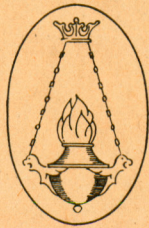


INSTITUTUM
HISTORICUM POLONICUM
ROMAE

X V

ANTEMURALE



NON EXTINGUETUR

ROMAE
1971

INSTITUTUM HISTORICUM POLONICUM ROMAE
VIA DEGLI SCIPIONI 284 - ROMA

IAM PRIDEM ROMAE PRODIERUNT HAEC VOLUMINA
(continuatio *Studia Teologiczne* — Wilno, vol. I-X):

- XI — MEYSZTOWICZ V., *Repertorium bibliographicum pro rebus Polonicis Archivi Secreti Vaticani*. Vaticani, 1943.
- XII — MEYSZTOWICZ V., *De archivo Nuntiaturae Varsaviensis quod nunc in Archivo Secreto Vaticano servatur*. Vaticani, 1944.
- XIII — SAVIO P., *De Actis Nuntiaturae Poloniae quae partem Archivi Secretariatus Status constituunt*. Romae, 1947.
- XIV — MEYSZTOWICZ V., *Prospectica descriptio Archivi Secreti Vaticani*. (Ed. chirotypica, exhausta).

ANTEMURALE, I-XV, Romae, 1954-1970

ELEMENTA AD FONTIUM EDITIONES

- Vol. I — *Polonica ex Libris Obligationum et Solutionum Camerae Apostolicae*. Collegit J. LISOWSKI, pp. XV+292, 704 doc. (A.D. 1373-1565) Ind. nom. propr. 1960. (Archivum Secretum Vaticanum).
- Vol. II — « *Liber Disparata Antiqua Continens* » Praes. E. WINKLER, pp. XVIII+190, 281 doc. (ante a. 1424) 19 facs. Ind. nom. propr. 1960. (Archivum Capituli Trident.).
- Vol. III — *Repertorium Rerum Polonicarum ex Archivo Orsini in Archivo Capitolino*, I pars. Coll. W. WYHOWSKA-DE ANDREIS, XVIII+162, 1144 doc. (A.D. 1565-1787) 29 tab. Ind. nom. propr. ind. chron. 1961.
- Vol. IV — *Res Polonicae Elisabetha I Angliae Regnante Conscriptae ex Archivis Publicis Londoniarum*. Ed. C. H. TALBOT, pp. XVI+311, 166 doc. (A.D. 1578-1603) 9 tab., Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron., glossarium verb. ang. ant., 1961.
- Vol. V — *Repertorium Rerum Polonicarum ex Archivo Dragonetti de Torres in Civitate Aquilana*. Ed. P. COLLURA, pp. XI+86, 483 doc. (A.D. 1568-1682) 4 tab. 1962.

**INSTITUTUM
HISTORICUM POLONICUM
ROMAE**

X V

A N T E M U R A L E



NON EXSTINGUETUR

**ROMAE
1 9 7 1.**

SUMPTIBUS
FUNDATIONIS
LANCKORONSKI
FRIBURGI HELVETIAE

EDIDIT:
INSTITUTUM HISTORICUM POLONICUM ROMAE
VIA DEGLI SCIPIONI, 284 - ROMA

CONSILIUM MODERATORUM:
VALERIANUS MEYSZTOWICZ, Praeses
MARIA DANILEWICZOWA
CAROLINA LANCKORONSKA
HENRICUS PASZKIEWICZ
WANDA WYHOWSKA DE ANDREIS

INDEX RERUM

I. FONTES

- Sept rapports des agents français sur la Pologne en 1863,*
ed. S. BÓBR-TYLINGO Pag. 3

II. STUDIA

- O. HALECKI, *Un appel d'Hedvige d'Anjou à la Reine des Cieux* » 47
- B.K. KIRÁLY, *The Emancipation of the Serfs of East Central Europe* » 63
- I.M. ROSEVEARE, *Wielopolski's Reforms and their Failure before the Uprising of 1863* » 87
- D. WELSH, *Sienkiewicz's "Trilogy". A Study in Novelistic Techniques* » 215
- T. TERLECKI, *Wypiański in Two Perspectives* » 299

F O N T E S

STANISŁAW BÓBR-TYLINGO
(HALIFAX, CANADA)

SEPT RAPPORTS DES AGENTS FRANÇAIS SUR LA POLOGNE EN 1863

PRÉFACE

Les documents que nous publions ci-dessous se rattachent par leur provenance et leur thème à ce que nous avons fait paraître dans le volume XIII de l'Antemurale.¹⁾ Ils sont conservés aux archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères à Paris, dans la série Mémoires et Documents, Pologne 34, excepté le dernier (voir ci-dessous). Ce sont les rapports des courriers français rédigés à leur retour de Varsovie et relatant les faits qu'ils auraient pu apprendre dans le cours de leurs pérégrinations. Ils furent écrits à la demande expresse du ministre des affaires étrangères, Drouyn de Lhuys. Que disent-ils?

Ils soulignent, au commencement de la lutte, l'impuissance des autorités russes à l'égard du mouvement insurrectionnel, leur incapacité à déceler le gouvernement national polonais et à empêcher les jeunes gens de joindre les rangs des insurgés. Ils notent le double jeu des Autrichiens au début du soulèvement; ceux-ci espéraient profiter de l'embarras des Russes pour faire payer par des concessions dans les Balkans l'appui éventuel contre le mouvement militaire polonais. Ils font ressortir la conviction des Polonais qu'un secours de la France ne saurait leur manquer. C'était d'ailleurs l'injonction du cabinet impérial de Paris qui demandait la poursuite de l'insurrection qui poussait toutes les classes de la société polonaise à s'unir au combat commencé par une jeunesse impatiente. Les Polonais se rendaient bien compte, et ils le proclamaient ouvertement, que leur indépendance doublerait "l'influence française dans le nord".

Tous les rapports soulignent l'obéissance aveugle de la population aux ordres du gouvernement clandestin; le cachet frappé de l'aigle blanc ouvrait toutes les portes, apportait tous les secours demandés. "Nous sommes inconnus les uns aux autres, expliqua un Polonais rencontré dans un train, mais nous avons des signes de reconnaissance". L'organisation insurrectionnelle donne, à plusieurs reprises, aux diplomates français l'occasion d'exprimer leur respect pour ce fait unique dans les annales

¹⁾ Stanisław Bóbr-Tylingo: La Russie, l'Eglise et la Pologne 1860-1866, Antemurale XIII, 1969.

de l'histoire mondiale. Le gouvernement secret "règne en Pologne" constatait en septembre Frédéric Debains; et il ajoutait quelques lignes plus tard: "le gouvernement national fonctionne régulièrement à Varsovie et on lui obéit ponctuellement".

Le mémorandum d'octobre 1864 paraît être une étude faite au ministère même et destiné à Drouyn de Lhuys pour le renseigner sur l'état de la Pologne à cette époque. La guerre des Duchés Danois occupa les dix premiers mois de l'année 1864; la paix fut signée à Vienne le 30 octobre 1864. Le ministre eut plus de temps de s'intéresser aux autres problèmes et il demanda probablement une analyse succincte de ce qui ce passait en Pologne, d'où ce mémorandum.

Le dernier document est d'une nature tout-à-fait différente. Ce n'est plus un rapport occasionnel d'un courrier diplomatique mais bien une communication régulière d'un agent français à son gouvernement. Elle est extraite du volume Villes Aséatiques 1855-1870. Nous le publions parce que c'est, à notre connaissance, le premier document jamais publié se rapportant à l'opinion publique meklebourgeoise relative au soulèvement de janvier. Il montre, une fois de plus, que la politique de Bismarck, sa convention militaire d'une si grande gravité politique, signée le 8 février, recontra partout, en Allemagne du Nord aussi bien qu'en Allemagne du Sud, l'opposition morale de toutes les classes de la population allemande.

EUGÈNE ORTOLAN
À DROUYN DE LHUYS, MINISTRE DES AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES

Paris, 5.IV.1863.

No. 29

Rapport au retour de la
course faite à Varsovie,
25 mars 1863

Monsieur le Ministre,

Après ²⁾ avoir successivement remis les dépêches du Ministère à Carlsruhe, à Stuttgart, à Munich et à Vienne, je suis reparti aussitôt de cette ville pour Varsovie. Mais, depuis Granitza, station frontière sur la limite des possessions autrichiennes et russes en Pologne, le chemin de fer n'avait plus de service régulier. Le train express pour Varsovie avait été supprimé et j'ai dû attendre vingt-deux heures avant de pouvoir continuer ma route. Vers la fin de la journée sont arrivés à Granitza les voyageurs partis de Varsovie la veille au matin et qui avaient été obligés de s'arrêter la nuit à l'une des stations intermédiaires, car plusieurs des ponts rompus par l'insurrection n'ayant pas encore été rétablis, le chemin de fer ne marchait que le jour, de sorte que ce convoi avait mis une journée et demie pour faire un trajet qui s'effectue ordinairement en huit heures. Cependant la réparation de ces dégâts ayant été terminée ce jour là, le train qui m'a emmené à Varsovie a pu aller sans interruption jusqu'à cette ville, où il est parvenu le soir même. Le convoi menait avec lui une escorte militaire, en outre, chaque station était occupée par un peleton d'environ trente hommes auxquels étaient adjoints trois ou quatre cavaliers cosaques destinés à porter les ordres d'un poste à l'autre. Les soldats faisaient la visite des waggons et des voyageurs pour s'assurer que les voitures ne renfermaient pas d'insurgés et qu'on ne transportait pas des armes.

L'aspect de Varsovie ne révèle pas, au premier abord, une ville soumise aux rigueurs de la domination militaire. Bien qu'en force suffisante pour contenir la population, les soldats sont tenus dans les casernes, les patrouilles ne sont pas très fréquentes, de sorte que la présence des troupes ne frappe pas l'oeil de l'étranger, néanmoins diverses mesures de police militaire indiquent une ville en état de siège: il

2) Les copies reproduisent toutes les imperfections de fond, de forme, de ponctuation et d'accentuation que présentent les originaux.

est défendu de sortir dans la rue passé 10 heures du soir, on ne peut circuler que muni d'une lanterne après le coucher du soleil, etc. Mais, surtout, l'attitude extérieure des habitans manifeste la situation: toutes les femmes sont vêtues de noir sans aucune exception; les hommes, à qui l'autorité a interdit de mettre des crêpes à leurs chapeaux ne portent plus que des casquettes; nul ne va au théâtre, excepté les officiers et les fonctionnaires russes; on s'interdit tout plaisir, toute distraction; la musique même est bannie des salons; dans les réunions intimes les dames s'entretiennent des événements en faisant de la charpie.

Dans ce conflit entre le sentiment national et le Gouvernement russe, ce qui est le plus digne de remarque c'est, en dehors de la force matérielle, l'impuissance complète de l'autorité. Il existe un comité central insurrectionnel:³⁾ on n'en connaît pas les membres; ce comité imprime un bulletin journal des faits relatifs à l'insurrection, les numéros de ce journal circulent dans toutes les mains: on n'en peut découvrir les typographes; des quêtes à domicile sont organisées en faveur du mouvement, des volontaires partent tous les jours de Varsovie pour rejoindre les bandes d'insurgés, on s'exprime très librement sur les événements et le Gouvernement est dans l'impossibilité d'y mettre obstacle. Cela semblerait incroyable si l'on ne réfléchissait que les employés, dont ceux d'un ordre supérieur, étant en presque totalité de nationalité polonaise, et le sentiment de la résistance étant unanime, ils prêtent à la révolution le secours de leur abstention ou de leur silence, de telle sorte que l'action de la police est pour ainsi dire nulle pour le Gouvernement, tandis qu'elle s'exerce peut être en partie au profit du Comité central.

Quant au mouvement insurrectionnel, quoique diminué d'intensité dans le coeur de la Pologne, à cause de la saison des pluies qui rend la campagne presque impossible à tenir, l'esprit s'en propage, dit-on, dans les anciennes provinces polonaises, en Lithuanie et même au sud-est, dans la Podolie et dans la Wolhynie:⁴⁾ on s'attend généralement à le voir éclater dans de grandes proportions dès que les feuilles, repoussées aux arbres, auront rendu les bois plus favorables à la guerre de partisans. La résistance est soutenue par la noblesse, qui fournit des combattans et qui fait surtout de grands sacrifices pécuniaires; les Juifs, qui en Pologne sont au nombre de plus de cinq cent mille, restent neutres; les paysans favorables au mouvement dans certains endroits, indifférents dans beaucoup d'autres, seraient disposés, assure-t-on, à se joindre à l'insurrection dans les provinces où l'oppression religieuse les a contraints d'abandonner le culte catholique auquel ils sont toujours restés attachés au fond du coeur; mais c'est dans la bourgeoisie polonaise, laquelle forme depuis plusieurs années une classe beaucoup plus nombreuse que par le passé, que se recrutent la plupart des volontaires. A l'Ecole de Droit, que j'ai été visiter, sur huit cents élèves, quatre cents on été rejoindre les insurgés. Les quatre cents autres viennent de partir pour les fêtes de Paques, et l'on s'attend à ne pas en voir revenir la moitié.

On s'est beaucoup préoccupé de la réserve gardée par le Gouvernement autrichien, réserve interprétée par les Polonais comme une neutralité favorable au mouvement. Il paraît certain que ceux qui faisaient

3) Sur le gouvernement national polonais: Walentyna RUDZKA: Studies on the Polish Insurrectionary government in 1863-64, *Antemurale* VII-VIII, 1963.

4) Le soulèvement de la Lithuanie, de la Podolie et de la Wolhynie commença en avril 1863.

partie du corps de Langiewicz,⁵⁾ les seuls à peu près qui possédassent des armes, se les étaient procurées sur le territoire de l'Autriche, à Cracovie principalement, sans que l'autorité ait pu l'ignorer. J'ai même ouï parler d'un règlement militaire autrichien, rendu à cette époque, et qui aurait déterminé un prix à payer par les soldats impériaux comme indemnité en cas de perte de leurs armes, ce qui aurait été une incitation indirecte à les vendre. Là dessus, les uns s'imaginent que l'Autriche serait disposée à voir rétablir un royaume de Pologne au profit du Duc Maximilien;⁶⁾ d'autres pensent que cette puissance consentirait à abandonner la Gallicie pour les provinces danubiennes.

Ce qui est plus sérieux que ces diverses hypothèses, c'est la conviction chez les Polonais que l'appui de la France ne saurait leur manquer. Ils espèrent dans une intervention diplomatique et, à défaut de succès de celle-ci, même dans le concours de la force matérielle. Le besoin, la nécessité pour eux de cet appui le sentiment instinctif que leur cause ne peut attendre d'assistance efficace que de ce côté, les porte à voir des indices certains d'un secours prochain de la France dans des faits où un esprit impartial n'en saurait voir aucun, et cette espérance les confirme dans la pensée qu'il faut maintenir le mouvement pour donner à l'intervention française le tems de se produire. On ne saurait se défendre d'une impression pénible en présence de la responsabilité morale que cette confiance laisse peser sur la France, dans l'esprit des Polonais: mais eussent-ils la certitude de n'être pas soutenus, je ne crois pas que le mouvement s'apaisât, ne dut-il avoir que la signification d'une protestation vaincue.

Il est certain que la répression se fait d'une manière atroce et semble avoir pour but de recourir à la terreur comme moyen d'arrêter l'insurrection. Cependant les officiers russes sont loin d'avoir des sentiments cruels. Mais lorsque les soldats sont animés par le combat, ils se livrent au meurtre et au pillage, et les efforts de leurs chefs sont impuissants à arrêter leurs excès. On a vu, dit-on, des capitaines tuer de leurs propres soldats pour empêcher des cruautés inutiles; on en a vu d'autres mis à mort par les cosaques pour avoir voulu leur défendre de piller. Le Gouvernement, qui n'a pas une confiance entière dans le dévouement de ses officiers, n'ose pas réprimer les désordres des soldats, et la conscience qu'ont ces derniers de la méfiance dont leurs chefs sont l'objet, est la source d'une grande indiscipline. D'ailleurs, la plupart de ces faits de cruauté et de pillage ne parviennent point à la connaissance du Grand Duc,⁷⁾ car les provinces étant régies conjointement par un Gouverneur civil et par un Gouverneur militaire, il arrive que lorsque l'autorité civile réclame contre les excès commis par les troupes, l'autorité supérieure intercepte ses réclamations.

Les lettres de gage ont monté quelque peu de valeur depuis la révolution. On sait que cette utile institution, qui manque à la France (car on ne saurait lui comparer l'organisation incomplète que nous appelons

5) Marian Langiewicz (1827-1887), le second dictateur du soulèvement. Le premier fut Ludwik Mieroslawski (1814-1878). Le troisième et le dernier sera Romuald Traugutt (1825-1864).

6) L'archiduc Maximilien Ferdinand Joseph (1832-1867), le frère de l'empereur François-Joseph, le futur empereur du Mexique.

7) Le grand duc Constantin (1827-1892), frère du tzar Alexandre II, namiestnik du Royaume du Congrès.

crédit foncier), consiste dans une association volontaire de tous les propriétaires polonais qui désirent emprunter, sous la garantie de leurs terres. Les emprunts peuvent toujours avoir lieu jusqu'à concurrence de la moitié de la valeur des immeubles, moyennant le paiement annuel d'un intérêt de 4 p.%, plus 2 p.% pour l'amortissement qui éteint la dette en vingt-huit ans. La masse de tous les immeubles grevés d'hypothèques est affectée d'une manière générale au paiement de chacune des lettres de gage; lorsque ces titres se vendent, l'acheteur perçoit les 4 p.% qui représentent l'intérêt annuel, 2 p.% restant toujours affectés à l'amortissement. On comprend facilement qu'en présence d'événements de nature à ébranler de crédit de la Russie, les valeurs de cette puissance soient en baisse, tandis que la sécurité qu'offrent des lettres de gage garanties par la propriété foncière, donne un cours supérieur à cette sorte d'hypothèque au porteur.

Pendant cette course, j'ai vu partout la pièce d'or française de vingt francs acceptée comme une valeur commerciale pour laquelle on donnait une prime. Quand je suis passé à Vienne, elle y valait 8 florins 86 kreutzers papier, ce qui met le florin papier à 2 fr. 25 centimes.

Paris, le 5 avril 1863.

Eugène Ortolan
Docteur en Droit,
Attaché au Ministère des Affaires
Étrangères
(Direction des consulats)⁸⁾

Doc. No. 2.

FRÉDÉRIC DEBAINS
À DROUYN DE LHUYS, MINISTRE DES AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES

No. 30
Direction Politique
Confidentielle

3 septembre 1863
Direction Politique
M. Desprez
confidentielle (à classer)⁹⁾

Monsieur le Ministre,

En me confiant le soin de porter les dépêches adressées au Consul général de France à Varsovie, le 22 août dernier, Votre Excellence a bien voulu me charger de lui adresser un rapport sur les faits que j'aurais pu apprendre dans le cours de mon voyage.

8) Eugène Ortolan (1824-1891), docteur en droit, entré au service du ministère des affaires étrangères le 15 mars 1849.

9) "A classer" — annotation de Drouyn de Lhuys.

Si j'espère pouvoir consigner ici quelque chose de mieux que les impressions fugitives d'un simple touriste, je le dois à des circonstances exceptionnellement favorables que Votre Excellence appréciera si elle veut bien jeter les yeux sur le court récit que je joins à mon rapport.

J'ai eu soin d'y noter exactement les sources d'information auxquelles j'ai puisé.

Le voyageur qui arrive en Galicie ne peut se défendre d'un sentiment de pitié lorsqu'il aperçoit ces longues files de Polonais désarmés conduits par des soldats autrichiens s'acheminant tristement et d'un air résigné vers la forteresse où ils seront internés. On peut lire sur la physionomie de beaucoup de ces malheureux la résolution bien arrêtée dans leur esprit de tenter de nouvelles aventures le jour où ils seront libres; cependant pas un murmure, pas même une plainte: l'ordre est venu d'en haut de ne donner à l'Autriche aucun sujet de mécontentement.

La tolérance de cette Puissance avait en effet facilité beaucoup dans le principe les incursions des bandes insurrectionnelles contre les Russes. On avait souvent vu les officiers Autrichiens servir de guides aux Polonais pour leur entrée dans le Royaume. La situation a totalement changé. Aujourd'hui les Polonais trouvent difficilement à acheter des munitions et des armes. On cherche à les arrêter lorsqu'ils veulent passer en armes du territoire autrichien sur le territoire russe. Le 19 août, une bande ayant voulu forcer le passage a dû livrer une sorte de combat aux troupes Autrichiennes qui ont eu un blessé dans cette affaire. A peu près au même moment deux maisons de Cracovie qui servaient à la fabrication des cartouches ont sauté. A la suite de ces deux incidents, M. de Schmerling, frère du Ministre d'Etat, gouverneur de la Galicie par intérim, a fait tripler les cordons de troupes Autrichiennes échelonnées sur la frontière. Les soldats sont sur le pied de guerre, les Officiers me paraissent être en termes meilleurs avec les officiers Russes à en juger par l'accueil que je leur ai vu faire à la station Russe de Granica.

Cette sévérité sur la frontière serait bien de nature à désespérer les Polonais. Il n'en est rien. Ceux-ci font remarquer les facilités que rencontre la publication du journal *Le Czas* leur grand débitant de fausses nouvelles, ils tirent argument des moindres incidents et assurent que l'Autriche veut simplement masquer son jeu.

L'opinion la plus répandue en Allemagne, et celle que je crois la plus exacte, est que cette Puissance veut causer tous les ennuis possibles à la Russie dont elle souhaite l'affaiblissement, mais qu'elle ne veut marcher dans cette voie que jusqu'à la guerre exclusivement, car elle tient avant tout à ne pas arrêter le rétablissement de ses finances et recherche bien plus une extension d'influence en Allemagne qu'une sympathie stérile de la part des Polonais.

D'ailleurs les tentatives hardies faites à Francfort par l'Empereur François Joseph¹⁰⁾ ont eu pour effet dans la monarchie autrichienne de distraire l'attention de la question polonaise. Par suite de l'antipathie profonde des deux races les Allemands restent assez indifférents au sort de la Pologne et cette indifférence affranchit l'Autriche de toute pression de l'opinion publique, quant à la conduite qu'elle veut tenir à l'égard de la Pologne.

10) Le congrès des princes allemands convoqué en août 1863 par l'empereur François-Joseph.

La Prusse persiste sur sa frontière dans ce système de surveillance sévère qu'elle a adoptée dès le début du mouvement actuel. Les visites entr'officiers Prussiens et Russes sont fréquentes, et je tiens du colonel Russe qui commande à Czentochau que les officiers de son régiment ont été récemment sur la frontière pour retrouver le régiment Prussien cantonné à Rosenberg.

La surveillance des Russes sur la frontière est très sévère. La gare de Granica la première entre la frontière Autrichienne et Varsovie est un véritable Eldorado du régime de la visite et des passeports. Pas d'armes, pas de livres, pas de journaux. Les employés subalternes veulent même visiter les valises des courriers, mais là comme dans les stations militaires, il suffit d'en référer aux employés supérieurs et de montrer de la fermeté pour que la difficulté soit levée.

Tandis que les voyageurs sont soumis à toute espèce de vexations, les marchandises prohibées pénètrent assez facilement par les trains de chemin de fer, en partie grâce à la vénalité des agents Russes, en partie par suite de la complicité de tous les agents du chemin de fer. L'escorte militaire placée à l'avant et à l'arrière des trains de voyageur ne permet pas de décharger en route les wagons de marchandises de contrebande, mais on a vu souvent les insurgés arrêter les trains mixtes et y recevoir des mains des employés ce qui leur était destiné.

Ceux-ci sont tous d'ailleurs dans les mains du gouvernement secret qui règne en Pologne depuis l'ingénieur en chef jusqu'au dernier aiguilleur. Les subalternes reçoivent sur le fonds national d'assez gros appointements, et sur un ordre qui leur est transmis de Varsovie, ils sont prêts à brûler le pont confié à leurs soins.

Ainsi peut-on s'expliquer que souvent on n'ait trouvé aucune trace du passage des insurgés là où les ponts avaient été brûlés.

Le Gouvernement Russe a chargé des capitaines d'artillerie, du service de l'inspection de la voie et ils se partagent par districts les lignes de chemin de fer qui traversent le Royaume de Pologne. Ceux-ci ont fait arrêter un nombre considérable d'employés, 45 notamment sur la ligne de Varsovie à Cracovie.

Quelques-uns ont été fouettés, tous ont été envoyés à la citadelle ou déportés dans l'intérieur de l'Empire. L'ingénieur Marszewski¹¹⁾ est à la citadelle où il subit une détention des plus rigoureuses.

Lorsqu'un dégât est constaté sur la voie, (et depuis 15 jours le cas se présente constamment), le Directeur de la Compagnie envoie de Varsovie un ingénieur pour diriger les travaux. Le plus souvent, les communications sont rétablies avec une merveilleuse rapidité, mais quelquefois aussi il arrive que les soldats Russes ne laissent pas approcher l'ingénieur du pont qu'il était venu réparer. L'officier Russe est absent, quelquefois il est ivre, les soldats refusent de le réveiller et l'ingénieur doit s'éloigner sans avoir rien fait.

Les routes de terre sont généralement mauvaises. Sur quelques points on a laissé tomber les ponts. Un Juif qui percevait le péage d'un pont sur la Warta ne recevant plus d'argent depuis le commencement de l'insurrection a coupé le pont et s'en est allé.

La présence de détachements Russes au milieu de la campagne est une exception. Les troupes de ligne sont généralement cantonnées dans

11) Witold Marczewski (1832-1908), ingénieur, arrêté en 1863 fut condamné aux 12 ans de bagne.

les petites villes. Leur aspect est peu brillant, les soldats sont sales, couverts d'un drap grossier qui tombe souvent en guenilles. Leur nourriture consiste en un pain noir détestable. Seuls, les cosaques sont mieux nourris, grâce aux razzias qu'ils font fréquemment sur les bandes d'insurgés. Le soldat Russe est bien armé. Il obéit assez exactement à son officier jusqu'au moment où on le mène au feu. Alors il ne s'appartient plus, et il devient féroce. Le meurtre du capitaine Nikiforow¹²⁾ et celui du lieutenant Dnicowicz accomplis avec d'atroces raffinements de cruauté par le chef d'une bande d'insurgés, malgré les instances de ceux qui servaient sous ses ordres, ont été connus presqu'aussitôt par tous les soldats Russes cantonnés dans le Royaume, et, depuis ce temps, on n'obtient d'eux que bien rarement qu'ils fassent les insurgés prisonniers.

A côté de ces tristes représailles qu'on peut reprocher aux chefs de l'insurrection, il serait juste de noter quelques traits qui sont à leur honneur entr'autres celui du chef de bande Koruk¹³⁾ qui, au dire des Russes eux-mêmes, a relâché 80 prisonniers leur remettant à chacun un rouble pour leur voyage. Le dernier chef a remporté plusieurs succès de quelque importance. Notamment, il est positif qu'il a enlevé aux Russes 200.000 roubles soit environ 800.000 francs.¹⁴⁾ L'insurgé pille rarement, et en général il se montre plutôt humain. Le soldat Russe, au contraire, resté profondément ignorant malgré les réformes de ces dernières années, conserve tous les instincts de vol que chacun lui connaît. Il faut toute l'énergie de ses officiers pour obtenir de lui qu'il ménage le paysan.

Votre Excellence connaît la sympathie des officiers Russes pour l'étranger. En Pologne plus que partout ailleurs, ils s'efforcent de plaire. La plupart protestent avec affectation de leurs sympathies pour la France et répètent à satiété qu'ils seraient désespérés de voir la guerre renaître entre les deux pays. Ils sont fort curieux de détails diplomatiques et paraissent généralement disposés à croire que l'Europe arrêtera son intervention diplomatique en faveur de la Pologne. Quelques-uns ajoutent que la promulgation d'un statut pour le Royaume va suivre de près le départ du Grand-Duc de Varsovie. Ils admettent sans difficulté que le Royaume de Pologne ne doit pas être incorporé dans l'Empire russe, mais avant tout ils veulent en finir avec l'insurrection. Ils représentent cette dernière comme ayant à la fois un caractère clérical et révolutionnaire. Ils se plaignent beaucoup des prêtres et ne manquent pas de faire ressortir ce singulier mélange qu'on a trouvé dans plusieurs bandes, des moines d'une part, de l'autre des officiers Garibaldiens. Ils racontent avec complaisance quelques traits isolés de cruauté justement reprochés aux Polonais et signalent les violences commises par certains chefs d'insurgés, notamment par Ockzinski,¹⁵⁾ réputé d'ailleurs par les siens pour un homme incapable et méchant. Selon eux ce mouvement n'est qu'une singerie du mouvement italien. Ils prétendent que tous les paysans n'obéissent aux insurgés que par terreur.

12) Le capitaine Nikiforow fut pendu par les insurgés le 24 avril 1863.

13) Général Michał Jan Kruk-Heydenreich (1831-1886).

14) La bataille de Żyrzyn du 8 août 1863. Les insurgés ont enlevé 198.000 roubles.

15) Józef Oksiński (Oksiński) (1840-1908), commandant d'un détachement dans les palatinats de Sandomierz et Kalisz.

Parmi ces derniers, il n'est pas rare de trouver des jeunes gens de moins de seize ans. Le commandant militaire du district a le droit de leur faire grâce et de les rendre à leurs parents. C'est un droit dont il paraît user rarement à en juger par l'air suppliant et inquiet d'un pauvre professeur de Piotrchkow M. Zeonowicz, que je vois entrer chez le Général Radyn pour demander la grâce de son fils gravement malade à l'Hôpital. "C'est bon, dit d'abord le général, vous pourrez le voir cette semaine". "Excellence il est très malade". "Bach ce n'est rien, probablement la v..... "Non, il est poitrinaire". "Eh bien, dit le général, allez le voir, je vais faire étudier l'affaire et je crois que je pourrai vous le faire rendre ce soir moyennant caution".

Le malheureux père se retire en remerciant et en me lançant un regard qui signifiait bien: "Ah, Monsieur ce sera à votre présence que je dois la grâce de mon fils".

Dans les bandes d'insurgés on trouve d'abord quelques propriétaires fonciers qui servent à leurs frais, ensuite des employés à l'administration de la terre, économes, fermiers, médecins les seules personnes qui sous le régime actuel de la Pologne jouissent du bénéfice de quelque instruction. Ceux-là et quelques marchands forment à peu près toute la classe moyenne très clairsemée encore par suite de l'absence de la petite propriété. Cette classe est toujours prête à s'enrôler dans les bandes. Quelques paysans et enfin un groupe de ces aventuriers qu'ont attiré à Cracovie les grosses primes d'engagement que donne le Gouvernement national forment le complément obligé de toutes les bandes. Ces derniers se dispersent au moment de passer la frontière ou à la première action. Ce sont le plus souvent de tristes recrues.

Les jeunes gens de Galicie donnent aussi dans le mouvement avec enthousiasme et par leurs manifestations bruyantes ils ont eu la maladresse d'attirer sur eux et leurs compatriotes du Royaume les sévérités du Gouvernement Autrichien. C'est en vain que l'illustre patriote Smolka ¹⁶⁾ a cherché à s'opposer à ces imprudences.

Les insurgés obtiennent rarement des succès contre les détachements de troupes régulières Russes, si celles-ci leur sont égales ou supérieures en nombre. Tous ne sont pas armés et leurs munitions sont en général de mauvaise qualité. Ils attaquent les corps isolés et se bornent le plus souvent à la guerre de guérillas.

Pour faire cette guerre avec succès il importait par dessus tout de s'assurer des dispositions favorables des paysans. Ivrogne et paresseux, le serviteur de la glèbe en Pologne est généralement indifférent à ce qui se passe autour de lui. En 1861 après l'abolition du servage, alors qu'il pouvait croire que son seigneur avait combattu cette mesure réparatrice, sa fureur contre les nobles était à peine dissimulée et si le Gouvernement Russe l'y avait excité on aurait vu peut être se renouveler dans le Royaume la triste histoire des massacres de Galicie.¹⁷⁾ Mais quelque temps après, l'abandon qu'on lui fit de la propriété de sa chaumière lui parut une première satisfaction. Dans le système du Marquis Wielopolski, il devait après un certain laps de temps et moyennant une redevance acquérir la propriété du champ qui entourait sa chaumière. Depuis le

16) Franciszek Smolka (1810-1899), en 1863 membre du parlement de Galicie et membre du parlement autrichien à Vienne.

17) Les massacres de Galicie en 1846 furent provoqués par les autorités autrichiennes afin de mater l'insurrection polonaise.

début de l'insurrection, le Gouvernement national faisant acte d'autorité a fait savoir aux paysans qu'ils posséderaient désormais ce champ à titre gratuit et tous les propriétaires ont dû se soumettre.

Profitant de la dispersion de ceux qui sont chargés d'administrer les terres domaniales en temps ordinaire, et de l'absence de toute autorité reconnue, les paysans empiètent chaque jour sur les terres du seigneur et dans certains districts il est notoire que les Russes ont conseillé et favorisé ces empiètements.

Quant à la Lithuanie chacun connaît les décrets de Mouraview.¹⁸⁾ Séduits par l'appât du gain et enrôlés par les Agents Russes, plusieurs centaines de paysans du Palatinat d'Augustowo ont invoqué la protection de Mouraview, le fait est trop isolé pour qu'on lui attribue une portée considérable.

Entre le paysan qui cultive la terre et qui la cultive aussi mal que possible, et le propriétaire ou ses agents qui en perçoivent le revenu, se place dans chaque village un curieux intermédiaire: le Juif. Le Juif débite l'eau de vie pour les fermes du Gouvernement Russe et concentre dans sa personne ou celle des membres de sa famille le commerce du village tout entier. On le verra par exemple acheter à l'avance le lait de toutes les vaches de l'endroit, conduire les denrées du village au marché de la ville voisine etc... Fier d'être placé depuis 18 mois sur le pied d'égalité de droits avec ses frères chrétiens, s'il ne s'engage pas dans les bandes, du moins il prend quelque intérêt à leurs succès, surtout lorsque la petite solde qu'il reçoit souvent des agents du Gouvernement national lui est exactement comptée.

Par fanatisme religieux tous les prêtres sont favorables à l'insurrection et plus d'une fois les confesseurs ont conseillé à leurs pénitents de s'enrôler dans les bandes insurgées.

La noblesse ou les propriétaires fonciers, classe dans laquelle se recrutait le gros du parti modéré à l'époque où l'illustre Comte Zamoyski¹⁹⁾ fonda les sociétés agricoles, est aujourd'hui toute entière dans l'insurrection. Le rêve de la Pologne de 1772 est dans toutes les têtes et on entend surtout ne pas abandonner aux Russes la Lithuanie qu'on a jeté un peu malgré elle dans le soulèvement. Bref le parti modéré est complètement dissous et il ne pourrait se reformer qu'à la longue après qu'on aurait obtenu des concessions importantes de l'Empereur de Russie.

L'imagination exaltée des femmes Polonaises entretient l'ardeur du patriotisme des classes riches. Ces classes supportent des sacrifices considérables malheureusement hors de toute proportion avec les résultats obtenus. La plupart des propriétaires en effet ont payé au Gouvernement national des impôts équivalant à 3 ou 4 années de leurs revenus sans compter ce qu'ils doivent payer aux Russes. La ruine est inévitable. Dans 2,3 ou quatre ans, si ce triste état se prolonge on verra disparaître toute cette aristocratie brillante qui a déjà perdu tant de sang.

La terre changera de propriétaire et sera rendue à vil prix aux paysans, aux Juifs ou peut-être aux Allemands des provinces voisines

18) Michel Mourawiew-Pendeur (1796-1866).

19) Andrzej Zamoyski (1800-1874), fonda en 1858 la Société Agronomique; elle fut dissoute en avril 1861.

qui depuis vingt ans ont si bien su s'assimiler la plus grande partie du Duché de Posen. Ce serait un remaniement social effrayant. Une fois leurs seuls adversaires ruinés, les Russes seraient certains d'arriver à l'asservissement de la Pologne et c'est là manifestement leur calcul. Ils parlent volontiers de ce chiffre énorme d'impôts qui va presque chaque semaine remplir les caisses de l'insurrection. "Payez, payez beaucoup et vous ne chanterez plus" disent-ils en retournant le mot de Mazarin.

Un des indices les plus singuliers de cette situation est cet aveu qui échappe incessamment aux Russes d'un deuxième gouvernement existant au milieu du leur.

Le Gouvernement national fonctionne régulièrement à Varsovie et on lui obéit ponctuellement. Il envoie des quittances d'impôts et on s'empresse de payer, il défend à une musique militaire de jouer dans un jardin: Le Gouverneur Russe fait appeler le chef d'orchestre, celui-ci déclare qu'il est menacé de mort s'il joue, et on tolère qu'il ne joue pas. Le Gouvernement national proscriit le chapeau cylindrique et veut qu'on porte le deuil ou au moins la cravate noire. Personne n'a de chapeau long, chacun a une cravate noire. Il défend qu'on aille à Zazzienki^{a)} la promenade favorite des Varsoviens, afin qu'on ne soit pas obligé de saluer la Grande-Duchesse qui s'y rend chaque jour. Personne ne va à Zazzienki,^{a)} ou si l'on y va une fois par hasard on se place sur le passage de la malheureuse princesse et on lui refuse le salut. Le Comité central ordonne à tel employé de rester dans l'administration Russe. Il y reste. Il ordonne à tel autre de se retirer, il se retire. Il a toléré jusqu'à présent que M. Enoch²⁰⁾ demeurât ministre de l'intérieur, mais d'un moment à l'autre celui-ci s'attend à recevoir l'ordre de quitter. Du reste il a dit à son ancien secrétaire particulier qu'il se retirerait si Mouraviev venait remplacer le Grand Duc. Le comité central a donné ordre à un caissier de la banque d'y puiser 3500000 roubles. Le vol a lieu le lendemain.²¹⁾ Il a ses publications cent fois plus répandues que tous les journaux officiels réunis et il les envoie chaque matin avec exactitude au chef de police de la ville. Il soudoie des employés, des Juifs, des agents de police, le personnel des chemins de fer. Il envoie de l'argent aux chefs de bande et charge ses agents d'aller à l'étranger faire des acquisitions de poudre, de fusils etc... Ceux-là, je dois le dire, le trompent presque tous. Ils emportent les fonds ou prélèvent des bénéfices exorbitants.

Le Comité central a ses sectaires prêts à assassiner ceux qu'il désigne. Les victimes sont en général des espions Russes. L'arrêt de mort leur est signifié, puis un beau jour en pleine rue ils reçoivent la mort au moyen d'un poignard enverre qu'on laisse dans la plaie. L'assassin est bien rarement découvert.

Perversion étrange du sentiment moral, cet assassinat qui a déjà fait tant de victimes était un crime à peu près inconnu à Varsovie avant le

a) Lazienki.

20) Juliusz Enoch (1822-1880), 1861-65 secrétaire d'Etat du Royaume du Congrès.

21) Aleksander Waszkowski (1841-1865) prit les 6,8 et 9 juin 1863 d'une banque d'Etat plus de 24 millions de zloty. Nommé par Romuald Traugutt président de la ville de Varsovie, fut ensuite arrêté par les Russes et pendu le 17 février 1865.

commencement de l'insurrection. Ce sont les agents de la révolution Européenne qui l'ont introduit et on peut dire imposé aux premiers directeurs du grand comité central national à Varsovie.

Quant au comité, quant au Gouvernement central national de Varsovie, il se renouvelle constamment, il change le local de ses séances, en un mois il nomme jusqu'à 5 chefs de la ville, bref il s'entoure de précautions infinies; mais ce qui constitue sa principale sauvegarde c'est que chacun fait la police pour lui, c'est qu'il est reconnu par tous les Polonais en un mot c'est qu'il a la force morale.

Tous ces efforts inouïs sont faits avec l'espoir de provoquer l'intervention Européenne. On compte beaucoup surtout sur l'intervention isolée de la France et tout le bas peuple de Varsovie croit que les "pantalons rouges" vont arriver d'un jour à l'autre. Dans ses publications le Gouvernement national exploite le plus petit article d'un journal Français pour faire croire à notre entrée en Pologne et il est bien entendu qu'ils feront la guerre pour l'état territorial de 1772. L'illusion est presque générale. Le jour où elle serait dissipée, le jour où les Polonais seraient bien convaincus que ni la France ni une autre Puissance ne veut les secourir par les armes pour les rétablir dans leur ancienne indépendance, ce jour là la rage au fond du cœur, ils renonceraient ou pour mieux dire ils seraient forcés de renoncer à une lutte inégale. L'insurrection matérielle apaisée lentement mais forcément, la pacification morale se ferait peut-être!

Ce qu'on doit demander avant tout dans l'intérêt de cette malheureuse nation c'est que l'Europe lui fasse connaître ses intentions. La prolongation de l'état actuel conduit à une effroyable calamité. C'est le triomphe forcé de la Russie par la ruine des patriotes Polonais, c'est l'asservissement de la nation toute entière.

Hors de là il y a l'intervention armée. Alors tous les Polonais se soulèvent, tous jusqu'aux plus modérés demanderont les frontières de 1772.

Enfin il y a l'acceptation probable par la Russie des six points, une constitution octroyée au Royaume de Pologne. Alors mais seulement si les Puissances déclarent qu'elles ne veulent rien demander de plus pour leur pays, les nobles Polonais cesseront ces effrayants sacrifices de sang et d'argent. La lutte armée aura un terme et enfin on pourra entrevoir pour l'avenir un espoir de pacification.

Puisse surtout la Pologne être fixée bientôt sur le sort qu'on lui réserve dans les combinaisons de la politique Européenne.

C'est là, Monsieur le Ministre, le voeu de tous les Polonais raisonnables, le souhait unanime de ceux qui voient ce malheureux pays.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Ministre, les assurances du profond respect avec lequel j'ai l'honneur d'être

de Votre Excellence,
Le très humble et très obeissant serviteur.
Fred. DEBAINS ²²⁾

Paris, le 3 septembre 1863.

22) Frédéric Debains, né en 1838, licencié en droit, le 19 mars 1863 fut nommé attaché de la direction politique au ministère des affaires étrangères.

[Après le 28.VIII.1863]

FRÉDÉRIC DEBAINS

A DROUYN DE LHUYS, MINISTRE DES AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES

S. No.

Voyage du Courrier entre
Vienne et Varsovie.

Parti de Vienne, le 24 août au soir, j'ai dû d'abord le 25 au matin m'arrêter 4 heures sur la frontière de Galicie. Au moment d'arriver en Pologne, je fais la rencontre du Prince Guedrovic^{b)} riche propriétaire de l'Ukraine ancien secrétaire particulier du Comte ministre de l'Intérieur du Royaume, jeune homme distingué appartenant au parti modéré. Ayant vu mon passeport, il m'aborde avec beaucoup de confiance et presqu'aussitôt se met à causer de tout ce qui intéresse son pays.

A Granica nous apprenons que le pont de Poray entre la frontière et Czentochau^{c)} a été brûlé le 21 août. Nous traversons une première fois la rivière à gué et en attendant le train qui vient nous chercher de Czentochau^{c)} nous campons au milieu des troupes Russes qui nous servent d'escorte. Entre Czentochau et Piotrkow,^{d)} sur une longueur de 84 kilomètres 6 ponts viennent d'être brûlés. Une bande de 600 à 800 insurgés débris de la bande d'Ockzinski parcourt la contrée. Le colonel russe avec lequel j'ai une longue conversation nous donne un sauf conduit pour que les troupes russes ne nous inquiètent pas. A la porte, on nous refuse des chevaux. Après plusieurs tentatives inutiles chez divers propriétaires de la ville qui tous veulent nous retenir pour parler de l'insurrection, nous arrivons chez un Polonais ancien major dans l'armée Russe qui à pris d'or consent à nous fournir jusqu'à Radomsk 5 chevaux et 2 chariots.

A 6 h 1/2 le Prince Guedrovic et moi nous prenons place sur nos bottes de foin en compagnie du comte Zaczinsky qui vient de Cracovie d'où son fils s'appête à partir pour s'enrôler dans une bande.^{e)} Un marchand de Varsovie frère du supérieur du collège de Piotrkow^{d)} et une pauvre dame qui revient de Cracovie où elle a été voir son fils blessé complètent la caravane. Arrivés à Radomsk à minuit et demi, nous sommes entourés de troupes Russes qui veulent fouiller notre chariot et nos bagages. Le commandant du détachement arrive et nous fait conduire sous escorte à la poste où l'on nous refuse de chevaux. Moitié par prière, moitié par menace nous obtenons de continuer avec les mêmes jusqu'à Piotrkow^{d)} et nous passons deux heures à nous entretenir avec l'administrateur de la ferme.

b) recte: Giedroyć.

c) Częstochowa.

d) Piotrków.

e) recte Raczynski cte Roger; son fils, Edouard, avait à cette époque 15 ans.

Arrivé à Piotrchkow à 9 h 1/2 du matin, je me fais conduire chez le général Radin commandant du district dont les appartements sont encombrés d'officiers de tous grades fort aimables et fort causants. Au bout de dix minutes nous sommes reçus par le général qui me retient seul près de 2 heures et j'assiste à plusieurs audiences. Il nous annonce qu'un pont est coupé près de Piotrchkow: "cependant ajoutet-il vous pourrez partir vers 2 h 1/2. Passé ce pont des ordres sont donnés pour que le train marche le plus vite possible. Vous serez ce soir à Varsovie". Il me fait voir ses troupes et dit qu'on m'installe dans les chambres qui lui sont réservées à la gare du chemin de fer. Mais au milieu de ces politesses il n'oublie pas de donner ordre qu'on visite nos effets. Ici comme à Granica et à Czentochau, je m'y oppose en ce qui concerne la valise du Département, ou plutôt j'insiste avec calme pour qu'on en réfère à l'officier. Celui-ci me prie de laisser entourer la valise de cordes et de permettre qu'on y appose les cachets du Gnd Russe afin qu'elle ne puisse être ouverte avant l'arrivée à Varsovie. J'y consens.

Avant le départ du train, le Général Radyn vient me rendre ma visite dans le salon de l'embarcadère qu'il avait mis à ma disposition. Il me fait recommander aux officiers Russes que je dois rencontrer à Czernerewice.^{f)}

Aussitôt arrivé dans cette ville, je suis entouré d'officiers Russes qui m'invitent à prendre le thé. La plupart parlent allemand. Deux d'entr'eux me conduisent dans un parc voisin et là entre deux bouffées de cigarre ils me font de singulières confidences.

Pendant cette conversation, mes compagnons Polonais s'entretenaient avec plusieurs de leurs compatriotes. J'assiste un instant à leur colloque. Rien n'est plus étonnant que cette liberté avec laquelle ils parlent à des inconnus des affaires de leur pays. Chacun est de la grande conjuration. A mon retour dans le wagon, le Prince Guedrivic me rapporte les ondit les plus fabuleux, le marchand de Varsovie nous raconte ce qu'il tient de son frère l'abbé. Ses récits ne m'ont paru mériter aucune confiance.

Le 26 à 10 heures du soir je suis à Varsovie.

Le lendemain 27 je vais chez M. Epstein²³⁾ président du conseil d'administration du chemin de fer et chez M. Myrecki directeur de l'exploitation ancien ingénieur-chef de notre ligne du nord à l'obligeance duquel je dois de curieux détails.

Le prince Guedrivic mon principal interlocuteur avec lequel j'ai diné la veille chez M. de Valbezen²⁴⁾ vient à la gare le 28 au matin au moment de mon départ. Il m'apporte quelques nouvelles émanées directement d'agents du Gouvernement national et notamment du chef secret de la ville qu'il eut l'imprudence de me nommer. Je crois inutile de répéter ces nouvelles provenant de source indirecte. Je n'ai accueilli pour mon exposé que: ce que j'ai vu par moi-même, ce que j'ai entendu de la bouche des officiers Russes de favorable aux insurgés ou de défavorable au système qu'ils représentent, enfin ce qui m'a paru n'être entaché d'aucune exagération dans les récits que je tiens des Polonais eux-mêmes

f) Sklerniewice.

23) Herman Epstein (1806-1867), 1857-1865 président du conseil d'administration du chemin de fer.

24) Eugène Anatole Valbezen, consul de France à Varsovie de 1861 à 1865.

En quittant la gare de Varsovie, je retrouve un capitaine Russe que j'ai vu l'avant veille à Czerniewice. Nous passons trois heures ensemble, trois heures de conversation, au bout desquelles s'établit un véritable commencement d'intimité.

A Czerniewice je suis traité cette fois avec un redoublement de politesses. On me montre la caserne, les armes, l'équipement du soldat, on me fait goûter de son pain, enfin on me propose moitié sérieusement, moitié en plaisantant de faire partie de la prochaine course contre une bande de 1500 cavaliers cantonnée dans les environs.

De Czerniewice à Piotrkow, la voie était de nouveau coupée et il me semble inutile de recommencer en charrette un voyage lent coûteux et fatigant.

Je me dirige sur Zowicz^{g)} et Bromberg, d'abord en compagnie d'un officier Russe qui se rendait à Dresde, ensuite je fais route avec un commerçant allemand établi à Varsovie à l'obligeance duquel je dois de curieux détails.

Le soir j'arrive sur la frontière Prussienne, je traverse le Duché de Posen, la Silésie pour aller rejoindre Oderberg station autrichienne peu éloignée de Cracovie où je rencontre un grand nombre de réfugiés Polonais conduits à Josefstadt pour y être internés.

Tels sont, Monsieur le Ministre, les moyens d'information qui ont servi à tracer l'exposé que j'ose présenter à Votre Excellence.

En terminant je crois devoir faire remarquer que vu l'état actuel des moyens de transport, la voie de Dresde Bromberg serait la plus convenable pour l'expédition des courriers de Varsovie.

Doc. No. 4.

*DUCHESNE DE BELLECOURT
À DROUYN DE LHUYS, MINISTRE DES AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES*

No. 31

18 décembre 1863

(Note au crayon) - J'ai lu avec intérêt ce travail. Cet exemple devrait être suivi par les attachés porteurs de dépêche.

DROUYN

Obligé de me rendre à Varsovie et d'en revenir en huit jours, il ne m'a pas été possible de recueillir dans un délai si court, des informations sérieuses sur la situation de pays que je n'ai fait que traverser. La narration de mon voyage ne sera donc que la reproduction des scènes extérieures qui ont, trop rapidement frappé mes yeux, et le résumé des conversations que le hasard m'a mis à même d'avoir avec mes compagnons de route.

Le parcours entre Paris et Vienne a été, pour moi stérile en observations dignes d'être notées; mon séjour à Vienne n'offre pas plus d'intérêt.

g) Lowicz.

J'avais entendu parler, à l'Ambassade française, des rigueurs que la police autrichienne commencerait à exercer en Gallicie. En quittant Vienne pour gagner la frontière Russe, je m'attendais à quelques ennuis sur la route. Il n'en a rien été. Cependant, à en juger par la conversation tenue, en langue allemande, dans mon waggon, par deux jeunes gens qui se rendaient à Cracovie, on comprendrait que le Gouvernement autrichien montrait quelque sévérité. Ces messieurs s'exaltaient sur les derniers succès que les bandes Polonaises auraient remportés dans le Palatinat de Cracovie,²⁵⁾ et paraissaient croire, l'un au moins, à l'extension de l'insurrection jusque dans les provinces autrichiennes, pour le printemps prochain. S'étonnant de la douceur de l'hiver, ils s'en réjouissaient en disant que Dieu favorisait manifestement par là leurs frères de Pologne (unser Polnischen Brüder). Ils ignoraient que je fusse assez familier avec la langue allemande pour les comprendre. Du reste ils m'ont, plus tard, entretenu en français, et ne se sont pas gênés pour critiquer l'administration autrichienne et le peu de soin qu'elle prend pour favoriser le développement de l'agriculture ou de l'industrie dans les plaines de la Gallicie, ajoutant que l'établissement dans ce pays de voies de communication peu coûteuses le rendrait bientôt un des plus riches de l'Europe. Ils m'ont cité le refus opposé par le Gouvernement autrichien à la création d'une société ayant pour but de construire une voie ferrée entre Cracovie et.....?, contrée fertile, et qui posséderait même des richesses métallurgiques non exploitées. On aurait craint de voir se former, à l'abri et sous le prétexte de spéculations industrielles, des sociétés puissantes qui prendraient une importance politique. J'ignore le degré de créance que l'on doit accorder à ces propos. En tous cas, ils témoignent de peu de sympathie, sinon pour l'Autriche, du moins pour l'administration autrichienne. Sont-ils les échos de l'opinion publique?

Quoiqu'il en soit, mon voyage a continué, sans embarras, jusqu'à la frontière Russe.

Mais arrivé à Graniza les choses ont subitement changé. J'ai été frappé, tout d'abord, du déploiement inusité de forces militaires autour de la station. Une certaine d'hommes et plusieurs officiers stationnaient l'arme au bras, en tenue de campagne, à l'arrivée du train. Mon passeport a été l'objet d'un minutieux examen, d'abord au bureau de police, puis de la part d'un employé spécial, enfin par un officier en uniforme. Mes malles que l'on n'avait pas même ouvertes en Autriche, ont été scrupuleusement visitées. J'ai eu quelque peine à arrêter le zèle des agents qui s'obstinaient à réclamer, par signes, l'ouverture de la valise du Consulat général et celle du portefeuille destiné aux dépêches. Tout le monde ignorait ou feignait d'ignorer et le français et l'allemand. M'adressant à un officier russe, que je voulais prier de me servir d'interprète pour obtenir quelques renseignements sur le sort de mes bagages, — "Parlez-vous français, Monsieur, lui ai-je dit?" — "Non" me répond-il brusquement et il me tourne le dos. C'est le même qui avait eu mon passeport entre les mains. J'ai fini par avoir un billet pour Varsovie. Quant aux bagages, s'ils sont arrivés à bon port, je n'en ai certes pas le mérite. La même surveillance, rigoureuse, les mêmes précautions, les mêmes exigences, je les ai retrouvées tout le long de ma route. A chaque demie-

25) Karol Kalita, Rębałto (1830-1905), a remporté le 5 décembre une victoire à Mierzwin, le 9 décembre une autre à Huta Szczecińska.

lieue (chaque deuxième station) on réclame le passeport qui est toujours attentivement examiné. Personne ne répond aux questions faites soit en français soit en allemand; et pourtant le chemin de fer appartient à une compagnie allemande. A chaque station, un plus ou moins grand nombre de soldats attend, l'arme au bras, le passage du train. Autrefois, m'a-t-on dit, le train lui-même contenait des troupes. Je n'ai pas remarqué qu'il en fût ainsi au moment de mon voyage. Du reste, les bois de sapins qui bordent la route ayant été, depuis peu abattus ou éclaircis, ce que l'on peut voir aux arbres encore verts gissant à terre, la précaution d'escorter le convoi a probablement été jugée inutile. Ce qui m'a particulièrement frappé, c'est l'absence de tout confort, même dans la voiture de première classe que j'occupais. Richement tendue en velours, le plafond décoré, cette voiture sans tapis n'était pas chauffée, les fenêtres ne fermaient pas. J'insiste sur ce petit fait en ce qu'il semble témoigner du désir d'éloigner, par les difficultés du voyage, les personnes que la curiosité pourrait attirer en Pologne.

L'aspect des troupes de ligne qui stationnent le long de la voie m'a paru misérable. Mal vêtus, peut-être mal nourris les hommes semblent très fatigués. Ce service permanent au milieu de la neige et de la boue doit être, en effet, fort pénible.

J'arrivai enfin à Varsovie où la présence du commis de la chancellerie, m'a épargné probablement le désagrément de la visite personnelle que tous les voyageurs, sans distinction, ont à subir, m'a-t-on dit, et je trouvai, chez M. de Valbezen, la bienveillante hospitalité qu'il veut bien accorder aux attachés du Département.

Je n'ai pas à parler de la situation politique de Varsovie. Je ne puis taire, toutefois, l'impression que j'ai ressentie en parcourant la ville, impression toute autre que je ne me la figurais. Au lieu d'une cité triste, morne et déserte, comme je me la représentais, j'ai vu des rues pleines de monde, où la police ne m'a pas paru entraver la circulation. Le temps était magnifique, il est vrai, et puis c'était un samedi, jour de fête et de promenade, pour les Juifs. On m'a assuré que, tout autre jour, je n'aurais pas trouvé une pareille animation. Cela est possible; j'ai pourtant peine à croire que les boutiques et les magasins que j'ai vus ouverts et fréquentés le samedi, soient déserts le reste de la semaine. On m'a parlé des exécutions, des arrestations provoquées par la couleur des vêtements, de la défense de porter le deuil, en public, sans un permis spécial: ces faits ne sauraient être mis en doute, mais, pour moi, je n'en ai rien pu voir. A compter de cinq heures, il est interdit de circuler dans les rues sans être porteur d'une lanterne. Cette mesure est vexatoire: mais quelques personnes, tournant en plaisanterie l'ordonnance du Gouvernement, ont imaginé de porter, accrochée à la boutonnière de leur vêtement, une lanterne en miniature, que l'on vend spécialement pour cet usage. La police ne s'est pas formalisée, jusqu'ici, de cette interprétation de l'ordonnance. Passé dix heures du soir, et jusqu'à cinq heures du matin, nul ne peut sortir de chez lui sans être muni d'une autorisation délivrée par le Gouvernement.

Les troupes de la garde Impériale en garnison à Varsovie m'ont paru fort belles. L'Infanterie est bien vêtue: armés de fusils rayés. Le soldat de faction sont munis de pelisses en fourrures. Le régiment des hussards de Grodno que j'ai vu tout entier avec ses chevaux bai-bruns, celui des lanciers à flammes rouges, dont j'ai rencontré quelques détachements, semblent être de fort belles troupes, admirablement montées. Je n'en

dirai autant ni des Tcherkesses réguliers, ni des cosaques, ni de l'infanterie de ligne.

Une visite à la Villa Potocki,²⁶⁾ où règne le plus grand luxe, et l'assurance donnée par M. de Valbezen que plusieurs familles polonaises dépensaient ainsi stérilement des sommes considérables, m'a conduit à faire une observation que je ne saurais taire. En comparant ce faste avec la misère excessive qui semble, autant que j'ai pu le voir en si peu de temps, atteindre la plus grande partie de la population, on pourrait être amené à penser qu'il y a là une trop grande inégalité de condition, que certaines classes sont trop favorisées au dépens de la masse, et qu'il ne peut y avoir, de la part des paysans affamés, une bien grande sympathie pour les nobles possesseurs de toute la fortune du pays. Si cette remarque est fondée, n'y aurait-il pas là un obstacle à la constitution de la nationalité Polonaise?

Je quittai Varsovie, le lendemain matin, un incident tout à fait personnel me mit, au commencement de mon voyage, en rapport avec un Polonais qui s'était montré fort obligeant à mon égard. Il était encore tout ému d'une scène violente dont il venait d'être victime. En se rendant au chemin de fer, sa voiture était tombée dans une bande de cosaques, qui l'avaient arrêtée et s'étaient mis à batonner son cocher, jusqu'à ce qu'on leur eut donné de l'argent qu'ils réclamaient. A la suite de ce récit, et en apprenant, sur mon passeport, qui j'étais, mon compagnon de route devint de plus en plus communicatif. Après m'avoir parlé de la France, où il avait résidé, de la reconnaissance que les Polonais devaient à l'Empereur, qui avait fait pour eux tout ce qui lui était possible; du congrès envisagé par lui uniquement au point de vue de la reconstitution de la Pologne,²⁷⁾ du bonheur de l'Italie, assez voisine de la France pour que celle-ci put lui donner un appui nécessaire, de l'Angleterre et de la haine des Polonais pour cette nation à laquelle il attribuait la ruine des espérances nationales, et le peu d'effet du concours moral accordé à son pays sur l'initiative de la France aussi bien que l'ajournement du projet de congrès duquel il faisait dépendre les destinées futures de sa patrie, il m'a longuement entretenu de l'insurrection même, et de ses chances de durée. Il m'a dit être le cousin d'un chef de bandes nommé Sirowitch (Siréwitski),²⁸⁾ qui, malade et blessé, avait dû licencier sa troupe peu de temps auparavant, et à qui il avait donné, pendant quelques jours l'hospitalité dans son château.

L'insurrection, d'après lui, est loin d'être terminée. Elle s'organise pour le printemps prochain. Mais, pendant l'hiver même, elle ne restera pas inactive. Une même tactique a été adoptée par les chefs. De petites bandes se montreront sur un grand nombre de points à la fois, de façon à attirer les troupes russes à leur poursuite. On ne veut pas combattre, mais seulement fatiguer l'ennemi. Dès que le corps russe menace de l'atteindre, la bande insurgée s'éparpille. Quelques coups de fusils, tirés à distance, entretiennent la poursuite, puis chacun se disperse, laissant les Russes regagner leurs cantonnements au milieu de la boue ou de la neige. Ce système, me disait-il, doit exténuer

26) Au palais de Wilanów.

27) Le congrès proposé le 4 novembre par Napoléon III.

28) Emeryk Syrewicz, commandant d'un détachement d'insurgés.

les troupes russes, et nous livrer, au printemps, une armée déjà épuisée et démontée par cette guerre sans résultats. Alors nous nous leverons tous. Chacun des 40 districts formés par le Gouvernement national fournira 7.000 hommes. Nous aurons, au bas mot, 240.000 combattants qui entreront en campagne. Comme je lui faisais observer qu'il pourrait bien y avoir quelques mécomptes. Ou, a-t-il dit, mais pas autant que vous le pensez. L'armée russe, d'ailleurs, n'est que de 250.000 hommes, dont il faut déduire les garnisons des villes. Et les armes, lui dis-je? — Nous en aurons. Sur 200.000 fusils, 75.000 sont arrêtés aux frontières Prusiennes et Autrichiennes, mais il en entre bien 25.000. C'est une question d'argent. Nous sommes riches. Grâce aux impôts fournis volontairement par la nation, le trésor national à 120 millions en caisse (?) lui faut-il davantage? il l'aura. — Comme j'objectai que le Gouvernement Russe pourrait bien, en confisquant les biens des partisans, même non avoués, de l'insurrection, tarir la source de cette richesse. — Cela est prévu, reprit-il, si le Gouvernement Russe entre dans cette voie, nous hypothéquerons nos terres aux banques anglaises. Elles nous en donneront bien le tiers de leur valeur. C'est assez. Tous les Polonais de toutes les classes favorisent aujourd'hui l'insurrection. Au commencement le paysan était froid. Les rigueurs absurdes des Russes, qui le batonnent et le pillent, l'ont poussé dans nos rangs. Chacun vient, à son tour, faire partie des bandes, pendant une ou deux semaines, puis il rentre chez lui : un autre part et prend sa place.

Pour se les mieux attirer le Gouvernement national a ordonné aux propriétaires d'abandonner aux paysans une partie des terres qui leur était affermées. Chacun a obei. Mon père, propriétaire près de Czenstochowa, de 6.000 hectares, en a abandonné 3.000 (l'hectare vaudrait environ 100 frs) tous ont fait de même. Ainsi on a intéressé les paysans à la cause nationale qui les a faits propriétaires. Aussi qu'une bande d'insurgés paraisse dans un village, elle y trouve le logement, la nourriture des hommes et des chevaux : que les Russes la poursuivent, les paysans se laisseront batonner plutôt que de trahir. Les employés du chemin de fer, même, s'ils ne sont pas parmi les insurgés, ont l'amour de la Pologne. Ils ne nous trahiront jamais. Les enfants nous servent d'éclaireurs, et nos bandes, toujours informées à l'avance des mouvements des Russes, ne sont attaquées qu'autant qu'elles le veulent. La police Russe n'est pas habile; les insurgés parcourent librement la Pologne. Ici, dans ce convoi, avec nous, il s'en trouve.

L'Insurrection est déjà organisée. Le pays a été partagé en 40 districts, dans chacun d'eux le Gouvernement national, inconnu à la masse, a nommé un chef civil et un chef militaire. Tous deux sont connus par la population. Aucun, jusqu'ici, n'a été dénoncé. Le Gouvernement national a interdit aux Polonais de porter leurs contestations devant les magistrats Russes. Les tribunaux Russes sont déserts. En cas de procès, le chef civil du district, prévenu par les parties, s'adresse au Gouvernement national, inconnu de tout autre que de lui, et un arbitre, désigné par ce Gouvernement, se présente et décide en dernier ressort. — Mais où siège ce Gouvernement national ai-je demandé — Ici mon interlocuteur a été plus discret. Il a paru mécontent de ma question : mais il existe, a-t-il ajouté, soyez-en convaincu aucun Polonais ne voyage sans un passeport délivré par lui. — Il me montra, en effet, en le retirant de son gant, un petit carré d'un papier extrêmement mince, couvert d'écriture polonaise. Il avait d'autres papiers de même dimension, dont l'un, m'a-t-il dit,

était un ordre à tout propriétaire de lui fournir, à sa réquisition des chevaux de poste. Nous sommes inconnus les uns aux autres, ajouta-t-il, mais nous avons des signes de reconnaissance. Les chefs surtout sont ignorés. On leur obéit quand même. — Je m'étonnai alors, que ce Gouvernement national si actif n'eut pas encore pu être surpris. — Ah oui, s'écria-t-il, les Russes ne sont pas adroits. Heureusement ils n'ont pas l'intelligence de la police française.

Il insista encore sur bien d'autres points. — Remarquez, me dit-il, ce fait unique dans l'histoire des guerres civiles, que, jusqu'à ce jour, aucune bande de malfaiteurs n'a profité du désordre du pays pour se livrer, sous couleur de politique, au vol ou au pillage. Le Gouvernement national a édicté la peine de mort contre le vol. Quelques voleurs isolés qui ont été surpris ont été puni de mort. Nul n'a murmuré et ce sont là les meurtres que quelques uns nous reprochent. Pour ne pas nuire au commerce polonais, le Gouvernement national a interdit la contrebande. Il n'y a plus d'autre contrebande que celle des armes de guerre. Nous sommes décidés à tout souffrir pour prolonger la lutte, le plus longtemps possible. Il n'y a plus qu'un sentiment chez nous, celui de la nationalité. Si nous ne pouvons vaincre la Russie, nous la ruinerons. Nous voulons la Pologne entière, celle de 1772. D'ailleurs, il peut surgir quelque grande complication Européenne d'où sortirait une guerre qui nous profitera, qu'elle affaiblisse l'Autriche, la Prusse ou la Russie. Jusque là nous tacherons de persévérer, et nos enfants élevés dans la haine des Russes, nous succéderont dans la lutte. Nous ne comptons plus, maintenant, sur les nations étrangères. La France, trop éloignée, ne peut plus rien pour nous. L'Angleterre déteste notre indépendance. Elle sait que la Pologne, unie à la France par les souvenirs, sera son alliée constante. Avec nos richesses agricoles, nos mines de houille, de cuivre, et d'argent, nous doublerions l'influence française dans le nord.

Je lui dis alors que, d'après ce qu'il me racontait, le Gouvernement national devait exister depuis longtemps; que l'organisation dont il me parlait n'était pas l'oeuvre d'un jour, et qu'on pouvait dès lors s'étonner à bon droit, du moment choisi pour commencer la lutte, alors qu'il eut, peut-être, été préférable d'attendre une occasion plus favorable et un complètement d'organisation militaire. — Vous avez raison, reprit-il, mais nous n'avons pu choisir le moment. L'an passé trois partis étaient en présence. Celui du Marquis Wiélopolski, celui de la noblesse, les Zamoyski à sa tête, celui de Mioslawski et des Révolutionnaires avancés. Le Marquis Wiélopolski, riche, noble, n'attendant rien de la Russie, ne peut être suspect d'avoir manqué de patriotisme; mais il s'est trompé en voulant agir, même pour le bien de son pays, sans compter avec l'opinion publique, absolument hostile aux Russes. La Pologne ne veut pas être heureuse par la Russie et sous son joug. Heureux ou malheureux les Polonais veulent, avant tout être libres. Le parti révolutionnaire, ardent et mêlé d'éléments étrangers, poussait, depuis longtemps, à une prise d'armes immédiate. Le parti de la noblesse, tout en s'éloignant de la Russie, en refusant tout engagement de fidélité, désirait prendre le temps de s'organiser en secret, continuer l'oeuvre depuis longtemps commencée, et attendre quelque occasion favorable. Malheureusement l'ordonnance du recrutement a exaspéré la population. On a accusé de trahison le Gouvernement national qui levait des impôts, et n'agissait pas. Sous peine d'être remplacé par le parti de la révolution, le Gouvernement

national a du agir: l'insurrection a commencé. Dois-je y voir un bien ou un mal? Je ne sais".

J'ai rapporté aussi fidèlement que possible, les détails les plus remarquables de cette conversation qui a été fort longue, et dont j'ai dû omettre une grande partie. Les faits qui s'y trouvent exposés sont-ils exacts? Je n'ai pu le contrôler. Mon interlocuteur qui pouvait avoir de 28 à 30 ans m'a paru un homme distingué, et, sauf quelque exaltation il me semble qu'il était de bonne foi. En me quittant, à Czenstochowa, il m'a dit son nom: Mr André.....va. — Je l'ai oublié. — "Je ne puis vous donner ma carte, a-t-il ajouté, nous n'en portons pas. Si l'un de nous était arrêté, les cartes trouvées sur lui pourraient compromettre les personnes qu'elles désignent". — Je lui ai remis la mienne. J'espère ne pas être compromis pour avoir écouté.

Le reste de mon voyage n'offre, après cela, que bien peu d'intérêt. Je crois devoir le passer sous silence.

Duchesne de BELLECOURT ²⁹⁾

Doc. No. 5.

*RAPPORT FAIT AU MINISTÈRE MÊME ET DESTINÉ
À DROUYN DE LHUYS, MINISTRE DES AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES*

No. 33

Confidentiel à rendre.

*DE LA SITUATION ACTUELLE DU ROYAUME DE POLOGNE
OCTOBRE 1864*

Depuis six mois l'insurrection est complètement étouffée dans le Royaume de Pologne; c'est le moment fixé par la Russie elle-même pour asseoir dans ce pays la paix et l'ordre sur des conditions solides et durables.

En tête de ces conditions telles que les avaient formulées les trois notes diplomatiques émanant des cours de Paris, de Vienne et de Londres, figurait une amnistie; les autres pouvaient se résumer dans la promesse impériale de reprendre, lorsque l'insurrection aurait cessé, l'oeuvre de réorganisation et de réformes promise au Royaume de Pologne en 1861 et solennellement annoncée à l'Europe par une circulaire du Prince Gortchakoff à ses agents à l'étranger.

Il n'a été jusqu'ici question d'aucune amnistie; les arrestations continuent et des commissions d'enquête fonctionnent toujours à Varsovie et dans les provinces. Les exécutions à mort n'ont pas discontinué. On en porte aujourd'hui le nombre entre 400 et 500. Les journaux officiels

²⁹⁾ Duchesne de Bellecourt (1817-1880), licencié en droit, nommé le 7 octobre 1863 consul général à Tunis.

russes se sont lassés de les rapporter et n'enregistrent plus que celles qui ont lieu dans la capitale, mais les nouvelles des provinces attestent que fréquemment encore des sentences de mort sont prononcées par des commissions militaires et exécutées sur l'ordre de simples colonels qui ont droit de vie et de mort sur des districts entiers.

Des milliers de Polonais de toute condition, de tout âge et de tout sexe ont été condamnés à la déportation et aux travaux des mines en Sibérie. Chaque semaine de nouveaux convois de transportés sont encore expédiés de Varsovie.

D'autres milliers ont été internés administrativement et sans jugement au fond de la Russie. Les meilleurs citoyens du pays, les hommes dont la modération ne saurait être mise en doute — l'Archevêque Féliniski,³⁰⁾ le Doyen de la Faculté de Droit M. Wolowski,³¹⁾ le Conseiller d'Etat Wengliniski,³²⁾ le Président de la Société de Bienfaisance, Prince Thadée Lubomirski,³³⁾ l'ancien Directeur du Commerce et de l'Industrie Luszczewski³⁴⁾ et tant d'autres restent toujours internés ainsi administrativement en Russie. Le *Journal Officiel* de Varsovie avait déclaré à l'époque de leur éloignement qu'ils n'y seraient retenus que jusqu'au rétablissement de la paix dans le pays. Aujourd'hui on semble les avoir oubliés complètement ou condamnés à passer un second hiver dans ce cruel exil.

Plus de 10.000 Polonais se sont vus réduits à chercher un refuge à l'étranger.

C'est ainsi que les choses se passent dans le Royaume, et nous ne disons rien en ce moment de la Lithuanie où des villages et des bourgs entiers sont condamnés à la déportation, où les propriétaires Polonais sont dépossédés en masse et où les biens vendus, par suite de confiscation, doivent être achetés exclusivement par des Russes ou des Allemands.

Quant aux institutions octroyées ou promises en 1861, il n'en reste plus aucune trace. Le Conseil d'Etat d'où sont sortis tous les membres Polonais et indépendants ne s'assemble plus. Les conseils électifs de districts et les conseils municipaux ont complètement disparu. Le Conseil d'administration du Royaume est presque en entier composé de Russes, les ministres, les chefs des départements administratifs, les gouverneurs civils des provinces sont tous Russes. Un Russe, M. Platonoff³⁵⁾ vient d'être nommé Secrétaire d'Etat pour les affaires de Pologne à St. Pétersbourg. Enfin la langue russe est réintroduite dans l'administration.

Il faut ajouter que l'état de siège et le régime militaire sont maintenus partout avec la plus grande rigueur; les chefs militaires des districts concentrent en leurs mains tous les pouvoirs et peuvent déposer tous

30) L'archevêque Zygmunt Szczęśny Feliński (1822-1895), déporté en juin 1863.

31) Jan Kanty Wołowski (1803-1864), déporté en Russie où il mourut.

32) Franciszek Węgleński, mort en 1881, remit, à la demande du prince Władysław Czartoryski, en mars 1863, avec les 14 d'autres, sa démission du Conseil d'Etat.

33) Prince Jan Tadeusz Lubomirski (1826-1908), membre de l'administration insurrectionnelle.

34) Wacław Luszczewski, l'ancien directeur de l'industrie et des arts, membre de la Société du Crédit foncier.

35) Valerian Platonov (1809-1893), sénateur, secrétaire d'Etat.

les fonctionnaires civils. Les tribunaux ordinaires enfin sont complètement effacés par des cours martiales; tout récemment encore, le Général Semeka,³⁶⁾ chef du district de Plock a traduit le tribunal civil de cette ville en corps devant une cour martiale, parce que dans son opinion ce tribunal a mal jugé une affaire des paysans.

De plus, au lieu des institutions que l'Empereur s'est engagé à conserver et à développer on décrète à St. Pétersbourg ukase sur ukase, dans le but avoué de produire dans l'état social de la Pologne une série de « transformations radicales ». Le premier but de ces transformations est de détruire toute l'influence de l'aristocratie foncière et du clergé catholique, de ruiner en général les classes supérieures et de jeter ainsi la Société polonaise dans un état de dissolution complète pour en faire sortir une nation nouvelle, une nation russifiée.

Un projet de ce genre paraît avoir existé dans la pensée de l'Empereur Nicolas, après la défaite de l'insurrection de 1831. Le 3 juillet 1832, en effet, Lord Palmerston écrivait à Lord Durham, alors ambassadeur d'Angleterre à St. Pétersbourg: "Des renseignements parvenus au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté tendent à faire croire, s'ils sont vrais, que le gouvernement russe a l'intention arrêtée de supprimer violemment la nationalité polonaise et de priver ce pays de tout ce qui, soit dans la forme extérieure, soit dans l'essence du gouvernement, donne à ces populations le caractère d'une nation distincte.

"Il suffit de la moindre réflexion pour comprendre qu'un semblable projet ne peut s'accomplir; changer quatre millions de Polonais au point d'en faire des Russes et de leur en donner le caractère; c'est là une entreprise pour le succès de laquelle, il faudrait plus de temps et de persévérance qu'on ne se l'imagine peut-être. Mais la tentative seule exigerait un déploiement continu et rigoureux du pouvoir arbitraire qui irriterait profondément les populations contre la Russie, et il serait difficile de n'y pas voir une violation bien décidée des engagements contractés à Vienne en 1815".

L'oeuvre, à ce qu'il paraît, fut abandonnée, mais elle est reprise aujourd'hui et le gouvernement qui a succédé à celui de Nicolas ne se borne plus à imposer au Royaume les formes russes, il s'attaque au fond même de la vie nationale et historique de la Pologne.

Ainsi la solution de la question des paysans était suffisamment préparée par la loi de 1858 et surtout par les deux lois de 1861 et 1862, oeuvre du Marquis Wielopolski. Au lieu de développer ces lois et d'achever le travail commencé le gouvernement russe a résolu de reprendre la question dans un autre sens et de la trancher d'une façon plus révolutionnaire.

Dans le cours de l'automne de 1863 quelques personnages russes se sont rendus de Saint-Pétersbourg à Varsovie ayant à leur tête M. Milutine.³⁷⁾ Ils sont restés quatre ou cinq semaines dans le pays et après quelques études superficielles, quelques excursions dans les provinces, ils sont retournés à Saint-Pétersbourg. Deux mois, Janvier et Février, leur ont suffi, pour rédiger une loi immense, comptant plus de 300 articles et qui change radicalement toutes les relations sociales, économiques

36) Général Vladimir Semeka (1816-1897), commandant de la VI division d'infanterie.

37) Nikolaj Milutin (1818-1872).

et toute l'administration dans les campagnes. Cette loi composée de 4 ukases fut sanctionnée par l'Empereur le 2 mars dernier; aucun Polonais, soit homme privé, soit fonctionnaire, n'a été consulté sur une matière aussi grave ni à Varsovie ni à St. Pétersbourg. Les ukases furent rédigés par des Russes qui n'avaient fait qu'un court séjour en Pologne; ils n'ont pas été communiqués au Conseil d'Etat du Royaume dont l'avis était obligatoire d'après les institutions octroyées en 1861. Ce qui est plus caractéristique encore, le Namiestnik (Lieutenant de l'Empereur dans le Royaume) même, Comte Berg³⁸⁾ n'a eu aucune part à leur élaboration et il ne lui en a rien été communiqué. Il a reçu tout prêts, de St. Pétersbourg, au moment même de la promulgation, et les ukases et la proclamation aux paysans qu'il devait signer, publier dans le *Journal Officiel* et faire lire dans le pays.

Une courte analyse des principales dispositions de ces ukases paraît ici nécessaire. Pour la donner, nous laissons la parole à l'éminent économiste, M. Léonce de Lavergne, qui a fait une excellente étude sur ce sujet dans la Revue des Deux-Mondes, du 1er mai 1864.

"Les ukases du 2 mars sont au nombre de quatre. Le premier débute ainsi:

"Les terres dont les paysans ont actuellement l'usufruit *rentrent* dans la propriété pleine et entière des détenteurs. Ceux ci sont affranchis à tout jamais de toutes les redevances sans exception dont ils avaient jusqu'ici été grevés au profit des propriétaires, savoir, de la corvée, des redevances pécuniaires, des prestations en céréales et des autres contributions de toute dénomination. *Les procédures au sujet des arriérés desdites redevances aujourd'hui abolies, sont annulées sans pouvoir être reprises à l'avenir*". Il est difficile d'exprimer plus naïvement cette prétention ordinaire des autocraties à ne reconnaître d'autres droits que leur volonté. Le tsar s'arroge le pouvoir de retirer et de donner la propriété d'annuler les dettes, d'abolir les conventions. Et ce n'est plus seulement des fermiers qu'il s'agit, mais de tous les ouvriers ruraux sans exception, des métayers, des jardiniers, des garçons de ferme, des journaliers, des simples locataires ou sous locataires, sans distinction de titres. Cette jouissance héréditaire, qui pouvait jusqu'à un certain point expliquer la transmission de propriété, n'est plus exigée: la possession la plus temporaire suffit (art. 5 et 14). En acquérant la propriété du sol sans bourse délier, le paysans acquiert aussi celle des bâtiments, des bestiaux, des semences etc. Seulement, par un reste de considération, l'Empereur veut bien décider que les maisons où sont logés les gens de service, les bergers, les jardiniers, les forestiers n'appartiendront à leurs habitants qu'autant qu'elles seront situées dans le village et non attenantes à l'habitation ou à la ferme du propriétaire.

"Le droit régalien sur les mines n'a jamais existé en Pologne, et les anciens seigneurs avaient toujours eu la jouissance absolue du sous-sol somme de la superficie. En conséquence de ce droit il y a des mines, des minières, des carrières actuellement en exploitation. L'article 15 du premier ukase confère aussi aux paysans la propriété du fonds, et si, suos le terrain qui leur est concédé, le propriétaire a commencé l'exploitation d'une carrière, il doit suspendre tout travail et ne peut le reprendre qu'après avoir indemnisé le nouveau possesseur. C'est ainsi que l'ukase

38) Le comte général Fedor Berg (1793-1874), dès 31 octobre 1863 namiestnik du Royaume.

traite les droits acquis. Et les droits des tiers, les droits des créanciers? On ne les respecte pas davantage. Les terrains donnés aux paysans sont affranchis de toute hypothèque et de toute autre charge envers les tiers. C'est décréter la ruine de milliers de familles et probablement aussi celle de la *Société de Crédit foncier*, qui prêtait par hypothèque sur des terres dont la moitié restera désormais pour toute garantie de la dette.

"L'ukase va plus loin encore. Les terrains délaissés et vacants, même appartenant à des particuliers, seront répartis entre ceux qui se présenteront pour les acquérir. La préférence sera donnée à ceux qui n'auront pas encore de terres et qui demanderont les plus petites portions (art. 20 et 21). Le prix sera versé dans le Trésor public. La proclamation adressée aux paysans par le Comte Berg annonce en ces termes cette nouvelle loi agraire: "Sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi dans sa sollicitude inexprimable pour tous ses sujets sans exception a daigné gracieusement ordonner aux autorités du Royaume de prendre en considération spéciale le sort des paysans qui ne possèdent actuellement aucune terre, mais qui par leur bonne conduite, leur sobriété, leur économie et leur obéissance à l'autorité légale *se seront acquis des droits à la faveur impériale*. Les autorités pourront en conséquence donner à ces paysans, *selon qu'elles le jugeront convenable*, soit en usufruit moyennant un prix modéré, soit en toute propriété, de petits lots pris sur les parties inoccupées des domaines de l'état, *ainsi que sur les terres délaissées et devenues vacantes dans les propriétés particulières*". Un pareil texte n'a pas besoin de commentaires.

Les autres dispositions de l'ukase ont pour but évident d'établir un antagonisme permanent entre les anciens et les nouveaux propriétaires, de semer entre eux la discorde, d'ouvrir la porte à une quantité innombrable de procès et de contestations dont les autorités russes se feront naturellement les arbitres. Pour en venir à ses fins le législateur emploie les moyens suivants: il maintient les terrains respectifs dans un état d'enchevêtrement et empêche toute séparation et toute délimitation rationnelle; il introduit la retroactivité dans le règlement des partages et perpetue au profit des paysans des servitudes sur les terres qu'il ne leur donne pas en propriété. Ainsi les paysans ont le droit de *revendiquer* les terrains qu'ils cultivaient au moment de la promulgation de l'ukase de 1846, quand même ces terrains auraient été délaissés par eux et replacés sous l'administration immédiate du propriétaire. Il s'est écoulé 18 ans depuis 1846, et tout ce qui s'est passé dans ces dix huit ans se trouve effacé d'un trait de plume. Même quand il y a eu échange volontaire de terrains, le paysan peut *refuser* ceux qu'il a reçus et revendiquer ceux qu'il possédait primitivement, si cet échange s'est fait sans contrat écrit dûment légalisé.

"Pour comprendre la portée de cette mesure, il faut se rappeler que plusieurs grands propriétaires fonciers ont remplacé dans leurs biens depuis 1846 les redevances en nature ou en travail par un cens fixe. Dans la prévision que la condition de censitaires serait pour les paysans une transition vers la propriété, on s'est attaché à séparer les terrains concédés de ceux que se réservait le propriétaire. De là de nombreux échanges faits à l'amiable. L'opération de l'accensement a été presque partout accompagnée d'une nouvelle répartition du sol, et il est facile de comprendre que beaucoup d'échanges de ce genre, précisément à cause de leur peu d'importance, ont du s'accomplir sans contrat écrit

dans un pays où les rapports entre maîtres et cultivateurs sont surtout réglés par la coutume et la convention verbale. Que les paysans aient été quelquefois lésés par ces mutations de parcelles, que le propriétaire ait quelquefois abusé de son ancienne autorité, c'est possible; mais en règle générale la division s'est faite de bonne foi, dans l'intérêt commun, et quelques abus de détail ne sont pas une raison suffisante pour annuler en bloc d'innombrables contrats. Tout le travail fait depuis 1846 est perdu; il faudra que le grand propriétaire subisse à tout jamais, s'il plaît aux paysans, les enclaves placés au milieu de ses champs et dont il a voulu s'affranchir. Il y a même dans le texte russe une disposition qui ne se trouve pas dans la version française, publiée pour l'Europe, et qui est ainsi conçue: "Les terres et maisons acquises par les paysans en vertu du présent ukase ne pourront être ni données en gage ni aliénées qu'à des paysans". Voilà une classe particulière de terres et une caste privilégiée de propriétaires instituées par la loi.

"Le dernier coup et le plus sensible est porté à la grande propriété et à la grande culture par les articles 11 et 12 qui perpétuent ce qu'on appelle les servitudes foncières. Sous le régime des prestations en nature et en travail les paysans avaient généralement la faculté de faire paître leur bétail sur les champs de la grande ferme, et de prendre gratis du bois de chauffage et de construction dans les forêts, moyennant une permission spéciale. Ce n'était pas, à proprement parler, un droit d'affouage ou de paturage, puisqu'il était compensé par la corvée. L'extinction de toute redevance devait entraîner la suppression de ces usages qui en étaient les corollaires. Il n'en est rien. L'article 11 le maintient formellement et non seulement il consacre les servitudes existantes, mais il les fait revivre là où elles étaient éteintes et revient encore sur ce point à l'état antérieur à 1846. L'article 12 promet seulement une loi subséquente qui déterminera quand et comment le propriétaire pourra s'en délivrer, à la condition de payer aux paysans une indemnité *pour l'abandon de leurs droits*. Partout en Europe, on travaille à faire cesser ces jouissances en commun, à débarrasser la propriété individuelle de toutes les charges qui la gênent; partout on s'occupe de la conservation, de l'exploitation régulière des forêts d'après les lois de la science, et voilà un gouvernement qui ramène tout un peuple à la barbarie du communisme!

"De toutes les prescriptions de l'ukase, celle là serait la plus funeste, si elle n'était pas inexécutable. Toute culture devient impossible avec les abus de la dépaissance, quand on n'a aucun moyen de les prévenir ou de les réprimer. L'exportation des céréales, qui répand seule quelques richesses dans le pays, était entièrement due à la grande culture; elle va s'arrêter. Les forêts avaient acquis par l'exportation des bois de construction et par l'établissement de nombreuses fabriques de sucre de betteraves qui exigent beaucoup de combustible, une plus value considérable. On les livre à la dévastation. Le gouvernement russe reculera devant ces conséquences, à moins qu'il ne veuille absolument faire le désert autour de lui. Dans un pays comme la France, où la petite propriété et la petite culture existent de temps immémorial, elles peuvent rendre, et elles rendent en effet, de grands services; dans un pays comme la Pologne, où la population est clairsemée et le débouché lointain, la petite culture ne peut prendre que de très faibles développements. On commence à sentir chez nous les dangers du déboisement; que faut-il en attendre sous ce climat rigoureux?

"La moitié des terres arables, le tiers environ du sol total, va passer entre les mains de la petite propriété. Cette révolution serait moins à regretter, si elle améliorait réellement la condition des cultivateurs; mais en arrêtant les progrès commencés de la grande culture, on va rendre en somme la condition des classes agricoles plus mauvaise. Quelques uns de ces petits fermiers, plus habiles que d'autres, commençaient à exploiter de grandes fermes; ils avaient ainsi devant eux un avenir de richesse qui va leur échapper. L'esprit de l'ukase est de les parquer à jamais dans leurs petites propriétés. En leur donnant en apparence l'indépendance, on leur impose une nouvelle sorte de servitude beaucoup plus étroite, car le gouvernement russe a intérêt à les maintenir dans leur pauvreté, pour en être plus maîtres, tandis que les propriétaires étaient intéressés à leur confiner de plus en plus de grandes fermes. Que sont les riches fermiers d'Angleterre, sinon d'anciens paysans qui ont préféré d'eux mêmes la grande culture à la petite propriété comme plus lucrative?

"Le second ukase établit une nouvelle organisation des communes dans les campagnes. Le régime des communes rurales dans le Royaume de Pologne répondait à la condition sociale et économique du pays. Il y avait en tout de 2000 à 3000 communes rurales appelées *gminy* et distinctes des municipalités des villes, comme les paroisses d'Angleterre se distinguent des bourgs. La *gmina* ressemblait beaucoup plus pour l'étendue à notre canton, qu'à notre commune proprement dite. L'ancien seigneur, propriétaire actuel du terrain, exerçait les fonctions de maire (*woyt*); ce n'était pas précisément un pouvoir possédé à titre de propriété privée, héréditaire et aliénable comme au moyen-âge, mais à titre de fonction publique. Le gouvernement confirmait à chaque mutation le maire dans ses fonctions et pouvait dans certains cas les lui ôter; mais en fait, le titre de *woyt* accompagnait la propriété et se transmettait avec elle. Cette organisation ressemblait beaucoup à celle des *juges de paix* d'Angleterre, qui sont héréditaires de fait et non de droit, de même que les fermiers polonais ressemblaient beaucoup à ces fermiers *at will* qui n'ont point de baux et qui se succèdent cependant de père en fils.

"Les pouvoirs de ces *woyts* avaient pu être abusifs dans d'autres temps, mais ils étaient devenus à peu près ceux de nos propres maires. Le *woyt* n'avait pas de juridiction proprement dite sur les habitants de la commune, il n'avait que la police judiciaire. Les paysans, comme tous les autres citoyens, étaient justiciables au civil, au correctionnel et au criminel des tribunaux du pays, en commençant par les juges de paix, car l'organisation judiciaire du Royaume de Pologne date du Duché de Russie et a été calquée sur la nôtre surtout dans les degrés inférieurs. Les paysans de chaque village de la *gmina* choisissaient parmi eux un *soltys*, les grands villages en choisissaient un plus grand nombre. Ces *soltys* ou adjoints faisaient office de *constables* ruraux et servaient d'intermédiaire entre le maire et les paysans.

"Le propriétaire-maire qui ne voulait pas exercer ses fonctions en personne avait le droit de se choisir un remplaçant et de le présenter au gouvernement, qui l'acceptait ou le refusait suivant ses convenances et qui pouvait le destituer. L'administration de ces délégués, assez analogue à nos anciens *baillis*, donnait lieu à des reproches fondés. Il était d'ailleurs bien clair que les rapports entre les paysans et les propriétaires venant à changer, le régime de la commune rurale devait changer aussi. Il fallait faire participer les nouveaux propriétaires à la gestion

des affaires communales. Il fallait réformer l'institution des *woyts* en l'adaptant à l'état de choses nouveau. La société agricole de Varsovie avait discuté plusieurs projets de réforme, conçus dans un sens sagement libéral. Le gouvernement russe aurait pu trouver dans ses travaux s'il l'avait voulu les éléments d'une bonne loi organique. Il a fait tout le contraire. Il a détruit de fond en comble l'organisation existante et, à la place d'un état social séculaire, érigé l'oeuvre d'un radicalisme sans précédent.

"L'administration de la *gmina* sera composée à l'avenir d'un maire ou *woyt*, d'un adjoint ou *soltys* et d'un tribunal. L'Assemblée générale sera formée de tous les habitants majeurs possédant au moins trois *morgens* de terre; mais l'ukase en exclut formellement les juges de paix, c'est à dire les propriétaires nommés par le gouvernement à ces fonctions gratuites, ainsi que les *curés* et *desservants*. Un autre article exclut en outre toutes les personnes placées sous la surveillance de la police. Or il faut savoir qu'en Pologne la surveillance de la police n'est pas, comme en France, la conséquence d'une condamnation judiciaire, mais une mesure purement administrative, prise arbitrairement. On peut se trouver sous la surveillance de la police sans même s'en douter. On l'apprend le plus souvent tout à coup, quand on veut faire un voyage ou changer de domicile. Dans les circonstances actuelles, quand tous les propriétaires fonciers, même les plus petits, et les nombreux employés des grands propriétaires ont été accusés de prendre part directement ou indirectement à l'insurrection, des milliers de personnes se trouvent sous la surveillance de la police. On peut donc juger de l'énorme portée de cet article, si inoffensif en apparence.

"Dans la proclamation déjà citée le Comte Berg explique et commente ces exclusions: "Les juges de paix, dit-il, les juges de district et en général les membres du clergé séculier et régulier, de même que toutes les personnes qui n'ont pas de terres dans la commune, n'ont pas le droit d'assister aux assemblées communales, ni de se mêler des élections et des affaires des paysans. De même, tous les propriétaires qui ont fait jusqu'à présent fonctions de maires de communes, leurs adjoints et leurs délégués n'ont pas le droit d'assister aux premières assemblées qui auront lieu pour l'élection des nouveaux maires".

"L'intention manifeste du gouvernement russe est de composer les assemblées de *gminas* de paysans seuls et d'en exclure tout ce qui a quelque richesse et quelques lumières. L'assemblée ainsi constituée aura dans ses attributions l'élection des maires et autres fonctionnaires communaux, la gestion des biens de la commune, l'administration et ses écoles et de ses établissements de charité, enfin, et ceci est l'important, la fixation et la répartition des impositions communales. Cette répartition se fera donc, dans la plupart des cas, sans la participation des plus imposés, car il arrivera bien rarement qu'ils ne soient pas compris dans les catégories d'exclusion. Si tel ou tel propriétaire, un peu plus riche ou un peu plus éclairé, échappe à l'ostracisme, il sera impuissant dans une assemblée qui prendra ses décisions à la majorité des voix. L'ukase est tellement jaloux de concentrer tous les pouvoirs aux mains des paysans, qu'il défend, sous la menace de peines sévères, aux personnes privées du droit de voter, d'assister aux délibérations de l'assemblée communale.

"Tout habitant de la *gmina* possédant six *morgens* de terre (3 hectares 60 ares) est éligible aux fonctions de maire et aux autres fonctions

municipales. Sont déclarées cependant non éligibles les personnes n'appartenant pas à la religion chrétienne, c'est à dire les Juifs, très nombreux en Pologne et qui comptent beaucoup d'hommes riches, industriels et instruits, ainsi que les personnes placées sous la surveillance de la police et par conséquent qui l'on voudra. En même temps toute autre fonction est déclarée incompatible avec celle de maire, ce qui a pour effet d'exclure à peu près quiconque sait lire et écrire, car il y a dans ces campagnes bien peu d'hommes ayant quelques connaissances qui n'exercent une fonction à un titre quelconque. Supposons enfin qu'un propriétaire foncier, voulant être maire, trouve le moyen d'échapper à toutes ces exclusions; l'ukase l'atteint encore dans ce dernier retranchement; s'il est élu par l'assemblée de la *gmina*, le chef du district a le droit d'annuler l'élection et d'en ordonner une nouvelle. Si pour la seconde fois l'élection donne le même résultat, le Chef du district peut en appeler au gouverneur de la province, qui a encore le droit d'annulation, et en s'y reprenant ainsi à plusieurs reprises, on ne manquera certainement pas de moyens pour persuader aux paysans de faire un choix plus agréable à l'autorité. Ainsi l'homme éclairé, l'ancien propriétaire, est impitoyablement traqué, d'article en article, d'un bout à l'autre de l'ukase, partout humilié devant le paysan et mis à sa merci.

"Les fonctions de maire étaient gratuites, elles deviennent salariées. Les appointements de tous les fonctionnaires municipaux doivent être fixés par le Comité central chargé de l'organisation rurale. Le pouvoir de ce nouveaux maires s'étend, sans restriction de personne, sur tout les habitants demeurant dans les limites de la *gmina* et domiciliés soit dans les villages, soit dans les fermes et châteaux des propriétaires. Au nombre de leurs devoirs, se trouve celui "d'arrêter la propagation des bruits malveillants". Ils doivent faire connaître immédiatement à l'autorité les personnes qui s'absentent de la commune. Ils ont le droit de condamner à deux jours de prison et à un rouble d'amende pour contravention de police. Ils peuvent citer devant eux toute personne demeurant dans la *gmina* et faire avec leurs adjoints des visites domiciliaires dans toutes les maisons. Si pour une cause ou pour une autre l'assemblée générale ne vote pas à temps la répartition des impôts communaux, ils ont droit de la faire eux mêmes et de la mettre à exécution. Le tribunal de la *gmina* a des attributions non moins exorbitantes. Il est composé du maire président et de deux assesseurs élus par l'assemblée générale. Au civil, il juge sans appel jusqu'à concurrence de 120 francs (30 roubles) et en cas de dissentiment sur la valeur du litige, il la fixe lui-même, après avoir consulté, s'il le juge nécessaire, des experts pris parmi les paysans. Pour les délits, il peut condamner à cinq jours de prison et à 12 francs d'amende, sans appel. On comprend à qui s'adresse cette menace de la prison au moindre soupçon.

"Ces fonctionnaires communaux investis de pouvoirs si étendus sont fournis eux mêmes à l'arbitraire des chefs de districts, des gouverneurs de province, et tant que durera l'état de siège, des chefs militaires. Ils peuvent être destitués pour *abus* ou *négligence*. Les autorités qui les surveillent peuvent leur infliger un emprisonnement de sept jours. Les chefs de districts ont le même pouvoir sur les assemblées générales; ceux qui les composent peuvent être mis en jugements suivant des instructions spéciales qui seront données ultérieurement. Enfin, si les tribunaux ont prononcé une peine contre un fonctionnaire communal,

les chefs de districts ou sous-préfets sont libres d'exécuter ou de ne pas exécuter le jugement.

"L'ukase crée une seconde catégorie de communes rurales appelée *gromada*, sur le modèle de la première. Le *soltys* ou adjoint y exercera le même pouvoir que le maire dans la *gmina*, et il y aura aussi une assemblée générale d'où seront exclus les anciens propriétaires, même les plus petits.

"Pour les terres concédées aux paysans, le gouvernement russe promet aux propriétaires dépossédés une indemnité qu'il appelle *une compensation équivalente*. C'est le troisième ukase qui règle le mode d'indemnité. Le moindre examen suffit pour montrer combien cette promesse est illusoire. Les considérants contiennent d'abord un passage de très mauvais augure: "il dépendra désormais des propriétaires eux-mêmes d'accélérer l'émission des titres d'indemnité et d'en consolider la valeur. Ce but sera certainement atteint par eux si, profitant des pénibles enseignements de l'expérience, ils s'efforcent d'apaiser les esprits et de mettre un terme à des troubles incompatibles avec le maintien non seulement du crédit public, mais aussi au crédit privé. En prêtant un concours intelligent aux vues du gouvernement, *ils se rendront à eux-mêmes le plus utile des services*". C'est assez dire quel esprit va présider à la répartition: ceux qui se seront rendus dignes de la faveur impériale recevront une indemnité, les autres ne pourront s'en prendre qu'à eux-mêmes, si l'expédition de leurs *titres* est suspendue.

"Le mécanisme du règlement a quelque rapport en apparence avec celui qu'avait proposé la Société d'Agriculture, mais il en diffère profondément dans l'exécution. Le gouvernement russe fait perdre d'abord sans indemnité tous les revenus accessoires et éventuels, même quand ils résultent de contrats formels dont le terme n'est pas échu, les revenus attachés au droit de vente des boissons, la propriété des mines et carrières, la jouissance exclusive des champs et forêts soumis aux servitudes foncières etc..., puis pour l'évaluation des corvées et redevances, il fixe un tarif tout à fait arbitraire. La valeur de la journée de travail est estimée à 30 à 48 centimes (de 7 kopeks 1/2 à 12 kopeks) suivant certaines zones, quand il est de notoriété publique qu'elle s'élève à près du double. Le revenu annuel d'un *morgen* de terre (60 ares) est fixé de 3 fr 60 à 4.80 (de 90 kopeks à 1 rouble 20 kopeks) quand il est également fort supérieur, surtout aux environs de Varsovie et dans toute la vallée de la Vistule. Sur la somme telle quelle que donneront ces évaluations on retranche encore un tiers quand il s'agit de corvée et un cinquième quand il s'agit du cens en argent; on capitalise ce qui reste à raison de 6 p.% et on délivre le montant en lettres de gage rapportant 4 p.% d'intérêt et remboursables en quarante deux ans. Pour que ces lettres de gage perdent sur le marché, et elles perdront nécessairement, les propriétaires auront à peine le cinquième de ce qu'on leur prend.

"Ici encore il y a dans le texte russe un article qui ne se trouve pas dans la version française; c'est l'article 22 qui est ainsi conçu: "le comité principal, chargé de l'organisation rurale du Royaume, est autorisé à réduire les bases déterminées par l'art. précédent jusqu'à *quarante pour cent* dans les cas où, vu les circonstances locales, l'application de ces bases aurait produit une indemnité trop forte comparativement à la valeur réelle de la terre". On comprend en effet qu'on se soit peu soucié de faire connaître à l'Europe un pareil article; l'indemnité, dans ce dernier cas sera tout au plus du dixième.

"En revanche, ce qui est beaucoup plus sûr que le paiement des lettres de gage, c'est l'acquittement des charges destinées à y parer. Autant le gouvernement russe se montre économe à l'égard des propriétaires dépossédés, autant il prend soin d'assurer les rentrées qui doivent payer ces indemnités dérisoires. D'abord, il soumet les paysans à un impôt foncier égal aux *deux tiers* de leurs anciennes redevances, ce qui diminuera beaucoup à leurs yeux la valeur du présent qui leur est fait; puis il se substitue aux anciens seigneurs pour le droit sur les boissons. A ces deux ressources extraordinaires, il ajoute le produit éventuel de la vente des parcelles vacantes et délaissées, et enfin un impôt additionnel perçu sur tous les biens immeubles du Royaume autres que ceux des paysans, c'est à dire sur les terres qui restent aux anciens propriétaires. Ceux-ci se paieront de la sorte à eux-mêmes une partie de leur indemnité; ce qu'on semble leur donner d'une main, on le retire de l'autre: à quoi, il faut ajouter que l'indemnité sera remboursée en quarante deux ans et que l'impôt additionnel restera toujours probablement. Le gouvernement russe n'aura pas voulu laisser échapper l'occasion de faire une bonne affaire; c'est lui qui touchera, sous prétexte d'indemnité, la plus grande partie de ce qu'auront à payer les propriétaires anciens et nouveaux.

"Il n'y a que peu de chose à dire du quatrième ukase, qui concerne les moyens d'exécution; on peut aisément d'après ce qui précède prévoir ce qu'il renferme. L'exécution est confiée à un comité principal et à des commissions provinciales. Le comité principal est déjà nommé, il vient d'entrer en fonction. Tous ses membres sont des Russes, on n'y compte pas un seul Polonais. Il y a dans chacun des ukases une quantité d'articles qui renvoient à des règlements futurs. C'est le comité qui est chargé de les faire. Il aura ensuite à décider sur toutes les plaintes, à juger tous les différends, à surveiller les administrations rurales nouvellement organisées; on lui confie la détermination définitive du montant de l'indemnité due aux propriétaires, ce qui met toutes les fortunes à sa discrétion. Ses décisions seront exécutées par les commissions provinciales et par les *chefs militaires*. Le Comité principal nommera, déplacera et destituera à volonté les membres des commissions provinciales".

A peine les ukases du 2 mars étaient-ils publiés, que le gouvernement russe s'est hâté de procéder à l'organisation des communes rurales et à l'élection des maires, adjoints et autres fonctionnaires communaux. Cette oeuvre a été confiée aux autorités militaires qui ont mené lestement la besogne. Sous leur direction, les fonctions de maires ont été données presque partout à des paysans pour la plupart illétrés. Dans plusieurs communes on a fait élevé d'anciens sous-officiers ou soldats russes, dans d'autres enfin des colons allemands ne comprenant même pas le polonais.

L'exécution des ukases a été confié par le quatrième de ces décrets eux-mêmes, à un comité qui a pris le nom de Comité *constituant*. Ce comité s'est d'abord organisé lui-même, puis il a nommé plusieurs commissions dites provinciales qu'il a envoyées dans toutes les parties du pays. Son président et l'âme de toutes ses délibérations est M. Milutine, principal auteur des ukases; il est d'ailleurs exclusivement composé de Russes dont plusieurs n'appartiennent même pas à la hiérarchie de fonctionnaires publics. Ce sont pour la plupart des littérateurs, des théoriciens, de véritables *amateurs* imbus de doctrines exclusives et ne connaissant pas le pays auquel ils appliquent des idées économiques et sociales

conçues *a priori*. Ce comité, ayant la mission d'interpréter et de développer les ukases par des règlements détaillés, ne s'arrête pas à la lettre de la loi qu'il est chargé d'appliquer. Le texte des ukases, si destructif qu'il soit, semble n'avoir été publié que pour l'Europe; le comité dans ses *décisions* et *protocoles* ne s'y assujettit et ne s'y renferme pas toujours, et dans les *instructions secrètes* qu'il a données aux commissions provinciales, il ne s'en tient nullement à la lettre de la loi et pousse beaucoup plus loin l'oeuvre de bouleversement. L'existence d'instructions de cette nature est un fait positif et complètement hors de doute.

La chose déjà grave en elle même le paraîtra bien davantage encore, si l'on songe à la composition de ces commissions provinciales; elles sont formées d'un ramassis bizarre de chercheurs de fortune, accourus de tous les points du vaste empire des Tsars, n'ayant pas la moindre notion de l'économie rurale et de plus imbus pour le plus grand nombre des idées socialistes, qui depuis quelques années font de si grands ravages en Russie.

Voici d'après les journaux russes qui enregistrent les nominations officielles le relevé des qualités données à ces commissaires. La moitié se compose d'officiers russes porte-enseignes, sous-lieutenants, lieutenants, capitaines de hussards, de houlans, de dragons etc... Viennent ensuite plusieurs étudiants de l'Université de Moscou et de St. Pétersbourg à peine sortis des écoles; un medecin, un sous-inspecteur de police de l'Université de Moscou; un chef d'emballage à la gare du chemin de fer de St. Pétersbourg; un employé de la douane de St. Pétersbourg; un ex-maître de langue française, un employé en service extraordinaire auprès du chef de la ville de Kiakta, frontière de la Chine, etc. etc.

On peut aisément se figurer quel chaos produisent partout des commissaires choisis de la sorte, interprétant chacun à sa guise les instructions secrètes du Comité constituant. Ainsi les ukases ne s'appliquent dans le principe qu'aux enclos (*osada*) des paysans. *Osada* veut dire une maison avec jardin et un champ arable de n'importe qu'elle dimension; or, le comité constituant confère la propriété à tous ceux qui ont un *logement*, soit dans les villages, soit dans les bâtiments des grandes fermes. Les commissions, renchérissant encore sur la pensée du comité, sont arrivées dans plusieurs endroits jusqu'à l'absurde. On a donné des moulins, construits par un propriétaire, au meunier qui en était locataire. Un cocher qui couchait dans l'écurie de son maître en a reçu un compartiment en toute propriété. On a fait don des étables aux vachères qui y travaillaient pour le compte du propriétaire. Il en a été de même pour les parcelles de terres concédées temporairement soit à un valet de ferme soit à un journalier pour qu'il put y récolter quelques légumes. Les commissions en ont adjugé la propriété à ces détenteurs à titre gratuit et essentiellement révocable, de sorte que les terres restant aux anciens propriétaires sont coupées d'une quantité infinie de petites enclaves qui rendent impossible toute application des bons principes de l'économie rurale.

Tous ces faits sont positifs et peuvent être prouvés de la manière la plus irréfragable.

Partout où les commissions ont passé, les garçon de ferme, les journaliers, locataires et sous locataires sont devenus propriétaires de leurs habitations et de petits champs d'un hectare ou d'un demi hectare dont ils ne savent pour la plupart que faire. Ajoutez que pour une maison de paysans avec un champ d'un hectare l'indemnité, payable

on ne sait quand, en titres de rente, est de 40 à 50 francs en capital, et il ne sera pas difficile de conclure que c'est là vis à vis des anciens propriétaires un acte véritable de spoliation.

On ne sait où s'arrêtera ce partage des terres qui a encore un autre inconvénient, celui de priver les grandes fermes de toute main d'oeuvre. Aucun propriétaire foncier dans le royaume ne sait, à l'heure qu'il est, ce qu'il peut regarder comme définitivement à lui, et ce qu'il doit céder encore. La propriété est devenue incertaine et aléatoire.

Depuis 1846, et en vue du partage définitif qui était dans toutes les prévisions, une séparation se faisait à l'amiable entre les terres domaniales et celles données en usufruit aux paysans. Un des protocoles du comité allant beaucoup plus loin que l'ukase impérial prescrit rigoureusement la restitution aux paysans des terres qu'ils possédaient avant cette séparation, sans s'arrêter à ce que ces terres ont été dans beaucoup de cas dépêchées à grand frais, assainies, amenées à un état de culture supérieure, et sans tenir compte davantage de ce qu'elles sont entrées dans le système de l'économie des cultures de la grande ferme et ont influé sur l'emplacement de ses diverses constructions.

Ainsi l'on peut citer un bien où la commission a fait restituer aux paysans des prairies domaniales dont l'irrigation a coûté des sommes considérables. La séparation avait été opérée dans cette propriété depuis longtemps et dans les formes légales, on n'en a tenu aucun compte. De sorte que non seulement les propriétaires actuels sont lésés dans leurs intérêts, mais la propriété elle-même et l'agriculture sont frappées dans leur essence et dans leur avenir.

Les ukases disent qu'il faut respecter les contrats passés en vertu des lois de 1846, 1858, 1861 et 1862, s'ils ont été faits devant notaires et sanctionnés par les autorités administratives. Ils ajoutent que celles de leurs dispositions qui sont relatives au partage des terres entre les propriétaires et les paysans ne se rapportent qu'aux biens où ce partage n'a pas été définitivement réglé avant leur promulgation.

Les commissions au contraire annulent partout ces contrats, rétablissent dans les forêts et paturages les usages et servitudes éteints, refont les anciens partages. On dit même que le Comité constituant est à la veille d'adjuger d'un trait de plume aux communes, en toute propriété, le quart des bois et paturages seigneuriaux.

Les instructions secrètes prescrivent d'admettre comme preuve légale les déclarations des paysans quant à la quantité des terres possédées par eux et à l'étendue des servitudes dont ils jouissaient. Tandis que les déclarations et témoignages contraires des propriétaires ne doivent être admis même quand ils s'appuient sur les *tables des prestations*, confectionnées par les autorités administratives en 1846, ou sur les cartes et plans du cadastre, il va sans dire que ces cartes et tables sont admises comme preuves authentiques, quand ce sont les paysans qui les invoquent, en un mot, les paysans doivent toujours avoir raison contre les propriétaires, tel est le sens et la lettre des instructions secrètes que reçoivent les commissions.

Armées de pouvoirs aussi redoutables, protégées par l'état de siège, composées d'ignorants ou de sectaires, ces commissions se livrent à l'arbitraire le plus complet et produisent partout une anarchie sans exemple. Les propriétaires ne peuvent même faire entendre leurs justes plaintes, car il est interdit de publier quoi que ce soit sur ces matières.

Quelques exemples parfaitement avérés suffiront pour prouver de quelle manière procèdent les commissions.

Dans un domaine, les paysans, accensés d'après les lois antérieures et par des contrats passés en bonne forme, possèdent des prairies situées le long de la rivière; les prairies de la grande ferme occupent une position plus élevée. L'inondation de la Vistule a cette année endommagé les prairies de paysans et importé leur foin. La commission en a rendu le propriétaire responsable, et l'a forcé à les indemniser sur sa propre récolte de la perte qu'ils avaient éprouvée.

Dans une autre commune le propriétaire, manquant de bois a acheté une certaine étendue de forêts à deux lieues de sa propriété, qui en est séparée par d'autres domaines; les paysans se trouvaient par là privés de tout droit à l'affouage et en tout cas dans l'impossibilité d'en jouir à cause de l'éloignement. Ils ont porté plainte à la commission, qui a trouvé tout simple d'ordonner au propriétaire de leur faire apporter par ses propres chariots la quantité de bois de chauffage dont ils avaient besoin.

Dans un autre endroit encore, les paysans se sont plaints à une commission que le propriétaire avait trop de moutons et qu'il faisait tort ainsi à leurs propres troupeaux; la commission a prescrit au propriétaire de réduire le nombre de ses moutons.

Une telle conduite ne crée pas seulement une sorte de chaos, où sont confondus tous les principes d'économie rurale et de bonne exploitation; elle bouleverse non moins profondément les idées des paysans et ne peut manquer de détruire chez eux toute notion de droit et de propriété.

Les conséquences fatales de ce système n'ont pas tardé à se produire; l'agriculture du pays est entièrement désorganisée; une quantité considérable de champs reste sans culture. Dans plusieurs endroits les récoltes ont dû être abandonnées faute de bras et les semailles sont encore à faire. Les paysans, surtout ceux de la classe des journaliers et locataires qui vivaient principalement du travail de leurs bras, ne veulent plus travailler ou bien exigent pour la journée un prix exorbitant (un rouble ou 4 francs). A l'époque de la récolte, le général Berg, voyant l'embarras causé par l'insuffisance de la main d'oeuvre, avait permis aux soldats russes de se louer aux propriétaires pour y supplier, mais le Comité constituant, comme si son objet était bien réellement la ruine des propriétaires polonais, a promptement amené le Namiestnik à retirer cette autorisation. Ajoutons pour compléter le tableau de la situation que, sous le prétexte de l'indemnité, les impôts qui pèsent sur les propriétés foncières sont doublés.

La conséquence d'un tel état de choses est facile à prévoir. Le commerce du blé et l'exportation des matières premières et des divers produits agricoles qui ont constitué jusqu'ici la principale richesse de la Pologne sont frappés d'un coup mortel. L'épuisement du pays par l'insurrection, par les impôts et contributions prélevés de deux côtés à la fois, l'incertitude jetée sur les bases même de la propriété et l'espèce de chaos où la société est tombée ont anéanti tout crédit. L'industrie, assez faible auparavant, est aujourd'hui complètement annihilée, et le commerce intérieur des produits industriels est frappé de l'espèce de paralysie qui atteint toutes les fonctions sociales. Jamais encore une situation si déplorable n'avait pesé sur la Pologne, ramenée au temps de la barbarie primitive.

Le comité constituant, créé spécialement pour l'exécution des ukases du 2 mars, ne s'est pas renfermé dans les limites de sa tâche primitive. Il s'est emparé peu à peu et sous divers prétextes, de toute l'administration du Royaume se mêlant de tout et bouleversant tout. Les principaux membres sont en même temps membres du Conseil d'Administration qui entoure le Namiestnik. Le Prince Tcherkaskoj,³⁹⁾ le personnage le plus influent dans le Comité après M. Milutine est en même temps ministre de l'Intérieur du Royaume, et met ainsi à la disposition du Comité toute la machine administrative. Sous prétexte de l'indemnité à payer aux propriétaires, le Comité s'est emparé des finances du pays et bouleverse de fond en comble tous son système d'impôts. Quelques jours après la signature d'un décret rendu à Kissingen qui nommait M. Witte,⁴⁰⁾ un Allemand russe, ministre de l'Instruction Publique et des cultes à Varsovie, le Prince Tcherkaskoj appelait devant lui les employés de la Division des Cultes et leur déclarait sans égard pour le nouveau titulaire et sans tenir compte du décret impérial, que, dès le lendemain, ils passaient sous ses ordres et que la Division des Cultes ferait désormais partie du ministère de l'intérieur.

Enfin par les ukases du 11 septembre le Comité s'est également emparé de l'Instruction publique.

Ces ukases, c'est leur préambule même qui prend soin de l'établir, sont destinés à continuer l'oeuvre "*de transformation radicale*" inaugurée par ceux du 2 mars. L'Instruction Publique était régie dans le Royaume par un statut qui confiait la direction et la surveillance de l'enseignement aux autorités locales et faisait au clergé une part légitime, sans porter aucune atteinte aux droits des cultes non catholiques. La loi nouvelle laisse subsister de nom la surveillance des autorités locales, mais en excluant formellement le clergé et en donnant la décision supérieure de toutes les questions qui peuvent s'élever à dix fonctionnaires, nommés par le Comité constituant, et qui, sous le titre de Directeurs scolaires, se partageront tout le Royaume. Un article spécial du même ukase exclut de toutes fonctions dans l'enseignement primaire les personnes des deux sexes appartenant aux Congrégations et Ordres religieux (art. 35). Un autre porte que dans les écoles primaires, la religion, les prières et l'histoire sainte ne pourront être enseignées par le curé de la paroisse, au lieu de l'instituteur laïque, que si l'assemblée communale le veut et si le Directeur des écoles y consent. (Art. 54).

Cette exclusion formelle du clergé catholique de toute direction, de toute surveillance, de toute part dans l'enseignement est un des traits caractéristiques des nouveaux ukases. On se flatte d'achever ainsi contre le clergé l'oeuvre entreprise le 2 mars contre l'ancienne aristocratie foncière.

Il y a dans les nouveaux ukases une autre disposition qui mérite également d'être signalée. Sous prétextes de venir au secours d'anciennes nationalités opprimées, la loi veut que l'enseignement soit donné dans les écoles rurales dans le dialecte que parle la majorité des habitants. Il n'est pas besoin de longs commentaires pour montrer quel est le but de cette disposition; c'est tout simplement un dissolvant appliqué à l'unité de la nation polonaise.

39) Vladimir Cerkasskij (1824-1878).

40) Fedor Fedorovič Witte.

Enfin tout en laissant subsister une commission de l'instruction publique, c'est au Comité constituant qu'est confiée l'exécution des ukases du 11 septembre comme celle des lois agraires du 2 mars.

Ainsi, il y a dans le Royaume deux gouvernements dont l'un — le comité — embrasse tout, a la haute main sur tout, soumet le pays aux "*transformations radicales*" et ne laisse à l'autre — le Namiestnik — que l'armée, la police et des fonctions apparentes sans aucune attribution. L'antagonisme qui éclate parfois entre ces deux gouvernements contribue encore à augmenter la confusion et les souffrances du pays.

Nous terminerons par une dernière considération qui a son importance. Le Comité constituant voit dans l'état de siège et le régime militaire, actuellement en vigueur, le meilleur moyen, l'instrument le plus commode dans l'introduction de ces mesures radicales. Il s'appuie sur ce régime et s'en sert pour agir promptement, énergiquement, sans aucun ménagement ni transaction. Aussi l'objet principal du Comité est-il de maintenir indéfiniment l'état de siège et tant qu'il conservera sa position prédominante, on ne peut concevoir aucune espérance d'adoucissement

Doc. No. 6.

20.IV.1864.

VICTOR TIBY
À DROUYN DE LHUYS, MINISTRE DES AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES

No. 34

Monsieur le Ministre,

Le mouvement des voyageurs sur les chemins de fer de Pologne est devenu si restreint dans ces derniers temps que l'Administration de la Ligne de Varsovie à la frontière autrichienne n'expédie plus depuis le 27 mars que deux trains par jour, l'un de Varsovie à la frontière et l'autre de la frontière à Varsovie. La correspondance directe entre cette ville et Vienne se trouve ainsi supprimée et les courriers seront désormais forcés, à l'aller comme au retour, de passer une nuit à Graniza, première station Russe en sortant de Galicie. D'après ce que m'a assuré un Inspecteur du chemin de fer, il faudrait attribuer cette diminution continue du nombre des voyageurs à la surveillance de plus en plus rigoureuse à laquelle ils sont soumis de la part des autorités Russes et à l'extrême difficulté avec laquelle on obtient aujourd'hui des permis de circulation. Les trains ne transportent guères que des paysans qui se rendent d'une station à une autre. Les voitures de 1^{re} et de 2^e classe sont à peu près vides. Quant à moi, j'étais seul à franchir la frontière en venant à Varsovie; j'étais également seul quand je suis rentré en Autriche; et pendant le temps de ces deux trajets, je me suis rencontré une seule fois avec un gentilhomme Polonais. Encore avions-nous avec nous des officiers russes: ce qui a naturellement empêché toute conversation politique. Je me trouve donc réduit, Monsieur le Ministre, à rendre compte à Votre

Excellence des quelques impressions personnelles que j'ai pu recueillir bien à la hâte pendant le très court séjour qu'il m'a été donné de faire en Pologne.

Le Gouvernement russe continue à prendre les mesures militaires les plus sévères pour assurer la libre circulation des trains. Au départ de Graniza, un détachement de soldats est monté dans un waggon découvert situé en tête du train, et il a été successivement relevé par d'autres troupes jusqu'à Varsovie. Deux fonctionnaires sont en outre placés sur la machine. A chaque station le train à peine arrêté est entouré de soldats qui empêchent les voyageurs de s'éloigner. Chaque porte des bâtiments de la station donnant sur la voie est gardée par un fonctionnaire auquel il faut montrer son passeport. De Graniza jusqu'à Varsovie, les forêts ont été coupées des deux côtés du chemin de fer sur une largeur de 50 mètres. Depuis quelque temps enfin les troupes construisent avec une grande activité une série de blockaus échelonnés sur la ligne et dans lesquels sont déjà installés de nombreux détachemens. On m'a affirmé que les voyageurs étaient souvent fouillés à leur arrivée à Varsovie : dernièrement la police a été jusqu'à découdre le rabat d'un prêtre français dont le passeport n'était pas en règle. Les habitans de Varsovie sont toujours astreints aux mêmes réglemens qui ont été adoptés il y a déjà près d'un an. On ne peut ni sortir de la ville, ni y rentrer sans une permission spéciale. Dès que la nuit arrive, chacun doit être muni d'une lanterne et à onze heures la circulation est interdite dans les rues. Le Gouvernement Russe tend d'ailleurs de plus en plus à substituer dans les administrations des employés appelés de Russie aux employés polonais, et des officiers aux fonctionnaires civils. Ce sont maintenant des officiers de la ligne qui visitent eux-mêmes les bagages à l'arrivée des trains. La société du *Crédit foncier* a pour conseil de surveillance un comité de Généraux.

Les Polonais n'essaient plus aujourd'hui de lutter même par des protestations indirectes contre le dur régime, qui leur est imposé. Ils ont à peu près renoncé à cette petite guerre d'emblèmes et de signes de ralliement qu'ils soutenaient il y a quelques mois encore contre les autorités Russes, et l'on serait tenté de voir dans leur soumission actuelle aux exigences les plus vexatoires de la police Russe une preuve du peu d'espoir qu'ils conservent dans l'issue des événemens. Toute démonstration populaire a cessé dans la ville de Varsovie. Les attaques contre les soldats isolés ne se renouvellent plus et la dernière exécution militaire remonte à près de deux mois.⁴¹⁾ Le gouvernement national a suspendu ses publications. Une liste des membres qui le composaient en dernier lieu a été saisie et tous, sauf celui d'entre eux qui prenait le titre de *Ministre de la guerre*, sont aujourd'hui entre les mains des Russes. Il n'y a plus de bandes d'insurgés dans les environs de la ville. Quelques groupes de trois ou quatre individus errent encore de village en village; de ferme en ferme, poursuivis par les Cosaques et les colonnes mobiles qui parcourent sans cesse la campagne. Mais, au dire des Polonais eux-mêmes, ce sont là plutôt des associations de malfaiteurs que des bandes politiques organisées; et leur apparition semble être au mouvement national de l'année dernière ce que la fin de la chouannerie et les chauffeurs ont été à la guerre de Vendée. Quelques bandes d'insurgés paraissent encore tenir dans des Palatinats éloignés et notamment dans celui de

41) Ce fut l'exécution de Uragan Podchaluzin.

Radom. On les dit fort mal armées et incapables d'une résistance sérieuse. Les Polonais avouent eux-mêmes qu'ils ont fait des pertes énormes : ils évaluent à plus de quarante mille le nombre de ceux d'entre eux qui ont été tués les armes à la main, ou qui sont morts de misère dans les bois, ou que les Russes ont déportés.⁴²⁾ A mesure que s'affaiblit l'enthousiasme des premiers temps, les conséquences désastreuses de la lutte inégale qu'ils ont entreprise commencent à se révéler. L'état de siège qui pèse sur la Pologne n'est guères favorable au développement du commerce et de l'industrie, et l'on cite un assez grand nombre d'établissements industriels qui ont dû cesser de travailler.

Le système de contributions pécuniaires adopté par les Russes accable de charges considérables les propriétaires et ne peut manquer d'entraîner la ruine de plusieurs. Dernièrement encore, un gendarme russe a été assassiné dans les environs de Varsovie sur une terre appartenant au comte Potocki par deux de ces individus qui courent la campagne et qui la veille avaient rançonné des paysans du même domaine. Le comte Potocki a été immédiatement condamné comme responsable à cent mille florins d'amende.⁴³⁾ Mais la mesure la plus désastreuse pour les propriétaires qui aura été prise par le Gouvernement Russe, sera certainement le dernier ukase de l'Empereur qui confère la propriété d'une partie des terres qu'ils cultivent aux paysans. Presque tous les domaines de Pologne sont aujourd'hui grevés d'hypothèques considérables. Aux termes de l'ukase, ces hypothèques resteront tout entières à la charge de l'ancien propriétaire; les lots affectés aux paysans leur seront acquis libres de tout engagement. Si cette disposition de l'ukase n'est pas rapportée, un grand nombre de familles seront ruinées.

On conçoit que menacés dans leurs intérêts, débarrassés ou à peu près de la pression du Gouvernement national et n'apercevant dans l'avenir que l'anéantissement certain des bandes qui combattent encore, une partie des membres de l'aristocratie polonaise inclinent à se rapprocher du Gouvernement russe et qu'il se manifeste dès aujourd'hui quelques symptômes de la formation d'un parti dit de *fusion*. Le mot a été prononcé : on ne l'aurait pas osé il y a quelques mois. Un commencement de résistance se produit dans les classes élevées contre les exigences du Gouvernement national, et un membre de la famille Zamoyski vient de se refuser à payer une nouvelle contribution de 70 mille florins qu'on venait lui réclamer. En outre quelques essais de réunion ont été tentés le soir : plusieurs jeunes gens se sont montrés au théâtre. Il ne conviendrait pas d'attacher trop d'importance à ces faits particuliers et de croire à un revirement complet dans les dispositions de l'aristocratie polonaise. Mais il y a peut-être là le point de départ d'une situation nouvelle.

Veillez agréer, Monsieur le Ministre, l'expression du profond respect avec lequel j'ai l'honneur d'être de Votre Excellence, le très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

20 avril 1864.

V. TIBY ⁴⁴⁾

42) Les Polonais livraient 1.229 combats en perdant 20.000 tués et 6.000 prisonniers, dont quelques centaines furent plus tard pendus, 50.000 personnes furent déportées en Sibérie, 3.400 propriétés confisquées, centaines de villages rasés.

43) August Potocki de Wilanów.

44) Victor Tiby (1833-1885), licencié en droit, entré au service le 23 janvier 1857, nommé le 3 décembre 1860 attaché payé.

LE VICOMTE L. DE POITIER
À DROUYN DE LHUYS, MINISTRE DES AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES

Rostock le 18 mars 1863
Reçu Cabinet 24 mars 1863

D. n. 8

...La population de Rostock, de ses environs et même du Meklembourg, à l'exception toutefois de la noblesse du pays, est généralement progressive et libérale; elle demande de grandes réformes qui sont réellement nécessaires pour le bien du pays, qui se trouve être le seul de l'Allemagne avec toute ses vieilles institutions et lois qui datent de plusieurs siècles.

Cette population progressive et libérale se divise en au moins deux catégories: les modérés et les exaltés. Les modérés sont en plus grand nombre, les exaltés ne sont pas encore précisément ce que nous appelons les démocrates avancés; ce sont en général les avocats, qui sont nombreux en Meklembourg, et quelques commerçants. Ils font partie des grandes sociétés libérales et démocratiques qui existent en Allemagne; des personnes riches, bien posées, de Rostock et même des membres du Sénat, qui font partie de cette catégorie, sont des gens d'action sur lesquels on compte et qui jouissent de la confiance des masses.

Toute la population meklembourgeoise est tout à fait sympathique au soulèvement de la Pologne, c'est avec une grande joie qu'elle l'a vue prendre les armes contre les Russes, qui généralement ne sont pas aimés; elle fait des vœux pour la voir s'affranchir du joug tyrannique et cruel qu'ils font peser sur ce malheureux pays. Quant à la partie exaltée, elle a eu la même joie et a été encore plus contente de cette insurrection car elle a pressenti de suite que cette prise d'armes réveillerait les sympathies de toutes les puissances de l'Europe pour cette malheureuse nation; ils ont pensé que de cette question il pourrait en surgir quelques grandes complications pour la politique européenne.

La Convention militaire Russo-Prussienne⁴⁵⁾ dont on nie aujourd'hui l'existence, ou dont on voudrait atténuer la portée, a produit un pénible effet et soulevé des cris d'indignation; des propos injurieux et menaçants ont été tenus contre le Roi de Prusse et son cabinet qui violaient le principe de non-intervention et qui dégradèrent la nation prussienne et son armée, en se faisant les défenseurs d'une cause injuste, qui avait pour elle les sympathies de toutes les nations civilisées.

L'arrestation de plusieurs jeunes polonais à Thorn, par l'autorité prussienne et leur remise entre les mains des troupes russes, a soulevé une bien plus grande indignation, elle a fait tomber le dernier vestige de considération et de respect que les gens du parti modéré avaient encore conservés pour la personne du Roi de Prusse.

45) La convention d'Alvensleben conclue le 8 février 1863.

Le parti féodal, lui même, n'a pas approuvé la conduite de la Prusse dans cette affaire là, il est mécontent de cette convention, surtout parce qu'elle a été proposée par elle et que par ce seul fait : elle a manqué à sa dignité de grande puissance allemande, qu'elle s'est abaissée et s'est faite les agents de police et les gendarmes d'une puissance bien plus grande et bien plus forte qu'elle et qui avait, malgré tout cela, un vif besoin de s'entendre avec elle. Je crois même que le gouvernement Grand-Ducal n'a pas approuvé cette convention militaire ou tout au moins la conduite de la Prusse dans l'arrestation des jeunes polonais à Thorn; ce qui le fait supposer, c'est que : Le Nord-Deutscher Correspondent, Journal semi-officiel de la Cour de Schwerin, a rapporté cette arrestation, la désapprouvée et flétrissait la conduite du gouvernement prussien s'il avait commis un tel acte.

Dans plusieurs réunions, dans des cercles, la politique de la Prusse, dans ces affaires de Pologne a été flétrie, des toasts ont été portés pour la délivrance de ce malheureux pays, on a fait appel aux troupes françaises en Prusse, si l'armée prussienne entrait en Pologne; on a peine à croire comment les esprits sont montés et le mépris que l'on porte au Roi et à son entourage.

Quelques jours après ces réunions, on donnait au théâtre une pièce en 4 actes, épisodes des guerres de 1813, 1814 et 1815, au second acte Sa Majesté Napoléon Ier doit paraître sur la scène, lorsque l'on vint à annoncer sa prochaine arrivée, plusieurs voix se mirent à crier à plusieurs reprises : « Qu'il vienne donc, l'Empereur, il n'est pas trop tôt, qu'il vienne au plus vite pour mettre ordre à tout ce qui se passe par ici! ». Ces paroles ont été répétées par la foule et couvertes d'applaudissements, les officiers qui se trouvaient dans la salle ne savaient qu'elle contenance tenir, attendu que tous les regards se portèrent sur eux, ils ne savaient s'ils devaient sortir ou rester; fort heureusement qu'ils firent comme s'ils ne comprenaient pas, ils restèrent ce qui fut plus prudent; ils sont très-mal vus et détestés ce qui fait, que s'ils étaient sortis, ils auraient été hués.

L'armée meklembourgeoise, c'est à dire les officiers n'on pas la même manière de voir que la population, cela se comprend, car ce sont tous de jeunes officiers, qui appartiennent à la noblesse où à la haute aristocratie du Meklembourg (excepté 4 ou 5), et qui voudraient voir la Prusse tenir à sa convention et intervenir en Pologne malgré toutes les conséquences qui pourraient en résulter. Ce sont des officiers complètement nuls, sans aucune instruction militaire, joueurs, buveurs, de mauvaise conduite, impertinents et parfois insolents surtout envers tout ce qui n'appartient pas à la noblesse, ils tiennent bien de leur père. Il est encore fort heureux pour le pays que S.A.R. le Grand Duc ne partage pas complètement leur manière de se conduire et que parfois, il sait les rappeler à l'ordre; il sait combien ces messieurs sont antipathiques à la population et tout le tort que cela amène dans la marche des affaires intérieures du pays. Le Bataillon qui est en garnison à Rostock doit retourner à Schwerin le 1er octobre prochain, S.A.R. ne veut plus laisser de troupe en cette ville; les uns prétendent qu'il veut punir la ville qui est assez démocratique, qui tient à ses privilèges et fait toujours de l'opposition à son gouvernement, les autres : qu'il est mécontent de ce bataillon qui s'imprègne trop des idées libérales des habitants de Rostock, et d'autres : qu'il veut avoir toute son armée réunie autour de lui pour être en

mesure de pouvoir résister à tout espoir de soulèvement qui pourrait survenir; quant à moi je suis plus tôt porté à admettre la deuxième version, car je sais qu'il est très mécontent de la conduite des officiers et surtout des soldats de ce bataillon.

Le 27 de ce mois on doit fêter le 50^e anniversaire de 1813, une colonne commémorative a été érigée dans la ville de Gustrow, S.A.R. le Grand Duc y a convoqué pour ce jour-là tous les militaires de cette époque et il doit en faire l'inauguration; une députation de chaque bataillon et les drapeaux avec une batterie d'artillerie doivent s'y rendre; la cérémonie se terminera par un diner offert par S.A.R.

Le Vicomte L. de POTIER

S T U D I A

OSCAR HALECKI
(NEW-YORK)

UN APPEL D'HEDVIGE D'ANJOU À LA REINE DES CIEUX

Introduction

Cette brève étude se propose d'examiner une fois de plus les questions litigieuses que posent depuis bientôt quatre-vingt ans le déchiffrement, la traduction et l'interprétation de dix-sept mots latins gravés sur un précieux calice à côté des blasons et devises d'Hedvige d'Anjou, reine de Pologne de 1384 à 1399. Les experts les plus qualifiés, historiens de l'art et philologues, n'ont pas réussi à se mettre d'accord dans leurs discussions, d'ailleurs interrompues pendant de longues années; mais elles ont révélé que ces problèmes, n'intéressant à premier abord que des spécialistes, avaient une portée générale. Ceci a frappé des écrivains de valeur lors du 550^e anniversaire de la mort d'Hedvige, et vient d'être mis en lumière, à la veille du 600^e anniversaire de sa naissance, par le seul des savants opposés l'un à l'autre, qui soit encore vivant. Lui-même a rattaché l'origine du mystérieux gobelet à celle d'autres souvenirs que nous a laissés la grande reine, tels qu'un traité théologique sur la contemplation et la vie active, dédié à elle; une traduction en trois langues des psaumes de David, préparée pour elle; et surtout l'Université de Cracovie, renouvelée et réorganisée grâce à cette femme exceptionnelle. Les hypothèses émises à ce propos concernent en même temps une question particulièrement grave qui préoccupe actuellement l'historiographie polonaise: celle de savoir si Hedvige qui mourut à l'âge de vingt-cinq ans, n'avait pas été soumise comme souveraine à l'influence de son entourage, dont elle aurait été l'instrument dès le début de son règne et dans lequel il faudrait chercher ses éducateurs. C'est précisément à cette question que la présente étude, partant d'un nouveau examen de l'inscription du calice qui semble être devenu la clef du problème, essayera de répondre.

I. *Les résultats des discussions antérieures*

Mieczysław Gębarowicz, l'historien de l'art et de la civilisation du Moyen Age, qui a pris le dernier la parole dans la polémique au sujet du "*roztruchan drezdeński*" — "le gobelet de Dresde", comme le calice de la reine est habituellement désigné — et qui est le seul survivant de ces débats, a facilité la tâche, qui reste à accomplir, en résumant en 1965 les solutions du problème proposées jusqu'à présent et en illustrant

son argumentation très détaillée et érudite par des planches, où le lecteur trouve des photographies de l'objet discuté.¹⁾ Ce résultat de son autopsie du calice en 1939 est d'autant plus précieux qu'il a réussi à photographier même l'inscription gravée tout autour de la colonne entre la base du gobelet et sa principale partie et reproduite par conséquent en six fragments pris de différents côtés. Cela nous donne en même temps une idée des difficultés qu'a dû rencontrer le graveur chargé de ce travail délicat. On peut en effet constater après plus de cinq siècles qu'il lui a fallu refaire une certaine partie de son travail à un endroit du circuit où fatalement la lecture de l'inscription est devenue fort pénible. Sur ce point Gębarowicz est d'accord avec le philologue Ryszard Ganszyniec, son principal adversaire dans les échanges de vues entre 1927 et 1939,²⁾ mais décédé après leur interruption par la guerre et ses conséquences. Cependant ni l'un ni l'autre de ces savants distingués n'a réussi à expliquer la nature du changement que le graveur semble avoir fait assez maladroitement.

Il restera le principal mérite de Ganszyniec, la critique sévère de l'interprétation de tout le texte par l'illustre historien de l'art polonais Marian Sokołowski, auquel nous devons, après tout, la découverte du calice en 1896,³⁾ d'avoir distingué le premier, des 1927, deux mots semblables, mais tout à fait différents qu'on peut lire facilement dans l'inscription photographiée. Leur abréviation par le graveur suivant les règles de la paléographie latine n'empêche aucunement de constater que l'un de ces génitifs pluriels: *Polonorum* est dérivé du nom *Polonus*, tandis que l'autre: *polorum* provient du mot *polus* dont le pluriel était parfois employé dès l'antiquité classique pour remplacer le mot *coelum* par une allégorie poétique qui faisait songer aux régions au dessus des pôles de la terre. L'inscription parlerait donc non seulement de la reine des Polonais, mais aussi de la reine des cieux.

Gębarowicz lui-même a rappelé en passant⁴⁾ que dans un poème qui célébrait Hedvige au lendemain de sa mort, un jeu de mots semblable, utilisant les mêmes rimes, demandait à Dieu, désigné comme "*rex polorum*", d'admettre au paradis la "*regina Polonorum*". Mais Ganszyniec alla trop loin en modifiant d'une manière arbitraire le déchiffrement antérieur de l'inscription:⁵⁾ il la divisa en deux phrases dont la première parlerait d'Hedvige et l'autre de la Vierge Marie et dont la deuxième aurait exprimé le vœux que la reine des cieux fût également reine des Polonais. Et il n'hésita pas d'ajouter au texte l'optatif *Sit* comme début de la deuxième phrase et de la compléter dans le même

1) Voir dans son ouvrage *Psalterz floriański i jego geneza*, publié en 1965 par l'Osso-lineum, actuellement à Wrocław, le chapitre intitulé "*Roztruchan dreźnieński*", pp. 127-147, et les planches 21-26. Cet ouvrage est cité ci-dessous comme *Op. cit.*

2) Voir sa contribution à l'ouvrage collectif *Geneza i historia Psalterza floriańskiego*, publié par L. Bernacki, Lwów 1927, pp. 14 et suiv.; la critique de Gębarowicz dans *Dawna sztuka*, rok II, Lwów 1939; ainsi que la réponse de Ganszyniec (R.G.) dans *Przegląd humanistyczny*, vol. V, 1939, pp. 150-155.

3) Voir sa communication dans *Sprawozdania komisji do badania historii sztuki w Polsce*, vol. V. Kraków 1896, pp. 27-35, publ. par l'Académie polonaise.

4) *Op. cit.*, chap. I, p. 56-58; voir surtout la note 73 à la p. 58.

5) Voir les remarques critiques de Gębarowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 133-142, surtout leur conclusion.

sens en la traduisant. Il confondit en outre dans le texte latin comme dans le texte polonais l'évêque de Cracovie auquel l'inscription ne donne aucun prénom, avec Saint Venceslas, le patron de la cathédrale du Wawel, qui avait été duc de Bohême et dont il fit un évêque par ailleurs inconnu.

Cette confusion souleva des doutes même chez les deux écrivains catholiques: Artur Górski et Wanda Ładzina,⁶⁾ qui bien plus tard, en 1949, à l'occasion de l'anniversaire de la mort d'Hedvige, acceptèrent avec empressement l'idée maîtresse de Ganszyniec, allant encore plus loin que lui: l'inscription remaniée aurait clairement et officiellement soumis la Pologne au règne de la Mère de Dieu, lui confiant la couronne du royaume. On n'avait pas remarqué que la thèse de Ganszyniec avait été rejetée dès 1939 par Gębarowicz qui à son tour, répétant sa critique en 1965, semble avoir ignoré les écrits de Górski et de Ładzina, y compris leurs commentaires historiques ajoutés aux arguments du philologue. Il faut regretter également que l'expert artistique⁷⁾ qui rectifiait avec beaucoup de soin les erreurs évidentes de l'autre, se soit limité quant à la question essentielle à une phrase catégorique écartant d'emblée la possibilité d'une telle invocation de la Vierge dans un texte du XIV^e siècle et soulignant qu'elle aurait été déplacée sur un verre de table.⁷⁾

Ce dernier argument n'a pas tenu compte du fait, admis par Gębarowicz à une autre occasion,⁸⁾ qu'à cette époque même un objet de ce genre, ayant été offert à une église, changeait de caractère et servait au culte liturgique. D'autre part Ganszyniec, répondant sans tarder à son critique, introduisit en même temps, et sous deux formes différentes, des changements dans son déchiffrement du texte et de sa traduction, qui étaient insoutenables. Au lieu de Venceslas, c'était Hedvige elle-même qui de son vivant aurait été désignée comme sainte. Il serait inutile de revenir aujourd'hui sur tous les détails d'une polémique qui peut servir seulement comme preuve de l'intérêt passionné que soulevait une question d'apparence très spéciale. Son importance résultait surtout d'un changement encore plus radical que Gębarowicz voulait faire accepter dès 1939 et qu'il vient de maintenir dans son livre récent. Tandis que depuis la découverte du calice tous les experts y voyaient un don de la reine Hedvige à un évêque de Cracovie, cet auteur, renversant les rôles, voit dans le gobelet le don d'un évêque à sa souveraine. C'est pourquoi il est indispensable d'examiner une fois de plus son texte remanié, par une modification accessoire, en 1965.⁹⁾

Il est vrai que déjà en 1896 Sokołowski avait admis la possibilité qu'au nom de la reine l'évêque aurait offert le don à la cathédrale de Saint Venceslas. Tout dépendait dès le début du déchiffrement d'un ou deux mots de l'inscription que le graveur avait abrégés. Mais indépendamment des doutes paléographiques, il importe de constater que

6) L'article de A. Górski "Śladami stóp królowej Jadwigi" dans *Tygodnik powszechny*, nr. du 17 juillet 1949, p. 2, servit de point de départ au chap. XVIII: "Czcicielka Marii, królowej korony polskiej" du livre de W. Ładzina *Jadwiga, wielka królowa Polski*, Paris 1950, p. 73-74. Tous les deux sont morts.

7) Gębarowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

8) *Op. cit.*, pp. 129-130; voir surtout la note 5.

9) Voir la juxtaposition de tous ces textes par Gębarowicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 133 et suiv.

dans l'interprétation formulée par Gębarowicz la reine des cieux disparaît de nouveau malgré son acceptation de la lecture et de la traduction du mot *polorum*. Rejetant avec raison les additions de Ganszyniec qui voudrait trouver dans le texte deux reines différentes, Gębarowicz continue à n'y voir qu'Hedvige, la *regina Polonorum* qui serait digne des cieux elle-même, soit comme reine "suprême" des Polonais, soit grâce à ses mérites, reconnus par Saint Venceslas comme dignes de récompense au ciel. Cependant, l'auteur se rendait compte dès 1939 des doutes que peut soulever son opinion, car il s'est vu obligé, comme Ganszyniec, d'ajouter dans la traduction des mots explicatifs entre parenthèses. Et en 1965 il les a dû modifier, ayant constaté qu'on avait confondu jusqu'alors le mot *superna* avec *suprema*. Signifiant "suprême", ce dernier adjectif pouvait à la rigueur s'appliquer à Hedvige, bien qu'il n'apparaisse que dans la partie de son titre relative à la Lithuanie¹⁰⁾ où il y avait des princes soumis à elle en sa qualité de "*princeps suprema*" de ce pays rattaché à la Pologne. Mais *superna*, un adjectif tout différent, le seul des deux qu'on lise dans l'inscription, ne saurait être traduit par "suprême" — *najwyższa* en polonais — mais signifie "élevée au-dessus de la terre". Il ne peut donc désigner que la reine des cieux, de sorte que Gębarowicz, ayant exclu toute mention de celle-ci, a dû ressortir à deux formules de sa traduction polonaise, l'une et l'autre inacceptables.

Plus prudent que Ganszyniec qui considérait sa proposition comme définitive, Gębarowicz, défendant la sienne, admet qu'elle n'est pas "idéale" et qu'une meilleure pouvait être faite, ce qui nous encourage à tenter un tel essai. Très justifiée est sa condition qu'en aucun cas le calice ne devrait perdre sa valeur idéologique. On se demande cependant s'il n'a pas perdu cette valeur dans son propre essai qui en fait un don intéressé de l'évêque à la reine, morte avant de le recevoir. C'est pourquoi que commençant, bien entendu, par un nouvel examen de l'inscription, il faudra ensuite placer la dédicace du calice dans son cadre historique, quelles que fussent son origine, son caractère et sa destination.

Cette deuxième partie de l'étude entreprise aidera à constater si la première peut donner un résultat plus positif que ceux des discussions antérieures. Elle devra revenir également aux questions particulièrement importantes si l'événement symbolisé par un calice resté mystérieux jusqu'à nos jours, s'est produit aux temps de l'évêque Wysz dont le rôle a été étudié si soigneusement dans tous les chapitres du livre de Gębarowicz, ou bien au temps de son prédécesseur, donc à la fin ou dès le début du règne d'Hedvige, et si cet événement était, oui ou non, en rapport avec son culte, et celui des Polonais, pour la Vierge Marie.

II. Essai d'une nouvelle solution du problème

Avant d'examiner une fois de plus les photographies spéciales de l'inscription du calice, il faut jeter un coup d'oeil sur celles¹¹⁾ qui le montrent tout entier ou bien vu d'en haut. On aperçoit alors que l'inscrip-

10) Voir *op. cit.* p. 140, l'inscription sur son sceau.

11) Voir les planches 21-24 citées dans la note 1).

tion a été gravée à un endroit où il n'y avait que peu de place pour elle, tandis que toute la couverture était ornée par les armoiries, l'aigle des Piast étant entouré par des écussons avec les monogrammes d'Hedvige dont l'interprétation reste litigieuse elle aussi. Le graveur a donc dû abrégé presque tous les mots, se servant de signes paléographiques qui dans certains cas peuvent être déchiffrés différemment. On pourra s'en rendre compte en essayant de lire les deux lignes suivantes qui reproduisent le texte tel qu'il se présente:

+ hedwig + cyfū + scadat + q̄ + 2 tulit + istū + prsul̄ + ob mīta +
 + Wenceslai s̄⁺⁺ gta digna + polonor + regina + supna + polor +

Ganszyniec a été seul pour déchiffrer le troisième mot non pas par *scandat* — mode optatif du verbe *scandere* — mais par *mandat* — l'indicatif du verbe *mandare* — ou même par *sancta dat*, ce qui aurait changé tout le sens de la phrase et a été rejeté avec raison par Gębarowicz. Celui-ci à son tour a voulu lire *Wenceslao* au lieu de *Wenceslai*, ce qui nous aurait obligé à déchiffrer le *s̄* qui suit son nom par *sancto* au lieu de *sancti*, et semble aussi très douteux. En tout cas il reste à décider si le *q̄* signifie *quae*, se rapportant à Hedvige, ou bien *quem*, spécifié par *istum*, se rapportant au calice; et si le deuxième signe au dessus de *prsul̄* = *praesul*, c'est à dire évêque, remplace la terminaison *is* ou ne signifie rien du tout, tandis que *i* semblerait le plus probable. Mais ce qui est particulièrement important, c'est que tout ce qui se trouve entre *Wenceslai* et *digna* reste, comme s'est très bien exprimé Gębarowicz, l'endroit "critique" ou "névralgique" du texte discuté. Car nous arrivons ainsi au côté le plus faible de toutes les interprétations, suggérées jusqu'à présent: dès 1896 on a considéré comme certain que ce texte commençait par le nom d'Hedvige, oubliant combien il est parfois douteux où commence une inscription circulaire qui contourne une pièce de monnaie, une médaille ou un sceau.

Heureusement, le cas en question est un de ceux qui permettent de trouver l'endroit où le graveur a commencé son travail. Il suffit de se rappeler ¹²⁾ que cet artisan a évidemment corrigé aussi bien qu'il a pu une partie, d'ailleurs restreinte, de son oeuvre et qu'on a manqué jusqu'à présent d'expliquer pourquoi il a dû le faire. Or cette explication s'impose dès qu'on prend en considération qu'il a voulu nous indiquer tous les intervalles entre les différents mots du texte, par des petites croix "+" au milieu de la ligne, mais que ce signe manque déjà entre *ob* et *mīta* — c'est-à-dire *merita* — et qu'il n'y a plus d'intervalles du tout entre *Wenceslai* s̄⁺⁺ *gta digna*, les deux mots au milieu de ce groupe de quatre étant en outre radicalement abrégés. Tout cela ne

12) Voir ci-dessus, p. 2.

peut se justifier qu'en admettant qu'à un moment donné le graveur, s'approchant de la fin de sa tâche, s'est aperçu qu'il avait mal évalué la place disponible et qu'il fallait en gagner un peu plus. A cet effet il commença à supprimer les intervalles entre les mots et se décida à effacer le premier mot qu'il avait écrit au début: il le remplaça par le même mot, mais doublement abrégé, ce qu'il indiqua par deux petites croix au dessus des trois lettres auxquelles il fut réduit. Même alors il ne resta de place que pour une seule lettre entre *Wenceslai* — nom qu'il ne convenait pas d'abrégé⁺⁺ — et *gta*. Il fallut donc se limiter à un *s* — l'abréviation normale de *sanctus* ou *sancti*. Loin de vouloir annuler cette lettre en la soulignant, comme l'a supposé Ganszyniec,¹³⁾ l'artisan attira l'attention du lecteur sur la place qu'elle occupait à la fin du texte, en traçant deux lignes: l'une en dessous et l'autre au dessus de cet *s*.

Cette longue explication se trouve confirmée d'une manière éloquentes si l'on relit le texte tout entier, ne commençant pas par *Hedvigis*,⁺⁺ mais par *gta*, sans rien y changer. Il suffira de faire du mot, reconnu comme premier, non seulement *grata*, mais *gratia*, tenant compte de la deuxième croix, et de rappeler que *gratia* peut être un ablatif et *Hedvigis* un génitif, aussi bien qu'un nominatif. Le sens du texte ainsi obtenu devient encore plus clair lorsqu'on le divise en cinq lignes — les deux premières étant des vers rimés — dont chacune a son sens particulier, et juxtaposant à chacune sa traduction polonaise qui n'exige aucun changement dans l'ordre des mots, ainsi qu'une traduction française qui ne demande que deux changements insignifiants de cet ordre, dans la première et la troisième ligne:

Gratia digna Polonorum	Wdzięczności godna Polaków	Digne de la gratitude des Polonais
Regina superna polorum	Królowa nadziemska niebios	La reine supraterrrestre des cieux
Hedvigis scyphum scandat	Jadwigi kielich niech wznosi	Veuille élever le gobelet d'Hedvige
Quae contulit ipsum prae-suli	Która ofiarowała tenże biskupowi	Qui a offert celui-ci à l'évêque
Ob merita Wenceslai sancti	Z powodu zasług Wacława świętego	A cause des mérites de St. Wenceslas

L'inscription énigmatique se présente ainsi comme étant un appel adressé à la Sainte Vierge dont le titre de reine des cieux est précédé par une salutation qui commence par le même mot que l'*Ave Maria* signifiant ici non pas "grâce" mais "gratitude". Dans la partie du texte qu'on considérait comme son commencement et qui apparaît maintenant dans son centre logique, la Mère de Dieu est priée de bien

13) Ce qui a été réfuté par Gębarowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

vouloir élever et de sublimer ainsi un gobelet d'Hedvige. Et cette demande d'en faire un calice symbolique est justifiée, dans la conclusion de l'appel, par le transfert de cet objet, avec l'évêque comme intermédiaire, à la cathédrale du Wawel, ce qui lui donnait un caractère sacré.

Ce bref commentaire permet de constater que les difficultés auxquelles se heurtait jusqu'à présent le déchiffrement de l'inscription, disparaissent l'une après l'autre dans sa nouvelle interprétation. Dans un appel adressé à Hedvige, comme l'avait supposé Sokołowski, ou dans l'offre d'un don à la reine, comme le suppose Gębarowicz, il semblait étrange que son prénom ne fût accompagné d'aucun titre, ce qui est naturel dans un appel adressé par elle-même à Marie. La traduction du verbe *scandere* par élever, ce que Gębarowicz d'accord sur ce point avec Sokołowski, a eu quelque peine à justifier dans sa polémique avec Ganszyniec,¹⁴⁾ devient elle aussi indiscutable, lorsqu'il est entendu que le calice doit être élevé, c'est-à-dire sublimé, par la Vierge qui grâce à Son Assomption a été élevée au dessus de la terre. Le rôle de l'évêque de Cracovie comme dépositaire de l'offrande — rôle semblable à celui que lui attribuait Sokołowski en le faisant agir au nom de la reine — est beaucoup plus compréhensible que celui de donateur, entrevu par Gębarowicz, et écarte l'idée étrange de Ganszyniec qui a essayé de l'identifier avec Venceslas. En ce qui concerne enfin les mérites de ce dernier, d'un duc de Bohême au début du X-e siècle, bien avant la conversion de la Pologne, qui fut choisi au XI-e comme patron de la cathédrale de Cracovie parce que sa nièce Dubravka avait contribué dans une large mesure à cette conversion, il est facile à comprendre l'hommage rendu à ce saint étranger vers la fin du XIV-e siècle par Hedvige qui grâce à ses deux grand-mères polonaises descendait directement de l'épouse tchèque de Mieszko I-er et devait succéder à ce couple comme souveraine de la Pologne.

Bien entendu, l'appel d'Hedvige à la reine céleste n'était pas une proclamation qui l'aurait reconnue en même temps comme reine de Pologne. Mais cette réserve justifiée de Gębarowicz ne change rien au fait, confirmé par tout ce qui vient d'être constaté: à savoir que la Mère de Dieu, solennellement invoquée dans l'inscription d'un calice devenu symbolique, était reconnue par la reine comme patronne et protectrice de la Pologne, conformément d'ailleurs au chant religieux et national à la fois de "*Bogurodzica Dziewica*". C'est avec raison que les auteurs qui ont voulu développer l'hypothèse de Ganszyniec en cette matière, ont insisté sur les conceptions hongroises analogues qu'Hedvige a pu apporter de Buda à Cracovie, mais qu'il faudra préciser au chapitre suivant. Car ces considérations nous amènent à deux questions qui se rattachent à celle de l'analyse de l'inscription du calice: quelles étaient les raisons nouvelles pour la gratitude des Polonais envers la Vierge Marie, à laquelle venait s'ajouter celle de leur souveraine si clairement manifestée, et quelles étaient les circonstances qui firent faire à Hedvige ce geste de piété. Ces questions doivent être étudiées dans le cadre historique de l'événement dont l'interprétation nouvelle, suggérée ci-dessus, trouvera ainsi une confirmation particulièrement intéressante.

14) *Op. cit.*, p. 137.

III. Les débuts d'un règne et les origines d'un sanctuaire

Si les discussions interminables au sujet du "gobelet de Dresde" continuent à provoquer un vif intérêt, c'est parce que l'interprétation de la brève inscription sur un objet d'art médiéval d'importance plutôt secondaire est devenue une partie significative d'un problème beaucoup plus vaste et décisif pour la compréhension de l'évolution historique de la Pologne. On est d'accord sur la place exceptionnelle que le règne d'Hedvige d'Anjou occupe dans cette histoire, voire dans celle de toute l'Europe centrale et orientale, ainsi que sur les hautes qualités morales de cette reine morte en odeur de sainteté, dont les épreuves subies au début et à la fin de sa vie, inspirent une compassion bien naturelle. Mais contrairement à une longue tradition et à un culte toujours populaire, beaucoup d'historiens contemporains estiment qu'il ne faut pas exagérer en évaluant son rôle personnel, surtout dans le domaine politique, ni la grandeur des sacrifices qu'elle s'est vue obligée de rendre à la nation. On insiste plutôt sur l'influence des magnats, notamment des "seigneurs de Cracovie", qu'elle aurait subie presque passivement, surtout au début, sinon pendant toute la première moitié de son règne d'à peine quinze ans.¹⁵⁾ Soulignant que lors de son arrivée à Cracovie elle n'avait que dix ans et demi, on oublie que cette jeune fille, charmante grâce à sa beauté célèbre en Europe, avait en outre une intelligence précoce, universellement admise, et un caractère déterminé, développé à la suite des expériences de son enfance et par une éducation soignée qui la préparait depuis plusieurs années à sa tâche future de reine, succédant à son père, si éminent, dans un de ses royaumes.

Lorsque quelques jours après la mort prématurée de Louis le Grand les Hongrois, contrairement à ses dispositions, choisirent comme reine sa fille aînée Marie, et lorsque deux ans de négociations ardues conduites par sa veuve, assurèrent à la cadette le trône de la Pologne, Hedvige fut envoyée dans un pays inconnu, troublé jusqu'à ce moment par une guerre civile; mais elle trouvait un réconfort dans sa profonde piété, héritée elle aussi de son père et commune à sa famille dont elle fut séparée pour toujours. Et ceci nous fait insister sur une double coïncidence chronologique qui n'a pas encore été remarquée et qui a dicté le titre de ce chapitre.

Une des dernières initiatives de Louis d'Anjou avait été la fondation d'un monastère des Pères Paulins qu'il avait favorisés en Hongrie, dans la ville polonaise de Czestochowa. Celle-ci était alors située dans un un des fiefs de son vassal et collaborateur, le duc Ladislas d'Opole, qui fut chargé de l'exécution de ce projet, et dans les limites du diocèse de Cracovie dont l'évêque devait autoriser cette fondation.¹⁶⁾ La charte fut émise le 9 septembre 1382, donc à la veille de la mort du roi, suivie du tournant décisif dans la vie d'Hedvige qui devait la transplanter en Pologne. Personne ne songeait au milieu de cette crise au monastère

15) Au lieu de citer ici tous les auteurs dont les opinions sont résumées dans le texte, il vaut mieux signaler l'effort de J. Stabińska, dans sa biographie *Królowa Jadwiga*, Kraków 1969, de tenir compte de toutes les interprétations du rôle de la reine, y compris celle de Gębarowicz.

16) Voir S. Szafraniec "Jasna Góra", *Sacrum Poloniae Millennium*, vol. IV, Roma 1957, pp. 22-23, surtout la note 31.

de Częstochowa à peine établi; mais deux ans plus tard, le 31 août 1384, on y déposa une image miraculeuse de la Vierge, qu'on croyait peinte par Saint Luc; Ladislas l'avait trouvée à Belz, au nord de Lwów, lorsqu'il administrait les terres ruthènes — alors un objet de litige entre la Pologne et la Hongrie — et bientôt cette peinture devint l'objet d'un culte national des Polonais.¹⁷⁾ Or, sa déposition à Częstochowa eut lieu précisément entre l'arrivée, longtemps ajournée, d'Hedvige à Cracovie et son couronnement dans la cathédrale du Wawel, qui devait avoir lieu le 16 octobre.

On s'imagine aisément son état d'esprit à la veille d'une cérémonie religieuse, devant la faire non pas reine, mais d'une manière exceptionnelle, "roi" de la Pologne, d'un pays ou elle ne connaissait que deux personnes: le duc d'Opole qui avait été longtemps lié à son père et même avait occupé le poste de palatin de Hongrie, ainsi que l'évêque de la capitale, donc son pasteur actuel, qui avait été encore récemment le médecin de son père, recommandé à celui par Charles V, roi de France, où ce Jean Radlica avait étudié à l'Université de Montpellier.¹⁸⁾ Tous les deux, connaissant la dévotion spéciale d'Hedvige et de sa famille pour la Mère de Dieu, lui parlèrent sans aucun doute avec empressement du nouveau sanctuaire marial, pas loin de Cracovie, et de la "montagne lumineuse" — *Jasna Góra* — que Częstochowa venait de devenir sous la protection de la reine des cieux. Et ceci devait rappeler à la princesse qui avait été destinée à régner en Hongrie, que ce *regnum Marianum* avait été placé sous la protection de la Vierge par son premier roi Saint Etienne, vénéré par les Arpades et leurs successeurs angevins.¹⁹⁾

C'était lui qui avait suivi l'exemple de Mieszko I en demandant pour la Hongrie, dont il portait la couronne "apostolique", la protection terrestre de la papauté, mais précédé les rois de Pologne en faisant appel, au nom du pays tout entier, à la protection supraterrrestre de Marie. Hedvige ne devait-elle pas réparer ce retard au moment où elle allait recevoir la couronne des Piasts, devant à son tour un de leurs lointains héritiers qui, avant de déposer sa propre couronne, l'offrit en 1656 à la *regina coronae Poloniae*, la protectrice céleste de Częstochowa? Ce fut donc probablement alors, à la veille de son sacre, lorsqu'elle ne se servait pas encore de son titre royal, qu'Hedvige choisissant un des plus précieux objets de son trousseau apporté de Buda, y fit ajouter en toute hâte — ce qui expliquerait la différence entre les deux parties, inférieure et supérieure du calice — une couverture avec l'aigle polonaise et graver autour de sa base une inscription appropriée.

Celle-ci fut naturellement rédigée avec le concours de son entourage ecclésiastique, versé mieux qu'elle en l'usage du latin. Mais le geste symbolique lui-même qui inaugurerait si dignement son règne, restait une initiative d'Hedvige prise d'accord avec les représentants de la hiérarchie hongroise qui l'accompagnaient: l'éminent cardinal Démétrius qui la connaissait si bien, et l'évêque de Csanad; ainsi qu'avec ceux de l'épiscopat polonais, notamment l'évêque de Cracovie qui devait être le déposé-

17) Ibidem, p. 31 et suiv.

18) Voir les remarques faites à ce propos par K. Szajnocha, *Jadwiga i Jagiełło*, vol. I-II, p. 537 (de la réimpression, publiée à Varsovie en 1969).

19) L'influence de ces traditions hongroises a été soulignée dans les deux travaux cités ci-dessus (note 6), qui rappellent qu'elles sont évoquées encore aujourd'hui dans le *Breviarium Romanum* le 2 septembre.

taire du calice et assister l'archevêque de Gniezno chargé *ex officio* du couronnement royal. Probablement étaient présents aussi les deux autres évêques de la Pologne proprement dite: Dobrogost de Nowydwor, de Poznań, et même le moins distingué Jean dit *Kropidło*, de Couyavie, un neveu du duc d'Opole.²⁰⁾ Ce dernier, le parent d'Hedvige, qui plus tard lui causa tant de déceptions, mais même avant la fondation de Czesłochowa avait rendu des services à l'Eglise catholique dans les terres ruthènes,²¹⁾ avait des raisons spéciales pour s'intéresser à l'offrande de la reine; mais tout considéré, le rôle personnel d'Hedvige ne saurait être mis en question dans un cas où même son âge si jeune ne pourrait servir de prétexte. Ce rôle est d'ailleurs confirmé par un des documents émis par la reine bientôt après son sacre, le premier qui ne fût pas une simple confirmation d'une charte antérieure:²²⁾ Hedvige célébra ses premières fêtes de Noël en Pologne par une donation généreuse pour le maintien de celui des autels de la cathédrale qui commémorait l'Assomption de la Vierge, qu'elle venait de saluer comme reine élevée au ciel dans l'inscription d'un calice symbolique.

Parlant au début de cette inscription de la gratitude que les Polonais devaient à Marie, leur reine terrestre songeait à cette pacification du pays, qui s'annonçait dès son arrivée et se manifesta à l'occasion de son sacre. Cette cérémonie avait été précédée par la réhabilitation de l'archevêque Bodzanta qui avait favorisé la candidature de Ziemowit de Masovie à la couronne des Piasts et semblait mêlé à la tentative de celui-ci d'enlever Hedvige, en route pour la Pologne.²³⁾ Ceci nous mène à la question de son mariage qui restait pour elle une source d'inquiétude et opposait à la noblesse de la Grande Pologne aux seigneurs de Cracovie absorbés par ce problème. Personne ne voulait permettre la consommation des *sponsalia de futuro*, célébrés dès 1378 entre Hedvige et Guillaume d'Autriche, et admettre ainsi la succession de ce Habsbourg au royaume des Piasts. Mais seulement les magnats de la *Polonia minor* — la "jeune" Pologne — étaient décidés à le remplacer par Jagiełło, le grand-duc de Lithuanie dont un émissaire était présent lors du couronnement d'Hedvige²⁴⁾ un premier indice pour elle que son mariage avec un fiancé et ami d'enfance était menacé. Mais d'autre part, parmi les évêques dont aucun, pas même celui de Cracovie, n'appartenait alors à l'aristocratie ni était originaire de la Petite Pologne, la perspective de convertir enfin la Lithuanie païenne soulevait un vif intérêt. Hedvige

20) La notice contemporaine dans le calendrier de Cracovie (voir sa reproduction photographique dans *Polonia sacra*, vol. II/3, Kraków 1949, après la p. 290) ne mentionne que les quatre premiers; mais la présence des deux autres, indiquée par Długosz (*Hist. Pol.* vol. III, p. 449) est très probable, au moins celle de Dobrogost, malgré les doutes de Szajnocha, *op. cit.*, p. 706, note 4.

21) Voir W. Abraham, *Powstanie organizacji Kościoła łacińskiego na Rusi*, Lwów 1904, pg. 305-316 et G. Rhode, *Die Ostgrenze Polens*, vol. I, Köln-Graz 1955, pp. 282-284.

22) J. Długosz, *Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis*, vol. I, p. 216; voir le résumé des premiers documents issus par Hedvige, chez K. Szajnocha, *op. cit.*, pp. 589-591.

23) Voir le document du 12 octobre 1384 publié dans *Codex diplomaticus Maioris Poloniae*, vol. III, Poznań 1879, p. 531.

24) Ce n'est qu'ainsi qu'on peut interpréter une notice laconique relative à une requête du *Magnus Dux*, publiée dans *Najstarsze księgi i rachunki miasta Krakowa od r. 1300-1400*, Kraków 1878, II-e partie, pp. 59-60.

se voyait donc exposée à des influences contradictoires, voire à des troubles de conscience pénibles pour une reine qui voulait servir l'Eglise et sa nation tout entière fût-ce même au prix des plus grands sacrifices, afin d'acquérir ainsi des mérites semblables à ceux de saint Venceslas auquel elle venait de rendre hommage. C'est donc à tort qu'on voit dans la jeune souveraine, désireuse de remplir ses devoirs d'état, une enfant indécise, dont le parti le plus fort se serait fait un instrument docile au moment de l'épreuve qui commença trois mois après son joyeux avènement.

IV. A la veille et au lendemain de la mort d'Hedvige

Dans le chapitre précédent qui cherchait à placer le calice d'Hedvige dans le cadre des débuts de son règne en 1384, à la veille de la première tragédie de sa vie, toute polémique a pu être évitée. Mais le lecteur a dû s'apercevoir combien l'opinion exprimée en cette matière diffère de celle de Gębarowicz et combien la nouvelle interprétation de l'inscription sur ce calice s'écarte de la sienne. Car il place le même objet dans le cadre de la situation de 1399, au milieu des dernières déceptions douloureuses de la reine, à la veille de sa mort inattendue. Il est donc inévitable de confronter les deux thèses divergentes dans le présent chapitre.

Il convient de le commencer en admettant que personne n'a parlé d'Hedvige avec plus de sympathie, de respect, voire d'enthousiasme, que Gębarowicz qui rend un hommage éloquent aux services qu'elle a rendu à la Pologne. Mais personne non plus n'est allé plus loin que lui en prétendant que ces services, même ceux dans le domaine intellectuel, auraient été le fruit des influences d'un entourage d'élite, incarnant les aspirations de la nation.²⁵⁾ L'auteur n'a certes pas identifié, comme on le fait souvent, cette élite avec les seigneurs de Cracovie dont il n'exalte qu'un seul, Jaśko de Tęczyn, au détriment, d'ailleurs, de Spytko de Melsztyn,²⁶⁾ sans prendre en considération que le premier, malgré son appui donné à Hedvige même avant son arrivée en Pologne, resta réduit à son poste plutôt secondaire de castellan de Wojnicz, n'obtenant celui de castellan de Cracovie qu'en 1398, tandis que l'autre était pendant tout le règne d'Hedvige, grâce à son mariage avec sa favorite hongroise, particulièrement influent à sa cour. C'est avec raison que Gębarowicz a placé à côté du représentant du plus éminent clan nobiliaire des Starza un des évêques qui se distinguaient à la même époque, mais en n'exaltant de nouveau qu'un seul, Pierre Wysz de Radolin,²⁷⁾ au détriment des autres, même Jan Radlica et Dobrogost de Nowydwór n'étant que mentionnés et Albert Jastrzębiec peint tout en noir en contraste avec Wysz.

25) Voir surtout l'introduction (pp. 7-14) et les conclusions (pp. 218-222) de son livre.

26) Voir la biographie de sa femme par A. Strzelecka: *Elżbieta Melsztyńska*, Lwów 1929, et sa caractéristique par St. Gawęda: *Możnowładztwo małopolskie w XIV i XV wieku*, Kraków, 1966, pp. 51-55.

27) Gębarowicz va beaucoup plus loin dans ce sens que la biographie de S. Kijak, *Piotr Wysz, biskup krakowski*, Kraków 1933.

Les mérites de ce dernier sont incontestables, mais seulement depuis son élévation au siège de Cracovie en 1392, après la mort de Radlica. Convaincu dès 1939 que c'est Wysz, et non pas son prédécesseur, qui figure comme évêque dans l'inscription sur le calice tant discuté, Gębarowicz admet qu'alors il se laissait guider par son intuition; mais il ajouta en 1965 que ses recherches récentes considérant la vie antérieure de Wysz justifiaient pleinement son opinion, et ceci non seulement en ce qui concerne l'histoire du gobelet. Il souligne l'influence décisive et le rôle bienfaisant de cet évêque dans toutes les questions traitées avec soin dans son livre, y compris celle de l'Université de Cracovie, et fait de lui le guide, voire l'éducateur d'Hedvige.²⁸⁾ Cependant il n'a trouvé aucun document qui prouverait cette affirmation, excepté la lettre de Boniface IX écrite à la reine le 29 décembre 1391, reproduite par Długosz²⁹⁾ et citée très souvent; le pape y proposait à Hedvige qui lui recommandait par bonté de très nombreux protégés, de discerner dans ses requêtes par un signe spécial ceux auxquels elle tenait réellement et d'employer comme intermédiaire confidentiel Pierre Wysz, alors protonotaire apostolique, couvert d'éloges.

On peut se demander si ce dernier n'avait pas imaginé lui même cette étrange procédure; mais ce qui est certain c'est qu'on ne peut pas soupçonner Boniface IX d'avoir voulu soumettre la reine à sa tutelle, exercée par Wysz.³⁰⁾ Hedvige qui terminait alors sa dix-huitième année, n'avait certes plus besoin d'un "éducateur" et le pape était en rapports suivis avec elle depuis les premiers jours de son pontificat, lorsqu'il reçut, en novembre 1389, Albert Jastrzębiec que la reine, avec son mari, avait envoyé à Rome comme ambassadeur.³¹⁾ Elle n'avait pas besoin non plus de quelqu'un qui y défendait "son opinion et son état", depuis qu'Urbain VI, écartant les plaintes de Guillaume d'Autriche et de l'Ordre teutonique et ayant reçu de l'évêque Dobrogost un rapport sur la christianisation effective de la Lithuanie, soumis au nom de Jagiełło et Hedvige, avait reconnu sans réserve la validité de leur mariage par sa lettre de félicitation du 17 avril 1388.³²⁾ Wysz avait alors à peine terminé ses études à l'université de Padoue, interrompues et suivies par son travail très effectif à la Chambre apostolique.³³⁾ Le roi de Pologne voulait bien utiliser ce prélat habile et de haute culture dans les négociations entamées en 1388 avec les Chevaliers teutoniques, mais ce n'est qu'après avoir pris possession du siège épiscopal à la capitale que Wysz se rapprocha de la reine.

Son nouvel évêque, exceptionnellement doué, qui lui servit pendant quelque temps comme chancelier, apportait de son long séjour en Italie un souffle très désirable de cette culture occidentale et latine, chère à tous

28) *Op. cit.*, pp. 142 et 143.

29) *Hist. Pol.* vol. III, p. 533.

30) Voir *op. cit.*, p. 22.

31) Voir les bulles de Boniface IX dans *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. VIII/1, Kraków 1939-46, nrs. 1-60 et 85.

32) Publiée dans *Codex dipl. ecclesiae Vilmensis*, vol. I/1 Kraków 1932, nr. 12; voir aussi nr. 10, la lettre du 12 mars à Dobrogost, où la reine Hedvige est mentionnée elle aussi.

33) Voir les informations données par Gębarowicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-31.

les Anjou, et resta désormais une personnalité marquante à la cour de Cracovie. Mais en ces années précédentes Hedvige avait acquis elle aussi une expérience dont profitait son mari lithuanien qui venait, tout remarquable qu'il était, d'un milieu entièrement différent. La jeune reine avait pendant quatre mois médité devant les autels de sa cathédrale, y compris celui de l'Assomption de la Vierge, avant de consentir à l'épouser pour le bien de la Pologne et de la chrétienté, s'étant mise en rapports personnels avec Rome par ses envoyés qui s'y trouvaient au moment de son mariage.³⁴⁾ Dans la diarchie constituée en Pologne dès que Jagiełło fut couronné lui aussi comme roi Ladislas II, Hedvige qui seule avait des droits héréditaires au trône jouissait d'une popularité bien méritée, lui rendit loyalement des services, dûment appréciés, par son inlassable activité politique au milieu des difficultés extérieures et intérieures qui s'accumulaient entre 1386 et 1396 et qu'elle aida à résoudre pacifiquement.

Il est donc une erreur de prétendre³⁵⁾ que cette activité de la reine ne se manifesta que dans les deux dernières années de sa vie, et que Wysz devait lui apprendre à concilier la contemplation et la vie active. Certes, il le lui fit rappeler en influençant la rédaction définitive d'un traité théologique sur ce sujet qui lui fut dédié, et il voulut également aider Hedvige à se perfectionner dans le polonais en faisant préparer pour elle une traduction des psaumes en trois langues. Ceci a été soigneusement démontré par Gębarowicz dans les derniers chapitres de son livre, mais dans le premier³⁶⁾ il l'a injustement soupçonnée de s'être laissée entraîner par Jastrzębiec, son nouveau chancelier, et par le Tchèque Ščekna, son chapelain renommé, dans une prétendue intrigue qui aurait menacé la réouverture de l'université de Cracovie, dont Wysz aurait été l'initiateur. Si Hedvige qui, avec son mari, avait demandé chaleureusement à Boniface IX d'autoriser l'élargissement de cette fondation de Casimir le Grand, s'occupait en cette même année 1397 de la création d'un collège théologique pour les Lithuaniens à Prague, c'était parce que — comme elle l'a expliqué en termes émouvants,³⁷⁾ — elle voyait combien il était urgent de leur donner un tel centre d'études au moment où l'Ordre Teutonique voulait se mêler de nouveau à la christianisation effective de la Lithuanie.³⁸⁾

Au milieu de tous les soucis qui absorbaient la reine en cette année et pendant le reste de sa vie, l'évêque de Cracovie voulut qu'elle l'aidât à obtenir avec l'appui de son ancien protecteur le cardinal Migliorati, principal collaborateur et plus tard successeur de Boniface IX, un chapeau de cardinal pour lui même. Gębarowicz a constaté que Wysz

34) Voir les observations de W. Meysztowicz dans *Duszpasterz polski zagranicą*, vol. II, Rome 1950-51, pp. 33-34, confirmées par le document nr. 2 dans les *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. VIII/1.

35) Comme le fait Gębarowicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 et 220.

36) *Op. cit.*, p. 64, voir aussi p. 45, note 50.

37) Dans son acte de fondation du 10 novembre 1397 dont la meilleure édition, par Leon Koczy, se trouve dans *Documents sur les origines de l'Université de Cracovie*, Dundie 1967, nr. VIII, pp. 47-50.

38) Voir les documents résumés dans *Regesta hist. - dipl. Ordinis S.M. Theutonicorum*, vol. I/1, Göttingen 1948, nr. 539 a, b.

a rédigé de sa propre main la lettre de recommandation d'Hedvige qui devait accompagner la sienne.³⁹⁾ Son ambition semblait peut-être démesurée à la reine qui en lui écrivant le 2 février 1399 en faveur d'un humble chanoine, critiquait les ecclésiastiques trop occupés des choses de ce monde.⁴⁰⁾ Reconnaisant cependant les mérites très réels de son évêque, Hedvige continuait, comme son mari, à l'utiliser en même temps que Jastrzębiec, dans ses dernières relations avec le Saint Siège,⁴¹⁾ et le nomma, à côté du castellan de Cracovie, exécuteur de son testament. Mais pour garder sa faveur, il ne fallait pas, comme le suppose Gębarowicz, du don d'un gobelet, à l'occasion de la naissance, si ardemment attendue, de son enfant. Il convient plutôt de souligner un fait qui confirme par une analogie frappante, que dans cette attente Hedvige fit un geste pieux semblable à celui de 1384, à l'occasion de son couronnement.⁴²⁾

Hedvige qui avait inauguré son règne par un don à la vieille cathédrale du Wawel, exprimant sa gratitude pour la pacification de la Pologne et la plaçant sous la protection de la Reine des cieux, voulut en automne 1398, reconnaissante pour la solution de certains malentendus polono-lithuaniens, placer l'union des deux nations sous une semblable protection céleste. A cet effet elle se procura un précieux manuscrit de la *Legenda sanctorum*, compilée cent ans plus tôt par Jacques de Voragine et très répandue en Occident, et l'offrit avec son mari à la jeune cathédrale de Wilno par l'intermédiaire de son premier évêque, André Jastrzębiec, comme symbole de leur réconciliation avec Vitold, reconnu lui aussi comme "*supremus dux Lithuaniae*", mais "*ex parte regni Poloniae*".⁴³⁾

C'était de nouveau à la veille d'une épreuve personnelle que cette fois se termina huit mois plus tard par la mort de la reine après celle de sa fillette à peine née. Mais au lendemain de cette tragédie se réalisèrent toutes ses initiatives: au bout d'une année l'université, dite jagellonienne, fut inaugurée; au début de 1401 l'union polono-lithuanienne fut confirmée par les représentants des deux nations dans l'esprit du sage compromis de 1398; l'année suivante Jagiełło consolida le règne de sa dynastie en Pologne, se remarquant, d'après le dernier conseil d'Hedvige, avec une petite-fille de Casimir le Grand. Wysz, après s'être distingué comme premier chancelier de l'université, fidèle au testament d'Hedvige, s'écarta de sa voie en 1409 au concile de Pise où il abandonna les papes

39) *Op. cit.*, pp. 23-24 et 35-37, ainsi que la reproduction photographique des autographes sur les planches 8-9.

40) Voir le commentaire de cette lettre par J. Stabińska, *Królowa Jadwiga*, Kraków 1969, pp. 81-82 et 122.

41) Voir la bulle de Boniface IX du 4 mai 1399 dans *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae* (ed. A. Theiner), Romae 1860, nr. 1041.

42) Voir ci-dessus les conclusions du Chap. III.

43) La description de ce manuscrit est résumée dans *Matricularum Regni Poloniae Summaria* (ed. T. Wierzbowski), vol. I, Varsaviae 1905, et reproduite intégralement, d'après les registres de la chancellerie royale conservés aux Archives centrales de Varsovie (vol. XI, fol. 124) dans *Codex dipl. ecclesiae... Vilmensis*, vol. I/1, nr. 33 (note au testament de l'évêque de Wilno, du 27 octobre 1398). Sur l'importance de la *Legenda Sanctorum*, dite "*legenda aurea*", voir J. Schnürer, *Kirche und Kultur im Mittelalter*, vol. II, Paderborn 1929, p. 406.

romains pour un deuxième antipape.⁴⁴⁾ Mais au concile de Constance qui en 1417 mit fin au schisme, les représentants de la Pologne contribuèrent à cette oeuvre proclamant des principes inspirés par sa grande reine défunte.⁴⁵⁾

A ces exemples bien connus il faut ajouter que le sanctuaire de Częstochowa auquel Jagiełło, sous l'influence d'Hedvige, avait fait dès 1394 des donations généreuses, devint bientôt après la mort de la reine célèbre par des guérisons miraculeuses et commença à attirer des pèlerins de plus en plus nombreux, comme le roi le fit savoir à Martin V en 1429, après la constatation, en 1419, des premiers miracles attribués à Hedvige elle-même et la nomination, en 1426, d'une commission chargée de préparer sa canonisation.⁴⁶⁾ Le culte de la reine, grâce à laquelle la Pologne entra dans deux siècles de grandeur, accompagnait dès lors celui de la Vierge qui grâce à la défense de Częstochowa en 1655 retarda de 140 ans le partage du royaume. A la veille d'une restitution d'une Pologne libre furent découverts presque simultanément le calice d'Hedvige, égaré à Dresde, et la description du manuscrit de 1398, insérée dans les dossiers de la chancellerie royale. Et au milieu des crises de notre époque le règne ininterrompu de Notre Dame à Częstochowa, ainsi que l'espoir de voir Hedvige enfin élevée sur les autels, sont restés le seul réconfort des Polonais catholiques.

Telles sont les conclusions⁴⁷⁾ que suggère la nouvelle interprétation de quelques mots gravés il y a six siècles sur un calice mystérieux.

(44) Ce tournant critique de sa vie a été expliqué par W. Abraham, *Udział Polski w Soborze pizańskim 1409 r.*, Kraków 1905, ce qui vient d'être rappelé par T. Silnicki dans la réédition de l'oeuvre principale de ce spécialiste éminent *Organizacja Kościoła w Polsce do połowy wieku XII*, Poznań 1962, pp. 44-45.

(45) St. Bełch, *Paulus Vladimiri and his Doctrine concerning International Law and Politics*, The Hague 1965, a constaté (vol. I, 108, note 386) l'influence de la reine Hedvige sur les idées du célèbre recteur de l'Université de Cracovie, si actif à Constance.

(46) Voir les remarques de K. Hartleb dans *Nasza Przeszłość*, vol. I, Kraków 1946, p. 26 (sur les donations de 1394), de S. Szafraniec dans *Sacrum Poloniae Millennium*, vol. IV, pp. 32 et 54 (sur les pèlerinages) et de J. Radlica, *ibidem*, pp. 106-107 (sur les événements de 1419 et 1426).

(47) Ces conclusions confirment celles de l'article "L'idée jagellonienne: D'Hedvige d'Anjou à Sigismond-Auguste", publié dans *Antemurale*, vol. XIII, Romae 1969, pp. 11-47 (surtout 15-21).

BÉLA K. KIRÁLY
(BROOKLYN N.Y.)

THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SERFS OF EAST CENTRAL EUROPE*

The emancipation of the serfs of East Central Europe was accomplished differently from one area to another. Even the emancipation process itself was called by a variety of names: in some areas it was called liberation (*Bauernbefreiung*, *jobbágyfelszabadítás*); in others agrarian reform (*reforma agrara*); and elsewhere, granting of ownership rights (*uwłaszczenie*). The more nearly the term approximated "liberation", the more radical, even revolutionary, the process was.¹⁾ In some areas the peasants were "emancipated" several times over.²⁾ Emancipation of the serfs can thus have several meanings, according to time and place. Here it will be considered to include:

Freeing the peasant from hereditary subjection in general.

Freeing him from his lord's administrative, criminal, judicial and moral jurisdiction in particular.

Remitting all the peasant's dues rendered in money, kind or service.

*) This study covers the Habsburg lands, the Danubian principalities, Prussian and Russian Poland.

The author wishes to express his gratitude to The Research Foundation of The City University of New York for a grant that enabled him to complete this study.

1) Emil NIEDERHAUSER, *Ajobbágyfelszabadítás Kelet-Európában* [The Freeing of the Serfs of Eastern Europe] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1962), p. 304.

2) Emperor Joseph II issued the *Leibeigenschafts-Aufhebungspatent* [Abolition of Serfdom Patent] on November 1, 1781. It was extended to Galicia on April 5, 1782, and to Transylvania in 1783. A similar decree was issued for Hungary in 1785. Jerome BLUM, *Noble Landowners and Agriculture in Austria, 1815-1848: A Study in the Origins of the Peasant Emancipation of 1848* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science" series, LXV, No. 2], 1948), pp. 52-53.

The emancipation of the serfs of the Duchy of Warsaw was contained in the decree of Frederick Augustus, King of Saxony, Duke of Warsaw, of December 21, 1807. The text of the decree appears as Appendix B in Stefan KIENIEWICZ, *The Emancipation of the Polish Peasantry* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 248-249.

"In Carniola, the Littoral, the Salzburg and Innviertel districts of Upper Austria, the Villach district of Carinthia, and the Duchy of Cracow the judicial powers of the lord had been abolished by the French during their occupation of these areas in the revolutionary and Napoleonic period. When these lands were regained by Austria (annexed in the case of Cracow) this power was not reinstated". BLUM, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

The text of the Czar's ukase of February 19, 1864, appears as Appendix I in KIENIEWICZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 259-262. The Constitution granted to the Kingdom of Poland by Czar Alexander I in 1815 included the personal liberty of the peasants. KIENIEWICZ, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

Abolishing all the lord's monopolies (although some survived).³⁾

Granting the peasant title to some or all of the land he tilled (emancipation without ownership rights was exceptional).

Modifying the peasant's servitudes, which were sometimes changed by allocation of land as individual or common property, were sometimes continued unchanged, and — rarely — were abolished outright.⁴⁾

Releasing the lord from his obligations, such as helping his serfs in time of natural disaster, assisting them to rebuild their homes if they were destroyed, paying their taxes in cases of bankruptcy, lending them seed when harvests failed,⁵⁾ supporting local schools and health facilities, in some places providing "treatment... if they were bitten by dogs or contracted venereal diseases", protecting them from unlawful exactions from any other quarter, administering their communities, and dispensing justice.⁶⁾

We shall call the period leading up to emancipation in East Central Europe "second serfdom". Second serfdom in most of the area and farther east came into being in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but in the Danubian principalities it appeared very late, with the Russian-sponsored Organic Statutes of the early 1830s.⁷⁾ It was the result of the bondage of the peasants, many of whom had once been free, becoming hereditary, of the creation of huge demesnes by expropriation of tenant lands, of the confinement of the peasantry to an ever shrinking portion of the arable land, and of the domination of political and economic life by the landed aristocracy. It occurred in poor agrarian societies in which the lords generated a steadily increasing amount of marketable

3) The lords' various monopolies included distilling alcohol, operating taverns and holding fairs. NIEDERHAUSER, *op. cit.*, p. 311. The Polish *szlachta's propinatio (propinacja)* was the right to distil liquor and operate taverns. Continued after the abolition of personal bondage, it also obliged the peasants to buy a certain quantity of the lord's vodka. After emancipation, it was abolished, but associated abuses remained. Among them was the payment of laborers with vouchers that could only be spent at the tavern, where there was little else to buy but vodka. KIENIEWICZ, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

4) Two of the more important serf servitudes on the lords' property were *lignatio* (the right to gather wood for fuel) and pasturage. The disposition of these easements varied from one part of Eastern Europe to another. Forests and pastures were either demesne land or common land, on which peasants had different degrees of rights to fuel-gathering and grazing. Sometimes these servitudes were abolished outright; sometimes forest and meadow were divided between the lord and the peasants; and sometimes the peasants' rights were perpetuated as servitudes in Poland. NIEDERHAUSER, *op. cit.*, p. 311. For definitions of certain servitudes, see Béla K. KIRÁLY, *Hungary in the Late Eighteenth Century: The Decline of Enlightened Despotism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), pp. 253-264.

5) NIEDERHAUSER, *op. cit.*, pp. 52 and 310.

6) C.A. MACARTNEY, *The Habsburg Empire, 1790-1918* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), pp. 62 and 68, n. 2.

7) NIEDERHAUSER, *op. cit.*, p. 9. "By the sixteenth century, serfdom had disappeared in most of Western Europe and where it was retained it was generally less onerous than it had once been... By the end of the fifteenth century, from the Elbe to the Volga, most of the peasantry were well on their way to becoming serfs". Jerome BLUM, "The Rise of Serfdom in Eastern Europe", *The American Historical Review*, LXII, No. 4 (July 1957), 812 and 821.

produce⁸⁾ and in which manufacturing systems were gradually coming into being. These last laid the groundwork for the transition to a capitalist economy, and as they evolved, exploitation of the peasantry increased apace, precipitating the crisis of second serfdom and brought to an end only by emancipation.

Emancipation was a protracted process with three distinguishable phases. The first was intervention by the state into formerly unregulated lord-serf relations to help secure its fiscal and defense needs. The second was the period of *Bauernschutz*, when the state's own interests still played a major role but protection of the serfs against intolerable exactions was becoming an important concern. And the last was the realization of emancipation in which the hereditary bondman became a free person owning land of his own.

State intervention began during second serfdom. An expanding central administration and a standing army needed money and men, both of which were furnished by the peasantry, the main source of revenue. For a tranquil society and profitable production, social stability was necessary, so the state sought to inject order into feudal anarchy. Typical was the effort of Emperor Leopold I (1658-1705) to curb confiscation of tenements and excessive demands by the lords.⁹⁾ Frederick II of Prussia (1740-1786) decreed the separation of demesne and tenant lands, and ordered the lords to repopulate vacant fees with serfs, not attach them to their own domains. The Phanariot Constantin Mavrocordat, as hospodar of Wallachia in 1746 and again as hospodar of Moldavia in 1749, tried to halt the depression of the peasants, fixed a minimum size for their cultivable land and guaranteed their rights to pasturage and to cut wood for fuel. A similar attempt was made by Alexandru Moruzi, hospodar of Moldavia, in 1805.¹⁰⁾ The Polish

8) Recent Hungarian research has revealed that in some parts of Hungary the peasants were producing for the market as early as the end of the sixteenth century. László MARKAI (ed.), *Jobbágytelek és parasztság az örökös jobbágykialakulásának korszakában: Tanulmányok Zemplén megye XVI-XVII. századi agrártörténetéből* [Serf-Holding and Peasant Farming in the Era of Incipient Hereditary Serfdom: Essays on the Agrarian History of Zemplén County in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1966).

Blum lists four causes of the enthrallment of the peasantry of Eastern Europe: "First the increase in the political power of the nobility and especially the lesser nobility; second the growth of seigniorial jurisdictional powers over the peasantry living on their manors; third the shift made by lords from being rent receivers to becoming producers for market; finally the decline of cities and the urban middle class". "The Rise of Serfdom...", 822.

Different aspects of second serfdom in Hungary appear in György SPIRA (editor for the research sections of the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences), *Tanulmányok a parasztság történetéhez Magyarországon, 1711-1790* [Essays on the History of the Peasantry in Hungary, 1711-1790] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1952). See also László RÉVÉSZ, *Der osteuropäische Bauer: Seine Rechtslage im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Ungarns* (Bern: Schweizerisches Ost-Institut, 1964, pp. 1-9. A brilliant summary of Hungarian second serfdom is Pál Zsigmond PACH, *Nyugat-európai és magyarországi agrárfejlődés a XVI-XVII. században* [Western European and Hungarian Agrarian Development in the Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries] (Budapest: Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1963).

9) BLUM, *Noble Landowners...*, p. 46.

10) NIEDERHAUSER, *op. cit.*, pp. 33 and 249-250; Nicolae IORGA, *Geschichte des rumänischen Volkes im Rahmen seiner Staatsbildungen*, 2 vols. (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1905), I, 162 ff, 532, 537, and II, 170, 199-201; R.W. SETON-WATSON, *A History of the Roumanians from the Roman Times to the Completion of Unity* (New York: Archon Books, 1963), pp. 127, 140-143, 158, 159 and 209.

constitution of May 3, 1791, rather sparsely stated that peasants were "under the protection of the law and the national government"¹¹⁾ These tentative efforts by central government to extend its authority over the lord's feudal particularism and insert itself between lord and serf were the first steps toward the eventual freeing of the peasantry.

Of far greater impact, however, were the Urbarial Patents of Maria Theresa,¹²⁾ the *Leibeigenschafts-Aufhebungspatent* of Emperor Joseph II,¹³⁾ General Tadeusz Kościuszko's Połaniec Manifesto of May 6, 1794,¹⁴⁾ and the Organic Statutes¹⁵⁾ of the Danubian principalities, which constituted the second stage of emancipation. They were measures for the protection of the peasantry, what Grünberg, the foremost exponent of Habsburg social history, calls *Bauernschutz*. The elements of this he defines as the regulation of peasant renders, the reinforcement of the peasant's rights to the land he tilled, the strengthening of the peasant's personal status in the judicial system, and the preservation of the peasant's possession of his tenements.¹⁶⁾ All four of the foregoing proclamations contained most or all of these elements and helped to secure the state's share of revenue from a less exploited peasantry.

The most comprehensive was the *Leibeigenschafts-Aufhebungspatent* of 1781-1785, which proclaimed the serf's rights to marry and move freely, to select his own trade and to work where he wished. This was complemented by Joseph II's Tax Reform Patent of February 10, 1789, which decreed that the peasant should retain seventy percent of his

11) Article 4 of the constitution of May 3, 1791, which appears as Appendix A in KIENIEWICZ, *op. cit.*, p. 247. The situation that this created for the peasants was worse than that anywhere else in the area under consideration. "There existed in Galicia a social disparity between lords and serf tenants which was unequalled in degree in the other Austrian crownlands due to the more severe system of agricultural exploitation and the purely 'patrimonial' administration". Robert A. KANN, *The Multinational Empire: Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy 1848-1918*, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), I, 223.

12) Maria Theresa's reforms in Edith MURR LINK, *The Emancipation of the Austrian Peasant, 1740-1798* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), pp. 31-88, and in Spira, *op. cit.*, pp. 345-336. See also William E. WRIGHT, *Serf, Seigneur, and Sovereign: Agrarian Reform in Eighteenth-Century Bohemia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1966), pp. 38. ff.

13) *Ibid.* pp. 71, 74, 75, 76, 142. Also BLUM, *Noble Landowners...*, pp. 53-56; NIEDERHAUSER, *op. cit.*, p. 81; LINK, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-141; SPIRA, *op. cit.*, pp. 454-469. See also n. 2 above.

14) The Połaniec Manifesto is analyzed in KIENIEWICZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-28. See also W.F. REDDAWAY *et al.* (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Poland* (2 vols.), Vol. II, *From Augustus II to Pilsudski (1697-1935)* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1951), p. 165.

15) NIEDERHAUSER, *op. cit.*, pp. 251-255; L.S. STAVRIANOS, *The Balkans since 1453* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), pp. 343-344; Henry L. ROBERTS, *Rumania: Political Problems of an Agrarian State* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951), pp. 9-11 and 18; IORGA, *op. cit.*, II, 250-252; IORGA, *Histoire des Roumains et de leur civilisation* (Paris: Henry Paulin, 1920), pp. 244-247; T.W. RIKER, *The Making of Roumania: A Study of an International Problem, 1856-1866* (London: Oxford University Press, 1931), p. 6; SETON-WATSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-209.

16) Karl GRÜNBERG, *Die Bauernbefreiung und die Auflösung des gutsherrlich-bäuerlichen Verhältnisses in Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Verlag von Ducker und Humboldt, 1893-1894), I, 125; BLUM, *Noble Landowners...*, p. 47. Link attributes peasant protection to "the emergence of a powerful, mercantilist, anti-corporate central government". LINK, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

income, while seventeen and seven-ninths percent went to the lord and twelve and two-ninths percent to the state, which was responsible for the collection of both.¹⁷⁾ Emperor Leopold II repealed the Tax Reform Patent but retained the rest of his mother's and his brother's reforms. On September 1, 1798, however, Emperor Francis II issued an edict that all further changes in the serfs' status were to be settled by "free" bargaining between the lord and his peasants, a principle that was reaffirmed on July 24, 1821.¹⁸⁾ It was thus that the Habsburgs abandoned *Bauernschutz* at a time when the crisis in feudal society demanded greater action by the central authorities, not less. The initiative that the Habsburgs lost was taken up by the gentry. Yet throughout East Central Europe emancipation was achieved from above. The three great powers — Russia, the Habsburg Empire and the Kingdom of Prussia — accomplished it on their own. In the Danubian principalities it was brought about by intervention of the great powers in concert.

The Prussian Pattern of Emancipation

The Prussian pattern of emancipation, since it was inaugurated before any other in East Central Europe, had a strong influence on the thinking of reformers elsewhere. Inevitably it was quoted and misrepresented, extolled as ideal and denounced as evil. Begun in 1807, it was not finally completed until the 1850s. And by a twist of history, it affected far more Polish territory than German.¹⁹⁾

Prussian emancipation was the curious product of the ideas of the Enlightenment, the interests of the Junkers, *Bauernschutz*, defense and fiscal requirements, and the effect of Napoleonic peasant reforms in the Kingdom of Westphalia and the Duchy of Warsaw, Prussia's ephemeral neighbors to the east and west, respectively, at the height of the Napoleonic reorganization of Europe. It was proclaimed by King Frederick William III in an edict of October 9, 1807.²⁰⁾ It abolished the servile status of peasants with "strong" rights of possession (*Erbpächter*, *Erbzinsleute*) immediately and by Martinmas 1810 that of peasants with

17) See n. 13 above.

18) LINK, *op. cit.*, p. 149; NIEDERHAUSER, *op. cit.*, p. 90; GRÜNBERG, *op. cit.*, II, 378-379. For an historical evaluation of the Habsburgs' peasant policy, see the brilliant analysis: "Alliance between the Dynasty and the Oppressed Classes of the People" in Oscar Jászai, *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 43-44. For the myth of the "good Emperor", see SPIRA, *op. cit.*, pp. 441-444. For a Hungarian viewpoint, see Jenő BERLÁSZ, "A magyar jobbágykérdés és a bécsi udvar az 1790-es években" [The Problem of the Hungarian Serfs and the Court of Vienna in the 1790s] in *Yearbook of the Hungarian Institute of Historical Science for 1942* (Budapest: Atheneum, 1942), pp. 40-56, in particular.

19) Half the territories of present-day Poland were affected by the Prussian serf reform edicts. KIENIEWICZ, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

20) Full text in Werner CONZE, *Quellen zur Geschichte der deutschen Bauernbefreiung* (Göttingen: Musterschmidt ["Quellensammlung zur Kulturgeschichte", Vol. 12], 1957), pp. 99-100.

"weak" rights (*Lassbauern, Lassiten*),²¹⁾ on the basis of free agreements between the lords and their tenants. Peasants were to be allowed to choose their own occupations and their holdings could be consolidated into larger demesne or tenant units. In effect, the edict freed the peasants' persons rather than their land and thus was far more akin to the reforms of Emperor Joseph II than to the mid-nineteenth-century Habsburg pattern of emancipation.

Because of the piecemeal and imprecise character of the original edict, several amendments became necessary. It was reinforced by new edicts in 1808, 1809 and 1810, which underlined such peasant rights as free movement and occupational choice.²²⁾ Much of the effect of these edicts was undone, however, by an 1811 edict that escheated one-third of the area of the holdings of peasants with "strong" rights and one half of those with "weak" rights as compensation for the abrogation of their servile obligations.²³⁾ They were weakened still further in 1816, when peasants with tenements below a certain size were debarred from redeeming them; others could still do so, as before, by arrangement with their lords, or, if they so wished, the state could impose a settlement.²⁴⁾ The lords' compensation for redeemed lands was fixed in 1821 at twenty-five times the value of their former serfs' yearly rents and renders.

Serfdom was totally abolished in Prussia only under pressure of the revolutionary situation that existed in midcentury. A royal decree of March 2, 1850, finally swept away all the earlier half-measures. Tenants with "strong" rights were given unrestricted ownership of their possessions; so, too, were all tenants of fees in tail since 1811 or, in the case of Poznań since 1819. Compensation still had to be paid to the landlords, but the peasant had to be allowed to keep at least one-third of his net income.²⁵⁾ By 1865 three and a half times as many

21) Many concepts were involved in "strong" rights to land, the most important of which was the peasant's perpetual tenure (not ownership, it must be emphasized) and proof against arbitrary eviction. The land was held, in principle, by the lord, who had legal ownership (*dominium directum*) of it, and by the peasant, who had beneficial ownership (*dominium utile*) of it — the right to the fruits of it. Márton SARLÓS, "Deák Ferenc és az úrbéri földtulajdon az 1832/1836-i országgyűlésen" [Ferenc Deák and the Question of Servile Landownership at the Diet of 1832-1836], *Jogtörténeti Tanulmányok* (Budapest), I (1966), 193-194. Sarlós stresses the immense importance of usufruct, but Kieniewicz denies it as an illusion. KIENIEWICZ, *op. cit.*, p. 4. Land held with "strong" rights was also a hereditament that might be in fee simple (Hungarian pattern), or in fee tail by primogeniture or entailed to the son of the lord's choice (Cisleithan pattern). A peasant with "weak" rights was a tenant at will, sometimes for life, with no security of tenure. He owed renders or rent, or both, for his tenement, which was only rarely hereditary. In Cisleithan territories, he was permitted to buy "strong" rights. If he did, he was called an *eingekaufter* peasant; those who did not were *uneingekauft*. See also RÉVÉSZ, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

22) NIEDERHAUSER, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

23) *Ibid.*, p. 49. The edict of 1811 was at least in part due to the extensive uprisings, mostly by Polish peasants, that occurred in Upper Silesia, Prussia's storm center. KIENIEWICZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-63.

24) NIEDERHAUSER, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

25) *Ibid.*, p. 55; KIENIEWICZ, *op. cit.*, p. 67. It is worth noting that, while the Prussian peasants had to be allowed to retain one-third of their income after 1850, Emperor Joseph II had decreed as far back as 1789 that all peasants in his Cisleithan territories had to be permitted to hold on to 70% of their income.

peasants had redeemed their land as had done so before the revolutions of 1848-49.²⁶⁾ In other words, the emancipation of the mass of Prussian serfs came after Habsburg emancipation, not before it.

The Rumanian Pattern of Emancipation

As the precedential enfranchisement of Prussia's serfs was finally coming into full effect, emancipation at last reached the Danubian principalities. Much of the credit for it must go to a handful of dedicated men who pressed ahead in the very teeth of boyar opposition. The groundwork for emancipation was largely laid by exiles, the most notable among whom was Nicolae Balcescu, but it was the great powers that set the pace. At the Congress of Paris of 1856 putting an end to the Crimean War, it was decided that so-called Divans Ad Hoc should be summoned in each principality to consider, among other things, the emancipation of the peasantry. In their deliberations, however, the issue of the unification of Moldavia and Wallachia assumed such overriding importance that peasant reform was pushed into the background.²⁷⁾ Finally the Sublime Porte dissolved the divans at the great powers' behest.

In 1858 the powers signed the Convention of Paris, establishing the United Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia and prescribing the organization of their government.²⁸⁾ The convention contained the stipulation that all privileges and monopolies were to be abolished and the peasants' conditions improved. On May 3, 1860, in the Assembly in Iasi Mihail Kogalniceanu, Chief Minister of Moldavia, called for the immediate emancipation of the peasantry. The boyar majority denounced his appeal and he resigned in disgust.

After the election of Alexandru Cuza as joint prince of both states and the fusion of their two Assemblies into one, Kogalniceanu, sitting on the opposition benches, introduced a new emancipation draft on June 1, 1862, but left it up to the deputies to decide whether the peasants' redemption of their land should be based on the Prussian model or the Russian. The Conservative majority instead put forward a draft of its own that would have freed the peasants but left them virtually landless. In an effort to force passage of the reform, Prince Alexandru dismissed the Conservative premier and on October 12, 1863, appointed Kogalniceanu to the prime ministry of the United Principalities. The Assembly soon passed a measure to secularize the immense landholdings of the thoroughly hellenized, so-called Dedicated Monasteries,

26) NIEDERHAUSER, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

27) *Ibid.*, p. 261; IORGA, *Geschichte...*, II, 309; RIKER *op. cit.*, p. 148; SETON-WATSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 238-240 and 242.

28) The convention of August 1858 stipulated that the principalities should remain separate, each with its own prince and assembly, but that eight deputies from each should form a Central Committee to take care of affairs common to both Moldavia and Wallachia. STAVRIANOS, *op. cit.*, p. 351; IORGA, *Geschichte...*, II, 316; RIKER, *op. cit.*, pp. 291-293 and 316; SETON-WATSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 241, 243-246 and 262-263.

but on April 25, 1864, it rejected Kogalniceanu's emancipation draft. Exasperated by the Assembly's intransigence, Prince Alexandru decided to make a direct appeal to the people. Accordingly he vetoed the boyars' draft, dissolved the Assembly, and arranged a plebiscite on a new electoral law with an expanded franchise and a new constitution. The voting on May 14 was overwhelmingly in favor of the prince's propositions.²⁹⁾ Cuza then promulgated his own Agrarian Reform Law on August 14, sweeping away all restrictions on the peasants' movements, abolishing all dues and renders, fixing the landlords' compensation and granting land to all peasants. Though the law assigned the peasantry little more land than they had possessed under the Organic Statutes, at least what they had was now fully their own property.

Rumanian emancipation, like Prussian emancipation, was thus imposed from above.

The Habsburg Pattern of Emancipation

The pattern in the Habsburg lands was noteworthy, not only because it was there that the concept of *Bauernschutz* was most developed, but also because it was brought about by pressure from below as well as from above, and above all from the reformist gentry. Yet, as Jerome Blum states:

Hungary was the only province in which the campaign of the noble landlords met with any success before 1848. In the German-Slav provinces their drives for reform foundered, because the provincial assemblies there lacked the power to wrest reforms from an unwilling absolutism. In Hungary the nobility had retained its corporate power in government.³⁰⁾

In the light of this, the Hungarian pattern warrants first consideration within the over-all Habsburg picture. The Hungarian gentry had taken up the question of emancipation as early as the Diet of 1790-91, the first to have been held since 1765, when Maria Theresa began her extraconstitutional rule over Hungary.³¹⁾ From that Diet at the height of the Hungarian Enlightenment, the gentry edged, sometimes faster, sometimes slower, sometimes out of fear of a peasant uprising, sometimes impelled by reformist zeal, along the road that led to the April Laws of 1848.³²⁾ By those laws they granted the peasants their

29) There were 683,928 votes cast for and 1,307 against. STAVRIANOS, *op. cit.*, p. 352; NIEDERHAUSER, *op. cit.*, p. 268; IORGA, *Geschichte...*, II, 314-324; RIKER, *op. cit.*, pp. 437, 447 and 458. An account of the career of Kogalniceanu in "Leopold von Ranke and Mihail Kogalniceanu zur Erinnerung an Kogalniceanus Berliner Studienjahre" in I. LUPAS, *Zur Geschichte der Rumänen* (Sibiu: Druck Krafft und Drottleff, 1943), pp. 490-501; SETON-WATSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 308-311.

30) *Noble Landowners...*, p. 209. For the serf problem during the Hungarian reform era, see Gyula MÉREI, *Mezőgazdaság és agrártársadalom Magyarországon, 1790-1848* [Agriculture and Agrarian Society in Hungary, 1790-1848] (Budapest: Teleki Pál Tudományos Intézet, 1948), pp. 104 ff.

31) KIRÁLY, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-172.

32) Acts 9-12, *Corpus Juris Hungarici, 1836-1868 évi törvényczikkek* [Corpus of Hungarian Laws, Acts of the Years 1836-1868] (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1901), pp. 232-236.

freedom, enacted for a multitude of reasons but unquestionably of their own free will.

The Diet of 1790-91 legalized Maria Theresa's *Urbarium* and the reform edicts of Joseph II, except those he himself repealed on his deathbed³³⁾ thus validly extending to the Kingdom of Hungary the Habsburgs' enlightened *Bauernschutz* until the next Diet could pass permanent legislation. To prepare such legislation, the Diet commissioned the best brains in the country to draw up draft laws, the *Operate Regnicolaria*, for the next Diet, which was to enact them as permanent statutes.³⁴⁾

Every Diet thereafter until 1832 revalidated Maria Theresa's and Joseph II's reforms with only minor modifications, even though several of the Diets acknowledged the need for more thoroughgoing reform.³⁵⁾ The Diet of 1832-36 finally brought in legislation, which, even though it was less than all-embracing, at least set the course for the emancipation of 1848. The most significant feature of Act 8/1836³⁶⁾ was that it empowered county officials to oversee voluntary agreements on the redemption of serf obligations to ensure that such contracts were fair,³⁷⁾

33) Laws of 1790/91: Act 35/1791 enacted the *Urbarium* of Maria Theresa and the reform of Joseph II, Act 67/1791 appointed a National Commission to draft peasant-reform bills; Laws of 1792: Act 12/1792 did the same. *Corpus Juris Hungarici, 1740-1835...*, pp. 203-214 and 249-251.

34) Assessments of the drafting committee's work vary widely. Győző Concha argues that whatever reforms the Reform Era produced had their roots in the work of this committee and the other committees set up at the same time. Historians of the school of Hóman and Szekfű consider the committee's recommendations the most advanced of the era, produced by the finest minds of the time. Marxist historians claim that the committee's reform projects went no further than the reforms of Maria Theresa and Joseph II and in some instances actually retreated a little. Győző CONCHA, "A 90-es évek reformeszméi és előzményeik" [The Reform Ideas of the Nineties and Their Origins], *Budapesti Szemle*, Vol. XXIX, No. 63 (1882); Bálint HÓMAN and Gyula SZEKFŰ, *Magyar történet* [Hungarian History], 5 vols. (Budapest: Király Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1935-36), V, 77-87; Erik MOLNÁR (ed.), *Magyarország története* [History of Hungary], 2 vols. (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 1964), I, 399; Béla K. KIRÁLY, "The Young Ferenc Deák and the Problem of the Serfs 1824-1836", *Südost-Forschungen* (Munich), XXIX (1970), 91-127.

35) The introduction to the minutes of the Diet of 1802, for instance, stated:

Now that the obligations of a lengthy war are at an end, our glorious ruling Prince... is turning on the welfare of his people that attention that till now had to be devoted to warfare... He deems it of particular urgency to consult with the estates of the land on the welfare of the taxpaying population.

Gyula BERNÁT, *A magyar jobbágyfelszabadítás eszmeáramlatai, 1790-1848* [The Ideological Trends of Hungarian Serf Emancipation, 1790-1848] (Budapest: Pátria, 1930), p. 36 n. Yet the only reform that benefited the serfs at all was an adjustment of the *porta*, the conventional unit for assessing taxes for military upkeep. The Diet of 1805 declared: "As for the *Urbarium*, no innovations should be introduced until the next Diet". Act 3/1805, *Corpus Juris Hungarici, 1740-1835...*, p. 325. Discussing Act 35/1807, many deputies to the Diet of 1807 complained about the vagueness of definitions of serf obligations, which made tax assessments inexact and at times unjust. BERNÁT, *op. cit.*, p. 41. Act 9/1808 was simply a continuance of the existing regulations until the next Diet. So was Act 3/1812. The first serious step was taken by the Diet of 1825-27, which appointed a new National Commission to review and revise the recommendations of the National Commission set up in 1790. The life of this National Commission was prolonged by Act 8/1830 and was the starting point of reform of Hungary's feudal Diets.

36) *Corpus Juris Hungarici, 1836-1868...*, pp. 15-49.

37) NIEDERHAUSER, *op. cit.*, p. 139. For the essence of other legislation beneficial to the peasantry that this long Diet passed, see Király, "The Young Ferenc Deák...", 110-115.

a reform that compared favorably with the state of affairs at that time in Prussia.

Hungary's last feudal Diet convened in 1847 and from the outset devoted much of its time to debating major peasant reform. What really galvanized it into action, though, was Lajos Kossuth's speech on March 3, 1848, in reaction to the February Revolution in Paris. In it he called for immediate freedom for the serfs and the compulsory remission of their obligations. Three days later the Lower House adopted a motion to draft the necessary legislation. On March 14 Deputy Mór Szentkirályi reported that the draft was ready and on March 15 he proposed to the house that the state should shoulder the cost of redeeming the peasants' obligations. The same day the deputies adopted a motion to this effect and another to levy equal taxation on all inhabitants. On March 18 news reached Pozsony (Bratislava) that the young people had taken to the streets in Pest three days before, and, at a session lasting late into the night, both houses approved the bill abolishing serfdom. The whole sequence of events bore a remarkable resemblance to the circumstances in which the French National Assembly had passed its "August Decrees" in 1789. Count Lajos Batthyány, in his capacity as an official of the Diet, then forwarded the text of the bill to all Hungary's County Assemblies, instructing them to proclaim it to the peasants at once, despite its lack of royal endorsement. This action by the legislative was arbitrary, of course, but then, the situation was revolutionary. Moving fast, the liberals managed to forestall any counterrevolutionary action by the Habsburgs to block emancipation or to introduce enfranchising legislation of their own to steal the Diet's thunder, as they were shortly to do in the case of Galicia. On March 23 the deputy for Nyitra presented the Emancipation Bill, which was promptly passed by both houses³⁸⁾ and promulgated by King Ferdinand V on April 11 as Acts 9-12/1848.³⁹⁾ All servile obligations were abolished; landlords were to be compensated by the state; tenant lands became the property of the peasants.

Ferenc Deák, then Minister of Justice, set himself to clarify obscurities in the hastily enacted law and, in so doing, to increase the peasants' benefits. His most important draft amendment would have permitted peasants occupying demesne lands to redeem them by paying the compensation for them themselves,⁴⁰⁾ but all his amendments were swept away by the course of revolutionary events. A draft bill introduced in Parliament on July 2, 1849, would have had the state grant land to all the serfs and cotters (*inquilini*) who tilled demesne lands and received no property under the 1848 acts, but it, too, was overtaken by events. Had it been passed, Hungary's pattern of emancipation would have

38) Ignác Acsády, *A magyar jobbágytság története* [The History of Hungarian Serfdom] (Budapest: Politzer-féle Könyvkiadó vállalat, 1906), pp. 502-511.

39) See n. 32 above.

40) Manó Kónyi (ed.), *Deák Ferenc beszédei, 1842-1861* [The Speeches of Ferenc Deák, 1842-1861] (2nd ed.; Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1903), pp. 224-225, 265, 298, 322, 341; János Beér (ed.), *Az 1848/49. évi népképviseleti országgyűlés* [The Popularly Elected Parliament of 1848-49] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1954), pp. 71, 247, 622, 635; István Szabó, *Tanulmányok a magyar parasztság történetéből* [Essays on the History of the Hungarian Peasantry] (Budapest: Teleki Pál Tudományos Intézet, 1948), pp. 321-333.

been the most radical and profitable to the peasants of all. Nevertheless, it was the Kossuth regime's espousal of such reforms that induced the peasants to enlist in his national army.

The serf problem was no less an issue in the Croatian Diet of 1848. Although Hungary's legislation and the April laws applied in Croatia and emancipated the South Slav peasantry, Josip Jellačić, newly named Ban of Croatia, fired by Croatian nationalism, wanted an emancipation act of Croat rather than Hungarian origin. So on April 25 he issued a manifesto on doing away with all servile obligations in Croatia independently of Hungarian legislation.⁴¹⁾ In July the Croatian Diet, which had already acknowledged the validity of Hungary's April laws, passed a bill of its own on the basis of the Ban's manifesto. It abolished servile economic, administrative and judicial relations and made tenant lands the property of the peasantry. It recognized the landlords' right to indemnity, but left the formula for compensation for future legislation. The Emperor endorsed the law on April 7, 1850,⁴²⁾ after Kossuth's defeat with Russia's aid.

Galicia was still recovering from its peasant uprising of 1846 and the subsequent annexation of the Republic of Kraków when the new revolutionary wave struck. Negotiations between Vienna and Lwów on the possibility of ending *robot* *) had dragged on and on with no solution in sight as unrest again spread through the countryside. Potato blight was causing serious hunger in the province and there were numerous instances of peasants refusing to fulfill their obligations. When news reached Lwów of demonstrations in Vienna and the flight of Prince Metternich, the leaders of the Galician *szlachta* and bourgeoisie addressed a petition to the Emperor more in the spirit of loyal collaboration than of insurrection, seeking concessions to their national identity and the disannulment of feudal dues. In no time at all representatives of the Polish democrats in exile arrived from Versailles and set up a Central Committee in line with the Poitiers Manifesto.⁴³⁾ They began work at once to abolish serfdom in the name of a National Government just as soon as the Galicians should rise up.

Count Franz von Stadion-Warthausen, Governor of Galicia, urged Vienna to act to forestall the *szlachta*. When Vienna delayed, he took matters into his own hands and issued a proclamation in the Emperor's name on April 22, 1848, abolishing all peasant services, preserving all easements, and promising the landlords compensation by the state. This appeased *szlachta* and peasantry alike. Since it also safeguarded the interests and authority of the state, Vienna ratified it with an Imperial Rescript to the same effect backdated to April 17.⁴⁴⁾

The revolutionary ferment throughout the Habsburg lands and beyond obliged Vienna to take action. On March 20, 1848, decrees were issued

41) NIEDERHAUSER, *op. cit.*, p. 157, n. 235.

42) *Ibid.*, pp. 157-158.

43) See n. 55 below.

44) NIEDERHAUSER, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

*) Robot (*corvée*) physical work performed by the serfs and *inquilini* (landless bounded peasants) for the lords, prelates and the crown. The robot could be performed by the serf, working alone, or by using draft animals. The amount of robot differed from area to area.

abolishing *robot* in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia with effect from March 31, 1849, with compensation for the landlords. Similar rescripts were issued for Styria on April 11, Carinthia on April 25, and Carniola on May 23.⁴⁵⁾

Such was the situation when at last the *Reichstag* convened in Vienna on July 11, 1848. On July 26, Hans Kudlich, a 25-year-old university student and son of a peasant, who was a delegate from rural Silesia, proposed the immediate end of hereditary servitude. His motion was carried unanimously⁴⁶⁾ and on September 7 the definitive Act of Emancipation was passed. The act abolished hereditary servitude, removed all burdens from peasant lands, recognized the principle of compensation, and canceled all the lords' feudal obligations. The lords were to receive no compensation for the abolition of their peasants' personal bondage but were to be paid for the abrogation of their dues in money, kind and services for usufruct of their land; all easements were revoked without indemnity.⁴⁷⁾

Though problems were encountered in the execution of the law, these, too, were resolved. After the triumph of the counterrevolution, patents issued on March 4, 1849, and July 5, 1853, cleared up moot points in the legislation while leaving its basic terms intact. Jerome Blum properly concludes: "Not only had the noble landowners succeeded in getting rid of the system they had found to be an economic liability. They were paid for giving it up".⁴⁸⁾

The Russian Pattern of Emancipation in the Congress Kingdom

The existence of the Duchy of Warsaw in Napoleon's Europe exercised an enduring, powerful and multiform influence on the pattern of czarist Russian emancipation of the Polish peasantry. In the duchy the fate of the peasants was a product of the attitudes of the French bourgeoisie and the Polish *szlachta*.⁴⁹⁾ The constitution of the duchy, promulgated by Napoleon on July 2, 1807, declared: "Slavery shall be abolished. All citizens are equal before the law. Personal freedom shall

45) BLUM, *Noble Landowners...*, p. 233; NIEDERHAUSER, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

46) BLUM, *ibid.*, p. 234, n. 105; NIEDERHAUSER, *ibidem*; K.K. *Reichsrath, Verhandlungen des österreichischen Reichstages nach der stenographischen Aufnahme* (Wien: Aus der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1850), vol. I, 159.

47) *Ibid.*, I 290-291. BLUM, *ibid.*, p. 235; NIEDERHAUSER, *ibid.*, pp. 57-98. The main difference between this legislation and the Prussian pattern was that the Prussian law made only the peasants with large holdings owners of their land while the Habsburg law made all the peasants proprietors of the land they worked, whatever size it was. KIENIEWICZ, *op. cit.*, p. 137. Lordly monopolies were abolished in the Habsburg Empire with the outstanding exception of *propinatio* in Galicia. *Ibid.*, p. 139.

48) *Noble Landowners...*, p. 238. A heavily Marxist appraisal of the achievement of Habsburg emancipation and a treasurehouse of detail are in Pál S. Sándor (ed.), *Parasztdgunk a Habsburg önkényuralom korszakában, 1849-1867* [Our Peasantry during the Period of Habsburg Tyranny, 1849-1867] (Budapest: Közoktatásügyi Kiadóvállalat, 1951). The problems that the 1848 emancipation left for the Habsburgs to solve are analyzed in Szabó, *op. cit.*, pp. 363-396.

49) KIENIEWICZ, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

be protected by the courts" (Article 4).⁵⁰⁾ The same guarantees were incorporated in the constitution proclaimed by the Czar for Congress Poland, but though formal freedom of the person was of great benefit to the bourgeoisie, it remained mostly an abstraction for the peasants.

When Frederick Augustus, King of Saxony and Duke of Warsaw, issued his Decree of Emancipation on December 21, 1807,⁵¹⁾ he gave the peasants freedom of movement, the right to reside on the land they tilled for a full year under the same obligations as before, and notarial supervision of all new contracts with their landlords. The most negative effect of this decree, however, was that it gave the gentry full ownership of the land and the power to evict after a year. "This was the reason why the December Decree was to remain in force for forty years; it accorded too well with the landlords' interests to be overridden by political power".⁵²⁾

It was 1846 before any further change took place in the peasants' position in the Congress Kingdom. When the peasants of Galicia revolted, the Russian government had been informed that an insurrection was planned for all three parts of the former Polish state. Czar Nicholas I therefore hastened to Warsaw and then to the border of the Republic of Kraków, where he told a huge rally of country people: "I am your only benefactor. You may rely on me, but I shall not support disorder".⁵³⁾ Subsequently he issued an ukase on June 7, 1846, in which he granted certain concessions, eliminating some major abuses, banning evictions, prohibiting the increase of peasant dues, among others.⁵⁴⁾ The gentry's property rights were left untouched, but the ukase did resemble the Prussian situation in benefiting the rich peasants and the Josephin reforms of the Habsburg Empire in giving the peasants "stronger" claims on the land they worked. It was the first time czarist authority had intervened in the relationship between the *szlachta* and the peasantry

50 *Ibid.* The term "slavery" in the Napoleonic constitution was misapplied. No slavery as such existed in Poland or anywhere else in Eastern Europe at this time — but there were borderline cases. In Russia, for instance, slavery as a distinct social status existed into the seventeenth century and in the eighteenth century merged with serfdom. "Thus the 'new serfdom' was established, at the basis of which lay the binding of the peasant to the person of the lord, not to the land. At this stage, serfdom in Russia was similar to slavery". G. VERNADSKY, "Serfdom in Russia", *Relazioni del X Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche*, III (September 1955), 271. See also Jerome BLUM, *Lord and Peasant in Russia from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961), pp. 106-116. In the Duchy of Mecklenburg serfs could be sold, bartered, mortgaged, moved and evicted at the will of the lord, who could equally expropriate their lands without impediment. NIEDERHAUSER, *op. cit.*, p. 66. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the lords in Croatia could sell their serfs like slaves. *Ibid.*, p. 152 n. 223. The serf "could be deprived of his land, his charges could be raised, and he could be summoned to discharge various duties in his landlord's castle; he could also — but the cases were few (fewer than in Russia) — be 'sold down the river' to another master". KIENIEWICZ, *op. cit.*, p. 15. "The power of the lord over his serfs was not so great as to deprive them of their legal personality. Herein lay the difference between serf and slave". BLUM, "The Rise of Serfdom...", p. 809.

51) See n. 2, para. 2, above.

52) KIENIEWICZ, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

53) *Ibid.*, p. 40.

54) The text of the ukase of June 7, 1846, appears as Appendix G in *ibid.*, pp. 256-258.

and it foreshadowed the future tendency to try to alienate them from each other.

In all three parts of partitioned Poland the peasant had the weakest rights over the land he worked, sometimes none at all. He could be evicted at the landlord's will, so that the main thrust of Polish emancipation was for *uwłaszczenie*, the transformation of the virtual serf from a landless laborer into a peasant with the right to own his own plot. In the Congress Kingdom fifty years after the peasants had gained their personal freedom *uwłaszczenie* still had a long way to go. After 1830, however, what most affected the peasants' lot — apart from the direct consequences of the Galician revolt of 1846 — were the reform projects of various exile groups and insurrectionary organizations within the Congress Kingdom (which were not without influence on the czar's decision to issue his ukase).

Eight interrelated documents stand out as most representative of the ideas and programs of these groups, and also had most impact on the actual emancipation of the Polish serfs under Russian rule. They were the Great Manifesto of Poitiers, published in December 1836 by the Reds, radical left-wing exiles in France; the Ex-Officio Ukase on Rents, issued by the Wielopolski government, which reflected the ideas of the conservatives who looked for political and social reforms for the Congress Kingdom within the Russian Empire and in loyalty to the czar-king; the Provisional Government's Decree on *uwłaszczenie* of January 22, 1863, during the January Insurrection; the Czar's Ukase for the Lithuanian Provinces of March 1, 1863; and four Ukases of *uwłaszczenie* for Congress Poland issued on February 19, 1864.

The aim of the Great Manifesto of Poitiers was to inspire a national insurrection of the *szlachta* and peasantry together and was at marked variance with the intentions of the conservative exiles led by Prince Adam Czartoryski, who counted on the reestablishment of an independent Poland in the wake of a general European war rather than as a result of an uprising, and who acted through diplomacy rather than attempts to secure social reform. The manifesto, published by the Reds (Polish Democratic Society), was drafted by Wiktor Heltman. It would have achieved *uwłaszczenie* by having a National Government on the first day of the planned insurrection make all peasants outright owners of the land they tilled, whatever its size, and abolish all obligations of whatever kind without compensation. It made no mention of demesne lands. "The events of 1863", according to Kieniewicz, "should be considered the first signs of an era in which the agrarian question became the major issue of a revolutionary movement, an era by no means at an end today"⁵⁵⁾ The Poitiers manifesto remained the Polish Democratic Society's basic platform to the last, until the January Insurrection. It is interesting to note that its timing coincided with the prorogation of Hungary's first real reform Diet, at which the *bene possessionati*, including the emergent leader of the Liberals, Ferenc Deák, rattled the very portals of feudalism, pushing for emancipation of the peasants from below.

In March 1861 a conservative reformer, Alexander Wielopolski, was attached to the government of Congress Poland. Under his guidance

55) *Ibid.*, p. 107.

an ukase was soon issued, doing away with *robot*. It was not *uwłaszczenie* however; *robot* was commuted to *okup*, a money payment in lieu, but it did mark the end of compulsory serf labor on Polish territory.⁵⁶⁾ This reform was complemented on June 4, 1862, when Wielopolski, now Chief of the Civil Government of the Kingdom, issued his own Ex-Officio Ukase on Rents, embodying his ideas and representing the limits that the conservative *szlachta* would accept. It extended the earlier ukase to all the lands held by peasants whose *robot* had not been commuted to *okup*, but, following the Prussian pattern, it excepted peasants with dwarf holdings. All servitudes were abolished except in the rare cases where peasants' rights to enjoy these easements were based on written contracts. The Ex-Officio Ukase on Rents did not appeal to the peasants, whose gain from it was minimal, and they would not cooperate with the newly appointed administrators. That the ukase promised that in future the peasants could purchase their *uwłaszczenie* with assistance from a loan bank failed to impress them.⁵⁷⁾

It was the third of the eight documents, the Provisional Government's Decree of *uwłaszczenie*, which had its roots in the Poitiers Manifesto, that had the greatest impact on the Polish peasantry, for this declaration by the leadership of the January Insurrection forced the Czar's hand. In order to outstrip it, he was compelled to publish his emancipation ukases, in effect, delivering what the insurrection had promised and extending to Poland even more than he granted in Russia.

The Provisional Government's measure came in two parts. The first was the publication in August 1862 of the Central National Committee's program to grant all peasants land (*uwłaszczenie*) free, regardless of its area, and for the lords to be paid compensation by the National Government. It followed the Hungarian pattern in offering state funds to indemnify the landlords (whereas the Poitiers Manifesto made no mention of recompense for the gentry) and the Austrian pattern in granting land even to the landless peasantry. The second part was the Warsaw committee's actual decree of January 22, 1863, making good on what its program had pledged. The decree also abrogated all serf obligations immediately, and rewarded every landless peasant who volunteered for the insurgent army (or his widow and orphans) with full title to three *morgi* (four acres) of land gratis. It thus incorporated the maximum program of the Reds and was considerably more advantageous to the peasantry than any earlier promise or document.⁵⁸⁾ After its issue, the peasants' attitude toward the insurrection gradually changed "from distrust or hostility to expectant neutrality or more or less open benevolence".⁵⁹⁾ So the decree spiked the czarist government's attempts to use the peasantry against the *szlachta*. As the insurrection developed increasingly into a guerrilla struggle, which had to depend on the peasants if it were to be successful, the by now thoroughly radical National Government on December 27, 1863, announced severe penalties for any encroachment on the peasants' newly acquired rights.

56) *Ibid.*, p. 158.

57) *Ibid.*, p. 160.

58) *Ibid.*, p. 161. The text of the decree of January 22, 1863, appears as Appendix H in *ibid.*, pp. 258-259.

59) *Ibid.*, p. 167.

"The trump card of the January Insurrection — the *uwłaszczenie* decrees — was now reversed against it, as the czarist government adopted their chief provisions".⁶⁰⁾ This, too, was accomplished in two stages. As an urgent defense measure to protect its western flank, in other words, the former Polish territories where peasants were at a distinct disadvantage compared with those of the Congress Kingdom after the Provisional Government's January 22 decree, St. Petersburg issued the Ukase for the Lithuanian Provinces on March 1, 1863. To prevent the insurrection spreading to the five provinces, the ukase abolished all *robot* at once and made the process of land redemption both quicker and compulsory. It reduced peasant dues by 20% and increased the size of peasant holdings by 12% to 19% in most areas and by 41% around Minsk.⁶¹⁾ The proclamation of the ukase claimed that the Czar was liberating the Polish peasantry from the yoke of the *szlachta*. When the insurrection spread into Little Russia, similar measures were introduced there too.

In the Congress Kingdom itself, Alexander II issued four ukases in February, 1864, to bring about *uwłaszczenie*:⁶²⁾ all peasant holdings of whatever size became the property of the peasants; all peasant land illegally seized since 1846 was restored to the peasants; the land was granted as a gift of the Czar for which the peasants had to pay no redemption; the nobles were to receive from the state in compensation 16.4 times the value of the annual dues they had received from the peasants.⁶³⁾ (In Prussian Poland they had received 25 times the value, and in Galicia, 20 times the value.) This compensation was payable out of a fund financed from the peasants' quit-rents and land taxes levied on all property-owners. The ukases also made Poland an integral part of the Russian Empire.

Czarist emancipation in Congress Poland, though decreed from above, was the result of the pressure of events below. "The peasants received the land under better conditions than anywhere in Central and Eastern Europe. And a larger number of peasants benefited from the reform than anywhere else in the same region", Kieniewicz observes. The reforms were then extended to the Byelorussian and Ukrainian territories beyond the borders of the Congress Kingdom that were affected by the insurrection.

The reforms achieved their political purpose. The peasants lost interest in the insurrection, which had been inspired and led by the gentry, and turned their attention to their newly acquired property not unlike the French peasantry in 1789. Though the land taxes they paid were intended to pay off the bonds the *szlachta* had received for their lost dues, they continued to be collected long after the last bond had been honored, so that by 1915 the peasantry had in fact paid about twice as much as the "free gift" of land should have cost them.⁶⁴⁾

60) *Ibid.*, p. 169.

61) *Ibid.*, p. 171.

62) Excerpts from the ukases of February 19, 1864, appear as Appendix I in *ibid.*, pp. 259-262.

63) *Ibid.*, p. 172.

64) *Ibid.*, p. 177.

The Causes of Emancipation

The whole process of the emancipation of the serfs was a slow one, lasting for a couple of generations, but the final and complete realization of it took place in the wake of Europe's midcentury turmoil, at almost the same time everywhere. One of the reasons for the various acts of emancipation was that each of the states that passed one had just been shaken by a disaster. For Prussia it was the battles of Jena and Auerstädt; for Russia, the January Insurrection in Congress Poland; for the Habsburg Empire, the revolutionary upheaval of 1848-49. In the case of the Danubian principalities, there had been no domestic disaster, but their hand was forced by foreign intervention anyway. Apart from these immediate causes, there were four underlying sources of pressure that led to emancipation and determined the form it took in each territory: the socioeconomic crisis of semifeudal society and second serfdom; intellectual trends, that is, the "spirit of the age"; the support for emancipation from the most influential social group, the gentry, for economic and in many cases nationalistic reasons; and peasant discontent.

The Crisis of Semifeudal Society

The semifeudal system and second serfdom were in a vicious circle of chronic crisis. Because *robot* was unproductive, capital accumulation was seriously deficient, and without capital it was impossible to find the wage labor essential to improved work standards (handling new machinery, intensive husbandry, etc.). When there were no facilities for improving work standards, the peasant was doomed to his statute labor. The system had to change to permit social and economic progress. Internal industrialization, especially in Prussia and the Congress Kingdom, had opened brand-new domestic markets for agricultural produce, for which better tools and crops and skilled labor were necessary. These were out of the question without wage labor and an agrarian revolution was out of the question while *robot* persisted. The end of second serfdom — that is, emancipation — was intimately connected with the agrarian revolution and the transition to capitalist methods of agriculture. This transformation was slow because there were serious obstacles to the growth of capitalism in the area at that time: industrialization on the whole lagged; internal trade on any scale was lacking; the credit system was primitive and insufficient; the bourgeoisie was weak, and in some areas in this age of nationalism it was also foreign, so that it was short on political clout. Thus, unlike Western Europe, political and economic leadership in Eastern Europe was in the hands of the commercially minded gentry.⁶⁵⁾

65) A study of the crisis of agrarian society in Hungary during the first part of the nineteenth century is MÉREI, *op. cit.* There are also several excellent studies of particular cases or specific areas, e.g., György SZABAD, *A Tatai és Gesztesi Eszterházy-uradalom*

The Spirit of the Age

The gentry was much influenced by the intellectual ferment that affected the whole era. All their ideologies, however, can be traced back to the ideas of the French Enlightenment.⁶⁶⁾ The numerous reformers who came up with countless plans for emancipation all fell into one of three categories. There were those who advocated innovative agricultural methods, practically amounting to an agrarian revolution, who, almost without exception, pressed for better education as a route to the modernization of agriculture. There were those who advocated social, economic and political changes within the existing social framework. And there was the majority who wanted, by evolution or by revolution, to transform the feudal or semifeudal system into a liberal form of government and a bourgeois society with a *laissez-faire* economy.

In the Habsburg Empire the serf problem varied from province to province. In the German provinces serfdom was less oppressive and emancipation was consequently less urgent than in the Slav and Hungarian provinces (and in the Tyrol serfdom barely existed at all).⁶⁷⁾ For this reason literature urging emancipation was both less abundant and less militant in the west of the empire than in the east. In the German provinces economic developments had alleviated the peasants' economic subjection, so that the focus of reformers' attention was on extending the peasants' personal freedom rather than socioeconomic problems.⁶⁸⁾

In Hungary, Croatia, Galicia and Congress Poland, and among the Poles of Poznań circumstances were fundamentally different for a specific political reason. In these areas the numerous and powerful gentry were increasingly animated by a sense of nationalism and were intent on leading the struggle against foreign domination. This made them particularly sensitive to the problems of the peasants, without whose cooperation, they realized, their efforts to achieve their national goals would be in vain. In these areas, therefore, there arose some of the most radical projects for reform and there were none of the expropriations of tenant lands that were typical of Prussia. At the same time, it must be noted that large segments of the gentry even here were strongly opposed to any change in the peasants' servile status.

áttárása a robotrendszerrel a tőkés gazdálkodásra [The Transition from the Robot System to a Capitalist Economy on the Tata and Gesztes Estates of the Eszterházy Family] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1957); Imre SZÁNTÓ, *A parasztság kisajátítása és mozgalmi a Gróf Festeticsek Keszthelyi ágának birtokain 1711-1850* [The Expropriation and Moving of the Peasantry on the Estates of the Keszthely Branch of the Festetics Family 1711-1850] (Budapest: Művelt Nép Könyvkiadó, 1954). These two deal with the largest latifundia in Hungary.

66) If one man had influence above all others on the intellectual development of the whole area, he was Joseph von Sonnenfels (1732-1817). See LINK, *op. cit.*, pp. 102 ff, and Robert A. KANN, *A Study in Austrian Intellectual History from Late Baroque to Romanticism* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1960), pp. 146-258.

67) LINK, *op. cit.*, p. 185; NIEDERHAUSER, *op. cit.*, p. 86. Czar Nicholas issued ukases outlawing serfdom in Bessarabia. BLUM, *Lord and Peasant...*, p. 551.

68) NIEDERHAUSER, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

The position of the serfs in the Slavic and Hungarian areas of the Habsburg Empire was, in fact, far worse than in the German provinces, and not only because of the economic progress of the latter. In the Slavic and Hungarian areas a far greater proportion of arable land was in demesne rather than tenant holdings, compared with the German provinces, and the number of *inquilini* and other kinds of landless serfs was much higher. Under such circumstances, the lords stood not to lose much property in case of emancipation of the serfs.⁶⁹⁾

The situation was not entirely dissimilar in the Danubian principalities, where the struggle for national independence was the pivotal problem, so that the position of the peasantry could not be overlooked by the boyars. Radical plans were laid in the principalities, just as they were in the Habsburg Empire. Nowhere in Eastern Europe, however, were there any plans to grant the peasants any more land they already held prior to emancipation (other than the czarist government's projects in the wake of the January Insurrection). By the same token only in Prussia and Russia proper (apart from Napoleon's Duchy of Warsaw), where demesne lands were so much inferior in size to tenant lands, were there any plans to emancipate the serfs without giving them title to land.⁷⁰⁾

Other influences were also at work to make reform project more moderate in Prussia and the Habsburgs' German provinces than elsewhere. In Prussia emancipation began when the crisis in feudal society and agriculture was still inchoate, and in the German provinces of the empire the crisis was less pressing because of the relatively greater degree of the peasants' personal freedom. In the Hungarian and Slavic lands, on the other hand, emancipation was put off until the serfs' burdens had become almost insupportable and feudal society was in chronic crisis.

The Role of the Gentry

Though leadership of the movement for emancipation was mostly taken by the gentry, the final emancipation of the serfs was an intrinsic part of the mid-nineteenth-century bourgeois revolution. One of the great paradoxes of the era was that the gentry headed a bourgeois revolution, and to this may be attributed the fact that that revolution was less radical than it was likely to have been under the guidance of the bourgeoisie alone.

The drive of these bourgeois revolutions was leveled not against the whole of the feudal system, against the relationship of lord and peasants, it did not aim at the radical extirpation of them; instead it aimed at toppling the feudalist absolutist state system, at realizing the political goal of a bourgeois revolution in its narrower sense.⁷¹⁾

The bourgeois revolution in Central and Eastern Europe was also as often as not a war of national liberation, which was the revolution's

69) *Ibid.*, pp. 294-295.

70) *Ibidem.*

71) *Ibid.*, p. 299.

prime object. A capitalist transformation of society was only a secondary goal that was both a moderating and a radicalizing factor. Radical solutions to the serf problem were held out to interest the peasantry in the struggle for national self-determination, but nowhere was the aim to mobilize the whole peasantry and involve them totally in the independence struggle. Indeed, this was one of the principal reasons for the repeated failure of the fights for freedom. As Jerome Blum comments:

In every province except Hungary the noble program of agrarian reform was entirely unsuccessful during the *Vormärz*. In Hungary progress had been made toward realizing it because the noble landowners of Hungary as a corporate unit, alone of all the noble landowners of the [Habsburg] Monarchy, had a real share in the government of their land. But even there full realization of the program had not been effected before 1848.⁷²⁾

Movements of Peasant Discontent

The peasant revolts are considered by Marxist historians to be one of the major causes of emancipation, and their argument is not without some validity. It is perfectly reasonable to suppose that the protracted restiveness of the peasantry (not to mention actual uprisings) had persuaded state and gentry that they had to make concessions. The peasant movements were usually non-violent, taking the form of refusals to perform statute labor or render dues. When they did break out in violence, they suffered from the usual disadvantages and ultimate fate of European peasant revolts. They were spontaneous and lacked a clear ideology, aiming at the elimination of specific abuses rather than the overthrow of the system; they were leaderless and uncoordinated so that without exception when they faced the organized power of the state they lost. A feature peculiar to East Central Europe was the interdependence, for good or bad, between the peasants' socioeconomic aspirations and the nationalist movements of their compatriots of higher social standing. This was particularly the case among the Croats, Hungarians, Poles and Rumanians.

The legend of the good emperor and evil lord, which inspired such popular myths as the existence of decrees benefiting the peasants that had been suppressed by the nobles, was also common currency.⁷³⁾ Both the Habsburgs and the Romanovs profited by such beliefs. The peasants found inspiration and the lords cause for alarm in the area's heritage of peasant heroes of old. In Hungary it was the memory of Dózsa, who led the great peasant revolt of 1514. In Poland it was the Humań rebellion of 1768 in which nearly 30,000 persons — landowners and their families, bailiffs, petty gentry and Jews — were massacred in Podolia. This outbreak coincided with the Confederation of Bar and

72) Blum, *Noble Landowners...*, p. 221.

73) "The writer of these lines also observed very often during his trips in Transylvania that the idea of Emperor... enjoyed almost a kind of religious sacredness among the backward Rumanian peasants". Jászai, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

added complicating ethnic undertones to that bitter nationalist struggle.⁷⁴⁾ The Rumanians found encouragement in the deeds of Tudor Vladimirescu in 1821, during the principalities' attempts to be rid of the Phanariots, and in the peasant revolt led by Horia (Ion Ursu), Closca and Crisan in Transylvania in 1784.⁷⁵⁾

The main cause of the repeated peasant outbreaks was the gradual breakdown of the feudal system and the ever-increasing burdens the peasants were expected to bear, the most resented of which was the *robot*. The exploitation of the peasantry by the nobility had become so very burdensome by the mid-eighteenth century that peasant revolts became palpably more frequent and more violent. The *Bauernschutz* patents issued by Maria Theresa and Joseph II were in part prompted by major eruptions in the Habsburg domains. The *Robotpatent* for Silesia of July 6, 1771, was proclaimed after an investigating commission sent out from Vienna reported back that Silesian peasant unrest was caused by the numerous abuses to which the peasants were exposed.⁷⁶⁾ The revolt of Horia, Closca and Crisan that surged out of Brad through the valley of the Maros (Mures) in 1784 led Joseph II to decree the abolition of serfdom in Hungary and Transylvania.⁷⁷⁾ An uprising in Croatia in which troops from the Military Frontier took part brought urbarial regulation to Croatia in 1780.⁷⁸⁾ A peasant rebellion in Bohemia elicited a *Robotpatent* on August 13, 1775.⁷⁹⁾

The bloodiest disturbances were in Silesia where peasant resistance movements were a commonplace at this period. In 1766 sixty villages took up arms and major military intervention was necessary to subdue them; in 1787 the entire village of Wilkanów near Habelschwerdt (Bystrzyca Kłodzka) rose in revolt; rebellion flared in several places in 1811, and again in 1830 under the influence of the November Insurrection; in 1847 it spread from Jägerndorf (Krnov/Karniów) and Freudenthal (Bruntál) to Teschen (Těšín/Cieszyn). In Bohemia and Moravia, too, peasant discontent exploded on a number of occasions. Notwithstanding the reliefs of the urbarial patent of 1775, a peasant outburst in Náchod spread with such vigor and coordination that all 40,000 troops stationed in the Kingdom of Bohemia had to be deployed to halt the peasants' march on Prague. A plan to arouse the Moravian peasantry around Neustadt (Nové Město na Moravě) in 1796-97 was frustrated after it had been denounced. In 1821 and in 1834 there were numerous cases of refusal to perform *robot*.⁸⁰⁾ "The peasant movements thus revealed in an increasingly clear way that the serfs were ready to fight for the abolition of the *robot* or for the suppression of the entire feudal system".⁸¹⁾

74) KIENIEWICZ, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

75) IORGA, *Geschichte...*, II, 218; IORGA, *Histoire...*, pp. 230-231; LUPAS, *op. cit.*, pp. 428-450.

76) BLUM, *Noble Landowners...*, p. 49.

77) NIEDERHAUSER, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

78) *Ibid.*, p. 154.

79) BLUM, *Noble Landowners...*, p. 49.

80) NIEDERHAUSER, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

81) *Ibid.*, p. 90.

The most unlikely gesture of peasant discontent took the form of a temperance movement organized among the Poles by the Roman Catholic Church. The tremendous increase in vodka production after 1820 brought the price of the liquor down and sent alcoholism soaring in Galicia. Drunkenness, the product of ignorance and misery, killed hundreds. Temperance societies on the Irish model were introduced into Germany by a certain Father Matthew. The movement reached Upper Silesia, where it was sponsored by Father Jan Ficek, and in 1844 caught on in Poznan, Galicia and Congress Poland. Its influence was enormous. Within a few months 500,000 people had signed the pledge in Upper Silesia and 800,000 in West Galicia. The *propinatio* (profits from the lords' monopoly on distilling liquor and retailing it in the taverns) fell to nothing. The Austrian government took no action, but the government of the Congress Kingdom issued an ukase in 1844 putting a progressive tax on the production of liquor in an effort to curb alcoholism. In Prussian Poland the government purchased the *szlachta's propinatio* in 1845, using a tax-fed sinking fund to pay for it. Temperance, a casualty of the revolutionary crisis of 1846, achieved nothing, for it attacked a symptom of a social malaise without affecting its causes.⁸²⁾

Before the Galician revolt of 1846, little unrest disturbed the German provinces or Hungary. During the cholera epidemic of 1831 violence broke out in several northern counties of Hungary and there were local revolts over pasturage rights in Lower Austria in the 1830s. Arrests and exemplary punishments had been enough to quell these. Troops had to be called out in Lower Austria in 1834 to put down more serious protests against new tax regulations. During the spring of 1835 the Lower Austrian estates convened in Vienna to consider peasant demonstrations that had accompanied village meetings to discuss the abolition of servile obligations. In April they petitioned the Emperor on the grounds that the demonstrations were a danger to the state, but nothing more was done.⁸³⁾

The revolt of 1846, however, was a crisis that none could disregard. Talk on all sides centered on the necessity of sweeping reform but a Patent for Galicia published on April 13, 1846, failed to touch on any of the problems of the moment.⁸⁴⁾ Finally, on December 18, 1846, a Decree for the German and Slav Provinces was proclaimed. It proved to be only a paper decree that reiterated an equally empty decree of September 1, 1798, but it did succeed in making obvious to noble and peasant that the government was not yet ready for reform. Grünberg pinpoints its consequence:

Thereafter the peasant would have a ready ear for the promises of those who were plotting the downfall of the old regime. He would no longer hold himself aloof from their agitation, as once he had. In this way the decree of December 18, 1846, had great indirect influence and was of much importance for further political developments and for the history of the revolution of 1848.⁸⁵⁾

82) KIENIEWICZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-117.

83) BLUM, *Noble Landowners...*, p. 208. "The deterioration of the serfs' conditions thus came about for various reasons: natural population growth, certain state regulations, old-fashioned technology, expropriations of the serfs' tenements, and finally an increase in the robot, a form of lordly exploitation". MÉREI, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

84) BLUM, *Noble Landowners...*, p. 228; NIEDERHAUSER, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

85) NIEDERHAUSER, *op. cit.*, p. 231; GRÜNBERG, *op. cit.*, I, 375.

So the peasantry became the determining factor in their own emancipation, for they were the reformist-nationalistic gentry's reserves against absolutism. Yet in the event they became the praetorian guards of the czarist and Habsburg regimes in 1864 and 1849 respectively, as soon as these counterrevolutionary systems had granted them their minimal aspirations: the end of hereditary servitude, freedom of their persons, remission of their feudal obligations, and the grant of property rights. Once satisfied, they dissociated themselves from the revolutions and insurrections, but by deserting their allies among the liberal gentry, they also banished the possibility of further gains from more advantageous legislation.

The Effects of Emancipation

Emancipation, at last achieved, varied from territory to territory, but there were consequences common to it everywhere in Eastern Europe. They were the result of emancipation being granted from above by conservative forces and realizing the goals of the reformist gentry. These consequences were:

The military and fiscal needs of the state did not suffer.

The economic wellbeing of the entrepreneurial gentry, the bourgeoisie and the rich peasantry was secure.

The huge demesne estates survived.

The peasantry paid redemption for their former servile obligations (in some places more, in some places less, sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly, but assuredly they paid).

The free ownership of peasant property allowed the rich peasants to accumulate land and so hastened the stratification of the peasantry.

The vast number of emancipated landless peasants became the labor pool for industrial development and the source of continued social discontent.

Emancipation was the precondition for agrarian revolution and the capitalist transformation of the whole economic system. The process of emancipation did not include among its ingredients the political status of the serfs: that was another problem that would be resolved during the protracted struggle for democracy. Emancipation, in fact, refers solely to the ending of the feudal relationship between lord and serf. Once it had been accomplished, the peasant's position was less burdensome than it had been, but there was still a long road for him to travel before he could call himself, in the fullest possible sense, a truly free man and a citizen.

IRENA M. ROSEVEARE
(LONDON)

WIELOPOLSKI'S REFORMS AND THEIR FAILURE
BEFORE THE UPRISING OF 1863

Editor's Note:

More than a century has elapsed since the Polish Military Action against the Russians took place in 1863.

Very much has been written on the subject.

One group treats the events as an uprising, "Powstanie", i.e. a legal war against the Russian invader, the other opinion is that the "uprising of 1863" was a revolution against an established government.

Each of these points of view is closely connected with the general problem of Polish-Russian relations.

We keep our periodical open to both ideas on the events of 1863, and let the author express her historiosophical opinions.

ABSTRACT.

The 1840's in Poland saw the birth of the so-called "organic group", that is people united by the common desire to abandon, or at least postpone the political aspirations of Poles and to concentrate their energies on the economic and cultural advancement of their country.

The chief promoters of this new trend in the Kingdom of Poland were Andrew Zamoyski and Alexander Wielopolski. At the accession of Tsar Alexander II and the initiation of the liberal era in Russia, it looked as if of the two men, Zamoyski might be the one chosen by the Russian government to lead Poland on the road to self-government. However, when in 1861 Alexander cautiously granted home rule to the Kingdom of Poland, it was Wielopolski who was given official sanction and who eventually became the head of the civil government in the Kingdom. Zamoyski was too proud and too sensitive of public opinion to ask, cajole or compromise with the Russian government; Wielopolski did all this and confidently worked for the economic, cultural and administrative reforms in the Kingdom. However, the reform granted

by Alexander II came too late. The leniency of his rule, the Italian war, hopes based on the nationalistic tendencies of Louis Napoleon aroused the imagination of the nascent Polish middle class which raised the old cry for complete independence. The attempt at liberation which flared out in January 1863 failed disastrously and the vengeance of the Russian government expressed itself in savage destruction of all aspects of Polish national life. Wielopolski, a broken man, had to leave the country but the short spell of his rule showed what a group of determined people could do for their country even when their plans had to find the approval of distant Petersburg.

CONTENTS.

I. The Failure of the Revolutionary Ideas in Poland (1831-48), p. 88. II. The State of the Kingdom of Poland on the Accession of Alexander II (1855), p. 109. III. Expectations of Reforms, p. 135. IV. Wielopolski in Office (1861), p. 154. V. The Year of Trial and Failure (1862-63), p. 180.

I. THE FAILURE OF REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS IN POLAND (1831-1848)

The ultimate goal of Polish political aspirations throughout the period of foreign rule was to restore a united, independent Polish state; but the various political groups and individuals followed different paths each believing that his own would lead to this final object. This was only natural, as the Polish national leaders had derived their ideas from the divergent social and political programmes of the West.

The years from 1831 to 1863 stand out in the post-partition history of Poland as a period rich in political plans for a restoration of Poland. They varied from clandestine plots to the solitary attempt of Marquess Wielopolski who aimed at an open reconciliation with Russia based on a set of reforms in the Kingdom of Poland alone, as the key to his far-reaching idea of a Slavonic state under the Russian sceptre. That he was at all able to succeed in the partial realization of his immediate task and that his reforms found some support was largely due to the complete breakdown of the two main programmes worked out by the leaders of the political parties in exile after the November Revolution of 1830-1831.

The exodus of the former insurgents embraced about 8 to 9 thousand people: "the majority were military men, (in a ratio of three officers to one private). According to their social origin three quarters of the emigrants belonged to the gentry class, and one fourth to the peasant and plebeian classes".¹⁾ Yet the officers and other ranks did not

¹⁾ *Historia Polski 1795-1864*, ed. by T. MENCZEL, T. LEPKOWSKI, W. LUKASZEWICZ, and S. KIENIEWICZ, p. 102.

monopolize the emigration: it also contained in its circles former members of the national government and deputies from the Diet, as well as writers, poets and artists. Most of these men had made their names in Poland, before or during the Revolution, and for this reason were looked upon as truly national leaders. On account of the strict censorship and repressive system of government at home they held this leadership for more than a decade. Professor Kieniewicz thus assessed the influence of the émigrés:

"In the thirties the initiative in political activities came from the émigrés and was held in the hands of the Lelewelites. At this period the forms of the political movement in Poland were those of the democracy of the gentry.

After 1840 the initiative was chiefly in the hands of the Polish Democratic Society, but the national movement at home was almost entirely emancipated from the control of the émigrés and its forms were becoming strongly democratic and revolutionary".²⁾

The coming of the liberal era of Alexander II revealed the existence of groups of people well prepared to take over the leadership at home. The émigrés never recovered their former position afterwards, although Adam Czartoryski personally enjoyed great prestige until his death in 1861 and his son Władysław played a large part in the January Uprising of 1863, not however, as a leader, but as an agent of the National Government in Warsaw.

Collectively the exiles of the November Revolution constituted what has been termed by the Polish historians as "The Great Emigration". The names of Czartoryski and Lelewel and Mochnacki, Słowacki, Mickiewicz and Chopin will always be associated with this group. Later they were joined by a new wave which included the poet, Cyprian Norwid, one of the Warsaw group of bohemians, by Jeż-Miłkowski, by Klaczko, a journalist from Vilna, and Kalinka, another journalist and historian from Galicia. Zygmunt Krasiński, often stayed among them, finding, unlike his father, the life in Warsaw unbearable under the rule of Paskevitch.

Politically the exiles split into two camps: the monarchists or conservatives, and the democrats or revolutionaries. The conservatives formed a disciplined group headed by Prince Adam Czartoryski, former President of the revolutionary National Government, a man whose devoted and unselfish services to his country caused the entire confiscation of his vast estates in the Kingdom. In opposition to this group stood the democrats, undisciplined and factious, but larger in number than the conservatives and until the disastrous revolution in Galicia in 1846 and in Poznań in 1848, more popular in Poland. The supremacy of different democratic groups largely depended on the success of their parallel organizations in the West.

The years 1831-33 were the period of the Carbonari. The number of the Polish Carbonari in France was sufficient to establish a separate Polish lodge in direct contact with the "*Suprême Vente Universelle*". People like Zaliwski, Worcell, Stolzman or Krępowiecki began as

2) *Ibid*, p. 116.

Carbonari or moved, like for instance Worcell, from freemasonry to carbonarism and finally to the Polish Democratic Society.

The failure of the Carbonari to stir up a general revolution in Europe opened the way for Mazzini's "Young Europe" with its motto "every nation struggles for its own freedom". "Young Poland" formed in Switzerland in May 1834, exercised a wide influence in Poland for a long time, even in the forties, when the moderate Polish Democratic Society was already gaining much ground.

Somewhat apart from the two broad movements of the democrats and the conservatives stood the solitary figure of Joachim Lelewel. Although not a member of the Polish Democratic Society he was present:

"at the birth of every organization, but belonged to none (except perhaps Young Poland) and infected everybody with his doubts... along with his indomitable faith in certain though remote victory of what in unspecified and undefined language could be called his belief in humane, social and national justice for Poland... Connected with international groups from Carbonari to Marx and Engels not excluding Bakunin, he constantly defended the purity of the Polish cause and guarded it".³⁾

He was active from the very beginning of his exile: already in December 1831 he formed in Paris a "Polish National Committee" to "watch over national interests and fortunes of Poles torn away from their country".⁴⁾ The most important duty of the exiles was in Lelewel's opinion — contact with Poland. With this object in view he despatched emissaries as for instance, Józef Zaliwski.

In December 1832, the French police put a stop to the existence of the Polish National Committee. A few weeks later all the former members of the committee were ordered to leave Paris. But Lelewel was not to be defeated: suspending the public activities of the committee, Lelewel called into being a new, secret cell of similar composition especially to support Zaliwski's guerilla. In 1835 he formed yet another organization called "The Union of the Children of the Polish People": "it was a most secret organization and established solely for the purpose of activities in Poland".⁵⁾ It served as a link between Young Poland and the conspiratorial movement in Poland.

Eventually Lelewel and some of his followers were expelled from France altogether, after they had formed yet another organization called "Confederation of the Polish Nation" with the motto "Freedom and Social Equality". Lelewel settled in Brussels where he continued his activities.

He was a lonely man and not many shared his opinions: he advocated co-operation with the Russian revolutionaries and believed, unlike Czartoryski, that "every nation should strive to liberate itself by its own strength".⁶⁾ Already at the beginning of his exile, when the Polish

3) M. HANDELSMAN: *Adam Czartoryski*, vol. I, p. 250.

4) S. KIENIEWICZ: *Samotnik Brukselski*, pp. 11-12.

5) *Ibid*, p. 90.

6) *Ibid*, p. 89.

National Committee was still in existence, he issued the following appeal to the Russian revolutionaries: —

"There is friendship between freedom-loving peoples. If you love your freedom, such friendship exists between you and us... The grand thought of a great Slavonic federation, born on the shores of the Neva can be fulfilled only through our common regeneration. Start from yourselves, Russians, erect an altar to freedom in place of an idol already worshipped to excess."⁷⁾

It was this manifesto that caused Lelewel's expulsion from Paris.

Another man who greatly influenced Polish political thought in exile was Maurycy Mochnecki. The democrats gradually came to accept his principles that a preparatory period was necessary before an armed uprising could take place in Poland, and that undue reliance should not be based on foreign assistance. Both parties in exile followed his advice on the need for a strong central authority that could control the whole conspiratorial network spread over the dismembered country. The means by which the two parties wanted to achieve the independence of Poland, were entirely different. The conservatives believed that the partitions had ruined the European balance of power and that the Polish question was bound to reappear as a European issue each time peaceful conditions in Europe were broken. They linked the Polish question with the Eastern question and looked forward to a major Eastern war against Russia as a means of deliverance for Poland. Also, Czartoryski had his own theory of a Slavonic Federation. His policy aimed at a reconciliation between the Turkish government and its foreign subjects by:

"continuous friendly mediation between the Porte and her Christian subjects and vassals, preaching patience and mutual good will, and protecting them against persecution and oppression. It tried to obtain for them political home rule or at least local self-government, and thus to pave the way towards their peaceful emancipation without breaking for the time being their links of allegiance with Turkey, but under the protection and with the support of the Western powers and with Poland's brotherly help."⁸⁾

Parallel to his far-reaching plans Czartoryski followed a less ambitious course which limited his task to securing for Poland the rights and institutions promised to her by the Treaty of Vienna. He insisted that this could be achieved if the Western Powers were willing to exercise some pressure on the partitioning governments through diplomatic channels, lobbying in the Parliaments of France and England, and appropriate articles in the Western press. Most of the speeches made in the British Parliament on behalf of Poland had been originally suggested by Czartoryski. The friends of Poland, such as Lord Dudley Stuart, Harrowby, Fox Strangeway and others, including Stratford Canning, were in the first place personal friends of Czartoryski, or his London representative and nephew, Władysław Zamoyski. It was through Lord Dudley Stuart, and after his death through Lord Harrowby, that

7) *Ibid*, p. 17.

8) M. KURIEL: *Czartoryski and European Unity, 1770-1861*, p. 246.

Czartoryski's innumerable memoranda reached the British cabinet ministers.

In France, the role of Lord Dudley Stuart was played by Count Montalembert — "an enthusiast, but less disinterested, having other objectives besides Poland and being above all a peer of France and a Catholic, though a liberal one".⁹⁾ In France the aristocracy was not as powerful as it was in Britain, but Czartoryski succeeded in establishing contact with members of Louis Philippe's government. Victor de Broglie had already been a frequent guest at Czartoryski's house in Warsaw in 1812, and now in Paris he was his "honest ally".¹⁰⁾ Czartoryski could also rely on the friendly assistance in the French Assembly of Odilon, Barrot, Bignon and Mauquin.

The seizure of power by Louis Napoleon opened wider scope for the influence of Czartoryski's party in France, especially when his son, Władysław, married an Amparo and became a frequent guest at the court. Prince Adam placed great hopes in Louis Napoleon's dreams of a European Congress.

In one man of the Second Empire Czartoryski was completely disappointed: in Alexander Walewski. It was in vain that Czartoryski was trying to impress upon him the duties towards the country of his maternal ancestors, the country which gave Walewski his name and his title. The chief object of Walewski's activities was always his own career "for which he trembled".¹¹⁾

As for the press Czartoryski secured for his party *The British and Foreign Review* edited by Campbell, and after him by Wentworth Beaumont, both of whom were members of the Polish Literary Association in London, run by the adherents of Czartoryski. Reeve and Greville also contributed to this periodical, as well as David Urquhart. Both Reeve and Greville had access to the *Journal des Débats* and to the *Revue des Deux Mondes* in France, where they could expound Czartoryski's opinions on the Eastern and Polish questions. From 1836, Urquhart published the *Portfolio*, revealing the secret diplomatic documents which Czartoryski was able to abstract from the Chancery of Grand Duke Constantine in Warsaw. As the time went on, Czartoryski lost his influence over Beaumont. Beaumont refused to follow blindly the guidance of Zamoyski who wished to force upon him his own views on the Eastern Question. He declined to commit himself on it; he also refused to follow Urquhart or to devote himself to foreign politics exclusively.¹²⁾ His position remained strong in the press in France and Germany. In England, in the early thirties, *The Times* often accepted articles coming from Czartoryski's party, but in the later period, when *The Times* became a power in its own right, "whenever, through the influence of Lord Dudley Stuart or Reeve, an article appeared in *The Times*, it was looked upon as a triumph equal to that in Parliament in the old days".¹³⁾

9) M. HANDELSMAN: *Adam Czartoryski*, vol. II, p. 44.

10) *Ibid.*

11) *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 112.

12) *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 47.

13) *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 45.

The democrats, unlike Czartoryski, discarded cabinet talks and appeals to public opinion; they believed in the solidarity of all European nations in the struggle against absolutist states and were, at least in the thirties, continually on the alert for a general European revolution which would give to the people national unity and a Constitution. The corner stone of their revolutionary plans was the peasant question. They argued that the November Revolution had failed because peasants were not freed from labour service and endowed with land. This, in their opinion, was the reason why the peasants remained passive, thus depriving the country of its potential defenders. The democrats were not, however, unanimous in their approach to this question. The left wing of the Polish Democratic Society formed by Krępowiecki in March 1832, were radical on this point and in their Manifesto of the same year they spoke of "the soil and its fruits held by all in common".¹⁴⁾ Krępowiecki suggested that the struggle for freedom should be accompanied by struggle against the gentry "who should be deprived of all their land".¹⁵⁾

The Principles of the so called "*Centralizacja*" headed by Victor Heltman, which comprised the bulk of the Polish democrats in exile, were more moderate. As professor Kieniewicz has pointed out, their Manifesto of 1836 "was a step backwards in comparison with the Manifesto of 1832".¹⁶⁾ This Manifesto (called the Great to distinguish it from that of 1832 which was called Small) advocated the endowment of peasants with land without indemnity to the landowners and it put forward the principle of "all for the people through the people", as the primary purpose of the existence of a democratic society, but at the same time the gentry were reassured that the democrats were "far from having any wish to expose our native land to spoliation and ravage". If, however,

"the indispensable reform of the social system and its consequent independence cannot be accomplished without violence, if the people should be obliged to become severe judges of the past, avengers of the wrongs they have suffered... we will not sacrifice the happiness of twenty millions of human beings to a handful of the privileged and if the blood of brethren must be shed, be it on the heads of those, who with criminal obstinacy shall prefer their own selfish interests to the common weal and the enfranchisement of their fatherland".¹⁷⁾

The Polish Democratic Society further stated that the principles of individual property and free enterprise were the chief promoters of all human activities.

The promise of democratic liberties was the key to the restoration of Poland: the Democratic Society stated in the Great Manifesto that Poland could rise by its own strength and throw off the yoke. The programme of the Manifesto of 1836 was not achieved without internal strife. Its publication was preceded by an open breach between the

14) *Historia Polski 1795-1864*, ed. T. MENCEL, T. LEPKOWSKI, W. ŁUKASZEWICZ and S. KIENIEWICZ, p. 106.

15) *Ibid*, p. 106.

16) *Ibid*, p. 109.

17) *Manifesto of the Polish Democratic Society*, p. 15-16.

two sections of the Polish Democratic Society in France — the radicals in Paris and the moderates in Poitiers. Members who refused to comply with the Manifesto, such as Worcell, Krępowiecki and some others, were expelled from the Polish Democratic Society. — They joined a radical group of Polish democrats living in Portsmouth in England and all of them openly declared themselves on the side of a scheme for property holding in common. The great majority of the exiles in Portsmouth, members of the rank and file in the Revolution of 1830-31, had spent some time imprisoned in a Prussian fortress in Grudziądz in Western Prussia, and in memory of that event they called their new organization "The Community of the Polish People from Grudziądz" (*Gromada Ludu Polskiego Grudziądz*). Their Manifesto of October 30th 1835, accused the Polish Democratic Society of abandoning the gentry and replacing it with the industrial and trading classes. Soon several other "communities" were formed, as for instance that in Jersey, but when Worcell left them in 1840 and joined the London Section of the Polish Democratic Society, the communities began to decline.

Unification was not meant for the democrats. Differences in their outlook on social questions were not the only thing which made unity impossible. They formed half-secret groups which preserved links with their clandestine nuclei even if formally joined together in a large organization. Besides, the French government looked very suspiciously at any sign of closer co-operation between various democratic groups. Polish democrats of all shades of opinion were part and parcel of that great international movement that was threatening the established order in Europe and for this reason were suspect to all governments which stood for peace and order. The "Polish National Committee" headed by Lelewel, communicated with the "*Ami du peuple*" led by Godefroy Cavaignac and Raspail, and a secret organization of the same name was established in Galicia in the early thirties, while the Carbonari were in touch with "*Aide toi - le ciel t'aidera*".

Contacts between Poland and the emigration could be maintained only through secret channels and this brought even Czartoryski to dabbling in conspiracy. Practically all Polish émigré organizations borrowed their structure from the Freemasons or the Carbonari; they usually consisted of two parts: one open and another secret with several grades of initiation. Outwardly, Czartoryski aspired only to direct public opinion in Poland, especially that of the gentry and the aristocracy — the two classes which he wanted to see as leading national groups, reserving some room for the growing bourgeoisie. He wanted to gain an insight into their aspirations and to express these aspirations before Europe. But at the same time he strove to prepare the country for the moment of the distant liberation. This was the purpose of his scheme for an organization which would cover the whole of Poland with all its secret channels directed towards Hotel Lambert, his Paris residence. Its programme involved a membership of five grades: the members of the first grade, the lowest, the so-called "triangles" were instructed to preserve and intensify the national spirit; only the members of the fifth grade were initiated into the real object of the organization, which was to struggle for the independence of Poland and to influence governments and public opinion in favour of Poland. The work of the people belonging to the fifth grade was under Czartoryski's direct

supervision. His plan for the reconstruction of Poland also rested on five principles: "1) equality before the law; 2) personal freedom and the freedom of speech and religion; 3) inviolability of the rights of property; 4) ownership of land by the peasants by safeguarding their acquired rights, and 5) a united and strong government".¹⁸⁾

It is difficult to estimate to what extent Czartoryski succeeded in accomplishing his programme. His work in exile shows that he and his trusted associates were faithfully carrying out the fifth point of the plan: supported by his "supreme Council" Czartoryski indefatigably cultivated the friendship of everyone of importance in government, parliament or the press. Whenever the slightest possibility of active struggle for the independence of Poland arose, he was ready to rush even to the help of the opposite camp, as he did in 1846 when he publicly recognized the ephemeral National Government of the democratic revolution in Galicia and was punished for this by the Austrian government with the sequestration of his Galician estate of Sieniawa. He tried to take advantage of every European conflict that involved the use of arms to form a Polish Legion as a nucleus of a future regular army: such was the case with the wars of Mehemet Ali, the Carlist Wars, the revolution of 1848 and the Crimean War. This kind of policy was bitterly opposed by the democrats who expressed their dissociation on several occasions, claiming that "our blood completely and exclusively is due only to our motherland".¹⁹⁾ Their resentment at involving Polish émigrés in European conflicts exploded in total condemnation of the gentry whom the democrats made responsible for all "the past political and social crimes".

As for Poland, he was able to establish a network of correspondents in all the old provinces of Poland who periodically sent him reports on the state of affairs in the country and in turn received information on the political situation in Europe, and were instructed as to their activities. It seems that Czartoryski had a firm foothold in Poznań where many exiles settled and where the nobility and the gentry were more prepared to conspire untroubled by the peasant question which was being solved "by the Prussian way" since 1821.

Thus doctor Karol Marcinkowski, Czartoryski's family doctor who settled in Poznań in 1836 brought with him an instruction from Czartoryski, dated October 14th 1834, advising the citizens of the Principality that their aim should be "to stand in readiness everywhere without however compromising themselves",²⁰⁾ and to establish contacts with Lithuania, Congress Poland and Galicia; to "guard old Prussia, Gdańsk, Elbląg and Königsberg".²¹⁾

Guttry, a progressive landowner from Poznań, who already in the early forties took part in the conspiracy directed by the Polish Democratic Society, was on friendly terms with Dr. Marcinkowski and in his *Memoirs* refers on several occasions to talks with him. In the Kingdom of Poland Czartoryski's correspondent was Górski, who also belonged to

18) M. HANDELSMAN: *Adam Czartoryski*, vol. I, p. 267.

19) *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 253-254.

20) *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 272.

21) *Loc. cit.*

the editorial body of *Roczniki Gospodarstwa Krajowego* formed by a group of progressive landowners working for the improvement of agriculture in the Kingdom of Poland. This group was headed and inspired by A. Zamoyski. In this way Czartoryski could probably exercise some influence on this group behind the back of his nephew. The British consuls in Warsaw, Du Plat, Barnet and from 1857 William Arthur White, the consular clerk, were all, to say the least, his admirers.

It seems that Czartoryski had a great prestige among the gentry because his emissaries were telling them to be cautious and refrain from any premature desperate steps; but the gentry were unwilling to acknowledge their subordination to distant headquarters. In 1833, one of Czartoryski's agents went to Galicia and held talks with the chief conservatives in the province, such as Popiel, Helcel and Wielopolski, who were all anxious to have contacts with the Hotel Lambert but were satisfied to keep them at the level of casual, unbinding meetings. Already at that time they were quietly "turning towards Russia".²²⁾ In general, the gentry were very cautious, having too much to lose in case of the discovery of the conspiracy, and those among them who were bolder and more patriotic joined the democratic camp, as Dzeduszycki or Wiesiołowski in Galicia. On the whole, it seems that Czartoryski's party, well organized abroad with a smoothly working bureau at the Hotel Lambert and a set of devoted agents in most of the capitals in Europe, remained in a fragmentary state in Poland. The democratic organizations, whether Young Poland or the Polish Democratic Society, made much better headway in organizing the country.

The irresponsible expedition of a Carbonaro — Zaliwski — undertaken in March 1833, ended in three executions and was followed by a rigorous investigation in Galicia which led to the expulsion of the émigrés from this province and to numerous arrests. The trials dragged on till 1837 and more than 50 people were involved in them. Nine of them were sentenced to imprisonment in Kufstein, the sentences varying from 5 to 20 years. The arrests and expulsion of the émigrés left the rank and file of the conspirators without any leadership. This was readily assumed by the emissaries of Young Poland, a movement which, never extensive in exile, was widespread in Poland, due largely to the indefatigable work of the emissary Szymon Konarski. This new organization, although directed by Young Poland in exile and in communication with Lelewel, was known in Poland under the name of "The Association of the Polish People". It embraced all the territories of the former Poland. Konarski initiated it in Warsaw and in Lithuania, others spread it to Volhynia and Bielorrussia. The Association acted very cautiously and both its tactics and its programme resembled that of Czartoryski for his pan-Polish organization. Their ultimate object was to struggle for independence, but in the meantime they envisaged a period of preparation in which an efficient organization would take roots. It was divided into provinces, districts, circles and communes. Each province had its own chapter with a Supreme Chapter in Cracow, then the centre of all conspiracies, until its annexation by Austria in 1846. — But while Czartoryski aspired to act on the upper classes, the Association of the Polish People worked chiefly to improve the lot of the peasants, by

22) *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 269.

educating them and by persuading the landowners to be kind and understanding towards them. The Association encouraged folklore and the use of the Ruthenian and Biorussian languages in poetry so that the printed word might "find its way under the thatched roof". They did not work out any detailed programme for the endowment of the peasants with land. In a way it was an idealistic movement of intellectuals, artists, lawyers and officials with a sprinkling of progressive landowners. The interest taken by Polish literature in social problems, in the poor and oppressed, dates from this period. There was a lot of sentimentalism in it: a landowner, a lawyer by education, put on a peasant costume and became a shepherd. Under this main current of sentimentalism one can already trace the presence of communist accents in the movement: this is evident in a publication of Konarski called "The North" ("Północ") where he wrote in its issue of the 30th April 1835: —

"Our chief object is to free our country... We know that sacrifices are needed, but at the same time in the course of a war for independence and freedom social inequalities will be levelled also, individual property will become a public treasure, and the whole population one family of soldiers".²³⁾

The song: "We salute you, Lords, Magnates, for our slavery, our fetters..." was also composed in that period by Gustav Ehrenberg. The poems of Richard Berwiński from Poznań also expressed apprehension of a possibility of a fratricidal struggle.

The work of the Association of the Polish People was as usual interrupted by discovery and arrests. The organization was too widespread and too closely connected with the similar organizations in Hungary. The discovery of the Hungarian plot led to heavy arrests in Galicia. This time the toll of death was much heavier than in 1833. Several suicides and a few natural deaths in prison probably spared some from execution: 14 people were sent to Siberia from the Kingdom of Poland and about a dozen in Galicia were sentenced for long-term imprisonment in Kufstein. But the imagination of the people was caught by the fate of Konarski. The Russian government obtained information about him from the Russian Embassy in Paris. Arrested in May 1838, he underwent most painful tortures and was shot on the 27th February, 1839, in Pohulanka near Vilna, later in the years 1861-62 a place of pilgrimage of Patriots.²⁴⁾

From 1837 the Polish Democratic Society in France directed all its efforts to bringing all the conspiracies under its control. They made good headway in Poznań where in the early forties a Democratic Committee was formed in Poznań which included one of the most prominent and popular names — that of Karol Libelt.

From the accession of Frederick William to the throne in 1840 life in Poznań became less oppressive and the police less watchful. It was only for this reason that this province could become a centre of conspiracy gradually replacing Cracow. Numerous refugees flying from possible arrest in Congress Poland, settled in Poznań infecting the local conspirators with distrust towards the Central Committee of the

23) B. LIMANOWSKI: *Historia Demokracji Polskiej w epoce porozbiorowej*, Part. I, p. 333.

24) W. Łukaszewicz questions the truth of the story about tortures.

Polish Democratic Society. These tendencies were especially strong in Congress Poland where the name of Lelewel was still popular. The chief antagonists of the Polish Democratic Society were Kamiński and Dembowski, two aristocratic revolutionaries.

People like Dembowski argued that it was more dangerous to have a large organization because in case of the discovery of a single cell, the police had a better chance of tracing further linking groups. It seems that the Poles at home simply began to distrust the leadership of the exiles who were sometimes too garrulous and heedless of the watchfulness of the Russian embassies. The conspirators in Congress Poland were under the spell of the night of the 29th November, 1830, when the bold attempts of a group of cadets provoked a national revolution. Now, they had greater hopes of success: the future revolution would be supported by the peasants lured by the idea of unrestricted property of the soil. In case of a revolution every peasant: "farmer, cottager etc., cultivating no matter how much land in exchange for labour service, rent or any other dues, becomes a free-holder of all his land without any obligations whatsoever to anybody."²⁵⁾ As for landless peasants, "the motherland will take care of them as soon as the most pressing matter, that is the expulsion of the enemy, is accomplished".²⁶⁾ For this no conspiracy was necessary: "Everybody of resolute mind who is either told about the forth-coming outbreak or learns about it at its beginning should in this critical hour... stand in front of the peasants and tell them about the parallel social revolution".²⁷⁾ Kamiński was hopeful that in every village at least a single man would be found ready "to give the message to the people, thus finding many soldiers ready to start the struggle".²⁸⁾ The events of 1863 did not corroborate this belief but the romantic revolutionaries were certain of their theories.

Both the Poznanian Committee and the Central Committee of the Polish Democratic Society were against an immediate uprising. On the one hand they were waiting for a more propitious moment in Europe, and on the other, trying to win over the gentry, whom they considered too important to be left out. In Poznan the gentry were better disposed towards the Polish Democratic Society than in Galicia or in the Congress Kingdom. This was chiefly due to the emancipation of the peasants, which was progressing satisfactorily in that province according to the "Prussian model" introduced in 1823. The gentry in Poznan did not fear that a national revolution would turn against them. The emissaries of the Central Committee were offered friendly shelter in the country houses of the gentry.

The gentry in Galicia were more difficult to handle. The idea of the emancipation of the peasants produced here visions of a social upheaval. But even here the patient work of such people as Count Franciszek Wiesiołowski, Wiśniowski and others, was beginning to show that "all,

25) H. KAMIŃSKI, pseud. Filaret Prawdowski: *O prawdach żywotnych narodu polskiego*, pp. 71-72.

26) *Ibid*, p. 176.

27) *Ibid*, p. 174.

28) *Ibid*, pp. 174-175.

rich and poor, aristocrats and lordlings, gentry and nouveaux-riches... were beginning to stir".²⁹⁾ It seems that the Poznanian Committee wanted to bring the gentry to the point where they would themselves announce freedom and ownership to the peasants at the outbreak of the revolution. This was actually done by those landowners who took part in the ill-fated revolution of 1846. But the enthusiasts such as Kamiński and Dembowski remained deaf to all arguments. In 1844 their position was so strong that they might have taken complete control over revolutionary plots into their hands, deprived the Poznanian Committee and the emigration of their leadership, and perhaps even raised the standard of revolution themselves. The Committee did not want to see their prestige snatched from them or to leave the country at the mercy of enthusiastic hotheads. They decided rather to come to terms with them by co-opting some of them to the Committee and starting preparations for an uprising.

The external situation was most unpropitious: the Galician emissaries were told by Kossuth for the Hungarians, that "although they did not believe in the possible effectiveness of the Polish uprising, if it were to take place and be successful, we could count on Hungarian co-operation, if only we postponed the outbreak for a few weeks".³⁰⁾ The emissaries sent to Bohemia and Slovakia brought home the reports that "not only would the young come to assist the Poles at the first calling, but even a whole cavalry regiment would join in at the first news of the outbreak in Poland".³¹⁾ Wiesiołowski, an incorrigible optimist, called this "very good news". He relates complacently that about 700 people were in the plot in Lwów and about a thousand in Tarnów in Galicia.³²⁾ This is a large number of reckless enthusiasts ready to risk their necks for a struggle without glory, but an insignificant one for an army.

The plans of the uprising were drawn by Mierosławski, a member of the Central Committee who was appointed the commander of the coming revolution. The uprising was to begin at the end of February 1846 in Galicia, and to be reinforced by an expedition from Poznania. The conspirators were hoping to secure the neutrality of Prussia by making a proclamation that they were fighting solely against Russia. Austria would be prevented from opening hostilities against them by the uprising in Hungary and in Slovakia.

It would be futile to discuss the possibility of success for this plan as it never had a chance of being applied in practice. The intensive preparations revived the suspicion of the police in Poznania who succeeded in arresting Mierosławski. Soon Libelt and more than a hundred other conspirators were imprisoned. Although at the last moment the emissaries from the Central Committee revoked the orders for the uprising, owing to the general confusion an attempt was made in the Congress Kingdom and another one on a larger scale in Galicia. The Galician revolution survived for ten days but had been cut at its root by the peasant massacre of the gentry.

29) FR. WIESIOŁOWSKI: *Pamiętnik z roku 1845-1846*, p. 82.

30) *Loc. cit.*

31) *Ibid.*, p. 2.

32) *Ibid.*, pp. 75-89.

Already from the beginning of February 1846 bands of armed peasants were molesting travellers in various parts of Western Galicia and were coming out against the manor houses. The invasion of Tarnów by the insurgents, belonging mostly to the gentry, gave a signal for attacks on the gentry. In the course of a few days about "four hundred manor houses were destroyed and about one thousand landowners, leaseholders and manorial officials were killed".³³⁾ This phenomenon can, it seems, only be explained by the ignorance of the peasants. Professor Kieniewicz admits that the peasants in Galicia were "misled" by the Austrian bureaucracy.³⁴⁾ In the official language of the Austrian archives it is said that "the peasants abiding in loyalty to His Imperial Majesty everywhere withstood the promises of freedom from labour service, abolition of levies and other obligations..."³⁵⁾ The same source admits that "many cruelties were committed" by the peasants.³⁶⁾ They were amply rewarded for their services towards the government: by order of the authorities of the Gubernium of Lwów, the Kreishauptmann (*starosta*) was to "disburse suitable monetary rewards to those peasants who distinguished themselves in their resistance against the rebels, capturing them with zeal..."³⁷⁾ The leader of the peasant jaquerie, Jacob Szela, was amply rewarded by the government with a farm situated somewhat far away from his native village.

The peasant outbreak against the insurgents was a shock for the latter. They were still hoping that persuasion could be applied to change the minds of the peasants. Dembowski himself organized and headed a procession which left Cracow on the 27th February 1846, and proceeded towards the peasants units to explain to them the meaning of the Polish revolution, but in the suburbs of Cracow the procession was met by the Austrian infantry which fired at the insurgents and Dembowski was killed.

Having suppressed the untimely uprising, the Austrian government turned against the peasants. In April 1846, armed units of the Austrian army marched from village to village and forced the peasants to perform labour service by means of mass floggings.

In Congress Poland, Paskevitch was quick to draw a lesson for himself from the Galician massacre. The peasants who delivered to the authorities Pantaleon Potocki, a landowner who started an uprising in Siedlce not knowing that the revolt had been called off, were ceremonially decorated by the Field Marshal himself.³⁸⁾ Soon, an Ukaz was issued by Tsar Nicholas which drove a still deeper wedge between the peasants and the landowners. By the Ukaz of June the 7th, 1846, "concerning the peasants on privately owned estates", the landowners

33) *Historia Polski 1795-1864*, p. 135.

34) *Loc. cit.*

35) Circular of the Gubernium of Lwów to the subprefects, 25.II.1856. - *Wybór tekstów źródłowych z Historii Polski w latach 1795-1864*, edited by S. KIENIEWICZ, T. MENCZEL, Wł. ROSTOCKI, p. 596.

36) *Ibid.*, p. 596.

37) *Ibid.*, p. 597.

38) A. MINKOWSKA: *Organizacja spiskowa 1848 roku w Królestwie Polskim*, p. 6.

were forbidden to evict peasants who cultivated at least three acres of land. The Ukaz also abolished certain excessive obligations of the peasants towards their landowners, and from that time, all agreements according to which a money rent was paid instead of labour service had to be approved by the Council of Administration. These regulations, advantageous to the peasants, were resented by the landowners for political reasons, because of the interference of the state in relations between the landowners and the peasants. Thus the idea of the landowners voluntarily surrendering their privileges to win the confidence of the peasants and mould a national unity was buried. The peasants began to look forward to the Tsar as their future liberator.

In spite of the Galician massacres and the June Ukaz the Polish Democratic Society blindly followed the old path of rousing the peasants against the Russian government. The arrest of the radicals in the Congress Kingdom and in Galicia gave to the Polish Democratic Society a short-lived supremacy in the Kingdom of Poland. Early in 1847, J. Wysocki, an emissary of the Central Committee arrived safely in Warsaw where he made contact with a group of progressive women — the so-called "Warsaw enthusiasts" — and through them a new conspiracy was formed. This time the prospects for a general revolution seemed brighter than ever: a liberal Pope in Rome, strife between Cantons in Switzerland and a growing discontent in France. It looked as if this time the long cherished hopes for a general revolution might come true. When the events of 1848 did not produce the expected results, the democrats built up a legend that this was due to the ill-fated revolution of 1846. However, the course of events in 1848 outside Poland made simultaneous action impossible in any circumstances.

The Poles rose in Galicia and in Poznań at the news of the revolutions in Vienna and Berlin and followed the pattern of events in their capitals — opening prisons, forming national committees and national guards and sending deputations to the king and to the emperor respectively. The policy pursued by the Austrian and the Prussian governments during these early stages of the revolution does them credit. With admirable skill they put on a show of appeasement, making a few concessions to gain time while they gathered their forces to strike against the disputing revolutionaries; on the other hand, the period of apparent benevolence of the governments towards the revolution stifled the will to struggle.

The revolution of 1848 in Poznań, Lwów and Cracow revealed the existence of a strong body recruited from the bourgeoisie, prepared to be satisfied with local concessions. The Polish deputations, in Berlin on the 24th of March and in Vienna on the 6th of April, demanded "home rule": Polish officials in the administration and in the courts of law, local self-governing institutions and Polish schools. A demand for the restoration of Poland was also included in the petitions, with a promise of Polish assistance in a war against Russia. But the thought of a war against Russia was far removed from the minds of Frederick William or the circles surrounding the Austrian emperor. This idea of a war against Russia was fanned by the cries for a united Germany under Prussia. If this happened or if the revolution in Austria were victorious, Nicholas might have been forced into a war for fear of the safety of his own absolutist government and for fear of a powerful Germany. But the Prussian king did not desire a crown offered to him by the

people, and the Austrian government won support from the Croats against the Hungarians and preferred to call upon the Tsar for assistance instead of turning against him.

In such circumstances the insertion in the Polish petitions of a demand for the restoration of Poland was of purely sentimental value, a gesture which the deputies thought a proper thing to do. In further talks the deputies from Poznań as well as the members of the Poznań National Committee were prepared to act on the basis of the promised national reorganization of the Principality. In Galicia the tendency to come to terms with the Austrian government was even stronger. The so-called "black and yellow group" was unconditionally loyal to the government. Many influential citizens like Leon Sapieha, the initiator of the "organic work" in Galicia [i.e. the work for the economic and cultural improvement of the province], George Lubomirski, who thought of himself as the leader of the nobility in Galicia, Paweł Popiel or Adam Potocki, were forming their own party. Their object was to secure self-government according to the programme envisaged by the Constitution of April 25th. They were sceptical about the future of the revolution and resentful of "the street" or the mob. The emancipation of the peasants of April the 17th, and the formation in May of the "*Ruska Rada Hołowna*" (i.e. of a council of "Ukrainians" as the Ruthenians are named presently) in opposition to the Polish National Committee in Lwów, faced the Poles in Galicia with problems to be dealt with immediately, thus pushing aside the idea of independence.

The Kingdom of Poland did not stir. The conspiracy formed only a year before was too weak to come out into the open without the help of armed insurgents from the remaining provinces. Paskevitch introduced energetic police measures to secure peace and quiet although one must admit that these measures were rather irritating than brutal. The inhabitants of the towns were ordered to walk with lanterns in the evenings, to give up arms, to stay at home in case of a street riot "because decent people should not even be spectators of such incidents".³⁹⁾ In the country the civil governors were instructed by the circular of March the 27th, to order the peasants to capture and deliver to the authorities anyone who might incite them to a rebellion. At the same time, patrols of cossacks rode through the villages dispersing groups of peasants with blows of their knouts to prevent them from gossiping about the events abroad. Above all, Paskevitch forbade the publication of news from abroad. Even reprints from the *Journal de St. Pétersbourg* were banned, because this journal was written especially for the upper classes and not for the public in general, and therefore its articles were not suitable for the Warsaw press. The police watched carefully for any newcomer at the turn-pikes. Paskevitch succeeded in isolating the Kingdom from the outer world, and this is probably the reason why the Kingdom remained so quiet.

Both in Galicia and in Poznań it was the émigrés who fanned the revolutionary mood and made plans for the war with Russia, or raised the discussion in the National Committees to a higher pitch. With the outbreak of the revolution in Paris, the Polish exiles expected a French

39) A. MINKOWSKA, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

war of liberation. Czartoryski suggested to Lamartine the formation of a Polish legion and the democrats came out with similar proposals.

But above all it was the revolution in Germany and the hope of a united Germany under Prussia that brought the Polish hopes to a high pitch. Even Czartoryski was carried away and he rushed to Berlin to the great embarrassment of the Prussian government, of foreign diplomats and even of the Polish deputies in Berlin. Warmly welcomed by his countrymen and deferentially listened to, he was prevented from going to Poznań where the Poles either preferred to manage affairs themselves, or were under the influence of the Polish Democratic Society. As soon as Czartoryski realized the unlikelihood of a German war against Russia, he tried to influence the Prussian government, (using Circourt as his mouthpiece), to insist on a separation of Poznań from Prussia, and a reorganization of the province on the basis of a separate diet and a withdrawal of Prussian forces.⁴⁰⁾

Not so Mierosławski, who was appointed commander of the military department for Poznań and authorized to form a Polish army. It seems that Mierosławski believed that the revolution in Germany might spread to such an extent that a war with Russia would become inevitable. This may explain his acceptance of the new conditions forced upon him by General Willisen at Jarosławiec on the 11th of April, when he agreed to reduce his army from 10,000 to 4,000 men, as long as he was permitted to have four camps where he could train his recruits. In the meantime J. Wysocki was organizing a National Guard in Cracow as the nucleus of the future army. Wysocki wanted to form a regular army, with an infantry composed of peasants, cavalry from the gentry, and an auxiliary Polish Corps in Hungary. The decree of April the 17th destroyed his plans for a peasant infantry. The Galician revolutionaries made a last attempt to win over the peasants by means of a voluntary surrender of land. The petition to the emperor contained a clause about the abolition of labour service without redemption. More than a hundred noblemen offered the peasants the land under peasant cultivation. But the bulk of the gentry were too slow in making up their minds. Some were waiting for a formal decree of a national organization, others were afraid that a single act of surrender of the rights of property might undermine the principle of that right. A decision was precipitated by the arrival in Cracow of some members of the Polish Democratic Society. Most active among them was Leon Zienkowicz. Already on the 7th of April, they published an appeal to the landowners of Western Galicia urging them to grant the peasants in general a simultaneous abolition of labour service. The National Committee in Cracow agreed that the abolition of labour service without redemption would be proclaimed at the coming Easter.⁴¹⁾ This happened on the 8th of April, and Easter was on the 25rd of April. The Austrian government quickly intervened, forbidding the surrender of land which was mortgaged, and the Decree of the 17th of April cut short all further discussions. The bombardment of Cracow on the 26th of April ended revolutionary activities there, restricting them to the legal channels envisaged by the forthcoming

40) M. HANDELSMAN: *Adam Czartoryski*, vol. II, p. 252.

41) S. KIENIEWICZ: "Galicja w latach 1846-1848", w *stulecie Wiosny Ludów 1848-1948*, ed. by N. Gąsiorowska, vol. I, p. 297.

Constitution. Wysocki fled to Hungary and no more was said about his peasant infantry.

Meanwhile Mierosławski would not move without Galicia: "to throw the small Poznanian forces into the Kingdom of Poland without the co-operation of Galicia would be to repeat the tactics of Ostrołęka — to lose an army in a duel".⁴²⁾ The fate of Mierosławski's forces was decided by the Prussian military commanders, whose aggressiveness was increasing with the growth of reactionary forces in the Berlin government. Small Polish forces were gradually pushed to the East, and in spite of some victories Mierosławski had to capitulate on the 9th of May, for fear of being pushed into the Kingdom of Poland. The uprising in Poznań was over, leaving the country and especially the poorer peasants who joined Mierosławski, in the hope of receiving better terms in the redistribution of land, at the mercy of the Prussian forces and the hostile local German population. Nothing remained from the promised "national reorganization".

In Galicia the revolution ended in the bombardment of Lwów on the 2nd of November. Even at that time the conspirators in Warsaw believed that the victory of the Hungarians would start everything anew. But before they learnt about the Hungarian defeat, most of them were in prison. The arrests started as early as April 1848. All in all, about 200 people were caught, including 14 women, the fourteen "Warsaw Enthusiasts", among them Narcyza Żmichowska. The sentences passed on the men were very heavy: 4, 6 or 8 years of hard labour, 1-3 years in the underground prison, service in the army, or at least a long-term exile in Siberia. In addition, four Warsaw craftsmen received from 500 to 1,000 strokes. To women Paskevitch showed great consideration: none of them were placed in a prison. They were merely confined in nunneries and usually released after the period of investigation which often dragged on for more than two years. Some of them were then sent to provincial towns, and one to Kiev.

The discovery of the plot in the Kingdom of Poland ended the period of émigré influence over the country.

The period of conspiracy was over in Poland for the next decade and the leadership of the émigré parties ended in a fiasco. — During the Crimean War Poland did not stir although Czartoryski and the new Democratic Circle in Paris, headed by Wysocki, Mierosławski and Ełżanowski, thought that Russia would come out of this war seriously crippled. Due to Czartoryski's exertions, a Polish Legion was formed in Turkey under the name of Cossacks of the Sultan, as a contingent in the British army in the Crimea. The close of the war, after the capture of Sevastopol dashed the hopes of the émigré Poles. However, even during the formation of that Legion, Czartoryski did not try to arouse the Poles at home. All attempts of this kind were made by the democratic circle in Paris. To stop this, representatives of "rationally thinking Poles" from Galicia were sent to Paris with a written statement: "to whom it may concern", that Poland would not move unless a strong French army came into Poland.⁴³⁾ This never happened and Poland remained quiet throughout the duration of the war.

42) L. MIEROSŁAWSKI: *Powstanie Poznańskie z roku 1848*, p. 84.

43) F. ZIEMIAŁKOWSKI: *Pamiętniki*, vol. I, p. 22.

The revolution of 1848 showed the Poles that only one path remained open to them: that of legal opposition within the framework of the constitutions promulgated by the governments of Prussia and Austria. The Austrian April Constitution and the Imperial Decree from Olmütz were both withdrawn, except for the provisions abolishing class privileges and the country had to wait until the Austro-Italian war for another liberal era. In Poznań, however, the constitution of January 31st, 1850, although a second revision of the original revolutionary constitution of March 1848, provided ample scope for the defence of national rights in the Prussian diet. In May, 1848, the Prussian Poles formed the so-called "Polish League" as the centre of organic work. Its aim was: "work for the promotion of national life, the right to use Polish in all walks of public life and especially in the church, schools, law courts and in the administration".⁴⁴⁾

The same policy was soon to be adopted by the Kingdom of Poland on the accession of Tsar Alexander II. When, after much procrastination, the Tsar agreed to promulgate certain reforms in the Kingdom, he chose plans worked out by Marquess Wielopolski who for the last 15 years lived in self-imposed isolation on his estates. Although a private individual, his name acquired certain publicity in 1846 when, spurred by the Galician massacres he published an open letter to Prince Metternich expounding his political ideas. In the letter entitled "Lettre d'un Gentilhomme Polonais sur les Massacres de Gallicie adressée au Prince de Metternich", he put the blame for the massacre on Metternich, denouncing the Austrian press for ridiculing Polish aspirations as well. But the corner stone of this epistle was an appeal to his countrymen to abandon the past which "had burnt to ashes" and to seek the protection of Nicholas I as "the most generous of our enemies". Admitting that "le gouvernement russe est sévère pour la noblesse polonaise", but pointing out that "un Romanoff est trop bon gentilhomme pour laisser, même parmi ses ennemis, assommer ses semblables". Wielopolski was hoping now that "un changement dans les dispositions des Polonais à l'égard de la Russie, un nouvel avenir se prépare". Above all, he called to his countrymen, "Il nous faut prendre un parti". The Poles should, "Au lieu de nous consumer à mendier une position à l'occident,, en rentrant en nous-mêmes créer notre avenir dans la région opposée, et nous frayer une route dans les entrailles mêmes de cet immense empire". He was hoping that the Polish nobility would undoubtedly prefer "marcher avec les Russes à la tête de la civilisation slave, jeune, vigoureuse et pleine d'avenir, que de se traîner couloyée, méprisée, haïe, injuriée à la queue de votre civilisation décrépite, tracassière et présomptueuse". For the first time for many generations, Wielopolski invoked the ancient hatred of the Germans and looked forward to the time when "les nouveaux ressentiments iront réveiller sous la ceindre les haines immortelles de notre race slave contre les Allemands".

Wielopolski thought that he had timed his political pronouncement well. In this he was mistaken: neither Nicholas nor his countrymen were prepared to act upon his advice. But the letter was remembered when, fifteen years later, the question arose of who could carry out reforms in the Kingdom of Poland.

44) W. FELDMAN: *Dzieje polskiej myśli politycznej w okresie porozbiorowym*, p. 302.

The rebuff of 1846 was not Wielopolski's first disappointment. In his younger days he had made several attempts to influence the trend of events on a national scale, but each time he encountered either indifference towards his ideas, or even open hostility. One attempt, in 1831, during the November Revolution, when he was sent as a diplomatic agent to Paris and London to plead for diplomatic intervention by the Western Powers in favour of Poland, ended in complete failure. This was not, however, his fault, because subsequent agents did not achieve any positive results either, and anybody else would have received the same answer from Palmerston, namely, that England had the right to intervene in favour of Poland, but was under no obligation to do so.

After the collapse of the November Revolution he joined the ranks of the émigrés for a while, but returned to Poland, availing himself of the amnesty for the less compromised participants of the Uprising. This decision was to a certain extent influenced by his future mother-in-law, Countess Ludwika Potocka, to whose persuasive letters he succumbed, — not that they did not tally with his own convictions. "Do come my friend" — she wrote — "I am sure that this should be done for the sake of our happiness, your honour and your future. I do not see anything positive in an exile useless to you and others, and dictated more by self-love than any other considerations".⁴⁵⁾ But this was a view which tallied with his own convictions.

His submission to Russian rule was not as dramatic as that of Andrew Zamoyski who refused even to leave Warsaw and, when the city capitulated, reported himself at the headquarters of Paskevitch without any safeguards for his future. The General graciously allowed him to return to his estates without any further discrimination.⁴⁶⁾ Wielopolski's decision was taken coolly, after he had carefully weighed the consequences of his return: a possible deportation to Russia on the one hand, against confiscation of his estates on the other, should he choose life in exile. As in all his future actions reason prevailed over romantic notions of loyalty to a lost cause. He was a man of property, and for this property was prepared to be subjected even to the hardships of northern winters. This never happened, and he was left free to live in the Kingdom on his estates, deprived only of the right to take part in any public or governmental service, until his remorse and good behaviour redeemed the confidence of the government.⁴⁷⁾

His sojourn abroad was not without experiences enriching his life and his mind: he visited Dresden and Wrocław, got married in Cracow and while lingering there in expectation of news from Warsaw struck up a friendship with Zygmunt Helcel, with whom he remained closely associated until the two friends parted in 1861 over the issue of the Agricultural Society.

45) *L. Potocka to A. Wielopolski*, 21.1.1832 in: A. SKALKOWSKI: *Aleksander Wielopolski w świetle Archiwów Rodzinnych*, vol. II, p. 42-43.

46) L. DĘBICKI: *Portrety i sylwetki z dziewiętnastego stulecia*, pp. 425-6.

47) *Verdict of the Supreme Criminal Court of 18.12.1832*, A. SKALKOWSKI: *op. cit.* vol. II, p. 50.

From that time onwards he devoted his life to husbandry and reading, breaking up the monotony of daily routine by occasional visits to Wrocław or Berlin, where he attended Schelling's lecture denouncing Hegel's philosophy. There he met Bakunin and Turgenev and revived his old friendship with Peter Meyendorf, his former colleague at the university of Goettingen, now Russian envoy to Berlin, who became one of the few people to help Wielopolski in his struggle for imperial support during his sojourn in Petersburg. Wielopolski's interest in Italian art had to wait for fulfilment until 1856, when on the accession of Alexander II it became easier to obtain passports for other parts of Europe than Prussia or Galicia.

The events of 1848 roused him again, and turned his mind to panslavistic ideas which probably originated during his university period in Goettingen where he became an avid reader of Herder. Another and more lasting influence upon Wielopolski's political convictions was exercised by Countess Stephanie Plater whom he met some time in 1837. At least this is what had been suggested by Skalkowski who had access to their long correspondence. In one of his letters Wielopolski compared her to a lighthouse "luminous through the clouds and distance, amid a raging tempest".⁴⁸⁾ It is from this correspondence that one learns about his extensive reading of the history of the Czechs, the South Slavs and the Near East.

It is almost pathetic to study Wielopolski's endeavours in 1848 to influence the trend of political events: to follow him on his indefatigable travels to Cracow, Wrocław, Berlin and Vienna, suggesting how his countrymen should conduct their politics in the Prussian and Austrian parliaments.

His political ideas found just as little sympathy with his countrymen as did his open letter to Metternich in 1846. Yet, although his proposals were finally locked up in the family archives, they remain of some biographical and historical importance, for in the absence of any written political plans during his actual employment in the government of Congress Poland between 1861-1863, they supply a clue to his ultimate political aims. They also provide sufficient evidence that in spite of his adulation of the Tsar in the letter to Metternich he was not a russophil or an austrophobe, but a slavophil. If he succeeded in forcing the Russian government to offer him an influential position in Warsaw, it was because he, like every statesman, was prepared to take advantage of possibilities available at a given moment.

In 1848 it looked as if the Habsburgs were the dynasty chosen to unite the Slavs and for this reason Wielopolski fixed his hopes on them. His draft proposals envisaged a confederation of Slavs under Prussia and Austria, embracing all political parties. It bore the marks of conservative but not reactionary convictions: it envisaged "constitutional legality" and denounced oligarchy along with absolutism.⁴⁹⁾ Its final aim was the liberation of the Congress Kingdom from Russia by war. As a beginning to this enterprise Wielopolski suggested a conference of all Polish political groups in Wrocław. As, however, the proposals of other groups envisaged a war with Russia, Wielopolski withdrew his support.

48) A. SKALKOWSKI, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 110.

49) *Ibid.*, p. 126.

Nor would his colleagues come to an agreement: the conservatives, mostly people of property, had too much to lose in case of failure, and the democrats were distrustful of proposals emanating from aristocrats.⁵⁰⁾ The Wrocław fiasco cured Wielopolski "of all similar ventures for the future" and this phrase used in a letter to Helcel reminds one of his alleged remark of 1862 that "occasionally one can do something for the Poles, but never in co-operation with them".

When his own countrymen deserted him, Wielopolski doggedly pursued his plans for the unification of the Slavs and even tried to induce Helcel to reach Jelačić whom he remembered from his school days at the Theresian Academy in Vienna. As a nucleus of his Slav federation he envisaged a union of Czechs, Moravians, Styrians and Galicians, headed by the Habsburgs, on condition that they would not become subjected to a foreign supremacy. Here he revealed his fears of the idea of a Greater Germany: "If at any time the Austrian monarchy consented to be subjected to the supremacy of the German Reich... in such case the federation would contemplate the choice of some other leadership".⁵¹⁾ It emerges from this clause that Wielopolski had in mind the Romanovs, on condition, however, that they would "recognise and practise equal rights for all their slavonic nationals".⁵²⁾ This interpretation of Wielopolski's elusive ideas tallies with the statement made by his eldest son, Zygmunt, that his father's final goal was an autonomous Kingdom of Poland serving as an example for all future reforms in the whole of the Russian empire. However, he was able to brush aside his grandiose political plans when confronted with unpropitious reality, as shown in his article published in the Galician paper "Czas" in November, 1848:

"It is time to look realistically at the situation, and instead of rushing after the fulfilment of wishful thinking inapplicable at present, rather hold fast to those possibilities which exist, and apply them in reality".⁵³⁾

Disappointed in all his endeavours, he quietly returned to his estates, paid a social call on Paskevitch in Warsaw, probably to clear himself of suspicions of disloyalty, and continued his uneventful life at Chroberz, finding consolation in religion, philosophy and classical writers, whom he read in the original texts. It is interesting to note that among mystical philosophers Wielopolski was greatly attracted by Jacob Boehme and Louis-Claude de Saint Martin.

Wielopolski's political convictions and his readiness to compromise, were not the only grounds for his unpopularity in Poland: for many years he was involved in a complicated law-suit for the recovery of a large part of his ancient property, formerly held by right of inalienable possession, which his forefathers had squandered. It was for this reason that he studied law in Paris, before he went to Goettingen to read philosophy. He might have won, but for the November Rising.

50) More on this subject in a treatise by M. Tyrowicz: *Polski Kongres Polityczny we Wrocławiu, 1848r.*

51) A. SKALKOWSKI, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 128.

52) *Ibid.*, p. 129.

53) *Ibid.*, p. 130.

The contested land was at that time the property of Wielopolski's political opponent, a liberal called Szaniecki, and the Russian government confiscated the property as retaliation for Szaniecki's flight abroad.

Wielopolski was equally unlucky in another law-suit connected with the bequest of a literary collection entrusted to him by his late friend Świdziński, which he housed on his estates in Chroberz and not in Warsaw as some Polish intellectuals would have preferred. Wielopolski's act particularly aroused the indignation of J. Bartoszewicz and J.I. Kraszewski, the most popular writers and journalists at this time, as well as that of the press in general. What Wielopolski did, had been done by other Polish aristocrats before and after, and the opposition to Wielopolski's action must be attributed to personal animosity rather than to a patriotic endeavour to enrich the museums of Warsaw. His countrymen could not forgive him his "Letter of a Polish Gentleman to Prince Metternich" and his pro-Russian sympathies. The entry of his eldest son Zygmunt into the Russian army was frowned upon. These facts, however, were brought to the notice of the Tsar by the Polish elements in the administration of the Kingdom, and tipped the scales in his favour. The Tsar had promised a Polish university on his accession and the Polish higher civil servants in Warsaw hoped that further concessions might be granted especially in the administration of the country, which was badly mismanaged. They favoured Wielopolski's plans of extending and elaborating the provisions envisaged by the special Statute of 1832 which replaced the constitution of 1815. The task was arduous but Wielopolski's legalistic mind was familiar with such matters.

II. THE STATE OF THE KINGDOM OF POLAND ON THE ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER II (1855).

In spite of the severe repression to which the Kingdom of Poland was subjected under the viceroyalty of the Imperial Lieutenant General Paskevitch, some vestiges of autonomy lingered on until the accession to the throne of Alexander II. The Polish Constitution of 1815 was never officially abolished, but after the failure of the November Revolution a special Organic Law was issued by the Tsar on February 26th 1832 and promulgated on the 25th of March of the same year.⁵⁴⁾ The Statute changed the character of the union between the Kingdom and the Russian Empire. According to its first article the Kingdom of Poland, for ever united with the Russian state, would form "an indivisible part of this state". From this new wording, the abolition of a separate coronation, a separate Regency and a separate Army followed naturally. However, the country's laws and administration remained the same. The Council of State and the Council of Administration were restored and the Office of Minister Secretary of State for the Kingdom of Poland

54) Text of the Organic Statute: H. LISICKI: *Aleksander Wielopolski*, vol. II, Appendix 2.

at Petersburg retained. The Statute left the government of the Kingdom in the hands of the Council of Administration, which consisted of the following members: the directors of the four administrative departments — Internal affairs, Public Worship and Public Instruction, Justice, and Finance — and the Comptroller General. The councillors were nominated by the Tsar. Every member had the right to express his opinion on any subject under discussion, and to have his suggestions recorded. The decisions, both in the Council of Administration and in the Council of State were taken by majority vote, although the Lieutenant General, who was the President of both councils, had the right of vote. The Council of State was promised the following rights: to prepare draft proposals for new laws and decrees pertaining to the domestic affairs of the country; to decide any controversies that might arise between the administrative and the judicial authorities; to discuss and to submit to the Tsar petitions of the provincial councils; and to supervise the yearly budget of the Kingdom. Any new proposals pertaining to civil or social legislation had to be finally approved by the Imperial Council of State and for this purpose the Statute provided for a special Department for the Affairs of the Kingdom of Poland. The Minister Secretary for the Affairs of the Kingdom of Poland was also a member of this department. The post of the "Minister Secretary" was usually entrusted to a Pole, with the one exception of Platonov. The functions of the Minister Secretary of State were to submit to the Tsar all the correspondence which arrived from the Council of State or the Council of Administration in Poland under the seal of the Viceroy, and to inform the Viceroy of all the decisions of the Tsar relating to the Kingdom of Poland.

Further, the Statute guaranteed freedom of worship, freedom of movement, personal immunity, and immunity of property except in cases arising from offences against the state: a clause which permitted confiscation of the property of all those refugees and prisoners whose degree of "guilt" debarred them from the Amnesty granted by the Decree of November 1831. Freedom of speech was not guaranteed but the censorship was defined as instituted "to safeguard the respect due to religion and to the supreme authority, the integrity of morals and the personal dignity of everyone".

Polish would remain the official language of the Kingdom, although not in the Council of Administration (where, however, French was used for a very long time) and the citizenship — a separate one. The equality of all subjects before the law was vouched for and assurances given that "everyone through his personal merits and talents could attain all offices and honours in the way prescribed by law". Further, the Statute envisaged a certain amount of participation by the community in the government of the country through various provincial, district and village assemblies, whose prerogatives were left unspecified although it was made quite clear that the people would have no power to legislate. This promise remained a dead letter and it was on the strength of this article that remonstrations were made by the Poles before the viceregal government in Warsaw for the introduction of self-government. Had these provisions been fulfilled, the nobility, the gentry, the clergy, intelligentsia and the rich bourgeoisie would have been given the right to discuss and to make suggestions on the matters relevant to "the welfare of the Kingdom". The organization of villages would

remain, as it indeed remained for a long period until 1864, a patriarchal one, with the local landowner as the head (*wójt*) of the rural community. The only local institutions that in practice existed were the "Deputations of the Nobility" which, parallel with Russia itself, were formed in 1836 for the preservation of the records of lineage. From 1849, these deputations were headed by the Marshals of the Nobility, one for each *gubernia*, who had the privilege of submitting to the government their suggestions on the needs of the *gubernia*. — In the towns, the municipal councils were retained, but put under the supervision of civil governors or the heads of the districts (*naczelnik powiatu*).

The articles of the Organic Statute promised very little, but its importance cannot be disregarded, considering that it was promulgated for a conquered country and by an autocratic Tsar. Nicholas had probably second thoughts about it himself, because the Statute was never completely implemented: the legislation of the country was regulated by the imperial decess which aimed at the consolidation of the administration of the Kingdom and provided laws for its further unification with the empire. Personal immunity remained illusory, especially after the proclamation of the state of siege in 1833, which was never officially revoked. The same year the foundation stone for the Citadel of Warsaw was laid down. The Council of Administration was curtailed by joining together the Committee of Public Worship and Public Instruction with that of Internal Affairs, and the Council of State was abolished in 1841, although its right to vote on the draft proposals for internal laws and on the country's budget was transferred to the Council of Administration.

In 1839 the Warsaw Educational District was formed, headed by a curator supervised by the Minister of Education in Petersburg. — The first curator was Maj. General Nicholas Okuniev, followed in 1851 by Pavel Muchanov, who was more hated by the Poles than Paskevitch himself. The censorship was also entrusted to the Curator and he had the right to take part in the Council of Administration, though only when the affairs of his department were under discussion. The Committee of Public Instruction ceased to function, although some of its sub-committees were transferred to the Central Educational Department in Warsaw. In schools Polish remained as the language of instruction.

Institutions such as the Board of Trade and Manufactures ceased to function, and the supervision of land and water communications as well as the Post Office was directed from Petersburg. — In 1837, the old Polish name of *voivodship* for a province was replaced by that of "*gubernia*" headed by a civil governor who was usually a Pole, and a military governor, always a Russian,

"to whom was given the entire control of the secret police, recruitment and billeting of the army, and who had the right of corresponding directly with the Private Chancery of the Viceroy on all matters concerning which they might think it advisable to inform him. In fact, the military governors, besides being entrusted with important functions which, in a country organized as this, with a large military establishment is a source of severe oppression, operated as a complete check upon the actions of the Civil Governors".⁵⁵⁾

55) P.R.O. F.O. 65/520 - *Simmons to Russell*, 8.VI.1858.

Equally important were the changes brought about in laws. In 1841 the Supreme Court of Law and the Court of Appeal were transferred to the IX and X Departments of the Russian Senate. Here, however, the Russian government made a concession allowing the departments to remain in Warsaw as a part of the central government. In 1847 a new penal code was published in Poland replacing that of 1818. The new code was much harsher than the old one and was a mere translation of the Russian penal code. A year before, a similar measure had been introduced in Lithuania, where the old Lithuanian Statutes were withdrawn. In this way, slowly but steadily, the consolidation (*obiedinienie*) of the Russian Empire went on. Already two important branches of the internal administration — education and the supreme jurisdiction — were removed from Polish hands.

Parallel to the policy of administrative consolidation the Russian Government pursued a policy of direct russification of the country with regard to language, trying to make the country at least bilingual. All decrees were published in both languages — Polish and Russian. Gradually all newly appointed civil servants were expected to know Russian, and in some instances, as for instance in the Bank of Poland, evening classes in Russian were provided for the employees. In the schools the history of Russia was taught in Russian and the teachers of this subject and of the Russian language were usually Russians themselves.

Administrative changes were brought about not only in the administration of the Kingdom, which naturally fell within the competence of the government, but also in the Church aiming at its subordination to the government at Petersburg. The principle of religious freedom promised by the Statute was undermined by the Decree of 1836, that the children born of mixed marriages (Catholic and Orthodox) must be brought up in the Orthodox religion, by the penal code of 1847, by which apostasy from the Orthodox religion was made a "transgression" and above all by the restrictions put on relations between the Polish Church and Rome. Until 1845, all ecclesiastical correspondence was to be sent directly from the Committee for Internal Affairs in Warsaw to the Russian Legation in Rome, and the papal correspondence went by the same channels; but after 1845 every written document had to go first to the Ministry for Internal Affairs in Petersburg and then by diplomatic channels to Rome or Warsaw. Papal Bulls and decrees were subjected to the perusal of the Committee of Ministers in Petersburg. This measure had a bad effect on the morale and discipline, especially in the monasteries which in Poland were directly supervised by the Generals of the Orders in Rome. This lengthy route of communication left them practically independent. Another grievance of the Church in Poland was the nomination of Bishops. The Chapters obstinately refused to accept the nominees of the Governor-General and he did not approve of the choice of the Chapters; several bishoprics therefore remained vacant until the reforms of Wielopolski in 1861. Even then the Church kept clamouring for the presence of a Papal Legate in Petersburg or

56) M. LISICKI: *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 239-46.

in Warsaw.⁵⁶⁾ The Concordat arranged between the Pope and Nicholas I in 1847, was not published during his lifetime, and after the death of Nicholas "was discovered in the private chancery of the late Emperor".⁵⁷⁾

* * *

In spite of the policy of consolidation pursued by the Russian government towards the Kingdom of Poland, the country was able to retain large administrative powers. Paskevitch himself was averse to any suggestions for a complete unification of the Kingdom with the Empire. In his voluminous correspondence with Nicholas I he made frequent requests for the preservation of the separate institutions of the Kingdom, whose affairs — he argued — could not be directed from Petersburg because of the remoteness of the Russian capital from the Polish Provinces: "The usual order of things by which a country is governed by the authority of a minister is not suitable for the Kingdom situated at the frontiers of the Empire where crises occur from one day to another... Correspondence multiplies when speedy action is required... and the sight of local conditions may be lost".⁵⁸⁾ Count Frederick Skarbek made the following remark about Paskevitch in his Memoirs: "Although accustomed to arbitrariness, he usually consulted the opinion of the members of the Council, especially if the matter in question did not touch in any way the political principles of the government".⁵⁹⁾

These separate institutions of the Kingdom, however, were of little value to the Poles as long as the main object of the government was to enforce peace and quiet in the country. Paskevitch was surrounded by a crowd of venal bureaucrats such as Dobronoki or Storozhenko, and this made decisions at the top often subject to bribery or personal influence. Storozhenko was at least better than many other high officials, because "although accepting bribes himself, he hardly admitted his subordinates to share in the spoils".⁶⁰⁾ He and Wikinski, at the time when they held the position of Directors of the Committee for Internal Affairs, employed people like themselves and demoralized the administration: "The administration of the country was gradually deteriorating and part of this process was the discharging of old civil servants who had served in the days before the November Revolution...".⁶¹⁾

Still some honourable Poles could be seen even in top positions, as for instance General W. Krasinski, father of the poet, Frederick Skarbek, or Morawski from whom Skarbek took over the post of director of Finances in 1854. The directors of the Committee for Finances and that for Justice were always Poles, and those for Internal Affairs always

57) P.R.O. F.O. 65/501 - *Mansfield to Clarendon*, 14.1.1857.

58) SHCHERBATOV: *General Feldmarshal Kniaz' Paskevitch. Evo Zhizn' i deiatel'nost.* vol. 5, Appendix: Paskevitch to Nicholas, p. 604.

59) F. SKARBK: *Pamiętniki F. hrabiego Skarbka*, pp. 272-73.

60) *Roczniki Polskie: Listy z Królestwa*, 1857, vol. I, p. 124.

61) I. BARANOWSKI: *Pamiętniki I. Baranowskiego*, p. 70.

Russians. Members of the various administrative committees were usually Poles, with a few Russians holding posts which offered best chances for control.⁶²⁾

Paskevitch himself was bribable and a certain Elyasievitch, the director of the *Namiestnik's* Chancery, was the man who arranged this delicate matter for him. For the public at large, Paskevitch was an object of fear. Dr. Baranowski, a renowned Polish doctor at the turn of the last century, recalls in his Memoirs the abject fear he felt as a boy at the sight of the court carriage: "Each time when I saw the court carriage galloping through the streets of Warsaw, escorted by the Kuban Cossacks with General Paskevitch negligently spread on its cushions, I was overcome by such fear, that it drove me to seek shelter in the nearest porch".⁶³⁾ From this hiding place he would watch the passers-by "standing to attention, their heads uncovered and eyes cast down".

This system of rule retarded the cultural and economic progress of the country, although the impetus given to education, industry, and agriculture in the time of the constitutional era could not be completely stopped or abrogated, especially since it was not the explicit will of the Russian government to ruin Poland. The policy of repression that existed in Poland in Paskevitch's time was dictated purely by political reasons — to keep the country quiet. Paskevitch constantly worried "whether or not the Polish mind had at last changed for the better".⁶⁴⁾ In a way this policy brought about the desired results: the country was quiet. The gentry, forbidden either to assemble or to travel abroad, lived in sluggish apathy with a threat of confiscation always held over them.

Still, under the layer of apathy there was a growing number of people with new ideas, who only bided their time to realize their programme. This time, however, it was not the revolutionaries but the moderates — the liberals and the liberally-minded conservatives who were awaiting their chance. Their policy was to direct the national effort towards the economic and cultural improvement of the country, pushing aside for the time being all political aspirations for independence. This was the basis of the so-called "Organic work". The evolution of this programme was gradually becoming visible in education, industry and agriculture, amidst the havoc done during Paskevitch's dark era. A short survey of the state of education, industry and agriculture in the following three sections will, it is hoped, illustrate the need of such a programme and its possibilities of success. —

Education. In the nineteenth century the standard of Polish education stood at its highest in Lithuania and the Ukraine during the period from 1816 to 1824. This was chiefly the result of the good will of Alexander I and the indefatigable work of two people: Adam Czartoryski and Tadeusz Czacki. By the Imperial Decree of May the 18th, 1803, the Western Provinces of Russia, the whole vast territory which in the

62) A complete list of both Polish and Russian civil servants can be traced in the *Adres Kalendar' - Rocznik Urzędowy Królestwa Polskiego, 1860-1866.*

63) I. BARANOWSKI: *op. cit.*, p. 65.

64) A. MINKOWSKA: *Organizacja spiskowa 1848 roku*, p. 13.

past had formed the Eastern Provinces of Poland, were joined together into one Polish Educational District supervised by the restored University of Vilna with Adam Czartoryski as its Curator. This generous act of Alexander I was understood by the Poles as the first step towards the fulfilment of the Tsar's promise to restore Poland within its pre-partition limits. Although Alexander later changed his intentions towards Poland, the period of his liberality lasted long enough to bring up one generation of educated Poles who provided the country with a cultural backbone which greatly helped it to survive the dark period after 1831.

The provinces of Vilna and Grodno surpassed the other Western Provinces in education. In 1821 they had 127 elementary schools.⁶⁵⁾ These schools provided a medium in which children belonging to different social classes could mix together, for unless the children of landowners had been sent to the higher schools in the towns, they were obliged to be educated locally.

If Poles like Czartoryski or Czacki pursued a nationalistic policy it was chiefly directed against the Russification of the Western Provinces. The question of the native language presented no real problem at that time. Czacki himself went so far in his zeal to oust Russian influence from the Southern Provinces that he thwarted the plans for the establishment of a university in Kiev, knowing well that he could hardly make Polish the language of instruction there, and he loathed the idea of giving precedence to Russian. At the suggestion of Czartoryski, he had talks with the Russian Minister of Education and succeeded in persuading him not to open a university at Kiev.⁶⁶⁾

The apple of his eye was the Lycée at Krzemieniec in Podolia, on which he lavished money, and, as some thought, more of it than he should have done. This is to a certain extent an unjustified accusation, as a great deal of the money he spent on Krzemieniec was collected by him personally from the Polish nobility who gave it with the overt wish to make Krzemieniec the centre of education for their children.

Czacki wanted to provide Poland with a vanguard of young men eager to serve the country as statesmen, administrators or army officers, and therefore promoted the development of high schools where the sons of the nobility and the gentry — the ruling class in that period — could acquire the necessary knowledge, patriotism and sense of duty. — Elementary education was not neglected by him either: when Czacki assumed the office of Deputy Curator in the Southern Provinces the number of elementary schools was 43, while during his curatorship it grew to 179.⁶⁷⁾

This idyll did not last long. By the Ukaz of September 23rd 1818, the province of Kiev was attached to the Educational District of Kharkov, and by the Ukaz of October 31st 1824, the provinces of Vitebsk and Mogilev were detached from the Vilna District and joined to the Petersburg District.⁶⁸⁾

65) St. Kot: *Historia wychowania*, vol. II, pp. 229-30.

66) H. Rolle: *Ateny Wołyńskie*, p. 43.

67) St. Kot: *Historia wychowania*, vol. II, p. 236.

68) S.V. Rozhdestvenski: *Istoricheski Obzor Deiatelnosti Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshchenia*, p. 149.

The University of Vilna was beginning to feel the growth of reaction in 1822, when the teaching of natural law was discontinued as dangerous to the autocratic form of government. Soon afterwards, secret societies, vaguely connected with freemasonry, were discovered and the students punished by flogging and exile to the remote provinces of Russia. The final blow came after the November Uprising, when the University was closed altogether, except for its medical and ecclesiastical departments. The Vilna Educational District, or rather what remained of it, was attached to the Bielorussian District. The same fate befell the Lycee of Krzemieniec. The libraries and the laboratories of this institution were transferred to the newly established university at Kiev.

The period of imperial liberality however lasted for a sufficiently long time to fulfil the national part of the programme of education in the Western Provinces, as envisaged by Czartoryski and Czacki. The thick, third volume of S. Korbutt's "*Literatura Polska*" (Polish Literature) contains an extensive list of names with biographical notes about the Polish men and women of letters whose literary talents developed during the period 1831-63. Vilna University, the Lycée of Krzemieniec and the numerous secondary schools which had functioned in the obscure little towns of the Western Provinces, appear in this list in close succession. Mickiewicz was educated at Vilna, and Słowacki at Vilna and at Krzemieniec; Antoni Malczewski, the poet belonging to the "Ukrainian group of poets" was educated at Krzemieniec; Józef Korzeniowski, the novelist, taught there at one time; J.I. Kraszewski, the father of the Polish novel, also came from the Western Provinces. Worcell, one of the earliest Polish socialists, and Olizarowski from the opposite political camp, were also educated at Krzemieniec. Professor Kot in his "*Historia wychowania*" wrote about the Vilna University: "Never before did another Polish school gather together such youth, hard working, intelligent and inspired by the will to work for the public benefit, as that of Vilna between the years 1816-24"⁶⁹⁾

Warsaw University could never compete with that of Vilna. It was opened in 1818, when, with the exception of Lelewel and a few others, the best men were already at Vilna or Krzemieniec. The organization of the university was based on French models, as was only natural for the Kingdom, which for a decade had been governed after the French fashion. It obtained limited self-government; the elementary and secondary schools were controlled by the Ministry of Public Instruction and the university had no say in them. The system laid down for elementary education and for the secondary schools was none the less as good as one could wish. *Gymnasia* were established in every province and district schools, which enabled their graduates to enter higher forms of the high schools, in every district town. In the school-year of 1820/21, the Kingdom had one college for the nobility at Warsaw, 10 high schools — one for each province — and 14 district schools. Altogether 5,868 boys received secondary education at those schools; 3,925 at high schools, and 1,943 at district schools respectively.⁷⁰⁾

69) St. Kor: *Historia wychowania*, vol. II, p. 231.

70) *Ibid.*, p. 248.

The Kingdom of Poland also made good progress in the educational branch in which the Western Provinces had failed: it had good engineering and technical colleges to supply specialists for a rapidly growing industry. Warsaw had a Technical College, an Agricultural Institute at Marymont in the vicinity of Warsaw, a Veterinary School and a School for Governesses; there was a Mining Academy in Kielce and teacher-training colleges in the country. At the University of Warsaw special attention was being paid to the study of Law. It seems obvious that the educational policy of the Ministry of Public Instruction was to provide specialized administrators and managers for a country ravaged by the long Napoleonic wars, with a vast agrarian problem, and an industry which received much help from Lubecki, the Minister of Finance.

In the Kingdom of Poland, as in the Western Provinces the object of education was a practical one: to provide useful citizens for the country.

The Kingdom made a very good start in elementary education. As early as 1808, a Decree had been passed by the educational authorities of the Duchy of Warsaw on compulsory education and secularization of elementary schools. Parents were obliged to send to school boys and girls between the age of 6 and 12. By the same Decree a special tax was imposed to provide funds for the elementary schools. This decree was reinforced by the Ministry of Public Instruction of the Kingdom. The result was a rapid growth of elementary schools. In the school session of 1817/18 there were 868 elementary schools with 27,985 pupils, and the best year was 1821/22 with 1,222 schools (342 in towns and 880 in villages) with 37,623 pupils.⁷¹⁾

Then things began to deteriorate. In 1822, General Zajączek, the acting Lieutenant General of the Kingdom, abolished the educational tax, allegedly to lessen the burden on the peasants, and the effect of this move was immediately felt. In the school-year 1822/23, only 18,620 pupils were at school. In the following years the number of schools and pupils again increased, until, in 1819/20 it came not much below the figure of 1821/22, namely to 766 elementary schools with 33,456 pupils.⁷²⁾ This improvement was largely due to the educational work of the monastic order of the Piarist Fathers, who were permitted to conduct schools.

After the November Uprising elementary education continued to progress. Shortly after the Uprising the number of schools fell again to 538, although the number of pupils increased to 34,108, but in 1848 the number of schools and of pupils had increased to 1,184 and 64,613 respectively.⁷³⁾ The figures show a discrepancy between the rate in the growth of elementary schools and that of the number of pupils. The schools were becoming overcrowded. Clearly the trend was towards spreading literacy among the lowest classes of the population, but the government offered little assistance in this direction. The decree of

71) S. KIENIEWICZ: *"Przemiany społeczne i gospodarcze w Królestwie Polskim"*, p. 19, also S. Kot: *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 244.

72) S. KIENIEWICZ: *op. cit.*, p. 49.

73) St. Kot: *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 265.

1833 which laid down new rules for the elementary schools altogether changed the method of education. Not a word was said about the development of children's minds; on the contrary, the policy seems to have been to keep the children as ignorant as possible: "they should be instructed in such rudimentary knowledge which might, to some extent, be needed even by the lower classes".⁷⁴⁾ The decree also ended the secular character of elementary schools: they were entrusted to the supervision of the local priests or civil servants, and the old name of "parochial school" instead of elementary school, was re-introduced.

After the November Uprising, the Piarist Fathers were now debarred from educating the young, but other monastic orders were encouraged to open schools. In the late 1840's, 862 parochial schools were in the hands of the Churches — Catholic and Protestant.

The general standard of education had already begun to deteriorate in the Kingdom of Poland before the Revolution of 1830/31, when St. Kostka Potocki, the Minister of Public Instruction, was dismissed because of his satire: "The City of Darkness" directed, needless to say, against obscuratism. His removal was followed by the resignation of the best men the Ministry had, Niemcewicz and Staszic. The Ministry was taken over by the reactionary and clericalist Grabowski. Yet, as long as the Kingdom enjoyed its constitutional rights, voices of protest against growing reaction in education could be, and indeed were raised in the Diet, by the "Society of the Friends of Learning" and by individual writers investigating the different educational methods which were being developed in the West. The standard of education was still comparatively high, and great stress was laid on the development of the character of pupils.

The November Uprising brought disastrous consequences for education and culture in the Kingdom. Warsaw University was closed and the number of high schools fell from 10 to 5 according to the new subdivision of the country into five provinces. Yet secondary education in the Kingdom of Poland was growing in the first twenty years following the November Uprising. Besides 5 *gymnasia* there existed the non-classical secondary schools while the number of district schools kept steady at about 22-23 in all. Between the years 1833-39 more than 4,200 pupils were educated in *gymnasia* each year.⁷⁵⁾

As for elementary education, it fell immediately after the Uprising but then started to grow again, achieving in 1850 the imposing number of 1,479 schools. By 1860 it had declined again to 1,080.⁷⁶⁾

The education of girls was very neglected. They comprised 28 per cent of all pupils in all kinds of state education. Girls were not admitted to *gymnasia* at all. This was, however, made up by the secondary private schools, where girls comprised 90 per cent of all pupils.⁷⁷⁾

Elementary education grew normally. In 1860 it doubled in comparison with the situation before the November Uprising. It reached the imposing figure of 60,000 pupils out of the total of 75,650 children of school age

74) St. Kor: *loc. cit.*

75) R. GERBER: *Szkolnictwo Królestwa Polskiego w okresie międzypowstaniowym*, p. 43.

76) *Ibidem.*

77) *Ibidem*, p. 44.

in the Kingdom. Besides state elementary schools there existed in the Kingdom private primary schools: in 1839/40 there were 70 such schools educating 2,537 pupils.⁷⁸⁾

In all schools children of the gentry, state officials and middle-class were predominant: in 1839, 13 per cent of all pupils in all schools were children of the gentry; 58 per cent children of the town-people, and only 28 per cent were peasant children. In the *gymnasia*, the figures were 75 per cent, 22 per cent, and 3 per cent, respectively.⁷⁹⁾ In later periods this situation changed very little in 1860: 603,000 townspeople educated their children in 608 elementary schools, while 3,500,000 peasants had at their disposal only 600 schools.⁸⁰⁾

Besides the normal elementary and secondary schools there existed in the Kingdom such specialized higher schools as The Institute of Rural Husbandry and Forestry, the Catholic Academy for priests, teachers schools, schools of Midwifery and a School of Art in Warsaw.

The standard of education was generally low: the teachers were underpaid and restricted in their lessons by the fear of saying anything unorthodox. This made classes extremely dull, with pupils merely reciting what they read in their manuals. The duty of inspectors and directors was not so much to control the standard of education, as to watch whether the pupils observed the rules about their conduct and appearance: "The pupils were expected to have their hair closely cropped, their uniforms buttoned up to their chins, and to wear a school cap with the name of the pupil inscribed on it. Each boy had to know how to salute an army officer or a civil servant"⁸¹⁾

To a certain degree it was beneficial to those students who could manage it to go to Dorpat or any of the Russian universities, for in this way they escaped the stifling atmosphere of the country. Even in Petersburg life was more tolerable than in Warsaw, but it was Dorpat that offered the largest degree of freedom. The Baltic Provinces were the only part of the Empire which enjoyed sound self-government institutions, while obscurantism and corruptible bureaucracy ruled all over Russia. The university had wide privileges, as the restrictions imposed on the Russian university by Nicholas did not apply there. Students formed their own "*Landsmannschaften*" and the Poles had their own too. — A spirit of tolerance ruled the social relations of students. Different philosophical or religious outlooks produced no animosity. There was no opportunity for political argument as they had no political outlook: "They were patriotic and cherished an unflinching faith in the restoration of Poland, but did not aspire to undertake any political activities at the university. They often talked about Warsaw Citadel and wondered whether anyone of them could withstand the hunger, thirst, sleeplessness and other tortures with which Yolshin acting now at Warsaw, now at Vilna, strove to break the endurance of the prisoners"⁸²⁾ Such conversations

78) R. GERBER: *op. cit.*, p. 45.

79) *Ibid.*

80) *Ibid.*, p. 46.

81) *Roczniki Polskie: Listy z Królestwa*, vol. I, p. 114.

82) I. BARANOWSKI: *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87.

show that some of the students expected arrest and perhaps participated in clandestine organizations, but their projects applied only to the future. "We all understood that our duty was to acquire education, and the better part of Polish students was seriously preparing to serve the welfare of the country"⁸³⁾ — writes Doctor Baranowski, a former student at Dorpat, in his Memoirs.

The atmosphere was different in Petersburg. Gieysztor, future Director of the Lithuanian Revolutionary Committee, who arrived in Petersburg in 1844, wrote as follows: "In Petersburg, I found Polish students living after the fashion of Dorpat University — pursuing the habits of the German corporations although on a smaller scale. But gradually, under the influence of new arrivals, a change for better was taking place. Already, after one year the difference was striking; the second year was marked by progress and in the third year the whole Polish circle was effected by the new attitudes"⁸⁴⁾ In contrast to Dorpat, where all the Polish students seemed to have been sensible, levelheaded boys, two trends of thought became noticeable. One was marked by individualism and influenced by A. Żeligowski's (pseudonym Sowa) book "Jordan". Followers of this trend sought for spiritual and intellectual regeneration of the individual as tending towards communal regeneration. Another trend, led by Zygmunt Sierakowski, future Commander of the Lithuanian insurrectionary forces, was radical and social. Gieysztor, like Baranowski, stresses the fact that the ideological differences, more pronounced in Petersburg than in Dorpat, did not arouse animosity among the Polish students. Gieysztor himself belonged to the "individualist group" which did not prevent him from admiring Sierakowski whom he called "God's anointed". In 1848, both left the university as many other Polish students did in the expectation of "important events at home". But Gieysztor remained passive on his estate, while Sierakowski was caught near the Austrian frontier, most probably planning to cross over to Galicia.

Naturally, academic life at Petersburg University was more restricted than it was in Dorpat. The university statute of 1835 which applied to all universities except those of Kiev and Dorpat, abolished all academic autonomy. Polish students could gather only privately, and they did so usually at the lodgings of a well-to-do colleague. At the accession of Alexander II things changed, and the universities regained all the liberties which they possessed under the statute of 1835. Polish students formed their own corporation and a secret library of several thousand volumes. The corporation had an elective committee which, secretly, was also responsible for the library. The committee enjoyed large powers: at the general meetings, the members of the corporation could vote on the proposals put forward by the committee; if an individual member wanted to make a proposal he could do so only through the committee.

There was a strong social difference between the Polish students from Lithuania and those from the Kingdom of Poland. The Lithuanians belonged to the well-to-do landowning class, while the majority of the Poles from the Kingdom came from the middle class of civil servants who at best were of lesser gentry origin. Doctor Baranowski remarks on this subject: "The sons of the landowning gentry were usually

83) I. BARANOWSKI: *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87.

84) J. GIEYSZTOR: *Pamiętniki, 1857-65*, p. 16.

unwilling to study in Russia which was feared as an abyss of obscurantism and barbarity. Therefore, the first bunch of students who went to Russia were holders of state scholarships, usually sons of civil servants who would have to seek a profession for themselves in the future. The first graduates were, on their return home, an object of general curiosity; their assurances about Russia must have put inquisitive minds at ease, and more students began to enter Russian universities, but still only those who sought a profession. Well-to-do landowners kept aloof".⁸⁵⁾ Gieysztor corroborates this opinion; the chief difference, he wrote, between the students from the Kingdom of Poland on the one side and from the Lithuanian and the Southern Provinces on the other, was that "Poles were usually the sons of civil servants, already thinking of their future careers, while the Lithuanians — usually the sons of well-to-do landowners — did not enter universities to seek jobs, but to acquire education to serve the country"⁸⁶⁾ Gieysztor's activities prior to the January Uprising seem to indicate that by his favourite expression "to serve the country", he understood spreading literacy, improving agriculture and above all, the settlement of the peasant question.

While discussing the different objects for which Polish students at Petersburg pursued their studies, it is necessary to add that the majority of them were at the Polish faculty of law, which was established especially for the benefit of the Poles from the Kingdom of Poland. The lectures at this faculty were delivered in Polish and by Polish professors. The object of these legal courses was to provide trained civil servants in the the administration of the Kingdom.

Whatever might have been the class prejudices at the University, all students presented a united front towards the Russians. "The Poles did not participate in the university life at all. Even if they came to the students' meetings, it was only as spectators" — writes Panteleev.⁸⁷⁾ The members of the Polish corporation were forbidden to ask for assistance from the Russian students' fund, to accept the duties of a deputy or an editor at the risk of being expelled from the corporation. Students in need of financial assistance could apply to their own fund. The Russian students bore no ill feelings towards the Poles, "and it seemed that they had recognized the right of the Poles to their aloofness".⁸⁸⁾ Gieysztor, referring to a period almost ten years earlier, made a similar statement: "We had no ties of friendship", — he wrote, — "closer than cordial relations as students, and this was our own fault, because they gladly sought our company".⁸⁹⁾

Closer bonds between the Polish and Russian students did not arise until the outbreak of the Italian war which stirred the minds of both Poles and Russians alike. But then it was the few revolutionaries who were willing to cooperate, not regrettably, the moderates.

85) I. BARANOWSKI: *op. cit.*, p. 37.

86) J. GIEYSZTOR: *op. cit.*, p. 19.

87) PANTALEEV: *Vospominania iz proshlogo*, p. 91.

88) *Ibidem*, p. 90.

89) J. GIEYSZTOR: *op. cit.*, p. 20.

Industry. "Poland is so essentially an agricultural country that little extension is given to manufactures and industries in general; the extraction of sugar from beetroot is an exception to this rule" — wrote Colonel Stanton in his "Statistical Return" of May 18th 1862.⁹⁰⁾ This was an accurate statement about industrial life in Poland during Colonel Stanton's residence in Warsaw and in the three previous decades. Before that, the constitutional era of the Kingdom of Poland provided "one of the most illustrious pages of the industrial history of Poland", when a great impetus towards the industrialization of the country was given by Lubecki, then the Minister of Finance. Lubecki once wrote that Poland needed three things: education, industry and munition factories. He firmly believed that if these three objects were accomplished, the little Kingdom of Poland could become an important factor in the political life of the Russian Empire, and he exerted his energy towards this end. In his industrial policy Lubecki favoured liberalism, tempered by a degree of state supervision justified by the interest it took in promoting industry through protective tariffs, state subsidies and establishment of banks. The result of this policy was that the Kingdom received the basic structure of a modern state.

The customs tariff of 1821 protected Poland from Prussian competition, and the Customs Union with Russia in 1822 opened large markets for Polish products in the Russian empire and even in China.

The government encouraged the immigration of skilled workers and capitalists from abroad because there was not enough skilled labour and capital at home. At the same time, however, they opened the way for native expansion at home by establishing technical and engineering schools in Poland.⁹¹⁾ Germany usually provided skilled labour, England, France and Belgium engineers and managers. Most eminent among them were such people as Philippe Gérard — inventor of the weaving machine; Fraget — an able goldsmith; an Englishman by the name of Evans, and the Belgian Coqueril, both metallurgical experts. Evans opened a factory in Warsaw producing machines and light-metal goods, and employing about 1,500 workers. Another important industrial establishment in the 1820's was Fraenkel's cloth-factory employing about 700 workers. Similar smaller factories were opened in Marymont and Grochów in the suburbs of Warsaw.⁹²⁾

The subsidies given by the government to immigrant workers were 300,000 Polish Zł. a year up to 1823 and twice as much afterwards. The industrialists received as much as 3,000,000 Polish Zł a year, in loans. With these they were able to found the first Polish industrial companies such as "The Linen Products Company" and "The Grain Produce Company".

The crowning work of Lubecki was the establishment of the Polish Bank in 1828. A few years before, in 1825, another bank, The Landed Bank was opened in Warsaw. It was an association of the landed proprietors of the Kingdom, who by mortgaging their estates to the Society could obtain loans paid in debentures issued by the bank. The Landed

90) P.R.O. F.O. 65/612, *Stanton to Russell*, 18.5.1862.

91) More on this subject in the Section 1. on Education.

92) T. LĘPKOWSKI: *Przemysł Warszawski u progu epoki kapitalistycznej.*, p. 16.

Bank saved the landowners from ruin and was the first step towards commutation of labour service. The establishment of the Polish Bank had a different object in view. It was founded for the double purpose of paying the public debt and for the encouragement of commerce, credit and industry. The Polish Bank greatly helped the nascent Polish industry by offering large loans to native and foreign businessmen wishing to establish factories in the Kingdom. This assistance was of special importance after the November Revolution when Polish industry lost the support of the government. Peter Steinkeller, pioneer of Polish industry received the wholehearted support of the Bank for his projects and though he became a bankrupt in the end, his establishments survived owing to the assistance of the Bank. In this critical period, the Polish Bank

"took under its administration those industrial establishments which were on the brink of bankruptcy, trying to save both the establishment and the individual; but when it was clear that the individual could not be saved, it took over the property for itself".⁹³⁾

In the constitutional era, however, such measures were not needed, as industry was growing rapidly. Naturally, all the credit for this growth cannot go to Lubecki; industrialization was the catch-word of the epoch. The Polish nobility, for the first time since the reign of the last king of Poland, began to invest money in industry. The brothers L. and H. Łubiński and the family of Zamoyski were the chief promoters of this trend.

Of the light industries which were growing in this period, the textile industry was the main one. The establishment of this industry goes back to the period of the Duchy of Warsaw and the Napoleonic blockade of English goods. However, its rapid development in the constitutional period of the Kingdom of Poland, was chiefly due to the favourable customs tariffs and improved methods of spinning and weaving. In 1825 the first spinning-mill was introduced in Poland and Philippe Gérard had his own weaving machine patented the same year. Still, the process of mechanisation was slow in Poland and the hand-worked looms were used for a long time, especially in the linen industry.⁹⁴⁾

Unlike the West, where the growth of the textile industry was marked by the establishment of large centres for the production of cotton fabrics, in the Kingdom of Poland it was wool and linen, but chiefly wool, that paved the way. This again was the result of the policy of the Polish and Russian governments. At home, large orders for woollen cloth were made by the government for the army, thus securing a permanent customer for the industry, and the Customs Union with Russia of 1822 allowed Polish woollen textiles into Russia at a very favourable customs duty of 3 per cent. Transit of Polish goods through Russia to China was entirely free, cotton fabrics being the only article excluded from this agreement. In Russia, as in the West, the cotton industry received the support of the government, and this restriction on Polish exports was inserted to placate the Russian industrialists afraid

93) H. RADZISZEWSKI: *Bank Polski*, p. 259.

94) S. KIENIEWICZ: *Przemiany społeczne i gospodarcze w Królestwie Polskim.*, p. 24.

of Polish competition. The Customs Union with Russia indicated two things: the attempt on the part of the Russian government to tie up the Polish economic system with that of Russia, and the extent of Alexander's "Polish sympathies" which he was still willing to express whenever they did not infringe his political obligations towards the Empire.

The results of this policy were very favourable for the Kingdom: the value of yearly exports from Poland to Russia in the period from 1820 to 1829 increased from 2 to nearly 10 million Russian Roubles. Of this sum, more than 8 million Roubles were for woollen textiles. In 1828 — 4.1 million metres of woollen cloth were woven, 2.1 million metres of linen cloth and 1.4 million metres of cotton. Still, the production of cotton fabrics was developing: a cotton factory was opened in Marymont near Warsaw and the Polish centre of the cotton industry, Łódź, was established in 1824. Between 1825 and 1830 the production of cotton fabrics increased from 0.8 to 3.8 million ells.⁹⁵⁾ At the end of the constitutional era the production of cotton began to supplant that of wool. Raw wool continued to be exported to Russia and to the West, but little was woven into cloth at home. This deterioration was largely due to the repressive measure imposed on the Kingdom by Russia after the failure of the November Revolution: the abolition of the Customs Union and the withdrawal of the army orders for cloth. The following figures show this clearly: the value in money of the wool produced in 1829 was 35 million Polish Zł. and in 1832 only 12.7 million.⁹⁶⁾ The cheapness of cotton however, also had something to do with the decline of the woollen industry: it attracted buyers from the numerous lower classes, while the rich preferred the more expensive but better quality foreign wool.

In the twenties, a linen factory was established in Marymont, owned by a private company of Polish nobles, with a few capitalists, and organized by Philippe Gérard. In 1831 the factory was transferred to a place also situated near Warsaw which was to be renamed Żyrardów in memory of Philippe Gérard. The linen mills in Żyrardów, like many others, received some financial support from the Polish Bank in the critical period following 1831, until in 1857 it had to be sold to a foreign firm. The real development of this industrial centre, destined to become the greatest linen centre on the continent, came after 1865.

The boom and subsequent slump in the woollen industry in the Kingdom of Poland formed a link between this branch of industrial life in the Principality of Poznań and the District of Białystok. While the woollen industry was growing in the Kingdom, it had been declining in Poznań, along with other industries of that province, because of the competition of the superior Prussian industry and the protective tariff in the Kingdom of Poland.⁹⁷⁾ The textile workers affected by the slump emigrated to the Kingdom of Poland during its constitutional era and they joined the ranks of the skilled workers so eagerly sought by the Polish textile industry. When their prosperity was once again endangered by the abolition of the tariff of 1822, they emigrated again and settled in the District of Białystok, to be joined by the newcomers from Bavaria and

95) J. RUTKOWSKI: *Historia gospodarcza Polski*, vol. II, p. 97.

96) *Ibid.*, p. 96.

97) *Ibid.*, p. 98.

Prussia proper. The District of Białystok was situated behind the pale of the new tariff and within the range of the huge Russian market. The district with its numerous proletariat provided a rich soil for revolutionary propanganda before the January Revolution, and became the field of stubborn resistance during the Rising itself.

The stagnation that reigned in Polish industry after the November Revolution especially affected heavy industry. The mining district in the Kingdom of Poland was then, as it is now, situated in the South Western portion of the country, in the valley of the river Czarna Przemsza, covering the area called Dąbrowa Górnicza stretching South from Cracow towards Upper Silesia. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, besides iron, zinc and coal, silver ore and sulphur had been exploited. Most of the mining area in the Kingdom belonged to the state, and it became an object of special care for Lubecki. Money and Western experts were freely used for this venture and the results were rewarding.

After the revolution of 1830 heavy industry continued its progress for some time but at a much slower pace. Some important developments took place in the years 1833-1834 when the district was administered by the Bank of Poland. After 1843, however, largely due to political motives, the administration of the mining area was transferred from the Polish Bank to the supervision of the Committee for Finance. At the same time the government also broke off all contacts by which certain mines were leased to private individuals. This transfer marked the end of the improvements in the exploitation and of efficiency in the management of the mines.

The political factor could not be eliminated from Polish economic life as long as the Kingdom was controlled by Russia. The Russian government made the Kingdom largely dependent on Russia's markets, and they could always stimulate or suppress certain branches of Polish industry by an appropriate switch of the tariffs. They could also promote or stifle that private initiative which was of primary importance throughout the nineteenth century. This was exactly the attitude that the Russian government adopted towards the Kingdom after the November Revolution: the Customs Union was withdrawn as a punishment, and private initiative utterly suppressed since political plots were suspected behind every individual or collective enterprise. It was chiefly for this reason that the Polish Bank was removed from the administration of the mining area. Another example of this attitude was provided by Paskevitch in his refusal to give concessions for the construction of railways. In 1833 the Polish Bank had come out with a plan to build railways in order to bring coal to the capital and to the textile centre growing in the Province of Warsaw. A concession and government guarantees were refused and a company already formed had to be dissolved as no foreign credits could be received without the support of the government. The government, however, took over the work of construction, and in 1848 the line was brought to the Galician frontier, connecting Warsaw with the Mining Centre of the Kingdom, with Cracow, Wrocław and Vienna.

The Warsaw-Vienna line was sold to private hands in 1857, at the period of "thaw" which was inaugurated at the accession of Alexander II. The same year, the Tsar ratified the concession for the railway line leading to Bromberg which in the early sixties connected Warsaw with Gdańsk — the port of destination for all Polish exports not directed to Russia. The concession was given to the banker Epstein who repre-

sented German capital. The final ratification was preceded by a long rivalry between Epstein and Kronenberg, the financier who represented French capital. The intrigues spun by both parties in Warsaw and in Petersburg found their way even into the reports of the British consuls in Warsaw.⁹⁸⁾ The shareholders of the company comprised a strange group of Prussian capitalists and Polish nobles from all parts of Poland. In finance, frontiers were not observed.

To do justice to the Russian government it should be mentioned that except for the Warsaw-Petersburg line, the routes of the railway lines were dictated by commercial considerations and not by the strategic ones. Even the Warsaw-Petersburg line, opened in 1862, aided Białystok which could now become an industrial centre as well as a commercial one.

Needless to say, the principal towns of the different portions of Poland had no direct communication, but had to be reached by roundabout routes.

The exports and imports of the Kingdom of Poland were at first not seriously affected by the construction of the Warsaw-Vienna line. It was the Bromberg Line, connecting the Kingdom with Gdańsk that stimulated exports.

The chief exports from the Kingdom were grain, timber, wool, pigs, leather, hides, agricultural by-products — such as flax, bristles, oil seeds, tallow, — also some iron and zinc. In 1859 the value of exported grain, timber, wool, pigs, leather and hides, amounted to £ 1.641.784 out of a total of £ 1.841.900 or nearly 89 per cent of the total exports. In 1858 it was £ 1.557.977 out of £ 1.710.762 or 91 per cent of the total exports of the country. The quantity of exported wheat was 301.145 quarters valued £ 533.658 in 1858, and 197.225 quarters valued £ 341.079 in 1859.⁹⁹⁾

On the whole it was difficult to estimate the amount of trade going on between Poland and England, as sea-borne articles had to go through Prussian ports where the returns were mixed up with Prussian trade. But, according to the sources that the British consuls were able to obtain, it was estimated that about three-fourths of the timber, one-fourth of the wool and nearly all the bristles were exported to England through the agency of houses in Gdańsk and Hamburg. However, the most important item in the trade between Poland and England was grain, especially wheat. About two-thirds of all wheat exported went to England, and for this reason the price of this produce largely depended on current prices in England.

The rivers, especially the Vistula, provided a very important means of communication. The rivers Bug, Narew and Pilica, all of them tributaries of the Vistula, also served as means of communication within the Kingdom. The river Warta in the West conveyed some small portion of the produce to the Prussian market. The Niemen, which formed the North Eastern frontier, provided a ready means of water communication with the Prussian ports. Polish foreign trade might have been largely extended had the navigation of these rivers been better than it was. The British consuls in Warsaw were constantly being instructed by the

98) P.R.O. F.O. 65/501 No. 27 11.3.1857; No. 45 13.5.1857, 65/502 No. 54 13.6.1857, No. 58 29.6.1857 and No. 85 14.10.1857.

99) P.R.O. F.O. 65/558, *Simmons to Russell. Report on Commerce in Poland for the year: 1858 and 1859*, 10.4.1960.

Foreign Office to raise this subject with the government at Warsaw. Colonel Simmons suggested that British merchants should try to open a direct trade with Poland, because, in his opinion, British goods would never find their way to a great part of the interior of Russia except through Warsaw. As instructed by the Foreign Office, he had several talks with Muchanov and Gorchakov on the necessity of improving navigation, but no heed was paid to him, or to his successor, or, for that matter, to his Prussian colleagues. The beds of the Vistula, Bug and other rivers were blocked up by sand banks, which were continually shifting, and every spring brought with it extensive floods caused by the melting of snow in the mountains. During the summer months the rivers were very low and in some places navigation had to be completely stopped. In the winter the rivers were covered with ice and on the average navigation was only possible from April to October.

Yet, in spite of all the difficulties encountered, Polish economic life was making progress. The value of industrial production which in 1850 was 11 million roubles, increased to 32 million roubles in 1860.¹⁰⁰⁾

The standard of industries which derived their raw material from agriculture was much higher than the mining and textile industries. The manufacture of sugar was developing well and formed an important item in Polish industry. In 1860, there were 49 sugar mills working, producing 373, 569 English Cwt of sugar, the surplus of which was exported to Russia.

From the early fifties the signs of the growth of capitalism were becoming evident in the few large towns of the Kingdom. Warsaw certainly illustrated best the penetration of the capitalist system into the Kingdom. Banking houses were growing rapidly. Warsaw had five large private Jewish banks, all of which were established before the November Revolution, and grew from insignificant countinghouses. Large-scale commerce and industry were entered by the Polish nobles together with rich Jews and Germans. Count Andrew Zamoyski had "at his own risk formed an establishment of steamers"¹⁰¹⁾ and a few machine-producing factories. He did not even stop short of erecting a "large block of flats for 1,200 tenants right in front of his residence in Warsaw".¹⁰²⁾

In order, however, that the natural resources of the Kingdom might be used to their full capacity a complete change in the policy of the Russian government towards the Kingdom was necessary — a change that would relieve the industry from bondage to the state. This could mean only one thing — a return to the autonomy of the Kingdom. And in this the interests of industrialists and landowners were the same.

The Peasant Question. In Congress Poland the agrarian question centered round the problem of the abolition of labour service, until the last vestige of serfdom disappeared with the Decree of Alexander II, dated February 19th — March 2nd 1864. This enactment ended the long process of interdependent social and economic changes which had brought about the transition from natural to money economy in agriculture.

100) J. RUTKOWSKI: *Historia gospodarcza Polski (do 1864 r.)*, p. 353.

101) P.R.O. F.O. 65/503, *Mansfield to Clarendon, March 21st, 1857.*

102) St. KIENIEWICZ: *Warszawa w Powstaniu Styczniowym*, p. 17.

The partitions of Poland caused the liberation of peasants to be conducted by three different methods and at different periods. In Central Poland, which formed the Duchy of Warsaw, the peasants were liberated without ownership of the soil, by the constitution of July 22nd, 1807. Based on the Napoleonic Code the constitution abolished serfdom without making provisions for land tenure. Article IV of the constitution merely stated that "all serfdom is abolished" and that "all classes of the population are protected by the law".

The gentry feared that this article might be interpreted as the abolition of labour service and that their lands would be left uncultivated. From their point of view compulsion was the only way to secure labour and they fell back on their absolute rights to the soil, holding the threat of eviction as a means of bringing the peasants to obedience. The gentry found champions among the liberal members of the Provisional Government of the Duchy of Warsaw. Influenced by both the English system of land tenure and by the Napoleonic Civil Code which had become the law of the Duchy, they believed that the only right solution for the peasant question would be the introduction of contracts for leaseholds which left the landowner as supreme lord of the land. Meanwhile, before proper industrialization of the country could distribute sufficient wealth to enable the peasants to pay their rents, labour service had to continue. This may sound hypocritical and yet many liberals were sincere people, truly concerned with the welfare of the peasants, as for instance Stanislas Kostka Potocki, the future Minister of Education in Congress Poland, or even Felix Łubieński, the Minister of Justice in the Duchy of Warsaw and the chief supporter of the landowners' claims.

Members of the Council of State belonging to the propeasant party (mostly survivors of the progressive group of pre-partition Poland) in vain strove to secure to the peasants undisturbed enjoyment of their holdings. A struggle between Małachowski, the leader of the pro-peasant group, and the liberals headed by Felix Łubieński, ended in the resignation of Małachowski and the promulgation of the Decree of December 21st 1807, manifestly passed in the interest of the landowners.

Article I of the December Decree stated that every farmer-peasant or agricultural labourer was free to leave the place of his domicile and, unless he had a previous contract, could now go wherever he wished within the borders of the Duchy of Warsaw. Article II limited this freedom, obliging the peasants to inform the landowner and also the administrative authorities about such intention. The core of the matter was Article III which tacitly sanctioned the evictions. It stated, that every farmer-peasant and agricultural labourer who did not wish to leave his present place of residence was free to stay there for another year as long as he fulfilled his obligations towards the landowner, which within this period could not be increased or changed; this wording implied that after the lapse of a year the landowner could evict the peasant.

The period following the establishment of Congress Poland seemed to augur well for the peasants. In the government a special committee for Reform was formed and Czartoryski instructed it to work out a programme for the amelioration of the peasant welfare by means of gradual progress towards their complete economic independence.

For this the landowners were quite unprepared. The country was still in the grip of natural economy and it was hardly a time to conduct

a reform which called for large investments of money: "It was difficult to work out broad financial plans which would vitally burden the country's budget at a time when the treasury was empty and the political future of the country an enigma".¹⁰³⁾

In Congress Poland, according to the statistics for the year 1824, only 7 per cent of all landed estates were free from debt, while 16 per cent were mortgaged beyond the value of all the immovable property. As it was, the average indebtedness of the landed estates including peasant holdings amounted to 62 per cent.¹⁰⁴⁾

The government for its part, could not come to the rescue of the peasants by redemption of their holdings from the government's funds, as the financial position of the Kingdom was extremely precarious in the first six years after its establishment. The chief task of the Ministry of Finance throughout the pre-revolutionary period of Congress Poland was not to spend money on social investments, but to achieve a balanced budget as only that could safeguard the little Kingdom from Russian encroachments on its autonomy. Without this financial stability the Kingdom would be unable to discharge its numerous liabilities.

Not a single legislative act was passed on the peasant question until 1843 when the evictions were restricted by an order forbidding them without the verdict of the court.

Meanwhile, the neighbouring province of Poznania was well ahead on the path towards bringing the settlement of the peasant question to a close.

In Poznania, the Edict of 1823 provided rules by which peasant-farmers were enabled to buy up their holdings by "mutual settlement of the accounts of former obligations".

After 1848, Congress Poland and the former Eastern Provinces of ancient Poland, were the only parts of the pre-partition Poland where labour service still persisted.

By that time, the position of the landowners in Congress Poland had become much better. Economic conditions were steadily improving and the country was ripe for the settlement of the question. Labour service was becoming intolerable for both sides: for the landowner it was the only obstacle towards modernization of his estates, and for the peasant it meant a loss of valuable time which he could otherwise devote to the cultivation of his own holding. The situation was aggravated by the revolutionary propaganda spread among the peasants by the emissaries of the Polish Democratic Society abroad.

As soon as the grip of the censorship was slackened in the early forties, and new periodicals were published, the peasant question began to occupy public opinion anew.

A periodical entirely devoted to the agrarian question was the "*National Farming Annual*", run by the conservative, well-off landowners headed by Andrew Zamoyski. The annuals appeared for the first time in 1842 with Zamoyski's steward Garbiński as head of staff. The influence of this group was stronger than that of either Warsaw radicals or liberals, because of the prestige they enjoyed with the whole gentry. The policy

103) Z. KIRKOR-KIEDRONIOWA: *Włościanie i ich sprawa w dobie organizacyjnej i konstytucyjnej Królestwa Polskiego*, p. 231.

104) H. RADZISZEWSKI: *Bank Polski*, p. XX.

of the Annuals was in favour of leaseholds for the peasants. They intended to carry it out, independent of government assistance, by means of gradual transference of the manors from natural to money economy. Most of the matter printed in this monthly was devoted to the methods by which cultivation could be improved and new methods introduced to enable the landowners to carry out such a transfer.

The propagation of leaseholds did not prevent individual advocates of peasant freehold from joining the group of the Annuals. Thomas Potocki, one of the chief supporters of freeholding belonged to this group from the beginning. Paul Łubieński and Joseph Gołuchowski, two other advocates of freeholding, also contributed to the Annuals and each of these men added something new on the subject of peasant reform.

Wielopolski stood apart from the editorial body of the Annuals, but to serve as an intermediary between him and the closer associates of this monthly, there was Thomas Potocki, both of whose sisters, Teresa and Paulina, were successively married to the Marquess.

The predominant influence, however, over the organic group centered around the Annuals, belonged to Andrew Zamoyski. To provide the landowners with practical experience of the improved methods of cultivation he used to invite large gatherings of landowners to his manor-house at Klemensów where instead of the usual card-playing and winedinking, he made them listen to essays and discussions on agriculture, and showed them his model farms. The first of those gatherings took place on July 16th 1843. It was also the first of its kind since the November Revolution.

Andrew Zamoyski took for his model Sir John Sinclair's books and expounded his ideas in the Annuals. After Sinclair, he repeated that it was for the advantage of the country to have "by far the largest proportion of its soil the property of one class but occupied by another". Such a system —he argued — would ensure the best results in farming. The owner must feel deep interest in the success of his tenant on whom his income depends, and the tenant must naturally aim at such efficiency as would bring him enough profit to pay his rent and to yield him a livelihood. Moreover, the possibility of the first refusal of a new contract would serve as an incentive to efficient farming. Zamoyski also pointed out that the need to pay a yearly rent would prevent unscrupulous leaseholders from hoarding grain to raise its price. Above all, Zamoyski was against freeholds of small property because this meant sub-division of land and led to diminutive peasant holdings on which improvements were neither profitable nor possible. For the same reason he objected to perpetual usufruct as this traditionally involved the right to divide the land among the children of the deceased occupant.¹⁰⁵⁾

Zamoyski hoped that by the practice of leaseholds in Poland the whole pattern of life might be changed. Agriculture would cease to be a retreat for sloth and ignorance and would attract new intelligent people to the land. The small squire, wrestling with difficulties to eke out a profit would perhaps be induced to lease his estate to some peasants and move to town.¹⁰⁶⁾ This seems to suggest that Zamoyski envisaged the

105) A. hr. ZAMOYSKI: "O własności i dzierżawie ze względu na włościan naszych", *Roczniki Gospodarstwa Krajowego*, vol. 7, pp. 225-26.

106) A. hr. ZAMOYSKI: "O rolnictwie w Anglii", *Roczniki Gospodarstwa Krajowego*, vol. 4, p. 25. (footnote).

transference of the gentleman-farmer to the urban professional classes leaving his land to the more industrious peasants who could make a good living on it with the toil of their own hands.

As a start for his reforms Zamoyski suggested commutation of labour service for 20 years. In the course of that period peasants should be jointly responsible for payments of commutation and live within a commune so that the poorer peasants could obtain help from the community and the lazy ones be coaxed to work. In the same period creches, savings trusts and agricultural schools should be introduced in the communes. Only after the period of these twenty preparatory years could the re-educated peasant become an independent leaseholder.

It seems that the whole clan of the Zamoyski family held the same principles on the peasant question and had the courage of their convictions. In 1833 the eldest of them, Constantine, started to commute labour service, and his two brothers, John and Andrew, soon followed suit.

Their example was followed by several big landowners, such as Adam and August Potocki, and Marquess Wielopolski.

Wielopolski was ready to admit what he owed to the example of the family of Zamoyski and openly ascribed the championship of the peasant question to Constantine Zamoyski. He wholeheartedly accepted advice from Andrew Zamoyski's steward Garbiński, and in the winter of 1845 himself made a tour of Zamoyski's estates to examine the effect of his recent commutation.

None the less, his programmes bore distinct marks of his own original contribution. The Marquess elucidated his ideas on the peasant question in a report which he read to a group of landowners who gathered at his manor in Góra on the 9th of March, 1845. Fourteen years later he included this report in his family publication "*Biblioteka Ordynacji Myszkowskiej*".

On the subject of peasant settlement he considered the possibility of evicting "indolent peasants" whom the community "could not guarantee". In his programme for bringing peasants to the possession of leaseholds as a first step he considered strict division of land into tenant land and demesne. For his own peasants he wanted to introduce perpetual leaseholds, and for newcomers, long-term leases.

Wielopolski quite openly admitted his private motives for preferring leaseholds over freeholds; In his report he explained that he could not possibly endow his own peasants with land, because his estates formed an entailed property of which he was only a trustee and not an absolute owner. Generally, he did not believe that freeholds were possible in the Kingdom in view of the "insurmountable money difficulties". Therefore, he suggested that leaseholds were the most satisfactory solution for the present time. He believed that this method was superior to that followed in Poznań, where only better-off peasants were included and where the transfer of land was allowed. In the Kingdom all peasants would be included, and those who had less land could acquire leaseholds from the demesne land. He maintained that the provisions of tenancy did not exclude the possibility of eventual bestowal of property rights on the peasants when conditions would be favourable for such a settlement.¹⁰⁷⁾

¹⁰⁷⁾ *Biblioteka Ordynacji Myszkowskiej*. Zapis Konstantego Świdzińskiego. Rok 1859, pp. 58-66.

Another motive for his preference for leaseholds was the political one that an agrarian reform on these lines could be carried out independent of the government and in this way the patriarchal relationship between the peasants and landowners could be preserved.

During that period, Wielopolski was, in fact, Zamoyski's disciple on the peasant question. Differences between their approach to this question did not arise until 1861 when Zamoyski, pressed by his own society and public opinion, yielded to the principle of freeholds for the peasants.

As a start, he decided to abolish labour service in his family seat of Chroberz and in adjoining villages where peasants' holdings were larger than anywhere else. As was the practice on Zamoyski's estates, he stipulated that the peasants could revert to labour service if they found this way more economical, but after a certain fixed period, rent was to become irrevocable and insolvent peasants would have to be replaced. The leases were to last for 24 years with the right of first refusal reserved for the original tenants.

It seems that a lot of peasants found his conditions acceptable, for already on the 9th of February he was writing to his wife that "all the villages came asking for the same benefits as those promised to Chroberz and accept all conditions including purchasing of fuel and other materials",¹⁰⁸⁾

Wielopolski intended to apply the same measures to the demesne land, and in the course of 1845 ten manors were subdivided and leased to peasants. His work was interrupted by the Galician Revolution and the Ukaz of 1846.

In April 1846 the military governor of Kalish, prince Alexander Golitsyn, put forward a proposal for a peasant reform: "I am deeply convinced that the present disturbances can only be averted through the speediest liberation of the peasants from labour service, and by bestowing leaseholds on them."¹⁰⁹⁾ The answer of Paskevitch was: "This is true, but what would Prince Golitsyn say if he had land in this country and suddenly his income was cut by half?"¹¹⁰⁾

Things moved swiftly with the arrival of the Tsar. Nicholas arrived in Warsaw on May 18th, and at the end of May set out on a tour of inspection of the Kingdom.

On July 3rd 1846, a Secret Committee of both Poles and Russians was formed under the chairmanship of Paskevitch to deliberate on the improvement of the conditions of the peasants. Their talks resulted in an interim decree of 26th May/7th July 1846. It prohibited evictions of peasants who cultivated at least three acres of land, stopped the transference of tenant land into demesne, abolished all irregular obligations, and stopped further increase of existing labour service. Above all, the decree promised that the government would arbitrate in all cases between peasants and landowners.¹¹¹⁾

108) A. SKALKOWSKI: *Aleksander Wielopolski w świetle Archiwów Rodzinnych*, vol. II, p. 106.

109) H. GRYNWASER: *Pisma*, vol. II, p. 118.

110) *Ibid*, vol. III, p. 17.

111) *Report on the Ukaz* printed in N. MILYUTIN: *Izslodovaniya v Tsarstvie Pol'skom*, vol. I, pp. 7-22.

The decree, although an act of justice denied to the peasants in 1807, came half a century too late. Its promulgation was a shock for Wielopolski's plans and for the whole organic group. Patriarchal conditions were over.

In the old days, when generations of peasants lived on the same estates, the landowner was obliged to abide them even when dissatisfied with their husbandry. Now new peasants often lived in the villages temporarily and the landowners could not understand why they should be forced to put up with the same peasant for ever.

The Ukaz proved a failure. That much Nicolas Milyutin admitted in his "*Izsledovania v Tsarstvie Pol'skom*". Naturally, he blamed the Polish landowners. The Ukaz did not succeed because of the "indigenous interests of the Polish gentry and the Polish administration".¹¹²⁾ According to his words, the Ukaz did not bring even half of "the benefits either for Russia or for the Polish people as might have been expected".¹¹³⁾ This seems to be an over-simplification by an obedient civil servant writing to his emperor. In his report Milyutin could not express even slight criticism of an act emanating from the father of Alexander II.

Generally the process of commutation and contract making slackened after the promulgation of the Decree of June 1846, as its provisions were too inadequate and too ambiguous to encourage the landowners towards making agreements with the peasants. Altogether only in 63 villages was labour service commuted for money rents between 1850 and 1858.¹¹⁴⁾

On the whole, the decree left the peasant question in suspense. The government did no more than to form a section on the peasants question where futile discussions continued till the accession of Alexander II. Criticism of the Edict of 1846 was best expounded by Andrew Zamoyski in a letter written to Adam Łaski early in 1858. Zamoyski resented the interference of the government in making contracts for leaseholds between peasants and landowners as if the peasants were still under age and needed outside protection. He argued that by the constitution of 1807 peasants became free small-leaseholders and should be protected solely by the common law of the country regulating conditions on leaseholds.¹¹⁵⁾

After 1848, the spokesman for the majority of the gentry became Joseph Gołuchowski, author of "*Kwestja włościańska*" (The Peasant Question) published in Leipzig in 1848. Gołuchowski became prominent not because his ideas were profound, but because they expressed the feelings and wishes of the majority of the landed class on the subject of the peasant question. He wanted to eliminate all the philanthropic and political aspect of the peasant question and to discuss it on a purely economic level. He raised his voice in the defence of the gentry, denounced by the radicals as "bloodhounds", and argued that the enforcement of labour service was not an act of lawlessness. Such views brought on him the derision of the radicals who called him a

112) N. MILYUTIN: *Izsledovania v Tsarstvie Pol'skom*, vol. I, p. 7.

113) *Ibid.*

114) H. GRYNWASER: *Pisma*, vol. II, p. 123, p. 158.

115) S. KIENIEWICZ: "*Z Dziennika Korespondencji Andrzeja Zamoyskiego (1851-1860)*" *Ze Skarbcza Kultury*, 1953, Zeszyt I (4), p. 108.

champion of labour service, although he himself strongly objected to such accusations and said at the beginning of his book that he was never an advocate of labour service.

The chief fault of labour service in his opinion was its soporific effect on the progress of agriculture: "The peasant has no need to sweat and toil to improve his fortune and in the course of his labour service he only racks his brain how to save his energy".¹¹⁶⁾

He advocated endowing peasants with land and landowners with capital for investments and improvements. The idea of surrendering the land without compensation to the landowners did not enter his head, as it would endanger rights of property. In support of this argument he used the example of England and slavery in the colonies: "The English, otherwise freedom-loving, nevertheless recognized rights of property as something so holy that they preferred to make an enormous loan of 20 million pounds rather than to undermine the rights of property".¹¹⁷⁾

His proposals for the endowment of the peasants with land closely resembled those of Thomas Potocki, although more naive and less generous.

Potocki's plan was more practical, yet more complex. His proposals for the abolition of labour service formed part of a comprehensive scheme for peasant communes. Drawing on historical parallels he tried to prove that the commune was the organization best suited for educating peasants in the arts of citizenship. It would also be a form of organization which would guarantee regular repayments of the mortgages.

As for the means of financing the redemption of peasant holdings, his proposals were similar to those of Gołuchowski with additional provision for funds to establish communal institutions. He expounded his ideas in two books: — "*O urzędzeniu stosunków włościańskich w Polsce*" published in 1859, and "*Poranki Karlsbadzkie*" published in 1858.

His suggestions for financing the indemnity aroused wide interest, but those on communes were less popular, despite the fact that one of his objects was to secure a large influence for the landowner in the local councils. The idea of a joint ownership of land — as envisaged in his communes — was no more popular in the Poland of his times than it is nowadays. In the end he himself agreed that after the discharge of mortgages, the peasants might return to individual ownership of holdings.

Another prominent landowner writing polemical tracts on the peasant question was Count Seweryn Uruski. He, too, advocated leaseholds in the Kingdom of Poland although defending the Austrian solution of this issue in Galicia.¹¹⁸⁾

It is evident that the gentry feared that the government might wish to solve the peasant question without the participation of the landowners, and in this way to seal the fate of the gentry as the leading class in society.

This fear that the Russian government might discriminate against the landowners prepared them to accept the idea that co-operation with

116) J. GOŁUCHOWSKI: *Kwestja włościańska*, p. 248.

117) *Ibid.*, p. 249.

118) Seweryn hr. URUSKI: *Polemika o kwestji włościańskiej z roku 1856 i 1857*.

the Russian government was the only refuge left to them. The peace manifesto of Alexander II and his Moscow speech to the nobility, made it quite clear to the Polish landowners that a definite course of action must be devised by them if they were not to be faced with a decision made centrally at Petersburg without consulting them.

III. EXPECTATIONS OF REFORMS

The end of the Crimean War (1856-61) and the Paris Conference provided a short spell in which the hopes of the Polish émigrés rose. Prince Czartoryski doubled his efforts to have the Polish question discussed at the round table. England and France were now prepared to mention Poland. In Paris, Louis Napoleon, Walewski the French Foreign Minister, and Clarendon, his opposite number from London, broached the subject to Count Orlov, the Russian representative at the conference. The latter however, was inflexible: he told Clarendon that:

"Emperor Alexander was determined to adopt a different policy towards Poland... but the announcement could not be made to the Congress as that would be misrepresented in Russia and the Tsar would be thought to have yielded to a foreign pressure, which would deprive him of the grace of the spontaneous acts he meant to perform".¹¹⁹⁾

To Walewski he said:

"Do not in the interest of the Poles bring the subject forward in the Congress, for I can tell you nothing there, nor admit your right to interrogate me and my answer will therefore be disheartening to the Poles, and the Emperor may perhaps think it a matter of dignity to postpone what he intends to do".¹²⁰⁾

Clarendon then suggested that the Tsar had a choice —

"Between a voluntary declaration... to the Congress, or a Proclamation at some later period to Poland, and — he thought — that the former would have more gracious course and do the Emperor much good in Europe...".¹²¹⁾

Yet Clarendon was not prepared to press the matter, and it seems obvious that he approached Orlov merely to comply with the wishes of Czartoryski who "cannot bear the thought of any good done to Poland by Russia except on compulsion and in recognition of the Treaty of Vienna".¹²²⁾ The old Prince wanted Clarendon to "insist although he

119) MSS Clarendon, dpc. 135. *Clarendon to Palmerston*, 9.4.1856.

120) *Ibid.*

121) *Ibid.*

122) *Ibid.*

knows I should do so singlehanded".¹²³⁾ This seemed to Clarendon an unwise course and he decided not to adopt it. Orlov had persuaded him that bringing the matter before the Congress "would probably lead to a postponement or diminution of the favours which the Emperor meant to bestow on his Polish subjects".¹²⁴⁾ In the end Clarendon agreed with Orlov and the Polish question was not mentioned at the Conference. Clarendon explained to Palmerston that "supposing it is to be true that the Emperor has any benevolent intentions and that we ought not merely to please old Czartoryski to run the risk of damaging the real Poles, i.e. the *adscripti glebae* who cannot get away and who want relief"¹²⁵⁾ In the end the Polish question was discussed only privately in the form of "a gentleman's agreement" in which Orlov promised an amnesty, religious freedom, a Polish university in Warsaw and some minor reforms in the administration of the Kingdom.

Adam Czartoryski lamented this silence in his letters to Lord Harrowby: in that dated May 1st 1856 he regretted that Poland was not mentioned at the official Conference although such "difficult questions" as Italy stood on the protocol.¹²⁶⁾ In the same letter he wrote that when he had seen Lord Clarendon he was "ready to take the initiative on this matter, but was of the opinion that this could diminish the concessions of Russia to Poland. However, Czartoryski was of a different opinion and his proved to be the correct one: in the same letter he wrote that "Alexander will do no more, nor less, than suits him" and he feared that this would "neither be very sincere nor very substantial". Insertion of Russian concessions in the protocol would give Poland "the confidence to rely on the loyalty of Alexander".

Having failed to put through his wishes as to the official discussion of Poland at the Conference, Czartoryski demanded that at least the question should be raised in Parliament:

"Could one not enquire on the causes of the complete silence... Why can't the government reply that they recognize together with Russia the validity of the Treaty of 1815 but that having received the promises of Russia's good intentions towards Poland on the condition of not making an extra reference at the Conference, England and France for the good of Poland, feel that nothing detracts from the merits of concessions made of her own free will. Then Poland would with confidence rely on the loyalty of Alexander, and such a manifestation of public opinion, in proving that the West had not abandoned Poland, nor sanctioned all the injustices she has gone through, would perhaps serve as a means of making Russia keep her promises".¹²⁷⁾

This confidence in the West was already largely undermined by Orlov who —

"Had conversations with leading Poles in which he was trying to prove to them that they could expect no more than what came from gracious

123) *Ibid.*

124) MSS Clarendon, dpc. 135. *Clarendon to Palmerston*, 14.4.1856.

125) *loc. cit.*

126) MSS Harrowby, vol. XXVIII, pp. 149-150.

127) MSS Harrowby, vol. XXVIII, A. *Czartoryski to Lord Harrowby*, 21.5.1856, pp. 155-6.

pleasure of the Emperor and that they could expect nothing more from France, or from England... for Poland might have been mentioned at the Conference like Italy, but they did not care to".¹²⁸⁾

The refusal to comply with the wishes of Czartoryski must have been to a certain extent dictated by unwillingness to offend Alexander's personal feelings. In another letter to Harrowby, Czartoryski suggested a question in the House to which the minister could reply "and which would in no way wound Alexander but which would in itself flatter and encourage him to do good if he intends to".¹²⁹⁾ He did not expect more than a motion similar to that which was made in the case of Italy. He also begged that when the new English Ambassador went to Russia he should be instructed to "insist that the promises made which led to the renunciation of any official action be accomplished", as this was "an obligation of honour which the emperor can hardly fail to keep if he wishes the West to continue to take any genuine interest".¹³⁰⁾ Such a motion was at last proposed and withdrawn when Clarendon replied that the discussion would damage the peace that everyone wanted to maintain.

This deference to Alexander II's susceptibilities seems to have been exaggerated. Had Czartoryski's advice been followed and, if not pressure, then at least friendly persuasion extended by the British government to Alexander, he might have consented to introduce some reforms in Poland more promptly than he eventually did. This would have enabled the reforms planned and executed by Marquess Wielopolski to take firm root and forestall the disasters of the January Uprising.

In spite of this complete silence the Treaty of Paris aroused great expectations among the Poles "who anticipated that some secret clauses relating to Poland were inserted".¹³¹⁾

Nicholas died on the 2nd of March 1855, and the news reached Warsaw by telegraph on the same day. Paskevitch was still alive but his days were numbered, for he suffered from cancer, and already during his illness the administrative direction of the government was entrusted to a Pole, General Krasinski. The long awaited death of the viceroy at last took place on the 1st of February 1856. His successor, Prince Michael Gorchakov, the commander from Sevastopol, was old, mild and courteous but quite incapable of holding an almost autocratic position. However, his nomination was a change for the better as he knew the Poles, having lived in Warsaw since the November Revolution. Its effects were somewhat tarnished by the appointment of Muchanov as director of the Committee for Internal Affairs. He was inflexible in his conviction that Poles should be treated with a heavy hand, yet was unbribable, and compared favourably with his predecessor Vikinskij. Gorchakov trusted him completely and was personally indebted to him as Muchanov supervised and kept going his ruinous estates in Russia. Therefore, his nomination did not necessarily mean that the government

128) *Ibid*, 4.6.1856, pp. 161-2.

129) *Ibid*, 25.5.1856, pp. 159-160.

130) *Ibid*, 25.5.1856, pp. 159-160.

131) *Roczniki Polskie: Listy z Królestwa*, vol. I, p. 81.

wanted to entrust this position to a man hostile to the Poles, but may simply signify personal gratitude on the part of the viceroy.

As for the new Tsar he was remembered as a young boy watching a parade in Warsaw; it was further known that he spoke Polish and a change for the better was generally expected, and was indeed shown by the Ukaz of April 10th 1856, which ended the state of siege in the Kingdom, and in Lithuania, postponed conscription and promised appointments to the vacant bishoprics. Another improvement of conditions was manifested by the lifting of the ban on the issue of passports. Whoever wanted could now go abroad. Further and broader concessions were expected with the arrival of the Tsar in Warsaw.

The gentry began to discuss among themselves what they should demand from Alexander in a petition which they intended to hand to him. The country was exhausted by thirty years of martial law, and very little was expected from the Russian government. This was the result of Paskevitch's rule. The Organic Statute became the ideal of the well-to-do landowners, and the petition originally suggested by Count Jan Jezierski, the Marshal of the Nobility for the province of Lublin, consisted in its final version only of four points: an amnesty for the refugees, a return of the exiles from Siberia, Justices of Peace elected by the gentry and a Polish University in Warsaw. Yet, although petitions were received by the Tsar from his Russian subjects in the Empire, this privilege was denied to the Poles. Gorchakov expressly forbade anyone to speak to the Tsar, reserving this right only to himself, "lest the Tsar's thoughts might be directed towards different objectives than those planned by Gorchakov".¹³²⁾ Jezierski on learning this tried to go as far as Minsk to meet the Tsar, but was promptly refused a visa. Already at this juncture a part of the gentry reflected that since they were not allowed to lay before the Tsar their demands, at least "national dignity should be saved by keeping aloof from the festivities which were being prepared for the visit of Alexander. However, the belief in his good will was so strong, that most of them came to Warsaw, and on his arrival on the 22nd of May, the Tsar received a spontaneous welcome from the crowds as in the good old ways before the Revolution of 1830".¹³³⁾

It is possible that Alexander was prejudiced against the Poles by his German entourage and by the Russian officials. He greatly respected old friends of his father, of whom Gorchakov was one. As a result he showed unnecessary severity towards the gentry and the nobility in his opening speech in the Łazienki Palace when the representatives of that class were presented to him. Alexander repeated and closed his speech with the phrase that flashed through the Kingdom: "Messieurs, point de rêveries, point de rêveries".

To say this in front of venerable old gentlemen, drawn from the most conservative element in the country, was quite unnecessary and tactless. This phrase overshadowed the opening words, "Moi, j'arrive au milieu de vous avec l'oubli du passé...".

132) F. SKARBK: *Pamiętniki F. hrabiego Skarbka*, p. 283.

133) *Roczniki Polskie, Listy z Królestwa*, vol. I, p. 83.

His next speech given at the magnificent ball staged for him by the gentry on the 26th of May, was somewhat kinder, but even there he pointed out that: "En conservant les droits et les institutions telles qu'elles lui ont été données par mon Père, je suis disposé a assurer à ce pays tout ce qui peut lui être profitable et tout ce que mon Père lui a accordé et octroyé. Au besoin je saurai sévir et je sévirai"¹³⁴⁾ These words implied the Organic Statute and perhaps such reforms as might be extended towards the Russian Empire.

The implication of the idea of the Organic Statute in his speech at the ball might be due to the petition presented by Wielopolski who, not disheartened by Jezierski's failure, drew up yet another petition on the 25th of May, after Alexander's first speech at Łazienki Palace. It was written in a submissive and most loyal style. Wielopolski thanked the Tsar for arriving in Warsaw with feelings of forgetfulness of the past, parrying his remark about dreams and assuring him that far from indulging in dreams, the Poles were confining their wishes to internal improvements in the administration of the country. It cautiously asked for enlightened administration and the reform of public education. Appealing to thirty years of loyalty at times of upheaval and disorder in Europe, it did not ask specifically for the Organic Statute or the restoration of the Constitution of 1815, but merely suggested that when Alexander, following the example of his two august predecessors, should appeal to the Poles to open their minds on the subject of the improvements of the administration and the interests of the country, they would respond with profound loyalty to such an appeal. This document was shown to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Prince Alexander Gorchakov, read by him and returned.

The failure of Wielopolski and Jezierski to put before the Tsar their suggestions for some slight reforms in the Kingdom of Poland did not deter the Polish gentry of Bielorussia and the Ukraine from taking the same steps. When Alexander arrived in Minsk in September 1858, the gentry welcomed him with a ball, planning to use this occasion for presenting their petition in which they asked for more Catholic churches, the Polish language at schools and a university at Polotsk. As in the case of the gentry in the Kingdom they were forbidden to present their petition and in his speech the Tsar admonished them — "this country was never regarded as a conquered territory but as an ancient Russian land recovered from Poland".¹³⁵⁾

From Minsk Alexander went to Vilna. Here again great expectations were budding in the minds of the Polish gentry and at the establishment of a Polish university was expected. Alexander was welcomed like a real Polish king in his own right. Panegyrics were written in his honour, balls and hunting parties were arranged. The Tsar was gracious but completely silent on the subject of concessions. Yet the belief in the magnanimity of the Tsar lingered longest in Lithuania. Even in 1860 the Lithuanians attempted to present a petition asking for the restoration of the university.

Only the gentry of Podolia were more fortunate. Although their petition drawn up on the occasion of Alexander's visit in October 1859

134) H. LISICKI: *Aleksander Wielopolski*, vol. 2. p. 16.

135) W. PRZYBOROWSKI: *Historia dwóch lat*, vol. I, p. 217.

was not accepted, one of their demands, for Polish schools, was granted to them a year later.

One man, whose name carried more weight than anybody else's in the Kingdom — Andrew Zamoyski — made no public move towards the government. Contemporary writers, such as Wrotnowski, or Koźmian, usually ascribe this to the traditional policy of his family, faithful to the ideals of 1830 — complete independence. "The events of 1830-1 left a lasting mark on his mind. He lived on those memories and instead of learning something from this experience, he only drew fresh rancour against his enemies".¹³⁶⁾ There was a great disparity between his political outlook and the aspirations of his countrymen. Although he shared the belief of many that Poland would be liberated by the force of political events in Europe, he wanted the Russian Tsar to remain the Polish King. He envisaged a different political system for Poland which would be united to Russia only through a dynastic union: "I know that the aspirations of the whole country are for a Polish dynasty ... but times may change and until the decisive moment comes, let us not ponder who will receive the Polish crown but let us sacrifice out time to organic work which will better facilitate our final task than a *modus vivendi* with the Russian government".¹³⁷⁾ In 1861 he gave the same answer to the Russian dignitaries who visited him: "Mais je n'ai pas d'autre candidat à la couronne polonaise". Yet he would not make an official petition to the Tsar, probably not because, as Wrotnowski and Koźmian maintain, this was ill-regarded by the émigrés in Paris, or because as he later said: "we cannot demand and we cannot allow ourselves to beg", but simply because he knew from Gorchakow, with whom he was on good terms, as Wielopolski or Jezierski did not, that such a petition would be useless.

Much earlier in 1851 Andrew Zamoyski had had a talk with the Minister Secretary for the Kingdom of Poland in which he begged for "legal means of reaching the government with proposals, needs and remarks".¹³⁸⁾ In 1857 he contemplated suggesting to the Tsar the introduction of the Organic Statute "with a few changes, such as the change of the personnel in the civil service and abandonment of the russification of the country".¹³⁹⁾ This further proves that his silence on the arrival of the Tsar was dictated not by his pride but by realization that a petition would not be welcome. It was clear that the Poles were denied the privilege of presenting petitions to the Tsar, which was allowed to his subjects in Russia.

As for the Kingdom, the only result of his visit was the amnesty for the émigrés in the West; the opening of the Medical Academy in Warsaw by the decree of June 4th 1857, and the nomination of Archbishop Fijałkowski as Metropolitan of Warsaw. Three other vacant bishoprics were also filled. Other liberties were denied to the Church. Soon the

136) St. KOŹMIAN: *Rzecz o Roku 1863*, vol. II, pp. 49-52.

137) A. WROTNOWSKI: *Porozbiorowe aspiracje polityczne narodu polskiego*, pp. 219-220.

138) S. KIENIEWICZ: "Z Dziennika korespondencji Andrzeja Zamoyskiego" *Ze Skarbcza Kultury*, Zeszyt 1(4), 1953, p. 101.

139) S. KIENIEWICZ: *Sprawa włościańska w Powstaniu Styczniowym*, p. 101.

amnesty for the émigrés was followed by that for the exiles in Siberia promulgated by the decree of September 16th 1856.

It seems that the Russian government at first tried to extend only the same liberties to the Kingdom as it was willing to give to the Empire, where Alexander's reign opened with such concessions as more lenient censorship, return of the exiles, passports for travel abroad and the lifting of the ban on the works of Pushkin and Gogol. In the Kingdom also the works of Mickiewicz were allowed to be published and an unlimited number of students was allowed to study at Russian universities.

The Ukaz on the amnesty for the émigrés produced some ill feelings among them because they had to sign a repentent letter, and the amnesty excluded those "who had proved or continued to prove their hatred of the government". Even the return of those who were not compromised was conditional on an act of repentance. This produced a violent declaration on the part of the Paris émigrés in which even Prince Czartoryski participated since, as he explained in a letter to Lord Harrowby, he would hardly be able "to separate himself from his compatriots and exiles".¹⁴⁰⁾

So the expectations of the Poles were not satisfied but thwarted. This misunderstanding of the Polish demands and the Russian unwillingness to meet them half way in the end led both parties to a deadlock. While the Poles would have been satisfied with a few substantial concessions in the system of administration, the Tsar distributed pardons for their old transgressions. Only in 1861 when the revolutionaries, non-existent in 1856, 1857 and 1858 became bold enough to raise their old cry for independence, did the Tsar acquiesce in granting them administrative concessions.

As usual on such occasions, the wrath arising from disappointed hopes was turned against the tsarist officials: the British consul in Warsaw wrote that: "the Prince Gorchakov is very unpopular among the Poles. It is the fashion to attribute to him and to his relative, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the continuation of the repressive system, against the original will of the Emperor ...".¹⁴¹⁾ The consul, Brigadier General Mansfield, also supported the opinion held by the contemporaries that the faction of high Russian officials in their desire to retain their places —

"kept up distrust in the imperial mind regarding the present and the future tranquility of the country. This, it is asserted, was the constant practice of the late Prince of Warsaw, during the last reign, when the calm of the community had not been disturbed for many years and when there was an utter and perfectly apparent want of will, of power, of combination and of material to produce even a semblance of disturbance... It is declared that papers in proof of this assertion were discovered during the time of the administration ad interim of General Krasinski".¹⁴²⁾

Yet some relaxation of conditions was evident. There was greater freedom of discussion, the citadel was empty and the prominent nobles

140) MSS Harrowby, vol. XXVIII, *A. Czartoryski to Lord Harrowby*, 11.6.1856, p. 163-4.

141) P.R.O. F.O.65/476, *Mansfield to Clarendon*, 19.11.1856.

142) *Loc. cit.*

resident in Warsaw were often consulted on public matters.¹⁴³⁾ The government was acquiring the habit of referring questions demanding legislation to one or two of the most influential nobles resident in Warsaw. Brigadier General Mansfield wrote that —

"My friend Count Zamoyski in discussing the importance of such reference said that he could not take the responsibility of making recommendations involving the welfare of his countrymen without being allowed to consult some of them. To this proposition no exception was taken and the consequence is that no measure of any weight is initiated by the government without being in the first instance discussed by the Committee in Count Zamoyski's house".¹⁴⁴⁾

The distrust, however, continued on both sides:

"Too much stress must not be laid immediately on the tendency to reconciliation... The speech of the Emperor last year... rankles in the minds of many persons and it is to be feared that the Polish noblemen who may return to greet His Majesty in September... will be in very small numbers. Advantage has been largely taken of the alleviation of the passport system to travel during the summer and we may believe that a wish to be absent from the Capital of Poland at the time of the Imperial visit will determine many to prolong their journeys".¹⁴⁵⁾

The anticipation of Brigadier General Mansfield proved correct. Few nobles came to greet the Tsar in September 1857. Yet it was at this visit that the Tsar made his decision to establish an agricultural society in the Kingdom, the very thing for which the landowners had been clamouring for years: this was done by the Decree of September 24th 1857. But even here certain restrictions were attached, as the society was not allowed to discuss the peasant question. The permission to do so was not granted until 1859.

The establishment of the Agricultural Society was the first minute concession towards the landowners. It was modelled on similar institutions in the West and in Russia and initiated by the editorial committee of the *National Farming Annual*. Its creation was entirely due to the good will of Alexander and the influence of Andrew Zamoyski who appealed directly to Petersburg for support of his scheme, as he encountered a stiff opposition in Warsaw on the part of some high-ranking officials.

The opposition was prompted by purely political reasons. Some of the Russian officials, such as Prince Gorchakov and his closest advisor, Muchanov, feared that the Society might be transformed into a political body and become a kind of Polish Diet, although Zamoyski argued with them that, on the contrary, landowners occupied with the economic problems of the country would have no time for politics. Another faction of Russian officials, especially those sitting on the peasant committee, feared that the society might be entrusted with the solution of the peasant question which, in their opinion, should be left entirely in the hands of the government.

143) *Loc. cit.*

144) P.R.O. F.O. 65/502, *Mansfield to Clarendon*, 26.7.1857.

145) *Loc. cit.*

Owing to this kind of opposition, the society was restricted in its activities "to husbandry in all its branches and to the sciences applied to it".¹⁴⁶⁾

Although restricted to the field of husbandry, the society quickly acquired great prestige and influence over the gentry. It had a permanent committee of 16 sitting in Warsaw, district committees all over the country and a large number of correspondents who informed them on local conditions. It is also likely that the Society had close contacts with the Czartoryski group in Paris as L. Górski, a member of the Committee, was simultaneously a correspondent of the Political Bureau of that group. Its members sat on the peasant committee appointed by the government.

The activities of the society soon extended further than promoting husbandry. Associations of Temperance Societies were established all over the Kingdom and in Lithuania, thanks to the energies of the Agricultural Society, crèches were built, trading houses for agricultural produce opened, and agricultural exhibitions and competitions held throughout the country. All this aroused the suspicions of the government and on May 24th 1860, Muchanov issued a rescript limiting the activities of the Society, forbidding competitions and exhibitions.

Colonel Simmons, the new British Consul in Warsaw, was personally told by Muchanov of the reasons why the activities of the Society were restricted. They show that the government was afraid of the efficient organization of the Society. The reasons were:

"that the Society has established branches in the eight old Palatinates of Poland, being a resuscitation of the ancient Poland as it formerly existed, not corresponding with its present division into five governments;

"that these divisions or palatinates have been subdivided into seventy seven districts, corresponding with an existing subdivision of the country for judicial but not for administrative purposes;

"Committees have been elected in each district with permanent secretaries and officers who correspond with permanent Committees elected for the larger districts or Palatinates and these again correspond with the Central Committee at Warsaw, each and all having their permanent secretaries and officers.

"All these Committees are *en permanence*, hold constant meetings, at which, however, as an officer of the government always attends, it is not pretended that anything improper has taken place. They decree medals and prizes at exhibitions and to increase the estimation in which these rewards are held, have called in the priesthood and by religious ceremonies and priestly allocutions have created for themselves a false position in the country;

"The Society has taken upon themselves the editing of books of instruction for the peasant classes...".¹⁴⁷⁾

In spite of these restrictions the Society was not deprived of its new privilege of discussing the peasant question which it acquired in 1859 when it was instructed to prepare a draft proposal for the solution of this problem, as envisaged by the decree of the government of 1858.

146) WŁ GRABSKI: *Historia Towarzystwa Rolniczego*, vol. II, p. 443.

147) P.R.O. F.O. 65/557. *Simmons to Russell*, 26.5.1860.

The Committee itself, however, had already made one step forward in its attitude towards land tenure and developed a formula whereby the leaseholds should serve only as a step towards a complete ownership of the soil and special banks should be established where peasants could mortgage their land. The committee tried to impress this idea upon the landowners through appropriate publications. Yet in practice not much could be achieved by the good will of a certain section of the landowners without the legal sanction of the government. In most districts peasant opposition towards the leaseholds was widespread and at the same time little response came from the landowners.

Wielopolski understood well that nothing could be achieved without the sponsorship of the government. Therefore, to secure the sanction of the government, and yet to leave the matter to the decision of the country, not being a member of the society, he made private proposals through his younger son Joseph to the effect that the general meeting of the agricultural society considers itself an inadequate body to solve the peasant question and entrusts a special committee to prepare a petition on this subject to the Tsar. In this petition they should ask the Tsar to entrust the peasant reform to the provincial estates constituted by the Organic Statute of 1832.¹⁴⁸⁾

In this way the peasant question would be decided on a national level as the Statute envisaged the participation of the clergy, the bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia in such provincial estates. At the same time Wielopolski was trying to open a loophole for further reforms since the estates were originally involving the welfare of the Kingdom. However, the Zamoyski group was loth to mention publically the statute of Nicholas and the proposals of Wielopolski were again completely disregarded.

Yet at the same time the Society also came to the conclusion that government measures must be sought to enforce the decision of the society. On February 21st 1861 Zamoyski said hopefully, that "moderation of the Society was the best guarantee for the government's support of the Society's activities which were proving so useful for the country".¹⁴⁹⁾

As expected, after much discussion one thousand landowners gathered at the general meeting of the Agricultural Society on February 25th 1861, passed a resolution that "peasants should be admitted to the complete ownership of their holdings through proper credit facilities."¹⁵⁰⁾ They further proposed that a special delegation elected for that purpose should work out appropriate proposals for buying up rents. This delegation was established and it worked out a plan by which the peasants could buy their holdings at 16 years purchase payable in 46 years. The mortgage of 6 per cent was subdivided in the following way: 4 per cent towards the actual percentage on the debt; 1¼ per cent towards the sinking fund, ¼ per cent to be put aside as reserve fund and ½ per cent towards a communal fund. It provided compensation for the use of pastures and forests and proposed the continuation of their use for

148) W. PRZYBOROWSKI: *Historia dwóch lat*, vol. II, p. 287, and A SKALKOWSKI, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 204.

149) Wł. GRABSKI: *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 310.

150) *Ibid*, p. 344.

another six years after making a contract, so that the peasants could have the time to adjust themselves to the new conditions.

All these proposals needed, was the sanction of the government. To obtain this the Committee decided to ask the government for permission to suggest changes in the existing law of land tenure. In other words, the Society, a strictly social body without any political rights, wanted to use the government as its agent. They wanted their proposals to be promulgated as the law of the country to the exclusion of the participation of the peasants in the working of their demands. This was clearly expressed in a proclamation to the members of the Society dated 3rd of March 1861, in which the committee stated that "immediate and simultaneous commutation should take place, if possible in such a way that the initiative for making of contracts should come exclusively from the landowners".¹⁵¹⁾ Obviously, the landowners were afraid that if the government sought the opinion of the peasants, the conditions of the land tenure might be somewhat harder for the landowning class.

To win over the peasants to their programme, the Agricultural Society turned to the support of the higher clergy, The Archbishop of Warsaw, Fijałkowski, wholeheartedly supported the idea, and on his own initiative sent a pastoral letter to curates and the administrators of the churches urging them to work towards "harmony, love and unity among the faithful", which Grabski rightly interpreted as meaning between the village and the manor.¹⁵²⁾ The clergy responded with zeal to this summons and a letter to the peasants explaining in a simple way the proposals of the Agricultural Society was read from the pulpit all over the Kingdom the following Easter, 31st March and 1st April, 1861.

This was almost the last act of the Agricultural Society. The growing unrest in the country at last forced the Tsar to extend some concessions to the Kingdom. But the man who was chosen to work out a programme of reforms was not Zamoyski or his group, who were no longer trusted, but Marquess Wielopolski. Aided by a group of Polish senior civil servants, he was given a chance to stop the growing revolutionary movement by means of reforms largely worked out by himself. To understand his ascent, it is necessary to survey the growth of revolutionary ideas in the Kingdom of Poland.

It was only natural that the complete indifference of the Russian government to the wishes of the influential classes in the Kingdom assisted the formation of secret and semi-secret groups aiming at the restoration of Poland by means of an armed uprising. It took a very long time for these different groups to form their programmes and build up a semblance of organization. The first such group, almost as influential as the one clustered around the Agricultural Society, was the so-called "Millenarians" led by Edward Jurgens. Przyborowski assumes that the Millenarians were already en vogue in 1858.¹⁵³⁾

Jurgens, a comparatively junior civil servant in the Committee for Internal Affairs enjoyed great prestige among his numerous friends,

151) *Ibid*, p. 353.

152) *Ibid*, p. 358.

153) W. PRZYBOROWSKI: *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 166.

drawn from all classes, owing to his intellect, education and moral integrity. He had contacts with the aristocracy of wealth and birth, among the middle class, the students and the artisans, himself being of artisan origin. One of his great friends was Leopold Kronenberg, a Jewish convert and Polish patriot, a banker and a landowner with extensive connections in Warsaw, Petersburg and France.

The Millenarians, whose name suggested ironically that they wanted to postpone the liberation of Poland for a thousand years, never formed an organization. Their contacts were purely social, and the only link between them was a similarity of ideas. Their programme formed a middle road between the revolutionaries and the organic group. Like the revolutionaries they believed in an armed uprising, but while the revolutionaries were prepared to rise as soon as they were organized, the Millenarians wanted to postpone it until such time as the country achieved an organic transformation, thus strengthening its chances of success. Unlike the organic group, they were prepared to ask the Russians for concessions and even to use pressure to obtain them. They were also eager to enter government posts in order to have useful contacts in times of need.

Next in importance stood the students' circles which began to be formed in 1859 among students from the Medical Academy, the School of Arts and the Agricultural School in Marymont. They were inspired by the returned émigrés and the exiles from Siberia, and thought in terms of regaining the complete independence of Poland through an armed uprising of all classes. The dominating influence over their minds were, a young student from the Medical Academy called Jan Kurzyna, a young man of very low origins, and Narcyz Jankowski, formerly an officer in the Russian army. He came from Kiev in May 1858 in order to establish contacts between the students' circle in that city and those in Warsaw. Like the Millenarians the students did not at first form an organized group with a strict programme, but were merely joined together by social connections, and met together to read Mickiewicz, Mierosławski, Herzen and the French socialist writers. Mierosławski was their spiritual leader. It was a romantic and above all, youthful movement, to which young writers, junior civil servants and journalists attached themselves. They envisaged a self-supporting national uprising as prophesied by Mickiewicz, aided by a European revolution. They expected no help from the existing "reactionary" governments in the West, making an exception for Napoleon, especially after the outbreak of the Italian war. Their only sound idea was the endowment of the peasants with land, for which the government would compensate the landowners. This idea appealed to the lower gentry whose estates were economically in a deplorable state, and who hoped that a lump sum from the government might be sufficient to raise the standard of their old-fashioned manors.

Far better organized were the Polish students at the University of Kiev. They developed a system of cells, consisting of ten or three members. This organization existed already before the Crimean War and was improved during it with a view to launching an uprising in case the French entered the Ukraine. The end of the war deprived this organization of its aim but it did not dissolve. It only split into different groups — Polish, Ukrainian, Bielorrussian, Lithuanian, etc. — all inspired by socialist ideas. The British consul in Warsaw informed his

government that the object of the students from Kiev and Kharkov universities was "the dissemination of socialism and the development of separate national ideas among the Little Russians inhabiting the Southern and Western Provinces, as distinct from Great Russians and Moscovites".¹⁵⁴⁾

A different group was formed by the circle of Polish officers in Petersburg led by Zygmunt Sierakowski, who was supported by Wiktor Kalinowski, a clerk in the Imperial Public Library. Kalinowski supplied forbidden literature to those who wanted to know something about Polish history and current socialist ideas. A young captain from the Academy of the General Staff, Jarosław Dąbrowski, took upon himself the task of uniting those eager for action. After 1858 Polish officers began to gather at his lodgings once a week for literary evenings. One can imagine what sort of literature absorbed their minds, though their importance should not be overestimated, as their number did not exceed thirty. They found members among the students from the School of Artillery, the Military Academy, among university students, and even among some Russians, such as Kostomarov, the historian. Through their Russian friends they were influenced by Herzen and by the publications of *Vielikoros* and *Ziemia i Volga*. Their dreams went as far as a revolution in Russia which might spread to Poland and help her to liberate herself.

It is difficult to estimate how closely the organization of the Polish officers in Petersburg was connected with the Russian revolutionary organizations. According to an authoritative source on this subject, "Zygmunt Sierakowski, the chief link between the Polish officers and the Russian revolutionary movement was probably himself a member of *Ziemia i Volga*".¹⁵⁵⁾ Dąbrowski also enjoyed "great popularity among revolutionary minded officers (of the Russian Army) Russians, Ukrainians and Bielorrussians."¹⁵⁶⁾

In spite of the existence of these groups, the Kingdom of Poland was profoundly quiet, so that Gorchakov disbanded the investigating committee for political prisoners. The citadel stood quite empty of any political transgressors. The picture was beginning to change with the commencement of 1860. About that time, the students from the Medical Academy, allied with the group of Narcyz Jankowski, launched the idea of staging patriotic demonstrations under the cloak of religious services and processions. At first such demonstrations aimed at awakening the national spirit among the slumbering middle and upper classes, but later they became directed exclusively against the upper classes, trying to force them to ask the government for extensive concessions, a step which the upper classes, especially the Agricultural Society, were most unwilling to make. In this way, the revolutionary group also became interested in reforms, but they wanted them to be extended to all the provinces of ancient Poland, and when this aim failed, they persisted in their unusual method of using religion for political aims. The government in Warsaw tried to prevent the demonstrations from the start, and Muchanov as curator of the Warsaw Educational District,

154) P.R.O. F.O. 65/557. *Simmons to Russell*, 14.3.1860.

155) J. KOWALSKI: *Rewolucyjna demokracja rosyjska a Powstanie Styczniowe*, p. 93.

156) *Ibid.*, p. 94.

instructed the authorities of the Medical Academy to speed up the examinations and so prevent students from spending too much time on politics. Instigated by Kurzyna, the students agreed to apply in a body for the postponement of the examinations, and in case of a refusal to ask for general release from the Academy. Owing to the endeavours and persuasions of the academic board, the students withdrew their petition. Kurzyna was sent down from the School and exiled to a provincial town, from which he escaped first to Warsaw and then to Paris to become Mierosławski's secretary.

In this matter of student unrest, the government showed its indolence and a lack of appreciation of the ferment existing in society. To think that the root of revolutionary propaganda could be removed by merely sending down a few students when sound reforms were needed and expected, was utter shortsightedness. This measure did not stop students from organizing further demonstrations to make up for the failure of the first attempt.

The outbreak of the Austro-Italian War in May 1859, the intervention of France, and Napoleon's challenging principle that every country had the right to exist as a state if based on homogenous nationality, further electrified public opinion. Fresh enthusiasm was added when Garibaldi, on his way to Naples, revealed his intention of forming a foreign legion with Mierosławski as its commander. The Warsaw revolutionaries already imagined this nebulous formation marching on Poland to liberate it.

The revolutionaries now devoted their attention to organizing themselves. In the middle of 1859 the system of cells consisting of 3 or 10 people, was extended. The leaders of the students and of Jankowski's group formed a joined body called "The Warsaw Chapter". Its main object was to make contacts with Polish students in other parts of Poland and Russia, and it took Mierosławski as its acknowledged leader. Against this leadership one voice was raised that of Karol Majewski, representative of the students, a young man of gentle origin who had large contacts with the organic group, and most probably at heart cherished their principles. He insisted that the Chapter should not take orders from the émigrés, but vice versa. In this he spoke for the organic group which opposed the pretention of the émigrés to the right of leadership in Poland.

Another object of the Chapter was to organize semireligious demonstrations aiming at awakening patriotic feelings among the Polish population. The first such large demonstration was started on June 9th 1860, at the funeral of Madame Sowińska, the widow of a celebrated general who had fought in the revolution of 1831. An anniversary commemorating the death of a prominent Pole, an important battle or other national events usually served as a pretence for demonstrations. Another means of signifying patriotic feelings was the fashion of wearing emblems such as broken crosses, chains and eagles, and of appearing in the stylized national Polish costumes.

In itself, this was not dangerous as the movement lacked united leadership or programme. Majewski soon left the Chapter and joined the Millenarians; other members of the Chapter had to disperse to their respective universities, and Jankowski was arrested by the Austrian police when trying to escape the police in the Kingdom. He was returned to the Russians and sent to Siberia where eventually he lost his reason.

The repression of the government was very mild: occasionally someone was arrested, as for instance, Karol Majewski in January 1861, but his moderate views must have been known to the government as he was soon released.

The weakness of the measures undertaken to suppress the revolutionary movement was best manifested by the fact that it was possible for the students from the universities of Riga, Kiev, Kharkov and Kazan to send their representatives to Warsaw for a students' rally. The object of this gathering was to induce the organic group to present a petition to the Tsar asking for reforms. This the organic group refused to do, saying that concessions could be obtained in a peaceful way. Therefore, the forthcoming demonstrations must be looked upon as directed not so much against the Russian government, but against the whole organic group, in an attempt to intimidate them into asking the government for concessions which the revolutionaries could not demand themselves, as they did not represent any power in Poland.

However, at the beginning of 1861, the land-owning classes themselves began to waver in their objection to asking for concessions. They began to take into account the possibility of the outbreak of a war in Italy and an uprising in Hungary. The reports of the British consuls in Warsaw show that such a possibility was taken seriously.¹⁵⁷⁾ He admitted that the upper classes —

"have no hope of success in open rebellion nor is it easy to determine in what manner they believe their hopes of reestablishing their nationality are to be carried out, but it is certain that in Warsaw the society has lately been kept in a feverish state by reports from abroad and by petty disturbances in town itself".¹⁵⁸⁾

Moreover, the revolutionaries began to use pressure upon the upper classes in an unequivocal way: "Anonymous letters of a threatening nature have been sent to such of the nobility as are supposed to be leniently disposed towards Russia and windows have been broken in some of their houses..." — continued Colonel Stanton.¹⁵⁹⁾

The concessions granted by Francis Joseph's October Manifesto of 1860 to the provinces comprising the Habsburg Monarchy, also encouraged demands for some concessions on the part of the Russian government in the Kingdom of Poland.

Andrew Zamoycki was of a different mind: he advocated a complete reserve. He tried to avoid a situation in which the Tsar "might ask what were the real wishes of the country".¹⁶⁰⁾ In such circumstances Górski asked Czartoryski if he could induce Zamoycki to ask for the restoration of the autonomy of the Kingdom as it existed before the November Revolution. "This" — he wrote — "should be the basis of our demands. They may not restore everything, but we should not be

157) P.R.O. F.O. 65/583. *Stanton to Russell*, 15.2.1861.

158) *loc. cit.*

159) *loc. cit.*

160) A. WROTNOWSKI: *Porozbiorowe aspiracje narodu polskiego*, p. 221.

too squeamish at the start".¹⁶¹⁾ Czartoryski in fact wrote to Zamoyski to the effect that a petition should be written to the Tsar, but "without implicating in it the Agricultural Society", whose first duty was to end labour service.¹⁶²⁾ The Millenarians were also in favour of a petition, and E. Jurgens hoped that such a step might prevent a possible revolution.¹⁶³⁾

To force the issue, the revolutionaries decided to stage a number of impressive demonstrations.

The steps which the government undertook to prevent a demonstration were insufficient and on the 25th of February 1861, large crowds were swarming the streets of Warsaw waiting for some unusual events. Gorchakov hesitated to use force, and simply sent the *Oberpolicemeister* to the city with the message to disperse. The crowds remained impervious to such advice, and the arguments which resulted between the *Oberpolicemeister* Trepov and the crowds, ended in the General receiving a blow on the cheek. There was no alternative left but to disperse with gendarmes a procession bearing the standards of Eagle and *Pogoń*. The dispersal was achieved without the use of firearms. Next day placards appeared all over the city signed by Trepov forbidding demonstrations and patriotic singing, while the Agricultural Society asked for soldiers to guard their meetings.

These steps did not prevent another great demonstration being prepared for the 27th February to force the Agricultural Society to write a petition to the Tsar. In the evening of the same day a large gathering of the bourgeoisie took place in their club to discuss writing a petition to the exclusion of the gentry who were adamant on this point. This at last cowed the gentry, and they hastened to a meeting at the house of Zamoyski, urging him to take the initiative before a petition was written by the townsmen. However, what decided the issue was not the gatherings of the gentry, or of the bourgeoisie, but the first blood that was shed in the streets of Warsaw.

Warned by the behaviour of the demonstrators on the 25th of February, this time, on the 27th, Gorchakov sent large detachments of the Cossacks to disperse the crowds. At first they used only their truncheons but when the crowds answered with stones, mud and sticks, the commander of the detachment, General Zabolotski, gave the order to fire. Five people were killed.

This incident forced the issue. Zamoyski went to the castle to discuss the affair with Gorchakov. However, he made no specific demands and only obtained the promise that General Zabolotski would be punished and that the "five victims" would be allowed a ceremonial funeral. Much more was obtained by the delegation of the bourgeoisie who later in the evening went to see Gorchakov and were received by him. Owing to their intercession Zabolotski and Trepov were released from their duties. From Gorchakov some of the delegates went to Zamoyski, thus showing their willingness to co-operate with the gentry. Together they agreed to write a petition, for Gorchakov, although still adamant on

161) St. KIENIEWICZ: *Między ugodą a rewolucją*, p. 66.

162) M. HANDELSMAN: *Adam Czartoryski*, vol. III, pp. 705-6.

163) I. BARANOWSKI: *Pamiętniki*, pp. 237-8, and N. ŻMICHOWSKA: *Listy*, vol. I, p. 407.

the subject of the petition, seemed to waver, and it was expected that if further pressed, would accept one.

The ensuing night was spent in writing various versions of the petition. Two of them were of the greatest interest; one prepared by Wielopolski and presented to the deliberating gentry at Zamoyski's house by T. Potocki, and another one written by a certain Stawiski. One was terse and factual, the other vague and insubstantial. Wielopolski asked for peasant reform, a university in Warsaw, restriction of the censorship and a national representation based on the Constitution of 1815 and the Organic Statute of 1832.¹⁶⁴⁾ This last point made an intelligent differentiation, since the constitution of 1815 gave a diet to the Kingdom but said nothing about local self-government, while the Organic Statute promised local institutions. Wielopolski's programme largely resembled the demand of the Millenarians and only differed from their principles in so far as the Millenarians considered any reforms of transitory importance, while for Wielopolski they would be permanent. He was of the opinion that other parts of Poland, such as Lithuania, should take care of themselves and ask for reform on their own accord without the Kingdom speaking on their behalf. His petition was generally rejected, because the gentry were afraid of openly abandoning their big aspirations for the complete independence of Poland. One can also assume that Zamoyski used pressure to have Wielopolski's project rejected. These two men were at loggerheads since the establishment of the Agricultural Society, as is suggested by Thomas Potocki in a letter to his wife. He wrote of "differences resembling almost family feuds which fatally weakened the Poles in the face of the government which know perfectly well about all these squabbles".¹⁶⁵⁾

Wielopolski found unexpected support among the Millenarians who were prepared to consider his petition if it were handed to them for perusal. But being a poor diplomat he refused to part with his document,¹⁶⁶⁾ possibly afraid lest his ideas should be borrowed by the Millenarians, who themselves were prepared to ask for "abolition of labour service, self-government for the towns and educational reforms".¹⁶⁷⁾

It was therefore Stawiski's petition which found the general approval of the bourgeoisie and gentry as it merely complained without asking for specific reforms. It merely stated that the recent events were not the work of a single group of the nation but a unanimous symptom of ardent and unsatisfied feelings. Long sufferings and lack of any legal organ through which to reach the throne had brought the country to such a state that it could only raise its voice as a victim. The petition reminded the Tsar that in the family of European nations, the Polish nation was the only one deprived of conditions under which it could develop its moral and material value in "church, law, public education and the whole social organism". Finally it appealed to Alexander's sense of justice. The petition was signed by 127 citizens and

164) A. SKAŁKOWSKI: *Aleksander Wielopolski*, vol. 3, p. 9, and P. POPIEL: *Pamiętniki*, p. 142.

165) S. KIENIEWICZ: *Między ugodą a rewolucją*, p. 68.

166) *Ibid.* 93, p. 121.

167) S. KIENIEWICZ: *Zeznania śledcze o Powstaniu Styczniowym*, p. 206.

more lists were attached to it until the number of signatures reached about 10,000 of all classes.

Gorchakov realized that something had to be done to rally the moderates to the government and to make them take a stand against the radical elements pushing forward to a general uprising. He tried to bring this home to the Tsar:

"The national spirit prevalent here among the middle and upper classes prevents the moderates from standing up against the activities of those wishing a general uprising, come what may... All the efforts of the authorities cannot stop hostile designs against the government at a time when everyone has before his eyes the events in Italy and feels the moral support of people of all trends of mind in Europe and hopes if not for the direct then at least for the indirect assistance of France and England".¹⁶⁸⁾

As for their reliability towards the government, Gorchakov distinguished three categories of Poles, including the Agricultural Society:

"The Agricultural Society, like all the Poles of upper classes is divided into three categories. In the first category are the people who secretly wish for a revolution, to the second belong the people wishing for the restoration of an independent Poland but deeming an uprising untimely, and to the third, which seems the most numerous one, belong people ready to support all excesses."¹⁶⁹⁾

On the 25th of February Gorchakov succeeded in crushing the plans of the extremists by his conciliatory methods and for this the leaders of the Agricultural Society came to thank him.¹⁷⁰⁾ However, he was convinced that the Russians

"would have to struggle continuously with the crowds and that controlling them would sustain the populace in a state which in the end would develop into permanent fighting".¹⁷¹⁾

Gorchakov even predicted what form the struggle would take;

"the first attempts of the rebels will be repulsed but afterwards they will try a different method: they will give up attacks in large masses, but will harass us in small groups shooting at the Russians from windows, etc. The affair can be ended only in one way: by ordering the troops into the field and into the citadel and by pacifying the town by means of a bombardment".¹⁷²⁾

At first Petersburg seemed to accept the challenge of Warsaw radicals and both Alexander Gorchakov, the foreign minister, and the Tsar urged severe measures including bombardment of Warsaw.¹⁷³⁾

168) *M. Gorchakov to Alexander II*, 17.2./1.3.1861. *Korespondencja Namiestników Królestwa Polskiego*, ed. by S. KIENIEWICZ and I. MILLER, vol. I, p. 12.

169) *loc. cit.*, p. 12-13.

170) *loc. cit.*, p. 13.

171) *loc. cit.*, p. 13.

172) *loc. cit.*, p. 13.

173) *Alexander II to M. Gorchakov* 18.2./2.3.1861, and 21.2./5.3.1861, *ibid*, pp. 16 and 23.

Alexander's reluctance to meet the Poles halfway stemmed from his fear that any concessions in Poland would unsettle his autocratic position in Russia:

"don't forget one thing — he wrote to M. Gorchakov — the authority of the government must be maintained at present as any kind of concessions may have the most fatal repercussions in Russia considering the general ferment of minds at the moment".¹⁷⁴⁾

Still, the picture painted by M. Gorchakov had an effect on the Tsar and in order, as he put it, "not to compromise Gorchakov" he sent to Warsaw an official rescript in French. The *Namiestnik* was entrusted to read the rescript to the representatives of the petitioners, for the further information of all the signatories. In this letter, Alexander promised to consider such parts of the Organic Statute which were suitable for implementation and allowed Gorchakov to invite a few Poles to discuss possible reforms.¹⁷⁵⁾ This was exactly what Gorchakov was aiming at: discussion on future reforms. He was pressed for time, as he had only 25,000 armed men in the country. These had to be kept in the provinces as the peasants were becoming restive. In the meantime he removed the armed forces from Warsaw, and virtually handed the town over to a town delegation. Similar delegations were formed in some provincial towns and the whole country began to slip out of the hands of the Russian authorities. Gorchakov had even to give way on certain points, ordering for instance the gradual release of the prisoners arrested on the 27th February and entrusting the order in Warsaw to national constables recruited from students and schoolboys. They efficiently preserved peace for the so-called "Thirty Polish days".

This period gave Gorchakov the breathing space necessary to find a suitable man to carry out some reforms which he hoped would pacify the country. In the first place he decided to send someone to Petersburg to plead for the Organic Statute. The final choice fell on Jan Karnicki, the Secretary of the Council of Administration of the Kingdom. Karnicki arrived in Petersburg on 7th March 1861, and was received by the Tsar on the same day. His suggestions for a slightly extended Organic Statute were heartily supported by Platonov employed in and virtually managing the Department for Polish Affairs. The whole matter was subsequently discussed at a secret council held on the 8th of March, to which Gorchakov, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Dolgoruki, the chief of the gendarmerie, were also invited. At this council certain reforms were accepted in principle and a lawyer employed in the Codificatory Committee was instructed to draw up a plan of reforms which would answer the principles discussed.

Meanwhile Gorchakov was not idle in Warsaw. A group of Polish bureaucrats, such as Łuszczewski, one of the heads of the Committee for Internal Affairs; Wołowski, the chief attorney in the Senate, and above all Julius Enoch, all of them friends of Wielopolski and impressed by his personality, suggested him as the right man for the introduction of the reforms. Already, on the 2nd of March, Enoch presented Gorchakov with a memorandum outlining a set of reforms strongly resembling

174) *Alexander II to M. Gorchakov* 25.2./9.3.1861, *ibid*, p. 30.

175) *loc. cit.*, p. 28.

the ideas of Wielopolski, and as Spasowicz rightly assumes written under his influence. Further, Enoch acquainted Gorchakov with Wielopolski's "Letter of a Polish Gentleman to Prince Metternich", in which his slavophil ideas were summarized. Wielopolski himself arrived in Warsaw on the 6th of March, and Gorchakov was greatly impressed by him. His plans, an extension of Enoch's letter, were sent to Petersburg and discussed at the council of ministers on the 25th of March. The Tsar would not accept them in full, as they went further than his original intentions. For the time being it was decided that the Kingdom would receive: (1) a Council of State of civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries for consideration of petitions and complaints; (2) a Committee for Public Instruction and Religious Matters; (3) reorganization of schools; (4) a higher school at university level in Warsaw and (5) gubernial and district councils. The choice of a candidate for the directorship of the Committee for Public Instruction with a seat on the Council of Administration was left to the decision of Gorchakov, who expressed himself in favour of Wielopolski.

On the 27th of March, Wielopolski was already performing these duties in place of the released Muchanov. This was the beginning. He did not obtain all he wanted, but he at least had a hand in the government of the country.

All this haste was due to the rumours that a great demonstration was being prepared for Easter. The revolutionaries were turning even against the docile delegation and far more serious rumours were being spread that should Karnicki "fail to obtain liberal concessions from the Tsar, all the Polish officials would resign their offices".¹⁷⁶⁾ This measure would bring the whole administration of the Kingdom to a complete standstill.

Gorchakov's correspondence with the Tsar shows that this threat was a real one, and he admitted it in a letter to Alexander stating that in fact two high ranking Polish civil servants expressed their wish to resign, and he feared that "a considerable number of other civil servants would follow suit", thus leaving him "without any means of administering the country".¹⁷⁷⁾

IV. WIELOPOLSKI IN OFFICE (1861-1862)

The appointment of Wielopolski to the directorship of the Committee for Education and Religious Denominations, with a seat in the Committee of Administration, met with a mixed reception from the public: soberly minded people appreciated the importance of concessions and when Enoch came with the news of them to Andrew Zamoyski, the count "almost

176) P.R.O. F.O. 65/583. *Stanton to Russell*, 6.3.1861.

177) *M. Gorchakov to Alexander II*, 9/21.III.1861, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

threw himself into his arms".¹⁷⁸⁾ Wielopolski also received wholehearted support from the Warsaw bourgeoisie; the Warsaw delegation sent him a deputation with words of "gratitude, confidence and support".¹⁷⁹⁾ Another encouragement came from the district town of Radom whose citizens handed him a petition asking "for Polish directors in all the governmental committees with the attributes of authority exercised by the Marquess in his department".¹⁸⁰⁾ The reaction of the remaining provinces belonging to Austria and Prussia was different: In Galicia a favourable article appeared in the Cracovian "Czas", but the Poznanian press was scornful.

As for Wielopolski, he set to work trying to make the administration more efficient and honest, and to "polonize" it: Russian and German employees, along with corrupt Poles, were replaced by Poles drawn even from Galicia and Poznan. This too is evidence that at that time Wielopolski enjoyed a semblance of popular support. In the words of Spasowicz, the author of a scholarly study on Wielopolski:

"That his positive work found support from the middle and upper classes, was shown by the facility with which he found Polish civil servants in place of dismissed Russians or Germans... or even in place of his own countrymen if they were disreputable... A number of employees accessible to bribes were dismissed 'for the good of the service'".¹⁸¹⁾

This idyll was sharply interrupted by the dissolution of the Agricultural Society, ordered by Gorchakov on the advice of Wielopolski. This was announced on the 6th of April, and estranged from the Marquess a large section of the influential landowners. People wielding authority over the public at large, such as Zamoyski in the Kingdom, Adam Potocki in Galicia, and even Wielopolski's faithful friend Helcel, turned away from him, thus depriving him of support in those provinces. His action was misunderstood and, even such authors as Skałkowski and Spasowicz, although friendly towards him, did not understand his motives:

"basically the Society would not interfere with the institutions established by the reforms. The peasant question... was exhausted, the Society consisted of moderate, practical people, who would never stand at the head of a revolutionary movement which would undermine their own position".¹⁸²⁾

However, there seems to be sufficient evidence to show that the dissolution was necessary for political and social reasons. The Society, with its intricate net of sections spread all over the country, with its correspondents and connections with similar societies in Galicia and Poznan, and its good contacts with the upper clergy, largely surpassed the original aims for which it had been established, and was quietly taking over the government of the country. Wielopolski wanted to root

178) H. LISICKI: *Aleksander Wielopolski*, vol. II, p. 173.

179) A. SKALKOWSKI: *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 24.

180) *Ibid.*

181) W. SPASOWICZ: *Zycie i polityka Margrabiego Wielopolskiego*, p. 149.

182) *Ibid.*, p. 151.

this out: he wanted the Polish people to learn to trust their elected representatives and to express their grievances not by means of demonstrations but by means of petitions and suggestions which could reach the throne through the Department of petitions and grievances in the Council of State.

Colonel Stanton, British Consul in Warsaw, said of the dissolved Society:

"The meetings of the members of this Society gave the upper class of Poles the opportunity so long wanting of stirring the question of Nationality, and of organizing a system of opposition to the government by means of the local committees established in various districts of the Kingdom, whilst at the same time, the Central Committee had the opportunity of corresponding with similar bodies established in the old provinces of Poland, thus facilitating an understanding on all important questions of administration, as well as an arrangement as to the policy to be pursued, should opportunity offer of bringing their cause to notice; and although agriculture may have been the principal object of this society, it is hardly to be credited, that the large number of members that joined it, had seriously such an object in view; and it appears much more credible, that agriculture was merely a blind and that political discussions were the real object of the greater number of members, but whatever may have been the original object of this society, it must be admitted, that by its means, the spirit of organization has been introduced into the country".¹⁸³⁾

It must also be borne in mind that Wielopolski was called to his office not only to introduce reforms, but also to stamp out the ferment riddling the whole of society. To do this he decided to strike at the organized bodies which were fomenting this excitement — the Agricultural Society, the clergy and the revolutionaries.

The immediate cause for the dissolution of the Society seems to have been the unfortunate Memorandum to the peasants published by the Agricultural Society and read to them by the priests in the churches at Easter, 31st March and 1st of April, 1861, telling them about the decision of the Agricultural Society passed on February 27th with regard to the endowment of peasants with land. The Society was undoubtedly prompted to do this by the growing unrest among the peasants following the emancipation decree in Russia. Governors, sheriffs and chiefs of districts were reporting to the government a mass refusal to perform labour service, and demands for commutation arising from an erroneous interpretation of the Manifesto, which did not apply to Congress Poland.¹⁸⁴⁾ The decisions of the Agricultural Society were not legal enactments, and were besides agreed on under pressure of demonstrations; neither the landowners nor Wielopolski were prepared to go to such lengths at that time. To explain to the peasants the views of the government, Wielopolski had to issue a similar proclamation promising commutation.

The immediate result of the Memorandum of the Agricultural Society was mass resistance by the peasants, which broke out on the 2nd April, 1861. It was a passive mass movement, without any political slogans and

183) P.R.O. F.O. 65/612. *Stanton to Russell*, 10.1.1862.

184) H. GRYNWASER: *Pisma*, vol. 3, pp. 18-20.

without acts of violence. The demands were quite precise: ownership of the soil without compensation and free use of forests and pastures.

The resistance manifested itself most strongly near the Russian frontier, across which the news of the Imperial Ukaz had come and along the opposite Prussian frontier where peasants were influenced by the example of the Prussian way of solving the labour service problem. The peasants did not show any violence: Grynwasser cites only one occasion when about 150 peasants felled trees in a manorial forest.¹⁸⁵⁾ Rumours of violence, scrupulously investigated by the police, turned out to be "unspecified generalities uttered by some people who were in a state of intoxication".¹⁸⁶⁾ The peasants' resistance can be compared to a mass strike in which whole villages refused to perform labour service. The strike affected about 30 per cent of peasant holdings remaining on the *corvée* system.¹⁸⁷⁾

Wielopolski held the Agricultural Society and the upper clergy directly responsible for the unrest, and for the subsequent severity of the government towards the peasantry. He opened his mind freely on this matter in a statement written probably for the Committee of Public Instruction and Religious Denominations, as it bore his official title as the head of this committee:

"A certain bishop made known to his clergy that the gentry had passed a resolution endowing peasants with land, and called upon his clergy to repair the insult done to the landowners by enemies, who insisted that it was the government and not the gentry which made to the peasants a gift of the gentry's land; this bishop also instructed his clergy to tell this to the peasants in the confessional..."¹⁸⁸⁾

This explains why Wielopolski made a hostile speech to the upper clergy, whom he met on 2nd of April, and told that he would not suffer a government within the government, though he assured them that he would not swerve from the path of tolerance. He also held the Agricultural Society responsible for the severity with which the government suppressed peasant disturbances. As he wrote in a memorandum meant for the Tsar:

"In some parts of the district of Kalisz the indignation of the peasants, stirred by imprudent influence of the priests, provoked by the proclamation of the former Agricultural Society, reached such proportions that it brought about application of corporal punishments surpassing all moderation, and even the use of the armed forces".¹⁸⁹⁾

What the Agricultural Society and the upper clergy wanted, was to restore feudal relationships between the peasants and the landowners by solving the peasant question without governmental interference. Wielopolski on his part, wanted the rural reform to be conducted by the

185) *Ibid.*, p. 26.

186) *Ibid.*, p. 32.

187) T. SZCZĘCHURA: "Ukaz o okupie pańszczyzny z dnia 16 maja 1861 R." *Przegląd Historyczny* vol. XL 1949, p. 261.

188) H. LISICKI: *op. cit.*, vol. II, Document 25, p. 82.

189) H. GRYNWASER: *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 56.

autonomous Polish government, thus making the peasants loyal and grateful to it.

In spite of differences on this issue between the Society and Wielopolski, the Marquess welcomed anybody from the dissolved Society who would help him solve the peasant question. Already on the 1st of April, an advisory committee on the peasant reform was formed, and it consisted of the former members of the Agricultural Society. It was not his fault that this committee soon became neglected and did not participate in any constructive discussions on the peasants. This was due to the reluctance of the Russian faction in the government to allow Poles to take over the settlement of this problem.

With regard to Zamoyski himself, Wielopolski went as far as to save him from exile, although it must be admitted that he did so not only to help him but also to spare the government unnecessary embarrassment. Zamoyski, as decided as ever, had refused to comment on the draft proposals for the Council of State or even to become its vice-chairman; Gorchakov wanted to retaliate against this refusal by sending him to Viatka. That the Count was left in peace in Warsaw was chiefly due to the fact that Wielopolski interceded on his behalf and in his note of 10th April, he justified Zamoyski's refusal on the grounds that —

"Zamoyski could not formulate his views on political matters alone, without his political partisans".¹⁹⁰⁾

Further he described him as a "political zero" whom exile would only exalt to the position of a national martyr.

The indirect results of the dissolution of the Society were, however, deplorable and quite unforeseen. On the day of the dissolution large crowds gathered in front of Zamoyski's house to express popular sympathy for him. This demonstration dispersed peacefully, but the authorities decided to introduce measures which would prevent the recurrence of similar gatherings. For this purpose a special council was held the following night, with Gorchakov presiding, which Wielopolski also attended. His decree on public gatherings was accepted as a proper measure to stop further disturbances. It warned the public that in consequence of unauthorised crowds gathered in a public place, the armed forces would be used in case the people did not disperse after having been warned three times by an official to the accompaniment of a drum. Wielopolski proposed this decree to prevent arbitrary action on the part of the soldiers, such as had occurred at the meeting of 27th February, 1860. The clauses of this decree were intended to safeguard the people from political exile: all persons arrested for refusing to disperse would be tried and sentenced in Poland and so preserved from the possibility of an exile in Russia.

The decree, a just measure in itself, was implemented too soon: the following morning posters announcing it were put up all over the town, but nobody read them. On this day, the 8th of April, several different demonstrations took place, and all of them converged eventually on the castle, whereupon an army officer came out and read the decree to the crowds. This action made no impression on the mob and the sound of a drum only attracted more people. When the triple warning failed, the

190) W. SPASOWICZ: *op. cit.*, p. 219.

commanding officer ordered his men to open fire. After the firing of the first volley another procession appeared led by Nowakowski and followed by another headed by a Capucin friar: further volleys were ordered, and altogether five were fired. The people seem to have ignored the bullets altogether: 484 shots were fired and more than 200 people were killed.¹⁹¹⁾

The crowds consisted mostly of people of the lower classes. This was probably the result of Nowakowski's work among the artisans and workers. It cannot be overlooked that since 1857 there had been an economic crisis in the Kingdom and it is likely that poverty made the working classes more susceptible to revolutionary propaganda which proclaimed socialist principles along with the national ones. This may explain why the orders to shoot were given so promptly: in the course of 1861 many more demonstrations took place in the provinces, attended mostly by people of middle and upper class origin, to celebrate various national anniversaries, and fire-arms were never used against them. It also seems that the decree was not properly interpreted on this occasion: it was clearly stated in the decree that an official and not an army officer would read the warning to the public. The whole affair ended on the personal remonstrance of Wielopolski, who rushed to the castle as soon as the news of the massacre was brought to him, to plead with Gorchakov for a cease-fire. On this occasion he showed great presence of mind and personal courage: although on his way to the castle he was accompanied by Enoch and a popular Warsaw doctor for his personal safety, he and his eldest son Zygmunt had enough courage to return home on horseback, as their own coachman ran away and the carriage had to be abandoned.

The bloodshed had important consequences for Wielopolski. As Wołowski, the director of the Committee of Justice, resigned, the post was offered to Wielopolski and he accepted it, as it tallied with his plans for the reorganization of this department: he could now officially plead for the establishment of a supreme court in Warsaw and district courts to deal with political cases. In this way the links between the Russian and the Polish judicature would be completely severed, and the possibility of Russian interference in Polish courts be removed.

The disturbances did not shake Wielopolski's belief in his success in the long run: "The amount of work is great, but my attitude presents no complexities: my way is as clear to me as the milky way in heaven".¹⁹²⁾ He rightly estimated that the bloodshed was not instigated by the former Agricultural Society but that it came entirely from the "anarchists". By this he understood the agents of revolutionary circles such as Nowakowski's group. The arrest of Nowakowski during the riot must have weakened the ranks of the revolutionaries, or "reds" as they were beginning to be called. Most of these people were enthusiasts of Mierosławski, who flooded the Kingdom with pamphlets instigating the lower classes against the aristocracy in particular, accusing it of treason and friendship with the Russian government, for its own and not national aims. In his leaflets

191) W. PRZYBOROWSKI: *Historia dwóch lat*, vol. II, p. 341.

192) A. Wielopolski to Z. Wielopolski, 22.4.1861. A. SKALKOWSKI, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 29.

he appealed to "the twenty millions of misery" including in it peasants, artisans and the lower gentry.¹⁹³⁾

Wielopolski underestimated the importance of the discontent produced by this kind of propaganda and was master of himself when he made his inaugural speech to the personnel of his new department, the Committee of Justice:

"Gentlemen, I have come here to entrust into your hands the public order restored unfortunately after some bloodshed, and strengthened by new rules; public order cannot be begged from day to day, but it must be indomitable, always sure of its observance".¹⁹⁴⁾

He remained undaunted although nothing could spare him from public slander. The censorship could not protect him: the Warsaw dailies had to be moderate although unfriendliness to Wielopolski could be detected between the lines, but the Galician and Poznanian press freely criticized his system and printed inflated accounts of the events in Warsaw. Especially hostile became the Cracovian "Czas" to which he had so greatly contributed in the past.

At last, by the Imperial Ukaz of 5th June 1861, Wielopolski's reforms concerning District and Municipal Councils and the State Council were promulgated.¹⁹⁵⁾ Following the pattern current in Western Europe the franchise was based on property rights, which however, were estimated quite moderately. The right to vote for a district council was extended to those who were at least 25 years old and paid 4 Roubles in taxation annually. In towns, the franchise was extended to those who paid more than 6 Roubles in taxation annually and were over 25 years of age. Here, however, certain restrictions were introduced. Wielopolski considered towns as centres of revolutionary propaganda and subjected the councils to the supervision of the Committee of Administration. Moreover, three members of the town councils were nominated by the government. (Warsaw Town Council consisted of 14 members, in other large provincial towns the number was lowered to 12 and in smaller towns to 8).

Those eligible to become candidates for both the municipal and district councils were citizens over 30 years of age who paid at least 15 Roubles in taxation annually. Besides property qualifications, Wielopolski introduced a qualification of education and merit for candidates: principals and teachers in higher educational establishments, people who were known for their talent or merit in fostering national industry, trade or arts, as well as craftsmen who employed at least 10 apprentices also received rights to be candidates irrespective of taxes they paid. As for the gubernial councils, these were elected by the members of the district councils.

The State Council was a more conservative affair and here the imperial caution was visible.¹⁹⁶⁾ No elections were allowed here. The majority of the members were nominated from among the bishops, members of

193) Polish Research Centre, London, No. 1/9867, Band 1.

194) W. SPASOWICZ: *op. cit.*, p. 159.

195) Text of the Decrees on the District and Municipal Councils H. LISICKI: *Aleksander Wielopolski*, vol. 2, pp. 138-143.

196) Text of the Decree on the Council of State: H. LISICKI: *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 128-137.

the gubernial councils, the administration of the Land Bank and such persons as the Tsar thought fit to appoint; members of the Council of Administration automatically became members of the State Council. Yet, to a certain extent even in the Council of State the element of election was preserved, as the members were partly chosen from among elected members of the Gubernial Councils of the administration of the Land Bank, a body enjoying great prestige among the landed gentry of Poland.

The Tsar was satisfied with the Council of State. He even contemplated introducing a similar body in the Russian Empire.¹⁹⁷⁾

The Council of State was not a legislative body: its functions were those of an advisory committee. It was entitled to prepare draft proposals for legislation, and the national budget, which then had to be approved by the Tsar. It also received reports from the district and gubernial councils on their needs. The Tsar might, if he wished, request it to express its opinion on subjects presented to it by himself or the *Namiestnik*. It could not make proposals aiming at changes in the political system of government in the Kingdom.

It transpires that a good deal depended on the good will of the Tsar. He could give a free hand to the Council of State in administering the country and accept all its proposals; he could consult the Councillors on occasions when he wanted some reforms to emanate from him. Until the outbreak of the January Uprising Alexander II showed such good will on many occasions, and all the proposals on the Jewish, peasant and educational questions were approved by him as drafted by the Council and Wielopolski.

Wielopolski's belief in his success was not unfounded. The elections to the district councils held in September 1861, showed that a large part of the population was favourably disposed to the reforms and willing to cooperate with the government. Not that a campaign did not have to be conducted to carry them through. The revolutionaries issued a number of leaflets, like "*The people to the electors*", which announced that —

"the decree on elections was a mocking reply of the Tsar to the address presented in February because it excluded the Ukraine and Lithuania"¹⁹⁸⁾

More moderate reds were advising the people to take part in the elections but demanding that already "at the first meeting the councils should submit demands for a complete national autonomy and unification of the Kingdom with the annexed provinces".¹⁹⁹⁾ There appeared also a more sensible appeal for participation in the reforms granted but "in such a way as not to degrade the national conscience".²⁰⁰⁾ More open was the letter signed "The voters of the City of Warsaw" and addressed to the *Namiestnik*: it described the new institutions as administrative measures insufficient to improve the existing situation and asking for "elected representation which would express the wishes of the country in an open discussion", in other words, asking for a Diet.

197) P.A. VALUYEV: *Dnevnik*, vol. I, p. 181.

198) Polish Research Centre, London, No. 1/9867, Band 1.

199) *loc. cit.*

200) *loc. cit.*

But some encouraging exhortations were not lacking in this flood of anonymous letters. At least one group appealed to the voters in a spirit quite favourable towards the elections. It read:

"Brothers, let us pervade the administration of the country and use our offices for the benefit of the Congress Kingdom. Let this kingdom become a focus diffusing life to all parts of Poland".²⁰¹⁾

Zamoyski himself, and he stood for a large group of influential people, made a speech before large crowds in Warsaw when the reds tried to prevent the electors from casting their votes.

Still the flood of leaflets indicated that conspiracies were rife in the Kingdom. In fact, late in the spring of 1861 the first cells of ten began to be formed in Warsaw and they gradually spread all over the country and found their way to Lithuania. For a short while even Zamoyski was carried away by the conspiratorial fever and agreed to join a revolutionary group called "The White Confederacy" similar in its structure to the confederacy proposed by Czartoryski in the thirties. This group in its proclamations instructed the landowners to collect money and register all fire-arms and horses in the country.²⁰²⁾ However, this venture soon melted away when Zamoyski withdrew his membership from it, and refused to join any political groups.

The agitation was encouraged by rumours of foreign intervention. Rumours began to spread that the Pope was encouraging the clergy to persist in their passive opposition. What in fact happened was that the Pope sent a Pastoral Letter to Archbishop Fijałkowski dated 6th June, in which he drew up a programme of what the clergy should demand for the Church from the Russian government. These were: 1) an Apostolic Nuncio in Warsaw or in Petersburg; 2) removal of government nominees from the consistory; 3) cases of mixed marriage to be considered by Catholic consistories; 4) freedom of communication between the monasteries and Rome; 5) restoration of confiscated Church property. The Pope diplomatically avoided all comments on the events in Poland and only once referred to them as "dreadful". Nevertheless this letter made Wielopolski's task more difficult, as the grievances of the Church made the clergy all the more willing to support the national movement.

Abroad, England took notice of the Polish question. On the 19th of July, 1861, Lord Ellenborough made a speech in favour of Poland, as a result of which a floral garland was presented to the British Consul in Warsaw.

The most dangerous however for Wielopolski's work in Poland were the hopes dangled before the Polish revolutionaries in Paris. Already at the end of December 1860 the Russian ambassador in Paris, Kisielev, received a telegram from Petersburg asking for an explanation of secret promises given by Prince Napoleon to the Polish émigrés of money, arms and favour from France.²⁰³⁾ Napoleon III, keen on preserving good relations with Russia, tried to please the Russian ambassador as best he

201) Polish Research Centre, London, No. 1/9867, Band 1.

202) W. PRZYBOROWSKI: *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 409.

203) W. PRZYBOROWSKI: *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 169, from the Diary of Count Kisielev, 19/31 Dec. 1860, quoted by Tatishchev in "Russkij Vestnik", 1880. (Original copy of the periodical not available in this country).

could and even ordered Prince Napoleon to speak to the ambassador personally and to explain his position. In spite of these explanations Prince Napoleon in his speech before the Senate on the 19th of March 1861, openly said that the Emperor would certainly do something for Poland. Privately, however, Napoleon III assured Kisielew that Poles were a nation of madmen and that he would never allow the peace of Europe to be endangered by them.²⁰⁴⁾ To stress his attitude, an article was published in the "*Moniteur*" on the 23rd of April, 1861, expounding the benefits which the Kingdom might derive from the reforms promulgated and warning public opinion against hopes which he was not in a position to satisfy.

Special encouragement was given to the revolutionaries by the opening of a Polish military school in Genoa, with the support of Garibaldi. It was financed by the Italian government, Prince Napoleon and money collected in Poland. Opened in September 1861, its commander was at first Mierosławski himself, and later Wysocki. Among the lecturers was the future dictator of the insurrection M. Langiewicz and a hero of the rising, Zygmunt Padlewski.

At this juncture, Andrew Zamoyski decided once again to use his influence and to explain to the émigrés the actual state of affairs in the Kingdom and the impossibility of the success of an armed rising. He sent his representative to Paris to talk with Mierosławski's group, but their belief in the intervention of France was so strong that no persuasion could convince them.

However, the émigrés could not have achieved much if there had not been a strong revolutionary group in Poland itself. This group was developing its network. The soul of the group became Chmieleniński, a former student from the university of Kiev, of lower gentry origin. At his inspiration was founded the so-called Town Committee, organized in October 1861. At first the Town Committee was very weak and small in numbers. But they were able to merge with a much larger organization of the students who had their cells all over the Kingdom and in Lithuania and Bielorrussia. This fusion was the work of Jarosław Dąbrowski, a twenty five year old student of the Academy of the General Staff in Petersburg. In December, 1861, he was sent to Warsaw by the officers of the Polish circles in Petersburg, who, studying the art of war, looked rather sceptically on the demonstrations in Warsaw. Dąbrowski during his stay in Warsaw became completely absorbed by the revolutionary atmosphere there and decided to act as soon as possible. When he returned to Petersburg his enthusiasm affected some, but the majority remained cool and even spoke about the need to suppress the Polish movement to prevent greater disasters. Their discussions however, brought no results as the officers soon dispersed to their different detachments after the examinations. Luckily for Dąbrowski, he contrived to be sent to Warsaw as an adjutant. He arrived there on February 6th, 1862. Soon, he began to work towards achieving the supremacy of the Town Committee over the Student Committee and pressed an immediate uprising.

When the moderates realized the strength of the revolutionaries they began to think of forming their own party with a view to directing public opinion towards patience. Among them were Agaton Giller, a

204) *loc. cit.*

former exile in Siberia, Karol Ruprecht, also a returned exile and the former members of the Town Delegation. This group, frightened of a red revolution and of Mierosławski, but favourable towards the idea of a well-timed uprising, took upon themselves to prepare public opinion for such an event some time in the future, by means of leaflets distributed all over the country. Initially such leaflets were prepared chiefly by Giller, expressing the views of his group and signed "The inhabitants of Warsaw". They stated that the "uprising was its only ultimate goal but in the meantime as a preparation for this event they advised following the principles set out by the former organic group and by the Millenarians: 1) freeholds for the peasants by means of gradual introduction of leaseholds; 2) rural education; 3) avoidance of the army and the civil service; 4) devoting one's energies to agriculture, trade and other "honourable occupations" (meaning probably free professions); 5) friendship with the Jews, and 6) unity among Poles in all partitioned parts of Poland.²⁰⁵⁾

In this programme only the admonition to avoid positions in the civil service clashed with Wielopolski's plans. However, this group did not last for long and by the end of 1861 the moderates formed a single party in opposition to the revolutionary one. It spread throughout the Kingdom just as the revolutionary party did. The formation of this organization was continued through the summer of 1861, and here Karol Majewski played an important role. Final discussions were held in the house of Andrew Zamoyski, who refused however to participate in a secret organization, promising only his moral support. Intermediary between this body and himself was his son Władysław. This so-called "White organization" was headed by a "Directory" consisting of 2 landowners (W. Zamoyski, son of Andrew Zamoyski, and Tytus Wojciechowski), one financier (Kronenberg), Jurgens — representing former Millenarians and Karol Majewski. After the arrest of K. Majewski in June 1862, his place was taken by J. Paszkiewicz, who shortly afterwards resigned and was replaced by Karol Ruprecht who was not a landowner. In this way, the bourgeoisie, the landowning class, and the middle class were represented here. It was hoped that Majewski with his contacts among the Reds could bring them also to accept the organization's leadership. Their programme for the immediate future was entirely in line with Wielopolski's endeavours. It was composed by Karol Ruprecht and published in a pamphlet entitled: "The tasks for the present". It may be summarized as follows: —

- 1) To accept all positions in the administration in order to be able to rule the country by this means.
- 2) To spread education both among the common people and the upper classes, for whose refinement should be substituted sound learning.
- 3) To accept all reforms beneficial to the country.
- 4) To unite people of all classes and creeds.
- 5) To turn the peasant into a citizen by ensuring him property and independent livelihood.
- 6) To organize self-governing village communities.
- 7) To further economic, industrial and commercial progress.
- 8) To stamp out vices and actions contrary to the Polish national spirit and moral principles.²⁰⁶⁾

205) W. PRZYBOROWSKI: *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 406-7.

206) A. GILLER: *Karol Ruprecht, szkic biograficzny*, pp. 71-72.

The ultimate aim of this organization also was an armed uprising but the Whites were willing to postpone it until a propitious time. For some unrealistic reasons they were hoping that the European situation would be suitable for such an upheaval in 1865. However, as there was no sign of approaching conflict affecting Russia, this group had no immediate intention of resorting to force, and on all points relating to the future conduct of Polish affairs its aims tallied with Wielopolski's own programme, although their links with other parts of dismembered Poland might be embarrassing to him. These links, however, were not established until the beginning of 1862.

Besides the Directory this party had a body consisting of heads of provinces, so-called voivods, who formed the provincial branches (*Koła*). The voivods were to form the highest authority of the organization, but the executive power was to be in the hands of the Directory.

In February 1862, the Directory sent their representative to Paris for talks with Władysław Czarotoryski, who carried on the work of his late father. They wanted him to advise them whether such an organization was useful. They also wanted, by means of elections, to form an émigré body which would represent Poland abroad. But Władysław Czarotoryski, being better acquainted with the international situation, refused to participate or help. He described the whole activity as lacking common sense.

The White organization had its own finances based on collections from the gentry in the provinces and from the Warsaw bourgeoisie.

Unlike the Whites, the Reds were penniless. They collected only 15 groszy from their members. Dąbrowski conceived the idea of drawing more important members of the Whites into the red organization. However, this came to nothing. Neither the gentry, nor the bourgeoisie would give any money for "crazy intentions". Like the Whites, the Reds tried to make contacts with other parts of Poland. For this reason they sent representatives to Lithuania, and established contacts with their sympathizers. In Wilno, they had Ludwik Zwierzdowski, a captain in the General Staff; in Grodno Walery Wróblewski, a senior civil servant, and in Białystok Bronisław Szwarce, an engineer.

While speaking about the Polish revolutionaries it is necessary to mention the revolutionary group of the Russian army officers stationed in Poland. The nucleus of their organization was a group of 7 Russian officers whose leader was W. Kapliński, who had been a member of the revolutionary organization of the Polish officers in Petersburg. It was he who contacted Jarosław Dąbrowski and the other Russian revolutionary officers in Warsaw. Members of this group read the Russian revolutionary press and tried to spread its propaganda among the rank and file of the Russian Army. Their aim was to link the Russian revolutionary forces in Poland with the Polish revolutionary organizations. It is possible that the number of the members of this group amounted to some hundreds.

The driving force of the Russian organization was Andrew Potiebnia, an Ukrainian. In time, the leaders of this group, Arnholdt, Kapliński and Śliwicki were tried by court martial and executed. Only Potiebnia escaped and later took an active part in the January Uprising.

When Dąbrowski was preparing his plans for an early uprising in Poland, some time about Easter 1862 or later in July the same year, he

strongly reckoned on the support of the Russian officers.²⁰⁷⁾ However, his plans met with serious opposition of other members of the Town Committee and the Academic Committee. Thereupon the conspirators devoted themselves to further organization. Warsaw was subdivided into five departments and these into sections and smaller circuits. Later the organization was strengthened by a union between the two revolutionary groups, the Town Committee and the Academic Committee. This took place in June 1862. Thus the insignificant Town Committee took over all the student organizations which were far more numerous and better organized. It then assumed the name of the Central National Committee and Dąbrowski became its head.

It would be difficult to establish to what extent the Reds represented Polish social and radical thought in the sixties. The only serious social question that the Kingdom was facing in that period was the peasant reform, and they were not outspoken on this matter. Even when the uprising broke out, the Reds did not go further in their proclamation on the peasant question than calling for the endowment of the peasants with the land which they cultivated, with compensation payable to the landowners by the government. However, as compensation paid out by the government would have placed a heavy burden of taxation on the peasants, this plan cannot be regarded as radical.

Like the Whites, the Reds were afraid of a peasant revolution which would destroy their image of a united Polish front against Russia. If this happened, they feared the Russians would side with the peasants and would seduce them from their national allegiance, thus making the concept of a united Poland illusory "and then where should we search for Poland?"²⁰⁸⁾

It is hard to believe that peasants would have revolted on their own initiative for possession of their soil, as they were hardly civilized enough to organize a properly led party, and secondly, there was no urgent need for it in view of forthcoming reforms introduced by Wielopolski. It is more likely, that the Reds were depicting an illusory danger to make the landowners more flexible in coming to terms with the peasants over commutation. The unity between Reds and Whites was not achieved until some time after the outbreak of the January Uprising when the Whites succumbed to the illusion that Western Europe would help them in the struggle with Russia.

These plans were little more than the mental exercises of people who had no notion of what was going on beyond the borders of Congress Poland. In the meantime Wielopolski could quietly devote his time and energy to the solution of the peasant question.

Following the promises envisaged in the May Decree, Wielopolski set about preparation of the final laws on leaseholds. These were finally promulgated by the decree of 24th May 1862. Their promulgation was all the more urgent, as the peasants were restless and in the autumn and winter of 1861-62 their movement increased. Before the 1st October 1861 about ten thousand peasants stopped labour service.

207) This subject is fully discussed by J. KOWALSKI in *Rewolucyjna demokracja rosyjska a Powstanie Styczniowe*, pp. 100-124.

208) "Ruch", No 9 of 3rd December, 1862 and J. KOWALSKI: *ibidem* p. 27.

What was dangerous to Wielopolski and Polish political thinkers was the fact that prior to the promulgation of the Decree the peasants used to seek the protection of the military commanders of the districts, although the same authorities sent Cossacks to the villages to break the opposition of the peasants. H. Grynwaser quotes extensive reports of commanders revealing that the peasants were submitting their complaints before them, and that the Russian commanders listened to them sympathetically.²⁰⁹⁾

According to the new law, the leases, as in Prussia, were to be arranged freely between the parties according to the forms envisaged by the decree, or officially in cases of disagreement. For this purpose special courts of arbitration were instituted and either party could seek their assistance. All long-term leases had to be made in these courts. Article 4 of the decree forbade the making of contracts which would diminish the area of peasant holdings, unless exchanged for equal value. This article aimed at preventing further impoverishment of the peasants as had taken place in Poznań, where they could pay the price of a holding partially in land. In minute details the decree prescribed the separation and redistribution of land. Rents were laid down according to the classification of the soil, the amount of rye yielded from a holding and the fluctuation of prices for the last twenty years. Deductions were made for taxes, insurance and loss of manorial pastures and forests. Separate proposals were also worked out to provide a special Bank of Rents to which peasants could mortgage their land at 4 per cent over 29 years. As a start Wielopolski introduced simple commutation which ended the use of labour service in October, 1861.

The main defect of this law was the exemption from it of peasants who owned less than three acres of land. Their lot was entrusted to individual agreements with landowners. In other words the cottagers were to provide a labour force for the manor, although Wielopolski urged the landowners to lease their distant manorial plots to peasants who possessed little soil. By the end of 1863, 96.1 per cent of peasants changed from labour service to money dues.²¹⁰⁾ Not that many of them liked it. Cases of peasant disturbances occurred again, the most serious taking place in the district of Hrubieszów. Often commutation money had to be extracted from peasants by the orders of the courts, the peasants refusing to pay it.

The process of re-adjustment would have probably taken some time as the peasants still expected better conditions and it was a serious failure on the part of Wielopolski that he did not come up to their expectations. Unfortunately, he tried to win the support of the upper classes, and in this move he backed the wrong horse. He forced his will on the peasant question in the teeth of the opposition from such people as Gechevich, the director for Internal Affairs, and Platonov a member of the Council of Administration and the Council of State. In view of the growing political demonstrations and non-political opposition of the peasants, Gechevich advised Petersburg to come to the help of the "menaced proprietors".

209) H. GRYNWASER: *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 69.

210) T. SZCZĘCHURA, "Ukaz o okupie pańszczyzny z dnia 16 maja 1861 R." *Przegląd Historyczny*, vol. XL 1949, p. 264.

"Les nobles devraient y trouver un motif d'intérêt très puissant pour se rallier au gouvernement; voilà comme je le comprends et c'est ainsi que l'entend une bonne partie des propriétaires, mais faute de mesures prises à temps, l'opportunité du moment une fois passée, les mesures tardives que nous prenons aujourd'hui ne se trouveront peut-être pas aussi efficaces qu'elles l'auraient été, si elles avaient été prises à temps.²¹¹⁾

Platonov on his part advised Petersburg on a different course considering the "Polish dreams" of re-establishing ancient Poland he thought that:

"il ne resterait plus à ce dernier qu'à établir dans ce pays un gouvernement militaire et à s'y appuyer résolument sur les paysans et les Juifs, en abolissant en faveur des premiers et cela aussitôt que possible et sans la participation des propriétaires, privés en même temps de leur droit de maires de leur communes, toute espèce de corvée, en la remplaçant par cens modique et en donnant aux paysans le droit de rachat de tous les terrains qu'ils possèdent aujourd'hui, et en accordant aux Juifs les droits civils et même politiques dont jouissent les autres habitants du Royaume de Pologne.²¹²⁾

At times Wielopolski seemed to follow Platonov's ideas and he told Kronenberg at a social gathering that "if those who at present consider themselves as the nation will not follow us on the peasant question and elementary education, then we should unite with those who at present are nobodies, namely the Jews in the towns and peasants in the country.²¹³⁾ However, he did not have the courage to implement his ideas, or perhaps he was reluctant to come out openly against his own social class.

The crown of Wielopolski's achievements, however, was his educational reform: it made up for the 30 years of complete stagnation. Wielopolski especially took to his heart elementary education and university education. The decree on elementary education envisaged the creation of 3,000 schools in place of 1,114 that existed, and made a rule that elementary schools should have at least 4 to 5 classes lasting for an equal period of years. Further, Wielopolski instituted three kinds of district schools "comprehensive", "special" and "pedagogical". He set up 10 comprehensive, 5 pedagogical and 8 special to replace former non-classical secondary schools in the whole country.

His chief achievement in the field of education was the establishment of the "Main School" in Warsaw, which was a university embracing the faculties of medicine, law, arts and science. The preparatory or intermediate course was opened already in the autumn term of 1861 with 300 students. This university obtained extensive self-government. The task of implementing the educational reforms was made very difficult by the scarcity of men able to teach at university standard: few people wanted to abandon secure posts in Austrian or Prussian Poland for the uncertainty of Warsaw. Still, by arduous work, Wielopolski succeeded in filling all the vacancies.

211) *Gechevich to V. Dolgorukii* 17/29 IV. 1861. *Korespondencja Namiestników Królestwa Polskiego w 1861 r.*, p. 152.

212) *V. Platonov to M. Gorchakov*, 6/18.IV.1861, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

213) *A. SKALKOWSKI: op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 67.

These reforms could not be carried out overnight, and Wielopolski ruined his health in the short span of two years, pushing forward the reforms in spite of the opposition of the Russian camarilla in Warsaw, and the hesitations of the Tsar, and in face of the indifference of a nation brought up on the romantic poetry of Mickiewicz and others.

The severity of this rule became again a real thing after the death of the elderly and indolent Gorchakov. Already at the close of his rule, Gorchakov was again being spurred towards severity by Platonov and Gechevich supported by some high ranking Russian officials in the Polish administration: Gechevich informed Petersburg of this new attitude:

"Après avoir publié les réformes, le Prince veut se décider pour des mesures de fermeté, mais avant d'en venir à l'action, cette résolution débattue à tout moment n'est pas encore sans hésitation. Nous faisons tout notre possible pour le maintenir dans cette résolution et nous croyons avoir aujourd'hui plus de chance que dans le passé pour l'y maintenir."²¹⁴⁾

His successor, General Sukhozanet, former Russian minister of war, was appointed provisionally, while the government in Petersburg looked for someone else more suitable for the governor-generalship in the Kingdom.

The new Governor-General arrived in Warsaw on the 31st of May, the day after the death of M. Gorchakov who had recommended him for this position. The family of Sukhozanet was of Polish origin. It belonged to the Polish gentry settled in Bielorrussia which became Orthodox at the beginning of the last century. His mother was Polish and it was from her that the General learnt to speak Polish. He had contacts with the Polish aristocracy, and his nomination might have augured well for the Polish cause but for the fact that he was an extremely proud and narrow-minded man, unable to cooperate with Wielopolski. Another reason for the failure of his rule was the disagreeable climate of opinion in which the Russian authorities in Poland had to live. For instance, it became a common thing to wear ornaments in the form of a broken cross adorned with thorns, emblems of Poland and Lithuania, bracelets in the form of fetters and similar trinkets. The agitation spread to the provinces, in many cases aroused by boys from the high schools in Warsaw, whose summer vacations Wielopolski had brought forward in an attempt to keep order in Warsaw. Arrests no longer frightened anybody, as exile to Siberia had been abolished. Sometimes "the same person went to prison three times in one week to be released each time"²¹⁵⁾ The opposition was led by the patriotic clergy, schoolboys and women. Moral support was given by people of high standing. "Only peasants were leaving churches as soon as patriotic hymns were sung"²¹⁶⁾

There were three main incidents which marked the stages of the misunderstanding between Sukhozanet and Wielopolski. The first was

214) Gechevich to V. Dolgorukii, 20.III./1.IV,1861. *Korespondencja Namiestników Królestwa Polskiego w 1861r.*

215) W. PRZYBOROWSKI: *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 39-40.

216) H. LISICKI: *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 187, *Note of Z. Wielopolski.*

the disturbances in the town of Suwałki, the second the services held at the death of Czartoryski, and the third, the mistranslation of a French phrase used by Sukhozanet.

On July 9th 1861, Sukhozanet issued a circular ordering that all transgressions against public order should be tried by special military commissions. The evaluation of the transgression was left to the military chiefs of the districts. Acting upon this circular, when disturbances broke out in Suwałki, in the district of Augustów, Sukhozanet, contrary to the earlier promise that political transgressions would be dealt with by civil courts, sent his adjutant Rudanowski to investigate the case and to restore order. Rudanowski behaved with severity and even ventured to send a civil servant to exile in Russia without civil trial.

Another occasion was offered by deliberate mistranslation by Wielopolski of a phrase used by Sukhozanet in his speech to the Council of State: he said in French "besoins et intérêts du pays" which Wielopolski rendered as "needs and wishes of the country".

Yet another quarrel between the *Namiestnik* and Wielopolski occurred at the occasion of the mourning services for the soul of Czartoryski. His death could not have passed without provoking religious demonstrations in the Kingdom. To prevent the revolutionaries from using it to their own ends, Wielopolski took the reasonable step of allowing an official mourning service to be celebrated in Warsaw Cathedral, merely asking Archbishop Fijałkowski not to arrange similar services in the country. The service was duly celebrated on the eighth day after Czartoryski's death on the 22nd of July, 1861; the aristocracy, the landowners and Zamoyski's group were represented. Zamoyski himself attended, and there were also many Jews present. Wielopolski's own eldest son was present. No patriotic hymns were sung and everything would have ended well, but for the revolutionaries who succeeded in staging a small scale demonstration outside. All dressed in mourning, they surrounded the carriage of the Archbishop, unharnessed the horses and drove him through the streets of Warsaw to his house, attracting large crowds. Except for this incident the services which were, in spite of the warning, held all over the Kingdom, passed off quietly. Yet this little incident was used by the camarilla behind General Sukhozanet to set him against Wielopolski, whom they held responsible for it, although Sukhozanet himself had approved of Wielopolski's decision in a letter to the Tsar.²¹⁷⁾ Alexander expressed no rancour for this action in his reply,²¹⁸⁾ but for the senior officers in Warsaw Czartoryski was a man sentenced to death for high treason and an outlaw. Sukhozanet wavered under such persuasion and severely reprimanded Wielopolski. The proud magnate could not suffer a scolding befitting a junior officer, and on July 26th he resigned.

His subsequent behaviour makes it quite clear, that Wielopolski did not really think that this would bring about his own downfall but that it was merely a tactical move aiming at further strengthening of his own position, as in his resignation he elucidated the conditions on which he would be prepared to continue in his offices. He presented a long

217) W. PRZYBOROWSKI: *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 115-116.

218) *Op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 116, telegram from Peterhof, 11/23rd of July, 1861.

list of suggestions: creation of a Supreme Court of Law in Warsaw, Polish was to become the official language of government; the division of the country into voivodships; an increased proportion of the seat in the district and gubernial councils to go to elected persons; a special court to be set up for political offences; a council to be created for each of the two churches the Latin Catholic and Uniate church; direct intercourse to be permitted between the Polish clergy and Rome; his own nomination as the vice-president of the Council of State; co-option of more members to this body from the bourgeoisie, and the establishment of an official daily paper in which he could freely discuss his aims.²¹⁹⁾

As he probably expected, a request came from Petersburg that he should stay in his offices until the situation was clarified on the arrival of the new Governor-General, General Count Lambert, who was to succeed Sukhozanet. In the meantime, Wielopolski sent his eldest son Zygmunt to Petersburg to plead for his father's suggestions.

He arrived in Petersburg on the 3rd of August, 1861, and was received very graciously, having a long conversation with the Tsar in Peterhof. Most important, Zygmunt conveyed to the Tsar his father's ideas on the separation of the civil from the military power. He suggested that the head of the civil government should be the chairman of the Administrative Council and not the Namiestnik. For himself, Wielopolski asked for the sanction of his position as Director of the Council of Justice. This, combined with the Directorship of Education and Religious Denominations would give him substantial power. These remonstrances had such an effect that on the 8th of August, the Tsar sent another telegram asking that Wielopolski should "continue his duties until the arrival of Count Lambert"²²⁰⁾

Sukhozanet left a very grave situation for Lambert. Lambert himself was well disposed towards the Poles, but unfortunately he was given Alexander Gerstenzweig as Director for the Committee of Internal Affairs. Although a grandson on his mother's side of General Madaliński, the hero of Kościuszko's insurrection, he hated everything Polish.

Count Lambert arrived in Warsaw on the 23rd of August 1861. Relations between him and Wielopolski were much better than between Wielopolski and Sukhozanet. Count Lambert removed Rudanowski from Suwałki, released the arrested persons and transferred pending trials for political offences to the civil courts, and lastly, abolished the circular of 9th of July. He also asked the Tsar to ratify the nomination of Wielopolski as vice-chairman of the Council of State and Director of the Committee of Justice.

Yet, at the same time, Lambert made contacts with the moderate party — the former Agricultural Society and the Warsaw bourgeoisie.

The French Consul in Warsaw wrote at length about these negotiations:

"La politique du général, autant que j'en puis juger, est de rallier d'abord au gouvernement les hommes de sagesse et de modération; y réussira-t-il? Il les fait inviter par le général Paulucci, qui paraît avoir toute la confiance et qui la mérite, à venir conférer avec lui. Déjà le général

219) H. LISICKI: *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 232, a copy of Wielopolski's own draft.

220) W. PRZYBOROWSKI: *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 112.

Lubienski, le comte Zamoiski, le comte Skarbek, et d'autres encore, même du nombre des marchands, se sont rendus à ces invitations. Le comte Lambert cherche sans doute par là, à reconstituer, malgré tout, le parti conservateur, mais il ne fera, au plus, je le crains, que s'attacher des hommes isolés, et ce sera la toile de Pénélope qui se défilera à mesure qu'on la tissera".²²¹⁾

In another instance the French consul made himself more clear, as to why the moderates might not succeed:

"...il restera à craindre que l'action de ces hommes, sous l'effet de menaces individuelles... ne conservera pas toute la liberté et toute persévérance qui seraient nécessaires dans les intérêts du gouvernement".²²²⁾

Still, the rumours about new concessions persisted and judging from his reports had some foundation:

"Il est vrai qu'une personne de l'entourage du comte Lambert aurait laissé entendre assez clairement au comte Zamoiski, de qui je le tiens, qu'on allait bientôt voir apparaître une concession importante, laquelle permettrait, à lui, comte Zamoiski, de passer d'une opposition occulte à une opposition patente et légale. ...La même personne aurait ajouté que le namiestnik avait ses poches pleines de concessions, et qu'il ne devait les en faire sortir qu'au fur et à mesure que la tranquillité se rétablirait..."²²³⁾

Unfortunately no tranquility could be established, and this seems to be the chief reason for the failure of Lambert's proposals. The only man who had the courage of his convictions remained Wielopolski. It seems that he even disdained the menace of the revolutionaries and did not hesitate to press for civilian administration which would free political offenders from military courts.

Reading through Wielopolski's diary for that period, it becomes almost impossible to understand how a man who struggled so hard for the release of what he himself called "anarchists" received so little affection and confidence from his countrymen, carried away by staging demonstrations to such an extent that they no longer were able to look upon life realistically.

The most impressive demonstrations were those held to commemorate the Union of Lublin on the 12th of August, 1861, and that of the Union of Horodło on the 10th of October. Rumours began to spread that more imposing mourning services were to be held in Warsaw on the 15th October, 1861. This new venture exhausted the patience of the Russian government, and at the order of the Tsar, martial law was proclaimed in the Kingdom, and any further demonstrations were prohibited.

In spite of the proclamation large gatherings were held at the three principal churches of Warsaw under the guise of mourning services for the soul of Kościuszko. These churches were soon surrounded by the army with an order to arrest all able-bodied men when leaving the

221) Ségur à Thouvenel 14.9.1861. *Raporty Polityczne Konsulów Generalnych Francji w Warszawie 1860-1864*, ed. I. KOBERDOWA, p. 179.

222) *Ibid*, loc. cit., p. 180.

223) Ségur to Thouvenel 22.9.1861. *Ibid*, p. 184-5.

churches. But the congregations assumed passive resistance and refused to leave. Even women and children were resolved to stay. In view of the spreading rumours that outside rescue was being organized, it was decided at a special military council that men gathered in the churches should be forcibly carried away. This operation was conducted by soldiers during the night. Some two thousand were arrested. Most of them belonged to the artisan and trading class. Next day, the consistory declared that the churches had been violated, and all churches in Warsaw, also Jewish synagogues, were closed.

Wielopolski had very small part in this incident. From the start he was against the introduction of martial law, as it disrupted his reformatory work, producing unexpected results in the Council of State, some of whose members decided to leave Warsaw for their homes in the country for fear of encountering Cossack's knouts in the streets and equally worried for the safety of their families. To them Wielopolski had one answer: that he would "gladly receive the strokes of the knouts upon his shoulders provided that labour service was being commuted and schools organized".²²⁴⁾ His ardent wish to have the State Council in Warsaw is very significant, as it shows that Wielopolski wanted to work with a team, and the accusations hurled against him that he had dictatorial inclinations were unfounded.

However, when the consequences of the incident in the churches grew in importance, Wielopolski was willing to smooth over the conflict between the army and the clergy. But when the administrator of the Warsaw churches, Father Białobrzęski, withdrew his promise to reopen the churches, the Marquess washed his hands of the whole matter, and even refused to see Białobrzęski when he called on him.²²⁵⁾

The clergy exaggerated the importance of the incident, refusing to open the churches even when, succumbing to their demands, Lambert released all the prisoners. The whole incident was crowned by the tragic death of the military governor of Warsaw, General Gerstenzweig.

According to information collected by Przyborowski, the General came to Lambert with bitter recriminations for Lambert's order to release all prisoners. Both dignitaries were overcome with anger, and their quarrel ended in an American duel. It was an especially refined form of cruelty in duelling; it obliged the opponents to draw a ball each, one painted white, and another painted black. The unfortunate who drew the black ball was expected to blow out his own brains. However, according to the report of Lord Napier, the background of this story is different, the only fact common to both versions being that General Gerstenzweig shot himself on the day following the quarrel. Lord Napier learnt from private sources that General Gerstenzweig —

"was a man of melancholy humour with a hereditary predisposition to suicide" (and) "for some time before the recent crisis... suffered from nervous agitation and want of sleep. He was personally employed in

224) *The Diary* 15.10.1861. A. SKALKOWSKI: *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 73.

225) *The Diary* 19.10.1861. A. SKALKOWSKI: *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 75.

enforcing the state of siege and in the violation of the churches... While the troops surrounded the churches a telegraph message was forwarded to Livadia. General Gerstenzweig was directed to await the reply till a certain hour. If no reply was received he was directed to act. He permitted half an hour to elapse beyond the time agreed upon, and then having received no additional orders he advanced his troops within the sacred precincts"...

"General Gerstenzweig returned to the imperial Lieutenant^{225a)} much affected, and was received by his chief with regrets and reproaches. A reply from the emperor was lying on the table forbidding the contemplated measure. It had not arrived in time. General Gerstenzweig had scarcely repaired to his own quarters when an official came in to remind him that due provision had not been made for the bivouac of the cavalry during the night. This application completed the disarrangement of the General's faculties. He cried that his reason had forsaken him and retired into an adjoining room when his household were soon alarmed by hearing screams of the most dreadful character... This attack, however, soon passed away... After some medical attention the domestics of the General most unhappily retired and left him alone. They were shortly afterwards awoken by the reports of two pistol shots, and found their master mortally wounded by his own hand".

Lord Napier had "these particulars from a lady, and intimate friend of the family", but he:

"cannot absolutely vouch for their accuracy, for where the conduct of Count Lambert is concerned religious and national animosities will still have their part".²²⁶⁾

The incident of the closing of the churches had also an important influence on the temporary Governor-General, Count Lambert. He broke down, his feelings defeated and ill. He also submitted his resignation.

The only man who preserved his sang-froid during this critical period was Wielopolski. Unperturbed he continued to participate in various meetings and committees working on his projects for the administrative, educational and peasants reform. From his fervent work he was rudely shaken by yet another interim in power of Sukhozanet, who again was provisionally appointed Governor-General. Count Lambert informed Wielopolski of his decisions to resign for health reasons on 22nd October 1861. Wielopolski, knowing that cooperation between him and Sukhozanet was impossible, also decided to resign. His decisions, however, looked a little like bluff, by which he tried only to strengthen his position with the central Russian government. At home he was beset with difficulties. The Russian camarilla, consisting not only of Sukhozanet but also of Platonov, Krizhanowski and Kruzenstern began to press again for strong measures and to plot Wielopolski's downfall.

Yet Wielopolski must still have had confidence in the central Russian government and the Tsar, as he sent his eldest son Zygmunt to Petersburg again in spite of attempts by Platonov to prevent it. Soon, he himself had to go to the capital at the express wish of the Tsar. These summons

225a) "Namiestnik" (n. of the Ed.).

226) P.R.O. F.O. 65/580. *Napier to Russell*, November 11th, 1861.

were the consequence of a telegram sent by Sukhozanet to the Tsar that "Wielopolski cannot be any longer suffered in Warsaw". He was chiefly infuriated with Wielopolski by the Marquess's publication on October 26th 1861, in the official journal (which was established according to Wielopolski's wishes) of his proposals for peasant and educational reforms. As a reply to this telegram came an unexpected answer requesting that Wielopolski should proceed to Petersburg and in case of his opposition the General was authorized to confine him in the citadel. Suchozanet would not hear of such precautions which would only add to the popularity of Wielopolski. He himself gladly accepted this order and made it understood that he would return with wide prerogatives.²²⁷⁾

In Petersburg Wielopolski continued for a while his diary, which together with his letters to his wife, offers a detailed account of his sojourn in the Russian capital. Prince A. Gorchakov, the Russian foreign minister, was on his side from the beginning, although he kept his lips sealed on the subject of the division of military from civil authority, limiting himself only to pleasantries such as at their first meeting that "in this degenerate age (he) rejoiced in being able to salute a man". He "almost with shame criticized the behaviour of General Sukhozanet in Warsaw and asked him not to judge other Russian ministers in Petersburg by the standards of Sukhozanet".²²⁸⁾ Besides his former supporters such as Grand Duke Constantine, Grand Duchess Helen, Gorchakov and Valuyev, the Minister of the Interior, Wielopolski won the admiration of two foreign ambassadors, Fournier of France, and Lord Napier of England. Lord Napier wrote a long report to London on Wielopolski's progress in Petersburg and about the impression Wielopolski made on him:

"It cannot be doubted he had a deep concern for his country and that he had an original cast of thought, for he alone of all the Polish nobility, being perfectly independent, adopted that form of Pan-slavist opinions which point to the reconciliation of the Poles and Russians on the common ground of race, overlooking the dissensions of the past and the difference of religion".

"I do not impute much love of representative freedom to him, but he seems to have a real passion for legality and fair dealing and a real hatred of arbitrary government and military licence... He will stand for the aristocracy too and for due subordination of the peasants. He is a Polish nobleman with the instincts and moral power but with more capacity and study than are usual in his order and with more of its graces and vices"... "Marquess Wielopolski has himself assured me that he asserts a simple condition: the separation of the civil and military functions. He demands the nomination of a civil viceroy and a commander in chief as the only guarantee for a law-abiding government".

"He is supported by Count Nesselrode, Baron Pierre Meyendorff and other relics of the old government with German inclinations who have now only an empty respect without real influence. But he also possesses the sympathy of Prince Gorchakov and, I trust, his earnest advocacy with the Emperor... All the Court and Police generals, the favourites and

227) A. SKALKOWSKI: *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 84.

228) *Wielopolski to his wife*, 7th Nov. 1861. A. SKALKOWSKI: *op. cit.*, p. 86.

familiars, the agents of frivolity, darkness and corruption are against him".

"I am inclined to believe that Marquess Wielopolski will prevail".²²⁹⁾

Lord Napier also wrote to Władysław Zamoyski in London, asking him in astonishment why he was refusing to support the Marquess.²³⁰⁾

After a week of uncertainty Wielopolski was granted an audience with the Tsar on November 14th 1861. Wielopolski repeated his motives for his resignation and his belief that the division of military and civil authority was necessary. To this the Tsar replied that in the existing state of siege the division of authority was impossible but that his desire was not to prolong this state longer than necessary; he refused to accept Wielopolski's resignation, or even a leave of absence, but agreed that he should stay in Petersburg until the arrival of his proposals from Warsaw. He even suggested that the educational proposals might be used in the Empire. As for the peasant question, the Tsar said that Wielopolski's proposals were presented to him as "burdensome for the peasants". Wielopolski stubbornly stuck to his views and in the end the Tsar agreed to see the proposals. Above all, Alexander said that "he sincerely desired an autonomy for the Kingdom, but would not allow a diminution of authority of the government".²³¹⁾

Gradually the idea of the division of authority was gaining favour, chiefly from Prince Gorchakov, and in a letter to his wife, dated 19th November, Wielopolski informed her that this question was "still open for discussion".²³²⁾

As for the peasant question he learnt that other proposals were being prepared in Warsaw by the Committee for Internal Affairs. He began again to ponder about his resignation. Fortunately he found support on this question from Valuyev. Yet the next news was again disappointing. Wielopolski learnt that two nominations were being brought forward for important positions in the Kingdom: Krizhanowski as a military governor of Warsaw and Kruzenstern as director of the Committee for Internal Affairs. Wielopolski could not hold a position with either of these men, as they were strongly opposed to any of his reforms. Yet in Petersburg the Tsar listened carefully to his suggestions on the division of authority and on how to bring the state of siege to an end. At last on the 7th of December, Wielopolski was informed about the Ukaz releasing him from his three posts and of a simultaneous nomination to the Council of State. However, this was not a sign of disfavour, as his proposals continued to be examined and he even scored a success with regard to the nomination to the Archbishopric of Warsaw, for which the Tsar chose Wielopolski's nominee Zygmunt Szczęsny Feliński.

The reason why there was such a delay in accepting Wielopolski's proposals was the fact that the Tsar and his entourage wanted first to bring the reforms in the Kingdom as closely as possible into harmony

229) P.R.O. F.O. 65/580, *Napier to Russell*, November 19th, 1861.

230) St. KOZMIAN: *Rzecz o roku 1863*, vol. II, p. 180.

231) *Wielopolski to his wife*. 18.11.1861. A. SKALKOWSKI: *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 87.

232) *Wielopolski to his wife*. 19.11.1861. A. SKALKOWSKI: *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 89.

with those in the Empire. This became particularly obvious in case of the Jewish question. This question too was delayed because prior to discussions on it, "they want to prepare a report on what had so far been done on this subject in the Empire".²³³⁾

The person of the Grand Duke Constantine was beginning to be pushed forward as the viceroy of Poland. He himself told Wielopolski that he thought this unlikely as such "a prince would be looked upon by the Poles as a Russian, while for the Russians he would be a Pole". Nevertheless, when on the 7th of March Wielopolski had another conversation with Gorchakov the question of a prince of blood being sent to Poland was discussed and Gorchakov said that in this case "nobody else but Wielopolski would be given the civil authority".

However, this question was not solved during Wielopolski's stay in Petersburg and he returned to Warsaw simply as a member of the Council of State. This did not diminish his belief in his final success and Wielopolski continued to behave with great self-assurance. At the end of April he was again summoned to Petersburg. On his arrival Gorchakov asked him on what premises he wanted to base his government. The answer of Wielopolski, a Memorandum dated 15th day of May, 1862, was very characteristic. He did not mention the Constitution of 1814 and spoke against even such political concessions as the Statute of 1832. In his opinion the restored autonomous councils were quite sufficient. "The progress of self-government could develop gradually by means of individual imperial decrees according to arising needs".²³⁴⁾ He hoped that "tranquilization of the Kingdom would influence the Western Provinces of Russia in a positive way and that they would devote themselves to their own affairs". He stressed the immunity of the frontier between the Kingdom and the ancient Polish territories.²³⁵⁾ Skałkowski thus interprets his Memo: "apparently, accepting partial reforms, he wanted to have the way open for the gradual restoration of the Constitution of 1814". Leaving all his Memoranda behind he returned to Warsaw, arriving there on the 14th of June 1862.

This time Wielopolski's conditions were agreeable to the Russian government and the re-installation of the Marquess was decided upon in a week. Perhaps this decision was hastened by the rumours of the approaching date for an uprising as planned by Dąbrowski for June 26th, 1862. The Grand Duke Constantine was nominated the new Lieutenant General for the Kingdom.

It is also possible that the choice was partly dictated by reasons of foreign policy. At that time the Russian government was sounding the French government for a Franco-Russian alliance. The mediator in talks on this subject was Count Orlov, Russian ambassador in Brussels. The solution of the Polish question might have facilitated the talks. The French government showed its appreciation of Wielopolski by recalling the French consul in Warsaw, Ségur, who was sympathetic to Zamoyski and his party. The new consul, A.E. Valbezen, joined the

233) *Wielopolski to his wife*. 27th February 1862. A. SKAŁKOWSKI: *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 108.

234) *Memorandum of May 15th, 1862*. A. SKAŁKOWSKI: *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 346.

235) *Ibid.*, p. 324.

circle of Wielopolski's friends and often sought information from his son, Zygmunt.²³⁶⁾

As for the British consuls, they joined Wielopolski from the very beginning and Ségur himself reported to Paris that Wielopolski's eldest son "s'était lié avec Mr. White".²³⁷⁾ It is most certain that Mr. White, the British vice-consul, in Warsaw, would not have allowed himself to associate with someone without the approval of his superiors.

Rumours circulated in Warsaw that Wielopolski was patronized by certain ladies who had influence in Petersburg. The French consul mentioned the names of Madame Pankratyev, daughter of the late Prince M. Gorchakov, and Madame Kalergis, a relative of Nesselrode, and a British subject who corresponded with the imperial family.²³⁸⁾

However, even such reasons cannot account for the appointment of Constantine as *Namiestnik* and Wielopolski as head of the civil government. In fact, for a while the Tsar played with the idea of sending different people to Warsaw. For a time suggestions were rife in Petersburg that Peter, the Duke of Oldenburg, son-in-law of Grand Duchess Helen, or even Grand Duke Michael Nikolayevich, the Tsar's brother, might be given supreme authority in the Kingdom. As for Constantine he set his heart on Poland from the start. He mentions in his diary that he looked upon the Polish post as some kind of self-sacrifice.²³⁹⁾ Still, the diaries of royal brothers written in cautious and measured style rarely give true explanations of the real motives prompting certain actions of their writers. It is more likely that Poland offered a challenge to Constantine and that he knew that in Poland he would have a greater scope for implementing his rather limited liberal ideas than he had in Russia. Undoubtedly he was the most suitable person, as only he could write with justice that he knew how to cope with Wielopolski, who liked him.²⁴⁰⁾ Once the choice for the civil government fell on Wielopolski, the obvious person for the governor-generalship was Constantine; people such as Valuyev, Gorchakov and Dolorukii worked towards this end.²⁴¹⁾ The chief rival to both Constantine and Wielopolski was Nicolas Milyutin. This suggests, knowing the ideas of Milyutin on the peasant question, that the Tsar and his advisers thought about solving this question in a radical way. Such a solution would alienate the landowning class from the Russians, but it would secure the gratitude of the peasants and at the same time undermine the hopes of the revolutionaries to win an uprising with the support of the peasantry. How seriously this idea was tackled in Petersburg is shown by the fact that Milyutin, who was living in a semi-exile in Italy, was summoned to Petersburg. He was informed about the decision to nominate him as the head of the civil administration in Warsaw by a letter from

236) *Raporty polityczne Konsulów Generalnych Francji w Warszawie 1860-1864* ed. by I. KOBERDOWA, p. X-XI.

237) *Ibid.*, Ségur to Thouvenel, 20.4.1862, p. 274.

238) *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

239) "Iz dnevnika V.K. Konstantina Nikolayevicha", *Krasnyi Arkhiv*, x (1925), p. 122.

240) *Ibid.*, p. 219.

241) *Ibid.*, p. 222.

Golovnin, the Minister of Public Instruction, dated 20th April, 1862.²⁴²⁾ In this letter Milyutin was assured that it was the Tsar's own idea and he was invited to "give an outline how the Polish question should be conducted".²⁴³⁾ Grand Duke Constantine had different proposals: he wanted to save Milyutin for Russia and have him installed as Minister of the Interior. The great friend of Milyutin, Grand Duchess Helen, also objected to sending Milyutin to "the perilous post in Warsaw, which would deprive Russia of him without much hope that he could be successful in a country whose language and tendencies would have to be studied".²⁴⁴⁾

Constantine also opposed this idea for different reasons: he was of the opinion that a Pole rather than a Russian should be appointed in Warsaw. He explained this to Milyutin through Golovnin: he implored Milyutin to "refuse categorically the post in Poland chiefly because this post should fall to a Pole and not to a Russian".²⁴⁵⁾

When the audience of Milyutin with the Tsar took place on 28th May 1862, the Polish question was settled: civil administration was going to Wielopolski with the Grand Duke Constantine as *Namiestnik*. Milyutin was allowed to go abroad and asked to come back next winter to re-enter active service.

It is difficult to assess to what circumstances Wielopolski owed his success. It seems from Valuyev's memoirs that the idea gradually grew on the Tsar. As late as April 20th (old style) the Tsar was talking about giving the post in the civil administration to Milyutin and yet he arranged for a conference to be held on April 24th (old style) to discuss the Polish question. Valuyev felt that it meant "to be or not to be for Wielopolski".²⁴⁶⁾ The conference duly took place. As usual Valuyev and Gorchakov were in favour of Wielopolski, while General Luders, also present, said that he could not serve if Wielopolski was appointed as head of the civil government. The Tsar promised to find someone else. However, Valuyev noticed that "the Tsar, who some time before used to dismiss any thought of Wielopolski whenever his name was mentioned, now apparently began to get used to the idea".²⁴⁷⁾ It seemed to Valuyev that "it was only a question of time before Wielopolski was eventually appointed".²⁴⁸⁾ Still, another fortnight passed, before the Tsar finally told Valuyev that the Polish question was settled, which Valuyev rightly understood to mean the success of Wielopolski.²⁴⁹⁾

The decision to appoint Grand Duke Constantine came somewhat later, as on that day the Tsar was still insisting that Constantine was needed in Petersburg; but by the 12th May (old style) the question of

242) A. LEROY BEAULIEU: *Un homme d'Etat russe*, p. 129.

243) *loc. cit.*

244) *Grand Duchess Helen to Milyutin*, 11.5.1862, A. LEROY BEAULIEU: *op. cit.*, p. 132.

245) *Golovnin to Milyutin*, 11.5.1862, A. LEROY BEAULIEU: *op. cit.*, p. 132.

246) P.A. VALUYEV: *Dnevnik*, vol. I, p. 161.

247) *Ibid.*, p. 162.

248) *Ibid.*

249) *Ibid.*, p. 166.

the governor-generalship for Poland was finally settled, although Valuyev does not tell how exactly it came about. Apparently Constantine was overjoyed. "The new position attracted him, he thought about it for a long time and hoped for success"²⁵⁰⁾

In his speech of 5th July 1862, Wielopolski claimed before the Council of State that Constantine owed his position to him. This produced a bad effect on the Tsar who wrote to Constantine that Wielopolski "should have never said so even were it the truth"²⁵¹⁾ This seems to suggest that perhaps there was a grain of truth in Wielopolski's boastful remark.

Undoubtedly, the pairing of Wielopolski with Grand Duke Constantine was a good idea. Both were panslavists, both believed in graduated reforms, and both cherished great hopes for their success. Both in the end, were bitterly disappointed.

V. THE YEAR OF TRIAL AND FAILURE (1862-1863)

The reforms and the nomination of Constantine as the Governor-General did not diminish the aggressiveness of the revolutionaries. On the contrary, their left wing decided to launch a campaign of assassinations as the means of destroying undesirable personalities. Consequently a number of attempts at assassination were directed against the Grand Duke and Wielopolski. Somewhat apart from these attempts stood the wounding of General Luders. At that time public attention was focussed on the trial of the Russian officers who were accused of spreading revolutionary propaganda in the army. Although the investigation did not find that the officers formed a conspiracy, they were all sentenced to death: Lt. Arnold, 2nd Lt. Sliwicki and a non-commissioned officer called Rostkowski. Luders confirmed the sentences and the men were executed. According to rumours, Potiebnia decided to kill him in revenge. On the 27th of June, when Luders was strolling in the park, he was shot at, apparently by Potiebnia. It is not known whether he did this in consultation with other revolutionaries, or on his own initiative. Luders was not killed but merely wounded and the would-be assassin escaped in the panic which followed the shots.

It was different with the attempts on the life of Constantine and Wielopolski which, as was proved at the subsequent trials, were premeditated by a group of leftwing revolutionaries headed by Chmieliński and Dąbrowski. Their first attempt was to be directed against Wielopolski, but when the plotters learnt about the forthcoming arrival of Constantine they changed their plan and decided to remove the Grand Duke first. Chmieliński found obedient tools ready to kill Constantine in two young apprentices, Edward Rodowicz and Ludwik Jaroszyński; on the

250) *Ibid.*, p. 167.

251) I. KOBERDOWA: *Wielki Księżę Konstanty w Warszawie*, p. 108.

2nd July, when Constantine and his wife were to arrive in Warsaw, the two youngsters went to the station to kill him when he got out of the train. But being thwarted idealists rather than professional assassins, they refrained from killing Constantine at the sight of his pregnant wife. The assassination was postponed, and attempted the next day, when Constantine was leaving the theatre alone. This time, Jaroszyński did not hesitate to shoot: he wounded the Grand Duke and was arrested immediately. At the investigation he said bluntly that he wanted to kill the Grand Duke and that "they, that is the Poles, had decided to kill every *Namiestnik* who was sent to them",²⁵²⁾

At the time of the assassinations Chmiieleński and Dąbrowski were not members of the Central Committee any longer, but had formed their own group. Their plan was not only to kill the Grand Duke, but also to break up the Central Committee because of its unwillingness to commit itself to a speedy uprising. Consequently, while the assassins of the Grand Duke were sent off to the station, other adherents of Chmiieleński and Dąbrowski descended on a meeting of the Central Committee and attempted to disperse it, though they withdrew when, during mutual recriminations, someone came in with the news that the Grand Duke had just arrived.

The failure to kill the Grand Duke did not stop the left wing of the revolutionaries from repeated attempts on Wielopolski's life. According to Przyborowski the first attempt was preceded by an intrigue planned by Wielopolski and Kronenberg. It appears that Wielopolski had contacts with the White Directory through Kronenberg, who "constantly assured Wielopolski that the Directory not only would not interfere in his mission, but on the contrary, was ready to support him"²⁵³⁾ The chief obstacle, he pointed out, were the Reds. (It seems, that the idea of negotiations with the Reds to achieve a compromise was born in the mind of Kronenberg):

"One day Kronenberg arrived at a meeting held by the Whites with a suggestion made by Wielopolski that the Directory should abandon the Reds to him. This was followed by entreaties to support him and the new Polish government in the name of Poland and her happiness. Wielopolski assured the Directory that the Grand Duke, besides the already granted and published reforms, brought with him extensive and great projects whose introduction depended on the tranquility of the country and the suppression of the Reds. Perhaps genuinely, or wishing to appease the Directory, the Marquess assured them that if the country was quiet, similar reforms would be gradually extended to Lithuania, Volhynia and Podolia. Finally he assured the Directory that if they gave up the Reds to him, he would not destroy them physically, but only, for the sake of appearances, send them for a time to Russia and allow them to return to Poland shortly"²⁵⁴⁾

The only man in the Directory who knew practically all the members of the Central Committee was Karol Majewski. The rest of the members of the White Directory prevailed upon him to disclose the names of the

252) P.A. VALUYEV: "Dnevnik", vol. I, pp. 180-81.

253) W. PRZYBOROWSKI: *Historia dwóch lat*, vol. V, p. 3.

254) W. PRZYBOROWSKI: *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 4.

Central Committee for the benefit of the country. After some hesitation, Majewski agreed to do so and he, together with Kronenberg, visited Wielopolski several times. But although greatly impressed by Wielopolski, Majewski agreed to commit himself only on certain conditions, namely —

”that the whole story of his action should be written down in three copies signed by the Marquess and all the members of the Directory. Further, that one copy should be sent abroad and deposited in a Polish archive, another one kept in Poland, and the third one left with him. This proposal was rejected by Wielopolski and the Directory”.²⁵⁵⁾

The Marquess learnt about this decision on the 24th June, 1862, and two days later Majewski found himself in the Citadel where he spent almost a year. Skalkowski suggests that perhaps his influential elder brother Wincenty, who was a lawyer, was trying to save him from worse consequences resulting from his conspiratorial work.²⁵⁶⁾ Prof. S. Kieniewicz the editor of the *Zeznania* remarks: ”At this critical moment, when Majewski was in danger of revenge from the conspirators, he was arrested on the 26th June, 1862. There are no convincing documents to prove the truth of this story. At the most one can presume that discreet contacts existed between Majewski and Wielopolski, and that the tsarist regime was prepared to help Majewski to act”.²⁵⁷⁾ Majewski himself, in his report to the investigating committee, categorically denied that he had any dealings with Wielopolski: ”I did not exchange a word with the Wielopolskis nor did I ever hand them any documents”.²⁵⁸⁾

Whatever is the truth about the conspiracy it would seem that later attempts on Wielopolski's life were not made solely as a revenge for his plans against the revolutionaries, but were prompted by their desire to liquidate the only influential man who strove at a reconciliation with the Russian government in Poland. As was stated before, the adherents of Chmieliński and Dąbrowski planned to remove him before the arrival of Constantine, and the change in their plans was caused by the news of the early arrival of the Grand Duke.

The men behind the attempts on Wielopolski's life were the same as in the case of the attempts against Constantine, namely Chmieliński and Dąbrowski. As before, they found obedient tools in the artisan class. Their choice was Alexander Ryll, a lithographer aged 20. This young man shot at Wielopolski twice on the 7th August, 1862, when the Marquess was entering the building in which the Committee of Finance had its headquarters. The shots failed and the would-be assassin was arrested.

Another attempt was made on the 15th August when Wielopolski, together with his two sons was riding in a carriage in the centre of Warsaw. This time the assassin, another lithographer called Jan Rzońca, tried to jump onto the steps of the carriage and stab him with a poisoned dagger. Wielopolski managed to avoid the lethal weapon and again the assassin was arrested.

255) W. PRZYBOROWSKI: *Historia dwóch lat*, vol. V, pp. 4-7.

256) A. SKALKOWSKI: *Aleksander Wielopolski*, vol. III, p. 359.

257) S. KIENIEWICZ: *Zeznania śledcze o Powstaniu Styczniowym*, p. XXI.

258) *Ibid.*, p. 231.

This incident was the last direct attempt on Wielopolski's life. Later, the plotters tried to poison him and his whole family through their links with the servants or by impregnating letters addressed to him with poison.

Wielopolski's everyday life became extremely difficult after the attempts: he gave up appearing in public, his home was protected by a detachment of soldiers and he drove through the town escorted by gendarmes.

The position of the Central Committee in connection with the attempts at assassination was in spite of later idealizations, an equivocal one: although Chmieliński and Dąbrowski did not belong to it their plans were known to some of its members and this throws a shadow of responsibility on the Central Committee. It is clear at least that its more impetuous members were disloyal to the Committee in failing to inform the whole body about the plans which it had officially condemned.

It is interesting to compare the public reaction to the attempts on the lives of Wielopolski and Constantine. After his second escape, Wielopolski was cheered by the public in the streets. This, however, made little impression on him, as hardly anybody had rushed to his help when he was struggling with the assassin, and he had been saved only by his own and his son's presence of mind. Later he received many congratulations, especially from the foreign legations in Warsaw. The French Consul Valbézen came to his home to express his congratulations and to deplore "the madness of the Poles".²⁵⁹⁾ A. Zamoyski, whose presence would probably have caused Wielopolski the most satisfaction, did not pay his compliments: "he turned back from Wielopolski's doorstep".²⁶⁰⁾

The attempts on Wielopolski's life thus passed almost unnoticed; that on Constantine however, resulted in an upsurge of good will towards the Grand Duke. On the following morning he was visited by all the important people, as well as by the official bodies. Even Zamoyski and the higher clergy came to congratulate him on his miraculous escape. After the morning reception all present went to attend a thanksgiving mass in Warsaw Cathedral, where besides them, there gathered representatives of all the monastic orders and a large congregation of ordinary people. In the sermon, the Archbishop spoke against the crime of assassination. Later in the evening all Warsaw was illuminated, according to rumours, quite spontaneously.

From abroad, the news of the attempt produced a telegram from Queen Victoria expressing "to the Grand Duke on the part of the Queen Her Majesty's concern at the attempt on the life of His Imperial Highness and Her Majesty's congratulations on the escape".²⁶¹⁾

Even the friends of the revolutionaries, such as Herzen, deplored the attempt on Constantine's life: in the summer of 1862 Herzen discussed the attempt with a few Polish émigré revolutionaries and said that the "shot will do you terrible damage. The Government might have made some concessions; now it will yield nothing, but

259) W. PRZYBOROWSKI: *Historia dwóch lat*, vol. 5, p. 135.

260) S. KOŹMIAN: *Rzecz o roku 1863*, vol. II, p. 173.

261) P.R.O. F.O. to White, 65/612, July 14th 1862.

will be twice as savage". The answer of the revolutionaries was prompt: "But that is just what we want. There could be no worse misfortune for us than concessions. We want a breach, an open conflict".²⁶²⁾

Whatever was the attitude of the revolutionaries at home and abroad to the assassinations, the moderates were wholeheartedly against it and continued to show their abhorrence of such methods: the reception at Constantine's home and the thanksgiving service did not seem sufficient demonstrations to the conservative group of Poles and they suggested presenting Constantine with a declaration condemning the assassinations as yet another demonstration of goodwill towards him. The idea sprang from L. Górski, one of the most prominent members of the former Agricultural Society, which at his suggestion held a meeting where the bourgeoisie was also represented and at which it was resolved that a joint letter condemning the attempts should be written and handed over to the Grand Duke by A. Zamoyski. However the idea fell through because of the opposition of Zamoyski and Wielopolski. Wielopolski had a double motive in objecting to this step: he feared that if Zamoyski handed Constantine such a letter, the latter might try to come to some terms with his group and exclude Wielopolski himself; and further the group which sponsored the idea of a letter wanted to insert a phrase referring to the unhappy state of the country. The text was as follows: "Nous espérons que Votre Altesse Impériale saura trouver le moyen d'alléger les souffrances de cette nation si longtemps malheureuse".²⁶³⁾ Wielopolski insisted that the very presence of Constantine in Warsaw was a sufficient guarantee that the Grand Duke had come to alleviate the existing political conditions and that there was no need to stoop to asking for sympathy. Moreover, the country now had official channels, namely the Council of State, for presenting its grievances and complaints. Zamoyski on his part objected to the idea of handing over such a letter because he did not wish to shake hands with Constantine or to ask him for anything on principle as this was part of his political creed "to ask for nothing but accept everything".

Although the arguments of Wielopolski on this occasion were plausible, his further steps were unreasonable: for instance he forbade the publication in the daily paper owned by Kronenberg of an article in which the principle of political assassinations was condemned.

Generally Wielopolski did not know how to play on the effervescent feelings of his countrymen: he advised against the abolition of the state of siege in Warsaw and refused to commute the sentence of death passed on the assassins. He further antagonized people by appointing his eldest son Zygmunt as President of the Town Council of Warsaw and so laying himself open to the charge of nepotism. This step was preceded by an investigation made by the Town Council of the appalling state of Warsaw Prison. This investigation revealed that from 1st January to 20th July, 1862, 14,833 persons were detained in Warsaw prison, that is one tenth of the whole population of Warsaw. The findings of the investigating committee were produced in a report signed by the existing president Woyda, who was personally responsible for the state of affairs in Warsaw Prison, although the conditions

262) A. HERZEN: *My Past and Thoughts*, vol. 5, p. 149.

263) W. PRZYBOROWSKI: *Historia dwóch lat*, vol. V, p. 40.

in the prison were not his fault. Wielopolski however took this opportunity to dismiss Woyda and appoint his own eldest son and collaborator as president of Warsaw. According to Colonel Stanton, the British Consul in Warsaw:

"although strongly dissuaded from taking such a step, the Marquess Wielopolski has succeeded in obtaining the dismissal from his post of the president of the town... it is stated that the Grand Duke was much averse to the measure himself, and eventually only acceded to the pressing demands of the Marquess after the second attempt had been made on the life of the latter and when His Imperial Highness considered himself bound to grant this request.

... The appointment of Count Sigismund Wielopolski... has given great and general dissatisfaction and has rendered the position of the Marquess still more difficult than it was before... Count Andrew Zamoyski who had accepted his nomination as a member of the Municipal Council, having been elected to the same at the first elections at Warsaw, has resigned".²⁶⁴⁾

Wielopolski also alienated another group, so important to all statesmen and politicians, namely the press. With the approaching arrival of the Grand Duke and the dawn of the second period of reforms, the journalists had been full of hopes. They hoped for at least the same conditions as existed in Russia, where the press was allowed to discuss internal and external problems. Such a step would have been all the wiser for Wielopolski, as the Polish Press was headed by moderate people who opposed the revolutionary movement, and whose voice would redress the balance of the revolutionary press and gain friends for Wielopolski. Wielopolski, however, did not understand this and took an even more repressive attitude to the press in spite of liberalizing proposals made by the new director of the Committee of Education. Fearing lest he might be criticized and slandered by the journalists, Wielopolski banned all leading articles and permitted political articles to appear only if based on "*The Times*", "*Indépendance Belge*" and the "*Schlesische Zeitung*".

Yet Wielopolski understood the importance of the press and tried to find his own way to use it. He himself contributed to the "*Schlesische Zeitung*"; he had moreover his own daily, the "*Dziennik Powszechny*", where all his reforms were discussed at length, and he succeeded in finding writers who contributed regularly to the paper on matters of history, economics, science and law.

What he needed was an able controversialist who in polemical and satirical articles would lead the public towards moderation and win their active support for the coming reforms. This required courage on the part of such a journalist, and Wielopolski found him in the person of Miniszewski, who started to write for "*Dziennik Powszechny*" in November, 1861. In his articles, whose content was usually discussed with Wielopolski, he propagated the idea of work within the framework of extended reforms and invoked the press to express the outlook of serious citizens and not to pander to popular views. He called on the gentry to leave politics and work for the material welfare of the country, and exhorted young people not to seek careers as clerks, but to turn to trade and industry. He also started to publish a periodical but had

264) P.R.O. F.O. 65/612, *Stanton to Russell*, 18.8.1862.

to stop it as nobody bought it. Eventually Miniszewski was assassinated on 2nd of May, 1863.

Meanwhile the reforms promulgated last year were working peacefully and the attempts on Constantine's life did not slacken their pace. In a speech before the Council of State Wielopolski assured its members that the Duke did not in the least hold the nation guilty of participating in the crime of assassination. Soon all the vacant governorships were filled by Poles and "home rule" was taking shape in the whole of Congress Poland. Yet the reforms brought little improvement in the feelings of the Warsaw population: "Notwithstanding the recent changes in the government of the country and the announcement of further improvements to be made in the administration as soon as circumstances will permit, the situation of affairs does not appear to have materially altered; considerable excitement exists at the present moment in the town, which may perhaps be accounted for by the fact of numerous arrests having been made within the last few days both in Warsaw and in the country districts, and it is rumored that some clue has been discovered of the existence of a very extensive secret organization amongst the working classes in the capital and principal towns of the Kingdom"²⁶⁵)

For his part, Constantine did a lot to gain popularity: when a son was born to him, 140 men sentenced to exile in Russia were released, and 19 women exiled to obscure localities in the Kingdom, were allowed to return to Warsaw. The baby was named Wacław, which might indicate that he dreamed of some grandiose scheme for establishing a Slavonic kingdom ruled from Warsaw.

Altogether Constantine did everything to attract Poles to his person; he established a semi-regal court which was to attract Polish high society; and he admitted Poles to positions at the court. The Marshal of this court was Count Chreptowicz and Constantine's adjutant and head of the grand-ducal quarters was Alf Wrześniowski, while Julian Tęgoborski was chief of his diplomatic chancery.

The Grand Duchess also tried to approach Polish ladies through the Archbishop and patronized charitable institutions where she could meet ladies of the high society. She even went to the length of dressing in black to be like the Polish ladies who were wearing national mourning. But on the whole, Polish women were rather cool about appearing at the court or accepting court positions, and deprived of the feminine touch, the ducal drawing rooms remained somewhat cold.

Wielopolski also tried to attract people to his home, but by nature he was a lonely man: in Chroberz he had contacts with P. Popiel, Tomasz Potocki, Alexander Ostrowski and Oraczewski, who was his brother-in-law.

Alexander Oraczewski, the chairman of the Agricultural Society before its dissolution, accepted the post as governor of the gubernia of Radom, thus showing that the former members of that Society were not against Wielopolski's reforms. Yet although tacitly supporting him, they shunned his company, so that the gatherings at Wielopolski's home consisted chiefly of bureaucrats. His taciturn and overcast moods were also an obstacle to making friends. But the most serious setback

265) P.R.O. F.O. 65/612, *Stanton to Russell*, 22.7.1862.

towards a reconciliation between the new government and the population were the sentences of death pronounced on Ryll, Rzońca and Jaroszyński. The would-be assassins of Constantine and Wielopolski found no mercy: all were hanged in August, 1862. This was a mistake on the part of Wielopolski, as, according to Colonel Stanton, the situation was improving prior to this event:

"The uneasy symptoms lately visible in this town have considerably subsided during the last week and matters appear to be progressing in a favourable manner to the development of the various reforms in the administration of the country... Three imperial nominations have been lately made to the Council of State, two of them being influential members of the late Agricultural Society and connected with the Moderate Polish Party. The third nomination being that of a member of the Jewish persuasion and a gentleman of very considerable influence with the coreligionists in this country"²⁶⁶⁾

Two months later, probably due to the hangings, the situation deteriorated again:

"the same hostility to the Government on the part of the Poles of all classes continues unabated and although the upper classes of the Kingdom do not actually oppose the action of the administration they exhibit their antagonism by abstaining from any measures that might support the Government, and by keeping themselves completely aloof from the Vice-Regal Court..."²⁶⁷⁾

Undismayed by the indifference of the population, Wielopolski stubbornly pushed the reforms through. The state of siege was gradually lifted between September and December 1862. Also in the autumn the final reorganization of the administration took place. All the committees were filled by Poles except for that of Justice which was headed by Baron Keller, the husband of Wielopolski's champion, Madame Keller. Altogether there were seven Russians left in the administration, in positions without influence.²⁶⁸⁾ Industrial life also began to stir after the stupor of the Paskevitch era: private capital was used to exploit the coal mines, and new railways were being built. Mostly it was French capital which was invested in the railways.

As for the University in Warsaw, all the faculties began to function in the autumn term of 1862, although there were some difficulties in finding suitable teachers. In the end, however, all posts were filled. The faculty of law had an able lawyer Jan Kanty Wołowski; Jakób Natanson taught chemistry; Dr. Józef Mianowski, formerly a lecturer at Vilna University, taught philosophy; and B. Dybowski future member of the National Government, taught zoology. In some cases teachers refused to come to Warsaw, as for instance, Leon Cieżkowski from the University of Petersburg, a future scientist of European renown. The most difficult posts to be filled were those of history and literature. Good choices were sometimes rejected by Wielopolski, as in the case of Władysław Spasowicz, a professor of law at the University of Petersburg,

266) P.R.O. F.O. 65/612, *Stanton to Russell*, 1.8.1862.

267) P.R.O. F.O. 65/612, *Stanton to Russel*, 30.9.1862.

268) J. GRABIEC: *Ostatni szlachcic*, vol. II, p. 73.

because, as rumours had it, he was a "Red".²⁶⁹⁾ Students at this university kept away from politics and had no contacts with the revolutionaries. (When the Uprising broke out, they did not join it). Besides the University in Warsaw, Wielopolski established a Polytechnic in Puławy. Przyborowski suggests that Wielopolski himself proposed that Jurgens should teach political economy in Puławy, but the candidate refused to accept the post, considering it as banishment from Warsaw.²⁷⁰⁾

Another success was the Jewish reform. What had been the restrictions previously imposed on the Jewish population may be surmised from the rights granted to the Jews under the new law: they were allowed to open chemists shops, to live in all towns without any discrimination, and the so-called "*tagzettel*", a daily tax imposed on Jews temporarily residing in Warsaw, was abolished.²⁷¹⁾ It is possible that in this matter Wielopolski was prompted not only by humane feelings, but also by political motives. He remembered how they had participated in demonstrations prior to the first period of reforms, and now, talking to the Rabbi Majzels, he said that "from now on the Jewish people had no object whatsoever in getting mixed up with certain things".²⁷²⁾

Needless to say, Wielopolski did not achieve everything he wanted: the Russian government refused to divide the country into the traditional voivodships which, besides re-introducing the Polish system of administration, would have increased the number of gubernial councils as the number of the voivodships would be greater than that of the gubernias. He also failed to establish a Supreme Court of Justice which would deal with offences against the State in place of the courts martial. His plans for a religious reform met with opposition as well, this time from the Archbishop Feliński: Wielopolski suggested an ecclesiastical council attached to the Committee for Education and Religious Cults, but the Archbishop objected that the bishops were sole guardians of their dioceses, and that it was to them that the government should always turn in religious matters. It is interesting that Wielopolski, a devout Catholic, had plans for limiting the power of the bishops: most probably he hoped in this way to exercise some pressure over the bishops, and so to control the revolutionary-minded lower clergy.

Only in one respect had religious toleration been extended by the Tsar: in case of mixed marriages, Constantine was authorized by him in individual cases to leave the religion of the children to the discretion of the parents. Previously in marriages between Catholic and Orthodox, the children had to be brought up in the Orthodox religion.

Altogether life became less restrained after the arrival of Constantine. People gradually began to discard mourning and to frequent the theatres. But Wielopolski's unpopularity did not diminish much, although a certain improvement was noticeable: he was recognized as a supporter

269) W. PRZYBOROWSKI: *Historia dwóch lat*, vol. V, pp. 347-8.

270) W. PRZYBOROWSKI: *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 365.

271) The Jewish question has been fully discussed in the recently published *Spółeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego*, edited by W. KULA. See, as above vol. 1, chapter on *Prawa obywatelskie i honorowe Żydów (1790-1861)*, by Artur EISENBACH, and vol. 2, as above, chapter on *Mobilność terytorialna ludności żydowskiej w Królestwie Polskim* by the same author.

272) W. PRZYBOROWSKI: *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 367.

of legality in contrast to the lawless abuses of the revolutionaries on the one hand, the supporters of martial law among the military camarilla, on the other. In a way his unpopularity was necessary for his success with the Russian government, as was aptly recognised by an anonymous supporter, author of a pamphlet entitled "Marquess Wielopolski and the Reforms of the Russian government":

"Working for a suspicious government, he almost needed unpopularity. He was able to come to power only in the shadow of unpopularity. Patriotism alone was of no service under the circumstances, without this screen. So, under the shadow of unpopularity Wielopolski worked for the alleviation of restrictions existing in the Kingdom".²⁷³⁾

In particular Wielopolski was gradually losing ground with the gentry but at the same time "he was winning over followers in the towns".²⁷⁴⁾ According to the same source, he had few but strong supporters among the landowners. The doctrine of an armed uprising was generally condemned by the landowners, "although the doctrine of passive resistance which originated with the Agricultural Society, warmed the minds".²⁷⁵⁾

But even passive resistance if adopted by the moderates did not present a serious obstacle in the functioning of the administrative machine. The real obstacles were the Reds and the government had no means to suppress them: the police was recruited from Poles — retired soldiers, armed with sabres. Their head, the *Oberpolicemeister*, Sergei Muchanov, made a reservation that he would have nothing to do with the secret police. At the same time, Marquess Paulucci, the chief of the secret police, an admirer of Garibaldi, shut his eyes to what was going on and in June 1862, went away to a spa for four months.

The gendarmery was well equipped and consisted of physically fit people, but their commanders were usually old, indolent, often invalids. The district military chiefs had large powers, but they were diminished when the state of siege was abolished. The chief of the gendarmes was no longer a member of the Council of Administration, and in this way slipped from the control of Wielopolski. From now on he reported only to Constantine and Wielopolski did not know his reports on the growth of the revolutionary movement.

After the attempt on Wielopolski's life, the police succeeded in arresting 66 members of the plot. They belonged to the lower classes: craftsmen, workers, cabmen.

The government was aware of the state of the Polish police and attempted to put new life into them by asking for some English policemen to come to Poland. This was arranged through diplomatic channels, that is through the Russian envoy in London. In consequence, in October 1862, two British inspectors, Walker and Whicher, arrived. They asked for 10 or even 2 respectable men who could help them but the government found this impossible. Nevertheless, in their short sojourn they made astonishing discoveries in the army. They traced such top revolutionaries as Ludwik Zwierzdowski, and Heidenreich.

273) *Margrabia Wielopolski i reformy rządu rosyjskiego w Królestwie Polskim*, p. 15.

274) P. POPIEL: *Pamiętniki*, p. 142.

275) *Ibid.*, p. 143.

However, at the intercession of Nazimow, the Governor General of Lithuania, Zwierzdowski, was only sent to Russia and Heidenreich also was soon released.²⁷⁶⁾

In revenge for the success of the English policemen the revolutionaries staged a new wave of assassinations: sometimes they used paid assassins, as in the case of the murder of a police agent, Felkner.²⁷⁷⁾

Unexpectedly, the government found indirect supporters among the Poles themselves: as the situation was becoming more difficult, the moderates began to think about the possibility of coming to some terms with the government over further reforms which would satisfy the Reds and prevent an uprising. Discussion on this subject were usually held in the house of Wł. Zamoyski, Andrew's son, and at Kronenberg's. Thus both the former Agricultural Society and the bourgeoisie were keen on peaceful progress. They agreed that they would support the government on two conditions: "if the constitution of 1815 was restored, and at least reforms similar to those existing in the Kingdom were granted to Lithuania". They believed that such a move would prevent the pending uprising. Again, as in the case of the address after the attempt on the life of Constantine, the gentry did not want to act behind the back of Wielopolski, and a deputation was sent to him. They explained their aspirations and assured him that if the Marquess would agree that their suggestions were right, and if he promised to work towards their realization for the future, the whole moderate party would obey him unconditionally without asking for further explanations of his actions. However, any agreement between Wielopolski and the moderates would have endangered his position versus the Russian government and Wielopolski rightly fought shy of it. Moreover, as it was stated in previous chapters, Wielopolski wanted the Lithuanians to look after themselves. Nevertheless he might have shown more consideration towards the deputies, instead of answering to them proudly: "I do not demand or need yours or anybody's support. One can sometimes do something for the Poles, but never with them"²⁷⁸⁾ If this version, queried by Skałkowski, is true, it is quite understandable that the Whites began to plot his overthrow and to seek some accommodation with the Grand Duke himself. In this intrigue General Chreptowicz was of service. He had talks with such representatives of the Whites as were usually hostile to Wielopolski personally. To them belonged Alexander Przeździecki, with a grievance dating from the times of the law-suit for the Świdziński Collection, and Franciszek Węgleński, formerly a member of the Agricultural Society, a man to whom Wielopolski once offered the directorship of justice which he refused, having failed to receive an explanation from Wielopolski as to his future plans. He suspected Wielopolski of some nebulous panslavistic ideas not without justice, considering Wielopolski's activities in 1846.

276) W. PRZYBOROWSKI: *Historia dwóch lat*, vol. V, pp. 283-85.

277) V. PAVLISHCHEV: *Siedmicy polskiego miatieża*, vol. II, p. 322.

278) W. PRZYBOROWSKI: *op. cit.*, pp. 140-41.

Kronenberg also participated in these intrigues and had talks with Constantine at the beginning of September.

Constantine was not averse to talking to moderates behind Wielopolski's back and was keen on coming to terms with the Poles by any means, as far as the vital interests of the Russian State permitted him. He wrote to the Tsar on 13th September 1862: "Last week was marked by the calming down of the population. Two people who strive to support the government helped: Węgleński and Kronenberg — one among the gentry and the former members of the Agricultural Society, and the other among the bourgeoisie and the workers — trying to restore the balance of minds and awaken confidence in the government".²⁷⁹⁾ After this achievement Constantine tried to aim higher and to have talks with A. Zamoyski whose popularity was incomparably greater than anybody else's. Accordingly General Chreptowicz hinted to Zamoyski that his presence would be welcomed at the Belvedere. Zamoyski explained that he did not wish to go to the Belvedere lest he be suspected by Wielopolski of intriguing against him, but that he was always prepared to discuss with the Grand Duke the problems of his country if commanded to do so. He received such a command on the 2nd September. Constantine told Zamoyski openly that he knew the wishes of the Poles to return to their pre-partition frontiers, but that such desires were beyond achievement and asked him what were the views of the moderate people, and what else could be done to carry out the intended reforms. This conversation was altogether a great disappointment for Constantine and convinced him further how valuable Wielopolski was: "I have come to the conclusion that nothing can be done with him (Zamoyski). He is a complete madman. He is either a fool or a dreamer, a Utopian full of anger and bitterness. Instead of discussing the matter and what is possible, he either grumbled at the past or talked about ancient Poland and the Dniپر. Moreover, he is not clever and cannot possibly stand at the head of a party and is only its mask, a name, a poster".²⁸⁰⁾ Nevertheless Constantine appealed to Zamoyski to use his authority to lower the Polish demands. Zamoyski denied, quite rightly, that he had such an influence over the country as to change their intentions, yet he offered to have talks with his friends and enquire about their opinions. Constantine agreed to his suggestion, and the conversation was brought to an end.

For Zamoyski it was an ill-fated conversation. The wishes of Constantine were misunderstood. He probably thought that Zamoyski would talk with some of the Warsaw moderates and sound their views, but what Zamoyski did surpassed his expectations. Members of the Directory sent invitations all over the country asking members and non-members of the White Organization to attend a conference in Warsaw. The gentry and the nobility were prompt to answer the summons and about 200 people gathered in Warsaw for talks. Their meetings were usually held under the chairmanship of Wł. Zamoyski, Andrew's son, the latter keeping himself out of the public eye. The

279) A. KRAUSHAR: *Listy poufne Cara Aleksandra II i W. Księcia Konstantego z roku 1862. Tydzień Polski*, NN. 46-51, 1022, p. 6. First published in *Dyala i Dni* I-III (1920-1922) ed. A.I. Lebedev.

280) A. KRAUSHAR: *loc. cit.*

main theme of the talks was the extension of reforms to Lithuania and the Ukraine. Unable to overcome its liking for petitions, the gathering decided to express its wishes in writing. Przyborowski maintains that at first their demands did not go further than the state of affairs in 1815, but that they were increased under the influence of the Reds, who were busy infiltrating among the Whites.²⁸¹⁾ In the end, reunification was mentioned in spite of the warning of Zamoyski that such a petition was unacceptable. This result went beyond the expectations of Constantine and he gave vent to his indignation in a letter to the Tsar: making Zamoyski responsible for the whole affair. "He has allowed himself — wrote Constantine — to take steps which we cannot suffer. About 200 landowners arrived here from all parts of Poland. It is beyond doubt that they were summoned by Zamoyski although we cannot prove this to him... Rumours have spread that they intend to submit a petition to him which he will present to me and that this petition would contain something about Lithuania and a constitution. Węgleński strove hard to prevent this happening. Many landowners quarrelled among themselves and did not agree about the petition and went away, but in spite of this rumours have it that the petition has been written and that Zamoyski will ask for an audience with a view to handing it to me. Can the government suffer anything like this? Can we allow for a subordinate power which would play the role of a national representation? Will it be sufficient just to refuse to accept it? ...Would this not be a repetition of Gorchakov's mistakes last year, with all the deplorable consequences? I am convinced that one must here make an example which would stifle the wish to repeat more of such tricks, and for this reason I intend to do the following: to grant an audience to Zamoyski and ask him by what right and on what grounds does he take upon himself the role of a national representative? *Quel est son mandat?* And that I, as your viceroy do not recognize any other power in Poland or representatives of Poland's needs except those granted by you, that is, the Council of State and the gubernial and district and town councils. That, as he has overstepped his legal rights and taken upon himself a role to which he cannot aspire, he must take the responsibility which can only be measured out by the monarch, and for this reason I shall arrest him and send him to Petersburg".²⁸²⁾

On this point Constantine and Wielopolski agreed: Zamoyski must be arrested. But Wielopolski showed some leniency towards the count and wished only that he should be sent abroad. Zamoyski seems however, to have come to the conclusion that he was about to make a mistake, and allegedly refused to submit the petition.

Alexander completely shared Constantine's opinions about the Polish patriots" and warned his brother "not to accept a petition under any circumstances".²⁸³⁾ Nevertheless, the Russian government did not wish to do anything illegal: Constantine hesitated to arrest Zamoyski immediately although prompted by Wielopolski to do so: "Had he

281) W. PRZYBOROWSKI, *Historia sześciu miesięcy*, p. 148.

282) A. KRAUSHAR: *Listy poufne Cara Aleksandra II i W. Księcia Konstantego z 1862. "Tydzień Polski"* NN. 46-51 1922, p. 8. First published in *Dyela i Dni* I-III (1920-1922)

283) A. KRAUSHAR: *loc. cit.*

submitted to me this petition it would have been quite easy for me not accept it, and to arrest Zamoyski immediately. But as the petition was not submitted, the arrest would be impossible without danger... For this reason I myself called him to come and see me and informed him that he had an order to go to Petersburg. It will be necessary in Petersburg to treat him politely and not as a traitor. Even there he will say and try to prove that he is clean and white like an angel but this will not mislead you or anybody".²⁸⁴⁾

The answer of the Tsar came promptly: "Zamoyski must be arrested immediately, and sent here with an officer of the gendarmerie. Associates to his petition also should be arrested and after an investigation either tried... or sent to the remote provinces of the Empire". As to Zamoyski's future, the Tsar at first objected to the suggestion of Wielopolski that he should be sent abroad: "I cannot understand how Wielopolski could suggest that Zamoyski be sent abroad where he would only strengthen the emigration which, as it is, is hostile to us".²⁸⁵⁾ Yet in the end the Tsar came round to the wishes of Wielopolski, and Zamoyski was allowed to go abroad.

While in Petersburg, Zamoyski had seen the Tsar and talked with him. The gist of the conversation was reported to Constantine in a letter from Alexander. Zamoyski, faithful to the tradition of his family, repeated to the Tsar all that Constantine had heard from him in Warsaw: "He is an incorrigible dreamer" — wrote the Tsar — "he harped again on those unfortunate promises of Alexander (I)... to redress the wickedness and spoliation of Empress Catherine".²⁸⁶⁾ To this the Tsar replies that "what Zamoyski was asking for would mean a wickedness and a spoliation of the Empire of Russia which a Russian Emperor... had neither right to make... nor was it for him possible to fulfil such promises without invalidating his place given to him by divine grace".²⁸⁷⁾ However, Alexander assured Constantine that the "Polish Kingdom" in its present borders can flourish and progress and that was all that the Emperor wished for".²⁸⁸⁾

Again Wielopolski remained the only man with whom the Russian government could deal. His position was now more difficult, as the odium for the exile of Zamoyski fell on his shoulders. Constantine was aware of the difficulties: The further he pursues the road indicated by himself, the more prejudice and hatred grows against him. His awkward manner, pride and provoking tone... does him harm. Yet it is difficult to change at his age. We need him now very much more than ever and we ought to protect him".²⁸⁹⁾

To all appearances the whole affair petered out and was followed by some calm. This at least was the opinion of Colonel Stanton, the British consul in Warsaw: "Since the date of my last despatch... the

284) *Ibid.*, p. 5.

285) *Ibid.*, p. 4.

286) *Ibid.*

287) *Ibid.*, p. 7.

288) *Ibid.*

289) *Ibid.*, p. 24.

affairs of this Kingdom have to all outward appearance assumed a more peaceful aspect and seem to be progressing in a more favourable manner than has been the case for many months, and the efforts of the government to restore tranquility may be said to be at last bearing fruit".²⁹⁰⁾

While Constantine was looking for supporters for his government, the revolutionaries also sought allies at home and abroad. At home they were able to win over the lower clergy and abroad the Russian revolutionaries.

The opinion of the clergy was discussed for the first time at a religious Congress at Lysa Góra in the district of Sandomierz. This took place on 14th September, 1862. Here it was decided to convoke a meeting of the clergy from the diocese of Sandomierz to decide how they should behave towards the Central Committee. The meeting took place and soon similar meetings were organized in other dioceses of the Kingdom. The clergy promised obedience to the Central Committee on condition that they would not have to do anything against the Canon Law. Various clauses elucidated the stand-point of the clergy, of which the most important was explaining their attitude towards the peasant question. At all the meetings the clergy expressed their support for "peasants' rights" without, however, taking any revolutionary steps. Most suggested rents as envisaged by the government. For the Reds however, the important point was that the clergy promised their support to the organization of the Reds headed by the Central Committee. The higher clergy did not commit themselves to any programme, although supporting the government. Only one bishop dared to oppose the ideas of the lower clergy, but even he withheld his pastoral letter, probably for fear of unpopularity. It is interesting that the Uniate clergy refused to adhere to the movement.

Altogether the higher clergy, although unwilling to cooperate with the revolutionaries, did not come forward to support Wielopolski. On the 17th of December, Krzywicki, as director of the Committee of Education, invited 3 bishops to a conference at which he complained that the clergy introduced politics into church, took part in plots and authorized murders. He urged them to take steps against activities of this kind, which endangered public peace and undermined ecclesiastical authority. The bishops at first quite agreed with the director and promised help, but next day they sent him a letter justifying murders, and wrote that the evil could be only remedied: (1) if relations with Rome and the generals of the monastic orders were made easier; (2) if laws contrary to the law were removed; (3) if a higher standard of education at the seminaries was provided; (4) if higher salaries, provincial synods and a conference of all the bishops were provided.²⁹¹⁾ Only the Archbishop of Gniezno, the Primate of the Polish Church, sent Archbishop Feliński a letter of 20th December, decisively condemning the behaviour of the clergy in the Kingdom.

The promised support of the lower clergy was a powerful weapon in the hands of the Reds in Catholic Poland. The alliance with the Russian revolutionaries was more elusive, as the revolutionary movement

290) P.R.O. F.O. 65/612, *Stanton to Russell*, 1.10.1862.

291) W. PRZYBOROWSKI: *Historia dwóch lat*, vol. V, pp. 431-34.

in Russia was very weak and did not possess influence over the Russian nation comparable to that of the clergy over the minds of Poles. However, their support of the Polish revolutionaries was sincere. The Russian conspiracy, called the Great Russian, was founded in the summer of 1861. It lasted only for a few months but in this short span of life it issued several proclamations in which the liberation of Poland was advocated. Arrests brought about its disintegration but very soon, in August 1862, the defunct "Great Russian" was replaced by a new secret society called "*Zemlya i Volya*". In the autumn of the same year a "Central Russian National Committee" was founded in Petersburg and immediately got in touch with the revolutionary movement in Poland. Potiebnia, the alleged assassin of General Luders, was a member of *Zemlya i Volya* and probably served as a link between the two groups, Polish and Russian.

The Central Committee in Warsaw was rightly sceptical about the strength of the Russian revolutionaries, with the exception of Dąbrowski and Padlewski. Both cherished high hopes that a revolution would break out in Russia simultaneously with Poland. Padlewski, a member of the Central Committee, tried to arouse enthusiasm for this idea among his colleagues. However, Giller, an influential member of the Central Committee, was very cautious on this point and decided to clarify the position of the Russian revolutionaries especially on the problem of the Western frontiers of Russia. Consequently he decided to go to London to see Herzen, the spiritual leader of the Russian conspirators, who had already on a few occasions expressed his views on the Polish question, especially in "*The Bell*" of June 1st, 1862. There he had said that for years he and his group had been preaching the necessity of the independence of Poland hoping at the same time that the liberation of both nations would be accomplished by the establishment of a federation of Slavonic peoples. The problem of the frontiers should be left until after the liberation, and ought to be decided by a free expression of the will of the inhabitants of Lithuania and the Ukraine. However, he did not think that these two countries should have complete independence but envisaged a closer association of these nations either with Poland, or with Russia, saying that it should be "up to them to decide with which country they would like to be associated".

Herzen had not yet entirely abandoned the idea of a violent revolution, but at this period he still hoped that a bloodless one, headed by the monarch, would make the outbreak unnecessary.

In July 1862, Herzen condemned the attempts on the life of Constantine, but at the same time explained them as a reaction of the Polish people to the repressions.²⁹²⁾ He also appealed to the Russian troops stationed in Poland and Lithuania to refuse to take part in reprisal measures against the Poles. His appeal appeared in a letter entitled "What the Russian officers should do in case of a Polish uprising". His views were quite astounding: "The answer — he wrote, — is simple: to face trial, to enter the punitive regiments, to be shot as Śliwicki, Arnold and Rostkowski, to be torn to pieces... but never to

292) A. HERZEN: *Polnoe sobranie*, edit. by M.K. Lemke, vol. XV, pp. 334-35.

direct arms against the Poles, against a people who quite rightly sought their independence".²⁹³⁾

Yet Herzen was not in favour of an early uprising in Poland, fearing that if the Russian revolutionaries showed their support for the Poles, this might endanger their own existence and postpone the chance of the liberation of Russia for many years.

To clarify this point, as well as the stand of the Central Committee on the question of the Western Provinces of Russia, the representatives of the Central Committee — Padlewski, Giller and Miłowicz — went to London to see Herzen at the end of September 1862. They arrived in London with a letter from the Central Committee which was published in *Kolokol* ("The Bell") on October 1st, 1862.

In this letter, dated 20th September 1862, the Central Committee assured Herzen once again that the peasants would be granted eternal and indisputable rights to the land tilled by them; it promised abolition of all class privileges and the establishment of equality of all citizens under the law. As the partitions of Poland were an act of violence never recognized by the Polish people, the rising ought to take place within the frontiers of 1771, but after the rising, the non-Polish nationalities would be given the right to decide freely about their future. In direct negotiations it was decided to interpret the two last sentences as a promise to hold a plebiscite in the territories of Lithuania, White Russia and the Ukraine. The answer of *Kolokol* was given on October 16th. It took notice of the letter of the Central Committee and declared the solidarity of the Russian revolutionary movement with the Polish programme. It was a compromise, contrary to the original conception of *Kolokol*, that a single Slavonic federation should be established.

In spite of this agreement there existed some fundamental differences between the Russian and Polish revolutionaries, as Herzen expressed in his memoirs:

"It was impossible to come to a common understanding by open talk. We started from different points, and our paths simply intersected in our common hatred for the autocracy of Petersburg. The ideal of the Poles was behind them. They strove towards their past, from which they had been cut off by violence and which was the only starting point from which they could advance again. They had masses of holy relics while we had empty cradles... They looked for the resurrection of the dead, while we longed to bury ours as soon as possible. Our association with them seemed to them alternately a misalliance and a marriage of convenience".²⁹⁴⁾

However, as a result of talks with Bakunin, the Polish delegation was persuaded that Herzen's group represented the centre of the whole organization in Russia which could determine whether or not it joined the Polish movement.

After his visit to London, Padlewski went to Petersburg to get in touch with *Zemlya i Volya*. The Russian Committee informed Padlewski that an uprising could not possibly break out in Russia until summer 1863, and begged him to postpone it in Poland. In case the Poles had

293) A. HERZEN: *op. cit.*, vol. XV, p. 514.

294) A. HERZEN: *My Past and Thoughts*, vol. 5, p. 148.

to rise at an earlier date, it promised, in vague form, to provoke an uprising in the Urals. The only advantage produced from Padlewski's visit to Petersburg was the establishment of a Polish Committee with Joseph Ohryzko as a liaison between the Russian and the Warsaw Committees.

The report brought from Petersburg by Padlewski did not improve the prestige of the Russian conspiratorial movement. The majority of the Central Committee refused to ratify the London agreement, the frontiers of 1771 and the agreement of October 1861 were declared to be the aim of the insurrection.

These were not the only points of contention between the members of the Central Committee who had gone to London and the rest. During the absence of Giller and Padlewski the Central Committee co-opted new members who were more revolutionary than the old set and the Committee carried out a series of political assassinations.²⁹⁵⁾

Still the talks with the Russian revolutionaries in London and in Petersburg had a beneficial effect on the Polish Committee: the idea began to dawn upon them that the uprising should be postponed, and this final decision was taken by the representatives of the whole organization who came to Warsaw especially for this purpose.

The representatives came at different times for the sake of safety and consisted of inhabitants of all the parts of dismembered Poland. They included Colonel Zygmunt Miłkowski, Colonel Walenty Lewandowski, both officers in the Hungarian campaign of the year 1848; Colonel Różycki the son of Karol Różycki, the hero of the 1831 revolution; Marian Langiewicz, an instructor from Cuneo, and Zygmunt Sierakowski. They all agreed that the uprising should be postponed.²⁹⁶⁾ The revolutionaries of Western Europe also added their voice against the uprising. After talks with Cwierciakiewicz, Mazzini sent a letter to the Central Committee begging them to postpone it. The catch-word of the Polish revolutionaries now became consolidation of the movement, particularly closer links with the revolutionaries in Lithuania and the Ukraine.

Wilno had its own Committee with such members as L. Zwierzdowski, Franciszek Dalewski — employee of the Warsaw-Petersburg railway, Małachowski, Edmund Weryho, Dr. Dłuski and Constantine Kalinowski. The last one was an extremist, the son of a weaver, and showed separatist tendencies. He became the chief propagandist for a complete autonomy of Lithuania. For the time being, however, the Wilno Committee was loyal to the Warsaw Committee and the national tax collected in Lithuania was sent to Warsaw.

In the Ukraine the organization was very weak, but the conspirators formed a group headed by Antoni Juriewicz, a student at Kiev University. Like Kalinowski, he believed in a peasant uprising. In July 1862, Leon Frankowski was appointed commissar for the Ukraine and made contacts with Juriewicz. Later, Frankowski was replaced by Stefan Bobrowski. He actually established the so-called Department for the Ukraine, amalgamating white and red elements. This movement, however was very weak, and had no contacts with the predominantly Ukrainian

295) W. PRZYBOROWSKI: *Historia dwóch lat*, vol. V, p. 282.

296) *Ibid.*, p. 423.

population. The duty of making arrangements preparatory to an uprising was entrusted to Zygmunt Miłkowski.²⁹⁷⁾

Galicia and Poznań also participated. In Galicia the so-called Galician Supreme Council was formed in October 1862, its members being: Alfred Szczepański, L. Kubala, the future historian, and two veterans of the November Uprising, Demidowicz and Miłkowski. The organization was kept very secret, although it organized the so-called "boards" all over the province. It was agreed at their meeting that Galicia would be an autonomous province whose only aim would be to prepare forces for the future uprising when it broke out in other Polish provinces.

In Poznań the revolutionary organization was headed by Łukaszewicz, and its aim also was material help to the uprising when it broke out, but not direct participation. These reservations were probably agreed because of the impossibility of fighting Austria and Prussia at the same time as Russia.

By the end of 1862 the revolutionaries had a carefully woven conspiratorial web, stretching from Poznań to Moscow. This organization however was not large, and was limited to certain areas only: its strongest roots were in Podlasie, the gubernia of Sandomierz, the gubernia of Lublin, the district of Białystok, and also along the Warsaw-Petersburg railway line. In Lithuania the chief conspirators were Whites, and the same was true of Volhynia, Podolia, the gubernia of Mińsk and the Ukraine.

The Reds were not the only ones who thought that an early uprising was impossible. The Whites came to the same conclusion at the conference which they held in the middle of December in Warsaw. As at the Red conference, representatives from all parts of Poland were called to Warsaw; the difference was that they were not revolutionaries, but law-abiding citizens anxious for peace. All of them agreed that the young generation was red and pushing towards an uprising; only Lithuania was quiet, according to the statements of its representatives Gieysztor and Starzyński. Yet nobody believed in an early uprising. They believed in Wielopolski's wisdom, the power of Russia and the poverty of the Reds. They hopefully agreed that even if an uprising broke out, it would be easily suppressed.

Both Reds and Whites dispersed to their homes in the belief that peace would last at least till May 1863. By that time many things could have happened: either new reforms would have been promulgated, alienating the public in general from the revolutionaries, or more probably, the Reds would realise their own weakness and the impossibility of getting any support from abroad. Much depended on the success of Wielopolski's peasant reform. If this took root the Reds would lose their most hoped-for supporters, and their organization might wither away or be discovered like the Russian conspiracy and annihilated. Yet neither of these predictions happened, and the uprising unexpectedly broke out during the night of 22/23rd January, 1863.

It seems that the outbreak was provoked by Wielopolski himself, who used the approaching conscription to the Russian army as a convenient means of getting rid of the revolutionaries. He was aware

297) W. PRZYBOROWSKI: *op. cit.*, pp. 315-16.

that his machinations would probably end in an outbreak of open hostilities between the troops and the revolutionaries, but he was confident that the latter would soon be rounded up, leaving him free to consolidate his authority and build a new Kingdom of Poland according to his own image. His expectations were entirely false, and he plunged the Kingdom into a disastrous uprising, which ruined his career and ended in the complete annihilation of Poland, depriving the country of any vestige of the self-government which had hitherto existed in the Kingdom. The path which led to this was a tortuous one.

Wielopolski, like the Reds and the Russian camarilla, well understood that the disorders in the country were bound to end in an uprising of some dimensions. He therefore wanted to bring it about on the smallest possible scale, and at a time when the revolutionary organization was demoralized by several months of expectation and the desertions abroad. Under such circumstances it would be very weak, and easily defeated. His conscience was clear: from the moment of the proclamation of the terms of conscription at the beginning of October, everybody had enough time to escape abroad or to hide. Those who remained were fanatical revolutionaries, and he did not wish to treat them with gloved hands, especially as they were connected with "the international anarchy". He expected it and said himself: "The abscess has ripened and must be cut through. I shall suppress the uprising in a week and then I shall be able to govern".²⁹⁸⁾

The idea of clearing the country of undesirable elements through conscription had been dormant since 1861: Lambert contemplated it, and Luders early in 1862 thought about recruiting 5 men in a thousand between 20 and 30 years of age.²⁹⁹⁾ It was not the idea of conscription which was familiar, but the fact that it had been suspended since the Crimean War and people had forgotten about it. The method which Wielopolski deliberately chose, was not so atrocious when looked at in retrospect.

The government in the Kingdom was informed by the Russian Minister for War in June that the conscription would take place in Poland in November, according to new rules issued on 15th March 1859. It was published in the *Dziennik Powszechny* of the Kingdom of Poland. This new law envisaged recruitment by ballot and not by arbitrary lists drawn by the local authorities. The recruitment was for six years. The quota was fixed at 12,000. Altogether about 72,000 would be called to ballot. This would involve the movement to district towns of crowds of people, which might be dangerous in those turbulent times. Any incident would show that the new autonomous government of Poland was unable to function. Therefore, at the suggestion of his son Zygmunt, Wielopolski decided to use the old method of 1816, and to recruit only the town people to the exclusion of villagers. "The idea was mine and I carried it through with great difficulty in the face of the opposition of my father and the Grand Duke" — claimed Zygmunt Wielopolski some years later in an open letter to Tarnowski.³⁰⁰⁾ The chief reason for

298) W. PRZYBOROWSKI: *op. cit.*, vol. V. pp. 376-77.

299) *Ibid.*

300) *List Otwarty do Tarnowskiego.*

using this method was to clear the country of the revolutionary element, embracing office employees, tradesmen and craftsmen. This would break the net of the revolutionary organization.

Constantine did not like the idea. Ramsey, the Commander in chief, also objected. The army resented being used as a police force. Ramsey argued that if suspension of the new law was necessary, it should be sufficient to send written summonses to the recruits requesting them to appear before the recruiting committees on a given date, although he expected that many would run away rather than obey such an order.³⁰¹⁾

Constantine himself was well aware that Wielopolski's scheme would intensify the national hatred towards the government and bring about an effect which would counterweigh the mission of the Emperor's brother to Warsaw.

In Petersburg, after some hesitation and some exchange of letters between Constantine and the Tsar, the proposal was approved, and Constantine was informed about it by a rescript of the Minister for War dated 17th September, 1862.³⁰²⁾

The public learnt about this decision from Wielopolski himself, as the whole thing was published in the *Dziennik Powszechny* on 6th October. The excuse given for supplanting the new law by the old, was the process of abolishing the labour service and the radical changes required in rural life. This excuse carried much weight and, undoubtedly the recruitment of peasants would do much harm to them. The size of the expected recruitment was not published.

Many former friends of Wielopolski came to him with admonitions that such a step would undoubtedly provoke an uprising, but he remained unperturbed. One of the landowners, who apparently had nothing against this measure, asked Zygmunt Wielopolski if the government had the names of those whom it intended should be taken: the answer was "the government has nothing, not even a single name".³⁰³⁾ All the government could do was to issue a circular to the recruitment committees formed by the district councils laying down the rules which the committees were to follow with regard to recruitment. It said "Above all, should be recruited those who took part in the recent incidents without consideration whether it would be necessary to take from one town or from one religion more recruits than from another. Therefore the recruitment committees should have not only complete knowledge of the family background of the recruits but also minutely know their activities with regard to politics, because one of the main reasons for the conscription is to get rid of that part of the population which by its behaviour adds to the confusion of public order".

The Polish landowners were not the only people who warned the government against the old method of recruitment, Count Orlov, the Russian envoy in Brussels, came specially to Warsaw on 1st December, 1862, to obtain revocation of the conscription. He was afraid that such a step would shake the Franco-Russian understanding on which he was

301) W. PRZYBOROWSKI: *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 371.

302) *Dziennik Powszechny*, No. 224.

303) A. GILLER: *Aleksander Wielopolski*, p. 377.

working, but remonstrations were of no avail. His failure emphasized that the real master in Warsaw was Wielopolski.

Let us now examine the attitude of the Central Committee to the conscription. Before the publication of the fateful news the Central Committee was not afraid of conscription. They were even hoping that if conducted among the peasants it might produce some commotion among them and this could only be welcome for the revolutionaries. But the news that the old method was to be used shook it. At first they tried to appeal directly to Wielopolski, through the mediation of one Horbowski who had known Wielopolski for a long time. Horbowski warned Wielopolski that this measure was illegal and might provoke an uprising. The answer of Wielopolski was that it was not a question of legality but of peace, and that when he had peace "they would see what I can do".

Most of the members of the organization looked up to the Central Committee for help, and the general opinion was that the only means of preventing a successful conscription would be to start an uprising simultaneously with it.

The Central Committee, although deprived of its two most powerful individuals — Giller and Padlewski, who were still abroad, — was convinced that an immediate uprising was impossible, and that it would be wrong to endanger the future of the whole country to save a few thousand people from conscription, most of whom, in any case, could escape beforehand. This attitude produced some discontent: in Lublin, a part of the town organization threatened that if the Central Committee did not give orders for an uprising, they would start one themselves. Yet admonished by their voivods they waited patiently for the false promise of the Central Committee that they would not allow the recruitment to take place. In fact such a promise was not made by the Central Committee as a whole, but by the Mierosławski group in conjunction with two members of the Central Committee: Daniłowski and Koskowski. They were now ordered to leave the Central Committee for their irresponsibility and Rolski, suspected of participating in this plot, was also expelled from his position as the head of the city and replaced by Padlewski. The promise of the small group of plotters was published in the so-called "leaflet on conscription". It announced in the name of the Central Committee that it would permit nobody from the revolutionary organization to be recruited. In spite of protests from the Central Committee, the whole organization was convinced that the leaflet was in fact published by the Central Committee and that this body felt now obliged to act on this promise.

Zygmunt Padlewski was of the opinion that an uprising would be a suitable answer to the conscription and planned a concentration of recruits in the hilly and woody part of the country between Kielce and the mining district of Dąbrowa where the recruits were to form "an army of desperados". He suggested that this army should be about ten thousand strong and remain under his command. If it succeeded it would be then recognized as a national army. Otherwise, if they were defeated amidst the silence of Europe, their struggle would be simply a protest against illegality of the recruitment. Stefan Bobrowski favoured this idea and argued that "not only would Russia devastate the country but she would be forced to shed rivers of Polish blood... which would

become an obstacle for many years to any compromise with the conquerors of the country".³⁰⁴⁾

Pending a decision on these suggestions, the Central Committee tried to do something to reduce the danger of conscription for its organization. In December it issued an order to the authorities such as governors and chiefs of districts, forbidding them under threat of personal responsibility, or even death, to search for enlisted men who escaped from their districts. This declaration made an impression especially on the lower officials.³⁰⁵⁾

Altogether the town and district councils showed themselves intractable with regard to recruitment. Many of them were against the method chosen. Six district councils asked for a shorter period of service to be performed only in Poland and not in Russia. Four councils refused to appoint recruiting committees altogether. In consequence two of the 39 councils were dissolved because of "some of the expressions used during the discussions of that body". The government, however, was bound by law to convoke the electors of these districts for a new election within twelve months from the date of dissolution.

Where the councils refused to appoint recruiting committees they were nominated by the government. Yet their work proceeded very slowly. In Warsaw the recruitment took place on the night of 15th January 1863, and was conducted peacefully. It looked as if the idea of Wielopolski was working according to plan. Yet after some reflection, it was realized that the success was illusory: in the first place, a certain Baron Korff, a general present at the Council of the Grand Duke, proved indiscreet and told his friends in the army about the date of the *branka* (recruitment). Secondly, the military authorities failed to fulfil the orders instructing them to guard the turnpikes and outskirts of Warsaw during the night, to prevent the would-be recruits from escaping. The army did not appear until dawn and by this time thousands of eligible young men had safely left Warsaw.³⁰⁶⁾ In Lublin altogether 27 recruits were taken instead of 126.³⁰⁷⁾ These bands of escapees formed the nucleus of the army of the insurrection which broke out on the night of 22/23rd January, 1863.

Originally the uprising was to take place a few days before the recruitment, which according to the inaccurate information available to the revolutionaries was to take place on the night of 25/26th January.³⁰⁸⁾ When, however, the recruitment took place on the night of the 15/16th, the uprising was fixed for 22/23rd January. As for the reason for the uprising, there was no general agreement among the members of the Central Committee. Thus Janczewski in his statement to the investigating committee wrote that the immediate reason for the uprising were the rumours circulating after the recruitment that the Central Committee consisted of traitors who deliberately stirred up rebellion and brought

304) W. PRZYBOROWSKI: *op. cit.*, vol. V. p. 411.

305) W. PRZYBOROWSKI: *loc. cit.*

306) H. LISICKI: *A. Wielopolski*, vol. I, pp. 398-99.

307) S. KOŹMIAN: *Rzecz o roku 1863*, vol. I, p. 76.

308) S. KIENIEWICZ: *Zeznania śledcze o Powstaniu Styczniowym*, p. 147.

about the disastrous recruitment. Obviously, the only way to clear themselves from such accusations was for the Central Committee to proclaim an uprising. Aweyde blames Padlewski as chief instigator, but it would appear that the recent arrests and exposure of important members forced the hand of the Central Committee. "The recent arrests and discoveries close to the Central Committee made us assume that the government had traced us".³⁰⁹⁾

The uprising embraced, besides the Kingdom of Poland, Lithuania and the Ukraine. In Galicia the uprising was also supported, and young men made ready to cross the borders into the Kingdom. In the Ukraine it was very weak, and quickly suppressed; more general in Lithuania where a lot of fighting took place. The uprising here was mercilessly suppressed by General Muraviev, called the hangman. As for Poznanian, some support was expressed for it, but the role of the Poznanians was passive, in order not to arouse the bellicosity of Prussia.

It is not the intention of this thesis to follow the fortunes of the uprising, the changes in its leadership, or the numerous skirmishes which took place during the year 1863. It suffices to say that the revolutionary governments changed six times, oscillating between Reds and Whites (who could not resist joining the uprising after the diplomatic intervention of Western powers: England, France and Austria). The suggestions of the Western powers did not envisage any substantial changes for the better beyond those already granted by the Tsar. The conditions presented to Russia by the three powers were: (1) a general amnesty, (2) a Polish national assembly according to the Constitution of 1815, (3) autonomous administration through officials of Polish nationality, (4) removal of the limitations upon the Roman Catholic Church, (5) exclusive use of the Polish language in administration, justice and education, and (6) a system of military service laid down by law. Of these six points only point (2) was non-existent in the Kingdom, and as for point (6) the conscription was used as a temporary measure and was in a way an exception. As for point (1) the Tsar agreed to it, and proclaimed a general amnesty. But the insurgents, whose hopes were raised by the diplomatic notes, did not avail themselves of this opportunity.

In the Kingdom the period of experimental autonomy began to crumble with the resignation of the councillors of state, which took place in the course of March 1863. Apparently they resigned at the wish of the French government: the story is well covered by P. Popiel in his memoirs, as the decision to resign was taken in his own house where a meeting of the gentry took place, and where many councillors were present. "In the midst of the deliberations, one of the councillors of state said that the French Emperor had indicated that all councillors should resign as only this would be a sufficient proof of the general opposition of the nation to the terms of the Russian government".³¹⁰⁾ Popiel opposed this idea and secured the promise of those present that no decision should be taken until he had himself consulted the French government on this point. Subsequently he went to Paris where he had talks with Alexander Walewski, who assured him that "it never occurred

309) S. KIENIEWICZ, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

310) P. POPIEL: *Pamiętniki*, p. 160.

to the Emperor to consider the participation of the Poles in the government of the Kingdom of Poland as pernicious..".

"It may occur — he added — that such a step would be necessary, but at present it would be impolitic".³¹¹⁾

The instruction, however, came too late. By the time Popiel returned to Warsaw all the councillors had resigned, unable to withstand the pressure of the revolutionaries.

The message not to dissolve the councils was not the only one given by Walewski to Popiel. He unfortunately held out some hopes to the Poles by telling Popiel that "the Polish question never stood so well", and that the Poles could reckon on "a constitutional kingdom of 1815 with access to the sea".³¹²⁾ This was the chief reason, claims Popiel, why nobody took advantage of the amnesty granted by the Tsar, and why the uprising continued.

In fact, Napoleon III took to his heart the Polish question but was ready to be satisfied with very small concessions. These were centred on the person of Constantine. In his memoirs Władysław Czartoryski mentions that "on the 26th March, 1863, that is during the January Uprising, he had an audience with Napoleon III and asked him how the Russians intended to solve the Polish question, and whether this could be done by creating a kingdom with Constantine as king".³¹³⁾ To this Napoleon answered that "the Grand Duke had been thinking about it for some time. The previous year a secret conference took place, in which Grand Duke Mikhail, Constantine, Wielopolski and a great Russian figure (probably Count Orlov) were present. At this conference the creation of an independent Kingdom of Poland, with the Grand Duke Constantine as king, was discussed. Marquess Wielopolski was asked his opinion on this question, and he said that before one could think of such a change in the position of Poland, it was necessary first to clear the country of revolutionary and anarchic elements. Constantine agreed with this view entirely".³¹⁴⁾

With the outbreak of the January Uprising, this question came again on the agenda. To discuss such a possibility Count Orlov, the negotiator of the Franco-Russian Alliance, came from Brussels to Paris at the beginning of June, 1863. There exists only an indirect account of the conversation between Orlov and Napoleon III, because — as Koberdowa writes — "so far the report which Orlov sent to Petersburg has not yet been found".³¹⁵⁾ Allegedly the Emperor of the French suggested that the Polish question should be solved, and the autonomy of the Kingdom put on a permanent footing by nominating Constantine as hereditary viceroy. This plan was rejected by the Russian government. This was explained by a letter of Gorchakov to Budberg, the Russian Ambassador in Paris. Gorchakov wrote: "Regarding the idea of forming a hereditary vice-royalty for Grand Duke Constantine... this combination in our eyes does not appear

311) P. POPIEL: *op. cit.*, p. 161.

312) P. POPIEL: *loc. cit.*

313) WŁ. CZARTORYSKI: *Pamiętnik*, pp. 367-68.

314) WŁ. CZARTORYSKI: *loc. cit.*

315) I. KOBERDOWA: *Wielki Książę Konstanty w Warszawie*, 191.

sincere. An hereditary vice-royalty is out of the question... The proposal to replace the title of *Namiestnik* by that of a viceroy is based on ignorance of the language. Governor-General implies exactly the same meaning".³¹⁶⁾ "In one word, the interview which Count Orlov had with the Emperor Napoleon III has no other practical value in our eyes, than as the manifestation of a desire which seems to us a convenient exit from an impasse into which he misled himself".³¹⁷⁾

As for Constantine, he completely dissociated himself with these plans, and Tęgoborski wrote to Gorchakov: "If ever anybody dares to insult His Imperial Highness with insinuations about the Polish crown, and if anybody attempts to make an usurper of him, H.I.H. would not remain in Warsaw for another 24 hours".³¹⁸⁾ This was in March, when rumours probably reached him about the conversation Napoleon III had with Czarotorski. However, he could have changed his mind by June when the question was again raised by Orlov with the authorization of Petersburg.

The Tsar apparently trusted Constantine completely and assured him of this. At the same time the Tsar did not think as yet of withdrawing the reforms granted, and directed Constantine to tell Wielopolski that "in this difficult time more than ever he reckoned on Wielopolski's help and cooperation with Constantine, with regard to the restoration of order in the Kingdom of Poland, based on the reforms granted". "At the present moment", he added, "one could not expect their further development".³¹⁹⁾

In spite of this apparent trust, the Tsar gradually began to prepare the way for the removal of Constantine, although as late as March, (by an order of 19.II./3.III.1863) he was nominated commander in chief of the army. At the same time he received what he had so urgently requested in the past, namely a deputy. Yet the choice of this deputy indicated that gradually Constantine would be ousted from his position. Unaware of this, he pleaded with the Tsar for General Sumorokov, his old friend, but the Tsar decided to send General Berg, although Constantine wrote that Berg would not co-operate with Wielopolski. To this the Tsar replied that "co-operation with Wielopolski was now of secondary importance".³²⁰⁾

Colonel Stanton, the British Consul in Warsaw made quite clear what would be the position of General Berg:

"General Berg who was recently nominated adlatus to H.I.H. the Grand Duke Constantine for military affairs in this Kingdom, arrived at Warsaw on the 5th instant and has taken over the command of the Army engaged in Poland... It is very generally believed... that other and equally important duties have also been confined to him, and that his Excellency in the absence of the Grand Duke will preside at the Council of Admin-

316) I. KOBERDOWA: *op. cit.*, p. 294.

317) *Ibid.*

318) *Ibid.*, pp. 172-73. *Tęgoborski to Gorchakov* 5/17.III.1863.

319) *Tsar to Constantine*, 9/21.III.1863. *Ibid.*, p. 173.

320) *Tsar to Constantine*, 15/27.III.1863. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

istration of the Kingdom, in which case the position of the Marquess Wielopolski will become most difficult and the continuance of that Nobleman in the government almost impossible, as Count Berg is generally supposed to be an unflinching supporter of the old Russian Party, who consider russianizing Poland to be the only way out of the present difficulties".³²¹⁾

Still at least in some circles of the Russian government it was thought that Polish autonomy would survive.

Chancellor Gorchakov himself was of this opinion. In a letter to General Berg of 13.VI.1863, he categorically rejected the idea of liquidating Polish autonomy, which after the pacification of Poland was to be even further extended.³²²⁾ This was not so unlikely as it may seem, because precisely in June 1863, the Tsar issued a manifesto of 6/18.VI.1863, re-opening the Finnish Diet for September 1863.

Constantine was of the same opinion and tried to struggle for the retention of his position in Warsaw. About the same time he tried to get in touch with A. Zamoyski abroad, to use his influence with the conservative elements in Poland to draw away the upper classes from the uprising. However, Zamoyski refused to mediate.³²³⁾

The arrival of Berg as deputy of Constantine was but a step towards the removal of Constantine himself: he was summoned to Petersburg and left Warsaw on August 25th, nominally for a fortnight. He was not willing to leave Poland; his wife also fought desperately to remain in Warsaw. She wrote to the Empress that "it would be better to return their corpses than to recall them from Warsaw".³²⁴⁾ Yet most unwillingly the Grand Duke had to leave Poland for good. After his visit to Petersburg he was allowed to return to Warsaw merely to collect his family; all of them left Warsaw on September 8th, 1863.

Wielopolski left the field even earlier. He finally took the decision to leave Warsaw after the insurgents staged a great robbery of the Treasury. Following this, he had a stroke, from which he never fully recovered. "He became silent and morose, opening his mouth only when it was absolutely necessary".³²⁵⁾ He lived in Dresden until his death in 1877. His son, Zygmunt, stayed in Warsaw and as usual was full of new ideas. He proposed to his father to raise a civil war by means of winning the peasants by new concessions. Wielopolski however, opposed this last resort.

The insurgents also pinned great hopes on the peasants. At the outbreak of the uprising the revolutionary government issued a proclamation granting to the peasants their farmsteads without compensation to the landowners, and promising the latter reimbursement of lost property by the future Polish government. This proclamation was followed by numerous attempts aiming at recruiting the peasants for the

321) *Stanton to Russell*, 7.IV.1863. P.R.O. 65/641.

322) *Gorchakov to Berg*, 13.VI.1863. I. KOBERDOWA: *op. cit.*, p. 218.

323) A. WROTNOWSKI: *Porozbiorowe aspiracje polityczne narodu polskiego*, p. 247.

324) P. Valuyev, *Dnevnik*, vol. I, p. 229.

325) GRABIEC: *Ostatni szlachcic*, vol. II, p. 177.

uprising. These attempts, however, were in vain. S. Kieniewicz, author of the exhaustive work on the peasant question during the January Uprising, mentions that several hundred peasants joined insurrectionary detachments on Zamoyski's estates in the Lublin gubernia, consisting mostly of well-to-do farmers and their sons.³²⁶⁾ In some other parts of Poland, such as the district of Kielce, or the mountain district of Góry Świętokrzyskie, peasants "most certainly helped the insurgents",³²⁷⁾ but the majority of the peasants remained passive, and between 200-300 of them were executed by the insurgents during the year 1863 "for co-operating with the Russian army against the uprising".³²⁸⁾ Instances occurred when Russian troops incited Polish peasants to action not only against the insurgents but also against the civilian population if it was suspected of co-operation with them. A pathetic example of such an attempt is described in a letter to Wielopolski written by the chairman of the district of Miechów shortly after the fighting between insurgents and the Russian forces. It is a curious document indicating that even after the outbreak of the uprising, some people still believed that law and order could be reestablished as envisaged by Wielopolski.³²⁹⁾

Half-hearted support given on occasions to the Russians did not deter the insurgents from contemplating a general mobilization, which, however, was always being postponed either for fear of civil war, or for lack of arms.

Without the support of the peasants, without arms and the active help of Western powers, the uprising was bound to fail. So also Wielopolski's reforms came to an end.

In one sense Bobrowski's prophecy came true: "the river of blood" put a powerful obstacle between the Poles and the Russians. No further concessions were possible. All that Wielopolski had pieced together so laboriously, was broken and no mention of any kind of autonomy was canvassed until the outbreak of World War I.

The year 1863 was the most tragic year in the annals of post-partition Poland. The defeat weighed heavily on the minds of the Poles. It spelled the end of the romantic notion that Poland could be liberated by the force of Polish arms alone. After the Uprising the Poles got this idea out of their heads, and concentrated their efforts on so-called "positivism", that is the economic and social progress of the country. Cultural development was left to Galicia, where gradually home rule evolved under Agenor Gołuchowski and his successors. Galicia enjoyed a Polish Diet, Polish schools and University, a Polish theatre and Polish books. The Kingdom of Poland was subjected to utter repression and russification. The losses after the Uprising were enormous. At best, the number of the insurgents when the Uprising was at its peak in

326) S. KIENIEWICZ: *Sprawa włościańska w Powstaniu Styczniowym*, p. 332.

327) S. KIENIEWICZ: *op. cit.*, p. 333.

328) S. KIENIEWICZ: *op. cit.* p. 324.

329) *Chłopi i sprawa chłopska w powstaniu styczniowym*, ed. by E. HALICZ, L. JAKOWLEW, S. KIENIEWICZ, W. KOROLUK, I. MILLER, p. 37.

August 1863, was about 30,000.³³⁰⁾ In the course of 18 months, from January 1863 to August 1864, about 100,000 men took active part in the Uprising. Of this number about 25,000 were killed, and more than 7,000 taken prisoner. This figure must be augmented by those who found themselves under trial. Already during the Uprising 396 executions had been carried out. Solely in the Kingdom of Poland from September 1863 to the last May, 1865, 1,184 persons were sent to penal servitude; 1,979 to Siberia; 2,617 to penal battalions and 7,447 simply exiled to Russia. In Lithuania it was even worse. The official sources spoke of 128 executions and of 9,233 persons sentenced to exile in Russia, or penal servitude, or drafted to punitive battalions in Russia. The court sentences were accompanied by confiscations of property. In the Kingdom of Poland 1,660 estates were confiscated from the gentry, and penal contributions amounted to millions of Roubles. In Lithuania 1,794 estates were confiscated from the gentry. The contribution amounted to 14 million Roubles.

On the heels of these repressive measures came the russification of the country. During the next years the Council of State, and the Council of Administration were dissolved (1866-1871). With the death of General Berg in 1874, the title of *Namiestnik* was discontinued and replaced by Governor-General. The name of Kingdom of Poland was changed to "*Prwislinski Kray*". In 1868, the apple of Wielopolski's eye, the Polish University in Warsaw, was replaced by a Russian one. Between 1866-1887 the Russian language was introduced into grammar schools. Polish was tolerated only in the instruction of religion and as an additional non-obligatory language. No Polish was allowed within the premise of schools. In primary schools Russian became compulsory from 1871. Many teaching posts were taken by Russians. The same thing happened in the civil service, where russification also became the rule of the day.

The January Uprising not only brought a change in the minds of the Poles, it also brought a change in the attitude of the Russian government towards the Polish upper classes. Before the Uprising Alexander looked upon them as a privileged class, and hoped to win them over. The fact that the Polish nobility and gentry recognized the Uprising as a national one, although few of them took an active part in it, was a crime in the eyes of the Tsar: "Everything is finished between me and the Polish aristocracy", he told Milyutin. "We have used all the means of reconciliation and it is now time to forget the system introduced by Alexander Pavlovich, and continued equally unsuccessfully by my brother and Marquess Wielopolski".³³¹⁾

In turn he decided to win over the Polish peasants. Their lot was solved by the Ukaz of 2nd March 1864, which endowed them with the ownership of the soil under their cultivation without compensation to the landowners directly from the peasants. From now on peasants only paid taxes while the landowners were compensated by the government; as, however, the majority of the tax-payers were peasants, it was, in

330) This and the following figures are taken from: Wl. Pobóg-Malinowski, *Najnowsza historia polityczna Polski 1864-1945*, vol. I, pp. 4-8.

331) I. KOBERDOWA: *Wielki Książę Konstanty w Warszawie*, p. 251.

fact, they who paid the compensation money. To conduct this operation the Tsar appointed Milyutin and Cherkasski for the implementation of the Ukaz. On the whole, the controversial points of forests and pastures, as well as boundaries of farms, were usually decided to the advantage of the peasants rather than the landowners.

Milyutin himself must have found his job rather distasteful as he refused all the distinctions conferred upon him by the Tsar after the settlement of the peasant problem in Poland.

In a way the Tsar was forced to offer the peasants good terms: after all, to win them over he had to give them at least what the insurgents had promised. However, apart from the ownership of the soil, the peasants were left ignorant and uneducated for many years.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES.

Bodleian Library, Clarendon Papers, dpc. 135.

MSS Lord Harrowby, vol. XXVIII.

Public Record Office, London, F.O. 65/476; 501; 502; 503; 520; 557; 558; 580; 583; 612.

II. PRINTED PRIMARY SOURCES.

Adres-Kalendar. Rocznik Urzędowy Królestwa Polskiego, 1860-66.

Biblioteka Ordynacji Myszkowskiej. Zapis Konstantego Swidzińskiego. Rok 1859. Ed. by Marquess A.I.J.P.W.

FILIPOWICZ, T., *Confidential Correspondence of the British Government respecting Insurrection in Poland, 1863.* Published in 1914.

Galicja w dobie autonomicznej 1850-1914. Ed. by S. Kieniewicz, Warsaw, 1952.

GILLER, A., *Historja powstania narodu Polskiego w 1861-1864.* 4 vols. Paris, 1867-1871.

LISICKI, H., *Aleksander Wielopolski.* 4 vols. Cracow, 1878-79.

Listy poufne Cara Aleksandra II i Wielkiego Księcia Konstantego z 1862 r. Tydzień Polski, NN. 46-51, 1922. (First published in *Dyela i Dni*, i-iii (1920-1922)).

Manifesto of the Polish Democratic Society. 1836.

MILYUTIN, N.A., *Izsledovania v Tsarstve pol'skom po vysochaischemu povelieniyu proizvedennyye pod rukovodstvom stats-sekretarya Milyutina.* 6 vols. St. Petersburg, 1864-5.

PAVLISHCHEV, N.V., *Sedmitsy pol'skogo myatezha 1861-4.* 2 vols, Petersburg, 1887.

POWSTANIE STYCZNIOWE - *Materialy i Dokumenty.* Ed. by E. HALICZ, L. JAKOWLEW, S. KIENIEWICZ, W. KOROLUK, I. MILLER and F. RAMOTOWSKA.

1. *Chłopi i sprawa chłopska w powstaniu styczniowym.* Ed. by S. Kieniewicz and I. Kosiuszko. Warsaw, 1962.
2. *Korespondencja Namiestników Królestwa Polskiego z 1861 Roku.* Ed. by S. Kieniewicz and I. Miller. Warsaw, 1964.
3. *Pokazanya i zapiski o pol'skom vosstanii 1863 goda Oskara Aveyde.* Ed. by S. Kieniewicz and I. Miller. Moscow, 1863.
4. *Ruch rewolucyjny 1861 r w Królestwie Polskim. Manifestacje na prowincji.* Warsaw, 1963. Ed. by S. Kieniewicz and I. Miller.

Przemiany społeczne i gospodarcze w Królestwie Polskim. Ed. by S. Kieniewicz, Warsaw, 1951.

Raporty polityczne Konsulów Generalnych Francji w Warszawie 1860-1864. Ed. by I. Koberdowa. Warsaw, 1965.*)

Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie, Dokumenty i pisma. Ed. by B. Baczeko. Warsaw, 1954.

Wybór tekstów źródłowych z historii Polski w latach 1795-1864. Ed. by S. Kieniewicz, T. Mencil and W. Rostocki. Warsaw, 1956.

Zeznania śledcze o Powstaniu Styczniowym. Ed. by S. Kieniewicz Wrocław, 1956.

Żmichowska, N., *Listy* Ed. by S. Pigoń, 2 vols. Warsaw, 1957-60.

Żydzi a Powstanie Styczniowe. Ed. by A. Eisenbach, D. Fajnhauz and A. Wein. Warsaw, 1963.

III. POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PAMPHLETS AND TRACTS.

BALIŃSKI, Karol: *Głos Ludu Polskiego.* Paris, 1861.

GOŁUCHOWSKI, J., *Kwestja włościańska.* Leipzig, 1849.

KAZIMIERZ HERBU STRZAŁA: *Głos szlachcica do swych współbraci o wolności i równości kmiecej.* Poznań, 1859.

KAMIŃSKI, H.M., (pseud. Prawdowski), *O prawach żywotnych narodu polskiego.* Published in 1844.

List Szlachcica Polskiego do Margrabiego Wielopolskiego. Drezden, 1863.

LUBLINER LOUIS, *De la condition politique et civile des Juifs dans le Royaume de Pologne.* Brussels, 1860.

ŁASOCKI Alfred, *Kilka słów w odpowiedzi Margrabiemu Wielopolskiemu na broszurę p.t. 'Rzut oka na rozwój polityczny w Królestwie Polskim'.* Brussels, 1863.

MIEROSŁAWSKI, L., *Powstanie Poznańskie w roku 1848.* Paris, 1852.

MINISZEWSKI-CZEŚNIKIEWICZ, J.A., *Ruch polski z 1861 roku - Rzut oka na rozwój polityczny i społeczny w Królestwie Polskim od roku 1831 do naszych czasów.* Lipsk, 1863.

Obywatel Ziemianin, *Rozwikłanie kwestji oczyszczowania włościan w Królestwie Polskim i Rosji.* Cracow, 1861.

Pogląd na wypadki warszawskie z dnia 25 i 27 lutego b.r. Berlin, Poznań, 1861.

POTOCKI, T. (pseud. Krzyżtopór), *Poranki Karlsbadzkie,* Poznań, 1858.

POTOCKI, T., *O urządzeniu stosunków włościańskich w Polsce.* Poznań, 1859.

RACZYŃSKI, R., *Margrabia Wielopolski i reformy rządu rosyjskiego w Królestwie Polskim.* Poznań, 1863.

Roczniki Gospodarstwa Krajowego, 1842-1862. Ed. by W. Garbiński.

Roczniki Polskie z lat 1857-1861. Ed. by F. Wrotnowski. 4 vols. 1865.

Tak lub nie czyli Królestwo Kongresowe wobec nowozaprowadzonych reform. Paris, 1861.

The people to the electors, 1861. Polish Research Centre, London, No. I/9867, Band 1.

URUSKI, S., *Polemika o kwestji włościańskiej z roku 1856 i 1857.*

URUSKI, S., *Sprawa włościańska.* Warsaw, 1858.

IV. MEMOIRS.

BARANOWSKI, I., *Pamiętniki 1840-1862.* Ed. A. Wrzosek, Poznań 1923.

CHOŚCIAK-POPIEL, W., *Pamiętniki.* Cracow, 1915.

CONSTANTINE NIKOLAYEVICH, Grand Duke, *Iz dnevnik V.K. Konstantina Nikolayevicha*. Krasnyy Arkhiv x(1925).

CZARTORYSKI, Wł., *Pamiętnik*. Warsaw, 1961.

DANIŁOWSKI, Wł., *Notatki do Pamiętników*. Ed. by J. Czubek. Cracow, 1908.

GIEYSZTOR, J., *Pamiętniki 1857-1865*. Vilna, 1913.

GUTTRY, A., *Pamiętniki z lat 1845-6-7*. Poznań, 1891-94.

JANOWSKI, J.K., *Pamiętniki o Powstaniu Styczniowym*. 3 vols. Lwów, 1923-25.

SKARBK, F., *Pamiętniki F. hrabiego Skarbka*. Poznań, 1878.

VALUYEV, P.A., *Dnevnik P.A. Valuyeva 1861-1864*. Moscow, 1961.

WIESIOŁOWSKI, Fr., *Pamiętniki z r. 1845-1846*, Lwów, 1868.

WILSKA, S., *Pamiętnik o Ignacym Chmieleńskim*, Wrocław, 1952.

ZIEMIAŁKOWSKI, F., *Pamiętniki*. Cracow, 1904.

V. SECONDARY PRINTED SOURCES.

ASKENAZY, Sz., *Sto lat zarządu w Królestwie Polskim, 1800-1900*. Lwów, 1901.

BERG, N.V., *Zapiski o pol'skikh zagovorakh i vosstaniyakh*, 4 vols. Poznań 1883-5.

CWIEK, Z., *Przywódcy Powstania Styczniowego*. Warsaw, 1955.

DĘBICKI, L., *Portrety i sylwetki z dziewiętnastego stulecia*. Cracow, 1905-1907.

DUBIECKI, M., *Romuald Traugutt i jego dyktatura podczas Powstania Styczniowego, 1863-1864*. Poznań, 1924.

FELDMAN, J., *Mocarstwa wobec Powstania Styczniowego*. Cracow, 1929.

GĄSIOROWSKA, N. *Górnictwo i hutnictwo w Królestwie Polskim*. Warsaw, 1949.

GERBER, R., *Szkolnictwo Królestwa Polskiego w okresie międzypowstaniowym*. Cracow, 1962.

GILLER, A., *Karol Ruprecht - Szkic biograficzny*. Lwów, 1875.

GRABIEC (DĄBROWSKI) J., *Ostatni Szlachcic - Aleksander Wielopolski Margrabia Myszkowski na tle dziejów*. 2 vols. Warsaw, 1924.

GRABIEC J., *Rok 1863*. Poznań, 1922.

GRABSKI, Wł., *Historia Towarzystwa Rolniczego*. 2 vols. Warsaw, 1904.

GRONIEWSKI, K., "Dowództwo Rosyjskie wobec manifestacji polskich 1861 r. *Przegląd Historyczny*. 1961. t. LII nr. 4.

GRYNWASER, H., *Pisma*. 3 vols. Wrocław, 1951.

HALICZ, E., *Kwestia chłopska w Powstaniu Styczniowym*. Warsaw, 1955.

HANDELSMAN, M., *Adam Czartoryski*. 4 vols. Warsaw, 1948-50.

HARLEY, J. H., "Great Britain and the Polish Insurrection of 1863. *Slavonic Review*. vol. XVI, Nos 46 & 47.

HARRASEK, S., *Józef Gołuchowski*. Warsaw, 1924.

Historia Polski 1795-1864. Ed. by T. MENCEL, T. LEPKOWSKI, W. ŁUKASZEWICZ and S. KIENIEWICZ. Warsaw, 1961.

- KACZKOWSKI, J., *Konfiskaty na ziemiach polskich pod zaborem rosyjskim po powstaniach roku 1831 i 1863*. Warsaw, 1918.
- KIENIEWICZ, S., "Galicja w latach 1846-1848", W *Stulecie Wiosny Ludów 1848-1948*. Ed. by N. Gąsiorowska, vol. 1, (4 vols), Warsaw, 1948.
- KIENIEWICZ, S., *Między ugodą a rewolucją - Andrzej Zamoyski w latach 1861-1862*. Warsaw, 1962.
- KIENIEWICZ, S., *Sprawa włościańska w Powstaniu Styczniowym*. Wrocław, 1953.
- KIENIEWICZ, S., *Warszawa w Powstaniu Styczniowym*. Warsaw, 1954.
- KIENIEWICZ, S., 'Z dziennika korespondencji Andrzeja Zamoyskiego', *Ze Skarbcza Kultury zeszyt* 1(4) 1953.
- KIRKOR-KIEDRONIOWA, Z., *Włościanie i ich sprawa w dobie organizacyjnej i konstytucyjnej Królestwa Polskiego*. Cracow, 1912.
- KOBERDOWA, I., *Wielki Księżę w Warszawie*. Warsaw, 1962.
- KOBERDOWA, I., *Polityka Czartoryszczyzny w okresie Powstania Styczniowego*. Warsaw, 1958.
- KOT, St., *Historia wychowania*. 2 vols. Lwów, 1934.
- KOWALSKI, J., *Rewolucyjna demokracja rosyjska a Powstanie Styczniowe*. Warsaw, 1949.
- KOŹMIAN, St., *Rzecz o roku 1863*, 3 vols. Cracow, 1894-96.
- KRAUSHAR, A., *Naukowość polska w trzydziestoleciu 1831-1861*. Lwów, 1924.
- KUKIEL, M.W., *Czartoryski and European Unity, 1770-1861*. Princeton, 1955.
- KUPFER, F., *Ber Meisels*. Warsaw, 1953.
- KUTRZĘBA, St., *Historia ustroju Polski*. 2 vols. Lwów, 1920. (N. Milyutin).
- LEROY-BEAULIEU, A., *Un Homme d'Etat Russe (d'après sa correspondance inédite)*. Paris, 1884.
- LESLIE, R.F. *Reform and Insurrection in Russian Poland 1856-1865*. London, 1963.
- LEWAK, A., *Od związków węglarskich do Młodej Polski*.
- LIMANOWSKI, B., *Historia demokracji polskiej w epoce porozbiorowej*. 2 vols. Warsaw, 1946.
- ŁEPKOWSKI, T., *Przemysł warszawski u progu epoki kapitalistycznej, 1815-1868*. Warsaw, 1960.
- ŁUKASZEWICZ, W., *Szymon Konarski*. Warsaw, 1948.
- MINKOWSKA, A., *Organizacja spiskowa 1848 roku*. Warsaw, 1923.
- MOŚCICKI, H., *Białystok*. Białystok, 1933.
- POBÓG-MALINOWSKI, Wł., *Najnowsza historia polityczna Polski 1864-1945*. Paris, 1953.
- PRZYBOROWSKI, W., *Dzieje 1863 roku*. 4 vols. Cracow, 1897-1919.
- PRZYBOROWSKI, W., *Historia dwóch lat 1861-1862*. 5 vols. Cracow, 1892-1896.
- PRZYBOROWSKI, W., *Historia sześciu miesięcy*. Warsaw, 1904.
- RADZISZEWSKI, H., *Bank Polski*. 2nd Edition. Poznań, 1919.
- REVUNENKOV, V.G., *Pol'skoe vosstaniye 1863 g. i evropeyskaya diplomatiya*. Leningrad, 1957.
- ROLLE, M., *Ateny Wołyńskie*. Lwów, 1923.
- RUDZKA, W., *Karol Majewski*. Warsaw, 1937.
- RUTKOWSKI, J., *Historia Gospodarcza Polski*. 2 vols. Poznań, 1950.
- SHCHERBATOV (Prince), *General Feldmarshal Kniaz' Paskevitch, ego zhizn' i deyatel'nost'*. 12 vols. Petersburg, 1888-1904.

- SKAŁKOWSKI, A.M., *Aleksander Wielopolski w świetle archiwów rodzinnych (1803-1877)*, 3 vols. Poznań, 1947.
- SPASOWICZ, Wł., *Życie i polityka Margrabiego Wielopolskiego*. Petersburg, 1892.
- Społeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego*. Ed. W. Kula. v. 1. 1965. vol. 2. 1966. Warsaw, 196.
- SZCZECZURA, T., *Ukaz o okupie pańszczyzny z dnia 16 Maja 1861 R. Przegląd Historyczny*. vol. XL. 1949.
- SZCZOTKA, St., *Zaburzenia chłopskie w Białostoczczyźnie*. Warsaw, 1953.
- ŚRENIOWSKI St., *Dzieje chłopów w Polsce*. Warsaw, 1947.
- WERESZYCKI, H., *Anglia a Polska*. Lwów, 1934.
- WERESZYCKI, H., *Austria a Powstanie Styczniowe*. Lwów, 1930.
- WROTNOWSKI, A., *Porozbiorowe aspiracje narodu polskiego*. Cracow, 1898.

*) Mrs. Roseveare could not avail herself of S. BÓBR-TYLINGO's publication "La Russie, l'Église et la Pologne 1860-1866 (Rapports des consuls français)" in *Antemurale* XIII, 1969. She wrote her study in 1967, as a thesis for which she received her M. Phil. degree at the University of London. (Editor's Note).

*WINNER OF THE
KOŚCIUSZKO FOUNDATION
DOCTORAL DISSERTATION AWARD
FOR 1970*

DAVID WELSH
(ANN ARBOR, MICH.)

SIENKIEWICZ'S "TRILOGY"
A study in Novelistic Techniques

Originally a dissertation written partly to fulfil the requirements of the PhD degree at the University of London, this study has been somewhat revised and expanded for the present publication. Research was assisted by the American Council of Learned Societies; publication by the Kościuszko Foundation (New York) and the Horace H. Rackham Graduate school, University of Michigan.

Ann Arbor, Michigan

David Welsh

INTRODUCTION

Literary criticism is only now coming to terms with the novels of Henryk Sienkiewicz (1846-1916). But his novels, and in particular the series of historical novels known as the Trilogy, have been enjoyed and loved for some five generations, both in Poland and abroad. There is usually good reason for such lasting popularity in literature and it is hoped that this study, through critical analysis of the Trilogy, will reveal some of the factors that have contributed to making Sienkiewicz a major novelist.

As was recently pointed out, "publicistic disputes which fill a large part of Sienkiewicz's bibliography now belong irrevocably to the past... What is needed is a study of Sienkiewicz's writing art".*) This study focusses primarily on his "writing art", which means that certain topics have been merely touched upon (Sienkiewicz and the Warsaw Censorship committee, his attitude to other novelists, textual criticism of the novels), and yet other topics have not been mentioned at all (his biography, national or moral issues raised by the novels).

* * *

The text of the Trilogy used in this study is that published as: Henryk Sienkiewicz, *Dzieła — wydanie zbiorowe* edited by Julian Krzyżanowski vols. VII-XIX (Warsaw, 1949-1950). Other volumes in this work are designated as *Dzieła*, followed by volume number and page number or numbers in Roman and Arabic numerals respectively. The individual volumes of the Trilogy are designated as OM. (*Ogniem i mieczem*), P. (*Potop*), and PW. (*Pan Wołodyjowski*), with the same system of enumeration. Reference is also made to Julian Krzyżanowski, *Henryk Sienkiewicz — kalendarz życia i twórczości* (Warsaw, 1956), designated as *Kalendarz*. Translations are by the present writer, unless otherwise stated. Appendix II provides original texts of more extended quotations.

*) Editorial, *Przegląd humanistyczny* XI (no. 3) (1967), p. 1. See also Aniela PIORUNOWA and Kazimierz WYKA eds. *Henryk Sienkiewicz. Twórczość i recepcja światowa* (Cracow, 1968) pp. 5-6.

Chapter One

I. THE BACKGROUND

The historical novel enjoyed considerable prestige all over Europe in the nineteenth century, and among its practitioners were many major novelists (Balzac, Dickens, George Eliot, Flaubert and Tolstoi, among others). The reasons for the emergence of the genre and for its prestige were complex.¹⁾ Among the most significant was the reception afforded to the novels of Scott.²⁾

Yet at the same time the historical novel did not meet invariably with critical approval. Writing of Scott's first historical novel (*Waverley, or, 'Tis Sixty Years since*, 1814), a contemporary critic in the influential *Quarterly Review* pointed to one of the main objections that were to be made against the genre. He wrote:

We confess we have, generally speaking, a great objection to what may be called historical romances,³⁾ in which real and fictitious personages, and actual and fabulous events are mixed together to the utter confusion of the reader and the unsettling of all accurate recollections of past transactions (vol. XI, p. 377).

To be sure, this "great objection" was directed against historical "romances", but it was also to present a major technical problem to novelists who took the writing of historical fiction seriously. A case in point was Alessandro Manzoni: as the author of *I Promessi Sposi* (1827, with a revised edition 1840-1842), he perceived that Scott's historical fictions were popular, "not because they are historical, but because they are novels".⁴⁾ In other words, *Waverley* and Scott's other novels appealed to the imagination of his readers, rather than to their intellects. In his "farewell to art",⁵⁾ of 1845, Manzoni argued at considerable length against the charges often made against historical novels, such as the complaint that:

In this or that historical novel, or in this or that part of a historical novel, the exact truth is not well distinguished from the invented things... and consequently it (i.e. the novel) lacks the principle effects of a composition which is to give a true representation of history.^{5a)}

Manzoni attempted to counter this complaint by pointing out that history and historical novels are different things ("partly similar of

1) H.G. SCHENK, *The Mind of the European Romantics* (London, 1966), pp. 30-45 discusses the topic in detail.

2) AVROM FLEISCHMAN, *The English Historical Novel* (Baltimore, 1971) surveys this topic. For Scott's reception in Poland, see below.

3) Although the reviewer refers to "romances", the rest of the sentence indicates that his remark can also be applied to historical novels.

4) ALESSANDRO MANZONI, "Del romanzo storico..." *Opere*, edited by M. Barbi, II (Milan, 1943), p. 637. All translations are by the present writer, unless otherwise stated.

5) J.F. DE SIMONE, *Alessandro Manzoni: Esthetics and Literary Criticism* (New York, 1946), p. 96.

5a) ALESSANDRO MANZONI, *op. cit.*, p. 625. See Appendix II, N. 1.

course, but partly quite different"),⁶⁾ because the function of the historical novel is "to represent, through an invented action, the story of mankind in a past historical epoch", while that of history is to provide "an ordered or systematic exposition of human facts".⁷⁾ Significantly, however, Manzoni himself, having accomplished *I Promessi Sposi*, did not practice the genre again and it has been suggested that he came to recognise "the hybrid, half-scientific and half-imaginary character as the inherent weakness of the historical novel as an art form".⁸⁾

Another technical matter that preoccupied writers of historical fiction was the proportion they should maintain between the invented characters and fictitious events, and history proper. Scott's formula was to keep historical personages and events in the background, though both elements played their parts in his invented material. In this way, the "history" did not diminish the fiction. A slightly different formula was used by Thackeray, who liked to introduce "ready-made characters" (such as Addison, for example) into his historical novels, not because these persons were involved in the fiction, but because they conceivably might have been.⁹⁾

The matter of proportion between invention and history in the historical novel is a perennial question that has still not been answered to the satisfaction of all concerned. The solution seems to depend largely on the novelists' own temperament, artistry and technique: in any case, as Professor Cam suggested, a historical novelist can no more dispense with facts than a historian can dispense with imagination.¹⁰⁾

II. THE HISTORICAL NOVEL IN POLAND (TO 1880)

For reasons that were partly non-literary, the historical novel enjoyed considerable prestige in Poland in the nineteenth century.¹¹⁾ Writers took advantage of the genre to look back with affection, admiration and nostalgia to periods of Polish history, and cultivated the genre as a means of preserving their national culture and traditions. Partitioned since 1772 between Russia, Prussia and Austria, Poland was divided into

6) Alessandro MANZONI, *op. cit.*, p. 625.

7) *Ibid.*, p. 625.

8) H.G. SCHENK, *op. cit.*, p. 36. For an account of the debate in Russia at this time, see LOUIS PEDROTTI, *Józef-Julian Sękowski: the Genesis of a Literary Alien* (Berkeley, 1965), pp. 116-119, where Sękowski defended the genre against Belinsky's attacks of "spurious form... monstrous affectation... Romantic mania" and the like. See also AVROM FLEISCHMAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.

9) Robert DONOVAN, *The Shaping Vision* (Ithaca, New York, 1966), pp. 194-195.

10) Helen CAM, *Historical Novels* (London, 1961), p. 19. See also John TEBBELL, *Fact and Fiction* (Lansing, 1962), for reflections by a practising historical novelist on this topic.

11) Documented by Teodor JESKE-CHOIŃSKI *Historyczna powieść polska* (Warsaw, 1899) (omitting Czajkowski and Sienkiewicz): Konstanty WOJCIECHOWSKI, *Historia powieści w Polsce* (Lwów, 1925): and I.K. GORSKI, *Polskiej istoricheskiej roman i problema istorizma* (Moscow, 1963).

three zones, each with its own frontiers, administration and censorship. Conditions varied somewhat between the zones, but those prevailing in the Russian sector (centred on Warsaw) were especially unfavourable to literary productivity. Literary censorship intensified after 1863,¹²⁾ with the establishment of a Censorship committee, and writers found themselves unable to express their views on a number of themes and topics. But, like their contemporaries in Russia, Polish writers learned to adopt "stylistic evasiveness and ingenious disguise".¹³⁾ Historical fiction used the past for thinly disguised but specific political and social criticism of the present.¹⁴⁾ Readers became adept at discerning analogies between persons or events depicted in historical novels, and persons or events of their own day. This state of affairs was summed up by the literary historian Chmielowski who pointed out in 1900:

There are certain aspects of life today, and certain characters, which it is impossible to depict under present conditions, although in view of the manifold aspects of the human spirit, it is necessary that they be depicted. In such cases, authors bring to the stage figures and heroic situations, in order to encourage the hearts of their contemporaries.^{14a)}

An early example of this method at work was afforded by J.U. Niemcewicz's *Jan z Tęczyna* (1825), a novel ostensibly set in sixteenth-century Poland and Sweden.¹⁵⁾ However, contemporary readers discerned analogies between Niemcewicz's absolutist Sweden, ruled by the insanely suspicious King Erik XIV, his minister Fehrson and his mistress, Mme. Mans, and the situation prevailing in the Warsaw of their own day, governed by the Grand Duke Constantine, his minister Novosiltsev and Mme. Grudzińska.,

Other examples of historical novels being used as "masks", or "allegories", included Michał Czajkowski's *Stefan Czarniecki* (Paris, 1840), which deals with a foreign occupant (the Swedes) being expelled from Poland, and the return of Jan Kazimierz, Poland's rightful king, to his throne. When Czajkowski was writing this novel, he was associated with royalist emigré circles in Paris. The "metaphorical" character of J.I. Kraszewski's *Rzym za Nerona* (1866) was noted approvingly by the poet Lenartowicz, who referred to the novel's "historical cloak, concealing Polish problems and reality in the metaphorical form of the life of early Christians" under Nero.¹⁶⁾ Chmielowski declared that this novel

12) The *Sprawozdania warszawskiego komitetu cenzury* (which apparently began in the 1870's) are preserved in the Tsentral'nyi gos. istoricheskii arkhiv, Leningrad. Cfr. Zenon KMIĘCİK, "Kurier warszawski za czasów radaktorstwa Wacława Szymanowskiego", *Rocznik historii czasopiśmiennictwa polskiego* III (1964), p. 76.

13) Hugh McLEAN, "On the Style of a Leskopian *skaz'*", *Harvard Slavic Studies* II (1954), p. 297. See also Jerzy PIETRKIEWICZ, "'Inner Censorship' in Polish Literature", *Slavonic and East European Review* XXXVI (no. 87) (1958), pp. 294-307, and LEON FEUCHTWANGER, *Das Haus der Desdemona* (Leipzig, 1961) pp. 149-150 on Polish and European historical novels, respectively.

14) Piotr CHMIEŁOWSKI, *Historia literatury polskiej* VI (Warsaw, 1900), p. 242.

14a) See Appendix II, N. 2.

15) V. STEEN JENSEN J. Jan Tęczyński's Baltic Voyage in *Antemurale XIV* pp. 193-211; Tęczyński's correspondence v. *Elementa ad Fontium Editiones XXIV*, Romae 1971.

16) J.I. KRASZEWSKI - Teofil Lenartowicz, *Korespondencja* edited by Wincenty Danek (Wrocław, 1963), pp. 106-107.

"acquired social significance" by the manner in which it "continually afforded analogies to matters close to the heart and imagination" of Polish readers.¹⁷⁾

Eliza Orzeszkowa, best remembered for novels on contemporary social themes, resorted to historical fiction in her *Czciciel potęgi* (1890), which is set in the Near East in ancient times but in reality served as a mask for the authoress to express views on Russian-Polish relations of her own day. Bolesław Prus's *Faraon* (1897), set in ancient Egypt, gives an account of the struggle for power between a liberal young ruler and a reactionary high priest: rightly or wrongly, the novel has been called an allegory and symbol of the relations between the liberal Tsar Nicholas II, and his minister Pobedonostsev.¹⁸⁾ Similarly, the actuality of the historical novels of Sienkiewicz has been noticed by critics and scholars alike: *Quo vadis* (1896), set in Rome under Nero, was interpreted as a picture of nineteenth-century Socialism emerging, as had Christianity, under a tyrannical despot.¹⁹⁾ His *Krzyżacy* (1900) forcibly reminded Polish readers of the activities of the Germans in Poland towards the end of the nineteenth century.

However, this aspect of historical novels, being non-literary, has no bearing on the artistic value of the novels: otherwise, the genre developed in Poland along the lines which the historical novel took in Western Europe. Examples of the pseudo-historical fiction that reflect the taste of the reading public included Krajewski's *Leszek biały* (1789-1792), Jezierski's *Goworek herbu Rawicz* (1789) and Mostowska's *Astolda, księżniczka ze krwi Palemona* (1807).²⁰⁾ The appearance in Poland of the "Gothic" novel has been thoroughly investigated.²¹⁾

The first historical novel in the present-day meaning of that epithet was Niemcewicz's *Dwaj panowie Sieciechowcie* (1815). Although published a year after *Waverley*, it seems unlikely that Niemcewicz knew Scott's work.²²⁾ With considerable formal dexterity, Niemcewicz artfully juxtaposed two fictitious diaries (one kept by Waclaw Sieciech between 1710 and 1717, the other by his descendant Stanisław between 1808 and 1812). Niemcewicz holds Waclaw up to derision as an example of the harmful influence of cosmopolitan (French) culture in Saxon Poland. The satire looks back to Krasicki's *Mikołaja Doświadczynskiego przypadki* (1776), with its mockery of Gallomania and faulty domestic education in eighteenth-century Poland. Gallomania continued to be of interest to readers, as witness Rzewuski's *Listopad* (1845): set in the 1760's, the novel contrasts two brothers, one patriotic, the other victim of corrupting French influence.

17) Piotr CHMIEŁOWSKI, *Józef Ignacy Kraszewski: zarys historyczno-literacki* (Cracow, 1888), p. 332.

18) Ignacy MATUSZEWSKI, *O twórczości i twórcach* (Warsaw, 1965), p. 78. First published in 1897.

19) Andrzej STAWAR, *Pisarstwo Henryka Sienkiewicza* (Warsaw, 1960), p. 263.

20) These novels are analysed in some detail by Konstanty WOJCIECHOWSKI, *Historia powieści w Polsce* (Lwów, 1925) pp. 95-106, 159.

21) Zofia SINKO, *Powieść angielska osiemnastego wieku a powieść polska lat 1764-1830* (Warsaw, 1961), *passim*.

22) Julian KRZYŻANOWSKI, "Scott in Poland", *Slavonic and East European Review* XII (1933-1934), pp. 181-189. See also Konstanty WOJCIECHOWSKI *op. cit.*, pp. 115-168.

When Scott's novels started appearing in translation in Poland (nineteen appeared between 1828 and 1837),²³⁾ imitations by Polish novelists began appearing too. These minor practitioners of the genre, such as Feliks Bernatowicz,²⁴⁾ seized upon the external trappings of Scott's novels — romantic adventures, picturesque characters and settings, dialect speech. Literary scholarship has investigated the "indebtedness" to Scott of Fryderyk Skarbek,²⁵⁾ and Rzewuski, whose *Rycerz Lizdejko* (1851) was one of the last novels in which Scott's external influence is apparent.²⁶⁾

Scott's place in the development of the historical novel in Europe is largely due to his ability to take history seriously, without uncritically exploiting the picturesque as did such forgotten practitioners of the genre as Harrison Ainsworth or G.P.R. James. Scott was able to convey through fiction "something of what it must have felt like to be alive during the 1745 rebellion",²⁷⁾ and thereby to produce the illusion of life which has always been a task of major novelists. He succeeded in dramatising the forces at work in history, such as the clash of alien cultures or faiths (Scots and English in *Waverley*, Saxon and Norman in *Ivanhoe*, Puritan and Cavalier in *Woodstock*), and in depicting the forces of history manifesting themselves at a definite place at a specific time. He also sought to endow the past with the sense of reality he found in Fielding or Smollett — the difference being that the characters and events he depicted were set at a "particular moment" in the past. As Carlyle said, Scott showed his readers that the "bygone ages of the world were actually filled by living men, not by protocols, State papers, controversies and abstractions of men".²⁸⁾ He also showed that "history does not consist of dates, battles, court intrigues and pageantry, but of the fate of living men and nations".²⁹⁾

Scott was also responsible for innovations in the historical novel of a technical kind. In his most successful novels (*Redgauntlet* and *The Heart of Midlothian*)³⁰⁾ Scott furnished his characters with lively dialogue and surrounded them with convincing, often striking settings and details. He also succeeded in combining fiction and history in a way that his imitators quickly learned to follow. To be sure, faults can be found in Scott's fiction: he was an improviser, and the novels illustrate all the

23) Julian KRZYŻANOWSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 181. See also Stanisław ESTREICHER, *Bibliografia polska XIX stolecia IV* (Cracow, 1876), pp. 269-270 (s.v. "Skott").

24) Waclaw KUBACKI, *Twórczość Feliksa Bernatowicza* (Wrocław 1964) seeks to establish the importance of this author in the development of Polish fiction.

25) Kazimierz BARTOSZYŃSKI, *O powieściach Fryderyka Skarbka* (Warsaw, 1963), p. 174.

26) Zygmunt SZWEYKOWSKI, *Powieści historyczne Henryka Rzewuskiego* (Warsaw, 1922), pp. 259-262.

27) Herbert BUTTERFIELD, *The Historical Novel* (Cambridge, 1924), p. 27.

28) Tomas CARLYLE, *Essays Critical and Miscellaneous III* (London, 1881), p. 214.

29) Leon FEUCHTWANGER, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

30) For recent critical opinions, see David DAICHES, Introduction to *The Heart of Midlothian* (New York, 1948), pp. V-XXII, and his "Scott's *Redgauntlet*" in *From Jane Austen to Joseph Conrad* edited by Robert C. Rathburn and Martin Steinmann (Minneapolis, 1958), pp. 46-59). See also Edwin MUIR, *Sir Walter Scott Lectures 1940-1948* edited by W.L. RENWICK (Edinburgh, 1950), p. 70.

advantages and disadvantages of this manner of proceeding. The pace of his narrative is leisurely, and a contemporary critic spoke of his "loose and incoherent style of narration".³¹⁾

The first Polish historical novel that can be said to follow Scott's novels was Niemcewicz's *Jan z Tęczyna* (1825), already mentioned for its allegorical content. Though Niemcewicz's style of narration is not as loosely incoherent as that of Scott's, he too looked back in fictional technique to the eighteenth century, which is not surprising, as he was born in 1757. In his preface to the novel, Niemcewicz distinguished between the function of historical novels and that of history. His view was that history is the story of kings, in which is recorded the deeds of eminent persons and events at royal courts. Historical fiction should take as its subject the portrayal of society at a given period, and be concerned with those details too intimate for the historian. He left the recording of public events to Poland's first modern historian, Adam Naruszewicz, the first volume of whose *Dzieje narodu polskiego* (1780-1786) was published posthumously the year before *Jan z Tęczyna* appeared. Niemcewicz concerned himself with invented or at least imaginary persons and events. These he placed against a background of historical persons, happenings and places, just as Scott had done. In the main, this was to be the method of Scott's admirers and imitators in Poland.

An exception must be noticed: in Czajkowski's *Stefan Czarniecki* (1840), historical personages occupy the forefront of the stage, ranging from Jan Kazimierz and Marie Louise to the sinister Drogonius, vouched for by his author in a footnote.³²⁾ This novel has been described as the best Polish historical novel before those of Sienkiewicz (in the 1880's), on the ground that Czajkowski gave proper recognition to the part played by the Polish folk and townspeople in the "national war" against the Swedish invaders.³³⁾ Be this as it may, the novel presents many characteristic features of its period, from the flourishes of sentimental fiction, rhetorical questions addressed to the reader and the introduction of such stock items of romance as a kidnapping, a mysterious skeleton, scenes of revelry and fatal passion.

Four years before the publication of *Czarniecki* a historical document unique of its kind in many ways had been published in Poznań (1836). The document was the memoirs of Jan Chryzostom Pasek entitled *Pamiętniki Jana Chryzostoma Paska z czasów panowania Jana Kazimierza, Michała Korybuta i Jana III*. Pasek's memoirs were written towards the end of his life and in them he covers a large part of Poland's military and social life of the seventeenth century.³⁴⁾ The work has remained a classic of Polish prose, frequently reprinted. Interest in his memoirs called for two further editions (1837 and 1840), and also led to the publication of similar materials, such as the memoirs of Albrecht Radziwiłł (Poznań, 1839) and the life of Bogusław Radziwiłł written by

31) *Quarterly Review* XVI (1817), p. 431.

32) Michał CZAJKOWSKI, *Stefan Czarniecki* (Warsaw, 1963), pp. 415-416. How far these personages correspond to the actual historical characters is another matter.

33) Jacek KAJTOCH, Introduction to *Stefan Czarniecki* (Warsaw, 1963), p. 10.

34) Sienkiewicz's debt to Pasek's Memoirs has been investigated by Professor Julian KRZYŻANOWSKI, "Pasek i Sienkiewicz (do źródeł Trylogii)" *W kręgu wielkich realistów* (Cracow, 1962), pp. 138-166.

himself (Poznań, 1841), not to mention the memoirs of Kitowicz (1728-1804).³⁵⁾

The publication of these and similar works brought new developments in the Polish historical novel, because writers of fiction found themselves in the possession of materials providing insight into the everyday life of the past. Pasek's Memoirs, for instance, offer examples of how men spoke (a large part of the Memoirs is cast in the form of dialogue), what they ate and drank, how they fought, travelled and amused themselves in the seventeenth century. Novelists were now able to undertake the archaeological study of small details, and make a historical approach to reality.³⁶⁾

The work of historical fiction that most nearly depicted the general trends and currents in the life of the community was Rzewuski's *Pamiętki Soplicy* (1839). This is a series of character sketches, depicting manners and customs in eighteenth-century Poland. Although the Memoirs of Soplica are fictitious, Rzewuski succeeded in creating an integral relationship between his characters and their period and environment. But of more relevance to this study of Sienkiewicz's Trilogy is the fact that Rzewuski's *Pamiętki Soplicy* established a new and influential variant on the historical novel in Poland known as the *gawęda szlachecka* ("genteel anecdotery") to which — as will be shown on pp. 27-32 below — Sienkiewicz's Trilogy can be indirectly related. In the *gawęda* a character (usually though not always belonging to the gentry class) is heard "speaking" through the pages of a fictitious diary or memoirs, or directly. In either case, the presence of a first-person narrator is intended to authenticate his tale.³⁷⁾ The form is not unlike the Russian *skaz*, which is a "stylistically individualised inner narrative placed in the mouth of a fictional character, and designed to produce the effect of oral speech".³⁸⁾

Rzewuski's *Pamiętki Soplicy* were soon followed by other examples of the genre, including Chodźko's *Pamiętniki kwatermistrza* (1844),³⁹⁾ and Kaczkowski's deservedly successful *Bitwa o chorążankę* (1851) and his other *Opowiadania Nieczui*.⁴⁰⁾ Although these tales (and Kaczkowski's *Mąż szalony* of 1853) are naturally somewhat limited in scope owing to the social standing of their narrator and his interests, they are nevertheless of considerable formal and stylistic ingenuity, illuminated by Kaczkowski's

35) Some 160 seventeenth-century memoirs and chronicles are recorded, cf. Tadeusz BUJNICKI, "Struktura artystyczna Trylogii a pamiętniki polskie XVII wieku", *Pamiętnik literacki* LVII (no. 3) (1966), p. 107. See also Alojzy SĄKOWSKI, *Nad staropolskimi pamiętnikami* (Poznań, 1964) (pp. 3-14 on editorial methods in the 1840's). A context for Pasek's Memoirs is provided by Jadwiga RYTEL, *Pamiętniki Paska na tle pamiętnikarstwa staropolskiego* (Wrocław, 1962).

36) Wacław LEDNICKI, *Henryk Sienkiewicz: a Retrospective Synthesis* (The Hague, 1960), p. 36.

37) Julian KRZYŻANOWSKI, *Nauka o literaturze* (Wrocław, 1966), p. 211. See also Kazimierz BARTOSZYŃSKI, "O amorfizmie gawędy" in *Prace o literaturze i teatrze ofiarowane Zygmuntowi Szwejkowskiemu* (Wrocław, 1966), pp. 91-116 (on Rzewuski's *Pamiętki Soplicy*).

38) Hugh McLEAN, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

39) For an account of Chodźko's borrowings from Scott, see Zygmunt SZWEJKOWSKI, *Ignacy Chodźko — artyzm i umysłowość* (Cracow, 1914), pp. 29-30.

40) These tales, and the *Mąż szalony*, have been reprinted (Cracow, 1962, 1963 respectively), with "afterwords" by Antoni Jopek. For an account of Kaczkowski's historical fiction from 1885, see Juliusz KLJAS, *Kaczkowski jako współzawodnik Sienkiewicza* (Cracow, 1926).

knowledge of the manners and customs of eighteenth-century society, especially in the provinces.

Before proceeding to Sienkiewicz's "*gawęda szlachecka*" (*Niewola tatarska*, 1880) reference must be made to the major novelist who preceded him: J.I. Kraszewski.

III. KRASZEWSKI

The writer who laid the foundations of the historical novel in Poland was J.I. Kraszewski (1812-1887).^{40a)} His first efforts in the genre appeared in 1833, and for the next fifty years and more, Kraszewski made a monumental contribution to Polish literature. He produced novels, tales, poems and plays, literary criticism, historical works and journalism: he edited the first complete edition of Shakespeare in Polish, and played an important part in keeping alive Polish literary and cultural traditions. His most ambitious work in fiction was a cycle of twenty-nine historical novels, published between 1874 and 1889 (posthumously), conceived and executed to popularise and propagate Polish historical traditions during the "worst period of repression", and to preserve Poland's "moral existence" by illuminating her past.⁴¹⁾ This fiction was historically informative and morally enlightening.

Like a number of his contemporaries, Kraszewski was interested in the theoretical aspects of historical novels. As early as 1838 and 1839, for instance, he exchanged views with the novelist and critic Michał Grabowski, touching upon the perennial question of "imaginative truth versus historical truth" in novels.⁴²⁾ Kraszewski held that "the conditions of art differ entirely from the conditions of history",⁴³⁾ and because he believed that novels were works of art, he also held that historical truth should be kept subordinate to art — serving it as "a tool and a means — not as its aim".⁴⁴⁾ He was also led by his markedly critical intelligence to object to the "idealisation" of Poland's past by Grabowski himself, Kaczkowski and Rzewuski — who attempted "systematically to rehabilitate that part of the gentry society of the eighteenth century which, by defending *złota wolność* became the direct cause of the Partitions".⁴⁵⁾ Kraszewski's concern for artistic and historical truth meant that he refused to idealise the past as his illustrious predecessors did.⁴⁶⁾

40a) Jerzy PIETRKIEWICZ, *op. cit.*, p. 198. See also *Bibliografia literatury polskiej "Nowy Korbut"*, vol. 12 (Cracow, 1966) edited by Stanisław Stupkiewicz and others, devoted to works by and about Kraszewski. It omits the review by Sienkiewicz of *Krzyżacy 1410* referred to below.

41) Karol Wiktor ZAWODZIŃSKI, *Opowieści o powieści* edited by Czesław Zgorzelski (Cracow, 1963), pp. 101-111 (an essay originally published in 1946).

42) *Kraszewski o powieściopisarzach i powieści* edited by Stanisław Burkot (Warsaw, 1962), p. 7. See also Julian KRZYŻANOWSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

43) *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

44) *Ibid.*, p. 80.

45) *Ibid.*, p. 11.

46) Jerzy PIETRKIEWICZ, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

Kraszewski reverted to the question of truth in historical fiction at intervals throughout his long career. In 1843, he considered the dilemma of a historical novelist placed between two necessities: that of not falsifying historical fact while at the same time fulfilling the demands of art. By this time, he had come to realise that a way of out the dilemma was to avoid placing "great figures" and "known events" in the foreground of a novel.⁴⁷⁾ This had been Scott's formula, and Kraszewski put the formula into practice in one of the most successful of his early novels: *Zygmuntowskie czasy* (1846). Here, the imagined characters and events occupy the foreground, and historical truth serves the novelist as a tool.

Yet in his next historical novel (*Kordecki*, 1850) there had been a considerable change in Kraszewski's view regarding history and fiction: now the historical personages (Kordecki, Czarniecki, Zamoyski, General Müller, Sadowski and others), and the siege of Jasna Góra monastery by the Swedes (1655) greatly overshadow in importance and interest the fiction (a courtship and the untangling of mysterious relationships between characters).

This method was increasingly to be Kraszewski's approach to the writing of historical fiction. By the time he embarked on the cycle of novels already mentioned, he had acquired the ability to compose novels and tales in which "real" persons, events and places, constitute almost the entire matter. No doubt this ability derived in part from Kraszewski's wide knowledge of documents and sources,⁴⁸⁾ though of more significance was the principle to which Kraszewski adhered firmly, viz., that "Truth about the past is the most holy, the most sacrosanct of all Truths".⁴⁹⁾

IV. SIENKIEWICZ AND KRASZEWSKI ⁵⁰⁾

Sienkiewicz reviewed several of Kraszewski's novels when they first appeared. His admiration and respect for the older writer are well attested, though they were not personally acquainted, and Kraszewski had occasion to complain of the "ruthless frankness" (*bezwzględna otwartość*) Sienkiewicz sometimes demonstrated towards his work.⁵¹⁾

47) Stanisław BURKOT, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

48) Studied, for example, by Jerzy JAROWIECKI, "Stosunek Kraszewskiego do źródeł historycznych stanisławowskich", *Ruch literacki* I (1960), pp. 97-105. See also Wincenty DANEK, *Powieści historyczne J.I. Kraszewskiego* (Warsaw, 1966), especially pp. 67ff. See also Włodzimierz DWORZACZEK, "O realiach niektórych powieści historycznych Kraszewskiego", in *Prace o literaturze...* (*op. cit.*), pp. 117-134 for anachronisms and "shortcomings concerning details of everyday and public life" in Kraszewski's historical novels.

49) *Kraszewski o powieściopisarzach...* (*op. cit.*), p. 65.

50) For a more detailed account, see David WELSH, "Sienkiewicz versus Kraszewski, Observations on Novel-writing", *Indiana Slavic Studies* (IV) (forthcoming). The essay was written in 1962 and the author's views have undergone certain changes with respect to the novels of Kraszewski.

51) *Kraszewski o powieściopisarzach...* (*op. cit.*) p. 240. For Sienkiewicz's private views of Kraszewski, see *Dzieła* LV, pp. 369, 371.

Although these reviews are descriptive rather than analytical, Sienkiewicz's remarks, made in 1882, concerning Kraszewski's *Krzyżacy 1410*, provide a clue to his own views on the writing of historical fiction at an early stage in his own development.⁵²⁾

According to the younger novelist, a major fault in *Krzyżacy 1410* was that the fiction proper "wanders around the historical basis somehow timidly, like a small ivy branch around the huge tower of a mediaeval building". The fictitious characters "are merely ephemeral and sketched shadows". Consequently, "history is not the background against which the author depicts the fate (of his characters), but it is they who are merely appended, to suit the requirements of fiction, to events vastly more huge than they".⁵³⁾ In this respect, Sienkiewicz's own method of writing historical fiction was to differ fundamentally from Kraszewski's.

However, when Sienkiewicz began publishing the Trilogy, contemporaries discerned resemblances between his work and that of the older novelist in choice of subjects, situations, trends and motives.⁵⁴⁾ The "Tartar captivity" theme of Sienkiewicz's first historical fiction (*Niewola tatarska*, 1880) appeared in Kraszewski's *Zygmuntowskie czasy* (1846).⁵⁵⁾ The central section of the Trilogy is structured round the siege of Jasna Góra, treated at length by Kraszewski in *Kordecki*, three decades earlier.⁵⁶⁾

But it is not so much the parallels and resemblances between the two writers that are of interest: the differences and unlikenesses are more significant. For, as Dr. Leavis has said, "one of the supreme debts a great writer can give another is the realisation of unlikeness",⁵⁷⁾ This may well be the area in which Sienkiewicz's greatest debt to Kraszewski lies. In all his historical novels, Sienkiewicz implicitly rejects the methods of his predecessor, and moves in his own direction.

52) Sienkiewicz's lecture "On the Historical Novel" (1889), while of interest as an apologia for the genre, is too general. For an account, see *Henryk Sienkiewicz*, edited by Janina KULCZYCKA-SALONI (Warsaw, 1960), pp. 37-38, and *Kalendarz* p. 158. The lecture is reprinted in *Dziela* XLV, pp. 102-124.

53) *Dziela* LII, p. 249.

54) Wincenty DANEK, ed., *Józef Ignacy Kraszewski* (Warsaw, 1962), p. 100. See also Halina BURSZYŃSKA, "Twórczość Kraszewskiego jako literackie źródło powieści historycznych Sienkiewicza", *Pamiętnik literacki* LVII (no. 3) (1966), pp. 237-256.

55) pp. 332-365 in the Warsaw 1955 edition.

56) In at least one case, Kraszewski appears to have written a novel "against" a novel by Sienkiewicz. His *Boży gniew* (1886) appeared after the serialisation of *Potop* began (December, 1884). In contrast to Sienkiewicz's favourable depiction of Jan Kazimierz, the king appears in Kraszewski's novel as a mere tool in the hands of Marie Louise and Albrecht Radziwiłł. He is more interested in "scandalous court gossip" and "trivial love affairs" than in politics. (Warsaw, 1898, vol. I pp. 22, 31, and vol. II p. 149).

57) F.R. LEAVIS, *The Great Tradition* (London, 1963), p. 10. The unlikenesses have, of course, been noticed by literary scholarship, cf. Zygmunt SZWEJKOWSKI, *Trylogia Henryka Sienkiewicza* (Poznan, 1961), p. 99. See also Adam KERSTEN, *Sienkiewicz — "Potop" — historia* (Warsaw, 1966), *passim*, for a present-day historian's view of Jan Kazimierz.

Chapter Two

I. CONTENT AND STRUCTURE

The *gawęda szlachecka* as a sub-genre of the historical novel was mentioned in the preceding chapter, and Sienkiewicz turned to it (after making a reputation with "realistic" tales and journalism) mainly — it must be supposed — for the opportunity which the genre afforded for stylistic virtuosity. But his *Niewola tatarska* also looks back to seventeenth-century memoirs and chronicles of which he already possessed considerable knowledge. Indeed, the tale is subtitled "Fragments from the Nobiliary Chronicle of Aleksy Zdanoborski", and is cast in the form of a memoir, purportedly written by Zdanoborski towards the end of his life, circa 1640. However the narrative proper begins in 1595.⁵⁸⁾

Zdanoborski's memoir recounts his love for Marysia Tworzyńska, and his decision to seek his fortune in the "East" — the Ukraine and beyond. He is taken captive by the Aga Sulejman, who seeks to convert him to the Moslem faith. Zdanoborski resists these efforts, and after a long period of captivity during which he suffers great brutality, he is condemned to death at the stake. At this point, however, he is ransomed by a messenger from the Tworzyński family, who transports him back to Poland. A brief note by the "editor" ends the narrative.

Niewola tatarska is a thematic microcosm of the Trilogy, and its relation to the later work has been noticed: the literary historian Wojciechowski described it as an "augury" of the Trilogy,⁵⁹⁾ and Alina Nofer pointed out that a key phrase used by Zdanoborski ("Man passes like a traveller through the world, so should not care for himself, but only for the Republic which is, and is to be, everlasting"⁶⁰⁾ could well stand as epigraph for the Trilogy.⁶¹⁾ But the tale is more organically part of the Trilogy than these remarks suggest. In it, as in the Trilogy, Sienkiewicz dramatises a clash between two alien cultures, religious faiths and ways of life.⁶²⁾ Just as Zdanoborski's chronicle explores the dramatic possibilities inherent in the clash between Catholic Poles and pagans, so in *Ogniem i mieczem* and *Pan Wołodyjowski* Sienkiewicz deploys conflicts between Poles on the one hand, and Cossacks, Tartars and Turks on the other. *Potop* depicts hostilities between Catholics and heretic Lutheran and Calvinist Swedes and Poles.

Zdanoborski is a prototype of several of the Trilogy's main characters. His unflinching devotion to the distant Marysia, whom he has left behind in Poland, recalls Skrzetuski's oath to Helena: "God is my witness, I will not take a crust into my mouth, nor fortify this wretched body, without thinking of her, and no one can have a more permanent abode in my heart than she" (OM.II, p. 221). In *Potop*, Kmicic tenderly recalls

58) Although Sienkiewicz does not provide a date, references to Loboda, Nalewajko and Zółkiewski indicate the period (*Dziela* V, pp. 38-39).

59) Reprinted in Tomasz JODELKO, ed., *Trylogia Sienkiewicza* (Warsaw, 1962), n. 325.

60) *Dziela* V, p. 41.

61) Alina NOFER, *Henryk Sienkiewicz* (Warsaw, 1959), p. 163. See also Zygmunt SZWEYKOWSKI, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-37.

62) Scott's use of inter-cultural conflicts was noticed above.

Aleksandra: "Dearest love, you may have forgotten me, but... near or far, by night or day, in working for the homeland and in labouring, I constantly think of you, and my soul flies to you through woods and over waters, like a weary bird, to place itself at your feet", (P. VI, p. 127).^{62a)}

Zdanoborski's simple, steadfast religious faith has its counterpart in that of Kmicic and Wołodyjowski: the latter assures his wife Basia: "O above, beyond that quiet moon, is a land of eternal joy... When my time comes (and that after all is a soldier's affair), you must immediately tell yourself: 'No matter'. You must simply tell yourself: 'Michał has gone, to be sure, far away, further than from here to Lithuania, but no matter! For I too will follow after him'". (PW. III, p. 214).⁶³⁾ A phrase used by Zdanoborski is repeated by Prince Wiśniowiecki when he reminds his troops they are "in the service of Christ" (*na Chrystusowym ordynansie*).^{63a)} and Sobieski refers to his "Godly service" (*szużba boża*) against the pagans (PW. II, pp. 140-141).

Another theme linking Zdanoborski with characters in the Trilogy is that of family pride. Although Zdanoborski is poor, he insists he is heir to an eminent name and possesses "a gentleman's self-esteem" (*ambicja szlachecka*). Similar claims abound in the Trilogy: Zagłoba boasts "I am a gentleman" (*szlachcic*) and he is ashamed to kill Bohun because the latter has "knightly honour" (*rycerski honor*) (OM. II, p. 69). Skrzetuski declares: "It is not meet that I abandon my comrades in grave need... In this lies the honour of a cavalier, and that is a sacred thing" (OM. II, p. 222). Kmicic proudly claims descent from the "Kiszki" family (P. II, p. 174) and even Skrzetuski's manservant Rzędzian reminds other characters that although poor, he is "no peasant", but gentry (OM. III, p. 255).

The "Tartar captivity" theme appears in the Trilogy.⁶⁴⁾ Zagłoba frequently boasts of spending years in the Crimea and among the Tartars, when he claims he refused to be converted to the Moslem faith — even though the conversion would have brought him what he calls "high honours" (*ibid.* p. 265). When Skrzetuski comes to the aid of the Polish commissars in Chmielnicki's rebel camp, Krzetowski warns him he risks being sold to a Turkish galley (OM. III, p. 199). The old soldiers Muszalski and Nienaszyniec give accounts of Polish captives rotting at the oars of Turkish galleys, (PW. II, pp. 29-37, 55-57) and Sienkiewicz extracts pathos from the unemotional account of the fate of three Polish women (Boska,

62a) See Appendix II, N. 3.

63) See Appendix II, N. 4.

63a) OM. II, p. 240 and *Dzieła* V, p. 36.

64) Kraszewski's use of the theme in *Zygmuntowskie czasy* was noted above. Sienkiewicz declared that a source for *Niewola tatarska* was the *Pamiętniki janczara...* (Warsaw, 1828) (cf. *Dzieła* LV, p. 321, letter of November 5, 1886). For an investigation of this work, see Bronisław CIELIĆ, "Próba nowego spojrzenia na Pamiętniki janczara", *Pamiętnik literacki* XLIII (no. 1-2) (1952), pp. 140-170. Turkish words and phrases Sienkiewicz may have borrowed from the *Pamiętniki* are given below. Sienkiewicz almost certainly knew Karol Szajnocha's "Powieść o niewoli na wschodzie" (*Dzieła* II, Warsaw, 1876), giving accounts of Poles in Tartar captivity from the fourteenth century on. In a letter written while composing *Niewola tatarska*, Sienkiewicz states he has been reading "very many things from the sixteenth century and later" (*Listy do Mściława Godlewskiego (1878-1904)* edited by Edward Kiernicki (Wrocław, 1956), p. 57.

her daughter Zosia and Ewa Nowowiejska) who are sold into shameful enslavement (PW. III, pp. 107-111).

A minor detail in *Niewola tatarska* that reappears in *Potop* is the bird of good omen which settles on Zdanoborski's lance before battle (p. 17). Another bird of good omen encircles Jan Kazimierz as he returns to Poland from exile in Silesia (P. IV, p. 45).

Since *Niewola tatarska* is first-person narrative, there are considerable stylistic differences between it and the Trilogy.⁶⁵⁾ Sienkiewicz was well aware that casting a full-length historical novel in this form would have defeated its own purpose: like all working novelists, he had to consider his public. Moreover, by the time he came to the writing of the Trilogy, Sienkiewicz had incorporated into his novelistic equipment a wide range of modern technical skills (described in the next chapter), by means of which he was able to bring his narrative to life.

II. THE TRILOGY: THEME AND CONTENT

As Professor Krzyżanowski has pointed out, it is singularly difficult to supply a satisfactory answer to the question: "What is the theme of *Ogniem i mieczem*?"⁶⁶⁾ The same difficulty arises if the question is asked of the Trilogy as a whole. Is the work an account of various fictitious characters' imaginary biographies in seventeenth-century Poland? Or was it Sienkiewicz's intent to provide for the "uplifting of hearts"⁶⁷⁾ by describing celebrated military campaigns, battles, sieges and heroic actions? Is the Trilogy the "apotheosis of knightly deeds and physical strength" as suggested by Professor Szwejkowski?⁶⁸⁾ The Trilogy is all these, but these aspects alone cannot account for the phenomenal popularity the Trilogy continues to enjoy.

One reason for the power exerted by the Trilogy may be its "mythical" content — a myth being, in its simplest form, the expression of archetypal human experiences. Poets and novelists who have made use of myths of their own include Mickiewicz, Hermann Melville, Kafka, Thomas Mann and James Joyce. In literature, the myth is also associated with the "romance", which depicts a quest usually having three stages: a dangerous journey undertaken by a hero, crucial struggles on the way between the hero and his antagonist, and the final exaltation of the hero. This quest involves meetings with such traditional figures of fairy-tale and legend as the beautiful heroine, often held captive, a wise old man who counsels the hero, a giant of superhuman strength, dwarfs, witches, kings and queens, simpletons and the rest. Such figures reappear throughout all the parts of the Trilogy: for instance, during his quest, Skrzetuski's way leads through the dangerous landscapes of the Sicz and beyond. He

65) Style, syntax, archaisms and Latinisms in *Niewola tatarska* are investigated in Appendix I.

66) Julian KRZYŻANOWSKI, *Nauka o literaturze* (Wrocław, 1966), p. 227.

67) This celebrated phrase, with which Sienkiewicz brought the Trilogy to its conclusion, has been omitted from the latest edition (Warsaw, 1965). As Professor KRZYŻANOWSKI has remarked: "If it were not for the phrase... no one would have been able to find such an ideology in the work" (*op. cit.*, p. 246).

68) Zygmunt SZWEJKOWSKI, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-110 considers this aspect of the Trilogy in some detail.

encounters Zagłoba who becomes wiser as the Trilogy proceeds: the giant is represented by Podbipięta, whose superhuman strength (and simplicity) is demonstrated on several occasions. Horypyna (the witch who holds the heroine captive) is attended by a dwarf, Czeremis. Another simpleton is Skrzetuski's manservant Rzędzian. *Potop* is an extended representation of Kmicic's quest for the realisation of self (and the hand of the heroine). It ends with his exaltation after a series of encounters with Bogusław Radziwiłł, the "antagonist" of myth represented in *Ogniem i mieczem* by Bohun and in *Pan Wołodyjowski* by Azja. *Pan Wołodyjowski* also ends with the exaltation of the hero and his death.

That Sienkiewicz conceived the characters in his Trilogy in terms of myth and romance (albeit unconsciously) is suggested by the peculiar vagueness of their personal backgrounds, and by the oddly superficial relationships that exist between them. Professor Church has said that "if an author is to make us believe his myth, he must deprive his characters of some of their individual identity".⁶⁹ This is what Sienkiewicz consistently does. The heroes and heroines are separated from each other for long periods of time. All three heroines (Helena, Aleksandra, Basia) are orphans, and the origins of several other characters are described as "uncertain" or "mysterious": Sienkiewicz says of Bohun that "no one knew where he came from" (OM. I, p. 51), while Zagłoba's origins are "mysterious" (P. I, p. 196), and although Azja is later revealed to be Tuhaj-bej's son, his "uncertain origins" are referred to several times (PW. I, pp. 9-13).

Sienkiewicz's fondness for contrasting two female characters — one fair, associated with purity and innocence, the other "dark, passionate, haughty"⁷⁰ — is consistent with myth and romance.⁷¹ Aleksandra's "fair head" is contrasted with Anusia, the "dark little Ukrainian" (P. VI, pp. 176-177), while Basia's fair hair contrasts with the black hair and eyes of hot-blooded Ewa Nowowiejska (PW. I, pp. 57-58, II, p. 104). A standard female type absent from the Trilogy is the "beautiful, merciless woman of passion", whose charm is "irresistible but fatal".⁷² It was left to Sienkiewicz's contemporary Prus to create Izabela Łęcka (*Lalka*), who embodies these qualities.

That hypothetical archetypal patterns can be traced in a novel does not imply high literary quality. The subjective glow such patterns appear able to generate must in any case be subjected to all the technical skills at a writer's command.

III. SERIALISATION

Sienkiewicz showed an interest in the technical aspect of writing fiction as early as 1865, in connection with a tale that has not survived. He discussed the difficulties a novelist must overcome to effect trans-

69) Margaret CHURCH, *Time and Reality* (Chapel Hill, 1962), p. 233.

70) Alexander WELSH, "George Eliot and the Romance", *Nineteenth-century Fiction* XIV (1959-1960), p. 243. Welsh gives examples of the contrasting of fair and dark female types in novels by Scott, Mme. de Stael, George Eliot and others.

71) William WASSERSTROM, *Heiress of All the Ages* (Minneapolis, 1959) investigates this topic.

72) *Ibid.*, p. 26.

itions between passages of dialogue and passages of description, and between description and analysis.⁷³⁾ He also speculated how best a writer of fiction could avoid repetitions and a "boring monotony of style", and even went as far as to regret "we have no rules for fiction".⁷⁴⁾ The tale he was composing at this time was faulty (in his own opinion) because there was a "lack of proportion between the constituent parts, and the whole".⁷⁵⁾

This interest in the technicalities of writing fiction is remarkable in view of the fact that Sienkiewicz was still only twenty-one, and that he was writing at a time when little or nothing had been published on this aspect of the novelist's craft. Unfortunately Sienkiewicz did not proceed to formulate his own theory of novel-writing, though we can perceive what the theory would have been by analysing the novels themselves.

A technical detail of major importance in the composition of the Trilogy (and indeed of many nineteenth-century novels) was that the work was first written and published as a serial. Serialisation had a discernable effect on the composition and structure of novels. A case in point is provided by the novels of Dickens.⁷⁶⁾ all of which were written and published in the form of weekly or monthly serial parts. Serialisation has been termed his trademark.⁷⁷⁾ Other novelists of the period whose fiction first appeared in serial form, either as parts or included in daily, weekly or monthly publications, then as "three-decker novels" for the consumption of lending-libraries, included Thackeray, George Eliot and Thomas Hardy, Flaubert, Victor Hugo and Dostoevskii⁷⁸⁾ were among the many very different novelists who took advantage of the method. In Poland, novels by Kraszewski, Orzeszkowa and Prus (to mention only the three major novelists of the nineteenth century) appeared in newspapers or weeklies.⁷⁹⁾

The widespread use of serialisation of fiction had several reasons: authors and their publishers were able to reach the large reading-public that was coming into being all over Europe at this time. Dickens, for instance, gathered his readers by the tens of thousands by issuing his long novels in "spaced-out pieces" that this new class of readers was able to afford.⁸⁰⁾

Besides, a close connection existed between the writing of fiction and the practice of journalism. Most of the novelists referred to above worked as journalists for at least part of their careers. In addition to

73) *Kalendarz*, p. 31.

74) *Ibid.*, p. 31.

75) *Ibid.*, p. 31.

76) For a detailed study, see Archibald C. COOLIDGE, *Charles Dickens as Serial Novelist* (Ames, Iowa, 1967).

77) Kathleen TILLOTSON, *Novels of the 1840's* (Oxford, 1954), p. 29. See also John BURT and Kathleen TILLOTSON, *Dickens at Work* (London, 1957) for a detailed study.

78) Georgii CHULKOV, *Kak rabotal Dostoevskii* (Moscow, 1939) investigates this aspect of Dostoevskii's novels.

79) Kraszewski's *Chata za wsią* first appeared in the monthly *Biblioteka warszawska*. Orzeszkowa's *Czciciel potęgi* in *Przegląd tygodniowy* and Prus's *Faraon* in *Tygodnik ilustrowany*. See also Edward PIEŚCİKOWSKI, "Emancypantki — powieść w odcinkach", *Przegląd humanistyczny* XI (no. 4) (1967), pp. 31-43.

80) Geoffrey TILLOTSON, *Thackeray the Novelist* (London, 1963), p. 3.

producing fiction, many were editors of newspapers or magazines: they wrote articles, essays, occasional pieces and reviews, and the regular practice of journalism accustomed writers to producing material intended to supply a known demand. Journalism also gave them the habit of working to a dead-line, a facility essential to any writer of serial fiction, especially when publication begins before the novel is finished. As already mentioned, Sienkiewicz first made his name as a journalist,⁸¹⁾ and he edited two Warsaw newspapers before devoting himself entirely to the writing of fiction.

Yet another reason for the wide use of serialisation was that it brought the novelist into an interesting, often fruitful kind of relationship with his or her readers. Dickens, Thackeray and George Eliot all felt that the serialisation of their fiction while the novels were in the process of the intimate relationship between story-teller and audience which existed in the age of the saga".⁸²⁾ Thackeray even declared that serialisation induced a close relationship between his readers and himself — a relationship that was "continual... confidential... like personal affection".⁸³⁾ Be this as it may, serialisation provided novelists with a guide to their readers' tastes: public approval or disapproval of the way in which a novel was proceeding could be judged by the copies of an instalment or part which were purchased.

A similar relationship came into being between Sienkiewicz and his readers as soon as the first part of the Trilogy began appearing as a serial in the Warsaw daily *Słowo* and the Cracow *Czas*. He received letters and messages of encouragement, and even advice on the fate of characters, or the direction the plot-line should take.⁸⁴⁾ While Sienkiewicz was writing *Pan Wołodyjowski* in 1887, he remarked that he was deliberately lessening the amount of bloodshed, as compared to the preceding parts of the Trilogy, because readers had complained.⁸⁵⁾

Finally, serialisation is known to have brought considerable financial rewards: in 1867, while Sienkiewicz was still a student, he said that "anyone getting fifteen roubles from home was rich"⁸⁶⁾ but by 1879 he obtained 100 roubles for book publication rights of his reportage *Listy z Ameryki*,⁸⁷⁾ while ten years later he could ask his own terms for the newspaper serialisation rights of *Pan Wołodyjowski*.⁸⁸⁾

81) Ferdynand Hoesick, *Sienkiewicz jako feljetonista* (Warsaw, 1902) is informative on this period.

82) John BUTT and Kathleen TILLOTSON, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

83) Geoffrey TILLOTSON, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

84) Andrzej STAWAR, *Pisarstwo Henryka Sienkiewicza* (Warsaw, 1960), p. 154. See also Julian Krzyżanowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 208-209.

85) *Kalendarz*, p. 141. All the same, as Professor SZWĘKOWSKI pointed out (*op. cit.*, p. 90), this novel contains "some of the cruellest scenes in our literature".

86) *Kalendarz*, p. 36.

87) *Ibid.*, p. 81.

88) *Ibid.*, p. 139. He obtained 16,000 marks (about 8,000 roubles). By comparison, it may be noted that in 1865 Dostoevskii sold the rights to his previously published works and undertook to write a new novel (*Crime and Punishment*) for 3,000 roubles (cf. Georgii CHULKOV, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-117).

Yet, for all the advantages gained from the serialisation of novels, the method also had several inherent faults. Needless to say, it made great demands on a writer's imagination, mental and physical powers of endurance, and continued to exert pressures of various kinds upon him over an extended period of time. Sienkiewicz's correspondence for much of his career abounds with references to the physical and nervous strain he was subject to, with the printers "treading on my heels".⁸⁹⁾ In addition, the constant vigilance demanded by the method rendered it both "uncomfortable and dangerous".⁹⁰⁾

Another disadvantage of serialisation was that it often forced unwary novelists to damage the structure of their fiction. To avoid running out of material before he had produced the number of words, lines or sheets stipulated by his contract, a novelist would often introduce various sub-plots — only to find himself, on nearing the end of the novel, with loose ends he was unable to tie up satisfactorily. Serialisation was the main cause of the over-plotting that makes many nineteenth-century novels faulty by later critical standards. It also led to excessive length: Dostoevskii's novels owe their length to the fact that he was paid by the sheet, which means that they directly reflect the economics of serialisation.⁹¹⁾ Moreover, the method was, in effect, like "breaking up the broad lights and shadows of a great picture",⁹²⁾ and substituting for them a series of immediate but minor effects: it meant that the cumulative, over-all effect at which a novelist should aim was often lost.

Once his novel had started to appear as a serial, a writer was rarely able to revise his work, to correct mistakes or oversights, or to ensure artistic coherence. Many writers of the period clearly preferred starting a new novel to going back and revising one they had finished. Even the choice of a title presented the serial writer with difficulties: it could not be altered once publication had started, even if changes in intention or emphasis forced themselves upon the writer as he proceeded.

All the same, there was one way of avoiding these inherent difficulties, and Sienkiewicz discovered it. The way was to submit his material to systematic planning before the writing began, thereby foreseeing and avoiding structural and other faults. Although little is known of Sienkiewicz's working methods, and hardly any of his drafts survive,⁹³⁾ the novels themselves suggest he was pre-eminently a writer able to keep constantly before him the substance and structure of each novel, in a way few readers or critics can. He had (or acquired) the gift Dickens also had, of possessing the whole pattern of a novel "always before the eyes of the story-weaver at his loom".⁹⁴⁾

89) *Kalendarz*, p. 156.

90) *Dziela XL*, pp. 143-145.

91) George STEINER, *Tolstoi or Dostoevsky* (New York, 1959), p. 14.

92) Kathleen TILLOTSON, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

93) Julian KRZYŻANOWSKI, "Autograf *Potopu* Henryka Sienkiewicza", *Rocznik zakładu im. Ossolińskich III* (1948), pp. 121-136. See also pp. 97ff., below.

94) Post-script to *Our Mutual Friend* (1865).

IV. THE INSTALMENTS

The first part of the Trilogy set a pattern for the publication of the succeeding parts, and for the later novels. Sienkiewicz diverged but slightly from this pattern for the next thirty years. *Ogniem i mieczem* first appeared in the Warsaw daily newspaper *Słowo* over a period of forty weeks, with brief intervals marking the end of individual volumes. Publication began on May 2, 1883, and the final instalment of the fourth volume came out on March 1, 1884. Book publication in four volumes followed later the same month.

When *Słowo* began publishing *Ogniem i mieczem*, Sienkiewicz had written only the first volume (85,000 words). As the novel amounts to 325,000 words, he was committed to producing 240,000 more during the forty weeks of serialisation, in order to keep the public and his printers supplied. He was obliged to write at least 1,000 words a day for six days a week for forty weeks.

The instalments of *Ogniem i mieczem*, which were printed across the foot of the front page of the newspaper, vary in length from four to eight columns of type, four columns amounting to an average of 140 lines, or 1,000 words. Instalments did not appear every day, though the newspaper did (including Sundays), but there is no way of determining why this should have been. For example, no instalment appeared on May 24 (a Thursday) or on June 3 (a Sunday), or June 22 (a Friday) or July 9 (a Monday). The breaks do not coincide with chapter endings, and in any case the first volume (from which these instalments came) was already written.

Sienkiewicz was himself editing *Słowo* at this time, but again there is no way of determining how much personal responsibility he assumed for such technical matters as spacing and amount of type-face used for each instalment. However, internal evidence suggests that half-way through volume II he was adjusting the amounts published so that instalments began to coincide with the chapter divisions. Chapter VIII of volume II (which has seventeen chapters altogether) began in issue no. 236, chapter IX in no. 239, chapter X in no. 240, chapter XII in no. 252, chapter XIII in no. 254 and chapter XV in no. 261.

This apparently mechanical matter has been investigated in some detail, because it exerted influence on Sienkiewicz's methods of composition. It indicates that he was not under any obligation to produce instalments of the same length — an obligation which Dickens, for example, found so irksome.⁹⁵ Dickens published all his long novels as monthly parts (the shorter novels, e.g. *Hard Times* appeared in weekly magazines). Each monthly part was exactly 32 pages long: Dickens could not exceed this length by even a single line, while the 32nd page itself had to be covered by print for at least four-fifths.⁹⁶ Further, each novel had to consist of nineteen parts, the last being a double number. Dickens' complaint that he was "cramped and confined" by these limitations of space is understandable.⁹⁷

But the irregularity of length and of publication of Sienkiewicz's

95) John BUTT and Kathleen TILLOTSON, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

96) Sylwère MONOD, *Dickens romancier* (Paris, 1953), p. 65.

97) John BUTT and Kathleen TILLOTSON, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

instalments indicate that he was not subjected to any such limitations. He was not forced to divide novels into chapters or parts, but could (as he said) leave the development of his fiction "to the logic of things, and to natural development of events"⁹⁸⁾ He was able to avoid the besetting sin of many serialists already mentioned — that of substituting a series of lesser effects for a single major effect.

When serial publication of *Potop* began in *Słowo* on December 23, 1884, Sienkiewicz had completed only the first volume of the six volumes that were to constitute this novel. At first, Sienkiewicz projected a novel in "five, or perhaps four volumes",⁹⁹⁾ but in any case he was again committed to providing 1,000 words daily for six days a week. As was the case with *Ogniem i mieczem*, the lengths of instalments of *Potop* also varied: indeed, readers complained that instalments were sometimes too short, and Sienkiewicz was not above instructing the compositor making up the type on the stone to lead the columns and make the instalments look longer.¹⁰⁰⁾ There were intervals of a week to ten days between the publication of individual volumes. The final instalment appeared on September 10, 1886.

Pan Wołodyjowski, the final part of the Trilogy, started appearing in *Słowo* on June 2, 1887. This time there was a two-month interval between volumes I and II, corresponding to the four year interval of fictional time between the two volumes. Serialisation ended on May 11, 1888. The pattern of daily instalments was retained in Sienkiewicz's next novel *Bez dogmatu* (December 2, 1889 - October 11, 1890), but it varied slightly when *Rodzina Połanieckich* came out in the form of monthly instalments (July 1893 - December 1894). The consequences of this variation have been discussed elsewhere.¹⁰¹⁾ Sienkiewicz agreed to the publication of *Quo vadis* only a month after the writing of the novel began, and it was serialised in *Gazeta polska* from March 26, 1895 to February 29, 1896.¹⁰²⁾ *Krzyżacy* was serialised in *Słowo* (now a weekly paper) between February 2, 1897 and July 20, 1900. His three last novels also appeared as serials in magazines.¹⁰³⁾

V. COMPOSITION

Despite the pressure which serialisation entailed, Sienkiewicz did not allow the method to interfere with the planning that marks all his work, from the early literary essays, newspaper articles, tales and

98) *Dziela* XL, pp. 143-145.

99) *Kalendarz*, p. 121.

100) *Ibid.*, p. 123. See also *Dziela* LVI, p. 136.

101) David J. WELSH, "Serialization and Structure in the Novels of Henryk Sienkiewicz", *Polish Review* XII (no. 3) (1964), pp. 58-59.

102) On completing *Quo vadis*, Sienkiewicz decided not to write for daily serialisation again.

103) *Na polu chwały* in *Biesiada literacka* (1904-1905), *Wiry* in *Głos warszawski* (1909), and *Legiony* in *Tygodnik ilustrowany* (1913-1914).

reviews.¹⁰⁴⁾ An instance of almost architectural symmetry is provided by the tale *Bartek Zwycięzca* of 1882, which is 60 pages in length, and falls into two equal parts: in the first ((pp. 199-230)¹⁰⁵⁾ Bartek's rise in the Prussian army is recounted (he becomes "first private soldier" thanks to his courage and discipline). But the turning point in his career occurs on page 231, when he overhears two Polish prisoners and is seized by the impulse to help them escape. The remaining 28 pages trace his downfall. Hidden symmetry of this kind occurs in the *Trilogy*,¹⁰⁶⁾ and suggests a writer very much in control of his material.

When Sienkiewicz turned to the composition of the *Trilogy*, it was his custom to "ponder long" over everything he wrote, "down to the smallest details".¹⁰⁷⁾ He prepared "long, laboriously and industriously"¹⁰⁸⁾ for the writing of each novel. He told Curtin, his American translator, that he let his material "seethe and ferment" before the writing began.¹⁰⁹⁾ *Ogniem i mieczem* was conceived as early as 1880 — the year in which he wrote *Niewola tatarska*, the thematic microcosm of the *Trilogy* — as a tale to be entitled *Wilcze gniazdo*.¹¹⁰⁾ It is known that the title of *Potop* was already decided upon by January, 1884,¹¹¹⁾ while Sienkiewicz was composing scenes for *Pan Wołodyjowski* in February, 1887 (the novel began serialisation in June that year).¹¹²⁾ Sienkiewicz followed this method in his later novels: *Bez dogmatu* was conceived in July, 1889, and serialisation began in December the same year. He declared he was "working constantly" in his mind on *Quo Vadis?* while writing *Rodzina Połanieckich*,¹¹³⁾ and *Krzyżacy* was in the planning stages as early as 1892.¹¹⁴⁾

Although Sienkiewicz left no preliminary drafts, the novels themselves give some indication of his method of composition. A basic principle was the division of each novel into individual volumes for book publication. The usual number of volumes was three, although *Ogniem i mieczem* has four volumes, and *Potop* six. The convention was widespread in nineteenth-century publishing, and many novelists — including Sienkiewicz — made it serve purposes of their own, in much the same way that playwrights use intervals between acts in a play to dispose

104) Karol Wiktor Zawodziński, *op. cit.*, p. 139 discusses this aspect of Sienkiewicz's work. But see also Tadeusz Witczak, "Sienkiewicz — pisarz nieuważny" in *Prace o literaturze i teatrze ofiarowane Zygmuntowi Szwejkowskiemu* edited by Stanisław Furmanik and others (Wrocław, 1966), pp. 232-251 for an instructive account of the "surprisingly many moments" when Sienkiewicz, like Homer, may be supposed to have "dozed".

105) *Dziela* II.

106) See below.

107) K.J. Ochorowicz, "Henryk Sienkiewicz ze stanowiska psychologii", *Szkola Główna Sienkiewiczowi* (Warsaw, 1917), p. 31.

108) Henryk Sienkiewicz, *Pisma zapomniane i nie wydane*, edited by Ignacy Chrzanowski (Lwów, 1922), p. 421.

109) Jeremiah Curtin, "The Author of *Quo Vadis*", *Century* LVI (1898), p. 430.

110) The tale was apparently never written, but traces remain in the *Trilogy*, e.g. the Rozłogi manor-house is described as a "wolves" nest "(OM.I. p. 91).

111) *Kalendarz*, p. 118.

112) *Ibid.*, p. 138.

113) *Ibid.*, p. 188.

114) *Ibid.*, p. 179.

of "time to be lost". Sienkiewicz used the intervals between the three parts of the Trilogy for this purpose, as well as the intervals between separate volumes to dispose of "time to be lost". Thus, while the Trilogy covers the period from 1647 to 1672, the action proper only deals with the events of some ten years. *Ogniem i mieczem* starts in 1647 and ends in 1651, with a brief Epilogue summarising historical events of 1652. *Potop* does not start until the Spring of 1655 and ends in late 1657 (though one of these years passes in two pages).¹¹⁵⁾ Events which occurred between 1652 and 1655 included Chmielnicki's submission to tsar Alexei Mikhailovich, the Union between Moscow and the Ukraine at Perejasław in January, 1654, and the capture of Smolensk and Wilno by Muscovite armies.

An interval of eleven years occurs between the end of *Potop* and the start of *Pan Wołodyjowski* (Autumn, 1668), and there is another gap of almost four years between volumes I and II (which starts in Summer, 1671). The intervals are again used to avoid mentioning such events as the conclusion of the peace treaty between Poland and Muscovy at Andruszów which marked the end of the Polish-Muscovy war and of the "two and a half centuries' old struggle between the two countries for the eastern provinces of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania".¹¹⁶⁾ Other historical events which occurred during the interval were the Muscovite invasions of Poland and Lithuania, led by "Dolgoruki, Chowański, Buturlin and Sheremetiev",¹¹⁷⁾ when (as Pasek wrote) "Moscow, having dominated all Lithuania, was attacking fortresses throughout Poland".¹¹⁸⁾ Although the invasions were successfully repelled by the Poles, the Andruszów treaty favoured Moscow.

These omissions suggest that Sienkiewicz was reluctant to use Polish-Russian hostilities — even those of two centuries earlier — as a background to his fiction. As was pointed out above (pp. 220), Sienkiewicz (and all his contemporaries) was required to submit his work to the Censorship committee in Warsaw for permission to publish, and there can be little doubt that the committee would not have approved a novel in which any emphasis was placed on Polish-Russian enmity.¹¹⁹⁾ Not, however, that he omitted all references to the events that occurred between 1654 and 1667: although the Russian commanders are not introduced in person, they are named when relevant. In addition, Sienkiewicz refers to "Muscovite power" (P. I, p. 111),¹²⁰⁾ "Muscovite armies" (*ibid*, p. 75 and PW. III, p. 199), "tsarist regiments" (P. II, p. 80) and "tsarist power" (P. VI, p. 174). The Muscovite sack of Wilno is

115) P. VI, pp. 210-211.

116) L.R. LEWITTER, "The Russo-Polish Treaty of 1686 and Its Antecedents", *Polish Review* IX (no. 3) (1964), p. 5.

117) Adam KERSTEN, *op. cit.*, points out that Sienkiewicz was "inaccurate" in introducing Chowański as commander of the Muscovite armies in *Potop*. (p. 153).

118) Jan PASEK, *Pamiętniki* (Warsaw, 1955), p. 109.

119) For an account of the difficulties raised by the committee over the publication of *Szkice węglem*, see Maria DĄBROWSKA, "Przyczynek do mało znanej sprawy", *Pisma rozproszone* II (Cracow, 1964), pp. 300-310. Sienkiewicz's correspondence contains one or two enlightening comments e.g. that the committee prohibited the publication of maps with *Ogniem i mieczem* (*Dzieła* LVI, p. 321).

120) Maria DĄBROWSKA (*op. cit.*, p. 295) pointed out that "Moscow" in this context signified the state as well as the city.

mentioned: Kmicic says "today Wilno must be sought in Wilno, for it was burning seventeen days" (P. II, p. 90),¹²¹⁾ and Janusz Radziwiłł regrets not "repaying the ashes of Wilno with the ashes of Moscow" (*ibid.*, p. 116). The valuables which Kmicic produces in the Jasna Góra monastery to prove that his motives in joining the garrison there are disinterested were loot he obtained during forays against the Muscovite invaders (P. IV, p. 174), while *Potop* ends with Kmicic setting off to a "new war" on Poland's eastern frontier, (P. VI, pp. 232-233).

Attention has been drawn elsewhere to the "twin oddities" *Septentrioni* and *Hyperborejczycy* *Hyperboreje* as "substitutes for Muscovites, a northern people".¹²²⁾ Sienkiewicz may have derived the terms from readings in seventeenth-century poetry or prose, or from writers of classical antiquity.¹²³⁾ Be that as it may, they are yet another instance of the stratagems to which nineteenth-century novelists in Poland had recourse in their "literar skirmishes"¹²⁴⁾ and "games of deception... at the Censor's expense".¹²⁵⁾

But the intervals between the parts of the Trilogy, and especially the intervals between the individual volumes, were also useful for artistic purposes: often, these intervals serve as passages of transition, in which Sienkiewicz introduces a change of focus. The first volume of *Ogniem i mieczem* centres on Skrzetuski, who is followed consistently from his encounter with Chmielnicki in chapter I to the meeting with Helena and Bohun, then on his expedition to the Cossack settlement in the Sicz. But after the tableau which ends this volume (Skrzetuski in despair at the ruins of the Rozłogi manor-house), Sienkiewicz uses the interval between volumes I and II to shift the focus to Bohun, while the interval also brings about a shift in chronology. Volume II opens at a point in time simultaneous with chapter IX in volume I, so that the first seven chapters of volume II run parallel in time with the last seven chapters of volume I. Hidden symmetry of this kind occurs elsewhere in Sienkiewicz's fiction,¹²⁶⁾ and it implies auctorial planning and control constantly at work.

The structure of *Potop* relies on similar shifts in focus from one character, or groups of characters, to others in the intervals between volumes, and similar chronological parallelisms occur too. Volumes I and II have no time interval but the end of volume I and the start of volume II are marked by a reversal in the fortunes of Skrzetuski and his companions (they have been imprisoned by Janusz Radziwiłł for branding him a traitor). Volumes IV, V and VI focus on the doings of several different groups of characters, involved in different though

121) Perhaps an echo of Sep-Szarzyński's version of the "Epitaph to Rome" (*baczyć nie możesz w samym Rzymie*). Sienkiewicz published a study of this poet in 1869.

122) Jerzy Pietrkiewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

123) Maria DĄBROWSKA, *op. cit.*, pp. 297-299. Any Latin dictionary supplies definitions, e.g. Cassell's *New Latin Dictionary* (New York, 1959) gives "septentrionals" (sic) "Northern", also "Hyperborei" "a fabulous people dwelling in the extreme north". See also Jan PASEK, *op. cit.*, p. 79 and Jan JABLONOWSKI, *Pamiętnik* (1698-1699), published in *Biblioteka Ossolińskich... poczet nowy I* (Lwów, 1862), pp. 199, 204 ("Septentryon").

124) Maria DĄBROWSKA, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

125) Jerzy PIETRKIEWICZ, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

126) See pp. 50-51 above for symmetry in Sienkiewicz's tales. The "placing" of the siege of Jasna Góra monastery at the centre of *Potop* III is mentioned below, p. 100.

chronologically parallel sets of actions which are linked by various formal devices.¹²⁷⁾ The first half of volume VI runs parallel in time with the events of volume V, and the turning point in volume VI (the capture of Warsaw, p. 104) repeats the "curtain line" which ends volume V ("Warsaw is taken!").

All the individual volumes of the Trilogy are engineered to lead to a climax. This may be a striking "curtain line", such as the announcement, during Wiśniowiecki's banquet, that the fortress of Bar has fallen (OM. II), or the *Te Deum* that brings the siege of Jasna Góra to an end (P. III), or the capture of Warsaw already referred to. On occasion, the volume ending is marked by a character adopting some well-defined physical attitude, not unlike a personage in a *tableau vivant*: Skrzetuski hurls himself to the ground in despair (OM. I), Helena swoons away on being rescued (OM. III), Kmicic falls to his knees before Radziwiłł after uttering the ill-fated oath of allegiance (P. I). Yet another sort of ending are those which foreshadow coming events: the Swedes prepare to advance upon Lwów (P. IV), Basia Wołodajowska departs on her journey with Azja, accompanied by the "great croak of black birds" (PW. II). Sienkiewicz's feeling for the dramatic — of which more is said below — is making itself felt throughout.

VI. A LABYRINTH OF LINKAGES

Although the individual volumes of the Trilogy provided Sienkiewicz with the foundations for his huge edifice, he also had to organise a highly complex mass of details which makes up the body of the work. Dozens of characters, involved in scores of incidents, had to be set against constantly changing backgrounds. One organisational principle he frequently used within the individual volumes was that of grouping extended sections round a single character, or small number of associated characters. As was noted in the preceding section, the separate parts of the entire Trilogy were also structured in this manner.

Thus, Sienkiewicz centres the action of the first volume of *Ogniem i mieczem* round Skrzetuski for the first ten chapters, and reverts to him in chapters XV-XVI. Several small groups emerge in volume II: chapter I-IV follow the flight of Helena and Zagłoba from the clutches of Bohun (pp. 1-89), chapter V (Bohun's pursuit of them) is chronologically parallel with chapters I-IV, and the remainder of the volume shifts focus back to Skrzetuski. In volume II, the first three chapters return to Helena and Bohun (who has kidnapped her): then attention shifts to Zagłoba and his companions in chapters IV-VII (pp. 30-89);¹²⁸⁾ chapters VIII-XII lead up to the duel between Wołodajowski and Bohun (pp. 90-164).¹²⁹⁾ Next, Skrzetuski accompanies the Polish commissars to Perejaśław (chapters XV-XVIII) while Wołodajowski and his companions are rescuing Helena (chapters XVIII-XXI). The fourth volume likewise can be broken down into a succession of extended episodes: Wołodajowski

127) See the next section for an account of these.

128) This instance of "hidden symmetry" (the first section of OM.II is also 89 pages long) may be coincidental.

129) *Dziela* IX has two chapters XIII (pp. 165, 173).

and Zagłoba journey to Zbaraż, and the siege begins (p. 53): Podbipięta attempts to penetrate the enemy lines but fails (pp. 110-131, 139), after which Skrzetuski's escape from the besieged garrison occupies pp. 139-172. The last chapter (VIII) brings about the union of hero and heroine. Both the succeeding parts of the Trilogy could be summarised in this way, and shown to consist of extended episodes, linked by narrative passages — the point being that the novels form a complex design of related, sometimes parallel plot lines: they consist, in fact, of a series of "larger things, linked by small scenes" (as Sienkiewicz said of the structure of *Quo vadis*).¹³⁰ The complexity produces an impression of numerous contiguous lives and actions that is almost three-dimensional.

Needless to say, this complexity presented Sienkiewicz with several problems of a technical nature: the novels were, after all, written on two levels: first for serialisation, then for book publication. The serial versions ran in small daily instalments over extended periods of time, ranging from eighteen months to three years. Sienkiewicz himself was able to keep the whole pattern of the novels before his eyes as he wove them, but he had to ensure that his readers could do the same. He had to sustain interest in the narratives, but it was equally essential that readers could identify and remember the host of characters, incidents and plot lines.¹³¹

Sienkiewicz solved this problem by constructing "a labyrinth of linkages",¹³² — an elaborate, inconspicuous system of anticipations and foreshadowings, retrospects, parallels, deliberate repetitions, variations and contrasts. These devices function together and provide cohesion by enabling the reader to bear in mind what has gone before, and preparing him for what is to come.

Passages of retrospect are frequently cast in the form of dialogue, with one character telling another of past incidents or events: Zagłoba tells Wołodyjowski of the flight with Helena with which OM. II started (OM. II, pp. 198-200): Skrzetuski delivers an account to Prince Wiśniowiecki of the expedition he undertook to the Sicz in OM. I (*ibid.* p. 106): a peasant informs Skrzetuski of the flight of Helena and Zagłoba from Bohun (OM. III, p. 178): the Cossack Zachar tells Zagłoba of bringing Skrzetuski back from the Sicz (*ibid.* pp. 235-236). Kmicic and Wołodyjowski refer back (largely for the reader's benefit) to the murder of Kmicic's companions and the burning of Wołmontowicze which caused Aleksandra to dismiss Kmicic (P. I, p. 149). Wołodyjowski "reminds" Zagłoba that Kmicic loves Aleksandra (*ibid.* pp. 223-224), and later Skrzetuski reminds his companions that he had held Kmicic at sword-point, but spared him (P. II, p. 11). Józwa tells Rzędzian of the incident during which Zagłoba saved Kmicic from summary execution at the Billewicz manor (P. III, p. 60). Rzędzian in turn describes Kmicic's fight with Józwa and his followers to Wołodyjowski and Zagłoba (*ibid.* pp. 73-77). Kmicic repeats to Kordecki the conversation he overheard between Lasota and Wejhard at the inn at Kruszyna (P. III, p. 190). When Kmicic is taken prisoner by the Swedes, Wejhard recalls this meeting yet again (*ibid.*, p. 360). After Kmicic has left Jasna Góra, other characters recount his exploits (*ibid.*, pp. 359-360). Kmicic describes

130) *Kalendarz*, pp. 192-193.

131) The "New Readers Begin Here" formula was not used.

132) Tolstol's "labyrinth scepłenii" (letter of April 23, 1870), from which this phrase is borrowed, does not refer to Sienkiewicz's use of the method.

the course of the siege of Jasna Góra to Jan Kazimierz (P. IV, pp. 20-24). Ketling recalls Kmicic's attempt to kidnap Bogusław Radziwiłł which brought volume II of *Potop* to a close (P. VI, p. 14). Examples in *Pan Wołodyjowski* include characters at the Chreptiów fort recalling (for the benefit of each other and the reader) incidents at Ketling's house near Warsaw, four years earlier (PW. II, p. 83).¹³³ Zagłoba reminds those present that he had earlier likened Azja to a wolf (*ibid.*, p. 102). Zagłoba summarises the course of Basia's flight from Azja, ostensibly for the benefit of his comrades (PW. III, p. 66). All these, and the other passages of retrospect are of course plausible enough in their place in the narrative: it is natural that characters in novels should be made to tell one another things that have happened. But they are also useful in helping the reader bear in mind the whole pattern.

A slight variation in the retrospective passages comes when they are rendered as a character thinking to himself: Skrzetuski recalls his first meeting with Helena and the cuckoo scene (OM. II, pp. 181-182): Zagłoba remembers the incident during which Skrzetuski threw the quarrelsome Czapliński out of Dopula's tavern in Czehryń (OM. I, p. 117), and Prince Wiśniowiecki broods over past events to provide the reader with a summary of what has gone before (OM. II, pp. 183-184). Helena reflects upon her flight from Bohun "a year ago" (OM. IV, p. 11). Kmicic calls Aleksandra to mind (P. I, p. 78), Radziwiłł recalls that Zagłoba was first to brand him a traitor at the Kiejdany banquet (*ibid.*, p. 285), and Bogusław recalls Kmicic's attempt to kidnap him (P. VI, p. 84). When Aleksandra returns to Lubicz towards the end of *Potop* VI she recalls Kmicic's misdeeds and is reminded of them by the bullet-ridden portraits of her ancestors, at which Kmicic and his companions fired in volume I.

There are also a number of cross-references between the individual parts of the Trilogy, when characters see fit to remind each other (and the reader) of characters or incidents in the preceding part. In *Potop*, for instance, Wołodyjowski recalls the death of Podbipięta and Skrzetuski's escape from Zbaraż (P. I, pp. 148-150): he also remembers "old times in Lubnie" (*ibid.* pp. 224-225). On encountering Charłamp, Wołodyjowski recollects their earlier meeting at Lipków (*ibid.* p. 229). Zagłoba boasts of slaying Burlaj at Zbaraż (*ibid.* p. 250), and reminds Wołodyjowski of his flight with Helena from Bohun (P. II, p. 82). Soroka gives an account of the siege of Zbaraż (P. III, p. 246). Princess Gryzelda Wiśniowiecka reappears briefly, to remind Kmicic of her late husband (who had figured in *Ogniem i mieczem*) (P. IV, p. 186). She refers to her late husband on another occasion (P. V, p. 14). Podbipięta's legacy to Anusia before his death at Zbaraż interests Bogusław Radziwiłł (P. VI, p. 220).

In addition to looking back, characters also look forward, preparing the reader for what is to come. The art of preparation is, of course, frequently employed by skilled playwrights, and Sienkiewicz's mastery of the art is evident in the anticipatory hints that accumulate as the narrative proceeds, and which lead to the turning points and climaxes in the plot-lines.

The hints take various forms: sometimes they are auctorial comment, as when Chmielnicki's cannons at Czertomelik "portend war", and Sienkiewicz points out that the cannon-fire "also started an epoch in

133) This passage of retrospect was all the more important since there was a two-month interval between the serialisation of volumes I and II of this part of the Trilogy. See p. 49, above.

the history of the two nations, though neither the drunken inhabitants of the Sicz, nor the Zaporozhian hetman knew this" (OM. I, p. 163). When Wiśniowiecki and his troops learn of the death of King Władysław IV, and Wiśniowiecki proposes to support the candidature of Prince Charles (who has more martial *animus* than Jan Kazimierz), Sienkiewicz reminds us in a brief aside: "The Prince Palatine certainly did not expect that these cheers, resounding in the Trans-Dniepr, amidst the silent forests of Czernihów, would reach as far as Warsaw, and thrust the Great Crown sceptre from his hands" (OM. II, p. 121). Another auctorial comment foreshadows Kmicic's kidnapping of Aleksandra: "Then an incident occurred which again disturbed the peace of Laudany snatched hands from plough-shares and did not let sabres cover with red rust" (P. I, p. 79). After describing the negligence of Sapieha's officers during the siege of Warsaw, we are told "The enemy did not hesitate to take advantage of this", followed in due course by the Swedes' attack (P. V, p. 160).

Sienkiewicz's characters frequently anticipate coming events: Skrzetuski looks forward to his reunion with Anusia and Wołodyjowski (OM. I, p. 36) and his duel with Charłamp (OM. II, pp. 125, 134) but instead of fighting, they are reconciled (*ibid.*, p. 153): Zagłoba anticipates the siege of Zbaraż (OM. IV, p. 31): Wołodyjowski prepares his companions for the appearance of Bogusław Radziwiłł (P. I, pp. 220-221) and the latter enters (*ibid.*, p. 241). Jan Kazimierz declares his will to reveal the true identity of "Babinicz" (Kmicic) at the appropriate time, (P. IV, p. 99), and the revelation occurs in the final scene of the novel.¹³⁴⁾

Prophecies, omens and portents — in which Sienkiewicz's seventeenth-century characters can be expected to believe — are artfully introduced and add to the general air of foreboding which is generated from the first pages of *Ogniem i mieczem*. Chmielnicki predicts to Skrzetuski: "The day of judgement is already coming across the *Dzikie Pola*, and when it does — all the world will wonder" (OM. I, p. 13). Helena warns Skrzetuski that his vow to serve her may bring him misfortune (*ibid.*, p. 46): Zagłoba predicts bloodshed in the Ukraine (OM. II, p. 70). The witch Horpyna foresees the duel between Bohun and Wołodyjowski (OM. III, p. 24). The white bird that circles over Jan Kazimierz as he leaves for Poland is accounted a good omen, (P. IV, p. 45), as are the birds that take refuge in Jasna Góra monastery during the siege (P. III, p. 355).

Occasionally the foreshadowings are enigmatic: when Skrzetuski encounters two naked beggars (OM. I, p. 234), the reader is not informed until p. 55 of the next volume that they were robbed of their attire by Zagłoba during his flight with Helena. Zagłoba takes Wołodyjowski's ring when they are in prison (P. II, p. 4), but it is not until p. 55 that Zagłoba explains he has used the ring to identify himself to Wołodyjowski's troops. Ketling describes Aleksandra's sojourn at Taurogi to Kmicic (P. V, p. 91), and the same events are narrated at greater detail in the next volume. Sienkiewicz draws attention to the sound of the *shadufs* at Chreptiów (PW., II, p. 177), and it is this sound, heard by Basia after her flight from Azja, which assure her (and the reader) that she has reached safety (PW. III, p. 62). In every case — and there are numerous other instances — deft and deliberate auctorial control is indicated.

¹³⁴⁾ The instances quoted here are not intended to be exhaustive.

VII. PASSAGE OF TIME

Yet another aspect of the novelist's art to which Sienkiewicz evidently devoted much thought was conveying the passage of time in a work which, as mentioned above, covers some twenty-five years. Sometimes he solved the problem by plain and economical statement "The year 1647 was a strange year" (OM. I, p. 1), but also partly by utilising the changing rhythms of the seasons as an integral part of his narrative. The Trilogy is firmly set within a temporal context: the landscapes of the *Dzikie Pola*, described with evocative particularity in the opening paragraphs of *Ogniem i mieczem*, reappear as the novel unfolds in all their manifold aspects. The "strangeness" of the year 1647 is emphasised by peculiar climatic manifestations, when the "exceptional winter did not make itself felt at all; the earth softened and showed through the thaw-waters; unripe corn was green in the fields" (*ibid.*, p. 36). Skrzetuski remarks that although it is only "15 *februarii*" the copious rains portending Spring have already turned the steppe into a huge swamp (*ibid.*, pp. 90-91). By chapter VII of this volume, it is mid-March, with the "grasses sprouting exuberantly, the *perekotypole*¹³⁵ flowering", and the air full of "Spring voices, cries, chirruping, whistling... the fluttering of wings, the cheerful hum of insects; the steppe resounded like a lyre" (*ibid.*, p. 106).

On his way to the Sicz, Skrzetuski notices the innumerable cherry-trees in flower along the Dniepr, with their "millions of bumble-bees and butterflies" (*ibid.*, p. 125-126). Then the weather changes, and during Skrzetuski's stay in the Sicz, "terrible red clouds... poured out of the west like dragons and leviathans, and approached each other as if wanting to do battle" (*ibid.*, p. 176).. On May 5, Wiśniowiecki's advance against Chmielnicki is hampered by the "terrible heat" (OM. II, p. 117), when "it was so hot that men and horses lacked air to breathe". The nights became intolerable "on account of the innumerable insects and overpowering odour of resin the trees emitted more copiously than usual, because of the heat" (*ibid.*).

By the first part of June, "the corn had arrived" (*ibid.*, p. 154), while the following September brought "nights as fine and warm as July" (OM. III, p. 44). Indeed, "the entire year had been such that there was scarcely any winter, and everything flowered on the steppe at a time when it was usually covered with deep snow" (*ibid.*). By November, the leaves had fallen, but the "thickets were still so dense that they looked black as a mourning-ribbon, stretching across empty fields to the forests" (*ibid.*, p. 155). The coming winter promises to be "sharper than usual, as the earth hardens, snow lies on the fields, and river-banks are "framed with a transparent glassy shell" (*ibid.*, p. 187). Dusks and dawns are red — "the certain portent of a strong and early winter" (*ibid.*, p. 187).

The arrival of Spring is accompanied by the "whistling and twittering" of nightingales (*ibid.*, p. 249) and by a "garment of grasses and flowers, growing from the bodies of fallen knights and earth thampled by horses' hoofs" (*ibid.*, p. 264). The siege of Zbaraż is heralded by a "terrible

¹³⁵ T.T. Jeż remarked (1884) on this botanical inaccuracy (cf. Tomasz JODŁKO, *op. cit.*, p. 91).

storm" over the town and fortress, and a thunderbolt kills several men, "a bad omen, an obvious sign of God's wrath" (OM. IV, p. 35).

The chronology of *Potop* is more complex, but Sienkiewicz continues to pay the same attention to the passage of time and weather: the first volume establishes date and climatic conditions: "The New Year 1655 had come. January was frosty, but dry: a hard winter covered Samogitia... with a white blanket a yard deep; the forests bowed and broke under heavy snow drifts, the snow dazzled in the sun by day, and by night what seemed sparks danced in the moonlight" (P. I, p. 9). The Spring brings new omens and portents: "thunderbolts struck the still snow-covered earth, the pine woods turned yellow, the branches of trees were contorted into strange, sickly shapes; animals and birds perished of an unknown disease" (*ibid.*, p. 157).

By the time the rebellious Polish gentry gather at Ujście to await the arrival of the Swedes, it is early July, and the weather so "constantly fine and hot", with the sun "beating down into the valleys", that all take refuge in the woods (*ibid.*, p. 173). Kmicic reaches Jasna Góra early that November (P. III, p. 186), and winter sets in with "waves of rain, and the first flakes of early snow" (*ibid.*, p. 208). Kordecki predicts (rightly) that the *akwilony* ('north, or north-west winds')¹³⁶ will hamper the Swedes' siege, while mists veil the site (*ibid.*, pp. 258-259) and the departure of the Swedes is obscured by snow that "covered the entire monastery and church" (*ibid.*, p. 367).

The snow continues as Kmicic reaches Głogów and offers his allegiance to Jan Kazimierz. As the king reaches the Polish frontier on his return from exile in Silesia, rising winds "bore snow-flakes into the valley" (P. IV, p. 53). When Jan Kazimierz takes his vow in Lwów Cathedral on April 1, 1656, the weather is "frosty, bright, with minute flakes of snow flying through the air, glittering like sparks" (*ibid.*, p. 143).¹³⁷

In volume V, Sienkiewicz shifts back in time to December 25, 1655 (the day on which volume III ended with the Swedes abandoning the Jasna Góra siege). He then proceeds to comment on the "strange ways" by which Spring came in 1656, when "in the north of the Republic, the snows had already melted and set the frozen rivers moving, while the whole region flowed with March torrents" (P. V, p. 34).

The passage of time and accompanying climatic changes are significant in *Pan Wołodyjowski*: it is said that the Tartars will invade Poland "with the first grass" and the coming of Spring (PW. I, p. 76). The passage of four years between volumes I and II has already been noticed. Basia's journey with (and flight from) Azja occurs in winter, and the climate hampers her, just as the summer heat hampered Skrzetuski in his escape from the siege of Zbaraż (OM. I, p. 142-143). Night and darkness fall early as Basia proceeds, the landscape grows "blurred", loses definite shape but "at the same time came mysteriously alive" (PW. III, p. 40).

136) Halina KONECZNA, and others, *Słownik języka Jana Chryzostoma Paska I* (Wrocław, 1965), s. v. "akwilony".

137) Adam KERSTEN, *op. cit.*, p. 201 objects to this detail, on the grounds that Sienkiewicz is suggesting the ceremony took place in winter.

The cyclic movement of the seasons, against which the Trilogy is set, continues to proceed, and Spring appears yet again with a "great warm wind" blowing from the *Dzikie Pola* "tearing and pulling at the covering of clouds as though at a decaying garment", while "clouds often drenched the earth with copious rain, its drops the size of berries..." and "the melted remains of snow and ice created lakes on the flat steppe" (PW. III, p. 88). The processes of nature repeat themselves, and Sienkiewicz unobtrusively completes the pattern of fictional time that began with the Spring floods which open *Ogniem i mieczem*.

The passage of time in fiction is not exclusively a matter of inserting appropriate descriptive passages — useful though these are as structural elements. Moreover, Sienkiewicz was greatly assisted in conveying the passage of time by the historical events into which he wove his fiction. But it is also necessary to distinguish in fiction between *Erzählzeit* and *erzählte Zeit*¹³⁸ (or "the interplay of the time of the original event, and the time allotted to it in the novel").¹³⁹

Chapter Three

I. NARRATION

Although "myth" and "romance" were suggested in the previous chapter as being a possible reason for the popularity of Sienkiewicz's Trilogy, there are other reasons which can be better substantiated. One is Sienkiewicz's skill in narrative.¹⁴⁰ But before proceeding with any investigation of this skill, a brief survey is called for of the interrelations existing in the 1880's between Sienkiewicz's historical fiction and another kind of narrative — that of historiography proper.

II. THE "ROMANTIC" HISTORIANS

In 1881, Sienkiewicz published a favourable review of the *Szkice historyczne* by Ludwik Kubala.¹⁴¹ Kubala was a representative of the "Romantic" school of Polish historians. This school was in turn the

138) GÜNTER MÜLLER, *Die Bedeutung der Zeit in der Erzählkunst* (Bonn, 1947), *passim*.

139) Margaret CHURCH, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

140) Portions of this chapter were published in the *Slavonic and East European Review* XLIII (no. 101) (June, 1965), pp. 371-383.

141) Sienkiewicz's indebtedness to and interest in the work of Kubala and other historians is examined in Adam KERSTEN, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

counterpart of the "Romantic" historians who emerged in Europe and the United States early in the nineteenth century.¹⁴²⁾ These historians were often "brilliant writers, for whom history was a literary art".¹⁴³⁾ The first Polish historian in whose writings the literary aspect predominates was Karol Szajnocha (1818-1868). In his monographs, studies and essays "the artist often overwhelmed the scholar", and his "individual vision of the past, and its artistic evocation"¹⁴⁴⁾ became as important as marshalling his facts and appraising evidence.

To be sure, a literary approach to the writing of history was not a new manifestation. Among the historians of classical antiquity, Tacitus demonstrated a strong instinct for dramatic "vividness of presentation".¹⁴⁵⁾ He has also been called "l'autore vario per eccellenza".¹⁴⁶⁾ However, in the early nineteenth century, specific literary influences made themselves felt.¹⁴⁷⁾ A well-known example of a historian deliberately setting out to challenge fiction is provided by Macaulay's historical essays of the 1840's, and his *History of England* (1848-1855). Indeed, he claimed he would not be satisfied until he had written something "that shall for a few days supersede the latest fashionable novel on the tables of young ladies".¹⁴⁸⁾ Macaulay's success in making "currency reform, Scotch Presbyterianism, a heap of Parliamentary papers not only interesting, but very interesting"¹⁴⁹⁾ was largely due to his prose style, with its "brilliant narrative power" and "easy command of multiple, vivid detail".¹⁵⁰⁾

Szajnocha was the "most readable Polish historian"¹⁵¹⁾ of his day, and his biographer remarks with evident satisfaction that Szajnocha's historical writings are "related in more than one respect" to those of Macaulay.¹⁵²⁾ Like his English counterpart, Szajnocha gained this reputation partly as a result of prose style and "varied means of presentation".¹⁵³⁾ So Szajnocha's prose would have passed Saintsbury's

142) David LEVIN, *History as Romantic Art* (Stanford, 1959) surveys the period. See also H.G. SCHENK, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-45.

143) Wacław LEDNICKI, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

144) *Ibid.*, p. 34.

145) J.A.K. THOMSON, *Classical Influences on English Prose* (London, 1956), p. 42.

146) Armando SALVATORE, *Stile e ritmo in Tacito* (Naples, 1956), p. 170. Sienkiewicz's admiration for Tacitus is attested (*Dziela LV*, pp. 175, 286).

147) Louis MAIGRON, *Le roman historique à l'époque romantique* (Paris, 1912), *passim*. See also Wacław KUBACKI, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-26 (on de Barante, Thierry and others).

148) G. Otto TREVELYAN, *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay I* (New York, 1878), p. 96.

149) Walter BAGEHOT, *Literary Studies II* (London, 1927), p. 218. First published 1856.

150) Hugh TREVOR-ROPER *Introduction to Critical and Historical Essays of Lord Macaulay* (New York, 1965), p. 18.

151) Henryk BARYCZ, *Wśród gawędziarzy, pamiętnikarzy i uczonych galicyjskich II* (Cracow, 1963), p. 52.

152) Karol SZAJNOCHA, *Dziela X* (Warsaw, 1877), p. 241.

153) Henryk BARYCZ, *op. cit.* p. 80.

"old, simple test" of prose — that it possessed "variety".¹⁵⁴⁾ Significantly, Szajnocha's early works included plays, suggesting an interest in matters of literary technique.¹⁵⁵⁾

Szajnocha's manner of proceeding in narrative was a novelty in Polish historiography, just as Macaulay's was in English.¹⁵⁶⁾ A characteristic work is his *Jadwiga i Jagiełło* (1855-1856, revised edition 1861). Here he uses several items of the technique of fiction: the work is sub-titled "a historical narrative" (*opowiadanie historyczne*), and Szajnocha refers to it in the text itself as "our tale", a conventional flourish much used by nineteenth-century novelist (including Sienkiewicz). The scholarly apparatus of footnotes and sources is relegated to the end of volumes, and is printed in minute type. This is a minor point of only technical interest, but it indicates that emphasis is being given to the narrative part of the work, whereas (for example) the 1859 edition of Niemcewicz's *Dzieje narodu polskiego* (Cracow) reduces the narrative to a few lines per page almost submerged by the footnotes.

Jadwiga i Jagiełło demonstrates that Szajnocha had at his command a range of technical devices for ensuring that the narrative would hold a reader's attention. His portraits place the work within the framework of Romantic historiography, where subjects were often conceived pictorially.¹⁵⁷⁾ He renders passages in dialogue, and uses the present tense from time to time (as novelists did) to heighten the dramatic intensity of a scene. He addresses rhetorical questions to the reader — another device familiar in fiction of the period — in order to arouse curiosity, elicit interest, or draw attention to a point the reader might overlook.

Like the other Romantic historians, Szajnocha was skilled in the conveying of atmosphere.¹⁵⁸⁾ He offers all kinds of curious details and information to this end.¹⁵⁹⁾ Striking incidents are rendered dramatically so that they will produce maximum effect on the reader's imagination.¹⁶⁰⁾ The narrative is crammed with things: attire, food and drink, furniture, boats, vehicles.¹⁶¹⁾

Szajnocha uses imagery to contribute to his dramatic effects: the Teutonic nights are a "hundred-headed incubus", gold flows "in an uninterrupted stream, into a clerical ocean". Szajnocha reminds his readers that "before the horizon brightens in the course of our tale, we

154) George SAINTSBURY, *A History of English Prose Rhythm* (Bloomington, 1965), p. 375. First published in 1912.

155) Wiktor HAHN, "Karol Szajnocha jako autor dramatyczny", *Rocznik Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich* III (1948), pp. 471-528. Kubała and Szujski also wrote plays (Hahn, p. 471).

156) To be sure, Macaulay's prose style has not worn well, as witness Lytton STRACHEY's comments: "The repetitions, the antitheses, resemble revolving cog-wheels; and indeed the total result produces an effect which suggests the operations of a machine more than anything else..." (*Literary Essays*, New York, 1969, p. 198. First printed 1928).

157) David LEVIN, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

158) Arnaldo MOMIGLIANO, *Studies in Historiography* (London, 1966), p. 52.

159) e.g. origins of place-names, the use of coats of arms, the wearing of face-powder and rouge by knights.

160) e.g. the brawl between Poles and Hungarians in Cracow.

161) See, for example SZAJNOCHA, *op. cit.* I, pp. 10, 197, 215, 279, 303 etc.

must gaze upon this misty dawn of an unexpectedly bright morning".¹⁶²⁾ Other anticipatory hints like the last quotation appear frequently, and are often placed at strategically important points in the narrative (e.g. chapter endings).

Although Szajnocha's vision of the past, as he gave expression to it in his writings, surely appealed to Sienkiewicz's imagination, he was not entirely uncritical of Szajnocha's narrative technique. For all the picturesque qualities of Szajnocha's writings, Sienkiewicz remarked they were "lacking in energy" and that the "pace" of his narratives was "unusually slow".¹⁶³⁾ Sienkiewicz demonstrated particular care regarding the "pace" of the narrative in his own fiction,¹⁶⁴⁾ and it is characteristic that he should have made this comment on technique.

Investigations have been made elsewhere into the ideological influence of the Cracow and Warsaw schools of historians upon the Trilogy.¹⁶⁵⁾ Probably all that can be said in this connection is that the Trilogy bears witness to affinities of temperament and vision between Sienkiewicz and the "Romantic" historians of his period. But he, after all, was writing fiction, and they were writing history.

III. SIENKIEWICZ AND MATEJKO

It has been said that "in an ugly and sensible age, the arts do not imitate Nature, they imitate one another".¹⁶⁶⁾ Furthermore, categories of art can be shown to have developed varying degrees of dependence on other categories.¹⁶⁷⁾ So, in addition to the affinities between the writing of historical novels and the writing of historiography, it is possible to discern affinities between the writing of historical fiction and the practice of academic painting, which meant the representation of a historical scene on a grand scale, preferably telling a story of some kind. Characteristic examples of this style are the paintings of Eugène Delacroix ("Conquest of Constantinople by the Turks"), who is also known to have derived inspiration for similar large-scale canvases from Scott's *Ivanhoe*.¹⁶⁸⁾

Sienkiewicz's admiration for the genre is attested: he admired Józef

162) *Ibid.*, I, pp. 80, 171, 224.

163) *Dziela* LVI, p. 293 (letter of 1898).

164) Discussed below.

165) Adam KERSTEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-231 especially. See also Zygmunt SZWEYKOWSKI, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-20.

166) Ian FLETCHER, *Introduction to Romantic Mythologies* (London, 1967), p. XII.

167) Levin L. SCHÜCKING, *The Sociology of Literary Taste* (London, 1966), pp. 66-67. Schücking notes that in the eighteenth century "the older landscape painting exercised for a time a considerable influence over nature-writing", and that there was "a thorough-going impregnation of the fine arts with the spirit of literature" in the Romantic period.

168) H.G. SCHENK, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

Brandt's painting "Lisowczycy", which he saw in 1880.¹⁶⁹⁾ Another, even more characteristic painter of large-scale historical subjects was Jan Matejko (1838-1893), and their contemporaries were quick to discern similarities of various kinds between the Trilogy and Matejko's canvases on historical subjects.¹⁷⁰⁾ In 1884, Jeż praised the scene in *Ogniem i mieczem* in which Chmielnicki receives the Polish commissars by declaring it "is worthy of the brush of the finest painter, even Matejko himself".¹⁷¹⁾ That same year, the novelist Kaczkowski pointed out a "certain resemblance in technical means", by which both artists created their picture.¹⁷²⁾ In *Ogniem i mieczem*, as in Matejko's historical canvases, Kaczkowski found the "same glare, the same piercing colours, the same crowds of people massed together", and the "same clarity of outline".¹⁷³⁾ In 1887, the novelist-to-be Żeromski (born 1864) noted in his diary after reading *Potop* that "Matejko and Sienkiewicz are men of the same measure", adding that Matejko's "Bitwa Grunwaldzka" "appeared at first sight to be a great carpet... a mass of human bodies, horses, arms and legs, sabres, spears".¹⁷⁴⁾ This is indeed the impression given by most of Matejko's historical canvases, in which great numbers of figures are depicted, surrounded by closely-packed detail of a kind equalled by Sienkiewicz's "solidity of specification".¹⁷⁵⁾ In "Stefan Batory pod Pskowem" (1871), for instance, the protagonists are shown in a scene that is crammed with armour, weapons, embroidered robes, plumed hats, furs, gold chains, crucifixes, banners and panoplies.

Another technical affinity between Sienkiewicz and Matejko in their treatment of historical subjects was a partiality for magnitude of composition: the Trilogy is one of the longest serial novels (seventeen volumes) published in nineteenth-century Europe, though this was an age of copious authors and long novels. Matejko's liking for size is evidenced by his "Hold pruski", which covers nearly twenty square yards of canvas.

More important, however, than affinities of this sort is the fact that both novelist and artist were innovators in their own fields. Before Matejko turned to the composition of historical paintings, the genre

169) *Dziela* LII, p. 24. Adam KERSTEN, *op. cit.*, p. 107 suggests that Kmicic and his band (*Potop*) are a reminiscence of this work. The "Lisowczyki" (sic) were an armed band of cavalry which took part in the Muscovite wars of the early seventeenth century, cf. Zygmunt Gloger, *Encyklopedia staropolska* III (Warsaw, 1902), pp. 145-146. Józef Brandt (1841-1915) painted a number of scenes from the Cossack, Tartar and Swedish wars and is said to have exerted a "strong influence" on the writing of the Trilogy (cf. *Wielka encyklopedia powszechna* II, Warsaw, 1963, p. 113).

170) Matejko's works include large-scale compositions such as "Karol Gustaw i Starowolski" (1858), "Jan Kazimierz na Bielanach" (1861) (showing Warsaw on fire in the background), "Hold pruski" (1881) and "Kordecki" (1884). Paintings that follow the appearance of *Ogniem i mieczem* include "Chmielnicki i Tuhań-bej pod Lwowem" (1885) and "Przysięga Chmielnickiego" (1886), suggesting that "influence" on choice of topics worked in both directions — painter to novelist, and vice-versa.

171) Reprinted by Tomasz JODELKO, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

172) JODELKO, *op. cit.* p. 118.

173) *Ibid.*, p. 118.

174) Stefan ŻEROMSKI, *Dzienniki* II (Warsaw, 1954), p. 440.

175) See below.

(in Poland as elsewhere) had been "filled to the brim with convention", and artists who practised it "displayed regal characters in heroic attitudes", against a background of "academic classicism".¹⁷⁶⁾ An artist who produced this sort of work was the young Artur Grottger: his "Spotkanie króla Jana III z cesarzem Leopoldem I pod Schwechatem" (1859), though stiff and theatrical gained him a diploma because it corresponded to the demands of academic judges.¹⁷⁷⁾

Matejko, however, succeeded in endowing his historical scenes with the appearance of life, and in rendering his characters through action, as novelists do. His "Rejtan" is effective in this respect: he presents Rejtan baring his bosom, Poniński pointing with contempt, Branicki covering his face with shame. Each is caught in a pose that expresses his character. Witkiewicz said that Matejko's figures in the historical paintings "thunder out their feelings and passions, in motion to the last fibre of their bodies".¹⁷⁸⁾

Sienkiewicz also presents characters expressing themselves with movement and gesture: when Radziejowski is trying to persuade his fellow-countrymen at Ujście to pledge allegiance to the King of Sweden: "Suddenly the door opened with a crash, and Władysław Skoraszewski rushed forth. Those present drew back in horror. This man, usually so tranquil and calm... now looked frightful. His eyes were red, gaze stunned, attire undone at the chest: he clutched his hair with both hands, and having fallen like a thunderbolt amidst the gentry, shouted in a terrible voice: "Treachery! Murder! Shame!..."".¹⁷⁹⁾

When the colonels and Stankiewicz urge Janusz Radziwiłł from entering into a pact with the Swedes, Radziwiłł "raised his powerful head, and flashes of rage began crossing his brow: suddenly he burst out... struck his massive chest with one hand, and surveyed the soldiers with a flashing gaze" (P. I, p. 248). Jan Kazimierz reveals his piety and patriotism when he dismounts on arrival at the Polish frontier, to "throw himself on his knees, raising his eyes and arms" (P. IV, p. 53)

Set-pieces in which Sienkiewicz surrounds his characters with splendour and pomp reminiscent of Matejko's paintings include the scene when Jan Kazimierz receives Lubomirski and surveys the latter's hussars who pass wearing "breastplates of bright steel, studded with brass, pectorals bearing Our Lady of Częstochowa, circular helmets with iron ear-plates, crested, with vulture and eagle feathers on their arms, tiger and leopard skins around their shoulders" (P. IV, pp. 78-79). When Chmielnicki receives the Polish commissars he is seated "under a banner, on an elevation, attired in cloth of gold and red sable... his feet on a velvet cushion, having a golden fringe" (OM. III, p. 213). Other scenes of this kind include Jan Kazimierz taking his vow in Lwów Cathedral (P. IV, p. 144), the banquet attended by Sapieha and Czarniecki (P. V, p. 98), Sapieha's troops parading near Warsaw (*ibid.*, pp. 154-155), Jan Kazimierz arriving in Warsaw (*ibid.*, pp. 174-175) and receiving the surrender of the Swedes (*ibid.*, p. 211). As in the Matejko paintings,

176) Stanisław WITKIEWICZ, *Matejko* (2nd ed.) (Lwów, 1912) p. 76.

177) Jadwiga PUCIATA-PAWLOWSKA, *Artur Grottger* (Toruń, 1962), p. 27.

178) Stanisław WITKIEWICZ, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

179) See Appendix II, N. 5.

Sienkiewicz's set-pieces often centre upon a historical person or persons.

Sienkiewicz and Matejko evidently held somewhat similar views (widespread in the post-1863 period) regarding the function of art: novels, like paintings, should serve patriotic and social purposes. Each believed it was his duty to "make Poland's past eternally present for their countrymen".¹⁸⁰⁾ Each had a creative attitude towards the past. But it is not possible to estimate precisely the effect produced upon Sienkiewicz's imaginative processes by the work of contemporaries in other fields. The most that can be said in this respect is that, had it not been for them, Sienkiewicz's historical novels would not have been what they are.¹⁸¹⁾

IV. TECHNICAL SKILLS

In the Trilogy — and indeed in all Sienkiewicz's novels from *Na marnie* (1872) onwards — the manner in which his material is presented is as important as the material itself. To be sure, the reader is rarely conscious of the manner in which Sienkiewicz is constantly manipulating his narrative by means of certain novelistic devices, the primary function of which was to heighten the "illusion of life", so diligently sought by nineteenth-century novelists.

Sienkiewicz possessed a remarkable faculty for attracting and engaging the reader's attention from the first paragraph or two of all his novels. Even in *Na marnie* Sienkiewicz immediately establishes his hero and promises a story: there is no hesitation, no discernable "beginning" in which the author hovers, apparently uncertain where to begin, around his material. He proceeds in a like manner at the start of *Ogniem i mieczem*: the first paragraphs give a comprehensive introduction to the narrative which does not reveal too much, but which at the same time avoids the retrospective background heavily loaded with information, often favoured by earlier writers whose duty it was (they evidently felt) to "tell" instead of "showing".¹⁸²⁾ But Sienkiewicz "shows" the wild landscape¹⁸³⁾ in which the narrative begins, then proceeds rapidly to action. But on closer inspection, the narrative is by no means as simple and straightforward as it appears. In the first place, who is the narrator? It cannot be Sienkiewicz himself, because the narrator speaks of the "various signs in the sky and on earth", which "portended some kinds of disaster and extraordinary events" (OM. I, p. 1). Clearly, this is some other narrator, well defined as the naive narrator.¹⁸⁴⁾ This individual

180) Juliusz KLEINER, *Sztuchy* (Warsaw, 1933), p. 158.

181) Julian KRZYŻANOWSKI, *Nauka o literaturze (op. cit.)* p. 70 warns against drawing false analogies between various kinds of art.

182) Cf., for instance, the twelve page description of Jasna Góra with which Kraszewski opens *Kordecki*, or the copious historical details with which T.T. Jeż opens *Uskoki* (1870).

183) The imagery in these passages, and its functions, are considered below.

184) Tadeusz BUJNICKI, "Sztuka narracyjna "Trylogii" *Ruch literacki* VII (no. 3) (1966) calls this narrator "the naive representative of the collective" (p. 111).

makes his presence felt at intervals throughout the Trilogy, and he can be recognised in a number of ways: he makes use of seventeenth-century vocabulary and syntax *in the narrative*.¹⁸⁵⁾ he introduces expressions which may best be described as "choric comment"¹⁸⁶⁾ such as "Ah! to this weary handful of defenders, to this handful of faithful and humble servants was owed better news and some kind of consolation...!" (P. III, p. 298) or remarks like "O wonder!" (*O cudo!* PW. III, p. 79), "wonder... upon wonders!" (*dziw... nad dziwy!* P. III, p. 109), "Alas!" (*Niestety!* P. IV, p. 83), or "strange thing!" (*dziwna rzecz!* PW. III, p. 21). To this voice of the naive narrator may be attributed the stock epithets which recur so frequently throughout the Trilogy.¹⁸⁷⁾ Perhaps, too, he is responsible for the diminutives which accompany the descriptions of certain female characters.¹⁸⁸⁾

In the main, however, the narrative parts of the Trilogy are conducted by that familiar figure in novels — the "impersonal" and "omniscient" author.¹⁸⁹⁾ Sienkiewicz's adoption of this convention shows he never hesitated to employ traditional methods of proceeding in fiction, providing the methods served his purpose, and were economical. In any case, the "omniscient" narrator/author convention is one that requires considerable skill and electivity if it is to succeed — despite latter-day comments on the "facile prerogatives" supposed to be associated with it.¹⁹⁰⁾

But in the first chapter of *Ogniem i mieczem*, the omniscient author soon changes into "the most important unacknowledged narrator in modern fiction", — one of the "third-person 'centres of consciousness' through whom authors have filtered their narratives".¹⁹¹⁾ This process has also been defined as "the shift of the point of view from the omniscient author to one or more (but one at a time) of his characters within the third-person narrative."¹⁹²⁾ For now Sienkiewicz does precisely this, and the narrator enters into the awareness of a solitary figure who has remained visible. This third-person centre is Skrzetuski, who will be the novel's central figure throughout (the "hero"): but Sienkiewicz does not describe or name him. He is still only one of the

185) Sienkiewicz's use of archaisms for stylistic effect is considered below.

186) Randolph QUIRK *Charles Dickens and Appropriate Language* (Durham, 1959), p. 26.

187) This narrative voice is especially fond of *straszny* and *okrutny* (in its archaic sense), also of their adverbial equivalents. Wołodyjowski is described as *mały* on dozens of occasions, e.g. PW. III, pp. 62, 63, 64, 69 (twice), 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 78 (three times).

188) E.g. Anusia's *oczki* and *nóżki* (OM. I, pp. 86-87). Basia Wołodyjowska is described on various occasions as having *oczki*, *twarzączka*, *maluchna twarzączka*, *chrapki*, *nóżki*, *główka*, *ramionki*, *rączuchny*, *nożyny*, *głosik*, *zębki*. Cf. Thackeray's manner of describing Amelia (*Vanity Fair*) as "this little heart," "little bride", "our poor little creature", "her sweet pretty little foot" etc.

189) Tadeusz BUJNICKI, *op. cit.*, (p. 110) speaks of the narrator of the Trilogy as "impersonal (*bezosobowy*)".

190) See Victor BROMBERG, *The Novels of Flaubert* (Princeton, N.J., 1966), p. 42.

191) Wayne C. BOOTH, *The Rhetoric of Fiction* (Chicago, 1961), p. 153.

192) Martin STEINMANN Jr., "The Old Novel and the New" in Robert C. RATHBURN and Martin STEINMANN, Jr., eds., *op. cit.* p. 298.

"nocturnal beings" which appeared momentarily, then disappeared into the darkness.

Skrzetuski approaches the summit of a hillock, where he "began staring intently into the steppe. At this moment, the wind ceased howling, the rustling stopped, and there was complete silence" (p. 4). Then the figure "suddenly heard a terrible shrill whistling" and saw "red lights rend the darkness". The brief remark that follows ("One of the usual scenes in the *Dzikie Pola* was taking place") is perhaps the voice of the "naive narrator", or perhaps that of the watching figure.

When a fire-brand is lit, a dozen men become "clearly visible" crouching over a motionless figure on the ground. Not until they are illuminated by the fire-brand are they revealed to be "soldiers in red royal colours, wearing wolf-skin caps". A brief passage of dialogue ensues between Skrzetuski (still not named or described) and these men. This dialogue informs the reader by implication that Skrzetuski is the commanding officer (*namiestnik*) of the men. Only when Skrzetuski stretches out by the camp-fire does Sienkiewicz provide a brief picture (five lines) of him. The camp-fire throws a "huge, red circle of fire" into the darkness of the steppe, and by this light the reader (and Skrzetuski) can discern the recumbent figure who casts his "blood-shot eyes around the strangers, examining their faces" (p. 7). Not until page 9 do the two central protagonists of the incident introduce themselves by name to one another as "Zenobi Abdank" and "Jan Skrzetuski". They also identify themselves fully.¹⁹³⁾

Despite the rapidity with which this incident is narrated, Sienkiewicz takes every opportunity to establish his two protagonists: Skrzetuski, for instance, has a "powerful, commanding voice" and manner, boasts of his "knightly honour" (*fantazja kawalerska*), but is not unsusceptible to the "cunning" flattery of Abdank.

A new item of novelistic technique now appears: "Abdank's" explanation of why he was travelling across the steppe by night instead of by the river route "seemed highly suspect" to Skrzetuski, and Sienkiewicz heightens this feeling by "representing" Skrzetuski's private thoughts: it is technically significant that these thoughts are not "set off" by the usual stage directions "he thought" or "he thought that": "If the Lord Hetman had sent *imci*¹⁹⁴⁾ Abdank to Kudak, he would surely (*przecie*) have given him a guard of Cossack regulars (*rejestrówi*) and secondly, for what reason (*z jakiejże by racji*) would he order him to travel by steppe?" (p. 12). That Sienkiewicz is "representing" the thoughts of Skrzetuski is signalled by the vocabulary and phraseology used (italicised here).¹⁹⁵⁾

The last technical stratagem Sienkiewicz uses in this brief chapter (14 pages) comes when "Abdank" (who has revealed his true identity — Chmielnicki) moves off with his followers. Skrzetuski "sees" and

193) Sienkiewicz is always careful to give his characters their appropriate title, as was Pasek (*op cit.*) or the Maskiewicz brothers (see *Pamiętniki Samuela i Bogusława Kazimierza Maskiewiczów*), edited with Introduction by Alojzy Sajkowski (Wrocław, 1961).

194) A courtesy title of address used between gentry. See below for Sienkiewicz's wide range of these titles.

195) "Represented discourse" as a stylistic device is investigated in more detail below

"hears" them departing, and by remaining with him, Sienkiewicz is indicating that he, not Chmielnicki, will be the main concern of the narrative as it proceeds.

Any incident or scene in the Trilogy could be analysed in this manner, and such analysis would demonstrate that Sienkiewicz consistently uses a number of technical novelistic devices to ensure that the narrative produces the maximum effect on the reader — who is not, however, called upon to recognise or even identify them. Everything appears to be unfolding as it might have done in reality. But even in this first brief incident, everything is rendered and presented through the inconspicuous shifts in the point of view, the three narrative voices each plays its part, passages are presented through the filter of a third-person, who "sees" and "hears" what is happening.

It is not suggested that Sienkiewicz deliberately decided to render this or that passage through this or that stylistic device. But he had been practising fiction for over a decade, and by this time had undoubtedly acquired the (almost) unconscious powers of a highly skilled craftsman, intent all the time on ensuring that his narrative make its utmost effect. In addition, the use of these devices in the narrative suggests he was continually preoccupied with avoiding that "monotony of style" to which he had devoted attention in his early theorising on the art of fiction, and was aiming at variety of more than one kind, essential in a work as long as the Trilogy, if a monotonous effect is to be avoided.

V. PACE AND PROPORTION

In a narrative control of what is here called "pace" (for want of a better word) depends on the maintenance of a certain proportion between dialogue, descriptive passages, auctorial analysis and comment, summary and stage direction used to introduce dialogue. Needless to say, this proportion cannot be measured in terms of numbers of words or lines, nor is it possible to declare what the proportion should be. Some novelists depend almost entirely on dialogue (the late Miss Compton-Burnett), others on analysis (Henry James), yet others use a relatively high proportion of description (Orzeszkowa's *Nad Niemnem*). The proportion depends to a large extent on the writer's temperament and intentions.

Sienkiewicz's concern with proportion is apparent in the way he revised the start of *Potop* I, chapter four. The original and the two revisions have been published by Professor Krzyżanowski,¹⁹⁶ and the original consisted of auctorial analysis and comment only:

During the next few days, Andrzej visited Wodokty daily — and returned more in love each day. First, her innocence and integrity of spirit attracted the fierce soldier's heart, then he began admiring her good sense...

196) Julian KRZYŻANOWSKI, "Autograf *Potopu* Henryka Sienkiewicza", *Rocznik Zakładu im. Ossolińskich* III (1948), pp. 121-136. See Apeendix II, N. 6.

At this point, Sienkiewicz cancelled the passage and began again, as follows:

During the next few days, Andrzej visited Wodokty and returned home every day still more deeply in love — and every day he admired Oleńka more deeply. He praised her to the skies to his companions, and when they leaped up to go and pay their respects, he replied: "She will silence your disputations not only by her unusual charm, but by her virtue and sense too. I never yet came across such a regal mind in a woman — she praises what is good, nor is she ever mistaken, for she judges everything by virtue. You would dearly like to flaunt your knightly caprices before her, and flatter yourselves that because you killed a man or put the public laws to naught — you think so? She would say that what is against the law is against the Republic..."

Already Sienkiewicz is at work changing his method: his comment on Oleńka's character becomes direct speech, and is uttered by Kmicic (Andrzej). In the final version Sienkiewicz presents the matter as a blend of summary, with dialogue, description and movement:

For the next few days, Andrzej was at Wodokty daily, and returned home daily more in love, more admiring of Oleńka. He praised her to the skies to his companions, and one day said to them: "My dear innocents, today you are to go humble yourselves, for I have arranged with the young lady that we are all to set off for Mitruny, there to take a sleigh-ride in the forest and inspect that third property"...

The cavaliers gladly hastened to attire themselves, and soon four pairs of sleighs were driving the eager young men to Wodokty. Kmicic sat in the first, which was very ornate, shaped like a silver bear. It was drawn by three Kalmuk ponies...¹⁹⁷⁾

After ten more lines describing the appearance of Kmicic, a dialogue between Kmicic and his companion prepares for the scene in which Oleńka (Aleksandra) puts them all out of countenance. The entire passage serves other purposes too: details of characterisation are furnished, with comment, and the addition of small but telling detail (the "ornate" sleigh, the "Kalmuk" ponies).

Another example of the way in which Sienkiewicz enlarged and varied his narratives¹⁹⁸⁾ is provided by the new ending written for book publication of *Ogniem i mieczem*. In the serial version, Skrzetuski's reunion with Zagłoba and other characters at the close of the novel is rendered exclusively by the narrator in reported speech. In the revised version, however this is altered to include passages of dialogue, description and comment.¹⁹⁹⁾

Both these examples show Sienkiewicz deliberately introducing technical variety into his fiction by the exercise of auctorial control. Another example of this control is provided by the careful placing of the siege of Jasna Góra at the very heart of *Potop*, and thereby at the heart of the entire Trilogy. Sienkiewicz declared that the siege of Jasna Góra

197) See Appendix II, N. 7.

198) "Narrative" here subsumes "dialogue". Lack of and/or ambiguity in critical terminology renders this unavoidable.

199) The serial version is reprinted in *Dziela X*, p. 204-209 (i.e. OM., IV).

was the "peak and turning point of a historical tragedy",²⁰⁰⁾ and marks this: Kmicic first catches sight of the monastery on p. 184 (volume III), which is exactly half-way through the volume (it ends on p. 368 with the Swedish retreat). This symmetry can hardly be mere coincidence. The organisation of works of historical fiction around a central turning point also occurs in *War and Peace* (the battle of Borodino) and in several of Sir Walter Scott's novels (e.g. *The Heart of Midlothian*). Dickens often made his tenth part, or instalment (out of nineteen parts, the last being a 'double' part) the turning point in the fate of his characters.

VI. DRAMATISATION

All Sienkiewicz's fiction indicates a marked preference for "showing" rather than telling". This means that his narratives tend to be presented largely in the form of scenes in the process of being worked out by the protagonist. He shows what is happening instead of reporting what happened. To be sure, he uses the past tense (with an occasional passage rendered in the historic present tense), but the past tense in fiction is no more than a convention which novel readers are accustomed to, and the effect is that of present time.

He achieves this effect by dramatising scenes in various ways. One of the most effective ways is of concentrating on and focussing a scene through the consciousness of a character taking part in it. The reader then tends to identify with the character, and even to obtain the impression of "dramatic presence" at the scene. The impression can be heightened if the novelist deliberately expands the scene for as long as possible, following the single consciousness all the time. Sienkiewicz's preference for structuring his novels on the basis of extended sections has already been noticed, and there can be little doubt that the use of these extended sections, focussing exclusively on one character through whose awareness the action is often presented, adds much to the dramatic effect of the Trilogy.²⁰¹⁾ Not that Sienkiewicz was the only nineteenth-century novelist to employ this technical device, as witness the extended scenes presented in this manner by such writers as Dostoevskii, Dickens and George Eliot.

Stage-directions play an important part in drama proper, and the Trilogy is full of these: almost any page will furnish examples of the order of "Zagłoba muttered quietly" (P. II, p. 5) and the like. On the other hand, stage-directions of the "he said" type are omitted in plays, and Sienkiewicz frequently omits them in his novels. He possessed a special aptitude for rapid interchanges of dialogue like the following,

200) *Dziela* V, p. 62. This essay was first published in 1903, but there is no reason to suppose that Sienkiewicz's views were any different when composing *Potop*.

201) In this connection it may be recalled that Sienkiewicz had some success as a playwright early in his career (cf. *Kalendarz*, p. 89), and that several of his novels were dramatised by other hands (cf. *Dziela* LVIII, pp. 134, 171, 215).

which occurs at one of the crucial moments during the siege of Zbaraż:

Wołodyjowski squatted right by Skrzetuski and whispered into his ear:

"They're surely coming".

"In step".

"Not rabble, nor Tartars".

"Zaporozhian infantry".

"Or janissaries: they are marching well. One could cut down more from horseback".

"Too dark for cavalry".

"Do you hear now?"

"St! Sh!" (OM. IV, p. 104).²⁰²⁾

Sienkiewicz's fondness for animating scenes by showing characters as they strike attitudes or make gestures of various kinds was remarked upon in connection with Matejko's paintings: other examples (which differ, albeit slightly, from the stage-direction type introducing speech) include: "Kmicic shuddered at the sound of that voice" (P. III, p. 329), "the Hetman's lips began trembling with rage" (P. II, p. 111), "impatience was reflected in the face of Prince Bogusław" (*ibid.*, p. 199) etc.²⁰³⁾ Sometimes a characteristic gesture is repeated, e.g. Wołodyjowski's habit of twitching his whiskers at moments of excitement,²⁰⁴⁾ or Zagłoba's habit of setting his arms akimbo, wheezing and winking.²⁰⁵⁾

The frequency with which Sienkiewicz's characters gesticulate, strike attitudes or grimace suggests that he possessed a powerful "visual" type of imagination, primarily concerned with externals — and, consequently, was less concerned with the "inner life" of his characters. In this respect, Sienkiewicz differs from his contemporary Prus, whose fiction is more concerned with psychological motivations and states of feeling.

Yet another technical matter that makes for dramatic effect is what may be called "foreshortening" in time. Sienkiewicz demonstrates an inconspicuous mastery of this device, compressing (for instance) three days into a paragraph, then expanding a brief military action over six pages, then foreshortening four days and nights into a line.²⁰⁶⁾

202) See Appendix II, N. 8. Other examples: OM. I, pp. 24, 26, 87, 88 etc. Similar passages abound throughout the Trilogy.

203) Examples occur on almost every page of the Trilogy.

204) OM. II, pp. 116, 148, 250, 270: OM. III, pp. 63, 121, 157: OM. IV, pp. 5, 140: P. I, pp. 124 (twice), 127, 133, 135, 154: P. III, pp. 87, 93, 100, 112 (twice), 164, 186, 188: P. V, pp. 54, 73, 100, 115 (twice), 171, 196: P. VI, pp. 142, 143, 144, 153, 170: PW. I, pp. 4) (twice), 44, 45, 87, 93, 95, 100 etc.

205) OM. III, p. 124: OM. IV, p. 4: P. I, pp. 194, 206, P. III, pp. 31, 90, 94, 108: P. V, pp. 28, 67, 94: P. VI, pp. 18, 60, 69: PW. I, pp. 22, 23, 41, 44, 45, 148, 167 etc.

206) OM. IV, p. 90. Another example is OM. III, p. 115, where a week passes between chapters. As Margaret Church says (*op. cit.*, p. 20) "the most varied effects may be produced" by the "interplay of the time of the original event and the time allotted to it in the novel". "But to explore fully these relationships" (Miss Church adds) "would require another book".

VII. REPRESENTED DISCOURSE

The item of novelistic technique known variously as "represented discourse", *le style indirecte libre*, *erlebte Rede* and *mowa pozornie zależna*²⁰⁷⁾ was briefly mentioned in the analysis of *Ogniem i mieczem* I, chapter 1 above. As already noted, a novelist using this device "represents" the thoughts of a character in a style and vocabulary which the reader automatically takes to be those of the character, so the flow of narrative is not interrupted by pronominal antecedents such as "he thought that...". This means that the passage rendered in represented discourse is syntactically independent ("libre") of what precedes it, and one of the main functions of the device is to lessen the stylistic difference between the "voice" of the narrator proper and the "voice" of the character. In a sense, the novelist is adapting the rhythm of his own style to that of a character, and by thus limiting the centre of apprehension (or awareness) to that of a character, he heightens the dramatic quality of the passage.²⁰⁸⁾ This is why represented discourse usually occurs in the form of inner exclamations, interjections, questions or lyrical outbursts. It can be distinguished from the soliloquy, which is introduced by a pronominal antecedent, and tends to be sustained and logical.

Sienkiewicz makes occasional use of represented discourse in his early fiction. When Zolzikiewicz (*Szkice węglem*, 1876) suddenly awakens from a day-dream and finds himself in his squalid lodgings, Sienkiewicz provides the reader with a momentary insight into the clerk's thoughts,²⁰⁹⁾ and later represents the agitated, almost incoherent thoughts of the peasant woman Rzepowa as she wanders through the corridors of the County hall.²¹⁰⁾

There is no way of telling how conscious Sienkiewicz was that he was employing what is essentially a modern stylistic device: but the frequency with which it occurs throughout the Trilogy suggests he was well aware of the effectiveness of the device, and of its usefulness for introducing variety into the narrative. In the examples that follow, words which may be taken as those of the character himself "thinking" are italicised (they include words with the "intensifying" suffix *-ź/-że*): Krzeczowski "slowly grew calmer. They had refused him the *starostwo* once — what (*coż*) of that? They will try all the more to reward him, especially after victory and crushing the rebellion, after liberating — *bah!* — the entire Republic — from civil war. Then they will refuse him nothing, then he will not even need the Potocki family" (OM. I, p. 185-6). "Helena surrendered to her thoughts... The attack, the terrible

207) Kazimierz Wóycicki, "Z progranicza gramatyki i stylistyki", *Stylistyka teoretyczna w Polsce* (Warsaw, 1946), pp. 161-191, provides a lucid account of the device. See also Dawid HOPENSZTAND, "Mowa pozornie zależna w kontekście *Czarnych skrzydeł*", *Z zagadnień poetyki* nr. 6 (Wilno, 1937), pp. 371-406. Anne LANDRY, *Represented Discourse in the Novels of François Mauriac* (Washington, 1958) contains a bibliography of more recent studies.

208) The connection between represented discourse and the "gawęda" is noted by Julian KRZYŻANOWSKI, *Nauka o literaturze (op. cit.)*, p. 142.

209) *Dzieła* II, p. 41.

210) *Ibid.*, p. 83.

scenes of murder, of terror, the unexpected rescue and flight — all had passed like a storm in the course of one night. And yet so many incomprehensible things had happened! Who was this man who had saved her?... How came he to be in Rozłogi?" (OM. II, p. 44)²¹¹⁾, when Bohun's servant is in pursuit of Zagłoba, his bewilderment is rendered in represented discourse: "If that beggar had been Zagłoba in disguise, why the devil (*u licha*) had he persuaded the peasants to Chmielnicki's side? Besides, (*zresztą*) where would he have obtained disguise?" (*ibid.*, p. 76-77). Skrzetuski "did not understand why Bohun had chased first in the direction of Lubnie... Where (*Gdzież*) could she be? Where was she hidden? Had she fled? (*uciekła-li?*)" (*ibid.*, p. 103)²¹²⁾

Other instances of represented discourse (with characteristic archaic vocabulary and syntax of various kinds) which Sienkiewicz uses to heighten the dramatic effect of the fiction, and to vary the method of narration include Chmielnicki's doubts and questionings, addressed to himself (with a shift into the future tense) (OM. II, p. 134), Wiśniowiecki's ponderings, marked with exclamations and questions (*ibid.*, pp 250-254). Kmicic, regretting his past misdeeds, does so partly in represented discourse, with a shift in tense and archaisms (*prezydium*) (P. I, p. 78). Janusz Radziwiłł, fearing lest Kmicic burn or loot Kiejdany, expresses his fears to himself by means of the device (P. II, p. 82): when Aleksandra suffers inner conflict over the behaviour of Kmicic, her thoughts are rendered in what would have been her own words (*ibid.*, p. 123)²¹³⁾

In addition to allowing the reader this immediately direct insight into a character's thoughts rendered in his or her own words, Sienkiewicz also uses the consciousness of a character to introduce other characters. Chmielnicki, as "seen" by Skrzetuski (and before the reader is informed of Chmielnicki's identity) was mentioned above. Czapliński, Zagłoba and Podbipięta are introduced as though seen by Skrzetuski (OM. I, pp. 18, 22, 24), and Skrzetuski's first meeting with Helena is rendered through his eyes (*ibid.*, p. 42). When Skrzetuski's conversation with Helena is interrupted by an unidentified (as yet) rider, he "perceived two eyes looking at him, insolently, defiantly and scornfully. These terrible eyes gleamed like the eyes of a wolf in a dark forest" (OM. I, p. 50). Neither Skrzetuski nor the reader is aware, however, that the eyes are those of Bohun, but the three adverbs and the imagery of the "wolf's eyes" show Sienkiewicz providing a clue to the attitude the reader is to take to Skrzetuski's antagonist. A novelist less economical that Sienkiewicz would probably have felt that it was his duty, at this important point in the novel, to provide a block portrait of Bohun, describing his appearance, character, background and other details.²¹⁴⁾

Sienkiewicz usually refrains from identifying new characters being "seen" until his or her appearance — and particularly those items of

211) See Appendix II, N. 9.

212) See Appendix II, N. 10.

213) See also P. II, p. 152: P. III, p. 9: P. IV, p. 50: P. V, p. 10: P. VI, pp. 3, 133: PW. I, p. 152 for striking examples of represented discourse.

214) When Sienkiewicz provides this information (OM. I, p. 52) he "filters" it through Skrzetuski's consciousness ("In fact this name was well known to Skrzetuski" etc.).

appearance most likely to strike the character "seeing" — have registered. When Wołodyjowski catches sight of an "angry face, entirely unknown to him, armed with a huge nose and whiskers like two bushes, which were twitching rapidly as though with stifled passion" (OM. III, p. 123), he inquires who the person is, and is informed he is Charłamp. The "terrible man or rather spectre" who startles Jan Kazimierz (OM. IV, p. 166) is not identified as Skrzetuski until the effect his appearance makes on the king has been described.

In *Potop*, the first sight the reader has of Kmicic is through the eyes of Aleksandra Billewiczówna, as she glances rapidly at his "fair hair, shaven head, swarthy skin, grey eyes, dark moustache and young face" (P. I, p. 13). The "two persons busily engaged in talk" in the audience chamber at Kiejdany are first "seen" by Zagłoba and his companions, only later identified as Janusz and Bogusław Radziwiłł (P. I, pp. 240-241). Kmicic "sees" Bogusław at his toilet and gazes at him with "curiosity" (P. II, p. 165), though this is not the first time Kmicic has seen him. In a similar way, the unknown personage whom Kmicic sees arriving at the Pokrzyk inn is not identified until his appearance, manner and so on have been established (P. III, p. 49) (though a practised novel-reader would probably have identified him as Rzędzian by his "chubby red face"). Kmicic's first impression of Father Kordecki at Jasna Góra follows the same pattern (*ibid.*, p. 189).

On occasion, Sienkiewicz adds to the dramatic effect of these appearances by suddenly "illuminating" the character being "seen". In a passage already cited, Skrzetuski sees Bohun's eyes in the moonlight. When an unidentified prisoner is brought into Chmielnicki's quarters, Sienkiewicz writes: "A shadow fell over his face, for the fire in the chimney-place had gone out — and in the half-light only a tall figure could be seen, holding himself straight and proudly". Not until a handful of wood-chips is thrown on the fire does a "bright light" reveal to Chmielnicki (and the reader) that the figure is in fact Skrzetuski (OM. I, pp. 157-158), last seen falling beneath a Tartar attack (*ibid.*, p. 143). A figure is "seen" in the sunlight, suspended from a Cossack *beluard*²¹⁵) and at this moment he is recognised by Wołodyjowski as Podbipięta (OM. IV, p. 135). When Zagłoba meets Sapięha (the Palatine of Witebsk) it is only when the latter enters a "circle of light" that he is described as Zagłoba would see him (P. III, p. 107). The Swedish officer de Fossis suddenly catches sight of Kmicic "by the light of a six-branched candelabra" in his tent, immediately before Kmicic kills him (*ibid.*, p. 252).

Not only do characters "see" each other, but they also "see" "hear" and even "smell" arresting scenes so that the reader shares in the surprise, wonder or terror of the character through whose eyes the scenes are rendered. Skrzetuski sees the "decapitated heads of men, women and children stuck like trophies" on spear-heads, the glow of campfires reflecting in their "dead pupils and bared teeth" at the Cossack encampment near Konstantynów (OM. II, pp. 175-176). This scene is made still more vivid by Skrzetuski "smelling" the smoke and roasting meat, and "hearing" Cossacks snoring or talking, while an old beggar strums on a lyre. The Polish gentry "stared inquisitively" at the first

215) A wooden tower on wheels, used to storm fortified positions.

Swede they see from the invading army, and admire his "bold carriage, manly face and yellow whiskers combed up at the end" (P. I, p. 185). The splendours of Zamość are presented through the eyes of Kmicic (P. IV, p. 185), and in much the same way Zagłoba wonders at the monstra he finds in Warsaw (P. V, p. 204). The townspeople in Kamieniec "watched and wondered" at Basia riding into the town (PW. III, p. 154).

A particularly effective extended instance of the "seeing" device occurs in the description of Jasna Góra seen for the first time by Kmicic and rendered in such a way that the monastery, church and surrounding walls are "seen" by the reader also. There is none of the painstaking but inert enumeration to be found in the descriptive passages of earlier novelists. As Kmicic and his followers journey towards the monastery "the sky grew lighter, changed from pallor to green and gold, and that dot on the horizon began glittering, so that they blinked at its brilliance... The light increased before their eyes, from a dot it became a globe, from a small globe to a large one, from the distance you would have said that someone had suspended a huge star over the earth... Kmicic and his men gazed with wonder at that luminous sight, quivering and gleaming, without realising what it was they saw" (P. III, p. 183).

When Kmicic enters the monastery church, he sees a "red darkness... not entirely dispelled by candle flames burning on the altar. Coloured lights were falling through the window-panes and all those gleams, red, purple, gold, fiery, quivered on the walls, shifted over the effigies, the recesses, penetrated into darkened depths to bring out indistinct objects plunged apparently in sleep... Everything here was half-visible, half-veiled..." (*ibid.*, p. 187).

The monastery and church are also presented as "seen" by the Swedes besieging it: "...the looming outline of the monastery was visible from time to time, which changed before their eyes: now it looked loftier than usual, then again as if sinking into an abyss... the high walls and towers were brightly outlined, then extinguished.

"The soldiers began gazing ahead with sombre and superstitious alarm". (*ibid.*, p. 242). Later, it appears to the Swedes that "by a most extraordinary phenomenon of nature, the church and its tower rose not only above the cliff, but high above the mist... as if it had left its foundations, and were suspended in the sky... The cries of the soldiers attested that they too had seen this" (*ibid.*, p. 258).²¹⁶ Scenery apparently in motion is to be found described in Polish Baroque poetry of the seventeenth century, with which Sienkiewicz was familiar.²¹⁷ For example, the poet Bartłomiej Zimorowicz (1597-c. 1680) describing the city of Lwów remarked on the manner in which "its tall walls/ Raise their towers from where the ground crawls/ Up into brightness,

216) See Appendix II, N. 11.

217) In addition to the essay on Sęp-Szarzyński, SIENKIEWICZ also published an essay on Kacper Miskowski (c. 1550-1622) entitled "*Kasper Miskowski, studium literackie*" (1870). His wide reading in the literature of this period is well attested (cf. *Dzieła* LV, p. 1, letter of 1885) and the studies of Juliusz Kijas "*Zróża historyczne Ogniem i mieczem*", *Pamiętnik literacki* XXIV (1927), pp. 119-135: "*Zróża historyczne Potopu*", *Księga zbiorowa ku czci Ignacego Chrzanowskiego* (Cracow, 1936), pp. 479-511, and "*Zróża historyczne Pana Wołodjowskiego*", *Pamiętnik literacki* XLIII (no. 3/4) (1952), pp. 1137-56.

coloured bright,/ With their tops... They touch the heavens".²¹⁸⁾ The interior of the church at Głogów is presented through the eyes of Kmicic, who sees a "figure lying like a cross" before the altar, illuminated by candles (P. IV, pp. 13-14): as in the instances already quoted, Sienkiewicz does not let Kmicic (or the reader) know that the recumbent figure is Jan Kazimierz until the setting has been established.²¹⁹⁾

VIII. SOLIDITY OF SPECIFICATION

Throughout Sienkiewicz's historical fiction the backgrounds to the action are closely woven into the narrative,²²⁰⁾ often rendered (as the previous section showed) through the apprehension of a character present. Sienkiewicz possessed the faculty (which he shared with most of the major nineteenth-century novelists) of evoking a strong sense of place: his vision of the steppes and forests, castles, palaces and churches, battlefields and towns is as vividly summoned up for the reader as the London of Dickens, Balzac's Paris, or the St. Petersburg of Gogol' and Dostoevskii. But these writers set their novels in the present or recent past, while Sienkiewicz's concern was with the remote past of the seventeenth century, and a sense of physical environment was even more important in historical fiction than in fiction with a contemporary setting. For this reason, the Trilogy is full of "things", as are the novels of Scott, or the historical paintings of Matejko.

Because characters are constantly putting objects to use, Sienkiewicz rarely interrupts the narrative to explain the often archaic terminology: the characters themselves are used to define the objects. Skrzetuski seizes Czaplinski by the latter's *hajdawery* (gilligaskins) to throw him out of a tavern (OM. I, p. 21), mead is poured into *kuszyki* (OM. I, p. 67), *dumbasy*, *szuhaleje* and *pidjizdki* transport people across a river (OM. II, p. 83), a *guldynka* is used to shoot quail (OM. I, p. 126), *bezoar* is mentioned as an antidote to poison (P. V, p. 196), while characters who want to write a letter demand *inkaust* (P. I, p. 161, P. III, p. 30). The range of objects (not all of which are archaic) is wide, and includes innumerable weapons (swords, lances, sabres, muskets, cannon, daggers, spear), garments (coats of all kinds, plumed hats, top boots, helmets, armour), food and drink, furniture, utensils, vehicles, boats, even musical instruments and spinning wheels. This mass of detail, with which Sienkiewicz surrounds his characters, contributes to the three dimensional effect of the Trilogy.

218) Translated by Jerzy PETERKIEWICZ and Burns SINGER, *Five Centuries of Polish Poetry* (London, 1960), p. 50. The original was published in 1663.

219) Both Flaubert and Tolstoi used the device. See Anna HATCHER, "Voir as a Modern Novelistic Device", *Philological Quarterly* XXIII (1944), pp. 354-374, and Viktor SHKLOVSKII, *Mater'jal i styl' v romane L'va Tolstogo "Voyna i mir"* (Moscow, 1928), pp. 109-127.

220) As G.M.Young said, "To the new school" (of historians) "the question 'Where did it happen?' would be quite as important as 'How did it happen?'. Scott first applied the incoming craft of local description to the composition of history" (Sir Herbert GRIERSON, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 93).

On occasion, specific objects contribute to defining a character: Podbipięta's "military book" with its prayers and *instructioes militares* printed side by side (OM. I, p. 38) illustrates his simple faith, just as Bogusław Radziwiłł's peruque and cosmetics (P. I, p. 241, and P. II, p. 165) point to his vanity. The glass goblet in which Alekandra serves "mulled Hungarian wine" to Kmicic bears the Kmicic coat of arms and had indeed been inherited from Kmicic's father: here Sienkiewicz is using the object to remind the reader of the relationship between his characters. The goblets of Venetian glass "hollowed out and polished fine", with golden bases engraved to represent the "entry of a victorious general into the Capitol", which Lubomirski uses to toast Jan Kazimierz at the banquet in the king's honour (P. IV, p. 86) provide insight into Lubomirski's wealth, especially when he shatters his after the toast, and others present follow suit.²²¹ These, and innumerable other details with which Sienkiewicz packs the Trilogy, are not the "incidental, inert and valueless trivia"²²² with which historical novelists, determined to display their antiquarian knowledge, encumber their pages. Sienkiewicz's choice and use of detail of this kind is close description of an imaginative kind. Just as the tables and chairs in Balzac's novels are "always in character",²²³ so are the objects in the Trilogy. Everything fits into place in the narrative, as fragments forming a mosaic, and could not be removed without palpable loss to the total effect of the work.

IX. IMAGERY

Sienkiewicz was well aware of the value of imagery as a literary asset, and in this respect he is as modern a novelist as Flaubert or Proust.²²⁴ Throughout the Trilogy Sienkiewicz uses imagery for specific purposes, and to perform specific functions in the narrative.

By far the most frequent images are those drawn from animal life: in the opening chapter of *Ogniem i mieczem* Sienkiewicz refers to men being hunted down in the *Dzikie Pola* "like wolves or antelopes", and this image of men hunting others, or being themselves hunted recurs everywhere in the Trilogy, where human beings (whether "good" or "bad") are likened to ferocious and rapacious animals (also birds). Of these, the wolf — that traditionally rapacious and sinister animal — appears most often: Skrzetuski's boats, attacked by Tartars as he travels to the Sicz, are "like two dead horses torn asunder by wolves" (OM. I, p. 142), Cossacks pass the fortress at Kudak "as cautiously as wolves or night-fowl" (OM. I, p. 177), peasants take flight "like a pack of wolves before the sound of hunting-horns" (OM. II, p. 129), during the fight with

221) For the authenticity of this action, see Julian KRZYŻANOWSKI, *Mądrzej głowie dość dwie stowie* I (Warsaw, 1960), p. 263.

222) Bernard DE VOTO, *The World of Fiction* (Boston, 1950), p. 241.

223) Henry JAMES, *French Poets and Novelists* (New York, 1964), p. 83.

224) See Albert THIBAUDET, *Gustave Flaubert* (Paris, 1961), *passim*, and Victor GRAHAM, *The Images of Proust* (Oxford, 1966).

Skrzetuski Burdabut howls "like a wolf" (*ibid.*, p. 164), Wołodyjowski approaches an enemy "like a wolf by night" (OM. III, p. 91), the Polish commissars sent to treat with Chmielnicki are like "travellers surrounded by a pack of starving wolves" (*ibid.*, p. 195). The witch Horpyna has teeth "white as a wolf's" (*ibid.*, p. 278), and Zagłoba and Wołodyjowski flee approaching Tartars "like two wolves behind which a pack of fierce dogs is chasing" (OM. IV, p. 23). Tuhaj-bej and his troops advance "like wolves alongside a she-wolf" and return to the fray "like wolves hungry for blood" (*ibid.*, pp. 59, 61). Wołodyjowski stares at the first Swedes he has ever seen "like a wolf gazing at a flock of sheep" (P. II, p. 47), just as do the Kiemlicz brothers, awaiting the Swedes "as greedily as wolves awaiting sheep" (P. III, p. 145). Czarniecki and Kmicic attack the retreating Swedes "like wolves creeping upon a sheep-fold" (*ibid.*, p. 250), then return to camp "smeared with blood like wolves that, after completing a massacre in a sheep-fold, emerge before the approaching sounds of riflemen" (*ibid.*, p. 254). Kmicic is said to fight "like a wolf that deals death with one of its fangs" (P. VI, p. 128) and Hamilton flees from him "like a stag pursued by a pack of wolves" (*ibid.*, p. 199). Zagłoba remarks on Azja's resemblance to a wolf (PW. II, p. 10).

Janusz Radziwiłł is likened to a lion on several occasions (P. I, pp. 241, 253, 277, 285), as is Chmielnicki who gazes at Skrzetuski "like a lion about to roar and hurl itself on its prey" (OM. I, p. 167). Later in the novel, Chmielnicki is likened to a "conquered and downtrodden lion" (OM. IV, p. 87). Other animals enlisted are bears, wild boars, bison, foxes and jackals: a wandering beggar hides "like a fox in reeds" (OM. II, p. 74), Zagłoba thinks of digging his way out of captivity in a pigsty "like a fox" but decides to remain there "like a badger in its lair" (*ibid.*, p. 75). Later he dodges about "like a hunted hare", though he "knew the bloodhound that was hunting him" (*ibid.*, p. 82). Wiśniowiecki snorts like a "wounded wild boar" (*ibid.*, p. 160), Wołodyjowski rides after Bohun "like a bloodhound after a wild boar" (OM. III, p. 85), while he and Charłamp glare at one another "like two wild boars" (*ibid.*, III, p. 131), Chmielnicki roars "like a wounded boar" (OM. IV, p. 279), the Butrym family move through their opponents "like a pack of wild boar through forest undergrowth, smashing, trampling, destroying" (P. I, p. 113). Kmicic feels "like a wild boar snared in a net from which it cannot disentangle itself" (*ibid.*, p. 127) and is pursued by his own guilty conscience "as by fierce dogs pressing upon a wild boar in a game-forest" (P. IV, p. 50).

Podbipięta and Pułjan fight "like two bears fighting for a she-bear in time of heat" (OM. II, p. 208); when Kmicic challenges the Butrym family they begin "grumbling like bears" (P. I, p. 45). Chmielnicki leaps upon his companions "like a tiger" (OM. IV, p. 67), Wołodyjowski and Podbipięta go into battle "like a great elk going before a group of hunters with her little one, ready at any moment to hurl herself on the attackers" (*ibid.*, p. 88). When Kmicic is announced, the gentry at the Billewicz manor-house "bristle like mastiffs at the sight of a wolf" (P. II, p. 89), and he is later said to be "terrible as a wild cat when it leaps from high branches into a pack of bloodhounds" (P. V, p. 48). Camp followers looting the dead on a battle-field are likened to "jackals following after lions" (OM. IV, p. 71), while troops emerge from undergrowth "as though someone had stirred a herd of deer" (PW. II, p. 70).

Sienkiewicz also draws upon wild birds, reptiles and insects for similes: fears and premonitions beset Skrzetuski "like ravens" (OM. I, p. 123), Cossack troops, surprised, bolt "like a flock of startled bustards" (OM. II, p. 80), cannon shells splash across water "like wild swans and grebes" (OM. II, p. 210), Krzywonos fears his men will take flight from Wiśniowiecki "like a flock of swans before an eagle" (OM. III, p. 51). Wołodyjowski plunges into grass "like a grebe into water" (OM. IV, p. 11), and Roch Kowalski's men "scatter like a startled flock of partridge" (P. II, p. 51). Kowalski's fight with Józwa Butrym is likened to a fight between "two interlocked hawks" (*ibid.*, p. 52). Kmicic's arrow "chirps like a sparrow" as he lets it fly, and his victim writhes "like a fish taken from water" (P. III, p. 217), and he himself shrieks "like a cockerel having its throat cut" (*ibid.*, p. 329). Illness falls on the retreating Swedes (not unpredictably) "like ravens on corpses" and "like falcons on waterfowl" (P. V, pp. 35-36). Kmicic and his band of Tartars gallop "like a huge flock of rapacious birds that scent blood in the distance" (P. VI, p. 146). Old soldiers sit "like a flock of storks, weary of flying, that settles on a steppe barrow and utters a great clattering" (PW. II, p. 29), and later old officers sit along walls "as grey pigeons settle on a roof" (*ibid.*, p. 152) and sound "like grasshoppers" (*ibid.*, p. 155).

Wiśniowiecki's troops move "like a long, colourful and gleaming serpent" (OM. II, p. 98), and Radziejowski leads his guests as if they were a "hundred-coloured snake" (P. I, p. 276). Bullets whistle and sing like "horseflies and bees" (OM. IV, p. 24), troops emerge from behind ramparts "like bees from a hive" (*ibid.*, p. 41), and Swedish troops in the distance resemble a "swarm of yellow wasps" (P. III, p. 302). Bohun is said to be "black as a dungbeetle" (OM. II, p. 47).

The frequency of imagery drawn from wild life (and the examples given above constitute only a small selection) adds to the atmosphere of the Trilogy. This special kind of imagery serves also to give thematic unity to the entire work, by persistently underlining the antagonisms and cruelty of the long, bitter wars that beset Poland in the seventeenth century.

Sienkiewicz uses another kind of simile, best described as Homeric.²²⁵ These are similes in which the order of parts is reversed, and the simile begins with the set phrase "Just as when...". Such similes, with their echoes of classical epic poetry, are intended to give an elevated tone to the narrative and are appropriately found during scenes of heroic battles. When the Polish forces attack the Tartar camp at Zbaraż, Sienkiewicz describes the situation thus: "Just as when a wild boar defends itself with white fangs and bites a ferocious pack of hounds, so the camp... defended itself" (OM. IV, p. 42). Chmielnicki's troops surround the fortress: "And, like a swelling sea wave which the wind carries from a distant expanse approaches, rises up, foams, strikes with a roar, then draws back into the distance, so they (Tartars and Cossacks) struck here and there, and drew back" (O.M. IV, p. 51). Podbipięta in battle is "As an eagle falls upon a flock of white game and they, driven

225) Andrzej STAWAR, "Trylogia", *Przegląd humanistyczny* II (2), 1959, p. 55. Sienkiewicz's admiration for Homer is attested (*Kalendarz* pp. 26, 193). He was reading the *Iliad* in 1884 (*Dzieła* LVI, p. 322). The Homeric strain in the Trilogy was noticed by his contemporaries (JONELKO, *op. cit.*, pp. 89, 298). Scott's use of the device is examined in Christabel FISKE, *Epic Suggestion in the Imagery of the Waverley novels* (New Haven, 1940), pp. 10-20.

before it in fearful groups, are prey to the rapacious bird that tears them with claws and beak, so Longinus Podbipięta..." (*ibid.*, p. 60). When he and Skrzetuski are surrounded by Tartars "... like two grizzled wolves, too hard pressed by blood-hounds, which turn back, their white fangs glistening, and the pack of hounds, whining at a distance, dare not hurl themselves upon them, so they too turned back..." (*ibid.*, p. 88).

Other examples appear in the descriptions of the Jasna Góra siege: the Swedes hurl fire-brands which "as sometimes a flock of wandering cranes, weary with long flight, settle on lofty hills, so swarms of these fiery messengers fell... on the church" (P. III, p. 238). When the Swedes retreat, "just as jackals pursue a sick bison by night, waiting for it to fall to the ground, and it knows it will fall, and can hear the whining of the famished pack, so the Swedes were pursued by bands of gentry and peasants" (P. V, p. 35). Kmicic and his band join the rout of the Swedes, and attack "as when wolves overpower a horse, but it still lives, and defends itself on its back with hoofs, and they cover it entirely and tear living portions of flesh from it, so the carts and infantry (of the Swedes) were covered by a surging mass of horses and cavalry" (*ibid.*, p. 50). Motowidło in battle: "As walking amid trees will time and again break off or tear down a withered branch, so he time and again knocked men to the ground" (PW. II, p. 74).

The Turks launch an attack on Kamieniec: "As when a scimitar, hurled by the hand of a sturdy opponent, sticks in the belly of a boar and the latter winds into a ball, roars, hurls itself about, rampages, stretches and curls up again, so the crowd of janissaries surged..." (PW. III, p. 209). During this attack, Wołodyjowski is likened to a weasel: "As when a mordant weasel penetrates into a stack of corn inhabited by a brood of mice and performs a terrible massacre upon them, so the little knight hurled himself..." (PW. III, p. 211).²²⁶

To be sure, imagery cannot be removed from its context for inspection, since the total effect of imagery is always modified by that context. But the above samplings of imagery demonstrate that imagery was yet another of the several items of novelistic technique which Sienkiewicz used — with what degree of conscious artistry we cannot tell — to make the "great leap ahead"²²⁷ that sets his fiction apart from other novels of the period.

* * *

From this evidence, we may conclude that the power of the narrative in the Trilogy does not depend on the stringing together of picturesque or thrilling incidents (though Sienkiewicz showed great inventiveness in this respect). The *manner* in which he presents his characters, incidents and story was equally important, even though the reader may not be aware that Sienkiewicz is constantly manipulating modern stylistic devices to heighten the illusion of life, and to produce the three-dimensional effect already referred to. Indeed, part of his artistry is that the devices are inconspicuous.

²²⁶) Other examples of this type of simile occur in P. IV, p. 68; P. VI, p. 125; PW. III, pp. 189, 225, 229.

²²⁷) Julian KRZYŻANOWSKI, *W kręgu wielkich realistów* (Cracow, 1962), p. 40.

Technical analysis cannot provide a reliable guide to the value of any literary work. Great technical accomplishment can co-exist with an inferior mind, as witness best-selling novels of the present day. Nor can such analysis reveal the sources of a writer's creative and imaginative powers. But at the same time, a writer's meaning can only be adequately presented through his technical skills. As Mark Schorer has suggested, "technique is the only means he (a writer) has of discovering, exploring and developing his subject.²²⁸⁾ Besides, there seems little doubt that an examination of the "arrangement of words on a page"²²⁹⁾ in a novel (or indeed in any literary work) provides a closer and more revealing view of the work than any amount of theorising and generalising, such as has befogged the Trilogy ever since it was published.²³⁰⁾

Chapter Four

LANGUAGE AND STYLE

Professor Lehr-Spławiński pointed out that Sienkiewicz had at his disposal "surely the richest and most variegated linguistic range"²³¹⁾ of all Polish prose-writers. The extent of this range will be investigated in what follows, where it will be assumed that the number of words an author uses in the "finite field" of his writings is of less interest and significance than the number of words he had at call.²³²⁾

I. ARCHAISMS

The question of archaisms in diction, phrasing, idiom or syntax in the historical novel is vexed.²³³⁾ It is clearly a question as important as the question of proportion between historical and fictional characters and events, to which attention has already been paid here. Like that question, this one too has been variously answered by all practitioners of the genre since Scott.

228) Mark SCHORER, "Technique as Discovery", *Hudson Review* XII (1948), p. 67.

229) Martin TURNELL, *The Novel in France* (London, 1950), p. 6.

230) Some of the material reprinted by Tomasz JODELKO, *op. cit.*, belongs to this category.

231) Tadeusz LEHR-SŁAWIŃSKI, *Język polski* (Warsaw, 1951), p. 373. It is unfortunate that literary scholarship has no study of Sienkiewicz's use of language on the lines of Professor Witold DOROSZEWSKI's *Język Teodora Tomasza Jeża* (Warsaw, 1949).

232) G. UDNY YULE *The Statistical Study of Literary Language* (Cambridge, 1944), pp. 69-70. See also pp. 35-36 of this work on the procedure for "random sampling" used here.

233) Konrad GÓRSKI, "Sienkiewicz klasyk języka polskiego", in PRORUNOWA and WYKA *op. cit.*, pp. 51-75 has some penetrating observations on this topic. His section on reminiscences of Mickiewicz's diction in the prose of Sienkiewicz is especially striking. Needless to say, they had escaped the present writer.

Archaic language is not, of course, restricted to historical novels: it has been used for providing various effects since the Middle Ages, when it was employed for the evocation of an "elevated, poetic atmosphere."²³⁴ It was also used in the Romantic period, both in poetry and in prose, for conjuring up a past age.²³⁵ However, few novelists writing historical fiction in Poland before the 1830's had at their disposal lexical sources for the spoken language such as Pasek's *Pamiętniki*. After the publication of this and other works of a similar nature, practising historical novelists began to take more interest in archaic language. Kraszewski stated his views on the subject in 1842: he believed that a historical novelist should use archaic language in moderation, and preferably in the dialogue passages.²³⁶ He urged archaisms be used "appropriately", and added that "if anyone in classical antiquity is said to be killed by a rapier, then the illusion is lost". His own method, to which he remained faithful in his historical fiction (except, of course, in a pastiche like *Pamiętnik Mroczka* or the *gawęda szlachecka*), was to prefer the literary language of his own time, and to "encrust it slightly and carefully with archaisms."²³⁷

This was to be Sienkiewicz's principle in the Trilogy.²³⁸ As Professor Weintraub pointed out "Sienkiewicz did not write his novel (*Ogniem i mieczem*) in seventeenth-century Polish. He wrote basically in a Polish contemporary to himself. Archaisation in the novel depended, on the one hand, on avoiding those elements of nineteenth-century Polish which were clearly associated in the awareness of a reader with contemporary life, and on the other on impregnating the language with elements of vocabulary, syntax and accident of the seventeenth century, which are to summon up the illusion of the period evoked in the novel..."²³⁹ Professor Krzyżanowski has said that Sienkiewicz used archaic language "moderately, mainly in military and hunting terminology, and more often in dialogue than in descriptive passages".²⁴⁰

Eight categories of archaic language were established for the present purpose:²⁴¹ I, substantives that function syntactically as nouns: II, verbal forms that conjugate: III, nominal modifiers (except pronouns): IV,

234) Jerzy BARTMIŃSKI, "Problemy archaizacji językowej w powieści", in *Styl i kompozycja*, edited by Jan Trzynałowski (Wrocław, 1965), p. 218.

235) E.g. Mickiewicz's use of such words as *komtur* 'member of the Teutonic Order', *grot* 'lance', *wajdelota* 'bard' in the narrative poem *Konrad Wallenrod*. See also Julian KRZYŻANOWSKI, *Nauka o literaturze* (op. cit.), pp. 98-99.

236) J.I. KRASZEWSKI, *Studja literackie* (Wilno, 1842), p. 59.

237) Julian KRZYŻANOWSKI, *W świecie romantycznym* (Cracow, 1961), p. 353.

238) As approximately two-thirds of the Trilogy is cast in dialogue, it follows that most archaic words occur in such passages. But Sienkiewicz appears not to have drawn a firm line between narrative and dialogue when providing the Trilogy with its seventeenth-century linguistic colouring.

239) Wiktor WEINTRAUB, "Wyznaczniki stylu realistycznego", *Pamiętnik Literacki* LII (No. 2) (1961), p. 405.

240) Julian KRZYŻANOWSKI, *Nauka o literaturze* (op. cit.), p. 97.

241) The categories are a modification of that made by C.C. FRIES, *The Structure of English* (New York, 1952).

verbal modifiers: V, pronouns, VI, "function" words (conjunctions, prepositions): VII, set phrases e.g. expressions of time: VIII, terms of address.²⁴²⁾

Category I:

admiracja 'admiration' ²⁴³⁾	charakternik 'magician'
afekt 'feeling'	cyrulik 'surgeon'
akwilon 'north wind'	czambuł (1) 'armed Tartar unit'
alteracja 'vexation'	(2) 'brief Tartar raid' ²⁴⁷⁾
amicycja 'friendship' ²⁴⁴⁾	czaus 'Turkish envoy, messenger'
angielczyk 'Englishman'	czenkanik 'small axe'
asystencja 'escort'	czeladź 'servants'
banicja 'banishment'	czerniec 'monk of Eastern rite'
banit 'person condemned to banishment' (S)	dekokt 'herbal beverage'
basarunek 'compensation for damages'	delator 'informer'
bastard	delia/delijki 'robe with wide sleeves'
bazarnik 'merchant' (S)	despekt 'humiliation'
bekieszka 'kind of coat' ²⁴⁵⁾	desperacja 'despair'
berdysz 'kind of axe'	desperat 'desperate individual'
bezoar 'antidote to poison'	dowcip 'intelligence'
białogłowa 'woman'	dyfidencja 'suspicion' ²⁴⁸⁾
bombarda 'large cannon used in fourteenth and fifteenth centuries'	dysydent 'dissident'
brodafiész 'bearded person' ²⁴⁶⁾	dyzgust 'outrage, insult' ²⁴⁹⁾
	dzida 'light spear'
	dzidka 'light spear' (S)
	dziewka 'maiden' ²⁵⁰⁾
	estym 'respect'
	exul 'exile' ²⁵¹⁾

242) The following lists are not a concordance to the Trilogy, but are exemplificatory, intended to investigate the range of Sienkiewicz's archaic language. The standard is *Polska Akademia Nauk, Słownik języka polskiego* (Warsaw, 1958, in progress). Entries in this work are marked *daw.*, *przestarz.*, *hist.*, *książk.*, or defined as "used in the seventeenth century" (or similarly). The dictionary is not compiled on historical principles, so it is arguable that certain items were not archaic to Sienkiewicz (born 1846). Reference is also made to *Słownik Jana Chryzostoma Paska*, edited by Halina KONECZNA and others (vol. I, Wrocław, 1965): Jan KARŁOWICZ and others, *Słownik języka polskiego* eight vols. (Warsaw, 1900-1927), and Samuel LINDE, *Słownik języka polskiego*, six vols., (Warsaw, 1807-1814).

243) Page references are not given, owing to the high frequency of many words, e.g. *namiestnik* occurs 42 times in OM. I, chapters I-II, *kawaler* 14 times in the first 50pp. of *Potop I* etc.

244) In *Polska Akademia Nauk, Słownik (op. cit.)* Sienkiewicz is given as the only source of this word. This applies to a number of other words. They will be designated (S).

245) Cited in *Polska Akademia Nauk, Słownik (op. cit.)* s.v. *bekieszka*. This work will be designated by the abbreviation PS.

246) Not cited by PS, but used by Pasek cf. Halina KONECZNA, *op. cit.*, s.v. *brodofijas*.

247) Sienkiewicz also uses the forms *czambutek* (P. IV, p. 166) and *czambulik* (P. IV, p. 163.)

248) Not cited in PS, but see Halina KONECZNA *op. cit.*, (designated below as SJP).

249) Not cited in PS, but see SJP s.v. *dysgust*.

250) Now a "vulgarism", as is *gęba*.

251) Used by Sienkiewicz in quotation marks (P. IV, p. 7). See PS s.v. *egzul*.

familia 'family'	brings good fortune'
familiant 'member of family relative'	inkursja 'enemy invasion' ²⁵⁷⁾
fawor 'boon' ²⁵²⁾	inkwizycja 'formerly, an inquiry'
fenomenon 'unusual event'	instancja 'request' ²⁵⁸⁾
ferezja 'over-garment worn by men'	instygator 'historically, public pro-
forys 'orderly'	secutor'
fraczymer (1) 'ladies-in-waiting',	insult 'quarrel, insult' (S)
(2) 'their apartments'	intercyza 'marriage articles'
gardło (dać) 'be sentenced to death'	intrata 'income'
garłacz 'blunderbuss'	inwidia 'hate'
gęba 'face' ²⁵³⁾	jagody 'cheeks' ²⁵⁹⁾
glejt 'safe conduct'	jasyr 'historically' captivity by
gomon 'noise, brawl'	Tartars'
grasant 'marauder' ²⁵⁴⁾	język 'prisoner taken for interro-
guldynka 'former light rifle'	gation'
hajdawery 'gilligaskins' ²⁵⁵⁾	kałamaszka 'narrow, small cart'
hajduk 'soldier of Hungarian	karalasz 'Turkish soldier' (S) ²⁶⁰⁾
infantry introduced into Poland	kartaun 'large cannon' (S) ²⁶¹⁾
by Batory'	karwaser 'caravanserai'
halabarda 'halberd'	karwasz 'metal arm-piece'
halabardnik 'halberdier'	kawaler 'historically, a knight: for-
hazard 'chance, accident'	merly, a man of high family' ²⁶²⁾
heretyk 'heretic (in religious belief)'	kawalkator 'formerly, a horse-
hulajgród 'wooden tower on wheels,	breaker'
used in storming a fort' (S)	klemencja 'favour'
hulajhorod see hulajgród	klimkiem (rzuć) 'to speak evas-
imainacja 'imagination' ²⁵⁶⁾	ively' (S) ²⁶³⁾
impediment 'obstacle'	kolet 'kind of skirt worn by cavalry'
infamis 'formerly, individual con-	kolubryna 'heavy cannon used in
demned to forfeit his honour and	seventeenth century' (S)
citizen's rights'	komnata 'chamber'
inkaust 'home-made ink'	kompan 'companion'
inkluz 'formerly, a mysterious force	komput 'numerical strength of army
enclosed in an object, which	approved by Sejm, i.e. main

252) PS cites this word as "partially obsolete".

253) See note 245, above.

254) Sienkiewicz uses this word several times (e.g. P. IV, pp. 1, 4), but does not explain it until P. VI, p. 17.

255) Sienkiewicz reports seeing Bulgarian women wearing *hajdawery* when he visited that country (cf. *Dzieła* LV, p. 288).

256) Not cited in PS except as *imainować* for which Sienkiewicz is given as the only source. The noun occurs as *nad imainację urodziwe* (P. III, p. 129).

257) E.g. *inkursja chłopka* (P. IV, p. 39).

258) E.g. *wnosić instancję do króla* (P. V, p. 36).

259) Used metaphorically for cheeks of woman or girl, but Sienkiewicz applies the word to the face of Kmicic (P. III, p. 216).

260) Also *katarasz* (PS).

261) Also *kartan* (PS and SJP).

262) E.g. *przesławny k.*, (P. IV, p. 100) and *mężny k.* (P. III, p. 55).

263) For the origins of this phrase, see Julian Krzyżanowski, *Mądry głowie dość dwie słowa* II (Warsaw, 1962), pp. 117-118.

strength of regular army' (S)	lejbguardzista 'bodyguard' (S)
komunik 'cavalry unit without supply column' ²⁶⁴⁾	likwor 'liquor' ²⁶⁹⁾
koncerz 'long cutting weapon used by cavalry'	litaury 'percussion instrument'
kondemnat 'condemned person' (S)	łuszczybochenek 'parasite' (S)
kondycja 'social status' ²⁶⁵⁾	małmazja 'a sweet wine made in South Europe'
konfjdencja 'intimate confidence'	mastalerz 'stableman'
konfident 'trusted individual'	mąż 'man' ²⁷⁰⁾
konfuzja 'disgrace' ²⁶⁶⁾	medyk 'doctor' ²⁷¹⁾
konsystencja 'halting place of army' ²⁶⁷⁾	mistrz-kredencierz 'Master of the Pantry'
kontempt 'scorn'	mizéria 'poverty' ²⁷²⁾
konterfekt 'likeness, portrait'	moderunek 'soldier's equipment'
krescencja 'harvest' ²⁶⁸⁾	modestia 'modesty'
krotochwila/krotofile 'joke'	muszkietnik 'musketeer'
króćca 'pistol with short barrel'	namiestnik 'officer in former Polish army'
króćczka see króćca	opresja 'pressure'
kuchta 'scullion'	ordynans 'command' ²⁷³⁾
kurzenie/kurzeń 'Cossack camp'	orta 'coin, item of currency' (S)
kuszyk/kuszyk 'drinking-glass so constructed it could not be placed upright and contents had to be drained at once' (S)	parafanały 'paraphernalia' ²⁷⁴⁾
lament 'lament'	paragon (wejść w) to equal, enter into competition'
larendogra 'scent'	paralus 'paralysis' ²⁷⁵⁾
	pardon 'pardon' ²⁷⁶⁾
	paroksyzm 'a fit'

264) Also used in expression *komunikem iść* (P. III, p. 89, P. V, p. 123).

265) E.g. *nikczemna k.* (P. III, p. 159), *służebna k.* (P. V, p. 98).

266) Sienkiewicz draws attention to this word by enclosing it in quotation marks (*spotkała go "konfuzja"*) (P. V., p. 169).

267) Used in the expression *na konsystencjach stojące stojąc na consistencyach* (SJP s.v. *konsystencja*).

268) Used in the expression *jakem całą krescencję do Prus sprzedał...* (P. III, p. 54).

269) Now used "facetiously" for drink (PS).

270) Now used in some "stock expressions" e.g. *mąż zaufania/stanu* (cf. Witold Doroszewski, *Wśród słów, wrażeń i myśli* (Warsaw, 1966), p. 252. Sienkiewicz uses it in such expressions as *stateczny m.* (OM. III, p. 176), *strasliwy m.* (P. II, p. 208), *mąż rzymskiego pokroju* (P. VI, p. 36) etc.

271) Now used for "medical student" (PS).

272) This word was still used to denote "poverty" (*bieda*) in Warsaw slang in 1885, cf. Bronisław Wiczorkiewicz, *Słownik gwary warszawskiej XIXw.* (Warsaw, 1966) p. 283.

273) Used in the expression *ordynans Herodowy* (P. III, p. 74).

274) Sienkiewicz encloses this word in quotation marks, as though he were quoting it from another author: "*Parafanały" królowej poszły na wojsko* (P. IV, p. 47). Not cited in PS.

275) PS refers to *paraliż*.

276) PS designates this word as *daw.*, except in the expression *bez pardonu*. Sienkiewicz has *bez pardonu* and *na znak pardonu* (P. V, pp. 46, 47). This example illustrates Sienkiewicz's habit of using the same archaic/obsolete word two or three times within a few pages. See footnote 5.

parrycyda 'parricide' ²⁷⁷⁾	przeopinant <i>see</i> preopinant
partia 'partisan unit in Swedish wars' ²⁷⁸⁾	przytomność 'presence'
partyzant (1) 'soldier in guerrilla unit in guerrilla war' (2) 'supporter' ²⁷⁹⁾	rapt 'kidnap, attack'
partyzantka 'supporter' (fem.) ²⁸⁰⁾	rebelizant 'rebel'
persona/personat 'individual' ²⁸¹⁾	regalista 'royalist'
perspektywy 'obsolete kind of field-glasses'	regalistka <i>fem. of above</i>
peruka 'peruque' ²⁸²⁾	rezolut 'determined person'
petarda 'explosive material used formerly to blow up bridges, gates etc.'	rezun 'murderer'
podwika 'girl, woman'	rezydentka 'maid in waiting'
polityka 'good manners, behaviour' ²⁸³⁾	rozhowory (pl.) 'murmurings' ²⁸⁷⁾
potencja 'powerful State'	rusznica 'matchlock used in fifteenth-seventeenth centuries'
praktyki (pl.) 'collusion' ²⁸⁴⁾	rysią (iść) 'at a trot'
preopinant 'first person to give opinion'	sentymnt 'principle, conviction'
prezerwatywy (pl.) 'remedy'	sepecik 'small case for valuables'
prezydium 'garrison'	serpentyna 'curved sword carried by poor gentry'
procedernik 'person carrying on a trade' (S) ²⁸⁵⁾	sotnia 'unit of 100 Cossacks'
prospekt 'view'	statysta 'diplomat' ²⁸⁸⁾
prywatna 'personal interest' ²⁸⁶⁾	substancja 'property' ²⁸⁹⁾
	supiry 'sighs' (S)
	szerpentyna <i>see</i> serpentyna
	szuhaleja 'flat river boat'
	śloza 'tear' ²⁹⁰⁾
	talar 'thaler' ²⁹¹⁾
	termin 'situation, position' ²⁹²⁾
	traktament 'behaviour, treatment'

277) Not cited by PS.

278) Enclosed in quotation marks in P.V., pp. 35, 56, 57, 58, but not on pp. 36, 56 (where it occurs twice).

279) PS designates these definitions as *daw*. Present-day definition is "volunteer in irregular unit".

280) Aleksandra Billewiczówna is called "*Jana Kazimierza najzarliwsza partyzantka*" (P. III, p. 123).

281) Present-day usage is "jocular or ironical".

282) PS does not annotate this as *daw*, but defines it as a kind of wig "worn in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries".

283) E.g. *tak politykę nawet z hultajstem obserwował* (P. II, p. 148).

284) E.g. *praktyki radziwiłłowskie* (P. III, p. 47).

285) Used contemptuously by Zagłoba (P. IV, p. 123). PS refers to *procederzysta*.

286) Sienkiewicz also spells this word as *privata* (P. I, pp. 118, 159).

287) Used of frogs (OM. III, p. 264).

288) Now used of 'supernumary'.

289) E.g. *swoje... substancje od pomsty szwedzkiej uchronić* (P. IV, p. 2).

290) Now used jocularly (PS).

291) From letter "T" definitions derive from Jan KARŁOWICZ and others, *op. cit.*, and from Jan PASEK, *Pamiętniki* (Warsaw, 1955), pp. 434-450.

292) E.g. *ciężkie terminy* (P. I, p. 262), *desperackie terminy* (P. II, p. 34), *straszne i haniebne terminy* (P. III, pp. 17, 39), *w... ostatnich terminach* (PW. II, p. 60) etc.

triumf 'triumph'²⁹³⁾
 tryumf *see* triumf
 tryumfator 'he who triumphs'
 tumulcik 'uproar directed against
 someone'
 tumult *see* tumulcik
 wiktoria 'victory'
 wizerunek 'likeness, portrait'
 wstręt 'obstacle'
 wyderkaf 'redeemable sum of
 money'
 zimownik 'Cossack winter quarters'

Category II:

alterować (się) 'to lose one's temper'
 bisurmanić 'to be converted to
 Moslem religion'
 desperować 'to despair'
 grasować 'to maraud'
 imaginować 'to conceive, imagine'
 imainować²⁹⁴⁾ *see* imaginować
 mieszkąć 'to delay'²⁹⁵⁾
 nawidzieć 'to like'
 negować 'to deny'
 politykować 'to be tactful'
 praktykować 'to conspire'
 rozpoznoskować 'to investigate'²⁹⁶⁾
 spenetrować 'to explore'²⁹⁷⁾

Category III:

charakterny 'spirited'²⁹⁸⁾
 desperacki 'desperate'
 grzeczny 'energetic, appropriate,
 handsome'²⁹⁹⁾
 komputerowe (wojska) *see* komputer
 in Category I
 kwarciane (wojsko) 'regular army'
 luty 'fierce'
 moderowane (piechoty) 'equipped
 infantry troops'
 okrutny 'very, large'³⁰⁰⁾
 polityczny 'civil'³⁰¹⁾
 przytomny 'present'
 słuszne (wojsko) 'adequate, suff-
 icient'
 stateczny 'permanent'³⁰²⁾
 warowny (gród) 'manned town'

Category IV:

krotofilnie 'jokingly'³⁰³⁾
 okrutnie 'very, greatly'³⁰⁴⁾
 politycznie 'well brought-up, tact-
 fully, politely'
 po desperacku 'desperately'

293) Like Pasek, Sienkiewicz differentiates between this word and "wiktoria" (the difference being much as in English).

294) The only citation for this verb in PS is Sienkiewicz (P. V, p. 161). It has perfective *wymainować* (P. IV, p. 181, PW. I, p. 19, PW. III, p. 91) etc.

295) Used as *niemieszkając* (P. II, p. 90).

296) E.g. *rozpoznoskować walkę* (OM. I, p. 194). See PS s.v. *rozpoznoskować*.

297) As used by Pasek (*op. cit.*, p. 223). Sienkiewicz has *spenetruje on wszystko dobrze, zanim uderzy* (P. III, p. 103).

298) Used of Aleksandra Billewiczówna [*dziw, jak charakterna* (P. VI, p. 37)].

299) E.g. *grzeczna myśl* (P. III, p. 93), *grzeczna rada* (P. II, p. 72), *grzeczna jazda* (P. IV, p. 4), *piechoty... są grzeczne, ale jazdy im brak* (P. V, p. 13), *grzeczna fortalicja* (P.W. II, p. 8) *grzeczna zemsta* (PW. III, p. 146).

300) Used with such words as *konsternacja* (P. I, p. 216), *cisza* (P. I, p. 119), *blaski* (P. IV, p. 52), *fantazja* (P. III, p. 206) etc.

301) E.g. *na kogo politycznego trafię* (P. IV, p. 15). The Swedes are described as *polityczny naród* (P. V, p. 107).

302) E.g. *stateczna łaska* (P. II, p. 79).

303) E.g. *Zagłoba począł mrugać krotofilnie...* (OM. III, p. 124).

304) E.g. *okrutnie możny* (P. V, p. 12), *dziwili się okrutnie* (P. III, p. 191) etc.

<i>Category V:</i>	jeno 'as soon as, just then'
któren (relative and interrogative pronoun) ³⁰⁵⁾	ki? (interrogative) ³⁰⁹⁾
on/ona/ono/one (demonstrative pronoun) ³⁰⁶⁾	-li? (interrogative) ³¹⁰⁾
	miasto 'instead of' ³¹¹⁾
	przec? 'why?'
	zali...? (interrogative)

Category VI:

aza (interrogative)³⁰⁷⁾
 azali (interrogative)
 gwoli 'for the sake of'
 jakoż 'and indeed'³⁰⁸⁾

Category VII:

niedziela 'week'³¹²⁾
 pacierz 'time required to recite the Paternoster'³¹³⁾

Archaic forms of address (Category VIII) are very frequent throughout the Trilogy: the commonest are *waćpan*, *waszmość*, *waszmość pan*, *waszeć*, *waćpani*, *waćpanna* and the plural *waszmościowie*.³¹⁴⁾ As is known, these — and other — forms of address were used in seventeenth-century Poland with considerable care and attention to the social status of both speaker and person addressed.³¹⁵⁾ Sienkiewicz observes these

305) A contemporary critic (Stanisław Krzemiński) objected to Sienkiewicz's frequent use of this pronoun (see Tomasz JODELKO, *op. cit.*, p. 164). Professor Krzyżanowski believes Sienkiewicz used it in his own speech, in which case it should be disregarded here (Julian KRZYŻANOWSKI, *W kręgu wielkich realistów*, Cracow, 1962, p. 124. Professor Krzyżanowski's essay investigates briefly some of the textual problems in the Trilogy. The Warsaw, 1965, edition is "based on the second edition, corrected by the author, taking into consideration the manuscript and first edition". There are a number of minor changes, corrections of misprints etc.).

306) See also Appendix I.

307) E.g. *Aza waćpani wiesz, co to zdobyte miasto?* (P.W. III, p. 86).

308) One of Sienkiewicz's favourite conjunctions. It is doubtful whether he regarded it as "archaic". Like most of the items listed in all categories, it is used in both narrative and dialogue passages.

309) For the obsolescence of this particle except in set phrases, e.g. *ki diabeł?* see Bronisław WIECZORKIEWICZ and Roxana SINIELNIKOFF, *Elementy gramatyki historycznej języka polskiego* (Warsaw, 1965), p. 115.

310) E.g. *a wiesz-li, czy żyw stąd wyjdiesz?* (OM. I, p. 72). Other examples: *ibid.*, pp. 73, 76, 129, 223 etc.

311) Zenon KLEMENSIEWICZ and others, *Zapomniane konstrukcje składni staropolskiej* (Wrocław, 1966), p. 9. Sienkiewicz writes, for example: *w lasach miasto chłodu było tak duszno, iż...* (OM. II, p. 117).

312) E.g. *już dwie niedziele w Czehrynie* (OM. I, p. 26), also OM. III, p. 221: P. III, p. 42: P.W. I, p. 81.

313) E.g. *w kilka pacierzy* (OM. II, p. 194), also P. IV, p. 174: P. VI, p. 48: P.W. I, pp. 55, 74: P.W. III, p. 240. For a general survey of the foregoing, see Zofia MITROS, "Archaiczne formy fleksyjne w *Ogniem i mieczem*", *Prace polonistyczne* XII (1955), pp. 53-70.

314) But see Julian KRZYŻANOWSKI, *W kręgu wielkich realistów* (*op. cit.*) p. 124 for probable typographical interference and "corrections" of Sienkiewicz's usage. The Warsaw, 1965 edition of the Trilogy has minor variants e.g. *I.M. Panów* [OM. I, p. 43 (1949)] becomes *ichmościów panów* [OM. I, p. 52 (1965)].

315) Jan PASEK, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-227, expressed his indignation at being addressed as *mości panie i przyjacielu!* rather than *mości panie i bracie!*

differences scrupulously: characters who belong to the gentry and are therefore socially equal address each other as *waśc* (Skrzetuski to Bohun, Podbipięta to Skrzetuski).³¹⁶⁾ Skrzetuski addresses Helena as *mością panno*, and refers to her as *jejmościanka*. Helena and Zagłoba address each other as *waćpanna* and *waćpan* during their flight (OM. II, pp. 36ff.). Zagłoba allows Wołodyjowski to continue calling him *waćpan* after the former's election to the dignity of *regimentarz*, when he should properly be titled *jaśny wielmożny regimentarz* or *wasza wielmożność* (P. III, pp. 95, 98-99).

The Radziwiłł brothers address each other in public as *wasza książęca mość*,³¹⁷⁾ but when they are alone Janusz says: "Nie mościmy się mościami!" (P. III, p. 117). Bogusław Radziwiłł addresses Kmicic as *waćpan*, *kawalerze*, *panie kawalerze* and (on learning his identity) as *panie chorąży orszański* (P. II, pp. 196-199). When Kmicic takes the name "Babinicz", his men find it difficult to address him as *waszeć* (P. III, pp. 45-46). Whereas Kmicic calls Kiemlicz "*panie Kiemlicz*" and *mości Kiemlicz*, the latter addresses him as *wasza miłość* (P. II, p. 30). Further down the social scale the pitch-burner addresses Kmicic's sergeant-major Soroka as *wielmożny panie żołnierzu!* and *mój jegomość* (P. III, pp. 4, 7). A peasant boy calls Roch Kowalski *wielmożny panie!* (P. III, p. 79). Terms of contempt include *aspan* (OM. III, p. 39), *acan* (P. III, p. 50), *mopanku* (P. IV, p. 40).

The range of the foregoing samples is supplemented throughout the Trilogy by items of archaic syntax.³¹⁸⁾ These include variant forms of masculine nouns (and names) in the nominative plural (-owie/-y/-i):³¹⁹⁾ *Anglicy* (PW. I, p. 174), but *Anielczykowie* (*ibid.*, p. 181), *Butrymowie* (P. I, p. 62), but *Butrymy* (*ibid.*, p. 80) and *Butrymi* (*ibid.*, pp. 63, 85), *chłopi* (P. III, pp. 184, 186) but *chłopy* (OM. II, p. 75 and P. II, p. 63), *dragoni* (P. I, p. 248) but *dragony* (*ibid.*, p. 249), *grasanci* (P. IV, pp. 1, 4), but "*grasanty*"³²⁰⁾ (P. VI, p. 17), *mnisi* (P. III, p. 220), but *te białe mnichy* (P. III, p. 204), *pospolitacy* (OM. II, p. 239, but *pospolitaki* (P. I, pp. 181, 188, 229), *Radziwiłłowie* (P. I, p. 215) but *Radziwiłły* (*ibid.*, p. 208), *Septentrionowie* (P. III, p. 77) but *Septentriony* (P. IV, p. 170), *Szwedzi* (P. II, p. 72), but *Szwedy* (P. IV, p. 67), *Tatarzy* (P. IV, pp. 183, 184) but also *Tatarowie* (P. IV, p. 203). The substantive *wilk* occurs in the nominative plural *wilcy*³²¹⁾ (OM. II, p. 63, OM. IV, p. 84, etc.).

Additional archaic linguistic colouring is provided by the occasional

316) Examples drawn from OM. I, pp. 16ff.

317) How "archaic" this phrase was to Sienkiewicz is arguable: when writing to Michał Radziwiłł in 1897, Sienkiewicz addressed him as *Jaśnie Oświecony Mości Książę!* (*Dziela* LVI, p. 114).

318) Most of the variant forms occur in dialogue, letters, "represented discourse", characters "thinking" and the like.

319) See Bronisław WIECZORKIEWICZ and Roxana SINIELNIKOFF, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79, also Antonina OBRĘBSKA-JABŁOŃSKA, "*Od archaizmu do nowej formy językowej*", *Stylistyka teoretyczna w Polsce* (Warsaw, 1946), p. 210. The contemptuous or ironical tone of the -y/-i endings for nouns denoting male persons is, of course, intentional.

320) The quotation marks are those of Sienkiewicz.

321) See Antonina OBRĘBSKA-JABŁOŃSKA, *op. cit.* for this form.

use of instrumental plurals ending in -y (-i):³²²⁾ *nie tylko bogactwy... ale i miłością* (P. V, p. 27), *nad kaliskimi chłopcy* (P. I, p. 155), *dziw... nad dziwy* (P. II, p. 9), *między "dworzany"* (PW. I, p. 139), *z hetmany* (OM. I, pp. 41, 113, 115, 211), *nad hetmany* (OM. I, p. 27, OM. II, p. 241), *wojny z Kozaki*³²³⁾ (P. V, p. 15), *ze swymi Kozaki* (PW. III, p. 95), *z panięty* (OM. I, p. 225), *z pogany* (OM. I, pp. 99, 100, 160, P. V, p. 27), *ze Szwedy* (P. VI, p. 51), *z Tatory* (OM. I, p. 121, OM. II, p. 272, P. IV, pp. 220, 223, P. V, p. 100 etc.).

Another item providing archaic colouring is Sienkiewicz's occasional use of nominal forms of adjectives (masculine singular only):³²⁴⁾ *w parowie usieczon* (P. IV, p. 176), *orzeźwion wielce* (*ibid.*, p. 176),³²⁵⁾ *pogrążon w modlitwie* (P. III, p. 187), *Azja-bej usieczon* (PW. II, p. 81, *koń... postrzelon* (*ibid.*, p. 82), *przez gallicką chorobę toczon* (P. III, p. 8 and P. V, p. 3), *gdyby książę nie był tak zmęczon* (P. VI, p. 90), *ranami wycieńczon* (P. IV, p. 160), *Bohun zabit* (OM. II, p. 162), *znużon drogą* (P. VI, p. 22) and the like.

II. THE MACARONIC STYLE

In addition to the archaic language and syntax in the Trilogy, Sienkiewicz obtains an archaic stylistic effect by the use of the macaronic style, i.e. an "organic blending of two languages... Latin and the *sermo vulgaris* of the writer".³²⁶⁾ The style was highly regarded by seventeenth-century Polish writers of prose, as witness Pasek's *Pamiętniki* or the collection of letters, reports and other documents known as Michałowski's *Księga pamiątnicza*.³²⁷⁾ Characters in the Trilogy adopt the style to adorn passages of Baroque oratory or letters (e.g. Jan Kazimierz's letter exonerating Kmicic P. VI, pp. 224-227), also in passages of dialogue (though it also occurs in narrative, where it may be attributed to the "naive narrator"). However, Sienkiewicz generally uses Latin words or

322) Bronisław WIECZORKIEWICZ and Roxana SINIENIKOFF, *op. cit.* describe the use of this ending as "an example of false archaisation of language" when it occurs in contemporary literary works (p. 95).

323) Cf. Samuel TWARDOWSKI's poem entitled *Wojna domowa z Kozaki i Tatory, Moskwą, potym Szwedami i z Węgrzy...* (1681).

324) Bronisław WIECZORKIEWICZ and Roxana SINIENIKOFF, *op. cit.*, p. 119. These authors point out that "obviously, the further we reach back into the past of the language, the more of these forms we shall find".

325) As an example of Sienkiewicz's use of archaic forms in narrative and dialogue, it may be remarked that the first quotation is in dialogue, the second (on the same page) in a narrative passage.

326) Marian PELCZYŃSKI, *Studia macaronica* (Poznań, 1960), p. 7. See also Stefania SKWARCZYŃSKA, "Estetyka makaronizmu", *Z zagadnień poetyki* Nr. 6 (Wilno, 1937), pp. 337-370. In this essay, Professor SKWARCZYŃSKA does not restrict the macaronic style to Latin, but says that "linguistic macaronism depends on words of a certain language, interwoven into the flow of another, submit to the laws of its changes (i.e. the second language — D.W.) while retaining their own separate physiognomy" (p. 338).

327) Cracow, 1864. Sienkiewicz used the work as one of his sources for *Ogniem i mieczem* (cf. *Kalendarz*, p. 105).

phrases which require no explanation, e.g. stock phrases like *aut pacem, aut bellum* (OM. I, p. 73), *dies irae et calamitatis* (*ibid.*, p. 117), *primus inter pares* (*ibid.*, p. 206), *consuetudo altera natura* (OM. II, p. 197), *crescite et multiplicamini* (*ibid.*, p. 256), *nec Hercules contra plures* (P. II, p. 31), *horribile dictu i auditu* (P. III, p. 133) etc.

Latin nouns used alone, whether in narrative or dialogue, become (grammatically) part of the Polish phrase or sentence in which they are embedded: *delikatne instrumentum*³²⁸ (OM. I, p. 67), *žadne arca na ostać nie mogą* (*ibid.*, p. 103), *animalia lubią się wylegiwać* (OM. III, p. 265), *fructa zdrady smakują* (P. II, p. 6), *ta przekłeta febris* (P. VI, p. 87), *febris opuściła mnie... nie takie paludes jako na Żmudzi* (*ibid.*, p. 107), *na Mons regius się wybiera* (PW. I, p. 35) or *na Montem regium zajazd uczynić* (*ibid.*, p. 36).

Latin adverbs occur: *przyjmowano mnie tak honeste* (OM. I, p. 39), *zawsze libenter w tamą stronę jeździć będę* (*ibid.*, p. 103), *synów legitime natos nie mam* (OM. II, p. 223), *mówił... negligenter* (OM. III, p. 46), *zginiemy totaliter* (*ibid.*, p. 103), *accurate mu wpłuczmy* (P. II, p. 57), etc.

Sienkiewicz restricts the use of the macaronic style to characters who may be supposed to have attended school when younger: women characters do not employ it. Zagłoba indulges in it, especially in his flights of oratory, though Wołodyjowski admits (during a quarrel with Charłamp): "...widzę żeś waćpan praktyk nie lada i mąż uczony, a ja, jakom tylko infimę *minorum* praktykował, ledwie *adjectivus cum substantivo* pogodzić umiem..." (OM. III, p. 131).

The macaronic style of the seventeenth century was characterised not only by the adoption of Latin words and phrases, but by the employment of such features of Latin prose as the tricolon and tetracolon. We cannot determine whether Sienkiewicz absorbed this "classical" stylistic feature from reading Latin historians, or from seventeenth-century memoirs (or both),³²⁹ but this '*commodissima et absolutissima exornatio*'³³⁰ occurs frequently throughout the Trilogy. Examples of the tricolon (i.e. sentences which fall into three parts) used to elevate the tone of speeches include: "Nie przed sędziami tu stoję, jeno przed zbójcami,/ nie przed szlachtą, jeno przed chłopstwem,/ nie przed rycerstwem, jeno przed barbarzyństwem" (OM. I, p. 159) — as Skrzetuski reminds Chmielnicki. Appealing to the townspeople of Lwów, Arciszewski cries: "Trzymajcie się,/ bronście,/ zadzierżcie tego nieprzyjaciela" (OM. III, p. 116). Stankiewicz appeals to Radziwiłł: "Wspomnij na imię, które nosisz,/ na zasługi, które ojczyźnie oddałeś,/ na sławę niepokalaną dotąd rodu twego" (P. I, p. 283). Addressing the assembled gentry after his election to *regimentarz*, Zagłoba uses two tricolons in rapid succession: "Przy królu naszym prawowitym,/ przy naszym elekcie,/ i przy miłej ojczyźnie stać będziemy!" and "Czekamy cię, nie w rozproszeniu,

328) Latin words and phrases are italicised in the original.

329) Tricolons for rhetorical and elevating effect occur in the Bible, cf. *Pismo św. w przekładzie polskim W.O. Jakuba Wujka*, św. Mateusz V, 34-35, VI, 26, 31, VIII, 6, 20 etc. Julian Krzyżanowski, *Nauka o literaturze (op. cit.)* points out the frequency of tricolons in the writings of Skarga, Zeromski and Reymont (p. 138). See also Władysław Słobkowski, "*Szyjłowe prace*" *Stefana Zeromskiego: studium monograficzne* (Warsaw, 1966), pp. 237-240.

330) *Auctor ad Herennium* iv, 26. See also L.P. WILKINSON, *Golden Latin Artistry* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 176-178.

ale w kupie,/ nie w dyskordii, ale w zgodzie,/ nie z papierami, paktami, ale z mieczem w ręku!" (P. II, pp. 89-90). Kordecki's speech to the Jasna Góra garrison when they are losing heart includes: "Błuznicie przeciw miłosierdziu bożemu,/ przeciw wszechmocy Pana naszego,/ przeciw potędze tej patronki, której sługami się mianujecie" (P. III, p. 269). Fr. Kamiński's prayer with which *Pan Wołodyjowski* concludes has "ześlij nam obrońcę,/ ześlij sprośnego Mahometa pogromcę,/... ześlij go, Panie!" (III, p. 248).³³¹⁾

Tricolons appear in narrative passages of the Trilogy, suggesting Sienkiewicz had absorbed this stylistic feature into his technique. Tricolons are found (as in the speeches quoted above) at moments of heightened tone, e.g. during the Jasna Góra siege: "I długo brzmiały te krzyki wraz ze szlochaniem niewiast,/ ze skargami nieszczęśliwych,/ z prośbami o cud chorych lub kalek" (P. III, p. 188), and announcing Azja's "moment of decision": "Chwila stanowcza,/ chwila oczekiwana,/ chwila największego dla niego szczęścia — nadeszła" (PW. III, p. 17). Elsewhere, a tricolon emphasises irony: "Wszak Karol Gustaw uwolnił ich od tyrańca,/ wszak dobrowolnie opuścili prawego monarcha,/ wszak mieli ową odmianę, której pożądaną tak silnie" (P. III, p. 143). As most of the above examples show, Sienkiewicz's tricolons usually conform to the "law of increasing numbers" by which the last member is the longest, which governed their use in classical Latin prose.³³²⁾

Four-part arrangement of sentences (tetracolons) is also found in classical Latin prose: examples from the Trilogy include "wzięły dziewczynę i za Dniepr ruszył,/ na boży step,/ na dzikie ługi,/ na ciche wody" (OM. II, p. 12), "Bił się z wami, dobrymi mołojcami,/ żył z wami, dobrymi mołojcami,/ — i krew przelewał z wami, dobrymi mołojcami,/ i głodem marł z wami, dobrymi mołojcami" (OM. I, pp. 154-155). Kisiel complains he is labouring "w bólu,/ w męce,/ i w hańbie,/ i w zwątpieniu prawie od wszystkiego straszniejszym" (OM. III, p. 225). Kmicic says contemptuously of the rebel Poles: "Króla nie słuchają,/ sejmy rwą,/ podatków nie płacą,/ nieprzyjacielowi sami do zawojowania tej ziemi pomagają" (P. III, p. 181). The terrified gentry in Jasna Góra at the height of the siege cry: "Królowo anielska! ratuj,/ wspomóż,/ pociesz,/ zmiłuj się nad nami!" (P. III, p. 188). The Swedes come to believe of the Poles: "Nie ma w tym narodzie męstwa,/ nie ma stałości,/ nie ma ładu,/ nie ma wiary ani patriotyzmu!" (P. IV, p. 8). Ketling, giving voice to his feelings, tells Kryśka: "Wolę cię niżli królestwo,/ niżli scepter,/ niżli zdrowie,/ niżli długi wiek" (PW. I, p. 127), and she is overcome by "i strach,/ i wstyd,/ i wielka niemoc,/ i jakaś omdłałość, zarazem bolesna i luba" (*ibid.*, p. 136). At her husband's funeral, Basia reflects: "Jeno żal, ciemność, rozpacz, martwota,/ jeno nieszczęście niepowrotne,/ jeno życie zabite i złamane,/ jeno błędna świadomość, że..." (PW. III, p. 246).³³³⁾

Another feature of the macaronic style as it occurs in seventeenth-century Baroque oratory is the fondness the orators show — along with their classical forebears — for rhetorical questions, which often

331) See also P. I, p. 93, P. III, p. 136 for examples.

332) L.P. WILKINSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-178.

333) Other examples: P. I, p. 271, P. III, p. 293, P. IV, pp. 36, 51, P. V, p. 50. PW. I, p. 146, PW. III, pp. 260-261. For tricolons and tetracolons in PASEK's *Pamiętniki* see *op. cit.*, (Warsaw, 1955), pp. 61, 73, 96, 105, 112, 117, 119, 126, 135, 139, 181, 190, 193, 195, etc.

occur three in succession. Zagłoba demands: "Zalim się ze swymi zasługami nie kryć? Zalim się przed wami chwalić? Zalim o tę godność, którąście mnie ozdobili, tentował? (P. II, p. 89). Opaliński demands of the military council: "I za co cierpimy? Za co zajmą nasze trzody, wydepcą zboża, podpalą wsie pracą naszą zbudowane? Czy myśmy krzywdzili Radziejowskiego, który niesłusznie osądzony i jak zbrodniarz ścigany, obcej protekcji szukać musiał?" (P. I, p. 172). Fr. Kamiński's funeral oration (already quoted) has: "a ty się nie zrywasz? szabli nie chwytasz? na koń nie siadasz?" (PW. III, p. 247).

Conceits of a Baroque kind are elaborated, as in Muchowiecki's oration at Podbięta's funeral: "Co to tam za stukanie słyszę po nocy w niebieskie podwoje? — pyta sędziwy klucznik Chrystusowy, ze smacznego snu zrywając. — Otwórz św. Pietrze, otwórz! jam Podbięta! — Lecz jakieś to uczynki, jakaż to szarża, jakie to zasługi ośmielają cię, mości Podbięto, tak zacnego furtiana inkomodować?"³³⁴ (OM. IV, pp. 137-138).

Kmicic's love-letter to Aleksandra obtains its elevated tone from stylistic effects deriving from the macaronic style: Latinism (respektuję, desperacja /twice/), rhetorical questions ("...któż będzie się dziwił gniewowi, który w krwi przyjacielskiej rozlanej początek bierze?"), repetitions ("w desperacji sypiam i w desperacji się budzę") and a resounding tetracolon: "Niechże mnie, nieszczęsnego, trybunały osądzą,/ niech sejmy wyroki potwierdzą,/ niech włożą mnie do trąby, do infamii./ niech ziemia rozstąpi się pod nogami..." (P. I, pp. 91-92).³³⁵

Another characteristic feature of the macaronic style is that it is anti-Ciceronian, marked by asymmetry in the length of clauses, which are loosely connected by weak conjunctions or none.³³⁶ Chmielnicki's oratory in his speech to the Sicz council is anti-Ciceronian:

Mości panowie pułkownicy i atamani dobrodziejstwo! Wiadomo wam, jako dla wielkich i niewinnie cierpianych krzywd naszych musieliśmy za broni uchwycić, a z pomocą najjaśniejszego carza krymskiego o dawne wolności i przywileje, odjęte nam bez woli króla jegomości, od paniąt się upomnieć, którą imprezę Bóg błogosławił i spuściwszy na nieszczęrych tyranów naszych strach, wcale im niezwyčajny, nieprawdy i uciski ich pokarał, a nam znacznymi wiktoriaami wynagrodził, za co wdzięcznym sercem powinniśmy dziękować (OM. II, pp. 139-140).

Oratorical features of this speech include the elaborate Latinate word-order, with main verbs at the end, and the Latinate *impreza*, *tyran* and *wiktoria*. Other speeches in which similar stylistic features are used include that delivered by Zagłoba already quoted in part (P. III, p. 89), Zamoyski's speech (*ibid.*, p. 213), Kordecki's (*ibid.*, pp. 268-269), Jan Kazimierz's vow (P. IV, pp. 145-146).

334) Perhaps a reminiscence of PASEK's "St. Peter" conceit (*op. cit.*, p. 73).

335) Baroque oratory for comic effect in Kokosiński's address to Aleksandra (P. I, p. 41). Another letter containing rhetoric and oratory is that by Jan Kazimierz (P. VI, pp. 224-227). Sienkiewicz remarks that Helena does not know how to write "ornamentally, rhetorically" (OM., I, p. 94), being a woman.

336) MORRIS W. CROLL, *Style, Rhetoric and Rhythm* (Princeton, 1966), pp. 207-236. For further Polish examples of the anti-Ciceronian prose style, see BRONISŁAW NADOLSKI, *ed. Wybór mów staropolskich* (Wrocław, 1961).

Speakers use classical allusions of many kinds: Roman history is called upon to furnish examples, as when Wiśniowiecki reminds his troops "Gdy Cymbrowie i Teutonie napadli na Rzeczpospolitę rzymską, nikt nie chciał ubiegać się o konsulat, aż go wziął Mariusz..." (OM. III, p. 111). Charles X Gustavus of Sweden with Czarniecki attacking him in flight are likened to Alexander the Great and Darius (P. V, pp. 34ff.). Gods and goddesses of classical mythology are frequently evoked, as in the seventeenth-century memoirs where Mars, Apollo, Venus and the rest provide an inexhaustible supply of allusions and imagery.

To be sure, the passages of Baroque oratory constitute only a small portion of the text in the Trilogy, but they produce stylistic effects out of all proportion to their length, and demonstrate Sienkiewicz's skill in providing his characters with "appropriate language".³³⁷⁾

III. PROSE STYLE

Piotr Chmielowski criticised Sienkiewicz's handling of Polish prose style and pointed to "careless writing", "excessive use of relative pronouns", repetitive use of the auxiliary verb *być* and of the reflexive particle *się*, as well as Latinisms alien to Polish.³³⁸⁾ Be this as it may, Sienkiewicz's prose passes Saintsbury's test already referred to — it possesses "variety". Some aspects of this variety have already been discussed here (in narrative, vocabulary and syntax). It would be unjust to compare passages drawn from the prose of writers like Kraszewski or Orzeszkowa, whose attitude towards style was fundamentally different from that of Sienkiewicz. They felt that the importance of their subject lay in the subject itself, less so (if at all) in the way they treated it. They may even be suspected of feeling that the novel as a literary form was still disreputable, and therefore required fine writing to raise it to a more elevated level: hence their elaborate inversions, periphrastic turns of phrase, polysyllabic words and other marks of literary decorum. Their duty was to heighten the difference between "literary" and "plain" Polish.³³⁹⁾

Sienkiewicz rejected that kind of writing in favour of clarity as witness the opening paragraphs of *Ogniem i mieczem*:³⁴⁰⁾ Rok 1647

337) Randolph QUIRK, *op. cit.*, *passim*. Sienkiewicz's use of "Ukrainian" was criticised by his contemporaries (Krzemiński, Świętochowski, cf. Tomasz JODELKO, *op. cit.*, pp. 164, 130-131). A.M. THEMELIDI said of it: "No Slavist can define what language these words are: Poles suppose it to be Little Russian, while people who know South Russian dialects take it for archaic Polish" (*Genryk Senkevich*, 2nd ed., St. Petersburg, 1912). First published 1885. Julian KRZYŻANOWSKI, *W kręgu wielkich realistów* (*op. cit.*, p. 126) investigates probable tampering by proof-readers.

338) Piotr CHMIEŁOWSKI, *Stylistyka polska wraz z nauką kompozycji pisarskiej* (Warsaw, 1903), pp. 22, 25, 26, 41, 141.

339) For examples, see the opening paragraph of KRASZEWSKI's *Zygmuntowskie czasy* (1846, "revised" 1873), and ORZESZKOWA's *Czciciel potęgi* (1890) for characteristic passages of course, be excluded from these generalisations.

340) A difficulty in the stylistic analysis of prose fiction has been formulated by Mrs. Q. LEAVIS, who said: "A critic of a poem can cite specimen stanzas and crucial passages — the critic of a novel cannot cite a chapter (the equivalent of a stanza or line), and the paragraph or two he may quote is too short an extract to set up the rhythm of the book" (*Fiction and the Reading Public*, London, 1932, p. 213).

był to dziwny rok, w którym rozmaite znaki na niebie i ziemi zwiastowały jakoweś klęski i nadzwyczajne zdarzenia.

"Współcześni kronikarze wspominają, iż z wiosny szarańcza w niesłychanej ilości wyroiła się z Dzikich Pól i zniszczyła zasiewy i trawy, co było przepowiednią napadów tatarskich..." (OM. I, p. 1).

This passage and the next few paragraphs are fairly representative of Sienkiewicz's expository style, as he describes and lists facts. The sentences tend to be of medium length. There are no words that draw attention to themselves.³⁴¹ Another representative though very different passage is the following: "Leciały kule, granaty, kartacze; leciał na głowy broniących się gruz, cegły, tynk; dym pomieszał się z kurzawą, żar ognia z żarem słonecznym. Piersiom brakło powietrza, oczom widoku; huk armat, pękanie granatów, zgrzyt kul po kamieniach, wrzaski tureckie, okrzyki obrońców utworzyły jedną straszną kapelę, której do wtóru brzmiały echa skał. Zasypywano pociskami zamek, zasypywano miasto, wszystkie bramy, wszystkie baszty. Lecz zamek bronił się zaciekle, piorunami na pioruny odpowiadał, trząsł się, świecił, dymił, ział ogniem i śmiercią, i zniszczeniem..." (PW. III, pp. 238-239). The passage is marked by chaotic enumeration,³⁴² in which single words (nouns and verbs here) are hastily noted down as the narrative moves rapidly along. There is emphasis on acoustical effects and resounds with noises, always a feature of battle scenes in the Trilogy.

Sienkiewicz employs chaotic enumeration in scenes of disorder and confusion, e.g. the Sicz settlement with its thirty-eight taverns: "przed nim leżeli zawsze wśród śmieci, wiórów, kłód dębowych i kup końskiego nawozu półmartwi z przepicia się Zaporozcy, jedni w kamiennym śnie pogrążeni, drudzy z pianą na ustach, w konwulsjach lub atakach delirium. Inni, półpijani, wyjąc kozackie pieśni, spluwając, bijąc się lub całując, przeklinając kozaczy los lub płacząc na kozaczą biedę..." (OM. I, p. 147). The scene continues with an enumeration of articles on sale in the market-place: "...jaskrawe tkaniny wschodnie, lamy, altembasy, złotogłowia, sukno, cyc, drelich i płótno, potrzebne działa spiżowe i żelazne, skóry, futra, suszoną rybę, wiśnię i bakalie tureckie, naczynia kościelne, mosiężne półksiężycy złupione z minaretów i pozłacane krzyże zdarte z cerkwi, proch i broń sieczną, kije do spis i siodła..." (OM. I, pp. 147-148).

The Łubnie market-place is likewise marked by confused movement and noise: "A wszędy ścisk, zamieszanie i gwar jak w ulu. Najrozmaitsze stroje i najrozmaitsze barwy; żołnierstwo książęce spod różnych chorągwi: hajducy, pajucy, Żydzi w czarnych oponczach, chłopstwo, Ormianie w fioletowych myckach, Tatarzy w tołubach. Pełno języków, nawoływań, przekleństw, płaczu dzieci, szczekania psów i ryku bydła" (OM. II, pp. 108-109).³⁴³

341) For a close stylistic analysis of Skrzetuski's escape from Zbaraż see Halina KURKOWSKA and Stanisław SKORUPKA, *Stylistyka polska* (Warsaw, 1959), pp. 311-317. The authors draw attention to the "economy and rich vocabulary" and the "variety" of Sienkiewicz's use of verbs.

342) Leo SPITZER, *Linguistics and Literary History* (New York, 1962), p. 206.

343) Other examples of this effect appear during the Konstantynów battle (OM. II, p. 215), the siege of Zbaraż (OM. IV, p. 156), the siege of Jasna Góra (P. III, pp. 229-230), the description of Lwów after the arrival of Jan Kazimierz (P. IV, p. 141), the attack on Magnuszew (P. V, p. 134), the capture of the Kazanowski palace (*ibid.*, p. 203) and the massacre at Raszków (PW. III, p. 32).

Lists of titles and personal or place names recur throughout the Trilogy: Radziwiłł's followers include "ksiądz biskup Parczewski, ksiądz Białozor, pan Komorowski, pan Mierzejewski, pan Hlebowicz, starosta żmudzki, jeden młody Pac, oberszt Ganchof, pułkownik Mirski, Weissenhoff" (P. I, p. 266). Among those at Ujście are "pan wojewoda poznański, Krzysztof Opaliński... generał Wirtz... Andrzej Karol Grudziński, wojewoda kaliski, Maksymilian Miaskowski, kasztelan krzywiński, Paweł Gębicki, kasztelan międzyrzecki, i Andrzej Słupecki" (*ibid.*, pp. 197-198). Wołodyjowski's followers include "pan Wasilkowski... pan Muszalski... pan Miazga herbu Prus... pan Topór-Paderewski, i pan Oziewicz, i pan Szmut-Łpocki, i książę Owsiany, i pan Markos-Szeluta" (PW. III, p. 185).

Chmielnicki's allies include: "dziki Tuhaj-bej i Urum-mirza, i Artimgirej, i Nuradin, i Gałga, i Amurat i Subagazi" (OM. IV, p. 192). Wiśniowiecki's foes include: "straszliwy Krzywonos... Krzeczowski, miecz kozacki... Filon Dziedzała, pułkownik kropiwnicki, Fedor Łoboda perejaśławski, okrutny Fedoreńko kalnicki, dziki Puzkareńko połtawski... Szumejko niżyński, ognisty Czarnota hadziacki, Jakubowicz czehryński, dalej Nosacz, Hładki, Adamowicz, Głuch, Pułjan, Panicz..." (OM. II, p. 139).

These lists are reminiscent of the catalogues of names which seventeenth-century writers of verse and prose used to adorn their work, and which derived ultimately from the "Catalogue of ships" and "Trojan Order of Battle" in the *Iliad* (Bk. II).³⁴⁴

Sometimes, personal and place-names are used for comic effect: Zagłoba introduces Podbipięta as "pan Powsinoga... herbu Zerwipludry... z Psichkiszek" (OM. I, p. 24) and refers to his villages "Myszykiszki, Psikiszki, Pigwiszki, Syruciany, Ciapuciany, Kapuściany..." (OM. III, p. 175). The village "Sobota... niedaleko Piątku" is referred to twice (P. III, p. 45, pp. 59-60).³⁴⁵ Here, Sienkiewicz is indulging his linguistic inventiveness and (in the case of the two quotations from Zagłoba) adding a brief touch to his eloquent nature.

IV. "APPROPRIATE LANGUAGE"

Reference has already been made to Sienkiewicz's skill in providing his characters with language that is appropriate to their natures, the situations in which they find themselves (represented discourse) and the state of their feelings. Baroque oratory and the macaronic style are yet another variant on this kind of language. But it is in the dialogue passages of the Trilogy that Sienkiewicz demonstrates to the fullest his mastery of character-speech. In this respect, his gift rivals that of Dickens, and (like Dickens) Sienkiewicz is usually most at ease in the

344) Pasek (*op. cit.*) is always careful to list the titles of persons he refers to. Wespazjan Kochowski fills three pages with lists of army officers in his chronicle *Historia panowania Jana Kazimierza* (1683-1698) (Poznań, 1859), I, pp. 49-51. Bogusław Maskiewicz lists by name all twelve Dniepr cataracts from Kaduk to Wołny (*op. cit.*, p. 233). No doubt the careful enumeration was mainly in the interests of historical accuracy. See also p. 94 above.

345) SIENKIEWICZ's fondness for "speaking names" is also illustrated in *Bartek Zwycięzca* with the villages "Krzywda Górna, Krzywda Dolna, Wywłaszczyńce, Niedola" etc. (*Dziela II*, p. 200).

portrayal of comic figures (Zagłoba), grotesque ones (Podbipięta, Horypna), villains (Bohun, Bogusław and Janusz Radziwiłł, Azja), and minor characters (Rzędzian, Roch Kowalski, the Kiemlicz family, Kuklinowski). His heroes and heroines require less notice here: suffice it to say that they are, essentially, structural devices — the means by which the reader is brought into the world of the novel.³⁴⁶⁾

Zagłoba's literary ancestry has been traced back to the soldier-braggart of Plautus (the *miles gloriosus*).³⁴⁷⁾ His likeness to Falstaff has been remarked,³⁴⁸⁾ and in the Polish historical novel, his closest ancestor is Żytkiewicz in Czajkowski's *Stefan Czarniecki* — a blustering, boastful soldier who rescues the heroine of the novel by means of a *fortel* (stratagem).³⁴⁹⁾ But Sienkiewicz's Zagłoba excels Żytkiewicz in linguistic virtuosity. Every appearance of Żytkiewicz is marked by the set phrase "milion paręset bomb!" used twice and even three times on the same page. Sienkiewicz avoided this mechanical device in presenting Zagłoba. So individualised is every speech of Zagłoba that he can be identified by what he says (e.g. P. I, p. 201, where he is not named until p. 203).

The most striking feature of Zagłoba's utterances is his eloquence. When he has talked Lubomirski into accepting Czarniecki's leadership in expelling the Swedes from Poland, Sienkiewicz remarks "długo jeszcze rozprawiał pan Zagłoba, bo bardzo był rad z siebie, a ilekroć to się zdarzyło, tylekroć bywał i mowny nad zwykłą miarę, i mądrych sentencji pełen" (P. V, p. 69). Almost every appearance of Zagłoba throughout the pages of the Trilogy furnish examples of his *sententiae*, cast in the form of homely, pithy sayings and proverbs: "Złapał kozak Tatarzyna, a Tatarzyn za łeb trzyma" (P. II, p. 97, repeated P. V, p. 119), "Cały mój dowcip nie wart teraz tego, żeby nim buty smarować" (OM. II, p. 40), "kiedy w brzuchu pusto, w głowie groch z kapustą" (*ibid.*, p. 42), "kot powinien być łowny, a chłop mowny" (*ibid.*, p. 43).

Zagłoba's comparisons and similes are as homely as his other sayings: he fears Janusz Radziwiłł "mnie jako sum kaczkę połknie" (P. III, p. 101), or "mógł nas zjeść... jednego po drugim jako siedleckie obwarzanki" (*ibid.*, p. 109). He boasts (referring to Charles Gustavus) "przyciśnięliśmy go jako twaróg w worku" (P. V, p. 119) and insists "ja nie kurek na kościele, który się kręci dniem i nocą, jeść i spać nie potrzebując" (*ibid.*, p. 140), adding "Kto ma dzioby na gębie, ten ma wróble na myśli!" (*ibid.*, p. 141). He is still as inventive in the last volume of the Trilogy, and claims: "Ha! wart mój dowcip jeszcze czegoś lepszego, niż żeby go kury na śmieciach dziobały!" (PW. III, p. 93).

Zagłoba's speech is especially copious with oaths and abuse, as well as exclamations like "Uf!" and "ha!". Escorting Helena to the ferry, he cries: "Ustąpcie, ditki, żeby paraliż powytrząsał wam wszystkie członki, żebyście polegli, żebyście na palach pozdychali" (OM. II, p. 85).³⁵⁰⁾

346) D.C. MACINTYRE makes this comment on the heroes of Scott's novels cf. his "Scott and the Waverley Novels", *Review of English Literature* VIII (no. 3) (1966), p. 10.

347) Harold B. Segel, "From Albertus to Zagłoba: the Soldier-braggart in Polish Literature", *Indiana Slavic Studies* III (1963), pp. 76-112.

348) *Ibid.*, p. 107.

349) P. 250 in the Warsaw, 1961 edition.

350) Another example of the tricolon.

"Tfu! Tfu! nie lubię ja tych wielkich bitew! Niech je zaraza tłucze!" (*ibid.*, p. 203), "bogdaj was diabli w piekle walili!... Bogdaj ich nosaczna zżarła!... Niech to diabli porwą!" (*ibid.*, pp. 203-204). He continues to exclaim, wheeze and curse throughout the Trilogy: "Dlaboga... Bodaj kaduk porwał wszystkie rozkazy!" (PW. III, p. 92). In real life, Zagłoba would have been as intolerable as Mr. Micawber or Miss Bates (Jane Austen's *Emma*), but Sienkiewicz's linguistic virtuosity and creative imagination have made him a major figure in literature.

Sienkiewicz did not lavish as much artistic care on minor figures such as Podbipięta, whose "słuchać h a d k o" becomes as repetitious as Żytkiewicz's oath in *Stefan Czarniecki*. Similarly, Roch Kowalski's frequent references to his sword as "pani Kowalska"³⁵¹ are useful as a pointer to his character and indication of who is speaking, but cumulatively their effect is somewhat mechanical. Another secondary character made recognisable by his speech is Skrzetuski's servant Rzędzian "z Wąsoszy" though in his case it is *what* he says (e.g. "U mnie pierwsza reguła, żeby moje nie przepadło, bo co Pan Bóg dał, to trzeba szanować" P. III, p. 54), rather than his speech habits, which identify him.³⁵²

Sienkiewicz's fondness for diminutives when describing female characters was noticed above: he put this stylistic habit to effective use in the speeches of Kuklinowski who is threatening and torturing Kmicic: "Chodź, robaczku... przestawny żołnierzyku... harda duszyczko... sławny pułkowniczek..." (P. III, pp. 327-328). The contrast between these terms of endearment and Kuklinowski's sadism (he suspends Kmicic head down over a fire) adds to the dramatic effect of this incident.

Another item of "appropriate language" is the "Ukrainian" used from time to time by Bohun, Chmielnicki, Azja and several minor characters (Horpyna, Bohun's servant Anton, various peasants).³⁵³ Entire phrases occur, e.g. "A ty odlitaj, Laszku, od kolaski, koły step baczysz!" (OM. I, p. 50), "Ja niczoho ne znaju, pane. Kolyb ja szczo, abo szczo, abo bude szczo, to nechaj mini — oto, szczo" (*ibid.*, p. 235), "Szczob wam światyj Mikołaj daw zdorowla i szcztajje!" (OM. II, p. 65). Azja says "po rusińsku" "Ja toho skazaty ne umiju" (PW. II, p. 109). A feature of this language is the omission of personal endings from the past tense of verbs e.g. "słyszała ja, szczo... ja ne baczyła" (OM. II, p. 75), "ja jej na sen dała" (OM. III, p. 5). A Cossack says "Ja miał nogę przestreloną... Ja mu i nie służył..." (P. I, p. 129).³⁵⁴

Several songs in this language are quoted (OM. I, pp. 14, 161, 174 and elsewhere), as well as numerous exclamations and cries, e.g. "Spasi Chryste!" (OM. I, p. 31), "koli! koli!" (*ibid.*, p. 140), "Diw!... diw!... Lach!" (OM. IV, p. 129), "Bat'ku!" (OM. II, p. 17), "Hospody pomyłuj!" (*ibid.*, p. 24). When the action of the Trilogy shifts to Samogitia in *Potop*,

351) Perhaps another reminiscence of PASEK's *Pamiętniki*: "On uderzywszy dwiama /dwiema/ palcami wniec odpowie ia z tą tylko iedną Panną zwykłym tancować" SJP s.v. *miecz*.

352) P. III, pp. 48-55.

353) See footnote 332.

354) But see Zenon KLEMENSIEWICZ and others, *op. cit.*, (p. 8) giving the example "Tako ja nie posłała dziewczki swojej do domu Małgorzaty" (*Zapiski i roty polskie XV-XVI w.*), for occurrence of the form in Polish.

a few examples of local pronunciation occur: a servant announces Kmicic as "Panas Kmitas" (P. I, p. 12), Józwa Butrym says "Jeszcze by nie kciał... niedźwiedz nie kce miodu", (*ibid.*, p. 49) and a peasant says "Ja tam nie kce wracać" (*ibid.*, p. 56). The rendering of "ch" by "k" also occurs in "nie kodź... kłopc... kłopiec" (*ibid.*, p. 101).

The appearance of various Tartar and Turkish characters is marked by the use of various exotic words, e.g. "Ała", "effendi", "esaul", "chan", "sułtan", "bej", — occurring indifferently in narrative and dialogue, but placed in a context where their meaning is clear.³⁵⁵ Sienkiewicz (as almost always) does not have to halt the narrative to explain them either in the text or in foot-notes.

* * *

The foregoing lists and quotations indicate that Sienkiewicz possessed a remarkably wide and variegated linguistic and syntactical range. He was not, perhaps, a particularly fine writer who demanded of himself the *mot juste*. But so wide was his range that words seem to have been at his disposal when required, and he put them to the service of fiction in much the same way that fiction to the service of history. One of Sienkiewicz's innovations in Polish prose was that he could use almost any word, from items of poetic diction to vulgarisms (e.g. the oaths, abuse and imprecations with which many pages of the Trilogy abound). There were few "words of avoidance" in his vocabulary, except those required by decorum and convention. In this respect, Sienkiewicz's use of Polish in his novels can be likened to that of Mickiewicz, who — sixty years earlier — had liberated the language of poetry.

CONCLUSION

Any account of the development of nineteenth-century fiction in Europe must notice — even though briefly — the publication of *Madame Bovary* in 1857. Flaubert's novel was a "turning point" in fiction, and his fiction was to be the "source of every important technical advance"³⁵⁶ in that craft. The key-word here is "technical". Flaubert succeeded as no other novelist before him in devising a wide variety of technical stylistic stratagems in order to improve on the narrative methods of earlier novelists (Balzac, for instance), who were little concerned with these aspects of their art.

355 Sienkiewicz visited Turkey in 1886 (to prepare for the writing of *Pan Wołodyjowski*), and declared he knew enough of the language to "write compliments" in it (*Dzieła* LV, p. 341). The use of such phrases as "Lacha i Lallach... Mahomet Rossullach!" (PW. II, p. 115) may echo his reading of the *Pamiętniki janczara* (Warsaw, 1828) p. 19, as may Kmicic's phrase "Moi mili barankowie" (P. I, pp. 30, 59, P. IV, p. 183) — a phrase used in the *Pamiętniki* ("moji mijlij barankouije", p. 95).

356 Martin TURNELL, "Madame Bovary", *Sewanee Review* LXV (1957), p. 532.

Sienkiewicz knew the novels of Flaubert.³⁵⁷⁾ He lived in Paris for almost a year in 1878 (*Salammbó* was published in 1872), and there can be no doubt that he read Flaubert's work in a critical way, as writers read the work of other writers. As this study sought to show, the various technical devices Sienkiewicz employed with effect — narrative voices of different tone, functional use of imagery, represented discourse and the representation of characters or scenes through the eyes of a character involved in the fiction — all help explain the powerful effect of his novels (as far as such a thing can be explained). But these devices are also typically Flaubertian,³⁵⁸⁾ although it would be superfluous to estimate how far Sienkiewicz's mastery of technique in fiction was consciously derived from the French writer. More likely, they are evidence of an instinctive skill that craftsmen develop through long and devoted practice of their work. However this may be, the novels of Sienkiewicz occupy a place in the development of the Polish novel like that occupied by Flaubert's novels in French (and indeed in European fiction). Almost all later Polish novelists have had to come to terms with the fiction of Sienkiewicz, especially with the stylistic and technical aspects of that fiction. Few have done so with complete success: this is a measure of his status as a major novelist whose work is both national and at the same time universal.

357) Henryk SIENKIEWICZ *Listy do Mścislawa Godlewskiego* (op. cit.), p. 43. See also Alfons BRONARSKI, *Stosunek "Quo vadis?" do literatur romańskich* (Poznań, 1926) pp. 132-141.

358) Albert THIBAUDET (op. cit.) passim.

Appendix I

ARCHAIC AND LATINATE SYNTAX IN 'NIEWOLA TATARSKA'

In addition to the items of archaic language found in the Trilogy, *Niewola tatarska* contains a high proportion of archaic syntax, including the following:

1. Masculine non-personal nouns with "personal" endings in the nominative plural: *inni ptacy stepowi* (p. 9),³⁵⁹⁾ *orłowie, którzy* (p. 9), *wilcy* (pp. 11, 39).

2. Variant forms of masculine nouns in the nominative plural: *Kozaki* (p. 9), *Kozacy* (pp. 12, 13), *Kozaczkowie* (p. 12).

3. Instrumental plural masculine nouns ending in -y: *z Bisurmany* (pp. 4, 10).³⁶⁰⁾

4. Use of *on* and related forms as demonstrative adjectives: *ona gwiazdka* (p. 8), *onej nocy* (p. 8), *one gwiazdki* (p. 12), *koło onej stannicy* (p. 11), *one bestie* (p. 28), *od onych świateł* (p. 20).

5. Predicative form of adjective used other than as a predicate: *leży jak żyw* (p. 12).

6. Archaic connectives e.g. *jakoż* introducing a clause of "confirmation" or "justification": *Lepiej przystoi mężowi na stepie niżli w łóżnicy, jako niewieście, konać. Jakoż tam jest najlepsza rycerski szkoła...* (p. 6).³⁶¹⁾

It has been said of *Niewola* that it "sometimes gives the impression of being a translation from classical Latin".³⁶²⁾ This impression is due in part to Sienkiewicz's use of four stylistic features characteristic of Latin prose:

1. Separation of noun and adjective which modifies it by another word, or words: *w tak wielkim fortuny mojej uszczupleniu* (p. 5), *cerę mając śniadą* (*ibid.*), *własne mając zwyczaj niecić ognisko* (p. 7), *taką już Pan Bóg narodowi naszemu dał fantazję* (p. 10).³⁶³⁾ This construction

359) Page references are to *Dziela V*.

360) See above.

361) PS (*op. cit.*) calls this use "przest." but it may not have been so to Sienkiewicz.

362) Mieczysława ROMANKÓWNA, "Normy gramatyki łacińskiej jako środek archaizacji języka polskiego w noweli Henryka Sienkiewicza *Niewola tatarska*", *Prace polonistyczne XX* (1964), p. 234. Miss Romankówna's essay does not investigate any of the features noticed here.

363) Commonly used in present-day Polish.

is to be found in all the classical authors, e.g. Tacitus. In his *Annales*, the following occur on the same page: *missis per interna bella nobilibus* (XI, 16), *externum ad imperium, vacuis per medium diei porticibus, tempestatem ab Ostia atrocus*.

2. The placing of possessive adjectives after the noun they modify: *fortuna moja*, *dzieweczka moja*, *w serce moje*, *Marychna moja*, *niewola moja*, *nędza moja*, *gardło jest rzeczą moją*, *racz ojcom moim dać... dla honoru rodu mego* etc.

3. Copious use of the tricolon,³⁶⁴ e.g. "...których dzieci na zamkach swoich żyją,/ poczty trzymają,/ i senatorskie godności w Rzeczypospolitej piastują" (p. 10), "nie w drelichu, jeno w złotogłowi, / i nie w podartej czapce, ale w piórach strusich, / i nie z jednym pachołkiem, ale z poczem i buzdyanem w rękę" (p. 11): "o posługach rycerskich dla miłej ojczyzny, / ani o sławie, / ani o Marysi (myśleć nie mogłem)" (p. 23): "Wolej bym był na świat nie przychodzić, / wolej w bitwie zginąć, / wolej by mnie Sulejman od razu na męki wydał" (p. 23): "Fedko pewnie w niebie przez Ojca Przedwiecznego był nobilitowany, / i purpurą okryty, / i do chwały najwyższej wyniesiony" (p. 29).

4. A high proportion of both present and past participles: *pachole jadąc* przodem (p. 3), *pachołek jadąc* wprzodem (p. 4), *pierwszy raz na Ukrainie będąc* (*ibid.*), *szelest wielki sprawując* (*ibid.*), *bacząc na szczupłość mej fortuny* (*ibid.*), *sądząc* mieć sprawę z wilkołakiem (p. 7), *te, siedząc* na ziemi (p. 9): *częścią zastawszy, częścią przedawszy... pożegnawszy* Marysię (p. 4), *wielki krzyk czyniwszy* (p. 5), *wojnę nad wszystko umiławszy* (p. 6), *te, stłoczywszy się* (p. 7), *co usłyszawszy* (pp. 14, 26).

As befits a seventeenth-century memoir, which *Niewola* purports to be, Zdanoborski frequently adopts the macaronic style and incorporates Latin words or phrases into his text.³⁶⁵ They range from adverbs (*in tempore* wszystko mija) and participles (ja tu żołnierz na ordynansie Chrystusowym *moriturus*) to phrases such as: *nie tylko acti labores* ale *dolores iucundi* się stają etc. Examples occur on almost every page, often more than once.

* * *

Apart from being a "thematic microcosm" of the Trilogy, *Niewola* tatarska is of interest as an example of Sienkiewicz's stylistic versatility.

364) See pp. 153ff, above.

365) See above.

Appendix II

N. 1. Alcuni dunque si lamentano che, in questo o in quel romanzo storico, in questa o in quella parte d'un romanzo storico, il vero positivo non sia ben distinto dalle cose inventate, e che venga, per conseguenza, a mancare uno degli effetti principalissimi d'un tal componimento, come è quello di dare una rappresentazione vera della storia.

N. 2. Są bowiem pewne strony życia, są pewne charaktery, których niepodobna przedstawić wśród warunków dzisiejszych, a jednak ze względu na wszechstronność w odmalowaniu ducha przedstawiać je potrzeba. W takich wypadkach uciekają autorowie do dziejów i wyprowadzają na widownię postaci i sytuacje bohaterskie "dla pokrzepienia serc" współczesnych.

N. 3. Bóg mi świadek, że kawałka chleba do ust nie wzięmę ni nędznego ciała snem nie pokrzepię, żebym wprzód o niej nie pomyślał, a już to w sercu moim nikt stalszej nad nią rezydencji mieć nie może.

Gołąbku najmilszy, możesz tam już o mnie zapomniał, a jeżeli wspomnisz, to jeno niechęć ci serce zaleje, ja zaś, daleki czy bliski, w nocy i we dnie, w pracy dla ojczyzny i trudzie, o tobie ciągle myślę i dusza ku tobie przez bory i wody, jak zmęczony ptak, aby zaś u nóg twoich się położyć.

N. 4. Ot, uważasz, tam w górze, za onym cichym miesiącem, jest kraina wiekuistej szczęśliwości... Jak na mnie termin przyjdzie (a to przecie żołnierska rzecz), zaraz sobie powinnaś powiedzieć: "Nic to!" Po prostu powinnaś sobie powiedzieć: "Michał odjechał, prawda, że daleko, dalek jak stąd na Litwę, ale nic to! bo i ja za nim podążę..."

N. 5. Nagle drzwi wchodowe otworzyły się z trzaskiem i wypadł z nich pan Władysław Skoraszewski.

Obecni cofnęli się w przerażeniu.

Ten człowiek, zwykle tak spokojny i łagodny... wyglądał teraz strasznie. Oczy miał czerwone, wzrok obłąkany, odzież rozchełstaną na piersiach; obu rękoma trzymał się za czuprynę i tak wpadłszy jak piorun między szlachtę krzyczał przeraźliwym głosem:

— Zdrada! morderstwo! hańba!...

N. 6. Przez następnych kilka dni bywał pan Andrzej w Wodoktach — i codzień wracał bardziej rozmiłowany. Naprzód niewinność jej i prawość duszy chwyciła za serce dzikiego żołnierza, potem począł podziwiać jej rozum...

Przez następnych kilka dni bywał pan Andrzej codziennie w Wodoktach, i codzień wracał bardziej rozkochoany — i codzień szczerzej podziwiał swoją Oleńkę. Przed kompanijonami też ją pod niebiosa wychwalał — a gdy się zrywali żeby jechać do niej z pokłonem — odpowiadał:

— W kozi róg ona was zapędzi, a to nietylko nadzwyczajną swoją

urodą, ale i cnotą i rozumem. Jeszczem tak grzecznego umysłu u niewiasty nigdy nie spotkał. O wszystkim ma ona swój sąd — i co dobre to pochwali, a co złe — tego zganić nieomieszka, nigdy się nie myląc, bo wedle cnoty sądzi. Chcesz (się) przed nią (pochwalić fantazją nic) okazać kawalerską fantazyję i pochwalisz się, czyto żeś człeka usiekił, czy żeś prawo publiczne podeptał — myślisz żeś się pokazał? Gdzie tam! jeszcze rzeknie, że co przeciw prawu, to przeciw Rzeczypospolitej —

N. 7. Przez następne dni kilka codziennie bywał pan Andrzej w Wodoktach i co dzień wracał więcej rozkochany, i coraz bardziej podziwiał swoją Oleńkę. Przed kompanionami też ją pod niebiosa wychwalał, aż pewnego dnia rzekł im:

— Moi mili barankowie, pojedziecie dziś czołem bić, potem zaś umówiliśmy się z dziewczyną, że do Mitrunów wszyscy wyruszymy, aby sanny w lasach zażyć i tę trzecią majątność obaczyć...

Kawalerowie chętnie skoczyli się ubierać i wkrótce cztery pary sani wiozło ochoczą młodzieź do Wodoktów. Pan Kmicic siedział w pierwszych, bardzo ozdobnych, kształt niedźwiedzia srebrzystego mających. Ciągnęły je trzy kałmuki...

N. 8. ...Wołodyjowski przycupnął tuż przy Skrzetuskim i szepnął mu w samo ucho:

— Idą na pewno...

— Krok pod miarę.

— To nie czerń ani Tatarzy.

— Piechota zaporoska.

— Albo janczary: oni dobrze maszerują. Z konia można by ich więcej naciąć!

— Dziś za ciemno na jazdę.

— Słyszysz teraz?

— Ts! ts!...

N. 9. Pułkownik uspokajał się zwolna. Odmówili mu raz starostwa — cóż z tego? Tym bardziej będą się starali go wynagrodzić, zwłaszcza po zwycięstwie i zgaszeniu buntu, po uwolnieniu od wojny domowej Ukrainy, ba! całej Rzeczypospolitej! Wówczas niczego mu nie odmówią, wówczas nie będzie potrzebował nawet Potockich...

Helena zaś oddała się myślom... Napad, straszne sceny mordu, strach, niespodziany ratunek i ucieczka — wszystko to przewaliło się jak burza w ciągu jednej nocy. A przy tym zaszło tyle rzeczy niezrozumiałych! Kto był ten, co ją ratował?... Skąd się wziął w Rozłogach?

N. 10. Anton zastanowił się głęboko. Gdyby ten dziad był przebrany Zagłobą, dlaczego u licha chłopów do Chmielnickiego namawiał? Zresztą skądby przebrania wziął?

Nie rozumiał bowiem, dlaczego Bohun gonił początkowo w stronę Łubniów... Gdzież więc być mogła? gdzie się schroniła? Uciekła-li?

N. 11. Tymczasem rozwidniało się coraz bardziej, niebo z bladego stawało się zielone i złote, a ów punkt na widnokręgu począł tak błyszczeć, że oczy mrużyły się od tego blasku. ...owo światło rosło w oczach, z punktu uczyniło się kołem, z koła koliskiem — z dala rzekłbyś, że ktoś zawiesił nad ziemią olbrzymią gwiazdę...

Kmicic i jego ludzie patrzyli ze zdumieniem na owo zjawisko świetliste, drgające, promienne, nie wiedząc, co mają przed oczyma.

(W kaplicy panował) mrok czerwony, którego nie rozpraszały zupełnie płomyki świec jarzących się przed ołtarzem. Barwne światła wpadały także przez szyby i wszystkie one blaski czerwone, fioletowe, złote, ogniste drgały na ścianach, ślizgały się po rzeźbach, załamaniach, przedzierały się zaciemnione głębie wydobywając na jaw jakieś niewyraźne przedmioty pogrążone jakoby we śnie... Wszystko tu było półwidne, półprzesłonięte...

...widać było chwilami groźne zarysy klasztoru, który się zmieniał w oczach; raz zdawał się wyższym niż zwykle, to znów jakoby zapadał w otchłań... wyniosłe ściany i wieże zarysowały się jaskrawo, potem znów gasły.

Żołnierze poczęli patrzeć przed siebie z trwogą ponurą i zabobonną.

...szczególniejszym zjawiskiem przyrody, kościół wraz z wieżą unosił się nie tylko nad skałę, ale i nad mgłę... jakby oderwał się od swej podstawy i zawisł w błękitach... Krzyki żołnierzy zwiastowały, że spostrzegli także zjawisko.

LIST OF WORKS CITED

Auctor ad Herennium

- BAGEHOT, Walter, *Literary Studies* (two vols.) (London, 1927).
- BARTMIŃSKI, Jerzy, "Problemy archaizacji językowej w powieści", *Styl i kompozycja* edited by Jan Trzynałowski (Wrocław, 1965), pp. 218-227.
- BARTOSZYŃSKI, Kazimierz, "O amorfizmie gawędy", *Prace o literaturze i teatrze ofiarowane Zygmuntowi Szwejkowskiemu* (Wrocław, 1966), pp. 91-116.
- BARTOSZYŃSKI, Kazimierz, *O powieściach Fryderyka Skarbka* (Warsaw, 1963), 302 pp.
- BARYCZ, Henryk, *Wśród gawędziarzy, pamiętnikarzy i uczonych galicyjskich* (two vols.) (Cracow, 1963).
- Bibliografia literatury polskiej "Nowy Korbut"* vol. 12: Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, zarys bibliograficzny, edited by Stanisław Stupkiewicz and others (Cracow, 1966), 277 pp.
- BROMBERT, Victor, *The Novels of Flaubert* (Princeton, 1966) 301 pp.
- BRONARSKI, Alfons, *Stosunek "Quo vadis" do literatur romańskich* (Poznań, 1926), 156 pp.
- BUJNICKI, Tadeusz, "Struktura artystyczna *Trylogii* a pamiętniki polskie XVII w., "Pamiętnik literacki LVII (no. 3) (1966), pp. 105-138.
- BUJNICKI, Tadeusz, "Sztuka narracyjna *Trylogii*", *Ruch literacki VII* (no. 3) (1966), pp. 107-120.
- BURKOT, Stanisław, ed. *J.I. Kraszewski o powieściopisarzach i powieści* (Warsaw, 1962), 301 pp.
- BURSZTYŃSKA, Halina, "Twórczość Kraszewskiego jako literackie źródło powieści historycznych Sienkiewicza," *Pamiętnik literacki LVII* (no. 3) (1966), pp. 237-256.
- BUTT, John and Kathleen TILLOTSON, *Dickens at Work* (London, 1957), 238 pp.
- BUTTERFIELD, Herbert, *The Historical Novel* (Cambridge, 1924), 113 pp.
- CAM, Helen, *Historical Novels* (London, 1961), 26 pp.
- CAMPBELL, Joseph, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (New York, 1956), 416 pp.
- CARLYLE, Thomas, *Essays Critical and Miscellaneous* (seven vols.) (London, 1881).
- CHMIEŁOWSKI, Piotr, *Historia literatury polskiej* (six vols.) (Warsaw, 1900).
- CHMIEŁOWSKI, Piotr, *Józef Ignacy Kraszewski: zarys historyczno-literacki* (Cracow, 1888), 534 pp.
- CHMIEŁOWSKI, Piotr, *Stylistyka polska wraz z nauką kompozycji pisarskiej* (Warsaw, 1903), 414 pp.
- CHULKOV, Georgii, *Kak rabotal Dostoevskii* (Moscow, 1939), 335 pp.
- CHURCH, Margaret, *Time and Reality* (Chapel Hill, 1962), 302 pp.
- CIRLIĆ, Bronisław, "Próba nowego spojrzenia na *Pamiętniki janczara*", *Pamiętnik literacki XLIII* (no. 1-2) (1952), pp. 140-170.
- COOLIDGE, Archibald C., *Charles Dickens as Serial Novelist* (Ames, Iowa, 1967), 256 pp.
- ROLL, Morris W., *Style, Rhetoric and Rhythm* (Princeton, 1966), 450 pp.
- CURTIN, Jeremiah, "The Author of *Quo vadis*", *Century LVI* (1898), pp. 430-431.

- CZAJKOWSKI, Michał, *Stefan Czarniecki*, introduction by Jacek Kajtoch, (Warsaw, 1961), 427 pp.
- DAICHES, David, Introduction to *The Heart of Midlothian* by Sir Walter Scott (New York, 1948), pp. II-XX.
- DANEK, Wincenty, ed., *Józef Ignacy Kraszewski* (Warsaw, 1962), 280 pp.
- DANEK, Wincenty, *Powieści historyczne J.I. Kraszewskiego*.
- DĄBROWSKA, Maria, *Pisma rozproszone* (two vols.) (Cracow, 1964).
- DE VOTO, Bernard, *The World of Fiction* (Boston, 1950), 299 pp.
- DONOVAN, Robert, *The Shaping Vision* (Ithaca, New York, 1966) 272 pp.
- DOROSZEWSKI, Witold, *Język Teodora Tomasza Jeża* (Warsaw, 1949), 417 pp.
- DOROSZEWSKI, Witold, *Wśród słów, wrażeń i myśli* (Warsaw, 1966), 476 pp.
- DWORZACZEK, Włodzimierz, "O realiach niektórych powieści historycznych Kraszewskiego", *Prace o literaturze i teatrze* (op. cit.), pp. 117-134.
- ESTREICHER, Stanisław, *Bibliografja polska XIX stolecia* (four vols.) (Cracow, 1876).
- FEUCHTWANGER, LEON, *Das Haus der Desdemona* (Leipzig, 1961), 238 pp.
- FISKE, Christabel, *Epic Suggestion in the Imagery of the Waverley Novels* (New Haven, 1940), 141 pp.
- FLETCHER, Ian, ed., *Romantic Mythologies* (London, 1967), 297 pp.
- FRIES C.C. *The Structure of English* (New York, 1952), 304 pp.
- FRYE, Northropp, *Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton, 1957), 383 pp.
- GLOGER, Zygmunt, *Encyklopedia staropolska* (four vols.) (Warsaw, 1902).
- GORSKI, K.I., *Polskii istoricheskii roman i problema istorizma* (Moscow, 1963), 262 pp.
- GRAHAM, Victor, *The Imagery of Proust* (Oxford, 1966), 274 pp.
- HAHN, Wiktor, "Karol Szajnocha jako autor dramatyczny", *Rocznik Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich* III (1948), pp. 471-528.
- HATCHER, Anna, "Vair as a Modern Novelistic Device", *Philological Quarterly* XXIII (1944), pp. 354-374.
- HOESICK, Ferdynand, *Sienkiewicz jako feljetonista* (Warsaw, 1902), 409 pp.
- HOPENSZTAND, Dawid, "Mowa pozornie zależna w kontekście Czarnych skrzydeł", *Z zagadnień poetyki* no. 6 (Wilno, 1937), pp. 371-406.
- JABLONOWSKI, Jan, *Pamiętnik*, in *Biblioteka Ossolińskich ...poczet nowy* I (Lwów, 1862).
- JAMES, Henry, *French Poets and Novelists* (New York, 1964), 350 pp.
- JAROWIECKI, Jerzy, "Stosunek Kraszewskiego do źródeł historycznych stanisławowskich", *Ruch literacki* I (1960) pp. 97-105.
- JESKE-CHOIŃSKI, Teodor, *Historyczna powieść polska* (Warsaw, 1899), 152 pp.
- JODELKO, Tomasz, ed., *Trylogia Henryka Sienkiewicza: studia szkice, polemiki* (Warsaw, 1962), 587 pp.
- KACZKOWSKI, Zygmunt, *Opowiadania Nieczui*, with Afterword by Antoni Jopek (Cracow, 1962), 413 pp.
- KACZKOWSKI, Zygmunt, *Mąż szalony*, with Afterword by Antoni Jopek (Cracow, 1963), 259 pp.
- KARLOWICZ, Jan and others, *Słownik języka polskiego* (eight vols.) (Warsaw, 1900-1927).
- KERSTEN, Adam, *Sienkiewicz — "Potop" — historia* (Warsaw, 1966), 280 pp.

- KIJAS, Juliusz, *Kaczkowski jako współzawodnik Sienkiewicza* (Cracow, 1926), 79 pp.
- KIJAS, Juliusz, "Źródła historyczne *Ogniem i mieczem*", *Pamiętnik literacki* XXIV (1927), pp. 119-135.
- KIJAS, Juliusz, "Źródła historyczne *Pana Wołodyjowskiego*", *ibid.*, XLIII (no. 3-4) (1952), pp. 1137-1158.
- KIJAS, Juliusz, "Źródła historyczne *Potopu*", *Księga zbiorowa ku czci I. Chrzanowskiego* (Cracow, 1936), pp. 479-511.
- KLEINER, Juliusz, *Sztuchy*, 2nd ed. (Lwów, 1933), 173 pp.
- KLEMENSIEWICZ, Zenon, and others, *Zapomniane konstrukcje składni staropolskiego* (Wrocław, 1966), 61 pp.
- KMIECIK, Zenon, "Kurier warszawski za czasów redaktorstwa Wacława Szymanowskiego", *Rocznik historii czasopiśmiennictwa polskiego* III (no. 2) (1964), pp. 75-85.
- KOCHOWSKI, Wespazjan, *Historia panowania Jana Kazimierza* (three vols.) (Poznań, 1859). Composed 1863-1698. A selection from this work, entitled *Lata Potopu*, was published in Warsaw, 1966.
- KONECZNA, Halina, and others, eds., *Słownik Jana Chryzostoma Paska I* (Wrocław, 1965) in progress.
- KRASZEWSKI, J.I. *Boży gniew* (four vols.) (Warsaw, 1886).
- KRASZEWSKI, J.I. *Studia literackie* (Wilno, 1842) 288 pp.
- KRASZEWSKI, J.I. *Zygmuntowskie czasy* (Warsaw, 1955), 451 pp.
- KRASZEWSKI, J.I. and Teofil Lenartowicz, *Korespondencja*, ed. by Wincenty Danek.
- KRZYŻANOWSKI, Julian, "Autograf *Potopu* Henryka Sienkiewicza", *Rocznik Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich* III (1948), pp. 121-136.
- KRZYŻANOWSKI, Julian, *Henryk Sienkiewicz — kalendarz życia i twórczości* (Warsaw, 1956), 356 pp.
- KRZYŻANOWSKI, Julian, *Mądrej głowie dość dwie słowie* (two vols.) (Warsaw, 1960).
- KRZYŻANOWSKI, Julian, *Nauka o literaturze* (Wrocław, 1966), 475 pp.
- KRZYŻANOWSKI, Julian, "Scott in Poland", *Slavonic and East European Review* XI (1933-1934), pp. 181-189.
- KRZYŻANOWSKI, Julian, *W kręgu wielkich realistów* (Cracow, 1962), 397 pp.
- KRZYŻANOWSKI, Julian, *W świecie romantycznym* (Cracow, 1961), 371 pp.
- KUBACKI, Wacław, *Twórczość Feliksa Bernatowicza* (Wrocław, 1964), 139 pp.
- KUBALA, Ludwik, *Wojna szwedzka w roku 1655 i 1656* (Lwów, n.d. /1913/), 495 pp.
- KULCZYCKA-SALONI, Janina, ed., *Henryk Sienkiewicz* (Warsaw, 1960), 340 pp.
- KURKOWSKA, Halina and Stanisław SKORUPKA, *Stylistyka polska* (Warsaw, 1959), 368 pp.
- LANDRY, Anne, *Represented Discourse in the Novels of François Mauriac* (Washington, 1958), 86 pp.
- LEAVIS, F.R., *The Great Tradition* (London, 1963), 248 pp.
- LEAVIS, Q.D., *Fiction and the Reading Public* (London, 1932), 348 pp.
- LEDNICKI, Wacław, *Henryk Sienkiewicz — a Retrospective Synthesis* (The Hague, 1960), 81 pp.
- LEHR-SPLAWIŃSKI, Tadeusz, *Język polski* (Warsaw, 1951), 513 pp.
- LEVIN, David, *History as Romantic Art* (Stanford, 1959), 200 pp.

- LEWITTER, L.R., "The Russo-Polish Treaty of 1686 and its Antecedents", *Polish Review* IX (no. 3) (1964), pp. 5-29.
- LINDE, Samuel, *Słownik języka polskiego* (six vols.) (Warsaw, 1807-1814).
- MACINTYRE, D.C., "Scott and the Waverley Novels", *Review of English Literature* VIII (no. 3) (1966), pp. 1-10.
- MCLEAN, Hugh, "On the Style of a Leskovian *skaz*", *Harvard Slavic Studies* II (1954), pp. 297-322.
- MAIGRON, Louis, *Le Roman historique à l'époque romantique* (Paris, 1912), 247 pp.
- MANZONI, Alessandro, *Opere* ed. by M. Barbi (three vols.) (Milan, 1943).
- MATUSZEWSKI, Ignacy, *O twórczości i twórcach* (Warsaw, 1965), 378 pp.
- MICHAŁOWSKI, Jakub, *Księga pamiątnicza* (Cracow, 1864), 855 pp.
- MIKULSKI, Tadeusz, *Ze studiów nad Oświeceniem* (Warsaw, 1956), 555 pp.
- MITROS, Zofia, "Archaiczne formy fleksyjne w *Ogniem i mieczem*", *Prace polonistyczne* XII (1955), pp. 53-70.
- MOMIGLIANO, Arnaldo, *Studies in Historiography* (London, 1966), 263 pp.
- MONOD, Sylvère, *Dickens, romancier* (Paris, 1953), 520 pp.
- NADOLSKI, Bronisław, ed., *Wybór mów staropolskich* (Wrocław, 1961), 362 pp.
- NIEMCEWICZ, J.U., *Jan z Tęczyna*, with introduction by Jan Dihm (Wrocław, 1954), 414 pp.
- NOFER, Alina, *Henryk Sienkiewicz* (Warsaw, 1959), 380 pp.
- OBREBSKA-JABŁOŃSKA, Antonina, "Od archaizmu do nowej formy językowej", *Stylistyka teoretyczna w Polsce* (Warsaw, 1946), pp. 208-220.
- OCHOROWICZ, Julian, "O Henryku Sienkiewiczu ze stanowiska psychologii", *Szkola Główna Sienkiewiczowi* (Warsaw, 1917), pp. 29-36.
- Pamiętniki janczara Polaka przed rokiem 1500 napisane* (Warsaw, 1828), 261 pp.
- PASEK, Jan Chryzostom, *Pamiętniki* (Warsaw, 1955), 451 pp.
- PEDROTTI, Louis, *Józef-Julian Sękowski: the Genesis of a Literary Alien* (Berkeley, 1965), 228 pp.
- PEŁCZYŃSKI, Marian, *Studia macaronica* (Poznań, 1960), 246 pp.
- PETERKIEWICZ, Jerzy, and BURNS Singer, *Five Centuries of Polish Poetry* (London, 1960), 154 pp.
- PIEŚCİKOWSKI, Edward, "Emancypantki — powieść w odcinkach", *Przegląd humanistyczny* XI (no. 4) (1967), pp. 31-43.
- PIETRKIEWICZ, Jerzy, "Inner Censorship in Polish Literature", *Slavonic and East European Review* XXXVI (no. 87) (1958), pp. 294-307.
- PIORUNOWA, Aniela and WYKA, Kazimierz eds. *Henryk Sienkiewicz: twórczość i recepcja światowa* (Kraków, 1968), 548 pp.
- PIOTROWICZOWA, Jadwiga, *Michał Czajkowski jako powieściopisarz* (Wilno, 1932), 200 pp.
- Pismo św. w przekładzie polskim W.O. Jakuba Wujka.*
- POLLAK, Roman ed., *Antologia pamiętników polskich XVI w.*, with introduction by Marian Kaczmarek (Wrocław, 1966), 366 pp.
- Polska Akademia Nauk, *Słownik języka polskiego* (Warsaw, 1958) in progress.
- Prace o literaturze i teatrze ofiarowane Zygmunтови Szwejkowskiemu* (Wrocław, 1966), 632 pp.
- Przegląd humanistyczny* (Editorial) XI (no. 3), (1967), p. 1.
- PUCIATA-PAWŁOWSKA, Jadwiga, *Artur Grottger* (Toruń, 1962), 199 pp.

- QUIRK, Randolph, *Charles Dickens and "Appropriate Language"*, (Durham, 1959), 26 pp.
- RATHBURN, Robert C. and Martin STEINMANN Jr., eds., *From Jane Austen to Joseph Conrad* (Minneapolis, 1958), 326 pp.
- RENWICK, W.L., ed., *Sir Walter Scott Lectures 1940-1948* (Edinburgh, 1950), 170 pp.
- ROMANKÓWNA, Mieczysława, "Normy gramatyki łacińskiej jako środek archaizacji języka polskiego w noweli Henryka Sienkiewicza *Niewola tatarska*", *Prace polonistyczne XX* (1964), pp. 228-234.
- RYBICKA, Halina, "O języku *Trylogii*", *Polonistyka XVII* (1964), pp. 39-44.
- RYTEL, Jadwiga, "*Pamiętniki*" *Paska na tle pamiętnikarstwa polskiego* (Wrocław, 1962), 199 pp.
- RZEWUSKI, Henryk, *Pamiętniki Soplicy*, with introduction by Maria Żmigrodzka (Warsaw, 1961), 425 pp.
- SAINTSBURY, George, *A History of English Prose Rhythm* (Bloomington, 1965), 489 pp.
- SAJKOWSKI, Alojzy, *Nad staropolskimi pamiętnikami* (Poznań, 1964), 147 pp.
- SAJKOWSKI, Alojzy, ed., *Pamiętniki Samuela i Bogustawa Kazimierza Maskiewiczów* (Wrocław, 1961), 332 pp.
- SALVATORE, Armando, *Stile e ritmo in Tacito* (Naples, 1950), 236 pp.
- SCHENK, H.G., *The Mind of the European Romantics* (London, 1966), 320 pp.
- SCHÜCKING, Levin L., *The Sociology of Literary Taste* (London, 1966), 112 pp.
- SEGEL, H.B., "From Albertus to Zagłoba: the Soldier-Braggart in Polish Literature", *Indiana Slavic Studies III* (1963), pp. 76-112.
- SHKLOVSKII, Viktor, *Mater'yal i styl w romane L'va Tolstogo "Voina i mir"* (Moscow, 1928), 190 pp.
- SCHORER, Mark, "Technique as Discovery", *Hudson Review XII* (1948), pp. 60-72.
- SIENKIEWICZ, Henryk, *Dziela. Wydanie zbiorowe pod redakcją Juliana Krzyżanowskiego* (sixty vols.) (Warsaw, 1949-1955).
- SIENKIEWICZ, Henryk, *Listy do Mściława Godlewskiego 1878-1904*, edited by Edward KERNICKI (Wrocław, 1956), 290 pp.
- SIENKIEWICZ, Henryk, *Pisma zapomniane i nie wydane*, edited by Ignacy CHRZANOWSKI (Lwów, 1922), 579 pp.
- SIMONE, J.F. de, *Alessandro Manzoni: Esthetics and Literary Criticism* (New York, 1946) 300 pp.
- SINKO, Zofia, *Powieść angielska osiemnastego wieku a powieść polska lat 1764-1830* (Warsaw, 1961), 244 pp.
- SKWARCZYŃSKA, Stefania, "Estetyka makaronizmu", *Z zagadnień poetyki* no. 6 (Wilno, 1937), pp. 337-370.
- SŁOKOWSKI, Władysław, "*Szyfowe prace*" *Stefana Żeromskiego: studium monograficzne* (Warsaw, 1966), 118 pp.
- SPITZER, Leo, *Linguistics and Literary History* (New York, 1962), 290 pp.
- STAWAR, Andrzej, *Pisarstwo Henryka Sienkiewicza* (Warsaw, 1960), 376 pp.
- STAWAR, Andrzej, "Trylogia", *Przegląd humanistyczny III* (no. 2) (1959), pp. 35-78.
- STEINER, George, *Tolstoi or Dostoevsky* (New York, 1959), 354 pp.
- SZAJNOCHA, Karol, *Dziela* (ten vols.) (Warsaw, 1876-1877).
- SZWEYKOWSKI, Zygmunt, *Ignacy Chodźko: artyzm i umysłowość* (Cracow, 1914), 270 pp.
- SZWEYKOWSKI, Zygmunt, *Powieści historyczne Henryka Rzewuskiego* (Warsaw, 1912), 322 pp.

- SZWEYKOWSKI, Zygmunt, *"Trylogia" Henryka Sienkiewicza* (Poznań, 1961), 148 pp.
- TREBELL, John, *Fact and Fiction* (Lansing, 1962), 12 pp.
- THEMELIDI, A.M. *Genryk Senkevich* (St. Petersburg, 1912), 409 pp.
- THIBAUDET, Albert, *Gustave Flaubert* (Paris, 1961), 304 pp.
- THOMSON, J.A.K., *Classical Influences on English Prose* (London, 1956), 271 pp.
- THRALL, William, and Addison Hibbard, *A Handbook to Literature* (New York, 1960), 598 pp.
- TILLOTSON, Geoffrey, *Thackeray the Novelist* (London, 1963), 311 pp.
- TILLOTSON, Kathleen, *Novels of the 1840's* (Oxford, 1954), 329 pp.
- TREVELYAN, G. Otto, *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay* (two vols.) (New York, 1878).
- TREVOR-ROPER, Hugh, Introduction to *Critical and Historical Essays of Lord Macaulay* (New York, 1965), pp. I-XXV.
- TURNELL, Martin, "Madame Bovary", *Sewanee Review* LXV (1957), pp. 531-550.
- TURNELL, Martin, *The Novel in France* (London, 1950), 432 pp.
- WASSERSTROM, William, *Heiress of All the Ages* (Minneapolis 1959), 157 pp.
- WEINTRAUB, Wiktor, "Wyznaczniki stylu realistycznego", *Pamiętnik literacki* LII (no. 2) (1961), pp. 397-413.
- WELSH, Alexander, "George Eliot and the Romance", *Nineteenth Century Fiction* XIV (1959-1960), pp. 240-249.
- WELSH, David, *Adam Mickiewicz* (New York, 1966), 184 pp.
- WELSH, David, "Serialisation and Structure in the Novels of Henryk Sienkiewicz", *Polish Review* XII (no. 3) (1964), pp. 51-62.
- WELSH, David, "Sienkiewicz as Narrator", *Slavonic and East European Review* XLIII (no. 101), pp. 371-383.
- WELSH, David, "Sienkiewicz versus Kraszewski: Observations on Novel-Writing", *Indiana Slavic Studies* IV (forth-coming).
- WIECZORKIEWICZ, Bronisław, *Słownik gwary warszawskiej XIX w.* (Warsaw, 1966), 488 pp.
- WIECZORKIEWICZ, Bronisław, and Roxana SIENIELNIKOFF, *Elementy gramatyki historycznej języka polskiego* (Warsaw, 1965), 355 pp.
- Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, *Wielka Encyklopedia Powszechna* (Warsaw, 1962) in progress.
- WILKINSON, L.P., *Golden Latin Artistry* (Cambridge, 1963), 320 pp.
- WITCZAK, Tadeusz, "Sienkiewicz — pisarz nieuważny", *Prace o literaturze i teatrze... (op. cit.)*, pp. 232-251.
- WITKIEWICZ, Stanisław, *Matejko*, 2nd ed. (Lwów, 1912), 273 pp.
- WOJCIECHOWSKI, Konstanty, *Historia powieści w Polsce* (Lwów, 1925), 314 pp.
- WÓYCICKI, Kazimierz, "Z pogranicza gramatyki i stylistyki", *Stylistyka teoretyczna w Polsce* (Warsaw, 1946), pp. 161-191.
- YULE, G. Udny, *The Statistical Study of Literary Language* (Cambridge, 1944), 306 pp.
- ZAWODZIŃSKI, Karol Wiktor, *Opowieści o powieści* edited by Czesław Zgorzelski (Cracow, 1963), 397 pp.
- ŻEROMSKI, Stefan, *Dzienniki* (Warsaw, 1954) in progress.

TYMON TERLECKI
(CHICAGO)

WYSPIAŃSKI IN TWO PERSPECTIVES *)

In keeping with the guidelines for this part of our proceedings, my paper does not intend to establish a descriptive bibliographic register, *une bibliographie raisonnée*, of scholarly investigation on Wyspiański. Many such attempts were made in the past and covered larger or smaller spans of time.¹⁾ The present venture aims at giving a survey not of studies devoted to, but of problems raised by the literary work of Wyspiański.

The moment seems particularly propitious for such a task. It looks as if we had reached a turning point, a dividing line in the history of research on Wyspiański. This creates the temptation to look in two directions, to open up two perspectives: toward the past and toward the future; toward what has been done as well as toward what can and should be done now.

A decisive factor in the study of any writer is the state of research concerning the primary sources, and, above all, the texts of his *oeuvre*. For Wyspiański, the last decade has, in this respect, been a happy one. It brought the critical edition of his "Collected Works" (*Dzieła zebrane*) in fourteen volumes,²⁾ a team achievement under the direction of Leon Płoszewski, an eminent philologist, editor of the so-called National Edition of Mickiewicz's works (*Wydanie narodowe*), published after World War II. Wyspiański's "Collected Works" took almost ten years to prepare (1957-66) and was the crowning achievement of Płoszewski's laborious life (he died in 1970).

His edition superseded an earlier one, the seven-volume "Works" (*Dzieła*, 1924-32) edited by Adam Chmiel, Tadeusz Sinko and, the last

*) Paper read at the Second Congress of Polish American Scholars and Scientists, sponsored by the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, co-sponsored jointly by the Institute of East Central Europe and The School of International Affairs of Columbia University, New York, April 23-25, 1971.

1) Wilhelm BARBASZ, "Przegląd badań nad Wyspiańskim 1897-1930" (A Survey of Wyspiański Research 1897-1930), *Przegląd Humanistyczny* 1930, fasc. 2, p. 143 et seq. Among later surveys the most instructive is Bożena FRANKOWSKA's "Najnowsze prace o teatrze Wyspiańskiego" (The Most Recent Studies about Wyspiański's Theatre), *Pamiętnik Literacki* 1959, fasc. 2, p. 684 et seq. Many others, smaller and less substantial are enumerated by Maria Strokowa in her *Stanisław Wyspiański. Monografia bibliograficzna* (S.W. A Bibliographic Monograph) part 1, p. LXXXIX et seq. For a precise description of this work cf note 15).

2) Cf a detailed description in Strokowa's *Bibliographic Monograph* part 1, p. 104 et seq., 108, 109 et seq., 112 et seq. 114 et seq.

three volumes, by Płoszewski. The post World War II edition is unquestionably superior to the previous one. It includes much new material: two versions of the "Song of Warsaw" and seventeen unknown *juvenilia*; but, most important of all, it represents an enormous progress in textual criticism. Płoszewski was a much better philologist than Chmiel (an archivist by profession). He did not have Sinko's often misplaced ambition to be Wyspiański's interpreter. He dropped interpretation altogether, and gave us a critical edition of the texts with detailed, but purely philological, commentaries. These display his mastery: e.g. in the critical apparatus to the "November Night", and especially in the part concerning Scene V ("*W Teatrze Rozmaitości*"); it reveals that Wyspiański, a *poeta vates* because of his improvisatory way of creating, could be a *poeta faber*, capable of reaching the heights of elaborate conciseness and precision.³⁾

Płoszewski's restraint in the matter of interpretation and evaluation follows the ideal of a critical edition: let the most authentic text speak for itself, by itself. But this lofty aim raises a first doubt. Is it advisable in the case of a work to an exceptional degree saturated with allusions of many kinds: cultural, historical, topographical, literary, mythological and so on? It is not too dogmatic in the case of a writer so individual, even uncertain in his linguistic attitude as to use words arbitrarily or mistakenly, as was proved by *giwer* in the "November Night" and by *korowaj* in the "Little Rock"⁴⁾

Generally speaking, this nudity of the text adds to the coldness of the poet the coldness of his editor. In this respect, the "Collected Works" of Wyspiański contrast with the critical edition of Fredro, prepared by Stanisław Pigoń, which is — next to the National Edition of Mickiewicz — perhaps the greatest masterpiece of scholarly editorship in the postwar period.⁵⁾ Pigoń did not shun often revelatory annotations, and did not hide his presence as an editor. This lends the edition a captivating air of warmth and intimacy.

But, in the end, the presence of the editor is not what matters most; it may even be disputable, as far as textual criticism and the "art of editorship" are concerned.⁶⁾ The crucial question for every critical edition reads: is this an *editio ne varietur*, a definitive one? It is not easy to answer it as a whole, and especially within this narrow frame. But there is one, by no means unimportant aspect which raises certain doubts.

It is that of the punctuation — very specific with Wyspiański, as it was with Norwid; in both cases highly individual and artistically functional. The author of the "November Night" and "Liberation"

3) Cf Stanisław WYSPIAŃSKI, *Dzieła zebrane* (Collected Works), team ed. dir. Leon PŁOSZEWSKI, preface by Aniela LEMPICKA (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1957-1966). Vol. VI, specifically "Kolejne fazy powstawania utworu" (The Consecutive Phases of the Work), p. 212 et seq.

4) Stanisław WYSPIAŃSKI, *Warszawianka, Leleweł, Noc listopadowa*, ed. Jan NOWAKOWSKI (Biblioteka Narodowa I, 193, Wrocław 1967), p. 161 and Stanisław WYSPIAŃSKI, *Bolesław Śmiały, Skatka*, ed. Jan NOWAKOWSKI (Biblioteka Narodowa, I, 198, Wrocław 1969), p. 120.

5) *Dzieła wszystkie* (The Complete Works) of Juliusz SŁOWACKI, prepared under the direction of Juliusz KLEINER (and published as a second edition after World War II) belong with their methodological, fundamental tenets to the previous period.

6) This is a borrowing from Konrad GÓRSKI, *Sztuka edytorska. Zarys teorii* (The Art of Editorship. A Theoretical Outline), Warszawa 1956.

invented some sixty new punctuation marks, combining existing ones and using them as expressive signs, to indicate the tempo and dynamics of speech, even gesture and mimic.⁷⁾ An innovator in this field, he was rather negligent, careless and frugal in the use of conventional punctuation. Płoszewski's edition treats these two usages on a par, retaining both of them in the same degree. Chmiel was perhaps too liberal in this respect, Płoszewski is too rigid. Actually, the conventional, or better perhaps, the logical punctuation of Wyspiański's writings, calls for the intervention of the editor in the interest of the author and his reader. The former is not one of the clear and precise writers — on the contrary. The latter is often baffled and even lost in the intricacies of the text. Every punctuation mark added seems, from the scholarly point of view, legitimate and would be a service, not a disservice. Two examples — intentionally the simplest ones — will illustrate the point:

(in the "Collected Works"): *Sława Twoja śmierć tobie u ludzi.*

(proposed change): *Sława Twoja, śmierć tobie u ludzi.*

(in the "Collected Works"): *Wiesz, jak jest szybki Śmierć, jak lotny goniec.*

(proposed change): *Wiesz, jak jest szybki, Śmierć, jak lotny goniec.*⁸⁾

An elementary operation changes much, removes an obstacle in grasping the sense.

Not everything in the field of primary sources looks as well as one would like and as the "Collected Works" seem to promise. There remains still the most deplorable lacuna: Wyspiański's correspondence. The two latest editions of Mickiewicz, the "National" and the "Jubilee" edition (*Wydanie jubileuszowe*, a changed and greatly improved revision of the former), contain all known letters written by the poet and addressed to him; they were acclaimed as a revelation. Płoszewski was responsible (or in the second case, co-responsible) for these editions, but for unknown, nowhere explained reasons, he did not introduce Wyspiański's letters into the canon of the "Collected Works".

Their history does not begin at this point. It is *un chapitre à part*, now sixty years old. Wyspiański's contemporaries, the recipients of his letters and his friends, were aware of their importance as a primary source. Their publication in periodicals started a few weeks after the author's death.⁹⁾ Soon, however, began their martyrology, caused by the *vis maior* of historical events, unhappy incidents, bad luck and by

7) Wacław BOROWY, "Łazienki a 'Noc listopadowa' Wyspiańskiego" (The "Łazienki" Palace and Wyspiański's "November Night") in *Studia i rozprawy* (Wrocław 1952), vol. I, p. 233. Janusz DEGLER devoted a very interesting study to this problem, "Pismo teatralne Stanisława Wyspiańskiego" in *Dramat i teatr. Konferencja historyczno-literacka w Świętej Katarzynie* (S.W.'s "Theatrical Script" in: Drama and The Theatre. A Historical-Literary Conference in St. Catharine's) ed. Jan TRZYNADŁOWSKI, Wrocław 1967.

8) S. WYSPIAŃSKI, *Collected Works*, vol. VI, p. 85 and vol. VII, p. 149. Cf also p. 346, where a different reading of this line is discussed without touching on the question of punctuation.

9) The letters to Lucjan Rydel began to appear in December 1907 (one month after Wyspiański's death) and through 1908. Cf Józef KOTARBIŃSKI, *Pogrobowiec romantyzmu. Rzecz o Stanisławie Wyspiańskim* (A Posthumous Child of Romanticism. On S.W.), Warszawa 1909, p. 295 et seq.

the *vis minor* — if one may say so — of human frailty and pettiness. Already in 1910 Wilhelm Feldman announced in the second volume of the "Posthumous Works" (*Pisma pośmiertne*) the publication of Wyspiański's letters. But misunderstandings between him and Adam Chmiel, the other friend of the poet, foiled this plan and even arrested the publication of the *posthuma* altogether.¹⁰⁾ A whole decade passed — that of World War I. Then came the next ten years, which were not better. In spite of the announcement, the letters did not appear in Wyspiański's "Works" (Chmiel - Sinko - Płoszewski). Only in the late thirties, on the threshold of the new war cataclysm, was the correspondence in the process of being printed. In the ensuing turmoil, two sets of letters perished. One of them, perhaps the most important of all, written to Józef Opieński, the composer friend and presumptive collaborator in music dramas *à la Wagner*, survived only in the form of printing proofs. After the second World War, there came a period of political discrimination against Wyspiański, and once more, his letters went into hiding.

When the ban was lifted, the last act of the story began, perhaps the most unpleasant one. Płoszewski had the entire collection in his hands and exploited it freely for his own individual research; he was its sole dispositive, its sole user — and still, he procrastinated. In 1961 he announced its publication, with Jan Dürr-Durski as co-editor (Durski was a scholar, known as the lucky hunter of data concerning Wyspiański's biography).¹¹⁾ The announcement was later many times repeated,¹²⁾ but it never materialised. Then Dürr-Durski, first the editor, later the co-editor of the four-volume "Letters" died (1969). Płoszewski — the third, or even fourth editor of this collection — followed him soon after (1970). This has suspended a new questionmark over that unfortunate part of Wyspiański's written heritage. It may mean a new postponement, like that which has already done so much harm to our knowledge of Wyspiański, or perhaps — let us hope for the best — it may prompt the long overdue publication.¹³⁾

Whenever it comes, it will be of capital value. Paradoxically, Wyspiański, by nature a secretive man, was at the same time, or sometimes, a spontaneous, even an explosive letterwriter. Especially in the formative years of his travels and stay abroad (mainly in Paris 1890-94), he felt an urge to confess, to share with his friends

10) Leon PŁOSZEWSKI, *Zróżdła i zasady wydania "Dzieł zebranych" Stanisława Wyspiańskiego* (Sources and Guidelines for the Edition of S.W.'s Collected Works), Kraków, 1964, p. 22.

11) *Ci Księga ku czci Stanisława Pigonia wydana staraniem Komisji Historyczno-Literackiej Krakowskiego Oddziału Polskiej Akademii Nauk* (Festschrift in honour of S. Pigoń publ. by the Historic and Literary Committee of the Cracow Section of the Polish Academy of Sciences), Kraków 1961, p. 531.

12) Among others in Stokowa's *Bibliographic Monograph*, part 1 1967, p. XI.

13) PŁOSZEWSKI intended to add some other autobiographic material, such as the "memorandum book" (*raptularz*) from Wyspiański's most hectic period of artistic activity in 1904-5 and also, most probably, his early diary from the years 1885-90, about which we know very little. Alicja OKOŃSKA, *Scenografia Wyspiańskiego* (Wrocław 1961) p. 22, describes it as an unpublished notebook of 224 pages. PŁOSZEWSKI mentions it casually as a "little diary" (*dzienniczek*) in vol. I of the *Collected Works*, and published "only some fragments" in vol. XIV, p. 121-130. It is impossible to form any clear opinion of the value of this source on the basis of such scanty material. One quotation in OKOŃSKA's book is very striking and instructive, whilst Płoszewski's selection of fragments is rather uninteresting.

(painters, writers and one musician) his experiences, ideas, plans and far-reaching ambitions. Later, such continuous outpourings, a kind of written *monologue intérieur*, became less frequent, because of the haste, the creative pressure, the mortal illness, the growing loneliness; but they did occur from time to time, e.g. the set of letters to Stanisław Lack, his favorite interpreter, though too cryptic and too intricate for our present taste and use. Wyspiański wrote them in 1905, when he solicited the directorship of the theatre in Cracow. Generally speaking, many enigmas can not be solved or even tentatively elucidated, without a thorough study of this material. For instance: it is a secret why Mickiewicz stopped to write; it is a mystery under what impulses Wyspiański the painter started to write.

This leads us to another lacuna: the lack of a comprehensive, critical biography of Wyspiański. Nowadays we attach much less importance to such a treatment; we have learned to manage without it, and found some advantages in this voluntary limitation. For some extremists, an author without a biography, so completely detached from his work as to become practically non-existent would be the ideal subject of investigation. But there are still some schools, some stimulating methodological orientations like *la psychocritique* of Charles Mauron, which resort to biography as a helpful supplementary instrument.

The case of Wyspiański seems specific and significant from the socio-psychological point of view. The bard who was a syphilitic, the prophet with a "shameful" sickness was a hard, too hard a test for the sensitivity of the Poles; their feeling for irony, what Norwid called the "great irony", does not seem to be very keen. Only recently, some horrifying details of this *secret de polichinelle* were published.¹⁴⁾ The shedding of this kind of light could have a healthy, liberating, humanizing effect, it could break down the barrier of imposed silence. It may also not be insignificant for the psychography of Wyspiański. We have a psychology of consumptives, a psychology of homosexuals; one may assume that there is a psychology of luetics as well. It may have had some bearing on the creative life, its ideological and technical propensities. Because of the fatal illness, Wyspiański's temporal existence and his poetic productivity were reduced to one, incredibly crammed, decade. A detailed biographic investigation should help to put matters in order, by illuminating what thus far has remained in the dark.

To some degree, as yet difficult to estimate, this gap will be filled by a *calendarium* of Wyspiański — a now fashionable and rather useful form of preparatory investigation in Polish literary scholarship; already tested in the cases of Sienkiewicz, Żeromski, Słowacki and most extensively, Mickiewicz (four volumes so far). Wyspiański's *calendarium* is in preparation, or even in the press, as the second supplement to the "Collected Works", directed by Płoszewski.

The first supplement, which was also initiated by him, Wyspiański's "Bibliographic Monograph", came as a homage on the hundredth anniversary of his birth in 1969. It is the fifteenth volume of the critical edition and consists of four separate parts (in Polish *volumina*), altogether

14) Jan DŹURR-DŹURSKI, "Wyspiański jak się o nim nie mówi". (Wyspiański, as he is usually not talked about), *Przegląd Humanistyczny*, 1969, nr. 6, p. 47 et seq.

running to 1.600 pages.¹⁵⁾ Two parts are devoted to the writer and artist, his life and work. The two other parts deal with his reception in the theatre. The first half of the work treats jointly the subjective and objective bibliography of Wyspiański, registers all that he has written himself and that has been written about him and his work. The second half brings the full register of all productions of Wyspiański's dramas, together with all the critical repercussions. This section extends and reinforces the particular stamp of Wyspiański's theatricality which Płoszewski impressed on the "Collective Works"; his commentaries to each play record its stage history; he has collected, reproduced and commented upon the entire theatrical documentation (stage designs, costumes and prop-projects, portraits of actors drawn by Wyspiański, posters, specimens of producers' notebooks and so on).¹⁵⁾ Methodologically, Stokowa's monograph, as a whole, is a model work.¹⁶⁾ It surpasses respective bibliographies of Polish¹⁷⁾ and non-Polish authors.¹⁸⁾

The "Bibliographic Monograph" of Wyspiański is in itself an imposing and somewhat bewildering monument. Although it is a selective work, especially in the chapter "The Cult of the Poet", it contains as many as 6.000 or more entries (even this figure is, in fact, considerably exceeded because some entries are of a comprehensive character, grouping together several headings concerning the same topic e.g. no. 1534, contains 38 "sub-entries"; the criticisms of every scenic production are also assembled under one number). This bulk, this immensity provokes a malicious question: how many people have read all the items, so laboriously collected and carefully arranged by the bibliographer? Neither can one refrain from making a reflection which paraphrases a famous saying: never have so many, writing so much, eventually written so

15) Stanisław WYSPIAŃSKI, *Dzieła zebrane* (Collected Works), vol. XV: Monografia bibliograficzna (A Bibliographic Monograph) by Maria Stokowa. Four separate parts: Part 1: Twórczość pisarska. Życiorys (Wyspiański's Writings. His Biography); Part 2: O twórczości pisarskiej i plastycznej (On W.'s Writings and Paintings); Part 3: Teatr Wyspiańskiego - I (W. and the Theatre - I); Part 4: Teatr Wyspiańskiego - II (W. and the Theatre - II) (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1967-68).

15a) This specific and very valuable aspect of Płoszewski's edition is not entirely satisfactory either. E.g. one wonders why he did not keep to the technique of reproducing the Wawel tapestries in *Acropolis*, why he omitted the musical score of Bolesław RACZYŃSKI which Wyspiański had included in the first edition of his drama. Both these components betray some artistic intention, are integral parts of the only edition published in the author's lifetime, and should have been faithfully preserved in the critical edition.

16) Here is a competent evaluation by an eminent historian of the Polish theatre of the part concerning Wyspiański's dramatic writings: "It fulfills all the requirements of an extended *repertoire* (in the sense of as complete as possible a listing of names of plays and dates of their publication and performance); among the *repertoires* of individual authors it is a model achievement", (Jerzy Got, "Repertuary" in the collective work ed. by Jadwiga Czachowska *Dokumentacja w badaniach literackich i teatralnych. Wybrane problemy* - Documentary Evidence in Literary and Theatre Research. Selected Problems. Wrocław, 1970, p. 283).

17) "No Polish writer has ever had such a bibliography" - DÜRR-DURSKI, *op. cit.* p. 47-48.

18) For instance, the bibliography of Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Wyspiański's contemporary, Austrian counterpart; even the newest one: Horst WEBER, *Bibliographie des Schrifttums 1892-1963* (Berlin 1966) does not deal with the stage history of Hofmannsthal's dramas. It runs into 254 pp., has three indices in comparison with the six indices in just the first two parts, and two more in the other parts of Stokowa's *Bibliographic Monograph*.

little. Substantial works on Wyspiański are few: ten, at best, twenty, thirty — some dated, others quickly becoming dated.

Nevertheless, the "Bibliographic Monograph" puts on the agenda a problem, now ready for scholarly investigation: that of the history of the reception of Wyspiański's works, of his reception as a cultural, a psycho-sociological phenomenon. Such a history can and should be written now, not necessarily by one person. It may be fascinating. It also may have a liberating effect, similar to that already mentioned in another context, as a clearing of the air, as a preparation for a new approach. Let us tentatively try to divide the field, as if we were to attempt its study.

I. The introductory period reaches as far as "The Wedding" (1901). To the surprise of many, Wyspiański steps forth as a playwright, is looked upon as a painter who also writes dramas, almost a dilettante, diverting himself with literature. Only recently has it been inferred that already in this period, Wyspiański was completely formed as a dramatist, with a mature dramatic vision of his own.¹⁹⁾ Historically speaking, this thesis is "supported" by the negative reaction of the older generation of writers and critics (Prus, Sienkiewicz, Spasowicz, Tarnowski).

II (1901-1907). As Rudolf Starzewski, the model for the journalist in "The Wedding" and one of the most penetrating critics of this epoch-making work put it: "Beginning with the 'Wedding', every drama of Wyspiański, came as a shock".²⁰⁾ During one of its later performances an incident occurred which was symbolic of that period. A wreath with the cypher "44", designating in Mickiewicz's "Forefathers" the future "Redeemer of the Nation", was bestowed upon Wyspiański. The ideological-national interpretation of his work prevailed accordingly. The best specimens — Antoni Potocki's "Stanisław Wyspiański" (1902), Andrzej Niemojewski's "Stanisław Wyspiański" (1903), Wilhelm Feldman's "O twórczości Zeromskiego i Wyspiańskiego" (1905) — were all strongly marked by this bias. They established for decades to come, the prevalent treatment of Wyspiański.

III (1907-18). "A sort of tremendous, royal funeral ceremony"²¹⁾ which followed Wyspiański's premature death, glorified by Sienkiewicz's manifesto to the nation and the official presence at the burial of Tarnowski, in his capacity of Rector Magnificus of the Jagellonian University — was the crowning apotheosis. The more lasting appraisals began to take shape in this atmosphere: "Pogrobowiec romantyzmu" of Józef Kotarbiński, the director of the Cracow theatre at the time of Wyspiański's ascendance, and Adam Grzymała-Siedlecki's first attempt at monographic treatment: "Wyspiański, cechy i elementy jego twórczości" — both published in 1909. They were followed by works dealing with specific items, above all two studies about "The Wedding" (Walery Gostomski, 1908 and Stanisław Kotowicz, 1912).

19) Irena SŁAWIŃSKA, "Nowy teatr Wyspiańskiego", *Zeszyty Naukowe KUL* (W.s New Theatre. Scholarly Records of the Catholic University of Lublin), nr. 2 (50), p. 27 et seq.

20) Rudolf STARZEWSKI, "Czas" 1907 nr. 275 quoted after Barbara LASOCKA, "Stanisław Wyspiański - Sesja PAN 15-17 grudnia 1957" (S.W. - Session of the Polish Academy of Sciences, December 15-17, 1957), *Pamiętnik Teatralny*, 1958 fasc. 1, p. 136.

21) Jan LORENTOWICZ, *Dwadzieścia lat teatru* (Twenty Years of Theatregoing), Warszawa 1929, vol. I, p. 385.

IV (1918-39). This period produced serious scholarly works, which appeared in the wake of Tadeusz Sinko's second edition of "Antyk Wyspiańskiego" (1922). They were: "Stanisław Wyspiański. Rzecz o tragediach i tragizmie" by Stefan Kołaczkowski (1922); "Stanisław Wyspiański a romantyzm polski" by Stanisław Kolbuszewski (1928); "Wyspiański na tle romantyzmu" (1932) by Wilhelm Barbasz and "Poetamarz. Studium o Stanisławie Wyspiańskim" (1935) by Tadeusz Makowiecki.

But apart from these books, there persisted the inherited, mechanized adulation, more verbose than ever perhaps, because it was not counterbalanced by any intense theatrical experience, (a typical example was Czesław Łatawiec's "Walka o duszę narodu w twórczości Stanisława Wyspiańskiego", 1930). On the 25th anniversary of Wyspiański death in 1932, this adulation manifested itself as the worst kind of ideological idolatry, when Wyspiański was proclaimed the prophet of the reigning political regime. But it was also in those years that a strong reaction made itself felt. Wacław Borowy and Karol Zawodziński emphasized that the prophet was lame and stammering. The leader of the Polish formalist school Manfred Kridl proclaimed the rights of Wyspiański the poet, the artist.

V (1939-45). World-War II and the Nazi occupation represents a unique period of imposed non-reception. It is symbolized by the dispatching to the papermills of hundreds of sets of Wyspiański's "Works"²²⁾ and by his being placed at the top of the list of officially prohibited Polish authors.

VI (1948-56). This period carried another prohibition: that imposed by dogmatic *Zdanovism*, by the political curtailment of literature. Wyspiański was banned from the theaters and publishing houses (in the honorable company of Krasiński and Norwid, incidentally). The most drastic and pathetic symptom of the growing pressure, was a grotesque kind of phenomenological reduction. Leon Schiller, Wyspiański's son in spirit and his continuator, reduced his work, the almost twenty dramas, to two "realistic" (read: socialist-realistic) ones: "The Curse" and "The Judges". We know from other sources that under Nazi occupation, between his stay in the Auschwitz concentration camp and the Warsaw Uprising, Schiller had prepared a scenario, a production project ("*partytura rozumowana*") of Wyspiański's most mystical drama "Akropolis"; he had planned it for the inauguration of the National Theatre in Warsaw after the war.^{22a)}

The scanty scholarly research in this dark period was later euphemistically summed up as "the time, when Wyspiański's symbolic theatrical visions were to be given strict socio-political meaning"²³⁾ The only relatively valuable contribution to the knowledge of Wyspiański in that period was the study by Kazimierz Wyka: *Legenda i prawda 'Wesela'*

22) PŁOSZEWSKI, *Źródła i zasady*, op. cit. p. 25-6.

22a) Cf LEON SCHILLER, "Wyspiański w teatrze realistycznym" (W. in the Realistic Theatre) *Teatr* 1951, nr. 2. There is a confirmation of the production project of *Acropolis* in one of his letters to me (printed in the collection of his writings *Teatr Ogromny* (The Immense Theatre) p. VIII. Cf detailed description of the book in note 41.

23) JAN NOWAKOWSKI, "O niektórych cechach struktury dzieła Wyspiańskiego" (About Certain Characteristics of Structure in W's Works) in *Księga ku czci Pigońia*, op. cit. p. 503.

(1950). Another book about the same masterpiece, Aniela Lempicka's "O 'Weselu' Wyspiańskiego" (1955) stands already on the threshold of the new period: it pays lipservice to the political doctrine at the very beginning, but brings an extensive, often revealing analysis of the work.

VII (from 1957 onward). The breakthrough was marked by a conference devoted to Wyspiański in his native city, under the auspices of the Polish Academy of Sciences, toward the end of 1957. It was free, neither prearranged nor directed from the wings.²⁴⁾ It revealed the true attitude of the "Wyspiańskologists". One of them expressed it boldly and, perhaps, even exaggeratedly: "A book on Wyspiański's art is perhaps the most important postulate of the moment. His ideology has already been so much discussed, that it will suffice for at least two generations, as a funny spectacle, as a satyric drama, with many literary historians and critics taking the leading parts".²⁵⁾

This period also witnessed the return of Wyspiański to the stage. Because his works, particularly "The Wedding" and "Liberation" have been continuously exposed to the test of the theatre, he still commands attention and provokes debate. He has remained a living dramatist.²⁶⁾

The proposed division into periods is, of course, sketchy and, perhaps, somewhat too crude, as every proposal of this kind must be. But it provides the frame and the background for a discussion of selected problems which dominate the history of Wyspiański's reception and the contemporary state of knowledge about him.

The first and, chronologically, the oldest among these problems is Wyspiański's attitude toward his romantic heritage. It was from the very beginning and always has been ambiguous and intricate. The anonymous admirers who offered the author of the "Wedding" the wreath with the cypher 44, welcomed him as a romantic bard, as the fourth *wieszcz*. The catchy title of Kotarbiński's quoted book: "The Posthumous Child of Romanticism" (*Pogrobowiec romantyzmu*) linked the man and the trend in a relationship of simple, direct dependance. But in fact, "The Wedding", the highest and the most original revelation of the symbolist drama in Poland, could, paradoxically, be considered a positivist drama, conceived in the critical spirit of the Cracow historical school. All of which points to the complexity of the problem.

It has been explored in many directions. Wyspiański's antiromantic stance in his so-called "national dramas" became a commonplace. It was somewhat rectified by two special books: one, applying the now obsolete genetic method (Barbasz), the second, dispensing generalities and hazy ideas (Kolbuszewski). Lately, another link with the romantic

24) Cf two instructive accounts of it: Barbara LASOCKA in *Pamiętnik Teatralny*, 1958 fasc. 1, p. 136 et seq. and Aniela LEMPICKA in *Pamiętnik Literacki* 1958, fasc. 2, p. 618 et seq.

25) Lesław EUSTACHIEWICZ, "Spory o interpretację twórczości Wyspiańskiego" (Controversy Concerning the Interpretation of W.'s Work) *Pamiętnik Literacki*, 1959, fasc. 2, p. 126.

26) Cf the one hundred page addendum to the second edition of Aniela LEMPICKA's valuable anthology "Wesele we wspomnieniach i krytyce" ("The Wedding" as recorded in reminiscences and criticism) Kraków, 1970, and the closing part of her introduction to *Wyzwolenie* (Biblioteka Narodowa I, 200. Kraków 1970). Also in *Almanach Sceny Polskiej, 1968/69* (Almanac of the Polish Theatre), ed. Stanisław MARCZAK-OBORSKI, Warszawa 1970, the statistical data and esp. the general remarks of Elżbieta WYSIŃSKA about the celebration of Wyspiański's hundredth anniversary of birth in the Polish theatre of to-day, pp. 5-10.

theatre, more specifically with the French opera, was added.²⁷⁾ Efforts were made to define and outline the problem, at least in connection with single works and motifs.²⁸⁾

Which shows that the problem is still open and calls for a thorough rethinking, a recapitulation. For Wyspiański, romanticism was a multifarious and polyvalent reality. Its different values and aspects, — romantic poetics, romantic psychology, romantic artistic achievement, romantic political ideology, the romantic heritage etc. — he approached in different ways. His approach varied in different works. He changed the objects and the recipients of his positive and negative appreciation, of his solidarity and opposition. This intricate pattern was further complicated by Wyspiański's attitude toward European symbolism; it was neither passive nor uniform; sometimes, he opposed romantic concepts to symbolist ones (e.g. the interest in history).²⁹⁾

Since this paper is only a most general signalling of the problem, one concrete proposal must suffice. Raszewski has suggested a link which, however, is not a straightforward one. Fascinated by the romantic *opéra à grand spectacle*, Wyspiański was intuitively striving after an anti-illusionist theatre, a presentational, not a representational, a symbolic, not an imitative one (the most striking sample was the *Historia Jacobi*, the third, biblical act of "Acropolis"). He was, in this respect, if not a forerunner of Adolf Appia and Edward Gordon Craig, at least their peer, acting independently of them, in a provincial town, on the peripheries of Europe.

The organic problem of a rare coexistence within one creative personality of two artistic competences, of two ways of expression, is today a simpler, and at the same time, a more complicated matter. We have become more sensitive to the fallacy of analogising, of speaking about literature in terms of the visual arts or music, and vice versa. We are inclined to consider all arts independent, autonomous, even if they are combined in one creator as in Blake and Norwid, Rossetti and Wyspiański.

This rather sound tendency reduced the value of Makowiecki's book "Poeta-malarz", which has lately appeared in a second, more sumptuous edition. Where he touches on the structural relationship of works actually making use of two arts, when he points out their thematic affinities, his book displays a considerable amount of penetrating insight. But it also betrays the stamp of the typically German inclination to analogise, when it links the specific techniques. Here are two examples: Makowiecki juxtaposes the line of Wyspiański's drawings and "the line of the words and deeds — undulating, unexpected, tortuous".

27) Zbigniew RASZEWSKI, "Paradoks Wyspiańskiego" (The Paradox of W.), *Pamiętnik Teatralny* 1957, fasc. 3/4, p. 434 et seq.

28) Wiktor WEINTRAUB, "Wyspiański i kompleks Mickiewicza" (W. and the Mickiewicz Complex) in the collective work *Wyspiański żywy* (The Living W.), ed. Herminia NAGLEROWA, London 1957. "The struggle with Mickiewicz — says Weintraub — is by no means a struggle with romanticism... The struggle with Mickiewicz is exclusively a struggle with mysticism, the mystical-political romanticism" (p. 196).

29) Tymon TERLECKI, "Stanisław Wyspiański and the Poetics of Symbolist Drama", *The Polish Review* vol. XV, nr. 40 (Autumn 1970) and offpr.

And again he discovers the same "nervousness" in Wyspiański's "abrupt lines (of his pictures) and his abrupt dialogues".³⁰⁾

One should not overlook the fact that, with Wyspiański, the situation is rather difficult in this respect. On the one hand, his work as a painter is as different from his poetic work, as if it were the creation of another man. On the other hand, close connections are discernible, when comparing his texts and paintings, as in the case of the early "Queen of the Polish Crown" as well as the rhapsodies and the projects for stained glass windows in the cathedrals of Lwów and Cracow. In the first case, the recipe seems simple: forget the painter. In the second case, the methodological problem is very specific and has not yet been satisfactorily solved. (Incidentally, the rhapsodies are relatively unimportant and the least explored of all Wyspiański's works).

The contemporary approach would suggest, instead of the "poet-painter" formula, that of "a poet *and* a painter, and many things more, perhaps, the last universal artist making use of all the visual media". Lately, this problem is being overshadowed by another one: was Wyspiański a poet or something else?

It can be called the crisis of creative identity. The question reads: who is this strange, disquieting, complex phenomenon — a poet or a man of the theatre? what did he create: dramas or something else, not easily definable, approximately described as scenic scores, theatrical scenarios in the way one speaks of musical scores and film scenarios. Zbigniew Raszewski, the main exponent of the problem went as far as to replace the opposition or duality of poet-painter with that of producer-architect, justifying the second qualification by Wyspiański's revolutionary initiative in scenic design (in "The Legend II" and "Bolesław the Bold", his only drama entirely elaborated by him in its theatrical shape).³¹⁾ What matters in our context is that between these two terms: producer and architect, the poet — has disappeared.

The origin of this extremist concept goes back to Borowy's famous and already hackneyed paradox that Wyspiański was a great poet, without being a great writer.³²⁾ Raszewski's attitude is inspired by a kind of defeatism: "we know well that it is difficult to rescue the poet",³³⁾ let us, therefore, save him as — a scenario writer, a script-writer. The proposal caused a stir and made quite a career, although Raszewski's study brought other, less disputable statements, even some revealing discoveries. A debate ensued in which Wilam Horzyca, a critic and producer, as well as Edward Csató, a critic and historian of the theatre, participated, opposing the elimination of the poet for the benefit of the scenarist. At the other extreme, the "scenario concept" has become a sort of common faith, a watchword of *Pamiętnik Teatralny*, the otherwise

30) Tadeusz MAKOWIECKI, *Poeta-malarz. Studium o Stanisławie Wyspiańskim* (Poet and Painter. A Study on S.W.), 2nd ed. Warszawa 1969, p. 209-10, p. 250.

31) RASZEWSKI "Paradoks Wyspiańskiego", op. cit. p. 445.

32) BOROWY, "Łazienki a Noc Listopadowa", op. cit. p. 232. Raszewski's thesis can also be related to Wyspiański's first quasi-monographist Adam GRZYMAŁA-SIEDLECKI, *Wyspiański. Cechy i elementy jego twórczości* (W. Traits and Elements of his Creative Work): "Wyspiański's works are more shows than dramas in the strict sense of the word" - 2nd ed., Warszawa 1918, p. 179 et seq.

33) RASZEWSKI, op. cit., p. 437.

excellent periodical, one of the best in contemporary Poland, of which Raszewski is co-editor.³⁴⁾

This concept has found support and encouragement in the theoretic-al field, namely, in "the theatrical theory of drama", which Stefania Skwarczyńska has opposed to "the literary theory of drama", that "centuries old, fatal misunderstanding". Skwarczyńska's radical standpoint led to the conclusion that "drama is a separate art among other arts; in the systematics of art it therefore claims equal right with literature".³⁵⁾ One need have no doubt that this theory was inspired by Wyspiański, if not directly, then indirectly. The intermediary link can be traced to the writings of Juliusz Kleiner, the eminent historian and theoretician of literature, Skwarczyńska's teacher.³⁶⁾

It is impossible to discuss here the whole problem in all its ramifications and extensions. Only two points can be indicated: one specific, the other more general. The "scenario concept", although so eagerly accepted, seems to contain some misunderstandings and to take some terminological liberties. The term "scenic score" or "theatrical scenario" (this is the only way to render in English the untranslatable expression *partytura teatralna*) is a lame metaphor, an inexact, inaccurate, incorrect analogy with music and film — one more instance of useless or, in this case, harmful analogising in the domain of the arts.³⁷⁾ We all agree that Wyspiański is something very specific, but this specificity is not clarified by the terms "scenario" or "score" — they only tend to further increase the mental confusion.³⁸⁾

The debate about the nature of Wyspiański's creativity involves many serious ontological and epistemological problems: what did Wys-

34) Cf the somewhat naive faith in LASOCKA's report about the scholarly conference, dedicated to Wyspiański op. cit., p. 148.

35) Stefania SKWARCZYŃSKA, *Studia i szkice literackie* (Literary Studies and Essays) Warszawa 1953, pp. 95, 118, 121 and *Wstęp do nauki o literaturze* (An Introduction to the Knowledge of Literature) Warszawa 1965, vol. III p. 291 et seq. Later Mrs. Skwarczyńska returned many times to her proposal e.g. "Literatura czy teatr" (Literature or Theatre?), *Dialog* June 1970, and in the collection of her studies *Wokół teatru i literatury* (About the Theatre and Literature) Warszawa 1970, esp. the essay *Niektóre praktyczne konsekwencje teatralnej teorii dramatu* (Certain practical Consequences of the Theatrical Theory of Drama).

36) Cf his "Rola podmiotu mówiącego" (The Role of the Speaking Subject), 1946 and "Istota utworu dramatycznego" (The Essence of a Dramatic Work), 1948/49, both reprinted in his book *Studia z zakresu teorii literatury* (Studies in Literary Theory) Lublin 1956, 2nd enlarged ed. Lublin 1961. Here are two of Kleiner's instructive formulas: "A true dramatist creates a theatrical, not just a literary work", *Studia*, 2nd ed. p. 47 and: "Drama is not the building of word-constructions suggesting certain representational entities, but the shaping of theatrical realities", ib. p. 47. On p. 49 he points to Wyspiański's works as "the summit and extreme instance of something that can be called - somewhat tautologically perhaps - a theatrical drama".

37) RASZEWSKI himself stated in his interesting article "Partytura teatralna" (The Theatrical Score) *Pamiętnik Teatralny*, 1958 fasc. 3/4, p. 393, that "theatrical scores in the strict sense of the word do not exist, and the course which the more modern European theatre took, did not favor their development".

38) An example is the zealous declaration of a common dogmatic faith to be found in LASOCKA's report about the conference devoted to Wyspiański, op. cit. p. 149: "what did he produce... books or shows? Though they have been preserved in bookform, they nevertheless are not "texts", but shows, stage productions, theatrical works". This antithesis: books/texts — shows is somewhat misguided. In fact, Wyspiański more or less (rather less than more) produced, shaped on the stage seven out of his almost twenty dramas, plus MICKIEWICZ's *Forefathers*; only the latter and *Bolesław the Bold* can be considered productions, bearing the full stamp of his producing hand.

piański create? how does what he created exist? how is it perceived? Without going into details at this stage of the discussion, it is safer to assume two modes of existence: that of a literary work, of a "text", and that of a theatrical work implicit in it. This may sound heretical and backward, but it seems true, that Wyspiański created amphibia, works able to live in two dimensions, fit for two kinds of aesthetic perception — as literature and as theatre. He removed the opposition between "closet drama", "*Buchdrama*", "*le drame livresque*", "*dramat księżkowy*" and "theatre drama", striving after an incarnation on the stage, containing a detailed and complete scenic vision, an inherent stage form, with its own sensory, audial, visual, motory shape. This is visible in Wyspiański's technique of adding stage directions in the last phase of book production. As a rule, and especially in the "November Night" and "Liberation", they developed into a *poetic commentary*, as Płoszewski called it,³⁹⁾ into a descriptive and lyrical glossary, alongside with the dramatic dialogue. It often includes versified descriptions of the characters, of their behaviour on stage, of time and space; it often gives a subjective, lyrical interpretation of what is going on; introductions and epilogues enter into it, concerning the beyond, before and after of the action proper, its *Vorgeschichte* and *Nachgeschichte*. Moreover, Wyspiański invented his own punctuation, what has been happily termed his "theatrical script" (*pismo teatralne*).⁴⁰⁾ Through this and other means he suggested the intonational line of his dramatic dialogue, marked movement, gesture, mimic etc.

The solution of the antinomy: drama or theatrical scenario, theatrical scenario *versus* drama, was proposed a long time ago by Leon Schiller, by way of E.G. Craig's idea of "the artist of the theatre".⁴¹⁾ Raszewski and the followers of his "scenario concept" accept it, but seem to lack consistency. For Craig "the artist of the theatre" embodied a Sacred Duality, the dramatist and the man of the theatre, the writer, creating with the stage present in his mind, and the producer, faithful to his own text, translating it into scenic terms, creating a work of the autonomous, unique art of the theatre. After Wyspiański's death, Craig admitted that the stranger whom he had not known, had been his forerunner, the second "artist of the theatre" beside himself, to a greater degree, perhaps, than he himself, even — may be — the only one. In the light of what we know, or rather guess about Molière,⁴²⁾ this priority should be bestowed upon him, this uniqueness at least shared with him.⁴³⁾

39) PŁOSZEWSKI, *Źródła i zasady*, op. cit. p. 39.

40) DEGLER, "Pismo teatralne Wyspiańskiego", op. cit.

41) He did it most emphatically and suggestively in his famous essay "Teatr ogromny" (The Immense Theatre) published in *Scena Polska* 1937, fasc. 1/4, p. 18 et seq., reprinted in an important selection of his writings to which it gave the title: *Teatr ogromny*, ed. by Zbigniew RASZEWSKI (in cooperation with Jerzy TIMOSZEWICZ), Warszawa 1961, p. 211 et seq.

42) Cf RASZEWSKI, "Partytura teatralna" op. cit., p. 386/7.

43) This opinion on Wyspiański's relationship to Craig and the Great Reform is opposed by Aniela LEMPICKA in the preface to the *Collected Works* vol. I, p. CIV et seq. and in the study "O teatrze i literaturze w twórczości Wyspiańskiego" (On the Theatre and Literature in Wyspiański's Work) in the coll. book, vol. I *Z problemów literatury polskiej XX wieku. Młoda Polska* (Some Problems of Polish Literature in the 20th c. Young Poland), ed. Jerzy KWIATKOWSKI, Zbigniew ZABICKI, Warszawa 1965, p. 386 et seq. Lempicka's view is radically "revisionist" and not very convincing. In the whole controversy: scenario *versus* drama, she seems to represent the rather obsolete attitude of "literary orthodoxy".

In spite of its controversial character, the theatrical orientation in the Wyspiański research is the most lively, fertile and promising one. Outside the debate, and independently of it, the same direction is pursued by the philologist Irena Sławińska. She has never had any doubts that with Wyspiański she is dealing with a literary work of art. After having strictly defined the field of her interest, she investigates "the scenic vision" implied in Wyspiański's dramas, what one could call the theatre *in potentia*.⁴⁴ Developing this tenet, Miss Sławińska professor at the Catholic University in Lublin (KUL), has created a definite, well prosperous school of research on drama and the theatre.

With that, we have reached the point where we shall turn from the past and present to the future, to what in Polish is called *plan perspektywiczny*, and in English simply "the prospect before us". The postulated history of Wyspiański's reception, entered already into this prospect. I shall now quickly point out other postulates, justified by the present state of scholarship on Wyspiański.

The first is a long overdue synthesis, a scholarly monograph. Although greatly underestimated in his lifetime, Słowacki became the subject of such a monograph seventeen years after his untimely death (Antoni Małeck, 1866). Mickiewicz waited longer, thirty seven years (Piotr Chmielowski, 1886). Wyspiański is still waiting in vain, for more than sixty years now, apparently a proof of the complexity and difficulty of the task.

If we do not take into account the impressionist study of Grzymała Siedlecki, conceived on the morrow of Wyspiański's death, lacking in historical distance (1909), the only attempt at a synthesis has so far been made — strangely enough — in a foreign language. It is Claude Backvis' "Le Dramaturge Stanisław Wyspiański" (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1952). This work, by an eminent, highly meritorious Belgian historian of Polish literature, rendered a great service, but can not be considered satisfactory. It is a really strange item: one book superimposed upon another; it gives the impression of a palimpsest, of one text put on top of an earlier existing one. There are at least two books in this one: one about Wyspiański, the other about Wyspiański and his rather exaggerated dependence on Słowacki. It reflects two different attitudes: of high esteem and of a not quite justified disappointment. It abounds in appendices, with footnotes and footnotes to footnotes⁴⁵ which constitute new contributions, separate studies *in nuce*. This *monographia glossata*, unique of its kind, is written in a terrifically dense style, destroying even the appearance of clarity and consistent composition. In sum, it is a work, discouraging for a foreign student, not easy even for a native specialist.

The situation is now more favorable for a new attempt at a synthesis. A fairly large group of "Wyspiańskologists" has been active in Poland since the late fifties and early sixties. And it is still growing. The dominating

44) "O badaniu wizji teatralnej Wyspiańskiego" (On the Research into Wyspiański's Vision of the Theatre) in: *Gest sceniczny poety. Zbiór studiów o dramacie* (The Poet's Scenic Gesture. A Collection of Essays on Drama), Kraków 1960, p. 155 et seq. Cf also there the instructive studies about other dramatists (Mickiewicz, Słowacki, Norwid).

45) Cf. p. 181 et seq. a footnote of five pages in small print; p. 257 et seq.; an enormous, really distressing appendix "Le personnage de Wernyhora" with a two and half page footnote to a footnote, etc.

personality is Aniela Łempicka, and she looks like the presumptive author of the expected synthesis. This was probably the reason for assigning to her the writing of the introduction to Wyspiański's "Collected Works". She published, earlier, the monograph on "The Wedding", tainted with doctrinal socialist-realism, but valuable and valid. Later, she compiled a fascinating anthology of reminiscences, critical appreciations and commentaries concerning this undoubted masterpiece (it has appeared in two editions already, the second considerably extended). The monographist of "The Wedding" is now preparing a study on "Liberation", not the most perfect, but beyond any doubt, the most complex of Wyspiański's works.⁴⁶⁾ She has already written a big introduction to the Biblioteka Narodowa edition of the drama, the jubilee (200th) volume of this most deserving series. It can be considered a first, working outline, a trial version of the announced monograph.

When reading all these (and some other) contributions of Łempicka one realises how thoroughly she has absorbed the existing knowledge of Wyspiański, how it has become the foundation and the component of her own thinking about this abstruse subject.⁴⁷⁾ The introduction to the "Collected Works" contains, beside some masterly analyses (e.g. of "Achilleis"), also elementary blunders (for instance, her treatment of the supernatural world in "November Night" as a purely decorative element). As a whole, it is controversial but stimulating; using the findings of others, but fresh, revisionist, within the limits of common sense. Unfortunately, Łempicka also displays certain shortcomings: a slow pace of work and a disquieting vacillation of opinion. One finds, sometimes, two contradictory evaluations within one text; it happens even more often when reading two separate approaches.⁴⁸⁾ This seems to betray a still unstable judgement, perhaps an uncontrolled ambivalence. But it should not dim the hopes and expectations placed in such an outstanding specialist of Wyspiański.

Another move towards the future was pointed out by the translation of the "Return of Odysseus"⁴⁹⁾ — the first translation into English after a long, long interval. It was done by Professor Weintraub's student, Howard Clarke. It is a modest work, in prose, of course, effacing many peculiarities (and also whimsicalities) of Wyspiański's poetic diction, but it has proved most valuable. By its mere appearance, it added the name of Wyspiański to a long history of the Odyssean motif in world literature, introducing him there as an original contributor.

46) The first chapters in *Pamiętnik Literacki*: "Problemy Wyzwolenia" (The Problems of "Liberation"), 1961 fasc. 1 p. 301 et seq.; the second of them: "Geniusz i Konrad" (The Genius and Conrad) ib. 1969 fasc. 1, p. 59 announces the monograph in preparation.

47) For instance, one of her capital achievements, the analysis of the phantoms in *The Wedding* was inspired by Backvis, op. cit., p. 223, where he warns against an excess of logic, leading "*au chaos, aux contradictions, aux obscurités*".

48) For instance, in the introduction to the *Collected Works*, the motif of the Bishop's coffin crushing the King in *Bolesław the Bold*, is at one time defined as "daring" (p. XLI) and then again as "grotesque" (p. IX). Cf also the evaluation of the third act of *Acropolis* in the same introduction and in the coll. book *Z zagadnień literatury polskiej XX wieku*, op. cit. vol. I, p. 400 et seq. Łempicka's whole attitude towards this work is ambivalent.

49) Stanisław WYSPIAŃSKI, *The Return of Odysseus*, a drama in three acts, translated and with an introduction by Howard CLARKE (Indiana University Publications, Russian and European Series. Vol. 35) Bloomington, 1966.

This suggests that one should adopt in this field a minimalistic approach: a tentative, working translation is better than none. One should also adopt a gradualist attitude; it proved right with the latest poetic renderings of "Pan Tadeusz", based on an earlier, prosaic, "philological" one. It is easier, and more effective, to improve on something already existing, than to yearn for an unattainable ideal and do nothing.

Limited in such a way, the task of translating Wyspiański lies within the possibilities of students for whom English is the native language or the language acquired in early childhood. Of course, "The Little Rock" (*Skalka*) is an intractable problem; of course "The Wedding", "Liberation", "November Night" pose serious obstacles, although all three figure in the Russian selection from Wyspiański's *oeuvre*; but the "Curse", "The Judges", "Bolesław the Bold" and "Achilleis" can be fairly easily adapted. This would put an end to the scandalous parity between Bulgaria and the whole English - speaking world in the field of translations from Wyspiański.⁵⁰⁾

And finally, the last, recently opened prospect: the "rehabilitation" of Wyspiański as a European writer. For many decades he was considered by Polish and foreign scholars, and even more so by the Polish ideological exegesis, as a super-Polish, exclusively Polish author. Medieval allegorising, allegoric interpretation reigned supreme. Examples could be quoted by the scores and by the hundreds. Sinko suggested that Ezau and Jacob from the third act of "Acropolis" represent the social clash between Polish nobility and peasantry in the course of history.⁵¹⁾ Adam Łada Cybulski, one of the most devoted enthusiasts and the most fantastic interpreter of Wyspiański, saw Laodamia, from the lyrical drama on love and sexual desire, as an incarnation of Poland⁵²⁾ (imagine somebody trying to convince us that Hofmannsthal's Electra is the impersonation of Hungary!). There exist outright curios, books which interpret even "Achilleis" and "The Return of Odysseus" as national dramas.⁵³⁾ The reaction against this mania is lately growing stronger and stronger. Even those works which thematically belong to the Polish past are treated as dramas of existence (*dramaty generalnych zagadnień bytu*).⁵⁴⁾

The national obsession was fatal in two respects. First, it created the myth of Wyspiański's hermeticism — he was said to be untranslatable, inaccessible to non-Poles. And second, it artificially isolated him, cut him off from his European, historical-literary and general cultural context, that is, the symbolist era. The latter fact had many

50) Tymon TERLECKI, "Greatness and Ill Fortune of Stanisław Wyspiański" in *Antemurale*, 1970 vol. XIV and offpr.

51) Tadeusz SINKO, *Antyk Wyspiańskiego* (The Heritage of the Antique in Wyspiański's Dramas) 2nd ed., Kraków 1922.

52) Adam ŁADA-CYBULSKI, *Z mroku jaśniejące słowo. Rzecz o teatrze Stanisława Wyspiańskiego* (A Word Shining Out of the Darkness. About S.W.'s Theatre) Paris 1931, p. 93. Even Penelope in *The Return of Odysseus* is identified with Poland, *ib.* p. 122.

53) A.B. CYPS, *Życie i twórczość Stanisława Wyspiańskiego* (The Life and Work of S.W.) Warszawa 1923, p. 132 et seq. and elsewhere.

54) Aniela LEMPICKA, "Nietzscheanizm Wyspiańskiego" (Wyspiański's Allegiance to Nietzsche) in *Pamiętnik Literacki*, 1958, fasc. 3, p. 52.

fundamental as well as minor consequences. Let us indicate some of them *exempli gratia*.

The problem of Wyspiański's relationship to Wagner has been solved in the most contradictory way. It would probably have been otherwise, if it had been considered not as an individual case, but a case within the larger relationship: Wagner-symbolism, and specifically French symbolism. We know to-day that even with such avowed apostles as Teodor de Wyzewa, the knowledge of the Master's theoretical, programmatic pronouncements was rather dubious, simply because of the linguistic barrier.⁵⁵ De Wyzewa and many others propagated the Wagnerian myth, their own myth of Wagner, and placed their poetics and poetic practice under this ennobling ensign. Proper investigation would, most probably, show that this was also the case of Wyspiański. (Nb. we had a similar situation after World War I, when the Skamander group of poets adopted Walt Whitman as their patron saint, knowing him very little and very confusedly, not knowing his work at all, or knowing it very insufficiently).

As for Wyspiański — the principal question is his place within Symbolism. So far, the research in this field has practically been limited to his relationship with two dramatists: Maeterlinck and Hauptmann. Only recently has an attempt been made to define the problem, to explore it tentatively and to postulate a thorough comparative investigation.⁵⁶ It is the more urgent (and also more difficult), because in France and elsewhere, the symbolist drama is an unfashionable and practically unexplored field, with one or two exceptions: Maeterlinck and, perhaps, Joséphin Peladan.⁵⁷

To prophesize in scholarship is risky, but it seems that the effort of placing Wyspiański in his historical context may prove rewarding. He may emerge as one of the greatest symbolist dramatists — the richest and most versatile, one of the most inventive ones, daring in his experimentation and exploitation of the inherent potentialities of this field, one of the most "catholic", most syncretic creators — not on a local, national, but on a European scale.

If such a discovery appears possible, it should be made in the interest of both one particular literature and of world literature as well.

55) Paul DELSEMME, *Teodor de Wyzewa et le Cosmopolitisme littéraire en France à l'époque du symbolisme* (Bruxelles 1967) and Isabelle WYZEWSKA, *La Revue Wagnérienne. Essai sur l'interprétation esthétique de Wagner en France* (Paris 1934). For a general treatment of the problem cf Grange WOOLEY, *Richard Wagner et le symbolisme français. Les rapports principaux entre le wagnérisme et l'évolution de l'idée symboliste* (Paris 1931).

56) TERLECKI, "Wyspiański and the Poetics of Symbolist Drama", op. cit.

57) The library of one of the most prestigious American universities is almost completely lacking in texts concerning the French drama of the second part of the 19th c., because it was "tellement mauvais". In other collections the situation is not quite as bad, but this sweeping judgement is nevertheless characteristic.

FINITO DI STAMPARE CON I TIPI DELLA
TIP. EDIGRAF - ROMA - TEL. 8271694
IL 22 MARZO 1972

INSTITUTUM HISTORICUM POLONICUM ROMAE
VIA DEGLI SCIPIONI 284 - ROMA

ELEMENTA AD FONTIUM EDITIONES (cont.)

- Vol. VI — *Res Polonicae Iacobo I Angliae Regnante Conscriptae ex Archivis Publicis Londoniarum*. Ed. C. H. TALBOT, pp. XI+396, 281 doc. (A.D. 1603-1629) 8 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron., glossarium verb. ang. ant., 1962.
- Vol. VII — *Repertorium Rerum Polonicarum ex Archivo Orsini in Archivo Capitolino*, II pars. Coll. W. WYHOWSKA-DE ANDREIS, pp. XIV+250, 1205 doc. (A.D. 1641-1676) 11 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. 1962.
- Vol. VIII — *Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Generali Hispaniae in Simancas*, I pars. Ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ, pp. X+214, 157 doc. (A.D. 1514-1576, 1720-1791) 7 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. 1963.
- Vol. IX — *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Regni Daniae*, I pars. Coll. L. KOCZY, pp. XII+184, 98 doc. (A.D. 1526-1572) 8 tab. Ind. nom. propr. 1964.
- Vol. X — *Repertorium Rerum Polonicarum ex Archivo Orsini in Archivo Capitolino*, III pars. Coll. W. WYHOWSKA-DE ANDREIS, pp. XVI+343, 1399 doc. (A.D. 1568-1676) 12 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. 1964.
- Vol. XI — *Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Generali Hispaniae in Simancas*, II pars. Ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ, pp. VIII+287, 214 doc. (A.D. 1567-1578) 7 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. 1964.
- Vol. XII — *Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Generali Hispaniae in Simancas*, III pars. Ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ, pp. V+291, 163 doc. (A.D. 1571-1576), 5 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron., 1964.
- Vol. XIII — *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Musei Britannici*, I pars. Ed. C. H. TALBOT, pp. XVI+175 (A.D. 1598), 2 tab. Ind. nom. propr. 1965.
- Vol. XIV — *Collectanea ex rebus Polonicis Archivi Orsini in Archivo Capitolino Romae*, I pars. Ed. W. WYHOWSKA-DE ANDREIS, pp. VI+234, 177 doc. (A.D. 1575-1668), 4 tab. Ind. nom. propr. 1965.
- Vol. XV — *Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Generali Hispaniae in Simancas*, IV pars. Ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ, pp. VI+340, 211 doc. (A.D. 1576-1586), 5 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. 1966.
- Vol. XVI — *Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Generali Hispaniae in Simancas*, V pars. Ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ, pp. VII+336, 227 doc. (A.D. 1587-1589), 5 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. 1966.
- Vol. XVII — *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Musei Britannici*, II pars. Ed. C. H. TALBOT, pp. VII+311, 169 doc. (A.D. 1411-1616), 2 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. 1967.

INSTITUTUM HISTORICUM POLONICUM ROMAE
VIA DEGLI SCIPIONI, 284 - ROMA

- Vol. XVIII — *Collectanea ex rebus Polonicis Archivi Orsini in Archivo Capitolino*, II pars. Ed. W. WYHOWSKA DE ANDREIS, pp. VIII+256, 140 doc. (A.D. 1669-1676), 4 tab. Ind. nom. propr. 1968.
- Vol. XIX — *Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Generali Hispaniae in Simancas*, VI pars. Ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ, pp. VIII+429, 121 doc. (A.D. 1556-1620), 4 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. 1968.
- Vol. XX — *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Regni Daniae*, II pars. Ed. C. LANCKOROŃSKA et G. STEEN JENSEN, 266 doc. (A.D. 1577-1696) 4 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. 1969.
- Vol. XXI — *Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Generali Hispaniae in Simancas*, VII pars. Ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ, 187 doc. (A.D. 1535-1696) 2 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. pp. VIII+262.
- Vol. XXII — *Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Parmensi*, I pars. Ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ et W. WYHOWSKA DE ANDREIS, doc. 183 (A.D. 1535-1588) pp. VIII+210, 2 tab.
- Vol. XXIII — A. *Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Parmensi* II pars. Doc. NN. 184-319 (A.D. 1535-1772) Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. B. *Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Capitulari in Brisighella*. 63 doc. (A.D. 1578-1588) Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. Ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ et W. WYHOWSKA DE ANDREIS p. 297, 2 tab. 1970.
- Vol. XXIV — *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Regni Daniae* III pars. Ed. C. LANCKOROŃSKA et G. STEEN JENSEN, 152 doc. (A.D. 1419-1564) pp. VIII+301, 4 tab.
- Vol. XXV — *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Regni Daniae* IV pars. Ed. C. LANCKOROŃSKA et G. STEEN JENSEN 78 doc. (A.D. 1563-1572). 6 tab. Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron. pp. VIII+248.
- Vol. XXVI — *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Mediceo Florentiae* I pars, ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ (in typis).
- *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Mediceo Florentiae* II pars, ed. V. MEYSZTOWICZ (in praeparatione).
- *Res Polonicae ex serie Card. Morone in Archivo Secreto Vaticano*. Ed. C. LANCKOROŃSKA (in praeparatione).
- *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Musei Britannici* III pars. Ed. C. H. TALBOT (in praeparatione).
- *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Regni Daniae* V pars. Ed. C. LANCKOROŃSKA et G. STEEN JENSEN (in praeparatione).

DEPOSITARII :

« International Book Distributors »
LIBRERIA
117-120, Piazza Montecitorio
00186 ROMA

Orbis (London Ltd.)
66, Kenway Road
London S.W.5.

Institutum Historicum
Polonicum Romae
284, Via degli Scipioni
00192 ROMA

Pretium: Lit. 6.000, \$ 10.50, £ 4.