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Johannes Remy

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# Higher Education and National Identity

Polish Student Activism in Russia 1832–1863

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*To Marianna*

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*Johannes Remy*

## ■ Introduction

The suppression of the 1830–31 Polish uprising against Russian supremacy marked the beginning of a unification policy in the Kingdom of Poland and Russification in other territories of the Russian empire that were populated by Poles. Part of this policy was the closure of all Polish institutes of higher learning, which included the Universities of Warsaw and Wilno (Vilnius) and the Lyceum of Krzemieniec in the Ukraine.

In Warsaw, the Ecclesiastical Academy was opened in 1835 to replace the former Theological Faculty of the University. In Wilno, the Medical Academy remained as a remnant of the former university until 1842, and the Ecclesiastical Academy until 1845. The Medical Academy was then closed down, and its resources were moved to St. Vladimir's University in Kiev. Wilno Ecclesiastical Academy was moved to St. Petersburg. After these changes, Warsaw Ecclesiastical Academy remained the only Polish institute of higher learning in the Russian Poland. There was no secular higher education in the territories inhabited by Poles in the Russian empire until 1848, when the Agricultural Institute was opened in Hory Horki in Belorussia; the language of instruction there was Russian. In 1857 a Polish-language Medical Academy was opened in Warsaw. The University of Warsaw was reopened in October 1862 under the name of the Main School.

Between 1832 and 1862, the opportunities for study anywhere except at Russian universities were rather limited, and young Poles began travelling to Russia to study. The government attitude towards Polish students went through various changes. At first, Polish students in Russia were viewed with suspicion. In the late 1830s and early 1840s, the government began to encourage Poles to study in the universities. The Minister of Public Enlightenment (1833–1849), Count Sergej Uvarov, hoped that studies in Russia would help to create a new, Russified Polish intelligentsia. Under the next Minister of Public Enlightenment, Prince Platon Širinskij-Šihmatov, the Russian universities suffered from ultra-reactionary oppression. These dark years at the end of the reign of Nicholas I also marked the intensification of an anti-Polish policy in education. However, they were followed by a more liberal period under Alexander II and the ministers, Avraam Norov and Evgraf Kovalevskij. The period of 1861–1863 was marked by the government's struggle against student unrest and revolutionary activism at the universities.

The presence of Polish students in the Russian universities was indeed problematic for the government. The Poles brought the traditions of patriotic student conspiracies to Russia that had emerged in Wilno and Warsaw in the 1810s and 1820s. In 1838, Polish patriotic conspiracies were uncovered in the universities of Kiev and Dorpat and in Wilno Medical Academy. The next

period of Polish student activism occurred at the time of the Cracow insurrection in 1846 and the Springtime of the Nations in 1848. The last years of Nicholas' reign were somewhat calmer, but, in the second half of the 1850s, Polish student activism revived to reach considerable intensity. Polish students at Russian universities contributed significantly to the insurrection in 1863.

The aim of this study is to investigate the subject of Polish students in Russia and their political activism. As government policy and Polish student activism influenced each other, an attempt is made to study these phenomena within two contexts: Firstly, the governmental educational and nationality policies, and secondly, Polish society and the national movement and ideas circulating in Poland. Answers to the following questions are sought:

- How many Poles studied in Russia? What was their background by social rank (soslovie)?
- Who was Polish? That is, what criteria were used to define the nationality of the students?
- How extensive and of what kind was the patriotic activity among the Polish students? Who were the activists in terms of their social rank, religious and regional backgrounds? What were their ideas?
- What was the nature of the relationship between Polish students and their Russian colleagues?
- What was the policy of the Russian Government towards Polish students?

The question of national identity bears relevance especially in cases where different criteria for defining nationality could produce different identities. Special attention is paid to those inhabitants of the territory of the former Polish state who differed from ethnic Poles in language, religion, or both – that is, people nowadays called Ukrainians, Belorussians, Lithuanians and Jews. The same person could be a Pole by one criterion and something else by another. This research attempts to determine what the criteria were for Polish national identity amongst students by studying how these ethnic non-Poles were perceived among ethnic Poles. Research into the religious and estate backgrounds of students from former Polish territories provides information about the formation of the Polish intelligentsia to compare with the intelligentsia of the other nationalities in the region.

The time frame of the study is set by the closure of the Polish universities in 1832 and the January Insurrection of 1863, which, for a long time, ended the armed struggle for independence. In spatial scope, the study includes the Universities of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev and Dorpat as well as the Medical Academies of St. Petersburg and Wilno.

The archival sources used in the study consist of the documents of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment in the Russian State Historical Archive (RGIA) in St. Petersburg, the Third Section of His Imperial Majesty's Chancellery in the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF) in Moscow, the Military Governor-General of Wilno in the Lithuanian State Historical Archive (LVIA) in Wilno (Vilnius), and the Military Governor-General of Kiev

in the Central State Historical Archive of the Ukraine (CDIAU). To a lesser extent, I have also used the Russian Military Historical Archive (RVIA) in Moscow, the State Historical Archive of Moscow (IAM), the State Historical Archive of St. Petersburg (GASP) and the Main Archive of Ancient Documents (AGAD) in Warsaw.

The documents of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment consulted in the RGIA contain mainly official correspondence between the Minister and the Curators, who administered education in the regional school districts. The amount of material dedicated to the “Polish question” in the universities is rather extensive. There are also submissions by the Minister to the Emperor with the latter’s decisions. The annual reports of the activities of the universities contain lists of students, from which it has been possible to estimate the number of Poles in the universities and their background according to social rank.

Detailed information about political crimes in the universities can be found in documents of the Third Section in the GARF and in those of the Governor-General in the LVIA and the CDIAU. The documents of the Third Section contain much more than the notoriously unreliable spy reports. There are records of investigation and information about illegal literature found in the possession of arrested persons. Often the documents of the Governor-Generals contain the best information, since in many cases the investigation was conducted by local authorities, who only briefly informed the Third Section. Both in Wilno and Kiev there are also records of investigatory commissions. The documents of the AGAD dealing with political crimes would probably have been very useful, had they not been destroyed by the Germans in 1944. Of all the documents of the Permanent Investigatory Commission, only the index and a few fragments have survived to our time.

Published sources include the Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire, publications by the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and a recently published collection of documents concerning education in the Kingdom of Poland.<sup>1</sup> The Ministry’s publications contain not only laws, but also various administrative orders, like ministerial circulars. The most recent collection contains records of the Kingdom’s leading bodies as well as annual reports about the state of education in the country. Collections of documents relating to political crimes have been published jointly by the Russian (Soviet) and Polish Academies. These include records of investigations and documents confiscated from arrested persons, which cover conspiracies in the period 1833–1850 and the insurrection of 1863 together with its preparatory period.<sup>2</sup>

. . . . .  
1 Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossijskoj imperii. Sobranie Vtoroe. I-LV. S.-Peterburg 1830–1884. Henceforth referred to as II PSZ. [Uvarov Sergej:] Desjatiletie ministerstva narodnago prosvješčenija 1833–1843. S.-Peterburg 1864. Sbornik postanovlenij po ministerstvu narodnago prosvješčenija I–XVII. S.-Peterburg 1864–1904. Henceforth referred to as SP. Sbornik rasporjaženij po ministerstvu narodnago prosvješčenija I–XVI. S.-Peterburg 1866–1907. Henceforth referred to as SR. Walka caratu ze szkołą polską w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1831–1870. Materiały źródłowe. Warszawa 1993.

2 The series “Polski ruch wyzwoleniecy i polsko-rosyjskie więzy społeczno-kulturalne w XIX wieku. Studia i materiały.”: Rewolucyjna konspiracja w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1840–1845. Edward Dembowski. Wrocław 1981, henceforth referred to as RKKP. Społeczeństwo

Many memoirs have been used, and among these, many were written a long time after the period they describe, and they contain inaccuracies. Memoirs describing the 1830s are very few. From the 1840s there are memoirs from each university, but still they do not cover the entire period and every student generation. The most extensive is the memoir material about St. Vladimir's University in Kiev in the late 1850s and early 1860s.

Russian educational policy in relation to Poland has been studied by various scholars. Before the Russian Revolution and the independence of Poland, S. V. Roždestvenskij wrote an official history of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment, and Wł. Studnicki researched Russian educational policy in Polish territories from the Polish point of view.<sup>3</sup> The fundamental study by Jan Kucharzewski has as its subject only the Kingdom of Poland 1832–56.<sup>4</sup> Kucharzewski's work retains its relevance, since many of the sources consulted by him no longer exist. In modern Polish research, the most important works are those by Karol Poznański and Leszek Zasztowt.<sup>5</sup> New western research includes an article about Uvarov and the Western Provinces by James T. Flynn and the biography of Uvarov by Cynthia H. Whittaker, which briefly discusses policies in Polish territories.<sup>6</sup> Both works approach the subject exclusively from the point of view of the Russian educational authorities.

Polish student activism at the University of Kiev has been studied by the Polish authors Marian Dubiecki, Witold Wierzejski and Jan Tabiś.<sup>7</sup> Dubiecki's work covers the period 1834–1863. Since the author himself actively participated in the student movement at the end of the 1850s and a little later in the January Insurrection, the book can, to some extent, be compared with the memoir material. Wierzejski's book deals with the whole period up to 1920.

...  
polskie i próby wznowienia walki zbrojnej w 1833 roku. Wrocław 1984. Stowarzyszenie Ludu Polskiego w Królestwie Polskim. Gustaw Ehrenberg i "Świętokrzyżcy". Wrocław 1978. Wiosna Ludów w Królestwie Polskim. Organizacja 1848 roku. Wrocław 1994. The series "Vosstanie 1863 goda. Materialy i dokumenty.": Dokumenty komitetu centralnego narodowego i rządu narodowego 1862–1864. Wrocław 1968. Obščestvenno-političeskoe dviženie na Ukraine v 1856–1862 gg. Kyiv 1963, henceforth OPDU. Revolucionnyj pod'em v Litve i Belorussii v 1861–1862 gg. Moskva 1964, henceforth RPLB. Russkopol'skie revolucionnyje svjazi. 1–2. Moskva 1963, henceforth RPRS. Zbiór zeznań śledczych o przebiegu powstania styczniowego. Wrocław 1965, henceforth ZZSP.

- 3 Roždestvenskij S. V.: Istoričeskij obzor dejatel'nosti ministerstva narodnago prosvieščeniija. S.-Peterburg 1902. Studnicki Wł.: Polityka Rosyi względem szkolnictwa zaboru rosyjskiego. Kraków 1906.
- 4 Kucharzewski Jan: Epoka Paszkiewiczowska. Losy oświaty. Warszawa-Kraków 1914.
- 5 Poznański Karol: Reforma szkolna w Królestwie Polskim w 1862 roku. Wrocław 1968. Poznański: Sprawa przebudowy oświaty i wychowania w Królestwie Polskim po upadku Powstania Listopadowego. In: Studia z dziejów edukacji. Warszawa 1994. Zasztowt Leszek: Kresy 1832–1864. Szkolnictwo na ziemiach litewskich i ruskich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej. Warszawa 1997.
- 6 Flynn James T.: Uvarov and "Western Provinces": A Study of Russia's Polish Problem. Slavonic and Eastern European Review, Vol. 64, No 2/1986. Whittaker Cynthia H.: The Origins of Modern Russian Education: An Intellectual Biography of Count Sergei Uvarov, 1786–1855. Dekalb, Illinois 1985.
- 7 Dubiecki Marian: Młodzież polska w uniwersytecie kijowskim przed rokiem 1863. Kijów 1909. Tabiś Jan: Polacy na uniwersytecie Kijowskim 1834–1863. Kraków 1974. Wierzejski Witold Kazimierz: Fragmenty z dziejów polskiej młodzieży akademickiej w Kijowie 1834–1920. Warszawa 1939.

Naturally, a Polish author in the 1930s could not consult the Soviet Archives, but had to rely entirely on sources available in Poland. Tabiś' study is a valuable work based to a large extent on the documents of the Governor-General of Kiev and the Kievan School District in the State Historical Archive of the Ukraine.

In the Ukraine, the Polish student community in Kiev has been written about by S. S. Simonov and G. I. Marahov, both of whom have had access to relevant archival sources.<sup>8</sup> In my opinion, Simonov's article and unpublished dissertation treat the subject in a more scholarly and less ideologically inspired manner than Marahov. In the United States, the Polish Kievan students have been written about by Michael F. Hamm in his history of Kiev.<sup>9</sup>

Franciszek Nowiński has published a monograph, and Witold Słotwiński two articles about Polish students in the University of St. Petersburg. Nowiński relies mainly on the documents of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment.<sup>10</sup> An article by Wiktoria Śliwowska deals with the Moscow and St. Petersburg Universities in the 1840s on the basis of the documents of the Third Section. She has also written about the same subject in her book on the "Petraševskij's group" of Russian revolutionaries.<sup>11</sup> The Soviet Belorussian historian A. F. Smirnov has studied the student groups in Wilno Medical Academy.<sup>12</sup> Of the Soviet Russian historiography, especially useful has been Tamara Fedosova's work about Polish conspiracies in Moscow.<sup>13</sup> Fedosova has extensively used the documents of the Third Section and the Ruling Senate in GARF. The latter contains a part of the archive of the Moscow Polish student union from 1856 to 1863. There are four publications that have appeared since the collapse of communism: Galina Makarova's article about scholarship holders from the Kingdom of Poland at the University of Moscow in the 1830s and 1840s, materials from a Russo-Polish conference dedicated to Poles in Russian universities in the 19th and the

8 Marahov G. I: *Kievskij universitet v revoljucionno-demokratičeskom dviženii*. Kiev 1984. Simonov S. S: *Oseredok Sojuza Pol'skoho Narodu*" v Kyivs'komu universiteti. *Visnik Kiiivskoho universitetu* 4, seria istoriji ta filosofiji. Vyd. 1. Kyiv 1961. Simonov: *Studenčeskoje dviženie v Kievskom universitete v XIX veke*. *Dissertacija na soiskanie učenoj stepeni kandidata istoričeskikh nauk*. Manuscript. Kiev 1963.

9 Hamm Michael F: *Kiev. A Portrait, 1800–1917*. Princeton 1995, p. 62–76. Hamm's account is based on published sources and historiography, Tabiś' work among others.

10 Nowiński Franciszek: *Polacy na uniwersytecie petersburskim w latach 1832–1884*. Wrocław 1986. Słotvin'skij V: *Pol'skie studenty v Peterburskom universitete v 30–40-h godah XIX v*. In: *Peterburskij universitet i revoljucionnoe dviženie v Rossii*. Leningrad 1979. Słotwiński Witold: *Wokół dziejów polskiej młodzieży akademickiej w Petersburgu po powstaniu listopadowym*. *Studia-Polono-Slavica-Orientalia. Acta Litteraria*. T. XI. Wrocław 1986.

11 Śliwowska Wiktoria: *Polskie kółka studenckie w Moskwie i Petersburgu w czterdziestych latach XIX wieku*. *Przegląd Historyczny* 1/1961. Śliwowska: *Sprawa pietraszewców*. Warszawa 1964. P. 58-71.

12 Smirnov A: *Franc Savič. Z gistoryi belarуска-pol'skich revaljucyjnyh suvzajej 30–40-h godoŭ XIX stagoddja*. Minsk 1961. Smirnov A. F: *Revoljucionnye svjazi narodov Rossii i Pol'si v 30–50gg. XIX veka*. Moskva 1962. I use the form "Smirnov" in the text, but in the footnotes I use both forms of the family name depending on the language in which the work referred to is published.

13 Fedosova T.F: *Pol'skie revoljucionnye organizacii v Moskve. 60-e gody XIX veka*. Moskva 1974. Fiedosowa Tamara F: *Polskie organizacje patriotyczne w Moskwie 1857–1866*. Warszawa 1984. The Polish edition is expanded from the Russian one, and contains a lot of original documents. I use the form "Fedosova" in the text, but refer to the Polish edition as "Fiedosowa 1984".



beginning of the 20th century, Arkadiusz Janicki's article about Polish students in Dorpat, and Tadeusz Stenger's small work about Polish Protestant theology students in Dorpat.<sup>14</sup>

Aleksander Kamiński's two works on all Polish youth organizations in the period 1832–1848 and in the first half of 19th century have been useful, although that they are almost entirely based on published sources.<sup>15</sup> They have given valuable bibliographic information and offered information in compact form about all three parts of partitioned Poland.

Since this study is about Poles, Polish place names in the Western Provinces and the Kingdom of Poland are used, unless there is a well-established English name. In adopting this approach, the author does not intend to claim that these names are the only correct ones, for they are not, but only that they, too, have a legitimate place in the history of the area.

A few words need to be said about the title of the study. "Russia" is used here to mean all the territories that administratively belonged to the Russian Empire without a separate governmental status. "Russia" in this sense also includes present-day independent Estonia, Belorussia and most of the territory of present-day Lithuania and the Ukraine. The author is aware that these areas, even in the 19th century, culturally and ethnically were not Russian; however, the word, "Russia", is used for the sake of convenience, and no criticism or judgement of the independence or borders of Estonia, Lithuania, Belorussia or the Ukraine is intended.

The dates referred to are according to the Julian calendar, which was used in Russia before 1917, and in the 19th century was twelve days behind the Gregorian calendar. For the events in the Kingdom of Poland, dates are given according to both the Julian and Gregorian calendars, since the latter was in use there. The international ISO standard has been used in the transcription of Russian words, since it is the most exact.

The study proceeds chronologically. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 deal with the Polish national movement, Russian policies towards the Poles and the emerging nationalisms in the area populated by Poles. These chapters aim to introduce a reader unfamiliar with Polish history to the general background of the student movement. Chapter 5 gives a general overview of the Russian educational system and the universities. Chapters 6–12 discuss the Polish student organizations and Russian educational policies in relation to Poles during the reign of Nicholas I, while Chapters 13–16 deal with the beginning of the reign of Alexander II from 1855 to 1863.

14 Makarowa Galina W: "Wychowankowie Królestwa Polskiego" - studenci Uniwersytetu Moskiewskiego w latach trzydziestych i czterdziestych XIX w. In: Wiosna...1994:19–46. Pol'skie profesora i studenty v universitetah Rossii (XIX-načalo XX v.). Konferencija v Kazani 13–15 oktjabrja 1993 g. Vařava 1995. Janicki Arkadiusz: Życie codzienne studentów polskich w Dorpacie w XIX i na początku XX wieku (do 1918 r.). In: Polacy w Estonii. Lublin 1998. Stenger Tadeusz: Pastorzy Królestwa Polskiego na studiach teologicznych w Dorpacie w XIX wieku. Warszawa 1993.

15 Kamiński Aleksander: Polskie związki młodzieży (1831–1848). Warszawa 1968. Kamiński: Analiza teoretyczna polskich związków młodzieży do połowy XIX wieku. Warszawa 1971.

# ■ The Polish national movement

## An oppressed historical nation

After the research conducted by Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm, Miroslav Hroch and others, it is now widely recognized that modern nationalism is a relatively recent phenomenon. The idea that administrative borders should be drawn up according to national divisions has become relevant only in the course of last 200 years or so. It was eagerly propagated by minorities among the populations involved before it became accepted by the masses. The spread of literacy and the establishment of unified educational systems in a vernacular language were preconditions for the advance of nationalism. The emergence of nationalism was connected with a gradual disintegration of traditional society, in which a person's social and legal status was dictated by his or her birth background.<sup>1</sup>

Miroslav Hroch has defined three phases in the development of nationalism. During Phase A, some individuals take a scholarly interest in the language, culture and history of a people. These enthusiasts have no political goals and do not try to influence other people. The Phase B is that of organized nationalist agitation of the masses by a nationally minded minority. Phase C begins, when the agitation has succeeded and national consciousness has become the concern of the broad masses, though not necessarily of the whole nation.<sup>2</sup>

Hroch applies his periodization only to what he calls oppressed or small nations as opposed to great or ruling ones. The oppressed nations were characterized by politically dependent status and an incomplete class structure. By this, Hroch means that they lacked at least their own ruling class, and perhaps also other classes. Among the great nations, a national ideology and consciousness spread among different layers of the society at different times, but the whole nation was still affected by only one national consciousness. For small nations, on the other hand, this was not so, and the people who belonged to them were usually exposed to more than one national ideology, that of the dominant nation as well as that of the oppressed nation. They quite often faced the need to choose between two nationalities. Hroch considers the formation of a small nation

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1 Anderson Benedict: *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London and New York 1992. Gellner Ernest: *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford 1983. Hobsbawm Eric: *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth Reality*. Cambridge 1992. Hroch Miroslav: *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe. A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations*. Cambridge 1985.

2 Hroch 1985:22–24

completed when it displays the full class structure of a capitalist society and its national movement has taken on a mass character.<sup>3</sup>

Of the nationalities relevant to the present study, Hroch's periodization is most applicable to the Lithuanians, Belorussians and Ukrainians. They were oppressed nations in his sense. As for Poland and Hungary, Hroch considers them transitional cases between the oppressed and ruling nations, since they "experienced their formative period at the dawn of capitalism as large nations, but then fell into situations characteristic of oppressed nations."<sup>4</sup> Indeed, the Poles lacked their political freedom and practically their own state in much the same manner as any small East European nation. Since the peasantry was affected by a national movement only to a limited extent, Poland might be considered as having been in phase B in the period 1832–1863. However, even after the loss of independence, the situation of the Poles was not quite the same as that of Hroch's oppressed nations, but rather represents a special case, perhaps together with Hungary. Much of the nation-building had already been done in previous centuries. The nobility and intelligentsia retained their national identity, which was based on a high literary culture and the memory of previous statehood. Paradoxically, Poland did not lack its own ruling class, which was the landowning nobility, but this ruling class lacked political power. Accordingly, the ruling class had some interest in the national movement.

The role of national agitator was to a great extent played by the intelligentsia, for whom political liberation or at least the preservation of the national culture were the issues of survival. In the first half of the 19th century, the intelligentsia was economically mainly dependent either on the landowning nobles or the state. However, they were eagerly seeking a higher social status and they developed the importance of intellectual work virtually into a cult, which was praised not so much for any material benefit it might bring as for its role in developing a national consciousness. Intellectuals commonly denied the relevance of high birth. The intelligentsia had a leading role in the national conspiracy movement, though the landowning nobility was not altogether absent from it either.<sup>5</sup>

The intelligentsia's participation in the Polish national movement cannot be explained only in terms of material interest or competition for the leading role in society. Civil servants with higher education and a good knowledge of Russian were valued by the authorities. Loyalty towards the government offered a safe future, but many were not willing to pay its price. Those who chose a more precarious career in the national movement often openly acknowledged that their activities were likely to lead to personal catastrophe. In fact, self-sacrifice was even considered desirable.

3 Hroch 1985:26.

4 Hroch 1985:9.

5 Czepulis-Rastenis Ryszarda: *Ludzie nauki i talentu. Studia o świadomości społecznej inteligencji polskiej w zaborze rosyjskim*. Warszawa 1988.

Emphasis on the novelty of nationalism sometimes obscures the fact that nationalism did not appear from nothing. That is why it is necessary to stress the fact that the controversy between Poland and Russia was not a product of the era of nationalism alone. It had much more ancient roots. Even before the rise of modern nationalism, religion had marked a clear division among the local population on the one hand and between Poland and Russia on the other hand. This should not be overlooked despite the fact that, in the first half of the nineteenth century, the secularization of the upper classes on both sides had long since begun. Benedict Anderson has emphasized the importance of religion and sacral language as demarcating factors between cultures in the pre-nationalist era.<sup>6</sup> Modern nationalism emerged on the basis of this older division.

The former territory of Poland-Lithuania incorporated into Russia was divided into two regions, each of which had a different political status: the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces. The administrative difference corresponded to the different situation of the Polish population in these two areas. The Kingdom of Poland was formed by a decision of the Congress of Vienna in 1815. It included areas that had never previously belonged to Russia. The border between Russia proper and the Kingdom of Poland was roughly the same as the present-day eastern border of Poland, except that the Białystok region belonged to Russia and that in the northeast Poland included some of present-day Lithuania. In the south, the Kingdom bordered with the ethnically Polish Free City of Cracow, and Austria, in the west, and in the north with Prussia. The Kingdom was a landlocked country without access to the Baltic Sea. Both Prussia and Austria contained large areas, where Poles formed the majority of the population, and which had previously belonged to Poland.

According to the calculations of a Russian historian, V. M. Kabuzan, the Kingdom of Poland had a population of about 4,344,000 in the 1830s<sup>7</sup>, and 73.2% were Poles. The Jews, who constituted 10.5% of the population remained outside political life. The Germans made up 4.9% and were an important group in some areas, including the city of Warsaw. Other minorities, like Lithuanians and Ukrainians, were both too small and too plebeian to have much political significance at the time. As a modern national identity had not yet been established in the country and the inhabitants were nowhere required to define their nationality, Kabuzan's calculations must be taken only as indicative.

The western provinces consisted of all the previous Polish territory united to Russia in the partitions of Poland in the years 1772-1795, and the Białystok region, which Russia received from Prussia in 1807. They included the provinces of Wilno, Grodno, Minsk, Mohylew, Witebsk, Wołyń, Podolia, Kiev and the region (*oblast'*) of Białystok.<sup>8</sup> They covered an area which is now located in the Ukraine, Belorussia, Lithuania, Latvia and even Poland.

6 Anderson 1992: 12–19.

7 Kabuzan V. M: *Narody Rossii v pervoj polovine XIX v. Čislennost' i etničeskij sostav.* Moskva 1992. On the Kingdom of Poland see pages 120, 124–125, 149–150, 159–160.

8 Town of Kiev and its immediate surroundings had belonged to Russia already since 1667.

Administratively, the Ukrainian provinces of Kiev, Podolia and Wołyń were under the Governor-General of Kiev, the Lithuanian provinces of Wilno, Grodno, Minsk and the Białystok area were ruled by the Governor-General of Wilno. The Provinces of Witebsk and Mohylew belonged to the area of the Governor-General of Smolensk. The Białystok area was abolished in 1842 and the province of Kowno was founded one year later. In the Western Provinces, the ethnic Poles formed a minority of the total population. The other ethnic groups would nowadays be called Ukrainians, Belorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians and Jews. Of these, only the existence of the Jews as a separate group of the population at the time was generally acknowledged. Their status, too, was more like that of an estate than that of a national minority. Belorussians, Latvians and Ukrainians formed the majority of the population in their own central areas, whereas the Jews were dispersed throughout the Western Provinces as a minority. The most important Christian denominations in the area were the Orthodox, the Greek-Catholics or the Uniats, and the Roman Catholics. The religious division corresponded to the linguistic division in that Polish-speakers and Lithuanian-speakers were mainly Roman Catholics. The Russian government considered the Roman Catholics as Poles, and the Orthodox and Uniats as Russians. This is evident from the discriminatory legislation against Poles, which rarely mentioned them as such, but spoke about the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the Western Provinces.<sup>9</sup> A large number of the population lacked a clear national identity in the modern sense of the word. When operating with the present-day concept of nationality, one must bear in mind that this means projecting into the past something that the people of the time often regarded differently. This reservation applies especially to the Ukrainians, Belorussians and Lithuanians, whose national awakening had then hardly begun. Quite often the basic criteria by which a national identity may be defined, like language, religious confession and social rank contradicted both each other and the actual self-identity. Moreover, it was still quite possible at the time to combine Belorussian, Lithuanian or Ukrainian identity with a Polish one, and in the case of Belorussians and Ukrainians, also with a Russian identity. That is why the ethnic composition of the Western Provinces in the first half of the 19th century is extremely difficult to define. At best, one can reach justified approximations.

According to Kabuzan's calculations, in the first part of the 1830s the population of Lithuanian-Belorussian Provinces was 6, 128, 000. The biggest ethnic groups were the Belorussians (54.8%), Lithuanians (14.2%), Russians (9.9%) and Jews (8%). The 331, 000 Poles (5.4%) were only the fifth largest group.<sup>10</sup> In the Right-Bank Ukraine provinces of Podolia, Wołyń and Kiev had 4, 509, 000 inhabitants. Of these, 82.2% were Ukrainians, and after them came the Jews (10.9%). There were 264, 000 Poles, which was 5.9% of the population.<sup>11</sup> Kabuzan's results should, in the case of the Poles, be treated with

9 For instance, II PSZ XII.1/1837, No 9894, p. 59. XXVII, 1852, No 26190, p. 285–286.

10 Kabuzan 1992:120,122–123, 134, 147–151. His calculations are based on tax inventories, religious statistics and reports of local governors.

11 Kabuzan 1992:120, 123–124, 149–150, 163.

some reservation. At least some of the people classified on the basis of religion and/or language as Belorussians, Ukrainians and Lithuanians considered themselves Poles, as will become evident in this study. Moreover, Kabuzan has included in the Lithuanian-Belorussian area the Province of Smolensk, which had a large Russian population and almost no Poles, and thus decreases their total proportion. According to Leszek Zasztowt, in the 1860s there were 2, 733, 000 Roman Catholics in the Western Provinces, which made up about 25% of the whole population.<sup>12</sup> This also included Lithuanians, many Belorussians and some Ukrainians. Economically and politically, the Poles were a much more important ethnic group than their mere size indicates. They formed an overwhelming majority of the landowning nobility in all the Western Provinces apart from Witebsk.<sup>13</sup> There were many Poles among the townspeople and intelligentsia as well, but few peasants.

The peasantry's status was different in the two Russian parts of the former Poland. In the Kingdom of Poland, serfdom had been abolished during the Napoleonic Grand Duchy of Warsaw in 1807, but the liberation was not accompanied by any land reform. Though personally free, the peasants remained in a state of economic dependence on their landlords. They had to rent land from the nobles and pay the rent in labour, kind or money. In the Western Provinces, serfdom remained in force. Serfs constituted 85% of the total population, which is much more than in Russia proper.<sup>14</sup> The noble domains were usually divided into manorial land and land used by peasants, who paid rent most often in the form of work, but sometimes also in kind or cash.

Most of the intelligentsia in the Western Provinces espoused Polish national values. However, in the Kingdom of Poland it was considerably easier for the Polish national consciousness to spread through the whole of society to all classes than it was in the Western Provinces. In the latter, the class structure of the Polish ethnic group was incomplete in the opposite way from that of the oppressed nations as characterized by Hroch; it lacked the lowest layers, not the ruling class. Here the disintegration of traditional society based on birth contained a serious threat to Polish economic and cultural dominance. This peculiar situation made the questions of democratization and the criteria of Polishness itself crucial issues for the Polish national movement.

## The émigrés

After the defeat of the insurrection in 1831, the Polish independence movement continued among groups of émigrés and conspirators in Poland itself, who mutually influenced each other. Political thought flourished among the émigrés,

12 Zasztowt 1997:60-61. Including the province of Courland.

13 Smirnov A. F: *Vosstanie 1863 goda v Litve i Belorussii*. Moskva 1963. P. 54. In 1863, 38% of the landowning nobility in Witebsk Province were Poles.

14 Kappeler Andreas: *Russland als Vielvölkerreich: Entstehung, Geschichte, Zerfall*. München 1992. P. 103.

whose most important centre was in France. During the 1830s, four main political groups with more or less definite programmes and organizations crystallized. The division into four political orientations lasted until 1846.

The constitutional monarchists were led by Prince Adam Czartoryski, the former friend of Alexander I and the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Curator of Wilno School District and the Prime Minister of Poland during the insurrection. The group is often called the Hotel Lambert group after Czartoryski's Paris residence. In the beginning, Czartoryski hoped to get the western powers involved in Polish affairs on the basis of the resolutions of the Congress of Vienna. However, his ultimate aim was always the restoration of independence. When diplomatic endeavours failed, he began to favour a new armed insurrection in a favourable international situation, preferably during a war involving Britain, France or Turkey against Russia. Monarchist organizations envisioned a future independent Poland ruled by a Polish king, which in fact meant Czartoryski. Their programme was manifested in Czartoryski's speeches in the 1840s, and it can be characterized as moderate liberalism. The prince and his followers did not want to harm the landed nobility, but they supported some important progressive reforms. Czartoryski advocated giving peasants the land that was in their use. This was seen as a necessary means for securing their support for the insurrection. The landlords were to be paid compensation. The equality of citizens before the law was to be guaranteed. It was an obligation of the government to protect the poor from unfair oppression by the rich. The only inequality preserved was one based on merit. Roman Catholicism was to be the official religion, but confessional minorities would be granted full freedom and equality of rights.<sup>15</sup>

The moderate democrats were represented by various short-lived organizations led or inspired by a historian and former member of the insurrectionary cabinet, Joachim Lelewel. Characteristic of this orientation was initially a lack of a clear programme and an urge to unite all émigrés into one organization. A definite programme was adopted by the Union of the émigrés (*Zjednoczenie Wychodźstwa*) in 1838. It proclaimed the émigré group to be the sole representative of the Polish people, advocated democracy, proposed an unconditional grant to the peasants of the land already in their use, and the organization of general education by the state. Lelewel was perhaps more influential as a historian than as an émigré political leader. He put forward a theory of ancient local democracy as characteristic of the Slavonic nations. The Slavonic democratic tradition had continued in the democracy of the Polish nobility. Unfortunately this democracy had been restricted to a minority of the population, a fact which had caused the downfall of the country.<sup>16</sup>

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15 Kalemka Sławomir: *Wielka emigracja. Polskie wychodźstwo polityczne w latach 1831-1862*. Warszawa 1971. P. 131–144, 242–258, 266–270. Skowronek Jerzy: *Adam Jerzy Czartoryski 1770–1861*. Warszawa 1994. P. 324–443.

16 Kalemka 1971: 92–112, 160–178, 227–242. Kieniewicz Stefan: *Joachim Lelewel*. Warszawa 1990. On Lelewel's concept of Polish history p. 128–133, 139–147.

The most organized political group with the most definite programme was the Polish Democratic Society (Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie), which existed from 1832 to 1862. The TDP expressed its political ideas in two manifestos, in 1832 and 1836. They stated that the insurrection had failed because the struggle for national liberation was not combined with social liberation and land reform. Defeat was caused by the egoism of the privileged nobility. Poland's independence would be restored by a co-ordinated and simultaneous armed insurrection in all three parts of the country. The peasants would be granted full ownership of the land already in their use at the beginning of the insurrection. The insurrection would be led by a cabinet of four to five persons with dictatorial powers. After the victory, a president of the republic and a parliament would be elected in direct general elections. The republic would be centralized and provincial administrators nominated from the centre. All privileges based on birth or religious confession would be abolished, and all men would be granted political rights. The economy would be based on the private ownership of the means of production, but the government would intervene in the economy in order that the citizens should not infringe upon each other's natural rights. The TDP adopted Lelewel's historical views of the democratic tradition in Poland. Moreover, it viewed the Poles as endowed with a special mission to spread freedom in a despotic Eastern Europe. This idea derived partly from the traditional view of Poland as the defender of Christianity against the barbarians, and partly it was inspired by the Messianism of Mickiewicz and other romantic poets.<sup>17</sup>

On the extreme left, Communes of the Polish People (Gromady Ludu Polskiego) combined a striving for independence with socialist principles. The Communes broke away from the TDP as a radical opposition dissatisfied with the Society's centralism and over-moderate position in land question. They demanded the abolition of private ownership of the means of production and the levelling of all social inequality. According to the Communes, independence was to be reached by violent peasant revolution, in which repentant nobles would be allowed to join. The attainment of Poland's independence was seen in the context of the social and moral regeneration of the whole world. The socialism of the Communes was inspired by the Gospels, early Christian practice, Rousseau and French socialism.<sup>18</sup>

After the Cracow Insurrection in 1846, political regrouping took place among the émigrés. All the democrats and many socialists united in TDP, which became the sole organization of the émigré republicans. The Communes of the Polish People discontinued their activities, but small groups of socialists remained active outside the TDP.<sup>19</sup>

17 Brock Peter: *Nationalism and Populism in Partitioned Poland*. London 1973. P. 59–101. Kalemka 1971: 112–131, 200–226, 262–266. Ludwikowski Rett R.: *Główne nurty polskiej myśli politycznej 1815–1890*. Warszawa 1982. P. 252–255, 264–265, 267–268, 279–280, 290–291.

18 Barszczewska-Krupa Alina: *Reforma czy rewolucja. Koncepcje przekształcenia społeczeństwa polskiego w myśli politycznej Wielkiej Emigracji 1832–1863*. Łódź 1979. P. 284–341. Kalemka 1971: 186–200.

19 Kalemka 1971: 335–338.



All Polish émigré groups agreed in that independence was to be restored within pre-partition boundaries. What was to Russians “the Western Provinces” was to Poles “the lost lands” (*ziemie zabrane*), an integral part of Poland.<sup>20</sup> The question did not arise as to how this was compatible with a widespread view of Roman Catholicism as an inseparable element of Polish identity.<sup>21</sup> Most often the problem of ethnic non-Poles was just simply denied or ignored. Moreover, both in political thought and literature, the importance of the lost lands was especially emphasized. The area had a central place in the Polish national mythology.

The Polish view of the Western Provinces came to the fore during the 1830-31 insurrection. In a manifesto in January 1831, the parliament declared its aim to be the extension of all the institutions of the Kingdom of Poland to the lost lands.<sup>22</sup> Among the émigrés, various groups restated the stance they had already adopted during the insurrection. The most frequent argument was a historical one. The partitions of Poland had been crimes that were to be corrected. The whole population of the former Polish Commonwealth (*Rzeczpospolita*) was tied together by a common past in a common state. Both Czartoryski and the TDP used the additional argument of the common interest in liberation, which tied together all the inhabitants of pre-partition Poland. Lithuanians and Rusins (a common name for the Ukrainians and Belorussians) were not considered nationalities, but groups of Polish peasants who spoke other languages. Sometimes even this status was denied. The TDP’s periodical “*Demokrata Polski*” (*The Polish Democrat*) claimed in 1843 that the Rusins spoke a dialect of Polish.<sup>23</sup>

The incorporation of the lost lands into Poland was sometimes demanded on the basis of an assumed common ancestry. A committee of centrist émigrés led by General Józef Dwernicki stated in 1832 that the territory of Poland was

united not by violence or armed force, but by the union of blood and fraternal alliance...in this vast territory there lives just one family, in

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- 20 On the Polish view on lost lands, see Brock Peter: Polish nationalism. In: Nationalism in Eastern Europe. Edited by Peter F. Sugar and Ivo J. Lederer. Seattle and London 1969. P. 319–324. Kalemka Slawomir: Les territoires de l’est dans la pensée polonaise de 1831 à 1870. In: Les confins de l’ancienne Pologne. Ukraine-Lituanie-Biélorussie XVIIe–XXe siècles. Lille 1988. P. 145–155. Tomaszewski Jerzy: Kresy wschodnie w polskiej myśli politycznej XIX i XX w. In: Polska myśl polityczna XIX i XX wieku, tom VI. Między polską etniczną a historyczną. Wrocław 1988. P. 97–116. Wapiński Roman: Mit dawnej Rzeczypospolitej w epoce porzobiorowej. In: Polska myśl polityczna XIX i XX wieku, tom IX. Polskie mity polityczne XIX i XX wieku. Wrocław 1994. P. 77–92.
- 21 On the importance associated with religion see Zieliński Zygmunt: Mit polak-katolik. In: Polska...1994: especially pages 111–116. On the negative stereotype about the Orthodox Church, see Kępiński Andrzej: Lach i moskal. Z dziejów stereotypu. Warszawa 1990. P. 121–131. Beauvois Daniel: Lumières et société en Europe de l’est: l’ université de Vilna et les écoles polonaises de l’ empire russe (1803–1832). I–II. Lille 1977. II 631–633 contain an interesting example of how protestantism was seen as German and un-Polish by the Polish educational administration in the Western Provinces before the November Insurrection.
- 22 Kalemka 1988: 147. Schiemann Teodor: Geschichte Russlands unter Kaiser Nikolaus I. I–IV. Berlin 1904–1919. III 61–64.
- 23 Kuk Leszek: Le “slavisme polonaise”: La cohabitation des polonais, des russes et des ruthenes. In: Confins...1988: 161–162.

which flows the same blood...Poland will not cease the struggle until it is reborn within its most ancient boundaries.<sup>24</sup>

The relative unimportance of language as a criterion of nationality might have pointed to the adoption of a genuine multi-ethnic concept of the Polish nation. In fact this was not the case before the 1850s. Languages and customs other than Polish were at best tolerated. Most émigrés advocated a centralized, unified Polish state. The advocacy of a unified state was not necessarily connected with oligarchic political principles, since the most consistent centralists were in the TDP. Rusins and Lithuanians were not considered incapable of being citizens, but it was taken for granted that the citizens should and would adopt Polish culture.<sup>25</sup>

The Polish concept of nationality based on governmental institutions was typical of the great West European states of the time. The Poles were no more chauvinistic towards their ethnic minorities than the French or the English. Though ideas of national liberation were widespread among European liberals, they generally assumed that only nations viable enough in size as well as possessing a high culture in their vernacular languages had a right to self-determination. Nationalism was often seen rather as a force uniting small states into greater wholes than vice versa. This was most evident in the German and Italian cases.<sup>26</sup> The Polish neglect of minorities, then, was in no way exceptional. Apart from this, the Polish nationality concept was certainly unique. Its uniqueness lay in the idea that a state that no longer existed defined the nationality of its inhabitants. As time passed in the Western Provinces, and as Russian power became firmly established, and the local national movements emerged, the Polish view of the borders became anachronistic, although it was not so in the beginning.

The special importance of incorporating the lost lands into the struggle for independence was stressed by Maurycy Mochnacki, who had been one of the leftist activists during the insurrection. In 1834 he published a history of the insurrection. Mochnacki criticized the leaders for two main mistakes: they had not mobilized the peasants and they had not pursued the struggle to the lost lands forcibly enough. According to Mochnacki, there was no strategic sense in defending only the Kingdom. "As long as Moscow has the lost lands behind its armies, all efforts from our side will be futile."<sup>27</sup> The leaders of the insurrection had neglected the force available in the ten million people in the lost lands. He thought that the peasants would readily have followed their masters in the insurrection, since "...everything is subject to the landlords in the provinces under Muscovite power"<sup>28</sup>.

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24 Quoted in Kalemka 1988. P. 148–149.

25 Brock 1969: 319–320.

26 Hobsbawm 1992: 30–38

27 Mochnacki Maurycy: Powstanie narodu polskiego w roku 1830 i 1831. 1–2. Warszawa 1984. 1: 59. First edition Paris 1834.

28 *ibid.* 62.

The population in those lands was not so well armed as the regular army along the Vistula, but the dislike, the resentment of Moscow were even greater than along the Vistula. This derived from a sudden change in the system after the death of Alexander, from a drive towards the violent depolonization of those provinces...the revolution of 29th November could justifiably have counted on active help from the lost provinces, the population of which numbered at least ten millions.<sup>29</sup>

According to Mochnacki, regaining Poland's independence should be at the same time a social revolution and a territorial restoration. His book shaped the opinion of politically active intellectuals both in exile and in Poland, where it was circulated clandestinely. The only ethnic minority it mentions are the Jews, of whom Mochnacki writes with scorn, although he also criticizes their bad treatment by the Russian government.

Reality soon posed a challenge to the assumed Polishness of the Rusins. The peasant uprising in Galicia in 1846 and the appearance of a Ukrainian national movement in the same province in 1848 came as a shock to Polish patriots. Their reaction was one of moral outrage. The Ukrainian movement was condemned as a diversion organized by the enemy. The existence of the Ukrainian nation was firmly denied by democrats and monarchists alike.<sup>30</sup>

Some individuals took the Rusin question seriously. In 1834 Piotr Adolf Semenenko, a Ukrainian-Polish refugee in Paris, criticized the dominant concept of Polishness for taking only the nobility into account. Semenenko proposed a federation of all Slavonic countries with the Rusins at the centre.<sup>31</sup> Czartoryski also showed sympathy for the Rusins. He urged patriots to give up their prejudices and respect Rusin customs, dress and language. He admitted that the relation between Rusins and other Poles was problematic, and that both sides had erred in the past. Some voices recognizing the existence of a Rusin/Ukrainian nation were raised in the monarchist émigré press. These included a French Pan-Slavist, Cyprian Robert, who co-operated with monarchist émigrés, and Franciszek Duchński and Hipolyt Terlecki, who themselves both came from the Ukraine. In 1848, Duchński wrote in favour of establishing an independent "Little Russian" state on the left bank of the Dnieper. However, in his published articles, Duchński considered the Right Bank a part of Poland. Hipolyt Terlecki, a Uniat priest, proposed in a book and a series of articles in 1849–50 a Pan-Slav federation consisting of Poland, Rus (meaning East Slavonic areas of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth), Bohemia, Illyria and Bulgaria. Russia might be received into the federation in a more distant future. Terlecki's proposal rather closely resembles the vision of the Society of St. Cyril and St. Methodius, a Ukrainian conspiracy uncovered by the Kievan authorities in 1847. However, Terlecki emphasised the importance of the Uniat Church, which in reality hardly represented the kind of compromise

29 *ibid.* 105.

30 Brock 1969: 324–326. Kalemka 1988: 151. Kuk 1988:162. Skowronek 1994: 457. Ziejka 1977: 123–132, 158.

31 Kalemka 1988: 149–150.

between the Western and Eastern Churches that he wanted to portray it as being.

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## Messianism, romantic literature and political philosophy

Apart from the programmes of political groups, the ideas of Messianic poets and philosophers inspired by Hegel were important both among the émigrés and in Poland. Adam Mickiewicz (1798–1855) expressed a theory according to which Poland's cause had an important part in God's providential plans and the final transfiguration of the world. In "Books of the Polish People and a Polish Pilgrimage" (1832), he drew a close parallel between Christ and Poland, identifying Christianity with the cause of freedom. All despotism was due to the idolatry practised and spread by earthly rulers. Christ was tortured and killed because he had opposed all idolatry, despotism and slavery. His resurrection brought the spread of freedom everywhere in the world, until the kings managed to reintroduce idolatry in the form of such deities as honour, interest, material well-being, political power and influence. Only Poland remained faithful to the cause of Christ and freedom. That is why the Satanic Trinity of Russian, Prussian and Austrian rulers had tortured and killed Poland by partitioning her. Poland would, however, rise from the dead and spread freedom throughout the world. Himself coming from what is now Belorussia, Mickiewicz saw the historical union of Poland and Lithuania as a unique phenomenon, which prefigured future universal brotherhood of all Christian nations:

And God rewarded them [the Poles]. A great nation, Lithuania, joined Poland, like a husband with wife, two souls in one body. And such a union of nations there never was before. But there will be. For that union and marriage of Lithuania with Poland is a prefiguration of a future union of all Christian peoples in the name of faith and freedom.<sup>33</sup>

Because of the providential status of Poland's struggle, Mickiewicz paid most attention to moral integrity, faith and the unselfish commitment of the Polish freedom fighters. According to him, one should not think about the material and military resources available. Poland would prevail by God's might, as Christ once did. Mickiewicz's "Books" are filled with scorn of the western nations for not helping Poland in its suffering. The author openly despises corrupt western political theories and philosophies, which based society on laws and constitutions and not on faith and love. In this, his views resemble those of the

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32 Handelsman Marcei: *Ukraińska polityka ks. Adama Czartoryskiego przed wojną Krymską. Rozwój narodowości nowoczesnej* tom III. Warszawa 1937. P. 108–111, 114–115, 119–121, 124–125. Kalemka 1988: 150–151. Kuk 1988: 163–179. After 1848 Duchiniński in unpublished articles admitted the relevance of the Rusin question even within the 1772 borders of Poland and supported granting official status to the Rusin language. These ideas were connected with the prospect of a unified Ukraine federated with Poland.

33 Mickiewicz Adam: *Dzieła*. Warszawa 1955. VI 15.

Russian Slavophiles. However, the poet was not unconcerned with the fate of the West. On the contrary, he demanded that the Poles take part in the struggle against despotism wherever it occurred, not only in Poland. The “Books” end with a pilgrim’s prayer and litany, in which a world war for the liberation of peoples is invoked. Weapons and freedom for the Fatherland as well as a happy death on the battlefield are besought. Although Mickiewicz drew an analogy between Poland and Christ, he did not identify them with each other, but stated explicitly that the Polish people is not a deity and therefore may err. On the other hand, his Books were not a mere poetic allegory, but expressed a genuine religious faith.<sup>34</sup>

Mickiewicz further developed his message in his lectures on Slavonic literature, held at the Collège de France in 1840–1844. Indeed, the lectures concerned politics and an interpretation of the history of the Slavonic nations as much as literature. In them the poet emphasized the importance of the whole of Slavdom, including Russia. Equality and a lack of state authority were characteristic of Slavs. That is why they had not been able to establish a state power on their own. Both in Poland and in the ancient Rus, state power had been introduced by a foreign upper class; in Rus by the Norsemen, and in Poland by the Lechites from the Caucasus. Whereas the Slavonic spirit had become dominant in Poland, Russia was still under foreign domination after the Mongolian invasion. The central theme in Polish and Russian history was antagonism between the two governmental principles. The democracy of the Polish nobility had been an expression of the Slavonic concept, whereas Russian autocracy was an un-Slavonic system, which derived from a Mongolian source. Mickiewicz saw the Great Russian nation as a mixed group that contained Slavonic as well as “Mongolian-Finnish” elements. Finno-Mongols were inherently incapable of any creative or intellectual activities. They were only capable of destruction and obedience. Mickiewicz tended to explain all the negative sides of Russia as Finnish-Mongolian influence, whereas the good sides he saw as Slavonic ones. Although the poet sincerely tried to be fair to Russian culture, praising many Russian writers, his interpretation of the conflicts between the two countries was rather one-sided, with Russia always being seen as the guilty aggressor. Mickiewicz praised all the attempts to spread Roman Catholicism in the east, including military ones. Generally, he was fully convinced of his own nation’s cultural superiority over the Russians, though he did not see Russia as an evil monolith.<sup>35</sup>

The Paris lectures were permeated with a strong sense that one era was coming to an end and another was about to begin. It was time for the Slavonic nations to bring their contribution to world history. Christianity would be implemented in politics, which would no more be based on rational calculations,

34 *Księgi narodu polskiego i pielgrzymstwa polskiego*. Mickiewicz 1955 :VI 7–60. The statement about erring p. 18. The Books are analyzed in Andrzej Walicki: *Philosophy and Romantic Nationalism: The Case of Poland*. Oxford 1982. P. 248–253.

35 *O literaturze słowiańskiej*. Mickiewicz 1955:VIII–XI.

but on enthusiasm and intuition. The outcome of the conflict between Poland and the Russian government was decisive for the future of Europe. A central aspect of Mickiewicz's vision for Europe was an alliance between Poland and France. A Messiah-like warrior leader would lead the joint Polish and French forces. Russia was not to be subjugated, but liberated together with all the other Slavonic and European nations. Mickiewicz's attitude to political democracy seems dubious. He saw political questions as moral and religious ones. As some people were religiously more developed than the others, the future political system was not to be ruled by the majority, but rather by one charismatic person with divine authority. Napoleon had been such a leader. Mickiewicz seems to have expected that the leader's authority would finally receive general recognition. The political struggle was to be the true Christianity of the time. Mickiewicz rather strongly condemned the Roman Catholic Church, which was incapable of inspiring enthusiasm and implementing Christianity in social life. However, his religious thinking was consistent with traditional Christianity in that he saw God as personal and active, and he condemned all leanings towards pantheism.

In Mickiewicz's artistic works, the theme of Lithuania is fundamental. The national poem, *Pan Tadeusz* (1834), probably shaped the Polish image of Lithuania more than any other work. It describes the life of the Lithuanian nobility before and during Napoleon's Russian campaign. The nobility is described with deep sympathy, though its weak sides are ridiculed. There are idyllic traits in the poem. Lithuania is seen as a conglomeration of free, equal households. The description of the land has a very important role, while the peasants are left in the background. However, land reform and the abolition of serfdom are urged. The Russians are portrayed as enemies worthy of respect, while the role of villain is reserved for those Poles who side with the Russians.

Mickiewicz's poems "Grażyna" and "Konrad Wallenrod" tell about Lithuania's struggle against the German crusaders in the 14th century. In both stories, a Lithuanian hero dies defending the country. The obligation to fulfill one's duty to the fatherland is a central message. "Konrad Wallenrod" even suggests the idea that the end justifies means and fraud can be used in the service of one's country. "Forefathers' Eve" (*Dziady*) was written between 1823 and 1832, partly in Wilno, and partly in exile in Dresden. This drama is coloured by Belorussian folklore and syncretistic religious practices. Politically the most important section is the Part III, written in Dresden. The main hero, Konrad, has been arrested because of his participation in a secret Filomat society, as Mickiewicz himself indeed was. The fate of the arrested students is closely followed by a priest, Piotr, who sees a mystic vision of a great hero who will liberate Poland. This scene was the subject of much exegesis, since many Poles considered it a genuine prophecy. Like Mickiewicz, Konrad is deported to Russia. At the end of the Part III there is a poetic epilogue dealing with impressions of Russia. The country is empty and open like its landscape. It is like a blank page, on which nothing is as yet written. It may turn to the God or to the Devil. The deported Pole meets people whose faces are empty like the land,

without any expression of feeling. Their eyes are like those of insects. St. Petersburg is an artificial city where one can find any styles of architecture except Russian. The country is ruled by foreigners, while the suffering people are Slavs. There is a passage describing sympathetically how a Russian poet, possibly Puškin, condemns government tyranny. On the one hand, Mickiewicz exempted the true Russian Slavonic people from the responsibility for their government. On the other hand, he dismissed all the achievements of Russian civilization, as if the nation had not yet created anything original.

The ideas of Zygmunt Krasiński (1812–1859) had a considerable influence on Polish student youth. The poet lived in the Kingdom of Poland, but travelled abroad often and published most of his works in the West. Krasiński also treated politics in the light of religion, but arrived at conclusions different from those of Mickiewicz. “The Undivine Comedy” (1833) depicts a global conflict between revolutionaries and conservatives faithful to the traditional principles of society. The play is situated in an imaginary country where the last conservatives are defending the Castle of the Holy Trinity. The main hero, Count Henryk, leads the defence of the castle against the revolutionaries, who aim to destroy not only the existing social structure, but the civilization itself, including morality and religion. The revolutionaries are led by a skilful demagogue, Pankracy, who despises his inferior supporters, but who highly respects Count Henryk. There is an anti-Semitic aspect to the play, since the actions of the revolutionaries are surreptitiously directed by Jews formally converted to Christianity. Count Henryk knows that he will lose the battle but rejects all proposed terms of peace. He is by no means an exclusively positive figure, since he has ruined his family by pursuing the feminine spirit of poetry. Finally the revolutionaries take over, and Count Henryk falls. However, the play ends when Pankracy sees Christ and understands that he has indeed lost the war. With Krasiński, it is the conservatives who represent God’s providential plans.<sup>36</sup>

Krasiński returned to the theme of an apparently hopeless political struggle in “Irydion” (1836), set in 3rd century Rome. The play is named after the main hero, a Greek of partly Gothic, barbarian origin. His sole aim is to destroy the Roman Empire, which oppresses his and all other nations. Rome is described as a mighty power structure, which is, however, incapable of creating a civilization of its own, but borrows everything from the oppressed subject nations. Here the readers could easily draw an analogy between Krasiński’s Rome and the contemporary Russian Empire, though the author himself does not state it explicitly. Irydion uses all the skills of political demagogy and tries to exploit inner conflicts within Rome. However, his plans do not succeed, since the Christians refuse to follow him. Irydion continues the hopeless battle until he is completely defeated. Then one of his followers, Masinissa, reveals himself as a demon and promises to resurrect Irydion after the destruction of Rome, if only he will sell his soul in return. Irydion agrees and is resurrected in the 19th

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36 Krasiński Zygmunt: *Dzieła literackie*. Warszawa 1973. I:323–417.

century. When he has rejoiced at seeing that the Roman Empire does not any more exist, he is ready to surrender his soul. However, at the last moment an angel intervenes. Despite his hatred of Rome, Irydion is saved, since this is compensated for by the fact that he loved Greece. The angel sends him to Poland, where he is now needed. Like Count Henryk, Irydion is a complicated figure, who embodies both good and evil.<sup>37</sup>

Kraśiński expressed his ideas about Poland in two poems, “Dawn” (Przedświt, 1843) and “Psalms of the Future” (Psalmy przyszłości, final version 1848). He praised the division of mankind into nations and claimed that it was providential. For this reason, the partitions of Poland were a crime against all mankind. Poland was not herself to blame for her fate. However, the partitions were necessary for God’s providential plan. Suffering is followed by resurrection, which concerns Poland and the whole of mankind. Kraśiński emphasizes that God’s will cannot be in accordance with any class struggle. Those who support it are “Muscovites in spirit”. The nobility and the people must act together. Kraśiński supports an armed struggle for independence, but strongly condemns all political violence between Poles.<sup>38</sup>

Juliusz Słowacki (1809–1849) was quite popular among students in the 1830s, but in the 1840s and 1850s he was eclipsed by Mickiewicz and Kraśiński. Słowacki’s “Kordian” (1834) describes the development of a young man who seeks happiness and meaning in his life until he discovers an inner calling to engage in the national struggle for independence. Having travelled in Western Europe, he returns to Warsaw before the insurrection. He plans to murder Nicholas I, but fear and a lively imagination make him hesitate at the last moment. Kordian is caught and sentenced to death, though it remains unclear whether he will be executed or pardoned.

While Mickiewicz wrote about Lithuania, Słowacki’s romantic borderland was located in the Ukraine. He wrote plays about the struggle for Poland’s independence during the Confederation of Bar (1768–1772). In “Beniowski” (1841), the main hero is a lesser nobleman, who joins the confederation and travels to the Crimea in order to contract an alliance with the Tartars against Russia. “Salome’s Silver Dream” (*Sen srebrny Salomei*, 1843) describes the Ukrainian peasant rebellion against Polish landlords in 1768.

Politically, Słowacki was a radical democrat. He, too, expressed a Messianic view of the providential importance of Poland’s struggle for independence. Though the three great poets differed in many ways from one another, they all combined a striving for independence with a vision of the regeneration of the whole world. They all described tormented individuals, who get involved in a political struggle.<sup>39</sup>

37 Kraśiński 1973:I:559–731

38 Kraśiński 1973:I:139–259. Kraśiński had a strong antipathy towards Russia and Russians. On this, see Kępiński 1990: 120, 123–126 and Nowak Andrzej: *Jak rozbić rosyjskie imperium? Idee polskiej polityki wschodniej (1733–1921)*. Warszawa 1995. P. 113–188.

39 I pass over Słowacki’s mystical and religious works, since they were not very widespread among the students, though they became rather popular at the end of 19th century.



Apart from Mickiewicz and Słowacki, many lesser writers helped to promote romantic image of the lost lands. The former state of Poland was divided politically, but culturally it formed a whole. Jacek Kolbuszewski defines three orientations in Polish borderland literature of the time. The first emphasized the unique natural beauty of the lost lands as well as their inseparability from Poland. The second orientation described the Cossack past of the Ukraine in a romantic manner, either bypassing or emphasizing the bloody wars between Cossacks and Poles. The third orientation received its inspiration not from the Cossack past, but from the traditions of the nobility in the area. The national romantic mythology of Poland's past was to a large extent located in the lost lands, which were seen as integral parts of Poland.<sup>40</sup>

Polish philosophy, based mainly on Hegel, competed with poetic Messianism about the spiritual hegemony among the young intelligentsia, especially in the 1840s. Its most important representatives for our study were August Cieszkowski, Bronisław Trentowski and Karol Libelt. Cieszkowski (1814–1894) was born in the Kingdom of Poland, but lived and worked in the Prussian part of the country. He favoured peaceful reforms and law-abiding work for the defence of Polish culture. However, Cieszkowski welcomed the revolutions in 1848 and was elected a member of the Prussian parliament. His “Prolegomena zur Historiosophie” (1839) developed a “philosophy of action” on a Hegelian basis, with influences from Saint-Simon and Fourier. Cieszkowski argued that the dialectics of history should not only include the past and present, but the future as well. The Age of Thought would be followed by an Age of Action, when philosophy would be implemented in social life. The new philosophy would no more be that of Thought, but that of Will, combining in itself both thought and feeling. It would vindicate the rights of the individual and rehabilitate the physical side of man. These ideas of Cieszkowski resemble those of the German Hegelian Left. However, unlike the German Hegelian Left, Cieszkowski believed in personal God and the individual immortality of man. His “Our Father” (*Ojciec Nasz*, 1848) was an interpretation of the Lord's Prayer. It brought philosophy close to Messianism. The author divided history into the ages of the Father (thesis), the Son (antithesis) and the Holy Ghost (synthesis). The age of the Holy Ghost would bring the Kingdom of God to earth. It would be reached without war or revolution. It would not destroy the old world, but transcend it. The epoch of the Holy Ghost would bring about international brotherhood. Technological development would bring all nations closer to each other and make wars impossible. Finally all the world would be united under one government.<sup>41</sup>

40 Blonski Jan: Les confins, “paradis polonais”, de Mickiewicz à Rymkiewicz. In: Les confins... 59–68. Taylor Nina: Adam Mickiewicz et la Lituanie. Genèse du mythe littéraire. Ibid., p. 69–80. Makowski Stanisław: La figure de wernyhora dans la tradition politique et littéraire Polonaise. Ibid., p. 131–137. Kolbuszewski Jacek: Legenda kresów w literaturze polskiej XIX I XX w. In: Między... 1988: 47–93. Ziejka 1977: 141–157.

41 Walicki 1982: 127–151, 295–307.

From the point of view of the Roman Catholic Church, Cieszkowski's ideas were heretical, as he himself acknowledged. He considered that the new revelation of the Holy Ghost would be achieved by the methods of science and scholarship. Christianity had confined its task to the moral education of man as an individual, whereas the new religion of the Paraclete would aim at the moral improvement of society. Cieszkowski's ideas could be received and interpreted in various ways. Regardless of his intentions, the philosophy of action could be adopted as the ideological basis not only for peaceful cultural work, but also for conspiratorial and revolutionary activities. This was true especially in the Western Provinces, where opportunities for law-abiding Polish action were rather limited.

Bronisław Trentowski (1808–1869) was born in the Kingdom of Poland and emigrated after participating in the insurrection. He worked in Freiburg. His philosophical works were published from 1837 to 1848 mainly in the Prussian part of Poland. Trentowski was a nationalist and a westernizer at the same time. His acknowledged aim was to create a Polish national philosophy. According to Trentowski, the Slavs in general (excluding the Russians) and especially the Poles had the potential to reach true philosophical knowledge, which would unite and transcend empirical French and speculative German knowledge in a higher synthesis. This was possible because of the ability of the Poles to see the divine. The mission of the Slavs and Poles was closely linked with their "eagerness for action". However, in order to reach a synthesis of knowledge and to fulfill their mission, the Poles first had to give up their religious fanaticism and learn about modern western ways of thought. Otherwise religiousness would lead the Poles astray, into harmful, unreasoned action.<sup>42</sup>

Trentowski's attitude to the Roman Catholic Church was openly hostile. He believed in God, who existed both beyond the world and as a divine potential in every man. However, all the revealed faiths were not only temporary and changing, but positively harmful, since they made men passive. The downfall of Poland was largely due to the counter-reformation, obedience to Rome and the Jesuit domination of education. All the attempts to save or restore Poland's independence had backfired because of conservative backwardness, religious intolerance and the egoism of the nobility.

Trentowski strongly criticized the romantic cult of heroism. He thought that all political action should take into account the available resources. Useless self-sacrifice was as bad as negligence of the patriotic cause. Instead of premature conspiracies, he proposed peaceful Polish action in all fields of human life, especially education. Trentowski strongly attacked Mickiewicz for his political Messianism. As for a political system, he considered the republican ideal best, but thought that people were not yet mature enough to live in republican freedom. Therefore, he proposed a constitutional monarchy as a compromise between conservatism and radicalism.

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42 Walicki 1982: 152–172.

Karol Libelt (1807–1875) was born in Poznań, in the Prussian part of Poland. He took part in the insurrection as a volunteer, after which he returned to Poznań. In the 1840s Libelt was one of the leaders of the underground patriotic and democratic movement in Prussian Poland. He was imprisoned, but amnestied in connection with the revolution of 1848. Subsequently, he was again politically active in the Poznań region, until an open Polish political movement became impossible in 1852. Libelt published most of his important articles in the Poznań periodical “Rok” (Year), of which he was a co-editor. He was a romantic democrat, who supported land reform, political freedom and the abolition of the privileges of social rank. His concept of the Fatherland included not only the governmental tradition but also the ethnic aspects, like language, religion and folk culture, best preserved among the peasantry, which he considered the basic strength of the Polish nation. According to Libelt, Polish philosophy should draw its inspiration from the peasant world-view. His attitude to poetic Messianism was favourable. He saw in it a revelation of the national spirit. Unlike Hegel, Libelt considered art as an important a means of expressing the spirit as philosophy. He also criticized German idealism for supporting “the autocracy of reason”. Though reason is important, the material world is not reducible to it. Human beings have other important capacities, like imagination. As nationality pre-determines the products of the human imagination, philosophy, too, is necessarily national. However, because of this, no nation could claim to possess the absolute truth. In his religious ideas, Libelt leaned towards pantheism and denied the possibility of a conscious subjective individual life after death.<sup>43</sup>

## Conspiracies and insurrections

Poland with its continuing subversive activities was a constant thorn in Russia’s flesh. From the insurrection right down to the 1850s, strong patriotic underground organizations worked for the restoration of independence by means of an armed insurrection. Between 1835 and 1851 in the Kingdom of Poland alone, 1,620 members of illegal political organizations were caught by the authorities in the Kingdom of Poland. More than half of them belonged to the intelligentsia.<sup>44</sup> Dawid Fajnhauz found 384 persons involved in the underground movement in Lithuania between 1843 and 1849.<sup>45</sup> For most of the time the network of conspiracies covered Prussian and Austrian-held parts of Poland as well. From time to time the government uncovered and repressed the

43 Walicki 1982:173–189. On Libelt’s nationality concept see also Zieliński Andrzej: *Rozważania o narodzie i narodowości w publicystyce poznańskiej lat czterdziestych XIX w.* In: *Idee i koncepcje narodu w polskiej myśli politycznej czasów porzbiowowych.* Warszawa 1977. P. 108–109, 117–122.

44 Berghauzen Janusz: *Ruch patriotyczny w Królestwie Polskim 1833–1850.* Warszawa 1974. P. 308–310.

45 Fajnhauz Dawid: *Ruch konspiracyjny na Litwie i Białorusi 1846–1848.* Warszawa 1965. P. 347–381.

conspiracies, but usually the remnants of a destroyed conspiracy grew into a new organization. Between 1833 and 1848 three armed attempts at insurrection took place, two of which reached the Russian part of Poland. Only in the beginning of the 1850s did the government manage to put down all the conspiracies.

In the 1830s the conspiracies were closely linked with émigré organizations of Lelewelist orientation. From the end of the decade on, the Lelewelists lost ground to the TDP. The Constitutional Monarchists' strategy favoured maintaining connections with the country through selected individuals and small exclusive groups instead of large-scale conspiracies. The utopian Socialists had no organizational links at all with the country. However, the relevance of the differences between the different political organizations in exile for conspiracies in Poland should not be exaggerated. Conspirators had limited opportunities to choose an organization in accordance with their own political preferences. Not all the disagreements among the émigrés were relevant in Poland. All local conspiracies were independent organizations. Because of this, it occurred that persons of a conservative orientation took part in democratic conspiracies out of patriotic motives.

The first attempt at insurrection was made in spring 1833 by "The Revenge of the People" (*Zemsta Ludu*), an émigré organization inspired by Lelewel and led by Colonel Józef Zaliwski. The Revenge of the People aimed at independent Poland within the borders of the Black Sea, the Baltic Sea, the Oder, the Dnieper and the Danube. The new Poland was to be a federal republic, where full political rights would be granted to all men. Freedom of the press, religion and education was planned. The peasants were promised full ownership of the land in their use against payment. Small groups of guerrillas crossed into the Kingdom of Poland from Austria and Prussia in March. They acted mainly inside the Kingdom, but one detachment was active in the Province of Grodno. At the same time individual emissaries were sent to the Kingdom and Lithuania. The campaign was a complete failure. The guerrillas got little support from the local population and fell an easy prey to the Russian army, which soon completely crushed or drove out its enemies. During the guerrilla campaign, the Russian authorities proclaimed a state of war in the Kingdom, which was to last till the death of Nicholas.<sup>46</sup>

Zaliwski's campaign showed that a premature insurrection without previous propaganda and the establishment of local conspiracies could not succeed. An insurrection needed a preparatory period of several years. Such preparations were undertaken by the Union of Polish People (*Stowarzyszenie Ludu Polskiego*, SLP), which was founded in 1835 in Cracow. Its initiators were agents of "Young Poland", a Polish branch of a kind of international union of nationalists led by Giuseppe Mazzini. Of the Polish émigré leaders, Lelewel had the greatest influence on the SLP. The conspiracy saw its activity as part of a

46 Berghauzen 1974: 36–42. Djakow Władimir-Nagajew Aleksiej: *Partyzantka Zaliwskiego i jej pogłosy (1832–1835)*. Warszawa 1979. P. 9–62. Kalemka 1971: 155–158. *Spółeczeństwo polskie i próby znówienia walki zbrojnej w 1833 roku*. Wrocław 1984.

pan-European struggle of nations for freedom. It aimed at an independent Poland within pre-partition borders. Its programme stated: “By the Polish nation we mean all the inhabitants of all the lands of the Polish Commonwealth as it was before its rapine”.<sup>47</sup> Despite this, the question of ethnic minorities was bypassed in the programme. The country would be ruled by a one-chamber parliament. All men would have equal political rights. The abolition of all privileges, the establishment of personal freedom, freedom of conscience, the press, education, union, trade and industry were promised. The programme of the SLP did not include any definite solution of the land question. This omission was probably due to tactical considerations.<sup>48</sup>

In three years, the SLP formed a large network of conspiracies covering all of the Western Provinces, the Kingdom of Poland and the Austrian-held area of the country. The conspirators were mainly junior civil servants and students.<sup>49</sup> In the Western Provinces the conspiracy mainly consisted of the landed nobility. It included student organizations in Wilno Medical Academy and the University of Kiev, and it was in contact with a student group in the University of Dorpat. Most of the SLP was uncovered in 1838, when it was still in the process of forming itself. The organization was a formidable threat to Russian hegemony in Poland. Between 1838 and 1841, 76 members faced trial in the Kingdom of Poland.<sup>50</sup> In the Western Provinces, Russian courts martial convicted 191 members.<sup>51</sup>

In the years following the collapse of the SLP, the TDP managed to establish close contacts with the conspiracies. Its strategy was first to establish in the Poznań region a strong conspiracy, which would then help the Russian- and Austrian-held parts of the country to expand their own organizations. A conspiratorial committee lead by Libelt was founded in Poznań in 1839. The

47 Stowarzyszenie...1978: 163.

48 The literature on the SLP is large indeed. I have used the following publications of original sources: Konarski Szymon: O obowiązkach polaka. Program działań narodowych skreślony w roku 1838. Warszawa 1918. Moškovskij Kasper: Rukopis’ v tjur’me. Russkij arhiv 4/1909. Stowarzyszenie...1978. Ustawa “Stowarzyszenia Ludu Polskiego” z 1835 r. Przegląd Historyczny Tom LX, z. 2/1969. I have used the following literature: Barszczewska Alina: Szymon Konarski. Warszawa 1976. Berghauzen 1974. Kraushar Aleksander: Świętokrzyżczy. Pierwsze tajne towarzystwo demokratyczne w Warszawie. (Kartka archiwalna z roku 1838). Miscellanea historyczne LXII. Warszawa 1916. Łopuszański Bolesław: Stowarzyszenie Ludu Polskiego (1835–1841). Geneza i dzieje. Kraków 1975. Łopuszański: Spisek Szymona Konarskiego a rosyjski ruch rewolucyjny. In: Związki...1972: 55–72. Łukaszewicz Witold: Szymon Konarski (1808–1839). Warszawa 1948. Marahov G. I: Social’no-političeskaja bor’ba na Ukraine v 20–40e gody XIX veka. Kiev 1979. Serhienko H. Ja: Dijal’nist’ “Sojuzu Pol’skoho narodu” na Ukrajinі (1835–1839pp.). Ukrajin’skyj Istoričnyj Žurnal 12/1969. P. 75–84. Smirnov 1962. Szpotański Stanisław: Konarszczyzna. Przygotowania powstańcze w Polsce w 1835–1839. Kraków, without year. SLP’s charter is published in Stowarzyszenie...1978: 161–177 and Ustawa...1969: 351–362.

49 Berghauzen 1974: 43–104.

50 Stowarzyszenie...1978: 69, 418–426.

51 The number of persons sentenced in Kiev and Odessa (117) is given in Barszczewska 1976: 237. Serhienko 1969: 84 gives the number of persons sentenced in the three provinces of Right-Bank Ukraine alone as 146, including those who were only put under police surveillance. The number of the sentenced in Wilno: RGIA f. 733, op. 99, delo 332, l. 21–23. These include only persons arrested in 1838. Smaller groups of conspirators were uncovered only later.

main efforts were directed at the nobility, who would then carry out political agitation among the peasants. Preparation for the insurrection was to begin only when the organization was strong enough to carry it out.<sup>52</sup>

In the Kingdom of Poland, the representatives of the TDP managed to unite the remnants of the SLP into the Union of the Polish People (*Związek Narodu Polskiego, ZNP*). A new conspiracy in contact with the TDP became active in Lithuania in 1842. The all-Polish conspiracy suffered from internal conflicts. The leading committees in Poznań and Versailles faced a formidable radical opposition in the Prussian-held part of Poland as well as in the Kingdom. The opposition urged imminent insurrection and the necessity of direct agitation among the peasants and unprivileged townspeople. In 1844, the TDP decided to give in to criticism and to prepare an insurrection. However, the basic concept of revolutionary dictatorship was not changed. The military leadership was entrusted to General Ludwik Mierosławski, who planned simultaneous insurrections in all three parts of the country and the establishment of an insurrectionist government in Cracow. No preparatory agitation of the peasants would take place.<sup>53</sup>

The insurrection began in Cracow on 21st February 1846 under very unfavourable circumstances, after the arrest of Mierosławski and numerous other leaders in the Poznań region. A Provisional Government consisting of conspirators was formed. The manifesto proclaimed an independent Republic of Poland. It granted the peasants the land in their use without any compensation for the landlords, and it abolished all feudal obligations and privileges. Those landless peasants who took part in the insurrection were promised land from state domains.<sup>54</sup> However, the expected all-Polish rising did not take place. In the Kingdom the leadership of the conspiracy cancelled the insurrection, though a few skirmishes took place. The Lithuanian conspirators refused to participate because they considered their organization too weak and unprepared.<sup>55</sup> In the Austrian-held part of Poland, the insurrection was destroyed by a peasant uprising and a massacre of the landlords instigated by the authorities. A rumour spread among the peasants that the landlords were rebelling because the Emperor wanted a land reform. The Ukrainian and Polish peasants armed themselves and began to attack not only the insurrectionists but the landed nobility in general. The insurgents escaped from Cracow to Prussia, and on 4th March, Russian troops entered the city. Mass arrests in all parts of the country followed. The formal independence of Cracow was finished, and the city was incorporated into Austria.

52 Berghauzen 1974: 106–109. Kalemka 1971: 219–222.

53 Berg N. V: *Zapiski o pol'skih zagovorah i vosstanijah*. Tom I. Poznan 1883. P. 80–104. Berghauzen 1974: 105–186, 190–191. Fajnhauz 1965: 90–105, 144. Kalemka 1971: 222–223. Fajnhauz 1965: 144.

54 The manifesto is published in *Historia Polski*, Tom II 1764–1864, cześć III 1831–1864. Warszawa 1959. P. 199.

55 Berg 1883–1885: 1: 111–141. Berghauzen 1974: 207–211, 230–233, 235–242. Fajnhauz 1965: 137–141, 154–155, 160–162.

The Cracow insurrection and the peasant uprising were much disputed afterwards. For Trentowski, Krasiński and many others it was proof that the Polish nation could rely only on the landowning nobility and clergy, since the peasants were not nationally conscious. On the other hand, the TDP came to the conclusion that the opposition had been right: any insurrection should be preceded by agitation among the peasants. The TDP began to publish propaganda aimed at them and some of it was published in Lithuanian.<sup>56</sup>

In 1847 Warsaw saw a new conspiracy. Its leaders were junior civil servants who had recently graduated from the University of Moscow. Their political principles were close to the Cracow manifesto, but they put more stress on the importance of nobility and Roman Catholicism. When throughout Europe a revolution broke out in 1848, the organization was not strong enough to try an insurrection. The Russian authorities crushed it in 1850.<sup>57</sup>

In Lithuania a new organization appeared in 1846. It soon grew in size and adopted the name “The Brotherly Union of Lithuanian Youth” (Związek Bratni Młodzieży Litewskiej, ZBML). The Union aimed at an independent Polish republic, in which the peasants would get full ownership of the land. It had links with the Universities of St. Petersburg, Moscow and Kazan, probably also with those of Dorpat and Kiev. The Union planned an armed uprising in April 1849, when part of Russian army was busy in suppressing the Hungarian Revolution. The authorities uncovered the conspiracy before it could execute its plans. Two hundred and three persons were found to be involved in the Union.<sup>58</sup>

During the Springtime of the Nations the most important political conflicts in Poland occurred in the Prussian- and Austrian-held parts. Mierosławski, Libelt and other leaders of the Poznań conspirators were released from a Berlin prison in March 1848. At first it seemed that the Poznań region would be granted autonomy within the Prussian state. Polish armed units were formed. However, the Prussian government soon demanded the Polish units to disarm. The Poles decided to fight. The military command was again entrusted to Mierosławski. The war began on 29th April and ended in the capitulation of the Poles on 9th May. After the defeat, a lawful political party, the Polish League, was formed, but its activities were suppressed by the authorities in 1852.

An armed struggle also took place in Cracow and Lwów. In April the Austrian troops retreated for a short time from Cracow, but then they forced the city to surrender with artillery fire. In Lwów the Poles forced the authorities to allow the formation of a legal Polish Council and National Guard. However, the authorities profited from the emergence of a Ukrainian anti-Polish national movement. In November the government crushed the National Guard after some skirmishes on the streets of Lwów.

56 Berghauzen 1974: 242–247, 255–256, 259–262. Fajnhauz 1965: 207. Walicki 1982: 312–313. Ziejka Franciszek: *W kręgu mitów polskich*. Kraków 1977. P. 122–140, a review of polemics inspired by the peasant uprising.

57 Berghauzen 1974: 265–272. Minkowska Anna: *Organizacja spiskowa 1848 roku w Królestwie Polskiem*. Warszawa 1923.

58 Fajnhauz 1965: 264–333, 357–375

All the Polish conspiracies and insurrections ended in defeat and government repression, which taxed the manpower resources of the patriotic movement. When finally during the Crimean War, the international situation was favourable for an insurrection, the patriots were no longer capable of threatening Russian hegemony in Poland. They had spent their force in a lonely, heroic and useless struggle.

To the Russian government, the Polish conspiracies were a continuous threat, which affected its policy not only in Poland, but throughout the Empire, and even its foreign relations. Nicholas and his circle feared that the Poles might spread their subversive ideas among the Russian intelligentsia. This fear was one of the reasons for enforcing strict governmental control of the Russian intelligentsia.<sup>59</sup>

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59 Schiemann 1904–1919: III 205–208, 348–349, 354–355, 370–371, IV 58–59, 81–95, 152–154, 192–193.



# ■ Russia and the Polish question

## Russian attitudes towards Poland

After the insurrection of 1830–31 the Russian government embarked on a policy of massive unification of the regions inhabited by Poles under its control with the rest of the Empire. This was a rather significant change in Russia's Polish policy. It had traditionally allowed the dominant ethnic groups of its outlying western territories to keep their laws, language and at least some elements of their administrative traditions. Now the Poles became victims of a Russification policy, while the Germans in the Baltic provinces and the Swedes in Finland were left in peace.<sup>1</sup>

Russian policy in Poland had various, both rational and emotional, motivations. Nicholas I personally disliked Poles from an early age.<sup>2</sup> During and after the insurrection, this emotional dislike was mixed with anger against ungrateful subjects who had forsaken their loyalty to their lawful sovereign. The insurrection greatly worried the Emperor. He thought that the whole political existence of Russia depended on the outcome of the war, and he expressed the view that either Poland or Russia must perish. After the insurrection, Nicholas preferred to rule by fear. Two of his statements speak for themselves. In 1835 he addressed representatives of the city of Warsaw:

I know, sirs, that you wanted to deliver a speech;...In order to spare you from lying, I desire that you do not make that speech to me...since I know that your feelings are not such as you want to convince me that they are. And how should I believe it, since you said to me the same on the eve of revolution?...

The Emperor, Alexander I, who did for you more than a Russian emperor should do,...who protected you more than his natural subjects, who made you a most prosperous and happy nation - the Emperor, Alexander I, you repaid with the grossest ingratitude.

You refused to be satisfied with the most advantageous status and ended up ruining your own fortune...

If you will stubbornly hold on to dreams of a separate nationality, an independent Poland and all those illusions, you will only bring upon

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- 1 In Bessarabia, where Romanians were the dominant ethnic group, the administrative unification with Russia began in 1828.
- 2 See Riasanovsky Nicholas V: *Nicholas I and official nationality in Russia, 1825–1855*. Berkeley and Los Angeles 1961. P. 23, 29, 226–231. Schiemann 1904–1919: III: 66–69, 119–120, 122–124, 143, 187–201, 208, 223–224, 247, 257, 349, 405–407, 454, 459–461, 479–480. IV:4–7, 58–59, 88–95, 142, 152–154, 164, 184–185, 380–382. Šil'der N. K: *Imperator Nikolaj pervyj. Ego žižn' i carstvovanie*. I-II. S.-Peterburg 1903. II, p. 342–351, 380, 382–383, 394–395, 475, 478, 582–584, 667–668, 679–680, 741–742.

yourselves a great misfortune. A fortress is being built here on my orders. I tell you that, in the case of the smallest riot, I shall give an order to destroy your city. I shall make Warsaw ruins, and, of course, it is not I who will rebuild it.<sup>3</sup>

In April 1846, in the aftermath of the Cracow Insurrection, Nicholas, in a letter to King Frederick William of Prussia, explicitly stated that his aim was the Russification of the Poles:

Il faut les rendre heureux malgré eux... maintenant que les Posnaniens sachent une fois pour tous qu'il n'y a plus de salut pour eux s'ils ne sont Prussiens, que les Galiciens de même deviennent Autrichiens, et je me charge des miens, qui n'osent plus remuer...car ils savent qu'ils ne peuvent plus tromper personne et que de père en fils ils trouveront de notre part ferme volonté et inébranlable de les russifier tant que possible...Mais la noblesse et certains partis de la bourgeoisie, à peu d'exception près et détestable; et cette il faut les maintenir par la peur, car ils ne sont accessibles à nul autre sentiment, – c'est triste à dire – mais c'est vrai.<sup>4</sup>

One month later, in his next letter to the Prussian King, the Russian Emperor characterized the Poles as “une espèce d' animal entre l' homme et la bête, quelque' inqualifiable, et malheureusement que trop réelle”.<sup>5</sup>

Russian nationalism and widespread anti-Polish sentiment among officials and the intelligentsia guaranteed the support of public opinion for Russification. In Russian national mythology, the Polish invasion at the beginning of the 17th century and Polish participation in the Napoleonic campaign of 1812 had a central place. The religious difference between Roman Catholic and Orthodox Christianity was often emphasized. The enmity between the two nations was seen as everlasting and irreconcilable. A widespread Russian stereotype pictured the Pole as a proud, imprudent and fraudulent person. There was also a widespread patronizing attitude towards Poland, which found its expression in Puškin's words about a “family dispute” between Russia and Poland. During the 1830–1831 insurrection, and even after it, many Russian writers voluntarily contributed to anti-Polish propaganda. The best Russian writers, like Aleksandr Puškin, Mihail Lermontov, Fedor Tjutčev and Nikolaj Žukovskij adopted a hostile attitude towards the insurrection, and Gogol wrote “Taras Bulba”, an anti-Polish novel of high literary merit. Numerous lesser writers also dealt with this subject.<sup>6</sup>

The Russian government of the time did not pay much attention to the other Slavonic nations, but some of its nationalist adherents, like the historian Mihail Pogodin and the poet Fedor Tjutčev, considered Russia the natural political and

3 The speech is in Šil' der 1903:II:720. Russian translation from the original French.

4 The letter is in Schiemann 1904–1919:IV:380–381. Here, and in other quotations in French, the orthography of the original.

5 *ibid.* p. 381

6 Kępinski 1990:167–219

cultural leader of all Slavs, who should adopt Russian as their language and Orthodoxy as their religion. Since the Poles were enthusiastic about neither, their Slavonic nature was questioned. Pogodin even developed a theory of the non-Slavonic origins of the Polish nobility. The Slavophiles Jurij Samarin, Aleksej Homjakov and Ivan Kireevskij shared with the conservative nationalists ideas of Russia's leading role among the Slav peoples and of a Poland corrupted by western influence.<sup>7</sup>

However, Russification was not motivated only by national enmity. It was consistent with the efficiency and uniformity, at which Nicholas' administration aimed in every field. Russian policy towards Poland did not differ much from that of her other partitioners, Austria and Prussia; nor was the urge towards Russification an exception on a pan-European scale. In the first half of the 19th century, it was a fairly general tendency of dominant nationalities in great multinational states to aim at greater linguistic and cultural uniformity.<sup>8</sup> Nicholas was not a nationalist, but a conservative legitimist. For him, the Russification of Poland was a means of guaranteeing the stability of the Empire, not an end in itself. This is evident from the fact that he twice seriously contemplated ceding a large part of Poland to Prussia or Austria in order to rid himself of the troubles caused by the Poles.<sup>9</sup>

However, not all Russians shared the predominant anti-Polish opinions. Aleksandr Herzen and some other students at the University of Moscow had strong Polish sympathies and rejoiced during the 1830-1831 insurrection on hearing news of Russian defeats. A group of Moscow students and other young men were even arrested and sentenced for revolutionary conspiracy and co-operation with the Polish insurrectionists. It is not entirely clear whether this conspiracy, allegedly led by a civil servant Nikolaj Sungurov, really existed, but in any case the students discussed politics and took a favourable view of the insurrection. As we shall see, later, too, Polish sympathies existed among Russian students. These views did not shake the opinion of the general public, but they were rather important in the circles that are the subject of this study. There were also Polish sympathies among the professors. In Moscow, the westernizers, Timofej Granovskij and Dmitrij Krjukov felt sympathy towards Poland and expressed it to their Polish students. Naturally, such opinions could not appear in the press.<sup>10</sup>

7 Kurpisowa Genowefa: *Słowianofile rosyjscy wobec kwestii polskiej*. In: *Słowianszczyzna i dzieje powszechnie*. Warszawa 1985. P. 235–237. Riasanovsky 1961:146–154.

8 Chlebowczyk Józef: *On Small and Young Nations in Europe. Nation-Forming Processes in Ethnic Borderlands in East-Central Europe*. Wrocław 1980. Especially pp. 108–113.

9 Schiemann 1904–1919:IV 90–91. Šil'der 1903:II 344–351, 582–584.

10 Sprzysiężenia pomiędzy rokiem 1839 i 1849, ze wspomnień i opowiadań w roku 1853 opisane. Rps. Ossol. 3204/I, księga druga, p. 44–45. Ejhbaum B: "Tajnoe obščestvo Sungurova". *Zavety* 3 and 5/1913. Gercen Aleksandr: *Sobranie sočinenij v tridcati tomah*. Moskva 1954–1966. VIII 134. Kosteneckij Ja. I: *Vospominanija iz moej studenčeskoj žižni*. *Russkij Arhiv* 1–3, 5–6/ 1887. Sazonov: *Tajnoe obščestvo*. (Voенno-sudnoe delo 1831 goda). *Russkij Arhiv* 12/1912. [Franciszek D., pseudonym:] *Urywki ze wspomnień uniwersyteckich z r. 1848*. *Sobótka* 24/1869, p. 197.

## Russian policy in regions inhabited by Poles

By the constitution of 1815, the Kingdom had enjoyed a large degree of autonomy, with its own parliament (the Sejm) consisting of two chambers, of which one was elected by a limited electorate. In practice, the electoral system gave power to the noble landowners, but the absolute number of the enfranchised population was still larger than that in contemporary France. The Cabinet, the Administrative Council (*Rada administracyjna*), was nominated by the Emperor in his capacity as the King of Poland and sat under the chairmanship of his representative, but the parliament still had a right to discuss its policies. The members of the Administrative Council together with some other high functionaries formed the State Council (*Rada stanu*), which prepared bills for new laws. The Kingdom had its own commissions, in fact ministries, of Religion and Public Enlightenment, Justice, the Interior and the Police, War and Finance. The army of the Kingdom was separate from the Russian army. The constitution guaranteed the citizens freedom of religion and speech.

Violations of the constitution by the Emperor and Russian officials had already occurred before 1830, but after the insurrection the constitution was suppressed altogether. It was replaced by the Organic Statute of 1832.<sup>11</sup> The Statute guaranteed the administrative separation of the Kingdom from the Empire and promised a regional popular representation by Provincial Councils. It guaranteed freedom of religion, inviolability of property and protection from arrest without trial except in political cases, but did not mention any other rights. The Statute remained officially in force through the whole reign of Nicholas I, but was never implemented in practice, since in 1833 the country was declared to be in a state of war. In practice, all power below that of the Emperor was transferred to the viceroy in Warsaw, Prince Ivan Paskevič-Erivanskij, who remained in office until 1855. The Kingdom of Poland lost its own parliament, army and university. The State Council was abolished. The Administrative Council continued to function, but it came under the control of the Russians. The number of its commissions was reduced to three: Justice, the Interior and Religious Affairs, and Finance. In 1839, education was removed from the competence of the Administrative Council to the Ministry of Public Enlightenment of the Empire. Two years later the zloty, the Polish currency unit, was replaced by the Russian rouble. At the same time the Russian penal code was introduced. All expressions of political dissent were tried and severely punished in Russian courts-martial.

Despite the abolition of Poland's autonomy, the Russian government continued to admit that the Kingdom was not just a part of Russia. It was considered a separate country, permanently associated with Russia, but not a part of it. The immediate aim of the government was not linguistic and cultural Russification, but partial administrative integration.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, as the King-

11 II PSZ VII, 1832, No 5165, pp. 83–90.

12 Kappeler 1992:203–207. Thaden Edward C.: *Russia's Western Borderlands, 1710–1870*. Princeton 1984. P.144–149, 151–153.

dom had been created by a decision of the Congress of Vienna, the western powers might claim the right to interfere in its affairs. These facts meant that the Kingdom was governed according to Russian autocratic principles, but Polish remained the official language of the country. Except for the Russian penal code, the Kingdom retained its own laws. The educational system continued at first to function in Polish even under Russian administration and the country was still officially called the Kingdom of Poland.

Apart from the lack of national freedom, the greatest problem of the country was the land question and the status of the peasantry. In 1841 the government began to introduce a limited land reform in state domains. It included an exchange of labour obligations into rent in cash or kind and the allocation of some additional land to peasants. Some private landlords followed the example and introduced the same kind of reform on their land. After the Cracow Insurrection in 1846, the government took more radical measures. It banned expulsions of peasants from the land in their use unless they had neglected their obligations. The diminution of peasant land by landlords was forbidden. During the following years, the obligations of peasants to their landlords were defined. However, the land question as a whole remained unsolved. It was to have important effects before and during the insurrection of 1863.

The government treated the Western Provinces more severely than the Kingdom of Poland. Indeed, since the unreliable Poles were a minority there, it was easier to practise outright Russification than it was in the Kingdom. The distinctive status of the area was not protected by any international agreement. Moreover, everywhere except in the ethnic Lithuanian provinces of Wilno and Kowno, the majority of the population was East Slavonic and considered Russian by the government.

Catherine II justified the second and third partitions of Poland on historical, religious and ethnic arguments. She stated that the newly acquired territory had previously belonged to Russia, that the partitions saved the Orthodox population from discrimination and that the majority of the inhabitants were of the same nationality (*edinoplemenniki*) as Russians.<sup>13</sup> Paul I treated the Provinces of Witebsk, Mohylew and Kiev differently from the other Western Provinces. He excluded them from the restoration of the former rights and privileges granted to the western borderlands in 1796.<sup>14</sup> This pointed to an attitude that regarded these provinces as Russian, whereas the Polish character of the other acquired provinces was tacitly recognized. This territorial differentiation in policy continued into the reign of Nicholas I. Alexander I tended to recognize, or pretend to recognize, that at least some of the Western Provinces were Polish and would be returned to the Kingdom of Poland.<sup>15</sup> He frequently hinted at this

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13 Batjuškov P. N: Belorussija i Litva. Istoričeskie sud'by Severo-Zapadnogo Kraja. S.-Peterburg 1890. P. 322–323. Kappeler 1992:74. Šil'der N. K: Imperator Nikolai I i Pol'sa v 1825–1831. Russkaja Starina 2–8/1900. Here 2: 291–292.

14 Kappeler 1992:76. Thaden 1984:66.

15 Alexander's real intentions remain an enigma. His relation to Poland is handled in Dzwonkowski Włodzimierz: Rosja a Polska. Warszawa 1991. P. 9–31. His promises to the Poles are mentioned by many authors: Kappeler 1992:81. Šil'der 1900:2:294. Thaden 1984:71–72, 74–75.

possibility, but never put the idea into practice. However, he allowed education in the Western Provinces to be organized on a completely Polish basis.

The Russian policy towards the Western Provinces became consistent with Nicholas I. He had no doubts that the area was Russian. He reached this conclusion on the basis of practical political considerations, not any national ideas, as is evident from his letter to Grand Prince Constantine in 1827:

La Lithuanie etc. est province russe, elle ne peut retourner à la Pologne parce que ce serait attenter à l' intégrité du territoire de l' empire; exemple qui a été pour le gouvernement de Wibourg et qui entraîne déjà de graves inconvénients, au point qu' il est possible qu' il retourne à l' empire proprement dit.<sup>16</sup>

Reference to the Province of Viborg is revealing. This former Swedish territory, which was united with the Grand Duchy of Finland in 1812, was not in the historical, religious or ethnic sense a Russian domain. It was not the assumed ancient Russian character of the Western Provinces, but the territorial integrity of the Empire that mattered.

The insurrection strengthened the standpoint that Nicholas had previously adopted regarding the inviolability of the borders of the Empire proper. The Polishness of the Western Provinces could not, and would not, be admitted, since the Poles had proved their disloyalty. Moreover, an active Russification policy was now considered necessary. An official historical interpretation based on scholarly arguments was developed and presented (1836–1841) by Nikolaj Ustrjalov from St. Petersburg University. He returned to Catherine's idea that the Kievan Rus had defined the territorial limits of Russian nationality. The idea of national unity had never ceased to apply to any region which formerly had belonged to Kievan Rus. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania was a purely Russian state, since its language, religion and laws were Russian. The Muscovite and Lithuanian parts of Russia through necessity would already have reunited themselves in the 16th century but for a contingent fact, the Polish-Lithuanian union, which delayed this natural outcome for hundreds of years. The inhabitants of Lithuania, however, had suffered under alien Polish rule and had never abandoned hope for the reunification of Russia under Moscow. The union also made the annexation of ethnic Poland by Russia inevitable, because otherwise the dispute about Western Russia would never end, since the existence of Poland without its Russian territories was unthinkable. Catherine II

...solved this ancient, so complicated question of Western and Eastern Russia. They are uniting into one whole, into one Russian Empire. After that the history of Lithuania has to cease.<sup>17</sup>

16 Šil'der 1900:2:302.

17 Ustrjalov Nikolai: *Izsledovanie voprosa, kakoe mesto v russkoj istorii dolžno zanimat' Velikoe Knjažestvo Litovskoe?* S.-Peterburg 1839. Ustrjalov: *O sisteme pragmatičeskoj Russkoj istorii. Razsuždenie, napisannoe na stepen' doktora filosofii.* S.-Peterburg 1836. P. 35–38, 41–45, 64–75. Ustrjalov: *Russkaja istorija.* 1–5. S.-Peterburg 1839–41. P. I 15–19, 177–182, 225–227, 241, 246, 278–284, 292–295, 340–344, II 100–112, 231–240, 292–297, III 134–137, IV 21–22, 124, 131–132. The quotation is from Ustrjalov 1839:42.

In 1830 the administrative system in the Western Provinces contained both Russian and Polish elements. The Governor-Generals, the civil and military Governors and some other official bodies represented the authority of St. Petersburg, while the local Lithuanian Law Code was still in force. Most of the judicial procedure was conducted in Polish courts in the Polish language. The representative bodies of the local nobility had a more important share in the administration than had their counterparts in Russia. Except for some Russian schools in the Provinces of Witebsk, Mohylew and Kiev, the education was Polish.<sup>18</sup>

The easternmost Belorussian provinces of Mohylew and Witebsk had belonged to Russia ever since the first partition of Poland in 1772 and they had a weaker Polish element than the other Western Provinces. Here Russification had already begun during the insurrection. In January and February 1831, the Lithuanian Law Code was abolished, and Russian courts and laws were introduced.<sup>19</sup>

The Committee of the Western Provinces was founded in St. Petersburg in 1831. This temporary government body had the task of preparing reforms in order to unify the administration of the area with the rest of the Empire. The Committee was abolished in 1848, since by that time its work was considered completed.<sup>20</sup>

Polish education was one of the first targets. After closing down the University of Wilno, the government proceeded to unify all education with the rest of the Empire. This policy will be discussed separately. The government also took steps to weaken the position of the Roman Catholic Church. Apart from the national problem, the anti-church measures were also influenced by economic considerations. In the Western Provinces, the Roman Catholic Church was still a fairly important landowner, whereas in Russia most of the lands owned by the Orthodox Church had been taken over by the state in the 18th century. Between 1831 and 1835, more than half of the Roman Catholic monasteries were closed down and their property confiscated by the state. Greek-Catholics were encouraged to convert to Orthodoxy, and the Greek-Catholic Church as a whole was abolished in 1839. Henceforth, all the former Greek-Catholics were officially considered Orthodox.<sup>21</sup> The Lithuanian Law Code was abolished in all the Western Provinces in 1840 and replaced by Russian law. In the same year it was forbidden to use the names "Lithuania" and "Belorussia" in official correspondence.<sup>22</sup>

18 Kappeler 1992:75–76. Thaden 1984:66–68.

19 Nikotin I Ja: Stoletnyj period russkogo zakonodatel'stva v vozvraščennyj ot Pol'si gubernijah i zakonodatel'stvo o evrejah (1649–1876). Vil'na 1886. P. 24. Thaden 1984:123.

20 Fajnhauz 196: 16, 336–337. Nikotin 1886:30. Thaden 1984:122–123.

21 Batjuškov 1890. P. 357. Beauvois Daniel: Le noble, le serf et le revizor. La noblesse polonaise entre le tsar et les masses ukrainiennes. Paris-Montreux 1985:256–268. Kappeler 1992: 205. Nikotin 1886:146–159, 226–235. Thaden 1984: 130–133.

22 II PSZ XV.1/1840, No 13678, p. 515. Thaden 1984: 122, 125–126. The Belorussian School District received permission to retain its name, which was finally changed in 1850. RGIA f. 733, op. 66, delo 483.

In 1831, the Governors and Governor-Generals in the Western Provinces received instructions to fill administrative positions as far as possible with natives of non-Polish provinces, whereas officials of local origin were to be employed preferably for service elsewhere in the Empire. By means of discriminatory regulations the Poles were denied entry to various high-ranking offices, such as those of Governor-General, Civilian Governor, member of the provincial board, head of the police and postmaster. In 1835 Nicholas I ordered that persons from the Western Provinces could be appointed in St. Petersburg only with his personal permission. In 1837 it was decreed that in any case Poles had to serve three years in the Russian provinces before taking up an appointment in St. Petersburg. The Provinces of Odessa, Bessarabia and New Russia (Southern Ukraine) were totally closed to Polish officials. The Orthodox were exempted from these discriminatory regulations. Noblemen were obliged to serve in some office for at least 10 years before being elected to the offices of the local nobility's self-administration. In 1840 and 1843 it was decreed that the nobility had to use the Russian language in its proceedings.<sup>23</sup>

The noble Polish landowning families of the Western Provinces used to avoid state service. This was small wonder, since the opportunities of getting a post in an area inhabited by Poles were rather limited. The government decided to force the reluctant nobility to serve in state posts. In April 1852 it was decreed that all sons of those non-Orthodox noblemen, who owned more than 100 peasants had to begin service either in the army or the civil office at the age of eighteen. If they chose to avoid the army, they were only allowed to serve in the Great Russian provinces. Those young men who continued their education were temporarily exempted from service.<sup>24</sup> Finally, in February 1855 Nicholas ordered the total dismissal of local Roman Catholics from all offices in the Western Provinces, but the unexpected death of the unhappy autocrat prevented the implementation of this measure.<sup>25</sup>

The government reformed the local class system of the estates according to the Russian model. As everywhere in the former Poland, the nobility was rather numerous and its share of the population was bigger than in Russia. It included many people whose economic status was significantly below that of the landowning class. More than half of the nobles did not own land at all. Landless nobles often earned their living by serving the landowners. Despite its low social status, most of the lesser nobility valued their noble status and maintained noble traditions. There were Roman Catholic, Uniat and Orthodox lesser noblemen. To the Russian officials, the numerous lesser nobility presented a strange phenomenon. The large number of nobles also affected finances and the military might of the Empire, since all noblemen were exempted from taxes and military

23 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1835g, ed. hr. 263, l.5. RGIA f. 733, op. 69, delo 344, l. 1-2, 5-12. II PSZ XII.1/1837, No 9894, p. 59. Beauvois 1985: 164-165, 183, 188-189. Fajnhauz 1965: 17, 26. Thaden 1984:124.

24 RGIA fond 733, opis' 88, lists 1, 4-6, 9-11. II PSZ XXVII, 1852, No 26190, pp. 285-286. Beauvois 1985: 295-303, 310-313.

25 RGIA f. 733, op. 87, delo 127, l. 1-2.



service. When in 1831 the lesser nobility took a rather active part in the insurrection, the government began to take measures for its abolition. In October 1831, the Emperor decreed that those landless noblemen in the Western Provinces who could not produce documents to prove their noble ancestry, must be classified in the countryside as “*odnodvorcy*” peasants, in the towns as “*graždane*”. *Odnodvorcy* was a category of personally free peasants who were, however, obliged to pay taxes and serve in the army. They were not entitled to own land or to serve as state officials. *Graždane* was a category of townspeople similar to the *odnodvorcy* in the countryside. In the implementation of the decree, proof of ancestry was made difficult by invalidating documents issued by landowners and the administration of the nobility. The government proceeded slowly in the reduction of the lesser nobility. The process lasted until the end of the reign of Nicholas I. Daniel Beauvois estimated that, in the Right-Bank Ukraine alone, 340,000 persons were denied noble status in the period 1831–56. Two years later, 70,000 Poles still held noble rank. In Lithuania about 100,000 persons lost their nobility in the course of the thirty years after 1831. In 1857 there were still 158,000 male nobles in the Lithuanian provinces. The mass abolition of noble rights did not totally unify the estate system with the Russian one. Even in 1858, the majority of nobles in the Empire lived in the Western Provinces.<sup>26</sup>

The importance of higher education for Poles increased tremendously with the reduction of the lesser nobility. Getting a university degree was one of the few ways of avoiding the status of *odnodvorec* peasant, since a degree gave its possessor the right to enter state service at the 10th rank regardless of ancestry. On the other hand, even for Polish university graduates, the future seemed a gloomy one. Most probably the only career open to them was in the administration of the Great Russian provinces. Threatened on one hand by peasant status, and on the other by exile in Russia, the educated sons of poor nobles could not but be receptive to Polish patriotic propaganda. It was not only the traditional patriotism and antagonism towards Russia, but also their own situation that made some of them conspirators. Poland’s cause was truly theirs.<sup>27</sup>

26 Beauvois 1985: 99–100, 110–152, 163. Kappeler 1992: 76–77. Sikorska-Kulesza Jolanta: Weryfikacje szlachectwa jako instrument stanowej degradacji drobnej szlachty na Litwie i Białorusi w latach 1831–1868. Przegląd Wschodni 3(7)/1992/1993, pp.557–572. Thaden 1984: 123–124.

27 Benedict Anderson emphasises both the analogy and the difference between the Russian imperial system and the British one. He sees enough common traits to call the British cultural domination and influence “Russification”. Both empires used the educational system to spread the cultural influence of the dominant nation and to train native officials in its language and cultural skills. However, the British discriminated against native officials despite the fact that these had received an English education. They were not allowed to work anywhere except in their own home area. According to Anderson, in Russia the way to St. Petersburg’s offices remained relatively accessible to persons of different nationalities. 1992. P. 91–94, 114–115. Indeed there was discrimination against educated Poles by the Russian government, but it was exactly of the opposite kind to British policy in relation to their colonial peoples. The Russian government considered it undesirable to employ Poles in their own ethnic homeland, but it promoted their employment elsewhere.

Another important social reform introduced by the government was the inventory law promulgated in 1844. It defined the obligations of serfs to their landlords. Its aim was to end the peasant unrest on the nobles' estates and strengthen the loyalty of the peasants towards the government. In the Right-Bank Ukraine, the inventories were defined in the years 1844–1847. The corvee was limited to two to three days of male labour with a horse per week and one day of female labour. For extra work the landowner had to pay wages. The Russian-type village commune, which previously did not exist in the Ukraine, was now introduced. The inventories defined the land area for the use of the commune. In Lithuania it became the rule that the obligations of serfs should not constitute more than one-third of their income. The inventories protected the serfs from extreme exploitation by the landlords. However, the serfs still remained in an unfree state, being not only economically, but also judicially dependent on their landlords.<sup>28</sup>

The social antagonism between serfs and landowners received additional importance from the fact that it existed in an area that was a subject of political dispute between the Polish national movement and the Russian government. For Polish patriots as well as for the Russian government, it was essential to gain peasant support, but for both sides it was also problematic. For the Russian government, it was difficult to favour the peasants at the expense of the Polish nobility, since the whole Russian state was to a large extent based on a landowning nobility. For the Polish national movement, it was problematic to antagonize the landed nobility, which, especially in Belorussia and the Ukraine, was the backbone of Polish culture in the area.

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28 Beauvois 1985: 58–62. Ochmański Jerzy: *Historia Litwy*. Wrocław 1990. P. 197–198.

# ■ The national awakening of the Ukrainians, Belorussians and Lithuanians<sup>1</sup>

While the politically active Poles were struggling for national liberation, the development into nations of other ethnic groups inhabiting the Western Provinces commenced. The Ukrainians differed from the Poles in both language and religion. East the Dnieper, practically all Ukrainians belonged to the Orthodox Church. On the formerly Polish Right-Bank of the Dnieper there were both Orthodox and Uniat Ukrainians. Outside Russia, many Ukrainians lived in Eastern Galicia, which was allotted to Austria in the partitions of Poland. Among the Ukrainian intelligentsia, the idea of nationality was at a formative stage during the years that are the subject of this study. Phase A in the nation-making process, scholarly interest in nationality, commenced in the first half of the century. Some representatives of the landowning nobility and intelligentsia on the Left-Bank of the Dnieper began to take an interest in things Ukrainian. The literary use of modern Ukrainian began at the very end of the eighteenth century and was developed further in the 1820s and 1830s by the Kharkov romantics, who wrote mainly about the Cossack past. Ukrainian was finally established as a literary language by the national poet Taras Ševčenko, whose “Kobzar” was published in 1840. The representatives of the Ukrainian cultural movement also practised historical, linguistic and ethnographic research.<sup>2</sup>

The first activists of the Ukrainian cultural movement stressed their loyalty to the Emperor and the necessity of Russian rule. They did not see the Russian and Ukrainian identities as mutually exclusive. Only Ševčenko was an exception. In his poetry he sharply criticized the landowning nobility for the oppression of peasants and proposed revolution as a solution. Ševčenko wrote unfavourably about many Russian monarchs and put forward an idea for the independence of the Ukraine.<sup>3</sup>

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- 1 The term “awakening” may evoke some protests. I do not claim that the Ukrainian, Belorussian and Lithuanian nations have existed from time immemorial in a dormant state. I venture to use the term in order to express a more modest idea: that as a result of the awakening, some elements of local folk cultures survived which otherwise would have been doomed to extinction in the process of modernization. Instead of extinction, they were elevated and transformed into high culture. Without the national awakening, not very many people would today speak Ukrainian, Lithuanian or Finnish.
- 2 Subtelny Orest: History of the Ukraine. Toronto 1988. P. 221–251. Another, somewhat outdated publication in a western language: Borschak Elie: Le mouvement national ukrainien au XIX siècle. Le Monde Slave III–IV/1930.P. 69–78. See also Kozak Stefan: Ukrainscy spiskowcy i mesjaniści. Bractwo Cyrula i Metodego. Warszawa 1990. P. 60–71.
- 3 Apart of Subtelny, see Kozak 1990:94–128. About mutual compatibility of Russian and Ukrainian identity, see Handelsman 1937: 3–5.

Phase B in nation-making, the period of national agitation, may loosely be considered to have begun in 1846–1847. The first Ukrainian secret patriotic organization, the Society of St. Cyril and St. Methodius was uncovered by the authorities in Kiev 1847. Its leading figures were Mykola (Nikolaj) Kostomarov, a young assistant professor of history in St. Vladimir’s University in Kiev, Mykola Hulak (Nikolaj Gulak), a civil servant, and Vasyl Bilozers’kyj (Vasilij Belozerskij), a recent graduate of the university. Later in his life, Kostomarov became a quite famous Russian/Ukrainian historian and Professor of Russian History at the University of St. Petersburg. Of the 12 probable members of the society, five were students or recent graduates from St. Vladimir’s University. Ševcenko’s formal membership is not certain, but in any case he knew about the society and took part in its activities. The Society of St. Cyril and St. Methodius advocated a pan-Slav federation of republics, with the Ukraine among them. The capital of the federation was to be Kiev, but the official language Russian. The members of the Society wished to reach their aims by peaceful educational and publishing activities.<sup>4</sup>

It is interesting to note that the Ukrainian conspirators were influenced by Polish political thinking, especially Mickiewicz’s messianism. A programmatic document “God’s Law” (Zakon Božija), probably written by Kostomarov, rather closely resembles Mickiewicz’s “Books of the Polish Nation and a Polish Pilgrimage”. In both texts the inspiring idea is Christianity interpreted in an egalitarian and revolutionary manner. Both authors look forward to a universal regeneration led by their own nations. However, unlike Mickiewicz, Kostomarov criticizes the Poles for the oppression of the Ukraine and their own poor. Another difference is that in his “Books” Mickiewicz does not envisage any special role for Slavdom, while according to Kostomarov its turn in world history has now come after the Greeks, Roman and Germanic nations. However, the Slavonic idea in the Society may also derive from a Polish source, such as Mickiewicz’s Paris lectures.<sup>5</sup>

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- 4 The original documents concerning the group have recently been published: Kirilo-Mefodijivs’ke tovaristvo. 1–3. Kyiv 1990. Of the research literature, I have used Borschak 1930:IV:248–263. Handelsman 1937: 5–27. Kozak 1990. Serhienko H. Ja: Kirilo-Mefodijivs’ke tovaristvo: utverdzennja ideji nacional’noho vidrozzennja Ukrajinj v slov’janskomu sviti. Ukrajins’kij Istoričnij Žurnal 1/1996, p. 14–28. Zajončkovskij P. A: Kirillo-Mefodievskoe obščestvo (1846–1847). Moskva 1959. The charter is published in Kirilo-Mefodijivs’ke...1990:1:150–152.
  - 5 Zajončkovskij 1959: 7–11, 79–80, 87. The entire Russian text of God’s Law p. 149–160. Two original variants of the text, Ukrainian and Russian, are published in Kirilo-Mefodijivs’ke...1990:1:152–169, 250–258. Polish influence, see Bortnikov A. I: Kirillo-Mefodievskoe obščestvo i pol’skoe nacional’no-osvoboditel’noe dviženje. In: Razvitie kapitalizma i nacional’nye dviženija v slavjanskij stranah. Moskva 1970. P. 176–193. Handelsman 1937: 5–27, goes to extremes claiming that the Society was actually inspired and guided by Polish students in Kiev. He also finds the influence of Cyprian Robert and Czartoryski’s group in general. Kozak 1990:...86–89. Other possible Polish influences proposed by scholars have been Young Poland and Szymon Konarski’s SLP, an émigré Christian socialist Ludwik Królikowski and the writer Edward Żeligowski (Sowa), who published lawfully in the Western Provinces. See Ščurat Vasyl’: Osnovy Ševcenkovyh zvjazkiv z poljakami. Zapiski naukovoho tovaristva imeni Ševčenka. Tom CXIX–CXX. L’viv 1917. P. 217–347. Naturally, Poland was not the only direction, from which the Society was influenced, but for the present study Polish influence is the most relevant.

Despite receiving ideological elements from Poland, the attitude of the Society towards the Poles was ambivalent. In their poetry on the Cossack wars, Kostomarov and Ševčenko depicted the Poles and Ukrainians as irreconcilable enemies, though Kostomarov wrote also verses emphasizing brotherhood between all Slavs. Kostomarov wrote a proclamation to the “Great Russian and Polish brothers”, which accused both of crucifying the Ukraine, but at the same time promised that the Ukrainians did not bear a grudge. The proclamation demanded of the Russians and Poles the ending of mutual hatred and a joint struggle for freedom.<sup>6</sup>

In Austrian Galicia, the Ukrainian or Rusin movement became important in 1848. The Ukrainians refused to take part in the Polish movement and formed their own representative body. The Austrian government managed to get Ukrainian support by abolishing the corvee and skilfully exploiting Ukrainian-Polish enmity.<sup>7</sup>

The liberal atmosphere of Russia at the beginning of the reign of Alexander II was favourable to the expansion of Ukrainian cultural activities. Some of the former members of the Society of St. Cyril and St. Methodius gathered in St. Petersburg, where they began to publish books in Ukrainian for the common people as well as for the intelligentsia. In 1861, they started a journal called “Osnova” (Foundation).<sup>8</sup>

Though not a strong movement, Ukrainian nationalism certainly existed by the 1840s and posed a challenge to the Polish nationality concept based on pre-partition borders. One possible reaction by Polish patriots was to deny the existence of a separate Ukrainian nation. Another possibility was to try to accommodate it into a wider concept of Polish nation and allow Ukrainians a special status among Poles. Both ways of thinking occurred among Polish student youth.

Of all the later nations in the Western Provinces, the Belorussians were the least advanced in their nation-building.<sup>9</sup> The local nobility was overwhelmingly Polish. Many people identified themselves as “Lithuanians” (*litwiny*), using the

6 Kozak 1990:72–80, 113–114. Kostomarov’s proclamation in Kirilo-Mefodiivske...1990:1:172.

7 In Galicia the national identity of the local Rusin population was as unclear as in the Russian Ukraine. A national unity of Russian and Austrian Ukraine was not self-evident, but Russophile and separate Galician national ideas competed with it till 20th century. However, the Rusin movement of 1848 was definitely directed against Poles. At least once its leaders stated that Galician and Russian Rusins belong to the same nation separate from the Russians. See Borschak 1930: IV 265.

8 Čiževs’kyj Dmitro: A History of Ukrainian Literature (From the 11th to the end of the 19th Century). Littleton, Colo. 1975. P. 495, 535, 540, 594. Subtelny 1989: 280.

9 For the Belorussian awakening at the time, see Kosman Marcelli: Historia Białorusi. Wrocław 1979. P. 216–220. Lojka A. A: Gistoryja belaruskaj litaratury. 1. Minsk 1989. Mark, Rudolf A: Die Nationale Bewegung der Weissrussen im 19. und zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts. Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, Band 42, 4/1994. P. 493–509. Narisy gistoryi Belarusi u 2-h častkah. Minsk 1994. 1:282, 292–302. Radzik Rysard: Pryčyny slabas’ci nacijatvorčaga procesu belarusaŭ u XIX–XX st. Belaruski Gistaryčny Agljad 2/1995. P. 195–226. Vakar, Nicholas P: Belorussia. The Making of a Nation. A Case Study. Cambridge, Mass. 1956. P. 74–80. Zaprudnik Jan: Belarus. At a Crossroads in History. Boulder, Colorado 1993. P. 45–55.

word in its historical, non-ethnic meaning. This ‘Lithuanity’ was not a nationality, but a provincial identity, which was perfectly possible to combine with a Polish or Russian nationality.<sup>10</sup> The term “Belorussian” was most often used in its geographical meaning alongside the term “Lithuanian”.<sup>11</sup> Among the intelligentsia, there was no conscious effort towards nation-building. The would-be Belorussians were almost all peasants. Most of them belonged to the Greek-Catholic Church before its abolition in 1839, but there were many Orthodox and Roman Catholic peasants among them as well.

In the first half of the 19th century, the Belorussians entered Phase A in the nation-making process, as modern Belorussian literature, linguistic and ethnographic research began. These activities were carried on by persons who had no intention of initiating a nationalist Belorussian movement, though it was already claimed that Belorussian was a separate language. In 1845 a Russian-Belorussian writer, Pavel Špilevskij, compiled a short dictionary and grammar, but could not publish it. Another grammar was presented to the Academy of Sciences in 1854 by Ksawery Niedźwiecki, a Polish-Belorussian student from St. Petersburg Medical Academy. The Academy rejected the grammar on the grounds that a dialect could not have a grammar of its own.<sup>12</sup>

Modern Belorussian literature is considered to have begun in the 1810s, though on a modest scale. In its initial stage it was closely connected with ethnographic research, which was practised by Poles as well as Russians, who both saw it as part of their own national culture. The Polish-Belorussian poet, former member of the Filomat society and friend of Mickiewicz, Jan Czeczot published in Wilno between 1837 and 1846 a large collection of folk songs and his own poetry in both Belorussian and Polish. He called Belorussian a “Krivichian dialect”. Jan Barszczewski, a Pole from Belorussia active in the 1840s in St. Petersburg, used folk songs as material in his own Belorussian didactic poetry. He wrote in Polish as well. Barszczewski used the Latin alphabet in his Belorussian works.<sup>13</sup>

The most famous of the early Belorussian writers was Wincenty Dunin-Marcinkiewicz. A Polish petty landowner, he began his career with an opera libretto “Country Idyll” (Sielanka), written in 1846, but staged only six years later. In the opera, the landlords spoke Polish and the peasants Belorussian. After the opera, Dunin-Marcinkiewicz remained silent for some years, but began to publish again in the beginning of the reign of Alexander II. His poems depict peasant life with respect, “Hapon”(1855) being the most famous of them. In 1859 Dunin-Marcinkiewicz tried to publish a translation of the first two chapters of Pan Tadeusz, but it was banned. A new Belorussian poet in late 1850s was Vincés’ Karatynski. He was of peasant origin and served as the secretary of

10 On the Polish local identity, see Bardach Juliusz: O Świadomości Polaków na Litwie i Białorusi w XIX–XX w. In: *Między...*1988:225–270.

11 *Gistoryja belaruskaj dokastrycnyckaj litaratury*. 1–2. Minsk 1969. 2:9.

12 Borkovskij V. I. *Izučenie belorusskogo jazyka v dorevoljucionnoe i sovetское vremja*. Institut jazykoznanija Akademii Nauk SSSR. Serija “Istorija otečestvennogo jazykoznanija”, vyp. 1. Moskva 1958. P. 109–112.

13 *Lojka* 1989:1:52–99.

Polish poet Władysław Syrokomła. Only three of Karatynski's poems have survived to our days, one of them praising Alexander II.<sup>14</sup>

The Belorussian peasant was a subject of dispute between Polish and Russian intellectuals, who did not accord him an independent role. He was claimed to be either Polish or Russian. However, the works of writers and folklorists promoted recognition of the human dignity of the peasant and increased the general awareness of his importance.

The majority of the population in the Provinces of Kowno and Wilno consisted of Lithuanian-speakers. Prussia also contained some Lithuanians in its population. The situation of the ethnic Lithuanians was to some extent similar to that of the Ukrainians and Belorussians. The Lithuanian language was spoken mainly by peasants. Lithuanity was a provincial identity compatible with Polishness. However, the Lithuanian language differed from Polish so clearly that it was absolutely impossible to call it a Polish dialect. On the other hand, both religion and language distinguished the Lithuanians from the Russians. Nowhere in the Western Provinces was the Russian claim as questionable as in ethnic Lithuania. There also existed a class of educated Lithuanian-speakers, namely the clergy. In the westernmost Samogitian area, at least some of the landowning nobility was bilingual in Polish and Lithuanian.<sup>15</sup> Lithuanian had been a written language since the sixteenth century. Unlike in Ukrainian or Belorussian, writing in Lithuanian had continued uninterrupted through the eighteenth century. This was important despite the fact that the Lithuanian texts were mainly didactic and religious.<sup>16</sup>

The Lithuanian national cultural movement began in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Its first leader was Bishop Józef Arnulf Giedraitis (Giedrojc), who in 1816 published the New Testament in Lithuanian. Around him there formed a group of Lithuanian intellectuals who wrote mostly sentimental poetry about the national history. In their works one can already notice traits of nationalist thinking. Dionizy Poška demanded that the nobility should begin to speak Lithuanian again. Another circle of Lithuanian writers was formed in Wilno University between 1822 and 1824.

Lithuanian cultural activism continued after the 1831 insurrection. Maciej Valancius, who became the Bishop of Samogitia in 1850, organized publishing and educational activities. Laurynas Ivinskis published from 1846 to 1864 a calendar, indeed an annual periodical, in Lithuanian. At most, its circulation rose to 8,000 copies. Antanas Baranuskas' (1835–1902) poem "The Anykšt Forest"

14 Lojka 1989:1:105–109, 125–130, 132–177. Zaprudnik 1993: 54–55. Konstantin Veresnicyn's poem "Taras na Parnas", written in 1855, was an important achievement of early Belorussian literature, but it did not influence the public until its publication in 1889.

15 Hellmann Manfred: Die litauische Nationalbewegung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Zeitschrift für Ostforschung 1953, p. 72. Jurgela Constantine R: History of the Lithuanian Nation. New York 1948. P. 401. Ochmański Jerzy: Litewski ruch narodowo-kulturalny w XIX wieku (do 1890r.). Białystok 1965. P. 82–83.

16 My account of the Lithuanian awakening is based on Hellmann 1953: 69-75. Jurgela 1948:401–406. Ochmański 1965. P. 64–104. Stoberski Zygmunt: Historia literatury litewskiej. Zarys. Wrocław 1986. Stukas Jack J: Awakening Lithuania. A Study of the Rise of Modern Lithuanian Nationalism. Madison, N.J. 1966. P. 47–64.

(*Anykšciu silelis*) is one of the classics of Lithuanian literature. It was written in 1858 and 1859 and published in 1860 and 1861 in Ivinskis' calendar. The poem is inspired by "Pan Tadeusz", but still an independent work. It describes the beauty of the Lithuanian countryside and the hard life of the peasant. Of other writers, we should mention Mikolajus Akelaitis (1829–1887), whose novel "Bursar Travelling in Lithuania and Teaching the People", came out in 1860. It was still in the tradition of didactic literature. Akelaitis also wrote in Polish periodicals. In all, 926 titles were published in Lithuanian between 1801 and 1864. This was more than three times the number of titles published in the 18th century.<sup>17</sup>

The most important Lithuanian national historians of the period were Simanas Daukantas and Teodor Narbut. Daukantas wrote three large works on Lithuanian history between 1822 and 1846 in Lithuanian. They were all to some extent known to the public, despite the fact that only one of them was published in the author's lifetime. Daukantas drew a picture of a golden age and freedom in Lithuania before the union with Poland. He criticized the Lithuanian boyars for their cosmopolitanism and Polonization. He opposed serfdom, which he claimed was introduced by the Poles. For the future, he proposed an equal federation between Poland and Lithuania. Narbut's great work "History of the Lithuanian Nation" was written in Polish and published in Wilno from 1835 to 1841. He considered the Polish-Lithuanian union a great misfortune for the Lithuanians.

In the first half of the nineteenth century there were not yet any Lithuanian political organizations separate from the Polish ones. Hroch considers that Lithuania at this time was going through only Phase A of nation-building.<sup>18</sup> Though this may be correct, the Lithuanian cultural movement posed a challenge to Polish nationalism. The Lithuanians claimed that their language was capable of being a cultural one, that they had suffered from Polish rule in the past, and that a future independent Poland including Lithuania should not be a unified state. As such, these opinions were perhaps not incompatible with Polish nationalism. However, they conflicted with the Polish national historical myths as well as with the practical political programmes of most Polish underground organizations.

17 Ochmański 1965: 103. Stoberski 1986: 52–62.

18 Hroch 1985:86–87



# ■ Education and politics

## The Russian educational system and administration

The secular and civilian educational system of Russia proper functioned under the school laws of 1828, which abolished the former ladder system and made it difficult to continue from a lower school to a higher one. In principle the laws entitled members of each social class to have only as much education as deemed suitable and fitting to their place in society. There were three kinds of schools. The most elementary ones were parish schools with a one- or two- year curriculum. These were defined as schools for peasants and the other lower classes. The district schools, which had a three- year curriculum, were meant for merchants and artisans. The “gymnasium”( *gimnazija*) had a seven-year course and led to the university. According to law, the gymnasia were schools for the nobles. In fact, only the serfs, however, were denied entry into the gymnasia and universities. Religion, Russian language, Latin, German, French, geography, mathematics, history, physics and drawing were taught. In a few schools the programme also included Greek. Latin had a rather central place in the curriculum.<sup>1</sup>

Education was administered by the Ministry of Public Enlightenment (Ministerstvo Narodnago Prosveščeniija). Ministerial power was both legally and in practice restricted by many other official bodies. All new laws were in principle passed through the State Council. Matters of special importance or concerning other fields of administration were also discussed in the Committee of Ministers, and, after 1857, the Council of Ministers. The final decision rested always with the Emperor, who, in fact, sometimes enacted new laws without consulting any advisory body. Nicholas I actively involved himself in educational matters and often acted against the proposals made by his ministers. Most often the exercise of the imperial will was detrimental to education.

Apart from the Minister of Public Enlightenment, educational policy in areas inhabited by Poles was influenced by the local authorities. Paskevič held dictatorial powers in the Kingdom of Poland until the death of Nicholas and could not be bypassed. The Governor-Generals of Wilno and Kiev had the right to report and make proposals directly to the Emperor. Quite often the Emperor commanded the minister to correct his policy in accordance with the opinions of the Governor-Generals. The Committee of the Western Provinces also influen-

1 The relevant laws can be found in II PSZ III, 1828, No 2502, p. 1099, 1103, 1110–1111, štaty i tabely 220. Accounts of the Russian educational system of the time in Alston, Patrick L.: Education and the State in Tsarist Russia. Stanford 1969. P. 30–41. Hans, Nicholas: History of Russian Educational Policy (1701–1917). New York 1964, first published in 1931. P. 61–91. Whittaker 1984: 129–237.

ced educational policy. Moreover, the Ministry of Public Enlightenment did not administer all education. The Holy Synod had its own parish schools at the elementary level, seminaries at the secondary level and academies at a higher level. The Ministry of State Domains had its own elementary schools for peasants.

Within his ministry, the Minister of Public Enlightenment had absolute power. There were two collegiate bodies, namely the Central School Board and the Organizational Committee of Schools. In the 1840s they passed into obscurity under Minister Sergej Uvarov. In 1856, the Main School Board was revived under Avraam Norov, who favoured more collegiate decision-making. It consisted of the minister, his deputy, the curators of the school districts, the director of the Department of Public Enlightenment within the Ministry and additional members nominated by the Emperor. Among other things, the board discussed new laws and ministerial circulars. The minister could easily overrule the board, which, nevertheless, had an important advisory function. Affiliated with the board was an Academic Committee, which mainly approved or rejected textbooks, but at the beginning of the 1860s it also played an important role in the preparation of the new University Statute.<sup>2</sup>

Territorially, the country was divided into school districts. In principle, each school district should have included a university, but in fact this was not always the case. The highest official within a school district was the curator, who was nominated by the Emperor. At first the universities had an important role in the administration of their own school districts, but in 1835 the University Statute and the Law on School Districts gave all the local power in education to the curators. The latter were by no means passive executors of ministerial decisions. The distance from St. Petersburg alone forced them to play an independent role, though they had to get along with the local Governor-Generals. During the reign of Nicholas I, most of them were appointed from the ranks of army officers. They definitely represented the state within educational institutions, not the educational institutions within the state.<sup>3</sup>

The Ministers of Public Enlightenment were Prince Karl Lieven (1828–1833), Count Sergej Uvarov (1833–1849), Prince Platon Širinskij-Šihmatov (1849–1854), Avraam Norov (1854–1858) and Evgraf Kovalevskij (1858–1861). Lieven was a Baltic German and a former army officer. The closure of Wilno University and secondary schools in the Western Provinces took place while he was in office. However, these measures were part of the general repressions in the Western Provinces. The Minister accepted them, but they were not due to his initiative. Uvarov was one of the most famous politicians in the reign of Nicholas I. He was a well-educated man, who had studied at the

2 II PSZ XXX.1/1856, No 30470, p. 266–267. SP III 50–57, 62–76. Roždestvenskij 1902: 231, 234–235, 350–351.

3 Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossijskoj Imperii. Sobranie Pervoe. I–XLV. S.-Peterburg 1830. XXVII, 1804–1805, No 21498–21500, p. 570–626. Henceforth the publication will be referred to as I PSZ. II PSZ VI.1/1831, No 4251, p. 14. X.1/1835, No 8262, p. 756–758, No 8337, p. 841–855. Zasztowt 1997:84–96.

University of Göttingen and published studies on classical subjects. Uvarov is especially remembered as the inventor of “Official Nationality”, the governmental ideology, which he presented to the Emperor for the first time in 1832 while still a deputy minister under Lieven.<sup>4</sup> After becoming Minister, Uvarov often repeated the main points of “Official Nationality” in his circulars. According to Uvarov, the essential elements of Russianness were Autocracy, Orthodoxy and Nationality. Only a person dedicated to all three ideals could be a real Russian. There was a certain antithesis between Russia, with its faithful adherence to Orthodoxy and Autocracy, and Western Europe with its materialism. Uvarov’s view of religion was instrumental. In Orthodoxy, he saw not so much a true faith as a national faith. In the French draft version of his famous presentation to the Emperor, Uvarov indeed wrote “religion nationale”, not “l’Orthodoxie”.<sup>5</sup> Orthodoxy was superior to Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, since it united the nation rather than divided it. In Uvarov’s dogma, the faith and the governmental system were inseparable: “A Russian devoted to his fatherland will no more accept the loss of a single dogma of our Orthodox religion than the theft of a single pearl from the Tsar’s crown”.<sup>6</sup> Autocracy again was necessary, since only the Emperor was above all class antagonisms. According to Uvarov, autocracy was also necessary for governing such an enormous country as Russia. His argument for an absolute state power was further based on a profoundly pessimistic view of human nature, on the inherent wickedness of all men, who have a tendency to evil if they are left without the guidance of the state. An additional argument for autocracy was to be found in Russian history, which allegedly showed that the monarchs and the state had always had a salutary effect on the development of the country.

Nationality followed from the first two components of “Uvarov’s Trinity”. Uvarov certainly considered it necessary to spread the use of the Russian language among the national minorities, but neither language nor background were the real criteria of one’s Russianness. It was one’s personal adherence to certain ideas. On the basis of such a concept of nationality, any opposition or revolutionary movement could be labelled un-Russian. Uvarov’s conservative nationalism indeed differed from the kind of nationalism that emphasized popular sovereignty or ethnic attributes, or both. Nationalism, which until Uvarov’s time had most often been a revolutionary force, was now used by a Russian statesman in defence of autocracy and the traditional social order.<sup>7</sup>

4 On “Official Nationality” and Uvarov, see Riasanovsky 1961, pp. 73–75, 78, 84–85, 91–99, 102–104, 116–117, 124–127, 131, 138–142, 167–172, 175, 177–178, 182, 210, 218, 232–233. Whittaker 1984: especially pages 94–116. My account of Uvarov follows Riasanovsky rather than Whittaker. I find unconvincing the latter’s attempt to make a liberal out of Uvarov. Uvarov 1864. In what I write about “Official Nationality” I am also indebted to Andrej Zorin. The term “Official Nationality” was not used in Uvarov’s time. It is an invention of later scholars.

5 OPI GIM f. 17, op. 1, ed. hr. 98, l. 18.

6 Quoted in Riasanovsky 1961: 74–75.

7 However, Uvarov’s nationalism was not the only one of its sort. It rather expressed a pan-European tendency of dynasties to identify themselves with nations. See Anderson 1992: 84–88.

The implications of “Official Nationality” for national minorities living in the Russian Empire were serious. If the officially proclaimed principles were to be consistently applied, one could not tolerate for very long the separate status of any non-Orthodox minority, whereas an Orthodox minority was simply a logical impossibility. However, Uvarov’s time in office was not one of overt Russification. Of the European regions of Russia, Russification was only imposed in the Western Provinces on the Poles. This was probably due to the generally cautious outlook of the Minister, who disliked sudden changes. It must also be remembered that Uvarov could not alone decide about educational policy. Indeed, his plans for Russifying the German schools in the Baltic Provinces were blocked by local passive resistance.<sup>8</sup>

Uvarov has traditionally been considered an ultra-reactionary ideologist and politician. It is usually emphasized that he strove to structure the education system strictly according to the social rank of the pupils, wanted to protect Russia from western influence and controlled the political content of teaching. However, recent American research has questioned the traditional interpretation of Uvarov as a reactionary.<sup>9</sup>

Uvarov’s reactionary tendency or progressiveness depends on the point of view. If he is seen in the context of the educated Russian classes of his time, his reactionary tendency cannot be denied. He supported serfdom at a time when most of the Russian intelligentsia realized the inevitability of its abolition. He did not allow any publications for peasants except agricultural ones. His ministry ignored the elementary schools, which depended wholly on local funds. He explicitly ordered the universities to discriminate against those of humble birth in admitting new students.<sup>10</sup> However, Uvarov may also be viewed as a minister of Nicholas I. In this case, much can be said in his favour. Unlike many others in higher bureaucracy, Uvarov was not suspicious of education as such. He did not want to suppress education, but to steer it in a direction favourable to the government. He sincerely tried to promote higher and secondary school level education. Almost always when students were found guilty of political crimes, Uvarov played down their importance in order to protect the universities. For the Poles, Uvarov advocated a somewhat softer line than many other Russian politicians. He had no personal dislike or distrust of the Poles. This has recently been noted by Zasztowt, who has also drawn attention to the fact that Uvarov was married to a Pole, Marianna Lubomirska.<sup>11</sup>

8 On Uvarov’s Baltic plans, see Whittaker 1984: 199–202.

9 The traditional view is in Alston 1969: 33–36. Johnson William H. E: *Russia’s Educational Heritage*. New Brunswick, N. J. 1950. P. 95–105. James Flynn has claimed that Uvarov actually did not want to prevent an influx of the lower classes into the gymnasia and universities. In her Uvarov biography, Whittaker presents Uvarov as a promoter of education and a moderate reformer. Flynn, James T: *Tuition and Social Class in the Russian Universities: S. S. Uvarov and “Reaction” in the Russia of Nicholas I*. *Slavic Review* 2/1986. P. 232–248. Whittaker 1984.

10 These facts are given in Whittaker 1984: 102–103, 117–118, 140–141. On class discrimination see SR II 494.

11 Zasztowt 1997:75–76.

Uvarov was forced to leave his post in 1849, when Nicholas thought his policy too soft, to prevent the appearance of revolutionary thought within the universities. Uvarov's successor, Prince Širinskij-Šihmatov, was not as talented and independent a politician as his predecessor. Širinskij-Šihmatov saw his main duty as unswerving obedience to the Emperor's will. According to one piece of evidence, Širinskij-Šihmatov himself said that he was only a blind tool of the Emperor without a will or ideas of his own.<sup>12</sup>

Avraam Norov was an officer and a self-taught scholar of literature and classical antiquity, who had entered the civil service after being wounded in battle. His appointment as minister in 1854 was met with enthusiasm among some of the intelligentsia as a sign of reform. Indeed, Norov's tenure was one of normalization and the repeal of reactionary measures taken by his predecessor. He was not a liberal, but his attitude was favourable towards education in general and especially towards the universities. Norov had to resign in 1858, because the Emperor was dissatisfied with the censorship work and the rising student unrest in the universities. He was replaced by Evgraf Kovalevskij, a mining engineer, who most recently had served as the Curator of Moscow School District. Kovalevskij continued the moderate reform policy of his predecessor.<sup>13</sup>

## Russian universities

After the closure of Wilno and Warsaw Universities, there were five universities under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment: Moscow, Kharkov, Kazan, Dorpat and St. Petersburg. St. Vladimir's University in Kiev was founded in 1834. There was also the University of Helsingfors (Helsinki) in Finland, but it was not part of the all-Russian educational system. The University of Dorpat (Tartu) was German in its traditions and the language of instruction and administration. The Russian universities were young institutes founded by the state on western models. The oldest, the University of Moscow, was founded in 1755, the others not until the 19th century. Hence the universities lacked a medieval autonomous tradition. The Orthodox Church had little influence within the universities, since higher theological education was conducted in Ecclesiastical Academies. The task of the universities was mainly education. Scientific research was expected to take place in the Academy of Sciences and the Russian Academy, though the university professors were expected to follow developments in research and to publish their own works. Education meant primarily training civil servants, since private enterprise was as yet rather undeveloped and the Russian nobility had a strong tradition of service to the state. The university was also legally connected with the bureaucratic Table of

12 Nikitenko A.V: *Dnevnik v treh tomah*. Moskva 1955–1956. I 392.

13 Kornilov A. A: *Obščestvennoe dviženie pri Aleksandre II (1855–1881)*. Istoričeskie očerki. Moskva 1909. P. 7. Roždestvenskij 1902: 339–344, 352–354. *Zashtovt* 1997:76–78.

Ranks. Professors had a seventh rank status, which corresponded to that of a lieutenant-colonel in the army. University graduates with a “candidate’s” (bachelor’s) degree began their career at the tenth rank, which corresponded to a lieutenant. Up to 1856, university graduates also progressed to higher ranks quicker than their colleagues without higher education. The link between the Table of Ranks and education made what happened in the universities especially important to the government.<sup>14</sup>

The University Statutes of 1804 allowed for a large degree of autonomy and freedom of instruction. University autonomy was further strengthened by the fact that the curators resided in St. Petersburg and not in their own school districts. The most important administrative body was the University Council, which consisted of all the professors. The council elected the rector (vice-chancellor), professors and other teachers. Executive power rested with the University Board, which included the rector, deans and one professor nominated by the curator. All judicial processes involving persons belonging to the university were conducted at the University Court. Its highest tribunal was the Council. From there, cases could only pass to the Senate. The universities had four faculties: moral and political sciences, physical sciences and mathematics, medicine, and philology.<sup>15</sup>

The University Statutes of 1804 were a product of the liberal period of Alexander I. They did not suit the reactionary atmosphere that prevailed at the end of Alexander’s reign and during Nicholas’ reign, when the government could no longer tolerate such wide autonomy. Laws to restrict it were enacted soon after Uvarov became minister, but the clamp-down had been planned before. The Charter of St. Vladimir’s University in 1833 gave the professors much less power than the Statutes of 1804. Now the curator resided in Kiev and was given new powers. All appointments to offices required the endorsement either of the Emperor or the minister. There was no university court. Disciplinary action against students was removed from the Council’s competence. An inspector, a new official nominated by the curator, supervised the students’ behaviour.<sup>16</sup>

The curtailment of university autonomy was quite understandable in Kiev, since most of the professors of the new university were Poles. However, the principles of the Kiev Charter were extended to other universities two years later in a general University Statute. University courts were abolished and the powers of the Council were curtailed and transferred to the curator, the board and the ministry. All nominations had to be endorsed either by the Emperor or the minister. The statute left the curator’s functions rather unclear. Among other

14 I PSZ VI, 1720–22, No 3890, p. 486–493 and XXXVIII, 1822–23, No 29191, p. 620–621. II PSZ IX.1/1834, No 7224, s. 656–661, X.1/1835, No 8337, s. 851. SP III 106.

15 I PSZ XXVIII, 1804–1805, No 21498–21500, p. 570–626. Though each university received its own statute or charter, they were practically identical.

16 II PSZ VIII.1/1833, No 6670, p. 790–798. The general university statute did not apply to Kiev and Dorpat, which had their own charters. I cannot agree with Zashtovt 1997:132, who states that the Kievan charter was a liberal achievement, which retained more elements of autonomy than the general university statute of 1835.

things, he supervised the competence, dedication to duty and political trustworthiness of teachers and officials. In situations demanding urgent action, the curator could wield unlimited power and only afterwards ask for endorsement from the Minister. In an emergency he could even temporarily close the university.<sup>17</sup>

The University Board included the rector, deans and a Syndic nominated by the curator. The Board now decided about economic matters and conducted the preliminary investigation of crimes committed by persons belonging to the university. If a student was arrested outside the university but not suspected of a crime, the ordinary police had to hand him over immediately to the rector. The Board nominated a person to represent it in the investigation of criminal cases outside the university. The Statute did not define who had the right to expel a student guilty of a transgression from the university. According to the separate disciplinary regulations of each university, the inspector could at most detain a student for few days. The Council might on the recommendation of the inspector deny a student state financial aid or make him retake an annual course. Thus, the disciplinary regulations conflicted with the Statute, which did not say anything about the Council's disciplinary competence.<sup>18</sup> The most severe punishment was expulsion from the university, which could only be imposed by the curator's decision. Expulsions were often referred to the minister and sometimes even to the Emperor for endorsement.<sup>19</sup>

According to the new Statute, the universities had faculties of medicine, law and philosophy. In practice the faculty system varied. Kiev got a faculty of medicine only in 1841 when the resources of Wilno Medical Academy were transferred there. St. Petersburg had no faculty of medicine, but it had a faculty of oriental languages. In 1854 philosophy faculties were divided into faculties of history and philology and physical sciences and mathematics.<sup>20</sup>

Despite the fact that university autonomy was restricted in 1833 and 1835, it was not altogether abolished. Deans and rectors were elected by professors. The universities had privileges vis-à-vis the police. Books written by teachers were censored at faculty meetings and spared from ignorant ordinary censors. The university reform in 1835 did not express a hostile governmental attitude towards the universities, since it strengthened their financial resources and established many new chairs. Before the revolutions in Western Europe in 1848, autocracy, orthodoxy and nationality were not all-powerful in the universities. Teaching was not ideologically unified, though naturally it was not allowed to criticize the autocracy. Western ideas like Hegelianism, Schellingianism and French socialism entered Russia to a great extent through the universities. During Uvarov's ministry, post-graduate students were often sent to Western

17 II PSZ X.1/1835, No 8337, p. 841–855. The Statute did not apply in the University of Dorpat.

18 Instrukcija inspektorju Sanktpeterburgskago universiteta. RGIA fond 735, opis 10, delo 175, l. 12–23. Instrukcija dlja inspektora studentov universiteta Sv. Vladimira, RGIA, f. 733, opis' 69, delo 213, list 16.

19 For instance RGIA f. 733, op. 69, delo 335, l. 97–98.

20 II PSZ XVI, 1841, No 15173, p. 154. SP II.2 128–129, 942–943.

European universities to study to become professors. Some of the most important Westernizers among the Russian intelligentsia taught at the universities. A Moscow historian, Timofej Granovskij, criticized Slavophile theories in his popular public lectures on medieval Western European history in 1843. The faculty of law of Moscow University contained prominent Westernizers and Hegelians, like Petr Redkin and Konstantin Kavelin in the 1840s. The theories of Adam Smith, incompatible with serfdom, were dominant in the teaching of economics. A St. Petersburg professor, Viktor Porošin, even spoke with sympathy about French socialist theories in his lectures in the 1840s. Among those who listened to him were many members of a loose discussion group led by Nikolaj Butaševič-Petraševskij. The arrest of the Petraševskij's group in 1849 began the largest political trial of the Russian intelligentsia since that of the Decembrists. Over 30 of the 63 persons sentenced in connection with the case had studied at the University of St. Petersburg.<sup>21</sup>

Naturally, most of the professors never expressed anything politically dangerous. Moreover, many active supporters of Uvarov's "Official Nationality" worked at the universities. Perhaps the most famous of them were Ustrjalov in St. Petersburg, Stepan Ševyrev, a professor of Russian literature, and Mihail Pogodin in Moscow.

Uvarov promoted Slavonic studies in the universities. The University Statute of 1835 provided for the foundation of chairs of Slavonic languages and literature. Slavonic research in the universities sometimes included an interest in Ukrainian subjects.

The universities had no monopoly of higher education. Apart from military and ecclesiastical education, there existed four other institutions, three of them medical. These were St. Petersburg Medical Academy under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of War, Wilno Medical Academy under the Ministry of the Interior, and Moscow Medical Academy under the Ministry of Public Enlightenment. The Wilno Academy was closed down in 1842, and the Moscow Academy incorporated into the Medical Faculty of the University in 1845.<sup>22</sup> The Agricultural Institute in Hory Horki in Belorussia was elevated to higher education status in 1848. The Institute, which functioned under the Ministry of Finance, was much smaller than the universities and St. Petersburg Medical Academy.<sup>23</sup>

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- 21 Ejmontova R. G: *Russkie universitety na grani dvuh epoh. Ot Rossii krepostnoj k Rossii kapitalističeskoj*. Moskva 1985. P. 56–78. Whittaker 1984: 160–174. Egorov B. F: *Petraševcy*. Leningrad 1988. On the role of students, the university and its graduates, see p. 40–41, 48, 65–72, 96, 112, 125–128, 131–133, 135–144, 146–150, 162–164, 199–201. Seddon J. H: *The Petrashevtsy. A Study of the Russian Revolutionaries of 1848*. Manchester 1985. P. 23–28, 36–43, 65, 162, 210–212, 218–223.
- 22 II PSZ VII, 1835, No 5584, p. 571–591, X.2/1835, No 8688, p. 1191–1217, XII, 1837, No 9863, p. 43–44, XVI.2/1841, No 15173, p. 154, XX.1/1845, No 19116, p. 469. *Zasztowt* 1997:107–121.
- 23 I PSZ XXX, 1808–9, No 23185, s. 462, 470–473. II PSZ X.2/1835, No 8688, s. 1191, 1200–1202, 1217, XXIII.1/1848, No 22414, s. 455–459. *ŽMNP* XCI, 1856, VII 93, CIV, 1859, VI 244. I have not included privileged secondary schools, like the Alexander Lyceum, among the institutes of higher education.



Studies abroad were explicitly forbidden only at certain German universities and for those under 18 years of age, but the authorities were reluctant to issue passports to Poles who wanted to travel abroad to study. Some young Poles managed to study in German universities. On returning home they were denied the right to work as civil servants, but they could work privately, for instance, as physicians or lawyers.<sup>24</sup>

24 II PSZ VI, 1831, No 4364, p. 167–168. SP I 1541–1547. SR II 267–269. I have found an official decree about the ban on state service only for the Kingdom of Poland, but it is rather likely that this principle also applied in the Western Provinces, in which the anti-Polish policy was stricter than in the Kingdom.

## ■ Educational policy in regions inhabited by Poles (1832–1837)

The Russian school system had been established partly on the Polish model.<sup>1</sup> This is why the Polish school system in 1830 resembled the Russian one. There were three types of school: elementary, lower secondary (*szkoła wydziałowa*) and higher secondary (*szkoła wojewódzka*). The last of these had a six-year course and led to Warsaw University. Unlike in Russia, the schools were integrated with each other and formed a ladder system, so that it was possible to continue from a lower to a higher school. Many schools were maintained by monastic orders.<sup>2</sup>

The insurrection interrupted the normal course of education, since many teachers and students joined the Polish army. Right after the occupation of Warsaw in September 1831, the provisional government also closed all higher secondary schools. This was a practical and temporary measure to prevent young people from forming large gatherings, but at the same time a fundamental reform of education was being planned. Nicholas wrote to Paskevič in October that the active participation of young people in the insurrection had been due to bad education. The Emperor nominated a committee in St. Petersburg to reform the Polish school system as far as possible in accordance with the Russian model. In the same month, he ordered the closure of Warsaw University. Measures were taken to prevent young people from studying in Cracow. Most of the books in the university library were removed to St. Petersburg. The Polish educational administration was at first left intact, but Russians were nominated as Commissioners of Education and Religious Confessions.<sup>3</sup>

From the St. Petersburg Committee, the draft School Law passed to Poland's Administrative Council and from there to the Department of Polish Affairs of the State Council. The Emperor endorsed it as a temporary measure for only one year in May 1833, but it remained in force until 1840; it did not include radical Russification. The schools were renamed according to the Russian model as "gymnasium" and "district school". Although some voices against the ladder system were raised during the drafting of reform, the opportunity to continue from district school to gymnasium was retained. The curriculum of the latter was

1 This was in the first decade of the 19th century. See Beauvois 1977: 430–431. Kucharzewski 1914: 10–11. Ščaveleva N. I: Knjaz' Adam Čartoryjskij i formirovanie sistemy vyšego i srednego obrazovanija Rossii v načale XIX veka. In: Pol'skie...1995: 51–56.

2 Kucharzewski 1914: 30–40. In principle there also existed an intermediate type of school (*szkoła podwydziałowa*) higher than the elementary, but lower than the secondary schools. These schools were unpopular, and only three of them were functioning on the eve of the insurrection.

3 Kucharzewski 1914: 46–51, 55–94. Poznański 1994: 163–168. Walka...1993: 9, 11–14, 24, 35. Wroczyński Ryszard: Dzieje oświaty polskiej 1795–1945. Warszawa 1980. P. 114.

extended to eight years. Obligatory lessons in the Russian language were introduced.<sup>4</sup>

In practice, secondary school level education was severely restricted in 1833. Of the 15 higher secondary schools in 1830, only nine were now opened as gymnasia. The monastic orders were not permitted to maintain any schools. The school fees for upper classes of the gymnasium were raised more than eight-fold. This meant that the fee in Poland was more than six times higher than in Russia. Exemption from paying the fee could only be granted to sons of officials in the four youngest classes. The increase in fees was included in the law proposal in the Administrative Council at Paskevič's suggestion.<sup>5</sup>

Initially the government had no clear intention of depriving the Kingdom of all higher education. In April 1832, Nicholas I expressed to the Administrative Council his intention to open the Medical and Theological Faculties of the University. The St. Petersburg Commission pointed to a possible pedagogical institute, though it did not make a clear proposal on the matter. The establishment of special pedagogical, legal, medical and theological institutes was later suggested.<sup>6</sup> In 1832 it was decided to send scholarship-holders to the universities of Moscow and St. Petersburg, though the decision was not put into practice until 1836.<sup>7</sup> Such scholarships were intended as a measure to supplement the institutes of higher education in Poland. However, these plans came to nothing in August 1835, when the Administrative Council rejected a ready written charter of a Pedagogical Institute. The stated justification for the decision was the fear of patriotic activity among the students. The education of politically trustworthy teachers was considered difficult in Warsaw,

...which has been the scene of unlawfulness and in which young teachers would at every step come into contact with false principles that could destroy the fruits of the education they have received in a governmental institute. This difficulty gave the Council an idea: would it not be in accordance with views and plans of the government to postpone for a time being the founding of a Pedagogical Institute in Warsaw, and rather educate prospective teachers in the same kind of institutions in Russia that is in St. Petersburg and Moscow...That is the only way to train teachers for local schools whom the government could completely trust. A continuous sojourn in a country unshaken by revolutionary upheavals, an appreciation of the benefits accruing to their country from a benevolent government, an acquaintanceship with the might of Russia,... and finally social intercourse with persons who believe in principles of authority and order – only thus can the seeds of error in a young mind be completely destroyed...<sup>8</sup>

4 Kucharzewski 1914: 123–127, 134, 156–157. Poznański 1994: 170–171, 179–180, 186–188, 192–193. Walka...1993: 16–24. Wroczyński 1980: 115–116. The intermediate type of szkoła podwydziałowa was abolished.

5 Kucharzewski 1914: 142–145, 157–159, 166–167. Poznański 1994: 170–173, 181–182, 184–192. Walka...1993: 16–18, 23–24, 35–37.

6 Kucharzewski 1914: 140–141, 378–379, 381–386, 408–413, 434–450. Poznański 1994: 168, 185–186, 188. Walka...1993: 12, 15, 34–35, 37.

7 Makarowa 1994:63. Because of the closure of the upper classes, the secondary schools could not produce graduates until 1836.

8 Quoted by Kucharzewski 1914: 387

The Council's proposal was probably inspired by the all-powerful Paskevič; the Emperor endorsed it. However, Uvarov considered it more convenient to accommodate the scholarship-holders in the Universities of St. Petersburg and Moscow rather than in St. Petersburg Pedagogical Institute, which was the only one of its kind in Russia. In such a way, sending the scholarship-holders to Russia, at first planned only as a supplementary measure, became the only route to higher education for Polish youth. Initially it was decided to send only ten students annually to the universities. In 1837 the number of scholarship-holders was increased to 15. Only those young men who held a special passport issued in the Kingdom for studies in the Empire could enter the universities.<sup>9</sup>

The scholarship-holders in Russian universities could not satisfy the needs of the Kingdom for new teachers. Consequently, supplementary pedagogical courses were set up in one of the Warsaw gymnasia in 1836. The curriculum lasted two years and the number of students in 1839–40 was 105. The courses were a hybrid of higher and secondary school level education, created by the special political conditions in the Kingdom.<sup>10</sup>

The decision about scholarships for pedagogical studies buried all the plans for medical and legal higher education in the Kingdom. Nothing was done or even planned for medical education during the following years. The question of legal education passed from one official to another for the rest of the decade. However, theology received better treatment from the authorities. An Ecclesiastical Academy was opened in 1835 and became the only institute of higher learning in the country. The foundation of the Academy demonstrated the government's desire to secure the loyalty of the Polish ecclesiastical hierarchy. As for Protestant theological education, in 1832 it was decreed that only graduates from the theological faculty of the University of Dorpat could in future be ordained as pastors. This decision did not involve Russification, but it was motivated by a fear of subversive influences on students in German universities.<sup>11</sup>

In the 1830s, the government viewed secondary and higher education with deep mistrust. It did not expect Polish schools to produce politically trustworthy officials. The Polish secular intelligentsia was suspect as such, and this is why higher education was abolished and secondary education severely restricted. Despite the lip-service paid to the benevolent effect of Russian education, the government hesitated to give any significant number of young Poles an opportunity to study in Russia. With time, such a policy was bound to cause problems and inefficiency in administration, to say nothing of political discontent.

Education in the Western Provinces had maintained its Polish character until the insurrection. In 1803 all the Western Provinces were united into the Wilno School District with the University as its centre. Czartoryski was the Curator of the District from 1803 to 1824. The schools in the District were organized

9 Kucharzewski 1914: 386–392. Makarowa 1994: 64–65.

10 Kucharzewski 1914: 392–399.

11 Kucharzewski 1914: 422–427, 450–463. Stenger 1993: 10.

according to a different system from the Russian one, and most often they used Polish as the language of instruction. More than two thirds of secondary schools were maintained by Roman Catholic or Uniat monastic orders. The Western Provinces had proportionally more schools than Russia proper. In 1822 more than 30% of all the pupils in the Empire studied in the Wilno School District. Apart from the University, the School District had a Lyceum in Krzemieniec in the Province of Wołyń, which offered pupils a ten-year curriculum.<sup>12</sup>

The Polish educational authorities of the Wilno School District had some disagreements with the Ministry on national questions even before the insurrection. In 1804 plans were made to found a gymnasium in Kiev. A dispute about the language of instruction postponed the opening of the school until 1811, when the Minister, Aleksej Razumovskij, ordered that it be Russian. In 1818, the Province of Kiev was removed from the Wilno School District to that of Harkov, despite protests by Czartoryski. The local independent educational system received a more serious blow in 1823–1824, when secret student organizations, Filomats and Filarets, were uncovered in the University. The Filomats were a conspiratory study circle influenced by patriotic ideas and by freemasonry, Carbonarism and the example of German student organizations. They organized and directed the Filaret society, which was larger and less conspiratory. Filomats and Filarets became legends of Polish patriotic thinking because Mickiewicz was one of the Filomats and wrote about them in “Forefathers’ Eve”. As an immediate consequence of the discovery of illegal student activism, Czartoryski was dismissed and replaced by a Russian, Nikolaj Novosilcov. Russian became the language of official correspondence in the District. The school curriculum was purged of everything that seemed inconsistent with the Russian system, like natural law and constitutional law. In 1824 the Witebsk and Mohylew Provinces were placed under the jurisdiction of the St. Petersburg School District.<sup>13</sup>

Measures of Russification had already been taken and planned on a small scale on the eve of the insurrection. In January 1829 a new Belorussian School District was formed from the Provinces of Witebsk and Mohylew. The state funding of monastic schools was ended. The All-Russian School Law of 1828 was introduced, which made Russian the language of instruction. However, Polish language and Roman Catholic and Uniat religious instruction were still taught. In September 1830 an official announcement was made that an institute of higher education would be founded in the district. In November 1830 Nicholas ordered Lieven to end instruction in Polish in the Province of Kiev.

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12 Beauvois 1977:2:548, 691. Istorija Kiivs’koho universitetu. Kyiv 1959. P. 13–17.

13 I PSZ XXXV, 1818, No 27542, p. 573. XXXIX, 1824, No 30 102, p. 577. SR I 524–525. Beauvois 1977:2:618–624, 799–805. Istorija...1959: 16. Roždestvenskij 1902: 210. Studnicki 1906: 33–35, 61. Vladimirs’kij-Budanov M. F: Istorija imperatorskogo universiteta sv. Vladimira. Tom I. Kiev 1884. P. 43–45. On the Filomats and Filarets, see Swiderski Bronislaw: Myth and Scholarship. University Students and Political Development in XIX Century Poland. Copenhagen University, Institute of Slavonic Studies. Studier 13. Kobenhavn 1987. P. 42–85.

The Minister obeyed but stated that the reform could not be implemented at once.<sup>14</sup>

The insurrection convinced the government of the necessity of consistent large-scale Russification. Educational policy in regions inhabited by Poles was now part of the general unification politics of the Russian government in the area. The Russification of education was seen as a necessary condition for the Russification of all administration. As the decision of the State Council confirmed by Nicholas on 7 July 1832 expressed it:

...in an autocratic state the more similar are its constituent parts and the more unified are the laws, the more convenient is the administration. In consequence of this, it is desirable that the provinces united [to Russia], by their civil law and language of judicial procedure should as far as possible be brought closer to that of the whole. However, the time of this depends on how widespread the use of Russian is in the provinces taken back from Poland.<sup>15</sup>

The council urged the Minister of Public Enlightenment to take measures to spread the use of Russian in the Western Provinces. In this situation, the aim of the government was to abolish all the national features of local education and introduce the Russian school system. Russification measures were executed gradually over a few years at various times in various areas. This “moderate” policy of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment was criticized by the Committee of the Western Provinces and the Governor-General of Wilno, Prince Nikolaj Dolgorukov, who urged immediate Russification.<sup>16</sup>

The Emperor ordered the gradual closing of the monastic schools in the Belorussian District and the Right-Bank Ukraine in April 1831. They were to be replaced by secular Russian schools. In August all schools in the Right-Bank Ukraine were closed. The measure was not extended to the Lithuanian-Belorussian provinces. In the autumn term of 1832, Russian was introduced as the language of instruction in state schools. The Russification of state schools was completed in 1834, when the Russian School Law was introduced in all the Western Provinces. The teaching of Polish as a separate subject was abolished between 1835 and 1838, at first in the Right-Bank Ukraine and then in the Lithuanian-Belorussian provinces.<sup>17</sup>

The administrative organization went through a confused period, when some provinces changed their school district twice within a short time. The confusion ended in 1832 with the abolition of the Wilno School District and the foundation of the Kiev School District. Henceforth, the Belorussian School District

14 II PSZ IV, 1829, No 2599, p. 25–26. V.2/1830, No 3902, p.21–22. Beauvois 1977:2: 624–625. Studnicki (1906: 65) claims that in this context Lieven stated that his plan was to remove Polish language from all the schools throughout the Western Provinces. Other researchers do not mention such a plan.

15 SP II.1 388–389. Also quoted by Roždestvenskij 1902: 212–213.

16 Roždestvenskij 1902: 302. Studnicki 1906: 71–72.

17 II PSZ IX.1/1834, No 7250, p. 688, X.2/1835, No 8527, p. 1061. Roždestvenskij 1902: 212–214, 304. Studnicki 1906:70–72. Zasztowt 1997: 155–156.

included all the Lithuanian-Belorussian provinces, and the District of Kiev included the Right-Bank Ukraine and the Province of Černigov on the Left Bank.<sup>18</sup>

At this time, many private schools still continued to function with Polish as the language of instruction. Moreover, many members of the Polish nobility preferred to avoid the state schools and hired private mentors for their children. The success of Russification then depended on how to persuade the Poles to educate their children in state schools. Uvarov understood that this could not be reached by force alone, since over a large territory the government was not able to prevent private teaching. Positive incentives were also needed. Uvarov expressed his ideas to the Emperor in March 1835. The aim of his policy in the Western Provinces was the reconstruction of the state educational institutions. The schools were to be opened “...in a Russian spirit, though for the most part under the guise (*pod naružnost’ju*) of previous names” in order to promote “the moral and political fusion” of the Western Provinces into the empire.<sup>19</sup> The local population should not be frightened; rather, the government should gain its confidence. For this it was necessary

... at first to make concessions to those local demands which do not clearly conflict with this plan, and meanwhile firmly introduce in spirit and form of instruction the main preconditions for the set goal...because of temporary necessity and the lack of the necessary personnel for a total reorganisation of the educational system, to employ during the transitory period those former officials who have not been found guilty of reprehensible thinking or of participation in recent events in that region...  
...when rebuilding the educational system in the provinces taken back from Poland with the aforementioned precautions, to move its centre to Russia and adapt the whole system to the chosen centre with due gradualism.<sup>20</sup>

Uvarov proposed the founding of separate boarding houses in gymnasia for pupils of the nobility. The boarding houses were in keeping with the traditional social exclusiveness of the Polish nobility. They also made the supervision of pupils easier. Nicholas wrote on Uvarov’s report: “fully in accordance with my plans; keep strictly to this plan and do not give way in the least”.<sup>21</sup>

The closing of Wilno University and the Lyceum of Krzemieniec had already been planned during the insurrection, but otherwise the government did not at first have a clear policy on the higher education. The question was: should one or two Russian institutes of higher learning be founded and where exactly, in Belorussia or in Kiev? As already mentioned, a decision in principle about a new institution of higher education in Belorussia had been made in September 1830. This plan fitted in well with the abolition of old Polish institutions. In November 1831, Lieven informed the Curator of Belorussia, Grigorij Kartaševskij, about

18 II PSZ VII, 1832, No 5317, p. 225, No 5825, p.903–904. Roždestvenskij 1902: 212–214.

19 RGIA f. 735, op.10, delo 108, list 3.

20 *ibid.* I. 3-4.

21 *Ibid.* I. 1.

plans to remove the University to Kiev and the Lyceum from Krzemieniec to either Witebsk or Mohylew. The Minister asked Kartaševskij's opinion. The Curator answered that a new institution of higher education in Belorussia should be Russian. A Lyceum could not satisfy local needs, but on the other hand the area did not have the facilities necessary for founding a university. Theological, medical and legal higher education were not needed in Belorussia. It would be enough to remove the Faculty of Arts and of Physical Sciences and Mathematics from Wilno to the small town of Orsza. It lacked the kind of society that could exert a harmful influence over the students. Surveillance of the students would also be easy in such a place. The Emperor approved Kartasevskij's plan. The decision to open a lyceum in Orsza in the future was made in May 1832 at the same time as the closure of Wilno University was decreed.<sup>22</sup>

Medical and Theological Academies were founded in Wilno. In fact, they continued the university tradition in their own fields. Medical education was retained for practical considerations: Wilno Medical Faculty had the reputation of being the best in the Empire. In the Medical Academy, instruction was given in Russian and Latin, which in practice at first meant Latin. In fact, in the veterinary department of the Academy, lectures in Polish continued at least till 1839. At this time it seemed that the resources of Wilno University were to be divided between various institutes in Wilno and Orsza. Historical Lithuania would only lack higher legal education.<sup>23</sup>

In the Right-Bank Ukraine, the removal of the Krzemieniec Lyceum to Żytomierz was at first planned. The Curator of Kharkov, Vladimir Filat'ev, proposed that instead the Lyceum should be moved to Kiev, which was a more Russian town than Żytomierz and located further away from the border. Filat'ev was supported by Governor-General Vasilij Levašov. In May 1832 the Emperor approved Lieven's suggestion about Kiev as the new location of the Lyceum. In May 1833 Nicholas also consented to establishing a separate Law Institute in Kiev. After this, the Curator of the Kievan School District, Georg von Bradke, proposed that instead of separate institutes, a university should be founded in Kiev. Uvarov and Nicholas approved these plans, and St. Vladimir's University in Kiev was opened in July 1834.<sup>24</sup>

22 II PSZ VII, 1832, No 5317, p. 225. SP II.1 383–384. Kozłowska-Studnicka Janina: Likwidacja Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego w świetle korespondencji urzędowej. In: Księga pamiątkowa ku uczczeniu CCCL rocznicy założenia i X wskrzeszenia uniwersytetu Wileńskiego. 1–2. Wilno 1929. 1: 407–409. Istorija...1979: 104–105.

23 II PSZ VII, 1832, No 5584, p. 581–582. Stolzman Małgorzata: W kręgu uniwersyteckiej tradycji. Życie kulturalne w Wilnie po roku 1831. In: Studia z dziejów uniwersytetu Wileńskiego 1579–1979. Warszawa 1979. P. 126. Zasztowt 1997: 107–110, 114–115. On lectures in Polish, see RGIA f. 733, op. 31, delo 116, l. 38, which gives the programme of lectures in the Academy for the year 1839.

24 von Bradke Egor Fedorovič: Avtobiografičeskija zapiski. Russkij Arhiv 1–3/1875. On founding of the university 3/1875, p. 275–280. Istorija...1959: 17–20. The Committee of the Western Provinces had already proposed the founding of a university in Kiev at the end of 1831, but at that time the proposal was rejected. Panteleev L. F.: Iz istorii pervyh let universiteta sv. Vladimira. Russkoe Bogatstvo 12/1908, p. 183. Roždestvenskij 1902: 297–298. Šulgin Vitalij: Istorija universiteta sv. Vladimira. S.-Peterburg 1860. P. 36–39. Vladimirskij-Budanov 1884: 60–61. Zasztowt 1997:128–131.



The University was planned to be an instrument to combat Polish patriotism. As von Bradke put it:

Founding an institute of higher education for the Western Provinces must aim, apart from the purposes common to all such institutes, to bring the inhabitants of the said provinces nearer Russian principles and customs, to weaken the fanaticism connected with their religious confession, to make the common Fatherland dear to them.<sup>25</sup>

In accordance with general educational policy in the Western Provinces, the new university employed Polish professors, most of whom came from Krzemieniec. At first they constituted the majority of the professors. Officially the language of instruction was Russian, but this was impossible in practice, since most of the professors did not speak Russian at all. Therefore, they were allowed to lecture in any language except Polish. Since the majority of students were Poles, their language was certainly in evidence in the University. All this meant that during the first years of its existence the University was hardly a Russian institution.<sup>26</sup>

When St. Vladimir's University was founded, Uvarov cancelled plans for a Lyceum in Orsza. The declared motive for this decision was that the facilities in Orsza were not suitable for the purpose. The decision was also in accordance with Uvarov's general policy, which favoured universities instead of specialized institutes. The resources of Wilno University originally destined for Orsza were removed to Kiev.<sup>27</sup>

The idea of sending Polish students to Russian universities was first proposed by Kartaševskij. In July 1832 the Curator wrote to Lieven that 20 graduates of the local gymnasia were willing to study in Moscow University at the expense of the state in order to become teachers. Kartaševskij proposed that eight of them should be sent there at the expense of the School District. Lieven was not at all enthusiastic about Polish scholarship-holders from Belorussia. At first he expressed formal financial objections, but in the end agreed to eight stipendiaries. The real motivation for Lieven's hesitancy was probably fear of political contamination in the university. The Minister ordered the Moscow Deputy Curator Dmitrij Golohvastov to take care that the stipendiaries were inculcated with "the spirit and principles which oblige every true son of Russia and subject of the Monarch". Actually only five students were sent to Moscow.<sup>28</sup>

Kartaševskij returned to the subject in May 1833, when Uvarov was already in charge of the Ministry. The Curator pointed out that the planned Lyceum in Orsza could not be opened in the near future. Many parents were not rich enough and had not enough connections with St. Petersburg or Moscow to send their sons to universities at their own expense. Kartaševskij proposed that part of the

25 Quoted by Pantelev 1908: 183.

26 Dubiecki 1909: 18. Istorija...1959:20. Vladimirskij-Budanov 1884: 95–96. Zasztowt 1997:133–137.

27 Obščij otčet, predstavlenyj Ego Imperatorskomu Veličestvu po ministerstvu narodnogo prosvěščenija za 1834 god. Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosvěščenija VI, No IV, 1835. P. CXVIII–CXIX.

28 Relevant official correspondence: RGIA f. 733, op. 66, delo 68, l. 1–2, 4–9, 12, 14, 18, 20.

money budgeted for the Lyceum should be spent on sending a total of 50 students to Moscow University over two years. The scholarship-holders would all be the best pupils from secular, not monastic, schools with knowledge of the Russian language.<sup>29</sup>

Uvarov presented Kartaševskij's proposal to the Committee of Ministers, which accepted it but stipulated that half of the students should be sent to St. Petersburg University, since they could be more easily supervised there. The Committee also stipulated that political trustworthiness should be taken into account in the selection of the scholarship-holders. However, in July Kartaševskij informed Uvarov of difficulties in finding 25 volunteers. In Witebsk and Mohylew graduates of the gymnasia were willing to study in Russian universities, but only at their own expense without an obligation to serve the state. In other Lithuanian-Belorussian gymnasia, all graduates preferred the Wilno Medical Academy. With a trace of irony, Uvarov replied to Kartaševskij that there was no need to hurry. At the end of August he explicitly forbade the sending of scholarship-holders to universities. By this time nine students had already been sent to St. Petersburg, and they were allowed to begin their studies.<sup>30</sup>

Uvarov presented his decision to cancel the sending of scholarship-holders to study in Russia to the Emperor on 15 October. He justified it with the political disturbances that had occurred in the Province of Grodno. Some of the clergy who took part in the education of young people were involved in the disturbances. According to Uvarov, all this proved that the dominant mood in the area was politically unfavourable (*neblagonadežnyj*). Nicholas approved Uvarov's decision.<sup>31</sup>

The disturbances mentioned by Uvarov were part of Zaliwski's campaign. In March and April an armed unit led by Michal Wołłowicz was active in the Province of Grodno. In April an agent called Marcelli Szymański began subversive activities in the Wilno and Grodno areas, but he was stopped on 25 May. Szymański's conspiracy certainly included many priests and some secondary school students. Uvarov's decision was also influenced by the case of Tadeusz Łada-Zabłocki, a Polish student in Moscow, who was accused of distributing subversive poetry and founding a secret Polish society at the university. In July the Minister received a letter from the Moscow Deputy Curator, Golohvastov, who referred to Łada-Zabłocki's case in pointing out the inconvenience of taking students from Belorussia. We shall return to both Szymański's and Łada-Zabłocki's cases.<sup>32</sup>

29 On Kartaševskij's proposal and its acceptance RGIA f. 733, op. 66, delo 120, l. 1–3, 8–12.

30 On obstacles for sending the scholarship holders *ibid.* l. 23–25, 29, 31–33, 35, 38.

31 *ibid.* l. 44–45. Even in secular state schools Roman Catholic religion was taught by priests.

32 Golohvastov's letter: OPI GIM f. 17, op. 1, ed. hr. 84, l. 323. Djakov and Nagajew 1979:p. 40–43, 54, 56–57 about Szymański, p. 321–367 about Łada-Zabłocki. Gur'janov V. P.: V. G. Belinskij i tajnoe literaturnoe obščestvo studentov Moskovskogo universiteta. Učenyje Zapiski MGU, 156, 1952, 114–120. Poljakov, M.: Studenčeskie gody Belinskogo. Literaturnoe Nasledstvo 56, Moskva 1950. P. 372–394. Gulczynski Eugenjusz: Sprawa Marcelego Szymańskiego, emisariusza wyprawy Zaliwskiego (1833). In: Księga pamiątkowa koła historyków słuchaczy uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego w Wilnie. 1923–1933. Wilno 1933. P. 293–333. Wierzychowski Mirosław: Przyczynek do dziejów Zaliwscyżny na litwie. Przegląd Historyczny LI, 2/1960. P. 385–397.

In the 1830s the Russian government did not encourage young Poles from the Western Provinces to study in universities other than St. Vladimir's. The Poles were considered a politically dangerous element, which could contaminate Russian youth. The sending of even a few scholarship-holders to universities became a serious political issue. The Poles themselves were not eager to study in Russia proper. They preferred the Wilno Medical Academy and St. Vladimir's University in Kiev.

Educational policy in the Western Provinces can on good grounds be characterized as Russificatory. It was one element in the large-scale repression of the Polish minority in the Western Provinces. Uvarov's acknowledged aim was denationalization of the Poles in the Western Provinces through education.<sup>33</sup> The policy was not entirely consistent with the professed ideology of Official Nationality, which emphasized religion and political trustworthiness. No attempts to use education to convert Roman Catholics to Orthodoxy were made, but a lot of effort was put into the linguistic Russification of the Poles. The Poles were denied education in their own language, which they were not even allowed to study at school.

Uvarov's optimistic reports to the Emperor give the impression that he underestimated the force of the Polish national identity and overestimated the power of the Russian state.<sup>34</sup> A national identity could not be quickly reformed by administrative measures. In his inflated trust of the efficacy of such measures to deal with national questions, Uvarov may seem like an 18th-century politician, ignorant of the importance of nationalism. However, it would be an error to consider him as such. His acknowledged aim of denationalization itself was something new and modern. For the first time, the Russian Empire demanded from its European Christian subjects not only loyalty, but also a change in national identity.<sup>35</sup>

It is difficult to estimate the effect of reforms on the volume of secondary education, since the school programmes before 1834 varied a lot. Beauvois has defined all gymnasias, district and monastic schools as secondary. With this criterion he found 72 secondary schools in the Wilno District in 1822. By the same criterion we find that in 1837 the School District of Kiev had 37, and that of Belorussia 41 secondary schools. This would indicate that the government quickly balanced the losses by opening Russian schools. However, according to Zasztowt, the number of secondary schools dropped more dramatically, since in

33 Whittaker and Flynn describe Uvarov's policy as mid-way between extremes. Flynn 1986: 217–235. Whittaker 1984: 191–199. We have seen that the disagreements between Uvarov and some other authorities concerned tactics and not the final goal, which was Russification. For Poles, as for any nation with its own tradition in education, this was unacceptable and extreme indeed.

34 Obščij otčet, predstavlenyj Ego Imperatorskomu Veličestvu po ministerstvu narodnago prosvješčenija za 1834 god. ŽMNP VI, No IV, 1835. P. XCVII-XCVIII, XL. (Same) za 1835 god. ŽMNP X, No IV, 1836. P. LXXXIX, CXXXIV. za 1836 god. ŽMNP XIV, No IV/1837. P. LXXI, LXXVII, CXXV, CLI. It is possible that Uvarov was not really so optimistic as he officially suggested. He tended to write in an expansive style.

35 If we ignore the Ukrainians of the Left-Bank Ukraine, who were officially considered Russians.

1830 there had been 102 of them functioning. The number of pupils dropped from 13,000 to 7,000 in the period 1822–1839, despite a growth in the population. Russification damaged secondary education in the Western Provinces, but even so they still had a more developed network of schools than Russia proper.<sup>36</sup>

The policy of denationalizing Poles through education was not unique to Russia. Prussian Poland had elementary schools with Polish as the language of instruction, but only one secondary school, in which instruction was in Polish only for the youngest classes. In 1840 two more such schools were founded. There was no any higher education in Polish. In Austrian Poland, all education, including that given at the University of Lwów, was in German. The only Polish university at this time existed in the tiny Republic of Cracow.<sup>37</sup>

36 Beauvois 1977:2:548. Zasztowt 1997:225–226, 376–380. The number of schools in 1837 is given in *Obščij otčet, predstavennyj Ego Imperatorskomu Veličestvu po ministerstvu narodnago prosvješčenija za 1837 god. Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosvješčenija XVIII, IV/1838. Aprel'*, p. LXXI, LXXXI. The information for the Wilno District in 1822 is not absolutely comparable with that for the Belorussian and Kievan districts in 1837. In 1822 the Provinces of Kiev and Černigov did not belong to the Wilno District. The number of pupils in 1822 include Wilno University, but in 1837 exclude Wilno Medical Academy and Ecclesiastical Academy. For our present purposes a rough general view is enough.

37 Wroczyński 1980: 47–51, 89–91.

## ■ Poles in higher education

### The student body and the students' social rankings (1836–1838)

It is not possible to determine exactly the number of Poles in Russian universities partly because of the flexibility of Polish identity, and partly because of the incompleteness of the information available. The annual reports of the universities give for each student – a name, religious denomination, social rank, faculty, previous place of study, number of years spent in the university, and an evaluation of achievement in studies and behaviour. They do not mention the nationality, place of birth or, as a rule, permanent residence. Only the most recent previous place of study is mentioned. For instance, if a student from the Kingdom of Poland studied at first at the University of Moscow and then at the University of St. Petersburg, the list of St. Petersburg students mentions only Moscow and contains no information about previous studies in Poland. Many students received their basic education at home, in which case it is impossible to say from which area they came. On the basis of religious confession and previous place of study, it is possible to find out the approximate number of students from regions inhabited by Poles.<sup>1</sup>

The social rank and religious confession of students can be determined exactly. This gives a hint about the number of Ukrainians and Belorussians, but does not give any possibility of estimating the number of ethnic Lithuanians. Roman Catholic students with a home education can be regarded, with great probability, as coming from the former Poland, since there were very few Roman Catholics in the universities from any other areas.<sup>2</sup> As to social rank, it is not possible to differentiate between those nobles whose status was confirmed and those whose nobility was in jeopardy, since the lists of students only

- 1 The lists of students in RGIA f. 733, op. 95 cover all the universities for most of the years from 1833 till the beginning of the reign of Alexander II. Most often they are included in supplements to the annual reports of the universities. This source does not seem to be known to those scholars, who have previously studied the number of Poles in the universities. Tabiš (1974: 30–47) has had similar lists of students of St. Vladimir's university in CDIAU at his disposal. He has counted as Poles all Roman Catholics and all Protestants whose names sound Polish. I hope that my calculations, which take into account all students coming from the former Poland-Lithuania, can add to the information presented by Tabiš. For the University of St. Petersburg, see Nowiński 1986: 41–45. Nowiński bases his calculations on the lists of Polish students in documents of the Third Section in GARF. He only mentions that in 1844 there were 160, and in 1845 167 Polish students in the university, but does not give any information about their background or the criteria of Polishness. See also Kurpisova *Genovefa i Novinskij Frančišek: Pol'skie studenty v Peterburgskom universitete v XIX veke*. In: *Pol'skie...1995*: 129–130. Here the authors mention without referring to a source that in 1847 there were 277 Poles in the University. The authors claim incorrectly that there are not any lists of all students, but only of those studying at the expense of the state.
- 2 I have, however, omitted foreigners from this group.

occasionally mention the unconfirmed nobles separately. Probably there were many more unconfirmed nobles in the universities than the lists indicate.

In 1836, the recently opened St. Vladimir's University did not yet have the full complement of courses and students. There were 203 students and "free listeners". The latter were allowed to listen to the lectures without having the formal status of student. Students and listeners that came from the Western Provinces numbered 158.

Students from the Western Provinces at St. Vladimir's University in Kiev in 1836 by social rank and field of study:<sup>3</sup>

|                             | Law  | Humanities | Natural science,<br>Mathematics | Total | %    |
|-----------------------------|------|------------|---------------------------------|-------|------|
| Noble                       | 72   | 26         | 40                              | 138   | 87.2 |
| Son of non-hereditary noble | 1    | -          | -                               | 1     | 0.6  |
| Unconfirmed noble           | -    | -          | 1                               | 1     | 0.6  |
| Orthodox and Uniat Clergy   | 4    | -          | 3                               | 7     | 4.4  |
| Son of merchant             | 1    | 1          | -                               | 2     | 1.3  |
| Honoured citizen            | -    | 1          | -                               | 1     | 0.6  |
| Lower townsman              | 4    | -          | 1                               | 5     | 3.2  |
| Peasant                     | 1    | -          | -                               | 1     | 0.6  |
| Foreigner                   | 1    | -          | -                               | 1     | 0.6  |
| Jew                         | 1    | -          | -                               | 1     | 0.6  |
| Total                       | 85   | 28         | 45                              | 158   |      |
| %                           | 53.8 | 17.7       | 28.5                            | 100   |      |

The students from the Western Provinces can be divided into the following religious groups:

|                |     |
|----------------|-----|
| Roman Catholic | 120 |
| Orthodox       | 25  |
| Uniat          | 10  |
| Protestant     | 2   |
| Jewish         | 1   |

Of the Orthodox students, 18 came from the town of Kiev. This means that very few Orthodox students came to study from any other areas of the Western Provinces. Even Kievan schools produced more Roman Catholic than Orthodox students. All except three Roman Catholics were hereditary nobles, which meant that practically all students of plebeian background were non-Catholics.

3 Prepared on the basis of a list of all students of the university in RGIA f. 733, op. 95, delo 795, l. 70–109. Includes all those students whose previous place of study was in the Western Provinces and those Roman Catholics and Uniats who had got their education at home. "Lower townsman" includes the estates "meščane" and "graždane". The percentages of the different estates do not total 100% because I have rounded them off per mil.

The previous place of study was located as follows:

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Right-Bank Ukraine                       | 99 |
| Lithuania and Belorussia                 | 45 |
| Home-educated Roman Catholics and Uniats | 14 |

Apart from students from the Western Provinces, there were five Roman Catholic nobles with Polish names from other parts of the Empire. Less than one-quarter of the student body came from outside the Western Provinces. This meant that any assimilation with and adaptation to Russian culture during their studies was rather unlikely. Representatives of the lower classes in the Western Provinces only exceptionally managed to get to university. In the largely Polish student body they might just as easily choose Polish as a Russian national identity.

In the same year, 1836, the University of St. Petersburg had among its 269 students, 47 from the former Poland.<sup>4</sup>

Students from the Western Provinces and the Kingdom of Poland at the University of St. Petersburg in 1836 by social rank and field of study:

|                           | Law | Humanities | Natural science,<br>Mathematics | Total |
|---------------------------|-----|------------|---------------------------------|-------|
| Nobles                    | 31  | 6          | 4                               | 41    |
| Orthodox and Uniat Clergy | 1   | 1          | -                               | 2     |
| Lower townfolk            | 2   | 1          | 1                               | 4     |
| Total                     | 34  | 8          | 5                               | 47    |

By religious confession they are divided into the following groups:

|                |    |
|----------------|----|
| Roman Catholic | 35 |
| Orthodox       | 10 |
| Uniat          | 1  |
| Lutheran       | 1  |

Their previous place of study was as follows:

|                                  |    |
|----------------------------------|----|
| Lithuanian-Belorussian Provinces | 32 |
| Right-Bank Ukraine               | 3  |
| Kingdom of Poland                | 7  |
| Home-educated Roman Catholics    | 5  |

Eight Roman Catholics with Polish names came from outside ethnic Polish regions. They were all sons of nobles or civil servants. The proportion of Poles in the whole student body was roughly one-fifth, which made it possible for them to keep to their own company, but it was not enough to change the character of the University.

4 Prepared on the basis of a list of all students of the university in RGIA f. 733, op. 95, delo 92, l. 17–30. I have included a few sons of civil servants in the group of nobles. Their fathers were all of the ninth rank or higher, which entitled them at least to non-hereditary nobility.

The largest university, Moscow, had, perhaps surprisingly, fewer Polish students than St. Petersburg.<sup>5</sup> In the academic year, 1836–1837, the 30 students and free listeners from former Polish territory formed an insignificant minority with a total of 436.

Students from the Western Provinces and the Kingdom of Poland at the University of Moscow in 1836–1837 by faculty and social rank:

|                      | Law | Humanities | Natural sc. | Medicine | Total |
|----------------------|-----|------------|-------------|----------|-------|
| Nobles               | 2   | 6          | 5           | 8        | 21    |
| Unconfirmed nobility | -   | -          | 2           | -        | 2     |
| Clergy               | -   | 1          | -           | 2        | 3     |
| “Meščane“            | 1   | -          | -           | 2        | 3     |
| Foreigner            | -   | -          | -           | 1        | 1     |
| Total                | 3   | 7          | 7           | 13       | 30    |

Their religious confession was as follows:

|                |    |
|----------------|----|
| Roman Catholic | 19 |
| Orthodox       | 9  |
| Uniat          | 2  |

They came from following areas:

|                                  |    |
|----------------------------------|----|
| Lithuanian-Belorussian Provinces | 23 |
| Right-Bank Ukraine               | 3  |
| Kingdom of Poland                | 4  |

There were three Roman Catholics with Polish names from non-Polish provinces.

Taken together the three Russian universities had 235 students from the regions inhabited by Poles.

Students from the Western Provinces and the Kingdom of Poland at the Universities of St. Petersburg, Moscow and Kiev in 1836 by social rank and field of study:

|  | Law  | Humanities | Natural science,<br>Mathematics | Medicine | Total | %    |
|--|------|------------|---------------------------------|----------|-------|------|
| Nobles                                   | 105  | 38         | 49                              | 8        | 200   | 85.1 |
| Unconfirmed and<br>non-hereditary nobles | 1    | -          | 3                               | -        | 4     | 1.7  |
| Merchants, honoured citizens             | 1    | 2          | -                               | -        | 3     | 1.3  |
| Uniat and Orthodox Clergy                | 5    | 2          | 3                               | 2        | 12    | 5.1  |
| Lower townfolk                           | 7    | 1          | 2                               | 2        | 12    | 5.1  |
| Foreigners                               | 1    | -          | -                               | 1        | 2     | 0.9  |
| Jewish                                   | 1    | -          | -                               | -        | 1     | 0.4  |
| Peasant                                  | 1    | -          | -                               | -        | 1     | 0.4  |
| Total                                    | 122  | 43         | 57                              | 13       | 235   |      |
| %  | 51.9 | 18.3       | 24.3                            | 5.5      | 100   |      |

<sup>5</sup> Prepared on the basis of a list of all students of the university in RGIA f. 733, op. 95, delo 199, l. 32–41.



The Faculty of Law, which mainly prepared students for a career in the civil service, was by far the most popular. The natural sciences were quite popular in Kiev, while very few studied them in St. Petersburg and Moscow. A probable reason for this was that in the Right-Bank Ukraine the nobles themselves were engaged in agriculture. Natural sciences were more useful there than in the Belorussian-Lithuanian provinces, where the nobles somewhat more often earned their living from payments by the peasants. Studies in natural science could also lead to a career in teaching. The negligible number of medical students is not due to the unpopularity of that speciality, but to the existence of the Wilno Medical Academy.

Despite the overwhelming Roman Catholic majority, the religious division in the three universities shows a significant minority of Orthodox and Uniat, officially considered Russians:

|                |     |
|----------------|-----|
| Roman Catholic | 174 |
| Orthodox       | 44  |
| Uniat          | 13  |
| Protestant     | 3   |
| Jewish         | 1   |

However, most of the Orthodox came from either Kiev (22) or Mohylew (9). The Province of Mohylew was the only Western Province that sent more Orthodox than Roman Catholic students to the universities. The concentration of the Orthodox students in Kiev and Mohylew is understandable. Kiev and its immediate surroundings had belonged to Russia ever since 1667, and Mohylew Province since 1772. Roman Catholicism and the Polish presence in these areas were not as strong as in other parts of the Western Provinces. In other areas very few Orthodox went to university.

The regional background of students from the Western Provinces and the Kingdom of Poland at the Universities of St. Petersburg, Moscow and Kiev in 1836:

|                                  |     |
|----------------------------------|-----|
| Right-Bank Ukraine               | 105 |
| Lithuanian-Belorussian Provinces | 100 |
| Kingdom of Poland                | 11  |
| Home-educated                    | 19  |

Students from the Right-Bank Ukraine were concentrated in St. Vladimir's University, which was most popular also among students from the Lithuanian-Belorussian provinces. Polish students in St. Petersburg and Moscow came mainly from Lithuania and Belorussia.

The information available to us about Polish students in the University of Dorpat is less complete than that about Poles in Russian universities. Faculty and place of birth are mentioned, but not social rank or religious confession.<sup>6</sup> In all, 85 students from the Western Provinces and the Kingdom of Poland studied

6 . . . . .  
 6 Hasselblatt A., Otto G: *Album Academicum der Kaiserlichen Universität Dorpat*. Dorpat 1889. P. 172–264. The Polish student body in Dorpat University is also analyzed in: Isakow

in the university in the course of the year 1836. Their birthplaces were as follows:

|                                  |    |
|----------------------------------|----|
| Lithuanian-Belorussian Provinces | 73 |
| Right-Bank Ukraine               | 8  |
| Kingdom of Poland                | 4  |

The field of study is impossible to determine, since the source mentions more than one faculty for those students who changed their faculty.

Dorpat University had more students from the Western Provinces than the universities of St. Petersburg and Moscow. They formed a significant minority within the student body of 536 at the end of the year 1836.<sup>7</sup> However, in case of the University of Dorpat, it is especially important to differentiate between “Poles” and “students from the former Poland-Lithuania”, since the only German University in the Empire naturally was popular among Germans from the Western Provinces.

It has not been possible to find out the number of Polish students in St. Petersburg Medical Academy, since the lists of students mention only name and social rank.<sup>8</sup>

The information available to us about the student body of Wilno Medical Academy is from the academic year 1838–1839. Here religious confession, social rank and domicile are given.<sup>9</sup> With its 413 students, the Academy was bigger than the Universities of St. Petersburg and Kiev.

Domicile of the students in Wilno Medical Academy 1838–1839:

|                          |     |
|--------------------------|-----|
| Lithuania and Belorussia | 309 |
| Right-Bank Ukraine       | 44  |
| Kingdom of Poland        | 39  |
| Baltic Provinces         | 7   |
| Caucasus                 | 2   |
| Great Russian Provinces  | 1   |
| Cracow                   | 3   |
| Austria                  | 2   |
| Prussia                  | 4   |
| Other German states      | 2   |

The student body of the Academy was definitely Polish. Of the students, 392 came from regions that had previously belonged to Poland-Lithuania, and only one from Russia proper. The 39 students from the Kingdom of Poland could not

.....  
Siergej, Sigałow Pawel: Polacy w uniwersytecie Dorpackim. Miesięcznik Literacki 8, 1973, No 1, p. 105–114, No 2, 99–109, No 3, 103–114. Csaba János Kenéz: Polnische und aus Polen stammende Studenten an der Universität Dorpat 1802–1914. Zeitschrift für Ostforschung, 39, 4/1990, p. 572–603. These articles review rather the total number of Polish students over a longer time span than for any specific year.

7 Obščij otčet, predstavlenyj Ego Imperatorskomu Veličestvu po ministerstvu narodnago prosvješčenija za 1836 god. ŽMNP XIV, No IV, 1837. P. LVIII.

8 The lists are in RVIA, f. 316, for instance, opis' 5, delo 65, 163.

9 RGIA f. 733, op. 99, delo 331, l. 23–26.

compensate for the lack of medical education there, but they nevertheless formed largest group of young people from that country in higher education.

The students' religious division was:

|                |     |
|----------------|-----|
| Roman Catholic | 335 |
| Uniat          | 26  |
| Lutheran       | 19  |
| Jewish         | 17  |
| Orthodox       | 13  |
| Calvinist      | 2   |
| Armenian       | 1   |

The table confirms the view of the student body as overwhelmingly Polish, with the reservation that we have no information about the number of ethnic Lithuanians. The Lutherans might have regarded themselves as Germans or as Poles. The appearance of Jews in Wilno Academy long before any significant number of them found their way to Russian universities is a noteworthy phenomenon. The number of the Orthodox and Uniats is negligible considering the proportion of Ukrainians and Belorussians in the whole population of the Western Provinces. The few Rusins in the Academy were certainly much more likely to be Polonized than Russified.

The background of Wilno students according to social rank shows a larger proportion of non-nobles than there was among Polish students in Russian universities:

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Nobles  | 296 |
| Clergy  | 12  |
| Sons of lower-rank officers ( <i>ober-oficery</i> ) | 5   |
| Sons of merchants                                   | 5   |
| Honoured Citizens                                   | 16  |
| Lower townfolk ( <i>graždane, meščane</i> )         | 56  |
| Peasants of various categories                      | 18  |
| Chechen   | 1   |
| Foreigners  | 14  |

The study of medicine was one way to social advancement. Had the Wilno Academy existed longer, it would have prepared a large Polish non-noble intelligentsia for the Western Provinces.

In 1830, the University of Wilno had had 1,320 students.<sup>10</sup> The Wilno Medical Academy and studies at Russian universities could only in part compensate for the destruction wreaked by the government's measures. However, the government neither could nor wanted to fully block the aspirations of Poles for higher learning. Despite the difficult new conditions, the intelligentsia of the Western Provinces managed to regenerate itself through education.

. . . . .  
 10 Beauvois 1977: 1: 316.

## Student life

Students could study either at their own expense or at the expense of the state. Russia had a rather advanced system of state grants for needy students, since the civil administration chronically lacked well-trained officials. For instance, during the academic year of 1836–1837 in the University of Moscow, 91 students out of 436 financed their studies with state grants.<sup>11</sup> Grants were available to students regardless of their social rank, which violated existing regulations that reserved the grants for sons of nobles and civil servants. Medical faculties, on the other hand, were officially allowed to give grants to students from the taxpaying classes as well. Only those really in need resorted to this remedy, since aid entailed an obligation to serve the state for a certain period after graduating. For instance, medical students pledged themselves to six years' service at a post chosen by the state.<sup>12</sup>

In the 1830s, studies were free of cost except in Dorpat, where the students paid their teachers directly, according to the German practice. A tuition fee was introduced in Russian universities from 1839 to 1841. At first, the fee was 28 roubles 57 kopecks in silver in St. Petersburg and Moscow, but only 14 roubles in Kiev. The tuition fees were raised in 1845 to 40 roubles in both capitals and 20 roubles in the provincial universities, including Kiev. In 1848, the fees rose to 50 roubles in St. Petersburg and Moscow, 40 roubles in Kiev and other provincial universities. This was a considerable sum of money, which would have precluded studying for many poor boys had it not been possible to get exemption from the fee on the basis of poverty. Part of the money collected from tuition fees was spent to support those needy students who studied at their own expense.<sup>13</sup>

Before 1835, medical studies took four years, other studies three years, unless a student had to repeat a year's course; after the introduction of the new university statute, studies lasted five and four years, respectively.<sup>14</sup> At least officially, there was little freedom in the studies. Each year a student had to go through a fixed programme and pass the exam at the end of the year. Attendance at lectures was obligatory. If a student failed to pass any subject, he had to repeat the whole course the following year.

Official rules for students in principle set rather strict limits on their conduct. There were inspectors, who were obliged to see to it that the students avoided mischief, fulfilled their religious duties and were loyal to the crown. It was the inspector's duty to know each student personally, whom he lived with, who he met, how he earned his living and what he did during his leisure time. The inspector saw to it that no one lived in a style beyond his means. He saw to it that

11 RGIA f. 733, op. 95, delo 199, l. 41.

12 For regulations about state grants see I PSZ XXXVI, 1819, No 28008, p. 402. II PSZ X.1/1835, No 8337, p. 854. SR II 223. That the grants were also given to students from the taxpaying estates is evident from the lists of students in RGIA, f. 733, op. 95, delo 92, l. 17–30, delo 199, l. 32–41, delo 795, l. 90–108.

13 II PSZ XIV.1, 1839, No 12153, p. 267–268. SP II.2 493–498, 842–844. SR II 426–431, 451–452, 504, 535–536, 818–825.

14 II PSZ X.1/1835, No 8337, p. 849.

there was nothing strange or indecent in the way students walked and moved. Visiting taverns was forbidden. Students were not allowed to leave the university town without permission. They had to return to their homes at the latest by 10 p.m. Except in Dorpat, all student organizations and meetings were forbidden. Furthermore, the outward appearance of a student was regulated; all students wore a uniform. A student always had to carry a sword and keep all his collar buttons done up even outside the university. Beards, moustaches and long hair were not allowed. The students studying at the expense of the state lived in special dormitories. They were supervised more closely than the others. They woke up, went to bed and had their meals together at fixed times. Twice a day they participated in church services. They were not allowed to leave the dormitory without the permission of the inspector. Smoking was forbidden.<sup>15</sup>

This was how things were officially. However, as usual in the Russian Empire, unofficial reality deviated rather fundamentally from the official one. Indeed, the life of both inspector and students would have been unbearable had they taken all the rules seriously and tried to follow them. A letter from a state student in St. Petersburg to his parents in the Kingdom of Poland in 1838 reveals a rather different situation from that decreed by the rules:

We all have absolute freedom. Everyone does whatever he wants, as it pleases him. All that they say about it in Warsaw is false...Everyone goes out without asking for any permission and returns when it pleases him, spends a night where he wants to without fearing any punishment for it...There are some who stay away two, three or more days, and no one says a word about it. Some have moustaches and enormous side whiskers and are not ordered to shave. Almost all our halls at 5 p.m. are filled with smoke from pipes and cigars, and despite this, there is no prohibition. In the morning everyone wakes up when he wants to...those who want to go to the lectures, the others skip them. The control of diaries...with which we were scared in Warsaw, does not exist at all...<sup>16</sup>

Perhaps the author of these naive letters somewhat exaggerated his freedom, but the memoirs of other students, both Polish and Russian, emphasize the lenient attitude of the university officials towards discipline. Most attention was paid to outward appearance. In the evenings inspectors moved around university towns in search of students who were not dressed in full uniform and arrested those who dared to violate the rules of outward appearance. Theatres were especially dangerous places to visit when not in full uniform.<sup>17</sup>

. . . . .

15 RGIA f. 733, op. 69, delo 213, l. 2–17. Instructions to the inspector in Kiev, which were written on the example of similar instructions in Moscow. F. 735, op. 10, delo 175, l. 12–29. Identical instruction to the inspector in St. Petersburg and rules for students there. On uniform see SR II 199–200.

16 Listy Juliana Bartoszewicza pisane z Petersburga do rodziny. Tygodnik Powszechny 1882. No 15–17, 19, 22, 24. Quotations from No 17, p. 262 and No 19, p. 310.

17 Belov I. D: Rasskaz ob imperatore Nikolae Pavloviče. Istoričeskij Vestnik 5/1885. P. 484–485. Bobrowski 1979: 342–343, 380–384. Dondukov-Korsakov: Moi vospominanija. 1840–1844gg. Starina i Novizna V, 1902. P. 172–173. Kotiużyński Zygmunt: Pamiętniki 1826–1894. Kraków 1911. P. 8–9. Šumahr A. D: Pozdnye vospominanija o davno minuvših vremenah. Vestnik Evropy 3/1899, p. 99. Urywki...1869: 26: 213, 29: 237–238.

Usually when students got into trouble with any outside authorities, the university authorities tried to protect them as best as they could.<sup>18</sup> A Polish Moscow student has left a rather impressive reminiscence from 1848 about an inspector called Platon Nahimov:

...that man, into whose mind there never could enter any idea of the slightest disobedience towards the government, was so noble and so attached to the students that he did not hesitate for a moment to warn us about every denunciation, every sudden inspection which were often made by the police. He knew well that forbidden books circulated among us, could guess everything that we were doing, but always his eye and heart protected us. As long as he was the inspector, none of us was ever caught in the act...<sup>19</sup>

The University of Dorpat officially gave a wide degree of freedom to its students. Here the students were not tied to a specific programme, but could choose those lectures they were interested in, provided that their plan was authorized by a professor of the relevant faculty. Rules for students in Dorpat do not give an impression of intolerable formal discipline, but rather correspond to the moral standards of the time. Most attention was paid to the prevention of rowdy behaviour and its punishment. Insulting policemen or women, duelling, breaking windows and harming public or private property were all specified as transgressions. Outward appearance was carefully supervised here as well. A student could also be expelled from the university if, after warnings, he continued a premarital relation with a woman. Student organizations and meetings under the supervision of the university authorities were explicitly allowed.<sup>20</sup>

Relations with professors and other teachers were usually not close. In Kiev in the 1830s, professors tended to avoid contact with students.<sup>21</sup> This may have been due to political circumspection. After the expulsion of Polish teachers from the university in the years 1837-1839, the situation changed somewhat. Some professors earned additional income by providing accommodation for students. Those students not willing to live with a professor sometimes became victims of discrimination and pressure. One memoirist tells about the vulnerable position of students in face of the despotic behaviour of professors, who could use exams as a method of personal revenge and blackmail. In these circumstances, there could be little respect for the professors.<sup>22</sup>

The University of Moscow, widely considered the best in Russia, was a positive exception. Here such famous Westernizers as Professors Granovskij and Redkin often invited students, including Poles, to evening gatherings at their homes. They won the respect and admiration of their Polish listeners. In the dispute between Moscow Slavophiles and Westernizers, Polish students

18 Bobrowski 1979:1:382–383. Urywki...1869: 24: 207.

19 Urywki...1869: 26: 213.

20 II PSZ XI.1/1834, No 6839. P. 145-158. Janicki 1998: 122–123, 130–131, 142–143.

21 Sulgin 1860: 200.

22 Bobrowski 1979:1:334–335, 337–339.

definitely took the side of the Westernizers. In memoirs, the Russian Slavophiles, who are not differentiated from the adherents of Official Nationality, are portrayed as stupid, dishonest and evil persons. There is, though, one piece of evidence to the contrary. An arrested conspirator, Romuald Świerzbieński, submitted in 1850 a testimony to the authorities of the Kingdom in which he claimed to have received pan-Slavist ideas from prominent supporters of Official Nationality, Moscow Professors Ševyrev and Osip Bodjanskij. Świerzbieński, however, also stated that the Westernizers were more popular among both Polish and Russian students than were the “Slavophiles”, as he called them. Paskevič and the investigating committee took Świerzbieński’s statement about the Professors seriously. I think that this was a mistake. To Świerzbieński, it was useful to ascribe his ideas to an official and harmless source. Świerzbieński’s memoirs, preserved in manuscript, express a totally negative opinion of Russian Slavophilism, which he does not distinguish from Official Nationality, at the same time as he is full of praise for Granovskij. This agrees with the sentiments of another memoirist.<sup>23</sup>

In St. Petersburg, the relation with teachers was courteous and formal. An exception was Ignacy Iwanowski, the Professor of International Law and European Constitutional Law, himself a Pole from Minsk. He especially invited students from Lithuania to his home.<sup>24</sup>

A popular way to spend leisure time was in visiting taverns or organizing drinking parties. Polish memoirists describe Russian students as keener on drinking than were the Poles, but there also are plenty of stories of Poles having fun. Naturally, the aristocrats tended to lead a more riotous life than those of moderate means. Occasionally, some students paid visits to brothels.<sup>25</sup> The students were divided in their attitude towards gambling. Card-playing was a very widespread pastime. During politically active periods, it was usually attacked on moral grounds.<sup>26</sup> More sophisticated pleasures were offered by the theatre and the opera. St. Petersburg, particularly, offered both at a high level.<sup>27</sup> In the same city, the Imperial Public Library also afforded good opportunities to spend one’s leisure time profitably. The collections contained the books confiscated from the university library in Warsaw after the 1830–31 insurrection.<sup>28</sup>

23 Świerzbieński’s testimony is in: *Wiosna...*1994: 222–290. On the role of professors p. 225–226. The memoirs: *Sprysiężenia pomiędzy rokiem 1839 i 1849, ze wspomnień i opowiadań w roku 1853 opisane*. Biblijoteka im. Ossolińskich, rkps 3204/I. P. 110–124. [Written by Romuald Świerzbieński]. *Majorkiewicz Jan: Pisma pomniejsze*. 1-2. Warszawa 1852. 2:145. *Urywki...*1869: 24: 197–198. *Berghauzen* 1974: 265.

24 Bobrowski 1979:1:34 (in foreword by Włodzimierz Spasowicz), 378–379.

25 Bobrowski 1979: 340–342, 354. Bogusławski Wilhelm: *Kartka ze wspomnień*. Kraj 9/1897. P. 83. *Gieysztor Jakub: Pamiętniki z lat 1857–1865*. Biblijoteka Pamiętników r. 1, nr 5–6. Wilno 1913. P. 16. *Kotiużynski* 1911: 8–10, 12–13. *Łowicki Maciej: Z czasów Szymona Konarskiego pamiętnik ucznia Wilenskiej akademii medyko-chirurgicznej p. t. Duch Akademii Wilenskiej*. Wilno 1925. P. 3-4.

26 Bobrowski 1979: 343, 345–347. *Kotiużynski* 1911: 9–10, 13–14. *Łowicki* 1925: 3–4, 12, 21. *Sprysiężenia...*Rps. Ossol. 3204/I, p. 82, 92, 102.

27 Bobrowski 1979: 403. *Gieysztor Jakub: Wspomnienia i pamiętnik*. LVIA f. 1135, op. 20, ed. hr. 54, c. 6, p. 82–86.

28 *Bartoszewicz* 1882: 20: 310, 23: 358. *Dawid Wincenty: Ze wspomnień uniwersyteckich*. *Przegląd Literacki*. Dodatek do “Kraju” 39/1890. P. 7.

The students kept close contact with the Roman Catholic Church and often attended the masses. This was most often done quite willingly, though the official rules also demanded the observation of religious duties. Kiev, St. Petersburg, Moscow and Dorpat all had Polish churches, which offered a touch of home. The sermon was often preached in Polish. Many of the students retained their traditional religious faith. Opinions critical of religion were expressed, but they were few.<sup>29</sup>

## Attitudes to Russia

The negative Polish stereotype of the Russians has recently been written about by Andrzej Kępiński. In it, Russians were seen as cowardly barbarians with servile minds. A central element in the stereotype was the antithesis between moral, Christian Poles and immoral, godless Russians.<sup>30</sup> We have already seen how the political struggle was viewed by the romantic poets as a moral and even eschatological one between good and evil. Though this concerned two political forces rather than two nations, the poets were themselves not always able to draw the difference, especially when they emphasized the cultural differences between the two countries. It was Poland that was to lead and guide the world to a new life – an idea that could easily find its expression in a condescending or even contemptuous attitude towards Russian culture. On the other hand, in the works of the Messianic poets, there were other features that referred to the international brotherhood of all nations, not excluding Russians. In relation to Russia and the Russians, Polish Messianism pointed its adherents into two opposite directions.

Most of the memoirs of Polish students give a picture of hostility towards and contempt of Russians. Many memoirists tell us of the total isolation of Poles from Russian students. This isolation was mainly due to the attitude of the Poles themselves, since the Russians were often ready to make friends with them. There was also some political sympathy towards the Polish cause among Russian students.<sup>31</sup> The Poles used various arguments to justify this national isolation and contempt. The Russians were said to lead an immoral life devoid of any high ideals:

We were absolutely isolated from all Russians (*moskali*). All relation with them consisted of *zdrawstwajcie* and *proszczajcie*, that is hello and bye-bye. Never any discussions, nothing common. Why ? Because neither they nor we felt any need not the slightest benefit of such contacts. True, there were some attempts to approach each other, but they never led

29 Bartoszewicz 1882: 19; 294. Bogusławski 1897: 9; 83. Bobrowski 1979: 33–34 (in a foreword by Spasowicz). Gieysztor 1913: 21. Sprzysiężenia...Bibl. Ossol. rps. 3204/I, księga 2, p. 199.

30 Kępiński 1990. On the romantic period of the first half of 19th century, pages 56–112.

31 Gieysztor: Wspomnienia...LVIA f. 1135, op. 20, ed. hr. 54, c. 6, p. 20. Romanovič-Slavatinskij R. L.: Moja žižn' i akademičeskaja dejatel'nost'. Vestnik Evropy 2/1903, p. 623. Soltanovskij Avtonom Akimovič: Otryvki iz zapisok. Kievskaja Starina 5/1892, p. 239.



to any results. Russian youth did not understand its position and wanted only our company in revelry and drinking...it dreamt of nothing beyond this...and if it did dream it was only of advancement in the service of the Tsar. Such ideas were rather natural – they followed from their surroundings, from their basic education. These young men were mainly sons of priests, functionaries or the lesser nobility. Only a few dozen belonged to wealthy or aristocratic families...Their feasts were real orgies, and do not think that when I write this that I am led by any unfairness or petty hatred...Vodka and cards, those were the main interests of the Russians...

Drinking like a beast, falling in the gutter, fighting with bottles at card games, wounding themselves and others...that is the picture of the high life of Russian youth. No union, no unity, no noble goals, nothing, nothing...They tried to make friends with us, to have fun with us. Of course, we avoided such fraternity. But apart from their desire to make contact with us, they always looked on us as rebels against the Tsar, and in any conflicts, which were frequent between them and us, they would always call us rebels (*buntowników*) and Lachs. So is it at all surprising that such honourable young men became such honourable citizens? Such was the Moscow youth at the time when there were also Poles in the university. It was recognized by all that our behaviour unintentionally had a favourable effect on the morals of the Russians. Before us they had been far worse.<sup>32</sup>

It is interesting to note how, in this passage, disdain based on social background is mixed with national antipathy and contempt. On the other hand, a Polish student in St. Petersburg claimed that Russian students were not interested in serious study and intelligent pastimes because of their aristocratic background, which made knowledge and talents unnecessary for making a career.<sup>33</sup> The Russians could be seen as representing the unpleasant aspects of either the aristocrats or the middle classes, depending on the viewer's own sympathies. Another form that the antipathy took was to consider the Russians either Finns or Mongols. The Slavonic and European character of the Russian nation and civilization was denied.<sup>34</sup>

A rather good illustration of how the Russians were identified with their political system is a poem "A Word to Polish Sisters" written 1858 by Tadeusz Komar, a Kievan student and national activist. During his studies, Komar wrote poetry inspired by Messianism and social radicalism, and his poems were quite popular among Kievan students. The poem consists of advice about what kind of young man qualifies as a husband. It contains in condensed form the ideal of what a Polish young man should be as well as stereotypes of other nations. A worthy candidate must put love for Poland first and love for woman second; he must not be too sensitive, since that is bad for a soldier; he must not prefer the French language and customs to Polish ones; he must not have the "German" inclination for material wealth. Neither can those who prefer physical pleasure

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32 Urywki...1869: 29: 238.

33 Bobrowski 1979:1: 373.

34 Sprzysiężenia...Rps. Bibl. Ossol. 3204/I, księga 2, p. 36–38, 55–56, 76, 106, 115.

be called real Poles. Real Germans and Russians are out of the question as husbands. A Polish woman who goes with them is to be despised. If she is motivated by love, such love is sinful, since one cannot at the same time love both Poland and her enemies. From such a union there will be born not Poles, but something else:

Sons from such a pair against Poland  
Will grow as puppies of a monarchic kennel  
Fed by whose milk...that of a Pole!  
...  
Answer proudly: so long as the world stands  
A Pole will not be brother to a Russian!  
And never will a Polish woman spoil her honour  
By carrying the surname of a Russian (*moskala*)!

If he will utter any bold word  
Or shows he is offended with a sensitive sigh  
Then strike him with a look filled with contempt,  
Which lets him understand without words:  
What are you, the Tsar's slave, demanding?  
Let him know that you see in him the enemy of Poland.<sup>35</sup>

One of the arguments against a Russian suitor is that he will in any case oppress both the Polish and the Russian common people. Komar really does not leave the poor Russian any opportunity to redeem himself.<sup>36</sup>

There is little doubt that the negative attitude of Poles towards their Russian colleagues was prejudiced. Many Poles kept so closely to their own company that their stereotypes of Russians were not challenged. From the 1840s on, national isolation was fairly easy even for those living in state dormitories, since the Poles formed so large a proportion of the occupants that the dormitory life was often dominated by them. For instance, in the autumn of 1843 there were 47 students from the Kingdom of Poland alone among the 92 students who lived in the St. Petersburg university dormitory.<sup>37</sup> With no social mixing with Russians, it was possible to see their community as an unintellectual and immoral monolith. In fact, Russian students were not at all devoid of intellectual interests and high ideals, as is demonstrated by the close link between Petraševskij's group and the University of St. Petersburg.

35 [Komar:] *Dumy i pieśni Ludomira*. Zeszyt I. Bendlikon 1865. P. 11.

36 The whole poem: Komar 1865: 3-15. Komar was inclined towards the most militant nationalism. While participating in the insurrection in 1863, he wrote (*ibid.* 44):

And all the nations will shout:  
Live Poland, freedom's daughter  
The land of cordial equality  
The land of brotherly charity!

And they will bow down before her  
Swearing jointly an oath  
And they will say: "Rule over us  
O Poland, by your virtues!"

37 RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 167, l. 22-23.

It is possible that the national isolation was not as complete as our memoirists suggest. Most of them wrote after 1863, and later experiences may well have influenced their reminiscences. However, Świerzbieński's memoirs, written already in the 1840s, also emphasize Polish self-isolation and the antipathy felt towards Russians. The Polish tendency towards isolation is also mentioned by a couple of Russian memoirists. The hostile attitude to the Russian nation and culture as such is also quite evident in the St. Petersburg Polish student union's negative response to a Russian proposal for co-operation in 1861, to which we shall return. We may safely conclude that a tendency towards national isolation was dominant among the Polish students.<sup>38</sup>

Some of the memoirists do write about having Russian friends as a normal phenomenon. A famous later Russian Slavophile, Konstantin Aksakov, counted numerous scholarship-holders from Belorussia among his friends in Moscow in the years 1832–1835.<sup>39</sup> In Nicholas' time, a tolerant attitude towards the Russians went together with high social status and conservative political views. In Kiev in the 1840s, there existed a Russo-Polish circle of aristocratic students, who did not care about politics or studies, but concentrated on revelling. A Pole called Zygmunt Kotiużyński was one of the leading figures of the circle. He was also on good terms with Governor-General Dmitrij Bibikov.<sup>40</sup> Another Polish memoirist with many Russian contacts was Tadeusz Bobrowski, a Polish patriot of moderate political views, who studied in both Kiev and St. Petersburg. Bobrowski also reports about another Polish aristocratic student who was well received in the high society of St. Petersburg.<sup>41</sup> As we shall see, in the 1850s and 1860s the situation changed in that Polish-Russian friendship was often based on commonly held radical political ideas.

The isolationist Poles did not think that they had anything valuable to learn from the Russians. The only beneficial influence they could conceive of was that of Poles on Russians. This is strikingly evident from a passage of a Polish memoirist in St. Petersburg, which discusses Russian students who had showed sympathy for the Polish cause:

...remaining alone, enveloping themselves in the Polish element, [the youth] retained the principles of their country, retained even in the University of St. Petersburg the faith of their country, and developed themselves into persons of deep national convictions...

In contact with a strange element, the element of unrest, which already at that time was a characteristic trait of Russians, what could we have given them? We were too young and unenlightened ourselves to convince them. From contacts with them we would have received only suspicions...our behaviour at that time towards our Russian fellows was

38 Sprzysiężenia...Rps. Bibl. Ossol. 3204/I, księga 2, p. 36-38, 55–56, 76, 106, 115. Panteleev 1958:169. Romanovič-Slavatinskij 1903: 2: 623. Odezwa młodzieży polskiej do rosyjskiej. Przegląd Rzeczy Polskich 3.7.1861.

39 Aksakov K. S: Vospominanija studentstva 1832–1835 godov. S.-Peterburg 1911. P. 14–15.

40 Bobrowski 1979:1: 343–345. Kotiużyński 1911: 8–14. Romanovič-Slavatinskij 1903: 2: 624. Soltanovskij 1892: 5: 239–240.

41 Bobrowski 1979: 1: 352–353, 361–362, 391–398, 407–408.

instinctively the only sensible one...whatever benefit we could have brought to the Russians, that would surely have been at a loss to ourselves and hence to the country...<sup>42</sup>

In Kiev before 1839 a division on national lines existed, but it was not as important as other differences between students:

Students approached and avoided each other not so much on the basis of religion and nationality, as upbringing, faculty and position in society...  
...some kind of estrangement existed between students from the Left and Right Bank of the Dnieper. Ukrainians, especially from Černigov and Poltava, rarely made friends with Poles. Sometimes there were conflicts between them, which most often ended in being settled by sensible, mature fellow students. In the settlement the well-meaning Little Russian humour almost always overcame the passion and high-mindedness of the Pole.<sup>43</sup>

The estrangement between Poles and Russians continued to exist in the period 1849–1853. Polish remained the dominant language among the students. However, the antipathy of the Poles did not necessarily extend to the Ukrainians. Sometimes an interest in Ukrainian folklore united Poles with the Ukrainians.<sup>44</sup>

Usually the Poles behaved politely towards the Russians, although there were some exceptions. Świerzbieński's memoirs contain a story about a fight between Poles and Russians in the Moscow dormitory for state students. As might be expected in a Polish account, eight Poles easily beat 30 Russians. In 1845, Polish students in St. Petersburg decided to resolve all quarrels among themselves by arbitration. However, quarrels with Russians and Germans were to be settled with pistol duels.<sup>45</sup>

Many Polish student memoirists tell how Poles were superior to Russians in their studies. One might take such an unanimous statement at face value, if it did not sometimes contain absurdities, like one that asserted that Poles were better in the Russian language than were the Russians.<sup>46</sup> Even the attitude towards lecturers was sometimes so negative that it could be considered prejudiced. However, most of the memoirists also give positive accounts of the professors. The Poles seem to have found it easier to express a positive estimation of Russian professors than of their fellow Russian students.<sup>47</sup>

42 Gieysztor: Wspomnienia...LVIA f. 1135, op. 20, ed. hr. 54, c. 6, p. 21–22.

43 Seleckij Petr Dimitrievič: Zapiski. Čast' pervaja. 1821–1846 god. Kievskaja Starina tom 8, No 2/1884, p. 289–290.

44 On isolation, see Romanovič-Slavatinskij 1903:2:623. On Polish-Ukrainian contacts, see Nos Stepan: Stranička iz moih vospominanij. Kievskaja Starina 6/1893, p. 511.

45 Gieysztor: Wspomnienia...LVIA f. 1135, op. 20, ed. hr. 54, cast' 6, p. 81. Bibl. Ossol. Rps. 3204/I, księga druga, 45, 59–60.

46 Bobrowski 1979:1:372–373. Bartoszewicz 1882: 17:262, 23:358–359. Gieysztor: Wspomnienia...LVIA f. 1135, op. 20, ed. hr. 54, part 6, p.16–18. Sprzysiężenia...Rps. Bibl. Ossol. 3204/I, księga 1, p. 195.

47 Bartoszewicz 1882:23:359. A negative attitude. Positives ones in Bobrowski 1979: 1:334, 375–376. Dawid 1890: 39:7–8. Gieysztor: Wspomnienia...LVIA f. 1135, op. 20, ed. hr. 54, c. 6, p. 11, 13–17. Majorkiewicz 1852. 1:145–146. Sprzysiężenia...Rps. Ossol. 3204/I, księga 2, p. 117–124. Urywki...1869: 24:197–198.

However unwillingly, the Poles in practical life came into contact with many Russians from the lower classes, like artisans and cooks. Two serious love affairs with local girls are mentioned in St. Petersburg at the end of the 1830s. There were different opinions about mixed marriages among the students: some condemned them, while others did not.<sup>48</sup> In St. Petersburg in the 1840s, the national isolation was broken by some individuals. The leader of the democratic group of Russian students, Pavel Filippov, later sentenced as one of the leaders of Petraševskij's group, tried to make contacts among the Poles. According to the memoirist, Jakub Gieysztor, the majority avoided him, but still he managed to establish some close relationships. Indeed, Filippov had lived in Warsaw and graduated from a gymnasium there. Most probably he spoke Polish. Filippov's Polish friends must have become acquainted with Russian radicalism, expressed at that time mainly in the form of enthusiasm for the French socialists. In St. Petersburg, Bobrowski also came across Russian "nihilism", as he calls it, having made friends with a Russian student from Białystok, who was enthusiastic about new ideas. This Russian student actually had a Polish mother and spoke Polish.<sup>49</sup> Aristocratic Russians also approached Poles, but nothing serious followed from these contacts. Gieysztor also tells about a single Russian student who renounced the Russian student community altogether and mixed socially only with Poles, but this "Russian" student actually had a Polish mother.<sup>50</sup>

Though the negative Polish attitude to Russia and Russians was prejudiced, it must not be forgotten that the host country sometimes really presented itself to students in a rather unfavourable light. When a Polish student in Moscow, Grzegorz Bagiński, became mentally ill in 1835, he had a paranoid belief that as a Pole and a student he was about to be accused of arson and executed. Though an expression of his weakened mental health, the idea perhaps says something about the atmosphere in which Bagiński lived. Jan Soczyński, a Polish student of St. Petersburg Medical Academy was in 1838 condemned to run the gauntlet of soldiers for an attempt on the life of a professor who had not passed his exam and so caused him to be expelled from the academy. This brutal punishment meant in fact a painful death by beating. All students of the academy were forced to attend this inhuman act of senseless violence by the government.<sup>51</sup>

The student memoirs do not contain extensive material about how Polish nationality was defined. Apart from the aforementioned "Russians" with Polish

48 Dawid 1890: 8-9. Nowiński 1986: 103-104.

49 Filippov's graduation from a Warsaw gymnasium is evident in the list of students in RGIA f. 733, op. 95, delo 120, l. 118-119. Bobrowski 1979: 1:393-394. Gieysztor: Wspomnienia... LVIA f. 1135, op. 20, c. 6, ed. hr. 54, p. 68-70.

50 Gieysztor: Wspomnienia...LVIA f. 1135, op. 20, c. 6, ed. hr. 54, p. 91-94.

51 On Bagiński: RGIA f. 733, op. 66, delo 68, l. 28-30, 33, 46-47. On Soczyński: Istorija Imperatorskoj voenno-mediceinskoj (byvšej mediko-hirurgičeskoj) akademii za sto let. 1798-1898. S.-Peterburg 1898. P. 315. Slotwiński 1988: 45-47. Slotwiński's claim that this punishment was usual for students is incorrect. It was only possible in the Medical Academy, which functioned under the Ministry of War.

mothers, there is a case mentioned by Gieysztor. A Rusin student had a Russian mother, was Orthodox and mixed socially with Russians, though he knew also some Poles. Such a person was considered Russian by the Polish student community.<sup>52</sup> On the other hand, there are statements about Orthodox students recognized as Poles “despite” their religious confession: “My friend was Mikołaj Bulhak from Mozyr region, despite the Orthodox confession (previously a Uniat), a Pole to the core“.<sup>53</sup> There is also mention of a Kievan student from the Right-Bank Ukraine who had a Polish mother, although his father belonged to a German family long settled in the Ukraine. The student was bilingual in Polish and German, but preferred Polish. He was called German, though Bobrowski admits that he was not a “real German”.<sup>54</sup> It seems that the Polish students in practice did not adhere to the idea that all inhabitants of the occupied lands were Poles, and considered Roman Catholicism and ethnic Polish ancestry required attributes of Polish nationality. However, the criteria were not strict, since a non-Catholic could well be accepted a Pole, depending on his individual behaviour.

52 LVIA f. 1135, op. 20, ed. hr. 54, c. 6, pages 46–47.

53 Pawłowicz Edward: *Wspomnienia z nad Wilii i Niemna. Studya-Podróże*. Tom I. Wyd. trzecie. Lwów 1901. P. 13. Mention of another “despite being Orthodox” student in Dybowski Benedykt: *Przed pół wiekiem. Wspomnienia z czasów uniwersyteckich*. Biblioteka Warszawska tom 2, 1911. P. 545, 547.

54 Bobrowski 1979: 1:355–357.

# ■ The Revenge of the People and individual cases in 1833

On 27 June 1833 the Governor-General of Smolensk, Nikolaj Hovanskij, reported to the Third Section about a piece of political poetry found in the possession of a chief-of-police in the small town of Czausy in the province of Witebsk. The investigation revealed that Chief-of-Police Silin had received the poem from Tadeusz Łada-Zabłocki, a student of the University of Moscow. The Poem “Young Lach” (*Młody Lachu*) was also known to three other persons.<sup>1</sup>

Tadeusz Łada-Zabłocki was a nobleman, 22 years of age, and was studying at the expense of the state on the second-year course in the Department of History and Philology of the university. He was arrested on 29 June and sent to Witebsk for questioning. He was actually the author of the poem, though he was never officially found guilty of writing it. Distributing the poem was a serious enough crime since its contents were certainly criminal by official standards. The poem called for armed revenge for all patriots who had been victims of political repression.<sup>2</sup> The most grievous were the last lines:

And the Siberian raging dog  
Is still mocking our tears  
Hell is for us the throne of Tsars  
The Devil, hardly worth the gallows  
Is now sitting on it.  
Revenge or death, O brothers!<sup>3</sup>

In Łada-Zabłocki's papers hand-written manuscripts of speeches were found that had been made in France on the first anniversary of the November Insurrection by Lelewel, General Lafayette and others, mainly representatives of the democratic group of the émigrés. In letters from Moscow to his friend, a nobleman called Zenon Michałowski living in Belorussia, Łada-Zabłocki expressed his hatred of the Russians and protested against the Russification of education. He proposed collecting and exchanging patriotic poetry. He reported optimistic news about the émigré movement and the policies of the European powers, some of it incorrect. Łada-Zabłocki recommended to Michałowski a

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- 1 Djakow and Nagajew 1979. On the case of Łada-Zabłocki and other students p. 320–366, on the beginning of the case, p. 332–334. Gur'janov 1952:114–120. Poljakov 1950: On the case of Łada-Zabłocki and other students p. 372–394. On Hovanskij's report p. 372–373.
- 2 Djakow and Nagajew 1979: 322–323. Gur'janov 1952: 114, 117–118. Poljakov 1950: 373–374, 380. Prokof'eva D. S: Ob odnom stihotvorenii Tadeuša Łada-Zabłockogo. *Sovetskoe Slavjanovedenie* 4/1976, p. 88–91. Includes the whole poem, which is also published in *Spoleczeństwo...*1984: 656–657. Łada-Zabłocki used a poem by an unknown author as material, changing the text and adding the last lines.
- 3 *Spoleczeństwo...*1984: 656–657.

forbidden book “The History of the Polish Legions” by Leonard Chodźko, who was one of the supporters of Lelewel in the émigré movement. Łada-Zabłocki also claimed that he could buy any forbidden book in Moscow.<sup>4</sup>

During the investigation, Łada-Zabłocki said that he was influenced at Witebsk Basilian (Uniat monastic) School by patriotic teachers and further by the November Insurrection of 1830–31. He also personally knew at least two former members of the Filarets as well as some Polish prisoners of war in Moscow.<sup>5</sup>

Łada-Zabłocki had planned the foundation of the Polish Literary Society at the University of Moscow together with some students, Jan Sawinicz, Kaetan Kossowicz, Ludwik Maks and Aleksander Bielecki. In fact, such a society barely came into existence. Only one meeting, in April 1833 is known to have been held. The Governor-General of Moscow, Dmitrij Golicyn, showed his good sense by refusing to conduct any investigation into the society. “When Poles gather together and speak not with praise about Russia, it is difficult to supervise and forbid it,” he wrote to Hovanskij. This saved Łada-Zabłocki’s Moscow colleagues from a rather unpleasant fate. It was also a service to scholarship, since Kossowicz later became a famous orientalist.<sup>6</sup>

The rules of the society were written by Sawinicz. Study of the Polish language and moral improvement were stated as its aims. Members were obliged to write either original works or translations in Polish and to keep the society secret. Texts dealing with politics or opposing the principles of Christianity were forbidden.<sup>7</sup>

All prospective members of the would-be society came from Belorussia. It is interesting to note that at least two of them, Kossowicz and Sawinicz, were Uniaty by religious confession. Sawinicz had a clerical background. Nowadays these students might be called Belorussians, but their part in plans to found such a society clearly shows that they considered themselves Poles.<sup>8</sup>

The members of the “society” were not isolated in the university. Bielecki was one of the closest friends of Konstantin Aksakov, who later became a famous Slavophile, during the first year of their studies. Aksakov remembers Bielecki’s

4 Djakow and Nagajew 1979: 324–328. Poljakov 1950: 382. The speeches were probably copied from: Les Polonais, les Lithuaniens et les Russiens célèbrent en France les premiers anniversaires de leur revolution de 1830 et du 25 mars 1831. Paris 1832. This book also included the rules of “The Society of Lithuanian and Rus Lands” (Towarzysrwo Litewskie i Ziem Ruskich), an émigré organisation emphasising the importance of the lost lands as Polish territory. On the political importance of the first anniversary, see Kalemka 1971: 91–94. Społeczeństwo...1984: 658–659. Excerpts from a Russian translation of letters from original Polish. The book by Chodźko must be: Histoire des légions polonaises en Italie. Paris 1829. It deals with Polish legions in the service of Napoleon’s France.

5 Djakow and Nagajew 1979: 325–326, 334–335, 341–346, 348–352. Poljakov 1950: 385–387. Społeczeństwo...1984: 645, 652–654, 650–652, 657. Excerpts made for the Ministry of Public Enlightenment from the report of the investigating commission in Witebsk.

6 Djakow and Nagajew 1979: 334–341. Gur’janov 1952: 114–118. Poljakov 1950: 375–377, 384–385, 388–392, quotation 376. Includes a Russian translation of the society’s rules. Społeczeństwo...1984: 654–655.

7 Poljakov 1950: 388–390.

8 RGIA f. 733, op. 95, delo 199, l. 32. List of students. Gur’janov 1952: 115–117. Poljakov 1950: 384.



enthusiasm for Mickiewicz, which probably means that Bielecki did not hide his Polish patriotism from his Russian friend. Aksakov also had good relations with Kossowicz. During the investigation, Łada-Zabłocki mentioned Vissarion Belinskij among his friends.<sup>9</sup>

The case of Łada-Zabłocki and his friends in Witebsk was not decided on until May 1837. Łada-Zabłocki was denied all privileges of social rank and sentenced to military service at a rank of a private soldier in the Caucasus. He died there in 1847 soon after being released from the army. In the Caucasus, Łada-Zabłocki continued to write poetry, some of which was published in a book in 1845.<sup>10</sup>

There is no evidence that Łada-Zabłocki or his friends had contact with the ‘Revenge of the People’. The case was certainly not politically important. However, the principles of the literary society reflect those of all Polish student groups of the time. Cultivation of the Polish language and a moralistic approach is common to all of them. In this sense, the case of “The Literary Society” was not an isolated one. Łada-Zabłocki and his friends wanted to continue the tradition of the Filomats and Filarets.

In March 1833 the Governor-General of Wilno, Nikolaj Dolgorukov, informed the Third Section about the disappearance of Adolf Korsak, a student of Wilno Medical Academy, together with two other persons. On 8 January, Korsak’s brother, Zelisław, had written a letter to his parents in which he explained Adolf’s flight abroad because of his membership in a secret society that had been uncovered by the authorities. Zelisław Korsak also studied in the Academy. Apart from the incriminating correspondence with his brother and parents, among his papers there was found some patriotic poetry under the title “The White Eagle”. What was odd in the case was that the authorities had no information whatsoever about any uncovered secret society. They came to the conclusion that the story about secret society was just an excuse invented for his parents by Adolf Korsak in order to justify his escape.<sup>11</sup>

The Korsak brothers were noblemen. Their father owned 36 peasant souls near Słuck. When the estate was searched, letters were found from Adolf Korsak in Galicia. In them, he informed his parents that he and some other students were about to join patriotic armed forces. It is difficult to decide whether Korsak really had contacted the ‘Revenge of the People’ or whether the talk about Polish armed forces was just another bluff. In any case, Korsak’s letters decided the fate of his parents. His father, Hipolyt Korsak, was arrested and tried before a court martial. His estate was confiscated. The documents of the Third Section do not contain information about the fate of Zelisław Korsak.<sup>12</sup>

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9 Aksakov 1911: 14–15. Djakow and Nagajew 1979: 334–335. Poljakov 1950: 375, 380–383.

10 Djakow and Nagajew 1979: 361–362. Poljakov 1950: 377–378, 383. Łada-Zabłocki Tadeusz: *Poezje*. Petersburg 1845. Unfortunately the book has not been available to me.

11 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., op. 8, 1833g., ed. hr. 69, l. 5–22, 27. Third Section’s correspondence about Korsak.

12 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1833g., op. 8, l. 24–25, 34, 37. Hipolyt Korsak’s arrest and trial were also caused by his angry behaviour during the house search. For instance, he called the government barbaric.

The Revenge of the People had a connection with Wilno Medical Academy. It was established by an agent, Marceł Szymański, who was originally from Grodno and had studied at the University of Wilno in 1829–1831. During the insurrection, Szymański tried to enlist in the Russian army but he was not accepted. Right after this, he joined the Polish forces. At least once Szymański secretly returned to Wilno as an agent of the Polish government, but finally he emigrated to France. He was already familiar with the area and had many personal acquaintances in Wilno, when he returned there as an agent on 31 March 1833.<sup>13</sup>

According to the general plan of the campaign, Szymański's task was to build up the conspiracy in the districts of Lida and Grodno. In fact, his conspiracy covered Grodno and Wilno, with which he was most familiar. When recruiting members for the conspiracy, Szymański spoke rather freely, informing his listeners all about Zaliwski's campaign. One of the first persons who accommodated Szymański in Wilno was Zygmunt Rewkowski, a 26-year-old student of the Academy. Rewkowski had already graduated from the University as a Master of Philosophy and taught mathematics there. After the closure of the University, he began medical studies at his own expense. Rewkowski knew Szymański well from the University. He hid Szymański at his home and established contacts for him with two other persons, who also agreed to participate in the conspiracy.<sup>14</sup>

After two days, Szymański continued his trip to Grodno. There, among others he met Jan Ejsmont, another student of the Academy, who also agreed to help him. Ejsmont was the 20-year-old son of a Grodno lawyer, who was studying at his own expense. When he set off for his return to Wilno, he took a letter with him from Szymański to Rewkowski.<sup>15</sup>

Szymański returned to Wilno on 28 April, after establishing a conspiracy in Grodno. The group included mainly priests, gymnasium pupils and junior civil servants. Despite his efforts, Szymański had not managed to contact the leader of an armed unit, Michał Wołłowicz, or other agents in the area. In Wilno, the conspiracy was languishing, and Rewkowski advised Szymański to give up all his plans and return to France. Szymański stayed only four days and then returned to Grodno.<sup>16</sup>

The Grodno group was not discouraged. Szymański set the date for the beginning of the armed struggle for 15 May. However, he soon heard about the arrest of Wołłowicz and his armed unit. Szymański also got a letter from an agent called Hordyński, who was responsible for the Białystok area. Hordyński

13 Gulczyński 1933: 296–298, 302. Wierchowski 1960: 385–386.

14 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., op. 10, 1833g., ed. hr. 201, c. 10, l. 21, 41–43. Gulczyński 1933: 303–304. Wierchowski 1960: 387. According to Gulczyński, Szymański contacted Rewkowski after his first arrival in Wilno, whereas Wierchowski claims that this took place during Szymański's second visit to Wilno, after he had already been to Grodno.

15 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., op. 10, ed. hr. 201, c. 10, l. 47–49. Gulczyński 1933:308. Wierchowski 1960:386–387.

16 Gulczyński 1933: 308–311.

informed Szymański about his plans to give up all work and return to France. Szymański understood the hopelessness of the situation and decided to follow Hordyński's example.<sup>17</sup>

Szymański arrived in Wilno on 25 May. In the evening, he was arrested together with Ejsmont in the latter's rooms. The emissary could not bear the solitary confinement and interrogation and soon revealed everything that he knew. In Wilno 40 persons were investigated and 16 of them tried at a court martial. In Grodno 68 persons faced trial. Rewkowski and Ejsmont were sentenced to serve in the Caucasian army as private soldiers, but with the right of release if they served the full twenty-year term or were promoted to officer's rank before that.<sup>18</sup>

Szymański's group was not a student conspiracy. Two Academy students among the 84 persons tried are surprisingly few indeed. The passivity of the students was probably due to the fact that the most active element had already given up their studies during the insurrection. Only the more obedient remained. Szymański was active for only two years after the insurrection, before a new generation of students entered the Academy. Maciej Łowicki, a member of a later student group in the Academy led by Franciszek Sawicz, states that even in 1835 the mood among the students was politically passive.<sup>19</sup> The fact that there were eight sentenced pupils from Grodno schools shows that the next generation was more prepared to take action.<sup>20</sup> The contribution of the Academy to the conspiracy was insignificant also because Szymański stopped only for a very short time in Wilno, concentrating his main efforts on Grodno.

Szymański's later fate falls outside the scope of the present study. Suffice it to mention that he agreed to co-operate with the Third Section and was sent to France as its agent. There he did not hide his assumed task and tried to approach the émigrés as a penitent patriot. After this failed, Szymański emigrated to the United States.<sup>21</sup>

17 Gulczyński 1933: 311–314.

18 GARF f. 109, 1833g., ed. hr. 201, cast' 10, l. 48. Gulczyński 1933: 315–328. Wierzchowski 1960: 387.

19 Łowicki 1925: 1–4.

20 Gulczyński 1933: 324–327.

21 Gulczyński 1933: 330–332. Wierzchowski 1960: 387–397.

# ■ The student groups affiliated with the Union of the Polish People (SLP)

## Szymon Konarski and the SLP in the Western Provinces

Szymon Konarski crossed the Austrian-Russian border to the Province of Wołyń in December 1835. His aim was to rouse all the Western Provinces to take part in the future all-Polish insurrection. An officer of 27 years of age, Konarski was already a veteran of the Polish struggle for independence. He had fought in the insurrection and subsequently emigrated. He had once before returned to the Kingdom of Poland, during Zaliwski's campaign. He had also fought in Mazzini's unsuccessful attack on Sardinian territory in Northern Italy. He had been one of the founders of the SLP in Cracow. Many of those who met Konarski have left accounts of the great impression he made and his extraordinary talent for convincing people. An impressive person alive, he became a myth of the Polish national movement after his martyr's death.<sup>1</sup>

Konarski established his headquarters in the Wołynian estate of Lissowo. Its tenant farmer, Ignacy Rodziewicz, became his closest aide. However, Konarski did not spend all his time in Lissowo, but travelled widely in Lithuania and the Right-Bank Ukraine as far as Wilno and Odessa. He may even have visited St. Petersburg.<sup>2</sup>

Before Konarski's arrival, there existed a small conspiracy consisting of former Carbonarists in the Ukraine. It had been founded in spring 1835 and was called "Faith, Hope and Charity" (*Wiara, Nadzieja, Miłość*). Its aims were basically similar to those of the SLP: independence, land reform and the abolition of privileges of social rank. In Wilno there was a "Lithuanian Committee" (*Komitet litewski*), which a small group of Czartoryski's adherents founded in 1834. Now Konarski began to recruit new members and work for the unification of all local conspiracies in the SLP.<sup>3</sup>

1 Barszczewska 1976: 18–146. Łopuszański 1975: 22–24, 33, 237–239. Łukaszewicz 1948: 85–129. Mošovskij 1909: 494–496. Russian translation from the original Polish.

2 Barszczewska 1976: 144–147, 150–156, 159–163, 169–171, 178–180, 187–190, 209–212. Łopuszański 1975: 246–257, 288–290. Łopuszański 1972: 64–65. Łukaszewicz 1948: 129–132, 146, 152–154, 168–169.

3 Barszczewska 1976: 147–151. Łopuszański 1975: 239–244, 275–277. Łukaszewicz 1948: 131–132. Mošovskij 1909: 484–485, 488–491. Unlike other authors, Łukaszewicz mentions a "Committee of Rus" separate from Maszkowski's organisation. This is probably a misunderstanding. The pre-Konarski conspiracy in Ukraine has been called by various names. Apart from "Faith, Hope and Charity", Barszczewska calls it "The Committee of Rus" and mentions as well the name "The Patriotic Society". Łopuszański mentions the name "The Filodemit Society". I have preferred "Faith, Hope and Charity", since Kievan students got to know the society under that name. In my characterization of the society, I follow its leader

Despite the similarity of aims, there were serious disputes between Konarski and the former members of “Faith, Hope and Charity”. Certainly, these were due to a power struggle within the society. Konarski was criticized for excessive dependence on foreign theories, ignorance of local conditions, dictatorial behaviour and excessively liberal recruitment of members. Many local conspirators had doubts about the real existence of the SLP, suspecting it of being just a fabrication invented by Konarski. Some were also scared by Konarski’s criticism of religion.<sup>4</sup>

Konarski managed to contact “Faith, Hope and Charity” in the latter half of 1836. After difficult negotiations, the local conspirators agreed to join the SLP. Contact with the Lithuanian Committee was established at the end of 1836 or the beginning of 1837 in Wilno. The Lithuanians reluctantly agreed to co-operate with Konarski. It seems that relations between Konarski and the Lithuanian Committee remained strained. Konarski contacted the Wilno students directly, not through the Committee.<sup>5</sup>

After one and half a years of preparatory work and recruiting, the local organization of the SLP was finally founded in the Ukrainian town of Berdyczów, in June 1837. The organizational structure was somewhat simpler than it usually was in the SLP, but otherwise the charter of the SLP was accepted. Konarski was elected the leader (*naczelnik*) and Kasper Maszkowski, the leader of “Faith, Hope and Charity”, “inspector” of the society. The owner of a private boarding school in Kiev, Piotr Borowski, who by that time had already founded a student society in Kiev, was nominated as the representative of Konarski in the Province of Kiev.<sup>6</sup>

At the next meeting in Żytomierz in autumn 1837, the new programme was adopted. It was a result of a compromise between Maszkowski and Konarski, partly inspired by the charter of the SLP. It included six main points: 1. Upholding the nationality, which included religion, language, customs and “national memories”; 2. Awakening the spirit of self-sacrifice. Martyrdom was necessary, since the Polish nation had a special mission in the liberation of all mankind; 3. The spreading of enlightenment, including propaganda against prejudice based on birth; 4. Correcting bad habits. This was a struggle against vanity, luxury, desire for titles, subservience to persons imagined to be of higher rank and scorn for those of lower rank, drunkenness, gambling, debauchery and ill-treatment of peasants; 5. Making peasants sons of the Fatherland. They must be told that only the government stood in the way of their full equality. The landlords must reduce the obligations of peasants and enact reforms for their benefit. The Jews must be expelled from villages, but on the other hand, they

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Maszkowski’s description. Barszcewska claims that the society was more conservative than the SLP.

4 Barszcewska 1976: 164–171. Łopuszański 1975: 255, 265–266, 269–271. Łukaszewicz 1948: 138–139. Mošovskij 1909: 493–507, 514–515.

5 Barszcewska 1976: 150–151, 154–156, 169–171. Łopuszański 1975: 253–255, 275–277. Łukaszewicz 1948: 131–134, 153–154. Mošovskij 1909: 493–502.

6 Barszcewska 1976: 154–156. Łopuszański 1975: 262–264. Łukaszewicz 1948: 140–142.

must be promised free trade and full citizen rights. This illogical section clearly indicates that the programme was the result of a compromise; 6. Correction of false opinions. These included hoping for support from foreign powers or rich persons with historical families (meaning Czartoryski), atheism, monarchism and ranking people according to their birth.<sup>7</sup>

This local programme considered both religion and language as inseparable attributes of the Polish identity. In this, it contradicted the programme of the whole SLP. Such a concept of nationality could not appeal to the masses in an area where only a minority of the population spoke Polish and belonged to the Roman Catholic Church. It was also rather odd considering Konarski's Calvinist background. On the other hand, the programme did not specifically mention the Roman Catholic Church.

The next meeting was held in Lissowo in January 1838. It was decided not to begin the insurrection in the immediate future, although a preliminary military plan was ready. The organization had to make itself stronger by recruiting still more members before it could undertake its main task.<sup>8</sup>

By this time, the controversy between Maszkowski's and Konarski's followers had become serious. In spring 1838, during the Kievan Fair, a meeting to which Konarski was not invited was held. Maszkowski's adherents decided that the agent must leave the country, but Konarski did not obey the decision. It was announced that the next meeting would be held in Berdyczów on 3 June 1838. It was never held, since by that time Konarski had already been arrested. I shall write about Konarski's last days of freedom, his arrest and execution in the context of the Wilno student groups.<sup>9</sup> There is no evidence that any representatives of student groups affiliated with the SLP in the Western Provinces took part in any of the meetings in which decisions about the actions of the whole society were made. As we shall see, the absence of students did not mean that their part in the SLP was unimportant.

## Władysław Gordon's group at St. Vladimir's University of Kiev

The first attempt to found a secret Polish society at the university took place in spring 1835. Tomasz Mrożowski, a young nobleman, brought forbidden literature and spoke to the students about the desirability of founding a society. Mrożowski had himself been denied admission to the university because of his participation in the insurrection.<sup>10</sup> His efforts seem to have been unsuccessful, since a society was not founded until 8 May 1836 on the initiative of other

7 The programme has been published. Konarski 1918. The authorship of this text is somewhat controversial. Maszkowski claimed that it had been written by local conspirators: Leonard Łepkowski, Oraczewski, Waleryan Podhoroński and Maszkowski himself. Moškovskij 1909: 488–489. However, the six points resemble those previously accepted by the SLP in Cracow.

8 Barszczewska 1976: 163, 198–207.

9 Barszczewska 1976: 167–168. Łopuszański 1975: 270–271. Moškovskij 1909: 513–516.

10 RVIA f. 801, op. 64/5, svjazka 7, ed. hr. 14, č. 1, l. 38–39. Simonov 1963:62.

nationalist conspirators outside the university. Piotr Borowski, 35 years of age, was a graduate of the Krzemieniec Lyceum. He kept a boarding house in Kiev for both university students and gymnasium pupils. He had joined “Faith, Hope and Charity” in January 1836. Borowski invited some students – Władysław Gordon, Stanisław Winnicki and Antoni Janiszewski – to join the patriotic society, which he said had already spread its activities everywhere. For their part, the three students should recruit new members. Borowski gave them the programme of the society and asked them to copy it. The students enthusiastically agreed to join the society and swore the oath.<sup>11</sup>

Konarski never met the Kievan students although he visited the Province of Kiev. It was Borowski who formed the link between the student society and the SLP. The meetings often took place in his boarding house. Three other students who worked there were recruited into the society. From the start, the students received illegal literature from Borowski. The new members swore the oath holding a clod of earth in their hands and adopted secret names, which was the practice in the SLP.<sup>12</sup>

Below Borowski, the most important leader was Władysław Gordon, 24 years of age at the time of the founding of the society. Gordon’s father was a nobleman and the steward of an estate owned by a wealthy magnate called Potocki in the Right-Bank Ukraine. The other students were mostly in contact with the conspiracy through Gordon, but sometimes they contacted Borowski directly. Stanisław Winnicki was the 23-year-old orphaned son of a landless nobleman from Podolia, Antoni Janiszewski was 20 years of age and also of Podolian nobility. All three of the founders of the student society were Roman Catholics.<sup>13</sup>

The students immediately began to recruit new members. In August at the latest, Borowski informed Gordon that “Faith, Hope and Charity” had joined the SLP and gave him its charter, which Gordon gave to the other students. Recruiting continued. At various times 39 students in all were found guilty of political transgressions in connection with the society.<sup>14</sup>

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- 11 CDIAU f. 470, op. 1, delo 29, l. 11. Winnicki’s testimony. LVIA f. 378, p/o, 1838g, ed. hr. 52, c. IV, l. 73. Dmitrij Bibikov, Governor-General of Kiev, to Nikolaj Dolgorukov, Governor-General of Wilno. RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 121, l. 17, 20–23. Bibikov to Uvarov. Moškovskij 1909: 488, 490–491. Simonov 1961: 94–96. In more detail, in Simonov 1963: 55–59. Tabiš 1974: 49–50.
  - 12 Barszczewska 1976: 155–156. Marahov 1984: 18–23. Tabiš 1974: 52, 150–151. Simonov 1963: 61–63. CDIAU f. 470, op. 1, delo 29, l. 11–12, 26.
  - 13 CDIAU f. 470, op. 1, delo 29, l. 7, 12. Testimony by Winnicki. RGIA f. 733, op. 95, delo 795, l. 91–92, 97–98. List of students. Simonov 1961: 96–99. Simonov 1963: 60–62, 64–65. Tabiš 1974: 51.
  - 14 CDIAU f. 470, op. 1, ed. hr. 29, l. 11. Testimony by Winnicki. RGIA f. 733, op. 69, delo 335, l. 1–5. Uvarov’s representation to the Emperor about six students. Ibid. f. 735, op. 10, delo 121, l. 21, 37, 41. Information about the student society sent by the Governor-General Bibikov to Uvarov. The list of all persons tried was published in: Pribavlenie k no 18-mu Kievskih Gubernskih Vedomostej za 1839 god. It contains names of 35 students. Marahov 1984: 19 states that there were 46 members. In his most recent article, Marahov finds 43 members. Marahov: Poljaki v Kievskom universitete (1834–1864). In: Pol’skie...1995: 181. Flynn 1986: Uvarov...221–226. Flynn mentions four students arrested in May 1837, but does not know about uncovering of the whole student group in 1838. This is odd, since he could have read about it in Tabiš 1974: 57–60, to which he refers.

The society does not seem to have functioned very actively. The main form of its activity was self-education with the aid of illegal literature published abroad. This included first of all the works by Mickiewicz: “Books of the Polish Nation and a Polish Pilgrimage”, “Forefathers’ Eve” and “Pan Tadeusz” and at least in one case also “Crimean Sonnets” (*Sonety Krymskie*). Some unspecified work by Słowacki also circulated in the university. The students also read Seweryn Goszczyński’s short poems “Feast of Revenge” and “Moment of Revenge”. During the 1830–31 Insurrection, Goszczyński had been active among the democrats. In 1835, he came to Cracow as an envoy and was one of the founders of the SLP. He returned later to France without visiting Russian Poland.<sup>15</sup>

The non-artistic political literature studied by students included at least the following: Mochnacki’s “History of the Uprising of the Polish Nation”; Roman Sołtyk’s book on the same subject; “Three Constitutions of Poland” (*Trzy konstytucje polskie*) by Lelewel; a history of the 1830–31 Insurrection in the Right-Bank Ukraine written by its military commander, Karol Różycki; a history of the guerrilla warfare in Lithuania during the insurrection; a work about the present state of governments in Europe; “Paroles d’ un croyant” by Felicité Lamennais; “Tableau de la révolution de Pologne” by Mierosławski; a speech titled “Poland, Russia and Europe” made in Paris on the anniversary of the insurrection, and the journal “Les polonais”, which was published in Paris by constitutional monarchists.<sup>16</sup>

In “Three Constitutions of Poland” Lelewel blamed the aristocracy and the bad situation of the peasants for the loss of independence. However, he took favourable attitude towards the wide political franchise that the nobility enjoyed, finding it superior to all the monarchies of Europe. However, the democracy should have been strengthened by granting political rights to the peasants. In this regard, Lelewel criticized the 3 May 1791 constitution, which had strengthened monarchic power. For the future, Lelewel demanded political rights for all men regardless of ancestry.<sup>17</sup>

Różycki’s book was pure military history. It was propagated among the students as moral and military preparation for the future insurrection. Many of students came from the very area where Różycki’s troops had fought.<sup>18</sup>

15 On the poetry read by students see CDIAU f. 470, op. 1, ed. hr.29, l. 12. Winnicki’s testimony. RGIA f. 733, op. 69, delo 335, l. 34, 50–56, 61–64, the reports of von Bradke to Uvarov. RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 121, l. 33, 47, 51. Bibikov to Uvarov 20th and 24th September, 8th October 1838. Simonov 1960: 96–97.

16 CDIAU f. 470, op.1, delo 29, l. 12, 17. Testimonies by Winnicki. *ibid.*, l. 26. Information of the investigating commission about the testimony of Seweryn Szymański. RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 121, l. 37–38, 41, 47–48, 50–51. Bibikov to Uvarov 24th September and 8th October 1838. Simonov 1960: 96–97. Tabiś 1974: 52–53. The speech concerning Russia, Poland and Europe was probably the one made by a supporter of Lelewel in 1835: Tymowski Kantorbery: *La Pologne, la Russie et l’Europe, discours prononcé le 29 novembre jour anniversaire de l’insurrection nationale polonoise*. Paris 1835.

17 Kieniewicz 1990: 58. Lelewel Joachim: *Trzy Konstytucje polskie r. 1791, 1807, 1815 porównał i różnice ich rozważył Joachim Lelewel*. Paryż 1832.

18 Różycki Karol: *Powstanie na Wołyniu, czyli pamiętnik pułku jazdy wołyńskiej, uformowanego w czasie wojny narodu polskiego przeciw despotyzmowi tronu rosyjskiego w 1831 r.* Bourges 1832. The book is described in Barszczewska-Krupa 1979: 31.



Lamennais was an adherent of Christian socialism. Influenced to some extent by Mickiewicz, he foresaw a special role for Poland in the liberation of the whole of Europe.<sup>19</sup> Sołtyk had been one of the activists of the left during the insurrection. Among the émigrés, he was one of Lelewel's followers.<sup>20</sup> The history of the insurrection in Lithuania was compiled from two collections of memoirs published in Paris.<sup>21</sup> Mierosławski had published his account about the insurrection at the age of nineteen, before he had yet become affiliated with any specific émigré group.<sup>22</sup>

The reading was done mostly individually. However, in the autumn of 1836, Gordon organized a seminar for the study of the history of the Polish national movement. About ten persons participated in the gatherings, which were held at the home of two students Paweł Bogdanowicz and Jan Lubowicki. Mochnacki's book and perhaps some others were used as material. On another occasion, "Pan Tadeusz" was read aloud in the state students' dormitory.<sup>23</sup>

Apart from the titles of books the students read, the information about the ideological atmosphere in the society is scarce. A student testified that Gordon had spoken to him about the superiority of democracy compared to other governmental systems. Gordon had further revealed that the SLP also functioned in Lithuania and in the Kingdom of Poland. Another student said that Janiszewski had informed him that the society was also active among the medical students in Wilno. This means that at least the leadership of the student society was politically conscious and knew about the SLP's wider activities. The students also themselves wrote romantic poetry. Especially Winnicki was considered a promising poet by his colleagues. Later when serving in the army in the Caucasus he published some poems.<sup>24</sup>

The members of the society were expected to be religious and to behave morally.<sup>25</sup> This was almost certainly due to the influence of Mickiewicz. They paid dues to the society according to their means. Half of the money was used by the student society, half was given to Borowski to support the SLP. According to the Soviet historian, Simonov, the students also financially helped political

19 Lamennais: *Słowa wieszcz* ks. Lamenege. Paryż 1834. Barszczewska-Krupa 1979: 122-123.

20 Barszczewska-Krupa 1979: 60, 81.

21 Zbiór pamiętników o powstaniu Litwy w roku 1831. Red. F. Wrotnowski. Paryż 1833. The book includes O. Jacewicz's memoirs. Straszewicz Józef: *Les Polonais et les polonaises de la révolution du 29 novembre 1830 ou portraits des personnes qui ont figurés dans la dernière guerre de l'indépendance polonaise*. Paris 1832. Includes Wincenty Matuszewicz's memoirs.

22 Mierosławski Ludwik: *Tableau de la première époque de la révolution de Pologne*. Orné de quatre portraits par Ludwik Mierosławski, lieutenant de l'armée polonaise. Besancon 1833. The students also read a hand-written article by Konarski, "Voice in the Wilderness" (*Głos wołującego w puszczy*). It has not been possible for me to get hold of this document. According to Simonov 1963: 43 and Łopuszański 1972: 63-64 its central message was revolutionary brotherhood between Poles and Russians.

23 Simonov 1960: 97. Tabiś 1974: 53. RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 121, l. 51. Bibikov to Uvarov 8th October 1838.

24 RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 121, l. 48-50. Bibikov to Uvarov 24th September 1838. *Ze wspomnień kresowych*. Kraj 20/1884. P. 15-16.

25 CDIAU f. 470, op. 1, ed. hr. 29, l. 11. Winnicki's testimony. RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 121, l. 39, 49. Bibikov to Uvarov 24th September and 8th October 1838.

prisoners passing through Kiev.<sup>26</sup> The SLP also ordered the students to gather information about their home areas during their vacations. This was to include the political mood of the inhabitants, the economic situation, relations between peasants and landlords as well as geographical information. The latter was presumably supposed to be useful in the insurrection, which was to be organized at a later, unspecified time. The students themselves later claimed that they did not carry out this task.<sup>27</sup>

The student society was headed by senior members called *soltys* (village elder). This term was adopted from the SLP's rules. An ordinary member reported to his *soltys* about those students worthy to be received into the society. The *soltys* made the final decision, told about the society to a prospective new member and took his oath of allegiance. In principle, each ordinary member was supposed to know only his own *soltys*. As we have seen, this precaution was neglected.<sup>28</sup>

Rumours about illegal literature circulating among students reached the local Gendarme Colonel, Dohturov, in 1836. He received evidence in June 1837 after a serf found printed and hand-written literature among firewood beside a house where some students lived. The discovery included the following works: "Books of the Polish Nation and a Polish Pilgrimage"; the above-mentioned two poems by Goszczyński, and poems entitled "Birds of Passage, or Poles in France" (*Ptaki wędrowne czyli Polacy w Francji*) and "Prayer to God" (*Modlitwa do Boga*) by an unknown author; "Review of Polish Societies" (*Rzut oka na związki i towarzystwa polskie*), "On a Society of Mutual Assistance" (*O towarzystwie wzajemnej pomocy*, Paryż 1833) by Aleksander Jełowicki, and a biography of "Chodźko".<sup>29</sup>

Curator von Bradke's evaluation of the literature found has survived. The unknown author's poems were "written in a spirit of malevolence towards Russia and specially for the purpose of inciting nations to seek freedom". Goszczyński's poems expressed "the most furious hatred and bestial thirst for revenge of peoples against the tsars, but...Russia and Poland are not mentioned at all". The biography of Chodźko did not include "anything special". Jełowicki's book included "absurd, but rather eloquently and coherently expressed suppositions about the rising of peoples against the tsars...". Bradke thought that the "Review of Polish Societies" was compiled from various sources. It was a history of Polish patriotic societies from Napoleonic times to 1833.<sup>30</sup>

26 Simonov 1960: 97. Simonov 1963: 64.

27 RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 121, l. 40, 49–51. Bibikov to Uvarov 24th September and 8th October 1838.

28 RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 121, l. 33–34, 47, 50. Bibikov to Uvarov 20th September and 8th October 1838. Simonov 1960: Oseredok...95, 97–98.

29 RGIA f. 733, op. 69, delo 335, l. 27–28. Aleksandr Mordvinov to Uvarov 21 June 1837, containing the report by Dohturov. Ibid. l. 50–51. A copy of von Bradke's report to the Emperor 15th August 1837. Panteleev 1908: 185–198 contains relevant documents. Since there were various writers called Chodźko in Poland and among the émigrés, it has not been possible to establish, whose biography it exactly was.

30 RGIA f. 733, op. 69, delo 335, l. 50–51. Indeed, Jełowicki's book was a short presentation of democratic principles, which explained lack of freedom as a consequence of social inequality. Barszczewska-Krupa 1979: 103.

An analysis of the handwriting led to a student called Stanisław Stroinowski. He confessed, and soon five other students guilty of copying, reading or possessing illegal literature were caught. Bogdanowicz, at whose home the historical seminar was held, was among the arrested, though the seminar gatherings were not discovered. Neither was the secret society nor the real extent of illegal studies in the university revealed.<sup>31</sup>

The case was reported to the Emperor, who was furious. His first reaction was to rule that all students found guilty were to be sent to a mental hospital.<sup>32</sup> While the investigation was still going on, on 14 August 1837, Nicholas visited Kiev. Someone had hung a libellous poem in Polish on the wall of the university building. According to an eyewitness, Russian student, Nicholas reacted strongly:

Entering the hall, the Emperor did not greet anyone...he turned to the students and spoke in a broken voice: "You study well, but that is not enough. Learning alone does not guarantee good results, I need faithful sons of the throne, boundless devotion, unconscious and unresisting obedience; know that I shall closely follow you, and woe betide him who by his moral or political orientation will not meet with my demands, woe betide him...who will dare to be carried away like your fellows. I shall hide him there where even crow's bones are not taken (*voron kostej ne zanosit*)."<sup>33</sup>

One of the students did not look the Emperor in the eye, which made the latter comment: "One can see that you are not a Russian, but a Pole with an unclean conscience, you do not dare to look the Russian Emperor in the eye".<sup>34</sup> Nicholas also threatened the professors by telling them that if they would not work for a right moral and political orientation among the students, he would deal with them in his own way.

Nicholas ordered Uvarov to travel to Kiev and personally make himself acquainted with the case. The arrested students were not subjected to the normal judicial procedure, but the case was left to the educational authorities. This was the last time during Nicholas' reign that the Ministry of Public Enlightenment was allowed to handle a political crime committed by students. Uvarov presented the case to the Emperor on 21 October, ignoring the original order about a mental hospital. The punishments were somewhat inconsistent, tempering cruelty with mercy. This was probably because the Minister knew that Nicholas would not be satisfied if all the punishments were mild. Bogdanowicz and Julian Bujalski, who were considered the guiltiest, were sentenced to serve as soldiers in Orenburg. They were not denied nobleman's rights, which made promotion and release possible after a few years. One student was sent as a

31 RGIA f. 733, op. 69, delo 335, l. 65–76.

32 RGIA f. 733, op. 69, delo 335, l. 27.

33 Seleckij 1885: 285.

34 Idem. Also in von Bradke's report to Uvarov 20th August 1837: RGIA f. 733, op. 69, delo 335, l. 48–49.

district schoolteacher to the Province of Kazan, but three were released and allowed to continue their studies in Kiev.<sup>35</sup>

The case led to the flight of Władysław Gordon to France. Before that, he organized a collection of money for Bujalski and Bogdanowicz. The prospective soldiers received the money, but an assistant inspector found it on them. They said that they had received the money from Gordon. The latter now feared that not only his role in the collection of the money but also that the whole secret society would be uncovered. He decided to flee.<sup>36</sup>

Though von Bradke indeed ordered the arrest of Gordon, the latter was not actually in great danger. The authorities had no information about the society. The money collection was a minor offence. It was not even forbidden to collect money for the sentenced, but it should have been done through the university authorities in order to be legal. After a petition from the students, von Bradke organized a collection for the arrested students, but Gordon had not taken part in it, preferring his own underground collection.<sup>37</sup>

Gordon did not know how little the authorities knew. He went into hiding on 15 November and left Kiev the next day. Before his departure, he gave Winnicki the responsibility for those students he had admitted into the society. Gordon planned to walk to the border, but he got lost and on the second day found himself back near Kiev. He returned to town, barely escaping an inspector's assistant, and managed to contact Winnicki. The fugitive student stayed secretly in Kiev for a few days, until Borowski organized his second departure from the town. This time the journey was more pleasant, since Gordon now had money, a carriage, a false passport and the aid of some of Borowski's acquaintances from the SLP. He stayed for some time on an estate called Płoskirówka, which belonged to the family of Waclaw Ciechanowski, a member of the SLP, near the Moldavian border. In the beginning of January, he met Winnicki there. Gordon did not finally cross the border until June 1838, after Konarski's arrest. He managed to find his way to France. It is known that, whilst in exile, he contacted Lelewel.<sup>38</sup>

Bujalski's and Bogdanowicz's fate made a strong impression on the students, not only in Kiev, but also in Wilno. Many students were so shocked that the society's activity declined, although new members were still recruited. The conspiracy was finally uncovered in connection with the exposure of the whole SLP. Antoni Orzeszko, one of the leaders of the SLP, agreed to co-operate with

35 RGIA f. 733, op. 69, delo 335, l. 1–5. Uvarov's submission to the Emperor. Tabiś 1974: 54–55, writes correctly about six students involved in the case, but mentions that only one was released.

36 CDIAU f. 470, op. 1, delo 29, l. 11. Testimony of Winnicki. Tabiś 1974: 55–56.

37 RGIA f. 733, op. 69, delo 335, l. 14–21. von Bradke to Uvarov 19th November 1837.

38 CDIAU f. 470, op. 1, delo 29, l. 8–9, 11–12. Testimony by Winnicki. Simonov 1960: 99–100. On Gordon's contact with Lelewel, see Simonov 1963: 69. There is an unconfirmed statement that Gordon died in the Caucasus in 1846 serving there as an agent of Sadik Pasha (Michał Czajkowski), who was responsible for Czartoryski's connections with Turkey. Panteleev 1908: 204–205. Kalemka 1971: 257 mentions Władysław Gordon's death in the Caucasus in 1846, but calls him a former artillery officer. It is not sure whether this was the same person who led the Kievan student conspiracy.

the authorities after his arrest. He denounced among others a Kievan student, Waclaw Maciejowski, who had been a member of the SLP both at the university and in his home area in the Province of Minsk. Maciejowski, who was spending his vacation at home, was arrested and brought to Wilno, where Uvarov happened to be at the same time. On 22 August, the Minister personally questioned Maciejowski, who revealed the existence of the student society and many of its members. Maciejowski was sent to Kiev, where the investigation of the student society was conducted.<sup>39</sup>

Maciejowski was the son of a music teacher. Following von Bradke's memoirs, historians have described Maciejowski as a traitor who denounced the society voluntarily and on his own initiative.<sup>40</sup> In fact, Maciejowski spoke only after he had been denounced and arrested himself.<sup>41</sup> He was by no means the only one to break during the investigation, since Winnicki and Janiszewski also spoke rather freely. The authorities received Maciejowski's testimony about four months after Konarski's arrest. It is certain that the Kievan students by this time had heard about the fate of Konarski and other leaders of the SLP. Probably they destroyed much incriminating material before their own arrest.

In the course of the investigation, 34 students in all were found guilty of political crimes. Initially, 11 students received death sentences, but Nicholas mitigated them. The *sołtyses* – Janiszewski, Jan Źródłowski, Winnicki, Aristarch Sosnowski, Ksawery Pietraszkiewicz and Edward Milewski – were sentenced to military service in the Caucasian army at private soldier's rank and with denial of the privileges of their social rank. Five more students were to serve as soldiers in the Caucasus with all their rights of social rank, which made promotion to officer's rank possible for confirmed nobles. Fifteen were sent to the army with the rights of a voluntary recruit, but they were obliged to serve at least 10 years after promotion to officer rank. Eight were allowed to finish their studies in the University of Kazan with an obligation to serve after graduation for at least 10 years in the Great Russian provinces. During their studies and service, they were forbidden to visit the Western Provinces.<sup>42</sup>

Of the 39 students who are known to have participated in the activities of the society, at least 30 were Roman Catholics, three Uniats and two Orthodox. According to their previous school, two of the Uniats came from Belorussia and one from the Ukraine; both the Orthodox were from Kiev. There was one Uniat,

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39 CDIAU f. 470, op. 1, delo 29, l. 11, 26, 28. Testimony by Winnicki. Simonov 1960: 100. LVIA f. 378, p/o, 1838g., ed. hr. 52, č. II, l. 206, 208, c. III, l. 184–185, 212–213. Dolgorukov's correspondence concerning the arrest and testimony of Maciejowski. RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 121, l. 12–13. Uvarov's correspondence. Łowicki 1925: 30.

40 von Bradke 1875: 286–287. Simonov 1963: 72–73. Tabiš 1974: 57. Vladimirskej-Budanov 1884: 169–170. The statement by Tabiš that Maciejowski after the affair got a job in Wilno is incorrect. In fact, he was sent to serve in the Caucasian army with the rights of a volunteer, but also with an obligation to serve in the ten years after reaching officer rank. The relatively mild punishment was due to the efforts of Uvarov, who wrote to Bibikov and the Minister of War Černyšev asking for mitigation of Maciejowski's sentence. RGIA f. 733, op. 69, delo 399, l. 1–3, 16–17, f. 735, op. 10, delo 121, l. 76.

41 LVIA f. 378, p/o, 1838g., ed. hr. 52, č. II, l. 206, 208, č. III, l. 184–185, 212–213.

42 Pribavlenie k No 18-mu...1839. Simonov 1960: 101. Tabiš 1974: 59. Zasztowt 1997: 142–143.

Aristarch Sosnowski, among the *soltyses*. The conspirators included two sons of Uniat priests, one honoured citizen, one “*odnodvorec*” peasant and one cook’s son, who was an Austrian citizen. The rest were members of the nobility. I have not at my disposal full information about the economic background of the conspirators. However, two important facts are evident. Both the leaders of the society, Gordon and Winnicki, came from the landless nobility. Gordon and at least 11 other sentenced students studied on state or charity funds. This shows that the Kievan student society included a large portion of the landless nobility, which was threatened by abrogation of its rights.<sup>43</sup>

## The Young Poland and its successors in Wilno Medical Academy

The patriotic student group in Wilno Academy began its activities at the end of 1836. It was founded by the students themselves, but inspired by Ignacy Rodziewicz from the SLP. The students were in direct contact with Konarski. There are sufficient grounds to consider the Wilno student group an integral part of the SLP.

The initiator of the secret society in the Academy was Franciszek Sawicz, a state student and son of a deceased Uniat priest.<sup>44</sup> In 1836, when he founded the secret society, Sawicz was 21 years of age. He wrote both in Polish and in Belorussian. This has given A. F. Smirnov reason to call Sawicz a Belorussian revolutionary and to characterize his part in the SLP as Polish-Belorussian revolutionary co-operation.<sup>45</sup> I must in part disagree with Smirnov. Sawicz indeed was Belorussian, but he was Polish as well. All his activity in the SLP is a remarkable testimony to his Polish patriotism. He did not envisage Belorussia as separate from Poland. As for Sawicz’s relation to Russia, his colleague in the Academy, Maciej Łowicki, has left the following account of it:

He was always ready to speak about the insurrection and the history of Poland. He was a convinced enemy not only of the Russians (*Moskali*), but also of the Russian language, criticizing it to everyone and advising them against its study...<sup>46</sup>

According to Łowicki, Sawicz had already supported the idea of an armed uprising against Russia in 1836–37.<sup>47</sup>

43 RVIA f. 801, op. 64/5, svjazka 7, ed. hr. 14, č. 1, 295–297, 299–319. Excerpts from the documents of the court martial. RGIA f. 733, op. 69, delo 399, l. 16–17, 188–190, op. 95, delo 795, l. 90–109. I have no information about the religious denomination of five students. The social rank of six is unknown.

44 Łowicki 1925: 5.

45 Smirnoŭ 1961:7–8. Smirnov 1962: 81–83, 87. Smirnov claims that Sawicz was opposed to reuniting Belorussia with Poland.

46 Łowicki 1925: 6.

47 Łowicki 1925: 14.

Apart from Sawicz, the most active members were Jan Zahorski and Antoni Walecki. Walecki was the 21-year-old son of a nobleman and tenant farmer from the Province of Lublin in the Kingdom of Poland. Zahorski was 24 years of age, from the landless nobility of Wołyń. Both were Roman Catholics.<sup>48</sup>

At the end of 1836, Sawicz met Konarski and Rodziewicz in Wilno. He had been recommended to Rodziewicz by a school comrade, Franciszek Terlecki, a petty landowner and member of the SLP who lived near Pińsk. Afterwards Sawicz claimed that Konarski at this time did not reveal himself as an agent. In any case, Sawicz got the idea of founding a secret society from Rodziewicz and Konarski. This fact was unnoticed by Smirnov. It may be for this reason that Bolesław Łopuszański also claims incorrectly that the Wilno students contacted the SLP for the first time through Warsaw and not until the summer of 1837.<sup>49</sup>

Sawicz told about his plans to found a society to eight colleagues. It was formally founded in April 1837, but as an informal group it had already existed at the end of 1836. There were nine founding members. The group was first named “The Patriotic Society”, not “The Democratic Society”, as Smirnov claims.<sup>50</sup> This name was an allusion to a Warsaw group that had been exposed in 1826 in the context of the investigation of the Decembrist insurrection in Russia. Sawicz wrote the text of an oath: “I swear by the shades of Chodkiewicz, Kościuszkos, Żółkiewskis and others to try to support the fatherland as much as possible and promise to keep the secret”.<sup>51</sup> The oath connected the conspiracy with the 17th-century wars against Russia and the struggle for independence at the end of the 18th century. Sawicz showed the oath to Father Ludwik Trynkowski, a member of the Lithuanian Committee. The Committee had probably come into contact with Konarski and the SLP at about the same time as Konarski met Sawicz at the end of 1836. The priest supported the foundation of the society and approved the oath with one minor correction. The favourable attitude of Trynkowski to the society dispelled the doubts of some students about joining it.<sup>52</sup>

48 Stowarzyszenie...1978: 292. LVIA f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 6, l. 34, 68.

49 LVIA f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 6, l. 57, 63–64. Testimonies by Rodziewicz and Sawicz to the investigating commission. Barszczewska 1976: 194–195. Łopuszański 1975: 284–285. Smirnoŭ 1961: 24–25, 68. Smirnov 1962: 60. However, Smirnoŭ 1961: 16, 67 contains an interesting piece of information claiming that Rodziewicz and Sawicz already previously knew each other.

50 Smirnoŭ 1961: 24. Smirnov 1962: 60–61. Stowarzyszenie...1978: 293. LVIA f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 6, l. 64.

51 LVIA f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 6, l. 15. Jan Karol Chodkiewicz (1560–1621), the Great Hetman of Lithuania, was one of the leaders of an uprising in 1607 against Zygmunt III Waza, demanding greater religious toleration. Military commander in wars against Sweden, Russia and Turkey. Stanisław Żółkiewski (†1620), the Great Hetman of Poland, participated in the uprising against Zygmunt III and commanded Polish troops stationed in Moscow during Russia’s time of troubles.

52 LVIA f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 6, l. 43–47, 64, 342. Testimonies by Sawicz and Zahorski. Konarski told the investigating commission that he heard from Sawicz that Trynkowski advised the students concentrate only on their studies. *ibid.* l. 52. However, the testimonies by Konarski are unreliable, since he did not break down under interrogation and up to the end tried to protect the other members of the society. Stowarzyszenie...1978: 293. Antoni Walecki’s testimony. Barszczewska 1976: 149–151.

The dominant mood in the student society was religious and moralistic. The members were expected to pray and go to confession. The oath was sworn on a cross and a book of the gospels, which was then kissed.<sup>53</sup> However, the group was not a mere moralistic society. Its name and oath reveal an affiliation with the traditions of the Polish patriotic movement. Right from the start, the society was in contact with the SLP. On the other hand, at this time the students did not yet use the oath and rules of the SLP. This shows that the connection with the SLP was at first a loose one. The members of the student group did not formally become members of the SLP.

Maciej Łowicki's memoirs, which were written in 1839 and fell into hands of the authorities a year later, give additional evidence about the political atmosphere in the Academy. The first pieces of illegal literature appeared during the academic year 1834–1835. They included a pamphlet criticizing the Emperor, which was published in France. In the same year, a groundless rumour spread among the students that the Austrian Prince Ernest was willing to grant Poland independence and to be made himself the King of Poland. The rumour was greeted with great enthusiasm. In April 1836, the students became acquainted with the first part of "Books of a Polish Pilgrimage" by Mickiewicz. The Books began the boom of illegal literature among the students. They read Mochnacki's history of the insurrection and adopted its critical attitude to the leadership of the November Insurrection. They also read the Constitution of 3 May 1791, which by that time was considered exemplary by the constitutional monarchists. Czartoryski himself was admired by the students, which shows a lack of political understanding, since he was the person who had led the insurrection.<sup>54</sup>

Łowicki's memoirs reveal an anti-Semitic mood among the students. When discussing the insurrection, the students asked: "Why at that very time was the equality of the peasants not decreed, why were the Jews not expelled, and finally, why an army of 100,000 men was not formed?"<sup>55</sup> According to Łowicki, for patriotic reasons the students also disliked a German opera group which came to Wilno in 1835.<sup>56</sup> However, it must be added that the documents of the student society itself and the testimonies of its members do not include indications of anti-Semitism or enmity towards the Germans. On the contrary, they emphasized the equality of all men, regardless of religious confession.

In 1836 and 1837, the forbidden poetry that was circulating in the Academy included "Forefathers' Eve", "Pan Tadeusz" and "The Works of Grzymała"

53 Stowarzyszenie...1978: 294. LVIA f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 6, l. 64, 171, 181, 266.

54 Łowicki 1925: 6–14. Other forbidden books read by the students in 1834–35 were "Napoleonic Speeches" by Woronicz and "Warnings to Poland" (Przestrogi dla Polski) by Stanisław Staszic. By the former, Łowicki probably means a collection of sermons of Archbishop Jan Paweł Woronicz from the time of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Staszic's book was published in 1790 and contained warnings about the loss of independence if the necessary liberal reforms were not immediately undertaken.

55 Łowicki 1925: 8–9.

56 Łowicki 1925: 11. In general the reception of the German group by Wilno public was favourable. See Stolzman Małgorzata: *Nigdy od ciebie miasto...Dzieje kultury wileńskiej lat międzypowstaniowych (1832–1863)*. Olsztyn 1987. P. 234.



(*Rozprawy Grzymały*) by Mickiewicz, and Słowacki's "Kordian". Apart from poetry, "Paroles d' un croyant" (*Słowa wieszczę*) by Lamennais in Polish translation and journals of the TDP were read.<sup>57</sup>

Up to the end of 1837, the main link between the students and the SLP was Father Ludwik Trynkowski. Then Trynkowski left Wilno, and his influence on the student group ceased. According to the testimony of Sawicz, Trynkowski did not want the society to expand and did not allow any new members to be admitted. There are two possible motives for Trynkowski's attitude. He may have wanted to protect the students from danger. He may also have foreseen that, in disputes between Konarski and more moderate members of the SLP, the students would take Konarski's side. The testimony of Sawicz on the matter seems reliable, since only one new member was recruited before December 1837.<sup>58</sup>

In August 1837, Sawicz, Zahorski and Terlecki visited Konarski and Rodziewicz in Lissowo. Rodziewicz gave the students a pamphlet written against Czartoryski, an issue of a democratic émigré periodical called "Nowa Polska" and Albert Laponneraye's "History of the French Revolution", which was written from a Babeufist viewpoint.<sup>59</sup> In summer 1837, the Wilno student group also established contact with the SLP in the Kingdom of Poland. This was done through Wałęcki, who spent his holidays with his parents near Lublin in the Kingdom. On his way back to Wilno, Wałęcki met the leader of the SLP in the Kingdom, Gustaw Ehrenberg, in Warsaw.<sup>60</sup> Contacts with the democratic conspiracy had made an effect. As Wałęcki later told to the investigating commission about his discussions with Sawicz and Zahorski:

From that time on, Sawicz, Zaorski and I gathered together and discussed how all men are born equal, have an equal right to freedom and equality, saying that now some people are oppressed by others and that such a state of things is unnatural. That is why it is necessary to convince all people that everyone should have equal rights, that everyone has a right to take part in government, and so there should be a Republic...<sup>61</sup>

The new democratic ideas were not received with enthusiasm by all members. Especially criticism of the Church and demands for its reform were resisted.<sup>62</sup> However, soon the new converts to democracy convinced the others. In October 1837 the student group adopted the name "The Democratic Society"

57 Łowicki 1925: 12.

58 LVIA f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 6, l. 17, 47, 53, 64, 67. Sawicz's statement about Trynkowski's reluctance to expand the society seems contradictory with another part of his testimony, according to which Trynkowski advised the society to recruit at first ten members, each of whom would recruit another ten. Possibly Trynkowski considered the ban on recruiting temporary.

59 *ibid.* l. 57–58, 63–64, 73, 78–80. Testimonies of Rodziewicz, Sawicz, Zahorski and Terlecki. On *Nowa Polska* see Barszczewska 1979: 65–67. It criticised Czartoryski's followers and took a critical standpoint to Mickiewicz's mysticism.

60 *Stowarzyszenie...1978*: 292–294.

61 *Stowarzyszenie...1978*: 294.

62 *idem.*

(*Towarzystwo Demokratyczne*) and rules called “Democratic Principles” (*Zasady Demokratyczne*), were written by Sawicz. The students were no longer in favour of some unspecified form of patriotism, but clearly sided with the democratic cause. The agitation by Konarski and Rodziewicz had borne fruit. However, even after adoption of a democratic standpoint by the society, monarchist opinions continued to exist among the students who read illegal literature.<sup>63</sup> Despite their name, the “Democratic Principles” basically included rules for moral conduct. They were inspired by Christianity and called on the members to love God and their neighbour. The members must help those who were in need or unhappy regardless of social rank, age, sex or religious confession. In order to reach this end, the members were required to cut down their own expenses and to live modestly. Drinking, adultery and gambling were explicitly forbidden. Not only were the members denied these pleasures, but they were also obligated to struggle against them in their surroundings. Monetary fines were laid down for those guilty of these transgressions. Members should not be idle but study science, languages and even handicrafts. At most five members of the society should take part in any meeting, a precaution advised by Konarski. As far as possible, the members should not know each other. Possible occasions for a meeting were an accusation of a member for a transgression, deciding about any proposals made by members, self-education and exchanging news. The members were absolutely forbidden to possess weapons.<sup>64</sup>

There is an apparent contradiction between the political names of the society, its rules and the actual, rather non-political contents of the rules. However, the moralizing emphasis was in line with the tradition of Polish patriotic student organizations. The medical students of the 1830s continued the traditions of the Filomats and Filarets. One of the members, Stanisław Stanisławski, explicitly stated that Sawicz had already spoken at the end of 1836 about founding a society “following the example of societies which once existed in Wilno.”<sup>65</sup> The ban on possessing firearms would hardly have been needed if there was no one who wanted to possess them. In fact, the Wilno students had more political aims than one could infer from the mere text of the “Democratic Principles”.<sup>66</sup>

The new oath was adopted at the same time as the rules, and it was more cautious than the first one had been. It stated “the doctrine of Jesus Christ” as the only means to correct injustice in society, but it did not specifically mention Poland. The member pledged himself to promote the happiness of all mankind and to help his neighbours regardless of social rank or religious confession. Apart from the national aspect of their activism, the students now saw it as part

63 LVIA f. 1269, op.1, ed.hr. 6, l. 35, 64–65. Testimonies by Zahorski and Sawicz. Łowicki 1925: 15.

64 The “Democratic Principles” fell into the hands of the investigating commission and are now located in LVIA f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 6, l. 448–468.

65 LVIA f. 1269, op. 6, l. 336.

66 Here I agree with Smirnoū 1961: 23–24, 33–35, 55, who mentions that the society followed a course more radical than its documents indicate, and that it was inspired by the Filomat and Filaret tradition.

of an international revolutionary movement. This was fully in line with the SLP's charter.<sup>67</sup>

During the Christmas vacation of 1837, Sawicz again travelled to Lissowo. He wanted to get Konarski's approval for the new rules. Sawicz also took with him about 50 roubles collected for the SLP. However, when he arrived at Rodziewicz's estate, Konarski was not there. From Rodziewicz Sawicz got Laponneraye's book, a volume of the collected works of Mickiewicz, Mochnacki's history of the 1830–31 Insurrection, Różycki's history of the insurrection in the Ukraine, and written information about the organizational structure of the SLP. Rodziewicz also gave Sawicz a letter to Grzegorz Brynk, a landowner and member of the SLP. Sawicz got Lamennais' work and Mickiewicz's "Pilgrimage" from Brynk on his way back to Wilno.<sup>68</sup>

At the same time as the underground studies and organization developed, the students revealed their new and disobedient mood to the Academy authorities. From the autumn of 1837 on there were various conflicts. The first concerned the position of state students. Traditionally, they did not have meals in the Academy but received money for eating in town. The President of the Academy, Tomasz Kuczkowski, planned to open a refectory. This would have facilitated a closer supervision of students, since they would no longer have any grounds for leaving the Academy. The students did not want to lose their freedom. They resisted the refectory, which was not opened until two years later.<sup>69</sup>

Another conflict rose from the eagerness of the inspector to combat smoking. The relations between the students and the inspectors deteriorated. As a result, assistant inspectors began to check more carefully than before on the presence of students at lectures. The students did not like this, and in one lecture, they drove an assistant inspector out from the hall. No punishment ensued from this collective disobedience.<sup>70</sup>

In the same autumn, students organized a celebration for the name-day of a popular professor called Jędrzej Śniadecki. All the windows of the Academy dormitory and clinic were illuminated for the occasion. The name-day fell on 29 November, which was also the date when the November Insurrection began. Possibly the name-day was the 29 November, according to the Julian calendar, whereas the anniversary was according to the Gregorian. In any case, the link between celebrating the name-day and the insurrection was obvious to all. Kuczkowski was angry, but no serious consequences followed the demonstration.<sup>71</sup>

After the adoption of the new rules and oath, the student society quickly recruited more members. According to the general practice of the SLP, each new member took a pseudonym. By the time the first students were arrested in May

67 The whole text of the oath is in LVIA f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 6, l. 464–465.

68 Stowarzyszenie...1978: 297. LVIA f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 6, l. 16, 58, 64–66, 68, 80.

69 Łowicki 1915: 15–17. Smirnoŭ 1961: 56–57. RGIA f. 733, op. 31, delo 133, 32–33.

70 Łowicki 1925: 17–20.

71 Łowicki 1925: 20–22.

1838, the number of known members was 29. There may well have been more.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, the influence of the society was not limited to its members. Illegal literature also circulated among other students. Łowicki, who knew about the society and has written about it, was never formally a member.

The students had one further contact with the Lithuanian Committee. In February 1838, a Wilno lawyer, Stanisław Kozakiewicz, read the student society's rules but commented unfavourably on them. The last months of the student society were marked by further radicalization and closer connections with Konarski and Rodziewicz than previously. In March, the society adopted the name "Young Poland" (*Młoda Polska*), which was borrowed from the émigré organization led by Lelewel that had organized and inspired the foundation of the SLP. At the same time, more organizational principles of the SLP were adopted. The society was divided into small groups, whose leaders were called "*sołtys*". A *sołtys* convened meetings of his group, reported any news to Sawicz, supervised members' behaviour and recruited new members. The new members were sworn in holding a clod of soil in their hand, which indicated that the SLP's oath had been adopted.<sup>73</sup>

The illegal books read by students, Łowicki's account and the few papers left by the society make it possible to describe the ideological atmosphere in the group and the influence it absorbed from the émigrés. Apart from the books already mentioned, the arrested students named various pieces of illegal literature they had read. These included Jan Czyński's novel "Prince Konstantin and Joanna Grudzińska or Polish Jacobeans".<sup>74</sup> Czyński was an émigré with socialist sympathies who had worked together with Konarski on an émigré journal "Północ" (The North). Czyński's novel described life in Poland during preparations for the November Insurrection. It also included fantastic episodes about the private life of Grand Prince Konstantin, who had been viceroy of Poland at that time. Another book read by the student conspirators was Jan Nepomucen Janowski's "The Rights of Man and Citizen and Political Catechism".<sup>75</sup> Janowski was one of the founders of the TDP. His "Catechism" expressed the TDP's ideology in the simple form of questions and answers. "The Rights of Man and Citizen" was Janowski's translation of Laponneraye's work. In addition, the "Three Constitutions of Poland" by Lelewel was known to the student conspirators.<sup>76</sup>

72 LVIA F. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 12, l. 47–61. Walecki stated in his testimony (f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 6, l. 25) that the decision to recruit new members was made at the same time as the name "The Democratic Society" was adopted.

73 LVIA f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 6, l. 66, 143, 249, 310, 319–320. Smirnov 1962: 100, states mistakenly that the name "Young Poland" had already been adopted in spring 1837 after Sawicz and Konarski had met each other. In fact, they met each other at the end of 1836 and again in August 1837.

74 Cesarzewicz Konstanty i Joanna Grudzińska czyli jakobini polscy. Paryż 1833. LVIA f. 1269, op. 1., ed. hr. 6, l. 37, 144, 284. Testimonies by Zahorski, Rapczyński and Stanisław Jankowski.

75 Prawo człowieka i obywatela oraz Katechizm polityczny. Agen 1834. LVIA f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 6, l. 75, 148, 158, 165, 319, 322, 325.

76 LVIA f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 6, l. 213. There was also a book called Report of the Activities of the Committee (Sprawozdanie czynności komitetu). I have not been able to identify, which émigré committee was described in it. Ibid. l. 68, 148.

The political literature read by the students reveals their ideological outlook as democratic but without affiliation to any specific émigré group. Monarchist literature did not circulate in the society at all. Czyński, Lamennais and Laponneraye represented socialism. Lamennais combined political radicalism with Christian faith, as did Mickiewicz, whereas Czyński was something of a religious free-thinker who even criticized Mickiewicz's mysticism. Łowicki complained about Czyński's influence among the students especially because his ideas were opposed to Christianity and led to religious doubts.<sup>77</sup>

Another book containing elements of cultural radicalism was "On Women's Freedom" (*O wolności kobiet*), which advocated the equality of women. Indeed, the social status of women was widely discussed among the students. The memoirs of a student published in Wilno in the 1840s reveal that the need for better education and greater personal freedom for women, if not full equality, was acknowledged by many students. It was argued that the task of women in society should not be limited to within the family. Such ideas derived from émigré literature and personal experience. Some students felt that local young women were incapable of appreciating their intellectual inclinations, preferring merry but superficial cavaliers or those of good ancestry. They wondered how to correct the situation.

...our women cannot anyhow understand that the wealthiest magnate and the poorest peasant are equal men, that they are shaped from the same clay. No matter how respectable someone is, no matter how handsome his appearance,...as soon as it becomes known that he is of a low birth, not a nobleman but from peasant or Jewish stock, he will lose a hundred per cent of his value in the opinion of women...  
 ...the mission of a woman as well as of a man is first of all to be a human being, that is to be a useful member of the human community...  
 ...those faults in them are a result of the bad methods used in women's education and upbringing...<sup>78</sup>

The political radicalism circulating among the Wilno students also entailed some criticism of traditional cultural values.

The students made some acquaintance with socialist ideas, but most of their literature was not socialist. Mochnacki, Lelewel, Janowski and Mickiewicz disagreed among themselves on many matters, but they all represented a non-socialist orientation, which favoured land reform and granting political rights to the peasants.

It is noteworthy that the same books that circulated among Wilno students were also disseminated in Lwów and Cracow among student and other groups

77 Łowicki 1925: 25–26, 28.

78 Łowicki 1925: 28–29. He does not mention the author of the book. [Kępis Waleryan, pseudonym. Real Name: Tomaszewski Waleryan:] Wspomnienia z życia akademickiego. *Lud i Czas* 1/1845. Quotations from pages 129, 135, 140. For the whole discussion about women see 118–142. Tomaszewski was arrested in connection with underground societies in the Wilno Academy but not found guilty. Later he continued his studies at the University of Moscow, where he was known among the students as a former member of Sawicz's group. *Urywki*...1869:34:278–279.

affiliated with the SLP. They read Mickiewicz, Lamennais, Laponneraye, Mochnacki and Lelewel.<sup>79</sup> This is additional evidence of the close link that existed between the SLP and the Wilno student group.

Łowicki has left us an account of the attitude of Sawicz on the peasant question just before his arrest:

Sawicz, the unshaken hothead, after pondering about the fate of the peasant, his present and future state, how it can and should be that of a human being, frequently swore a mad vengeance on the lords, even wanting to hang them all, to cut them all to ribbons! He wanted everybody to be equal...<sup>80</sup>

Łowicki himself and many others did not share the social egalitarianism of Sawicz. For them, it was enough that all should be equal before the law. Some students proposed that the question of social inequality should be solved by progressive taxation.<sup>81</sup>

An important document which circulated among the Wilno students is titled “Notes on the Moral War of People against Despotism: or what is our situation and what persons with good intentions should now do?” The whole text has survived only in a Russian translation, but there is also a fragment in the original Polish. It is not certain who wrote the “Notes” but other students obtained them from Sawicz. Smirnov considers Sawicz as the author.<sup>82</sup>

“Notes on the Moral War” state that there is a continuous war between Poland and her “robbers”. This war was a physical one during the Confederation of Bar in 1768-1772, the Napoleonic wars and the November Insurrection, but it continued as a moral war even during outwardly peaceful times. The author of the “Notes” supports the traditional idea of the special mission entrusted to Poland. In ancient times it had defended Europe from the barbarians, now it was to be the initiator of a pan-European triumph of freedom. However, the armed struggle must not be undertaken prematurely. It was not the task of local patriots to collect weapons, horses or other material goods for the insurrection, since these could be obtained from abroad. They must concentrate in strengthening their moral force. According to the “Notes”, the enemy was trying to destroy Polish nationality and enlightenment, to corrupt Polish morals. That is why waging a moral war had to entail promoting the national spirit, enlightenment and moral purity. The enemy was trying to fight the Church, which must be supported, thus uniting the cause of God with that of freedom.

79 Boris Vladimir A., Nefedov Igor' M: Programnye dokumenty Sodruzhestva pol'skogo naroda i drugie materialy o ego dejatel'nosti v Central'nom gosudarstvennom istoričeskom arhive USSR vo L'vove. In: Stowarzyszenie...1978: 142. Kamiński 1968: 37. From Cracow there is information only about the circulation of Lamennais' and Mochnacki's works.

80 Łowicki 1925: 24.

81 *ibid.* 24–25.

82 Uwagi nad wojną moralną ludu z despotyzmem, czyli jakie jest nasze położenie i co wypada dzisiaj działać ludziom poczciwym. Published in Stowarzyszenie...1978: 210–216 and correctly described by Smirnov 1961: 42–55.

Our tyrant, wanting to destroy our nationality, first attacked at religion, destroyed churches, drove out priests, since he knows that the religion of our fathers is a precious part of our nationality, and the Polish clergy, by uniting with the people, has convinced Europe that it well understands the matter of freedom and religion...

Our enemy...in its blasphemous catechism commanded us to adapt the rules of religion to the foundations of despotism and slavery. Disgusting falsehood! How can a despot combine Satanic fraudulence with the divine doctrine of Jesus Christ?<sup>83</sup>

The moral war includes the defence of the Polish language and learning.

The despots close schools, persecute the learned, forbid and destroy books, wanting to destroy the very beginnings of science. Let us in our homes carefully collect treasures for learning, not bypassing any opportunity for enlightening ourselves and others. Our schools are destroyed. We shall maintain at our homes children of poor parents, peasant children; we shall be their mentors; we shall bring them up as future enemies of our common tyrant.<sup>84</sup>

According to the author, the enemy tries to disseminate traits characteristic of nations that have been corrupted by a long life without freedom. By this, he means the Russians, though he does not say so explicitly. In his opinion, patriots should struggle especially against greed, robbery, theft, fraudulence, corruption, despotic power and subservience to those in high positions. These vices must be combated with traditional Polish virtues: magnanimity, nobleness, humanity, uprightness and frankness. Patriots must not drink alcohol, play cards, dance or spend their money beyond their means. A real Pole could not lead an aristocratic way of life.

The patriots must be ready for self-sacrifice:

Perhaps more than one of us will die at the hands of an executor! But let his death be the name for future freedom. From height of the scaffold, as from a festal throne, he must call: Rise, O nations! Rise for the rights of man!<sup>85</sup>

“Notes on the Moral War” reveals a strong influence of Mickiewicz. Asceticism, self-sacrifice, the holiness of the struggle and Poland’s position as a chosen nation with a global liberating mission are emphasized in much the same manner as in “Books of the Polish Nation and a Polish Pilgrimage”. The emphasis on morals and enlightenment closely resembles the SLP’s local programme. The characterization of the political conflict between Poland and Russia in moral

83 Stowarzyszenie...1978: 215. Actually, instead of the word “precious” there is in Polish text the word “druga”, which means “other”. I suppose that this is a mistake in printing and there should be “droga”, precious. The Russian variant, p. 211, has the word “dragocennejščaja”, most precious. In any case, this passage emphasises Roman Catholicism as an inseparable element of the Polish national identity.

84 Stowarzyszenie...1978: 212.

85 Stowarzyszenie...1978: 213.

terms as a struggle between good and evil, an evaluation of nations that attributed positive qualities to their own and negative to the enemy, were fairly widespread among the educated Polish classes at the time.<sup>86</sup> To some extent, they undermine the statement in the “Democratic Principles” about the equality of all men regardless of religious confession. “Notes” emphasizes very ethnic attributes of nationality: religious confession and language. There is not a trace of the theories recognized by the SLP, in which all inhabitants living within pre-partition boundaries were Poles. This seems to conflict with the actual practice in Sawicz’s group, which accepted Orthodox members. Probably this inconsistency was not noticed by the author. However, at the time it was illegal for an Orthodox Christian to join any other Christian confession. That is why a person’s official religious denomination does not necessarily indicate his private religious affiliation. The world-view of the author of “Notes” was a mixture of romantic and enlightenment ideas, which was quite characteristic of many Polish patriots of the time. The romantic holy war of a chosen nation was waged in defence of the unalienable rights of enlightened man. It is interesting to note that the national cultural struggle is called a war in exactly the same manner as Uvarov described it.<sup>87</sup> The social question and serfdom are bypassed in this document. Despite their rather militant tone, “Notes on the Moral War” actually mainly deals with peaceful cultural work. Although the SLP as a whole aimed at armed insurrection, it also included an aspect which somewhat later in the second half of the 19th century came to be known as “organic work”, meaning support for Polish culture and the Polish economy by peaceful and lawful means. After 1863, the organic work was seen as opposed to conspiracy, and it came to replace it, but in Wilno in the late 1830s it was included in the clandestine activities.<sup>88</sup>

Additional material about the ideological orientation of Wilno students is available in a poem written by Sawicz in Belorussian with the Latin alphabet. The choice of language is itself remarkable, since at this time the literary use of Belorussian was not yet established. The poem consists of a discussion between three peasants: a “Lithuanian”, an inhabitant of the Pińsk region and a Wolynian. They are reminiscing about the golden days before Russian rule. An erroneous belief is expressed that in the Polish Commonwealth the peasants were free from serfdom, which was only introduced by the Russians. The participants in the discussion reminisce also about the November Insurrection and identify themselves with its cause. In the end, they swear an oath to each other that both Russians and landlords will be driven out of the country. They ask God to help them in their aim. Sawicz’s ideas combined nationalism and a mythical view of pre-partition Poland with social radicalism.<sup>89</sup>

86 Kępiński 1990: 63–112.

87 See quotations from Uvarov in Roždestvenskij 1902: 299, 308.

88 I am indebted to Maciej Janowski, who pointed out to me the resemblance of the “Moral War” with organic work.

89 Published in Pawłowicz 1901:1:98–100. Extensive quotations in Smirnoū 1961: 58–63.



By spring 1838, the students planned to carry out agitation among the craftsmen of Wilno. This task was given to Kazimierz Rapczyński, a 30-year-old “*odnodvorec*” peasant, a student and former Roman Catholic monk.<sup>90</sup> According to Łowicki, Rapczyński directly and successfully carried out the agitation among the apprentice boys. This propaganda combined patriotism and social protest, though the latter was directed not against the boys’ masters, but against the government:

He presented their mistreatment by the government to them in such dark and horrible expressions as he only could invent, told them what they are and what they should be. He told them about the spirit of nations abroad, about societies in Kiev, Cracow and Lwów.<sup>91</sup>

Rapczyński himself confessed: “My task was to make acquaintances among the working class and propagate among them the ideas of equality and freedom”.<sup>92</sup> He also told the investigators that he could not understand

why happiness is divided so unequally on the earth; some had to work without profit, while others at the moment of their birth receive everything...how the lords are better than the poor...the lords when entering the world do not even merit happiness as much as do the poor, and still these [i.e. the latter] eat the sour bread...<sup>93</sup>

In April 1838 Professor Śniadecki died. The students attended the funeral in large numbers, and it became kind of a patriotic demonstration. Trynkowski, who had returned to town, made a speech. The most active students at the funeral were those who did not know about the secret society. They even planned to organize a collection for a memorial to Śniadecki. They gave up the plan when the state itself arranged the memorial.<sup>94</sup>

Konarski came to Wilno for the last time in May 1838. He met the students – Wąlecki, Sawicz, Rapczyński, Zahorski and Aleksander Hrycykiewicz at least. Wąlecki told Konarski about his discussions with Karol Hildebrandt, the leader of a Polish student group in Dorpat. This means that there was a connection forming between Dorpat and Konarski through the Wilno students. We shall return to these matters when dealing with the Dorpatian group. The subject of Konarski’s discussion with Rapczyński was the agitation of the craftsmen. Konarski advised that they should be made to understand that there was no fundamental difference between Poles and Russians and that Jews, too, were human beings.<sup>95</sup>

90 LVIA f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 6, l. 142–143, 411. Testimony by Rapczyński and information of the investigating commission about his background.

91 Łowicki 1925: 34–35.

92 LVIA f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 6, l. 143. Also quoted by Smirnov 1962: 108, who emphasises that this is the first time the term “working class” was used in Lithuania.

93 LVIA f. 378, op. 216, ed. hr. 73, l. 242. Indeed, who except a hardened man could understand it?

94 Łowicki 1925: 33–34. Smirnov 1962: 80.

95 LVIA f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 6, l. 50, 68, 152. Testimonies by Sawicz and Konarski. *Ibid.* f. 378, op. 216, ed. hr. 73, l. 269–270. Rapczyński’s testimony. *Stowarzyszenie...* 295, 297.

Sawicz asked Konarski about weapons, but the latter explicitly forbade the students to possess them. For his part, Konarski proposed that the Wilno students send their representative to the University of Kiev, but the society never managed to put this proposal into practice. Most important of all, he asked Sawicz to arrange a visit to Glücksberg's printing press in Wilno. Sawicz ordered Hrycykiewicz to agree with Glücksberg about the visit, but the latter did not receive Hrycykiewicz.<sup>96</sup>

Not that Konarski was interested in printing as such: the main aim of his visit was to found an underground printing press. This would have taken the activities of the SLP in the Western Provinces to a new level, since the society had not previously practised any open propaganda. Konarski wanted to realize this plan with the help of the students. Part of the necessary printing equipment he wished to order from Leipzig through a watchmaker called Jan Duchnowski, who would import it under the guise of tools for practising his profession. Duchnowski was a 40-year-old unconfirmed nobleman, who had been admitted to the student society by Zahorski.<sup>97</sup>

Afterwards, Duchnowski defended himself by stating that he was drunk when he was admitted to the society. As defence, this cannot be taken seriously, although in fact it was. Still, it seems that Duchnowski's part in the society really was rather incidental. He may well have had political opinions suitable for membership, but he drank and played cards, which was an abomination to the students. Despite this, the student society hoped to reach uneducated young people through him.<sup>98</sup>

Duchnowski told Zahorski that he could not import the necessary equipment, but recommended a Jewish wine trader called Nitel Rozental, who was honest and liked to talk politics. Indeed, Rozental had the reputation of being a patriot, had studied at the university, travelled in France and contacted Polish émigrés there. Duchnowski agreed to introduce Konarski to Rozental. Rapczyński gave Duchnowski a patriotic pamphlet, which Duchnowski gave to Rozental. On 26 May, Duchnowski took Konarski to Rozental's wine-shop. The latter agreed to import the necessary items. They agreed to meet again on the following day. When the emissary came to the wine-house the next day, there was a police agent there. Konarski managed to get away and together with Rodziewicz tried to flee in the direction of Minsk, but both were arrested at the first post station outside Wilno.<sup>99</sup>

Soon the rumour spread that Konarski had been betrayed by Rozental. There is disagreement among historians about the question of betrayal. The biographer of Konarski, Alina Barszczewska, does not take a definite position. She finds it possible that the agent was in the wine-shop accidentally, whereas Smirnov

96 LVIA f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 6, l. 50, 68, 129, 131, 135, 137, 139. Testimonies by Hrycykiewicz, Sawicz, Konarski and Rodziewicz.

97 LVIA f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 6, l. 75, 91-94. Testimonies by Zahorski and Duchnowski.

98 *ibid.* l. 92, 103, 112. Testimonies by Duchnowski, Zahorski and Rapczyński.

99 LVIA f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 6, l. 93, 96, 109, 112. Barszczewska 1976: 223-224. Smirnov 1961: 101-102.

considers Rozental's betrayal a fact.<sup>100</sup> I tend to agree with Smirnov, because Rozental was not punished, although his part in the plans for smuggling in a printing press was well known to the investigating commission. Duchnowski may have taken part in the denunciation, since he was rather leniently punished, being merely placed under police surveillance.<sup>101</sup>

Rodziewicz soon broke under interrogation. Duchnowski was arrested and revealed the names of many other members already on the second day after his arrest. Little by little, most of the conspiracy was exposed and arrests were made. However, the students still had some time left, and they may well have destroyed some compromising material. Sawicz, Zahorski, Rapczyński and Hrycykiewicz were not arrested until 1 June, five days after Konarski and Rodziewicz. They maintained their secrecy for more than one and half months. At this time, the student society still existed. The second wave of arrests began on 22 July, and soon all of the most active members were caught. The last arrests were made on 21 October. It may well be that not all the members were caught. Indeed, one member was arrested and confessed his membership a year later in connection with a case concerning another secret society.<sup>102</sup>

After the arrest of Sawicz, the student society was led by Jan (Ivan) Moškov, who was himself arrested on 29 July.<sup>103</sup> It is interesting that Moškov was not only Orthodox but probably also of Russian, or maybe Ukrainian, origin. He was born in Wilno, where his father was a civil servant. Moškov's father owned a house in the Province of Poltava. There is no information about the background of his mother. Smirnov presents Moškov's role in the student society as an example of the revolutionary brotherhood of nations. I rather see it as an example of the flexibility of the nationality concept among the students. The son of a Russian official was accepted as a Pole and he even made his way to become the leader of a patriotic society. It also cannot be ruled out that Moškov's father was possibly originally from the Western Provinces, although this is unlikely, since he owned property in the Left-Bank Ukraine. Moškov was never called Russian in any testimony during the investigation or in Łowicki's memoirs.<sup>104</sup>

The investigation lasted until January 1839. A court martial sentenced Sawicz, Zahorski and Rapczyński to military service in the Caucasian army at the rank of private soldier and annulled all their privileges of social rank. Nineteen members of the student society were sentenced to serve in the same army without denial of their privileges of social rank, which made release after promotion possible for those who could prove their nobility. Less than half of them were able to do this. Duchnowski and a nobleman called Adam Ryzdewski, who also had been admitted into the society, were only put under police

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100 Barszczewska 1976: 224. Smirnov 1961: 101–102.

101 Pribavlenie k n 11-mu Vilenskih gubernskih Vedomostej Oficial'noj časti. 1839. Includes list of all persons tried in Wilno in connection with Konarski's case. Rozental is not mentioned. This printed publication is in RGIA f. 733, op. 99, delo 332, l. 21–23. On Duchnowski, LVIA f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 12, l. 60.

102 LVIA f. 378, p/o, 1838g., ed. hr. 52, č. VII, l. 2–3. f. 378, p/o 1839, ed. hr. 32, l. 38–39.

103 LVIA f. 378, p/o, 1838g., ed. hr. 52, č. VII, l. 2–3. Łowicki 1925: 41.

104 LVIA f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 6, l. 256. *ibid.*, ed. hr. 12, l. 18. Smirnov 1962: 60.

surveillance. Neither the Governor-General Dolgorukov nor the Emperor mitigated the sentences. Wałęcki was tried in the Kingdom of Poland and sentenced to five years forced labour in Siberia. Stanisław Stanisławski was tried in Kiev, Józef Cypcer was arrested and presumably tried in Cracow.<sup>105</sup>

What are the characteristics of the unlucky conspirators? I have at my disposal full information about the background of 28 of the 29 members.<sup>106</sup> Of these, 24 were Roman Catholics, two Orthodox and two Uniats. Their social background was certainly plebeian. Nineteen stated that neither they nor their parents possessed any property. Mieczysław Malewski, whose father possessed an estate with 100 serfs, came from the richest family. He was the only son of a landowner. The rest came from families that had some property, for instance a small house.

The social rank of the members was as follows:

|                              |    |
|------------------------------|----|
| Nobility                     | 8  |
| Unconfirmed nobility         | 10 |
| Sons of civil servants       | 3  |
| Uniat Clergy                 | 2  |
| “Meščanin” (lower townfolk)  | 1  |
| “Odnodvorec” peasant         | 1  |
| Inhabitants of Cracow        | 2  |
| Other foreigner              | 1  |
| Doctor, background not given | 1  |

Six members were not students. Apart from the above-mentioned Duchnowski and Rydzewski, these were Józef Cypcer, who worked in Glücksberg’s bookshop, and Nikolai Karkano, Aleksander Psarski, and Józef Kadenacy, who were assistant pharmacists. The last three may have studied in the Academy earlier. In all the SLP of the Western Provinces, which consisted mainly of the land-owning nobility, the Wilno students clearly formed an exceptional group. They represented poor intellectuals whose main property was their prospective professional skill. In terms of their background, they thus resembled more the conspirators in the Kingdom of Poland than those in the Western Provinces. Most of them had no reasons to identify themselves politically with the cause of the land-owning nobility.

The conspirators came from following areas:

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| Cracow                | 2 |
| Province of Wilno     | 6 |
| Belorussian Provinces | 9 |
| Right-Bank Ukraine    | 6 |
| Kingdom of Poland     | 5 |

105 LVIA f. 378, p/o, 1838g., ed. hr. 52, č. VIII, l. 211. Ibid., ed. hr. 52e, l. 244–247. Ibid., f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 6, l. 390–395, 399–400. Ed. hr. 12, l. 59–61. Stowarzyszenie...1978: 415–418.

106 It was not possible to find all information about Stanisław Stanisławski’s background, but he was the son of a nobleman. LVIA f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 6, l. 413. Information about other members: Stowarzyszenie...1978: 292, 300. LVIA f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 6, l. 34, 91, 119, 142, 156, 170, 180, 193, 200, 208, 219, 234, 256, 263, 278, 289, 298, 312, 321, 349, 361, 370, 377, 392. Ibid., ed. hr. 12, l. 47–59.

The small student society represented all parts of Russian and even non-Russian Poland. More than half of the conspirators were inhabitants of historical Lithuania. The number of students from Cracow and the Kingdom of Poland in the conspiracy was quite large, considering their proportion of the total student body of the Academy. In such a small group, this may just be due to some personal connections.<sup>107</sup>

For my description of the Wilno student conspiracy I have not used Sawicz's memoirs, the original of which is in the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow, and which were published by Eustachy Iwanowski under the pseudonym of E. Helenijusz in 1876.<sup>108</sup> This is because I consider these memoirs as apocrypha. They are unreliable with regard to the facts accounted. According to the memoirs, Sawicz began his studies in 1833, whereas in fact he began them in 1834.<sup>109</sup> According to them, he had already graduated from the Academy, but agreed to stay on for one more year because Konarski asked him to do so.<sup>110</sup> In fact, when he was arrested in 1838, Sawicz was in the fourth year of the Academy.<sup>111</sup> He still had more than a year to finish his studies. The memoirs tell how the students contacted the SLP after founding the society independently, whereas Sawicz in fact got the idea of a society from Rodziewicz.<sup>112</sup> According to the memoirs, Sawicz and three other students visited Konarski for the first time in late autumn, when studies in the Academy had already begun.<sup>113</sup> In fact, Sawicz and Zahorski went to see the SLP emissary during the summer vacation in August.<sup>114</sup> Moreover, the memoirs tell how Konarski arrived in Wilno some weeks after the students had visited him in Wołyń.<sup>115</sup> In fact, there were nine months between these events.<sup>116</sup> Again, according to the memoirs, the detention before the final sentence lasted for 18 months.<sup>117</sup> In fact, even the last of the sentenced students left Wilno for the Caucasus after less than nine months of detention.<sup>118</sup>

The manuscript of the memoirs contains additional indications that argue against its authenticity. In List 2 there is a footnote in the same handwriting as the main text. It speaks about Sawicz in the third person:

. . . . .

107 Flynn in 1986: Uvarov...227–228 reveals his ignorance of what really took place in Wilno in connection with Konarski's conspiracy. Flynn claims that Konarski's success among the students was "minimal" and that all the arrested students were later released.

108 Tu są zebrane trzy rękopisma. BJ rkps. 4509. Sawicz Franciszek: O więzieniach roku 1838 z powodu związku Szymona Konarskiego. Więźnia wygnańca Sawicza pamiętnik. In: Helenijusz E: Wspomnienia z lat minionych. Tom II. Kraków 1876.

109 BJ rkps. 4509, k. 2. Sawicz 1876: 193. LVIA f. 720, op.1, ed.hr. 1068, l. 1. Sawicz's application for admission to the Academy, dated 16th September 1834.

110 BJ rkps. 4509, k. 14. Sawicz 1876: 202.

111 LVIA f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 6, l. 14. Smirnoŭ 1961: 137 writes incorrectly that Sawicz was about to graduate from the Academy when arrested.

112 BJ rkps. 4509, k. 4. Sawicz 1876: 197-198. LVIA f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 6, l. 64.

113 BJ rkps. 4509, k. 9–11. Sawicz 1876: 199.

114 LVIA f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 6, l. 57-58, 63–64, 73, 78–80. It cannot be ruled out that there were indeed more than two students who visited Konarski. However, August in Wołyń is definitely not late autumn.

115 BJ rkps. 4509, k. 10. Sawicz 1876: 201.

116 LVIA f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 6, l. 15, 34, 50, 52, 57, 63–64.

117 BJ rkps. 4509, k. 28. Sawicz 1876: 211.

118 LVIA f. 378, p/o, 1838g., delo 52e, l. 306. Ibid., delo 52, č. VII, l. 2–3.

His mother, a widow of a Uniat priest, was alive still at the end of 1848. I asked him if he had revealed himself to his mother. No, he answered me, I cannot help her. She has wept over me a long time ago and considers me deceased...<sup>119</sup>

In the manuscript, Lissowo is called “Lisowczyki”, and a footnote explains: “Lisowko or Lisowczyki, I cannot remember for sure”.<sup>120</sup> There is mentioned a denunciation by a Jew, whom the author saw, and whom he knew by appearance, but whose “family name escapes me”.<sup>121</sup> The author does not know what kind of relation Konarski had with the Jew, since “he never told me”. In fact, Sawicz asked Zahorski to arrange Konarski’s contact with Rozental and told him about the plan for the printing press.<sup>122</sup> In the memoirs, Sawicz tells about being arrested three days after Zahorski. That is why he spent those days in great anxiety. In fact, Sawicz and Zahorski were arrested on the same day.<sup>123</sup> Further, the memoirs claim during the investigation the most incriminating evidence was a letter which he had written to Rodziewicz and which was found by the authorities. The records of the investigation do not indicate that such a letter was found, though questions about correspondence were put. The author of the memoirs tells of having attempted suicide during the investigation, whereas the records of the investigation do not mention any such attempt.<sup>124</sup>

The records of the investigation are not *a priori* more reliable than the memoirs, which were presumably written without fear of giving compromising information to the authorities. Indeed, it is rather probable that the arrested persons were maltreated by the investigating commission, which could have put pressure on the students to give testimonies that were in accordance with a scheme established by the authorities themselves.<sup>125</sup> It could also be assumed that the memoirs are original, but that later Sawicz no longer remembered the events quite correctly. However, the facts included in the memoirs are contradicted not just by one, but by many testimonies. More important, the memoirs contradict the evidence of the investigating commission even in cases that are irrelevant to the investigation. According to Iwanowski, Sawicz died in 1846, just eight years after his arrest.<sup>126</sup> It is unlikely that he would have forgotten so much in such a short time.

119 BJ rkps. 4509, k. 2.

120 BJ rkps. 4509, k. 9.

121 BJ rkps. 4509, k. 16.

122 BJ rkps. 4509, k. 16. LVIA f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 6, l. 104, 112. Rapczyński’s and Zahorski’s testimonies. Sawicz ordered them to arrange meeting between Konarski and Rozental, telling at least to Zahorski about plan for a printing press.

123 BJ rkps. 4509, k. 17. LVIA f. 378, p/o, 1838g., ed. hr. 52, č. VII, l. 2–3. List of arrested students with dates of arrest.

124 BJ rkps. 4509, k. 20–22. LVIA f. 1269, op. 1, ed. hr. 6, l. 16, 51, 58. Questions to Sawicz, Rodziewicz and Konarski concerning correspondence and their answers.

125 There was a lot of talk about the maltreatment of those arrested for the Konarski conspiracy. See Barszczewska 1976: 225–226. There is a definite piece of evidence that a Dorpat student called Hildebrandt arrested in connection with another political case was often beaten by the same investigating commission, which processed the case of the Wilno students: LVIA f. 378, op. 216, ed. hr. 144, l. 200. The chairman of a later investigating commission to the Minister of War Černyšev. We shall return to Hildebrandt’s case.

126 Sawicz 1876: 228–229. The supposed time of death fits badly with the discussion of the author with Sawicz in 1848 described in the manuscript.

The next questions are naturally: Why and who? What is the sense of writing the fake memoirs of a student conspirator? On the cover of the manuscript, there is a text written by Iwanowski. It states that Sawicz participated in the conspiracy in 1833 and was deported to Siberia. The manuscript, together with two others, was received from Aleksander Groza, a Ukrainian [Polish-Ukrainian] writer. Groza “most appreciated Sawicz’s manuscript, as being the original received from the hands of the author, whom he knew personally”. The cover text makes Iwanowski’s authorship of the memoirs unlikely, since at the time of writing it he had not yet even read the memoirs. The author of the memoirs knows quite a lot about the conspiracy and gives many correct facts. The author is not Sawicz, although it must have been someone rather close to the events himself, or who knew someone who was. This points to Groza, who published a literary almanac “*Rusalka*” in Wilno from 1838 to 1842.<sup>127</sup> Groza’s claim that he received the memoirs personally from Sawicz speaks for his authorship. The motivation is ideological. Apart from the memoirs, the manuscript also contains a description of a vision which Sawicz had while under arrest. He saw Christ, who showed him the future of the world. At first there was darkness and tyranny, then God let light and freedom come over the world, beginning from Podolia and Galicia, where a lot of black Russian and lighter Polish blood flowed. Poland and the entire world became free. Sawicz’s memoirs are a by-product of this vision, the aim of which was to inspire hope in Polish patriots in a most desperate situation, perhaps after the January Insurrection of 1863–64. Groza wrote the vision under Sawicz’s name in order to associate it with a respected martyr of the national cause. He needed an explanation of how the manuscript came to him. The memoirs serve this purpose.<sup>128</sup>

The apocryphal memoirs of Sawicz have been accepted by many historians.<sup>129</sup> Some “established” facts about the society are based on the memoirs and must be refuted. These include the fact that the society was led by a council of 10 members, with its own counter-police, which supervised the official police and other authorities, and further that Father Ludwik Trynkowski opposed even the founding of the society. Moreover, the account in the memoirs of Sawicz’s later life must be considered unreliable, until such time as other sources should be found to confirm it. According to the memoirs, he escaped from the Caucasus and lived in the Ukraine under a false name. Indeed, the authorities found Sawicz’s clothes together with a suicide letter besides the River Terek in April 1841. What really happened to him remains unknown.<sup>130</sup>

The society in Wilno Academy began as a patriotic group loosely affiliated with the SLP. In the course of two years, it developed in a more radical direction and began to support political democracy and the social restructuring of society.

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127 *Polski słownik biograficzny* IX:31–32. Henceforth this series will be referred to as PSB.

128 BJ rkps. 4509, k. 62–72. Sawicz 1876:230–234.

129 Barszczewska 1976: 161–162, 258. Lojka 1989:1:85–86. *Narysy...*1994: 289. PSB XXXV:351–352. Smirnoŭ 1961: 137. Smimov 1962: 60.

130 Sawicz 1876: 195–197, 202, 214–229. On Sawicz’s disappearance on the basis of official documents, see Smirnoŭ 1961: 127–128. Smimov relies on memoirs for his description of the events after that disappearance.

The group remained nationalist until the end. Under Mickiewicz's influence, its members believed that their nation was chosen for a special task. They held a mythical view of Poland's past, which emphasized the greatness and military might of Poland in the beginning of the 17th century, a supposed golden age and freedom of the peasantry in pre-partition Poland, strivings for enlightened reforms in the late 18th century, the tradition of uprisings beginning from Kościuszko and ending in the November Insurrection. The group emphasized language and religion as attributes of Polish nationality, but also admitted the Orthodox as members. Following Mickiewicz and the SLP's charter, the task of national liberation was seen in the context of a pan-European revolutionary upheaval, which was to include the liberation of other nations as well. The group was the most active and most politically conscious of all the student groups affiliated with the SLP in the Western Provinces. This was appreciated by Konarski, who, with the students' help, ventured to undertake an act as serious as smuggling a printing press.

The student movement in Wilno Academy did not end with the arrest of Sawicz's group. Before the Academy was finally closed in 1842, four political cases with student participation were exposed. During the last years of the Academy's existence, there were also large public protests by students against the way they were treated by President Kuczkowski. The new student groups were no longer a part of a larger conspiratory movement. However, they were inspired by the examples of Konarski and Sawicz. They were the last remnants of the wave of conspiratory activity that had begun in 1836. The activity in the Academy ceased for a very short time after the Sawicz's group was caught. The fate of their colleagues made even those previously ignorant of the national movement aware of it. Students collected money and the necessary goods for the arrested. By the autumn of 1838 a new group was already forming. According to Łowicki it consisted of younger students, who neglected the necessary precautions.<sup>131</sup>

On 14 February 1839, many students gathered to say farewell to their sentenced colleagues on their departure to the Caucasus. On this occasion, it was possible to talk with the arrested and bid them farewell. The authorities themselves organized a still more impressive demonstration: Konarski's public execution on 15 February. They had aimed to scare the local population by this act, but Konarski's courageous behaviour and the sympathy towards him expressed by thousands of onlookers had the opposite effect. In the morning, Kuczkowski gathered all the students together and forbade them to attend the execution. Despite the prohibition, most of them went to see the death of their hero. Łowicki wrote afterwards:

He was riding in the carriage as in triumph, he was riding on the thoughts, on the feelings of the people who accompanied him. Oh, that sight! I shall never forget it!... Who can forget what he has seen...

. . . . .  
131 Łowicki 1925: 46–48. Pawłowicz 1901:1: 34–36. Smirnoŭ 1961: 111.



Everyone perhaps would have wanted to grow just a little taller in order to see him. I saw! Blessed was that minute. I saw you, O hero of the world, great disciple of Christ!...

I look as you walk to the pole and see you, ah! I see you standing by the pole like a new Christ on the Cross!...

I must confess that I have never been as cheerful and happy as I was on that day after the death of Konarski, after such a beautiful death of such a man. With his blood he wrote Poland on the list of great nations...

The people decided to collect in remembrance the blood shed by the twelve shots, ten steps from the soldiers. The crowd began to tear the bloody earth. But the police and soldiers began to disperse them and right on the spot delivered the dead body into the earth without leaving any sign on the place where it was buried.<sup>132</sup>

This unusual passage gives the impression of a Messianist mind and mood. Łowicki did not see before him the unhappy man who lost his life. Instead he saw only a superhuman victorious hero.

Łowicki's impressions were not unique. The authorities themselves understood the mistake they had made. The chairman of a subsequent investigating commission, Lieutenant-General Aleksandr Kavelin, wrote afterwards:

One must admit that the higher authorities of Wilno made a serious mistake (about which they later became convinced and which they admitted) by their decision to execute Konarski publicly. They presumed by this exemplary punishment to scare all those who planned a crime; in fact the effect was the opposite. Nothing evoked more sympathy for Konarski than his solemn and unfortunately also skilful (*molodeckaja*) death. Convinced that he would not escape it, he decided to attain the glory of some kind of martyr who dies for a holy cause. He achieved this criminal aim. The local youth and fanatics, both men and women, really saw him as he wanted to show himself. They even did not hide this feeling...<sup>133</sup>

The first new political group in the academy was already exposed by the authorities at the end of April. The authorities discovered only deeds committed in the same spring. The group was led by a 20-year-old private teacher and nobleman called Franciszek Czarnocki. Seventeen persons faced trial. They included seven veterinary students and one physician who had recently graduated from the Academy. In Czarnocki's group there circulated "Notes on the Moral War", a poem written by Konarski in prison, his letter to a member of the SLP called Jerzy Brynk, Czynski's "Čarevič Konstantin" and Czarnocki's "Thoughts by Stone Walls" and "Count and Man". The former included thoughts inspired by Konarski's death.<sup>134</sup>

. . . . .

132 Łowicki 1925: 51–53. About the strong impression made by the execution see also Pawłowicz 1901: 84–85.

133 RGIA f. 1266, op.1, delo 31, l. 59–60.

134 LVIA f.378,p/o, 1839, ed. hr. 32, l. 1–2. The Governor-General Dolgorukov to Benkendorf 30th April 1839. Ibid. l. 45–46, 52. Testimonies by Jan Wener and Czarnocki. L. 124–143, 149–151. The records of the court martial and its sentence. Smirnoŭ 1961:150–151 and Smirnov 1962:115 mention the group briefly.

Konarski's prison poem was reportedly written on the last night before the execution. It was consistent with his behaviour at the execution, showing that he had not collapsed in spirit. The first verses are rather sad. Konarski regretted having brought only sorrow on his beloved and other people dear to him, though his conscience was clear. Then he complained to God about his own sufferings and the fact that all his hopes had been in vain. Since things were so and Poland was suffering, he did not want any happiness in the afterlife: "Today I do not believe in God, I have hell in my heart!" Instead of heaven, he wanted to go to those people who have felt humanity in their hearts and suffered for it: "I'll find them everywhere, in hell and beyond it".<sup>135</sup>

To heaven I did not want to go, for my people is in slavery  
 For the Fatherland is in blood, for my heart aches;  
 So I spat on that heaven boldly like Satan  
 My soul came to you, my body I gave to kings.

...  
 Here it is not forbidden for us to weep over the Fatherland -  
 In Heaven we should rejoice looking at her wounds,  
 Here we join hands with each other, we the martyrs of the world,  
 First we dismantle hell, for hell is old,  
 Then we pour our common faith of feelings,  
 And all the kings tremble, those criminal slaves,  
 And Heaven lightens, and God bursts out laughing  
 And we bow to God, for God grows younger.<sup>136</sup>

Konarski made it clear to his adherents that one neither should nor could enjoy life either in this world or beyond the grave as long as Poland suffered. The national liberation combined with international revolution was more important. The blasphemous poem certainly reveals Konarski's critical attitude towards traditional religion, though it cannot be called simply atheistic. Rather it poses the ancient question of theodicy.

Inspired by their readings and previous conspiracies, Czarnocki and his friends had vague plans to raise an insurrection. Czarnocki planned a trip to the Province of Minsk in summer in order to agitate there. With the students, he discussed democracy and equality, which he justified by arguing for the dignity of every human being. To a student called Jan Wener, he explained: "A peasant can be a human being like you or anyone else if only he has a good soul and loves everyone as brothers, not like our monarch, who considers only himself a man, but us as cattle."<sup>137</sup>

Only four persons were found guilty of actually spreading subversive ideas. Two of them came from the Medical Academy. A 22 year-old physician, Jan Wierzbicki, a Roman Catholic of noble background who had recently graduated from the Academy, confessed that he had already been a member of Sawicz's

135 The poem is published in Łukasewicz 1948:216–220.

136 Łukasewicz 1948: 219–220.

137 LVIA f. 378, p/o, 1839, ed. hr. 32, l. 44–46, 51–52. Testimonies by Wener and Czarnocki. Quotation from l. 45.

group. There he had received the literature that he gave to Czarnocki. A veterinary student called Jan Wener, a Lutheran from simple townfolk (*meščanin*) who was 19 years of age, had actively co-operated with Czarnocki in spreading subversive ideas. He said in the investigation that the aim of the society had been to establish “equality, fraternity and independence”. Five of the students were found guilty of merely listening to Konarski’s and Czarnocki’s texts being read aloud. Further, one student had borrowed those texts from Wener.<sup>138</sup>

The records of the investigation give the impression that Czarnocki’s group was hardly a conspiracy to be taken seriously, but rather an expression of immature youthful enthusiasm. The insurrection plans did not include anything concrete. The necessary precautions were most carelessly neglected. Once, drunk in a pub, Wener boasted that he had known Konarski already in 1837, which probably was not true. The group was finally denounced to Kuczkowski by an Academy student called Ejsmont, whom Wener had admitted to the society.<sup>139</sup>

The authorities were not in a lenient mood so soon after Konarski’s execution. Nicholas I personally ordered a court martial within 24 hours. The court sentenced Czarnocki, Wierzbicki and Wener to be quartered. Thirteen others were to be executed by shooting. The Governor-General, Dolgorukov, mitigated the sentence: the three dangerous criminals were denied all privileges of social rank and sentenced to military service at private soldier’s rank in the Caucasus. A student called Friedrich Schetler, guilty of borrowing forbidden literature from Wener, was imprisoned in Dünaburg Fortress for four months and deported for life to the province of Voronež. The five students guilty of listening to subversive texts being read aloud were sentenced to four months imprisonment in Dünaburg and expelled from the Academy.<sup>140</sup>

The sentenced students included three Lutherans, two Roman Catholics, a Jew converted to Orthodoxy and a Uniat. In social rank, five of them were from the lower townfolk, one was a noble and one a foreigner. Wener’s father owned a house in Wilno, otherwise neither the students nor their parents owned anything. Like the members of Sawicz’s group, those of Czarnocki’s also came from a social level significantly below that of the land-owning nobility. Their religious background is additional evidence that, in the 1830s in Wilno, the

138 LVIA f. 378, p/o, 1839, ed. hr. 32, l. 44–46, 55–56. Testimonies by Wener and Wierzbicki. Ibid. l. 113. Information about the social rank of Wener. Ibid. l. 149–151. The sentence of the court martial. The fourth active member was a civil servant called Bernard Józewicz. On the more passive among the sentenced, *ibid.* l. 80–86, 88, 91–94. Testimonies by students.

139 LVIA f. 378, p/o, ed. hr. 32, l. 1–2. Dolgorukov to Benkendorf 30th April 1839. *Ibid.* l. 46. Wener’s testimony. *Ibid.* l. 117–118. Record of the Court Martial. RGIA f. 733, op. 99, delo 332, l. 15–16. Kuczkowski to Semen Gaevskij in the Ministry of the Interior 8th June 1839.

140 LVIA f. 378, p/o, l. 25. Benkendorf to Dolgorukov 17th May 1839. *Ibid.* l. 149–151. The sentence of the Court Martial, 31st May. *Ibid.* l. 155–159. The final sentence by Dolgorukov 14th July. RGIA f. 733, op. 99, delo 332, l. 26–29. Correspondence between Kuczkowski and the Ministry of the Interior.

influence of the Polish national movement was not limited to the Roman Catholic population.<sup>141</sup>

More students were arrested because of their contacts with political prisoners and the officers, who were guarding them. Sixty-three persons in all, of whom eight were Wilno students and nine former Dorpat students, were involved in the case. The whole affair is curious and includes at least an element of official fantasy. It began in June 1838, when a young Russian Captain, Aglaj Kuzmin-Karavaev, began to visit the prisoners in their cells and to hold discussions with them, mainly Konarski and Rodziewicz. The discussions revealed a mutual understanding and common political ideals. Soon Kuzmin-Karavaev proposed a plan of escape to Konarski and some other prisoners. However, it was betrayed to the authorities by one of its prospective participants. Kuzmin-Karavaev and some of the other Russian officers who were guarding the political prisoners were arrested. One might expect that the officers guarding the prisoners would have been scared by Kuzmin-Karavaev's fate and avoided any further contacts with the prisoners or any relaxation of discipline. However, according to the official investigation, it was now that discipline in the prison entered a period of almost surrealistic laxness. From October 1838 until April 1839, Kuzmin-Karavaev was reportedly freely allowed to visit the town. Sometimes he took some of the Polish prisoners with him. The prisoners visited each other freely in their cells and even in other prisons, and they received guests when it pleased them. Lively political discussions took place in the cells.<sup>142</sup>

According to the investigating commission, Kuzmin-Karavaev visited a prisoner in hospital and one prisoner's family in the company of a student called Korolewicz. Quite often Kuzmin-Karavaev began his trip at the home of the Zaykowski family, where he dressed in the clothes of Hyacint Zaykowski, an Academy student, and then set off for town. A student called Eisenblater often visited the arrested leader of the Dorpat student society, Karol Hildebrandt, and also at least once Kuzmin-Karavaev. He also passed money over to the arrested persons. According to a later testimony by Łowicki, Korolewicz tried to found a new society in the Academy after the destruction of Sawicz's group. Eisenblater for his part had been close to Sawicz and known about his society's SLP

141 LVIA f. 378, p/o 1839, ed. hr. 32, l. 44, 80, 82, 84, 88, 91, 93. Testimonies of the students.

Ibid. l. 149. The sentence of the Court Martial. The ten non-students tried in this process included five noblemen, three petty civil servants of noble background, one honoured citizen (a pharmacist) and one "meščanin". None of them personally had any property, though two were sons of petty landowners (owning thirty and six peasants respectively). Wierzbicki's father owned a house in Wilno. Apart from one Jew converted to Orthodoxy and one person, whose religious background is not given, all were Roman Catholics.

142 LVIA f. 378, op. 216, ed. hr. 15, c. IV, l. 10–59. Dolgorukov to Paskevič 5th December 1839. The final report of the case. The number 63 also includes those who were only denounced for having contacted the prisoners as well as Russian officers found guilty of a lapse in discipline. Fascinating details are included in individual testimonies, for instance, those of Kuzmin-Karavaev *ibid.* ed. hr. 16 č. 2, l. 68–77. It was claimed that the prisoners visited brothels as well as evening dances in honourable houses. The reported relaxation of discipline occurred in the Uniat monastery and the garrison prison where Kuzmin-Karavaev was held, but did not spread to the former monastery of the Brethren Missionaries, in which most of the members of Sawicz's group were detained. Barszewska 1976: 231–233. Smirnov 1962: 110–113, 382.

connections even before the first arrests. The credibility of this statement of Łowicki is somewhat doubtful, since it was made only after Korolewicz's and Eisenblater's death while under heavy pressure by the investigators to reveal the leaders of the student society after Sawicz. The other Wilno students involved in the case had only transmitted some money to their arrested fellows. We shall soon return to the involvement of Dorpat students in this case in the context of the Dorpatian student society.<sup>143</sup>

In late March, Second Lieutenant Charles de Lucinay who was serving in the prison, got into the company of Kuzmin-Karavaev and other prisoners. He was soon denounced and arrested. According to the official reports, the lack of discipline was revealed to the authorities. Under arrest, de Lucinay spoke about the existence of a large conspiracy called "L' humanité", which was continuing Konarski's work. Among others, he named Hildebrandt and Eisenblater as members of the society. De Lucinay's testimonies contain somewhat fantastic details about the society, which in reality did not exist. They include a plan to dig Konarski's dead body up from the grave and a statement that all the members of the society carried a similar silver ring as a sign of their membership.<sup>144</sup>

The most likely explanation for de Lucinay's confessions about a secret society is that he made them in order to satisfy the investigators, who beat him. Another investigating commission led by Lieutenant-General Aleksandr Kavelin, which in 1841 took charge of investigating political crimes in Wilno, found that its predecessor led by Prince Aleksej Trubeckoj had treated the prisoners violently.<sup>145</sup> A gendarm officer, A. Lomačevskij, who joined the investigating commission in November 1840, confirms in his memoirs the violent treatment at that time. When Lomačevskij attended an interrogation for the first time, he had to observe the following scene:

Two men in uniform, one aged and grizzled with a decoration on his chest and big black eyes which expressed something extremely malicious, evil, and another, young one...with a happy open and somewhat stupid face were standing side by side. They continually exhorted a handsome, cleanly dressed youth to denounce another young man who stood before him in chains of committing some deed. I soon recognised [the latter as] Rokicki, a former pupil of Minsk gymnasium.

...The older man turned out to be Anisimov, a Councillor of the Provincial Board, the younger one a civil servant Pokrovskij, whom the Governor-General had brought from St. Petersburg. I...observed what was going on. The handsome boy as if to order said something to Rokicki with a half smile as if denouncing him. Rokicki remained silent with an expression of deepest contempt. Thus passed two or three minutes.

. . . . .

143 LVIA f. 378, op. 216, ed. hr. 15, l. 21, 53–54 Ibid. ed. hr. 16 c. 2, l. 73–74, 78. Łowicki's testimony *ibid.* ed. hr. 73, l. 196, 198, 205.

144 LVIA f. 378, op. 216, ed. hr. 15, l. 10–17. Dolgorukov to Paskevič 5th December 1939. *Ibid.* ed. hr. 16, c.2, l. 1–12, 50. Testimonies by de Lucinay. Wierzchowski Mirosław: *Z dziejów polskich organizacji spiskowych w zaborze rosyjskim (1837–1841)*. *Przegląd Historyczny* LII, 1/1961, p. 29–32. Wierzchowski states that the society was a fabrication of the authorities.

145 LVIA f. 378, op. 216, ed. hr. 144, l. 200.

“Rokicki, why do you not answer anything?” I asked him. “Please, Colonel”, said he. “What am I to answer if I am being questioned about some conspiracy or secret society of which I have not the slightest idea, for I would rather go to the scaffold than lie. I have already spoken openly...about everything that made me leave my country and decide to flee abroad. I have written confessions that are more than enough to send me to the scaffold as a criminal. But that is not enough, for I am required to confess things which I have not even dreamed about. Apart of that”, he added with a bitter smile, “would you look at how I am treated, how I am interrogated ? Two minutes before you appeared, Mr. Anisimov took me by my hair, pushed my head to the wall and called me by indecent names and spat in my face!...Is that not torture ?”<sup>146</sup>

There were differing opinions in the investigating commission about the methods of interrogation. In the end, the wildest confessions and denunciations were held to be unfounded and the composition of the commission was changed. Violent treatment of arrested persons and extracting confessions according to pre-established schemes were considered malfeasance in the imperial administration.<sup>147</sup> Their time in the history of Russia was yet to come. However, it cannot be ruled out that some elements of mere imagination remained in the official version of events even after its thorough revision. Although the existence of “L’ Humanité” was not admitted by anyone except de Lucinay, the case was fatal for the students Korolewicz and Eisenblater, who both committed suicide while in detention and under interrogation.<sup>148</sup>

The Academy was stirring also for other reasons. In the beginning of the academic year of 1839–1840, the system of maintaining state students in the Academy was reformed. Previously the students had received 10 silver roubles per month for food, clothes and the necessary items for study. This was plenty for living, since the Academy provided lodging. Now a refectory planned two years previously was opened, and students in the first year began to receive clothes directly from the Academy. This meant a restriction of personal freedom and a deterioration in living standards. After the reform, the first-year students received only one rouble 50 kopecks per month in cash. The reason for the reform was it made it possible to supervise the students more effectively.<sup>149</sup>

The students were displeased by the reform. Rumours spread that Kuczowski personally embezzled the funds. Indeed, when the educational authorities inspected the Academy in summer 1840, they came to the conclusion that the clothes offered to students were of inferior quality. They also found that

146 Lomačevskij A: Zapiski žandarma. Vospominanija c 1837-go po 1843-j god. Vestnik Evropy 3–5/1872. The quotation in 4:726–727.

147 LVIA f. 378, op. 216, delo 77, l. 220–221, 224–225, 252. The final report of the investigating commission about Wozniakowski and other Wilno students. Lomačevskij 1872:4:724–757, 5:296–326.

148 Or were they suicides ? LVIA f. 378, op. 216, ed. hr. 15, l. 2. Record of the investigating commission about Korolewicz’s suicide. Ibid. ed. hr. 16, c. 2, l. 135. Investigating commission to Dolgorukov 29th July 1839.

149 RGIA f. 733, op. 31, delo 129, l. 19–20. The Deputy Curator of the Belorussian School District Evarest Gruber to Uvarov 6th June 1840. Ibid. op. 99, delo 332, 9–10. Dolgorukov to the Minister of the Interior Dmitrij Bludov 4th November 1838.

the dormitory building had been bought for the Academy without real need and at a price that was 50% over the market value. However, Kuczkowski was never accused of any crime. An additional reason for dissatisfaction among the students was Kuczkowski's behaviour. He used impolite and even indecent language when dealing with them.<sup>150</sup>

The student protests took the form of collective demonstrations, catcalls and stamping of feet, but also of orderly complaints through delegates. On 30 November 1839 at a lecture on Roman Catholic religion, the assistant inspectors tried to check the attendance of students. The students protested, put out the candles and walked out of the hall. Kuczkowski detained 58 state students for one day and night on a diet of bread and water. He proposed to Aleksandr Stroganov, who was the acting Minister of the Interior, that 112 non-state students be punished by forcing them to retake the annual course. The proposal was immediately announced to the students.<sup>151</sup>

The incident came under consideration not only by Stroganov, but also by Governor-General Dolgorukov. Since it was impossible to find out who the initiators of the protest were, they decided to expel from the Academy some students who had previously been noted for their rebellious mood. The others were pardoned on condition that they behave well in the future. Finally, on 30 January 1840, the Conference of the Academy expelled 11 students, one of whom immediately committed suicide.<sup>152</sup>

The students reacted quickly. On 2 December 1839, the state students delivered a written petition to the Conference of the Academy, a body that included all the professors and closely resembled the councils of the universities. The complaint showed a good knowledge of the official rules and budget of the Academy. The students asked for more money and that it should also be paid for the summer months, better food, the right to use the Academy library during vacations and to take books to their lodgings, cancellation of the announced punishments and that in general the Academy administration should decide about punishments with due consideration and in accordance with the Charter. It is remarkable that the Conference even received the collective petition. This violated the principles of imperial administration, since the act could be interpreted as recognition of a collective student body. The Conference even agreed to pay the sum demanded by the students and let them use the library during vacations. It refused to pay students for the summer months and considered the complaints about food unfounded. As for the punishments, the Conference reproached the students for insolence and threatened with expulsion all those who in the future should dare to criticize the punishments.<sup>153</sup>

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150 LVIA f. 378, p/o, 1840, ed. hr. 33, l. 55–57. Governor-General Mirkovič to Alexander Benkendorf 10th May 1840. RGIA f. 733, op. 31, delo 129, l. 19–20. The revision report. Delo 130, l. 15–17. Mirkovič to Deputy Minister of the Interior Aleksandr Stroganov 6th May 1840. *ibid.* l. 55–60. Benkendorf to Stroganov 13th March 1840.

151 RGIA f. 733, op. 99, delo 342, l. 1–2. Kuczkowski to Stroganov 30th November 1839.

152 RGIA f. 733, op. 99, delo 342, l. 3–4, 13–15, 18–19, 22. The correspondence between Stroganov, Dolgorukov and Kuczkowski.

153 RGIA f. 733, op. 31, delo 133, l. 36–40. The petition also included other points about clothes, textbooks, etc.

The decision of the Conference did not stop the protests. In April, Kuczkowski asked the students to submit a new petition. His aim was to punish all its signatories. However, the students understood the trick and signed the petition with a rider that they did so at the request of the President. There were 144 signatories. The petition repeated the demands for money during summer vacations and for better food. It complained about the inferior quality of the clothes they received. The students also demanded that the professional literature they received on graduation should be paid for from other funds, and not from those budgeted for their upkeep. The petition ended with a threat that, if the demands were not satisfied, the students would appeal to higher authorities. As they foresaw that the petition would be used against them, the students sent a delegation to express their views to Fedor Mirkovič, who had replaced Dolgorukov as the Governor-General of Wilno. He received and listened to one of the students after stipulating that he did not recognize any student representation.<sup>154</sup>

The Academic Conference spent five meetings discussing the student petition, but still dismissed it as completely unfounded. Kuczkowski reported to the Conference that the petition was a result of agitation by a few individuals, whose identity was already known to him. The Conference reproached all the signatories for their improper act. The six students who had appealed to the Governor-General got a “severe admonition”. Kuczkowski ordered a thorough house search of those students he considered the agitators. On 4 May, he asked Mirkovič to arrest 19 students on the basis of the material found in the search. According to Kuczkowski, the material pointed to the existence of a secret society, which possibly was a part of a larger conspiracy. However, he admitted that the papers found did not include definite proof.<sup>155</sup>

Kuczkowski reported the case to Stroganov on 6 May 1840. He stated that dissatisfaction among the students was due to agitation by his personal enemies and revolutionary underground work. The President did not know that the Emperor had already removed the Academy from the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Interior to the Ministry of Public Enlightenment on 27 April. At the same time, Nicholas had ordered the Academy to be closed at an unspecified time in the near future.<sup>156</sup>

Mirkovič hesitated, as he already had doubts about the way Kuczkowski managed the Academy. He asked Kuczkowski to send him the papers found in the house searches. However, soon the Governor-General had to agree to the arrests, since Kuczkowski had already arrested the students in the Academy.

154 LVIA f. 378, p/o 1840, ed. hr. 33, l. 55–57. Mirkovič to Benkendorf 10th May 1840. RGIA f. 733, op. 31, delo 130, l. 6. Kuczkowski to Uvarov 9th May 1840. Ibid. delo 133, l. 1–5. Kuczkowski to Stroganov 6th May 1840. Includes the students’ petition. Ibid. l. 43–45. Mirkovič to Uvarov 25th May 1840.

155 LVIA f. 378, p/o, 1840, ed. hr. 33, l. 1–2. Kuczkowski to Mirkovič 4th May 1840. RGIA f. 733, op. 31, delo 133, l. 16–29. Excerpt from the records of the Academy Conference 9th, 22nd, 23rd, 24th and 25th April 1840.

156 RGIA f. 733, op. 31, delo 130, l. 2–10. Kuczkowski to Stroganov. f. 735, op. 10, delo 142, l. 6–10. Uvarov’s correspondence about transferring the Academy to the Ministry of Public Enlightenment.



Mirkovič took charge of the 19 arrested students, since otherwise the whole affair would have made the authorities look ridiculous. Kuczkowski did not want to hand over to Mirkovič the papers found in the house searches, since he knew well that they did not contain damning evidence about the existence of a secret society. He delivered the material to the Governor-General only after the latter had reported the matter to Stroganov.<sup>157</sup>

Kuczkowski had miscalculated. After receiving his and Mirkovič's reports from Stroganov, Uvarov immediately suspended the President, who was officially dismissed from his post in August. The quarrel between Mirkovič and Kuczkowski was not the only reason for the latter's suspension. Rumours that the President had himself instigated a petition by students had reached the Emperor through the Third Section. The Third Section already had prior information about Kuczkowski's inept handling of the students.<sup>158</sup>

Simultaneously with the arrest of the 19 students, two first-year students of the Academy, Jan Woźniakowski and Jan Rokicki, and one gymnasium pupil, Józef Pawłowski, were caught trying to illegally cross the border to Prussia. Each of them was armed with two loaded pistols. Three copies of a text containing "improper and most criminal expressions against the government" were found on them. It turned out that it was a poem entitled "Wilianki" written by Woźniakowski, who planned to publish it abroad. Among other ideas, "Wilianki" favoured regicide. The investigation proved that the students had wanted to travel to France in order to contact the émigrés.<sup>159</sup>

The incident at the border pointed to the possibility that the existence of a secret society was not just a product of Kuczkowski's fantasy. However, all except one of the arrests made on Kuczkowski's initiative turned out to be unfounded. It was found that some of the arrested had taken part in dormitory meetings at night, but there was no evidence that these meetings had a political character. Six students were released in June and one in July 1840, 13 in July 1841 and two not until December 1841. Meanwhile new arrests were being made.<sup>160</sup>

In the end, 37 persons were involved in the investigation on the basis of the evidence submitted by those who had tried to cross the border; 24 of them were academy students and six gymnasium pupils. They were not found guilty of

157 LVIA f. 378, p/o 1840, ed. hr. 33, l. 3, 42–47. Mirkovič to Kuczkowski 4th and 7th May 1840, Kuczkowski to Mirkovič 7th May 1840. RGIA f. 733, op. 31, delo 130, l. 15–17. Mirkovič to Stroganov 6th May 1840.

158 LVIA f. 378, p/o 1840, ed. hr. 33, l. 53–62. Correspondence between the Head of the Third Section Benkendorf and Mirkovič about Kuczkowski. RGIA f. 733, op. 31, delo 130, l. 55–60. Benkendorf to Stroganov 13th March 1840. *ibid.* l. 163–167. Uvarov's presentation to the Emperor 20th August 1840.

159 LVIA f. 378, op. 216, ed. hr. 77, l. 209–216. Final report of the investigating commission. RGIA f. 733, op. 31, l. 13–14. Mirkovič to Stroganov 6th May 1840. *Ibid.* l. 62–65. Gruber to Uvarov 11th May 1840. Topil'skoj M: Neskol'ko slov o sobytijah v Vil'ne posle kazni emissara Kanarskago. *Russkij Arhiv* 6/1870, p. 1191. Wierzchowski 1961: 38–39.

160 RGIA f. 733, op. 31, delo 130, l. 127, 135, 176, 178. Gruber to Uvarov 20th June, 31st July, 29th August and 1st September 1840. *Ibid.* delo 131, l. 1–3. Rector Mianowski to Uvarov 2nd August 1841. *Ibid.* l. 68–69. Chairman of the investigating commission Aleksandr Kavelin to Uvarov 28th December 1841. *Lomačevskij* 1872: 5: 312–316.

belonging to a formal secret society, but there had been a lot of political agitation in 1839–1840. The leading figure was Woźniakowski, a state student of 22 years of age from simple townfolk in the Kingdom of Poland. Under his leadership the students had gathered and read “Books of the Polish Nation and Polish Pilgrimage“ as well as Konarski’s texts. In addition, an apocryphal prophecy attributed to a legendary 18th-century Ukrainian bard called Wernyhora had circulated among them. Wernyhora predicted Poland’s liberation after a bloody war. The students had often gathered in Soter Chodźko’s lodgings, where discussions about the imminence of revolution and the restoration of Poland’s independence had taken place:

From the testimonies by gymnasium pupil Pawłowski,...it is evident that being acquainted with...Chodźko, he often visited his lodging, where [he] found many academy students, who discussed politics, including among other things the restoration of Poland. They said that there would soon be a revolution, but they themselves must give thought to it, since youth is ready for all kinds of sacrifices, and all that is needed an initiative to get the task under way...

Chaniecki testified that at Woźniakowski’s invitation he...and Academy students Lisowski, Mitarnowski, Gilewski,...Grzegorz Pietkiewicz and veterinary students Owsiany and Dowskiewicz gathered outside the town in a place called Rossa (this was at the end of May 1839)...Woźniakowski suggested to them the murder of Prince Trubeckoj, an attack on the main guardhouse and liberation of the prisoners, an attack on the fortress, seizing the arms and raising a rebellion, for which 400 persons were needed, the kidnapping of Archbishop Semaško...<sup>161</sup>

Semaško had led the official conversion of the Uniats to Orthodoxy. Pairing him with Trubeckoj shows the resentment caused by this process. Generally, Woźniakowski’s action gives the impression, not of empty talk, but of a more serious attempt to stir people to action. Although it was somewhat ineptly carried out, the agitation achieved some success. There are curious details, which, if true, point to Woźniakowski’s eccentricity. For instance, he had received opium from a fellow student called Bernard Morgenstern, reportedly not for its normal use, but for making invisible ink. In France, he had also hoped to finish a work, “On General Life”, in which he denied the Copernican system. Certainly, the latter fact was hardly invented by the commission, since it could not have served any purpose. An unsuccessful attempt at escape during detention further aggravated Woźniakowski’s guilt. He was sentenced to forced labour in the remotest parts of the Empire for an indefinite period.<sup>162</sup>

161 LVIA f. 378, op. 216, delo 77, l. 201, 203. Final report of the investigating commission. The testimonies mentioned were confirmed by other students.

162 LVIA f. 378, op. 216, ed. hr. 77, l. 199–245. Record of the investigating commission 30th November 1841 containing the final report of the case and the list of persons involved. Ibid. l. 252, 263. Aleksandr Kavelin’s presentation to the Minister of War Čermyšev and the latter to Kavelin informing him of Emperor’s ratification. Lomačevskij 1872:5: 325. Smirnoū 1961: 117–118, 123–125. Topil’skoj 1870: 1183, 1186–1193. Wierzchowski 1961: 38–39. It is possible that Woźniakowski actually meant “Copernican revolution in philosophy”, a term used by Immanuel Kant for his own theories. The commission may have misunderstood the term.

The other students who were found to be most guilty were Rokicki, Antoni Maciejowski, Kaetan Łopatecki, Sigismund Pietkiewicz and Aleksander Mitarnowski. Maciejowski, Łopatecki and Pietkiewicz had known about Woźniakowski's plans to escape and had bidden farewell to the three departing young men. Rokicki and Maciejowski had also been present in the readings and participated in copying "Wilianki". Pietkiewicz and Mitarnowski were considered guilty because of their presence at the meeting mentioned in the extract from the report above. The accused in this category were sentenced to serve in the Siberian and Orenburg troops without the right of release. Pietkiewicz died in detention before the sentences and Mitarnowski committed suicide before his arrest. Zenon Giłewski was considered somewhat less guilty, and he was sentenced to serve in the Orenburg troops with the right of release. Four students were deported to more or less remote provinces of inner Russia, where they were obliged to enter state service. Three veterinary students were assigned to the army as assistant veterinarians. Two were placed under police surveillance, while eight, whose guilt was not proven, went unpunished. Even those who were finally released had spent more than a year in detention.<sup>163</sup>

There is the following information about the social rank of 15 of the 16 students found guilty:

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| noble                | 9 |
| unconfirmed noble    | 1 |
| simple townsman      | 3 |
| "odnodvorec" peasant | 1 |
| Jew                  | 1 |

Ten of the sentenced stated that neither they nor their parents owned anything. The father of one had 157 peasants and another's father "a couple of" peasants. Three belonged to families who possessed moderate capital or a house, but no land. All except the Jew were Roman Catholics. Three of the students came from the Kingdom of Poland and at least three from the Province of Wilno. No information is available on the remainder.<sup>164</sup>

The last political crime connected with Wilno Medical Academy and uncovered by the authorities was the case of Maciej Łowicki. It began in July 1840 in the Caucasus, where some Polish soldiers, among them Kazimierz Rapczyński, were denounced for anti-governmental activities. A letter was found in Rapczyński's papers containing antigovernment expressions and a poem that glorified the patriotic activism of the Kievan and Wilno students.

163 LVIA f. 378, op. 216, ed. hr. 77, l. 200–205, 209–216, 226–230, 252–254, 263–265. Of the non-students involved, a gymnasium pupil Serafim Zaliwako was sentenced to fifteen years of forced labour in the remotest part of the Empire, after which he was to stay in deportation in Siberia. Józef Pawłowski was sentenced to the troops in Siberia and a private teacher Seweryn Groza to those in Orenburg without the right to release. One nobleman and three gymnasium pupils were deported to the inner provinces and obliged to perform state service.

164 LVIA f. 378, op. 216, ed. hr. 77, l. 223–245. List of the persons involved. Of the sentenced non-students, seven were noblemen, one an unconfirmed nobleman and one from the Orthodox clergy. One was the son of a landowner who owned 30 peasants, while the others had no property.

Rapczyński revealed that the papers were written by Łowicki, who had already graduated and was now serving as an army physician in Odessa. In Łowicki's papers, the authorities found a lot of incriminating material including: memoirs, a long poem entitled "Wariacja", Sawicz's Belorussian poem and various other short poems of a political nature, "Notes on the Moral War", a letter from English republicans to the TDP praising its manifest copied by hand from "Demokrata Polski", Mickiewicz's poetry, letters from students sentenced to the Caucasus, and texts expressing Łowicki's own ideas about various political subjects.<sup>165</sup>

"Wariacja" was a rather untalented mystical and patriotic poem inspired by Mickiewicz. It looked forward to a final battle for Poland's independence, identified with the battle in the Apocalypse, led by a spiritual leader and fought with the help of God. The victory demanded blood and sacrifice. Łowicki protested against the abolition of the Uniat Church by writing about a transformed church building in which the priest instead of preaching the word of God threw the worshippers into hell. Another passage justified the murder of a steward by a peasant who wanted to free himself from the corvée. Łowicki also wrote about the sad fate of a Russian soldier, maintaining that the soldier was not guilty of Poland's sufferings. At one point he emphasized the necessity of uniting Wilno, Cracow, Moscow and Kiev in the struggle for freedom. He asked somewhat impatiently: "Russian brothers, Pestel's spirit, his death for you and your happiness, should it not inspire you to righteous revenge?" Łowicki's enthusiasm for the Russian Decembrist revolutionaries of 1825 was not exceptional in the Polish national movement, since in 1831 many insurgents had shared it. There were also passages about the events in Wilno, which show Łowicki's contact with Woźniakowski's circle.<sup>166</sup>

The authorities investigated all persons with whom Łowicki had corresponded. The homes of all those who graduated from the Academy in 1839 at the same time as Łowicki were searched. In view of the efforts, the results of the investigation were meagre. Apart from Łowicki and Rapczyński, only five persons were involved in the final report of the investigating commission. In addition, four former students of the academy serving in various parts of the Empire possessed either subversive poetry or correspondence. They were not involved in the trial of the case in Wilno, but presumably, they were punished in their places of residence. Łowicki had given his memoirs about student activism to a student called Józef Adamowski and asked him to extend them with a further description of the student activities. An Orthodox student transferred to Kazan,

165 LVIA f. 378, op. 216, ed. hr. 73, l. 1–188. Łowicki's papers in Russian translation. Ibid. l. 297–299. The final report of the investigating commission. The case is briefly mentioned by Smirnov 1961: 117–118, 123–125 and Topil'skoj 1870: 1192–1193.

166 LVIA f. 378, op. 216, ed. hr. 73, l. 146–188. Wariacja in Russian translation. Though Wariacja showed some sympathy for Russian people, there were other texts by Łowicki which expressed his antipathy to them. When he was leaving Wilno, he felt bad about seeing how many Orthodox churches there were in the town. He was also against learning Russian. Ibid. l. 121–122, 126–131. On the connection with Woźniakowski's case, *ibid.* ed. hr. 77, l. 203–205. Final report of the investigating commission.

Aleksander Wejstort, had written a letter to a former academy colleague expressing his patriotism and stating that he was agitating among the Russian students in Kazan. Wejstort's father was a lower-rank Russian officer, but his mother was Polish. His letter has a defensive tone, since his academy colleagues doubted his patriotism. The relatively small number of those involved was due to the strength of character Łowicki showed during the investigation, preferring to name mostly the dead. However, Sawicz's probable suicide was most likely due to the danger of a new investigation caused by Łowicki's case and his memoirs.<sup>167</sup>

Łowicki was an unconfirmed nobleman without property from the Kingdom of Poland. He was deported to the remotest part of Eastern Siberia without the right to promotion in service rank for 10 years. Adamowicz, a free peasant (*vol'nyj čelovek*), was sentenced to serve as a soldier in the Siberian troops. Rapczyński was transferred from the Caucasus to Orenburg, and Zahorski to the Siberian troops. A gymnasium pupil incited by Łowicki was deported to Inner Russia and obliged to perform state service. The others went unpunished.<sup>168</sup>

Right to the end of its existence, the Wilno Medical Academy remained a problem for the authorities. The Russian rulers considered the conspiratorial tradition of the academy so important that they placed all persons who graduated from it between 1835 and 1840 under secret police surveillance.<sup>169</sup> The authorities were also quite incapable of dealing consistently with a public student movement defending students' social rights. It was partly recognized, and partly dismissed as illegal. In the conditions of the Russia of Nicholas I, the final closure of the Academy in 1842 was inevitable after the various scandals that had occurred there. When the benefit of education and political expediency clashed, it was the former that had to give way. We shall return to the academy's last years in the context of educational policy.

## The "Polonia" Student Union and Karol Hildebrandt's group at the University of Dorpat

Non-political student organizations were allowed to function under the supervision of the university authorities in Dorpat. There were disputes among the students about whether they should organize themselves on an all-university

167 LVIA f. 378, op. 216, ed. hr. 73, l. 299–311. Final report of the investigating commission and the list of persons involved in the case. On Wejstort RGIA f. 733, op. 99, delo 381, l. 5–16, his letter in Russian translation, l. 36–39, description of his other papers. Wejstort's papers include letters in Russian from his father and in Polish from his mother. All his friends wrote in Polish. Wierzychowski 1961: 39. I cannot totally agree with Wierzychowski's statement that Wejstort was a Russian student. We have here not a Russian, but a person of mixed background with a leaning towards Polish identity.

168 LVIA f. 378, op. 216, ed. hr. 73, l. 312–313, 335–336. Aleksandr Kavelin's submission to Černyšev 2nd December 1841 and Černyšev to Kavelin 7th December 1841 informing him of the Emperor's approval.

169 LVIA f. 378, op. 216, ed. hr. 73, l. 249–251. Kavelin to Černyšev 14th October 1841. Ibid. l. 275–276. Adjutant-General Adlerberg to Kavelin 19th October 1841.

(*Burschenschaft*) or a regional (*Landsmannschaft*) basis. Both types of organizations existed in German universities. By the 1830s, most of the students belonged to regional organizations, and the all-university *Burschenschaft* was finally abolished in 1838. The division of German students into regional organizations took its final shape in the 1820s. The organizations were called Curonia, Livonia, *Fraternitas Rigensis*, and Estonia. The last mentioned had nothing to do with ethnic Estonians, but consisted of local Germans. Ruthenia was founded in 1829 and it consisted of Russians and Germans from Russia. The student corporations organized feasts and supervised the behaviour of their members according to a rather strict code of honour. They settled disputes and, when they considered it necessary, arranged duels. The “*Chargiertenkonvent*”, a body with representatives from all German corporations was founded in October 1834. Under it there functioned a court, which settled disputes between members of various organizations. The university authorities did not officially recognize the disciplinary powers of the student bodies, and duels were strictly forbidden.<sup>170</sup>

Polish students founded their own union, called *Polonia*, in 1828. Its existence was officially sanctioned by the university authorities. In December 1832, *Polonia* was officially forced to disband because of the unfavourable political situation. Two years later, the Rector also asked the German corporations to disband. However, the German corporations immediately took up their activities again under the guise of literary societies, which were sanctioned by the Rector. Unlike the German organizations, *Polonia* was not granted this opportunity for a semi-official existence. It renewed its activities in 1834 without explicit permission from the authorities. *Polonia* was recognized by the all-university student union, but for security reasons it was not granted representation in *Chargiertenkonvent*.<sup>171</sup>

The information about *Polonia* in the 1830s is fragmentary and based on the memoirs of later student generations. It is not even clear whether the society at that time had an established organization or consisted rather of a series of informal gatherings. Probably *Polonia*'s activities closely resembled those of the

170 Engelhardt Roderich von: *Die Deutsche Universität Dorpat in ihrer geistesgeschichtlichen Bedeutung*. München 1933. P. 418–431. Gernet Axel von: *Geschichte der Estonia*. St. Petersburg 1893. Gernet A. V: *Die im Jahre 1802 eröffnete Universität Dorpat und die Wandlungen in ihrer Verfassung*. Reval 1902. On student organisations p. 33–39, 56–60, 66–70. Kielak Dorota: *Konwent Polonia w Dorpacie – polski model korporacyjny*. *Przegląd Humanistyczny* 1/1993 (316), p. 123–124. von zur Mühlen Heinz: *Deutsch-Baltische Korporationen und die Studentenschaft der Universität Dorpat (1802–1939)*. In: *Die Universitäten Dorpat/Tartu, Riga und Wilna/Vilnius 1579–1979. Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte und ihrer Wirkung im Grenzbereich zwischen West und Ost. Quellen und Studien zur Baltischen Geschichte*. Köln 1987. P. 151–155. Isakow and Sigalow 1973. On German corporations in the beginning of the 19th century 1:108–109. A shorter version of the same article in Russian: *Polskie studenckie organizacii v Tartuskom universitete v XIX veke*. Tartu ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi 1. Tartu 1975. P. 123–131. Manteuffel Gustaw: *Z dziejów Dorpatu i byłego uniwersytetu Dorpackiego*. Warszawa 1911. P. 84–86. Minkiewicz Antoni: “*Konwent Polonia*” 1828–1978. *Zeszyty Historyczne* 46, 1978. P. 211–212. Tartu ülikooli ajalugu 2. Koostanud Karl Siilivask. Tallinn 1982. P. 101–103, 110–111.

171 Engelhardt 1933: 428–429. von Gernet 1893:56, 125–126. von Gernet 1902: 56, 66–67. Isakow and Sigalow 1973: 108, 126–127. Kielak 1993: 124. Manteuffel 1911: 84–86. Minkiewicz 1978: 211, 213.

German student organizations. Polonia was willing to join the all-university student union. In April 1839, its representatives demanded representation in the Chargiertenconvent. Negotiations about Polish claims continued for two years, until Polonia dropped them. However, there are some signs that Polonia was not as innocent as the German organizations. Polonia considered itself a continuation of the Filomat and Filaret tradition. In 1837 a student called Franciszek Bogatko wrote Polonia's anthem, "Farewell Song", which was sung to the melody of the Filaret anthem. It contained expressions of love for Poland, but nothing openly political. Polonia's colours were red, light blue and white. According to Antoni Minkiewicz, the colours pointed to the Kingdom, Lithuania and Rus as constituent parts of the Polish Commonwealth.<sup>172</sup>

A more secret Polish student society was founded in the beginning of 1837. It was led by Karol Hildebrandt, of German descent and Reformed confession, an unconfirmed nobleman of 22 years of age, the son of a physician from Warsaw. He had previously studied in Berlin and there got to know about Mazzini's "Young Europe". In the course of the subsequent investigation, 20 persons involved in one way or another in the activities of the society were discovered. The organization was nameless and its structure rather informal. Hildebrandt acted as chairman and librarian, Aleksander Zrodowski as secretary and Apollinary Kiersnowski as treasurer. Zrodowski was 22 years of age, the son of a steward from the Białystok area, Kiersnowski 20 years of age, the son of a civil servant of the eighth rank, from the province of Grodno. They were both Roman Catholic noblemen. One of the involved, Bronisław Zalesski, later became a famous writer and a moderate liberal.<sup>173</sup>

The society supervised the morals of its members, condemned violations of the word of honour, visits to brothels and time-wasting in the form of playing billiards, frequenting cafes, hunting and drinking. It settled disputes between its members. The society had its own library. Each member paid 5% of his income to the society. This money was used to provide assistance for poor students. The founders of the society considered it a counterforce to German cultural influence and customs. The members were expected to study Polish literature and history. At monthly meetings, two members in turn lectured on a subject chosen by themselves. During the subsequent investigation, one member, Julian Walicki, described the meetings:

Hildebrandt wrote about moral upbringing and the duties of man, Ostromęcki [wrote] one [work] on forestry and hunting, another about

172 von Gernet 1893: 126. Isakow and Sigalow 1973: 108. Kielak 1993: 126. Manteuffel 1911: 95–96. Minkiewicz 1978: 211–213. Officially the university authorities allowed Polish gatherings without any elected leaders or organisation. This is evident in the records of the University Court, LVIA f. 378, p/o 1838g., ed. hr. 126, l. 63.

173 LVIA f. 378, p/o 1839g., ed. hr. 126, l. 1–7, 47, 262–263. Ibid. op. 216, ed. hr. 118b, l. 8–11, 80, 117, 121, 143–145. Testimonies by arrested students. Ibid. op. 216, ed. hr. 118a, l. 5–16. Excerpt from the sentence of the court martial. Isakow and Sigalow 1973: 109. Wierzchowski 1961: 27–31. Isakow and Sigalov only mention this group. Wierzchowski has studied it on the basis of the documents of the Third Section in Moscow. I hope that my account adds information about the books found in the students' possession, the subjects of their lectures, the course of investigation and the background of the members.

the improvement of sheep by breeding...Bogusławski [wrote] about political economy, Kiersnowski about the history of the Jews, Podgórski about the benefits of mathematics, I [wrote] one [work] on defining length with the aid of a thermometer, another about Little Russian poetry, Giedgowd about women...

Hildebrandt wanted us to work exclusively on Polish history, so that when Kiersnowski wrote a treatise on the Jews, Hildebrandt reproached him for not writing about Poles, but about Jews...<sup>174</sup>

The Ukrainian and Jewish subjects reveal an interest in ethnic minorities of the former Polish Commonwealth. The interest in the duties of man, and woman's position in society remind us of the subjects discussed among students in Wilno.<sup>175</sup>

In Hildebrandt's lodgings, the authorities found Czartoryski's proclamation, in which those living in Poland were asked to send information about the country. The literature found in the possession of the other students included historical works by Lelewel and the 18th-century monarchist Adam Naruszewicz, a history of the November Insurrection by a lesser émigré writer Antoni Bukaty (Tomasz Pomian), Mochnacki's history of Polish literature in the 19th century, a yearbook in French about the Polish émigré movement, Słowacki's poetry, and "Pan Tadeusz", "Forefathers' Eve" and other works by Mickiewicz. There were quite a number of books written by monarchist reformers at the end of the 18th century: Staszic's "Warnings to Poland", Hugo Kołłątaj's works on the Constitution of 3 May and the succession of the Polish throne, Bishop Jan Paweł Woronicz's works, the Constitution of 3 May 1791 and an anonymous pamphlet against Catherine II. One of the members, Józef Strzemeski, had copied excerpts from Jan Czyński's "Prince Constantin", in which the author analyzed various émigré political orientations and praised the Russian Decembrists, whom he rated higher than Polish reformers.<sup>176</sup>

The Dorpat students had contact with the SLP in the Kingdom as well as with Sawicz's group in Wilno. In August 1837, Hildebrandt met Stanisław Morozewicz and another member of the Kingdom's SLP, Michał Gruszecki, in Warsaw. Morozewicz gave Janowski's "Obligations of Man and Citizen" to Hildebrandt, but the latter called it a stupid book. Hildebrandt also made clear his contempt of democratic ideals. A member of the Dorpat group, Julian Walicki, travelled to Wilno and met Antoni Wałęcki in July 1837. Wałęcki confessed later that he had discussed politics with Walicki, but neither one of

174 LVIA f. 378, p/o, op. 216, ed. hr. 118b., l. 70–71.

175 LVIA f. 378, p/o 1838, ed. hr. 126, l. 4–7. Hildebrandt's testimony. Ibid. l. 8–10. Dolgorukov to Paskevič 20th August 1838. Ibid. op. 216, ed. hr. 118b, l. 69–71, 100. Walicki's and Kiersnowski's testimonies. Isakov and Sigalov 1973: 109. Isakov and Sigalov 1975: 127. Wierzychowski 1961: 27–28.

176 LVIA f. 378, p/o, 1839g., ed. hr. 126, l. 57–59. Curator Krafström to Dolgorukov 20th September 1838. Ibid. l. 154–161, Czartoryski's proclamation. Ibid. op. 216, ed. hr. 115, l. 29–40. Copies from the records of the University Court in Russian translation. Ibid. ed. hr. 118a, l. 17–22. List of papers and books found in the possession of students. Smirnov 1962: 94–95. Smirnov incorrectly presents the excerpt from Czyński as a text created by the student himself.



them had told the other about the existence of secret societies in Wilno and Dorpat. The two friends talked about patriotism, but not democratic ideas.<sup>177</sup>

In January 1838, Walicki came to Wilno with Hildebrandt and introduced him to Wałęcki. The two Dorpat students also met at least two other members of Sawicz's group. Wałęcki had meanwhile contacted the SLP in the Kingdom. Now he wanted to share his acquired democratic principles with the two Dorpat students. He revealed to them the existence of a Democratic Society among the Wilno students, and that secret societies of a democratic orientation existed in various places. He spoke about the superiority of the republican form of government and the necessity to enlighten and agitate the peasants. When Walicki spoke against the nobility, the two Dorpat students opposed him. They stated that "only the nobility, and among it only the wealthy, could safeguard the memory of Poland's ancient florescence". Hildebrandt and Walicki said that Wałęcki's ideas were daydreaming, and that he himself was a cosmopolite.<sup>178</sup> Hildebrandt told the investigators:

Wałęcki said that we must instigate the peasants in all the inns and villages so that they should kill all the nobles, whom he considered monsters (*izvergov*); I answered that such a deed would bring the greatest disaster to the fatherland, for the peasants would inevitably hang him after killing nobles; in this way he would only bring back the Middle Ages in Germany and the peasant rebellion in Thuringen. I stated that each citizen should try to educate the peasants and improve their position, so could everyone be a useful citizen for the fatherland.<sup>179</sup>

It is quite likely that, in fact, Hildebrandt and Walicki did tell about their society to Wałęcki, though both sides denied this in the investigation. Anyhow, the accounts about ideological disagreements are probably true. Hildebrandt, and perhaps also his group, had a more conservative outlook than the SLP. This is confirmed by Czartoryski's proclamation and other monarchist literature as well as by the fact that a member of the group, Władysław Jeleński, who managed to avoid arrest by fleeing abroad, joined Czartoryski's supporters in exile.<sup>180</sup>

The authorities began to pay attention to Hildebrandt in April 1838, when they intercepted a letter addressed to him by a Wilno gymnasium pupil called Oktawian Baliński. It contained allusions to patriotic opinions. At some other time, such a letter would perhaps have led only to police surveillance, but because it coincided with Konarski's arrest, it now led to a lengthy process of investigation. Baliński was arrested and finally sentenced to serve in the Orenburg troops at the rank of soldier with a nobleman's rights. He informed the

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177 Kraushar 1916: 34. Smirnov 1962: 93–94. Stowarzyszenie...1978: 253, 298. Morozewicz's and Wałęcki's testimonies.

178 LVIA f. 378, p/o 1838, ed. hr. 40, l. 129. Mieczysław Małęwski's testimony. Stowarzyszenie...1978: 298–299. Wałęcki's testimony. This encounter is mentioned in Wierzchowski 1961: 28.

179 LVIA f. 378, p/o 1838g., ed. hr. 126, l. 4.

180 LVIA f. 378, p/o 1838, ed. hr. 126, l. 3–4. Hildebrandt's testimony. *ibid.* l. 22–23. The chairman of the investigating commission Trubeckoj to Dolgorukov 19th October 1838. On Jeleński, see Fajnhauz 1965: 77–78, 148–149.

authorities about subversive discussions with Hildebrandt. The latter's lodgings were searched, but he was not immediately arrested, because the Governor-General of Riga, Magnus von der Pahlen, considered the whole case unimportant. Hildebrandt was finally arrested and brought to Wilno only in June, having had plenty of time to warn other members.<sup>181</sup>

Conditions in detention were hard. According to Aleksandr Kavelin, whose investigating commission later replaced the first one led by Count Aleksej Trubeckoj, Hildebrandt was during the time of Trubeckoj's commission fed only with bread and water and beaten twice a day so that he could not lie down. It was small wonder that he soon denounced the student society and nine of its members, including Konstanty Miller and Władysław Jeleński, who had escaped abroad. All the members who were caught were brought to Wilno. The others had not yet been exposed.<sup>182</sup>

During the investigation, the arrested students presented their society as a non-political, moral study circle. Although the investigating commission knew about Hildebrandt's and Walicki's contacts with the SLP, it came to the conclusion that the Dorpat group did not belong to any larger conspiracy and had no political aims. Only Hildebrandt was kept constantly in detention, while the other seven students, including Walicki, were set free in November to await the final sentence. In May 1839, Hildebrandt and Walicki were sentenced to serve as soldiers in the Caucasian troops with nobleman's rights. The other members were deported to perform state service in the inner provinces of the Empire.<sup>183</sup>

Before the sentences were announced to the accused, it turned out that the case was not yet clear. The earlier mentioned de Lucinay claimed in his evidence that Hildebrandt had recruited him and many times visited the town from prison with his aid. The testimonies also revealed Hildebrandt's extensive relations with other political prisoners, notably Kuzmin-Karavaev, as well as with many people who came to visit him, among them the Wilno student, Eisenblater. Most seriously, it was Hildebrandt and his cellmate, Moszyński, from whom de Lucinay had allegedly heard about the existence of the secret society, "L' Humanité".<sup>184</sup>

The other known members of the Dorpatian student society were involved in the de Lucinay case through silver rings, which had been presented to them in

181 LVIA f. 378, p/o 1838g., ed. hr. 40, l. 1–3, 6–12. Dolgorukov's correspondence. Ibid. l. 27. Palen to Dolgorukov 29th April 1838. Ibid. l. 30–36 Baliński's testimony. Ibid. l. 38. Mordvinov to Dolgorukov at 3rd May. Ibid. l. 187–189. Mordvinov to Dolgorukov 15th and 17th June 1838.

182 LVIA f. 378, p/o 1838g., ed. hr. 126, l. 1–7. Hildebrandt's testimony 20th August 1838. Ibid. op. 216, ed. hr. 144, l. 200. Kavelin to Černyšev 8th November 1841. Kavelin does not specify exactly when the maltreatment occurred.

183 LVIA f. 378, p/o 1838g., ed. hr. 126, l. 21–23. Trubeckoj to Dolgorukov 11th November 1838. Ibid. l. 165–166. Trubeckoj's decision to set seven students free. Ibid. l. 272–291 Dolgorukov to Benkendorf 7th April 1839. L. 296–297 Benkendorf to Dolgorukov 8th May 1839.

184 LVIA f. 378, op. 216, ed. hr. 15, l. 10–17. Investigating commission's final report on de Lucinay's case to Dolgorukov 5th December 1839. Ibid. ed. hr. 16 c. 2, l. 1–12, 68–77. De Lucinay's and Kuzmin-Karavaev's testimonies. Wierzchowski 1961: 29–31.

detention as a gesture of sympathy by a Wilno lady, Antoinette Śniadecka. De Lucinay claimed to have heard from Hildebrandt that the rings signified membership of “L’ Humanité”. No matter how ridiculous the claim was, it led to the second arrest of the released Dorpatian students. In the beginning of 1840, the authorities received help from a traitor, a noble called Werner Hornicz, who had been arrested for his participation in the SLP. Hornicz was placed in the same cells as two Dorpatian students, whom he himself considered the most likely ones to talk. By these means he was able to discover the names of the other members, which led to their arrest. Hornicz also claimed to have found out that the Dorpatian society actually had had political aims.<sup>185</sup>

More students were arrested, and by the time they were brought to Wilno, the misconduct of the investigation had been uncovered and a new commission under Kavelin nominated. This commission had a clear policy of playing down the extent of the subversive activity. It did not arrest or even investigate four persons whom the testimonies of the accused clearly involved in the case. The commission also stuck to the established version of a non-political student society, although the new information clearly undermined its credibility. Though Hornicz’s information about the Dorpatian students proved to be fairly reliable, the case was further complicated by the fact that he also made manifestly groundless denunciations of other persons involved in the SLP. Finally, Hornicz committed suicide leaving a letter in which he claimed all his information to have been false.<sup>186</sup>

The additional evidence revealed Julian Walicki’s conspiratorial activity in 1839 during his temporary freedom in Wilno. A printing-trade worker called Józef Bogdanowicz, arrested for organizing a patriotic circle in 1841, claimed to have given Walicki printing letters. Bogdanowicz related that he had sworn an oath to Walicki, who had recruited him into the secret society. However, by this time Walicki had gone out of his mind and could no longer be questioned.<sup>187</sup>

The final decision about the Dorpat students was not made until November 1841. Hildebrandt was sentenced to forced labour in Siberia, where his fiancée, Maria Balińska, voluntarily accompanied him. He survived and returned to

185 LVIA f. 378, op. 216, ed. hr. 15, l. 25–28, 36–37. The final report of the investigating commission to Dolgorukov on de Lucinay’s case. Ibid. l. 109. Dolgorukov to Paskevič 31st January 1840. Ibid. ed. hr. 118a, l. 17–22. Information of the commission about material found in the possession of arrested students. 118b, l. 2–3. Report by an officer Juferov and Gendarme Major Lobri about Hornicz. Ibid. l. 5–12, 17, 20–21, 26–27. Hornicz’s testimonies written down by the investigating commission.

186 LVIA f. 378, p/o 1838g., ed. hr. 126, l. 262–263. Testimony by Michał Gruszecki, a member of the SLP in the Kingdom. Ibid. op. 216, ed. hr. 118b, l. 8–11, 80, 117, 121, 143–145. Testimonies by Hornicz, Walicki, Hildebrandt and Mihail Sultanov. Ibid. l. 174–175. Paskevič to the chairman of the court martial Suhozanet 2nd May 1840. Copy. The persons indicated but not investigated were Józef Dziekoński, who had travelled together with Hildebrandt to Warsaw and even contacted a member of the SLP on his behalf and who was denounced as a member of the Dorpatian society by Hornicz, Witold Roze and Ludwik Czernecki, denounced by other students as members, finally Fałkowski, who was denounced as member of the society by Hornicz and as the owner of many discovered forbidden books according to the newly arrested students.

187 LVIA f. 378, op. 216, ed. hr. 144, l. 188. Final report of the investigating commission. Walicki’s connection with Bogdanowicz is mentioned by Wierzchowski 1961: 36–37.

Poland in 1857. Walicki escaped punishment pending an improvement in his health, which was not considered likely, and 12 others were sent to perform state service in the European Great Russian provinces.<sup>188</sup>

The sentenced were of a more privileged background than the Wilno activists. They were all noblemen, though Hildebrandt's nobility was unconfirmed. Eight were sons of landowners, while five declared that neither they nor their parents owned anything. There is no information about property owned by Hildebrandt's family, but generally he was considered wealthy. Ten of the sentenced came from the Belorussian provinces, three from Wilno Province and only Hildebrandt from the Kingdom of Poland. Apart from him and one Orthodox, Mihail Sultanov, all were Roman Catholics. Sultanov's father was a police officer, who had moved from Grodno Province to Tver and bought an estate there. Sultanov's mother was a former Roman Catholic converted to Orthodoxy, but he himself had been baptised in a Uniat Church. From the age of 14, Sultanov had lived with his mother's relatives in the Province of Grodno.<sup>189</sup>

Contrary to what the investigating commission pretended to believe, the Dorpatian student group was a political and patriotic conspiracy, though probably not formally part of the SLP. Hildebrandt's statements before his arrest and his testimonies during it, as well as some of the confiscated literature, point to an orientation towards constitutional monarchy. His statements seem reliable, since at the same time he did not try to hide his patriotism. As he told the investigating commission:

It would be naive and dishonourable, if I denied my ideas concerning my country, Poland...in that sense I was opposed to the present state of things; in 1831 I was without any [previous] views; but the sight of that catastrophe touched my soul and awoke an enthusiasm for my country, and my dedication to it was boundless...

Republican democracy would presuppose the perfection of man, so it is a utopian idea. Poland's strength is exclusively in its nobility. The peasantry is insensitive, almost without understanding about the Fatherland and its needs, the middle class is almost non-existent...<sup>190</sup>

However, there is more to Hildebrandt's political views than just support for a constitutional monarchy and opposition to democracy. As mentioned above, Morozewicz said that he had given Hildebrandt "Obligations of Man and Citizen", a book by Janowski, who was active in the TDP, while Walicki testified that Hildebrandt had lectured in Dorpat about the same subject. Though the

188 LVIA f. 378, op. 216, ed. hr. 144, l. 200–203. Kavelin's proposal to Černyšev 8th November 1841. Ibid. l. 214–215. Černyšev to Kavelin 15th November informing him about the imperial decision. Hildebrandt was finally tried separately in connection with de Lucinay's case. Uczestnicy ruchów wolnościowych w latach 1832–1855 (Królestwo Polskie). Przewodnik biograficzny. Wrocław 1990. P. 181.

189 LVIA f. 378, op. 216, ed. hr. 115, l. 2–3. Record of the University Court. Ibid. ed. hr. 118a, l. 5–16. The first sentence of the court martial. Ibid. l. 28. Former Dorpat student Erik Szolkowski's passport. Ibid. ed. hr. 118b, l. 143, 146, 150, 153. Testimonies by students. Sultanov is mentioned as "Russian from the Province of Tver" in Wierchowski 1961: 27. He was rather a person of a mixed ethnic background with a leaning towards Polish identity.

190 LVIA f. 378, op. 216, ed. hr. 118b, l. 82–83.

commission did not pay attention to this fact, it is most likely that Hildebrandt's presentation was based on Janowski. Perhaps after all he did not consider it so stupid a book? In his group, radical authors like Czyński were read. Regardless of the political disagreements, the Dorpat group tried to establish and maintain contact with a wider conspiratorial movement of democratic orientation. Probably within the group, there was vacillation between the various ideas presented in the émigré literature.

The final, relatively lenient attitude of the investigating commission towards the Dorpat students was probably due to the fact that, by 1841, the authorities were already aware of the extent of subversive ideas among the young Polish intelligentsia in Lithuania. The scale of subversive talks and readings was such that it was not expedient to arrest and sentence all the persons involved. It was enough for the authorities to know that the government had already showed its strength by crushing the most dangerous conspiracies.

The incident hardened the attitude of the Dorpat university authorities towards the Poles. The Rector, Karl Ullmann, proposed to Curator Evstafij Krafström that "youth of Polish and Lithuanian origin should be extirpated from the University", except for those wishing to study Protestant theology, since the contamination of local youth with subversive ideas could not be ruled out. Krafström rejected the proposal, but it was decided that Poles would not be allowed to hold any kind of common gatherings. This was the measure that caused Polonia to withdraw from its demand to be represented in the Chargiertenenconvent.<sup>191</sup>

## The Seweryn Gołębiowski case and illegal readings in St. Petersburg

In summer 1838, the SLP in the Kingdom of Poland was hit by mass arrests. Stanisław Morozewicz was arrested in July and gave important evidence. Among those arrested as a result of it was Seweryn Gołębiowski, an 18-year-old state student at the University of St. Petersburg, the son of a nobleman and tenant farmer from the Kingdom of Poland. Because of his contacts with Morozewicz and his reading of illegal literature, Gołębiowski was expelled from the university and deported to the Province of Perm with an opportunity to work there as civil servant.<sup>192</sup>

Like Morozewicz and Wałęcki, Gołębiowski had studied in Lublin Gymnasium. On his way to St. Petersburg, he passed through Warsaw in July 1837. He met Morozewicz and discussed democratic ideas with him. Morozewicz gave

191 LVIA f. 378, op. 216, ed. hr. 115, l. 61–82. Ullmann to Krafström 15th February 1840, Krafström to Ullmann 16th February 1840. Russian translation.

192 RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 121, l. 1–4, 35. Correspondence between the Deputy Minister of War Mordvinov and Uvarov 25–26th July and 28th September 1838. Berghauzen 1974: 88–91. Margolis Ju. D: Studenty-poljaki Peterburgskogo universiteta v obščestvennom dviženii 1840–1860-h godov. In: Pol'skie...1995: 133. Nowiński 1986: 65–67. Stowarzyszenie ...1978: 248–264.

him Janowski's "Obligations of Man and Citizen", and a Polish translation of "Les Ruines, ou Méditations sur les révolutions des empires" by the French liberal historian and philosopher, Constantin Francoise de Chasse-Boeuf. Gołębiowski copied Janowski's book and took it with him to St. Petersburg. He agreed to inform Morozewicz if he met any democrats among the Polish students in St. Petersburg. The information passed by ordinary mail under the guise of news about the weather. Gołębiowski wrote to Morozewicz only once and told that he had found only one democrat, Jarosław Gregorowicz.<sup>193</sup>

The existence of Gregorowicz is unclear. When the case was opened, Uvarov did not find anyone by the name of Gregorowicz at the university. The editors of a source publication about the SLP say that Gregorowicz was a Ukrainian from Podolia, Hryhorowicz, and that he too was deported to Perm. On the other hand, the documents of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment reveal that Nicholas I found it a mitigating circumstance that Gołębiowski neither propagated criminal ideas nor entered into a criminal relation with anyone in St. Petersburg. The mild punishment indicates that the authorities did not find Gołębiowski's case a very serious one. It seems that even Morozewicz did not expect much from Gołębiowski's activity in St. Petersburg, since to another conspirator he called Gołębiowski "a child with confused ideas".<sup>194</sup>

However, in 1843 the authorities received new information about Gołębiowski's activities and illegal literature at the university. Wincenty Dawid, a teacher at Lublin Gymnasium, was arrested as a member of Union of the Polish People (ZNP), which continued the activities of the SLP. He revealed to the authorities that during his studies in St. Petersburg from 1837 to 1841 illegal literature had widely circulated among the students. The poetic works mentioned by Dawid were "Books of the Polish Nation" and "Pan Tadeusz" by Mickiewicz, "Kordian", "Maria Stuart" and "Mindowe" by Słowacki, and "Songs of Janusz" by Wincenty Pol. The last book consisted of patriotic songs from 1830–1831. There were three historical works: "A View of the Political Situation of the Kingdom of Poland during the Fifteen Years under Russian rule 1815–1830" by Karol Hoffman, "Essai historique et politique sur la Pologne depuis son origine jusqu'en 1788" by Piotr Małeszewski, and "History of Lithuania and Rus until the Lublin Union with Poland in 1569" by Lelewel. One of the authors, Hoffman belonged to Czartoryski's camp. His book was published in Warsaw during the insurrection. He claimed that the insurrection had been inevitable, since Poland's constitution and Russia's despotism were inherently mutually incompatible. Małeszewski had become a radical democrat while living in Paris during the first French Revolution. His book was published posthumously in

193 Stowarzyszenie...1978: 253. Testimony by Morozewicz, who claimed that he had not told Gołębiowski about the existence of the SLP. Referred to also by Nowiński 1986: 65–66. Chasse-Boeuf's book was published in Warsaw in 1794.

194 RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 121, l. 4. Uvarov to the Deputy Minister of War Mordvinov 26th July 1838. Ibid. l. 35. Mordvinov to Uvarov 28th September 1838. Stowarzyszenie...1978: 264, 267 (quotation), 441. Wierzchowski 1961: 26. Testimony by Michał Olszewski. Nowiński 1986: 66.

Paris 1832. In his book, Lelewel emphasized the union of Lithuania and Rus with Poland as voluntary and progressive.<sup>195</sup>

The students had also read the memoirs of Jan Kiliński, who was one of the leaders of Kościuszko's insurrection in 1794. Émigré activity was described in two works: Stefan Witwicki's "Pilgrim's Evenings. Moral, Literary and Political Miscellanies", and Francois V. Raspaille's "De la Pologne sur les bords de la Vistule et dans emigration". Witwicki was a friend of both Mickiewicz and Henryk Rzewuski, a conservative writer loyal to the Russian régime. He did not belong to any of the émigré groups but culturally he was a conservative who opposed western influence. The French socialist Raspaille's book was written with Jan Nepomucen Janowski's aid, and hence expressed views near those of the TDP.<sup>196</sup>

It is not possible to determine any clear ideological orientation of the students on the basis of the literature they read. It included works by all the main parties of the émigrés except for the utopian socialists. The readings may well have been spontaneous and not organized by any group. Lamennais' and Mochnecki's works, which were rather central in the SLP's propaganda, are missing from Dawid's list of books. Dawid did not mention any interaction with Russian students in illegal studies. He told the investigating commission that Russian students had persecuted him at the university, which had made him more receptive to patriotic ideas.<sup>197</sup>

Dawid named 15 students who had read illegal literature. Gołębiowski was one of them. The Ministry of Public Enlightenment found that 11 of the accused were scholarship-holders from the Kingdom of Poland and one from the Belorussian School District, one came from Kiev, and one was unknown to the Ministry. It seems that he was a student in the Law School.<sup>198</sup>

Dawid was sentenced to serve in the Caucasian army as soldier without denial of privileges of social rank. The sentence was given as much for the readings at the university as for his participation in the ZNP. However, the other students mentioned by him were not punished, since the evidence was not found convincing enough.<sup>199</sup>

195 RKKP 292–294. Dawid's testimony. Also referred to by Nowiński 1986: 66–67, 83–86. Śliwowska 1961: 45–47. Śliwowska 1964: 64–65. There was also a book published in Paris, but written by a conservative writer loyal to the Russian rule, Henryk Rzewuski. *Pamiętki JPana Seweryna Soplicy, czesnika parnawskiego*. 1–4. Paryż 1839–1841. Rzewuski's name was not mentioned in the publication. The novel described war at the time of the Bar Confederation, seeing it more as an internal struggle between Poles than as one against the Russians. For Rzewuski's narrator, the Confederation was the last struggle for proper Polish nobility values against pernicious western influence. From the government's point of view the book was not very dangerous. A revised edition of it was published in Wilno in 1845.

196 RKKP 292–294

197 *Idem*.

198 RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 167, l. 9–10, 12, 33–35, 82. Deputy curator Dmitrij Volkonskij to deputy Minister Širinskij-Šimatov 28th October 1843, information of the Ministry about the accused. *Uczestnicy...* 1990: 74. The law student was Michał Bielikowicz, whereas Dawid had named Ignacy Bielikowicz.

199 RKKP 392–396. Paskevič's decision about the gravity of guilt of the accused. His final confirmation of the sentences.

Dawid was personally acquainted with the pioneer of Belorussian literature, Jan Barszczewski, and had published some poetry and an article, “Originality and Novelty in Art – the Aesthetic Truth” in his Polish-language journal “Niezabudka”. The poems and article reveal him as a romantic interested in folk life:

How does the artist-visionary differ from a craftsman carpenter, painter, musician or one that composes verses? – By the free activity of his creative fantasy...

There is not in our country a village, not a place, in which the past is not sleeping, where remembrance is not dozing...our people’s life, habits, rites, its fantasy and superstitions, do they not offer a rich field for an artist?<sup>200</sup>

Of the students mentioned by Dawid during the investigation, Ludwik Płoszyński also wrote poetry in “Niezabudka”. Although the romantic journal had an important student contribution, it was not connected with any clear group that was different from the rest of the students. Dawid revealed Barszczewski to his interrogators as a patriot, but in this respect, his testimony contained nothing concrete.<sup>201</sup>

Regardless of the possible conspiratorial activities, the Polish students in St. Petersburg had elements of a corporate life at the end of the 1830s. In 1838, a Polish student library was founded. A hand-written journal “Pamiętnik” (Remembrance) came out in 1837. Its contents are not known.<sup>202</sup> Two additional hand-written journals, “Pamiętnik Północny” (Northern Remembrance) and “Merkury”, were published in 1840. They have survived to the present day. “Pamiętnik Północny” was edited by Antoni Żółkiewicz, who also wrote a lot in “Niezabudka”. The editorial staff consisted of 13 persons, including Dawid and Ludwik Płoszyński, who was denounced for illegal studies. The two journals contained dilettante short stories and poetry, articles on Polish literature, religion, morals and even on the history of women in Poland. There were not any overtly political articles.<sup>203</sup> The publications followed the moralist tradition, condemning drinking and gambling. In one article the existence of God was called into question, and in another atheism was criticized. The Slavonic idea was evident in two articles. This is an interesting phenomenon, since Young Poland and the SLP ignored the Slavonic cause and rather emphasized a pan-European revolution. The publication of the journal was simultaneous with Mickiewicz’s Paris lectures, which might indicate that news from the émigré movement reached the students very quickly. The author of an article on Polish

200 Niezabudka 1841: 235, 253–254.

201 Niezabudka 1840-1843. RKKP 293.

202 Nowiński 1986: 63–65, 67–69. Slotvinskij 1979: 120. According to Nowiński, the library was sanctioned by the university authorities, while according to Slotwiński it was a clandestine one.

203 The journals are in RNB, otdel rukopisej, Pol’sk. F XVII No 20. Nowiński 1986: 71–80. Slotvinskij 1979: 121–122. Nowiński has already analysed the contents of the journals. I concentrate on the most interesting ideas and facts left unmentioned by him. The statement by Margolis 1995: 134 that Pamiętnik Północny openly demanded independence for Poland, is unfounded.



literature supported the romantic idea of literature as the self-expression of the nation. He underlined Poland's position as one of the Slavonic nations. Slavonic brotherhood was for him a corollary of Polish patriotism:

Today we are not a nation that exists politically, but neither are we altogether separated from our past...Studying our history, we had to go to its very source. With wonder we discovered that our nation was only one member of a single great Slavonic family. That opened our eyes. We began to get acquainted with our brothers; all enlightened men of the Slavonic family understood each other, all rejoiced together that after so many years of ignorance or prejudiced quarrels, [they] could again proudly call each other brothers, for all are worthy, for the common goal of all is the enlightenment and happiness for the mankind. Today has come the time for the solemn reconciliation of separated (*zwasnionych*) tribes, separated only because they previously lacked real enlightenment...

A nation will live as long as it preserves its inner energy, as long as religion and morals are the basis of our community, as long as love for all that is great and fine does not cease to burn in our hearts and call them to virtue, to love for nation, to sober brotherly friendship and mutual help between the members of one tribe as well as between all brother tribes in general...<sup>204</sup>

In the end, the author expressed his faith in the inevitability of victory of Slavonic idea, the idea of nationality. He clearly recognized the Russians as Slavs, though he did not state it explicitly. Emphasis on the principle of nationality makes it unlikely that the reconciliation was urged on the basis of loyalty to the imperial Russian régime. It was revolutionary co-operation that the author had in mind.<sup>205</sup>

Like the Polish students in Wilno and Dorpat, those in St. Petersburg also showed an interest in the question of the position of women. An article on the history of women combined Slavonic ideas and ideas of emancipation. In the primitive Slavonic community, the status of women had been good, but it had deteriorated with the introduction of Roman law. Later, the harmful influences were those received from Muslims during the crusades (!) and from the French. The author criticized the exclusion of women from ownership and government. Other Slavonic nations were not mentioned in this article. Apart from the articles on Slavonic themes, it is noteworthy that "Pamiętnik Północny" contained a translation of a poem by Puškin "To a Coquette". The editors of the journal did not have an exclusively negative view of Russian culture.<sup>206</sup>

The journals disappeared suddenly after having announced forthcoming new issues, but there is no information to indicate that the authorities might have forbidden them. Perhaps the university inspectors verbally and unofficially ordered the students to stop publishing them.

204 RNB otдел rukopisej, Pol'sk. XVII No 20, p. 11–12.

205 RNB otдел rukopisej, Pol'sk. F XVII No 20, p. 7–8, 11–12, 33–35, 47–51. The religiously sceptical and moralist articles are mentioned by Nowiński 1986: 74, 77.

206 RNB otдел rukopisej, Pol'sk. F XVII No 20, 17–19, 20–27, 55.

## Summary of student activism (1836–1840)

The Polish student movement emerged as a result of both exterior agitation and the internal development of the Polish student communities. The student activists were profoundly influenced by the émigrés and the Filomat tradition. At the end of the 1830s, the student groups in Kiev and Wilno belonged to the SLP, the group in Dorpat was in contact with it, while students in St. Petersburg were also influenced by the all-Polish secret society. Despite the connection with the SLP, student activism did not include active preparation for an insurrection, but consisted rather of studies in national subjects, like Polish literature, history and political theory. A large number of student activists themselves wrote romantic poetry. The most influential currents of thought among the students were Mickiewicz's Messianism and democratic non-socialist republicanism, as expressed among the émigrés by supporters of Lelewel and the TDP. Czartoryski's ideas also circulated in the student communities. Much attention was paid to the status of peasants and of women in society. The students held a mythical view of Poland's past. The most essential element was the emphasis on Poland's struggle for national liberation after the second half of the 18th century up to the 1830–1831 insurrection. An idea of pre-partition Poland as an egalitarian and free society also existed.

In all, 117 students or recent graduates were found guilty of various political crimes. I have at my disposal information about the social rank of 90 students involved, which is as follows:

|                   |    |
|-------------------|----|
| noble             | 49 |
| unconfirmed noble | 13 |
| lower townsman    | 9  |
| clergy            | 4  |
| peasant           | 4  |
| foreigner         | 5  |
| civil servant     | 3  |
| honoured citizen  | 1  |
| lower officer     | 1  |
| Jew               | 1  |

More than half of the students found guilty of political crimes belonged to the nobility, but also the middle classes were quite strongly represented. The noble student conspirators often came from landless families. The student movement was not one of the land-owning nobility; it had a more plebeian composition.

# ■ Educational Policy and the Poles (1838–1848)

The uncovering of the SLP affected education in the Kingdom of Poland. Secondary school pupils had participated in the conspiracy in fairly large numbers. This gave the government a good pretext for taking an additional step towards Russification. In November 1838, Nicholas urged the Secretary of State of Poland, Ignacy Turkuł, to hasten the reform of education in the Kingdom. In autumn 1839, he sent Uvarov to Warsaw, where the latter drew up the final draft of the reform together with Paskevič. In December 1839, the separate educational administration of the Kingdom was abolished, and the Warsaw School District under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment was founded. Unlike the former Director of the Educational Commission, the Curator of the School District did not belong to the Administrative Council but was only invited to its meetings when necessary. All the reforms and important nominations concerning education in the Kingdom could only take place with the mutual consent of the Minister of Public Enlightenment and the Viceroy. Educational legislation no longer went through the Secretary of State of Poland, but was presented to the Emperor by the Minister of Public Enlightenment.<sup>1</sup>

An informative account of Uvarov's political principles concerning the Kingdom of Poland is contained in his ten-year report of service in the Ministry from 1843. He saw a clear difference in the situations and the measures needed between the Western Provinces and the Kingdom. The policy followed in the latter should be more moderate than that in the former:

In former Polish, and even in Baltic, provinces it is possible to say frankly to Russian subjects: study in Russian. In the Kingdom the introduction of the Russian language demands other conditions. The course of public education must to a great extent be different from measures taken in the Western and Baltic provinces...

Instead of a suppressive, unconditional command to introduce the Russian language, I have striven to inculcate a respect for Russian education, while satisfying the justified demands of the locality...<sup>2</sup>

In practice, Uvarov's line meant Russification at a slower tempo than in the Western Provinces and without an explicit ban on Polish as the language of instruction. The Minister had to confront significant opposition from other Russian politicians who favoured the suppression of education instead of directing it towards Russian goals. In the course of the 1840s he gradually had to adopt an ever more defensive position.

. . . . .

1 Kucharzewski 1916: 217–221. SP II.1 1216–1219.

2 Uvarov 1864: 68–69.

A new political line favouring study by Polish students in Russian universities was adopted. In this way the government hoped that the universities would Russify the Poles. "The more resolute this measure is, the nearer it can bring us to the set goal: the merging of the two hitherto antagonist elements," Uvarov wrote to the Emperor.<sup>3</sup> The number of scholarship-holders from the Kingdom sent to Russia increased. However, even now the government did not fully abandon its fears concerning Polish students in Russia. The number of scholarships was still rather small compared to the Kingdom's needs. Moreover, scholarships were unevenly distributed. There were far more grants for law students and prospective teachers than for medical students. A likely explanation for this discrepancy is that lawyers and teachers with a Russian education were necessary for the Russification of the Kingdom, whereas physicians were only necessary for public health.

The most significant reform was made in the field of law education. In 1837 Paskevič proposed establishing three chairs of Polish Law at the University of St. Petersburg. Somewhat altered from the original proposal, the reform finally got official sanction in April 1840. It seems that Uvarov's contribution to the reform was secondary, but it fitted well into his new policy of promoting study by a limited number of young Poles in Russian universities. In St. Petersburg and Moscow, two chairs of Polish Law were established in each, one of Civil Law and the other of Criminal and Administrative Law. The professors were not elected according to the normal procedure by university councils, but nominated directly by the Minister. All high posts in the Kingdom's judiciary were to be filled by graduates of St. Petersburg and Moscow Universities. Sixty permanent grants for law students from the Kingdom were established in these universities, thirty in each. The scholarship-holders were chosen by the Curator of the Warsaw School District. They also went through the normal programme of Russian law studies at their universities. This meant that Polish graduates from St. Petersburg and Moscow had the skills necessary for the further Russification of the Kingdom's legislation and judiciary. During their studies, the scholarship-holders received 171 silver roubles a year, which was not only enough for living, but also allowed them to live in some comfort. They were obliged to serve at least 10 years in the Kingdom at a post chosen by government. The establishment of Polish chairs made the use of Polish language in higher education possible again, though on a rather limited scale. In Moscow, the professors of Polish law lectured in Russian, but in St. Petersburg in Polish, and the exams were in Russian in both universities. The Universities of St. Petersburg and Moscow trained 61 lawyers in all for the Kingdom of Poland in the period 1842–1849.<sup>4</sup>

3 Quoted in *Roždestvenskij* 1902: 313.

4 II PSZ XV.1/1840, No 13 373, p. 272–275. Bardach Jul'jus: *Kursy pol'skogo prava v Sankt-Peterburgskom i Moskovskom universitetah v 1840-1860 godah*. In: *Pol'skie...*1995: 10–19. Bardach claims that the number of scholarships was limited to fifteen at each university. *Kucharzewski* 1916: 447–465, 516. *Niemirowski*: *Ze wspomnień uniwersyteckich. Wydział prawniczy w Petersburgu dla Polaków*. *Wiek* 292–293/1881, 1/1882. On the language of instruction, 292/1881, p. 2.

Courses in law were established in Warsaw to educate lawyers for lower posts. These courses lasted two years and entrance to them required a gymnasium (upper secondary school) education. The courses had 160 students in 1844. In 1845, the admission of new students ceased, and in the following year the courses were discontinued without any public explanation. Probably they were just too similar to those in an institute of higher learning.<sup>5</sup>

The education of teachers was also concentrated in Russian universities. As previously mentioned, hitherto teachers had been trained partly at universities, partly in pedagogical courses in Warsaw. In June 1841, the Curator, Nikolaj Okunev, prepared a new charter for the pedagogical courses, which were to be divided into three sections: philology, physical sciences and mathematics, and drawing. Paskevič accepted the plan, but Uvarov rejected it. The plan had named as a function of the courses the preparation of teachers and the offering of higher education to the Kingdom's youth. The division into departments pointed in the same direction. Uvarov found this unacceptable for two reasons: the courses were too limited to offer proper higher education, and broadening their curriculum would have been inconsistent with the general educational policy in the Kingdom. Here, Uvarov's general antipathy towards all intermediate education between higher and secondary levels is as evident as is his determination to prevent Polish higher education. Indeed, a year later he mentioned among the "inconveniences" of the previous educational system in the Kingdom the fact that pedagogical courses had to some extent replaced the university. Uvarov proposed to limit the courses so that they would no longer prepare teachers for the gymnasium, but only for district schools. Paskevič agreed with Uvarov. In 1842 the curriculum of the pedagogical courses was limited to one year. Despite this, the number of pedagogical scholarships in St. Petersburg and Moscow was not increased. It remained at 15 each year, which meant 60 scholarship-holders studying at the universities at any given time. After graduation, they had to serve for six years. In 1841, Uvarov decreed that graduates from St. Petersburg and Moscow be given preference in filling the vacancies for gymnasium teachers in the Kingdom.<sup>6</sup>

In August 1845, the funds budgeted for the Kingdom's pedagogical and law scholarships at universities were decreased. The number of grants was fixed at 80 instead of the previous 120. It was not stipulated how many grants should be allocated for future teachers and how many for law students. Scholarship-holders could study law only in St. Petersburg or Moscow, but pedagogical scholarship-holders could be sent to any university. The grants were for either 250 or 300 silver roubles, which improved the living standard of scholarship-holders even beyond its previous, quite satisfactory level. This shows that the motivation for reducing the number of grants was political rather than economic. It was preceded by the case of Wincenty Dawid and other information received

5 II PSZ XV.1/1840, No 13.373, p. 272–275. *Obščyj otčet...za 1844 god. ŽMNP, XLVI, I 61.* Kucharzewski 1916: 468–469.

6 SP II.2 128–129, 245. SR II 529. Uvarov 1864: 62–63. Kucharzewski 1916: 399–402.

about illegal national studies among the students. Uvarov resisted the reform, which had been initiated without consulting him. An un-addressed draft letter preserved in Uvarov's personal papers shows that he saw the measure as undermining the whole educational policy in the Kingdom of Poland, as studies in Russian universities were "le clef...du système". Opportunities for young Poles were further curtailed in December 1847, when Uvarov decreed that only native Russians could work in the Kingdom as teachers of Russian language and literature.<sup>7</sup>

Higher education in medicine remained in a most neglected position, and practically nothing was done to promote it. Some young Polish men studied medicine abroad. After an exam in the Kingdom, they received the right to practice as physicians, but with the stipulation that they were not allowed to enter state service. Perhaps inspired by Hildebrandt's case, Paskevič wrote to Uvarov in 1838, worried by the prospect that some Polish graduates of foreign universities might continue their studies or take academic degrees through passing exams in Russian universities. This would give them the right to enter state service despite the fact that they had studied abroad. Paskevič proposed that Russian universities should only take students who had a special passport for studies in Russia. Uvarov agreed and wrote a circular on the matter. Two years later Paskevič forbade the issuing of passports for medical studies abroad.<sup>8</sup>

The authorities discussed sending medical students to Russian universities, but this time Uvarov resisted the whole idea. In March 1840, he answered Curator Okunev's proposal, saying that it was possible to take holders of medical scholarships only if pedagogical scholarship-holders were no longer sent to Russia. Uvarov's standpoint may perhaps be explained by the imminent transfer of Wilno medical students to Russian universities and the strong opposition of the Moscow Curator, Sergej Stroganov. Stroganov argued that any additional Polish students in Moscow could "upset the balance" between the nationalities in the student body. In this situation, the Administrative Council decided in 1841 to send medical students to medical academies instead of universities. This could only mean St. Petersburg Medical Academy, since the Wilno and Moscow academies were closing down. The maximum number of grants at any given time was fixed at 10. Compared to the needs of the country, this was ridiculously small.<sup>9</sup>

In 1846, Paskevič again proposed admission of the Kingdom's holders of medical scholarship to Moscow University, but once more Stroganov and Uvarov resisted the idea. They justified their opinion by claiming that the presence of students from the Kingdom of Poland at the university already had a harmful influence on the students from the Western Provinces. Finally,

7 Uvarov's protest in OPI GIM f. 17, ed. hr. 37, 1.50–51. Undated, but written in 1844. Uvarov writes against the reduction in the amount of grants to sixty. Probably the final amount was raised to eighty because of his resistance. RGIA f. 744, op. 1, delo 19, l. 1–6. SR II 981–982. Kucharzewski 1916: 509–513.

8 Kucharzewski 1916: 413–415. SR II 267–269.

9 Kucharzewski 1916: 415–417. Makarowa 1994: "Wychowankowie...71.

additional scholarship-holders were sent to the University of Kharkov. They studied at the expense of their respective institutes, not at the expense of the Kingdom. Between 1841 and 1848, 37 holders of medical scholarships in all were sent to Russia. From 1849 to 1856 the total number of scholarship-holders was 28. Of these, only four entered service in the Kingdom of Poland, while all the rest were nominated to posts in Russia proper.<sup>10</sup>

In July 1846, the government tightened control on all Polish students wishing to study in Russia. It was decreed that even those who studied at their own expense needed permission from the Curator of the Warsaw School District in order to be admitted to a university. Only sons of nobles, high civil servants, merchants, lawyers, Protestant clergy and owners of big estates from the Kingdom of Poland were allowed into the universities and gymnasia of Russia. Thus the lower classes of Poland were denied the opportunities that were open to Russians of a similar status. It is noteworthy that the limitation based on social rank originated from Uvarov, who justified it by the need to prevent too large a number of Poles in Russian educational institutes. Uvarov had already adopted this standpoint in January 1846, that is, before the Cracow Insurrection. This hardening of policy may have been due to the pressure that he had been under one year before as a result of the discovery of illegal literature in the universities. During the same year, a total ban on study by young men from the Western Provinces in any educational institutes in the Kingdom was imposed in a circular from Uvarov, which resulted from a proposal by Dmitrij Bibikov, the Governor-General of Kiev.<sup>11</sup>

In the 1840s there appeared two new special educational institutes with an intermediate status between secondary and higher education: the Institute of Agriculture and Forestry in Marymont near Warsaw (1840) and the Art School in Warsaw (1844). For admission, the former required that the applicant be 16 years of age and have sufficient prior knowledge, but not graduation from a state school. The studies took two years. The Art School demanded for admission either completion of four gymnasium classes or the full gymnasium course, depending on the speciality. The studies lasted three or four years and the language of instruction was Polish. The establishment of these schools seems somewhat inconsistent with the general educational policy, since they created Polish student communities in Poland. Perhaps the schools were deemed somewhat less dangerous, since the specialities they prepared students in were plebeian according to the values of the nobility. Marymont was officially considered a school of intermediate level.<sup>12</sup>

At the end of the 1830s, the role of Polish subjects in the gymnasium curriculum was diminished by a number of separate measures. In 1838, the lessons in the Polish language were abolished for older classes and reduced for

10 Kucharzewski 1916: 417–420.

11 RGIA f. 733, op. 77, delo 204, l. 12–13, 17–22, 24–25, 30–33, 40–42. Correspondence between Uvarov, Polish Secretary of State Turkuł and Paskevič, Uvarov's submission to the Emperor. II PSZ XXI.2/1846, No 20 391, p. 262. SR II 891–892.

12 SP II.2 89–103, 333–337.

the younger ones, Polish history was included in lessons of general history, and Russian and French courses were added. Teaching in Russian was extended to lessons on Russian and Polish geography, statistics and history, which were taught together. In September 1839, lessons in Polish and Latin were reduced, while the afore-mentioned lessons in geography, statistics and history were increased. At the same time, the lessons in Polish for the oldest classes were reintroduced.<sup>13</sup>

The reintroduction of Polish ran counter to the Russification tendency, which otherwise was pursued fairly consistently by the government. Such a quick turn-about in policy points to disagreement among the government officials. Although the Polish lessons were reintroduced somewhat before the transfer of the Kingdom's education to the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment, the measure coincided with Uvarov's sojourn in Warsaw. It was he who considered the speed of Russification too rapid and slowed it down.

A new School Law for the Kingdom of Poland was introduced in 1840. It did not contain radical reforms. Where previously the gymnasium had included technical classes, now the technical subjects were to be taught in a special real-gymnasium, from which, in principle it was not possible to go on to university. The normal gymnasium course was shortened from the previous eight to seven years, the same length as in Russia. It included lessons in Polish language and literature, Russian language and literature, Greek, Latin, German, French, logic, mathematics, geography, history, physics, writing and drawing. The district schools were of two types: one which corresponded to the lower classes of the gymnasium and one with a curriculum more oriented towards technical subjects and natural science. The former represented a return to the ladder system, since the graduates could continue to the normal gymnasium, while graduates from district schools with technical orientation could continue only to real-gymnasium. However, Uvarov in fact favoured the traditional, classical gymnasium as opposed to real-gymnasium. Only one real-gymnasium was founded.<sup>14</sup>

Russian-trained teachers facilitated the beginning of Russification in the Kingdom's schools, since they were obliged to teach in Russian. In 1848 there were 78 such teachers working in the Kingdom. They taught various subjects ranging from classical languages to natural science. In the younger classes, the teachers were allowed to explain in Polish when the pupils otherwise did not understand. Indeed, at least in 1844 and 1845 so many teachers neglected their obligation to teach in Russian that the Deputy Curator, Pavel Muhanov, commented on this to the school directors. In the same year, Deputy Minister Širinskij-Sihmatov pointed out to the Warsaw educational authorities that the Kingdom's students studying at the universities often had insufficient skills in Russian. Considering the Kingdom's political situation, the schoolboys' poor results in Russian studies are hardly surprising.<sup>15</sup>

13 Walka...1993: 45–46. Curator Okunev's annual report on education in the Warsaw School District.

14 SP II.2 58–88, 122–127. Kucharzewski 1916: 249–250.

15 Uvarov 1864:64. Kucharzewski 1916:259. Walka...1993:61, 115–116, 122–123, 127.



At the end of the 1830s, Uvarov had to struggle against proposals by Count Adam Gurowski, a penitent Polish émigré and former member of the TDP, who had been pardoned after becoming an ardent supporter of autocracy and Russian rule in Poland. In 1839, Gurowski presented his views on education in the Kingdom to Nicholas. He found especially harmful the instruction in classical languages, since the literature in them contained republican elements. As a remedy, he proposed the replacement of classical studies with lessons in Old Church Slavonic, the study of the Church Fathers and more lessons in the natural sciences. Gurowski's most radical proposal was for the introduction of Russian as the language of instruction by using Old Church Slavonic during the period of transition. Uvarov managed to block most of Gurowski's proposals by arguing that their implementation would seriously harm the unity between Russian and Polish education. However, Nicholas still ordered that half of the Latin lessons be replaced by Old Church Slavonic lessons. In addition, the Kingdom's scholarship-holders at the universities were obliged to take courses in Old Church Slavonic. Separate Old Church Slavonic lessons in the gymnasium lasted till 1846, when they were combined with Russian lessons.<sup>16</sup>

In March 1845, Nicholas approved "Further Rules for the Warsaw School District". Although unpublished, they were not top secret, since Uvarov referred to them in his public annual report to the Emperor in 1846. The rules decreed that the number of gymnasia was to be diminished to a level "corresponding to the real need". To replace the closed gymnasia, real-gymnasia should be established. District Schools leading to the gymnasium should either be closed or turned into real-schools or agricultural schools. The "Further Rules" also included a rise in tuition fees, which were defined exactly somewhat later in the same year. The fees now depended on a pupil's social rank. Important to this research are the fees for the senior classes of the gymnasium, from the fifth to the seventh. For sons of noblemen the fee was 20 silver roubles per year, for the sons of civil servants or nobles serving the state 10 roubles, and for non-nobles 45 roubles. The only exemptions from fees could be granted to scholarship-holders whose grant was smaller than the tuition fee. Thus a non-noble gymnasium pupil in Poland paid nine times more than his counterpart in Russia paid regardless of social rank. Such a measure was clearly justified by an urge to prevent social mobility through education and make the Polish intelligentsia more exclusive.<sup>17</sup>

Uvarov proposed to reduce the number of schools with a classical bias, probably only because of outside pressure, since it conflicted with his policy. The Minister prevaricated in implementing the rules for the gymnasia, though he implemented the reform of some district schools quickly. In 1848 the Kingdom of Poland had nine traditional gymnasia, which was one less than it had had in 1845. The one missing gymnasium was not made into a real-gymnasium, but an

16 Kucharzewski 1916: 264–274, 275–279. Makarowa 1994: "Wychowankowie...68. SR II 511–517. For Gurowski, see Walicki Andrzej: *Russia, Poland and the Universal Regeneration*. Notre Dame, Ind. 1991. P. 158–183.

17 Kucharzewski 1916: 294–295, 297–300. *Obščyj otčet...za 1845 god. ŽMNP L, I 63–64.*

institute for the nobility, actually an elitist gymnasium. In two Warsaw gymnasia, the three oldest classes were closed down in 1846 by imperial decree on Paskevič's suggestion. This meant that Warsaw youth had to leave the city just to get a full gymnasium education. Uvarov was only later informed about this measure, which was a result of the Cracow Insurrection and the participation of pupils in the conspiratorial movement inspired by the TDP. All that the Minister could achieve was to prevent the closure of senior classes in the Warsaw real-gymnasium.<sup>18</sup>

The most favourable time for secondary and higher level education in the Kingdom of Poland during the reign of Nicholas I and after the November Insurrection was in the beginning of the 1840s. At that time, the gymnasia were not yet under attack, pedagogical and law courses were held and the number of grants for study in Russian universities was at its highest. The situation was bad indeed compared to what it had been under autonomous rule till 1830, but it could and did become worse with the closure of both courses, the weakening of the gymnasium network and the reduction in the number of grants. The worst was still to come.

At St. Vladimir's University, the government's first reaction to subversion among the students was to tighten up discipline, which took place after the very first arrests. In November 1837, the number of assistant inspectors was increased and a dormitory for all politically unreliable and poor students was founded. Students suspected of being politically unreliable were denied home leave during vacations. Uvarov also decreed that only graduates from the gymnasia be henceforth admitted to the university.<sup>19</sup>

Uvarov's basic attitude towards the universities was a defensive one. He considered it his duty to defend Russian higher education both against the Polish national movement and against those Russian authorities that did not understand the usefulness of education for the government. When presenting the case of the first students arrested in Kiev to the Emperor in October 1837, the Minister pointed out that the enemies of the government might have two kinds of goals when they organized political propaganda among the students:

Either to win over the inexperienced spirit of local youth in our educational institutes to their views, or to tarnish the image of that youth in the eyes of our government and deprive educational institutes of Your Majesty's trust and protection, thus little by little preparing their degradation and in that manner reasserting their own direct influence over youth...<sup>20</sup>

Uvarov was dissatisfied with the conduct of Georg von Bradke, who had ordered Gordon's arrest. When the Curator took measures to find the fugitive student by

18 Kucharzewski 1916: 301–307, 558–559. Obščyj otčet,...za 1845 god. ŽMNP L, I 60–61. The same, za 1848 god. ŽMNP LXII, I 82, 88–89.

19 RGIA f. 733, op. 69, delo 334, l. 1–3, 6–8, 10, 16–18, 24, 32–38. Correspondence between Uvarov and von Bradke, Uvarov's submission to the Emperor. SR II 253–254. Pantelev 1908: 197–198.

20 RGIA f. 733, op. 69, delo 335, l. 3.

intercepting the mail of all students, Uvarov wrote to him unofficially and ordered him to give up this plan. The Minister claimed that the case of political propaganda in the university had already been completely solved. Gordon's escape was only a result of the money collection that had been discovered and of fear. By contacting the authorities outside the university and asking for their help to find Gordon, von Bradke had given the case too much importance. Such acts drew attention to the university, and might have caused many to mistrust it. According to Uvarov, the administration of the university must not arouse suspicions about the morale among students, especially after such events as had recently taken place.<sup>21</sup>

In effect, Uvarov forbade the Curator to search for Gordon or to try to determine the political aspects of the case. The Minister put the reputation of the university above catching an individual political criminal. Since he had written to von Bradke unofficially, the latter could not say that he had received definite orders from his superior. This placed all the responsibility on von Bradke, who obeyed Uvarov's instructions. Soon Governor-General Bibikov got into conflict with the Curator, who refused to allow persons belonging to the university to be interviewed by the state authorities in connection with Gordon's case. Bibikov took the disagreement to Nicholas I through the Head of the Third Section, Alexander Benkendorf. On 3 May 1838, Nicholas ordered von Bradke and all the other Curators to co-operate with the local police. In this way, von Bradke entered the Emperor's disfavour, whereas Uvarov, the real culprit, did not get into any serious trouble. In November 1838, after the full extent of the SLP's activity in the university was revealed, von Bradke was forced to resign.<sup>22</sup>

In November 1837 Nicholas accepted Uvarov's proposal that all Polish professors at St. Vladimir's University should gradually be removed from their jobs. This was perfectly in line with the general policy of the Ministry. A more thorough reorganization of the university became necessary when the whole SLP affair was uncovered. In January 1839, Nicholas accepted Uvarov's proposal for the temporary closure of the university. Those students not guilty of political transgressions or bad behaviour could either move to other universities or enter government service. Those who were reported by the university authorities as not well-behaved, were denied these opportunities. The professors would continue to receive their salaries and state students would continue to receive grants in their new universities. None of the former students of St. Vladimir's University was to be allowed back after its reopening. In his submission, Uvarov placed the guilt for the political activism exclusively on agitation from outside, whereas the university itself had flourished. He did not see any fundamental error in the policy hitherto followed. The Minister managed

21 Uvarov to von Bradke 14th December 1837. Published in Pantelev 1908: 202–203.

22 RGIA f. 733, op. 69, delo 378, l. 1–4, 6, 75. Correspondence between von Bradke, Uvarov and Nicholas I. The final cause of von Bradke's resignation may have been he had reported a student as well-behaved, when it turned out that the student was guilty of various transgressions. Ibid. delo 400, l. 1. The order to the Curator to co-operate with other authorities.

to avoid the permanent closure of the university or any other more draconian measure.<sup>23</sup>

Uvarov's policy was soon challenged by Bibikov, who urged a more radical reorganization of all education in the Right-Bank Ukraine. The relatively independent position of the School District annoyed the Governor-General, who otherwise had very wide power over both civilian and military administrations in the area. Bibikov now initiated a power struggle in order to gain control of education. In March 1839, he presented his proposals to Nicholas. According to the Governor-General, it was a wrong policy that was to blame for the troubles in the university. It had been a mistake to allow Polish professors to work at the university, since they could not anyway instruct Polish youth in the "Russian way of thinking". These professors and the Polish majority of the student body had brought about a situation in which the Polish influence in the university was stronger than the Russian one. The language of discussion in the university was most often Polish. The university authorities had not been able to combat the Polish influence, which was also maintained by the existence of private boarding houses and the local Polish society. Bibikov proposed that the university should be reopened only for Russian and German students. This should be done in the autumn 1839, not in 1840, as Uvarov had suggested. Previous decisions about the transfer of students to other universities and their expulsion would only apply to Poles. By such a measure, the student body would get a Russian majority. When new Polish students were admitted to the university, they would have to adapt to this majority. Not only the poor or politically unreliable, but all students would be required to live in a supervised dormitory. Further, Bibikov proposed the dismissal of all Polish teachers and those non-Poles, who had studied in Krzemieniec Lyceum from all schools of the Kievan School District. They should be strictly forbidden to take private pupils. All gymnasia located in small towns or villages should be transferred to provincial capitals in order to facilitate their supervision. Areas in the Left-Bank Ukraine should be incorporated into the Kievan School District in order to make it more Russian. The relation between Bibikov himself and the local educational authorities should be exactly defined.<sup>24</sup>

Some of Bibikov's ideas may have originated from Professor Mihail Maksimovič, a pioneer in Ukrainian studies. He wrote a memorandum about the situation in the university to the local bishop, Innokentij, who planned to forward it to some unknown influential person. Maksimovič wrote that the political conspiracy was due mostly to external influence. Not a single one of the professors had propagated subversive ideas. However, it had been a mistake to allow Poles to constitute the majority of the student body. Instead of becoming Russified in the university, they formed within it their own large community. To combat the Polish spirit among the students, it would have been necessary to

23 RGIA f. 733, op. 69, delo 445, l. 36–37. Uvarov to Nicholas 23rd August 1838. Delo 444, l. 1–7. Uvarov's submission to Nicholas 6th January 1839. II PSZ XIV, 1839, No 11924, p. 10.

24 RGIA f. 733, op. 69, delo 445, l. 2–3. Bibikov's memorandum to Nicholas, sent by the Emperor to Uvarov at 30th March 1839.

allow only Russian professors in the university. That the Polish professors abstained from national propaganda was not enough, since professors should actively disseminate the Russian spirit. Maksimovič proposed the removal not only of Polish, but also of German professors. He also proposed the incorporation of the Province of Poltava and some other areas of the Left-Bank Ukraine into the Kievan School District in order to make the student body more Russian. This last proposal by Maksimovič and some passages about Polish influence in the university rather closely resemble Bibikov's submission to the Emperor. It is likely that he had read Maksimovič's memorandum.<sup>25</sup>

Nicholas liked Bibikov's proposals, forwarded them to Uvarov and asked him to draft a final submission together with Bibikov. This infringement by the Governor-General on the domain of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment was in itself a smack in the face for Uvarov. Moreover, the proposals were contrary to his policy. Uvarov saw the educational institutes as fulfilling an important Russification task. Overt discrimination against Polish students could weaken their willingness to study at the university and hence hinder Russification. The dismissal of all Polish teachers or their transfer to non-Polish parts of the Empire could have the same effect at the schools. Unlike Bibikov, Uvarov felt a responsibility for the schools and took into account the damage such a mass action would cause, since there were not enough Russian teachers to replace the Polish ones at all levels. However, the Minister only sought a weak compromise with the Governor-General, since Bibikov's proposals had the Emperor's support. What followed between Bibikov and Uvarov was prolonged correspondence and disagreement. Uvarov was against re-opening the university already in the autumn, the sudden dismissal of all Polish teachers from schools and the transfer of schools to provincial capitals. Even if Poles had to be dismissed, Uvarov at least wanted to avoid the dismissal of those non-Poles, who had studied in Krzemieniec. Uvarov also proposed a definition of relations between the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and the Governor-General of Kiev, which did not add at all to the powers of the latter, leaving the final decision on all disagreements with the Minister of Public Enlightenment.<sup>26</sup>

Bibikov was firm. Uvarov's final submission reflected the Governor-General's opinion more than his own. Uvarov proposed only the gradual removal of Poles and "those who had been in Krzemieniec Lyceum" from

25 Maksimovič M. A: *Mysli ob universitete Sv. Vladimira v konce 1838 goda*. Kiev 1865. Especially pages 5-10. Also published in the newspaper "Kievljanin" 22/1865. I found a reference to this source in Flynn 1986: Uvarov...222-223. My interpretation of Maksimovič's role differs from Flynn's, who describes it only as defence of the university and its professors, without mentioning that Maksimovič proposed dismissal of all non-Russians. Nor does Flynn see a connection between the proposals of Maksimovič and Bibikov.

26 GIA f. 733, op. 69, delo 445, l. 4-31. Correspondence between Uvarov and Bibikov. Ibid. l. 32-34, Uvarov's final submission to Nicholas 21st April 1839. In it, Uvarov clearly states his opinion that it would be better that the university remained closed for the whole year as previously decided. That is why I cannot agree with Flynn and Whittaker, who consider the early reopening of the university Uvarov's achievement. Flynn 1986: Uvarov...224-225. Whittaker 1985: 196. Whittaker actually claims that the local authorities closed the university in 1839, but Uvarov managed to reopen it in 1840.

teaching posts at schools, but Nicholas ordered this to be done instantly. The Minister managed to water down the idea of obliging all students of St. Vladimir's University to live in a state dormitory, though it was decided that the dormitory should be enlarged. The new Curator, Sergej Davydov, was given the task of preparing a proposal for Bibikov about the transfer or closure of schools. Bibikov would forward the plan to Uvarov. In all other essential points the submission was in accordance with Bibikov's original proposal. The Province of Poltava was incorporated into the Kievan School District.<sup>27</sup>

The Governor-General was given some power over education. The university inspector and officials responsible for discipline in the schools had to report "any unusual events", not only to the Curator, but also to the Governor-General. All political crimes in educational institutes were placed under the Governor-General's exclusive remit. It was his task to arrest the guilty and report the cases to the Emperor. He was not even obliged to allow a representative from the university to be present at the investigation. The Governor-General could also punish students for non-political transgressions. Any appointments of Poles or persons married to Poles to jobs in the field of education needed the Governor-General's approval. As Uvarov's wife was a Pole, this was a personal insult. Uvarov's power was now seriously curtailed. The Minister himself in an unofficial letter to Davydov justified his approval of the loss of power by the necessity of gaining Bibikov's co-operation and also making the Governor-General responsible for education.<sup>28</sup>

At the university, the imperial will was executed. By April 1839 there remained six Polish teachers in St. Vladimir's University. They were removed to Kharkov and Moscow Universities and to the Lyceum in Nežin. However, Uvarov continued to resist some other measures approved by Nicholas. The Minister accepted Davydov's proposal for the gradual rather than instant removal of the 84 Polish teachers from the Kievan School District. Uvarov also interpreted the ban on private instruction so that it applied only to Poles who had previously held teaching jobs in Krzemieniec. Thus, the Minister and his aide acted against explicit imperial will. Uvarov explained to Nicholas in August that the gradual removal of the Polish teachers had been dictated by sheer necessity, but kept silent about his other personal interpretations of the imperial will.<sup>29</sup>

Bibikov demanded that Uvarov carry out the imperial will to the letter. The Governor-General pointed out that, if all the Poles were not forbidden to work as private teachers, the youth would go to them and not to the state schools.

27 RGIA f. 733, op. 69, delo 445, l. 32–41. Uvarov's submission to Nicholas 21st April 1839. II PSZ XIV, 1839, No 12 272 and 12 273, p. 384–385. In the latter, only decrees on the reopening of the University and the transfer of the Province of Poltava.

28 RGIA f. 733, op. 69, delo 445, l. 39–41, 55–56. Uvarov's submission to the Emperor, Uvarov to Davydov 29th April 1839.

29 RGIA f. 733, op. 69, delo 445, l. 53. Uvarov to Davydov 28th April 1839. L. 58–60. Uvarov's submission approved by Nicholas 2nd May 1839. L. 86–95, 111–112. Correspondence between Uvarov and Davydov. L. 144–147. Uvarov's submission to Nicholas 11th August 1839.

He also complained that Uvarov allowed the Orthodox and Uniat teachers from the Western Provinces to remain in their jobs.<sup>30</sup>

Now it was Uvarov's turn to be firm. He cited to Bibikov the official viewpoint on the nationality of the Orthodox and Uniat inhabitants of the Western Provinces:

The Orthodox inhabitants of the Western Provinces, as Russians by descent, have never been confused with the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the said provinces in any imperial decrees or governmental acts concerning the latter which were necessitated by the unhappy events in that land. Greek Uniat too were always exempted from those acts of severity and precaution which were necessary for the inhabitants of the Western Provinces of Polish descent.<sup>31</sup>

The Minister explained that the gradual removal of Polish teachers was due to obstacles beyond his control. He defended his interpretation of the ban on private instruction by Poles by hair-splitting, but he also advanced a practical argument: a total ban on Polish private teachers was impossible to supervise and would seriously damage elementary education.

The dispute between Uvarov and Bibikov was one between a statesman and a servant of the Emperor. For Bibikov, it was most important that everything was officially in order: the imperial will put into effect, the state schools cleansed of Polish staff and Polish private instruction prohibited. Uvarov took into account not only the official, but also the actual reality. He understood that an absolute ban on Polish private instruction would in fact be impractical. The instant removal of all Polish teachers from state schools would make the schools much less attractive to the local population. If the Polish youth did not come to the state schools, someone else would teach them, who, from the governmental point of view, might be a less desirable person than a Polish teacher in a state school.

In November 1842, Bibikov complained to Uvarov that there were still 25 Polish teachers in the Right-Bank Ukraine.<sup>32</sup> Actually, this last dispute between Uvarov and Bibikov was not a very important one. In any case, the schools had lost the last vestiges of their former Polish character. For the young Polish intelligentsia of the Right-Bank Ukraine, a teaching career was closed, unless one was ready to work in Russia proper. For Uvarov, though, it was important that he had prevented Bibikov's absolute victory.

The change in educational policy in the Right-Bank Ukraine cannot be laid only at the door of the SLP's student group. Bibikov exploited a good opportunity to extend his power and urge a more hard-line Russification. It is unlikely that he would have tolerated Polish teachers in his area in any case.

30 RGIA f. 733, op. 69, delo 445, l. 155–159. Bibikov to Uvarov 5th August 1839. Ibid. l. 179–180. Bibikov to Davydov 5th August 1839. A copy sent by Davydov to Uvarov.

31 RGIA f. 733, op. 69, delo 445, l. 161. Uvarov to Bibikov 19th August 1839.

32 RGIA f. 733, op. 69, delo 445, l. 382–383. Bibikov to Uvarov 25th November 1842. In 1845 there remained fourteen Polish teachers and in 1850 ten. Ibid. l. 423, 426. Information gathered by the Ministry about implementing the measure.

Uvarov had previously pointed out that the employment of Polish teachers was a temporary necessity, though he had planned to keep them on much longer than he was now allowed.

For a short time, the student body at St. Vladimir's University in Kiev really did become Russian, at least if the Ukrainians are considered Russians, which was the view of the Ministry. In the academic year 1839-40 there were only 31 Roman Catholics among the 122 students. However, since Poles were admitted each year, by 1843 the student body again had a Roman Catholic majority.<sup>33</sup>

In weakening the Polish element, the student body became more plebeian, since the Orthodox population was not well represented in the aristocracy of the Right-Bank Ukraine. The Emperor visited Kiev in 1840 and was dissatisfied with the lowly appearance and lack of gallant behaviour among the students. Uvarov decreed that students should be taught fencing, dancing and gymnastics and that literary evenings and balls with the participation of local aristocratic society should be organized. At the same time, he ordered the university to discriminate against those of lowly birth when admitting new students. The discrimination was not to be overt, but conducted under the guise of various pretexts. Uvarov justified this measure by the need to maintain the system of social ranks in the country.<sup>34</sup> This episode reveals how the educational authorities had to work under autocratic whim and arbitrariness, as well as in inherent contradiction in educational policy in the Western Provinces. The local upper class consisted of Poles; should it be discriminated against because of its nationality or privileged because of its rank and social status? The government had at first worked hard to encourage young Poles to study at St. Vladimir's University, and then it had striven to purge the university of them. Now it was not the Poles who were the undesirable element, but the local Orthodox population of low origin. By admitting Poles each year the estate composition of the student body was "corrected", but its national composition turned out roughly the same as it had been in the 1830s, with Poles in the majority.

St. Vladimir's University received a new charter and budget in 1842, which significantly strengthened the resources of the university. The Faculty of Medicine, which was founded in 1841, now got official sanction in the charter. Chairs were added to the Faculties of Law and Philosophy, so that their total number rose from 19 to 37. Relations between various administrative bodies followed the general principles of Russian university statute.<sup>35</sup>

The situation in the Belorussian School District was somewhat different from that in Kiev. Wilno Medical Academy did not belong to the Ministry of Public Enlightenment at all, but functioned under the Ministry of the Interior. The latter had plenty of other tasks and did not pay very much attention to the Academy. Nor did Kuczkowski keep the Ministry well informed. He sent information

33 RGIA f. 733, op. 69, delo 445, l. 312. Davydov to Uvarov 30th January 1840. Vladimirskij-Budanov 1884: priloženija XL.

34 SR 485-487. Vladimirskij-Budanov 1884: 253-257.

35 II PSZ XVII.1/1842, No 15.730, p. 431-437.



about Sawicz's group to the Ministry only in August 1838, after the latter had asked for it. The Ministry did not take any dramatic measures to curb subversion in the Academy. The earlier mentioned refectory was founded. A not very high tuition fee of 50 paper roubles was introduced. With that money, it was planned to employ additional assistant inspectors, but this was never done, as Uvarov initiated more important changes.<sup>36</sup>

Uvarov's favourable attitude towards higher education did not extend to Wilno Medical Academy. The Minister preferred universities to special institutes. The Academy was also too Polish. That was why in spring 1840 Uvarov proposed the transfer of the Academy to the Ministry of Public Enlightenment, the closure of the Academy and its removal to Kiev, where it would function as the Faculty of Medicine. Uvarov first negotiated about the measure with Bibikov, who agreed to it but demanded that not a single one of the Polish teachers and students from the Academy should be admitted to Kiev. Uvarov was dissatisfied with this stipulation. He noted in the margin of Bibikov's letter that there were not enough Russian teachers to replace the Polish ones. However, the Minister had to give way, since Nicholas would hardly have consented to the employment of Poles in Kiev again. Uvarov also acted according to Bibikov's will in the case of the Wilno students, forbidding their admission to St. Vladimir's University.<sup>37</sup>

The imperial decree of 27 April 1840 justified the transfer of Wilno and Moscow Medical academies from the Ministry of Interior to the Ministry of Public Enlightenment by the need to concentrate medical instruction and higher education in one department. In an imperial order to Uvarov, the plan to close the Wilno Academy was made public. By this time it had already been planned to unite the Moscow Academy with the local university, though this was not finally done until 1845.<sup>38</sup>

Uvarov asked the Deputy Curator of the Belorussian School District, Evarest Gruber, to report on the state of the Wilno Academy from the academic and political point of view. With regard to the level of instruction, Gruber stated that "even according to many Russians, [the Academy is] better than any of our Russian medical institutes". However, according to Gruber, the political and partly also moral atmosphere in the Academy was very bad. The students behaved towards their superiors in a proud and disobedient way. Apart from lacking in obedience, however, their general morals were better than those of students in some other institutes of higher learning: gambling, frequenting taverns and thefts were rare. Gruber pointed out that the actual foundation of the academy to continue the functions of the former Faculty of Medicine of Wilno

36 RGIA f. 733, op. 99, delo 332, l. 1–3. Kuczkowski to Stroganov. Delo 342, l. 11–17, 34–35. Correspondence between Kuczkowski, Stroganov, Dolgorukov, Uvarov and Gruber, the Deputy Curator of the Belorussian School District.

37 RGIA f. 733, op. 31, delo 116, l. 111. Uvarov to Davydov 12th June 1840. Mirkovič also asked that Wilno students should not be allowed to St. Vladimir's University. *Ibid.*, delo 129, l. 2–3. Mirkovič to Uvarov 16th May 1840. Bibikov's letter to Uvarov RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 142, l. 1–2.

38 RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 142, l. 8, 10.

University had been a mistake. The politically unreliable spirit of the university had quite naturally survived in the academy. Admission to the academy had been too liberal, since it had had many more students than the former medical faculty. Discipline had not been given enough attention, since no one supervised those students who studied at their own expense while they were outside the academy. Gruber also regretted the fact that even after the foundation of the academy all posts for professors and other teachers had been filled with locals.<sup>39</sup>

Governor-General Mirkovič proposed to Uvarov that the Academy be gradually closed. The admission of new students would immediately cease. Students from the third to the fifth years would be allowed to complete their studies in Wilno, whereas the first and second-year students would simply be dismissed.<sup>40</sup>

Uvarov adopted a somewhat softer policy than that proposed by Mirkovič. The admission of new students was stopped, but the students of the earliest years were not dismissed. Instead, for the beginning of the academic year 1840-41 they were removed to Russian universities: state students to Kazan and Kharkov, others to any university or medical academy they wished to go to except Kiev. In this way, 149 students were transferred from Wilno to Russia. The most popular place of study was the University of Moscow. All those who could not afford the travel were paid their expenses, and the poorest received state study grants without any obligation to serve the state after graduation. The two senior years, the fourth and fifth, were allowed to complete their studies in Wilno. The Academy was finally closed down in 1842.<sup>41</sup>

In his submission to Nicholas I, Uvarov justified the immediate closure of the junior years and the transfer of students to universities arguing among other things that

those young men from the junior years, who want to continue their studies at the universities will have to spend two additional years among Russians and in that way they will inevitably become Russified, which may have the most beneficial effect on their way of thinking.<sup>42</sup>

Uvarov ordered all politically unreliable or badly behaved students to be expelled from the academy. The academy authorities found 28 such persons, of whom only one was expelled without a right to be admitted to any other institute of higher learning. Fourteen were expelled with a right to continue their studies elsewhere and 13 were merely transferred to Kharkov and Kazan. Those students who continued their studies in Wilno Academy were obliged to live in a state dormitory.<sup>43</sup>

. . . . .  
39 RGIA f. 733, op. 31, delo 129, l. 9–20.

40 RGIA f. 733, op. 31, delo 129, l. 2–3. Mirkovič to Uvarov 16th May 1840.

41 RGIA f. 733, op. 31, delo 116, l. 50. Uvarov to Gruber 15th May 1840. *Ibid.*, delo 123, l. 27–29, Gruber's report to Uvarov 29th November 1840. In all, 63 students continued their studies at the University of Moscow, 34 in Kharkov, 26 in Kazan, fourteen in Dorpat, nine in St. Petersburg Medical Academy, three in Moscow Medical Academy. *Ibid.*, delo 129, l. 75. Uvarov to Spasskij, an official of the Ministry, who inspected the academy, 14th July 1840.

42 RGIA f. 733, op. 31, delo 129, l. 184.

43 RGIA f. 733, op. 31, delo 123, l. 30. *Ibid.* delo 129, l. 100–103, 109–110. Uvarov's correspondence. Those students, who could live with their parents or other immediate relatives were exempted from the obligation to live in the dormitory.

In spring 1840, the academy had 22 professors and other teachers. Officials of the Ministry wrote for Uvarov a rather detailed analysis of the competence and political trustworthiness of each. Relevant information included details about which region a teacher came from, who he was married to, and who his friends were. Professor Adam Adamowicz was stated as being “from baptised Jews, but talented and competent”. In addition to the number of years they had served and the vacancies available, these dossiers explain the destiny of the teachers. Seven teachers were transferred to universities, and the rest dismissed.<sup>44</sup>

There was no general dismissal of Polish teachers from jobs in the Belorussian School District. Even in 1852, Roman Catholic teachers still formed the majority of all teachers in the district. This is further evidence that the dismissals in the Kievan School District were due to Bibikov’s pressure. However, in 1845 a decision in principle was made that all holders of pedagogical scholarships from the Belorussian School District were to be appointed to posts in the Great Russian provinces. In fact, this decision was not implemented.<sup>45</sup>

Closer supervision of gymnasium pupils was introduced. On Bibikov’s initiative, the Committee of the Western Provinces proposed in 1840 that the gymnasia should be reformed as boarding schools. All pupils should be obliged to live in school hostels. Uvarov supported the measure, which was approved by Nicholas. The new hostels were established on the model of the existing boarding houses for noble pupils. Those who could live with their parents or other immediate relatives were exempted from the new rule. The measure was implemented in both the Kievan and Belorussian School Districts. The idea behind the reform was to cut to a minimum contacts with politically unreliable surroundings. A boarding fee was charged for the hostels, but in each school a few free vacancies were established for the poor. Since only graduates from gymnasia were admitted to St. Vladimir’s University, most of its students in the 1840s had previously spent at least some years living in state hostels.<sup>46</sup>

The school network in the Western Provinces in the 1840s diminished slightly, although the number of gymnasia grew a little, but this was due to the transfer of Poltava Province to the Kievan School District. In 1848, the Belorussian and Kievan School Districts had 69 secondary schools, 23 of them with courses leading to the university. In 1837 these figures had been 76 and 21,

44 RGIA f. 733, op. 31, delo 129, l. 9–13. Evaluation of teachers by Gruber. Ibid. I 143–154. Evaluation by Spasskij, Uvarov’s special envoy to the Academy. The statement about Adamowicz is in the latter. Op. 31, delo 123, l. 75, 105, 125, 135, 161, 181–182, 216, 239–240, 259–260, 269–270, 281–282, 288, 290–291, 380, 387–390. Uvarov’s correspondence about the transfer and dismissal of the Academy teachers.

45 RGIA f. 733, op. 62, delo 1223, l. 1–2, 4–6, 8. Correspondence between Širinskij-Šihmatov and the curators in April–May 1852. I have not found the original document about the decision to nominate scholarship-holders to offices in Russia proper. However, here in l. 8 Širinskij-Šihmatov refers to such a decision in 1845. Ibid. I. 19. Information of the Ministry about teachers in the Wilno School District.

46 II PSZ XV.1/1840, No 13 427, p. 313–314. Beauvois 1985: 246–247. Otčet, predstavlenyj Ego Imperatorskomu Veličestvu po ministerstvu narodnago prosvješčenija za 1840 god. ŽMNP XXX, I 62–64. Roždestvenskij 1902: 306. Studnicki 1906: 76, 78.

respectively. As the population grew rapidly, the volume of education in relation to it weakened.<sup>47</sup>

The Polish student activism at the end of the 1830s produced an important change in the higher education of young Poles from the Western Provinces. The government was no longer so afraid of the Poles contaminating Russian youth in the universities but rather of letting too many Poles concentrate in one place. In October 1838, Nicholas approved Uvarov's submission about establishing 20 permanent state grants for graduates from the gymnasia of the Belorussian School District in the Universities of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kharkov and Kazan with five grants for each.<sup>48</sup> Thus, the students were sent only to pure Russian universities and not to Kiev or Dorpat. The transfer of students from Kiev and Wilno to Russian universities also considerably added to the Polish student body in them.

In 1843, in a 10-year report of his ministerial tenure, Uvarov painted a picture of smoothly progressing Russification, which had suffered temporary and insignificant setbacks at the end of 1830s, but had now scored the final victory:

...under the untiring supervision of Your Majesty and with the help of God, who always is watching over Russia, the question of public education in the provinces returned from Poland has been solved in accordance with the interests of the state...

After ten years, Your Majesty now has from the Dnieper to the Niemen the full complement of institutions for the education of local youth. Public opinion counts them among the best European educational institutes...

The Russian language, that great bearer of Russian nationality, has received in that country an undisputed preference. There, where its sounds ten years ago were alien and objects of hatred, it is now being studied with love and joy, with exceptional success...<sup>49</sup>

Not all Russian politicians considered the situation as favourable as Uvarov pretended to see it. The policy to promote studies by Poles at the universities faced considerable opposition. In 1842, Nicholas forwarded to the Committee of Western Provinces proposals by the chairman of the investigating commission for political crimes in Wilno, General-Adjutant Aleksandr Kavelin. He claimed that it was impossible to achieve the goal of Russification in the universities, since young Poles came to them with pre-formed convictions and hatred of Russia.

At least a half, and maybe even the majority, of that youth not only will not be cured of the infection, but on the contrary will perhaps contaminate our youth, which thank God has remained healthy, but

47 Obščyj otčet...za 1837 god. ŽMNP XIV, p. I LXIV, I LXXII. Obščyj otčet...za 1848 god. ŽMNP LXII, p. I 49–50, 76–77. I have included in schools preparing students for the university the Nežin Lyceum, which had a broader curriculum than the gymnasium, but narrower than the university.

48 RGIA f. 733, op. 66, delo 384, l. 3–5. Roždestvenskij 1902: 301.

49 Uvarov 1864: 45–46.

among whom there are in all [educational] institutions also those who are gullible, those with bad inclinations and without character...

The Poles (*Pol'skie urożency*) will hardly be Russified in the universities; of course they study the Russian language well, but for those of them with bad intentions that language serves as an instrument to harm Russia...<sup>50</sup>

Kavelin pointed out that youth in the Western Provinces was more eager to study than those in Russia proper. He explained this by the situation of the Polish poor nobility, for whom the only means of obtaining their livelihood was through education. As a solution he proposed the establishment of technological, agricultural, forestry and surveying institutes in the Western Provinces. Although Kavelin did not state it explicitly, such an education would have had a lower status than higher education in the universities. However, Kavelin did not propose the total prohibition of university studies.<sup>51</sup>

Uvarov reacted by emphasizing that studies in Russian universities were an essential element in the general educational policy practised in the Western Provinces and in the Kingdom of Poland. It would not be useful for the government to prevent the admission of the inhabitants of these areas to higher education. The only other possibility for organizing higher education was to reopen the universities in Warsaw and Wilno, "...that is to take measures, the destructive consequences of which have already been proved by undeniable facts". Kavelin had based his fears on the experience of Wilno Medical Academy, which had not belonged under the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and was immediately closed when it came under the Ministry's jurisdiction. "That last asylum of absurd Polish patriotism is now completely destroyed, and, of course, will never be reopened."

The Minister of Public Enlightenment considers it not only useful, but even necessary that the youth of the Western Provinces, as well as of the Kingdom of Poland, has available no other institutions of higher learning than those now existing in the Empire...<sup>52</sup>

The committee found Uvarov's answer convincing and forwarded it to Emperor.<sup>53</sup>

Suspicious in governmental circles about Polish students did not cease. The next time the Ministry came under attack was in September 1843 over Wincenty Dawid's case. At that time, Uvarov was not in St. Petersburg, and the case was first dealt with by Deputy Minister Platon Širinskij-Šihmatov. When the Ministry was asked by Paskevič to investigate the matter, two of the persons mentioned by Dawid were still in the St. Petersburg School District. They were only questioned once by the educational authorities and there were no arrests or

50 RGIA f. 1266, op. 1, delo 31, l. 41, 44.

51 Ibid. delo 30, l. 51–52. Delo 31, l. 47–48. Records of the Committee. Kavelin's proposals are also discussed in Beauvois 1985: 251–252.

52 RGIA f. 1266, op. 1, delo 30. Uvarov's whole answer lists 178–194, quotations l. 180, 183.

53 Ibid. l. 193.

house searches. Naturally, they denied everything. The Inspector of the St. Petersburg University, A. Vitzthum von Eckstedt, explained that it was difficult to supervise the circulation of illegal literature since he did not know all the forbidden books. Širinskij-Šihmatov wrote to Benkendorf about the difficulty of supervising non-state students, who lived all around the city. He requested that the ordinary police should also be obliged to supervise students outside the university.<sup>54</sup>

When Benkendorf presented the case to Nicholas, the Emperor accepted the proposal to use ordinary police to supervise the students. "I am aware that they [Poles] live and have more contacts with one another than with Russians," he wrote.<sup>55</sup> For his part, Paskevič had good grounds to be dissatisfied with the "investigation" conducted by Širinskij-Šihmatov. He complained to Benkendorf and Uvarov that it had only spoiled the case. The Viceroy insisted on the trustworthiness of Dawid's testimony and claimed that the case demonstrated the inadequacy of the supervision of Polish students in St. Petersburg.<sup>56</sup>

Uvarov was faithful to the policy he had already adopted in Gordon's case. In his letter to Benkendorf, the Minister emphasized minor internal contradictions and inaccuracies in Dawid's testimony, claiming that they proved its untrustworthiness. He defended Širinskij-Šihmatov's investigation as the only reliable and delicate way of finding out the truth. Uvarov even presented an earlier decision about Gołębiowski as definite proof that the latter had not been involved in any illegal activity in the university. Benkendorf presented both Uvarov's and Paskevič's official letters to Nicholas, who did not comment on them.<sup>57</sup>

Actually, Uvarov took Dawid's information seriously. He ordered the secret surveillance of a listener still in the university and dismissed a district schoolteacher in the St. Petersburg School District, because they were mentioned in Dawid's testimony. However, the Minister was not the one to admit there was political subversion in his universities to any other authorities.<sup>58</sup>

Benkendorf's successor Aleksej Orlov returned to the matter once more in January 1845. He wrote to Uvarov claiming that Dawid's testimony was

54 RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 167, l. 1–4, 9–17, 26–27, 31–32. Širinskij-Šihmatov's correspondence with Paskevič, Benkendorf and Deputy Curator of the St. Petersburg School District, Grigorij Volkonskij. On the dispute about Dawid's information, see also Nowiński 1986: 86–88.

55 Ibid. l. 45. Benkendorf to Širinskij-Šihmatov 21st October 1843. The supervisory task of the ordinary police applied only to St. Petersburg, since the Moscow Curator, Sergej Stroganov, opposed it. Ibid. l. 55–59. Širinskij-Šihmatov's correspondence with Stroganov and Benkendorf.

56 RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 167, l. 62–67. Paskevič to Uvarov 18th November 1843. Contains a copy of Paskevič's letter to Benkendorf. Nowiński 1986: 87–88.

57 RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 167, l. 77–81, 85. Uvarov to Benkendorf 1st December 1843, Benkendorf to Uvarov 9th December 1843.

58 RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 167, l. 87–88. Uvarov to Volkonskij 18th December 1843. Department of Public Enlightenment to Uvarov 5th January 1843. Officially, the teacher himself asked to be dismissed. Some of the accused former students worked as teachers in the Kingdom, but they were not disturbed by the Ministry. Probably this was because their dismissal would have been tantamount to admitting to Paskevič the relevance of Dawid's information.

important. Again Uvarov firmly refused to investigate the matter, accusing Dawid of an attempt to lighten his own sentence by an unfounded denunciation of others. Again Orlov forwarded Uvarov's answer to the Emperor.<sup>59</sup>

Some time before, in November 1844, Orlov had written to Uvarov about information concerning students in St. Petersburg and Moscow. According to the Third Section, in St. Petersburg there existed three student organizations: Aristocrats, Ruthenia and Baltica. The organizations did not admit Poles as members in order to avoid accusations of political subversion. At Orlov's suggestion, Nicholas had ordered Uvarov to force all the students in St. Petersburg to sign a written obligation not to participate in any secret societies, even non-political ones. In another letter to Uvarov in the same month, Orlov expressed his concern that in Moscow Polish students lived in groups in separate lodgings isolated from Russians, thinking that Russians did not like them. He was afraid that such a situation could give rise to "discussion and dreams". The information derived from private letters that were intercepted by the Third Section.<sup>60</sup>

Uvarov obeyed the imperial will concerning the St. Petersburg students. On good grounds, he refused to consider seriously the case of Moscow Polish students. He forwarded the information to Curator Sergej Stroganov, but answered Orlov that the isolation of the Poles was natural in their situation.<sup>61</sup>

In January 1845 Paskevič informed Uvarov and Orlov about two former Moscow students Karol Bieliński and Szymon Krzeczowski, who had been arrested in the Kingdom accused of participation in a democratic conspiracy. The arrested had spoken about the wide circulation of illegal literature among Polish students in Moscow in the years 1839-1843. Uvarov answered that the only thing he could do on the basis of such testimonies was to forward the information to Curator Stroganov, which he had done. We shall return to this case in the context of Polish student activism in Moscow in the 1840s.<sup>62</sup>

In the middle of the 1840s, Uvarov was under pressure from Orlov and Paskevič, who considered his policy towards Polish students too soft and continuously reported to the Emperor cases of real or alleged political subversion in the universities. Uvarov's policy of denying the relevance of such cases was brave indeed, since consistently applied it was not credible. The Minister's position deteriorated further when the Society of St. Cyril and St. Methodius was discovered in March 1847. In April, a Ukrainian proclamation was found in Kiev hanging on a wall. It opposed Russian rule and proclaimed

59 RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 167, l. 94–99, 102. Correspondence between Uvarov and Orlov. Nowiński 1986: 88.

60 RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 175, l. 1–4. Orlov to Uvarov 15th November 1844. Delo 176, l. 1. Orlov to Uvarov 28th November 1844. Nowiński 1986: 88. Śliwowska 1961: 48–49. Neither Nowiński nor Śliwowska mentions the imperial decision, but they write that the destruction of the student corporations was Uvarov's decision.

61 RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 175, l. 5–8, 30–35. Uvarov to Orlov and Nicholas 22nd November 1844. The engagement not to participate in secret societies was signed by 520 students.

62 RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 167, l. 108–116. Paskevič to Uvarov 24th January 1845, Uvarov to Orlov 11th February 1845. Paskevič's letter contains a copy of Bieliński's testimony 26th December 1844. Krzeczowski's testimony is published in *Rewolucyjna...* 1981: 637.

that the decisive moment had come. The author of the proclamation was never found, and there was no evidence that he was a Pole or from the university. Despite this, Nicholas found the proclamation a definite proof that émigrés from Paris were spreading propaganda in the Ukraine. Bibikov exploited the opportunity and got the Emperor's consent for the placing of all educational administration in the Kievan School District under the Governor-General's jurisdiction "under general supervision by the Minister of Public Enlightenment". This meant actual power for Bibikov and only nominal power for Uvarov, since the former could interfere in all kinds of cases. Finally, in November 1848, the Curator, A. S. Traskin, was dismissed and all his powers transferred to Bibikov.<sup>63</sup>

The case of the Society of St. Cyril and St. Methodius was the beginning of the end for Uvarov. He had actively promoted Slavonic studies and turned a blind eye to Slavophile ideas in censorship. The members of the Society had legally published works in which the Slavonic idea or love for the Ukraine were expressed. Two of the members were actually setting out on a two-and-a-half year tour of Slavonic lands financed by the Academy of Sciences. Orlov began now a campaign against Slavophilism. A draft version of Orlov's submission to Nicholas on the matter stated that the Slavonic idea had been invented by Polish émigrés in order to support the independence movement. In the final version of the submission, this sentence was dropped, but it shows what inspired Orlov and what he probably verbally expressed to the Emperor. He cast suspicion on the universities and the censorship, which had let the Slavophiles go too far.<sup>64</sup>

In May, Uvarov wrote to Nicholas and explained the differences between various kinds of Slavonic ideas. There were two kinds of pan-Slavism, one oriented towards Russia, Orthodoxy and autocracy. Western Slavs were distancing themselves from this idea, and among Czechs one could even find a bid for reunion under the western church. The only kind of Slavonic idea supported by the Ministry was an essential element of Russian patriotism expressed in the famous formula of autocracy, Orthodoxy and nationality. In this form, the Slavonic principle was "necessary and holy". The Minister defended himself by saying how he had told Slavonic scholars in Prague that the Russian government favoured only cultural, but not political, Slavonic activity in Austria. Finally, Uvarov altogether denied the relevance of the Slavonic idea for the Ukrainian conspirators. In fact, only the Ukraine mattered for them. Uvarov explained that none of the Moscow Slavophiles would join such a secret society

63 The proclamation is published in Zajončkovskij 1959: 117. Relevant documents concerning the relegation of education to Bibikov are in Kirilo-Mefodiivs'ke...1990: 3: 285-288 and SP II.2 793-794.

64 Most of Orlov's correspondence on the matter is published in: Kirilo-Mefodiivs'ke...1990: 3:293-310, 315-324. Submission to Nicholas 28th May 1847, 309-310. Its draft version, 306-308. Orlov admitted that Moscow Slavophiles were not revolutionaries, but he was afraid that their ideas might develop in a dangerous direction. Whittaker 1985: 214-220. In my opinion, Whittaker somewhat underestimates the danger that the Society posed for the régime. To claim that the members of the Society were "obvious products of Uvarov's "system" and front-line warriors in his battle against Polish influence in the border provinces" (p. 217) is a rather bold statement, considering the influence of Polish thought on the Society.



like the Society of St. Cyril and St. Methodius. The society's ideas were not typical even of normal Ukrainian local patriotism. In his submission, Uvarov mentioned Poland only as one of the Slavonic countries, ignoring the theories about the Slavonic idea as a Polish invention.<sup>65</sup>

Somewhat later in the same month, Uvarov wrote a circular, which was read to all university professors. It made clear that the "pure Russian principle" (*čisto russkoe načalo*) should always be preferred to the "Slavonic-Russian principle". The only desirable "Slavonism" (*slavjanstvo*) was one loyal to Orthodoxy and autocracy. The emphasis on a Slavonic identity was necessary for other Slavonic nations who had lost their independence and could boast no great achievements. It was not necessary for Russia, which was mighty in its own right. Slavonic studies should not be seen as an end in themselves, but as auxiliary to Russian studies. They should not be entangled with any political ideas. There were minor variations in the circular, depending on the school district. The version sent to Kiev warned about Polish propaganda under the guise of the Slavonic idea. Certainly, Uvarov's circular contained a more negative and less open-minded view of the Slavonic idea than his previous submission to the Emperor. This was due to an explicit order from Nicholas.<sup>66</sup>

The Emperor was satisfied with the circular. Uvarov's career was saved by his flexibility, which allowed him to make complete political about-turns. However, on the eve of the pan-European revolutionary upheaval, the position of the Minister was rather precarious.

65 RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 193, l. 12–33. Uvarov's submission to Nicholas 8th May 1847. The same document is described in Whittaker 1985: 217–219. Uvarov presented his opinion on slavophilism to the Emperor before Orlov, but the latter was at the time already concerned with the slavophiles.

66 Kirilo-Mefodiivs'ke...1990: 3:310–312, 315. Uvarov's circular 27th May 1847 and its Kievan variant. The circular is described in Whittaker 1985: 219. Paskevič's notes about Uvarov's submission and circular are published in Handelsman 1937: 141–145. The Viceroy was outraged by Uvarov's soft attitude towards the Slavonic idea, which he considered subversive and revolutionary.

## ■ Polish students and their activism (1841–1854)

### The student body (1844–1845)

Full information comparable to that of 1836 is available to us for the academic year 1844–45. In all the universities, the number of Poles and their proportion of the student body had grown significantly. In the University of St. Petersburg there were 158 students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces. This made up 30.4% of all students.<sup>1</sup> Their religious affiliation was:

|                |     |
|----------------|-----|
| Roman Catholic | 134 |
| Orthodox       | 15  |
| Protestant     | 7   |
| Jewish         | 2   |

The proportion of Roman Catholics from areas inhabited by Poles was 25.8% of all students.

The regional background of all students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces was as follows:

|                               |    |
|-------------------------------|----|
| Kingdom of Poland             | 55 |
| Lithuania and Belorussia      | 65 |
| Right-Bank Ukraine            | 11 |
| Home-educated Roman Catholics | 27 |

There were 10 Roman Catholics with Polish names from outside the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces.

The statistics on page 178 show that the majority of Polish students in St. Petersburg were nobles, who were studying for a career in the civil service in the faculty of law.

In the University of Moscow the situation differed from that of St. Petersburg, since the proportion of Roman Catholic nobility in the group of students coming from what had been Poland-Lithuania was significantly lower. Both Roman Catholic and Orthodox plebeian elements came to study in Moscow. The university had 184 students and listeners from the former Poland-Lithuania. This made up 22.8% of all students and listeners.<sup>2</sup> They came from the following areas:

|                          |     |
|--------------------------|-----|
| Lithuania and Belorussia | 109 |
| Right-Bank Ukraine       | 13  |
| Kingdom of Poland        | 37  |
| Home education           | 25  |

1 RGIA f. 733, op. 95, delo 120, l. 81–127. List of students.

2 RGIA f. 733, op. 95, delo 216, l. 52–78. List of students and listeners of the University of Moscow on 1st January 1845. The group “home education” includes 24 Roman Catholics and one Jew.

Students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces at the University of St. Petersburg in 1844–45 by social rank and field of study:<sup>3</sup>

|  | Law  | Humanities | Mathematics,<br>Natural science | Total | %    |
|--|------|------------|---------------------------------|-------|------|
| noble  | 94   | 8          | 22                              | 124   | 78.5 |
| unconfirmed noble  | 2    | -          | 1                               | 3     | 1.9  |
| lower officer (9 <sup>th</sup> to 14 <sup>th</sup> rank) | 4    | -          | 2                               | 6     | 3.8  |
| civil servant  | 2    | 2          | 1                               | 5     | 3.2  |
| foreigner  | 2    | 1          | -                               | 3     | 1.9  |
| merchant   | 1    | -          | -                               | 1     | 0.6  |
| “raznočinec”   | 1    | -          | -                               | 1     | 0.6  |
| lower townsman (meščanin)                                | 6    | 3          | 2                               | 11    | 7.0  |
| peasant  | 1    | -          | -                               | 1     | 0.6  |
| “inhabitant of the Kingdom of Poland”                    | -    | -          | 1                               | 1     | 0.6  |
| Jew  | 1    | 1          | -                               | 2     | 1.3  |
| Total  | 114  | 15         | 29                              | 158   | 100  |
| %  | 72.1 | 9.5        | 18.4                            | 100   |      |

The religious background of students and listeners from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces at the University of Moscow<sup>4</sup>:

|                |     |
|----------------|-----|
| Roman Catholic | 134 |
| Orthodox       | 37  |
| Protestant     | 6   |
| Jewish         | 4   |

Roman Catholics from former Polish regions made up 16.4% of all students and listeners. There were 12 Roman Catholics with Polish names who had previously studied outside the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces.

By far the most popular were the Faculties of Medicine and Law, which guaranteed safe jobs after graduation. Almost no one studied the humanities. The social structure of the student body was rather heterogeneous with only 58% from the nobility. The most plebeian faculty was that of medicine, while the Faculty of Law was more exclusive than the Department of Mathematics and Natural Science.

St. Vladimir’s University in Kiev continued as the most Polish university in the Empire. In all, there were 299 students from the Western Provinces.<sup>5</sup> They made up 74.2% of the whole student body. However, it is rather likely that many of the students from the Western Provinces did not identify themselves as Poles. In Kiev the appearance of non-Roman Catholic students from the Western Provinces was even more evident than in Moscow.

. . . . .

3 Idem. I have included among the nobles five officers of at least the 8th rank. The “raznočinec” is here a son of a pharmacist. This ambiguous term was not used in this list of students, but it was used in Moscow and Kiev. I have used it here for the sake of uniformity.

4 Idem. Our source does not give the religious denomination of three students.

5 RGIA f. 733, op. 95, delo 816, l. 113–135. List of students.

Students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces at the University of Moscow in January 1845 by social rank and field of study:

|                                      | Law  | Humanities | Mathematics,<br>Natural science | Medicine | Total | %    |
|--------------------------------------|------|------------|---------------------------------|----------|-------|------|
| noble                                | 39   | -          | 20                              | 47       | 106   | 57.6 |
| lower officer                        | 4    | -          | 5                               | 6        | 15    | 8.2  |
| civil servant                        | 3    | 1          | -                               | -        | 4     | 2.2  |
| merchant                             | -    | -          | 1                               | 3        | 4     | 2.2  |
| Roman Catholic clergy                | 2    | -          | -                               | 1        | 3     | 1.6  |
| Orthodox clergy                      | -    | -          | -                               | 2        | 2     | 1.1  |
| lower townsman (meščanin, graždanic) | 2    | 2          | 6                               | 13       | 23    | 12.5 |
| “raznočinec” <sup>6</sup>            | 3    | -          | 1                               | 4        | 8     | 4.4  |
| peasant                              | 2    | -          | 3                               | 5        | 10    | 5.4  |
| Jew                                  | -    | -          | -                               | 3        | 3     | 1.6  |
| foreigner                            | -    | -          | -                               | 2        | 2     | 1.1  |
| “from taxpaying rank”                | -    | -          | -                               | 1        | 1     | 0.5  |
| not available                        | 1    | -          | -                               | 2        | 3     | 1.6  |
| Total                                | 56   | 3          | 36                              | 89       | 184   | 100  |
| %                                    | 30.4 | 1.6        | 19.6                            | 48.4     | 100   |      |

Students from the Western Provinces at St. Vladimir’s University of Kiev in 1844–45 according to religious confession:

|                |     |
|----------------|-----|
| Roman Catholic | 192 |
| Orthodox       | 100 |
| Protestant     | 7   |

Roman Catholics from the Western Provinces comprised 47.9% of the whole student body. There were 14 other Roman Catholic students who previously had studied outside the former Poland-Lithuania. Therefore, probably the whole student body still had a Polish majority.

The regional background of the students shows that the university was still primarily a Right-Bank Ukraine university. In fact, compared with the situation in 1836, the students from Lithuania and Belorussia had almost disappeared. Young men from those areas now preferred Moscow and St. Petersburg to Kiev.

|                               |     |
|-------------------------------|-----|
| Right-Bank Ukraine            | 285 |
| Lithuania and Belorussia      | 12  |
| Home-educated Roman Catholics | 2   |

The regional character of the university was further emphasized by a ban on students from the Kingdom of Poland.

In Kiev, the Faculty of Law was the most popular. The Medical Faculty came only after the Department of Mathematics and Natural Science.<sup>7</sup>

6 This notoriously vague term occurs in our source. I have also included in the group assistant pharmacists, assistant veterinarians and the son of a forester.

7 It must be taken into account, however, that the Medical Faculty had functioned only from 1841 and had as yet only four courses instead of the normal five.

Students from the Western Provinces at St. Vladimir's University in Kiev in 1844–45 according to their social rank and field of study:

|                       | Law  | Humanities | Mathematics,<br>Natural science | Medicine | Total | %    |
|-----------------------|------|------------|---------------------------------|----------|-------|------|
| noble                 | 80   | 30         | 68                              | 51       | 229   | 76.6 |
| lower officer         | 15   | 5          | 5                               | 3        | 28    | 9.4  |
| merchant              | 2    | 1          | 2                               | -        | 5     | 1.7  |
| Orthodox clergy       | 3    | 4          | 2                               | 3        | 12    | 4.0  |
| Roman Catholic clergy | -    | -          | 1                               | -        | 1     | 0.3  |
| lower townsman        | 6    | 2          | 1                               | 5        | 14    | 4.7  |
| peasant               | 1    | 1          | 1                               | 3        | 6     | 2.0  |
| foreigner             | 1    | 1          | -                               | 2        | 4     | 1.3  |
| total                 | 108  | 44         | 80                              | 67       | 299   | 100  |
| %                     | 36.1 | 14.7       | 26.8                            | 22.4     | 100   |      |

The most exclusive was the Department of Mathematics and Natural Sciences. Proportionally the Department of Arts had more non-nobles than any other faculty, but in absolute numbers the Faculty of Law was also the most popular among commoners.

Taken together, the three universities had 641 students and listeners from the area of the former Poland.

Students at the Universities of St. Petersburg, Moscow and Kiev from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces in 1844-45 by religious confession:

|                |     |
|----------------|-----|
| Roman Catholic | 460 |
| Orthodox       | 152 |
| Protestant     | 20  |
| Jewish         | 6   |

The overwhelming majority of students from the area of former Poland-Lithuania were still Roman Catholic and probably identified themselves as Poles, though perhaps a few considered themselves to be Lithuanians. However, the number of Orthodox students had grown significantly in absolute numbers as well as proportionally. The Orthodox students could choose between various identities: Polish, Russian, or Ukrainian. In order to understand the conditions that governed the choice of national identity among these students, it is necessary to compare the regional backgrounds of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic student bodies.

|                          | Roman Catholic | Orthodox |
|--------------------------|----------------|----------|
| Lithuania and Belorussia | 138            | 36       |
| Right-Bank Ukraine       | 193            | 108      |
| Kingdom of Poland        | 76             | 8        |

In absolute numbers as well as in relation to Roman Catholics, the number of Orthodox students from the Right-Bank Ukraine was highest. Belorussia did not

yet have a young Orthodox intelligentsia of its own, comparable to that of the Right-Bank Ukraine. Against this background, it is understandable that Belorussia was less advanced in its nation-building than the Ukraine, and that Belorussian nationalism did not pose the same kind of challenge for the Poles as Ukrainian nationalism.<sup>8</sup> The development of an Orthodox intelligentsia was most advanced in the province of Kiev, which sent 76 Orthodox and 79 Roman Catholics to the three universities. As in 1836, the Province of Mohylew was the only one that had more Orthodox (12) than Roman Catholic (11) students. In all the rest of the Western Provinces the number of Roman Catholic students was much higher than that of the Orthodox.

Students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces at the universities of St. Petersburg, Moscow and Kiev in 1844–1845 according to social rank and field of study:

|   | Humanities | Mathematics, Law<br>Natural<br>science | Medicine | Total | %   |      |
|---|------------|--|----------|-------|-----|------|
| noble   | 38         | 110                                    | 213      | 98    | 459 | 71.6 |
| unconfirmed or<br>non-hereditary noble <sup>9</sup> | -          | 1                                      | 2        | -     | 3   | 0.5  |
| lower officer                                       | 5          | 12                                     | 23       | 9     | 49  | 7.6  |
| civil servant <sup>10</sup>                         | 3          | 1                                      | 5        | -     | 9   | 1.4  |
| merchant  | 1          | 3                                      | 3        | 3     | 10  | 1.5  |
| Orthodox clergy                                     | 4          | 2                                      | 3        | 5     | 14  | 2.1  |
| Roman Catholic clergy                               | -          | 1                                      | 2        | 1     | 4   | 0.6  |
| lower townsman                                      | 7          | 9                                      | 14       | 18    | 48  | 7.5  |
| “raznočinec”  | -          | 1                                      | 4        | 4     | 9   | 1.4  |
| peasant   | 1          | 4                                      | 4        | 8     | 17  | 2.8  |
| Jew   | 1          | -                                      | 1        | 3     | 5   | 0.8  |
| foreigner   | 2          | -                                      | 3        | 4     | 9   | 1.4  |
| “inhabitant of the<br>Kingdom of Poland”            | -          | 1                                      | -        | -     | 1   | 0.2  |
| “from a taxpaying rank”                             | -          | -                                      | -        | 1     | 1   | 0.2  |
| not available                                       | -          | -                                      | 1        | 2     | 3   | 0.5  |
| total   | 62         | 145                                    | 278      | 156   | 641 |      |
| %   | 9.7        | 22.6                                   | 43.4     | 24.3  | 100 |      |

The student body was exclusive, but the proportion and absolute number of non-nobles had become significant. The young intelligentsia of the Western Provinces included elements whose interests might clash not only with those of the Russian government but also of the local Polish aristocracy.

8 At the same time it should not be forgotten that there was also a minority of Roman Catholic Belorussian-speaking peasants.

9 Unconfirmed and personal nobles are mentioned separately only in the list of students of St. Petersburg University.

10 Our sources probably categorize noblemen civil servants in the group of nobles. The group of civil servants includes only non-nobles.

When the Orthodox and Roman Catholic student bodies from the former Poland are taken separately, it becomes evident that they differed from each other in their social composition and their preferred choice of field of study.

Roman Catholic students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces at the Universities of Kiev, Moscow and St. Petersburg in 1844–1845 by social rank and field of study:

|  | Law  | Humanities | Mathematics,<br>Natural Science | Medicine | Total | %    |
|--|------|------------|---------------------------------|----------|-------|------|
| noble                                    | 160  | 28         | 91                              | 86       | 365   | 79.3 |
| unconfirmed and<br>non-hereditary noble  | 2    | -          | 1                               | -        | 3     | 0.7  |
| lower officer                            | 4    | 1          | 8                               | 4        | 17    | 3.7  |
| civil servant                            | 6    | 3          | 1                               | -        | 10    | 2.2  |
| clergy                                   | 2    | -          | 1                               | 1        | 4     | 0.9  |
| merchant                                 | 1    | -          | -                               | 3        | 4     | 0.9  |
| “raznočinec”                             | 1    | -          | -                               | 3        | 4     | 0.9  |
| lower townsman                           | 6    | 5          | 6                               | 13       | 30    | 6.5  |
| peasant                                  | 2    | 1          | 3                               | 6        | 12    | 2.6  |
| foreigner                                | 1    | 2          | -                               | 4        | 7     | 1.5  |
| “inhabitant of the<br>Kingdom of Poland” | -    | -          | 1                               | -        | 1     | 0.2  |
| “from taxpaying rank”                    | -    | -          | -                               | 1        | 1     | 0.2  |
| not available                            | 1    | -          | -                               | 1        | 2     | 0.4  |
| total                                    | 186  | 40         | 112                             | 122      | 460   |      |
| %  | 40.4 | 8.7        | 24.3                            | 26.5     | 100   |      |

Orthodox students at the Universities of Kiev, Moscow and St. Petersburg from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces by social rank and field of study:

|                | Law  | Humanities | Mathematics,<br>Natural science | Medicine | Total | %    |
|----------------|------|------------|---------------------------------|----------|-------|------|
| noble          | 46   | 9          | 18                              | 10       | 83    | 54.6 |
| lower officer  | 17   | 4          | 3                               | 4        | 28    | 18.4 |
| clergy         | 3    | 4          | 2                               | 5        | 14    | 9.2  |
| merchant       | 2    | 1          | 3                               | -        | 6     | 3.9  |
| lower townsman | 8    | 2          | 3                               | 4        | 17    | 11.2 |
| peasant        | 1    | -          | 1                               | 1        | 3     | 2.0  |
| “raznočinec”   | 1    | -          | -                               | -        | 1     | 0.7  |
| Total          | 78   | 20         | 30                              | 24       | 152   | 100  |
| %              | 51.3 | 13.2       | 19.7                            | 15.8     |       | 100  |

The Orthodox were far more plebeian than the Roman Catholics, though nobles formed the majority of both groups. Both groups preferred the Faculty of Law, but among the Orthodox it was much more popular than among Roman Catholics. Especially interesting is the difference in the popularity of medical studies. This was a field that guaranteed a safe job, but with relatively low social status.

It was often considered a suitable specialization for those of non-noble birth. One might expect that it would have been more popular among the Orthodox than among the Roman Catholics, since the proportion of non-nobles was much higher among the former. However, significantly more Roman Catholics than Orthodox favoured medical studies. One possible explanation for this phenomenon is that a physician's career guaranteed a relatively independent position in relation to the government. One could work without serving the government. In addition, even if one was employed by the state, the work was mainly non-political in nature and one did not have to actively support the government's policy, unless perhaps if one served in the army. A more negative attitude towards the state among Roman Catholics might also explain why law studies were so much less popular among them than among the Orthodox. However, the difference in the eagerness to study law was also affected by the discriminatory restrictions against Roman Catholics in the civil service. Law studies and the civil service were more attractive to the Orthodox since they had better opportunities of finding a job not too far away from their home area. Though smaller than among the Orthodox, the proportion of those Roman Catholics studying law and ready to serve the state as civil servants is also rather high.

The University of Dorpat had, somewhat surprisingly, remained outside the general flow of students from the former Poland to Russian universities caused by the closure of Wilno Medical Academy. Eighty-two students from the area studied in the university in the course of the year 1844, which was slightly fewer than in 1836 (85).<sup>11</sup> In part this situation can be explained by government policy, which favoured sending students to proper Russian universities rather than to Dorpat. It is also possible that the local university authorities took a stricter attitude towards the admission of Poles after the Hildebrandt case. The regional background of Dorpatian students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces shows a majority from the Lithuanian and Belorussian provinces:

|                          |    |
|--------------------------|----|
| Lithuania and Belorussia | 46 |
| The Kingdom of Poland    | 20 |
| Right-Bank Ukraine       | 16 |

The lists of students in the St. Petersburg Medical Academy do not contain information that would make it possible to find out the number and proportion of students from areas inhabited by Poles. However, in RVIA there are the documents concerning admission to the Academy in the autumn of 1844. Of the 72 admitted, at least 26 had received their preparatory education in areas inhabited by Poles. If an approximately equal number of students from these areas was admitted each year, the number of Poles at the Academy in the 1840s could be somewhere between 100 and 150, about a third of the whole student body.<sup>12</sup>

11 Hasselblatt and Otto 1889: 264–345, No 3624–4699.

12 RVIA f. 316, op. 15, ed. hr. 116, l. 116–119. Of those admitted in 1844, 18 were sons of noblemen or civil servants, one the son of Orthodox clergy while two came from taxpaying estates. All except one came from the Lithuanian and Belorussian provinces.



## St. Vladimir's University in Kiev

No cases of political activism among Polish students of the university are known in the first half of the 1840s. The students had learned their lesson and concentrated more on having fun than involving themselves in politics.<sup>13</sup> In the latter part of the decade the situation changed and activism appeared again. Since most of the activists were not caught and punished, we have to rely mainly on scarce and contradictory information in memoirs. The information is supplemented by cases of individual students found guilty of political crimes, for which there are archival sources.

The most important political conspiracy uncovered in Kiev during this period was not Polish, but the Society of St. Cyril and St. Methodius. Did Polish students of the university participate in the Society or in transmitting Messianist and radical Christian ideas to Ukrainian conspirators? Though the Society of St. Cyril and St. Methodius shared an admiration for Mickiewicz and Lamennais with the Polish student conspirators of the 1830s, it is impossible to trace any direct relation between the two groups. The Society's pan-Slavism cannot have derived from the Polish student conspiracies of the 1830s, since there is no evidence that pan-Slavism was present in them. The SLP emphasized the joint struggle of all nations for liberty, irrespective of whether they were Slavs or not. There certainly was some interest in Ukrainian culture among the Dorpatian Poles, since Hildebrandt's group listened to Julian Walicki's presentation about Little Russian poetry. A prominent member of the Society, Mykola Hulak (Nikolaj Gulak), studied in Dorpat 1839–1843, but there is no information about contacts between him and Hildebrandt's group.<sup>14</sup>

Information about a contact between Polish students and the Society is contained in the memoirs of Julian Belina Kędrzycki, a student and poet, who made friends with Ševčenko at the time of the existence of the Society. This was based on their common interest in Ukrainian folk songs. The authenticity of the memoirs has been questioned by Marceli Handelsman, but as far as I know, not by other scholars.<sup>15</sup> According to the memoirs, Ševčenko introduced Kędrzycki to Kostomarov. Ševčenko was eager to recruit Kędrzycki into the Society, but Kostomarov hesitated, since he mistrusted Poles, pointing to the historical

13 Bobrowski 1979: 1:280-285. Kotiūzyński 1911: 8–14.

14 Zajončkovskij 1959: 68–78. Tabiś 1974: 71–73 about the society. Tabiś mentions a Polish student called Zagórski as a member. At least the documents of the investigation published in Kirilo-Mefodijivs'ke...1:57, 372, 2:501, 3:179, 346 do not indicate anything except that Zagórski knew some of the members. There is not even any evidence that he was a Pole.

15 Belina-Kędrzycki Julian: Iz zapisok. In: Taras Ševčenko v vospominanjah sovremennikov. Moskva 1962. P. 165–172. Russian translation from the original Polish. The publication includes only part of the original published in Gazeta Lwowska 38–70/1918. The original I could find neither in Warsaw nor in Wrocław. Tabiś 1974: 72–73 writes about Belina-Kędrzycki on the basis of a similar extract published in Ukrainian translation. Handelsman 1937: 17 refrains from using Belina-Kędrzycki's memoirs on the basis that they give the impression of being a forgery. However, he does not argue his case in any way. Later scholars have used the memoirs. It seems strange that Kostomarov speaks in the memoirs about uniting all Slavs under the Russian Emperor, but this can be explained as a precaution. This idea appeared again during the investigation.

enmity between them and the Ukrainians. Kostomarov did not reveal the real principles of the Society to Kędrzycki, but spoke instead about uniting all Slavs in the Orthodox Church under the Russian Emperor. To Kędrzycki this was unacceptable. "I could not imagine a federation of Slavs in conditions in which the Germans press on us from one side and Slavonic Moscow from the other, and there is no help for us anywhere", he wrote afterwards. The discussion did not lead to any results. The Society was soon uncovered. Kędrzycki was warned about the case by Duchński, a private tutor in Kiev. He does not mention Duchński's first name, but Franciszek Duchński, who as an émigré wrote about the Ukrainian question, had by that time already gone abroad. Duchński was rather worried and expected arrests among the Polish students as well. If Kędrzycki's story is reliable, it means that there were probably other contacts between the Society and local Poles apart from his.<sup>16</sup>

The relation between the Society of St. Cyril and St. Methodius and Polish students remains an open question. Though the Polish ideological influence on the Society is a fact, it is not certain how it reached the Society. There was an interest in Ukrainian culture among the Polish students, and there were some contacts between the two groups, but there is no information that they ever led to actual co-operation in a conspiracy.

Belina Kędrzycki was an important figure among the Polish students. Some songs written by him became popular and remained so after his graduation. Four of them were later published by Waław Lasocki, who came across the songs during his studies in the 1850s. They give an indication of the ideological atmosphere among Kievan Polish students in the late 1840s and early 1850s. One is a drinking song, which mentions Mickiewicz and Krasński ("our Iridyon") favourably and predicts the possibility of an insurrection, which will be a "3 May" for the Poles. The date, 3 May, is an allusion to a constitutional reform of the monarchy in 1791. Another song, dated 1848, criticizes the fast life without high ideals that was lived by some students. The message is that one should study, be concerned about Poland's fate and not give up hope of independence. Henryk Rzewuski, a conservative writer loyal to Russian rule, is criticized. There is also an allusion to Hegelianism: some students still see "the eternal development of creative mind" in world history. The implicit idea is that Poland's independence is in accordance with this development. A third song, dated 1852, criticizes the fast life and negligence of patriotic cause in young men, when their fellow students are dying in the Caucasus. A fourth song is almost a play, with many persons acting roles in it. It was written against those who saw Bibikov's departure from Kiev in 1852 and Ilarion Vasilčikov's nomination to the post of governor-general with relief:

...Do not believe in fallacious hallucinations. In my opinion, by their open villainy, the Bibikovs are better than those shaved and virtuous, shining and deceitful Byzantines, those Russians [*Moskale*]. I know, I

. . . . .  
16 Belina-Kędrzycki 1962: 165–172.

know them perfectly. I am, Dear Sirs, more afraid of Greek gifts than their swords...

Vivat! Our old Bibikov, frank Russian without a mask. Vivat! Vivat our Bibikov!<sup>17</sup>

It is noteworthy that in this poem persons enthusiastic about Vasilčikov's arrival also speak against the inventories. Kędrzycki criticizes both loyalty to Russian rule and the attitude of the Polish landlords towards their peasants.<sup>18</sup>

Patriotic ideas led to the foundation of a Polish student society. Vitalij Šul'gin, a professor of the university and a rather anti-Polish writer, mentions a Polish student society in his work on the Right-Bank Ukraine under Bibikov's rule. He received information about the society in 1859 from former students, when gathering material for the history of the university. According to Šul'gin, a Wolynian regional organization was founded in 1845 under the leadership of a student called Nagórny. The activities consisted of self-education by reading forbidden émigré literature and lectures prepared by students. The subjects studied were Polish history and literature. The society had its own library. Nagórny died from cholera in 1847. He was succeeded by Kozaczyński. The society was enlarged with the foundation of a separate Lithuanian regional organization. Generally, the Wolynian organization was more conservative and defended the Roman Catholic Church, whereas the Lithuanians (in the non-ethnic sense of the word) had a more "democratic and rationalistic" orientation. Despite disagreements, the organizations worked harmoniously together till 1850, when there was some unspecified conflict between them.<sup>19</sup>

Part of Šul'gin's account is confirmed by Aleksandr Romanovič-Slavatinskij, a Russian/Ukrainian student and later a professor, who began his studies in 1850. He also mentions Kozaczyński as the leader of the Polish student society, as well as the existence of a library. According to Romanovič-Slavatinskij, a bank of mutual assistance also functioned. He knew these institutions only by hearsay, but some of his information is corroborated by Lasocki, who mentions the library and mutual assistance, which had functioned since 1848 until he began his studies in 1854. Lasocki knew Kozaczyński as an older and rather influential student, who avoided any conspiracies.<sup>20</sup>

There is an additional statement about the Polish student society by Avtonom Soltanovskij, an Orthodox student from the Right Bank, who during his studies from 1845 to 1849 was enthusiastic about Ukrainian culture, but later at any rate considered himself Russian. He mentions a circle of petty nobles, which met in the flat of the Giedroyc brothers. The brothers themselves were princes, but avoided the aristocratic Russian-Polish circle. The Giedroyc circle discussed politics and read illegal literature. It founded a secret student library. Solta-

17 Lasocki Wacław: *Wspomnienia z mego życia*. I. W kraju. Kraków 1933. 165.

18 Lasocki 1933: 1:162–166.

19 Šul'gin V. Ja: *Jugo-Zapadnyj kraj pod pravleniem D. G. Bibikova (1838–1853)*. *Drevnjaja i Novaja Rossija*, tom II, No 5–6/1879. On the Polish student society, 6:127–128. Tabiš 1974: 63, 65–66 writes about this group on the basis of Šul'gin's account and Romanovič-Slavatinskij's memoirs.

20 Lasocki 1933:1: 183, 187. Romanovič-Slavatinskij 1903: 2:623.

novskij's account about a split and enmity between the aristocrats and the other Polish students is confirmed by the memoirs of Leonard Sowiński, a Polish student, who later became a rather popular writer.<sup>21</sup>

A somewhat different account of the Polish student society is offered in the memoirs of Zygmunt Miłkowski, an émigré writer, who was one of the leaders of the TDP and commander of a unit in the January Insurrection in 1863. Miłkowski was the son of a nobleman tenant farmer in Podolia. He came to Kiev in 1847 after previously studying at the Odessa Lyceum. He began mathematical studies in the university as a “free listener”, that is a person who attended lectures without having the official status of a student. Miłkowski had become acquainted with émigré literature earlier in Odessa, having read at least the TDP's journal “Polish Democrat” (*Demokrata polski*) and “On the Vital Truths of the Polish Nation”, by the leftist Hegelian democrat and conspirator Henryk Kamiński. Miłkowski was also familiar with Mickiewicz's, Krasiński's and Wincenty Pol's poetry.<sup>22</sup>

The atmosphere among the Polish students had changed a short time before Miłkowski's arrival. The previous merry-making had given way to moral rigour. The change was due to agitation by a group of students from Minsk. The Minsk group even threatened to thrash anyone found guilty of gambling, drunkenness or visiting brothels. Instead of an easy life, students began to take an interest in science and politics. Events abroad were eagerly followed. The first piece of news that made a strong impression on the students was the Galician massacre in 1846. After that followed the events in Italy, and the name of Pope Pius IX was often repeated. The new pope had enacted some administrative reforms and relaxed censorship in his state. His relations with Austria were strained. Many liberals in Italy and other countries hoped that Pius would lead Italy's unification and enact further reforms.<sup>23</sup>

The arrest and trial of the members of the Society of St. Cyril and St. Methodius shook all the students, but especially the Ukrainians. They decided to form their own secret society, but did not know how to do it. They therefore decided to ask the Poles for advice and to contact the society they believed existed among them. They spoke about the matter to one Postępski, who was a friend of Miłkowski. Postępski met Miłkowski during the summer vacation of 1847 and proposed that something should be done about the Ukrainians. As a result, a secret Polish student society was founded in the autumn. Miłkowski wrote the rules, which declared armed struggle as the aim of the society. It was to be preceded by widespread propaganda, which would also reach the army and the civil servants. The organisational structure comprised three levels of membership. The first would consist of the leaders, who would have information about all activities. Members on the second level would also be knowingly

21 Soltanovskij Avtonom Akimovič: Otryvki iz zapisok. Kievskaja Starina 5/1892, p. 239–241. Sowiński Leonard: Wspomnienia szkolne i uniwersyteckie. Warszawa 1961. P. 231–233.

22 Miłkowski Zygmunt (Teodor Tomasz Jeż, pseudonym): Od koleżki przez życie. Wspomnienia. I–III. Kraków 1936–37. I: 193–194, 210–211, 232.

23 Miłkowski 1936–1937: 1:233–236. Tabiś 1974: 68–71 writes about this group on the basis of Miłkowski's memoirs.

involved in illegal activities, but the third, lowest, level was reserved for those who would only act within the letter of the law. Miłkowski mentions only six members by name. They included the Kędrzycki brothers and Izydor Kopernicki, later an assistant at the university and one of the leaders of the 1863 insurrection in the Ukraine.<sup>24</sup>

Miłkowski relates that he wrote a proclamation, several hundred copies of which were distributed during the Kiev Fair at the beginning of 1848. The conspirators also agitated against a proposal urging the local nobility to appeal to the Emperor and ask for his protection against the subversive propaganda which reached the country from abroad. According to Miłkowski, the proposal was repealed in the assembly of the nobles on that pretext that it indicated a lack of trust in the Emperor, who protected the area without the need for any appeals. The success of their agitation encouraged the conspirators, who founded a student library consisting of forbidden literature. They also organized a meeting that was attended by 300 students. The summer residence of a local Orthodox Metropolitan was unofficially hired for the purpose. The event was disguised as a carnival.<sup>25</sup>

The revolutionary events in the west had the effect that soon practically all the Polish students were involved in one way or another in the society. At the same time there existed a separate Ukrainian organization. Sometimes the two societies held common meetings where they sang songs together which glorified the Cossack past. The Polish students planned to agitate in the countryside during the Easter holidays of 1848. In his home region, Miłkowski indeed found among the local nobility an atmosphere tense with the expectation of great events, but no readiness for immediate action. When Miłkowski returned to Kiev, he received news that the police had been looking for him at his flat, suspecting him of writing political proclamations. Miłkowski fled abroad, crossing the border to Austrian Galicia with the help of smugglers. Somewhat later he participated in the Hungarian War of Independence in the Polish Legion.<sup>26</sup>

Miłkowski's escape was noticed in the Third Section, the documents of which contain a file on him. It does not indicate that he was suspected of anything or wanted by the police before his escape. The authorities learned about the escape only in November 1848 after intercepting a letter written by Miłkowski to his parents from Hungary. With regard to the activities of the Ukrainian students in Kiev right after the Society of St. Cyril and St. Methodius, a Ukrainian memoirist mentions Avtonom Soltanovskij's circle, which collected folklore. As Soltanovskij was from the Right Bank and demonstrates in his memoirs a rather good knowledge of Polish student affairs, his circle was probably the Ukrainian group mentioned by Miłkowski.<sup>27</sup>

. . . . .

24 Miłkowski 1936–1937: 1: 236–238.

25 Miłkowski 1936–1937: 1:238–241.

26 Miłkowski 1936–1937: 1:243, 246–256.

27 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., op.23, 1848g., ed. hr. 549, l. 1–3. Bibikov to Orlov 3rd December 1848. Nos 1893: 510–511.

On the basis of the above accounts, the existence of a Polish student society in Kiev in the late 1840s can be considered a fact. The group read illegal literature and had its own library, but it is a bit unclear who its leaders were. Miłkowski's account of active, moralistic students from Minsk Gymnasium is corroborated by Šul'gin's information about the Lithuanian regional organization. It is interesting to note that Minsk was one of the centres of the Brotherly Union of Lithuanian Youth (ZBML), a conspiracy of democratic orientation active from 1846 to 1849. A junior civil servant called Michał Bokij, who had briefly studied in St. Petersburg Medical Academy, is known to have founded a conspiracy there in 1848. In spring 1849 the conspiracy joined the ZBML, spread to Minsk Gymnasium and to the Roman Catholic Ecclesiastical Seminary. According to one memoirist, before the branch of the ZBML there a secret group existed under the name of Filarets in Minsk Gymnasium. The historian of conspiracies in Lithuania and Belorussia, Dawid Fajnhauz, finds the existence of this Filaret group quite plausible, since the branch of the ZBML recruited more than 40 members in less than two months. This would hardly have been possible without a previous organization. If the group of students from Lithuania really was democratically oriented, as Šul'gin tells, its orientation was in harmony with that of the ZBML. The aim of armed insurrection mentioned by Miłkowski is also consistent with the programme of the ZBML. There is one unconfirmed statement about direct contact between the Kievan students and the ZBML. A Lithuanian conspirator confessed under interrogation that he had heard about a visit of representatives of the Kievan students in Wilno in summer 1848. He had not seen them himself. The link between the ZBML and the Kievan students is thus quite probable, though not certain.<sup>28</sup>

One political crime in which Kievan students were involved was a proclamation putting forward the idea of Polish-Russian revolutionary co-operation, written in both languages. In June 1848 it was stuck on a fence outside a Roman Catholic Church in Latyczów, a small Podolian town. The proclamation was entitled "The present spirit of Russians and Poles" and signed "The Slavonic Union". Its political programme was vague, but it showed the strong influence of Messianism and the revolutionary events in Western Europe. Its main argument for Russian-Polish co-operation was that Poles and Russians had a common enemy in the person of Nicholas I. Although it urged mutual co-operation, it still called the Russians barbarians.

Because evil is concentrated in the head who represents the nation, let us destroy him...in the name of happiness and general welfare. We do not believe that the Russian people consists of only vile men who do not share the views and the voice of salvation of an awakening Europe, not

. . . . .  
 28 Fajnhauz 1965: 287–296, 357–375. Simonov 1963: 88–89 considers it a fact that the Lithuanian regional organization in the University was in contact with ZBML. Tabiś 1974: 63–74 deals with the university in 1846–1849, but does not mention ZBML. Neither does Tabiś write about the cases of Białkowski and Czajkowski, Okraśniński.

all among them are so narrow-minded that they would not be conscious of their slavery...

We aim first of all to overthrow the lawful power, as Tsar Nicholas calls it, to establish a completely new government, the aim of which will be: happiness, welfare, brotherhood, equality and unity...

God Himself will help, and new, better forms of government will be established in a miraculous way...let everyone have the right to think, write and believe freely...

Long live the Pope, long live France – our Messiahs! Long live free and constitutional Italy! Finally, long live Poland, resurrected in the fire of coming events! Righteous Russians have answered with mockery the manifestos and teachings of the Tsar – because the time of miracles and liberation is so fresh that it can sway even barbarians.<sup>29</sup>

An analysis of the handwriting pointed to two students, Ludwik Czajkowski and Stanisław Białkowski, who had recently passed through Latyczów. Czajkowski was a law student, 21 years of age and the son of an Orthodox priest from Podolia. He was one of the Uniats who had recently been converted to Orthodoxy. Białkowski was 28 years of age, a Roman Catholic unconfirmed nobleman who studied in the Department of Mathematics and Natural Science. Both studied at their own expense. The two did not confess, though the same kind of glue by which the proclamation was stuck was found on them. Bibikov was not absolutely certain of their guilt. They were punished only on suspicion of guilt. That is why they were only sent to the University of Kazan for the rest of their studies, obliged to enter state service in the Great Russian provinces and forbidden to return to the Western Provinces until three years after their graduation.<sup>30</sup>

The case of Czajkowski and Białkowski is interesting in that it contains the idea of a Slavonic union without mentioning the Ukrainians at all, despite the recent case of the Society of St. Cyril and St. Methodius and despite the fact that Czajkowski from his background could well have been considered a Ukrainian. The proclamation did not mention a pan-Slavist federation as a goal, but spoke only about revolutionary co-operation.

In June 1849 Bibikov ordered a house search of all “suspect” Kiev students. Among papers belonging to Stanisław Okrański there were found “patriotic Polish poetry and other works of impudent and inciting content against Russia and the government,” as Bibikov expressed it.<sup>31</sup> Unfortunately the documents in GARF and RGIA do not contain any additional information about the texts.

29 Wierchowski Miroslaw: *Z dziejów polskich organizacji spiskowych na terenie Litwy, Białorusi i Ukrainy w latach 1848–1849*, p. 82. The whole proclamation pp. 82–83. Polish translation from the Russian version of the text. There are not essential differences between the original proclamation and Wierchowski’s translation.

30 CDIAU f. 442, op. 798, ed. hr. 219, 1–4, 9, 40–44, 76. Reports by Latyczów’s police chief to Bibikov and the original proclamation. Testimony by Czajkowski. L 45–70, final report of the investigating commission. L. 71–72, Czajkowski’s petition to Bibikov 16th August 1848. L. 77–79, 89. Correspondence between Bibikov and Paskevič. L. 111–112, Uvarov to Bibikov 10th March 1849. Wierchowski 1962: 82–83. Wierchowski does not write about the backgrounds of the two students.

31 GARF f. 109, 1-ja eksp., 1849g., ed. hr. 252, l. 1. Bibikov to Orlov 21st June 1849.

Okraśniński was a medical student, 27 years of age and a Roman Catholic from simple townsfolk (*meščanin*) of Minsk Province. He was studying at his own expense. Bibikov sentenced Okraśniński without normal judicial procedure to serve as a barber-surgeon with the troops in Orenburg. In 1856 Okraśniński was allowed to return to Kiev to continue his studies.<sup>32</sup>

The activity at the end of the 1840s was followed by the re-emergence of proclivities for an easy life without serious interests. According to the memoirist Leonard Sowiński, a more serious student group appeared again in the autumn of 1853. Some of its participants were older students who were studying “for the second time”, which must mean either after an interruption or for a second degree. They still remembered the slogans of 1848. The group managed to influence the whole student community, though it did not act openly. It ceased its activities after a “dishonourable betrayal of confidence” by one of its members and Adam Kozaczyński’s death. Despite this, the atmosphere among the students was changing. In the autumn term of 1854 a refectory run by the students was opened. After that literary evenings were arranged, at which everyone could give a presentation about any scholarly subject. A committee was founded to run a bank of mutual assistance to aid needy students.<sup>33</sup>

If Sowiński’s chronology is correct, the most important traditional forms of Polish student activism were revived in Kiev before the end of Nicholas’ reign. The authorities at that time also possessed information about the interest in forbidden ideas among the students, though only on an individual level. In March 1854 the Third Section received a denunciation of two students, Julian Kotkowski and Józef Rózentel, claiming that they possessed and read illegal literature and discussed politics. The authorities investigated the case, found the denunciation was exaggerated and the whole case not worth official procedure. Nevertheless, they did receive some reliable information, since the informer gave them a few of Kotkowski’s books and papers. Among these there were two books about Trentowski’s philosophy as well as a hand-written copy of his analysis of Hegel. Both the students were in contact with Eleanora Woliańska, an SLP veteran, who had helped Gordon to escape.<sup>34</sup> Somewhat later, at the beginning of Alexander’s reign, Rózentel was caught carrying out Messianist agitation among the peasants. We shall return to his case later. At the end of Nicholas’ and beginning of Alexander’s reign, idealistic Polish philosophy and poetic Messianism were the ideas which circulated among the Kievan Polish students, who began to revive their union-forming activities.

32 GARF f. 109, 1-ja eksp., 1849g., ed. hr. 252, l. 1–2. RGIA f. 733, op. 70, delo 237, l. 3–4, 7. Bibikov to Uvarov, information of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment about Okraśniński’s background, announcement from the Ministry of War about his release.

33 Sowiński Leonard: Jeden z niewielu. Wspomnienie posmiertne o lekarzu Fortunacie Nowickim. Tygodnik Powszechny 28/1885, p. 438.

34 CDIAU f. 442, op. 804, ed. hr. 135, l. 1–2. Head of the Third Section Orlov to Vasilčikov 16th March 1854. Ibid. l. 85–117. Report of the investigating commission. Ibid. l. 135–136. Censor Nowicki to Vasilčikov 11th October 1854. The denunciation also concerned a few other students, but I restrict my account to what was really found out.



## The University of Moscow

There were no large-scale political cases at the University of Moscow. However, in 1847–1850 a conspiracy connected with the TDP in the Kingdom of Poland was led by Henryk Krajewski, a recent graduate from Moscow. Two other Moscow graduates, Jan Majorkiewicz and Romuald Świerzbieński, belonged to the innermost circle of the organization. Galina Makarova mentions seven other conspirators who were graduates of the University of Moscow. The investigation of the case occasionally impinged upon university life. The files of the Third Section researched by Wiktoria Śliwowska contain some additional material on Polish students in Moscow in the 1840s.<sup>35</sup>

Two Polish memoirs from the University of Moscow in the 1840s have survived to this day. One of them, available in manuscript, was written by Romuald Świerzbieński, who wanted to clear his reputation after betraying many conspirators during the investigation. This source is rather unreliable as to Świerzbieński's own role, but it contains valuable information about student life and the ideas that circulated among Polish students in Moscow.<sup>36</sup> The other, an anonymous memoir, was published in 1869 in Prussian Poland. The author had to be more cautious than Świerzbieński, but he, too, writes about student activism.<sup>37</sup> In some points the two memoirs corroborate each other.

The first incitement to action was made by Józef Dziekoński, a member of Hildebrandt's group, who was not in fact investigated. Dziekoński, the son of a secondary school teacher from the Kingdom, moved from Dorpat to the University of Moscow in 1840. He brought some forbidden works with him. After him, the head of this circle was Karol Bieliński, also the son of a civil servant from the Kingdom. The circle was not an organization, but it possessed illegal literature and held serious discussions in conjunction with drinking parties. There was another circle whose members only drank and gambled.<sup>38</sup>

Bieliński graduated in 1843. His name was mentioned in 1844–45 by three conspirators arrested during the investigation of the group of the socialist conspirator, Father Piotr Ściegenny, which was affiliated with the ZNP, the successor of the SLP. He was arrested and questioned by the authorities in the

35 Minkowska Anna: *Organizacja spiskowa 1848 roku w Królestwie Polskim*. Warszawa 1923. P. 21–27. Wiosna...1994. Here especially two articles by Galina B. Makarova: *Oblicze ideowo-polityczne "Organizacji 1848 roku" w Królestwie Polskim*, p. 19–46, most of the Moscow graduates mentioned on p. 33. *Wychowankowie...61–84*. Testimonies by Świerzbieński and Krajewski, *ibid.* p. 222–289, 401–444. A programmatic document "Credo" (wyznanie wiary) by Krajewski, p. 445–453, as written down by Świerzbieński during the investigation. Makarova rightly expresses doubts as to the full reliability of the text reproduced by Świerzbieński, but it is the only version available. Śliwowska 1961: 43–59. Śliwowska 1964: 64–67, 69–70, 77–79.

36 *Sprzysiężenia pomiędzy rokiem 1839 i 1849, ze wspomnień i opowiadań w roku 1853 opisane*. Rps. Ossol. 3204/I. This manuscript was found by Bolesław Limanowski, who referred to it in 1922. The authorship of Świerzbieński was established by Marian Tyrowicz: *Polski aneks do wspomnień Hercena. Studenci polscy w Moskwie 1842–1848*. Kwartalnik Instytutu Polsko-Radzieckiego 3/1954. P. 171.

37 *Urywki...1869*.

38 *Sprzysiężenia...1:193–194*. Rps. Ossol. 3204/I.

Kingdom. During the investigation from December 1844 to January 1845 Bieliński told about the circulation of illegal literature in the university, but his membership of the ZNP was not established. He committed a suicide in a mental hospital soon after being released from detention in 1845. Our sources do not indicate whether he was already mentally ill during the investigation.<sup>39</sup>

Another former Moscow student, Szymon Krzeczkowski, a gymnasium teacher and son of a cobbler, was arrested. His membership of Ściegenny's group was established, and he was deported by a court martial to Siberia. Among the Moscow student reading, Bieliński and Krzeczkowski mentioned "Forefathers' Eve", "Books of the Polish Nation and a Polish Pilgrimage" and "Pan Tadeusz" by Mickiewicz, and the history of the insurrection by Mochnacki. Krzeczkowski stated that "all students of the University of Moscow almost without exception read them". Bieliński also mentioned Słowacki's books without specifying which ones. This means that the reading list of the Moscow Polish students followed the SLP tradition fairly closely. Bieliński firmly denied having had any "communist" sympathies either at the university or afterwards. Even so, his testimony shows that socialism was discussed among the students.<sup>40</sup>

In 1850 the arrested Romuald Świerzbiewski revealed that between 1842 and 1845 students read Mochnacki's history of the insurrection, Mickiewicz's Paris lectures, "Pan Tadeusz" and "Forefathers' Eve", Trentowski's work on national education "Chowanna", Lelewel's "Reign of Stanisław August Poniatowski" and "Poland and Rus", various works by Słowacki, Krasiński's "Undivine Comedy" and "Irydion", novels by Michał Czajkowski, an émigré writer romanticizing the Ukraine's Cossack past as one aspect of Polish history, and Libelt's Poznań periodical "Rok" (Year). In his memoirs, Świerzbiewski also mentions among student readings Grażyna, Konrad Wallenrod and "Crimean Sonnets" by Mickiewicz, Wincenty Pol's Songs of Janusz, works by Józef Kremer, a Cracowian popularizer of Hegel, Konarski's prison poem and works by Bishop Adam Naruszewicz, an enlightened 18th century reformist. There was also "Insurrection in Samogitia", a collection of memoirs dealing with the events in 1831. Cieszkowski's influence is strongly evident in Świerzbiewski's memoirs. Of foreign belles-lettres, Schiller and Goethe were read.<sup>41</sup>

The correspondence of a student, Jan Majorkiewicz, from Moscow published in a Warsaw journal "Przegląd Naukowy" (Scientific Review) in 1844, reveals a good knowledge of German idealism. Majorkiewicz preferred Schelling to Hegel and especially disliked the Hegelian Left like Strauss and Feuerbach. According to him, it was much better to read Libelt, Trentowski and

39 RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 167, l. 108–115. Paskevič to Uvarov 24th January 1845, containing a copy of Bieliński's testimony. Rewolucyjna...1981: 1981. 562, 619, 637. Testimonies by Seweryn Sawicki, Józef Kowalski and Szymon Krzeczkowski. Of these, only Sawicki had heard about the membership of Bieliński from another person. Śliwowska 1961: 47. Śliwowska 1964: 65–66. On Bieliński's suicide, see Uczestnicy...1990: 74–75.

40 RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 167, l. 110–115. Copy of Bieliński's testimony. Rewolucyjna... 1981: 637, 711. Śliwowska 1961: 65–66.

41 Rps. Ossol. 3204/I. Sprzysiężenia...2: 73–75, 81, 83–85, 95–98, 174–179. Wiosna...1994: 223–224.

Cieszkowski. Majorkiewicz also disapproved of the “harmful mysticism” spreading among Polish students in Moscow. By this, he could hardly mean anything else than poetic Messianism. Another piece of correspondence by Majorkiewicz in “Przegląd Naukowy“ contained a short and sympathetic review of philosophy in Russia. He especially praised the Moscow Professors Nikolaj Nadeždin and Petr Redkin. To the few Russian authorities accepted by the students must also be added Professor Granovskij, whose popularity has already been mentioned.<sup>42</sup>

According to the anonymous memoirist, a democratic orientation was absolutely dominant among the Polish community in the university. There were many different ideas circulating: communists, socialists, atheists and supporters of Trentowski. Waleryan Tomaszewski, a former Wilno Academy student, arrived in Moscow to continue his studies in 1846. Tomaszewski was one of those arrested at Kuczkowski’s request and later released. He brought with him the SLP’s traditions and a first-hand knowledge of the events in Wilno, which aroused a lively interest.<sup>43</sup> The most valuable information about ideas circulating among the students is contained in various discussions described by Świerzbieński. They touched upon the Slavonic idea, the reasons for the loss of Poland’s independence, the desirability of insurrection compared to peaceful cultural work, the rising Lithuanian and Ukrainian nationalism and the peasant question. In Świerzbieński’s account, the students supported the Slavonic idea, but excluded from the Slavonic nations the Russians as Mongols. It is suggested that the Latin, Germanic and Slavonic nations in mankind correspond to body, spirit and essence in the individual. France has had a global mission, since it has combined within itself so many various elements: Gallic, Roman, Germanic. It has been the representative of all humanity. Of all the Slavonic nations, Poland contains the most diverse elements and is the most representative of all humanity. It has adopted and independently developed the achievements of the Roman and French civilizations. Here the Poles are contrasted with the Czechs, who have only developed as a part of Germany without any cultural creativity of their own. Further, none of the Slavonic nations has such a glorious history as Poland, which has defended and still defends the west. As the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, Poland was part of France. In Poznań it is now part of Germany. If Slavs have a future, Poland will have a leading role because of its representative character. Poland will not melt into Slavdom, but rather it is likely that Slavdom will melt into Poland. One of the participants in the discussion expresses the idea that the partitions of Poland were actually necessary for her future mission. Another says that Poland’s loss of independence was not inevitable, but contingent. It depended only on outward conditions, not on Poland itself. The discussion continues with an evaluation of insurrections and conspiracies. One

42 Majorkiewicz Jan: Pisma pomniejsze. Część druga. Warszawa 1852. P. 127–131, 145–146. Nadeždin had worked at the university in the 1830s. Granovskij’s, Redkin’s and Kavelin’s lectures were also praised by a member of the conspiracy Wojciech Grochowski during the investigation. Wiosna...1994: 195.

43 Urywki...1869, 31: 254, 34: 278–279.

participant claims they are harmful, since they waste the people's strength and help the government in its attempt to destroy Polishness and Catholicism. Others condemn this opinion, since Polish nationality has survived as a result of insurrections. Without the émigrés Polish civilization would have perished.<sup>44</sup>

In another discussion, the possibilities for Poland's independence are analyzed in a pan-European context. As a result of the Napoleonic wars, Hegel's philosophy and the Russian policy of aggrandisement, European nations have a tendency to unification. The reunification of Germany is to be expected soon. It will rouse Slavs in Austria and Turkey, for whom Russia acts as a protector. This in turn will lead to a pan-European conflict and the end of the foreign occupation of Poland. Europe will be divided into Romans, Germans and Slavs. Conflicts will cease and finally all Europe will unite. This prediction is argued both mystically and rationally. The mystical argument derives from the Lord's Prayer, which predicts the coming of the Kingdom of God. The rational argument is based on the astonishingly rapid development of communications, which will bring nations closer to each other.<sup>45</sup>

The ideas of the Moscow students expressed in these discussions are not original. The representative character of one nation as containing elements from all humanity was first expressed by Karl Friedrich Jahn, who naturally considered the Germans as the most representative nation. The idea was adapted to Poland by Trentowski and later to Russia by Dostoevskij. The idea of the necessity of the partitions for Poland's future mission is one of the central theses of Messianism. The prediction of Europe's unification is taken from Cieszkowski's "Our Father". It does not seem to have occurred to the students that the development of communications might just as easily bind Poland closer to its conquerors. It is not mentioned whether the future united Europe would include Russia, but judging from the tone with which Russia is discussed, it seems that it would not.<sup>46</sup>

One of the discussions is dedicated to the Lithuanian and Rusin question. It begins with a statement by a student called Wołodkowicz that Rus and Lithuania can exist independently of "the Crown", that is Poland proper. Świerzbieński states that Poland cannot exist without all three of its constituent parts. Her independence is in accordance with the good of all mankind. Both cosmopolitanism and separatism conflict with Poland's historical mission, which is to act as a promoter of the unity of mankind. Wołodkowicz answers that he does not believe in such historical missions of nations. Świerzbieński claims that the whole history of mankind proves the existence of such missions. Further he argues that all the constituent parts of Poland have a common history. There is no difference between Poles from Lithuania, Rus and the Crown. To separate them from each other and divide the Polish Commonwealth means creating

44 Rps. Ossol. 3204/I. Sprzysiężenia...2: 72–76.

45 Rps. Ossol. 3204/I. Sprzysiężenia...2: 88–89.

46 Świerzbieński's testimony during the investigation gives another impression. See Wiosna...1994: 225–226. I consider the memoirs a more reliable source, since they were not directed towards the authorities.

artificial units. Wołodkowicz answers that Lithuania and Rus have their own histories before their unification with Poland. On the basis of their own independent traditions, they can exist independently from Poland. Świerzbieński denies the independent history of Rus and Lithuania. Before union with Poland there were only quarrels between Norse princes without the people playing any independent role. The people of Rus began their own history only under Polish government, since the nobility was not established until then. “The people living in that land is nameless, unless we call it Polish...If that people does not become Polish, it will become Russian”. As for Lithuania, it is so small that it at first united with Rus and then with Poland, from which it received a royal crown, Christianity and civil liberty. Even after the partitions, Lithuania and Rus have always striven for the re-establishment of the Polish Commonwealth. “Would you not consider it rather strangely original, if someone dreamed about the independence of Samogitia (Żmudź), Belorussia, Mazowia or Kujawy...?” However, Świerzbieński indeed favoured the development of Rusin and Lithuanian language and literature. He only thought that it should not affect the administrative unity of Lithuania, Rus and the Crown.<sup>47</sup>

Perhaps the discussion described here never actually took place. Nevertheless, there is no reason to doubt that the question of Lithuania and Rus was discussed and that there were differences of opinion. Świerzbieński’s inability to confront the rising new nationalism is striking. In another passage of his memoirs, there is a statement that Roman Catholicism is an inseparable part of Polish nationality.<sup>48</sup> Thus the author switches from a historical to a religious concept of nationality without compunction.

The discussion of the peasant question is located in the context of a summer vacation trip to Belorussia. The students say that from Smolensk on there is no more “Mongolian Moscow”, but the language, clothes and faces are purely Polish. This is also proved by the existence of Roman Catholic Church buildings. Świerzbieński claims that serfdom existed in the area from Norse times till 3 May 1791 and was reintroduced by the Russians. One of his colleagues draws attention to the fact that the Polish nobility continued the serfdom begun by the Norsemen. Świerzbieński denies the responsibility of Poland, since the local nobility is not of Polish origin. Here, he again uses the nationality concept that in each particular case is the most favourable to the Poles. The participants in the discussion agree about the necessity of getting peasant support for the future insurrection. This must be achieved by providing maintenance for orphans, founding schools, practising charity and organizing medical care. The discussion leaves one with the impression that the students strongly oppose serfdom, but are not even aware of the land question. Their view of pre-partition Poland is mythical in much the same manner as that of Sawicz a few years before. It is rather odd to claim that the 3 May Constitution of 1791

47 Rps. Ossol. 3204/I. Sprzysiężenia...2: 110a–110e.

48 Rps. Ossol. 3204/I. Sprzysiężenia...2: 199.

abolished serfdom. Patriotic studies did not necessarily go together with critical thinking and a deep knowledge of Poland's history.<sup>49</sup>

A moderate view of the peasant question and an orientation towards the nobility and Roman Catholicism were also typical of the Warsaw conspiracy of 1848, led by a former Moscow student, Henryk Krajewski. His "Credo" did not contain any definite solution of the peasant question. Solidarity between various social classes was emphasized. The conspiracy's radicalism was limited to the demand for political equality, but in that field too its goals were rather vague.<sup>50</sup>

To sum up, the Moscow students were aware of the latest ideological developments among the émigrés and in partitioned Poland. The authority of Mickiewicz, Słowacki and Mochnecki was still revered, but there was also a new stream of thought, which consisted of German idealist philosophy, and the ideas of those Polish philosophers who developed it further. A very important new element in student thought was the emphasis on Slavdom. It derived as from the Polish idealist philosophers as well as from Mickiewicz's lectures in Paris. Sometimes, Messianism and philosophy conflicted and the students preferred one of them, as was the case with Majorkiewicz. However, it was also possible to combine Messianism and Hegelianism eclectically, as Świerzbieński shows in his memoirs.<sup>51</sup>

Unorganized reading led in 1842 to the foundation of a Polish student library, which included both permitted and illegal literature. The library was a result of Majorkiewicz's initiative. It was established with Curator Stroganov's permission, and the list of books was submitted to him. The illegal part of the library was kept separately. A board was established to take care of the library, supervise the behaviour of Polish students, organize self-study and mutual assistance. The inspectors tacitly allowed the Poles themselves to take care of the discipline to some extent. As always, the new activism among the students was accompanied by a moralistic outlook. Card-players were persecuted until they agreed to give up their pastime. In spring 1843, a money collection was organized for a tombstone and an iron cross on Wincenty Niemojowski's grave. Until 1830, Niemojowski had been one of the leaders of the liberal opposition in parliament. At the end of the insurrection he was arrested and brought to Moscow, where he died. The memorial was a kind of lawful political demonstration. The text on it was taken from Matthew 7:25: "...and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not: for it was founded upon a rock."<sup>52</sup>

49 Rps. Ossol. 3204/I. Sprzysiężenia...2: 168–171.

50 Djakow Władimir: *Warszawska organizacja konspiracyjna 1848 roku*. *Kwartalnik Historyczny* LXXXIII, 2/1976, p. 353–379, on the peasant question p. 362–363. Makarowa 1994: *Oblicze*...23–30, 41–46. *Wiosna*...1994: 445–453.

51 Russian slavophilism has also been proposed as a source of influence on the students. See Djakow 1976: 358–360. Apart from Świerzbieński's testimony (*Wiosna*...1994:225-226) this theory is based on Krajewski's "Credo", which accepts the Russians as Slavs. The "Credo" may really indicate that Krajewski's attitude was different from Świerzbieński's. However, the slavophilism, which includes Russians in Slavdom, is not necessarily derived from Russian slavophilism, but may just as easily come from Mickiewicz.

52 Rps. Ossol. 3204/I. Sprzysiężenia...2: 1–3, 28–32, 40–42, 50–55, 80–82, 92, 102, 110e. *Urywki*...1869: 31:254–255.

Krajewski and some other students met Ściegenny, Krzeczowski and other sentenced Polish conspirators in spring 1846, when they stopped in Moscow on their way to Siberia. The students were allowed to meet the arrested conspirators, but afterwards an explanation was demanded of them. They were not punished.<sup>53</sup>

In 1846, after Majorkiewicz's departure, the organization for mutual assistance functioned on a large scale. All prosperous students paid a monthly fee commensurate with their income. The collected funds amounted to 1,000 roubles per month. Each year had its money gatherers, who forwarded the funds and a list of needy students to a faculty leader. At the top of the organization there was board, which decided how to use the funds. It seems that the organization functioned uninterrupted throughout the reign of Nicholas. Tadeusz Korzon, who began his studies in Moscow in 1855, has left an account of the organization at that time. It had exactly the same forms of activity as in 1846: the reading of illegal literature and financial aid to poor Polish students.<sup>54</sup>

All the Moscow graduates who were indicted for their participation in the conspiracy in the Kingdom in 1847–1850 stated that they had joined it only after returning home from their studies. Despite this, within the larger student organization there probably existed a more secret nucleus in Moscow. Świerzbieński's memoirs tell how the graduates leaving Moscow in 1845 held long discussions with each other and finally promised to meet again "on the battlefield".<sup>55</sup> Our anonymous memoirist has left an enigmatic passage:

...burned by fire, we demanded struggle, work...the slightest occasion was needed for this urge to become deed. That occasion was offered by Erazm, a hothead, a noble heart, and to this day my very good friend. We founded a conspiracy...but, about that, later...<sup>56</sup>

The ZBML established contact with the Moscow students. Mikołaj Dauksza, from simple townfolk (*meščanin*), whose family name reveals ethnic Lithuanian origin, was a member of the ZBML. He began his university studies in 1847. The leader of the ZBML, Franciszek Dalewski, charged Dauksza with the task of recruiting new members in Moscow. Dauksza continued his conspiratorial activities even after his return to Wilno in 1849, participating in the recruitment of a landowner and former Moscow student, Nikodem Offenberg, to the ZBML in March. The investigation did not prove that Dauksza had been active at the university, though this is rather likely. He was sentenced to serve in the army at soldier's rank without denial of privileges of social rank, which with his background made little difference. According to Apollonia Sierakowska, Franciszek Dalewski's sister, there were two other ZBML members in the university, L. Sawicki and L. Matkiewicz. They were not caught

53 Wiosna...1994: 195.

54 Urywki...1869: 31:254. Korzon Tadeusz: *Mój pamiętnik przedhistoryczny*. Kraków 1912. P. 58-62.

55 Bibl. ossol. rkps. 3204/I. *Sprzysiężenia*...2: 159.

56 Urywki...1869: 31:254.

with the rest of the society. Unfortunately, our information on the Moscow conspiracy and its relations with the wider conspiracy movement is rather superficial. Perhaps thanks to Inspector Nahimov's protection, most of its members were not caught.<sup>57</sup>

However, there was a case of careless behaviour, which led to serious consequences. In July 1847, the Moscow Police Chief, Ivan Lužin, informed Governor-General Aleksej Ščerbatov about a denunciation made by a young serf called Iroida Fedorova concerning Apolinary Belianowicz, a nobleman and free listener at the university. Belianowicz had previously studied in the Minsk Gymnasium. The description of the denunciation shows an individual attempt at propaganda, which combined egalitarian ideas with information about the situation in Poland:

...she [Fedorova] told him [Belianowicz] that her mistress was angry with her and she did not know what the mistress would do to her. He told her not to worry, and began to say that all human beings were created equal, that only Our Emperor (Gosudar) was guilty of their being serfs and dependent on the will of their masters, and that how well had things been previously in Poland before it was treacherously occupied by Our Emperor. Each time he mentioned the name of His Imperial Majesty, [Belianowicz] added curses and insulting expressions to it. In telling about the occupation of Poland, [he] expressed all the hatred of Poles for the Russians and especially for the Lord Emperor...<sup>58</sup>

According to the denunciation, Belianowicz had even talked about regicide, but the investigation did not prove this. The whole affair had a tragic personal side, since it turned out that Fedorova was in love with Belianowicz, who rejected her. The case shows Belianowicz's relation to the Russians as a rather complex one, since despite his professed hatred he mixed socially and had open-minded discussions with Russian common people. In the area of national enmity, human beings are often capable of inconsistencies, and Belianowicz was only 19 years of age. He was deported to Kostroma. After a year Belianowicz was allowed to continue his studies at the University of Kazan.<sup>59</sup>

57 RVIA f. 801, op. 64/5, sv. 10, delo 1, l. 47–48, 60, 64. Dalewski's and Offenberg's sentences in the court martial. Fajnhauz 1965: 295, 360. In 1847 Dalewski sent Maurycy Kleczkowski to the University of Kazan in a similar manner. From Kleczkowski's confiscated correspondence with Dalewski, the court martial concluded that he had been active there. Kleczkowski was arrested at the end of April 1849 and sentenced to serve in the army on soldier's rank. Bikulič V. B: Vospominanija A. Serakovskoj (Dalevskoj) i drugie materialy o Z. Serakovskom v CGIA Litovskoj SSR. In: K stoletiju gerioičeskoj bor'by "za našu i vašu svobodu". Sbornik statej i materialov o vosstanii 1863 g. Moskva 1964. P. 66.

58 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1847g., delo 213, l. 8. A copy of Lužin's report from 10th July 1847.

59 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1847g., delo 213, l. 4, 8–11, 16, 20. Correspondence between Orlov, Lužin and the Minister of the Interior Lev Perovskij. RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 196, l. 1, 3–4, 6. Correspondence between Orlov and Uvarov. Śliwowska (1961: 53–54) mentions another similar case in 1847. A student Roman Delille was deported, because he had corresponded with a person among whose papers there were found notes from forbidden books and prayers for the independence of Poland. Delille's letter included an allusion to something known to both correspondents but not openly stated.



## Students in St. Petersburg

Our sources for the University of St. Petersburg in the 1840s are of the same kind as those for Moscow. There are memoirs by Jakub Gieysztor, Tadeusz Bobrowski, Włodzimierz Spasowicz and Wilhelm Bogusławski.<sup>60</sup> Additional information is contained in the documents of the Third Section, court martials and the Permanent Investigating Commission in Warsaw.

As in other universities, the first half of the decade was a relatively passive period, although illegal literature did circulate. Little by little the student organization took shape, at first following the German model, and then adopting a more Polish patriotic character. In the end there were connections with the wider conspiratorial movement and cases of flight abroad. Russian and German students had their own organizations, and the relations with these were one question to be decided by the Polish community.

When Jakub Gieysztor came to study in 1844, there was no Polish student organization in the university, though “German Bursch customs” (*niemiecka burszeria*) adopted from Dorpat were practised. Unlike in Germany, where the “Burschenschaft” student unions played an important political role, in Moscow this meant organizing drinking feasts (*kneipe*). A “*kneipe*” was not a serious meeting, though patriotic songs, like the national anthem “Poland Is Not Yet Perished” (*Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła*), were sung and the Filomat time in Wilno remembered.<sup>61</sup>

It was possible to get acquainted with underground literature in the university. The illegal literature was kept in the Polish student library, which functioned with the permission of the Curator Mihail Musin-Puškin. Both the TDP and Czartoryski’s camp had their adherents. Gieysztor also learned about the history of the independence movement: the reform period in the 1790s and the Kościuszko insurrection, Napoleon’s Polish legions, the November Insurrection, Zaliwski’s campaign and Konarski’s conspiracy. He was especially enthusiastic about the leading thinkers of the constitutional reform movement in the 1790s, like Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, Stanisław Staszic and Jan Paweł Woronicz as well as Cyprian Godębski, a participant in Kościuszko’s insurrection and Napoleon’s Polish legions. Non-poetic works circulating among the students also included Mierosławski’s history of the 1830–31 Insurrection and works by Louis Blanc. However, there were also students

60 Bobrowski 1979. Contains a foreword by Spasowicz, which also includes memoirs describing the university. Bogusławski 1897. Dybowski B: Pamięci Józefata Ohryżki. Biblioteka Warszawska 1907, tom II, p. 209–260. Includes memoirs by Spasowicz. Gieysztor Jakub: Pamiętniki z lat 1857–1865. Poprzedzone wspomnieniami osobistemi prof. Tadeusza Korzona oraz opatrzone przedmową i przypisami. Biblioteka Pamiętników 5–6. Wilno 1913. The foreword contains excerpts from Gieysztor’s university memoirs. The original of the university memoirs is in LVIA f. 1135, op. 20, ed. hr. 54, č. 6, but it covers only the two first years of study. The latter part is lost.

61 Bogusławski 1897:83. Gieysztor: Wspomnienia...LVIA f. 1135, op. 20, ed. hr. 54, č. 6, p. 30–32, 37–44. Nowiński 1986: 47, 63–65. Nowiński claims that the Polish corporation probably ceased its activities in 1845. Such a conclusion cannot at any rate be inferred from Bogusławski’s text, to which he refers.

whose interpretation of recent history was negative, condemning the November Insurrection as imprudent. Of the Messianist poets, Gieysztor mentions only Krasieński and Słowacki. Edward Żeligowski's (*Sowa*) poem *Jordan*, which was published legally in Wilno was quite popular. It emphasized the need for self-education.<sup>62</sup>

As in Moscow, the Polish student community supervised the morals of its members with the tacit consent of the official inspectors. Indeed, the community had the power to expel a student from the university. On one occasion, a Polish student was found guilty of some dishonourable transgression. Delegates from each annual course were elected. They went to the rector and demanded the dismissal of the culprit. The rector consented. There was another case, when about 50 Poles were gathered in a flat to consider a transgression by a student. Musin-Puškin got to know about the meeting, but only gave the students a verbal admonition. In fact, the university lived according to unwritten rules that deviated quite essentially from the official ones approved by Uvarov.<sup>63</sup>

It was a widespread custom among students to resolve disputes in duels. In the academic year of 1845–1846 the Polish student community decided that Poles should not engage in duels with each other. All cases should be decided either by a general meeting or elected deputies. At the same time, it was decided that duels with Russians and Germans must be fought with pistols, not swords. The latter decision was motivated by a desire to prevent any insulting behaviour towards Poles by other nationalities.<sup>64</sup>

Russian students were also influenced by Dorpatian customs and had their own organizations, which arranged *kneipe* parties and supervised their members' morals. According to Gieysztor, there were two Russian organizations, one aristocratic and another "democratic". He mentions Pavel Filippov as one of the leaders of the democrats. Gieysztor's account is consistent with the information of the Third Section that was sent to Uvarov in 1845. When Filippov was arrested later in connection with the Petraševskij case, the authorities found writings in his diary about the student organization.<sup>65</sup>

Filippov had Polish friends, of whom Gieysztor mentions with scorn that they belonged to the category of "our dreamers". For a conservative opposed to conspiracies as Gieysztor was, this might mean a democratic political orientation and a positive attitude to conspiratorial activities. Later, as one of the "Petraševcy", Filippov wrote a document, "The Ten Commandments", in which Christianity was interpreted in a revolutionary manner. "Paroles d' un croyant"

62 Bobrowski 1979: 1:383. Gieysztor: *Wspomnienia...*LVIA f. 1135, op. 20, ed. hr. 54, č. 6, p. 32–35, 61, 67. Żeligowski had studied in Dorpat and known Hildebrandt there.

63 Gieysztor: *Wspomnienia...*LVIA f. 1135, op. 20, ed. hr. 54, č. 6, p. 45–46, 70–75.

64 *Ibid.* p. 81.

65 [I. B.-v, pseudonym, real name I. D. Belov:] *Universitet i korporacija. Istoričeskij Vestnik* 4/1880. P. 778–783, 785–789, 791–792. [E-z, real name A. A. Čumikov:] *Studenčeskija korporacii v Peterburgskom universitete v 1830–1840gg. (Iz vospominanij byvsago studenta)*. *Russkaja Starina* 2/1881. P. 368–377. Gieysztor: *Wspomnienia...*LVIA f. 1135, op. 20, ed. hr. 54, č. 6, p. 20–21, 69–70. The Russian memoirists do not mention two separate Russian corporations, but Čumikov mentions that the aristocrats left the corporation in 1837. On Filippov's diary, Egorov 1988: 40–41.

by Lamennais was translated in the circle to which Filippov belonged. It may well be that Filippov's ideas were not far from the revolutionary Christianity of Polish Messianism.<sup>66</sup>

The Russians were naturally worried by the Polish decision to duel with pistols. They proposed a joint meeting in which a general procedure would be agreed upon for settling disputes. The Poles consented. Gieysztor mentions only the names of aristocratic Russians as participants in the meeting. Some of them proposed to the Poles that they simply adopt the rules of behaviour already accepted by the Russian body. The representative of the Kingdom, *Ćwiercia-kiewicz*, was ready to accept this Russian proposal, but Poles from historical Lithuania opposed it. One of the Russians, Golubcov, stated that the matter was already settled, since Poles from the Western Provinces, which belonged to the Empire, could not be considered a contracting party. The other Russians realized that this statement was provocative and told Golubcov to keep quiet. A commission consisting of three Russians and one Pole was elected to draft joint rules of behaviour. Unfortunately, Gieysztor does not mention the results of these negotiations. The Soviet historian, Trifon Snytko, refers to the information of the Third Section, according to which there existed a joint student court consisting of three Russians, three Poles and three Germans.<sup>67</sup>

The same academic year was a turning point in the activities of the Polish student community. The news about the peasant uprising and the massacre in Galicia forced students to pay more attention to politics. In the same year, Zygmunt Sierakowski began his studies in the university. Sierakowski was from landless Podolian nobility. He incited the students to engage in patriotic activities. The atmosphere in his circle was mystical in the spirit of Mickiewicz. Bobrowski, who was not sympathetic with any radical ideas, has left the following account:

Sierakowski loudly claimed...that a science practiced without certain social and political ideals is not a science at all, and the science delivered from university chairs was exactly of that kind. So he took no interest in it...and also misled others. [He] Gathered youth "meetings", read and commented on Mickiewicz and Krasieński, again without having studied them, but based on inspiration.<sup>68</sup>

Włodzimierz Spasowicz, the son of an Orthodox civil servant from Minsk, has left us a more favourable account of the new movement:

...our first obligation was to lead a moral life, the second was work for the liberation and enlightenment of the common people (*lud*). What we most

66 "The Ten Commandments" are published in *Delo petraševcev*. 1–3. Moskva-Leningrad 1937–1951. 3: 446–450. Egorov 1988: 96, 128.

67 Gieysztor: *Wspomnienia*...LVIA f. 1135, op. 20, ed. hr. 54, č. 6, p. 89, 93–94. Snytko 1960: 186.

68 Bobrowski 1979: 409–410. On Sierakowski in general, see Marciniak Zbigniew: *Zygmunt Sierakowski. Bojownik o sprawiedliwość społeczną i wyzwolenie narodowe*. Warszawa 1956. About the time in the university p. 19–38. Contains unsubstantiated statements about Sierakowski's revolutionary co-operation with Russian students.

wanted to do was to unite all regardless of political convictions under the elevated ideal (*hasło*) of brotherhood between nations. We thought that when there is a reawakening of the intelligentsia in one spirit...under the influence of the young generation, it will make further work easier.<sup>69</sup>

According to Spasowicz, the ideological mentors were the great romantic poets, above all Krasiński. This means that national liberation was considered at least as important as uniting the nations. As for Sierakowski's attitude towards the Russians during his studies, his own testimony about it has survived in a letter to Spasowicz, written in 1852: "You know that at the university I was always against relations with our eastern brothers. Today...I am of the opinion that it is necessary to unite with them".<sup>70</sup> Whoever the "dreamers" who mixed socially with Russians were, Sierakowski was not one of them. He began to support Polish-Russian revolutionary co-operation only after his studies.

The German procedures in the meetings were abandoned. At Christmas 1846, a general meeting of all Polish St. Petersburg students studying in different institutions was arranged. The atmosphere in the meeting was religious. The participants wanted to put "Our Saviour's commandments" into practice. It was decided that the peasant question should be studied theoretically in order to influence the landowners in Polish lands. Some participants were dissatisfied with the decision, demanding more immediate and independent action. According to Gieysztor, the students were divided into two groups: Sierakowski led a group that was prepared to take action, whereas Gieysztor himself led a circle that preferred self-education. Study circles began to meet once every week or two. The studies concerned the peasant question, history, law, economics and literature. At least Żeligowski's "Jordan", Krasiński's "The Undivine Comedy" and Trentowski's philosophy were discussed. The largest meeting was at Easter 1847, when 200 students participated. There was a speech entitled "Christus resurrexit", which, according to Bogusławski aroused "senseless dreams".<sup>71</sup>

Such an atmosphere was favourable to conspiratorial activities. Indeed, in 1846 Sierakowski made the acquaintance of Franciszek Dalewski, the leader of the ZBML. He also corresponded in 1848 with Hipolit Skimborowicz, the editor of "Scientific Review", who was soon sentenced to prison because of his participation in a conspiracy in the Kingdom led by Henryk Krajewski. It is quite likely that Sierakowski also knew about that organization.<sup>72</sup>

69 Dybowski 1907: II 231. Memoirs by Spasowicz, whose background is described by Dybowski on p. 229. Spasowicz's family were former Uniats. Nowiński 1986: 89–90 also refers to Spasowicz's memoirs. On Sierakowski's activity at the university, see *ibid.* p. 89–98 and Słiwowska 1961: 49–52.

70 Sierakowski Zygmunt: *Listy Zygmunta Sierakowskiego do Włodzimierza Spasowicza*. *Przegląd Historyczny* 1/1967, p. 116. Also quoted by Kieniewicz Stefan: *Powstanie styczniowe*. Warszawa 1983, P. 44.

71 Bogusławski 1897: 83–85. Gieysztor 1913: 17–18. Nowiński 1986: 89–90.

72 Bikulič 1964: 65. The article is based on the manuscript memoirs of Apollonia Sierakowska, Dalewski's sister and Sierakowski's wife. Fajnhauz Dawid: *Nieznane listy Zygmunta Sierakowskiego*. *Przegląd Historyczny* 4/1961, p. 751–758. The letters do not, however, contain anything overtly political.

The index of the Permanent Investigating Commission in Warsaw contains sketchy but interesting information about Polish students in St. Petersburg in the latter part of the 1840s. It mentions 20 students, who

while at the University of St. Petersburg, celebrated the 17th/29th November, which is the day of rebellion in the Kingdom of Poland, sang patriotic songs, engaged themselves in political discussions, discussed about the means for the reestablishment of Poland's independence and expressed the hope that this would be realised by means of a rebellion like that which occurred in 1830.<sup>73</sup>

By five persons (Sierakowski, Bolesław Swida, Włodzimierz Spasowicz, Wacław Przybylski and Wierzleicki), it is stated separately that

they established in St. Petersburg patriotic gatherings on Thursdays and were the main teachers and interpreters of liberty, patriotism, democracy and communism, in order to prepare their colleagues, after they left the university, to be ready to spread democratic ideas in the whole of Poland. Apart from that, they planned to write articles in that same spirit after they left the university and forward them to Przybylski to Wilno, where periodical publications of that orientation would be published.<sup>74</sup>

The index mentions eight other participants in the meetings with a more or less serious grade of guilt. Among them there is one called Afanas'ev, perhaps a Russian student. The documents containing more information on this case have been destroyed. It is not possible to find out the details or on what and how reliable sources the information was based. The "Communism" mentioned here is merely an example of the vocabulary, in which the Russian political police used to express itself. The index indicates that the information was received in 1852. No punishment is mentioned. If correct, the information indicates that the students did not expect an imminent insurrection, but planned a long preparatory period. The gatherings must have occurred at the latest in March 1848, since Sierakowski left St. Petersburg at that time. The idea of action only after graduation suggests that the meetings were held before the February Revolution in Paris.<sup>75</sup>

In addition to Sierakowski, a ZBML activist, Michał Bokij, incited students to get involved in direct action. An "*odnodovorec*" peasant and former nobleman from Minsk Province, Bokij, came to St. Petersburg to study in the Medical Academy in autumn 1847. Bokij greatly admired Konarski. When he arrived in

73 AGAD, Stała Komisja Wojenno-Śledcza, indeks Nos 3259–3278. This information was first published by V. A. D'jakov: *Zametki o nekotoryh istočnikah dlja biografii Z. Serakovskogo*. In: *K stoletiju...*1964: 35–38.

74 AGAD, Stała Komisja Wojenno-Śledcza, indeks Nos 3279–3283.

75 AGAD, Stała Komisja Wojenno-Śledcza, indeks Nos 3284–3291. GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., op. 23, 1848g., ed. hr. 190, l. 1. Bibikov to Orlov 25th April 1848, concerning the arrest of Sierakowski. The documents of the Permanent Commission represent one stage further in the investigation of political crimes than the notoriously unreliable spy reports of the Third Section. When a case reached the Commission, it was already considered worth investigating.

St. Petersburg, he was not yet a member of the ZBML, though he was aware of the existence of some conspiracy in Lithuania. Bokij managed to recruit a group of students in the academy and university.<sup>76</sup>

Then came the Springtime of Nations in 1848. After the first news of the revolution in Paris reached St. Petersburg, Sierakowski urged his colleagues to give up their studies and return to their homes, where the insurrection would soon begin. Information about such plans reached the Third Section in the beginning of April. The Curator, Musin-Puškin, was asked about the matter, and he answered that all Polish students were present at the university and the information of the Third Section was not valid. However, after this correspondence Polish students were forbidden to travel home.<sup>77</sup>

By that time Sierakowski had already departed. He tried to cross the border into Austria, but was arrested in Počaev in Podolia on 21 April. He had a loaded pistol and sword with him. Sierakowski firmly denied his guilt. He had beforehand invented some quite credible explanations, but they did not help. By imperial decision without trial, he was sentenced as a soldier in the troops in Orenburg without denial of privileges of social rank. This was a severe punishment, since he could not prove his nobility. At the time of his arrest, Sierakowski was 22 years of age. However, he survived and later commanded the January Insurrection of 1863 in Lithuania.<sup>78</sup>

On 6 May, the university authorities noticed the disappearance of a scholarship-holder from the Kingdom of Poland, Władysław Koskowski, the 18-year-old son of a noble civil servant. Actually there were three fugitives. Koskowski had departed on 18 April with two free listeners of the university, Konstanty and Władysław Świętosławski. They escaped to Prussia, where they wanted to join Mierosławski's Polish troops. Koskowski crossed the border on 23 April near Augustów in the Kingdom. He returned voluntarily to the Kingdom of Poland in 1850 and wrote an extensive confession. Among his university friends he mentioned Sierakowski, Spasowicz and Janczewski. The last two also figure in the index of the Permanent Commission. Koskowski also mentioned the names of Ciechanowski and Zdziarski, to whom we shall soon return. With reference to his escape, Koskowski claimed that he had not participated in the Poznań Insurrection, since the Prussian authorities had already begun preventing refugees from entering the area. He had reached the

76 RVIA f. 801, op. 64/5, sv. 10, delo 1, l. 60–63. Bokij's sentence in the court martial. Fajnhauz 1965: 287–288, 298–299.

77 Gieysztor 1913: 22–23. Bobrowski 1979: 1:410–411. Dybowski 1907:II 231–232. The plan to depart from St. Petersburg was also mentioned by Bokij during the investigation. Fajnhauz 1965: 298. Nowiński 1986: 101. On correspondence between Musin-Puškin and the Third Section, see Nifontov A. S: *Rossija v 1848 godu*. Moskva 1949. P. 238.

78 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., op. 23, 1848g., delo 190, l. 1–5. Bibikov to Orlov 25th April 1848, including a copy of a denunciation by Naftul Kryštan, a Jew whom Sierakowski had asked to take him over the border. L. 12–19. Records of the investigation. L. 23–26. A copy of Orlov's submission and Nicholas' decision 11th May 1848. Nowiński 1986: 101–102. Sierakowski served to officer rank, returned to St. Petersburg in the 1850s, graduated from the General Staff Academy and made friends with many high-ranking Russian politicians. He departed to command the 1863 insurrection in Lithuania, was caught and executed in 1864.

region of Poznań only after the war had begun and decided to surrender to the authorities, who deported him to France after two months in detention. In Paris, he had studied for two months in a military school established by Czartoryski, until it was closed down by the French authorities. In the end he had run out of money and decided to return to Russian Poland. After parting from the Świątosławski brothers near the border, Koskowski never met them again. He had heard that they had been in Paris before him and had departed for Italy in order to join the Polish legions there. Contrary to his own version of events, the Polish Biographical Dictionary claims that Koskowski actually participated in the Poznań Insurrection. Certainly, it would not have been sensible to reveal this to the authorities. He was sentenced to serve as a soldier in the Orenburg troops without denial of privileges of social rank. He was pardoned in 1856. Koskowski was for a short time a member of the National Central Committee on the eve of the insurrection in summer 1862.<sup>79</sup>

The documents of the St. Petersburg School District contain additional information about escapes. Before the ban, travel permission was given to 15 students, 12 of whom came from former Polish territory. One was Sierakowski. Four other Poles did not return after Easter: Jabłoński, Brzozowski, Strygocki and Wykowski. In addition to Koskowski, two other students, Ciechanowski and Ciepiński by name, left St. Petersburg without permission after unsuccessfully applying to have their status changed from that of student to free listener. They, as those who did not return from their authorized vacations, were expelled from the university. Of the six expelled students, three were from Mohylew and three from Witebsk provinces. In all, 10 Polish students and listeners broke the rules and left St. Petersburg for their homes or abroad during the spring of 1848. This number does not include those who managed to depart lawfully by giving up their studies altogether. Of the latter, Fajnhauz mentions Henryk Busz, Feliks Korsak and Apolinary Priwapowicz, who departed from the city after being recruited by Bokij. Sierakowski's and Bokij's agitation had been effective.<sup>80</sup>

The escapes from St. Petersburg were a small part of a greater movement. According to Anna Minkowska, between 1848 and 1849 no less than 3,975 persons escaped abroad from the Kingdom of Poland. The escapes were partly motivated by the urge to take part in a revolution in Prussian and Austrian Poland, and partly by the desire to avoid military service in the Russian army.<sup>81</sup>

On 4 June, three students, Bonifacy Krupski, Józef Walicki and Władysław Polubiński were arrested on the basis of information that they possessed illegal literature and had discussed a possible insurrection. The police indeed found 36 books, most of them printed abroad. Of these, six were absolutely forbidden and

79 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., op. 23, 1848 g., ed. hr. 207, l. 1. Curator Musin-Puшкиn to Dubelt at 15th May 1848, L. 115–137. Koskowski's testimony, L. 138–142. Orlov's submission and Nicholas' decision 6th May 1851. AGAD, Stała Komisja Wojenna Śledcza, Nos 3281, 3284. Kieniewicz 1983: 242–243, 245, 264, 270. Nowiński 1986: 102 mentions the case briefly. PSB XIV 232–233.

80 GASP f. 139, op. 1, delo 5138, l. 1–5, 16–20, 27–36, 39–40, 45–53. Correspondence of Curator Musin-Puшкиn. Fajnhauz 1965: 299.

81 Minkowska 1923: 39.

two partly, while 11 were unknown to the censors. The confiscated books give valuable information about the circulation of ideas among St. Petersburg students. It is worth describing them in some detail, since the titles of the books have not previously been published or their contents analyzed.<sup>82</sup>

The arrested were familiar with Polish Messianism as well as with French liberal and socialist thought. The forbidden books included “Histoire de dix ans” by Louis Blanc, “La Pologne” by Karol Forster (an émigré and supporter of Czartoryski), Edgar Quinet’s “L’ ultramontanisme ou l’ Église et la société moderne”, Mickiewicz’s “L’ Église Officielle et le Messianisme” and “L’ Église et le Messie” (excerpts from Paris lectures), Krasinski’s “The Undivine Comedy”, and “Poetry” (Poezja) by Edmund Wasilewski, a patriotic and revolutionary writer and a former active member of the SLP. The publications permitted except for some forbidden passages were a Poznań periodical “Przyjaciel Ludu” (The People’s Friend) and “Des Jesuits” by Michelet and Quinet. There was also “Le peuple” by Michelet. His and Quinet’s works were strongly anti-clerical and anti-Catholic, but not anti-Christian. Above all, they criticized the Roman Catholic Church for its reactionary role in society and envisaged a new, democratically oriented Christianity. The views of these liberal professors from the Collège de France could easily be united with the heterodox theology of Polish Messianism.

Some of the works unknown to the Russian censors showed that the arrested were interested in Slavs and the Slavonic idea. These included Cyprian Robert’s most anti-Russian “Les deux Panslavismes. Situation actuelle des peuples Slaves vis-a-vis de la Russie” and “On the Present State of Czech Literature” by a certain Muszkowski. In addition, a prayer for the independence of Poland, a map showing its partitions and a page from a Lwów newspaper from 2 April 1848 were found. The newspaper contained news about a delegation sent from Cracow to Vienna to demand the repeal of the partitions and the establishment of an autonomous Polish state under Austrian protection. A revolutionary and patriotic speech held at Cracow Railway Station by someone called Lissowski was reproduced: “Long live Poland from the Baltic to the Dnieper”.<sup>83</sup>

All three students were from the land-owning nobility. Krupski and Walicki came from the Province of Minsk, Polubiński from the Province of Grodno. Krupski studied natural sciences, and the other two law. Krupski is also mentioned in the information of the Permanent Commission as one of the participants in patriotic student meetings. During the investigation, they denied everything they could in lengthy rebuttals. Krupski’s testimony contains some interesting points. He openly stated his opinion that Poland was “on a higher level of enlightenment” (*na vyšej stepeni obrazovanija*) than Russia. Russia should not try to unite nations by fear but by love. He also said that, if the Polish

82 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., op. 23, ed. hr. 247, l. 1–2, 5, 9, 14–17, 25–26. Information on denunciation, order of arrest and correspondence between Orlov and Uvarov. The list of books is on l. 16–17. Nowiński 1986: 98–100. Śliwowska: 1961: 52–53. Śliwowska 1964: 74–76.

83 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., op. 23, ed. hr. 247, l. 18–20. Description of confiscated papers.



nation oppressed any other nation, “for instance Little Russia”, he would wish for the total disappearance of the former. As it was made under interrogation, this statement cannot be taken at its face value, but it shows that Krupski was aware of the Ukrainian question.<sup>84</sup>

The government decided to be lenient. Orlov explained to Nicholas his conviction that the students had not had any “plans” (*zamyslov*). He also pointed out that the denunciation was made by a Jew, which meant that it was not reliable. Nicholas agreed to Orlov’s proposal that the three students should be held under arrest for two weeks in the university. Uvarov wrote to Orlov and thanked him: “*De semblables actes de clémence font un effet divers et donnent de la force au gouvernement*”.<sup>85</sup>

The last political case in the university was uncovered in 1849 in connection with the destruction of the ZBML. Bokij had departed from St. Petersburg in autumn 1848 and joined the ZBML in March 1849. At that time he wrote to Stanisław Zdziarski, a student in St. Petersburg, inviting him to Minsk to participate in an imminent insurrection. This was not empty talk, since at that time the ZBML indeed planned an uprising, the beginning of which was set for 4 April. Bokij’s task in the insurrection plans was to lead an attack on Bobrujsk Fortress. Despite the impossibility of the task, he certainly made considerable efforts to carry it out. However, a week before the set date Dalewski cancelled the plan. Arrests of members of the ZBML began at the end of March. Bokij was arrested in the middle of April and began to talk at the end of the summer. He informed on his St. Petersburg friends Busz, Zdziarski, Korsak, Prywapowicz, Norbert Sawicz, Ivan Ašurhov, Fiodorowicz, Kijakowski and Cyprian Kogan. Of these, Prywapowicz and Sawicz were at the Medical Academy. All the students mentioned were arrested. Sawicz and Zdziarski were found guilty of actually having intended to participate in the insurrection. They were sentenced to serve in the army as soldiers. Bokij was sentenced to “run the gauntlet” of 500 soldiers three times and to 15 years of hard labour in Siberia. His sentence was due more to his activities in Belorussia than those in St. Petersburg. However, all the other students were released. It seems that the authorities did not find participation in subversive political discussions very incriminating.<sup>86</sup>

The reverberations of the Springtime of Nations reached the Polish student community in St. Petersburg. The students were well aware of the ideas circulating among the émigrés and of the actual revolutionary upheavals. In the

84 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1848g., ed. hr. 247, l. 22. Curator Musin-Puškin to Orlov 6th June 1848. Ibid. l. 27, 37–39, 41, 51. Testimonies by students. AGAD, Stała Komisja Wojskowo-Słedcza, indeks No 3288.

85 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., op. 23, ed. hr. 247, l. 71–80, 84. Orlov’s submission and Nicholas decision on 12th June 1848. Orlov to Uvarov 15th June 1848. Nowiński 1986: 100 writes erroneously that the students were found not guilty and that the two weeks arrest was a decision by the university court. There were no university courts at that time in Russia.

86 RVIA f. 801, op. 64/5, sv. 10, delo 1, l. 60–63, 120–121. Bokij’s sentence in court martial and the final sentence by Paskevič. Fajnhauz 1965: 299–300, 309–313, 316–318, 320, 323, 357–375. Fajnhauz does not say whether Sawicz and Zdziarski were denied estate rights or not. RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 233, l. 3. Information of the Ministry about Sawicz. He was a 20-year-old Roman Catholic nobleman from the Province of Mohylew.

university there was a conspiracy, which was in contact with the ZBML, and which probably was never uncovered in its entirety. The ideological atmosphere in St. Petersburg differed from that in Moscow. German and Polish idealist philosophy was not as popular as the traditional Messianism of the great romantic poets. The strongest foreign influence was that of French political thought. Both French liberalism and socialism were familiar to the students. The latter may have reached the Poles partly through their contacts with Filippov and other Russian radical students, but the influence may just as easily have worked in the opposite direction, with Poles transmitting ideas to Russians.

## The University of Dorpat

Polonia continued its existence until the 1840s. This period of its activity was marked by national conflicts with the German students. Relations with the Germans varied from cordial to hostile. In 1841 an all-university student court was established, and Polonia's representatives participated in it. As time passed after the arrest of Hildebrandt's group, the Poles again became dissatisfied with their weak position in the all-university student union. In 1843 Polonia demanded full equality with the German organizations and representation in the Chargiertenkonvent. The Poles argued that up to 1834 their organization had been equal with the German regional organizations. This had changed at the same time as the regional organizations had been banned. What Polonia now demanded was only a return to the previous situation: "*Nicht Gnade, nur Gerechtigkeit fordert die Korporation 'Polonia'*". The 'Poles also claimed that it was unfair that they had to obey the rules without having participated in deciding about them.<sup>87</sup>

Of the German organizations, Curonia was ready to admit Polonia to the Chargiertenkonvent, but with a stipulation that its representatives should not countersign its decisions. Livonia, Estonia and Fraternitas Rigensis were absolutely against Polish representation. The Germans denied Polonia's historical rights, arguing that the Chargiertenkonvent had been established only at the end of 1834 and any previous arrangements could have no bearing on it. As a result, Polonia announced that it no longer recognised the Chargiertenkonvent and its rules. This meant that the Poles abstained from seeking protection from the student court, preferring to defend their honour themselves. At the same time Polonia was officially disbanded, probably in fear of reprisals. Its documents and corporate symbols, were handed over for safe-keeping to Curonia. The symbols were displayed publicly only at the funerals of Polish students.<sup>88</sup>

87 Gernet 1893: 126–128, 139–140. Manteuffel 1911: 86–87, 99, 102. On an all-university student union at this time, see von Gernet 1902: 67–69.

88 von Gernet 1893: 126–128. Manteuffel 1911: 87–89.

As a result of Polonia's decision, Estonia and Livonia ostracized the Poles (*Verruf*). Duels were fought, and in the course of the 1840s they led to the death of five Polish and seven German participants. This high number of victims was due to the decision by the Poles that they would only fight with pistols. The plethora of duels in Dorpat attracted the attention of the authorities. In 1838 it was decreed that all participants and seconds at duels were to be tried before a court martial. This measure was repeated in Uvarov's circular in September 1846. Actually, the Polish organization continued its existence under the name of "The Society of Natural Science". It had its own meeting place, where the library was also located. From time to time, when repression was feared, the library was handed over to some friendly professor. The organization changed its name to "*Ogół*" (General Assembly) after 1848.<sup>89</sup>

In the second half of the 1840s, the organizational principles of the all-university student union were criticized by the Germans themselves. In 1847, the *Chargiertenkonvent* was replaced by the Convent of Representatives (*Repräsentantenkonvent*), to which any group of 20 students could send their representative. The only exception was the Poles, who were not granted representation. At the same time, it was agreed that one could refuse to participate in a duel if it was against one's conscience. However, it soon turned out that only the regional organizations functioned on a continuous basis, and the *Chargiertenkonvent* was re-established in 1850.<sup>90</sup>

The solution to the "Polish question" was found in 1851. Poles were granted all the rights of normal members of the all-university student union except for representation in the *Chargiertenkonvent*. According to the Baltic German historian, Axel von Gernet, the Poles themselves this time refused representation. By agreement, they were not obliged to obey the rules decreed by the *Chargiertenkonvent*. The position of Polish students was equal to that of those Germans who had already graduated.<sup>91</sup> However, even after the agreement, the relations between Germans and Poles were strained. Benedikt Dybowski, who came to Dorpat in 1852, described the relations in this way:

Relations between Poles and Germans were always hostile. Germans considered Poles unnecessary intruders, who should be got rid of. The Poles never questioned the German nature of the university...Despite this, the Germans were anxious about the places occupied by Poles in the lecture halls and workrooms. "This is a German university exclusively for Germans,...we are the lords here." That attitude one felt everywhere and at every step...<sup>92</sup>

89 SR II 913. Manteuffel 1911: 88–90, 98, 105. Minkiewicz 1978: 213. Literally, „ogół“ means „total“.

90 von Gernet 1893: 149–154, 157–160. von Gernet 1902: 69–70. Manteuffel 1911: 98–101. Minkiewicz 1978: 213–214.

91 von Gernet 1893: 177–178. von Gernet 1902: 82–83. Manteuffel 1911: 103–104. The Russian student union "Ruthenia" was granted full equality and representation in the *Chargiertenkonvent*.

92 Dybowski Benedikt: *Przed pół wiekiem. Wspomnienia z czasów uniwersyteckich*. Biblioteka Warszawska, tom II/1911. P. 242.

Ignacy Baranowski, who came to study in Dorpat in 1851, found there an organized Polish student union, which had a good library and aided its poor members financially. Everyone who could was obliged to pay a membership fee, the size of which depended on the person's income. The richest paid up to hundreds of roubles per month. Baranowski describes the activities as stable and established before his arrival in Dorpat.<sup>93</sup>

As in St. Petersburg, also in Dorpat there was an incident in which the Polish student community asked and received help from the university authorities in fulfilling its disciplinary functions. A Polish student had forged a promissory note for few thousand roubles. The rector expelled the culprit at the Polish student union's request. The debt was paid voluntarily and collectively by all Polish students in the course of a few years.<sup>94</sup>

In Baranowski's time the library contained all the most important works of permitted and banned Polish poetry, historiography and political thought. There were works by Mickiewicz, Słowacki, Krasiński, Żeligowski, Antoni Odyniec, a politically moderate imitator of Mickiewicz publishing lawfully in Lithuania, Teofil Lenartowicz, a patriotic poet inspired by peasant culture in the Kingdom of Poland, and finally, Józef Bohdan Zaleski, who wrote about the Cossack Ukraine in an idyllic way. Views on Polish history were also offered by Lelewel, Mochnacki and Mierosławski. Trentowski's work on national education, "Chowanna", was available, as was Libelt's Poznań periodical "Rok" and émigré periodicals. The literature was read quite openly and publicly without fear of undesirable consequences. It was ordered from a St. Petersburg bookseller.<sup>95</sup>

The readings did not lead to immediate action. Baranowski even claims that there were no political "parties".

We believed that Poland would exist, believed with that faith that was planted in the national soul by Mickiewicz, Krasiński, Słowacki, [we believed] that the state would be reborn, that it would lead a civilising campaign of nations, or, if it would not lead them, it would be among them. We were sure about that. Although we were familiar with émigré publications, we did not dispute about whether Poland should be a republic or a constitutional monarchy;...<sup>96</sup>

The absence of a definite political orientation did not mean that there was no interest in political theory. Apart from Polish books, the students read Louis Blanc and Gervinus. Different world-views found supporters. There were traditional Roman Catholics, but also materialists, who favoured Ludwik

. . . . .  
93 Baranowski Ignacy: *Pamiętniki*. Poznań 1923. P. 81–87.

94 Baranowski 1923: 85.

95 Baranowski 1923: 82–83. Kielak 1993: 127, tells an interesting story of how students in 1849 demonstratively burned a play by Odyniec: "Felicita or the Carthagian Martyrs". The conservative Christian play contained a condemnation of the use of violence even for good purposes.

96 Baranowski 1923: 86.

Büchner's and Moleschotte's crude materialism. The same thinkers were popular among German students.<sup>97</sup>

The question of a Polish national identity was relevant in Dorpat, since the student community consisted of youth from all parts of the former Poland-Lithuania and included many non-Catholics: Orthodox, Protestants and Jews. Lutheran and Reformed theology students from the Kingdom participated actively in the Polish student union. According to Baranowski, the youth from the Kingdom readily accepted Protestants as Poles, whereas those from Lithuania doubted their Polish identity. The attitude towards Protestants was not the only thing that distinguished the Lithuanians from students from the Kingdom. Many Lithuanians came from the landed nobility, whereas among students from the Kingdom there were few who belonged to that class. There were disputes about the "feudalism" of Lithuanians. "Feudalism" may here refer either to conservative ideas or to a strong regional identity based on the traditions of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy. Lithuanians repeatedly accused the "Crown" of not having taken the struggle to Lithuania in 1831 actively enough.<sup>98</sup> Furthermore, language was a separating factor between the two groups. The Polish dialect of Lithuania differed from that of the Kingdom. If either side tried to correct the other's language, this could be taken as the greatest offence. It was the same as doubting that the other really was a proper Pole! A dispute over grammar could lead to a duel. Benedikt Dybowski, who was from Minsk, relates the following incident with Jakób Natanson, a Jew from the Kingdom:

In our very first discussion, Natanson made a cutting remark that my accent and dialect were pure Lithuanian; I was grievously insulted by that remark and answered brusquely that, indeed, I was Lithuanian and not from the Crown (*koroniarz*)...Natanson behaved indelicately, in a way blaming me for not speaking with a Warsaw accent. If he knew how much work was needed in Minsk to get rid off the most significant and worst errors of the Lithuanian dialect...unfortunately, this caused a cooling of relations between us, which, as I later learned, existed in Dorpat between all those from the Crown and Lithuanians.<sup>99</sup>

A Jew could be accepted as a Pole by Dorpatian students. When the same Natanson was involved in an accident and almost died, the Poles took care of him during his recuperation, which lasted for some months.<sup>100</sup> Dybowski distinguished between Jews from the Kingdom and Jews from Lithuania. The former joined the Polish student union, whereas Lithuanian Jews preferred a "wild" (*wilder*) status, which meant that they did not belong to the union, but enjoyed its protection in case of quarrels with the Germans. The Kingdom's Jews were "educated, cultured (*kulturalny*), the Lithuanian Jews backward and absolutely uncultured (*niekulturalny*)." To show the "unculturedness" of Lithuanian Jews, Dybowski relates a following episode:

. . . . .  
97 Baranowski 1923: 86. von Gernet 1893: 197, 200.

98 Baranowski: 83–84.

99 Dybowski 1911: 51. On the grammar dispute, Baranowski 1923: 84.

100 Baranowski 1923: 85.

One Nurok, for instance, when a professor asked him who he was, answered “*Nurok aus Kowna*”. When the professor explained that he wanted to know if Nurok was a Pole, the latter was amazed and said: “*kein Pole Nurok aus Kowna*”.<sup>101</sup>

Dybowski considered the absence of Polish, or perhaps any, national identity as a sign of a lack of culture and found Nurok’s perfectly informative answer a proof of backwardness.

Once, in a meeting of the student union, Natanson led the opposition, which demanded an abstention from duels. He said that the students were uselessly shedding their blood, which should be saved for higher purposes. One of the listeners commented: “Yes, for Maca bread at Easter”. This was an allusion to an anti-Semitist legend, according to which Jews used the blood of Christian children for ritual purposes. Natanson made no answer. It was decided to continue the duels. The incident shows that the position of Jews in the Dorpatian Polish community was precarious. They could be influential, but this did not spare them from encountering the most primitive anti-Semitism.<sup>102</sup>

There were two attempts at flight abroad from Dorpat, both in 1849. One failed, the other succeeded. On 5 July 1849, Edward Scholtz was arrested near the border in Podolia. He was a theology student and son of a Lutheran pastor from the Kingdom. He attempted the escape together with two landowners from Witebsk Province. All three admitted intending to cross the border. Scholtz was tried before a court martial in Witebsk, but the documents available do not contain information about his sentence. In the beginning of October, the authorities intercepted a letter from Józef Rósteyko, a Dorpatian student, in London to his family in Wilno, informing them of his escape. Rósteyko was 20 years of age, from the landless nobility of Kowno Province. His motives for fleeing and his later fate are unknown.<sup>103</sup>

According to Franciszek Dalewski’s sister, Apollonia Sierakowska, the ZBML was also represented in the Dorpatian Polish community. She mentions in her memoirs three students Antoniewicz, Łopaciński and Mitarnowski as well as Bronisław Zaleski, a former student and member of Hildebrandt’s group, as the local agents of the society. None of them was caught by the authorities. However, the reliability of Sierakowska’s memoirs as recounted by the Soviet historian, V. P. Bikulič, is cast in doubt by the fact that Zaleski was actually arrested in June 1846 and sentenced to serve in the army as a soldier.

101 Dybowski 1911: 66.

102 Dybowski 1911: 252. Unlike that of Jews and Protestants, the identity of Orthodox inhabitants of the Western Provinces does not seem to have awoken strong emotions. Baranowski (1923: 86) mentions one “chłopoman”, that is enthusiast of Rusin peasant culture. He was a lonely precursor of a future movement.

103 For Scholtz, CDIAU f. 442, op. 799, 1849g., ed. hr. 214, l. 3–6. The Military and Civilian Governor of Kamieniec-Podolsk to Bibikov 10th July 1849. RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 236, l. 1. Orlov to Uvarov 5th September 1849. For Rósteyko, GARF f. 109, 1-ja eksp., 1849g., ed. hr. 357, l. 1–2, 5–8, 13. Orlov’s correspondence with the Governor-General of Wilno and the Curator of the Dorpatian School District.

Consequently, he simply could not have participated in the activities of the ZBML.<sup>104</sup>

## Summary of student activism (1841–1854)

Polish student activism in the 1840s and early 1850s was remarkably similar at each university. Everywhere the students studied Polish political thought, literature and history. The ideas and readings that circulated among the students were pretty much the same as in the 1830s: Mickiewicz, Słowacki, historiography covering Poland's struggle for independence since the second half of the 18th century up to the November Insurrection. The mythical view of pre-partition Poland as an idyllic state offering freedom for all its inhabitants was still alive. Of the romantic poets, Krasiński only now became popular, but his popularity equalled that of Mickiewicz. The new elements in the students' world-view were the Polish idealist philosophers and an interest in the Slavonic idea. Cieszkowski, Trentowski and Libelt had adherents especially in the University of Moscow. An interest in ideas emphasizing the unity of Slavdom spread at least in Kiev, Moscow and St. Petersburg.

The Polish student organizations emerged in the first half of the 1840s. A period of lively interest in politics began with the Cracow Insurrection and the Galician massacre in 1846, and continued until 1849. At that time there was a remarkable similarity in student activism in each university. Everywhere mutual help was organized and libraries maintained. Both in St. Petersburg and in Dorpat, the students decided to fight duels only with pistols. One is led to conclude that there were more than sporadic contacts between the Polish communities in the various universities. Either these contacts were directed from a higher conspiratorial centre or they were horizontal between the universities. Indeed, Świerzbieński's memoirs contain a passage in which the Moscow students read a letter from St. Petersburg Polish students.<sup>105</sup> To me it seems most likely that the activism and the contacts between the universities first emerged spontaneously but were later co-ordinated by the Brotherly Union of Lithuanian Youth (ZBML). Its leader, Franciszek Dalewski, admitted sending representatives to Moscow and to Kazan. These contacts were hardly the only ones.

In the course of the years 1847–1849, 18 students or free listeners were involved in political crimes. Of them, we know the social ranks of 15:

|                                |   |
|--------------------------------|---|
| noble                          | 8 |
| unconfirmed noble              | 2 |
| clergy (Orthodox and Lutheran) | 2 |
| simple townsfolk               | 2 |
| <i>odnodvorec</i> peasant      | 1 |

104 Bikulič 1964: 66. Fajnhauz 1965: 357, 366–367 mentions the same names without revealing his source, which is probably Sierakowska's memoirs. Zalesski's fate in Fajnhauz 1965: 166.

105 Sprzysiężenia...2: 110–113. The letter, though, contained only a description about a fight between some students and officers.

Czajkowski in Kiev was an Orthodox, and Scholtz in Dorpat a Lutheran, but the rest were Roman Catholics. Nine of the rebellious students came from Lithuania, four from the Right-Bank Ukraine and two from the Kingdom of Poland. Since the uncovered students certainly constituted just a small sample of the entire nationally active element in higher education, it is not sensible to draw far-reaching conclusions about their backgrounds. Despite this, the continuation of non-noble and non-Catholic participation is evident.

After 1849 there followed a calmer period, but at least in Moscow and Dorpat the student unions continued their existence until the new reign. In Kiev, the students became more active at the very end of Nicholas' reign in 1854–1855, probably inspired by the Crimean War.

The government's attitude towards student activities became somewhat more lenient than it had been in the 1830s. There were constantly good grounds for arrests and political trials, but they were implemented only occasionally. Whereas in 1837, it was possible to be sent to serve as a soldier in the Caucasus just for having read illegal literature, in 1848 this led only to two weeks' arrest. In Moscow, St. Petersburg and Dorpat, the university authorities even allowed the Polish student communities disciplinary powers over their own members. If the authorities really had wanted to find out more about the activities in each university, they could have done so. Really, they did not consider it worth the effort. They preferred to remain passive so long as there were no actual conspiracies aiming at insurrection.



# ■ Educational policy and Poles (1848–1854)

## Reactionary measures

The revolutions in Western Europe were in many ways a turning point in Russia. They coincided with other troubles in the Empire: cholera epidemics, a poor harvest, economic depression, and peasant unrest. The situation made Nicholas and his circle more anxious than previously about maintaining stability in the Empire. As we have seen, the revolutionary upheaval reached the Prussian and Austrian parts of Poland and even affected the Russian part. Quite apart from Poland, the government had well-founded doubts as to the loyalty of Russia's own intelligentsia. Internal stability was all the more necessary, since the revolutions made the possibility of war imminent. At various times it seemed that Russia would either have to defend herself against attack from abroad or intervene in other countries in order to defeat the revolution there. Finally, the latter alternative was realised in Paskevič's Hungarian campaign, which ended with a Russian and Austrian victory over Hungary's bid for independence. The urge to maintain stability found its outlet in various repressive measures, which affected censorship, education and contacts with foreign countries. All these fields concerned the Ministry of Public Education. The repressive measures remained in force even after the revolutionary period and set the tone for the last years of the reign.<sup>1</sup>

The immediate measures in education after the February Revolution in Paris were not very dramatic. Uvarov forbade persons serving in the Ministry to travel abroad. At the very end of December 1848, the tuition fees in the universities and gymnasia were raised. Henceforth studies in Moscow and St. Petersburg cost 50 silver roubles a year, and in other universities 40 roubles. However, this measure had already been decided in 1845 and then postponed for three years. We have mentioned Bibikov's final victory over Uvarov: the transfer of the Kievan School District to the jurisdiction of the former.<sup>2</sup>

The most important reform in 1848 concerned censorship. On 27 February Nicholas nominated a secret committee under the chairmanship of A. S. Menšikov to examine the censorship of St. Petersburg newspapers and periodicals. After this temporary body finished its work, the Emperor nominated a permanent committee on 2 April under Count Dmitrij Buturlin to supervise the censorship conducted by the Ministry of Public Enlightenment. This meant a curtailment of Uvarov's power, although he still remained fully responsible for

1 Nifontov 1949: 19–45.

2 SP II.2 842–844. SR II 994

ensorship. The measure was partly a result of a campaign against Uvarov by the Third Section and a couple of personal enemies.<sup>3</sup>

Education did not come under serious attack until 1849. On the one hand, the government by that time felt more secure, on the other, there was the case of Petraševskij's circles, which again cast doubt on educational institutes. In the field of secondary education, Gurowski's old ideas about the republican dangers of classical languages and literature were now upheld by many politicians. One of the active opponents of classical studies was Uvarov's old archenemy Bibikov. Uvarov tried to adapt to the criticism by dividing the gymnasium into two orientations beginning from the fourth class. Those pupils wishing to enter state service directly after school were taught law instead of the classics. Those who wanted to continue their studies in the university were still taught Latin, but the number of lessons was reduced. Classics were replaced by more lessons in Russian, geography, physics and, rather oddly considering the political situation, French and German. A knowledge of Latin remained a condition for admission to university. Greek was altogether removed from the curricula of most gymnasia, though it remained necessary for admission to departments of history and philology. Uvarov's proposals were passed by the State Council and ratified by Nicholas in March 1849. At the same time, the State Council rejected Uvarov's proposal for excluding peasants altogether from admission to gymnasia.<sup>4</sup>

The gymnasium reform was not enough to satisfy the conservatives. The universities were in danger. It seems that Nicholas seriously considered closing them down. Both the fear of ideological subversion and the desire to direct noble youth to a military education were behind this plan. As a last remedy, Uvarov appealed to public opinion. At his instigation, the Director of Main Pedagogical Institute, Ivan Davydov, wrote an anonymous article in March 1849 in the journal "Contemporary" (Sovremennik). Uvarov/Davydov first outlined the history of Russian universities, praising their beneficial influence on the country. Then the development of education during Uvarov's tenure of office was described in somewhat flattering terms. The role of St. Vladimir's University in uniting Polish and Russian youth and making the former acquainted with the Russian language and laws was mentioned favourably. Uvarov/Davydov also mentioned that Russian education in the Lithuanian provinces had begun during these years. The article went on to take direct issue with the attacks on universities and classical studies. The universities could not be replaced by special institutes, like the Law School, since the latter could exist only if it had teachers trained in the universities. Classical studies were necessary for general education and upbringing before beginning any special studies. The author contrasted classics favourably with the study of French and German, which were the media of such monsters as Victor Hugo, Étienne Cabet, Strauss and Ludwig

3 Nifontov 1949: 229–238. Whittaker 1985: 220–228.

4 Nifontov 1949: 238–239, 279–281. Whittaker 1985: 228–232. II PSZ XXIV.1/1849, No 23113, p. 1690–170. SP II.2 863–874, štaty i priloženija 60–61. Roždestvenskij 1902: 262, 276–278. Whittaker emphasizes strongly that Uvarov acted under pressure. She does not mention Uvarov's rejected proposal.

Feuerbach. Finally it was emphasized that the universities did not promote social mobility, since most of the students were sons of noblemen and civil servants.<sup>5</sup>

The article was Uvarov's undoing. It was obvious to anyone that he had instigated it. Buturlin's committee considered the article as improper meddling by a private person in government affairs. Uvarov then wrote to Nicholas and took the responsibility on himself, at the same time heavily criticizing the double organization of censorship. Nicholas was furious and informed his Minister: "One must obey and keep one's arguments to oneself".<sup>6</sup>

In April, eight days after the arrests of the Petraševskij's circle, Nicholas presented Uvarov with an imperial command to limit the student enrolment to 300 in each university, not including the state students and the medical faculties. The quota meant that the universities could not admit new students until their total enrolment dropped to the set limit. Uvarov reluctantly consented to the setting of a quota and clung on to his post until 6 October. In his last independent measures, he tried to harden his politics according to the Emperor's new orientation. He ordered the expulsion of all those who failed the annual exams. He also ruled that state financing be granted only from the beginning of the second year of studies and only to those who had proved their ability during the first year. Such minor measures were not enough to satisfy Nicholas.<sup>7</sup>

Uvarov was replaced by his former deputy, Platon Širinskij-Šihmatov. The latter's position as Minister was not very strong, since the basic reorientation of educational policy was discussed in a special committee headed by Dmitrij Bludov. The atmosphere in the committee was against university autonomy, against education that was not regulated according to the social rank of students and even against scholarly university studies as such, since they were considered too theoretical and alien to real life. The emphasis was on natural science and technology, while classical languages and law were regarded with suspicion. The committee and the Minister prepared a series of draconian anti-educational decrees. In October, Nicholas decreed that university rectors were to be nominated by the Minister. The faculties formally retained their power to elect deans, but the Minister could also nominate them "when necessary". In November, the rectors and deans were given new instructions about the supervision of lectures, but they were not published as law until two years later. Now each lecturer had to present his lecture beforehand for approval by the dean, faculty and rector. The deans and rectors were obliged to listen to the lectures and ensure that no deviations from approved plan occurred. At the same time, lectures in constitutional law were forbidden. A year later philosophy, too, was considered too dangerous a subject to be taught in universities. The

5 O naznačenii russskih universitetov i učastii ih v obščestvennom obrazovanii. *Sovremennik* 3/ 1849, II 37–46. The article affair is described by Roždestvenskij 1902: 226, 261–262 and Whittaker 1985: 232–235.

6 Whittaker 1985: 235.

7 SP II.2 877, 879–881, 915, 934. SR II 1043–1044, 1057. The stipulations about state students and medical faculties were added at Uvarov's suggestion only in May. The measure was completed in December by forbidding medical students to change faculty. Whittaker 1985: 235–237.

philosophy curriculum was limited to logic and psychology, which were taught by professors of theology. These reforms practically repealed the 1835 university statute, although it formally remained in force.<sup>8</sup>

In January 1850, Nicholas approved Širinskij-Šihmatov's proposal regarding university admission and preference being given to persons from those estates which had a right to enter the civil service: the nobility, civil servants, merchants of the first guild, the clergy and hereditary honoured citizens. Because of the quota of 300, this practically excluded students with any other kind of background. There was also national discrimination in the decree, which excluded Jews and those hereditary honoured citizens who were descended from the lesser Polish nobility. However, the medical faculties remained open to all except serfs. Medical studies, too, were made difficult for the common people in May 1852, when Širinskij-Šihmatov categorically forbade the universities to grant exemptions from tuition fees for students from the taxpaying estates.<sup>9</sup>

The attack on classical studies was completed in 1852. Now Greek remained in the curriculum only in St. Petersburg and Moscow, Black Sea towns with a Greek population and the Baltic. It was replaced by natural history.<sup>10</sup> In itself this measure was not so detrimental to education as Uvarov had considered it, but it further narrowed the base of the departments of history and philology. It also practically prevented the youth of the Western Provinces from studying the humanities.

Širinskij-Šihmatov retired in March and died in May 1853. He was replaced by his former deputy, Avraam Norov. Though Norov was not an adherent of the dominant reactionary policy, he was unable at first to influence it much. The only mitigation he managed to obtain was an addition of 50 students to the quota at the Universities of St. Petersburg and Moscow in December 1854.<sup>11</sup>

The measures described above were not directed specifically against the Poles. However, in 1848 a few outright anti-Polish measures were taken, which conflicted with Uvarov's earlier policy. In April 1848 Uvarov wrote secretly to the Curator of the Belorussian School District and asked him to hinder the local youth from entering the universities. The Minister pointed to a fraud discovered in the Moscow entrance examination and the excessive number of Minsk Gymnasium graduates with excellent certificates, which were granted too liberally. As grants to needy students were meant preferably for students from the Great Russian provinces, the Curator had already informed gymnasium pupils that they should not set off to study at university without enough money for their upkeep. Uvarov approved of the Curator's conduct and wrote:

8 A general view of educational politics in these years is given in Bartnicka Kalina: "Jaki powinien być uniwersytet rosyjski?"-sprawy uniwersyteckie w świetle ankiety ministerstwa oświecenia narodowego w 1849 r. *Rozprawy z dziejów oświaty t. XXXVII*, 1996. P. 99, 109–117. Also Ejmontova 1985:43–48. The relevant decrees II PSZ XXIV.2/1849, No 23561, p. 85–86. XXVI.1/1851, No 24866, p. 83–85. SP II.2 1041. SP III 1414–1415. *Rożdestvenskij* 1902: 265.

9 II PSZ XXV.1, 1850, No 23877, p. 89–90. SR III 101.

10 SR III 88, *štaty i priloženija* 6–17.

11 SP III 1415–1416.

Because of the limited funds budgeted for aiding needy students, and because of the present situation, I find it necessary to reduce as much as possible the number of youth from the provinces of the Belorussian School District coming to study in the universities...I hope that you will as far as possible hinder (*zatrudnjali*) the sending of young men to universities and especially to the University of Moscow, in which, according to the local authorities, the youth from Western Provinces does not excel in behaviour.<sup>12</sup>

The Ministry had now returned to the policy it had followed in the beginning of the 1830s, with the presence of Poles from Belorussia in Russian universities considered dangerous.

On 13 October 1849, Širinskij-Šihmatov ruled that all vacancies for teachers in the Belorussian School District must be filled by Russians. As already mentioned, such a decision had been first made in 1845, but now the Minister really saw to it that the rule was put into practice. In addition, a rule was laid down according to which Roman Catholics from the Western Provinces could not receive state grants budgeted for future teachers.<sup>13</sup>

One further anti-Polish measure in higher education concerned the Kingdom's scholarship-holders in the universities. In 1848 about half of the sums previously budgeted for grants to study law were diverted to the Warsaw Noble Institute. The number of scholarship-holders in law studies had by this time been reduced to sixteen from the original sixty.<sup>14</sup> In October 1850, Širinskij-Šihmatov visited Warsaw and demanded a further reduction in the total number of the Kingdom's scholarship-holders. According to the Minister, there were too many Poles from the Kingdom in the universities. It was not necessary to cater for them. The funds saved should be allocated to those Russian students who were willing to serve after graduation as teachers in the Kingdom. Paskevič accepted the proposal, and in March 1851 Nicholas ratified the new grants budget. This time only pedagogical stipends were reduced, and those for law students were even slightly increased. Now there were twenty grants for Law students and twelve for prospective teachers. Twenty grants were allocated to Russian students of the Main Pedagogical Institute.<sup>15</sup>

There were now 32 grants in all available for Polish students from the Kingdom, whereas in the beginning of the 1840s the number had been 120. The situation was further aggravated by the quota of 300. It forced the authorities to consider alternative solutions to the question of higher education. In December 1850 Paskevič proposed the establishment of law courses in the Warsaw

12 RGIA f. 733, op. 34, delo 4, l. 1–2. Quotation from l. 2.

13 SR II 1097–1098. Širinskij-Šihmatov's circular to the Curators. RGIA f. 733, op. 62, delo 1223, l. 8, 13. Širinskij-Šihmatov to the Curators 19th May and 26th June 1852, reminding them about his earlier decision in 1849. Though I have not found the original decree about teachers' grants, its existence is evident from Governor-General Vasilčikov's submission to Norov on 15th October 1853 published in SR III 159–161.

14 Kucharzewski 1916: 512–515.

15 SP II.2 1072–1073. Kucharzewski 1916: 521–523. In November 1850 Roman Catholic youth from the Western Provinces was denied admission to the Main Pedagogical Institute. SR III 40–41.

Institute for the Nobility and Płock Gymnasium. He argued that the Kingdom needed annually at least forty new lawyers, while only five or six graduated from Moscow and St. Petersburg. The proposal was unofficially presented to the Emperor by the Minister State Secretary of Poland, Ignacy Turkułł, since Širinskij-Šihmatov refused to do so. Širinskij-Šihmatov pointed out to Paskevič that as law was now taught in the gymnasium, there was no need for any special law institute in Poland. Moreover, the Moscow and St. Petersburg universities could again in the autumn 1851 admit new students, which would help the situation in Poland. These arguments also convinced the Emperor, since Turkułł's submission did not lead to any results.<sup>16</sup>

Actually the Minister was not entirely deaf to Paskevič's pleas. He presented them to the Emperor in March at the same time as the new grants budget. Širinskij-Šihmatov proposed as a remedy the setting of an additional quota for youth from the Kingdom wishing to study at their own expense. The universities were to be allowed to admit 300 students in the general quota plus 30 students from the Kingdom. The measure would have made admission somewhat easier for both Poles and Russians. However, Nicholas rejected the proposal without offering any reasons.<sup>17</sup>

Secondary education in the former Poland also suffered during this period of reactionary educational policy. In the Kingdom of Poland the number of gymnasia leading to universities was reduced, the number of pupils limited and tuition fees raised. In the Western Provinces no schools were closed, but discriminatory regulations against those of humble background were decreed. In July 1848 at the initiative of the Warsaw Curator, Okunev, the highest tuition fee in the Kingdom, 45 silver roubles a year, which previously had applied only to non-nobles, was extended to pupils from all estates. However, this measure was implemented only in the years 1850-1851. In 1851 it was forbidden to exempt anyone from the fee. The schools could only use any unspent funds from the sums budgeted to them to assist a limited number of sons of distinguished civil servants.<sup>18</sup>

The reduction in the number of gymnasia proceeded gradually. In the beginning of the school year 1848-49, one of the Warsaw gymnasia was made into an Institute for the Nobility. Including this Institute, there were at that time eight philological gymnasia with full courses leading to the university. In 1854 their number was six. One of the gymnasia was made into an agricultural school, and two others became district schools. In 1850 Warsaw again got a full gymnasium, when it was allowed to reopen the upper classes, which had been

16 RGIA f. 733, op. 77, delo 343, l. 1-4. Turkułł to Širinskij-Šihmatov 18th January 1851. Includes a copy of Paskevič's proposal. Ibid. 22-26. Širinskij-Šihmatov to Paskevič 23rd March 1851. Kucharzewski 1916: 517-520, 525-527.

17 RGIA f. 733, op. 77, delo 338, l. 1-2. Širinskij-Šihmatov's submission to Nicholas with the latter's decision on 8th March 1851. Nowiński 1986: 114-115 refers to this source, but states incorrectly that the measure was passed. Probably he has not noticed the decision. Nowiński's interpretation of the aim of the proposal differs from mine. He finds that the measure was taken to restrict the number of Poles in the universities.

18 Kucharzewski 1916: 329-330, 332-333. SP II.2 993-994, 1071-1072.

closed in 1846. At the same time a quota of 50 pupils per class was established, and any parallel classes were banned. The division of the gymnasium into two orientations, similar to that decreed for Russia in 1849, was implemented in Poland in 1852. However, here pupils in the classical orientation studied both classical languages instead of only Latin as in Russia. This kept the departments of history and philology open to graduates. The switch of the language of education to Russian progressed all the time. In 1850 in the Warsaw School District there were 90 teachers, not including native Russians, who taught in Russian. In every gymnasium some subjects were taught in Russian, but none of them had as yet completely abandoned instruction in Polish.<sup>19</sup>

The Belorussian School District was renamed the School District of Wilno in 1850. It was under Governor-General Il'ja Bibikov, not to be confused with Dmitrij Bibikov in Kiev. At the same time, the Provinces of Witebsk and Mohylew were placed under the jurisdiction of the St. Petersburg School District. In 1852 Bibikov proposed various reforms in the district directly to Nicholas. The upper classes of Wilno Institute for the Nobility were to prepare pupils for military service. Throughout the district, only nobles and merchants of the two highest guilds were to be admitted to gymnasia. All schools with a curriculum corresponding to the four junior gymnasium classes should adopt a curriculum similar to that of Russian district schools. Nicholas liked Bibikov's proposals and forwarded them to Širinskij-Šihmatov, adding some comments of his own. The Emperor wanted to restrict admission to the gymnasium on the basis of social rank in all the Western Provinces. However, this time Širinskij-Šihmatov showed his independence. He opposed the reform of the Wilno Institute for the Nobility, arguing that the military rank proposed for graduates by Nicholas was equal to that granted by military schools with a curriculum much narrower than that of the gymnasium. As for secondary schools with a curriculum equal to the four junior classes of gymnasium, they had been founded to replace the old monastic schools and it was mostly the children of the nobility who studied in them. If the schools were reformed as ordinary district schools, noble pupils would abandon them and seek private tuition. Širinskij-Šihmatov consented to the restriction of admission to the gymnasia, but proposed to mitigate it slightly by giving the right to study to all those non-nobles who were entitled to enter civil service. In practice, this meant the clergy, sons of non-noble civil servants with a rank and hereditary honoured citizens. Nicholas ratified Širinskij-Šihmatov's proposals. Youth from the Western Provinces were now discriminated against on the basis of their social rank even at the gymnasium level, while gymnasia in Russia proper still admitted all ranks except serfs. The former Polish lesser nobility was thus excluded from the gymnasia. However, the incident also indicates that even the most reactionary and obedient of the Ministers of Public Enlightenment during the reign defended education against the still more draconian measures urged by other branches of

19 SP II.2 993–994, 1313–1331. SR III 119, štaty i priloženija 22. Walka...1993: 169–170. Kucharzewski 1916: 558–559.

the administration. Even during these dark years, things might have been worse without the existence of the Ministry.<sup>20</sup>

Despite the steady growth of the population, the gymnasium network in the Western Provinces during these years remained the same as it had been, neither expanding nor decreasing. The School District of Kiev had in 1854 the same 11 gymnasia that it had had in 1848. Including the Wilno Institute for the Nobility, the number of gymnasia in the School District of Wilno was at the same time reduced from 11 to eight, but this was only due to the transfer of three gymnasia to the jurisdiction of the St. Petersburg School District.<sup>21</sup>

Taken as a whole, this period was marked by a reactionary policy with regard to Polish youth in both the Western Provinces and in the Kingdom. Previously, the educational policy had given the Poles equal opportunities with Russians for access to Russian higher education. The first signs of discrimination had already appeared in 1846, but in the years 1848–1854 the opportunities for Polish youth for studying deteriorated further. This was the worst time during the period that is the subject of our study. However, the government never altogether blocked the admission of Poles to universities. Discrimination was based on nationality, social rank and ability to pay, not on mere nationality. The government still financially supported a limited number of Poles studying in Russia, so its attitude was not consistently and exclusively hostile. Even so, this was little consolation for a country that had had two universities in 1830.

## The student body (1851–53)

The restrictions set for university education affected the choice of faculty more than the number of students or the social composition of the student body. In the years 1851–1853, there were more students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces in the universities than there had been in the academic year 1844–1845. Among them there were both proportionally and absolutely more non-nobles than previously. This development was due to the fact that the faculties of medicine were left outside the new restrictions. The situation varied in different universities. In St. Petersburg the number of Poles was reduced, whereas in Moscow and Kiev it grew slightly. In the University of Dorpat there was a dramatic rise in the number of students from the former Poland-Lithuania.

In 1852 the University of St. Petersburg had 79 students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces.<sup>22</sup> They formed 22.1% of all students, which was 8.3% less than in 1844. Their religious background was as follows:

20 II PSZ XXV.1/1850, No 24 131, p. 417–418. SP II.2 1137–1145.

21 ŽMNP XLII, 1849. Obščij otčet, predstavlenyj Ego Imperatorskomu Veličestvu po ministerstvu narodnago prosvješčenija za 1848 god. I 49–50, 76–77. ŽMNP LXXXVI, 1855. Izvlečenje iz vsepoddannejšago otčeta ministra narodnago prosvješčenija za 1854 god. I 45, 84.

22 RGIA f. 733, op. 95, delo 152, l. 143–182. List of students.



|                |    |
|----------------|----|
| Roman Catholic | 60 |
| Orthodox       | 11 |
| Protestant     | 7  |
| Jewish         | 1  |

The proportion of Roman Catholics from the former Poland-Lithuania was 16.9%, which was 8.9% less than in 1844. However, there were 17 Roman Catholic students who had previously studied outside the Western Provinces and the Kingdom of Poland.

The regional division of St. Petersburg students from the former Poland-Lithuania was following:<sup>23</sup>

|                          |    |
|--------------------------|----|
| Kingdom of Poland        | 40 |
| Lithuania and Belorussia | 28 |
| Right-Bank Ukraine       | 3  |
| Home education           | 8  |

The numbers show that the restrictions had hit the Western Provinces more severely than the Kingdom. For the first time since 1831 there were more students from the Kingdom than from Lithuania in the university.

Students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces at the University of St Petersburg in 1852 according to social rank and field of study:

|                   | Law | Humanities | Mathematics,<br>Natural science | Total |
|-------------------|-----|------------|---------------------------------|-------|
| noble             | 50  | 6          | 7                               | 63    |
| unconfirmed noble | -   | -          | 1                               | 1     |
| lower officer     | 2   | -          | 1                               | 3     |
| civil servant     | 1   | -          | 1                               | 2     |
| merchant          | 2   | -          | -                               | 2     |
| Orthodox clergy   | -   | -          | 1                               | 1     |
| honoured citizen  | -   | -          | 1                               | 1     |
| lower townsman    | 4   | -          | -                               | 4     |
| peasant           | 1   | -          | -                               | 1     |
| foreigner         | -   | -          | 1                               | 1     |
| total             | 60  | 6          | 13                              | 79    |

Both the social composition of the student body and the popularity of the faculties remained about the same as in 1844. The overwhelming majority of the students came from the nobility and were studying law in the university for a career in the civil service. There were very few non-noble students, though proportionally their number had not diminished.

The University of Moscow did not suffer as much from the government measures as that of St. Petersburg. This was because Moscow had a medical

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23 The "Home education" group contains seven Roman Catholics and one Jew.

faculty, to which the new measures did not apply. The university had 199 students from the former Poland-Lithuania in January 1853. They made up 23.3% of the whole student body, which was 0.3% more than in 1845. The proportion of Roman Catholics in the whole student body was now 19.9%, which was 3.3% more than in 1844.<sup>24</sup>

The regional background of the students was as follows:

|                              |     |
|------------------------------|-----|
| Lithuania and Belorussia     | 142 |
| Kingdom of Poland            | 37  |
| Right-Bank Ukraine           | 1   |
| Home education <sup>25</sup> | 19  |

These numbers indicate that Uvarov's order to hinder youth from Lithuania from studying in the University of Moscow had at most only a limited effect. The number of students from that area compared with the situation in 1844 had grown from 109 to 142.

In religious background the students divided into the following groups:

|                |     |
|----------------|-----|
| Roman Catholic | 170 |
| Orthodox       | 14  |
| Jewish         | 9   |
| Protestant     | 5   |
| Muslim         | 1   |

The number of the Orthodox had decreased dramatically. In fact, in the University of Moscow the discriminatory measures against those of low origin had made the student body from the Western Provinces more Polish than before.

The students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces at the University of Moscow in 1853 by the field of study and social rank:

|                 | Law  | Humanities | Mathematics,<br>Natural science | Medicine | Total | %    |
|-----------------|------|------------|---------------------------------|----------|-------|------|
| nobles          | 24   | 2          | 10                              | 106      | 142   | 71.4 |
| lower officer   | 1    | -          | 2                               | 13       | 16    | 8.0  |
| civil servant   | -    | 1          | -                               | -        | 1     | 0.5  |
| merchant        | -    | -          | -                               | 4        | 4     | 2.0  |
| Orthodox clergy | -    | -          | -                               | 2        | 2     | 1.0  |
| lower townsman  | 3    | 1          | 1                               | 19       | 24    | 12.1 |
| peasant         | -    | -          | -                               | 6        | 6     | 3.0  |
| Jew             | -    | -          | -                               | 1        | 1     | 0.5  |
| foreigner       | -    | -          | -                               | 2        | 2     | 1.0  |
| not available   | -    | 1          | -                               | -        | 1     | 0.5  |
| Total           | 28   | 5          | 13                              | 153      | 199   |      |
| %               | 14.1 | 2.5        | 6.5                             | 76.9     | 100   |      |

24 RGIA f. 733, op. 95, delo 231, l. 72-86. List of students.

25 Includes seventeen Roman Catholics and two Jews.

The restrictions had made the student body more exclusive than previously and directed students predominantly to the Faculty of Medicine. Whereas in 1845 the proportion of non-nobles had been 42.6%, it had now dropped to 28.6%.

The information available for St. Vladimir’s University in Kiev is from the academic year 1852–1853. Here, not only the previous school, but also the home province of the student is given. The development in the university followed the same pattern as that in the University of Moscow: the total number of students from Polish lands grew, but the medical faculty absorbed the overwhelming majority of them. The proportional relation between Roman Catholics and Orthodox changed in favour of the former. The university had 397 students from the former Poland in its total student body of 552, which amounts to 71.9%. The proportion of Roman Catholics from the area was 50.5% of all students.<sup>26</sup>

The religious background of students from the Western Provinces and the Kingdom of Poland in St. Vladimir’s university in 1852–53:<sup>27</sup>

|                |     |
|----------------|-----|
| Roman Catholic | 279 |
| Orthodox       | 93  |
| Jewish         | 12  |
| Protestant     | 6   |
| Muslim         | 1   |
| Not available  | 6   |

Most of the students from the former Poland still came from the Right-Bank Ukraine, though the absolute number of students from that area had slightly diminished. The Lithuanian and Belorussian provinces sent now many more students to Kiev than they had in 1844. In Kiev there were only slightly fewer students from historical Lithuania than in Moscow. This may indicate that, after all, the administrative measures to reduce the number of students from Lithuania in Moscow had had some effect. When in 1844 young men from Lithuania were directed predominantly to Moscow, now about half of them came to Kiev.

Regional background of students from the Western Provinces and the Kingdom of Poland at St. Vladimir’s University in 1852–1853:<sup>28</sup>

26 RGIA f. 733, op. 95, delo 857, l. 45–76. The list of all students of the university in the academic year 1852–53. These numbers are not comparable with the situation in 1844 since they are based on home province and not on previous place of study. If the latter is taken as the basis of statistics, the university had 404 students from the former Poland, 263 of them Roman Catholics. They made up 77.4% and 50.4% respectively of the total student body. Both the absolute number of Poles and their proportion of the whole student body was higher than in the academic year 1844–1845. The difference between the numbers of Poles according to home province and according to previous school appears in a tendency for the numbers of Roman Catholics to decrease. Most of the Roman Catholics who went to school in a non-Polish area still came from the Western Provinces or the Kingdom of Poland.

27 Numbers according to home province. According to previous place of study there are 263 Roman Catholics, 116 Orthodox, eleven Jews, six Protestants, one Muslim and seven whose religious confession is not available.

28 Numbers according to home province. According to previous place of study, there were 273 students from the Right-Bank Ukraine, 120 from Lithuania and Belorussia, five from the Kingdom of Poland, one Roman Catholic with a home education, and five Roman Catholics whose previous school is not available in our source.

|                          |     |
|--------------------------|-----|
| Right Bank Ukraine       | 262 |
| Lithuania and Belorussia | 132 |
| Kingdom of Poland        | 3   |

The proportion of nobles in the student body had decreased since 1844. This was not due to negligence in implementing the discriminatory rules, since the students of low origin almost exclusively studied in the faculty of medicine. The government's measures did not hinder the education of the intelligentsia, but they distorted its professional structure.

The social rank and field of study of students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces in St. Vladimir's University 1852–1853:

|                  | Law  | Humanities | Mathematics,<br>Natural science | Medicine | Total | %    |
|------------------|------|------------|---------------------------------|----------|-------|------|
| noble            | 32   | 10         | 20                              | 209      | 271   | 68.3 |
| lower officer    | 1    | -          | 1                               | 20       | 22    | 5.6  |
| civil servant    | -    | -          | 2                               | 5        | 7     | 1.8  |
| merchant         | 2    | 3          | 1                               | 9        | 15    | 3.8  |
| Orthodox clergy  | 4    | 1          | 1                               | 13       | 19    | 4.8  |
| honoured citizen | -    | -          | 1                               | 1        | 2     | 0.5  |
| "raznočinec"     | -    | -          | -                               | 4        | 4     | 1.0  |
| lower townsman   | 3    | 1          | -                               | 16       | 20    | 5.1  |
| peasant          | 1    | -          | -                               | 13       | 14    | 3.5  |
| foreigner        | 1    | 1          | 3                               | 8        | 13    | 3.3  |
| not available    | -    | 2          | -                               | 8        | 10    | 2.5  |
| total            | 44   | 18         | 29                              | 306      | 397   |      |
| %                | 11.1 | 4.5        | 7.3                             | 77.1     | 100   |      |

In order to compare the situation with that in 1844, it is useful to combine the statistics of the three Russian universities, though our information for the University of St. Petersburg actually dates from one year before that for Kiev and Moscow. Taken together, the three universities had 682 students who had previously studied in the Kingdom of Poland or the Western Provinces, against 641 in 1844. The religious background of the students shows that both the absolute number and proportion of Roman Catholics had risen slightly, while the figures for those of the Orthodox faith were reduced. The number of Jews was for the first time significant.

Students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces in the universities of St. Petersburg, Moscow and Kiev according to their religious background:

|                |     |
|----------------|-----|
| Roman Catholic | 493 |
| Orthodox       | 141 |
| Jewish         | 21  |
| Protestant     | 18  |
| Muslim         | 2   |
| Not available  | 7   |

If we compare the numbers of Roman Catholic and Orthodox students by regions, it is again evident that many more Orthodox Right-Bank Ukrainians received higher education than did Orthodox Belorussians. In both regions there was a Roman Catholic majority of students.<sup>29</sup>

|                          | Roman Catholics | Orthodox |
|--------------------------|-----------------|----------|
| Right Bank Ukraine       | 151             | 105      |
| Lithuania and Belorussia | 238             | 32       |
| Kingdom of Poland        | 74              | 4        |

Somewhat surprisingly, and certainly contrary to government aims, the proportion of the nobility in the student body of the former Poland had slightly diminished. Higher education was still available to non-nobles, a slightly greater absolute number of whom reached the universities than in 1844-1845. The social composition of the student body may here, to some extent, reflect the continuing reduction in the numbers of the local nobility. The restrictions only had an effect on the choice of faculty. The faculties of medicine now dwarfed all the others.

Students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces at the Universities of Kiev, Moscow and St. Petersburg 1851-53 according to social rank and field of study:<sup>30</sup>

|                   | Law  | Humanities | Mathematics,<br>Natural science | Medicine | Total | %    |
|-------------------|------|------------|---------------------------------|----------|-------|------|
| noble             | 113  | 22         | 41                              | 301      | 477   | 69.9 |
| unconfirmed noble | -    | -          | 1                               | -        | 1     | 0.1  |
| lower officer     | 4    | -          | 4                               | 38       | 46    | 6.7  |
| civil servant     | 1    | 1          | 2                               | 5        | 9     | 1.3  |
| merchant          | 4    | 2          | 1                               | 14       | 21    | 3.1  |
| Orthodox clergy   | 3    | 1          | 1                               | 14       | 19    | 2.8  |
| honoured citizen  | -    | -          | 2                               | 1        | 3     | 0.4  |
| “raznočinec”      | -    | -          | -                               | 4        | 4     | 0.6  |
| lower townsman    | 11   | 3          | 1                               | 38       | 53    | 7.8  |
| peasant           | 3    | -          | -                               | 19       | 22    | 3.2  |
| Jew               | -    | -          | -                               | 1        | 1     | 0.1  |
| foreigner         | 1    | -          | 4                               | 9        | 14    | 2.1  |
| not available     | -    | 2          | -                               | 10       | 12    | 1.6  |
| total             | 140  | 31         | 57                              | 454      | 682   |      |
| %                 | 20.5 | 4.5        | 8.4                             | 66.6     | 100   |      |

When we take the Orthodox and Roman Catholic student groups separately, we notice that the differences in social structure that existed between them in 1844-1845 survived in 1851-1853. However, now the differences in the choice of speciality had diminished due to the difficulty of gaining admission to any other

29 Statistics according to previous school.

30 The St. Vladimir’s University of Kiev calculated according to previous place of study.

faculty except that of medicine. The proportion of the Orthodox in the Faculty of Law was not much higher than that of Roman Catholics.

Roman Catholic students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces in the three Russian universities 1851–1853 according to social rank and field of study:<sup>31</sup>

|                   | Law  | Humanities | Natural science,<br>Mathematics | Medicine | Total | %    |
|-------------------|------|------------|---------------------------------|----------|-------|------|
| noble             | 91   | 13         | 27                              | 270      | 401   | 81.3 |
| unconfirmed noble | -    | -          | 1                               | -        | 1     | 0.2  |
| lower officer     | 1    | -          | -                               | 23       | 24    | 4.9  |
| civil servant     | 1    | 1          | 1                               | 2        | 5     | 1.0  |
| merchant          | -    | -          | -                               | 1        | 1     | 0.2  |
| honoured citizen  | -    | -          | -                               | 1        | 1     | 0.2  |
| lower townsman    | 7    | 1          | 1                               | 19       | 28    | 5.7  |
| “raznočinec“      | -    | -          | -                               | 1        | 1     | 0.2  |
| peasant           | 1    | -          | -                               | 17       | 18    | 3.7  |
| foreigner         | -    | -          | 1                               | 6        | 7     | 1.4  |
| not available     | -    | 2          | -                               | 4        | 6     | 1.2  |
| total             | 101  | 17         | 31                              | 344      | 493   |      |
| %                 | 20.5 | 3.4        | 6.3                             | 20.5     | 69.8  | 100  |

The Orthodox students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces in the three Russian universities in 1851–1853 according to social rank and field of study:

|                  | Law  | Humanities | Mathematics,<br>Natural science | Medicine | Total | %    |
|------------------|------|------------|---------------------------------|----------|-------|------|
| noble            | 18   | 8          | 13                              | 23       | 62    | 44.0 |
| lower officer    | 3    | -          | 4                               | 15       | 22    | 15.6 |
| civil servant    | -    | -          | 1                               | 3        | 4     | 2.8  |
| clergy           | 3    | 1          | 1                               | 14       | 19    | 13.5 |
| merchant         | 2    | 2          | 1                               | 7        | 12    | 8.5  |
| honoured citizen | -    | -          | 2                               | -        | 2     | 1.4  |
| “raznočinec“     | -    | -          | -                               | 3        | 3     | 2.1  |
| lower townsman   | 3    | 2          | -                               | 4        | 9     | 6.4  |
| peasant          | 2    | -          | -                               | 2        | 4     | 2.8  |
| foreigner        | 1    | -          | 1                               | -        | 2     | 1.4  |
| not available    | -    | 1          | -                               | 1        | 2     | 1.4  |
| total            | 32   | 14         | 23                              | 72       | 141   |      |
| %                | 22.7 | 9.9        | 16.3                            | 22.7     | 51.1  | 100  |

The University of Dorpat does not seem to have suffered much from the restrictions on enrolment. Indeed, the number of students from the Western Provinces and the Kingdom of Poland, who studied there in the course of the

31 In order to make the table comparable with that of 1844–45 I have counted the students of St. Vladimir’s University according to their previous place of study.

year 1852 had almost doubled compared to the situation in 1844. There were now 154 students from the area at the University of Dorpat. They came from following regions:<sup>32</sup>

|                                  |     |
|----------------------------------|-----|
| Lithuanian-Belorussian provinces | 107 |
| Kingdom of Poland                | 41  |
| Right-Bank Ukraine               | 6   |

Generally, it cannot be claimed that higher education was beyond the reach of Polish youth even during the most reactionary period at the end of the reign of Nicholas I. More than 800 students from the former Polish area, most of whom were Roman Catholics, studied in Russian universities at the beginning of the 1850s. Despite the difficulties caused by the absence of higher education in the national language and the restrictive quota, Russian Poland had a sizeable young intelligentsia: the students were numerous enough to maintain their own national identity during studies. Most of the students who came to study from the Western Provinces continued to represent Polish national identity and culture.

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32 Hasselblatt 1889: 357–438, No 4848–5983.

## ■ A new reign and new policies 1856–1860

### The liberal change and the emerging conflict

Alexander II ascended to the imperial throne after the death of Nicholas I in February 1855. By that time the Crimean War had taken an unfavourable turn for Russia. The need for reform was widely recognized, and the new Emperor embarked on a policy of reforms. In April 1856, Russia recognized its defeat in the Peace of Paris. At the end of March, the Emperor said to a meeting of the nobility in Moscow that it was better to abolish serfdom from above rather than wait for it to abolish itself from below. In the beginning of the next year, a secret committee was nominated to prepare the reform. After four years of preparatory work, the Emperor finally signed the abolition decree on 19 February 1861. Alexander II also realized that the country could not be reformed by relying exclusively on the bureaucracy inherited from Nicholas. The participation of the intelligentsia and nobility was needed as well. Some freedom for political discussion and the expression of different opinions was necessary. Censorship was relaxed, and new periodicals were permitted. Political criminals, like the Decembrists and the members of Petraševskij's circle, were allowed to return from deportation.

At first it seemed that the new policies would not benefit Poland. Alexander visited Warsaw in May 1856. He said to representatives of the nobility that there should not be any “dreams” of independence. The Emperor also affirmed his adherence to the policy of his father and advised the Poles that their fortune lay in a complete melting into Russia. In the Paris Peace Conference, the Russian delegation firmly refused to discuss the Polish question or even to make any general comments about Poland.<sup>1</sup>

However, unlike his predecessor, Alexander was not obsessed with an emotional dislike of the Poles. He was ready to make concessions so long as they did not entail undermining either the autocracy or Poland's permanent union with Russia. Paskevič's resignation as Viceroy in December 1855 because of a terminal illness removed one obstacle to reform. In April 1856, the state of war in the Kingdom and the Western Provinces was abolished. A previously planned recruitment of 20,000 young men was rescinded. In 1857 the Kingdom again obtained an institute of higher learning with Polish as the language of instruction, the Warsaw Medical Academy. In January 1858 the noble landowners' Agricultural Society began its activities. The society was allowed to discuss the reform of relations between landowners and peasant tenants. This

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1 Kieniewicz 1983:15–16. Tatiščev S. S: *Imperator Aleksandr II, ego žižn' i carstvovanie*. I–II. S.-Peterburg 1911. I:187–188.



was important since it was evident that in Poland, too, an agrarian reform was inevitable.<sup>2</sup>

The Western Provinces had an important share in the general preparations for the abolition of serfdom. The local nobility was allowed to take part in the preparatory work on the same footing as the Russian nobility. In October 1857, the Governor-General of Wilno, Vladimir Nazimov, presented to the Emperor an address from the nobility of Wilno, Grodno and Kowno Provinces. The nobility expressed its readiness for the abolition of serfdom, but wished that all the land would remain the property of the landlords.<sup>3</sup> This action of the Lithuanian nobility was welcome to Alexander, who had anxiously waited for the nobility's response to his speech of one year previously. He decreed the establishment of provincial committees that would prepare a proposal for the abolition of serfdom. The majority of the committee members were elected by the nobility. Such committees were soon established everywhere in Russia, including all the Western Provinces. In the beginning the committees seemed a very important way of influencing the reform. However, in the end the government forced the reform through without much regard to the opinions of the committees and liberated the serfs, giving them full ownership of some of the land against a redemption fee.

The discriminatory legislation against the Roman Catholic nobility and civil servants in the Western Provinces was repealed. The service obligation of the land-owning nobility was abolished, and legislation concerning the civil service was made uniform with that of Russia in 1856. This meant at least in principle that there were no restrictions against Poles being admitted again to offices in the Western Provinces. The Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces also profited from the general change in the political atmosphere, including the relaxing of censorship and restrictions in travelling abroad. Most of the deported, imprisoned and even émigrés were allowed to return home, and all their rights of social rank were restored. However, their confiscated property was not returned to them.<sup>4</sup>

The land-owning nobility proposed other reforms, which were rejected by the government. In 1859, the Podolian nobility asked that judges should again be elected by the nobility. The Kievan nobility proposed in 1860 that Polish should be introduced as the language of instruction in the province. There was also an attempt to found an agricultural society in the Ukraine in 1860, but it did not receive government permission. The government pursued a consistent policy in treating the Western Provinces differently from the Kingdom. The new policy made concessions to local Poles only in that it abolished overt discrimination against them. The government was not willing to grant any special status to the Western Provinces.<sup>5</sup>

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2 Kieniewicz 1983:16–18. Nikotin 1886:I:46.

3 Tatiščev 1911:1:277,286–289

4 Beauvois 1985: 148–150. Nikotin 1886: 1: 30–31, 46–47, 377–378.

5 Beauvois 1985: 198–199, 318.

The modest concessions were not enough for the Poles, many of whom would not be satisfied with anything less than full independence within pre-partition boundaries. Step by step there emerged a political conflict, which developed into a crisis, between the Polish conspiracy movement and the Russian government. The conspiracy movement in the Kingdom was to a large extent, though not exclusively, a creation of local students from the Medical Academy, the School of Fine Arts and the Institute of Agriculture and Forestry. The existing informal discussion groups developed into student organizations in 1858. The most radical groups at this time were already discussing insurrection, practising shooting and fencing. There was also a more moderate, so-called “Millenarian” orientation, which opposed the plans for an insurrection, preferring to promote Polish cultural work.<sup>6</sup>

The first patriotic demonstrations took place in 1859. In February, Krasiński’s body was brought to Warsaw from Paris. Large crowds honoured the poet. In March, youth groups tried to continue the event with a requiem mass for all the three great romantic poets, but the authorities forbade it. The political situation became more strained in May 1860. The government forbade the Agricultural Society to have any local organizations. At the same time, but independently of the Society, Warsaw youth again organized a patriotic demonstration. In October, the youth groups tried to disrupt the summit of Russian, Prussian and Austrian monarchs that was being held in Warsaw. The event was also largely boycotted by aristocratic circles. The demonstrations reached an openly political level at the anniversary of the November Insurrection in 1860. The event was again masked as a prayer meeting, but now the song “Why, O Lord” (*Boże coś Polskę*) was openly sung for the first time by the crowds. In the song God was asked to return Poland’s independence.<sup>7</sup>

The émigrés and the conspirators in Poland were in touch with each other. During the Crimean War, Mierosławski had left the TDP and formed his own splinter group. Of all the émigré organizations, it was his group which had the most extensive contacts with the emerging conspiracy in Poland. From 1858 on, Mierosławski publicly urged an armed insurrection, making his appeal especially to youth. The local groups gathered funds for Mierosławski, who planned to establish a Military School and Legion in Italy. The legion was never formed. Military education was begun on a limited scale and without firearms in December 1860, as yet not in Italy but in Paris. A new wave of emigration occurred on a mass scale. The number of new émigrés in France has been estimated as between 1500 and 2000 at the end of 1861.<sup>8</sup>

It was not until 1861 that the Russian authorities fully realized the extent of the political crisis in Poland. The first arrests were made only in October 1860. Alexander and his entourage tended at first to see the independence movement as due to French agitation and even complained about it to the French Consul in

6 Kieniewicz 1983: 33–34, 48–53. The nickname “Millenarists”, invented by political opponents, suggested the idea of gaining independence after long time span.

7 Kieniewicz 1983: 61, 74–86.

8 Kieniewicz 1983: 50–51, 57–59, 64–68, 71–72, 80–84, 179.

Warsaw.<sup>9</sup> The radical wing of the conspirators, having set an armed insurrection as its goal, had indeed in a sense a more realistic understanding of the situation than the Russian government. However, the conspirators greatly underestimated the strength of the latter. The next three years brought unpleasant surprises to both sides.

## Educational policy and the Poles

Education was one of the very first areas affected by the liberal turn in policy. The anti-educational measures of Nicholas I were repealed. In November 1855, the quota of 300 students was abolished in all universities. Students of medicine were allowed to change to other faculties. In December 1856, the privileges for university graduates in the civil service were somewhat weakened. They began service at the 10th rank as previously, but once in the service they were no longer promoted faster than others. The measure balanced the effects of free admission to the universities and slowed down social promotion without preventing it. In 1859 exemption from tuition fees for students from the taxpaying estates, too, was permitted. The teaching of European constitutional law was allowed at various universities at various times. Lectures in the history of philosophy were allowed in February 1860. Travelling abroad was allowed and scholars were sent to Germany and France to get acquainted with research and instruction in those countries.<sup>10</sup>

The new policy made itself felt in nominations to offices in teaching as well as in educational administration. The practice of combining the posts of governor-general and curator in the border areas was abolished. By 1857 there were no longer any curators who had held the office during the previous reign. In Kiev the curator was Nikolaus Rehbinder, a Baltic German, in Moscow Evgraf Kovalevskij, in St. Petersburg Prince Grigorij Ščerbatov, in Dorpat von Bradke, whom we already know from Kiev in the 1830s. All these new curators tolerated student corporate activities. Quite a number of new professors were elected and nominated, while others had to leave their chairs. In 1861 47.5% of all professors and teachers had entered the universities in 1854 or after.<sup>11</sup> Some of them were persons who would not have been allowed to hold a teaching post during the previous reign. A good indication of the extent of the government's permissiveness was the change in the chair of Russian History in St. Petersburg. When Ustrjalov wanted to keep his chair for a further five years after the normal 25-year period, he was voted down by the University Council. He was replaced by the former member of the Society of St. Cyril and St. Methodius, Mykola Kostomarov. Important changes also took place in the Faculty of Law. It now included Boris Utin, who had been involved in Petraševskij's circles; Włodzi-

9 Kieniewicz 1983: 90–92.

10 II PSZ XXX.1/1855, No 29849, p. 690–691 and No 29981, p. 748–749. SP III 106–108, 442–447. SR III 352, 366. Roždestvenskij 1902: 357–358, 361.

11 Ejmontova 1985: On changes in teaching staff in general, p. 108–142, statistical information p. 108–110.

mierz Spasowicz, a Pole and former student of the university, who is already known to us; and Konstantin Kavelin, one of the leading Russian liberals with a critical, though not disloyal, attitude towards government. In 1857–1861, Polish law was taught by Stosław Łaguna, who two years later was the Director of the Interior Department of the insurrectionary administration.<sup>12</sup>

In Moscow the changes did not take a clear liberal direction. Granovskij died in 1855, but his disciples, Stepan Eševskij, Johann Babst, Boris Čičerin and Fedor Dmitriev took up teaching posts. Granovski's antagonist Ševyrev retired two years later. He was replaced by Fedor Buslaev, an able philologist. Pogodin had already retired from the chair of Russian History in the 1840s. He was succeeded by Sergei Solov'ev, a prominent representative of the Russian so-called "government school" of historiography.<sup>13</sup>

The changes in Kiev and Dorpat were not as far-reaching as in St. Petersburg and Moscow. For our study, it is noteworthy that a Pole called Izydor Kopernicki was elected an assistant of anatomy in St. Vladimir's University. While in the office, together with students Kopernicki actively participated in a conspiracy and preparations for an insurrection. Popular among the Kievan Polish students was also Platon Pavlov, the Professor of Russian History, who often took a critical view of actions by the Russian government and spoke with sympathy about Poland.<sup>14</sup>

The atmosphere in the universities also changed. Though the old rules about the pre-censorship of lectures were not repealed, they were often simply ignored. The discipline among the students was relaxed. They began to dress and behave freely. Quite an important reform was the abolition of supervised dormitories for state grant holders in 1858. The students were given a sum of money in cash and told to seek lodgings for themselves. This increased the opportunities for underground political activism and the reading of forbidden literature.<sup>15</sup>

The liberal change in educational policy affected the Western Provinces, the Kingdom of Poland and Poles at the universities. The abolition of the student quota made it easier to get to university. Study opportunities were increased by other reforms, which especially concerned areas inhabited by Poles. In 1857 young men from all social ranks in the Western Provinces were again allowed to enter the gymnasia on the same basis as in Russia proper. Now only serfs were excluded. In the same year, St. Vladimir's University was allowed to admit young men who had received their basic education at home. The number of gymnasia rose as a result of the making of six District Schools for Nobility in the Wilno School District into full gymnasia. The Western Provinces now boasted

12 Ejmontova 1985: 108–112, 117–119. Kieniewicz 1983: 518, 532. PSB XVIII 196–198.

13 Ejmontova 1985: 112–113.

14 Ejmontova 1985: 115–116. Hendrychowski Edmund: Wspomnienie z Kijowa 1858–62. *Przeszłość* 1933, p. 105–106. [Miłowicz Włodzimierz:] *Wspomnienia z czasów młodości*. In: *Wydawnictwo materyalów do historii powstania 1863–64*. IV. Lwów 1894: 117–119.

15 II PSZ XXXIV.2/1859, No 34862, p. 31. SR III 308–311. Ejmontova 1985: 120–133. The change in student behaviour is reported by many Russian and Polish memoirists, for instance Šestakov P. D: *Studenčeskija volnenija v Moskve v 1861g*. *Russkaja Starina* 10-11/1888. 10: 203–205. Skabičevskij A. M.: *Literaturnye vospominanija*. Moskva- Leningrad 1928. P. 73–74. [Burzyński Tomasz:] *Wspomnienia z czasów młodości*. In: *Wydawnictwo...1894*: IV 122.

24 full gymnasia in all. All obligatory dormitories for gymnasia pupils were closed in the School District of Wilno, although a few of them were remained as elitist boarding schools in the School District of Kiev. The government no longer considered it necessary to isolate pupils from the population of the Western Provinces.<sup>16</sup>

The new political atmosphere was favourable to the introduction of the Polish language as a separate subject in the gymnasium curriculum. In November 1856, Norov proposed to Alexander that the teaching of Polish should be allowed in the Wilno School District. He argued that the study of the two closely related languages would be mutually beneficial, that it was not good (*neblagovidno*) to forbid instruction of the mother tongue, and that the local population wanted the introduction of Polish in schools. Norov's proposal did not lead to immediate results, but another similar proposal one year later by the Kievan Governor-General, Ilarion Vasilčikov, was accepted. The reform was implemented in the Wilno District in 1858 and the Kievan District in 1860. Polish became a voluntary subject for pupils. It received the same number of lessons as modern foreign languages. Local educational authorities were allowed to exempt pupils studying Polish from lessons in one modern language. The teaching of Polish was not extended to the Provinces of Mohylew and Witebsk, as they belonged to the St. Petersburg School District.<sup>17</sup>

In the Kingdom reforms were moderate. The quota of pupils in the Warsaw Gymnasium was abolished, but no new gymnasia were founded. The Warsaw Medical Academy admitted its first students for the autumn term of 1857. The languages of instruction were Polish and Latin. The Academy charter differed from the previous projects under Paskevič, since the Academy was granted a degree of autonomy, and admission was not limited by any non-academic criteria. Karol Poznański, who has studied educational policy in the Kingdom in this period, sees the relative liberalness of the charter as Norov's achievement. The tuition fee in the Academy was 25 silver roubles a year, that is less than in the gymnasia during the previous reign. Moreover, any student regardless of his background could choose not to pay, but instead serve the state for two years. This term of short service was not too heavy a burden. In fact, young men had an opportunity to study in the Academy regardless of social rank and economic status. It was no longer necessary to go to Russia to study medicine. Students who had begun their studies in Russia or abroad could be admitted to a course corresponding to the knowledge they had acquired. However, inhabitants of Russia or foreign countries could only be admitted to the Academy by the viceroy's permission. Young men from the Western Provinces were still expected to study in Russia.<sup>18</sup>

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16 II PSZ XXXII, 1857, No 31418, p. 53. SP III 129–130, 436–439. Roždestvenskij 1902: 380–382. Zasztowt 1997: 157–160, 162, 165–169, 171–173, 176, 178–181, 185–189, 193–195, 203–204, 211–223.

17 Roždestvenskij 1902: 383–384. SP III 511–512.

18 SP III 104, 131–157. Charter of the Academy. On the tuition fee and non-resident students in the Kingdom, p. 152. Poznański 1968: 18–22, 28–29. The opportunity to continue in the Academy studies begun in a Russian university became relevant only somewhat later, since initially only the first-year course was opened.

Some high-ranking officials also planned the establishment of an institute of higher legal learning. In the Kingdom, the Director of the Commission of Justice, Fryderyk Skarbek and Senator Romuald Hube, veteran administrators absolutely loyal to Russian rule, proposed the opening of law courses in Warsaw with a three-year programme. Professor Petr Kalmykov and Professor Antoni Czajkowski from the University of St. Petersburg produced another plan, according to which the institute would have offered a full four-year course on the same level as the universities. These plans were firmly rejected by the Viceroy, Mihail Gorčakov, and Alexander II. Influenced by Curator Pavel Muhanov, Gorčakov considered higher law education in Poland as undesirable because it would be an obstacle to bringing Poland closer to Russia and “a hindrance to Polish youth’s in assimilating (*srodnjat’sja*) with other parts of the state and with loyal (*vernopoddanničeskimi*) feelings”. In fact, the Viceroy thought that the proposed institute would become a centre of political subversion. Instead, he proposed additional scholarships at the universities for students from the Kingdom. Alexander agreed with him, and the number of grants was raised to 40 from the previous 20. The number of grants for teacher trainees was increased only by six, from 12 to 18. The costs of the new pedagogical stipendiaries were covered by sums previously allocated to Russian students of the St. Petersburg Main Pedagogical Institute. At the same time, to each philological gymnasium there was added an eighth, special class in law.<sup>19</sup>

In 1859 instruction in Polish law was concentrated in the University of St. Petersburg. The two chairs in Moscow were abolished, and two were added in St. Petersburg. The reform was the result of an initiative by Polish professors in St. Petersburg. It facilitated a more profound study of Polish law because the academic level in this subject was higher in St. Petersburg than in Moscow. There also existed a plan for the establishment of a chair of Polish Literature in St. Petersburg. Although Minister Kovalevskij at first favoured such an idea, for unknown reasons it was never implemented.<sup>20</sup>

The educational reforms in the Kingdom also included a reorganization of the Institute of Agriculture and Forestry in Marymont in December 1857. The admission qualifications were raised so that full gymnasium studies or an equivalent education was required. The course in the Institute was extended from two to three years, which meant that it still did not equal studies in the universities or medical academies.<sup>21</sup>

Despite the concessions, Norov still had reservations about Poles receiving higher education. He never altogether abandoned the principle of discrimination against Poles serving in education. In April 1856 he presented Alexander with Aleksandr Kavelin’s old proposal of 1842 for establishing separate schools with a practical orientation in the Western Provinces. Norov asked for an audience in

19 SP III 170–171, 288. Poznański 1968: 23–37. Roždestvenskij 1902: 384. The division of the gymnasium curriculum into two orientations was made less strict by separating the two orientations only after four years of general studies.

20 Bardah 1995: 16–17. Nowiński 1986: 121–123.

21 Poznański 1968: 38–39.

order to present his proposals “concerning the uprooting of so-called Polish pest”. Unfortunately, our sources do not indicate whether this audience took place and what Norov’s proposals were. The Emperor noted that he had read Kavelin’s proposal “with keen interest”. Somewhat later, perhaps inspired by Kavelin’s ideas, Alexander stated to Norov that real-gymnasia with a practical orientation should be established for non-nobles both in the Western Provinces and in Russia proper. Nothing followed from this expression of the imperial will. This may have been because Norov indeed supported a classical orientation of the gymnasium curriculum. He had wanted schools with a practical orientation only for Poles, but now Russians, too, were in danger. That is why he decided to do nothing.<sup>22</sup>

The discrimination against Poles in nominations to teaching posts was continued during the new régime. In 1856 the Committee of Ministers decided that Orthodox candidates should be preferred in nominating teachers to posts in the Western Provinces. In February 1857, Norov ruled that only Russians must be nominated to vacancies for history teachers in the Western Provinces. If it was absolutely impossible to find Russian candidates, the jobs could on a temporary basis only be occupied by inhabitants of the Western Provinces, preferably Orthodox by confession. Norov’s circular shows some vacillation as to whom the government considered Russian. He did not regard the Orthodox from the Western Provinces as Russians, though he preferred them to their Roman Catholic countrymen. In October 1859, Kovalevskij reminded the Curator of the Wilno School District that all decisions from the previous reign concerning scholarship-holders of the District were still in force. After graduation from the universities, the stipendiaries were not to be offered teaching jobs in their own district, but only in the Great Russian provinces. Only Russian teachers should be appointed to the Wilno District.<sup>23</sup>

The Russian educational policy concerning higher and secondary education in Polish lands at the beginning of the new reign gives an impression of lacking a consistent political line. The basic principles of the policy dated from the previous reign and were not altered: education was seen as a tool of Russification.<sup>24</sup> Despite this, the policy was softened. A few of the most unpopular and oppressive excesses were repealed, but such half-measures really were not enough to win the loyalty of the Polish inhabitants for the government.<sup>25</sup> From the Russian government’s point of view, they were useless or even dangerous, because they facilitated more easily than hitherto the formation of a young Polish intelligentsia. However, it may well be that even more substantial concessions would not have helped the government after so many decades of antagonism.

22 RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 305, l. 10–24. Roždestvenskij 1902: 369–370.

23 SR III 241, 1021–1023.

24 This was noticed already by Roždestvenskij (1902:380), though he did not use the word.

25 Poznański 1968: 41–43.

## ■ Polish students (1856–1860)

### The student body (1856–1857)

The abolition of restrictions led to a rapid increase in the number of students. The number of students from the former Poland grew, but their proportion of all students remained stable vis-à-vis 1851–1853. Although the proportion of nobles in the whole student body from the Western Provinces and the Kingdom of Poland increased, in absolute figures the number of non-nobles also grew. Among the students from the former Poland-Lithuania, the overwhelming majority of Roman Catholics was not threatened in St. Petersburg and Moscow, but in Kiev the minority of Orthodox students from the Right-Bank Ukraine became both proportionally and numerically more significant than before.

In the autumn 1856, the University of St. Petersburg had 104 students who had previously studied in the Kingdom of Poland or the Western Provinces, 88 of whom were Roman Catholics.<sup>1</sup> They made up 22.5% and 19% respectively of the whole student body. Compared with the situation in 1852, the proportion of students from the former Poland had remained stable, whereas the proportion of Roman Catholics had slightly grown. The religious division of students was as follows:

|                    |    |
|--------------------|----|
| Roman Catholic     | 88 |
| Protestant         | 9  |
| Orthodox           | 5  |
| Uniat <sup>2</sup> | 1  |
| Jewish             | 1  |

About half of the students from the previous Poland-Lithuania came from the schools of the Kingdom of Poland. The regional division of students was rather similar to the situation in 1852, except that there were now more students who had been educated at home:

|                          |    |
|--------------------------|----|
| Kingdom of Poland        | 50 |
| Lithuania and Belorussia | 33 |
| Home education           | 21 |

There were 21 Roman Catholics who had previously studied in non-Polish regions of the Russian Empire, most of them in St. Petersburg. The background by social rank and the field of study also repeat the pattern that existed in 1852.

1 RGIA f. 733, op. 95, delo 162, l.194–230.

2 From the Kingdom of Poland, where the Greek-Catholic Church still functioned.



Most of the Polish students were noblemen, who dedicated themselves to law studies, while almost no one studied the humanities.

Students from previous Poland at the University of St. Petersburg in 1856 according to social rank and the field of study:

|  | Law  | Humanities <sup>3</sup> | Mathematics,<br>Natural science | Total | %    |
|--|------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|-------|------|
| noble                                    | 59   | 2                       | 20                              | 81    | 77.9 |
| civil servant                            | 3    | 1                       | 1                               | 5     | 4.8  |
| lower officer                            | 1    | -                       | -                               | 1     | 1.0  |
| merchant                                 | -    | -                       | 1                               | 1     | 1.0  |
| clergy                                   | 4    | -                       | 1                               | 5     | 4.8  |
| lower townsman                           | 3    | -                       | 1                               | 4     | 3.8  |
| peasant                                  | 1    | -                       | -                               | 1     | 1.0  |
| “inhabitant of the Kingdom<br>of Poland“ | 2    | 1                       | 1                               | 4     | 3.8  |
| foreigner                                | 2    | -                       | -                               | 2     | 1.9  |
| total                                    | 75   | 4                       | 25                              | 104   |      |
| %  | 72.1 | 3.8                     | 24                              | 100   |      |

By 1856, the abolition of the quota and social rank restrictions in the admissions had not had much effect on the Polish student body of the University of St. Petersburg, which remained a rather exclusive one. This is not surprising, since the restrictions on the taxpaying social ranks at the gymnasia of the Western Provinces were not abolished until the following year.

The Polish student community was considerably larger, but no less elitist at the University of Moscow. In January 1857, 377 (25.9%) of the 1,456 students at the university had received their previous education in the Western Provinces or the Kingdom of Poland.<sup>4</sup> Of them, 320 were Roman Catholics, who made up 22% of the whole student body. Compared with the situation in 1853, the proportion of all students from the former Poland, like that of Roman Catholics, had somewhat increased. In absolute numbers, the Polish community had almost doubled. Within it, the proportion of the Orthodox had grown slightly, but the Roman Catholic domination was unequivocal.

Students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces at the University of Moscow in 1857 according to religious confession:

|                |     |
|----------------|-----|
| Roman Catholic | 320 |
| Orthodox       | 34  |
| Protestant     | 16  |
| Jewish         | 5   |
| Muslim         | 1   |
| Uniat          | 1   |

3 Also contains the two students who studied at the Faculty of Oriental Languages

4 RGIA f. 733, op. 95, delo 239, l. 78–102. The list of students.

The territorial division of the student body from former Poland-Lithuania shows that the university was the most important centre of studies for the youth from historical Lithuania. The discrimination of youth from Lithuanian provinces decreed by Uvarov in 1848 did not leave any traces.

|                          |     |
|--------------------------|-----|
| Lithuania and Belorussia | 234 |
| Kingdom of Poland        | 59  |
| Right-Bank Ukraine       | 16  |
| Home education           | 68  |

The number of students from the Kingdom of Poland was also higher than in St. Petersburg. Excluding foreigners, there were 27 Roman Catholics who had gone to school outside the Western Provinces or the Kingdom of Poland.

The overwhelming majority of students studied at the Faculty of Medicine. Despite this, the proportion of nobles was now even higher than in St. Petersburg.

Students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces at the University of Moscow in 1857 according to social rank and field of study:

|                | Law  | Humanities | Mathematics,<br>Natural science | Medicine | Total | %    |
|----------------|------|------------|---------------------------------|----------|-------|------|
| noble          | 48   | 4          | 15                              | 229      | 296   | 78.5 |
| lower officer  | 6    | 3          | -                               | 14       | 23    | 6.1  |
| merchant       | -    | -          | -                               | 6        | 6     | 1.6  |
| clergy         | 2    | -          | -                               | 9        | 11    | 2.9  |
| “raznočinec”   | -    | 1          | -                               | 4        | 5     | 1.3  |
| lower townsman | 1    | -          | 3                               | 18       | 22    | 5.8  |
| Jew            | -    | -          | -                               | 4        | 4     | 1.1  |
| peasant        | -    | -          | -                               | 7        | 7     | 1.9  |
| foreigner      | -    | -          | -                               | 3        | 3     | 0.8  |
| total          | 57   | 8          | 18                              | 294      | 377   | 100  |
| %              | 15.1 | 2.1        | 4.8                             | 78       | 100   |      |

Compared with the situation in 1853, medical studies had gained in favour despite the abolition of limitations on admission to other faculties. From 1845, the proportion of non-nobles had dropped roughly by a half, from 42.6% to 21.5%. In absolute numbers, the 81 non-nobles were more than the 57 that there had been in 1853, but roughly about the same number there had been in 1845 (77). The growth of the Polish student community did not shake the domination of the nobles, quite the contrary.

St. Vladimir's university in Kiev still had the largest gathering of Polish youth in the whole Empire. Altogether 612 (69.5%) of the 881 students at the university came from the Western Provinces or the Kingdom of Poland.<sup>5</sup> Among them there were 418 Catholics, who formed 47.4% of the whole student body. The proportion of students from the former Poland as well as that of Roman Catholics had dropped slightly, but their absolute numbers had increased by more than a half since 1852.

Students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces at St. Vladimir's University in 1857 according to region and religious confession:

|                | Right-Bank<br>Ukraine | Lithuania and<br>Belorussia | Kingdom<br>of Poland | total |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|-------|
| Roman Catholic | 306                   | 102                         | 10                   | 418   |
| Orthodox       | 127                   | 31                          | 1                    | 159   |
| Protestant     | 18                    | 2                           | 1                    | 21    |
| Jewish         | 11                    | 1                           | 2                    | 14    |
| total          | 462                   | 136                         | 14                   | 612   |

There were also ten Roman Catholics from outside the former Poland-Lithuania, all from either Bessarabia or the Ukraine. The growth of the student body was primarily due to an increase in the number of students from the Right-Bank Ukraine from 262 in 1852–1853 to 462 in 1857, while the number of students from historical Lithuania remained practically stable, increasing from 132 only to 136 during the same period. In both absolute terms and in relation to Roman Catholics, the proportion of Orthodox students had increased significantly since 1852–1853. As the overwhelming majority of the Orthodox came from the Right-Bank Ukraine, they challenged the Polish and Roman Catholic domination in that area. The emergence of a Ukrainophile group among the students from the Right-Bank Ukraine was not an accidental phenomenon. It occurred when liberal government policy coincided with the growth of the ethnic Ukrainian community at the university.

The background of students according to social rank had not changed dramatically. The proportion of nobles had increased, but the absolute growth of the student community had also brought to the university more non-noble students than in 1852–1853 or in 1845.

5 RGIA f. 733, op. 95, delo 886, l. 38–92. List of students. Information according to home province, not previous place of study.

Students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces at St. Vladimir's University in 1857 according to social rank and field of study:<sup>6</sup>

|                                       | Law | Humanities | Mathematics,<br>Natural science | Medicine | Total | %   |
|---------------------------------------|-----|------------|---------------------------------|----------|-------|-----|
| noble                                 | 42  | 23         | 72                              | 310      | 447   | 73  |
| civil servant                         | -   | -          | -                               | 1        | 1     | 0.2 |
| lower officer                         | 5   | 4          | 6                               | 38       | 53    | 8.7 |
| merchant                              | 1   | -          | -                               | 11       | 12    | 2.0 |
| Orthodox clergy                       | 3   | 5          | -                               | 22       | 30    | 4.9 |
| Honoured citizen                      | -   | -          | -                               | 2        | 2     | 0.3 |
| “raznočinec”                          | -   | -          | -                               | 6        | 6     | 1.0 |
| petty official (without rank)         | 1   | -          | -                               | 1        | 2     | 0.3 |
| lower townsman                        | 1   | 1          | -                               | 23       | 25    | 4.1 |
| peasant                               | -   | -          | 2                               | 15       | 17    | 2.8 |
| foreigner                             | -   | 1          | 1                               | 13       | 15    | 2.5 |
| “inhabitant of the Kingdom of Poland” | -   | -          | -                               | 1        | 1     | 0.2 |
| not available                         | -   | -          | -                               | 1        | 1     | 0.2 |
| total                                 | 53  | 34         | 81                              | 444      | 612   |     |
| %                                     | 8.7 | 5.6        | 13.2                            | 72.5     | 100   |     |

Most students still studied medicine, though the proportion of the medical faculty had dropped from 77.1% in 1852–1853 to 72.5% in 1857. The popularity of science and mathematics had increased from 7.3% to 13.2% during the same period. This hardly reflects the contemporary fashion for natural science among the Russian intelligentsia, since in the 1840s, too, science had been quite popular among Polish students in Kiev. Now the distortion caused by the student quota was merely reversed.

Taken together, the three universities had 1,065 students who had previously studied in the Western Provinces or the Kingdom of Poland. This was a tremendous growth compared with 682 in the years 1851–1853. The overwhelming majority of these students were still Roman Catholic, although their proportion had diminished to 70% from 72.3% in 1851–53. The proportion of Orthodox students increased in the same period.

Students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces at the Universities of Kiev, Moscow and St. Petersburg in 1857 according to religious confession and region:<sup>7</sup>

|                | Right-Bank<br>Ukraine | Lithuania,<br>Belorussia | Kingdom<br>of Poland | home<br>education | total |
|----------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------|
| Roman Catholic | 276                   | 274                      | 100                  | 95                | 745   |
| Orthodox       | 192                   | 52                       | 9                    |                   | 253   |
| Protestant     | 19                    | 19                       | 8                    |                   | 46    |
| Jewish         | 8                     | 6                        | 2                    | 1                 | 17    |
| Uniat          | 1                     | -                        | 2                    | -                 | 3     |
| Muslim         | -                     | 1                        | -                    |                   | 1     |
| Total          | 496                   | 352                      | 121                  | 96                | 1,065 |

6 Statistics according to home province.

7 RGIA f. 733, op. 95, delo 162, l.194–230. Ibid, delo 239, l. 78–102, delo 886, l. 38–92. All universities according to students' previous place of study.

The schools of the Province of Kiev now sent more Orthodox (145) than Roman Catholic (133) students to universities. Witebsk Province had six Orthodox and six Roman Catholic students. Elsewhere the majority was Roman Catholic.

The background of the students according to social rank was rather similar to what it had been in 1851–1853, the nobility constituting the most numerous social rank in all the three universities. The proportion of nobles increased from 69.9% to 74.4%.

Students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces in the Universities of Kiev, Moscow and St. Petersburg in 1857 according to social rank and field of study:

|                                       | Law  | Humanities | Mathematics,<br>Natural science | Medicine | Total | %    |
|---------------------------------------|------|------------|---------------------------------|----------|-------|------|
| noble                                 | 161  | 35         | 101                             | 495      | 792   | 74.4 |
| civil servant                         | 3    | 1          | 1                               | 1        | 6     | 0.6  |
| lower officer                         | 17   | 6          | 7                               | 53       | 83    | 7.8  |
| merchant                              | 1    | -          | 1                               | 16       | 18    | 1.7  |
| Roman Catholic clergy                 | -    | -          | -                               | 3        | 3     | 0.3  |
| Protestant clergy                     | 3    | -          | 1                               | -        | 4     | 0.4  |
| Orthodox clergy                       | 6    | 5          | -                               | 28       | 39    | 3.7  |
| Uniat clergy                          | 1    | -          | -                               | 1        | 2     | 0.2  |
| Honoured citizen                      | -    | -          | -                               | 2        | 2     | 0.2  |
| “raznočinec”                          | -    | 1          | -                               | 11       | 12    | 1.1  |
| petty official                        | 1    | -          | -                               | 1        | 2     | 0.2  |
| lower townsman                        | 5    | 3          | 5                               | 37       | 50    | 4.7  |
| peasant                               | 1    | -          | 2                               | 20       | 23    | 2.2  |
| Jew                                   | -    | -          | -                               | 4        | 4     | 0.4  |
| “inhabitant of the Kingdom of Poland” | 2    | 1          | 1                               | -        | 4     | 0.4  |
| foreigner                             | 3    | 3          | -                               | 14       | 20    | 1.9  |
| not available                         | -    | -          | -                               | 1        | 1     | 0.1  |
| total                                 | 204  | 55         | 119                             | 687      | 1,065 | 100  |
| %                                     | 19.2 | 5.1        | 11.2                            | 64.5     | 100   |      |

The order of popularity between the fields of study remained as it had been in 1851–1853. The abolition of the quota for other faculties had diminished the popularity of medicine only slightly. The Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Science had increased most. The Faculty of Arts increased in popularity slightly, but remained the least popular. The proportion of law students somewhat diminished. All the faculties grew in absolute numbers.

When the Roman Catholic and Orthodox student bodies from areas inhabited by Poles are studied separately, their differences are as marked as they were in 1851–1853. The proportion of nobles was much greater among the Roman Catholics than among the Orthodox.

Roman Catholic students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces at the Universities of Kiev, St. Petersburg and Moscow in 1857 according to social rank and field of study:

|                                       | Law | Humanities | Mathematics,<br>Natural science | Medicine | Total | %    |
|---------------------------------------|-----|------------|---------------------------------|----------|-------|------|
| noble                                 | 119 | 17         | 75                              | 427      | 638   | 85.6 |
| civil servant                         | 3   | 1          | 1                               | 1        | 6     | 0.8  |
| lower officer                         | 7   | 3          | 3                               | 22       | 35    | 4.7  |
| clergy                                | -   | -          | -                               | 3        | 3     | 0.4  |
| merchant                              | -   | -          | -                               | 3        | 3     | 0.4  |
| “raznočinec”                          | -   | -          | -                               | 5        | 5     | 0.7  |
| honoured citizen                      | -   | -          | -                               | 1        | 1     | 0.1  |
| lower townsman                        | 2   | -          | 4                               | 16       | 22    | 3.0  |
| peasant                               | 1   | -          | 2                               | 16       | 19    | 2.6  |
| foreigner                             | -   | -          | -                               | 8        | 8     | 1.1  |
| “inhabitant of the Kingdom of Poland” | 2   | 1          | 1                               | -        | 4     | 0.5  |
| not available                         | -   | -          | -                               | 1        | 1     | 0.1  |
| total                                 | 134 | 22         | 86                              | 503      | 745   |      |
| %                                     | 18  | 3          | 11.5                            | 67.5     | 100   |      |

Orthodox students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces at the Universities of Kiev, Moscow and St. Petersburg according to social rank and field of study:

|                | Law  | Humanities | Mathematics,<br>Natural science | Medicine | Total | %    |
|----------------|------|------------|---------------------------------|----------|-------|------|
| noble          | 38   | 18         | 24                              | 59       | 139   | 54.9 |
| lower officer  | 9    | 3          | 4                               | 24       | 40    | 15.8 |
| merchant       | 1    | -          | -                               | 9        | 10    | 4.0  |
| clergy         | 6    | 5          | -                               | 28       | 39    | 15.4 |
| “raznočinec”   | -    | -          | -                               | 1        | 1     | 0.4  |
| petty official | 1    | -          | -                               | 1        | 2     | 0.8  |
| lower townsman | 1    | 3          | 1                               | 9        | 14    | 5.5  |
| converted Jew  | -    | -          | -                               | 1        | 1     | 0.4  |
| peasant        | -    | -          | -                               | 3        | 3     | 1.2  |
| foreigner      | 1    | 2          | -                               | 1        | 4     | 1.6  |
| total          | 57   | 31         | 29                              | 136      | 253   | 100  |
| %              | 22.5 | 12.3       | 11.5                            | 53.7     | 100   |      |

Since 1851–1853, the proportion of nobles had increased in both groups, among the Roman Catholics from 81.3% to 85.6% and among the Orthodox from 44% to 54.9%. As before, the medical studies were much more popular among Roman Catholics than among the Orthodox, while for law studies the situation was the opposite, possibly pointing to a different attitude towards the government. Among Roman Catholics, studies in natural science and mathematics had gained in popularity, but in absolute numbers they still had not reached the level of 1844–1845. The Faculty of Arts was the only one in which the Orthodox outnumbered Roman Catholics. This was quite natural

considering the limitations on Roman Catholics regarding opportunities to work as teachers in the Western Provinces.

In the course of the year 1856, 140 students from Russian Poland studied at the University of Dorpat.<sup>8</sup> Their regional background was as follows:

|                          |    |
|--------------------------|----|
| Lithuania and Belorussia | 81 |
| Kingdom of Poland        | 47 |
| Right-Bank Ukraine       | 12 |

In addition, there were three students from Austrian Poland. Contrary to the general trend, the number of students from lands inhabited by Poles had somewhat diminished.

### The St. Vladimir's University of Kiev

The events at the university during the first years of the new reign have left many sources at our disposal. There are more memoirs for this section than for any other in the present study. The documents of the Governor-General, the Third Section and the Ministry of Public Enlightenment also contain valuable information. Some of them have been published in the collection dealing with the opposition political movement in the Ukraine between 1856 and 1862.<sup>9</sup>

The student activism that had begun in the years 1854–1855 continued in the beginning of the new reign. The development finally led to the formation of a large and well-organized student union, the nucleus of which formed a patriotic conspiracy. The new movement was home-grown, not inspired by any outside organization.<sup>10</sup> The old forms of activity were extended to include defence of the interests of all students. From the start, relations with non-Polish students were a controversial matter.

In March 1855, Józef Rozental tried to incite the peasants in the Right-Bank village of Velikaja Voljanka, the land of which his father was renting. Previously in 1854, he had been mentioned in a denunciation about the subversive discussions described in Chapter 11. Rozental's was the first attempt at direct agitation among the peasants in the Western Provinces by a Polish student. He read the peasants a proclamation, claiming that it was from the Monarchs of France and Britain. It called for an uprising against both the Emperor and the lords, and it contained a Mickiewicz-like interpretation of world history identifying equality and freedom with Christianity and absolutism with Satan. Rózentel mentioned neither Poland nor the Ukraine by name, but referred to the Cossack tradition, trying to appeal to national feelings as well as social dissatisfaction: "For a hundred years now you have groaned under the Muscovite yoke...Equality, freedom and fatherland". Instead of rising in revolt,

8 Hasselblatt-Otto 1889: Nos 5362–6631, p. 394–485.

9 OPDU

10 Miłowicz 1894: 8–9.

the peasants denounced Rózentel to the authorities. He fled to Galicia, but was returned from there by the Austrian authorities. He was denied the rights of social rank and deported to Siberia for an indefinite period. Rozental's evidence revealed the existence of Polish student meetings and the organization of mutual assistance, but the government did not investigate them. In Rozental's investigation it became clear that he had not isolated himself from Russians. Apart from Polish poetry, he had been influenced by unspecified Russian radical writers, most likely Aleksandr Herzen. He had also had an affair with a soldier's daughter called Vasilenkova.<sup>11</sup>

The incident and Rozental's personality aroused various feelings among the Polish students in Kiev. According to Lasocki, it had nothing to do with the emerging student movement in the university. Rozental was not popular among the students, and before his arrest there even circulated a libellous poem mocking him for his supposed Jewish background. Rozental himself told the investigators that he had been quite influential in the university until envious rivals had spread a rumour that he was a government agent.<sup>12</sup>

The emerging new activism was once again marked by a moralist campaign. The initiative came from Fortunat Nowicki, a medical student from Wołyń. He was an orphan who earned money for his studies by working as a private tutor. The immediate cause of his initiative in October 1856 was a scandal involving some Polish students in a theatre in the presence of a Grand Prince. Five students were arrested for ten days and two expelled from the university. Nowicki gave a birthday party at his home in which he made a speech denouncing the immorality of many Polish students. About 20 persons attended, most of them from the Right-Bank Ukraine. On the next day, a large student meeting was held publicly in the assembly hall of the university, although the Curator, Rehbinder, had refused to give his permission for it. The announcements about the meeting were written in Polish and posted on the walls of the university. Again Nowicki made a speech, in which he named the culpable students and specified their transgressions. In the end, the inspector dispersed the meeting. Polish memoirists describe the meeting, which began the moralistic "purist" movement, as exclusively Polish. However, Rehbinder reported to Norov that one of the causes of dispute in the meeting was that some of the participants wanted it to be conducted only in Russian, whereas others claimed their right to speak Polish. In fact, a public meeting hardly could have been nationally exclusive.<sup>13</sup>

- . . . . .
- 11 Lemke M: *Krestjanskije volnenija 1855 goda (Po neizdannym materialam)*. *Krasnaja Letopis'* 7/1923, p. 132, 135–164. Contains the proclamation in Russian translation. Simonov 1963: 107–113. *Tabiś* 1974: 75–79.
  - 12 Lasocki 1933: 1: 179–181. Lemke 1923: *krest'janskye...*: 142–144. In fact, after his arrest Rozental wished to become an agent of the Third Section, but the authorities were not interested in his services. *Tabiś* 1974: 78–79.
  - 13 RGIA f. 733, op. 70, delo 709, l. 1–2. Norov's preparatory draft for submission to the Emperor. The final submission is not in the file. *Ibid.* f. 735, op. 10, l. 56–57. Rehbinder to Norov, unofficial letter 9th November 1856. Dubiecki 1909: 68–69. Lasocki 1933: I:185–188. *Tabiś* 1974: 80–81.



Purism developed into a sub-culture. Its adherents had a tendency towards asceticism. They wore simple dress. They abstained from drunkenness and were also very moderate in their eating habits. They advocated informal behaviour.<sup>14</sup> A purist's outward appearance and way of life to some extent violated the traditional noble code of behaviour. There was a similar movement towards simplicity and condemnation of luxury among the Russian students especially in St. Petersburg and Moscow, but it involved a much more profound conflict with traditional values. Russian radical students often supported socialism and atheism, neither of which found a wide audience among Poles. The purists kept to a noble concept of honour and its defence in duels. The Polish students could not afford a total break with the values of the nobility, since in the Western Provinces the Polish identity was so closely tied with them.

The purist movement did not pass unopposed. Right after the very first meeting some students complained to Rehbinder that they had been insulted in it. The Curator ruled that there should be an election of an honorary court consisting of representatives from both sides, which should make a submission on the matter to him. In this way, the disciplinary power of the student community, which had been practised quietly for a long time in many universities, received an official sanction. Rehbinder's idea was to establish a controlled student movement uniting all the nationalities. The attempt was in vain, since students held meetings not only publicly in the university building, but also secretly in private lodgings. Governor-General Vasilčikov firmly opposed all kinds of student meetings, and Rehbinder had to explain his conduct to Norov. The Curator emphasized that the case was one of dispute and not of the violation of rules. He claimed that he had been slandered by hostile Ukrainophiles and Poles.<sup>15</sup>

An especially large number of the opponents of "purism" came from Podolia. They were led by Władysław Rudnicki. The controversy was also marked by political disagreement. The opposition included conservatives loyal to Russian rule. Though himself the son of a tenant farmer, Rudnicki mixed socially with both the Russian and the Polish local aristocracy. He even wrote an anonymous pamphlet in which he proposed that Russian and Ukrainian students should be accepted as members of the student union. Rudnicki argued that the university was an academic institution, not a national one. The students should concentrate on their studies and not on spreading propaganda. Further, it was not fair to reject a hand that was offered in friendship. At the end of the pamphlet there was a suggestion that Kiev was actually a Russian town and not a Polish one, and that the Poles should behave accordingly. Rudnicki's initiative was inspired by Russian students and Michał Grabowski, a well-known conservative Polish-

14 Lasocki 1933: I:188. Poznanskij B. S: Vospominanija. Ukrainskaja Žižn' 1–5/1913. Here 2:13–14. Rudnicki Władysław: Z dziejów kijowskiego uniwersytetu (1855–60). Nasz Kraj 1906, tom 1, nr 5–16, 18, 20, 22–23, 25–27, tom 2, nr 1. Here t. 1, nr 20, p. 23–24.

15 RGIA f. 733, op. 70, delo 709, l. 1–2. Ibid. f. 735, op. 10, l. 65–68, 73–74. Rehbinder to Norov unofficially 7th and 29th December 1856. Lasocki 1933: 1:186–187. Rudnicki 1906: tom 1, Nr 10, p. 14.

Ukrainian writer loyal to Russian rule. As might have been expected, the proposal was rejected by the Polish student community.<sup>16</sup>

The final rift between the purists and their opponents occurred in the context of a disciplinary case, in which the purists saw the embezzlement of money and the Podolians saw groundless slander. Indeed, the antagonism was more concerned with the two moral and political principles. It culminated in a duel fought in March 1857 between Rudnicki and Waclaw Lasocki, one of the leading purists. The latter was wounded. Rudnicki won the duel, but lost in the long run. Final victory belonged to the purists, who set the tone for the life of the whole Polish student community.<sup>17</sup>

The next great challenge was a conflict with local officers. The relations between students and officers were strained and gave rise to various violent clashes, which were noticed even in St. Petersburg and reported to Alexander. The first incident occurred at about the same time as Rudnicki and Lasocki's duel, in March 1857. A drunken officer considered that he had been insulted in the street by a Polish student called Cichocki and struck him with his sword. The victim died after a few days. The event shocked both the authorities and the students. After Cichocki's death, cases of officers insulting students continued. Students became dissatisfied with the passivity of the university authorities and considered themselves defenceless against the insults. The situation was further aggravated by the undiplomatic behaviour by Rehbinder, who delivered a speech to all the students while Cichocki was dying. The Curator blamed the students for their bad behaviour and explained that the university authorities would not defend those who themselves asked for trouble. Rehbinder also abstained from attending the funeral because he feared that it would be interpreted as a demonstration against the officers. Later he even explained that he had specifically feared that the occasion would turn into a Polish patriotic demonstration, since the whole local Polish community attended the funeral.<sup>18</sup>

In April, two weeks after the first incident, a Polish student by the name of Jarocki hit a dog with a stick after it attacked him in the street. The owner of the dog, Colonel von der Brinken, had his soldiers arrest Jarocki, and insulted him verbally and also slightly assaulted him physically. In this context, von der Brinken also spoke about the student body in general. Jarocki made a formal complaint to Rehbinder. On the advice of Governor-General Vasilčikov, the Curator refused to forward the complaint to other authorities and advised Jarocki to come to an agreement with von der Brinken. When representatives of the students, one Polish and one Russian, approached the Curator on the matter, he explained to them that there was no organized student body, and accordingly

16 Rudnicki 1906: tom I nr 18, p. 43, nr 20, p. 23, 28, nr 25, p. 24–25. Wspomnienia z uniwersytetu kijowskiego. Wiek No 30/1864, p. 1–2.

17 Lasocki 1933: 1:207–210. Rudnicki 1906: tom I, nr 20, p. 24–26, nr 22, p. 9–10.

18 RGIA f. 733, op. 70, delo 709, l. 3-4. Rehbinder's telegramme to Norov 26th March and Norov's submission to Alexander on the same day. *ibid.* l. 14-15, 38–41, Rehbinder to Norov 8th and 23rd. April 1857. L. 77–78. Rehbinder to the Deputy Minister of Public Enlightenment Vjazemskij 15th June 1857. Lasocki 1933: I:213. Tabiś 1974: 83.

a case involving one student did not concern the others. As the Curator later explained to Norov:

The students understand honour not in an individual sense, but as a corporation, considering themselves, because they wear the uniform coat, as members of a separate closed society which must be defended from all kinds of insults from outside...

...it was a question of principle concerning the existence of the students as a mass and whether the authorities are obliged to satisfy its demands or not. To recognize any rights to it would mean to submit forever to the will and caprice of the students.<sup>19</sup>

The students now decided to take the matter into their own hands. On 15 April, when he was coming out of a theatre, von der Brinken was met by about 200 Polish, Russian and Ukrainian students, some of whom beat him with wooden sticks.<sup>20</sup>

Norov was very dissatisfied with Rehbinder's conduct. He wrote to the Curator that the von der Brinken scandal was caused by his tactless behaviour. In the Minister's opinion, active defence of the insulted students would have been an appropriate policy. The Curator answered Norov's criticism with the sound argument that he could not act against the Governor-General. Once again, the Kievan students brought the jurisdictional relation between the Curator and the Governor-General to the fore.<sup>21</sup>

A commission was set up to investigate the incident. All students suspected of being present outside the theatre during the incident were arrested. The case was decided by the Emperor without a formal trial at the end of July on the basis of a submission by the Minister of War, Nikolaj Suhozanet. In all, 85 students were arrested, of whom 50 were punished. Four medical students were found guilty of having participated in the actual beating. Of them, three who had already graduated were sentenced to two years' service in military hospitals in Helsingfors, Vjatka and Astrakhan. After that they were not to be allowed enter into service in the Western Provinces. One who had not yet completed his studies was sent to Kazan for one year's service as a barber-surgeon. Eleven were detained for two months and expelled from the university. Seventeen students were detained for one month and 11 of them transferred to other universities. A further 18 were detained for only two weeks. In his decision, Alexander stated that the whole scandal was due to the Curator's ineptitude (*nerasporjaditel'nost'*). The Emperor ruled that the Curator and other university

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19 RGIA f. 733. op. 69, delo 709, l. 41–42.

20 RGIA f. 733, op. 70, delo 709, l. 30–37. Vasilčikov to Norov 26th April 1857. Ibid. l. 38–47. Rehbinder to Norov 23rd April 1857. l. 83–99. Copies of two reports by the chairman of the investigating commission, Count Bobrinskij, to the Minister of War 22nd June 1857. Simonov 1963: 117–118. Tabiš 1974: 83–84. Lasocki 1933: I:213–216. Rudnicki 1906: tom 1, No 26, p. 28–29.

21 RGIA f. 733, op. 70, delo 709, l. 38–47, 75–79. Norov's remarks in the margins of report by Rehbinder. Rehbinder to Vjazemskij 15th June 1857. Norov's original letter to Rehbinder has not survived, but the latter mentions it in his letter to Vjazemskij.

authorities should remain in their posts “for the time being” in order not to give the students reason to think that they had achieved their goal. This, in fact meant Rehbinder’s dismissal after a period of time.<sup>22</sup>

In summer 1858, Rehbinder was replaced as Curator by Nikolaj Pirogov, a famous surgeon and educational reformer. Pirogov’s appointment indicated that times were changing, since such a progressive and independent man could hardly have held a high office during the previous reign. Pirogov was first noticed by Alexander when he had openly revealed the extent of misconduct in the Crimean army during the war. As an educational thinker he became famous after publishing an article entitled “Questions of Life” (*Voprosy žizni*) in a periodical “Morskoj Sbornik”, which supported Alexander’s brother, the Grand Prince Constantin. Pirogov advocated an equal basic education for all children regardless of their social rank or sex. At the university, Pirogov first adopted a position that accepted student activism within certain limits. He favoured Russian, Ukrainian and Jewish activities to counterbalance Polish nationalism, but he was ready to make concessions to the Poles as well. He was not against establishing the chair of Polish Language at the university, although the plan was blocked by his superiors. He refrained from the suppression of Polish student activism, considering it the task of the ordinary police, not the educational authorities.<sup>23</sup>

In October 1858, the new Curator was faced with another case of collective vengeance involving Polish-Russian solidarity. A gardener and his apprentice tried to prevent a Russian/Ukrainian student, Efim Titenko, from stealing flowers from the university garden. Some of the students found the gardener’s and apprentice’s behaviour insulting. They went to the garden and forced the gardener and apprentice to beat each other with a rope. The instigators of the act were two Poles, Tytus Dalkiewicz and Bartoszewicz. However, many students disapproved of the deed. Lasocki later wrote:

...one is struck by a certain misunderstanding of rights and duties in this case; Polish youth shows solidarity with a Russian student who violates the property right and inflicts corporal punishment upon three defenders of this just principle. The whole case makes an unpleasant impression...<sup>24</sup>

Pirogov summoned a general student meeting, which expelled all three culprits from the university for one year. The Curator officially expelled them altogether,

22 RGIA f. 733, op. 70, delo 709, l. 58–63, 65–66, 105–106, 122–123. Copy from report of the chairman of the investigating commission, Bobrinskij, to the Minister of War Suhozanet 10th May 1857 and Alexander’s decision on it. Suhozanet to Vjazemskij 5th June 1857 and 28th July 1857. Copy of Vasilčikov’s letter to Rehbinder informing him about the imperial decision 8th October 1857. Tabiś 1974:85.

23 Pirogov N.I: *Sobranie sočinenij*. 1–2. Kiev 1910. 1:691–694. Pirogov to Baronesse E. F. Raden 7th December 1860.

24 Lasocki 1933: 1:236. The mention of the three victims is a mistake, as there were only two. According to Lasocki, the sentence on the gardeners was decided by an elected court consisting of Włodzimierz Antonowicz, Włodzimierz Miłowicz and Władysław Kamiński. If this is correct, the act was prepared by either the whole Polish student union or its conspiratorial nucleus, since Antonowicz and Miłowicz held leading positions in both.

but a year later he admitted Titenko and Dalkiewicz back to the university in accordance with the original student decision. In his official report to the Minister Kovalevskij, Pirogov did not mention that he had let the students decide the case. However, the students got used to the idea that their general meeting had disciplinary powers recognized by the Curator. In the following years, they arranged such meetings from time to time.<sup>25</sup>

The von der Brinken and Dalkiewicz cases were remarkable in that they showed international solidarity among the students regardless of their nationality. In von der Brinken's case, the attempts of the investigators to play the arrested Russians against the Poles were in vain.<sup>26</sup> However, the solidarity did not lead to continuous co-operation. Occasionally there were general meetings concerning all the students, but they did not have a permanent organizational structure. The existing student institutions, like the library and the bank of mutual assistance, remained exclusively Polish. There is no reason to doubt the unanimous evidence of memoirists that the Poles acted independently of other nationalities. The observations of the authorities confirm this. The emerging Polish student society was formed on a national basis without Russian participation. In fact, by 1860 Polish-Russian relations at the university were rather tense, and opinions at general meetings were divided along national lines. The organized student groups were international only in so far as they also included Orthodox Ukrainians from the Right-Bank of the Dnieper, but this was due to the fact that the Ukrainian and Polish identities were not as yet considered mutually exclusive.<sup>27</sup>

Russian and Ukrainian students became more active in the late 1850s. In 1859 many members of a revolutionary republican conspiracy founded at the University of Kharkov in 1856 moved to Kiev. With Pirogov's permission, they arranged literary circles and began the first voluntary Sunday school, where common people were given elementary education. The Sunday school movement soon spread all over Russia. The Kharkovians also wrote propaganda material for the common people in the Ukrainian language. The conspiracy was uncovered and its members arrested in February 1860. By this time Governor-General Vasilčikov was well aware of the existence of the Polish student union, but he did not undertake any official investigation.<sup>28</sup>

25 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1860g., ed. hr. 253, l. 3–6. Gendarme officer Gribovskij to Dolgorukov 2nd December 1860. RGIA f. 733, op. 70, delo 869, l. 1–2, 7–8, 9–10. Correspondence between Pirogov, Kovalevskij and Alexander II. Lasocki 1933: I:236. Poznanskij 1913: 2:21–23.

26 Romanovič-Slavatinskij 1903: 2: 628. Rudnicki 1906: tom 1, No 26, p. 28–30, No 27, p. 33. Tabiś 1974: 86.

27 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1860g., ed. hr. 253, l. 3–6, 9–12. Correspondence between Dolgorukov, Vasilčikov and Gribovskij. Antonovič V: *Tvori*. Kiiiv 1932. Tom I, p. 53. Burzyński 1894:121. Poznanskij 1913: 2: 13. [Święcicki Paulin, a book review:] *Na gruzach*. Powieść w dwóch tomach przez Teofila Szumskiego. Sióło 2/1866, p. 161. Wiercieński Henryk: *Pamiętniki*. Lublin 1974. P. 115. Marahov G. I: *Pol'skoe vosstanie 1863g. na pravoberežnoj Ukraine*. Kiev 1967. P. 40–49. Marahov: *Social'no-političeskaja bor'ba na Ukraine v 50–60-e gody XIX veka*. Kiev 1981. P. 75–79, 101–104, 111–112. Marahov's statement about a Polish-Ukrainian-Russian conspiracy directing the activities of all Kievan students is a product of his imagination.

28 Baraboj A. S: *Har'kovsko-Kievskoe revoljucionnoe tajnoe obščestvo 1856-1860gg*. *Istoričeskie zapiski* 52. 1955. P. 239–252. OPDU 2–5, 19–22, 31–34, 49–53, 68–75.

Rudnicki's memoirs include an interesting passage about contacts between the Poles and the Kievan student group led by the Kharkovians. There were many Jews in the latter. The group invited representatives of both Polish parties, purists and their opponents, to one of its meetings. The Kharkovians asked their guests why they supported national particularism and formed their own society, and why they did not unite with the other students in the name of progress. They also wanted to know the opinion of the Poles on "the importance of religion in the 19th century". The last question was probably due to the importance of Roman Catholicism among the Poles as opposed to the criticism of the Church that was widespread among Russian and Ukrainian radicals. The representative of the purists answered the questions, but his Polish opponent proclaimed, "We are Christians, and it is not allowed for us to discuss things with Jews". After this scene, all the Poles left the meeting.<sup>29</sup> Rudnicki's account is partly corroborated by a letter from Kiev to Kharkov that was confiscated in the arrest of the Kharkovan-Kievan group. It stated that "one Polish regional union...wanted to unite with us, but its leader prevented it because we have many Jews."<sup>30</sup> Certainly, some Polish students in Kiev were far from recognizing all the inhabitants of pre-partition Poland as Poles. Small wonder that the authorities found out that one of the many aims of the Kharkovan-Kievan group was to oppose "a certain Polish group that they considered incapable of undertakings for the common good".<sup>31</sup>

The Polish student union took shape in the course of a few years. The first organizations (*gminy*) united students from the same gymnasium. In 1857 they already had a common board, which was responsible for funds. At some time between 1858 and 1860 a provincial structure was adopted. The Polish student union now had five constituent organizations: "Ukrainian" (the Province of Kiev), Podolian, Wolynian, Lithuanian and "The Crown" (the Kingdom of Poland). Each organization elected its representative to the board. The regional organizations mainly gathered money for needy colleagues and supervised their members' moral behaviour. The atmosphere in them was patriotic, but initially not directed towards immediate political action.<sup>32</sup>

A conspiracy within the student union and directed towards a more political nationalist orientation was formed in 1857 under the name of "The Triple Union" (*Związek Trójnicki*). The actual meaning of the name is not quite clear. Most probably it derived from the organizational structure, which was based on cells of three persons, but it may have also denoted the three provinces of the

29 Rudnicki 1906: t. 1, nr 10, p. 15–16, nr 11, p. 27.

30 OPDU 50. Vasilčikov's quotation in his letter to Pirogov 19th March 1860.

31 OPDU 33.

32 Antonowicz 1932: I:53. Burzyński 1894: 121. Hendrychowski 1933, p. 103. Koszczyc W: *Zródło ruchu 1863 r. i akademicy Kijowscy*. *Gazeta Narodowa* nr 9–10, 14–17, 53–55, 57/1884. Nr 14. Lasocki 1933: I:231–232. According to Lasocki, there was also a Belorussian *gmina*. Miłowicz 1894: 9. *Poznanskij* 1913: 2: 14–16, 22, 3: 15–16. Święcicki 1866: 159–160. Syroczyński Leon: *Z przed 50 lat. Wspomnienie b. studenta kijowskiego uniwersytetu Leona Syroczyńskiego, profesora szkoły politechnicznej we Lwowie*. *Lwów* 1914. P. 20. *Tabiś* 1974: 85–86.

Right-Bank Ukraine. The first leading three included the prominent purists Włodzimierz Miłowicz and Włodzimierz Antonowicz. The members were carefully selected from among the activists of the student union. Soon the Triple Union directed all the activities of Polish students in Kiev and established relations with the other groups involved in the national conspiracy. The first co-ordinator of the Warsaw conspiracies, a retired officer called Narcyz Jankowski, came from Kiev in May 1858 and was quite probably sent by the Triple Union. The contact with the St. Petersburg Polish officer organization as well as with the St. Petersburg and Moscow Polish student unions was established in winter 1860 at the latest, but quite probably even earlier. The officers' organization counted among its members five persons who had completed their studies in St. Vladimir's University between 1858 and 1860. In March 1860, Stefan Bobrowski moved from the University of St. Petersburg to Kiev and became one of the leaders of the Kievan conspiracy. One year before that, in 1859, Włodzimierz Miłowicz and Tadeusz Orzechowski had moved to Paris, which facilitated the connection between Kiev and the émigrés. By the end of 1860, the Triple Union had links with all the important centres of the underground national movement. Miłowicz even claims that the University of Kiev was the actual centre of agitation and organization, and that it was from here that the idea of an insurrection emerged.<sup>33</sup>

Kiev's role in the movement was facilitated by the liberal atmosphere of the city and the university. Indeed, political action was at first easier in Kiev than in the Kingdom of Poland.<sup>34</sup> Different political opinions were expressed in hand-written periodicals called "Bigos", "Ulicznik" and "Publicysta". "Bigos" was started by the purists in the autumn of 1856 and concentrated on denouncing immorality among the students. The two other papers came out in 1858-1859 and followed different orientations. The editors of "Ulicznik" were from the Kingdom of Poland, and the periodical paid much attention to culture, but it also included less serious articles. "Publicysta" was edited by students from Kiev Province. It wrote about Polish history and social questions, like the position of the peasants. The latter was a rather topical subject because of the imminent abolition of serfdom. As Lasocki stated in his memoirs:

*Publicysta*, which started later, was seen with suspicion among the editors of *Ulicznik* who cast doubt on the new journal's Rusinophile tendency. Antoni Mioduszewski answered on behalf of the editors [of *Publicysta*] that with regard to the emerging, threatening and crucial Rusin question, it was necessary that Poles respond to it with absolute justice and the recognition of all the legitimate Rusin demands.<sup>35</sup>

33 On the Triple Union, Beiersdorf Otton: Kijów w powstaniu styczniowym. In: Kraków-Kijów. Szkice z dziejów polsko-ukraińskich. Kraków 1969. P. 77-79. Kieniewicz 1983:40, 50-53, 68. Miłowicz 1894: 7-8. OPDU 65-66. Syroczyński Leon: O życiu młodzieży kijowskiej przed r. 1863 przez członka ostatniego zarządu Trojnickiego. Lwów 1884. P. 10-14. Syroczyński 1914: 8-9, 21. Tabiś 1974: 90-91. On contacts with St. Petersburg: Leikina-Svirskaja V. R.-Šidlovskaja V. S: Polskaja voennaja organizacija v Peterburge (1858-1864gg.) In: Russko-polskie revoljucionnye svjazi 60-h godov i vosstanie 1863 goda. Moskva 1962. P. 26-27. RPRS 1:337-339, 345, 349.

34 Hendrychowski 1933: No 7, p. 107.

35 Lasocki 1933: 1:233-234.

For “Publicysta“, an interest in the Rusin (Ukrainian) question did not mean a betrayal of Polish nationalism. In autumn 1859 political disagreements split the editors of “Publicysta“. Wincenty Odyniec from Belorussia wrote an article, “Insurrection or revolution?“, in which he came to the conclusion that the whole of society must be recruited for an armed struggle. Delicate social questions that might cause class enmity must not be touched upon during the preparatory phase of the insurrection. Antonowicz and Tadeusz Rylski, who were Ukrainophiles and social radicals, left the periodical because the majority of the editing board was in favour of publishing Odyniec’s article. They started their own paper, “Plebeusz“, but both periodicals ceased publication in 1860.<sup>36</sup>

The Polish students in Kiev wrote and published lawfully in 1858 a collection of works entitled “Fragmentary writings in poetry and prose by Józef Prosper Gromadzki“. The book was written by persons who were close to the leaders of the Triple Union. It is a quite helpful source for the atmosphere and ideological orientation among the students. The book shows that the idea of insurrection was already emerging in 1858, and that there were some differences of opinion about the Rusin question. So far as I know, Polish research has not paid any attention to this latter aspect of the Gromadzki publication.<sup>37</sup>

The introduction was written by Fortunat Nowicki. It included severe criticism of local nobles as well as of the middle classes for their egoism and neglect of any causes except their own prosperity. Nobles were also blamed for their class prejudices. Nowicki especially criticized the upbringing of noble children, in whom from early childhood was inculcated a firm belief in their superiority and the need to remain aloof from the lower classes. According to the author, the widespread egoism and passivity followed from a loss of faith in God and charity towards one’s neighbour. In such an atmosphere it was understandable that young men ceased to respect their elders merely because they did not know some Hegel. The flourishing materialism and egoism were not Polish, they were “the fruits of the new European philosophy, which even now haggles with God about truth, without humbleness in its soul or love of one’s neighbour in its heart”.<sup>38</sup>

This progress, this civilization is not enough for us, though they might be enough for Germans and Englishmen. There was something that raised the ancient heroes to gigantic heights and might. It was national faith, mercy and truth, which are undermined by the misunderstood new European civilization...We have the wells of life and happiness in ourselves, only we do not want, or we are not able to draw from them.

...for us Slavs, it is given to lead mankind as harbingers of the new life, as messengers of the new kingdom of light and truth. Woe to them who have

36 Lasocki 1933: I:187, 233–236. Syroczyński 1914: 14. Świącicki 1866: 159.

37 Pisma urywkowe wierszem i prozą Józefa Prospera Gromadzkiego. Kijów 1858. Zieliński Andrzej: “Pismo zbiorowe” młodzieży kijowskiej z r. 1853. *Prace Polonistyczne* XXVI (1970).

38 Pisma...1858: 23.



ears and do not hear, who have eyes and do not see; for the passion for a better future life already elevates all noble hearts.<sup>39</sup>

Like the Kievan students 20 years before him, Nowicki was inspired by Mickiewicz's Messianism, together with the Slavonic idea as expressed in the poet's Paris lectures. Nowicki's article combined egalitarianism and expectation of the millennium with conservative criticism of all rational philosophy and modern western civilization. The author did not hesitate to condemn as un-Polish the prejudices of the nobility, which had been rooted in the country for centuries, while at the same time glorifying Poland's past.<sup>40</sup>

A rather important and lengthy article in the Gromadzki collection was Aleksander Jabłonowski's "Notes on the importance of provincialism in the history of Poland".<sup>41</sup> The influence of German idealism despised by Nowicki is evident in Jabłonowski's work. His main thesis was that all ethnic non-Polish groups of the former Poland, which also included even Smolensk, were incapable of political independence or even of creating a civilization of their own. They could develop only under Polish influence. The achievements of Kievan Rus were only due to princes and ecclesiastical leaders. The people itself was

...capable of creative action perhaps only under external influence. The Byzantine culture did not soften the raw mind of Rus, brought nothing fresh to it. Despite the often expressed orientation of Rus towards the west, regular relations with Carogrod [Constantinople], though they transmitted to Rus the first ideas of faith and poured into it the first elements of enlightenment, on the other hand damaged it with the poison of Byzantine corruption.<sup>42</sup>

Jabłonowski found that the Tartar invasion further hindered development in Rus, since it brought alien elements into its politics, social structure and religion. Later the area received a beneficent Polish influence, which, however, also met with considerable resistance. The Cossacks were able to organize themselves because they had been influenced by the Polish spirit and had received elements of Christian chivalry through Poland. As for the Belorussians ("northern Rusins"), they had not achieved "anything markedly original".

If we now examine thoroughly the past of the whole of ancient Rus, we become convinced that in it there was nothing organically creative, no strength, which might have united the dispersed East Slavonic tribes into one nation. Dynastic unity, civilised religion, the name of Rus only appeared to have that strength. Indeed, the lack of an enlivening spirit is seen everywhere.<sup>43</sup>

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39 Pisma...1858: 25–26.

40 Pisma...1858: 40–50.

41 Pisma...1858: 157–214. Uwagi nad znaczeniem prowincjalizmów w dziejach Polski.

42 Pisma...1858: 193

43 Pisma...1858: 203.

In such a situation, Rus naturally fell under Lithuanian rule. However, the ancient Lithuanians could not stand against Poland, which represented a superior European civilization. Even in internal struggles within the Commonwealth, the Lithuanian potentates did not defend any independent nationality, but only opposed the superior and liberal ideas of the Polish nobility. The assimilation of Lithuania into Poland was inevitable.

In evaluating the history of Lithuania and Rus we must admit that these lands, which had not much organic in themselves, and which in everything were at a lower level than Poland proper, in their unification with it did not bring anything creative to the organism; they served only as fruitful and receptive ground on which Polish thought...could more properly flower.<sup>44</sup>

The author admitted that after the unification Rus and Lithuania had also influenced the Polish nobility, but this influence had remained superficial.

The union of the Grand Duchy with the Crown...extending her [Commonwealth's] borders to the fringes of Moscow, paved the way for European civilization to the deep north of Europe and Asia;...made the Commonwealth a living unity of two worlds: west and east.<sup>45</sup>

At the end of his article, Jabłonowski somewhat inconsistently praised the Polish Commonwealth for its federalism and unity in variety. His article is a most concrete example of Polish arrogance about the lost lands. The author had learnt nothing from the emergence of national cultural movements among the Ukrainians and Lithuanians, nor did he want to learn. With such an attitude, it was impossible to try to achieve political co-operation with the Ukrainians. However, one must note that such a view was not held by all Polish students in Kiev. The Gromadzki book also contained pieces of poetry glorifying the Ukraine's Cossack past especially for its freedom.<sup>46</sup>

Some of the poetry in the Gromadzki collection included thinly disguised calls for a national struggle and predictions about a coming liberation. A poem called "Regeneration" (*Odrodzenie*), depicted injustice in the world and summoned youth to combat it. The author even wrote about "the unhappy state of nations" (*narodów niedola*). Another piece of poetry predicted the minute of the resurrection from the power of Satan.<sup>47</sup> Taken as a whole, the collection is a striking indication of the permissiveness of censorship during these early years of Alexander's reign. It gives an impression of an optimistic and confident mood among the Kievan student activists, who considered the achievement of independence imminent. The students' ideological teachers were the same as during the previous reign: Messianism and Hegelianism, the latter probably transmitted through Polish philosophers.

44 Pisma...1858: 207.

45 Pisma...1858: 208.

46 Pisma...1858: 150–155.

47 Pisma...1858: 27–35.

Tadeusz Komar was a popular student poet from the Kingdom of Poland. There are two émigré publications of his works from his Kievan years, "Polish Wisdom" and "Ludomir's Thoughts and Songs". Waclaw Lasocki has included a couple of Komar's poems in his memoirs. I have already quoted and described the poem, "A Word to Polish Women". Komar's poetry expresses in uncensored form the same feelings of anticipation of liberation by means of an armed struggle, which we can find in disguised form in the Gromadzki work. He is also inclined to militant social radicalism:

Oh, I shall give a wonderful feast! I'll set the table  
With white shrouds, whiter than snow;  
On them instead of embroidery  
I'll inscribe with the blood of lords, cold and rare:  
"Death! Condemnation! To tsars great and small!  
Death to lords, bankers, customs officers, boyars!  
Death to all crowned culprits,  
Death to all privileged thieves!"  
But with a peasant, warm blood, I'll write these words:  
"Long live the great cause and the new society!  
Long live liberty, equality, the fraternity of nations!  
Glory to the defenders of the people, glory to the authors of this feast!  
Glory to the apostles of the national faith!  
Long live the new era! Let the old epoch perish!"<sup>48</sup>

Komar was able to praise the fraternity of nations, while writing with scorn and hatred about Germans and Russians. His social radicalism was different from contemporary Russian radicalism in that Komar's world-view was theistic. Like Mickiewicz, he emphasized the moral integrity and determination of the freedom-fighters, calling for struggle even without hope of victory, since "there is no final defeat in a struggle waged in the name of God".<sup>49</sup>

The peasant question and the events in the unification of Italy stirred students. All the student activists opposed serfdom, and most of them were for land reform combined with emancipation. Komar was not at all the only anti-noble radical, though these seem to have been a minority. When Tytus Dańkiewicz said to the Belorussian peasants that they should cut the throat of a landlord who treated them badly he was widely condemned. For many students, the land reform was only instrumental: the insurgents should proclaim a land reform in order to win peasant support for the national struggle. Despite this, the progressive view of the peasant question caused a lot of dispute with the older generation, which generally held more conservative views. The students were even accused of spreading propaganda among the peasants against the lords. In spring 1860, a meeting between student leaders and the local nobility was arranged, but it did not altogether disperse the fears of the nobles.<sup>50</sup>

48 Lasocki 1933:252. Komar's poem "Uczta szalenców", Feast of Madmen.

49 [Komar Tadeusz:] Mądrość polska. Napisał Ludomir. Paryż 1861. Quotation p. 85. Komar 1865.

50 Hendrychowski 1933: Nr 8, p. 125-126. Komar 1865: 24-32. Lasocki 1933: I:203, 244-245,

The urge to promote the welfare of the peasant led to action in the field of education. The student union organized an elementary school in which common people were instructed in Polish. The Polish Ukrainophiles had an underground secondary school and a publicly functioning elementary school with a three-year course, both with Ukrainian as the language of instruction. The Polish Ukrainophiles even wrote a couple of textbooks in Ukrainian for the common people. The schools may have been an answer to the public Russian and Ukrainian Sunday-school movement, though an organization called “The Society for the Promotion of Learning among the Polish People of Wołyń, Podolia and the Ukraine” had already been founded before its emergence. The Kiev students had, together with the nobility and clergy, an important role in the society, which in 1861–1862 had no less than 43 underground schools functioning throughout the Ukraine.<sup>51</sup>

In the Polish student union and the Triple Union there was a considerable Ukrainophile orientation. Its political goals were the elevation of the status of the Ukrainian language in a future independent Poland, federal status for the Ukraine, the abolition of the privileges of social rank and a land reform favourable to the peasants. One of the Ukrainophiles, Paulin Świącicki, a few years later described their identity and ideals in the following words:

...not distancing themselves from the common people (*ludu*), they called themselves Rusins and representatives of the interests of Rus; however, because the centuries completed the transformation of...the nobility, which adopted the general civilisation, called Polish, and in a governmental sense these lands were an integral part of the Polish commonwealth, therefore the citizens of the three provinces in addition to the name “Rusins” retained the general name of Poles, calling themselves Poles-Rusins (*polakami-rusinami*)...<sup>52</sup>

Some of the nobility, with a strong Roman Catholic orientation, demanded an explanation from the student union for its Ukrainophile leanings. The three regional organizations of the Right-Bank Ukraine adopted at a general meeting a resolution with the following contents:

[they] do not break with Polishness, but consider themselves citizens of the Rus lands (*ziem ruskich*), and hold the defence of the interests of Rus as the most important thing; the second is Poland, with which they join in federation, “as freemen with freemen, equals with equals”.<sup>53</sup>

The group included both Roman Catholics and Orthodox. Its adherents held a romanticized view of Ukrainian peasant culture and the Cossack past. In their

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Komar’s poem p. 251–257, 293–297. Miłowicz 1894: 10. Poznanskij 1913: 2:16–17, 23–24. Świącicki 1866: 159. Syroczyński 1884: 10–11, 17. Syroczyński 1914: 28–29. Wiercieński 1974: 120–122.

51 OPDU 88–93. Rules of the Society and commentaries. Poznanskij 1913: 2: 15. Świącicki 1866: 161–162. Syroczyński 1884: 15, 18–19. Syroczyński 1914: 25–26.

52 Świącicki 1866: 161.

53 Ibid. 162.

holidays they travelled around the country in peasant dress in order to get acquainted with the life of the people. They read Ševčenko's poetry to the peasants, so perhaps after all there were some grounds for the accusations of propaganda.<sup>54</sup> Even at the university some of the Ukrainophiles dressed in peasant style. The uncontested leader of the “*chłopoman*” (*chłop* = peasant) group, and of the Ukrainian (Kiev) regional organization of the student union, was Włodzimierz Antonowicz, the son of an unmarried Polish-Hungarian teacher couple from Wołyń. He had graduated from the Faculty of Medicine in 1855, but a year later he began to study at the Faculty of Arts. Antonowicz himself later explained his turning to Ukrainian culture as being a result of his democratic ideas, which derived from the 18<sup>th</sup> century French enlightenment:

In the older classes [of the gymnasium] I managed to read works by Montesquieu, Rousseau, Voltaire and some other encyclopedists, who shaped my world-view. From everyone I met of the nobility, I received the impression that the axioms of that society were obsolete and archaic. I began to wonder how to implement the general theoretical principles of democracy in my field. It turned out that the democratic element in the country was the peasants. Here arose anew the nationality question. It was evident that the peasants formed a separate nationality...Combining a rudimentary knowledge of the Ukrainian nationality (*ukrajinstvo*) with general French democratic theory, I independently discovered the Ukrainian nationality.<sup>55</sup>

Antonowicz was also influenced by Michał Czajkowski's romantic works, which depicted the Cossack past in an idyllic way as part of Polish history, bypassing Polish-Ukrainian conflicts. Indeed, many Kievan Ukrainophiles received their first impulse towards the Ukraine from the writings of the Polish-Ukrainian literary school. The Ukrainophile group had its roots in both the previous Ukrainian cultural movement on the Left Bank of the Dnieper and the Polish-Ukrainian romantics of the Right Bank. Some of its adherents were even influenced by the pan-Slavist ideas of the Russian revolutionary, Aleksandr Herzen.<sup>56</sup>

Antonowicz remained as one of the leaders of the Triple Union, and the Ukrainophiles remained in Polish organizations until 1861, but their ideas had aroused suspicions among the less radical and more ethnically nationalist students even before that. In the autumn of 1860, Leonard Sowiński, who had recently graduated, published a work on Ukrainian literature. Sowiński had to fight a duel against a student who, without reading his book, accused him of calling on the peasants to slaughter their lords. Luckily neither of the combatants

54 [E. U.:]Paryż w m. czerwcu 1866. *Sioło* 1/1866, p. 148–149.

55 Antonowicz 1932: I:40. A similar idea that Ukrainophilism was a corollary of democratic ideals is expressed by Świącicki 1866: 159.

56 Antonowicz 1932: I:8–10, 30–34, 40–46, 60–61. Mihalčuk K. P. Iz ukrainskogo bylogo. K vospominanijam B. S. Poznanskogo. *Ukrainskaja Žižn'* 8–10/1914, p. 82–83. *Poznanskij* 1913: 1: 35–36, 2: 22–26, 3: 20–23, 4: 24. *Syroczyński* 1914: 22, 25, 27, 33.

was wounded.<sup>57</sup> At about the same time, there occurred a more serious political conflict between the Ukrainophiles and other Poles about the language of instruction. In the student union it was proposed that a delegation should be sent to St. Petersburg to petition that the instruction at the university should be in Polish. The arguments showed an ethnic interpretation of Polish identity:

The university is a continuation of the Wilno Academy, which the late Emperor, for the benefit of local inhabitants, transferred to Kiev. In the inaugural act, we are told, there is not a single word suggesting that it should be made a Russian institute of higher learning. Considering that among the 1,200 students there are 800 Poles and that among the rest one third is from the three occupied provinces, for whom Polish is not a foreign language, the goal set by the founder of the university can only be completely reached if the lectures are in Polish.<sup>58</sup>

The students took this measure more as a demonstration than as a real petition. The plan received wide support, but Antonowicz proposed that the case should be negotiated with the Ukrainians. It turned out that they were only ready to petition for the establishment of chairs for the Polish and Ukrainian languages. The Poles deemed such a moderate action useless and decided to send their own original delegation and petition regardless of the Ukrainians. At this point Antonowicz threatened the Poles with a counter-delegation and counter-petition. As a result, the petition plans were dropped for the time being.<sup>59</sup>

The two Polish nationality concepts were finally parting their company in Kiev during the early years of Alexander's reign. Hitherto the mutually incompatible ideas of a Polish nation defined by the borders of 1772 on the one hand, and by Polish language and/or Roman Catholicism on the other, had existed side by side without causing much discord in the student communities. Now the Ukrainophile movement, which took the non-ethnic nationality concept with all its implications and advocated official status for the Ukrainian language within Poland, clashed with supporters of the ethnic concept of Polish identity. The future was to show that the ethnic principle was the stronger on both the Polish and the Ukrainian sides, but it took a long time before this became obvious to all. The Ukrainophiles themselves were not unanimous about which nationality they should adhere to. Boris Poznanski has left us a fascinating account of a meeting held in the academic year of 1859–60 to discuss this question:

...a serious question was discussed: which nation we should consider ours. About Fedor Timofeevič Pančenko there could not be any disagreement: he was a native Ukrainian, a peasant from the village of Černjahovo in the Kiev district...I remember that I envied Fedor's pure descent, though, because of my Orthodoxy, my claim that I consider myself of a Little Russian nationality did not arouse protests...

Antonowicz argued...that to live in the midst of Ukrainian people and

57 Wiercieński 1974: 124–125. Zawadyński Tomasz: Ze wspomnień uniwersyteckich. Przegląd Literacki. Dodatek do "Kraju" 36/1888, p. 1–3.

58 Burzyński 1894: 134–135. The quotation is from Burzyński's memoirs, not from the petition.

59 Burzyński 1894: 134–136.

not to assimilate (*slit'sja*) with them was to be an idler, a parasite, that in the Ukraine, Podolia and Wołyń the Polish predominance cannot be seriously defended because the Poles are mainly Polonized Rusins and they form a significantly smaller part of the population, that nowhere do the ideas of democracy and nationality fit together so well as in the Ukraine; to be a democrat, to stand for the people's interests and not to be a Ukrainian patriot is impossible.

...Przedpelski wittily remarked that we are even conducting the present debate in Polish. Someone answered that it does not mean anything, that the French language is generally accepted as international...Rylski...said that as the Ukrainians develop so also their language will develop so that it will be possible to use it for discussing abstractions; that our forefathers are to blame for the underdevelopment of Ukrainian...Pančenko argued that even now it is possible to discuss in Little Russian about most abstract subjects, that we do not yet know and have not yet studied the language, that we should use it between ourselves and within our families.<sup>60</sup>

Poznanskij's account brings to the fore a number of relevant aspects of the rising Ukrainian nationalism. It was ethnic, since one's language, religious confession and descent were considered important. Despite this, most of the participants in the discussion had grown up in a Polish cultural environment and expressed themselves most comfortably in Polish. They were not defending their nationality so much as discovering and producing that nationality, which hitherto had not been theirs. They did not create it from nothing, but relied on the existing peasant culture and the earlier tradition of the Ukrainian cultural movement.

Although the Ukrainophile controversy in Kiev was to have tremendous consequences for both the Ukrainian and Polish nations, it occurred on a very small scale, among just a handful of activists. "Speaking nowadays about those purists, "chłopomans", "narodniks", nationalists, I can remember hardly ten or twenty adherents of any orientation," says Poznanskij.<sup>61</sup> Nevertheless, the actions of these small youth groups were more important than their numbers indicate. The Ukrainophiles later contributed to the nucleus and leadership of the Ukrainian national cultural movement, while the Kievan Polish youth provided many of the leaders of the January Insurrection of 1863.

## The University of Moscow

There are fewer memoirs than for Kiev, but more original documents telling about the events at the University of Moscow. Luckily for our purposes, a fairly large part of the Moscow Polish student union's archive was discovered in 1864 among papers belonging to a Russian revolutionary and former Moscow student, Jurij Mosolov. They include lists of members, minutes of meetings and lists of books in the library. Most of the documents date from 1861–1863, but

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60 Poznanskij 1913: 3:20–21.

61 Poznanskij 1913: 3: 22.

there are a few covering the years 1857–1860 as well. They have been carefully studied by Tamara Fedosova.<sup>62</sup>

As in Kiev, the mutual assistance system and the library functioned throughout the reign of Nicholas until that of Alexander. However, at the beginning of Alexander's reign these activities were not yet administered by a proper organization, since there were no set rules and no elected leaders. Popular prohibited readings during the first years of the new reign continued the old traditions: Mickiewicz, Krasiński, Słowacki, Libelt, Trentowski, Moch-nacki's and Mierosławski's histories of the November Insurrection and publications of the TDP. There were various orientations: monarchists and democrats, supporters of Roman Catholicism and atheists.<sup>63</sup>

There was one case of political agitation at the university that was noticed by the authorities. In April 1856, Norov informed Alexander II that the university inspectors had discovered a patriotic article written by a free listener called Wiktor Kalinowski, which had circulated among Polish students. Kalinowski was now under surveillance, and Norov predicted that he would soon be expelled (*udalen*) from Moscow. Indeed, Kalinowski did soon move to St. Petersburg, where he continued his underground activities.<sup>64</sup>

The Polish student union "Ogół" created a more permanent organizational structure, probably during the academic year of 1856–1857. The union consisted of eight subgroups: the medical students who were the most numerous group, held meetings and elected leaders separately for each annual course, the other students held meetings and were represented by faculties. Each subgroup elected a treasurer and a librarian, who sat on the union's council. The council elected a chairman, who was also the main treasurer. The student union had 170 members in 1856–1857, and 235 in 1857–1858. This means that somewhat less than half of the students from the Western Provinces and the Kingdom of Poland were unionized in 1856–57. In 1859 the "sections", circles of ten students, were made part of the organizational structure in order to promote the political education of members in a national spirit. This was facilitated by the two libraries. There were also printing activities undertaken by the students themselves using lithographic techniques, but they do not seem to have been very important until 1861. Portraits of national and revolutionary heroes were published from 1860 onwards: Mierosławski, Konarski, Zaliwski, Józef Bem, Edward Dembowski, Michał Wołłowicz, Tomasz Zan, Artur Zawisza, Giuseppe Garibaldi, Tadeusz Kościuszko. Probably the smuggling of forbidden literature made the students' own printing activities on a large scale as yet unnecessary. The interest in politics also grew because the students met many of the amnestied political prisoners who returned home from Siberia via Moscow. The student union provided financial assistance to those returnees who were in need.<sup>65</sup>

62 The documents are in GARF f. 112, op. 2. Fiedosowa 1984.

63 Korzon 1911:55–62. Limanowski 1937:114–121.

64 RGIA f. 735, op. 10, delo 305, l. 10, 25. Norov to Alexander 21st April 1856. Šal'kevič: Kastus' Kalinovskij. Stranicy biografii. Minsk 1988. P. 107–119.

65 Fiedosowa 1984:28–33, 37–39, 43, 222–223. Bem, a Polish General in the Hungarian War of



A conspiratorial nucleus within the student union had already been formed in 1857, but it never had the authority of the Triple Union in Kiev. After the introduction of sections, the group seems to have become just one section among the others. The link with the larger conspiratorial movement was from 1859 on provided by another group, “The Polish Order” (*Zakon Polski*), founded by a railway engineer called Hieronim Kieniewicz. The group included civil servants, officers and students. The Triple Union was probably the most important influence on the Polish Order. Kieniewicz was in personal contact with it through Antonowicz. A looser contact existed with a Polish patriotic officer group in St. Petersburg. It was Antonowicz who told the St. Petersburg conspirators who to contact in Moscow. Whereas the Polish Order was part of the conspiratorial network that aimed at armed insurrection, the whole student union maintained contact with Edward Jurgens’ “Millenarian” group through a former Moscow student, Władysław Gołemberski. The Millenarians even tried to send 10, 000 silver roubles to the student union through a Polish Professor, Józef Piechowski. Since he refused to act as a mediator, it is not certain whether the union received the money.<sup>66</sup>

Contacts with the Millenarians point to a moderate atmosphere within the student union. However, its documents also contain plenty of Mierosławski’s texts, including an appeal to Polish youth in 1858 on the anniversary of the November Insurrection, which condemned all attempts to improve Poland’s situation by peaceful means. Probably there were differing opinions within the union, and in the course of time the idea of armed insurrection gained ground. In late 1860, Antonowicz visited Moscow and brought news about Mierosławski’s plans to form Polish legions. The Polish Order allowed its members to depart to Italy. The student union decided to send an agent to Paris to inquire about the actual situation with the legions, but three students (Gustaw Reutt, Ambrosewicz and Cybulski) set off without waiting for any further information. They travelled first to Kiev, from where the Triple Union sent them to Moldavia using the recently organized underground transport network, “the citizen post”. After some hesitation, the Moldavian government allowed the volunteers to continue to Italy, where they found that no legion existed.<sup>67</sup>

The peasant question was recognized by the Moscow students. In the autumn of 1860, the student union received money from the Lithuanian nobility for supporting needy students. It was proposed that the money should be sent back and the nobility asked to spend it on the education of the peasants. The argument

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Liberation 1848–49. Dembowski, a leader of the Cracow insurrection of 1846 and a philosopher of the Hegelian Left. Zan, the leader of the Filarets at the University of Wilno in 1820s. Zawisza and Wołowicz, executed commanders in Zaliwski’s campaign.

66 Fiedosowa 1984: 34–37, 45–49. Kieniewicz 1983: 50–51, 73. Limanowski 1937: 131, 136–137, 140. Reutt Gustaw: Do legionów. (Z notatek rodzinnych). In: W czterdziestą rocznicę powstania styczniowego 1863–1903. Lwów 1903. P. 357. Snytko 1960: 217–221.

67 GARF f. 112, op. 2, ed. hr. 23, l. 3–15, 17–21. Mierosławski’s printed proclamations. Fiedosowa 1984: 49–51. Reutt 1903: 357–359. While in detention in Moldavia, there were nine young men travelling to join the legions. Reutt does not tell whether the other six were students.

for such an act was that, if the Polish nobility would not correct its relations with the peasantry, the latter might choose the side of the Russian government:

The nobility (*obywatelstwo*) has not approached the people (*ze...ludem*), and the government is promising reform! Already Korotyński [Karatyński] and Akielewicz [Akelaitis], one in Belorussian and the other in Lithuanian, are writing poems honouring Alexander II. Those poets of the people find it hard to see the commons treated badly, and [so they] ended up by dishonourably thanking the Emperor in the name of the peasant community (*mużyckiej hromady*) for the happiness they expect him to provide!...if the people finally come to hate the nobility by which it is being oppressed, then farewell our desire to be Poles...Then it will be said of us: look, those are the children of nobility, who by egoism and caste consciousness alienated the people from themselves and ruined the national cause!...Holding a plebiscite has been accepted as a means to solve the fate of regions disputed between nations, and also in our country such a plebiscite may be held, while the people may hate us for ever!<sup>68</sup>

Finally the union decided to keep the money, and to spend it on the education of talented young peasants in the gymnasia. The peasant stipendiaries were to be chosen by agreement with the local nobility. The Moscow Polish students understood the importance of the peasant question, and majority of them held progressive views about its solution. However, in Moscow there are no traces of a radical social orientation aiming at the abolition of noble land ownership as such. Rather the students, perhaps somewhat unrealistically, wanted to convince the nobility about its own good.<sup>69</sup>

An incident between a few Polish students and the police provided the immediate incentive for the emergence of Russian student activism in Moscow. In September, a group of Poles gathered to celebrate a name day. The feast was interrupted by a police officer called Simonov and other policemen, who claimed that a pursued suspect had hidden himself in the flat. When Simonov insulted one of the students, Alfons Hanusiewicz, by claiming that he was the pursued criminal, the latter hit him. A fight followed, which led to the mishandling and arrest of all the students present. Simonov commanded the policemen to beat the students, because they were “rebellious Poles (*ljahi*)”. After the incident, the police tried to present the case as one of unprovoked student violence against them.<sup>70</sup>

This tragicomic incident might have spoiled a few young lives, but student protests and public opinion changed the course of events. The outraged students held meetings at the university and elected delegates to present their demands to

68 GARF f. 112, op. 2, ed. hr. 27, l. 1–2. Except for the last sentence, quoted in Fiedosowa 1984:72. Concern over Akelaitis was unwarranted, since he soon turned out to be a Polish patriot.

69 GARF f. 112, op. 2, ed. hr. 27, l. 1–2. A proposal to send the donated money back. Fiedosowa 1984:71–73, 320–322. Contains the second proposal, which was approved.

70 Panteleev L. F: Proisšestvie 20 sentjabrja (1857g.) meždu studentami (Moskovskago) universiteta i policiej. Minuvšie Gody 4/1908, p. 149–152.

the authorities. They were backed by Curator Evgraf Kovalevskij, who later became the Minister. However, Kovalevskij asked the students to stop holding general meetings. As the University Council wrote four years later:

The violent treatment suffered by their colleagues was felt as an insult to all. When at first no investigation was undertaken, and the whole incident seemed to go unpunished, unrest spread through the whole university. Meetings were held every day. Then the Curator proposed to the students that they elect two representatives from each year so that they could keep in constant contact with him and follow the course of events.<sup>71</sup>

The students participated in the protests regardless of nationality, and the Russians showed their solidarity with the Polish victims of police violence. Those who were elected as representatives were mostly Poles. Public opinion among the educated classes backed the students, because the police behaviour had long been a cause of criticism. "Even the enemies of the university blame the police for everything," wrote a St. Petersburg professor, Aleksandr Nikitenko, in his diary. Herzen's "Kolokol" wrote about the incident, blaming especially the Governor-General, Arsenij Zakrevskij, and the Police Chief of Moscow, Aleksej Timašev-Bering.<sup>72</sup>

The students scored a total victory. An investigating commission found the police guilty. Of the students only Hanusiewicz was found guilty of a transgression, but because of the mitigating circumstances and the sanctions he had already suffered, he was not punished. A court martial sentenced Simonov to serve in the army as a soldier. Two other police officers and a physician, who had made little of the injuries of the students, were dismissed from their posts. Somewhat later Timašev-Bering, too, had to leave his office, which was interpreted by "Kolokol" as a result of the incident with the students.<sup>73</sup>

The successful joint action of the whole student community led to negotiations about Russo-Polish co-operation. It was proposed by a Russian radical group called "Vertepniki", a name of uncertain origin, which may refer to an ancient Ukrainian Cossack retinue of the Hetman. The leading "Vertepniki" were Pavel Rybnikov and Matvej Sviridenko. They were inspired by German and French radical political thinking, like Max Stirner, Louis Blanc, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon and Pierre Leroux as well as Feuerbach's criticism of religion. However, the "Vertepniki" were also very interested in folk culture and had links with prominent Slavophiles. The "Vertepniki" were about to found a bank for mutual assistance and proposed to the Poles that they unite their own bank with it. The proposal found some support among the Poles, since it was rather

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71 Studenčeskija bezporjadki v Moskovskom universitete v 1861 godu. (Iz bumag O. M. Bodjanskogo. Čtenija v imperatorskom obščestve istorii i drevnostej Rossijskih 2/1905 (213). Part IV, p. 4.

72 Kolokol No 5, 1.11.1857, p. 35–38. Korzon 1911: 62–63, Limanowski 1937: 118–120. Mezensovskij L. M: Pervyj god moego studenčestva. (Otryvok iz vospominanij). Drevnjaja i Novaja Rossija t. 2, 1876, No 8, p. 336–339. Nikitenko 1956: I 461.

73 Kolokol No 8, 1.2.1858, p. 65. Pantelev 1908: 153–155. Includes final decisions by the investigating commission and court martial.

attractive from the financial point of view. However, in the end the Polish student union rejected the proposal. A memoirist, Tadeusz Korzon, writes:

...after a long debate one of the former delegates and recipient of the proposal (the present writer) read a resolution of negative response. It expressed gratitude for the good comradeship, but also explained the unhappy relation of the Polish nation towards the Russian nation, saying that in such circumstances the public association of Poles with Russians was impossible. With loud applause the meeting approved this answer...<sup>74</sup>

The answer was communicated to the “Vertepniki” in their meeting.<sup>75</sup>

At the end of the 1850s the university was stirring. The students protested against unpopular teachers and managed to expel Apollon Majkov, an assistant lecturer in Russian literature and Nikolaj Varnek, the Professor of Zoology, from the university. In both cases the educational administration found the student dissatisfaction warranted, and discreetly advised the teachers concerned to leave the university. There were also protests against the Professor of Latin, Pavel Leontev, but they were unsuccessful. The protests were about impolite and disrespectful behaviour as well as what the students considered a low pedagogical and academic level of instruction. The incidents with Leontev and Varnek led to the expulsion of many protesting students. Except for Majkov, whose Slavophilia was disliked by some students and professors, the conflicts had no immediate political motive. However, in the course of the protests, opposition political ideas also spread in the university.<sup>76</sup>

Russian students were strongly influenced by Herzen’s publications. In April 1859, a group led by Petr Zaičnevskij and Pericles Argiropoulos began to reprint works by Herzen and the German materialist Ludwik Büchner and other forbidden works. The publications included Herzen’s texts dealing with the Polish question, which he wanted to solve by granting Poland freedom and uniting a free Russia with a free Poland in a federation. The leading illegal publishers were arrested in July 1861. Independently of Zaičnevskij’s group, two students, Jakov Sulin and Petr Petrovskij-II’enko, undertook in late 1860 and early 1861 to reprint Herzen’s article about the Decembrists. They were caught in connection with Zaičnevskij’s case. There also functioned a socialist study group called “The Library of Kazan students”, within which later (1861-

74 Korzon 1911: 63–64.

75 Vertepniki in general, Klevenskij M: “Vertepniki”. *Katorga i sсыlka* 47 (1928), p. 19–36. Their Polish contacts: Korzon 1911: 64. Limanowski 1937: 139–140. The idea of reference to the Ukraine is mine. Klevenskij supposes that “vertepniki” means “gathering” (sborišče).

76 RGIA f. 733, op. 34, l. 1–4, 26–27. Minister Kovalevskij’s correspondence about the Varnek case. Bodjanskij O. M: *Iz dnevnika. Russkij Arhiv* 11/1892, p. 441. Kolokol No 55, 1.11.1859, p. 453–454. Lebedinskij P. V: *Iz žižni Moskovskago universiteta. Varnekovskaja istorija. Golos Minuvšago* 9/1915, p. 210–218. Hudjakov I. A: *Zapiski karakozovca. Moskva-Leningrad* 1930. P. 43–48. Malein A: “Izobličitel’”- rukopisnyj žurnal studentov Moskovskago universiteta (1859 g.). In: *Zven’ja* 3–4. Moskva-Leningrad 1934. P. 475–481. Popelnickij A.Z.-Solov’ev I.M: *Iz obščestvennyh nastroenij Moskovskogo studenčestva v 1858g. Golos Minuvšago* 9/1915, p. 256–268. *Studenčeskija...1905:IV* 5.

1863) there emerged an underground revolutionary organization.<sup>77</sup>

There is no information about possible Polish participation in the protests against the unpopular professors. Russian radicals distributed Herzen's works among the Poles in order to convince them of the possibility of Russian-Polish revolutionary co-operation.<sup>78</sup> Some Poles directly participated in illegal Russian publishing activities. Among the 29 persons investigated for illegal publishing in Moscow, there were seven students from the Western Provinces. Five of them were from the University of Moscow: Ivan Goltz-Miller and Aleksander Kister from Minsk Province, Józef Soroko and Stefan Lastowski from Wilno Province, Edward Adolf from the Province of Grodno. Goltz-Miller was an Orthodox, whose relation to Polish identity is not clear. Apart from Herzen's *Kolokol* and portraits of the Decembrists, portraits of "Polish emissaries" were also found at Goltz-Miller's lodgings, very likely those published by the Polish student union. This does not necessarily mean that he considered himself a Pole, since some Russian radical students also had the same portraits. The other four students from the Western Provinces involved in the case were Roman Catholics. Adolf was from simple townfolk (*meščanin*), and the others were noblemen. Goltz-Miller, Soroko and Adolf distributed Herzen's article about the Decembrists. Soroko also brought a proclamation to the peasants, reportedly written by Nikolaj Černysevskij from St. Petersburg, to Jakov Sulin, who most probably planned to print it. Kister distributed "Kolokol" and an article "For the new year" by Herzen's colleague, Nikolaj Ogarev, and acted as a go-between Sulin and Argiropoulos when the latter bought printing equipment from the former. Lastowski had Herzen's and Ogarev's works in his home and most likely distributed them, though on this the evidence was not found conclusive. Goltz-Miller was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, Kister to seven days' detention and police surveillance for one year. After serving his sentence, Goltz-Miller was deported by an administrative order to Korsun. The others went unpunished. This was all that the authorities officially found out, but Polish participation in Russian illegal publishing was rather more substantial than that. Soroko lived in the same lodgings as Sulin and probably participated in the actual printing. Of these students, only Adolf figures in the list of members of the Polish student union for 1862.<sup>79</sup>

There was both isolationism and internationalism in the Moscow Polish student community. The Polish student union as an organization preferred national isolation to Polish-Russian co-operation, but some of its members

77 Delo P. G. Zajčevskogo. In: O minuvšem. S.-Peterburg 1909. P. 122–178. Lemke M: Političeskie processy v Rossii 1860-h gg. Izdanie vtoroe. Moskva-Petrograd 1923. P. 1–54. Nečkina M. B: "Zemlja i volja" 1860-h godov (po sledstvennym materialam). Istorija SSSR 1/1957, p. 105–134. Političeskie processy 60-h g.g. T. 1. Moskva-Petrograd 1923. P. 134–269.

78 Limanowski 1937:139.

79 GARF f. 109, op. 36, 1 eksp. 1861g., delo 187, l. 38, 41–42, 46. F. 112, op. 2, delo 39, l. 1. RGIA f. 733, op. 202, delo 95, l. 55–56, 65. Delo... 1909: 125, 134, 137–141, 148–152, 158–162, 167–177. Fiedosowa 1984: 60–61. She mentions only Soroko's participation. Lemke 1923:9–12, 29–36, 44, 47–50, 52–53. Političeskie... 1923:176–181, 203–205, 215–216, 222–224, 279. The estate background of Stefan Lastowski does not appear in our sources.

violated this rule, mixing socially with Russians and even participating in their underground political activities.

Despite the expressed concern about Belorussian and Lithuanian loyalty towards the Emperor, the relations between various ethnic groups of the former Poland-Lithuania did not lead to disputes in Moscow. The prevailing concept of Poland's limits was based on pre-partition borders. There was a Lithuanian group that cultivated language and national cuisine, but the ethnic Lithuanians also participated in the Polish student union. Limanowski mentions a lone enthusiast of Belorussian folk culture, but his Polish patriotism, too, was unquestionable. Unlike in Kiev, in Moscow the ethnic concept of nationality had not yet reached a stage where it clashed with that which was based on the former Polish state.<sup>80</sup>

## Students in St. Petersburg

For the University and the Medical Academy in St. Petersburg, there is only one set of Polish memoirs available.<sup>81</sup> We have to rely on official sources, Russian memoirs and research done by Franciszek Nowiński. In the latter part of the 1850s, the Poles at the university practised their traditional activities, organizing mutual assistance and maintaining a library, which consisted of both permitted and forbidden books. Longin Panteleev, a Russian who began his studies in 1859, found an orderly functioning Polish student union at the university. As the existence of the union was known to Russian students, it is quite likely that the university authorities also knew about it, though formally it was a secret society. According to some testimonies, the leading figure in the student union was Konstanty Kalinowski, the brother of Wiktor Kalinowski and later the insurrectionary dictator of historical Lithuania and the author of the first political texts in modern Belorussian.<sup>82</sup>

A student of the University of Moscow, Edward Antuszewicz, spent the 1860 Christmas vacation in St. Petersburg. In February 1861 he gave a testimony to the Governor-General of Wilno, Vladimir Nazimov. It contained information mainly about the Polish student unions in Moscow and St. Petersburg. Antuszewicz claimed that both unions had made preparation for an armed insurrection as their main goal. Almost every Polish student had a pistol. For St. Petersburg, Antuszewicz mentioned Feliks Zienkowicz, Weryho and Kurniewicz as the most active members. He revealed where the libraries of permitted

80 GARF f. 112, op. 2, ed. hr. 23, l. 22–23. A poem about the unity of Poland within pre-partition boundaries. Fiedosowa 1984:74–75. Korzon 1911:61. Limanowski 1937:97, 133. Fiedosowa finds on the basis of Korzon's text that some Lithuanians dreamed about the independence of Lithuania. However, Korzon mentions this only as a fear among other students, which in the end turned out to be unwarranted.

81 Niemirowski: *Ze wspomnień uniwersyteckich. Wydział prawniczy w Petersburgu dla Polaków*. *Wiek* 292–293/1881, 1/1882.

82 Niemirowski 1881:Nr 292, p. 2–3. Nowiński 1986: 119–120, 137. Panteleev L. F.: *Vospominanija*. Moskva 1958. P. 169. Nowiński states that the library functioned legally.

and forbidden books were located and named Bolesław Anc as the librarian of the former. He claimed that about 60 students from Moscow and 40 from St. Petersburg had already departed to join Mierosławski's legions. However, he could name only three of them: Judicki, Szmielewicz and Rylski. The student union had organized a lottery in order to cover their travel expenses. One must not take this testimony at face value, since Antuszewicz's denunciation also contains manifestly incorrect information. However, there are some pieces of additional evidence that corroborate the denunciation. Bolesław Anc writes in his memoirs that he indeed was the librarian of the permitted books. Another Polish student who was an agent of the Third Section, Józef Biernacki, told about a lottery for the benefit of Mierosławski organized by the St. Petersburg students. The names of Józef Judycki and Władysław Rylski figure in the list of the pupils of Polish Military School in Italy, which began functioning in late 1861.<sup>83</sup>

The authorities received additional information about the Polish student union at the university in 1863 from a captured insurgent and former student, Witold Gażycz. By this time the union no longer existed. Gażycz stated that the union had had about 500 members and was organized by the faculties. From each faculty, four to five delegates participated in meetings, which were held in the library of permitted books. General meetings of all members were arranged separately by each faculty in private lodgings. The librarian, who was elected for one year, was at the same time the chairman of the student union. Gażycz named Kalinowski, Treidosewicz and Polianowski as librarians. The political atmosphere in the union he described in the following words:

...the society was divided into three parties, which were called the whites, the moderates and the reds. To the first group belonged those whose aim was to study and graduate, not to participate in politics...To the moderate party belonged students, who wanted to study, but who thought that the university must, in addition to academic studies, also prepare youth for political life. Finally, there was the party of the reds, who called themselves liberals and revolutionaries. They dressed in tattered jackets and boots, and instead of ties they had towels round their necks. This party formed the majority of the society, and to it belonged Stetkiewicz, Czarniecki and many others, in particular Kalinowski, who was especially radical...<sup>84</sup>

Gażycz added that the whites wanted to serve the fatherland first of all by gaining a good education in mathematics, economics or law. The moderates were not absolutely against an armed struggle, but they considered it an extreme and undesirable method, to be undertaken only in extreme situations and

83 GARF f. 109, 1-ja eksp., op. 36, 1861g., ed. hr. 80, l. 9, 12–15. Ed. hr. 293, l. 1–4. Antuszewicz's and Biernacki's information. Karbowski Władysław: *Polska Szkoła Wojskowa we Włoszech (1861–1862)*. Studia i materiały do historii wojskowości. 1962, tom VIII, część 2. p. 73–74. Mineyko Zygmunt: *Z tajgi pod Akropol*. Warszawa 1971. P. 132. Nowiński 1986: 138–141. RPLB 8–12. RPRS 1:70–71. Mineyko, a memoirist from the Military Engineering School, claims that in 1860 23 university students departed to Italy.

84 Quoted in Snytko 1960:228–229.

favourable conditions. The red party wanted to combine an armed struggle for independence with a social revolution. "In this sense they agreed with liberals in Russian society, with whom they in general greatly sympathized."<sup>85</sup>

The Medical Academy had a separate Polish student union. A student called Wiktor Komarowski was arrested for possession of weapons in April 1861. We shall return to his case later. Among his papers there is a ledger, which shows from the beginning of December 1856 at the latest that the Polish students of the academy had a library, and organized mutual assistance in a rather similar manner to that of the university students. Komarowski acted as the treasurer. The activities occurred on a more modest scale than those at the university. For instance, once a gathering of the whole academy produced only 85 roubles 70 kopecks. The greatest number of contributing persons was 41. The union at least tried to maintain contact with the nobility in the Western Provinces, since Komarowski had addresses of nine chairmen of the assemblies of local nobility. The University and Academy unions were in contact with each other.<sup>86</sup>

In June 1861, Antuszewicz presented the authorities with papers belonging to a St. Petersburg student, Władysław Niwiński, who later admitted that they were his. Most of the papers date from 1859-1860. Among them there are handwritten copies of "Forefathers' Eve" and "Kordian". There are poems written or copied in 1859 on the 29th anniversary of the November Insurrection. They show that that occasion was already in St. Petersburg being celebrated in expectation of a forthcoming new uprising. There were poems in which the stance towards Russia and Russians was indiscriminately hostile, but also others emphasizing the revolutionary brotherhood of all nations:

Remembering today our predecessors' deeds  
Every true son burns with bravery,  
Wrest from the tyrant the liberated country!  
Brothers! This toast to the ruin of the Russian (Moskala)!<sup>87</sup>

—  
The watchword for battle: people of freedom  
To arms, to arms we hurry together  
Let the whole of mankind cry:  
To arms, to arms together

Those who taste the waters of the Seine  
And those who fill the shores of the Vistula  
And that unhappy people from along the Neva  
Let the nineteenth century unite.

For we are brothers, our God is one  
To arms we hurry together...<sup>88</sup>

. . . . .  
85 Snytko 1960:221–222, 228–230.

86 GARF f. 109, 1-ja eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 80, l. 15. Antuszewicz's information. Ed. hr. 123, l. 19. Komarowski's book of account. RPRS 1:72–73.

87 GARF f.109, 1-ja eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 80, l.47 (31).

88 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 80, l. 46.



There was a single poem written in 1860 glorifying the Lithuanian Law Code. At least this element of the previous special status of Lithuania within the Polish commonwealth was supported. However, in general the poems emphasized the unity and mutual affection of Poles from all the different parts of pre-partition Poland:

Are we not Poles  
All together: Cracovians,  
You Mazurs, we Lithuanians,  
Polesians and Samogitians,  
Ukrainians, Wolynians,  
Galicians, Poznanians,...?

...  
You who must serve Moscow  
Try to suffocate the enemy  
Transform yourself into a snake, a wolf  
Dress in skins of foxes

So that the Russian, lacking traitors  
Admits you among his councillors  
And so lend to your Fatherland  
Another Wallenrod!

...  
let our Fatherland live  
let the Moscow (Moskiewczyźna) perish!  
...and the Slavdom will be free.<sup>89</sup>

This poem shows that the myth of the Great Russians as non-Slavs was alive and well among the St. Petersburg students. A further idea that is evident in Niwiński's papers is opposition to inequality on the basis of birth. There should be "one God, faith and class". The national struggle is in some verses seen as one of God against evil. These papers show a remarkable continuity of ideas among Polish student circles in Russia. Poetic Messianism prevailed, as it had done since the 1830s. Occasionally the former independent state of Poland was mentioned in rather idyllic expressions, but much more important was the myth of the struggle for independence after the partitions. The documents of the Third Section do not indicate that Niwiński was punished. In the summer of 1861, demonstrations against Russian rule were a common phenomenon in Poland. In these conditions, the possession of subversive texts was not the greatest threat to the existing order. Legally or illegally, Niwiński managed to travel to Cuneo and study at the Polish Military School there.<sup>90</sup>

Despite the emphasis on unity, the idea of a separate ethnic Lithuanian nationality had its adherents among the St. Petersburg students. Moving from Moscow to Dorpat, Bolesław Limanowski happened to meet them:

89 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 80, l. 47 (42). Dated 9th August 1860.

90 Niwiński's papers are in GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 80, l. 47. They contain 121 lists numbered separately. Ibid. l. 73–74, 78–82. Niwiński participated in the insurrection, after which he emigrated via Austria to London. He returned to Russia in 1887 and was pardoned.

Here I for the first time met socialists and Lithuanians who emphasized their difference from Poles. They were students from the University of St. Petersburg...Outraged, we argued with the Lithuanians, but they softened, and we separated in complete agreement...<sup>91</sup>

Such an agreement can hardly have been anything but superficial.

In St. Petersburg it was the local officers who led the Polish underground work for an insurrection. Their most important leader was Zygmunt Sierakowski, who is already known to us. The nucleus of the organization was founded in 1857. It had close relations with the Triple Union in Kiev. There is no information about a separate secret society within either of the St. Petersburg student unions, but the students did participate in the activities of the officers' society. In published documents concerning the officers' organization there are mentioned the names of four students who participated in its meetings, but the actual student participation was surely greater than that. Stefan Bobrowski and Konstanty Kalinowski, who belonged to the most important leaders of the January Insurrection, began their conspiratorial careers during their studies at the University of St. Petersburg.<sup>92</sup>

The student union had contact with a nationalist circle, formed and uncovered in Wilno in 1860. The circle was led by Wincenty Witkowski, a gymnasium pupil of the 7th class, who tried to recruit craftsmen. The investigation showed that three students, Kurniewicz, Weryho and Jundził, had met Witkowski while he was involved in conspiratory activities. According to Antuszewicz, Kurniewicz and Weryho were among the leaders of the student union. As one of Witkowski's friends, nobleman Karol Wiszniewski testified:

I...heard how Weryho said to Kurniewicz that it would be necessary to visit the villages, sing patriotic songs and tell them how the Russians (moskali) oppress Poles; Kurniewicz answered that he was ready for anything.<sup>93</sup>

However, the authorities did not investigate these contacts any further.<sup>94</sup>

Russian students at the university became active in spring 1856 and began to produce their own hand-written publications. In the autumn, Norov officially permitted students to publish a collection of scholarly articles. The first issue appeared in 1857 and the second in 1860. It did not contain anything politically subversive. The publication was important mainly because it gave the students an official reason to arrange meetings and elect representatives. Quite often the

91 Limanowski 1937:142.

92 On the officers' organization, see D'jakov V. A: *Peterburskie oficerskie organizacii konca 50-h-načala 60-h godov XIX veka i ih rol' v istorii rusko-pol'skih revoljucionnyh svjazej. Učene zapiski instituta slavjanovedenija*, tom XXVIII. Moskva 1964. P. 271/–280, 288–289, 293–294, 297–304, 310–311, 319–320, 339, 348–349. Kieniewicz 1983:43–48. Leikina-Svirskaja and Šidlovskaja 1962:7–48. OPDU 65–66, 143–144. RPRS:1:250–257, 276–280, 286–288, 305–315, 317–351. About the students 1:318. Stefan Bobrowski was the Mayor of Warsaw and a member of the national government in the underground administration. Kalinowski was the dictator of Lithuania.

93 RPLB 223.

94 RPLB 221–223, 226, 228–230. Witkowski was commanded to army as soldier.

meetings developed into a forum for political debate. At the very end of 1857 the students began their own, publicly functioning bank for mutual assistance.<sup>95</sup>

Herzen and Nikolaj Černyševskij, the fathers of Russian populism, were quite popular among Russian students, who became increasingly radical towards the end of the 1850s. Their radicalism did not find expression in organized conspiracy but in the circulation of hand-written copies of Herzen's texts as well as publications by the Moscow underground student press. In December 1859 a university student called Erazm Cjavlovskij was arrested for attempting to print Herzen's texts in the Artillery School's lithography press. A house search at his home revealed that he had been distributing them even before this, though not necessarily in printed form. Cjavlovskij's correspondence shows that he was in close contact with Zaičnevskij's group in Moscow, but as that group was not yet known to the authorities they did not pay any attention to this fact. Cjavlovskij was a nobleman from Warsaw, where his father served in the army. His correspondence shows that he identified with Russian rather than Polish culture. For the unsuccessful printing attempt he was deported to the province of Vjatka.<sup>96</sup>

Two students of the University of St. Petersburg were involved in the case of the Moscow students' illegal printing presses: Michał Swariczewski and Seweryn Smoleński, both Roman Catholics from the Right-Bank Ukraine. Swariczewski was the son of a civil servant without rank. Both were personal acquaintances of Cjavlovskij. Swariczewski admitted to having distributed 30 copies of Herzen's article about the Decembrists. Ten of them he received from Smoleński, who was sensible enough to deny everything. Swariczewski was sentenced to one month's detention, whereas Smoleński was not punished. Swariczewski was also involved in the illegal Russian journal "Velikoruss" (Great Russian). After he had served his sentence, he was administratively deported to Kurmyš, where he remained at least until 1874.<sup>97</sup>

Russian-Polish revolutionary co-operation was promulgated in the hand-written Russian student journal "Svetoč" (Torch), which appeared in 1858. The most subversive article covered Konarski's stay in Lithuania. It was translated from some émigré publication and published with a foreword written by an anonymous Russian author. He regretted that the Slavs did not help each other to shake off the yoke, but instead hated each other.

95 SR III 240. K istorii Peterburgskago univeristeta, 1857–59 gg.: Iz bumag L. N. Modzalevskago. Golos Minuvšago 1/1917. P. 148. Sbornik, izdavaemyj studentami imperatorskago Peterburgskago universiteta. 1–2. S.-Peterburg 1857–1860. Skabičevskij 1928: 90–93.

96 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1859g., ed. hr. 266, l. 1–2, 16–17, 19–21, 37, 52. Records of investigation, Cjavlovski's confiscated papers, Dolgorukov's correspondence.

97 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 187, l. 18. Swariczewski was from Podolia, Smoleński from the Province of Kiev. Delo...1909:143–146, 148–150, 159–161, 176–178. Lemke: Očerki osvoboditel'nogo dviženija "šestydesjatyh godov". Po neizdannym dokumentam. S.-Peterburg 1908. P. 375–376, 382. Novikova N. N.: Revoljucionery 1861 goda. "Velikoruss" i ego komitet v revoljucionnoj bor'be 1861g. Moskva 1968. P. 128, 130–131, 148, 150–151, Političeskie...1923:37–38, 47, 49–50, 52–53. According to Lemke, Swariczewski was an Orthodox, but I follow the list of students from the Western Provinces sent from the Ministry of Public Enlightenment to the Third Section. Novikova considers Swariczewski a Pole.

At least during the last two centuries there have not been any events which could give reason for hatred of the Poles by the Russians. The seventeenth century did not leave any traces in the memory of the nation...

...both nations are passive, though in a different manner. One submits directly to its own government,...and blindly implements its will. The other, occupied by the government of the first, is passive indirectly in relation to the government, and directly in relation to the tool of this government. This difference in situation creates...hatred in the subjected nation not for the real reason of its unhappiness, but for a false reason, not for the despotic government, but for its tool, the nation. Such is the relation of Russians to the Poles. So the Pole hates the Russian as he would hate his oppressor...

...we do not in any way want to disclaim all responsibility for the rapine of Poland. We are ready to say before the whole world that “beginning from Catherine, we, too, are guilty of the oppression of Poland”.<sup>98</sup>

Despite this recognition, the author found the hatred of Russians by the Poles unwarranted. The Russian people was so undeveloped that it could not be held responsible for the government’s policy. As for the intelligentsia, many Russian writers had striven to educate the people. Puškin and Mickiewicz had been close friends. The author reminded Poles about the 1831 insurgent slogan of “Our and your justice” [sic, should be: liberty].

...we are brothers by blood and education, suffer in the same way. We must not live as we have lived hitherto and live now. All this [hatred] emerged and emerges from the fact that we do not know each other. You condemn us on the basis of our bad sides, whereas we either do not know you at all or know you very little.

Help us to get acquainted with you. Introduce us to your nationality...

...Notice: we speak of communication, not unification: the latter would be in Nicholas’ tradition.<sup>99</sup>

The journal included a list of persons to be ostracized. Among them there was a Pole called Kuczyński, “for denunciation, expelled from the university of Moscow by his fellows”. Thus, a case of ostracism probably decided by the Moscow Polish student union was implemented by Russian radicals in St. Petersburg.<sup>100</sup>

We do not know whether the Poles answered to the Russian call expressed in “Svetoč”, since no further issues have survived. The above-mentioned article describes Russian-Polish relations at the university as being far from idyllic and brotherly. Panteleev tells about the efforts by Władysław Choroszewski, an influential member of the Polish student union. An adherent of Polish-Russian revolutionary co-operation, Choroszewicz was personally acquainted with Černysevskij, Nikolaj Dobroljubov and Kostomarov. His world-view was

98 RNB, otdel rukopisej, Q XVIII.19, p. 13–15.

99 Ibid. p. 16–17.

100 Ibid. p. 93. Probably Adam Kuczyński, whose name is on the list of Moscow students in 1857 in RGIA f. 733, op. 95, delo 239, l. 85.

shaped by Feuerbach and the French socialists, which were at that time popular among Russian students. Choroszewicz proposed that the student union subscribe to "Kolokol" and establish relations with the Russian students. The majority rejected the proposals.<sup>101</sup>

As in other universities, also in St. Petersburg the students were rather eager to protect their collective honour from any insults. There were clashes with the authorities outside the university. As in Moscow, the most important case involved Polish-Russian student solidarity. In December 1858 some Polish and Russian students wanted to rescue property from a burning house on Vasilij Island near the University. The house was surrounded by a line of soldiers, who prevented the public from hindering the firemen and looting the house. The commanding officer, Lieutenant Nikolev, let his soldiers beat a few students who attempted to break the line. The soldiers' violence was either provoked or not, according to which side's testimony one is to believe. At least one of the students was drunk. Nevertheless, the incident caused a general outrage at the University. The students held meetings and drew up a petition to the Curator, Ivan Deljanov. They asked him for protection against the army and the police. Deljanov agreed to receive only individual petitions from each injured person. Nine persons wrote petitions, in which they stated that they had personally been injured. They included the Poles - Bolesław Anc, Waław Domański and Józef Stempel. Their petitions were identical word for word with those of the Russian students, demonstrating the same collective student honour that caused the demonstrations in Kiev: "I have the honour to ask you to investigate the incident, which insults not only me personally, but the whole student estate."<sup>102</sup> Deljanov communicated the case to the St. Petersburg police chief, and an investigation was undertaken. The Emperor at first endorsed Kovalevskij's opinion that Nikolev deserved to be punished, but later exonerated the Lieutenant from all responsibility. Deljanov communicated only the first imperial decision to the students, who remained under the impression that Nikolev was punished. Despite the joint protests, the incident did not lead to continued co-operation between the two student communities.<sup>103</sup>

Polish-Russian student relations in St. Petersburg were rather similar to those in Moscow: there were no conflicts between the two groups, but because of the Polish desire for isolation the relations were not close. The majority of Poles avoided Russians and any political co-operation with them. An exception was the joint defence of student honour. There also existed a minority who favoured joint political underground work and directly participated in distributing Russian subversive texts.

101 Pantelev 1958:169–172. Skabičevskij 1928: 108.

102 GAGSP f. 139, op. 1, delo 5866, l. 1–15.

103 RGIA f. 733, op. 27, delo 20, l. 7–8, 11–13, 20–23, 26–28. Kovalevskij's correspondence about the case. Modzalevskij 1917: 162–170. Nikitenko 1956: 2:49. Pantelev 1958:151–153.

## The University of Dorpat

For the university of Dorpat, the scarcity of official documents about Polish student organizations is compensated for by three rather extensive sets of memoirs written by Benedykt Dybowski, Bolesław Limanowski and Edward Heinrich, as well as research literature concerning the history of the university and its student organizations.<sup>104</sup> The official status of the regional student organizations was reformed at the very beginning of the new reign. Georg von Bradke became the Curator of the Dorpat School District in 1854. He considered the semi-secret status of student organizations harmful since it undermined respect for the law. Therefore, in November 1854, he proposed to Norov that the existing German societies and Ruthenia should be officially recognized. As long as Nicholas lived, Norov had not dared to present such a proposal to the Emperor, but with the new monarch the situation had changed. In April 1855, Alexander II permitted the public existence of the regional organizations and the *Chargiertenkonvent*, stipulating that they must be carefully supervised. Informing von Bradke of the imperial decision, Norov forbade him to publish it. At least officially, students were not told that their societies were permitted by the Emperor himself, but the reform was decreed by the Curator's decision. This shows that the Emperor and the Minister had mixed feelings about the reform, to which they did not want to accord too high a formal status.<sup>105</sup>

In their new official position, the regional organizations and the *Chargiertenkonvent* functioned according to the rules approved by von Bradke. Officially the rules were written by the commission of professors nominated by the Curator, but in fact the professors accepted a draft proposed by the students. With few modifications, these were the same rules by which the student unions had functioned previously. The regulations concerning duels were omitted in the officially approved version. It stated only that the avoidance of duels was one of the aims of the *Chargiertenkonvent*. The official approval of the rules gave the *Chargiertenkonvent* rather extensive powers. It could punish any student by warning, reprimand and total ostracism (*Verruf*). It could ask the Curator to expel from the university an ostracized student. The *Chargiertenkonvent* could also ban any student organization, though such a measure needed the Curator's approval.<sup>106</sup>

The status of the Polish student union was now very different from the other organizations since it was the only one functioning without official sanction. In reality, the university authorities tolerated the Polish union. This is evident from

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104 Kenéz 1990. Dybowski 1911. [Heinrich Edward:] *Luźne kartki ze wspomnień uniwersyteckich*. Warszawa 1917. Isakow-Sigałow 1973:1:112–114. Limanowski 1937. Manteuffel 1911. Von Engelhardt 1933. Petuhov E. V: *Imperatorskij Jur'evskij, byvsyj Derptskij universitet za sto let ego suščestvovanija (1802–1902): Istoričeskij ocerk*. Tom 1. Jur'ev 1902.

105 von Gernet 1893: 184–189. Petuhov 1902:1:585–588.

106 von Gernet 1893: 186–189. Petuhov 1902:1:588–591. The rules in Russian translation.

the fact that it had representation in officially sanctioned “Akademische Musse”, a kind of common club for teachers and students.<sup>107</sup>

At some time between 1854 and 1856 the Polish student union split into two organizations, “Ogól” and “Szczegół”. Different memoirists give different reasons for the split. According to Limanowski, it was caused by a German-Russian conflict.

The reasons for the split were clashes between the Russian and German corporations. The Polish “Ogól” conformed to the all-union decisions. The majority of Lithuanians (*Litwiny*), members of the “Ogól”, did not accept this policy, considered the German claims unfounded, and demanded an end to the struggle against the Russians. But the majority of the “Ogól” rejected this demand and continued to support the Germans. Then almost all the Lithuanians, except for a few, seceded from “Ogól” and founded a separate Polish organization, called “Szczegół”.<sup>108</sup>

Dybowski and Heinrich give as reasons for a split either disagreement in the elections of leaders or “Ogól’s” refusal to accept some students from Lithuania as members.<sup>109</sup> In fact, the split occurred somewhat before the German-Russian conflict, which took place in the autumn of 1857. After the conflict, the Polish split was deepened by the different stances adopted by the two unions in the German-Russian question. All memoirists agree that “Szczegół” consisted exclusively of students from historical Lithuania. Poles from all the other areas and a few Lithuanian Poles belonged to “Ogól”, which was the bigger of the two organizations. Thus the split also reflected the old estrangement between Poles from historical Lithuania and those from the Kingdom of Poland.

There was an understandable reason why the Lithuanians were not eager to ostracize Russians: they already clashed with the Germans before the Russians did, in winter 1857. The conflict, in itself rather banal, touched upon the very question of the Polish national identity, since Pankowski, an Orthodox member of “Szczegół” from the province of Grodno, was considered Russian by the Germans. Unfortunately only a Polish, perhaps somewhat biased, account of the case has been published.

...while he was having supper, a whole band of drunken students from the union “Livonia” came to the restaurant. Drunken freshmen entered and were given beer and food. Noticing Pankowski sitting at a table, they...asked him to join them. Pankowski refused politely, thanking them for the invitation. Then one of the freshmen shouted: “If you do not want to join us, get out now!”. Pankowski answered calmly: “When I have finished my supper and paid for it, then I will go”. “You must go now or we will force you to. We will pay for you, du Russisches Aas.” Pankowski stood up, walked up to Schmidt and asked his surname. The

107 Heinrich 1917: 29,50,52. Manteuffel 1911: 102, 157–158.

108 Limanowski 1937:151. Szczegół means “detail”, hence in this context a separate organization in contrast to the “general” Ogól.

109 Dybowski 1911:264. Heinrich 1917:24, 29.

latter took his card and threw it on the floor shouting: “Da hast Du!”. Pankowski took the card... Pankowski returned to the counter to pay for the supper, Schmidt ran after him, shouting: “We will pay for him, weg mit dir Hundsfott”.<sup>110</sup>

According to prevailing moral standards, a duel was now inevitable. Pankowski nominated Dybowski as his second. Dybowski presented the case to Schmidt’s second, an assistant at the university, who asked: “Why do you Poles side with a Russian?”<sup>111</sup> Dybowski remembers having answered:

1. because Pankowski, though the son of an Orthodox priest, is a Pole and belongs to the Polish corporation; 2. even if he were a Russian, he is first of all a student of the university, and as such must be defended from completely unprovoked attacks by drunken and uncultured persons;...<sup>112</sup>

“Szczegół” decided that the case concerned the whole union. The duel was fought. Luckily it did not lead to death, but Pankowski wounded Schmidt. Additional problems emerged when Schmidt revealed the whole incident to the Rector. Because of the rule that Dorpatian participants in duels must be tried in a court martial, the consequences of the denunciation might have been quite serious. The Chargiertenkonvent decided that no participant in the duel, including the seconds and all who knew about the case, should confess even under arrest. However, Livonia tried to defend Schmidt’s behaviour. Members of “Szczegół” considered Schmidt and the other Livonians too outspoken during the investigation. The university authorities made an independent decision and sentenced the culprits only to expulsion with the right to enter any other university. Though this was a milder punishment than the law stipulated, the Lithuanian Poles felt that they were the victims of dishonourable behaviour on the part of the Livonians.<sup>113</sup>

The German-Russian crisis emerged in spring and autumn 1857. The Russians wanted to liberate their union “Ruthenia” from the jurisdiction of the Chargiertenkonvent, which reacted in April by banning Ruthenia. When the Russian union refused to disband, Chargiertenkonvent sentenced all the Russians at the university to be ostracized. In September a Russian slapped a German in the face for refusing his challenge because of the ostracism. The outraged Germans besieged a house in which the culpable Russian and many of his countrymen lived, and assaulted one of his friends. Von Bradke sided with the Chargiertenkonvent. Ruthenia was banned, the guilty Russian arrested and expelled from Dorpat and the university. Many Russians left the university, and very few arrived from ethnic Russia to replace them. In “Kolokol” Herzen advised the Russians to avoid the university of Dorpat. During the following years the Germans continued a total ostracism of Russians, who were not even

110 Dybowski 1911:545.

111 Dybowski 1911:546.

112 Dybowski 1911:547

113 Dybowski 1911:546–559.



spoken to, but “Szczegół” did not join the boycott.<sup>114</sup>

The German-Russian conflict deepened the rift between the two Polish student unions. As Limanowski remembered:

The members of “Ogół” called the members of “Szczegół” Russians (*Moskalami*), though without reason; these responded by calling the members of “Ogół” “Germans”, apparently more correctly, since among those from the Crown there indeed were many of German origin...<sup>115</sup>

The existence of two organizations did not entail a complete break in personal relations. The anniversary of the November Insurrection was celebrated each year jointly by both Polish student unions. Another political celebration was on the 3 May, the day of the 1791 Constitution. Otherwise the students were not very active politically. A moralist campaign against drinking was begun by Dybowski, but abstinence did not become the norm. Limanowski, who arrived from the University of Moscow in 1858, tried to change the prevailing atmosphere. He belonged to the secret society within the Moscow Polish student union, and wanted to stir up the Dorpatians, too, to become active. A study circle on Polish history met a few times, but it soon died for lack of enthusiasm. Limanowski even lost his contact with the Moscow secret society, which did not answer his reports. Despite the bad start, the new student generation, which arrived in Dorpat in the autumn of 1859, was more inclined to political activism. “Ogół” subscribed to an émigré journal “Wiadomości Polskie” (Polish News) from Paris. A short-lived liberal Polish newspaper “Słowo” (Word) was ordered from St. Petersburg. In 1860, when Heinrich began his studies, there were already quite a few study circles. They did not concentrate exclusively on Polish literature and history, but also handled such subjects as Darwinism, paranormal phenomena and even Homer. The interest in national activism caused the two Polish student unions to be disbanded in March 1860 in order that a new, united organization, under the traditional name of “Konwent Polonia” might be founded.<sup>116</sup>

A conspiracy within the university began in the same spring of 1860. It campaigned against drinking, gambling and luxury. The conspirators wanted to influence the situation in Poland by recruiting members in their homes, by asking the landowners to cede part of their land to the peasants and by working as teachers at village schools after graduation. At first the secret society did not aim at armed insurrection. It also included members who dreamed only of autonomy for the Polish provinces. However, radical nationalism was gaining ground all the time. In the autumn, the news of Mierosławski’s prospective legions was greeted with enthusiasm.<sup>117</sup>

114 Boborykin P. D: *Vospominaniya v dvuh tomah*. Moskva 1965. 1:139–141, 143–144. Boborykin: *Sočineniya*. I–IX. S.-Peterburg 1885. III:219–223, 248–253, 271–277, 315–327, 329–334, 349–350. Gernet 1893: 195–196 196. *Kolokol* No 61, 15.1.1860, p. 504–505.

115 Limanowski 1937:151.

116 Dybowski 1911: 248–251, 265–266, 536. Heinrich 1917:26–30, 32. Limanowski 1937:153–154, 183, 186–189, 192, 199.

117 Dybowski: *Wspomnienia z przeszłości półwiekowej*. Lwów 1913. P. 1. Limanowski 1937:193–194, 199.

The Polish student unions had a large spectrum of non-political forms of activism. How the students themselves perceived the aims of their societies is revealed in Heinrich's account of the chairman's speech when he was admitted into "Ogół" in 1860:

...the aim of "Ogół" is the union of youth from different parts of the country; intellectual, ethical and material mutual assistance, for which purpose there exist the library and bank. Each member has the duty to learn about his country; apart from special studies he must know history and literature of his own nation.<sup>118</sup>

Fencing, shooting and rowing were practised. Duels were continuously fought, and the Poles agreed to fight only with pistols. There existed two hand-written journals, one humorous and the other serious. The unions arranged amateur plays and once even an opera. Both unions had their own libraries. "Ogół's" library numbered 200–300 volumes. The organizational structure of both Polish student unions was simple: the elected leaders consisted of a chairman, librarian and treasurer. The board of "Ogół" also included two additional members. Certainly after the unification of the unions, the Polonia had its own premises.<sup>119</sup>

Each of our memoirists emphasizes how the Poles lived in isolation from the Germans, but then proceeds to tell about Polish-German relations. Many Poles were members of the local voluntary fire brigade and the gymnastics club. Sexual relations with local German or Estonian girls from the common people were quite usual, quite apart from prostitution, though the university authorities banned them. The officially existing Society of Natural Sciences, founded by Poles as cover for their organization back in the 1840s, arranged joint meetings with Germans, including Professors Hermann Asmuss and Edward Grube. Their relations also reached a personal level with Professor Karl Reichert. German culture even influenced local Polish student slang, which included more than one hundred Germanisms. As before, the Poles got along especially well with Curonians.<sup>120</sup>

As during the previous reign, the Polish student unions gathered people of various ethnic origins. The prevailing mood among the Poles was not very religious, which facilitated a liberal attitude towards non-Catholics. Many Lutherans of German origin, including theologians, participated in Polish student activities. Pankowski was not the only Orthodox who was welcomed into the Polish community. One member of "Ogół" was the son of a Russian general, Postnikov, born and raised in Warsaw. However, many Jews remained outside. One group of Poles even disrupted prayer in a synagogue and got involved in a street fight with a group of angry Dorpatian Jews. That such an incident was possible may partly explain why at least not all Jewish students were eager to join the Polish unions.<sup>121</sup>

118 Heinrich 1917:26

119 Dybowski 1911:265–266. Heinrich 1917:27–28, 31–34, 94–95. Limanowski 1937:186.

120 Dybowski 1911:242, 257–259, 261–263, 538. Gernet 1893:200. Heinrich 1917:30, 34, 36, 110–111. Limanowski 1937:147–148, 154.

121 Heinrich 1917:31, 62–63, 81–82. Limanowski 1937:152–154, 157–158, 192.

The tension between the historical and ethnic concepts of the Polish national identity came to the fore when a group of nationally oriented ethnic Lithuanians arrived from St. Petersburg and Moscow. They were not met with enthusiasm:

...later there arrived some Samogitians from St. Petersburg and Moscow, bringing with them national discord. They expressed odd demands to the effect that all Poles living in Lithuania must either become Samogitians or move away from there; the funniest thing was that one of the most convinced Samogitians could not speak Samogitian.<sup>122</sup>

The Lithuanian/Samogitian nationalism inspired satiric verses. They express the traditional view of the Polish nation as the only upholder of civilization in the eastern areas of the former Commonwealth:

He attempts a miracle,  
Who from a poor Pole  
Dreams to forge a Samogitian.  
No, my dear Samogitian,  
That miracle will not happen,  
For culture, like jam,  
Is as dear as love.<sup>123</sup>

The Dorpatian Poles were as active as the Polish students in Russia proper, but their activism was for long directed more towards duels, revels and pastimes. The Dorpatians became involved in the national movement somewhat later than students in Russia proper. Despite this, by 1860 the situation in Dorpat was already fairly similar to that in any Russian university with a Polish community. A secret society directed the activities of the Polish student union, and the idea of an armed insurrection was gaining ground.

## The government debate about student unrest

The government received disquieting news from all the universities. There were student protests and scandals in Kazan and Kharkov, too. Apart from demonstrations, there were enough cases of ordinary drunken hooliganism, like noisy fights in brothels, to make the authorities worried. Russians, Poles and students of other nationalities all caused such incidents. In April 1857, Alexander informed Norov about his wish to limit the number of students to 200 per faculty. Norov strongly opposed the measure, which was never implemented. He also defended the students, stating that all the disturbances were due to chance circumstances. The von der Brinken incident in Kiev had occurred outside the university. This discussion between the Emperor and his Minister shows that Alexander became worried about student disturbances quite soon after ascending to the throne.<sup>124</sup>

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122 Dybowski 1911:252.

123 Idem.

124 RGIA f. 733, op. 27, delo 19, l. 1, 4, 14, 17–18, 28–30, 48–52. Norov's and Kovalevskij's

The problems continued after Norov's resignation. The events of the academic year 1858–1859, especially the protests against the teachers and authorities, made it obvious to the Emperor that discipline at the universities was not what it used to be. In December 1858 Kovalevskij informed the curators that the Emperor had banned all expressions of approval or disapproval at lectures, as well as all kinds of “meetings and demonstrations”. However, the public meetings connected with the banks of mutual assistance, student libraries and publications continued undisturbed even after Kovalevskij's circular, which was directed more against unauthorized meetings in which the students' rights and collective interests were defended.<sup>125</sup>

In January 1859, Vasilij Dolgorukov, the Chief of Gendarmes and Head of the Third Section, presented a memorandum about university students to Alexander. He noted that among them there were tendencies that “may develop into...resistance against the government”.<sup>126</sup> The university inspectors had completely lost control over the students. Dolgorukov saw the root of the evil in the student corporate spirit, which had emerged only because the students were privileged in their relation towards the government. That was why the students should be controlled by the ordinary police instead the inspectors. The student uniform should be abandoned, since it strengthened the students' corporate spirit and allowed them to ignore the ordinary police. The special rights of university graduates in the Table of Ranks should be abandoned so that only those genuinely interested in education would come to study, instead of those who merely wished to attain a rank. Further, Dolgorukov even proposed the closure of smoking rooms in the universities since they served as gathering places where dangerous ideas and forbidden publications circulated. Dolgorukov also proposed increasing the number of professors. The protests against the professors would end, since they would compete between each other, and the students could choose to whom they would listen. Alexander thought that the memorandum contained “good ideas” and ordered it to be sent to Kovalevskij.<sup>127</sup>

Dolgorukov greatly exaggerated the importance of government measures and underestimated the force of civil society. It was a rather unrealistic idea to

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correspondence with Alexander and Ignat'ev, the Governor-General of St. Petersburg. F. 735, op. 10, delo 305, l. 163–166, 191. Norov's letters to Alexander II with the latter's comments. For student unrest in general, see Aševskij S: Russkoe studenčestvo v epohu 60-h godov (1855–63). *Sovremennyj Mir* 7–11/1907. 9: 49–51, 54–55, 57–60. Ejmontova 1985: 254–260.

125 GASP f. 139, op. 1, delo 5885, l. 1–3. Kovalevskij to St. Petersburg Curator Ivan Deljanov. RGIA f. 733, op. 27, delo 18, l. 2–6. Kovalevskij to Alexander 25th September 1858 with the latter's comments, Dolgorukov to Kovalevskij 24th September. Aševskij 1907:9:60. *Istorija Leningradskogo universiteta 1819–1969*. Očerki. Leningrad 1969. P. 67–68. Roždestvenskij 1902: 361–362.

126 RGIA f. 733, op. 88, delo 213, l. 3.

127 RGIA f. 733, op. 88, delo 213, l. 3–10. Dolgorukov mentioned favorably the Imperial Public Library, whose users never caused disturbances, since they did not form a separate legal category of people and did not wear uniforms. This statement as well as others pointing to a knowledge of French and German higher education suggest to me that the Director of the Library, Baron Modest Korf had aided Dolgorukov in writing the memorandum. It was Korf who first brought the idea of a “free university” into the government debate.

destroy the student corporate spirit merely by abandoning the official status of student. Under the guise of an attempt to restore order to the universities, Dolgorukov's memorandum was also an attack on what was left of their autonomy as well as on the prerogatives of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment. Probably that is why Kovalevskij asked the Curators to present their opinions and proposals. By appealing to the opinions of his subordinates, the Minister wanted to strengthen his own position in relation to Dolgorukov, whose submission he did not particularly like.<sup>128</sup>

The St. Petersburg Curator, Ivan Deljanov, and von Bradke opposed any decrease in the disciplinary prerogatives of the educational authorities, proposing instead a university court (Deljanov) and making the ordinary police in Dorpat subject to the Curator (von Bradke).<sup>129</sup> Only Pirogov agreed to any considerable extent with Dolgorukov. He was also the only curator who mentioned the national aspect of the student unrest. According to Pirogov, the students' corporate spirit depended on three factors: 1. the uniting force of learning; 2. legal status of students; 3. their nationality. The government could only affect the second factor, since the first was quite natural, and the third depended on local conditions and the spirit of the nation to which the students belonged. However, since in Russia the uniting force of learning was as yet not very developed and the national question was of importance only in Dorpat and Kiev, government measures might be effective. Pirogov proposed two alternative solutions. The first was official recognition and regulation of the student unions. This would include granting limited disciplinary prerogatives for student representative bodies elected by gymnasium, province or faculty. However, the implementation of such a measure would be undermined by the resistance of the local police and the national enmity between students. Pirogov preferred the second alternative, which was to officially abandon the concept of student altogether and to legally equate students with all other citizens. If this alternative were chosen, the admission exams and university inspectors should be abandoned. The lectures would then be accessible to all. If the government wished to restrict the number of persons listening the university courses, it could demand tuition fees from everyone. The maintenance of order was to be the task of the ordinary police, and the university would no longer have any responsibility for the students' behaviour and upbringing. This was all the more necessary since the university police were simply not able to supervise all the students from different social ranks, and educational and national backgrounds. Pirogov emphasized that the proposed measure was in accordance with people's general desire to obtain education as well as with the tendency to diminish privileges of social rank. He believed that the reform would "even remove that extremely biased outlook of certain nationalities that so strongly underlies the

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128 RGIA f. 733, op. 88, delo 213, l. 1–2. Kovalevskij 22nd January 1859. The letter was sent at least to Curators Pirogov, von Bradke and Zinovev (in Harkov), but other curators probably received it as well, since Ivan Deljanov in St. Petersburg reacted to it.

129 RGIA f. 733, op. 88, delo 213, l. 11–18. Deljanov (without date) and von Bradke (29th January 1859) to Kovalevskij. Roždestvenskij 1902: 361.

corporate spirit in some of our universities". From the liberal point of view, Pirogov reached essentially the same conclusions as the conservative Dolgorukov. The abolition of exemptions from tuition fees proposed by Pirogov was in itself a rather reactionary measure, though he thought that the actual sum of 40-50 roubles could be halved.<sup>130</sup>

Kovalevskij chose a compromise solution, which Alexander ratified in May 1859. The students were placed under the jurisdiction of the ordinary police only outside the university area. Within the universities, the maintenance of order was still the task of the inspectors. Kovalevskij also proposed the abandonment of the student uniform, but this and some minor changes in the system of admissions were rejected by the Council of Ministers. The reform did not apply to Dorpat. In January 1860, Alexander specified that the decree did not exclude students from university inspectors' jurisdiction outside the university. As a result, both the ordinary and the university police had power and responsibility over students outside the university, while the university police had the exclusive responsibility for students in the university. In the same month, Alexander finally ratified the Main School Board's proposal, which exempted the students from the obligation to wear uniform outside the university. Pirogov interpreted the police reform in such a way that it only obliged the university inspectors to inform local authorities about events and plans which might threaten the public order. Vasilčikov wished for a more substantial contribution from the university police, and the relations between the Governor-General and Curator deteriorated. Kovalevskij sided with Vasilčikov in this dispute. Pirogov's position followed from his general view on the status of students and from his conviction that political student activism, including national Polish activities, could best be combated by promoting an interest in learning. He was not enthusiastic about administrative repression.<sup>131</sup>

Another result of the discussion about student disturbances was a rather minor reform in admissions policy, which was decreed by a ministerial circular in March 1860. The main change was that all young men wishing to study in the universities had to pass the final exam of the gymnasium before qualifying for admission. Actual study in a gymnasium was not required. Knowledge of Greek was no longer required for admission to the Faculty of Arts, which made studying the humanities more accessible than before.<sup>132</sup>

The Kharkovan-Kievan revolutionary group was uncovered in January 1860. In May the Austrian government sent Paskevič information that there was a secret society that had been jointly organized by students in Kiev, Warsaw and

130 RGIA f. 733, op. 88, delo 213, l. 33–49. Rodzevič N. N: Otstavka E. P. Kovalevskago. *Istoričeskij Vestnik* 1/1905. P. 109–110. *Roždestvenskij* 1902: 362–363.

131 RGIA f. 733, op. 88, delo 213, l. 50–51. Secretary of State Sukovkin to Kovalevskij 6th May 1859, informing him of the imperial decision. L. 52–60, 71–72. Kovalevskij's submissions to Alexander 28th April and 4th November 1859. L. 79–84. The Main School Board to Alexander 14th January 1860. OPDU 39–40, 46–55, 60–64. SP III 1428–1430. Ejmontova R. G: *Russkie universitety na putjah reformy. Šestidesjatyje gody XIX veka*. Moskva 1993. P. 37. *Roždestvenskij* 1902: 363.

132 SR III 1030-1037. *Roždestvenskij* 1902: 361–363.

Cracow. The Austrians had arrested a Kievan student, Włodzimierz Miłowicz, in Cracow, but released him because they lacked conclusive evidence about his political activities. At the same time, Vasilčikov expressed his concern to the Third Section about the national activism of Polish students in Kiev:

Among the local university students of Polish origin...have emerged attempts to awaken (*k* *voztroženiju*) the Polish national spirit. For instance, they have attempted to propagate the opinion, and even argued it in articles printed by foreign newspapers, that this region is old Polish, and not Russian, land. They have tried to spread the use of the Polish language. Some have even avoided the company of Russians and the use of the Russian language and have formed their own circles in the university, not mixing with Russians. They have tried to...develop Polish literature and to reawaken disappearing Polish customs here...<sup>133</sup>

In November, Dolgorukov asked Vasilčikov about Polish regional organizations. Vasilčikov answered that the existence of such organizations was possible, but he had no conclusive evidence about them. In reality, he was quite well-informed about the Polish student union. He was able to inform Dolgorukov about a projected student petition to the Emperor concerning the language of instruction, which was then withdrawn. Dolgorukov presented his information to Alexander.<sup>134</sup>

For those officials suspicious of Kovalevskij's excessively liberal university policy, these events served as additional proof that things were not well. Pirogov had let members of the Kharkovan-Kievan group teach in Sunday Schools and was personally well acquainted with some of them, and his actions as Curator now came under suspicion. In July 1860, Alexander nominated a commission to evaluate Kovalevskij's annual report of the Ministry for the year 1859. Its members were Prince Petr of Oldenburg, the Director of the Imperial Public Library, Baron Modest Korf, the former Moscow Curator, Sergej Stroganov, and the Governor-General of St. Petersburg, Count Pavel Ignat'ev. Kovalevskij's policy was now being supervised by persons outside the Ministry. At the end of 1860 his position was already quite weak. The events in the following spring, which were closely connected with the Polish question, led to his downfall.<sup>135</sup>

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133 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1860g., ed. hr. 134, l. 1.

134 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1860g., l. 2, 8–10.

135 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1860g., ed. hr. 134, l. 1–2, 9–12. Vasilčikov (24th May) and Paskevič (15th June) to Dolgorukov. OPDU 29–38, 41, 44–46, 49–55. Ejmontova 1993:38. Rodzevič 1905:100. Rožděstvenskij 1902: 364–365.

## ■ 1861–1863

### A crisis in Russian Poland

In spring 1861 the suppressed discontent and conspiratorial effort escalated into open conflict in Warsaw. On 13/25 February, the anniversary of the Battle of Grochów in 1831, a demonstration numbering 5,000 persons gathered in the Old City. The original plan of action for the day proposed by Mierosławski had been to start an insurrection, but the local conspirators, led by Karol Majewski, rejected this. Instead, they tried by means of a demonstration to influence the Agricultural Society, which was holding its meeting on the same day in the Viceroy's palace. The Society was discussing the land question, having already decided in principle in favour of land reform and peasant land ownership. The conspirators wanted to force the Society to support a land reform that was more favourable to the peasants and to put demands to the government for political reform. Gendarmes dispersed the demonstration by force, but without resorting to the use of firearms. When the demonstration was repeated the next day, it led to casualties. Five persons were killed when the Russian troops opened fire on the demonstrators, who were trying to make their way to the Viceroy's palace.<sup>1</sup>

The death of the victims fired patriotic feelings in the city. The Agricultural Society and the newly improvised City Delegation, a representative body of wealthy citizens, presented Viceroy Mihail Gorčakov with a petition demanding political reform in very general terms. Gorčakov, fearing a revolution, released almost all those who had been arrested on political grounds and let the volunteers from the City Delegation maintain law and order. For almost two months, the government's hold on Warsaw was precarious, as Gorčakov avoided any actions that might provoke further demonstrations. During this period, he was frequently criticized by the Emperor and his immediate circle for what was seen as an excessively soft policy vis-à-vis Polish national strivings. The Emperor refused to receive the petition. However, negotiations with a moderate Polish patriot, Marquis Aleksander Wielopolski led to co-operation. Alexander II accepted some of the reforms proposed by Wielopolski. They included the re-establishment of the State Council as a body nominated by the Emperor, local administrative organs to be elected by the inhabitants, the placing of education under Polish administration and the re-establishment of Polish higher education. Wielopolski was appointed Director of the Interior, Religious Affairs and Education. In May, Alexander accepted his proposal for the transformation of

1 Kieniewicz 1983: 94–96, 98–108. Korespondencja namiestników Królestwa Polskiego z 1861 roku. Wrocław 1964. P. 5–6, 8–9.



the corvée into rent in cash, but this was regarded as only a temporary solution to the land question.<sup>2</sup>

The reforms were modest even compared with the expectations of the moderate patriots, let alone the conspirators. When they were combined with repressive measures, including the breaking-up of the City Delegation and the Agricultural Society, street demonstrations began anew in April. This time Gorčakov had explicit instructions to use as much force as was necessary to put an end to the open challenge to the government. On 27 March/8 April the troops again fired on demonstrators, leaving at least 98 persons dead. These incidents resulted in the conspirators stepping up their activities and the swelling of their numbers. That same spring the demonstrations spread to the Western Provinces, most often taking the form of memorial Masses for the victims. On 22 August a state of war was declared in large areas of Lithuania, including all the important towns.<sup>3</sup>

Gorčakov died at the end of May. His successor Charles Lambert did not arrive in Warsaw until August, and he resigned in October. After this, Alexander Lüders was nominated as the acting Viceroy. The governmental policy suffered from long interim periods during which the Viceroy's tasks were handled by Nikolaj Suhozanet, the Russian Minister of War and a hard-liner on Polish policy. The government proceeded along the course of moderate concessions combined with repression and a firm refusal to grant autonomy to the country. On 2/14 October the government proclaimed a state of war in the Kingdom of Poland. The members of the former City Delegation were arrested. The use of force restored a relative outward calm to the country. In December, Wielopolski resigned as Director, but continued as a member of the State Council. In May 1862 the political situation in governmental circles again became more favourable to a Russian-Polish compromise. Wielopolski was nominated the Head of Civilian Administration in the Kingdom, while Grand Prince Konstantin became the new Viceroy. Wielopolski Polonized the administration, re-established Warsaw University and separate Polish institutions for postal and transport services, but this was too little and too late to pacify the country.<sup>4</sup>

By the end of 1861, the conspiracies had firmly established their networks and could not easily be eliminated. The groups that aimed at insurrection united in October and formed the "Committee of Movement" (*Komitet Ruchu*), a leading body enjoying greater authority than its predecessors. The Committee organized the collection of money and weapons. The authority of this so-called "red" organization was challenged by "white" groups, which consisted of the nobility, entrepreneurs, "millenarian" and other moderate circles of the intelligentsia. The reds supported land reform and political democracy, but the name "reds"

2 Kieniewicz 1983: 104, 108–118, 121–124, 127–137, 161–162, 182–183. Korespondencja...1964: 10–11, 17–19, 23, 26–31, 42–45, 51–52, 56–64, 71–73, 75–77.

3 RPLB 63–64. Kieniewicz 1983: 121, 138–139, 144–150. Korespondencja... 1964:123–124. According to Gorčakov, on 8th April there was also one Cossack killed and 34 soldiers wounded on the Russian side.

4 Kieniewicz 1983: 165, 183–184, 200–205, 230–232, 252–254.

must not be understood in the sense of socialism. The white movement was in aims and organization less unified than the Committee of Movement. In September 1861 the whites formed a leading organ, the National Delegation, which in February 1862 renamed itself the Directorate (*Dyrekcja*). The whites were not in principle against an insurrection, but for the time being they considered it better to put pressure on the Russian government in order to obtain additional concessions. The national movement suffered throughout the whole uprising from disagreements and the power struggle between its two main wings.<sup>5</sup>

The Committee of Movement changed its name to the National Central Committee (*Komitet Centralny Narodowy, KCN*) and published its programme in July 1862. It aimed at the restoration of Poland within pre-partition borders and a land reform that would transfer full property of the peasants' land to them without redemption payments. The government would compensate the landowners for the losses. Step by step, the KCN formed an underground Polish state, which had its own administration, taxation and police. In August/September it proclaimed itself a National Government. In October, the Russian-dominated official government decided to conscript recruits specifically to combat politically subversive elements. The KCN could not allow the conscription to take place without damaging its own authority. Hostilities broke out on 10/22 January 1863.<sup>6</sup>

In July 1861, Mierosławski had to close down his military courses in Paris, but by the following October he was able to open the long-planned proper military school in Genoa under the protection of the Italian government. In May, the Italian authorities commanded the school to move to Cuneo, and finally closed it down in June. By that time, Mierosławski was forced to resign as director of the school, since his dictatorial personality had caused wide dissatisfaction. The KCN was in principle willing to appoint Mierosławski military commander after the outbreak of the insurrection, but it preferred to retain its freedom to take independent decisions. Mierosławski had demanded total power during the preparatory period. This made relations between the KCN and Mierosławski rather strained. He retained a tiny organization of his personal supporters in Poland.<sup>7</sup>

## Educational reform in the Kingdom of Poland

The first plan for reforms proposed by Gorčakov included education, and Alexander accepted it in principle on 24 February/8 March. The unpopular and

5 Kieniewicz 1983: 199, 206–210, 218–222, 242–245, 284–285, 309–312. Ramotowska Franciszka: *Narodziny tajemnego państwa Polskiego 1859–1862*. Warszawa 1990. P. 87–117, 150–203.

6 Dokumenty...1968. P. 3–4, 14–16. Kieniewicz 1983:259–260, 278–283, 287–288, 344–346, 356. Ramotowska 1990:204–221, 226–236, 246–259, 275–277.

7 Karbowski 1962. Kieniewicz 1983:171–172, 179, 210–211, 248.

conservative Curator Pavel Muhanov was dismissed. The Emperor charged Senator Romuald Hube with the task of preparing a concrete programme of measures in the field of education. Hube proposed the establishment of four institutes of higher education: a Law School, a Polytechnic Institute, a School of Economics and a Pedagogical-Philological School. He wanted to open more gymnasias and unify their curricula by abolishing the separate categories of Real-Gymnasium and Philological Gymnasium. The language of instruction was to be exclusively Polish. Tuition fees were to be lowered and restrictions based on the pupil's social rank completely abolished. Hube's proposal in fact totally reversed the previous educational policy. It aimed at re-Polonization combined with easier access to education. Alexander II accepted it.<sup>8</sup>

Meanwhile, Wielopolski also pressed for educational reform. His first reform plan included the removal of education from the Ministry of Public Enlightenment to the Polish Governmental Commission of Religious Confessions and Enlightenment, as well as the reopening of Warsaw University. On 13/25 March, Alexander accepted the reform. However, instead of the university, he planned "Établissement de hautes écoles, entre autres d'une École de Droit", keeping to Hube's earlier proposal. The Warsaw School District was abolished, and Wielopolski was nominated the director of the new commission. For the first time since 1832, the Kingdom's educational administration was now headed by a man who wanted to promote Polish culture. Wielopolski continued to campaign for the university, interpreting Hube's plan as only a proposal.<sup>9</sup>

The new Director faced a formidable task. Discipline in the schools had collapsed, and the pupils were actively participating in political demonstrations. Wielopolski expelled many pupils and prolonged the summer holiday so that the schools were closed from June 1861 to January 1862. The reform work proceeded in a tense atmosphere of general political crisis and disagreements within governmental circles. The acting Viceroy, Suhozanet, was especially critical of Wielopolski's policy, considering him both too independent and unpopular.<sup>10</sup>

Wielopolski managed to do a lot in a short time. In August 1861, the Administrative Council accepted his submission for the reform of educational administration. The structure of the Commission closely resembled the pre-1831 system in autonomous Poland with some modifications. Wielopolski created a consultative body, the Council of Education, which included professors, teachers, educational administrators and representatives of the most important religious communities. In January 1862 Alexander II ratified the law on the Commission.<sup>11</sup>

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8 Korespondencja...1964:31, 47–48, 67–68. Poznański 1968:57–59, 72–75.

9 Korespondencja...1964: 62–63, 65–66, 72–73, 75–77, 82. The citation on pages 72–73, Aleksandr Gorčakov to Mihail Gorčakov 13/25th March 1861. The orthography of the original. Poznański 1968:57–61, 74–75.

10 Korespondencja...1964: 213–215, 246–248, 265–266. Poznański 1968:62–71, 76–101, 128–130.

11 Poznański 1968:130–135, 195–196.

The draft for a new School Law for the Kingdom of Poland was ready in September. It was rather ambitious, including compulsory elementary education for all children. The ladder system, which facilitated continuing from a lower school to a higher one, was restored and all discrimination based on social rank was abolished in the draft. Two new institutes of higher education were established: the Main School (in reality, the university) and the Polytechnic Institute. The Main School had faculties of medicine, mathematics and natural science, law and arts. Of these, the medical faculty was to be established on the basis of the existing medical academy. Medical studies took five years, others four. At first there were to be admission exams in the Main School, but after four years they would be abolished and graduation from the gymnasium would suffice for admission. Tuition was to be 20 roubles a year, half of what it was in Russian provincial universities, but students would also have to pay for some exams. The Main School had a large degree of autonomy, with a rector elected by professors at its head, though for the first three years he was to be nominated by the government. The gymnasium had seven annual classes. The division into philological and mathematical-scientific orientations was abolished, as were the lessons in law. The subjects to be taught were religion, Polish, Russian, German, French, Latin, Greek, mathematics, physics, geography, chemistry, zoology, botany, geology, general and Polish history, handwriting, drawing and gymnastics. The number of gymnasia according to the draft proposal was 13, the same as before 1830. One lyceum with a somewhat broader course than the gymnasia was to be opened. The tuition fee in the gymnasium was to be 15 roubles a year instead of the present sixty.<sup>12</sup>

In October 1861, the Preparatory Courses for the Main School were opened. They were a temporary institute considered necessary to compensate for the loss of a school year and to show that the government was serious about its educational reform. However, Wielopolski was soon summoned to St. Petersburg, and eventually he resigned. His plan was in all essentials passed by Poland's State Council, but it met with obstacles in St. Petersburg. There were a couple of counterproposals by the acting Viceroy, Lüders, and the Deputy Secretary of State, Valerij Platonov. As a result, the educational reform was passed only in May and in modified form. Compulsory elementary education was rejected. It was stipulated that pupils and students from the Empire proper needed a special permit from their authorities for studies in the Kingdom. In practice, this meant that the Main School remained closed to people from the Western Provinces. Otherwise the main principles of Wielopolski's proposal remained in force. Wielopolski was returned to the Emperor's favour, and he led the implementation of the reform in his new capacity as head of the civil administration of the Kingdom. The Main School was opened in October 1862. The Kingdom's youth no longer needed to travel to study in Russian universities, but this happened on the very eve of the insurrection.<sup>13</sup>

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12 Poznański 1968:74–75, 141–144, 146–151, 153–156.

13 Sbornik administrativnyh postanovlenij Carstva Pol'skogo. Vedomstvo prosvješčenija. VI. Warszawa 1868. P. 502–561. Poznański 1968:160–167, 173–205.

## Student body (1861–62)

We have various sources of information available to us about the student body. The list of students of the University of Kiev was published in 1861 in the university's own journal. Among the documents of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment, there is the list of students of the University of Moscow. While the Kievan list tells us both the home province and the place of previous education for each student, the Moscow list contains only the place of previous education. There are also the lists of students from the Western Provinces and Kingdom of Poland for each university. They were sent from the Ministry to the Third Section and are included among its documents. They contain the home province and religious affiliation of a student, but not his social rank.

St. Vladimir's University in Kiev had 704 students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces in the autumn term of 1861, 478 of which were Roman Catholics. They formed 74.5% and 50.6% respectively of the whole student body. Compared with the situation in 1857, the proportion of all students from the area as well as that of Roman Catholics in the whole student body had increased. The total number of students from Lithuania and Belorussia had remained rather stable, whereas the university had more students than previously from the Right-Bank Ukraine and the Kingdom of Poland. However, within the group of students from the former Poland-Lithuania, the proportion of non-Catholics had increased in absolute numbers as well as proportionally. The proportion of Orthodox students had grown especially among students from the Right-Bank Ukraine so that it now formed roughly a third of the student body from the area. This relation was roughly the same as in 1845, but the absolute number of Orthodox students was now much higher.<sup>14</sup>

Students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces at the University of Kiev in autumn 1861 according to religious affiliation and regional background:

|                | Right-Bank<br>Ukraine | Lithuania and<br>Belorussia | Kingdom<br>of Poland | total |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|-------|
| Roman Catholic | 328                   | 115                         | 35                   | 478   |
| Orthodox       | 176                   | 14                          | –                    | 190   |
| Jewish         | 11                    | 4                           | 3                    | 18    |
| Protestant     | 13                    | 1                           | 2                    | 16    |
| not available  | 2                     | –                           | –                    | 2     |
| total          | 530                   | 134                         | 40                   | 704   |

14 The statistics compiled on the basis of *Imennaja vedomost' o studentah Imperatorskogo universiteta Sv. Vladimira na 1861–62j učebnyj god*. *Kievskie universitetskie izvestija* 2/1861, p. 1–85. The comparison of the situation in 1845 with that in 1861 is only approximate, as only the place of previous studies is mentioned for each student for the year 1845.

When we look at the student body from the former Poland-Lithuania by social rank and choice of faculty, we notice that the proportion of nobles dropped from 73% to 68% in only four years. It was lower than in 1853 or 1857. However, the tiny proportion of peasants remained fairly constant. It was the middle ranks that had gained ground in the university. The disproportionately high figure of the Faculty of Medicine was corrected, but medicine still remained the most popular field of study. All the other faculties had grown rapidly, above all the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Science. It was now both proportionally and in absolute numbers more popular than ever before.

Students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces in the University of Kiev in autumn 1861 according to field of study and social rank:

|  | Law  | Humanities | Mathematics,<br>Natural science | Medicine | Total | %    |
|--|------|------------|---------------------------------|----------|-------|------|
| noble                                  | 110  | 41         | 160                             | 168      | 479   | 68.0 |
| lower officer                          | 21   | 10         | 22                              | 35       | 88    | 12.5 |
| Orthodox clergy                        | 12   | 12         | –                               | 13       | 37    | 5.3  |
| merchant                               | 5    | 2          | 1                               | 5        | 13    | 1.8  |
| “raznočinec”                           | 1    | 1          | 3                               | 4        | 9     | 1.3  |
| honoured citizen                       | –    | –          | 1                               | 2        | 3     | 0.4  |
| civil servant without rank             | 1    | –          | –                               | 1        | 2     | 0.3  |
| lower townsman                         | 5    | 1          | 6                               | 23       | 35    | 5.0  |
| “inhabitants of the Kingdom of Poland” | 2    | –          | 3                               | 7        | 12    | 1.7  |
| peasant                                | 2    | –          | 7                               | 7        | 16    | 2.3  |
| foreigner                              | –    | –          | 3                               | 2        | 5     | 0.7  |
| not available                          | –    | 1          | 2                               | 2        | 5     | 0.7  |
| total                                  | 159  | 68         | 208                             | 269      | 704   | 100  |
| %                                      | 22.6 | 9.7        | 29.5                            | 38.2     | 100   |      |

There is also the Third Section’s list of students from the Western Provinces and the Kingdom of Poland at St. Vladimir’s University, but it is manifestly incomplete, containing only 471 names.<sup>15</sup>

According to the list of students in the documents of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment, in the autumn term of 1861 the University of Moscow numbered 368 students and free listeners who had previously studied in the Kingdom of Poland or the Western Provinces. They formed 23.6% of the total of 1,560 persons studying at the university. Of them, 290 were Roman Catholics, who made up 18.6% of the whole student body. Compared with the situation in 1857, the number of students from the former Poland-Lithuania had diminished in absolute terms as well as proportionally, although it was still greater than at any time during Nicholas’ reign. This phenomenon was due to the establishment of

15 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 187, l. 22–27.

Warsaw Medical Academy and the concentration of the chairs of Polish Law in the University of St. Petersburg. Students from the Kingdom of Poland had almost disappeared from the university. The number of students from the Western Provinces, on the other hand, had risen, as can be seen in the following table. Especially rapid was the growth in the group of students from historical Lithuania.<sup>16</sup>

The regional background of students from the Western Provinces and the Kingdom of Poland at the University of Moscow in the autumn term of 1861:

|                          |     |
|--------------------------|-----|
| Lithuania and Belorussia | 280 |
| Home education           | 57  |
| Right-Bank Ukraine       | 21  |
| Kingdom of Poland        | 10  |

However, these numbers do not tell the whole truth. The student body included not less than 69 Roman Catholics, who had previously studied outside the areas inhabited by Poles. Of these, 62 had names that could be identified as Polish. Thirty-three of them came from St. Petersburg.<sup>17</sup>

As it was mainly students from the Kingdom of Poland that had left the university, it is not surprising that the proportion of non-Catholics among students from the former Poland had grown to a more than one fifth. The Orthodox students were now more numerous than ever before.

Students from the Western Provinces and the Kingdom of Poland at the University of Moscow according to their religious affiliation in the autumn term of 1861:

|                |     |
|----------------|-----|
| Roman Catholic | 290 |
| Orthodox       | 60  |
| Jewish         | 10  |
| Protestant     | 8   |

As to the composition of the student body according to social rank, the proportion of nobles had dropped slightly, from 78.5% in 1857 to 77.4% in 1861. The absolute number of non-nobles, 83, was higher than ever before, but proportionally the student body from the former Poland was more exclusive than it had been in 1845 or even in 1853. In 1845 the absolute number of non-nobles had been only slightly lower (78). By 1861, the effect of the restrictive measures during the last years of Nicholas' reign was finally overcome, but this only meant a return to the situation before the restrictions.

The abolition of restrictions and the establishment of the Medical Academy in Warsaw had also balanced the relation between various faculties. The number of medical students had dropped from 294 in 1857 to 155 in 1861, whereas all the other faculties, including that of law, had become more popular. The number of

16 RGIA f. 733, op. 202, delo 95, l. 53–83. List of students.

17 Within the group of 62 students, there were 49 noblemen, six from simple townfolk, five lower officers, one honoured citizen and one peasant.

students studying mathematics and natural science had increased more than fivefold. Less than half of the students from the former Poland-Lithuania now studied medicine, though it was still the most popular subject. According to the social rank of its students, the Faculty of Law was somewhat more exclusive than the others, but the differences between the faculties in this sense were not great.

Students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces at the University of Moscow in the autumn term of 1861 by social rank and field of study:

|                       | Law | Humanities | Mathematics,<br>Natural science | Medicine | Total | %    |
|-----------------------|-----|------------|---------------------------------|----------|-------|------|
| noble                 | 87  | 14         | 70                              | 114      | 285   | 77.4 |
| lower officer         | 6   | 1          | 6                               | 10       | 23    | 6.3  |
| Orthodox clergy       | –   | 1          | 1                               | 4        | 6     | 1.6  |
| Roman Catholic clergy | –   | –          | –                               | 1        | 1     | 0.3  |
| merchant              | 3   | –          | 3                               | 3        | 9     | 2.4  |
| “raznočinec”          | –   | –          | –                               | 1        | 1     | 0.3  |
| lower townsman        | 5   | 3          | 9                               | 7        | 24    | 6.5  |
| peasant               | 1   | –          | 2                               | 6        | 9     | 2.4  |
| Jew                   | 1   | –          | –                               | 6        | 7     | 1.9  |
| foreigner             | –   | –          | –                               | 1        | 1     | 0.3  |
| not available         | –   | –          | –                               | 2        | 2     | 0.5  |
| total                 | 103 | 19         | 91                              | 155      | 368   |      |
| %                     | 28  | 5.2        | 24.7                            | 28       | 42.1  | 100  |

This information seems to contradict the list of students for the same university in the Third Section, which dates from September 1861. It includes the names of 476 persons, of whom two were free listeners.

Regional and religious background of students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces at the University of Moscow in September 1861 according to the list of the Third Section:<sup>18</sup>

|                | Lithuania and<br>Belorussia | Right-Bank<br>Ukraine | Kingdom<br>of Poland | total |
|----------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------|
| Roman Catholic | 377                         | 12                    | 15                   | 404   |
| Orthodox       | 41                          | 5                     | 3                    | 49    |
| Lutheran       | 8                           | 3                     | 1                    | 12    |
| Jewish         | 7                           | –                     | –                    | 7     |
| Reformed       | 2                           | –                     | 1                    | 3     |
| Uniat          | –                           | –                     | 1                    | 1     |
| total          | 435                         | 20                    | 21                   | 476   |

18 Compiled on the basis of the list which is in GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., delo 187, l. 34–49.



The disparity between the two lists of students does not mean that one is more correct than the other. The list of the Third Section is based on actual home province, whereas the one in the Ministry of Public Enlightenment indicates only the previous place of study. Moreover, it is probable that the lists describe the situation at different times. The list of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment describes the situation at the very end of 1861. At that time, some students had already left the university because of the student demonstrations in the autumn.

The list of members of the Moscow Polish student union for 1862 has also survived. By collating its information with that contained in the student list of the Third Section, we are able to compare the unionization of students of different religious denominations and regions. This gives us information about the appeal of the Polish national identity in various groups. The student union itself at the time considered membership of the union a criterion of Polish identity.<sup>19</sup> The information is not quite exact, since the list of members contains 354 names in all, of which only 225 also figure in the list of the Third Section. This discrepancy may be due to the fact that the list of members contains all students who were members in the course of 1862, including those who enrolled only in the autumn. The list also includes those students who finished their studies in spring 1862, so it cannot describe exclusively the situation in the autumn term of 1862. It is also possible that the student union counted non-students in its ranks. The 225 members of the student union make up 47.3% of all students from the former Poland-Lithuania in the list of the Third Section. As stated above, this must not be interpreted as the level of unionization, which was higher. Nevertheless, the differences between various religious denominations are significant. The religious division among the 225 members was as follows:

|                |     |
|----------------|-----|
| Roman Catholic | 209 |
| Orthodox       | 12  |
| Reformed       | 2   |
| Lutheran       | 2   |

The 209 Roman Catholic members make up 51.7% of the 404 Roman Catholics in the list of the Third Section, whereas the 12 Orthodox members form only 24.5% respectively of the 49 students of that faith. Although our sample for the Orthodox is rather small, the difference is important enough to show that the Orthodox were much less eager to join the Polish student union than were the Roman Catholics. The same might be the case with the Lutherans, since of the 12 Lutheran students in the Third Section's list only two are found in the list of union members. Of those members whose religious denomination we know, not a single one was Jewish. The Polish national identity was very closely connected with Roman Catholicism. On the other hand, the membership of even this number of Orthodox speaks against the official interpretation of the local Orthodox as Russians.

19 Fiedosowa 1984: 228, 318–319. Wiktor Lebidiew's speech 30th August 1861. Appeal by the Administrative Council of the student union 1862.

Regionally, the popularity of the student union was somewhat lower in the Provinces of Witebsk and Mohylew than elsewhere. There were 73 students from these provinces, 63 of whom were Roman Catholics. There are 25 and 23 members respectively. As the sample is rather small, one should perhaps not draw too radical conclusions about the appeal of Polish national identity in the region. However, the Kowno Province, the area where ethnic Lithuanians lived, shows a completely different tendency, being more unionised than the other areas. There were 73 students from the province, 66 of whom were Roman Catholics. There were 50 union members, 47 of them were Roman Catholics. If there was a Lithuanian group at the university that saw Polish and Lithuanian nationalities as mutually incompatible, it cannot have been very influential.

For the University of St. Petersburg, we have only the student list of the Third Section, which tells us that there were 460 students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces. Their religious and regional background was following:<sup>20</sup>

|                 | Lithuania and<br>Belorussia | Right-Bank<br>Ukraine | Kingdom<br>of Poland | Total |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------|
| Roman Catholics | 223                         | 20                    | 141                  | 384   |
| Orthodox        | 41                          | 12                    | 1                    | 54    |
| Jewish          | 9                           | 1                     | —                    | 10    |
| Protestant      | 8                           | 1                     | 3                    | 12    |
| Total           | 281                         | 34                    | 145                  | 460   |

Since 1856, the number of students from the former Poland-Lithuania had grown more than threefold. The Polish community was now at its largest. The transfer of the chairs of Polish Law from Moscow to St. Petersburg had influenced the growth, as we can conclude from the large number of students from the Kingdom of Poland.

According to the student list of the Third Section, there were 57 students from the Western Provinces and the Kingdom of Poland at the University of Dorpat in September 1861. The figure is so small that it is suspect. There is only one Orthodox, which seems too few. Perhaps the number of students from the Kingdom of Poland had diminished since the opening of the Medical Academy.

Regional and confessional background of students from the Western Provinces and the Kingdom of Poland at the University of Dorpat in September 1861:<sup>21</sup>

|                | Lithuania and<br>Belorussia | Right-Bank<br>Ukraine | Kingdom<br>of Poland | Total |
|----------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------|
| Roman Catholic | 21                          | 2                     | 3                    | 26    |
| Lutheran       | 5                           | —                     | 12                   | 17    |
| Jewish         | 6                           | —                     | —                    | 6     |
| Reformed       | 3                           | —                     | 3                    | 6     |
| Orthodox       | —                           | —                     | 1                    | 1     |
| n.a.           | —                           | —                     | 1                    | 1     |
| Total          | 35                          | 2                     | 20                   | 57    |

. . . . .

20 Compiled on the basis of the list which is in GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 187, l. 15–21.

21 Compiled on the basis of the list which is in GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 187, l. 31–32.

The Third Section also had lists of students from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces at Kharkov and Kazan. In Kharkov, there were 59 students from these areas: 42 Roman Catholics, 11 Jews, four Orthodox and two Lutherans. In Kazan there were 18 students from these areas, but there is no information about religious affiliation.<sup>22</sup>

According to the lists of the Third Section, there were 1,541 students in all from the Western Provinces and the Kingdom of Poland in Russian universities, 1,172 of them Roman Catholics. As especially the lists for St. Vladimir's University and Dorpat seem incomplete, we must assume that the number of Poles studying in the six Russian universities was somewhat higher.<sup>23</sup>

## Student activism and the government's reaction

Polish students of the Russian universities played the most active role in the national movement in the Western Provinces. After the bloody events in Warsaw, they arranged public protests in their university towns. They may be considered the first public demonstrations in St. Petersburg, Moscow and Kiev. The events brought to the fore once again the question of relations between the Polish and Russian student communities. In spring 1861 the students were still under the strong influence of Mierosławski. In Warsaw, they were in contact both with a leader of the conspiracy, Karol Majewski, who at the time recognized Mierosławski's leadership, and with Edward Jurgens, the leader of the "Millenarian" conspiracy. This did not cause any tension, since at the beginning of 1861, Majewski and Jurgens' groups acted jointly. Later they both joined the whites.<sup>24</sup>

At the time of the outbreak of the demonstrations, a student delegation was present in Warsaw. We know about delegates only from Kiev, Moscow, St. Petersburg and Dorpat, but Third Section spies claimed that Kharkov and Kazan were also represented. According to the memoirs of a Kievan delegate, Tomasz Burzyński, the Kievan Polish student union finally decided to make a petition not to Alexander II, but to the Agricultural Society in Warsaw. They petitioned not for the Polonization of St. Vladimir's University, but for the reopening of the University of Warsaw. Burzyński claims that only in Warsaw did the delegation get the idea to summon representatives from all the other Polish student communities to join in the petition. One must agree with Fedosova, who states that the meeting of the student representatives in Warsaw was rather due to a previous initiative by the Warsaw conspirators, since the Kievans could hardly have invited all the others to Warsaw in such a short time. This is also how Majewski and Jurgens explained the events afterwards. Jurgens participated in the meeting, and Majewski was present when the petition was quietly and

22 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 187, l. 28–30.

23 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 187, l. 15–32, 33–49.

24 Fiedosowa 1984: 35, 53.

unofficially delivered to the Agricultural Society's representatives. They promised to include the reopening of the university in their petition to Alexander II, at the same time advising the student delegates to abstain from demonstrations. The reopening of the university was in itself a fully realistic aim. However, by turning to the representative body of Polish nobility instead of the government, the students showed their desire for further changes in the country. Most likely the student meeting discussed also joint action and mutual contacts in the future. Soon afterwards, most of the delegates were arrested. The others escaped arrest either because they left the city in time, or because the police did not find them before their hold on Warsaw collapsed. The arrested were deported from the Kingdom back to their universities. A Dorpatian delegate, Bolesław Borejsza, was the only one who suffered from his participation, since von Bradke expelled him from the university. This caused some unrest there. Polonia twice sent a delegation to von Bradke, demanding Borejsza's reinstatement, but the Curator remained firm. When those Kievan delegates who were not arrested returned to the university, they took with them items for the planned clandestine printing press of the Triple Union.<sup>25</sup>

The spring of 1861 was eventful at St. Vladimir's University. The reactions to the events in Warsaw and to the abolition of serfdom were interconnected and caused discord between Poles and Russians. The turmoil at the university began on 1 March with a Roman Catholic Requiem Mass, where prayers for the souls of the victims in Warsaw were read and patriotic songs sung. A few hundred of people participated in the service, which was organized by the students. Vasilčikov asked Pirogov for the names of the organizers, presuming that the assistant inspectors attending the Mass had identified them. However, Pirogov answered that the culprits had not been identified. At the same time, the Kievan Polish population received letters urging them to abstain from dancing and public celebrations as a sign of mourning. When, despite this advice, a Polish-owned girls' school arranged an evening dance, its windows were smashed by unidentified persons. Vasilčikov was sure that the students were guilty. Although the university inspectors were able to name three suspects, there was no definite proof of their guilt.<sup>26</sup>

On 10 March the town police found the behaviour of a student called Konrad Paszkowski disrespectful while the imperial decree about the abolition of serfdom was being read out to the public. Paszkowski, a nobleman from the Province of Kiev, was standing in the square where this took place, smoking a cigar and keeping his hat on. He had just been deported from Warsaw as one of the student delegates. Paszkowski had also been noticed by the authorities for

- 25 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 52, l. 14–15, 24–25, 27. Spy reports, Gorčakov to Dolgorukov 26th February, Gendarm Colonel von Wendrich to Dolgorukov 14th March 1861. Burzyński 1894: 136–140, 147. Dybowski 1913: 51. Heinrich 1917:39–41. Fiedosowa 1984:52–54. Kieniewicz 1983:99–100. Tabiś 1974: 121–122. Wiercieński 1974: 127–128.
- 26 CDIAU f. 442, op. 811, delo 58, l. 9–10. Pirogov to Vasilčikov 21st March 1861. GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 52, l. 24. OPDU 105–106. Simonov 1963:152–153 and Tabiś 1974:107–108.

his active participation in the Memorial Mass. Vasilčikov demanded Paszkowski's expulsion from the university. Pirogov refrained from the most severe form of expulsion, which was demanded by the Governor-General. He expelled Paszkowski, but did not deny him the right to enrol in any other university. Vasilčikov decreed that Paszkowski should be deported to his home for an indefinite time. This gave rise to a large student meeting, at which the Poles demanded Paszkowski's return to the university and protection from the authorities' arbitrary conduct. A proposal was made to petition Kovalevskij on this matter. Vasilčikov gave in, and Paszkowski was reinstated in the university, officially because his guilt had not been established. This did not end the meetings, since the students wanted to protest against arbitrary police action in general. While the case was being discussed, the general student meeting for the first time split into parties inspired by national differences: Poles, Russians and Ukrainians. Among the students there were those who for the first time encountered the need to define their nationality:

I shall never forget the most comical scene, when one of the students, standing in the middle of the hall, presented the following question to the whole assembly: "Gentlemen! My father is a Ukrainian (*Chachol*), my mother a Pole. I was born in Żytomierz. Accordingly, to which nationality do I belong?"...one Russian advised him that he should turn to the Poles for a solution to that complicated question. The disoriented young man, noticing that he had only made himself ridiculous, after a moment's hesitation joined the Rusin group.<sup>27</sup>

The meeting was stormy. Some participants destroyed a document on the university wall expressing the gratitude of Nicholas I for the good order at the university.<sup>28</sup> New meetings followed, which were now arranged separately by each nationality. Some Russians opposed the protests altogether, others demanded a petition written in a more moderate tone than the one proposed by the Poles. The Russians demanded the organization of an all-university student union, in which Russians and Ukrainians would form three sub-unions and Poles two. Decisions would be made by the sub-unions, each one of which would have one vote. Naturally, the Poles could not accept such a proposal, since its implementation would have given the Russians and Ukrainians control of the student union despite the fact that the Poles formed the majority of the students. Finally, the Russians and the Poles handed two separate petitions to Pirogov. Although he had just been dismissed as curator, Pirogov forwarded them to Vasilčikov. They were quite clearly from the elected representatives of the two national communities in the university. The Russian petition represented 92 students, who admitted that many Russians had been against any petition. The Polish one spoke in the name of "the Polish students of the Imperial University of St. Vladimir". It stated:

. . . . .

27 Burzyński 1894:132.

28 Burzyński 1894:132–133

The recurring clashes between police and students, having recently developed into the open persecution of Poles, force us to turn to you with a demand to prevent the constant malfeasance and to protect us with legal guarantees.<sup>29</sup>

Indeed, the tone of the petition was such that one tends to agree with an anti-Polish Russian memoirist, Vladimir Juzefovič, who claims that its aim was to bring repressive measures upon the university. However, even he admits that the Poles tried to reach an agreement with the Russians, who refused to co-operate. The Russian petition asked in much more polite terms that the investigation of student transgressions be conducted in accordance with the existing rules, with the participation of the university's representative. It emphasized that violations of this legal procedure decreed in the charter of the university gave rise to disturbances, of which the petitioners disapproved. Vasilčikov answered to both petitions together and consented to the Russian demand, not punishing anyone. Such a positive reaction to the collective student petitions was extraordinary, but so were the events. Vasilčikov tried to exploit the rift between the nationalities by using the Russians as a counterforce against the Poles. At about the same time he was preparing proposals for limiting the size of the Polish student community in Kiev with the expressed aim of creating a Russian majority within the student body.<sup>30</sup>

Disappointed by Pirogov's answer concerning the Memorial Mass, Vasilčikov complained about him to Dolgorukov and Kovalevskij on 21 March. The Governor-General claimed that the university police often protected students who were guilty of transgressions, pretending that it had not identified them. "I absolutely cannot take care of the Curator's tasks in the university", Vasilčikov wrote. A dispute about student dress sealed Pirogov's fate. Alexander II heard in March that Kievan students were wearing Polish and Ukrainian national costumes. Dolgorukov inquired about the matter from Vasilčikov, who confirmed the information. On 15 March Vasilčikov proposed to Pirogov that students be banned from wearing national dress both within and outside the university. Pirogov answered on 23 March that as there were many free listeners who visited the university without being under its jurisdiction, and as national dress was not forbidden outside the university, it was impossible to ban it only within the university. Legally his argument was extremely weak, since within the university its own authorities had a full right to decide about the rules of conduct. Moreover, by an imperial decision, students were still obliged to wear uniforms within the university, though not outside. Dolgorukov's inquiry from Kovalevskij revealed that the Minister had in the previous autumn already

29 CDIAU f. 442, op. 811, ed. hr. 72, l. 2.

30 CDIAU f. 442, op. 811, ed. hr. 59, l. 1, 4–10. Vasilčikov's correspondence with the Kievan Police Chief, Pirogov and Civilian Governor. Ibid. ed. hr. 72, l. 1–4. Pirogov to Vasilčikov 31st March 1861, containing the two student petitions. Burzyński 1894: 132–133. Juzefovič V.M: Tridcat' let tomu nazad. Russkaja Starina 10–11/1895. 10:168–176, 180–191. Juzefovič's publication is in part fiction, containing imaginary discussions. Simonov 1963:139–140, 157.

instructed Pirogov to ban national dress. Pirogov was dismissed as Curator at the end of March. National dress was forbidden to all inhabitants of Kiev. Pirogov's departure from Kiev in the beginning of April turned into a political demonstration. The students announced that money would be collected to set up an academic fund to be disbursed according to his wishes. The ex-Curator himself made a speech in defence of his policy.<sup>30a</sup>

The new student union that was proposed during the Paszkowski affair was founded without Polish participation. Its first action was to make a petition to Pirogov about the re-establishment of the University of Warsaw in order to rid St. Vladimir's University of Polish political propaganda. According to Juzefovič, the act was inspired by the authorities. This fits well with Vasilčikov's simultaneous campaign for the renewal of the ban on people from the Kingdom of Poland studying in St. Vladimir's University. However, when the petition was about to be delivered, the news of Pirogov's dismissal reached Kiev. We do not know what happened to the petition. It inspired a counter-address to Pirogov by more radical Russian/Ukrainian students, which has survived to our days. It disapproved of the petition on the grounds that it sounded like an appeal to the government to expel Poles from Russian universities and like a denunciation. The counter-address stated that the Poles were not to blame for the unrest in the university:

...the actual disturbances, at least those which followed from the most recent meetings, were not an echo of the events in Warsaw, to which there is an allusion in the petition: not only Poles, but all students are responsible for them, as the whole cause was a student one, not a Polish one...In the meetings there were not Poles, but students: we and they and all the Russians who were interested in the student cause were there.<sup>31</sup>

However, on the main political point even the counter-address agreed with the petitioners:

...to react against Polish propaganda is a cause which deserves our fullest sympathy. We, too, are convinced that history will decide the right to this region does not lie with the Poles...We are not ready to betray our national interests...<sup>32</sup>

The authors of the counter-address wanted to combat Polish pressure with moral influence, not repression. They proposed to found societies to support the Russian character of the region, the establishment of schools with Russian and "Little Russian" as the languages of instruction.

30a CDIAU f. 442, op. 811, delo 58, l. 12–13. Pirogov to Vasilčikov 21st and 23rd March 1861. Ibid. ed. hr. 68, l. 3. Vasilčikov to Kievan Civilian Governor 21st March. GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1860g., ed. hr. 253, l. 18–21, 27. Correspondence between Dolgorukov, Vasilčikov and Kovalevski. OPDN 107–110. Tabiš 1974:106–107.

31 CDIAU f. 442, op. 811, ed. hr. 222, l. 37–38. The whole counter-address on lists 36–39, among the papers of Evgenij Mossakovskij, who was arrested in November for inciting his pupils in the Kievan Military School, where he was teaching.

32 Ibid. l. 36.

Such means would be perfectly noble, since they would be directed not against Polish nationality as such (*nacional'noj ličnosti poljakov*), but against principles and strivings incompatible with our nationality... As for the political aims of the Poles,...they are based on their national convictions, and to force [anyone] to abandon [his] convictions we cannot. We even say that it is impossible to be against expressions of convictions, since without them all convictions are impossible...<sup>33</sup>

The counter-address in fact was based on democratic principles. But the problem was that there existed no democratic procedure by which the question of the Right-Bank Ukraine could have been solved.<sup>34</sup>

In January a Ukrainophile Polish student, Tadeusz Rylski, was reported to the authorities because while staying on his father's estate in the Province of Kiev, he mixed socially with peasants, drank vodka with them and told stories about Cossack times and Ševčenko. The informer gave the authorities Rylski's manuscript about the history of the Ukraine. As there were passages about the poor lot of the peasants, Rylski and his brother Józef were suspected of subversive propaganda. Though they were not arrested, their lodgings were searched. There the police found "various French and Polish books, mainly those forbidden by the censors, some historical writings about the 18th century and a note on the article 'The rights of the Russian people' in 'Kolokol'. Rylski admitted to mixing socially with peasants, for "the commons' hatred of the lords always disturbed the equality, freedom and welfare of the people", but firmly denied having disseminated any propaganda. Alexander II accepted Vasilčikov's proposal to deport the Rylski brothers to Kazan, where they were allowed to finish their studies. However, before the deportations were executed, Vasilčikov changed his mind. He wrote about this to Dolgorukov on 31 March, the very day Pirogov sent him the two student petitions. The Governor-General claimed to have found out that the brothers were really innocent. Moreover, he had received information from Pirogov to the effect that Tadeusz was now approaching Russian students and by his behaviour shows sympathy towards them. Therefore Vasilčikov proposed to cancel the deportation order, and the proposal was accepted by the Emperor.<sup>35</sup>

Vasilčikov refrained from deporting the Rylski brothers because such a repressive measure might have slowed down an important process that was going on at the university: the Ukrainophile group was turning away from Polish national identity. Even in February 1861, when the loyalty of Antonowicz was questioned in the Triple Union, he was ardently defended by some of its most active members. However, a separate Ukrainophile organization, Hromada, existed even at that time. There is somewhat contradictory information about

33 Ibid. I. 38.

34 CDIAU f. 442, op. 811, delo 222, l. 36–39. Juzefovič 1895:10:191–193. Simonov 1963:157–159. Simonov claims that Hromada was the initiator of the petition, Juzefovič describes it as an undertaking of the whole anti-Polish student union.

35 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861 g., ed. hr. 29, l. 1–3, l. 11–13, 18–19. Gribovskij to Dolgorukov 21st January. Dolgorukov to Alexander II 16th February 1861. Vasilčikov to Dolgorukov. OPDU 86–87.



whether Hromada was established by Antonowicz's group or whether the group joined Hromada after it had already been founded by students from the Left Bank of the Dnieper. Pirogov promoted the establishment of Hromada by pointing to some Left-Bank students the necessity of a separate Ukrainian organization, which could counter Polish dominance. Antonowicz played a leading role in Hromada. In the Paszkowski affair, Hromada had already acted as an independent group siding with the Russians against the Poles. In February 1861, the Ukrainophile St. Petersburg journal, "Osnova", published an article "From the Right Bank of the Dnieper", written by Tadeusz Rylski under the pseudonym Maksim Čornyj. It inaugurated the co-operation of Antonowicz's group with the older Ukrainophile generation. The article contained allusions to analogies between socialism and the Ukrainian common people's ideas about property as well as criticism of the Polish Ukrainian literary school for portraying Polish-Ukrainian relations in an unrealistic manner.<sup>36</sup>

Hromada at first also counted among its members such persons who belonged to the Polish student union. It was still possible to be Polish and an enthusiast of Ukrainian culture. At Ševčenko's funeral in Kaniów in May, three students and recent graduates made speeches in Russian, Ukrainian and Polish. They may have been the representatives of the three national communities in the university. The final break between Hromada and the Poles took place in autumn 1861. Hromada demanded from its members that they should not belong to any other national student union. According to Antonowicz, 15 members of the Polish student union chose Hromada. Leon Syroczyński, who remained a Polish Ukrainophile, claims that there were only six defectors. An ostensible break with Polish national identity in favour of a Ukrainian one was a phenomenon that was quite new. It undermined the Polish claim to the borders of 1772. However, quite a number of Polish Ukrainophiles remained within the Polish movement and left Hromada instead. As Syroczyński wrote in 1884: "...the idea of a free Poland does not exclude the satisfaction of rightful demands of Rusin nationality and Rusin patriotism".<sup>37</sup>

Tytus Dalkiewicz, previously mentioned for his social radicalism and wild behaviour, was expelled from the university in spring, officially for non-payment of tuition fees. In April, it was discovered that a lithographed version of Herzen's article "Vivat Polonia!", inciting officers and soldiers to refuse to kill Polish demonstrators, was circulating among the officers stationed in Kiev. It turned out that the article originated from Dalkiewicz, who escaped arrest by leaving Kiev and crossing the border to Moldavia in May.<sup>38</sup>

36 Antonovič 1932: 54–55, 59. Mihal'čuk 1914:70–71. Poznanskij 1913:5:41–42. Świącicki 1866:2:160, 162. Syroczyński 1884:19. Syroczyński 1914:21–22. Juzefovič 1895:10:171, 177–180, 186–190. Žiteckij Pavlo: Z istorii Kiiivs'koj ukrains'koj gromady. Promova na Ševčenkovi h rokovinah. Zapiski naukovo h tovarstva imeni Ševčenka. T. CXVI, V/1913. P. 178–179. Rylski: S pravago berega Dnepra. Osnova 2/1861, p. 239–244.

37 Antonovič 1932:53–54. Syroczyński 1884:19–20, quotation on p. 20. Syroczyński 1914:29–30. For the continuation of the Ukrainophile orientation within the Polish movement, see also Świącicki 1866:161–162. OPDU 132–133. Tabiš 1974:132.

38 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 311, l. 39–40. Vasilčikov to Dolgorukov 11th July 1861. OPDU 120–122.

In Moscow the reaction to the events in Warsaw did not lead to national conflicts, but the question of Polish-Russian student co-operation was raised. The events began with a Memorial Mass on 16 March, somewhat later than in Kiev and St. Petersburg. Since the Governor-General, Pavel Tučkov, had warned the local Polish clergy not to permit any political demonstrations, the service was arranged in a French Roman Catholic church. About 200 people attended the service, including the Polish professors, Józef Piechowski and Henryk Wysiński. It ended with the hymn "Why, O Lord". Because the attendance was considered too small, the service was repeated the next day. It was attended by 400 people, including many prominent Poles living in Moscow and a group of Russian students. After the service, two Russian students, Zaičnevskij and Osvald, made speeches. Zaičnevskij expressed his support for the Polish cause and emphasized the necessity of joint action against the common enemy, the Russian monarchy. He hoped that Russians and Poles would join under the common banner, "be it the red one of socialism or the black one of the proletariat". He ended with the cry: "Long live social [i. e. socialist] Poland!" Neither Zaičnevskij nor the organizers were punished at the time. However, when Zaičnevskij was arrested for other political crimes in July, he was also accused of making this speech.<sup>39</sup>

The Polish students sent Zaičnevskij an answer that was negative rather than affirmative, but left some room for further discussions. It was later found in his papers after his arrest. The Poles thanked him for his expressed support and stated that they were able to differentiate between the Russian government and those few Russians who showed sympathy for the Polish cause. Then the Poles denied having a common cause with Zaičnevskij. They did not see any need for socialism in either country, since there was no proletariat. In Poland socialism could do only harm, since the safeguarding of national unity was more important than any internal disagreements.

The liberty and independence of our nation, this is our sole slogan. Any other we do not want to know, for this would be a betrayal of the first. No social theory can unite us. Neither will kinship between our nations. Historical events have long since forced us to forget it.<sup>40</sup>

Further, the authors expressed their suspicions about how even a liberal Russian government would behave towards Poland. The Russian radicals perhaps could come to a compromise with their government, whereas for Poles anything less than full independence was unthinkable. However, co-operation was possible in so far as Zaičnevskij and other Russian radicals could spread information about the aims of the Polish national movement among their countrymen. Only that

39 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., op. 36, 1861g., ed. hr. 57, l. 31–33, 36, 49–50, 55–61. Gendarme officer Voejkov, Tučkov and Police Chief Potapov to Dolgorukov. Lemke 1923: 18, 21–22, 46, 50. RPRS I:58–61. Fiedosowa 1984:57–58. Zaičnevskij's final sentence was one year of forced labour and banishment to Siberia forever with denial of estate rights. To what extent the speech affected the sentence was not specified in it.

40 RPRS I:62.

would convince the Poles of their honesty. The answer leaves the impression that the Poles reluctantly granted the Russians the right to help them, but did not assume any obligations themselves. Zaičnevskij's group interpreted it as a refusal. Unfortunately we do not know about the discussions within the Polish student union, which must have preceded the answer. The Polish members in Zaičnevskij's group as well as a joint celebration organized by some students in honour of the abolition of serfdom show that not all Poles wanted to keep apart from Russians.<sup>41</sup>

The archive of the Moscow Polish student union contains a large number of Mierosławski's leaflets dating from spring 1861. They give information about his plans for legions and a military school. A text dated 23 February [Gregorian calendar] explains that, for the time being, only financial support was needed. At present, the nobility should not leave Poland, but turn to the common people. The leaflets also contain a sketch for the reorganization of Eastern Europe, which includes the partition of Austria. Poland was to cover the area from the Baltic to the Black Sea and from Smolensk to Wrocław (Breslau). According to the denunciation of a St. Petersburg student, Józef Biernacki, to the Third Section, Mierosławski's leaflets were received in May, brought back by a messenger sent to Paris jointly by the St. Petersburg and Moscow Polish student unions. Mierosławski's appeals made an impression, since his fictitious legions are also mentioned in a proclamation presumably written by the students themselves.<sup>42</sup>

The Moscow students also wrote original political texts of their own. In the student union's archive there is a hand-written proclamation directed at women in the Western Provinces, asking them to join the struggle for independence. Most often the authors turn to "Lithuanians and Rusins" (*litwinki i rusinki*), but once they address "the girls of Lithuania, Samogitia (*Żmudzi*) and Rus". The proclamation must date from spring 1861, since the Warsaw events of 8 April are mentioned as recent. Although the text begins with a statement, "For the first time the tortured Warsaw youth turns to you...", it was most likely written in Moscow. It was included in a collection of patriotic texts published by the student union in late 1861 or in 1862. At the end, the names "Leon", "Aleksander", "Józef" and "two brothers", presumably the authors, are mentioned. All the specific regional references point to historical Lithuania, and there is a tone of rather strong local patriotism. The proclamation emphasizes social reform and a non-ethnic nationality concept:

...then the differences between estates will disappear; and the Jew, townsman (*mieszczanin*), peasant, nobleman (*obywatel*) will all be for

41 Fedosova 1984:74. RPRS I:61–63, 69. Marks Maksimilian: Zapiski starika. In: Issledovanija po istorii pol'skogo obščestvennogo dviženija XIXv.–načala XXv. Moskva 1971. P. 165–166.

42 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 80, l. 15g, 15i. F. 112, op. 2, ed. hr. 23, l. 10–15, 27. Fiedosowa 1984:50–51. Antuszewicz said he had heard that the Moscow and St. Petersburg students sent 2500 roubles to Mierosławski at this time, but even he did not consider this a definite and reliable piece of information.

you the children of one great family, sons of a single Crusading Poland! The Fatherland is calling you to enlighten the common people, to influence the landowners so that the question of land reform should be solved as quickly as possible; for your words like a two-edged sword find their way even to hearts possessed by egoism. For when the bugle sounds, the whole nation will rise against the tyrant like one giant, with brotherly love between all estates and a thirst for vengeance on the enemy.<sup>43</sup>

Despite their democratic ideals and their aim to abolish all privileges of social rank, the Moscow students advocated national solidarity, not any kind of class struggle. The authors mentioned an armed struggle between Poles as a horrible prospect, which must be avoided by the noble landowners' voluntary concessions to the peasantry.<sup>44</sup>

The events in St. Petersburg were rather similar to those in Moscow. Here, too, the Memorial Mass for the Warsaw victims was arranged by Polish students and the question of Polish-Russian student co-operation was raised. The first event in which both student communities participated jointly was a memorial service for Ševčenko on 28 February. According to Pantelev, the whole Polish student union attended the service. Władysław Choroszewski made a speech in which he praised the poet and hoped for the disappearance of national enmity. Choroszewski had just returned from Warsaw, where he had been one of the student delegates.<sup>45</sup>

The Memorial Mass for the Warsaw victims on 1 March was a more open challenge to the government. Fifteen hundred people, including many non-students, attended the service, which was disguised as one for a student who had died one year previously. Many Russian students and three professors, Stosław Łaguna, Boris Utin and Kostomarov, attended. At the end of the Mass "Why, O Lord" was sung. Soon after the service, a rumour spread in the university that only Polish participants were to be punished. As a consequence, some Russian students began to collect signatures on a written confession that they had attended the service. The Curator, Deljanov, happened to notice a student called Adrian Stakenschneider collecting the signatures. Stakenschneider refused to show the Curator the paper he was holding. Deljanov threatened to expel Stakenschneider and all the signatories, no matter how many of them there were. However, after receiving a Russian student delegation, the Curator left the whole case unpunished. It seems that the only one who suffered was Professor Łaguna. He denied having been present at the service, which the Polish students considered a dishonourable act. At one of his lectures, the whole audience walked out. After the incident, Łaguna left the university and returned to Warsaw. If he had shown a lack of spirit on this occasion, he later compensated

43 GARF f. 112, op. 2, ed. hr. 23, l. 26.

44 The whole proclamation is in GARF f. 112, op. 2, ed. hr. 23, l. 26–27.

45 Pantelev 1958: 173. Žemčužnikov I: Vospominanie o Ševčenke. Osnova 3/1861. Choroszewski's speech p. 9.

for it by being the Director of the Interior in the insurgent underground administration.<sup>46</sup>

The solidarity shown by the Russians for the Poles resulted in negotiations about co-operation between the two communities being renewed in March. According to Panteleev, the initiative came from the Russians and was supported by Choroszewski. Of the Russians, Nikolaj Utin and, of the Poles, Bolesław Markiewicz played the most prominent roles in the meeting. The Russians were quite eager to co-operate, whereas the Poles responded by stating that their main interest was national liberation. The Russians answered that they fully supported Polish independence. Panteleev posed a question about Polish opinions concerning the Western Provinces, but he was condemned by all the other Russian representatives. After a few days, the Russians received the Polish answer, which declined all co-operation. Panteleev finds that it was possibly “written under the influence of my words”.<sup>47</sup>

An émigré journal, “Przegląd Rzeczy Polskich” (Review of Polish Affairs), published an answer of Polish students in a Russian university to their Russian colleagues. In summer 1861, the journal was quite close to Mierosławski, though it later adopted a critical attitude towards him. I believe that the published answer is the one mentioned by Panteleev, since it does not fit the situation in Kiev, and since a slightly different document from Moscow is already known to us. The answer is worth quoting at length. At first the Russians were thanked for their participation in the Memorial Mass. The Poles were quite convinced that the Russian students’ support for the Polish cause was sincere. However, the co-operation was inherently impossible:

You do not understand us, because you cannot appreciate the significance which Poland and the blood shed in the course of so many centuries have in our eyes. You have not suffered with us through all the martyrdom of our Fatherland. You do not understand us, because Russia has not sacrificed so many heroes on the altar of freedom and independence, because Russia has not such a glorious past...

Between our and your oppression there is an enormous difference, so also our aims and hopes for the future must be different. You are first of all liberals, we Poles. You want to gain freedom, we only want it back by gaining independence, because for a Pole freedom and independence are inseparable...

...do you not understand that Poland, which has suffered so much from Russia, Poland, which still now suffers under the Russian rope, Poland, so many children of whom fell by Russian bullets and bayonets, Poland, three times divided by Russia, and which because of her is denied her best citizens, denied her national civilisation, in short: Poland, all the

46 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., 5–8, 16–21, 28–29, 43, 51–54, 64–68. Dolgorukov’s and his deputy Aleksandr Timašev’s correspondence with Ignat’ev, Deljanov and gendarme officers. Includes a copy of the report of a priest called Stacewicz to the Department of Foreign Confessions. RPRS I:56. Kieniewicz 1983:518. Kostomarov N. I: Avtobiografija. Moskva 1922. P. 276–277. Panteleev 1958: 173–174. Peterburgskij universitet. Kolokol No 102, 1.7.1861, p. 856–857.

47 Panteleev 1958:179–181.

misfortunes of which derive from Russia, must have developed in herself a certain hatred of Russia? Even we although we are your sincere friends, even in your case cannot resist that hatred.<sup>48</sup>

The editors of “Przegląd Rzeczy Polskich” praised the answer, stating that it expressed the Polish spirit. Poland should not give in to Russian demands in order to achieve any temporary benefits, since “her own dignity and Christian civilization, the representative of which she has not ceased to be” forbade such co-operation.<sup>49</sup> In the name of love for Poland the students took decisions that were rather harmful to her. On the eve of insurrection, the spreading of goodwill among Russians would have been important. When the insurrection finally broke out, support for it by the Russian revolutionaries was rather weak, since to a great extent Russian society adopted a chauvinist stand. Perhaps this was not only due to the weakness of the forces supporting democratic changes in Russia. At least at the University of St. Petersburg, the Poles had estranged much potential Russian sympathy by their own behaviour.

On 4 March two students of the University of St. Petersburg, Jan Kaczkowski and Erazm Zalewski, were arrested in Podolia on their way to Bessarabia. Under arrest, they soon admitted that they had attempted to flee via Moldavia to Italy, to serve under Garibaldi. Italian plans for an international legion had been cancelled, but the news had not reached the Poles in St. Petersburg. By an imperial decision without trial, Kaczkowski and Zalewski were sentenced to serve as soldiers in the Orenburg troops without denial of the rights of social rank. In August, Alexander II mitigated their sentence by ruling that after six months of service they should be allowed to continue their studies at the University of Kazan. In May 1862, Kaczkowski fled Kazan and was not found.<sup>50</sup>

Władysław Luczyński, a nobleman from Kamieniec-Podolsk, had assisted the fugitive students on their way. He had actually been in charge of some kind of a safe-house for fugitive students. A civil servant called Pruski, who also was involved in the case, testified that at the beginning of the year, a few Podolian Poles invited students of the University of St. Petersburg to pass through Podolia on their way to join the legions. Apart from Kaczkowski and Zalewski, some other students had passed through Kamieniec-Podolsk. These included Judycki, Olszewski, Narbutt and Kalinowski. Pruski’s testimony was certainly based on fact, since the Genoan military school had these names on its list of students. Antuszewicz also told about Judycki’s departure in his denunciation. However, the investigating commission did not find Pruski’s evidence conclusive. Władysław Luczyński’s brother, Kazimierz Luczyński, a student at Kiev, was found guilty of writing a proclamation urging the landowners to cease their

48 Odezwa...1861. P. 7–8.

49 Odezwa...1861:6.

50 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 79, l. 3–5, 18–19, 24, 27–29, 38, 59–61, 110. The Civilian Governor of Podolia, Braunschweig, to Vasilčikov 5th March 1861. Zalewski’s and Kaczkowski’s testimonies. Dolgorukov’s submissions to the Emperor. Kieniewicz 1983:62–63, 177. Kaczkowski was a son of a civil servant, 18 years of age, from the Province of Radom. Zalewski was a nobleman, 21 year of age, without property from the Province of Warsaw. Both studied law.

oppression and grant land to the peasants in order to win them over to the Polish cause. Luczyński had a mythical view of pre-partition Poland. He thought that the peasants' status had been much better under Polish rule, since "oppression of the poor did not exist", the country was ruled according to law and there was no conscription. He wrote that some peasants still dearly remembered the time under Polish rule. Both Luczyńskis were brought before a civilian penal court, but the documents of the Third Section do not contain information about their sentences.<sup>51</sup>

In April, Wiktor Komarowski and Ignacy Tomkowicz from St. Petersburg Medical Academy were arrested for possessing weapons. The confiscation included 21 rifles with bayonets, a mould for making bullets and various other pieces of equipment packed for transport. A couple of the TDP's proclamations and a description of the anniversary of the November Insurrection celebrated by Polish utopian socialists in Jersey were also found. There were also the accounts of the student union in the Academy, but the authorities were not interested in them. Komarowski identified the weapons as his. It turned out that they had been bought from an army arsenal by Paweł Czerwiński, a student of the Technological Institute. Komarowski was deported without trial to his home in the province of Mohylew, but the others were not punished. In September 1862 Komarowski was allowed to continue his studies. The case shows that the St. Petersburg students were among the very first to undertake practical material preparations for the insurrection.<sup>52</sup>

In Dorpat, too, a patriotic demonstration was arranged in a church. At Easter, at the end of the Mass, a patriotic hymn was sung to an organ accompaniment. The demonstration took place despite the resistance of the local Roman Catholic priest, Kossowski, who received a libellous letter from the students on account of his opposition. Von Bradke expelled one participant in the demonstration from the university, because he had previously been guilty of bad behaviour. The church demonstration was an isolated one since the German students did not sympathize with the Polish cause, and since there were few Polish or even Russian inhabitants to be influenced. Some students dressed in national costume and sang patriotic songs on the streets, but von Bradke's warnings put an end to such harmless demonstrations.<sup>53</sup>

Another church demonstration in Wilno on 8 May was a joint undertaking of students from Lithuania studying at various universities. The local clergy had already engaged in demonstrations in the region in March, but the student action intensified them. According to Bolesław Limanowski, the initiative for the

51 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 79, l. 12–16, 47–54, 87–89. Vasilčikov's reports to Dolgorukov. Contains the proclamation in Russian translation. Luczyński was right in that conscription indeed did not exist in pre-partition Poland. RPLB 10–11. Karbowski 1962:72–76.

52 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 123, l. 4–5, 19, 50–52, 76. Record of the house search, list of the weapons found, Dolgorukov to Valuev and to the Governor of Mohylew Province. RPRS 1:72–73. Komarowski was a nobleman, the son of a landowner, nineteen years of age.

53 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 312, l. 1–2. Gendarme officer Klichtzner to Dolgorukov 27th April 1861. Dybowski 1913:51–52. Heinrich 1917:44–46.

demonstration came from a group of young men from Lithuania staying in Paris, where he spent the winter of 1860–61. In March, they decided to return to Lithuania and to summon the local youth to Wilno. Limanowski brought the news of the planned demonstration to Dorpat. At first, Polonia decided against sending any representatives to Wilno, but at another meeting attended by postgraduates and Dorpatian Poles from outside the university, delegates were elected. Especially the Kingdom's Protestant theologians opposed the plan, perhaps because the demonstration was to take place in the Roman Catholic cathedral.<sup>54</sup>

About thirty delegates, representing Kiev, Moscow, St. Petersburg and Dorpat, gathered in Wilno. Only about half of them participated on 8 May in the actual demonstration, which consisted of singing "Why, O Lord" at the end of the normal Mass. The congregation did not join in the anthem. Nine participants were immediately arrested outside the church. Bolesław Limanowski and Ksawery Korewo were sentenced to join the Orenburg troops, the first as a soldier for half a year and then as officer candidate. Three non-student participants were deported to Inner Russia, while two students, Aleksander Zelwerowicz and Benedykt Dybowski, were only sent back to Moscow and Dorpat respectively, and forbidden to return to the Western Provinces. The demonstrators achieved their goal: the intensification of demonstrations. On 9 May there was a street demonstration in Wilno demanding the release of the arrested persons. Demonstrations with student participation followed all over historical Lithuania, except in the easternmost provinces of Witebsk and Mohylew. At the end of May, the Governor-General, Vladimir Nazimov, deported 31 students from Wilno, forbidding them return. At the end of September, Nazimov sent a list to the Third Section of 56 students, who had been noticed for their participation in demonstrations. The Governor-General was right in that he considered the students an important organ of political agitation in Lithuania.<sup>55</sup>

There is one piece of information indicating that a student union existed which covered all of Russian Poland. Zdzisław Janczewski, a national activist in the Warsaw Medical Academy, told his interrogators in 1867 that in July 1861 a joint all-polish academic committee had been formed in Warsaw. The Warsaw Medical Academy, the School of Fine Arts, the Marymont Agricultural School and the universities of St. Petersburg, Moscow and Kiev were represented. The committee represented the most radical wing of the national movement and aimed at insurrection. It functioned as a separate organization until April 1862, when it united with the groups that formed the National Central Committee. However, I doubt how representative the academic committee really was. It was formed rather quickly in the summer vacation by those students who happened

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54 RPLB 12–16, 19–20. Dybowski 1913:52–53. Limanowski 1937:253.

55 RPLB 33–35, 61–65, 246–248, 252–260, 343–344, 347–348, 350–351, 358–359, 364–365, 439–440, 451–452, 524–526, 580–581. Dybowski 1913:52–58. Limanowski 1937:253–263. Student participation in demonstrations was noticed in Oszmiany, Drui, Bielsk, Widze, Szack, Kroże, Lida, Golszany, Głębokie, Rosienie, Telsze, Jurbork, Białystok and Minsk.



to be in Warsaw. That it included students from the Russian universities hardly means that the student unions recognized its authority, since the representatives had not in any case been elected in their places of study.<sup>56</sup>

Both Kievan and St. Petersburg students were involved in the distribution of Polish propaganda in Lithuania. The Kievan student, Bronisław Bucewicz, got involved in two proclamations, which were written in Lithuanian by Mikolajus Akelaitis and intended for the peasants. In May 1861 Bucewicz delivered the texts to a printing press in Memel, in Prussia, and agreed upon the printing of 10,000 copies. In the “Letter of an Old Man from Vilnius”, Akelaitis described the Warsaw events as an attack on a peaceful religious procession in commemoration of the soldiers who had fallen in the wars against Russia. The landowners were praised for having decided to grant land to the peasants. “The Story of an Old Man, written by a Poor Man from Lithuania” explained that Poland had been partitioned because it granted freedom to the peasants, which was disapproved of by her neighbours. Then Akelaitis proceeded to describe Poland’s sufferings under Russian rule. In both proclamations Akelaitis appealed strongly to religion. Although he later wrote in favour of Polish-Russian revolutionary co-operation, here he viewed all the Russians with equal animosity. The printing was prevented by the Prussian authorities in co-operation with the Russians. Akelaitis managed to escape abroad, but Bucewicz was arrested. After a lengthy investigation, he was deported by administrative decision to Jaroslavl.<sup>57</sup>

In October the authorities received an anonymous denunciation about Wincenty Żurawski, a free listener at St. Petersburg University, who was sojourning in Wilno. A house search in November showed that Żurawski was indeed an activist in the national movement. Various proclamations were found in his papers, among them the one written by the Moscow students to Lithuanian and Rusin women. The subversive poetry found included mainly Krasieński, but also Mickiewicz and Władysław Syrokomla. There was also Trentowski’s work, “On the Relation of Philosophy to Statecraft”. Żurawski had corresponded with Akelaitis, who hinted at his letter to some “common cause”. Żurawski explained that the words referred to co-operation in lawful publishing activities in Lithuania. Żurawski was also acquainted with Bucewicz. Żurawski had with him two letters to Paris, one of them to a Russian liberal émigré Petr Dolgorukov. Because no definite proof that Żurawski’s activities were illegal was found, he was deported without trial by administrative order to the Province of Smolensk. Another incident offers further evidence that St. Petersburg students had a role in the distribution of propaganda in Lithuania. In November, 500 copies of a brochure containing religiously inspired political songs in Lithuanian, were found in the possession of a civil servant, Władysław Owsiany, in Kowno. He testified to having received them from T. Neszokoć, a

56 Zbiór...1965:128–129. Ramotowska 1990:106–109.

57 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861 g., ed. hr. 165, l. 46. RPLB 21–30. Bucewicz was the son of noble landowner, 22 years of age, from the Province of Kowno. His testimonies show that he could understand Lithuanian.

student of the University of St. Petersburg. Neszokoć had already previously been noticed for his participation in the church demonstrations. Now he managed to escape and was not found.<sup>58</sup>

The first openly political and public student demonstrations coincided with the government's discussion about the student question and made it more urgent. The discussion ended in the adoption of repressive and conservative measures, which rather resembled the policies under Nicholas I. They were aimed against student disturbances in general, but the Polish aspect of the problem was also discussed.

The first and immediate official reaction to student participation in the national movement was the ban on travel to the affected areas. Alexander II proposed in his general instructions to Gorčakov on 25 February that all university students who came to the notice of the authorities in the Kingdom of Poland should be deported. Even before the instruction reached Gorčakov, the Viceroy asked Kovalevskij to forbid vacations in Poland. Governor-General Vasilčikov opposed the measure, arguing that the students were even more dangerous in Kiev than in the Kingdom. Because of this, the Emperor first changed his mind and accepted Vasilčikov's proposal, but then repealed it again. Lithuania followed the Kingdom's example. On 17 April, on Nazimov's initiative, all university students were forbidden to travel to areas under the Governor-General of Wilno. Hectic correspondence between various authorities followed, none of who wanted to have responsibility for Polish students during the summer. Finally, the ban on travel to the Kingdom was repealed on 13 June, just on the eve of the summer vacation. The final result was highly inconsistent: the university students were allowed to travel to the Kingdom of Poland and the Right-Bank Ukraine, but not to Lithuania, whereas the students of the St. Petersburg Medical Academy could freely travel everywhere. The discussion and its aftermath show the incapability of the authorities to reach an agreement on policies concerning Polish students and their national activism.<sup>59</sup>

The commission that evaluated the annual report of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment finished its work on 6 January. It criticized Kovalevskij's whole policy in strong terms. The most serious default was the lack of effective measures against student disturbances. Students formed their own courts at which they judged not only their own fellows, but also professors and even the actions of the authorities. The commission proposed raising the tuition fees and limiting the number of those poor students who could be exempted from them. It

58 GARF f. 733, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 292, l. 26–37. Record of the house search 11th November, Żurawski's testimonies. L. 45. Nazimov to Dolgorukov 7th March 1862. RPLB 94–96. Żurawski was a Roman Catholic nobleman from Wilno Province, 25 years of age. Other proclamations found in his possession were “Bracia rodacy” and “Okólnik o żalobie narodowej”, the latter attributed to Archbishop Fijałkowski. RPLB 94–96, 380–381, 405–408.

59 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 52, l. 29–36, 38–39, 54–56, 65. Dolgorukov's correspondence with Gorčakov, Vasilčikov, Kovalevskij and Suhozanet. Korespondencja...-1964:27, 29, 38. RPLB 30–32. The ban did not apply to provinces of Mohylew and Witebsk.

stated that this would strengthen the financial resources of the universities, but most likely the real aim was to limit the number of poor students. Kovalevskij answered that the disturbances had begun already before he took charge of the Ministry. The incidents were isolated from each other and took place for a variety of different reasons. It was not fair to blame all the students for the disturbances. The students were influenced by the society that surrounded them, not vice-versa. The local university authorities lacked the means necessary to supervise all the students. The Minister claimed that a student court had existed only in Kiev with the Curator's express permission, and even there it had now been abolished. It had not passed sentences, but only judged student behaviour. This statement of Kovalevskij's was definitely false. The Minister did not oppose the limitation of the number of students exempted from tuition fees. He stated that the measure was already being prepared in the Ministry.<sup>60</sup>

The commission's report and Kovalevskij's comments on it were presented to the Emperor. The commission reserved the final word for itself, finding Kovalevskij's comments unsatisfactory. As the majority of the commission stated:

The majority of youth entering the universities, as a result of bad preparatory education, are not able to follow the university instruction, do not cherish learning and serious pastimes, but, instead, excited by modern political ideas, waste their time in idleness.<sup>61</sup>

Alexander commented in the margin: "I agree". The commission stated further that the situation should be remedied by "resolute and rational measures to protect young men from temptations harmful to their intellectual and moral development".<sup>62</sup> The criticism and the events at the universities made an impression on Alexander. On 8 April he told Kovalevskij to prepare a proposal for measures to curb student unrest. Probably on this occasion, Alexander said that he was prepared to close some universities. Kovalevskij answered that such a measure would be extremely unpopular in the eyes of the public. Alexander answered: "Then think yourself what is to be done, but I warn you that it is impossible to tolerate such disturbances any longer. I have decided upon strict measures".<sup>63</sup>

Meanwhile, on 28 March, Vasilčikov proposed to Kovalevskij and Dolgorukov that Roman Catholics from the Kingdom of Poland and historical Lithuania should be forbidden admission to St. Vladimir's University. The

60 The commission's records including Kovalevskij's comments is in RGIA f. 1275, op. 1, delo 10, l. 7–36. Ejmontova 1993:38, 43. Rodzevič 1905:100–106 gives a summary. Kievian students had even passed sentences which had been confirmed by Pirogov. There had also been a single well-organized student court proceeding in St. Petersburg. Irregular meetings discussing student transgressions had been held in St. Petersburg and Moscow at least.

61 RGIA f. 1275, op. 1, delo 10, l. 25–26. Also quoted by Rodzevič 1905:103.

62 Idem. Rodzevič 1905:104.

63 RGIA f. 1275, op. 1, delo 10, l. 25–37, 39. The commission's report and Kovalevskij's submission to the Emperor. Alexander's words to Kovalevskij quoted in Nikitenko 1955:2:184. Rodzevič 1905:103–104, 114.

Governor-General claimed that the Kingdom's students were the most active in Polish national undertakings. He was especially concerned that the Poles formed the majority of the student body. If they could be made into a minority, their behaviour might improve under pressure from the majority. Although the Governor-General did not receive an answer to his proposal, it influenced Kovalevskij's and his opponents' proposals.<sup>64</sup>

The commission's report and Kovalevskij's two submissions were discussed by the Council of Ministers on 13 April. One submission contained the Minister's general proposals for curbing student unrest, and the other concerned Polish students. In the first, Kovalevskij stated that the German universities had served as a model for Russian ones. As in Germany, the universities in Russia had at first enjoyed a rather large degree of autonomy, which, however, had been abolished everywhere except in Dorpat. The Minister emphasized that the task of the universities was academic education, not character-moulding (*vospitanie*). Because of the graduate's privileges in the civil service and the increase of the student body, this task had become confused. The estrangement of professors from the task of maintaining discipline had had a harmful effect. He repeated that the harmful trend had entered the universities from society.

If that trend is more pronounced and visible among students, it is because of their impressionability and self-confidence, typical of young people. This can be confirmed by the recent emergence of harmful political, and, so to speak, national tendencies among the students. This hitherto unheard-of and sad phenomenon coincides with the political upheavals in Europe and the flooding of the universities by Poles from the Western Provinces and the Kingdom. This element, which is rather harmful to Russian students, is gradually strengthening. The number of Poles of the Catholic confession already forms a quarter of the whole student body at the University of Moscow, more than one third at the University of St. Petersburg and more than half at the University of Kiev...<sup>65</sup>

Having thus designated the general stirring of society and the presence of Poles as the two main causes of the troubles, Kovalevskij proceeded to outline his general proposals for reform. He stated that the system of student corporations had been adopted in a distorted form from the German universities. It was unsuitable for Russian conditions because a well-organized student corporation could exist only in a small town. Hence the student corporations should be disbanded altogether. Kovalevskij agreed with Pirogov's ideas in that he thought the abolition of various student privileges would be an effective means to reach this goal. He proposed the abolition of the uniform, of all privileges in the course of studies and of the right of "proper students" (*dejstvitel'nyj student*) to the 12th rank in the civil service.<sup>66</sup> Further, the Minister proposed the abolition of

64 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1860g., ed. hr. 253, l. 28–32. Rodzevič 1905:122–123.

65 RGIA f. 1275, op. 1, delo 10, l. 42–43.

66 Proper student was a degree, qualifications for which were somewhat less demanding than for a candidate, including passing of the final exam, but excluding dissertation.

exemptions from tuition fees. From the funds thus saved, grants could be given to poor students, but most of the funds should be allocated to increasing the teachers' wages. Unlike Pirogov, Kovalevskij did not support the idea of a "free university" without admission restrictions. Quite the opposite, he wanted to retain the entrance exams and raise the age limit from 16 to 17.<sup>67</sup>

Kovalevskij's submission on Polish students was inspired by Vasilčikov's proposal and started with a summary of it.<sup>68</sup> The Minister considered the Poles a problem not only in Kiev, but also in St. Petersburg and Moscow. He favoured clandestine rather than open discrimination:

I agree in that the overwhelming influence of Polish students at St. Vladimir's University, as well as at those of St. Petersburg and Moscow, has a rather harmful influence on the other students. Despite this, I am not convinced that preventing the admission of the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Poland and other Poles from the Western Provinces to the University of Kiev would significantly weaken that influence. Its force is not so much in the numerical majority of Poles, as in the harmful, but for young and inexperienced minds [also] tempting trend. Directing the inhabitants of the other the Western Provinces away from the University of Kiev will...not bring the results hoped for. Quite the opposite, it will harm the cause by awakening an even stronger Polish spirit and separatist tendencies among the Polish students from the Provinces of Kiev, Podolia and Wołyń...forbidding Polish inhabitants of the North-Western Provinces admission to St. Vladimir's University will betray Prince Vasilčikov's expectations and only strengthen the evil from the other side through an increase in the masses of Polish students at the Universities of St. Petersburg and Moscow, which are even now filled up with students of Polish origin.<sup>69</sup>

Kovalevskij stated that the students from the Kingdom of Poland would prefer the planned Law and Technological Institutes in their own country to Russian universities. He thought:

...a secret increase in the difficulty of the entrance exams to universities for all the Poles from the Kingdom of Poland and all the Western Provinces will be a more effective means of lowering the number of students of Polish origin in all the universities, not excluding the one in Kiev.<sup>70</sup>

Kovalevskij, usually considered a liberal, subscribed to the myth of the Russian student movement as a creation of Polish influence. His submissions are the first example of a high-ranking Russian government official explicitly putting forward this myth. We have already seen how groundless the myth was. The

67 RGIA f. 1275, op. 1, delo 10, l. 39–54. Kovalevskij's submission. Ejmontova 1993:38–39. A summary, which does not indicate how important Kovalevskij considered the Polish aspect of external harmful influence.

68 RGIA f. 1275, op. 1, delo 10, l. 72–75. Kovalevskij's submission. Ejmontova 1993:39–40. A summary.

69 RGIA f. 1275, op. 1, delo 10, l. 73–74.

70 RGIA f. 1275, op. 1, delo 10, l. 74.

mainstream of Polish students preferred to avoid co-operation with the Russians than to incite them to protest. Despite this, the view of the student disturbances being due to Polish intrigue continued to be repeated by Russian conservatives for some decades.

The university question and the related disturbances were considered of extreme importance in government circles. Some high officials considered that the whole system of government was at stake. During the discussion in the Council of Ministers, Sergej Stroganov said that police measures were not enough. The government should have a clear idea of its aims. Was the Emperor going to grant a constitution to Russia? Although Alexander II answered negatively, it is worth noting that the question was discussed in the context of student unrest. The Council did not make an immediate decision, but obliged Kovalevskij to draw up a proposal for the necessary measures. This was to be submitted to another commission consisting of Stroganov, Dolgorukov and Nikita Panin. This meant that university policy passed from the Minister's control to his opponents, who are usually considered much more conservatives than he was.<sup>71</sup>

Kovalevskij defended himself in a memorandum to the Emperor dated 20 April. The Minister claimed that the task of the universities was not nurture (*vospitanie*), but education. The students entered them having already received a preparatory education and upbringing at schools. It was impossible to effectively supervise young men who were already 18–25 years of age and who lived all around the university towns. Soon after this defence, Kovalevskij handed in his resignation. He remained in actual charge of the Ministry until 27 May. Formally, Admiral Efim Putjatin replaced him on 28 June.<sup>72</sup>

The commission finished its work on 9 May, proposing that the gymnasia should return to the more classical orientation, which they had in the School Law of 1828. The university admission exams should be arranged in the gymnasia, the admission age should be raised to 17 years, all student meetings without the permission of the authorities should be forbidden, the student uniform abolished and attendance at lectures made obligatory. The students should be forbidden to wear any kind of badges of "a separate nationality or any kind of clubs or societies". Only two students from each gymnasium of a school district should be exempted from tuition fees. Grants could be awarded to excellent students from a university's own school district. The teachers were required to comply fully with the restrictive rules of 1851 about lectures, including pre-censorship. However, the right to elect a rector and deans was restored to the professors. Medical and law institutes of higher learning should be opened in Lithuania with Russian as the language of instruction. The Commission wanted to retain the privileges of university graduates in the civil service. As for forbidding Poles

71 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 132, l. 1. Kovalevskij to Dolgorukov 14th April 1861. Rodzevič 1905:115–116. Ejmontova 1993:40–41. Valuev P. A: Dnevnik P. A. Valueva, ministra vnutrennyh del. 1–2. Moskva 1961. 1:97–99.

72 RGIA 1275, op. 1, delo 10, l. 37–38. Rodzevič 1905:99, 106–107, 115–116.

from the Kingdom and Lithuania to study in Kiev, the commission thought that the Governor-General had probably not known about the plan to found institutes of higher learning in the Kingdom of Poland. It considered any discrimination solely on the basis of background as unfair. Instead, Vasilčikov should be granted powers to dismiss all those students from St. Vladimir's University who participated in disturbances or of whom there was a "well-founded suspicion" that they had acted as disseminators of subversive propaganda.<sup>73</sup>

With regard to Polish students, the commission advocated a return to the pre-1839 policy, with Poles separated from Russians and concentrated in their own institutes. The difference compared to the situation in the 1830s would be the existence of the Institute of Law in Lithuania and of higher education in the Kingdom of Poland. The restrictions concerning grants and the exemption from tuition fees only for students from a university's own school district were directed specifically against the Poles, as the Warsaw and Wilno school districts did not have any universities. This restriction was first proposed by Stroganov. Against this background, the statements about discrimination were somewhat hypocritical.<sup>74</sup>

Kovalevskij presented the Emperor with a proposal that disagreed with the Commission on many points. Most notably, the Minister demanded that no one should be exempted from tuition fees. Like his proposal regarding the Polish students, on this question, too, Kovalevskij's position was even more draconian than that of his opponents. This was not known to the contemporary educated public, who considered his resignation a victory for the reactionaries. Kovalevskij also opposed the classical re-orientation of the gymnasium, which he thought should be decided in the context of the new school law, which was already under preparation in the Ministry.<sup>75</sup>

Alexander II ratified the university reforms on 16 May. Influenced by Kovalevskij's counter-proposal, he did not accept all of them and returned some for redrafting in the Ministry. The most important of the postponed proposals was the one concerning the classical gymnasium curriculum. The restriction of the number of students exempted from tuition fees was passed in a stricter form than that proposed by the commission: only two students from each province could be exempted. The Minister was obliged to discuss the establishment of institutions of higher learning in Lithuania with Nazimov. The commission's other proposals relevant to student activism and the Poles were passed without changes.<sup>76</sup>

Kovalevskij's successor, Efim Putjatin, was an admiral, whose previous achievements were mainly in the field of diplomacy, though he had written a book about naval education. Putjatin had his own son educated at Oxford, and

73 RGIA f. 1275, op. 1, delo 10, l. 55–62. Ejmontova 1993:41–42, 44–45. Rodzevič 1905:119–120, 123–124.

74 GARF f. 109, op. 1, delo 10, l. 14–15. Stroganov's draft proposal in Dolgorukov's papers.

75 RGIA f. 1275, op. 1, delo 10, l. 64–71. Ejmontova 1993:41. Rodzevič 1905:120–121.

76 RGIA f. 1275, op. 1, delo 10, l. 79–83. SP III 635–638. Ejmontova 1993: 41–45. Rodzevič 1905:126–128.

generally favoured a system of exclusive higher education with a heavy emphasis on upbringing and strict discipline. In his ministerial capacity, Putjatin was under the strong influence of Stroganov and Filaret, the Metropolitan of Moscow. On 21 July, Putjatin sent the Curators a circular, which explained and modified the proclaimed reforms. Where the imperial decision had forbidden only student meetings held without the permission of the university authorities, Putjatin now unconditionally banned all meetings. University Boards were to nominate student representatives, who should take care of the existing student institutions, like libraries and banks of mutual assistance. Their funds were to be held by the Board, and the rector's or inspector's permission was necessary for any financial transactions. Practically this meant that the government was seizing the student corporations' property. This was bad news for the Russian students, but it did not affect the Polish student unions, which had all the time existed underground. On the other hand, Putjatin's circular actually mitigated the imperial decision concerning tuition. He ruled that each gymnasium in the district was to give certificates of poverty to two graduates. State scholarship-holders were automatically exempt from tuition fees. At least in St. Petersburg, the Curator's Council decided that the new rules did not apply to those students who had already previously been exempted from tuition fees. The concessions over tuition fees were possible on the basis of a paragraph in the imperial decision, which stated that the reforms should be introduced gradually.<sup>77</sup>

The proposed Institutes of Medicine and Law in Lithuania were never founded. Governor-General Nazimov answered Kovalevskij's inquiry by claiming that there were no funds or buildings suitable for the purpose. Nazimov also claimed that the local population would hardly be enthusiastic about contributing financially. The argument about the buildings was ridiculous, as Wilno had housed the university. In fact, Nazimov's most important motive in opposing the institutes was political:

...at present, when minds are stirring,...the land must not be granted such a great favour by the Monarch. The majority of those with evil intentions will not let the population receive it as a sign of benevolent care for the land's well-being, but will force [the population] to regard it as a weakness and a concession achieved through senseless demonstrations.<sup>78</sup>

According to Nazimov, the proposed institutes were possible only when calm had returned to the country. He proposed to inform the Ministry of Public Enlightenment when this should happen. Putjatin presented Nazimov's arguments to the Emperor, stating that he agreed with them. On 17 July

77 GASP f. 14, op. 2, delo 601, l. 5–6, 12–17. Curator Deljanov to the St. Petersburg University Council 6th June and 24th July, informing about the decisions by the Curator's Council and Putjatin's circular. Barsukov N. P: *Žižn' i trudy M. P. Pogodina. I–XXIII. S.–Peterburg 1888–1910. XVIII:232–234, 242–245. Ejmontova 1993:42–43. Rodzevič 1905:128–129. Rožddestvenskij 1902:344–345. Nikitenko 1955–1956:2:198–199, 238. The mitigating aspect of Putjatin's circular has passed unnoticed in the scholarly literature.*

78 RGIA f. 733, op. 62, delo 1506, l. 4–5. Nazimov to Kovalevskij (but received by Putjatin) 30th June 1861.



Alexander ruled that the establishment of institutes must be postponed. The Governor-General's message about a suitable situation to their establishment never arrived.<sup>79</sup>

While the government's politicians were discussing the suppression of student unrest, their opponents were also busy. An important document exists which sheds light on the ideas that inspired the Warsaw red conspirators and the role they allotted to students in the national movement after the outbreak of mass demonstrations. It is titled, "Instruction to students of universities, academies, institutes of higher learning and gymnasia" and dated 12 June 1861 [Gregorian calendar]. It has remained in a rather semi-literate Russian translation among the papers of the Third Section. The original was found in the possession of Karol Matuszewski, a student of Warsaw School of Fine Arts, who was arrested in September in Kiev. Probably the "Instruction" was sent to other universities as well. Matuszewski was also carrying a letter from a Kievan student, Tomasz Burzyński, who had been a delegate in the Warsaw meeting, to the Frankowski brothers, both active reds in Warsaw. Matuszewski was sentenced to serve as a soldier in the Orenburg troops, Burzyński was set free after four months of detention.<sup>80</sup>

The "Instruction" pays much attention to moral purity. Luxury and "Asiatic sensuality" are attributed to the Russians and should be avoided. The youth must prepare itself for the insurrection by study and physical exercise. The official education in Russian universities and other schools is not considered much use: "...our schools and Russian universities are so useless that one profits from them only inasmuch as one works independently by oneself". The recommended studies include Polish geography, history, statistics and ethnography, general history (especially that of antiquity), philosophy, economics, the science of warfare and war history, the making of gunpowder and bullets. One must not call oneself red, white or the adherent of any party, since national unity is now of crucial importance.<sup>81</sup>

For the authors of the "Instruction", the current conflict was not one between democracy and absolutism, but between European civilization and Asian barbarism. The Russians represented an incorrigible and inherent enemy. The possibility of any Russians siding with the Polish national movement is not mentioned.

It does not need any proof that European civilisation is the only one in humanity, which can help mankind to fulfil its task of going where it has

79 RGIA f. 733, op. 62, delo 1506, l. 4–7. Nazimov to Putjatin, Putjatin to Alexander II.

80 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 299, l. 2–5, 25–27. Copy of Vasilčikov's letter to Viceroy Lambert 26th September. Dolgorukov's submission to Alexander II 7th August 1862. Burzyński 1894:157–168. Matuszewski had various other subversive papers: proclamations to peasants and Jews, a letter from the Warsaw craftsmen to City Delegation protesting about their exclusion from the political rights, a protest from radical members of the Agricultural Society about its too moderate position.

81 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 299, l. 6–9. The "Instruction" has previously been described in Belavskaja I: A. I. Gercen i pol'skoe nacional'no-osvoboditel'noe dvizhenie. Moskva 1954. This book has not been available to me.

been destined to go (*kuda poveleno*) and where...it itself wants to go. [It does not need any proof] that our enlightenment and all our education are an extension of this very same Western European civilization, and that we constituted, and still constitute, the limit of its eastern edge. Beyond us, there is not any Europe. There begins the other, the Asian, world with all the filth accumulated in its age-old rottenness, with all its negative power...Poland always was, and is, the vanguard of European development in its struggle with the old Asia, in spreading the Christian idea with the aim that it will conquer (*ovladet*) the whole world.<sup>82</sup>

This struggle had been continuing for a thousand years. The “Anti-Christian Asian idea” was now temporarily in the ascendance, since it had allied itself with the Germans, the traitors of the European Christian idea. Poland also fell because the nation was not unified, for the nobility was in many ways privileged. The temporary defeat had facilitated the work for national unity, which was now about to lead the nation to glorious victory over the enemy. Poland was to be re-established within the borders of the Elbe, the Carpathians, the Black Sea, the Dnieper, the Dvina and the Baltic Sea, i.e. as a much larger land than before the partitions.<sup>83</sup>

According to the “Instruction“, the preparation for the insurrection had three phases: 1. Political agitation by the conspirators, which aimed to unite the whole nation, or at least the majority of it, in support of the national ideals and goals. 2. Unification of the different conspiracies into a single structure. 3. The actual uprising. At present, phase 1 was still the most important. The youth must carry out agitation within every class of society, among the upper classes directly, but among the peasantry at first cautiously, proceeding gradually to open and direct agitation. The agitation should be directed against serfdom, which the “Instruction“ seems to consider as not having been really abolished. People should be persuaded that social questions must be solved immediately, since a disunited nation facing an enemy is in an awkward position. The landowners must make great sacrifices in order to win over the peasants to the national cause. Rule by craven conservatives would do the country much more harm than the boldest revolutionary actions. The Polish upper classes had compromised themselves by their servility so much that it had been necessary for patriotic Warsaw workers to wash away the national shame in demonstrations. The Jews must be granted complete equality with Christians, and the patriots must approach them as brothers. The Church was worthy of respect only inasmuch as it was a patriotic force. One was not bound by the Pope’s political position. The insurrection would be undertaken by Poland’s own forces, since at best one could hope for some kind of moral support from abroad. That was why the planned legions deserved unconditional support, though it must not be presumed that they would form the main forces of the insurrection. Further, one must not show any satisfaction with any reforms. Despite this, patriots must participate in

. . . . .  
82 Ibid. I. 10.

83 Ibid. I. 8–13.

local elections in the Kingdom of Poland in order to use the elective offices to undermine the Russian government's authority. The instruction ends in a call for a total ostracism of the Russians:

We adjure [you] in the name of all the nation's wounds, of the blood recently shed, to deny the Russians (*Moskaljam*) relations with us. Let them everywhere go with their heads down as they now do in Warsaw, like mad dogs, passed by and despised by everyone.<sup>84</sup>

In June 1861, when the "Instruction" was written, there did as yet not exist any uncontested leading body among the reds. According to Kieniewicz, the instruction originated from groups led by Apollo Korzeniowski. This is plausible, since Korzeniowski urged the citizens to participate in the elections in order to turn them into an anti-government demonstration.<sup>85</sup> Whoever wrote it, the "Instruction" gives a somewhat unpractical impression. There is plenty of advice about morals and political principles, but very few practical hints about the preparation for the insurrection. It is as if to be in the right and have support were sufficient to beat the enemy, whereas material preparation is given scant attention. In the "Instruction", national liberty is definitely the basis of all the other ideas. Reforming the social structure is based on its usefulness for the national struggle, not vice versa. Universal values valid for all mankind give way to the concept of the age-old enmity between Poland and Russia. The struggle is seen as essentially the same as it was back in the middle ages, and no references to modern democratic ideas or the French revolution are made. Though Poland in fact is seen as destined to participate in the spreading of European civilization to the whole world, in relation to Russia this is clearly to happen only by armed confrontation. It is not stated why Russia is "Anti-Christian", probably because her inherent despotism was axiomatic to the authors. The theory of noble privileges as an important reason for Poland's downfall was characteristic of Lelewel's ideas and fairly widespread among republican groups of the national movement. Despite the "Instruction's" references to Christianity, it in fact did not consider Roman Catholicism a necessary attribute of the Polish national identity. The Jews were seen as being Poles equal with others, which points to the idea that religion really was not the essential difference between "us" and "them".

Another important publication worth mentioning was the first clandestine Russian journal printed in Russia, "Velikoruss" (Great Russian). Three issues came out between June and October 1861. "Velikoruss" demanded a constitution and granting the peasants full ownership of the land that was in their use without any payments by them. The second issue, which came out in September, demanded full independence for Poland. The border between Russia and Poland

84 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 299, l. 13–18. The quotation l. 18.

85 Kieniewicz 1983:169–170, 192–194. He knows the "Instruction" only from Belavskaja's description. Syroczyński 1914:21–22 tells that Korzeniowski kept contact with the Triple Union.

should be drawn so that Poland would include those areas in which the majority of the population spoke Polish or supported the Uniat Church. This means that “Velikoruss“ was ready to cede at least some territory from the Western Provinces to Poland. Even the Ukraine should be allowed to secede from Russia if the Ukrainians wished it. The authorities managed to catch only some distributors of “Velikoruss“, but not its authors or printers. A group of St. Petersburg students were punished for not having reported to the authorities the fact that they had received copies of it, which were addressed to the editors of the student article collection. However, it is possible that the students were the real publishers. Among those punished was a Polish student, Michał Swariczewski. N. N. Novikova finds it possible that a group of St. Petersburg Polish students distributed “Velikoruss“, since it was sent to many persons in the Western Provinces together with a Polish proclamation.<sup>86</sup>

The total ostracism of Russians advised in the “Instruction“ to the students made sense in Warsaw, where most Russians represented the hated government. But this instruction was sent to the Russian universities, where ostracizing the Russians was definitely detrimental to the Polish national cause. Events soon forced the Polish students to make their own decisions over this question. In the autumn of 1861 the first serious student disturbances shook all the Russian universities, except Dorpat. The students protested against the ban on meetings and compulsory tuition fees. These public demands concerned university affairs, but revolutionary ideas were also circulating. The Polish student unions did not consider the Russian university question so important, as the national cause absorbed most of their attention. Despite this, in St. Petersburg and Moscow, Poles actively participated in the student protests. In Kiev, the Polish domination of the student body gave the demonstrations a national character. There general student protests became practically impossible, since the majority of Russians and Ukrainians could not be induced to participate in the Polish national movement. Hence the Kiev University disturbances were marked by a lack of protests against the university reforms and a further deterioration in relations between the different national student communities.

The Kievan demonstrations began as national Polish ones and were not concerned with the university reforms. On 16 September students arranged a Memorial Mass for the recently deceased Lelewel. The church demonstrations were then repeated no less than 11 times between 17 September and 5 November. General student meetings dominated by the Poles were also held to discuss protests against the new university rules. Some Russians participated, but many others boycotted the meetings. On 8 October, a church demonstration led to violence. After the service, students beat up a civil servant in the street whom they suspected of writing down the names of participants. Then they marched to the university. There they held a Polish meeting with some Russian/ Ukrainian participation. The university notice board with announcements about

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86 RPRS 1:75–79. Lemke 1908: 361–363, 375–376, 382. Lemke 1923: Političeskie...38.  
Novikova 1968: 148–151.

the new rules was destroyed. On the next day, in a church demonstration a policeman was grievously assaulted.<sup>87</sup>

Hundreds of students participated in the national demonstrations. Each time the authorities identified some of them, and by 14 October there were 82 identified demonstrators. I have at my disposal information about the background of 64 of them.

Estate and regional background of Kievan student demonstrators identified by the authorities in autumn 1861:<sup>88</sup>

|  | Right-Bank<br>Ukraine | Lithuania,<br>Belorussia | Kingdom of<br>Poland | Other<br>regions | total |
|--|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|------------------|-------|
| noble                                  | 36                    | 11                       | 5                    | 1                | 53    |
| lower officer                          | 6                     | –                        | 1                    | –                | 7     |
| inhabitant of the<br>Kingdom of Poland |                       |                          | 3                    |                  | 3     |
| foreigner                              | 1                     | –                        | –                    | –                | 1     |
| total                                  | 43                    | 11                       | 9                    | 1                | 64    |

As might be expected, all except three of the identified demonstrators were Roman Catholics. The three included a Right-Bank Orthodox and two Protestants from the Kingdom of Poland. None of the identified demonstrators was Russian, though a contemporary Russian student testimony indicates that there were also Russian demonstrators.<sup>89</sup> Vasilčikov's ideas about the special danger represented by students from the Kingdom were unwarranted, since the majority of demonstrators were locals.

As it seemed that the university might be closed down because of the incidents, another Polish-dominated general meeting was arranged. There the Poles threatened a Jewish student, who disapproved of the demonstrations, with physical violence. Many non-Poles left the meeting.<sup>90</sup> The rest elected a committee consisting of representatives of each national group, but it could not complete its work.<sup>91</sup> The most probable reason for the committee's abortive activity was that the Russians and Ukrainians refused to recognize its representativeness. On 12 October there was a general meeting of all the Russian and Ukrainian students. In violation of the new university rules and an explicit

87 CDIAU f. 442, op. 811, ed. hr. 359, l. 15, 17–18, 21–22, 30–33. Police reports about church demonstrations on 16th, 17th, 24th, 28th September, 1st, 8th and 9th October. GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr 359, l. 20–25. Gendarme officer Gribovskij to Dolgorukov 17th, 25th October, 3rd and 6th November. Juzefovič 1895:11:95–97. OPDU 150–152, 197–199. Świącicki 1866:163–164. Syroczyński 1914:30–31. Marahov 1967:91–94. Simonov 1963:149, 153–154. Tabiš 1974:109–112.

88 Composed on the basis of CDIAU f. 442, op. 811, ed. hr. 222, l. 22, 32, 43, 46, 69–71. F. 707, op. 26, ed. hr. 481, l. 8–48. OPDU 152, 198. Imennaja...1861, pp. 1–85. The "Other region" is the Province of Herson.

89 Rennenkampf K. N: Kievskaja universitetskaja starina. (Sobytija v universitete Sv. Vladimira v 1860–1862 gg.) Russkaja Starina 7/1899, p. 41.

90 Juzefovič 1895:11:97.

91 Syroczyński 1914:31.

imperial order received by telegram, Curator Baron Aleksandr Nicolay permitted the meeting and arranged an auditorium as the meeting place. Two competing draft resolutions were presented. A proposal by a Ukrainophile, Myhaylo Drahomanov (Mihail Dragomanov), condemned the Polish demonstration and denied the complicity of other students in it. The other proposal further declared that the “South Russian region” was not Polish. The latter resolution was accepted with a narrow majority of votes. It stated:

...we, the signatories, delegated by 162 Little Russian and Russian students of Kiev university, have the honour to inform Your Excellency [Nicolay] that they do not support the outbursts of the Polish students, which occur in the wrong place and are counter to the needs of the university and the South Russian region. They will not participate in them and categorically protest against them, since, in all those outbursts there expresses itself...a strong attempt to impose an alien nationality on a completely non-Polish region.<sup>92</sup>

As lightly as the Poles judged the Right-Bank Ukraine theirs, their opponents now dismissed the local Polish population as “alien”, though it had inhabited the region for hundreds of years. The resolution was presented to the Curator by five elected delegates, but it was signed by all the participants in the meeting. All the deputies were from the Ukraine, three of them from the Right Bank. Antonowicz and Drahomanov were among the signatories. It was planned to publish the resolution in a newspaper. Alexander II forbade this, but allowed it be posted on the wall in the university. The University Council reacted by demanding that all the students sign an undertaking not to participate in demonstrations. The text put forward for signing condemned the previous demonstrations, but did not mention the Poles at all. In his report to Nicolay, Rector Nikolaj Bunge justified the Council’s action as a wish to take the initiative back from the students to where it belonged. The result was somewhat disappointing: only 294 members of the student body out of 945 signed. This low figure prevented the punishment of those who did not sign.<sup>93</sup>

According to Bunge, there were a few Poles among the signatories. When the collecting of signatures was over, the Polish delegates visited him. They told him that they could present signatures from hundreds of Poles who disapproved of the disturbances. Bunge told them that such a separate address would be

92 Rennenkampf 1899:41.

93 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 359, l. 15–16. Vasilčikov’s telegramme to Alexander 10th and Dolgorukov’s answer 11th October. RGIA f. 733, op. 147, delo 41, l. 150. Putjatin to Nicolay 23rd October. L. 197. Bunge to Nicolay 19th October. L. 200. The text proposed by council for signing. *Imennaja*...1861:2–5, 8–9, 36–37, 50–51. Juzefovič 1895:11:98–104. OPDU 199. *Poznanskij* 1913:5:42. Rennenkampf 1899:42–45. Marahov 1984: 68–69. Simonov 1963:159–160. Tabiš 1974:114–115. Marahov and Tabiš mention the council’s demand, but not the student meeting and resolution which preceded it. The Council claimed that it did not intend to punish non-signatories. OPDU states that “administrative measures” were taken against them. Marahov writes that Valuev empowered Vasilčikov to expel all the non-signatories. This would have meant expulsion of the majority of students, but there are not such great changes in student enrollment in 1861–62. Neither does any student memoirist mention mass expulsions.

meaningless, and invited them to sign the undertaking proposed by Council. The delegates left and did not come back. "I suppose that they thought signing [the council's text] in that manner as the equivalent of denying their nationality during their studies," Bunge wrote. He stated that, as a final result of the events, almost all Russian and Little Russian students were now united. A few Poles who disapproved of "extreme expressions of nationality at the university" had joined them.<sup>94</sup>

The students who were accused of participating in church demonstrations were tried before police courts established especially for this purpose. The harshest punishment was forced service in the army as a soldier. Vasilčikov soon found the court procedure too ineffective and asked the Minister of Interior, Petr Valuev, for permission to expel and deport by administrative decision all Polish students who were identified as having participated in the demonstrations. Vasilčikov's request is rather strange, since the State Council had in May already granted him the powers he now asked for, though without specifically mentioning the Poles. Indeed, it is possible that the Governor-General had not been informed about this. Now Alexander II, for the second time, granted Vasilčikov the powers he sought, but this time applying especially to Poles. The arrests did not begin until long after the demonstrations. In the Governor-General's documents, the first mention of them is dated 14 October, by which time 58 students were under arrest. Most of them received lenient sentences and were set free by November. Vasilčikov thought that all the Poles should be expelled from the university. Those who behaved well could afterwards be re-admitted. However, the Emperor rejected any restrictions on the admission of Poles in Kiev, since that would be harmful to other universities as well as anger public opinion in Poland.<sup>95</sup>

While many demonstrators were under arrest, they made friends with the officers guarding them, who belonged to the Černigov Regiment, which had recently been posted in Kiev. In December the Polish students arranged a celebration, to which the officers were invited. The latter expressed their gratitude by reciprocating the invitation to the students. About 30 officers participated in these events. Most of them were Poles, but two Russians were among the organizers. These contacts continued until May 1862, when they were stopped by a command from above. Thirteen officers were punished and sent to Orenburg, Siberia and other distant posts or they were cashiered. The national conspiracy did not profit much from this promising start.<sup>96</sup>

The force behind the demonstrations was the Triple Union. In the autumn of 1861 its leaders included Stefan Bobrowski, Władysław Henszel and Antoni Juriewicz. The Union began illegal publishing and printing work, using

94 RGIA f. 733, op. 147, delo 41, l. 197–198.

95 CDIAU f. 442, op. 811, ed. hr. 257, l. 4–6. Vasilčikov to Petr Valuev 25th September 1861. L. 68–70, 72, 74. Lists of arrested students, Vasilčikov's draft proposal to curb unrest. GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1860g., ed. hr. 253, l. 37–41. Vasilčikov to Dolgorukov and Puťjatin 25th November 1861. RGIA f. 733, op. 147, delo 41, l. 176–177. Valuev to Puťjatin 24th October 1861. OPDU 199, 204. Marahov 1984:68–69. Tabiš 1974:115.

96 RPRS 1:391–393. Simonov 1963:154.

lithography techniques. It published two proclamations: “Warsaw in February 1861”, written by Tomasz Burzyński, and “Gentlemen” (Panowie), as well as “Why, O Lord” and Lelewel’s short biography for the Memorial Mass. The printing was at first done in a lawful printing press owned by a Kievan publisher called Piasecki. Soon this arrangement was found too dangerous. A new press, brought by Bobrowski from Warsaw, was located in the publishing house of the Orthodox Cave Monastery. It was discovered by the authorities on 2 February 1862, just after the first issue of the Triple Union’s organ “Odrodzenie” (Renaissance) and a reprint of “Velikoruss” had been printed in small quantities. The printing of “Odrodzenie” was not completed and the paper was distributed in an incomplete form. The printing of “Velikoruss” shows that the Triple Union understood better than the Warsaw authors of the “Instruction” the need to gain Russian support for the Polish national cause. None of the students was in direct contact with the monastery press, which left most of them undiscovered. Definite proof was only found against printer Gustaw Hoffman, who was sentenced to one year and four months’ imprisonment. Bobrowski, the main organizer of the press, and another Kiev student involved in the case, a Jew called Ludwig Bernstein, successfully escaped abroad.<sup>97</sup>

Although it was a Polish patriotic publication, “Odrodzenie” was permeated with a strong local identity and a sense of being distinct from the Kingdom of Poland. It proclaimed itself to be a forum for all kinds of democratic opinions aiming at both the social and the political liberation of the country (*kraj*). All nationalities, languages and religious confessions should receive equal rights. “Odrodzenie” considered itself absolutely necessary, since the “Dnieper Rus” (*Przeddnieprzański Ruś*) lacked Polish newspapers. Newspapers in the Kingdom of Poland could not respond to the region’s needs since they were published “in a country which has definitely departed along the road of western individualism”. Further, “Odrodzenie” wished to act as a means of mutual communication for the intelligentsia, which was widely scattered, because the region lacked cities. It was also necessary to oppose “Osnowa”, the Ukrainophile organ, which aimed at the separation of Rus from Poland. However, the unity of these two countries was possible only in liberty:

...our national idea indeed is morally so strong that it does not need the sacrifice of anyone’s liberty. We want union with the Vistula region, but a voluntary union. Our motto in this delicate question will be the words of the Warsaw craftsmen: “Let that nation be with us which wants to be with us, but that which does not, let it remain free”. However, we declare that we will give way only to a nation and not to a handful of persons, for though they are personally much respected, their attitudes and temperament we must consider as belonging to the seventeenth century.<sup>98</sup>

97 OPDU 219–221, 229–245. Burzyński 1894:157. Syroczyński 1884:12–14. Beiersdorf 1969:79, 85–88. Bobrowski 1979:2:495–498. Koszczyć 1884: 14, 17. Marahow Grzegorz: Stefan Bobrowski i tajna drukarnia w Kijowie (1861–1862). *Przegląd Historyczny* 4/1958, p. 703–707. Ramotowska 1990:136, 146–148. The printer Hoffman confessed to having printed 100 copies of both texts.

98 OPDU 213.



The reference was clearly to Hromada. Apart from this programmatic introduction, the publication contained an article that spoke of the approach of “events decisive to the country”. The country was ready for an uprising morally, but preparation was necessary in other fields as well.<sup>99</sup>

Though most anti-government activity in Kiev was Polish, there were also Ukrainian/Russian revolutionary activities. A university student called Evgenij Mossakovskij, an Orthodox from Wołyń, taught history and geography in the Kievan Military School. He told his pupils about the Decembrists and Herzen, distributed forbidden poetry by Ševčenko and some Russian writers. Mossakovskij was arrested for his activities in November, but punished only with deportation to Harkov. An officer called Andrej Krasovskij founded a Ukrainian conspiracy in autumn 1861. The relation of these activities to the Polish movement and Hromada is unclear. The traditional Soviet interpretation of the events is that the Ukrainian revolutionaries acted in close co-operation with the Poles and the Russian secret society, Land and Liberty, while keeping a distance from Hromada. However, according to Kieniewicz, the Ukrainian revolutionaries rejected the Polish claim to pre-partition boundaries.<sup>100</sup>

The student disturbances in St. Petersburg were the most spectacular in the whole of Russia and led to the strongest reaction by the government. Contrary to what had happened at the other universities, most of the professors joined the protests against the government’s university policy, though none of them participated in public demonstrations. For our information about the events we must rely on official sources and published memoirs by Russian students, since there is no account by a Polish student. On 6 September, the University Council refused to elect a Deputy Rector responsible for student discipline, since it considered the task impossible under the recently decreed regulations. Three days later, the student delegates responsible for the bank of mutual assistance and the library inquired from the Council how they should now act when all meetings were forbidden and it was not possible to give a report to the general meeting. The acting Rector, Professor Izmail Sreznevskij, received the inquiry but did not give his answer. The first unauthorized meeting was held on 16 September, to which the new Curator, General Grigorij Filipson, was invited to explain the new regulations, since they had not been published. Filipson declined to come and told the students to concentrate on their studies. The meetings continued and became more clamorous. For the first time, the students elected a permanent committee to direct their activities. According to Pantelev, it had seven members, one of whom was the representative of the Polish student union.<sup>101</sup>

On 20 September a hand-written proclamation inciting students to protest was posted. It emphasized the general political importance of the events, predicting

99 “Odrodzenie” is published in OPDU 211–215.

100 OPDU 160–167, 186–187, 199–202, 205–207, 287–291. Kieniewicz 1983:176–177. Marahov 1967:64–74, 107–109. Marahov 1981:97–107.

101 RGIA f. 1405, op. 59, delo 6638, l. 3–8. The final report of the investigating commission. Studentskoe delo. Kolokol No 112, 15.11.1861, p. 934. Pantelev 1958:181, 245–246.

that the university demonstrations would inaugurate an insurrection in St. Petersburg. The proclamation praised the Poles:

We place less hope in our own than in the Poles. In them there is more noble self-denial: they have already many times bravely dared to attempt to gain their freedom, without fear they have been able to undergo torture, to go to the mines, to suffer for their opinions. Therefore our brotherly call for active participation in the common cause is directed primarily to them.<sup>102</sup>

The author of the proclamation had adopted the Poles' own, somewhat idealized, view of their national struggle. The Polish emphasis on self-sacrifice touched the souls of Russian radicals, who also faced an enemy much stronger than themselves. Another proclamation displayed for some time on the wall of the university and read aloud in student meetings was titled "To the Young Generation". It originated from outside the university and called for violent revolution against the monarchy, privileges of social rank and the nobles' ownership of the land.<sup>103</sup>

On 23 September the students broke into an auditorium, which had been closed in order to prevent meetings from taking place there. They invited Sreznevskij to the meeting. He refused to answer a question concerning the previous inquiry and explained that it was impossible to change the new rules. It was decided in the meeting to refuse to pay tuition fees. The matriculation books, in which the bearer was registered as a student and which contained the new rules, would be received but destroyed. As a result of the meeting, Putjatin ordered Filipson to close the university until the matriculation books were ready. Students learned about the closure when they came to the university on Monday 25 September. They reacted by marching through the city centre to Filipson's house on Kolokolnaja Street. There were between 900 and 1,000 participants in this first street demonstration in St. Petersburg. The university students were joined by their fellows from the Medical Academy and even from some military schools. They were surrounded by soldiers and gendarmes. However, both Governor-General Pavel Ignat'ev and Filipson behaved cautiously, and violence was avoided. Filipson departed with the students to the university and received their delegates there. He promised that the university would be reopened soon, and no-one would be arrested. The students dispersed, satisfied for the while. On the same evening, the University Council rejected Filipson's proposal by 15 to 14 votes that professors should distribute the matriculation books to the students. After this event, the other authorities prevented the University Council from having any influence on decision-making. As Alexander II was in the Crimea, the immediate decisions were made in a temporary council under Grand Prince Mihail, which also included the most important Ministers and Petr

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102 RPRS 1:91

103 Lemke 1923:62–80. To the Young Generation. RPRS 1:90–92. The student proclamation. Its probable author was Nikolaj Utin. Nikoladze N: Vospominanija o šestydesjatyh godov. Očerki pervyj. Katorga i Ssylka 33 (1927). P. 35–36.

Šuvalov, the Chief of Staff of the Corps of Gendarmes. It ordered Putjatin to close the university until further notice. The night after the great demonstration, 28 of the most active students were arrested, among them four Roman Catholics from the Western Provinces. This gave rise to new demonstrations and meetings in the university courtyard. After the authorities closed the courtyard, the meetings were held next to it. They usually proceeded without massive police intervention, though arrests were made both at the meetings and elsewhere at night.<sup>104</sup>

The Grand Prince's Council tried to reopen the university with fewer students. On 3 October the authorities announced in a newspaper that those wanting to receive matriculation books should apply by post and pledge themselves to obey the rules. All others were to be expelled from the university. Only just over a third of all young men studying at the University accepted these terms, that is 552 students and 102 free listeners. The university was reopened on 11 October. On the next day there was a violent clash in front of the university between the army and student demonstrators, of whom 243 were arrested and sent to the Peter–Paul Fortress. Most of them were later transferred to Kronstadt. The total number of the arrested at various times reached 340. The university continued to languish with very few students, until the renewal of disturbances forced the authorities to close it again on 20 December.<sup>105</sup>

In the house searches connected with the arrests, copies of “Velikoruss“, Mierosławski's proclamations and Mickiewicz's “Forefathers' Eve“ were found. More important was the evidence of clandestine lithographic printing activities found in the lodgings of a retired civil servant, Pavel Zotov. He came from the province of Mohylew. Zotov had been arrested and his home searched because of his participation in the student demonstrations. There the police found Ludwik Büchner's work “Kraft und Stoff” in Russian translation, as well

104 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 277, l. 9. Report of a commanding officer to Šuvalov on events 25th September. L. 41–49, 102–111. Šuvalov to Dolgorukov to Livadia 26th, Mihail and Šuvalov to Alexander II 29th September. L. 158. Ignat'ev to Dolgorukov 2nd October 1861. 199–206, 264–268. Mihail and Šuvalov to Alexander II 4th and 11th October. RGIA f. 733, op. 147, delo 41, l. 1–2, 6–10, 26–27. Correspondence between Putjatin and Filipson. F. 1405, op. 59, delo 6638, l. 1, 8–28. Nikoladze 1927:33:37–42. Studenckoe...1861:112: 934–936. Sorokin V.M: Vospominanija starogo studenta (1858–61gg.). Russkaja Starina 11/1906. P. 452–460. Ejmontova 1993:46–51. Gessen Sergej: Peterburgskij universitet osenju 1861g. In:Revoljucionnoe dviženie 1860–h godov. Moskva 1932. P. 11–17. RPRS 1:92–97. The first Poles arrested were Aleksander Zalesski, Zygmunt Zalesski, Aleksander Žuk and Seweryn Smoleński. Mihail's council included Grand Prince Nikolaj, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Aleksandr Gorčakov, the Minister of the Interior, Petr Valuev, the Minister of State Domains, Mihail Murav'ev, Petr Šuvalov, Governor–General Ignat'ev, Adjutant General K. Čevkin and Putjatin. Ejmontova gives 37 as the number of the first arrested.

105 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 277, l. 108–110, 199–206, 264–268. Mihail's and Šuvalov's reports to Alexander II. RGIA f. 733, op. 147, delo 41, l. 42, 43, 49, 111–115, 136–137, 142–144, 185–186. Putjatin's correspondence with Alexander II, Dolgorukov, Filipson and Police Chief Patkul. Materialy dlja istorii gonenija studentov pri Aleksandre II. Kolokol No 119–120:995–996. Nikoladze 1927:33:42–46. Pravila dlja Sanktpeterburgskogo universiteta. Sanktpeterburgskija Vedomosti No 213, 28.9.1861. Ob'javlenie ot načalstva Sanktpeterburgskogo universiteta. Sanktpeterburgskija Vedomosti No 217, 3.10.1861. Untitled, Sanktpeterburgskija Vedomosti No 229, 17.10.1861. RPRS 1:108–109. II PSZ XXXVI.2/1861, No 37766, p. 629–630. Ejmontova 1993:51–52. The number of the arrested does not include those immediately released.

as other philosophical articles ready for printing. One of the texts prepared for printing was signed “Smolenskij”, which was most probably the signature of the Polish student, Seweryn Smoleński, who had already been involved in the Moscow students’ printing activities. The authorities noticed the material, but did not proceed with any investigation.<sup>106</sup>

Two commissions were nominated to investigate the demonstrations: one for those before the reopening of the university on 11 October and another for the events on 12th October. Mitigating circumstances were found that the first official announcement about the new disciplinary rules had not been published until 28 September. The commissions pretended to believe the students’ evidence, which played down their guilt. The commissions clearly did not want to make martyrs of them by finding any serious crimes, let alone any important secret organizations. The proclamations at the university were left practically un-investigated. The final sentences for the participants in the demonstrations were decided in the Council of Ministers on 4 December. They concerned 323 persons, of whom 256 were students or free listeners of the university, nine recent graduates, two from the University of Moscow, two from the Medical Academy and 54 who were not in higher education. Considering the scope of the demonstrations, the punishments were lenient. Nine persons were deported to distant parts of European Russia. Thirty-two fourth-year students of the fourth annual course were expelled from the university, and 192 younger students were granted an opportunity to accept the new regulations and continue their studies. The expelled students and those who declined to obey the new rules were to be deported to their homes unless they could present guarantees from parents or near relatives living in St. Petersburg. The same was to be done with the demonstrators from outside the university. Twenty-seven free listeners got only an official reprimand. The mild punishments marked a political turn-about by the government. By December, it was clear that the overwhelming majority of students had resisted the rules, the expediency of which now came under question.<sup>107</sup>

Polish students participated actively in the demonstrations. Our sources do not indicate why the first four Poles were arrested on 26 September. They were not among the identified speakers or elected delegates in the meetings. On 27 September Władysław Choroszewski, an ardent supporter of Polish-Russian co-operation, was elected one of the delegates, who tried to take the students’ petition for the repeal of the new rules to Putjatin. As the disturbances continued, some other Poles took a public role. At the meeting on 2 October, the authorities noticed four persons as leaders, of whom three were from the Western Provinces: Miroslaw Kuczuk and Hipolit Chodzyński, who were Roman

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106 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 277, c. 3, l. 37–39. Description of papers containing forbidden material. L. 40–44. Investigating Commission’s report to Dolgorukov and Alexander II 23rd January 1862.

107 RGIA f. 1282, op. 1, delo 13, l. 114–146. The imperial decree and list of the sentenced. F. 1405, op. 59, delo 6638, l. 32–59. The final report of the investigating commission for demonstrations before 11th October.

Catholics from Lithuania, and Mark Novoselickij, a Jew from Kiev. Three days later, the police arrested in private rooms 17 students, who were holding a meeting. Three of them were Poles. Polish participation reached its peak in the last great demonstration on 12 October. Of the 243 arrested on that day, 116 came from the Western Provinces or the Kingdom of Poland. Indeed, Grand Prince Mihail and Šuvalov wrote to Alexander II that the majority of the arrested were Poles, some of them possessing matriculation books. This is possible, since those arrested with matriculation books were immediately released. They are not included in the lists of those arrested and sentenced. In any case, the final sentences reveal the great Polish contribution to the demonstrations. Of the 323 persons included in them, 132 came from areas inhabited by Poles: 90 from Lithuania, 14 from the Right-Bank Ukraine and 28 from the Kingdom of Poland. These numbers also include non-students. Among the 256 sentenced students and free listeners, there were 119 from these areas, which makes not less than 47.4%. As there were Caucasians and Germans among the sentenced, there may indeed have been more Poles than Russians. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to identify all the sentenced by religious confession. The second, third and fourth-year students among the sentenced included 81 persons from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces. Of them, 58 were Roman Catholics, 7 Orthodox and for 16 there is no information. As some Poles came from the Great Russian and other non-Polish provinces, we may modestly estimate that at least 40% of the sentenced students identified themselves as Poles. However, none of them was among those who were most severely punished. The deported included Pavel Zotov and Mark Novoselickij who were non-Catholics, and to what extent they regarded themselves as Poles is rather doubtful. For some reason, Kuczuk's, Choroszewski's and Chodzyński's active role did not affect their sentences. They were included in the category of those whose main crime was mere participation in the demonstrations.<sup>108</sup>

Polish participation was also important in the final disturbances on 28 and 30 November. First the students gathered at a meeting where they read aloud a message from their arrested fellows, calling for a strike. Walerian Bończ Osmołowski, a Roman Catholic from Mohylew, was identified in the meeting. He had not applied for a matriculation book and hence did not have the right to visit the university. An Assistant Inspector was beaten by students when he tried to arrest Osmołowski. As a result, Osmołowski and a Russian student were deported to their homes. In a house search, subversive Russian poetry was found among Osmołowski's papers, but no forbidden Polish material. His case is an

108 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 277, c. 1, l. 188. Third Section's summary of the events on 2nd October. GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 277, c. 1, l. 301. Mihail and Šuvalov to Alexander II 14th October. L. 304–315. A list of persons arrested 12th October. Ed. hr. 277, Lit. A, l. 1–3, 19–21, 75–76, 92–93. Testimonies by the arrested. Ed. hr. 277, Lit. V, l. 51–59. Summary of testimonies by arrested students and Police Master Patkul. RGIA f. 1282, op. 1, delo 13, l. 114–146. List of the sentenced. RPRS 1:100–101. The Poles arrested on 5th October Roman Catholic nobleman Antoni Zdrojewski (Mohylew province) and Edward Podosski (Kiev), Stanisław Przewuski from the Kingdom of Poland. Nowiński 1986:170 gives the number of 101 arrested from former Poland on 12th October. This probably includes students and free listeners, but not outsiders.

example of the influence of Russian revolutionary thinking among the Polish students. On 30 November there was again a meeting that was caused by an assistant inspector's attempt to expel an outsider, Paweł Czerwiński, a student of the Technological Institute, from the university building. The authorities had noticed Czerwiński previously in the same year because of his involvement in Komarowski and Tomkowicz's cache of arms, having acted as their buyer. Now the students put to Filipson all their previous demands about the repeal of the new rules. After all that had happened before, these events were enough to close the university.<sup>109</sup>

The Polish students in Moscow were at first not much concerned about the university reforms. Wiktor Lebidiew delivered a speech to new students on 30 August, published by Fedosowa. He asked with some bitterness why so many Poles come to Moscow to study when patriotic activists were needed in Poland. He did not mention the university reform at all, but concentrated on a call for patriotic action. Lebidiew stated that Poland's mission was to be the vanguard of civilization in its campaign for the freedom and peace of all European nations. It is interesting that he referred derogatively to "our atheist party", the adherents of which were "drones, parasites and proselytes". "Atheist party" may be an epithet given to Zaičnevskij and Argiropoulos' Polish adherents, since it seems to have mixed with Russians and to have had some ideas of which Lebidiew disapproved.<sup>110</sup>

The student demonstrations in Moscow began on 27th September. Delegates from St. Petersburg told about the events there. Between lectures at the Faculty of Law, a first-year student, Evgenij Gižickij, delivered speeches inviting the students to resist the new rules. He also read aloud the proclamation, "To the Young Generation". Although at least later in his life Gižickij identified himself as a Russian, he was from the Province of Minsk. He received the proclamation from a Polish student and prominent activist in the student union, Bolesław Kołyszko. This points to a possibility that the Polish student union may have consciously carried out political agitation among the Russians. Even if this were so, it would not have been the cause of the student unrest, since the Russian students were quite ready to rebel on their own. Inspector Petr Šestakov tried to interfere, but was heckled. The University Board responded by closing the first and second-year courses at the Faculty of Law for one year. Two days later the Deputy Curator, V. Daškov, promised to re-open them for those who would sign an undertaking to obey the new rules. The courses were reopened on 10 October, but by that time only 205 students out of 302 had signed. The rest were expelled. These measures had the effect of inciting protests rather than abating them. In

109 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 187, l. 15. List of students from the Western Provinces. Ed. hr. 487, l. 1–2, 9–10. Unsigned report to Dolgorukov and a copy of Putjatin's report to Alexander II, 29th November 1861. L. 17. Osmołowski's papers, which included Ryleev's poem "Ne ždi" and poems "Šarmanka" and "Dvuglavyj Orel". L. 18–19. Osmołowski's testimony 1st December. L. 24 Imperial decision 3rd December. Ed. hr. 489, l. 2–9. Spy reports. Nikitenko 1955:2:245, 250.

110 Fedosowa 1984:224–233.

order to avoid the fate of those whose courses had been closed, the meetings were moved to the university garden. As the Russian students lacked an organized union, the proceedings were often chaotic. There emerged roughly two orientations: the radical “Garden Party” and the moderates. Those members of Zaičnevskij and Argiropoulos’ circle who still remained free were influential in the “Garden Party“. It proposed writing a petition to Alexander II. It was to include the repeal of the new university rules concerning tuition fees and student organizations. Further, it demanded for the student union a status of juristic person and the establishment of a student court with official powers. The new rules for students should be written by a commission elected by students and professors. The student union should have the right to nominate a representative to an investigation into a crime allegedly committed by any of its members. The moderate party supported the petition, but wanted it to include only the reopening of St. Petersburg University, a return to the previous rules about tuition fees, the right to elect representatives and to arrange a bank of mutual assistance.<sup>111</sup>

The unrest became obvious to the whole city on 4 October, when the students arranged a memorial procession to the grave of Professor Granovskij with 500 people participating in the event. At the grave, an Orthodox memorial service was held. Russian students had quite quickly adopted the habit of the Polish patriots of arranging political demonstrations as religious ceremonies commemorating the dead. It soon became clear that no official would receive the students’ petition, though Governor-General Tučkov had at first hinted that he might. The unrest escalated to the extent that the professors’ common room at the university was occupied by the students for some hours. An end to the demonstrations came on 12 October, when all the students demonstrating before the Governor-General’s house were arrested and many of them beaten. The event came to be called the “Battle of Dresden”, since it happened near a hotel bearing that name. After the disturbances, the “Garden Party“ managed to deliver the petition to Alexander’s Adjutant in Carskoe Selo. This final version included demands about tuition fees, a bank and the right to elect representatives, as well as complaints about police violence. “The Garden Party’s“ delegates received a negative answer from the Emperor through the Adjutant. They were reprimanded at the university, but otherwise went unpunished.<sup>112</sup>

111 GIAM 459, op. 2, ed. hr. 2543, l. 50–51. Rector Alfonskij to Curator Isakov 10th October 1861. RGIA f. 733, op. 147, delo 41, l. 37, 54–56. Deputy Curator Daškov to Putjatin 28th September and 1st October. Arhiv Raevskih V. Petrograd 1915. P. 316–320, 346–350, 378–383. Documents of Nikolaj Raevskij, the moderate leader. Ejmontova R. G: Rukopis’ V. N. Linda “Očerki istorii universitetskikh dviženij v Moskve v 1861–62 godah”. In: Revoljucionnaja situacija v Rossii v seredine XIX veka: dejateli i istoriki. Moskva 1986. Contains Lind’s original text. P. 201–204. Eševskij S. V: Moskovskij universitet v 1861 godu. Russkaja Starina 6/1898. P. 587–588. Gižickij E: Moskovskaja universitetskaja “Istorija” 1861 goda. Graždanin 32–33/1876, p. 834–835, 34–35/1876, p. 872–873. RPRS 1:102–106. Salias E. A: Sem arestov. Istoričeskij Vestnik 2/1905. P. 488. Šestakov 1888:10:212–218. Studenčeskija...1905:IV 9–12. Ejmontova 1993:54–56.

112 RGIA f. 733, op. 147, delo 41, l. 97, 159–161. Daškov to Putjatin 6th and Curator Isakov 14th October 1861. L. 181–183. Putjatin to Alexander II 27th October. Arhiv...1916:380–381,

The demonstrations have not left any traces in the archive of the Polish student union. The official documents give a general description of them and a list of punished persons. For additional information about the Polish position, we have to turn to Russian memoirists, of whom the most important are Vasilij Lind and Evgenij Gižickij. On 27 September the radical Russian students held a meeting in which it was decided to propose to the other student groups that they all send a joint petition. It was decided that Polish support should be sought, since the Poles formed a formidable force as an organized group. The negotiations took place in the rooms of a Russian student, Ivan Kelsijev. There were eight Polish delegates, of whom Lind could identify only Bolesław Kołyszko and Aleksander Zelwerowicz. These two supported joint Polish-Russian action. The rest hesitated. "The main argument...was that in case of defeat, they would suffer the most, and all for an alien cause, a Russian university," Lind remembers.<sup>113</sup> Finally, an agreement was reached. After the petition was passed by a general meeting of the students, first the Russians would sign it. The Poles would attach 400 signatures if and after the Russians were able to gather 700. As the moderates disagreed about the contents of the petition, the Russians could not fulfil their part of the agreement. According to Lind, the "Garden Party's" petition gathered 400 signatures, and the moderates, 80. Gižickij tells that there were 600 signatures for the "Garden Party". The different Russian groups tried to reach a compromise. This did not satisfy the Poles, who wanted a more radical petition.<sup>114</sup>

Although the Poles did not sign the petitions, they did actively participate in the meetings and demonstrations. Many Poles participated in the procession to Granovskij's grave wearing the "*czamarka*", a costume associated with the national cause. Among the 335 persons arrested outside the Governor-General's house, there were 105 from the Kingdom of Poland or the Western Provinces, five of them from outside the university. The proportion of Poles among the arrested was smaller than their proportion of the whole student body, but nevertheless more than 20% of the university's Polish students were arrested. Kołyszko, too, was arrested, but managed to escape from the police station in the general chaos. Later he commanded an insurgent unit in Lithuania.<sup>115</sup>

384–392. Ejmontova 1986:207–209. Eševskij 1898:593–603. Gižickij 1876:34–35:873–876, 36–37:922–926. Materialy...Kolokol No 121, 1.2.1862, p. 1009–1110. The delivered petition. Moskovskaja bojnja studentov. Kolokol No 113, 22.11.1861, p. 942–944. RPRS 1:98–99, 103–108. Salias 1905:490–501. Studenčeskija... 1905:IV 9–14. Ejmontova 1993:56–59.

113 Ejmontova 1986:205

114 Ejmontova 1986:205–206. Gižickij 1876:34–35:872.

115 GARF f. 825, op. 1, ed. hr. 1082, l. 17. Lind's memoirs. What I read as "čamarka", Ejmontova 1986: 207 reads "ekipaž", carriage. Lind's handwriting is indeed painful to read. RGIA f. 1405, op. 59, delo 6626, l. 1–10, 13–15, 21–29, 32–70, 72–83, 85–90, 92–102. Lists of arrested persons, indicating their estate, home province, faculty and annual course. Fiedosowa's statement (1984:63–64) that there were 51 arrested Poles seems incorrect. Of the 100 arrested students, 80 were Roman Catholics, 10 Orthodox, one Uniat and 9 whose religious denomination is not available. 91 came from historic Lithuania, 9 from the Kingdom of Poland. By estate, there were 86 noblemen, six sons of lower officers, a son of a Uniat priest, 2 sons of merchants, 2 sons of lower townfolk, 2 sons of peasants and a citizen of Austria. By faculty, 35 studied medicine, 32 law, 26 mathematics and natural science, 5 the



Most of the arrested were released on the same day. On 23 October, only 39 students were still under arrest. The Curator, Nikolaj Isakov, and Putjatin believed that a secret Polish intrigue had played a role in the emergence of the protests. Inspired by Inspector Šestakov's reports to this effect, Isakov wrote to Putjatin:

That unrest was in general instigated by the action of the St. Petersburg students, of whom a couple of representatives arrived here. Some believe that it was fomented from abroad. It was strongly supported by the Poles, of whom there is a large quantity in the University of Moscow. A result of causes outside the university, that unrest caught hold of...many hotheads among the Russians, and unfortunately met with sympathy among the public, which saw in this movement only a wish to exempt the poor from tuition fees...<sup>116</sup>

Putjatin repeated Isakov's idea about outside influence as being the main cause of the Moscow disturbances in his report to the Emperor.<sup>117</sup>

The final sentences for the Moscow students on 6 February 1862 were relatively mild. Five activists of the "Garden Party" were deported, among them Gižickij. The 15 persons found most to blame for the occupation of the professors' common room were expelled for two years from the University. Parents or relatives had to guarantee their good behaviour. If the sentenced could not present such a guarantee, they were to be deported to distant parts of European Russia. This category included Bernard Grigorowicz from Minsk Province. Ten students were granted an opportunity to continue their studies on condition that they pledged themselves to obey the rules. If they declined, they were to be deported to their homes. Fifteen students were merely officially reprimanded. Among them there were five from the former Poland, three of whom were Roman Catholics. The proportion of Poles among the leaders of the demonstrations noticed by the authorities was much smaller than their proportion of all the arrested. The final sentences also repealed the expulsion of the law students from the courses that had been temporarily closed during the demonstrations.<sup>118</sup>

The Russian university question and students' rights are not mentioned in the lithographed organ of the Moscow Polish student union, "Gazeta Młodzieży Polskiej" (Gazette of Polish Youth), two issues of which came out in late November and early December 1861. The Gazette includes a lengthy article, "A few words for the anniversary of the November Uprising". The author hesitates between social revolution and a leading role for the nobility, as if expecting the

humanities. The information completed by lists of students in GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 187, 1.34–49, and RGIA f. 733, op. 202, delo 95, 1.53–83. Gižickij 1876:36–37:925.

116 RGIA f. 733, op. 147, delo 41, l. 161. Isakov to Putjatin 14th October 1861.

117 GIAM f. 459, op. 2, ed. hr. 2543, l. 41–43. Šestakov's report to Daškov 4th October 1861, emphasises Polish dominance in the demonstrations. RGIA f. 733, op. 147, delo 41, l. 133–134. Isakov to Putjatin 23rd October 1861. L. 147. Putjatin to the Emperor 18th October 1861. L. 160. Isakov to Putjatin 14th October 1861.

118 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 187, l. 34, 40, 44, 46. RGIA f. 1405, op. 59, delo 6626, l. 26, 56, 61, 87, 102. Materialy dlja istorii gonjenja studentov pri Aleksandre II. Kolokol'no 137, 22.6.1862, p. 1136–1137.

nobility to make a revolution against itself. He gives the nobility's privileged position as the main cause of Poland's defeat. Independence could not be restored without a social revolution. However, only the nobility could initiate and lead that revolution, since it was the most enlightened and nationally conscious social group. Those, like the TDP, who claimed that it was a reactionary force, were blinded by the foreign theories of the French Revolution, which were not applicable to Poland. Konarski had understood the role of the nobility much better. The role of any society or conspiracy should ideally be to unite the nobility in support of the cause of social revolution. Secret or émigré societies could and should not lead it. The article was an unsuccessful attempt to propose a solution for the dilemma, which was caused by the incomplete social structure of the Polish community in the Western Provinces on the one hand, and the idea of democracy on the other.<sup>119</sup>

The second issue of "Gazeta Młodzieży Polskiej" contains news about a representative of the St. Petersburg Polish students who had visited Moscow and brought a written proposal that they should leave Moscow and go and study in the University of Dresden. This episode gives us information about the attitude of the Moscow Poles towards the Germans and Russians, as well as towards learning. They rejected the proposal, though they agreed in that intellectual and moral superiority was needed to preserve Polish nationality and attain independence. The task in the immediate future was to raise a revolution, and this made academic learning at present unnecessary. Knowledge about the people was now required. Now was the time to go to the people:

The jobs of village teacher, scribe and all other tasks in peasant communities, that is the field of our present activity. There we must work for recognition,...for a diploma, which is neither Muscovite nor German, but received from one's own conscience, earned from brothers, a diploma from the Fatherland for the fulfilment of one's duty, which the historical development of our society has allotted to us.<sup>120</sup>

The proposal brought from St. Petersburg had emphasized industry, commerce and education. Such a programme of peaceful "organic work" for the country was to become quite popular after the insurrection failed, but it was now rejected by students. "Gazeta" answered by saying that effective action in those fields was impossible in a dependent country. It was first necessary to attain independence, and only after that could one think about peaceful development. Further, the text had expressed fear of the danger of Russian advances in civilization. "Gazeta" answered that the advance of civilization in Russia made it more likely that the Poles would receive Russian support for the national cause:

A Russian (*Moskal*) affected by real enlightenment and truth will not hinder us in such a right, consistent and noble cause as is ours (Herzen,

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119 Fiedosowa 1984:236–254.

120 Fiedosowa 1984:263

Ogarev, Kolokol, Velikoruss). Russia is terrible to us not because of its collective intellectual superiority, not because of its mighty civilisation, but it is terrible to us because of its physical force, the overwhelming power of its despotic ideas, barbarous tsars! Let the masses in Russia enlighten themselves. If those masses proceed in the way of truth, virtue and real reason, they will not be terrible to us, since wanting freedom themselves, they must set free a Poland which ‘wants to be free’”.<sup>121</sup>

“Gazeta” indeed considered the Russians capable of partaking in civilization and modern political ideas. Its view of Russia was not static or monolithic. However, Russian civilization was seen more as a potential than as an existing fact. Gazeta was firmly convinced of Polish cultural superiority.

At alien universities, Poles study most in the community of their fellows, learn principles in a group of future citizens. Polish youth understands that such a public education is today more necessary than the attainment of purely specialist knowledge... We work for Muscovite degrees as much as we need to in order to get them easily and to the extent that they will be necessary to us in the future. It is sad, but necessary. With a degree or without it, a Pole nowadays has nowhere to work; he has no opportunities to apply practically his specialist and theoretical knowledge, again for the same reason that there is no country, no existence. And to work, even in one’s home, for Moscow, Berlin and Vienna is hard, bitter, and it hurts!...

Our sojourn at Muscovite universities costs us dearly, that is true. But who will guarantee that a person who is capable of being Russified (*może zmoskwieć się*) in Petersburg, will not become Germanicized in Dresden? It is even more likely, for if he can give his affection to barbaric Moscow, such an erotomaniac will all the more readily fall in love with the wise Germans.<sup>122</sup>

“Gazeta” concluded that the idea of relying on some European power had originated in the Hotel Lambert and had since long been dismissed as false. Polish young men in St. Petersburg should move to their homes, not abroad.<sup>123</sup>

Apart from the demonstrations, the student union was occupied by the reform of its own structure. It was first proposed at the very end of the spring term. At the end of August, a proposal based on regional sub-organizations was under discussion. The reform took its final shape in December 1861. The regional principle was adopted on the advice of Mierosławski. Ten regional organizations (*gmina*) replaced faculty groups and sections. As a rule, each province had its own regional organization. Depending on the number of members, a couple of provinces could be united into a single organization or one province divided into several. Each regional organization had to have at least 15 members. In the beginning there were regional organizations for Wilno, Kowno, Samogitian (Żmudźka), Minsk, Nowogródek, Grodno, Mohylew, Sluck, Rusin

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121 Fiedosowa 1984:264

122 Fiedosowa 1984:265

123 The whole article in Fiedosowa 1984:259–267

(Right-Bank Ukraine) and Upper Dvina. The students from the Kingdom of Poland belonged to the Rusin organization, which was not based on ethnic characteristics. The regional principle was expressly motivated by the imminent armed uprising. Possibly another aspect of the reform was that it incorporated a federal structure and regional autonomy, which some students considered desirable for a future independent Poland, at least in the sense that historical Lithuania should have a special status. Fedosova describes a letter from a Moscow student, J. Doborzyński, native of the Kingdom of Poland, who criticized all kinds of federalist ideas that were proposed not only for Poland but for the university. It seems to me that the letter is related to the reorganization discussion within the student union.<sup>124</sup>

The most important decisions were presented for deliberation by all members, so that while voting took place in the regional organizations' meetings, the votes were totalled. The regional organizations elected delegates, who formed an Administrative Council (*Rada Administracyjna*), the leading body of the student union. It elected from among its members the Head Councillor (*główny radny*), who was the main treasurer responsible for membership fees and grants to poor students. Other offices were the main treasurer of the bank and the librarian of permitted books. The bank was intended as a purely profit-making institution receiving deposits and lending money on interest, separate from the aid to poor students. All members who had an annual income of at least 125 roubles, had to pay a membership fee, which varied between 5 and 20% of their income. The activities of the union were the same as they had previously been: libraries of forbidden and permitted books, mutual assistance, and the supervision of members' morals. The rules established a fixed judicial procedure for judging transgressions. The punishments were dismissal from the union with disgrace (*infamia*) and simple dismissal, which could be published or not. It was stated that none of the members should get involved in political activities. Such a clause was certainly precautionary, as the student union was only semi-clandestine. Even "Gazeta Młodzieży Polskiej" characterized the union as a "political body". As for relations with Russians, the rules stated that the members were not allowed to receive any aid from societies or persons belonging to another nationality, not even donations for the student union, except with the explicit permission of the Administrative Council. The clause was included because it was considered improper that some members received money from Russian societies in order to pay their tuition fees.<sup>125</sup>

During the discussion about organizational reform, a secret nucleus called the "Society of Initiators" (*Towarzystwo Inicjatorów*) was formed within the student union. Fedosova has published a plan drawn up at the end of 1861 within the society to form a political conspiracy. The society was divided into five district

124 GARF f. 112, op. 2, ed. hr. 29, l. 3. A proposal to the student union, dated 2nd October. Fiedosowa 1984:74–75, 77–82, 229–233, 272–295. Contains the whole text of the new rules.

125 GARF f. 112, op. 2, ed. hr. 29, l. 3. A proposal that the union decide the question of those receiving money from Russians, 2nd October 1861. Fiedosowa 1984:255, 272–295.

units of “initiators”. The units were not to have more than ten members each. New districts could be formed in case there were more members. The members were required to form additional, so-called “working circles” before 15 January 1862. The new circles were not to have more than seven members each. However, only the initiators’ organizations were to elect a Central Committee, with a deputy from each district, which meant at first five members. Accordingly, the secret society had three levels of organization and members: 1. working circles with ordinary members, 2. initiators’ units and 3. the Central Committee. One could proceed from level 1 to level 2 by assembling one’s own “working circle”. The members were forbidden to belong to any other organizations. They were obliged to dedicate themselves wholly to national work and to abstain from alcohol and gambling. A recommendation by six members was necessary for membership. The secret society was not exclusively a student one, since it also included among its members other Poles living in Moscow.<sup>126</sup>

Apart from “Gazeta Młodzieży Polskiej”, the student union published two lithographed collections of patriotic texts, mainly poetry, both aimed at a female audience. They are preserved among the papers of the Third Section. One of them contained the Moscow students’ proclamation to women already described; an introduction to the activities of Mierosławski and his aide, Józef Wysocki; Garibaldi’s letter to Mierosławski; the letter by Archbishop Fijałkowski decreeing the closure of churches in protest against the arrests that were made in them; a letter from the clergy criticizing Wielopolski; “Why, O Lord”; and poems about recent events. The other collection contained patriotic poetry beginning from the 1830s and ending with recent verses written by the students themselves. It emphasized that women’s task was to influence and support men in the national struggle. Mothers were responsible for seeing that their sons adopted patriotic values and were able to shoot and ride a horse. Young ladies had to awaken patriotism in young men, abstain from amusements and especially from dancing with Russians. The collection included Mickiewicz’s poem about Emilia Plater, a woman who had participated in the November Insurrection and got killed by the Russians outside the battle. Otherwise the woman’s role was seen rather as auxiliary, though nonetheless important. A speech by the Warsaw Rabbi, Kramstück, was included, asking Jews to join the Polish national struggle. A short foreword to the article stated: “Polish youth does not make a distinction between social ranks and religious confessions”. By “Polish women” it also meant “female Poles of Mosaic confession”. The lithographed collections show the great importance attached by the Moscow students to women’s national activities. It is remarkable that these publications were the only ones that the student union directed to outside circles. It hoped to use the women to promote land reform and a non-ethnic concept of nationality.<sup>127</sup>

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126 Fiedosowa 1984:134–135, 268–271

127 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., op. 37, 1862g., ed. hr. 230, c. 75, l. 14–30, 31–47. The collections. Contain poems “Dziedzictwo”, “Do Matki Polki”, “Polka”, “Do Dziewicy Polki”, “Pólimperiałek”, “Dziękuję Wam Siostry”, Mickiewicz’s “Śmierć Półkownika”. Fiedosowa 1984:117.

While all the other Russian universities were more or less in turmoil, Dorpat remained calm. The new rules did not apply to Dorpat, where the student organizations continued to function normally. The situation in Poland caused discussions among Polish students. There were both red adherents of a quick insurrection and supporters of Wielopolski's policy. In 1862, the secret society in Dorpat comprised about 30 members. Even before the outbreak of the insurrection, it recommended that the members interrupt their studies and depart for their homes to carry out the clandestine national work. The advice was not followed by many.<sup>128</sup>

How did the government regard the events at universities in the autumn and their Polish aspect? At first the demonstrations especially in St. Petersburg made a great impression on the government's representatives. They were genuinely scared. In his telegram to Šuvalov on 30 September Alexander II wrote:

The disturbances among students are extremely regrettable, and still worse is their reverberation in the military schools...Tell Count Putjatin, Ignat'ev,...and all the commanders of the guards that I am fully convinced that each of them will fulfil his duty with energy and without any concessions. I place hope in my guards.<sup>129</sup>

Small units of soldiers were dispatched to each police station in St. Petersburg. The authorities even took precautionary measures against an attack on the headquarters of the Third Section and the palaces of the grand princes.<sup>130</sup> As the demonstrations continued in a relatively peaceful fashion, the government recovered from its confusion and proceeded to make mass arrests. The role of the Poles came under consideration through Vasilčikov's request for powers to expel and deport Polish students. Putjatin sided with Vasilčikov and considered the measure necessary in all universities:

I find it not only beneficial but necessary to extend that measure to other universities, especially to those in the capitals. Execution of this proposal may somewhat complicate the administration of the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces, for the number of Polish students deported to their homes will be rather high; but on the other hand, now when the Kingdom of Poland and some provinces of the Governor-Generalships of Wilno and Kiev have been proclaimed in a state of war,...the supervision of the deported students and the prevention of violations of law and order by them will be [there] much easier and more convenient than in university towns, especially in the capitals, in which, because of their size and population, the students have rather many opportunities of putting their ideas into practice.<sup>131</sup>

Many other high-ranking officials agreed with Putjatin in his estimation of the Polish impact on the demonstrations. Governor-General Ignat'ev proposed to

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128 Heinrich 1917:41–42, 44–45.

129 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 277, c. 1, l. 137.

130 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 277, c. 1, l. 11, 46–47, 202–203.

131 RGIA f. 733, op. 147, delo 41, l. 139–140. Putjatin to Alexander II 7th October 1861.

the Emperor that arrested Poles should be sent to serve as soldiers in distant army units. The Minister of State Domains, Mihail Murav'ev, proposed in the Grand Prince's Council that arrested Poles should be deported to Siberia. Both proposals were made on 14 October, just after the biggest wave of arrests.<sup>132</sup> Before them, the acting head of the Third Section, Count Šuvalov described the Polish influence in somewhat more moderate terms:

In the student disturbances that have hitherto occurred, the Polish element has not been expressed publicly; however, there is no doubt that the Polish students, supporting [sic, probably meaning: have supported] the disobedient spirit in others, and there are reasons to suppose that they even have aided some of them financially.<sup>133</sup>

On 24 and 25 October, Alexander II made two mutually contradictory decisions about punishments that discriminated against Poles. When the Minister of the Interior, Valuev, presented the case to him, he accepted the discrimination as applying only to St. Vladimir's University in Kiev. He rejected it for the other universities. Valuev informed Putjatin about the Emperor's position in the following words:

As to Your Excellency's proposal to extend that measure to other universities, the Lord Emperor is pleased to find that it cannot be implemented there because such peculiarly Polish demonstrations as are now going on in Kiev do not occur in other university towns. The expulsion of students must follow from their participation in any kind of disturbances that demand a quick and heavy sanction. Therefore it must be applied equally to all students in general, regardless of their background.<sup>134</sup>

On the next day, Alexander read Putjatin's submission cited above, which demanded discriminatory punishments also in Moscow and St. Petersburg. The Emperor wrote in the margin: "True. To be executed thus". The incident shows the myth of autocracy. It really mattered who presented the decisions to the Emperor. Another note in the margin of Putjatin's submission says that finally the government was acting in accordance with Valuev's ratified submission, by abstaining from discrimination except in Kiev.<sup>135</sup>

Because of the academic year and the urgent university question, most student political activism in autumn 1861 took place in university towns. The church demonstrations, which had gathered the greatest numbers of participants, became less frequent. The university students' political agitation in areas inhabited by Poles was less massive than in summer, but nevertheless significant. Kievan students participated in national demonstrations in the Right-Bank Ukraine, at least in Żytomierz. In October, Tomasz Trąbczyński was

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132 RPRS 1:109. Valuev 1961:1:120.

133 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 277, c. 1, l. 49. Šuvalov to Dolgorukov and Alexander II 26th September.

134 RGIA f. 733, op. 147, delo 41, l. 176–177. 24th October.

135 RGIA f. 733, op. 147, delo 41, l. 136, 140.

deported from Częstochowa in the Kingdom of Poland to Kiev, his place of studies, for his participation in the demonstrations. He had previously been in contact with Jankowski, the founder of the first Warsaw conspiracy. Vasilčikov requested from the Emperor that such deportations should no longer be made, since there was also unrest in Kiev. Alexander agreed and forwarded the request to Suhozanet. The acting Viceroy also corresponded with Putjatin about students who were guilty of political crimes in the Kingdom of Poland. He said that sending them back to their universities was definitely too light a punishment in a country under martial law. Such students might be even more harmful in their places of study. That is why he had brought two students (the Rychłowski's) from the University of Moscow before a court martial. They had been among the instigators of patriotic demonstrations in Radzew near Kalisz. As for students guilty of minor political offences only, Suhozanet proposed to send them by administrative order to serve in the army as soldiers. The measure was general and directed against all rebellious elements, not only students. Putjatin agreed to both proposals, leaving the students to Suhozanet's mercy.<sup>136</sup>

An important case of student involvement in politics in Lithuania was the so-called "Friday Society" (*Piątkowcy*), denounced by the St. Petersburg student agent, Józef Biernacki. Unfortunately, the information about the group is rather scanty. After visiting Wilno in November, Biernacki claimed that the society had been founded there by a St. Petersburg student called Eustachy Czarnowski. Biernacki revisited Lithuania in December and January and continued to report about the society. The agent even reported about his attendance at a clandestine meeting of the Oszmiany branch of the society and named all its participants. The society had a library, and it planned to open schools for peasants and to recruit them for the Polish cause. In April and May there appeared three issues of a clandestine journal "Jedność" (Unity), the first organ of the national movement in Lithuania. According to Biernacki, its editors consisted of former students, who had returned to Wilno after the closure of the university. The political stance of "Jedność" was national solidarity combined with support for land reform. It appealed to the wealthier classes in the name of national unity that they should approach the people with real deeds and not only with words. It also contained an article about the clergy's position, which took for granted the bond between Roman Catholicism and Polish identity. At least some of Biernacki's information was true. In 1864 the authorities found evidence of a clandestine library when a district court was searched in Oszmiany. Czarnowski

136 AGAD, Stała Komisja Wojenno-Śledcza, Index Nos 3924–3925. Ibid. file 38, l. 1–7. Report of the Commission (one of the few which have remained) about Erazm Napiralski. No information about punishment. GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 429, l. 1–5. Vasilčikov to Dolgorukov 24th October, Dolgorukov to the Viceroy 6th November 1861. RGIA f. 733, op. 147, delo 41, l. 126–127, 135, 162–163, 178. Suhozanet to Putjatin 13th/25th and 18th/30th, Putjatin to Suhozanet 24th and 27th October. Korespondencja namiestników Królestwa Polskiego z lat 1861–1863. Wrocław 1973. P. 6–9. RPLB 91. Tabiś 1974:111–112. The first students punished in this way were Władysław Garczyński and Marceli Kiczorowski from St. Petersburg University, who had been active in the Warsaw demonstrations. Another St. Petersburg student, Erazm Napiralski, participated in demonstrations in Łęczycza. Certainly there were many others.



admitted having participated in the foundation of a non-political library in Oszmiany in 1861. The meeting described by Biernacki had really taken place. Somewhat unscrupulously, the authorities found the evidence conclusive that the library had been a part of the insurgent organization, although its members were only fined. St. Petersburg students also participated in other similar circles, which later in conjunction with the KCN formed the insurgent organization in Lithuania.<sup>137</sup>

The rejection of the matriculation books and closure of the University of St. Petersburg meant that there were plenty of bitter and jobless young men in the capital. At first the authorities began to deport them to their homes. The deportations began in October and continued until 5 November. The number of the deported was 75, of whom 59 were sent back to the Western Provinces and three to the Kingdom of Poland. Their only crime was that they had not applied for matriculation books. Governor-General Ignat'ev was in charge of the measure, and he clearly wanted first of all to get rid of Poles. The new acting Chief of Staff of the Corps of Gendarmes, Aleksandr Potapov, disapproved of the deportations, considering that they only made the deported more desperate and angry. Most likely it was he who put an end to them. In November Ignat'ev was replaced by Aleksandr Suvorov, an advocate of leniency towards the students. Suvorov was not too strict about the guarantees demanded from students for the continuation of their stay in St. Petersburg. Most of those who wanted to stay could do so. Many Poles themselves wanted to leave, having nothing to do any more in the city. The Third Section financially aided 59 persons, who voluntarily departed for home after being released from arrest. Of these, 37 travelled to the Western Provinces. As many others left independently and without receiving money from the authorities, the number of Poles who left must have been considerably higher. After the closure of the university, we have no more information about the Polish student union, which most likely ceased to function. However, many activists preferred to remain in St. Petersburg. The Third Section financially aided 141 persons, who remained in St. Petersburg after their release from arrest. Among them there were 46 from the Western Provinces and seven from the Kingdom of Poland. The Polish students at the Medical Academy were not punished for the demonstrations, which means that St. Petersburg still had a sizeable Polish student community.<sup>138</sup>

The government reoriented its university policy, trying to make concessions to the students and public opinion. Putjatin's tenure had certainly been a

137 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 439, l. 20–21. RPLB 70–71, 97–98, 100–102, 106–110, 283–296. Biernacki's denunciations 1861–1862, *Jedność* Nos 1 and 3, the report of the investigating commission and the decision by deputy Governor-General, A. L. Potapov 1864. Ramotowska 1990:127–132.

138 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 277, c. 1, l. 100–107. Suvorov to Dolgorukov 25th December 1861. Contains the lists of the arrested who remained and those who departed to their homes who needed financial aid. RGIA f. 1282, op. 13, l. 59–62, 216–218. Ignat'ev to Valuev 25th October, Aleksandr Suvorov to Valuev 23rd December, containing lists of the deported. RPLB 68–69. Potapov's position in Ejmontova 1993:147, who does not mention the Polish aspect of the deportations.

catastrophe. In the circumstances, it mattered little that he was not the author of the disastrous university policy, which had been adopted prior to his incumbency. On 25 December, Aleksandr Golovnin took charge of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment. Golovnin had been educated at the Alexander Lyceum and served in the Ministry of Interior and as Director of Grand Prince Constantin's personal chancellery. As a Russian government politician, Golovnin was rightly considered a liberal, though in his Polish policy his liberalism was less evident. A member of the Main School Board, he had defended the principle of the "free university" proposed by Dolgorukov and Pirogov. Even before Golovnin's nomination, Putjatin had formed a commission made up of educational administrators and some professors to prepare a new university law. The commission finished its work at the end of December, after which Golovnin sent the draft law to the universities and foreign scholars for comment. The most important concession to the students in the draft was the unlimited exemption of the poor from paying tuition fees. In June 1862 the draft passed to the Academic Committee of the Ministry. After a revision in one more committee consisting of conservatives, the university statute was finally decreed in June 1863. It somewhat expanded the autonomy and retained the exemption from tuition fees. The new statute was the most important result of the student demonstrations.<sup>139</sup>

In January 1862 Golovnin softened the effects of the closure of the University of St. Petersburg. The Faculty of Oriental Languages was reopened. In the other faculties, other activities except for lectures were resumed: dissertations were received, and final and third-year annual exams were held in May. In June Golovnin proposed in the Council of Ministers that the university be reopened forthwith and a complete amnesty granted to all students who had been expelled for their participation in the demonstrations. The proposals were rejected. However, the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Science was reopened in September 1862. The University began to function normally under the new university statute in September 1863. Meanwhile, the idea of a "free university" was tried in practice. Golovnin allowed 27 persons, mainly university professors, to give a series of public lectures, which began in February. Indeed, the actual organizer of the lectures was the committee of former students released from arrest. Though without any formal status, the committee invited or disqualified the lecturers as it wished. In co-operation with Suvorov and Professor Ivan Andreevskij, the committee administered the distribution of government aid and private donations to needy students. The situation was rather absurd, since the Governor-General negotiated with the representatives of the former student body after hundreds of students had been held under arrest for demanding recognition of their representatives. The "free university" was possible because of Golovnin's favourable attitude towards its principles and the

139 II PSZ XXXVIII.1/1863, No 39752, p. 621–638. Golovnin A. V: *Dlja nemnogih. Voprosy istorii* 1–2, 4–6, 9–10/1996, 1–11/1997. For his activities as Minister, 1–6/97, for university policy, 2:103–110, 5:95–100. *Ejmontova* 1993:145–193. *Roždestvenskij* 1902:395–396. *Zasztowt* 1997:78–79.

general confusion in government circles. Its life was short though. In March, Professor Platon Pavlov was arrested and deported for a public speech that he made at a literary soirée quite separate from his lectures. As a protest, the student committee decided to close down the courses, though most of the lecturers wished to continue them. The decision was announced at Kostomarov's lecture. Because he expressed his disapproval and promised to continue his lectures, the audience heckled him and shouted insults. Conservative government circles found in the event a good pretext to close down the free university, which they had disliked from its start.<sup>140</sup>

St. Petersburg student activism continued in the "Second Section of the Literary Foundation", which was established in March. It was a society that assisted needy students all over Russia. Golovnin asked for and received the Emperor's approval for official confirmation of the Section. The Section had a committee, which, except for its chairman, consisted of former students. To the Third Section Golovnin argued that this organ made the previous clandestine activities public and established a "lightning conductor" which would lead disturbances away from the university. The authorities banned the "Section" after the outbreak of large fires in St. Petersburg at the end of May. Arson was suspected, and this gave the conservatives a good opportunity to push through severe measures against all kinds of radicalism. The banning of the "Section" was simultaneous with the banning of Sunday Schools and the arrest of the leading Russian radical, Nikolaj Černysevskij. After this, some of the students joined the secret society "Land and Liberty", which strove for a republic and land reform in Russia.<sup>141</sup>

In this twilight period of student activism in spring 1862, Polish-Russian student co-operation was livelier than previously. Władysław Choroszewski participated in the organization of the free university and was most likely a member of the committee. In the Committee of the Second Section of the Literary Foundation there were at least three Poles: Choroszewski, Stanisław Izdebski and Aleksander Żuk. For Choroszewski, his activities may have been a prelude to abandoning Polish identity in favour of a Russian one, which he did later in his life. As for Żuk, Panteleev states: "though a Pole...he had no relations with the Polish corporation and behaved like a real Russian".<sup>142</sup> Both Żuk and Izdebski soon became members of "Land and Liberty". Participation in it was not contrary to Polish interests, since it supported Polish independence and co-operated with the Polish underground. In November 1862 "Land and Liberty" concluded an agreement with the KCN in St. Petersburg. It guaranteed the right of self-determination to the Western Provinces, while nevertheless stating that Poles also had the right to try to unite the territory with Poland. The final status

140 SP III 710–718, 756, 991. Andreevskij I. E:Knjaz Arkadij Andreevič Suvorov. Vospominanija. Russkaja Starina 3–5/1882. Here 5:534–538. Golovnin 1997:5:97. Kostomarov 1922: 297–302. Lemke 1908:10–13. Panteleev 1958:227–229, 258–269. Ejmontova 1985:308–312.

141 Panteleev 1958:269–273. SP III 735, 756, 758. SR III 482–490. ŽMNP CXIII, 1862, I 63. CXV, 1862, IV 176. Snytko 1960:263.

142 Panteleev 1958:314.

of the region was to be decided only after its liberation from the Russian imperial government. When Izdebski was finally arrested in 1864, both Russian and Polish illegal publications were found at his home, like issues of “Ruch” (Movement), the organ of the Polish reds.<sup>143</sup>

The Medical Academy students and former university students in St. Petersburg continued their national activities. Their propaganda efforts were now often directed to the Russian public, which was either asked to understand Poland’s situation or simply incited for revolt. The situation had changed from spring 1861, when Polish students had rejected all approaches by the Russians. Now the revolutionaries of both nationalities were in frequent touch with each other. Probably this was due to both the tactical reorientation of the Poles and a genuine rapprochement resulting from the fact that both had already suffered in their struggle against the common enemy. The attitude of the authorities changed in summer 1862, becoming much more severe than before. Now even rather insignificant acts and mere suspicions sufficed for punishment.

Two former university students, Mirosław Kuczuk and Seweryn Smoleński, were arrested on 11 June 1862. Kuczuk had hinted that he was capable of killing the imperial family in a private letter to a young Russian woman, whereas Smoleński was suspected of distributing subversive leaflets in co-operation with a former Kharkov student, Irodion Kostenko, a Ukrainian from Poltava. Kuczuk’s guilt was established, though he was lucky in that he had not named the imperial family explicitly in the letter. He claimed to have written it only in order to make an impression on a young lady. Kuczuk was jailed for two months and then deported to Astrahan. Against Smoleński and Kostenko there was no definite evidence, but because they were found “persons harmful in the capital”, they were deported to the Province of Vjatka. Smoleński indeed was “harmful”, since this was his third arrest for political reasons, always in the context of Russian radicalism. Smoleński and Kuczuk corresponded with each other in Polish, but most papers found in Kuczuk’s possession were in Russian.<sup>144</sup>

On 14 June a former student of the University of Moscow and participant in the St. Petersburg demonstrations, Leon Olszewski, was arrested for distributing subversive proclamations. Three proclamations in Russian were found, all written in June and July 1862. One titled “Means of the Government for the Appeasement of Poland” explained that nothing less than complete independence would be enough. Olszewski included pre-partition Poland in his view of the national struggle, naming national heroes beginning from the 17th-century Hetman Chodkiewicz and ending with Dembiński, a commander in 1831. However, his position was definitely anti-noble social radical:

143 RPRS 1:525–526, 528, 541, 562–563. 2:92–97, 256–257. Panteleev 1958:310–311, 314, 317, 328. Snytko 1960:263.

144 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1862g., ed. hr. 230, c. 10, l. 84–87. Chairman of the investigating commission Aleksandr Golicyn to Alexander II 2nd September 1862. C. 61, l. 2–3, 23, 110. Orders of arrest, final report of the investigating commission, information about Kostenko’s background. C. 61 lit. A, l. 17. Quotation from Kuczuk’s letter.

Poland understands today that she needs not a reform of the administrative system, but a social reform that is in accordance with modern demands. That reform is realisable only by revolutionary means since the nobility (though not all of it) even in independence wants to hold the upper hand over the masses. Great is the error of he wishes to see in the Polish nobility the Polish nation! The nobility is already rotten, as [are] all its patriotic traditions. They are today best suited for archaeological museums.<sup>145</sup>

Another proclamation was aimed at the Russian peasants, imitating their language. It was a rather direct call to them to rise against their lords and the Emperor. The investigation showed that Olszewski was in close contact with a couple of Russian radicals, of whom a former student called Petr Tkačev later became a famous socialist theoretician. The proclamation to the peasants was ready for printing. Lists comprising the names of 300 persons were found, both Russians and Poles. Probably they belonged to a plan for the distribution for the two proclamations aimed at the educated public. Olszewski was punished with imprisonment for one year and deportation to his home in Kowno Province.<sup>146</sup>

At the beginning of August, the authorities uncovered a secret printing press belonging to two Academy students, Kaetan Źiźniewski and Wiaczesław Masalski, the latter a peasant's son from the Province of Grodno. They had printed 30 copies of a proclamation beginning with the words "Orthodox Christians!", aimed at the Russian peasantry. It criticized the emancipation of the serfs and land reform for actually only adding to the peasants' financial obligations and leaving them at the landowners' mercy. The peasants should rise up in order to get the land without any redemption payments. The Polish question and the Polish origin of the proclamation were not mentioned, although during the investigation Źiźniewski said that he had established the press in order to print leaflets "in defence of Poland". Źiźniewski was sentenced to six months and Masalski to two months in prison. Both were to be deported to distant parts of European Russia, but Źiźniewski died in prison.<sup>147</sup>

At the end of October the authorities discovered that two Academy students, Bonifacy Steputo and Jan Babaszyński, had copied Polish proclamations by photographic means and distributed them in St. Petersburg. Steputo owned a lawful photographer's studio. Both Steputo and Babaszyński were Roman Catholics from Witebsk, the first from simple townfolk (*meščanin*), the latter a nobleman. During the investigation, Steputo stated that he was "Belorussian, not a Pole, and in my heart a Russian", but the result of the house search indicates the contrary. A proclamation of the KCN originally published at the end of August was found. It attacked Wielopolski and Alexander II for political repression, claiming that their reforms left out most of the population of the Kingdom of Poland as well as all Lithuania and Rus. The evidence found also

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145 RPRS 1:158

146 Lemke 1923:579–583, 586–588, 590–596. RPRS 1:157–169.

147 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1862g., ed. hr. 230, č. 10, l. 113–114. Golicyn to Alexander II 14th October 1862. RPRS 1:169–170. Snytko 1960:267.

included photographs: of an allegorical drawing showing Poland as a victim of military violence; another emphasizing the unity of Poland and Lithuania; a Russian revolutionary Mihailov; arrested students in fortress; portraits of Herzen and Ogarev; and a group of young officers in Polish national dress. Steputo and Babaszyński were sentenced to two years and eight months' imprisonment, which they served in Schlüsselburg. The case indicates that Steputo and Babaszyński were activists of the St. Petersburg officer society led by Sierakowski.<sup>148</sup>

The participation of Polish Academy students in revolutionary agitation was noticed by the commission that investigated revolutionary propaganda in Russia. The chairman of the commission pointed this out to Alexander II and the Minister of War, Dmitrij Miljutin, in November. Even before this, Miljutin had noted the fact that some students attended the lectures in Polish national costume, and ordered the Academy authorities to put an end to this practice.<sup>149</sup>

In Moscow, a secret society within the Polish student union was established on a regular basis in 1862. It continued the lithograph printing activities, possibly in co-operation with a Russian printer called Nekrasov, as the reports of the Third Section indicate.<sup>150</sup> The secret society, now known by the name "The Society of the Adherents of Movement" (*Związek Towarzystwa Ruchu*), put itself under the KCN in September 1862. There has remained an order of a Head of District (*Okręgowy*) to the Society from 29 September. It required the members to show blind obedience to orders, and to engage in studies of Polish history and warfare. Each member was to know at least the regulations of the kind of troops in which he was to serve. This indicates that the members already knew their place of service. If someone was skilled in mathematics, he should learn about artillery and partisan warfare. Unfortunately, we do not know, how advanced the practical military preparations were in Moscow. It is possible that the preparation was rather theoretical, since it was unsafe to practise shooting in a big city. The students had contact with Mierosławski's Military School in Italy through former fellow students who were training there. They received news about the bad atmosphere at the school, and in March 1862 it was proposed to send a representative there to find out the truth about the situation.<sup>151</sup>

148 RVIA f. 316, op. 60, delo 336, l. 31, 44, 46. Information of the Academy about the arrested. Lemke 1923:633–645. Dokumenty...1968:13–14. RPRS 1:228–230. After serving their sentences, Steputo and Babaszyński were sentenced to exile in Vologda and Arhangelsk Provinces. Officer Cadet Adolf Szukst, who brought the proclamation to the laboratory, was denied all estate rights and sentenced to four years of forced labor.

149 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1862g., delo 230, č. 10, l. 92–93, 134. Golicyn's reports to Alexander II 9th September and 4th November. RVIA f. 316, op. 60, delo 336, l. 13–16. Miljutin to the President of the Academy 21st September, Inspector to President 22nd September. The inspector reported that there were only two persons wearing Polish costume, whereas there had been about twelve in autumn 1861. Two of them were Orthodox. An Academy student Lev Katalinskij tried to write and distribute a proclamation inciting students to liberate their arrested comrades. His name indicates that he may have been a Pole, but it has not been possible to identify his background. Katalinskij was imprisoned for one month and then deported to the Province of Vjatka.

150 RPRS 1:186–187. Fiedosowa 1984:116–117.

151 RPRS 1:128, 182.

Information about military manuals is contained in the library catalogue of forbidden books, which also gives us valuable information about the ideological atmosphere on the eve of the insurrection. The library contained 168 titles in 313 volumes. Each loan is marked, which makes it possible to list the most popular books. They are the following:<sup>152</sup>

|     |   |          |
|-----|---|----------|
| 1.  | Przegląd Rzeczy Polskich. 1858–1860.  | 16 loans |
|     | Mochnacki Maurycy: Powstanie narodu polskiego.                                | 16       |
|     | Weber Jerzy: Dzieje powszechne od najdawniejszych do najnowszych czasów. 1–2. | 16       |
| 4.  | Chojecki Edmund: Alkhadar, ustęp z życia ojców naszych.                       | 15       |
|     | Mierosławski Ludwik: Powstanie narodu polskiego w r. 1830 i 1831.             | 15       |
|     | Moraczewski Jędrzej: Dzieje Rzeczypospolitej polskiej. Parts 5–9.             | 15       |
| 7.  | Libelt Karol: Pisma pomniejszych. 1–3.  | 14       |
|     | Mickiewicz Adam: Pisma. Parts 1,3 and 4.                                      | 14       |
|     | Rok. Poznań 1843–1846. A journal.   | 14       |
| 10. | Lelewel Joachim: Dzieje Litwy i Rusi.   | 13       |
|     | Mickiewicz: Rzecz o literaturze słowiańskiej.                                 | 13       |
|     | Trentowski Bronisław: Chowanna czyli całokształt pedagogiki narodowej. 1–2.   | 13       |
|     | Wrótnowski Feliks: Powstanie na Wołyniu, Podolu i Ukrainie.                   | 13       |
|     | Wysocki Józef: Kurs sztuki wojkowej. 1–2.                                     | 13       |
| 15. | Jełowicki Aleksander: Moje wspomnienia.                                       | 12       |
|     | Lelewel: Lotniki piśmiennictwa tułaczki polskiej.                             | 12       |
|     | Lelewel: Polska, dzieje i rzeczy jej. Parts 3,6 and 7.                        | 12       |
| 18. | Kraśniński Zygmunt: Nieboska komedia  | 11       |
|     | Potocki Tomasz: [pseudonym Krzystopor]: O urządzeniu stosunków rolnych.       | 11       |
|     | Mochnacki: O literaturze polskiej w XIX w.                                    | 11       |
|     | Wybicki Józef: Pamiętniki. 1–3.   | 11       |
| 22. | Chojecki: Rewolucjoniści i stronnictwa wsteczne w 1848 r.                     | 10       |
|     | Mierosławski: Kurs sztuki wojkowej.   | 10       |
|     | Pamiętniki z XVIII wieku. 1–2.  | 10       |
|     | Wrótnowski: Zbiór pamiętników o powstaniu Litwy w r. 1831.                    | 10       |

152 GARF f. 112, op. 2, ed. hr. 32, l. 1–87. Titles in English: Mochnacki: Uprising of the Polish people. Weber: General History from Ancient to Contemporary Times. Mierosławski: The Uprising of the Polish People 1830–31. Chojecki: Alkhadar, An Excerpt from the Life of Our Fathers. Moraczewski: History of Polish Commonwealth. Libelt: Smaller Works. Mickiewicz: Works. Lelewel: History of Lithuania and Rus. Mickiewicz: On Slavonic Literature. Trentowski: Chowanna or the National Pedagogics. Wrótnowski: Uprising in Podolia, Wołyń and the Ukraine. Wysocki: A Course in Warfare. Jełowicki: Memoirs. Lelewel: Leaflets of Polish Emigration. Lelewel: Poland and Her History. Kraśniński: Undivine Comedy. Potocki: On Arranging Agricultural Relations. Mochnacki: Polish Literature in Nineteenth Century. Wybicki: Memoirs. Chojecki: Revolutionaries and Reactionary Parties in 1848. Mierosławski: Course in Warfare. Memoirs from Eighteenth Century. Wrótnowski: A Collection of Memoirs from the Uprising in Lithuania in 1831.

The popularity of “Przegląd Rzeczy Polskich“ was understandable, since it was the organ of Polish émigré youth and contained information about contemporary events. Mierosławski’s and Wysocki’s books educated their readers for insurrection. Otherwise the popularity of the books shows a continuity from the 1830s and 1840s: Lelewel and Mochnacki as historians, Mickiewicz and Krasiński as poets, Trentowski and Libelt as philosophers were the teachers of Polish student youth. The November Insurrection was eagerly studied. Somewhat surprising is perhaps the popularity of Tomasz Potocki, since he was a member of Poland’s State Council and an adherent of Wielopolski. However, his book fitted well with the prevailing spirit of national solidarity between various social classes. It urged the landowners themselves to carry out a land reform without waiting for government measures. Peasants should receive full property of the land for a redemption fee, which could be paid over a lengthy period. While the redemption was still being paid, Potocki thought that the land should temporarily belong collectively to the peasant community. He envisaged that such a reform could make Poland into the protector of Eastern Europe from socialism, which was penetrating it from the west. Worthy of note is the absence of Cieszkowski’s and Słowacki’s works and the great popularity of Edmund Chojecki a leftist patriot, who had co-operated with Mickiewicz and Proudhon. The historian Jędrzej Moraczewski’s work covered Polish history only up to the 17th century. The republican ideas of the author were expressed in his emphasis on the principle of election to high office in Poland and his criticism of kings. The illegal studies were almost exclusively national. There were some French books, like Proudhon and Michelet in the library, but they were not among the most popular works. The library did not contain a single Russian title. The same seems to be the case with the library of permitted books, which contained 524 titles, though its catalogue is incomplete. The absence of permitted Russian books is understandable, since there were good opportunities to read them elsewhere, but the reluctance to read even Herzen’s publications is a noteworthy phenomenon.<sup>153</sup>

In October 1862 there arose the question of the library of foreign academic books, originally a private undertaking of some students independent of the student union. It had consisted of some 400 volumes in French, German and other languages, dealing with history and social and natural sciences. Now some members returning to the Kingdom of Poland wanted to take it with them, but the majority of the student union opposed this plan. The result of the dispute is not known. The discussion shows that non-national, specialist learning was certainly appreciated by one member, Aleksander Wernicki, who tactfully criticized negligence of such learning:

Few years ago some members of the union, understanding the utter necessity of not only national, but also of special education, proposed the establishment of a library of foreign books...

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 153 GARF f. 112, op. 2, ed. hr. 31, l. 7, 8–10. A report about the library of permitted books, a catalogue with 158 titles. PSB III:391–392 (Chojecki), XXI:682–684 (Moraczewski), XXVIII:216–220 (Potocki).



After the events in Warsaw in the past year, at the meeting of the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Science, the librarian Rychłowski...read a report about the number of books and as if delivered them to the union as its property...Since at that time somehow no one cared about academic matters, but all were hurrying to the country, the union could really not take possession of the library...After the vacation Majewski read the report and presented Rychłowski's letter about the library, its inventory and a list of lost books. But somehow the body of the union also overlooked this, being occupied by something apparently more important...<sup>154</sup>

Wernicki accused those wishing to evacuate the library of "provincialism", again raising the old tension between students from the Kingdom and Lithuania. He finished by pointing out that the case concerned not only current members of the union, but also "the future generations of youth, who may come to study". An interest in long-term educational work is evident also in Wernicki's letters, intercepted by the Third Section, to his friends in Wilno. He found it stupid that gymnasium pupils had by their demonstrations expelled Polish teachers. It was better to expel only Russians. Because of the religious discrimination, they would be replaced by Orthodox Poles, whom one could trust. Despite his emphasis on long-term work, Wernicki was among the first to depart for the insurrection in January.<sup>155</sup>

As previously, the student union supervised the moral conduct of its members. The so-called "billiards" case in April 1862 reveals to us the moral standards for judging transgressions within the union. It began with a statement by a first-year student, Konstanty Wróblewski, that a group of students were "persons without honour and faith", who indulged in orgies that "violate human as well as Polish dignity". One of his statements was that the said students played something he called "live billiards". A committee was formed to investigate the case. Wróblewski stated that he had himself witnessed how the accused had drunk a toast to the success of the Fatherland's cause from a prostitute's shoes. One of them had given a ring commemorating the Warsaw victims to a prostitute, who wore it for a long time. When the girls had asked why some other Poles did not make friends with the accused, they had answered: "We are aristocrats". Wróblewski also considered this statement a misdeed. He admitted knowing about the "live billiards" only by hearsay from Russian students. The committee decided that "the general character of the deeds of the accused transgressed the limits of youthful excess, and constituted misconduct". The most serious crime was giving the ring to a prostitute. By nine votes to six the commission decided to reprimand Jan Wierzbicki for it. The minority wanted to suspend him temporarily from the union. The same was done to Jan Rostkowski, who had too often participated in revels of this type. Paweł Majewski, who admitted his guilt

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154 Fiedosowa 1984:327.

155 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1861g., ed. hr. 80, l. 72. A collection of papers found by Third Section. RPRS 1:186-187. Fiedosowa 1984:124-125, 326-328. In his letters Wernicki emphasised also that Jews can be good Poles.

of drinking and having affairs with prostitutes, was not punished, nor was another student who was guilty of only one such incident. There was no evidence about “live billiards”, whatever it was. However, Wróblewski was acquitted of the charge of libel. The case shows that the profanation of a sacred national object was deemed a graver misdeed than frequenting a prostitute.<sup>156</sup>

In July 1862, Paweł Majewski was accused of more dangerous deeds. He was reported to the authorities for lithographing illegal material. Although this was not confirmed in the house search, a lot of illegal publications were found. These included an issue of “Gazeta Młodzieży Polskiej”, the student union’s publications for women and an émigré journal “Wiadomości Polskie” (Polish News). If the authorities previously had not had definite information about the student union, they obtained it now. Despite this, they did not proceed to investigate or repress it. Majewski was the sole victim. He was arrested and sent to St. Petersburg, where it was ascertained that he was not connected with any other cases under investigation. In March 1863 Majewski was sent back to Moscow and released. His final sentence was passed only in December 1864: two months in prison and two years under police surveillance. He continued his activities in the national movement, and he was deported to Siberia for them in 1866.<sup>157</sup>

The student union continually received donations from the nobility in various districts. Despite this, its activists were greatly worried that they had the reputation of being “socialists and atheists”. The need to counter these false rumours was discussed in the union. On the Wilno regional organization’s initiative, a letter was sent to the Lithuanian nobility, explaining the principles of the union, which were national and non-socialist:

Our motto and task is work, work not based on socialist utopias and demagogic delusions, but work which has as its basis the idea of the liberation of Christian civilisation and the spirit of the great past of our Fatherland.<sup>158</sup>

The letter described the patriotic work as a long-time project, pointing rather to peaceful moral and cultural activities than to an insurrection. It even completely denied the student union’s involvement in any clandestine subversive activities, which bordered on a lie. It denied responsibility for non-members, as they were outside the patriotic work.<sup>159</sup>

In the beginning of 1863, the membership of the student union reached its peak at 418. The Administrative Council held a meeting on 7 January, only three days before the outbreak of the insurrection in Warsaw. It handled simple routine

156 GARF f. 112, op. 2, ed. hr. 42, l. 2–4. Wróblewski’s report and proposal. Fiedosowa 1984:299–303. Commission’s report.

157 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1862g., ed. hr. 230, č. 75, l. 1–47, 56–57, 67–68, 70, 87. Report of arrest, confiscated material, Tučkov to Dolgorukov 30th July 1862, the investigating commission to Potapov 9th August, Major Zarubin to Potapov 13th August, Potapov to Tučkov 11th March 1863. Fiedosowa 115–116, 136–141, 211–214.

158 Fiedosowa 1984:333

159 Fiedosowa 1984:99–100, 307, 311, 315–319, 332–334.

affairs. The last document of the student union with a definite date is a list of 14 members who received money for tuition fees from 8 to 14 January 1863, the last after the beginning of the insurrection, which clearly had not been expected so soon. Fedosova has published an undated record of the Administrative Council, which probably derives from the time after the beginning of the insurrection. It was decided to leave the library in Moscow. Representatives were sent to Poland (*kraj*). Tytus Dalewski was one of them. He travelled to Wilno via St. Petersburg. Dalewski and the other representatives were most likely sent to receive instructions for further action from the KCN. During its final period, the union assisted members going to join the insurrection and arranged their departure.<sup>160</sup>

In Kiev, the year 1862 was marked by preparations for the insurrection. The situation was somewhat different from Moscow and St. Petersburg, since the region was to be the place of actual hostilities. The underground administration of all the Right-Bank Ukraine was constructed around a nucleus of students and recent graduates. The connection with the Warsaw conspiracies continued. After spending some time in Warsaw and abroad, Stefan Bobrowski returned secretly to Kiev in August as a representative of the KCN. In August the Triple Union reformed itself and became the Provincial Committee of Rus, which recognized the supreme authority of the KCN. The Committee of Rus consisted of former key activists of the Triple Union: Izydor Kopernicki, Antoni Chamiec, Aleksander Frankowski, Aleksander Jabłonowski in addition to a military specialist and the Chairman of the Committee, Colonel Edmund Różycki. Two radicals and Ukrainophiles, Antoni Juriewicz and Leon Syroczyński, from time to time replaced any full members who were not present. Kopernicki had come into contact with the Triple Union as an employee of the university; the others had already graduated. The influence of radicals and Ukrainophiles was somewhat weaker in the Committee than it had been in the Triple Union. According to Syroczyński, it was not yet thought that the insurrection was imminent. The relations between the Kievan committee and the KCN were finally defined by the agreement concluded in Warsaw on 7/19 December. It guaranteed an inner autonomy to the Provincial Committee. The Committee adopted the organizational structure of the KCN. It was specified that officials must always be nominated, not elected. The committees sent commissars to each other who had the full powers of committee members.<sup>161</sup>

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160 GARF f. 112, op. 112, ed. hr. 30, l. 10. Record of the Administrative Council. Ed. hr. 35, l. 21. Report of the aid granted to pay for tuition fees. Ed. hr. 39, l. 4–6. List of members. Fiedosowa 1984:124–125, 345. Snytko 1960:281 cites a statement by an unidentified treasurer of the union, according to whom the student union decided at the end of 1862 to depart in its entirety to Poland, except for the medical students. This is plausible, but it must have been a conditional decision depending on the outbreak of the insurrection.

161 Syroczyński 1884:14–15. Syroczyński 1914: 24–25, 35–36. Zbiór...1965: 186, 261. Insurrectionary commander Władysław Rudnicki's testimony. Beiersdorf 1969: 90–91. Kieniewicz 1983:297–299. Marahov 1981:140–143. Tabiś 1974:134–135. Various sources give somewhat a different list of the members of the Provincial Committee. I follow Rudnicki's evidence.

The Provincial Committee managed to form more or less strong organizations in each of the three provinces. It published its own organ “Walka” (Struggle). It was fairly evident that the chances of an insurrection succeeding were not very good. However, an uprising was deemed necessary in order to demonstrate the Polish presence in the region and the demand for pre-partition borders, as well as to create a diversion to help Polish troops in the Kingdom and Lithuania. As one student recalls:

Our section of the clandestine national government gave an order that everyone should obtain a weapon and be ready to depart when the call came. With a strange light-mindedness it was decided to sacrifice the whole university merely in order to demonstrate to Russia and Poland that Kiev and the Ukraine are a part of Poland.<sup>162</sup>

It was hardly light-mindedness, for the members of the Provincial Committee were ready to lay down their own lives. Rather, it was a form of political thinking in which even a glorious defeat was considered a means of bringing the final victory closer. In December, Różycki and Chamiec visited Warsaw and brought from there news that the insurrection was not planned to take place until the spring. The Provincial Committee made a decision to finish preparations by the end of February. At the end of the year, most Committee members departed to the countryside. After that the Ukrainophile Antoni Juriewicz became the actual leader of the Committee, which again adopted a slightly more “red” colouring.<sup>163</sup>

On the eve of the insurrection, there was relative calm in the university. Students no longer arranged mass demonstrations since they had a more important undertaking to prepare. The only students arrested in Kiev for political reasons were two Ukrainians: Jakov Lobodovskij and Erast Orlov, sons of priests from the Province of Kiev, who possessed Herzen’s works. They were punished with a short-term arrest. In April 1862, a Polish student, Konstany Kulikowski, was accused of having read out the Russian proclamation, “To the Young Generation”, in Gogolev, a small town on the Left Bank of the Dnieper, where he was temporarily working as a private teacher. In a house search, portraits of Herzen and Mierosławski were found. Kulikowski managed to escape to Constantinople. In August he applied for, and was granted, permission to return to Russia. His possible connections with the national conspiracy are not known. The Polish underground suffered losses only in the provinces, and those who were sentenced were not students.<sup>164</sup>

. . . . .  
162 Hendrychowski 1933:8:126.

163 Syroczyński 1914:36–37. Zbiór...1965:186–187. Beiersdorf 1969: 93–94. Marahov 1981:140–143. I follow Syroczyński and Rudnicki’s testimony. According to Marahov, in January 1863 the Provincial Committee was renamed “the Provisional Government in Ruś”, which consisted of Różycki, Kopernicki and Jabłonowski.

164 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1862g., ed. hr. 171, l. 2–3, 5–8. Copy of Vasilčikov’s letter to Valuev 24th March 1862, submission to Dolgorukov 14th May. OPDN 254–255, 268, 284–287. Imennaja...1969: 40–41. Kulikowski was from the Province of Minsk.

After the outbreak of the insurrection, a large number of Polish students applied for vacation passes to the Kingdom and the Western Provinces. To prevent student participation in the insurrection, Golovnin sent out a circular decreeing that Poles could only completely resign from the university, but not receive vacation passes. Wanting to depart, the students quitted their universities for good. Information about them was sent to the Third Section and to other universities so that they could not resume their studies anywhere else. By 8 March, the Third Section possessed the following information about the numbers of those who had quitted the universities:<sup>165</sup>

|                                |     |
|--------------------------------|-----|
| University of St. Petersburg   | 29  |
| St. Petersburg Medical Academy | 23  |
| University of Moscow           | 88  |
| St. Vladimir's University      | 67  |
| University of Dorpat           | 11  |
| Total                          | 219 |

On the scale of Polish student communities in Russia, this was a mass movement, which occurred even before the outbreak of hostilities in the Western Provinces.

Student participation in the insurrection falls beyond the scope of the present study. Only in Kiev did the insurrection have the character of a student action. At first the students planned to attack government positions in Kiev itself. Różycki disapproved of such a foolhardy plan and demanded that insurgent units be formed in the countryside. The Kievan students then decided to form their own unit, which would fight near Kiev. This happened on the night of 26–27 April, when about 550 insurgent troops consisting mainly of students, not all of them armed, departed from the town in a couple of units. On 1 May Russian troops attacked and completely routed them in the village of Wierchołewsk.<sup>166</sup>

The students had retained their ideas of social justice and reforms to benefit the peasantry. At the same time as the main Kievan troops, a propaganda unit of 21 persons led by Antoni Juriewicz departed from the town, mainly consisting of Ukrainophiles. They distributed the so-called “Golden Decree” (*Złota Hramota*) to the peasants, written in Ukrainian. It proclaimed the equality of all citizens regardless of social rank or religious adherence, granted electoral rights to the peasants at both the local and the national level, handed over to the peasants all their fields and pastures without any redemption fee, decreed complete freedom of religion and the right to use the local language in schools, courts and local administration. Each participant in the insurrection was promised land from state domains.<sup>167</sup>

165 GARF f. 109, 1 eksp., 1863g., ed. hr. 23, č. 8, l. 6, 37–38, 44, 53–55, 63, 66, 71, 78, 81. Lists of those students who had departed.

166 Beiersdorf 1969: 106–107.

167 Syroczyński 1914:119–120. The Golden Decree in Polish translation.

In the village of Solowijówka, the student propagandists were captured by peasants who had been armed by the government. In the incident, 12 students fell without putting up any resistance against the peasants. Such was the end of the great, noble and unrealistic hopes to unite democracy and Polish national liberation in the Right-Bank Ukraine.<sup>168</sup>

. . . . .  
168 Beiersdorf 1969: 105–106.

## ■ Conclusions

It is time to summarize the answers to the questions posed at the beginning of this study. The number of Poles at Russian universities increased constantly from the 1830s to the beginning of the 1860s. In 1836 there were 213 students from the Western Provinces and the Kingdom of Poland at the Universities of Kiev, Moscow and St. Petersburg; 174 of them were Roman Catholics. In 1844–45 there were 641, of whom 460 were Roman Catholics. At the same time, the University of Dorpat had according to somewhat different criteria 82 students from regions inhabited by Poles. The restriction on the number of students decreed in 1849 did not stop the growth of the Polish student body, for the three Russian universities had 682 students from the area in 1851–1853, of whom 493 were Roman Catholics. In 1856–57 there were already 1,065 students, of whom 795 were Roman Catholics. According to the incomplete information sent from the Ministry of Public Enlightenment to the Third Section in September 1861, there were 1,541 students from the Western Provinces and the Kingdom of Poland, 1,172 of which were Roman Catholics. As these numbers do not include the St. Petersburg Medical Academy, and since the information for St. Vladimir's University clearly underestimates the number of Poles, there were perhaps 200–300 persons more.

The government inherited quite an extensive network of schools from the Polish administration of the Wilno School District before 1830. Since the Western Provinces, even after the Russification of schools in the 1830s, had relatively many schools compared to Russia proper, the high proportion of Polish students at the universities is not surprising. The overwhelming majority of Poles came from the Western Provinces. This is natural since the government did not curtail secondary education in the Western Provinces as much as it did in the Kingdom of Poland. As a result, the Western Provinces had a much more numerous young Polish intelligentsia than had the Kingdom of Poland, although the proportion of Poles from all the population was much smaller in the Western Provinces than in the Kingdom of Poland. It is understandable why the youth of the Western Provinces played such a prominent role in the January Insurrection of 1863.

The majority of students belonged to the nobility. Their percentage of the total remained in the long run fairly stable, as is evident in the following table:

|         |              |
|---------|--------------|
| 1836    | 85.1% nobles |
| 1844–45 | 71.6%        |
| 1851–53 | 81.3%        |
| 1856–57 | 74.4%        |

The growth in the absolute number of students from the area meant that the absolute number of non-noble students also grew. The number of non-noble students was much more significant in 1856–57 than it was in 1836. The development of the proportion of non-Catholics from the Western Provinces and the Kingdom of Poland at the Universities of St. Petersburg, Moscow and Kiev was as follows:

|         |       |
|---------|-------|
| 1836    | 18.3% |
| 1844–45 | 28.2% |
| 1851–53 | 27.7% |
| 1856–57 | 24.4% |

In 1861, the overall proportion of non-nobles and non-Catholics probably grew, as such a change occurred in both Moscow and Kiev. However, there is no uniform and reliable information for all the three universities.

There were two main criteria by which nationality was defined among the students: religious confession and Poland's pre-partition borders. Cultivation of the Polish language and attachment to national traditions were also important. As a rule, a non-Catholic could be accepted as a Pole if he behaved appropriately. In Moscow in the beginning of the 1860s, the idea was also put forward that participation in a patriotic student society was a criterion of Polish identity. During the reign of Nicholas, the students did not consciously consider the criteria of nationality to any great extent. The situation changed in the latter half of the 1850s and in the beginning of the 1860s, when the implications of a nationality concept based on pre-partition borders were acknowledged much more clearly than previously. Then it was emphasized that non-Catholics could also be Poles. There emerged a genuinely multi-ethnic concept of Polish nationality, which also included Rusins and Jews presumably on an equal footing with Polish-speaking Roman Catholics. The most remarkable expression of this tendency was Ukrainophilism in Kiev. It finally led to an inner division of the Ukrainophiles of Polish background, as some of them altogether abandoned the Polish national identity, while others combined it with the Ukrainian one. On the other hand, a considerable number of students continued to tie Roman Catholicism and Polish identity closely together. Usually when the non-ethnic concept of Polish nationality was expressed, it resembled an argument and was a result of conscious reflection, whereas the ethnic concept of nationality often appeared as a widespread and inexplicit basic assumption considered so normal that it did not need to be defended.

The national identity of the young intelligentsia of the Western Provinces was not settled or uniform. Even only among those of Polish origin, there were different groups whose ideas were developing in different directions. These groups were not clear-cut and they often overlapped each other. There were those who emphasized the unity of Polish culture in all the different parts of the pre-partition Poland and took for granted the leading role of the Poles in the area. Somewhat different was the outlook of those who emphasized the differences of the eastern areas of the former Polish Commonwealth from the Poland proper, but who nevertheless identified with the Polish language, and



Roman Catholic culture. "Odrodzenie", the organ of the Polish underground in the Ukraine, could criticize Poland proper for "western individualism" and at the same time defend the Polish claim to the Right-Bank Ukraine. The cultivation of such a provincial identity combined with ideas of the equality of all men led a small group of young Poles to Ukrainian, Lithuanian and, to a somewhat lesser extent, Belorussian folk culture. This could result in ethnic double identity and in the expression of political demands in defence of non-Polish ethnic groups within the Polish national movement. This was the position of "Poles-Rusins" of the University of Kiev. The most radical solution was to abandon altogether the Polish national identity in favour of the Ukrainian or Lithuanian one. The increase in power of the Ukrainian and Lithuanian national movements in the 1850s offered an alternative identity for those students of non-Polish ethnic origin, who a few decades before could have assimilated in Polish culture. However, most of the Lithuanians did not break away from Polish student communities, but rather formed their own groups within them.

The acknowledged aim of student activism was the restoration of Polish independence, but how this task was perceived varied with time. The dominant ideology among the students was Polish Messianism, as expressed by Mickiewicz and Krasieński, which affirmed that the restoration was at hand in the immediate future, if only appropriate action was taken. Apart from Messianism, Polish Hegelianism as represented by Trentowski, Cieszkowski and Libelt was also popular among students. Even the conspiracies aiming at insurrection in practice more often concentrated on studies of Polish history and literature. In addition to their contribution to the January Insurrection, the main student achievement was the organization of a system of study, which complemented the skills received in official education, and challenged the values that the government wanted to transmit to the youth at the universities. A very significant proportion of Polish students underwent these clandestine studies, in the late 1850s and early 1860s probably the majority, as the information about the Moscow Polish student library indicates. Some of the students even considered these studies more important than the actual forming of conspiracies aiming at insurrection. Apart from the clandestine studies, other important fields of activity were mutual financial assistance, the settling of disputes between students, and the disciplining of those fellow students guilty of transgressions.

The students were inspired by the tradition of the Polish national movement. It was studied beginning from the monarchist reformers and the Confederation of Bar in the second half of the 18th century up to the contemporary martyrs of the conspiracy. The need for self-sacrifice in the national cause was a fairly widespread idea among the students. Another important aspect of the students' concept of Polish history was the utopian idea of pre-partition Poland as a land in which freedom and equality had prevailed. The Polish student activities and organizations quite often followed the model established by the Filomat and Filaret societies in Wilno in the late 1810s and early 1820s. Although these societies had in part been inspired by the example of German student organizations, direct German influence was rather weak in the period 1832–1863. The model of German student organizations was offered by the regional

unions at the University of Dorpat. As they were rather non-political, the students sometimes interpreted German student activism as having only a social function and contrasted it with Polish, political and national activism, which was more popular.

There were three peaks of Polish student activism. The first was inspired by the Union of the Polish People and its agent, Szymon Konarski, in 1836–1840. The union aimed for political democracy combined with land reform. The second peak was the reaction to the Cracow Insurrection and the Galician massacre in 1846, and the Springtime of Nations in 1848. Some of the student activities that had commenced in the 1840s continued uninterrupted up to the 1860s: the organization of mutual assistance and national studies. In the 1850s student unions were formed at each university, and they attracted mass participation. The leaders of the unions aimed at insurrection and became involved in the clandestine national movement. Even at this time, the most popular political practical programme was democracy combined with land reform. Ideas of the class struggle and socialism did occur, but the idea of national solidarity between social classes was more popular. It was underlined that the nobility should itself initiate the land reform in order to regain Poland's independence. In the late 1850s and early 1860s, Russian socialist influence combined with philosophical materialism also gained ground, but it remained a minority interest.

In the value hierarchy of the students, national liberation was certainly more important than revolutionary changes throughout Europe. Even those students who wanted revolutionary changes in Polish society argued that they were useful in order to gain independence, not vice versa. The fact that the students sometimes saw the struggle for national liberation in the context of a pan-European republican and democratic movement must not obscure another fact that their movement was mainly a national one. This is clearly evident in the attitude of Polish students towards their fellow Russian students. As a rule, Poles isolated themselves from Russians. The mainstream of the Polish community considered Poles culturally superior to Russians. There were various interpretations of the Polish-Russian political conflict. Most often it was seen as an antagonism of two mutually incompatible civilizations. According to this kind of thought, the national struggle could be seen as a continuation of the Polish-Russian wars dating back to the 16th century. In its most extreme form, it denied the Slavonic character of the Great Russian nation. Somewhat less frequent, though not at all rare, was the interpretation of the national struggle as part of a general movement towards freedom. This movement could include Russia as one of the European nations and/or as a Slavonic nation. The isolation from their Russian fellows was not complete. During Nicholas' reign, there were Polish supporters of closer Polish-Russian relations who were most often conservatives or persons indifferent towards politics. In the late 1850s and early 1860s, the situation changed and Polish-Russian social intercourse was sometimes based on commonly held radical political opinions. From this period date the first incidents of Polish students committing political crimes outside the context of the Polish national movement and within that of Russian radicalism. Polish

organizations generally abstained from co-operation with the Russians, although the student demonstrations of the autumn of 1861 were a remarkable exception. The influence of Polish students on the events was decisive especially in St. Petersburg, as 47.4% of those arrested came from the Western Provinces and the Kingdom of Poland. In Moscow, too, Polish-Russian co-operation occurred during the demonstrations. In Kiev the demonstrations had a Polish national character, which meant that Russian and Ukrainian students were not eager to join them. In Moscow and St. Petersburg, Russian students were usually more eager for co-operation and mixing socially with Poles than were the Poles with them.

The policy of the Russian government went through various changes. At first the Poles were looked on with suspicion and preferably educated separately from Russians, but in Russian institutes of higher learning: St. Vladimir's University in Kiev and Wilno Medical Academy. After Konarski's conspiracies, the government, and especially the Minister of Public Enlightenment, Sergej Uvarov, took a favourable attitude towards Polish youth studying at the universities, wishing to create a new, more Russian-oriented Polish intelligentsia. In particular, studying by young men from the Kingdom of Poland was promoted. At the end of the 1840s this policy was abandoned. The government gave up hope of Russifying the Polish students. As a result, the grants to Poles were drastically reduced. In the early 1850s in a general liberal atmosphere, the grants were again increased and the Medical Academy opened in Warsaw. The educational authorities did not much pay attention to Polish students in the late 1850s. When the university crises emerged in connection with the emergencies in Russian Poland in 1861, overt discrimination against the Poles was discussed, but no measures were taken before the outbreak of the January Insurrection. The government hesitated to exclude Poles from higher education since it chronically lacked educated civil servants, and because barriers in official education would have facilitated the growth of a clandestine private education not supervised by the government. Moreover, the national and religious discrimination was contrary to the traditions of Russian higher education. There were only previous examples of social discrimination on the basis of social rank.

The government reacted at various times in very different ways to Polish political student activism. While in the 1830s students were sentenced to serve as soldiers in the army just for having read forbidden literature, the reaction to such activities became much softer in the 1840s. The most remarkable period in this sense was the beginning of the 1860s, when the authorities constantly received information about Polish student unions but did not carry out any repression or even official investigation, being satisfied with having a couple of spies among the students. Probably they knew that repression would not help and nationalist ideas would in any case spread among the students. Not many Poles would become Russified or even loyal to the government at the universities. This was a tacit recognition of defeat. The setting of 10–20% quotas for Polish students in 1865, depending on the university, was the final proof that the government had abandoned its hopes of Russifying the Poles through higher education.

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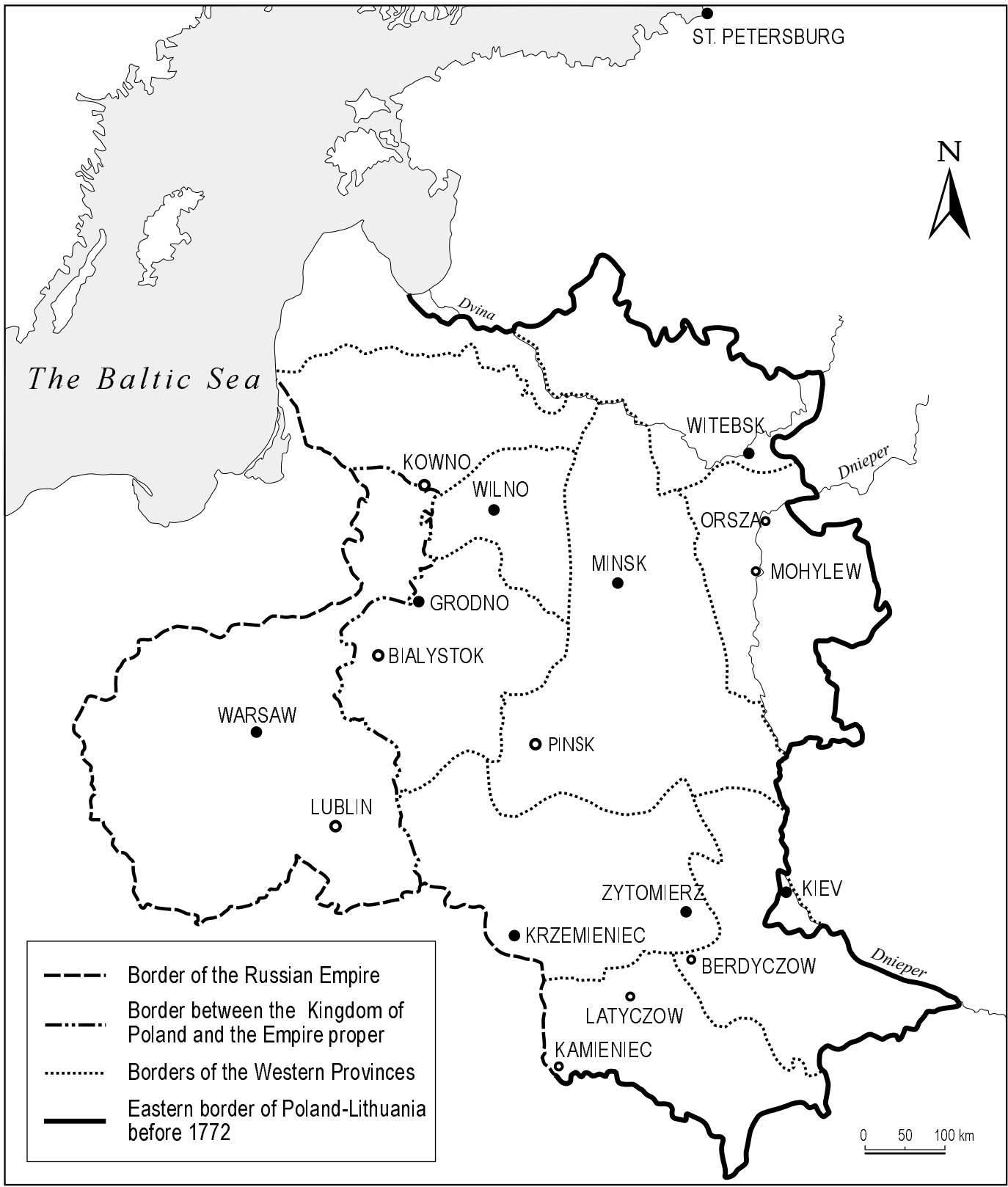
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ST. PETERSBURG



*The Baltic Sea*

*Dvina*

*Dnieper*

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KOWNO

WILNO

ORSZA

MOHYLEW

MINSK

GRODNO

BIALYSTOK

WARSAW

PINSK

LUBLIN

ZYTOMIERZ

KIEV

KRZEMIENIEC

BERDYCZOW

*Dnieper*

LATYCZOW

KAMIENIEC

- Border of the Russian Empire
- · - · - Border between the Kingdom of Poland and the Empire proper
- Borders of the Western Provinces
- Eastern border of Poland-Lithuania before 1772

0 50 100 km