JOSEPHINE MARY CZERAPOWICZ
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KINGDOM OF POLAND DURING THE PASKEVICH VICEROYALTY, 1832-1856: EROSION OF AUTONOMY

Dissertation for the Degree of Ph. D.
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JOSEPHINE MARY CZERAPOWICZ
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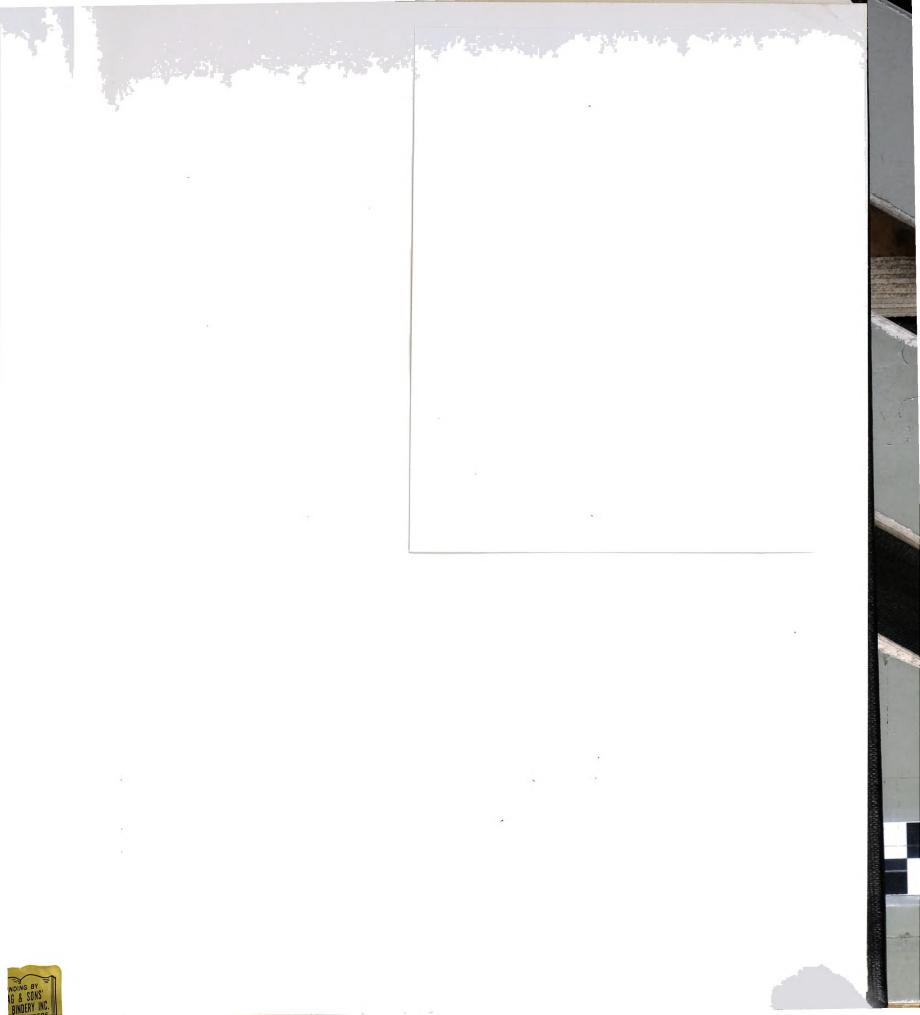

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ABSTRACT

KINGDOM OF POLAND DURING THE PASKEVICH VICEROYALTY, 1832-1856: EROSION OF AUTONOMY

By

Josephine Mary Czerapowicz

This dissertation is concerned with the question of why and to what degree the autonomy granted to the Kingdom of Poland in 1815 by the Congress of Vienna was eroded. The major part of the study is concerned with attempts to alter these institutions during the Paskevich Viceroyalty, especially in the areas the Russian government regarded as sensitive to maintaining peace and stability in the Kingdom.

The approach used is to provide a brief description of the central administrative institutions as set forth in the Constitution of 1815, followed by consideration of the impact of the 1830 Polish Uprising and the consequent Organic Statute of 1832 upon these institutions. A comparison is made of the central administrative situation in the Kingdom in 1815, 1832, and 1856; and an analysis of the factors which contributed to and/or delayed complete incorporation of the Kingdom's institutions into those of the Russian Empire is presented.

This work has relied to a great extent on letters exchanged between Tsar Nicholas and his Viceroy for the Kingdom from 1832 to 1856, Ivan Fedorovich Paskevich, as well as the laws of the Kingdom contained in the official publication, Dziennik Praw. In addition, the memoirs of eyewitnesses to

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events as they unfolded during this period provided valuable points of reference not contained in official documents or archives of government officials.

While the Polish Uprising of 1830 jeopardized the administrative autonomy of the Kingdom of Poland, it did not destroy it. Fear of possible international repercussions in the event of a unilateral abrogation of the stipulations of the Congress of Vienna Treaty establishing the Kingdom of Poland helped restrain the Russian Tsar from immediately incorporating the Kingdom into the Russian Empire. As this factor began to dim, another restraining factor emerged, that of Viceroy Paskevich himself, who strongly believed that regional problems were best handled regionally and who had a personal interest in preventing encroachment from the central institutions and officials of the Empire on the scope of his authority within the Kingdom. Paskevich's special relationship with Tsar Nicholas I, coupled with his ability to maintain political stability within the Kingdom, enabled him to successfully resist pressures for complete administrative incorporation of the Kingdom into the Russian Empire.

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KINGDOM OF POLAND DURING THE PASKEVICH VICEROYALTY, 1832-1856: EROSION OF AUTONOMY

By

Josephine Mary Czerapowicz

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
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in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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Department of History

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LIST OF TABLES . .

LIST OF FIGURES .

INTRODUCTION . . .

CHAPTER I . . . .

Establishment

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CHAPTER II . . .

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES iv

LIST OF FIGURES v

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER I 4

Establishment of the Kingdom of Poland 5
Head of Government 8
State Council 13
Administrative Council 14
Council of Ministers 15
Minister, Secretary of State 18
Board of Control 19
Civil Service 20
Causes of the 1830 Uprising 21

CHAPTER II 27

Temporary Government 29
Organic Statute 31
Head of Government 36
State Council 36
Department for the Affairs of the Kingdom of Poland 40
Administrative Council 42
Government Commissions 47
1. Commission of Internal and Religious Affairs and Education 48
2. Commission of Justice 50
3. Commission of Finance and Treasury 52
Minister, Secretary of State 52
Board of Control 53

Civil Service
Statute's Impac
CHAPTER III . . .
Émigrés and Adm
in the Kingdo
Promulgation o
Appointment of
CHAPTER IV . . . .
Educational Re
Classification
Reorganization
Formation of t
New School Reg
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Effectiveness
CHAPTER V . . .
Religious Pol
Protestant Ch
Jewish Religi
Russian Ortho
Uniate Church
Roman Catholi
CHAPTER VI . . .
Warsaw Depart
Monetary Refo
Re-Division o
Communication
Customs, Po
Role of the
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CONCLUSIONS . .
BIBLIOGRAPHY . .

Civil Service 54
Statute's Impact on Kingdom Autonomy 55

CHAPTER III 56

Émigrés and Administrative Developments in the Kingdom of Poland 56
Promulgation of the Organic Statute 65
Appointment of Directors 70

CHAPTER IV 82

Educational Reforms 82
Classification of Teachers 94
Reorganization of Public Education 95
Formation of the Warsaw Educational District . . . 109
New School Regulations 118
Public Education Council Reorganized 121
Effectiveness of Educational Reforms 125

CHAPTER V 131

Religious Policies 131
Protestant Church 135
Jewish Religion 137
Russian Orthodox Church 144
Uniate Church 148
Roman Catholic Church 158

CHAPTER VI 185

Warsaw Departments of the Governing Senate 186
Monetary Reforms 191
Re-Division of the Kingdom 192
Communications, Weights and Measures, Customs, Postal Service Reforms 194
Role of the Viceroy in the Incorporation Process 196

CONCLUSIONS 203

BIBLIOGRAPHY 208

TABLE

1. Growth of P
Pupils, 1

2. Type and N
Attendan

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE

1. Growth of Elementary Schools and Pupils, 1833-1840 101

2. Type and Number of Schools and Attendance as of 1851 129

FIGURE

1. Map, Kingdo
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LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE

1. Map, Kingdom of Poland (Congress of Vienna) 7

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INTRODUCTION

The state of Poland, whose origins can be traced back to the tenth century, disappeared from the map of Europe in the latter part of the eighteenth century in consequence of partitions carried out by Russia, Prussia, and Austria. The Polish state re-emerged briefly as the Duchy of Warsaw during the Napoleonic Wars, but with the defeat of Napoleon its existence was again called into question. With the agreement of the victorious Great Powers, the Congress of Vienna recreated the Polish state as the Kingdom of Poland. This Kingdom was to be ruled by the Russian Tsar who assumed the title, "King of Poland." However, the Kingdom of Poland was assured a separate status within the Russian Empire based on a Constitution to be granted by the Russian Tsar. The history of the Kingdom of Poland was in great part a history of its struggle to retain this separate status against Russian efforts to submerge the Kingdom completely into the Russian Empire. The first major struggle occurred during the reign of Nicholas I following the Polish Uprising of 1830, the period in which Ivan Fedorovich Paskevich ruled as Viceroy of the Kingdom of Poland, 1832-1856.

At issue throughout this period was the extent to which the Russian Tsar could alter the decision of the

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Congress of Vienna granting the Kingdom a separate state organization. This was not an easy issue for the Tsar to resolve. At stake was not only the possibility of Great Power intervention if attempts were made to alter an international agreement unilaterally, but also the dangers posed to Russian controls in allowing the status quo to persist. As long as the prospect of complete independence from Russia could be held before the residents of the Kingdom, insurgent activities, keeping the country in a state of upheaval, would be encouraged. In the Tsar's view, the best solution would have been total assimilation of the Kingdom into the Empire. However, the possibility of international intervention dictated that efforts to assimilate the separate administrative institutions should proceed gradually, insofar as foreign pressures and domestic influences allowed. The strong convictions of Paskevich on this matter also affected developments because of his considerable influence on policy decisions, an influence enhanced by the Tsar's high regard and esteem for him.

The purpose of this dissertation is to study the attempts by Russia to erode the separate status of the Kingdom of Poland by altering the Kingdom's central administrative institutions, with major emphasis on the period of the Viceroyalty of Ivan Fedorovich Paskevich. The approach will be first to describe briefly these central institutions as set forth in the Constitution of 1815. The study will then consider the impact of the 1830 Polish Uprising and the

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consequent Organic Statute of 1832 on the institutions. Finally, the study will concern itself with the attempts made during the Paskevich Viceroyalty to alter these institutions, especially in the areas the Russian government regarded as sensitive to maintaining peace and stability in the Kingdom. The study will conclude with an appraisal of the effectiveness and success of these efforts to incorporate the central administrative institutions of the Kingdom into those of the Empire.

The most valuable sources for the investigation of these questions were the letters exchanged between Tsar Nicholas and Paskevich. These letters, as well as other materials drawn from the Archives of Paskevich, compiled by Prince Shcherbatov in his multi-volume biography of Prince Paskevich, provide valuable insights into the motivations and actions of the Tsar and his Viceroy, both of whom were so important for administrative developments in the Kingdom. Other important sources for the study of this period are the memoirs of eyewitnesses to the events as they unfolded, such as Fryderyk Skarbek and Kajetan Koźmian, which supply points of reference not to be found in official documents or in the archives of government officials, and the laws of the Kingdom contained in the official publication, Dziennik Praw.

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CHAPTER I

The central institutions of administration in the Kingdom of Poland had their origin in the Duchy of Warsaw, brought into existence by Napoleon in answer to the hopes and aspirations of many Poles who fought and died in Napoleon's armies throughout Europe and as far away as the West Indies. This Duchy of Warsaw, created in 1807 from lands taken by the Prussians during the first and second partitions, had an area of 1,850 square miles and a population of 2,500,000. It was enlarged in 1809, following a victorious campaign against Austria, by an additional area of some 920 square miles with a population of 1,500,000, which had been acquired by Austria during the first partition of Poland.[1]

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[1] Tomasz Siemiradzki, Porozbiorowe Dzieje Polski (Chicago, Illinois: Drukiem Zgody, organu Związku Nar. Pol., 1903), pp. 118-126, 130-135. See also: Marceli Handelsman, Studja Historyczne: Z Dziejów Księstwa Warszawskiego (Warszawa: Nakładem Księgarni E. Wende i Spółka; Lwów: H. Altenberg, 1911), pp. 107-170; Marceli Handelsman, Konstytucje Polskie: 1791-1921, Wydanie Czwarte (Warszawa: Nakładem Polska Składnica Pomocy Szkolnych, 1926), pp. 12-15; Szymon Askenazy, Sto lat zarządu w Królestwie Polskiem: 1800-1900 (Lwów: Nakładem Księgarni H. Altenberga, 1903), pp. 17-18, 23-25; Ambroise Jobert, Histoire de la Pologne (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1953), pp. 46-49; Stefan Kieniewicz (ed.), Historia Polski: 1795-1864 (Warszawa: Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1961), pp. 16-17, 25-27, 30; Stanislaw Kutrzeba, Historya Ustroju Polski w Zarysie, III (Lwów: Nakładem Księgarni Polskiej; Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1920, pp. 37-38; Marceli Handelsman, Pomiędzy Prusami a Rosja: Studja Historyczne (Warszawa: E. Wende i S-ka, 1922), pp. 8-9; Władysław

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The defeat of Napoleon signalled the end of the Duchy of Warsaw. However, a new Polish state was created by the Congress of Vienna in 1815 which revived, in a modified form, the Duchy's form of government and structure of administration. This study will identify the various central administrative institutions, outline their functions prior to 1830, and then consider the fate of these institutions in the period following the 1830 uprising when the Organic Statute of 1832 replaced the Constitution of 1815. Alterations in these institutions reflected the continuously changing relationship between the Kingdom of Poland and the Russian Empire during this period.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF POLAND

The role of Tsar Alexander I in the defeat of Napoleon influenced the manner in which the Polish Question was resolved by the Congress of Vienna. While there was some discussion as to whether an independent Poland should be established, the outcome of the debate was predictable since Alexander's position was that "the Polish Question could end only in one way since he was in possession."[2] In May, 1815,

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Smoleński, Dzieje Narodu Polskiego, Wydanie Siódme (Warszawa, Kraków, Lublin, Łódź, Poznań: Nakład Gebethnera i Wolffa, 1921), pp. 428, 436.

[2]Henry A. Kissinger, A World Restored: Europe After Napoleon (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1964), pp. 152-154. See also: Harold Nicolson, The Congress of Vienna: A Study in Allied Unity: 1812-1822 (New York: The Viking Press, 1961), pp. 169-179; Alexander Kornilov, Modern Russian History: From the Age of Catherine The Great to the End of the Nineteenth Century, trans. Alexander S. Kaun (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948), pp. 159-162; Feliks Ochimowski, Prawo

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[4] Z. Lensk
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Polskie..., pp.
S. P., Barbara
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Alexander issued a proclamation to the Polish people from Vienna which stated in part:

> People of Poland, new ties are going to unite you to a generous people, who, because of former connections, courage worthy of your own, and the common title of Slav nationality, is disposed to receive you in a brotherhood, which will be dear and useful to both peoples. A wise constitution and an unchangeable union will bind you to the destiny of a great monarchy, too widespread to have need of expansion, and whose government will never have any other rules of policy than an impartial justice and generous ideas. Henceforward your patriotism, lighted by experience and moved by gratitude, will find in national institutions a motive power and a goal capable of occupying all its faculties.[3]

The Kingdom of Poland which came into being was made up of approximately three-fourths of the former Duchy of Warsaw (see map, page 7) and was united to the Russian Empire through a Constitution as well as through the person of the Tsar and his successors.[4]

The formal proclamation of the establishment of the Kingdom of Poland was made in Warsaw on June 20, 1815. The Constitution under which this Kingdom was to be ruled was worked out in the months that followed. The Constitution was completed in November, 1815. Its seven chapters and

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Administracyjne (Warszawa: Nakładem Księgarni F. Hoesicka, 1919), pp. 202-203.

[3]Quoted in Guglielmo Ferrero, The Reconstruction of Europe: Talleyrand and the Congress of Vienna: 1814-1815, trans. Theodore R. Jaeckel (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1941), pp. 312-313.

[4]Z. Lenskii, "Polsha v pervoi polovine XIX veka," Istoriia Rossii v XIX veke, I (S. Peterburg: A. i I. Granat, 1907), 292-293. See also: Handelsman, Konstytucje Polskie..., pp. 15-16; Kutrzeba, Historya Ustroju Polski..., p. 77; Barbara Jelavich, A Century of Russian Foreign Policy: 1814-1914 (Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1964), pp. 37-38.

Figure 1. Map

[a]Source:
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Figure 1. Map, Kingdom of Poland (Congress of Vienna)[a]

[a]Source: Polish Encyclopaedia, Vol. III: Economic Life of Poland (Geneva: ATAR Ltd., 1922), following p. 583.

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165 articles guaranteed the Polish people "full independence and a separate political structure." However, the Preamble to the Constitution clearly indicated that the Constitution was granted as a favor by the Russian Tsar and was not to be regarded as a right of the people. The "full independence" did not extend to foreign policy, which was to remain in Russian hands, nor to the selection of rulers, which was restricted to the House of Romanov.[5]

HEAD OF GOVERNMENT

The 1815 Constitution gave great powers to the King, who possessed the fullness of executive and administrative authority.[6] Article V of the Constitution required that the King name a viceroy to govern in his name during his absence from the Kingdom. The appointment of a viceroy was to be made in a public act in which the nature and scope of his authority were to be outlined. If the King did not choose an Imperial Russian prince as viceroy, he was then obliged to select a Pole or a person to whom he had granted citizenship rights.[7]

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[5]Nicolson, The Congress of Vienna..., p. 179. See also: Siemiradzki, Porozbiorowe Dzieje..., pp. 171-172; Handelsman, Konstytucje Polskie..., pp. 15-18; Askenazy, Sto lat zarządu..., pp. 30-31.

[6]These included the right to command the army and appoint all generals and officers, as well as to choose all ecclesiastical, civil, and judicial officials. The monarch also had the power to grant pardons, distribute honorary titles, confer nobility, and bestow citizenship rights. Poland, Ustawa Konstytucyjna/Charte Constitutionnelle (1815) (Warszawa: W Drukarni Rządowej, 1815), Arts. XXXV-XLIV, XLVI.

[7]Ibid., Arts. V-VII. Whenever the monarch was present in the country the viceroy's authority was suspended. During

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The powers belonging to the viceroy were detailed in an Imperial Announcement made on April 17/29, 1818, and included the obligation to maintain public order and safety. In the event these were threatened, the viceroy had the right to request the assistance of the army. The viceroy was also granted authority to nominate and dismiss all officials except those whose appointment was reserved to the King or who had been appointed for life. This April Manifesto also gave the viceroy power to issue administrative regulations which was circumscribed by certain formalities. The proposed regulation was first to be communicated to the Government Commissions directly affected and only then brought before the Administrative Council for discussion. When the proposed regulation affected all administrative officials it was to be introduced into the State Council for consideration.[8]

The choice of viceroy, governing for the King in his absence, was obviously an important one. The King of Poland being the Russian Tsar, his absence would be the rule, and his presence a rarity. This placed the practical rule of

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this time the King could either consult with ministers on an individual basis or summon the Administrative Council into session. Ibid., Art. LXXI.

[8] Antoni Okolski, Wykład Prawa Administracyjnego oraz Prawa Administracyjnego obowiązującego w Królestwie Polskiem, I (Warszawa: Staraniem i Nakładem Redakcyi Biblioteki Umiejętności Prawnych, 1880), pp. 64-65. Where unanimity of decision was lacking, the approval of the monarch was required. This held true if only the viceroy disagreed with the decision. The King's ruling was final. Because ministers were responsible for implementing regulations, their signatures were required, in addition to that of the viceroy, on regulations pertaining to their specific sections. Ibid., pp. 65-66.

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the Kingdom directly in the hands of the viceroy. Not only could his personal relationship with the Tsar affect the latter's Kingdom policies, but his attitudes towards the Kingdom-Russian relationship could also influence the way the orders of the distant Tsar were interpreted and applied in the Kingdom.

It was generally believed that Adam Czartoryski, a close personal friend of the Tsar for many years, would be named Viceroy of the Kingdom of Poland. Instead, General Józef Zajączek, participant in the Kosciuszko Uprising of 1793 and an "enthusiastic Napoleonist," was nominated to the post, arousing much speculation and controversy.[9] It seems probable that Zajączek was chosen instead of Czartoryski in part because he was considered more malleable.[10] Certainly Alexander's appointment of his brother, Constantine, as Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Army and Senator Nikolai Novosiltsev as Imperial Commissioner, attached to the Administrative Council of the Kingdom of

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[9] Fryderyk Skarbek, Pamiętniki Fryderyka Hrabiego Skarbka (Poznań: Nakładem J. K. Zupańskiego, 1878), p. 61. See also: Lenskii, Istoriia Rossii v XIX veke, I, 289-293. For General Zajączek's education and earlier military and political activities, see Jadwiga Nadzieja, General Józef Zajączek: Od Kamieńca do Pragi: 1752-1795 (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1964).

[10] Czartoryski's Memoirs present valuable insights into the thinking of Alexander and Czartoryski regarding the reconstitution of an independent Polish State. Adam Gielgud (ed.), Memoirs of Prince Adam Czartoryski and His Correspondence with Alexander I. With Documents Relative to the Prince's Negotiations with Pitt, Fox, and Brougham, and an Account of His Conversations with Lord Palmerston and other English Statesmen in London in 1832, II (London: Remington & Co., 1888), pp. 165-170, 190-221.

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Poland,[11] could be viewed as indications of the diminished role the Viceroy would play in the administration of the country, and the emphasis on a restrictive view of Polish autonomy. The Grand Duke himself stated that he was "invested in all undertakings with full powers, dictatorial and unbounded, not limited to the Kingdom of Poland but extending to the Western Provinces of the Empire."[12] Novosiltsev, an old personal associate of the Tsar, was known to oppose Czartoryski's advocacy of a genuinely reconstituted Poland, and particularly the addition to the Kingdom of Poland of the Western Provinces of the Russian Empire.[13]

Kajetan Koźmian, who held various positions in the administration during this period, presents a different point of view regarding the selection of General Zajączek as Viceroy. Koźmian points out that the choice fell upon General Zajączek because he was "acceptable to both the Grand

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[11] Lenskii, Istoriia Rossii v XIX veke, I, 294.

[12] A. A. Sidorov, Russkie i Russkaia Zhizn v Varshave (1815-1895): Istoricheskii Ocherk (Varshava: 1899), p. 31. The Western Provinces were territories acquired by Russia during the partitions of Poland and it was the hope of many Poles that Alexander would reunite these lands to the Kingdom of Poland, thus forming a base for the eventual restoration of the Polish State within its 1772 boundaries.

[13] Novosiltsev and Czartoryski were members in Alexander's unofficial "Secret Committee." The chief bond uniting the members of this Committee, which also included Pavel Stroganov and V. P. Kochubey, was their liberal outlook which they hoped to implement in some fashion in Russia. However, with the passage of time differences began to develop in the outlook of Czartoryski and the other members of the Committee on regional affairs and internal politics which eventually led Novosiltsev "to reject the autonomous and constitutional structure for the Polish Region" which Alexander was promising. Sidorov, Russkie i Russkaia Zhizn..., pp. 43-46.

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Duke and to democratic elements in Polish society who were ill-disposed towards the aristocracy and its influence in politics."[14] General Zajączek had fought for Poland under Kosciuszko and under Napoleon. In his last battle against the Russians in 1812 he sustained a serious wound which resulted in the amputation of one leg. His dedication and service were lauded by many Poles.[15]

To the foreign observer, therefore, who might be skeptical regarding the degree of control Russia would exercise in this internationally-created Kingdom, the selection of General Zajączek could be regarded as a favorable indication of the state's independent posture. At the same time, aware of Czartoryski's hopes and aspirations, the Grand Duke and Novosiltsev could be persuaded that the man selected would be satisfied with the territorial arrangement as it existed and fulfill his functions as viceroy faithfully and honorably.

As long as Zajączek lived all civil matters issued from him and not the Grand Duke. Following his death in 1826, the Grand Duke, while not accepting the title of Viceroy, assumed direct responsibility for civil administration in the Kingdom.[16] Theoretically, the viceroy's powers passed

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[14]Kajetan Koźmian, Pamiętniki Kajetana Koźmiana obejmujące wspomnienia od roku 1815, III (Kraków: W Drukarni "Czasu" W. Kirchmayera, 1865), p. 125.

[15]Ibid. See also Siemiradzki, Porozbiorowe Dzieje..., p. 151.

[16]Sidorov, Russkie i Russkaia Zhizn..., p. 31.

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[17] Okolski,

[18] Poland, L
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[19] Okolski,
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to the Administrative Council as set forth in the decision of July 31/August 12, 1826.[17]

STATE COUNCIL

In the Duchy of Warsaw the Head of Government was assisted by a State Council, made up of ministers and officials who were entrusted with drawing up, discussing, and approving projects of administrative laws and regulations. The State Council also resolved disputes within administrative bodies and between administrative and judicial authorities. When required, the State Council made the decision regarding binding government officials over for trial.[18]

The organization and functioning of this body were outlined in a Decree issued September 19, 1810. The State Council was divided, after the French model, into four sections: 1) Justice; 2) War; 3) Internal Affairs and Religious Rites; and 4) Finance. Article 3 provided that each section have three councillors and one official. The ministers did not belong to any section permanently but sat in the one in which they introduced a project.[19]

An important change took place with regard to this institution in 1815 and 1816. Provisions in the Constitution and the Organizational Statute called for the formation

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[17] Okolski, Wykład Prawa Administracyjnego..., p. 66.

[18] Poland, Ustawa Konstytucyjna Księstwa Warszawskiego z Dn. 22 Lipca 1807 R., Arts. 14-17, in Handelsman, Konstytucje Polskie..., pp. 63-74.

[19] Okolski, Wykład Prawa Administracyjnego..., pp. 81-82.

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[21] Poland, Ust
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[22] Ibid., Arts

of an Administrative Council within the larger body of the State Council. The State Council's purpose now became largely advisory; it considered legislative projects and regulations insofar as the ruler or the viceroy determined that it should.[20] The State Council continued to act as arbitrator in contested administrative jurisdictional disputes and bound over for trial government officials who were charged with committing offenses in the exercise of their office.[21]

The State Council could be called into session by either the ruler or the viceroy or at the request of a minister. While its resolutions were subject to the approval of the monarch or the viceroy, decisions relating to trials of civil servants and to disputes over administrative jurisdiction were to be implemented without delay.[22]

ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

An important addition to the central governmental structure in 1815 was the establishment of the Administrative Council. It fulfilled the need for an organ in which all administrative operations could be concentrated. It functioned alongside the viceroy and had the right to issue administrative regulations. Its membership included the viceroy, the ministers of the five governing sections, and

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[20] Kutrzeba, Historya Ustroju Polski..., pp. 94-95.

[21] Poland, Ustawa Konstytucyjna/Charte Constitutionnelle (1815), Art. LXXIII. The State Council was also entrusted with reporting any violations or abuses of the Constitutional Charter to the ruler. Ibid.

[22] Ibid., Arts. LXXIV, LXXV.

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[23] Ibid., Arts

[24] Ibid., Arts

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[26] Kutrzeba, H
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other persons appointed by the monarch.[23]

While decisions emanated from the Administrative Council, in fact these decisions reflected the will of the viceroy since the members of the Council had only a deliberative voice while that of the viceroy's was decisive. However, in order for his decree to be binding, the viceroy had to consult with the Administrative Council and a minister had to countersign the document.[24] But when a situation demanded prompt action, the viceroy had the authority to decide without consulting the Council.[25]

After 1826 great power resided in the Council, at least theoretically, since following Zajączek's death no successor was named and the viceroy's powers were transferred to the Administrative Council.[26]

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

In the Duchy of Warsaw the direction of the affairs of state was in the hands of a Council of Ministers made up of five ministers and a secretary of state. The Secretary of State's function was to maintain permanent contact between the ruler and the Council of Ministers. Both the President of the Council and the Secretary of State were

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[23] Ibid., Arts. LXV, LXVI.

[24] Ibid., Arts. LXVII, LXVIII.

[25] Bohdan Winiarski, Les Institutions Politique en Pologne au XIX siècle (Paris: Picart, 1921), p. 105.

[26] Kutrzeba, Historya Ustroju Polski..., p. 96. See also: Okolski, Wykład Prawa Administracyjnego..., p. 66; Winiarski, Les Institutions Politique..., p. 102.

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[27] Poland, Ust
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[28] Okolski, W
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[29] Poland, Us
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nominated by the ruler. The country was administered by five ministries: 1) Interior and Religions; 2) Police; 3) War; 4) Finances and Treasury; and 5) Justice.[27]

The organization and attributes of the Council of Ministers were outlined in a Decree dated December 24, 1807, according to which, if the ruler were present in the Duchy, the Council met only at his command. In his absence, however, it was to assemble weekly. Because individual ministers were responsible for managing the sections entrusted to them, the Council of Ministers could not make any changes in presentations which ministers made to the ruler if the ministers did not agree to the change. The Council could, however, attach its remarks to the presentations.[28]

After 1815 this central administrative institution underwent important changes. Ministries were replaced by Government Commissions which functioned as collegial institutions. These Government Commissions, which paralleled somewhat the functions of their predecessors, were: 1) The Commission for Religions and Public Education; 2) The Commission of Justice; 3) The Commission of the Interior and of the Police; 4) The Commission of War; and 5) The Commission of Finances and of the Treasury.[29]

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[27]Poland, Ustawa Konstytucyjna Księstwa Warszawskiego..., Arts. 8, 11, 13. See also Winiarski, Les Institutions Politique..., pp. 66-67.

[28]Okolski, Wykład Prawa Administracyjnego..., pp. 112-113.

[29]Poland, Ustawa Konstytucyjna/Charte Constitutionnelle (1815), Art. LXXVI.

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The membership of the various Government Commissions was established by the Statute of 1816. The largest was the Commission for Religions and Public Education which had sixteen members, including two state councillors and three Roman Catholic clergy.[30] The other Commissions were much smaller in size. The Commission of Justice, while divided into three sections,[31] included, besides the minister, only three members who were chosen from the Highest Tribunal and were granted the title of State Councillors.[32] The Commission of the Interior and of the Police also had only three members, in addition to the minister.[33] The Commission of War was divided into three sections, with a member of the Commission presiding over each section. While military matters were the concern of this body, army matters reserved to the Commander-in-Chief fell outside its competency.[34] The

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[30] Kutrzeba, Historya Ustroju Polski..., p. 97. An 1821 Statute regulated the membership more precisely to include: the Primate and two bishops; two religious; three state councillors; two inspector generals; and six referendaries. The Statute also established four sections: 1) General Direction of Religious Cults; 2) Religious and Educational Fund; 3) Public Education; and 4) Roman Catholic Spiritual Section. Ibid.

[31] These were: 1) Administration and Control; 2) Civil Judiciary; and 3) Criminal Judiciary. Ibid., p. 98.

[32] Ibid., p. 97.

[33] Ibid., p. 98. In 1817 three other members were added: a Director of Mails; a Director of the Fire Department; and a Director of Hospitals and Charitable Institutions. In 1821 a Director of Roads and Bridges was added. Ibid.

[34] Ibid. Since the authority of Grand Duke Constantine as Commander-in-Chief was unrestricted, the Government Commission's importance was minimal. The Commission was

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35 Kutrzeba, H

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38 Ibid., pp.

minister and three members of the Commission of Finances and of the Treasury were concerned with supervising mining and national estates and resources.[35]

Equated with these ministers who were the heads of the various Government Commissions was the Minister, Secretary of State who remained at the side of the King and served as the intermediary between the government officials of the Kingdom and the monarch.[36]

MINISTER, SECRETARY OF STATE

In the Duchy of Warsaw the post of Minister, Secretary of State was created to provide a link between the ruler and those he entrusted with administering the country. He remained at the side of the ruler and headed the Chancellery created for the purpose of handling matters relating to the Duchy of Warsaw.[37] All reports and correspondence from the State Council and the ministers to the ruler were channeled through the Secretary of State. Likewise all regulations, decrees and laws issued by the ruler were countersigned by the Secretary of State and then forwarded to the Duchy.[38]

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responsible for such matters as armament, financing, health, record-keeping, and recruiting. However, the Grand Duke constantly encroached into these areas as well. Generał Marian Kukiel, Zarys Historii Wojskowości w Polsce, Wydanie Piąte (London: Nakładem Orbisu, 1949), p. 182.

[35] Kutrzeba, Historya Ustroju Polski..., p. 98.

[36] Winiarski, Les Institutions Politique..., p. 103.

[37] Okolski, Wykład Prawa Administracyjnego..., p. 204.

[38] Ibid., pp. 204-205.

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[40] Ochimowski

[41] Poland, Us

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This position was retained in 1815. The Constitution stipulated that the Minister, Secretary of State was to remain at the side of the ruler and that all documents from the viceroy to the King were to be transmitted through him, as well as all communications from the King to the viceroy.[39]

BOARD OF CONTROL

The Board of Control whose function was to examine and approve annual budgets of the various administrative departments was established in 1808. Directly responsible to the ruler, it was made up of nine persons and charged with watching over the finances of the Duchy of Warsaw.[40]

This institution was retained in 1815.[41] Imperial Decrees of 1816 and 1821 outlined the organization of the Board of Control as well as its attributes and methods of procedure. It had a permanent membership of six persons while an annual projection of staff requirements was to determine the number of additional personnel, such as bookkeepers, accountants, secretaries, and copyists. All administrative departments were required to submit an accounting of their expenditures for the previous year. After examination and verification of the figures, the Board would make a

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[39] Poland, Ustawa Konstytucyjna/Charte Constitutionnelle (1815), Arts. LXXVII, LXXXI.

[40] Ochimowski, Prawo Administracyjne, pp. 231-232.

[41] Poland, Ustawa Konstytucyjna/Charte Constitutionnelle (1815), Art. LXXVIII.

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[44] Poland, Ust

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ruling on whether the expenditures were justified.[42]

Since the Board of Control was under the authority of the viceroy, it was required to submit quarterly reports to him regarding the progress of its work, as well as yearly reports of receipts and expenditures of all public funds of the Kingdom of Poland. A copy of this Annual Report was then forwarded to the King by the viceroy.[43]

CIVIL SERVICE

The civil service provided a good measure of the autonomy the Duchy and the Kingdom enjoyed. Article 83 of the Duchy of Warsaw Constitution clearly indicated that only citizens could hold ecclesiastical, judicial, and civil offices.[44]

While Article 29 of the 1815 Constitution stated that "all public offices, civil and military, shall be filled by Poles only," Article 33 opened the way for foreigners to qualify for such posts by holding that "every foreigner who has become a landed proprietor, has acquired naturalization, has learned the Polish language, and has five years of irreproachable residency, can be admitted to public office." Article 34 went a step further by granting the ruler

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[42] Okolski, Wykład Prawa Administracyjnego..., pp. 215-216. See also Ochimowski, Prawo Administracyjne, p. 232. In the event the Board discovered an outright error in the computations, it could impose a monetary fine on the official. Okolski, Wykład Prawa Administracyjnego..., p. 216.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Poland, Ustawa Konstytucyjna Księstwa Warszawskiego..., Art. 83.

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authority, either personally or upon recommendation of the State Council, to admit foreigners with special qualifications to public offices.[45]

CAUSES OF THE 1830 UPRISING

These central administrative institutions as granted by the 1815 Constitution provided the Kingdom with the opportunity to direct its own affairs. However, dangers lurked in the interpretations and emphases which could be employed regarding the functioning of these institutions. The King possessed fullness of power and shared only as much of it as he chose with those who aided him in administering the Kingdom. There was no room for disagreement with the ruler's views nor opportunity to act contrarily to his desires.[46] This situation proved increasingly frustrating to

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[45] Poland, Ustawa Konstytucyjna/Charte Constitutionnelle (1815), Arts. XXIX, XXXIII, XXXIV.

[46] By way of example, an interesting exchange between Alexander and the Administrative Council regarding the poor state of finances in the Kingdom following the ravages of the Napoleonic Wars is related by Prince Leon Sapieha, who served in the Commission of Finance and whose sister was married to Prince Adam Czartoryski. To offset in part the large expenses which the income of the country could not absorb, the Council suggested that perhaps the size of the army could be reduced. Alexander replied harshly, stating: "Retaining the army at the present strength was a condition for the existence of the Kingdom of Poland. If she could not fulfill this it would be proof of the impossibility for her existence and nothing would remain then but to transform her into a Russian Province." Książe Leon Sapieha, Wspomnienia (z lat od 1803 do 1863 r.) (Lwów: H. Altenberg, G. Seyforth, E. Wende i Sp.; Warszawa: E. Wende i Sp.; Poznań: Rzepecki i Sp., n.d.), pp. 3, 57. See also Koźmian, Pamiętniki..., p. 239. It would appear, therefore, that at least sometimes Alexander regarded the Kingdom of Poland as an outpost of the Russian Empire, with the Constitution and its guarantees of separate administration maintained in deference

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those persons who had regarded the Congress of Vienna settlement as the beginning of an eventual reconstitution of an enlarged and free Poland.[47] As it became more and more apparent that the Western Provinces of the Empire were not going to be joined to the Kingdom, dissatisfactions began to manifest themselves. Secret societies with the aim of securing the restoration of a free and independent Polish State were founded.[48] Initially, however, these activities were not as widespread because as long as Alexander lived the hope that he would restore the Western Provinces to the Kingdom did not die out. Only his sudden and unexpected death ended this hope.[49]

Alexander was succeeded by his brother Nicholas who, while he was willing to abide by his predecessor's commitment to the Kingdom, was determined that no Russian territories were to be added to it. He wrote on this subject to Grand Duke Constantine in March, 1827:

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to the European Powers whose alarm at Russian expansion into Central Europe was evident at the Congress of Vienna.

[47]The Congress of Vienna, in establishing the Kingdom of Poland, set up its boundaries only from the side of the Prussian and Austrian frontiers. The boundary on the Russian side was left to be determined by the Tsar. Siemiradzki, Porozbiorowe Dzieje..., pp. 169-170.

[48]Koźmian, Pamiętniki..., pp. 83-84. See also: Kieniewicz, Historia Polski..., pp. 54-61; Hanna Dylągowa, Towarzystwo Patriotyczne i Sąd Sejmowy: 1821-1829 (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1970), pp. 12-13, 130-131, 157.

[49]A. A. Kornilov, Russkaia politika v Polshe so vremeni razdelov do nachala XX veka (Petrograd: Izdatelstvo "Ogni," 1915), pp. 22-23. See also Dylągowa, Towarzystwo Patriotyczne..., p. 214.

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51 Ibid., pp.

> I would cease to be Russian in my outlook if I believed that it was possible to separate Lithuania from Russia properly so called.[50]

In November of the same year Nicholas wrote to the Grand Duke again regarding this question:

> I regard the idea of uniting Lithuania with Poland as impossible and the consequence for the Empire as disastrous. However, it does not prevent me from being as good a Pole as I am a good Russian; I shall prove it on any occasion by strictly and loyally adhering to the privileges which Our Angel has bestowed upon the Kingdom but as long as I am alive I would not suffer any attempt to push beyond to the detriment of the Empire.[51]

The unhappy event which marked Nicholas' accession to the throne was not without its implications for the Kingdom of Poland. In the aftermath of the Decembrist Revolt, arrests were made in Warsaw and the rest of the Kingdom throughout January and February of persons believed to be members of the National Patriotic Society. This Society was suspected of connections with a Russian conspiratorial group headed by Colonel Paul Pestel, who was held responsible for creating a revolutionary society within the Imperial Army stationed in the Ukraine. An Investigating Commission, made up of Russians and Poles, brought charges of conspiracy against the state. Grand Duke Constantine then ordered the Administrative Council to determine which court was to pass judgment on the accused. Novosiltsev proposed the appointment of a military tribunal while the Minister of Finance,

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[50] N. K. Schilder, Imperator Nikolai Pervyi: Ego zhizn i tsarstvovanie, I (S. Peterburg: Izdanie A. S. Suvorina, 1903), p. 388.

[51] Ibid., pp. 389-390.

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[52] Smoleński,
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[53] Smoleński,
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Prince Ksawery Lubecki, demanded compliance with the Constitution which required that charges of crimes against the state be tried by the High National Court made up of members of the Senate. Support for Lubecki's position came from the other ministers in consequence of which the Administrative Council handed down the decision to turn over the accused for trial by the High National Court, which was convened in 1827.[52]

On June 10, 1828, the Court, with one member, General Wincenty Krasinski, not in agreement, handed down its verdict that the accused were not guilty of committing crimes against the state. However, five were found guilty of belonging to a secret society, which was forbidden. Three defendants were found innocent of all charges. Of the five convicted, one received a sentence of 3 years and 3 months and the rest were sentenced to 3 months.[53]

The Tsar forbade the Court to proclaim its verdict publicly and the Senators were forbidden to leave Warsaw.[54]

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[52]Smoleński, Dzieje Narodu..., p. 428. See also: Skarbek, Pamiętniki..., p. 136; Siemiradzki, Porozbiorowe Dzieje..., pp. 190-192; Schilder, Imperator Nikolai Pervyi..., I, pp. 375-380; II, pp. 95-96; Lenskii, Istoriia Rossii v XIX veke, I, 301-302. For a detailed study of the genesis of the Patriotic Society and its connections with the conspiratorial movement in Russia, as well as the work of the Investigating Commission, see Dylągowa, Towarzystwo Patriotyczne....

[53]Smoleński, Dzieje Narodu..., p. 465. For the trial proceedings which began June 15, 1827, as well as the final verdicts, see Dylągowa, Towarzystwo Patriotyczne..., pp. 255-321.

[54]Schilder, Imperator Nikolai Pervyi..., II, p. 100. When the Tsar was informed of the verdict he is reported to

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[56] Ibid., p.
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Finally, in 1829, permission was granted for the announcement of the Court's decision but the Administrative Council was instructed to inform the judges, with the exception of General Krasinski, of the Tsar's displeasure.[55]

Apparently, this permission was granted because there was need for tranquillity within the Kingdom since Russia had declared war on Turkey in 1828. Among other concessions granted to the Kingdom at this time was the decision by the Tsar finally to come to Warsaw to be crowned King of Poland in fulfillment of the Constitutional requirement.[56]

The significance of the events of 1826 through 1829, i.e., the arrests, the investigation, and the trials of the accused, cannot be minimized. Patriotic feeling was aroused and led many persons to reject the 1815 Constitution and decide to fight to secure a Polish State that was truly free and independent.[57]

The liberal and radical intellectual and political currents flowing throughout Europe which the conservative principles endorsed by the Congress of Vienna could not stem[58] had found an echo in the Kingdom especially among

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have exclaimed: "Unfortunately, they have saved the guilty, but have destroyed the country." Ibid., p. 99.

[55]Smoleński, Dzieje Narodu..., p. 465.

[56]Ibid., p. 466. See also Siemiradzki, Porozbiorowe Dzieje..., pp. 194-196.

[57]Dylągowa, Towarzystwo Patriotyczne..., pp. 322-324.

[58]For studies regarding these developments, see: E. J. Hobsbawn, The Age of Revolution: 1789-1848 (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1962); R. F. Leslie, The Age of

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university students and young army officers.[59] Revolutionary events in Western Europe in the summer and fall of 1830 spurred the insurrectionists in the Kingdom to act. The decision by Nicholas to aid Holland's ruler made them realize they could delay no longer since it was imperative to strike before the Polish Army, on which their hopes rested, was withdrawn from the Kingdom. November 29, 1830, was chosen as the day for the revolt to begin.[60]

Prince Sapieha, serving in the Commission of Finance, was in Paris preparing to return to the Kingdom when he received word that the revolt had broken out. His reaction to the news was recorded in his Memoirs:

> How could one foresee the end of a battle of 4 million against 60 million? ... With failure we were losing this Kingdom which, however small, could have been the embryo of a larger Poland. We were losing our army, our administration, our schools,--in a word, it was possible to foresee that which actually ensued.[61]

Transformation, 1789-1871 (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1967), pp. 138-209; L. C. B. Seaman, From Vienna to Versailles (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1963), pp. 1-48; Jerome Blum, Rondo Cameron, and Thomas G. Barnes, The European World Since 1815: Triumph and Transition (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1966), pp. 1-88.

[59]Marian Kukiel, Dzieje Polski Porozbiorowe: 1795-1921, Drugie Wydanie (London: B. Swiderski, 1963), p. 230. See also: Kieniewicz, Historia Polski..., pp. 56-61; Lenskii, Istoriia Rossii v XIX veke, I, 295.

[60]Siemiradzki, Porozbiorowe Dzieje..., pp. 199-202. See also: Skarbek, Pamiętniki..., p. 148; Lenskii, Istoriia Rossii v XIX veke, I, 304-305.

[61]Sapieha, Wspomnienia..., p. 110.

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[3] Ibid., Vol

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CHAPTER II

The occupation of Warsaw by Field Marshal Paskevich on September 7, 1831, marked the end of the 1830 Polish uprising and the beginning of changes in government and administration in the Kingdom of Poland.

As early as March 2/14, 1831, a temporary government for the Kingdom had been created in St. Petersburg which included Russians and Poles. Fedor Engel, who had a long and distinguished career in government service dating back to 1776, was named President.[1] Roman Fuhrman, serving in the Ministry of Finance, was appointed head of the Treasury Section.[2] Count Aleksandr Stroganov, who had entered military service as an officer in the Artillery Brigade and taken part in the Napoleonic Wars, was chosen to direct the Internal Affairs Section.[3] The two Poles attached to the temporary government were General Franciszek Kossecki, residing in St. Petersburg at the time, placed in charge of

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[1] Russkii Biograficheskii Slovar, Vol. 24 (S. Peterburg: Tipografiia Glavnago Upravleniia Udelov, 1912), pp. 240-241.

[2] Ibid., Vol. 21 (S. Peterburg: Tipografiia V. Bezobrazova i Ko., 1901), p. 254. He remained in service in the Kingdom until 1847 when he asked for and was granted permission to leave because of ill health. He died four years later. Ibid.

[3] Ibid., Vol. 19 (S. Peterburg: Tipografiia Tovarishchestva "Obshchestvennaia Polza," 1909), pp. 484-485.

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[5] Skarbek,

the Justice Section, and Count Fryderyk Skarbek, Professor of Economics at Warsaw University on special assignment in St. Petersburg, chosen to head the Religions and Public Education Section. This governing council departed from St. Petersburg on March 6/18, 1831, and spent six months moving about Lithuania to avoid insurrectionists who were operating in the area.[4]

Count Skarbek recounts the circumstances which led to his appointment to the temporary government. He had journeyed to St. Petersburg just prior to the outbreak of hostilities in the Kingdom for the purpose of studying penal and charitable institutions in the Imperial capital. He relates the exchange which took place between the Tsar and himself on March 14th in the Winter Palace. Skarbek states that he accepted his appointment to the temporary government with these words: "Yes, Sire, I will consecrate all my means to the service of my country." After a moment's hesitation, the Tsar replied: "I know that you are a good Pole, and it is precisely because you are that I have chosen you." Skarbek, motivated by the possible good he might be able to render his country, viewed the above exchange as an indication of the high-mindedness of the Tsar who did not hold the entire Kingdom accountable for the actions of some.[5]

However, with the death of Field Marshal Diebitsch,

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[4]Fryderyk Skarbek, Królestwo Polskie po rewolucyi listopadowej (Poznań: Nakładem J. K. Zupańskiego, 1877), pp. 6-7.

[5]Skarbek, Pamiętniki..., pp. 179-180.

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[6]Skarbek, K
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[7]Sidorov, p

[8]Skarbek, K
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Commander of the Russian Army fighting the insurrectionists, and Grand Duke Constantine, both of whom succumbed to cholera within several months of each other, a hardening of the Tsar's attitude towards the Poles began to emerge. Skarbek notes that with the naming of Field Marshal Paskevich to succeed Diebitsch Nicholas' intentions with respect to the Kingdom changed.[6] Almost immediately, Paskevich ordered that all proclamations to the people be printed in Russian, with Polish translations.[7] When the Russian troops occupied Warsaw in September, 1831, Skarbek's appointment to the temporary government was terminated. His position as head of the Religions and Public Education Section was given to General Józef Rautenstrauch who because of illness remained bedridden throughout the uprising but who, in Skarbek's words, "miraculously recovered" when the Russians entered Warsaw.[8]

TEMPORARY GOVERNMENT

Following the taking of Warsaw, a Temporary Government was established by Imperial Decree dated September 4/16, 1831. It was made up of a president and four members and

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[6] Skarbek, Królestwo Polskie..., p. 7. See also: Sidorov, Russkie i Russkaia Zhizn..., p. 73; Skarbek, Pamiętniki..., pp. 200-201.

[7] Sidorov, Russkie i Russkaia Zhizn..., p. 81.

[8] Skarbek, Pamiętniki..., p. 203. See also: Teodor Morawski, Dzieje Narodu Polskiego w krótkości zebrane, VI: Polska pod obcem panowaniem (Poznań: Nakładem J. K. Zupańskiego, 1872), pp. 465-466; Sidorov, Russkie i Russkaia Zhizn..., p. 79.

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received the same powers which the Administrative Council had possessed. Matters of extreme importance, and transcending the authority of the Temporary Government, were to be resolved by the Chief Commander of the Kingdom of Poland, i.e., by Paskevich. Each of the four members of the government was in charge of an administrative section. The president of the government was required to submit weekly reports of its activities to the Tsar.[9]

On November 10/22, 1831, Paskevich, now titled Prince of Warsaw, issued an announcement which stated that, by Imperial command, all laws and resolutions issued by the Revolutionary Government were forever annulled. Also cancelled were all institutions created by this government, as well as any promotions, offices, civil or military decorations, or pensions granted by it.[10]

When Engel was compelled to leave the Temporary Government, following a scandal involving his wife,[11] Paskevich took over as President of the Temporary Government, now

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[9] Poland, Dziennik Praw Królestwa Polskiego, Vol. 13, pp. 217-226. The minutes of proceedings were to be kept both in Russian and Polish. The Chief Commander was empowered to resolve all disagreements within the administration. Ibid. Cited hereafter as Poland, Dziennik Praw.

[10] Ibid., pp. 302-304.

[11] Sidorov, Russkie i Russkaia Zhizn..., p. 79. Officially he was relieved of his post because of ill health. In St. Petersburg he was made a member of the Department for the Affairs of the Kingdom of Poland, created within the Imperial State Council in February, 1832, and presided over its proceedings whenever Paskevich was not in St. Petersburg. Russkii Biograficheskii Slovar, Vol. 24, p. 241.

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ORGANIC STATUTE

The abrogation of the Constitution of 1815 came as no surprise to those who were close to the Tsar. He had warned that:

> After the first cannon-shot, I will consider myself freed from all my pledges toward Poland.[13]

However, diplomatic intervention by England and France, while rejected by Russia, did serve to guarantee the Kingdom some measure of autonomy since the Russian Chancellery, in the name of the Tsar, gave assurance that the "Vienna Treaties will be firmly fulfilled."[14] It was the conviction of the Russian government, however, that the Tsar had the right to revoke the Constitution since Article V of the Supplement to the Treaty of Vienna, dated May 13, 1815, stated:

> The Poles...will receive representation and national institutions suitable to the political state which each of the governments to which they belong deems advantageous and adequate to grant them.[15]

The Imperial Manifesto, issued February 2/14, 1832, announcing the introduction of a new governmental form and order for the Kingdom of Poland, recalled that this Kingdom,

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[12] Ks. Szczerbatow, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza w Królestwie Polskiem: 1832-1847 (Warszawa: Jan Fiszer, 1900), pp. 12-13. Cited hereafter as Shcherbatov, Rządy Ksiecia Paskiewicza....

[13] Skarbek, Królestwo Polskie..., pp. 3-4.

[14] Ochimowski, Prawo Administracyjne, p. 213.

[15] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 2. See also Skarbek, Królestwo Polskie..., pp. 34-35.

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[16] Poland, P

[17] Ibid., pp

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> from our high-minded predecessor, resting in God, His Majesty Tsar Alexander, not only the return of national existence but a separate rule outlined in Constitutional Law. These prescriptions were not able to quiet the eternal foes of all order and rightful authority. Persisting in their lawless designs, they have not ceased dreaming about dividing the nation's subjects and Our Scepter, and have dared, arrogantly, to use for evil the kindness of the Restorer of their Fatherland, overturning His every deed giving them right and freedom, with which they were gifted only by his powerful will. ... The Kingdom of Poland, restored anew to our Scepter, will regain quiet and will flower amid established peace under the protection of a watchful government.[16]

The Manifesto concluded with the remark that steps were being taken so that

> the Kingdom of Poland, having the necessary separate government, would not cease to be an integral part of the Russian Empire and that her residents would constitute with the Russians a united nation of harmonious brothers.[17]

A number of means were to be used to achieve this end, not least of which was the use of the Russian language. Already the previous summer Paskevich had issued communiques in Russian with Polish translations. Now the use of the Russian language was extended to include Imperial Decrees and Laws which were published in bilingual form, with the Russian text occupying the primary position, in the Dziennik Praw.[18] However, Article 34 of the Organic Statute promised that all judicial and administrative matters were to be conducted in the Polish language.[19]

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[16] Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 14, pp. 164-167.

[17] Ibid., pp. 168-169.

[18] Winiarski, Les Institutions Politique..., p. 114.

[19] Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 14, pp. 214-215, Art. 34.

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To what extent it was possible to keep this pledge can be ascertained by the following exchange which took place between the Tsar and his Viceroy in the Kingdom. Early in 1837 the Viceroy presented the Tsar with a project dealing with changing the administrative divisions in the Kingdom as well as their titles of reference to correspond with those used in the Empire. The project was approved by the Tsar who signed it into law. At the same time, mindful of his purpose of achieving closer union of the Kingdom with the Empire, Nicholas ordered that the Russian language replace the French within the Chancellery of the Minister, Secretary of State.[20] In November, 1837, the Tsar informed Paskevich that, thanks to Turkułł, the Tsar's wishes regarding use of the Russian language within the Chancellery had been "very diligently and zealously implemented." The monarch suggested that Paskevich do likewise within the Kingdom, making Russian, not French, the official language. He concluded with the comment that:

> I expect that the Poles will look very askance on this, but, fortunately, I do not fear them and will have my way.[21]

Paskevich replied on December 7th that, while he liked the Tsar's idea and could comply with it insofar as

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[20] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., pp. 147-148.

[21] Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 14go noiabria 1837 goda, in Kniaz Shcherbatov, General-Feldmarshal Kniaz Paskevich: ego zhizn i deiatelnost, Prilozheniia k Tomu Piatomu: 1832-1847 (S. Peterburg: Sklad u V. A. Berezovskago, 1896), pp. 338-339. Cited hereafter as Shcherbatov, Prilozheniia....

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correspondence with the Minister, Secretary of State was concerned and in the correspondence and reports of the Administrative Council, the actual proceedings of the Administrative Council could not be conducted in other than the French language. The reason was that the three Polish members did not know Russian and the three Russian members did not know Polish, or else knew the languages so inaccurately that adequate discussion of matters brought before the Council would not be possible. Paskevich went on to say that the situation in the State Council was worse. Aside from the Russian members and those few Poles who had held offices in Russia, the rest of the members knew very little Russian. It was, therefore, necessary to retain the French language.[22]

The Tsar concurred in the judgment of his Viceroy and wrote on December 13th:

> The measures undertaken by you for the gradual abolition of the French language in affairs agree completely with my wishes; because it is another matter to speak with people who do not know another language, as French, there is no other way to come to an understanding; at any rate, this is already a big step towards the future.[23]

Since the intention of the Tsar was to build a reliable administrative base within the Kingdom which would be loyal to the Empire, individuals other than Poles were selected to serve as officials, particularly in key positions of government. Article 26 of the Organic Statute provided

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[22] Paskiewicz do Cesarza, 7go grudnia 1837 roku, quoted in Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., pp. 148-149.

[23] Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 1go/13go dekabria 1837 goda, in Shcherbatov, Prilozheniia..., pp. 339-340.

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that the ruler was not limited in his selection of persons to fill high offices to names submitted to him by the Administrative Council but could appoint anyone whom he deemed worthy of his confidence, whether they were residents of the Kingdom of Poland or some other province of the Empire.[24] The criterion for holding public office was to be loyalty to the Tsar and not knowledge of the language of the region. It is difficult, therefore, to see how the assurances given by Article 34 of the Organic Statute regarding the use of the Polish language in administration could have been fulfilled, except perhaps at the lower levels of administration which were staffed primarily by Poles.[25]

The new form of government for the Kingdom of Poland was outlined in an Organic Statute which was given in St. Petersburg on February 14, 1832.[26] Article 1 of the Statute proclaimed that "the Kingdom of Poland forever joined to the Russian Empire, forms an inseparable part of this Empire."[27] Affirming that the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland belonged

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[24]Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 14, pp. 202-203, Art. 26.

[25]Ibid., pp. 214-215, Art. 34. During this period the szlachta class continued to be the chief source of government officials since higher education, required for a bureaucratic career, was reserved to the nobility. The Imperial Minister of Education, Uvarov, referred to the szlachta youth as "the most precious flower of the younger generation" and stated that "marked by its own background and manner of life" it would "render the most important contribution to the country." J. Chalasiński, Przeszłość i przyszłość inteligencji polskiej (Rzym: Instytut Literacki, 1947), p. 112.

[26]Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 14, pp. 172-249.

[27]Ibid., pp. 174-175, Art. 1.

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[28] Ibid.

to the Russian Tsar and his successors, the Organic Statute, unlike the Constitution of 1815, did not provide for a separate coronation in Warsaw but rather stated that:

> The crowning of the Tsar of All Russia, King of Poland, would take place at the one and same ceremony in the capital City of Moscow in the presence of Deputies from the Kingdom of Poland called to attend that solemnity together with Deputies from other parts of the Empire.[28]

HEAD OF GOVERNMENT

The Statute makes no mention of the role of the King in the administration of the country nor that of his viceroy. However, the great powers which were intended for the viceroy emerge as the viceroy's role is outlined in the various central administrative institutions set up by the Organic Statute. The high degree of confidence which Nicholas placed in Paskevich is likewise revealed in the major role assigned to him with respect to implementing decrees and decisions affecting the Kingdom. For example, important governmental posts in the Kingdom were filled with persons whom he recommended and he was the intermediary through whom officials and residents of the Kingdom had access to the Tsar. In addition, Paskevich's opinions were weighed carefully by Nicholas and thus had an important bearing on administrative developments in the Kingdom.

STATE COUNCIL

Article 28 of the Organic Statute provided for the retention of the State Council under the presidency of the

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[28] Ibid., pp. 176-177, Arts. 2, 3.

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[29] Ibid.,

[30] Ibid.,

viceroy. It was to be made up of the following persons: the Chief Directors of the Government Commissions and the Controller General of the Highest Board of Control; officials honored with the rank of State Councillors; and others called by the Tsar to sit permanently or temporarily in the State Council. In the absence of the viceroy, the Tsar was to authorize a member of the State Council to fulfill the viceroy's functions.[29]

The obligations of this body, set forth in Article 29, included:

1. Reviewing and drawing up projects of new laws and regulations pertaining to the general administration of the Kingdom.

2. Resolving disputes and questions arising between administrative and judicial authorities relating to the scope of their authority.

3. Discussing presentations and petitions submitted by Regional Assemblies and Provincial Councils regarding the needs and welfare of the country.

4. Examining the annual budget of revenues and expenditures of the Kingdom prepared by the Administrative Council as well as reports of the Controller General with regard to revising accounts of the various branches of administration.

5. Examining reports of the Chief Directors of the various administrative branches with respect to their actions in matters entrusted to them.

6. Making decisions regarding bringing officials nominated directly by or in the name of the State Council to trial for violations committed while in office.[30]

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[29] Ibid., pp. 204-207, Art. 28.

[30] Ibid., pp. 206-209, Art. 29.

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with reconciling regulations in the Kingdom with those of the Empire were to be resolved by the Imperial State Council in St. Petersburg, within which a separate Department for the Affairs of the Kingdom of Poland was created.[31]

The detailed organization and functioning of the State Council was set forth in a Statute given at St. Petersburg December 12/24, 1832. Article 1 restated that the Viceroy of the Kingdom was the presiding officer of the State Council. The Council was required to meet weekly. In case of necessity the Viceroy was empowered to call it into extraordinary session. The presence of seven members, in addition to the Viceroy, constituted a quorum.[32]

The Viceroy was required to submit weekly reports to the Tsar regarding the actions of the State Council, as well as the minutes of the Council meetings, together with a Russian translation of them, through the Minister, Secretary of State.[33]

Under the 1815 Constitution, the King, with the advice of the State Council, had drawn up the initial budget

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[31] Ochimowski, Prawo Administracyjne, p. 22. Members of this Department were to be selected by the Tsar from both the Kingdom and the Empire. Winiarski, Les Institutions Politique..., p. 116. The membership of the Department was to be divided equally between Poles and Russians. Skarbek, Królestwo Polskie..., p. 20.

[32] Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 15, pp. 175-176; pp. 101-106, Arts. 1, 5; pp. 123-126, Art. 26. The Council rendered its decisions by majority vote. However, if the Viceroy disagreed with its decisions, he had the right to appeal them directly to the Tsar. Ibid., pp. 125-126, Art. 27; ibid., Vol. 14, pp. 200-201, Art. 25.

[33] Ibid., Vol. 15, pp. 161-164, Art. 66.

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[37] Ibid., pp

which remained in force until modified or changed by the sovereign and the Sejm.[34] After 1832 the Administrative Council prepared the budget which was then examined by the State Council.[35]

The State Council had its own Chancellery directed by a State Secretary appointed by the Tsar. He was assisted by an Undersecretary of State selected by the Tsar upon recommendation of the Viceroy. Officials for the Chancellery were nominated by the Viceroy.[36]

With the promulgation of this Statute, the previous one issued November 19/December 1, 1815, ceased to be binding. By Article 82 the Tsar reserved the right, through additional rulings, to indicate further obligations which he judged the State Council should assume.[37]

Skarbek, who served in administrative positions in the Kingdom during this period, evaluates the performance of the State Council by stating that "it neither discussed the laws and government of the country nor took care of any of its needs." He points out that only one project, dealing with marriage laws, was worked out by this body. Skarbek

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[34]Poland, Ustawa Konstytucyjna/Charte Constitutionnelle (1815), Art. CLXII.

[35]Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 15, pp. 155-156, Art. 59.

[36]Ibid., pp. 103-106, Art. 4; pp. 165-166, Art. 70; pp. 169-170, Art. 75. Other duties of the State Secretary included informing members of the State Council of meeting dates and agenda, as well as gathering supplementary information required by the members to aid them in their discussions. Ibid., pp. 159-160, Art. 63; pp. 165-166, Arts. 69, 71.

[37]Ibid., pp. 171-174, Arts. 81, 82.

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concludes that "the State Council was reduced to such a non-entity that it aroused no attachment among the citizens. This is best attested to by the fact that not only was it not lamented when it was abolished but the country did not even notice when it disappeared."[38]

However, the government itself recognized the symbolic significance of this institution for many Poles who cherished this manifestation of the Kingdom's autonomy and hoped that the State Council might evolve into an institution with some degree of self-rule. When, in 1841, the government made the decision to eliminate the State Council and entrust its various functions to newly-created Departments in the Imperial Governing Senate, it moved to neutralize expected unrest by simultaneously issuing two decrees: One named Polish State Council members to the new Warsaw Departments of the Governing Senate; the other set up a special commission made up of Poles to review petitions of residents of the Kingdom to the Tsar.[39]

DEPARTMENT FOR THE AFFAIRS OF THE KINGDOM OF POLAND

An important new organ was established within the Imperial State Council in 1832 for the purpose of advancing unification of the Kingdom with the Empire. Article 31 of the Organic Statute stated that:

> Matters having to do with legislation and other projects of great importance, which it would seem to Us require

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[38] Skarbek, Królestwo Polskie..., pp. 68-69.

[39] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., pp. 221-223.

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[40] Poland,

[41] Ibid.

[42] Russia,
1832, p. 90, No.

previous and careful coordination with existing laws in other parts of the Empire and for its general good, as well as the Annual Budget presented to Us by the State Council of the Kingdom of Poland for final perusal and approval, will pass through the State Council of the Russian Empire.[40]

These matters were to be channeled through a separate Department for the Affairs of the Kingdom of Poland whose members were to be appointed by the Tsar from "among Our subjects in the Empire and in the Kingdom."[41]

Simultaneously, an Imperial Decree was issued in St. Petersburg setting forth the membership of the Department to include:

1. General-Feldmarshal, Prince of Warsaw, Count Paskevich, who was named President of the Department.
2. Real Privy Councillor Engel, who was to preside over the proceedings of the Department in the absence of Paskevich from the capital.
3. Real Privy Councillor Novosiltsev.
4. Count Zamojski.
5. Cavalry General Count Krasinski.
6. Cavalry General Count Roznetski.
7. Lieutenant General Count Grabowski.
8. Privy Councillor Prince Lubecki.

The last four were also appointed to membership in the Imperial State Council.[42]

The functioning of this body was outlined by a Decree

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[40] Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 14, pp. 210-213, Art. 31.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Russia, Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii, 1832, p. 90, No. 5166.

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[43] Ibid., p

[44] Ibid., p

[45] Poland,

issued December 27, 1832, in St. Petersburg. Article 1 of the Decree was a restatement of Article 31 of the Organic Statute setting forth the purposes of the Department. All matters were referred to the Department through the Minister, Secretary of State of the Kingdom who was also a member of the Department. The Minister was required to countersign resolutions approved by the Tsar and then forward them to the proper authorities in the Kingdom for implementation.[43]

After a project was completed within the Department, the original Journals were to be presented to the monarch who would determine which matters were to be brought before the full assembly of the State Council. At the conclusion of each year, the Department Journals and Resolutions were to be transferred for safekeeping to the State Chancellery Archives.[44]

ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

The great powers which theoretically resided in the Administrative Council after the death of Viceroy Zajączek in 1826 were reaffirmed by the Organic Statute, which stated in Article 22 that:

> The Chief Administration of the Kingdom of Poland is entrusted to the Administrative Council which is to govern in Our Name under the presidency of the Viceroy of the Kingdom.[45]

The Administrative Council was to be made up of the

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[43] Ibid., p. 937, No. 5860, Arts. 9, 10, 11.

[44] Ibid., pp. 937-938, No. 5860, Arts. 2, 3, 4, 16.

[45] Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 14, pp. 198-199, Art. 22.

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Viceroy, the Directors of the Government Commissions, the Controller General, and other persons specially appointed by the monarch.[46] An Organizational Decree issued December 12/24, 1832, empowered the Administrative Council to:

1. Issue instructions required to fulfill Imperial commands.
2. Resolve matters which were outside the scope of authority of the Government Commissions.
3. Forward to the State Council all matters which belonged to its competency.[47]

The Administrative Council was also entrusted with the task of preparing lists of candidates for high ecclesiastical, judicial, and administrative offices which were to be channeled to the Tsar through the Viceroy.[48]

The State Secretary was in charge of the Administrative Council Chancellery where the original copies of

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[46] Ibid., pp. 198-199, Art. 23.

[47] Ibid., Vol. 15, pp. 69-72, Art. 1. The supervision of the minutes of Council meetings was entrusted to a State Secretary appointed by the King. An Editing Secretary was chosen for the task of compiling the minutes during the reading and discussion of proposals brought before the Council. However, if the question under consideration demanded secrecy, the State Secretary was to draw up the minutes himself and record them in a Secret Journal. Ibid., pp. 71-74, Arts. 2, 3. In the event the monarch, during his stay in the Kingdom, chose to call the Administrative Council into session, the obligations of the State Secretary were to be assumed by the Minister, Secretary of State, assisted by the State Secretary. Ibid., pp. 95-98, Art. 26.

[48] Ibid., Vol. 14, pp. 202-203, Art. 26. The Tsar would compare the information on these lists with other information at his disposal. Only then would the decision be made on the basis of whether the nominees were worthy of the Tsar's confidence or not. The Tsar was not limited in his choices to residents of the Kingdom but could select anyone in the Empire. Ibid.

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[49] Ibid., Art. 27.

[50] Ibid., 16, 17; Ibid.,

Imperial Decrees and Directives, as well as extracts from the minutes of the State Secretariat were preserved. Copies of decrees and directives, certified by the State Secretary, were to be forwarded to officials charged with implementing them. The Chancellery staff was appointed by the Administrative Council from names submitted by the State Secretary.[49]

The Administrative Council was to meet twice weekly with the presence of two members, in addition to the Viceroy or his representative, constituting a quorum. While the Viceroy was empowered to call the Administrative Council into special session in case of need, he could also act unilaterally, making decisions or giving orders in matters which required immediate attention. However, these decisions and orders were to be entered into the General Journal of the Administrative Council. All matters in the Administrative Council were to be resolved by majority vote. However, if the Viceroy did not agree with the majority decision of the Council he had the authority to halt implementation of it pending an appeal to the King.[50]

Provision was also made to ensure continuity of administrative authority through the Administrative Council in case of the Viceroy's death or other incapacity. Should this occur, the Viceroy's authority was to pass temporarily

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[49] Ibid., Vol. 15, pp. 91-94, Arts. 21, 22; pp. 97-98, Art. 27.

[50] Ibid., pp. 79-80, Arts. 8, 9; pp. 85-90, Arts. 14, 16, 17; Ibid., Vol. 14, pp. 200-201, Art. 25.

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[51] Ibid.,

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to the senior member in the Council until the Tsar could announce his decision regarding a successor.[51]

Theoretically, the Administrative Council was endowed with increased powers by the Organic Statute for it now was a collegial body with not only a consultative and deliberative voice, but also a decisive vote. Its majority decisions could not be arbitrarily set aside by the Viceroy if he disapproved but had to be referred to the King for a final decision. However, Count Skarbek, a member of the Administrative Council because of his membership in a newly-organized Chief Protective Council of Charitable Institutions in the Kingdom of Poland (in which he served for over twenty years--twelve of them as President),[52] speaks of the Administrative Council as

> being strictly a shield under which the Viceroy proclaimed from himself resolutions in a form as if legal, and this only in those matters in which he acknowledged it proper to keep this form. Others were issued directly from himself, such as orders to the Chief Directors or even to the lower provincial authorities.[53]

Skarbek states that matters introduced at the Council meeting which could not be legally resolved or which encountered opposition were removed from the agenda and not entered into the minutes of the meeting. Then the Viceroy himself, either in consultation with the specific director or by decree, resolved the question.[54]

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[51] Ibid., pp. 204-205, Art. 27.

[52] Skarbek, Pamiętniki..., p. 215.

[53] Skarbek, Królestwo Polskie..., p. 67.

[54] Ibid., p. 68.

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However, the decree outlining the organization of the Administrative Council specifically granted the Viceroy powers to act unilaterally in cases of necessity or when he was dealing with a specific department (Art. 9). While these actions were to be entered into a General Journal, Article 3 did provide for a Secret Journal in which discussions of confidential matters were to be recorded. In the absence of specific instructions, it could be assumed that the Viceroy could refer disputes in resolving questions to the Tsar. Since the Tsar's decision would be final, the decisive vote of the majority of the Council, in disagreement with the Viceroy, could, in effect, be set aside. There can be little question, therefore, that, while the Organic Statute identified the Administrative Council as the chief administrator of the Kingdom in the name of the King, the Decree organizing this body pointed up the central and powerful role of the Viceroy in the governing process.

Commenting on the composition of the Administrative Council, Skarbek says that this was the first evidence of suppression of self-government because the posts of Chief Directors administering the Government Commissions were usually held by generals or other high Russian officials. Initially, only the Director of Justice--later, the Director of Finance--was a Pole. Hence, Russians always formed a majority in the Council.[55]

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[55] Ibid., pp. 67-68. While no explanation is offered by Skarbek for the exception in the case of the Director for the Government Commission of Justice, a possible reason

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The Tsar, while granting the Kingdom of Poland separate administrative institutions, did not intend to confer self-government upon the Kingdom. His aim, set forth in the Organic Statute, was to unite the Kingdom with the Empire. Under the existing circumstances, this aim could be advanced only if high administrative positions were held by persons whom the Tsar could trust to have greater concern for Empire than for region and whose loyalty to him would be unswerving. Article 26 of the Organic Statute indicated that the Tsar did not believe he could attain his goal if he were restricted to selecting officials from among residents of the Kingdom of Poland.

GOVERNMENT COMMISSIONS

Only three Government Commissions were retained after the 1830 uprising. The title of the presiding officer was changed from Minister to Chief Director. While, in the main, Russians were appointed to fill these positions, lower officials within these commissions continued to be experienced Poles since they could not be easily replaced.[56]

Article 35 of the Organic Statute prescribed the three Commissions which were entrusted with the administration of the country:

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might be that crimes against the state were removed from the jurisdiction of the judiciary and placed directly under the military. Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., pp. 94-95. Thus, the Commission would not be involved in what could be considered politically sensitive decisions and its direction could safely be entrusted to a Pole who was reliable.

[56]Kukiel, Dzieje Polski Porozbiorowe..., p. 304.

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[57] Poland,

[58] Ibid., p

[59] Okolski
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1. Commission of Internal and Religious Affairs and Education.
2. Commission of Justice.
3. Commission of Finance and Treasury.[57]

Provision was made for resolving questions which exceeded the authority of the Chief Directors and their Commissions. These were to be transferred to the Administrative Council. In the event some of these were outside the scope of the Council and the Viceroy, they were to be referred to the Tsar through the Minister, Secretary of State.[58]

1. COMMISSION OF INTERNAL AND RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS AND EDUCATION

Only the Commission dealing with internal and religious affairs and educational matters underwent organizational changes. In accordance with the Decree issued March 14, 1833, the Commission was to be made up of the Chief Director, Directors of Sections, Director of the Chancellery, Chief of the Bureau of Control and Accounts, as well as a number of clerks set forth in projections of staff requirements. The Commission was divided into three sections: 1) General Administration; 2) Manufacture and Crafts; and 3) Religions and Public Education.[59]

Each section was responsible for preparing projects

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[57] Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 14, pp. 214-217, Art. 35.

[58] Ibid., pp. 216-217, Art. 37.

[59] Okolski, Wykład Prawa Administracyjnego..., pp. 116, 173, 180.

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[60] Ibid., p

of law dealing with its specific area, presenting these projects for confirmation, and then implementing them. In addition, each section was charged with other responsibilities which were detailed in the Decree. The General Administration Section was also expected to set up and supervise local administrative organs and establish limits of administrative authority. Among its other duties were included the maintenance of peace and order and protection of lives and property. This Section was entrusted with the task of proposing names of persons to fill government offices. The Manufacture and Crafts Section was concerned with agriculture, manufacture and trade, and communications. All charitable institutions, hospitals, and prisons, as well as theaters and public entertainment came under the jurisdiction of this Section. The Religions and Public Education Section was responsible for supervision of churches and clergy and served as an intermediary with the Holy Synod and the Apostolic See. This Section nominated persons to fill high ecclesiastical offices. It was also responsible for censorship of periodicals and books.[60]

Commission decisions were arrived at in one of three ways: by the Chief Director himself on matters requiring immediate action; collegially in Commission meetings; or by Directors of specific sections.[61]

The Chief Director was concerned with the overall operation of the Commission and presided over its meetings in

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[60] Ibid., pp. 116-117.

[61] Ibid., p. 118.

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which projects were discussed and reports and presentations for the Administrative Council were prepared. The presence of three members was required to constitute a quorum and decisions were rendered by a majority vote. In cases of a tie, the Director's vote was decisive. Also, if the Director believed that the majority decision conflicted with existing laws or was harmful for the country, he could suspend implementation of the decision and bring the matter before the Administrative Council for resolution.[62]

2. COMMISSION OF JUSTICE

The Commission of Justice, composed of the Chief Director and three members, was divided into three sections: 1) Administration and Control; 2) Civil Judiciary; and 3) Criminal Judiciary.[63] The Commission's function was to serve as the chief administrative authority of the Justice Department. Accordingly, the Commission was charged with the overall direction and supervision of all officials serving in the Judiciary. In this capacity it appointed officials and placed in nomination names for higher offices which were filled by the Tsar or the Administrative Council. The Commission was also entrusted with the task of monitoring the quality of law enforcement with regard to accuracy

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[62] Ibid.

[63] Kutrzeba, Historya Ustroju Polski..., pp. 97-98. A fourth section, General Services, was added in 1847. Also, provision was made for specially appointed persons to serve on the Commission in an advisory capacity. Okolski, Wykład Prawa Administracyjnego..., p. 174.

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While decisions could be made by the Chief Director or Section Directors, certain matters required the deliberation of the whole Commission in which majority rule prevailed. These were:

1. Selection of candidates to be presented to the Administrative Council for its approval. Also, consideration of candidates for positions which the Commission itself could fill.
2. Annual projection of staff requirements for the Justice Department and the Judiciary.
3. Disciplinary punishment of clerks and officials in the Justice Department and the Judiciary.
4. Approval of fund distributions.
5. Reports and projects to be submitted to the Viceroy and/or the Administrative Council.
6. General instructions or rules to be issued by the Commission.

If the Chief Director did not agree with the majority decision on any of the above matters, he could withhold implementation and appeal the decision to a higher authority.[65]

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[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid., pp. 174-175. The administration of justice in the Kingdom of Poland remained separate throughout the reign of Nicholas and well into the reign of his successor, coming under the control of the Minister of Justice in

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3. COMMISSION OF FINANCE AND TREASURY

The Commission of Finance and Treasury was made up of a Chief Director and three members who were entrusted with the administration of government estates and forests and mines.[66] Additional responsibilities entrusted to the Chief Director included: 1) the Government Mint which besides minting coins also prepared government seals and stamps; 2) the General Treasury which collected public revenues and made disbursements; and 3) the Bank of Poland whose Board of Directors was required to submit weekly, monthly, and semi-annual reports to the Director.[67]

MINISTER, SECRETARY OF STATE

By Article 32 of the Organic Statute the position of Minister, Secretary of State was retained. The Minister was to remain at the side of the monarch. All matters sent from the State Council and Administrative Council of the Kingdom to the Tsar were channeled through the Minister. In turn, all the Tsar's commands to the Viceroy were directed through the Minister.[68] In addition, the Minister countersigned all

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St. Petersburg on July 1, 1876. Ochimowski, Prawo Administracyjne, p. 239. See also Okolski, Wykład Prawa Administracyjnego..., p. 175.

[66] Kutrzeba, Historya Ustroju Polski..., p. 98.

[67] Okolski, Wykład Prawa Administracyjnego..., pp. 182-187. This Commission retained its autonomous structure until 1867 when it was placed under the control of the Minister of Finance in St. Petersburg. Ibid., p. 181. Two years later it ceased to exist altogether. Ochimowski, Prawo Administracyjne, p. 238.

[68] Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 14, pp. 212-213, Art. 32.

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[69] Ibid., p

[70] Russia, 1832, p. 90, No Tsar approved a Chancellery to 1833, p. 81, No

[71] Poland, The Board of Co 1866/7. In its der the direct Administracyjne

Imperial laws, commands, and regulations which pertained to the Kingdom of Poland and was responsible for their being entered into the Dziennik Praw.[69]

With the creation of the Department for the Affairs of the Kingdom of Poland within the Imperial State Council, the duties of the Minister were increased. Projects were referred to the Department through the Minister and those brought before the State Council had first to be translated into Russian. The Minister was able to use his Chancellery for this work and, in addition, was given an assistant and two clerks for the purpose of assisting him in his added responsibilities.[70]

BOARD OF CONTROL

The Board of Control, with all its functions, was retained by the Organic Statute. The only change was in its title. Henceforth, it was to be referred to as the Highest Board of Control and its presiding officer was titled Controller General.[71]

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[69] Ibid., pp. 212-215, Art. 33.

[70] Russia, Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii, 1832, p. 90, No. 5166, Arts. 12, 13. On March 24, 1833, the Tsar approved an additional 15,000 rubles annually for the Chancellery to cover the added costs it had assumed. Ibid., 1833, p. 81, No. 6075.

[71] Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 14, pp. 216-217, Art. 36. The Board of Control was abolished on December 28/January 9, 1866/7. In its place three regional boards were created under the direct control of St. Petersburg. Ochimowski, Prawo Administracyjne, p. 232.

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CIVIL SERVICE

After 1832 there were no constitutional safeguards which restricted the holding of governmental positions in the Kingdom to Poles. As already indicated, the Tsar was not limited to selecting persons for ecclesiastical, judicial, and administrative offices from names submitted by the Administrative Council. If the candidates did not suit him he could make selections from among any of his subjects. To offset any criticism which might arise from the European Powers, there was a provision in the Organic Statute which reserved to the ruler the granting of citizenship in the Kingdom of Poland to persons residing within the Kingdom or to others, Russians and foreigners, who were not yet settled within its boundaries.[72]

Therefore, in the area of civil service, separate administrative institutions did not mean the continuation of the level of autonomy enjoyed by the Kingdom under the 1815 Constitution which set residential, cultural, moral, and economic qualifications for citizenship, which was, in turn, a requisite, with a very limited exception, for civil service.

After the 1830 uprising, the important qualification for holding office was the degree of confidence which the ruler placed in the individuals who aspired to serve as officials in the Kingdom. Therefore, in key central administrative offices the Tsar generally placed Russians whom he

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[72]Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 14, pp. 194-197, Art. 21.

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STATUTE'S IMPACT ON KINGDOM AUTONOMY

As this chapter indicates, the Organic Statute was a direct result of the Polish Uprising and was intended to curtail the autonomy of the Kingdom. However, while the Statute departed to a considerable extent from the Constitution of 1815, the separate status of the Kingdom was not eliminated. Most central administrative institutions were retained but the shift toward less autonomy for the Kingdom was reflected in such measures as the creation of a separate department for the Kingdom within the Imperial State Council, indicating closer supervision of Kingdom affairs, and increasing substitutions of Russian for Polish officials in key positions in the administration. Subsequent events and actions during Paskevich's Viceroyalty were further to erode the Kingdom's autonomy.

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CHAPTER III

The failure of the 1830 uprising resulted in the emigration of almost ten thousand persons from the Kingdom of Poland, including large numbers of military personnel.[1] From their places of exile in France and England these émigrés worked to alter the existing situation within the Kingdom by diplomatic and political means. However, their success was limited since the émigrés were divided among themselves as to which course would best serve the interest of restoring a free and independent Polish State. The consequences for the Kingdom of Poland were that, on the one hand, a greater degree of administrative autonomy than the Tsar would have preferred was maintained, while on the other hand, greater restrictions were placed upon the inhabitants of the Kingdom.

ÉMIGRÉS AND ADMINISTRATIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE KINGDOM OF POLAND

Most prominent of the émigrés was Adam Czartoryski, who had served as President of the National Government from

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[1] M. Kukiel, Czartoryski and European Unity: 1770-1861 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1955), p. 209. These émigrés reached France via Austria or Prussia where they were warmly received. While allowed to stay in the country, the Poles were settled in camps outside Paris. Initially, the Polish émigrés received assistance from Lafayette's Committee for Poland. Later, when their numbers increased, the French Treasury paid ex-soldiers an allowance equal to military half-pay. Ibid., pp. 209-210.

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2 Lenskii,

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January until August, 1831, at which time the members of the government went into exile.[2] Believing that the question of Great Power intervention in the Kingdom of Poland might receive more favorable consideration if initiated from England rather than France, which was under a cloud of suspicion because of her own recent revolution, Prince Czartoryski journeyed to London, arriving there December 22, 1831. The sympathies of the Liberal Cabinet, then in power, to the Polish cause were genuine. However, actual exercise of political power placed burdens on the ministers which forced a modification of the position they had held before assuming responsibility for conducting the business of government. Marquis Wielopolski and Count Walewski, envoys of the Polish National Government in London, had reported as early as the spring of 1831 that the Liberal Government, "alarmed at the excitement in France and the cries of revenge for Waterloo," decided that England's policy should be:

> 'Not to weaken Russia, as Europe might soon again require her services in the cause of order,' and to prevent Poland, whom it regarded as the natural ally of France, from becoming 'a French province on the Vistula.'[3]

In January, 1832, Lord Chancellor Brougham granted Czartoryski an interview, during the course of which he said:

> 'Your Highness will understand the difference between the feelings of a private individual and the duties of a

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[2]Lenskii, Istoriia Rossii v XIX veke, I, 319-321.

[3]Gielgud, Memoirs of Prince Adam Czartoryski..., pp. 316-317.

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[4] Ibid.,

[5] Kukiel

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> Minister. The opinions of Lord Grey and myself as to Poland are well known to you; but we were obliged to adapt our policy to the condition of England, who was absolutely incapable (sic) of making war. ... The fate of Poland will always interest us, but unfortunately the Polish cause is opposed to the wishes of all the other Powers. They all want peace, while to take up the cause of Poland means war.'[4]

Kukiel summarizes Czartoryski's position on this question of European intervention as follows:

> The stipulations of the Congress of Vienna were more the concern of the European cabinets than of Poland: Poland had not been a participant; she had not broken any treaty by her revolution. The partitioning powers had for the first time obtained in Vienna the legal recognition of their possessions in Poland, but only under the specific conditions that the national rights of the Poles in all parts of the former Commonwealth of 1772 were respected, and that a Polish kingdom with its own constitution should have a separate existence. By the violation of those rights, the corresponding articles of the treaty would become null and void and the possession of Polish territories by the three sovereigns deprived of legal validity.[5]

It is difficult to determine to what extent Prince Czartoryski was responsible for the protestations which England sent to St. Petersburg. However, Lord Palmerston, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, did tell Czartoryski:

> 'We have forwarded our representations and remarks as to the maintenance of the Treaty of Vienna. We recognise that Russia has not fulfilled it, for she has done nothing in the provinces, and after granting a Constitution to the kingdom, has violated its provisions. We firmly adhere to this view, although Austria and Prussia dissent from it. We hold that the Constitution granted by the Emperor Alexander should be maintained, and can only be altered by the Diet; also that the Polish provinces

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[4] Ibid., pp. 327-328.

[5] Kukiel, Czartoryski and European Unity..., pp. 195-196.

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[6] Gielgu
p. 328.

[7] Skarbe

of Russia should have a representative assembly and a provincial administration.[6]

Nicholas' concern regarding the continuing discussion of the Polish Question in Western Europe was reflected in an article which appeared July, 1833, in St. Petersburg and Polish newspapers setting forth the government's position on the Congress of Vienna Treaty stipulations with respect to the Kingdom of Poland. The article pointed out that the treaty specified that the Poles were to receive "representative and national institutions" which each of the partitioning powers deemed appropriate. The article went on to say that the Constitution which the Kingdom received was freely given by Alexander and was not a requirement of the Congress of Vienna, and maintained the Polish revolutionaries themselves destroyed this Constitution. The Tsar, having conquered the Kingdom of Poland anew, nevertheless restored the former ties between the two countries, retaining the Kingdom's name and position which had been granted it by Tsar Alexander. The autonomy guaranteed the Kingdom by the Congress of Vienna was also guaranteed by the Organic Statute which assured that the Kingdom would have a separate administration and existence. In fact, the article noted, the privileges which the Statute had granted to the residents of the Kingdom were not enjoyed by the Poles under Prussia and Austria.[7]

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[6]Gielgud, Memoirs of Prince Adam Czartoryski..., p. 328.

[7]Skarbek, Królestwo Polskie..., pp. 33-36.

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While Russia did not fear the European Powers, confident they would not go to war over Poland, she did retain a certain regard for public opinion. The creation and protection of the Kingdom of Poland rested on the Treaty of Vienna which was signed by all the European Powers, Russia included. She had no desire to appear as a nation with no regard for international agreements.[8] Lenskii indicates, however, that:

> All these promises remained on paper, written only for the benefit of Western Europe, especially England and France, which strove for strict fulfillment of the Vienna Treaty.[9]

Émigré influence on administrative developments in the Kingdom of Poland was not limited to efforts of Czartoryski and his supporters since the Polish émigrés were not united in their drive to regain independence for the Kingdom. In general, two trends emerged. The first, made up primarily of the aristocracy, was committed to a monarchical form of government and looked to outside help to achieve its goal. The second sought to secure its aim by appealing to the people, and, consequently, espoused a republican form of government arising out of a "social transformation of the nation."[10] Skarbek notes that "from this flowed its inability to appeal to monarchical Europe." Skarbek observes:

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[8]Hrabia Stanisław Tarnowski, Nasze dzieje w ostatnich stu latach (Kraków: Spółka Wydawnicza Polska, 1895), p. 81.

[9]Lenskii, "Polskoe vostannie 1863," Istoriia Rossii v XIX veke, III, 270.

[10]Skarbek, Królestwo Polskie..., p. 39.

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> It had not learned the lesson of history--that the masses never revolt together and unanimously and, if they momentarily work together it is only to destroy but never to maintain and build.[11]

Unable and unwilling to appeal to the monarchies of Europe, its hopes for Poland's liberation were pinned on a "general uprising of the people in a world revolution." One phase in such a "general uprising" was to be partisan activity within the Kingdom itself.[12]

Józef Zaliwski, a lieutenant of the First Line Regiment during the 1830 uprising and accorded a hero's welcome upon his arrival in Paris in December, 1831, was entrusted with the initiation of this partisan activity. However, the incursion attempt in March, 1833, failed. Zaliwski and his companions were captured and sentenced in Lwow for crimes against the state.[13]

In a letter written to Paskevich August 30/September 11, 1833, from Münchengrätz, the Tsar informed his Viceroy that Zaliwski had been captured and, at Nicholas' request, the Austrian Emperor had agreed to reduce Zaliwski's sentence to life imprisonment.[14]

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[11] Ibid., pp. 40-41.

[12] Kukiel, Czartoryski and European Unity..., pp. 212-213.

[13] Nikolai Vasilevich Berg, Zapiski N. V. Berga o Polskikh zagovorakh i vozstaniiakh: 1831-1862 (Moskva: Tipografiia Gracheva i K., 1873), pp. 9-14, 32-39.

[14] Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 30go avgusta/11go sentiabria 1833 goda, in Shcherbatov, Prilozheniia..., pp. 175-176. Zaliwski remained chained in a fortress at Kufstein until 1848 when he was freed. He died shortly thereafter. Berg, Zapiski N. V. Berga..., pp. 39-40.

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Zaliwski's attempt to foment revolt in the Kingdom was countered by an Imperial Decree given at St. Petersburg April 11/23, 1833, acknowledging the presence of various persons threatening to revive the insurrection and warning that this would prove costly for the whole country and harmful for the peaceful existence of its residents. The decree went on to say that, pending the enactment of a special law to deal with crimes committed against the state as provided for in Article 10 of the Organic Statute, all such violations and crimes were placed under the jurisdiction of military courts. The sentencing of those found guilty was entrusted to the Viceroy of the Kingdom who was also to see that this decree was enforced until replaced by special law to be forthcoming.[15] No such law was ever enacted and this decree remained in force until 1856 when it was rescinded by the new Tsar.[16]

A further consequence of attempts to initiate disturbances within the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Provinces was the setting aside of several sections of the Organic Statute which dealt with local and provincial assemblies.[17] In addition, the Organic Statute provided for new consultative bodies titled "Regional Assemblies" for the purpose of discussing matters touching upon the general

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[15] Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 15, pp. 224-229.

[16] Kornilov, Russkaia politika v Polshe..., p. 33.

[17] Sidorov, Russkie i Russkaia Zhizn..., p. 82. See also Smoleński, Dzieje Narodu..., p. 509.

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well-being of the Kingdom of Poland. A separate law was to outline the organization and functioning of these bodies.[18] Shcherbatov, in discussing the potential evolution of these assemblies into law-giving institutions, states that they could have been called into existence only under conditions of complete political peace within the country. The Viceroy was to determine when the political state of the country was sufficiently improved to allow these regional assemblies to come into existence and assume the role of co-operating with the central administrative institutions in governing the country.[19] Skarbek states that the provisions of the Organic Statute providing for these assemblies--local, provincial, and regional--were never implemented.[20]

Furthermore, while the émigrés failed in their objective of arousing the residents of the Kingdom to open rebellion, their partisan activities did serve to draw the partitioning powers closer together. In September, 1833, the Austrian Emperor and the Russian Tsar met in Münchengrätz to consider the Turkish Question and, at the same time, included on their agenda the problem of Poles instigating insurrections in one section of partitioned Poland and then seeking asylum in other sections.[21] The Münchengrätz

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[18] Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 14, pp. 236-237, Arts. 53-54.

[19] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., pp. 48, 50.

[20] Skarbek, Królestwo Polskie..., p. 67.

[21] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 82.

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Treaty between Russia and Austria contained a section by which the signatories bound themselves to return persons to the country in which they stood accused of committing crimes against the state. A convention drawn up in Berlin in October of the same year between Russia and Prussia provided for similar precautions against revolutionaries who threatened the peace in any part of partitioned Poland.[22] In addition, the three monarchs were each to keep in readiness a 3,500-man armed force which could respond to one another's pleas for aid. In the event revolution threatened, an even larger army could be sent.[23]

An Imperial Manifesto, issued in St. Petersburg February 6, 1834, and inserted in the Dziennik Praw of the Kingdom of Poland, embraced the regulations agreed to by Russia, Austria, and Prussia concerning those "guilty of treason, offenses against the Ruler or armed insurrection against Throne and Government."[24]

Most effective of the various measures to contain and eliminate the threat of revolutionary elements within the Kingdom was the enactment of martial law which enabled the Viceroy to deal swiftly and severely with transgressors. By mid-July, 1833, the Tsar could express his great satisfaction at Paskevich's report that the Kingdom was "quiet and

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[22]R. F. Leslie, Polish Politics and the Revolution of November, 1830 (London: The Athlone Press, University of London, 1956), p. 261.

[23]Skarbek, Królestwo Polskie..., pp. 37-38.

[24]Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 15, pp. 403-404.

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peaceful."[25]

Following the conclusion of the Münchengrätz meeting, Tsar Nicholas traveled to St. Petersburg by way of the Kingdom of Poland, spending several days there. Upon his return to St. Petersburg, Nicholas sent a letter to Paskevich in which he wrote:

> Accept once again my sincere gratitude for all for which I am indebted to you; the army, your work, the country. I found all in desired order; only because of your unremitting labors, firmness and constancy.... May the Merciful God reward and fortify you in your glorious and useful service.[26]

However, danger from insurrectionists was not considered ended and in a letter dated January 4/16, 1834, the Tsar wrote to the Viceroy:

> I rejoice that all is quiet and am hopeful that it will not be disturbed...but caution will always be necessary.[27]

In May of the same year Easter greetings from his Polish subjects prompted this comment from the Tsar:

> I will believe the Poles only when they have given me other evidence of their sincerity besides best wishes of the season....[28]

PROMULGATION OF THE ORGANIC STATUTE

The ceremonious promulgation of the Manifesto and Organic Statute took place in Warsaw March 13/25, 1832, in

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[25] Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 16go iiulia 1833 goda, in Shcherbatov, Prilozheniia..., p. 170.

[26] Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 19go sentiabria/1go oktiabria 1833 goda, in ibid., p. 177.

[27] Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 4go/16go genvaria 1834 goda, in ibid., p. 228.

[28] Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 4go/16go maia 1834 goda, in ibid., p. 232.

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[30] Ibid.

the presence of representatives of regional administrative and judicial officials called to Warsaw for this purpose. Also present were two deputies, representatives of the nobility and landowners, from each province.[29] The original copies of both documents had been brought to Warsaw by Paskevich from St. Petersburg for the solemn promulgation and, following the conclusion of the ceremonies, were to be returned for safekeeping in the Imperial Archives.[30]

Prior to the official ceremonies, Paskevich summoned all the members of the Temporary Government, the higher officials of the Kingdom, representatives of the nobility, and deputies from the provinces to appear at his official residence at 10 o'clock in the morning. The plan was for all to leave together for the church, with the Viceroy in the lead, where the service of thanksgiving was to take place. Prior to the departure, the Viceroy used the opportunity to address the gathering in French in which he spoke of the Tsar's concern for a people and a country which had betrayed the goodness bestowed upon it by his predecessor.[31] With the return of stability to the country, the Tsar, "extending his benevolent solicitude over his misguided subjects," desired to accord to the Kingdom of Poland "a new Organic Statute and administration more responsive to the true needs

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[29] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 51. Also present were all high government officials stationed in Warsaw, as well as the Governor of the city, General Witt. Ibid.

[30] Ibid., p. 52.

[31] Ibid.

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and, of course, interests of the people."[32] Announcing that "His Imperial and Royal Majesty has deigned at the same time to nominate me as Viceroy in the Kingdom," Paskevich then extended the following invitation to the assembled persons:

> Gentlemen...I invite you to give to me your sincere co-operation, and with all fidelity due to the legitimate throne, in order that we can attain the noble and solitary goal which is proposed by our August Sovereign, the affectionate father of all His subjects; that is to raise the Kingdom of Poland to that high degree of internal prosperity, unknown in former times, and whose rapid progress during the last fifteen years was for you a cause of astonishment and surprise.[33]

The religious portion of the ceremony took place in the Church of St. John during which the "Te Deum" was intoned by Bishop Pawlowski. Then came the reading from the pulpit of the Tsar's Manifesto, granting the Organic Statute, by Canon Kotowski who expressed the "gratitude of the nation for such a great benefit."[34]

That same day Paskevich wrote to the Tsar that the ceremonies in Warsaw had taken place peacefully.[35] He then reported that he had proclaimed himself Viceroy prior to receiving official notification and explained that he did so:

> Not having received the Decree, but knowing your Imperial Will....[36]

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[32] Shcherbatov, Prilozheniia..., p. 131.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Skarbek, Królestwo Polskie..., p. 17.

[35] Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 28go marta/9go aprelia 1832 goda, in Shcherbatov, Prilozheniia..., p. 13.

[36] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 53.

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Nicholas commended Paskevich for the action he had taken.[37]

To emphasize the appreciation of the Polish nation for the Tsar's "goodness and highmindedness" in granting the Organic Statute, Paskevich entrusted Count Witt, Military Governor of Warsaw, with the task of forming a delegation of residents of the Kingdom to go to St. Petersburg to express personally the gratitude of the nation. This was a delicate matter since any semblance of pressure could have evoked protests from within and outside Poland. It was decided that the best course would be to let the initiative for this journey come from the nobility themselves, preferably those who enjoyed respect and influence in the country. With the quiet consent of Count Witt, Bishop Choromanski and Prince Radziwiłł undertook the handling of the matter.[38]

The delegation, as it was finally constituted, included two ecclesiastical representatives, Bishop Choromanski and Monseignor Łubieński, as well as two deputies from every province and the city of Warsaw.[39] Numbered among the latter were: Prince Radziwiłł, brother of the general who had taken part in the November uprising; Edward Niemojewski, whose father had been a member of the National Government; Franciszek Soltyk, a relative of Koniecki who had introduced the resolution in the Sejm dethroning Nicholas I; and Tomasz

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[37] Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 28go marta/9go aprelia 1832 goda, in Shcherbatov, Prilozheniia..., p. 13.

[38] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 54.

[39] Skarbek, Królestwo Polskie..., p. 15.

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Ibid., p. 31.

[42] Ibid.

Łubieński, two of whose brothers had taken part in the uprising.[40]

Paskevich, extremely satisfied with the composition of the delegation, used the opportunity to win the Tsar's favorable disposition for Count Witt who had earned Nicholas' displeasure by the marriage he had contracted.[41] In a letter dated March 20/April 1, 1832, Paskevich wrote to the Tsar:

> I never expected that the best families would have agreed to this. The demagogues counted on them. Imagine, please, their despair; they now say that we bought the deputies. In a word, the compromised revolutionaries will never forgive them this. Thus, these families will, henceforth, be involuntarily devoted to us. Count Witt managed to do this: He serves you, Your Highness, sincerely and faithfully.[42]

Nicholas, pleased to hear about the delegation from the Kingdom, conceded that he considered this a tribute to the competence of Count Witt and indicated that he believed the impact of the visit would be "very useful for the whole country and all of Europe" and could not help but "amaze the demagogues." He then went on to say that the delegation would be received in the Hall of St. George in order to cloak this event with "all possible importance in front of Russia and flatter her self-esteem." The letter concluded with a postscript requesting Paskevich to "tell Count Witt

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[40] Morawski, Dzieje Narodu Polskiego..., p. 468.

[41] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 55. Count Witt, a Polish aristocrat, married Sobańska, known to have taken part in plottings with Polish revolutionaries. Ibid., p. 31.

[42] Ibid., p. 55.

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The Polish delegation paid its homage to the Tsar on Sunday, May 1/13, 1832, before a "vast throng of people." Nicholas wrote to Paskevich:

> Only you were missing as a witness to the triumphant magnanimity of Russia, again, because of you, covered with glory. The Poles were anxious in the full sense of the word; but quieted after my reply. They conduct themselves modestly and quietly. I no longer regard them as deputies since the mission given them has ended. Prince Radziwill pleases me very much, his whole bearing and conduct is extremely noble; also that of Bishop Choromanski, a venerable old man. From among the rest, I have taken a great liking to young Niemojewski, for his modest, noble appearance. I gave Radziwiłł the Order of Alexander and Choromanski the Order of St. Anne, First Class.[44]

The reply which Nicholas mentioned in his letter was his address to the deputies in which he informed them that:

> Russia does not remember evil and all faithful subjects, without regard to nationality and religion, are equally dear to her heart.[45]

APPOINTMENT OF DIRECTORS

The approval of key administrative personnel for the Kingdom was reserved to the Tsar. While Paskevich's influence was considerable, it was, nevertheless, limited. The manner in which various directors were appointed affords insight into the attitudes of Nicholas and Paskevich regarding the administrative needs of the Kingdom and how each believed

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[43] Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 31go marta/12go aprelia 1832 goda, in Shcherbatov, Prilozheniia..., pp. 14-15.

[44] Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 3go/15go maia 1832 goda, in ibid., p. 20.

[45] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 55.

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Paskevich's proposal that Rautenstrauch, Head of the Religious Affairs and Education Section in the Temporary Government, be appointed Chief Director of the Government Commission of Internal and Religious Affairs and Education,[46] was not supported by Nicholas. Instead, on March 28/April 9, 1832, he confirmed Stroganov, who had headed the Internal Affairs Section in the Temporary Government, as Chief Director of the Government Commission of Internal and Religious Affairs and Education. Nicholas then brought up the question of Rautenstrauch. Indicating he was to remain in the Administrative Council, the Tsar voiced his concern over disquieting complaints reaching him regarding Rautenstrauch's coarseness and unfairness. Stating that these visitors to the capital also voiced doubts about Rautenstrauch's sincerity, Nicholas asked the Viceroy to comment on the truthfulness of these rumors.[47]

Nicholas took up the question of Rautenstrauch again eight days later. He wrote that he found it more useful to retain Rautenstrauch as a member of the Administrative Council and the State Council than to give him a separate department because:

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[46]The Religions and Public Education Section was combined with the Internal Affairs Section to form the new Government Commission of Internal and Religious Affairs and Education.

[47]Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 28go marta/9go aprelia 1832 goda, in Shcherbatov, Prilozheniia..., p. 13.

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> He is good as a councillor overall, but too harsh and rude in personal relations to be in charge of a particular section.[48]

To support his position, the Tsar indicated Engel shared this opinion and was convinced Nicholas had judged Rautenstrauch correctly. Then, as if to placate Paskevich who valued Rautenstrauch very highly, the Tsar said that Rautenstrauch would govern the Kingdom in Paskevich's absence.[49]

Letters between the Viceroy and the Tsar crossed in the mails so that in his next letter to the Tsar, dated April 1st, Paskevich was only responding to the question posed regarding rumors about Rautenstrauch's ability to direct a Government Department. Paskevich's defense of Rautenstrauch elicited the response that the Tsar was sincerely sorry that his disagreement regarding confirmation of Rautenstrauch as Director of the Commission of Internal Affairs had grieved the Viceroy. Nicholas stated that he had no other purpose in his decision except usefulness for the civil service. Rendering full recognition to the evident zeal and capabilities which Rautenstrauch possessed, Nicholas wrote:

> I have been and remain convinced that he will be incomparably more useful in the general council as a senior member, instead of managing so important a department, where it is necessary for us to have our reliable Russians.[50]

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[48] Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 31go marta/12go aprelia 1832 goda, in ibid., p. 15.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 12go/24go aprelia 1832 goda, in ibid., p. 17.

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By way of supporting his decision, Tsar Nicholas stated that for fifteen years his deceased brother Constantine was served by Rautenstrauch and "knew him and respected all his talents." While he employed him fully, nevertheless, he "never entrusted him with a separate section since he knew his character and limitations and controlled him sternly." Nicholas added that he had been a frequent witness of this control. The Tsar concluded with the statement that Rautenstrauch was necessary and could be employed usefully only in the way the Tsar had indicated but not otherwise.[51]

To what extent Nicholas was influenced in his decision by an incident which occurred earlier the same year, and is recounted by Skarbek, is difficult to determine. Skarbek, custodian of the library and museum of the Friends of Education Society, stated that towards the end of 1831, the Society was disbanded and its library holdings were to be taken to St. Petersburg while the building was to be given over to the Department of Finance. An appeal on behalf of the Society was made to the Tsar by Rautenstrauch. The appeal was denied and an announcement was made by the Temporary Government that the property of the Society was considered a "prize of war." Skarbek criticized the announcement as implying that the Society was a gathering place for revolutionaries.[52] Actually, it was Nicholas himself who wrote

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[51] Ibid.

[52] Skarbek, Pamiętniki..., pp. 206-207.

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to Paskevich:

> No matter what they say, Czartoryski and Niemcewicz were the principal members of it [Society] and were first in revolution....[53]

The Tsar used this same occasion to reprimand Paskevich for placing him in an embarrassing position by corresponding officially with Grabowski, Minister, Secretary of State regarding this matter. Grabowski had been unaware of the confiscation prior to this correspondence. Paskevich was instructed to handle all such questions personally in the future since they were concerned "with commands issued by the Russian Tsar, punishing the treachery of the Poles." The Tsar reiterated that all subsequent difficulties were to be brought directly to his attention and indicated that this was all the more necessary since the petition had not come from the Society itself. To Nicholas the capture of Warsaw made the library and similar items trophies of war which he could return as a favor but which now actually belonged to him. Nicholas then ordered the Viceroy to guard against a breach of this nature in the future.[54]

From the dates of Nicholas' letters, there is no specific evidence to link Rautenstrauch's petition on behalf of the Society with his failure to win a directorship in the newly-formed government of the Kingdom of Poland. The question of his character faults was brought up in a letter

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[53] Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 5go/17go aprelia 1832 goda, in Shcherbatov, Prilozheniia..., p. 16.

[54] Ibid.

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dated March 28th and pursued further in the next letter to Paskevich dated March 31st. The objections to the way the petition regarding the Society's library was handled occurred April 5th, followed by an elaboration upon the role the former Head of Religious Affairs and Education could usefully play in the civil service of the Kingdom in the letter dated April 12th. Actually, the statements made in the April 12th letter provided sufficient reasons for not considering Rautenstrauch for a position as director of a government commission. While no definite conclusions can be drawn, it is possible to speculate that, given the Tsar's reaction to the uprising, Rautenstrauch's petition on behalf of the Friends of Education Society would not have enhanced his chances for favorable consideration for a sensitive and vital post in the administration of the Kingdom of Poland.

Paskevich complied with the Tsar's wishes regarding Rautenstrauch but continued to value his capabilities and extended his full confidence to him. Rautenstrauch played an important role in the administration of the Kingdom up until his death in 1842.[55]

Generally, Paskevich valued competent persons, not attaching great importance to their political longings since he believed these posed little danger "where a confident and watchful government" directed the activities of its officials. The implementation of this belief could be observed as early as 1831 in the affair of Count Henry Łubieński,

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[55]Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., pp. 53-54.

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Director of the Bank of Poland.[56]

At the end of 1831 a letter written by Łubieński to one of his relatives found its way to St. Petersburg. In this letter Łubieński spoke of the Bank of Poland as "an institution in which were concentrated the last political hopes of Poland." Further, he expressed his conviction that in directing the Bank he was, at the same time, "preserving not only the material prosperity of the country but its national sense of unity as well." The Tsar ordered the letter to be forwarded to Paskevich, asking him for an explanation and to indicate if retention of Count Łubieński as Director of the Bank was a responsible move.[57]

Paskevich's reply was made in a confidential memorandum in which he stated:

> The Poles, in general, are ill-disposed toward us; they long for, and will always long for, change. These are known facts. That Henry and the whole Łubieński family are no better than the others, this also is known. There remains only the question: Is the Bank of Poland useful and is Łubieński useful for the Bank?[58]

Answering that there was no doubt that the Bank was one of the chief sources of prosperity in the country--promoting manufacturing and agriculture, stabilizing the money market through its support of credit, and providing a source of income for the treasury from its own enterprises--Paskevich then asserted:

> It has to be acknowledged that the Bank benefits from the capability and work of Count Henry Łubieński. Privy Councillor Fuhrman regards him as one of his ablest assistants. Besides this, his personal conduct is

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[56] Ibid., p. 29. [57] Ibid. [58] Ibid.

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[59] Ibid

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Evidence supporting Łubieński's outward loyalty was provided by Paskevich to the Tsar. He pointed out that Łubieński had sent his son to St. Petersburg to learn the Russian language with the intention of having him enter Russian service. Paskevich concluded by saying:

> In a word, Count Łubieński is one of those useful persons who are indispensable. Nevertheless, it will be necessary to supervise him carefully. To this end, I have now nominated two Russian Directors of the Bank. Up to this time, I could not do this because it was necessary to adequately prepare the people.[60]

The Tsar agreed with Paskevich's opinion[61] and Łubieński remained Director of the Bank of Poland.

Apparently both the Tsar and Paskevich were satisfied with the performances of Fuhrman and Kossecki in the Temporary Government and both were retained in their previous capacities--Fuhrman as head of Finance and Kossecki as head of Justice. Fuhrman remained in his post as Chief Director of Finance and Treasury until 1845, at which time he was assigned to serve in the General Assembly of the Warsaw Department of the Governing Senate.[62] Kossecki retained the position of Chief Director of Justice until his death in 1843.[63] Stroganov remained in the Kingdom only until 1834, when he was succeeded by Adj.-Gen. Golovin as Chief Director

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[59] Ibid., p. 30. [60] Ibid. [61] Ibid.

[62] Russkii Biograficheskii Slovar, Vol. 21, p. 254.

[63] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 246.

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Skarbek, commenting on Stroganov's short service in the Kingdom, notes:

> The exception among the numerous chief directors was General Count Alexander Stroganov who yet in 1831 took over this department as a member of the Temporary Government. He was the only excellent statesman who directed the Commission for Internal Affairs, but because of his superior qualities, wisdom and noble manner of thought could not retain his high position. Resigning his office, he spoke the following words: 'the whole administration of the Country depends upon the Commission of Internal Affairs and could be tolerable if matters within it did not proceed in a Russian way, in a Cossack way.'[65]

Shcherbatov's version differs somewhat from Skarbek's regarding the termination of Stroganov's service in the Kingdom. He writes that at the beginning of 1834 the Tsar undertook mining reforms in Russia and wanted to place Count Stroganov in charge. He, therefore, asked Paskevich to select someone else to take over directorship of the Government Commission. Paskevich wrote that Golovin "has the ability and could take over this position perfectly." He added, however, that if the Tsar had need of Golovin for some other task, the alternate choices would be General Okunev or General Paniutin. The Tsar agreed to appoint Golovin who proved to be an honest and useful assistant to Paskevich in the administration of the country.[66]

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[64] Askenazy, Sto lat zarządu..., p. 47.

[65] Skarbek, Królestwo Polskie..., pp. 67-68, n.

[66] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., pp. 92-94. Stroganov was appointed Assistant to the Minister of Internal Affairs and from 1839 until 1841 directed the Ministry. He was appointed to the State Council in 1849 and in

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In considering the question of administrative appointments, it would seem that Paskevich's authority was considerable. However, that authority had to be exercised judiciously, as the process of selecting people to head key administrative positions at times generated differences of opinion between the monarch and his Viceroy. Paskevich managed to resolve these in a way which satisfied Nicholas and allowed Paskevich a significant degree of freedom to select the competent persons he believed were necessary to carry on the administration of the Kingdom adequately, thus reconciling the administrative needs of the Kingdom as he saw them with the strongly-held opinions of his monarch. Deference in tone, utilized by both men, facilitated amicable resolution of disagreements regarding qualities and qualifications of proposed candidates for specific posts.

The suspicion and lack of trust which Łubieński's

1854 became Military Governor of St. Petersburg. He served as Governor-General of Novorossia and Bessarabia. From 1863 until his death in 1891, at the age of 96, Stroganov resided in Odessa. Russkii Biograficheskii Slovar, Vol. 19, p. 485. Considering Stroganov's long and distinguished record of service, it is difficult to believe that he could have made the remark ascribed to him by Skarbek about Russian administration in the Kingdom. However, Skarbek knew him and served with him: first, in the March, 1831, Temporary Government of the Kingdom established in St. Petersburg in which Skarbek was head of Religions and Public Education; and later when he served as a member in the Administrative Council of the newly-organized government in 1832. Stroganov was 82 years of age when Skarbek published his history of the Kingdom of Poland. The repercussions of the footnote reference in this work for Stroganov could only have been minimal considering his advanced years and distinguished service record. Perhaps Skarbek's intent was only to pay public tribute to a person he held in high regard and, thus, a private remark made by Stroganov only to Skarbek was given attention it was never intended to receive.

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In the case of Rautenstrauch, whose political loyalty was never in question, Paskevich's proposal that he be appointed to head a Government Commission was rejected by Nicholas, and Paskevich yielded to the Tsar's expressed wishes. However, the decision was finalized only after the exchange of several letters which spanned a period of almost a month, and Nicholas' rejection of Rautenstrauch was softened by the Tsar's agreeing to his playing a different, though quite important role in the administrative structure of the Kingdom. In view of the Tsar's attitude toward Rautenstrauch, it appears paradoxical that Nicholas appointed him to assume the responsibilities of the Viceroy whenever Paskevich was absent from the Kingdom, which was not infrequently--Paskevich's duties as President of the Imperial State Council's Department for the Affairs of the Kingdom of Poland required numerous trips to St. Petersburg. In Paskevich's absence Rautenstrauch's duties included not only presiding over Administrative Council meetings, but also the very important function of approving project proposals issuing from the Government Commissions. Curiously, Nicholas did not regard Rautenstrauch's "coarse manners" as posing an obstacle to his holding the position of Acting Viceroy.

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Perhaps in that instance unquestioned loyalty to the Tsar was more necessary than an amiable disposition in dealing with subordinates in administration. Whatever the reasons, Rautenstrauch continued to fulfill the duties of Acting Viceroy until his death in 1842.

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CHAPTER IV

EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

While implementation of changes in administrative institutions and functions proceeded at a steady pace, Nicholas focused particular attention on areas which he considered sensitive and vital to successful implementation of his goal of unifying the Kingdom with the Empire. The first such area was education. Incorporation into the central Ministry of Education in St. Petersburg took almost eight years to accomplish and was achieved through a process of whittling away at educational autonomy in the Kingdom.[1]

Prior to the 1830 uprising elementary and secondary schools were under the direction of the Piarist Order. While regarded as good educators, the Piarists were considered to be

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[1]For Nicholas' ideas regarding education and its role in the development of disciplined and obedient subjects for Russia, see: Nicholas Riasanovsky, Nicholas I and Official Nationality in Russia: 1825-1855 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967); Patrick L. Alston, Education and the State in Tsarist Russia (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1969), pp. 30-41; Nicholas Hans, The Russian Tradition in Education (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963), pp. 25-27; Kornilov, Modern Russian History..., pp. 279-282, 288-289; Paul Miliukov, Charles Seignobos, and L. Eisenmann, History of Russia, Vol. II: The Successors of Peter The Great: From Catherine I to the Reign of Nicholas I, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1968), p. 266; and M. Polievktov, Nikolai I: biografiia i obzor tsarstvovaniia (Moskva: Izdatelstvo M. i S. Sabashnikovykh, 1918), pp. 226-229.

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fanatically nationalistic and, given their role as teachers, exerted considerable influence in molding the youth of the Kingdom in a spirit of patriotism.[2] In a letter to the Tsar, Paskevich accused the Piarists of instilling in their students a spirit which was hostile to Russia.[3]

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[2]Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., pp. 15-16. A Piarist priest, Stanislas Konarski (1700-1773), pioneered in educational reforms which were aimed at developing national consciousness and dedicated citizenship among the Polish nobility and gentry. For a detailed discussion of Reverend Konarski's efforts, see: William J. Rose, Stanislas Konarski: Reformer of Education in XVIII Century Poland (London: Jonathan Cape, 1929). The first partition of Poland in 1772 brought into sharper focus the deficiencies of the state and underscored the need for educational reforms along the lines advocated by Konarski. The suppression of the Society of Jesus by the Pope in 1773 provided an opportunity for undertaking reforms in education on a national scale. A National Education Commission was created by the Sejm. The Jesuits were then the largest teaching order in Poland and their possessions supplied the material means for a national school system offering a program aimed at training a responsible citizenry. It was hoped that eventually a strong central government would result which could secure the continued existence of the Polish state. While the time remaining was too short for the National Education Commission to achieve this goal, it did play a leading role in forming a new national consciousness which served to foster and sustain the spirit of patriotism in generations of Poles during the time that the state remained partitioned. For the best study of the work of the National Education Commission, see: Ambroise Jobert, La Commission d'Education Nationale en Pologne (1773-1794) (Paris: Société d'Edition "Les Belles Lettres," 1941). See also: C. Bobińska et al., Historia Polski, II, Cześć I: 1764-1795 (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1958); Józef Krasuski, "Zagadnienia oświatowe w praśie Piotra Switkowskiego," Polska Akademia Nauk, VII (1964), 39-68; Tadeusz Mizia, "Ideologia oświatowa Grzegorza Piramowicza," Polska Akademia Nauk, I (1958), 75-98; Tadeusz Mizia, "Przepisy dla szkół parafialnych z 1780 roku," Polska Akademia Nauk, VII (1964), 22-38; Janina Ender, "Sprawy oswiatowe w okresie sejmu czteroletniego," Polska Akademia Nauk, IV (1961), 35-86; and Tadeusz Mizia, "Komisji porządkowe cywilno-wojskowe a szkolnictwo parafialne w okresie sejmu czteroletniego," Polska Akademia Nauk, VI (1963), 40-92.

[3]Paskiewicz do Cesarza, 11go listopada 1831 roku, quoted in Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 16.

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When the revolt broke out in November, students and professors from Warsaw University and other specialized institutes of higher learning took part in the uprising.[4] Higher education ceased in the Kingdom and the fighting which continued throughout the following year also resulted in considerable dislocation of elementary and secondary education.[5] Because of the many teachers who took part in the uprising, the number of elementary schools declined by almost 50 per cent within a year's time.[6]

Following the suppression of the uprising, the Temporary Government pointed out that, given the instability of the times, it would be dangerous to gather together young people, especially those who would be attending upper grades, and ordered that all provincial schools already opened were to close and be replaced with schools containing the four lowest grades since the prevailing thinking was that students in this age group would be less susceptible to harmful impulses. In evaluating the results of the preceding decision, a government report noted:

> In this way 4,466 students devoted themselves to study in the 4-class elementary schools in 1832 and throughout the school year order and quiet were preserved. Examination time manifested the progress and good spirit as well as a tendency toward right principles and healthy theories

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[4]Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 16.

[5]Skarbek, Królestwo Polskie..., p. 20.

[6]Jan Kucharzewski, Epoka Paskiewiczowska: Losy Oświaty (Warszawa-Kraków: Skład Główny w Księgarni Gebethnera i Wolffa, 1914), p. 46.

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which were the first fruits of the government's endeavors in this department of public service.[7]

The many reports which reached the emigration painted a different picture regarding the state of education in the Kingdom. One of these was given by Stefan Witwicki who was a member of the Commission for Religions and Public Education until the middle of 1832. He received permission to travel abroad for his summer holiday and chose not to return to the Kingdom. He left a description of the ten-month period following the restoration of order in the Kingdom beginning with September, 1831. He writes:

> The University and all higher schools are closed; Professors are denied their salaries. In the elementary schools (where the teaching of the French language is forbidden) the teachers are constantly harassed, rectors are arrested upon denunciation by a spy that some 10 year old pupil drew the face of the Grand Duke or Paskevich on his book or that he hummed a national song in front of the school.[8]

Niederstetter, the Prussian Consul to the Kingdom, wrote in a report to his government dated September 20, 1832:

> The University, lyceums, all institutes of arts and sciences without exception are suppressed, and the youth roams idly to the great sorrow of their parents....[9]

Very soon after the fall of Warsaw, Nicholas turned his attention to the schools of the Kingdom. On October 5, 1831, he wrote to Paskevich:

> Since the education was bad and to it must chiefly be attributed the inclination of youth to the past revolt, it is necessary that we turn the greatest watchfulness to this area. It will not be excessive to give an order to Rautenstrauch to prepare a plan for reforming the

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[7] Ibid., pp. 46-47.

[8] Ibid., pp. 47-48.

[9] Ibid., p. 48.

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[11] Ibid

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> entire educational system. This plan is then to be presented to me.[10]

In the same month the Tsar ordered the University of Warsaw as well as all other institutions of higher learning to be closed.[11]

Rautenstrauch embarked upon his task at once but Kucharzewski observes that his work was useless since the Tsar,

> increasingly strengthened in his intention of extending the laws and administration of the Empire to the Kingdom, retaining only certain local characteristics, entrusted the working out of the reorganization of the schools of the Kingdom to a special committee in St. Petersburg, deliberating under the Presidency of Novosiltsev, with the recommendation that, insofar as possible, it should follow the school regulations of the Empire.[12]

This Petersburg Committee (made up of Novosiltsev, General Krasinski, Minister, Secretary of State Grabowski, and former Vice-Minister of Education Count Bludov) was told that their work of educational reform should not be confined to changing the central organization only but should provide for a total reorganization of the educational system of the Kingdom of Poland.[13]

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[10] Rafal Gerber, "Szkolnictwo Królestwa Polskiego w Okresie Międzypowstaniowym," Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty, III, 1962, 41.

[11] Ibid., 42.

[12] Kucharzewski, Epoka Paskiewiczowska..., p. 49.

[13] Tadeusz Manteuffel, "Centralne Władze Oświatowe na terenie B. Królestwa Kongresowego (1807-1915)," Rozprawy Historyczne Towarzystwo Naukowego Warszawskiego, VI, No. 2, 1929, 29-30. According to Kucharzewski, Bludov was included in the Committee since he had collaborated with Shishkov, Minister of Education from 1824 until 1828, in drawing up the educational reforms for the Russian Empire in 1828 and was,

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The work of this committee was completed in July 1832, and the plan forwarded to Warsaw for examination by a special committee made up of members appointed by the Viceroy and the Administrative Council.[14] In his instructions Paskevich reminded the Warsaw Committee that "the major principles of this project have already been accepted by the Tsar" and then directed the Committee to concentrate its efforts solely upon "the adaptation of the accepted principles to the situation and condition of the Polish Province."[15]

While the specially-appointed Committee proceeded with its task, Paskevich turned to Stroganov with a secret memorandum dated August 26th in which he pointed out that part of the existing schools in the Kingdom were staffed by members of religious orders. By way of illustration, he noted that six of the twenty-six Provincial schools were conducted by the Piarists. He then went on to say the Committee was of the opinion that at present these existing schools should not be closed. However, this opinion conflicted with the "will of the Tsar" which was especially adamant on the question of the Piarist Order continuing its work as educators. Rather than invite a direct confrontation with the church hierarchy

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therefore, in a position to see to it that the Tsar's instructions were followed. The Polish members of the Committee, residing in St. Petersburg at the time and trusted by the Tsar, served to point out that the reforms were a unified effort and could be expected to neutralize any criticisms which might be forthcoming from the European Powers. Kucharzewski, Epoka Paskiewiczowska..., p. 116.

[14] Manteuffel, Rozprawy Historyczne..., VI, No. 2, 30.

[15] Kucharzewski, Epoka Paskiewiczowska..., p. 117.

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on this question by an outright prohibition of religious orders to maintain schools, Paskevich set forth his plan for resolving the dilemma. He proposed to Stroganov that an announcement be made calling for the closure of all existing schools. Once all schools had complied with the order, all government-operated schools were to be re-opened and all private and religious schools were to be informed that they could open only by special permission of the government. Individuals and religious orders, with the exception of the Piarists, would then be permitted to re-open their schools in accordance with the new regulations. Thus, the Tsar's will would be strictly fulfilled with reference to the Piarists while at the same time the recommendation of the Committee could also be implemented. In this way opposition from the Church would, to some extent, be neutralized.[16]

Paskevich's approach relied on not unnecessarily provoking the Church hierarchy while at the same time retaining a measure of control over it. The influence of the Church could then be used to serve governmental purposes. Paskevich believed that acting in this indirect manner he could also fulfill the Tsar's desires which were voiced shortly after Warsaw was taken. Secret instructions, conveyed to the Military Governor of the city, ordered that:

> The Piarist schools be closed under the guise of building the Citadel, and the monks of this order be kept under the strictest surveillance.[17]

It was the belief of the Tsar, shared by his Viceroy,

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[16] Ibid., pp. 119-120.

[17] Ibid., p. 120.

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that the goal of unifying the Kingdom with the Empire would be more easily achieved if efforts were directed at fostering proper attitudes in the youth of the country. This was to be accomplished by reorganizing the educational system--centralizing control and eliminating educators who were considered unreliable and dangerous. The Piarist Order which had played an extensive role in education prior to the 1830 insurrection was held responsible for instilling hostile attitudes towards Russia in their pupils. Therefore, there could be no role for them to play in the new educational system which was worked out in St. Petersburg and approved in Warsaw.

On September 5, 1832, Stroganov submitted a report to Paskevich in which he pointed out that in order to implement the Tsar's will with reference to reorganization of education in the Kingdom it was necessary to secure instructors to teach Russian language and literature--two for each gymnasium and one for each district school. The report suggested establishing nine gymnasiums--two in Warsaw and one in each of the seven provinces. In view of the fact that there were very few Russian language teachers in the Kingdom and these lacked a good grasp of Russian literature, it was proposed that at least thirty teachers be recruited in Russia--nine for teaching in gymnasiums, the rest to be assigned to district schools.[18]

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[18] Raport grafa Stroganova Namestniku, 5go sentiabria 1832 goda, in Shcherbatov, Prilozhenila..., p. 134. These teachers were to teach no less than 20 hours per week; the gymnasiums instructors to be paid 4,200 złp. annually and district school instructors were to earn 2,400 złp. annually. Ibid.

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The report went on to state that, in order to achieve the objective of expanding the knowledge of Russian in the Kingdom and bearing in mind the influence which teachers exercise upon the formation of character in students, care should be taken to select persons who, in addition to having a good grasp of the subject matter, would possess a fine general education and excellent morals. Further, since these teachers would, for the most part, take up residence in district cities among a hostile population, their ability to influence their young charges would depend upon their ability to win over a portion of the townspeople. Exemplary behaviour would be the best means to achieve this end.[19]

In order to attract qualified Russian personnel to teach in the Kingdom, Stroganov proposed that significant material benefits be offered in addition to substantial salaries. He suggested that travel expenses be paid and money provided for covering relocation expenses. Paskevich approved these suggestions and the Administrative Council proceeded to consider the proposals on October 26, 1832. Only Fuhrman objected to the awarding of supplemental benefits, not because he opposed the principle of special privileges but because he held that these are always given to specific individuals never to a whole class of civil servants.[20]

Fuhrman proposed instead that the starting salary for all teachers of the Russian language be set at a higher

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[19] Ibid., pp. 134-135.

[20] Kucharzewski, Epoka Paskiewiczowska..., p. 135.

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figure and that bonuses be awarded to those teachers who excelled in their work. Stroganov countered with the argument that such an approach would discourage Russian teachers from transferring to the Kingdom. Since the Administrative Council was inclined to accept Fuhrman's proposals, a compromise was worked out whereby the total amount of funds for this project suggested by Stroganov was appropriated but the disbursement of these funds was to be made in accordance with Fuhrman's proposal. Thus, 141,600 złp. were allocated for one year to provide nine Russian instructors for gymnasiums and twenty-one for district schools--108,000 złp. were set aside for salaries, the balance was to be used for supplementary payments.[21] Since the overall annual education budget was 1,725,361 złp., the teaching of Russian was calculated to consume almost one-twelfth of the total school budget.[22]

The importance attached to the teaching of Russian in Polish schools was reaffirmed by Paskevich. Commenting critically upon instructions for language teachers drafted by the Warsaw Committee, the Viceroy pointed out:

> The Russian language constitutes the first need in the education of Polish youth. The government, organizing educational institutions in Poland on the same principles as those which exist in Russia, has as its chief aim to draw the spirit of education in the Kingdom closer to education in the Empire, and next to draw

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[21] Ibid., pp. 135-137. The 108,000 złp. were to be allocated in the following way: Gymnasium teachers to receive 45,000 złp. and district school teachers to receive 63,000 złp. Ibid., p. 137.

[22] Ibid., p. 138.

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> Poles closer to Russians, for which the teaching of the Russian language is indispensable.[23]

He then proposed that the teaching method used in district schools be identical to the one used in Russian district schools while at the gymnasium level the method should be patterned after the one prescribed for teaching the Polish language. He also recommended that the selection of text books be left in the hands of the Minister of Education.[24]

The Administrative Council members wholeheartedly endorsed these proposals. Some were inclined to go even farther. For example, Lt. Gen. Pankratev, Chief Administrative Officer of the city of Warsaw, suggested that the schools issue certificates to students testifying to their competency in the Russian language. He proposed that students be informed that admission to civil service would be dependent upon attainment of proficiency in Russian. Pankratev cited as justification for this proposal that "without this necessary measure the government would not be able to attain its salutary aims."[25]

Pankratev's suggestion prompted the Viceroy to ask the Council to set a time limit beyond which persons who did not know Russian would not be considered for civil service. The Council, noting that "study of the Russian language does

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[23]Quoted in ibid., pp. 146-147. The Committee, noting that Russian had never been taught in many schools and where it had been taught it was as an elective subject, recommended that teachers, who could expect to encounter beginners at all grade levels, and local school boards be permitted to determine how classes should be conducted. Ibid., p. 145.

[24]Ibid., p. 147.

[25]Ibid.

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not present significant difficulties for the Pole," stated that three years after the teaching of Russian was introduced into the schools only persons who had a command of Russian would be admitted to governmental service.[26]

School discipline was to be a significant element in the new educational system. Two memoranda, prepared by Stroganov and the Minister, Secretary of State, noted that, since the rearing of offspring in Polish families resulted in spoilt children, government schools were to introduce procedures which would, with the aid of severe discipline, compensate for the shortcomings of home upbringing. Evidence supporting these charges was found in the fact that in 1830 the first revolutionary symptoms were manifested among students who were believed to have been corrupted because of the permissive atmosphere in the schools which did not compensate for parental indulgence of children. Stroganov concluded, therefore, that:

> For this reason the school should guide youth with such authority as would resemble parental authority avoiding insofar as possible the character of state authority, so that the student would be a child subject to this authority concentrated in the person of the teacher.[27]

It was hoped that in this way the student would develop

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[26] Ibid., p. 148.

[27] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., pp. 61-62. Corporal punishment especially was to be used and, since it was vital that punishment follow immediately upon the transgression, regulations permitted all teachers to discipline students. Expulsion was to be used rarely and prescribed for older students since there was no desire "to lose future generations." When invoked, Paskevich pointed out that "such worthless students should be sent as privates into the Army, without, however, losing their rights as nobles." Ibid., p. 62.

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submissiveness and acquire a "childlike, silent humility."[28]

CLASSIFICATION OF TEACHERS

Prior to recruiting teachers for the reorganized schools, Stroganov submitted a classification guideline to the Administrative Council. The following categories were established:

1. Those who are deserving of the confidence in them and of positions in the future corresponding to those which they had occupied up to the present.

2. Those who lost their positions due to the closing of the University, of the Board of the Society for Elementary Books and of the Polytechnic School but nevertheless would be able to be employed in the new schools.

3. Professors and teachers whose qualifications do not correspond with the positions prescribed by the new plan and who, having means of supporting themselves, have no need of any assistance.

4. Professors and teachers who find themselves in the same situation as the preceding with regard to their qualifications but who do not possess any funds to maintain themselves.

5. Three professors of the Medical Faculty of the former University who, in addition to their positions of professor, also served and continue to serve on the Medical Council and who cannot be placed in the planned institutes because of the nature of their experience and consequently will not receive a salary commensurate with their abilities for the work in said Council.

6. Professors and teachers who by their active service in the ranks of the revolutionaries have lost the confidence of the Government and will never be able, as a consequence, to fill again the important function of public teacher.[29]

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[28] Ibid.

[29] Raport grafa Stroganova Namestniku, 13go dekabria 1832 goda, No. 14, in Shcherbatov, Prilozheniia..., pp. 136-137.

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Stroganov proposed that each of the categories be dealt with in the following manner:

1. Teachers in the first category were to be regarded as primary candidates for vacancies in the schools to be established by the new regulations.

2. Those belonging to the second category were to be dismissed with the assurance that as schools opened they could expect that a suitable place would be found for them.

3. Those in the third category were to be dismissed with the commendation which they had earned but without any assurances for future placement.

4. Persons in the fourth category were to receive, prior to dismissal, for at least the first half year beginning with January 1, 1833, one-third of their former pay.

5. The three professors...in the fifth category were to be granted one-half of their former pay for 1833....

6. Persons in the sixth category were to be dismissed without any commendations or any assurances for the future.[30]

At a meeting held on the following day, the Administrative Council ratified Stroganov's proposals with one qualification. The Council stipulated that if persons in the fourth category were recalled to service sometime during the first half of 1833, their severance pay would be deducted from their salaries.[31]

REORGANIZATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

On July 15, 1833, steps were taken to implement the education plan worked out by the St. Petersburg Committee. Article 1 of the plan placed all schools in the Kingdom under

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[30] Kucharzewski, Epoka Paskiewiczowska..., pp. 139-140.

[31] Ibid., p. 140.

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the direction of a newly-created body, the Public Education Council, whose presiding officer was the Chief Director of the Commission of Internal and Religious Affairs and Education. The Council was to be made up of:

1. The member of the Government Commission in charge of the Religions and Education Section.
2. Two clergymen appointed by the Tsar.
3. Two councillors, paid from the budget and nominated by the Tsar.
4. Other persons selected by the Tsar.[32]

The names of nominees for categories 2, 3, and 4 were to be drawn up by the President of the Council, in consultation with the Administrative Council, and presented to the Tsar for his final decision. In addition, the President could call upon persons with special competency in the field of education to attend meetings. He was also empowered to choose an Acting Director. The Presiding Officer and four members constituted a quorum.[33]

Article 6 set forth the authority of the Council to include:

1. The care and administration of all manner and level of existing educational institutions, civil as well as religious.
2. Decisions to open new schools or close existing ones.
3. Setting forth school regulations.
4. The appointment of faculty and administrators whose nominations were not reserved to higher authority.

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[32] Organizacja Rady Wychowania Publicznego, 15 lipca 1833, in Manteuffel, Rozprawy Historyczne..., VI, No. 2, 127, Arts. 1, 2.

[33] Ibid., 127-128, Arts. 3, 4, 5.

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5. Determining qualifications for faculty and administrators; promoting, transferring and firing of personnel; and granting of leaves.

6. Approving text-books and programs of learning for the various levels of schools.

7. Examining performance reports of teaching and administrative personnel, as well as school inspection reports; receiving reports dealing with relations existing between the school and provincial authorities.

8. Measuring out punishments for transgressions, assigning rewards or censures for superiors.

9. Authorizing private individuals to establish, at their own expense, schools, boarding-schools, or other institutions of learning. Decisions regarding the founding and organizing of private pedagogical institutes.

10. Auditing school funds.

11. Submitting a budget for salaries and costs to maintain educational institutions.

12. Preparing a report on the overall state of educational institutions in the Kingdom.[34]

All matters not specifically outlined in Article 6 were reserved to the Religions and Education Section of the Government Commission of Internal and Religious Affairs and Education. The Council was to be an authority unto itself within the confines of competency as outlined in Article 6 of the plan. Proposals for changes in the existing rules and regulations or the budget were to be made directly to the Administrative Council. A Secretary, appointed by the President and paid from the budget, was responsible for keeping the minutes of the Council meetings which were to be held weekly. The minutes were to contain all the decisions

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[34] Ibid., 128, Art. 6.

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and actions of the Education Council. All members were free to express their opinions in writing which were to be incorporated into the minutes after being read at the meeting. All persons attending the meeting were required to sign the minutes. Article 18 specified that the internal organization of the Public Education Council was to be worked out by the President in consultation with the members.[35]

All correspondence, incoming and outgoing, was to be channelled through the Religions and Education Section of the Government Commission. The classification and distribution of responsibilities outlined in Article 6 was the prerogative of the Presiding Officer of the Council. The members were responsible for preparing and presenting at the meetings reports and plans with respect to the areas assigned to them.[36]

The Public Education Council began to function in September and Manteuffel points out that now for the first time the Russian language began to enter into the central administration of schools. He writes: "Initially, only some acts are written in Russian; gradually, however, it will take over the entire chancellery, relegating the Polish language to a secondary place."[37]

The 1833 Law provided for three levels of schools: Elementary Schools, District Schools, and Gymnasiums. The first paragraph of the new law stated that "the chief

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[35] Ibid., 129-130, Arts. 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 17, 18.

[36] Ibid., 129, Arts. 10, 11.

[37] Manteuffel, Rozprawy Historyczne..., VI, No. 2, 32.

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function of educational institutions is to give youth, besides moral formation, the opportunity to obtain an education necessary to preserve their position in life."[38] The purpose of elementary schools was identified as providing basic, necessary instruction for all classes of people, "even the lowest."[39]

The new regulations provided that the years of instruction in the gymnasium be increased to eight--the fifth year to be devoted to a review of material covered in the preceding four years.[40] In the sixth year the student was to begin specialization in one of two areas: Philology or Physics-Mathematics.[41]

Reports of the Commission of Internal and Religious Affairs and Education, covering the period September 15, 1831, through December 31, 1833, revealed that, during the period

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[38]Quoted in Kucharzewski, Epoka Paskiewiczowska..., p. 124. Kucharzewski points out that according to the 1828 School Reforms in Russia gymnasiums were to be attended by the children of nobles and civil servants, district schools were to educate the children of tradesmen and artisans, and elementary schools were for the people of the "lowest classes." Ibid., p. 124. For a discussion of the 1828 School Reforms, see Michael T. Florinsky, Russia: A History and an Interpretation, Vol. II, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947), pp. 800-806.

[39]Quoted in Kucharzewski, Epoka Paskiewiczowska..., p. 126.

[40]Ibid., pp. 123-124.

[41]Skarbek, Królestwo Polskie..., p. 83. Kucharzewski points out that the actual number of years spent in study at the gymnasium was the same as under the old system. Under the old system the sixth year required two years to complete while under the new system the fifth year was spent in review. Thus, seven years of new instruction was involved in both systems. Kucharzewski, Epoka Paskiewiczowska..., pp. 123-124.

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of transition in education in the Kingdom (1831-1832), there were 632 schools in operation with 30,106 students in attendance. In the following school year the number of students increased by 10,218. While the increase in the number of students was gratifying, Kucharzewski points out that the 40,324 enrollment was less than in the year 1829 when there were 46,850 students attending schools supervised by the Department of Education.[42]

Nine gymnasiums were opened in 1833, one in every province and two in Warsaw. This was six less than the Kingdom had in 1830. While the new regulations called for each school to have eight grades, initially only four gymnasiums were so constituted. The rest enrolled students in the first six grades only because, in the words of a government report, there was a "lack of funds and students qualified for the upper classes." According to the new law, 4-year district schools were to be established in each of the 39 districts, but only 22 were open due to "lack of funds and teachers." No additional schools were opened and thus 17 districts remained without this level of education.[43] The number of elementary schools, which had fallen off drastically during and after the November uprising, grew steadily until in 1839 there were more schools than in 1830.[44] The following table records the growth of elementary schools and pupils in the

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[42] Ibid., pp. 165-166.

[43] Ibid., p. 167.

[44] Rafal Gerber, "Szkolnictwo Królestwa Polskiego w pierwszym dziesięcioleciu rządow Paskiewicza," Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty, II, 1961, 167.

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TABLE 1

GROWTH OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS AND PUPILS, 1833-1840[a]

Year	Number of Elementary Schools		Number of Pupils	
	Public	Private	Public	Private
1833-34	538	69	34,108	1,589
1834-35	633	81	41,870	1,748
1835-36	765	72	45,710	2,015
1836-37	872	84	49,167	2,595
1837-38	923	64	48,490	2,115
1838-39	934	67	50,917	2,500
1839-40	957	70	51,958	2,537

[a]Compiled from Kucharzewski, Epoka Paskiewiczowska..., pp. 547-548, 564.

From the preceding it can be seen that the number of public schools increased by 77.9 per cent from 1833 to 1840 while the number of students attending these schools increased by 52.3 per cent. The number of private schools remained virtually unchanged, increasing only 1.4 per cent, but the number of students attending these schools increased by 59.7 per cent. Thus, it would appear that while it was possible to obtain permission to establish private elementary schools, the government was committed to keeping these to a minimum and bent all of its efforts to expand public elementary schools which could be controlled more directly and, therefore, more effectively.

One of the more important developments under the new

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school reform was the effort made to expand the teaching of the Russian language which was now to be included in the curriculum equally with the Polish language.[45] Eighteen hours per week were set aside for Russian in district schools and the first five years in gymnasiums. In the last three years of gymnasium study the student was to receive nine hours instruction weekly in the Russian language and literature.[46]

General Golovin succeeded Count Stroganov less than four months after the new school regulations were implemented. His first assignment was to tour the Kingdom of Poland with instructions from Paskevich to observe carefully "the newly-reformed lower and middle educational institutions." In his report to Paskevich, Golovin expressed satisfaction with what he had seen but pointed out that the teaching of the Russian language, overall, was weak. Criticizing the method of teaching, which emphasized translation from a foreign language into Russian and writing exercises on assigned topics, Golovin pointed out that the end result was not a working knowledge of the Russian language. He believed that a better way would be to introduce the study of Russian history in Russian and pointed out that a two-fold purpose would thus be served: a more practical knowledge of the language would result and historical truth would be preserved.[47] The Viceroy fully agreed with Golovin's ideas but

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[45] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 58.

[46] Kucharzewski, Epoka Paskiewiczowska..., p. 134.

[47] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 107.

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implementation posed difficulties since qualified teachers, as well as adequate textbooks, were lacking.[48]

The shortage of Russian teachers was offset in part by paying instructors to lecture at more than one school.[49] An attempt to recruit more teachers in Russia was made by issuing a Decree in 1835 which freed persons who served as teachers of the Russian language in the Kingdom of Poland for six years from conscription.[50]

That the problem was far from solved is attested to by the fact that as late as February, 1837, Paskevich was still trying to recruit Russian teachers for the Kingdom. In response to Paskevich's request for assistance, Uvarov, the Russian Minister of Education, informed the Viceroy on March 4th that Russian Pedagogical Institutes were having difficulty keeping up with demands for teachers in their own districts but added that he would turn over the request to the Petersburg and Moscow Curators who would send out appeals in their respective districts. The Minister then went on to point out that the proposed pay for teachers was somewhat low and suggested that, in addition to salary, the following items should be paid:

1. Cost of transportation.
2. Cost of meals while en route.
3. Payment of an amount equal to one-half year's salary to cover the cost of setting up a new household.

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[48] Ibid.

[49] Kucharzewski, Epoka Paskiewiczowska..., p. 177.

[50] Skarbek, Królestwo Polskie..., p. 83, fn.

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4. Providing lodging with heat, or giving equivalent cash allowance for obtaining same, until a permanent dwelling was obtained.[51]

Paskevich, believing the above supplemental payments would place an unbearable burden upon the Education Budget, agreed only to pay transportation costs and to secure temporary free lodging for new teachers. Uvarov replied on April 27th that "no student at the University of Moscow indicated any desire to go to the Kingdom as a teacher of Russian language and literature." This attempt by Uvarov to pressure Paskevich into granting extraordinary supplemental benefits for Russian teachers proved unsuccessful. Rautenstrauch, Acting Viceroy, pointed out to Uvarov that his demands were "in conflict with civil service regulations in the Kingdom," and then added that, at any rate, the Tsar had already approved of Paskevich's decision in this matter.[52]

The question of teaching methods with respect to the Russian language was taken up again by Okunev, Acting Chief Director of the Government Commission,[53] on January 24, 1838, when he petitioned the Administrative Council for permission to introduce a Russian History Course to be taught in Russian at the gymnasium level. He said that his request was motivated

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[51] Kucharzewski, Epoka Paskiewiczowska..., pp. 177-179.

[52] Ibid., p. 179.

[53] Ibid., p. 180. Okunev filled this position temporarily following Golovin's departure from the Kingdom to take up the post of Governor-General of the Caucasus. The Tsar wished to appoint Shipov to replace Golovin but did not want to nominate him before consulting with Paskevich. Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., pp. 155-156.

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by the fact that experience had shown that emphasis on grammar was ineffective in advancing the government's goal of spreading knowledge of the Russian language among young people who were experiencing difficulties "in acquiring a proper accent and in expressing themselves." While the Administrative Council acknowledged that the proposal might prove useful in enabling students to acquire proficiency in the Russian language, it decreed that for the time being the course would be introduced only in the three upper grades of the gymnasium and cited as the reason for its decision that "profitable auditing of any subject in a foreign language necessarily demands a certain familiarity with the language which beginning students do not possess."[54]

Early in 1838 Shipov assumed the position of Chief Director of the Government Commission of Internal and Religious Affairs and Education and immediately took steps to implement the decree handed down by the Administrative Council regarding the teaching of Russian History. The Education Budget was increased by 10,200 złp. to cover the salaries of additional teachers that would be required and, without waiting for the beginning of the new school year, the course was introduced in the two gymnasiums located in Warsaw on March 1st.[55]

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[54] Kucharzewski, Epoka Paskiewiczowska..., p. 180.

[55] Ibid., pp. 180-181. Six years later the Curator of the Warsaw Educational District announced that "thanks to the school system" the youth of the Kingdom were "generally acquainted with the Russian language." Ibid., p. 181.

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Other means, besides formal instruction in schools, were used to expand the knowledge of Russian. Free language courses for adults were set up in Warsaw and all provincial and district towns by order of the Administrative Council issued December 19, 1837.[56] This was done in order to enable government employees and applicants for civil service positions to fulfill the requirement of a law enacted at the end of 1835 whereby all persons not knowing Russian after August 20, 1837 could not qualify for public service. The law went on to point out that the knowledge of this language was "easy to obtain since it has been part of instructions in public schools since 1833."[57]

Skarbek, who observed these developments first-hand, evaluates the 1833 Public Education Plan as tolerable. He points out that while "a new course in education was inaugurated," Polish continued to be the language of instruction. He went on to say that because "the spirit of the new course unfolded gradually" the restrictiveness of this plan was quite bearable in comparison with the developments which were to take place in education at the end of the decade.[58]

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[56] Ibid. These schools continued to function for six years. In 1839 the Tsar ordered that instructors teaching free language classes be paid: 150 rubles for those teaching in provincial towns and 120 rubles for those conducting classes in district towns. In 1843 these schools were closed. The reason given for this measure was that the work being done in the schools was bearing fruit and consequently the need for these classes no longer existed. Ibid.

[57] Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 17, pp. 408-411.

[58] Skarbek, Królestwo Polskie..., p. 83.

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Kucharzewski, however, writing some eighty years later, states this plan marked a break with the principles of national education inaugurated by reformers in the 18th century and implemented by legislation enacted during the first part of the 19th century. These principles were contained in the idea that the role of the school was to educate enlightened citizens who would be dedicated to their country.[59] This, of course, was precisely what the Russian government was committed to eradicate since, in the words of the Imperial Manifesto of February 2/14, 1832, the Kingdom of Poland was considered an "integral part of the Russian Empire" and the Poles and Russians were to constitute "a united nation of harmonious brothers."[60]

When Golovin left the Kingdom of Poland to assume his new duties in the Caucasus, educational reforms were still incomplete. Paskevich desired to introduce the program of study used in Russia into the gymnasiums in the Kingdom. Golovin believed that State Councillor Kozlowski, Director of the Religions and Education Section of the Government Commission, was the best qualified person to bring about the desired educational reforms.[61] Golovin was, therefore,

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[59] Kucharzewski, Epoka Paskiewiczowska..., pp. 121-122.

[60] Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 14, pp. 168-169.

[61] Shcherbatov, Rzady Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 156. Kozlowski, born in 1792, began his public service in 1809 in the Ministry of Finance. In 1817 he was transferred to the Government Commission of Internal Affairs and Education. In 1833 Kozlowski was appointed Director of the Bureau of Control in the Government Commission of Internal and Religious Affairs and Education. On December 29, 1834, he assumed

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instructed to take Kozlowski along with him for the purpose of having him study the schools in St. Petersburg and Moscow. Paskevich had reservations regarding Kozlowski's performance with respect to religious affairs[62] but allowed the obviously competent director in educational matters to accompany Golovin. However, he cautioned:

> It is necessary to keep an eye on him; and this is our affair, the Viceroyalty's, for without this, one cannot govern since people always have weaknesses.[63]

Kozlowski spent two months in Russia, first in St. Petersburg and then in Moscow where he was allowed to inspect all educational institutions.[64] Upon his return he submitted a detailed study of his findings to the Viceroy with his recommendations, which were shortly to be implemented in the Kingdom.[65]

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the duties of Director of the Religions and Education Section of the Commission. Manteuffel, Rozprawy Historyczne..., VI, No. 2, 80.

[62]This reservation stemmed from an incident involving a Uniate Bishop in whose diocese one hundred Uniates converted to the Catholic Faith. The Uniate Bishop was not censured by the Administrative Section charged with overseeing such matters. Kozlowski, a Catholic, was in charge of this Section and Paskevich accused him of not always acting in line with governmental policy in matters pertaining to the Catholic clergy. Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 157.

[63]Ibid. Shcherbatov points out that toleration had to be exercised since Russians with a university education were not eager to serve in the Kingdom even with the special privileges which were offered to them. Therefore, it was necessary to use residents of the Kingdom in all branches of administration and education. Ibid.

[64]Kucharzewski, Epoka Paskiewiczowska..., p. 218.

[65]Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 158.

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FORMATION OF THE WARSAW EDUCATIONAL DISTRICT

The decision to bring about a major reorganization of education in the Kingdom of Poland had been under discussion and preparation as early as 1837.[66] Impetus was given to this decision by events which occurred during the winter of 1839. Investigation of renewed activities of emigres in Lithuania and the Kingdom brought to light the existence of secret societies in all the gymnasiums of the Kingdom, involving particularly the upper grades.[67] At the beginning of April, 1839, Paskevich traveled to St. Petersburg. He spent almost the whole month there and among the many questions considered was the matter of school reform. In talks with Uvarov, it was concluded that these "reforms were all the more necessary, since the greater number of gymnasiums in the Kingdom showed an inclination towards unceasing clandestine activities and connections with emissaries arriving from abroad."[68]

In the fall of 1839 Uvarov, upon instructions from the Tsar, came to Warsaw in order to discuss with the Public

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[66] Manteuffel, Rozprawy Historyczne..., VI, No. 2, 32.

[67] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 167. Emigres continued their clandestine activities in the Kingdom and the Western Provinces throughout the 1830's but never posed a serious threat to the government. See, Berg, Zapiski N. V. Berga..., pp. 40-51. Conspiracies in the Kingdom were not unexpected by the Tsar. Nicholas wrote to Paskevich in 1837 that the plots uncovered among students did not surprise him and then cautioned the Viceroy: "Never believe the false stillness of that country." Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 19go/31go marta 1837 goda, in Shcherbatov, Prilozheniia..., pp. 323-324.

[68] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., pp. 167-168.

Education Council the project outlining school reforms in the Kingdom. This project was of great moment not only as far as education was concerned but politically as well, since it proposed that the schools of the Kingdom be placed under the direct administration of the Ministry of Education in St. Petersburg. This constituted, in the words of Kucharzewski, "a significant departure from the whole system of separate administration in the Kingdom proclaimed so ceremoniously before Europe in the Organic Statute."[69]

Prior to Uvarov's arrival in Warsaw, Paskevich received a letter from the Tsar in which he wrote:

> According to our agreement, I came to an understanding with Uvarov with respect to my intentions to reform the whole educational department in Poland. He fathoms my thinking and has left to visit you in order to hear you, under your guidance to familiarize himself with the present situation, and begin the work of drawing up a plan for a new organization of this department. I do not doubt that this work which I consider of the greatest importance will proceed very well.[70]

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[69] Kucharzewski, Epoka Paskiewiczowska..., p. 218.

[70] Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 17go/29go oktiabria 1839 goda, in Shcherbatov, Prilozheniia..., p. 395. At issue here, in addition to educational reforms in the Kingdom, was the question of authority: How was the Viceroy's authority over all the country to be reconciled with the Minister of Education's authority over all educational establishments in the Kingdom? Kucharzewski, Epoka Paskiewiczowska..., p. 219. The question was resolved by providing that the orders of the Minister would not be implemented without the prior agreement of the Viceroy. Also, the Curator of the Warsaw Educational District was dependent upon the Viceroy in essential matters. It was true that the Minister's authority was paramount with regard to school curriculum which was to be identical with that offered in all the schools of the Empire and in matters of supervision and discipline in the schools. It was also the task of the Minister to assure a flow of personnel into the Kingdom from among graduates of universities and pedagogical institutes who were receiving their education at government expense. Shcherbatov, Rzady

Less than a month later, on November 12/24, 1839, Nicholas wrote to Paskevich:

> The Plan for the future organization of the Education Department in Poland and its unification with the Ministry in the Empire I consider very well thought out and hope that this measure will yield sure fruit. I do not doubt that the Poles will be enraged because of this, but no matter.[71]

Eight days later the Decree was signed into law by the Tsar. The first paragraph of the document explained the purpose of the new reform as seeking to aid Polish youth to enter Russian Universities. To achieve this purpose, all public and private schools in the Kingdom of Poland were to form the Warsaw Educational District which was to be directly responsible to the Imperial Minister of Education.[72] Shcherbatov notes that "this was the first and most far-reaching union with the Empire of one of the most important administrative departments in the Kingdom."[73]

Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 169. Manteuffel points out though that while the Curator was subject to the Minister of Education, as were all Curators of Educational Districts in Russia, in legislating as well as staffing the Minister of Education was to receive prior agreement from the Viceroy of the Kingdom. The Viceroy also had the power, in matters not specifically concerned with education, to issue executive orders which were binding upon the Curator. Manteuffel, Rozprawy Historyczne..., VI, No. 2, 33.

[71] Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 12go/24go noiabria 1839 goda, in Shcherbatov, Prilozheniia..., p. 396.

[72] Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 24, pp. 235-237, Art. 1. Excluded from the control of the Warsaw Educational District were Seminaries, the Obstetrics Institute, the School for Medical Aides, the Veterinary School, and the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb. Ibid., p. 237, Art. 2.

[73] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 168. Shcherbatov notes that because of this reform Paskevich expected to be able to secure a sizeable contingent of Russian

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The Public Education Section was to be separated from the Government Commission of Internal and Religious Affairs and Education and henceforth be known as the Warsaw Educational District. A Curator, subject to the same rights and obligations to which Chief Directors of other Government Commissions were subject, was to be in charge of the District. However, his participation in the deliberations of the Administrative Council was limited to questions dealing with education.[74] The Public Education Council was to continue to function as before--only the Curator would replace the Chief Director of the Government Commission of Internal and Religious Affairs and Education as Presiding Officer. A Vice-President was to be selected with the approval of the Viceroy and the Minister of Education and would assume all of the responsibilities of the Curator in his absence.[75]

Major-General Nicholas Okunev, a member of the Public Education Council, was appointed Curator on December 30, 1839.[76] Okunev assumed his duties on January 20, 1840 and

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teachers thus expanding opportunities for students from Polish gymnasiums to enter Russian Universities. Ibid., p. 169.

[74]Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 24, pp. 239-243, Arts. 3, 5.

[75]Ibid., p. 243, Arts. 6, 7.

[76]Manteuffel, Rozprawy Historyczne..., VI, No. 2, 33. According to Storozhenko, who headed the Investigation Commission for Political Transgressions, Okunev owed his appointment as Curator to the fact that he had served in Paskevich's Corps. When Paskevich took over command of the Russian Army during the Polish uprising, Okunev served as his confidential secretary. At the end of the campaign, Okunev was promoted to Major-General and served as a member of the Highest Tribunal charged with trying the insurgents. On

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was immediately summoned to St. Petersburg. This necessitated delaying the implementation of the new reforms until May 3rd of that year.[77]

On July 1, 1840, Tsar Nicholas approved the organizational structure of the Warsaw Educational District. The governing body of the District was to be made up of the:

1. Curator.
2. Vice-President of the Public Education Council.
3. Chief Director of Administration.
4. Public Education Council.[78]

The day-to-day functioning of the District was entrusted to the Chief of the Chancellery, two Department Heads, and an undetermined number of clerks and officials.[79] The work of

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July 15, 1833, he was named to the Public Education Council and on November 11, 1837, became a member of the Government Commission of Internal and Religious Affairs and Education. In September, 1839, Okunev was made a member of the State Council of the Kingdom of Poland. Kucharzewski states that Okunev won the favor of Paskevich by writing a highly flattering, if inaccurate, account of the Russian Campaign in Poland under Paskevich. Kucharzewski, Epoka Paskiewiczowska..., pp. 224-226. See also: Sidorov, Russkie i Russkaia Zhizn..., pp. 99-100.

[77] Manteuffel, Rozprawy Historyczne..., VI, No. 2, 33.

[78] Organizacja Okręgu Naukowego Warszawskiego, 1 lipca 1840, in ibid., 131, Art. 1. These officials were to be selected by the Minister of Education in consultation with the Viceroy of the Kingdom and approved by the Tsar. Ibid., Art. 3.

[79] Ibid., Art. 2. The Chief of the Chancellery, as well as the two Department Heads were to be selected by the Curator and approved by the Administrative Council. All other administrative personnel could be nominated by the Curator himself. Ibid., Art. 3. The responsibilities of the Department Heads included preparing matters for the governing body to consider and being responsible for the quick and efficient implementation of laws and regulations. Ibid., 136-137, Art. 30.

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this body was to be divided as follows:

1. Matters which the Curator himself was to settle.
2. Matters which were to be resolved by the Public Education Council.
3. Matters which belonged to the competency of the Chief Director of Administration.[80]

Article 5 of the Act detailed those areas which belonged exclusively to the Curator:

1. All presentations to higher authority, as well as correspondence with officials or persons which in the Curator's judgment required prompt resolution.
2. Secret correspondence.
3. Presentations and petitions from private individuals, as well as complaints against lower government officials.
4. All matters requiring immediate attention which could not be delayed until the next meeting of the Public Education Council, personal matters, and presentation of officials for awards.[81]

The authority of the Public Education Council was expanded to include:

1. Resolving of questions arising from applications of general rules and orders to specific instances.
2. Approving contracts for supplies.
3. Handling all claims against the government and initiating prosecution of private individuals.
4. Censoring printed materials formerly handled by the Government Commission with the exception of periodicals and newspapers which the Government Commission was to continue to supervise.
5. Supervising book dealers.
6. Handling all transactions connected with former Jesuit properties.

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[80] Ibid., 131, Art. 4. [81] Ibid., 131-132, Art. 5.

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7. Taking care of all other matters which the Curator ordered to be introduced at the Council meetings.[82]

The Chief Director of Administration was to manage the Chancellery and Departments of the Warsaw Educational District and supervise their orderly functioning. He was responsible for:

1. Handling all correspondence dealing with the execution or enforcement of laws, decrees, regulations or orders from higher authority.

2. Responding to inquiries from subordinate officials, as well as private individuals, regarding questions in which application of the law was not in doubt.

3. Gathering information and clarification for the purpose of preparing matters for final decision.[83]

The administration of the District was divided into two departments: Education and Administrative-Budgetary. The latter was subdivided into two bureaus: General Service Operation and Legal Councillor.[84]

Articles 17 through 26 outlined the duties and powers of the Curator of the Warsaw Educational District. In addition to presiding over the meetings of the Public Education Council[85] and participating in Administrative Council

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[82] Ibid., 132-133, Art. 6. The presence of three members constituted a quorum. Ibid., 137, Art. 35.

[83] Ibid., 133, 136, Arts. 7, 28, 29.

[84] Manteuffel, Rozprawy Historyczne..., VI, No. 2, 35.

[85] Organizacja Okręgu Naukowego Warszawskiego, 1 lipca 1840, in ibid., 136, Art. 24. In the event of absence due to illness or for some other reason, the Vice-President, a member of the Public Education Council, was to preside at the meeting. In his role of Acting Curator he possessed all the attributes of the Curator. Ibid., 136-137, Arts. 25, 27, 36.

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meetings,[86] the Curator was required to inspect educational institutions in his district. The responsibility of selecting directors and inspectors of gymnasiums and district schools belonged to him but the directors had to be approved by the Minister of Education. The Curator nominated honorary inspectors of district schools and approved trustees of elementary schools. The latter could be selected by the director of the gymnasium or the provincial government. Honorary trustees of gymnasiums were appointed by the Curator but required the prior approval of the Minister of Education.[87]

Article 22 empowered the Curator to appoint all teaching personnel. They could be selected either by the Curator himself or upon recommendation of the administrators in the various schools. In addition, the Minister of Education could also appoint persons to teaching positions.[88] Curriculum and school regulations were to be worked out by the Curator in consultation with local school officials prior to

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[86] Ibid., 134-135, Art. 17. However, his participation was limited to matters which dealt with his Department unless he was simultaneously serving as Chief Director of the Government Commission of Internal and Religious Affairs. Ibid.

[87] Ibid., 135, Arts. 18, 20, 21. The Curator could delegate the Vice-President of the Public Education Council and the General Inspectors to make school visitations in his stead. Members of the Council and persons in upper administrative positions in education could also be requested to visit schools. Ibid., Arts. 18, 19.

[88] Ibid., 135, Art. 22. The persons selected had to possess, in addition to academic competency, moral and political qualifications. The applicant could be required to take an examination if the Curator believed this was necessary. The test would be administered by the Examination Committee. Ibid.

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bringing these matters to the Public Education Council for discussion.[89] Funds, reserved to the Curator, were to be expended within the guidelines set forth in the Budget.[90]

The care of the archives and supervision of officials and clerks assigned to the Chancellery were assigned to the Chief of the Chancellery. He was required to keep a list of persons assigned to the district, recording appointments and dismissals, and keeping an account of leaves granted. The Chief of the Chancellery was also entrusted with recording the minutes of meetings of the Public Education Council.[91]

All petitions, presentations, and reports dealing with the district were to be addressed either directly to the Curator or to the administration of the Warsaw Educational District. Officials and members of the Public Education Council could resign only with permission from the Curator. He could grant leaves of no more than 28 days to be spent within the confines of the Kingdom. Leaves of more than 28 days or involving travel abroad required the approval of the Administrative Council.[92]

All dispatches dealing with matters decided by the

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[89] Ibid., 136, Art. 26. However, matters which required a decision by the Minister of Education were to be forwarded directly to him along with a statement of the Curator's opinion regarding them. Ibid.

[90] Ibid., 135, Art. 23.

[91] Ibid., 137, Arts. 31, 32, 33.

[92] Ibid., 137, Arts. 34, 37, 38. Leaves of up to six weeks could be approved by the Viceroy but permission to travel abroad had to be obtained from the Tsar himself. Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 15, pp. 167-172, Arts. 77, 78.

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Curator and all presentations to superiors as well as proclamations and orders arising out of decisions of the Public Education Council were to be signed by the Curator and attested to by the Chief Director of Administration. Dispatches dealing with matters reserved to the Chief Director required his signature and had to be attested to by the Chief of the Chancellery or one of the Department Heads.[93]

The last article in the Decree nullified all previous regulations governing public education which were not in agreement with the provisions as set forth in the July 1, 1840 Act.[94]

NEW SCHOOL REGULATIONS

Under the new school regulations which were implemented in the fall of 1840, district schools underwent a reorganization. Two categories of schools were provided: General, designed to prepare students for the upper grades of the gymnasium; and Special, or practical, divided into three areas--Technical, Commercial, and Agricultural. The 1833 regulations which provided for specialization from the sixth year in the gymnasium were discontinued and the eighth year of instruction was cancelled. In place of the preceding, a new program was instituted which provided for ininstructions in fifth, sixth, and seventh years which

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[93] Organizacja Okręgu Naukowego Warszawskiego, 1 lipca 1840, in Manteuffel, Rozprawy Historyczne..., VI, No. 2, 137-138, Art. 39. The subject matter of the dispatch was to determine which Department Head was to sign the document. Ibid., 138.

[94] Ibid., 138, Art. 40.

corresponded somewhat to the course of study pursued in the sixth, seventh, and eighth years in the Philology Department under the previous system.[95]

Changes in elementary schools included reading exercises to be given "in the native tongue and where possible in Russian" and "study of measures, weights, and money used in the Empire and the Kingdom of Poland."[96]

New developments in education included the founding of an Agricultural and Forestry Institute where theoretical and practical knowledge could be acquired for the purpose of improving agricultural production. Also, in the fall of 1840 a gymnasium for children of the middle class was opened in Warsaw in order to provide the students with the opportunity to acquire "practical knowledge" which would prove useful in pursuing careers in manufacture and trade.[97] Shcherbatov observes that both of these schools contributed to the development of agriculture and industry and cites as evidence the high level of soil cultivation in the Kingdom existing even to his day "in spite of the numerous political disturbances existing continually amidst all strata of society in the

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[95] Kucharzewski, Epoka Paskiewiczowska..., p. 249.

[96] Ibid., p. 250. In 1841 the monetary system of the Kingdom was changed to correspond with that used in the Empire. Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 28, pp. 4-19. Weights and measures used in the Empire were introduced into the Kingdom by the Decree of January 21/February 1, 1848. Ibid., Vol. 40, pp. 130-151.

[97] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 190. During the first year 95 students were enrolled at the Institute and 325 pupils attended the gymnasium. The enrollment at both schools continued to grow. Ibid., p. 190.

Kingdom.[98]

One of the means by which it was hoped the school system of the Kingdom could be united with that of the Empire was to recruit teaching personnel for gymnasiums exclusively from among those persons who had received their education in Russian Universities.[99] This was translated into an operating principle on November 26, 1841, when the Minister of Education wrote to the Curator of the Warsaw Educational District:

> Concerned that the reorganization of education in the Warsaw Educational District conform to the purpose for the formation of it, I acknowledge that the most rapid attainment of this purpose would be most favoured by filling positions of teachers in gymnasiums from among those scholars who have successfully completed their course in Russian Universities. Therefore, I recommend to you to accept as a permanent regulation that students who have been educated in Russian Universities should, upon returning to the country, be appointed first before any other candidates to teaching positions in gymnasiums. In the event that vacancies are lacking, they should be placed into district schools at the highest salaries and at the first opportunity transferred to gymnasiums.[100]

The emphasis placed on Russian in the schools was apparent in the budget as well as in the curriculum. The budget provided that Russian instructors be paid from 3,000 złp. to 5,000 złp. annually, depending on length of service.[101] The same budget provided that teachers of the Polish language

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[98] Ibid., p. 191.

[99] Kucharzewski, Epoka Paskiewiczowska..., pp. 250-251.

[100] Quoted in ibid., p. 251.

[101] Ibid., p. 250. The salaries of the highest paid Russian teachers exceeded by 500 złp. that paid to Inspectors of gymnasiums. Ibid.

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receive an annual salary of 1,800 złp. The gymnasium curriculum assigned 28 hours per week to the study of Russian, 18 hours to the study of German, and only 14 hours to the study of Polish.[102]

The new school regulations required students in gymnasiums and district schools to wear uniforms. The Tsar attached great importance to this requirement since he believed that uniforms "facilitated supervision over students and forced them to observe a degree of moderation and docility."[103]

PUBLIC EDUCATION COUNCIL REORGANIZED

The internal organization of the Public Education Council was to be worked out by the Council itself. In the interim it continued to function under the old regulations. The first plan of reorganization was rejected by the Minister of Education in May 1841 with instructions to the Curator that the up-dating of the Public Education Council should conform to recently issued regulations covering the Warsaw Educational District. The final form of reorganization, containing very few changes, received the approval of the Minister of Education on April 12, 1842.[104] Article 1 specified that the Council was to be made up of:

1. Curator, who was to serve as presiding officer.

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[102] Ibid.

[103] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 170.

[104] Manteuffel, Rozprawy Historyczne..., VI, No. 2, 36. All members of the Council, with the exception of the Chairman of the General Consistory of Protestant Denominations, were to be appointed by the Tsar. Ibid.

2. Vice-President of the Council.
3. Chief Director of Administration of the Warsaw Educational District.
4. Two Clergymen.
5. Two State Councillors.
6. Two Chairmen of the General Consistory of Protestant Denominations.
7. Extraordinary Members appointed by the Tsar.[105]

Article 2 gave the Curator authority to summon Honorary Directors of gymnasiums and General Inspectors of educational institutions in the Kingdom to attend sessions of the Council when matters affecting specific institutions were to be discussed.[106] Under the new regulations the Council was required to meet twice weekly with the Curator empowered to convene extraordinary sessions when he deemed necessary. All decisions were reached by a majority vote.[107]

The following additional duties were assigned to the Council:

1. Inspections of elementary schools, setting up instructions for the trustees of these schools, as well as outlining their relations with school authorities.
2. Reviewing evidence attesting to the inability of students to pay tuition for the purpose of freeing them from payment of tuition.

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[105] Organizacja Wewnętrzna Rady Wychowania Publicznego w Królestwie Polskiem, 12 kwietnia 1842, in Ibid., 141, Art. 1.

[106] Ibid., Art. 2.

[107] Ibid., 143, Arts. 9, 10. However, persons not agreeing with the majority opinion could submit their views in writing. These statements were then to be attached to the minutes of the meeting. Ibid., 143, Art. 10.

3. Examining proposals for changes in curriculum and schedules for gymnasiums, provincial schools, and private schools.

4. Approving assignment of courses to teachers drawn up by the directors of general and special gymnasiums.

5. Generally looking after the interests of the Agricultural and Forestry Institute and specifically approving the Institute's plan of instruction which was to be drawn up annually by its Director.[108]

Disagreements within the Council regarding prosecution of teaching and administrative personnel were to be resolved by the Curator whose decision would be final. Where disagreements concerned "more vital matters," the question was to be referred to the Viceroy or the Administrative Council or the Minister of Education.[109] The activities of the Council were to be recorded and submitted to the Minister of Education in memorandum form monthly.[110]

Important changes were introduced into the Public Education Council in 1849. The Vice-President of the Council was replaced by an Assistant Curator. Further, the position of Chief Director of Administration was done away with and these duties were assumed by four members of the Council who were to be paid a salary. In addition, these four members were to serve simultaneously as General Inspectors. At issue was the question of honorary membership in the Public Education Council. This question was debated

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[108] Ibid., 142, Art. 4.

[109] Ibid., 143, Art. 11. In any event, the Curator was to immediately inform the Minister of Education of all such incidents. Ibid.

[110] Ibid., 144, Art. 15.

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for over a year, with the Curator of the Warsaw Educational District advocating the retention of at least some honorary members. The Curator's efforts resulted in an Imperial Decree, issued December 30, 1850, which allowed honorary members to sit in the Council but restricted their numbers to include the Rector of the Roman Catholic Seminary in Warsaw and two or three persons chosen from among administrative personnel prominent in the field of education. The latter were to be nominated by the Minister of Education in consultation with the Viceroy.[111]

It would appear the aim of these reforms was to increase central control over education in the Kingdom by narrowing the policy-making base and including salaried persons in the Council who would be more inclined to implement decisions reached in St. Petersburg. The net result would be to weaken the influence of the Public Education Council on educational developments in the Kingdom. The Curator's persistent protests against this attempt by the Ministry of Education to increase its control must have had the full backing of Paskevich, who viewed encroachment on administrative autonomy of the Kingdom as curtailment of his authority and who regarded deliberate provoking of the Roman Catholic hierarchy as creating unnecessary problems for his rule in the Kingdom of Poland. The high regard of the Tsar for his "Father Commander" was manifested when, ten and one-half months after the original changes were approved, a modification was

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[111] Manteuffel, Rozprawy Historyczne..., VI, No. 2, 36-37.

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ordered which permitted retention of some honorary members on the Public Education Council, including a representative of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, assuring thereby the continued co-operation of the Church.

EFFECTIVENESS OF EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

The effectiveness of educational reforms in the Kingdom of Poland is difficult to assess. For the Tsar, whose Manifesto had set forth the goal of fostering a spirit of brotherly unity between Pole and Russian, the results were mixed. Education was the first major area of administration to come under control of the Imperial central organs of administration. But the opportunities which education presented for tightening bonds between Empire and Kingdom were limited by a number of factors. The Viceroy was sensitive regarding challenges to his power and viewed steps such as the creation of the Warsaw Educational District as the bureaucratic arm of St. Petersburg not only whittling away at his authority in the Kingdom but also undermining the special relationship which he enjoyed with the Tsar since, if for no other reason, distance alone would give an edge to the central organ of administration over the regional one. Thus, suggestions and proposals for changes which would strengthen the Ministry of Education's position could receive quicker and more persistent hearings, while the possibility was strong that those of the Viceroy would be hindered and impeded by the miles which separated Paskevich from Nicholas. However, Paskevich had to proceed cautiously and

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prudently since, as the chief arm of the ruler in the Kingdom, he was committed to the goals which Nicholas pursued with respect to the region. Because Nicholas was sensitive to reaction from the Powers, he could be persuaded that separate administrative institutions in the Kingdom, guaranteed by the Organic Statute, should be maintained as long as possible. A gradual reduction in this separateness allowed the Tsar to see progress towards his ultimate goal of uniting the Kingdom with the Empire but without reaction from other countries which a rapid pace might have provoked. For Paskevich this meant assurances that he would continue to exercise influence in education through approval of appointees for posts in the Warsaw Educational District as well as of any proposed legislative changes. Thus the Minister of Education was required not only to consult with Paskevich but to secure his concurrence as well. For this reason Paskevich was able to retain a large measure of independence from St. Petersburg, since he was able to appoint persons who were loyal to him.

Another factor which hindered the achievement of proposed goals for education within the Kingdom was the inability to maintain the level of instruction in Russian which was considered essential for achievement of unity. Teachers could be obtained only with difficulty and even attractive salaries and fringe benefits were not sufficient to attract adequate numbers of instructors. Some degree of progress in expanding the knowledge of Russian was assured by the Law of

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1833, which required a Russian Language Competency Certificate for civil service employment after 1837, with a priority before that time given to applicants who could speak Russian. Students aspiring to a career in administration, as well as those already working for the government, applied themselves either in the classroom or in special classes to attain competency in the language. But, as far as the majority of students were concerned, much more might have been achieved if the chronic problem of lack of teachers had been resolved.

Paskevich's assessment of accomplishments in the field of education is contained in a report which he submitted to the Tsar on the occasion of the celebration of the 25th year of the reign of Nicholas. The report opened with a recollection that the 1830 uprising with all its consequences resulted from a system of education established in 1816 under which lower schools were almost completely in the hands of the Roman Catholic Clergy who used the classroom for disseminating false ideas of rights and patriotism. The report went on to say that:

> After the rebellion, Your Imperial Highness, directing special attention to this department, deigned by Imperial Command to design its regulations in such a way as to indicate a proper path for education which would serve to prepare young people for genuinely useful state service.[112]

Paskevich identified the means used to achieve the

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[112] Raport Namestnika Tsarstva Polskago Ego Imperatorskomu Velichestvu, 24 maia 1851 g., in Sbornik Imperatorskago Russkago Istoricheskago Obshchestva, Vol. 98 (S. Peterburg: I. N. Skorokhodov, 1890), p. 610.

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above goal as including a "stern review" of all teaching personnel and textbooks used in the schools. Library holdings were also subject to this scrutiny. Unreliable persons whose principles and conduct did not reflect the view of the government were removed, "libraries were purged and textbooks and manuals were revised and reprinted." Paskevich notes that 50,000 silver rubles were spent on reprinting of books alone.[113]

When these changes failed to produce the expected fruits, further changes were initiated in 1833 which included the establishment of a Public Education Council whose task included screening all teachers and introducing "little-by-little" the Russian language into the schools. The teaching of some subjects in Russian was implemented with the arrival of teachers from schools in Russia. By the Decree of November 20, 1839, the Warsaw Educational District came into being which placed education in the Kingdom directly under the Imperial Ministry of Education. Paskevich identifies the purpose of this step in these words:

> To enable the youth of the Kingdom of Poland to acquire the means of intellectual and moral formation equally with the youth of other parts of the Empire.[114]

Paskevich noted that the Warsaw Educational District was "under the chief supervision of the Minister and the Viceroy of the Kingdom."[115]

Paskevich concluded his assessment of accomplishment

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[113] Ibid., pp. 610-611.

[114] Ibid., p. 611.

[115] Ibid.

in the field of education in the Kingdom of Poland with the following statistics:

TABLE 2

TYPE AND NUMBER OF SCHOOLS AND ATTENDANCE AS OF 1851[a]

Type of School	Number of Schools	Number of Pupils
Gymnasiums	8	1,994
Special Schools	5	1,663
District Schools	16	2,697
Real Schools	8	1,632
Sunday-Artisan Schools	97	Over 6,437
Elementary Schools		62,517
Town Schools	503	
Village Schools	751	
Jewish Schools	5	361
Private Boarding Schools	167	5,641[b]

[a]Compiled from Raport Namestnika Tsarstva Polskago..., p. 611.

[b]Paskevich's report made no mention of the number of students attending the 167 private boarding schools. This figure was obtained from Kucharzewski, Epoka Paskiewiczowska..., p. 565.

Paskevich also noted that 216 young people from the Kingdom were educated at Russian Universities at government expense and 439 persons had attended Military Boarding Schools also at government expense.[116]

Skarbek who served in the central administration of the Kingdom under Paskevich and was, therefore, acquainted

[116]Raport Namestnika Tsarstva Polskago..., p. 611.

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with the stated aims of Russification which the system of education in the Kingdom hoped to achieve, comments indirectly on the degree of success by pointing out the various ways in which the older generation not only kept the national spirit alive in the younger generation but also found ways to strengthen it. He states the home became the primary source of education for children and parents found ways and the means to send their sons abroad for study to ensure the preparation of "capable and upright citizens" for their country.[117]

From the vantage point of sixty years, Kucharzewski observed that the "results of the system of education applied in the post-November period in the Kingdom were lamentable for the nation." He stated that education standards fell sharply without achieving the intended political aims. As evidence regarding the latter, he points to the events which took place in the Kingdom only a few years after Nicholas' death when the Polish nation again rose in revolt in 1863. But he notes that even during the Paskevich Era conspiracies against the government did not abate among students who only awaited a freer atmosphere in order to once again try to change the situation in which the nation found itself.[118]

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[117] Skarbek, Królestwo Polskie..., pp. 86-89. This was done in spite of the fact that the law prescribed that no person under 25 years of age could be granted a passport. Those who violated the law became ineligible for a government position in the Kingdom. Ibid., p. 86.

[118] Kucharzewski, Epoka Paskiewiczowska..., p. 588. Florinsky states that students provided "enthusiastic disciples" for the national movement which received impetus from the return of exiles during the liberalizing trend which set in upon Alexander II's accession to the throne. Florinsky, Russia: A History..., p. 910.

CHAPTER V

RELIGIOUS POLICIES

The influence of religion in the lives of the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Poland and the role of the clergy in the 1830 revolt required that the government turn its attention early to the development of religious policies for the country.[1] The Viceroy, speaking to Golovin, Director of the Government Commission of Internal and Religious Affairs and Education, set forth the priorities in this matter:

> It is absolutely necessary to curb the symptoms of fanaticism among the Catholic clergy while at the same time to strive that the clergy become favourable to the government. In addition to this, on the daily agenda is the complicated Uniate question as well as the necessity to secure a respectable position for the Orthodox Church.[2]

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[1]For a discussion of Nicholas' attitude towards religion and his views regarding the role of religion in providing moral training for the purpose of developing law-abiding and devoted Imperial subjects, see Riasanovsky, Nicholas I..., pp. 15-16, 85-86, 224-226, 231-232; Constantin de Grunwald, Tsar Nicholas I, trans. Brigit Patmore (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1955), pp. 202-207; Miliukov, Seignobos, and Eisenmann, History of Russia..., pp. 225-226.

[2]Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 96. The Uniate question referred to the Uniate Church which had come into existence as the result of efforts by Jesuits in the 16th century to win over Orthodox believers in the Polish-Lithuanian Federation to Catholicism. These efforts bore fruit. In June, 1595, a Petition, drafted and signed by the Orthodox Bishops in the Polish-Lithuanian Federation indicating their desire to be united with Rome, was forwarded to Pope Clement VIII. In exchange for accepting the teachings of Rome and the supremacy of the Pope, the bishops asked that the Pope grant them the right to retain their Eastern rites and ceremonies. The Act of Union was ratified by the

These three religions, for political and national reasons, became the objects of special attention of the Viceroy and his administration.[3] The Russian Orthodox Church, numerically insignificant in the Kingdom at this time, was expected to grow in membership as Russian civilian and military personnel arrived in increasing numbers to serve in the Kingdom. The need for clergy and places of worship to attend to the spiritual needs of these people was apparent and would require the financial assistance of the government. In addition there was the expectation that members of the Uniate Church would be converted to the Orthodox Church.

The Uniate Church, while not very large in numbers,

Papal Bull Magnus Dominus in 1595 and the guarantees with respect to liturgy and ritual were given. The Act of Union was ceremoniously proclaimed at a Synod convoked in Brześć in October, 1596. It was renewed in the Orthodox Church of St. Michael and signed by all present. The ceremony was then continued in the Roman Catholic Church of the Virgin Mary where the "Te Deum" was sung. Ks. Władysław Krynicki, M.S.T., Dzieje Kościoła Powszechnego, Wydanie Trzecie (Włocławek: Nakładem Księgarni Powszechnej i Drukarni Diecezjalnej, 1925), pp. 749-752. See also, W. F. Reddaway et al. (eds.), The Cambridge History of Poland: From the Origins to Sobieski, I (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1950), pp. 285, 414, 459. However, opposition to the Act of Union developed and two of the original signatories of the Petition withdrew their support of the Union and, at a meeting held simultaneously with the Synod, vowed they would actively work for the destruction of the Union of Brześć. This signaled the beginning of a long-enduring rivalry in this region between the adherents of the Union and those opposed to it. Krynicki, Dzieje Kościoła..., p. 752. See also, Reddaway et al., The Cambridge History of Poland..., I, p. 459.

[3]In 1827 the membership of the Roman Catholic Church was 84.1% of the total population. The membership of the Uniate Church was 1.9% of the total population. The membership of the Orthodox Church was .1% of the total population. Polish Encyclopaedia, Vol. II: Geography & Ethnography of Poland (Geneva: ATAR Ltd., 1921), p. 601, Table 1.

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was important as a symbol to both the Russian government and the Roman Catholic Church. The government was committed to a policy of restoring the Uniates to the Orthodox fold while the Catholic Church was determined that the Uniate Church would survive in the Kingdom.

In addition to these three religions the Kingdom also contained adherents of the Protestant and Jewish faiths. While neither posed any threat politically, the Jewish people were a cause of concern for religious and cultural reasons. When the official policy of the Imperial government advocating unity of creed and nationality under one ruler began to gain momentum, adherents of the Jewish faith came under increasing pressure to convert to the Christian religion. The Protestants were not similarly pressured because, while not Orthodox, they were Christians.

The direction of all religious creeds in the Kingdom was entrusted to a Government Commission which combined this function with supervision of education.[4] Prior to the 1830 revolt the Commission numbered among its sixteen members the Roman Catholic Primate of the Kingdom and two bishops, as well as two representatives from other religious denominations.[5] While the Commission was responsible for the supervision of all aspects of ecclesiastical life in the country,

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[4]In 1840 education was removed from the control of this body and placed directly under the Minister of Education in St. Petersburg. Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 24, pp. 239-240, Art. 3.

[5]Kutrzeba, Historya Ustroju Polski..., p. 97.

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the presence of clergy in the Commission and functioning within its separate sections assured the various religious creeds of spokesmen in the policy-making process.

After 1830 the Commission for Religions and Public Instruction was incorporated into the Commission for Internal Affairs.[6] The organizational structure of the Commission was altered and no longer included any clerics. Within the Commission a section dealing with religious affairs served as intermediary between the Apostolic See in Rome and the Holy Synod in St. Petersburg and the respective church hierarchies in the Kingdom. The duties of this section included:

1. Supervising all clergy.
2. Nominating persons to fill high ecclesiastical offices.
3. Establishing new parishes and changing boundaries of existing ones.
4. Gathering information from the hierarchy of all creeds.
5. Preparing projects dealing with the direction, ceremonies, and discipline of non-Christian creeds.
6. Safeguarding religious freedom and resolving conflicts arising in this regard.
7. Care and supervision of funds allocated for religious purposes.[7]

The powers of the Chief Director of the Commission were broad and provided for independent decisions in cases of necessity. In instances of tie votes the Director's vote was decisive and when he did not agree with a majority

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[6]Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 14, pp. 214-217, Art. 35.

[7]Okolski, Wykład Prawa Administracyjnego..., p. 117.

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decision he could suspend implementation of it and appeal for a final verdict to the Administrative Council. Given the fact that only three members of the Commission were required to be present to constitute a quorum, the influence of the Chief Director was considerable.[8] After 1830 this position was always held by a Russian.[9]

PROTESTANT RELIGION

Nicholas' favorable attitude toward the Protestant religion has been noted by some of his biographers. One observes that the Tsar's "personal sympathies were rather towards the austere order and moralizing atmosphere of the Protestant Church."[10] Another notes that Nicholas developed a "special liking for Lutheranism, the faith of his numerous Prussian relatives."[11] Evidence to support these statements is supplied by Nicholas' wife, Empress Alexandra. The former Princess Charlotte of Prussia records in her diary on October 31, 1817, that:

> Nicholas has confessed to me what he dare not say openly. Something draws him to the Evangelical service: he joins in them with more attention and devotion than at mass.[12]

This may have been an added factor for the lack of pressure on the Protestants in the Kingdom of Poland. In

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[8] Ibid., p. 118.

[9] Askenazy, Sto lat zarządu..., p. 47.

[10] Grunwald, Tsar Nicholas I, p. 203.

[11] Riasanovsky, Nicholas I..., p. 15.

[12] Quoted in Grunwald, Tsar Nicholas I, p. 203, n. 4.

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any event, the Protestants, for the most part Lutheran and Evangelical-Reformed, numbered only some 182,000 persons,[13] 4.4% of the total population of the Kingdom.[14] They were concentrated mainly in the Western Provinces of the Kingdom.[15]

In 1849, Nicholas, wishing to bring the administration of Lutheran and Evangelical-Reformed Churches of the Kingdom into conformity with that of these Churches in the Empire, issued a Decree creating separate Consistories for each of them.[16] These Consistories were charged with regulating the training and placement of clergy and the direction of churches, schools, and cemeteries. The Decree outlined the responsibilities of the Church hierarchy as well as the tasks of others working for the Church. Procedures were also established for the convening of Synods on a regular basis to consider and resolve questions and problems.[17]

In his report to the Tsar in 1851, Paskevich noted the developments of 1849. He also recorded that the Protestants in the Kingdom had a total of 468 churches and that

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[13] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 18, n. 1.

[14] Zofja Daszynska-Golinska, "L'Accroissement de la population en Pologne a l'epoque du partage (1816-1914)," in La Pologne au VII-e Congress International du Science Historique (Varsovie: Societe Polonaise d'Histoire, 1933), I, 120. See also: Polish Encyclopaedia, II, p. 601.

[15] The Lutherans were concentrated mainly in the Provinces of Augustów, Płock, Kalisz and Warszawa. Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 42, pp. 100-103. The Evangelical-Reformed Church was located chiefly in the Provinces of Radom and Lublin. Ibid., pp. 244-245.

[16] Ibid., pp. 4-9.

[17] Ibid., pp. 10-247.

the value of their holdings was 217,357 silver rubles.[18]

JEWISH RELIGION

Before his accession to the Russian throne Nicholas' only encounter with Jews took place in 1816 during his tour of Russia. His impression of the event was recorded in his diary:

> The ruin of the peasants of these provinces are the Zhyds. As property-holders they are here second in importance to the landed nobility. By their commercial pursuits they drain the strength of the hapless White Russian people.... They are everything here: merchants, contractors, saloon-keepers, mill-owners, ferry-holders, artisans.... They are regular leeches, and suck these unfortunate governments to the point of exhaustion. It is a matter of surprise that in 1812 they displayed exemplary loyalty to us and assisted us wherever they could at the risk of their lives.[19]

When Nicholas became Tsar his two million Jewish subjects with their different beliefs and traditions and separate customs and culture became a matter of concern to him and he set about the task of Russifying and Christianizing them through the means of military service and education.[20]

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[18] Raport Namestnika Tsarstva Polskago..., p. 608.

[19] Quoted in S. M. Dubnow, History of the Jews in Russia and Poland from the earliest times until the present day, Vol. II: From the Death of Alexander I until the Death of Alexander III(1825-1894), trans. I. Friedlaender (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1918), p. 14. For the attitudes and actions of the Jewish population in the Northwestern Provinces of Russia during the Napoleonic Invasion, see Dubnow, History of the Jews in Russia and Poland from the earliest times until the present day, Vol. I: From the Beginning until the Death of Alexander I (1825), trans. I. Friedlaender (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1916), pp. 355-359.

[20] Louis Greenberg, The Jews in Russia, Vol. I: The Struggle for Emancipation (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1944), pp. 31-34, 48-52. See

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Penalties continued to be imposed upon the adherents of the Jewish Religion in the hope that to escape these disabilities the people would assimilate with the Christian population. The 1835 "Statute on Jews" codified the anti-Jewish legislation of the past and remained in force for decades. Only Baptism provided an avenue of escape.[21]

This Statute did not, however, extend to the followers of the Jewish Religion in the Kingdom of Poland who numbered 420,000 persons, some 10 per cent of the population of the country.[22] The Jewish people in the Kingdom continued to be the object of separate legislation before and after the 1830 uprising.[23]

Article 5 of the Organic Statute granted freedom of worship to all persons. This freedom of worship extended to the Jewish people as well. However, the rights and privileges of residents of the Kingdom applied to

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also: Dubnow, History of the Jews..., I, p. 390; II, pp. 14-15, 26-29, 44-45, 50-51, 58-59; and Riasanovsky, Nicholas I..., pp. 227, 231-232.

[21]Dubnow, History of the Jews..., II, pp. 39-41.

[22]Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 18, n. 1. See also: Artur Eisenbach, Kwestia Rownouprawnienia Żydow w Królestwie Polskim (Warszawa: Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1972), p. 62. Due to the unreliability of census tabulations, percentages reported differ, ranging from 9.3% to 10.1% of the total population. Daszynska-Golinska, La Pologne au VII-e Congress International du Science Historique, I, 120; Polish Encyclopaedia, II, p. 601.

[23]Dubnow, History of the Jews..., II, p. 88. Dubnow writes that: "Taken as a whole, the lot of the Polish Jews, sad though it was, might yet be pronounced enviable when compared with the condition of their brethren in the Pale of Settlement, where the rightlessness of the Jews during that period bordered frequently on martyrdom." Ibid., p. 110.

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Christians only.[24] Thus, the Jewish population was excluded by omission from the rights and privileges accorded to all residents of the Kingdom of Poland. All the legal, political, social, and financial restrictions which had accrued over the centuries against the followers of the Jewish Religion were retained after 1832.[25] Among these disabilities were included the inability:

1. To serve in any public office or governmental position.
2. To hold a teaching position in public schools.
3. To engage in such professions as carpentry, pharmacy, medicine, or practice in hospitals except in Jewish hospitals.
4. To serve as witnesses in judicial proceedings against Christians.
5. To act as guardians or trustees for Christian children.

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[24]Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 14, pp. 178-181, Art. 5.

[25]For the evolvement of these various disabilities, see Dubnow, History of the Jews..., I, pp. 66-85. The lot of the Jewish people was not mitigated during the Duchy of Warsaw period. The Constitution of the Duchy proclaimed that all citizens were equal before the law. Poland, Ustawa Konstytucyjna Księstwa Warszawskiego..., Art. 4. However, persons who opposed including the Jewish people in the category of citizens succeeded in obtaining a ten-year delay in the granting of political rights for the Jews "in the hope that during this time they will eliminate in themselves traits distinguishing them so greatly from the characteristics of other inhabitants." The Minister of Interior justified this delay in his report to the State Council by pointing to the "lower level of civilization of these people in our country than in other West European Countries." Eisenbach, Kwestia Rownouprawnienia Żydow..., pp. 26-27. See also Dubnow, History of the Jews..., I, pp. 298-300. The 1815 Constitution granted to the newly-created Kingdom of Poland by Alexander I proclaimed freedom of worship to all religious sects. But the "enjoyment of civil and political rights" was confined to persons professing the Christian faith. Poland, Ustawa Konstytucyjna/Charte Constitutionnelle (1815), Art. XI.

6. To participate in guild or artisan gatherings.[26]

Government authorities in St. Petersburg tried to extend their control to include the Jewish people in the Kingdom of Poland by attempting to introduce measures implemented in the Pale of Settlement into the Kingdom[27] but these efforts were opposed by Paskevich, who resisted whenever possible the encroachments of the Ministers in St. Petersburg into the Kingdom. The Viceroy succeeded in obtaining a general directive from the Tsar in January, 1845, which, while acknowledging the desirability of unifying Jewish legislation in the Kingdom with that of the Empire, recognized the need for "certain modifications arising from the specifics of both countries."[28]

However, in the years that followed a number of restrictions in force in the Empire were introduced into the Kingdom. In March, 1845, the Administrative Council issued a regulation requiring Jewish people to give up their traditional dress and assume attire worn by the Christian

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[26] Artur Eisenbach, "Prawa obywatelskie i honorowe żydow (1790-1861)," Społeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego, Witold Kula (ed.), (Warszawa: Państwowo Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1965), I, 255-256.

[27] The genesis of many of these efforts to assimilate the Russian Jews was the establishment on December 27, 1840, of a "Committee for Defining Measures looking to the Radical Transformation of Jews in Russia." A three-point program was adopted by the Imperial State Council to secure this goal: 1) Cultural Reforms; 2) Abolition of Jewish Autonomy; and 3) Increase of Jewish Disabilities. Dubnow, History of the Jews..., II, pp. 49-66.

[28] Eisenbach, Kwestia Rownouprawnienia Żydow..., pp. 49-50.

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population. This regulation, patterned after one proclaimed in the Empire the previous year, was to take effect in 1846.[29] For the payment of a special fee, however, the traditional garb could be worn.[30] Also, for the first time Jewish males, ages 20 to 25, were made subject to military recruitment.[31] In June, 1853, a regulation forbidding Jewish women entering marriage to shave their heads, in force in the Empire since August, 1852, was made binding in the Kingdom. Severe penalties were imposed upon rabbis who officiated at weddings where this regulation was violated, while the women involved were subject to fines of 5 silver rubles.[32]

There were many special burdens which persons who professed the Jewish faith had to bear. By way of example, they were subject to special taxes such as those levied on

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[29] Ibid., p. 226.

[30] Jan St. Bystron, Warszawa (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Ludwika Fiezera, n.d.), p. 219. See also Dubnow, History of the Jews..., II, p. 110. Another means used to encourage the Jewish people to comply with the dress regulation was to deny individuals the right to hold certain positions, such as toll collector, if he wore the traditional Jewish attire. Adam Szczypiorski, Warszawa: Jej gospodarka i ludność w latach 1832-1862 (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1966), p. 222.

[31] Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 33, pp. 55-87. Because married men were usually recruited only when the assigned quota could not be filled with single males, and the Jewish men tended to enter marriages at quite early ages, the minimum age for Jewish recruits was lowered to 18 years of age in 1847. Ibid., Vol. 39, pp. 334-339.

[32] Ibid., Vol. 47, pp. 28-33. A first offense called for a jail sentence of from two to three years; a second violation was punishable by either recruitment into military service or a ten to twelve year sentence in a correctional prisoner corps. Ibid., pp. 28-31, Art. 1.

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the purchase of kosher meats.[33] Also, to limit the number of Jewish people settling in Warsaw, where they constituted one-third of the city's population, a visitor's tax for each day's stay was imposed upon all Jewish people entering the capital.[34] When the suggestion was made by the central authorities in St. Petersburg that this particular tax be abolished in the interest of equalizing the rights of the Jewish people in the Kingdom with the rights of the Jewish people in the Empire, the Viceroy argued that this particular regulation had no relevance for the Empire since Imperial laws did not allow Jewish people to settle either in St. Petersburg or in Moscow. Paskevich's argument prevailed and this regulation remained in force in the Kingdom until it was abolished in 1863.[35]

With regard to marriages, the law specifically stated that "differences of religion" served as an impediment to a valid marriage. This meant that persons of differing Christian faiths could enter into a valid marriage contract but a Christian and a follower of the Jewish faith could

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[33] Szczypiorski, Warszawa..., p. 225. These payments which were introduced during the Duchy of Warsaw period were finally abolished in January, 1863. Ibid., pp. 225-226.

[34] Ibid., p. 227. Certain categories of Jews were exempt from the payment of this tax, for example: persons who had earned the privilege of purchasing land; those Jewish people from the provinces who, because of personal or material qualifications, were allowed to reside in areas of the city forbidden to Jewish settlement; and soldiers who had served ten years in the former Polish Army. Ibid., p. 228.

[35] Ibid., pp. 228-229.

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not.[36] Further, if the Jewish partner of a valid Jewish marriage became a Christian his marriage could be invalidated if the Jewish partner refused to continue living with the newly-baptized partner or placed obstacles in the way of the convert's practice of his Christian faith.[37]

While conversion to the Christian faith was the usual avenue by which a Jewish person could acquire citizenship, with all the rights and privileges attached thereto, only some one hundred families (four to five hundred persons) were baptized during this period.[38] Certain exceptions were made by the government to this general rule in individual cases when some benefits, financial or otherwise, could accrue to it. While, in those cases, full citizenship with all its attendant privileges was not granted, specific rights such as the right to purchase land or to engage in milling or distilling spirits were granted.[39]

To stem the increasing number of petitions for these specific privileges which were being submitted by the Administrative Council to St. Petersburg, the Minister, Secretary of State informed the Viceroy on January 12, 1835, that:

> His Most Royal Highness, wishing that the privilege of citizenship rights for Jews be a reward for essential

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[36] Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 18, pp. 74-77, Arts. 23, 24; pp. 152-153, Art. 100; pp. 180-181, Arts. 132, 133; pp. 232-235, Arts. 190, 191.

[37] Ibid., pp. 254-255, Arts. 206, 207.

[38] Eisenbach, Kwestia Rownouprawnienia Żydow..., pp. 21-22.

[39] Eisenbach Społeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego, I, 268-269.

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services, has ordered me to notify Your Highness, that it is His Majesty's will that in the future similar presentations not be made except for those Old Testament Believers whose merits, truly distinguished, make them worthy of exception from the general rule.[40]

In his report to the Tsar in 1851, Paskevich noted that Jewish people in the Kingdom had their own Rabbinical School and a hospital in Warsaw. They worshipped in 352 Synagogues and 424 Houses of Prayer and were served by 1,549 rabbis, assistant rabbis, and cantors.[41]

RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

One of Paskevich's first efforts was directed toward improving the standing of the Orthodox Church in the Kingdom.[42] Inspections of existing churches revealed that all were in quite bad condition. In some instances a separate edifice for worship did not even exist--rather a section of

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[40] Quoted in ibid., 269-270.

[41] Raport Namestnika Tsarstva Polskago..., p. 608.

[42] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 96. See also Sidorov, Russkie i Russkaia Zhizn..., p. 89. At this time the number of Orthodox believers was about 100,000 persons. Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 10, n. 1. These were primarily Greek merchants who had emigrated from Turkey. They worshipped in six churches which were supported by local associations of Greeks and until 1825 had belonged to the Bukovina Archdiocese. As a result of an Imperial Decree issued that year, control over the Orthodox Church in the Kingdom passed to the Holy Synod in St. Petersburg. In 1829 supervision of the Orthodox Church in the Kingdom was entrusted to a newly-established deanery in Warsaw. Ibid., p. 20. Apparently the 1830 uprising delayed the implementation of the new regulations because on October 24/November 6, 1833, Paskevich informed the Administrative Council that the arrangements with respect to the Orthodox Church in the Kingdom "accepted by the Holy Synod and approved by the Tsar on January 25, 1829" were to be implemented at once. Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 15, pp. 359-360.

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an ordinary residence was set aside for the purpose.[43]

Along with a concern to provide adequate places of worship, the regime also turned its attention to providing a burial place for persons professing the Orthodox faith. Very soon after Russian control was reimposed upon the Kingdom work was begun on an Orthodox Cemetery located on the outskirts of Warsaw. This cemetery was intended to serve as a memorial to those soldiers who had fallen during their attack upon the fortifications of Warsaw in 1831. The names of these men were to be inscribed upon a tablet which was to be placed in the Orthodox Church to be erected in the cemetery.[44] Many of the Russians who came to serve in the Kingdom of Poland after 1830 were buried in Wola Cemetery. The first of these was the Warsaw Military Governor, General Pankratev, who had directed the construction of the cemetery from the very beginning.[45]

The Orthodox Church in Wola Cemetery was finally completed in 1841 and solemnly dedicated on November 29th with the Orthodox clergy and the military taking part in the

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[43] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 21.

[44] Ibid., p. 109.

[45] Sidorov, Russkie i Russkaia Zhizn..., pp. 92-93. General Pankratev, a close friend and comrade-in-arms of the Viceroy, died at the end of 1836. Russkii Biograficheskii Slovar, Vol. 13 (S. Peterburg: Tipografiia I. N. Skorokhodova, 1902), pp. 256-257. Regarding his death, Paskevich wrote to Nicholas that he had lost "a true friend and helper." Paskevich was able to secure a pension of 40,000 złp. from the Tsar for Pankratev's family which was considered to be a substantial sum for those times. Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., pp. 153-154.

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ceremonies.[46] Paskevich used the occasion to recall the heroic deeds of Grand Duke Michael who had also taken part in the attack on Warsaw ten years earlier.[47]

The Russian Orthodox Church experienced a period of rapid growth in the Kingdom and by 1834 an Orthodox Diocese was established in Warsaw.[48] Property was acquired from the Piarist Order and plans were drawn up for the erection of an Orthodox Church and a residence for the Archbishop who was to reside permanently in Warsaw. An Orthodox Council was also to be housed there.[49] Regarding the location, Paskevich wrote to Nicholas that:

> The church will stand on the main streets. The Archbishop with all his servants will have a very lovely residence. The money for building the church and for furnishing everything that will be needed, altogether up to 300,000 rubles, will have to be found. General Golovin has taken up this matter.[50]

Archimandrite Antonius was selected as the first Bishop of the Diocese. Among his qualifications were listed his fluency in Latin and Polish. Antonius, who was described as

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[46] Ibid., p. 209.

[47] Ibid. Grand Duke Michael was touched by this tribute and responded with a glowing tribute of his own to Paskevich's leadership and heroism. The Grand Duke concluded his letter with these words: "My part in this battle was very small, but I must thank Almighty God that he allowed me to be its witness." W. Ks. Michał do Paskiewicza, 15go grudnia 1841 roku, quoted in ibid., pp. 209-210.

[48] Askenazy, Sto lat zarzadu..., p. 47. See also, Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 104.

[49] Ibid. The Piarist Order was paid the sum of 280,000 silver rubles for this property. Ibid.

[50] Paskiewicz do Cesarza, 6go sierpnia 1834 roku, quoted in ibid., pp. 104-105.

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possessing "many admirable qualities," was highly regarded by Paskevich.[51] Nicholas followed the development of the Orthodox Church in the Kingdom with great interest. The first public procession in the Kingdom, which took place in January, 1835, evoked an expression of "great satisfaction" from Nicholas, who was particularly pleased that this event had taken place in "full view of the Poles" and provided them with an opportunity to observe how "we revere our Church."[52]

Enjoying the full confidence of the Viceroy, Archbishop Antonius was instrumental in registering significant gains for the Orthodox Church in the Kingdom. By 1840 eleven new parishes had been established[53] and the Warsaw Orthodox Diocese was elevated to the status of Archdiocese.[54] But Archbishop Antonius was most especially esteemed for his ability to win the respect of the local people. Knowing the Polish language well and not holding himself aloof from persons professing other beliefs, the Archbishop was able to attract

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[51] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 105.

[52] Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 22go genvaria/3go fevralia 1835 goda, in Shcherbatov, Prilozheniia..., p. 246.

[53] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 184.

[54] Askenazy, Sto lat zarządu..., pp. 47-48. By Imperial Decree dated September 3/15, 1840, land in Warsaw was formally turned over to the Russian Orthodox Church in perpetuity. A certified copy of the land dimensions was to be prepared in triplicate: one copy was to be filed in the Archives of the Government Commission of Internal and Religious Affairs; another in the Archives of the Russian Orthodox Cathedral in Warsaw; and the third was to be sent to the Holy Synod in St. Petersburg. Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 28, pp. 353-359.

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converts to the Orthodox Church particularly among the Uniates.[55]

Early in 1843 Antonius was elevated to the rank of Metropolitan of St. Petersburg. His departure from Warsaw was an occasion for verbal tributes. Paskevich wrote to the Tsar:

> Here all are subdued; even the Catholics praise him and set him up as an example for their bishops, saying, they don't have one like him.[56]

Archbishop Antonius left his successor seventeen Russian Orthodox Churches with a membership of 12,749 persons. This number did not include the military which had its own churches in every regiment.[57] By 1851 Paskevich could report to the Tsar that the Russian Orthodox Church in the Kingdom of Poland had twenty-six churches with a membership of 15,000 persons.[58]

UNIATE CHURCH

The Uniate Church in the Kingdom of Poland had a membership of 216,000 persons, primarily Ruthenians who lived

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[55] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 184. By way of example, the dedication of a newly-built church at the Orthodox Monastery of Jabłoczyńsk was attended by all the Uniates of the district, including five Uniate curates. It was believed that because of the Archbishop's influence, the villagers of Luchow Górny petitioned the Viceroy to allow them to join the Orthodox Church. They also asked that the government build a church for them since they were too poor to do so for themselves. Both petitions were granted by Imperial Decree. Ibid., p. 184.

[56] Paskiewicz do Cesarza, 5go marca 1843 roku, quoted in ibid., p. 250.

[57] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 251.

[58] Raport Namestnika Tsarstva Polskago..., p. 601.

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in the region of Chełm located in the southeastern section of the Kingdom. Under the influence of the Basilian monks, whose orientation was towards Rome, elements of the Latin Rite had been introduced into the churches, violating the guarantees granted by the Union of Brześć assuring the Uniates that they could retain the Eastern Rite in their liturgy and ceremonies.[59]

The aim of the Russian Administration with regard to the Uniate Church was eventually to bring about a reunion of the Uniates with the Russian Orthodox Church, thus redressing an injustice which was believed to have been perpetrated in 1596. Paskevich, referring to the Union of Brześć, observed that:

> The violence which the government and clergy of Poland used to achieve this aim is well known to the people. Therefore, the conversion of the Uniates to their former creed will cause the Russians less difficulties than for the Poles when they were tearing the people away from their former faith.[60]

This belief that violence was used to achieve reunification with Rome was shared by Nicholas, who in 1839 had a medal struck commemorating the return to the Orthodox Church of one and one-half million Uniates in Lithuania and Byelorussia (former eastern provinces of the Polish Commonwealth) with the following inscription:

'Separated by violence (1596) Reunited by love (1839).'[61]

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[59] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., pp. 18-19.

[60] Ibid., p. 27.

[61] Grunwald, Tsar Nicholas I, p. 207.

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The Uniates in the Kingdom could not be dealt with in as direct a manner as those in Lithuania and Byelorussia since the Kingdom of Poland had been accorded autonomy by the Russian rulers. Therefore, in the Kingdom the Uniates continued to retain the right to practice their religion.[62] However, this did not mean the government was resigned to accepting the existing situation.

At this time the Uniate Church in Chełm was under the Roman Catholic Bishop in Lublin and the chief complaint against the Uniate clergy was that it had fallen under the influence of Catholicism, had forgotten its native tongue, and lost its sense of Russian nationality. The clergy were accused of gradually giving Uniate churches the appearance of Catholic churches "with open altars and organs" and of accepting attire worn by the Catholic clergy.[63]

An attempt was made to reverse this trend of "Latinization" in 1835 when Golovin, Chief Director of the Commission of Internal and Religious Affairs and Education, succeeded in establishing closer ties with Bishop Szymborski,[64]

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[62] Stakhii Steblets'kii, Peresliduvannia Ukrains'koi i Bilorus'koi Katolits'koi Tserkvi Rosiis'kimi Tsariami (München, Germany: Ukrains'ke Katolits'ke Vidavnitstvo v Minkheni, n.d.), p. 81.

[63] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 19. Critics held this was in violation of the 1595 Papal Bull which provided that the Uniate churches were in no way to be differentiated in internal appearances from Orthodox churches. Ibid.

[64] A Basilian monk, Filipa Szymborski became Bishop of Chełm in 1828. He was selected by Tsar Nicholas. At the time that Pope Gregory XVI confirmed the Tsar's choice, he wrote to the newly-appointed Bishop urging him to remain

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the Uniate Bishop of Chełm. Golovin was able to persuade the Bishop to move in the direction of restoring to Uniate churches an appearance conforming to the Eastern Rite.[65] The government was of the opinion that this was the best direction to take towards achieving the goal of eventually reuniting the Uniate Church with the Orthodox Church. In this fashion, as the appearance of the churches, along with the liturgy, resumed its previous character the worshippers would be gradually led to perceive little difference in the Uniate Church and the Orthodox Church--thus eliminating the possibility of turmoil among the people when reunification finally took place.[66]

Nicholas commented favorably on the progress achieved up to that time:

> The first step of rapprochement with the Uniate Bishop is also very pleasing to me. I would only wish to acquaint him with and draw him closer to our esteemed bishops. The Uniate part is moving forward rapidly and

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faithful to the true faith. Throughout the difficult period of his episcopacy, which lasted from 1828 until 1851, Bishop Szymborski's first concern was always for the fate of his diocese. To safeguard the Uniate Church in the Kingdom from persecution by the government, the Bishop steered clear of all political movements. Grigor Luzhnits'kii, Ukrains'ka Tserkva Mizh Skhodom i Zakhodom: Naris Istorii Ukrains'koi Tserkvi (Philadelphia: Nakladom Soiuzu Ukraintsiv Katolikiv "Providinnia," 1954), pp. 469-470, 472.

[65] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., pp. 105-106.

[66] Ibid. This approach had worked in Lithuania and Byelorussia. In 1828 the influences of "Latinism" were removed from the Divine Services with the result that the clergy and the people were directed away from a Roman Catholic orientation and towards an Orthodox one. Ibid., pp. 163-164.

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firmly. I am hopeful that this example will have an effect on the Polish Uniates.[67]

While the Russian government was able to achieve its goal of joining the Uniates in the Western Provinces of the Empire to the Orthodox Church by 1839, the Uniate question in the Kingdom was not so easily resolved. Here the influence of the Roman Catholic Church had been and remained very strong.[68] In addition, most of the parish churches in the region were dependent upon the patronage of local landowners who were Catholic and who "had become accustomed to regarding the Uniate Church as a transition to pure Catholicism." These landowners, therefore, "firmly and stubbornly" defended "all the innovations which Latinism had introduced into the Uniate churches."[69] Opposition also developed among the Uniate clergy itself, particularly among the Basilian monks who were outspoken critics of any attempts to eradicate the Latin influence.[70]

Their opposition became more open following an attempt by Nicholas to influence developments in the Kingdom by requesting the Uniate Bishop of Chełm to journey to St. Petersburg for the purpose of having him meet with his colleagues from the Western Provinces who had embraced the

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[67] Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 19go maia 1835 goda, in Shcherbatov, Prilozheniia..., pp. 256-257. The phrase "the Uniate part" refers to the Uniates in the Western Provinces of the Russian Empire, that is to Lithuania and Byelorussia.

[68] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., pp. 163-164.

[69] Ibid., p. 181.

[70] Ibid., p. 206.

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Orthodox faith. It was hoped that Bishop Szymborski could be persuaded to follow in their footsteps. However, the Bishop could not be prevailed upon to renounce his affiliation with Rome and, in fact, upon returning to Chełm made every attempt to persuade the villagers of Luchow Górny, who had petitioned to be united with the Orthodox Church, not to abandon the Uniate Church.[71] Bishop Szymborski's efforts in this particular instance failed. However, they served to give notice to both Nicholas and Paskevich that while Bishop Szymborski was willing to remove elements of Latinism from the Uniate Church and work to restore the Eastern Rite, he would forcefully oppose any attempts to break ties with Rome.

Strong opposition to Bishop Szymborski's efforts to restore the Eastern Rite to the Uniate Church was encountered from the powerful monastic order of Basilian Fathers who refused to implement the Bishop's directives of August, 1841. Under Paskevich's influence the Bishop had issued a Pastoral Letter calling for reforms in the Uniate Church in accordance with the Eastern Rite.[72] Two monks who were especially

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[71] Ibid., p. 185. See also, Adrien Boudou, S.J., Le Saint-Siège et La Russie: Leurs Relations Diplomatiques au XIXe Siècle, 1814-1847 (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1922), pp. 237-238.

[72] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 206. These reforms called for several changes in the liturgy. The Missal would no longer be transferred to the left side of the altar but remain on the right side. Also, the priest, after the manner of the Orthodox clergy, would bless the people with his hand while saying "Peace to you." Bishop Szymborski later acknowledged that the people would have noticed these details and have viewed them as an intention to disavow the Union with the Roman Church. Boudou, Le Saint-Siège..., p. 239.

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critical of this move were removed to a neighboring monastery. They managed to escape and journeyed to Rome where they detailed the plight of the Uniate Church in the Kingdom to church authorities there. In February, 1842, the Pope sent a letter to Bishop Szymborski ordering that the Pastoral Letter issued the previous summer be recalled. The Bishop complied and on March 1, 1842, issued a new Pastoral Letter revoking the changes initiated previously.[73]

Paskevich became convinced that the Uniate question would never be resolved in favor of Orthodoxy until the Uniate clergy itself began supporting such a move. As far as the people were concerned, Paskevich was of the opinion that their grasp of religious truths was at best hazy but that church ceremonies made the impact upon them. Therefore, once these ceremonies could be brought into conformity with the Eastern Rite the clergy would have no difficulty in leading the people into the Orthodox Church. But since at this time the Uniate clergy was trained in a spirit of Latinism, the church ceremonies reflected a Latin orientation and, consequently, the people remained steadfastly opposed to reunification with the Orthodox Church.[74]

As far as isolated villages embracing Orthodoxy was concerned, Paskevich believed that this brought little

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[73] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., pp. 206-207. It would appear that the Pope was also influenced by the news that yet another village, located a short distance from Luchow Górny, had gone over to the Orthodox Church in 1841. Ibid., p. 207.

[74] Ibid., pp. 184-185.

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results and only tended to exacerbate relations with the Holy See. Of course, Paskevich would not have been averse to strained relations with Rome if the cause were the total elimination of the Uniate Church in the Kingdom. But to provoke the Pope over a village here and a village there seemed too high a price to pay for such meager results.[75]

Paskevich was convinced that when suitable Uniate bishops were chosen who also enjoyed good relations with Rome, then there could be hope of achieving union with the Orthodox Church. A significant step seemed to have been taken in this direction when Rome elevated Vicar Taraszkiewicz to the rank of Bishop.[76] The way now seemed open to have Bishop Szymborski, who had been such a disappointment to Nicholas and Paskevich, step aside in favor of the newly-appointed Bishop who was known to have a strong attachment to the Eastern Rite.[77] Paskevich wrote to Nicholas:

> Now we can have hope that all the Uniates will petition for unification. I would want this to happen as soon as possible, since then we would anger the Pope only once

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[75] Ibid., p. 238.

[76] Ibid. When Bishop Szymborski died in 1851, Ivan Taraszkiewicz succeeded him as head of the Uniates in Chełm, a position he held until his death in 1863. Shortly after Bishop Taraszkiewicz took over his duties the government demanded that the Uniate seminarians be sent to the Orthodox Academies in Moscow and Kiev for their training. He refused to comply with this demand with the result that a number of seminarians were forced to flee the country and settled in Galicia. Luzhnits'kii, Ukrains'ka Tserkva..., p. 472.

[77] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., pp. 236-237.

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while now every village that goes over to Orthodoxy evokes such anger.[78]

Nicholas, recalling no doubt Bishop Szymborski's willingness to restore the Eastern Rite but his opposition to breaking away from Rome and also recalling his efforts to dissuade those who had petitioned for unity with the Orthodox Church, answered Paskevich that:

> It was time for the Uniate Bishop to come to his senses and be quiet. This is all that I ask and the rest will come itself when the time is ripe.[79]

Bishop Szymborski did step aside and turned over the administration of the Uniate Diocese to Bishop Taraszkiewicz.[80] However, the hope which Paskevich placed in the new Bishop was not to be fulfilled. Like his predecessor, Bishop Taraszkiewicz's devotion to the Eastern Rite did not mean that he was willing to bring the Uniate Church into union with the Orthodox Church.[81]

By 1851 the Uniate Church in the Kingdom had increased its membership in the Kingdom by some twenty thousand persons, to 235,437. Paskevich's report to the Tsar also stated that 1,911 Uniates had been converted to the Orthodox religion since the beginning of his Viceroyalty in the Kingdom. The report noted that the Uniates possessed 5 monasteries

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[78] Paskiewicz do Cesarza, 1go czerwca 1842 roku, quoted in ibid., pp. 238-239.

[79] Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 26go maia/7go iiunia 1842 goda, in Shcherbatov, Prilozheniia..., pp. 496-497.

[80] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 237.

[81] Ibid., p. 239.

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and 394 churches, 43 of which had been renovated on the pattern of the Orthodox churches and 21 of which were in the process of being renovated.[82]

Unlike its counterpart in the Western Provinces, the Uniate Church in the Kingdom of Poland had managed to withstand the pressures of the regime to destroy it and, in fact, could take satisfaction in some measure of growth. There can be little doubt that no small credit for this was due to the fact that Nicholas and Paskevich exercised restraint which was dictated by a desire not to provoke Rome. Also, the Pope's timely intervention in 1842, resulting in Bishop Szymborski revoking the liturgical reforms he had ordered the previous summer, served to strengthen the Uniate clergy in its resolve to resist the pressures of the Russian regime to introduce changes which had as their purpose the absorption of the Uniate Church into the Orthodox Church. Complaints lodged with the Holy See by some of the Uniate clergy made it difficult to convince Rome and the rest of Europe that any change in the status of the Uniate Church in the Kingdom of Poland would have been the result of a voluntary decision by all the clergy and people as had been claimed for the Western Provinces. The result was that the Russian government would have to wait another twenty years before the goal of restoring the Uniates to the Orthodox Church could be achieved.[83]

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[82] Raport Namestnika Tsarstva Polskago..., p. 608.

[83] At the time of its incorporation into the Orthodox Church in 1875, the membership of the Uniate Church in the

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ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Prior to 1830 the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church exercised considerable influence over the spiritual affairs of the Church in the Kingdom. A special section within the Commission for Religions and Public Education, responsible for the spiritual affairs of the Catholic Church, was presided over by the Primate of the Kingdom of Poland. The membership of this section was made up of two bishops and four referendaries who acted in the capacity of advisors. The Episcopal Chapter submitted its recommendations for vacancies in Church offices to this section which reviewed the lists and presented them to the government for approval.[84] In this way the Church hierarchy was able to wield considerable influence in filling vacant bishoprics and other administrative posts in the Church.[85]

Kingdom was placed at some 250,000 persons. Krynicki, Dzieje Kościoła..., p. 759. Those Uniates who opposed reunification were exiled to Siberia. Others chose to emigrate to Galicia where, under Austrian rule, they were free to exercise their religious beliefs. Steblets'kii, Peresliduvannia..., p. 82. However, the Russian government was unable to eliminate the beliefs of the people as attested to by the thousands of Chełm residents who turned out to receive the blessing of the Apostolic Delegate en route to attend the coronation of Alexander III in 1883. Luzhnits'kii, Ukrains'ka Tserkva..., p. 480. In spite of this evidence, the 1897 census of the Russian Empire indicated there were no Uniates in the Kingdom of Poland. Askenazy, Sto lat zarządu..., p. 92. In April, 1905, following the promulgation of the Edict of Toleration granted by Nicholas II, more than 100,000 persons in the region of Chełm immediately returned to the Roman Catholic Church. Jobert, Histoire de la Pologne, p. 81.

[84] Okolski, Wykład Prawa Administracyjnego..., pp. 153-154.

[85] Boudou, Le Saint-Siège..., p. 96.

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The influence of this section also extended to selecting candidates for the teaching of Theology at the University of Warsaw and in secondary schools. This section proposed candidates to serve as chaplains in the Army. It informed the Commission for Religions and Public Education of abuses suffered by the clergy at the hands of civil servants and also submitted proposals to the Commission for the discipline of clerics. All the bishops of the Kingdom submitted annual reports to this section.[86]

Thus, the Church hierarchy was able to exercise considerable freedom with regard to the training, placement, and discipline of its clergy. Lisicki, who was born in Lublin Province in the Kingdom and became familiar with the situation which prevailed in the Kingdom before and after the 1830 insurrection, pointed out that prior to the 1830 revolt the Russian Tsar did not interfere in the religious beliefs of his Polish subjects and that the Catholic Church in the Kingdom "enjoyed an independence infinitely greater than in Austria or in France."[87] After the 1830 uprising Nicholas,

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[86] Okolski, Wykład Prawa Administracyjnego..., p. 154. These reports contained information such as statistics dealing with the number of secular and order priests; the number of seminarians in the diocese; the names of persons selected to serve as consistory or deanery members; how complaints of laymen against clergy in matters of morals and discipline had been resolved; programs of theological studies and textbooks which had been approved; and who had been selected to preside over theological examinations at the University of Warsaw. Ibid., pp. 154-155.

[87] M. Henry Lisicki, Le Marquis Wielopolski, sa vie et son temps: 1803-1877 (Vienne: Faesy & Frick, 1880), p. 216. At the time of his appeal to the Pope to intervene in the Polish uprising, the Diet Marshal's only complaints were

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who now identified "Catholicism with Polonism," both to him synonyms for revolution, became convinced that to secure tranquillity in the Kingdom the Roman Catholic Church would have to be restrained and controlled.[88]

Assistance for the realization of these aims came from a most unlikely quarter. In June, 1832, Pope Gregory XVI addressed an Encyclical to the Polish Clergy which recalled the "eternal maxims of the Catholic Church regarding submission to temporal authority in the civil order."[89] In issuing the Encyclical the Pope was motivated by the belief that the fate of the Catholic Church in the Kingdom was at stake. On April 20, 1832, Prince Gagarin, in the name of

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that the government interfered in the "official correspondence of the clergy with Rome" and that a Uniate church had been destroyed. Ibid.

[88] Ibid., p. 217. See also: Grunwald, Tsar Nicholas I, p. 204.

[89] Le P. Lescoeur, L'Église Catholique en Pologne sous le gouvernement Russe depuis le premier partage jusqu-a nos jours (1772-1875), Deuxième Édition (Paris: E. Plon et Cie, 1876), p. 204. See also Lisicki, Le Marquis Wielopolski..., p. 217. This Encyclical was sent to the Polish Bishops through the Papal Nuncio in Vienna who forwarded it to the Bishop of Krakow. The Bishop of Krakow then sent the Papal Encyclical directly to the Bishops in the Kingdom. Piwarski contends that this departure from the usual manner of sending communications through the Russian government was done with the agreement of the Russian authorities who were aware of the contents of the Encyclical. Also, that there was an understanding between Rome and Russia that a precedent was not being set and that in the future all correspondence would continue to be sent through normal channels. Kazimierz Piwarski, Kuria Rzymska a Polski Ruch Narodowo-Wyzwoleńczy: 1794-1863 (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1955), p. 45. At the end of August, 1832, the Russian emissary in Rome, on instructions from St. Petersburg, voiced to the Roman Curia the "deep satisfaction" of the Imperial Court with the Encyclical to the Poles. Ibid., p. 46.

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the Russian Government, delivered a note to the Pope which accused the Polish clergy of infidelity in the observance of their religious obligations and which stressed that only by "perfect obedience" could they right the wrong which had been done. The note pointed out that the "Holy See should recognize that in supporting the authority of the Throne it will at the same time be protecting the faith."[90] Thus, the Encyclical noted:

> We have heard of the frightful calamities which have devastated your Kingdom which had no other source than the duplicity of some fabricators of deceit and falsehood who, under the pretext of religion, raise their heads in this unhappy age against the legitimate power of princes.[91]

The Encyclical went on to point out that pastors were charged with the task of being vigilant so that "evil perverse men" would not be able "to disseminate their erroneous doctrine and false dogma" among the faithful and, "under the pretext of the public good," lead those who are easily deceived into overthrowing the "order of society." Pastors were instructed to proclaim fearlessly "against these

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[90]Krynicki, Dzieje Kościoła..., p. 607. Some time earlier Russia had appealed to Austria in an effort to pressure the Holy See to issue a statement "which would break the morale of the clergy which had actively participated in the revolutionary movement." The Russian Foreign Minister sent a letter to the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs in which he wrote that "of course the welfare of the Catholic Church will depend principally upon the situation in which the country finds itself and on the further behavior of the clergy. In the event that uprisings should be renewed, and the influence of the clergy contributes to these uprisings, the government will be forced to use the most extreme severity in order to render the ill-disposed harmless." Quoted in ibid.

[91]Lescoeur, L'Église Catholique..., p. 204.

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perpetual makers of revolution" that the "obedience which men owe to authority set up by God is an absolute principle from which no person can exempt himself." It was pointed out, however, that this principle held only so long as the commands of those in authority did not violate the "laws of God or of the Church."[92] By way of illustration the example of the early Christians was cited who, when persecuted, entertained no thoughts of rebellion against lawful authority.[93] The Encyclical concluded with the following words:

> Your very powerful emperor will show himself to be full of benevolence for you; he will always use with kindness his good offices to grant the requests which you would make of him for the good of the Catholic religion which the Kingdom professes and to which he has promised never to refuse his protection.[94]

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[92] Ibid., pp. 204-205. See also Lisicki, Le Marquis Wielopolski..., p. 217.

[93] Lescoeur, L'Église Catholique..., p. 205.

[94] Ibid., pp. 205-206. Pope Gregory XVI offered the following explanation to General Wladyslaw Zamoyski for the Encyclical of 1832 at an audience granted him in 1837. "I grieved over your distress, but finally you were defeated. It seemed to me that all was finished, one could only protect the Church from the vengeance of the angry victor. The menace staggered me, I became frightened by the persecution which was about to fall upon you and would exceed everything which you had endured.... I was warned that all the Polish Bishops will be transported to Siberia. I asked myself what would happen to your unhappy nation when it will be deprived of its pastors and which is so distant from me that its voice long since does not reach me. I thought in conscience that in the face of such dangers maybe I should express these few words about the need to submit to one's fate and remind your bishops about what the Apostles did; that the obligation of a Christian, the obligation of conscience is obedience to lawful authority. I did not fail to add, though, that authority is not free to command that which is contrary to the laws of God and the Church." Quoted in Krynicki, Dzieje Kościoła..., p. 608, n. 1. See also Lisicki, Le Marquis Wielopolski..., pp. 226-227.

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In fact, Article 5 of the Organic Statute did state that "the Roman Catholic religion espoused by the majority of our subjects in the Kingdom of Poland will always be the object of especial protection by the government."[95] How this would work out in practice remained to be seen. But steps taken by the government in its Western Provinces seemed to bode ill for the Church in the Kingdom of Poland. A decree issued in the summer of 1832 ordered all monastic houses having either too few members or designated as superfluous to be closed and their churches assigned for use as parish churches or converted to secular uses.[96]

However, the dire expectations for the Kingdom did not materialize as a census of monasteries and convents in

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[95]Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 14, p. 181, Art. 5.

[96]Skarbek, Królestwo Polskie..., p. 26. Cash reserves were to be turned over to the general fund and used to support the Catholic clergy while land holdings were to be placed in the treasury and the income derived therefrom was to be used for charitable purposes. Ibid. Kukiel mentions that some 200 monasteries were closed following the suppression of the uprising. Kukiel, Dzieje Polski Porozbiorowe..., p. 310. Morawski offers more precise figures, indicating that 192 Roman Catholic monasteries were closed, leaving only 98 monastic houses still in existence. This number was further reduced to 72 (47 monasteries and 25 convents). Morawski, Dzieje Narodu Polskiego..., pp. 468-469. Grunwald notes that 202 out of 291 monasteries were closed. The reason cited for the closing of the 202 monasteries was that there were "less than six monks" living in each of them. Grunwald, Tsar Nicholas I, p. 207. Actually there was some basis in fact for the Catholic Church in the Kingdom to fear for its future in the spring of 1832. At that time several Roman Catholic churches were converted into Russian Orthodox churches. These were churches located on streets which had been enclosed within the Alexandrovsk Citadel being constructed in Warsaw and were intended to be used to serve the spiritual needs of the Russian garrisons to be stationed there. Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 19go aprelia/1go maia 1832 goda, in Shcherbatov, Prilozheniia..., p. 54.

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1842 reveals: 151 monasteries with a membership of 1,633 monks; and 32 convents with a membership of 386 nuns. This same census noted that there were 2,271 secular clergy; the number of Roman Catholics was listed as 3,568,483.[97]

Nine years later, in a report submitted to Nicholas on the occasion of the Tsar's 25th anniversary of accession to the throne, Paskevich indicated there were 182 monasteries and convents in the Kingdom and that the number of monks, nuns, and clergy totaled 4,407.[98]

Of great importance to the regime was the question of mixed marriages which, according to Paskevich, revealed above all else the fanaticism of the Catholic clergy. The clergy, believing that such marriages posed dangers for Catholicism and Polish nationalism, took a strong stand against them. But for the same reasons the Viceroy regarded mixed marriages as highly desirable since at the very least the mutually hostile inclinations of the two nationalities might be weakened and at the most a union of the two peoples could be achieved.[99]

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[97] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 237. The following figures prepared in 1828 and presented to the Diet deputies provide a point of reference for the numbers cited for 1842. In 1828 there were 156 monasteries with 1,783 monks and 20 convents with 354 nuns. The number of Catholics was listed as 3,471,282. Krynicki, Dzieje Kościoła..., p. 606, n. 1.

[98] Raport Namestnika Tsarstva Polskago..., p. 608. Thus it can be seen that from 1842 to 1851 the number of monastic houses declined by only one while the number of persons dedicating their lives to the Church had increased by 117. However, it is not possible to tell from the figure cited in this report whether the increase was in the monastic orders or the clergy or both.

[99] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., pp. 96-97.

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While no specific decrees or regulations were issued regarding marriages between Catholics and Orthodox believers during the period immediately following the suppression of the uprising, a Pastoral Letter prepared by the Bishop of Podlask at the end of 1832 would seem to indicate that the Catholic Church feared itself threatened by such marriages. In his Pastoral Letter Bishop Gutowski ordered the clergy not "to bless marriages between Catholics and persons of other faiths." In accordance with this directive the Diocesan Consistory issued instructions "in the name of the Bishop" which prohibited the clergy from "announcing the bans of such marriages without first obtaining permission from the Bishop."[100]

The government's response to this action was to have the Commission of Justice rescind the instructions and prohibit bishops and diocesan consistories from issuing any instructions without first obtaining the consent of the Government Commission of Internal and Religious Affairs and Education. The government stated that if this procedure was not followed there was a danger that "a government within a government" could develop, resulting in conflicting directives which would bring confusion and disorders.[101]

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[100] Ibid., p. 97. In a second instruction the Consistory labeled non-Catholics as "'doubtful Christians' who have broken away from the true faith." The Orthodox believers were included in this category of non-Catholics. Ibid. See also Shcherbatov, Prilozheniia..., p. 200.

[101] Ibid., pp. 200-201. Paskevich, not wishing to engage in a head-on confrontation with Rome by dismissing Bishop Gutowski from his post, persuaded him to recall his

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However, it was not Paskevich's intention to antagonize the Roman Curia. Therefore, steps were taken to show that the Russian government was concerned about the needs of the Catholic Church and its clergy and only acted to restrain those clerics who exhibited religious fanaticism or political extremism.[102] To this end, early in 1833 the Viceroy wrote to the Tsar that the Vice-Chancellor had informed him that the "Roman Curia is not wholly satisfied with us." Paskevich then offered this recommendation:

> Therefore, I regard it as necessary to win the hierarchy of the Kingdom of Poland over to the side of the government. According to the Vice-Chancellor, and with which I concur, the first step towards this end would be if your Highness, in approving the budget for 1834, would most graciously order that the Bishops of the Kingdom of Poland, in addition to the pension they now receive, be paid 10,000 złp. yearly.[103]

Paskevich saw such a measure as being "pleasing to the Roman Curia" and certain to make an "excellent impression."[104]

On April 14, 1833, Count Grabowski, the Minister, Secretary of State of the Kingdom of Poland, informed Paskevich that:

Pastoral Letter. Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., pp. 97-98. Bishop Gutowski acquiesced. However, he continued to be a thorn in the side of the government and when he transmitted a letter of complaint to the Holy See in which he accused the Russian government of persecuting the Catholic Church in the Kingdom, the government exiled the Bishop. He was permitted to spend his final days in Austrian Poland. Lescoeur, L'Eglise Catholique..., pp. 211-215. See also Lisicki, Le Marquis Wielopolski..., pp. 224-228.

[102] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 98.

[103] Paskiewicz do Cesarza, quoted in ibid.

[104] Ibid.

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> His Majesty has ordered that the Catholic Bishops be paid 10,000 złp. from funds assigned in Article 5 of the budget for the Kingdom of Poland, that is from funds set aside for the personal disposition of His Royal Highness.[105]

The government also turned its attention to the question of opening an academy for the training of Roman Catholic priests. This institution was intended to replace the Theological Department of Warsaw University which remained closed following the suppression of the 1830 uprising. On January 31, 1833, the Government Commission of Internal and Religious Affairs and Education was requested by the Tsar to prepare a proposal for the creation of an academy in Warsaw which would serve to replace the pre-uprising Major Seminary.[106] A special committee was appointed and, together with several members of the Catholic hierarchy, labored until September, 1835, to prepare the proposal which was then presented to the Administrative Council for its consideration. The question of who would administer the academy became an important issue during the Council's review of the proposal in October, 1835.[107]

The Council contended that the Catholic clergy while recognizing the authority of the monarch also accepted the authority of the Pope. This dual allegiance made it difficult for the government to place complete confidence in any

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[105] Grabowski do Paskiewicza, 14go kwietnia 1833 roku, quoted in ibid., pp. 98-99.

[106] Kucharzewski, Epoka Paskiewiczowska..., pp. 422-423. See also Gerber, Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty, II, 167.

[107] Kucharzewski, Epoka Paskiewiczowska..., p. 423.

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administration made up exclusively of clerics since, in the event of a disagreement between civil and spiritual authorities, the allegiance of the clerics to the government would be doubtful. Consequently, the Council regarded as "necessary" that a lay person representing the government be placed on the Administrative Board of the Academy. His "chief responsibilities would be not only to watch that all government directives were observed but also to protest against tendencies incompatible with the views and objectives of the authorities."[108]

The following summer, on July 25, 1836, the Administrative Council accepted the final proposal which incorporated the suggestion for a lay representative on the Board of the Academy. The first person to be chosen to hold this position was Kozlowski, the Director of the Religions and Education Section of the Government Commission of Internal and Religious Affairs and Education.[109] When Kozlowski was assigned the task of preparing for the incorporation of the

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[108] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 100. This objection was raised by Fuhrman, Chief Director of the Government Commission of Finance and Treasury, who argued that, while it was true that the Academy would be under the overall jurisdiction of the Government Commission of Internal and Religious Affairs and Education, it was essential to place someone in the Academy itself with a decisive voice who could observe classes and would bring to the attention of the Chief Director of the Government Commission all matters which might require his attention. Fuhrman's argument persuaded the Council which agreed that while the Church hierarchy had given assurances of their loyalty to the government after 1831 this loyalty could not be relied upon by the government if only because the hierarchy was dependent upon Rome. Kucharzewski, Epoka Paskiewiczowska..., p. 424.

[109] Ibid., pp. 426-427.

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educational system of the Kingdom into that of the Empire in 1839, Antoni Hlebowicz was selected to take his place. Shipov, Chief Director of the Government Commission, recommended Hlebowicz to the Administrative Council with these words:

> This civil servant merits my complete confidence. He has been used by me constantly for various assignments and for conducting investigations and he has always acquitted himself with suitable accuracy and achieved good results.[110]

This recommendation was sufficient for Hlebowicz to win the approval of the Council and on April 2, 1839, he was appointed to serve as lay representative on the Administrative Board of the Academy, a post he held until his death in May, 1847.[111]

This gesture of establishing an academy to train the Roman Catholic clergy was viewed in some quarters as a sign of reconciliation. Paskevich saw this move "as necessary to demonstrate the regime's complete confidence in and respect for" the Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Poland.[112] Others,

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[110] Ibid., p. 426. Hlebowicz, born in 1802, began his public service in 1823 in Lithuania. Very soon thereafter he was transferred to the Ministry of War and in 1827-28 was a member of the Investigating Committee in Warsaw. In 1829 he was attached to the General Staff of Grand Duke Constantine. During the 1831 campaign he fought on the side of Russia. Between 1831 and 1834 Hlebowicz held positions in the Highest Criminal Tribunal, the Committee in charge of administering schools in the Kingdom, and served as Secretary in the Education Council. In 1834 Hlebowicz was named General Visitor of Schools. Manteuffel, Rozprawy Historyczne..., VI, No. 2, 76-77.

[111] Kucharzewski, Epoka Paskiewiczowska..., pp. 427-428.

[112] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 100.

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however, viewed this as a sign that the "government had not lost hope of securing for itself the favorable disposition of the hierarchy" and that actually the academy was to serve as an instrument for training the clergy in a spirit of political loyalty to the regime.[113]

Undoubtedly, both positions contained an element of truth. A Major Seminary was necessary to assure the Church in the Kingdom a continuing source of priests to serve the predominantly Roman Catholic population. For the Church hierarchy the lay representative on the Board of the Academy had to be tolerated if the Church was to function effectively. For the government, which remained vividly aware of the role of some of the clergy during the uprising, the placing of a reliable person to look after the interests of the regime gave assurances that the government was in control of the situation. In addition, the government believed that just allowing the academy to be established was bound to win some degree of support from the Church and the people.

In March, 1836, after three years of preparation by the Department for the Affairs of the Kingdom of Poland in St. Petersburg, new marriage regulations were set forth for the Kingdom. Of significance for the Roman Catholic Church was the section which dealt with mixed marriages, that is marriages contracted between persons of different faiths. Marriages between Roman Catholics and Protestants were to be performed in the church of the

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[113] Kucharzewski, Epoka Paskiewiczowska..., p. 427.

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bride.[114] Sons born to such a union were to be raised in the father's faith while daughters were to be reared in the mother's religion.[115] Where mixed marriages involved one party professing the Russian Orthodox faith, the law required that the marriage ceremony be performed by a Russian Orthodox clergyman and all the children born to such a union were to be brought up in the Russian Orthodox faith.[116] A promise in writing was to be made guaranteeing Orthodox spouses that they would not be subject to any abuses because of their religious beliefs nor would coercion be used to convert them to the faith of the non-Orthodox spouse.[117]

There can be little doubt that the government expected opposition to the new marriage regulations from some of the Roman Catholic clergy. Several months prior to the promulgation of these regulations the government began preparations for establishing a place of confinement for Catholic clerics who opposed the regime. Letters were exchanged between the Minister, Secretary of State and the Viceroy

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[114] Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 18, p. 237, Art. 192. In cases where the bride was Roman Catholic and the Catholic Church refused to perform the ceremony, the couple could then be married in the groom's church. Ibid., p. 239, Art. 194.

[115] Ibid., p. 239, Art. 195.

[116] Ibid., pp. 245-247, Art. 200. Prior to these new regulations, children of such marriages were often baptized in the Catholic faith. Sidorov, Russkie i Russkaia Zhizn..., p. 23. Further, Section 3 of Article 200 stated that the Russian Orthodox Tribunal determined the validity of such marriages and their dissolubility. Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 18, p. 247, Art. 200.

[117] Ibid., pp. 247-249, Art. 201.

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regarding possible locations and costs involved in setting up and maintaining such an establishment. A former Dominican Monastery located in an isolated section of the Province of Augustów was selected and 25,000 złp. was requested for renovating the monastery to prepare it for its future function as a correctional institution. At the same time a request was presented to the Tsar asking his approval for an annual expenditure of 59,000 złp. from the public treasury for the purpose of maintaining the institution.[118] Those clerics who voiced objections to the new marriage regulations were sent to this special prison in Augustów Province which was placed under the supervision of the Bishop of the diocese. The charge leveled against them was that of "behavior unbecoming to their calling."[119]

The consequences of the new marriage regulations for Polish nationalism could have been significant since a person professing the Orthodox Faith was considered by the government to be fully Russian no matter what his nationality might be. Thus, in the view of some, marriages between Poles and Russians could eventually lead to obliteration of the Polish Nationality.[120]

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[118] Paskiévitch à Grabowski, 23 janvier/4 février 1836, in Shcherbatov, Prilozheniia..., pp. 341-343. Eleven days later approval was given by the Tsar for the choice of location and the expenditures of funds as requested. Grabowski à Paskiévitch, 3/15 février 1836, in ibid., pp. 344-345.

[119] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., pp. 140-141. In addition, these priests were also deprived of their pastorships. Ibid., p. 140.

[120] Ibid., pp. 137-138. It should probably be noted that the Tsar and his Viceroy were undoubtedly at least

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Given the possible long-range threat that such an interpretation posed for Polish patriotism, it is easy to see why some of the more nationalistically-inclined clergy would attempt to work against these marriage regulations. Another danger which these regulations posed, which was of far more concern to the Church hierarchy, was their impact upon the religious character of the nation. The various provisions regarding where the marriage ceremony should take place and in what faith the children should be raised would erode the authority and strength of the Roman Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Poland. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Russian government expected opposition to develop among the clergy and prepared for that eventuality by setting up a penal institution for clerics who would be opposed to the new marriage regulations. With the outspoken critics removed to a remote part of the Kingdom, the administration could then hope to achieve implementation of the new directives with a minimum of popular reaction.

That more vigorous opposition was not forthcoming from the Catholic Church could perhaps be explained by the fact that attempts to incorporate the Kingdom into the Empire did not proceed in a straight line but were mingled

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equally concerned about the spiritual and cultural well-being of the Russian military and civilian personnel serving in the Kingdom, fearing they might become Polonized because of marriages to Poles who were, for the most part, also Roman Catholics. Thus, by insisting that such marriages be performed in the Orthodox Church and that the children of such a union be brought up in the Orthodox religion, the Russian nationality would be preserved.

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with concessions which could have led those entrusted with the care of the Roman Catholic Church in the Kingdom to believe that the Church and Polish nationalism would eventually triumph over all efforts progressively to weaken both.

The Tsar's goal for the Catholic Church in the Kingdom was outlined in a letter written to Paskevich in January, 1837. Nicholas wrote:

> I believe that in time it would be well to place the whole Catholic Church in Russia and Poland under one Metropolitan in order thereby to achieve a stronger union and more easily find a worthy person to fill such an important post. Here we have Bishop Pawlowski--a man nearly Russian and most worthy; I will designate him Metropolitan.[121]

Paskevich thought differently regarding this matter and wrote to Nicholas in January, 1837:

> Regarding the joining of the two archdioceses, Petersburg and Warsaw, into one, I am pleased to tell you that this would be a very good thing; but I believe that the Roman Curia would never agree to this since it would see in such a step a lessening of its own authority.[122]

Nicholas did not succeed in his idea of joining the two archdioceses but periodically he raised the question

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[121] Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 14go/26go genvaria 1837 goda, in Shcherbatov, Prilozheniia..., pp. 318-319. Nicholas was quite serious in his desire to bring about such a union and the events of 1838 testify to this fact. The Archbishop of Warsaw died in February of that year. Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 145. Auxiliary bishops were chosen to fill the vacancy created by the death of Archbishop Choromanski, but no Archbishop was named until 1856, after both Nicholas and Paskevich had passed from the scene. Askenazy, Sto lat zarządu..., pp. 52-53. Also, from that time on the Russian administration sought increasingly to have the Pope designate a Catholic Archbishop for the whole Russian Empire. Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 145.

[122] Paskiewicz do Cesarza, styczen 1837 roku, quoted in ibid., p. 146.

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with his Viceroy. In 1840 Nicholas pointed out the desirability of such a move to Paskevich and stated he would pursue the matter further when he visited Warsaw.[123] In 1841, when the Pope elevated Bishop Pawlowski to Metropolitan of the Catholic Church in the Russian Empire and an Ecclesiastical Consistory was created in St. Petersburg to assist the new Metropolitan,[124] Nicholas requested that Paskevich send one or two bishops from the Kingdom to St. Petersburg and stated that when they arrived he would appoint them to serve as members of this Consistory. Once this had been done then consideration could be given as to how ecclesiastical affairs in the Kingdom could be transferred to St. Petersburg.[125]

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[123]Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 1go/13go maia 1840 goda, in Shcherbatov, Prilozheniia..., pp. 435-436.

[124]Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 203.

[125]Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 5go/17go aprelia 1841 goda, in Shcherbatov, Prilozheniia..., pp. 479-480. Paskevich had not changed his opinion regarding the dangers of such a course. He also knew that for the Petersburg Metropolitan to have canonical jurisdiction over the dioceses of the Kingdom of Poland a decree from the Roman Curia was necessary. However, since the Tsar insisted, the occasion of a consecration of a new bishop in June, 1841, provided the opportunity for the Metropolitan himself to issue an invitation to two bishops from the Kingdom to attend the ceremonies in St. Petersburg. Paskevich informed the Tsar that he had selected the Bishops of Kalisz and Augustow to respond to the invitation. Paskevich also told Nicholas that the Bishop of Kalisz had indicated his willingness to remain longer in St. Petersburg if the Tsar would so desire. Paskevich said that he was not sure of the Bishop of Augustow but doubted that he would be willing to sit in the Petersburg Consistory. He concluded his letter with these words: "If it is possible to get along with one bishop, then the Bishop of Kalisz is willing to fulfill all government commands." Paskiewicz do Cesarza, 20go czerwca 1841 roku, quoted in Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., pp. 203-205. The Metropolitan himself resolved this sensitive question of seating bishops from the Kingdom in the St. Petersburg

An event which took place in 1844 illustrates why the Tsar continued to be thwarted in his desires to bring the Roman Catholic Church in the Kingdom under his control. The Monseigneur of Lublin was elevated to the rank of Bishop and Nicholas was determined to have the consecration take place in St. Petersburg. Paskevich responded to the Tsar by posing this question:

> Is it worth irritating the Roman Curia and giving all Catholic intriguers the opportunity to slander us by saying that we wish to convert them to the Orthodox religion?[126]

But Nicholas insisted and the consecration took place in St. Petersburg. In the months that followed Rome registered its displeasure by responding negatively to requests and petitions from the Russian government. By way of example, there was the question of naming an administrator for the Warsaw Diocese. Paskevich wanted Monseigneur Kotowski to be named to the post.[127] It was Monseigneur Kotowski who had three years earlier preached the sermon on the occasion of the ceremonious unveiling of a monument in Warsaw commemorating the "Poles who had given their lives for their Monarch" in 1831. In his sermon, Monseigneur Kotowski "condemned the Poles for the revolt and praised those who had remained faithful to the legitimate government." He called

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Ecclesiastical Consistory without provoking an open conflict with the Tsar by citing the need for delay until circumstances became more favorable. Ibid., pp. 205-206.

[126] Paskiewicz do Cesarza, 17go marca 1844 roku, quoted in ibid., p. 266.

[127] Ibid., p. 267.

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upon all to render obedience to the Monarch "sincerely and without hypocrisy."[128] The candidacy of Kotowski for bishop was rejected by Rome and as a consequence the Diocesan Chapter in Warsaw did not appoint him Diocesan Administrator. Instead, the choice fell upon a Bishop Fijalkowski who could not be charged with favoring government interests. The appointment stood since Paskevich did not want to irritate the Church hierarchy in the Kingdom nor provoke a conflict with Rome.[129] Paskevich wrote to Nicholas:

> In vain did we use all means in order to have the selection fall on Kotowski. The reasons for this are that the Pope did not want to make him a bishop and there was also the influence of Canon Dekert whom we should restrain but the government does not have the power to do so.[130]

The Tsar's response was an angry one. Stating that the "stupid selection by the Warsaw Canons is probably the fruit of intrigues or fear," Nicholas asked:

> Should we consent to it? I do not know how to resolve this question. There is apparently a nasty spirit in the country; we must not yield to it and we will not yield to it.[131]

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[128] Ibid., p. 208. The inhabitants of the Kingdom were distressed by the tone of the sermon. The government was, of course, favorably impressed. Ibid.

[129] Ibid., p. 267.

[130] Paskiewicz do Cesarza, 8go sierpnia 1844 roku, quoted in ibid.

[131] Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 1go/13go avgusta 1844 goda, in Shcherbatov, Prilozheniia..., pp. 520-521. However, Nicholas did yield and Bishop Fijalkowski served as administrator until 1856. Askenazy, Sto lat zarządu..., p. 53. Following the death of Nicholas and Paskevich, negotiations between the Holy See and the Russian government led to the appointment of Bishop Fijalkowski as Archbishop of Warsaw in October, 1856. Ibid., pp. 57-58. He remained at this post

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The intrigues and the "nasty spirit in the country" to which Nicholas made reference appeared to have some substance. In the fall of 1844 the government uncovered a conspiracy organized by a Reverend Ściegienny[132] in the district of Kielce. Using a falsified Papal Encyclical, Reverend Sciegienny urged the peasants to drive the Russians from the Kingdom and also to massacre the landowning Polish nobility which was oppressing them. Two residents of the locality, a landowner and a peasant, informed the military authorities of the location where the armed rebels were meeting. Troops were sent to scatter them and take their leaders into custody.[133] The disapproval of the Church hierarchy, which deprived Reverend Ściegienny of the right to exercise his priesthood,[134] did not dissuade the Tsar from berating the Catholic Church in the Kingdom. Nicholas

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until his death in October, 1861. Ibid., p. 62. See also Krynicki, Dzieje Kościoła..., p. 612.

[132]The Reverend Peter Ściegienny was pastor of a parish church in Chodel located in Lublin Province. His conspiratorial group was made up of peasants from both Lublin and Kielce provinces. The Reverend Ściegienny was sentenced to death--the sentence changed to life imprisonment. Adam Tatomira (ed.), Tysiąc lat dziejów Polski i przegląd ważniejszych wydarzeń z historii i kultury (Włocław: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1964), pp. 191, 192.

[133]Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 269. About thirty persons were taken into custody and sent to Warsaw for questioning. As more persons were implicated more arrests followed. The Viceroy had to inform the Tsar that, as a consequence, the investigation would have to take longer than originally anticipated and that it would be some time before the accused could be brought to trial. Paskiewicz do Cesarza, 25go grudnia 1844 roku, quoted in ibid., pp. 269-270.

[134]Tatomira, Tysiąc lat..., p. 192.

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threatened "to muzzle" the Church hierarchy by centralizing the direction of the clergy in the Ecclesiastical Consistory in St. Petersburg. Writing that his plans would be outlined to Paskevich at another time, Nicholas cautioned him in the meantime to say "not a word about this to anyone."[135]

The following month Nicholas wrote to Paskevich that he had visited the Roman Catholic Seminary in St. Petersburg. He then proceeded to relate his conversation with the Rector of the Seminary whom he described as being a "very fine person." Nicholas wrote that their discussion centered on the "frightening spirit" of the clergy in the Kingdom and the harmful influence which the bishops from the Kingdom brought with them when they visited the Seminary. Nicholas related that the Rector had requested that students from the Kingdom not be sent to the Seminary, stating that he would not be able to vouch for the reliability of his own students if they came into contact with students from the Kingdom. The Tsar wrote to Paskevich that he sympathized with the Rector's concerns but, nevertheless, consideration would have to be given on how to aid the Rector "since the time has come to think about the future clergy of the Kingdom and prepare such as will serve us."[136]

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[135] Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 25go noiabria/ 7go dekabria 1844 goda, in Shcherbatov, Prilozheniia..., pp. 526-528.

[136] Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 20go dekabria/ 1go genvaria 1844/5 goda, in ibid., pp. 528-529. The Tsar's concern regarding the formation of the Roman Catholic clergy in the Kingdom stemmed from the fact that the clergy in the Kingdom continued to be the prime educators and exercised a

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To facilitate the transfer of control for preparing young men for the priesthood from Warsaw to St. Petersburg, Nicholas conceived of a plan to change the title of the administrative body of the Catholic Church in Warsaw to the Second Department of the St. Petersburg Ecclesiastical Consistory. The Petersburg Consistory would then be designated the First Department. The intention was to change initially only the titles of these bodies without altering their organizational structure or functions.[137] It was believed that Rome would not object since titles of administrative bodies were of little concern to the Holy See so long as jurisdictional control remained fixed until such time as the Roman Curia authorized a change.[138] The Tsar apparently was of the opinion that, given the passage of some time, special permission could be obtained from the Holy See to transfer jurisdictional control to St. Petersburg.

However, nothing came of these various plans to

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considerable degree of influence on the youth of the country. The role of the clergy in the education process is borne out by the following statistics compiled for 1842: 56,000 out of 65,000 elementary school children were taught by clerics. So long as the clergy refrained from involvement in political matters, there was no problem since in general they were considered to be excellent educators. Transferring the training and supervision of the clergy to St. Petersburg was expected to develop in the clergy a more favorable outlook towards the regime and could not but produce a more acceptable climate in the country as a whole. Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., pp. 202-203.

[137]Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 24go iiunia/5go iiulia 1845 goda, in Shcherbatov, Prilozheniia..., pp. 539-540.

[138]Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 272.

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centralize control over the Roman Catholic Church in the Kingdom. Nicholas hesitated to provoke a conflict with the Holy See[139] and, consequently, Paskevich's ideas of avoiding antagonizing the Church hierarchy in the Kingdom and thereby winning a measure of good will for the regime prevailed. A Concordat entered into between Russia and the Holy See in 1847 contributed to the easing of tensions. Article XI of the document affirmed the separate status of the Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Poland while Article XXI recognized the supremacy of the bishops in the matter of training seminarians in their dioceses in accordance with the "prescriptions of the Council of Trent, Chapter 18, 23rd Session."[140]

The occasion of the Tsar's 25th anniversary of accession to the throne provided an opportunity for the Viceroy to submit a report on progress within the Kingdom of Poland since 1831. Included in this evaluation was a section on

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[139] Smoleński, Dzieje Narodu..., p. 511. It would appear that the Tsar's visit to the Pope in December, 1845, which brought about an improved climate between Petersburg and Rome, was reflected in the Tsar's dealings with the Catholic Church in the Kingdom. During this visit Pope Gregory XVI pointed out to Nicholas that "I have taught subjects to render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's; I remind Caesar of what belongs to God." Nicholas responded that he was in full agreement with the Pontiff and assured him that in Russia the Tsar served as the "executor of the Holy Father's laws." Grunwald, Tsar Nicholas I, pp. 220-222.

[140] Concordat de 1847, in Lescoeur, L'Église Catholique..., pp. 450-456. Critics of Russian policies in the Kingdom of Poland hold that this Concordat, like the Organic Statute, was never observed. Lisicki, Le Marquis Wielopolski..., p. 230. Others, however, point out that there was a temporary improvement in the situation of the Catholic Church in the Kingdom as a result of the Concordat. Kukiel, Dzieje Polski Porozbiorowe..., p. 306.

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the condition of the Roman Catholic Church in the country. The section began with an indictment of the majority of the clergy within the Kingdom for their "spirit of hostility toward the lawful government" and went on to state that after order had been restored in 1831 it became necessary "to cleanse the ranks of the clergy." Consequently, many were sent to a corrective monastery in Augustów Province which had been especially prepared for that purpose.[141]

The report then went on to praise the goodness of the Tsar who did not allow the continuing spirit of rebellion among the clergy to deter him from aiding the Roman Catholic Church wherever there was a need. For example, the Tsar had ordered that all Catholic churches be inspected for damages and repairs made where required. In this way the Cathedral in Warsaw and the Bishop's residence were rebuilt at a total cost to the government of 110,000 silver rubles. Paskevich noted that another 22,500 silver rubles were spent to repair the Church of St. Charles Borromeo. The government also undertook to construct new churches where needed. In all 69 new churches were built and 1,259 churches were repaired at a total cost to the Treasury of 637,942 silver rubles. In conclusion, Paskevich noted that in 1851 there were 1,974 Roman Catholic churches in the Kingdom and he placed the wealth of the Church at 1,539,355 silver rubles.[142]

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[141] Raport Namestnika Tsarstva Polskago..., p. 607.

[142] Ibid., p. 608.

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The report presented an optimistic picture of the condition of the Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Poland and reflected an administration which was concerned about the well-being of the Church to the point of extending generous aid even though the political allegiance of the hierarchy and clergy remained doubtful.

In reviewing relations between the government and the Church following the 1830 revolt, notice has to be taken of the priority which the regime placed on the political allegiance of the Church. No doubt more was at stake than just the reliability of the individual clerics. As molders of the attitudes of the faithful, their role in securing loyal support for the government was a vital one. Of considerable help in restoring political stability to the country were the directives of the Pope to the Church hierarchy and clergy contained in the Encyclical of 1832. By subordinating political questions to religious questions, the Encyclical helped deprive agitators who advocated overthrowing the government of sympathy and support among the people.

Where deviations among the clergy occurred, extreme measures were considered and sometimes implemented where this could be done without antagonizing the Church hierarchy in the Kingdom or in Rome. For example, when Bishop Gutowski opposed attempts by the Russian government to use mixed marriages between Catholics and Orthodox believers for the long-range purpose of achieving politically reliable subjects, the government was able to bring about his dismissal

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and eventual exile from the country. Apparently, in that instance the Church did not believe this was a major threat to it. Where the question involved administrative control of the Church, Rome would not budge and the Tsar gave way. Thus, the hope of controlling the Catholic Church in the Kingdom through the Ecclesiastical Consistory in Petersburg was never achieved. This is not to say that Nicholas, and perhaps even Paskevich, did not continue to believe in the benefits which could accrue to Russia if such control could have been achieved but both recognized the possibility that opposition from Rome could well involve opposition from other countries in Europe to whom the Pope might appeal.

While the condition of the Church in the Kingdom was not as free as many clergy and faithful would have liked, there is little question that the Catholic Church fared far better in the Kingdom, where separate administration was maintained, than did the Catholic Church in the former eastern provinces of Poland, which were joined to Russia as a result of the partitions of the 18th century. But because there continued to be close ties between the two areas, the difficulties of the Church in the eastern provinces were viewed with great misgivings by the Church in the Kingdom--many believing that what befell the Church in the provinces could also befall the Church in the Kingdom.

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CHAPTER VI

In 1841 the Tsar proceeded more openly against the separate administrative structure which had been granted to the Kingdom of Poland by the Organic Statute in 1832. Nicholas used the occasion of his visit to Warsaw in September, 1841, to explore with Paskevich the feasibility of creating two new departments in the Governing Senate of the Empire which would take over certain administrative and judiciary functions heretofore performed by the State Council and the Highest Court in the Kingdom. Thus, an administrative institution, separate and distinct from the Imperial institution, was to be abolished and in its place administrative institutions, a part of and directly controlled by an Imperial institution, were to be established. This was the first open assault on the form of administration which the Organic Statute had granted the Kingdom in 1832.[1] Once this step had been successfully taken other measures, which would blur the distinction between Kingdom and Empire, could be implemented with much greater ease. At issue then would be to what extent the Viceroy would be willing to allow his power and authority to flow to central governmental organs

[1]Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., pp. 213-214. Kutrzeba characterized this action as "a significant step to move forward the assimilation of the Kingdom into the Empire." Kutrzeba, Historya Ustroju Polski..., p. 112.

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WARSAW DEPARTMENTS OF THE GOVERNING SENATE

The Viceroy personally undertook the task of exploring the question of establishing the new departments of the Governing Senate and the possible political ramifications of the decision simultaneously to abolish the State Council. It was expected that some unrest might be forthcoming from the residents of the Kingdom since the State Council was considered to be "an inseparable part of the autonomous system" created by the Organic Statute.[2]

The Tsar's reasoning in this matter was set forth in a Decree issued September 6/18, 1841, addressed "To Our Viceroy in the Kingdom of Poland." The Tsar noted that since 1832 all more vital matters concerning the Kingdom had been considered by a separate Department for the Affairs of the Kingdom of Poland--a section in the State Council of the Russian Empire. Therefore, Nicholas contended, a separate State Council in the Kingdom was superfluous. Also, it was his desire that the Court of Appeals in the Kingdom be established on a more solid foundation. Thus, it was decreed that the State Council and the Highest Court were to be

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[2] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., pp. 214, 221-222. The author states that, probably to neutralize the disagreeable impression which the intended reform was expected to evoke, two other decrees were issued simultaneously with the decree abolishing the State Council. One named Polish members of the former State Council to sit in the newly-created Departments of the Governing Senate. The other set up a special Commission in Warsaw, made up of Poles, to review petitions of residents of the Kingdom to the Tsar. Ibid., pp. 222-223.

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replaced by two newly-created Departments of the Governing Senate to be designated by the numerals IX and X.[3]

The two departments, meeting in joint session and called the Warsaw Departments of the Governing Senate, were to take over all the functions of the former State Council with the exception of the Budget, which was to be submitted for approval to the Department for the Affairs of the Kingdom of Poland sitting in St. Petersburg, and the Reports of the Directors of administrative organs, which were to be examined by the Administrative Council. The meeting format of the Warsaw Departments was to remain the same as that observed by the former State Council.[4]

Article 3 of the Decree specified that the attributes of the Highest Court were to pass to the IX Department of the Governing Senate which was to serve as the highest Court of Appeals whose decisions were binding and from which there was no further appeal. Article 4 stipulated that the X Department of the Governing Senate was to resolve criminal matters. The attributes and scope of authority of this

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[3]Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 27, pp. 331-333.

[4]Ibid., pp. 333-335, Art. 1. The Viceroy was to preside over the joint session of the Warsaw Departments. The persons serving as senators were to be chosen by the Tsar from among holders of the first three ranks. In addition, the members of the Administrative Council and the Warsaw Military Governor were included in the membership of this body. Ibid., pp. 337-339, Arts. 5, 6. The privileges which the senators in the Empire enjoyed were bestowed upon the senators of the Warsaw Departments of the Governing Senate. Ibid., pp. 341-343, Art. 11.

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department were to be outlined at a future date.[5]

Each of these departments could be subdivided into two or more sections as needed. Upon recommendation of the Viceroy, the Tsar was to appoint a senior member for each department, as well as for each section in the departments.[6]

The Tsar entrusted the Viceroy with the task of drawing up the details of the projects implementing the Decree of September 6/18th. These were then to be submitted to the Tsar for his ratification.[7] By February, 1842, Paskevich was able to send two projects to the State Council in St. Petersburg for its consideration. One set forth the organization of the Warsaw Departments of the Governing Senate and the second dealt with the manner in which appeals from lower courts were to be reviewed.[8] On March 26, 1842, Nicholas approved these projects and at the same time agreed to the proposed staff for the Chancellery of the Warsaw Departments.[9] A letter to that effect was forwarded to Paskevich

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[5] Ibid., pp. 335-337, Arts. 3, 4. On September 23/October 5, 1841, the Administrative Council, in the name of the Tsar, issued an order staying the dissolution of the Highest Court until the details of the new departments could be worked out and approved by the Tsar. At issue was the inadvisability of interrupting the judicial processes. Ibid., pp. 347-351.

[6] Ibid., p. 341, Arts. 9, 10.

[7] Ibid., pp. 343-345.

[8] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., pp. 223-224.

[9] Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 29, pp. 287-291. The Tsar also sent the Governing Senate notice of his approval of the work Paskevich had done and ordered that the Senate take the necessary steps to announce and implement these projects. Ibid., pp. 292-297.

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The Decree establishing the Warsaw Departments of the Governing Senate dealt with the organization and attributes of each department separately and the two Departments meeting jointly in a so-called General Assembly. It was this latter institution which took over the major work which the State Council had performed in the Kingdom. The Viceroy, acting for the Tsar, presided over the deliberations of the General Assembly which was to be made up only of Senators.[11] Members of the Administrative Council and the Warsaw Military Governor were to attend meetings whenever matters concerning their departments were being considered. There was provision made for persons with specific competence to attend sessions on a consultative basis to provide the expertise needed to deal with particular questions.[12] The presiding officer of the General Assembly decided when this body was to meet.[13]

The General Assembly and each Department were to have their own chancelleries with a Chief Procurator in charge of

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[10]Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 26go marta 1842 goda, in Shcherbatov, Prilozheniia..., pp. 502-503.

[11]Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 29, p. 301, Art. 3. A contemporary observer states that to achieve the position of Senator a person had to reach the Third Rank in public service, that of Privy Councillor. This required some thirty years in public service. He concludes that the Senate became "a hospital for civil invalids" and that most Senators were "without any fitness or mental energy for this work." Count A. de Gurowski, Russia As It Is, 3rd Edition (New York and London: D. Appleton & Company, 1854), p. 76.

[12]Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 29, pp. 311-313, Art. 16.

[13]Ibid., p. 309, Art. 12.

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each chancellery. The overall administration of the three chancelleries was entrusted to the Chief Director of the Government Commission of Justice.[14] Each chancellery was to be made up of secretaries, under-secretaries, translators, and clerks.[15]

The establishment of the Warsaw Departments of the Governing Senate was announced on July 25/August 6, 1842.[16] They were scheduled to begin functioning September 20/ October 2, 1842. With the implementation of this Decree, "wide-ranging powers unparalleled in the entire Russian Empire," were granted to the Viceroy in the Kingdom. All higher officials were appointed by the Tsar but on the Viceroy's recommendation and answerable directly to him.[17]

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[14] Ibid., p. 385, Arts. 97, 98, 99. While the senators and members of the departments were in no way involved in the administration of the Chancelleries, and consequently were not responsible for the actions of their staffs, they were required to inform the Chief Procurators of any irregularities they might observe. In the event that the Chief Procurators failed to act on the complaints, the Chief Director of the Government Commission of Justice was to be informed. Ibid., p. 387, Art. 100.

[15] Ibid., Art. 101. Candidates for these positions were to be selected by the Chief Procurators. Their names were to be submitted to the Chief Director of the Government Commission of Justice who would then obtain final approval from the Viceroy for these candidates or others whom the Director himself proposed to fill the positions. Ibid., pp. 389-391, Art. 105.

[16] Ibid., p. 397.

[17] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., pp. 224-226. See also, Ochimowski, Prawo Administracyjne, p. 222.

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MONETARY REFORMS

Russification of the Kingdom of Poland remained a constant in the long-range goal of the Tsar. As the authority of the Russian government became more entrenched in the Kingdom, a number of changes which touched the everyday life of all the inhabitants of the Kingdom were gradually introduced. The first of these was concerned with the monetary standard in the Kingdom.

As early as October, 1832, Nicholas had written to Paskevich regarding the usefulness of placing new currency into circulation in the Kingdom with Russian and Polish inscriptions.[18] Nothing further was done at that time but now, after ten years of rule by Paskevich, when it was believed that the "more sensible Poles" had become convinced that "there could be no talk of self-rule," the time seemed right to act along these lines.[19]

On September 3/15, 1841, three days before the Decree abolishing the State Council was issued, a series of lesser decrees with perhaps more profound impact on the day-to-day life of the people of the Kingdom were promulgated. One decree provided for a change in the monetary standard. Effective December 20/January 1, 1841/2, the Russian ruble and kopeck was to replace the Polish złoty and grosz. All government bookkeeping was to be calculated in terms of

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[18] Imperator Nikolai k Paskevich, 10go/22go oktiabria 1832 goda, in Shcherbatov, Prilozheniia..., pp. 42-43.

[19] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 222.

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A second decree permitted the Warsaw Mint to issue gold coins but with the inscription "Half-Imperial." The "Half-Imperial" was to be valued at five rubles. The Warsaw Mint was also allowed to produce silver coins in values of rubles, half-rubles, and 25, 20, 10, and 5 kopecks. The decree listed the content specifications which were to be observed in the minting of these coins.[21]

A third decree authorized the Bank of Poland to prepare Bank Notes in denominations of 1, 3, 10, 25, 50, and 100 silver rubles. The denomination of the note was to be rendered in numerals, as well as with Russian and Polish inscriptions. On the reverse side of the note the amount was to appear in figures and inscribed in three languages--German, French, and English. A fourth decree dealt with stamped papers and stipulated that these were to be drawn up in rubles and kopecks. The water markings on these papers were to contain the Coat of Arms of the Empire and inscriptions in both the Russian and Polish languages.[22]

RE-DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM

At the beginning of 1837 Paskevich had drawn up a project to change the term used to designate the provinces

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[20]Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 28, pp. 4-19.

[21]Ibid., pp. 20-33. Since Russia had adopted the Silver Standard in 1839 (Florinsky, Russia: A History..., p. 787), permission for the Warsaw Mint to issue gold coins would appear to have been a concession to the Kingdom of Poland.

[22]Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 28, pp. 34-47.

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of the Kingdom from the Polish województwo to the Russian **guberniia**. The explanation offered for this step was that the change would simplify the future union of the administration of the Kingdom with the administration of the Empire.[23] The Tsar concurred and on February 25/March 7, 1837, issued a decree implementing this reform.[24] Six years later Paskevich submitted a proposal to the Tsar providing for a reduction of the number of provinces in the Kingdom from eight to five.[25]

Economic as well as political considerations prompted this move. By consolidating the provinces the cost of administering the country could be reduced and enlarging the Province of Warsaw would force greater numbers of landowners to travel more frequently to the city of Warsaw for business purposes. Paskevich was of the opinion that having greater numbers of persons coming to the larger cities would enable the government to maintain a better surveillance over the residents of the Kingdom.[26] These thoughts were expressed by the Viceroy in 1845 in a letter to the Tsar in which he commented on the complaints of Adj.-General Rüdiger regarding the political disloyalty of the Polish nobility in the Western Provinces. The general lamented that the Poles resided on their estates, totally cut off from Russian

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[23] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., pp. 147-148.

[24] Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 20, pp. 413-417.

[25] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 259.

[26] Ibid., pp. 259-260.

society, and were able in that way to escape the watchfulness of the government. Paskevich wrote:

> This demonstrates that the same thing is occurring there which I foresaw as happening in Poland, that the nobility can be more harmful living in the countryside than in the cities. This is why I had the good fortune to propose to Your Imperial Highness that Kalisz should be joined to Warsaw Province so that the nobility would have to come here for their business where surveillance is more careful.[27]

The Decree of August 9/21, 1844, explained that the change in the division of internal administrative units of the Kingdom were being undertaken for the good of the whole country. The provisions of the Decree, which were scheduled to go into effect on December 20/January 1, 1844/5, called for the provinces of Augustow and Plock to remain unchanged; the province of Lublin to be enlarged by the joining to it of the province of Podlask; and the creation of two new provinces: Radom, made up of the former provinces of Sandomierz and Kielce; and Warszawa, made up of the former provinces of Kalisz and Mazowie.[28]

COMMUNICATIONS, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, CUSTOMS, POSTAL SERVICE REFORMS

Other areas of administration were gradually transferred to central control in St. Petersburg. In 1846 Communications in the Kingdom passed under the control of the Russian Department of Highways and Public Buildings.[29] On

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[27] Paskiewicz do Cesarza, 13go kwietnia 1845 roku, quoted in ibid., p. 276.

[28] Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 34, pp. 453-459.

[29] Winiarski, Les Institutions Politique..., p. 120.

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January 20/February 1, 1848, a decree was issued ordering that Imperial Weights and Measures be introduced into the Kingdom effective April 19/May 1, 1849. The decree stated that:

> As a result of the expanding commercial and industrial relations between the residents of Our Russian Empire and Our Kingdom of Poland, the need to unify the system of weights and measures used in them is felt more and more each day.[30]

On November 10, 1850, it was announced that the customs boundary between the Kingdom and the Empire would be abolished. The reason for this measure was stated as follows:

> In Our continuing concern for the expansion of trade and industry, we have recognized as good for the greater accommodation of foreign as well as internal trade relations between Our faithful subjects in the Russian Empire and the Kingdom of Poland, to establish for the Empire and the Kingdom one common customs tariff, abolishing at the same time the customs boundary between them.[31]

The change was to go into effect on January 1/13, 1851. At that time the direction of customs was to be placed under Russian administration.[32] The lifting of the customs boundary facilitated the economic expansion of the Kingdom since the markets of Russia and Asia became more accessible to its manufacturing and commercial interests.[33]

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[30] Poland, Dziennik Praw, Vol. 39, pp. 388-393.

[31] Ibid., Vol. 43, pp. 349-351.

[32] Ibid., p. 351. Skarbek notes that, with the replacement of Polish Customs personnel with Russian officials, Russia acquired a common border with Prussia and Austria. Skarbek, Królestwo Polskie..., p. 159.

[33] Kukiel, Dzieje Polskie Porozbiorowe..., p. 307. See also, Kieniewicz, Historia Polski..., pp. 153-154; and Polish Encyclopaedia, III, p. 390.

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In 1851 the Postal Service of the Kingdom was transformed into the 13th Imperial Postal District. Included in the directives of the decree was the requirement that the Russian language be used exclusively in the Postal Service in the Kingdom.[34]

Paskevich wrote in his report to the Tsar, compiled to celebrate the 25th anniversary of Nicholas' accession to the throne, of the progress which had been made toward incorporating the administration of the Kingdom into the Empire. All of the preceding were cited as evidence that unification of the Kingdom with the Empire was being advanced.[35]

ROLE OF THE VICEROY IN THE INCORPORATION PROCESS

Complete administrative incorporation of the Kingdom into the Russian Empire was finally achieved during the reign of Alexander II. Both critics and supporters of Paskevich acknowledge that without his influence this unification would undoubtedly have been achieved during Nicholas' rule. However, there is disagreement among these persons as to the reasons for Paskevich prevailing in light of the Tsar's avowed goal, as stated in the Organic Statute of 1832, of uniting the Kingdom of Poland to the Russian Empire.

Skarbek, who knew both Nicholas and Paskevich and served in a number of important administrative posts in the

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[34] Skarbek, Królestwo Polskie..., p. 161. The disorder and confusion which resulted led to the revocation of this directive several years later. Ibid.

[35] Raport Namestnika Tsarstva Polskago..., pp. 601-603.

Kingdom, while noting the erosions of various separate administrative institutions, observes that:

> The Tsar himself thwarted the fulfillment of his goal by naming as his Viceroy in the Kingdom a person to whom he was greatly indebted and to whom he had granted too much authority and whom he indulged far too much in everything.[36]

Skarbek writes:

> Paskevich was actually the ruler in the Kingdom and had to be because in the whole expanse of the Russian Empire there was not a single suitable position to which he could be transferred without humiliation.[37]

However, Shcherbatov, author of an authoritative biography of the Viceroy, in the preparation of which he had access to Paskevich's archives, notes that while Nicholas had given Paskevich almost dictatorial powers in the Kingdom of Poland, this situation was the subject of frequent discussion between them. The Tsar's contention was that:

> While such a system of governing was completely satisfactory in the circumstances and confidence as well as the moral reputation which Paskevich possesses, 'neither one of us is eternal, we have to think what will be after us.'[38]

But Paskevich, believing that "in the long run the usual manner of central administration by ministers is in a high degree harmful in the border areas of Russia because it confers upon the whole government an overly-slow bureaucratic course, and besides loses sight of local conditions," did not agree with Nicholas and tried whenever it was in his

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[36] Skarbek, Królestwo Polskie..., pp. 75-76.

[37] Ibid., pp. 76-77.

[38] Shcherbatov, Rządy Księcia Paskiewicza..., p. 310.

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power to retain the reins of control in governing the Kingdom. Paskevich asserts that:

> In the Kingdom of Poland, where events unfold quickly and often suddenly and very often commands take on altogether different meanings, it is necessary to concentrate strong exceptional authority in Warsaw, enjoying the full confidence of the Tsar.[39]

In Paskevich's opinion "misunderstandings between ministers and local higher authorities always reflect detrimentally on matters and retard their solution." Also, he believed that ministers, with their outlook necessarily embracing the whole of the Russian Empire, were not in a position to concern themselves with all the particulars of conditions in the border areas. Consequently, these regional concerns were left to be tended by "second-rank bureaucratic civil servants, that is, persons exclusively cabinet-level taken up with formalities and completely unfamiliar with local conditions." Therefore, the Viceroy concluded "the authority of the ministers is not sufficient, interests will not advance if we will be asking for permission when we should be acting."[40]

Undoubtedly Paskevich was motivated by his convictions regarding the greater efficiency and effectiveness of decentralized administration for the border regions. However, having to give up some of the almost total powers he had been given by Nicholas to various ministers in St. Petersburg could not have been an appealing thought.

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[39] Ibid., pp. 310-311.

[40] Ibid., p. 311.

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Another consideration which neither Nicholas nor Paskevich could totally ignore was the reaction of the European Powers in the event of a major change in the status of the Kingdom of Poland which had come into being as the result of an international agreement among the major powers at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. This reaction was probed and tested and as the possibility of European intervention on behalf of the Poles dimmed steps were taken to alter what the Russians regarded as the more sensitive areas of administration. Areas viewed as especially hostile to Russian interests were the first to feel the weight of central bureaucratic control. As authority began to shift to St. Petersburg, Paskevich attempted where he could to halt the process and was in large measure responsible for the remnants of self-administration which survived in the Kingdom until his death in 1856.[41]

Skarbek points out that Paskevich's position was a difficult one:

> Having achieved the pinnacle of importance and success that a person not belonging to the royal dynasty can achieve, the Prince of Warsaw had to use every influence and endeavor in order to retain his position. This was a difficult task because he could retain the favor of the monarch only insofar as he fulfilled his expectations and intentions of incorporating the Kingdom into the Empire. However, in acting to fulfill this demand, he thereby undermined his own personal power.[42]

Skarbek saw in this the explanation for Paskevich's ambivalent

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[41] Ochimowski, Prawo Administracyjne, pp. 213-214. See also, Kukiel, Dzieje Polski Porozbiorowe..., p. 305; and Winiarski, Les Institutions Politique..., p. 121.

[42] Skarbek, Królestwo Polskie..., p. 77.

behavior regarding the inhabitants of the Kingdom. On the one hand he sought to win over individuals and groups to accept Russian rule by displaying forbearance for character faults and attitudinal shortcomings and being favorably inclined toward separate administrative institutions in the Kingdom. On the other hand peace and tranquility had to be maintained in the country so Paskevich acted willfully and despotically. He ruthlessly put down disorders and dealt severely with insurgents. But he as vigorously defended the administrative institutions of the country and became the principal champion of maintaining the last vestiges of separate administration which the country retained.[43]

Winiarski, writing some seventy-five years later, provides a somewhat different appraisal. He states that:

> All the legislation of this period proves that the sovereign treated the Kingdom as a part of the Empire and acted in a manner consistent with unification. The competence of the organs of the Russian government extended in an ever larger measure to the Kingdom so that soon there existed side by side in the country two hierarchies: the Polish and the Russian. The Polish authority emanated from the Crown, just as the Russian authority, because representative organs born of elections had never been established. The government regarded the Polish authority as the organs of Russian government which, for reasons of general political interest, possessed an organization apart, somewhat different, and functioned by virtue of laws distinct but Russian, enacted with the concurrence of the Russian Council of State.[44]

However, the manner in which the Kingdom of Poland came into existence placed it in a position which differed from that of other regions in the Empire and therefore:

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[43] Ibid., pp. 77-78.

[44] Winiarski, Les Institutions Politique..., p. 121.

> It was impossible to abolish entirely the separate political character of the Congress Kingdom and incorporate it into the Empire of the Tsars. The Treaty of Vienna was there and the Russian Government did not wish or did not have the power to violate openly that which was being guarded by the Western Powers. It attempted incorporation via facti, by legislation which tended to make of the Kingdom simply a part of the empire, without expressly breaking with the principle which regulated the relations between the two states.[45]

Undoubtedly, the possibility that the European Powers might be aroused by an outright attempt to incorporate the Kingdom of Poland into the Russian Empire served to restrain Nicholas and helped Paskevich in his efforts to persuade the Tsar to discard or at least delay plans to eliminate the separate administrative institutions in the Kingdom. Paskevich's own personal convictions regarding the advantages of decentralized administration were an important factor in his ability to convince Nicholas that it was more prudent to move cautiously in this matter. With the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1853, Nicholas was diverted from affairs in the Kingdom and Paskevich was then able to maintain the status quo in the administrative institutions of the country.[46]

For Nicholas and Paskevich the question of incorporation of the Kingdom of Poland into the Russian Empire did not survive the conflict upon which Russia had embarked in 1853. Both died before it was ended--the Tsar's death

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[45] Ibid., pp. 121-122.

[46] Skarbek, Królestwo Polskie..., p. 165. Skarbek notes that actually at issue was also the desire not to arouse the populace of the Kingdom which would have contributed to the problems which the Russian Government was then facing. Ibid.

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preceding that of his "Beloved Father Commander" by eleven months, occurring in February, 1855. Paskevich fell ill in November of that year and died of cancer on January 20/February 1, 1856.[47] The question of the separate administrative status of the Kingdom of Poland was finally resolved by Nicholas' successor to the throne, Alexander II.[48]

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[47] Skarbek, Pamiętniki..., p. 277. See also Sidorov, Russkie i Russkaia Zhizn..., p. 117.

[48] Following the suppression of the 1863 Polish uprising, the Administrative Council and the various Government Commissions were abolished and administration in the Kingdom came under the direct control of St. Petersburg. The fate which the Uniate Church and the Roman Catholic Church had suffered earlier in the Western Provinces was now visited on the Uniate Church and the Roman Catholic Church in the Kingdom. The Uniate Church was abolished and its clergy and members reunited with the Orthodox Church. The administration of the Roman Catholic Church passed under the control of the Ecclesiastical College in St. Petersburg. Russian became the official language of the country--"public notices, names of streets, advertisements, receipts, names of stations, everything became Russian." Polish Encyclopaedia, Vol. I: History of Poland, (Geneva: ATAR, Ltd., 1926), pp. 545-547. See also, Maxime Kovalevsky, Russian Political Institutions: The Growth and Development of these Institutions from the Beginnings of Russian History to the Present Time (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1902), p. 281. Even the name Kingdom of Poland was replaced by the designation "Vistula Territory." Ibid., p. 277.

CONCLUSIONS

The Kingdom of Poland succeeded in maintaining a degree of administrative autonomy throughout the period of Paskevich's Viceroyalty. This autonomy was maintained in spite of Nicholas' express declaration that the Polish Uprising of 1830 freed him from any obligations assumed by his brother in 1815 with respect to the Kingdom and his stated aim of incorporating the Kingdom of Poland into the Russian Empire. A number of factors were responsible for this development.

The Tsar was reluctant to act quickly in abolishing the separate administrative institutions in the Kingdom because in 1832 Nicholas was not certain of the reaction of the European Powers if the separate status of the Kingdom was abolished. Polish émigrés, among them men like Adam Czartoryski with important connections in Paris and London, were using their influence to gain French and English intervention on behalf of the Kingdom. While neither France nor England had any intention of actively interfering in this matter, sympathetic statements in their legislative bodies and in the newspapers of the countries served to point out the sympathies of the peoples and their governments for the Polish cause. This, coupled with notes of protest to the Russian government, served to restrain the Tsar from acting

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Thus, the administrative institutions were allowed to remain but steps were taken to assure their reliability by placing Russians or trustworthy Poles in charge of them. In addition, a new department was created in the Imperial State Council to take charge of affairs in the Kingdom, giving the Russian government control over developments within the Kingdom.

As, with the passage of time, the interest of the European Powers in the Kingdom waned, the Tsar became bolder in his moves to achieve his stated goal of incorporating the Kingdom into the Russian Empire. Education, a very sensitive area important for molding positive attitudes in the youth of the country toward the government, became the first area of administration to be transferred to the direct control of St. Petersburg. There was no reaction from the international community and the change was implemented without arousing unrest within the Kingdom.

As far as the administration of the Roman Catholic Church was concerned, the Tsar was not successful. Here the opposition of the Holy See, with the added pressures which Rome could generate through her influence with other European governments, proved sufficient throughout this period to prevent any major changes. However, while control of administration remained in the Kingdom, the Russian government retained considerable influence over affairs since the government commission responsible for church affairs in the

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Kingdom was directed by a Russian. Thus, the Roman Catholic Church had to go along with, for example, the new regulations covering marriages contracted between Catholics and other Christians which reversed the Church's position regarding where such marriage ceremonies were to be performed and in what faith the children of such a union were to be raised. Clerics who opposed these and other governmental regulations were subject to imprisonment and exile. The Concordat signed between Russia and the Holy See in 1847, while not revoking changes already introduced, brought a respite in the struggle between the Church and the government which lasted until the end of Nicholas' reign.

As the political climate in the Kingdom stabilized, additional internal changes were implemented. By then it became apparent to Nicholas that in such matters he had little to fear from the European Powers. But now another factor in retarding centralization of administrative control emerged more clearly. The Viceroy, who firmly believed local problems could best be solved locally and who had no desire to seek for permissions and approvals from ministers in St. Petersburg, sought increasingly to retain the separate administrative institutions which the Kingdom possessed. Because the Viceroy enjoyed the high esteem of the Tsar, he was able on many occasions successfully to persuade Nicholas that for diplomatic or political or administrative reasons changes would best be set aside or their implementation delayed.

Paskevich's efforts met with a high degree of success

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because over the years he had won the trust and confidence of the Tsar by his important military and administrative accomplishments. There was no doubt in Nicholas' mind regarding Paskevich's devotion to him personally and to the Russian Empire. Also, the Viceroy's integrity and abilities were recognized by the Tsar. In addition, Paskevich knew his monarch well enough so that he knew when to give way and when to stand firm. His firm positions were supported with sound reasoning which stressed the long-range consequences of a course of action for the Russian Empire. When, in spite of this, Nicholas insisted on having his way, as in the case of having the consecration of a bishop from the Kingdom of Poland take place in St. Petersburg, the consequences the Viceroy feared occurred. Rome resorted to pressures of its own--in this case by not approving the nomination as bishop of a person selected by the government to administer the Archdiocese of Warsaw, with the result that the Ecclesiastical Consistory in Warsaw selected as administrator of the diocese a bishop whose reliability was questionable from the viewpoint of the government. As a result, in the next difference of opinion between the Tsar and his Viceroy, the Tsar was more apt to take heed of his Viceroy's advice.

Perhaps, more importantly, Paskevich's high degree of success in influencing Nicholas regarding administrative changes in the Kingdom was his ability to maintain stability and order in the Kingdom. Threats to peace were dealt with swiftly and severely by Paskevich and earned a reputation

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for him with both the inhabitants of the Kingdom and the emigres which bore results in 1846 and 1848 and again in 1853. The revolts and unrests of 1846 and 1848 did not find an echo in the Kingdom and the Russian government's involvement in the Crimean War did not result in any disturbances in the Kingdom. If Paskevich had not been able to maintain stability and order in the Kingdom throughout this period it is doubtful if he could have succeeded in resisting pressures for administrative incorporation of the Kingdom into the Russian Empire.

However, separate administrative institutions during this period did not mean that the Kingdom of Poland enjoyed autonomy since Russians and "reliable" Poles filled the major administrative posts. Their primary concern was not what the inhabitants of the Kingdom desired but rather how to fulfill the will of the Tsar and his Viceroy in this region. However, so long as administrative institutions remained separate from St. Petersburg, there was always the hope and possibility that eventually these could come under the influence of Poles who could use them to achieve an ever-increasing degree of independence from Russian control. As long as Paskevich remained Viceroy of the Kingdom, administrative separateness was maintained and served as a symbol and a hope for all Poles that the measures of the previous years could yet be reversed and the true intent of the Congress of Vienna with respect to the Kingdom of Poland would be realized.

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