

■ Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Russian educational policy in relation to Poland has been studied by various scholars. Before the Russian Revolution and the independence of Poland, S. V. Roždestvenskij wrote an official history of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment, and Wł. Studnicki researched Russian educational policy in Polish territories from the Polish point of view.³ The fundamental study by Jan Kucharzewski has as its subject only the Kingdom of Poland 1832–56.⁴ Kucharzewski's work retains its relevance, since many of the sources consulted by him no longer exist. In modern Polish research, the most important works are those by Karol Poznański and Leszek Zasztowt.⁵ New western research includes an article about Uvarov and the Western Provinces by James T. Flynn and the biography of Uvarov by Cynthia H. Whittaker, which briefly discusses policies in Polish territories.⁶ Both works approach the subject exclusively from the point of view of the Russian educational authorities.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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