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Vilnius Civic Life in an Imperial and European Context: The Perspective of the Weekly *Tygodnik Petersburski* (1830–1858)

Summary. The article presents the outcomes of a quantitative and content analysis of the articles on civic associations in a Polish weekly *Tygodnik Petersburski*. The depiction of Vilnius civic life in the weekly gives very different pictures of the Polish-Lithuanian lands in the context of the world depending on the kind of civic activities in focus. While the depiction of Vilnius civic charity and scientific activities shows self-confidence in the local traditions, the coverage of the Lithuanian civic non-involvement in the nineteenth-century projects of economic modernization reflects anxiety. None of them would leave the readers conservatively content with the status quo. Among foreign political associations, particular attention was dedicated to English and British civic activities. Even though the newspaper did not manipulate its readers to any political conclusion, the intensive gaze on British-Irish relations may be seen as an attempt to guide political action. Relying on the results of the analysis, the article discusses to which extent it is right to consider the newspaper as conservative and loyalist.

Keywords: *Tygodnik Petersburski*, civic associations, conservatism in Polish-Lithuanian lands in the 19th century.

Introduction

Three personages met in Adam Mickiewicz's poem *Petersburg*. There is a czar whose whim raised a marvellous and yet demonically shallow city:

In Rome, he hears, are palaces. And so
He has them built here too. Does Venice rest

In her lagoon, like some alluring siren
Lolling in waters lapping at her breast?
No sooner does his sceptre dredge the mire in
Canals and rios crisscrossed, far and near,
Replete with bridge, and boat, and gondolier.
So has he Venice, Paris, London made
Anew; there lacks but beauty, glory, trade.
Among architects, the saying goes:
Man's hand built Rome, while Venice arose
By God's will; such — but not of Peter's nation —
Say: Sankt-Petersburg? Why, she was built by Satan.¹

Then there is a pilgrim, a representative of the enslaved nation, or perhaps the exiled poet himself who threatened and cursed the czar's city. There is another counterposing figure to the czar, the embodiment of human solidarity, the man who gives alms to everybody needed and addresses every miserable by name with genuine interest. Presented by the poet as the angel-like tool of divine justice, this man introduces himself as a Christian, a Pole, and a Lithuanian when offering support for a lonely pilgrim-compatriot in the Russian metropolis.

Tygodnik Peterburski (further *TP*), a Polish literary and news reporting weekly founded by two former Vilnius University students in Petersburg was one of Mickiewicz's ideas. The poet did not get the license for a periodical focusing on Polish and Russian literature in Moscow.² Nevertheless, his university colleagues, Józef Emanuel Przeclawski and Mikolaj Malinowski took over this literary task in *TP*. When presenting their goals in 1830, they promised a modern periodical that would provide readers with a wide perspective on literature and the history of current times. They blamed the contemporary Polish periodical press for being obsessed with their country's past and by the knowledge that did not help the economy of the land. They characterized Polish scholarship as lacking behind the world in moral sciences even more than in physical sciences. They wondered how much their homeland was involved in the trade and industry processes guided by distinct cities and ports. They maintained that in the changing world, the mental and manual work of the nation had to be measured and appreciated according to the European scale. They asked if it is possible to define Polish national character without having deeper knowledge of other national literatures. They promised to use their position in the Russian Metropolis where

¹ Mickiewicz, Adam, "Petersburg", in Mickiewicz, Adam, *Forefather's Eve*, trans. Charles S. Kraszewski. London: Glagoslav Publications, 2016, 317.

² Inglot, Mieczysław, *Polskie czasopisma literackie ziem litewsko-ruskich w latach 1832–1851*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1966, 23–24.

knowledge about the Western and Oriental literature was at hand when attempting to fix this state of things.³

Their description of St. Petersburg was glorifying at this point: here, we see the city as a peak in the huge empire: “The entire life of the state, about whose greatness, power and wealth it is impossible to speak today without falling into rhetorical declamation, expresses itself in St. Petersburg.”⁴ The editors intended to instruct their compatriots about the Russian Empire because they considered their knowledge insufficient.

Nevertheless, this article will show that the part of “contemporary history” in *TP*, even though bound by censorship and dressed in mundane journalist terms, shared some of Mickiewicz’s juxtaposition of the demonic nature of the czarist rule on the one hand, and European or Polish-Lithuanian traditions of genuine civic life, on the other.

Discussion, Goals, and Method

It is a paradox that despite the liberal proclamatory program, *TP* gained a reputation as a conservative newspaper. The obvious reason that allowed its researcher Mieczysław Inglot to classify it as such, was Przeclawski’s newspaper’s loyalty to the Russian Empire during and after the Polish-Lithuanian uprising in 1830–1831.⁵ For publishing some anti-uprising propaganda, Przeclawski was considered a traitor by Polish-Lithuanian emigres. His loyalty earned his newspaper the status of the official newspaper for the Kingdom of Poland in 1832. For Inglot as a literary historian, the paper’s literary part was more important. Since the 1840s, the literary part was dominated by a group of talented, but certainly conservative writers and critics known under the name “Petersburg Coterie”.⁶

The weekly recruited its public and occasional correspondents from the multiethnic and multireligious lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth which were directly incorporated into the Russian Empire, that is, nowadays Lithuania, Belarus, and northwestern Ukraine. The editors participated and contributed to Vilnius rather than Warsaw’s intellectual life. The news from Warsaw made the obligatory official part. The overviews of Vilnius book productions, the articles that editors chose to reprint from the Vilnius press, or letters of the correspondents from the Polish-Lithuanian lands directly incorporated into the Russian Empire constituted the unofficial part. These were the lands under stronger repressions and restrictions after the uprising. The public in those lands had some deeper understanding of the compromises the editor had to make to keep a Polish periodical. *TP*’s tone and content echoed the craving of local nobility to stick to Catholicism and preserve the remnants of the distinct character of the land. The strategy was successful during the years of Nicolaus I rule. The Weekly in the end managed to create an influential

³ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 15 January 1830, n. 1, 1–2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁵ Inglot, *Polskie czasopisma literackie ziem litewsko-ruskich w latach 1832–1851*, 26; Inglot, Mieczysław, “Propagandowe funkcje carskiej prasy polskojęzycznej w okresie powstania listopadowego”, *Kwartalnik Historii Prasy Polskiej*, 1982, n. 21, 5–23.

⁶ Inglot, *Polskie czasopisma literackie ziem litewsko-ruskich w latach 1832–1851*, 28–33.

Polish-language communication platform in the Eastern lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and remained popular until the mid-fifties.

The label of conservatism may seem an oversimplification when considering the arrangement of news from the world and the Polish-Lithuanian lands. The first thing to say in this matter is that *TP* did not have a license to reproduce any foreign news that had not been published by some newspaper in the Russian Empire and thus had not been approved by censorship.⁷ Przećławski could shape the worldview of his readers only by selecting from this limited offer, with few possibilities to add comments of his own. His selection though, deserves a study as a particular worldview that the Polish-reading public in the Russian Empire could share in the period between the uprisings. The editor arranged the literary part according to his taste and purposes by placing life in Lithuanian lands in the specific context of the official and foreign news reporting parts.

In this article, I focus on the civic associations in *TP*. Even though the opening proclamation of the newspaper did not highlight the theme of civic associations as a moving force of the world in progress, the editors held them for such besides the governmental policies. The change of Czar's Alexander I attitude towards associations caused a common traumatic experience for Vilnius University students in 1823–1824. It is reasonable to expect that Mickiewicz's colleagues in Petersburg would express their attitudes on the associational activities and their possibilities to shape the society under Russian rule at least within the limits given to their editors' position by the censorship.

To argue this point, I quantitatively and contently analyzed the articles and reports that mentioned civic associations. The periods selected for the quantitative analysis: 1834–1837, 1843–1846, and 1855–1858, cover the time of newspaper occurrence in relatively regularly periods and avoid the years of major crisis (such as the uprising of 1830–1831 or the revolution of 1848) that would overwhelm the picture with the focus on the crisis. The results should answer the questions of what kind of picture of the associations of the world and Vilnius the readers of this newspaper could have, and if that kind of picture would leave the readers conservatively content with the status quo.

When selecting the articles and reports for the statistical analysis I searched for the words that mean civic association in Polish: *towarzystwo*, *stowarzyszenie*, and included those articles in statistics in case the words were used to mean a civic association. In case a civic association was referred to marginally, without civic activities being part of the message, it was excluded. The analysis also excluded the articles or reports that mentioned civic associations, but named them by a word, which did not make it obvious to the reader that this is an association and not a governmental institution (for example, an academy or museum might be such verbally unclear cases).

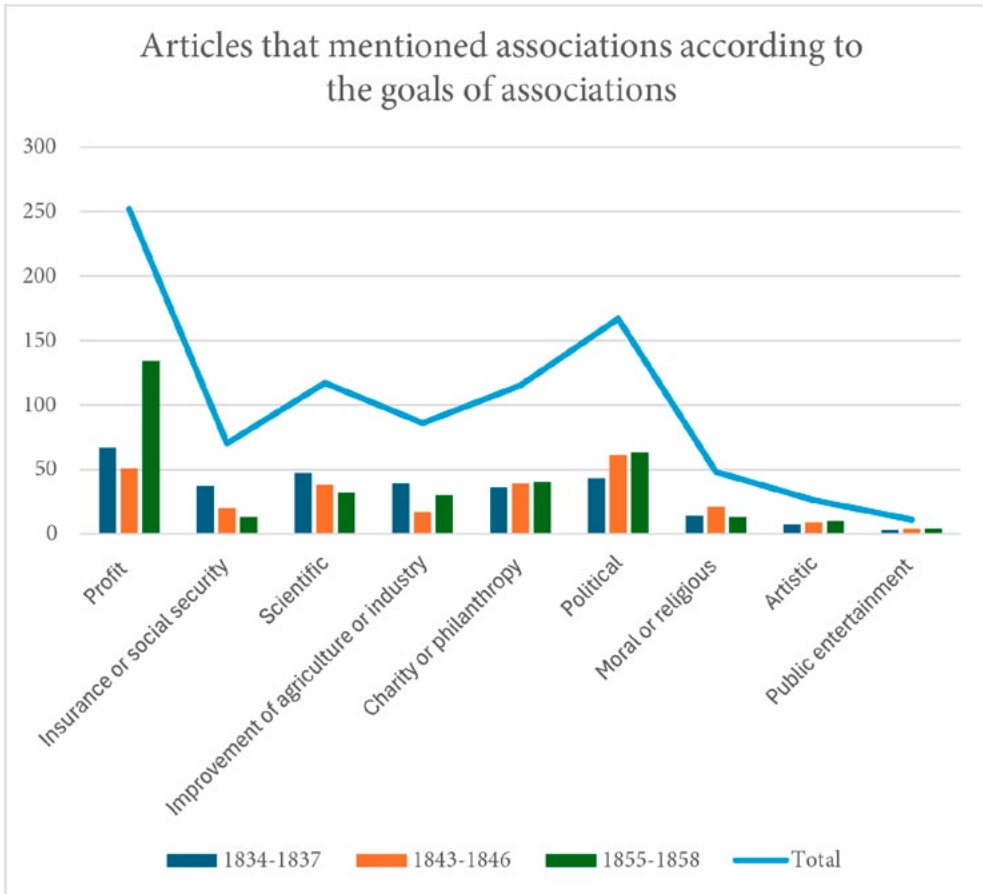
In an English paper, the choice to include profit-making companies needs an explanation. One reason is linguistic: *towarzystwo* in Polish is the same word for a company and a civic association. Another reason is that those companies, particularly steamship and railway companies, were a part of the same discourse about the world in progress stimulated by private civic associative initiatives. Even though treated with more suspicion and

⁷ *Ibid.*, 24.

criticism than non-profit associations, they were seen as part of the progressive change, that is, civic cooperation for the aspired well-being of the land and humanity.

The Reports According to the Goals of Associations

892 articles or reports in *TP* mentioned associations in selected periods. The overall comparison of the numbers of reports that mentioned associations when grouped according to the goals of those associations shows rather stable focuses of interest:



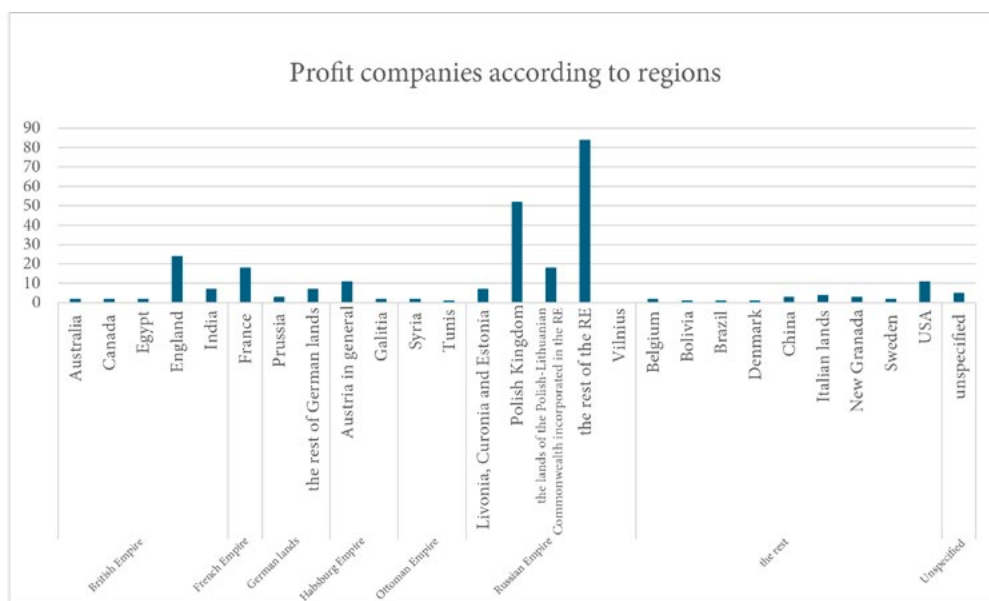
Gr. 1. *Articles that mentioned associations according to the goals of those associations*

Most of the interest was shown to profit-oriented companies with the boom in the Russian railway building fifties (163 out of 252). Associations with political (167), scientific (117), and charitable or philanthropic (115) aims got the next largest shares of public concern. However, the goals of some less-represented associations are affiliated with those of

more popular ones. Insurance companies also had profit as a goal, and as a form of promoting social solidarity, they may be seen as a younger form of philanthropy. Therefore, I comment briefly on insurance companies after presenting my results on statistics and the content of the articles about profit companies and charitable or philanthropic associations. The popularisation of scientific knowledge and its practical application was a goal for economy-supporting associations; therefore, they complete the picture about scientific associations. Articles on the associations with moral or religious goals are treated as complementary to those on political associations. The two groups of associations with the most marginal results (artistic and public entertainment) are omitted in this article.

Profit Companies

The range of countries in which some profit company was mentioned is the widest (25 countries or regions specified).



Gr. 2. Profit companies according to regions

The profit companies in the Russian Empire constitute the largest share (161 of the total 275). Among them, the most numerous are the reports mentioning companies from the Russian Empire without the lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Baltic provinces (83) and the Polish Kingdom (52). Most of them were published in the official part as short announcements that the czar or governing senate approved the establishment of a company. Some were the publications of official documents concerning more important companies.

This was a considerably different kind of presentation than the news about the companies in the foreign news part. Particularly the British companies, which used to be referred to most frequently among the companies abroad (37), were presented as active agents associating internationally for world connecting and changing goals, and addressing the government with their political issues.⁸

The articles on the Kingdom of Poland focused on the Vienna-Warsaw railway and Land Credit company, the institution that correspondents of *TP* craved to have. An announcement reprinted in 1837 from Vilnius official *Kuryer litewski* advertised Count Zubov's publication of the Polish translation of the Statute of Curonian Credit Society. After stressing the lack of credit institutions, that "paralyzes all useful public undertakings", the editorial note added: "May this booklet be distributed in numerous copies and may it inspire our Lithuanian countrymen with a spirit of beneficial enterprise, the spirit of association of which is almost unknown to us, and of which we find such a good example in the neighboring Baltic governorates."⁹

The unofficial part of *TP* often addressed economic issues, leaving the reader with a controversial picture of Russia in the accelerating race for wealth and modernization. The author of regular "Letters to a Friend in Province" exposed the reputation of Saint Petersburg which became a fairy-tale country of Eldorado for local and foreign investors, as an illusion based on little firm grounds:

The surge of capital is so great that, in the absence of truly profitable investment, it acts like a flood that overflows the banks and throws itself lump-sum on the first speculative novelty, often without regard for the calculus of probabilities. <...> Several well-conceived and happily accomplished ventures, such as some companies of insurance against fire, steamship navigation, or stagecoaches, gave rise to plenty others (as you know from the Weekly), which did not fulfil the aspirations but at their moment of climax, the price of shares far exceeded their real value.¹⁰

State investments guaranteed the endurance of capitalist projects in the Russian Empire according to *TP*, as was repeatedly reminded in the case of those successful transport companies mentioned above. A report in 1857 even claimed that governmental guarantees to steam-shipping companies would help a Russian company in the Adrian Sea to take over Austrian *Llaud's* business.¹¹ State investment stabilized Baron von Meyendorff's linen factory in Klein-Roop (Mazstraupe), as the Livonian capitalist noted in his article reprinted from St. Petersburg's agricultural journal. Then he presented his factory as a beneficiary project introducing the know-how of Flandre textile-makers and providing professional training and jobs for the people in the wide area.¹²

⁸ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 27 January 1857, n. 4, 28; *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 31 March 1857, n. 21, 163; *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 15 May 1857, n. 33, 250.

⁹ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 30 May 1837, n. 38, 218.

¹⁰ "Rzeczy Petersburskie (list do przyjaciela na prowincyą)", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 14 December 1835, n. 94, 547.

¹¹ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 10 September 1858, n. 67, 506–507.

¹² *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 1 September 1835, n. 64, 373.

There were also critics of the Russian-type business. Józef Sękowski, former Vilnius University professor and contemporary censor officer in St. Petersburg, criticized the Russian Railway company for narrow-minded monopolism which restricted the project to a wealthy few. He contraposed this by spontaneous developments of railways in the USA and Australia, financed by the multiple participation of not-so-wealthy investors. Egoism did not bring gains nowadays claimed Sękowski.¹³ In another article, Sękowski argued against the common complaints about the lack of capital and maintained that there is no real productive spirit of companionship in Russia.¹⁴

Another correspondent responded to Sękowski's opinions with enthusiastic appreciation and Przeclawski agreed with him in an editorial note.¹⁵ Edmund Stecki's articles, relying on *Revue de Paris* presented an optimistic view of the Russian railway and its impact on the trade, industry, and agricultural economy in the provinces to be connected. The author agitated to support Count Adam Rzewuski's plans to build a railway connecting the Russian basic line with Odesa.¹⁶ The project was supported by a correspondent from Lipowiec near Kyiv who tried to persuade his compatriots to rush into new transport companies prophesising decline for the lands and people that stay away from transport modernisation projects:

Facing the tremendous contemporary development of material forces, we would only want to explain, to press into the minds of our countrymen the words that have been pronounced from a certain German rostrum: *Meine Herren! Stillstand ist Rückstand. My Lords! Stagnation means leaving behind.*¹⁷

Except for one steamship on Dniester River company,¹⁸ the articles from Polish-Lithuanian lands (without the Kingdom) were not about existing companies, but pleading and proposing to cooperate for useful projects that the rest of the world was already developing. There is not a single article in the randomly selected twelve-year period that mentioned a company in Vilnius.

Charitable or Philanthropic Associations

The graph on philanthropic associations is very different. The articles on civic charity in Vilnius constitute the second-highest column revealing Przeclawski's confidence in Vilnius civic charity tradition (16 of 121).

¹³ Baron Brambeus [Sekowski, Józef], "Oswiata i drogi zelazne", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 14 April 1857, n. 25, 196–197; *ibid.*, 17 April 1857, n. 26, 202–204.

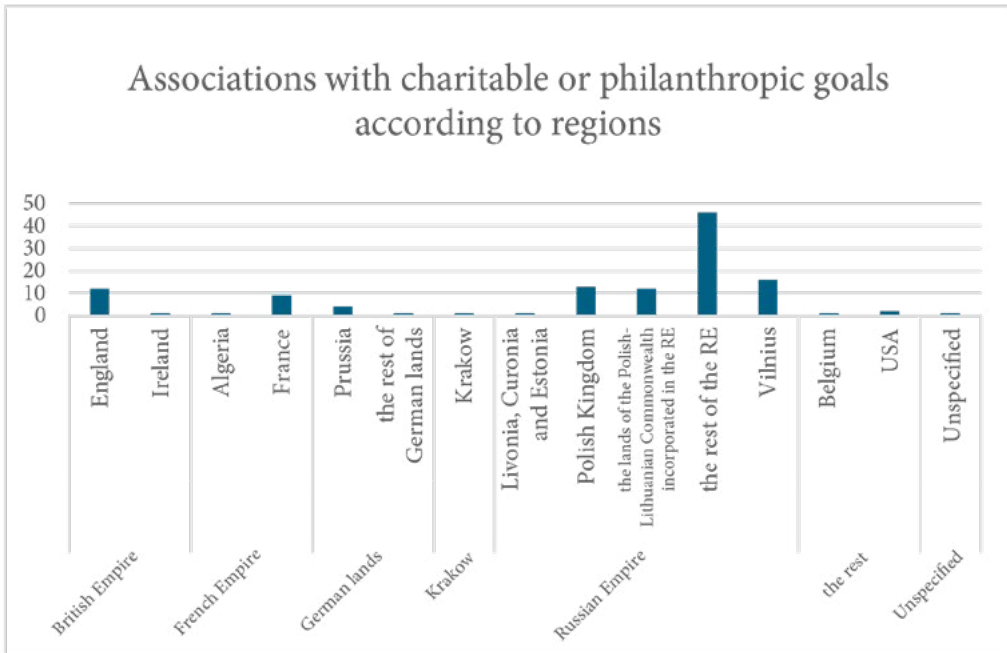
¹⁴ Baron Brambeus, "Cotakiego kapital i czy mame kapitaly", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 15 May 1857, n. 33, 253–256.

¹⁵ X, "Mens agitat mentem – ex questione nascitur question", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 12 May 1857, n. 32, 247–248.

¹⁶ Stecki, Edm., "O nowych drogach zelaznych w Rossyi", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 3 July 1857, n. 48, 55–58; *ibid.*, 7 July 1857, n. 49, 263–268.

¹⁷ X, "List do redakcyi Tygodnika", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 29 September 1857, n. 72, 547–548.

¹⁸ Greenezor, Józef, "Zegluga parowa na Dniestrze", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 19 February 1858, n. 9, 75–76; *ibid.*, 19 March 1858, n. 17, 140–141.



Gr. 3. *Associations with charitable or philanthropic goals according to regions*

Particularly the articles in the thirties repeatedly commented on the institutions run by Vilnius Charity Society as equal to those in “Berlin, Paris, and even London”.¹⁹ This was confirmed in mutual agreement during a respectful exchange of opinions about the transparency of accounts between an outsider and a member. The debate left the impression that the Society’s leadership was open to public concern and discussion.

In the field of charity, *TP* most openly juxtaposed the Polish-Lithuanian way of associating with the Russian one. The Russian charity activities were presented as initiated and administrated by the female members of the czar family and occasionally by ladies of the court, respectively by the highest officials in imperial administration, or the representatives of the czar in a province. In the 1830s, the self-governing activities of Vilnius Charity Society were shown as striving for similar results that St. Petersburg charity institutes provided under close supervision of the empress and princesses. The contrast was striking when *TP* published Russian and Vilnius reports on similar philanthropic issues one after another in a short time. For example, on September 3, 1830, a report on the institutions of the Patriotic Society in St. Petersburg provided extensive information on professional education for youngsters in care, some of them achieving secondary school and university degrees.²⁰ On September 10, 1830, an excerpt of the account of Vilnius Charity Society also focused on

¹⁹ “Towarzystwo Dobroczynności w Wilnie. (Artykuł udzielony)”, *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 24 January 1834, n. 3, 18; “Odpowiedź na uwagi o Wileńskim Towarzystwie Dobroczynności, umieszczone w 3 num. Tygodnika na rok 1834. (Artykuł udzielony)”, *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 16 May 1834, n. 33, 201.

²⁰ “Wyciąg ze sprawozdania zakładów ustanowionych przez Cesarzową Maryą, za rok 1829”, *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 3 September 1830, n. 35, 280–281.

the children in care and their professional education, even though limited to basic schooling.²¹

The nomination of dignified chairpersons from the imperial family, their visits, and their orders in charity institutes under their patronage made a significant part of the Russian news in the field. Vilnius Charity Society was shown as self-governing and guided by the people who deserved it by virtue. For example, on March 3, 1835, a rescript of Empress Marya to the Patriotic Society in St. Petersburg demanded to accept her daughter as a true member and to arrange a school under her patronage. The Society obeyed with gratefulness.²² On April 4, *TP* reported that Adam Chreptowicz was elected president of the Vilnius Charity Society and gave presents to every poor in the institute on this occasion.²³

In many cases, imperial family members used to be exclusively named in collective gatherings for charity purposes²⁴, the rest of the charitable remaining anonymous. Vilnius charity reports named the participants according to their contribution.²⁵ They show companies of different social origins, even in cases with quite a few Russian participants.²⁶ Multiple obituaries of members of charity societies in Polish-Lithuanian lands that highlighted charitable civic activities of the late contributed to a picture of a genuine tradition of widespread and self-organized charity.²⁷ The support of the imperial family would come as a recognition for excellent work, as in the case of a report about Minsk charity society, to which the empress decided to contribute after reading its annual account.²⁸

This belief in authentic civic activism that emerged from below, from the inner needs of the society, remained commonplace to the period. The same persuasion occurred in an article by a Vilnius doctor in 1858, which agitated to associate for the establishment of a surgery clinic for incoming sick:

Just as the scientific institutions show the level of progress in national education, the charity institutions show the level of well-being in the land. Both together create the nation's moral power and they usually grow together. The indispensability of those institutions emerges from the citizens' intellectual and physical needs. They are usually initiated by private associations led by the love for sciences and fellowmen.²⁹

On the other hand, at the end of his article, this doctor hinted at the basic precondition for the success of any civic initiative in the Russian Empire: he wrote that he had already

²¹ "Z Wilna", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 10 September 1830, n. 36, 292.

²² "Reskrypt N. Cesarzowej Jmci do Rady Żeńskiego y patryotycznego Towarzystwa", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 3 March 1835, n. 14, 77.

²³ "Wilno, 8 March", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 3 April 1835, n. 23, 134.

²⁴ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 30 December 1834, n. 98, 589.

²⁵ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 6 November 1835, n. 83, 479–480.

²⁶ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 6 June 1837, n. 40, 232.

²⁷ "Nekrolog (Nadesłano od Sluckiego Komitetu Opieki ubogich)", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 2 May 1845, n. 29, 188; Kostrowiec, Ż., "Nekrolog", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 11 April 1845, n. 24, 160–162; Malinowski, Mikołaj, "Stanisław Sidorowicz", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 23 April 1858, n. 26, 216.

²⁸ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 20 August 1858, n. 61, 459.

²⁹ P. G., "O założeniu Chirurgicznej Kliniki i leczni dla przychodzących chorych w Wilnie I ustanowieniu lekarzy w parafiach", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 3 September 1858, n. 65, 492–494.

debated the idea with general-governor Nazimov.³⁰ The need to have all civic projects approved in advance and the general Russian government's distrust of all initiatives from below, particularly under the rule of Nicolaus I,³¹ explains why new charity institutions that emerged in the 1850s in Vilnius were rather reminiscent of the Russian model of philanthropic institutions created from above. Newspapers presented them as enterprises of charitable people led by Vilnius general-governor's wife.³²

Besides the tension between what was believed to be the right way and what was allowed by the regime, there was a problem of insufficient funds in the lands impoverished by repressions. In 1845, one of the cherished institutions at Vilnius Charity Society, the school for children with audial impairment was closed due to the shortage of finances.³³

The Russian imperial model of charity initiated and administrated from above and funded from below penetrated the pages of *TP* by presenting the benefits of imperial patronage. An article in 1837 on the Russian-type committee for the care of the poor in Sluck that operated under the direct supervision of the imperial philanthropical society in St. Petersburg, mentioned two advantages. The first was financial: the only income during the first years after the founding in 1822 consisted of the emperor's gift and a part of the local priest's annuity. The second was the gain of prestige: "The emperor several times declared his satisfaction with the activities of the Committee and allowed members to use a specific uniform, and honoured with other proofs of His Grace."³⁴ The members of Polish-Lithuanian charitable societies or committees would appear in the official part of the newspaper among the officials decorated by order by the czar.

As mentioned, foreign associations sometimes served as a comparative context for the Vilnius charitable in *TP*. Reporting on the members of royal families abroad joining civic philanthropic activities rather than administrating them added "normality" to the Lithuanian ideal of civic charity.³⁵ Prussian Duke Fridrich Wilhelm's joining the Worshipful Company of Merchant Taylors, a British society with an old tradition, was a case.³⁶ Besides that, few reports about the associations abroad informed about new philanthropical projects, particularly new ways of fighting poverty among working-class girls³⁷ which were realised later in Vilnius. A few articles informed about Lord Anthony Ashley's Labourer's Friend Society in the United Kingdom, particularly its housing projects for the poor, regulating working day hours, and fighting female poverty.³⁸

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 494.

³¹ Korybut-Marciniak, Maria, "Stosunek caratu do polskiej działalności dobroczynnej w Wilnie w I połowie XIX wieku", *Studia z Historii Społeczno-Gospodarczej XIX i XX wieku*, 2015, n. 14, 21–34.

³² "Wilno w roku bieżącym", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 12 May 1857, n. 32, 242–243.

³³ "Szkoły i naukowe zakłady w okręgu Białoruskim w r. 1845", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 2 October 1846, n. 71, 488.

³⁴ "Zakłady dobroczynne w Slucku", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 24 February 1837, n. 12, 72.

³⁵ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 28 March 1856, n. 20, 151.

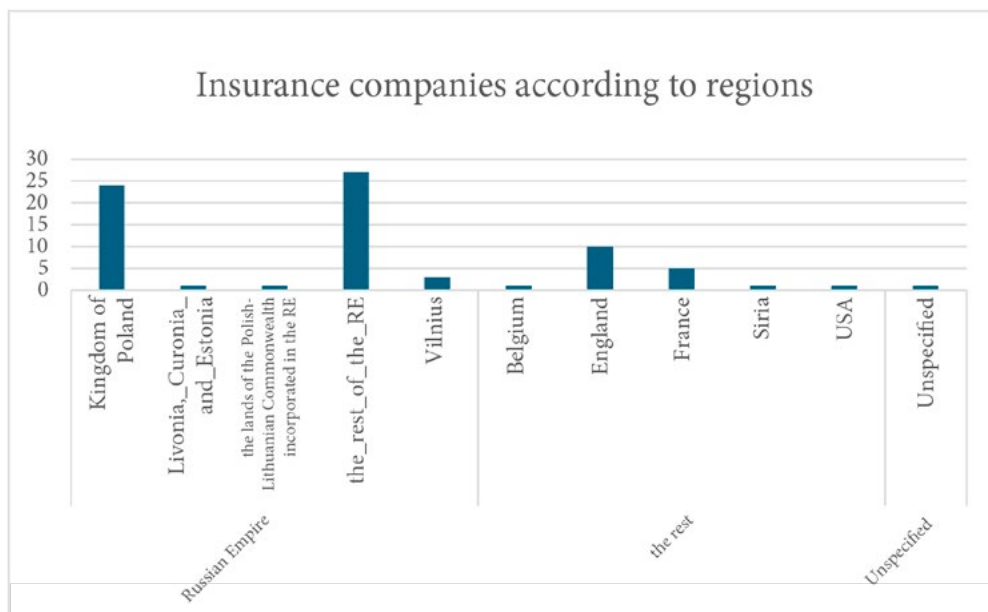
³⁶ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 18 December 1857, n. 95, 725.

³⁷ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 6 February 1844, n. 6, 41–42.

³⁸ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 19 November 1844, n. 87, 520; *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 24 December 1844, n. 97, 579.

Insurance Companies

Insurance companies constituted the same number of mentioning reports as the charity or philanthropy societies in the thirties (36 each). The official news then published abundant reports on insurance companies against fire in the Russian Empire and the Kingdom of Poland.



Gr. 4. Insurance companies according to regions

The czar supported those beneficial entertainments by decorating their leadership with orders and providing guarantees and subsidies. His “graceful” compensation of the loss for the company in the Polish Kingdom during the uprising of 1830–1831 was a case.³⁹ London alone was reported to have fifteen insurance against fire companies.⁴⁰

The Lithuanian response to this agitated movement consists of the call of Vilnius nobility Marshal Jan Marcinkiewicz Żaba to debate the establishment of insurance against the fire office in Vilnius and his project of such a company.⁴¹

Other reports mentioned pension companies for civil officers, which were initiated by the state, and various private projects of property insurance. Foreign news provided the

³⁹ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 16 January 1835, n. 1, 5.

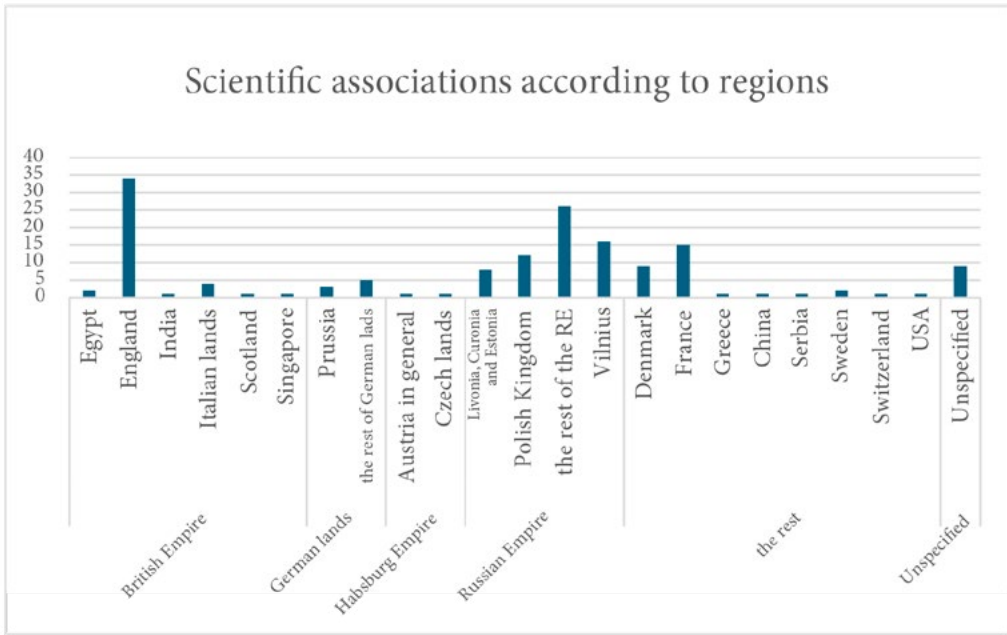
⁴⁰ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 10 March 1835, n. 16, 93.

⁴¹ Marcinkiewicz Żaba, Jan, “Od Urzędu Marszałka Gubernialnego Wileńskiego”, *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 26 May 1835, n. 37, 211; “Plan wzorowego założenia w Guberniach, wzajemnych zabezpieczających od ognia towarzystw”, *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 26 May 1835, n. 37, 216–217; *ibid.*, 2 June 1835, n. 39, 222–223.

reader with occasional reports on the first newly invented health insurance companies.⁴² The interest in insurance declined in the following decades.

Scientific Associations

The graph on scientific associations reminds the graph on profit companies in the wide-ness of the countries' range (22 regions specified).



Gr. 5. *Scientific associations according to regions*

English scientific societies were among the most frequently mentioned ones (34). Nevertheless, the participation of the countries is much more equally scattered. Half of the scientific associations were mentioned in some international context, often with foreign associations. For comparison, only the fourth part of profit companies appeared in some international context.

Moreover, the articles on scientific associations depicted their relations as the network of multiple participants. Rather than province-centre relations, in which a couple of major centres provide tracks to follow, scientific associations created a map of major and minor centres of specific interests. Vilnius, mentioned in sixteen articles and constituting the third-highest column, was among the latter. The series of biographical articles on Professor Ludwik Bojanus may illustrate the case. The early years of his scientific career were

⁴² *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 4 June 1836, n. 38, 230.

narrated as a story of joining the scientific societies in Jena, Paris, London, Vilnius, St. Petersburg, and Warsaw.⁴³ Bojanus's scientific success culminated after 1812, when he established modern teaching in anatomy and veterinary in Vilnius University.⁴⁴ Imperial order awards expressed the recognition of his scientific excellence. The acceptance to scientific societies in Bonn, Copenhagen, Edinburgh, Stockholm, and Berlin, as well as to the Agricultural Society in Moscow was the second noted way of recognition.⁴⁵

The reporting on Vilnius archaeologist Eustachy Tyszkiewicz's scientific success is another case. In 1843, a review of his book flattered the civic zeal of a few "remarkable men who studied particular subjects on their own accord and fulfilled the functions of learned societies in our country."⁴⁶ The acceptance of "the enlightened and diligent explorer of Lithuanian antiquities" to the Danish Royal Society of Nordic Antiquities during his trip to Scandinavia was reported as an exceptional acknowledgment for the first Pole in this Society.⁴⁷ In 1856, an article reprinted from *Kuryer Wileński* depicted Tyszkiewicz as the first among the founders of the Museum at the Vilnius Archaeology Commission: "A member of many learned national and foreign Societies, and a proper founder of the Museum, he donated his rich private cabinet of curiosities to the ownership of this public establishment and laid thus the foundation of its existence."⁴⁸ The Museum was expected to connect Lithuania with the civilized world, defined as the domain of governments, learned societies, and educated people:

Thus, a country rich in the past and its monuments, has today, by the grace of the Most Gracious Monarch, a temple dedicated to their collection, which will put Lithuania on a par with other countries, where Archaeology, as a science most important for history and education, has been making excellent progress for many years, surrounded by particular love and care of governments, learned societies, and the educated class of citizens all over the world.⁴⁹

The reports on the proceedings of the Archaeology Commission informed about the relations with the scientists and institutions in the Polish-Lithuanian, Baltic and Russian lands⁵⁰ and Central Europe⁵¹.

TP exposed the higher civic potential of the Western provinces in the Russian Empire to associate with the aim of scientific goals. An official report on 14 private scientific associations in the Russian Empire in 1831 informed that six existed in the two imperial

⁴³ "Wiadomość o życiu i pismach Ludwika Bojanusa", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 27 October 1835, n. 80, 462–464.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 30 October 1835, n. 81, 469–470; *ibid.*, 5 November 1835, n. 82, 477–478.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 5 November 1835, n. 82, 478.

⁴⁶ Gr... M [Grabowski, Michał], "Nowe dzieła", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 19 May 1843, n. 35, 218.

⁴⁷ "Z Korrespondencji Tygodnika", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 27 February 1844, n. 11, 71–72.

⁴⁸ "Muzeum Starożytności w Wilnie", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 29 January 1856, n. 4, 31–32.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ "Posiedzenie Wileńskiej Archeologicznej Komisji dnia 11 March roku 1858", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 13 April 1858, n. 23, 186–187.

⁵¹ "Posiedzenie Wileńskiej Archeologicznej Komisji dnia 11 June 1858 roku", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 30 July 1858, n. 55, 418–420.

capital cities (two in St. Petersburg and four in Moscow). The only two provincial scientific societies in Russian lands were in Charkiv and Kazan. The Imperial Medical Society represented the civic scientific activities in Vilnius. Five societies functioned in the Baltic provinces (one in Riga, three in Jelgava (Mitau), and one in Kuresaare (Arensburg)).⁵² The weekly published reports on the activity of Baltic scientific societies, including those that studied the Latvian and Estonian languages. The reports on the proceedings of the Vilnius Archaeology Commission in 1858 presented the Baltic societies as a valuable partner among associations. Professor Adam Ferdynand Adamowicz described Literary-Practical, Medical, and Historical-Archaeological Societies, as well as the Nature Researchers' Association in Riga in one of them.⁵³

Some articles on Polish-Lithuanian scientific societies were nostalgic reminiscences that affirmed the long-lasting tradition of local care for science and its links to the broader scientific world. Vilnius Typographical Society was recalled repeatedly as a cherished idea to make valuable publications accessible to wider circles of students.⁵⁴ In 1832, a society in Turino emerged with the same goal. Przećławski used the occasion to expose Vilnius as a cradle of this excellent idea and wished the new society better financial success.⁵⁵

The associations closed after the uprising of 1831 were repeatedly recalled in obituaries or historical sketches of prominent scholars of Polish-Lithuanian origin.⁵⁶ The "donation" of the books from the confiscated library of the Society of the Friends of Sciences in Warsaw to the public library in St. Petersburg by the czar⁵⁷ could leave the reader with second thoughts. The same as the reprinted excerpt of the account of the St. Petersburg Academy of Science that informed that the Warsaw Society's collection of minerals was divided among the Academy, University, and Pedagogical Institute.⁵⁸

The foreign news part of *TP* mentioned scientific associations by providing curious scientific findings, inventions, expeditions, or publications. Some articles on foreign scientific associations could shape public attitudes to the relations between governments and scientific associations. For example, an article on the German Natural Science Society in 1832 retold how the hospitality of local authorities and particularly of the Bavarian King during the congresses contributed to the prestige and popularity of the Society.⁵⁹ Further on, the article, which was taken over from *Edinburg Journal of Sciences*, maintained that

⁵² "Zdanie Sprawy Ministerstwa Oświecenia publicznego za rok 1831", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 25 October 1833, n. 80, 486.

⁵³ "Posiedzenia Wileńskiej Archeologicznej Komissyi dnia 11-go July i 11-go Sierpnia 1858 roku", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 22 October 1858, n. 78, 599–600.

⁵⁴ "Redakcje, rękopisy, przekłady i wydania w druku Statutu Litewskiego. Podług rozprawy P. Jgn. Daniłowicza", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 8 July 1834, n. 48, 289–290; "Literatura w Wilnie w początku XIX w. (Wyjątek z Pamiętników J. I. Kraszewskiego)", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 28 April 1837, n. 30, 168.

⁵⁵ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 15 July 1832, n. 54, 542.

⁵⁶ Ci., H., "Wspomnienie o Ludwiku Kropińskim", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 27 September 1844, n. 71, 432; *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 7 March 1845, n. 15, 98; *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 11 July 1845, n. 49, 315.

⁵⁷ "Czynności Ministerstwa Oświecenia w Rossyi w r. 1833", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 29 June 1834, n. 45, 270.

⁵⁸ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 18 July 1834, n. 51, 308.

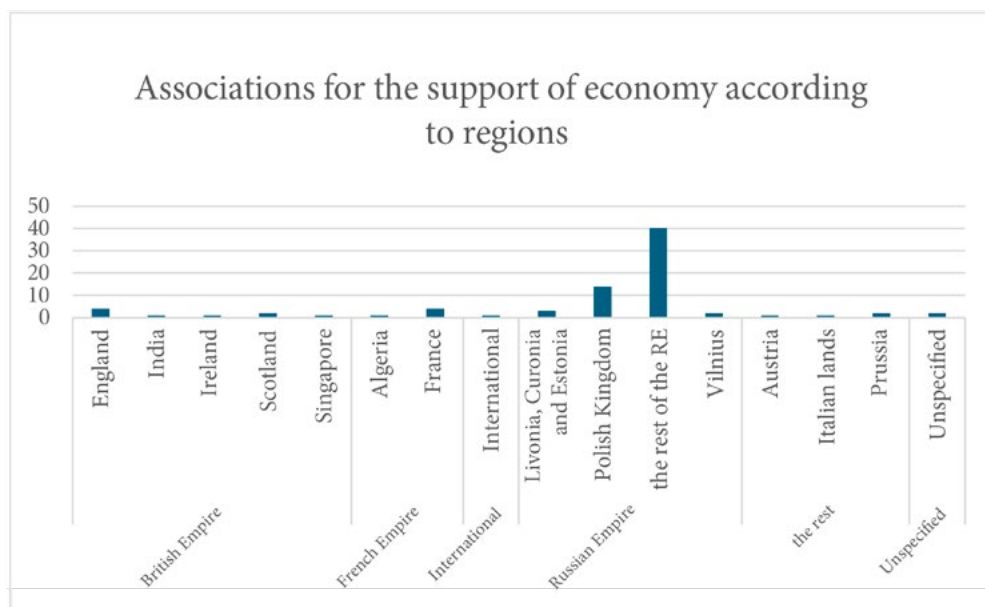
⁵⁹ "Towarzystwo naturalistów w Niemczech", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 15 August 1832, n. 63, 405–406.

the purpose of scientific societies was to make communication between scientists easier and to turn the governments' attention for science support.⁶⁰

Even though the Polish-Lithuanian readers had their grievances about the government's repressions against their scientific institutions (and the editor sometimes reminded them), they got a clear idea of the importance of governmental funding for science. The state sponsorship for the Mineralogical Society in St. Petersburg and the Society of Natural Sciences in Moscow (10,000 rubles annually each)⁶¹ and similar information was made public in official accounts of the Ministry of Education. In principle, less able to rely on popular fund-raising than charity associations and more exclusively accessible to the talented, this field appeared to be even more in need of governmental patronage. The gratefulness, with which Tyszkiewicz accepted the message that the czar decided to take the Archaeology Commission under his protection in 1858,⁶² was read in this context.

Associations for the Support of Agriculture or Industry

In contrast to scientific associations, the presentation of various economic societies was much more Russia-centred. The articles concerning the associations in the Russian Empire make 59 of the total 80. 40 of them are related to the imperial lands except the Polish Kingdom and the Polish-Lithuanian and Baltic provinces.



Gr. 6. *Associations for the support of economy according to regions*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 23 August 1832, n. 65, 419.

⁶¹ "Zdanie zprawy Ministerstwa Oświecenia za rok 1834", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 17 July 1835, n. 51, 297.

⁶² "Wilno", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 4 January 1858, n. 99, 741–743.

Those reports were mostly placed in the official part. They often depicted patronage of the imperial family to horticulture,⁶³ rural economy,⁶⁴ or free economy societies.⁶⁵ Much attention was paid to the engagement in popular education⁶⁶ and professional training.⁶⁷

The strife of economic associations to exploit the specific geographic conditions of various regions for the lucrative branches of the economy and to innovate was appreciated. Three articles informed about the activities of the Baltic economic associations, highlighting the excellence of the northern neighbours. An article on the annual meeting of the Association for Spreading and Perfection of Sheep Breeding showed this branch of farming as rapidly expanding due to clever farming and the perfect cleanliness of the wool.⁶⁸ Another article exposed an Estonian association experimenting in a highly important matter for the Russian Empire: establishing an estate to practice exemplary relations between landlords and peasants.⁶⁹ The third announcement awarded the title of Imperial to Livonian Rural Economy Society because it was one of the oldest and the most effective in the Empire.⁷⁰

10 out of 14 articles on the Kingdom of Poland were published in 1858 after the czar confirmed the founding of the Agricultural Society in Warsaw.⁷¹ *TP* republished its founding documents, proceedings of gatherings, and the opening Count Andrzej Zamojski's speech.⁷² Later on, it announced the competitions and awards for the best farmers.

4 remaining articles on the Kingdom of Poland concerned horse race societies. The same as the only two articles on Vilnius in this field. (Even though one is urged to classify horse race societies as a kind of public entertainment, they were presented in *TP* as hugely contributing to horse breeding.⁷³ They also organized exhibitions of household animals. Therefore, they may be viewed as a kind of economic society.)

News from abroad was seldom in this field. Those few nevertheless highlighted the important role that agricultural societies were to play in fighting such global problems as the potato plague.⁷⁴ They were shown as introducing novelties, or in some cases acknowledging the inventions of fellowmen in former Polish lands.⁷⁵

⁶³ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 17 August 1858, n. 60, 451.

⁶⁴ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 21 November 1856, n. 87, 656.

⁶⁵ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 9 February 1858, n. 7, 51.

⁶⁶ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 2 December 1834, n. 90, 546; *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 27 October 1835, n. 80, 460.

⁶⁷ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 10 March 1834, n. 16, 95–96.

⁶⁸ "Chow owiec w guberniach nad Bałtyckich", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 24 March 1835, n. 20, 120.

⁶⁹ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 3 February 1846, n. 6, 39.

⁷⁰ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 6 April 1855, n. 22, 166.

⁷¹ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 11 January 1858, n. 100, 451.

⁷² *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 16 March 1858, n. 16, 129–130.

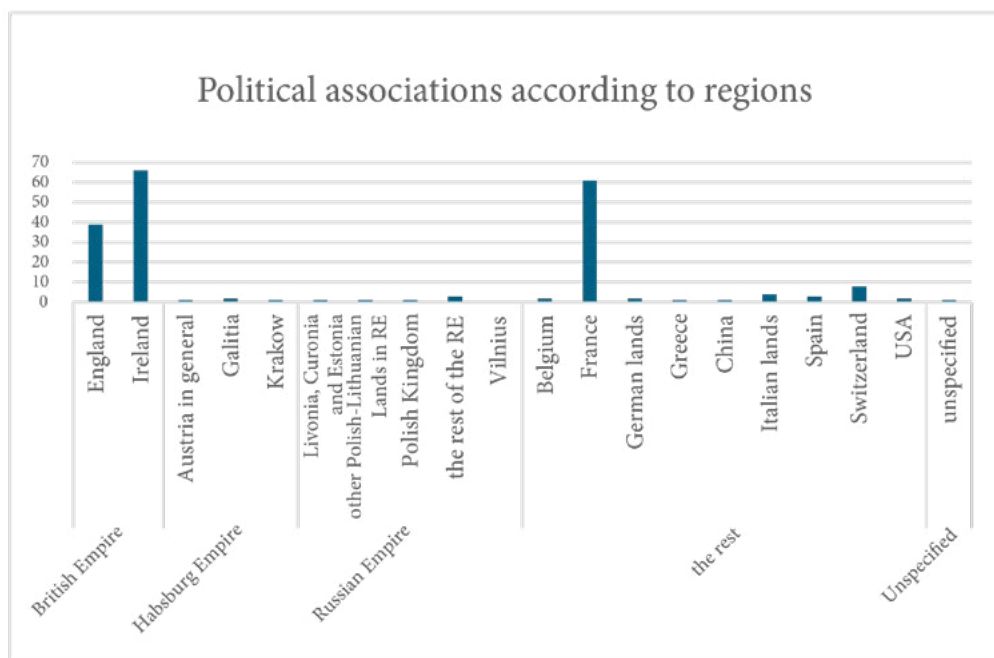
⁷³ "Wyścigi konne w Wilnie", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 25 June 1858, n. 44–45, 345.

⁷⁴ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 27 November 1846, n. 87, 588.

⁷⁵ "Machina do żęcia zboża i koszenia", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 6 October 1846, n. 72, 493.

Political Associations

The graph on political associations is distinct from all the above because there are no higher columns in the Russian Empire.



Gr. 7. Political associations according to regions

The very few articles in this part announced punishments or amnesty for participants in secret associations: Polish-Lithuanian conspiracies⁷⁶ or Russian Decembrists⁷⁷.

Six official reports from Warsaw declared Polish emigres expropriated and exiled for their participation in the Polish Democratic Association in France. They contributed thus to the second-highest, French column.⁷⁸ Partly due to serving the czarist propaganda and partly due to the possible interest of its public, *TP* provided an overview of the governmental attitudes and policies towards political emigres, Polish or Italian. Those reports usually highlighted the suspicious attitudes or persecution.⁷⁹ In some cases, however, the

⁷⁶ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 8 July 1845, n. 48, 307; *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 27 October 1835, n. 80, 460; *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 28 December 1855, n. 68, 726; *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 26 August 1856, n. 62, 471–472.

⁷⁷ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 16 September 1856, n. 68, 510; *ibid.*, 514.

⁷⁸ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 3 April 1855, n. 21, 159; *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 19 June 1855, n. 42–43, 317; *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 6 July 1855, n. 49, 356; *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 20 July 1855, n. 52, 385; *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 27 July 1855, 54, 406; *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 4 November 1856, n. 81, 619.

⁷⁹ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 28 April 1846, n. 28, 191.

protective proclamations of Belgium, which did not consider resident foreigners as enemies, could be comforting for the patriotic readers of *TP*.⁸⁰

French political associations were depicted mostly like the Russian ones, as a threat to the emperor and the state. 42 of the total 61 reports dealt with secret societies, which were committing crimes, or had been detected, and their members investigated and sentenced. On the other hand, *TP* also covered the debates in the French House of Deputies, which preceded the restrictive law on associations in 1834, and quoted the arguments against the law.⁸¹ One designated a speech of such an opponent as “particularly beautiful”.⁸² The remarks of François Guisot, contemporary minister of education, on the extensive liberties of association in the United Kingdom and their treatment in British political practice made in this context were also quoted.⁸³

The particularly attentive focus on British political associations (105 of a total 200) could give a reader quite a decent overview of the goals and measures of the anti-Corn Law League⁸⁴, and the administration-reform association in 1855.⁸⁵ One could get a clear idea of how the British political associations shaped English politics and that contrary to the trends in the continent, there was no rush to forbid and restrict. In 1834, *TP* quoted British Lord Chancellor Henry Brougham when addressing the working-class demonstrations of questionable legitimacy:

However, a calm Lord Chancellor’s response made a much bigger impression than those threats. He admitted that the behaviors of those associations were not righteous but preferred to limit himself to a simple address to the people asking to stop. According to him, the situation of the ministers is difficult in this case. Nobody may forbid the English nation from debating on its needs. And it is not easy to deliberate if the rules were broken by some gathering.⁸⁶

The highest column in the graph (66 reports) signifies the extensive attention paid to the Irish National Association and O’Connell’s peaceful attempts to repeal the Union. The reader was acquainted in detail with O’Connell’s biography⁸⁷, his style of political leadership, and his distaste for violent ways and revolutionary movements.⁸⁸ *TP* also informed about the readiness of the Irish to finance their leader and their movement⁸⁹, and about the

⁸⁰ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 10 February 1857, n. 8, 63–64.

⁸¹ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 5 April 1834, n. 22, 129–130.

⁸² *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 12 April 1834, n. 24, 145.

⁸³ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 5 April 1834, R. 5, Cz. 9, № 22, 130.

⁸⁴ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 20 October 1843, n. 77, 464; *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 1 December 1843, n. 89, 526; *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 15 November 1844, n. 86, 515; *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 10 June 1845, n. 40, 263; *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 27 February 1846, n. 13, 86.

⁸⁵ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 29 June 1855, n. 47, 341; *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 1 June 1855, n. 37, 276; *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 23 October 1855, n. 79, 592.

⁸⁶ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 20 May 1834, n. 34, 206.

⁸⁷ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 26 September 1843, n. 70, 424.

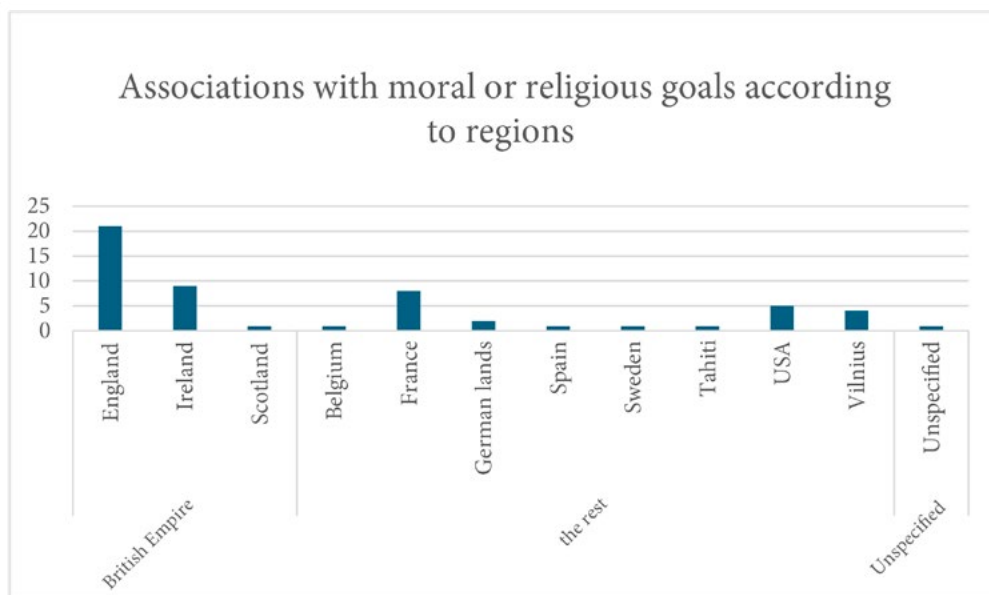
⁸⁸ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 5 January 1844, n. 99, 594.

⁸⁹ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 14 November 1843, n. 84, 504.

fancy Conciliation Hall built by Irishmen for their political movement.⁹⁰ The Dublin court proceedings against O’Connell were explained in detail⁹¹, and the news from Ireland then occurred in every issue. His seven-hour-long defence speech, focused on the Irish Union Repeal movement was “considered as the best he ever had.”⁹² The split of the Irish movement and Robert Peel’s success in instrumentalizing the discord was also covered in detail.⁹³ Even though the editor was dependent on the content and tone of the articles in the Russian press, he was aware that Polish-Lithuanian readers would identify with the case of Catholic Ireland with high probability and did his best to keep their interest satisfied.

The Associations with Religious or Moral Goals

Very similar remarks can be said about the most prominent Irish association with the moral goal: the Catholic Total Abstinence Society led by Father Mathew, which makes the second highest column (9 of a total 55) in the graph on the associations with religious or moral goals.



Gr. 8. Associations with moral or religious goals according to regions

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 9 February 1844, n. 7, 48–49; *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 16 February 1844, n. 9, 60–61.

⁹² *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 23 February 1844, n. 10, 70.

⁹³ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 14 March 1845, n. 16, 112; *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 14 sierpnia 1846, n. 59, 402; *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 17 sierpnia 1846, n. 60, 408; *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 10 October 1845, n. 73, 476.

TP published an extensive biography of the prominent priest and explained how Mathew made the meetings of teatotalitarians attractive to the masses.⁹⁴ In 1843 *TP* let his readers know that according to a Prussian newspaper, the Irish mass abstinence movement was nothing more than an auxiliary association for O'Connell's political aims.⁹⁵ This opinion might sound like a criticism; however, the readers of *TP* were informed about the wisdom of the Irish priest and the political leader while keeping their agendas apart in the next issue. Moreover, the article there presented a plan on how to organize people for political action:

It is necessary to know what is meant by the Society of Sobriety, and what will be its political consequences with which Father Matthias has nothing to do and to which, without knowing it himself, he has served as an instrument. O'Connell himself, with his usual perspicacity, was not involved in these associations. They were not supposed to have any political or religious character, and in the meantime, slowly, they acquired a complete organization. Under certain given circumstances, a certain number of people were assembled using agreed-upon signs, feasts, and celebrations were held, flags with symbolic signs were displayed, and in this way, for an innocent purpose, quietly and peacefully, a very extensive system of organization of the people was formed, the reins of which were in the hand of the Irish clergy.⁹⁶

TP did his best to remind Vilnius local tradition of the liberal strife for moral refinement, most prominently represented by *Szubrawcy* [Rascals] Society, with sympathy and pride.⁹⁷ In 1858, when bishop Motiejus Valančius in western Lithuania mobilized eighty percent of Catholics in his bishopric in the Abstinence movement, Przeclawski discretely reminded the propagation of Father Mathew in his newspaper and noted that Lithuanian abstinence tradition is even older than the Irish one:

A long time ago, when Father Mathew from Irland was not yet on the scene, at the times of Sniadeckis, a worthy association gathered in Vilnius, which under facetious name of *Szubrawcy* association, pursued two goals: to eradicate vices and to make fun using a witty satire. They proclaimed water to be the only acceptable drink. The decent seed did not perish and now the forest grows for the unspeakable joy of the lovers of humanity.⁹⁸

Przeclawski published this joyful comment when the Abstinence movement was not yet approved by Alexander II. Despite all Valančius' diplomacy, the governmental response was hardly predictable.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ "Ojciec Maciej, apostoł wstrzemięźliwości", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 20 October 1843, n. 77, 465–466; *ibid.*, 20 October 1843, n. 77, 465–466.

⁹⁵ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 8 September 1843, n. 66, 398.

⁹⁶ *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 15 September 1843, n. 67, 406.

⁹⁷ "Literatura w Wilnie w początku XIX w. (Wyjątek z Pamiętników J. I. Kraszewskiego)", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 28 April 1837, n. 30, 166–168.

⁹⁸ "Nowy pierwiastek społeczeńskiego bytu, wstrzemięźliwość", *Tygodnik Petersburski*, 24 December 1858, n. 96, 725–726.

⁹⁹ Aleksandravičius, Egidijus, *Lietuvių atgimimo istorijos studijos*, t. 2: *Blaivybė Lietuvoje XIX amžiuje*. Vilnius: Sietynas, 1991, 93–101.

Conclusions

The depiction of Vilnius civic life in *TP* gives very different pictures of the Polish-Lithuanian lands in the context of the world depending on the kind of civic activities in focus. While the picture of Vilnius civic charity and science activities was drawn with self-confidence in local civic traditions, the coverage of the Lithuanian civic involvement in the nineteenth-century projects of modernization reflected anxiety. None of the fields of associational life would leave the reader content with the current state of their country in a broader civilizational context. The feeling of belonging to European civilization, but staying behind, having the tradition and potential for civic life, but being restricted, was imminent.

The political conclusions that could be drawn from those perspectives might be different. Przeclawski did not manipulate his readers clearly to any one of them. On the one hand, he attempted to expose the example of the Baltic lands nearby, where elites proposed loyal service to the empire and were less restricted in developing their civic potential. *TP* certainly demonstrated a distaste for radical and violent movements (not surprisingly, given Przeclawski's situation of an editor of a Polish-Lithuanian newspaper in the Russian Empire.) By exposing the achievements of associations in the close neighbourhood and foreign countries, he pointed to what was to be missed in case of further unsuccessful violent clashes with the Russian regime.

On the other hand, Przeclawski's newspaper dedicated much attention to British civilization and kept detailed records of Irish-British relations. Some of them may seem like an instruction for political action. Seeing Przeclawski cheering on the unprecedentedly massive movement of abstinence, which was organized according to the Irish example, at the time when it was becoming a movement in potential conflict with the government, one must doubt not only the editor's conservatism but also the sincerity of his loyalty.

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**PILIETINIS VILNIAUS GYVENIMAS IMPERIJOS IR
EUROPOS KONTEKSTE: SAVAITRAŠČIO „TYGODNIK
PETERSBURSKI“ (1830–1858) PERSPEKTYVA**

Santrauka. Šiame straipsnyje pateikiama savaitraščio „Tygodnik Petersburski“ straipsnių apie pilietines draugijas kiekybinė ir turinio analizė. Vilniaus pilietinio gyvenimo tarptautiniame kontekste vaizdai šiame savaitraštyje skiriasi pagal tai, kokios srities pilietinė veikla aprašoma. Vilniaus labdarybės ir mokslo draugijų paveikslas atskleidžia didžiulį redakcijos pasitikėjimą vietinėmis pilietinėmis tradicijomis. Krašto pilietinės visuomenės neįsitraukimas į XIX a. ekonominės modernizacijos projektus savo ruožtu atspindi nepasitenkinimą. Nė vienas iš šių vaizdų negalėjo palikti skaitytojų konservatyviai patenkintų esama situacija. Iš užsienio politinių draugijų daugiausiai dėmesio buvo skiriama anglų ir airių draugijų veiklai. Nors laikraštis nemanipuliavo, kad skaitytojas prieitų kokią nors konkrečią politinę išvadą, jo intensyvų anglų ir airių santykių sekimą galima interpretuoti kaip bandymą teikti instrukciją politinei veiklai. Remiantis analizės duomenimis, straipsnyje svarstoma, kokia prasme savaitraštį galima laikyti konservatyviu ir lojalistiniu.

Raktažodžiai: „Tygodnik Petersburski“, pilietinės draugijos, konservatyvizmas XIX a. buvusiose Abiejų Tautų Respublikos žemėse.