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Russification of the penitentiary system in the Kingdom of Poland after the January Uprising in 1863

Abstract: The suppression of the January Uprising in 1863 increased the repression of the tsarist invader against the society in the Kingdom of Poland. The intensification of Russification activities, apart from all areas of social life, also included the penitentiary system. The history of this system after the loss of the autonomy of the Kingdom, which came to be called the Vistula Land, is so far known only fragmentarily. The basic barrier to researching this period are the preserved archival sources, which were largely produced in Russian. For the purposes of this article, an analysis of the most important elements constituting the basis of the penitentiary system at that time was conducted, i.e. penitentiary legislation, organization of the prison system, basic means of penitentiary interaction on prisoners and prison staff.

Key words: Kingdom of Poland, January Uprising, Russification, penitentiary system.

The penitentiary system in the period of autonomy of the Kingdom of Poland

The penitentiary system of the Kingdom of Poland was definitively Polish in nature until the outbreak of the January Uprising of 1863¹. This was evidenced

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¹ The article is the result of the author's research on the origins and development of the prison system throughout Polish history. Their results will be published in a monograph entitled *Geneza oraz*

by those elements of the system that define its concept. Contemporary authors, in spite of differences, include in it the entirety of penitentiary legislation and institutions as well as penitentiary facilities aiming, through the use of specific methods and means, to achieve the main goal (tasks) of imprisonment (Śliwowski 1982, p. 83; Walczak 1972, p. 107). The foundation for maintaining the national character of the established Kingdom was to be a constitution that guaranteed its limited autonomy (Bartoszewicz 1916, p. 213). The constitution established Polish as the official language and guaranteed that convicts would serve their sentences within the Kingdom. On the other hand, the foundations of the Polish penitentiary system were formed by the Penal Code approved by Tsar Alexander I and the General Prison Guidelines issued by the Minister of the Interior Tadeusz Mostowski (Senkowska 1961, p. 90).

The Penal Code introduced the division of penalties into criminal, correctional, and police ones and established the types of prisons necessary for serving such sentences, in the form of a fortified prison, a heavy prison, a house of correction, a house of public custody, and a police custody (Śliwowski 1958, p. 336). After intensive works, mainly adaptations, 18 prisons functioned in the Kingdom of Poland in 1824, including two in Warsaw and one each in Biała, Brześć Kujawski, Chęciny, Janów, Jędrzejów, Kalwaria, Kielce, Lublin, Łęczycza, Łomża, Płock, Piotrków, Pzdzry, Pułtusk, Radom and Sandomierz (Demidowicz 1999, p. 215).

The most important features testifying to preservation of the Polish form of the penitentiary system is the issuance of provisions on the enforcement of sentences in the national language. The General Prison Guidelines of 1823 placed the prisons under the authority of the Governmental Committee for Internal Affairs and Police (*Polish name: Komisja Rządowa Spraw Wewnętrznych i Policji*) and, for the first time in history, named the prison staff “prison service”. In addition, it divided the staff into two groups: the first – the officials, i.e., the administrative staff, which included prison wardens and clerks, as well as the investigating staff, including the doctor, his assistant called the surgeon, and the clergyman; and the second – the prison guard, i.e., the warders and watchmen who kept guard inside and outside the prison. The Guidelines required both officials and warders to swear an oath of allegiance to the Tsar (*Instrukcja więzienna 1823* [in English: *Prison Guidelines of 1823*], pp. 337–341). The oath, although its text was a faithful copy of the Russian oath, was taken in Polish in the presence of a priest performing the duties of a prison chaplain (State Archives in Lublin, ref. no. 1554, no page numbers, «hereinafter n.p.»).

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kształtowanie się więziennictwa w okresie I Rzeczypospolitej, Księstwa Warszawskiego i Królestwa Polskiego. Od służby miejskiego do strażnika więziennego (in English: *Genesis and Formation of the Prison System in the Period of the First Republic of Poland, the Duchy of Warsaw and the Kingdom of Poland. From Urban Servant to Prison Warder*).

A summary of the legislative activity confirming the Polish nature of the penitentiary system was the collection and publication of all applicable prison regulations in one volume before the outbreak of the January Uprising (*Instrukcja dla więzień i zakładów karnych Królestwa Polskiego 1859* [in English: *Guidelines for Prisons and Penitentiaries of the Kingdom of Poland of 1859*], pp. 3–327).

The procedure for selecting and appointing prison wardens was enacted by the Administration Board on 13 October 1829 (Czołgoszewski 2016, p. 26). Candidates for these positions were selected by the provincial committee, which then presented them to the Governmental Committee for Internal Affairs and Police for nomination. In order to ensure the selection of the best possible candidates, it was established in 1830 that priority would be given to prison clerks who had passed the warden's exam (State Archives in Kalisz, ref. no. 235, file 33–34).

Rules for recruitment to prison guard posts were set in 1853 (*Instrukcja dla strażników więziennych* (in English: *Guidelines for Prison Warders*) 1853, p. 685). They reinforced the established practice of recruiting warden candidates from among military veterans. This procedure is confirmed, for example, by information from 1833 about five prison warders in the Kingdom of Poland, three from the criminal prison in Pułtusk and two from the prison in Płock. They were all Roman Catholics, had war experience, and their motivation to join the prison guard were difficult material conditions.

The prison service was characterized by distinct uniforms. Officials wore so-called civilian uniforms, i.e. dark green uniforms assigned to representatives of the department of the interior, clergy and public enlightenment. The prison guard representatives, on the other hand, wore uniforms appropriate to their former military formation. The external forms of Polishness were emphasized by the prison's round official seals, with a tsarist double-headed eagle together with a Polish eagle on the shield and an inscription in Polish, e.g. in the prison in Pułtusk in 1833 "Królestwo Polskie Inspektor Więzienia w Pułtusku" (in English: *Kingdom of Poland Prison Inspector in Pułtusk*) or in 1844 "Nadzorca Więzienia Kryminalnego w Pułtusku" (in English: *Warden of the Criminal Prison in Pułtusk*) (State Archive in Płock, ref. no. 130, file 1; ref. no. 155, file 4, 19; ref. no. 249, file 2; ref. no. 259, file 2; ref. no. 260, file 2).

In the 1830s, the average prison population in the Kingdom of Poland was 3,300 inmates, including 1,800 convicts and 1,500 defendants. Over 91% of those incarcerated were male and 8.9% were female. Among the total prison population, an average of 5 per year were sentenced to death, about 200 to fortified imprisonment, 1,000 to hard imprisonment, and 600 to reformatory imprisonment. Two-thirds of the convicts were serving sentences for committing crimes and one-third for misdemeanours (Skarbek 1841, p. 609).

During the first period of the Kingdom's existence, the correctional measures towards convicts were scarcely used. Segregation of prisoners due to site

conditions, overcrowding of facilities, and their unsuitability for this purpose was not very effective. Initially even minor prisoners were not separated from adults, or investigative prisoners from convicted prisoners. Working inside as well as outside prisons was part of the aggravation of the penalty, and served primarily fiscal purpose – employed prisoners were supposed to contribute to the reduction of fiscal expenditures on prisons. For this reason, even begging on the streets by prisoners on their way to perform municipal public works was tolerated. Spiritual care in prisons received little attention from the clergy, and was limited to holding Sunday services, religious instruction, and hearing confessions. Periodic solitary confinement and shackling were the main disciplinary punishments. In contrast, signs of humane treatment of prisoners included significant restrictions on the use of punishments, a prohibition on self-inflicted punishments by prison warders and watchmen, and the right of prisoners to lodge complaints.

The changes in the approach to the goals of the penalty and giving the prison sentence a correctional and educational purpose were greatly influenced by the then representatives of the Polish penitentiary thought. Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, Ksawery Potocki, and Fryderyk Skarbek had the greatest impact on the practice of serving a sentence (Osoba 2001, p. 104). In spite of the obvious limitations associated with the activities of the penitentiary system at the time, the reforms carried out under F. Skarbek should be singled out for their moral improvement of the prisoners, making the employment of prisoners the most important penitentiary measure, and leading to the construction of so-called “cell prisons” that were to allow for the classification of prisoners.

Mitigation of the Polish nature of the penitentiary system

Official measures to limit the autonomy of the Kingdom of Poland began in 1831 after the November Uprising, when the existing constitution was replaced by the Organic Statute of the Kingdom of Poland, and an adapted version of the Russian Penal Code was imposed in place of the existing Penal Code. The amendments introduced the death penalty in a wide range of forms, as well as penalties unknown in the Kingdom, such as sending to labour camps in Siberia or exile beyond the Caucasus.

The Administrative Council was required to adapt the naming of prison facilities to the ones included in the new Penal Code. The warders' attitudes during the November “rebellion”, as the tsarist authorities called the uprising of Polish society in order to diminish its significance, began to be recorded in the service lists, the personnel files of the time. This was of vital importance when trying to get promoted and, above all, when applying for a retirement salary. Additionally, those entering the service were required to submit a written declaration of loyalty and political rectitude that prohibited affiliation with domestic or foreign secret

societies. Withholding such information was treated as a crime against the state and carried severe criminal liability (State Archive in Płock, ref. no. 246, file 95).

Another restrictions concerned the general ban on admitting to government service candidates without sufficient knowledge of the Russian language, confirmed by a school certificate or a relevant exam. In the case of the prison service, this requirement applied only to officials, especially candidates for the position of prison warden or clerk. In addition, the Tsarist Decree of 1852 made an exception to the rules of giving priority to candidates already working in prisons as wardens and introduced a rule to appoint the discharged officers of the tsarist army to these positions (Ukaz o przeznaczanie Oficerów dymisyonowanych na Nadzorców więzień 1852 [in English: *The Decree on the Appointing Discharged Officers as Prison Wardens of 1852*], p. 683).

Restrictive penal policies after the November Uprising led to a doubling of the prison population within twenty years. On 1 May 1854, there were 7,238 inmates in the prisons, and the overcrowding of the facilities (at over 65%) resulted in increased illness and mortality among the prisoners (State Archives in Kalisz, ref. no. 816, p. 275). Stricter disciplinary regulations adapted to the then in force Russian Code added whipping with a rod to the punishment of flogging, which had been in effect since 1842 (Przepisy o karności domowej więźni 1853 [in English: *Provisions on Discipline of Prisoners of 1853*], p. 63).

As the repressions intensified, so did the extension of investigative cell prisons, designed primarily to isolate detained “rebels,” as the insurgents were called. However, the segregation was not to serve correctional, but solely the investigation against the defendants purposes. First, the interrupted construction of Pawiak was completed in 1835, which became one of the largest isolation prisons in Europe and a symbol of tsarist rule in the Kingdom. In the next stage, prisons were established in Sieradz (1839)², Siedlce (1844) as well as in Kalisz and Płock (both in 1846) (Skarbek 1841, p. 606).

Russification of the penitentiary system after the January Uprising of 1863

The reduction of the Polish character of the penitentiary system, and its subsequent Russification following the January Uprising of 1863, was connected with the general liquidation of the political and institutional separateness of the Kingdom of Poland. After the abolition of the national central authorities, including the Governmental Committee for Internal Affairs, authority over the prison system was assumed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA) in St. Petersburg. In order to concentrate the management of the vast prison system of the Russian Empire,

² The literature erroneously states 1936 as the date of its establishment.

the General Prison Administration (Главное тюремное управление) was established under the MIA in 1879. In 1895, the General Prison Administration was transferred to the Ministry of Justice, but this change was only formal and had no effect on further operation of the prison system (Славинский 2009, p. 242).

There was legal chaos in the management of the prison system in the Kingdom of Poland. On the one hand, regulations issued before the abolition of its autonomy and collected in the Prison Guidelines published in 1859 were in force, while on the other hand, progressive Russification introduced Russian elements into the prison system. The external forms that characterized the prison system, as well as the internal order of the prisons, were blurred.

As part of the system's external features, the nomenclature was changed to that used in the Russian prison system. The Polish term for the position of "nadzorca" (meaning warden), was replaced by "smotritiel" (in Russian: *смотритель*), and the brick prison buildings began to be called, similarly to the Russian system, *tiuremny zamek* (in Russian: *тюремный замок*, meaning "prison castle") (Инструкция смотрителю губернского тюремного замка 1857, Appendix 96, p. 172). Another transformation of nomenclature took place in 1887 in connection with changes in the organization of the prison system and prison guard, when *smotritiel* began to be called *naczelnik* (in Russian: *начальник*, meaning "warden"), and the Polish name for warden was changed from *strażnik* into *dozorca* (in Russian: *надзиратель*) (Объ устройстве управлений отдельными местами заключения гражданского ведомства и тюремной стражи 1887, p. 336). Highlighting the outwardly Russian character of the prisons included headings on prison official blanks and change of stamps. For example, the documents of the prison in Kielce had a heading in Russian: *МВД. СМОТРИТЕЛЬ Келецкого ТЮРЕМНОГО ЗАМКА* (State Archive in Kielce, ref. no. 10391, file 5), and Polish accents disappeared from round prison stamps, e.g. in Łomża, where they were replaced by the tsarist governorate coat of arms along with the inscription *ПЕЧАТЬ ЛОМЖИНСКОЙ ТЮРЬМЫ* (State Archives in Białystok, ref. no. 1368, file 56). In 1885, the uniforms worn by both prison board representatives and prison guards were changed. The previous dark green uniforms were replaced with black ones worn by Russian officials and warders (Czołgoszewski 2014, p. 132).

Internal prison order began to take on Russian standards by replacing the provisions of the 1859 Prison Guidelines with Russian regulations. These were primarily regulations issued in 1857 and in later years those concerning persons held under guard, amended several times (1886, 1890) (Уставъ о содержащихся подъ стражей 1903). However, the most important legal act, which defined the organization of the prison system of the Kingdom of Poland according to the Russian model, was the Resolution of Tsar Alexander III dated 15 June 1887 on the Composition of Prison Boards and Prison Guard (Объ устройстве управлений отдельными местами заключения гражданского ведомства и тюремной стражи 1887, pp. 333–336).

The resolution unified the organization of prisons throughout the Russian Empire. It defined, among other things, the composition of the prison boards, which included prison wardens and their assistants, as well as doctors, feldshers, and clergy. Candidates for prison warden positions were proposed by the governors in charge of prisons, at their discretion. The candidate was not required to have a specific education, for example; the most important factor was loyalty to the Tsar and his policies. Depending on the official rank assigned to the position, they could be appointed by the governor, by the minister, firstly of the interior and then by the minister of justice, and by the Tsar by his highest order if it concerned a candidate for the most important positions or if the candidate was a soldier.

The state of deep Russification of prison warden positions is confirmed by the 1889 list of prison officials, which includes a list of five Kingdom wardens appointed by the Minister of Justice. In accordance with the tsarist policy of appointing former military officers to these positions, the two most important prisons in the capital city, i.e., the Warsaw Main Penitentiary (located in the former Arsenal) and the Warsaw Investigation Prison (known as Pawiak), were commanded by native Russians. Both were reserve officers with high military ranks: the former in the rank of Staff captain, the latter of Colonel. They had military training and were graduates of junker infantry schools. They were married and were the followers of the Orthodox Church, one had a bourgeois background, the other came from the nobility. They were contemporaries, fifty-one years of age and almost the same seniority in the imperial service – 33 years and 32 years. They had joined the prison service 6 and 4 years earlier, respectively. They also demonstrated short tenure in this position. The Staff captain had been the acting warden for about a year, while the Colonel had been appointed to that position four years earlier, with his transition to prison. Their seniority in office was counted from 1887 and from 1896. The tsarist authorities applied a number of incentives for the zealous service, including medals of various kinds and ranks. Because of his short seniority as the warden, the first candidate had only decorations received during his military service: the Order of Saint Stanislaus of 3rd class, the Russian Red Cross badge and the Alexander III Reign Commemorative Silver Medal. The other candidate, on the other hand, received the Order of Saint Anna of 3rd class, of Saint Stanislaus of 3rd class, a gold watch with the state coat of arms, a gold ring with a precious stone, and the Alexander III Reign Commemorative Silver Medal, but it is impossible to determine from the document at what point in his career he received them.

Of the other three wardens appointed by the Minister of Justice, who held positions at the governorate prison in Lublin, at the Kielce Correctional Prison located on Święty Krzyż, and in Piotrków, only the last may have been a Pole. The Russian wardens who were of the Orthodox faith were distinguished by their social background and marital status. Both were sons of clergymen and bachelors. Unlike the wardens of Warsaw prisons, who were former military

officers, the warden of the governorate prison in Lublin and the warden of the Kielce Correctional Prison were officials with the rank of collegiate assessor and collegiate secretary, respectively. They were relatively young people – 37 years old and 32 years old. The first had a home education, had passed the clerical examinations and held the appropriate certificate; the second, on the other hand, had trained as an Orthodox clergyman but had not completed seminary. The warden of the Lublin governorate prison had 18 years of clerical experience and had only just taken up his post, while the warden of the Kielce Correctional Prison had 14 seniority, including one year in this post.

The acting warden of the Piotrków prison had a different career than the Russian warden, as he was a former officer of the rank of lieutenant-colonel, who given his full name (Witold Chyrosz) and his Roman Catholic faith, could have been a Pole (or possibly a Belorussian). His origin cannot be confirmed using patronymic, i.e. his father's name Iwan, because in the times of Russification the name Jan was commonly Russified to Iwan. Another testimony to his Polish origin is that he graduated from the Warsaw Junker Infantry School, which proves that he was of rather local origin (a similar school was located in Vilnius). He was a nobleman, married, had three children and was 54 years old. He joined the military service during the January Uprising in 1864, and in 1891 he moved on to the prison service, where he became the prison warden. Despite having the longest military and clerical seniority among all the wardens, i.e. of 35 years, unlike the Russians who were lavishly rewarded with decorations, he received only two low-rank awards: the order of Saint Stanislaus of 3rd class and the Alexander III Reign Commemorative Silver Medal (Список чинов Тюремного ведомства 1899, pp. 17, 28, 30, 35).

The new prison structure introduced by a tsarist resolution in 1887 also established the composition of the prison guard, which consisted of senior and junior male and female warders. The immediate superior of the warders was the prison warden, who decided on their appointment and dismissal from the post, and priority in admission was given to non-commissioned officers and military privates. Since 1876, male and female prison warders were required to take an oath of allegiance in the Russian language. The content of the rota required vowing to the Tsar, among other things, one's submission and willingness to sacrifice one's life.

In order to encourage candidates to join one of the tsarist services that served the purposes of repressing the society, its members were granted numerous material and discretionary privileges. It was aimed primarily at attracting officers, non-commissioned officers and privates dismissed from the army, and the most important incentive was to count military service towards pensionable years and, if they already were retired, to pay the pension in addition to their prison wages. Moreover, they became eligible for early retirement after only 25 years of the applicable 35 years of service. They were also entitled to staff accommodation or the cash equivalent for renting.

Lower prison staff were also to receive various kinds of benefits. They were entitled to early retirement under conditions similar to those enjoyed by supervisory representatives, as well as to a seniority allowance in the amount of one-third of their salary after just five years of service, two-thirds after ten years, and double salary after fifteen years for additional service.

The most visible form of intangible incentives for prison staff was rewarding them with medals. The prison guard was subjected to a similar policy as was applied to lower rank police and fire personnel. Since 1887, prison guards were awarded medals bearing the effigy of the Tsar on the obverse and the inscription *Za nieskazitelną służbę w straży więziennej* (in English: “For Impeccable Prison Guard Service”). In 1897 they could receive medals with the inscription *Za gorliwość*, meaning “for zeal”, and since 1913 into *Za odwagę*, meaning “for bravery”, but without the monetary allowance other awardees were entitled to (Уставъ о содержащихся подъ стражей 1903, pp. 48–63).

On the example of the prison in Piotrków, it can be stated that despite the invaders’ strenuous efforts, they did not manage to impose a Russian character on the lower rank personnel of prisons in the Kingdom of Poland. This is evidenced by the structure of the prison guard in Piotrków, which in 1910 employed 94 male warders, including: 3 seniors and 90 juniors and one female warder. All the warders came from only two social classes, the peasants and the townspeople. Since military service in the tsarist army was compulsory, all the warders had military experience. Most of them served in the infantry – 76, in the artillery – 11, and in the cavalry – 6. More than 92% of the warders were of the Catholic faith, which at that time was commonly recognized as the religion represented by Poles, only four of them were of the Orthodox faith, identified with Russians and Byelorussians, and three belonged to the Lutheran church, whose community consisted mainly of people of German origin (State Archive in Łódź, ref. no. 3085, n.p.).

In the Kingdom of Poland, following the example of the governorates of the Russian Empire, administrative power was vested in the governors, who directed the work of the governorate governments. These were one-person bodies primarily responsible for consolidating Russian rule and repressing any manifestation of popular resistance. One of the numerous powers entrusted to the governorate administration was the management of prisons and prisoners escorting, which were handled by the military and police departments. These departments were the most Russified due to the importance of the cases they handled (Górak 2015, pp. 182–184).

Since the wide range of prison issues constituted a heavy burden for the military-police departments, and sometimes also paralyzed the work of these departments, in 1890 it was decided to gradually establish, in the designated governorates throughout the Empire, prison inspectorates in the form of prison departments within the structures of the governorate governments (Объ учреждении губернской тюремной инспекции 1890, p. 243). Organizational changes reached the

Kingdom of Poland in 1894, when the prison inspectorate was established at the Office of the General-Governor of Warsaw. The inspectorate tasks were carried out by the prison department under the direction of the governorate prison inspector, who became a member of the governorate government with the rights and duties of a deputy governor. The governorate inspector was doubly subordinate. On the one hand, he headed the prison department and was accountable directly to the governor for the implementation of the matters entrusted to him, and on the other hand, he was subordinate to the General Prison Administration. The tsarist authorities treated the Kingdom of Poland as one big governorate, establishing only one prison inspectorate in Warsaw. Consequently, practical authority over the prisons in the remaining governorates continued to be exercised by governors. The established prison department took over the tasks previously performed by the military and police department. The governorate prison inspector directed personnel policy and guarded the integrity of the prison staff. He managed prison finances and was responsible for the conditions of serving sentences in prisons and jails and for escorting prisoners (О мѣстномъ заведывании тюремною частью въ губерніяхъ Царства Польскаго 1894, p. 222).

The prison department inaugurated its activities on 1 September 1894, with a membership of five. The first, and as it turned out for a long time the highest representative of the tsarist prison authorities in the Kingdom, was a Russian nobleman of German origin, Konstanty von Petz. Two of his successors, who held the post shortly before the fall of the partition, and another five deputies were also Russians. Only the least important post in terms of power, i.e. that of secretary of the department and its other officials, could be held by Poles. During more than twenty years of existence, the prison department underwent various structural and personnel reorganizations, but the scope of its tasks did not undergo significant changes (Список чинов Тюремного ведомства 1914, p. 23).

With the establishment of the Governorate Prison Inspectorate, Warsaw's extensive penitentiary system could nominally accommodate about 1,400 prisoners, twice as many as twenty years earlier. Since 1901, the prison capacity was calculated based on the very low standard set by the Central Prison Board, which was 1.14 m³ of air space per prisoner. The capital's largest prison, the Warsaw Main Penitentiary could accommodate 450 inmates, and two of its subordinate units: the temporary ward for men operating in the adapted two-story building of the former Correctional Police Court (ul. Dzielna 26) – 300 inmates and the ward for women set up in rented premises of a private house (ul. Żłota 74) – 200 inmates. In addition, the Warsaw Investigative Prison (Pawiak) was intended to accommodate 300 prisoners, and the Warsaw Transfer Prison (in Praga) served as a staging point for 150–180 prisoners escorted throughout the Kingdom and sent into Siberian exile (Обзоръ Варшавской губернии 1895, pp. 52, 71). Periodic overcrowding of prison facilities led to further investments. In the capital city, the Warsaw Women's Prison was established in 1896, on the

basis of the Temporary Division of the Warsaw Main Penitentiary Prison (in 1911 its capacity was set at 228 prisoners), and in 1904 the Warsaw Correctional Prison (in Russian: *Варшавское исправительное арестантское отделение*) was founded in Mokotów, which in 1910 was transformed into the Warsaw Temporary Custodial Prison (in Russian: *Варшавская временная каторжная тюрьма*). It was a large prison complex designed to accommodate about 1,200 convicts (Отчет по Главному Тюремному Управлению 1909, pp. IX, 76–77).

The existing prison base of the Kingdom of Poland did not meet the needs associated with the repressive policies of the Tsar. The local authorities coped with overcrowding by asking the St. Petersburg prison authorities to build new facilities, expand existing ones, convert other objects, such as monastery buildings, into prisons, and incorporate neighbouring buildings into prison complexes or periodically rent rooms in private homes. Facilities were systematically built or expanded in the governorate cities. For example, one of the largest prison complexes of the Kingdom, located in Piotrków, was constantly expanded. The main body housed in the former convent building was rebuilt, and private houses located in the vicinity of the prison were purchased and rented. As a result, in 1901 the prison had 118 general cells and 44 single-person cells for a total of 770 inmates (State Archive in Łódź, ref. no. 2989, n.p.). The new prison, which was part of an extension of the existing complex, was built in 1892 in Siedlce, the capital of the Siedlce Governorate. In addition to a large building for prisoners, an administrative and residential building for personnel was constructed. After the expansion, the prison could accommodate 564 inmates (Обзорь Седлецкой губернии 1903, p. 53). Also in 1892, a new prison was opened in another governorate capital city, Łomża. It was considered one of the three most modern prisons in the entire Russian Empire. It could accommodate 450 inmates (Gwardiak 1989, pp. 44, 48). The last governorate town to have new prison facilities built was Suwałki. In 1909, a prison for investigative prisoners was opened with 100 places in general cells and 18 in single-person cells (Отчет по Главному Тюремному Управлению 1909, pp. 65–68).

Construction of new prisons or expansion and conversion of existing prisons also continued in provincial towns and in growing industrial centres. For example, in the Kielce Governorate, in 1886 one of the wings of the former Benedictine monastery on Święty Krzyż was adapted for use as a penal prison that could accommodate 300 convicts. In 1893, the facility, which had existed as the Opatów Penitentiary Prison, was renamed the Kielce Correctional Prison. After the Warsaw prison in Mokotów was transformed from the correctional into the custodial prison, the capacity of the Kielce prison was increased to house 400 inmates and it was the only correctional prison in the whole Russian partition (Massalski 2000, pp. 189–192). The rapid expansion of Łódź, connected with the city's industrial development, resulted in the erection of a new prison, at ul. Długa 13, which was opened on 20 June 1886. Since the facility could not accommodate

all prisoners and police detainees, first, by the Tsarist Decree of 1897, part of the building occupied by the police jail was taken over from the city, which increased the prison capacity to house 76 inmates, and then, due to overcrowding, from 1 July 1908 additional premises in a private house were rented for the needs of the prison (State Archive in Łódź, ref. no. 263, file 1–2, 11–14). At the end of 1898, an independent prison, which replaced the old facility located in the rented premises of the castle tower, was established in a provincial town of the Siedlce Governorate, in Biała. After several years of operation, it was able to receive 87 prisoners, arrested and convicted by judgments of municipal and magistrates' courts (Woźnica 2008, pp. 28–29). The last investment related to the expansion of the Kingdom's prison system took place on 1 September 1912 with the transformation of the police jail in Ostrołęka to a prison. The nearly ten-year-old complex, built to a typical design for police jails, consisted of three buildings and could accommodate a total of 72 inmates, including 60 men in ten cells and 12 women in three cells. (State Archive in Białystok, ref. no. 1368, file 28).

Two years before the outbreak of World War I, there were a total of 26 prisons in the Kingdom of Poland, with the capacity of 8,768 inmates, including 7,709 in general cells and 1,059 in single cells. As of 14 January 1913, 9,815 inmates were kept in them (Kaczyńska 1989, p. 516).

The Russian Penal Code became the basis of the Tsar's repressive policy after the January Uprising. It contained an elaborate system of criminal and correctional penalties, allowed for various and numerous exile penalties, deprivation of estate rights, and introduced confiscations, corporal and dishonourable penalties. After the judicial reform carried out in 1876, review hearings for those convicted by courts in the Kingdom were held in the capital city. Such solutions resulted in overcrowding of Warsaw prisons and deterioration of living and sanitary conditions. Over a period of twenty years, with the fixed capital governorate's prisons capacity ranging from 750 in 1876 to 1,250 in 1896, the prisons were constantly overcrowded. For example, at the end of 1876, the occupancy level was 155%, in 1886 it averaged 134%, and in 1896 – 117% (Обзоръ Варшавской губернии 1876, p. 55; 1886, p. 52; 1896, p. 28).

In the 1880s and 1890s, imprisonment was the most common criminal sanction imposed in the Kingdom of Poland. At the beginning of the twentieth century, between 1904 and 1908, the average daily prison population was nearly 8,800 inmates. The most populated prisons were those located in the Warsaw Governorate – 2,479 and the Piotrków Governorate – 1,381. The prisons located in the following governorates were moderately crowded: Kalisz – 797 inmates, Kielce – 686, Lublin – 633, Radom – 594, Siedlce – 483. The lowest number of prisoners was recorded in the Łomża Governorate – 281, the Suwałki Governorate – 235, and the Płock Governorate – 215 (“Тюремный вестник” 1910, pp. 692–694).

After the January Uprising, the prison located in the 10th Pavilion of the Warsaw Citadel was used to break the society's resistance. It was not subordinate

to the General Prison Administration, but to the police authorities represented by the gendarmerie, and its actual ruler was the Governor of the Kingdom of Poland, as well as an investigating commission operating under his supervision and a court martial handing down harsh sentences. It was the largest political prison in the Kingdom of Poland, where about 40,000 people were imprisoned. Some of them were sentenced to death and executed, and most were sentenced to a long *katorga* (penal labour) or exile in Siberia (Skoczek 2014, p. 60).

The status of political prisoner was introduced with the first participants in the January Uprising in 1866 sentenced to imprisonment. A formal division between political and criminal prisoners occurred. Generally, political prisoners served their sentences separately from criminal prisoners, but practice showed different treatment, especially when the authorities sought to use criminal prisoners to fight the resistance of political prisoners (Osoba 2007, p. 44). This was the case, among others, in the Warsaw Investigation Prison (Pawiak), which served as a political prison following the outbreak of the January Uprising. Political prisoners dominated the prison population, especially during the 1905 revolution. The history of Pawiak includes examples of political struggle through hunger strikes, collective protests, revolts and escapes. The prison administration suppressed their resistance with brutal repression using the military, harsh disciplinary punishments, and even shooting at those looking out of windows (Ossibach-Budzyński 2016, pp. 224–288).

The most severe form of the invader's repression against the resistance of Polish society was the penalty of long-term *katorga* or exile in Siberia. The law on deportees distinguished three types of deportation to Siberia or beyond the Caucasus: to serve *katorga*, penal settlement, and exile (for life) (Уставъ о ссыльныхъ 1857, p. 3).

After the introduction of deportation to Siberia, it was initially carried out by horse-drawn carriages along the "Grodno route", to Grodno, next to Moscow, and then to distant Siberia (Czolgoszewski 2014, pp. 121–139). After the railroads began operating, the transfer of prisoners on foot was replaced by transport by rail wagons. According to the procedure established in the Kingdom, the deportees were grouped at the Warsaw Main Penitentiary, from where they were headed, through the main staging point in Warsaw's Praga district, to the transfer prison in Moscow. Only prisoners from the Łomża, Suwałki, and Siedlce Governorates were sent via Vilnius or Smolensk. The rail transportation followed the procedures established for each transport separately, at designated times, in separate wagons, under a specially designated convoy. The guards were to be armed with sabres and with pistols ready for use (with released trigger). The deportees were only allowed to take about 12 kg of baggage with them. The Siberian system of prisons where *katorga* penalty was served included the Tobolsk and Irkutsk Governorates, as well as the Zabaykalsky District (the so-called Nerchinsk *katorga*). The main route of exile led from Moscow through Nizhny Novgorod, Perm, Tyumen, and

Tomsk, which was later replaced by the railroad route from Moscow through Ryazan, Ryazsk, Penza, Samara, Ufa, Chelyabinsk, and further along the Siberian and Zabaykalsky route (Уставъ о содержащихся подъ стражей 1903, pp. 268, 277).

The tragic fate of exile involved a large group of Poles. It is estimated that as a result of repressions after the January Uprising, more than 25,000 people were exiled from the Kingdom of Poland to European Russia, the Caucasus and Siberia between 1863 and 1867. Another wave of deportees consisted of participants in the revolutionary events of 1905, punished administratively for political activity, who in the years 1906–1909 accounted for as much as 34.9% of the total deportees (Leończyk 2018, pp. 10–11). In the last period of Tsarist rule in the Kingdom of Poland, between 1911 and 1914, every thirteenth settler-political deportee was a Pole (7.5%) (Kaczyńska 1991, p. 332).

The Russification of the penitentiary system also extended to the penitentiary measures applied to prisoners, which included religious and moral instruction, prison education, prisoner employment, and prison rigor.

The most intense measures, in addition to providing spiritual consolation as moral support for the prisoners, were related to the discriminatory treatment of representatives of other faiths and imposition of Orthodoxy as the state religion, which was aimed at strengthening tsarist rule (Ludwiczak 2018, p. 233). In prisons, these tasks were carried out by wardens and Orthodox prison chaplains. In 1881, the twenty prisons employed 19 Roman Catholic priests, 15 pastors, 4 Orthodox clergymen, and 2 assisting cantors (Bedyński 1994, p. 25). The number of Orthodox clergymen was proportional to the number of Orthodox prisoners, which generally did not exceed 5% and was usually even lower. Their privileges were also manifested in higher salaries; for example, in 1904, the Orthodox chaplain in the Siedlce prison received 300 roubles annual salary, while the Catholic chaplain received only 125 roubles. In addition, for example, 50 roubles were allocated annually for the operation of the prison's Orthodox church, while the Catholic chapel was not subsidized at all (*Обзоръ Седлецкой губернии* 1904, p. 95).

Despite the small number of Orthodox prisoners, the governorate authorities strove to build Orthodox churches in all prisons. They were to serve not only religious purposes, but also to be used for patriotic celebrations associated with tsarist rule. In spite of generally difficult financial situation, funds were spent to build, for example, a large, representative Orthodox church in the Warsaw Main Penitentiary and in the governorate prisons in Siedlce, Łomża, and Kielce.

In the Kingdom of Poland, under the provisions of the Criminal and Correctional Penalties Code, criminal responsibility was imposed on minors between the ages of 10 and 14. Subsequent legislation ordered that they be isolated from adult prisoners and taught moral principles in prison schools. The main goal of schooling organized on the basis of Russian models and solutions was to Russify them. Prison schools operated on the principles of general education, and teaching followed the general school curriculum. They taught

reading and writing in Russian and Polish, four basic arithmetic operations, and religion based on textbooks designed for elementary rural skill schools. In addition to the Warsaw Main Penitentiary, where the largest and longest-established group school for juvenile prisoners had been operating at various times since 1859 with the permission of Governor Ivan Paskevich, such schools were also organized in the prisons of the governorate cities of Kielce, Lublin, and Płock (Odezwa manifestująca decyzję Namiestnika Królestwa 1859 (in English: *Proclamation revealing the decision of the Governor of the Kingdom of 1859*), p. 135). In prisons where there were no schools for minors, they were gathered in a separate cell and, in addition to schooling provided by an appointed prisoner with appropriate qualifications, they were given instruction in crafts. In 1881, there were 172 students in the capital prison, of whom initially only 41 could read and write. The situation was similar in Płock, with 5 to 22 minors receiving schooling. In the last years of the partition, new places of learning were organized, including Siedlce, Piotrków and Lublin, where an average of 30 boys received schooling in 1912.

The idea of the correctional purpose of punishment in the Kingdom was to be realized, among other things, through prison labour. In the period before the January Uprising, a network of textile workshops was organized to produce cloth and canvas for prison needs, which made it possible to provide employment and vocational training to the multitude of prisoners. After 1863, however, this achievement was squandered primarily because the penalty was given more repressive purpose and the prisons were overcrowded. Due to the need to allocate rooms for new prisoners, participants in the uprising, workshops and prison factories were closed down. This was the case, for example, in Łomża, Kalwaria, and Pułtusk. In addition, the employment of prisoners was to provide a source of revenue to help fund the prison system. Low wages demotivated the prisoners from working, as this often made them feel exploited like slaves. The decline in employment was to be solved by the Tsarist Decree which introduced compulsory labour in all prisons starting from 1 July 1886. The basic premise of such provisions was the order to achieve, at all costs, the highest possible income from prison labour, which was to contribute to lowering the amounts transferred from the state budget for maintaining prisons. Thus, an attempt was made to recreate a manufacturing base based on textile production. However, this activity was uncompetitive as the industry began to use machine-made yarn. Another solution was the creation of bindery as well as locksmith and blacksmith workshops. For example, handcuffs and leg shackles were manufactured in the Warsaw Main Penitentiary, which were also supplied to other governorates. However, the income from prison labour in the Kingdom never matched that obtained in the interior governorates of Russia, mainly due to the widespread view that prison labour should always be cheaper than that offered by all other economic agents (Обзоръ Варшавской губернии 1896, pp. 32–33).

Summary

The Polish nature of the penitentiary system of the Kingdom of Poland was closely related to the national character of the administrative institutions of the new state. This was confirmed by the last Prison Guidelines of 1859, some elements of which, especially those concerning matters related to the living conditions of prisoners and the organization of their employment, remained in force until the fall of the Kingdom. The Polish features of the system were also represented by prison wardens and warders.

Adverse changes in the penitentiary system occurred after the fall of the November Uprising in 1830, which were primarily associated with a tightening of penal policy that resulted in dramatic overcrowding in prisons. The prisons were subject to general restrictions applicable to other administrative institutions, such as the prohibition on admitting to government service candidates without sufficient knowledge of the Russian language and the replacement of Poles in office by native Russians.

A definite breakthrough in the transformation of the penitentiary system occurred after the fall of the January Uprising in 1863 with the loss of autonomy of the Kingdom of Poland. Under exceptional laws, the governor general could court-martial civilians or send Poles suspected of political activity to Siberia under administrative procedure.

The intense process of Russification extended to all elements of the prison structure, both external and internal. The most important changes included the assumption of authority over the prison system by the Ministry of Internal Affairs in St. Petersburg, the establishment of the General Prison Administration, and the creation in the Kingdom of a prison inspectorate based on the Russian model.

The replacement of existing legislation with Russian laws began, and Russian became the official language in the judiciary and administration. The most important change was the extension of the Russian prison reform of 1887 to the Kingdom of Poland, which gave the prison system a Russian character. The senior prison supervisory personnel was Russified by staffing it with former officers of the invading army. However, it was not possible to change the composition of the lower rank prison guard personnel, which was largely represented by Poles.

Penitentiary measures lost their corrective purpose. The construction of Orthodox churches in prisons began, and they were to serve not only religious purposes and the moral improvement of prisoners, but above all to strengthen tsarist rule through the teachings given there. Compulsory labour was imposed on all prisoners, and labour was given a mainly fiscal purpose to finance the invaders' repressive apparatus. Also, the very useful teaching of minor prisoners, posed a danger of Russification as the Polish language was reduced to an additional and

optional language in education. A disciplinary regime was introduced that, in addition to beatings, provided for the severe punishment in the dark cell.

The symbol of resistance against the rule of the invader were prison events in 1905 related to the struggle of political prisoners for Poland's independence.

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