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INFLUENCE OF THE POLISH UPRISING OF 1830-1831 ON THE TURN IN RELATION OF OFFICIAL PETERSBURG TO THE POLISH QUESTION

The article is devoted to the characteristics of the main principles of the policy of the Russian Imperial Government regarding the Kingdom of Poland before the uprising of 1830-1831, when the Constitutional Charter was in effect, and after it, when it came to the introduction of martial law. The author sees the essence of this turn in the fact that before the uprising of 1830-1831, the Russian authorities included the Polish gentry among the political and cultural elite of the Russian Empire, assigning it the role of “locomotive” in the process of rapprochement of Russia with Western European civilization. The article emphasizes that the main state task – to unite the Slavic peoples, incorporate the Polish lands into the Russian Empire and make its population citizens of the Russian Empire in the absence of the poles’ ability to have an independent sovereign state was resolved on fundamentally different grounds after the uprising. The implementation of the unification program acquired the character of a necessity to submit to the existing law, to the state and the Emperor. It is shown that the uprising also changed the attitude of public opinion in Russia to the problem of participation of poles in the all-Russian affairs. The problem is personified and viewed through the prism of such personalities as Emperor Alexander I, Prince A. Czartoryski, Emperor Nicholas I, General Field Marshal I. F. Paskiewich, Prince of Warsaw and Count of Erivan.

Key words: *Kingdom of Poland, Constitutional Charter, Union of Slavic peoples, revolt of 1830-1831, Organic Statute, martial law, Alexander I, A. Czartoryski, Nicholas I, I. F. Paskiewich.*

One of the most difficult issues in the political history of Russia was the issue of interethnic relations. It is even more difficult for a Westerner to understand it. It is very difficult even to translate it, say, into English, because it acquires a different meaning – a meaning of international relations. The main problem is that

the relations between peoples and countries are mixed in one issue, and it is very difficult to separate these aspects from each other. Meanwhile, this issue remains the most important for understanding in Russian history at the present time.

Echoes of the Russian-Polish confrontation of several centuries are still felt in the sharpened historical memory of our peoples [6. P. 317; 7. P. 320]. The Polish people did not have an independent sovereign state after the partition of 1795. In 1815-1917, the Kingdom of Poland was part of the Russian Empire as its constituent part.

In history there are three major anti-Russian rebellions of the poles: in 1794, in 1830-1831 and in 1863. The most notorious case was the first uprising associated with the famous names of T. Kostyushko and A. V. Suvorov. The third uprising caused the most heated discussions in Russia, in a sense, it even split the public opinion and marked a twist in the attitude of the St. Petersburg authorities to the Polish question. Such turn occurred in connection with the events of 1830 and its essence that before the uprising of 1830-1831, the Russian authorities included the Polish gentry among the political and cultural elite of the Russian Empire, assigning it the role of “locomotive” in the process of bringing Russia closer to the West European civilization and classical culture, as well as contributing to the material well-being of the Polish population. But after the 1830 uprising, the vector changed. The former task certainly remained – to unite the Slavic peoples, to incorporate the Polish lands into the Russian Empire and make its population citizens of the Russian Empire, but it has acquired the character of a necessity to submit to the existing law, to the state and the Emperor.

This turn was personified by such personalities as the Emperor Alexander Pavlovich and Prince Adam Czartoryski, on the one hand, and the Emperor Nicholas Pavlovich and Count Ivan Fedorovich Paskiewich, on the other.

Alexander I openly declared himself a friend of the poles, viewing in the Slavic origin of the poles a guarantee of unity with Russia. After defeating Napoleon, he achieved the decision of the Vienna Congress of 1815 that the Duchy of Warsaw (its main part) would forever join the Russian Empire, and by virtue of its Constitution would be inseparable from Russia for all time. His Majesty added the title of Tsar (King) of Poland to his existing titles [4]. Alexander “granted” a special Constitutional Charter to the Kingdom of Poland, according to which it was recognized as a separate (Autonomous) state united with Russia by a personal Union, with a separate Treasury and a separate army [1]. Residents of the Kingdom of Poland took an oath of allegiance to Alexander Pavlovich, the Emperor of the Russian Empire.

As a rule, describing the Constitutional Charter of 1815 as the most liberal at that time in Europe [2. P. 416], researchers and publicists pay attention to the rights given to the Polish society, to the proclamation of the provision that the Polish people would have a people’s representation in perpetuity – the Sejm, which was to be convened once every 2 years for a period of 20 days. Russian

Emperor and the Sejm, however, were not to ignore the fact that the legislative power was exercised jointly by the Russian Emperor and the Sejm, because the Sejm consisted of the Tsar and two chambers, and that the Russian Emperor, as the Polish king, had all the executive power. He had the right to determine the budget of Poland, to postpone the convocation of the Polish Sejm for an indefinite time and finally to appoint and recall the Governor, who was to remain in the Kingdom of Poland in the absence of the central government. The Governor played a major role in the implementation of the executive power. The highest governmental institution was the State Council, which consisted of the Administrative Council and the General Assembly, and the Governor was the Chairman of the Administrative Council. The implementation of the principle of Personal Union assumed that the representative of the Imperial dynasty – the Grand Duke of the Russian Empire – would be appointed Governor, but the Charter indicated that this could also be a local native. Everyone expected Alexander I to appoint Prince Adam Czartoryski as his Deputy. The young Prince Adam Czartoryski was the son of an influential Polish nobleman, he became a confidant even before the accession of Alexander and for many years remained one of the closest associates of the Emperor. A. Czartoryski was a member of the Secret Committee that developed the program for the transformation of the country, and later he became the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Thanks to his powerful influence, the entire educational system in the Western region – as we would now say, in the disputed territories – was under the supervision of representatives of Polish culture. It was Polonized to an extent that was not even seen in the times of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. However, Alexander appointed General Jozef Zayonchek, who did not prove to be a great historical figure, as Governor. The head of the Russian military forces in the territory of the Kingdom of Poland was Emperor's brother, Grand Duke Konstantin Pavlovich, he became the real "Vice-Tsar," without whom Yu. Zayonchek, who remained Governor until his death in 1826, did not take any serious step [5. P. 446]. The military were disappointed in their expectations, but it was not the Constitution that was the main reason for the uprising of 1830, as confirmed by an active participant M. Mokhnatsky [8]. The poles did not associate the struggle for defending their constitutional rights with the struggle of the Decembrists against the autocracy in Russia, although the general movement of the Decembrists included "The society of United Slavs," they did not support the Decembrists. Colloquially, this uprising was called the war between Russia and Poland over Lithuania.

After the suppression of the uprising, a significant part of its participants led by Adam Czartoryski emigrated mainly to France and England. A new uprising was prepared and an attempt to begin it was undertaken in 1833, this can be mainly connected with the activities of Yuri Zalivsky.

Before the uprising, Emperor Nicholas Pavlovich was loyal to the rights of his Polish subjects as he was crowned by the Polish Crown in Warsaw and solemnly

swore to the Constitution of 1815. After the uprising of 1830-1831, he deemed himself free from any obligations assumed in connection with the Constitution of 1815. He declared that the Kingdom of Poland as a country conquered by Russian arms constituted one of the parts of the Russian Empire and was to be governed on the basis of an Organic Statute, which, however, left significant political rights to the Polish population in comparison with Russia as a whole. Despite the dissolution of the Sejm, the Administrative Council headed by the Governor did not lose its importance, the State Council was preserved, the irremovability of judges was preserved, and the principle of electability of many positions was preserved [4]. But after a new attempt to raise a revolt headed by Yuri Zalizky, Nicholas I did not put the Organic Statute into effect, but imposed martial law, which was in effect until 1856.

The personification of the new management system was one of the greatest military figures in our history, a man represented on the monument commemorating the 1000th anniversary of Russia in Veliky Novgorod, a man who was awarded all the Orders of the Russian Empire, including all four degrees of the Order of St. George (there are only four such personalities in the history of Russia) – Field Marshal Ivan Fedorovich Paskiewich, Prince of Warsaw, Count of Erivan. He suppressed the revolt of 1830-1831 and pacified Poland, as they said at that time and he was appointed Governor of the Kingdom of Poland. He was also the commander-in-chief of the Active army. The system of government was based on the confidence of Nicholas I in the Field Marshal, who remained Vice-roy in the Kingdom of Poland until his death in January 1856.

The peculiarity of management in the conditions of martial law was that a special military administration functioned along with the civil administration. The University of Warsaw, as well as the University of Vilna were closed and the Imperial University of St. Vladimir in Kiev appeared, as well as law courses in Poland, Moscow and St. Petersburg. In 1839, a special educational district was established, subordinate to the Ministry of Public Education of the Russian Empire. In 1834, an Orthodox diocese was founded in the Kingdom of Poland.

In general, the policy of the Paskiewich era, perceived by poles as a dark period, was characterized by the following trends.

An important direction of work was associated with the stratification of Polish subjects outside the historical area of residence and their involvement in the public service. In addition, strict legal regulation of marriages between poles and Russians become a reality. It was a mandatory to raise common children in Orthodoxy, and this was a big obstacle to the inter-confessional marriages. Society did not encourage such marriages. Meanwhile it was the descendants of mixed marriages who made up the majority of Orthodox poles in the Russian Empire.

We would like to draw attention to the colonization of land in Poland by Russians. The government has activated such forms as grants (with the rights of conditional holding or ownership), preferential land sales and voluntary or even forced relocation.

As a result of many-sided activities aimed at “pacifying” the region, the goal was achieved – it was a period of peaceful progressive development, although it did not mean great success in bringing the Russian and Polish peoples closer together. In subsequent periods, on the basis of the achieved reconciliation, the official authorities of the Russian Empire developed and implemented other programs, but the policy characteristic of the first quarter of the XIX century, which was described by the slogan “Let’s turn our face to Poland,” was no longer in force.

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