

# Recherche historique Courants et structures

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## POLISH-SOVIET SOURCE BOOKS FOR THE HISTORY OF POLISH SOCIO-POLITICAL MOVEMENTS OF THE 19TH CENTURY

*A quarter of a century ago,<sup>1</sup> the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences, together with the Institute of Slavonic and Balkan Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, and under the auspices of the chief archive managements of the two countries, undertook to publish an edition of sources for the history of socio-political movements of the 19th century.*

*Two library editions are in question. The first is "Powstanie Styczniowe. Materiały i dokumenty" [The January Insurrection. Materials and Documents], a publication which is nearing completion. The first volume appeared in 1961, during the centenary of the events of 1861 - 1864; it comprised the well-known "Zapiski" [Notes] and inquiry evidence of Oskar Aweyde, a participant in the January Insurrection. The "Zapiski" were once published in St. Petersburg in an issue of a few copies "for internal use", so that in academic circulation they operated on the prin-*

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<sup>1</sup> The first full session of the Joint Polish-Soviet Committee concerning the question of publication of sources for the January Insurrection took place in Warsaw in January, 1958. Its members included E. Halicz, L. Jakovlev, S. Kieniewicz, K. Konarski, V. Koroluk, I. Miller, F. Ramotowska, W. Śliwowska, F. Dolgikh, and V. Djakov. Three members of the Committee died before the completion of its work—K. Konarski, I. Miller, and V. Koroluk.

inciple of a manuscript. The twenty-fifth and last volume of the series, containing documents on national civilian organization (1862 - 1864), has already been prepared for printing. The second series—"Polskie Ruchy Społeczno-Polityczne i Życie Literackie. 1832 - 1855. Studia i Materiały" [Polish Socio-Political Movements and Literary Life, 1832 - 1855. Research and Materials]—to which the Institute of Literary Research, PAS, and the USSR Institute of History at Lvov also contributed, aside from the Institute of History, PAS—is in the process of preparation (of the seven volumes planned, two have appeared in print, one has been submitted to the publishers, Ossolineum, and the others are at various preliminary stages of work).

The editors and contributors to the first publication have on several occasions given information in the columns of academic journals concerning its aims, and work methods and progress,<sup>2</sup> whilst in the last volume—in a preface entitled "At the publication's close"—a kind of summing-up is given by Stefan Kieniewicz, one of the main inspirers and initiators of the publication, alongside S. Miller. Individual volumes have been reviewed in academic journals in Poland and abroad; "Dokumenty Komitetu Centralnego Narodowego i Rządu Narodowego" [Documents of the National Central Committee and the National Government] created the most stir, the only volume in the series to draw attention in the columns of the literary and social press as well.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> V. D. Koroluk, I. S. Miller, O sovetsko-polskoj sovместnoj publikacii istočnikov po istorii vosstanija 1863-1864 gg., "Novaja i novejšaja istorija", 1958, No. 6 (reprinted in Polish: "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 1959, No. 1, pp. 299-303); H. Ch. [Chamerska] in: "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 1958, No. 1, pp. 282-284; S. Kieniewicz, *ibidem*, No. 1, p. 963; K. Groniowski, *ibidem*, 1960, No. 1, pp. 268-271; S. Kieniewicz, Powstanie styczniowe. Materiały i dokumenty [The January Insurrection. Materials and Documents], "Studia Źródłoznawcze", vol. XIII, 1968, pp. 161-166; I. S. Miller, Vosstanie 1863 goda (Ob opyte podgotovki sovetsko-polskogo izdanija dokumentov), "Arheografičeskij Źegodnik", 1972, pp. 36-47; S. Kieniewicz, Siedemnaście lat współdziałania na odcinku XIX wieku [Seventeen Years of Co-operation on the 19th Century], "Przegląd Historyczny", 1974, No. 2, pp. 725-728.

<sup>3</sup> "Życie Literackie", 1968, No. 10, p. 3. Opinions have been expressed on particular volumes, in Poland by, *inter alia*, S. Chankowski, J. Jedlicki, I. Koberdowa, R. Kołodziejczyk, P. Łossowski, T. Menzel, K. Śreniowska, J. Tomczyk, M. Tyrowicz, M. Wierchowski, and L. Zabielski, in the columns of "Acta Balticoslavica", "Archeion", "Kwartalnik Historyczny",

*It would seem that this enterprise occupies a fundamental place in the achievements of the Institute of History of the PAS : with complete assurance, we can already say of it that many a generation of historians (and not only historians) will borrow from it. This follows not only from the fact that weighty documents are published in it which are difficult or downright impossible for researchers (let alone wider circles of readers) to obtain, but also from the editorial principle adopted, to wit, the providing of given source complexes—with minor exceptions<sup>4</sup>—in their entirety ; and if selections have had to be made, of necessity (in view of over-abundant material), then such sections are presented as constitute a certain whole, and in such a way that the researcher does not have to have further recourse to a given archive collection and check what has been omitted from it and why (he can find information on this matter in the prefaces and notes). Over and above this, these are volumes which could not arise as individual enterprises, outside the context of institutes collaborating with each other, since their preparation required the employment of resources accessible only to institutions, on the strength of international agreements, and the participation*

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“Nowe Książki”, “Przegląd Historyczny”, “Rocznik Lubelski”, “Rocznik Łódzki”, “Studia z dziejów ZSSR i Europy Środkowej”, and “Zeszyty Prasoznawcze”, and abroad by, *inter alia*, S. Bóbr-Tylingo, E. Halicz, S. Hartmann, R. F. Leslie, and G. Marachow, in “American Historical Review”, “English Historical Review”, “Jahrbuch für Geschichte Osteuropas”, “Sovetskaja Ukraina”, “Teki Historyczne”, “Zeitschrift für Ostforschung” *et al.*

<sup>4</sup> These apply to such thematic volumes as those devoted to Polish-Russian revolutionary collaboration, the socio-political movement in the Ukraine, Lithuania and Byelorussia, and to the Prussian area and Galicia. On this point Prof. Kieniewicz writes : “We had a choice between two entirely different courses : an integral publication of separate compact units, or a publication of documents of varied origin relating to one theme. The first course would give the user the absolute or almost absolute equivalent of an archival original, but, needless to say, could only render accessible a minute proportion of extant collections. The second course opened up wider prospects, but would not guarantee the customers exhaustive searches. In practice we took the middle course for the most part. The basis of the composition of the volume was the subject-matter usually ; on the other hand we endeavoured, especially in the volumes prepared in Poland, to limit the element of random in selecting documents, and to define in a tolerably precise way the criteria for selection” (“Studia Źródloznawcze”, p. 162).

of a numerous body of individuals carrying out searches and preparing material for printing.

The completion of work on the first, twenty-five-volume series, numbering almost 1,100 publishing sheets, would seem to be a suitable point at which to sum up. Of these 25 volumes, 7 appeared in the USSR during the years 1961-1965, and publication of the remaining 18 volumes in the Polish People's Republic has been stretched out over an entire Twenty-year period. In the 7 volumes published in the USSR, there were 1,456 documents, and in the 18 Polish volumes, 4,664 documents. Also published have been two expansive treatments (taking up a dozen or so publishing sheets) of the history of the insurrection, which originated within Annexe X of the Warsaw Citadel (the tsarist political prison) and were written by Oskar Aweyde (Moscow 1961) and Zdzisław Janczewski, with the participation of other prisoners (Wrocław 1963). The greater part of these documents has never before been available in entirety, and many of them have never been in academic circulation and are finding their way into the hands of specialists for the first time.

However, the series—so impressive in respect of volume—could only include a proportion of the inedited works concerning the January Insurrection. Some of these went beyond the subject-matter of the various volumes as circumscribed by the editorial board—for example, printed ephemera from before the outbreak of the insurrection, complete financial and office records of the insurrection authorities—for all areas embraced by the movement, the correspondence of the National Government's foreign agents, lists of participants in the insurrection and victims of repression, and material relating to their Siberian fortunes, evidence from memoirs and so on. Only one volume deals with émigré problems, and this only in relation to one grouping, namely the Union of Polish Émigrés (see note 12). Some of these documents have seen the light of day in other publications, appearing both at the end of the last century and during the inter-war period, as well as after the Second World War.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Wydawnictwo materiałów do historii powstania 1863-1864 r. [The Publication of Materials on the History of the Insurrection of 1863-1864], vols. I-V, Lwów 1888-1894; Polska działalność dyplomatyczna 1863-

In the 25 volumes of this library edition documents have been made available, to which researchers had practically no access. After all, gathered together here is source material scattered between dozens of archives and manuscript departments in libraries literally all over the world, from Vilnius to Chicago, and from Moscow to Paris—documents which have never before been grouped together and which only spoke with full voice in conjunction with one another (the list of libraries, archives and museums which the documents published in the series come from includes 28 Polish institutes, 29 Soviet establishments, and 7 others). Not without significance, too, is the fact that, owing to their being stored in bad conditions, over-frequent “usage” and so on, some of these manuscripts and recondite publications are undergoing further decay with the passing of the years (this applies, for example, to some of the notes written in pencil). Thus, it is by no means an exaggeration to say that these invaluable “remnants” of records which have survived successive calamities, especially the Second World War, have been saved from ruin through publication in successive volumes of the current series. Above all, this concerns sources testifying to the activity of the first “underground Polish state”: it is these which have gone into the volumes on the insurgents’ clandestine press, the volume of documents relating to the National Central Committee and the National Government, and to the latter’s War Department, the volumes on local military and civil authorities, and also the volumes presenting material concerning the Prussian area and Galicia. This is material without which it is difficult to grasp the workings of the underground apparatus of the authorities. The publication of this material, the records gathered together

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1864 [Polish Diplomatic Activity, 1863-1864], ed. A. Lewak, vol. I, Warszawa 1937, vol. II, Warszawa 1963; *Proces Romualda Traugutta i członków Rządu Narodowego. Akta Audytoriatu Polowego* [The Trial of Romuald Traugutt and the Members of the National Government. Records of the Field Regimental Court], vols. I-IV, ed. E. Halicz, Warszawa 1960-1961; *Zeznania śledcze o powstaniu styczniowym* [Inquiry Evidence Concerning the January Insurrection], compiled by S. Kieniewicz, Wrocław 1956; *Raporty konsulów generalnych Francji w Warszawie 1860-1864* [The Reports of France’s Consuls-General in Warsaw, 1860-1864], compiled by I. Koberdowa, Wrocław 1965.

here, provided the basis (often still as typescripts, before the printing stage) for such monumental syntheses on the January Insurrection as the books by Kieniewicz<sup>6</sup> and Franciszka Ramotowska.<sup>7</sup>

This applies in equal measure to the 4 volumes containing the correspondence of viceroys of the Polish Kingdom from the years 1861 - 1864. These documents, too, emanating from the most recondite tsarist archives of the time, were randomly known previously: the early dispatches from the period of the patriotic demonstrations of 1861 were published before the First World War, in the journal "Russkaja Starina",<sup>8</sup> in Mikołaj Berg's work<sup>9</sup> —in Polish translation, and then in fragments in the journal "Dela i Dni".<sup>10</sup> However, the correspondence was not accessible in its complete form.<sup>11</sup> And when all is said and done, this is

<sup>6</sup> S. Kieniewicz, *Powstanie styczniowe* [The January Insurrection], Warszawa 1972. In his penetrating review of this monograph, Miller writes: "A great synthetic work is the best verification of the quality and usefulness of source publications. [...] I can state with satisfaction that this publication constitutes a substantial section of the synthetic workshop, and that this synthetic work confirms the legitimacy of its basic fundamentals and plans", and he calculates that the author refers to the publication over one thousand times, mostly to the volumes containing documents relating to the National Government and the secret press, the correspondence of the viceroys, and the volumes concerning revolutionary co-operation (I. S. Miller, *Powstanie styczniowe* [The January Insurrection], "Przegląd Historyczny", 1973, No. 2, pp. 410 - 411).

<sup>7</sup> F. Ramotowska, *Rząd carski wobec manifestacji patriotycznych w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1860 - 1862* [The Tsarist Government in the Face of the Patriotic Demonstrations in the Kingdom of Poland during the Years 1860 - 1862], Wrocław 1971; eadem, *Rząd Narodowy Polski w latach 1863 - 1864 (skład, organizacja, kancelaria)* [The Polish National Government in the Years 1863 - 1864 (Composition, Organization, Records)], Warszawa 1978.

<sup>8</sup> "Russkaja Starina", 1889, No. 10; 1890, Nos. 11, 12.

<sup>9</sup> M. Berg, *Zapiski o powstaniu polskim 1863 i 1864 r. i poprzedzającej powstanie epoce demonstracji* [Notes Concerning the Polish Insurrection of 1863 and 1864 and the Period of Demonstrations Preceding the Insurrection], vol. I, Kraków 1898, pp. 299 - 329; vol. II, Kraków 1899, pp. 399 - 451 (a not too accurate translation from the periodical "Russkaja Starina" for 1882 and 1883).

<sup>10</sup> "Dela i Dni", 1920 - 1922, vols. 1 - 3. Polish translation: A. Kraushar, *Listy poufne Aleksandra II i w. ks. Konstantego* [The Private Letters of Aleksandr II and the Grand Duke Konstantin], "Tydzień Polski", 1922.

<sup>11</sup> These documents were occasionally drawn on by authors of monographs, for example V. G. Revunenkov, *Polskoe vosstanie 1863 g. i evropejskaja diplomatija*, Leningrad 1957; I. Koberdowa, *Wielki książę Konstanty w Warszawie 1862 - 1863* [The Grand Duke Konstantin in Warsaw, 1862 - 1863], Warszawa 1962.

material which is fundamental to an understanding of the successive stages of the policy of the invaders in the subjugated and mutinous country, the oscillations and turns of that policy, the individuals who participated in the struggles, the motives which prompted them, and their reactions to particular events within the Kingdom of Poland, to the international situation, and to the steps taken in the international arena on the Polish question, discussed in historical literature many times. And when, in addition, we come to realize that a considerable proportion of this correspondence—from July, 1862 to August, 1863—consists of a vast number of communications by letter and telegraph, sent from week to week, and sometimes from day to day, between the two imperial brothers, Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich and Aleksandr II, the Tsar-Liberator, both of whom were above-average personalities, whilst the circle of dignitaries in which they moved was comprised of people of no mean significance (their letters are also contained in the volumes)—it is easy to grasp the significance of the sources presented. The letters exchanged during this unusually heated period in Polish history between “lyubezhnyi Kostya” and “lyubezhneishij Sasha” (Dear Kostya and Dearest Sasha) as they addressed each other, have about them that personal tinge, unusual in documents of this kind; the particular frankness of opinion, its private subtext, throw an unusual light on the politics of the time, as represented by the two Romanovs. The letters reveal unexpected aspects of mutual relations between Warsaw and St. Petersburg, show up the ins and outs of tsarist policy, the spiritual state of those in power at the moment of danger, their relationship to society, the expectation of support from particular quarters, and the disappointment when it did not materialize; they reveal controversial issues at successive stages of development of the internal and international situation. The reports of the other viceroys—from Mikhail Gorchakov to Fjodor Berg—and the letters addressed to them, as well as the reports of high public officials who participated in the shaping of Russia’s Polish policy, possess a different character, but they, too, provide a colossal amount of material on the question of the conduct of the invaders, under conditions which varied from month to month, on the question of enforced concessions

and reforms, and then of a return to the policy of repression and ruthless pacification of the mutinous province.

A mere listing of the titles of the volumes published<sup>12</sup> gives some idea of the subject range of the publication, which includes, among other things, a fair number of documents concerning the pre-insurrection period (the patriotic demonstrations in the

<sup>12</sup> Following is a list of the volumes in order of publication: 1) *Zeznania śledcze i zapiski Oskara Awejde* [The Inquiry Evidence and Notes of Oskar Awejde], Moskwa 1961, XLVIII, 663 pp. 2) *Chtopi i sprawa chłopska w powstaniu styczniowym. Materiały z terenu guberni radomskiej* [The Peasants and the Peasant Question in the January Insurrection. Materials from the Radom Gubernija], Wrocław 1962, XLVI, 307 pp. 3) 4) *Współpraca rewolucyjna polsko-rosyjska* [Polish-Russian Revolutionary Co-operation], Moskwa 1963, vols. I-II, CXXII, 583; 794 pp. 5) *Ruch społeczno-polityczny na Ukrainie w 1856-1862 r.* [The Socio-Political Movement in the Ukraine in the Years 1856-1862], Kijów 1963, LIV, 387 pp. 6) *Ruch rewolucyjny 1861 roku w Królestwie Polskim. Manifestacje na prowincji* [The Revolutionary Movement of 1861 in the Kingdom of Poland. Demonstrations in the Provinces], Wrocław 1963, XXXVIII, 282 pp. 7) *Ruch rewolucyjny na Litwie i Białorusi 1861-1862 r.* [The Revolutionary Movement in Lithuania and Byelorussia, 1861-1862], Moskwa 1964, LXXII, 707 pp. 8) *Ruch społeczno-polityczny na Ukrainie w 1863-1864 r.* [The Socio-Political Movement in the Ukraine in the Years 1863-1864], Kijów 1964, L, 551 pp. 9) *Korespondencja namiestników Królestwa Polskiego z 1861 r.* [Correspondence of the Viceroys of the Kingdom of Poland from the Year 1861], Wrocław 1964, XXXII, 374 pp. 10) *Powstanie na Litwie i Białorusi 1863-1864 r.* [Insurrection in Lithuania and Byelorussia, 1863-1864], Moskwa 1965, LVI, 586 pp. 11) *Zbiór zeznań śledczych o przebiegu powstania styczniowego* [A Collection of Inquiry Evidence on the Course of the January Insurrection], Wrocław 1965, LX, 454 pp. 12) *Prasa tajna z lat 1861-1864* [The Clandestine Press of the Years 1861-1864], Part 1, Wrocław 1966, XLII, 640 pp. 13) *Dokumenty Komitetu Centralnego Narodowego i Rządu Narodowego 1862-1864* [Documents of the National Central Committee and the National Government, 1862-1864], Wrocław 1968, LXXXVIII, 662 pp. 14) *Zabór pruski w powstaniu styczniowym* [The Prussian Part of Poland in the January Insurrection], Wrocław 1968, LXXXVI, 371 pp. 15) *Prasa tajna z lat 1861-1864* [The Clandestine Press of the Years 1861-1864], Part 2, Wrocław 1969, X, 555 pp. 16) *Prasa tajna z lat 1861-1864* [The Clandestine Press of the Years 1861-1864], Part 3, Wrocław 1970, XX, 362, pp. 17) *Zjednoczenie Emigracji Polskiej (1866-1870). Lewica na emigracji* [The Union of Polish Émigrés (1866-1870). The Left in Exile], Wrocław 1972, LVIII, 398 pp. 18) *Dokumenty Wydziału Wojny Rządu Narodowego 1863-1864* [Documents of the War Department of the National Government, 1863-1864], Wrocław 1973, XL, 338 pp. 19) *Korespondencja namiestników Królestwa Polskiego z lat 1861-1863* [Correspondence of the Viceroys of the Kingdom of Poland from the Years 1861-1863], Wrocław 1973, XXII, 400 pp. 20) *Korespondencja namiestników Królestwa Polskiego, styczeń-sierpień 1863* [Correspondence of the Viceroys of the Kingdom of Poland, January-August, 1863], Wrocław 1974, XX, 412 pp. 21) *Dokumenty terenowych władz wojskowych powstania styczniowego 1863-1864* [Documents of Local Military Authorities of the January Insurrection, 1863-1864], Wrocław 1976, XXXII, 402 pp. 22) Ko-



Kingdom of Poland and other areas), documentation concerning the peasant protests (using the example of the Radom region), an extensive set of documents on the shaping of a Polish-Russian revolutionary alliance during the sixties, and finally a section containing the inquiry evidence of prisoners of the Warsaw Citadel, as well as disquisitions on the insurrection written at the behest of and under the supervision of members of the Commission of Inquiry, who were more often than not responsible for their editorial form. In sum, very varied material, useful not only for the reconstruction of the history itself of the January insurrection, but also of the policy of the authorities in its broader sense, the reactions of the different strata of Polish society and also of the progressive circles in Russia to the Polish events, and finally for learning about the spiritual state of participants in the movement after its defeat, their demeanour in the presence of the inquisitors and so on.

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The series "Polskie Ruchy Społeczno-Polityczne i Życie Literackie 1832 - 1855. Studia i Materiały", the so-called "green series", which is now at its half-way mark,<sup>13</sup> has a somewhat different character. Each volume consists of two parts, closely

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respondencja namiestników Królestwa Polskiego, sierpień 1863—maj 1864 [Correspondence of the Viceroy of the Kingdom of Poland, August, 1863—May, 1864], Wrocław 1978, XXIV, 301 pp. 23) *Galicja w powstaniu styczniowym* [Galicia in the January Insurrection], Wrocław 1980, XXXVIII, 502 pp. 24) *Zarys powstania styczniowego opracowany w Warszawskiej Komisji Śledczej* [An Outline of the January Insurrection Compiled by the Warsaw Commission of Inquiry] (the so-called Janczewski outline), in press. 25) *Dokumenty terenowych władz cywilnych powstania styczniowego, 1862 - 1864* [Documents of Local Civil Authorities of the January Insurrection, 1862 - 1864], submitted to publishers.

<sup>13</sup> Two volumes have appeared so far: 1) *Stowarzyszenie Ludu Polskiego w Królestwie Polskim i "świętokrzyżcy"* [The Association of the Polish People in the Kingdom of Poland and the "Holy Cross" Branch], Wrocław 1978; 2) *Rewolucyjna konspiracja w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1840 - 1845* [Revolutionary Conspiracy in the Kingdom of Poland During the Years 1840 - 1845], Wrocław 1981. Vol. 3 has been sent for printing: *Spoleczeństwo polskie i próby wznowienia walki zbrojnej w 1833 r.* [Polish Society and Attempts to Revive the Armed Struggle in

related to one another: disquisitions presenting and supplementing the problems at issue, to which the source material published in the second part appertains. In the first series, this material is preceded merely by bilingual prefaces and provided with essential commentary in textual and reference notes, whilst research arising on the sidelines of inquiries carried out and descriptions of the documentary material, including the immeasurably useful descriptions of particular collections from the point of view of their "Polish" content (e.g. of the collections on Fjodor Berg, Pjotr Valuev, Wiktor Arcimowicz and others), are printed in separate volumes<sup>14</sup> and monographs (see Notes 6 and 7). Similarly, the sources base on which the new series is founded has a somewhat different character: the majority of material comes from two collections: from the archive of the Field Regimental Court of the 1st Army stationed in the Kingdom of Poland, which is presently located within the State Military History Archive in Moscow (CGWIA), and from the collection of the National Court in Lvov of the Central State Historical Archive of the USSR in that town (CGIA USSR). Material from Polish archives is used only sporadically, mostly in commentaries and indexes.

The homogeneity of the material published—its core after all is represented by inquiry and court evidence—has its positive and negative sides, of which the publishers are perfectly aware. The first part, containing the research, is meant precisely to make up for this one-sidedness and to supplement with other evidence the often low credibility level of the sources.

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1833]. The publication of 4 more volumes is planned: vol. 4—*Ruch społeczny w Królestwie Polskim 1830 - 1850. Słownik bio-bibliograficzny* [The Social Movement in the Kingdom of Poland, 1830 - 1850. A Bio-Bibliographical Dictionary]; vol. 5—*Warszawska Organizacja 1848 r. Kółko Entuzjastek i Entuzjastów* [The Warsaw 1848 Organization, the Circle of Enthusiasts]; vol. 6—*Polska w 1846 r.* [Poland in 1846]; vol. 7—*Literatura i konspiracja 1832 - 1855* [Literature and Conspiracy, 1832 - 1855]. The question of extending the series has been considered at the meetings of the editorial committee (consisting of V. A. Djakov, S. M. Falkovic, M. Janion, S. Kieniewicz, B. F. Stakheev and W. Śliwowska).

<sup>14</sup> See *Vosstanie 1863 g. i russko-polskie rewoljucionnyje svjazi*, Moskva 1960; *Russko-polskie rewoljucionnyje svjazi 60-h gg. i vosstanie 1863 g.*, Moskva 1962; *K stoletiju geroičeskoj bor'by za našuju i vašuju svobodu*, Moskva 1964; *Svjazi rewoljucionerov Rossii i Pol'ši XIX—načala XX veka*, Moskva 1968.

However, in order to fully appreciate what kind of material formed the basis of the series in question, what it represents, what its advantages are and what its shortcomings are, it is appropriate to devote a few words to how the material came about, that is to who the "file-openers" were, and also to what fragment of the former whole the records preserved to the present day represent.<sup>15</sup>

After the collapse of the November Insurrection and the superseding of the Kingdom of Poland's constitution by the Organic Statute, which was never observed, the viceroy—Ivan Paskevich, whose plenipotentiary powers were not defined by any legal act (a decree of 17/29 April, 1818 lost its validity and was not replaced by any other)—wielded practically unlimited power. Hence one of the most important institutions was the Personal Chancellery of the Viceroy, where the destinies were decided of His Imperial Majesty's subjects in the Kingdom of Poland, and which therefore accumulated within its registry weighty documentation concerning them.

In April, 1833 the Commission of Inquiry on Matters Concerning Political Offenders Founded at the Office of the Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief was called into being, which operated uninterruptedly throughout the course of the entire period in question, and which investigated the overall shape of affairs concerning any symptoms of "disloyalty" within society, and in particular the undertaking of attempts to "rise to independence".

Operating alongside the central commission were local commissions occasionally convoked by military chiefs in localities where some real or imagined conspiracy centre had been discovered (the Lublin, Kalisz and so on commissions). As a rule, the material gathered by these commissions was subsequently transferred to Warsaw, where further investigation was carried out.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. F. Ramotowska, *Carskie władze represyjne [The Repressive Tsarist Authorities]*, in: *Proces Romualda Traugutta... [The Trial of Romuald Traugutt...]*, vol. I, p. XXXIII ff., also eadem, *Źródła do dziejów ruchu narodowego w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1839 - 1845 przechowywane w Archiwum Głównym Akt Dawnych w Warszawie [Sources for the History of the National Movement in the Kingdom of Poland during the Years 1839 - 1845, Preserved in the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw]*, in: *Rewolucyjna konspiracja w Królestwie Polskim...*, pp. 124 - 130.

*And so the local commissions and the Commission of Inquiry at the Warsaw Citadel were the successive "file-openers", and in the archives of the military chiefs and within the Citadel new layers of evidence on "political offenders" accumulated from year to year.*

*Cases examined within the Commission of Inquiry could be determined in two ways: either administratively, when the judgement was decided by just the viceroy, or judicially, where the War Commission at the Citadel or the Military Court at the Warsaw "Ordonnanzhaus" were called in to examine them. In the first case, the inquiry documentation went to Section II of the Personal Chancellery of the Viceroy and remained in the chancellery's registry; in the second case, the judgements were subject to review within the Field Regimental Court of the Active Army, the supreme military judicial instance, whose verdicts were then affirmed (confirmed) by the viceroy; here the inquiry material—testimonies, exhibits and the voluminous opinions—reports and findings—of the Commission of Inquiry—was received in the Field Regimental Court for renewed investigation. This then was the next set of documents.*

*Amongst the agencies of the political police supervision operating over and above the civil administrative authorities and exercising control over them, and thus taking part in the source-creating process which interests us, a significant rôle was also played by the Warsaw military governor, as the viceroy's deputy (under his authority came the executive and secret police and the gendarmerie); and so corresponding documents originated, too, in the chancellery of the Warsaw military governor (governor-general from 1846).*

*What was the subsequent fate of these fundamental archive collections? After the experiences of November Night, when secret records fell into the "wrong hands" and some of them even saw the light of day in the form of publications, the partitioning authorities systematically removed confidential records from Warsaw. Paskevich himself moved not only private correspondence, but also official documents of major importance to his estate at Homel, which one can ascertain by looking through the inventory of his papers (currently in the Historical Archive*

in Leningrad<sup>16</sup>), and other documents were systematically transferred to St. Petersburg in various years, both in the 19th and the 20th century. In 1915 there was an evacuation of offices together with their registries and entire archives into the depths of the empire. Under the terms of the Treaty of Riga, the basic bulk of these archives returned to Poland and was located in the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw (AGAD). The documents of the commissions of inquiry, especially of the central one working within the Citadel, of the chancelleries of the viceroy and the Warsaw governor-general, and of the headquarters of the "oberpolitsmejster" and military chiefs were used during the two inter-war decades by historians concerned with the independence movement of the period between the insurrections. The works of Marcei Handelsman and his followers, Anna Minkowska, Wisława Knapowska, Włodzimierz Dzwonkowski and others, were based exactly on this material. The almost complete annihilation of all the collections of documents discussed during the Second World War brought about a situation where these publications took on the quality of source material, as practically the only testimony of the past events. Of the entire huge collection of the Commission of Inquiry at the Citadel, only particular sections remain (some returned to the AGAD later than 1945), amongst which is the first volume—the most valuable for us—the summary of the Commission of Inquiry, commonly called the index, in which are noted down in order the political offence "cases" investigated by it. (This summary represented the basis for S. Król's monograph on the Warsaw Citadel<sup>17</sup> and Janusz Berghauzen's works on the patriotic movement of the period between the insurrections and its social composition<sup>18</sup>). Also pre-

<sup>16</sup> See S. Kołodziejczyk, *Archiwum feldmarszałka I. Paskiewicza namiestnika Królestwa Polskiego* [The Archives of Field-Marshal I. Paskevich, Viceroy of the Kingdom of Poland], "Archeion", vol. XXXIV, 1961, pp. 95 - 104.

<sup>17</sup> S. Król, *Cytadela Warszawska. X Pawilon—carskie więzienie polityczne (1833 - 1856)* [The Warsaw Citadel. Annexe X—the Tsar's Political Prison (1833 - 1856)], Warszawa 1956.

<sup>18</sup> J. Berghauzen, *Z badań nad składem społecznym i ideologią organizacji spiskowych w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1835 - 1846* [From Research on the Social Composition and Ideology of Conspiracy Organizations in the Kingdom of Poland during the Years 1835 - 1846], in: *Z epoki Mickiewicza* [From the Mickiewicz Era], a special issue of "Przegląd His-

served are some records of military chiefs (e.g. from Kalisz), as well as other residual material.

Research by Soviet historians during the post-war period revealed the existence within the CGWIA of a collection which had not returned to Poland, thanks to which it survived in its entirety: the archive of the Field Regimental Court of the Active Army (group 16,233). Dawid Fajnhauz had in his time published particular documents from this collection in Polish historical journals, and the Soviet Polish scholar Semjon Landa also borrowed from it. It was only with Vladimir Djakov, who wrote a monograph on Father Piotr Ściegienny and also numerous articles and publications on the basis of these resources, that we were fully informed about them.<sup>19</sup> Rendering the documents accessible in the current series allows for at least the partial filling in of the gaps made by the ravages of the last war. Of course, as we have mentioned, not all inquiry material found its way to the Field Regimental Court. The evidence and exhibits sent there were those which constituted the basis of judgements, and sentences proposed by the commission of inquiry; it was evidence, then, concerning defendants who had already been subjected to the "treatment" many times, evidence which in general repres-

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toryczny", Wrocław 1957, pp. 119 - 169; idem, *Ruch patriotyczny w Królestwie Polskim 1833 - 1850* [The Patriotic Movement in the Kingdom of Poland, 1833 - 1850], Warszawa 1974 (the author did not have access to the Documents of the Field Regimental Court, which considerably lowered the factual quality of his work, and allows one to cast doubt on the legitimacy of many of the theses it puts forward).

<sup>19</sup> W. Djakov, *Piotr Ściegienny i jego spuścizna* [Piotr Ściegienny and His Heritage], Warszawa 1972; idem, *Edward Dembowski i rewolucyjne spiski na początku lat 40-ch XIX wieku* [Edward Dembowski and the Revolutionary Conspiracies at the Beginning of the 1840s], "Pamiętnik Literacki", vol. LXXIV, 1973, No. 2, pp. 261 - 283; idem, *Literackie zainteresowania konspiratorów polskich z lat 30- i 40-ch XIX wieku* [The Literary Interests of Polish Conspirators of the 1830s and 1840s], *ibidem*, 1974, No. 4, pp. 209 - 215; idem, *Polskie konspiracyjy 1830 - 1840-h gg. v ih svjazjah s Franciej*, in: *Slavjane i Zapad*, Moskva 1975, pp. 233 - 246; idem, *Warszawska organizacja konspiracyjna 1848 roku* (Edward Domaszewski, Henryk Krajewski, Romuald Świerzbński i inni) [The Warsaw Conspiracy Organization of 1848 (Edward Domaszewski, Henryk Krajewski, Romuald Świerzbński and Others)], "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 1976, vol. LXXXIII, No. 2, pp. 353 - 379; idem, *Emigrantskie izdanija i potajonnaja literatura v dejatel'nosti konspiratorov Tsarstva Pol'skogo (30 - 40-e gody XIX v.)*, in: *Fjodorovskie čtenija 1975 g.*, Moskva 1977, et al.

ented another variant of the "forthright" confessions obtained by various means, and meant to confirm the findings of the inquiry. But more comprehensive blocks of evidence can also be found here, allowing us to re-create more fully the course of investigation and the evolution of the attitude of the accused, and referring to attempts made by prisoners to resist pressure (serving as an example is the evidence of Gerwazy Gzowski, one of the organizers of the conspiracy of the 1840s, Siberian exile, and subsequently a member of the National Government in 1863).

Apart from inquiry material, the collection of documents of the Field Regimental Court contains extensive official correspondence concerning defendants and the condemned, which provides invaluable information on the mechanics of operation of the apparatus of the authorities, the stages of investigation and the subsequent fate of conspiracy participants. This documentation—quantitatively very copious—has been made use of in the publication only to a minor degree: the correspondence, reports and judgements, drawn out over the years, duplicate each other and are very expansive, so that it was only possible to include some of them, the most interesting fragments, providing the most important information (on sentences, the further progress of the lives of those convicted and so on) in the notes and indexes. A careful reading of this correspondence is illuminating. Among other things, one's attention is caught by the striking fact that not one of the conspiracy plots of the period between the insurrections was discovered by the "professional", paid agents of the police. All secret organizations and circles were exposed, and their members arrested, in consequence of denunciations on the part of individuals who were rashly let in on subversive plans and talks. It was not the police apparatus (by no means as strong numerically as was thought by society, convinced of the omniscience of the police and of a vast network of agents), but all-embracing fear which paralyzed the activity of these circles, fear that one would be accused of "complicity" and "withholding evidence", which were as severely punished as participation in talks on forbidden subjects and the reading of unlawful lectures, not to mention more serious intent. The informers which this fear created provided the first impulse to investigation, and

brought about the first arrests. The rest then lay in the hands of experienced inquisitors: it was enough for one of the active members of a conspiracy to break down and start setting down a "forthright" deposition, and the members of the commission of inquiry would obtain particulars enabling them to exert pressure on the other defendants. These mechanics of investigation are clearly revealed in the material published.

The exhibits found amongst the material of the Field Regimental Court represent a particularly valuable component part of the collection—the confiscated manuscripts, notebooks, agitation works, statutes of secret unions, letters, and finally, books and journals, as well as extracts from these. This after all is material not tainted by the investigation process, and which refers most fully to the interests of the conspiratorial youth, the sources of inspiration, and reading matter. But these, too, as we know, have a residual character: only a proportion of the manuscripts and books fell into the hands of the prosecution apparatus—others were destroyed for fear of searches, or hidden, and some of them were irretrievably lost. We can find traces of their existence in the inquiry material sometimes, nevertheless it happens that we are unable to identify some publication mentioned by defendants, or find a quoted work in the original or in translation (serving as examples are a manuscript entitled *Szaleniec wieku XIX* [Madman of the 19th Century]—a utopian novel which was translated into Polish by members of one of the circles of the 1830s, a pamphlet entitled *Apostazja* [Apostasy], circulating at the same time, understood to have been distributed in large numbers in Cracow as well, and not discovered to date, or *Gawęda młodego Bartosa* [The Tale of Young Bartos], read amongst Warsaw tradesmen during the following decade).

In their testimonies the accused have much to say about their reading matter. They were interrogated on this most meticulously. In fact, forbidden literature was one of the most serious offences (alongside intent to incite insurrection) they were charged with. The majority of the works, especially the poetry, for the reading and distribution of which the Polish youth of the mid-19th century were sent into the army or Siberian exile, belong today to the canon of obligatory reading: Mickiewicz takes first place,



especially Dziady [Forefathers Eve], part III, along with émigré publications and works copied from them by hand, particularly those devoted to recent events: to the participants of the expedition of 1833, or to martyrs of the national cause like Szymon Konarski, Karol Levittoux and others. The material says a lot about the spiritual condition of society, or more precisely, of its avant-garde, unreconciled to the existing state of affairs, about the latter's aims, aspirations and plans, often utterly and childishly naive, like the plan to regain independence through apprehending Tsar Nikolaj with the help of a rope stretched across the road he was travelling by... Naive schemes, but the penalties for them came down very hard: long-term hard labour, being handed over for recruitment, exile...

The inquiry testimonies which, as we have said, form the core of the source part of this publication, time and again reveal quite unexpected sides to social life during the past century. For repeatedly the person testifying, in an attempt to divert the investigating agencies from an interesting bypath, wrote at length about matters only indirectly connected with his part in a given conspiracy, and avoided mentioning his accomplices by describing in detail his life during the period preceding his activities within the kingdom, and recounting the development of his views, and the origins of his "delusion", that is, conversations with individuals beyond the reach of the Commission of Inquiry, especially with those who had fled abroad or who were no longer living, those whom he could not harm. In such a case he tried to be credible and to present the real facts, since they did not lay anyone open to repressive measures. In this way the reader learns about Józef Myśliborski (from Gzowski), the organizer of a conspiracy at the beginning of the 1840s, Edward Domaszewski (from Karpiński), founder of successive secret circles, and so on. In turn the testimonies of Zaliwski and his followers constitute a mine of material on the history of the first period of the Great Emigration, as well as of public feeling in Poland during the first years after the defeat of the November Insurrection (1831).

The published material sheds light on the most varied aspects of the life of a nation in bondage, exposes the hidden recesses of

behaviour in moments of extremity, and contains unusually vivid portraits of individual activists, known and unknown, which, needless to say, call for comparison with other evidence. A collective portrait emerges from it, too, of the conspiracy activist of the period between the insurrections: ready for anything because he "measures his strength to fit his designs", trying to preserve his dignity and fidelity to his confessed ideals to the last, and soon breaking down when a defeat is sustained, carrying out an act of repentance, whilst submitting "forthright" confessions which incriminate his friends, repudiating the "madness" of youth, and at the same time also such that, despite submitting declarations of loyalty, he returns after spending years in Siberia, once again to renew his activity and to take the severe consequences... It is also an interesting source for verification of national legends, for following up the convoluted trails of national myth-making (in this sense, something very interesting is a comparison of the truth of the investigation process with the truth of myth, using the example of Artur Zawisza and Henryk Dmochowski, two of the members of the expedition of Zaliwski, the emissary of the democratic faction in exile.

The research and material contained in the volumes make simply fascinating reading, arousing a whole host of reflections.

(Translated by Phillip G. Smith)