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PUBLIC LIFE OF POLES THROUGH THE PRISM OF SURVEILLANCE BY REPRESSIVE STRUCTURES OF THE SOUTH-WESTERN REGION OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE ON THE EVE OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

This paper, based on documents from the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine (Kyiv), highlights the specifics of the social life of Poles in the South-Western region of the Russian Empire on the eve of the First World War. The author studied the official correspondence of the General Staff of the Russian Empire and the Staff of the Kyiv Military District, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and provincial gendarme departments of the South-Western Region, secret documents of the Kyiv Security Office, the Office of the Kyiv, Podillya and Volyn Governor-General, and so on. These documents illustrate the focus of the Russian imperial authorities on gathering information about the political situation and public sentiment in Austria-Hungary, and above all in Galicia. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, against the backdrop of an intensified interstate confrontation between Austria-Hungary and Russia, a competition of state building models became more active. In the early 20th century, the idea of federalism was strengthened in Austria-Hungary with the aim of internal political stabilisation and a broad guarantee of the Slavonic peoples' rights. And it was no accident that guard and punitive authorities of the Russian Empire focused their attention on intelligence information about the activities of the Polish Socialist Party, the creation of paramilitary organizations in Galicia, and the preparation of an anti-Russian uprising by the Poles during the expected war between Russia and Austria-Hungary. The Polish population of the South-Western region was supervised. Discriminatory measures were taken against the cultural activities of the Poles of the South-Western region aimed at raising national self-awareness and patriotism,

schooling and national-cultural public organizations were suppressed, and monitoring of the Roman Catholic clergy was established. In view of the approach of the 50th anniversary of the January Uprising of 1863–1864, the guard and punitive bodies of the Russian Empire directed special efforts to prevent the spread in the South-West Region of actions commemorating this symbolic anniversary organized on the territory of Austria-Hungary, in particular in Lviv.

Keywords: Poles, Russian Empire, South-Western Region, Austria-Hungary.

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ГРОМАДСЬКЕ ЖИТТЯ ПОЛЯКІВ КРІЗЬ ПРИЗМУ НАГЛЯДОВОЇ ДІЯЛЬНОСТІ ОХОРОННО-КАРАЛЬНИХ ОРГАНІВ ПІВДЕННО-ЗАХІДНОГО КРАЮ РОСІЙСЬКОЇ ІМПЕРІЇ НАПЕРЕДОДНІ ПЕРШОЇ СВІТОВОЇ ВІЙНИ

У цій статті на базі документів фондів Центрального державного історичного архіву України м. Києва висвітлюються особливості громадського життя польської громади Південно-Західного краю Російської імперії напередодні Першої світової війни. Документи Центрального державного історичного архіву України, зокрема офіційне листування Генерального штабу Російської імперії і штабу Київського військового округу, міністерства внутрішніх справ і губернських жандармських управлінь Південно-Західного краю, документи з грифом «цілком таємно» київського охоронного відділення, канцелярії київського, подільського й волинського генерал-губернатора тощо, відображають націленість державних органів Російської імперії на збирання інформації про політичну ситуацію й настрої громадськості в Австро-Угорщині, й насамперед Галичині. Наприкінці XIX — на початку XX ст. на тлі загострення міждержавного протистояння Австро-Угорщини та Росії актуалізувалася й конкуренція моделей національно-державного будівництва. У самій Австро-Угорщині на початку XX ст. зміцнювалася ідея феде-

ралізму, трансформації дуалістичної держави в триалістичну як інструменту внутрішньополітичної стабілізації і ширшого забезпечення прав слов'янських народів. І не випадково охоронно-каральні органи Російської імперії фокусували свою увагу на агентурній інформації щодо діяльності Польської соціалістичної партії, створення в Галичині парамілітарних організацій і підготовки антиросійського повстання поляків під час очікуваної війни Росії і Австро-Угорщини. Встановлювався нагляд за польським населенням Південно-Західного краю. Здійснювалися дискримінаційні заходи щодо культурницької діяльності поляків, спрямованої на піднесення національної самосвідомості й патріотизму, утискалося шкільництво й національно-культурні громадські організації, встановлювалося стеження за римо-католицьким духівництвом.

Ключові слова: поляки, Російська імперія, Південно-Західний край, Австро-Угорщина.

An important component of understanding the role of national liberation movements in the history of the Central-Eastern Europe is the disclosure of the Polish issue significance, which, as a result of the three divisions of Poland (1772, 1793, 1795), attracted attention of the international public and European diplomacy, reflecting the specifics of the national policy of Prussia, Austria and Russia, which divided the lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth among themselves. At the same time, the historical memory, a system of values based on the basic concept of honor, political culture and statesmanship traditions of the Poles were the determining factors of their national liberation struggle during the 19th century, the rise of which was embodied in the November Uprising of 1830–1831, the Krakow Uprising of 1846, the “Springtime of Nations” events in 1848–1849, the January Uprising of 1863–1864. In the historical context of the cultural and civilizational confrontation of various models of multinational states in the territories that covered, in particular, Ukrainian, Belarusian and Lithuanian lands, the national-state traditions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were supplanted by the Russian imperial project. Until the early 20th century, the political institutionalization of the Polish national liberation movement took place, and resistance to the Russification policy intensified. In 1905, the Kingdom of Poland became the epicenter of revolutionary events. J.-K. Piłsudski, who governed the formation of combat units of the Polish Socialist Party, saw its ultimate goal in the restoration of Poland’s independence through an armed uprising, counting on the unleashing of war between the Russian Empire and Austria-Hungary.

In the context of a deeper understanding of the role of national factor in deepening the systemic crisis of international relations on the eve of the First

World War, studies of the influence of inter-ethnic interaction and conflicts on the internal political situation and foreign policy of large supranational state entities are taking on increasing importance¹. In terms of modern historiography, the socio-political activity of the Poles in Dnipro Ukraine in the XIX and early XX centuries was studied, in particular, in the works by S. Bazhenova, L. Bazhenov, O. Bilobrovets, O. Buravskiy, O. Kalakura, M. Korzeniowski, I. Lisevich, S. Oliper². The purpose of this paper is to highlight the features of the public life of the Polish community in the South-Western region of the Russian Empire on the eve of the First World War based on documents from the funds of the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Kyiv: “Kyiv Provincial Gendarmerie Administration” (f. 274), “Kyiv Guard Department” (f. 275), “South-Western District Guard Department” (f. 276), “Kovel Department of the Kyiv Gendarmerie Police Department of Railways” (f. 281), “Gendarmerie Institutions of the Podillya Province” (f. 301), “Assistant Head of the Volyn Provincial Gendarmerie Administration in Novohrad-Volyn, Ostroh and Izyaslav Districts” (f. 1262), “Assistant Head of the Volyn Provincial Gendarmerie Administration in Lutsk, Kovel and Volodymyr-Volyn Districts” (f. 1600).

On March 31, 1910, the Main Directorate of the General Staff of the Russian Empire sent a letter to the headquarters of the Kyiv Military District emphasizing the need to establish supervision over the activities of the Union of Active Struggle, founded in early 1909 in Galicia at the initiative of the Polish Socialist Party. This official letter marked “Confidential” was supplemented with the statute of the Union, according to which its mission was to prepare the uprising of the Poles in the Russian Empire with the subsequent set up of the Independent Democratic Republic. The desire was proclaimed to build an independent, democratic, republican Polish state and implement social reforms that would guarantee all citizens of the country the right to work and “daily bread”. The Union was founded as a military organization on the principles of centralization, strict discipline in rearing Polish rebels, conspiracies, self-abnegation, and maintenance of high morale. It was to become an auxiliary military structure of the Polish Socialist Party. The Council was the highest governing body of the Union of Active Struggle, which elected four members of the Staff. The latter also included a representative of the Headquarters of the Combat Organization of the Polish Socialist Party. The members of this organization undertook to unquestioningly carry out the orders of their direct leadership, to adhere to the full conspiracy, to promote the ideas of the Union in order to attract new members, to be punctual, to pay organizational contributions³. According to the General Staff, the goal of the Union was “to train organizers and instructors capable of leading rebel gangs during a general uprising of the Poles, in the event of a war between Russia and Austria-Hungary”⁴.

In 1910, the Ministry of Internal Affairs sent a confidential circular letter to the heads of provincial gendarmerie departments, gendarmerie police departments of railways, and secret guard departments, which discussed the development by the Polish Socialist Party of special tactics to achieve its goal — gain Polish independence using the weapon. In order to achieve this goal, it was envisaged to promote hatred of tsarism and the idea of restoring Poland's independence among the military, as well as to promote the organization of secret groups in the army, the distribution of anti-government literature, and cooperation with the Russian revolutionary organizations. The Central Committee of the Polish Socialist Party issued proclamations. The party's tasks also included the collection of intelligence information on the deployment of Russian troops, their structure and command structure. Thus, according to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, instructor schools were founded, which taught military art.

In 1910, Kyiv, Podillya and Volyn Governor-General F. F. Trepov issued an order to establish the supervision of large Polish landowners in the South-Western Region by the Kyiv Guard Department on the basis of a copy of the appeal by the First Conspiratorial Polish Congress in Krakow to Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph (March 1909) presented by the headquarters of the Kyiv Military District⁵. The appeal, signed by 42 people, emphasized that the political circumstances and geographical location of the Austrian and Russian empires made armed clashes between these states possible. The desire for the independence of the Polish people was nurtured in every Pole from the cradle in the conditions of severe oppression of national feelings by the Russian Empire, and at the same time, the awareness of the former glory and greatness of Poland was transferred from generation to generation. "The Polish community, which now willingly serves the purposes of the Austrian government," the appeal stated, "authorized us, the representatives of the oldest Polish families gathered in Krakow, to present to the Throne of Your Majesty the readiness of a reasonable part of the Polish population to faithfully serve the Austrian government and provide the detachments of organized rebels in case of war, as well as assist with monetary contributions to the state fund"⁶. In general, the Poles asked to send persons who could direct the actions of the rebels, hand over arms and ammunition and, on the condition of victory, grant "the oppressed people within the bounds of the mighty Austrian Empire some possible independence".

Memo to the Governor-General of Kyiv, Podillya and Volyn, marked "personal; strictly confidential" dated July 9, 1910, sets forth the findings of the investigations carried out by the guard and punitive authorities. This document referred to the spread of rumors in Warsaw, according to which the existing aggravation of tensions in Russian-Austrian relations did not turn into

war solely due to the peace-loving policy of Franz Joseph. At the same time, the memo emphasized that the goal of the Poles was to annex the South-Western Region (or at least part of it) to Austria through a rebellion. The following plan was to contribute to its implementation: preparation of the population in large Polish estates for the uprising through covert propaganda and the organization of partisan units; the involvement of Austrian weapons and military instructors who would come from Austria-Hungary and live in local estates under the guise of agricultural servants, housekeepers, etc. In this way, an entire army was to be formed, which in the event of a Russian-Austrian war would carry out a Polish uprising with the aim of joining the South-Western region to Austria with the rights of autonomy. And the memo presented the spread of a network of illegal national unions, groups, societies, and organizations like “Osviata” in the South-Western Region as the tool to implement this goal. It was primarily about patriotic education, cultivation of the “national spirit”. The Union of Agricultural Employees in Kyiv (which numbered more than 10,000 members) was considered as the organizational center of the future uprising, led by instructors — the Austrian Poles. With reference to the documents of the Austro-Hungarian consulate in Kyiv, the memo referred to the presence of several hundred Austrian soldiers in large Polish estates in the Podillya and Volyn provinces, as well as the possession of some weapons by the Poles.

Against the background of opposition to the Polish national liberation movement, the focus of attention of the guard and punitive authorities was on the religious and educational activities of the Poles. In 1910, Kyiv Guard Department recorded the activities of two secret nunneries in Kyiv that trained national Polish teachers devoted to the “cause of the liberation of Poland.” One of these nunneries was located in Kyiv at the corner of Predslavynska and Politseiska streets, where children’s shelter and school operated. Nearby, on Politseiska street there was a shelter for elderly women at the nunnery, and also a school for boys. The financial support of these institutions was provided by the Polish Roman Catholic Charitable Society. The second Catholic nunnery was located near the St. Michael’s Monastery, and its manor had access to Triokhsviatytska Street. There was a sewing workshop at the nunnery⁷.

Kyiv Guard Department coordinated its actions with the Podillya Provincial Gendarmerie Administration, providing it with information in 1911 about the prominent place in the Polish movement the Union of Landowners of the Podillya Province: “This organization is a center of all the activities of the Poles aimed at the liberation of Poland; its representatives attended “the meeting in Kraków in 1909, which developed the terms of union with Austria”⁸.

In 1911, the Kyiv Guard Department received intelligence information about “Kresovtsi” organization of the Poles in the South-Western Region,

Vilnius, Kovno and Grodno provinces, united on the basis of a common national and political program with the aim of strengthening the national spirit, restoring Poland, and obtaining its full state independence in the future. It was planned to use legal pretexts to implement the tasks of the organization, such as congresses of agricultural employees, cooperative societies, pension funds, etc⁹.

Throughout 1912, the Kyiv Gendarmerie Police Department accumulated intelligence information labeled “top secret” about spread of propaganda among sugar industry workers concerning “...assistance to Austrian troops in the event of their invasion of Russia, for which Austria will allegedly restore Poland and Little Russia (intelligence information dated November 25 under No. 33)”¹⁰. In general, the net of agents reported the high spirits of the Polish population against the background of rumors about a possible Russo-Austrian war, spread by the Poles visiting Austria-Hungary. At the same time, intelligence information was sent about the preparation of the Poles in the territory of Austria-Hungary for the insurrectionary movement and accelerating the Sokol Detachments, which were allegedly armed by the Austrian government.

The attention of the provincial gendarmerie departments of the South-Western Region was drawn to the activities of the commission in Lviv for the preparation of the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Polish Uprising 1863–1864. According to the program of solemn events, it was foreseen:

January 19, 1913 — public readings in the town hall, premises of the university and national organizations;

January 20 — event at the literary and artistic club;

January 21 — the annual general meeting of the participants of the uprising;

January 22 — announcement of a national holiday throughout Poland; funeral service in Lviv, gathering at the graves of the participants of the uprising at the Lychakivskyi Cemetery; collection of donations to the fund of the participants of the uprising, initiated by the rector of the Higher Polytechnic School in Lviv, E. Hausvald; public readings on the topic of the January Uprising with the involvement of the broad masses of workers and peasants of Galicia¹¹.

At the same time, the punitive authorities of the Russian Empire took measures to prevent the celebration of the anniversary of the January Uprising by the Polish population of the South-Western Region. Police supervision of the Roman Catholic clergy, churches, public readings, and the mood of the Polish population was established. All these measures were aimed at counteracting the strengthening of protest sentiments of the Poles in Pryvislianskyi, South-Western and partly North-Western regions, the catalyst of which was the

approach of the anniversary of the January Uprising against the background of the aggravation of tensions in Russian-Austrian relations. The national liberation aspirations of Polish revolutionary circles were connected with "...hope for an armed clash between Russia and Austria in the near future and for the Poles to use this clash for the purpose of restoring Poland's independence..."¹².

In 1912, Military Minister of the Russian Empire V.O. Sukhomlinov raised with the Ministry of Internal Affairs the issue of taking measures to eliminate all Polish revolutionary organizations in the Pryvislianskyi and South-Western regions that were conducting combat training in anticipation of the Russo-Austrian war; banning the distribution of proclamations calling for insurrection and the spread of arms among the Polish population. Emphasis was placed on the "criminal military activity" of the Polish Socialist Party and the Union of Active Struggle in the Pryvislianskyi Region and the danger of its spread (in the event of a Russian-Austrian war) to the territories of the South-Western Region bordering Galicia¹³. The Ministry of Internal Affairs, together with the leadership of the Kyiv, Podillya, and Volyn Governorate General, decided to immediately liquidate all Polish revolutionary organizations in the South-Western Region and prevent their preparation for combat activities. Accordingly, the police chiefs of the Kyiv province received a secret order to combat the "elements hostile to our State" by increasing surveillance over the attitudes, lifestyle, and relationships of the Polish population, and above all, the Austrian nationals arriving to the empire. In order to fulfill the above-mentioned order, the relevant tasks were assigned to the agents of the Kyiv Provincial Gendarmerie, which were supposed to oppose Polish agitation among the peasantry and the distribution of propaganda literature published abroad. As a result of the involvement of information collected by the county police chiefs, it became clear that the Polish landowners of the Umanskyi, Zvenyhorodskyi, Lypovetskyi, and partially Radomyshlskyi counties "...are very hostile towards Russia, so in the event of a declaration of war, they will probably provide the enemy with informational services..."¹⁴ According to this information, no formation of rebel units, accumulation of weapons, and distribution of illegal literature in the Kyiv province were detected.

On the other hand, in a confidential report dated December 25, 1912, the Dubno police chief informed the leadership of the Volyn Provincial Gendarmerie Administration of information received from abroad about the formation of special combat units in Austria-Hungary made of Polish young men who studied military art under the leadership of Austrian officers and, in particular, took a course combat shooting, armed with the most advanced rifles. According to this informant, the task of the combat units was to penetrate the territory of the Russian Empire in order to raise a Polish armed rebellion against the background of the approach of the 50th anniversary of the 1863–1864 Polish Uprising.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs kept under personal control the issue of preparation of the Poles to celebrate the anniversary of the January Uprising, emphasizing the desire of Polish revolutionary circles to use the probable military clash between Russia and Austria-Hungary with the aim of “restoring the independence of Poland” and emphasizing the danger of strengthening anti-Russian sentiments among the Polish population of the Pryvislianskyi and South-Western region. Accordingly, the Kyiv Guard Department and the Kyiv Gendarmerie Police Department of Railways were assigned the task of counteracting possible Polish protests against the background of the approaching anniversary of the January Uprising, to report in a timely manner on the mood of the Polish population and clergy, their attitude towards the Russians, on any manifestations of Poles’ preparation for the anniversary celebration of rebellion¹⁵.

Information was received from the police department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Empire regarding the holding of a congress of the Union of Independence (Unja Niepodległościowej) in Paris at the end of 1912, which chose “a free human in a free Poland” as its slogan. The congress was attended by delegates from many Western European cities, as well as from St. Petersburg and Warsaw. In the reports delivered at the congress, the idea was substantiated of Poland gaining freedom through an uprising against the background of the exacerbation of the Russian-Austrian conflict. The importance was voiced of military training and propaganda among peasants and workers of the idea of an uprising.

In 1913, the leadership of the Kyiv Guard Department provided the Podillya Provincial Gendarmerie Administration with information about the activities of the Polish Revival League with the participation of the Poles (primarily aristocracy and clergy) from Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Russia. It was noted that the activities of the League were primarily aimed at the Keletsk, Volyn and Podillya provinces bordering Austria-Hungary and aimed at attracting the Ukrainian population of Volyn and Podillya to its side¹⁶. At the same time, the office of the Podillya Gendarmerie Department received secret intelligence information that “...the general trend of the intelligent part of the Polish population [...] clearly manifests itself in a strong desire to be under the power of Austria, not Russia”¹⁷. The clearest manifestations of such sentiments were reported among the Poles of Zhmerynka, and the Polish landowners who lived on the outskirts of the city “...openly declared their sympathy for the Austrian government, motivating their attraction to this government by the legal orders prevailing there, regardless of nationality; individuals were convinced that not only the Poles, but also everyone in general would live much better under the Austrian rule, therefore they did not consider the possibility of a war between Russia and Austria as unfavorable for themselves”¹⁸.

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the January Uprising, the population of Austria-Hungary, and Galicia in particular, collected funds to support the national liberation struggle of the Poles against Russia. For this purpose, special postage stamps were issued, which were also addressed to the Polish population of the Russian Empire. The agents of the provincial gendarmerie departments of the South-Western Region were tasked with countering the sending of exhibits by local residents to the “Exhibition of 1863” in Lviv. The exhibition on the history of the Polish national liberation uprising was divided into historical and literary sections, the work of which was to be accompanied by the reading of essays¹⁹.

Deputy Minister of Interior of the Russian Empire V.F. Dzhunkovskiy ordered to take “decisive measures” to prevent the distribution of postcards with the image of Wodzinskiy’s painting “Veterans’ Mass”, which were sent from Krakow and dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the January Uprising²⁰. 25% of the profits from sale of postcards were intended to support the “Asylum of Veterans of the Polish Uprising 1863” in Krakow. In particular, the Podillya Provincial Gendarmerie Department was tasked with countering the distribution of postcards, the danger of which the guard and punitive authorities saw as aimed at inciting anti-government sentiments among the Poles and material support for the “descendants of the Polish Uprising”²¹.

During 1913, priests Tokarzhevskiy and Ruzynskiy were supervised by the guard and punitive authorities in Iziaslavl. They were accused of having a hostile attitude towards Russia and everything Russian, and allocating large sums of money to Austria to support the political goals of the Polish national movement. The students of Kyiv, who were preparing for the production of the play “Warshavianka” in the “Ognyvo” club, were also monitored.

In general, until 1912, there was no permanent Polish troupe in the Kyiv Polish public gathering “Ognyvo” at 1 Khreshchatyk Street. Later, the Society of Stage Lovers invited a permanent Polish troupe to “Ognyvo”, allocating 2,000 rubles per month for its maintenance. It was entrusted with the task of consolidating the Polish population of Kyiv and promoting Polish national ideals. In 1913, the troupe was forbidden to include the plays “Bethlehem” and “Warshavianka” in its repertoire. The guard and punitive authorities considered the play “Bethlehem” as the most trending in the context of the promotion of the Polish national idea. The plot of this play was focused on the historical fate of the Poles within Austria, Prussia and Russia as a result of the three divisions of Poland (1772, 1793, 1795). Among the main actors, Oleksandr II was the most cruel tyrant and despot, the national policy of the Russian Empire, including the Russification of education, was especially criticized. The secret materials received by the office of the Kyiv Guard Department emphasized, in particular, that the play “Bethlehem” contains “... propaganda in favor of

Austria in the words of Franz Joseph, who defended the Poles²². Despite the ban on productions of “Warshavianka” in Kyiv, the Volyn provincial gendarmerie received intelligence information marked “top secret” about the plans of the Polish population to present this play on the Zhytomyr stage.

Despite the fact that during 1913, the guard and punitive authorities did not discover specific facts on anti-government activities by the Board members of the Polish Society of Art Lovers, suspicions were not removed from it on the basis that “...all existing Polish scientific, sports, educational, etc. associations have a tendentious separatist flavoring²³”. The aim of the society was to inculcate and develop the cult of art among the population of Kyiv and the Kyiv region. Society programme included public and private dramatic performances in Polish; musical and vocal events; public readings and recitations; exhibitions and competitions; family and children’s literary events and holidays, etc.²⁴ The representatives of different states and nationalities could become members of the society.

The libraries founded in Kyiv by “Polonia” and “Corporation” organizations were subjected to searches, which discovered banned books published in Lviv and Krakow, aimed at awakening the national feelings of the Poles and mobilizing their struggle for the independence of Poland. In particular, Mr. Milkowsky’s book “A Word About Active Defense in the People’s Fund” (Krakow, 1910) said that in the event of a possible war between Russia and several states, the Poles should remember about active defense so that the Russian administration in the Warsaw Military District and the Warsaw General-Governorship always felt the danger and instability of its power. The work by Mr. Studnytskyi “Against the Flow” (Krakow, 1910) emphasized that “...in the event of an Austro-Russian war, the Poles cannot choose whom to sympathize with...” The brochure “In Hour of Need” (Warsaw, 1912) talked about the oppression by the Russian government during the founding of various unions and societies, which brought the issue of creating a secret party into the spotlight. At the same time, during a search in the editorial office of the “Dziennik Kijowski” newspaper, they found the manuscript “Ordon Redoubt” with a description of the bloody battle, which contained the following lines: “where is the King? — The strong autocratic king sits in his distant capital, everyone fears him and obeys him, only Warsaw is not afraid of your power, raises its hand against you and pulls the crown of the brave Casimirs from your head, which you stole and stained with blood²⁵”.

The Poles who carried out educational activities and founded schools for Polish children were persecuted. Thus, in February 1913, in the village of Makarivska Buda of the Kyiv district, where F.F. Montytskyi, the burgher from Vasylykov, was instructing, a secret Polish school with 24 students was discovered. The library of the “Ognyvo” club in Kyiv was searched.

On March 21, 1913, a secret Polish school was discovered in Uman, in the house of the abbot of the Uman church, priest V. Przynetskyi, operating under the cover of the so-called “Christian Laundry” for 10 years. The school was managed by K.L. Kostrzhenska, a German citizen, originally from Poznan, who also instructed and was assisted by five assistants — mostly natives of the Kingdom of Poland. At the time of search, there were 12 girls aged 15–19 of Polish nationality from Kyiv and Podillya provinces. During school search, 46 Polish textbooks, 100 books of religious content in the Polish language, and 52 Polish-language books on history, literature, and journalism were seized. A fine of 300 rubles was imposed on priest Przynetskyi, who provided premises for the school for free. Kostrzhenska was prosecuted under Art. 1051 Penalty provisions²⁶.

In November 1913, the leadership of the Kyiv Provincial Gendarmerie Department prepared a report on the Society for Equality of Polish Women. It operated legally and was located in Kyiv at the address: 21 Prorizna Str., apt. 1, and cooperated with the Roman Catholic Charitable Society and the Society of Juvenile Prisons. The Society members were women from wealthy, and in particular aristocratic, families who provided substantial monetary support to cultural events aimed at strengthening the Polish national spirit. Special attention was paid to the patriotic and religious education of children, the establishment of secret Polish schools in the villages, the campaign for the construction of new Kyiv churches and schools. After arrest in 1912 of the Polish “Corporation” society library, which was located in K. Charnetska’s apartment, at the address 36 Nesterivska Str., all periodicals she subscribed to were sent to the Society for the Equality of Polish Women. The society supported the activity of secret female nunneries in Kyiv and the Polish canteen at 26 Fundukleievskia Str. (attended mainly by female students and students of women’s courses). Political gatherings were held in the dining room, and Polish landlords sent food for free, which allowed minimizing the price of dinners²⁷.

In general, the following reports regarding Polish national movement were submitted to the Police Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Empire from the Kyiv Provincial Gendarmerie: “On the Polish National Society of Youth in the City of Kyiv “Polonia”, “On the Corporation of Students of Higher Education Institutions in Kyiv”, “On progressive-independent academic organization in Kyiv “Filaretsia”, “On the “Central Bureau” of Polish student organizations in Russia”, “On the “Society of Fraternal Aid of Polish Students”, “On “Economic Commission” of the Kyiv Commercial Institute, “On Kyiv Polish “Ognyvo” club”, “On “Polish Theater” in the city of Kyiv in “Ognyvo” club.

In 1913, the Kyiv Guard Department received classified information about the organization among the Poles who studied in educational institutions of

Kyiv, a group of rebels who, with the beginning of the Russo-Austrian war, were to go to Austria-Hungary and join the formations of the Polish “Sokols” being created there. One of the organizers of the group was a student of the Kyiv Commercial Institute M.A. Grodzsky, who lived at 132 Zhylianska Str.²⁸

The observations in “Ognysko” club received by the leadership of the Kyiv educational district on November 26, 1913 from “Bulba” agent, recorded the conversations between club members regarding arrival of a man from Austria-Hungary who reported on Austria’s readiness for war with Russia and on the confidence the Austrian Poles had in the support from the Russian Poles and victory in the war, “...which will give Austria the entire Polish-Lithuanian Territory, and force Russia to retreat beyond the Dniπρο”²⁹. The secret agent’s reports also mentioned the “Ognysko” library, which funds began forming at the end of 1912 with Polish and French literature. There were no Russian books in the library; there were discussions about the feasibility of subscribing to Russian periodicals and allowing Russians to attend lectures in the club.

In 1913, the leadership of the Kyiv provincial gendarmerie received information that political life in the Volyn, partially Podillya, and Lublin provinces was “at the level of calm expectation.” The attention of the Polish population was focused on rumors of a possible Russian-Austrian military conflict, and at the same time, the Poles associated their dreams of national liberation with Austria — “... the separation of the South-Western region from the Russian Empire and its inclusion into Austria, where the Poles, enjoying complete autonomy of power, would like to arrange their little Kingdom under the scepter of the Habsburgs”³⁰. The gendarmerie recorded the lack of inclination to decisive action among small landowners, poor nobles and workers, and at the same time, a rapid rise in the wave of their resistance to Russian power and struggle for their national rights was predicted in the event of the Russian-Austrian war. It was also reported about the organization of combat detachments in Galicia, who learned military art from Austrian officers with government support. “Bartash’s Detachments” were formed out of peasants, “Kilinskyi’s Detachments” — out of craftsmen, and rifle companies under the Sokol societies were formed out of the intelligentsia. The total number of these formations reached 40–50 thousand people; they were located in Silesia and Galicia. The role of periodicals, primarily those of Krakow and Lviv, was emphasized in revitalizing Polish national life in Galicia, where appeals were spread and money was collected for the “people’s fund”. In order to raise the patriotic spirit of the youth, photos of combat detachments were placed in the columns of the “News” magazine.

Secret information about the activities of the “Bartash’s Detachments” in Galicia also reached the Volyn provincial gendarmerie. According to it, the Poles aged 16–20, who were trained by Austrian officers as part of the non-

commissioned officer program, were included in detachments. The number of one detachment was at least 2 000 people. These formations were supposed to appear under Austrian flags during the Russian-Austrian war³¹.

The secret correspondence of the head of the Volyn provincial gendarmerie department with the assistant in Rivne and other districts dated January 13, 1913, talked about the formation of combat units on the territory of Austria out of the Poles who studies in the educational institutions. It was noted that under the guidance of officers, they underwent a serious course of combat training using advanced rifles. These units were assigned the task of raising a Polish armed uprising against Russia during the Russo-Austrian war. Accordingly, surveillance of the Polish population was established in the Volyn province with the aim of detecting and countering anti-Russian attitudes. Subsequently, in a letter dated January 19, 1913, the leadership of the Volyn provincial gendarmerie, referring to the chief of the Volochysk branch of the Kyiv Gendarmerie Police Department of Railways, reported on the spread of rumors among the workers of the Hvyvensk Sugar Factory that "...in the event of war between Austria and Russia, they will provide assistance to the Austrian troops, for that Austria allegedly promises to restore Poland and Little Russia"³². And the next day (January 20), the head of the Volyn provincial gendarmerie issued an order to "increase supervision over activities of Ukrainophiles" because, according to the Romanian press, on November 29, 1913, in Lviv, the National Ukrainian Committee decided to express a protest against the persecution of Ukrainians in Russia and propaganda Russian agents in Galicia, and also to fight against Russia in the event of a Russian-Austrian war³³.

The head of the Kyiv Guard Department informed in his secret report, dated January 13, 1913, the leadership of the Kyiv provincial gendarmerie about a meeting in Mr. Ratkovskyi's house in Lviv, where a decision was made to raise an uprising in the Kingdom of Poland in the event of a Russian-Austrian war.

In 1913, the Volyn provincial gendarmerie received information about the announcement in Lviv of an appeal to the Austrian Poles about the "unification of Poland" and anti-Russian speeches by a native of Warsaw, a former member of the III State Duma, R. Dmovskyi.

According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, part of the members of the "National Workers' Union" launched the "People's Peasant Union", which declared its goal to restore the Kingdom of Poland through an uprising and issued two proclamations in the Polish language. The Police Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs declared the "People's Peasant Union" a revolutionary organization, especially dangerous in the context of the worsening of Russian-Austrian relations and against the background of the hope of Polish

revolutionaries to use the probable armed conflict between Russia and Austria-Hungary to raise an uprising and restore the independence of Poland. In the letter from the Ministry of Internal Affairs with “top secret” seal dated November 11, 1913, the leadership of the Kyiv provincial gendarmerie was instructed to take measures to destroy the activity of the Union “at its very origin”³⁴.

Therefore, the documents of the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine, in particular the official correspondence of the General Staff of the Russian Empire and the Staff of the Kyiv Military District, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and provincial gendarmerie departments of the South-Western Region, documents marked “top secret” by the Kyiv Guard Department, the Office of the Kyiv, Podillya and Volyn Governor-General, etc., reflect the focus of the state bodies of the Russian Empire on gathering information about the political situation and public sentiment on the eve of the First World War in Austria-Hungary, and primarily in Galicia. After all, the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, in which Austria was defeated, pushed the Austrian government from 1867 to move to social and political transformations aimed at balancing the interests of various national and cultural communities, the prerequisites for which were created as a result of the “Springtime of Nations” in 1848–1849. In the dualistic Austro-Hungarian monarchy established in 1867, the December Constitution enshrined basic civil liberties, the equality of all citizens before the law, the rights of the peoples of the empire to develop their own cultures, to use their languages in the field of education, state institutions, and public and political activities. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, against the backdrop of an intensified interstate confrontation between Austria-Hungary and Russia, a competition of state building models became more active. Austria-Hungary itself, in the early 20th century, strengthened the idea of federalism, the transformation of a dualistic state into a trialistic one as a tool of internal political stabilization and broader provision of the rights of the Slavic peoples. And it was no accident that guard and punitive authorities of the Russian Empire focused their attention on intelligence information about the activities of the Polish Socialist Party, the creation of paramilitary organizations in Galicia, and the preparation of an anti-Russian uprising by the Poles during the expected war between Russia and Austria-Hungary. Supervision was established over the Polish population of the South-Western region, for example over large landowners — due to an appeal of the First Conspiratorial Polish Congress in Krakow to Franz Joseph I with the assurance of the readiness of the Poles to faithfully serve the Austrian government and to field rebel units in the event of the Russian-Austrian war. Discriminatory measures were taken against the cultural activities of the Poles of the South-Western region aimed at raising national self-awareness and patriotism,

schooling and national-cultural public organizations were suppressed, and monitoring of the Roman Catholic clergy was established. In view of the approach of the 50th anniversary of the January Uprising of 1863–1864, the guard and punitive bodies of the Russian Empire directed special efforts to prevent the spread in the South-West Region of actions commemorating this symbolic anniversary organized on the territory of Austria-Hungary, in particular in Lviv.

¹ Див., напр.: Віднянський С.В. Перша світова війна, проблеми національного державотворення в Центрально-Східній Європі та українське питання. *Україна в історії Європи ХІХ — початку ХХ ст.: історичні нариси*. Київ, 2020. С. 270–312.

² Баженова С., Баженов Л., Оліпер С. На пограниччі культур. Культурне і громадсько-політичне життя польського населення Правобережної України у ХІХ — на початку ХХ ст. Кам'янець-Подільський, 2020; Білобровець О. Суспільно-політичний рух поляків Правобережної України у 1863–1914 рр.: автореф. дис. ... канд. іст. наук. Київ, 2006; Буравський О. Поляки Волині у другій половині ХІХ — на початку ХХ ст. Житомир, 2004; Калакура О. Поляки в етнополітичних процесах на землях України у ХХ столітті. Київ: Знання України, 2007; Коженювський М. За Золотими ворітьми. Суспільно-культурна діяльність поляків у Києві в 1905–1920 роках. Київ: ДУХ І ЛІТЕРА, 2015; Лісевич І. У затінку двоглавого орла (польська національна меншина на Наддніпрянській Україні у другій половині ХІХ ст. — на початку ХХ ст.). Київ, 1993; Лісевич І. Духовно спрагли (духовне життя польської національної меншини на Наддніпрянській Україні в 1864–1917 рр.). Київ, 1997; Оліпер С. Громадсько-політичне життя польської меншини Правобережної України 90-х рр. ХІХ ст. — на початку ХХ ст.: автореф. дис. ... канд. іст. наук. Кам'янець-Подільський, 2016.

³ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 275. Оп. 1. Спр. 2189. Арк. 2–7.

⁴ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 275. Оп. 1. Спр. 2189. Арк. 3.

⁵ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 275. Оп. 1. Спр. 2189. Арк. 10.

⁶ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 275. Оп. 1. Спр. 2189. Арк. 11.

⁷ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 275. Оп. 1. Спр. 1988. Арк. 448.

⁸ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 301. Оп. 2. Спр. 332. Арк. 4 зв.

⁹ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 301. Оп. 2. Спр. 332. Арк. 6 зв.

¹⁰ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 301. Оп. 2. Спр. 332. Арк. 41.

¹¹ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 301. Оп. 2. Спр. 332. Арк. 44.

¹² ЦДІАК України. Ф. 301. Оп. 2. Спр. 332. Арк. 47.

¹³ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 276. Оп. 1. Спр. 402. Арк. 1.

¹⁴ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 276. Оп. 1. Спр. 402. Арк. 4.

¹⁵ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 281. Оп. 1. Спр. 511. Арк. 137.

¹⁶ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 301. Оп. 2. Спр. 332. Арк. 52; Ф. 301. Оп. 1. Спр. 3167. Арк. 17.

¹⁷ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 301. Оп. 1. Спр. 3167. Арк. 38.

¹⁸ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 301. Оп. 1. Спр. 3167. Арк. 38–38 зв.

¹⁹ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 1262. Оп. 2. Спр. 44. Арк. 53–53 зв.; Ф. 301. Оп. 2Е. Спр. 420. Арк. 173 зв.

²⁰ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 301. Оп. 2. Спр. 332. Арк. 77.

²¹ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 301. Оп. 2Е. Спр. 421. Арк. 267–267 зв.

- ²² ЦДІАК України. Ф. 274. Оп. 4. Спр. 206. Арк. 4.
²³ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 274. Оп. 4. Спр. 205. Арк. 32.
²⁴ Ustawa Kijowskiego Polskiego Towarzystwa Miłośników Sztuki. Kijów, 1907. S. 3–4.
²⁵ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 274. Оп. 1. Спр. 3136. Арк. 14.
²⁶ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 274. Оп. 1. Спр. 3136. Арк. 123–124.
²⁷ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 274. Оп. 5. Спр. 14. Арк. 43–43 зв.
²⁸ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 274. Оп. 5. Спр. 14. Арк. 5–5 зв.
²⁹ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 274. Оп. 1. Спр. 3136. Арк. 35.
³⁰ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 274. Оп. 1. Спр. 3136. Арк. 64.
³¹ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 1600. Оп. 1. Спр. 441.
³² ЦДІАК України. Ф. 1600. Оп. 1. Спр. 441. Арк. 118.
³³ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 1600. Оп. 1. Спр. 441. Арк. 128.
³⁴ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 274. Оп. 1. Спр. 3136. Арк. 104; ЦДІАК України. Ф. 274. Оп. 5. Спр. 14. Арк. 2.

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