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Governors in governorate's Kingdom of Poland: selection of candidates and the political goals of the Empire*

Słowa kluczowe: Imperium Rosyjskie, Królestwo Polskie, gubernator, polityka kadrowa, efektywność administracji.

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Kingdom of Poland for several reasons was a strategic territory of the Russian Empire. Firstly, because of deteriorating relations with Prussia and the Habsburg monarchy. Second, for economic reasons - were areas most densely populated and economically developed. And thirdly, it was a center of Polish national and political culture, which had an impact on other lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth are located under the rule of the Romanovs.

After two Polish uprisings became clear that the Empire could not conciliate Polish national elites, quite the contrary they were considered competitive and even hostile. However, both the situation of the Kingdom, as well as policy objectives Empire changed. Result of these changes were nominated governors and vice-governors in 10 gubernya's of the country from the unifying reforms after the January Uprising 1863-1864, to last wave of nominations after the Brusilov's offensive in autumn 1916.

The paper will attempt to answer to the question how the bureaucratic machine of the Empire was able to operatively respond to policy needs? Is it possible to show the relationship between the nominated governors and policy changes towards the center of the periphery? Can also be obscured protectionism and clientelism? Subject

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of the analysis will be both full statistics group, as well as biographies the individual figures.

The principal mechanisms selecting candidates for management positions in the administration of the Polish Kingdom in the era after the uprising, and especially for the posts of governors, seem to be recognized.¹ Overall, in the 10 gubernias Kingdom of Poland in post of governors and vice-governors, in the period 1867-1918, served 134 people. The object of the analysis is the 194 nominations, because it happened that the same person was nominated several times for such positions. This is the result of research conducted in parallel with the work on the biographical dictionary these figures².

1. Structure of the group

Let's look at the structure of the group persons nominated for the posts of governors and vice-governors in the Kingdom of Poland.

1.1. Nationality (religion and geographical origin)

The main criterion used in the policy of depolonisation of the Kingdom administrations was neither loyalty nor qualified, but specifically understood nationality. Specifically, because when considering the principle privileges for Russian officials in the Kingdom, the authorities had to abandon further specify the term *russkoye proiskhozhdeniye* (Russian origin) and decided to define them in administrative mode, in each case separately. One of the main reasons for this fiasco was the issue of the so-called Baltic Germans.

Because of discrimination the many years used against the Catholic or rather Polish nationality, particularly in the areas former Polish Commonwealth and known origins the ruling class in the Russian Empire, it is quite obvious religious structure presented group. Apart from the Orthodox belonged to this group, only six people Lutheran, and, interestingly, two Catholics. The key this selection was escalating state nationalism and as a result informal prohibition the appointment of Poles in civil service in the Kingdom and in other areas of the former Polish Commonwealth in higher, and large part even the average level posts. Administrative settlement of nationalities zealous allowed to investigate individual cases and indulgent of their tolerating.

Deserve attention two cases of Catholics, because they are very representative. Alexander Fribes <Фрибес> (son of Vincent <Викентий>), although he was a Pole, mistakenly considered to be a person German or English origins (probably because of the name). On the other hand Dionysius (Denis) Labudzinsky (Лабудзинский) for many years of faithful service proved that there are no national scruples.

So neither the Orthodox religion, or origin *iz vnutrii imperii* (from the interior of Empire) were not for the government, and may not be for us, the key to sentencing on national affiliation. Slightly arguments in this reflection can bring correlated and conditional analysis of geographical origin. With all the reservations publish such summary - see table below.

¹ A. Górak, *The Institution of Russian Imperial Governorship in Historical Retrospective According to P. P. Stremoukhov's Memoirs*, "Russian Studies in History", Volume 53, Issue 3, 2014, p. 84-94; A. Górak, *Gubernatorowie południowych i wschodnich guberni Królestwa Polskiego (1867 - 1918)*, [w] *Ważna obecność. Przedstawiciele państw i narodów europejskich wśród mieszkańców międzyrzecza Bugu i Pilicy w XVII - XIX wieku*, red. A. Górak, K. Latawicz, Radom - Radzyń Podlaski 2006, s. 155-198.

² Artur Górak, Krzysztof Latawicz, Jan Kozłowski, *Słownik biograficzny gubernatorów i wicegubernatorów w Królestwie Polskim (1867-1918)*, II edition, revised and enlarged, Lublin 2015, pp. 520.

The Number of governors and vice-governors in the governorate's Kingdom of Poland from individual parts Russian Empire

region / country	governorate	number of persons
Russia	Yaroslavl, Kaluga, Kazan, Kostroma, Kursk, Moscow, Nizhny Novgorod, Novgorod, Orel, Penza, Petersburg, Pskov, Ryazan, Saratov, Simbirsk, Tambov, Tula, Tver, Vladimir, Voronezh	67
New Russia	Kherson, Ekaterinoslav	13
Leftbank Ukraine	Kharkov, Poltava, Chernihiv	10
Caucasus	Stavropol	1
provinces of former Polish Commonwealth	Grodno, Kiev, Mogilev, Podolia, Smolensk, Vitebsk, Volyn	20
Finland		2
Ostsee kray	Estland, Livonia, Kurland	10
Kingdom of Poland		1
Bessarabia		1
Austro-Hungary		1
unknown		8

1.2. State and social origin

The analysis of the presented group cannot be carried out without class origins, even in the second half of 19th century. Even though the Russian Empire evolved in the more nationalist state, this evolution has been not completed before the revolution outbreak and this is why, while looking at internal affairs, interests of bureaucracy - the executive apparatus - which was often in opposition, has to be included in the analysis. What needs to be highlighted is the class system that seemed very anachronist to the rest of Europe. The affiliation to certain class mattered during candidate's application for service because of both tradition and country's personnel strategy.

Among the studied group only fourteen do not come from the nobility: five came from the clerical state (Vozhovskiy <Божовский>, Leontyev <Леонтьев>, Stefanovich <Стефанович>, Strokin <Строкин>, Mikhalevich <Михалевич>); two were sons of merchants (Stamierov <Стамеров>, Rybnikov <Рыбников>), and one citizen (Shchirovskiy <Щировский>); three were sons of officers, including one colonel (Drukart <Друкарт>, Tolmachev <Толмачев>, Gresser <Гресер>); the father of one was a teacher and two other officials (Fortwengler <Фортвенглер>, Papudoglo <Папудогло>, Shirayev <Шираев>). Of course, many of them received title of nobility for his service.

The rest passed themselves off as sons of gentry representatives. This class' homogeneity however, is ostensible. These surface statistics could only mean that the title gave right for service in continuously class system state of tsars. It could also be said about people aspiring to those titles that they did so because of privileges and snobbery. However, you do not need to look far to find this phenomenon to be very complex. The concept of gentry, except for class legal code, was very outdated even for Russia at

this time. Even though, since the reign of Nicolas I, the accessibility to titles for service was gradually shut, the fathers of our governors were mostly people defined by their affiliation to bureaucracy, civil and military apparatus, and not gentry. The attempts to explain the court structure, also do not explain everything. During that time, outside of frameworks of the legal code, more than affiliation to class, social class and environment were the basis for judgement. A division can be made to differentiate between servants and landowners.

1.3. Education and experience

The dominance of the nobility, seen in the study group, not only due to the legal conditions although was the consequence of their long duration. More important, that *dvoryanin* it ultimately was a man better educated, obviously due to the cost of education and sometimes social barriers. We cannot forget about cultural determinant, which naturally inclined members of this group to acquire education. According to the main principle, the right to the civil service entitled nobility. Been committed too, always in second place, the possibility of other types of services of privileged persons; while tax states generally were excluded. An exception in favour these last were allowed only if they have a certain level of education.

However, for our consideration equal access to the civil service is not as important as the identification of sources career, which no doubt was to achieve these positions. One criteria for such a career has become (and even key) education, in the discussed period. However, the law does not allocates census education and even does not touch the issue of seniority in office. It is believed that in contrast to the era Nikolay in the second half of the century pass on the position of governors should be primarily legal education and general civil law. In the Kingdom of Poland regime was, however, more rigid and still the majority were soldiers or people without higher education. Legal restrictions on access to the civil service people outside nobility - allowed for so many exceptions in individual departments, that ceased to be the rule.

For the purposes of analysing collected data on the education of all 134 people. Education divided into three levels. Lowest had 9 people, let's vice-governors themselves (Anastasyev <Анастасиев>, Vukhoevden <Буксгевден>, Engelhardt <Энгельгард>, Karnovich <Карнович>, Kobylecky <Кобылецкий>, Koniskiy <Кониский>, Leontiev <Леонтиев>, Labudzinsky <Лабудзинский> and <Petrov> <Петров>). Thirty people completed secondary school and the rest (95 people) had higher education. Even without feeding in the percentage (6.27% - 22.39% - 70.89%) is evident dominance of higher education. However, while nine cases, lower education may be regarded as exceptions, it reflects primarily large part of the presented group of people with secondary education.

Education can also describe due to its profile. In addition to the eight people whose profile education is difficult to determine due to its low level of the remaining cases reflect a two mainstreams: Thought to be a senior in the form of military education (48 people) and a new trend - an education law (50 people). Noting requires a more noticeable participation of people with general education (18) and small with specialist (religious - 2, humanistic - 1, math - 2, medical - 1, technical - 4).

Let's add to a picture of qualifications still the issue of service in a particular resort: the military - 61, home affairs - 43, justice - 15, the management of state property, finances and state control - 8 office General-Governor - 1, the committee of ministers - 2,

Senate - 1, foreign affairs - 1, local self-government - 2. Statistically, in this respect, the situation is however similar. More or less half we have to deal with the experience of serving in the army and civil administration. Draws attention to the fact that only one third of candidates for the positions discussed were from the Interior Ministry.

Let us take into consideration the age of nominated for governors and vice governors. For the 84 nominations for the position of governor, the average age of nominees is 46,1 years and for the 110 nominations for vice governors the average was 41,78 years. What also needs to be highlighted, for being nominated for governor, a high school diploma or higher was needed, and for the vice governor not much lower.

2. Periods of personnel changes political determined

The superficial overview of biopics of the analysed group indicates a few specific periods when it comes to governors vice governors. The average number of changes on those positions was as high as 4 (3,88) per year. Of course, not only specific years but at least 3-year-periods need to be compared to result in picking the periods of more intensive change in managing personnel. Getting rid of an official because of not meeting expectations and then, introducing their successors was not an easy task. After that, there was also the process of lining up the governor with the vice governor, while the long-lasting conflict between people in those positions was not acceptable.

2.1. 1866-67, crew of subordination and Russification.

The first activity for change in managing personnel in the Kingdom happened just before the defeat of the January Uprising that resulted in the introduction of the position of a vice governor and the new governor act 1st January 1867. The process of depolonisation of local administration affected the positions of governors and vice governors in the first place. The key moment was the reforms of local administration of Kingdom in 1867. This meant, amongst other, the abolition of civil governors and introduction of positions closely similar, competency wise, to Russian governors. New positions were also topped with sort of police competencies, and also subordinated governor's departments and an assigned vice governor.

Acceptance and implementation of the plan of Russification of the Polish Kingdom assumed complete replacement of clerical personnel in the first place in top positions. So until 1867. Replaced all the governors and occupied the newly appointed the position vice governors. It was an operation without precedent and never had to repeat. Of course it has already its literature.

In this first period formation of the bureaucratic elite "conquered" country's most evidently political assumptions. However, even then individual reformers (viceroy T.T. Berg, director Committee on Internal Affairs and Religious of Kingdom V.A. Cherkasskiy and head of the His Own His Majesty Office the office for the Kingdom of Poland N.A. Milutin) tried to, at the highest positions, locate primarily their own people. This model - patronage, clientelism, or even nepotism - will of course be performed and later, however, would never be so clear, because patrons there will be many, like a ways of protection.

Preserved a note describing a series of meetings, which he called the governors of Vladimir Alexandrovich Cherkasskiy, their direct superior. Councils took place in September 1866. and were devoted to discussing the planned personnel changes (depolonisation) in executive positions provincial and districts administration. Governors: Warsaw - Lt. Gen. Yevgeny Petrovich Rožnov <Евгений Петрович Рожнов>, Lub-

lin - Gen.-Mjr Mikhail Andreyevich Buckovskiy <Михаил Андреевич Буцковский>, Plotsk - Col. Nikolai Nikolaevich Medem <Николай Николаевич Медем>, Augustov - collegial councillor Peter Karlovich Gervais <Петр Карлович Жерве> Siedlce - collegial councillor Stepan Stepanovich Gromeka <Степан Степанович Громека>, Kielce - Col. Konstantin Dmitrievich Khlebnikov <Константин Дмитриевич Хлебников>, Kalish - Col. Aleksandr Petrovich Shcherbatov <Александр Петрович Щербатов>, Radom - Col. Dmitry Gawrilovich Anuchin <Дмитрий Гаврилович Анучин>, were the first Russians team in these positions. Their main task was to control the local administration, preparation of reforms and profound changes in staff and its realization.

The main line of the dispute in the meetings was to fight for staffing, after Poles released, "their own people". Note contains sometimes very unflattering characteristics of the participants in meetings and yet they have received these posts. Honesty and intelligence were not the most important qualities.

Variously also was imagined a group of recruitment for these positions. Cherkasskiy promote the general staff officers (at least colonels) and the Chairpersons of the Committees for the peasants (Commissioners), who promised the position of the governors in the spring of 1864. Among the study group actually it had many commissioners or people involved ex officio peasants affairs.

In contrast, Berg initially entrusted gubernatorial position is known to the higher officers. Then he tries to choose a person familiar with the situation in the Kingdom (for example, participating in the fight against the January Uprising). It is worth noting that ever since the "after-sevastopol thaw" military education was considered to be unsuitable for the governor. Reviewing the biographies of these governors it can be concluded that the Kingdom was the enclave of an administrative idea Nicholas I.

In 1871. Minister of Internal Affairs explained the viceroy in the Kingdom of criteria to be met by a candidate for the described position. According to the minister should be an clerk with a long practice in the provincial offices - the best vice governor or the head of an independent office. Similarly, in 1876. Kotzebue, by the Minister, got approval for the principle that the vice governors appoint the first chief of counties.

It should be emphasized that, after 1867. (During the indivisible the rule of Berg) average rate of change dropping to the lowest level - 2.28 per year. Correction "first crew" on his part was so very small. Stagnation is also evident in the following period (2.75 per year), when the general-governors were PE Kotzebue and P.P. Albedinskiy - 1875-1882). Regardless of the differences between them, they haven't made radical changes in the composition of the governing team.

Periodical changes in posts of governors and vice-governors in the Kingdom of Poland

periods or general-governors	years	number of nominations	periodic annual average
New crew	1867	21	21
T.T. Berg	1868-1874	16	2,28
P.E. Kotzebue and P.P. Albedinskiy	1875-1882	22	2,75
Rule of reaction (I.W. Hurko)	1883-1885	22	7,33
Stagnation	1886-1894	26	2,89

Temporary meltdown (inauguration Nikolay II)	1895-1903	33	3,67
Revolution 1905 and the Japanese war	1904-1906	10	3,33
G.A. Skalon	1907-1913	22	3,14
Preparations for war	1914	12	12

2.2. Rule of reaction (I.W. Hurko). Second wave of russification.

In a period of political reaction, associated with appointment as governor-general I.W. Hurko (and the reign of Alexander III), means general change in personnel. In the first period, a thorough exchange of teams (22 changing on posts) and the average rate of change in the years 1883-1885 was 7.33 per year. Few of them changed their positions at this time. The vast majority of nominees were former military:

1. Aleksander Aleksandrovich Annenkov, 43 years, 28.02.1885, vice governor suvalki, new on such post,
2. Rudolf Otto Wilhelm Ottovich von Buxhoevden, 50 years, 15.12.1883 - vice governor radom,
3. Mikhail Petrovich Daragan, 49 years, dragged to the Kingdom, 21.01.1883 - governor kalish,
4. Mikhail Alekseevich Zinovyev, 46 years, without experience, 28.12.1884 - governor siedltse, then russificator of Livonia,
5. Nikolai Alekseevich Zinovyev, 55 years, experience russification western province, 16.09.1882 - governor suvalki,
6. Mikhail Aleksandrovich Maylevskiy, without experience, 53 - 58 lat, 12.04.1884 - vice governor kielce, 5.07.1884 - vice governor siedltse; 12.07.1888 - governor radom,
7. Konstantin Konstantinovich Miller, 49 years, 26.12.1885 - vice governor kielce (29.07.1887 - governor plotsk; 21.02.1890 - governor petrokov),
8. Mikhail Nikolaievich Sevastyanov, 43 years, with experience, 14.07.1873 - vice governor kielce; 9.06.1878 - vice governor radom; 15.12.1883 - vice governor lomzha; 8.10.1887 - vice governor lublin,
9. Aleksander Andreevich Solntsev, with experience, 52 years, 6.06.1885 - vice governor petrokov; 4.07.1885 - vice governor kielce,
10. Yevgeniy Mikhailovich Subbotkin, with experience, 44-45 years, 8.02.1880 - vice governor kielce; 16.02.1884 - governor suvalki; 9.05.1885 - governor siedltse.
11. Reinhold Vasilyevich Essen, veteran, 10.03.1872 - vice governor petrokov; 47 years, 10.11.1883 - governor lomzha.

But the most characteristic figures of this period are: Leonid Ivanowich Cherkasov (a military judge, 48 years, 29.04.1884 - governor plock) and Vladimir Filippovich Tkhorzhevskiy (42-44 years, veteran, 24.11.1883 - vice governor petrokov; 6.06.1885 - governor suvalki; 18.03.1886 - governor lublin). They became famous with the persecution of Polishness and above all Polish officials and Tkhorzhevskiy also - former Greek-Catholics. This team complemented people experienced (verified) at work in the Kingdom:

- Nikolai Fiodorovich Ivanenko, 57 years, 5.07.1884 – governor kielitse,
 - Mikhail Lyubimovich Korostovtsev, 44 years, 26.01.1884 – vice governor lublin,
 - Ivan Grigoryevich Podgorodnikov, 43-44 years, 5.07.1884 – vice governor kielitse, 4.07.1885 – vice governor petrokov, 26.12.1891 – governor suvalki, 13.11.1895 – governor radom,
 - Arkadiy Andreevich Tolochanov <Аркадий Андреевич Толочанов>, veteran, 53 years, 16.03.1866 – vice governor radom; 30.07.1871 – vice governor suvalki; 19.12.1880 – governor lomzha; 15.10.1883 – governor radom.

2.3. Stagnation

In the subsequent period, despite some gestures, liberal political declarations, in fact, nothing changes. Repression continues. This reflects also personnel policy. During the 17 years (1886-1903) changes in posts almost perfectly reflects the average and range of 3.70 per year. Even if they were individual decisions are treated them for show rather than systemically.

The crucial moment in history for the Empire was the Japanese war, and then the 1905 revolution and related system changes. It often said that the revolutionary events was the reason for changes in positions of governors. Meanwhile, the governor personnel in the Kingdom changed more slowly than usual. In the years 1905-1907 there were only 11 changes in said positions. It seemed that authorities were content with the governors. What is interesting, also the next period is very calm in terms of personnel changes, up until 1913.

2.4. Preparations for war and planned to return to the Kingdom

It is the direct risk of war that leads to sudden changes. In the year 1914, there were 12 changes in the said positions.

When it comes to changes that were results of World War I, the reduction of the position did not always mean the reluctance of authorities. Often the opposite, the most influential officials wanted to relocate from areas close to the front. There were also individuals that treated these sudden changes as a chance to stand out and to be nominated for a governor or vice governor (Bryanchaninov <Владимир Николаевич Брянчанинов>, 6.04.1915 – vice governor radom, 40 years). However, for experienced bureaucrats transferred to the Kingdom was so called *pochetnaya ssylka*. However for the more experience bureaucrats relocated to the Kingdom these was so-called “*pochetnaya ssylka*”. For 50 years the governor’s position was thought to be desired (lucrative, comfortable and career-advancing), however not very prestigious. World War I changed this outlook. The majority tried to flee the area and only the people guided by a sense of mission treated this service positively, like Kozlov - <Алексей Васильевич Козлов> volunteer injured in 1914, 26.10.1915 – vice governor plotsk, 45 years). It is surprising that the authorities did not exhibit any conscious human resources policy. Rather subject to private interests. Bureaucracy demonstrates autonomy.

The last manifestation of the activity of authorities on nominations in the Kingdom were nominations in 1916. Apparently it was related to preparations for the offensive Brusilov’s (started June 4, continued until September 20, 1916), with which authorities were related hope to return Russian authorities to the Kingdom. They were: - Georgiy Borisovich Sturmer <Георгий Борисович Стурмер>, 36 years, the first such high promotion, the son of the Prime Minister, 20.02.1916 – vice governor suvalki; 18.05.1916 – vice governor kursk; - Leonid Mikhaylovich Savelov <Леонид Михайлович Савелов>,

historian and archivist, 28.07.1908 – manager Moscow Division of General Archive of the Ministry of the Imperial Court; 48 years – 29.08.1916 – governor kholm, - Dmitriy Platonovich Makalinskiy <Дмитрий Платонович Макалинский>, 38 years, lawyer, 18.05.1916 – vice governor suvalki. Like many nomination in 1914 and 1915 years it was the people without experience, with very different motivation. Specific government policy cannot be seen in these appointments.

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According to the decision of the Provisional Government of March 4, 1917 governors and vice governors they were removed from their duties and their powers transferred to the provincial chairman of the earthly offices and special plenipotentiaries central government. Was considered, moreover, that the return of these officials to the Kingdom is already impossible. These positions was liquidated long after the evacuation of the Russian administration Kingdom in the deep into Russia, after the revolution - after the Soviet government decree of 29 August 1918. Recent appointments to these posts was made, also for evacuation in 1916.

In the case of this group, the general conditions influencing the promotion are confirmed, i.e. (in order of importance): I. Russian nationality (the Balts included); II. Connections; III. Education and experience; IV. the affiliation with the state and political ideology – dvoryanstvo. This article also outlines a very important factor – political conditions. Political changes were so decisive that they became the most important factor during the application process. In those periods, the other factors, both occasional and regular, even connections, receded into the background.

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Streszczenie

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Gubernatorowie gubernii Królestwa Polskiego – selekcja kandydatów a polityczne cele Imperium (1866-1916)

Królestwo Polskie z kilku względów było terytorium strategicznym dla Imperium Rosyjskiego. Po pierwsze ze względu pogarszających się stosunków z Prusami i monarchią Habsburską. Po drugie ze względów ekonomicznych – były to tereny najgęściej zaludnione i rozwinięte gospodarczo. Po trzecie wreszcie było to centrum kultury polskiej, która miała wpływ na pozostałe ziemie byłej Rzeczypospolitej znajdujące się pod panowaniem Romanowów. Po dwóch powstaniach polskich stało się jasne, że Imperium nie potrafiło zjednać sobie polskich elit narodowych a wręcz przeciwnie zostały one uznane za konkurencyjne a wręcz wrogie. Jednak zarówno sytuacja Królestwa jak i cele polityki Imperium zmieniały się. Wyrazem tych zmian były nominacje gubernatorów i wicegubernatorów w 10 guberniach tego kraju od reform unifikujących po Powstaniu styczniowym do ostatniej fali nominacji po ofensywie Brusilowa jesienią 1916 r. Referat będzie próbą odpowiedzi na pytanie na ile machina biurokratyczna Imperium była zdolna operatywnie reagować na potrzeby polityczne? Czy można pokazać zależności między nominacjami gubernatorskimi a zmianami polityki centrum wobec tej peryferii? Czy też przesłaniał je protekcyjizm i klientelizm? Przedmiotem analizy będą zarówno pełne dane dotyczące grupy jak dane biograficzne

Аннотация

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Губернаторы губерний Царства Польского – селекция кандидатов а политические цели Империи (1866-1916)

Королевство Польское по нескольким причинам было стратегической территорией для Российской Империи. Во первых из-за ухудшения отношений с Германской Империей и Габсбургской монархией. Во вторых из-за экономики – это была сама густо населенная территория и развита экономически. Во третьих, это был центр польской культуры, которая имела влияние на все остальные земли бывшей Речи Посполитой под господством Романовых. После двух восстаний стало очевидным, что Империя не может примирить польских элит а даже наоборот начала их воспринимать как конкурента или врага. Однако так положение Королевства, как и цели политики Империи менялись. Выражением этих изменений были кандидатуры губернаторов и вицегубернаторов для десяти губерний этого края, от унификационных преобразований после подавления Январского восстания, по последую волну назначений после наступления Брусилова осенью 1916 года. Статья является попыткой ответа на вопрос насколько бюрократическая машина Империи была в состоянии оперативно реагировать на текущие политические нужды? Можно ли представить зависимости между губернаторскими назначениями а переменами политики центра Империи в отношении к этой периферии? А может мешал в этом протекционизм и клиентелизм сановников? Предметом анализа были так полные данные группы, как и биографии отдельных лиц.