentlichungen des Nordost-Instituts, 13).

¹⁴ Some titles may have been somewhat changed since their initial publication.

¹⁵ *Koniec przywilejów – degradacja drobnej szlachty polskiej na Litwie historycznej i prawobrzeżnej Ukrainie w latach 1831–1868*, “Przegląd Wschodni”, Vol. I: 1991 (1992), No. 3, pp. 615–640, and then as a *Degradacja drobnej szlachty polskiej w zachodnich guberniach Cesarstwa Rosyjskiego w latach 1831–1868*, in Polish book *Europa Środkowo-Wschodnia a Rosja...*, pp. 27–50.

¹⁶ *Drobna szlachta w guberniach zachodnich Cesarstwa Rosyjskiego – aneks do dyskusji o liczbie zdegradowanych*, [in:] *Historia. Społeczeństwo. Wychowanie. Księga dedykowana Profesorowi Józefowi Miąso*, ed. Kalina Bartnicka, in co-operation with Joanna Schiller, Pultusk-Warsaw 2004, pp. 529–536.

¹⁷ *Modernization of Structure. Implementation of the ‘honorary citizen’ category into the social structure of the Russian Empire, 1830–1900*, [in:] *Defining Self. Essays on Emergent Identities in Russia. Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, compiled and ed. Michael Branch, “Studia Fennica. Ethnologica 10”, Helsinki

The fifth chapter concerns “Criminal Procedures and Actions in Lithuanian-Ruthenian Lands after the Liquidation of the Church Union in 1839”. It was published in Polish in “Eastern Review” in 1994¹⁸. Similarly, the sixth chapter on “The January Uprising of 1863-4 and its Demographic Consequences – Deportations and Displacements of Poles from the Western Provinces into the Depths of the Empire”, was initially published in the same journal in 1998¹⁹.

The second part of the book is entitled: *Education and Tradition*, and contains four articles (Chapters 7-10). Chapter 7 is entitled: “Under Constraint or in Self-Defence? Polish School Funds and Scholarships on the Territories of Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine”, and was primarily published in Volume 19 of “History of Education” in England in 1990²⁰. It explains the complex situation of Poles who had to support Russian schools in the region, after dissolving the Polish school network existing until that moment. This was – what should be mentioned – my first text published in English, which also had an interesting history. Its first version was totally unreadable, and was meticulously polished and improved by native English-speaker and historian Alfred Juchniewicz of Cambridge and London.

The eighth chapter, “‘Forgotten’ Grand Duchy of Lithuania – A Few Critical Remarks on the Regression of the Term in 19th and 20th Century Polish Historiography”, has never been published in English. Its revised Polish version was printed in the Lithuanian book about Grand Duchy of Lithuania, edited by Alfredas Bumblauskas in 2013²¹. The book was the result of an international conference which took place at the University of Vilnius’ History Department a year earlier. It was focused on the phenomena and traditions of the Grand Duchy, especially on searching “places of memory” which were/are common for historians from Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, and Poland.

The ninth chapter is entitled: “From Capital to Provincial Town – Vilnius in the Structural Conception of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Rzeczpospolita) in

2009, pp. 449–461; *Wprowadzenie kategorii poczetnych grażdan do struktur stanowych Cesarstwa Rosyjskiego w XIX wieku*, [in:] *Z dziejów kultury prawnej. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Juliuszowi Bardachowi w dziewięćdziesięciolecie urodzin*, ed. Marek Wąsowicz et al., Warsaw 2004, pp. 169–180.

¹⁸ *Procesy karne na ziemiach litewsko-ruskich po likwidacji unii w 1839 r.*, “Przegląd Wschodni”, Vol. II: 1992/1993 (1994), No. 3 (7), pp. 611–631.

¹⁹ *Zsyłka i przesiedlenia ludności polskiej z zachodnich guberni w głąb Cesarstwa Rosyjskiego po powstaniu styczniowym*, “Przegląd Wschodni”, Vol. V: 1998, No. 2 (18), pp. 237–262. This text was also translated into German language: *Illegale Schulen im Wilnaer Lehrbausezirk in den 1870er Jahren*, [in:] *Bildungskonzepte und Bildungsinitiativen in Nordost-Europa (19. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Anja Wilhelm, Wiesbaden 2010, pp. 193–218 (Veröffentlichungen des Nordost-Instituts, 13).

²⁰ *Under constraint or in self-defense? Polish school funds and scholarships in Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine territories*, “History of Education”, Vol. XIX: 1990, June, No. 2, pp. 149–160.

²¹ “Zapomniane” *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie – kilka krytycznych uwag na temat przyczyn regresu pojęcia w historiografii polskiej XIX i XX wieku*, [in:] *Lietuvos Džidžiosios Kunigaikštijos istorijos ir tradicijos fenomenai: tautų atminities vietos*, ed. Alfredas Bumblauskas, Vilnius 2013, pp. 185–195 (English summary, pp. 256–257).

the Polish Historical Narrative”. It was published in 2012 in the Polish popular historical journal *Mówią Wieki*, then in the book edited by Maciej Koźmiński, and also in Belorussian²².

The tenth chapter is entitled: “Illegal Schooling in the 1870s – Vilnius Educational District”. It was primarily published in Polish in the journal “Dissertations on the History of Education” in 1996²³. As a result of my research at the Lithuanian State Historical Archives in Vilnius, I managed to find excellent materials concerning the clandestine education phenomenon. At that moment in Polish historiography, there was only information available concerning such activities by Polish circles in the Congress Kingdom of Poland. But Lithuanian historians were already familiar with these sources. The most impressive fact is that clandestine education in Lithuania was conducted by different ethnic elements: besides Poles, there were Jews, Lithuanians, Russians and Belarusians. All those people tried to fill the gap created by the ailing, official Russian school network. Their activities were mostly completely separate from any political activity. They longed only for “pure” education.

The eleventh chapter is headed: “Old Lithuanians” – Some Critical Remarks on the Socio-Ethnic Origins of Poles in Historical Lithuania.” It was prepared as a lecture for the seminar: *Solidarity of Nations. Ethnic issues in Polish-Lithuanian relationships*, held at the Law Department of the Vilnius University with the cooperation of Cologne University in Germany (organizers: Tomasz Milej and Samir Felich – University of Cologne and Vaidotas Vaičaitis – University of Vilnius), on 21 November 2013. Later this text was published in Polish in the book: *Social Groups and Their Influence on the Development of Society, 16th-19th Century*, edited by Tamara Bairašauskaitė in Vilnius²⁴. In this essay, I attempt to summarize the general situation of Poles in historic Lithuania (formerly the Grand Duchy of Lithuania), with some reflections on the “global ethnic situation” in the region at the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th

²² *Od stolicy do prowincji. Wilno w polskiej pamięci historycznej*, “Mówią Wieki”, 2012, April, No. 4/12/ (627), pp. 21-25; *Od stolicy do prowincji. Degradacja pozycji Wilna w strukturze pojęcia kresów Rzeczypospolitej w polskiej narracji historycznej*, [in:] *Cywilizacja europejska. Różnorodność i podziały*, Vol. III, ed. Maciej Koźmiński, Cracow 2014, pp. 179-188; in Belorussian: *Ad stolicy da prawincyi. Mesca Wilni u paniacci “vuschodniaja kresy” pol’skaga gistorycznaga naratiwu*, “Palitichnaia Sfera”, Ideia Litvy, 2012, No. 18-19 (1-2), pp. 87-94

²³ *Nielegalne szkoły w Wileńskim Okręgu Naukowym w latach siedemdziesiątych XIX w.*, “Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty”, Vol. XXXVII: 1996, pp. 119-143.

²⁴ „Staro-Litwini”. *Kilka uwag na temat socjo-etnicznego pochodzenia Polaków na Litwie historycznej*, [in:] *Социальные группы и их влияние на развитие общества в XVI–XIX веках, сборник научных статей подготовленных на основе докладов участников международной конференции состоящей в Институте истории Литвы 8–9 октября 2014 г., составитель Тамара Байрашаускайте = Grupy społeczne i ich wpływ na rozwój społeczeństwa w XVI–XIX wieku, zbiór artykułów na podstawie referatów wygłoszonych na międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej zorganizowanej przez Instytut Historii Litwy 8–9 października 2014 roku*, ed. Tamara Bairašauskaitė, Vilnius 2015, pp. 234-256.

century. The general thesis of this study highlights the multi-layered phenomenon of the Polish community in Lithuania, which traditionally and quite commonly was reserved by historians exclusively for the noble milieu. This was undoubtedly a historical impoverishment of the image of this community, which was significantly represented in all corners of society.

The third part of the book is entitled: *Scholarly Life*. It opens with the twelfth chapter: "Science for the Masses – The Political Background of Polish and Soviet Science Popularisation in the Post-War Period". This text was first published in the "Max Planck Institute for the History of Science Preprints" in 2009, and was a result of my cooperation with Arne Schirmacher, a German historian of science. Together we prepared a common project on science popularization and communicating science in 20th century Europe, from comparative perspectives²⁵. Subsequently, we organized an international symposium (S53) at the XXIII International Congress of History of Science and Technology in Budapest, that same year. The Congress was devoted to ideas and instruments in a social context²⁶. This was also the moment when my interests returned to issues linked with academic life in East Central Europe and Russia during the developed Stalinist period of the 1940s and 1950s. I should mention that until that moment, I had already published several chapters regarding the diffusion of science in the 19th and 20th century, in the Polish multi-volume synthesis: "History of Polish Science"²⁷, and as a separate monograph²⁸.

The cooperation with Arne Schirmacher also resulted in the following text, the thirteenth chapter: "Marxism and the Leap to the Kingdom of Science – The Unbearable Issue, of 'Scientific Consciousness'". This was previously published in a book edited by Jan Malicki: *Russia of the Tsars. Russia of the Bolsheviks. Russia of New Times* in 2012, and subsequently in 2013, with a foreword by Richard Pipes. In fact, the book was dedicated to this brilliant American scholar of Polish descent, who often visited the University of Warsaw, and in 2010 received an honorary doctorate there²⁹. The

²⁵ *Science for the masses. The political background of Polish and Soviet science popularization in the post-war period*, [in:] *Communicating Science in 20th Century Europe. A Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Arne Schirmacher, "Max Planck Institute for the History of Science Preprints", 2009, No. 385, pp. 133–145.

²⁶ *XXIII International Congress of the History of Science and Technology. Ideas and Instruments in Social Context, 28 July – 2 August 2009, Budapest, Hungary*. Book of Abstracts & List of Participants, Budapest 2009, pp. 265–269.

²⁷ J. Sutyla, L. Zasztowt, *Popularyzacja nauki w Polsce w latach 1918–1951* (1. 1918–1939 – J. Sutyla; 2. 1939–1951 – L. Zasztowt), *Historia nauki polskiej*, Vol. V, Part 1, ed. B. Suchodolski, Z. Skubała-Tokarska, Wrocław 1992, pp. 604–673; L. Zasztowt, *Popularyzacja nauki w Królestwie Polskim 1864–1914*, [in:] *Historia nauki polskiej*, Vol. IV, Part I and II, ed. B. Suchodolski, S. Brzozowski, Wrocław 1987, pp. 599–633.

²⁸ L. Zasztowt, *Popularyzacja nauki w Królestwie Polskim 1864–1905*, Wrocław 1989, p. 278.

²⁹ *Marxism and the Leap to the Kingdom of Science. An Unbearable Issue of 'Scientific Consciousness'*, [in:] *Russia of the Tsars. Russia of the Bolsheviks. Russia of new times*. Ed. J. Malicki, Warsaw 2012,

main question for me was: how was it possible to introduce Marxism into Polish traditional society? Why couldn't the metamorphosis of people's minds ultimately take place and overcome traditional values?

Cooperation with the Centre for East European Studies of the University of Warsaw – my home institution – resulted also in the next fragment, the fourteenth chapter entitled: "Inconvenient Neighbour – Some Reflections on Polish Historical Research Concerning Russia and the USSR". This was previously published in the book: *East and West. History and Contemporary State of Eastern Studies*, edited by Jan Malicki and myself, in 2009³⁰. In this essay, I tried to show the most significant figures in post-war Polish research concerning Russia, with just a pinch of comparison to other historiographies and achievements in East Central Europe at the time.

The fifteenth chapter has never been published before. It is a continuation of my research on Marxism, and contains a general analysis (mostly sociological and philosophical aspects) of the failure to create the new communist man – *Homo Sovieticus* – in Poland. It is entitled: "Miraculous Ascension – Materialism as Political Tool for the Prosperity of Socialist/Communist Society. The Case of Science in Poland (mid-1940s to 1950s)". It was presented at the 7th International Conference of the European Society for the History of Science (ESHS) in Prague in 2016, at a separate symposium, prepared by myself and a young Czech scholar, Michaela Kůželová, from the Department of the History of Science at the Institute for Contemporary History of the Czech Academy of Sciences.

At the same conference, I presented a yet unpublished paper on the situation of Polish historians during the Stalinist period (which ended in 1956), but in a broader context – until the end of the existence of the Peoples Republic of Poland in 1989, and later – in the first years of its independence. The sixteenth chapter, an essay, is entitled: "Historians at the Crossroads (1945-1956) – Polish Historians and their Attitude to Stalinism. The Case of Henryk Wereszycki and Stefan Kieniewicz". These two figures were the "founding fathers" of Polish historiography of the 19th and 20th century in post-war Poland. The former – an agnostic – was condemned, the latter – a Catholic – was praised and honoured. After the war, with Poland's complex situation, why was one scholar humiliated, even though he was a socialist, while the other was a monolith in the academic community and scholarly life, being a religious person? Neither belonged to the Communist Party.

The seventeenth and final chapter, is of a more personal nature. It is focused on the figure of Professor Wiktor Sukiennicki, one of the most accomplished Polish experts on Soviet Russia before 1939. After the war, he remained in exile and was connected

pp. 95–106. Second edition: *Russia: of the Tsars, of the Bolsheviks, of the new times with introduction from Richard Pipes*, ed. J. Malicki, Warsaw 2013, pp. 101–112.

³⁰ *Inconvenient Neighbor: Some reflections on Polish historical research concerning Russia and the USSR*, [in:] *East and West. History and Contemporary State of Eastern Studies*, ed. J. Malicki, L. Zasztowt, "Bibliotheca Europae Orientalis", Vol. XXXIV, didactica 5, Warsaw 2009, pp. 305–323.

with the *Institut Littéraire* at Maisons-Laffitte in France, and Jerzy Giedroyc's milieu, but lived in London and subsequently in Palo Alto, California. The title of this essay is "Outcast Scholar in the Shadow of Historical Lithuania – Professor Wiktor Sukiennicki (1901–1983)"³¹. The text was published in Vilnius in 2015, in a book commemorating the magnificent Lithuanian historian, Tamara Bairašauskaitė, on her 65th birthday. Sukiennicki was very popular in the West, especially in Polish emigre circles. The essay presents one of the last moments in his life, when Sukiennicki visited Stockholm in 1978 with a series of lectures. He was cheered and warmly greeted in Sweden. It so happened that I was lucky enough to witness his last Scandinavian trip, and was able to record my personal memories of those events.

INSTEAD OF A CONCLUSION

It is impossible to thank all the magnificent people who gave me a helping hand during my archival studies and research at various libraries and in different collections over the years. I owe them much more than they can ever imagine. I thank all of them and I will always be grateful for their kindness to me. A person crucial to me in Russia was Polina Kantor in Leningrad (now St. Petersburg). At the end of the communist era she was the only human being in the USSR who dared invite me – a foreigner – to her home (being a young scholar without any relations in the city), and showed me the city. She also helped me stave off homesickness, inviting me on Sundays for exceptional meals and discussions.

In London, my aunt, Halina Sukiennicki, wife of Professor Wiktor Sukiennicki and my father's sister, played a similar role. Thanks to her, I had a chance to get acquainted with English culture and the city of London in the 1970s, and later. Another person was the brilliant Bohdan Brodziński – for whom I managed to devote a separate obituary³² – and his son and my friend Konrad, both of whom were always very kind to me.

In the United States the Larsen family helped me a great deal – Sophia (Zosia) and Caesar Larsen of Pleasanton, California. They were my guides, caregivers and mentors in American everyday life. In general, wherever I have gone, I have been lucky to meet people who were always willing to support my endeavours, as well as me personally.

In Poland, Professor Juliusz Bardach fulfilled this role, whom I have been lucky to be acquainted since 1988. Thanks to his generosity and kindness I have had the chance to learn a lot in private, long after my studies at the university finished. Thank you.

³¹ *Professor Wiktor Sukiennicki (1901–1983): Scholar and Outcast in the Shadow of Historic Lithuania*, [in:] *Kintančios Lietuvos visuomenė: struktūros, veikėjai, idėjos, mokslinių straipsnių rinkinys, skirtas prof. habil. dr. Tamaros Bairašauskaitės 65-mečio sukakčiai*, sudarytojai Olga Mastianica, Virgilijus Pugačiauskas, Vilma Žaltauskaitė, Vilnius 2015, pp. 150–161.

³² *Niepokorne życie: Bohdan Brodziński (1921–2002)*, including his bibliography, 1955–1998, "Przegląd Wschodni", Vol. VIII: 2002, No. 2(30), pp. 491–504.

INTRODUCTION

And finally, I must thank my mother, Halina (*nee* Byliński), and my magnificent wife Iwona (Ivonne) – two brave women who believed in me, I hope reasonably.

Leszek Zasztowt

I

NOBILITY AND SOCIETY

CHAPTER 1

EDUCATION AND UPBRINGING AT THE BORDER OF CULTURES – ETHNIC PROCESSES, RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL TRANSFORMATIONS, AND THEIR RELATION TO EDUCATION IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE

It is right to begin this essay by defining the notions of ‘upbringing’, ‘culture’ and ‘education’. Upbringing, or parenting, is part of human education, which is in turn composed of a variety of factors and agents – fostering and training seem to take primacy among them. Following Stanisław Litak’s concept, let us assume that education stands for rendering young people familiar with the values characteristic of a given civilization and epoch¹. Culture, in turn, is a generic term extending to the rules of human acting and collective output of creative activities of humans. The values we acquaint the young generation with are doubtless an essential element of culture. They form a specific set of principles and guidelines determining the way(s) in which individuals function within a society. Thus, upbringing is part of culture, and culture is strictly (cor)related to the historic period in which a society or community happened to live – as emphasised long ago by Stanisław Kot².

Culture is not a uniform phenomenon. As noted by Jan-Stanisław Bystroń, culture can not only be classified by its national facets (e.g. Polish, Russian, German, French or Italian), but also noble, bourgeois, or folk culture can be discerned; as autonomous wholes often functioning independently of the national, religious, or denominational, context.³ The notion of culture has in itself evolved over the centuries. This often had to do with certain phenomena and social formations sinking into oblivion. To recall, historically, the most recent – so-called “socialist culture”, which was in fact a part of contemporary mass culture based on specified ideological-political assumptions. In the past, the case was similar with the cultures of ancient Greece and Rome, in the Middle Ages and in subsequent epochs in the development of civilizations – European and others. Moreover, all the aforesaid cultural phenomena, typical to their respective

¹ S. Litak, *Historia wychowania do wielkiej rewolucji francuskiej*, Cracow 2004, p. 9.

² S. Kot, *Historia wychowania*, Vol. I, Warsaw 1994, p. 1ff.

³ J.S. Bystroń, *Kultura ludowa*, Warsaw 1936, p. 17.

periods, have appeared in the dual form of “high” culture – of the elite – and “low” (common or folk) culture; the latter, mentioned previously, assumed the form of mass culture in the 20th century.

The history of education, teaching and learning has always been appreciated and focused on in the Polish humanities. As Henryk Barycz observes, it has been a powerful lever, and a means of defending the nation’s spiritual values.⁴ This national element has shaped the research methodology and selection of the issues, and informed the hierarchies of the phenomena deemed essential from the standpoint of the historical vicissitudes of the nation. This attitude has remained predominant in our understanding of Polish history – one example being the reliable monograph by Julian Dybiec, who made the maintenance of Polish national identity central to his considerations.⁵

Besides the interest in the history of upbringing (parenting, fostering) in its, say, “classical” version, there have remained whole domains whose influence on the formation and transformations of the nation, the formulation of various national ideas, including national philosophy, the defence of national values when essentially endangered, and on religious/denominational issues (earlier and later on), which was apparently scant, it was thought. Despite numerous studies on dissent education, the research into reciprocal relations between Protestantism, Orthodoxy and Catholicism – particularly as regards the ethnic relations, and how they influenced the shaping of Polish culture, as well as certain other proto-national cultures in Central/Eastern Europe – has remained marginal. The existing interdependencies between religion and nationality, and their consequences, have tended to be neglected to some extent. The assumption that the nobility (*szlachta*) – the Polish political class, or estate – was uniform, had been deemed ascertained. Deliberations on the peasant class were usually reduced to its economic condition, whilst ignoring, or belittling, ethnic differences. The substantial issue of reciprocal cultural influence being the interpenetrating ethnic, or proto-national, communities of the multinational mosaic of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1569-1795) also tended to be set aside.

The issue I wish to focus on herein has primarily to do with the nature of the Commonwealth’s specific culture, the ways in which Latin-Polish education informed the country’s inhabitants – thus, consequently, shaping the cultures of those nations, which at a later stage formed their own state units, taking advantage of Commonwealth traditions (among other things). An important element of this tradition is its multithreaded nature, the interspersed influences of the East and West, which includes Orthodox and Greek-Byzantine influences. Let us stress that recent Polish historical research has tended to depart from Polono-centrism, as a narrow concept – a reorientation which is no doubt inspired by the historiographies of our eastern neighbours, especially Lithuanian, Belarusian and Ukrainian research. The efforts and projects run

⁴ H. Barycz, *Rozwój historii oświaty, wychowania i kultury w Polsce*, Cracow 1949, pp. 5-6.

⁵ J. Dybiec, *Nie tylko szabłą. Nauka i kultura polska w walce o utrzymanie tożsamości narodowej 1795-1918*, Cracow 2004.

by Juliusz Bardach, Wojciech Wrzesiński, Jerzy Kłoczowski, or Jan Jurkiewicz, have clearly shown that there is a wealth of problems related to research on the Commonwealth's multiculturalism that call to be revisited, with – in some aspects – new research issues being undertaken.

From the standpoint of history of education, it is worth focusing on two issues of importance: the influence of ethnic and nation-forming processes on educational or educative changes, and the direct and indirect influence of politics/applied policies on the educational/educative practice – in terms of school realities and practices as well as pedagogic thought. The latter, let it be noted, has all too frequently assumed the form of a political ideology: a remark particularly true for the 20th century.

In the Commonwealth, the interpenetrations of cultural influences began on a larger scale after the Union of Kreva/Krewo, in 1385.⁶ It accelerated throughout the 15th and 16th centuries, but these processes came to a head at the Union of Lublin in 1569. The Union is considered a turning point: the process of the formation of ethnic communities, which in the 18th and 19th centuries were to form the foundations of modern nation states, and has taken place ever since.⁷ Timothy Snyder, in his excellent study, has assumed this particular initial caesura.⁸ The American historian's considerations distinctly show how heavily our thinking of the past has been dominated by the 19th century and by the national character of our historiography. This approach generates a one-sided perspective: the research only emphasises certain elements – namely, those of essence from the standpoint of national interest, very much at the expense of those testifying to the country's ethnic diversity. Such an approach definitely strains the image of a country and state, such as the Commonwealth of Two Nations.

Interestingly, it was in the 16th century, particularly in its latter half, that the formation of ethnic identities gained momentum – as exemplified by the history of the Cosack region, its territory and population.⁹ Accelerated Polonisation of the administrative structures across the regions of the Commonwealth, including the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Ruthenia (Rus'), along with the unprecedented development of a Latin-Polish (Protestant and Catholic) as well as Ruthenian (Orthodox) educational and school system, were achieved in parallel. This was initially connected with the suc-

⁶ Cf. J. Kłoczowski, *Europa Środkowo-Wschodnia w XIV-XVII wieku*, [in:] *Historia Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, Vol. I, Lublin 2000, p.113ff.

⁷ *Unia Lubelska i tradycje integracyjne w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej*, eds. J. Kłoczowski, H. Łaskiewicz, Lublin 1999.

⁸ T. Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations. Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus 1569–1999*, New Haven–London 2003.

⁹ See: T. Chynczewska-Hennel, *Świadomość narodowa szlachty ukraińskiej i Kozaczyzny od schyłku XVI do połowy XVII wieku*, Warsaw 1985 – a book that has become a classic. Cf. W.A. Serczyk, *Na dalekiej Ukrainie. Dzieje Kozaczyzny do 1648 roku*, Cracow 1984, and a number of studies by Ukrainian authors, incl., for the later period: T. Čuhlib, *Heťmany i monarhy. Ukrajinska deržava v miznarodnyh vidnosynah 1648–1714*, Kyiv–New York 2003.

cessful advancement of the Reformation, including the Orthodox Reformation¹⁰, and, thereafter, of the Counterreformation and polemics of the Eastern and Western rites around the effects of the Union of Brest of 1596.

In referring to the research on tertiary education in the Old-Polish period, one may find that it would be appropriate to complement the image with studies describing the condition of the educational system in the Eastern rite – not only with respect to the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, but also regarding the so-called Ostroh (Ostrogski) Academy and the confraternal schools, especially those of Vilnius and Lviv.¹¹ Similarly, an aspect of the functioning of the Academies of Krakow and Vilnius has not been delved into yet – both universities had not only Polish, but also Lithuanian, Ruthenian and foreign students, thus serving as powerful instruments of dissemination of Latin civilization in the East.¹² In fact, theological seminaries played a similar function. Apart from Polish students, the Papal Seminary of Vilnius listed among its alumnae, defined by origin (column headed *patria*): Lithuanians (*Lithuanus*), Tatars (*Tartarus*), Ruthenians (*Ruthenus*), Germans (*Germanus*), Swedes (*Suecus*), Hungarians (*Ungarus*), Bohemians (*Bohemus*), Latvians (*Livo*), Scots (*Scotus*), Danes (*Danus*), Finns (*Fins*), Englishmen (*Anglo*), Russians (*Moscus*), and a number of other nationalities.¹³

It must be emphasised that we focus here on the phenomena that took place in the last three centuries, within the limits Central and Eastern Europe. To be more specific, our focus is the phenomena which occurred on Commonwealth territory in the 18th century and, afterwards, in the post-partition area of what was once Poland-Lithuania. Our discussion concludes with the end of the 20th century – the moment a number of Central East European countries that emerged in this territory regained their independence.

The period referred to encompassed the birth and development of contemporary nationalism. National issues have profoundly stigmatised the history of culture and education in our region. Modern nations emerged which, apart from striving for their own statehood, set to create and develop their own national cultures as their main goal. The “young nations” – the Lithuanians, Belarusians and Ukrainians – had their own high cultures developed in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries, stemming from earlier folk culture. Also, the “old nations”, often called “historical” – e.g. the Germans, Russians, or Poles, felt the impact of this emerging nationalism. The consequences also became apparent in the sphere of culture. The evolution of the European monarchies reigning

¹⁰ N. Jakowenko [Yakovenko], *Historia Ukrainy do końca XVIII w.*, Lublin 2000, p. 161ff.

¹¹ Z. Mocko, *Ostrożska slov'iano-treko-latinska academia (1576–1636)*, Kyiv 1990. Cf. earlier studies: A. Jabłonowski, *Akademia Kijowsko-Mohylańska*, Cracow 1900; A. Sawyč, *Narysy istorii kulturnykh ruhiv na Ukraini ta Bilorusi v XVI-XVII v.*, Kyiv 1928.

¹² H. Gmiterek, *Album studentów Akademii Zamojskiej 1596–1781*, Warsaw 1994.

¹³ Among them, some exotic ones, origin-wise, e.g. Prussian (*Prtuhenus*), Mazovian (*Masovita*), Moravian (*Moravus*). See: H. Litwin, *Katalog alumnów seminarium papieskiego w Wilnie 1582–1798*, “Przegląd Wschodni”, Vol. VIII: 2003, No. 4, pp. 925–976.

over Central and Eastern European lands – the Hohenzollerns, the Habsburgs and the Romanovs – implied the imposition of German and Russian culture on the nations inhabiting those countries. It is easy to guess that the nations subject to this treatment were not entirely enthusiastic about it.

It was education – that is, upbringing and training – that became the basic instrument for integration which was oftentimes pursued forcefully and, in most cases, contrary to the national aspirations of not only the Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Belarusians and Ukrainians, but also the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians (until Austro-Hungary was formed) and so many of the Balkan nations.

Consequently, the question of importance from the standpoint of European culture, as a whole, and its history, emerges – has the national character of education, as imposed by the ruling monarchies (Prussian, Russian and Austrian) only been a negative occurrence? Did the language and culture imposed by the authorities (Russian and German), eliminate the positive effects of educational activities?

It is worth adding that as national states emerged in the 20th century, most of the new states took over the previously applied policies – but now in the form of Lithuanisation, Polonisation, Magyarisation, Bohemisation, or Slovakisation of national minorities that appeared within those newly-established countries.¹⁴ Most of the young nations which fell within the influence of Bolshevik Russia were subjected to not exactly Russification, but, rather Sovietization; as early as during the inter-war period or post-World War II. Interestingly, Sovietization was not always definitely intended, as exemplified not only by the situation of the Baltic countries – then republics of the USSR – but also by the entire Eastern Bloc of so-called “people’s democratic (real socialist) countries”.

Hence, education was a factor of primary influence on ethnic processes occurring in the region.¹⁵ Let us take a look at selected issues related to how education informed these ethnic processes, and subsequently, also religious and political processes.

It should be emphasized that the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth initiated the development of a national education system. Established in 1773, the Commission for National Education created Europe’s first state and secular educational system – certainly a matter for Polish pride. It should be remembered, though, that the Commonwealth was not a uni-national state then. The Poles amounted therein (after the detachment of the lands lost as part of the First Partition, to which Polish reforms did not extend) to just over 50% of the total population. The Enlightenment activists did

¹⁴ Czech historiography believes that Czechoslovakia was the only Central East European country to pursue tolerant policies toward minorities; thus, no heavy Bohemisation or Slovakisation of national minorities was ever present. This is confirmed by J. Tomaszewski, *Czechosłowacja*, Warsaw 1997, p. 58.

¹⁵ *Rola mniejszości narodowych w kulturze i oświacie polskiej w latach 1700-1939*, eds. A. Bilewicz, S. Walasek, Wrocław 1998; *Edukacja, państwo, naród w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej XIX-XX w.*, eds. A. Bilewicz, R. Gładkiewicz, S. Walasek, Wrocław 2002.

not see Polonisation of the country's citizens as their actual goal. They sought to rescue and amend the Commonwealth; to shape modern patriotic attitudes; to cultivate country and state values. But what was the actual effect of introducing Polish as the language of instruction across all school levels? A perverse statement could be made that the Lithuanians, Belarusians and Ukrainians were saved from Polonisation only through the quite mediocre success of the Commission's authorities in the organisation of the parish schooling system in the eastern regions of the Commonwealth and, to a lesser extent, through existing confessional differences. Orthodoxy – let us add – was on the defensive at the time and the Greek Catholic Church assumed a dominant position as far as the Eastern rite was concerned.¹⁶

The three partitioning monarchies began reintroducing the solution introduced by Enlightenment-era Polish activists, who were driven by understandable, ordinary concern for preserving the country's sovereignty. These powers were not driven solely by sentimental or Enlightenment-oriented concern about the country's fortunes. The argument for intensifying the Germanisation or Russification process in the school system was the need to introduce national education in order to build a uniform modern body politic, and to construct unified nations – the German, Austrian and Russian nations – from out of the various nationalities and ethnic groups. The methods applied to this end significantly differed from the “peaceful Polish way”. The educational system was consolidated top-down, often using power-sharing methods, accompanied by the elimination of schools run by religious and national minorities – to use a more modern notion. The downtrodden nations responded, in the first place, with considerable development of illegal Polish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Jewish, and even Russian education systems – in areas integrated within the Russian Empire.¹⁷

As for the Russian Partition, an interesting occurrence was that secret bilingual/multilingual schools were created, with such language combinations as: Lithuanian-Polish, Jewish-Russian, Polish-Russian, Lithuanian-Polish-Russian.¹⁸ Thus, in ethnically diverse areas, the principle of instruction in the state language was being broken, on the level of spontaneous social action, in favour of an education model that could be described today, somewhat exaggeratedly, as a “multi-ethnic” or “multi-national” education, or fostering. This activity involved, first of all, individuals of Polish land-owning background. Their pursuance came more than a century ahead of what we refer to, from today's standpoint, as formation of a civil society. This ‘civic approach’ towards to education, duly respecting the ethnic and religious diversity of the pupils

¹⁶ S. Litak, *Kościół łaciński w Rzeczypospolitej około 1772 roku. Struktury administracyjne*, Lublin 1996; W. Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie w Rzeczypospolitej około 1772 roku. Struktury administracyjne*, Lublin 1998; H. Dylągowa, *Dzieje Unii Brzeskiej (1596–1918)*, Warsaw 1995.

¹⁷ L. Zasztowt, *Szkolnictwo na ziemiach litewsko-ruskich (od 1795 r.)*, [in:] *Historia i współczesność języka polskiego na Kresach wschodnich*, ed. I. Grek-Pabisowa, Warsaw 1997, p. 203ff.

¹⁸ L. Zasztowt, *Nielegalne szkoły w Wileńskim Okręgu Naukowym w latach siedemdziesiątych XIX w.*, “Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty”, Vol. XXXVII: 1996, pp. 119–143.

and students, was a European sensation. Interestingly, such generous respect for ‘distinctness of the others’, which was visible particularly in Lithuania, Belarus and, to a lesser extent, Ukraine, was not worked up by the Poles in the other partitioned areas – including in autonomous Austro-Hungarian Galicia, where Ukrainian schooling was restricted using all possible means.¹⁹

The educational activities in the Russian Partition was nowise limited to secret education. a social movement developed based on collecting national keepsakes and folk songs, and self-education. On the verge the of formation of modern nations – particularly, Lithuanian, Belarusian and Ukrainian, but Jewish too – this activity involved people who were deemed, in terms of 19th-century categories, to be Polish or Russian, for one. That some of them were ‘actually’ Lithuanians, Ukrainians, or Belarusians has become known to us from today’s perspective; in any case, such was their ultimate national option. Among the flagship figures of, for instance, the Lithuanian national revival, who were engaged in such activities, let us name the Samogitian Bishop Maciej Wołonczewski (Motiejus Valančius), whose *Domestic Memoirs*, showing the enormity of his efforts propagating Lithuanian education, was published in 2003.²⁰

No less interesting processes followed in the domains of religion and denominations. In spite of Orthodoxy being the ruling religion, other confessions enjoyed relative freedom in the Russian Empire’s school system – save for periods of intensified Russification, affecting especially the Catholic religion after the suppression of the January Insurrection of 1863–1864. This does not affect the fact that the state overtly fought against the Catholic Church, in particular. The Empire’s western provinces were the main site of this combat: religious congregations and orders, cloisters and nunneries were closed down there, parishes liquidated, beginning with the reign of Tsar Nicholas I. The aforesaid Lithuanian-Ruthenian lands were the most heavily affected, albeit the policy also extended to the Kingdom of Poland, especially its eastern regions. The action was pursued along the lines of the then-emerging state ideology based upon the triune formula, a concept developed by Sergey Uvarov: *pravoslavnye-samoderzhavnye-narodnost* (i.e. Orthodoxy–Autocracy–Nationality).²¹

An important work showing the multi-ethnic dimension of the policy in question has been Theodore Weeks’s monograph on nationalism and Russification in the west of the Russian Empire.²² The more recent works of the American historian are

¹⁹ *Galicja i jej dziedzictwo: nauka i oświata*, eds. A. Meissner, J. Wyrozumski, Rzeszów 1995; *Galicja i jej dziedzictwo: społeczeństwo i gospodarka*, eds. H. Chłopecki, J. Madurowicz-Włodarska, Rzeszów 1995; *Galicja i jej dziedzictwo: historia i polityka*, eds. W. Bonusiak, J. Buszko, Rzeszów: 1994.

²⁰ M. Valančius, *Namu užrašai*, Vilnius 2003, pp. 933 + XXX.

²¹ Cf. N. Riasanovsky, *Nicholas I and the Official Nationality in Russia*, Berkeley 1969 – a not-quite-recent, but still one of the best studies on the topic.

²² T. Weeks, *Nation and State in Late Imperial Russia. Nationalism and Russification on the Western Frontier, 1864–1914*, DeKalb 1996.

primarily focused on the Russian policies with respect to the Catholic Church and the Polish national revival, as well as with respect to the modern Jewish nation which was developing in the 19th century – including the Jews' relationships with the other nationalities in these territories, including Poles and Ukrainians.²³

Certain Lithuanian historians have taken up similar issues, primarily (though not exclusively) focusing on aspects of the Lithuanian national revival. Let us mention, by way of example, the study by Egidijus Aleksandravičius and Antanas Kulakauskas on Lithuania under Tsarist rule.²⁴ Some important and fundamental studies were published in the series called 'Studies in the History of Lithuanian Revival' [*Studija z Istorii Odrodzenia Litewskiego/Lietuvių atgimimo istorijos studijos*]. Darius Staliūnas's study on the attempted restoration of a tertiary school in Lithuania in the middle of the 19th and in the early 20th century.²⁵ As is the case with other Lithuanian historians, Staliūnas deals with all aspects of Russification, not only with respect to Lithuanians, but also Poles, Jews, and Belarusians.²⁶

Of the Polish studies concerning the Empire's western provinces, worthy of our attention is, first of all, Andrzej Romanowski's thorough monograph of Positivism in Lithuania, along with the studies by Roman Jurkowski and Dariusz Szpoper.²⁷ The lat-

²³ T. Weeks, *Official and Popular Nationalisms: Imperial Russia 1863–1915*, [in:] U. v. Hirschhausen, J. Leonhard, *Nationalismen in Europa. West und Osteuropa im Vergleich*, Göttingen 2001, pp. 411–432; idem, *Religion and Russification: Russian Language in the Catholic Churches of the 'Northwest Provinces' after 1864*, "Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History", Winter 2001, 2 (1), pp. 87–110; idem, *Political and National Survival in the Late Russian Empire: the Case of the Korwin-Milewski Brothers*, "East European Quarterly", Vol. XXXIII: 1999, September, No. 3, pp. 347–369; idem, *Poles, Jews, and Russians, 1863–1914: The Death of the Ideal of Assimilation in the Kingdom of Poland*, "Polin. Studies in Polish Jewry", Vol. XII: 1999, pp. 242–256.

²⁴ E. Aleksandravičius, A. Kulakauskas, *Carų valdžioje: Lietuva XIX amžiuje*, Vilnius: 1996 [Polish translation: *Pod władzą carów. Litwa w XIX wieku*, transl. by B. Kałęba, Cracow: 2003].

²⁵ D. Staliūnas, *Visuomene be universiteto? Aukštosios mokyklos atkurimo problema Lietuvoje: XIX a. vidury – XX a. pradžia* [A society without a university? The problem of reestablishment of a tertiary school in Lithuania (mid-19th–early 20th century)], "Lietuvių Atgimimo Istorijos Studijos", Vol. XVI: 2000; idem, *Ethnopolitical Tendencies in Lithuania During the Period 1905–1907 and the Conceptions of the Revival of the University of Vilnius*, "Lithuanian Historical Studies", Vol. I: 1996, pp. 97–115.

²⁶ Idem, *Did the Government Seek to Russify Lithuanians and Poles in the Northwest Region after the Uprising of 1863–64?* "Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History", Vol. V: 2004, Spring No. 2, pp. 273–289; idem, *'The Pole' in the Policy of the Russian Government: Semantics and Praxis in the Mid-nineteenth Century*, "Lithuanian Historical Studies", 2000, Vol. V, pp. 45–67; idem, *Changes in the Political Situation and the 'Jewish Question' in the Lithuanian Gubernias of the Russian Empire (1855–April 1863)*, [in:] A. Nikžentaitis, S. Schreiner, D. Staliūnas, *The Vanished World of Lithuanian Jews*, Amsterdam–New York 2004, pp. 21–43.

²⁷ A. Romanowski, *Pozytywizm na Litwie. Polskie życie kulturalne na ziemiach litewsko-białorusko-inflanckich 1864–1904*, Cracow: 2003. R. Jurkowski, *Ziemiaństwo polskie Kresów Północno-Wschodnich 1864–1904*, Warsaw 2001; D. Szpoper, *Pomiędzy caratem a snem o Rzeczpospolitej. Myśl*

ter two authors refer to education-related questions to a small degree, although processes related to Russification, as a broad concept, remain their focus.

In Austria, following the period of Germanisation which lasted, with varying intensities, until the 1860s, quite considerable freedoms were retained by confessions other than Catholic – primarily, the Protestant churches and the Greek Catholic Church, in spite of the ruling Catholic religion. Especially in the dualist period after 1867, Austro-Hungary became the most tolerant monarchy in this part of Europe. However, this toleration did not extend to everyone on equal footing. On the territory of the Austrian Partition, the national aspirations of the Ukrainians dwelling in Eastern Galicia were restricted by the Polish authorities. All the same, Galicia was, as it were, a Piedmont for the Ukrainian national movement and, likewise, for the Poles.²⁸ The other nationalities living within the Habsburg state were equally affected by such blessings of toleration, as exemplified by the Bohemians/Czechs.²⁹

It was different in Prussia. After Germany was unified in 1871, the authorities regarded the Catholic Church as the central obstacle preventing the Germanisation of Poznań Province, Lower Silesia, or so-called West Prussia (Gdansk Pomerania) – the areas populated by Roman Catholic Poles. It is worth remembering that *Kulturkampf* and coerced Germanisation policy was initiated by a total conflict with the Catholic Church, which *Reichskanzler* Otto Bismarck perceived as the mainstay of Polish identity and things Polish.³⁰ At the same time, the Catholic Church in the former German duchies situated on the south of the Reich, the Catholic Church was not exposed to such harassment. The religious conflict did not overlap there, to a comparable extent, with the ethnic structure, as most of the German-speaking people were Catholic. The denominational conflict in education reached its climax in Prussia during the events in Września/Wreschen, the moment the Polish pupils refused to use German catechisms and to accept religious instruction in German.³¹ From the standpoint of the period's European standards, Prussian rule was undoubtedly the most consistent in applying Germanisation measures – but the least tolerant as far as religious issues were concerned. True, this was mainly the case – which is not to say, exclusively – with the eastern regions of the Empire.

polityczna i działalność konserwatystów polskich w guberniach zachodnich Cesarstwa Rosyjskiego w latach 1855–1862, Gdańsk 2003.

²⁸ J.P. Himka, *Galicja 1859–1914. Polski Piemont?*, Warsaw 1989.

²⁹ H. Wereszycki, *Pod berłem Habsburgów: zagadnienia narodowościowe*, Cracow 1986; J. Kořalka, *Čeři v habsburské Řiši a v Evrope 1815–1914*, Argo 1996; H. Le Caine Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown*, Stanford 2004.

³⁰ J. Krakuski, *Kulturkampf. Katolicyzm i liberalizm w Niemczech XIX wieku*, Poznań 1963; L. Trzeciakowski, *Kulturkampf w zaborze pruskim*, Poznań 1970; English translation: idem, *The Kulturkampf in Prussian Poland*, New York 1990. Cf. D. Matelski, *Niemcy w Polsce w XX wieku*, Warsaw–Poznań 1999.

³¹ J.J. Kulczycki, *Strajki szkolne w zaborze pruskim 1901–1907. Walka o dwujęzyczną oświatę*, Poznań 1993.

It would be an interesting exercise to mutually compare the religious policies of Prussia and Russia in the 19th century, especially with respect to the Catholic Church. It seems that a comparative analysis of this kind would allow better understanding of the peculiar education-related situation of Polish people in these two Partitions.³² Interestingly, Prussian anti-Polish policies were constantly criticised in Russia, the aspiring leader among the Slavic nations. On the other hand, the anti-Polish policies pursued in Russia were continually condemned by the Polish press in the Prussian Partition.

In any case, this issue leads us to the important problem of how to assess the partitioning powers' policies and to the question whether it was the policy of Russification or rather, Germanisation that proved more destructive to the Polish national substance. Anti-Catholicism was an essential element of both.

The conclusion of the First World War resulted in the emergence of new states in Central and Eastern Europe, and in the revival of certain previously existing states. However, the process was not seamless. The Polish political formations or interest groups, oriented toward an alliance with the Axis powers, were disillusioned by the idea rather soon. Those few who counted on an alliance with Russia were disillusioned even earlier. Andrzej Nowak has penetratingly dealt with this issue.³³ Russia, whether 'White', monarchical or republican, or 'Red', had nothing to offer to the Poles. The eastern territory remained the bone of contention, while regained independence brought about new problems.

During the Second Polish Republic, a relatively tolerant educational policy pursued in the first years of independence with respect to minority groups evolved shortly afterwards towards a coerced Polonisation.³⁴ Interestingly, while the situation of German and Jewish schools in Poland was comparatively the most advantageous, their Belarusian, Lithuanian and Ukrainian counterparts faced the most difficult conditions.³⁵ Consecutive governments of the Lithuanian Republic applied a similar approach by introducing forced Lithuanisation, chiefly using education to this end, and striving to make 'genuine Lithuanians' out of the Poles, Russians and Jews dwelling in Lithuania. Like-processes were also observable in Latvia and Estonia.

³² For a thorough discussion of the situation of the Catholic Church in the Partitioned Poland, see: *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*, eds. B. Kumor, Z. Obertyński, Vol. II: 1764–1945, Part I & II, Poznań 1979. The research is obviously continued. Cf. A. Walicki, *Rosja, katolicyzm i sprawa polska*, Warsaw 2002.

³³ A. Nowak, *Polska i trzy Rosje. Studium polityki wschodniej Józefa Piłsudskiego (do kwietnia 1920 roku)*, Cracow 2001. Cf. the most recent Russian study: A.J. Bakhturina, *Okrainy Rossiyskoi Imperii: gosudarstvennoe upravlenie i natsional'naiia politika v gody Pervoi Mirovoi Voiny (1914–1917 gg.)*, Moscow 2004.

³⁴ J. Ogonowski, *Uprawnienia językowe mniejszości narodowych w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 1918–1939*, Warsaw 2000.

³⁵ L. Zasztowt, *Szkolnictwo na ziemiach litewsko-ruskich (od 1795 r.)*, p. 255ff.

Analogously to the 19th century, the policies of the newly-emerged countries were orientated towards the fastest and most efficient formation of a uni-national society possible, unmindful of the fact that most of the minorities concerned had by then gained a thorough awareness of their peculiarity, and their own aspirations. It was rather awkward (though comprehensible) that, under the altered political circumstances, the young states carried out an educational policy identical to the one they had quite recently resolutely condemned – when applied against them by the partitioning powers.

The question remains open whether the situation could have taken another route in Central East European countries as far as policy toward minorities – part of it being educational policy – was concerned. Taking Czechoslovakia as an example – the most democratic country in this part of Europe at the time – the answer seems to be yes, albeit the situation of the local minorities was also diverse. The groups enjoying the greatest freedoms were the Germans and Hungarians (in Slovakia); Poles (in Cieszyn/Těšín/Teschen Silesia); and, the Jews. The worst affected were members of the Gypsy minority in Carpathian Ruthenia (Subcarpathian Rus'), with the Ukrainians faring somewhat better. All in all, however – as Jerzy Tomaszewski wrote, referring to Czech literature: “the national minorities in Czechoslovakia enjoyed complete civic rights, whilst legislation ensured them entitlements in national life unknown to any other country, particularly in Central or Eastern Europe”.³⁶ He added, that the other thing was that minority representatives did not compare themselves to what other states did, whereas they often proposed well-grounded claims when comparing their own status against the position enjoyed by the Czechs or Slovaks.

It proves much tougher to assess policies toward ethnic minorities and in the area of education in the republics of Bolshevik Russia and, subsequently, the USSR, particularly with respect to the Ukrainian and Belarusian Soviet Socialist Republics of the inter-war period. For one thing, Sovietization, combined with political repression, was advancing in these republics. For another, both the Belarusians and the Ukrainians enjoyed (especially in the 1920s, but not for long) relative freedoms with regard to the development of their national cultures – as long as it was socialist.³⁷ Later repressions, the Ukrainian famine of the early thirties, and mass deportations did not affect the shaping of national identities, except in their specific communist versions. The national, or ethnic, minorities also enjoyed relative freedoms, in the sphere of education too. Let us remind at this point the activities of Polish autonomic regions in Ukraine and Belarus – recently researched by Mikołaj Iwanow [Nikolai Ivanov], Janusz Kupczak,

³⁶ J. Tomaszewski, *Czechosłowacja*, p. 59ff.

³⁷ *Byalorus'izatsya. Dokumenty i materialy*, eds. R.P. Platonov, U.K. Koršuk, Minsk 2001. The problems faced by Poles in Byelorussia/Belarus are discussed in: T. Kruczkowski, *Polacy na Białorusi na tle historii i współczesności*, Słonim 2003; *Problemy świadomości narodowej ludności polskiej na Białorusi*, Grodno 2003.

or Henryk Stroński.³⁸ School instruction in the vernacular: ‘communist in content, national in form’ was quite an important distinguishing feature of the situation in those autonomous regions.

On the other hand, in spite of comparative achievements in the area of education, not only the Catholic Church, but also its Greek Catholic and Orthodox counterparts were already affected by unparalleled repressions.³⁹ The fight against religion and the propagation of atheism reduced, to a considerable extent, the opportunities for even a quasi-national education. The language of instruction was not, in itself – and could not be – an exclusive attribute of any national fostering.

Given the context in question, it is hard to describe the system created by the Bolsheviks as tolerant, let alone democratic, in any form whatsoever – in spite of its slogans of equal rights to nations, or periods of “korenisation” (i.e. indigenisation – top-down, yet showy, exposing national individualities). At the end of the day, Soviet Russia resumed the policy of Russifying its ethnic minorities anyway. With regards to Ukraine and Belarus, a facade of national individuality was retained, under the guise of which a policy propagating Great-Russian nationalism was pursued, almost uninterrupted, beginning in the 1930s.⁴⁰ The climax of this policy, excepting the Stalinist period, occurred in the last years of Secretary General Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev’s rule. It was then that the famed opinions could be heard that Russian is not only the language of all lovers of peace worldwide, but also the most beautiful tongue that enables communication between half of the globe’s population.⁴¹

Politics exerted a profound impact on education in the so-called Eastern Bloc, both ideologically and, to so put it, practically. Quite interestingly, the degrees and scopes of ideologisation varied. Undoubtedly, the best situation prevailed in Poland, the country which began being perceived at some point as ‘the merriest barrack’ in the camp. The repressions to which the local teaching faculties were subjected proved much less stringent than those suffered by their counterparts in Czech lands, or in what was to become the DDR. John Connelly, an American historian, has proposed an interesting analysis of the situation of the schooling system in these three countries.⁴²

³⁸ M. Iwanow, *Pierwszy naród ukarany. Polacy w Związku Radzieckim 1921–1939*, Warsaw–Wrocław 1994; J. Kupczak, *Polacy na Ukrainie w latach 1921–1939*, Wrocław 1994; H. Stroński, *Represje stalinizmu wobec ludności polskiej na Ukrainie w latach 1929–1939*, Warsaw 1998.

³⁹ For repressive measures applied with respect to the Catholic Church, cf.: R. Dzwonkowski, *Kościół katolicki w ZSRR 1917–1939: zarys historii*, Lublin 1997; idem, *Losy duchowieństwa katolickiego w ZSRR 1917–1939*, Lublin 1997; idem, *Leksykon duchowieństwa polskiego represjonowanego w ZSRR 1939–1988*, Lublin 2003.

⁴⁰ A. Kappeler, *The Russian Empire. A multiethnic history*, Harlow–London 2001, p. 370ff.

⁴¹ Such words were uttered, in a TV interview, by Muslim Magomae, a singer popular in those years in the USSR.

⁴² J. Connelly, *Captive University. The Sovietization of East German, Czech and Polish Higher Education 1945–1956*, Chapel Hill–London 2000.

Yet, repressive measures of this sort did not completely bypass Poland – in policies related to the scientific and scholarly matters, as well as in the realities of university life.⁴³ A number of professors were forced, using a variety of measures, to cooperate with the security authorities.⁴⁴ In spite of that, in the 1960s and, especially the 1970s, the phenomenon of secret educational activity reappeared. The tradition of secret schooling in the Russian Partition was thus directly resumed. The year 1977 saw the kick-off of the Flying University and the Society for Educational Courses.⁴⁵ The ranks of the political opposition expanded as well.⁴⁶ Similar actions were taken up among the émigré communities (to recall the case of Wiktor Sukiennicki).⁴⁷

Let us now resume the opening question: what were, if any, the positive aspects of the educational policies pursued by the partitioning states in Central and Eastern Europe in the 19th and 20th century?

From the standpoint of national values: German, Austrian, Russian – and, thereafter: Polish or Lithuanian, the educational policy whereby Germanness, Polishness or Russianness was propagated on a top-down basis (with an imposed language of school instruction) was a policy of implementing state-oriented, and thus, also, national, objectives. Building a monoethnic society was the main goal. Such a policy ought to be considered correct (as a narrow concept), if viewed in terms of national interest. Theoretically, the result was an increase in the number of aware citizens: Germans, Poles, Russians. Also, those who withstood this pressure and retained their respective nationalities, benefited in certain ways. In the Prussian Partition, the elimination of illiteracy was one such value, appreciated even by Polish historians. The situation was worse when a political system – as was the case in Tsarist Russia – barred its subjects from any access to education, while banning the spontaneous organisation of private schools with national languages of instruction.

Reconciling the national values of the oppressed nations with possible benefits from the superimposed system of education was a tough task. The benefits stemming from intercourse with German or Russian “high culture” were obvious, but coerced teaching could not foster its appreciation. In spite of ideological pressure, the “real socialist” system brought about an unprecedented development of education across the Eastern Bloc countries. One result – illiteracy has been almost completely eliminated.

⁴³ P. Hübner, *Polityka naukowa w Polsce w latach 1944–1953. Geneza systemu*, Warsaw 1992; T. Suleja, *Uniwersytet Wrocławski w okresie centralizmu stalinowskiego 1950–1955*, Wrocław 1995.

⁴⁴ R. Terlecki, *Profesorowie UJ w aktach UB i SB*, Cracow 2002.

⁴⁵ Idem, *Uniwersytet Latający i Towarzystwo Kursów Naukowych 1977–1981*, Cracow-Rzeszów 2000.

⁴⁶ A. Friszke, *Opozycja polityczna w PRL 1945–1980*, Londyn 1994; K. Przyszczykowski, *Opozycja polityczna w Polsce – wyzwania dla edukacji*, Poznań-Wrocław 1993.

⁴⁷ In the latter half of the 1970s, inspired by what the Flying University’s pursued at home, Professor Wiktor Sukiennicki, then living in California, U.S., commenced a cycle of lectures in Polish émigré milieus worldwide – an initiative then called the “Flying University in Foreign Lands”; Mr. Sukiennicki ran these lectures almost until his death in 1983.

Contrary to what the authorities expected, the new elites, often generated by “social advancement” (that is, upward mobility), did not remain obeying, malleable tools. Conversely, “proletarian” circles yielded a number of leading opposition activists, ready to fight for truth and an education system independent of politics. They generally juxtaposed the superimposed ideology with national and democratic values.

* * *

Presently, questions regarding the national character of education still remain valid – presumably for all countries concerned. Currently, the educational policy pursued in most European countries assumes that young people are fostered and instructed to respect cultural peculiarities, ethnic and religious differences and, not infrequently, the varying visions of national history. However, in spite of the slogans advocating tolerance propagated in a united Europe, the old customs and habits are – regrettably – still present and in use; the ghost of nationalism continues to wander the Old Continent. History does not seem to be the “teacher of life” – at least not in this case. The strivings of the French to solidify a secular model of education, to remove religious symbols from schools, is explainable. But can a ban on Muslim veils, extended to schoolgirls, solve the problem? Europe is no longer a continent of only Christians. In fact, it has never been one. If we are ready to overtly admit that otherness and diversity of cultures is to be respected, then, what objectives ought to motivate education in future?

Central among the still-unresolved questions preoccupying West-European governments, soon to gain importance in Central East European countries, is the following: has a different concept developed to a more considerable extent than national-oriented education for the societies that at present are not one-nation or monoethnic communities compared to previously? Increasing the inflow of immigrants into Europe, a rich continent, is certainly to be expected. To answer the question, a reference to our own tradition might be of use. For the Third Polish Republic (or, Fourth, as some would see it), it could be the tradition of tolerance of the former Commonwealth of Two Nations – a multi-ethnic country without stakes. This is why it is still worth pursuing research on ethnic and religious/denominational issues, especially with regards to the history of education and upbringing. As for politics, it has always been an inseparable part of education. Knowing its meanders and lapses of the past, perhaps errors could be avoided in future?

It is also befitting to focus on the basic question concerning future studies in the history of upbringing/education, and to propose a postulate – that future research ought to extend primarily to ethnic and religious (denomination-related) issues, as well as questions of educational policy. It seems indispensable that topics related to the histories of all the nations once part of the Commonwealth be explored. Comparative research would be preferred in this respect. It would be even better if such research could be carried out on an international scale. Thus, it would be possible to expand the field of study beyond the issues or problems concerning a single nation in an at-

tempt to tackle the history of the region in all its complexity. A number of outstanding works covering these issues have been written – Ryszard Radzik's studies on Belarusian identity⁴⁸, or the initiative of Jerzy Kłoczowski and the Lublin-based Institute of East-Central Europe to publish the national histories of the countries now situated within the former Commonwealth territory, originally written in Polish, Lithuanian, Belarusian and Ukrainian, just to name a few.⁴⁹ I think that a similar initiative could be utilised, as far as preparing a series of synthetic studies on the history of education in those countries. This would also fulfil the postulate once put forth by Antoni Mączak, a historian who highlighted the importance of universal history for national histories.⁵⁰ To his mind – so aptly stated – a native country's history cannot possibly be fully cognised without relevant knowledge of the ideas formulated in the historiographies of not only the neighbouring countries but, also, the main historical schools – at least the European ones. Hence the emphasis he put on knowledge of languages, which enables one to become familiar with the state-of-play in foreign research. Awareness and knowledge of these studies is a prerequisite for any international discussion.

To sum up, the interest that the history of education/upbringing has traditionally expressed in the history of schooling and educational systems, educational changes in the administrative and syllabus/programme-related spheres, studies in the history of pedagogical thought, as well as off-school factors or drivers shaping the identities and cultures of individual CEE nations, ought to cover a multiplicity of aspects. Making use and taking advantage of the output of historical research pursued in the countries neighbouring Poland is a must. As for the history of the Commonwealth, we must be open to the East, and for historical studies to take into account distinct perceptions of education, as represented by historians from outside Poland.

⁴⁸ R. Radzik, *Między zbiorowością etniczną a wspólnotą narodową. Białorusini na tle przemian narodowościowych w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej XIX stulecia*, Lublin 2000.

⁴⁹ The following have been issued so far: N. Jakowenko, J. Hrycak [N. Yakovenko, Y. Hrytsak], *Historia Ukrainy*, Vols. I-II, Lublin: 2000; J. Kłoczowski, A. Sulima Kamiński, H. Dylągowa, *Historia Polski*, Vols. I-III, Lublin 2000; Z. Szybieka, H. Sahanowicz, *Historia Białorusi*, Vols. I-II, Lublin 2001-2002.

⁵⁰ Cf. *Historia Europy*, ed. A. Mączak, Wrocław 1997.

CHAPTER 2

THE DEGRADATION OF THE PETTY NOBILITY IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE'S WESTERN PROVINCES (1831-1868)

The elimination of a considerable portion of the petty nobility in the 19th century in historical Lithuania and right-bank Ukraine has been almost completely neglected by Polish historiography. Scarce mentions in the memoirs of Tadeusz Bobrowski and August Iwański Sr.¹, as well as in inter-war studies by Henryk Mościcki and Tadeusz Perkowski², only indicated the issue's existence. None of the researchers embarked on a thorough and systematic analysis during the inter-war period. A plausible reason is the inaccessibility of Russian sources at the time. Another reason why the degradation of such a sizeable group was overlooked can possibly be traced to the fact that historians have mainly focused on analysing the displacements of the Polish Eastern-Borderland that took place after the November Insurrection of 1830-1. The approximate data they worked with proved, in most cases, to be quite disproportionate.³

The research conducted by French historian Daniel Beauvois – the first West-European scholar who made use of Soviet archives and gained access to the relevant tangible, hitherto inaccessible, materials – came as a genuine scientific sensation at the time. The outcome of his efforts was published as: *Le noble, le serf et le revisor. La noblesse polonaise entre le tsarisme et les masses ukrainiennes (1831-1863)*, Paris-Montreux 1985.⁴

Regardless of certain simplifications and not-always-legitimate generalisations, Beauvois' book was the first to offer such a thorough analysis of the social degrada-

¹ T. Bobrowski, *Pamiętniki*, Vols. I-II, Lvov 1900; idem, *Pamiętnik mojego życia*, Vols. I-II, Warsaw 1979; A. Iwański, *Pamiętniki - 1832-1976*, Warsaw 1968.

² H. Mościcki, *Wysiedlanie szlachty na Litwie i Rusi przez rząd rosyjski*, [in:] idem, *Pod berłem carów*, Warsaw 1924, pp. 29-31; T. Perkowski, *Legitymacje szlachty polskiej w prowincjach zabranych przez Rosję*, "Miesięcznik Heraldyczny", Vol. XVII: 1938, No. 5, pp. 69-76.

³ W. Wielhorski, *Ziemie ukraiinne Rzeczypospolitej*, "Pamiętnik Kijowski", Vol. I: 1959, p. 1-92; S. Kieniewicz, *Historia Polski 1795-1918*, Warsaw 1975, p. 114; M. Kukiel, *Dzieje Polski porozbiorowe 1795-1921*, London 1961, p. 227; *Historia Polski*, eds. S. Kieniewicz, W. Kula, Vol. II, Part 3, Warsaw 1959, p. 10.

⁴ Transl. into Polish as: D. Beauvois, *Polacy na Ukrainie 1831-1863. Szlachta polska na Wołyniu, Podolu i Kijowszczyźnie*, Paris 1987.

tion of the nobility to the peasant class in Ukraine. Its findings went even further, presenting the nobility in all its variety: from the real-property owners, so-called *posesjonats*, through to the *gołota* (the “naked”, i.e. landless nobles) and *szaraks* (the “greys”), demonstrating the nobility’s attitudes toward the Ukrainian peasant populace and the Tsarist authorities. This exceptionally original work discusses and points out a whole array of issues to tackle. The present essay is an added voice in the discussion surrounding the book in question – and an attempt at disambiguating and correcting certain proposals made by Beauvois.⁵

The first question is the continuity of Russia’s policy towards the subdued territories. Already in the 17th and 18th centuries, attempts at eliminating the petty bourgeoisie and the Cossacks were made on territories seized by the Muscovite state. With regards to the nobility (*szlachta*), this issue is not as widely disseminated. Irena Rychlikowa has so far offered the most relatively complete picture (in the quoted review article, among others); due credit also goes to Witold Sienkiewicz⁶. In contrast, the elimination of the Zaporozhian Sich and the mass displacements of Cossacks have long been commonly recognized facts.⁷ Another problem is the need to expand the field of research carried out by D. Beauvois with respect to Ukraine. After all, not only the Ukrainian but also, to a somewhat lesser degree, the Lithuanian and Belarusian petty nobility were subject to degradation in the 19th century. The third issue is to determine the final date when the operation came to an end. In the years 1866–8, the legal categories of *grazhdanin*

⁵ S. Kieniewicz, *Daniel Beauvois o kresach południowych*, “Przegląd Historyczny”, Vol. LXXVII: 1987, No. 4, pp. 767–775; I. Rychlikowa, *Deklasacja drobnej szlachty polskiej w Cesarstwie Rosyjskim. Spór o „Pułapkę na szlachtę” Daniela Beauvois*, “Przegląd Historyczny”, Vol. XXIX: 1988, No. 1, pp. 121–147; D. Beauvois, *Dezintegracja drobnej szlachty polskiej na Ukrainie w latach 1831–1863*, [in:] *Losy Polaków w XIX i XX w.*, Warsaw 1987, pp. 73–87; S.N., *Anielstwo i imperializm. Rozmowa z prof. Danielem Beauvois*, “Zeszyty Historyczne”, 1988, No. 85, p. 3–12; L. Zasztowt, *Polskie fundusze i stypendia szkolne na obszarach Litwy, Białorusi i Ukrainy w latach 1832–1914*, “Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty”, Vol. XXXII: 1989, pp. 3–30; idem, *Polskie szkoły ludowe na Ukrainie w latach 1905–1914*, “Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty”, Vol. XXXIII: 1990, pp. 87–105; idem, *Under constraint or in self-defence? Polish school funds and scholarships in Lithuania, Byelorussia and Ukraine territories*, “History of Education”, Vol. XIX: 1990, No. 2, pp. 149–160.

⁶ I. Rychlikowa, op. cit., p. 122ff.; W. Sienkiewicz, *Ziemiańskie zależności w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim od połowy XVI w. do połowy XVIII wieku. Studium z dziejów feudalizmu litewskiego*, Warsaw 1982 (doctoral thesis; typescript at the Institute of History, University of Warsaw – the Library). Cf. J. Tazbir, *Procesy polonizacyjne w szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej*, [in:] *Tryumfy i porażki. Z dziejów kultury polskiej XVI–XVIII w.*, ed. M. Bogucka, Warsaw 1989, pp. 9–45; H. Litwin, *Katolicyzacja szlachty ruskiej a procesy asymilacyjne na Ukrainie w latach 1569–1648*, [in:] ibidem, pp. 47–74; G.T. Łukowski, *The Szlachta and the Confederacy of Radom 1764–1767/68: a study of the Polish nobility*, “Antemurale”, Vol. XXI: 1977, pp. 5–300.

⁷ L. Bazyłow, *Historia Rosji*, Vol. I, Warsaw 1985, p. 317, 350; F. Rawita-Gawroński, *Kozaczyzna ukraińska w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej do końca XVIII w.*, Warsaw 1922; W.A. Serczyk, *Historia Ukrainy*, Wrocław 1979.

(‘[urban] citizen’) and *odnodvoretz* [Pol., *jednodworzec*] (‘single homesteader’) were done away with, and the former noblemen incorporated into the peasantry and urban social strata.

Below, I will also endeavour to render more precisely the legal consequences incurred by the petty nobility, resulting from their being re-classed as peasants and burghers. Daniel Beauvois has actually discussed these consequences to a significant extent. However, it seems that he has underestimated the importance of the ukase of 19 October 1831, which became the legal basis for the operation to commence. Also, the role of the Committee for the Western Guberniyas (I prefer, provinces) has been highlighted – the institution whose influence was fundamental to the start and course of the operation.

The above enumerated problems only refer to one of the threads analysed in *Le noble, le serf et le revisor* – affairs related to the situation of the petty nobility. The *pos- esjonats* remain out of the scope of the present discussion; they and their class-based solidarity, which crammed them by itself, as it were, into the routine of Tsarist service, in spite of the group’s dislike for the Tsar and the Empire.⁸ Noble self-government and the situation of the Ukrainian peasantry, as extensively discussed by D. Beauvois, are not covered in this chapter, either.

The statistical data used or quoted herein come from official Russian publications from the period of interest. Although it is known that Russian “revisions” (i.e. censuses – especially those of 1834 and 1842) are not reliable with respect to the number of *odn- odvortsy*, all the same, they remain – along with the information provided by Beauvois in his book – the only presently available data referring to the so-called “western prov- inces of the Empire”, in their entirety. Hence, the idea to present them in this context seems entirely justifiable

The eastern lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, absorbed by Russia following the country’s partition, sealed by the Congress of Vienna, were not only attractive spoils but also, as it later appeared, a serious problem for the Empire. The Tsar’s despotic rule was in complete opposition to the freedom-oriented traditions of the Commonwealth. The citizens of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and of the Crown’s Ukraine nowise fitted the new state system which required absolute obedience from them and made them totally subject to the monarch’s every whim. The profoundly rooted differences in the sphere of political culture, consciousness, morals and mores, along with a number of age-old stereotypes, began to come into play.⁹ The differences

⁸ J. Bardach, *Gawędy Waleriana Meysztowicza. Przyczynek do dziejów mentalności feudalno-konser- watywnej*, [in:] idem, *O dawnej i niedawnej Litwie*, Poznań 1988, pp. 327–352. Cf. G. z Günterów Puzynina, *W Wilnie i w dworach litewskich. Pamiętnik z lat 1815–1843*, Chotomów 1988 (reprint); M. Czapska, *Europa w rodzinie*, Warsaw 1989.

⁹ A. Kępiński, *Lach i Moskal. Z dziejów stereotypu*, Warsaw 1990. Cf. A. Zajączkowski, *Główne elementy kultury szlacheckiej w Polsce. Ideologia a struktury społeczne*, Wrocław 1961; J. Tazbir, *Kul- tura szlachecka w Polsce. Rozkwit – upadek – relikty*, Warsaw 1983; *Między Polską etniczną a histo-*

between the concepts and ideas regarding Poland and Russia were perhaps to a significant degree due to the myths and stereotypes functioning among members of the noble class with respect to freedom and democracy. All the same, the enmity for the despotic empire seems pretty undisputable. Set against the realities of daily life, which oftentimes contradicted the myth of the nobility as a unified estate, it is legitimate to state that the internal relations within this social group did not exert an essential impact on the *szlachta*'s attitude towards the Russian Empire – the attitude was unambiguously inimical. The multi-ethnic mosaic of Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine, despite the dominant Orthodox populace in the latter two, did not quite foster their assimilation with the Russian state. Apart from the separate political and state-related tradition, the fundamental obstacle was the resistance of the Polish nobility and clergy – the privileged strata residing in these areas.

It was already in the 18th century that Russia's policy with respect to the nobility became bidirectional in the territory of interest. On the one hand, attempts were undertaken to win round the rich nobility, especially the magnates; on the other, the poor, petty nobility was to be entirely removed from the privileged class. As Irena Rychlikowa has proved, the conception to eliminate the landless nobility was characteristic not only of the Russian mode of operation; it was also an old unfulfilled daydream shared by the rich Polish noblemen. Let us, however, focus here on the Russian policies. Since the present chapter is primarily based upon archival material and records of the Committee for the Western Provinces, a centrally operating institution, the picture painted herein reflects the knowledge the Tsarist bureaucracy of the time possessed at that level. This sheds a different light on I. Rychlikowa's findings with respect to the "contribution" the magnates – particularly, the Radziwiłł, Czartoryski, Potocki, Branicki, and other families – made to the degradation of the petty nobility. The conclusion, stemming from the materials of the central Tsarist administration, proves to be quite unexpected. It seems that the administration was not fully knowledgeable of the magnates' doings related to their confreres – the petty bourgeoisie dwelling on their estates. The efforts of these magnates were reflected in the Committee's materials.

In the areas of Mstislavl, Vitebsk and Polotsk Voivodeships – later to be Vitebsk and Mohylev Provinces, incorporated into Russia as part of the First Partition of the Commonwealth – the local nobles were ordained, by means of the Tsar's ukase of 13(25) September 1772, to provide their lineage certificates to the respective provincial towns. Catharine II's intention was "that from this moment forward, nobody may,

ryczną, ed. W. Wrzesiński, Wrocław 1988. The considerable differences between Poland, a country that evolved out of the nobility-based democratic tradition, and autocracy-based Russia, have been reflected in the opinions of foreigners. They penned numerous lampoons on Russia, of which the widest-read was the famed *La Russie en 1839* by Marquis de Custine (for Eng. transl., see e.g.: *Letters from Russia*, New York 2002, ser.: NYRB Classics). Custine's book has been broadly commented on in: J. Kucharzewski, *Od białego do czerwonego caratu*, London 1986, pp. 26-44 (abridged edition).

without the Supreme Will, appropriate this distinction, and the rights vested in the real nobility cannot be used by anybody, else than the aforesaid.”¹⁰

The situation of the nobility in the whole Russian Empire was finally regulated by the general charter offered to the nobility in 1785, called *Zhalovannaya gramota dvoryanstvu*.¹¹ The subsequent manifestos issued for the lands attached as part of the Second and Third Partition¹² were designed to ensure nobility-related privileges or charters to the *posesjonats* – on the one hand – and to extort from conventions of noble *deputats* (deputies – elected representatives) the submission of ancestral books as required by the 1785 *gramota* – on the other. It was already at that point that the intent appeared to take advantage of these books to eliminate the noble small-holders (*szlachta zagrodowa*) and the *golota* from the noble estate. All of this was nevertheless extremely difficult to implement. The Tsarist authorities found it hard to find their bearings within the complex structure of the nobility, whilst its members were reluctant to assist them to this end. As well, political events, especially the war with France, stood in the way.

One example of the Tsarist authorities’ inconsistent conduct was the attempted standardisation of taxes paid by the nobility. Under the ukases of 27 January 1798 (8 February) and of 26 February 1810 (10 March), the local nobles of the two Lithuanian provinces (Vilnius and Minsk) were charged with an increased chimney (roof) tax, at 1.35 silver roubles per chimney. However, the moment the “soul tax” (a sort of capitation/poll tax charged on males) was introduced for both provinces in 1811, the chimney tax was deferred for all strata except the nobility.¹³ Also, the consecutive ordinances of the Governing Senate, fixing the deadlines for production of evidence of nobility by tenant- and lease-holding nobles and local nobles, prolonged several times¹⁴, brought about no result.

Based on the material of the Committee for the Western Provinces, determining the numerical force of the petty nobility was only advanced at the fifth “revision”, ordained by the Senate’s ukase of 20 January 1816 (1 February). At that point, it was determined that the number of individuals whose noble status was approved by the pro-

¹⁰ Tsentralnyi Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskiy Arkhiv Leningrad (hereinafter, TGIAL), “Žurnal Komiteta Zapadnyh Guberniy” (hereinafter, ŽKZG), f. 1266, op. I, e.kh. 8, pp. 17–18. Cf. I. Rychlikowa, op. cit., pp. 122, 124–126; T. Perkowski, op. cit., p. 69–70.

¹¹ I. Rychlikowa, op. cit., p. 126. For general information on the 1785 charter, cf.: W.A. Serczyk, *Katarzyna II carowa Rosji*, Wrocław 1989, pp. 242–244; L. Bazyłow, op. cit., I.1, p. 349.

¹² Manifestos from: 15 (27) April 1793; 14(26) December 1795; 15 (27) October 1807; rescript (governmental order) of Governor-General Timofey Tutolmin from 3 (15) May 1795: TGIAL, ŽKZG, f. 1266, op. I, e.kh. 8, p. 18.

¹³ Ibidem, p. 19.

¹⁴ Ukase of the Governing Senate of 25 September 1800 (7 October) establishing the deadline of 24 months for producing evidence of noble status, as from 1 (13) January 1801; prolonged thereafter, as of 13 (25) March 1803, by another 12 months and subsequently, on 31 January 1806 (12 February), extended until 1 (13) January 1808; finally, postponed by the Tsarist ukase of 6 (18) March 1808: TGIAL, ŽKZG, f. 1266, op. I, e.kh. 8, p. 20.

vincial authorities, and those who had provided applications and documents stating their noble identity (not yet confirmed) amounted to 61,053. The number of persons who failed to appropriately document their nobility or illegally appropriated noble status was determined to be 33,958. Altogether, information was received regarding 95,011 people. It was nonetheless found that the revision had not extended to most of the *poviats* (districts), and that no final summary of the results had been made in some of them yet. According to the Ministry of Finance's data, provided by the fiscal chambers, the *szlachta* numbered 199,243 members, in total.¹⁵

Table 1. The nobility in the Western Provinces, according to the Fifth Census (1816)

Province	Number of 'souls'
Vilnius	26,434
Vitebsk	10,000
Volhynia	35,146
Grodno	9,073
Kyiv	38,198
Courland	101
Minsk	32,643
Mohylev	26,689
Podolia	9,993
Białystok District	10,966
Total	199,243

Source: TGIAl, ŻKZG, pp. 21-22.

These numbers were, however, limited to individual taxpaying nobles based upon their estates – that is, the *posesjonats*. The total figure is important for comparison with the aforementioned 95,011 petty nobles. Clearly, the Committee for the Western Provinces' data was far from complete. A considerable number of people with no property or estate, and living on income from remunerated work, were apparently neglected. This poor discernment of the Tsarist authorities with respect to the nobility's actual numerical force calls into question the statement whereby a total of 60,000 people were deleted from this social class between 1810 and 1830, although Daniel Beauvois has found that the number could have even been higher.¹⁶ Otherwise, it ought to have been assumed that the Committee was unable to accurately discern the actions aimed at degrading the nobility in the past, which does not seem entirely plausible.

The process of petty noble degradation intensified during the reign of Tsar Ni-

¹⁵ TGIAl, ŻKZG, pp. 21-22.

¹⁶ D. Beauvois, *Polacy na Ukrainie...*, p. 102. According to the 1816 inspection, those illegally claiming the status of "noble" amounted to 33,958.

cholas I. Alexander I's successor consistently stood firm with regard to depriving the Poles of influence over rule in the western provinces. Nicholas perceived the Poles as completely worthless in terms of their usefulness to the Empire; moreover, he saw them as a serious menace due to their inclination for individualism and irredentism. The November Insurrection became an official pretext for more radical action. Once the uprising fell, the Tsar could openly square his accounts with the "nobles".¹⁷ A new stage began in the degradation of nobility – much better prepared in its administrative facet and bearing much more serious consequences.

On the strength of the Tsar's supreme ukase of 14 (26) September 1831, the Committee for the Western Provinces was established to see "that at the provinces annexed from Poland be put in order, in the same manner as the Russian provinces."¹⁸ The Committee had no power for issuing ukases or ordinances – the exclusive empowerment of the Tsar and his Council of Minister's; yet, all the ordinances and decrees produced with respect to the western provinces by Nicholas I, the Council of Ministers or the Governing Senate were either designed or at least commented upon by the Committee. Thus, the latter was devised as a design-proposing and advisory body. The rank of this institution was attested by its cast of members. Throughout its existence, from 1831 to 1848, the body consisted of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, the ministers for interior, finance and justice, and the administrator (*glavnoupravlayushchiy*) for clerical matters of alien denominations. At various times, the ministers of foreign affairs, war, and state properties, the head of the gendarmerie, the Minister-Secretary of State for the Kingdom of Poland, the *Ober-prokurator* of the Holy Synod and Governors-General of the Western Provinces collaborated with, or even served on, the Committee.¹⁹ The fact that the Committee existed at all was kept carefully secret, and the organisation's materials were confidential.

Solving the question of the Polish nobility became the number one problem raised at the Committee's first meetings on 22 and 28 September 1831 (4 and 10 October).²⁰

Unfulfilled concepts from the reign of Catherine II were resumed. The project's main initiators were: Mikhail Muravyov (Muraviev), the then civil General-Governor of Grodno; Prince Khovansky, General-Governor of Belarus; Count E. Kushelov-Bezborodko, and the first members of the Committee: Count Viktor Kochubei (chair-

¹⁷ An evolution of the Tsarist policy with respect to the western provinces is particularly evident in the area of education and the school system. Cf. D. Beauvois, *Szkolnictwo polskie na ziemiach litewsko-ruskich 1803-1832*, Vol. I-II, Rome-Lublin 1991; J. Godlewska, *Wileński Instytut Szlachecki (1834-1863)*, "Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty", Vol. XXVIII: 1985, pp. 103-166.

¹⁸ *Ob otkritii Komiteta i predložaščich onomu zaniatiach*, TGIAL, ŽKZG, f. 1266, op. I, e.kh. 8, p. 5; TGIAL, "Žurnal Zapadnogo Komiteta" (hereinafter, 'ŽZK'), f. 1267, op. I, e.kh. 12, pp. 3-14. Cf. D. Beauvois, *Polacy na Ukrainie...*, p. 22ff.

¹⁹ TGIAL, ŽZK, f. 1267, op. I, e.kh. 12, k. 14.

²⁰ *O novom ustroistvie soslovija šlachty v Zapadnyh Guberniah*, TGIAL, ŽKZG, f. 1266, op. I, e.kh. 8, pp. 11-46.

man), Prince Alexander Golitsyn, Nikolai Novosiltsov, Count Yegor Kankrin, Count Dmitry Bludov and Dmitry Dashkov.²¹ Their ideas were meticulously noted down by Baron Modest Korf, Secretary to the Committee and manager of the Council of Ministers' affairs. Together they formed the elite of the Russian aristocracy: representatives of the families that had given outstanding service to the Empire. Most of them were conservative in their thought, but not all could be identified with the so-called "black reaction".

The project implementers were aware that in the western provinces, petty nobles accounted for some two-thirds of the *szlachta*, some of them being "neighbourhood" (*zaściankowa*) and lease-holding nobles, many of them owning small patches of land or no land at all. It had long been believed that those people were unworthy of being named "nobility" (*dvoryanstvo*); hence, a new social group was formed, described as "*grazhdanye* and *odnodvortsy* of the western provinces". The poor petty nobility undermined the Empire's estate or class-based system by its very existence. The previous case of the Cossacks bore much similarity to the current situation. In fact, the term of *odnodvoretz* (pl. *odnodvortsy*) was coined for them. Actually, both terms: *grazhdanin* and *odnodvoretz* possessed a certain tradition in the Russian legislative system. However, the newly-formed social category of *odnodvoretz* was rather loosely related to its prototype. Although descending from servient people – that is, Cossacks and boyars – the Russian *odnodvortsy* were most similar to state serfs, a stratum with a similar scope of obligations, which included paying the "soul tax", the cereal tax and land money rents.²²

²¹ The following individuals appeared as members of the Committee for the Western Provinces between 1831 and 1848: Prince Ilaryon (Hilarion) V. Vasilchikov – from November 1831; Count [Graf] Petr (Pyotr) A. Tolstoy, Count Karl R. Nesselrode, Count Alexander I. Chernyshev, Prince Vassily A. Dolgorukov – from January 1832; Ignacy Turkułł – from May 1832; Vasily V. Levashev – from December 1832; Count Alexander v. Benckendorff – from July 1835; Stepan D. Nechayev – from November 1835; Pavel D. Kiselev – from September 1837; Count Alexander G. Stroganoff – from February 1839; Count Viktor N. Panin – since January 1840; Dmitry G. Bibikov – since April 1840; Messrs. Voronchenko, Longinov, Gamaleia – from May 1840; Count Lev A. Perovsky – from October 1842; Count Petr Kleinmüchel – from April 1842; Count Alexei Orlov – from January 1847.

²² *Odnodvortsy* or *chetvertnye krestiane* were the settlers who in 17th and 18th century colonised the southern and eastern regions of the Muscovian state – mainly, Ukraine – in view of defending them against the Crimean and Nogai Tatars. This tends to explain why *odnodvortsy* only appeared in certain Great-Russian provinces – that is, the ones of: Kursk, Voronezh, Tambov, Orlov, Penzen, Ryazan, Kharkov, and Tula. The *odnodvortsy* appearing in the provinces of Orenburg and Stavropol, and in the Siberian provinces, were persons displaced from Russia. The background of *odnodvortsy* was servient people, as well as lower Cossack strata, riflemen, reiters, dragoons, spearmen, cannoneers, etc. Being, in their majority, boyars' offspring possessing each a cottage (manor – *dvor*), they were obligated to pay the chimney tax and to personally serve in the army. The word *odnodvoretz*, functioning in earlier, officially appearing in Peter I's ukases of

The rule was simple: every nobleman who failed to identify himself based on documents confirming their noble status (possessing land and peasants, alongside overall financial status, were in practice the decisive factors) was obligated to choose for him and his family the stratum he “should like” to be assigned to. As for towns, *grazhdanye* were the case, while *odnodvortsy* were appropriate in rural areas.

According to the eighth revision of 1834 (which was by no means complete, as the new category had been established a mere three years earlier), eight western provinces contained, 115,180 male *odnodvortsy* (i.e. about 240,000 males and females). The following inspection of 1842, showed the figure rise to 122,079 males (ca. 254,000 of both sexes).²³ The ninth national census of 1854 did not quote complete data on the number of *odnodvortsy*, as it was not brought to completion.²⁴ The data specified in the table below are, at present, the only statistics we have obtained for the entire western provinces area so far.

1714 and 1719. Ever since, *odnodvortsy* became one of the few free peasant groups in Russia. In 1724, they were made equal to the obligations of the treasury peasantry, which meant that they had to pay the ‘soul’ and cereal tax, and to serve in the army under general rules. The scarce privileges the *odnodvortsy* had once enjoyed, such as chimney tax and no corporal punishment applied to this group, were lost by them under Peter I. As of 1829, left-bank Ukraine was home to a total of 988,422 *odnodvortsy*. V. Veshnyakov, *Istoričeskij obzor proishoždeniya raznyh nazvaniy gosudarstvennykh krest’ian*, “Žurnal Ministerstva Gosudarstvennykh Imuščestv” (hereinafter, ŽGI), 1857, p. 65, pp. 58–60; I. Soloviev, *Ob odnodvortsah*, “Otečestvennye Zapiski”, Vol. LXIX: 1850, March; *Enciklopedičeskij Slovar*, St. Petersburg 1903, Vol. XXXVIIIa, pp. 726–736; “Žurnal Ministerstva Vnutriennykh Del” (hereinafter, ŽMVD), 1831, kn. [Book] I, p. 115. The enigmatic category of ‘*grazhdanye*’, signifying urban ‘citizens’, was almost no different from treasury peasants with respect to duties/obligations and legal status. These were usually artisans, owners of small workshops, for whom membership in guilds was compulsory. The situation of so-called “honorary” (*pochetnye*) *grazhdanye* was better: they were released from military service and not subject to corporal punishment. These honorary *grazhdanye* had rights similar to those afforded to merchants of the first two guilds. The category was formed of representatives of liberal professions residing in towns: teachers, painters, barristers. *Svod Zakonov Russkoi Imperii* (hereinafter, SZRI), St. Petersburg 1843, Vol. V, pp. 121–124; SZRI, Vol. XV, p. 20; SZRI, Vol. XVI, pp. 292–293; Cf. *Ob ustanovlenii novogo soslovija početnykh*, ukase of 1 (22) April 1832, No. 5284, and the ukase of 21 December 1831 (2 January 1832), No. 4977.

²³ V. Veshnyakov, op. cit., p. 68, 73, 83.

²⁴ Ibidem. The table is quoted by the same source.

Table 2. *Odnodvortsy* (males) in the Western Provinces

Province	1834	1842	1854
Vilnius	15,882	6,123	5,333
Vitebsk	3,877	2,349	399
Volhynia	13,025	16,373	2,753
Grodno	5,458	3,247	5,565
Kyiv	31,032	32,668	3,270
Kovno	–	11,645	–
Minsk	12,881	8,427	2,366
Mohylev	1,458	994	505
Podolia	31,567	40,253	15,134
Total	115,180	122,079	35,325

Source: V. Veshnyakov, *Istoričeski obzor proishoždenya raznyh nazvaniy gosudarstvennyh krest'ian*, “Žurnal Ministerstva Gosudarstviennyh Imuščestv”, 1857, p. 65, 68, 73, 83.

According to the tenth census, executed at the end of the 1850s, the western provinces were home to 351,921 *odnodvortsy* and *grazhdanye*, according to officially published statistics.²⁵

Table 3. *Odnodvortsy* and *Grazhdanye* in the Western Provinces, 1859

		Treasury lands	Private lands	Total
<i>Odnodvortsy</i>	female	38,612	130,455	169,067
	male	36,542	121,211	157,753
<i>Grazhdanye</i>	female	Residents of urban areas		13,572
	male			11,529
Total				351,921

Source: *Vedomost' o narodonasilenii Rossii po 10 pierepisi*, ŽMVD 1860, p. 42, kn. [Book] 5, pp. 2-12.

As it is commonly known, official statistics of the period tend to be understated, which is also true for the above. Yet, there is some value to this data – namely, it proves that either the central Tsarist administration had poor statistics at its disposal or it refrained from publishing the complete data.

According to Daniel Beauvois, whose calculation is no doubt the most precise, a total of 340,283 individuals dwelling in Volhynia, Podolia, and Kyiv region were reassigned to the rural categories of *odnodvoretz* and treasury peasant between 1831 and 1853.²⁶ Unfortunately, we lack as accurate a calculation for the areas of Lithuania

²⁵ *Vedomost' o narodonasilenii Rossii po 10 pierepisi*, ŽMVD 1860, p. 42, kn. [Book] 5, pp. 2-12. The table is quoted after the same source.

²⁶ D. Beauvois, *Polacy na Ukrainie...*, p. 139.

and Belarus. What is known is that the operation continued after the January Insurrection (i.e. from 1864 onwards). A Tsarist ukase was issued, dated 19 (31) January 1866, whereby everyone representing the western province's *szlachta* that failed to prove their noble descent, was included in the peasantry and bourgeoisie. The only data we have at present, the calculations made by Russian historian Nikolai K. Imertynski, say that the group consisted of 148,514 people across five north-western provinces.²⁷

Therefore, 488,797 individuals were deprived of their noble identity during the period in question in Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine. Given the population in these areas, which in the early 1860s numbered around 11 million, the new category saw 4.5% of the region's total population assigned to it.

The above-specified data are rather difficult to verify, especially in the context of the Russian statistics which tended to be falsified in a variety of ways, always in view of diminishing the strength of Polish people residing in the western provinces. As of 1861, the nobles and clerks/officials totalled 489,503, against the aggregate population inhabiting the provinces of Vilnius, Vitebsk, Volhynia, Kyiv, Kovno, Minsk, Mohylev, and Podolia, equalling 10,906,256. The Roman Catholic confessors dwelling in this territory amounted to 2,552,148.²⁸

Table 4. Roman Catholics (males and females), 1840.

Province	Number of Catholics
Vilnius	1,116,660
Grodno	238,129
Courland	51,785
Minsk	265,606
Volhynia	130,773
Podolia	236,322
Mohylev	78,502
Vitebsk	354,556
Kyiv	79,815
Total	2,552,148

Source: *Očisłe posledovatelei oboego pola rimsko-katoličeskogo i armiano-katoličeskogo ispovedania v Rossii*, ŽMVD, May 1840, pp.78-79.

The legal footing for the commencement of degradation of the nobility was the Emperor's decree of 19 (31) October 1831.²⁹ The document was prepared in extreme

²⁷ N.K. Imertynsky, *Dvoryanstvo Yolynskoi Guberni*, "Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosvěščenia" (hereinafter, ZMNP), April 1894, p. 371. Cf. L. Zasztowt, *Polskie fundusze...*, p. 7.

²⁸ *Očisłe posledovatelei oboego pola rimsko-katoličeskogo i armiano-katoličeskogo ispovedania v Rossii*, ŽMVD of May 1840, pp.78-79. The table is quoted after the same source.

²⁹ *O šlachte nahodiaščeisa v Zapadnyh Guberniah*, *Ukaz Ego Imperatorskago Veličestva* No. 4869, of 19 October 1831. Cf. H. Mościcki, op. cit., pp. 29-31; T. Perkowski, op. cit., pp. 74-75.

haste – it was issued less than a month after the first meeting of the Committee for the Western Provinces, during which the first projects were deliberated over. This affected the quality of the ukase, which was unfinished in its legal aspects. The western provinces were not subject to Russian legislation then yet (which was to be the case from 1840), but instead, the Lithuanian Statute extended to it, along with Polish legislation covering certain domains. All the same, the central emphasis was put in the decree of 19 October on accepting the existing solutions and former legal categories in creating a new social group on a precedent basis. The authors also endeavoured to keep up the appearances of law-and-order. The assumption was ludicrous, as the categories of *grazhdanye* and *odnodvortsy* had been included in Russian legislation since the early 18th century, but did not appear in the Lithuanian Statute or in Polish legislation, whatsoever.

What was the *szlachta*'s situation the moment the ukase imposing their division appeared? First off, their situation was non-normalised in many respects. The Third Lithuanian Statute, in force until 1840, did not correspond with Russian legislation prevailing in the Empire. As a result, technically, the western province's nobles could not be expected to agree to meet these obligations and enjoy the privileges of the Russian *dvoryanstvo*. The differences between the rights and obligations of the former Commonwealth's *szlachta* and the Russian *dvoryanstvo* were significant. The situation of the latter group had heavily deteriorated since the reign of Peter I. Every nobleman was obligated to serve in the military on a lifelong basis beginning at the moment he turned fifteen. The option of civil service was only offered to a third of noble family members. Catherine II's "primary charter" of 1785 ensured the nobility a number of rights, regardless of their ethnic or national identity, such as the right to command their landed estates and peasants, release from the obligation of doing public service and personal taxation, or the right to deed their estates to their children. Yet, the Russian *dvoryanstvo* still remained much more dependent upon the ruler's will than the Polish nobility. The authorities expected that, similarly to the *dvoryanstvo*, the *szlachta* would serve in the Russian army expecting to get promoted to higher ranks, their sons willingly joining the cadet corps. Another option extended to a civil career path, featuring a gymnasium (secondary school) or a noble institute, then a tertiary school, followed by gaining subsequent ranks, moving up the levels of the centralistic Tsarist administration. In light of the law in force, and of the existing noble tradition, there was no means at hand to coerce a noble to do a particular type of service. The privilege of public service, so enticing for Russian *dvoryane*, was not respected by the Commonwealth's nobility whose attitude to the Tsarist state, was adverse.

What were the actual obligations and duties of the *szlachta*, then, and what was required or expected from the nobles? The answer is the stratification and the numerical strength of the noble class in the western provinces had caused that the Tsarist authorities had been unable to control the situation since the outbreak of the November Insurrection. Varying provisions were in force with respect to the various groups of nobility in particular provinces. As a matter of fact, the nobility, in their entirety, were

released from the duty to provide recruits (the “recruit obligation” – *rekrutskaya povinnost*) and from state-imposed taxes, except the land tax. This was true for the provinces of: Vilnius, Grodno, Volhynia, Minsk, and Podolia, as well as for Białystok District. Land tax was collected in these areas according to the number of manors owned: local nobles paid 2 to 4.5 roubles in silver, whilst lease-holding nobles were charged 0.75 to 2.98 roubles per manor. The nobles dwelling in the Belarusian provinces of Vitebsk and Mohylev were completely exempt from this tax. Kyiv Province determined the tax amount by number of “souls” – i.e. subjects possessed by a given nobleman. For the years 1829–31, the tax amounted to up to 1.50 roubles per soul.³⁰

The Committee for the Western Provinces put much effort into recognising categories of nobility by analysing the Third Lithuanian Statute and the existing situation. Admittedly, it was only this particular Russian institution that proved capable of exploring this social estate. The class affiliation of grange nobles and the magnates, who received the privileges vested in the Russian *dvoryanstvo*, raised no doubt. Instead, the other categories of nobility: lease-holding, local or “neighbourhood” (also called “middle” or “fragmentary” nobles, as they lived on fragments of larger estates), as well as the servient and landless (*golota*) nobles, were put on trial. The existing situation was summarised thus:

“As regards the present-day situation of the nobility, pursuant to the deeds and testimonies collected up to the point control was seized upon rebellion in the Western Provinces, it shall ensue as follows:

1. The said Provinces comprise a very small number of treasury estates which would exclusively be settled by the nobility, and the latter reside, in their major part, at the estates together with the state serfs, only occupying their own allotments of land, for which they pay *obrok* [rent] under the name of rent; with respect to all these estates, there has been no particular ordinance issued as regards the nobility, and the nobility shall remain under the same terms and conditions as applicable thereto upon the country’s annexation to Russia.

2. The nobility in the Provinces reinstated from Poland appear under various names, according to their ways of life: (a) lease-holding, ones that, as mentioned hereinabove, pay *obrok* for the land to the treasury or the land-owners; (b) local or residing, possessing their own allotments of land; (c) non-residing, holding no lease or possessing no property, serving at lordly houses in various positions; (d) the nobility that have so named themselves following the annexation of the Polish country to Russia; (e) called the ‘*bobylys*’ [i.e. landless – L.Z.’s note], occupying themselves with numerous types of tradecraft.”³¹

Among all the above-enumerated categories of the *szlachta*, only the local nobles, possessing small portions of land, remained ultimately non-degraded based on the ukase of noble division.

³⁰ *O novom ustroistve soslovia šlachty v Zapadnyh Guberniah*, TGIAL, ŽKZG, f. 1266, op. 1, e.kh. 12, pp. 23–24.

³¹ *Ibidem*, Chapter 22–23. Cf. D. Beauvois, *Polacy na Ukrainie...*, p. 23; I. Rychlikowa, *op. cit.*, pp. 122–123; H. Mościcki, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

The ukase of 19 October 1831, thoroughly altered the above-presented situation. The moment it was published, several complementary ordinances and pieces of secondary legislation rendering the precise rights and obligations of the “*odnodvortsy* and *grazhdanye* of the western provinces” were issued each year. The supplements extended to a number of areas: taxation, military service regulations, rules applicable to re-identification with a different social group or displacement. The detailed decrees determined the rules of obtaining a passport for trips abroad, the rules and opportunities of attending schools, and education.

Let us now determine what the petty nobility lost as a result of the degradation operation. As far as taxation is concerned, the previous land(ed) tax, whose character differed by province, was replaced by a general tax for supporting the army, while its existing name of “chimney tax” was retained. The previous land tax, as mentioned, did not extend to everybody. It was not paid by those owning no land or holding none on lease (save for Kyiv Province, where a poll tax was paid based on the number of peasants owned). The new chimney tax extended to everyone. In practice, it was designed for the funding of post horses, building post-stations, fuel provisions for the army, heating, lighting, construction and renovation of buildings, the construction and maintenance of bridges and crossings, as well as the lease of wagons requisitioned for transportation purposes.

The tax amount was determined at 3 roubles in silver per chimney (regardless of the number of resident souls) for those owning land of their own, 2 roubles per chimney for those leasing land and for other proprietors (*grazhdanye* residing in towns), and 1 rouble in silver annually for solitary and unsettled rural or urban areas.³² The settled *odnodvortsy* and *grazhdanye* were thus charged two or threefold higher fees compared to state serfs. Essential to the new taxation was that most persons now subject to the new chimney tax had previously paid no taxes whatsoever, until 1831.

From 1837 onwards, *odnodvortsy* were subject, in their entirety, to the jurisdiction of the newly-established Ministry of State Demesne. Since 1838, the “wine customs duty” (*vinnaya poshlina*) was imposed on the *odnodvortsy*. In 1841, the obligation to pay the cereal tax was extended to those *odnodvortsy* who populated the treasury lands and dealt with grain cultivation and cereal growing. This tax was identical to that paid by state serfs and by the so-called *volnye khlebopashtsy* (“free farmers”).³³

The collection of taxes was due to start from 1 January 1833, following the establishment of the number of individuals to be taxed. In practice, the taxes were implemented gradually in individual provinces, as the reclassification progressed. This went rather slowly, though, and was met with resistance, as the natural response from the nobles was to refrain from providing lists of their family members. This led to the

³² Ukase of Tsar Nicholas I, Item 12.

³³ Ukases of 23 March 1838 (4 April), No. 11083; 7 (19) February 1839, No. 12007; 18 (30) June 1840, No. 13563; 2 (14) July 1841, No. 14707; 15 (27) December 1841, No. 15121.

subsequent issuance of more ordinances, as in 1837, pertaining to individuals who had failed to accomplish these formalities.³⁴

However, taxation was not a decisive argument for the crackdown on the petty nobility – rather the obligation to do fifteen years of military service came to the fore. One could free oneself from the aforementioned tax by joining the army voluntarily.³⁵ The Tsarist authorities' intention was to make the largest possible percentage of *odnodvortsy* and *grazhdanye* go, as the Russian saying goes, “*v rekruty*” (to be recruited). Already in November 1831, a separate ukase was issued to enable former petty nobles to get hired for the army in exchange for “burghers and peasants of all categories that fulfil this obligation in-kind, regardless of the province”. This ukase was renewed several times afterwards.³⁶ The hiring of *odnodvortsy* must have become a rather common practice, as it turned out to be a convenient gateway for richer peasants and burghers, to protect their children from army service. However, offering this type of opportunity did not entirely suit the Tsarist authorities. From 1835 on, contracting such arrangements was banned between former nobles, and burgers, peasants and cart-drivers.³⁷ It can be inferred that malpractice was the main reason behind the ban: knowing that military service is a must for them anyway, *odnodvortsy* got hired on a voluntary basis, for a charge. In order to avoid such abuse, an ukase was issued in 1840 stating that only those former nobles could join the army who were not subject to conscription in a given year.³⁸ In 1844, a compulsory charge of 50 roubles more than the amount agreed between the hiring and the hired party was introduced per individual. The fee was transferred via the Office for State Demesne, to the so-called *odnodvoretz* communities from which the hired men came from, for coverage of expenditure and liabilities.³⁹ This worked, one should think, as an extra incentive for former nobles to join the army. On the other hand, the increased encumbrance of the hirer may have significantly restricted the need for such services.

³⁴ *O graždanah i odnodvortsah nepodavšyh o sebe posemieinyh spisikov*, ukase of 14 (26^o) July 1837, No. 10453, and the earlier ukase of 21 January 1832 (2 February), No. 5094.

³⁵ *O rekrutskoi povinnosti odnodvortsev i osobogo razriada graždan v Zapadnyh Guberniah*, SZRI, Vol. IV: *Svod ustavov o povinnostiah*, St. Petersburg 1842, pp. 132–135; SZRI, Vol. IV, St. Petersburg 1862, p. 266.

³⁶ Ukase of 6 (18) November 1831, No. 4926, and the subsequent ones, of: 6 (18) May 1833, No. 6176; 6 (18) March 1834, No. 6887.

³⁷ *O vozpreščanii krest'ianam, jamščikam i mieščanam zaključat' dogovory o naimie odnodvortsev i graždan Zapadnyh Guberniy v rekruty dla postavki dla ih siemieistva*: ukase of 3 (15) December 1835, No. 8647.

³⁸ *O dozvoleniu volnootpuščenyim iz odnodvorčeskikh krest'ian postupat' po naimu v rekruty*: ukase of 14 (26^o) October 1840, No. 13860; *ibidem*, of 12 (24^o) June 1842, No. 15744.

³⁹ *O vzyskanii s nanimatielei ohotnikom odnodvortsev v rekruty po 50 rubli serebrom sverh naiemnnoi platy, dla peredačy odnodvortseskim obščestvam Zapadnyh Guberniy*: ukase of 24 September 1844 (6 October), No. 18245.

Preference in conscription was given to non-settled people and to those “having no permanent occupation and known for their idle regimen”⁴⁰ One example of the preferences enjoyed by *odnodvortsy* and *grazhdanye* for military service is possibly the fact that five to ten people (maximum) were usually taken by the army out of each thousand “souls”, while the proportion for the former nobility was ten for every five hundred – two to four times more.⁴¹

Each conscript had to meet basic physical norms – twenty to thirty-five years of age; at least 2 *arshina* and 4 *vershina* when shoeless (160 cm). This was merely a model, the practice of which diverged in the real world. The basis for reckoning the herd of one thousand souls was that they be males aged eighteen to sixty. *Odnodvortsy* and *grazhdanye* did their military service under general rules, similarly to peasants or burghers. They were subject to the so-called “short period of service”, which was fifteen years (from 1832), as opposed to the long period (i.e. twenty to twenty-five years). The degraded nobility might have found these general rules extremely humiliating. In the military, the rank and file was subject to the compulsory shaved head and corporal punishment, especially caning. *Grazhdanye* and *odnodvortsy* were exempt from obligatory head shaving and, theoretically, corporal punishments did not apply to them. One might guess what it was like in practice, with some former noblemen being dispatched to the lower ranks to a Cossack regiment or to Siberia: the rule might simply have been ignored.⁴² On the other hand, there were assured ways to gain promotion – by way of conscientious service, one could even obtain a lower commissioned grade, under rules similar to those applied to the Cossacks.⁴³

There were also ways to get released from the obligation of paying taxes, or be voluntarily resettled to one of the central provinces of Russia.

Similarly to townspeople and state serfs, *odnodvortsy* and *grazhdanye* were attached to their residential locations. Called “permanent residence” (*postoiannoe vodvoreníe*), they were theoretically allowed to move within a perimeter of thirty versts (32 km).

⁴⁰ *O predstavlenii graždan i odnodvortsev Zapadnyh Guberni v voennuju službu po mirskim prigovoram primušestvo ludiei neosedlyh, neimieiuščih postoiannyh zaniatii i vobšče izvestnyh prazdnuiu žizniu:* ukase of 4 (16) July 1834, No. 7249.

⁴¹ *O rekrutskoi povinnosti odnodvortsev i osobogo razriada graždan v Zapadnyh Guberniah*, SZRI, Vol. IV, St. Petersburg 1842, pp. 132–135. Ukases of, resp.: 11 (23rd November 1832, No. 5746; 20 December 1832 (1 January 1833), No. 5839; 25 July 1833 (6 August), No. 6351; 5 (17) February 1834, No. 6779; 25 September 1834 (7 October), No. 7404; 15 (27) December 1841, No. 15121.

⁴² V. Veshnyakov, *Ob otpravlenii gosudarstvennymi krest'ianami rekrutskoi povinnosti po žerebievoi sistiemie*, ŽMGI, 1860, č. 74, pp. 259–290.

⁴³ *O primušestvah služby nižših činov iz graždan i odnodvortsev Zapadnyh Guberniy, prosluživšyh v voennoi službe sverch sroka:* ukase of 28 March 1850 (9 April), No. 24018; *Otnositel'no osvoboždenia ot podatei odnodvortsev, vstupivših dobrovol'no v voennuiu službu i uvolnenykh ot onoj priežde dostiženia ober-oficerskogo čina:* ukase of 16 (28) January 1835. This ukase comprised a peculiar snag: as per item 7 thereof, conscientious service could lead to regained nobility or, at least, lifelong exemption from taxes.

But in practice this required the consent of the community's elder (*obshchestvo*). To travel a longer distance, a passport was necessary, which was issued by neighbourhood officers affiliated to the county (*poviat*) treasury chambers (*kaznachestvos*).⁴⁴

The very organisation of the *odnodvortsy*'s communities (*obshchestvos*) proved completely alien and incongruent with the customs, habits or institutions typical to the nobility. As aptly pointed out by Daniel Beauvois, Count Kankrin, the main designer of the novel organisation of the communities, formed a social institution that was a slap in the nobles' face. A community (*obshchestvo*) patterned after the Russian '*mir*' was to be composed of at least one hundred families ('chimneys'), managed by the *starosta* (*starshina*) assisted by a council formed of the tax collector, cereal reserve supervisor and secretary – elected every three years and approved by the province policy.⁴⁵ The relations prevalent inside these communities were rather peculiar, particularly from the nobles' standpoint: the council was paid out of the community's contributions, the responsibility for collection of the chimney tax and its in-community distribution was collective, a similar case being with selecting candidates for military service. It was actually a peculiar instance of communal self-government (or, power of commoners), under strict police surveillance.⁴⁶

Although the concept to deliver mass displacements of nobles after the November Insurrection was aborted, St. Petersburg did not completely quit this most efficient measure to establish order in the country.

At the same time, the ukase of 19 (31) October 1831 put forth an ordinance to resettle 5000 noble families from Podolia Province to the Caucasus District; this issue is most completely covered in D. Beauvois's book. As this author has noted, this action appeared non-implementable due to a lack of funds. March 1832 saw the announcement of separate rules for the voluntary displacement of *odnodvortsy* from western provinces to other provinces.⁴⁷ These rules, according to the ukase, were to pertain not only to Podolia Province, but also to other western provinces:

1. "Instead of the appointed displacement of 5000 families from the Province of Podolia to the Caucasus District, due to difficulties encountered, the said displacement will be limited to practical size, not constrained by the preordained number of fami-

⁴⁴ *O vydače passportov i biletov graždanam i odnodvortsam Zapadnyh Guberniy*: ukase of 7(19) September 1834, No. 7387; ukase of 15 (27) December 1841, No. 15121.

⁴⁵ D. Beauvois, *Polacy na Ukrainie...*, p. 107. *Položene o rozporadke vnutrennogo politseiskogo i hoziaistvennogo upravleniia v seleniakh odnodvortsev Zapadnyh Guberniy*: ukase of 14 (26) January 1834, No. 6734.

⁴⁶ V. Veshnyakov, *Istoričeskii obzor proishoždeniia raznykh nazvaniy gosudarstvennykh krest'ian*, op. cit., p. 62–64. Cf. W. Wielhorski, *Wspólnota wioskowa w Rosji. Pochodzenie, ustrój i wpływ na psychikę ludu*, "Wschód Polski", London 1957, 20; L. Bazyłow, *Historia Rosji*, Vol. II, p. 159ff.

⁴⁷ *Pravila dla pereseleniia odnodvortsev Zapadnyh Guberniy po dobroVol'nomu ih želaniu v drugiye gubernii*: ukase of 25 March 1832 (6 April), No. 5249. Cf. D. Beauvois, *Polacy na Ukrainie...*, pp. 96–97; V. Veshnyakov, *Istoričeskii obzor...*, p. 66.

lies; 2. Those individuals of the former nobility who, having no property, landed estate or occupation, move from one place to another or live anywhere in an idle manner, are assigned to the Cossacks on the Caucasian line under the rules of the existing provisions regarding the attribution to vagabond (*brodiag*) Cossacks; it is on this basis that they will be dispatched to their new settlement locations upon terms in accordance with those applied to vagabonds, making sure they were attached to Cossack units, so that it is not related to the aforesaid colonisation of the *odnodvortsy*; 3. By no means shall accountability be imposed upon the State Treasury (*kazna*) for the debts of any displaced persons, with no ordinances being issued to settle any such debts whatsoever; instead, the regaining of such debts is left to the creditors, in accordance with binding legal principles, without the displacement being withheld; 4. For any expenditure that may prove urgent, 25,000 roubles is assigned to the Caucasus District authorities. 5. Any further ordinances regarding the present matter shall be the responsibility of the Ministry of the Interior.”⁴⁸

In parallel to the above ordinance, detailed rules for voluntary displacements to other provinces were issued. Apart from the Caucasus District, the lands assigned for the displaced persons included areas within Saratov and Orenburg Provinces.

The displaced persons were offered some financial relief: a discount of five years for the chimney and land tax payment; when this period elapsed, they were to pay the chimney tax like in the western provinces and the land tax (i.e. 10 kopecks per *desyatina* – tenth measure). The land tax remained unchanged for twenty years, and was meant to become the equivalent of the so-called “*obrok*” – the rent paid by state serfs. Also, pertinent to those displaced, was a three-year relief from performing the so-called “natural landed devoir”, except those worked private privately (i.e. those that extended to the lands allocated to these individuals). A five-year release from military service and recruit conscription was included as well, whilst conscription was to be reduced by half in the following three-year period (i.e. 5 persons for every 500 “souls”). Also, six years of exemption from the burden of providing military housing quarters (*voinskii postoi*) and paying the cereal tax, as well as a release from the obligation to pay or work off deficits in the landed devoirs and payment of the chimney tax. Moreover, every family was to be issued an allowance of 50 roubles for travel, just prior to departure leaving. Another benefit, of 50 to 100 roubles, was to be received following arrival, depending on whether it was possible to grant a permit for felling trees to obtain timber for housing construction purposes.

These reliefs and allowances, apparently attractive and numerous, probably caused no significant increase in the number of volunteers. The reason was that the encumbrances of the taxable strata (*podatnye soslovnia*), particularly the peasantry, were much

⁴⁸ *Pravila dla pereselenia...*, loc. cit.; D. Beauvois, op. cit., loc. cit.; H. Mościcki, op. cit., p. 31ff.; V. Veshnyakov, op. cit., p. 66.

higher in central Russia, than in the western provinces.⁴⁹ For instance, the duty to maintain military troops (*voinskii postoi*) was made part of the chimney tax in the western provinces; only the *odnodvortsy* inhabiting state lands were subject to the cereal tax, whilst the landed devoirs were included in the *obrok* (rent).

The action of voluntary resettlement into the provinces of Saratov and Orenburg and to the Caucasus District was extended in 1841 to include Ekaterinoslav Province, where separate plots of land were prepared for the *odnodvortsy* in the regions allocated for displaced Lesser-Russian (Ukrainian) Cossacks.⁵⁰ Resettlements to Taurida Province in Crimea and Kherson Province began in 1843 and 1845, respectively. *Odnodvortsy*, based on what is known, were also displaced to the provinces of Stavropol and Siberia.

According to Russian data, as recently confirmed by Daniel Beauvois, these resettlements and displacements never grew into a mass movement. The displacement from Podolia Province ended up a fiasco. Yet, in 1842–4, out of the envisioned 4500, a total of 4174 *odnodvortsy* males (altogether, probably around 8500 males and females) were relocated from the western provinces to Ekaterinoslav Province. Following the subsequent 1843 ukase, Ekaterinoslav and Taurida provinces received 3000 *odnodvortsy*. In 1845, out of 1000 *odnodvortsy* earmarked for displacement to Kherson Province, a total of 890 were finally resettled (as of 1846 – 463 males, 427 females).⁵¹ In sum, given the potential of time, the voluntary displacement action did not end in disaster, although its success was rather moderate with regard to the Tsarist authorities actual plan.

For the poor nobles, getting educated was one of the few rescue options. However, they encountered a series of accumulating obstacles which appeared extremely hard to overcome. On the one hand, the incoherent Russian regulations on the accessibility of schools offered certain opportunities; on the other, compulsory education fees seemed to effectively erase these opportunities. This affected the most indigent, who could not afford to support their noble lineage with the appropriate bribe to the county or provincial authorities.

Noble legitimation was a precondition for ensuring the possibility to attend a county school, gymnasium or university for nobles. Nicholas I's rescript of 19 (31) August 1827 barred admission to universities, gymnasia and other equal-rank schools for the children of those remaining in serfdom. The rescript's first item provided "that in universities and in other higher scientific institutions, state-run or private, report-

⁴⁹ Cf. Z. Stankiewicz, *Sytuacja prawna Polaków na Litwie, Białorusi i Ukrainie w latach 1772–1863*, [in:] *Historia państwa i prawa Polski*, Vol. III, eds. J. Bardach, M. Senkowska-Gluck, Warsaw 1981, pp. 834–860.

⁵⁰ *Ob usileniu sposobov k pereseleniu odnodvortsev Zapadnykh Guberniy vo vnutrennye gubernii*: ukase of 2 (14) June 1841, No. 14601.

⁵¹ V. Veshnyakov, op. cit., p. 69ff. *Izвлечение из отчета Министра Gosudarstvennykh Imuščestv za 1844 god*, ŽMGI, 1845, pp. 16–17, pp. 25–26.

ing to the Ministry of Public Enlightenment [i.e. Education] and supervised by the same, as well as in gymnasia [...], only the people of liberal status be enrolled for classes and admitted to attend lectures, inclusive of the released (*vol'nootpuščeny*), who have produced appropriate evidence to prove the aforesaid, even if they have not as-yet been allocated to the merchant or bourgeoisie classes, and have not yet obtained any other title (*zvaniye*). The rescript of 9 (21) May 1837 has it that, alongside the nobility (*dvorianstvo*) and honorary *grazhdanye*, that is, representatives of liberal professions not liable to compulsory military service, burghers and peasants of liberal status might also be admitted to tertiary schools, providing that they have been released by their communities from compulsory military service and from other devoirs.⁵²

Apparently, the right to attend a gymnasium or a university – for the taxable strata – was qualified in a variety of aspects. The “*odnodvortsy* and *grazhdanye* of the western provinces” had to gain the consent of their communities (*obščestvos*) which, if they did, had to ignore those people for military service selection. These bodies also assumed the tax liabilities of the persons directed to a gymnasium, albeit these were most likely taken care of by their families. These factors certainly hindered the potential to learn and study.

In practice, the only way to overcome these barriers – regardless of the examination to be passed – was to have a sponsor ready to provide scholarship funding and capable of influencing the community so that it eventually consented to voluntarily release one of its members. Such expense was far from trifling, as the annual fee for a gymnasium entrant, including the boarding fee, was 225-250 roubles (1835). Affluent nobles from the western provinces funded a number of such scholarships. According to recent findings, the opportunity was taken advantage of by as many as 20,000 to 30,000 individuals between 1832 and 1914.⁵³

Interestingly, many of these scholarships were funded by members of the same magnate families that Irena Rychlikowa established to “assist” in the degradation of the local petty nobility. These activities might have then been carried out on two different planes. On the one hand, petty nobles on magnate estates were turned into peasants on “economic” premise, while on the other hand, scholarships were funded for such petty nobles, in the name of some age-old sense of class solidarity, or, possibly, for show.

The purpose behind all the gambits of the Tsarist authorities discussed herein was to converge the stratum of *odnodvortsy* and *grazhdanye* in the western provinces with other taxable strata (*podatnye soslovia*) across the Russian Empire, and for said stratum to have nothing in common with the privileged noble estate from that point on. In order to conclusively resolve the petty nobility problem, the time had now come – the Tsarist authorities believed – to simply eliminate the aforesaid categories, created on the spot. And so, they did. Under the ukases of 19 (31) Janu-

⁵² О приёме учеников податного состояния в гимназии и дворянския училища, ТГИАЛ, ф. 733, оп. 66, е.кх. 548, pp. 1-12.

⁵³ L. Zasztowt, *Under constraint...*, p. 156.

ary 1866 and, especially, that of 14 (26) February 1868, “*grazhdanye* and *odnodvortsy* of the western provinces” were liquidated – by including the former in the existing urban strata and making the latter part of the rural strata.⁵⁴ This is how – it was believed – the former petty nobility became diluted amongst the Empire’s population, most of them being classed as state serfs and, to a lesser extent, included in low-rank categories of the urban populace.

The conclusion of this operation coincided with the date the Western Committee was dismissed. Operating between 1862–8, this body followed up the activities of the Committee for the Western Provinces.⁵⁵

The question arises whether the once-nobility indeed disappeared among the Empire’s population – and, consequently, whether those people had any chance to preserve their Polish language and customs?

The elimination of the “*odnodvortsy* and *grazhdanye* of the western provinces” as a legal category, through inclusion in peasant communities dominated by local Ukrainian, Belarusian, Lithuanian or Russian people, could have theoretically caused de-Polonisation, in the case of the displaced. It is difficult to give an unambiguous answer to such a question, given the state of present-day research. One must bear in mind that most of the “neighbourhood nobles”, particularly in historical Lithuania, have survived. Some Ukrainian villages remained completely inhabited by local nobles until the October Revolution; by the 1920s and 1930s, those who were not killed during the Ukrainian famine were deported to Siberia, or placed in kolkhozes set up at that time.

Daniel Beauvois has observed that Ukraine became a laboratory, while the local Poles played the part of guinea-pigs in yet-another attempt at absorbing a large population group by the Tsarist Empire.⁵⁶ In the conclusion of this essay, Lithuania and Belarus can also be added to the picture.

The Tsarist administration knew how to efficiently make use of their 18th century experience based on similar actions carried out with respect to the Don and Zaporozhe Cossacks. In turn, in the 1880s, the Germans inhabiting Latvian and Estonian territory became the targeted minority.

⁵⁴ *Отчёт general adiutanta Bezaka po upravleniu Jugo-Zapadnom krauem za 1867–1868 gg.*, TGIAL, f. 1261, op. I, e.kh. 10, pp. 1–31. Cf. T. Perkowski, op. cit., p. 75.

⁵⁵ Both committees had a similar purpose behind them: to get the Polish problem over and done with. The efforts of the Western Committee focused, inter alia, on developing a folk school system for the Ukrainians and Belarusians, in an attempt at isolating them from Polish influence. The Western Committee was chaired by Prince Pavel Gagarin, and subsequently Count Dmitry Bludov. The body’s first meeting was held on 25 September 1862 (7 October). The Committee published a top-secret journal, *Žurnal Zapadnogo Komiteta*, in a limited number of copies. The Committee members included: Prince Alexander Gorchakov, Nikolai Milutin, Pyotr Valuev, and Count Viktor Panin (the latter limited himself to attending the first meeting).

⁵⁶ D. Beauvois, *Polacy na Ukrainie...*, p. 287.

Beauvois' opinion, whereby a comprehensive evaluation of the effects of the degradation of the petty nobility in the period in question needs more time to be developed, can effectively be deemed correct. In the first place, what needs to be done is to trace the continued story of the degraded nobles, particularly after the January Insurrection of 1863–4, and the ukases of 1866 and 1868.

CHAPTER 3

PETTY NOBILITY IN THE WESTERN PROVINCES OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE (A CONTRIBUTION TO THE DISCUSSION ON THE SCALE OF PETTY NOBLE DEGRADATION)

The discussion on the size of the population of the petty nobility, as degraded class-wise to the peasantry and bourgeoisie, in the western provinces of the Russian Empire between 1831 and 1968, was initiated in the late 1980s by Daniel Beauvois (as remarked in the preceding chapter). Although mentions of the activity undertaken to decompose the nobility were made in a number of earlier-published memoirs and studies – Polish, Lithuanian, and Russian – the problem has not yet been analysed in any greater detail.¹

The discussion that rose around the French historian's book was extended to a number of issues. One was the numerical force of the nobles reassigned as peasants. The issue, of essential importance to Polish historians (after all, it was essentially about a "loss of the Polish national substance" in the former Commonwealth's Eastern borderland) turned out to be of no less importance to Ukrainian, Belarusian and Lithuanian historians. These particular nations might have hypothetically "benefited" on the degradation of the Polish nobility, as the nobles turned peasants vanished among the peasant class so dominated by the Ruthenians, Belarusians and Lithuanians. This phenomenon was substantially significant, as it occurred during a period of accelerated maturing of the young nations of Central and Eastern Europe. The participation of petty nobles in the Lithuanian, Ukrainian and Belarusian national revival – a fact known earlier and confirmed by new findings – has deconstructed, at least partly, the idea whereby the young nations' background in this part of Europe was "peasant only".

¹ D. Beauvois, *Le noble, le serf et le revisor. La noblesse polonaise entre le tsarisme et les masses ukrainiennes (1831-1863)*, Paris-Montreux 1985 (Polish ed.: *Polacy na Ukrainie 1831-1863. Szlachta polska na Wołyniu, Podolu i Kijowszczyźnie*, Paris: 1987). Cf. L. Zasztowt, *Koniec przywilejów – degradacja drobnej szlachty polskiej na Litwie historycznej i prawobrzeżnej Ukrainie w latach 1831-1868*, "Przegląd Wschodni", Vol. I: 1991, No. 3, p. 615ff.

The question that remained key for everyone was to determine the scale of degradation. This approach reflects many historians' daydream of measuring the size of various past social phenomena they describe; similarly, as social sciences describe present-day realities. Let us recapitulate the findings of discussions from the late 1980s and early 1990s.

The calculations proposed by D. Beauvois, based on then-contemporary source material (i.e. General-Governor Dmitry Bibikov's reports from 1831–53 for the three south-western provinces: Volhynia, Podolya and Kyiv), a total of 340,282 people were eventually declassified *odnodvortsy* or *grazhdanye*.²

For the six north-western provinces – those of Vilnius, Vitebsk, Grodno, Kovno, Minsk, and Mohylev, between 100,000 (compared to the data of 1857) and 140,000 (against the less certain 1836 data) individuals were “declassified”, according to Joanna Sikorska-Kulesza's research.³ Therefore, if these calculations are to be accepted to the maximum, altogether, the number of declassified nobles could have exceeded 480,000 – about 4.5% of the area's entire population in the early 1860s.⁴

Irena Rychlikowa polemicized with Beauvois and found that his calculated number of declassified nobles in the three Ukrainian provinces was over by more than 100,000. Based on 1845 statistics covering the entire Western Land (*Zapadnyi Krai*) and accepting the number of *odnodvortsy* and *grazhdanye* of the western provinces at 142,115, Rychlikowa remarked that for the three Ukrainian provinces, the males assigned within the said categories amounted to 94,135.⁵ By multiplying this number by two (i.e. adding females, more-or-less equal to the number of males), we arrive at 188,270 – 152,012 less than Beauvois' reckoning.⁶

Thus, as per I. Rychlikowa's and J. Sikorska-Kulesza's calculations, the lower limit of the number of degraded nobles in the western provinces was about 280,000, or not much more.⁷

The main problems encountered by historians with regard to accurately calculating the number of declassified nobles between 1831 and 1868 include the fact that there

² D. Beauvois, *Le noble...*, p. 152, 159.

³ J. Sikorska-Kulesza, *Deklasacja drobnej szlachty na Litwie i Białorusi w XIX wieku*, Warsaw 1995, p. 99.

⁴ The exact number is 480, 282. A similar conclusion with respect to the maximum number of degraded nobles, was developed by L. Zasztowt, based on the statistics and the calculations of Russian pre-revolutionary historian Nikolai K. Imertynsky, who estimated the population of declassified nobles in the five north-western provinces at 148,514; altogether, the Western *Krai* would thus have 488,797 individuals deprived of noble status. Cf. L. Zasztowt, *Koniec przywilejów...*, p. 625.

⁵ I. Rychlikowa, *Deklasacja drobnej szlachty polskiej w Cesarstwie Rosyjskim. Spór o „Pułapkę na szlachtę” Daniela Beauvois*, “Przegląd Historyczny”, Vol. LXXIX: 1988, No. 1, p. 146.

⁶ For a concise resume of the discussion, cf. the reliable study: R. Jurkowski, *Ziemiaństwo polskie Kresów Północno-Wschodnich 1864–1904. Działalność społeczno-gospodarcza*, Warsaw 2001, p. 34ff.

⁷ 288, 270, to be exact – assuming that the number of degraded nobles in historical Lithuania was around 100,000.

is no precise data available for the individual stages of allocation of the petty-nobility populace to the peasantry and bourgeoisie. As well, historian encounter differences in the Russian statistics available, due to their different provenance. These statistics were drafted by different ministries and committees, usually in order to satisfy the immediate information needs of various governmental bodies. Characteristic of the whole 19th century was a trend – emphasised by numerous scholars – to understate the Polish population in the so-called “Western Land”, the purpose of which was to prove that the Poles living on this territory were an “alien” ethnic group, and impaired, compared to the native, local “Russian” dwellers. An essential problem is also the rather long period during which the degradation took place – no less than thirty-seven years, beginning with Tsar Nicholas I’s ukase of 19 October 1831 (No. 4869), to the ukase of 19 February 1868. The latter eliminated the *odnodvortsy* and *grazhdanye* of the western provinces and put them in with the existing rural strata (mainly state serfs and *chynoshviks*) and the taxed urban population.⁸ Let us add that the ukases featuring *odnodvortsy* and *grazhdanye*, with respect to the western provinces, were even being published until the early 1870s.⁹

The Main Committee for the Organisation of the Rural Class (*Glavnyi Komitet ob Ustroistve Sel’skogo Sostoiania*) became the government institution which took care of the degraded noble “small fry” in the western provinces. It was formed on 19 February 1861, in lieu of the Main Committee for Peasant Affairs (*Glavnyi Komitet po Krest’ianskomu Dielu*; established 18 February 1858), which in itself followed up the Privy Committee set up by Tsar Alexander II on 3 January 1857.¹⁰

The Main Committee dealt with supervising the introduction and execution of all the ordinances regarding peasants, and with solving any ensuing problems. The Committee examined a number of complementary drafts to the Peasants Act, and collated and investigated the motions regarding the organisation of the peasant class. It managed and archived the documentation, and surveyed legal acts and general ordinances regarding the rural strata, subject to various departments and offices.¹¹

⁸ All the dates are quoted herein are in Old-Style terms. Cf. ukase of 19 October 1831: *On the nobility dwelling in the Western Provinces. A ukase to the Governing Senate*, “Przegląd Wschodni”, Vol. I: 1991, No. 3, pp. 637–640; *O poriadke pripiski lits byvszej polskoi šlahty v podatnika sostoiania*. Ukase of 19 January 1866; *O vvedeniu odnodvortsev i grazdan Zapadnykh guberniy v obščii sostav sel’skikh ili gorodskikh obyvatelei*, ukase of 19 February 1868.

⁹ *O pripiske po mestu žitel’sstva odnodvortsev i grazdan, čislivšihsia po revizii v Zapadnom Kraie*. Ukase of 2 April 1870; *O netrebovanii s obščestv novykh rekrut vzamen vozvraščennykh iz voiennoi služby lits byvszej polskoi šlahty, dokazavših prava dvorianstva, po sdače ih už v rekruty*. Ukase of 1 March 1874.

¹⁰ *Opis’ del Arhiva Gosudarstvennogo Soveta, t. 15 (1857–1882): Dela Sekretnogo Komiteta Glavnykh Komitetov po Krest’ianskomu Delu i ob Ustroistve Sel’skogo Sostoiania s 1857 po 1882 g. vkladčitel’no*, St. Petersburg 1911, p. V.

¹¹ The Main Committee for the Organisation of the Rural Class was dissolved on 25 May 1882, the matters it administered being reallocated to the Governing Senate and the Chancellery of the Council of Ministers. Ibidem, p. V.

Administratively, the Main Committee was formally affiliated with the Ministry of Interior, but in line with Russian bureaucratic tradition, it integrated the operations of several ministries and offices, itself only reporting to the Council of Ministers. Its composition blatantly testified to such an arrangement. The Committee's chairman was Grand Duke Constantine Nikolayevich, who also chaired the Governing Senate, while its members included: Baron Modest Korf – member of the Council of State; Aide-General Konstantin Chevkin – the recently-appointed chairman of the Council of State's Economic Department and previously, Minister of Transportation; Pyotr Valuev – Minister of Interior; Alexandr Zelenyi – Minister of State Domains; Count Pyotr Shuvalov – head of the Board of the Gendarmerie Corps; Count Mikhail Reutern – Minister of Finance, and his successor Count Konstantin von Pahlen (father of the subsequent Vice-Governor of Warsaw); Aide-General Alexandr Bezak – General-Governor of Kyiv; Lieutenant-General Eduard, Count Baranov – General-Governor of Vilnius; also, Nikolai Bakhtin – real privy councillor connected with the Council of State and the Ministry of Justice; Vladimir Butkov – real privy councillor with the Council of State's Department of Laws; Count Fyodor Litke; A. Troinitsky and Prince Sergey Urusov – privy councillor, ran the Ministry of Justice and Second Section of His Imperial Highness's Private Chancellery. In addition, S. Zhukovsky acted as Secretary to the Main Committee.¹²

It was the Main Committee for the Organisation of the Rural Class that compiled the draft of the Tsar's ukase "On the organisation of life of *odnodvortsy* and *grazhdanye* of the western provinces", whereupon – as aforementioned – the declassed nobility was put in its respective categories of taxed rural and urban population, thus irreversibly losing the rights vested in the landowning gentry.

The key question to be answered before preparing the ukase's draft was the number of the population that would be affected by the ukase. In October 1867, the Ministry of Interior's Landed Department proposed, as requested by the Committee, one of the most complete and exhaustive opinions regarding the ordinance under preparation. The analysis was regarded as extremely valuable, and the decision was made to publish it in the secret in-house *Periodical of the Main Committee for the Organisation of the Rural Class*, Issue No. 11 from 4 December 1867.¹³ Quoted below is the opening and most important section in which, apart from a brief recapitulation, numerical data gathered by the Landed Department is presented. Like the ukase, the analysis was titled "On the organisation of life of *odnodvortsy* and *grazhdanye* of the western provinces".

¹² Rossiiskiy Gosudarsvennyi Istoricheskiy Arhiv, St. Petersburg (hereinafter, RGIA), f. 1181, op. 1, e.kh. 60, pp. 38–39. Cf. D.I. Shilov, *Gosudarstvennye deiateli Rossiiskoi Imperii 1802–1917*, St. Petersburg 2002.

¹³ "Zhurnal Glavnogo Komiteta ob Ustroistve Sel'skogo Sostoiania v Soedinenii s Departamentom Zakonov, Ministerstvo Vnutrennih Del", No. 11, 4 dekabria [4 December] 1867 g. RGIA, f. 1181, op. 1, e.kh. 60, pp. 3–17.

By the supreme ukase of 19 October 1831, “all persons of the former Polish nobility who have failed to evidence, in accordance with the determined order, their noble descent, have been divided, with respect to their residential locations into two categories: rural citizens have been renamed *odnodvortsy* and inhabitants of urban areas, *grazhdanye*. The *odnodvortsy* have moreover been classed into: (1) settled – those possessing lands of their own or living off a rent or *obrok* on state-owned or private lands; and, (2) non-settled – those living in the houses of landowners or private individuals, [and] fulfilling various services and positions.”

The management of all the *odnodvortsy* was initially centred in the office of the Ministry of State Domain, pursuant to the provisional regulations issued in 1834, with this special purpose in mind. Subsequently, on 14 February 1846, following the request of the special Committee for the Western Provinces (ukase of the Governing Senate of 19 March 1846), it was ordained, by supreme ordinance, that the *odnodvortsy*, including those living on state-owned, communal or their own lands, as well as those non-settled, be left under the possession of the Ministry of State Domain, whereas the *odnodvortsy* settled on private landed estates be assigned to the governance of the landed police and the surveillance of the province authorities.

Nonetheless, resultant from a report of the Minister of State Domain, this was resolved according to the Supreme Will on 5 April 1848 – that non-settled *odnodvortsy*, assigned under the revision [i.e. census] to state-owned estates, to small farms and poor yeomen settlements, or possessing land of their own, be transferred to the category of settled, with a state benefit being allocated thereto; whereas, craftsmen and non-settled *odnodvortsy* not working in industries, be added, should they be so willing, to the urban strata, whilst the *odnodvortsy* remaining without settlement due to laziness and idleness, be resettled to Ekaterinoslav Province. Finally, on 19 May 1849, an ordinance was issued to subject all non-settled *odnodvortsy* living on landed estates to the landed police, where *odnodvortsy* settled on private lands have thitherto only been subordinated. Thus, from 1849 onwards, all *odnodvortsy* living on private lands – settled, as well as non-settled – were subject to the office of the Ministry of Interior, and under the management of the landed police, and the surveillance of the provincial authorities.

“The number of *odnodvortsy* living on lands designated private property equals – according to the recent revision: in the South-Western Land [*Yugo-Zapadnyi Krai*] – 10,517, altogether 108,711 male souls. Apart from this, the *odnodvortsy* subordinated to the office of the Ministry of State Domain in the nine western provinces, amount to: on state lands – 29,625, and on lands consisting of their own property – 11,439 male souls.”¹⁴

Altogether, per the 1867 statistics, the male *odnodvortsy* of the western provinces numbered 149,775. With a like number of females, the petty nobility population

¹⁴ RGIA, f. 1181, op. 1, ed. chr. 60, pp. 3–4 (the quoted fragment has been translated based on the Polish translation by the Author [L.Z.]).

transferred to the new category equalled 299,550 – according to Russian data.¹⁵ These source data are highly convergent with the earlier calculations of I. Rychlikowa and J. Sikorska-Kulesza, who have estimated the degraded noble population in the western provinces at more than 288,000.

Although the statistics of the Russian Ministry of Interior seem to be the closest to the actual scale of transformations that took place within the noble estate in 19th century Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine, nevertheless, their relative value is worth emphasising. In all probability, none of the Tsar's imperial offices had access to complete undisputed data as regards the final outcome of the long-term actions to decompose and divide the nobility in the Empire's western provinces. The data quoted by the Ministry of State Domain differed from that used by the Ministry of Interior, and was different still from the reckonings of the Ministry of Finance. The differences between the amounts quoted by these institutions were, not infrequently, considerable – to the order of as much as 100,000 people. The St. Petersburg-based College-of-Arms office could not have had complete data at its disposal, as a number of poor “grey nobles” could not afford to bring a bill to recognise their noble status in the capital city.

The report of the Interior Ministry's Landed Department also quotes data obtained from the Ministry of Finance, which magisterially found that the nine provinces of the Western *Krai* included: 35,000 *odnodvoretz* chimneys or families renting land from the proprietors, along with 1000 chimneys and single inhabitants living on their own land – for the latter group, there was not more than 12,000 souls.¹⁶ The figures, in any case, probably show the number of inhabitants for the category of interest from whom the chimney tax was collected, which would speak in favour of the accuracy of the Finance Ministry's data. Should these figures be factual, then the number of *odnodvortsy* can be estimated at 187,000 – if the average family consisted of five members; 222,000 – if the average family was six members, or 257,000 – if it consisted of seven.¹⁷ In both cases, the data kept by the Ministry of Finance was significantly different from the statistics of the Ministry of Interior – between 42,550 (minimum) and 112,550 (maximum).¹⁸

To sum up, the conclusion is apparent that, once again, historians have been forced to base their research upon the officially published Russian statistics, regardless of any reservations with respect to these sources. When the decomposition of the nobility in the western provinces peaked in the late 1850s, the tenth revision (census) was being carried out in Russia, which defined the number of *grazhdanye* and *odnodvortsy* at 351,921, for both sexes.¹⁹ This figure seems reliable, particularly for 1858 – that is, moments before serious demographic change took place resulting from the January

¹⁵ I.e.: $108,711 + 29,625 + 11,439 = 149,775 \times 2 = 299,550$.

¹⁶ RGIA, f. 1181, op. 1, ed. chr. 69, p. 6.

¹⁷ I.e.: $35,000 \times 5 = 175,000 + 12,000 = 187,000$; $35,000 \times 6 = 210,000 + 12,000 = 222,000$; $35,000 \times 7 = 245,000 + 12,000 = 257,000$.

¹⁸ I.e.: $299,550 - 257,000 = 42,550$; and $299,550 - 187,000 = 112,550$.

¹⁹ *Vedomost' o narodonasilenii Rossii po 10 pierepisi*, ŽMVDel, Vol. XLII: 1860, No. 5, pp. 2–12.

Insurrection (1863–4) and the displacements in its aftermath. Moreover, it does not seem very plausible that the Tsarist administration might have deliberately overstated (rather than understated) the census's results in this particular case. In light of the discussion summarised in this essay and the source-based findings, it is a legitimate guess that both figures quoted above offer us a good idea as to the scale of the phenomenon.

In the late 1850s, there were more than 350,000 nobles who were degraded, or declassified; the number was reduced to less than 300,000 by 1867. These calculations confirm the earlier and, likewise, the most recent findings regarding the diminishing Catholic population – Poles included – in Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine in the latter half of the 19th century, with a significant parallel increase in the Russian Empire.²⁰

To conclude this thread, it is befitting to emphasise that the real scale of the nobility's degradation could have been even larger. As D. Beauvois has remarked, Russian statistics do not extend to the activities carried out by the Marshals of Nobility in 1832 to 1838 – the period when the official ordinances of the Russian *chynovniks* with respect to the petty nobility were still at an early stage. On the other hand, overstating the population of nobles in the western provinces, Ukraine included, had already taken place earlier – at least since 1795.²¹

²⁰ L. Zasztowt, *Zsyłka i przesiedlenia ludności polskiej z zachodnich guberni w głąb Cesarstwa Rosyjskiego po powstaniu styczniowym*, "Przegląd Wschodni", Vol. V: 1998, No. 2, p. 237ff.; P. Eberhardt, *Geografia ludności Rosji*, Warsaw 2002, p. 13ff.

²¹ D. Beauvois, *Trójkąt ukraiński. Szlachta, carat i lud na Wołyniu, Podolu i Kijowszczyźnie 1793–1914*, Lublin 2005, p. 75ff.

CHAPTER 4

STRUCTURE MODERNISED – IMPLEMENTATION OF THE “HONORARY CITIZEN” CATEGORY IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURES OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE (1830–1900)

ADJUSTMENTS IN SOCIAL STATUS

From a Polish perspective, the implementation of the ‘honorary citizen’ category (*pochetnye grazhdane*) was a side-effect of the downgrading processes among the Polono-Lithuanian and Polono-Ruthenian gentry, processes which peaked in the 1830s and continued until the end of the 1860s. This was part of a general Russian policy against Poles in the Western region.¹ Although this act of downgrading the lesser nobility received attention from Polish and Lithuanian historians between the two World Wars, the issue ceased to be a matter for discussion in 1945. The problem was revived thanks to the French historian Daniel Beauvois, who calculated the number of individuals expelled from the ranks of the nobility in Ukraine. In his book on the Polish gentry in Ukraine, published in 1985² and which subsequently became a part of his Ukrainian trilogy, Beauvois reopened the discussion. In Polish historiography, it led to a number of studies.³ The final result of this research

¹ E. Thaden, *Russia's Western Borderlands 1710–1870*, Princeton 1984; T.S. Weeks, *Nation and State in Late Imperial Russia: Nationalism and Russification on the Western Frontier 1863–1914*, Illinois 1996; W. Rodkiewicz, *Russian National Policy in the Western Provinces of the Empire (1863–1905)*, Lublin 1998; A. Kappeler, *The Russian Empire: A Multi-Ethnic History*, Harlow 2001.

² D. Beauvois, *Le noble, le serf et le revizor. La noblesse polonaise entre le tsarisme et les masses ukrainiennes*, Paris–Montreux 1985; English edition: D. Beauvois, *The noble, the serf, and the revizor: the Polish nobility between Tsarist imperialism and the Ukrainian masses (1831–1863)*, New York 1991. Moreover: idem, *La bataille de la terre en Ukraine 1863–1914. Les polonais et les conflits socio-ethniques*, Lille 1993; idem, *Pouvoir russe et noblesse polonaise en Ukraine: 1793–1830*, Paris 2003; idem, *Trójkąt ukraiński. Szlachta, carat i lud na Wołyniu, Podolu i Kijowszczyźnie 1793–1914*, Lublin 2005.

³ J. Sikorska-Kulesza, *Deklasacja drobnej szlachty na Litwie i Białorusi w XIX w.*, Warsaw 1995; I. Rychlikowa, *Deklasacja drobnej szlachty polskiej w Cesarstwie Rosyjskim. Spór o ‘pułapkę dla*

was an estimate of the numbers of people expelled: between 288,000 and 350,000 in Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine during the years 1831-68. All of those expelled were transferred into the semi-peasant categories created in the Western provinces by the Tsarist authorities.

A link between the implementation of the 'honorary citizen' category in the Western provinces and the general policy against Poles in that region is also highlighted and discussed in contemporary Russian historiography.⁴ All agree that these restrictions were directed against Poles by Nicholas I as revenge for the November Uprising of 1830-1, which was in reality a Polish-Russian war.

The 'honorary citizen' category is first mentioned in the Tsarist Ukase No. 4869 of 19 October 1831, entitled: *Concerning the gentry living in the western provinces*. On the basis of this decree, all individuals who could not prove their noble roots were transferred into newly-created peasant categories: the *odnodvortsy* and *grazhdane* of the Western provinces. In the ukase it was stated that:

The *grazhdane* category shall include persons who practice the various so-called "scholarly professions", such as physicians, teachers, artists and composers, as well as those who have obtained official certificates for the title of lawyer or barrister, to differentiate them from those who work as craftsmen or are in domestic service, as well as to distinguish them from those who represent any lower professions: to such persons the title of "honorary citizen" shall henceforth be granted.⁵

It was also announced that the order to ascribe individuals the status of honorary citizen would soon be published as a separate decree. In fact, two different ukases were promulgated (the so-called "*Manifesto*" and executive regulations), in April 1832. These were preceded by two extra-decrees, dated 1 and 21 December 1831, respectively.

The ukase of 1 December specified that with respect to artists, the new category should include only painters, lithographers, engravers, dye-sinkers in stone and metal,

szlachty' Daniela Beauvois, "Przegląd Historyczny", Vol. I: 1988; L. Zasztowt, *Koniec przywilejów – degradacja drobnej szlachty polskiej na Litwie historycznej i prawobrzeżnej Ukrainie w latach 1831–1868*, "Przegląd Wschodni" Vol. III: 1991; idem, *Drobna szlachta w guberniach zachodnich Cesarstwa Rosyjskiego – aneks do dyskusji o liczbie zdegradowanych* [Lesser nobility in the Western provinces of the Russian Empire – appendix to the discussion about the number of expelled], in: *Historia – społeczeństwo – wychowanie. Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana Profesorowi Józefowi Miąso* [History – Society – Education. A commemorative book dedicated to Professor J. Miąso]. Pułtusk–Warsaw, pp. 529–536.

⁴ D.I. Raskin, *Исторические реалии российской государственности и русского гражданского общества*, [in:] *Из истории русской культуры*, Vol. V (XIX век), Moscow 1996, pp. 684–691. See also: L.E. Shchepel'ev, *Чинный мир России XVIII–начало XX в.*, St. Petersburg 2001, pp. 170–1.

⁵ Here the term 'honorary citizen' is used equally with the honorary *grazhdane* and *pochetnyie grazhdane*. See also: *O szlachcie znajdującej się w Zachodnich Guberniach. Ukaz do Rządzącego Senatu*, "Przegląd Wschodni", Vol. III: 1991, p. 638; and, V.I. Неупокоев, *Преобразование безпоместной шляхты в Литве в податное сословие одноворцев и граждан (вторая треть XIX в.)*, [in:] *Революционная ситуация в России 1859–1861*, Vol. VI, Moscow 1974.

as well as architects and sculptors who held a valid Academy certificate.⁶ Apart from the *Manifesto*, the Tsar's decree of 10 April also included executive regulations in which even the charges for confirmation of official registration in the new category were precisely stated.⁷

Honorary citizens were divided into two types, similar to the division of the gentry: the hereditary, honorary *grazhdane* (*potomstvennye*) and those who possessed personal honorary citizenship (*lichnye*). For enrolment, registration and a document confirming official proof of the title of hereditary honorary citizen were required. For this, a sum of 200 roubles was levied. The charge for the title of personal honorary citizen was reduced to 100 roubles. However, for all persons who were involved in manufacturing and commerce, the charge amounted to 800 roubles, whereas scholars and artists had to pay a charge of only 100 roubles for the title and 50 roubles for official proof (150 roubles, altogether).⁸

The honorary citizen category was very attractive. For various reasons, it ensured the right to act in much the same way as the gentry. In the opening clause of the April ukase (§1), the following guarantees were stated: “For the class of town citizens (*gorodskie obyvateli*), a new stratum of honorary *grazhdane* shall be created. They shall acquire the following privileges (§2): 1. Release from the payment of the tax obligation per soul; 2. Release from the obligation of military service (*rekrutskaya povinnost'*); 3. Release from corporal punishment (*telesnoe nakazaniye*) in case of committing an offence.”⁹ They were also guaranteed passive and active electoral rights for all town civil service positions (*gorodskie obshchestvennye dolzhnosti*). In this respect, they acquired exactly the same rights as those granted to wealthy merchants included in the first two guilds.¹⁰

The rights granted to honorary citizens were also irrespective of the rules concerning commerce and other fields of human activity (§4). This factor was crucial, because – in many respects – they were placed on the same footing as the nobility and the wealthiest businessmen (§2, item 4). It should also be recalled that admission to the first guild (whose privileges were granted to towns by Catherine II in 1785) was restricted to mer-

⁶ D.I. Raskin, op. cit., p. 686.

⁷ All the dates in this text are quoted in the old style: *Об установлении нового сословия почетных граждан*, decree for the Governing Senate of 10(22) April 1832, No. 5284; *О пошлах с грамот на почетное гражданство*, decree for Governing Senate of 10(22) April 1832, No. 5285; and, Ukase of 21 December/2 January 1831/2, No. 4977, [in:] *Свод Законов Русской Империи*, [hereinafter, СЗРИ], St. Petersburg 1843, Vol. V, pp. 121–124; Vol. XV, p. 20; Vol. XVI, pp. 292–293. See also: S.N. Yuzhakov (ed.), *Гражданство почетное*, [in:] *Большая энциклопедия*, Vol. VIII, St. Petersburg 1902, pp. 425–7; A. Yanovskii [Yanovsky], *Гражданство почетное*, [in:] *Энциклопедический словарь*, eds. F.A. Brokgauz, I.A. Efron, St. Petersburg 1893, Vol. XIX^A, pp. 523–4.

⁸ *Об установлении нового сословия почетных граждан*, Ukase issued by the Governing Senate on 10(22) April 1832, No. 5284.

⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁰ Ibidem (“не ниже тех в кои поступают купцы первых двух гильдий”).

chants owning capital of between 10,000 and 50,000 roubles. For membership in the second guild, a capital sum of between 5000 and 10,000 roubles was required.¹¹

In attempting to establish the origins of the honorary citizen category, it should be stressed that the title – to a certain degree – was linked to the social category established in 1785: the so-called “considerable citizens” (*imienityie grazhdane*), implemented in the above-mentioned privileges for towns. On the one hand, these were persons who already held senior municipal posts, as well as those who worked as scholars and artists, including architects, painters, sculptors and composers. On the other hand, however, this category also included people owning more than 50,000 roubles – bankers holding capital of over 100,000 roubles, merchants involved in wholesale trade and ship owners.¹²

At the end of the 18th century, a new order for townspeople had been introduced, dividing the population into five categories (“social classes”, in official terminology):

- (a) considerable citizens (*imienityie grazhdanie*);
- (b) merchants (divided into three guilds during Catherine II’s reign, later into two guilds);
- (c) members of craft guilds (separate from the higher merchant guilds);
- (d) burghers;
- (e) workers (*rabocheye ludi*).

Honorary citizens were included, together with the gentry and clergy, as classes “released from taxes”.¹³ Considerable citizens (later honorary citizens, as well) were released from corporal punishment. They had the right to own gardens and estates outside of town, and customarily used carriages drawn by two or even four horses. They were also permitted to establish and run factories and manufacturing plants, as well as own sea and river-going vessels.

The creation of the “considerable citizens” category is, in the opinion of D.I. Raskin, connected to the moment that the development of the class system in Russia was completed in 1785. At that time, the necessity to create a separate social stratum was recognised. That stratum was the class which had embraced the educated milieu; hitherto not brought into the system based on the table of ranks. First and foremost, it concerned representatives of learned professions and the wealthiest circles of burghers – mostly people involved in commerce, who might be defined as a sort of middle class.¹⁴

The group of considerable citizens, in the *Zhalovannaia Gramota* (charter) granted to towns, merged all those that held elected posts in the municipal civil service

¹¹ L. Bazyłow, *Historia Rosji*, Vol. I, Warsaw 1985, p. 350.

¹² Ibidem, p. 349.

¹³ Z. Stankiewicz, *Sytuacja prawna Polaków na Litwie, Białorusi i Ukrainie w latach 1772-1863*, [in:] *Historia państwa i prawa Polski*, Vol. III: *Od rozbiorów do uwłaszczenia*, eds. J. Bardach, M. Senkowska-Gluck, Warsaw 1981, p. 846.

¹⁴ D.I. Raskin, op. cit., p. 685.

(and possessed an official title for it), as well as those who, as a consequence, occupied subsequent positions: assessors (of the *sovestnyi sud* – i.e. arbitration court judges) and members of the municipal authorities or mayoralty (*gorodskoi golova*). This new category also included scholars with university or academy certificates; artists of the “three arts” (architecture, painting and sculpture – until the end of the 18th century, neither the Academy of Sciences, nor the Academy of Fine Arts, was included in the table of ranks), and people having appropriate finances at their disposal.¹⁵ The considerable citizens category existed for twenty-two years. In January 1807, merchants were deprived of the title. Soon after, the same decision was applied to scholars and artists on the grounds that they were covered by the regular state service system and enjoyed the possibility of rising to the rank of personal or hereditary nobility. Thus, the category practically ceased to exist.¹⁶

After 1807, merchants and businessmen were only defined by their guild memberships. When a family could not prove the proper financial resources or possession of adequate capital, they were immediately attached to a category suitable to burghers or countrymen. However, at the moment they shifted to this category, they were once more made available for military service, had to pay direct taxation per capita and could be corporally punished.¹⁷ Nevertheless, a positive aspect of this was that at the age of thirty, the children and grandchildren of considerable citizens could rise in the ranks and obtain personal nobility.

NEW DIRECTIONS

Returning to the question of honorary citizens, since the end of 1826, the initial steps had been guided by Count Viktor Kochubei in a secret body called the Committee of 6 December. The committee suggested the division of the non-gentry into three new categories: “rank citizen” (*chinovnichye grazhdane*), “considerable (*imenitye*) citizen” and “honorary (*pochetnyie*) citizen”.¹⁸ Nevertheless, these proposals were not fully accepted. A year later, some of these ideas were further developed by Count Kankrin, the Minister of Finance. The whole matter was accelerated and finally completed due to the November Uprising of 1830-1, which opened the eyes of the Tsarist authorities to the necessity of revising social law and order in the Western provinces. This concerned, in the first instance, all Polish lesser gentry with revolutionary sentiments, but had to also be expanded to include educated people of non-noble origin.

From the point of view of Tsarist policy in the region, the main issue was whether this new category should be designed exclusively for Poles, as it was with the *odnodvortsy* and *ghrazhdanie* of the Western provinces. It seems reasonable to assume that

¹⁵ Ibidem, p. 685.

¹⁶ Ibidem, p. 685.

¹⁷ A. Yanovskii, op. cit., p. 523.

¹⁸ L. Bazylow, op. cit., Vol. II, p.157.

the honorary citizen category was implemented to modernise social structures – not only in the West, but also in the whole of the Russian Empire. This new category created incredibly brighter prospects for the regulation of social practice and the modification of social structures, which had already started a process of transformation from below, vital in the search for new solutions and an improvement on the existing regulations, functioning since 1785.

Under the rule of Nicholas I, Russia began modernising. Old divisions were not adequate to deal with the needs of the fast-changing reality.¹⁹ Entry into the privileged stratum was granted to more and more individuals who did not have noble roots. They were mostly of burgher origin, although one could also find children of peasant background among them. The cities of the Empire were filled with foreigners. Thanks to education, or thanks to the profession they practiced, a large number of these foreigners were qualified to enter the ranks of the elite. Very often they were people brought to Russia to fill vacant university chairs, or eminent and distinguished artists, physicians, engineers and lawyers. It was against the rules of civilization and enlightenment to ignore this simple truth, and socially degrade such persons. However, the reality was somewhat different – for example, an eminent professor of medicine with perfect knowledge of several languages, graduated abroad or in Russia, who decided about the life or death of upper-rank officials, could – according to the rules – be sentenced to be flogged, or forced to enlist in the army with the rank of private. Indeed, the same punishment could also be applied to a noble if he had been involved in anti-government activity, but only after he had been formally stripped of his title.

It seems clear that the legislators' intention was, essentially, the regulation of the social structure in the Western parts of the Empire. However, the rules not only concerned Poles, but all the ethnic groups settled in the region. The most serious problem, apart from the Poles, was caused by the Jewish population. In accordance with Paragraph 15 of the April Ukase of 1832, registration in the honorary citizen category was allowed only for those individuals of Jewish origin who lived in the territories embraced by the Pale of Settlement (*cherta osedlosti*).²⁰ In compliance with the decree of 13 April 1835, the Pale covered the areas of Grodno, Vilnius, Volhynia, Podolia, Minsk, and Yekatherinoslav Province, together with the Besarabia and Belostok regions. As well, it encompassed – with certain limitations – the provinces of Kyiv (but not Kyiv itself), Cherson (but not Nikolayev), Taurida (excluding Sebastopol), Mohilev and Vitebsk (only in towns), Chernikhov and Poltava (excluding state villages, from which the Jewish population was promptly expelled – this was the case in the village of Anatevka in *Fiddler on the Roof*). In the Baltic Kurland and Lifland (Livonia) provinces, the right to

¹⁹ Concerning the main idea of “official nationality”, which emerged at that time, see: N.V. Riasanovsky, *Nicholas I and Official Nationality in Russia, 1825–1855*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1967.

²⁰ Об установлении нового сословия почетных граждан; Ukase to the Governing Senate of 10 (22) April 1832, No. 5284, §15.

settle was only guaranteed for the local Jewish population.²¹ In the Western provinces, the Jewish population was forbidden to settle within a distance of fifty versts (53 kms) from the state border, although temporary residence was permitted.

According to Paragraph 15 of the abovementioned April *Manifesto* of 1832, Jews acquired the privilege to apply for honorary citizenship, but the possibility of acquiring it was very restricted. They might obtain it as a reward for extraordinary merit in the service of the Russian state, or for exceptional achievement in the sciences and arts, commerce or manufacturing (*manufakturnaya promyshlennost'*). Meritorious service to the state was the most effective route to honorary citizenship (underlined in Ukase No. 12455 from 20 June 1839). However, such merits had to be extraordinary, and were examined with extreme prudence and care (*s kraineyu razborchivostyu*).²²

Under the general rules for the award of honorary citizenship, there were three categories of application:

(a) Registration in the category of hereditary *pochetnyi grazhdanin* on the basis of origin. This concerned, first of all, the children of persons who held personal nobility; the children of the clergy of certain confessions (mostly this applied to the children of Orthodox priests, but only if they had completed their education in an academy or seminary, supported by documentary evidence). This also applied to the children of Lutheran and Reformed Church clergy and pastors. Personal honorary citizenship could be obtained by the children of Orthodox clergy, even if they had not completed their education, as well as by the children of Muslim clergy, particularly in the Transcaucasus. On the basis of the decree from 12 March 1891, personal honorary citizenship could also be granted to the children of lower social strata, provided they had been adopted by gentry or other honorary citizens.²³

(b) The award of the personal title of *pochetnyi ghrzhdanin* was permitted to legal advisers engaged in commerce and manufacturing, as well as to their widows and children; merchants who had belonged to the first guild for at least twenty years (provided they had not been sentenced to prison during that time); individuals in the tradesmen class, who had received a rank or an honour; persons who had completed a degree with the title of doctor or master in a Russian university; artists and painters after a certain period of time since the award of their diploma. Thus, in other words the privilege to petition for personal honorary citizenship belonged to individuals who had acquired proper educational status. This also concerned those who had completed university (even without a title) and the alumni of commercial (or equivalent) schools.²⁴

²¹ Положение о Евреях, No. 8054, of 13 (25) April 1835. I.A. Nikotin, *Столетний период (1772-1872) русского законодательства в воссоединенных от польши губерниях и Законодательство о Евреях (1649-1876)*, Vilnius 1886, Vol. II, pp. 260–261. See also: Z. Stankiewicz, op. cit., p. 847.

²² I.A. Nikotin, op. cit., p. 299.

²³ A. Yanovskii, op. cit., p. 524.

²⁴ Ibidem, p. 524.

(c) Honorary citizenship was also available on the basis of state regulations concerning civil or army service. Those individuals who had obtained the lowest ranks (fourteenth rank to ninth rank – from Collegiate Registrar to Titular Counsellor), as well as those in the land forces who performed adequately and reached the rank of Captain (or Navy Lieutenant), were guaranteed the title of personal honorary citizenship after retirement.

In accordance with the Law on Awards, implemented by Alexander III in July 1892, new general rules were introduced. The title of personal honorary citizenship could be granted to individuals of all strata in recognition of meritorious service to the state over a period of no less than ten years. Application could be made for hereditary honorary citizenship after no less than ten years state service, provided that the applicant already held the title of personal citizenship (Ukase of 3 February 1901).²⁵

Throughout the 19th century, the number of people entitled to honorary citizenship continued to grow. This category was open to those with the appropriate educational status, but also especially to those that belonged to the multi-ethnic mosaic of the Empire's population. Social status was the most important factor in applying for a title; in particular, holding a church post of authority or contributing to municipal administration could sometimes prove to be a decisive factor.

Individuals eligible to apply for honorary citizenship on the basis of education level had to satisfy the following criteria or fit the following categories:

- (1) hold a candidate degree from a Russian university (equivalent to a present-day doctorate), so-called “real students” (akin to undergraduate level), and university graduates with first-degree or second-degree diplomas;
- (2) hold a certain education status, including the alumni of high schools and commercial schools (with a state guarantee of the fourteenth rank);
- (3) alumni of teacher seminaries and various technical schools;
- (4) artists graduated from the Academy of Fine Arts, or any other school of fine arts;
- (5) qualified agronomists with five years of service; alumni of agriculture schools with seven years of work experience;
- (6) individuals of Jewish origin holding the post of honorary supervisor in a Jewish school or running such schools on their own account, as well as those assigned by the local governors to deal with Jewish legislation.

Prestige within a profession, or a qualifying rank, provided a route to the award for the title of honorary citizen. For example, the title might be obtained by actors at imperial theatres who had been active not less than ten years (from 1901, actors of the so-called “first category “with fifteen years of work experience). The same principle also applied to engineers and technicians with ten year's experience, and to all those who received the lowest, fourteenth rank. Representatives of the more senior strata of the clergy of various nations, religious groups and some townspeople in Russia were

²⁵ Ibidem.

also ascribed to this category. This further applied to individuals appointed by the local authorities in Anapa (Kuban), Novorossiisk (Kuban), Poti (Georgia), Petrovka (Bes-sarabia), and Sukhumi (Georgia), as well as to the Tiflis (Tbilisi) *mokalaks* (‘townspeople’), Kalmyk *zaisangs* (representatives of one of the four main Kalmyk tribes) not in possession of a hereditary estate or landed property in Astrakhan and Stavropol provinces; to the *Karaites* (*Karaims*) *cantor-khazzans* (church and synagogue singers; personal honorary citizenship), *shamashes* (beadles; personal honorary citizenship, and *khakhams* (Jewish or Karaite rabbis in South Georgia, and other regions; hereditary honorary citizenship; and, to those who had performed their religious duties for at least twelve years. This also applied to the higher *akhun* (bishops) of the Muslim clergy in the Guards Corps and also to Transcaucasian sheiks (*Sheik-ul-islam*) and *muftis* (Islamic theologians), who had held their posts for not less than twenty years.²⁶

Thus, the category of “honorary *grazhdane*”, primarily designed for re-ordering the Polish issue in the West, evolved during the 19th century into one of the most common titles in the Empire, applied frequently – with strong government support – to the modernization of the feudal-archaic social structure designed to meet the needs of a modern state. As Raskin wrote at the end of the 19th century, this category included the children of those with personal nobility, army officers, naval officers without a noble title, white-collar workers and the clergy. Moreover, honorary citizenship was also granted to the sons of recipients of the Order of St. Stanislaus and St. Anne (except those holders of first class rank of the Order first, who were usually nobles). Similarly, the children of Orthodox and Armenian-Gregorian church clergy, as well as psalmists, sacristans, and ministers of the Lutheran and Reformed churches, were also granted honorary citizenship.²⁷

SCOPE

Looking carefully at this data, one finds a rather large and motley group. Hereditary *pochetnoye grazhdanstvo* was granted – first of all – to children of the nobility (those holding both personal and hereditary titles) and children of merchants with the titles of commercial and industrial counsellors (*kommerts i manufaktur-sovetnik*). Moreover, this applied to merchants awarded one of the Russian orders (after 1826) and to industrialists with ten years of service in the first guild, and twenty years in the second (provided they had not fallen into bankruptcy over this period).

The next group with personal citizenship constituted the alumni of Russian universities and artists who had graduated from the Academy of Fine Arts, or had received a government diploma and title (Academy artist). A significant number of persons in this group were foreigners. Foreign scholars, artists, as well as factory owners and businessmen, were entitled to personal citizenship, even if they were not Russian subjects.

²⁶ S.N. Yuzhakov, op. cit., p. 426; D.I. Raskin, op. cit., p. 689.

²⁷ D.I. Raskin, p. 689.

Hereditary honorary citizenship was a title which ran in the family and was inherited by the holder's children. A husband shared it with his wife, even if she belonged to a lower class, and a widow retained it after her husband's death.²⁸ Removal of honorary citizenship could occur as a result of a judicial sentence for bankruptcy. If a person left a trade guild or entered new employment as a domestic servant, citizen-rights were lost. However, that person remained exempt from corporal punishment, direct taxation per capita and military service.

Looking at subsequent decrees promulgated in the 1830s and later, which determined the scope, rights and privileges of a social category, it is clear that – at least in the first period – this category had a clear link with the law and duties imposed on the Polish lesser nobility, who could not – because of a learned profession or education qualifications – be reduced to the level of the peasantry. A decree, promulgated on 27 September 1832, created a temporary solution to deal with issues concerning honorary citizens and was submitted to the St. Petersburg Herald's College (the body empowered to adjudicate in all matters concerning the nobility).²⁹ Because of continued misunderstandings regarding differences between honorary *grazhdane* and *odn-odvortsy*, and *grazhdane* of the Western provinces, especially with respect to questions of taxation, it was necessary to define more precisely the obligations of those honorary citizens who came from the former Polish gentry. The issue was that while honorary citizens were released from military service, the rest of the former gentry had to provide a doubled contingent of recruits to cover their military obligations.³⁰

In 1836, it was agreed that to obtain personal honorary citizenship, the applicant had to have graduated from a Russian university with an adequate academic title. However, the Tsarist authorities did not trust the Poles. Therefore, in December 1838, a decree was promulgated announcing that honorary citizens of the former Polish gentry were forbidden from entering the Russian civil service.³¹ Despite all this, the authorities still tried to limit the scope of this new category. In October 1840, applications for relief from the tax levy by sons of medical doctors who did not possess hereditary honorary citizenship were refused.³² This matter remained unresolved until the next decree was promulgated. Here the deadline for entering the audit book (revision book) was stated and the *vacatio legis* period for the release from taxes was strictly

²⁸ Ibidem, p. 687.

²⁹ О учреждении в Герольдии временного стола для производства дел о почетных гражданах; Ukase of 27 September 1832, No. 5618.

³⁰ О правах почетных граждан из бывшей польской шляхты; Ukase of 7 February 1834, No. 6789. Regular conscription into the army required the enlistment of four to six men per 1000 souls. The former Polish nobility had to provide five to ten recruits per 500 souls.

³¹ О недозволении почетным гражданам из бывшей польской шляхты вступать в гражданскую службу; Ukase of 23 December 1838, No. 11876. See: I.A. Nikotin, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 49.

³² О неосвобождении сыновей докторов и лекарей, неприобретших потомственного почетного гражданства, от платежа податей; Ukase of 14 October 1840, No. 13861.

defined.³³ The solution, it seems, was difficult, because nobody knew in which audit books those honorary citizens should be registered. Finally, the authorities decided that citizens should be registered in the fifth part of the so-called “municipal citizens book”.³⁴

At the end of the 1830s, the number of individuals qualified for entry into the new category was enlarged and conditions of entry were specified more precisely. In 1839, the scope for honorary citizenship was, for the first time, extended to actors serving in imperial theatres. At the same time, the possibility of personal citizenship was extended to the alumni of the higher commercial school in St. Petersburg. In 1844, the right to this title was guaranteed to officials of the Russo-American Company; a year later the right of hereditary citizenship was confirmed for members of the orders of St. Vladimir and St. Anne. After 1845, hereditary honorary citizenship was granted to all individuals in the fourteenth to tenth ranks.³⁵

In 1849, all physicians, chemists and veterinary surgeons were merged into the honorary citizens category. In 1850, the right to apply for the title was conferred on Jews appointed to special tasks, or employed by the governors-general in the Pale of Settlement territories.³⁶ After the closure of the Committee for the Western provinces, in 1848, the Tsarist bureaucracy gradually started to withdraw some of the restrictions on Poles. Honorary citizens were allowed to enter military service as volunteers.³⁷ It should also be added that Polish *odnodvortsy* had already acquired much improved prospects for entering the army, which had contributed to the solution of a number of the problems experienced in the early 1830s. In 1862, the right to honorary citizenship was extended to engineers, technicians and graduates of the St. Petersburg Institute of Technology. In 1866, because of the new policy of Russification in the West following the January Uprising in 1863, the possibility of hereditary citizenship was granted to all merchants of Russian origin in the first and second guilds who bought property in the Western provinces with a value of no less than 15,000 roubles.³⁸

CONCLUSION

In the 1890s, the Russian Senate issued official certificates for the approval of hereditary honorary citizenship in the form of *gramota* drawn up in the name of each male and adult member of a family on request. To obtain an approval of personal ‘honorary citizenship’, the Senate issued a special, lesser record. The charge for these cer-

³³ О определении времени, до которого дети почетных граждан Западных губерний могут оставаться и быть свободными от платежа податей; Ukase of 27 January 1847, No. 20858.

³⁴ О внесении в 5 часть городской обывательской книги почетных граждан; Ukase of 3 March 1847, No. 20961.

³⁵ D.I. Raskin, op. cit., p. 688.

³⁶ Ibidem, p. 688.

³⁷ О приеме личных почетных граждан в военную службу на правах вольноопределяющихся; Ukase of 12 May 1849, No. 23240.

³⁸ D.I. Raskin, op. cit., p. 689.

tificates varied from 500 to 600 roubles. As A. Yanovsky showed, having once brought considerable benefit, by the 1890s, the advantages which once came from holding the title of 'honorary citizen' had lost any real meaning.³⁹ It should be stressed that at the time of the ruthless struggle between the Tsarist administration and the lesser gentry of the Western province, in the 1830s–1850s, honorary citizenship was very often the one and only chance to protect oneself from demotion to the peasantry: the social pit in which many of the *odnodvortsy* and *grazhdane* (of the Western provinces) found themselves.⁴⁰ The possibility of escape was very limited. It was open only to those who received a proper university education or, at least, completed high school or entered any of the learned professions. These circles were very tight, which is of course quite reasonable, and those who could qualify still constituted an elite.

According to the tenth census (Revision) of the Russian Empire in 1858, the results of which were published in the *Journal of the Ministry of Internal Affairs* in 1860, the total number of persons belonging to the honorary citizen category throughout the whole Russian Empire amounted to 9074 men and 7764 women: a total of 16,838 people altogether. The entire population of Russia at that time was 68,931,728.⁴¹ In spite of expansion of the honorary citizen category, by the end of the 19th century, the category still remained exclusive and was only comparable to the nobility.

Honorary citizens were undoubtedly the nucleus of the future intelligentsia of the Russian Empire. It is easy to see how these circles would bring together members of the intelligentsia and white-collar workers from different nations of the former Empire. However, one cannot correlate the Empire's intelligentsia exclusively with the honorary citizen category alone, because, as elsewhere in East-Central Europe, the ranks of white-collar workers were constantly being filled by a wide range of people of noble background, comparable to descendants of town burghers and peasantry.⁴² Nevertheless, honorary citizens were one of the first social groups in Russia who earned their living through practicing a profession in which they were qualified. Thus, they represented the phenomenon of a quasi-class and of a "proto-intelligentsia" or (pre-intelligentsia) in Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine, as well as in the Transcaucasus and Central Asia.

³⁹ A. Yanovskii, op. cit., p. 524.

⁴⁰ L. Zashtowt, op. cit., pp. 615–640; V.I. Neupokoev, op. cit.

⁴¹ *Ведомость о народонаселении России по 10 переписи. Журнал Министерства Внутренних Дел*, 1860, Vol. V, No. 42, p. 12. The results of the tenth census showed considerable variation. Certain other sources indicate that Russia's population was about 74 million. See F.A. Brokgauz, I.A. Efron (eds.), *Энциклопедический словарь Россия*, St. Petersburg 1898, p. 75.

⁴² Concerning the nobility background of the Russian intelligentsia, see: M. Raeff, *Origins of the Russian Intelligentsia: The Eighteenth-Century Nobility*. New York 1966; L. Bazyłow, *Spółeczeństwo rosyjskie w pierwszej połowie XIX w.* Wrocław 1973; V.R. Leikina-Svirskaia, *Интеллигенция в России во второй половине XIX в.*, Moscow 1971.

CRIMINAL PROCEDURES AND ACTIONS IN LITHUANIAN-RUTHENIAN LANDS AFTER THE LIQUIDATION OF THE CHURCH UNION IN 1839

The repressions against the Greek and Roman Catholics in Lithuanian-Ruthenian territories of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, following the liquidation of the church union in 1839, have not been satisfactorily reflected in basic Polish history textbooks, whether published at home or abroad, by émigré authors or publishers.¹ An exception to the rule is the concise history of Poland by Norman Davies, dealing with the subject in a chapter concerning the Catholic Church.² Ludwik Bazyłow's history of Russia³ and an outline of the history of the Church in Poland (the chapters written by Fr. Tadeusz Śliwa)⁴ contain somewhat more complete information. The Catholic University of Lublin has carried out research resulting in a number of studies on the Greek Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Poland and Galicia⁵. However,

¹ The liquidation of the union was briefly covered in: S. Kieniewicz, *Historia Polski 1795–1918*, Warsaw 1975, p. 115; M. Kukiel, *Dzieje Polski porozbiorowe 1795–1921*, Londyn 1961, p. 271; S. Śreniowski, *Represje polityczne po powstaniu listopadowym*, in: *Historia Polski*, eds. S. Kieniewicz, W. Kula, Vol. II, Part 3 Warsaw 1959, p. 11.

² N. Davies, *Boże igrzysko. Historia Polski*, Vol. II, Cracow 1991, pp. 268–272.

³ L. Bazyłow, *Historia Rosji*, Vol. II, Cracow 1991, pp. 268–272. That textbooks on Lithuanian, Belorussian or Ukrainian history comprised no mentions of the liquidation of the union was due to censorship considerations. Cf. J. Ochmański, *Historia Litwy*, Wrocław 1990; M. Kosman, *Historia Białorusi*, Wrocław 1979; W.A. Serczyk, *Historia Ukrainy*, Wrocław 1979.

⁴ T. Śliwa, *Kościół greckokatolicki w zaborze rosyjskim (1772–1815)*; idem, *Kościół greckokatolicki na „ziemiach zabranych” (1815–1839)*, [in:] *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*, Vol. II, eds. B. Kumor, Z. Obertyński, Poznań 1979, pp. 501–503.

⁵ Apart from the earlier works by S. Litak (to recall *Duchowieństwo diecezji lubelskiej w okresie międzypowstaniowym 1835–1864*, [in:] *Spółeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego*, Vol. III, ed. W. Kula, Warsaw 1968, pp. 89–164) and A. Korobowicz (incl.: *Sytuacja materialna Kościoła greckounickiego w Królestwie Polskim 1815–1875*, “Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych”, Vol. XXIX: 1966, pp. 105–124; and: *Stosunek władz świeckich do obrządku greckokatolickiego w świetle prawa Królestwa Polskiego (1815–1875)*, “Annales UMCS”, Vol. XX: 1965, secentury F, pp. 145–9), and J. Lewandowski (*Likwidacja obrządku greckokatolickiego w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1864–1875*, “Annales UMCS”,

they cover the situation after the liquidation of the union in Lithuanian-Ruthenian lands only to a slight extent. These issues still call for research and critical review.⁶ Thus, the earlier studies, primarily by Fr. Edward Likowski, have so far remained irreplaceable.⁷ The body of sources for the early studies focusing on the liquidation of the union primarily consisted of Catholic Church documents, officially published Russian materials, and recollections or eyewitnesses accounts. It was impossible, in the past, to confront them with the inaccessible materials of the Russian imperial administration. Such confrontation has only been enabled recently, as Russian archives opened to researchers. The basic sources for the history of the 1839 liquidation of the union and its aftermath form part of the resources in the Department of Clerical Affairs of Foreign Confessions, kept by the

Vol. XXI: 1966, second century F., pp. 213–242), some new studies have recently appeared: H. Dylągowa, *Unia brzeska i unii w Królestwie Polskim*, Warsaw 1989; W. Kołbuk, *Duchowieństwo unickie w Królestwie Polskim 1835–1875*, Lublin 1992; and: F. Rzemieniuk, *Unickie szkoły początkowe w Królestwie Polskim i Galicji 1772–1914*, Lublin 1991.

⁶ With the exception of the study by J. Zabrocki, *Koniec unii na ziemiach białorusko-litewskich w 1839 r.*, Warsaw 1964 (a typescript, Christian Theological Academy, Warsaw). A conference was held in Grodno in 1992, attended by Polish and Belarusian historians (among others), on the history of the Greek Catholic Church in the area of our present interest. This might indicate that effects of research undertaken in this field could be expected fairly soon.

⁷ The literature concerning the union and its liquidation is extensive, but its body was largely created in the 20th century (if not earlier); studies worthy of note include: E. Likowski, *Dzieje Kościoła unickiego na Litwie i Rusi w XVIII i XIX w.*, Poznań 1880; idem, *Dzieje Kościoła unickiego na Litwie i Rusi w XVIII i XIX w., uważane głównie ze względu na przyczyny jego upadku*, Part I–II, Warsaw 1906; W. Charkiewicz, *Zmierzch unii kościelnej na Litwie i Rusi*, Słomim 1929; W. Chotkowski, *Dzieje zniweczenia św. unii na Białorusi i Litwie w świetle pamiętników Siemaszki*, Cracow 1986; idem, *Pamiętniki Józefa Siemaszki*, Cracow 1885; J. Uroublesan, *Mieczysławski w świetle prawdy*, Cracow 1923; M. Żywczyński, *Emigracja polska i kuria rzymska wobec upadku unii w Rosji w r. 1839*, "Ateneum Kapłańskie", Vol. XLIII:1939, pp. 184–196; F. Koneczny, *Tępienie unii kościelnej*, [in:] idem, *Święci w dziejach narodu polskiego*, Warsaw 1988, pp. 456–485. The following works have remained unique until present: *Akta męczeńskie unii*, "Rocznik Towarzystwa Historyczno-Literackiego w Paryżu", Vol. I: 1866, Paris 1867, pp. 108–155; A. Boudou, *Stolica Święta a Rosja. Stosunki dyplomatyczne między niemi w XIX stuleciu*, Vols. I–II, Cracow 1928–1930; A. Theiner, *Die neuesten Zustände der katholischen Kirche beider Ritus in Polen und Rußland seit Katharina II bis auf unsere Tage*, Augsburg 1841; *Urządowe dokumenta ze Sekretariatu Stanu Stolicy Apostolskiej, dotyczące się prześladowania katolików w Polsce i w Rosji i zerwania stosunków dyplomatycznych z rządem rosyjskim*, Lwow 1878; *Dokumenty obyasnayushchye istoriyu zapadno-russkogo kraia*, St. Petersburg 1865; (the Fr.) Szantyr, *Wiadomości do dziejów Kościoła i religii katolickiej w krajach panowaniu rosyjskiemu podległych*, Part I–II, Poznań 1843; D. Tolstói, *Le catholicisme romain en Russie*, Vols. I–II, Paris 1864; A. Velykyi, *Documenta Pontificium Romanorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantia*, Rome 1954; W. Lencyk, *The Eastern Catholic Church and Czar Nicholas I*, Rome 1966. Also, memoirs and similar literature offer a great deal of interesting information, as in: [Archbishop, Saint] Z.S. Feliński, *Pamiętniki*, Warsaw 1986; T. Bobrowski, *Pamiętnik mojego życia*, Vols. I–II, Warsaw 1979; A. Iwański, *Pamiętniki 1832–1876*, Warsaw 1968.

Russian State Historical Archive in St. Petersburg.⁸ The Department was set up in 1810, as the Central Board for Clerical Matters of Foreign Confessions (*Glavnoe Upravleniye Dukhovnykh Del Inostrannykh Ispovedanii*); in 1817, it was made part of the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment. In 1832, the Central Board was incorporated as a department in the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Between August 1880 and March 1881, the Department functioned as a separate body, but was thereafter made part of the Ministry again and remained there until August 1917 – the date it was transferred to the reactivated Ministry of Denominations, which was dismantled after the Revolution.

The Department collected materials concerning the affairs of all so-called “foreign confessions” – which meant anything other than Orthodoxy within the Empire; these included reports of the Minister of Internal Affairs and secret decrees regarding confessional matters; statistics on the numbers of individual Churches; information on altered confessions, including documentation of criminal actions for departure from the Orthodox religion.⁹

Change of religion and “reinstatement in the Orthodox Church” have not been subject to study yet due to a number of reasons. Apart from the hindered access to sources of the imperial administration, memoir or diary materials contained fragmentary and incomplete data. This was the main obstacle in undertaking research whose importance is otherwise primary, particularly for the nation-forming processes which took place on Lithuanian-Ruthenian lands in the 19th century.

After the union was liquidated, “reinstatement in the Orthodox Church” took place in the territory of our interest without resonance; efforts were taken to prevent the information concerning it from reaching the Western European press. As Hanna Dylągowa tells us, the faithful were persistent in their passive resistance for years; no accurate numbers are known which would help describe this phenomenon, as no such statistics were kept.¹⁰

In 1827, the Greek Catholic Church numbered 1,535,197 adherents, dwelling in a total of 1469 parishes – this is the assumed number of those forcibly converted to the Orthodox religion in 1839.¹¹ As of 1840, with the church union already liquidated,

⁸ Rossiiskiy Gosudarsvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv, St. Petersburg (hereinafter, RGIA), *Katolicheskoe ispovedaniye v Rossii, Departament Dukhovnykh Del Inostrannykh Ispovedanii*, f. 821, op. 1, 2, 3, 6, 10, 11, 12, 128; f. 823, 824.

⁹ For instance, *Vsepoddameishe dokladi Ministra Vnutrennikh Del (1828–1917)*, f. 821, op. 11; *Obshchiy Otdel (1825–1917)*, f. 821, op. 10; *Katolicheskoe ispovedaniye v Rossii i Tsarstve Pol'skom (1828–1917)*, f. 821, op. 3; *Greko-Uniatskoe (1802–1905)*, f. 821, op. 4 (refers to Chelm Land only); etc.

¹⁰ Cf. H. Dylągowa, *Kościół unicki na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej 1596–1918. Zarys problematyki*, “Przegląd Wschodni”, Vol. II: 1992/1993, No. 2, pp. 257–287; *Raport hrabiego Stroganowa*, ed. L. Zaszczot, [in:] idem, *Europa środkowo-wschodnia a Rosja XIX–XX wieku. W kręgu edukacji i polityki*, “Bibliotheca Europae Orientalis”, XXVII, studia 3, Warsaw 2007, pp. 357–369.

¹¹ T. Śliwa, *Kościół grekokatolicki na „ziemiach zabranych”...*, p. 497. Cf. E. Jabłońska-Deptuła, J. Skarbek, *W dobie między powstaniami (1832–1864)*, [in:] *Chrześcijaństwo w Polsce. Zarys przemian 966–1979*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, Lublin 1992, p. 405.

the Lithuanian-Ruthenian territory was home to a total of 2,552,148 Roman Catholics of both sexes, according to official Russian statistics.¹² The fraction of former Greek Catholics part of this number is not known. In 1846, there were 2,699,427 Catholics in the Empire.¹³

My query collected information on 258 criminal actions from the years 1844–77, brought against those described in the documents as “Catholics from the former union” or those who “voluntarily converted from the union to Catholicism”. Based on litigation documents, the group was not very large (how large it may actually have been will be defined later on). Certainly, among them were those who had remained faithful to Catholicism for some (sometimes several) generations. As mentioned, court procedures were instituted against those Catholics who – being conjectured or actual former Uniates – had either refused to convert to Orthodoxy or wilfully converted from Orthodoxy (i.e. the union) to Catholicism. Once it was proved that the individual or family had been a member of the Greek Catholic Church, they would unambiguously be deemed subject to “reinstatement in the Orthodox Church”.

The trials also concerned child baptisms by Catholic priests, marriages according to the Catholic rite, religious instruction in Polish and, in general, any instance of exercising priestly service by Roman Catholic clerics to people of “the Orthodox religion” – that is, those who had been forcibly converted to Orthodoxy from the Latin rite. None of these procedures were limited to the priests themselves: criminal proceedings were also brought against the believers, for their breach of binding laws. To exhaustively research all the repressions against the Greek and Roman Catholic clergy would require separate study.

Prior to discussing the outcome of my archival research, let me briefly outline the course of underlying developments. The moment the union was liquidated in 1839, a considerable group of Uniates had already converted to Catholicism. Some had changed their religion in the 18th century, before Ukase No. 18818 from 19 (31) January 1799 (banning conversion from the union to Catholicism) was issued. Some Uniates converted to Catholicism during the reign of Tsar Alexander I, as well as in the 1830s, when rumours concerning the impending liquidation of the union became quite commonplace. After the Greek Catholic Church was brought back into the fold

¹² *O chisle posledovatelei oboego pola rimsko-katolicheskogo i armyano-katolicheskogo ispovedaniya v Rossii*, ŽMVD, May 1840, pp. 78–79. For a complete list, by province, see: L. Zashtowt, *Koniec przywilejów – degradacja drobnej szlachty polskiej na Litwie historycznej i prawobrzeżnej Ukrainie w latach 1831–1868*, “Przegląd Wschodni”, Vol. I: 1991, No. 3, pp. 625–626.

¹³ W. Urban, *Dzieje ustroju Kościoła na ziemiach polskich pod zaborem rosyjskim*, [in:] *Historia Kościoła...*, Vol. II, Part I, eds. B. Kumor, Z. Obertyński, p. 484. The data received by the Department of Clerical Affairs of Foreign Confessions from Catholic diocese, the Empire’s Lithuanian-Ruthenian lands were home to 2,733,931 Catholics in 1862, the figures for 1865, 1868 and 1872 equalling 2,762,111, 2,828,456, and 3,221,585, respectively; RGIA, f. 821, op. 1, e.kh. 133, 772, 903, 1000, 1073, 1136, 1179, 1240, 1371, 1466, 1503, 1549, 1628, 1680, 1732.

of Orthodoxy, it appeared that the result was incommensurate with what had been expected. Once returned to the Orthodox Church, the fold appeared not to be as large as it was believed it would be. A Secret Committee established in 1828 to deal with promotion of Orthodoxy and a special commission tasked with “revealing converts from the union to Catholicism” (*Kommissiya dlia privedeniya v izvestnost' lits proshedsikh iz unii v katolichestvo*) focused their attention on Catholic parishes. Ad-hoc committees began emerging, each consisting of a representative of the Greek Catholic clergy (by then, an Orthodox priest) and a local county (Russ., *uezd*) or commune official. They would tour Roman Catholic parishes demanding that register-books be made available to them for inspection. They also compiled lists of Roman Catholic believers deemed subject to reinstatement to the union: those former Uniates, having become Catholics by then, were supposed to convert to the so-called “United” (Orthodox) Church.

The situation left room for abuses. It was assumed, *a priori*, that every Catholic was a former Uniate, subject to conversion to his or her original religion. Reinstatement to Orthodoxy was oftentimes done *en masse*, with whole villages deemed Uniate. Qualification for the former union was often based on the oral testimony of the local Orthodox churchman.

As the effects of the activities of said ad-hoc committees were unsatisfactory, triggering many protests, particularly from the Roman Catholic hierarchy, Tsar Nicholas I's personally intervened, resulting in a ban on hearing complaints against abuses committed in search of Uniates. In line with a suggestion given by Count Stroganov, Minister of Internal Affairs, it was decided to compel Roman Catholic provosts to prepare lists of persons that should be subject to Orthodox reinstatement, on their own. In cases where a former Uniate was found to be concealed, the provost could be deprived of his parish, receive an interdiction to perform his priestly ministry, or even be deported to a faraway province of the Empire. Between 1839 and 1843, the period of severest repressions against former Greek Catholics, there were not many pending criminal cases for refusal to convert to Orthodox or for conversion to Catholicism. The reason was that the reinstatement action was carried out via administrative and police measures, without resorting to courts or tribunals. Heavy use of violence, abuse and harassment normally did the job. In a number of localities, like Dudakovichi, Psarev, Orekhovka and Zubov in Kopys County (Mogilev Province), or Prozov in Volkovysk County (Grodno Province),¹⁴ the locals would assume Orthodox denomination due to the use of drastic measures. However, the problem tended to reappear several years later, as those same locals would “wilfully” convert to Catholicism or, even if officially registered as Orthodox, have their children baptised in the Latin rite and engage in secret Catholic religious education, with Polish as the language of instruction.¹⁵

¹⁴ *Akta męczeńskie...*, pp. 129–155.

¹⁵ *Perepiska s Upravleniyem Vilenskogo voennogo gubernatora i general-gubernatora Grodnenskogo i Kovenskogo po obvineniyu nekotorykh ksendzov Grodnenskoj gub.[ernii] v vovlechenii pravoslavnykh v katolichestvo, o perekhode v katolicheskoe ispovedaniya prikhozhan Prozovskoi tserkvi Volkoviskogo*

Based on the materials of the Department of Clerical Affairs of Foreign Confessions, it is apparent that criminal actions started in the mid-1840s (1844, to be specific). Before the mid-1850s, five to ten such cases were recorded per year. The number of these procedures increased considerably following the start of the Crimean War and Alexander II's ascension to the throne in 1855. As political and social relations were somewhat liberalised in Russia in the second half of the 1850s, attempts to resume the Latin rite seemed to be going in the right direction. Yet, these hopes would turn out to be illusory – by 1857–8, there were sixteen pending actions per year.

The 1860s and 1870s saw another increase in criminal proceedings, averaging around ten per annum. This trend peaked in 1868, with eighteen cases taken to court; in 1871 – fifteen, and in 1876 – fourteen. The phenomenon is depicted in Diagram 1; with numerical data specified in Table 11.

The data mentioned above do not reflect the important characteristics of most of those cases and trials. Each procedure usually lasted a year, or even several years. Firstly, this was a result of inflexible attitudes of the accused, who, although found guilty and sentenced by the court verdict, often demanded to resume their original faith. Out of 258 proceedings held between 1844 and 1877, only thirty defendants were allowed to retain their Catholic religious status (amounting to 11.6% of all the criminal actions).

Table 10 (p. 102) specifies the social background of the accused. As many as 155 trials (60%) affected peasants, 42 (16%) were filed against members of nobility, 33 (13%) involved burghers and 14 (5%) *odnodvortsy* (former nobles). Members of other categories (the military, clergy, liberal professionals and persons of undefined social background) had just fourteen court cases instituted against them.

These data complement findings based on existing literature dealing with the liquidation of the union. The repressions affected, first and foremost, the peasant population, with 60% of all court cases brought against this social stratum. However, the rather significant number of cases instituted against nobles, burghers and *odnodvortsy* (34% altogether) is evidence that among the former Greek Catholics “reinstated to Orthodoxy” from the Latin rite, the percentage of people of noble or bourgeois background was much higher. Nevertheless, it must once more be emphasised that the group under discussion comprised a considerable proportion of those who had converted to Roman Catholicism from Greek Catholicism long before the union was abolished.

Due to their material situation, nobles certainly had a much better chance to win in court, as their reasons could be backed up by an adequate bribe or two. However, since the cases concerning “departure from Orthodoxy” were among those of primary

uezda Grodnenskoï gubernii o primenenii k nim telesnogo nakazaniya, RGIA, f. 821, op. 1, e.kh. 481 (July 1858–July 1860); *Delo ob otkaze cahsti krest'ian raznykh dereven' Vol.koviskogo uezda Grodnenskoï gubernii v razreshenii ispovedyvat' katolicheskuiu veru i o razreshenii drugoi chasti ostat'sia v katolicheskom ispovedanii*, RGIA, f. 821, op. 1, e.kh. 1616 (September 1875–May 1876).

importance to the Russian *raison d'état*, opportunities for bribery were rather limited. This is confirmed by breaking down the percentage of cases won/lost in lawsuits filed for converting from Orthodoxy to Catholicism, specifying the social background of the accused (Table 9, p. 102).

Should the total number of actions brought against noblemen only – forty-two – be taken under consideration, the share of suits with a successful outcome for the defendant is equal to 21% (nine cases). For peasants, the percentage is much lower – 8% (thirteen out of a total of 155 cases).

Yet the number of criminal actions does not reflect the size of the phenomenon in its social scale. The nature of the materials once kept by the Department of Clerical Affairs of Foreign Confessions does not enable us to specify the exact number of persons to whom the proceedings extended; however, certain estimations can be made instead. The difficulty in determining the exact number of people subject to repression resulting from these procedures stems from the fact that along with materials concerning specific individuals or families (usually, the name and social status of the accused is given), materials concerning communities appear – as, for instance, in the case of the residents of several villages in Volkovysk County, Grodno Province. The name of each village or the exact number of inhabitants covered by the penal procedure is not always provided. Below is a handful of examples of major actions instituted against inhabitants of villages or small towns, as well as parishes.

Fourteen litigations affecting larger communities were carried out in Grodno Province.¹⁶ The exact number of peasants involved was only quoted in one case: sixty-four, from various villages of Volkovysk County.¹⁷ In the other examples, only the names of localities were recorded: Nowodworce Parish, Grodno Province¹⁸; the villages of Góraný and Kłyszewicze, Białystok County¹⁹; Prozov Parish, Volkovysk County²⁰; Kleszczel, a small town in Bielsk County²¹; Kamionka Estate²²; the villages of Olkhova and Ostrov (poss. Osetrov), Grodno County²³; Zubczyce village,

¹⁶ *Delo o privilechenii k ugodovnoi otvetstvennosti pravoslavnykh krest'ian raznykh dereven' Grodnenskoï gubernii za perekhod v katolichestvo i o priniatii mer k vozvrashcheniyu ikh v pravoslavnoe ispovedaniye*, RGIA, f. 821, op. 1, e.kh. 45 (1846–9); *Delo ob otkaze krest'ianam raznykh dereven' Grodnenskoï gubernii v razreshenii ispovedyvat' katolicheskuiu veru*, RGIA, f. 821, op. 2, e.kh. 1614 (1875–6); f. 821, op. 1, e.kh. 1615 (1875–6).

¹⁷ *Perepiska z Rimsko-katolicheskoi dukhovnoi kollegiei i drugimi uchrezhdeniyami o perekhode iz pravoslaviya v katolichestvo 64-kh krest'ian raznykh dereven' Volkovyskogo uezda Grodnenskoï gubernii o priniatii mer k vozvrashcheniyu ikh v pravoslavnoe ispovedaniye*, RGIA, f. 821, op. 1, e.kh. 84 (1851–62).

¹⁸ RGIA, f. 821, op. 1, e.kh. 190 (1855).

¹⁹ Ibidem, e.kh. 295 (1856–7).

²⁰ Ibidem, e.kh. 481 (1858–60).

²¹ Ibidem, e.kh. 619 (1860–1).

²² Ibidem, e.kh. 1370 (1869–74).

²³ Ibidem, e.kh. 1540 (1873–4).

Volkovysk County²⁴; Zamieszane village, Volkovysk County²⁵; and, the small town of Drohiczyn²⁶.

Within the Province of Minsk, ten cases extended to the entire parish, village, or local town population.²⁷ Three cases concerned former Greek Catholic, then Orthodox, parishes, in Vselub²⁸, Negnevitsa²⁹ and Smilovichi (Smilavichy)³⁰. Three actions were brought against the residents of the Communes of Teladovichi and Medveditsa in Slutsk County³¹, and of Parsha Commune, Minsk County³². One case concerned various villages in Slutsk County³³, while two were instituted against the inhabitants of Novogrodok³⁴ and the small town of Lohishin in Pinsk County³⁵.

In Podolia Province, there were eight actions brought against the inhabitants of the towns of Chemerovets and Husiatyn, and the villages of Shidlovets, Bodiarovka and Krikova³⁶. In the village of Pudlovets, Kamenets County, twenty-eight peasants were held responsible for their conversion to Catholicism³⁷; in the parish of Orekhov, Lepel County, eleven peasants were affected³⁸. The village of Sirtsia in Bratslav County saw sixteen *odnodvortsy* punished.³⁹ Peasants in the village of Trostianitsa, Podolian Province, village of Hule, Novaya Ushitsa County⁴⁰, as well as those of Vinnitsa County⁴¹, were also punished.

²⁴ Ibidem, e.kh. 1574 (1874–5).

²⁵ Ibidem, e.kh. 1666 (1876).

²⁶ Ibidem, e.kh. 1695 (1877).

²⁷ *Delo ob otkaze raznym krest'ianam Minskoi gubernii v razreshenii ispovedyvat' katolicheskuiu veru*, RGIA, f. 821, op. 2, e.kh. 1609 (1875–6).

²⁸ Ibidem, e.kh. 32 (1844–5).

²⁹ Ibidem, e.kh. 38 (1845–66).

³⁰ Ibidem, e.kh. 896 (1862–5).

³¹ Ibidem, e.kh. 1499 (1872–4) – Teladovichi Commune; e.kh. 1534 (1873–7) – Medveditsa Commune.

³² Ibidem, e.kh. 1538 (1873–4).

³³ Ibidem, e.kh. 1685 (1877).

³⁴ Ibidem, e.kh. 813 (1862).

³⁵ Ibidem, e.kh. 1393 (1870–1).

³⁶ *Delo o privilechenii k ugolovnoi otvetstvennosti nekotorykh zhitelei mestechek Chemerovets i Gusiutina, a takzhe selenii Shidlovets, Krikovka i Bodiarovki Podol'skoi gubernii za perekhod v katolichestvo i o priinatii mer k vozvrashcheniiu ikh v pravoslavnoe ispovedaniye*, RGIA, f. 821, op. 1, e.kh. 51 (1847–61); *Delo o prekrashchenii sudebnogo presledovaniya protiv raznykh krest'ian Podol'skoi gubernii, vzbuzhdennogo za perekhod iz pravoslaviya v katolichestvo i vospitanie detei v katolicheskoi vere*, RGIA, f. 821, op. 1, e.kh. 1718 (1877–8).

³⁷ Ibidem, e.kh. 254 (1855–62).

³⁸ Ibidem, e.kh. 413 (1857–8).

³⁹ Ibidem, e.kh. 1391 (1870–3).

⁴⁰ Ibidem, e.kh. 1410 (1870); arch. unit 514 (1858).

⁴¹ Ibidem, e.kh. 1235 (1867–72).

As for the province of Vilnius, locals living in villages and towns in the region had four procedures brought against them. In two of them, we are aware of the number of peasants subject to repressive measures – that is, 776 peasants in the Commune of Dokudovo, Lida County⁴² and forty-three parishioners of the *Bakshany* (Baksenai) Orthodox church in the same province⁴³. The parishioners of the Orthodox parish of Glubokoye, Disna County⁴⁴, and peasants from Viliya County, were also found guilty⁴⁵.

The Province of Vitebsk saw four actions brought against rural locals and parishes; this covered the parish of Osveya (Dinaburg County)⁴⁶, and various villages located in Sebersk County⁴⁷. In Dzhurnovichi Estate, Drissa County, an action brought against the peasants and the Blackfriars from the nearby Zabial convent ended up in the liquidation of the latter.⁴⁸

In Volhynia Province, two procedures concerned the residents of the small town of Dubna⁴⁹ and the parish of Ushomir, Zhitomir County.⁵⁰ Thirty-six former Uniates of Kremenets were “brought to justice”, as well.⁵¹

As for province of Kyiv, we are only aware of repressions against the parishioners of the Orthodox church in the town of Belaya Tserkov (Bila Tserkva).⁵²

The total number of those subject to repression for “transition from Orthodoxy to Catholicism” in the Lithuanian-Ruthenian lands of the Russian Empire is estimated at 4000–6000, between 1840 and 1880; 75% of these people were of peasant origin, with the remainder of noble lineage or burghers.

The most repressions took place in the so-called “Lithuanian provinces”, that is: Grodno, Vilnius, Minsk, and Vitebsk (around two-thirds of all those accused ended up in court). The least number of such instances was in Ukrainian provinces – Kyiv, Volhynia, and Podolia (a third of all cases). These data verify the prevalent view according

⁴² *Delo o prekrashchenii sudebnogo presledovaniya 776 krest'ian Dokudovskoi Volosti Lidskogo uezda Vilenskoii gubernii, vozbuzhdenno go za perekhod v iz pravoslaviya v katolichestvo*, RGIA, f. 821, op. 1, e.kh. 1465 (1871–6).

⁴³ *Ibidem*, e.kh. 1282 (1868–72).

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, e.kh. 441 (1858).

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, e.kh. 1459 (1871–3).

⁴⁶ *Delo ob otkaze razhnym krest'ianam Vitebskoi gubernii v razreshenii ispovedyvat' katolicheskuiu veru*, RGIA, f. 821, descr. 1, e.kh. 1588 (1875).

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, e.kh. 255 (1855).

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, e.kh. 1446 (1871–2).

⁴⁹ *Delo o privilechenii k ugolovnoi otvetstvennosti nekotorykh zhitelei m. Dubno Volynskoi gubernii za perekhod iz pravoslaviya v katolichestvo*, RGIA, f. 821, op. 1, e.kh. 394 (1857–62).

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, e.kh. 1164 (1866).

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, e.kh. 653 (1860).

⁵² *Delo o osvobozhdenii ot raznykh nakazanii nekotorykh prikhozhan pravoslavnoi tserkvi v m. Belaya Tserkov Kyivskoi gubernii, predannykh sudu za perekhod v katolichestvo i kreshchenie detei po katolicheskomu obriadu*, RGIA, f. 821, op. 1, e.kh. 1358 (1869–71).

to which the abolishment of the union only affected Greek Catholics in Belarusian lands, while the Ukrainian territory was only affected to a slight extent, as most local Uniates had converted to Orthodoxy in the 1790s. Those Ukrainian Greek Catholics who had meanwhile managed to convert to Catholicism (thus avoiding Orthodoxy), found themselves in the Orthodox Church after 1839, once the measures “reinstating the original order” had been applied.

Once prosecuted, the accused usually spent a year or more in prison, up to a few years. They had their children taken away – pursuant to the verdict passed by the court, the upbringing and education of children was entrusted to Orthodox relatives. In case no such relatives were available, other guardians were searched for – usually in the same village, parish or commune. This was a peculiar battle for souls, intended to integrate subjects of Belarusian, Ukrainian and Polish background into the governing religion and, as a consequence, force them into choosing the Russian national option.

Criminal cases of this sort were very hard to win for the defendants, even if you were a nobleman with adequate financial means. Court proceedings usually lasted several years, which – as has been said – was due to the stubbornness of the accused; in spite of their sentences, they would persistently hold to their Catholicism and appeal the court's decision. The case of the Piaseckis, landowners from Podolia Province, accused of having baptised their children in the Catholic rite, went on for nine years – from 1852 to 1861.⁵³ A certain degraded nobleman named Dąbrowski, from Volhynia Province, was sentenced to one year in prison for bringing up his children according to the Catholic rite. He was also punished by having his children taken away, who were then passed to his Orthodox relations. His case was three years pending.⁵⁴ A peasant convict would often be placed in an Orthodox convent or cloister.⁵⁵ Sporadically, such punishment was applied to noblemen, as well.⁵⁶ Doubtlessly, the most painful measure of punishment was separating children from their natural parents, practised regardless of class affiliation.⁵⁷

⁵³ *Delo o privilechenii k ugovnoii otvetstvennosti dvorian Podol'skoi gubernii Piasetskikh za kreshchenie detei po katolicheskomu obriadu, zakluchenii ikh v tiurmu i priniatii mer k vozvrashcheniyu docherei v pravoslavnoe ispovedaniye*, RGIA, f. 821, op. 1, e.kh. 93 (1852–61).

⁵⁴ Ibidem, e.kh. 160 (1853–6).

⁵⁵ *Delo o privilechenii k ugovnoii otvetstvennosti krest'ianki sela Lemeshevki Vinnitskogo uezda Podol'skoi gubernii Kazarevichevoi za perekhod iz pravoslaviya v katolichestvo, zakluchenii ei v Vinnitskii monastir' i pobege iz monastiria*, RGIA, f. 821, op. 1, e.kh. 163 (1854–63); *Delo o privilechenii k ugovnoii otvetstvennosti krest'ianina sela Spichinets Skvirskogo uezda Kyivskoi gubernii Laveniuka i ego syna za perekhod iz pravoslaviya v katolichestvo i zakluchenii ikh v monastir', ob osvobozhdenii iz monastiria i ostavlenii v katolicheskoe ispovedanii*, RGIA, f. 821, op. 1, e.kh. 329 (1857–62).

⁵⁶ *Delo ob osvobozhdenii iz pravoslavного monastiria dvorianki Minskoi gubernii Fadeevoi, zakluchennoi za perekhod iz pravoslaviya v katolichestvo i ob ostavlenii ei v katolicheskoe ispovedanii*, RGIA, f. 821, op. 1, e.kh. 1566 (1874–5).

⁵⁷ *Delo o privilechenii k ugovnoii otvetstvennosti krest'ianina mestechka Ulanovo Litinskogo uezda Podol'skoi gubernii Velontka za perekhod iz pravoslaviya v katolichestvo i ob otdache ego syna na vospitanie*

The late 1860s saw a trend of less severe punishments applied across the board. A typical sanction for quitting the Orthodox religion at that time was gaoling the accused for eight months⁵⁸, although deportations into the depths of Russia and administrative bans on settling in the western provinces were also applied.⁵⁹

In the 1870s, the pragmatics of judicial proceedings with respect to departing the Orthodox faith embarked on new paths. The procedures were now conducted less rigorously; there appeared instances of suspended sentences, their reduction, or not carrying out some part of them, for instance, that referring to children.⁶⁰ Sentences began to contain the formula: “released from prison, and offered the right to choose the denomination for himself/herself and his/her children”.⁶¹ However, the state did not change its attitude towards those who had left the Orthodox faith. One could avoid

pravoslavnyim opekunam, e.kh. 359 (1857); Delo ob osvobozhdenii iz pravoslavnogo monastiria dvorianki Novogrudskogo uezda Minskoi gubernii za perekhod iz pravoslaviya v katolichestvo, ob otobranii u nei detei i peredache ikh na vospitanie pravoslavnyim opekunam, e.kh. 502 (1858–9).

⁵⁸ *Delo o otmene prigovora Grodnenskoj palati ugovnogo suda o zakluchenii v tiurmu na vosem mesatsev kol. reg. Malevicha za vospitanie svoikh detei v katolicheskoi vere, e.kh. 1293 (1867–9); Delo o privilechenii k ugovnoji otvetstvennosti krest'ianina Grodnenskoj gubernii Kornatovicha i ego zheni za vospitanie v katolicheskoi vere detei i o zakluchenii ikh v tiurmu na vosem mesatsev, arch. unit 1249 (1868).* For similar punishments administered, cf. *ibidem*, 1253 (1868), 1271 (1868).

⁵⁹ *Delo ob osvobozhdenii iz pravoslavnykh monastirei Kaluzhskoi gubernii krest'ianina Matushenko i ego zheni, soslannykh na otkaz pereiti iz katolichestva v pravoslave i o zapreshchenii im zhitel'stva v Zapadmon kraie, e.kh. 620 (1860–8); Delo ob otkaze krest'ianinu Kazbaruku, vyslanному w Tomskuiu guberniiu za podstrekatel'stvo k perekhodu iz pravoslaviya v katolichestvo, v razreshenii vernut'sia v Grodnenskuiu guberniiu, e.kh. 1634 (1876); Delo o privilechenii k ugovnoji otvetstvennosti krest'ianina Gentaria i ego zheni za kreshchenie rebenka po katolicheskomu obriadu i vysylke ikh w Tomskuiu guberniiu, e.kh. 1278 (1868).*

⁶⁰ *Delo ob osvobozhdenii ot tiuremnogo zaklucheniia krest'ianina Vilenskoj gubernii Shlakhtovicha, predannogo sudu za perekhod iz pravoslaviya v katolichestvo i kreshchenie detei po katolicheskomu obriadu o predostavlenii emu i detiam prava vybora ispovedaniya, e.kh. 1645 (1876); Delo ob osvobozhdenii ot tiuremnogo zaklucheniia dvorianina Podol'skoj gubernii Ostrovskogo, predannogo sudu za kreshchenie i vospitanie syna v katolicheskoi vere i o predostavlenii synu prava vybora ispovedaniya, e.kh. 1650 (1876); Delo ob osvobozhdenii ot suda krest'ianina Vilenskoj gubernii Mackevicha, obviniaemogo v kreshchenii syna po katolicheskomu obriadu i o predostavlenii poslednemu prava vybora ispovedaniya, e.kh. 1671 (1876–7); Delo ob osvobozhdenii ot tiuremnogo zaklucheniia dvorian Podol'skoj gubernii brat'ev Chaikovskikh, predannykh sudu za vospitanie detei v katolicheskoi vere i o predostavlenii im i ikh detiam prava vybora ispovedaniya, e.kh. 1678 (1876–7); Delo ob osvobozhdenii ot tiuremnogo zaklucheniia kuptsa Vitkovskogo i krest'ianina Malavskogo, predannykh sudu za kreshchenie rebenka po katolicheskomu obriadu i o predostavlenii im prava vybora ispovedaniya, e.kh. 1721 (1877–8).*

⁶¹ *Delo ob osvobozhdenii ot tiuremnogo zaklucheniia meshchanina Goizevskogo, predannogo sudu za kreshchenie syna v po katolicheskomu obriadu i ob otkaze ot prinuditelnykh mer k priniatii maloletnim synom pravoslaviya, e.kh. 1461 (1871–3); Delo o priznanii prezhdevremennym otniate detei u krest'ianki Vitebskoj gubernii Nedz'vetskoi, predannoi sudu za perekhod iz pravoslaviya v katolichestvo, e.kh. 1579 (1874–5).*

punishment and be released from imprisonment, as well as regain custody of children if the accused – offered “freedom of choice” – appropriately opted for the Orthodox religion. For the Tsarist administration, this was a method of extricating itself from a troublesome situation, while the effect of holding somebody responsible remained unchanged; once acquitted, the accused stood by the Orthodox Church.

The penalties applied to Catholic clergymen were not as severe as those administered to the religion's adherents – unless the “crime” was grave, large-scale or concerned multiple offenses. The resources of the Department of Clerical Affairs of Foreign Confessions contain an inventory filled with the descriptions of several hundred suits filed against priests. A few examples exist of Catholic clergymen who suffered painful consequences for conducting services for worshippers deemed members of the national church by the authorities.

For baptising and bringing up children within the Catholic rite, priests were exposed to a variety of penalties; a stern warning being the mildest. A clergyman named Han was so admonished for baptising the daughter of a peasant couple, the Łachockis, from Podolia Province.⁶² A harsh reprimand combined with a pecuniary penalty could be received for this of “offence”. Such was the case of Fr. Rymkiewicz and Fr. Kolarski of Vitebsk Province for their baptism of the son of a peasant woman named Mocz in 1872.⁶³ Interdiction on the performance of priestly service for six months was a more severe penalty. Fr. Iwański and Fr. Kocienowski were punished in this manner in Podolia Province in 1866, for educating the children of Mr. and Mrs. Larens in the Catholic faith; Fr. Olszewski was similarly punished for baptising christened the children of a landowner named Borowski and the peasants Turkowicz in 1867, in Volhynia Province. Fr. Ułanowicz was again similarly punished for baptising the children of two peasant families, the Dubowys and Próźniaks in Podolia Province in 1872.⁶⁴ Fr. Żalewicz, of Vilnius Province, Fr. Szaken of Grodno Province; Fr. Hepke, of Proskurov County, Podolia Province; as well as Fr. Świrski, Fr. Jarmołowicz and Fr. Zaleski in Oszmiana County, Vilnius Province, received similar penalties (in 1862, 1869, 1861 and 1861, respectively).⁶⁵ If the admonishment was not observed, or for hiding suspected or real former Uniates, clergymen faced – in particularly drastic cases – losing their parishes, a complete ban on performing their priestly functions, or even deportation into the depths of Russia or Siberia. An extreme case, already mentioned, was the liquidation of the Zabial Dominican cloister in the County of Drissa, Vitebsk Province in 1859.⁶⁶; however, in this case, the accusation of pastoral work only expedited the decision to close down the monastery. What were the social, ethnic or national, and religious (or, denominational)

⁶² RGIA, f. 821, op. 1, e.kh. 1436.

⁶³ Ibidem, e.kh. 1490.

⁶⁴ Ibidem, e.kh. 1147, 1224, 1491.

⁶⁵ Ibidem, e.kh. 842, 1366, 686, 765.

⁶⁶ Ibidem, e.kh. 508.

consequences of the “Orthodox reinstatement” action? It can only be stated that most Catholics who so persistently struggled for their Roman Catholic identity and were forcibly – by chicanery and imprisonment – compelled to convert to Orthodoxy, resumed their Roman Catholic faith after 1905. Those people formed part of the 120,000 former Uniates that switched to Catholicism at the time. Quite a large number of children and grandchildren of those subject to repressions by means of court trials belonged to that group, as well.

The social and ethnic consequences of the Orthodoxy reinstatement action is a more complex issue. Existing literature assumes that the Roman Catholic faith is unambiguously connected with the Polish sense of national (or ethnic) identity with regard to large social groups in the Lithuanian-Ruthenian lands. This view tends to ignore Lithuanian Catholics. Moreover, Ukrainians and Belarusians offer us numerous examples of Catholics who did not consider themselves Poles at all. It may be added that the national awareness of Poles residing in the Lithuanian-Ruthenian territory was materially different from that typical of Poles dwelling in ethnically Polish lands. As Juliusz Bardach points out, at times it is difficult, if at all possible, to identify the borderline where the sense of regional identity of Lithuanian-Poles (or Belarusian-Poles) ended, having been born and brought up in a bilingual environment (and, additionally, learning Russian at school), and where Lithuanian or Belarusian ethnic identity began. Characteristically of this territory, where various ethnic/national communities contended for people’s souls, individuals declared themselves Polish or Lithuanian/Belarusian at various stages of their lives.⁶⁷

As regards those subject to repression by means of the criminal actions discussed in this chapter, it is hard to unambiguously state, based on the archival resources available, which of the ethnic (national) options finally prevailed. It is by all means plausible that the group in question resolutely identified themselves as Poles. Quite possibly, proof of this is a list of names of people subject to repression in “departure from Orthodoxy” litigation from 1840 to 1880, preserved in the files of the Department of Clerical Affairs of Foreign Confessions, kept today by the Russian State Historical Archive in St. Petersburg (f. 821, op. 1). This document specifies the social background of the accused, their province of residence and archival file reference numbers (arch. unit – Russ., *edinita khraneniya* [abbr. *ed. kh.*]).

⁶⁷ J. Bardach, *O świadomości narodowej Polaków na Litwie i Białorusi w XIX i XX w.*, [in:] *Między Polską etniczną a historyczną. Polska myśl polityczna XIX i XX wieku*, Vol. IV, ed. W. Wrzesiński, Wrocław 1988, p. 240.

Table 5. Names of Accused Nobles Appearing in Litigation Files, 1840–1880.

Name	Province (Guberniya)	File Ref. No.
Biliński	Podolia	(197)
Borkowski	Minsk	(135)
Borowski	Volhynia	(1224)
Bosakiewicz	Podolia	(1087)
Bułat	Minsk	(672)
Czajkowski	Podolia	(69) (1678)
Czerejski	Mogilev	(982)
Dubelt	(no place specified)	(176)
Fadeeva [Ms.]	Minsk	(1566)
Horodecki	(no place specified)	(477)
Herlecki	Podolia	(624)
Izbicki	Grodno	(1571)
Janicki	Mogilev	(613)
Jagiellowicz	Kyiv	(204)
Jezierski	Mogilev	(301)
Jezierski	Mogilev	(385)
Jezierski	Mogilev	(891)
Komar	Mogilev	(399)
Krasowki	Vitebsk	(320)
Krzeżewicz	(no place specified)	(604)
Kuczyński	Kyiv	(611)
Larens	Podolia	(1147)
Lewkowicz	Minsk	(502)
Mankiewicz	Minsk	(332)
Mitkiewicz	Mogilev	(1114)
Ostrowski	Podolia	(1114)
Ostrowski	Podolia	(1650)
Palczewski	Vilnius	(842)
Piasecki	Podolia	(93)
Piastrzecki	Minsk	(867)
Potocki	(no place specified)	(1034)
Prozor	Minsk	(171)
Radziejewski	Podolia	(457)
Ratobylski	(no place specified)	(1606)
Robczyński	Mogilev	(982)
Rukiewicz	Vilnius	(1576)

Rybczyński	Volhynia	(1183)
Sianożęcki	Mogilev	(1063)
Szamoto	(no place specified)	(1048)
Szantyr	Vitebsk	(1110)
Szymplawski	Podolia	(1087)
Świrski	Kyiv	(1319)
Tuczkiewicz	Minsk	(404)
Wierzbowski	Mogilev	(982)
Wiśkowski	Mogilev	(1106)
Wojniłowicz	(no place specified)	(1543)
Wyhowski	Volhynia	(168)
Zot	Vitebsk	(317)
Żdanowicz	Kyiv	(363)

Table 6. Names of Accused *Odnodvortsy* Appearing in Litigation Files, 1840–1880.

Name	Province	File Ref. No.
Barzewski	Podolia	(1089)
Borzewski	Podolia	(1458)
Chojecki	Podolia	(419)
Chwidziński	Kyiv	(1259)
Dąbrowski	Volhynia	(160)
Dyszyńkowski	Podolia	(1414)
Głowacki	Podolia	(1328)
Jankowski	Minsk	(421)
Kamiński	Podolia	(1181)
Nowicki	Podolia	(790)
Przeździecki	Podolia	(525)
Rosochacki	Podolia	(1181)
Rudnicki	Kyiv	(611)
Weryho	Vilnius	(857)
Żukowski	Podolia	(790)

Table 7. Names of Accused Burghers Appearing in Litigation Files, 1840–1880.

Name	Province	File Ref. No.
Chojzewski	Vilnius	(1461)
Dubieniecki	Kyiv	(1305)
Ganicz	Minsk	(1214)
Hołyma	Minsk	(1160)
Iszczenko [Ishchenko]	Kyiv	(1305)
Klimowicz	Vitebsk	(1720)

Kohtunow	Volhynia	(1165)
Koroublesut	Podolia	(1090)
Kułakowski	Minsk	(1124)
Lisowski	Vilnius	(1213)
Makowiecki	Grodno	(1272)
Malewicz	Grodno	(1239)
Malinowski	Volhynia	(1088)
Marecki	Vitebsk	(1221)
Możarczuk	Volhynia	(213)
Osowski	Podolia	(1647)
Sawicki	Mogilev	(952)
Simonowicz	Grodno	(1272)
Strycharski	Volhynia	(362)
Walczycki	Volhynia	(166)
Witkowski	(no place specified)	(1721)
Witwicki	Podolia	(1090)
Wojno	Podolia	(384)
Zawadzki	Volhynia	(1629)

Table 8. Names of Accused Peasants Appearing in Litigation Files, 1840–1880.

Name	Province	File Ref. No.
Antonowicz	Grodno	(1271)
Augustynowicz	Grodno	(1392)
Baran	Podolia	(1381)
Bartosiewicz	Volhynia	(893)
Bask	Vitebsk	(1390)
Białobrodzki [Belobrodsky]	Grodno	(1685)
Biélousow [Belousov]	Grodno	(1689)
Bieniewski	Podolia	(436)
Boczkowski	Grodno	(1658)
Bohnadziej [Bohnaďev]	Podolia	(712)
Bołdotow	Grodno	(1585)
Brożek [<i>resp.</i> Brożko]	Podolia	(1416)
Chwieszczyk [Khveshchik]	Grodno	(1278)
Czernyszewicz	Podolia	(712)
Czyżyk	Grodno	(1529)
Dańko	Vilnius	(180)
Dąbrowski	Grodno	(1196)
Drawczuk	Podolia	(648)
Dubowy	Podolia	(1491)
Dymitrczuk	Volhynia	(893)
Fiałek	Vilnius	(476)

CRIMINAL PROCEDURES AND ACTIONS IN LITHUANIAN-RUTHENIAN LANDS

Francew [Frantsev]	Mogilev	(1411)
Furman	Podolia	(1456)
Gadomski	Podolia	(686)
Gelasz	Vilha	(765)
Gentar	Grodno	(1279)
Gilewicz	Vilnius	(1604)
Ginel	Vilnius	(1287)
Głowacz	Vilnius	(1451)
Górko	Podolia	(886)
Graszczyk	Podolia	(712)
Gribko	Grodno	(1546)
Grik	Grodno	(1730)
Gromow	Vilnius	(1149)
Horoszczo [Horoshcho]	Mogilev	(1442)
Hrebtowicz	Grodno	(1366)
Hul	Vilnius	(165)
Hulan	Grodno	(1337)
Hulka [<i>resp.</i> Hulko]	Podolia	(1351)
Hulka [<i>resp.</i> Hulko]	Podolia	(1357)
Iwanow [Ivanov]	Vitebsk	(230)
Iwdonis [Ivdonis]	Grodno	(451)
Iwlin	Mogilev	(335)
Jankowski	Grodno	(1484)
Jasiński	Podolia	(342)
Kapłun	Podolia	(424)
Korolenko	Vitebsk	(1616)
Karpowicz	Minsk	(248)
Kazbaruk	Grodno	(1634)
Koczuryński	Podolia	(935)
Koczyński	Vilnius	(1349)
Kołośnik	Vilnius	(1407)
Kornacki	Podolia	(895)
Koroublesiel	Vilnius	(1577)
Kornatowicz	Grodno	(1249)
Kostiukowicz	Vilnius	(1430)
Kowszyk	Vilnius	(1672)
Koziarewicz	Podolia	(163)
Kozłowski	Minsk	(1163)
Kożun	Vilnius	(1575)
Kraszeniuk	Podolia	(1381)
Kraśnicki	Mogilev	(1206)
Krawczuk	Podolia	(1288)
Kreszczyk	Volhynia	(893)
Krywiczuk	Podolia	(886)

Krzewiski	Grodno	(1301)
Kułakowski	Grodno	(1545)
Kwasz	Kyiv	(319)
Kwiatkowski	Vilnius	(1431)
Leguncow [Leguntsov]	Podolia	(238)
Leonow	Mogilev	(67)
Lisowski	Minsk	(1005)
Łachocki	Podolia	(1439)
Ławreniuk [Lavreniuk]	Kyiv	(392)
Mackiewicz	Vilnius	(1671)
Makarewicz	Grodno	(1182)
Malawski	(no place specified)	(1721)
Mandziuk	Grodno	(1335)
Maśluk	Podolia	(1026)
Matiuszenko	(no place specified)	(620)
Matulewicz	Grodno	(295)
Matulewicz	Grodno	(238)
Mazur	Podolia	(270)
Mazur	Podolia	(454)
Miszut	Vilnius	(1441)
Mocz	Vitebsk	(1490)
Moroz	Vilnius	(1675)
Narajewski	Podolia	(1357)
Naumowicz	Vilnius	(1600)
Nesterow	Mogilev	(517)
Nieczytał	Podolia	(424)
Niedźwiecki	Vitebsk	(1579)
Nikołajew [Nikolaev]	Mogilev	(1597)
Olchowik	Minsk	(1557)
Olchowski	Podolia	(1437)
Osiński	Podolia	(315)
Osmołowski	Mogilev	(1184)
Panasiuk	Grodno	(1284)
Pawlukiewicz	Grodno	(1412)
Pentela	Vilnius	(1349)
Pietruc [Petruts]	Grodno	(1284)
Pietuch	Podolia	(935)
Pisarewski	Minsk	(1454)
Plaskanny [Plaskannyi]	Mogilev	(1118)
Podleśny	Podolia	(464)
Próżniak	Podolia	(1491)
Prusiewicz	Vilnius	(1578)
Puchowicz	Grodno	(1348)
Ruśki [Rus'ki]	Vilnius	(1451)

CRIMINAL PROCEDURES AND ACTIONS IN LITHUANIAN-RUTHENIAN LANDS

Samusieńko	Vilnius	(1502)
Sewriuk [Sevriuk]	Vilnius	(1433)
Seliucew [Seliutsev]	Vilnius	(1382)
Siemion	(no place specified)	(717)
Skiruch	Grodno	(1583)
Śmietaniuk	Podolia	(1219)
Sokut	Grodno	(138)
Straszyński	Vilnius	(765)
Stelmach	Minsk	(1168)
Stojan	Podolia	(157)
Sylwestrow [Silvestrov]	Vitebsk	(1542)
Sytnik	Podolia	(1351)
Szawliński	Podolia	(327)
Szlachtowicz	Vilnius	(1645)
Sznejder [Shneider]	Podolia	(1089)
Szokało	Grodno	(1273)
Szwajkowski	Minsk	(1568)
Tota	Vilnius	(1655)
Traczuk	Podolia	(1472)
Tribuchow [Tribukhov]	Minsk	(1523)
Turkowicz	Volhynia	(1224)
Urban	Minsk	(1293)
Wasilewski	Grodno	(1253)
Wielontek	Podolia	(359)
Wojciukiewicz	Vilnius	(1533)
Wojtułowicz	Grodno	(1670)
Zawarucha	Podolia	(1470)
Zieleniecki	Minsk	(1454)

Table 9. Criminal Actions Instituted for Converting from Orthodoxy to Catholicism in Lithuanian-Ruthenian Lands, 1840–1880.

Province	1840–9		1850–9		1860–9		1870–9		Total Litigations
	1840–4	1844–9	1850–4	1854–9	1860–4	1864–9	1870–4	1874–9	
Grodno	–	1	2	5	1	19	9	13	50
Kyiv	–	–	–	6	–	4	–	–	10
Kovno	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1
Minsk	1	1	2	5	5	6	9	4	33
Mogilev	–	1	–	7	5	7	2	1	23
Podolia	–	2	3	17	9	11	12	4	58
Smolensk	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	2
Vilnius	–	–	2	2	2	6	16	6	34
Volhynia	1	–	3	4	2	5	–	–	15
(no place spec.)	–	–	1	4	4	2	1	2	14
Total Litigation	2	6	13	58	29	62	55	33	258

Table 10. Social Background of those Accused of Converting from Orthodoxy to Catholicism – Litigation between 1840 and 1880

Social group	1840–9	1850–9	1860–9	1870–9	Total	Percentage
Nobility	1	20	15	6	42	16
<i>Odnodvortsy</i>	–	5	6	3	14	5
Burghers	1	6	18	8	33	13
Peasants	4	35	46	70	155	60
Military	–	1	4	1	6	2
Clergy	–	1	–	–	1	1
Liberal professions	–	1	–	–	1	1
(no relevant data available)	2	2	2	–	6	2
Total	8	71	91	88	258	100

Table 11. Cases Won/Lost by the Accused of Converting from Orthodoxy to Catholicism (by social background, 1840–1880)

Social group	Won	Lost	Total	Won (%)	Lost (%)	Total
Nobility	9	33	42	3	13	16
<i>Odnodvortsy</i>	1	13	14	0.3	4.7	5
Burghers	3	30	33	1	12	13
Peasants	13	142	155	5	55	60
Military	2	4	6	0.5	1.5	2
Clergy	1	–	1	1	–	1
Liberal professions	1	–	1	1	–	1
(no relevant data available)	–	6	6	–	2	2
Total	30	228	258	11.8	88.2	100

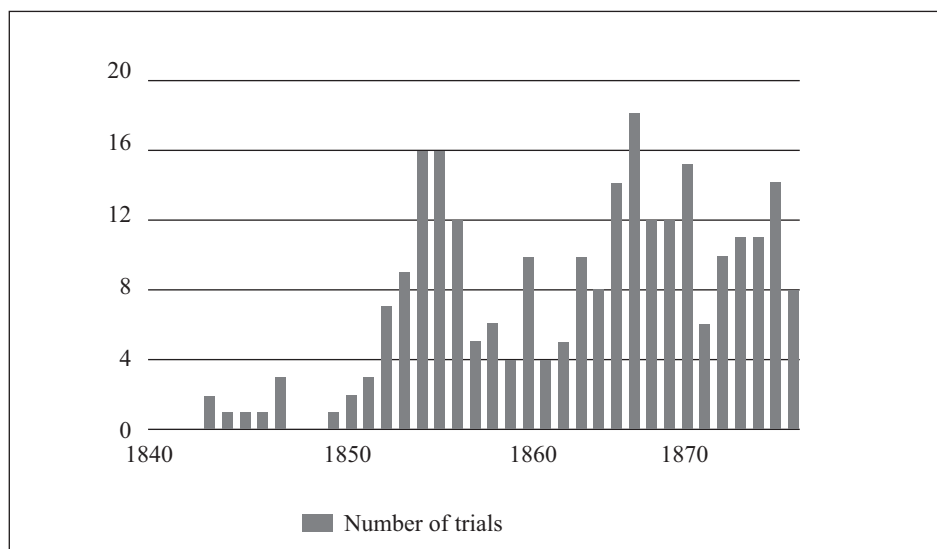


Diagram 1. Criminal Actions for Converting from Orthodoxy to Catholicism in Lithuanian-Ruthenian Lands, 1840–1880.

THE JANUARY UPRISING OF 1863–4 AND ITS DEMOGRAPHIC CONSEQUENCES – DEPORTATIONS AND DISPLACEMENTS OF POLES FROM THE WESTERN PROVINCES INTO THE DEPTHS OF THE EMPIRE*

Literature related to the January Uprising of 1863–4 is enormously abundant, and becoming acquainted with it requires considerable time and effort. Dozens of diaries and meticulous studies concerning the unfolding and course of the insurrection in the individual areas of the Congress Kingdom, as well as in the territory of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania and right-bank Ukraine (then, the western provinces of the Russian Empire), monographs discussing the Uprising in its entirety, and monumental source editions – together, all these works give a picture of this historical event in all its complexity.¹ However, although the January Uprising has for so many years attracted the attention of historians – Polish, Russian, Ukrainian, Belarusian, and Lithuanian – certain aspects of the event have not been satisfactorily explored to this day.² One such issue has been the number of people forcibly deported, or spontane-

¹ This chapter is a revised version of a paper delivered at the conference 'Polish Deportees in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Russia: Regional Hubs', held in Kazan, Tatarstan, on 8–12 September 1997 (hereinafter, the Kazan Conference). The author extends his thanks to Professor Wiktoria Śliwowska for her assistance in the revision of this text.

The array of texts of relevance spans from the basic source publication series: *Powstanie styczniowe. Materiały i dokumenty*, Vols. I–XVI, Wrocław 1962–86, compiled and co-edited by the Polish and published by the Ossolineum, and the earlier source editions: *Wydawnictwo materiałów do historii powstania 1863–1864*, Vols. I–V, Lvov 1890–4; the studies by Agaton Giller, Bolesław Limanowski, Stanisław Koźmian, Stanisław Krzemiński, Adam Szelągowski, Artur Śliwiński, Marian Dubiecki, and others; up to the most recent, and most complete, monographs: S. Kieniewicz, *Powstanie styczniowe*, Warsaw 1983. Cf. W. Gąsiorowski, *Bibliografia druków dotyczących powstania styczniowego*, Warsaw 1923; E. Kozłowski, *Bibliografia powstania styczniowego*, Warsaw 1964.

² This mainly refers to the history of the 1863–4 Insurrection in the Lithuanian and Belarusian territories, that is, the area of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Ukraine – the former Crown Ruthenia. Apart from Polish studies, incl.: [S. Krzemiński], *25 lat Rosji w Polsce*, Lvov 1892; F. Ra-

ously removed, from the Empire's western provinces during and, in particular, after the Uprising. These displacements heavily contributed to the increase of Polish population inhabiting the European, as well as Asian, part of the Russia Empire. These relocations also formed a sort of prologue to the later deportations of Poles for their anti-Tsarist activities, and to the future economic emigration of Poles into the heart of the Empire, which began to increase over time. The period after the suppression of the January Uprising saw the commencement of a migration movement triggered by political repressions – both phenomena appearing on a massive scale, given the standards of the time. But in the decades, that followed, it was the economic factors that pushed people to move away. Some Russian, as well as Polish, researchers have focused on these issues – Bolesław Szostakowicz, Antoni Kuczyński or Walery Skubniewski of Barnaul University, among them.³ In terms of statistics – including the numbers of those sentenced to death, deported for penal servitude (*katorga*), put in convict gangs, and sent to remote settlements by way of administrative orders – the repressions in the aftermath of the Uprising are largely based on hypothetical estimates. The (incomplete) number of insurgents sentenced to death and executed is 669.⁴ The number of insurgents punished by conscription is unknown. An estimated 38,000 were banished to Siberia. 14,440 (38%) of them came from the Congress Kingdom, 21,660 (57%) from Lithuania and Belarus, and 1900 (5%) from Ukraine.⁵ It is estimated that some 10% (3800) of those exiled to Siberia were sentenced to hard labour; the remainder were allocated to various forms of settlement. In his extensive monograph of the insurrection, Stefan Kieniewicz states that noblemen prevailed amongst the transported convicts from Lithuania, whilst members

wita-Gawroński, *Rok 1863 na Rusi*, Lvov 1902-3 (Vols. I-II); [F.W. Czaplicki], *Moskiewskie na Litwie rządy 1863–1869*, Cracow 1869; J. Jakubianiec-Czarkowska, *Powstanie 1863 r. w powiecie święciańskim*, Święciany 1934; Z. Kowalewska, *Dzieje powstania ludzkiego*, Wilno 1934; C. Zgorzelski, *Powstanie styczniowe na terenie województwa nowogródzkiego*, Wilno 1934; B. Breżgo, *Z dziejów powstania 1863 r. na Inflantach*, Lvov 1926. In the later period, mainly Russian, Belarusian and Lithuanian studies appeared – save for the book: P. Łossowski, Z. Młynarski, *Rosjanie, Białorusini i Ukraińcy w powstaniu styczniowym*, Warsaw 1959. Cf.: A.P. Smirnov, *Vosstanie 1863 goda v Litve i Belorussii*, Moscow 1963; W.A. Dyakov, I.S. Miller, *Ruch rewolucyjny w armii rosyjskiej a powstanie styczniowe*, Wrocław 1967; V.M. Zaitsev, *Sotsial'no-soslovnyi sostav uchastnikov vosstaniya 1863 g.*, Moscow 1973; S. Citovich, *1863 god u Gori-Gorkhah b. Mauhilevskoi gub. (Padzei paustaniia)*, Minsk 1929; A.A. Sidorov, *Pol'skoe vosstanie 1863 g.: istoricheskii ocherk*, St. Petersburg 1903, *passim*.

³ W.A. Skubniewski, *Polacy na Syberii (w świetle materiałów spisu powszechnego z 1897 roku)*, a paper from the Kazan Conference.

⁴ Kieniewicz, *Powstanie styczniowe...*, p. 737. Cf. W. Gizbert-Studnicki, *Rok 1863. Wyroki śmierci*, Wilno 1923; [A. Nowolecki], *Pamiętka dla rodzin polskich: krótkie wiadomości biograficzne o straconych na rusztowaniach, rozstrzelanych, poległych na placu boju oraz zmarłych w więzieniach, na tułactwie i na wygnaniu syberyjskim, 1861–1866 r.: ze źródeł urzędowych, dzienników polskich, jak niemniej z ustnych podań osób wiarygodnych i towarzyszy broni*, Cracow 1868.

⁵ Kieniewicz, *Powstanie styczniowe...*, p. 738.

of the lower unprivileged strata were dominant among those from the Kingdom.⁶ Historians have mostly tended to focus on political exiles and people condemned to forced settlement. Less attention has been paid to the fact that a number of exiles, particularly those administratively deported to settlement, would wander into the depths of Russia together with their families. Wives of deportees would often resettle with their children; these wives joined their husbands once the latter acclimated to their compulsory surroundings and were able to secure a livelihood. There is plenty of examples of such situations, one of the best-known cases being the vicissitudes of the historian Tadeusz Korzon and his wife, or the fate of Konrad Prószyński's family. Later, as Kazimierz Promyk, he founded the National Bookstore and the weekly, *Gazeta Świąteczna* (Holiday Gazette). He was also a pioneer of folk education. In most cases, such "voluntary resettlement" was made necessary by the family's financial situation. This particularly concerned the wives of "political criminals" of modest means, originating from the petty nobility or intelligentsia. Staying in their home country, they would be unable to earn a living for themselves and their children; hence, they would often go into exile together with their husbands. The financial dependence of women on their husbands, typical of the 19th century, gained special significance with regard to all the migration movements following the period of national uprisings in the former Commonwealth area. Thus, the number of people moving eastwards – going there not as exiles but as "voluntary migrants" – increased considerably.

It is extremely difficult to determine the incentives behind the decisions to resettle. In the first years after the downfall of the January Uprising, political premises – the Tsarist administration's decisions to banish or forcibly displace – formed the underlying incentive, in most cases. In the next stage, 'voluntary resettlement' decisions extended to the family of the punished, and their reasons were mainly economic and moral: the wife's call of duty to accompany her husband, serving a sentence. It is hard to clearly define the moment economic factors prevailed over political factors ensuing from Tsarist repressions. The hypothesis whereby the economic migrations of Polish people into the depths of Tsarist Russia were strictly correlated, from the start, with the forced displacements and exiles being part of the repressive measures against the Poles seems legitimate. It has to be borne in mind that the Russian Empire offered at that time a considerable potential for financial rise and economic success, particularly to talented, resolute, up-and-coming and adequately educated people. There were many Poles displaying such traits, for whom the option to return home remained closed for years, for political reasons.

⁶ Ibidem. Zygmunt Łukawski quotes different data, based on the studies of Sergiusz Maksimow and Henryk Skok. According to the latter's calculations, based on official statistics, 18,673 Poles of both sexes were exiled, together with their families; of them, 3894 were sentenced to *katorga*; S. Maksimow, *Sybeira i ciężkie roboty*, Vol. III, Lvov 1900, p. 81; H. Skok, *Polacy nad Bajkałem 1863–1883*, Warsaw 1974, p. 102, 107–8. Quoted after: Z. Łukawski, *Polacy w Rosji 1863–1914*, Wrocław 1978, p. 23.

The histories of Polish exiles in the various regions of the Russian Empire are dealt with in a series of studies, beginning with Zygmunt Łukawski's monograph on the history of Poles in Russia, and ending with Franciszek Nowiński work on political exiles in Eastern Siberia between the November and January Insurrections (1831–63). However, most of these studies concern Siberia, the "world's largest prison" – as Elżbieta Kaczyńska terms it.⁷ There have been relatively few studies focused on displacement to various provinces of the European part of Russia.

There are various reasons behind the many difficulties in tackling this issue. The main obstacle was hindered access to archival resources, especially those in remote Siberian localities (reaching them physically is success, in itself). Also, it was difficult to get certain documents indispensable for research purposes from the central historical archives of the Soviet Union. In an article discussing the state-of-play of research on the history of Poles in Siberia, Vladimir Dyakov has pointed to the political circumstances impeding research on exiles before the 1860s.⁸ Among the topics calling for in-depth analysis, he mentions religious, or denominational, issues, particularly in the context of research on the fate of the Catholic clergy – this postulate could possibly be extended to encompass Roman Catholic believers, at large, in Russia. Aspects of the history of the Catholic Church in pre-revolutionary Russia have been covered in a number of monographs and articles, but the subject-matter has not been elaborated on in its entirety.⁹ The fate of the Latin Church in the USSR is better known, mainly thanks to Fr. Roman Dzwonkowski (of the Pallottine Order). Compiling a complete set of numerical data regarding Catholics in Tsarist Russia for the period following the January Uprising would seemingly en-

⁷ Z. Łukawski, *Polacy w Rosji ...*; idem, *Historia Syberii*, Wrocław 1981; F. Nowiński, *Polacy na Syberii Wschodniej. Zesłańcy polityczni w okresie międzypowstaniowym*, Gdańsk 1995; E. Kaczyńska, *Syberia: największe więzienie świata (1815–1914)*, Warsaw 1991; A. Brus, E. Kaczyńska, W. Śliwowska, *Zesłanie i katorga na Syberii w dziejach Polaków 1815–1914*, Warsaw 1992; Z. Trojanowiczowa, *Sybir romantyków*, Poznań 1993; Z. Librowicz, *Polacy na Syberii*, Wrocław 1993 (reprinted from the original edition: Cracow 1884); M. Janik, *Dzieje Polaków na Syberii*, Cracow 1928; A. Kuczyński, *Syberia: czterysta lat polskiej diaspory. Antologia historyczno-kulturowa*, Wrocław 1993; H. Skok, op. cit.; B. Baranowski, K. Baranowski, *Polaków kaukaskie drogi*, Łódź 1985; W. Jew-siewicki, *Na syberyjskim zesłaniu*, Warsaw 1959; L. Bazyłow, *Syberia*, Warsaw 1975; A. Kijas, *Polacy w Kazachstanie. Przeszłość i teraźniejszość*, Poznań 1993; *Uchastniki pol'skogo vosstaniya 1853–1864 gg. v toboł'skoi ssilke*, ed. D.I. Kopylov, Tyumen 1963; *Politicheskije ssilnyie v Sibiri (XVIII-nachalo XX v.)*, ed. L.M. Goryushkin, Novosibirsk 1983; *Politicheskaya ssilka v Sibiri v XIX-nachalo XX v. Istoriiografiya i istoriki*, ed. L.M. Goryushkin, Novosibirsk 1987. I quote the latter two items after: F. Nowiński, op. cit., p. 8 (a rich bibliography of Russian studies is contained therein as well).

⁸ V.A. Dyakov, *Polacy na Syberii do 1918 roku. Stan badań i perspektywy*, "Przegląd Wschodni", Vol. II: 1992/3, No. 4 (8), p. 829–840. Cf. W. Śliwowska, *Polscy zesłańcy polityczni na Syberii w I połowie XIX w. Mity i rzeczywistość*, "Przegląd Wschodni", Vol. I: 1991, No. 2, p. 239–266.

⁹ Except for the study: *Kościół katolicki na Syberii. Historia, współczesność, przyszłość*, ed. A. Kuczyński, Wrocław 2002.

able us to assess the size of the Polish political diaspora, as well as to determine the overall number of Polish migrants gone into the depths of Russia and Siberia after the Uprising. Carrying out such analysis requires access to new types of sources or, more strictly speaking, to long-existing materials that have remained relatively unknown to historians. As is often the case, reaching these archival materials was largely due to coincidence.¹⁰

These resources are kept in the Russian State Historical Archive in St. Petersburg, as part of the files of the Department of Clerical Affairs of Foreign Confessions, specifically “The Catholic Confession in Russia” collection.¹¹ The Department was set up in 1810, as the Central Board of Clerical Affairs of Foreign Confessions. In 1817, it was incorporated in the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment, which in 1824 was renamed the Ministry of Public Enlightenment. The Central Board was subordinated in 1832 to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, as an autonomous department. In the short period between August 1880 and March 1881, the Department functioned independently and subsequently was made part of the Interior Ministry again. In August 1917, it was merged with the Ministry of Justice, freshly re-established, but was dissolved shortly afterwards, following revolutionary upheaval. The Department was tasked, among other things, with gathering statistics on the Catholic population of the Russian Empire.

What follows is a brief description of the structure of the Catholic Church in Russia at the time, necessary for further discussion on the subject. It was the intention of the Tsarist authorities that the Church be governed by a Roman Catholic Clerical College – established in November 1801, as the top executive body, with a clerical consistory as the local managing body functioning in each diocese.

Russia and the Kingdom of Poland (under partition) had a total of fourteen Catholic dioceses (or fifteen, including the Krakow Diocese, with its seat in Miechów, Kingdom of Poland, which was not acknowledged by the Russian authorities). In the Empire, the Archdiocese had its seat in Mogilev and extended to the whole of the Russian Empire, including Siberia, Finland and Turkestan. The Mogilev Archdiocese functioned as the metropolis for the entire Roman Catholic Church in Russia.¹² Its subordinate dioceses included: the Vilnius Diocese, encompassing the provinces of

¹⁰ During my query at the Central State Historical Archive (later on, Russian State Historical Archive) in St. Petersburg, due to the closing of the archival funds of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment, I switched to the Interior Ministry files, focusing my search on the section of denominational affairs, Particularly the Latin Church in Russia. I was probably the first Polish historian to receive the Department of Clerical Affairs of Foreign Confessions. As we know today, the Central State Historical Archive of Belarus in Minsk, in its extant Mogilev Diocese files, keeps similar materials encompassing the whole of Russia, arranged by chronology and territory (fund 1781).

¹¹ RGIA, f. 821, op. 1 (1810–1901), *Katolicheskoe ispovedaniye v Rossii*.

¹² W. Urban, *Dzieje ustroju Kościoła na ziemiach polskich pod zaborem rosyjskim*, [in]: *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*, Vol. II, eds. B. Kumor, Z. Obertyński, Poznań and Warsaw 1974, p. 480ff.

Vilnius and Grodno; Kamenets Diocese – Podolia Province; Lutsk-Zhytomyr Diocese – provinces of Kyiv and Volhynia; Minsk Diocese – Minsk Province; Telshev (Samogitian) Diocese – spanning Livonia and Samogitia, Courland Province and later Kovno Province; and, Tiraspol (Kherson) Diocese – including the provinces of Astrakhan, Bessarabia, Kherson, Yekaterinoslav and Taurida, as well as the Caucasus.

Within the Kingdom, the Warsaw Archdiocese ruled the Dioceses of Kielce, Kuyavia (Kujawy)-and-Kalisz (Włocławek), Lublin, Płock, Sejny (Augustów), Sandomierz, Podlachia (Podlasie) (Janów; cancelled in 1867) and Krakow (Miechów – incorporated into Galicia, from 1880, the Austrian Partition.). Catholic population data was sent to the Department annually by the Roman Catholic Clerical College or, even more frequently, directly by the dioceses. The latter received their data from the decanates (deaneries) and parishes. The aggregated data, by province or district and by county (*uyezd*), was forwarded to St. Petersburg. This formed a specific type of material, initially prepared by parsons within the parishes. The parish-based data was, presumably, subsequently grouped in the decanates or dioceses, by county and province, so as to make the gathered statistical material fit in the administrative division of the Empire, and to enable the drawing up of summary reports.

These materials are highly valuable; first of all, they tell us how many believers were in each parish. In the vast areas of the Russian state, particularly in Siberia and in innumerable small localities in the European part of Russia, no administrative structures of the Latin Church existed. The data and calculations specified below cannot, therefore, be considered complete or final. They definitely give us an idea about the number of Poles inside the country or inhabiting larger urban hubs, administrative and commercial/industrial centres of the Russian Empire. These materials are also superior to those used previously because, rather than offering certain estimates, they provide specific data concerning the “number of souls”, prepared by order of the Tsarist administration.

Obviously, Poles were not the only ethnic group represented among Russia's Catholic population. However, in the eventful period of the January Uprising and after its downfall, Poles prevailed among Catholics leaving the western provinces, settling in parishes deeper inside Russia. As Franciszek Nowiński notes, they formed the majority among political exiles, at least until the 1880s. The main ethnic group among exiled common criminals were Russians.¹³ The first deportations of local people, particularly from Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine, took place in the early 1860s, as revolutionary tension was increasing in the Kingdom and in the Empire's western provinces. However, these displacements did not yet appear on a mass scale. Let us thus regard the western provinces' population of Catholics in 1862, as a point of departure for further consideration.

The Catholic population in the western provinces totalled 2,733,911 (both genders) in 1862. After the Uprising-related Tsarist repressions ceased, there were 2,818,457

¹³ Although Poles formed a majority of the political exiles, this fact has not been adequately reflected in existing Russian historical literature; cf. F. Nowiński, *op. cit.*, p. 7, 9.

such people in 1868¹⁴, which reflects an increase of 84,546, caused by natural demographic factors. These data do not reflect the complex situation during and after the downfall of the insurrection. Let us, therefore, take a closer look at the demographic situation of Catholics in the western provinces by diocese in the period 1862–72.

The Kamenets Diocese was abolished in 1866, as Podolia Province was included in the Lutsk-Zhytomyr Diocese. In 1862–3, the Catholic population in Podolia Province increased by 14,397 and amounted to 228,795. This population decreased by 21,946 in 1863–5; in the individual counties, where the largest reductions were recorded, the decrease amounted up to 24,916. The following years saw demographic growth, with the result that there were 221,131 Catholics in Podolia in 1871.¹⁵ In 1863–4, populations were reduced most in the counties of: Haisyn (610 males, 173 females); Oligopol (441/360), Balta (762/230), Mogilev (1,270/2,421) and Nova Ushitsa (2237/2147). In 1864–5, the largest departures took place in the counties of: Kamenets (3335 males, 3532 females); Lityn (1016/796); Bratslav (905/1332); and, Yampol (1354/1995).

Table 12. Catholic Population in Kamenets Diocese (Podolia Province), 1862–72

Year	Population
1862	214,398
1863	228,795
1864	214,599
1865	206,849
1866	–
1867	218,580
1868	217,919
1869	215,185
1870	–
1871	221,131
1872	219,197

Source: L. Zasztowt, *Kresy ...*, p. 61. RGIA, fund 821, op. 1, e.kh. (re. years): 1000 (1863), 1073 (1864), 1136 (1865), 1179 (1866), 1240 (1867), 133 (1868), 1371 (1869), 1466 (1871), 1503 (1872).

In Volhynia Province, the number of Catholics remained at a stable level of some 175,000 between 1862 and 1864. In 1864–8, the total Catholic population decreased by 19,634. In counties with the largest decreases, the number of inhabitants shrank

¹⁴ L. Zasztowt, *Kresy 1832-1864. Szkolnictwo na ziemiach litewskich i ruskich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Warsaw 1997, p. 61; RGIA, f. 821, op. 1, e.kh. 772, 903. I quote subsequent data after this particular source.

¹⁵ I have assumed, for the purpose of this chapter, that the number of births and deaths were equilibrated. The difference between the quoted figures, 24,916 and 21,946 appears because in the remaining counties of Podolia Province the population grew within the said period by 2970. Based on the collected data for the Province, we arrive at the figure 21,946.

by 29,088.¹⁶ The largest numbers of people departed from the counties: Zhytomyr (13,308); Novgorod-Volhynia (2354); Zaslav (3632 – in 1864–5); Dubno (68); Rovno (2460); Lutsk (1920 – in 1864–5); and, Volodymyr (4729). The Catholic population in Volhynia Province only increased in 1869.

Table 13. Catholic Population in Lutsk-Zhytomyr Diocese (Volhynia and Kyiv Provinces), 1862–72

Year	Population	
	Volhynia Prov.	Kyiv Prov.
1862	174,994	76,888
1863	–	–
1864	175,106	79,434
1865	170,858	81,283
1866	170,906	79,232
1867	170,614	79,206
1868	155,472	80,043
1869	165,472	83,793
1870	–	–
1871	180,002	80,863
1872	184,339	82,251

Source: L. Zashtowt, *Kresy* ..., p. 61. RGIA, fund 821, op. 1, e.kh. (re. years): 1000 (1863), 1073 (1864), 1136 (1865), 1179 (1866), 1240 (1867), 133 (1868), 1371 (1869), 1466 (1871), 1503 (1872).

In Kyiv Province, the number of residents was increasing evenly, seeing a slight decrease in 1865–7 – by 2,077 people (4466 in the two counties with the largest population decreases) as well as in 1869–71 – by 2930 (3277 people in the five counties where population decreases were the largest). In the years 1865–7, most people left the counties of Berdichev (3927) and Vasytkov (539); in 1869–71, the counties of Kyiv (2394) and Lipovets (455), Tarashcha (171), Kaniv (152) and Zvenigorod[ka] (105). For the latter three, the decrease in population could have resulted from natural demographic developments, such as an increase in the mortality rate.

The number of Catholics in Minsk Province increased in 1862–4 by 5987 and, subsequently, decreased between 1864 and 1868 by 32,756; for the counties with the most considerable reductions, the figure was as high as 33,429. The largest departures occurred for the counties of Minsk (4589 males, 5532 females); Bobruisk (1053/899); Slutsk (4575/4741); Pinsk (435/2469); and, Novgorod (3324/3630).

¹⁶ The difference between the figures: 29,088 and 19,634 is based on the fact that the remaining counties in Volhynia Province saw their population growing by 9,454, in total; hence the aggregated figure for the province is 19,634. Similar differences, ensuing from the aforesaid reasons, also appear for Kyiv Province and other provinces.

Table 14. Catholic Population in Minsk Diocese (Minsk Province), 1862-72

Year	Population
1862	191,971
1863	196,596
1864	197,958
1865	195,543
1866	183,710
1867	173,494
1868	165,202
1869	–
1870	–
1871	–
1872	–

Source: L. Zasztowt, *Kresy* ..., p. 61. RGIA, fund 821, op. 1, e.kh. (re. years): 1000 (1863), 1073 (1864), 1136 (1865), 1179 (1866), 1240 (1867), 133 (1868), 1371 (1869), 1466 (1871), 1503 (1872). No data available for the years 1869-72.

In 1862-4, Mogilev Province saw an increase in the number of Catholics by 2956 people. In 1864-9, the local Catholic population decreased by 7106 (12,002 for the counties with the most remarkable population decreases, in 1863-9). The number of Catholics grew evenly in Vitebsk Province, with only a decrease of 412 in 1864-5. In the individual counties with the largest decreases, the population fell by 12,908 between 1863 and 1869.

Table 15. Catholic Population in Mogilev Diocese (Mogilev and Vitebsk Provinces), 1862-72

Year	Population	
	Mogilev Prov.	Vitebsk Prov.
1862	40,994	233,026
1863	42,546	243,409
1864	43,950	244,111
1865	42,170	243,699
1866	38,897	248,558
1867	37,188	255,568
1868	38,162	258,170
1869	36,844	259,637
1870	–	–
1871	42,673	263,17
1872	43,535	258,909

Source: L. Zasztowt, *Kresy* ..., p. 61. RGIA, fund 821, op. 1, e.kh. (re. years): 1000 (1863), 1073 (1864), 1136 (1865), 1179 (1866), 1240 (1867), 133 (1868), 1371 (1869), 1466 (1871), 1503 (1872).

In Mogilev Province, most of those leaving in 1863–5, were seen in the following counties: Mogilev (2880), Gorki [Horki] (1859), Rogachev (2672) and Mstislav (622); in 1866–7: Gomel [Homel] (871) and Orsha (637); and, in 1868–9, in Rogachev county (2461).

As far as Vitebsk Province is concerned, its inhabitants mostly left the following counties, in 1863–5: Vitebsk (521), Gorodok [Haradok] (338), Lepel (2905), Sebezh (2743), Nevel (853) and Velizh (572); as for 1866–7, the county of Lutsyn (2735); and, in 1868–9, the counties of Polotsk (679) and Lepel (1562).

The Diocese of Vilnius had a total of 894,487 Catholics in 1862; this number decreased by 7503 in the following year. There is, regrettably, no data available for the year 1864 – in any case, there were 931,718 Catholics in Vilnius Diocese in 1865. Subsequent years witnessed hindered growth of the Catholic population in the diocese. Just as in 1865, its number exceeded 931,000 in 1868. The number of people started to increase from 1869, onwards. Unfortunately, there is no detailed data available that would reflect decreasing population figures for the counties of Vilnius or Grodno Provinces.

Table 16. Catholic Population in Vilnius Diocese (Grodno and Vilnius Province), 1862–72

Year	Population Grodno and Vilnius Prov.
1862	894,487
1863	886,984
1864	–
1865	931,718
1866	–
1867	–
1868	931,505
1869	1,126,632
1870	–
1871	1,129,518
1872	1,261,803

Source: L. Zasztowt, *Kresy* ..., p. 61. RGIA, fund 821, op. 1, e.kh. (re. years): 1000 (1863), 1073 (1864), 1136 (1865), 1179 (1866), 1240 (1867), 133 (1868), 1371 (1869), 1466 (1871), 1503 (1872). The data are quoted for both provinces, in aggregate.

Table 17. Catholic Population in Telshe (Samogitia) Diocese (Kovno and Courland Provinces), 1862–72

Year	Population	
	Kovno Prov.	Courland Prov.
1862	852,918	54,235
1863	846,686	55,245
1864	831,203	58,153
1865	831,636	58,355
1866	874,144	58,048
1867	911,083	58,248
1868	914,628	57,356
1869	928,650	60,447
1870	–	–
1871	–	–
1872	941,894	64,658

Source: L. Zasztowt, *Kresy* ..., p. 61. RGIA, fund 821, op. 1, e.kh. (re. years): 1000 (1863), 1073 (1864), 1136 (1865), 1179 (1866), 1240 (1867), 133 (1868), 1371 (1869), 1466 (1871), 1503 (1872).

Between 1862 and 1864, the Catholic population of Kovno Province diminished by 21,715. However, comparing the data for the counties with the most considerable decreases in population, it appears that the number of inhabitants was diminished by as many as 39,683. In 1865, the number of Catholics remained as it was (i.e. 831,000); the following years saw significant increases in the number of Catholic residents. In 1862–4, Courland Province had an increase in its Catholic population of 3918. This trend came to a halt in 1864–7, at 58,000. As of 1869, the Catholic community in Courland Province was short 892 people, but subsequent years witnessed a gradual increase of its members.

In the years 1862–4, the largest decreases appeared in the following counties of Kovno Province: Shavli (4697 males, 3968 females); Telshe (694 males); Ponevezh (10,085/4403); and, Kovno (187); in 1865–6- and 1867–8, in Vilkomirsk county (8962 males and 1105/1627, respectively).

Interpreting these population decrease statistical data in terms of those groups of people from the western provinces who went into exile, whether forcibly or voluntarily, may raise doubts. Let us remark that, in any case, demographic processes continued in parallel, such as increases/decreases in births and deaths (I have assumed that the birth and death rates were equilibrated), combined with the natural relocations of people within the Empire, as well as departures abroad, including post-Uprising migration flows. Regrettably, the statistical sources do not specify any reason for the shrinking communities or populations, and no directions for the migrations. It is worth emphasising, though, that between 1862 and 1872, no major changes took place in the administrative subordination of the counties, and no territorial alterations within the

Severo-Zapadnyi Krai provinces. It may thus be accepted – and this does not seem to be an excessive generalisation – that at least half of the people who left the western provinces in that period migrated deeper into Russia.

A summary would be legitimate at this point. In the period of interest – over the course of the January Uprising and within the several years after its suppression (i.e. 1863 to 1869–72) – more than 110,000 Catholics departed the western provinces (the number for counties with the most considerable decreases equalling 167,272). Therefore, if the assumption that 50% of them moved into the depths of Russia is accurate, the number of displaced persons would be over 55,000 (in excess of 80,000 for the counties with the largest departures). This number seems plausible if one takes into account – apart from the exiles and their families – forced conscriptions in the army (the number of these conscripts is unknown), routine removals connected with administrative functions (in the 1860s, Catholic officials and clerks were removed from western provinces and sent into the depths of Russia, *en masse*), as well as economic migrations.

The largest departures were recorded in the provinces of: Minsk – 32,000–33,000 in 1864–8; Podolia – 22,000–25,000 in 1863–5; Kovno – 21,000–39,000 in 1862/3–4 and Volhynia – 19,000–29,000 in 1864–8. Only incomplete data exists for the provinces of Vilnius and Grodno, which 7500 people left in 1863 alone. Mogilev Province had a decrease of 7000–12,000 for 1864–9, whilst Vitebsk Province – from 500 to 13,000 people.

Another issue, based on the resources of the Department of Clerical Affairs of Foreign Confessions, is determining the scope of Catholics in the central, northern, southern and eastern provinces of the Russian Empire between 1862 and 1871. Let us then begin with the Siberian provinces.

Table 18. Catholic Population in Irkutsk Province, 1862–71

Year	Population
1862	1384
1863	966
1864	1422
1865	2954
1866	–
1867	4584
1868	5179
1869	4780
1870	–
1871	–

Source: RGIA, fund 821, op. 1, e.kh. (re. years): 903 (1862), 1000 (1863), 1073 (1864), 1136 (1865), 1179 (1866), 1240 (1867), 133 (1868), 1371 (1869), 1466 (1871).

Irkutsk was made the capital of the East-Siberian Province-General in 1822. It was there that four leaders of the insurrection of June 1866 (called the “Siberian Uprising” or “Baikal Insurrection”), were executed by a firing squad; the uprising was joined by Polish deportees sentenced to forced labour on the eastern bank of Lake Baikal. Between 1862 and 1868, the Catholic population inhabiting the Irkutsk Province increased by 3795. Of the community of 5179 (as of 1868), over 2500 resided in Irkutsk town and district, the remainder populating the districts of: Balagansk, Nizhneudinsk, Verkholsensk and Kurinsk. For instance, including the town and the district in each case, in 1868, Balagansk had a population of 817, Nizhneudinsk – 859; Verkholsensk – 212, and Kurinsk – 338. No records are available for the population in Yakutsia, as it was merged in the period’s censuses with Irkutsk Province (and had no Catholic parish).¹⁷

Table 19. Catholic Population in Tobolsk Province, 1862–71

Year	Population
1862	1141
1863	1419
1864	–
1865	4500
1866	3381
1867	3708
1868	5276
1869	5241
1870	–
1871	3507

Source: RGIA, fund 821, op. 1, e.kh. (re. years): 903 (1862), 1000 (1863), 1073 (1864), 1136 (1865), 1179 (1866), 1240 (1867), 133 (1868), 1371 (1869), 1466 (1871).

Tobolsk was the capital of the West-Siberian Province-General from 1822 to 1839 (the administrative centre was then moved to Omsk). Already in the 18th century Tobolsk was the destination, or “staging town”, for many Polish deportees; Józef Kopeć has left us an interesting description of Tobolsk from that time. In the mid-1860s, Tobolsk was one of the main centres of Polish-Russian anti-Tsarist conspiracy. Between 1862 and 1868, the number of Catholics in the province saw an increase of 4135 people, with the largest hubs in the districts of Ishim, Omsk (the Omsk Province was later formed, in 1866) and Tara. For instance, there were 508 Catholics inhabiting Tobolsk

¹⁷ Cf. F. Nowiński, op. cit., p. 225; L. Bazyłow, *Historia Rosji*, Warsaw 1985, Vol. II, p. 100; S. Kieniewicz, op. cit., p. 739; A. Brus, E. Kaczyńska, W. Śliwowska, op. cit., pp. 82–84.

and its district in 1868; Ishim, the town and district – 1405; Omsk district – 1726; Tara, both town and district – 987.¹⁸

Like Tobolsk, Tomsk – the location of the first Siberian university (from 1888) – had been a destination or staging town for exiles since the 18th century. In 1863, Hilary Korzeniowski (brother of the poet Apollo Korzeniowski, father of Joseph Conrad) was deported to Tomsk, and died there ten years later. Tomsk Province saw the largest increase of Catholics between 1864 and 1866. With more than 4000 arrivals in 1864, two years later, the province contained as many as 14,000 of them. Most of the exiles settled down in Tomsk, Kainsk and Marinsk districts. As of 1868, Tomsk – the city and district – was home to 2508 Catholics Kainsk, town and district, contained 3128, whereas the town and district of Marinsk – 2024 of them.¹⁹ Let us add, as a bit of trivia, that until 1871 the districts of Semipalatinsk and Akmolinsk were included as part of Tomsk Province in censuses.

Table 20. Catholic Population in Tomsk Province, 1862–71

Year	Population
1862	717
1863	865
1864	5000
1865	–
1866	14867
1867	7346
1868	8029
1869	8031
1870	–
1871	7922

Source: RGIA, fund 821, op. 1, e.kh. (re. years): 903 (1862), 1000 (1863), 1073 (1864), 1136 (1865), 1179 (1866), 1240 (1867), 133 (1868), 1371 (1869), 1466 (1871).

Since 1823, the capital city of Yeniseysk Province was Krasnoyarsk. This town was also a destination for groups of Polish exiles who began preparing the anti-Tsarist revolt which finally broke out in 1866 – and instantly suppressed. In 1863–7, the number of Catholics in the province grew by over 1100; the largest hubs were recorded in the districts of Krasnoyarsk, Kansk and Minusinsk, as well as in the town of Troitsk, with its salt mine and works. In 1868, Krasnoyarsk, including the district, housed 326 Catholics; Kansk, town and district, 436; Minusinsk, town and district, 449, while Troitsk

¹⁸ Cf. *Dziennik Józefa Kopcia brygadiera wojsk polskich*, eds. A. Kuczyński, Z. Wójcik, Warsaw 1995, p. 213; T. Fiedosowa [T.F. Fedosova], *Polskie organizacje patriotyczne w Moskwie 1857–1866*, Warsaw 1984, p. 207; A. Brus, E. Kaczyńska, W. Śliwowska, op. cit., p. 80ff.

¹⁹ Cf. also: T. Bobrowski, *Pamiętnik mojego życia*, Warsaw 1979, Vol. I, pp. 429–430.

contained 297. In the city and district of Yeniseysk, there were only ninety Catholics residing as of 1868.²⁰

Table 21. Catholic Population in Yeniseysk Province, 1862–71

Year	Population
1862	1559
1863	1308
1864	–
1865	553
1866	1835
1867	2412
1868	1718
1869	1943
1870	–
1871	–

Source: RGIA, fund 821, op. 1, e.kh. (re. years): 903 (1862), 1000 (1863), 1073 (1864), 1136 (1865), 1179 (1866), 1240 (1867), 133 (1868), 1371 (1869), 1466 (1871).

From 1851 on, Chita was the capital of the Zabaykalsky District. The district had its largest increase of Catholics in 1865 (by 1080 more than in 1862). The biggest clusters of Catholics were recorded in the districts of Nerchinsk and Verkhneudinsk, and in the town of Chita. Nerchinsk and Verkhneudinsk were notorious for their mines and steelworks, with their veritably punishing and backbreaking labour conditions. In 1868, the town and district of Nerchinsk contained 686 Catholics, the corresponding figure for Verkhneudinsk was 359.²¹

Table 22. Catholic Population in Zabaykalsky District, 1862–71

Year	Population
1862	1325
1863	718
1864	1327
1865	2405
1866	1681
1867	1946
1868	1079
1869	1118
1870	–
1871	1271

Source: RGIA, fund 821, op. 1, e.kh. (re. years): 903 (1862), 1000 (1863), 1073 (1864), 1136 (1865), 1179 (1866), 1240 (1867), 133 (1868), 1371 (1869), 1466 (1871).

²⁰ Cf. A. Brus, E. Kaczyńska, W. Śliwowska, op. cit., p. 113ff.; H. Skok, op. cit.

²¹ Cf. A. Brus, E. Kaczyńska, W. Śliwowska, op. cit., p. 75ff.; H. Skok, op. cit.

For the remaining regions of Siberia, there is no data available concerning noticeable clusters of Catholics in the period in question, which is probably due to the lack of the Latin Church's administrative structures in the area. In summation, based on data gathered by the Department of Clerical Affairs of Foreign Confessions, it can be concluded that the Catholic population in Siberia, in areas where Latin Church administrative structures operated, increased by more than 24,000 between 1863 and 1868-71. This figure is close to the earlier calculations of Alexander Salomon, who in 1900 estimated the number of exiles arriving in Siberia between 1861 and 1870 to be 23,430.²² It must be emphasised once again that the calculations I have quoted do not disavow the previous estimations whereby the Polish diaspora across the Siberian area numbered 38,000 after the 1863-4 Uprising.

The Central Asian territory was annexed to the Russian Empire in stages, beginning with 1835, then in 1845, 1863-4, and later. Hence, the Clerical Affairs Department files lack data concerning Central Asia (including the later districts and provinces: *Transcaspia* (*Zakaspiyskaya*), *Samarkanda*, *Semirchensk*, *Syrdaria*, *Turgaisk*, *Ural and Fergana*). As mentioned, Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk districts were included in the above-quoted Tomsk Province data. There is no data available for the territories of Transcaucasia (the provinces of Baku, Dagestan, Elisabethpol [Elizavetpol], Karsk, Kutaisi, Tiflis, and Erevan) and northern Caucasus (districts: Kuban, Tersk and Chernomorsk, and Stavropol Province). Similarly, no data is available for Amursk district, Yakutsia (partly included in Irkutsk Province) and Kamchatka – areas where the Russian state established its rule only in the latter half of the 19th century (Ussuriiskiy Krai – 1860; Amursk district – 1858; Sakhalin – 1875).

We have data available for the European part of Russia, which has not, so far, been taken into account in calculations concerning coerced settlements and deportations after 1863-4. Let us begin with the northern regions of European Russia, which were often – though incorrectly – regarded by 19th century exiles to be part of Siberia.

Arkhangelsk was one of the first destinations for deported forced labourers. Vologda was similarly held in disrepute in the 19th century; it is known for having hosted Apollo Korzeniowski, who was deported there in 1862 together with his wife and son, Józef-Teodor-Konrad Korzeniowski, who the world would come to know as Joseph Conrad. In three provinces of northern Russia, the number of Catholics remained stable throughout the 1860s, with 400 to 500 people in each. In Arkhangelsk Province, the number of Catholics increased by 256 in 1864-6; in Vologda Province, by 203 in 1863-5, and in Olonets Province, merely by ninety-five in 1862-3 (there is no specific data available for the subsequent years, in the latter case). These changes were rather slight and they might have partly followed from natural demographic tendencies, as well as migratory movements related to the port-cities of Arkhangelsk and Petroza-

²² A. Salomon, *Ssilka v Sibir'*, St. Petersburg 1900 ('Prilozhen'ya'); quoted after: A. Brus, E. Kaczyńska, W. Śliwowska, op. cit., p. 43 (therein, Tab. 4 – Annual average figures for five-year periods, 1814-1900).

vodsk. As of 1863, Arkhangelsk was home to the largest Catholic population – 442; Vologda had 176 Catholics and Petrozavodsk – 305.²³

Table 23. Catholic Population in Northern Russia (Provinces: Arkhangelsk, Vologda, Olonetsk), 1862–71

Year	Population		
	Arkhangelsk Prov.	Vologda Prov.	Olonetsk Prov.
1862	533	406	466
1863	571	321	561
1864	408	459	430
1865	524	524	–
1866	673	479	–
1867	374	476	–
1868	301	528	–
1869	415	564	–
1870	–	–	–
1871	–	514	–

Source: RGIA, fund 821, op. 1, e.kh. (re. years): 903 (1862), 1000 (1863), 1073 (1864), 1136 (1865), 1179 (1866), 1240 (1867), 133 (1868), 1371 (1869), 1466 (1871). No data available for Olonetsk Province for 1865–71.

The St. Petersburg decanate was the place of residence for some 40,000 Catholics of various nationalities, including approximately 30,000 in St. Petersburg, itself (29,272 as of 1861). Of St. Petersburg's five Catholic parishes, St. Catherine's was the largest. In Novgorod Province, the number of Catholics increased by 1477 in 1864–5; this resulted from increased numbers of Catholic soldiers appearing in the five Novgorod military districts (up by 1156, in 1865). In 1863, 530 Catholics lived in Novgorod alone. In Pskov Province, there were a constant number of around 2000 Catholic believers, with a slight decrease (by 382) between 1863 and 1866. Pskov was home to 980 Catholics in 1863.²⁴

²³ Cf. Z. Łukawski, op. cit., p. 72, 93; A. Brus, E. Kaczyńska, W. Śliwowska, op. cit., p. 161; T. Bobrowski, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 457–8; Z. Najder, *Życie Josepha Conrada-Korzeniowskiego*, Warsaw 1996, Vol. I, pp. 36–9; M.N. Suprun, *Pol'skaia ssilka na evropeiskom severe Rossii v XIX–XX v.*, Kazan Conference.

²⁴ Cf. Z. Łukawski, op. cit., p. 72, 93; L. Bazyłow, *Polacy w St. Petersburgu*, Wrocław 1984, p. 229ff.; R. Hankowska, *Kościół Świętej Katarzyny w St. Petersburgu*, Warsaw 1997, p. 71; A.A. Mikhailov, *Ssilnie polski v Pskovskoi gubernii (konets XIX–XX v.)*, Kazan Conference.

Table 24. Catholic Population in St. Petersburg Decanate and Novgorod-Lake Region (Provinces: St. Petersburg, Novgorod, Pskov), 1862–71

Year	Population		
	St. Petersburg Prov.	Novgorod Prov.	Pskov Prov.
1862	44,684	1874	2130
1863	–	1878	2104
1864	–	1585	1623
1865	–	3062	1981
1866	45,265	–	1722
1867	43,154	1011	2016
1868	–	1906	2560
1869	–	1419	2549
1870	–	–	–
1871	–	–	–

Source: RGIA, fund 821, op. 1, e.kh. (re. years): 903 (1862), 1000 (1863), 1073 (1864), 1136 (1865), 1179 (1866), 1240 (1867), 133 (1868), 1371 (1869), 1466 (1871).

Table 25. Catholic Population in *Central Russia* (Moscow Province), 1862–71

Year	Population
1862	1989 (City of Moscow)
1863	–
1864	11,768
1865	10,742
1866	11,733
1867	10,610
1868	10,000
1869	8500
1870	–
1871	10,400

Source: RGIA, fund 821, op. 1, e.kh. (re. years): 903 (1862), 1000 (1863), 1073 (1864), 1136 (1865), 1179 (1866), 1240 (1867), 133 (1868), 1371 (1869), 1466 (1871).

In Moscow Province, the number of Catholics remained at a stable level of 10,000–11,000. A drop in this population – by 1500 worshippers – followed in 1868–9. The city of Moscow itself was home to between 1989 (1862) and 885 Catholics (1868). The remaining central-Russian provinces (the so-called “Moscow industrial district”) had few Catholics – thirty-six in Yaroslavl Province, forty-three in Vladimir Province

and twenty-eight in Kostroma Province, in 1863. Tversk Province was home to more Catholics – 1752 in 1862, and 1845 two years later, in 1864. The city of Tver had 350 Catholics in 1863, and as many as 1019, a year later. Kaluga Province recorded a considerable increase in its Catholic population in 1868–9 – from eighty-one to 3756 people. In Nizhgorod Province, the Catholic community increased in 1863–4 from 333 to 725 (300 to 598 in Nizhny-Novgorod, itself).²⁵

Table 26. Catholic Population in Central Russia (Provinces: Kursk, Voronezh, Orlovsk), 1862–71

Year	Population		
	Kursk Prov.	Voronezh Prov.	Orlovsk Prov.
1862	615	1115	1272
1863	892	478	–
1864	938	580	565
1865	–	949	–
1866	769	1479	821
1867	–	–	1061
1868	859	1236	1428
1869	771	1996	1073
1870	–	–	–
1871	694	2319	2335

Source: RGIA, fund 821, op. 1, e.kh. (re. years): 903 (1862), 1000 (1863), 1073 (1864), 1136 (1865), 1179 (1866), 1240 (1867), 133 (1868), 1371 (1869), 1466 (1871).

In Kursk Province, the number of Catholics increased by 244 between 1862 and 1868; in Voronezh Province, by 1204 in 1862–71, and in Orlovsk Province, by 1063 in the same period. Judging from the statistics, all these provinces were final destination points for those forcibly resettled. A similar situation was the case with Tula Province, which in 1862 had 1247 Catholics and in 1873, as many as 4790, including 3472 in so-called “military estates”. No detailed data is available for the remaining provinces (i.e. Tambovsk, Tula and Ryazan). Nonetheless, it can be said that they also were staging locations for exile on their way to Siberia, or other provinces in European Russia. In 1862–4, the number of Catholics in Tambovsk Province increased, temporarily, by 273 people. 1863 saw 507 Catholics residing there; 780 in 1864 and, merely, 454, in 1865.²⁶

²⁵ Cf. Z. Łukawski, op. cit., p. 72, 93; S.A. Golubev, *Pol'skie ssil'nie v Tverskoi gubernii (1863–1917 gg.)*, paper at the Kazan Conference, 1997.

²⁶ Cf. Z. Łukawski op. cit., p. 72, 93.

Table 27. Catholic Population in North-Eastern European Russia (Provinces: Vyatka, Kazan, Perm), 1862–71

Year	Population		
	Vyatka Prov.	Kazan Prov.	Perm Prov.
1862	313	552	410
1863	446	611	452
1864	675	659	841
1865	364	863	–
1866	330	1168	1722
1867	–	–	1484
1868	–	2414	1616
1869	–	–	1030
1870	–	–	–
1871	937	2135	–

Source: RGIA, fund 821, op. 1, e.kh. (re. years): 903 (1862), 1000 (1863), 1073 (1864), 1136 (1865), 1179 (1866), 1240 (1867), 133 (1868), 1371 (1869), 1466 (1871).

All three provinces were final destination points for the settlers, although they were also staging areas on the road to Siberia. The number of Catholics in Vyatka Province increased by 362 in 1862–4, and by another 298 by 1871. Kazan Province saw its Catholic community grow by 862 people between 1862 and 1868. In Perm Province, the number increased by 1312 from 1862 to 1867. These three areas were also treated as staging provinces – some people would move on from these territories to Siberia, or return, if pardoned, to St. Petersburg, Moscow, or their former abode. There were 550 Catholics residing in Kazan in 1863, 280 in Vyatka and 192 in Perm. While the following year the population remained unchanged in Kazan, Vyatka and Perm's Catholic populations increased by 412 and 243, respectively.²⁷

²⁷ Cf. Z. Łukawski, op. cit., p. 72, 93; A. Brus, E. Kaczyńska, W. Śliwowska, op. cit., p. 79ff.; T.A. Dvoret'skaya, *Uchastniki pol'skogo vosstaniya 1863–1864 gg. v vyatskoi ssilke (po materialam Gosarkhiva Kirovskoi oblasti)*; Z. Strzyżewska, *Pol'skie ssil'nie v Permskoi gubernii (na osnove novykh arkhivnykh istochnikov)*; T.A. Kalinina, *K voprosu o regionalnykh tsentrakh pol'skoi ssilki XIX v. (Permskaja gubernija)*, paper at the Kazan Conference, 1997.

Table 28. Catholic Population in South Ural and Volga-Sura Region of Russia (Orenburg and Simbirsk Provinces), 1862–71

Year	Population	
	Orenburg Prov.	Simbirsk Prov.
1862	126	223
1863	1439	233
1864	2423	259
1865	1876	–
1866	2300	159
1867	2300	–
1868	2300	705
1869	2300	76
1870	–	–
1871	2300	944

Source: RGIA, fund 821, op. 1, e.kh. (re. years): 903 (1862), 1000 (1863), 1073 (1864), 1136 (1865), 1179 (1866), 1240 (1867), 133 (1868), 1371 (1869), 1466 (1871).

Orenburg Province was the final destination of the settlers. Many 19th century exiles considered it – similarly to Arkhangelsk Province – a part of Siberia. The number of Catholics in Orenburg Province increased by 2174 in 1862–6, and remained at 2300, between 1866 and 1871. Simbirsk Province witnessed a growth in its Catholic community of 482 people between 1862 and 1868, with another 239 added by the year 1871.

In 1866, Ufa Province contained 869 Catholics, a year later that number had fallen to 125. For Samara Province, the parishes reported 958 Catholic residents for 1864, while a mere 211 was recorded the following year. It is thus clear that these provinces were staging areas on the way to Siberia. Orenburg was populated in 1863 by 460 Catholics, with 655 in 1864. In Ufa, which was part of Orenburg Province and then, from 1866 on, the capital city of Ufa Province, 215 and 434 Catholics resided for those respective years. The Catholic community in Simbirsk numbered 203 members in both 1863, as well as in 1864.²⁸

Analysis of migration to the diocese of Tiraspol poses a more serious issue. The Diocese spanned the provinces of: Saratov, Samara, Astrakhan, Yekaterinoslav, Taurida, Kherson, Tiflis, Kutaisi, Derbent and Erevan, as well as Bessarabia District. The difficulty is rooted in the fact that Church statistics quoted summary data, which encompassed Armenian Catholics and local Catholic believers of other nations too, especially Germans. Let us, then, take a closer look at three selected provinces: Yekaterinoslav, Kherson and Taurida – the first areas to witness resettlements from western provinces after the downfall of the November Insurrection of 1830–1.²⁹

²⁸ Cf. Z. Łukawski op. cit., p. 72, 93.

²⁹ L. Zashtowt, *Koniec przywilejów – degradacja drobnej szlachty polskiej na Litwie historycznej i prawobrzeżnej Ukrainie w latach 1831–1868*, "Przegląd Wschodni", Vol. I: 1991, No. 3, p. 634.

Table 29. Catholic Population in Tiraspol Diocese (Provinces: Yekaterinoslav, Kherson, Taurida), 1862–71

Year	Population		
	Yekaterinoslav Prov.	Kherson Prov.	Taurida Prov.
1862	7252	29,523	6896
1863	–	–	–
1864	6546	32,322	7708
1865	6421	31,148	7885
1866	8039	29,899	8350
1867	8072	33,196	8565
1868	7475	29,775	8895
1869	8956	33,367	9324
1870	–	–	–
1871	6669	32,833	9173

Source: RGIA, fund 821, op. 1, e.kh. (re. years): 903 (1862), 1000 (1863), 1073 (1864), 1136 (1865), 1179 (1866), 1240 (1867), 133 (1868), 1371 (1869), 1466 (1871).

A major increase in the Catholic population was seen in Yekaterinoslav Province twice, in 1864–7 and in 1868–9, by 1526 and 1481, respectively. Kherson Province had its Catholic community increased by 2799 in 1862–4, and then again by 3468 people in 1866–9. In Taurida Province, the number of Catholic inhabitants grew evenly, with 500 new people arriving each year, compared to overall annual population increases of 7000, 8000 and 9000.

In summary, it is legitimate to state that between 1863 and 1869, some 48,000 Roman Catholics moved across various areas of the Russian Empire, mostly having come from western provinces. About a half of those people ended up in Siberia and the rest settled down in one of the provinces of European Russia. Thus, apart from Siberia, most of them had to settle in the provinces of [Veliky] Novgorod, Kaluga, Kursk, Orlovsk, Kazan, Perm, Orenburg and, in the south, those of Yekaterinoslav and Kherson. While trustworthy, it should be borne in mind that the calculations utilised in this article generally concern large urban, commercial and industrial agglomerations and their surrounding areas – where the Latin Church had its administrative structures set up and functioning.

The numerical force of Catholics is apparently reliable in itself, as it is based on information provided by the parishes and prepared personally by parish-priests and parochial vicars/curates – certainly the most competent persons with regard to the numbers of their flocks. Yet, certain inaccuracies may appear, as the data from some regions of the Empire might have been neglected, or certain figures doubled – particularly those referring to staging provinces. In parallel, the calculations presented here should be seen as determining the maximum numbers of people resettled, whether forcibly or voluntarily, to larger urban centres and their surroundings. It should be

remarked once again that the figures do not simply refer to the people subjected to repressive measures for their participation in the January Uprising, but also extend to members of their families who accompanied those sentenced to forced settlement deep inside Russia or to deportation to Siberia.

In the context of the statistical resources and data presented, it is legitimate to once more pose questions about the social costs of the Polish revolt of 1863–4. In light of the data from Catholic parishes of the Russian Empire, the defeat caused a major decrease in the Catholic population in the former eastern areas of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. 110,000 (167,000 for the counties where decreases were most remarkable) is a significant figure, accounting for approximately 10% of the total population of the Empire's western provinces in the 1860s.

Taking into account the previous estimated calculations concerning Siberia, taking 38,000 as the number of those deported and resettled after the January Uprising, and summarising the above-specified data concerning those deported to (and resettled in) the European part of Russia – 24,000, it can be concluded that a total of some 62,000 people, between 1862 and 1869–71, left for various part of European Russia and Siberia, either as exiles or displaced persons. In total, more than twice as many moved into the depths of the Russian Empire than suggested by the published calculations of Russian historians of the pre-Revolution period, who referred the post-Uprising deportations to Siberia alone. Have the deportations and displacements of Poles deep into Tsarist Russia been marked with any lasting consequences? How many exiles and deportees ever returned home? According to a census carried out in 1897 for Siberia and the Far East (combined), a total of 29,179 Poles inhabited these areas, of whom only 28% resided in towns or cities.³⁰ This confirms the argument that exile and displacements, including those so-called “voluntary resettlements”, taking place after the defeat of the January Uprising gave rise to mass migrations into the depths of the Russian Empire, which lasted until the end of Tsarist Russia. It would be recommended that the statistical calculations presented above, based on parish data, be juxtaposed and compared with the results of the 1897 general census of the Russian population, particularly in reference to the European part of Russia.³¹ What can be said at present is that the calculations shown here do, to a major extent, coincide with the 1897 census findings with regard to Siberia. Nonetheless, it may be supposed that for European Russia, a comparison between the numbers of Catholic population in the 1860s versus the 1890s would show considerable disparities. In the late 19th and early 20th century, the Polish population in European Russia increased remarkably, especially in large industrial and urban centres – doubtlessly resulting from the advancing economic emigration.

³⁰ I.S. Kuznecov, W. Masiarz, *Polyaki v Sibiri (XVI-XX v.)*, “Nauchno-informatsionnyi byulleten' Gumanitarnogo obshchestvenno-nauchnogo tsentra”, 1995, No. 3, p. 8; quoted after: W.A. Skubniewski, *Polacy na Syberii...*

³¹ With regard to Siberia, see Annex in: E. Kaczyńska, op. cit.

II

EDUCATION AND TRADITION

CHAPTER 7

UNDER CONSTRAINT OR IN SELF-DEFENCE? POLISH SCHOOL FUNDS AND SCHOLARSHIPS ON THE TERRITORIES OF LITHUANIA, BELARUS AND UKRAINE

Polish historiography enjoys a revered tradition in the study of the history of educational funds, school foundations and scholarships, best displayed – as far as 19th century history is concerned – in the journal *Nauka Polska* (Polish Science). The majority of papers dealing with this topic were published in this journal during the inter-war period.³² At that time, attention mainly focused on the problems of educational funds in the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the western Ukrainian territories, once part of the old Polish Commonwealth³³. After the Second World War, no special research was undertaken in this particular field. Instead, historians

³² There is a short bibliography in B. Jacewski's (ed.), *Życie Naukowe w Polsce w Drugiej Połowie XIX i w XX Wieku*, Wrocław 1987, p. 146. The most important papers written in the inter-war period are: S. Kościałkowski, *Z dziejów nauki i nauczania na Litwie*, "Nauka Polska", Vol. 5: 1925, pp. 241–296; J. Dobrzański, *Z dziejów ruchu naukowego na Wołyniu w XIX wieku*, "Nauka Polska", Vol. XIX: 1934, pp. 104–122; J. Dobrzański, *Z dziejów ofiarności na cele oświaty na Wołyniu, Podolu i Ukrainie, 1795–1832*, "Nauka Polska", Vol. XIV: 1931, pp. 122–144; J. Iwaszkiewicz, *Ofiarność Ziemian na Cele Oświatowo-Kulturalne 1800–1929*, Warsaw 1929, p. 40.

³³ An act drawn up at Krewo in 1385 effected union between the Polish and Lithuania states. The head of the Grand Duchy, Jagiełło (Iogailas), took the name Władysław when he was baptized, and upon marrying Jadwiga, the daughter of Louis d'Anjou, he became King of Poland. He was the founder of the Jagiellon dynasty (1385–1572). In 1569, following protracted negotiations, the union sworn in Lublin brought the two countries, Poland and Lithuania, into one state, the Commonwealth. At the same time, the Polish King became Grand Duke of Lithuania. Both countries were to have a common diet (*sejm*) and monetary system, as well as act together on matters pertaining to alliances and declarations of war. On the other hand, the treasury, the offices of the state, and the entire judiciary and administration were to remain separate. The territories of the Polish crown were enlarged by Volhynia, eastern Podolia, and the Kyiv region, all of which were incorporated into Poland, immediately prior to the Lublin agreement. The multinational state was given the name of the Polish Commonwealth (*Rzeczypospolita - respublica*). In the terminology used in the 16th century, this did not necessarily mean a republican form of government. See *History of Poland*, ed. A. Gieysztor, Warsaw 1968, pp. 133–5, 183–4, and map.

researched funds that existed in western Poland, and especially in the Grand Duchy of Poznań, then part of Prussia. In this chapter, we attempt to give a different view on the problems of educational funds and scholarships in areas directly incorporated into Russia after the third partition of the Commonwealth. This paper does not deal with such matters as scientific foundations, museums, libraries or archival collections. It deals exclusively with scholarships and funds³⁴ granted to schools in Lithuania, Belarus and western Ukraine. It also covers donations by and for Poles from those areas, to schools in the Congress Kingdom of Poland and Russia, itself.³⁵

The sources of this paper are based on official Russian journals devoted to education.³⁶ Since not all these journals survived in Polish libraries, the quantitative calculations presented here do not contain all the Polish funds. To a certain degree, however, the missing data can be found in Russian monographs from before the First World War.³⁷

Donations to schools, maintaining students, contributions to museums and library collections, the founding of convent boarding schools and dormitories, and relief funds, were all typical phenomena in the Commonwealth before the partitions. European tradition was deeply rooted in school customs in the Polish Kingdom and in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. After the Commonwealth was partitioned, donations did not stop, and the custom spread from those areas of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and western Ukraine incorporated into Russia to the whole territory of the Empire. The Russian 19th century researcher Nikolay Junitsky, headmaster of the first gymnasium in Vilnius, wrote that the word *fundusz* (fund) had come to the Russian language from Latin through Polish, and was used in all official publications of the “North-Western Region”, the official name for the territories of the former Grand Duchy.³⁸

This chapter covers the period when Roman Catholic orders were gradually being closed down and those that survived operated under administrative restrictions, for instance losing the right to run schools.³⁹ On the other hand, thanks to the liberal

³⁴ We use the term ‘fund’ in the historical sense, for example as a stock or sum of money set aside for educational purposes or a portion of revenue set aside for security for specified payments, like scholarships.

³⁵ The semi-autonomous Kingdom of Poland was created in 1815, at the Congress of Vienna. It existed in practice until 1864, but formally until 1874, when the name was changed to ‘Vistulaland’. The Congress Kingdom of Poland was forever united with Russia “in virtue of its constitutions” and Tsar Alexander I reserved the right to undertake any “internal expansion” of its boundaries. The territory of the so-called “Congress Kingdom” consisted of the area of central Poland.

³⁶ These were: ZMNP, 1834–1914; *Tsircular po Vilenskomu Utshebnomu Okrughu* (hereinafter, CpVVO), 1871–1909 and 1915, *Tsircular po Upravleniu Kyivskim Utshebnym Okrughom*, 1859–63, 1898, and 1914; *Tsircular po Upravleniu Varshavskim Utshebnym Okrughom*, 1867–1913.

³⁷ M.F. Vladimirsky-Budanov, *Istoria Imperatorskago Universiteta Sv. Vladimira*, Vol. I, Kyiv 1884, pp. I–XXXII; N. Junitsky, *Fundushy i Stypendiy Vilenskago Utshebnago Okrugha*, Vilnius 1884.

³⁸ Junitsky, op. cit., p. V.

³⁹ *Polska w Kulturze Powszechniej*, ed. F. Koneczny, Cracow 1918, 413–419; *Ob polozheniy utshebnykh zaviedieniy nahodiatsihsia v viedieniy Ministerstva Vnutriennih Del. Iz otchota Ministra Vnutriennih*

policy of Tsar Alexander I, Vilnius Educational District was established in January 1803, and immediately became one of the most powerful centres of Polish education. The Vilnius Educational District included eight contemporary *gubernyas* (provinces), which covered the territory of the former Grand Duchy and western Ukraine (except for eastern Galicia and small parts of Volhynia and Podolia, which became part of Austria). This liberal policy was soon reversed. One of the first symptoms was the removal of the province of Kyiv from Vilnius District in 1817. In 1824, Prince Adam Czartoryski resigned from his post as school superintendent of Vilnius Educational District. The same year, two provinces (Mohylev and Witebsk) were transferred from Vilnius to St. Petersburg Educational District. In 1831, two more provinces (Volhynia and Podolia) were lost and formally connected to the Kharkov Educational District. By the beginning of May 1832, the University of Vilnius was closed down.⁴⁰ The 1830 November Uprising merely gave justification to earlier policy decisions.⁴¹

Later changes to the administrative structure, which came into being in place of the former Vilnius Educational District, are important. They had an important impact on previous Polish funds, as well as on the development of new ones. The Belarussian Educational District (established in 1829) at first combined the provinces of Minsk, Vitebsk, and Mohylev; later Vilnius, Kovno and Grodno were included. In May 1850, however, Vilnius Educational District was re-formed from the provinces of Vilnius, Kovno, and Grodno. Vitebsk and Mohylev were transferred to the St. Petersburg Educational District until October 1864, at which time they were returned to Vilnius Educational District. In the territories of western Ukraine (the so-called "South-Western Region"), the Kyiv Educational District was established in 1832, combining the provinces of Kyiv, Volhynia and Podolia (which had been part of the Polish Commonwealth) along with, on the eastern bank of the Dnieper River, the provinces

Dziennik z dnia 1836, ZMNP (October, 1837), pp. 397-409. The official order of the Tsar to close Roman Catholic religious congregations in the Western Region was announced in December 1841. In fact, a large number of convents had been closed earlier and their property confiscated. B. Winiarski, *Ustrój Polityczny Ziemi Polskiej*, Poznań 1923, p. 173.

⁴⁰ W. Studnicki, *Polityka Rosji Względem Szkolnictwa Zaboru Rosyjskiego*, Cracow 1906, pp. 61-71; J. Kozłowska-Studnicka, *Likwidacja Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego w świetle korespondencji urzędowej*, [in:] *Księga Pamiątkowa Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego*, Vols. II, Vilnius 1929, Vol. 1, pp. 405-419; A.V. Bieletsky, *Korotkiy istoritseskiy obzor dieyatelnosti Upravleniya Vilenskago Utshebnago Okrugha s 1803 po 1869 god*, CpVUO (January 1903), p. 32; J. Michalski, *Warunki rozwoju nauki polskiej w latach 1795-1862*, [in:] *Historia Nauki Polskiej*, Vols. IV, Wrocław 1977, Vol. III, p. 122, 174; the latest and best history of the first Vilnius Educational District is D. Beauvois', *Lumières et société en Europe de l'est: L'Université de Vilnius et les écoles polonaises de l'Empire russe, 1803-1832*, Vols. II, Paris-Lille 1977.

⁴¹ The 1830 November Uprising, as well as the 1863 January Insurrection, were, in fact, Polish-Russian wars. In both 1831 and 1863, parts of Lithuania rose in solidarity with Poland. At that moment, as Norman Davies wrote, "the idea of the historic union was still alive" (N. Davies, *Heart of Europe: A Short History of Poland*, Oxford-New York 1986, p. 163).

of Tchernihov and Poltava (from 1839) – provinces that has been part of the Russian Empire from the 17th century. All these changes were not intended so much to rationalize the school administration in these huge areas of the Russian Empire, as to limit the influence of the Polish and Polonised upper strata on the educational system in former Commonwealth territories.⁴²

While the first Vilnius Educational District was in existence, donations from the public to Vilnius University and associated schools increased to a significant level. We have not, however, made a complete study of the later history of funds and scholarships. Most of them survived not only the 1830 November Uprising and the Insurrection of January 1863, but also the First World War. A majority of funds multiplied by accrued interest, and, in addition, large sums were donated to Russian schools during the periods 1832–63 and 1864–1914. Funds and scholarships were embedded with clauses to ensure that they were granted to poor pupils, students of Roman Catholic background, or particular families in a given district.⁴³ Another source of funds was collections from Roman Catholic religious congregations. These funds were put under the control of certain Educational District Boards under the Ministry of Public Instruction in St. Petersburg, but this did not apply to convent and parish schools, which were always under the control of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Yet another source of revenue was a kind of long-term tax for educational purposes, which was collected annually from the gentry, at large. In an attempt to avoid this tax, some landlords provided their own scholarships, advertising them as funds to commemorate happy events in the Tsar's family. It was, we can suppose, effective, though perhaps unpatriotic from a strictly Polish point of view. At the top of the social scale, the Polish aristocracy paid a separate school tax. Heads of noble families were endowed with the title of "Honorary School Superintendent" or "Honorary Supervisor", and thus saddled with the duty of providing financial support for schools. Despite this, they had no influence over the curriculum. However, this did help the poorer Polish landowners, inasmuch as the honorary superintendents paid for their education.

These Polish funds and scholarships reflected the complex situation of Poles in Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine. These Poles were a minority, but at the same time,

⁴² I. Kornilov, *Russkoye Dielo v Sieviero-Zapadnom Kraye*, St. Petersburg 1908. The problem is clearly explained in J.T. Flynn, *Uvarov and the Western Province: A study of Russia's Polish Problem*, "The Slavonic and East European Review", Vol. LXIV: 1986 (April), pp. 212–236.

⁴³ The Counter-Reformation of the 16th and 17th century succeeded in reconverting large numbers of Protestants, especially among the Calvinist nobility, especially from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The same applied to the Othodox gentry in the south-eastern part of the Commonwealth. After the end of the Counter-Reformation, Poles became increasingly religiously homogenous. (In 1773, Polish Roman Catholics formed barely 50% of the total population of the Commonwealth). According to popular opinion, in the 18th century, all Poles were Roman Catholics. In 19th century Russia, the term 'Poland' was forbidden, and therefore the Polish population used the formula "RC background" (N. Davies, op. cit., pp. 336–342).

they constituted a privileged stratum in the contemporary political system of the Empire. Nearly the whole aristocracy and nobility were Polish, or had been Polonised over the centuries, including “landlords” living on a level comparable to the English yeomanry, and even including peasants.⁴⁴ There was also a considerable number of poor gentry without land, and their number grew after each uprising as a result of confiscations, or simply living above their means and running into debt. The policy of the Tsar in the Western Region was directed at eliminating the landowner category – those numerous and petty nobles whose lifestyle was similar to that of the peasantry, but who possessed a coat of arms and carried the virtue of noble service. Tsarist officials suspected that this group was extremely susceptible to national and revolutionary propaganda. According to the research of Daniel Beauvois, between 1831 and 1853, 340,283 inhabitants of Kyiv, Podolia and Volhynia were redefined as belonging to the peasant category (*odnodvortsy* - owners of just one cottage), and no longer part of the poor gentry. These were mostly people who could prove their nobility, but could not afford to have it recognised by the Tsarist bureaucracy.⁴⁵

This policy was continued after the 1863 January Uprising. In January 1866, the Tsar’s new directive (*ukaz*) was announced. All nobility from the Western Region who could not prove their noble roots were redefined as peasants (*odnodvortsy*) or as honorary burghers (*potsozny ghrzhdanin*) in towns. According to the pre-revolution Russian historian N. K. Imertynsky, this group numbered 148,514 in the North-Western Region alone.⁴⁶ But in the entire Western Region, 488,797 people were thus redefined.

In light of these developments, it becomes clear why Polish scholarships were so democratic, especially compared to contemporary social barriers in Russia. In the ma-

⁴⁴ It is difficult to explain the nature of the Polish gentry, especially in the 19th century. A legacy of the Commonwealth – over 70% of the petty nobility owned 17% of private land; 24% of the so-called “middle gentry” owned 51%; and 3% of the upper nobility (mostly aristocracy) owned 32%. These figures refer to the gentry in the Congress Kingdom of Poland in 1864. In the western territories of the Russian Empire, the number of petty noblemen and “noble rabble” could have been higher than 70% of the total number of gentry. See: I. Rychlikowa, *Ziemiaństwo Polskie 1789-1864: Zróżnicowanie Społeczne*, Warsaw 1983, pp. 353-356; and G.T. Łukowski, *The Szlachta and the Confederacy of Radom 1764-1767/8: A study of the Polish nobility*, “Antemurale”, Vol. XXI: 1977, pp. 5-300.

⁴⁵ D. Beauvois, *Dezintegracja drobnej szlachty polskiej na Ukrainie w latach 1831-1863*, [in:] *Losy Polaków w XIX i XX Wieku*, Warsaw 1987, p. 86; D. Beauvois, *Polacy na Ukrainie 1831-1863: Szlachta Polska na Wołyniu, Podolu i Kijowszczyźnie*, Paris 1987, p. 139.

⁴⁶ N.K. Imertynsky, *Dворянство Волынской Губернии*, ZMNP, 1894 (April), p. 371. For the first part of this paper, see ZMNP, 1893 (August), pp. 343-368, Imertynsky says that the redefinition of noblemen as peasants in 1832-1866, concerned up to 200,000 people. This figure is not reliable. He possessed statistics from only five north-western provinces and the province of Volhynia, in which 11,000 families, up to 43,000 people, were transferred. He did not have any information regarding Kyiv and Podolia provinces, nor concerning one northern province, probably, Kovno Province. As to the number of noblemen transferred in Volhynia Province, Imertynsky’s calculation is far too low.

jority of cases, a person's background, however defined, became irrelevant, and a candidate could be selected "without any distinction of social parentage". Finally, it was religious denomination that determined the granting of scholarships.

Beauvois suggests that the Polish "upper ten thousand" did nothing to help those who were redefined as being excluded from the noble caste. This seems to be a simplification. The indifference of the elite nobility in the face of suffering was quite common, but they did try to ease suffering by keeping people on estates and giving them jobs. School funds and scholarships gave the victims of redefinition a chance to recover some of their status. On the other hand, it seems clear that such actions could only partially alleviate the consequences of the mass elimination of the petty noble class. The question remains: Could the elite have done more, or did they even want to do more?

The 19th century saw the turning point of national consciousness in East-Central Europe, especially in the territories under review. Polish funds and scholarships were characterised by two tendencies, tendencies that are quite difficult to distinguish today. One of these was that donating educational funds was a way to maintain the high cultural and social status of Poles. (This should not be confused with the ethics and behaviour of the gentry in their relations to the peasant population, particularly in Ukraine.) The other tendency was – you could say, ancient or feudal – a kind of solicitude that the magnate-seigneur owed his client-vassal.

According to Russian 19th and 20th century sources, 459 funds and scholarships from areas of Lithuania, Belarus, and the Ukraine were identified as Polish. These funds and scholarships were appropriated for 478 schools – 40% in Lithuania and Belarus (the Belarusian, later Vilnius, Educational District), 53% for schools in Ukraine (the Kyiv Educational District), 6% for schools in the Congress Kingdom of Poland (the Warsaw Educational District), and 1% for schools in Russia (St. Petersburg and Moscow). Out of those 459 funds and scholarships, 188 (41%) were donated in Vilnius Educational District, 252 (55%) in Kyiv Educational District, 16 (3.5%) in Warsaw Educational District, and 3 (0.5%) in St. Petersburg and Moscow.

Out of these 459 funds, 247 (54%) were established for Polish schools, before 1832 and 212 (46%) for (now Russian) schools after 1832. In Vilnius Educational District, 46 funds (10%) were established before 1832 and 142 (31%) after 1832. The number of funds and scholarships prior to 1832 must have been higher, but it is not possible to trace all the funds donated to the Jesuit Academy, which preceded the university in Vilnius. We may suspect that some of them were transferred to St. Vladimir University in Kyiv (property of the Medical Surgery Academy in Vilnius, when it was closed down in August 1842) and to St. Petersburg (the Roman Catholic Theological Academy in 1842).⁴⁷ In Kyiv Educational District, 201 funds (44%) were established before

⁴⁷ An annual contribution of 105 000 roubles was made to Vilnius University from former Jesuit funds. In 1807 and 1811, two transfers were made, according to J. Bieliński's research, involving up to 160,000 roubles. (J. Bieliński, *Uniwersytet Wileński 1579–1831*, Vols. III, Cracow 1900, Vol. III,

1832, and 51 (11%) after 1832. However, it should be noted that the figures presented here are not complete due to the difficulty in getting to sources.

Another important question concerns the social origins of the founders of these funds. In this group of 459 funds, 382 (83%) came from the gentry, 31 (7%) from the clergy, 18 (4%) from medical doctors, 14 (3%) from current and former army officers, 12 (2.6%) from burghers and other professionals, and 2 (0.4%) from other sources. It would seem the proportion of priests and officers is too low. This results from the fact that Russian sources often made no comment on a founder's past, particularly if the founder was a member of the Polish military or Roman Catholic clergy. It should be noted that in most professions the names indicate noble origin, and the executors of funds were also mostly gentry. Generally, donations from the nobility were nearly all funds and scholarships (97%), mostly for universities, high schools, and secondary schools, in particular for *gymnasia* and *progymnasia* schools.

Of the aforementioned 459 funds for 478 schools, 230 (48%) were for universities. Nevertheless, it should be underlined that of those 230 funds, 193 were offered to the Polish Volhynian Lycée before 1832–33. However, in 1834, all these funds were taken over by St. Vladimir University in Kyiv. 153 funds (32%) were contributed to *gymnasia* and *progymnasia*; 32 funds (7%) were founded for different kinds of schools, which, while under the administration of the Educational District Boards, were run by scientific or charitable societies; 24 funds (5%) were directed to district secondary schools for the gentry; 20 funds (4%) were offered to vocational and commercial schools; and only 10 funds (2%) were granted to parish and elementary schools, mostly before 1832.⁴⁸ The very small portion of funds offered to elementary schools – which partly replaced Roman Catholic parish schools after 1832, and totally replaced them after 1864 – resulted from the fact that elementary schools for peasants propagated strictly anti-Polish sentiments.⁴⁹

What was the number of scholarship holders? We can make only a rough estimate, since some of the funds were frozen between 1832 and 1880. It is possible that during the period 1832–1914, 20,000 to 30,000 people might have been educated thanks to these

p. 539. After the liquidation of Vilnius University, the whole archives of the so-called “educational fund” were taken over by the Department of State Domain of the Ministry of Finance. What part of the former Jesuit funds were allocated for the Theological Academy and Medical Surgery Academy is unknown. The main donations for the schools that were under administration of Vilnius University between 1803 and 1831, were taken over by the Belarusian Education District.

⁴⁸ There is no information on the type of school with respect to nine of the funds (2%).

⁴⁹ The official Tsarist policy was to tie the peasantry to the idea of the Russian Empire through the cult of the Tsar, the protector of peasants against the lawless noblemen. Therefore, a great number of peasant funds donated by Lithuanian, Belarusian, Ukrainian and Polish peasants were created to commemorate happy events in the Tsar's family's life. For these funds, there is no information about the religion of the participants. In practice, these funds were generally available for Orthodox individuals.

scholarships. In practice, scholarships and school funds were quite varied: some covered all school expenses, others covered only room and board. It is therefore not unlikely that the number of people that received Polish financial support exceeded 30,000.

After the failure of the 1830 November Uprising and the transformation of the educational system in the Western Region to a Russian model, most of the funds came under the administration of the Ministry of Public Instruction in St. Petersburg. These can be divided into three categories: (1) sums that earned interest on currency, or stocks and shares (on average 5% per annum); (2) funds based on the value of immovables – i.e. land or buildings, and (3) annual contributions for different educational purposes (e.g., sums landlords declared for a certain period relating to their peasant population or units of land, which after expiry would be transferred to the kind of donation in the first category. The total amount was considerable, as witnessed by the 1865 estimated budget of the Ministry of Public Instruction in St. Petersburg.⁵⁰ Vilnius Educational District held 437,516 roubles from the first category; 4262 roubles profit from the second category; and 1662 roubles – in annual contribution – from the third category. In 1865, Vilnius Educational District was the third richest educational district in the Russian Empire. The richest was Kyiv, within which the provinces of Kyiv, Volhynia, and Podolia accounted for most of its wealth. Donations to the Kyiv Educational District reached over one-third of the entire sum of so-called “special resources” of the Ministry of Public Instruction – resources coming from private donations and contributions. Over 1,000,000 roubles came from the provinces of Kyiv, Volhynia, and Podolia. In 1865, the total amount available to Vilnius and Kyiv Educational Districts reached 1,500,000 roubles, over half of all the special resources at the Ministry’s disposal.⁵¹

In 1865, Kyiv Educational District had 1,167,559 roubles in donations plus 4976 roubles in annual contributions.⁵² Of these, we can treat 1,001,644 roubles as being of Polish origin: 85% of the district’s special resources.⁵³ Such a considerable proportion of Polish funds was, to a certain degree, the legacy of previous donations for the Polish Volhynian Lycée in Krzemieniec in the period 1803–32. The Russian University of St. Vladimir in Kyiv took control over all donations and profits that had been put at the disposal of the Lycée. In the very first years of the university’s activity (1834–9), the state paid less than half of the cost of the university’s administration, the bulk of which was covered by the legacy of the liquidated Lycée (totalling 462,580 roubles, of which 297,528 roubles was from Volhynia Province; 114,080 roubles from Podolia province

⁵⁰ *Obozrieniye smiety dohodov i razhodov Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveshcheniya na ghod 1865*, ZMNP, 1865 (July), pp. 672–734. Regarding Kyiv Educational District, see 718–720; regarding Vilnius Educational District, see pp. 720–722.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 720, 722, 725, 734.

⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 720.

⁵³ Donations of Russian noblemen, including those of Ukrainian origin, accounted to 15% of the total. These donations came mostly from Tschernihov Province.

and 50,972 roubles from Kyiv province). By the beginning of the 1880s, 395,755 roubles had been paid up.⁵⁴ In 1865, the university had 573,755 roubles, earning an annual interest of 29,179 roubles from former funds of the Volhynian Lycée.⁵⁵

Of the main Polish funds taken over for the university in Kyiv, we might mention a few. In 1808, Dominik Radziwiłł promised 20,000 roubles, which was fully paid up in 1875. The 1803 and 1814 endowments of Józef Czartoryski, totalling 10,125 roubles, were paid in 1848, 1851, 1854 and 1875. The Karol Jabłonowski fund, established in 1830 for the sum of 15,548 roubles, was paid in 1872 and 1882. Stanisław Sentyrmian Potocki's 1807 fund for 25,000 roubles was paid in 1865. The endowment of Włodzimierz Potocki, made in 1808, for the sum of 25,000 roubles, was paid in 1874.⁵⁶ It would appear that when promised, payments were generally made; indeed, it was very difficult to avoid payment. Countess Teofila Plater was rather the exception: her endowment of 22,500 roubles was nullified in 1849. It is true that in spite of the meticulous work carried out by Tsarist officials, quite a few endowments for the Volhynian Lycée never reached the university treasury.⁵⁷

The special resources of the Kyiv Educational District appropriated for *gymnasia* in 1865 reached 370,901 roubles. At that time, the donations were exclusively Polish,⁵⁸ though the origins of some are unknown. Between 1838 and 1852, the majority of funds were collected due to pressure from Governor General Demetrius G. Bibikov, whose activity in the pacification of the nobility and elimination of the poorer gentry led him to become Minister of Internal Affairs. He bullied the gentry in the provinces of Kyiv, Volhynia and Podolia into creating funds to pay for *gymnasia*,⁵⁹ and by 1865 their value had reached 79,481 roubles.

The Branicki and Potocki families took first place in the rank of founders. Funds donated by Władysław Branicki (founder of the *gymnasium* in Biała Cerkiew – White Church) reached 50,000 roubles. Bolesław Potocki (founder of the *gymnasium* in Niemirów) offered 21,862 roubles for its maintenance. As an honorary superintend-

⁵⁴ M.F. Vladimirsky-Budanov, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. II-XXV; D. Beauvois, *Polacy na Ukrainie 1831-1863...*, p. 202.

⁵⁵ M.F. Vladimirsky-Budanov, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. XXVII.

⁵⁶ Ibidem, Vol. I.

⁵⁷ This becomes clear when we compare the classification made by Vladimirsky-Budanov with the sums offered for the Lycée, as identified in J. Dobrzański's research. For example, August Iliński donated 20,000 roubles for the Lycée in 1803, but in 1848, the university treasury only received 3000 roubles. (M.F. Vladimirsky-Budanov, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. VII. See also J. Dobrzański, *Z dziejów ofiarności na cele oświaty na Wołyniu, Podolu i Ukrainie w latach 1795-1832*, "Nauka Polska", Vol. 14: 1931, p. 127.

⁵⁸ Russian sums offered for *gymnasia* reached 22,844 roubles, 6% of the sum at the disposal of Kyiv Educational District for this type of school. See *Obozrienye smiety dohodov i razhodov Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveshcheniya na ggod 1865*, ZMNP, 1865 (July), pp. 718-720.

⁵⁹ Ibidem. See also *Ob sborie peredkladannym dvorianstvom Kyivskoy, Podolskoy i Volynskoy guberniy dlya obrazovaniya v mesto zakrytykh utshobnykh zaviedeniý*, ZMNP, 1841 (September), pp. 11-12.

ent, he occasionally assisted the budget. His family also donated the sum of 104,172 roubles for the maintenance of the Niemirów *gymnasium* and parish school.⁶⁰

Occasional shortages in school budgets were met by honorary school superintendents and honorary supervisors. As an example, from 1836, *Gymnasia* I and II in Kyiv were sponsored by honorary superintendents: Janusz Ilnicki (1833–5); Władysław de Montrezor (1836–7); Xawery Marszycki (1837–45); Dymitr Złotnicki (1845–51); Erasm Michałowski (1851–7); and Henryk Tyszkiewicz (1857–64).⁶¹

Little information is available regarding funds allocated to primary schools, most of which were taken over by the Ministry of Public Instruction. There is less source information about scholarships donated at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century. In spite of the liquidation of the Roman Catholic parish schools in the Ukraine soon after 1832, landlords did try to teach Roman Catholic peasants as before, but the results of these attempts were insignificant.⁶²

In 1865, Polish school funds at the disposal of the Ministry of Public Instruction in St. Petersburg reached 1,500,000 roubles. According to preliminary calculations, on the eve of the First World War, the resources of Vilnius Educational District reached a minimum of 1,500,000 roubles, while those of Kyiv Educational District – 3,000,000 roubles, minimum.

Generally speaking, by 1914, Polish school funds and scholarships totalled about 5,000,000 roubles⁶³ (about £ 800,000). This would be a realistic figure in comparison to the special resources available to the Ministry of Public Instruction – 47,769,000 roubles in 1910 (£ 7,621,091). In 1912 the Ministry earned 1,900,000 roubles interest on special resources alone (£ 303,127).⁶⁴ These calculations show that in the first half of the 19th century, the situation of education in the Western Region was very favourable, compared to other parts of Russia. However, this changed in the second half of the 19th century, and on the eve of the First World War, Vilnius and Kyiv educational districts were no longer the richest in the Russian Empire. They had been overtaken by the educational districts of St. Petersburg and Moscow, districts that were booming as a result of the late industrial revolution in Russia, a driving force in the expansion of education in those areas.

⁶⁰ *Obozrienye smiety dohodov i razhodov Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveshcheniya na ghod 1865*, ZMNP, 1865 (July), pp. 718–720.

⁶¹ *Stoletye Kyivskoy Pervoy Gimazyi 1809–1811–1911*, Vol. I, V, Kyiv 1911.

⁶² D. Beauvois, *Polskie szkoły ludowe na Ukrainie 1840–1863*, “Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne” Vol. 81: 1987, pp. 67–75. According to data presented here, there were 579,000 peasants of Roman Catholic background and 4,000,000 of Orthodox background in western Ukraine.

⁶³ It is possible to make a rough estimate. In the Russia Empire in 1862–3, the so-called “assignment” or “settlement of unity of the state budget” and the new budget rules were established for all ministries. Since financial resources then started to be centrally distributed without reference to their origin, it is difficult to collect information about funds after 1863.

⁶⁴ A.D. Ghrighoreev, *Specyialnye sredstva Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveshcheniya*, ZMNP, 1912 (April), pp. 129–156.

Among the reasons for such considerable generosity from the Polish upper strata in Lithuanian, Belarusian and Ukrainian territories, was – firstly – that there was a need to maintain the high cultural and social status of the Poles (this was also a continuation of the almost medieval relationships that continued to exist between various classes of the gentry.) Secondly, the sponsoring of Russian schools was often a necessity – it was frequently a peculiar form of ransom paired with the threat of confiscation of property. This atmosphere of fear was created by ongoing events and rumours of impending steps against the gentry in the Western Region. The attitude of Poles towards Russian schools in the Western Region of the Empire was in fact similar to that in the Congress Kingdom of Poland, which was also governed by imperial Russians. On the one hand, school was considered to be an instrument of Russification; on the other, it was impossible to do without it.

Scholarships were established for schools in the home areas of funding families. Large numbers of these schools had been supported by the gentry even in the early Jagiellonian period (1385–1572), and some of them, such as secondary district gentry schools, were the last chance for poor petty noblemen to acquire an education. This was particularly true when the only alternative was to be educated in Vilnius, Kyiv, St. Petersburg or Moscow, which they could not afford.⁶⁵

Finally, we should mention something regarding the methodological problems encountered in identifying the national origin of funds. It is apparent that Polish funds and scholarships were established by persons with Polish or Polonised names, as well as declared Roman Catholic backgrounds. But it should also be mentioned that a considerable number of funds and scholarships were donated by gentry of Polish Commonwealth origin who were (or had recently become) members of the Orthodox Church. In most of these cases, it is impossible to ascertain whether a founder was Russian, Belarusian or Ukrainian. We can only suppose that it was a Russian fund or scholarship. But from the scholarship rules, it would seem that these funds were established for the local Belarusian, Ukrainian, or even Polish, population.

In the 19th century the Orthodox gentry in the Western Region considered themselves Russian, even though there were a number of family links to Polish nobles. In the first half of the 19th century, some of these Russians and Poles recognized their particular national origin; they started to feel Ukrainian and to promote the Ukrainian national movement. The situation was different in Belarusian lands, where even the Orthodox gentry considered themselves Polish – or at least closer to the Polish gentry than to the Russian gentry. It is clear from memoirs and diaries that a considerable number of Polish gentry living in this area counted Roman Catholic and Orthodox believers among their close relations. This was especially true in the provinces of Vitebsk and Mohylev. As Catholics, all had to pay the contribution taken from Polish estates after the 1863 January Uprising.

⁶⁵ O. Hedemann, *Historia Powiatu Brasławskiego*, Vilnius 1930, p. 310.

Funds and scholarships established by the Russian gentry, Tsarist officials and Jews have not been included here. The number of Jewish funds and scholarships was increasing, particularly in the second half of the 19th century, and this can be linked to the growing process of emancipation, as well as the assimilation of Jews in those territories.⁶⁶

The founders of scholarships established for parish schools in northern Lithuania (Samogitia) at the end of the 19th century included many Polish and Lithuanian names. For example, there was the 25,000-rouble fund of Adam Bortkiewicz for scholarships at Kovno *Gymnasium* and the parish school in Voinuta, established in 1900. In the list of names of families that benefited from this fund, we find such Polish names as Bortkiewicz, Piotrowski, Rogalski, Mackiewicz, and Wojtkiewicz, and also obviously Lithuanian names written in contemporary Lithuanian fashion, such as Tribučius, Lidžius, Uginčius.⁶⁷ The Bortkiewicz fund seems to illustrate a time when, even within a family, polarization was taking place between those who saw themselves to be continuing the tradition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and those who supported the purely Lithuanian national option. Polish citizens of the former Grand Duchy attempted to retain unity, at least within their own families, but it was too late – the family was already divided.⁶⁸ Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine had chosen their own paths towards national and state independence.

⁶⁶ These problems are perfectly described in A. Eisenbach, *Emancypacja Żydów na Ziemiach Polskich 1795–1870*, Warsaw 1988, pp. 413–435, 468–478.

⁶⁷ The Bortkiewicz fund was designed for four scholarships at Kovno *Gymnasium* (18,000 roubles) and six scholarships in the parish school in Voinuta (6000 roubles). The amount of 1500 roubles was reserved for the maintenance of a teacher in the parish school. *CpVUO*, 1900 (November), pp. 799–807.

⁶⁸ The example of the Narutowicz family demonstrates the complicated nature of this issue. The first president of Poland, Gabriel Narutowicz, elected in 1922, was born in northern Lithuania (Samogitia) and considered himself a Pole. His brother, Stanisław, was a member of the Lithuanian Council (*Taryba*) in 1917, and was against any form of Polish-Lithuanian federation (J. Bardach, *O Dawnej i Niedawnej Litwie*, Poznań 1988, pp. 226–227).

“FORGOTTEN” GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA – A FEW CRITICAL REMARKS ON THE REGRESSION OF THE TERM IN 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY POLISH HISTORIOGRAPHY

GRAND ABSENTEE

It is puzzling that in the most recent Polish historiography of the 19th to the 20th century, already since the time of her creator, Joachim Lelewel – especially in popular depictions of the history of the former *Rzeczpospolita* (Commonwealth) – the term ‘Grand Duchy of Lithuania’ appears quite rarely⁶⁹. It usually appears in the context of discussing particular details of successive unions: Krewo (1385), Vilnius-Radom (1401), Horodło (1413), Grodno (1432), Kraków and Vilnius (1499), Mielnik (1501) and ultimately, Lublin (1569). Even the creation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, following the conclusion of the real union in Lublin, was not marked down in Polish historiography as an actual change in the character of the state, but rather as an expansion of the Polish elites’ influence on the territory of the Grand Duchy, already previously joined to the Kingdom of Poland (or outright incorporated into the Kingdom) through dynastic union⁷⁰.

There is a noticeable tendency of doing away with utilizing the term ‘Grand Duchy’ (*Wielkie Księstwo*), as well as the ‘The Commonwealth of Both Nations’ (*Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów*), and replacing it with just ‘Poland’. Thus, it is useless to look for historical syntheses with titles like: ‘History of the First Rzeczpospolita’ or ‘History of the Former Rzeczpospolita’. Everywhere you look, there appear various versions of titles such as: ‘History of Poland’, ‘Outline History of Poland’, ‘Polish History’, etc. Of course, this is historically justified for the pre-Jagiellonian era, at least until the conclusion of the Union of Krewo. However, for the Jagiellonian era and the Polish-

⁶⁹ Joachim Lelewel did, though, write: *Dzieje Litwy i Rusi aż do Unii z Polską w Lublinie 1569 Zawartej*, Paris 1839, republished in Poznań 1844 and 1863. Later events were discussed in his history of Poland and his history of Poland until the reign of Stefan Batory, published posthumously, Poznań 1863.

⁷⁰ See the discussion around Henryk Łowmiański’s treatise: *Wcielenie Litwy do Polski w 1386 roku*, “Lithuano-Slavica Posnaniensia. Studia Historica”, Vol. II: 1987, p. 37–123 and Z. Wojtkowiak, *Rozprawa Henryka Łowmiańskiego, która miała mieć inny tytuł*, *ibidem*, pp. 33–36.

Lithuanian Commonwealth, this renouncement seems greatly symptomatic. Why have authors renounced utilizing the supporting term of the ‘Commonwealth of Both Nations (in fact a commonwealth of more than just the two nations in its title)? This is a term which has been and continues to be cultivated in many historical narratives, including the English tradition of the British Commonwealth, as well as in Russian and Soviet historiography in the form of the pan-Slavic conception, not to mention the USSR’s “brethren nations” concept. Many year ago, Professor Jerzy Kłoczowski attempted such an undertaking at the Institute for Central-Eastern Europe in Lublin. At the time, the result was the emergence of the national histories of Poland, Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine, written by historians from these countries. However, no common synthesis was written at the time.

The following question comes to mind: Is there no one, no historical milieu from the countries bearing the historical weight of a common nation that feels inclined to present the past conception of a common Rzeczpospolita? Or are we to only write national histories?

FORGOTTEN AND OMITTED

The ‘Grand Duchy of Lithuania’ does not appear as the title in almost any Polish-language synthesis of the history of the former Rzeczpospolita. The only exception is Paweł Jasienica’s popular trilogy: *Piast Poland* (18 editions including reprints from 1960-2012, two in English), *Jagiellon Poland* (18 editions including reprints, two in English), and *The Commonwealth of Both Nations* (31 editions including reprints, two in English). Nonetheless, even he, despite descending from Vilnius, did not title any of his books ‘History of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania’.

In popular Polish dictionaries, starting with Samuel Bogumił Linde’s edition, there is no entry for ‘Grand Duchy of Lithuania’, though often, but not always, the term ‘Lithuania’ does appear.

Zygmunt Głogier’s *Encyklopedia Staropolska* (Old-Polish Encyclopaedia) does not contain an entry for the Grand Duchy of Lithuania or for Lithuania. Aleksander Brückner’s *Encyklopedia Staropolska* also does not contain an entry for Grand Duchy of Lithuania, but does contain an extensive article dedicated to Lithuania⁷¹. Similarly, *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego* (Geographical Dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland) lacks an entry for the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. It does contain a protracted entry for Lithuania⁷².

In the newest Polish encyclopaedias, for example the four-volume *Encyklopedia Powszechna* (Universal Encyclopaedia) from the 1980s, the entry marked ‘Grand Duchy of Lithuania’ redirects the reader to the entry ‘Lithuania’. The Grand Duchy does not appear in the most popular, from the 1960s, one-volume *Encyklopedia Powszech-*

⁷¹ A. Brückner, *Encyklopedia staropolska*, Warsaw 1937, Vol. I, pp. 779-791.

⁷² *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego*, Warsaw 1884, Vol. V, pp. 330-349.

na PWN, edited by Bogdan Suchodolski. However, in possibly the most popular and most widely accessible *Encyklopedia*, published by “Gazeta Wyborcza” and PWN at the beginning of this century, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is included as an entry⁷³. Nonetheless, it takes up less space than its neighbouring article on the Grand Duchy of Poznań⁷⁴.

WHAT IN EXCHANGE?

One gets the impression that among Polish historians, writers and popularisers of history, no one is particularly attached to the idea of the Grand Duchy, while everyone identifies with the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland. Most of them also equate the former Rzeczpospolita, the Commonwealth, with just Poland.

What is more, with the onset of the post-partition period after 1795, the Eastern territories of the former Rzeczpospolita began to be more and more often referred to as “stolen lands”, taken from the former Polish state, i.e. Poland. Subconsciously or unconsciously, the term ‘Rzeczpospolita’ (meaning the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) was replaced by an unambiguous connotation with Poland, and solely the Polish state. This phenomenon only intensified with the passage of time in all the Polish partitions during the 19th century.

Why did this happen? Assuming the ethnic unity of the nation, so necessary at the time due to its partition, the problem of the dichotomous structure of the former Polish-Lithuanian state began to fade, as did its very conception. What remained? A monolith, uniform state; cohesive, homogenous, one might almost say a singular nation, ruled by the noble elite (*szlachta*) – citizens, people with a common, corresponding culture, speaking the same language, thinking identically and being representatives of a “noble” nation (which depending on the circumstances, is written *explicite*, or in roundabout form) – a nation of citizens of the former state; kindred people identifying with the Polish nation in its then contemporary form. Thus, not the Commonwealth of Both Nations, but simply – Poland.

It is easy to detect that here we have to do with a classic error of presentism; applying processes that took place in the past to the present situation. We begin to solely see similarities and any differences are blotted out. The questions we raise present no chance to perceive these differences. Everything becomes subject to what is completely sacrosanct and deemed the most important national idea. Post-modernism, ever-popular, aids in creating this image, where everything is mutually associated. Every historical fact confirms the thesis of the superiority of the national idea. Is this how it was in reality?

⁷³ *Encyklopedia Gazety Wyborczej*, Vol. XIX, p. 721.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 721-722.

WHAT NATION, WHAT HISTORY?

A deeper familiarization with the historiography of Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine and Russia in the Polish historical milieu, especially since the 1980s, has awakened historians – in my opinion – to the series of problems connected with interpreting the character of the former Rzeczpospolita. In first place is the matter of political systems, as historians from neighbouring countries (as opposed to the Polish milieu) especially perceived the differences between the Crown and the Grand Duchy. What is more, besides the prominent systemic differences regarding the history of state legislation, offices and administration; religious, ethnic, social and other differences began to be noticed and emphasized. To put it rather primitively, you could say that where Polish chroniclers state unity and cohesion, their protagonists singularly noticed differences and distinctiveness. In this national narrative, especially in the Lithuanian and Belarusian version, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was raised to its due – in my opinion – rank of an equal partner; an integral element of the former Rzeczpospolita, beside the Kingdom of Poland.

Probably every milieu realized that all the nations of the former Rzeczpospolita possessed the full and inalienable right to their own interpretation of the nation's history. The problem rests on the fact that the Lithuanian, Belarusian and Ukrainian visions – not to even mention the old traditional Russian view of uniting all the lands of Ruś (as well as Slavic lands,) under Russian rule – were, and continue to be, difficult to accept by the Polish side.

The first to come under fire were social issues and matters of nationality, with a strong religious context. The most advanced Polish studies on the structure of the nobility, that mainstay of “bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh” class of citizens of the former Rzeczpospolita, began to be verified from the perspective of searching for differences. That which was easy with regard to the peasantry (as ethnic differences here, were more than obvious), turned out to be more difficult with regard to the nobility. Nonetheless, here too differences were detected. For example, the fact that still in the mid-19th century, in many noble houses and manors in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and in Ruś, alongside the Polish language, Lithuanian, Belarusian and Ukrainian were used. And this pertained to families so important to Polish history, as for example the Piłsudskis from Żmudź (*Samogitia*). To a large extent, this threw new light on the problem of the Polonisation of noble elites, both in the Grand Duchy, as in Ruś-Ukraine. This also attested to the fact, that despite Polonisation in the 16th and 17th century (perhaps even earlier), still in the 20th century, many families used and spoke the local language at the home.

On the Polish side, these interpretations – often confirmed by noted sources – though they gave rise to many doubts, nevertheless forced revision of the traditional opinion of noble unity on the whole territory of the former Rzeczpospolita. As a consequence, some political ideas with an influence on historical studies had to give in to change, such as the pre-World War II conception of regionalization and minimalizing

any ethnic differences in the Eastern lands of the Second Polish Republic, aimed at debasing consciousness of separate nations, especially the Belarusian nation. A Pole-shuk from the banks of the Pripyat could no longer be treated as equal to a Highlander from Podhale, a Kashubian or Masurian. A Samogitian (Żmudź) differed from a Kurpie (Kurpie) not just by his approach to banditry, but first and foremost, his separate language and ethnic origin.

CIVILIZATIONAL CONTRIBUTION

Another issue was the ranking of ethnic elements' (let's call them proto-national) civilizational contribution to the political and civilizational development of the nation. Here too, it turned out that Polish heroes, when measured ethnically, were often not, and even rarely, able to be classified as ethnic Poles. This not only applied to political elites (like just the Jagiellonian dynasty and numerous magnate families), but also many representatives of the intellectual elite, especially in the 18th and 19th centuries, including such figures as Tadeusz Kościuszko, Tadeusz Rejtan, Adam Mickiewicz or Stanisław Narutowicz – to mention just a few of the more spectacular names. Mercifully, I won't mention the name of the First Marshal and Chief of State here (sic!).

In a word, extending the conception of a modern nation to the distant past, though intended to simplify the matter, only further complicated it. Consequently, the traditional vision of Polish history, as the history of the Poles and only the Poles, also became greatly complicated. Is the history of Poland also the history of the Lithuanian, Belarusian and Ukrainian peasant? Or only the Polonised Lithuanian, Belarusian or Ukrainian noble? Or perhaps this noble is a Pole who settled in the Grand Duchy as a castle landlord or resident. Where is the boundary between “Polishness”, “Lithuanianness”, “Belarusianness” and “Ukrainianness”? And what should be done with the Polonised Tatar nobility of Muslim faith? And in this already complicated mosaic, where should the Jewish population be placed, so dominant in cities and having lived there for so many centuries?

THE NECESSITY FOR A NEW APPROACH: OSKAR HALECKI'S LEGACY

A new approach to the history of the former Rzeczpospolita is definitely needed. One that takes into account all the differences, but which also strives to create a new vision of Polish-Lithuanian state history. A certain direction in which historical studies should move was already once signalled by Oskar Halecki. Everyone is in agreement that the vision of a given nation's history must be considered in the context of its neighbouring countries, based not only on local, but also foreign, sources. Halecki, similarly to many other Polish historians, including Antoni Mączak, plainly perceived this, though in his time this was a vision and version of a divided world. He wrote *Borderlands of Western Civilization: A History of East Central Europe* and in it he presented

the history of our part of the continent through the prism of rivalry between East and West; between the Latin world and the Greco-Ruthenian (later Greco-Russian) world.⁷⁵ However, he was also the author of many works, fundamentally important even today, showing the complexity not only of the history of Poland or the Rzeczpospolita, but also the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Ruś-Ukraine. This begins with the essential monograph, *Przyłączenie Podlasia, Wołynia i Kijowszczyzny do Korony w Roku 1569*⁷⁶ (The Incorporation of Podlasie, Wołyń and Kyiv Lands to the Crown in 1569), through *Dzieje Unii Jagiellońskiej*⁷⁷ (History of the Jagiellonian Union), *The Limits and Divisions of European History*⁷⁸ and also including many other minor works.⁷⁹

Among Polish historians, Oskar Halecki appears to be the one who went furthest in understanding diversity in the Rzeczpospolita. Unfortunately, historical events, especially World War II, and the subsequent need for Halecki to emigrate to the United States, forced him to spread his wings on the other side of the Atlantic. His works were not available in Poland during the period of real socialism. However, to this day, he is the most cited Polish historian in the West, especially in the English and French-speaking worlds. Halecki was also a distinguished Byzantologist and authority on Greek civilization. Perhaps for this reason he was able to so clearly perceive the East-West division of Europe, as well the fact that the border of these civilizations ran through the territory of the former Rzeczpospolita in many places.

If we were to search for a figure among Polish historians who appreciated the dichotomous construction of the Polish-Lithuanian state, then Oskar Halecki would be the one we might choose as the patron for returning the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to its rightful place.

OBSTACLES – AFTERMATH OF ROMANTICISM

On the Polish side, the main obstacles to creating a new vision of the former Rzeczpospolita's history are Polish tradition on the one side, and Polish memory on the other, in which a specific picture of the past functions, based largely on the ever-present myths in our consciousness.

The modern Polish vision of the nation's history (i.e. Polish historiography) came into existence alongside the golden age of Polish Romantic literature, which stamped a distinct imprint in the minds of its contemporaries and, to a large degree, continues to function to this day. Maria Janion wrote about this on more than one occasion.

⁷⁵ O. Halecki, *Borderlands of Western Civilization: a History of East Central Europe*, New York 1952.

⁷⁶ Idem, *Przyłączenie Podlasia, Wołynia i Kijowszczyzny do Korony w roku 1569*, Cracow 1915.

⁷⁷ Idem, *Dzieje Unii Jagiellońskiej*, Vol. I-II, Cracow 1919-1920.

⁷⁸ Idem, *Historia Europy – jej granice i podziały*, Lublin 2000.

⁷⁹ Idem, *Geografia polityczna ziem ruskich Polski i Litwy, 1340-1569*, Warsaw 1917 or: *Dzieje Unii Kościelnej w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim (do r. 1569)*, Lvov 1935, and many other works.

Almost at the same time that Lelewel was creating his vision of the nation's origins, as well as its further history, Mickiewicz, Słowacki and Krasiński were writing their principal works.

Thus, on the one hand, there still existed a real social emphasis and need for the slogan “Poland, the Christ of nations”. After all, this was still the period of partitions and a lack of one's own state organs. This gap had to somehow be filled. Precisely at this time, other slogans were created which continue to function not only in historiography, but also in Polish political thought – such as the term “Catholic-Pole” (*Polak-katolik*). During the positivist era, new ones arose, such as Maria Konopnickie's *Rota* (1908), indicating the necessity for our organic and obstinate existence on our lands and defence of their borders, even those invisible ones, which *de facto* only existed in the minds and consciousness of Poles, at the time:

We won't forsake the land we're from,
Won't let our speech be buried.
We the Polish nation, the Polish folk,
Descended from the royal Piast line.
We won't let the enemy oppress us....

So help us God!
So help us God!

To the last blood drop in our veins,
We will defend the Spirit (of the nation)
Till into dust and ash will fall,
The Teutonic Order's gale.
Every doorsill shall be a fortress.

So help us God!
So help us God!

The German won't spit in our face,
Nor Germanize our children,
Our troops will rise up in arms,
Our Spirit will lead us on our path.
We will go when the golden horn sounds.

So help us God!
So help us God!

We won't let Poland's name be defamed,
We won't go alive to the grave.

In Poland's name, in its honour
We lift our foreheads proudly,
Grandson will regain their forefathers' land.

So help us God!
So help us God!⁸⁰

CONSEQUENCES

The consequences were immediate. Historians, with few exceptions, had to fulfil demand. No longer did anyone raise the matter of whether the *Rzeczpospolita* – especially the Commonwealth of Both Nations – was Poland, or whether it was not just Poland, or something more than Poland.

In the Polish intellectual milieu, as well as amongst Polish historians, there were very few voices similar to Platon Kostecki (1832-1908) – a Ukrainian poet and writer from Lviv, who said of himself “*gente Ruthenus natione Polonus*”, and wrote the famous though forgotten words of “Our Prayer” (*Nasza Molitwa*):

In the name of the Father and the Son,
This is our prayer;
In the Trinity, all is one,
Poland, Ruś and Lithuania.

By the dawn, brothers by blood,
From three great houses proceed,
Like the three-branched candelabra of the Jordan,
Raised in the hands of the sovereign.

One Queen under God,
Pray for us,
In Częstochowa, Pochaiv,
And under the Gate of the Dawn⁸¹

We live by one mutual hope,
United in glory,
With your love, bless equally,
Kyiv, Vilnius and Warsaw.

⁸⁰ Based largely on Maja Trochimczyk's translation in the essay “Sacred versus Secular: The Convolutioned History of Polish Anthems,” in: *After Chopin: Essays in Polish Music*, ed. M. Trochimczyk, Vol. VI of Polish Music History Series (Los Angeles: Friends of Polish Music at USC, 2000).

⁸¹ Vilnius

Hey, the bells of Kraków are ringing,
The world is hearing them.
Calling out from their graves;
Jagiellons, Piasts and Korybuts,

In the name of the Father and the Son,
This is our prayer;
In the Trinity, all is one,
Poland, Ruś and Lithuania

It is noticeable that this patriotism of the former Rzeczpospolita, represented by Kostecki as a Ukrainian writer – today practically non-existent – was already a rarity when he wrote this poem at the start of the 20th century. It was difficult to find intellectuals of similar thinking not only in Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Belarusian or Jewish circles, but even among Poles.

FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

It is difficult to be a prophet in one's own country. Nevertheless, it appears that the first step to restoring the proper proportion in interpreting the history of the Jagiellonian era, as well as the history of the Commonwealth of Both Nations in the case of Polish historiography, could be restoring – especially in textbooks – the terminology of the era. In other words, restoring the differentiation between the Crown-Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, as well as introducing, and decidedly accenting the specificity and separateness of Ruś Lands – the unrealized project of the Grand Duchy of Ruś, with its capital in Kyiv, for which the Treaty of Khadiach (Hadiach; 1658) was to be the beginning.

Nonetheless, it should be underlined – something historians-specialists from the former countries of the first Rzeczpospolita know – that Polish historical studies of the history of the Grand Duchy, as well as Crown Ruś Lands, are very advanced. Especially in recent times, but also previously, many monographs and source publications came into existence, not only documenting the complex structure of the former Rzeczpospolita, but also revealing the specificity and separateness of these areas. The only sad ascertainment is that this mass of works published by historians from Poland, as well as Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine, only to a very small degree translates into popular depictions of the history of the former Rzeczpospolita. It is fruitless to look for references to these works in the newest Polish syntheses, though of course they do appear in more detailed, precise works and, as if, on the margin, of the main narrative explaining historical processes taking place.

It is also worth highlighting that in realizing the idea to restore proportion and preventing the regression of the conception of the Grand Duchy, the Polish historical milieu is subordinate to influence and pressure not only connected with former tradi-

tion, but also from current politics, in which a marginal, but nevertheless visible role and place is occupied by centralizing tendencies, tied to *stricte* national and nationalistic ideas, which still have their supporters. This also comes from the fact that the years of real-socialism and Communist government rule were a period when Poland's mono-ethnicity was officially backed by the state, the government and the authorities. Currently, over twenty years after regaining independence, some problems in contemporary Poland are to a large degree reminiscent of the situation before 1939, as political slogans from that period are currently coming back into fashion.

I think that one method of modernizing the memory of modern Polish society might be placing a deeper emphasis on history education and restoring the proper meaning of the term 'Commonwealth of Both Nations' – in fact, Many Nations. This would allow the opportunity not only of restoring the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania to its proper place, but, in future, would create the basis for outlining Central East Europe's past, including the past of the former Rzeczpospolita. This could be a holistic representation, revealing the past of all the ethnic elements which inhabited this region. In this case, there would not only be "national" history, but a real – or at least close to the truth – vision of the nation and the geographical region in all its complexities.

Throughout the text, the postulate to return to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania its place in the terminological structure of the former Rzeczpospolita appears, especially in Polish historical syntheses. Thus, there is also a suggestion which goes further – in the direction of reconstructing the nation's image of multi-ethnic and multi-faith, with a complicated, but also unique, multi-cultural fabric. Accepting such a stipulation opens up wide research possibilities, including the chance to pose new questions. For example: What were the effects of the coexistence of Eastern and Western European elements, among others in a religious and cultural scope, on the territory of the Rzeczpospolita on a *longue durée* scale? Indeed, we know that in the former Rzeczpospolita, a separate and common nobility culture was formed. We know that other highly specialized community cultures existed in the Rzeczpospolita, like for example the Jewish, Cossack, Tatar, Armenian or Karaim cultures, to name just a few. But in this multi-ethnic environment, would it be possible to reconstruct the picture of bourgeois or peasant culture for the entire territory of the former Rzeczpospolita? These, but also other questions and attempts to find answers to them, could perhaps bring us closer to reconstructing the real picture of the former Rzeczpospolita. Certainly, though, this would not be the vision of a monoethnic nation.

FROM CAPITAL TO PROVINCIAL TOWN – VILNIUS IN THE STRUCTURAL CONCEPTION OF THE POLISH- LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH (RZECZPOSPOLITA) IN THE POLISH HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

*Vilnius totius Lithuaniae urbs celeberrima*¹

Daniel Beauvois titled the new edition of his two-volume work on the subject of the University of Vilnius and schools subordinate to it: *Wilno*² – *polska stolica kulturalna zaboru rosyjskiego 1803-1832* (Vilnius – Polish Culture Capital of the Russian Partition)³. Undoubtedly, this wording accurately describes the character of Vilnius in the first half of the 19th century, not only in the eyes of Polish historians, but also (as evidenced above) French experts on the subject. The city, due to the Polish language which dominated it, also possessed a Polish character at the time...at least on the surface; on the streets, in shops, markets and churches. However, Daniel Beauvois formulation also transmits the state of being, or rather the phenomenon which took place, after the disintegration of the Commonwealth of Both Nations. This was a degradation of the position of former Rzeczpospolita cities; capital cities, like Kraków, Warsaw or Vilnius, transformed into provincial towns of the bordering Hohenzollern, Habsburg, and Romanov monarchies. They ceased to play a central role and instead began to drift in the direction of the peripheries of the new capitals – Berlin, Vienna and St. Petersburg.

Within in the framework of national consolidation directed against the partitioning nations, an attempt was made at creating a new historical narrative, which gradually began to omit the former terminological connotations connected with the Commonwealth of Both Nations – the Polish-Lithuanian state – in favour of displaying other traits, especially those accentuating territorial unity, the commonality of cultural and political traditions, literature, art and architecture, religious unity in the Roman

¹ According to L. Kosmowski's wood engraving, T. Łopalewski, *Między Niemnem a Dzwina. Ziemia Wileńska i Nowogródzka*, London 1955, p. 146.

² Polish spelling of Vilnius, which will intermittently appear, where appropriate.

³ D. Beauvois, *Wilno – Polska stolica kulturalna zaboru rosyjskiego 1803-1832*, Wrocław 2010.

Catholic Church, as well as the commonality of old customs, language etc. Thus, incrementally, this narrative began to take on a strictly national character.

Wanting to resist this tendency of peripheralization, construction began, on the one hand, of a new esoteric Polish tradition – now historical and no longer political – centred on displaying the former greatness of the capitals of Warsaw and Kraków. However, on the other hand, all elements of historical narrative underlining the *de facto* federative character of the first Rzeczpospolita, began to be left out. Its second capital – Vilnius – did not find a place in this new narrative, or rather the city was simply assigned different traits and character, no longer connected to its former “capital greatness” (*stołeczność*) and metropolitan character.

CONCEPTION OF THE “BORDERLANDS”

The term “borderlands” (*kresy*), began to play a significant role in this new narrative, becoming increasingly popular among the Polish-speaking public in the 19th century. As we know, this term – at first only describing the South-Eastern area of the former Rzeczpospolita’s border in Ukraine, between the Dnieper and Dniester, as well as along those two rivers – was extended to include the territories of Right-bank Ukraine on the whole of the Eastern lands of the former Rzeczpospolita, including the territory of historical Lithuania. In this manner, terms referring to the second arm of the Commonwealth of Both Nations – the Grand Duchy of Lithuania – were eliminated from popular historical terminology, not to mention the ever-more seldom used term ‘Ruthenia/Rus’ in reference to Ukraine. As a consequence, the term ‘Rzeczpospolita’, as well as ‘Commonwealth of Both Nations’, began to be avoided and replaced with the term ‘Poland’. Wiktor Sukiennicki wrote of this at the time in an article concerning the serious consequences of certain semantic errors (i.e. this type).

Gente Ruthenus natione Polonus – signified Ruthenian origin and citizenship of the former Rzeczpospolita, similarly to *gente Lithuanus natione Polonus* (Lithuanian origin, citizenship of the former Rzeczpospolita). Now it began to be translated literally – a mistake in my opinion – to: “Lithuanian origin, Polish nationality” or “Ruthenian origin, Polish nationality”.

Thus, the term ‘*natio*’ began to be translated as ‘nationality’ in its new, contemporary (19th and later 20th century) meaning, and not correctly as ‘citizenship’; belonging to a former state organism, this “Poland”, i.e. ‘Commonwealth of Both Nations’.

This most likely took place with the goal of building transcendental, or rather imminent, national unity in the former Rzeczpospolita, which of course was never a monoethnic state – just the opposite, it was a multi-ethnic organism. The nobility was very numerous (10-20% of its total population) and quite unified from a political, traditions and customs point of view, and although it was also multi-ethnic in its roots, it was somewhat of an exception compared to the cultural and religious panorama of the peasantry, not to mention other “minorities”, especially including adherents of Mosaism.

In this narrative, the position of Vilnius as the former capital of the Grand Duchy also began to change, as did the position of the very Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Also in this narrative, historical Lithuania began to gradually lose its Lithuanian-Ruthenian character, slowly transforming into the “Polish Borderlands”.

TWO CAPITALS

It appears justified to ask the following question: Why did the 19th and 20th century Polish historical narrative abandon treating Vilnius as the ancient capital of the Grand Duchy so easily? And furthermore, why did underlining the fact that Vilnius was one of two capitals of the former Rzeczpospolita (next to Kraków, and later Warsaw) disappear from this narrative?

Even today, when we speak of the pre-Partition Rzeczpospolita, it is extremely rare to meet with the formulation that it possessed two capitals: Kraków and later Warsaw, as the capital of the Crown-Kingdom of Poland, and Vilnius, the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

It could be said that even in today's Polish historical narrative, the place of Vilnius and the former capital greatness of this city is subconsciously debased. Vilnius is perceived as rather important and with great traditions, but mostly as a provincial town in the East of the former Rzeczpospolita, not as one of two capitals of equal standing and rights.

So that my argument does not appear groundless, it is becoming to set forth a few examples of this degradation here, based on the most popular definitions appearing in 19th and 20th century Polish dictionaries and encyclopaedias.

To begin with, it should be highlighted that Vilnius' capital greatness was not an element which was particularly underlined in the oldest documents. Vilnius was generally termed as: *Castrum Gedemini*, *Uroubless Gedemini*, *Uroubless Gedymini*, *Uroubless Jedemini*, *Uroubless Vlnensis* and finally, *Wilno* (*Vilna*, *Vilnius*)⁴.

In later periods, in the 16th and 17th centuries, Vilnius' status was so obvious to everyone that it rarely needed to be underlined. Indeed, its status did appear in all more significant documents – “Wilno (Vilnius), Capital City of His Royal Highness, under Magdeburg jurisdiction⁵” and the unquestioned capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania⁶.

Near the end of its existence, the first Rzeczpospolita's dichotomous structure was often omitted, and almost doesn't appear in the Constitution of 3 May 1791. Nonethe-

⁴ S. Kotarski, *Słownik zlatynizowanych nazw miejscowych ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem osiedli słowiańskich*, Warsaw 1955, p. 121.

⁵ *Metryka Litewska. Rejestry podymnego Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, Województwo Wileńskie 1690 r.*, ed. A. Rachuba, Warsaw 1989, p. 25.

⁶ *Wilnianie. Żywoty siedemnastowieczne*, editing, introduction and commentary by D. Frick, Warsaw 2008, p. XXV.

less, it should be highlighted that the state's dichotomous nature survived until the end of its existence, and its specific and meaningful culmination was the Mutual Pledge of the Two Nations from 20 October 1791, preserving the *de facto* federative character of the state. In the last few years, the late Professor Juliusz Bardach wrote of this⁷.

DEGRADATION OF THE CITY'S POSITION

The transformations in the Polish-language historical narrative which are of specific interest to us here, began after the Third Partition of 1795. In the most popular Polish-language dictionaries from the 19th century and start of the 20th century, the word 'Vilnius' (*Wilno*) does not appear.

Samuel Bogumił Linde's *Słownik języka polskiego* (Dictionary of the Polish Language) lacks an entry for 'Vilnius', but uses the adjective form referring to place and people (*Wileński* and *Wileńczyk*) defined as: "from Vilnius" (*od Wilna, Wilnaer – Ger.*) and "countryman from Vilnius" (*z Wilna rodak, ein Wilnaer*)⁸ – 'Vilnian' in English.

In Maurycy Orgelbrand's so-called "Vilnian" Dictionary of the Polish Language, there is no entry for 'Vilnius', but the term 'Vilnian' does appear, defined as "of Vilnius, from Vilnius, city in Lithuania, once the capital city of the Lithuanian Grand Dukes" (*od Wilna, z Wilna, miasta na Litwie, niegdyś stolicy książąt litewskich*)⁹. In the so-called "Varsovian" Dictionary of the Polish Language by Karłowicz, Kryński and Niedźwiecki, there is no entry for either 'Vilnius' or 'Vilnian' (*Wilno, Wileński*)¹⁰.

In the "Geographical Dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland and other Slavic Countries" (*Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*), the author of the 'Vilnius' entry is Józef Bieliński (a Lithuanian in the old understanding of the word). He gives a full definition of the city: "Vilnius – lat. Vilnius, Lith. Wilniuja, Bel. Wilnia, ancient Medieval town, once the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, currently a *gubernia* and *powiat* city," (*Wilno, łac. Vilnius, litew. Wilniuja, białoruskie Wilnia, prastary gród, niegdyś stolica w. ks. litewskiego, obecnie miasto gubernialne i powiatowe*)¹¹. Similarly, Maliszewski and Olszewicz's "Pocket Geographic Dictionary" (*Podręczny słownik geograficzny*) from 1927 defines Vilnius as: "Lat. Vilnius, Lith. Vilnius, former capital of Lithuania," (*lac. Vilnius, lit. Vilnius, dawna stolica Litwy*)¹².

⁷ J. Bardach, *Konstytucja 3 maja i zaręczenie wzajemne Obojga Narodów*, [in:] *Konstytucja 3 maja*, Warsaw 2001, p. 38–39.

⁸ S.B. Linde, *Słownik języka polskiego*, Lvov, 1860, p. 324.

⁹ *Słownik języka polskiego*, ed. M. Orgelbrand, Wilno 1861, Part II, p. 1860.

¹⁰ J. Karłowicz, A. Kryński, W. Niedźwiecki, *Słownik języka polskiego*, Warsaw 1919, Vol. VII.

¹¹ *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, ed. B. Chlebowski, Warsaw 1893, Vol. XIII, p. 492.

¹² E. Maliszewski, B. Olszewicz, *Podręczny słownik geograficzny*, Warsaw 1927, Vol. II, p. 689–690. Interestingly, two townships populated by Poles are also found under the entry "Wilno", one in the United States and one in Canada. *Ibidem*, p. 691.

Most of the main Polish encyclopaedias published in the 19th century underline that Vilnius was a capital city: “Vilnius – (Wilniuja in Lithuanian, Wilnia in Belarussian among the common people and in old documents, Wilna among the Germans and French). Formerly the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, today the chief city in the Vilnius Gubernia (1867)¹³.” Similarly, in the “Church Encyclopaedia” (*Encyklopedia Kościoła*) from 1911: “Vilnius, once the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania¹⁴.”

During the inter-war period, only certain Polish encyclopaedias mentioned in their definitions of Vilnius that it was “once the capital of the Lithuanian state¹⁵.” Generally, only the then status of the city was provided: “Wilno – (Lith. Vilnius, Lat. Vilnius), capital of the Voivodeship, also part of the township (*grodzki powiat*)¹⁶.” In my opinion, this was a side effect of the Polish-Lithuanian conflict and dispute over Vilnius at the time. The only thing that can be said to justify the actions of Polish publishers is that German editors acted similarly at the time. In the popular German encyclopaedia “Meyers Konversations-Lexicon” (Leipzig 1930), Vilnius is defined as a “Voivodeship in North-Eastern Poland: *Wilna* (poln. *Wilno*, lit. *Vilnius*) *Woiwodschafft in Nordostpolen*¹⁷.”

It is worth adding that during the Partition-era period of Russian governance of Lithuania, Russian encyclopaedias defined Vilnius as a “Gubernia city” (*guberskij gorod*), and only later mentioned in passing that “around 1323, capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Gediminas’ Ruthenia¹⁸.”

Thus, the peripheral character of Vilnius was consciously created and built up by the Russians, who wanted to marginalise this centre for political reasons. It would appear that the reduction of the capital greatness of the city of Vilnius by the Polish side developed in a different manner.

ROMANTISM AND ITS SIDE EFFECTS

This is especially visible when we take a detailed look at poetry and literature describing the city at the time. In fact, among Polish literati and those writing in the Polish language, really only Władysław Syrokomla (Ludwik Kondratowicz) consciously highlighted the capital greatness of the city, while others put emphasis on the city’s mystical character, brilliant architecture, ancient history and symbolism, as well as the meaning of the Gate of the Dawn (*Ostra Brama*). In these narratives, Vilnius gradually becomes

¹³ Wincenty Korotyński (entry author). *Encyklopedia Powszechna S. Oregelbranda*, Warsaw 1867, Vol. XXVII, p. 67. Also, *Encyklopedii Oregelbranda*, Warsaw 1884, Vol. XII, p. 133.

¹⁴ *Encyklopedia Kościoła*, ed. M. Noworodski, Płock 1911, Vol. XXXI, p. 203.

¹⁵ *Encyklopedia Powszechna Trzaski, Everta i Michalskiego*, Warsaw 1927, Vol. II, p. 1079.

¹⁶ *Wielka Ilustrowana Encyklopedia Powszechna Wydawnictwa „Gutenberg”*, Cracow 1932, Vol. VIII, p. 140.

¹⁷ *Meyers Lexicon*, Leipzig 1930, Vol. XII, p. 1430.

¹⁸ *Encyklopedicheskij Slovar*, F.A. Brokgauz, I.A. Efron, St. Petersburg 1892, Vol. VI, p. 381, 383.

an esoteric symbol and enchanted mystical city, in which art and literature bloomed in a particular way. The capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania becomes the town on the Neris (Pol. *Wilnia*); a secrete sanctuary, but no longer the metropolis and heart of ancient Lithuania. However, the significance of the Gate of the Dawn grows; not just as a religious symbol, but also as a symbol of the lost statehood of the former Rzeczpospolita, and later as a symbol of Polish and Lithuanian national sanctuary, at the time still understood as one and the same, or at least not in competition with one another.

Thus, in all, over the course of 123 years of Partitions followed by 20 years of Polish independence, Vilnius ceases to be an important metropolis, while its former capital greatness is completely consigned to memory. Due to this process, during the inter-war period, Vilnius is unfortunately already a provincial city of the Second Rzeczpospolita – a beautiful place with an ancient history, but also a peripheral one.

VILNIUS IN POLISH POETRY

Let us track the evolution of the city's image on the basis of a few literary examples, perhaps arbitrarily selected by the author. As mentioned, Władysław Syrokomla, the “insolent village lyricist”, was one of only a few poets who underlined the ancient capital greatness of Vilnius and its Lithuanian character. In his poem “Marcin Studzieński – A Card from the Chronicle of Vilnius” (*Marcin Studzieński. Kartka z kroniki Wilna*), he wrote:

Gediminas old capital,
Vilnius, caressed by beautiful nature,
Among groves, among mountains,
A flower, hidden in wild weeds...¹⁹

In the poem “Hymn to Our Lady of the Gate of the Dawn” (*Hymn do Najświętszej Panny w Ostrej Bramie*), he wrote:

Mary, Mother of God,
Mother of suffering beggars,
Who over the Jagiellon capital,
Stood on guard at the gate!
Look at the repentant masses,
That kneel at the foot of your gate:
Mother, under your protection,
We resort back to humility!²⁰

Syrokomla was, however, the exception. Only Adam Mickiewicz, for whom his-

¹⁹ Fragment from W. Syrokomla, *Marcin Studzieński. Kartka z kroniki Wilna*, Vilnius 1859.

²⁰ Fragment from W. Syrokomla, *Hymn do Najświętszej Panny w Ostrej Bramie*, Warsaw 1872 (scored by W. Ana).

torical Lithuania was also his motherland, wrote of Vilnius in a similar mood, underlining the city's greatness as the capital of Lithuania:

"Ye comrades of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania, trees of Bialowieza, Switez, Ponary, and Kuszelewo! Whose shade once fell upon the crowned heads of the dread Witenes and the great Mindowe, and of Giedymin, when on the height of Ponary, *by the huntsmen's fire, he lay* on a bear skin, listening to the song of the wise Wilejko, he dreamed of the iron wolf; and awakened, by the clear command of the gods, he built the city of Wilno, which sits among the forests as a wolf amid bison, wild boars and bears. From this city of Wilno, as from the she-wolf of Rome, went forth Kiejstut and Olgierd and his sons, as mighty hunters as they were famous knights, in pursuit now of their enemies and now of wild beasts. A hunter's dream disclosed to us the secrets of the future, that Lithuania ever need iron and wooded lands."

"Ye forests! The last to come hunting among you was the last king who wore the cap of Witold, the last fortunate warrior of the Jagiellos, and the last huntsman among the rulers of Lithuania²¹."

In 19th century Polish literature, there are two characteristic tendencies. One is supporting Lithuanian distinctiveness (*vide*: "Witolorausda" by Józef Ignacy Kraszewski), while the other is underlining the ever-closer ties between Poland and Lithuania – historical, ethnic and cultural (*vide*: Adam Mickiewicz's "The Three Brothers Budrys" (*Ballada o trzech Budrysach*, for which music was written by Stanisław Moniuszko).

In the first case, when it comes to the position of Vilnius, the capital greatness of the city is underlined, as well as the Gediminas roots and ancientness of the Grand Duchy capital. In the second example, Vilnius reveals itself more as a city of ancient secrets, not as a metropolis or capital. The second tendency already decidedly prevailed in the second half and end of the 19th century. In the 20th century, the metropolitan nature of the city in the Polish-speaking sphere, was only underlined by the Vilnian *Krajowcy* (Fellow Countrymen), with Michał Römer at their head. For the whole rest of the Polish public (with exceptions), Vilnius was a Polish city, though with Lithuanian (and Ruthenian) roots.

The Mickiewiczian Romantic narrative based on the Gediminas legend of the capital city of Vilnius, was replaced by the post-Romantic sentimentalism and emotionalism of Polish Modernism and "spirit" of *fin de siècle*, and later, various poetic trends of the inter-war period, the Skamanders²² and, finally, early post-Modernism.

²¹ Fragment from A. Mickiewicz, *Pan Tadeusz* (Pan Thaddeus. Polish Classics), Book IV, Mondial, New York 2009, p. 62 (from the prose translation by George Rapall Noyes, 1917).

²² Group of young, Polish experimental poets founded in 1918. The group included such later well-known poets as Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, Antoni Słonimski and Julian Tuwim, among others.

MYTHOLOGY OF POETRY – MYTHOLOGIZATION OF MEMORY

Thus, we have many references to the past, such as: “the laughter of Zan and Czeczot” (Krystyna Konecka, *Sonet litewskie*), the Cathedral – the “most sacred place in Wilno” (Tadeusz Łopalewski, *Katedra*), “old alleyways” and “old Vilnius” (Artur Oppman, *Wilno*), “Vilnian cemeteries” (Witold Hulewicz, *Cmentarze*), Our Lady of the Gate of the Dawn as the “Mother of all Vilnians” (B. Rudnicki, *Litania Ostrobramska*), scenes “on Vilnian streets” (K. I. Gałczyński, *Szczęście w Wilnie*), etc. Yet only the Vilnian, Józef Czechowicz, identified Vilnius and Lithuania in a resolute and deliberate manner: “Lithuania – Land of wilderness, How wonderful” (J. Czechowicz, *Wilno*)²³.

To summarise, we can see that already at the start of the 19th century (and especially in its second half), the tone of the popular Polish historical narrative on the subject of Vilnius is very reminiscent of the Borderlands narrative. Both the city of Vilnius and the Borderlands are thus secretive, hazy, unmoving, captivating, mythical and hidden, but also clean, unblemished, immaculate, noble and beautiful. Like in Władysław Syrokomla’s poetry, they possess “some secret spell”, or like in Wincenty Pola’s *Mohort*, they are the purest water, directly from the spring.

In such a way, a particular mythology in the popular historical narrative was created, both with regard to Vilnius and the former Borderlands. This is a mythology which – most likely – no Polish historian can handle, no matter their objectivism and clear headedness when it comes to the history of the Crown and the Grand Duchy.

Thus, all we are left with is a simple question: Is there any point fighting these myths? Perhaps it is better to just accept them and acknowledge that they are simply a part of the Polish historical tradition, which did not always coincide with reality – at least not the reality being revealed to us today. Mythology does provide value – indeed, it is beautiful in and of itself. And, by the way, I find it strange that no one considered the idea of the two capitals in the light of “Two Kingdoms”; the two kings of ancient Sparta, or perhaps the twins of ancient Rome, Romulus and Remus.

²³ G. Hajdukiewicz, *Wilno w poezji*, www.wilno.name/poez/poez.html

ILLEGAL SCHOOLING IN THE 1870s – VILNIUS EDUCATIONAL DISTRICT

The 1870s saw a campaign to appease the social and political situation in the western provinces of the Russian Empire. Now, at the time of severest repression immediately following the January Uprising (1863–4), Lithuania and Belarus seemed to be immersed in idleness. Mindful of the recent bloody occurrences, the inhabitants of what was once the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, fearing more repressions to come, did not take any action, especially no political action that might potentially discredit their loyalty towards the Tsarist government. Almost every family had someone who felt consequences of his, or her, participation in the insurrection. Many were deported to central Russia or Siberia for long periods. And yet in this period of overall social torpor, with people focused on their “private” affairs (the main concern of the landed gentry being to maintain their so-called “Polish holdings” – preventing the loss of estates or properties), actions were initiated at the grassroots level to oppose and resist Russification, and to promote education in the banned national languages. Due to the advancement of social structures, the progressive nation-forming processes, and the awareness of the inhabitants of historical Lithuania, the scope of activities was very broad, while their consequences significantly exceeded the field of education.

This chapter seeks to prove – contrary to opinions established by Aleksander Brückner (particularly, in Vol. III of his *History of Polish Culture*) and others – that the society of historical Lithuania or, strictly speaking, those within it who defined themselves as Poles, took action aimed at maintaining the influence of Polish culture, in spite of adverse political circumstances. Thus, the post-Uprising years in the Lithuanian-Ruthenian territory, beginning with the 1870s, was not a stagnant time, as viewed from the Polish angle. On the contrary, like in the Kingdom of Poland, these years were marked with remarkable progress in positivistic “grassroots work”.

The differences between the situation in the Kingdom and the Empire’s western provinces were notable. Many of those involved in educational activities in the former Commonwealth’s eastern borderlands were of peasant origin. Members of other social classes, especially landed nobles and clergymen, were involved in the organisation of illegal schools in the 1870s to a lesser degree, compared to the earliest post-Uprising years. This led to essentially undermining the view, common among the Tsarist administration, whereby the Polish privileged strata inhabiting Lithuanian-Ruthenian areas were solely responsible for maintaining the “Polish character” of the land. The peas-

ants' contribution to the formation of illegal schools in this area of ethnic patchwork broadened the social scope of illegal educational activities, and exerted an essential influence on the Polonisation of large groups of the Lithuanian and Belarusian peasant population. However, it seemed to appear as a side effect of the struggle between the officially propagated Russian culture and Polish culture which, though gradually eliminated, persistently defended its positions.

The repressive measures applied in the aftermath of the January Uprising were no less severe in the Kingdom of Poland, than in Lithuania. Clandestine teaching, launched in response to Russification attempts intensified after 1863. These grew to impressive dimensions in the Kingdom, extending not only to elementary and secondary schools, but also tertiary schooling, as evidenced by the Flying University. The Kingdom saw intensified educational activity in the 1870s and 1880s. The first clandestine Society for National Education was active in the Kingdom in 1875–8 – an organisation in which Konrad Prószyński, the future editor and publisher of *Gazeta Świąteczna*, a popular educational weekly for common people, mastered his skills as an education activist.¹ In the 1880s and 1890s, a similar function was performed, on a much larger scale, by the Warsaw-based Popular Education Circle founded by Mieczysław Brzeziński and Bolesław Hirszfeld, as well as the Society for National Education, established in 1899.²

Contrary to the situation in Lithuania, where educational activities in the 1870s were concentrated around people of peasant background and petty nobility, in the Kingdom, it was the intelligentsia that mainly pursued such activities. Modern (by the standards of the time) publications for common folk were prepared and published in Warsaw, whereas old books, some of them printed in the previous century, were still in use in the western provinces. As a result, illegal schools in western provinces were more akin to “confessional” schools, in which the Catholic religion was of great importance – it was one of the central subjects taught, and all the lessons, including Polish lessons, were saturated with religious content. It may be stated that, in general, religious influence on secret educational activity was much more considerable in the eastern borderlands than in the Kingdom. The awareness of Polish people in historical Lithuania, containing strong element of popular religiousness, suggests certain analogies between the Polish

¹ S. Lewicki, *Konrad Prószyński-Promyk*, Warsaw 1987, p. 24ff.; cf. K. Wojciechowski, *Oświata ludowa 1863–1905 w Królestwie Polskim i Galicji*, Warsaw 1954; J. Targalski, *Pierwsi buntownicy*, Warsaw 1967; B. Cywiński, *Rodowody niepokornych*, Warsaw 1971.

² J. Miąso, *Tajne nauczanie w Królestwie Polskim w świetle dokumentów władz rosyjskich*, “Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty”, Vol. XXXIII: 1990, pp. 47–85; H. Kiepuska, *Tajna oświata drugiej połowy XIX w.*, [in:] *Szkolnictwo i oświata w Warszawie*, Warsaw 1982; L. Zasztowt, *Z dziejów tajnej działalności oświatowej studentów Cesarskiego Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego. Koło Oświaty Ludowej (1894–1898)*, “Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty”, Vol. XXX: 1987, pp. 65–89; and, of the earlier studies: Z. Kmiecik, *Udział chłopów w tajnym ruchu oświatowym w Królestwie Polskim na przełomie XIX i XX w.*, “Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy”, 1973, No. 2, pp. 159–172; *Nasza walka o szkołę polską 1901–1917. Opracowania, wspomnienia, dokumenty*, ed. B. Nawroczyński, Vol. I, Lvov 1932; Vol. II, Warsaw 1934.

population in the Prussian Partition and concerning the “state of their souls”. In both cases, education served as a peculiar instrument helping to preserve national identity. As well, the latter was inseparably associated with the Catholic religion. It should be added that the confessional character of illegal Polish schools operating in the western provinces was not a unique phenomenon: illegal Orthodox Russian schools for Belarusians and Ukrainians, Lithuanian Catholic schools and – to a lesser degree – Jewish schools (of Mosaic denomination), were similar in this respect.

The Polonisation of an appreciable Lithuanian and Belarusian population in Lithuanian-Ruthenian lands came as an unexpected result of the January Uprising, and the intensified Russification campaign of the 1860s–70s which followed. While the scale on which this Polonisation occurred is unknown, there exist numerous testimonies, particularly from diarists, alongside research on the shrinking range of the receding Lithuanian language in the latter half of the 19th century, which demonstrate that the phenomenon was not marginal.³ This is one of the reasons why the 1870s was an important moment in the history of the territory of the former Grand Duchy. This stage immediately preceded the Lithuanian national revival, which began on a larger scale in the following decade. Polonisation processes occurring throughout the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s exerted a grave, if not decisive, impact on the shape of this revival, which – perforce, as it were – assumed an anti-Polish character, since further Lithuanian association with Polish culture implied an impending, deepened assimilation trend.

Russian schools functioned across the Lithuanian, Belarusian and Ukrainian territories since 1832.⁴ While the secondary school network was rather well developed, there was a deficit of parish elementary schools. Immediately before the insurrection of January 1863, in the early 1860s, the Tsarist authorities intensified their activities aimed at extending the Russian elementary education system – the so-called “*narodniye uchilishcha*” – whose number was still deficient, given the country’s actual needs. Apart from enhanced education of the ‘Russian people’ (as the Lithuanians and Belarusians were officially named at the time), the central task of Russian folk schools, which were primarily designed for peasant students, was to resolutely keep the Lithuanian and Belarusian peo-

³ W. Wielhorski, *Litwa etnograficzna*, Wilno 1928, p. 147ff.; cf. P. Eberhardt, *Przemiany narodowościowe na Litiwie w XX w.*, “Przegląd Wschodni”, Vol. I: 1991, No. 3, pp. 449–486; P. Gauczas, *Uwagi do artykułu Piotra Eberhardta*, “Przegląd Wschodni”, Vol. II: 1992/3, No. 1, *W odpowiedzi panu Pietrasowi Gauczasiowi*, ibidem, pp. 204–206.

⁴ Russian schooling was introduced earlier in some regions, such as in Vitebsk, Mogilev and Kyiv Provinces, as well as in the provinces of Podolia, Volhynia and Minsk; cf. D. Beauvois, *Szkolnictwo polskie na ziemiach litewsko-ruskich 1809–1832*, Rome–Lublin 1991, Vols. I–II; M.F. Shabaieva, *Ocherki istorii shkoli i pedagogicheskoi mysli narodov SSSR, XVIII v. – pervaiia polovina XIX v.*, Moscow 1973 (chapter IV); Ł. Kurdybacha, *Historia wychowania*, Warsaw 1968, Vol. II (chapter 8); J. Miąso, *Szkolnictwo carskiej Rosji w świetle historiografii amerykańskiej i brytyjskiej*, “Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty”, Vol. XXXV: 1991, pp. 115–137; A. Tyla, *Sleptas Lietuva mokumas 1862–1906 metais*, “Lietuvių Atgimimo Istorijos Studijos”, Vol. I: 1990, p. 47–66.

ple away from Polish influence. The creation of illegal elementary-level Polish schools therefore appeared as a response to the Russification action intensified after 1863, thus becoming yet another element of the Polish-Russian game for cultural dominance in the Lithuanian-Ruthenian territory. Let us add, that the tradition of creating secret schools, which dated back to the early 1830s – the first Vilnius Educational District and Vilnius (*Wilno*) University – was not only resumed by Poles, active at the time. Despite the gradual transformation of Polish secondary schools and partial liquidation of Catholic parish schools in the Empire's western provinces, some of the schools continued to operate, though illegally. Parish schools had diverse operating conditions, depending on the region of the former Vilnius Educational District. According to a proposal by Prince N.A. Dolgorukov, the then General-Governor of Vilnius, it was resolved that parish schools in locations mostly inhabited by Orthodox Ruthenian people would be the first to be liquidated (along with the religious congregations with which they were affiliated). Thus, parish schools in Ukraine were eliminated first. In Belarus, many schools in Catholic majority areas survived. In Vilnius Province, the local network of parish schools remained virtually untouched, which is particularly true for Samogitia in the north-western part of the province (later Kovno Province). Sporadically, in lieu of parish schools, illegal folk schools were established. Initially, such schools were organised primarily by the initiative of local nobles. In Ukraine, the scope of such activities was limited, mainly due to repressions.⁵ Illegal schools were set up on a somewhat larger scale in Lithuania and Belarus, where Tsarist policy was slightly more liberal in those years. The formation of illegal schools in historical Lithuania mainly ensued from a general deficit of local schools, but also due to willingness to oppose Tsarist policy, though less so. In the years preceding the January Uprising, many schools, primarily in Lithuania but also in Belarus and Ukraine, were organised by the Roman Catholic clergy. However, the Russian administration soon began to realise how "detrimental" this phenomenon was, and started to counter it, eradicating illegal schools in Lithuania in the early 1860s⁶. Subsequent related ordinances concerned Belarus and Ukraine, as well. Nevertheless, clandestine teaching intensified in the 1880s and 1890s.

Secret teaching was a serious problem to the Tsarist authorities. In March 1883, Lieutenant General Nikitin, General-Governor of Vilnius, Kovno and Grodno, wrote the following to the head of gendarmes on the Vilnius Province [*resp.* Provincial] Board of Gendarmerie:

Based on recently received news, it has come to my attention that supervision of the execution of ordinances regarding secret schools and the ban on teaching Polish writing and reading skills is only exercised at the moment County Police functionaries and the Corps of Gendarmes pay special attention to it. Yet, even in these cases, super-

⁵ D. Beauvois, *Polskie szkółki ludowe na Ukrainie 1840–1863*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego", Vol. CCLXVI: 1987, Prace Historyczne, No. 81, pp. 67–75.

⁶ LVIA, f. 567, op. 1, e.kh. 120, *Delo o nedozvolennom obuchenii na pol'skom yazyke i ob usloviakh i sredstvakh ego presledovania* (1862).

vision does not appear to be sufficiently severe or profound. Therefore, I deem it my obligation to respectfully request Your Grace to explain to your subordinate functionaries in the Corps of Gendarmes that their principal duties are not limited to sporadic and temporary delivery of these recommendations, but that they include continuous oversight of fulfilment of the Government's provision and ordinances regarding the instruction of youth and private teaching, to mention bringing any instances in violation of such provisions to an immediate end.⁷

Nevertheless, the authorities found it quite difficult to successfully tackle the problem of illegal schooling. In February 1884, Lieutenant General N.V. Kakhanov, General-Governor of Vilnius, Kovno and Grodno, wrote to the Vilnius Governor:

*The information I have received from Your Grace regarding the instances of detected clandestine schools and unauthorised teaching does not quote the language of instruction, and according to what handbooks teaching is conducted in each case, not to mention how long a given school been in existence and the number of students. With regard to the fact ...that the amendments to the principles presently in force with regards to penalties for opening secret schools and unauthorised teaching in the Polish language have not yet been finally approved, I am honoured to request Your Grace inform me in future regarding the above, at every detected instance of unauthorised clandestine teaching.*⁸

The mass scale of clandestine teaching activities resulted in the issuance of the "Provisional articles regarding penalties for clandestine teaching in the Provinces of Vilnius, Kovno, Grodno, Minsk, Vitebsk, Mogilev, Kyiv, Podolia, and Volhynia", in April 1892.⁹ These regulations remained in force until 1906, and were subsequently reinstated by Fyodor Trepov, General-Governor of Kyiv, Podolia and Volhynia in 1911.¹⁰ As mentioned, secret teaching grew; in popularity in the empire's western provinces, as the number of Russian schools was insufficient. The liquidation of schools that reported to the Wilno University and, above all, of the parish school network, caused that a number of localities with a long educational record became depleted of schools for years. Thus, illegal schools were formed by the initiative of the local nobility, clergy or peasantry – and it was immediate necessity, rather than patriotic premises, that in several cases were the driving force behind this activity. Peasants themselves were aware that their children should attend school; at the very least to master basic reading and writing skills. The language of instruction was – unsurprisingly – Polish. Many people

⁷ Lietuvos Mokslų Akademijos Bibliotekos Rankraščių Skyrius (The Lithuanian Academy of Sciences' Library – the Manuscripts Department), f. 73, op. 95, e.kh. 1 (letter dated 16 March 1883 [old style]).

⁸ Ibidem, Century 4 (letter dated 24 February 1884 [old style]).

⁹ *Vremennye pravila o vziskaniakh za tainoe obuchenie v guberniakh: Vilenskoi, Kovenskoi, Grodnenskoi, Minskoi, Vitebskoi, Mogilevskoi, Kyivskoi, Podol'skoi i Volynskoi*, ZMNP, May–June 1892, pp. 3–4; A. Jodziewicz, *Z dziejów szkolnictwa polskiego na Litwie w drugiej połowie XIX w.*, "Rocznik Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk w Wilnie", Vol. VI: 1918, pp. 90–105.

¹⁰ L. Zashtovt, *Polskie szkoły ludowe na Ukrainie w latach 1905–1914*, "Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty", Vol. XXXII: 1990, pp. 87–105.

still kept Polish books from 1803–32, or books published in the 1850s in Wilno. Almost all still had their Polish prayer-books, which often served as primers. The Polish schooling tradition influenced the other nationalities inhabiting the western provinces. Along with Polish illegal schools, their Russian counterparts were created, mostly attracting Orthodox Belarusians and Ukrainians, as well as Old Believers. Lithuanian schools in Samogitia were formed in a similar manner; in the 1870s, they were often bilingual; Polish-Lithuanian (more on this later). There was also a number of Jewish schools functioning at the time. These were more hermetic – Polish or Russian was taught at these schools sporadically, with the main focus on Hebrew and Yiddish.

Police statistics are presently the main source in reconstructing the structure and network of secret schools. These data can be juxtaposed against information available from other sources (particularly memoirs or diaries) only to a certain extent, as recollective literature is still a less reliable source; authors frequently exaggerated their own educational merits and contributions. Besides, memoirs are generally written down years afterwards, and thus contain numerous inaccuracies or misstatements, erroneous dates and gaps, often failing to precisely date the timeframe in which a given school actually functioned. As far as the 1890s and the late 19th and early 20th century is concerned in general, police data can be confronted with press releases – with the weekly “Kraj”, edited in St. Petersburg by Erazm Pilz and Włodzimierz Spasowicz, a particularly important source. On the back-page *Z prowincji* [News from the Provinces] section, the editors endeavoured to give complete news on major events related to Polish life in the western provinces, including any instances of illegal Polish schools detected by the police. Nonetheless, also with respect to the 1880s and 1890s, Tsarist police sources continue to be irreplaceable with regard to research on clandestine education. Clearly, the police data, the information from the Russian provincial press and, notably, from “Kraj”, only concern those illegal schools discovered by the police; some of them remained undetected. Still, even a more or less close estimate cannot actually be attempted in this particular case: what can be stated for certain is that the number of schools that were discovered gives us some idea of the social scale of the phenomenon.

Studies on Polish secret teaching in Lithuanian-Ruthenian lands are evocative and “hagiographical”.¹¹ Many an author writing about secret teaching in historical Lithuania was strongly involved personally in clandestine education activities. Most of these illegal activities, particularly in the 1890s and in the early 20th century, were directly linked to the National League and the Society for National Education. The latter, established in 1899, was subordinated to the former, and operated in the entire Russian Partition area.¹² They were joined by certain other similar illegal associations, approx-

¹¹ L. Życka, *Krótki rys dziejów tajnej oświaty polskiej na Ziemi Wileńskiej od 1880 do 1919 r.*, Wilno 1932; L. Życka, M. Łęska, *Działalność popowstaniowa Polaków na Ziemi Mińskiej (materiały i wspomnienia)*, Warsaw 1939. Cf. [S. Krzemiński], *Dwadzieścia pięć lat Rosji w Polsce (1863–1888)*, Lvov 1892.

¹² T. Wolsza, *Towarzystwo Oświaty Narodowej 1899–1905*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 1987, No. 2, pp. 70–95; J. Miąso, *Tajne nauczanie...*, pp. 60–62. Cf. S. Kozicki, *Historia Ligi Narodowej 1887–1907*,

imately political in profile. Illegal educational activities pursued in the 1870s were not yet politically crystallised. Secret schools formed in that period were not connected with any of the political or independence circles, whether at home or in exile. Emerging as bottom-up initiatives, these schools were part of a spontaneous public reaction, determined by immediate needs. These grassroots initiatives became concentrated, in the 1880s and 1890s, into a more general organisational framework, mostly around illegal Polish educational societies functioning in Wilno, Minsk, or in other lesser and provincial towns in Lithuania and Belarus.

Re-established in 1850, in the 1870s, Vilnius Educational District (*Vilenskiy Uchebnyi Okrug*) encompassed the provinces of Vilnius, Grodno, Kovno and Minsk, as well as Vitebsk and Mogilev, annexed in 1864. These provinces included the areas of Lithuania and Belarus (the so-called “Severo-Zapadnyi Krai” – North-Western Province [or Region]). The materials on secret schools on which this essay is based only contain information on schools discovered in Vilnius, Grodno, Kovno and Minsk Provinces; there are no data regarding secret schools in the areas of Vitebsk or Mogilev. Annexed to Russia as early as 1772 (then the so-called “provinces of Polotsk and Mogilev”), these two provinces, in spite of their formal belonging to Vilnius Educational District, were treated on a different basis and continued to report (though informally) to St. Petersburg Educational District, to which they previously belonged in the years 1824–49 and 1850–64.

Materials related to clandestine teaching in Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine are primarily compiled in the funds of respective educational district boards, as well as superintendent chancellery files. Relevant fragmentary data can also be found in the files of chancelleries of General-Governors and gendarmerie files. The documentation of secret schools detected in the 1870s by the Tsarist police within Vilnius Educational District is kept at the State Historical Archives in Vilnius; files of the district superintendent's chancellery.¹³ This material forms quite a homogeneous body of sources for the period 1871–8, containing documentation regarding illegal schools that were uncovered. Usually, besides the name of the locality, the teacher's name, as well as date the school was uncovered, appears. The documentation sometimes quotes information regarding the religion of the teacher/students, the teacher's native locality, the fee received by the teacher, the place the school was located in, and the number of students.

According to the superintendent's data, a total of 194 illegal schools were discovered in Vilnius Educational District between 1871 and 1878.¹⁴ 149 of them (77%) were Polish schools; 19 (less than 10%) were Russian, but as many as twelve (6%) of them used Polish as the second language of instruction; thus, those schools were, in fact, bilingual (Polish-Russian, or Russian-Polish). Fourteen (7%) of these schools were Lithuanian; Polish was

London 1964; J. Stemler, *Polska Macierz Szkolna: szkic historyczno-sprawozdawczy z 20-lecia działalności 1905–1925*, Warsaw 1926.

¹³ LVIA, Chancellery of the Superintendent of Vilnius Educational District, the so-called *sekretnyi stol* (secret table), 1865–1914, f. 567, op. 26.

¹⁴ Ibidem. Subsequent data is quoted after this source.

also used in six (3%) of these schools, and Russian in two (1%). Twelve schools (6%) were Jewish; two of them also taught in Russian, one – in Polish. Thus, in 168 (87%) detected schools, Polish was the main or second language of instruction.

The largest number of schools (145) was identified in Vilnius Province. A dozen or-so secret schools were found in each of the remaining provinces – nineteen in Grodno, sixteen in Minsk, and fourteen in Kovno. The statistics regarding these detected schools is broken down in the table below.

Table 30. Illegal schools in Vilnius Educational District, 1871-8

Province	1871	1873	1874	1876	1877	1878	Schools in total
Vilnius	2	18	4	28	76	17	145
Grodno	–	–	–	18	–	1	19
Minsk	–	–	–	11	5	–	16
Kovno	–	–	–	1	13	–	14
Total	2	18	4	58	94	18	194

Of the 145 schools detected in Vilnius Province, as many as 121 (84%) were Polish schools. Among the sixteen (11%) Russian schools, Polish was the language used in as many as ten. Moreover, seven Jewish and one Lithuanian school were revealed in the province of Vilnius. The statistics for schools detected in this province is shown, by county (*uyezd*), in the table below.

Table 31. Illegal schools in Vilnius Province, 1871-8

County	Polish	Russian	Lithuanian	Jewish	Schools in total
City of Vilnius	3	1	–	–	4
Vilnius	18	2	–	1	21
Disna	4	2	–	4	10
Lida	14	5	–	–	19
Oshmyany	26	3	–	–	29
Sventiany	14	–	1	–	15
Troki	27	1	–	2	30
Kovno	15	2	–	–	17
Total	121	16	1	7	145

Nineteen schools were detected in Grodno Province, including fifteen in the County of Belostok (i.e. Białystok), three in Bela-Podlaska (Biała-Podlaska) County and one in Pruzhany County. No data is available regarding the province's other districts. All the schools found within this area were Polish (see Table 32 below).

Table 32. Illegal Schools in Grodno Province, 1871–8

County	Polish	Russian	Lithuanian	Jewish	Schools in total
Grodno	–	–	–	–	–
Brest	–	–	–	–	–
Belostok [Białystok]	15	–	–	–	15
Bela-Podlaska [Biała-Podlaska]	3	–	–	–	3
Volkovysk	–	–	–	–	–
Kobryn	–	–	–	–	–
Pruzhany	1	–	–	–	1
Slonim	–	–	–	–	–
Sokolka [Sokołka]	–	–	–	–	–
Total	19	–	–	–	19

In Minsk Province, sixteen schools were discovered in total, seven of them in Minsk County, three each in the counties of Pinsk and Slutsk, two in Borisov *uyezd* and one in Rechitsa *uyezd*. Minsk County appeared to contain three Jewish and one Russian-Jewish-Polish school (Table 33).

Table 33. Illegal Schools in Minsk Province, 1871–8

County	Polish	Russian	Lithuanian	Jewish	Schools in total
Minsk	3	1	3	–	7
Bobruisk	–	–	–	–	–
Borisov	2	–	–	–	2
Ihumen	–	–	–	–	–
Mazyr	–	–	–	–	–
Novogrudok	–	–	–	–	–
Pinsk	3	–	–	–	3
Rechitsa	1	–	–	–	1
Slutsk	3	–	–	–	3
Total	12	1	3	–	16

Fourteen schools were detected in the province of Kovno, four each in the counties of Novo-Aleksandrovsk (Braslav) and Shavli, three in Telshev County, two in Pon-evezh *uyezd* and one in Rossieny *uyezd*. Among the sixteen Lithuanian schools detected, six used Polish as the second language of instruction and two included Russian, as well; one of the Russian schools taught also in Polish (see table below).

Table 34. Illegal Schools in Minsk Province, 1871–8

County	Polish	Russian	Lithuanian	Jewish	Schools in total
Kovno	–	–	–	–	–
Vilkomir	–	–	–	–	–
Novo-Aleksandrovsk (Braslav)	–	–	4	–	4
Rossieny	–		1	–	2
Telshev	–	–	1	–	1
Shavli	–	–	2	1	3
Pinsk	–	1	3	–	4
Total	–	2	11	1	14

By comparing the data regarding the number of schools revealed in Vilnius Province against the statistics from the other provinces, one finds that the number of schools detected in the provinces of Grodno, Minsk and Kovno is significantly different from the actual number of illegal educational establishments that might have operated there. The materials of the chancellery of the superintendent of Vilnius Educational District are not a satisfactory source in this particular case, and should be confronted with other sources of different provenance. The number of secret schools in the provinces of Grodno, Minsk and Kovno was, as may be presumed, close to the number in Vilnius Province. Among the reasons for the remarkable disparity between the number of schools detected in Vilnius Province and those found in other provinces might be that the chancellery's in question possessed incomplete resources, or that the Tsarist police and gendarmerie were less active and efficient in provinces situated further from Vilnius. It has also been mentioned that the 1870s saw a resumption of clandestine teaching, following a period of non-activity caused by the January Uprising, and the repressions applied in its aftermath. These activities assumed a general public character in the 1880s and 1890s.

The struggle against illegal schooling was pursued under the banner of eliminating “Polish clandestine teaching”. This might have had some impact on the activities of the Tsarist police, who focused more scrupulously on searching for information on Polish schools, approaching the educational initiatives of other ethnic groups more leniently, such as the Lithuanians in Kovno Province. This only comes as confirmation of the fact that the Tsarist administration considered the Polish nobles and Roman Catholic clergymen to be the main perpetrators of the rapidly expanding clandestine education. However, the hypothesis according to which the Tsarist police was less involved in finding schools other than Polish would have to be verified based on other source materials of relevance.

Certain conclusions with regard to the original social background of the schools may be drawn, based on analysis of the social backgrounds of teachers and students in individual schools. Out of the 194 schools that were unmasked, sixty-seven (34%) had

teachers of peasant background; twenty-five (35%) of them hired teachers of noble origin, twenty-one (11%) had bourgeois teachers, and seventeen (9%) had retired servicemen; three (2%) of these schools were run by clergymen. In addition, there were twelve (6%) Jewish schools functioning. The social background of the teaching staff remains unknown for forty-nine (25%) of the schools. Rural peasant schools set up on the initiative of peasants for their own children accounted for a definite majority of all the schools discovered by the police. These schools are discussed in more detail below.

Peasant children attended 145 (75%) of these schools; those of noble descent frequented eleven (6%) of them. Located in minor, out-of-the-way noble settlements and their vicinities, most of those schools were attended by students of petty-noble origin. Schools of this sort were revealed, for instance, in the vicinity of Porzecze/Poreche, Lida County, Vilnius Province, where Ludwik Korosiewicz, a retired professor¹⁵, taught in the backward settlement of Kutry, Commune of Holomysl, Disna County, with Fr. Konstanty Smolski.¹⁶ Or for example in the vicinity of Rodziejewicz/Radzeviche, Commune of Voystom, Vilnius County, where a noblewoman named Aspazja Ejsmont taught her pupils at Aleksander Baszyński's house¹⁷.

Among the schools set up by nobles for peasant children, only a few were found on aristocratic estates situated within the former Grand Duchy. For example, a music and singing school established by Countess Tyzenhauz, and run by a certain Mr. Szczuko, in the town of Postawy (Postavy), Disna County, Vilnius Province, was deemed illegal.¹⁸ Some schools were uncovered in Vilnius tenement houses owned by aristocrats; these included, *inter alia*, Franciszek Chądzyński's school, discovered in a house owned by the Tyszkiewicz family.¹⁹ There a nobleman named Wierzbowicz taught clandestine classes. In another example of this, Honorata Puciato's school was run in a house owned by the Puzyna family.²⁰ Both those schools were attended by noble students, while the families of Tyszkiewicz or Puzyna did not have much to do with these activities, at least in formal terms.

Eleven (6%) of the schools, mostly situated in small towns, were frequented by children of bourgeois background, usually together with peasant children. Such schools were detected, for instance, in the small towns of: Baturyń, Vileyka County, taught by a church organist named Krotowicz²¹; Łyngmiany (today, *Linkmenys*), Święciany (Sventiany) County, where Maria Łunis taught²²; and, Smorgonie (Smorgon), Oshmyany County, where Maria Borkowska, a peasant, taught.²³

¹⁵ Ibidem, e.kh. 201.

¹⁶ Ibidem, e.kh. 203.

¹⁷ Ibidem.

¹⁸ Ibidem.

¹⁹ Ibidem, e.kh. 35a.

²⁰ Ibidem.

²¹ Ibidem, e.kh. 92.

²² Ibidem, e.kh. 178.

²³ Ibidem.

Twelve (6%) of these schools were attended by Jewish children; almost all the discovered Jewish schools were uncovered in towns. For example, a school disclosed in the small town of Żyżmory (Zhizhmory), Troki County, Vilnius Province, were taught by Lejba Gordon, a grocer, and Kniaziew (Knazev), assistant to the county scribe.²⁴ *Melammeds* Berka Marshak and Khokhem Gintzburg taught at the illegal Jewish schools in Minsk.²⁵ The school in the small town of Szkudy (Shkudy), Telshev County, Kovno Province, was taught by Dyna Stacuńska.²⁶

For fifteen (7%) of the schools, mainly in urban locations, no data is available with respect to student social backgrounds. The aggregate data regarding all the schools detected in Vilnius Educational District are specified in the table below.

Table 35. Illegal Schools in Vilnius Educational District 1871–8* (According to teacher and student social background)

Number of schools		
Background class (estate)	Teachers	Students
Nobility	25	11
Bourgeoisie	21	11
Peasantry	67	145
Clergy	3	–
Military	17	–
Jewish	12	12
(No data available)	49	15
Schools, in total	194	194

For the purpose of these statistics, it is assumed that one teacher equals one school. For students, regardless of their actual number, the assumption is that the dominant group equalled one school (i.e. peasant or Jewish schoolchildren.)

The Polish character of most clandestine schools becomes evident when it comes to breaking down the statistics for teacher and student religions. Most of the schools were run by Roman Catholics and designed for Catholic pupils. Of the 194 detected schools, as many as 175 (90%) hired Roman Catholic teachers and were mostly attended by Catholic students. Interestingly, Catholics taught in the twelve Russian schools where Polish was the other language of instruction.

In the village school of Podlaskowszczyzna, D[z]erevensk/Dzerevna Commune, Oshmyana County, Vilnius Province, a Minsk burgher named Nikodem Bryczkowski taught, using Polish for two to three days, and Russian for the remainder – the file

²⁴ Ibidem, e.kh. 203.

²⁵ Ibidem, e.kh. 199.

²⁶ Ibidem, e.kh. 210.

notes that the Catholic students' command of Russian was rather poor.²⁷ There was a similar situation in the Zabrodzie village school in the same commune, where Michał Adalszewicz, a peasant from the small town of Nalibok, was the teacher²⁸; or, in the village of Białomosze (Belomoshe), where Catewicz, the local organist, taught²⁹.

There were also instances where Russian-Polish schools run by Poles were also attended by children of Orthodox faith. Such was the case with the illegal school in the small town of Szczuczyn (Shchuchin), Lida County, Vilnius Province, which had once been famous for its Piarist college. The teacher there was Józef Olszewski, a Catholic bourgeois. Among the few students of noble origin, two were Orthodox.³⁰ Similarly in the village of Jodki, in the same county, where the peasant students, both Catholic and Orthodox, were taught by a Lida burgher, Antoni Bogatko.³¹ This was also the case in the village of Brudzinienty, where Bronisław Białopiotrowicz, another Lida townsman, taught the students,³² as well as in the village of Kieńce (same county), where Kazimierz Jabłoński, a retired serviceman, taught³³.

From the standpoint of the permanence of Polish educational tradition in former Grand Duchy lands, it managed to withstand the tough rules of the Russian state at the lowest-level of social structures. However, instances of illegal Russian-Polish schools run by Belarusian Orthodox peasants for Belarusian children, where Polish was the other language of instruction, are more interesting. Such was the case with the village of Kolesiszcze (*Kolesishche*) in Lida County, Vilnius Province, where Vasyl Sumorenko, a retired army officer, taught.³⁴ As mentioned, some of the Russian schools were organised, by Old Believers. One such school was discovered in the townlet of Druya, Disna County, Vilnius Province, where Zinoviy Sokal, a *starover*, acted as teacher.³⁵

The enduring tradition of the former Polish-Lithuanian state also manifested itself with illegal Lithuanian schools emerging in the province of Kovno in the 1870s. A gradual and, afterwards, rapid severing of these historical bonds intensified in the 1890s, and at the turn of the 20th century. However, Lithuanian nobles, the vast majority of whom considered themselves Polish, acted together with Lithuanian peasants well into the 1870s. As already mentioned, as many as six out of fourteen detected Lithuanian schools used Polish as the language of instruction. Teachers of noble background worked in most of these schools. It must be added, though, that at times such noble teachers taught Lithuanian children how to read and write in Russian. This was

²⁷ LVIA, f. 567, op. 26, e.kh. 92.

²⁸ Ibidem.

²⁹ Ibidem.

³⁰ Ibidem.

³¹ LVIA, f. 567, op. 26, e.kh. 202.

³² Ibidem.

³³ Ibidem.

³⁴ Ibidem.

³⁵ Ibidem, e.kh. 204.

the case in the village of Rukujże, Shavli County, Kovno Province, where a nobleman taught (Augustyn Kasperowicz) – no evidence was found that he used Polish.³⁶ Teaching in Russian was not an isolated case at the time, for it was often the case that Lithuanian peasants ran illegal schools where, apart from Lithuanian, Russian language was used. Such was the case, for instance, with the village of Manisiuny in Ponevezh County, Kovno Province, where at the house of a peasant called Paszkiewicz, two teachers (Januszonis and Tomas) worked.³⁷ In another village, Możejpany, within the same *uyezd* (Pokroi Commune), a certain Siozepaitis teaching at the local folk school was hired on an illegal basis.³⁸

The Russian bureaucrats were deeply convinced that Poles were the main engine behind these illegal educational activities, and therefore the Tsarist police sometimes could not believe that Polish was used together with Lithuanian as instructional languages the certain schools. When a denunciation about secret schools functioning in the Commune of Kukuciszki [Kuktiškės], Sventiany County, Vilnius Province, was checked, it turned out that those suspected of secret teaching, Trynkupas and Kumgulis, were Lithuanians – one illiterate and the other speaking only Lithuanian.³⁹

In most schools, the syllabus, regardless of the nationality issues, was mainly limited to teaching reading and writing skills, only sporadically encompassing the four basic arithmetic skills. If any textbooks were used, they were largely Polish books. The textbooks once binding for Vilnius Educational District, when the University was functioning, were rarely used – instead, old prayer-books, catechisms and other religious publications, along with calendars, were more frequently popular. Thus, confiscations of books appeared sporadically – as it happened in the village of Lazduny (Lugomovitse Commune, Oshmyany County, Vilnius Province), where as many as eight Polish books were confiscated from the school run by Stefan Łobacz, a peasant.⁴⁰ Polish books were also confiscated at the school located on Prince Ogiński's estate in Szyrwinie, Oshmyany *uyezd*, where a burgher named Piotr Ławniczak taught.⁴¹

The remuneration received by teachers was quite varied: oftentimes, they would teach for free, which was particularly frequent when the school was run by the local lady of the manor or by a few ladies, migrants from the town, who treated their activity as a personal mission. In the case of peasant teachers, teaching for board, accommodation and heating was a current practice; a small fee was added sometimes, in addition to these benefits. Such was the case in the village of Filipki, *vel* Filinki, Krzywicz Commune (*Krivichi*), Vileyka County, where Bartłomiej Dziakoński, a peasant from

³⁶ Ibidem, e.kh. 176.

³⁷ Ibidem, e.kh. 210.

³⁸ Ibidem.

³⁹ Ibidem, e.kh. 203, 207.

⁴⁰ Ibidem, e.kh. 92.

⁴¹ Ibidem, e.kh. 94.

the village of Zadubiany, acted as teacher.⁴² He also received one rouble per student for the whole winter season. The teaching was usually performed after the agricultural fieldwork was completed, chiefly in the winter – as was the case with Puzyry, a village in *Volokhotsk* Commune, Vileyka County.⁴³ Benefits in kind, with produce the chief “currency”, were often used as remuneration. In the school in the townlet of Dawgi (Davgi), Aleksandrovsk Commune, Troki County, a teacher named Solimowicz received three potfuls of grain per cottage each winter for teaching the local children.⁴⁴ Teachers were also paid in money, and the amounts of such wages were quite diverse. For instance, at a school in the town of Dukszy [Dūkštas], Vilnius County, Justyna Czyż, an army officer’s wife who taught the children, received a fee of 40 kopecks per student, per month. In exchange, she was a very diligent teacher, working from eight in the morning until nine in the evening⁴⁵; nevertheless, the fee she charged was rather excessive. Józef Giras, a peasant who taught Polish at the village school Miroliszki, in the commune of Kucewicze (Kutsevichi), Oshmyany County, was paid twenty kopecks per student on a monthly basis, plus sustenance. He had eight students: six boys and two girls.⁴⁶ Thus, in the course of four to five months, when no fieldwork was performed, he could earn 6.5 to 8 roubles. While the money was not considerable, teaching at an illegal school could yield quite a good seasonal income, particularly if there was a greater number of students taught.

The number of students would usually not exceed a few to a dozen-or-so – as confirmed by the exemplary statistics from Vilnius Province: the school in the village of Szestaki (Shestaki), Ilinsk Commune, Vilnius County, numbered twelve students⁴⁷; the village of Sydobrynie, Giedroycie (Gedroytse) Commune, Vilnius County, had a school attended by fifteen pupils⁴⁸; eight students appeared in Lazduny village, Lugomovitse Commune, Oshmyany County⁴⁹; Hajdukany, a village in *Nedzingi* Commune, Troki County, had nine students attending the local school⁵⁰; the village of Powierciany, Aleksandrovsk Commune, Troki County, had nine schoolchildren, as well⁵¹. Police estimates mention that between five and twenty pupils frequented the schools of Bieciuny, Meliuny, Żydańce, Demontańce, Dusznie, Golintany and Niemonajuje – villages located within the Commune of Aleksandrovsk, Troki County.⁵² In Vilnius

⁴² Ibidem.

⁴³ Ibidem, e.kh. 200, 202.

⁴⁴ Ibidem, e.kh. 203.

⁴⁵ Ibidem.

⁴⁶ Ibidem, e.kh. 92.

⁴⁷ Ibidem.

⁴⁸ Ibidem.

⁴⁹ Ibidem.

⁵⁰ Ibidem, e.kh. 178.

⁵¹ Ibidem.

⁵² Ibidem, e.kh. 203.

Province, the largest of the schools that were discovered was that in Pólrzeczce, County of Troki – with seventy-eight students taught by a peasant, Wincenty Bobrowicz⁵³; the already-mentioned school in Dawgi, Troki County, had fifty students attending; the school in Golintany – twenty-eight pupils under the tutelage of Karol Pietkiewicz, a peasant from the Kingdom of Poland⁵⁴; Fedewicze, in the commune of Niestaniszk, County of Sventiany – Józef Bohoć taught twenty-three students⁵⁵; finally, Michał Wilkoszyński, a Lida townsman, taught thirty pupils in Krupiew, Lida County⁵⁶.

In the Province of Grodno, the largest detected schools were those in the villages of Zabiela, Commune of Jaświły, Belostok (Białystok) County – Piotr Szygino was the teacher of thirty-five pupils; in Smugorówka, in the same commune – Adam Narkowski taught thirty-three students; Kulesze-Kosówka in Prytulany Commune, Belostok County – twenty-four students taught by Józef Żakowski; not to mention, also within the County of Belostok: Berezyn, Kryplany Commune; Kalinówka-Królewska of Jaświły Commune, and Wójtowiec in Obrubniki Commune – each with twenty-one to twenty-three students.⁵⁷

Only rather small schools were found out in the provinces of Minsk and Kovno – as in Slutsk, Minsk, the backward settlement called Kożuszki (Slutsk County) and in Wincenty Marcinkiewicz's estate of Lucynka, Parshai Commune, County of Minsk – none of those had more than some dozen-or-so students attending.⁵⁸

The estimated number of students that frequented the 194 illegal schools could have been between 1000 and 3500. Assuming, however, that the number of schools never detected in the provinces of Grodno, Minsk and Kovno was close to the number of those revealed in Vilnius Province, one can assume, with high probability, that the aggregate number of functioning illegal schools was approximately 500 in the 1870s, containing 2500-10,000 students.

There is, unfortunately, no data available with respect to the number of primary schools or the population in the western provinces in said decade – as opposed to the 1860s. It is worthwhile comparing these estimates with the official Russian statistics in order to assess the actual scale of the phenomenon of illegal schooling in the 1870s.

As of 1867, out of six administrations of Russian folk schools covered by Vilnius Educational District, also including the provinces of Mogilev and Vitebsk, a total of 1443 elementary schools were functioning, attended by 51,159 students. Most of those schools were State-owned institutions reporting to the Ministry of Public Enlightenment. Of these schools, 567 schools were financed by the Ministry, which supervised just 220 of them. Moreover, 208 schools were subordinated to the Ministry of State

⁵³ Ibidem, e.kh. 94.

⁵⁴ Ibidem, e.kh. 202.

⁵⁵ Ibidem, e.kh. 203.

⁵⁶ Ibidem, e.kh. 177, 178.

⁵⁷ Ibidem, e.kh. 205.

⁵⁸ Ibidem, e.kh. 173, 174, 199.

Domain (MSD). Only a scarce number of schools, 158, were organised in Orthodox parishes, affiliated with the churches. There were only thirty-two schools of other religions – mainly, Roman Catholic (in Kovno Province) as well as Augsburg Lutheran and Reformed Evangelical. No Roman Catholic parish school officially functioned (save for in the province of Kovno and a few schools in Vilnius Province). Table 36 below shows this data in greater detail.⁵⁹

Table 36. Primary Schools Governed by Vilnius Educational District's Folk School Administrations, 1867

	Number	Male students	Female students
1. Parish schools	101	4071	53
2. Parish female schools	57	–	1574
3. Folk schools	567	22,435	3030
4. Folk schools (extra-budgetary)	215	3798	197
5. Folk female schools	5	–	153
6. Communal schools	111	3917	124
7. Communal school departments	147	2040	344
8. Folk schools (MSD)	208	7329	960
9. Schools of alien confessions	32	706	428
Total	1443	44,296	6863
		51,159	

In 1880, there were 1514 schools functioning within Vilnius Educational District⁶⁰ – less than in the peer districts of Moscow (3916), Kyiv (3635), Warsaw (2287) and St. Petersburg (1598). In the 1870s, the number of primary schools in Vilnius District remained almost the same as it had been in the 1860s.

As of 1880, there were 56,115 students aged seven to fourteen attending schools of all types within the District. Out of 100 school-aged children, a ratio of ten boys to one girl attended, on average.⁶¹ It can be assumed with high probability that the number of primary school students in the District in the 1870s was close to that in the 1860s. All the data testifies to the fact that only a limited number of children had the opportunity to attend school at that time, and also attests to the social scale of illiteracy. In comparison, in the Warsaw Educational District, where the situation was much better, still only fifteen boys and seven girls out of 100 children attended school. In spite of consider-

⁵⁹ The table is based on: I. Kornilov, *Po voprosu ob izdanii narodnogo zhurnala v Severo-Zapadnom Kraie*, ZMNP, Vol. CXXXIX: 1868, p. 17.

⁶⁰ *Statisticheskiy vremennik Rossiyskoi Imperii*, St. Petersburg 1884, Ser. III, pp. XXXVII–IX.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p. XL.

able outlays made in the last two decades of the 19th and in the early years of the 20th century, especially on primary schooling, the number of schools in the Russian Empire never satisfied the ever-increasing demand. Until the outbreak of the First World War and the October Revolution, Russia remained a country where the proportion of illiteracy amongst the general population was appalling. Vilnius Educational District was no exception to the rule, albeit it performed quite well in terms of accessibility to education facilities compared to other educational districts in the Empire. The districts of Kharkov, Odessa, Kazan and Orenburg performed well below that level.

The provinces of Vilnius, Grodno, Minsk, Kovno, Vitebsk and Mogilev had, on aggregate, a population of 5,548,505 during the period of interest (1863). According to Russian official data, this included 2,139,991 Catholics, accounting for less than 40% of the population's total.⁶² Thus, there was one Russian primary school per 3845 inhabitants.

Assuming that the estimated number of illegal schools (500) is correct, one such illegal school appeared per 4278 Roman Catholic residents. This statistic is verified by data from Vilnius Province data. There, 145 illegal primary schools, 90% of them Catholic, were uncovered. At the time, the province was populated by some 600,000 Catholics, and thus, there was one illegal school available per 4150 local Catholics.

The data specified so far enables us to conclude that the number of illegal schools in the area under discussion was considerable, and proves comparable even with the number of officially functioning Russian schools. The taming of grassroots educational initiatives for political reasons only exacerbated the negligence of and in the field of education. Russia's imperial policies heavily affected and degraded the intellectual potential of the residents of historical Lithuania. In spite of the outlays made on the development of Russian folk schools, the disproportion between the Empire's western provinces and Western Europe did not diminish, and, adversely, even increased in those years. The formation of secret schools resulted from the conscious needs of the population. It seems legitimate to conclude that the educational tradition and the deep conviction, pushed by Vilnius University in the years 1803–32 –whereby not only reading and writing skills, but knowledge in general was of great practical use – was essential to these developments. Yet, it is striking that most of the initiatives to establish illegal schools came from social circles that – at least on the surface – seemed the most backward and least aware of the role of education – namely, the peasant estate.

⁶² *Statisticheskii vremennik Rossiyskoi Imperii*, St. Petersburg 1884, Ser. I, pp. 4–5.

Illegal schools in Vilnius Educational District 1871–8

Province of Vilnius			
Locality	Commune	County	Year
Baturyn	<i>Chocieńczyce</i>	Vileyka	1873
Baturyn	<i>Chocieńczyce</i>	Vileyka	1877
Białolas	–	Troki	1877
Białomiasto	<i>Jewlewo (Yevlevo)</i>	Troki	1877
Białomosza	D[z]erevensk/Dzerevna	Oshmyany	1873
Bieciuny	Aleksandrovs	Troki	1877
Bielica	–	Oshmyany	1876
Bieniaki	Siedlisko/Siedliszcze	Oshmyany	1877
Bienianiszki	Łyntupy (Lyntupy)	Sventiany	1877
Bojary	Bielica (Belitsa)	Lida	1877
Borki	Holszany (Halshany)	Vileyka	1876
Borkowszczyzna	Lebedevo	Vileyka	1877
Brudzinienty	Lebedevo	Lida	1877
Budki	Lebedevo	Vileyka	1878
Bukorojstyń	Merches[?]	Troki	1876
Bystrzyca	Bystrzyca (Bystritsa)	Vilnius	1877
Chodunie	Choduń (Khodun)	Sventiany	1877
Czarne Kowale	Choduń (Khodun)	Troki	1873
Czerniewszczyzna	Horodsk	Vileyka	1877
Dawgi	Aleksandrovs	Troki	1877
Demontańce	Aleksandrovs	Troki	1877
Dowgiemiszki	Dowgiemiszki	Sventiany	1877
Druja	Dowgiemiszki	Disna	1877
Dukszty	Dukszty	Vilnius	1877
Dusznie	Aleksandrovs	Troki	1877
Duszniany	Aleksandrovs	Troki	1877
Fedewicze	Niestaniszki (Nestanishki)	Sventiany	1877
Filipki	Krzywicze (Krivichi)	Vileyka	1874
Filinki	Krzywicze (Krivichi)	Vileyka	1877
Ganulin	Hermaniszki (Germanishki)	Vileyka	1877
Głębokie	Głębokie (Glubokoye)	Disna	1877
Golintany	Aleksandrovs	Troki	1877

Gryniszki	Wysoki-Dwór (<i>Vysokiy-Dvor</i>)	Troki	1877
Hajdukany	<i>Niedzingi (Nedzingi)</i>	Troki	1876
Horszty	Holszany (Halshany)	Oshmyany	1877
Hryniewiczyn	Parafianowo (Parafianovo)	Vilnius	1876
Jasieniszki	Smorawieńsk	Oshmyany	1877
Jewieniki	Jewieniki (Eveniki)	Troki	1876
Jodki	Jewieniki (Eveniki)	Lida	1877
Kieńce	Jewieniki (Eveniki)	Lida	1877
Klewki	Siedlisko/Siedliszcze	Oshmyany	1877
Kładyszki	Linniszki	Oshmyany	1877
Kolesiszcze	Linniszki	Lida	1877
Korzeńczany	Linniszki	Oshmyany	1877
Kozaki	Dubicze (Dubichi)	Lida	1876
Kozorezy	Dubicze (Dubichi)	Lida	1877
Kretony	Sventiany	Sventiany	1877
Krupiew	Sventiany	Lida	1876
Kukutiszki	Kukuciszki (Kukutishki)	Sventiany	1877
Kulnie	Siedlisko/Siedliszcze	Oshmyany	1876
Kulniszki (Kulniki)	Siedlisko/Siedliszcze	Vilnius	1878
Kuryłowce	Dubicze (Dubichi)	Lida	1876
Kuty	Hołomyśl (Holomysl' / Golomysl')	Disna	1877
Lalkowszczyzna (Malkowszczyzna)	Hołomyśl (Holomysl' / Golomysl')	Vileyka	1878
Lebiediewo	Hołomyśl (Holomysl' / Golomysl')	Vileyka	1878
Leonpol	Leonpol	Disna	1877
Łazduny	Ługomowicze (Lugomovichi)	Oshmyany	1873
Łejpuny	Ługomowicze (Lugomovichi)	Troki	1873
Łuczaje	Łuczaj (Luchai)	Vileyka	1877
Łynginiany	Łuczaj (Luchai)	Sventiany	1876
Maćkańce	Malecz (Malech)	Vilnius	1873
Małe Siołki	Malecz (Malech)	Lida	1876
Masmaniki	Łyntupy (Lyntupy)	Sventiany	1877
Mediuki	Mejszagola (Meishagola)	Vilnius	1877
Michówka	Dukszty (Dukshty)	Vilnius	1877

ILLEGAL SCHOOLING IN THE 1870s – VILNIUS EDUCATIONAL DISTRICT

Mieliuny	Aleksandrovsk	Troki	1877
Mielniki	Aleksandrovsk	Sventiany	1878
Mienatoki	Aleksandrovsk	Vilnius	1878
Mikołajów	Aleksandrovsk	Oshmyany	1877
Mikołajuńce	Aleksandrovsk	Vilnius	1878
Mile	Sventiany	Sventiany	1877
Milejczany	Sventiany	Troki	1878
Miluńce	Siedlisko/Siedliszcze	Oshmyany	1877
Miroliszki	Kucewicze (Kutsevichi)	Oshmyany	1873
Motewicze	Kucewicze (Kutsevichi)	Lida	1873
Mromowicze	Mromowicze	Oshmyany	1877
Muśniki	Mromowicze	Vilnius	1878
Myszyca	Chomenczyce	Vileyka	1877
Naliboki	Chomenczyce	Oshmyany	1877
Niemonajuje	Aleksandrovsk	Troki	1877
Nowoprudce	Aleksandrovsk	Lida	1877
Nowy Dwór	Dubicze (Dubichi)	Lida	1876
Oblizanki	Rukojnie [Rukainių]	Vilnius	1877
Olginiany	Woroniany	Vilnius	1873
Olkienniki	Woroniany	Troki	1873
Oszmiana (Oshmyany)	Woroniany	Troki	1876
Pasieki	Woroniany	Vilnius	1878
Paszkiszki	Holszany (Halshany)	Oshmyany	1877
Pietruce	Łyntupy (Lyntupy)	Sventiany	1877
Pietuchów	Łyntupy (Lyntupy)	Troki	1876
Podlaskowszczyzna	D[z]erevensk/Dzerevna	Oshmyany	1873
Pohorodnie	D[z]erevensk/Dzerevna	Lida	1877
Porzecze	D[z]erevensk/Dzerevna	Lida	1877
Pososzki	D[z]erevensk/Dzerevna	Sventiany	1878
Postawy	Postawy (Postavy)	Disna	1877
Poszelońce	Postawy (Postavy)	Lida	1878
Powierciany	Aleksandrovsk	Vilnius	1876
Pólrzecze	Aleksandrovsk	Troki	1873
Puszkarnia	Aleksandrovsk	Troki	1873
Puzyry	Wołkock (Volkotsk)	Vileyka	1877
Radoszkowicze	Dukszty	Vilnius	1877
Rodziewiczze	Wojstom (Voistom)	Vilnius	1878
Rutańce	Intursk	Vilnius	1877

Sadowa	Krońsk (Kronsk)[?]	Troki	1876
Sieniawszczyzna	Siedlisko/Siedliszcze	Oshmyany	1877
Skieldycze	Dubicze (Dubichi)	Lida	1876
Skorochy	Dubicze (Dubichi)	Sventiany	1878
Smorgonie (Smorgon)	Smorgonie (Smorgon)	Oshmyany	1876
Smorgonie (Smorgon)	Smorgonie (Smorgon)	Oshmyany	1878
Solsk	Solsk	Oshmyany	1873
Saryń	Solsk	Oshmyany	1876
Steczenie	Linniszki	Oshmyany	1877
Stokliszki	Linniszki	Troki	1877
Strzyżyn	Krajsk (Kraisk)	Vileyka	1876
Sudacze	Krzywicz (Krivichi)	Vileyka	1877
Suszków (Sushkov)	Krzywicz (Krivichi)	Vilnius	1876
Sydobrynie	Giedroycie (Gedroytse)	Vilnius	1873
Szaterniki	Rukojnie [Rukainiū]	Vilnius	1877
Szawolniki	Siedlisko/Siedliszcze	Oshmyany	1877
Szczeroublesiszki (Shcheroublesishki)	Łyntupy (Lyntupy)	Sventiany	1877
Szczuczyn (Shchuchin)	Łyntupy (Lyntupy)	Lida	1873
Szestaki (Shestaki)	Ilińsk (Ilinsk)	Vilnius	1872
Szpengleniki	Ilińsk (Ilinsk)	Troki	1873
Szyrwini	Ilińsk (Ilinsk)	Oshmyany	1873
Szyrwinty	Ilińsk (Ilinsk)	Vileyka	1877
Świrany (Świraki)	Ilińsk (Ilinsk)	Sventiany	1878
Tararyszki	Wysoki-Dwór (<i>Vysokiy-Dvor</i>)	Troki	1877
Wilno (Vilnius)	–	–	1871
Wilno (Vilnius)	–	–	1876
Wilno (Vilnius)	–	–	1877
Wiszniew (Vishnevo)	–	Oshmyany	1877
Zaborce (Zabortse)	Sytsk	Vileyka	1876
Zabrodzie	D[z]erevensk/Dzerevna	Oshmyany	1873
Zydańce	Aleksandrovsk	Troki	1877
Żyżmie	–	Oshmyany	1873
Żyżmory (Zhyzhmory)	–	Troki	1877
Żyżmory (Zhyzhmory)	–	Troki	1878
Province of Grodno			
Adrianki	Aleksin	Bielsk (Belsk)	1876

ILLEGAL SCHOOLING IN THE 1870s – VILNIUS EDUCATIONAL DISTRICT

Bełczyn	Kryplany	Białystok (Belostok)	1876
Brezin	Kryplany	Białystok (Belostok)	1876
Czachce	Michałow	Prużany (Pruzhany)	1876
Dasze	–	Bielsk (Belsk)	1878
Dzięciołów	Jaświły	Białystok (Belostok)	1876
Jakubowo	Małaszew[o]	Bielsk (Belsk)	1876
Kalinówka Królewska	–	Białystok (Belostok)	1876
Kamionki	Obrubniki	Białystok (Belostok)	1876
Karpowicze	Jaświły	Białystok (Belostok)	1876
Klewianka	Jaświły	Białystok (Belostok)	1876
Kraszkówka	Prytulany	Białystok (Belostok)	1876
Krecze	Jaświły	Białystok (Belostok)	1876
Kulesz Kosówka	Prytulany	Białystok (Belostok)	1876
Mategin	Jaświły	Białystok (Belostok)	1876
Smugorówka	Jaświły	Białystok (Belostok)	1876
Weliamówka	Prytulany	Białystok (Belostok)	1876
Wójtowiec	Obrubniki	Białystok (Belostok)	1876
Zabiela	Prytulany	Białystok (Belostok)	1876
Province of Minsk			
Borysów (Borisov)	Borysów (Borisov)	Borysów (Borisov)	1877
Dokszyce (Dokshitsi)	–	Minsk	1876
Jurewicze (Yurevichi)	–	Rzeczycza (Rechitsa)	1876
Kiejdany (Keidany)	–	Minsk	1876
Kolby	–	Pinsk	1876
Kożuszki	–	Slutsk	1877
Lucynka	Parshai	Minsk	1876
Mała Mołodź	Jurewo (Yurevo)	Borysów (Borisov)	1876
Minsk	Minsk	Minsk	1877
Pinsk	Pinsk	Pinsk	1876
Slutsk	–	Slutsk	1876
Szostaki	Tyszkiewiczze	Slutsk	1876
Province of Kovno			
Abele	–	Novoaleksandrovsk	1877
Giedrżmy	–	Telshev	1877
Kozaczyń (Kozaczyzna)	–	Novoaleksandrovsk	1877
Łukoszajce	–	Shavli	1877
Manisiuny	Kudrovo	Ponevezh	1877
Możejpany	Pokroi	Ponevezh	1877

THE NOBILITY, SOCIETY, EDUCATION AND SCHOLARLY LIFE IN EAST

Poniemuń	–	Novoaleksandrovszk	1877
Rukujže	–	Shavli	1876
Szawle (Shavli)	Szawle (Shavli)	Shavli	1877
Szkudy	–	Telshe	1877
Szyksznie	–	Rosienie (Raseiniai)	1877
Trawlany	–	Shavli	1877
Taurogi	–	Novoaleksandrovszk	1877
Taurogi	–	Novoaleksandrovszk	1875
Uźbradyski	Siadlisk	Telshe	1877

Source: Chancellery of the Superintendent of Vilnius Educational District, Lithuanian State Historical Archives, Vilnius, f. 567, op. 26.

“OLD LITHUANIANS” – SOME CRITICAL REMARKS ON THE SOCIO-ETHNIC ORIGINS OF POLES IN HISTORICAL LITHUANIA

Introduced into scholarly literature by Krzysztof Buchowski¹ and popularised by Alfredas Bumblauskas², the concept of “old Lithuanians” has gained significant popularity not only in Poland but, especially, in Lithuanian intellectual milieus. The term seems to be a “nice fit” – apt, and meaningful; it has earned a dose of warm appreciation in Polish historiographical circles, as well.

It should be emphasised, though, that this concept is not as fresh or as new as it might seem. Before Buchowski had his book published, the very useful idea of “Lithuanian, in the old sense of the word, though Polish by culture” had been in circulation, its popularity owed to Czesław Miłosz and a number of other authors who thus described certain people of historical-Lithuanian descent (the areas of today’s Lithuania and Belarus). In fact, there have been quite many such “Lithuanians-in-the-old-sense”, including a host of well-known 20th century figures, such as Zygmunt Jundziłł, Wiktor Sukienicki, Stanisław Swianiewicz, Kazimierz Okulicz, Stanisław Kościółkowski, Władysław Wielhorski, and many others³. To some extent, this concept also embraced the unique personality of the “master” – Czesław Miłosz, himself. The idea in question was generally referred to in the 1950s and 1960s, but had probably emerged much earlier – no later than the early 20th century, when ethnic/national tensions became apparent.

Similarly to other sociolinguistic terms, the aforesaid concept mirrors the would-be reality only to a certain degree.⁴ It aims at interpreting the real state of affairs in his-

¹ K. Buchowski, *Litwomani i polonizatorzy: wzajemne postrzeganie i stereotypy w stosunkach polsko-litewskich w pierwszej połowie XX wieku*, Białystok 2006.

² *Lietuvos Džidžiosios Kunigaikštijos istorijos ir tradicijos fenomenai: tautų atminties vietas*, ed. A. Bumblauskas, Vilnius 2013, pp. 17–43. See also: idem, *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie. Wspólna historia, podzielona pamięć*, Warsaw 2013, pp. 136ff.

³ There is a list of those people as authors of the history of Grand Duchy territories, published in Polish by the London-based Academic Community of the Stefan Batory University in exile, in the series *Alma Mater Vilnensis*, under the title: *Dzieje ziem Wielkiego Księstwa litewskiego. Cykl wykładów*, eds. Z. Jundziłł, S. Kościółkowski, K. Okulicz, W. Wielhorski, London 1953.

⁴ See the excellent socio- and ethno-linguistic study by Leszek Bednarczuk: L. Bednarczuk, *Językowy obraz Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Millenium Lithuaniae MIX-MMIX*, Cracow 2010, pp. 11–12.

torical Lithuania, with respect to the origins of a significant part of its inhabitants who at the end of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century defined themselves as local Poles or local Belarusians – or, members of another ethnicity – who were “non-purebred” modern Lithuanians. The word “local” seems to be crucial to understanding the issue in its entirety, while it also explains the specific feature of the Belarusian identity within said territory.⁵

On the other hand, the concept under discussion creates a specific feature, or phenomenon, and a peculiar, “sentimental” atmosphere around a group of people from Lithuania, who – in all honesty – could mostly be simply defined as individuals of Polish descent. In other words, it is a notion that weakens and dilutes the firm ethnic divisions which became apparent at the end of the 19th century in the territories of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Using this expression meant attempting to create a new socio-ethnic category, which in fact endeavoured to deprive those “old Lithuanians,” to some extent, of their real ethnic character; be it Polish or, for instance, Belarusian. Juliusz Bardach, in his renowned text on the multilevel consciousness of Poles in historical Lithuania (and Belarus) during the 19th and 20th centuries, was one of the first scholars who pointed out this issue.⁶

So, who were those strange people? They were Poles, but with a Lithuanian past, which must be interpreted as solid Lithuanian roots dating back to an ancient, historical era. These roots were lost in the modern period, but the genetic and ethnic links survived, even while those bonds lay dormant and unarticulated by those newly-created figures, under their novel ethnic category.

One of the specific traits of the consciousness of those Polish-speaking “old Lithuanians” was their aversion to their Polish neighbours from the Congress Kingdom of Poland (the state created in 1815), who were treated as brothers – a kindred group, in any case – but were commonly perceived as representing an unquestionably lower civilizational standard. While they represented a purely Polish milieu, adhering to the traditions of the Piast dynasty, the “old Lithuanians” were settled in their glorious, multinational and “all-embracing” Jagiellonian past. This was the tradition of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the powerful state located in the heart of Europe, spreading from the Baltic Sea in the north to the Black Sea in the south. The adherents of the Jagiellonian/Grand Duchy idea perceived it as much more significant, much older, reaching as far back as Roman times, and – of course – much better than the simple old Polish tradition represented by rulers such as Mieszko and Bolesław Chrobry, or Kazimierz the Great⁷.

⁵ O. Łatyszonek, *Od Rusinów Białych do Białorusinów: u źródeł białoruskiej idei narodowej*, Białystok 2006.

⁶ J. Bardach, *O świadomości narodowej Polaków na Litwie i Białorusi w XIX-XX wieku*, [in:] idem, *O dawnej i niedawnej Litwie*, Poznań 1988, pp. 191–246.

⁷ See, in this context, the latest book dealing with ancient Lithuanian myths and traditions: J. Jurkiewicz, *Od Palemona do Giedymina. Wczesnonowżytnie wyobrażenia o początkach Litwy. Część I: W kręgu latopisów litewskich*, Poznań 2012.

Resulting from this approach, a kind of regional sentiment was aroused. It operated on quite an incredible scale indeed, and almost developed into a vital ethnic division.

Thus, in its peculiar way, the term “old Lithuanians” appears, opening a kind of Pandora’s box. It challenges the opinion that Poles in historic Lithuania were identical to their compatriots living in Poland (ethnic Polish territories) or in any other country of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth after its partitions (i.e. in the Polish part of Prussia – in the Duchy of Poznan, Silesia, or Austrian Galicia).

On the other hand, the concept strengthened the Lithuanian ethnic element in that national/community puzzle, as a whole. Lithuanian ethnic roots have been elevated to a higher level of understanding, proving useful in defining the peculiarity of the Polish-speaking group in Lithuania.

In this essay, I will try to describe my own approach to this concept from the point of view of modern Lithuanians and modern Poles. I will also try and briefly portray the Polish-speaking circles and their socio-ethnic origins at the threshold of the 20th century. Finally, I will dare to ask some vitally crucial questions, such as why the term “old Lithuanians”, although very useful and even nice-sounding, might be perceived as humiliating and degrading from a “strictly Polish” standpoint. Finally, I will also attempt to address the issue: Who was a Pole in Lithuania in the period before the First World War? Did (re)gaining independence by Lithuania and Poland in 1918 come about as the political result of Polish identity, understood in a specific manner at that time?

THE LITHUANIAN APPROACH

As every Lithuanian knows, the modern Lithuanian political thought was constructed on the remnants of Polish-Lithuanian friendship. The ties between the two nations, developed and reinforced before 1795, were so strong that they actually strangled the Lithuanian ethnic identity, which was not only in danger, but in fact was captured and subdued by Polish tradition and customs. Therefore, to create a modern, independent Lithuanian nation, the *conditio sine qua non* was the necessity to break those bonds and ties with Poles and Poland. Staying firm against their former Polish cohabitants was the only direction which guaranteed a chance for victory and a remedy to rebuild a modern nation. This is why Jonas Basanavičius (Jan Basanowicz), one of the fathers of modern Lithuanian revival, preferred to speak Russian than Polish, finding the former language less dangerous.⁸

The concept of “old Lithuanians” was in fact present in modern Lithuanian tradition from its very beginning. It was also a *conditio sine qua non*. The fathers of the Lithuanian national revival were absolutely certain that a significant part, perhaps al-

⁸ Z. Solak, *Miedzy Polską a Litwą. Życie i działalność Michała Römera 1880–1920*, Cracow 2004, s. 160–161; A. Niezabitauskis, *Basanavičius: monografija*, Vilnius 2001. Cf. P. Łossowski, *Po tej i tamtej stronie Niemna. Stosunki polsko-litewskie 1883–1939*, Warsaw 1985, p. 21ff.

most a majority, of their beloved Lithuanians, were trapped in Polish shackles. When the Lithuanian Republic's army was formed in 1918, the only language used in giving orders and commands was Polish – at least that is what the enemy said.⁹

After 1918, Lithuanisation embraced the whole population of the newly-established Republic, and succeeded quite soon after. The ideological foundation for this re-Lithuanisation was the idea whereby historical Lithuanians had lost their national awareness over the ages. At that decisive moment, no-one cared about the real ethnic roots of the Republic's inhabitants. Whether a Pole or Belarusian, Jew, or of Tatar descent, everyone had to turn into modern Lithuanian citizens, on equal footing. The language was, obviously enough, the common platform.¹⁰

Summarising this process of inter-war re-Lithuanisation, one must say that on the basis of a Lithuanian background, which at times was treated quite artificially, representatives of many nations of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania were “recaptured” and re-embraced by the modern Lithuanian identity. This phenomenon was probably one of the most spectacular successes of the Republic of Lithuania before 1939, although not a single one of its politicians was eager to advertise those actions across inter-war European public opinion.

Although the term “old Lithuanians” was not in use at that moment – as far as I am aware – the concept was fully implemented as the modern Lithuanian nation emerged. As this new idea spread in the early 20th century, modern Lithuanians gained the name of *Litwomans* (Lithuanian-men *vel* “Lithuano-maniacs”), which defined their position through the negative attitude of their enemies – mostly, Lithuanian Poles, with their strongly formulated Polish identity; they were perceived by modern Lithuanians as Polonisers¹¹.

Looking closer at reborn Lithuanian identity after 1918, one might say that it was founded on the concept of conversion of all the former nations of the Grand Duchy: Poles and ‘old-Poles’, Belarusians and “old-Belarusians”, Russians and “old-Russians”, as well as Tatars and ‘old-Tatars’. Overall, one has to admit that in terms of its usefulness for the new, reborn state, the idea proved brilliant, and was implemented with success.

THE POLISH IDEA

The concept of “old Lithuanians” was also apparent, in some form, among the Lithuanian Poles at the beginning of the 20th century. Although the term was not in

⁹ P. Łossowski, *Stosunki polsko-litewskie 1921–1939*, Warsaw 1997, p. 35ff.

¹⁰ T. Snyder, *Reconstruction of Nations. Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569–1999*, New Haven–London 2003, p. 32ff. See also: E. Aleksandravičius, A. Kulakauskas, *Carų valdžioje XIX amžiaus Lietuva*, Vilnius 1996, p. 295ff.

¹¹ As in the title of the already-quoted book by K. Buchowski: *Litwomani i polonizatorzy...*; see also: B. Cywiński, *Szańce kultur. Szkice z dziejów narodów Europy Wschodniej*, Warsaw 2013, pp. 260–261, 274–275; T. Weeks, *Nation and State in Late Imperial Russia. Nationalism and Russification on the Western Frontier, 1863–1914*, DeKalb 1996, p. 86.

use, the idea was present, especially among the *Krajowcy* (Fellow Countrymen or Natives) of Vilnius. They represented a small group of Polish intelligentsia living in historical Lithuania, who foresaw the future reborn state as a peculiar sort of refurbished former Grand Duchy of Lithuania, that would closely cooperate with Poland, and together form a federal alliance.

Identifying themselves with historical Lithuania, they dreamed of a peace agreement between modern Lithuanians, who were focused on creating their modern state, and the local Polish community; this was meant to also extend to other national/ethnic groups descending from the Grand Duchy. Therefore, they aimed at establishing a common area, or an open space, for the future alliance between the Polish and Lithuanian national identities, and the idea of Lithuania as an independent state. Some of them fully accepted the idea of an independent Republic of Lithuania, without any preconditions, especially with respect to future political or federal ties with Poland. Among the eminent representatives of this intellectual elite were Michał Römer, Ludwik Abramowicz, Stanisław Narutowicz, Roman Skirmunt, and Tadeusz Wróblewski.¹² Characteristically, they firmly believed in an anti-nationalistic approach, which rejected Polish or Lithuanian nationalism, as well as Belarusian, Russian, or Jewish nationalism. They often defined themselves as “democrats” – in the meaning of the word at the time – with a significant dose of tolerance and understanding for the aspirations of other nations that were focused on establishing their own independent national organisms. Some of them represented the populist, left-wing or leftist political factions, including social democrats; some were associated with Vilnius’ freemasonry. Their main adversaries in the local Polish political environment were exponents of the Polish nationalist movement – the National Democracy, which eventually won out on the Polish political arena.

At the turn of the 20th century, the Polish-speaking community represented all the social spheres of local society. As a kind of social entity, they gradually found themselves significantly influenced by Józef Piłsudski’s political philosophy, which expanded and spread the idea of federation between the former ethnic elements of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In spite of that, because of the hard conditions of the First World War and, especially, due to war with Bolshevik Russia, they gradually changed their point of view, turning into strong adherents of National Democracy. What that meant in practice was that all other nationalities were to be eliminated from the political sphere, and a single-nation structure established: an exclusively Polish state – not a federation, in fact, but one homogenous state unit.

Those who did not align their views with this new direction were mostly intellectuals, connected with the circles of the Vilnius *Krajowcy*. At that time, the Polish Socialist Party was also quite influential in historical Lithuania.

How did this situation present itself with respect to the various strata of Polish society in Lithuania? Let us make some short observations.

¹² Z. Solak, *Miedzy Polską a Litwą. Życie i działalność Michała Römera 1880–1920*, Cracow 2004, p. 149ff.

NOBILITY: POLISH OR POLONISED?

After a love affair with the Tsarist authorities in the second half of the 19th century and during the 1905–14 session of the Russian Duma, the Polish nobility, previously loyal to the Russian government, was politically nullified from influencing any upcoming events and changes.¹³ Although they were all more or less aware of their Lithuanian or Ruthenian (Belarusian) roots, a majority of them had already been homogenously united with the idea of Poland. Her independence was – similarly as in the January Uprising of 1863–4 – the main purpose and political goal for the majority of the gentry. It should be stressed, though, that this situation looked different within the various strata of the Lithuanian nobility. Moreover, the period of loyalty to Russia finally came to an end when war broke out.

The aristocracy (magnates, barons) were cosmopolitan and, officially, pro-Russian; however, they were very close or even fully devoted to Polish patriotic views, especially the military and political activity of Piłsudski. There were obvious exceptions – people who supported Lithuanian or Belarusian national endeavours – but they were numerically few and existed on the margin of the Polish political mainstream. As well, as mentioned previously, the pro-Russian sympathies of the aristocracy soon ceased with the outbreak of war.¹⁴

Living in their spacious villas, the rich landowning stratum, often called the *Kar-mazyny* (Crimsons), although economically less powerful than the aristocracy, were also fully devoted to the idea of independent Poland. Because of their ties with other families of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in ethnic Polish territories, they were even more pro-Polish in their views than the aristocracy¹⁵. Their connections and links with members of the Russian, Austrian and Prussian aristocracy were not as numerous or as close.¹⁶

But the most patriotic group was the lesser gentry or petty nobility, who were the fuel for all Polish insurrections from the late 18th century, and through the whole 19th century. These families enthusiastically supported all the Polish political factions and parties. In historic Lithuania, a majority of them were associated, relatively closely, with the Polish independence movement. At the end of the 19th century, they were

¹³ The situation was similar in Ukraine. See: D. Beauvois, *Trójkąt Ukraiński. Szlachta, carat i lud na Wołyniu, Podolu i Kijowszczyźnie 1793–1914*, transl. by K. Rutkowski, Lublin 2005, esp. Part 3 of this trilogy, pp. 475–731.

¹⁴ R. Jurkowski, *Sukcesy i porażki. Ziemiaństwo polskie Ziemi Zabrzanych w wyborach do Dumy Państwowej i rady Państwa 1906–1913*, Olsztyn 2009, p. 9; see also: J. Jurkiewicz, *Rozwój polskiej myśli politycznej na Litwie i Białorusi w latach 1905–1922*, Poznań 1983.

¹⁵ D. Szpoper, *Sukcesorzy Wielkiego Księstwa. Myśl polityczna i działalność konserwatystów polskich na ziemiach litewsko-białoruskich w latach 1904–1939*, p. 3ff.

¹⁶ These aristocratic ties are perfectly presented in the memoirs of: M. Czapska, *Europa w rodzinie. Czas odmieniony*, Cracow 2004 (French ed.: M. Czapska, *Une famille d'Europe centrale: 1772–1914*, Paris 1972, préf. de Philippe Ariès).

called the “progressive youth” or, more colloquially, *Niepodległościowcy* – supporters of independence.¹⁷

It was predominantly this group that issued the most devout Polish patriots, who formed the mainstream of the Polish intelligentsia in big numbers. This milieu had no time for any different path to a sovereign Poland than fighting for freedom and independence. They were rebels and revolutionaries, educated in the tradition of Romantic literature and struggle for the revival of Poland.¹⁸

As Michał Römer wrote in his Memorandum of 1915: “In the landowner strata of Lithuania, especially amongst the elements that are far from politics and whose activity in Agricultural Societies is less vivid, memories have been preserved of national injury, the tradition of heroic struggle, national uprisings, and martyrdom. Not always is this tradition a stimulus to act – this happens very rarely in fact, as they are terrorised by the memories of defeat and pressure, which are treated as relics of the ancient sacred past.”¹⁹

This patriotic Polish minor gentry was composed of a number of categories, based mostly on their, generally poor, economic condition and (very low) financial status. Thus, there were the so-called “petty nobles” or yeomanry (*drobna szlachta*), a group that in itself included several substrata, such as the *szlachta zaściankowa* – yeomen or lesser gentry living in small villages, members of such communities were often very closely related; *szlachta okoliczna* – local gentry (residing in “surrounding areas”); *szlachta zagrodowa* – the croft or farming gentry, owners of single small farms (*zagroda*); *szlachta chodackowa* – the “wooden-clog” gentry, so called because in some cases all they owned was literally a pair of shoes each. On the bottom of this social scale were the *bobyle* and the *gołota* categories, who had no land or property at all. The term *gołota*, basically meaning “naked” or “bare”, indicated their lack of property. The *bobyle* category could be understood as “those who (once) were (there)” and had settled in ancient times. They possessed noble roots (as an apparent fact), but nothing apart from that, including no documents confirming their noble background.²⁰

Under Russian rule, some other “old” social categories of the gentry or semi-gentry were created or, quite simply, implemented, on quite a significant scale – as, for

¹⁷ For the situation on the Eastern territories after the First World War, see: J. Gierowska-Kałuża, *Zarząd Cywilny Ziem Wschodnich (19 lutego 1919 – 9 września 1920)*, Warsaw 2003, p. 38ff.

¹⁸ See the excellent memoir book on petty nobles in the inter-war and Second World War periods: W. Miko, *Zaściankowi rozbijacy w kresowym kolorzycie*, Olsztyn 2000.

¹⁹ M. Römer, *Wilno u schyłku rządów carskich. Memoriał Michała Römera z sierpnia 1915. Litwa wobec wojny*, ed. and publ. by Wiktor Sukiennicki, “Zeszyty Historyczne”, Vol. 17: 1970, p. 64. See also: T. Weeks, *Nation and State...*, pp. 92–94; R. Jurkowski, *Ziemiaństwo polskie Kresów Północno-Wschodnich 1864–1904*, Warsaw 2001, p. 25–106.

²⁰ L. Zasztowt, *Europa Środkowo-Wschodnia a Rosja XIX–XX wieku. W kręgu edukacji i polityki*, Warsaw 2007, p. 27ff. See also: W. Rodkiewicz, *Russian National Policy in the Western Provinces of the Empire (1863–1905)*, Lublin 1998.

example, the *odnodvortsy* and *ghrazhdanie* in the Western Provinces – petty nobles degraded to the peasant stratum between 1831-70. Their population was finally estimated at over 350,000. On the other hand, there were small groups of military-men, for instance the “armoured” or “cuirassier” boyars, who owned small farms in the borderland areas, and whose duties were similar to Cossacks – other groups included the gunners or cannoneers (*puszkarze*), riflemen (*strzelcy*), lancers (*kopijnicy*), as well as various ranks of knights and dragoons. Also, various groups of lower-ranking Cossacks were represented. The common feature of those people was that during Russian rule, and probably also earlier, they all belonged to the circle of *sluzhiliye ludi* – the so-called “servicemen stratum”.²¹

In general, nearly all political tendencies were present in Polish noble circles, but there was one dominant factor: as Michal Römer observed, this was their anti-Russian approach, and a significant lack of confidence in any possible alliance with Russia. There were rare exceptions, however, as impersonated by the hated and odious Count Adam Gurowski, who was commonly acknowledged not only as a Russian zealot but, simply, a Tsarist spy (which it later turned out he was, in fact).²²

INTELLIGENTSIA AND BURGHERS

Similar tendencies were visible in the ranks of the Polish intelligentsia in historical Lithuania. At the turn of the 20th century, they followed the general streams of Polish political thought, and played much the same role as the petty nobles, with whom they were often closely related. Medical doctors, hospital attendants, nursery maids, chemists, private teachers, housekeepers, lower-rank officials, lawyers and jurists, estate stewards, university and high-school students, along with merchants, shoemakers, butchers, tradesmen and craftsmen, as well as pedlars and chapmen (if not of Jewish origin), were initially all significantly influenced by the Polish independence movement. They formed the nucleus, or core, of the newly-born lower sphere of the Polish middle class in historical Lithuania.

In my opinion, these people were less focused on national/ethnic differences, and represented, instead, a typically Polish approach, with no room for reconsidering the positions of modern Lithuanians or Belarusians. Most of those who lived in larger or smaller Lithuanian and Belarusian towns gradually – as the First World War approached – assumed positions with the Polish National Democracy movement, colloquially known as *endecja* [‘ND-tsia’]. The majority, were adherents of the idea of an independent Poland – a country that would be monolithic, single-nation, constructed and founded by Poles, and designed exclusively for them.²³

²¹ Ibidem, p. 35.

²² H. Głębocki, “*Diabeł Asmodeusz*” w *niebieskich binoklach i kraj przyszłości*. Hr. Adam Gurowski i *Rosja*, Cracow 2012. pp. 9-15.

²³ J. Molenda, *Piłsudzczyz a Narodowi Demokraci 1908-1918*, Warsaw 1980, p. 77ff.

It might generally be assumed that the younger generation was more inclined to support what may be called the independence movement, while the older generation was generally oriented towards the “national democratic”, or nationalist, trend. This is clearly visible in M. Römer’s 1915 Memorandum, in which he made a point that insofar as Polish National Democracy in Vilnius was pro-Russian, they were separated from the main stream of society, but once they reoriented their approach, the ranks of their supporters significantly broadened. In fact, after 1918, *endecja* dominated the Polish politics in Vilnius.²⁴

POLISH-SPEAKING PEASANTS

In the ranks of the peasantry living in historical Lithuania one can identify people of Polish descent alongside Lithuanians, Ruthenians (Belarusians and Ukrainians), Russians (Old Believers), Karaites, and probably a number of lesser national/ethnic elements.

Among the Polish-speaking peasants were farmers from typical peasant families, but also representatives of the degraded and outcast petty noblemen (called *‘odnodvortsy* and *ghrazhdanie* from the Western Provinces of the Russian Empire), most of whom at the end of the 19th century, were known as *chynsheviki* – farmers who paid land rent after the 1861 emancipation reform that abolished serfdom.

This group featured peasants from quite wealthy families, the owners of middle-sized farms, as well as some poor and non-landowning individuals.

Their national/ethnic roots varied. No adequate research has been made on this issue, but one would agree that they were part Polish and part Lithuanian descent. Nonetheless, the vast majority probably consisted of Polonised Belarusians who constituted a significant portion of the peasantry. Those ethnic divisions were very flexible and fluid, and very often depended on the political situation in the country. Their declared identity was often a side effect of political occurrences which overwhelmed the inhabitants of historical Lithuania – examples being the January Uprising of 1863–4, or the 1905 Revolution.

Belarusians indisputably formed the most numerous ethnic group, primarily in the southern and eastern territories of historical Lithuania. Also, they were the most neglected and most subordinated social group. They often called themselves “locals”, thus in a way escaping the consequences of defining their ethnicity or national status. These “locals” – almost in their entirety – supported the Orthodox Church, and the Tsarist authorities treated them as Russians.²⁵ Those of Catholic background were

²⁴ M. Römer, op. cit., pp. 65–78.

²⁵ D. Staliūnas, *Making Russians. Meaning and Practice of Russification in Lithuania and Belarus after 1863*, Amsterdam–New York 2007, pp. 71–120. See also: R. Radzik, *Między zbiorowością etniczną a wspólnotą narodową. Białorusini na tle przemian narodowych w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej XIX stulecia*, Lublin 2000, p. 149ff.

defined as Poles. Naturally, they spoke Polish as well as Belarusian, and this is why I personally see them as part of the Polish-speaking peasantry.

This division between the “Orthodox Russians” and “Catholic Poles” proved most apparent in this territory throughout the 19th century. The Catholic Lithuanian peasantry became isolated and separated from the other communities by the Tsarist authorities, at first, in Kaunas Province (Kovno Province) in Samogitia, and subsequently also in other provinces of the Empire’s Western region.

Because of their Slavic ties, Belarusians, with their political ideology advocating transformation into a modern nation, were the most seductive element for both Poles and Russians. After 1918, Polish policies with respect to Belarusians living in the eastern areas of the Second Republic were, frankly speaking, catastrophic and devastating. This is evidenced by the research of Józef Obrębski and Seweryn Wysłouch (their works having been recently published).²⁶ Since there was virtually no room for a reasonable approach to Belarusian national identity, Belarusians mostly bet on the Bolshevik option.

Polonisation trends were triggered after the January Uprising of 1863-4, in parallel with the Lithuanian and Belarusian national revivals. These phenomena have not yet been researched in detail by modern historiographers. Still, their importance was realised by Polish historiography and social studies before 1939. For instance, Władysław Wielhorski’s works pointed out the regression of the Lithuanian language in the 19th century, appeared a trend whereby it was replaced by local Belarusian or Polish dialects.²⁷

In summary, one must say that Polish-speaking peasantry in historical Lithuania, though perhaps rather scarce and differentiated from an ethnic point of view, were still visible or, in certain areas, even predominant – as in the area surrounding the city of Vilnius at the beginning of the 20th century.

CLERGY

At least since the 1880s/1890s, the Roman Catholic clergy were divided into two separate camps – modern Lithuanians and Poles. The tragic moments when those divisions started to become pronounced and socially noticeable appeared in the early years of the 20th century, epitomised by Polish-Lithuanian quarrels over the language of holy mass. As Michał Römer put it, the Roman Catholic clergy were altogether anti-Russian, which was true for Polish priests, as well as for the clergy’s Lithuanian core. Nevertheless, the national divisions – Polish versus Lithuanian – were very much in evidence.

As regards the Orthodox clergy, they were wholly pro-Russian for a change, and despite their predominantly Belarusian roots, most of them supported the Russian

²⁶ S. Wysłouch, *Stosunki narodowościowe na terenie województw wschodnich [Wilno 1939/40]*, ed. M. Iwanow, Warsaw 2013; J. Obrębski, *Polesie*, ed. A. Engelking, Warsaw 2007.

²⁷ W. Wielhorski, *Litwa etnograficzna*, Wilno 1928, pp. 132-142.

Empire and acted as a kind of transmission belt for Russification processes within the country. Their categories of thinking were basically Moscovian, which even extended to technicalities such as the measure of time and the calendar – these old systems were preserved even after the October Revolution, when the Moscow Orthodox Patriarchate was subdued by the Bolshevik secret police – the Cheka and, subsequently, the NKVD.

The Protestant clergy were, in general, pro-Polish, as they were associated with the local intelligentsia who defined themselves as Polish.

CONCLUSION

In the 17th century, Vilnius (and Lithuania, generally) was a very tolerant environment, where anyone could spend their life in multi-ethnic surroundings without being bothered by other groups. An excellent description is provided in the recent book by David Frick: *Kith, Kin and Neighbors. Communities & Confessions in Seventeenth-Century Wilno*²⁸. The inhabitants were Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Lutheran and Calvinist, as well as Russian (Muscovian): Old Believers, Muslim Tatars, Mosaic Jews, Karaites, and other lesser communities. Moreover, they represented a multi-ethnic environment, composed of proto-nationals: Poles, Lithuanians, Ruthenians (Belarusians), Germans (Saxons), French, Italians, Scots, and many others. So, what happened to that colourful and variegated mosaic at the end of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century after nearly three centuries of relatively peaceful coexistence – especially in the area of Vilnius?

Some of the previous divisions survived.²⁹ The ethnic environment preserved many of its specific age-old features. On the other hand, the language implementation processes were considerably accelerated. Polish, whose use in public places was outlawed by the Tsarist authorities after the January Uprising, earned a special popularity and grounded its foundations as the most popular tool of interpersonal relations, in spite of the official support and glorification of Russian language. The other languages – Belarusian, Jewish (Yiddish), Lithuanian (old dialects and the new literary language), and a number of others, were still present and in use. Despite this, the Polonisation trend was overwhelming across all social spheres. All those Polish-speaking local inhabitants, despite their ethnic roots, could be defined as “old Lithuanians” – and for a significant part of this group the Polish option was a straightforward choice.

²⁸ D. Frick, *Kith, Kin and Neighbors. Communities and Confessions in Seventeenth-Century Wilno*, Ithaca-London 2013, pp. 2–19.

²⁹ A. Puksztó, *Między społeczeńścią a Partykularyzmem. Wielonarodowościowe społeczeństwo Wilna w latach 1919–1920*, Wrocław 2006, p. 26ff.

III

SCHOLARLY LIFE

CHAPTER 12

SCIENCE FOR THE MASSES – THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF POLISH AND SOVIET SCIENCE POPULARISATION IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD

“Painting is self-discovery. Every good painter paints what he is”
– Jackson Pollock

Science communication has probably been one of the most forgotten and hidden elements to influence the process that resulted in an amazing solution by the entire communist puzzle – and, ultimately, in the collapse of the system.

* * *

A characteristic feature of science popularisation in the late post-industrial era of the 20th century was the dissemination of scientific information among large sectors of society (the “masses” in Marxist-Leninist parlance).³⁰ This information would be used on both sides of the Iron Curtain, but with different aims in view.

Western democracies, in general, advocate popularising the latest scientific knowledge throughout society for its educational value, although it has often also been used to create media sensation. In the countries of the Eastern Bloc after World War Two, especially in the USSR and in Poland – our main points of reference here – scientific information served as an essential element of political propaganda. The term “scientific consciousness”, much in use at that time, designated a materialistic point of view. Its decline had been announced in the West back in the 1950s, but it was still very much alive in the East³¹. Science in the Eastern Bloc had to demonstrate the superiority of the “real socialist” political system (communism-*in-spe*) over capitalism, as a whole.

³⁰ J.T. Andrews, *Science for the Masses: The Bolshevik State, Public Science, and the Popular Imagination in Soviet Russia, 1917–1934*, Texas 2003. The title of my essay deliberately cites the title of J.T. Andrews’s book. This catchphrase was the most popular advertisement for science dissemination of the period, both in Soviet Russia and in Poland after World War II.

³¹ H. Skolimowski, *Zmierzch światopoglądu naukowego*, London 1974; See the latest book offering a contemporary view on the topic: D.M. Stokes, *The Conscious Mind and the Material World: On Psi, the Soul and the Self*, London 2007.

Thus, the popularisation of science was a crucial tool to demonstrate and prove this superiority, not infrequently using quite primitive, vulgar methods.



[Fig. 1: Jackson Pollock – Lavender Mist, 1950 (National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC).]

In the 1950s, the situation in science communication to some extent resembled the state of affairs in the world of modern art (Fig. 1). The West was already dominated by modern abstract paintings, like Jackson Pollock's compositions, while unreconstructed socialist realism ruled in the East, based on patterns deeply rooted in the 19th century. In both the arts and sciences in the West, democracy and freedom of expression stood in contradiction to the political aims of old-style communist superiority implemented in the East. The level of complexity in the sciences and in their approach to the crucial scientific issues on both sides of the Iron Curtain were quite similar, but the methods of expressing this complexity to the people and the way it was presented to a broader audience transparently differed. In socialist-realist terms, the portrait of the scientist was a realistic depiction in the mode of a working-class hero (i.e. the proletariat). The scientist had to be recognisable, ideologically correct, and deeply convinced about the bright future of communist science. There was no place for any abstract and non-depictive solutions, nor for searching for any new forms of creating dialogue with the public. This was also true for the way general scientific questions were presented – everything had to be explained simply and straightforwardly, and based on “correct” politics.³²

One can acknowledge several stages of science dissemination in Eastern society. These stages coincided with subsequent periods in the political history of the Eastern

³² J. Sadowski, *Między Pałacem Rad i Pałacem Kultury. Studium kultury totalitarnej*, Cracow 2009.

Bloc. For the countries of East Central Europe, the most tragic was the period directly after World War II, until 1956 and the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). The political thaw which began soon after improved the situation in cultural and social life, and also embraced academia, science and its dissemination, but it ended very rapidly at the close of the 1950s. Neither Nikita Khrushchev nor Leonid Brezhnev wanted to make these changes permanent. Therefore, their satellites, Władysław Gomułka in Poland among them, reined in this fresh political breeze³³, mindful of the bloodbath enacted by the Soviets in the streets of Budapest.³⁴

The decadent period of Stalinism was characterised – on the one hand – by the ubiquitous influence of ideology on science and its popularisation, which was widely and easily recognised in obligatory quotations from classic texts by Marx, Lenin and Stalin, and contained in the opening and closing of every book on science. On the other hand, the permanent bans on research and information concerning forbidden disciplines and restricted areas of study was a constant phenomenon. This affected cybernetics, some fields of biology, the chromosomal theory of heredity, behavioural psychology, and a limited number of areas in linguistics, history, philosophy, and sociology. Many spheres of the humanities were particularly subjected to considerable censorship. Within the framework of the battle against cosmopolitanism that started in the USSR in the second half of the 1940s, most scientific relations with the West remained disrupted, and many of the spheres mentioned were officially condemned as “bourgeois” or “backward”. This was a side effect of the communist authorities’ fear of the reaction of millions of Red Army soldiers returning home after having seen the West – and its incomparably higher standard of living in Europe, compared to the USSR. The battle against cosmopolitanism, conducted by Leningrad’s First Secretary, Andrei Zhdanov, soon became known among the people as *Zhdanovshchina*. His official addresses were received as the benchmark for all scientific and artistic circles, blessed by his insignia of authority. Zhdanov indicated what was right and wrong in scientific theories and practice, as they were reconciled with Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism.³⁵

Simultaneously, obligatory propaganda concerning the successes of Soviet science flourished. Books and articles convinced of these successes were published in incredibly large print runs of even millions of copies. Most of them were straight translations from Russian into Polish, very often simplified and narrow in scope. The conviction of Soviet superiority in the sciences continued to spreading, backed by Soviet officials. In the 1960s, Leopold Infeld (one of Albert Einstein’s collaborators, who decided to return to Poland seduced by the communist authorities, and who quickly became one of the

³³ W. Władyka, *Na czołówce: prasa w październiku 1956 roku*, Warsaw 1989.

³⁴ 1956 – *The Hungarian Revolution and War for Independence*, eds. L. Congdon, B.K. Kiraly, K. Nagy, Boulder 2006; see also: 1956 – *Budapest: Węgrzy, Polacy: twarze i losy*, ed. Ö. Csete, Warsaw 2000.

³⁵ R. Service, *A History of Twentieth-Century Russia*, Cambridge 1998, p. 318.

godfathers of modern Polish physics) wrote in his memoirs: "Because of the isolation, some of the Soviet scientists lost their sense of proportion in the evaluation of some phenomena: namely, many scientific discoveries whose authors are renown all around the world were attributed exclusively to Soviet scholars."³⁶ Practically all disciplines which did not have representatives in Soviet scholarly life were condemned as "idealistic".

The effect of this was, first of all, the gradual decline of the social and natural sciences. The former took place under the careful eye of Josef Stalin himself, and the latter were overcome by the influence of Trofim Lysenko and his zealots. East Central Europe again slowly sank into the heavy atmosphere of a European periphery, which this part of the continent was much familiar with after the long 19th-century period without statehood, ending in the collapse of empires in the final stages of World War I. Independent thought was limited, and links to civilization gradually shattered, especially connections with the West. Poland, along with other East Central European countries, became a borderline territory under special Soviet supervision. This was as kind of "detour from periphery to periphery", but one even more deprived of any of those national and state virtues enjoyed – at least to some extent – before World War II.³⁷

An administrative system of science popularisation came into being, modelled on that in the USSR. In Poland, in 1950, a single central institution was founded – the Society of Universal Knowledge (*Towarzystwo Wiedzy Powszechnej*). However, science issues were managed exclusively by the Central Committee of Polish Communist Party (from 1948 on, known as the Polish United Workers' Party). At the top of the scholarly and scientific ladder, the Polish Academy of Sciences was established in 1952, based on the Russian and Soviet model³⁸, not only to focus on scientific research, but also to serve as the highest state office for all university and advanced academic studies. A certain part of its activity concerned the diffusion of science in society. However, the essential part, performed first and foremost, was the overwhelming censorship, which often even determined the direction and character of books in print, press articles and broadcasts. After 1956, these limitations diminished, both in Poland and, to a lesser degree, in the USSR, but they never ceased to exist.

There is no doubt that Poland was still one of the most broad-minded states in the Soviet camp at the close of the 1950s, continuing to grow even more liberal, while less restrictive relations with the West caused considerable improvement of the situation.³⁹

³⁶ L. Infeld, *Szkice z przeszłości*, Warsaw 1966, p. 243. This was also linked with the Soviet attacks on Albert Einstein in the early 1950s; Einstein was condemned in the USSR for his so-called "idealistic views".

³⁷ I.T. Berend, *Central and Eastern Europe, 1944-1993: Detour from Periphery to the Periphery*, Cambridge 1998.

³⁸ A. Vucinich, *The Soviet Academy of Sciences*, Stanford 1956; Z.A. Medvedev, *Soviet Science*, New York 1978.

³⁹ J. Connelly, *Captive University. East German, Czech, and Polish Higher Education, 1945-1956*, Chapel Hill-London 2000.

No scholars were dismissed from their positions (or at least only very few), forced to seek work as caretakers, doormen, gatekeepers, stokers or bus and tram drivers (as was common in the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary). Those professors who were not permitted to work with students continued to perform research at the Polish Academy of Sciences. After 1956, they were even allowed to publish books and articles. Those who faced no objections from the authorities could even travel abroad. The atmosphere in universities improved as well. Some scholars were allowed to return to university lecturing and other activities. Some non-governmental channels gave them opportunities to publish in semi-independent newspapers and journals, most of them associated with the Catholic Church. From this point on, Poland was unique in the Eastern Bloc.

Yet there were still many areas which remained under the overpowering influence of ideology (especially economics and the political sciences). In the 1960s and 1970s, the diffusion of science in Poland gradually became depoliticised. Among other things, mass editions of Western scientific literature appeared. Polish translations of these books and journals even became available in the USSR.

However, in the middle of the 1960s, this complex situation was symptomatic of the Communist Party's approach to intellectuals. On the one hand, the Central Committee declared that it had no intention of involving the Party in specific jobs or the workshops of men-of-letters, but on the other hand, socialist realism was declared the preferred mode of expression. In March 1964, thirty-three intellectuals prepared a letter to the Prime Minister, in which they protested against "paper rationing" (its allocation was limited by the state), as well as against "sharpened censure in the press". The authorities reacted by starting a campaign criticising those who had signed the protest letter.⁴⁰ The main argument advanced by the state was that no book or press article could be allowed to contradict the ideas of socialism.

The main question remains: why was Poland allowed to enjoy greater freedom than other Soviet satellite states? Why was Polish science not treated as restrictively as the neighbouring states? In my opinion, there are at least two answers. On the one hand, Poland was treated as a kind of experimental area in the Soviet Bloc, and this special status was consciously accepted by the Soviets. On the other, the internal policy of the Polish communist authorities was less ideologically limited, and a bit more independent from the Big-Brother-style oversight further eastwards, at least as far as the limited liberties in the country were concerned. It is possible that both answers are equally correct to some degree.

⁴⁰ A. Paczkowski, *Pół wieku dziejów Polski 1939-1989*, Warsaw 1995, p. 374.

EUROPEAN MILIEU, POLISH AND RUSSIAN TRADITIONS. THE
LEGACY OF THE 19TH CENTURY

Despite the fact that Soviet influence on Poland persisted, a distinct and recognisable Polish tradition still survived, based on 18th, and 19th-century heritage. Both Poland and the Soviet Union – treated as a continuum of Tsarist Russia – had their own established traditions of communicating science. In the USSR, there were a great number of journals, book series, open lectures, and the like, established before the Revolution of 1917, many of which continued in some form – although often they were forced to change direction and condemn their legacy.⁴¹ This legacy was, of course, typically European – a tradition similar to the French, German and English patterns.

Similarly, the tradition in Poland had its roots in the Age of Enlightenment and had flourished since the Positivist epoch of the 1860s. The journals and book series published in the second half of the 19th century extended this tradition until World War II, and in some cases even until the end of the 1940s.⁴² Journals such as *Ateneum* (Athenaeum), *Gazeta Świąteczna* (Holiday Gazette), *Głos* (The Voice), *Światowid* (name of the Slavic pagan god with four faces), *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* (Illustrated Weekly), *Wędrowiec* (Rambler), *Zorza* ('Dawn') were established before 1914, and continued their activity until the end of the inter-war period, some of them began publishing revised editions after 1945.⁴³

The legacy of the 19th century and the inter-war period was very strong in Poland. When we compare the popular scientific journals from before the war with the press published in the late 1940s, many similarities are apparent. Even some of the same articles from previous versions appear, written by the same authors, which had been published for the first time in the 1920s or 1930s. The impression is that the first years of Polish everyday life after the war were a mere continuation of the previous period, which had been interrupted. Yet, it must be emphasised once more that all of this changed with the so-called "ideological offensive" of 1948. Clearly, enforcing new models to eliminate this historical tradition was not an easy task.

⁴¹ E.A. Lazarevich, *S vekom naravne. Popularizatsia nauki v Rossii. Kniga. Gazeta. Zhurnal*, Moscow 1984.

⁴² L. Zasztowt, *Popularyzacja nauki w Królestwie Polskim 1864–1905*, Wrocław 1989; idem, *Popularyzacja nauki w Polsce w latach 1918–1951*, [in:] *Historia nauki polskiej*, Vol. V: 1918–1951, Part I, pp. 604–673.

⁴³ A. Paczkowski, *Prasa polska w latach 1918–1939*, Warsaw 1980.

HOMO SOVIETICUS – COPING WITH A NEW REALITY



Oleksi Shovkunenko, Platon Biletsky and Igor Reznik. *Anthem of People's Love*. 1950-51. Oil on canvas. (400 x 600 cm)

[Fig. 2: O. Shovkunenko, P. Biletsky, I. Reznik: *Anthem of People's Love* (Yuri Maniichuk Collection, Washington, D.C)]

In spite of the tremendous efforts of the new communist authorities in Poland, it was not easy to create a new *homo sovieticus*⁴⁴ in this traditional society. To a certain extent, the circles of scholars and scientists were quite independent of the new rulers' influence. There were three particular reasons for this – particularly that the universities still enjoyed a high degree of academic freedom and autonomy. There was even a Catholic University in Lublin, subordinated to the Church hierarchy. Even in the newly created Polish Academy, the authorities had to accept nearly all professors – including those who were forbidden to teach and had to be sequestered to prevent any contact with, and influence on, the teenagers and students, as already mentioned above. In this period, Poland entirely differed from the USSR, where ceremonies to commemorate Generalissimus Josef Stalin as “Leader of the People of the World” were a constant feature, as in the painting *The Anthem of People's Love* (Fig. 2). In Poland, these kinds of events took place at the end of the 1940s. The cult of world leader was

⁴⁴ M. Geller, *Cogs in the Soviet Wheel: The Formation of Soviet Man*, London 1988.

reserved exclusively for Stalin, but a small, mini-cult of personality was created to elevate Comrade Bolesław Bierut, the President and First Secretary of the Polish Communist Party.

Simultaneously, the authorities began systematically to create a new social consciousness “based on science” (meaning, Marxism). They focused their efforts on the ranks of the Polish intelligentsia, who were laic and secular in their views (and this applied to a significant percentage of pre-war Polish intellectuals). A specific feature of this flirtation of the intelligentsia with the communist authorities is depicted superbly by Czesław Miłosz in his collection of essays *The Captive Mind*.⁴⁵ John Connelly’s idea of the “captive university” was to some extent a reflection of a broader phenomenon of the “captive mind”. Explaining this issue in detail would extend beyond the scope of this article. But there is a significant book written by Ryszard Herczyński – one of those who seduced by the new rulers early on – entitled “The Trammelled Science – The Intellectual Opposition in Poland 1945–70”. The final moment of illumination for the circles of leftist intellectuals in Poland was first the end of the 1956 thaw, and subsequently the officially inspired anti-Semitic campaign of March 1968. This particularly was the moment that witnessed a stampede to convert from the official ideology to contesting it, which included outstanding scholars, writers, philosophers and scientists.⁴⁶ However, in the 1940s and 1950s, the communist state enjoyed something like a hypnotic power over many. The new government could not only offer participation in progressive and revolutionary enterprises and activities, but also could take exclusive care of prominent authors and scholars.

Furthermore, the circulation of books grew enormously, as did the number of titles. Thus, these opportunities for intellectuals to spread their wings were very seductive. Over half of the books printed in Poland between 1944 and 1951 were connected with science and its popularisation.⁴⁷ But most of them were devoted to the exact and natural sciences, while only a fraction covered the humanities⁴⁸ (aside from mass editions on politics, of course). One must remember, however, that statistics in Poland were falsified permanently from 1948 on. The most prestigious publishing houses, or, more precisely, those officially supported by the state, were *Czytelnik* (The Reader), *Wiedza Powszechna* (Universal Knowledge), *Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych* (The State Institute for Educational Editions), the cooperatives *Książka* (Book, a branch of the Communist Party) and *Wiedza* (Knowledge, a branch of the Socialist Party). Later both cooperatives were merged into one state-owned publishing house, *Książka i Wiedza* (‘Book and Knowledge’).

⁴⁵ C. Miłosz, *The Captive Mind*, New York 1990.

⁴⁶ R. Herczyński, *Spętana nauka. Opozycja intelektualna w Polsce 1945–1970*, Warsaw 2008.

⁴⁷ L. Zasztowt, *Popularyzacja nauki w Polsce w latach 1918–1951*, p. 648.

⁴⁸ A. Bromberg, *Książki i wydawcy. Ruch wydawniczy w Polsce Ludowej w latach 1944–1957*, Warsaw 1958.

Some of the private firms managed to survive until 1947, like *Gebethner i Wolff*, *Książnica-Atlas*, *Trzaska*, *Evert i Michalski*, or *Stanisław Arct*. After 1948, all publishing production was subordinated to the state and none of the private enterprise survived.

With regard to journals and newspapers, in 1945, there were 376 titles, but in the following years this jumped to 723 (1946), 777 (1947), and even 880 in 1948. These numbers fell in 1949, but we do not have any exact statistics on this development, as state statistics were classified. But in 1953, when the authorities decided to resume publishing of data, there were only 376 titles – exactly the same number as at the end of war.

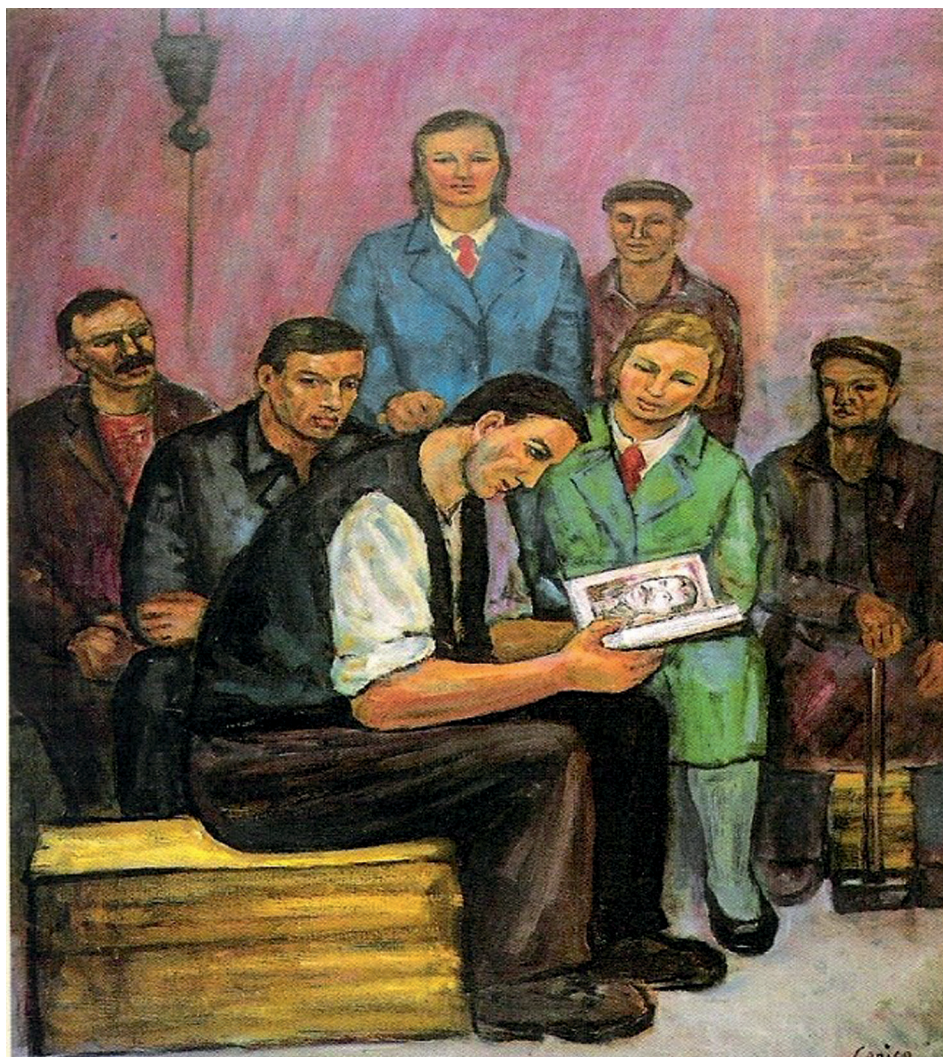
The most popular new titles were weeklies (sometimes monthlies): *Odrodzenie* (Revival), *Kuźnica* (Ironworks), *Nowiny Literackie* (Literary News), *Wiedza i Życie* (Knowledge and Life), *Problemy* (Problems), *Nauka i Sztuka* (Science and Art), *Życie Nauk* (The Life of Science), *Książka i Kultura* (Book and Culture). All of these journals stressed the value of science dissemination, and except for two Catholic journals – one of them Krakow's *Tygodnik Powszechny* (Universal Weekly) – all advertised and propagated a materialistic point of view.⁴⁹ However, at the same time it must be acknowledged that the articles and texts were often written by the best scholars and professors at the time, as well as by the most prominent scientists. The quality of the articles was generally quite high, and as a rule the name of author was a guarantee regarding the content. Very few journalists decided to fulfil the authorities' expectations in the field of sciences. It became clear to those in power that its offensive against the sciences, and their battle with pre-war professors, must be inspired by, and based on, the new, young generation of scholars. Such a campaign finally took place at the beginning of the 1950s, but results were very limited.

POLISH POLITICALLY CONTROLLED LIBERALISM VS. RUSSIAN HARDLINERS IN SCIENCE

In the USSR, Khrushchev's thaw ended in 1957, followed a year later in Poland. People were no longer interested in reading more writings by the Great Leader of the Revolution, despite the group scene depicted in the Alfred Lenica painting (Fig. 3). But the situation in Poland still looked more unconstrained and liberal than next door, in Big Brother country. Poland began to play a rather unique role in the Eastern Bloc. In particular, there was no collectivisation on a mass scale, and limited private ownership and small enterprise were tolerated. Also, the Catholic Church, very popular among the people, was quite independent. And finally, the intellectual atmosphere in Poland was still incomparably freer than in the USSR, Czechoslovakia or the GDR.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Even in *Tygodnik Powszechny* the Marxist approach to science was discussed in detail, mostly by Fr. Jan Piwowarczyk; see: J. Piwowarczyk, *Wobec nowego czasu (z publicystyki 1945–1950)*, Cracow 1985.

⁵⁰ J. Connelly, *Captive University...*



[Fig. 3: Alfred Lenica: *A Self-Education Group*, 1950.]

Gomułka attempted to bear-hug the country into his muscular political clutches, but the effect of his efforts was quite limited.

One thing should be explained here. In Poland in the 1960s, Marxism found itself in a zone that was only partly controlled by the Party. Most prominent professors were allowed to develop their own materialistic philosophy quite freely, without any oppression or repercussions. Thanks to this efficient stimulus, Polish Marxism found a very

positive reception in the West. Of course, there were certain significant influences, above all from French circles, mostly the *Annales* school (represented by Marc Bloch, Jacques Le Goff, and others). This influence was evident. One of the most famous Polish thinkers and historians of the period was Witold Kula; the other became the philosopher Leszek Kołakowski. All of this had an important impact on the communication of science in Poland. Between 1956 and the end of the 1950s, there was no vulgar or primitive science propaganda, or at least it occurred on a very limited scale.⁵¹

On the other side of the border, in the USSR, everything had long since returned to the previous, semi-Stalinist mainstream. Khrushchev preferred socialist realism in the arts and traditional Marxism-Leninism in the social sciences.

However, from the point of view of the exact and applied sciences, during this period in particular, the USSR ascended to the peak of its technological potency. At the time, popular opinion largely agreed that the Soviet Union had already overtaken the United States, especially in the field of space exploration (Yuri Gagarin became the first human being in space by orbiting the Earth in 1961).⁵² The space flight successes began to become a Russian *spécialité de la maison*, soon reflected in the growing popularity of science-fiction literature.

This literature became one of the most popular forms of science popularisation in both East and West, inspiring the minds of people around the world. It should be added that Stanisław Lem, a Pole, was already acknowledged as one of its pioneers on both sides of the Iron Curtain. His novels and short-story collections, such as *The Astronauts* (1951), *The Magellanic Cloud* (1955) and, later, *The Star Dairies* (1957) and *The Invasion from Aldebaran* (1959) were subsequently translated into many foreign languages.

POLISH SENTIMENTS REGARDING THE WEST UNDER SOVIET SUPERVISION

The shadow of Stalin slowly faded, but the political system he created changed only in part, though stripped of most of its former cruelties, cleansings and repressions. It was a specific conglomerate of the former socialist-realism mixed with abstract painting, as in the Vagrish Bakhchianian painting *Picasso and the USSR*, depicting Stalin and an unknown pipe smoker (except that the smokers both have somewhat similar moustaches; Fig. 4).

But the wave of liberty and freedom from the West washed down a path strewn with formidable obstacles. In the 1960s, everything in the Eastern Bloc was grey – houses, shops and streets, politics, universities, and people, particularly their clothes. But gradually the gate to broader thinking began to open. Soon the situation in Poland looked quite ambivalent. On one hand, there was a state-controlled monopoly on sci-

⁵¹ A. Paczkowski, *Pół wieku...*, 1995, p. 326.

⁵² R. Service, *A History of Twentieth-Century Russia*, Cambridge 1998, p. 351.



[Fig. 4: Vagrich Bakhchanian, *Picasso and the USSR*]

ence and its diffusion. On the other, through limited contacts with the West, including left-wing newspapers, which were allowed to be sold officially, and also through radio, the space of intellectual freedom grew larger. Censorship boards allowed more and more significant *opera magna* to be translated and published in philosophy, sociology, linguistics, and history. Those areas of the humanities started to improve and gradually return to their previous eminent positions. Scholars began to travel abroad. The results soon became apparent. Soviet citizens, entirely deprived of such possibilities, but with access to Polish books and journals in the USSR, became acquainted with Western scientific and cultural innovations through the Polish language. It was probably the one and only moment in Polish-Russian and Polish-Soviet relations when Soviet citizens studied and learned Polish on such a significant scale.

POLITICAL OPPOSITION AND ITS VIEWS ON SCIENCE

SCIENCE COMMUNICATION AND MASS EDUCATION – UNEXPECTED RESULTS OF SOCIAL CHANGES

At the beginning of the 1970s, Poland, under freshly elected First Secretary Edward Gierek, opened the door to the West. Poles could now travel abroad – and not just party officials or renowned athletes and artists. Many young people not only brought hard-earned *valuta* (cash from the West), but also books and information. Since the mid-1960s, there had been a growing political opposition in the country. After March 1968, when the exodus of Polish intellectuals of Jewish extraction was triggered by a state-controlled and state-inspired anti-Semitic campaign, the opposition was closely linked with the university milieu.⁵³

University circles soon began underground activity. In 1977, the so-called “Flying University” and the Society of Scientific Courses were founded.⁵⁴ Both were connected with the Workers’ Defence Committee (KOR), and started a broad programme of open lectures, unfettered by any censorship, aimed at the younger generation. Simultaneously, there emerged the quasi-mass *samizdat* production (from the Russian “*samodeiatel’noie izdatiel’svo*” – independent publishing house/activity). Those books which had not made it past the censors were published outside the official state system.

The effect of these activities was overwhelming. On the one hand, the practice of official censorship diminished; on the other, books printed outside state control became increasingly popular. The titles of the *samizdat* stream include nearly all of the most important books on science whose publication had been banned for political reasons.

What changed on the popular science market? First of all, voices were heard that represented a point of view totally at odds with the official line on many crucial scientific questions. The main areas and directions where the *samizdat* activity was the most vigorous were the humanities and social sciences, including history, sociology, anthropology, political sciences, psychology, and linguistics, but also philology. The barriers built around the exact sciences, technology, medicine and natural sciences had disappeared earlier, back in the 1960s.

What was known as “real socialism” brought tremendous social advancement for many sectors of the population in Poland and in the USSR for those people who previously had very limited prospects of a university education, and little chance to change their social status significantly.⁵⁵ The regime tried to create its own, new elite, and its own social and political base supported by the lower strata of society.

⁵³ J. Eisler, *Marzec 1968: geneza, przebieg, konsekwencje*, Warsaw 1991; idem, *Polski rok 1968*, Warsaw 2006.

⁵⁴ R. Terlecki, *Uniwersytet Latający i Towarzystwo Kursów Naukowych 1977–1981*, Cracow 2000.

⁵⁵ G. Labuda, *Nauka, nauczanie, upowszechnianie nauki*, Warsaw 1998; *Upowszechnianie nauki w świecie: nowe doświadczenie i badania*, Wrocław 1990.

The unexpected result of these social changes in Poland was that the newly educated people identified themselves not with the communist authorities, but with the anti-communist opposition; in effect, with the old and traditional values of Polish culture. At the beginning of the 1980s, Solidarity proved that there were over 10 million such people – human beings who chose freedom, even over the comfort of economic stability. Science communication was probably one of the most forgotten and hidden elements to influence this process, that resulted in an amazing solution to the whole communist puzzle, and ultimately in the collapse of the system.

The processes which fostered “scientific” changes in the minds of the population of East Central Europe after 1945, and Poland itself, were very significant. In a simplified way, those tendencies might be defined as an urge to establish social relations based on truth, not only in sciences and scholarly life, but also in everyday life and politics – to put an end to communist double-think. This began in Poland in 1980, concluding in 1989. The USSR ceased to exist in December 1991. After years of indoctrination, the former citizens of the Soviet Union were in a much more complicated situation than Poles. On the one hand, the level of education embracing exact and natural sciences in post-Soviet society was high. On the other, the ability to discard former propaganda and to speak and think freely was limited, because of the traditional fear of the reaction of the authorities. Even Gorbachev’s *glasnost* only opened the gates to unrestrained thinking very narrowly. Soon after, the Russian Federation became the successor to the USSR, and began the process of regaining its imperial position. Therefore, after the collapse of the USSR, it is much more difficult to forecast the state of affairs in the Russian Federation, and in many of the former Soviet republics. The situation in science popularisation in these countries differs, as does the state of their scientific institutions. The social role of scholars, although they enjoy a high social esteem, is rarely decisive. They do not often have much opportunity to influence political practice. The old stereotypes concerning neighbouring countries and the West as a traditional enemy arise frequently. Does science provide any opportunity to overcome these national resentments, complexes and phobias? And is it possible to keep politicians from playing the national card in everyday political practice, especially when they are endeavouring to regain their country’s imperial position? Is the role of science in the 21st century the solution, or is it merely utopian thinking? Transposing the words of Jackson Pollock⁵⁶, is it true that every good scientist (as every good painter) studies what he is? And is research, like painting, a process of self-discovery? These questions are important both in the sciences and in everyday life. Even in the social sciences, predicting the future of the former Eastern Bloc, and especially that of the former Soviet republics, is still a serious question mark. Nevertheless, in the age of science politics, the role of decent science popularizing seems even more important and crucial.

⁵⁶ B. Novak, *Voyages of the Self: Pairs, Parallels, and Patterns in American Art and Literature*, Oxford 2007, p. 147.

SOME REMARKS ON THE FUTURE: SPLIT TRADITIONS?

The impact of politics on science communication seems very limited today. But if we look carefully at the social sciences, especially at history, political science and sociology, we might realise that the information is used – not so accidentally – as a political tool for creating common opinions and sentiments. While the situation in Poland, and in those Central European countries which have entered the European Union, looks more or less similar to the state of affairs in the old EU member countries, in the East, history is especially used more and more by the authorities to create a specific view of Europe and the United States. The post-Soviet conviction about the negative role of the West is still alive. It seems that we are experiencing a revival of the former situation – the split of approaches and the split of traditions which are used to understand the surrounding world in non-positive way. Science is once again seemingly being weaponised in order to create a certain view for the masses. Alas, Poland and Russia are good examples of what this type of situation can lead to.

CHAPTER 13

MARXISM AND THE LEAP TO THE KINGDOM OF SCIENCE – THE UNBEARABLE ISSUE OF “SCIENTIFIC CONSCIOUSNESS”

The problem which I want to focus attention on is linked with the general phenomenon of the influence of politics on science in the Eastern Bloc after the Second World War. The centre of interest here will be two countries – Poland, and to some extent also the USSR, similarly as in my previous paper presented at the International Congress of the History of Science in Budapest, entitled: *Science for the Masses – The Political Background of Polish and Soviet Science Popularization in the Post-War Period*.⁵⁷ Several thoughts and reflections presented here constitute an expansion on some issues from the previous chapter.

POINT OF DEPARTURE

However, let us begin by recalling several essential pieces of information concerning the general chronology of the history of the region. In 1945, the territory of nearly all East-Central Europe found itself within the Soviet zone.⁵⁸ This resulted in the introduction of a political system in all these countries based on the Soviet model. Until 1948, these countries kept a certain, though strongly limited, independence. After 1948, in all East-Central European states, the mono-party system was introduced, with the prevailing influence of the Communist Party. After three years of relative pluralism – considering the circumstances – in 1945–1948, accelerated political unification began. Forceful and rapid implementation of Soviet patterns and solutions started on a massive scale. This included all areas of political, social, economic, industrial, and intellectual life, and also embracing the sciences. From an administrative and organizational perspective, this was connected to establishing central, so-called “national academies” of sciences, created on the Russian and Soviet model, which were to be crucial institutions in the sphere of science – not only with respect to financ-

⁵⁷ L. Zasztowt, *Science for the masses. The political background of Polish and Soviet science popularization in the post-war period*, [in:] *Communicating Science in 20th Century Europe. A Survey on Research and Comparative Perspectives*, ed. A. Schirrmacher, Max Planck-Institute für Wissenschaftsgeschichte Preprints 385, Berlin 2009, pp. 133–145.

⁵⁸ N. Davies, *Europe. A History*, Oxford 1996, Chapter XII: *Divisa at indivisa*.

ing research within the country, but also as the main nerve-centres for leading their own studies in numerous academic institutes subordinate to them.⁵⁹ Similarly, in the sphere of science popularization, which was also partly managed by the Academies and was one of their responsibilities, there followed forced centralization from the top. In Poland, one central institution was formed to focus on science dissemination: The Society for Universal Knowledge.

The mass-influence of state propaganda on society – propaganda which also broadly used scientific information – had to serve the people and manage to transform the consciousness of citizens in the direction desired by the government.

A characteristic feature of this period was a strict connection and cohesion of scientific problems in their popular versions with ideological influences. It is very difficult to differentiate – revealing the sphere of contemporary press statements, articles and publications, but also the program manifestoes of socio-political character – between what was considered strictly scientific and what was political declarations. Conversely, the whole of this literature might be classified as an immediate remittance of certain constitutional and political foundations, delivered in written text-form, in pursuit of the indoctrination of society according to communist expectations.

One should also keep in mind that the ideological offensive mentioned above was linked with the campaign to fight cosmopolitanism in the USSR – started just after the war – and was steered by the Communist Party Secretary of Leningrad, Andrei Zhdanov, until 1948. As many experts agree regarding this problem, the campaign in question, often called *Zhdanovschina*, even lasted until the 1960s in “new member-countries” of the Eastern Bloc. This political crusade had an immediate influence on the shape of all cultural and scientific contacts between the USSR and the Occident (and the newly born Eastern Bloc countries).⁶⁰

“THE SCIENTIFIC CONSCIOUSNESS”

The term “scientific outlook on life” or “scientific consciousness” has been successfully implemented. Its decline was announced in the West already in the 1950s, but it is still in use, and even strongly supported, in the East.⁶¹ The scientific outlook on life was, in itself, a key concept – an expression underlining upcoming change. This change was intended to create – in an unwritten manner – a departure away from the “anti-scientific” approach, characteristic for the previous period (in Poland and the other East-Central European countries before 1939) and a transition to the modern

⁵⁹ A. Vucinich, *The Soviet Academy of Sciences*, Stanford 1956.

⁶⁰ This point of view is presented also by Andrzej Walicki in his newly published autobiography – A. Walicki, *Idee i ludzie. Próba autobiografii*, Warsaw 2010.

⁶¹ H. Skolimowski, *Zmierzch światopoglądu naukowego*, London 1974; the latest book with a contemporary view on the topic: D.M. Stokes, *The Conscious Mind and the Material World: on Psi, the Soul and the Self*, London 2007.

analysis of the surrounding reality in a truly scientific way. Such new forms of social reality research and the scientific approach had to be implemented after 1945.

To sum up, the scientific outlook on life had to be – as in its own theoretical foundations – progressive; according to the contemporary expression, “carrying the idea of progress”.

How was this understood? Firstly, this meant that this was to be the outlook on life based on – certainly and exclusively – a secular and lay approach to the surrounding reality. This approach also had to be preclusive and opposite to idealistic views on nature. Its essential elements were denying any meaning of religion as the elucidative tenet in world interpretations, up to and including firm religious scepticism and outright belligerent anticlericalism. On the other hand, an essential feature was the acceptance of materialistic premises as the foundation of all considerations, analyses and prognoses. Of course, the term “scientific consciousness” itself was deeply rooted, although not straightforwardly, in the traditions of the European Enlightenment and its rationalized way of thinking, and empiricism. It was also linked with the mainstream of 19th century Positivism, represented by its minimalism and its limited vision of the possibility to create any comprehensive, general theory of recognition.

In fact, scientific consciousness meant the acceptance of the foundations Marxism-Leninism (and at last Stalinism – in the USSR, from the 1930s to 1955, and in the Eastern Bloc from 1945 until 1955), as the basis of all scientific investigations in all spheres of science and in presenting its successes to the wider public. In the sphere of science popularization, this meant mostly reductions and advertising quasi-scientific visions of the world seen through the prism of the Stalinist version of Marxism.

In the 1950s and 1960s, Marxism was stupendously popular in the West. This gave this relatively new theory, still less popular in this region of Europe and introduced by order of the authorities, an ideological kick, and the birth-mark of modernity and progress. This was doubtlessly a magnet, especially for the rising generation.

During the 1940s and 1950s, until 1955–56, during the decadent period of Stalinism in the USSR – which also overlapped in Poland at the initiation stage of a new, Soviet political model – the concept of “scientific consciousness” earned a large group of devoted advocates, especially among the rising generation of scholars working in various areas of the social sciences. However, must be added that also in circles of strict and natural sciences, these new tendencies had many true supporters, some driven by opportunism. In the sphere of spreading of science, a side effect of this phenomenon was the unparalleled vulgarization of its broadcast, starting with the appearance of obligatory quotations from the classics of Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist thought – the *opera magna* of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin – in all books; not only those concerning scientific matters. This also encompassed Ph.D. dissertations and all degree theses, including books written in order to qualify for professorships, mostly in humanities and social sciences, but also in natural and exact disciplines.

PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS – MARXISM

The philosophical and ideological foundations were very simple. The authorities promoted an idea that only Marxism and a materialistic outlook on life could be acknowledged as authentic scientific consciousness. To paraphrase the title of the well-known and excellent book of Andrzej Walicki *Marxism and the Leap to the Kingdom of Freedom*⁶², Marxism had to not only be a wide-open gate to social freedom, but also – and perhaps even most of all – a convenient route leading to the kingdom of science and objective scientific recognition.

The current understanding of the qualification the “scientific outlook on life” (in Russian: *nauchnoie mirovozrenie*), preferred by the new communist authorities – and in fact identified with contemporary Marxism in its official, Soviet version – seemed to be bright and intelligible. However, a deeper viewing shows that the “scientific consciousness”, as a system of meanings and approaches, did not exist, even in its own popular and politically popularized version.

In the Stalinist *Short Philosophical Dictionary* (its fifth edition was released in the USSR in 1954, a year later in Poland), the following definition was written: “To detect the objective rules of nature and society, the leading, scientific outlook on life disposes activities of the people in compliance with the progressive development of the whole of society, and by this accelerates its development. Reactionary, anti-scientific consciousness serves the old, decadent classes and holds back the development of societies.”⁶³ Earlier one ascertained *explicite*: “A consistently scientific consciousness is the dialectical and historic materialism – the outlook on life of the Marxist-Leninist party.”⁶⁴

To invoke Andrzej Walicki’s analyses presented in his work about Marxism it appears that “scientific consciousness” evolved from “classical” Marxism in its 19th century version (with rudiments and commentaries from the beginning of the 20th century), toward Marxism-Leninism, and finally to Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. Its base was the reinterpretation of Friedrich Engels’ theory of scientific socialism, written perfectly – as they thought – by the communist authorities. In this reinterpretation, Engels’ concept was transposed to the creation – or close to the idea – of so-called “scientific consciousness”.⁶⁵ However, even this approach was subject to certain, often even essential, changes in relation to the classical understanding of Marxism.

In Lenin’s concept, as in Marx’s point of view, the dictatorship of the proletariat was the main ruling force, both concerning social life and scientific exploration. As Walicki proves, Stalinist Marxism was also based on this foundation and gradually

⁶² A. Walicki, *Marxism and the Leap to the Kingdom of Freedom: The Rise and Fall of the Communist Utopia*, Stanford 1995.

⁶³ ‘Consciousness’, an entry in: *Short Philosophical Dictionary* (*Krótki słownik filozoficzny*), ed. M. Rozentel, P. Judin, translation from the fourth Russian edition, Warsaw 1955, p. 666.

⁶⁴ Ibidem, p. 665.

⁶⁵ A. Walicki, *Marxism and the Leap...*, chapter: *Engels and “Scientific Socialism”*.

became an effective tool to understand – equally – the past, present, and future of the world. In other words, the element of social relations in human society was placed first and further raised to the dignity of the main, general rule governing the world of nature. This conviction was fixed by the cult and worship of Stalin – someone who possessed the secret of nature, and equally, perfectly acquainted with the laws of social order and powers that rule the world, thus also able to foresee the future⁶⁶.

THE PRACTICE AND REALITIES OF EVERYDAY LIFE – REVISIONISM

Among young students in Poland, especially in social sciences circles, many outstanding individuals accepted the above-mentioned foundations as obligatory dogmas of scientific thinking in the decadent period of Stalinism. This situation was prolonged in Poland, still the country with a little more freedom than other satellite states of the Eastern Bloc, and in the USSR, itself, until 1956. For many research workers and intellectuals, 1956 became a decisive year for many reasons. On the one hand, after the 20th Congress of the CPSU and the secret report by Nikita Khrushchev, displaying the distortions and errors of Stalinism, many lost all illusions connected with the communist system – or more precisely – with so-called “real socialism”. On the other hand, many of them still remained within the orbit of Marxism, though entered upon the path of contesting the political system. This whole generation, the pillars of which were, among others, scholars connected with the Warsaw school of the history of ideas, represented by such leading figures as Leszek Kołakowski, Bronisław Baczko, Jerzy Szacki⁶⁷, and others, soon became labelled as “revisionists”. What was their revisionism based on?

These scholars were connected to, and rooted mostly in, the environment of the social sciences, most from philosophy, sociology and history. They agreed that Marxism, as a scientific theory, was an acceptable and even useful tool. But the practical methods of realizing these ideas were warped, and the political system present in Poland in the 1960s was a system which needed serious correction and revision from the side of practical realization of communist and Marxist ideals. Still, they continued to think – as it would appear on banners in 1970 – “socialism – yes, warps and distortions – no”. The constitutional foundations were correct, but their realization gave rise to numerous unprofitable occurrences which, however, could lead to overheating. Many pointed out at the time the constitutional faults they formulated: the lack and limitation of the liberty of speech and freedom of statement, the growingly more intense censure (also in science), and simultaneously, the doctrinal approach to Marxism itself, whose manner of interpretation was forced by the orders of the authorities – in

⁶⁶ Ibidem, chapter: *Stalinist Marxism as a Total View of the World*, p. 426.

⁶⁷ A. Walicki, *W kręgu “Warszawskiej szkoły historii idei”*, “Nauka Polska”, Vol. XVII: 2009, pp. 107–122.
R. Sitek, *Warszawska szkoła historii idei. Między historia a teraźniejszością*, Warsaw 1999.

this case, by the Political Bureau and the Central Committee of the Communist Party. All the criticized phenomena mentioned here were characteristic for the situation in all countries of the Eastern Bloc, not only in Poland, but (especially) in the USSR.

The truth is that already in the 1950s, thanks to the relations of Polish scholars with the academic milieu in the USSR, the Poles realized that the Soviet political system had very little in common with Marxist ideals, and with any “scientific approach” to reality.

REVISIONISTS AND PASSIVE ANTI-COMMUNISTS

Thus, since 1956, we have to deal with the partition of the academic milieu in Poland. Aside from the mentioned group, the so-called “revisionists”, there was a considerable circle of scholars who tried to separate themselves from any ideological influences, or even ostentatiously seclude themselves from Marxism, as such. Following political crises in Poland and in the Eastern Bloc – in 1968, in Poland and in Czechoslovakia, in 1970, with bloody strikes on the north-coast of Poland, strikes in 1976, and then the period of the first “Solidarity” at the beginning of 1980s, caused serious changes. The group of intellectuals and scientists who identified with Marxism gradually, but systematically, fused, while the ranks of those standing in opposition not only to Marxism, but mostly against the ruling authorities of Poland, swelled and expanded.

In fact, Marxist revisionism finally burnt away after 1968 in Poland. Leszek Kołakowski settled at Oxford University in England, while the above-mentioned Andrzej Walicki, one of the best experts on the history of Marxism in Europe and Russia, although unaffiliated and not recognized as part of the circle of revisionists, went to the University of Notre Dame in the United State; many others proceeded similarly.

CONSEQUENCES

What were the consequences of the mentioned leap to the kingdom of science? In Poland, the aftereffect of debates and discussions on the scientific consciousness and the errors and distortions of the political system, served by critiques on the part of the scientific milieu, initiated a gradual renaissance and revival of research, especially in the area of the humanities and social sciences. Such historians as Witold Kula, Nina Assorodobraj, Jerzy Topolski, Antoni Mączak, and many others who started out in Marxism, lasted permanently in their own Marxian approach, but were first of all as explorers of social and economic life in the past, since this particular moment could not be accepted in traditional, Soviet categories of Marxism. Thereby, many of them were acknowledged in the USSR for their approach, as apostates of a classical tenet. This resulted in the isolation of Polish scientific circles in the Eastern Bloc. Polish scholars were often treated as suspicious elements, considerably more dangerous than many progressive scientists from West Germany, France, Britain, and even the United

States. The Poles impaired and demolished the traditional understanding of Marxism in its accepted Soviet version. On the other hand, Polish scholars were rapturously and enthusiastically accepted in the West. Their research and approach to scientific creation often overlapped with the main stream of considerations of the academic elite in the West.

Separate relationships existed in the social sciences, especially with the French circle of the *Annales* school, represented in France by such authorities as Marc Bloch, Jacques Le Goff and many others. In fact, in Poland, the majority of historians, not to mention sociologists and philosophers, was aware of those ties and close relationships with the French school.⁶⁸ The break with doctrinal Marxism in Poland also met with warm acceptance in the United States, where – as one might judge – intellectual breaches made by the academic environment in the monolith of the quasi-communist system, were treated as announcements impending changes for the better. At that moment, no one supposed that the system would fall at the end of the 1980s.

So gradually, the unbearable matter of the scientific consciousness was left behind. In the 1970s, more and more seldom did one meet with appeals to Marxism and declaring that the methodology – no matter which area of scientific research – was based on the foundations of “scientific consciousness”. This did not of course mean that such-like assumptions were not accepted automatically, or that consciously and in an unwritten fold no mention was made of its investigative premises. However, already in the 1980s it was impossible to find anyone open declaring these premises in the form of ideological passwords. It could be found only in party resolutions and documents, or in different instances of the Polish United Workers’ Party – academic life became completely de-politicized and anti-ideological.

The social inquiries driven at the end of the 1960s, by the request of the communist security service concerning opinions and attitudes of scientific circles, showed the growing degree of criticism towards the surrounding reality and political system in Poland. This criticism increased proportionally with the level of formal education. Below is an original quotation concerning the level of acceptance of the information diffused by the press:

“24% of graduates of elementary schools are satisfied with the information from the Polish press. After finishing college, this percentage diminished to 19%, and after successful graduation from a university education, to 11%. The number of persons clearly unsatisfied with information received thru the Polish press amounts to 29% of graduates of elementary schools, and rises to 39% among persons with a higher education.”⁶⁹

⁶⁸ P. Pleskot, *Intelektualni sąsiedzi. Kontakty polskich historyków z francuskim środowiskiem “Annales” w latach 1945-1989*, Warsaw 2009.

⁶⁹ H. Głębocki, *Uczelnie wyższe w PRL jako obiekt kontroli operacyjnej ze strony SB (wybrane problemy na przykładzie Krakowa w latach 1975-1989)*, [w:] *Naukowcy władzy, władza naukowcom. Studia*, ed. P. Franaszek, Warsaw 2010, p. 29.

SCIENCE COMMUNICATION

How did processes of science communication look in this context? It seems that – as was already mentioned – Poland in the 1960s and 1970s became a kind of testing range for the remaining countries of the Eastern Bloc, and the USSR. This pretty much happened with the consent of Big Brother, but the internal situation – mass contestation and rapid discussions – doubtlessly helped in the liberalization of the real socialist system in Poland. One can also infer that the communist elite in power in Poland was less into doctrine and more broad-minded, especially when compared with the rulers of the USSR, and probably also the elites of other Soviet satellites.

Scientific output in Poland already in the 1960s (to a degree, much more in the 1970s) was not so penetratingly and scrupulously censored as in the USSR. The latest translations of many fundamental books from different sphere appeared, made accessible and issued in great volumes. In the 1970s, this was filled by the ongoing and strengthening movement of underground editions, published outside official circulation, and so practically without censure. Opening up to the West and the possibility to travel abroad, created for the rising generation, was also a major factor in accelerating the transformation towards liberalizing the political system.

To put it simply, one can ascertain that in the sciences and in the research activity of the time a relatively less limited period of freedom began, including freedom of speech and statement. However, this generally referred to the narrow field of scientist-elites. Introducing and presenting the results of their research was still subjected – though sporadically – to (decreasing) influences of ideology and censorship. Nevertheless, this mostly refers to sociological inquiries registering negative social and economic phenomena in the country. The most shocking and drastic research and prognoses were simply classified as top-secret information, and hidden from public opinion. Many of these expert opinions were instead carefully analysed in the highest decision bodies of the state apparatus, especially in the Political Bureau and Central Committee of the Communist Party.

If one were to make an attempt to compare the processes of scientific communication in Poland and in the USSR during the Khrushchev and Brezhnev eras (1953-1982), one might notice that the Polish model was a relatively more open type of real socialism, than the system present in the USSR. The Polish model was also far less subjected to ideological pressure, especially from the beginning of the 1970s – more broad-minded and connected with Western thought. In my opinion, one might locate this model not far from the Yugoslavian pattern of that time. Thereby, this type of system ran considerably away from the more typical ones, and differed in detail from the classic venue implemented and ingrained in the GDR, Czechoslovakia, as well as in Bulgaria, in Hungary, not to mention Soviet Russia, herself.

CONSCIOUSNESS TRANSFORMATIONS

Have the phenomena and situations described here influenced the consciousness and an outlook on life of Poles? Undoubtedly, yes. To recall my own experience, I remember conversations with colleagues and friends from Russia, Czechoslovakia, and the GDR, who were absolutely shocked by the frankness and the negative opinions regarding the political system in the Eastern Bloc made by their Polish counterparts. At the end of the 1970s and in the 1980s, they viewed us as heretics who spoke what they thought, and who should probably have been persecuted for presenting such opinions; or at least forced to undergo some process of ideological re-education. Doubtlessly, at the time, from the point of view of Poland's neighbours, this open attitude in the sciences at could also be acknowledged as provocative.

Open contestation of the political system in Poland by scientific circles in the second half of the 1970s caused that different-thinking individuals – neither identifying with communism and its establishment, nor with the anti-communist opposition – found themselves in an uncomfortable position. The turning point for this, was of course the year 1980, and the rise of the “Solidarity”, a mass trade union movement with precise political goals. An interesting example of this behaviour to maintain independent thinking is the biography of Professor Andrzej Walicki – much mentioned here – entitled *Ideas and People*, in which he explains his own decision of splendid isolation, and his desire to not surrender either to the authorities, or to the pressure of the academic environment.⁷⁰

REPRESSIONS AND ATTEMPTS AT SUBORDINATION

Interesting materials are being published recently by the Institute of National Remembrance. The first volume concerning documents of the Polish Academy of Sciences covers records of the Polish security services from 1967-1987.⁷¹ It contains an image of the Academy and its environment, including its most prominent scholars, as well as a picture of the institution and its people who attempted to retain political independence at any cost, and who as a social circle, tried not only keep in contact with the social processes of the time, but who themselves initiated some activities, in fact attempts at liberalizing the communist system. Characteristically, this is also the title of the volume: *The Fettered Academy*.

Individuals who in general opinion (though not always factually) were known as scholars connected with Marxism, from the end of the 1960s, and in the 1970s and 1980s, were acknowledged by the Polish communist security services as so-called “anti-socialist elements”, working to harm the socialist state. Among the most significant names one might find are members of the Academy, people at the top of the scientific

⁷⁰ A. Walicki, *Idee i ludzie. Próba autobiografii*, Warsaw 2010.

⁷¹ *Spętana Akademia. Polska Akademia Nauk w dokumentach władz PRL. Materiały Służby Bezpieczeństwa (1967-1987)*, eds. P. Pleskot, T.P. Rutkowski, Warsaw 2009, Vol. I.

hierarchy, such as professors: Aleksander Gieysztor (president of the Academy at the beginning 1980s), Stefan Kieniewicz (historian), Wiktor Kemula (chemist), Leszek Kuźnicki (biologist), Zbigniew Grabowski (chemist), Włodzimierz Kołos (chemist), and many others. Also, many employees of Academy institutes were attributed to circles of opposition. One might mention Bronisław Geremek (historian), Jerzy Jedlicki (historian), Stefan Amsterdamski (philosopher), Barbara Skarga (philosopher), Ryszard Herczyński (mathematics) and many others.⁷²

However, it should also be remembered that many scholars were forced to cooperate with the security services against their will⁷³. Many could not and did not manage to refuse cooperation. They were subjected to blackmail and to numerous methods of political pressure. The security services also utilized secret information concerning behaviour and character, relating to personal habits and customs. A popular form of blackmail was the possibility that one might be refused a passport. These were the most often used methods to force cooperation.⁷⁴

CONCLUSION

To sum up, the leap from Marxism to the kingdom of science in its final stage became an unexpected jump from Marxism to the kingdom of scientific freedom. However, the “freedom” as understood by Marx, himself, was totally opposite to this. This was hence not exclusively a long dreamt “collective social freedom”, but first of all the freedom of the individual, and the freedom of the unhampered predication of own opinions as well as the freedom of choice, connected also with the problems of scientific research. To scientific milieu it succeeded not to be an only passive witness of these struggles, but also many from among academics were leading men and originators of that return to the independence. From the perspective of time it is clearly apparent that those struggles and conflicts with the contemporary communist authorities were for scientific environment an important element for the maintenance of the intellectual independence and the freedom of thinking. This however was also a method to keep close ties with social life, and indirectly also – as it seems – an only way to maintain the position of the intellectual elite of contemporary socialist Poland. After the transformation period of 1989, it permitted to keep the prestige and the intellectual position of the elite by scholars and research workers. In the 1990s, only a very small group of scientists who were strongly connected with the previous system, though *de facto* not subjected to any repressions, was forced to remove itself to the margin of social life.

From the side of the political scene which formed in the former Eastern Bloc after the system collapse in 1989/91, the struggles “for the soul of society” described above doubtlessly contributed to the differentiation of political life, to pluralism in the sphere

⁷² R. Herczyński, *Spętana nauka. Opozycja intelektualna w Polsce 1945–1970*, Warsaw 2008.

⁷³ R. Terlecki, *Profesorowie UJ w aktach UB i SB*, Cracow 2002.

⁷⁴ *Naukowcy władzy, władza naukowcom*, ed. P. Franaszek, Warsaw 2010.

of public activity, and to the still growing mosaic of political formations both in Poland, and in Russia. That also pluralism embraced scientific life and scholarly relations. Former barriers in science communication disappeared. The scientific output of many scientists, never identifying either with Marxism or any “socialist progressiveness”, entered onto the area of the former Soviet bloc. The most spectacular example here might be the academic output of Professor Richard Pipes, an outstanding expert on Russian history, whose majority of books – earlier forbidden in Poland – were eventually published after 1989. His concept of a connection between the idea of freedom and the issue of private property might also be implemented as an argument explaining the principle of a basic difference in the situation of Poland, and the USSR and the present Russian Federation, also with reference to the situation before 1917.⁷⁵ Pipes idea might also be adopted to explain the differences in scientific life in both countries.

An indubitable effect of the phenomena described above, as well as of the accelerated diffusion of opinions forbidden in the 1960s, 70s and 80s, became a visible and serious social distance to any passwords equipped with the attribute of “progressiveness”. Also, the reference to Marxism itself, seems today – in the opinion of many – not proper to appeal. However, the term “scientific consciousness” did not disappear. Its presence, in spite of so many disappointments described above, confirms the continuous human thirst and endeavour for objective recognition and in search of truth.

Thus, the term “scientific consciousness” is not only part of history now. It is making a return in the West, and in ongoing discussions over the exclusively materialistic vision of the world. Those discussions are entering a new stage. Many scholars perceive that experimental methods – with our continually still-limited cognitive possibilities – do not give and guarantee a full image and detailed picture of the entire world.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ R. Pipes, *Własność a wolność*, Warsaw 2000. Polish translation: *Property and Freedom*, 1999. See also: R. Pipes, *Żyłem. Wspomnienia niezależnego*, Warsaw 2003, p. 248. Polish translation: *Vixi. Memoirs of a Non-Belonger*, 2003.

⁷⁶ A.R. Roland, *Growing Scientific Consciousness Revolution*, <http://peoplesvoice.org> – 11 August 2009; T. Burssat, *A New Scientific Consciousness*, <http://qualiadelicenturycom> – 12 March 2010.

INCONVENIENT NEIGHBOUR – SOME REFLECTIONS ON POLISH HISTORICAL RESEARCH CONCERNING RUSSIA AND THE USSR

Often, outstanding individuals have major influence on the development of research in their particular field. This applies to renowned professors or institutions where joint activities are accumulated – where the nucleus of new ideas or a number of promising solutions are settled in any field of research or sphere of studies. A similar phenomenon might be observed, and still occurs, in the case of Polish historical research concerning Russia and the USSR.

The unquestionable development of this area of research after 1989, was preceded, during the People's Republic of Poland (PRL), by initiatives of a political character supported by the communist authorities. Every university was required to have an institution or special chair devoted to the history of the USSR. Under this formula, academic bodies were established which focused on the history of Russia from Medieval times to the present. These institutions fell under the special supervision of the Communist Party. Along with the political pressure this entailed, owing to the interests of the authorities, the supervision of these bodies resulted in imposed topics of study. Almost no researcher wanted to touch taboo issues, simply because no one wanted to be exposed to unpleasant personal consequences or even the direct interference of the censor. The situation appeared slightly tragicomically – on one hand, research was supported by the state, while on the other – the possibility to lead honest studies, based on archival records, was reduced to political opportunism and the rolling needs of the ruling party. It seems the saddest effect of this political pressure was the creation of a kind of propaganda vision or peculiar panoramic view of the history of Russia, including the latest history of the USSR. This was based on certain political foundations.

Tsarist Russia had to be presented as a state leaning heavily on oppression and a society under constant constraint, while Bolshevik Russia and the Soviet Union flourished as a country in which the citizens – after years of total ordeal – wound up in something of a land of eternal happiness. Thus, Tsarist slavery was exchanged for almost absolute freedom obtained through the victory of the October Revolution and the Bolsheviks. Basically, it had to be repeated that communism (after the socialist period) was the final and superior phase of the development of human kind.

In accordance with the obligatory research canon, focus was placed on – first of all – the presentation of the history of the labour movement and – within its framework – on the cooperation of different nationalities living in the Russian Empire. In this pattern, created by the political order or the imposed historiography model, all citizens peaceably cooperated with each other under the aegis of the Bolsheviks or their predecessors, trying to efficiently do away with the hateful political system of Tsarist Russia. This revolutionary cooperation also referred to the local history of different regions of the Empire. In the case of the history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the 19th century, subsequent to its partitions, two Polish Uprisings of 1830 and 1863, were presented (against the former, pre-revolutionary Russian historiography) as just and well-founded efforts for political independence, which were an articulation of the true expectations of all nations of Russia, not only of the Polish dream for freedom. Following this model, Russian participation in the November and January Uprisings – both personal and indirect, in newspapers and public opinion, was exposed as a form of support given to Polish ambitions by the progressive Russian intelligentsia.

Another element of the obligatory canon was to demonstrate the participation of different nationalities in the events of the October Revolution, and the coming to power of the Bolsheviks. On the Polish side, a crucial figure was, naturally, Dzerzhinsky – “intrepid knight of the revolution” and creator of the Cheka, Bolshevik secret police. No one wrote, or only rarely mentioned (gently), the Stalinist purges, the liquidation of fraternal communist parties and Stalin’s spy mania, let alone mass-deportations of all nationalities, the waves of anti-Semitism, and other victims of Stalin’s regime in each particular period of Soviet history. Comparatively little attention was devoted to Russian white emigration and – in general – to the history of factions and formations connected with resistance against the Bolsheviks.

The general vision and message of historiography was based on the foundation that the ultimate source of any development is the progress of mankind, whose emanation was the political system created by the Soviet state; the coronation of the following stages of development of society: slavery, across feudalism, capitalism, socialism to fully developed communism. Notably, the final stage – the aforesaid “coronation” of the progress of mankind, never ever came into being in its prophesied, fully developed form, while its beginning was several times pushed into the future, both by Stalin and Khrushchev, and finally Brezhnev.

However, in this context, foreshadowed here only piece-meal, much research was carried out which – in my opinion (at least concerning Polish historiography in its most valuable dimension) – did not fall within this obligatory canon in many aspects. Those works, from the point of view of professionalism and honest archival exploration, especially deserve emphasis as they presented a very high level of study – written despite the politically controlled or even imposed research issues.

With reference to research on the history of Russia and the USSR, the names of several outstanding scholars can be mentioned, who successfully cope with these problems. However, in my opinion, only one performed a crucial role before 1989. This was

Ludwik Bazylow (1915–1985), an excellent historian, scholar and professor of the University of Warsaw, not to mention one of the foremost experts on Russian history. His two-volume synthesis of the history of Russia continues to be irreplaceable, but he also left behind a whole set of monographs concerning the policy, social history, and history of Russian culture. His just mentioned two-volume synthesis, although written in Polish, was broadly read even in the United States, which I observed (with some shock) in the Library of UC Berkeley in 1999/2000 (one might acknowledge the scale of popularity of the book just by glancing at the state of the well-thumbed copy). Professor Bazylow also gathered a group of young scientists, who today continue his legacy. Within this circle are such figures as Paweł Wiczorkiewicz, who added to Professor Bazylow's the synthesis of the history of Russia, extending it to the USSR's collapse in 1991¹.

In my opinion, one might only compare the academic literary output of Ludwik Bazylow with the classic, already pre-war *magnum opus*, of the Nestor of Polish research on the history of Russia, Jan Kucharzewski, author of the multi-volume: *From White Tsarism to Red* – not long ago returned to print, and newly edited and revised by Andrzej Szwarz, Paweł Wiczorkiewicz and Franciszek Nowiński². Along with Ludwik Bazylow's unquestionable contribution, we should stress the high standard of historical research on Russia, and the establishment of a high cross-beam for suchlike studies, which – despite the unfavourable political context in Poland at the time – profited and bore fruit with honest research, which – as I mentioned – is continued today.

The second figure who exerted an essential influence on present Polish research of the history of Russia is Professor Andrzej Walicki³. Although his area of interest is primarily the history of Russian thought – more the history of ideas, philosophy and culture – the works of Professor Walicki also – in my opinion – impressed so many present researchers that I would mention just a few: Andrzej de Lazari of the Łódź University⁴,

¹ L. Bazylow, *Historia Rosji*, Vols. I–II, Warsaw 1985; and one-volume edition: L. Bazylow, P. Wiczorkiewicz, *Historia Rosji*, Wrocław 2005.

² J. Kucharzewski, *Od białego caratu do czerwonego*, Vols. I–VII, Warsaw 1998–2000.

³ A. Walicki, *W kręgu konserwatywnej utopii. Struktura i przemiany rosyjskiego słowianofilstwa* Warsaw 1964; English edition: idem, *The Slavophile Controversy*, Oxford 1975; idem, *Polska, Rosja, marksizm: studia z dziejów marksizmu i jego recepcji*, Warsaw 1983; idem, *Aleksander Hercen – kwestia polska i geneza pewnych stereotypów*, Warsaw 1991; idem, *Filozofia prawa rosyjskiego liberalizmu*, Warsaw 1995; English edition: idem, *Legal philosophies of Russian Liberalism*, Oxford 1987; idem, *Marksizm i skok do królestwa wolności: dzieje komunistycznej utopii*, Warsaw 1996; English edition: idem, *Marxism and the Leap to the Kingdom of Freedom: The Rise and Fall of the Communist Utopia*, Stanford 1995; idem, *Rosja, katolicyzm i sprawa polska*, Warsaw 2002; idem, *Zarys myśli rosyjskiej: od oświecenia do renesansu religijno-filozoficznego*, Cracow 2005; English edition: idem, *A history of Russian thought: from the enlightenment to marxism*, Stanford 1979.

⁴ A. Lazari, "Poczwinnictwo": z badań nad historią idei w Rosji, Łódź 1988; idem, *W kręgu Fiodora Dostojewskiego: poczwinnictwo*, Łódź 2000; *Dusza rosyjska: materiały do "katalogu" wzajemnych uprzedzeń Polaków i Rosjan*, ed. A. Lazari, Warsaw 2004; *Polacy i Rosjanie – przewyżczenie uprzedzeń*, ed. A. Lazari, Łódź 2006.

but also Andrzej Nowak and Henryk Głębocki⁵, both from Jagiellonian University. It should be underlined that most of Walicki's books were not only published, but written in English – sometimes the first edition came out in English, before Polish. Therefore, his circle of followers is not exclusively limited to Poles, and the Polish academic milieu.

Of course, many other names of historians who contributed to the development of present research on the history of Russia can be mentioned. For the period embracing the period of the Muscovite state and imperial Russia, one ought to underline contribution of Władysław Serczyk⁶ and Zbigniew Wójcik⁷, but also Polish émigré historian, Henryk Paszkiewicz in England, whose works were also primarily published in English.⁸

Besides his main interest, many fundamental source editions, mostly concerning Polish-Russian relations, were prepared by Professor Stefan Kieniewicz, the author of a still irreplaceable and monumental synthesis of the January Uprising, and his excellent history of Poland.⁹ Those source editions were collaborated on by Kieniewicz together with Professor Vladimir Diakov of the Institute for the Slavic Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences (now the Russian Academy of Sciences).¹⁰ The scientific value of these editions is still high, and with references to Polish history after the partitions at the end of the 18th century, it goes considerably far beyond the

⁵ A. Nowak, *Między carem a rewolucją: studium politycznej wyobraźni i postaw Wielkiej Emigracji wobec Rosji 1831–1849*, Warsaw 1994; idem, *Jak rozbić rosyjskie imperium? Idee polskiej polityki wschodniej (1733–1921)*, Cracow 1999; idem, *Polacy, Rosjanie i biesy: studia i szkice historyczne z XIX i XX wieku*, Cracow 1998; idem, *Polska i trzy Rosje. Studium polityki Józefa Piłsudskiego (do kwietnia 1920 roku)*, Cracow 2001; idem, *Od imperium do imperium. Spojrzenie na historię Europy Wschodniej*, Cracow 2004; H. Głębocki, *“Co zrobić z Polską”: kwestia polska w koncepcjach konserwatywnego nacjonalizmu Michaiła Katkowa*, Warsaw 1998; idem, *Fatalna sprawa: kwestia polska w rosyjskiej myśli politycznej (1856–1866)*, Cracow 2000; idem, *Kresy imperium: szkice i materiały do dziejów polityki Rosji wobec jej peryferii (XVIII–XXI wiek)*, Cracow 2006.

⁶ W.A. Serczyk, *Kultura rosyjska XVIII w.*, Wrocław 1984; idem, *Historia Ukrainy*, Wrocław 1990; idem, *Piotr I Wielki*, Wrocław 2003; idem, *Katarzyna II carowa Rosji*, Wrocław 2004.

⁷ Z. Wójcik, *Dzieje Rosji 1533–1801*, Warsaw 1982; idem, *Historia powszechna XVI–XVII w.*, Warsaw 2006; idem, *Między traktatem andruszowskim a wojną turecką: stosunki polsko-rosyjskie 1667–1672*, Warsaw 1968.

⁸ H. Paszkiewicz, *Początki Rusi*, Cracow 1996; English edition: idem: *The origin of Russia*, London 1954; idem, *Powstanie narodu ruskiego*, Cracow 1998; English version: idem, *The making of the Russian nation*, London 1963; idem, *Wzrost potęgi Moskwy*, Cracow 2000; English edition: idem, *The rise of Moscow's power*, Boulder 1983.

⁹ S. Kieniewicz, *Powstanie styczniowe*, Warsaw 1983; idem, *Historia Polski 1795–1918*, Warsaw 1996; English but different edition: *History of Poland*, eds. S. Kieniewicz, A. Gieysztor, Warsaw 1968 and 1979.

¹⁰ *Powstanie styczniowe. Materiały i dokumenty*, eds. S. Kieniewicz, V. Diakov, Wrocław 1960–1986, Vols. I–XXV.

framework of the history of Russia, and also directly refers to the history of Polish, Lithuanian, Belarusian, and Ukrainian territories of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

As an argument and thesis describing the point of departure for present Polish studies on the history of Russia and the USSR, it is legitimate to state that despite unequal political relations between Poland and its “bigger brother”, research concerning Tsarist Russia until the October Revolution of 1917 was generally at a very decent level. In my opinion this resulted in positive influence on the scientific and academic environment in Poland, represented by the scholars mentioned above. On the other hand, the academic milieu in Poland had relatively much more breathing space and greater freedom in their scientific research, especially when compared with neighbouring countries of the Soviet Bloc. This must have brought a breath of fresh air to the stuffy atmosphere of communist rule.¹¹

On the other hand, in the ranks of Polish historical professional circles, there were quite a few figures who were deeply involved in anti-communist activities in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. The most renown were the medieval historians, Bronisław Geremek and Karol Modzelewski, as well as representatives of modern history, Tadeusz Łepkowski, Jerzy Jedlicki, Adam and Krystyna Kersten, and many others.

However, this affirmative opinion does not encompass research which concerned Bolshevik and Soviet Russia, which in the People's Republic of Poland were dominated by political pressure and the all-powerful office of the censor. It's enough to recall that Ludwik Bazyłow closed his own synthesis on the history of Russia with the October Revolution of 1917, and put off writing any continuation until better times. He did not want to – as one might safely assume – be involved in any adulteration of history. Simultaneously, it is necessary to stress that also for a period prior to 1917, there existed broad areas in which honest archival research was strongly limited. This referred, first of all, to the territories of the so-called “taken lands” of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (often defined as the First Polish Republic) – the lands of Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine, areas reserved exclusively for Soviet historians. This took place within the framework of an unwritten agreement and partition of roles, as well as due to the contemporary rules of political correctness.

Other characteristic feature of research driven in the PRL was the development of studies focusing on the Kingdom Poland, and the ethnically Polish parts of the territories annexed by Russia. Also, there were relatively few taboo issues, which it was possible to ultimately overcome after 1989. This applied to questions of various negative consequences of Russian rule, such as the overwhelming corruption, or collaboration of Poles with the Russian authorities. Nevertheless, for the sake of a truth, it should be

¹¹ J. Connelly, *Captive University. The Sovietization of East German, Czech and Polish Higher Education, 1945–1956*, Chapel Hill, London 2000.

added that the subject of the negative influences of Russian rule was already written about by Stefan Kieniewicz before 1989.¹²

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The unparalleled explosion of professional studies on the history of Russia and the USSR boomed after 1989. It is nearly impossible to point out all the scientific institutions which gradually undertook these studies in a new, refreshed format. One might generally ascertain that basically each Polish university and academic institution, as well as in many agencies of the Polish Academy of Sciences, suchlike research was imitated and conducted intensely, without any barriers. One might say it was a kind of counter-reaction against the previous limitations of political and censorship character.

Because in this short chapter, it is not my intention to mention even the most famous of these institutions after 1989, I will just try and indicate certain general tendencies and the main areas of interests.

First of all, studies were begun concerning the former Eastern borderlands of the Polish-Lithuanian Republic, later – after the Partitions – the Western provinces of the Russian Empire, that is of Lithuania, Belarus and right-bank Ukraine. This research became firmly settled within the context of the history of imperial Russia and Russian policy in the Western provinces, and was based on solid archival foundations – especially new materials from Russian archives, but also Lithuanian, Ukrainian and Belarusian records. Among the most preferred topics were problems concerning the gentry as a stratum; confronting this social class which during the PRL was treated with a degree of hostility by the communist authorities, because of its conservatism and anti-revolutionary sentiments. One might mention, for example, the works of such historians as Roman Jurkowski, Dariusz Szpoper, Tadeusz Epsztein, Witold Rodkiewicz or Mirosław Ustrzycki.¹³ Most of their works represent a new approach to the history of the nobility living on the territory of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania and right-bank Ukraine. Particularly, they embraced less explored issues, such as the phenomena of the gentry's political conservatism or

¹² S. Kieniewicz, *Wpływ zaboru rosyjskiego na świadomość społeczeństwa polskiego*, "Dzieje Najnowsze", Vol. IX: 1977, No. 4, pp. 105–115.

¹³ R. Jurkowski, *Ziemiaństwo polskie Kresów Północno-Wschodnich 1864–1904*, Warsaw 2001; D. Szpoper, *Sukcesorzy Wielkiego Księstwa. Myśl polityczna i działalność konserwatystów polskich na ziemiach litewsko-ruskich w latach 1904–1939*, Gdańsk 1999; idem, *Pomiędzy carem a snem o Rzeczypospolitej. Myśl polityczna i działalność konserwatystów polskich w guberniach zachodnich Cesarstwa Rosyjskiego w latach 1855–1862*, Gdańsk 2003; T. Epsztein, *Edukacja dzieci i młodzieży w polskich rodzinach ziemiańskich na Wołyniu, Podolu i Kijowszczyźnie w II połowie XIX w.*, Warsaw 1998; idem, *Z piórem i paletą. Zainteresowania intelektualne i artystyczne polskiego ziemiaństwa na Ukrainie w drugiej połowie XIX w.*, Warsaw 2005; W. Rodkiewicz, *Russian Nationality Policy in the Western Provinces of the Empire (1863–1905)*, Lublin 1998; M. Ustrzycki, *Ziemiaństwo polskie na kresach 1864–1914. Świat wartości i postaw*, Cracow 2006.

the problems of economy and education, but also the nobility's legacy – i.e. its literary output and collection of art, books, documents, ancient manuscripts, and other remnants of the past.

Another area of research – connected with the geographical character of the Russian territories – were studies concerning the Kingdom of Poland and crucial matters in this part of the Russian partition, which since 1815 embraced ethnically Polish territories and enjoyed greater freedom than other parts of the Empire. In the works of the Krakow historian, Andrzej Chwalba, the complex problem of Polish collaboration with the Tsarist authorities, issues of corruption, as well as some wider aspects of Russian influence on the Polish milieu in the period subsequent to the partitions were not only undertaken, but for the first time scrupulously illuminated.¹⁴ There also appeared numerous studies devoted to the Tsar's administration, such as Łukasz Chimiak's monograph on Russian governors in the Kingdom of Poland, painting previously unknown picture of top Russian officials in the region.¹⁵ Also, monographs touching core military issues were published, such as Wiesław Caban's monograph about the service of recruits from the Kingdom of Poland in the Tsar's army¹⁶, Stanisław Wiech's work about society the Kingdom of Poland in the eyes of the Tsarist secret police¹⁷, and Andrzej Szwarc's study on Polish adherents of agreement with Russia¹⁸, as well as Elżbieta Kaczyńska's monograph about delinquency in the Kingdom.¹⁹ Also, the social problem of prostitution in the Kingdom was exposed in detail for the first time.²⁰

An essential change, with regard to research carried out in the 1980s, was the initiation of studies devoted to the core history of the Russians people, themselves – Russian officials and clerks, and Russian organizations; both in the Kingdom, and in the Western provinces of the Empire. As an example, one might mention Janina Wołczuk's monograph about Russian teachers in the Kingdom²¹, or Henryka Ilgiewicz's study concerning scientific societies and institutions in Vilnius (Wilno) in the 19th century.²²

¹⁴ A. Chwalba, *Imperium korupcji w Rosji i Królestwie Polskim 1861–1917*, Cracow 1995; idem, *Polacy w służbie Moskali*, Warsaw–Cracow 1999.

¹⁵ Ł. Chimiak, *Gubernatorzy rosyjscy w Królestwie Polskim 1863–1916. Szkic do portretu zbiorowego*, Wrocław 1999.

¹⁶ W. Caban, *Służba rekrutów z Królestwa Polskiego w armii carskiej 1831–1873*, Warsaw 2001.

¹⁷ S. Wiech, *Spółeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego w oczach carskiej policji politycznej (1866–1896)*, Kielce 2002; *Sytuacja polityczna w Królestwie Polskim w świetle tajnych raportów naczelników Warszawskiego Okręgu Żandarmerii z lat 1867–1873 i 1878*, eds. S. Wiech, W. Caban, Kielce 1999.

¹⁸ A. Szwarc, *Od Wielopolskiego do Stronnictwa Polityki Realnej: zwolennicy ugody z Rosją, ich poglądy i próby działalności politycznej (1864–1905)*, Warsaw 1990.

¹⁹ E. Kaczyńska, *Człowiek przed sądem: społeczne aspekty przestępczości w Królestwie Polskim (1815–1914)*, Warsaw 1994.

²⁰ J. Sikorska-Kulesza, *Zło tolerowane: prostytucja w Królestwie Polskim w XIX w.*, Warsaw 2004.

²¹ J. Wołczuk, *Rosja i Rosjanie w szkołach Królestwa Polskiego 1833–1862*, Wrocław 2005.

²² H. Ilgiewicz, *Wileńskie towarzystwa i instytucje naukowe w XIX w.*, Toruń 2005.

Also, detailed monographs on the whole structure of the Russian population in Poland were published, especially related to Lublin Province.²³

During the PRL, Russian officials – and especially Russian clerks and lower personnel – were a kind of “great absentee” in literature devoted to the Kingdom of Poland. Of course, there were exceptions, such as Tadeusz Manteuffel’s pre-war monograph about the education authorities in the Kingdom. However, this monograph was a rare example, and its popularity increased thanks to the author’s esteem, who was a renown medieval historian, pre-war professor of the University of Warsaw, and a creator of the Institute of History of the newly born Polish Academy of Sciences.²⁴

After 1989, many studies were undertaken concerning the history of culture, especially in the Western provinces of the Russian Empire; a great deal contributed to the core history of Lithuania. It should be added that the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was an equal element of the Polish Kingdom and a quasi-separate part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth before 1795. We have already mentioned a number of studies related to political and social history, such as the monographs of Jurkowski, Szpopier or Ilgiewicz, as well as many others. To this we should also add Andrzej Romanowski’s excellent monograph regarding Positivism in Lithuania and Zbigniew Opacki’s study on the intellectual biography of Marian Zdziechowski – Polish thinker and writer, linked with Vilnius and its university, who was obsessively hostile to Bolshevik Russia.²⁵

With reference to the basic issues simultaneously concerning Russian thought and Russian policy, in its historical perspective, doubtlessly many interesting initiatives were centred around Krakow’s academic milieu. Deserving of emphasis is the research conducted by Andrzej Nowak, concerning broadly-understood aspects of Russian power and imperialism in the 19th and 20th century (*How to Break the Russian Empire? – Poland and Three Russias; From Empire to Empire*). Within this group, there are also a number of works by Henryk Głębocki (*Fatal Matter; Borderland of the Empire*).²⁶

The next set of issues, linked to specific geographical character – is research regarding the history of Polish exiles in Russia and Siberia. The leaders in this area is a group of researchers gathered around Professor Wiktoria Śliwowska at the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences (we might also mention Anna Brus and Elżbieta Kaczyńska, as well as Franciszek Nowiński, Jan Trynkowski and Zofia

²³ K. Latawiec, *W służbie imperium... Struktura społeczno-zawodowa ludności rosyjskiej na terenie guberni lubelskiej w latach 1864–1915*, Lublin 2007.

²⁴ T. Manteuffel, *Centralne władze oświatowe na terenie b. Królestwa Kongresowego (1807–1915)*, Warsaw 1929. About Manteuffel and the Institute of History of the PAS see: *Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk 1953–2003*, ed. S.K. Kuczyński, Warsaw 2003.

²⁵ A. Romanowski, *pozytywizm na Litwie. Polskie życie intelektualne na ziemiach litewsko-białorusko-inflanckich w latach 1864–1904*, Cracow 2003; Z. Opacki, *Między uniwersalizmem a Partykularyzmem: myśl i działalność społeczno-polityczna Mariana Zdziechowskiego 1914–1938*, Gdańsk 2006.

²⁶ See note No. 515.

Strzyżewska). Their research gave way to numerous monographs and – most notably – the monumental dictionary of Polish exiles in Russia in the first half of the 19th century, prepared exclusively by Professor Śliwowska.²⁷ The University of Wrocław has also had major results in this area, steered by Antoni Kuczyński, with the cooperation Zbigniew Wójcik and Stanisław Ciesielski, among others.²⁸

A central place of cooperation for historians interested in the history of Siberia is the Siberian Commission of the Committee for the History of Science and Technology, headed by Professor Zbigniew Wójcik, a science historian.

We have already mentioned the research on the history of Russia, both the Muscovite state, imperial Russia, and the USSR, which is present nowadays at each Polish university. For instance, at the Catholic University of Lublin, but also at the University of Maria Curie-Skłodowska, and the Institute of East Central Europe, (headed by Professor Jerzy Kłoczowski), where most studies are focused on the history of the Catholic Church in Russia and the USSR. One could mention numerous works by Roman Dzwonkowski²⁹, Edward Walewander³⁰, Marian Radwan³¹, Witold Kołbuk³² and many others. These are meticulous studies reconstructing the tangled fates of the Catholic clergy, but also many general issues of Russia's politics towards the Church.

In Białystok, many works are written devoted to the history of Orthodoxy and the Orthodox Church. Most of these studies are gathered at Białystok Univer-

²⁷ W. Śliwowska, *Zesłańcy polscy w Imperium Rosyjskim w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku: słownik biograficzny*, Warsaw 1998.

²⁸ *Syberia w historii i kulturze narodu polskiego*, ed. A. Kuczyński, Wrocław 1998; *Kościół katolicki na Syberii*, ed. idem, Wrocław 2002; *Polacy w Kazachstanie*, eds. A. Kuczyński, S. Ciesielski, Wrocław 1996; A. Kuczyński, Z. Wójcik, *Dziennik Józefa Kopcia brygadiera wojsk polskich*, Warsaw 1995.

²⁹ R. Dzwonkowski, *Kościół katolicki w ZSSR, 1917–1939: zarys historii*, Lublin 1997; idem, *Leksykon duchowieństwa represjonowanego w ZSRS 1939–1988*, Lublin 2003; idem, *Losy duchowieństwa katolickiego w ZSSR, 1917–1939*, Lublin 1998.

³⁰ *Odrodzenie Kościoła katolickiego w ZSRR; studia historyczno-demograficzne*, ed. A. Walewander, Lublin 1993; idem, *Polacy i Niemcy w Rosji: zagadnienia wybrane*, Lublin 1993; idem, *Polacy w Mołdawii*, Lublin 1995; *Polacy w Rosji mówią o sobie*, ed. idem, Vols. I–III; Lublin 1993–1995, *Polacy w Estonii*, ed. idem, Lublin 1998; *Polacy na Krymie*, ed. idem, Lublin 2004.

³¹ M. Radwan, *Inwentarz materiałów do dziejów Kościoła katolickiego w archiwach grodzieńskiego gubernatora cywilnego*, Lublin 1998; idem, *Inwentarz materiałów do dziejów Kościoła katolickiego w archiwum wileńskiego gubernatora wojennego*, Lublin 1997; idem, *Inwentarz materiałów do dziejów Kościoła katolickiego w mińskich archiwach gubernatorskich*, Lublin 1998; idem, *Kościół greckokatolicki w zaborze rosyjskim około 1803 r.*, Lublin 2003; idem, *Kościół katolicki w archiwach Departamentu Wyznań Obcych rosyjskiego MSW*, Lublin 2001; idem, *Repertorium wizytacji kościołów i klasztorów w archiwach Petersburskiego Kolegium Duchownego (1797–1914)*, Lublin 1998.

³² W. Kołbuk, *Duchowieństwo unickie w Królestwie Polskim 1835–1874*, Lublin 1992; idem, *Kościół wschodnie w Rzeczypospolitej około 1772 roku. Struktury administracyjne*, Lublin 1998.

sity. We should mention Antoni Mironowicz's latest and, as it seems, fundamental monograph regarding the Orthodox Church in Poland.³³ At Olsztyn University, Jan Sobczak continues his interest in the era and reign of Nicholas II.³⁴ Studies on medieval, but also contemporary history at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań are conducted by Artur Kijas, and others.³⁵ One could write a separate book just listing all of these studies. Nonetheless, it is proper to underline that the majority of works concerning different aspects of the history of imperial Russia published after 1989, can be distinguished by their virtues: reliable archival bases, the use of new and unknown sources, and – last but not least – their solid professional approach and scholarly honesty. What is more, most of the authors – in my opinion – managed to avoid the many political pitfalls and separated their research from any attempts to treat history in any instrumental way. Finally, they avoid being used for any political purposes, which is often the case in this part of Europe at the beginning of the 21st century, especially in the Russian sphere.

* * *

Research on the history of Bolshevik Russia and the USSR after 1989, exemplifies the shattering of political barriers and lack of practical limitations in the study of Soviet issues – something which enveloped the Polish academic milieu previously. Finally, a synthesis emerged on the history of 20th century Russia, written by Paweł Wieczorkiewicz (who wrote the continuation of Ludwik Bazyłow's book, mentioned previously). One might also mention Józef Smaga's volume on Russia in the last century³⁶. Both achievements can be prized for their brilliant acquaintance with sources and sober approach to the Soviet reality.

Doubtlessly a factor which accelerated the quick development of Polish research in modern Soviet history was the enormous diffusion of Western *opera magna* concerning Soviet Russia to the wider public. The list of eminent authors who have been translated into Polish include Isaiah Berlin³⁷, Richard Pipes³⁸, Robert

³³ A. Mironowicz, *Kościół prawosławny na ziemiach polskich w XIX i XX wieku*, Białystok 2005; idem, *Kościół prawosławny w dziejach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Białystok 2001.

³⁴ J. Sobczak, *Cesarz Mikołaj II: młodość i pierwsze lata panowania 1868–1900*, Vols. I–II, Olsztyn 1998.

³⁵ A. Kijas, *Polacy na Uniwersytecie Charkowskim 1805–1917*, Poznań 2005; idem, *Polacy w Kazachstanie. Przeszłość i teraźniejszość*, Poznań 1993.

³⁶ J. Smaga, *Narodziny i upadek imperium: ZSRR 1917–1991*, Cracow 1992; idem, *Rosja w XX stuleciu*, Cracow 2002.

³⁷ I. Berlin, *Rosyjscy myśliciele*, Warsaw 2003; idem, *Cztery eseje o wolności*, Warsaw 1994.

³⁸ R. Pipes, *Komunizm*, Warsaw 2008; idem, *Rewolucja rosyjska*, Warsaw 1994, 2006; idem, *Rosja Bolszewików*, Warsaw 2005; idem, *Rosja Czarów*, Warsaw 1990, 2006; idem, *Własność a wolność*, Warsaw 2000; idem, *Żyłem: wspomnienia niezależnego*, Warsaw 2004; idem, *Rosja, komunizm i świat: wybór esejów*, Cracow 2002.

Conquest³⁹, Martin Malia⁴⁰ and many others, including the latest, popular editions of Simon Sebag Montefiore.⁴¹ The Canadian author, David R. Marples also became quite popular with *Motherland* – his history of the USSR was translated and published by the prestigious publisher, Ossolineum.⁴² It should also be mentioned that some outstanding works, such as Niekricz and Heller's *Utopia in Power*, were translated and published many times as Polish *samizdat*, already in the 1980s.⁴³ The quality of many Western books on Russia which are translated into Polish is not always satisfying, but thanks to the growing interest in Russia, Polish readers constantly have the opportunity to get acquainted with the literary output of many outstanding scholars – for example access to nearly the whole of Richard Pipes' considerable legacy, a crucial figure that significantly influenced Polish research on Russia after 1989.

Similarly, concerning the historiography of imperial Russia, and books on the history of the Soviet Union it is not possible to mention all the studies which have made an essential contribution to the Polish vision of Bolshevism and Soviet policy. Paweł Wieczorkiewicz's monograph *Chain of Death*, devoted to the Red Army purges in the period 1937–1939, is one of many works worthy of mention. Its over 1300 pages contain a detailed reconstruction of Stalin's mass repressions in the Soviet army.⁴⁴ Adam Bosiacki monograph on the doctrines and ideas of Bolshevik Russia in the first post-revolutionary years 1917–1921 (*Utopia, Authority, Law*)⁴⁵ must also be mentioned.

Many of the latest works concerning the history of Russia, including the Soviet period, come from political sciences. They cannot always be defined as classic Sovietological studies. More often, these are books concerning pure political history or the history of ideas. One might mention here the monographs written by Jadwiga Staniszkis (however these books refer mainly to the theoretical and general aspects of communism)⁴⁶, or Wojciech Materski's study on Polish-Soviet relations during the

³⁹ R. Conquest, *Stalin*, Warsaw 2000; idem, *Stalin i zabójstwo Kirowa*, Warsaw 1989; idem, *Mordercy narodów*, Warsaw 1987; idem, *Lenin: prawda o wodzu rewolucji*, Warsaw-Chicago [1997]; idem, *Uwagi o spustoszonej stuleciu*, Poznań 2002; idem, *Wielki terror*, Warsaw 1997.

⁴⁰ M. Malia, *Lekcja rewolucji rosyjskiej*, [Warsaw] 1986; idem, *Sowiecka tragedia. Historia komunistycznego Imperium Rosyjskiego 1917–1991*, Warsaw 1998.

⁴¹ S.S. Montefiore, *Stalin. Dwór czerwonego cara*, Warsaw 2003.

⁴² D.R. Marples, *Historia ZSRR. Od rewolucji do rozpadu*, Wrocław 2006.

⁴³ A. Niekricz, M. Heller, *Utopia u władzy. Historia ZSRR od 1917 roku do dni naszych*, Vols. I–II, Warsaw-Wrocław 1987, (and other numerous Polish underground editions in the 1980s – i.e. Lublin, Cracow, Wrocław, Warsaw).

⁴⁴ P. Wieczorkiewicz, *Łańcuch śmierci: czystka w Armii Czerwonej 1937–1939*, Warsaw 2001

⁴⁵ A. Bosiacki, *Utopia, władza, prawo. Doktryna i koncepcje prawne "bolszewickiej" Rosji 1917–1921*, Warsaw 1999.

⁴⁶ The most popular was: J. Staniszkis, *Postkomunizm: próba opisu*, Gdańsk 2005

inter-war period (*the Shield of Europe*)⁴⁷, the reliable monograph of Włodzimierz Marciniak, reconstructing the fall of the Soviet Union and the rise of the Russian Federation (*Robbed Empire*).⁴⁸ The list should also include the works of Ryszard Paradowski (mostly on Euroasian topics)⁴⁹, Roman Bäcker on totalitarianism⁵⁰, and Andrzej Skrzypek's studies on Polish-Soviet relations, including his outline of the history of Russia in 1985–2004 (*Second Smuta*)⁵¹, no to mention Andrzej Czajkowski's book about the democratisation of Russia in 1987–1999⁵².

An important group of research themes consists of works concerning the Stalinist repressions and the phenomenon of Stalinism *tout court*. Most of them – except the above – mentioned book by Wieczorkiewicz – deal with the repressions faced by the Polish population. The works of Tomasz Strzembosz, as well as Stanisław Ciesielski, Wojciech Materski, Andrzej Paczkowski, Piotr Kołakowski, Mikołaj Iwanow, Janusz Kupczak, and Henryk Stroński are among the best. All these works are stamped with archival meticulousness, and a high standard of historical professionalism. Most of them refer to repressions by the NKVD and GRU on Polish territories. A portion of them shine light on repressions against Poles in Soviet Ukraine and Belarus. However, a number of works also appeared, devoted to some chosen aspects of Stalinism in Russia – for example, Tadeusz Nasierowski's monograph on Ivan Pavlov and Soviet science under Stalinism.⁵³

Besides the already-mentioned academic institutions dealing with the history of Russia, gradually new, independent initiatives are emerging, which might be distinguished for their novelty and scale. It is proper to mention the circle of authors connected with Krakow's bimonthly journal "Arcana", which is also a serious publishing house. Its renown book series "Arcana of History", contains many outstanding editions. We already mentioned the works of Andrzej Nowak and Włodzimierz Marciniak, but

⁴⁷ W. Materski, *Tarcza Europy: stosunki polsko-sowieckie 1918–1939*, Warsaw 1994; NKWD o Polsce i Polakach: rekonesans archiwalny, ed. idem, Warsaw 1996; idem, *Bolszewicy i samuraje: walka dyplomatyczna i zbrojna o rosyjski Daleki Wschód (1917–1925)*, Warsaw 1990; idem, *Na widencie: II Rzeczpospolita wobec Sowietów 1918–1943*, Warsaw 2005.

⁴⁸ W. Marciniak, *Rozgrabione imperium. Upadek Związku Sowieckiego i powstanie Federacji Rosyjskiej*, Cracow 2004.

⁴⁹ R. Paradowski, *Eurazjatyckie imperium Rosji: studium idei*, Wrocław 2001; idem, *Idea Rosji-Eurazji i naukowy nacjonalizm Lwa Gumilowa: próba rekonstrukcji ideologii eurazjatyizmu*, Warsaw 1996.

⁵⁰ R. Bäcker, *Totalitaryzm: geneza, istota, upadek*, Wrocław 1991; idem, *Międzywojenny eurazjatyzm: od intelektualnej kontrakturalacji do totalitaryzmu?*, Łódź 2000; *Emigracja rosyjska: losy i idee*, eds. idem, Z. Karpus, Łódź 2002.

⁵¹ A. Skrzypek, *Druka smuta: zarys dziejów Rosji 1985–2004*, Warsaw 2004.

⁵² A. Czajkowski, *Demokratyzacja Rosji w latach 1987–1999*, Wrocław 2001.

⁵³ T. Nasierowski, *Iwan Pietrowicz Pawłow: nauka sowiecka w okowach stalinizmu*, Warsaw 2002; idem, *Z czarta kuźni rodem...: psychiatria, psychologia i fizjologia sowiecka w pierwszych latach po rewolucji*, Warsaw 2003.

Marek Kornat's monographs on Polish Sovietology⁵⁴ are crucial, while Grzegorz Zackiewicz and his work on Polish political thought and its approach to the Soviet system is also valuable.⁵⁵

To conclude this rather superficial review of the last nineteen years of Polish historical research on Russia and the USSR, it is necessary to note that there still prevail phenomena bound with Polish-Russian and Polish-Soviet relations, and issues which might be defined as Polonocentric. On the other hand, especially in the case of the history of ideas, and the history of Russian thought, there has already appeared quite a large number of studies which are focused exclusively on core Russian matters.

If one dared to formulate some research postulates or try to forecast the future development of Polish studies, I would ascertain that all topics under the general label, "Poland – Poles and Russia" should be and – without doubt – will be continued. Simultaneously, it would be useful to develop historical research on core Russian issues (i.e. concerning the history of Russia proper), and also (probably first of all) to penetrate deeper into different aspects of the history of other nationalities – both imperial and Soviet Russia, including the latest history of the present-day Russian Federation. In this matter, there are still a lot of blanks to fill in, especially in the range of comparative studies taking in account the complex meanders of Russian policy in the Duchy of Finland, and in the Kingdom of Poland in the 19th and 20th century, not to mention studies devoted to the many crucial figures of the Bolshevik movement in Russia, including active Bolsheviks of Polish origin, who have not yet seen their biographies written by Polish authors.

A separate question remains the problem of research in Russian archives, especially the central archives in Moscow and St. Petersburg, as well as in the regional archives located all around the country. There is still much to do in this field and we are rather only at the beginning rather than approaching the end. Unfortunately, the accessibility of Russian archives continually constitutes a serious problem for Polish scholars, while for example American historians are in a much more favourable situation. Present difficulties in Polish-Russian relations additionally hinder any archival inquiries, which naturally take long and are tied with the necessity of staying in Russia, often for many months, without any guarantee of accessing the desired materials.

Also, there are not many opportunities for broader institutional cooperation between Polish and Russian historians, even in the environment of Polish and Russian science academies, cooperation which – *nota bene* – has quite a long tradition. On the other hand, there is precedence in the positive example of the documents and records

⁵⁴ M. Kornat, *Polska szkoła sowietologiczna 1930–1939*, Cracow 2003; idem, *Bolszewizm, totalitaryzm, rewolucja, Rosja: początki sowietologii i studiów nad systemami totalitarnymi w Polsce (1918–1939)*, Vols. I–II, Cracow 2003–2004.

⁵⁵ G. Zackiewicz, *Polska myśl polityczna wobec systemu radzieckiego: 1918–1939*, Cracow 2004.

concerning the crime in Katyń, most of which have already been published in both countries and were released thanks to bilateral agreements.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, the future of further such cooperation does not appear too bright.

⁵⁶ *Катынь. Пленники необъявленной войны*, ed. A.N. Jakovlev, Moscow 1999; *Катынь. Март 1940 г. – сентябрь 2000 г. Расстрел. Судьбы живых. Эхо Катыни. Документы*, ed. N.S. Lebedeva, Moscow 2001; *Katyń: dokumenty zbrodni*, ed. A. Gieysztor [et al.], Vol. I: *Jeńcy nie wypowiedzianej wojny: sierpień 1939 – marzec 1940*, ed. W. Materski [et al.], prepared by W. Materski [et alt.], Warsaw 1995; Vol. II: *Zagłada. Marzec – czerwiec 1940*, Warsaw 1998; Vol. III: *Losy ocalałych. Lipiec 1940 – marzec 1943*, Warsaw 2002; Vol. IV: *Echa Katynia*, Warsaw 2006; *Katyń. Dokumenty ludobójstwa (dokumenty i materiały archiwalne przekazane Polsce 14 października 1992 r.)*, translated by W. Materski, Warsaw 1992; N.S. Lebedeva, *Katyń: zbrodnia przeciwko ludzkości*, Warsaw 1998.

MIRACULOUS ASCENSION – MATERIALISM
AS POLITICAL TOOL FOR THE PROSPERITY
OF SOCIALIST/COMMUNIST SOCIETY. THE CASE
OF SCIENCE IN POLAND (MID-1940s TO 1950s)

Scientific consciousness and the diffusion of knowledge were two crucial elements, the so-called “fundament base” (in Marxist terminology), for the fluent social change of human minds after World War II in East Central Europe. People had to be transformed into a new species of human beings (depicted later as *homo sovieticus*), deeply devoted to creating a new political system of liberty, equality, and brotherhood. The end of the war was a positive factor in that process. However, these ideas, taken directly from the French Revolution, were understood in a very specific way. In a relatively short time, one could understand that all people were equal, but there are also those who were “more equal” than others, as in George Orwell’s *Animal Farm*. There were also those who were condemned and excluded from society. What was the place of science popularization in that process, and did the communist authorities succeed in creating a new, materialistic thinking process in their citizens? Is it possible to use science as an instrument of propaganda for political purposes? Is science – in specific political camouflage – useful as a tool for political propaganda and indoctrination? In this chapter, I attempt to answer some of those questions. Society came to serve as the battlefield and laboratory for all these experiments. How did the conservative, Catholic, Polish community react to the requirements laid down by the communist elites, most of them imported from the USSR? What was the final response to this new stimulus and what were the results? Was miraculous ascension¹ to the communist utopia possible? Was it a dream or a nightmare?

¹ We use the term ‘ascension’ to stress an unusual situation which might be compared to a religious process, a kind of miracle when a human being is transformed into a higher form of spiritual creature, and finally changes its earth, human form into the divine, anointed by God. This metaphor seems to be accurate and proper to describe the communists endeavors to create a higher form of man in this new system. Also, the circumstances of Polish social life after the war, with its confessional environment and popular, mass Catholicism, only further justify the use of this key word in the title.

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In the beginning, there was chaos. This Greek mythological statement reflects the state of society in the early post-war years. On the one hand, there was joy at the end of war, while on the other, anxiety.² The Poles were well aware of their situation – one invader was replaced by another. Nazi Germany were replaced by Soviet rule and Russians. They were better than the previous rulers, but everyone soon found out that the state, in its new and “equitable” borders, offered its residents arrest, imprisonment and even deportation to the Soviet Union (although this was not done officially, and no one dared talk of it openly).³

For the general public, the so-called “system of real socialism” – initially introduced quite gently – was something completely unknown and totally alien. The majority of society was rather conservative, with pro-right-wing sentiments, all the while far more attached to the Catholic religion in its simplest, one might say mass “folk”, or country, form.⁴

The situation was different in relation to the elites, including the intelligentsia (intellectuals and surrounding circles), which continued to constantly play a crucial role in society, attempting to gain domination over people’s souls and minds all over the country. It should be stressed that a large part of the intelligentsia was already secular before World War II. The new communist government utilized the slogans and ideals of equality, and social justice – of open and unlimited access to education, of putting factories and workshops into the hands of the people, as well as democracy, and the rule of the working class. All these codewords were generally acceptable and carried some positive hope for the modernization of the state, and society in future.⁵ It is also worth adding that before the war, a large part of the Polish intelligentsia favoured socialist ideas, represented above all by the Polish Socialist Party (PPS). Even skeptical figures, pre-war supporters of conservative and nationalist parties, particularly from the influential National Democracy (the so-called “*ND-tsia*”), could find among the various slogans and advertisements certain acceptable elements.⁶ Among them was – of course – the concept of “Nation”, which was often regarded as synonymous with the concept of “the People”. It was used as the basis and fundament – in both its forms – for all new slogans, spells and incantations. Gradually the phenomenon of enslaving minds (“the captive mind”, to use an expression of Czesław Miłosz’s) grew

² W. Roszkowski, *Polityczne i społeczno-gospodarcze uwarunkowania rozwoju nauki w Polsce 1944–1989*, [in:] *Historia nauki polskiej*, eds. L. Zasztowt, J. Schiller-Walicka, Vol. X, Part I: *Warunki rozwoju nauki polskiej, państwo i społeczeństwa*, Warsaw 2015, p. 39ff.

³ R. Terlecki, *Aparat bezpieczeństwa wobec środowisk akademickich i naukowych w latach 1945–1989*, [in:] *Historia nauki polskiej*, Vol. X, Part III, Warsaw 2015, p. 167.

⁴ A. Paczkowski, *Pół wieku dziejów Polski 1939–1989*, Warsaw 1995, p. 147ff.

⁵ R. Herczyński, *Spełnana nauka. Opozycja intelektualna w Polsce 1945–1980*, Warsaw 2008.

⁶ A. Micewski, *Współrzędnie czy nie kłamać? PAX i Znak w Polsce 1945–1976*, Paris 1978, p. 15ff.

significantly.⁷ Some people tried to acclimatise and adapt to this new reality, because of their strong belief in its correctness and the validity of its policy. Others accepted it because of the secret, but permanent fear of serious consequences should they present themselves to be in open opposition.

The “Gentle Revolution” of 1944–1948 was soon replaced by total revolution in the years 1949–1956 – the developed Stalinist period in Poland. As concerns the conception of policy implemented by the new authorities, it was the correct (and perfect) moment to start creating their “New Man” (although in the second half of the 1940s, this had already begun).⁸ This New Man, designed to support and construct the core of the new political system, had to be deeply involved and devoted to the new ideals. A natural base, providing feedback for these ideas, became people from the the bottom of the social ladder – primarily the so-called “worker-peasant population”; or at least people with documented origins from these environments. The situation in Poland reflects the processes that took place earlier in the Soviet Union, after the October Revolution in 1917.⁹

From a recent contemporary, social engineering point of view, the propaganda of new ideas was based on what was variously called the “scientific worldview”, “scientific outlook” or scientific consciousness.¹⁰ It was based on the assumption that only materialism (and ultimately Marxism in its Soviet version, based on the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin), constituted the correct approach for perceiving the world. Any other ideas were deprived and devoid of any “scientificity” – hard scientific evidence. Following this way of thinking, “science” was raised to the level of specific, special absolute, whose main job was to replace all those traditional values strongly present in society, including religion (and particularly traditional Polish Catholicism). From the terminology and perhaps even eschatological point of view, the doctrine was clearly combined with the abstract ideas of “progress” and “development” – two ideas which became the “key words” of the new ideology. Science also became an *ex cathedra* substitute for other issues, although it had always been synonymous with education, and a reasonable path to prosperity and social justice. The new mentality based on that “scientific worldview” was designed to replace traditional values – as already mentioned – but simultaneously those traditional values were given such repulsive labels as right-wing, bourgeois, backward, conservative, nationalist, chauvinist, and often

⁷ C. Miłosz, *Captive Mind*, New York 1955.

⁸ M. Heller, *Cogs in the Wheel. The Formation of Soviet Man*, Westminster 1988. See also: J. Tischner, *Etyka solidarności oraz Homo sovieticus*, Cracow 2005; A.A. Zinoviev, *Homo Sovieticus*, London 1984 (Polish Edition); L. Kołakowski, *Główne nurty marksizmu*, Vol. III: *Rozkład*, Warsaw 1989, p. 867.

⁹ J. Hampel, *Chłopów polskich drogi do demokracji: studia i szkice*, Cracow 2008.

¹⁰ L. Zasztowt, *Marxism and the Leap to the Kingdom of Science. An Unbearable Issue of ‘Scientific Consciousness’*, [in:] *Russia: of the Tsars, of the Bolsheviks, of the New Times*, ed. J. Malicki, Warsaw 2013, pp. 101–112.

defined simply as “superstitions”, “witchcraft” and “sorcery”. Religion itself was already known as the “opium of the people” and eventually had to be eliminated.

A fundamental and decisive role was reserved for science popularization. It was probably the most forgotten element of the whole communist puzzle (see Chapter 11).¹¹ It became a special and permanent component of all communist propaganda. The main emphasis was placed on technology, but also biology and the exact sciences. Mathematics took first place next to chemistry and physics as the priority areas. It is also worth mentioning that a side effect of the emphasis on disseminating the achievements of science had its positive results – often underlined by remarkable breakthroughs in these disciplines. New institutions were formed, with a number of modern research institutes of the Polish Academy of Sciences (since 1952) and other research centres at the forefront. A similar phenomenon was also replicated in the social sciences, although some of them, like sociology, psychology in some areas (for example behaviourism) were censored and were put on the index of banned materials. As well, in the natural sciences, areas of research were extended, although some of them – such as genetics – were in opposition to the all-reigning conception of Lysenkoism and so-called “new biology”, which entailed the reduction of these forbidden studies.¹² Thus, the popularization of science and materialism, often in the form of a simplified and vulgarized version, became the core of communist propaganda, as well as special camouflage for the new ideology, which was to create and shape New Man.

What were the effects of these actions? From the perspective of the 1950s, the core Stalinist period in Poland, the results were stunning. Faith in the system (real or feigned) was combined with a deep (or at least officially declared) faith in progress and the development of society, as well as in science and its possibilities. The authorities skilfully combined these categories with the perpetuated belief of the correctness of the position of the USSR in all international issues – above all, upheld by the conviction that the Eastern Bloc led by Big Brother was an upholder and defender of global peace and democracy. The latter especially gained a completely different value and dimension in the new system. It was no longer a classical democracy of the Greco-Roman type, but a so-called “people’s democracy”, in which the key role was played by the people – the proletariat – as sovereign. It was – of course – pure fiction, because this “people’s democracy” was *de facto* a hard dictatorship. And it was not a “dictatorship of the proletariat” (another classic Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist term), but a kind of monodictatorship of the Communist Party, or rather its elite managers. The “New Class” was established precisely in this manner, and later defined as the “red aristocracy” (both terms introduced by Yugoslavian dissident Milovan Djilas). They consisted of people

¹¹ *Science for the masses. The political background of Polish and Soviet science popularization in the post-war period*, [in:] *Communicating Science in 20th Century Europe. A Comparative Perspectives*, ed. A. Schirmacher, “Max Planck Institute for the History of Science Preprints”, No. 385, 2009, pp. 133–145.

¹² *Studia nad lysenkizmem w polskiej biologii*, ed. P. Köhler, Cracow 2013.

associated with the system by institutional or family ties, and who received its greatest benefits.¹³ This situation is perfectly illustrated by Polish painter Andrzej Mleczko in his drawing entitled: “Old walks, New drives” – a group scene where “Old” workers march through the streets to the factory early in the morning, while the “New” secretaries (members of the New Class) ride in a limousine, probably heading home from a party in a “jovial” mood.

From a statistical and quantitative standpoint, already in the 1950s about 5–10% of the population was connected with the elite of the new system (the accuracy of the term “red aristocracy” is reflected in the fact that during in the 17th and 18th century the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the nobility of the Polish-Lithuanian Republic consisted of roughly the same number – a maximum 10% of the total population). The strict elite of the communist regime probably did not exceed 1% of the population, like the former aristocracy. However, the number of people using these new opportunities for their own advance was much higher. Although there are no studies on this matter, one might predict that the positive results and consequences of the new system probably embraced about 50–60% of the population, mostly the people from worker and peasant communities. The proper social background was – at least the assumption of it – a kind of a pass which opened the doors to school and university, to official positions and a “good” career. The old privileged strata now became those social classes doomed to oblivion.

Of course, the ranks of “excluded people” would grow. But it should be emphasized that Polish Stalinism, with regard to people associated with academic life, teaching and universities, was relatively mild. In the new vocabulary, a term was even coined for them (and other representatives of the “intellectual milieu”) – “working intelligentsia”. They fulfilled a specific role and were a positive factor in class society (new society was based on three social elements: workers, peasants and the working intelligentsia). In the academic community, only those professors were sent to prison who openly engaged in political opposition, or were suspected of committing that sin. Academics associated with clandestine anti-communist underground and military organizations (which functioned on Polish territory at least until the end of the 1940s) were the most severely punished of all sinners. They almost always received the death sentence, and their trials resembled the famous Moscow show trials of the 1930s. Other “unorthodox” academics were mostly moved to the Polish Academy of Sciences (from 1952), and the authorities tried to keep them away from youth.¹⁴ They were not allowed to teach at universities. Most such victims of the Stalinist repressions were released from various prisons and jails in 1954–56. After 1956, a significant number of these professors were allowed to return to their universities.

¹³ M. Djilas, *Nowa klasa*, Warsaw 1981. English edition: *The New Class: An Analysis of the Communist System*, London 1957.

¹⁴ *Spętana Akademia: Polska Akademia Nauk w dokumentach władz PRL*, selection, introduction and editing P. Pleskot, T.P. Rutkowski, Vol. I: *Materiały Służby Bezpieczeństwa (1967–1987)*, Warsaw 2009; Vol. II: *Materiały Partyjne (1950–1986)*, Warsaw 2012.

Simultaneously those with the highest qualifications in specific areas, especially priority areas, such as physics and nuclear energy, were not only tolerated (even though they represented “the wrong way of thinking”), but promoted and assured all possible assistance. It was like the *Poputchiki* phenomenon in the USSR – people who were not communists, but who might come in handy and prove useful to the system at some stage. In a similar way, Leopold Infeld – an associate of Albert Einstein – returned to Poland from Canada. The communist government provided him excellent conditions – even luxurious compared to the contemporary Polish reality – and an ordinary life. Despite accusations of betraying secrets related to nuclear weapons, Infeld had no links with the communist regime in Poland, at least until his return to the country in 1950. However, in his autobiography, he drew attention to the visible imbalance in the assessment of scientific achievements, which he saw in the whole Eastern Bloc. In every example, Russian achievements were advertised in first place. The promotion of Russian and Soviet academics demonstrated – in his opinion – an ignorance of world realities, and showed the expanded isolation of science in the USSR and its satellite partners. In his autobiography, one can indirectly observe numerous sequences critical of the situation in the promotion of ideas and scientific achievements as a means for political agitation and promotion.¹⁵

If one makes an attempt to analyse the Stalinist policy of indoctrination and the exploitation of scientific achievements for political purposes, one might point to several elements which are present in this narrative, and which constitute the basis for contemporary discourse.

On the one hand, a particular practice existed to refer to the classics of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism in all forewords and introductions – not only in textbooks and academic syntheses, but also in specialized scientific monographs in various fields. In popular books, this custom was always considered a leading rule. Theoretically, one might not include this, but in practice it was strictly observed and required. Following this obligatory habit, even a synthesis of the history of physical education from antiquity to the present day began with a quote from the works of Lenin and Stalin, and the statement that physical education was a phenomenon of “class nature”. Through these kinds of statement, an author placed himself as a representative of the “Marxist-Leninist” school from the very beginning and was “politically correct” – or at least declared his “political correctness”.

However, there were whole areas, especially in the social sciences, in which quoting the so-called “classics” took place with much greater intensity. They not only appealed to the specific works and concepts of Lenin or Stalin, but built entire narratives based on certain ideological and political assumptions. It is easy to guess that in some areas this resulted in the total collapse of a book’s concept, and sometimes brought quite disastrous consequences. The example of historical sciences shows that Marx’s division of epochs – primitive community, slavery, feudalism, capitalism, so-

¹⁵ L. Infeld, *Quest. An Autobiography*, Long Island 2000 (Second edition).

cialism, and ultimately communism, was omni-present in all classifications regarding the chronology of human history. Some selected topics were promoted as crucial in the opinion of the authorities. They concerned “class struggle” and the problems of the “proletariat”, such as slave uprisings (i.e. research on the Spartacus rebellion), and the so-called national liberation movements (the Polish November Uprising in 1830–31 and January Uprising in 1863–64, or Hungarian Spring of Nations in 1848), as well as studies on revolutions, especially those devoted to the French Revolution and the October Revolution in Russia. The centre of interest was reserved for studies focused on peasant and worker labour movements, the origins of the socialist movement, and searching for the roots of the communist state, as well as on the peasant situation in every historical period. The final date was always the October Revolution of 1917.

The indoctrination narrative was constructed – on the technical side – in a very deliberate form. In addition to fully proven facts of a scientific nature, certain political or social statements were provided in parallel. These two elements were also endowed with the same rank and features (the scientific and a socio-political), with both – in conclusion – indisputable as essentially unquestionable “scientific facts”. The reader (if he was not meticulous, critical and insightful) received and absorbed all this information without thinking. Further, according to the rules of Goebbels propaganda in the Third Reich, information was repeated over and over, uninterruptedly. Thus, it began to live its own life and become a reality (today we call this “media fact”). Finally, the information was accepted as a proven truth. The mechanisms of Stalinist propaganda and indoctrination were in many respects identical to those utilised in Nazi Germany. It was also facilitated, because falsified information could not be officially and publicly rejected, mainly due to the prevailing censorship, and it was impossible to present dissenting opinions or discuss such statements (at least on a broader scale). If gentle voices and dissenting opinions were allowed, they were only permitted for niche publications and periodicals with limited access. In this period (until 1953), such a journal was – for example – Krakow’s “Universal Weekly” (*Tygodnik Powszechny*), published under the aegis of the city’s Metropolitan. *Nota bene* in 1953 the original editorial board was replaced (until 1956) by “regime Catholics” from the PAX association, who unconditionally supported all party and government activities.¹⁶

However, in my opinion, the authorities underestimated the complexity of post-war Polish society, as well as the strength of the existing traditions. Post-war Poland, was a country in which totalitarian tendencies generally found a fairly unfavorable climate. There were many reasons for this. The tradition of the noble democracy of the First Republic, joining the tradition of Polish irredentism and actions against the neighboring powers who partitioned the country in the 19th century, was still present. That was compounded by Polish individualism and the lack of will for collective behavior (as in the popular proverb: *Where there are two Poles, there are three separate*

¹⁶ P. Kosicki, *Nauka polska a Kościół – Kościół wobec życia naukowego*, [in:] *Historia nauki polskiej*, Vol. X, Part III: *Idee i praktyka*, Warsaw 2015, p. 112ff.

opinions). There was also a visible, and frequent, reluctance to fulfill top-down orders and instructions. Here, an important role was played by the aforementioned partitions, when Polish lands were divided by three powers – Russia, Prussia and Austria – and the Polish state did not exist. As part of these foreign state bodies, Poles did not identify with the given invader state. Treating the state as a foreign and “hostile body”, impeding social life, was a phenomenon constantly present in the post-war reality. All those circumstances had an impact on the limited number of genuine followers of the “miraculous ascension” to the “communist paradise”. Only few people were devoted adherents of this new ideology that also believed in its purity. If this occurred, it was often the result of self-service, procrastination and the desire to make a career in the new reality (“careerists” became a popular notion in society’s “informal speech”; and had strong negative connotations).

Materialism as a philosophy, but also as a way to organize the surrounding environment, and the idea of conducting human behaviour, as well as the basis of thinking about the world, was also not very attractive, especially in comparison with to Polish idealism, romanticism and mysticism. These ideas – often in an unarticulated way – dominated the spheres of the Polish “national character”. Hence the apparent success and popularity of the ideas of Christian Personalism, Phenomenology, Structuralism and neo-Thomism, but also Existentialism in the 1950s, as well as the concepts of philosophy cultivated at the Catholic University of Lublin; not associated with the state authorities, but subjected to the church hierarchy (its chancellor was the Metropolitan of Lublin). Marxist materialism, so strongly present in the political narrative and in journalism, was moderately popular among philosophers.¹⁷

The problem was also complicated due to the fact that the most eminent representatives of Marxism in philosophy, humanities and social sciences were generally representatives of Marxism in its modern Western version. This Marxism was completely opposed to the Soviet model, in which the binding interpretation and official pattern for all academics was the only accepted interpretation, adopted exclusively by the Political Bureau and Central Committee of the Communist Party. At the heart of the matter, this top-down political model adopted and decided by the authorities, directly influenced the shape of research and the selection of topics. For the rulers of the USSR, Western-type Marxism, devoid of any political interpretations from above, was regarded as dangerous heresy, and a serious threat to the monolithic policy of the Communist Party.

However, in secular Polish intellectual circles, concepts were born which – in a way – might have been supportive to the materialistic mainstream and official Marxism. One such concept was created (or rather completed and popularized) by Professor Tadeusz Kotabiński, a pre-war philosopher and logician, whose place was outside the official sphere until 1956. His philosophy referring to Alfred Espinas (the continuator

¹⁷ S. Borzym, *Marksizm a inne nurty filozofii*, [in:] *Historia nauki polskiej*, Vol. X, Part III: *Idee i praktyka*, Warsaw 2015, p. 15ff.

of August Comte and Herbert Spencer, and thus a person directly linked to Positivism) was called Praxeology. It was addressed and subordinated to the idea of “good work” (in abbreviated form *do-ro*; from its Polish form – *dobra robota*).¹⁸ The concept was of a system of practical human activity subordinated to a certain laic code of solid work, based on moral premises similar to the Ten Commandments.¹⁹ This idea had a lot in common with the ethics of Protestantism, although there was no direct reference, or trace of it. However, Kotarbiński’s Pragmatism and Praxeology, though far from Marxism (and much closer to American Pragmatism, and the ideas of William James and John Dewey), was materialist philosophy in its essence (mainly due to the absence of God). For the communist authorities Kotarbiński’s system – though with no direct connection to official Marxism – was treated as a kind of special “ideological support” for state policy. Of course, promoting “good work” was equally as valid as supporting Materialism (“wastage” was always a serious problem under the new system). After 1956, Tadeusz Kotarbiński – a non-Marxist – was even elected and confirmed by the government as President of the Polish Academy of Sciences.²⁰ His ideas are continued by numerous followers and disciples, mostly philosophers and logicians in Poland.

For many individuals, political indoctrination coupled with learning, using selected ideas of 20th century research, was particularly painful and in strong opposition to any sort of intellectual freedom (which is a part of the notion of ‘freedom,’ in general). It became a special kind of instrument of oppression and nightmare associated with the destruction of not only the freedom of ideas and freedom of science (and a crackdown), but the people who were directly exposed to it, because they practiced research and discovery.

News coming from the West played an important role. The existentialism present in Europe in the 1950s, was also present in Poland. However, it functioned more in the realm of youth subculture – in some sense, “outside” official tendencies of thinking and a regular way of life. More precisely, existentialism served as a behavioral custom and subcultural fashion. It was associated more with popular culture and its elites, listening to forbidden (or barely tolerated) American jazz. A visible effect of this “culture” – which was a tacit, silent opposition to the system – was the fashion for a specific dress code, music and abstract art. This included the so-called *Stilyagi* or “trend setters”, dressed in colourful jackets and “rainbow” socks, with their shoes “on bacon” (thick, white soles). There were also artistic circles wearing all black, with black sweaters and thick glasses. By following these guidelines, the rather hermetic circles of urban society from major Polish cities manifested their separation, and stood out from the prevailing ideology of the “socialist” state, as well as the doctrine imposed on the people. Such figures were, for example, the writers Marek Hłasko and Leopold

¹⁸ T. Kotarbiński, *Traktat o dobrej robocie*, Wrocław 1955 and later editions.

¹⁹ J. Dudek, *Etyka niezależna Tadeusza Kotarbińskiego*, Zielona Góra 1997.

²⁰ J. Woleński, *Kotarbiński*, Warsaw 1990; *Mysł Tadeusza Kotarbińskiego jej współczesna recepcja*, eds. R. Banajski, W. Gasparski, A. Lewicka-Strzałecka, Warsaw 2006.

Tyrmand. The authorities had to deal with this in the 1950s, even just before Stalin's death in March 1953. They had to deal with the formation of an alternative culture (as one would say today), and with a kind of peculiar "other world". People and individuals engaged in these activities tried to live alongside, or next to the system as much as possible, even against the system. Through their personal existence, they tried to create a kind of "opposition manifesto", although no one spoke openly against the party or government.

Of course, in many fields and disciplines of science, materialism as a philosophical doctrine, and Marxism (in the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist version), as its most complete embodiment, did not threaten the essence of scientific research. Philosophical questions could be put aside. Besides, everything was rational, methodically checked and verifiable by empirical research. Thus, on the laboratorial and basic research level – but also in applied sciences, and theoretical considerations in the exact and natural sciences, not to mention the technical sphere – one could work honestly and without undue ideological restrictions. Policy influenced more the formal and informal attitudes of individuals with regard to the ratio they adopted in the political sphere of their personal career, or public appearances. In general, the most important question – from a career point of view – was whether or not to join the Communist Party. Joining ensured the right to unfettered scientific work, as well as possible ways of promotion. On the other hand, non-party affiliation entailed certain, often considerable limitations. Certain positions and titles, in some areas, were *de facto* inaccessible to non-party members. In science, but also in industry and many branches of culture, your standing with the party was generally significant, to achieve such positions a director of a research institute, president, chancellor or dean of a university faculty, or rector of the university. At that time, a statement was coined reflecting the essence of the matter: "a good professional, but non-party" (in Polish: *dobry fachowiec, ale bezpartyjny*). This statement shut the door to any opportunities for further career advancement.

Nonetheless, nonpartisan and distinguished professor could advance to the level of deputy director, deputy dean or deputy rector. There were of course exceptions in the case of the most famous, renown and recognized personalities in the pantheon of science. They were treated similarly to the already mentioned Soviet *poputchiki* – the fellow-travellers. The authorities used them and cared about them as far as these fellow-travelers were eager to support the system or – at least – only pretend to do so.

In effect, Stalinism in post-war Poland had a gentle face and, contrary to the prevailing views in current Polish historiography, it did not rule out the possibility of an academic career. For many of the people from worker-peasant origins, the new system opened a swathe of opportunities to academic and scientific promotion. There were relatively few people who were severely repressed and paid a serious price in terms of changing jobs, or being pushed out of the academic sphere. There were also very victims in academic circles, who paid the highest price for their activities in opposition circles against the system. Different institutions were safety valves, including the Catholic University of Lublin, and the editorial boards of some magazines, journals,

and publishing houses. These were places of refuge, which one could somewhat substitute for regular academic work at a university or in research institute.

However the paradox of history became visible when young communists educated in the 1950s, in institutions linked to the communist party, such as the Institute for Academic Cadre Instruction (*Instytut Kształcenia Kadr Naukowych*) led by Adam Schaff – later the Institute of Social Sciences (*Instytut Nauk Społecznych*) attached to the Central Committee, and modelled on the pattern of Soviet institutes of “red” professorship, who had to replace the so-called “old professoriate” at universities – became the nucleus of the Revisionist movement in the 1960s; a movement which contested the system and “real socialism” from a materialist and Marxist standpoint, but in its non-conformist shape. Their activity in the 1960s had an essential impact on the birth of democratic opposition in Poland in the 1970s.

Leszek Kołakowski originated from these circles. In the 1980s, he wrote in his famous work, *If There Is No God*: “There never lack arguments to justify the doctrine, in which for any reason someone wants to believe.” The most outstanding Polish philosopher of the 20th century, went through subsequent stages: from the position of a person who suffered “miraculous assumption” to the new communist ideology, then to criticize the reality of the Polish system in the 1950s and 60s, and eventually forced to leave the country after the anti-Semitic events of March 1968. Already in the 1960s, he had revised his approach to materialism and Marxism, and considered religion an inalienable part of human culture, and Christianity as one of the main foundations of European culture.²¹ He ended his life as a professor emeritus at All Souls College in Oxford University.

In this way “Miraculous Ascension” turned into “Miraculous Conversion”. Saul was transformed into St. Paul, falling from a horse near Damascus; illuminated by God. Chaos was transformed into order. And materialism, even if only partially, nevertheless received a dose of idealism. The dignity of the human being began to prevail over the miasmatic unity and welfare of the community, and its domination. The benefits of the human individual won over the collective good. And Kołakowski – to certain degree – become a peculiar symbol of the metamorphosis from materialism to individualism. His greatest historic work became his three-volumes work, *Main Currents of Marxism*, which analyzes the beginnings, rise and fall of Marxism.²² To the end of his days, he was a rational philosopher, though non-Marxist.

However, in conclusion, it should be mentioned that the danger has not disappeared; not by any means. The threat has not gone. Today’s apotheosis of “Nation”, as a specific absolute and the only value which stabilizes the community of interests, the search for the “enemy” among the mythical “Others” (i.e. refugees), can lead to con-

²¹ L. Kołakowski, *Religion, if there is no God [...] on God, the devil, sin and other worries of the so-called philosophy of religion*, Fontana 1982.

²² L. Kołakowski, *Main Currents of Marxism*, Oxford University Press 1978, Vols. I-III; 1 Volume edition: W.W. Norton, London–New York 2005.

sequences similar to those which Central and Eastern Europe already experienced in the 1950s. This would not be Stalinism, but it could be similarly dangerous populism, which might lead towards authoritarianism. Will science once again become a tool for political indoctrination?

HISTORIANS AT THE CROSSROADS (1945–1956) – POLISH HISTORIANS AND THEIR ATTITUDE TO STALINISM. THE CASE OF HENRYK WERESZYCKI AND STEFAN KIENIEWICZ

Despite numerous studies and books on Stalinism in Poland, there is no solid monograph focused on the different approach taken by historians and their milieu towards Stalinism. In general, the situation appeared similar to the rest of the Polish intelligentsia, depicted in detail by Czesław Miłosz in *The Captive Mind*.¹ However, we must remember that a significant portion of pre-war Polish historians found themselves in exile after the war, mostly in the United States and Britain (including one of – if not the most – prominent figures, Oskar Halecki).² On location in Poland, the milieu was gradually divided into those who were condemned by the new authorities (such as Stanisław Kutrzeba, Władysław Konopczyński and Henryk Wereszycki – all from conservative Kraków), and those who were – more or less – seduced and involved with the authorities, very often because they were at the beginning of their academic careers at the time. The attitude to Stalinism – in my opinion – significantly differed in both circles. In the second half of the 1940s, the majority hid their more negative sentiments, and at first glance – at least – appeared to be positive supporters of the new regime.³ What we know now is that a large part of them were linked with the Catholic Church and did not accept the Soviet model of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. In the 1950s, there was also a large group of true supporters, mostly from the young generation (in the 1960s, a significant part of them formed dissident circles and became well-known critics of the regime – Leszek Kołakowski, Witold Kula and many others). Two interesting examples of “how to cope with Stalinism” were Henryk Wereszycki and Stefan Kieniewicz, both prominent historians from the 1960s onwards. The first one was condemned as an enemy of the system, the other was acknowledged as – at minimum – a “supporter”, perhaps more. They were colleagues

¹ C. Miłosz, *Captive Mind*, New York 1953.

² *Oskar Halecki i jego wizja Europy*, ed. M. Dąbrowska, Vols. I–III, Warsaw–Łódź, Vol. I: 2012, Vol. II: 2014, Vol. III: 2014.

³ T. Rutkowski, *Nauki historyczne w Polsce 1944–1970*, Warsaw 2007.

and their correspondence, which was published fairly recently⁴, uncovers and exposes the peculiar details of historians and their situation during the Stalinist period. When viewed from within, the phenomenon seems much more complex, and the divisions much deeper and more puzzling.

There were not many members in the Stalinism-supporting historian's milieu in Poland – even less renown figures. They were mostly people involved and linked with the Soviet Union through their individual biographies and personal relations. Most of them had been associated with the pre-war communist movement in Poland. Alas, they were the lucky few who managed to escape the purges of the 1930s, mainly due to their young age or the fact that they only found themselves in the USSR after the trials – mostly during the war. It should be remembered that in the 1930s, almost all CPP members – after Stalin recognized them as supporting various “espionage and sabotage” – were done away with; murdered. The young communists who happily managed to escape death could begin or continue their academic paths and university careers in the USSR. Among them were also people whom – for various reasons – the Soviet authorities deemed worthy of trust. Undoubtedly, the most famous and prominent figures among them were: Tadeusz Daniszewski, Stanisław Arnold, Żanna Kormanowa, Celina Bobińska, and a number of others.⁵

On the other hand, a majority of the pre-war professors managed to survive in their posts. It happened that quite a few of them knew Russian fluently, and had extensive contacts with Soviet historian, lasting from before the war, or even earlier with previous, pre-revolutionary Russian professors. This state of affairs was mainly a result of the fact that these Poles originated from territories of the former Russian Empire. At the turning point – the famous Congress in Otwock (near Warsaw) at the First Methodological Conference of Polish Historians; held from 28 December 1951 to 19 January 1952, intended to lead towards the transformation of the historical sciences in Poland (in the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist manner), some of the “old” professor managed to get significant support from the ranks of their Soviet colleagues and as a result managed to keep their professorships at their universities and not be replaced by “new cadre”.⁶ However, what we might today call a spectacular success, did not save the historic environment from purges, and from the tightening and hardening of the political course. It was necessary to create an enemy, and to fight bravely with this foe. In the following way, the already mentioned Krakow circle of historians was swept under the carpet – the already mentioned Stanisław Kutrzeba, Władysław Konopczyński and

⁴ Stefan Kieniewicz – Henryk Wereszycki. *Korespondencja z lat 1947–1990*, ed. E. Orman, Cracow 2013, p. 792 (In a further passage: *Kieniewicz-Wereszycki Correspondence...*).

⁵ J. Szumski, *Polityka a historia. ZSRR wobec nauki historycznej w Polsce w latach 1945–1964*, Warsaw 2016.

⁶ R. Stobiecki, *Historia pod nadzorem. Spory o nowy model historii w Polsce (II połowa lat czterdziestych – początek pięćdziesiątych)*, Łódź 1993; idem, *Historiografia PRL. Ani dobra, ani mądra, ani piękna... ale skomplikowana. Studia i szkice*, Warsaw 2007.



Henryk Wereszycki (from Archives of Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, No. XXVII-55-001)

Henryk Wereszycki. These names found themselves on the front pages of newspapers as “declared enemies” of the system. The oldest of them was Stanisław Kutrzeba, president of the Polish Academy of Sciences and Letters, and the rector of Jagiellonian University. He happily managed to die on 7 January 1946, which probably saved him from ostracism. Władysław Konopczyński, founder of the Polish Biographical Dictionary, a professor at Jagiellonian University, was *de facto* hounded and humiliated in the first post-war period. In 1948, he went into forced retirement, which nevertheless – did not protect him from persecution. He died in stressful circumstances, of deep depression and disease, on 12 July 1952.

The situation of the younger Henryk Wereszycki was even worse. After the war, in 1947, he was an assistant professor at the University of Wrocław, and from 1956 at Jagiellonian University in Kraków. He was *ex cathedra* declared an “enemy of progressive change”. Against his will, he became the model and epitome of a “reactionary pre-war historian”, with whom the “people” were forced to uncompromisingly fight.

Add spice to the fact that Wereszycki – in future to become one of the greatest Polish experts on the history of the 19th century and the history of the Habsburg Empire – did not fit the mould of a reactionary scholar, in any way shape or form.

He was the son of Ukrainian socialist Mykola Hankiewicz (Hankevych), and Rosalie Altenberg, descended from a famous assimilated Jewish family of prominent booksellers from Lviv. He wore the birth surname of his stepfather: Vorzimmer. Wereszycki was member of Piłsudski’s legions and fought in the Polish-Bolshevik War as an artillery lieutenant, in the ranks of the Polish Army. He was wounded during skirmishes on the Wereszyca River, near the village of Kamionka Strumiłowa (1920). In autumn 1923, he obtained the consent of the governor of Lwów to change his surname (which he did together with his brother Tadeusz, who also served well in the army). They decided to go with the name “Wereszycki”, to commemorate the site where he was wounded (his brother was murdered by the NKVD in 1940 in Kharkov, part of the Katyn massacre of Polish officers).

After studies completed at Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv in 1925, he obtained his doctorate. His thesis was entitled: *Austrian Government Politics in Galicia during the January Uprising*. He was then assistant professor to renown historian Adam Szelągowski. In 1930, he published his first book: *Austria and the January Uprising*. In 1934, he published another, entitled: *England and Poland in the Years 1860-1865*. In 1936, he moved to Warsaw, where he began working at the Research Institute of Modern Polish History (later called the Józef Piłsudski Institute), where he dealt with the edition of the Collected Works of Józef Piłsudski.

Wereszycki was associated with the Polish Socialist Party, and before the war he was a classic Polish socialist – agnostic, deeply concerned about poverty and the country’s social problems. In addition, he was an excellent connoisseur and eminent expert of classic Marxism in its Lviv-Vienna Western version.⁷ He was quite critical, as most

⁷ Kieniewicz-Wereszycki Correspondence..., p. 20.

contemporary socialists, of the political system of the inter-war Second Polish Republic, which he evaluated in dark colours especially after the May Coup in 1926. During World War II, he was mobilized by the army and took part in the September Campaign, among others, serving in General Kleeberg's Independent Army Group Polesie (which never lost a battle against the Germans). He was captured and interned at Oflag II B Arnswalde and then later Oflag II C Woldenberg.

His *Polish Political History 1864–1918* – written after the war – was published in 1947 and did see the light of day, but printing was quickly halted by the censors and all copies were destroyed. Wereszycki nevertheless continued his work, but this event effected a change in Wereszycki career, and made him a target of attack. A hidden reason for this was the fact that Wereszycki, as part of a small portion of pre-war socialist activists, did not accept the merger of the PPS with the Communist PPR, and – finally – the creation of the Polish United Workers (Communist) Party in 1948. He did not join the party due to his openly declared “other” or “opposing” political views. His habilitation exam in 1948, at the Department of History at the University of Warsaw, although he fared very well, did not receive the official approval of the authorities. The political persecution which began at the time, led to a ban on publication. Wereszycki ceased his public statements and remain silent until 1956.

Wereszycki was certainly a man shaped by his political views – a man who contributed to Polish independence in both World Wars, not to mention the Polish-Bolshevik War during the inter-war period. This man – although formally close ideologically to the new government – was not going to “adapt” and “adjust” to the communist “political offensive” and thus, had to be marginalized. He could also expect much more serious repression. In 1950, one of his pre-war PPS colleagues from Lviv, Kazimierz Pużak, was tortured to death in prison in the town of Rawicz. At the time, Wereszycki was teaching not far away at the University Wrocław. Wereszycki was fortunate enough not to share the same fate as Pużak.

Another, who suffered a similar fate was Stefan Kieniewicz, the most eminent Polish 19th century historian regarding the partitions and pre-First World War period, a renowned publisher of sources, and the author of *Polish History 1795–1918*, many times reprinted, and the most outstanding monograph devoted to the January Uprising 1863–64.

Kieniewicz came from a landowning family from the borderlands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Republic. He was born on the Dereszewicze family estate in contemporary Belarus. His father Antoni, of the Rawicz coat of arms, was a landowner, while his mother was the Countess Magdalena Grabowski, of the Oksza coat of arms. Kieniewicz defended his Ph.D. in 1934, and – for a few years before the war – worked in the Archives of Internal Revenue in Warsaw. During World War II, he served in the Information and Propaganda Bureau of Home Army Headquarters (Armia Krajowa). He took part in the Warsaw Uprising, during which he was wounded, and then interned in a German POW camps. After his habilitation at Jagiellonian University in 1949, on the basis of pre-war research concerning Prince Adam Sapieha, he became an

associate professor at the Institute of History at the University of Warsaw, and finally a full ordinary professor from 1958.

In other words, Kieniewicz – though of a different social background – had a very similar past and legacy to Wereszycki. Both were associated with the military and had sacrificed for the struggle for liberation of their country. This, in spite of that a number of years separated them – Kieniewicz was nine years younger born in 1907; Wereszycki in 1898. This caused that Kieniewicz did not serve in Piłsudski's legions and did not participate in the Polish-Bolshevik war of 1920).

The question is why Wereszycki, but not Kieniewicz, became “public enemy number one” in post-war Poland. It is still difficult to explain. In fact, both were eligible and “fit” to stand against possible accusations of reactionary and bourgeois backgrounds or landowner origins. One was a pre-war Socialist associated with “independence circles”, the other was from a Borderlands landowning family and a practicing Catholic.

It seems that in Kieniewicz's case, we have to deal with the consequence of the communist authorities' decision to restore Warsaw's historical milieu to the students and colleagues of Marcel Handelsman, the pre-war creator of the Warsaw historical school (Handelsman, because of his Jewish origin, and as a result of denunciation, was killed on 20 March 1945, in Dora-Nordhausen concentration camp). The Communists decided that the reconstruction of historical science in Warsaw would be taken up by his disciples, including Tadeusz Manteuffel, and then Aleksander Gieysztor, Stefan Kieniewicz and Stanisław Herbst and others. This decision determined the quality of the environment and teaching of history in Warsaw for the whole period of the People's Republic of Poland. The milieu including the already mentioned Stalinist historians, in particular Zhanna Kormanowa and Celina Bobińska, but also Tadeusz Daniszewski, was dominated and – to some extent – marginalized, especially after the already mentioned Otwock convention, when they unsuccessfully tried to remove Handelsman and his disciples from their pedestal.

But the problem is much more complicated. This is because over the years (and especially after the collapse of communist rule in 1989), Stefan Kieniewicz was hailed by many as a Marxist historian, who created the canon of Marxist historical writing in post-war Poland. These allegations were not put to any medievalists (like Manteuffel and Gieysztor). This happened – in my opinion – because Kieniewicz dealt with the 19th century history, which involved the beginnings of the socialist movement, but also Polish lands were in turmoil, experiencing one uprising after another – later defined as rebellions of “national liberation movement” character. They were interpreted (in accordance with communist ideology) as proto-revolutions and class movements preceding the 1917 October Revolution; their final stage.

When we familiarize ourselves with the work of Stefan Kieniewicz from the 1940s and 1950s, it turns out that in fact “Marxism” was not the only sphere of his works. One should recall that in 1934 he defended his doctorate concerning Polish society during the Poznań Uprising of 1848. After the war, during the Stalinist period, he pub-

lished the following books: *Polish activity during the Spring of Nations* (1948), *Colonial Imperialism (1871-1914)* (1948), *Galician Conspiracies (1831-1845)* (1950), *The Ideological Face of the Spring of Nations* (1948), *The Problem of Agrarian Revolution in the 18th and 19th Century* (1955), *Social and Economic changes in the Polish Kingdom (1815-1830) – Selected Sources* (1951), *The Polish Revolution of 1846 – Selected Sources* (1950), *1848 in Poland – Selected Sources* (1948), *Russia in the 19th Century* (1948), *The Peasant Movement in Galicia in 1846* (1951), *The Peasant Case in the January Uprising* (1953), *Warsaw during the January Uprising* (1953), *Testimony Investigation of the January Uprising* (1956). It should be stressed that most of these books were of popular character and source editions that were prepared honestly, and very robustly developed and academically reliable, with only small dose of Marxist propaganda (as little as was then possible). Their quality is proved by the fact that many of these books were reprinted not only throughout the entire period of the Peoples Republic of Poland, but also after 1989 – in the 1990s and after 2000.

The most popular synthesis of *Polish History 1795-1918* (first edition in 1968) had a total of eleven editions up to 2002. To this day, it is appreciated as the best synthesis of this period – although, in the opinion of some – too much emphasis was placed on social issues, especially concerning the situation of the peasantry and the beginnings of the labor movement.

Finally, one should stress that Stefan Kieniewicz demonstrated his “Marxism” not so much and not only by the methodology he used, nor by appealing to the classics of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, but rather – and above all – by the selection of issues relating to social movements and studies related to those who have been found on the bottom of the social ladder. What is more – however – it hits and conspicuous a titanic work of the scientist, who – as one might find in his correspondence with Wereszycki – applied the principle: *nulla die sine linea*.

As he wrote in his private correspondence, “historical materialism and Marxism *were not the only methodological inspirations for me*”. He considered this approach to history an interesting proposal which in social research gave some hope and opened up some new



Stefan Kieniewicz (from Archives of Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, No. IV-96-001)

possibilities for interpretation. However, it did not exempt any historian from a reliable use of the classical methodology of history, earned through generations, especially in the 19th and in the first half of the 20th century. In this respect, Kieniewicz was more a representative of the Positivist school in Warsaw, represented by Marcelli Handelsman and Tadeusz Manteuffel, and earlier by Tadeusz Korzon or Władysław Smolenski. Kieniewicz champions were next to Handelsman - Adam Skalkowski, a student of Szymon Askenazy. Indirectly, Kieniewicz benefited also by the thoughts of this historian.

In an interview entitled "The Reckoning" for *Tygodnik Powszechny* (Universal Weekly) published in 1989, about his approach to historical materialism, he wrote: "I am quite convinced to some aspects of this methodology. I have used it and ministered it and I am not giving up. I do not need, however, to add that it is not a universal key to everything. I do not think that this point of view interferes with my religious or ideological worldview. Yes, I've been accosted before by various pious people – how can it be that I write these things and go to church? Apparently, however, it may be ..." He added that he did use some of the imposed terms – for example, he called pre-war Polish historiography "bourgeois" and instead of "struggle for independence", he wrote "national liberation movement"⁸.

It so happened that after the end of the Stalinist period in Poland, Kieniewicz became concertmaster for all Polish historians of the 19th century. He even strengthened his position in the 1960s and 1970s, by editing the series of sources for the history of the January Uprising and Polish clandestine organizations in the 19th century. Meanwhile Wereszycki remained – as Elizabeth Orman put it – a "nonconformist outsider". After the short thaw of 1956, when Wereszycki was honoured for strongly opposing Stalinization, the communist authorities resumed viewing him in a negative light.

Although he passed his habilitation exam in 1957, and moved to Jagiellonian University, his situation did not much improve. This effect was compounded by his famous article *Pessimism Erroneous Theses*, published in 1957, opposing and condemning the abuses of interpretation in the Stalinist period and – above all – clearly voicing the opinion that the nation's struggle for independence should be separated from the issues of social revolution (presented at a conference in Sulejówek on 14-17 April 1957). Mainly he opposed the thesis that the People's Republic of Poland represented the "apogee of development" of Polish history, and a kind culmination of its thousand-year existence. He also objected to the "apotheosis" of the people and the peasantry, as the main causative agents of political change in history. On the contrary, he stressed that peasants in the Republic did not, in fact, have a sense of national belonging, until the end of the 19th century. In this connection and in this sense, they played a negative role in the Polish independence movement.

In the following years, Wereszycki, with his unyielding attitude, took part in discussions between "dogmatists" and "revisionists", regarding the shape and character

⁸ S. Kieniewicz, *Rachunek sumienia*, "Tygodnik Powszechny", 1989, No. 52-53. Quotation from: *Kieniewicz-Wereszycki Correspondence...*, p. 22.

of Marxist methodology. He was always consistently critical towards all forms of dogmatism.

It is interesting that many of these issues were echoed in Kieniewicz and Wereszycki's correspondence. Even during the most difficult period of Stalinism, they wrote to each other with deference and respect. After the October thaw, before Wereszycki delivered his speech in Sulejówek, he sent the text to Kieniewicz and asked for his opinion. The discussion between these two historians significantly contributed to the definition of their positions. Kieniewicz remained unyielding in his opinion, Wereszycki in his. In the 1960s and 1970s, they were both very busy and made significant contributions in their field. Kieniewicz was eventually honoured with membership in the Polish Academy of Sciences (1965 – Corresponding Member, 1970 – Full Member). Wereszycki wrote several books, among others, *The Alliance of Three Emperors* (1965), *The Fight for European Peace 1872-1878* (1971), *History of Austria* (1972), *Under Habsburg Rule* (1975), *The End of the Alliance of Three Emperors* (1977), but was never elected a member of the Academy. It is worth adding that he signed a declaration of the Society for Academic Courses (TKN) – a leading organizations conducting independent lecture, unfettered by censorship, organized by the democratic opposition.

Both Wereszycki and Kieniewicz differed significantly in their approach to the history of Poland. In 1975, Wereszycki wrote: “We have had fairly close contact with each other for forty years, but now I suddenly see how our outlooks on national issues is different, distant, very distant. That’s what happened to me in Your approach and seemed a compromise or reason, now revealed their centuries-old roots. Just a hundred years; for unless withholding is the year 1864 [...] the last ten or twenty years of your life experience could allow you to play a very significant role. And although I condemn compromises, I wish you effectiveness, because although my letter shows that in Poland, there are some like two or few separate nations, but Poland is One and Indivisible, and most importantly, we both share this conviction.”⁹

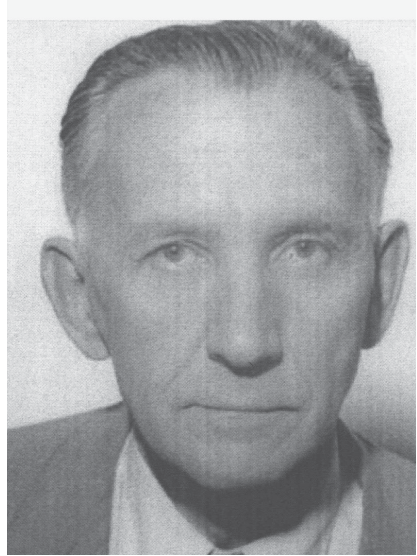
Their biographies and work are an effective reflection of historical science in Poland, which oscillated between “adaptation” and “resistance”, “obedience” and “disobedience”, against the regime. However, the fact that it was possible to present such attitudes, in such a system and in such political conditions, quite clearly demonstrates the more liberal form of “real socialism” which existed in Poland. Notwithstanding, to this day, it remains unclear why the communist authorities decided to put teaching into the hands of the pre-war Warsaw historical environment. Why did they not go the route of purges and total revolution in the academic milieu?

⁹ Kieniewicz-Wereszycki Correspondence..., p. 61.

OUTCAST SCHOLAR IN THE SHADOW
OF HISTORICAL LITHUANIA.
PROFESSOR WIKTOR SUKIENNICKI (1901-1983)

Sukiennicki was one of those rather rare specimens, who, being perfectly aware of the vanishing of historical Lithuania, was attached to its tradition, and persisted in expressing his affection.¹

To tell the story of Professor Wiktor Sukiennicki's life, and to present an outline of his scholarly output, seems a complex undertaking. Not only because he was a person apart – “detached”, as it were, from his alma mater and from his hometown that he otherwise unquestionably loved. And, he was not an easy man to accept by his own milieu. Sarcastic, very often bitter and sharp-tongued, critical and malicious, Wiktor was – primarily – a master of caustic remarks and a person who (as many were deeply convinced) would leer at someone, but only with a hint of mischief, a spiteful prank or vicious notice.



He was a “non-belonger” – to borrow the concept from Richard Pipes, another famous expert on Russia and the Soviet Union². This is true not only in the sense implemented by Pipes in his memoirs: as a human being that would not belong to any political or academic milieu, but moreover, as a person whose academic career in Vilnius was denied, an outcast of his small mother country – Lithuania; or – to be more precise – of the Lithuanian part of the country which ceased to exist in 1939. I always wondered to what extent Sukiennicki was in fact a bitter and distrustful figure, and how much he was merely concealing his real character and a heavy heart, as well

¹ C. Miłosz, *Zaczynając od moich ulic*, Paris 1985, p. 334.

² R. Pipes, *Vixi: Memoirs of a Non-Belonger*, New Haven-London 2003.

as what he suffered as an exile, by remaining in the background – playing a secondary role, while prepared for the part of the leading man, or even lady, in the scholarly theatre. This question was even more annoying, because it soon became apparent to me that behind this camouflage – this personal “iron curtain” and the troublesome nature of my uncle – he was occasionally surprisingly frank and candid; at times even a warm-hearted and good-humoured person.

I heard a lot about him on my trips to London, which I have been making since 1971, onwards. When I first met my father’s sister there – Halina Sukiennicka, née Zasztowt, married to Wiktor since the inter-war period (1922) – her husband was quite often a topic of our family talks. They separated after the war, probably in the late 1950s, but a kind of strong intellectual bond had clearly survived between them. Although he lived in the United States – in Palo Alto, California – Wiktor kept on visiting the United Kingdom, specifically London, almost every year. I did not happen to get acquainted with him at that time, though. While I mostly visited London in summer, he would usually arrive post-holiday season, early in autumn. We finally met in 1978 – not in London but in Stockholm, where Wiktor arrived to deliver a series of lectures; in fact, it was part of an annual lecture series, named by Wiktor (from 1978) the “Flying University Abroad”. It was created in 1977, to support the idea of open lecturing in communist Poland, referred to as the “Flying University”. The originator was the *Society for Educational Courses* (*Towarzystwo Kursów Naukowych*, TKN), which constituted a circle of intellectuals who were members of the anti-communist opposition connected with the Workers’ Defence Committee (*Komitet Obrony Robotników*, KOR). The initiative focused on diffusing uncensored knowledge in the humanities and sciences among the young generation in Poland. These lectures were marked by strong anti-communist sentiment.³

Widely renown in the West as a scholar and expert on Soviet affairs and history, Sukiennicki developed his lectures with the idea to broaden and advertise TKN’s activity on an international level in the West. It is worth noting that having a relationship with Sukiennicki at the time (and being noticed or recorded as such), was no light matter for a person from behind the real Iron Curtain, because – as was strongly emphasised (but which probably was not true) – he had been sentenced to death in communist Poland for his anti-communist activities in exile, especially for his contributions to Radio Free Europe. Sweden, a country with a noticeably large Polish émigré community, settling there after March 1968 and in the 1970s, was at that time infiltrated by hidden representatives of Polish as well as Soviet secret services who spied for the Communist Bloc. For them, the heart of the matter was the emigration milieu – the most seductive object of their expertise – and it was no tough task for them to report on who was close to, and involved in “dangerous liaisons” with, a certain suspicious Polish-American professor.

³ R. Terlecki, *Uniwersytet Latający i Towarzystwo Kursów Naukowych 1977–1981*, Cracow–Rzeszów 2000.

Sukiennicki came there by invitation of the local Polish émigré community. I held an official student permit for a summer job, and through family connections I was in close touch with Norbert Żaba, a pre-war Polish diplomat⁴ in Scandinavia. At the time, he acted as the Scandinavian representative of the journal *Kultura*, edited and published by Jerzy Giedroyc in Paris, and of the numerous books edited by the Giedroyc-run Institut Littéraire of Maisons-Laffitte.

When we first met, we decided to conceal our family ties from public notice, basically for me to avoid trouble once I returned to Poland. But this soon became impossible, so I accompanied and escorted Wiktor in all his official and private debates, meetings and social activities in Stockholm.

It soon became clear to me that I had been granted an incredible chance to meet and get acquainted with an unbelievably interesting man and scholar, whom I would prefer to primarily perceive not as my uncle, but as my tutor at the university. We spent nearly two weeks together; talking and discussing whenever he was not lecturing and when I was – coincidentally – free from my daily routine as a “seasonal worker”.

I was, quite honestly, stunned by his overwhelming knowledge of the modern history of East Central Europe and Russia, his meticulous and detailed acquaintance with the complex issues of international law and comparative justice, and – probably, most of all – by his stories of the pre-war intellectual milieu of Wilno and the lost culture of the “ancient” academic domain of the city and its university before World War II.

One thing about him made a clear impression on me. He was still deeply rooted in the world which had ceased to exist when Poland collapsed and when our part of the continent found itself under the communist and Soviet yoke. In his mind, he embraced all the countries of our part of Europe, which he viewed as an integral and holistic phenomenon. This did not only apply to Poland only, as it also – perhaps, first and foremost – referred to the Lithuanian Republic, the expectedly-independent Belarus, and to Ukraine (hoping to some day gain their freedom).

⁴ Norbert Żaba (1907–1994) was a Polish diplomat in Scandinavia from 1935 until WW2. He was born in Tallinn, and was connected with Estonia through his family ties: his mother was an Estonian, of Swedish descent. After the war, he stayed in Sweden and became, in the 1950s, the official representative of Jerzy Giedroyc's journal *Kultura* and of the Maisons-Laffitte-based Institut Littéraire publications, for the whole of Scandinavia. He also created a Society of the Friends of *Kultura* in Stockholm. During the war, he was involved in activities providing support to Poland occupied by the Nazis and the Soviets. Documents of the Polish Government in Exile from Mr. Żaba's archives have been given to the Central Archives of Modern Records (AAN) by Prof. Janusz Korek, together with archives of Col. Leon Waław Koc. As an editor, N. Żaba has a number of Swedish publications to his credit, incl.: N. Żaba (ed.), *Det kämpfande Polen*, Stockholm 1942, 207 p. (reedited in German in 1944, in Zürich); N. Żaba, M. Hansson (eds.), *Der kämpfende Polen*, Zürich 1944, 222 p. Cf. W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna administracja cywilna: 1940–1945*, Warsaw 2003, p. 70; Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, *Jerzy Giedroyc Listy. 1952–1998*, selected, edited and with an introduction by D. Platt, Wrocław 2001, 251 p.; Z. Barczyk, *Życie na łąkach: ze wspomnień Norberta Żaby*, Uppsala 1995, 226 p.

Russia was for Sukiennicki a specific and peculiar feature, completely different – in his view – from the Soviet state, and representing a country he approached with some sympathy and with deep understanding of its uniqueness. There was no trace or scent of Polish nationalism in his thinking, and I was confronted with his positive and open attitude to Poland's neighbouring countries and – indeed – very positively surprised by it. Let me stress that his opinions were in complete opposition to those of a typical émigré in London at the time. Later, I understood that his motherland was not limited to Poland: it embraced a state which had disappeared from the map of Europe at the end of the 18th century – the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the “great absentee”.

* * *

Wiktor Sukiennicki was very popular in émigré circles in the 1970s. He authored many popular books, along with a number of articles, published mostly in the Paris-based journals *Kultura* and *Zeszyty Historyczne*. Many of these books provided young Polish readers with first-hand information sources concerning the secret protocols of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, the Katyń massacre, and many other topics and historical facts banned in Poland at that time.

In 1978, Wiktor's public lectures in Stockholm were attended by crowds of people, mostly young people from Poland, but “old émigrés” as well. When received in private apartments and homes, he was always welcomed warmly and with enormous respect – an aspect which was so apparent to me as I was personally involved in such meetings on more than one occasion.

Gradually, I soon grasped that the young émigrés had done some serious work to popularize Sukiennicki in Sweden, both the man and his literary output. Once the ferry from Gdansk anchored in Nynäshamn, south of Stockholm, all Polish passengers – not to mention the Scandinavians – received a booklet concerning mystified facts of Polish history, falsified aspects of the Soviet Union's history, World War II, the Katyń massacre, and many other topics. The content of brochures was largely based on excerpts from Sukiennicki writings, especially from his *White Book*, which presented uncensored sources and documents concerning both World Wars.⁵

This large-scale socio-political action was a success; as mentioned before, crowds mobbed Wiktor's Stockholm lectures. A side effect of our acquaintance was that I happily managed to help alleviate a conflict between Professor Sukiennicki and Norbert Żaba, which had arisen a year or two earlier, during Wiktor's previous visit to Sweden. The two gentlemen had to remain at least civil to each other due to my intervention, as I kept in touch and was in good relations with both of them. Eventually, a “bilateral peace agreement” was concluded between the two.

⁵ W. Sukiennicki, *Biała księga: fakty i dokumenty z okresów dwóch wojen światowych*, Paris 1964, p. 174.

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Wiktor Sukiennicki's biography is rather widely known, and so it should only be reminded that the Polish Biographical Dictionary comprises a reliable biography of Sukiennicki by Prof. Marek Kornat.⁶ In numerous works of his, Kornat has defined Professor Sukiennicki's position in the Polish Sovietology academic circle.⁷ The picture is completed by various articles written in memoriam, after Sukiennicki's death by Wiktor Weintraub, Maciej Siekierski, Stanisław Swianiewicz, Natalia Kłossowska, and many others.⁸

However, to me, the most important seems the commemorative essay by Czesław Miłosz, first published in the Warsaw journal *Kultura*, alongside his article on Jerzy Andrzejewski, who died around the same time. Miłosz's article was also published, in a censored version, by the Krakow-based Catholic weekly *Tygodnik Powszechny*, and finally in the book *Zaczynając od moich ulic* [Beginning with My Streets].⁹

In my opinion, Czesław Miłosz laid the foundations for the myth of Professor Wiktor Sukiennicki – the man perceived as a relic of historical Lithuania. This myth is very attractive, but the question arises: Was this intellectual construct based in reality, or just poetic licence by the author?

One crucial aspect of this concept is also a clue to Wiktor Sukiennicki's personality, which peculiarly describes him as an exponent of the phenomenon of "the last citizen of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania". This formula, whose popularity would later reach peak proportions, was also implemented to define a number of other personage with Lithuanian roots; it has been used to describe many intellectuals, such as Prof. Stanisław Swianiewicz, economist and a close friend of Sukiennicki in Wilno and England, or even Czesław Miłosz himself. But the question still remains: was Professor Sukiennicki one of the last citizens of historical Lithuania? Let us make an attempt at an answer.

* * *

Sukiennicki was born to a lesser-noble family in Aleksota near Kaunas (today, part of Kaunas). At that time, Kaunas was a border town between the province of Kaunas, which was part of the Russian Empire, and the province of Suwałki (Suwałkai), which

⁶ M. Kornat, *Sukiennicki Wiktor (1901–1983)*, [in:] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (hereinafter, PSB), Warsaw-Cracow 2008, Vol. XLV/3, No. 186, pp. 396–401.

⁷ M. Kornat, *Bolszewizm – totalitaryzm – rewolucja – Rosja. Początki sowietologii i studiów nad systemami totalitarnymi w Polsce (1918–1939)*, Cracow 2003; idem, *Polska szkoła sowietologiczna (1930–1939)*, Cracow 2003–2004, Vols. I–II, and others. Specifically on Sukiennicki, see: M. Kornat, *Wiktor Sukiennicki (1901–1983). Prawnik – sowietolog – historyk*, "Zeszyty Historyczne", (Paris) 2001, No. 137, pp. 35–75.

⁸ See Kornat, PSB, p. 401.

⁹ C. Miłosz, *Sukiennicki, Andrzejewski*, "Kultura", 1983, No. 6, "Tygodnik Powszechny", 1983, No. 35; idem, *Zaczynając od moich ulic*, Paris 1985, pp. 334–342.

was located within the Kingdom of Poland and was also ruled by Tsarist authorities. Wiktor returned to Kaunas in 1918, following wartime evacuation to Russia. At the age of seventeen, he entered the ranks of the Polish Military Organisation (POW), and was transferred to Wilno. In 1919, he took part in underground preparations for the unsuccessful Polish coup d'état in Kaunas, which was prevented by the authorities of the newly-reborn Lithuanian Republic

He subsequently took part in the Polish-Bolshevik War of 1920 as a volunteer, and after completing military school in Warsaw, he was made a second lieutenant (*podporucznik*). During his law studies at Stefan Batory University, he was a member of the "Liberation" Polish Peasant Party (PSL "Wyzwolenie"). In the 1930s, as an assistant professor at the university and lecturer at Wilno's Higher School of Social Sciences, the Eastern Europe Research Institute (*Instytut Naukowo-Badawczy Europy Wschodniej*), Sukiennicki was suspected of being linked with communist circles and also of being an exponent of Polish military intelligence – the Second Department of the General Staff of the Polish Army. When Lithuania was conquered by the Soviet Union, he was removed from a prisoner transport headed to Starobelsk camp (probably owing to his fame), put in an NKVD prison, and finally sent to Krasnoyarsky Krai, which unquestionably saved his life. Later on, he arrived in England, following a long journey through Iran and the Middle East,

* * *

The question must be asked: did Wiktor Sukiennicki, the man and scholar, think about historical Lithuania before the war? Or was he – simply – straightforwardly devoted to the newly reborn Polish Republic? It seems clear to me that during his inter-war days, Sukiennicki was focused, first and foremost, on his research activities and academic career. He was a devout Polish patriot for whom the independence of his mother country took absolute primacy. He was also greatly influenced by Józef Piłsudski's ideas, especially the concept of a future federation between Poland and its Eastern neighbours (needless to say, this concept eventually failed.)

If he thought about Lithuania at that moment, Sukiennicki – after all, a lawyer and expert in international and comparative law – was primarily focused on contemporary political problems in bilateral relations between Lithuania and Poland. His PhD and habilitation theses were genuine monographs discussing international law issues: *La souveraineté des états en droit international moderne* (Paris 1927), and *Podstawa obowiązywania prawa narodów. Studium prawne* [The foundation of the obligatory nature of the law of nations. A study of legal aspects] (Wilno 1929).¹⁰ Both studies were devoted to the issues of sovereignty of nations and individual human rights. In my opinion, the latter monograph was quite a novel concept, heralding future research in human rights to some degree, a field that gained popularity after World War II.

¹⁰ M. Kornat, *Sukiennicki...*, p.387.

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In his commemorative text, Czesław Miłosz wrote: “In America we had only one common topic which brought us closer to one another: the historic Lithuania”¹¹; “Sukiennicki”, he added, “was one of those, rather scarce ones, who, being perfectly aware of the vanishing of historic Lithuania, were attached to its tradition, and persisted in expressing their affection.”¹²

From my point of view, Sukiennicki’s vision of our part of the European continent, which was so characteristic of him before World War II, sharply and visibly changed right after the war ended. From that moment onwards, when he lost his roots in Lithuania – Wilno, most of all – he began creating an imaginary “supplementary world” in his mind. Wilno and Lithuania were gradually turned into a kind of sacred memory, a mental temple of remembrance, and a lost paradise which slowly but surely grew to enormous dimensions, to finally take prevalence in Wiktor’s consciousness – and in his life – until the end of his days. I was an occasional witness to the last phase of this personal transformation, which occurred in 1978 and lasted the end of 1981, the moment martial law was imposed in Poland.

The first fascicle of the émigré magazine *Alma Mater Vilnensis*, published in London in 1950, was edited and prepared by Sukiennicki, who was also the moving spirit behind the establishment of the Academic Community of Stefan Batory University in London¹³. The aforesaid first volume, one of six (copies of which I obtained from Wiktor’s private library in London), dealt with the formation of the Community and the University’s vicissitudes during the war years. Subsequent volumes, especially those published in 1951 and 1953, covered aspects of the history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and the nations once inhabiting that country.¹⁴

When considering Wiktor Sukiennicki’s post-war literary output, one finds that he produced a wealth of smaller articles, contributions and scholarly additions regarding the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Lithuania, Belarus and Wilno/Vilnius, surrounded, as it were, by his major works – those on Soviet Russia and Polish-Soviet relations, which formed the main fields of his scholarly interests. Viewed from the present-day perspective, some of those lesser contributions are crucial indeed – one example being his famous article concerning the political consequences of a semantic mistake, originally published in the NYC-based *Studies in Polish Civilization*.¹⁵ The key to this

¹¹ C. Miłosz, *Zaczynając od moich ulic*, p. 335.

¹² Ibidem, p. 334.

¹³ B. Podoski, *Sprawozdanie*, [in:] *Dzieje ziem Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Cykl wykładów*, “Alma Mater Vilnensis”, London 1953, p. 7.

¹⁴ Cf. W. Wielhorski, *Litwini, Białorusini, Polacy w dziejach kultury Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, [in:] *Dzieje ziem Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Cykl wykładów*, “Alma Mater Vilnensis”, London 1953, pp. 19–158.

¹⁵ W. Sukiennicki, *Political consequences of a semantic mistake*, “Studies in Polish Civilization”, New York 1971; Polish translation in: “Zeszyty Historyczne”, 1985, No. 72.

text was using the false formula of Poland to define the whole territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth after the partitions (as well as before the partitions), and – at the same time – losing the core character of this state – its Lithuanian and Ruthenian sphere, not to mention about the Grand Duchy of Lithuania narratives.

Yet, Sukiennicki wrote few books on historical Lithuania's territories in the 20th century. In fact, he has only one such considerable-sized book to his credit, *Legenda i rzeczywistość*¹⁶, which disclosed the false narratives of Jerzy Putrament's memoirs *Rzeczywistość* (The Reality).

In his last days, Wiktor Sukiennicki wrote his opus magnum – the two-volume monograph *East Central Europe During World War I: From Foreign Domination to National Independence* (Boulder, New York 1984), which seems to be the most valuable book of his entire lifetime, and a historiographical masterpiece dealing with the former territories of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The high quality of this monograph was stressed by Professor Juliusz Bardach, who as a student attended Professor Sukiennicki's seminar in Wilno before the war. Although the book covers the whole territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth within its historical borders around 1772, it in fact mostly focuses on the former territory of the Grand Duchy and the Congress Kingdom of Poland.¹⁷ The crucial value of this monograph lies in its underlying sources, which were primarily found in many West European and American archives. As Professor Bardach wrote: "This masterpiece is not, as the Introduction might suggest, a *livre à thèse*. The author does not limit himself to displaying his favourites, his sympathies and antipathies: his commentaries are, generally, separated from the main narrative".¹⁸ Needless to say, it is a great misfortune that this monograph is still waiting to be translated into Polish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Belarusian and Russian.

* * *

"Professor Sukiennicki defined himself as a specimen of a nearly extinct species, as a 'Lithuanian' in the old sense of the word, though Polish by culture" – Czesław Miłosz so described the dominant trait in Professor Sukiennicki's personality; this well-known phrase comes from the preface to the aforesaid work penned by Sukiennicki.¹⁹

Whatever one's approach to this opinion, I personally believe that Sukiennicki's personality evolved and was gradually transformed from the state of a kind of "soft sentimentality" towards historical Lithuania to deep, "hardcore" feelings at the end

¹⁶ W. Sukiennicki, *Legenda i rzeczywistość. Wspomnienia i uwagi o dwudziestu latach Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego w Wilnie*, Paris 1967.

¹⁷ J. Bardach, *Recenzja*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny", Vol. XCIII: 1987, No. 4, pp. 1163–1166.

¹⁸ Ibidem, p. 1166.

¹⁹ C. Miłosz, *Preface*, [in:] W. Sukiennicki, *East Central Europe during the World War One: From foreign domination to national independence*, Boulder-New York 1984, Vol. I, p. IX.

of his life. This state of affairs was like an illness, conquering and embracing Wiktor's mind almost entirely. Czesław Miłosz quotes an excellent example of this situation. When Sukiennicki was asked in Palo Alto, by an unnamed friend of Czesław's, about his actual permanent residence – California, or London? – he replied, right off the bat: “Dear Madam, I live neither in Palo Alto nor in London. I permanently live in Wilno.”²⁰

As is widely known, Wiktor Sukiennicki decided to be cremated, and since he could not be buried in Wilno (which had become Vilnius by then), he ordered his ashes be spread over the Pacific Ocean near the California coast. This wish was fulfilled by his wife and son. Halina Sukiennicka, Wiktor's spouse, says that he was ever the typical scholar, also in informal situations: “Other than his books and scholarly work, he was interested to some extent in things rare and quite specific. In everyday life, he was not very useful.”²¹

On the other hand, Professor Sukiennicki was an excellent lecturer, a perfect tutor in his seminars, and a fascinating personality. Czesław Miłosz wrote that Wiktor was never a happy man, especially after the war; but I remember him as an open person, full of humour; someone you could listen to well into the night. True, living in exile is a challenge, regardless of what sort of human being you are, and Wiktor was not an exception to this rule. While his physical body was in California, London, or elsewhere in the West, he was mentally fixed in Wilno's Zaułek Portowy 5 (No. 5 Port Lane) – a place not to be compared with Palo Alto, but much closer and far sweeter to his heart.

CONCLUSION

For a historian, his job is not just sources and facts – his work is the analysis, criticism, disassembly and interpretation of them. However, despite professionalism and integrity – especially in archival research – great discrepancies and disagreement exist in the interpretation of source materials. Despite attempts at objectivism, we take on – often subconsciously and not fully aware – certain research assumptions based on our knowledge beyond any given source material; experiences taken from home and school, the baggage of our upbringing, origin, faith and nationality. The picture is even more complicated when we realise that the source authors were also affected by these influences. What is more, they created the records and documents of their times with a particular approach and disposition, resulting from the period they were active, their own political, social and religious views, as well as the expectations of their direct superiors. In a word, sources can also not be (and often are not) “objective” materials.

²⁰ C. Miłosz, *Sukiennicki, Andrzejewski...*, p. 342.

²¹ J. Malicki, *Imponował erudycją. Rozmowa z p. Haliną Sukiennicką, wdową po profesorze Wiktorze Sukiennickim*, “Obóz”, 1993 (summer), No. 27, p. 21.

The chapters comprising this book are also not “objective”. They present, as much as possible, the picture which results from the analysed source materials, and also reveals the problems which – for biurocrats at the time, as well as the objects of their administrative activities – found themselves in the so-called “main purview of activity”. They represented the *leitmotiv* of official duties. In this sense, even detailed source analysis and honest research does not protect us from certain mistakes, while the reconstructed image can show merely a part of the truth and an iota of reality. Nonetheless, it is important to make such attempts. In order to discover new answers, new questions must first be put forth.

Social changes resulting from state policy, economic and cultural transformations, as well as the consequences of certain popular ideas in a given moment, are especially misleading materials. View and opinions evolve. Moreover, each person operates in their own, individual world of beliefs. They have their own views, ideals, personal experiences and systems of value. Only a portion of them are community experiences of a social or national character. But even these joint spheres of identical understanding of the reality which surrounds us can have different roots, and be the result of totally different causes.

In this sense, Polish radicalism and non-conformism, which in my opinion is the specific legacy of the old noble (*szlachta*) culture – especially in its “lesser noble” and revolutionary form, connected to the fall of the First Rzeczpospolita and the degradation of the social stratum in the 19th century – also has other sources. Sources regarding which there is not much information in books. Nonetheless, I believe that it is worth understanding the particular situation of the lesser nobility, which not only supported the ranks of the townspeople and the peasants, but also the middle-class, not to mention its upper crust, known as the intelligentsia in our part of Europe. Many people of letters, thinkers, writers and scholar came from this sphere; whose individualism led to new discoveries, helped create new ideas, and who were a driving force enabling survival in the most difficult periods of history. The intelligentsia, thus, became a specific carrier of, not only, traditional values, but also rebellious ideas and defiant beliefs. In my humble opinion, this sphere is also the sources of Polish non-conformism and devotion to the democratic ideals of freedom, equality and brotherhood, which so often were emblazoned next to the most popular slogan of regaining independence.

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