

LITUANUS

THE LITHUANIAN QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

VOLUME 62:3, Fall 2016



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Lituanus: The Lithuanian Quarterly (published since 1954) is a multi-disciplinary academic journal presenting and examining various aspects of Lithuanian culture and history. Authors are invited to submit scholarly articles, *belles lettres*, and art work. Manuscripts will be reviewed. Books are accepted for review purposes.

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Editorial Office: editor@lituanus.org
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Publisher: Lituanus Foundation, Inc., Giedrius Subačius, President
Address: 47 West Polk Street, Suite 100–300,
Chicago, IL 60605–2000 Phone/Fax 312/945-0697

Articles are archived and accessible at www.lituanus.org and in microform from University Microfilms (www.proquest.com/brand/umi.shtml). They are indexed in: MLA International Bibliography; PAIS International; International Political Science Abstracts; Historical Abstracts (EBSCO); Linguistic Bibliography (Netherlands); Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts; RILM Abstracts of Music Literature; Bibliography of the History of Art; OCLC Article First.

Worldwide circulation per issue – 1,620 copies.
Individual subscriptions \$30.00. Seniors/students \$20.00.
Institutional print subscriptions \$40.00. Electronic copy only \$20.00.
Copyright © 2016 LITUANUS Foundation, Inc. ISSN 0024–5089.
Printed by Kingery Printing Company, Henry Division, Henry, IL
Cover Design by Vincas Lukas.

Periodical non-profit postage paid at Chicago, IL and other locations.
POSTMASTER: Send address changes to LITUANUS, 47 West Polk Street,
Suite 100-300, Chicago, IL 60605-2000

The Idea of the Union in the Boyar Confederation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania During the Period of the Rule of Stanisław August (1764–1795)

RAMUNĖ ŠMIGELSKYTĖ-STUKIENĖ

Introduction

Stanisław August Poniatowski as the elected monarch of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1764, considered the centralization of the state the most important task of his policies. His policies for the consolidation and unification of the executive and court authorities and the creation of a unitary Republic of Poland confronted the efforts of the representatives of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to maintain the union relations of Lithuania and Poland – with both countries seeking to find in public discourse the most acceptable alternative projects for the reform of the “renewal” as well as the “compression” of the Union of Lublin. The representatives of the political elite of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was set against the demands of the “preservation of the union”. When the creation of the confederations became, in effect, an inherent part of the nobleman’s life, the question of the reform of the country’s organizational model remained in the political agenda during the whole period of his rule.

Evaluating, up to the present, the nature of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the period of the rule of Stanisław

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August, one can discern two fundamental directions in the historiography. The representatives of the first direction, considered the starting points to be: the equalization of the caste privileges of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's society, of state and church institutions, and of the economy and finance systems after the Union of Lublin. This implies that the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the second half of the eighteenth century became ever more similar to a third province of the Republic, rather than one of two states coupled by the union.¹ The second direction of the historiography affirms that until the disruption of the state in 1795 there existed a federal two state – Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania – Republic. This direction is represented by the works of Juliusz Bardach, Jerzy Malec; and in Lithuanian historiography – of Adolfas Šapoka, Mečislovas Jučas, and Zigmantas Kiaupa.²

To illustrate the federative nature of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, it is appropriate to glimpse at the history of the union – confederation – of the sworn noblemen. The creation of the confederations was an especially frequent phenomenon in the period of the rule of Stanisław August. During the incomplete 31 years of this monarch's rule, 11 general unions of sejm and non-sejm sworn boyars were formed. In 1767, after the general confederation of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1764 that brought Stanisław August to the throne and lasted until 1766, two dissident confederations were created under the inspiration of Russia: the Protestants of Torun and the Orthodox of Sluck. On June 2, 1767 in Vilnius, the General

¹ Michalski, "Zagadnienie unii polskolitewskiej," 97–131; Augustyniak, *Historia Polski, 1572–1795*, 838; Rachuba, "Lietuviai ir integracija į bendrą Respubliką," 302–313.

² Bardach, "Konstytucja 3 maja a unia polskolitewska," 383–410; O Rzeczpospolitą *Obojga Narodów*, 27–63; Malec, *Szkice z dziejów federalizmu i myśli federalistycznej*, 56–146; Šapoka, *Lietuva ir Lenkija po 1569 metų Liublino unijos*; Jučas, *Lietuvos ir Lenkijos unija*, 294–358; Kiaupa, *Lietuvos istorija*, 57–86.

Confederation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was formed (in other words – the Vilnius Confederation) and positioned against Stanisław August and the reforms of the state's rule. On June 23, 1767 in Radom, the General Confederation of the Kingdom of Poland led by Karolis Stanislovas Radvila (Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł) was announced. In 1768–1772 the broad confederative movement of Bar encompassed the entire state. On April 19, 1773, immediately before the sejm legitimizing the first partition, the confederation led by Adam Poniński (in other words – the Warsaw Confederation) was formed, which was active until 1775. Also right before the sejm in the summer of 1776 in the apartment of the Bishop of Plock, Michał Jerzy Poniatowski, the confederation at the Permanent Council was created, to which manifesto the king, senators and envoys signed. This confederation was active in the sejm from September 26 to October 31, 1776.

After these confederations, there followed more than a decade-long period of common (ordinary) sejms. A new sejm confederation was formed only on October 7, 1788 at the Warsaw Sejm, which operated until May 29, 1792. This sejm holding sessions four years in a row, entered history with the name of the Great or Reform Sejm, and it adopted the essential laws of the reconstruction of the state. However, already in the summer of 1792, the road to reforms was cut by sworn boyars in the Poland pro-Russian union of Targowica, which on September 11, 1792 united the unions of the sworn boyars of Poland and Lithuania into the General Confederation of both nations. Exactly one year later, on September 15, 1793, at the Hrodna Sejm, the act of the dissolution of the Targowica Confederation and the formation of the new Confederation of the Hrodna Sejm was signed. This, the last confederation in the history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, discontinued its activities with the sejm ending its work on November 23, 1793.

The members of all these confederations considered it a legitimate form of state authority. The creation and consolida-

tion of this authority took place in keeping with a certain model: the nobility, agreeing with the ideas of the confederation, organized themselves within the borders of the district and province, and later united into the general confederation of its nation, i.e. of the Poles (Kingdom of Poland) or Lithuanians (Grand Duchy of Lithuania). The movement for confederation encompassed the whole Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth only when the general unions of the sworn boyars of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania united into the General Confederation of Both Nations and their representatives formed a joint command – the generals.

The merger of the joint confederations in Poland and Lithuania symbolically repeated the determination of the Polish and Lithuanian nations consolidated in the Union of Lublin. The dominant conviction was that in view of the particular situation created in the state, and with each nation joining the confederation of its own free will, the “natural situation that existed prior to the Union of Lublin”, returned to in 1569, accomplished the joining of the sejms of Poland and Lithuania into a joint sejm. Therefore in the words of the Bar Confederation member Casimir Pułaski, “at the time of the confederation each nation ought to confirm anew that it along with the other nation wants to create a common fighting Republic”.³ On the other hand, the phenomenon of the making of the general confederations indicated that next to becoming a stronger state by this duality, that the other priority in the self-consciousness of the nobility was a conviction for integrating the political nation concerning common rights and freedoms in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.⁴

Our goal here, based on the comparison of the formation of the confederations in the period of the rule of Stanisław August, is to reveal the positions of Lithuania’s nobles on joining

³ Cited according to: Konopczyński, *Konfederacja Barska*, Vol. 2, 781.

⁴ Stanek, *Konfederacje generalne koronne*, 98.

the confederation in regard to the idea of the Union of Lublin. We will devote the greatest attention to the examples of the most fully investigated, brightest confederations of the period.

Renewal of the Polish-Lithuanian Union in the Non-sejm Confederations

The abundant narrative sources of the period show that the above mentioned model for the forming of the general confederation was deeply rooted in the consciousness of the nobility of Poland and Lithuania in the second half of the eighteenth century. In accordance with this model, the general Confederation of Lithuania was proclaimed on April 16, 1764. Confederations of thirteen districts signed the manifest (act) of the Union.⁵

On June 2, 1767, the Confederation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was formed (alias – of Vilnius) uniting now the confederations of 24 districts, and seeking to abolish the state rule reforms passed by Stanisław August. The group of the Czartoryskis under Stanislovas Bžostovskis (Stanisław Brzostowski) became the leader of the Confederation. The nobility of Poland was organized into particular confederations in the sejmiks of May 25–27, 1767. On June 23, 1767 in the congress taking place in Radom the formation of the Confederation of the General Crown of Poland was announced, uniting 20 particular unions and taking a stand “to rescue the Homeland” in the fight against “the abolition of fundamental rights, and the threatening despotism and absolutism”.⁶ Karolis Stanislovas Radvila became the marshal of the General Crown Confederation. On July 27, 1767 the generals of the Confederation of Lithuania, responded to the invitation of the “confeder-

⁵ Karvelis, “1764 metų Vilniaus generalinė konfederacija,” 63.

⁶ “Act of the Radom Confederation, see Kraushar,” *Książę Repnin i Polska*, 384–394.

ated estates of the Crown's provinces" to renew the union, and stressed that "happy are the results of the efforts of our ancestors when the Constitution of the Nation's *Unionis* arising from the three Provinces merged into the body of one Republic". They appointed its representatives in the name of the "confederated province of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania" to declare the

"common agreement to adopt the desired merger" and "to pass on to the general marshal of the Crown's province the brightest duke His Grace Karolis Radvila and to the gracious Senators as well as the Lords, the Marshals and Advisors of the confederated provinces and lands, deep brotherly esteem/respect and love along with the common aspiration to maintain the Cardinal truths and old [ruling] form of the Republic".⁷

On February 29, 1768 the confederation announced in Bar "against the humiliation and insult of the faith of the Catholics of Holy Rome, the abolition of the old rights, the statutes of the Jagiellons, the Constitutions of the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania <...>"⁸, initially was only a union concentrating the nobility of Little Poland, which later grew into a broad confederation movement encompassing the whole Polish-Lithuanian Confederation. In his memoirs, the confederation marshal of the Duchy of the Samogitians Jacek Antanas Putkameris (Jacek Antoni Puttkamer), noted that "after the news of the confederation formed in Bar spread, various persons in the provinces and lands of the Crown

⁷ Instruction for the Delegates of the Confederation of Lithuania, see Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (AGAD), Tak zwana Metryka Litewska, IX, 37, l. 11-13.

⁸ Copy of the manifesto of the Bar Confederation, see <http://www.dbc.wroc.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=5785&dirids=81>. Accessed on February 11, 2016.

Province began to create unions, and those panting after the Warsaw spirit founded the most confederations".⁹ The nobility of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in the words of Putkameris, also united into their confederations of counties:

"in Hrodna (on July 18, 1769), a confederation was formed, led by the Hrodna nobleman Daškevičius (Daszkiewicz), *in favorem* palace scribe [Karolis] Chreptavičius (Karol Chreptowicz), who <...> was elected marshal. Afterwards in Lithuania, the influence of both the Pułaskis as well as that of Bierzyński subsided, but the Confederation of Lithuania arose.¹⁰ Its activities reached even Jurbarkas, when general marshal [Mykolas Jonas] Pacas (Michał Jan Pac) and army leader [Juozapas] Sapięga (Józef Sapięha) were elected and declared as the first leaders of Lithuania, and received from the Bishop of Kamienec [Adam Krasieński] the charge to travel to Belsk as quickly as possible and to form the generals".¹¹

Therefore, when the news about the Bar Confederation reached Lithuania, the confederations of districts began to be established. In the documents about the formation of the societies of the local nobility, the conjugation into the general confederation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was emphasized. Representatives were elected to this union even though the formation of the general conference at that time was very complicated. For example, in the manifesto of the Oshmiany Confederation it is stressed that the nobility of the district is joining a union with the confederation of the Province of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania "led by the joint feeling of the

⁹ [Puttkamer Jacek Antoni], "Krótkie zebranie okoliczności". In *Polityka i ustrój Generalności Konfederacji Barskiej*, 48.

¹⁰ Act of the General Confederation of Lithuania announced on July 26, 1769 in Dowspuda.

¹¹ [Puttkamer Jacek Antoni], "Krótkie zebranie okoliczności," 50.

universal misfortunes", and it delegates two representatives of the district to the common leadership of the Confederation of Lithuania.¹² This document speaks not about joining the Bar Confederation, but about adjoining the organization of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania supported by the ideas of the Bar Confederation. The creators of the particular confederations of the Kingdom of Poland went along the very same road. For example, the act of the confederation of the Kulm Province dated on July 27, 1769 announced that supporting the aspirations of the Bar Confederation and keeping solidarity with the nobility of the neighboring provinces, the Kulm Province joins the common union of the Crown seeking "to defend our gracious Homeland, the holy dominant religion, the rights of the Province and the whole Crown of Poland".¹³ Therefore the local confederations of Poland were joining the confederations of their province, and only later – the general confederation of the Kingdom of Poland. A further stage in the organizing, was the formation of the general confederation of both nations. It was meant to symbolize the renewal of the union.

One can notice the prerequisite last stage of the making of the confederation of the nobility of the Republic of Poland and Lithuania – the future joint council of the two united nations – is mentioned already in the August 23, 1768 dated act of the confederation of the Kaunas district, signed by marshal, Chamberlain of Vilkmėrgė (now – Ukmergė) Domykas Medekša (Dominik Medeksza). However, while editing the text of the manifesto of the general confederation of Lithuania in 1769 a separate accent on the union tie of Poland and Lithuania was not made. This tie, or more accurately, its

¹² Copy of the manifesto of the Oshmiany Confederation, see Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich (BCzart), Rkps. 1799 IV, 19–21.

¹³ Act of the confederation of the Kulm Province, see BCzart, Rkps. 1799 IV, 41–42.

renewal, was expressed in the act of the union of the general confederations of Lithuania and Poland announced on November 7, 1769.¹⁴

It is interesting to note that in the period of the movement of the Bar Confederation in the supreme leadership of the general confederation of Both Nations formed in Biala in Silesia – the generals – the representatives of Lithuania dominated. These were marshal Mykolas Jonas Pacas (Michał Jan Pac), military commander Juozapas Sapięga (Józef Sapięga), and secretary Ignotas Bogušas (Ignacy Bohusz).¹⁵

Meanwhile, at the confederation in 1792, arising as a reaction to the reforms of the structure of the state, the demand "to preserve the union rights of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania with the Crown of Poland" was entered not only in the act of Lithuania's general conference of Vilnius, but also in that of the confederation of Targowica. The declaration of this aspiration created favorable conditions for developing the issue of the distinction of Lithuania in the activities of the confederation. The restoration of the rights of Lithuania as one of the main issues was already raised when forming the first local unions of the nobility of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in June 1792. In the acts of the first local confederations repeating the postulates of the Targowica confederation, as the fifth of ten goals of the confederation, it was written that it was the aspiration "to restore completely the union rights of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in its relations with the Crown".¹⁶

Exclusive attention was devoted to the unitary trends of the Four Year Sejm regarding the act of the Vilnius province

¹⁴ Act of the union of the general confederations of Poland and Lithuania, see <http://www.dbc.wroc.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=5785&dirids=81>. Accessed on February 11, 2016.

¹⁵ Dolinskas, Simonas Kosakovskis. *Politinė ir karinė veikla*, 229.

¹⁶ For more see: Šmigelskytė Stukienė, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės konfederacijos*, 137–141.

confederation in 1792. In it, it was stressed that due to the decisions of the latter sejm "the Lithuanian nation, connected by a solemn union treaty with Poland, became as if a conquered province, meaning little more than a conquered country, because it sees all its rights gradually broken and its magistracies transferred to Poland".¹⁷ The organizers of the Vilnius confederation invited the citizens of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to begin to settle their own fate "in the manner of forming a confederation as is practiced under special circumstances for the Republic, as such [circumstances] are today, and join the act of our general confederation of the Lithuanian nation".¹⁸

In the act of the General Confederation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania proclaimed on June 25, 1792, the union of Lithuania and Poland was raised to the first place. The act's preamble declared "the rights, privileges, prerogatives of authority, the representative right in the institutions of the nation in their own state, and equal importance of the citizens and nobility of the Lithuanian nation connected by union ties with the Crown of Poland", and at the same time noting the general care "for the general good, the rights of the land and the spirit of freedom".¹⁹

The celebrations of the formation of the general confederations of both nations both in 1767, 1769, as well as 1792 were an example of the renewal of the Union of Lublin during the time of the confederation. During these celebrations, a certain ceremonial aspect was maintained. The delegates of the Crown Kazimierz Szydłowski and Bartłomei Wydźga arriving at a meeting of the general confederation of Poland on September 3, 1767, already sent from Radom to the confederates of Lithuania, announced about the arrival of envoys of Lithuania's Confederation to Warsaw. The marshal of the Crown's

¹⁷ Ibid., 138.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ *Akt konfederacji Generalney wolney* W.X. Litt., 1792, 1-2.

Confederation sent his envoy Ignacy Morawski "with appropriate solemnity, attention and assistance" to invite the envoys of Lithuania to the meeting of the confederation. The envoys were "accompanied into the hall and seated in the first rows *ex jure hospitalitatis*".²⁰ After the brief introductory word of Lithuania's envoy, the general advisor from the confederation of the Breslau district, Tomas Sviatopelk Mirski, and his colleague the general advisor from the confederation of the Pinsk district, Mykolas Damanskis (Michał Domański) read the instruction of the legation, composed on July 26, 1767 by Lithuania's General Confederation, expressing the agreement to make a "union act" with the Crown's Confederation and obligating the envoys to act in the name of the General Confederation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. "Due to the leadership of Lithuania's Confederation being busy at sejmiks and not being able to participate directly", the right to appoint the date of the merger of both confederations was handed over to the Crown's generals.²¹ At the next meeting of the Crown's Confederation on July 5, with the participation of Lithuania's envoys "delegated by the confederated estates of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to conclude the Union act", the act of the merger of the Crown's General Confederation with the General Confederation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was read. It was signed by Karolis Stanislovas Radvila as the marshal of the Crown's General Confederation and the united estates of the Republic.²²

During the meeting of the members of the Bar Confederation in Silesia's Biala, a solemn ceremony of the renewal of the act of the union of Poland and Lithuania was also held. The act of the union of the general confederations of Lithuania and Poland was announced on November 9, 1769 in a sepa-

²⁰ Kraushar, *Książę Repnin i Polska*, 333.

²¹ Ibid., 333-334.

²² Union of the general confederations of Lithuania and Poland, see AGAD, "Tak zwana Metryka Litewska," IX, 37, l.14v-35.

rate manifesto. The federation model was anchored when the General Confederation of Both Nations adopted the decision on the management of the state:

“in all the joint congresses (sejms, general meetings etc.) of the united provinces both general marshals will sit at the same common table, each one with his rod in front of him; in the Provinces of the Crown the right hand will belong to the Crown’s marshal, in the provinces of Lithuania to the General Marshal of Lithuania; the Marshal of the Crown will lead all the marshals and advisors of the Crown (of the districts) and the Marshal of Lithuania – all the representatives of Lithuania. <...> the Marshals and advisors of Poland’s Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania will comprise the twenty four member generals, including in its composition also the representatives of Prussia’s provinces”.²³

During the Targowica Confederation, the merger of the general confederations of Poland and Lithuania was celebrated in Brest Litovsk. On September 6, 1792 in the former college of the Brest Jesuits in a joint meeting, assembled leaders of the confederations of Poland and Lithuania discussed the details of the merger. The generals of Lithuania agreed that the Marshal of the Crown’s Confederation Stanisław Szczęśny Potocki would lead the united confederation. On September 9 in a *universale* (universal statement) Lithuania’s Confederation stated that its Marshal Aleksandras Sapiiega (Aleksander Sapiieha) and his deputy Juozapas Zabiela (Józef Zabiello) would grant priority to the Marshal of Poland’s Confederation and “while the confederation was in session, no one will be able to argue with him”. In the *universale*, it was also reassured that “this free and modest pliancy of the Lithuanian nation in the future will not be

²³ Konopczyński, “Polityka i ustrój Generalności Konfederacji Barskiej,” 98–100.

able to hinder an alternative of the duties of the marshal”.²⁴ Such a decision of Lithuania’s Confederation was a considerable concession, because, according to the resulting tradition, with the confederation being active in Lithuania, a representative of Lithuania had to lead it.²⁵ On the other hand, the example of the period of the Bar Confederation showed that the steering wheel of the authority of the union begun in the Crown’s united generals was handed over into the hands of the representatives of Lithuania.

The solemn merger of the confederations took place on September 11, 1792 in the former church of the Jesuits in Brest Litovsk. The journal of the merger of the confederations announced in 1792: on the eve of the congress in the field of the Brest market tents were erected in which on the day of the ceremonies already at 8 a.m. the members of the confederations assembled. With military marches echoing the Marshal of Poland’s Targowica General Confederation, Stanisław Szczęśny Potocki, arrived, and somewhat later the Marshal of Lithuania’s General Confederation, Aleksandras Sapiiega, joined him. After the marshals greeted each other, the members of the confederations assembled in the church. The heads of the confederations entered the church accompanied by advisors and nobles, carrying the rods of the marshals while music was played. The event began with a Holy Mass. After the mass, the marshals and advisors took their places at the tables erected in the middle of the church. The representatives of the Crown on the right side, of Lithuania – on the left. After Reverend Sierakauskas (Sierakowski) gave a sermon appropriate for the occasion, the Act of the Union – the merger of both confederations was read. Having listened

²⁴ Šapoka, *Lietuva ir Lenkija po 1569 m. Liublino unijos*, 309.

²⁵ 1792 09 09 decision of the general confederation of the GDL, Summariusz Generalny Czynności Konfederacyi Targowickiej, nr. 128, p. D2.

to the act the assembled cried out: "We agree!", then Rev. Si-erakauskas read the act of King Stanisław August joining the confederation. After signing the Act of Union, the assembled sang the hymn of thanks *Te Deum laudamus*".²⁶

In the act of the convergence of the confederations of Poland and Lithuania, it was stated that

"the union, uniting both nations into one body, begun by Jogaila (Jagiello), and strengthened by Kings of Poland and Grand Dukes of Lithuania Aleksandras (Aleksander) and Žygimantas Augustas (Zygmunt August), guaranteed the free election of the king and all the other freedoms of the nobility. However now, seeing all that destroyed, we felt the need to unite anew and to strengthen the broken union <...> so that the Republic destroyed by a conspiracy would be restored by our forces".²⁷

Despite the solemn demonstration of unity, one can see certain disagreements between the leaders of Lithuania and Poland, in which one side or the other was charged with violating the union. In this way in 1769, the first conflict of the confederations of Lithuania and Poland arose immediately after the formation of Lithuania's generals, when the approach to further war actions differed. The heads of Lithuania's Confederation supported retreat, while Kazimierz and Franciszek Ksawery Pułaski sought to begin an armed fight. When the opinions differed, Lithuania's generals demanded back and obtained the 'taken' property of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania – the cavalry regiments (*owych pułków konnych*). By the time of Rajgród, "the Crown split with Lithuania": members of Lithuania's Confederation withdrew to the Lower Nemunas and there crossed the border into Prussia. In this way, – from the point of view of Poland's Confederation, – "during

²⁶ *Dyaryusz aktu złączenia się konfederacji wolnych Obojga Narodów*, 16.

²⁷ *Akt Unii czyli połączenia się Konfederacji Obojga Narodów*, 1–2.

one week the Lithuanian political figures liquidated the whole uprising in the Grand Duchy".²⁸ Angered by such behavior of the Lithuania's generals, the members of the Poland's Confederation hastened to announce "The Journal in the Name of the Polish Nation Describing the GDL Confederation" (*Dyaryusz przez głos Narodu Polsk. Opisujący Konfederacyą WXL*), in which Lithuania's generals were blamed for the military failures of K. Pułaski.

The dissatisfaction of Poland's confederates with the independent activities of Lithuania's generals, was especially expressed in the General Confederation of Both Nations in 1792-1793, into whose formation the generals sent only a special delegation, while continuing to reside in Hrodna.

Despite the internal disagreements in the leaderships of the Confederations of Both Nations, the demonstrated aspect of the renewal of the ties of the state union was very important for the nobility of the districts. The examples of the unions of the nobles, formed already when the General Confederations of both nations existed, confirm this assumption. For example, the union of the nobles of the Orsha district formed on October 11, 1771 in the camp of the confederates in the Lukomka parish, declared that joining the confederations of the nations - the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania - connected by the links of the union, raising the goal to defend the holy faith, rights and freedoms, the nobility of Orsha promise to fight for the welfare of the Homeland, to chase out from the territory of the state the army of foreigners. In their activities, the confederates committed themselves to follow the directions of the General Confederation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania²⁹. Two days later (on October 13, 1771), the proclaimed manifesto of the Marshal of the Confederation of the

²⁸ *Dyaryusz przez głos Narodu Polsk. Opisujący Konfederacyą WXL*, see BCzart, Rkps 1799 IV, l. 106–110.

²⁹ Анішчанка, *Народжаны рабалетніцаць*, 347.

Orsha district Tadas Otnaras Šteinas (Tadeusz Otnar Szejn) about the merger of the Orsha district into the confederation also stressed the union ties of Lithuania and Poland.³⁰

Union Ties of Lithuania and Poland in the Sejm Confederations

If the traditional non-sejm confederations during this whole period, exhibit a desire to maintain the union ties of Lithuania and Poland entrenched in the Cardinal rights, which asserted that "the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, linked for ages in union ties with the Crown, just as the other provinces and lands, form a single integral body of the Republic",³¹ then the confederations being formed at the time of the sejm was that road which enabled one to seek the legalization projects, raised by Stanisław August, for the "compression" and "renewal" of the union. The sejm that formed the confederation would adopt decisions by majority vote and could not be suspended. In accordance with the federal governance model of the Republic there were two confederations – one of the Crown and another of Lithuania, each with their own marshals.³²

Until 1764, the confederating of sejm members was not a common phenomenon. It developed mostly during the rule of Stanisław August, when nine of the fourteen sejms took place while the General Confederation of the two nations existed, or the same sejm itself formed a "sejm confederation".³³ The beginning of the rule of Stanisław August was marked by a "universal" confederation of the elected sejm, formed on September 15, 1764 and led by marshals Augustus Czartoryski and Mykolas Bžostovskis (Michael Brzostowski). The sources of this con-

³⁰ Ibid., 349–351.

³¹ *Cardinal rights*, 1768, see *Volumina Legum*, Vol. VII, 595–606.

³² Bardach, *O Rzeczpospolitą Obojga Narodów*, 55.

³³ Cf.: Karvelis, "1764 metų Vilniaus generalinė konfederacija," 68.

federation date back to the period of the convocation sejm. Already on July 3, 1764, i.e. only a few days after the end of the work of the sejm, the Warsaw Confederation appealed to the Vilnius Confederation to merge. Until the electoral sejm, both unions acted independently, and made their own decisions and persecuted their enemies. In the act of the

"merger of the confederated estates of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania with the confederated estates of the Crown it is noted that we are joining 'a single universal amalgamation of the whole nation' in order to preserve all that is achieved during the interregnum period and in order to work in unison to 'protect the free election of the most enlightened Lord from possible machinations'".³⁴

In the coronation sejm on December 3, 1764, Stanisław August confirmed all the resolutions of the General Confederation of the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The Confederation formally existed even until the 1766 sejm, during which it was released.³⁵

The sejm of the Republic active from October 5, 1767 until March 5, 1768, was also bound by the ties of the General Confederation of both nations. The Marshal of the sejm confederation became the leader of the General Confederation of the Crown (Radom), Karolis Stanislovas Radvila; Stanislovas Bžostovskis led Lithuania's General Confederation.³⁶ Concluding its work, the sejm approved all the resolutions and declarations, circulars, appropriations et al. of the General Confederations of Poland's Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. It also acknowledged that the Confederation had implemented its objectives, and announced that it was releasing all the unions of the nobility in the provinces, lands and

³⁴ *Volumina Legum*, Vol. VII, 140.

³⁵ Ibid., 221–222.

³⁶ Ibid., 246.

districts of Poland's Crown and in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, as well as the General Confederation. It was decided to present the acts of the Crown's Confederation to the Crown's Metrica, and those of the Lithuanian Confederation – to Lithuania's Metrica.³⁷

Unlike the electoral or coronation sejm in 1764, the sejm in 1766 or in 1767–1768, in their activities, which relied on the confederations concluded before the sejm, the sejms in 1773–1775, in 1776 and 1788–1792 joined in confederations on the eve of the sejm work or even during the very sejm.³⁸ Their activities did not rely on prior particular unions of the nobility of Poland and Lithuania. However, in the framework of these sejm confederations, the union ties of the two provinces confederation – Poland and Lithuania are striking. All these confederations were treated as the General Confederation of the two nations. Just as in traditional confederations as well as in the sejm confederations, two marshals, having equal rights and powers, were elected.

Three days before the start of the work of the partition sejm, on April 16, 1773, the General Confederation of both nations was formed. The act of the confederation proclaimed “to all the citizens of our states Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as well as the provinces belonging to them” that

“those entering this union, until then already wanting to have a sejm and confederation, while the treaty with the neighboring Powers (states) for their claims/pretentions to the states of the Republic, the form of rule and all works demanding decisions of the current sejm are not completed.”³⁹

Adam Poniński was declared the marshal of the Crown's Confederation; Mykolas Radvila (Michał Radziwiłł) – the mar-

³⁷ Ibid., 402.

³⁸ Stanek, *Konfederacje generalne koronne*, 186.

³⁹ *Volumina Legum*, Vol. VIII, 5.

shal of Lithuania's Confederation. This confederation, extended six times, was released only after two years – on April 11, 1775 when it had completed all of its works.

Also, in 1776, right before the start of the sejm's work, a confederation, for which was raised the task to ensure the preponderance of the ruler's group in the sejm, was formed. The act of the General Confederation of both nations was adopted at the meeting of the Permanent Council on September 23, 1776. The king and the members of the Permanent Council were the first to sign it. Only later were the ministers, senators, and envoys invited. The act of this confederation repeated the formulations of the manifestos of the traditional non-sejm confederations and invited (all) to join the union “for the faith of the Catholics of Holy Rome, the preservation of the meaning of the throne of the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania Stanisław August, and the rights, privileges and freedoms of both nations, and free republic management”⁴⁰ etc. The sejm confederation of 1776 was released on October 31 of the same year.

The Warsaw Sejm that began its work in 1788, joined into the General Confederation, having become the Great (Reform) Sejm. Despite the fact that in the Act of this General Confederation, the union relations of Poland and Lithuania were not clearly identified, and the maintenance of the

“most holy rights guaranteed by the faith of the Catholics of Holy Rome, the integrity of the states of the Republic, free republican governance, the prerogatives of the person, rank and throne of most enlightened King Stanisław August, like the protection of all conventional obligations of the magistratures as well as the property of citizens”⁴¹

⁴⁰ Ibid., 526–527.

⁴¹ *Volumina Legum*, Vol. IX, 46–47.

was only emphasized, the binomial structure of the state was reflected in the approval of the two marshals of the sejm confederations. This represented the sejm confederations of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The General Sejm Confederation of both nations formed in 1788, also continued its activities after the new corps of Sejm members elected in the sejmiks in 1790 swore to its Act.

As already mentioned, the coming into effect of the principle of the majority of the votes in the confederated sejm allowed the adoption of certain laws centralizing the state. However, one should note that every attempt to revise the relations between Lithuania and Poland met the opposition of Lithuania's sejm confederation, leading to the termination of the session, possible boycott of the sejm work or even threats to end the very union. In this way already in the 1776 sejm, Stanisław August invited the Lithuanian representatives to abandon the plans of "ending the union" and by joint efforts to address the issues of public administration.⁴² The implementation of the reforming and strengthening of the state became possible when only both Member States – Lithuania and Poland – went down the path of overall consensus. Such a path, with mutual concessions and compromises, was chosen during the time of the confederated Sejm of Four Years. However, also during this sejm the idea of the Union of Lublin was not abandoned. One can regard the law "of the mutual commitment of both nations" adopted on October 20, 1791 as an Act of the Renewal of the Union of Lithuania and Poland.⁴³

At the confederated Hrodna Sejm in 1792, the representatives of Lithuania continuing the aims of the 1792–1793 confederation movement to bring back the state institutions of Lithuania that existed until the May 3 Constitution, continued to call to embed in laws the dualistic model Polish-Lithuanian Confederation. The is-

⁴² *Dyaryusz Seymu, ordynaryjnego pod związkiem konfederacyi generalney Oboygá narodow*, 1776, 215.

⁴³ Malec, *Szkice z dziejów federalizmu i myli federalistycznej*, 137.

sue of the union of Lithuania and Poland rose to the forefront during the discussion of the project of the Treasury Commission, reflecting the aspirations of Stanisław August to centralize the management of state finances. At the sejm session of August 27, 1793 Lithuania's Grand Treasurer Mykolas Kleopas Oginskis (Michał Kleofas Ogiński), submitted a draft amendment to the law desiring, "that each province would maintain its treasuries".⁴⁴ Also, opposed to the formation of joint institutions was the representative of Lida, Aleksandras Narbutas (Aleksandr Narbutt), who in the same sejm session stressed that "reading the laws of 1775 and seeing in them the separate expenditures of Lithuania's province", it "would be a sin if we would allow the treasuries to be combined into one".⁴⁵ The position of Lithuania's representatives raised the resistance of the Crown's representatives. Representative of Poland Józef Młodzianowski defended the Crown's interests affirming that "even though the Crown's union with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania also established separate prerogatives, it is always the same to be a Lithuanian or a Pole, because always [one and the other] it meant being the son of one homeland." Seeking to demonstrate the unity of Polish-Lithuanian relations, he affirmed that he was determined to call himself a "Lithuanian":

"And although the Crown then consisted of two provinces, and now, due to the divisions part of it was lost, we, the citizens of the Crown, although not being very abundant, will go to Lithuania. And if we call ourselves Lithuanians, let the Lithuanians not seek to separate from us as from their fellow citizens".⁴⁶

⁴⁴ On September 27, 1793, Journal of the 51 Sejm session. <http://www.bkpan.poznan.pl/biblioteka/ELITY/SEJM1793/s51.htm> (Accessed on February 11, 2016).

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

The Bishop of Livonia Juozapas Kazimieras Kosakovskis (Józef Kazimierz Kossakowski), was not indifferent to such an escalation of the union issue, having noted that "the union itself is nothing other than the nation's contract with the people, which ultimately one must follow. Therefore such accents are not necessary when discussing important issues here because no one here is talking about separation, but only about a totally innocent addition that must be accepted, despite the fact that it [was presented] by some envoy of Lithuania's province, rather than its honorable minister".⁴⁷ The representative of Lida, Narbutas, continued the discussion, reminding the sejm of the history of Lithuanian-Polish relations and the treasury:

"The province of Lithuania with its freedoms, rights and privileges is connected with the Crown, and since time immemorial the province of Lithuania has had its own treasury. And only after the preceding sejm joined the treasuries of the two nations and the Targowica Confederation again separated them, were separate commissions established. Moreover, the Treasury of Lithuania has its expenditures fixed by a law of 1776".⁴⁸

Passionate speeches at the sejm and the united position of Lithuania's senators and envoys yielded tangible results: the sejm passed a law on the establishment of two Treasury commissions – of the Crown and of Lithuania.

The posture of Lithuania's representatives determined that the Hrodna Sejm in 1793 enshrined the dualistic model of the state. The cardinal rights adopted by the sejm in its essence were not different than the laws adopted in 1569, 1768 and 1775, in which it was declared that "Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania consist of a single and indivisible forever connected body – The

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

Republic of the Two Nations", in which "all the rights and privileges, namely, those which the provinces possessed when merging into the Republic <...>, have to be maintained".⁴⁹ The internal structure of the Federal Republic remained unchanged – that is, until the territorial losses from the two provinces – Greater and Lesser Poland – in the second partition, when the formed Crown became the homogeneous Province of Poland.

Conclusions

The history of the general non-sejm confederations indicates that the nobility of Poland and Lithuania held especially close and deeply in their self-consciousness, an entrenched model of the creation of the "fair" confederation, echoing the structure of the state connected by the bond of the union. This traditional model, retaining the binomial organizational models of the state in the organization of the confederations, was manifest during the time of the entire General Confederation in the period of the rule of Stanisław August.

An analysis of the activities of the confederations, allows one to assert that the application of the titles of the Bar, Radom or Targowica Confederations to the confederation movement throughout the whole Republic of Two Nations is not adequate. In 1767–1768 the Radom Confederation did not take place in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; in 1768–1772 the Bar Confederation was not concluded in it; just as in 1792–1793 the Targowica Confederation was not firmly established. During the period of the operation of all these confederations, local (particularistic) confederations were created in Lithuania having adopted and sworn to appropriate ideological objectives, which united into the General Confederation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The conjugation of the General Confederations of Lithuania and

⁴⁹ *Volumina Legum*, Vol. X, 110–111.

Poland into the General Confederation of Both Nations meant the renewal of the act of the union.

The principle of the binomial state was also maintained in forming the sejm confederations empowering the adoption of decisions by a majority of the votes in the sejm. The sejm confederations opened paths for the supporters of the centralization of the state to seek the realization of the projects for getting closer and "renewal" of the union in the Four Year Sejm. However, the law of the mutual commitment of Both Nations adopted on October 20, 1791, established the union ties of Lithuania and Poland in the Polish-Lithuanian Confederation.

Translated by SAULIUS GIRNIUS

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ABSTRACTS

Long Ago and Far Away – Revisiting Big Stories from Small Countries

ANTANAS ŠILEIKA

This talk was given at a symposium called “Small Cultures in a Big World” in September of 2013 at Tartu College, in Toronto, hosted by the Estonian Studies Centre. In it, Canadian novelist, Antanas Sileika, addresses the problems, opportunities and technical difficulties of writing fiction based on Baltic history aimed at publication in North America. Two years later he gave another talk about books that have recently appeared and dealt with Baltic issues at Santara conference in Alanta held in 2015 and updated a year later.

The Idea of the Union in the Boyar Confederation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania During the Period of the Rule of Stanisław August (1764–1795)

RAMUNĖ ŠMIGELSKYTĖ-STUKIENĖ

Stanisław August Poniatowski considered the centralization of the state the most important task of his policies. His policies for the consolidation and unification of the executive and court authorities and the creation of a unitary Republic of Poland confronted the efforts of the representatives of the Grand Duchy of

Lithuania to maintain the union relations of Lithuania and Poland – with both countries seeking to find in public discourse the most acceptable alternative projects for the reform of the “renewal” as well as the “compression” of the Union of Lublin. The representatives of the political elite of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was set against the demands of the “preservation of the union”.

The Drivers of Vilnius **RIČARDAS ŽIČKUS**

The life of every city has many components. It would be hard to imagine a modern city without electricity, running water, a sewer system or public transportation. Those parts of the infrastructure of a modern city which are taken for granted at the present time came into operation in Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania, in the beginning of the twentieth century, but public transportation actually appeared much earlier. Carriage drivers provided the first form of public transportation. They started transporting passengers on city streets in the second half of the seventeenth century. They only disappeared in the fifth decade of the twentieth century. Horse-drawn trolleys known as “konkès” began operating in Vilnius in 1893. Their operation broke off once the First World War began. After the war, buses began to drive the city streets. For a few years, a trolley with an internal combustion engine transported passengers from Cathedral Square to the Antakalnis neighborhood. Taxis appeared on the streets, but it was only in the fifth decade of the last century that they finally won out against the carriage drivers.