

# НАЦІОНАЛЬНІ МЕНШИНИ В ІСТОРІЇ УКРАЇНИ NATIONAL MINORITIES IN THE HISTORY OF UKRAINE

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## **PUBLIC RESISTANCE IN THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF POLES IN RIGHT-BANK UKRAINE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 1860s**

**(From the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine, Kyiv)**

*The article covers important manifestations and specifics of the protest culture of the Polish community within the South-Western region of the Russian Empire in the first half of the 1860s on the basis of analysis and synthesis of information from the documents of “Office of Kyiv, Podillya and Volyn Governor-General” (f.442) and “Office of the trustee of the Kiev school district” (f.707) of the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine (Kyiv). Defending one’s own cultural identity as a driver of national development is connected with the awareness of the political interests and goals of the liberation struggle of Poles. The unique influence of the Polish question on historical processes, the configuration of international relations in Europe during the “long 19th century” determines the relevance and scientific significance of the study and thinking of the history of Polish national and cultural movement. Comprehensive study of the Polish question in the European history of the 19th century is an important part of the scientific perception of interethnic contradictions and antagonisms in the Russian Empire and the reaction of European diplomacy and public opinion, a deeper understanding of the essence of Russian-Polish cultural and civilizational confrontation and its impact on Ukrainian national life. Following the three partitions of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth (1772, 1793, 1795) most of the territories of this formerly powerful European state were incorporated into the Russian Empire, there was a fierce struggle for cultural and ideological dominance in the region. The Polish national*

liberation movement of the 1860s, which culminated in the January Uprising of 1863–1864, developed against a background of broad social and cultural resistance to Russian autocracy, manifested in such protest actions as mourning and serving panikhads for dead Poles, singing patriotic Polish songs and hymns, public wearing of national costumes, participation in anti-government manifestations and demonstrations, refusal to read prayers for the emperor in churches, and so on. Clergy and educators, as well as students and pupils, were the driving force behind this protest movement, which had an international resonance.

**Keywords:** Polish national-liberation movement, Right-Bank Ukraine, Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, Russian Empire.

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## ГРОМАДСЬКИЙ ОПІР У НАЦІОНАЛЬНО-ВИЗВОЛЬНОМУ РУСІ ПОЛЯКІВ ПРАВОБЕРЕЖНОЇ УКРАЇНИ ПЕРШОЇ ПОЛОВИНИ 1860-х рр.

(за матеріалами Центрального державного історичного архіву  
України м. Києва)

У статті висвітлюються прояви і специфіка культури протесту польської громади Південно-Західного краю першої половини 1860-х років на основі аналізу й синтезу інформації (зокрема і вперше включеної до наукового обігу) документів фондів «Канцелярія київського, подільського й волинського генерал-губернатора» (ф.442) та «Канцелярія попечителя Київського навчального округу» (ф.707) Центрального державного історичного архіву України м. Києва. Саме обстоювання культурної ідентичності стало рушієм національного розвитку, усвідомлення власних політичних інтересів і визвольної боротьби поляків. Унікальний вплив польського питання на історичні процеси, конфігурацію міжнародних відносин у Європі впродовж «довгого XIX ст.» зумовлює актуальність і наукову значимість дослідження й осмислення нових граней історії національно-культурного руху поляків. Загалом унаслідок трьох поділів Речі Посполитої (1772, 1793, 1795) більшість території цієї у минулому могутньої європейської держави було інкорпоровано до Російської імперії, а відтак розгорнулася запекла боротьба за культурно-ідеологічне домінування в регіоні. Польський національно-визвольний рух 1860-х рр., кульмінацією якого стало Січневе повстання 1863–1864 рр.,

*розвивався на тлі широкого громадсько-культурного опору російському самодержавству, що виявлявся зокрема в таких протестних акціях, як носіння трауру і служіння панахид за загиблими поляками, співання патріотичних польських пісень і гімнів, публічне носіння національних костюмів, участь в антиурядових маніфестаціях і демонстраціях, поширення антиурядових відозв, відмова від читання в костелах молитви за імператора тощо. Священнослужителі й освітяни, а також студентська й учнівська молодь були рушіями цього протестного руху, що набував міжнародного звучання.*

**Ключові слова:** польський національно-визвольний рух, Правобережна Україна, Річ Посполита, Російська імперія.

The determining factor in the European history of the 19th century was crystallization of the national idea, expression of identities of European peoples, comprehension of their own national-cultural and political rights, intensification of scientific and educational activity of intellectual elites, development of nationally oriented theoretical schemes and ideologies, emergence of new socio-political currents, formation of national self-consciousness as the engine of mass national liberation movements. The ideological influence of the French Revolution of 1789, the principles of democracy, human and citizen rights affected the European revolutionary movements of the nineteenth century, aimed at national unification or liberation from the domination of foreign states. The ideological and cultural environment fueled by Romanticism contributed to the establishment of the concept of national culture as a unique spiritual phenomenon, a subject of historical development and state formation. German, Italian, and Slavic national movements gravitated toward this ideological model.

Defending one's own cultural identity as a driver of national development is connected with the awareness of the political interests and goals of the liberation struggle of Poles. The unique influence of the Polish question on historical processes, the configuration of international relations in Europe during the "long 19th century" determines the relevance and scientific significance of the study and thinking of the history of Polish national and cultural movement. Comprehensive study of the Polish question in the European history of the 19th century is an important part of the scientific perception of interethnic contradictions and antagonisms in the Russian Empire and the reaction of European diplomacy and public opinion, a deeper understanding of the essence of Russian-Polish cultural and civilizational confrontation and its impact on Ukrainian national life.

The doctoral dissertation of G.I. Marakhov "Polish Uprising of 1863 in Right-Bank Ukraine", defended in 1965 in Leningrad, and his monograph, published in 1967, are devoted to the role of Right-Bank Ukraine in the Polish national liberation movement of the 1860s<sup>1</sup>. In the work with the eloquent title "In the shadow of a double-headed eagle (Polish national minority in Dnipro Ukraine

in the second half of the 19-th – early 20th centuries)”, I.T. Lisevych revealed the methods and essence of the tsarist national policy towards the Polish minority after 1863<sup>2</sup>. The contribution of Poles to the cultural life of the Ukrainian lands of the Russian Empire in the second half of the nineteenth - early twentieth century is covered in the study of I.T. Lisevych (“A native of Ukraine... (Polish national minority and cultural life in Dnipro Ukraine in the second half of the nineteenth - early twentieth century)”<sup>3</sup>. The study of the national and cultural development of Poles was continued in the next work of I.T. Lisevych “Spiritually thirsty” (spiritual life of the Polish national minority in Dnipro Ukraine in 1864-1917)”<sup>4</sup>. Various aspects of this issue were covered in the articles of O. Bachynska, I. Mozgovy, O. Kolyanchuk, Y. Khitrovska, O. Buravsky, Y. Zemsky, V. Shandra, N. Ivchyk<sup>5</sup>. Achievements of modern Ukrainian and Polish historiographies in the study of a wide range of topical issues of history and consequences for Right-Bank Ukraine the January Uprising of 1863-1864 is synthesized in a collective monograph edited by I. Krivosheya and N. Moravets : “The Polish National Uprising of 1863-1864 in Right-Bank Ukraine: from myths to facts”<sup>6</sup>.

The purpose of this paper is to highlight the manifestations and specifics of Polish protest culture within the South-Western region of the Russian Empire in the first half of the 1860s on the basis of analysis and synthesis of information (for the first time included in scientific circulation) from the documents of “Office of Kyiv, Podillia and Volyn Governor-General” (f.442) and “Office of the Trustee of the Kyiv Educational District” (f.707) of the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Kyiv.

After Russian troops fired on protesters in Warsaw on February 27, 1861, mourning became one of the most obvious forms of public resistance of Poles to Russian autocracy, symbolizing assertion of dignity, patriotism, patience, and self-denial for the sake of national liberation. In the appeals with the headlines “In the name of God! In the name of the people!”, distributed among Poles, it was emphasized that the whole of Poland was covered with mourning, in Lithuania and Ruthenia they voluntarily dressed in it. It was a matter of honor to mourn until Poland was liberated. The Poles themselves perceived mourning as a symbol of severing “abominable relations with the Muscovites,” giving it an international resonance: “Dressed in mourning, we will be living pillars that will mark the borders of our homeland before Europe, which our enemies are ready to unjustly deny”<sup>7</sup>.

On February 25, 1861, at a student concert at St. Volodymyr’s University, a performance of “Jeszcze Polska nie zginela” took place, during which everyone stood up<sup>8</sup>. Funeral services for those killed during the shooting of demonstrators in Warsaw in 1861 acquired a special socio-political sound. On March 13, at the request of the faithful, a memorial service was held in the Kyiv Parish Church, during which students of St. Volodymyr’s University distributed prayers of Polish patriotic content<sup>9</sup>.

The participation of high school students in the memorial services for the protesters who died on February 27, 1861 in Warsaw gained a wide public response and caused special concern to the trustee of the Kyiv educational district O.P. Nicholai, who remarked on this: "Such phenomena are very annoying; they testify to the extreme disrespect of the student youth for the educational regulations and instructions of their superiors"<sup>10</sup>. During April 1861, in Zhytomyr district of the Volyn province, memorial services were held in the towns of Kotel'nia, Leschyn, and Kodnia. Zaslav's Roman Catholic families organized a collection of donations (totaling 250 rubles in silver) for the service at St. Joseph's Church for those killed in Warsaw, which was attended by local landowners and the Volyn provincial leader of the nobility. The mourning mood and longing for the dead was embodied in a moving memorial service held in bright light, in the center of the church were placed four statues of angels with black wreaths of thorns in their hands, and on their shoulders was a black coffin with a large wreath of thorns. The ladies present were dressed in black mourning dresses. At the end of the liturgy in the church, lawyer A. Kozyk led the collection of donations, the total amount of which reached 120 rubles in silver<sup>11</sup>.

The Ministry of National Education has accumulated information about social and political actions of Poles in the Kyiv Church, in particular regarding the preparation of a memorial service for the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Warsaw, A.M. Fijałkowski. Because of his participation in anti-government demonstrations, a student at St. Volodymyr's University, V. Yaroshynsky, was arrested, fined, and deported from Kyiv to Nizhyn.

A commission of inquiry set up under the Kyiv military, Podillia, and Volyn Governor-General conducted a search on November 2, 1861, in Kyiv, of the apartment where a student of the Warsaw Art School K.K. Matushevsky was living. Among his personal belongings were handwritten and lithographed texts of the Polish patriotic anthem, which were sung in churches and public places; lithographed chorale with notes; a copy of a letter from an unknown polka from Paris, in which it was said that Parisians were interested in the events in Warsaw; submission of Warsaw artisans to the city board regarding their readiness to lay down their lives for the Constitution; messages to the peasants; appeal to the Jews; two poems in honor of the demonstrators killed in Warsaw in February 1861; a separate notebook with poems of "outrageous nature", etc. The case of K.K. Matuszewski also contains the secret letter of the Warsaw military Governor-General to the Kyiv military, Podillia and Volyn Governor-General with information about the departure of students from the Kyiv University Neshkovsky, Burzhynsky, Khmelevsky (who were in the Kingdom of Poland in 1861) to the South-Western region of the Russian Empire with the purpose of "rapprochement with the local landowners, as well as to incite the peasants to revolt and to spread outrageous works"<sup>12</sup>.

A student of St. Volodymyr's University H. Sredzynsky organized a school for teaching rural children to read and write on the estate of his mother, a landowner from the village of Kholonevychi, Lutsk County, Volyn province. In the educational process used Russian-language and Ukrainian-language literature, including books: The latest Russian alphabet with the addition of prayers and instructive fables (Moscow, 1956); Diploma of P. Kulish (St. Petersburg, 1861); Psalms of David. Translated in our way by Taras Shevchenko (St. Petersburg, 1860); Theater A.E. Vashchenko-Zakharchenko. Issue 1. Kyiv: in the University printing house, 1857. However, due to the fact that in February 1862 the deacon of Kholonevychi village Antonovych confiscated from the peasant boys the books they were studying and Studzinsky's letter to the students of Kyiv University in Ukrainian, the Lutsk district police set to work. At the same time, the attention of the administrative and punitive bodies was focused on the reports that the peasants liked studying with Studzinsky, who dared on the pages 34 and 55 of the book by A. Y. Vashchenko-Zakharchenko "Theater" to replace the phrase "for the Tsar" with the phrase "for the truth"<sup>13</sup>.

In 1862, a school of Princess Chetvertynska was opened in Yampol, Podillia province, where 12 boys, including 10 Orthodox, studied literacy. Students played in Chetvertinskaya's home theater and read prayers in the chapel arranged in her house<sup>14</sup>.

The son of the merchant of the second guild Mykhal'chukova, Konstantin, who studied at St. Volodymyr's University in 1861, distributed works by G. Kvitka, V. Grechulevych, T. Shevchenko, P. Kulish, G. Barvinok, D. Mordovets, and Marko Vovchok among the peasants of Zhytomyr County, as well as "Ukrainian songs" by D. Kamenetsky and the map "Ukrainians or Rusyns"<sup>15</sup>.

The participation of pupils of Rivne gymnasium in the demonstrations of the local Polish population resonated. On March 28, 1861, they were present at the city church at the memorial service for the demonstrators killed in Warsaw, and from April 15 to 17 they wore mourning, which was removed at the request of the principal of the gymnasium. The blame for the participation of high school students in singing the Polish anthem on September 28 in the local church was laid on the teacher of God's Law Tvarovsky, who was fired. The determination and courage of the students was clearly shown during the farewell of Father Tvarovsky. The teacher of God's Law was highly respected among the residents of Rivne, who, being wary of the police, gathered outside the city to hold it. Instead, at least 200 high school students took to the city's main street to pay their respects to Teacher Tvarovsky. Accusing the director of the Rivne gymnasium, Teodorovich, of "caring too much for the sympathy of Polish society", the head of the Volyn province (Ministry of the Interior) instructed the Rivne district police to set up surveillance for students and immediately arrest "those guilty of illegal acts"<sup>16</sup>. In response to accusations against the management of the Rivne gymnasium of indulging students who allegedly showed impudence and audacity towards govern-

ment officials, the trustee of the Kyiv educational district O.P. Nikolai personally visited the gymnasium, conducted his own investigation and interviews with high school students and “did not notice any displays of insolence”<sup>17</sup>. However, the high-ranking official had to admit: “Turning to the general spirit of the institution, I cannot deny that now under the influence of excited not only in society but also in the families Polish national hopes and aspirations and the general direction of minds, high school students are in a state of spiritual abnormality, and one cannot be sure that they will not follow bad examples and incitements”<sup>18</sup>.

In April 1861, the Kyiv military, Podillia, and Volyn Governor-General’s office received information that a demonstration was being prepared in Zhytomyr for Easter, and that the Poles planned to hold a festive dinner for all estates in order to “get closer to the peasants”<sup>19</sup>. The response of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to increasing, despite the ban, number of cases of singing Polish patriotic anthems and wearing distinctive signs by the inhabitants of Zhytomyr was the order of October 17, 1861, according to which the inhabitants of this city “must assume responsibility on the basis of the laws of war, as in an area where martial law is declared”<sup>20</sup>. A student of St. Volodymyr’s University, T. Svetsytsky, was arrested and tried by a military court for participating in the singing of the Polish patriotic anthem at the Zhytomyr Seminary Church in November 1861, the day of remembrance of the dead.

The subject of investigation and trial was the case of the conservator of St. Volodymyr’s University W. Henschel on the performance of Polish patriotic hymns in the Kyiv Church, participation in the September 28 memorial service for J. Lelewel - a Polish historian and public figure, one of the leaders of November uprising of 1830-1831, author of the slogan “For our and your freedom”. In total, about 300 people attended the memorial service - mostly students of St. Volodymyr’s University and students of the Second Gymnasium<sup>21</sup>. During the session of the Kyiv Criminal Court, Henschel stated that the mentioned hymns correspond to the religious feelings of Poles and by order of the Archbishop of Warsaw A.M. Fijałkowski entered the circle of church songs. At the same time, he argued that Miss Matuszewski, who helped him collect donations (350 rubles), did not really know that they were intended for a monument to Lelevel. According to a court decision of October 16, 1861, Henschel was sentenced to a fine of 190 rubles silver (and in case of inability to pay the fine - to imprisonment for two months) and arrest for 12 days.

Despite the repressive measures of the administrative and punitive bodies, the protests spread, as on October 10 at 10 a.m. in the Kyiv Church more than 400 students of St. Volodymyr’s University took part in singing Polish hymns. And on October 13, the student inspector reported: “The hymn was sung again today during a service in the Great Church”<sup>22</sup>. On November 3, 1861, during the liturgy in the University Church, students of the First and Second Kyiv Gymnasiums sang Polish hymns while kneeling. At the same time, mostly high school students were

also seen singing hymns in the city church, which led to accusations that the gymnasium management was “weak in action”. The Kyiv military, Podillia, and Volyn Governors-General’s office instructed them to strongly oppose the singing of Polish anthems by students of Kyiv gymnasiums, saying that “if we do not stop this trend and antics in the youth, it will be harder to do so in the future”<sup>23</sup>. As a result, special places for high school students were set aside in the Kyiv Parish Church by order of the senior police chief, and those who dared to sing forbidden hymns were threatened with expulsion from the high school. According to the supervisor of the dormitory of the Second Kyiv Gymnasium, on November 3, 1861, at the end of the service, a group of unknown people entered the University Church and sang the Polish national anthem. Complaints from high school supervisors about the impossibility of controlling all students due to crowded services also applied to the Kyiv City Church, where, according to their reports, the ladies were actively involved in singing hymns. The supervisor of the Kyiv First Gymnasium reported on a large number of students unknown to him who sang forbidden hymns. At a meeting of the pedagogical council of the Kyiv Second Gymnasium on November 15, 1861, a decision was made to expel two students L. Targoni and K. Zlotkovsky for participating in the singing of hymns in the city church.

The distribution of letters among the townspeople with a call to refrain from entertaining events, balls, dancing was connected with the student youth. Supervision in the Church of St. Volodymyr’s University was provided by a student inspector, who in October 1861 reported to the trustee of the Kyiv educational district on the singing of the “anthem for Poland” by unknown persons in the presence of students J. Bielski, R. Hoszowski, G. Sikorski, and A. Skotnytsky. The Kyiv, Podillia, and Volyn governor-general took personal control of the investigation into the October 7 performance of the Polish patriotic anthem by students and high school students, which was stopped by a priest at the University Church. The Directorate of the Kyiv Second Gymnasium and Schools of the Kyiv province has established supervision over the behavior of students in local churches<sup>24</sup>.

Regarding the “ferment of minds and the emergence of disorder among the Polish population”, in 1861 Alexander II ordered that in all departments of the Western region were removed from office “politically unreliable persons”. In pursuance of the highest order, the Office of Kyiv, Podillia, and Volyn Governor-General collected information on Polish Catholics who held the positions of chiefs, teachers, and supervisors at St. Volodymyr’s University, gymnasiums, and county schools<sup>25</sup>. The gradual transfer of Poles serving in educational institutions in the South-Western region to other provinces has been provided. The leadership of Kyiv educational district reported on strict compliance with the order of the Minister of National Education of February 22, 1857 No. 1321 to replace vacancies of educators and teachers with politically trustworthy persons of Russian origin and Orthodox faith, and reported on the implementation of the supplement



to this order of March 4, 1857 No.1610 on the appointment of exclusively Russian teachers to the positions of history teachers in gymnasiums and county schools of the South-Western Territory, and only if it is impossible to find competent candidates from “natural Russians” to temporarily provide them to the natives of the western provinces of the Orthodox faith. As a result of the implementation of these instructions at the end of 1861 in seven gymnasiums, eight aristocratic schools and two county schools of the Kyiv, Volyn and Podillia provinces, the total number of Polish Catholics as teachers was 38 people, 15 of whom were teachers of God’s law (Roman Catholic religion). Before the appointment of Catholics from the South West region to teaching posts, requests for information on their trustworthiness were addressed to the Governor-General. In a letter to the Minister of Education E.V. Putyatin dated December 6, 1861, the trustee of the Kyiv educational district O.P. Nikolai stressed that “the positions of history teachers were never given to local natives”<sup>26</sup>. At the same time, Nikolai had to admit that all these measures were incapable of eradicating the influence of Polish teachers on the younger generation, and given the events in Europe and the Kingdom of Poland, hardly one Polish teacher could be found who did not sympathize with the Polish national aspiration. He considered teachers of the Law of God and the Polish language to be the most dangerous leaders of anti-government sentiment. Emphasizing the danger of instilling hostility to the Russian government by Catholic teachers, the Kyiv military, Podillia, and Volyn Governor-General I.I. Vasilchikov ordered the principals, inspectors of gymnasiums, and full-time supervisors of schools to strengthen control over Polish teachers, and especially over teachers of the Law of God who had declared their Polish patriotism.

Restrictions on travel abroad of “politically unreliable” students were introduced. According to the highest order of December 27, 1861, only those students who complied with university rules, took matriculation certificates, and were not participants in “university riots” were allowed to travel abroad; it was forbidden to issue passports to students who did not comply with the new rules or who, after taking the matriculation certificates, were later seen participating in the university riots of 1861, as well as those who refused the matriculation materials and were dismissed from the university; for some, exceptions were allowed due to serious illness or other particularly important reasons<sup>27</sup>.

At the same time, information about the wearing of Polish and Ukrainian national costumes by Kyiv students reached the Third Department, and the supervision and punitive measures of the city police were intensified. For example, a student Runge was called to the Governor-General I.I. Vasilchikov because of wearing a national dress and sent to the guardhouse<sup>28</sup>. Kyiv Military, Podillia, and Volyn Governor-General’s Office ordered the police to detain persons in public wearing Polish national costumes or any distinctive signs and to pass information about them to the police court.

In 1861, a letter from Kyiv Governor-General I.I. Vasilchikov to the Minister of Internal Affairs P.O. Valuev regarding the “disorder committed by the students of the University there” was presented to Alexander II, who authorized the dismissal and deportation to the parents’ or guardians’ homes of all Polish students who took part in the demonstrations. According to the imperial order, in 1862 a student of St. Volodymyr’s University E. Mossakovsky was arrested without trial on charges of reading forbidden literature to pupils of the Kyiv Military School, instilling “hostile thoughts against the government,” and inciting disrespect for the school authorities. In September of the same year, student V. Rohusky, who had been expelled from Kyiv for participating in anti-government demonstrations, was allowed to return to continue his studies at St. Volodymyr’s University.

Kyiv military, Volyn and Podillia Governor-General I.I. Vasilchikov kept under personal control the collection and use of funds from charity concerts and performances at the Student Theater of St. Volodymyr’s University. During 1862, he instructed the leadership of the Kyiv educational district to strengthen opposition to the possible use of the collected sums for political purposes<sup>29</sup>.

In February 1863, in a letter marked “very secret and confidential”, the Kyiv military, Volyn and Podillia Governor-General M.M. Annenkov demanded from the rector of St. Volodymyr’s University M.D. Ivanishev information about the teacher L.K. Gorecki and students of Polish origin. In response, the rector reported on the good and excellent behavior of the students and assured of Gorecki’s proper morality and credible political views<sup>30</sup>. The management of schools of the Kyiv province positively characterized the behavior and learning outcomes of J. Mochutkovsky, in whose place of residence in the house of Generalwoman Ivanova on the corner of Velyka Vasylkivska and Shulyavska streets of Kyiv during a search from 7 to 9 o’clock in the morning on March 27, 1863 found the book “Dzennik konfederacyi Tarnogrodskiéy” (1770) and bullets.

During the search carried out by the bailiff in the house of the landowner A. Syrochynsky (Bilky Village, Lypovets County, Kyiv province), a manuscript in Polish was found, in which he noted that the cessation of Poland’s political existence did not weaken the people’s spirit and desire to realize its historical mission. On the contrary, the people’s spirit was strengthened by self-sacrifice, calling for the return of eternal rights and freedoms. The importance of the development of the South-Western region in the context of European civilization was emphasized<sup>31</sup>.

In March 1863, the Investigative Commission under Kyiv, Podillia, and Volyn Governor-General opened a case concerning weapons, a printing press, and revolutionary instructions found in the apartments of St. Volodymyr’s University students V. Vyshinsky, F. Klyukovsky, I. Baranovsky, B. Ivashkevych, Z. Ivashkevych, B. Poviатовsky. The Minister of personally ordered that the foreign passports of the students involved in the case and escaped should not be issued<sup>32</sup>.

Information about the former anatomy prosector at St. Volodymyr's University I.S. Kopernitsky was sent from abroad to Minister of the Interior P.O. Valuyev, for example, news of his departure from Paris to Lviv as an emissary in order to infiltrate into the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Region of the Russian Empire. Accordingly, in November 1863, Valuev ordered the arrest of Kopernicki and the sealing of his belongings in the event of his arrival in the Russian Empire. Instead, Kopernicki earned the prestige of the student body and the Kyiv intellectual community in general through his research and teaching activities, and the university leadership characterized him as a highly moral man. He took an active part in spreading Polish literacy among peasant boys. A search of the estate of his wife Maria (nee Berezovskaya) on Elizavetinskaya Street in Kyiv in 1863 turned up banned books in Polish published in Berlin and Paris during 1861-1862. The lines from the private correspondence seized during the searches help to feel the psychological state of the Polish population, oppressed by the repressions of autocratic Russia, to comprehend the spiritual world, the moral and ethical dimension of their lives. A letter from Nemyriv dated June 8, 1863, from Maria Sorochynska (wife of Isidore Kopernicki's brother, Valerii) stated: "My dear Maria. Ah, how terrible the news you write to us about is. Now it seems to have calmed down a bit, but, my God, how many victims!" The commission of inquiry did not neglect to carefully collect, glue and attach to the search report pieces of the letter, which Maria Kopernicka hastily tore up and threw out the window. In this letter, dated July 14, 1863, she wrote: "I am so distressed and sad that I do not even know whether I will endure fate. I miss so much without my beloved husband, without news about him! I would write to him about my sadness and grief, but why bother him in vain. He, poor thing, cares about what is happening to us. Why poison his minutes, add bitterness to him. I'll write it all down here, maybe I'll read it to him someday. Sadness tears my chest, I can not find peace, dark premonitions haunt me, and sometimes I come to despair. Oh God, save me! Don't let me lose faith in a better future. I would give half my life for a minute to meet my husband"<sup>33</sup>. And in the confiscated photo album, police found portraits of members of the Polish national liberation movement, including those held at the time in a Kyiv fortress, as well as a picture of Polish house's interior and killing of children from a Polish family by Russian soldiers. Since Maria Kopernicka's sister Amelia was married to a well-known dermatologist, Professor of St. Volodymyr's University Ludwig Gorecki (who was an intern in Vienna and Berlin in the early 1860s), the commission of inquiry also inspected his apartment in Kyiv. Eventually, in 1864, the case of Prosector I. Kopernicki and his wife, "involved in the uprising," was transferred to the university court.

On the territory of Right-Bank Ukraine, appeals were circulated to the peasants urging them not to be enemies of the Poles, who were willing to thank them for their help by giving them land. For example, in the funds of the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine (Kyiv) there is a Ukrainian-language address "to

the Orthodox Christian brothers”, which was distributed in 1863 in Vasylkiv district of the Volyn province, as well as “Song of the Ukrainian people of this sixty-third year” with the slogan “convene Ukraine, our whole family” and a poem “To the Cossacks, and now the peasants” with the following lines:

*The Poles evoke freedom,  
The Poles give us a hand,  
The Poles greet us fraternally,  
Let's take it, guys, for our own.  
The tsar of liberty is so afraid,  
Like the devil of the sky, the cross,  
As his throne will not stand,  
Where there is already holy freedom<sup>34</sup>.*

The head of the Vinnytsia district police discovered the appeal “Voice of Shevchenko from Siberia to the brothers Ukrainians, Volynians and Podolians”, which called for forgetting the enmity with the Poles, uniting for victory, breaking free from Moscow’s grasp and living freely.

In connection with the increase in the number of appeals to peasants, the head of the Kyiv province issued a circular to the heads of county police to strengthen supervision on roads, in villages and towns, at fairs, in taverns. For example, in an inn two miles from the village of Kryvchunka, on the way from Berdychiv to Uman, they found a letter in an envelope with the words “Poland will be our kingdom”. The head of the Kyiv province issued a separate order to counteract the popularization of the book “The death conversation of Peter the Hermit”, which contained a call for a peasant uprising on the side of the Poles. As the ideas of this book managed to “penetrate the people”, measures were taken to counter possible peasant unrest.

In 1863, the chief of the Vinnytsia district police personally led the investigation in the village of Vyshenka, Vinnytsia district, Podillia province, where deacon A. Stembliovsky took a Polish-language book published in Kyiv from a local peasant F. Havryliuk. According to the punitive-administrative bodies, this book was aimed at inciting the local population to disobey the Russian government. At the same time, from the residents of the village of Shamraivka, Vasylkiv district, Kyiv province, the appeal to the peasants in Ukrainian fell into the hands of the lower ranks of the Poltava Infantry Regiment, which was stationed there. The Podillia civilian governor reported the discovery of Ukrainian-language appeals in the villages of Khrapovka, Luchynchyk, and the town of Ozarynets.

During 1863, appeals to local Jews and Christians in Polish inviting them to make donations in favor of the Polish uprising were distributed in Kovel County, Volyn province. In May of the same year, in the town of Vyshnivets, Kremenets County, Podillia province, an envelope was thrown at the priest Sobotovich with an appeal to the Poles, who were urged to leave Russian military service and join

the uprising. The director of the Zhytomyr Rabbinical School handed over to the office of Kyiv military, Podillia, and Volyn Governors-General an appeal to the Jews posted at the gates of the institution. In connection with the spread of appeals to Jews in Volyn, the Governor-General ordered a surprise search of the Zhytomyr Jewish printing house.

In the spring of 1863, the chief of the Tarashcha district police reported on the spread of rumors among the peasants about the termination of the Annunciation duties and payments to the landlords<sup>35</sup>. In Kremenets district of the Volyn province there were rumors about the readiness of the Poles to launch an offensive from Galicia to Podillia and Volyn, and in Zaslavl - that France, the Danubian Principalities and other states declared war on Russia.

Among the materials of the "Office of Kyiv, Podillia and Volyn Governor-General" (f.442), there are documents containing information dated 1863 about Polish insurgents transferring the "Golden (or red) Charter" (appeal to Ukrainian peasants) to the head of the village Kyrykiyevka, Zhytomyr district and a resident of the village of Mali Matsevichi, Zaslavl district, Volyn province. The head of the Vasylkiv district police reported on the need for the officials in the district to take measures to prevent the spread of the "Golden Charters". The chiefs of the district police of Kyiv province, village officials, and priests were tasked with counteracting the spread of the "Golden Charters", aimed at inciting the peasants to disobey the "supreme will of the emperor". In June 1863, the "Golden Charters" were thrown to the villages of Yaropovichi and Korchmyshche, Skvyra district, Kyiv province. In October of the same year a nine-year-old boy found a letter addressed to the local priest Davydovych near the gates of a school in the village of Zapadyntsi, Starokostiantyniv district, Volyn province. This letter was an appeal to the Orthodox clergy with a proposal to consider the strategy of their actions in case of "the secession of Ruthenia and the establishment of an independent metropolis in Kyiv" against the background of current political events<sup>36</sup>.

According to the results of a search carried out in early 1864 in the apartment of the landowner O.V. Vechorynsky in the village of Il'nyboky, Dubno County, Volyn province a single-barreled pistol, 8 bullets, a quarter pound of gunpowder, Polish national costumes, a lithographed appeal "to the brothers Poles, Ruthenians and Lithuanians", an appeal to Polish women, Polish patriotic poems and hymns, etc. were found. Among the papers discovered with "outrageous content" the attention of the administrative and punitive authorities was also drawn to the sermon delivered in Paris on September 20, 1861; a vow made on October 10, 1861, during services in Warsaw, Zhytomyr, and others cities; prayers for universal political mourning<sup>37</sup>.

The rector of the Volodymyrets Church in the Volyn province, Father Osmolsky, refused to recite a prayer for the well-being of the emperor and his family during the service. To testify to Father Osmolsky's evasion of reciting this prayer, the local bailiff and two witnesses visited the church and recorded that at the time

when the prayer for the emperor was to be recited, the drum was beating and the priest read the “ordinary prayer” after the service<sup>38</sup>.

In general, as a result of the three partitions of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth (1772, 1793, 1795), most of the territory of this formerly powerful European state was incorporated into the Russian Empire, and thus a fierce struggle for cultural and ideological dominance in the region unfolded. The Polish national liberation movement of the 1860s, culminating in the January Uprising of 1863–1864, developed against the backdrop of broad socio-cultural resistance to the Russian autocracy, manifested in particular in such protests as mourning and requiem services for fallen Poles, singing of patriotic Polish songs and hymns, public wearing of national costumes, participation in anti-government demonstrations, distribution of anti-government appeals, refusal to read prayers for the emperor in churches, etc. Clergy and educators, as well as students, were the drivers of this internationally acclaimed protest movement. Catalyst of the Polish national liberation struggle in the 1860’s was the rise of the Risorgimento, with representatives of which the Polish emigrants in Western Europe kept in touch. Polish emigrants’ diplomatic efforts were aimed at convincing the European public of the importance of promoting the restoration of the Polish state as a factor of stability and peace in Europe. The international political background on which the Polish national liberation struggle developed was determined by the development of revolutionary movements in Europe, the gaining of state independence of Greece (1830) and Belgium (1830), the intensification of Romanian state-building, the escalation of the Danish-Prussian confrontation, and the unification of Germany and Italy. In general, the Polish question was placed in the broader context of national aspirations in Hungary and the Balkans.

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<sup>10</sup> ЦДІАК України. Ф.707. Оп.27. Спр.457. Арк.8.

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<sup>13</sup> ЦДІАК України. Ф.442. Оп.812. Спр.48. Арк.2.

<sup>14</sup> ЦДІАК України. Ф.442. Оп.812. Спр.170. Арк.2-2зв.

<sup>15</sup> ЦДІАК України. Ф.442. Оп.812. Спр.56. Арк.3.

<sup>16</sup> ЦДІАК України. Ф.707. Оп.27. Спр.457. Арк.116-117зв.

<sup>17</sup> ЦДІАК України. Ф.707. Оп.27. Спр.457. Арк.124зв.

<sup>18</sup> ЦДІАК України. Ф.707. Оп.27. Спр.457. Арк.125-125зв.

<sup>19</sup> ЦДІАК України. Ф.442. Оп.811. Спр.77. Арк.3.

<sup>20</sup> ЦДІАК України. Ф.707. Оп.27. Спр.457. Арк.29.

<sup>21</sup> Див.: ЦДІАК України. Ф.274. Оп.1, спр.115.

<sup>22</sup> ЦДІАК України. Ф.707. Оп.261. Спр.7. Арк.43.

<sup>23</sup> ЦДІАК України. Ф.707. Оп.27. Спр.457. Арк.69зв.

<sup>24</sup> ЦДІАК України. Ф.707. Оп.261. Спр.12. Арк.6.

<sup>25</sup> ЦДІАК України. Ф.707. Оп.261. Спр.13. Арк.1-1зв.

<sup>26</sup> ЦДІАК України. Ф.707. Оп.261. Спр.13. Арк.15.

<sup>27</sup> ЦДІАК України. Ф.707. Оп.27. Спр.457. Арк.194-194зв.

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<sup>29</sup> ЦДІАК України. Ф.442. Оп.812. Спр.32. Арк.4-7зв.

<sup>30</sup> ЦДІАК України. Ф.707. Оп.261. Спр.2. Арк.3-3зв.

<sup>31</sup> ЦДІАК України. Ф.442. Оп.369. Спр.291. Арк.4-4зв.

<sup>32</sup> ЦДІАК України. Ф.442. Оп.813. Спр.28. Арк.38.

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<sup>35</sup> ЦДІАК України. Ф.442. Оп.369. Спр.292. Арк.39.

<sup>36</sup> ЦДІАК України. Ф.442. Оп.369. Спр.291. Арк.213зв.

<sup>37</sup> ЦДІАК України. Ф.442. Оп.814. Спр.188. Арк.1-2.

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