Acta Poloniae Historica 32, 1975

General History in Polish Historiography 1945-1974

Wiktoria Śliwowska

RUSSIA FROM 1815 TO 1914

The history of Russia in the 19th and early 20th century became rather late a subject of interest of Polish historiography. No wonder, for the rest. The time perspective was not far enough to allow studies of that period. Until the regaining of independence, taking up these problems presented considerable difficulties for two reasons: firstly, there was no access to the sources, secondly, in the Russian-held part of Poland, one had to take into account the requirements of the Tsarist authorities as regards the interpretation of the recent past of the Russian Empire. The only work devoted to Russia or, strictly speaking, to the history of the Russian revolutionary movement, was published in Lvov in the years 1909–1911, and its author was Ludwik Kulczycki,¹ the well-known socialist leader. Most Polish publications dealing with Russia in that period, appearing both at home and in emigration, were of topical journalistic character.

This situation did not change radically in the two interwar decades. The works by Polish historians (even by those of leftist opinions) concentrated on problems of the history of Poland and

¹ L. Kulczycki, Rewolucja Rosyjska [The Russian Revolution], vol. I: Od dekabrystów do wędrówki w lud, 1825–1870 [From the Decembrists to the Entry amidst the People, 1825–1870], vol. II: Od wędrówki w lud do upadku "Narodnej Woli" [From the Entry amidst the People to the Fall of "Narodnaja Volja"], Lwów 1909–1911.

only indirectly touched upon matters related to the history of the powerful neighbour - for the most part only to such extent as they had something to do with Poland's history. Journalism continued to predominate and even Jan Kucharzewski's voluminous work,² based on rich source material (printed) did not avoid that journalistic character. A definite political tendency which found expression already in the title of his book, gave it the flavour of a lampoon aimed at discrediting the entire Russian revolutionary movement and its leaders in the eyes of the public. One should add that this lampoon was written knowingly and made use comprehensively of the rich literature of the subject, including the then most recent Soviet publications; this accounts for the fact that those interested have been reaching for this work up to the present. Kucharzewski's book cannot be left out, if only because it was the first Polish attempt to look at Russia's modern history as a whole, at the transformations taking place there, and to answer the question what were the sources of "Russian maximalism" which, according to the author, led in consequence to the revolution of October 1917.

If we leave out the brief compendium by Feliks Koneczny who settled the entire 19th century on sixty pages.³ Kucharzewski's voluminous work remains the only Polish study from that period, devoted to the history of Russia *sensu stricto*. To other Polish historians, the history of Russia was exclusively a background against which the dramatic destinies of the Poles were projected; it remained, so to say, on the margin of their basic research interests. The existing linkage between our own history and that of Russia accounted for the fact that this aspect of our past must have indirectly penetrated into works on the history of Poland, of the Polish national-liberation movement, etc. This can be illustrated e.g. by Szymon Askenazy's excellent monograph on Walerian Łukasiński: the essay it contains on the organization and mechanism of action of the secret police under the reign of

² J. Kucharzewski, Od białego caratu do czerwonego [From the White to the Red Tsardom], vols. I-VII, Warszawa 1926-1935.

³ F. Koneczny, Dzieje Rosji. Od najdawniejszych do najnowszych czasów [History of Russia. From the Most Ancient to the Most Recent Times], Warszawa 1921.

Alexander I⁴ is the most comprehensive to be found in historical literature, not only Polish.

This set of interests of Polish historians has persisted to the present day. Almost every work dealing with the history of the Russian-ruled part of Poland, the Tsarist policy in those territories, the independence movement and the methods of fighting it, touches one way or another upon the history of the Russian Empire, the current policy of the authorities in St. Petersburg, the internal situation in Russia, etc., etc. This is why the output of Polish historiography in the field under discussion is not confined to works devoted exclusively to Russian matters; it includes also fragmentary monographs dealing in principle with the history of Poland but in many cases unexpectedly adding to our knowledge of the history of the Empire, the internal policy of Tsarism and the factors that determined it (e.g. the monograph on Grand Duke Constantine by Irena Koberdowa, or Franciszka Ramotowska's study on the Tsarist policy in the Congress Kingdom of Poland on the eve of the January Rising⁵) or works on general history like Henryk Wereszycki's book on the alliance of three emperors.⁶

The situation is similar as regards some of our publications of sources: e.g. the Reports of a Spy published by Rafal Gerber⁷ (the reports of Julian-Albert Bałaszewicz-Potocki, foreign agent of the 3rd Division) is not only a contribution to the history of the Polish emigration and to the ways of penetrating it by the Tsarist authorities but also a truly sensational material throwing light on the formation of Tsarist secret police, its branches abroad, its working methods, etc. The introduction written by the editor, Professor Rafał Gerber of the Warsaw University, is at

⁴ S. Askenazy, Łukasiński, vol. I, Warszawa 1929, pp. 322-377.
⁵ I. Koberdowa, Wielki Książę Konstanty w Warszawie 1862-1863 [The Grand Duke Constantine in Warsaw 1862-1863], Warszawa 1962. F. Ramotowska, Rząd carski wobec manifestacji patriotycznych w la-tach 1860–1862 [The Tsarist Government in the Face of Patriotic Manifestations in the Years 1860–1862], Wrocław 1971. ⁶ H. Wereszycki, Sojusz trzech cesarzy [The Alliance of Three

Emperors], Warszawa 1965.

⁷ A. Potocki, (Julian Aleksander Bałaszewicz), Raporty szpiega [Reports of a Spy], selected, edited and preceded by an introductory study by Rafał Gerber, translated by W. Śliwowska, vols. I-II, Warszawa 1973.

the same time one of the most exhaustive essays in historical literature on the history of Tsarist police provocations in the 19th century, prior to the notorious Azef affair; one can hardly imagine any work on the internal policy of Tsarism that would leave this publication out of account. Of paramount importance for the characterization of Alexander II and of Russia's internal policy in the first period of his reign, on the other hand, are the volumes of correspondence of the Governors-General; those --unlike the Bałaszewicz reports, translated into Polish - are being published in the language of the originals, i.e. in Russian and French.8

A bibliographic list compiled by Mirosław Wierzchowski⁹ and comprising all the "Rossica" in the works of Polish historians in the years 1914-1966, shows that in respect of quantity, material of journalistic and popular character continued to predominate in those publications. As regards scholarly research, it concentrated at first above all on problems of Polish-Russian relations; coming to the fore were studies devoted to the traditions of cooperation in the struggle against Tsarism, i.e. dealing with that particular aspect of those relations which previously - for reasons easy to understand — had been almost totally left out in historical works.

A whole series of studies on these subjects, dealing chiefly with Polish-Russian revolutionary relations, was started with Józef Kowalski's book on the attitude of Russian revolutionary democrats towards the January Rising¹⁰ and Leon Baumgarten's monograph 11 devoted to the relations of the Decembrists with Polish secret organizations. However, in view of the absence in

⁸ See: Korespondencja namiestników Królestwa Polskiego 1861–1864 [Correspondence of the Governors-General of the Kingdom of Poland 1861– 1864], ed. by S. Kieniewicz and I. Miller, vol. I — Wrocław 1964; vol. II — 1973; (vol. III — now in printing, vol. IV — under preparation). Series: Powstanie styczniowe. Materiały i dokumenty [January Rising. Materials and Documents].

⁹ M. Wierzchowski, Historia Rosji i ZSRR (1795-1939) w pracach historyków polskich. Zestawienie bibliograficzne 1944-1966 [The History of Russia and the USSR — 1795-1939 — in the Works by Polish Historians. A Bibliographic List 1944-1966]. Warszawa 1968.

¹⁰ First edition: Warszawa 1949; Second, complemented edition: War-

szawa 1955. ¹¹ L. Baumgarten, Dekabryści a Polska [The Decembrists and

the reading market of basic works on the history of Russia in that period, the historian — while dealing with problems of his main interest — was compelled to present also a comprehensive picture of the general social and political conditions under which that cooperation was taking place. These works performed therefore at the same time a purely informative function — and the above-mentioned book by L. Baumgarten provides an example thereof: after all, it contained a characterization of secret organizations in the first quarter of the 19th century, of their ideological profile, programmes, the successive stages of their evolution and, finally, the place that contacts with the Patriotic Society had in their plans. Likewise, J. Kowalski's book offered an outline of the revolutionary movement in Russia in the 1860s, the figures of its leaders, etc. (These editions were, as a rule, accompanied by publications of source material ¹²). The monograph by Baumgarten was based almost exclusively on printed sources; the author revaluated them and, at the same time, summed up the historical knowledge existing in the field discussed. The shortcoming of this book — like of many works written in those years — consisted in a certain onesidedness, in bringing out and emphasizing the traditions of cooperation and, at the same time, leaving out everything that might be even in the least at variance with the main thesis. This is why, in spite of a considerable number of popular publications, several treatises in scholarly periodicals¹⁸ and relevant chapters or parts of chapters in the

¹² E.g. as regards the Decembrists' movement, several such selections have been published: Dekabryści [The Decembrists], ed. by W. Bortnowski, Warszawa 1952; Dekabryści. Wybór pism [The Decembrists. Selected Writings], ed. by H. Batowski, Wrocław 1957; particularly valuable is the three-volume edition Pamiętniki dekabrystów [Memoirs of the Decembrists], the 3rd volume containing the most comprehensive anthology of Polish voices about Decembrists: Sprawy dekabrystowskie w pamiętnikarstwie polskim [Problems of Decembrists in Polish Memoirs], selected and annotated by W. Zawadzki, Warszawa 1960. ¹³ Such as: Z. Młynarski, Z dziejów dekabrystów [From the His-

¹³ Such as: Z. Młynarski, Z dziejów dekabrystów [From the History of the Decembrists], "Kwartalnik Instytutu Polsko-Radzieckiego", 1953, No. 4, pp. 136–159; G. Missalowa, O stosunkach polskiego Towarzystwa Patriotycznego z dekabrystami [On the Relations between the Polish Patriotic Society and the Decembrists], "Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego", 1958, No. 11, pp. 59–71; J. Łojek, Z odgłosów buntu pułku siemionowskiego [Echoes of the Mutiny of the Semionov Regiment]. "Slavia Orientalis", 1959, No. 2/3, pp. 129–138; L. Bazylow, Idea federacji słowiańskiej w programie Stowarzyszenia Zjednoczonych Słowian

various monographs,¹⁴ we are still in need of a Polish book on the Decembrists, based on comprehensive source material.

While the history of the Decembrists' movement is still waiting for a comprehensive Polish monographic study based on broad archival research, the problems outlined by J. Kowalski were taken up by numerous authors; detailed research carried on for many years both in the Soviet Union and in Poland shed exceptionally much light on these matters. A systematic archival inquiry conducted by a numerous team of research workers archivists and historians of the two countries — yielded fruit in the form of the edition in many volumes of sources relative to the history of the January Rising;¹⁵ it brought truly sensational material concerning the history of Polish-Russian relations in the 19th century, and any historian analyzing the internal policy of the Russian Empire under the reign of Alexander II, must reach for these documents.

It should be added at this point that the first attempts of a new interpretation of Polish-Russian relations on the eve and during the January Rising were undertaken in the years 1953-1957 by the group of historians at the Polish-Soviet Institute,

¹⁴ S. Askenazy, Łukasiński, vols. I-II, pp. as indicated in the index; J. Łojek, Studia nad prasą i opinią publiczną w Królestwie Polskim 1815-1830 [Studies on the Press and Public Opinion in the Kingdom of Poland 1815-1830], Warszawa 1966, pp. 170-212; H. Dylągowa, Towarzystwo Patriotyczne i Sąd Sejmowy 1821-1829 [The Patriotic Society and the Seym Court 1821-1829], Warszawa 1970, pp. 171-213.

¹⁵ Powstanie styczniowe. Materiały i dokumenty [The January Rising. Materials and Documents], published since 1961 by the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Slavistic and Balkan Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, and the Central Administrations of Archives of Poland and the USSR. Among the dozen or so volumes published so far, of particular importance to the subjects under discussion here are — apart from the already mentioned correspondence of the Governors-General — the volumes devoted to Współpraca rewolucyjna polsko-rosyjska [The Polish-Russian Revolutionary Cooperation], vols. I-II, Moskva 1963.

[[]The Idea of Slav Federation in the Programme of the United Slavs' Association], in: Z polskich studiów slawistycznych, Series 3, Historia, Warszawa 1868, pp. 137-147 (this article, devoted to the ideological harbingership of that Decembrist organization, engages in polemics with certain theses of G. Luciani's monograph La société des Slaves Unis, published in Bordeaux in 1963); M. Dylągowa, Towarzystwo Patriotyczne a dekabryści [The Patriotic Society and the Decembrists], in: Związki rewolucjonistów polskich i rosyjskich w XIX wieku. Materiały sesji naukowej Poznań, 12-14 listopad, 1970, ed. by W. Śliwowska, Wrocław 1972, pp. 35-52.

under the leadership of Professors Zygmunt Młynarski and Ludwik Bazylow. An inquiry conducted in Polish archives resulted in the monograph by Piotr Łossowski and Zygmunt Młynarski on the participation of Russians, Byelorussians and Ukrainians in the January Rising,¹⁶ in a number of essays published in "Kwartalnik Instytutu Polsko-Radzieckiego", and in the volume Z dziejów współpracy rewolucyjnej Polaków i Rosjan w drugiej polowie XIX wieku [From the History of the Revolutionary Cooperation of Poles and Russians in the Second Half of the 19th Century], published in Wrocław in 1956. That volume was the first summing-up of the research work undertaken by that group of historians; after the liquidation of the Institute, they dispersed, with some of them carrying on the research thus started, others abandoning it. The research initiated at that time, had generated later works on the Polish contacts of the Sungurov circle at the Moscow University,¹⁷ on the activities of Poles among members of the Išutin movement,¹⁸ and others. It was also there that the first Polish research in the history of the Russian narodniki movement was initiated. At first, it was studied mainly from the Polish angle, i.e. as regards the participation of Polish youth in this movement;¹⁹ later on, the efforts of our

¹⁶ P. Łossowski, Z. Młynarski, Rosjanie, Białorusini i Ukraińcy w powstaniu styczniowym [Russians, Byelorussians and Ukrainians in the January Rising], Wrocław 1959. ¹⁷ B. Andraka, Kółko Sungurowa i polski aspekt jego działalności

[The Sungurov Circle and the Polish Aspect of its Activities], "Slavia Orientalis", 1961, No. 3, pp. 377-394. ¹⁸ A. Korzon, Kółko Iszutyńców i polski aspekt jego działalności [The Ishutin Circle and the Polish Aspect of Its Activities], "Zeszyty Historyczne Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego", Warszawa 1960, pp. 92-135. ¹⁹ E.g. the articles published in the volume Z dziejów współpracy re-wolucyjnej Polaków i Rosjan w drugiej połowie XIX wieku [From the Witten of the Deschiftmenergien of Polce and Russiane in the

History of the Revolutionary Cooperation of Poles and Russians in the Second Half of the 19th Century]: Udział Polaków i Rosjan w rewolucyj-nym ruchu narodnickim lat 70-tych XIX wieku [The Participation of Poles and Russians in the Revolutionary Narodniki Movement of the 1870s] by W. Śliwowska; Kobiety polskie w rosyjskim ruchu rewolucyjnym w latach 70-tych XIX stulecia [Polish Women in the Russian Revolutionary Movement in the 1870s] by M. Wawrykowa, Udział Polaków w pierwszych organizacjach robotniczych w Rosji [The Participation of Poles in the First Working-Class Organizations in Russia] by T. M. Borowski; see also: M. Wawrykowa, Rewolucyjni narodnicy a ruch narodowowyzwoleńczy Polaków i Słowian południowych [The Revolutionary Narodniki and the National-Liberation Movement of Pcles and Southern Slavs], in: Z polskich studiów slawistycznych, Series 3, Historia, Warszawa 1968, pp. 165-177.

[[]The Sungurov Circle and the Polish Aspect of Its Activities], "Slavia

scholars concentrated on the history of the movement itself which found expression in the publication of two monographs: by Maria Wawrykowa and by L. Bazylow.²⁰ It is worth noting that these works were written at a time when practically nobody in our camp was yet studying the narodniki movement of the 1870s and 1880s, and when prevailing in Marxist literature were theories belittling or downright negating the importance of that stage in the Russian social movement. The historical problems presented in these books found a peculiar and most useful complement in the anthology of social thought of the Russian narodniki movement, prepared by Andrzej Walicki.²¹ The novelty value of these monographs consisted, above all, in the fact that they reached for problems which had been left aside for several decades and brought back events and matters at one time widely known, later on forgotten, passed over in silence or interpreted onesidedly. The new source material used there (thanks to gaining access to Soviet archives) yielded at most minor rectifications: it was not it that determined the cognitive value of those studies (which, for the rest, was pointed out by the reviewers²²). Sometimes even — like in the case of L. Bazylow's monograph dealing with the Activities of the Russian narodniki movement in the Years 1878-1881 - the impossibility of taking in the entire source material, extremely abundant, would lead the author astray, e.g. by making him believe that the participation of Polish youth in that movement was negligible. This conclusion provoked polemics²⁸ and the dispute was closed with the publication, nine years later, of the book by the Soviet historian Trifon G. Snytko²⁴ who demonstrated irrefutably the massive partici-

158

²⁰ M. Wawrykowa, Rewolucyjne narodnictwo w latach 70-tych XX wieku [The Revolutionary Narodniki Movement in the 1870s], War-szawa 1963; L. Bazylow, Działalność narodnictwa rosyjskiego w la-tach 1878–1881 [The Activity of the Russian Narodniki Movement in the Years 1878-1881], Wrocław 1960.

²¹ See: Filozofia społeczna narodnictwa rosyjskiego [The Social Philo-sophy of the Russian Narodniki Movement]. Selected writings. Selection, introduction and notes by A. Walicki, vols. I-II, Warszawa 1965.

²² See e.g. the review by S. Kieniewicz in "Przegląd Historyczny". 1961, No. 3, pp. 627-29.

 ²³ L. Baumgarten, "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 1961, No. 3.
 ²⁴ T. G. Snytko, Russkoe Narodničestvo i polskoe obščestvennoe dviženie 1865-1881 godov, Moskwa 1969.

pation of Polish students — and not only students — in the narodniki circles in those times. Apart from these scholarly monographs, the Polish reading public received at the same time a popular outline of the narodniki activities, written by L. Baumgarten,²⁵ for many years a researcher of the history of the first "Proletariat" organization and of its ties with the "Narodnaja Volja." 26

While in the works of L. Bazylow and M. Wawrykowa on the Russian narodniki movement, the Polish aspect was but a minor margin and was not in the main focus of the authors' interests, the two monographs devoted to Alexander Herzen and to Mihail Bakunin were concentrated on these two leaders' contacts and plans relating to the Polish problem: Adam Leśniewski's work Bakunin and the Polish Problems,²⁷ published in 1962 by the Łódź Scientific Society, made the Polish reading public realize how little we know about that colourful and controversial figure still waiting for a Polish biographer; the book by Genowefa Kurpisowa²⁸ was the first attempt at a comprehensive presentation of the evolution of Alexander Herzen's relations with the Polish emigration (previously, these matters had been the subject of fragmentary articles dealing with various aspects of those contacts, as was the case in the publications by Andrzej Ślisz,²⁹

skiej prasie emigracyjnej i konspiracyjnej lat 1859-1864 [The Co-operation of Polish and Russian Progressive Forces in the Polish Emigre and Underground Press of the Years 1859–1864], in: Z dziejów współpracy rewolucyjnej Polaków i Rosjan w drugiej połowie XIX wieku, pp. 9-70.

²⁵ L. Baumgarten, Marzyciele i carobójcy [Dreamers and Killers

of Tsars], Warszawa 1960. ²⁶ L. Baumgarten, Dzieje Wielkiego Proletariatu [The History of the Great Proletariat], Warszawa 1960.

²⁷ A. Leśniewski, Bakunin a sprawy polskie w okresie Wiosny Ludów i powstania styczniowego [Bakunin and the Polish Problems in the Period of the Springtime of Nations and of the January Rising], Łódź 1962.

²⁸ G. Kurpisowa, Aleksander Hercen a emigracja polska w la-tach 1847–1870 [Alexander Herzen and the Polish Emigration in the Years 1847-1870], Gdańsk 1964. See also, by the same author, Z zagadnień stosunku emigracji rosyjskiej do sprawy polskiej po powstaniu stycznio-wym [On the Attitude of the Russian Emigration towards the Polish Problem after the January Rising], "Gdańskie Zeszyty Humanistyczne", Historia, 1965, No. 5, pp. 131-152; "Dzień" i "Kołokoł" — polemika w sprawie polskiej (na marginesie odnalezionego rekopisu Hercena), ["Den" and "Kolokol" — a Polemic over the Polish Problem; in Connection with a Recovered Herzen Manuscript], "Gdańskie Zeszyty Humanistyczne", Filo-logia Rosyjska, 1967, No. 1, pp. 55-64. ²⁹ A. Ślisz, Współpraca polskich i rosyjskich sił postępowych w pol-

Henryk Wereszycki,³⁰ Irena Koberdowa,³¹ and other authors). Alexander Herzen had for a long time fascinated Polish scholars as a thinker, writer and social and political leader, just because the Polish problem played so essential a role in his writings. A complete bibliography of Polish works and publications devoted to Herzen is contained in the newest book on him,³² a biography published in the "Ludzie żywi" [Living People] series, based both on all publications about Iskander that have so far appeared, and on the authors' own research. The latest Polish scholarly work devoted to the Russian liberation movement is The Case of the Petrasevski Circle;⁴⁰ it contains a characterization of underground opposition circles in Russia under Nicholas I, and of the most important among them, the circle of Mihail Butaševič-Petraševski which had for a long time attracted the attention of scholars and readers because of the participation in it of Feodor Dostoevski.

Apart from monographic studies, there also appeared in Poland the first synthetical outlines of the history of Russia, written by L. Bazylow, professor of the Warsaw University. He is the author of three compendia:³⁴ a popular essay *Russian History in the 19th and 20th Centuries, History of Russia* from the prehistoric period to the victory of the October Revolution, containing a concise and clear exposition of the economic, social and political history of the country, and *History of Russia*, 1801– 1917. The textbook character of these publications determined a

³⁰ H. Wereszycki, Stosunki Hotelu Lambert z Hercenem i Bakuninem w przededniu powstania styczniowego [The Contacts of Hotel Lambert with Herzen and Bakunin on the Eve of the January Rising], "Przegląd Historyczny", vol. XLIX, 1957, pp. 234-264.

⁸¹ I. Koberdowa, Walka czartoryszczyzny przeciwko sojuszowi polskich i rosyjskich rewolucjonistów w czasie powstania styczniowego [The Struggle of the Czartoryski Camp against the Alliance of Polish and Russian Revolutionaries at the Time of the January Rising], in: Z epoki Mickiewicza, Wrocław 1956, pp. 214-239.

⁸² W. and R. Śliwowski, Aleksander Hercen [Alexander Herzen], Warszawa 1973, pp. 608-624.

³³ W. Śliwowska, Sprawa pietraszewców [The Case of the Pietraševski Circle], Warszawa 1964.

⁸⁴ L. Bazylow, Historia Rosji XIX i XX w. do roku 1917 [History of Russia in the 19th and 20th Century up to 1917], Warszawa 1965, The "Omega" Series, 204 pp.; the same author, Historia Rosji [History of Russia], Wrocław 1969; Dzieje Rosji, 1801-1917 [History of Russia, 1801-1917], Warszawa 1970.

specific way of handling the material: the presentation had to be brief and details had to be sacrificed for the sake of a synthesis; the author was not able to indulge in his individual interests and unconventional judgments. Even in these works, however, the author did not keep off controversial matters, differently interpreted by historians. Among those, doubts must be aroused by the obvious attempt to vindicate the good name of Nečaev and his followers as revolutionary leaders.³⁵ This, apparently a minor question, seems quite important in view of the character of these books: after all, they are to serve as basic manuals from which the Polish readers shall draw information on Russia's past, and the attitude towards the Nečaev traditions is by no means a marginal matter in that past.

Beside the scientfic or popular syntheses by L. Bazylow, there appeared in the "Światowid" series *Pages from the History of Russia* by M. Wierzchowski,³⁶ covering the period from the reign of Paul I to the outbreak of the February Revolution, and in the "Library of Historical Knowledge", the monograph on the epoch of Emperor Nicholas I³⁷ where the main emphasis has been laid on the characterization of the social image of Russia, and of the methods of ruling the country, as well as on the formation and various manifestations of anti-despotic opposition. The successive stages of development of the revolutionary movement in Russia in the "pre-Marxist" period and up to 1917 have been characterized synthetically in the brief outlines by W. Bułat and L. Bazylow.³⁸

⁸⁵ In the book Działalność narodnictwa rosyjskiego [The Activities of the Russian Narodniki Movement], the author maintained that "the history of Nečaev has been incorrectly interpreted to the detriment of the history of the revolutionary movement and it fully deserves to be scientifically interpreted anew" (pp. 205-208), thus solidarizing with the position of D. Kuzmin (K Voprosu o reabilitacii Nečaeva, "Katorga i Ssylka", 1927, vol. XXXII). Nečaev has been characterized in a similar spirit in the two Histories of Russia (see Note 34 above) — pp. 289-290 and 314, respectively. The Polish aspect of the Nečaev case has been dealt with by M. W a wrykowa, in: Polacy a sprawa Nieczajewa [The Poles and the Nečaev Case], "Przegląd Historyczny", 1964, No. 4, pp. 660-668.

Case], "Przegląd Historyczny", 1964, No. 4, pp. 660-668. ³⁶ M. Wierzchowski, Kartki z dziejów Rosji [Pages from the History of Russia], Part 1 and 2, Warszawa 1965.

³⁷ W. Sliwowska, Mikołaj I i jego czasy 1825–1855 [Nicholas I and His Times 1825–1855], Warszawa 1965.

⁸⁸ W. Bułat, Zaryś dziejów przedmarkistowskiego ruchu rewolucyj-

The works by Bazylow, Wawrykowa, Wierzchowski and Śliwowska were the first studies in Polish historiography devoted to the history of Russia in the 19th and early 20th century as such, and dealing with its Polish aspects only marginally, and not the other way round, as it had previously been done. It must be said, however, that those were efforts of a group of historians not only very small to begin with but dwindling all the time (which, for the rest, is true of historians of the 19th century in general): Assistant professor Wawrykowa is at present working almost exclusively at the history of Germany, and the scholarly career of M. Wierzchowski was terminated by his untimely death. Even the occupants of chairs of history of the USSR in many university centres (e.g. Cracow, Łódź) are, above all, students of Polish history and the history of Russia is merely their additional speciality. Even a cursory perusal of the bibliography in this field shows that no new names are to be found, that young people do not engage in research of that period of Russian history. Reigning almost undividedly over this field is Professor Bazylow who, from year to year, produces new important and interesting monographs; he works in solitude and practically has no successors: his pupils, as a rule, take up related fields but leave the modern history of Russia to their master as a sort of reserved area.

I. Bazylow's historical monographs — excellently prepared from the editorial point of view, too: with all the indispensable and carefully prepared indexes, auxiliary diagrams, rich illustrations — can be recognized as lasting achievements of Polish historiography in the field under review. Thanks to his books published recently,³⁰ the history of Russia in the 19th and early 20th century is presented to us comprehensively and in an

162

nego w Rosji [Outline History of Pre-Marxist Revolutionary Movement in Russia], Warszawa 1964; L. Bazylow, Szkice z dziejów ruchu rewolucyjnego w Rosji [Essays from the History of Revolutionary Movement in Russia], Warszawa 1968.

³⁹ L. Bazylow, Polityka wewnętrzna caratu i ruchy społeczne w Rosji na początku XX wieku [The Tsarist Internal Policy and the Social Movements in the Early 20th-Century Russia], Warszawa 1966; by the same author, Ostatnie lata Rosji carskiej. Rządy Stołypina [The Last Years of Tsarist Russia. The Stolypin Rule], Warszawa 1971, and the latest one: Społeczeństwo rosyjskie w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku [Russian Society in the First Half of the 19th Century], Warszawa 1973.

interesting light. Contrary to what one might expect, the history of Russia at the turn of the 19th to 20th century has been very little explored by historians: apart from the history of the working-class movement and the Revolution of 1905, scholarly works concerning that period are scarce — we find more white spots than matters thoroughly cleared, more journalism than serious studies. Hence, the significance of L. Bazylow's achievements — pioneer in more than one sense. In his work, he was aware that he had to do with "material huge in quantity, much diversified in quality, with problems that are many-sided, complex and important", that all this "calls for a constant improvement of research methods, for new approaches and new attempts to overcome difficulties".40 It is enough to look at the bibliography listed conscientiously at the end of each work and study carefully the apparatus of the author's notes, to find that each of these monographs brings a new approach, presents new material and problems which so far either have not been discussed at all or have been characterized in a superficial and onesided manner. Another merit of all the three monographs consists in an exceptionally wide range of source literature used and critically appraised: it comprises publications appearing literally in all corners of the world, irrespective of the political orientation of their authors. Obviously, the knowledge of the literature of the subject is one of the historian's basic obligations and an integral element of his research apparatus, so that such merits of a work need not be mentioned at all; yet in practice, one can seldom find in studies dealing with analogical problems so exhaustive information on the current state of research in the given field of historical knowledge.

This information value of L. Bazylow's works must not be underestimated although it goes without saying that some of his opinions and criteria of assessment may give rise to factual polemics. The present paper, however, is not a proper place for it: we present a review of Polish works on the history of Russia from 1815 to 1914, and do not enter into discussion with the

⁴⁰ L. Bazylow, Polityka wewnętrzna caratu i ruchy społeczne w Rosji na początku XX wieku [The Tsarist Internal Policy and the Social Movements in Russia at the Beginning of the 20th Century], Warszawa 1966, p. 36.

various opinions of the authors of monographic studies but refer those interested to professional literature where polemic judgments can easily be found in critical reviews. As regards the latest book Russian Society in the First Half of the 19th Century, we have engaged in such a discussion in the columns of "Przeglad Historyczny;"⁴¹ certain statements contained in the monograph on Stolypin (e.g. concerning peasant community) have been challenged by Roman Wojna⁴² in his otherwise very favourable review, etc., etc. In these monographs (especially in the book on Stolypin's rule which actually is an excellently written biography of this distinguished statesman), the author has avoided many over-simplifications typical of works which are either of hagiographic character or else carry their criticism to absurdity. He shows his hero - bo no means a positive one! - against the background of contemporary parties, trends and coteries, without blurring the differences among them, without identifying the Black Hundred with the Octobrists or the Constitutional Democrats, and presents the complex picture of social relations in the tense internal situation of the country, with the revolutionary tide rising and dropping. On the pages of The Last Years of Tsarist Russia, there appears a whole pleiad of figures, once renowned, today forgotten: cheats and frauds, fanatics and maniacs, political and social leaders of smaller and greater calibre, members of the Tsar's court and family. This fascinating kaleidoscope of people and events of more than half a century ago, bringing back to life the atmosphere towards the end of the reign of the last of the Romanovs, is not the work of a memoirist but of a historian who performs a severe selection of facts (although he is partial to anecdotes, too) and who skilfully finds his way amidst the multitude of events, draft reforms and their implementation, explosions of terrorists' bombs and the hum of debates in the Duma. To those who wish to understand that epoch and its principal figures — it is indispensable reading.43

 [&]quot;Przegląd Historyczny", LXV, 1974.
 Studia z dziejów ZSRR i Europy Środkowej [Studies in the History] of the USSR and of Central Europe], vol. IX, Warszawa 1973, pp. 210-214. ⁴³ The bibliography of L. Bazylow's works dealing with the history of Russia from 1815 to 1914 is much more extensive: from among

The achievements of Polish historiography in research on the history of Russia can thus be noted in two direction: on the one hand, in taking up - together with Soviet historians - the vast problems of mutual relations of the two nations, on the other hand, in exploring the so far less known areas of that history which have not yet become the subject of thorough studies. Representative of these two directions of scholarly research, are -apart from those already mentioned - such publications as Władysław Bortnowski's Powstanie listopadowe Professor w oczach Rosjan [The November Rising as Seen by Russians],⁴⁴ the volume containing papers and statements in the discussion by participants of the scholarly session devoted to: Zwiazki rewolucjonistów polskich i rosyjskich w XIX wieku [Contacts of Polish and Russian Revolutionaries in the 19th Century],⁴⁵ the monographs and treatises by M. Wierzchowski and Z. Łukawski devoted to the State Duma,46 analyzing that institution from the

the many papers, publications, chapters in collective works, etc., we have cited only the most important ones.

⁴⁴ W. Bortnowski, Powstanie listopadowe w oczach Rosjan [The November Rising as Seen by Russians], "Prace Instytutu Historii Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego", No. 10, Warszawa 1964. See also, by the same author, the interesting article Aleksander Pogodin jako popularyzator historii Polski i "spraw polskich" w Rosji w latach 1901–1915 [Alexander Pogodin as a Popularizer of the History of Poland and of "Polish Problems" in Russia in the Years 1901–1915], "Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego", Series 1, No. 30, 1963, pp. 139–156.

⁴⁵ In addition to the already mentioned paper by H. Dylągowa (see note 13), the volume contains the following papers by Polish historians: B. Lopuszański, Spisek Szymona Konarskiego a rosyjski ruch rewolucyjny [Szymon Konarski's Conspiracy and the Russian Revolutionary Movement]; S. Kieniewicz, Rewolucyjny sojusz polsko-rosyjski w dobie powstania styczniowego [The Polish-Russian Revolutionary Alliance at the Time of the January Rising]; W. Sliwowska, Pierwsi rosyjscy emigranci polityczni i ich stosunek do kwestii polskiej [The First Russian Political Emigrés and Their Attitude Towards the Polish Problem]; J. W. Borejsza, O stosunkach polsko-rosyjskich na wychodźstwie po r. 1863 [On Polish-Russian Relations in Emigration after 1863]; M. Wawrykowa, Pierwsi socjaliści polscy a narodnicy rosyjscy [The First Polish Socialists and the Russian Narodniki]. It is also worth noting that a volume of scientific papers Kraków-Kijów [Cracow-Kiev] devoted to Polish-Ukrainian relations in that epoch and edited by A. Podraza, was published in Cracow in 1969.

⁴⁶ M. Wierzchowski, Sprawy polskie w III Dumie Państwowej 1907-1912 [Polish Problems in the 3rd State Duma 1907-1912], "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 1963, No. 1, pp. 405-426; by the same author, Kwestia polska w rosyjskiej prasie liberalnej [The Polish Problem in the Russian Liberal Press], in: "Studia z dziejów ZSRR i Europy Wschodniej", vol. I, 1965, pp. 164-194; by the same author, Sprawa chełmszczyzny w

angle of the debates in it over the Polish problem and of the attitude of the various representatives towards that problem, or Z. Łukawski's book reconstructing the participation of Poles in the Russian social-democratic circles in St. Petersburg and in the provinces, and the reception of Polish socialist literature in Russia, its importance and influence in the years 1883-1895;47 on the other hand, such monographs as Mieczysław Tanty's on Pan-Slavism, or Wiktoria Śliwowska's on Herzen predecessors.⁴⁸ The latter book, based on new source material, deals with the beginnings of Russian emigration and its main representatives in the middle of the 19th century, leaders and writers little known in literature, such as Ivan Golovin, Nicolai Turgenev and Nicolai Sazonov, or converts like Vladimir Pečerin and Ivan Gagarin. M. Tanty devoted his book to the Slav Congress of 1867; he described in detail the preparations to the Congress, outlined the figures of its organizers and participants, reconstructed the polemics over the programme, the clashes over the various statements; he also used rich material which had so far remained outside the scholars' range of view. The scholarly interests of M. Tanty have lately concentrated on the Russian policy in the Balkans; he has devoted to these problems two monographs 49

rosyjskiej Dumie Państwowej [The Problem of Chełm in the Russian State Duma], "Przegląd Historyczny", vol. LVII, 1966, pp. 97–125; by the same author, Taktyka partii kadeckiej w rosyjskiej Dumie Państwowej [The Tactics of the Constitutional-Democratic Party in the Russian State Duma], "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 1966, No. 4, pp. 849–859; by the same author, Sprawy Polski w III i IV Dumie Państwowej [The Problems of Poland in the 3rd and 4th State Duma], Warszawa 1966; Z. Łukawski, Koło polskie w rosyjskiej Dumie Państwowej w latach 1906–1909 [The Polish Circle in the Russian State Duma in the lears 1906-1909], Wrocław 1967; by the same author, Rosyjskie ugrupowania polityczne wobec sprawy autonomii Królestwa Polskiego 1905–1917 [Russian Political Groupings and Their Attitude towards the Problem of Autonomy of the Kingdom of Poland 1905-1917], "Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego", 1962, fasc. 9, pp. 145-170.

47 Z. Łukawski, Polacy w rosyjskim ruchu socjal-demokratycznym w latach 1883-1893 [Poles in the Russian-Democratic Movement in the Years 1883-1893], "Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego", 1970, No. 241.

48 M. Tanty, Panslawizm — carat — Polacy [Pan-Slavism —

⁴⁸ M. Tanty, Panslawizm — carat — Polacy [Pan-Slavism — Tsarism — The Poles], Warszawa 1970; W. Śliwowska, W kręgu po-przednika Hercena [In the Circle of Herzen's Predecessor], Warszawa 1971.
⁴⁰ M. Tanty, Konflikty bałkańskie w latach 1878-1918 [Balkan Conflicts in the Years 1878-1918], Warszawa 1968; by the same author, Rosja wobec wojen bałkańskich 1912-1913 [Russia and the Balkan Wars 1912-1913], Warszawa 1970.

and several valuable papers⁵⁰ thus turning gradually from a historian of Russia into a student of the Slav world and of Russia's policy in those areas; in this way, he is carrying on the good traditions of Polish historiography, started by Henryk Batowski before World War II.⁵¹

To conclude, one ought to mention research on the history of Siberia, still very little advanced, in its infancy, so to say. To students of the Russian penitentiary system and of Siberia as the place of deportation and hard labour, the Polish studies on Siberian deportees and their complex vicissitudes, are of major importance. Michał Janik's pioneer book⁵² still remains the most exhaustive although several new works and articles have since appeared.⁵⁸Apart from reconstructing the histories of Polish deportees in Siberia, these works add to our knowledge on Polish diarist and epistolar literature on Siberia and are a sort of compendium of information on the material without which a reconstruction of the history of Siberia would be unthinkable.

50 M. Tanty, Kontakty rosyjskich Komitetów słowiańskich ze Słowianami z Austro-Wegier, 1868-1875 [The Contacts of Russian Slav Committees with Slavs from Austria-Hungary, 1868-1875], "Kwartalnik Histo-ryczny", 1964, No. 1, pp. 59-77; by the same author, Kwestia ma-cedońska w czasie wojen bałkańskich 1912-1913 [The Macedonian Problem in the Balkan Wars 1912-1913], in: "Studia z dziejów ZSRR i Europy Środkowej", vol. V, Warszawa 1969, pp. 24-42; by the same author, Wpływy oświatowe Rosji na kraje południowosłowiańskie w XIX wieku [Russia's Educational Influence on South-Slav Countries in the 19th Cen-

 [Russia's Educational Influence on South-Stab Countries in the 19th Century], in: "Rozprawy z dziejów oświaty", vol. VII, 1964, pp. 95-122.
 ⁵¹ H. Batowski, Państwa bałkańskie 1800-1923. Zarys historii dyplomatycznej i rozwoju terytorialnego [The Balkan States 1800-1923. Outline Diplomatic History and History of Territorial Evolution], Kraków 1938; by the same author, Podstawy sojuszu bałkańskiego 1912. Studia z historii dyplomatycznej 1806–1912 [The Foundations of the Balkan Alliance 1912. Studies in Diplomatic History 1806–1912], Kraków 1939. See also, by the same author, Neoslawizm a stosunki polsko-rosyjskie i polsko czeskie, 1908-1914 [Neo-Slavism and the Polish-Russian and Polish-Czech Relations, 1908-1914], in: Z polskich studiów slawistycznych, Series 3, Historia, Warszawa 1968, pp. 235-245. ⁵² M. Janik, Dzieje Polaków na Syberii [The History of Poles in

Siberia], Kraków 1928.

58 W. Jewsiewicki, Na syberyjskim zesłaniu [Deported to Siberia], Warszawa 1959; Z przeszłości Syberii [From the Past of Siberia], Kraków 1964; H. Skok, Powstanie polskich zeslańców za Bajkałem w 1866 r. [The Uprising of Polish Deportees beyond the Baïkal in 1866], "Przegląd Historyczny", vol. LIV, 1963, pp. 244–269; W. Śliwowska, Pietraszewcy na Syberii [Members of the Pietraševski Movement in Siberia], "Slavia Orientalis", 1961, No. 1, pp. 105-126.

When discussing the achievements of Polish historiography, it is only proper to mention also works from the borderline of history and history of literature, history of social thought or history of science which are overlapping with purely historical works: one could hardly take no account of Andrzej Walicki's monograph on Russian Slavophilism,⁵⁴ of his studies on the *narodniki* movement, on Herzen as the founder of "Russian socialism," ⁵⁵ of works by Ryszard W. Wołoszyński,⁵⁶ Stefan Truchim,⁵⁷ and many others. They all sum up to make our knowledge on the history of Russia in the 19th and early 20th century.

(Translated by Jan Aleksandrowicz)

⁵⁴ A. Walicki, W kręgu konserwatywnej utopii [In the Circle of Conservative Utopia], Warszawa 1964.

⁵⁵ A. Walicki, The Controversy over Capitalism. Studies in the Social Philosophy of the Russian Populism, Oxford 1969; by the same author, Twórca "rosyjskiego socjalizmu" [The Founder of "Russian Socialism"], introduction to: A. Hercen, Pisma filozoficzne [Philosophical Writings], Warszawa 1966; and other works.

⁵⁶ R. W. Wołoszyński, Polsko-rosyjska współpraca naukowa w badaniach nad dziejami Słowian w początkach XIX wieku. Działalność Jana Potockiego i jej echa do 1830 r. [The Polish-Russian Scientific Cooperation in Studies on the History of Slavs in the Beginnings of the 19th Century. The Activity of Jan Potocki and Its Echoes up to 1830], in: Z polskich studiów slawistycznych, Warszawa 1968, Series 1, Historia, pp. 121-136; by the same author, Zagadnienia polsko-rosyjskiego zbliżenia kulturalnego w latach 1801-1830. Stan badań i postulaty na przyszłość [Problems of the Polish-Russian Cultural Rapprochement in the Years 1801-1830. The State of Research and Postulates for the Future], in: Z polskich studiów slawistycznych, Series 4, Historia, 1972, pp. 151-170; by the same author, Polsko-rosyjskie związki w naukach społecznych, 1801-1803 [Polish-Russian Contacts in Social Sciences, 1801-1830], Warszawa 1974.

⁵⁷ S. Truchim, Współpraca polsko-rosyjska nad organizacją szkolnictwa rosyjskiego w początkach XIX wieku [Polish-Russian Cooperation in the Organization of the Russian School System in the Beginnings of the 19th Century], Łódź 1960.