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*Reform of Renewal? The Impact of the Napoleonic State on the
Provincial Society of the Department Lubelski*¹

Reforma czy odnowa? Wpływy prawodawstwa napoleońskiego
na społeczeństwo prowincjonalne Departamentu Lubelskiego

During its brief existence, the Duchy of Warsaw witnessed the dramatic introduction of an extensive program of Napoleonic reforms. However, of the hundreds of French changes, it was ultimately the abolition of serfdom which touched the majority of Polish society by altering the traditional relationship between noble landlords and their agrarian work force. Polish landowners successfully worked through the Napoleonic constitution and legal code to rescind virtually all established peasant rights and legal protection; thus creating a new modern serfdom which would last well into the nineteenth century.² After removing these securities the *szlachta* then typically moved to increase the various feudal rents and obligations, without corresponding enlargements of the peasants hol-

¹ Abbreviations used: AAL – Archiwum Archidiecezjalne w Lublinie, ABS Brzesów z Siekierzyniec (APL), AGAD – Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (Warszawa), AL – Archiwum Lubomirskich (APL), AN – Archives Nationale (Paris), AOZ – Archiwum Ordynacji Zamoyskiej (APL), APK, – Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, APL – Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, AS – Archiwum Szlubowskich (APL), AWH – Archiwum Woronieckich z Huszlewa (APL), AZ – Archiwum Zamoyskich (AGAD), KRPIŚ – Komisja Rządowa Przychodu i Skarbu (AGAD), TS – Teki Antoniego Schneidra (APK).

² See J. Willaume: *Z dziejów wsi lubelskiej przed uwłaszczeniem*, „Ann. Univ. Mariae Curie-Skłodowska”, sectio F, vol. X, 1955, s. 79-154 and.: *Wieś lubelska przed uwłaszczeniem*, Lublin 1946.

dings. Ironically, the constitution and costly campaigns of Napoleon, which were in part meant to abolish all forms of feudalism and insure a system of meritocracy, did neither in the Duchy of Warsaw. Ultimately, traditional Polish serfdom was transformed from an oral agreement into a contractual arrangement, and was all the more onerous and entrenched because of this change; while, the Polish aristocracy, rather than other more talented and landless sectors of society, used its vast landholdings to help reassert itself as the dominate stratum in Polish society.

For many years now historians of Poland have debated questions concerning the emergence and nature of Polish serfdom. While all questions are far from being answered, a general consensus now exists about several key elements of this Polish-style feudalism. It is commonly held that the Polish system of serfdom (*ustrój folwarczno-pańszczyźniany*) began in the late-fifteenth century and initially was in response to a rapidly growing domestic market, but ultimately was fuelled by an ever-growing international market.³ Thus, the somewhat premature assumption that the Polish peasantry was bound to the land as a direct result of the Peace of Toruń in 1466, which marked the defeat of the Teutonic Knights and granted Polish landowners access to the Baltic Sea's growing West European grain trade, has been all but discarded as the primary catalyst of Polish enservment.⁴ Over the following centuries Poland witnessed the development of an increasingly complex system of latifundia-like estates, known as *folwarks* into administrative unit called *klucz*. As the sale of Polish grains flourished in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the aristocratic *Sejm* successfully curtailed the legal rights of their peasant-laborers (*chłopi*) and tied them to the land through more than sixty legislative edicts.⁵ After the transformation of the traditionally free peasantry into bound serfs, they were then subject to an everexpanding series of early tribu-

³ L. Żytkowicz: *The peasant's farm and the landlord's farm in Poland from the 16th to the middle of the 18th century*, „The Journal of European Economic History”, 1972, 1, s. 135–138; Małowist: *Z zagadnień popytu na produkty krajów nadbałtyckich w Europie Zachodniej*, „Przegląd Historyczny”, 1959, L, s. 4. For an introduction to the phenomenon of East European and Polish serfdom see J. Blum: *The rise of serfdom in Eastern Europe*, „The American Historical Review”, 1957, LXII, 4, s. 807–836, and Manteuffel: *On Polish feudalism*, „Mediaevalia et Humanistica”, 1964, 16, s. 94–104.

⁴ Several authors have noted that the large estates of Central Poland did not begin making regular grain shipments to Gdańsk ports until the late-sixteenth century, specifically 1582. See Żytkowicz: *op. cit.*, s. 137 i n.; A. Wawrzyńczyk: *Problem spadku wydajności dóbr Pabianice w II poł. XVI w.*, „Studia z dziejów gospodarstwa wiejskiego”, 1970, s. 75–76; and J. Malecki: *The Vistula and Poland's trade in the XVth and XVIIth century*, „The Journal of European Economic History”, s. 193–198.

⁵ Żytkowicz: *op. cit.*, s. 147.

tes (*daniny*) and corvees (*pańszczyzny*) that became the economic and social foundation of the former "Republic of Nobles". In this system serfs had practically no rights or opportunity for legal redress therefore it was relatively simple for landowners to gradually increase feudal obligations. Originally, for every *włoka* (16.8 hectares) held by the serf he was required to work one day per week on the landlord's estate, however, this ratio eventually climbed to six days of work per week for the same amount of land.⁶ Under this elaborate feudal structure the landlord invested virtually no capital and expenditures were minimal, since the serf was required to maintain his own beasts of burden, tools, and all structures on the property. Furthermore, the only payment the serf received for his work on the noble estate was the plot of land he occupied as a lessee.⁷ The right of the peasant to work his property, and not be evicted from it, was the only real benefit this system held for the serf, though the question of land tenure remained an unwritten practice until the late-eighteenth century.⁸

As the conditions of Polish serfdom worsened over the years, so did the relationship between aristocratic landowners and their peasant work force. By the eighteenth century anti-feudal sentiments were prevalent among the Polish peasantry, particularly along the eastern boundaries of the Republic. The traditionally East Galician region of *Zamojszczyzna* held numerous runaway serfs from Ukraine, many of whom were instrumental in disseminating radical anti-feudalism to the Polish peasantry.⁹ In the year of France's Great Revolution, Ukrainian peasants rose against their lords, "falling on manors and killing Polish nobles."¹⁰ The landed elites of the region, including *Lubelszczyzna*, lived "everyday in fear" of peasant rebellions and "did not sleep at home, only when away from the estate."¹¹ The following year, during the Potemkin Uprising of 1790, the Ukrainian rebels entered the Polish Republic seeking support against the Russian and Polish

⁶ The six days of work per week (three days with animal team and three days without) typically increased during the harvest and planting seasons. See J. Stanley: *A Political and Social History of the Duchy of Warsaw, 1807-1813*, Ph. D. diss., Univ. of Toronto, Toronto 1979, s. 283.

⁷ Żytkowicz: *op. cit.*, s. 140.

⁸ Polish serfs were eventually granted permanent land tenure under the various statutes of Austria and Prussia, while the reforming Polish government acknowledged the peasantry's right to their traditional property in the constitution of 3 May 1791.

⁹ R. Orłowski: *Położenie chłopów w dobrach Ordynacji Zamojskiej w drugiej połowie XVIII w.*, „Ann. Univ. Mariae Curie-Skłodowska”, sectio F, vol. VII, 1952, s. 111.

¹⁰ T. Mencel: *Świadomość chłopów Lubelszczyzny, Podlasia i Małopolski Zachodniej na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku*, „Acta Universitatis Lodziensis”, 1992, 45, s. 136.

¹¹ T. Korzon: *Dzieje wewnętrzne Polski za panowania Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego (1764-1794)*, Kraków 1897.

landed elites, of the Polish serf Potemkin said, "Polish farmers would now rather follow Russians, and then we will have 20,000 peasants to help [our cause]."¹² Ultimately, the Polish peasantry confirmed their desire for feudal reform as thousands of disgruntled serf joined Kościuszko's Insurrection in 1794. Kościuszko placed his grass-roots movement on the shoulders of Polish peasants as he issued the *Połaniec Manifesto* in an effort to rally broad based support. In short, the *Manifesto* guaranteed serfs the freedom of movement, government protection from unilateral increases in obligations, and a one-third decrease in all *corvees*. The eventual defeat of Kościuszko, and subsequent third partition of Poland, meant the end of his peasant reforms and the return of serfs to the estates, but not before they had clearly proclaimed their discontent with the feudal system.

The well-entrenched and onerous system of aristocratic folwarks survived even the collapse of the nation-state, as it was not swept away with the partitions of the eighteenth century. The partitions did, however, transfer the peasant question from the Polish *szlachta* and into the hands of the partitioning powers. While under Austrian rule the peasantry of *Lubelszczyzna* certainly witnessed a marginal improvement in their position.¹³ Unlike the dismembered Commonwealth, the more "enlightened" Austrian Empire had since the mid-eighteenth century vigorously protected the basic rights of the peasant. Thus, during the reign of Empress Maria Theresa the Polish *szlachta* saw their traditional rights concerning the treatment of serfs eroded. While under the Habsburgs the nobility lost several long-standing privileges; they were no longer allowed to increase unilaterally peasant obligations without a corresponding expansion of the serf's holdings, and they could no longer force peasants to work on holy days. Following the death of Maria Theresa, her son, Joseph II, formally endorsed the peasantry's right to their ancestral lands in 1782; in 1786, through the *Robotpatent*, he limited the number of corvee days a serf must fulfil to three days

¹² Mencil: *Świadomość chłopów Lubelszczyzny...*, s. 137.

¹³ AN, AFIV, 1676, plaquette II, „Rapport non signe sur la Galicie, politique autrichienne envers les differentes classes de la societe, aout-sept. 1807”, 44–53; B. Grochulska, *Księstwo Warszawskie*, Warszawa 1966, s. 91. Ironically, despite the social betterment afforded Galician serfs by Austrian rulers, they continued to despise the Austrian government. The dislike of Austrian rule may be explained, at least in part, by the peasants aversion to the considerable colonization efforts of the Austrians. The Galician serfs, and their landlords, were quite disturbed as large numbers of Austrian farmers moved on to Polish lands at the close of the eighteenth century. See T. Mencil: *Próby kolonizacji niemieckiej w Galicji Zachodniej w latach 1799–1806*, Ann. Univ. Mariae Curie-Skłodowska, sec. F, vol. XXV, 1970, s. 69–83 and R. Orłowski: *Koloniści rolnicy niemieccy w Ordynacji Zamojskiej w końcu XVIII wieku*, Ann. Univ. Mariae Curie-Skłodowska, sec. F, vol. XII, 1957, s. 157–179.

a week, specified what would constitute a day's work (eight hours constituted a day of work in the winter and twelve hours in the summer), and essentially abolished all duties and rents in-kind (i.e. chickens, grain, eggs, etc.).¹⁴ Habsburg rule also extended the protection of the state judicial system to the peasantry, and Polish serfs acquired the unprecedented right to lodge formal legal complaints against their noble landlords. This statute infuriated an already alienated Polish nobility, because for the first time ever the *szlachta* was placed under the same law as the common serf.¹⁵ The Josephinian patents, being far too liberal for most landlords, were in most cases ignored by the Polish landowners and rapidly doomed to follow the emperor to a grave in 1790.¹⁶ Ultimately, it would not be the Josephinian experiment that markedly changed Galician society; rather, it was the legacy of the French Revolution, in the form of Napoleon Bonaparte, which would forever alter the nature of Polish serfdom.

In accordance with the constitution of 1807, all traditional forms of Polish serfdom were abolished within the boundaries of the Duchy of Warsaw.¹⁷ Nevertheless, the repeal of the antiquated feudal system was not the blessing the Polish peasants had sought for so many years.¹⁸ The conservative manner in which the *szlachta*-dominated Council of State, as persuaded by Minister of Justice Feliks Łubiński, interpreted the constitution on 21 December 1807, left the emancipated serfs without the traditional security of hereditary land tenure.¹⁹ In effect, the Polish

¹⁴ A. Korobowicz, W. Witkowski: *Ustrój i prawo na ziemiach polskich: od rozbiorów do odzyskania niepodległości*, Lublin 1994, s. 27–28.

¹⁵ AN, AFIV 1676, plaquette II, 44–53.

¹⁶ The last of the Josephinian patents, and the protection they afforded the peasantry, were nullified with the extension of the *Code Napoleon* into Galicia in 1809. See J. Willaume: *Stosunki społeczne i polityczne w Księstwie Warszawskim*, „Myśl Współczesna”, 1947, 1, s. 167.

¹⁷ Article IV of the *Statut Constitutionnel du Duché de Varsovie* read, „L'esclavage est aboli; tous les citoyens sont des tribunaux”. However, the Polish translation and interpretation of this article was very literal and highly dubious. It stated: „Znosi się niewolę”, (Slavery is abolished). M. Kallas: *Konstytucja Księstwa Warszawskiego, jej powstanie, systematyka i główne instytucje w związku z normami szczegółowymi i praktyką*, Toruń 1970, s. 60; Korobowicz, Witkowski: *op. cit.*, s. 48–49.

¹⁸ Of course, the peasantry of Galicia did not fully understand the implications of the Napoleonic liberation of the serfs therefore, they enthusiastically supported the emancipation of Galician peasants as they rose against the Austrians in 1809. See Mencil: *Świadomość chłopów Lubelszczyzny...*, s. 147–148.

¹⁹ *Dziennik Praw Księstwa Warszawskiego*, Warszawa 1810, s. 10–12; J. Willaume: *Fryderyk August jako Książę Warszawski*, Poznań 1939, s. 101–102. A. Maczak argues in *Agricultural and livestock production in Poland: Internal and Foreign Markets*, „The Journal of European Economic History”, s. 678–679., that the Polish peasantry enjoyed “relatively stable living conditions” and a “genuine crude plenty of victuals” during the early modern era.

peasantry was in a "worse situation", because they gained their freedom of movement but lost their traditional rights to work and live on the landowners' estates.²⁰

In the tradition of the French Revolutionary constitutions, and in accordance with the newly installed Napoleonic constitution and *Code Napoleon*, private property and the written contract were legal and binding – to the exclusion of all customs and oral traditions associated with the rights of serfs. Thus, this particular aspect of the new liberal constitution abolished the old feudal tradition and replaced it with a written contractual agreement.²¹ Under the French civil law code, or *Code Napoleon*, the emancipated serf, as a citizen of the Duchy of Warsaw, was granted the ability to enter into private contracts. Despite the peasantry's new contractual capacity and the government's attempt at expediting lawful arrangements between the landlords and peasants, there were in fact very few recorded contracts in the Duchy.²² Quite simply, the constitutionally based government and judiciary could not force private citizens to draft contracts, and most noble landowners refused to sign agreements which would preclude any future rent increases. This meant the peasant, without legal title to his traditional property, was then often forced to enter into disastrous arrangements with Polish landowners. The newly freed serfs worked more and had less to show for their work, because the constitution, as interpreted by the legislation of 21 December, abolished all laws and regulations established by the partitioning powers pertaining to the ceilings on rents and *corvees* due landlords.²³

Article V of the "Dekret o sytuacji prawnej chłopów w Księstwie Warszawskim" ("Decree on the Legal Situation of Peasants in the Duchy of Warsaw") explicitly stated that any peasant leaving his village relinquished all claims to his land, livestock, tools, and crops.²⁴ In the French chartered state private property was considered a basic right of man, nevertheless, ownership of private property

²⁰ S. Białas: *Położenie chłopów za czasów Księstwa Warszawskiego*, „Wiedza i Życie”, 1951, XVIII, s. 1015.

²¹ Korobowicz i Witkowski: *op. cit.*, s. 49; Stanley: *op. cit.*, 292–293.

²² In February 1808, King Fredrick August created a state system of notaries to help facilitate and record contracts between landlords and their tenants ("W celu przyśpieszenia kontraktów między dziedzicami a włościanami naszego Księstwa Warszawskiego..."). See W. Bartel et al.: *Ustawodawstwo Księstwa Warszawskiego: Akty normatywne władzy najwyższej*, Warszawa 1964, s. 31; Kallas: *op. cit.*, s. 62.

²³ T. Mencil: *Chłopska własność i posiadanie ziemi przed uwłaszczeniem w Królestwie Polskim*, „Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych” 1987, XLVIII, s. 53–54. The classic study of Feliks Łubieński, the duchy's finance minister who proposed the basic tenets of the December decree, is T. Mencil: *Feliks Łubieński: Minister sprawiedliwości Księstwa Warszawskiego, 1758–1848*, Warszawa 1952.

²⁴ *Dziennik Praw Księstwa Warszawskiego* s. 10–12; Kallas: *op. cit.*, s. 64; Bartel, et al., *op. cit.*, s. 14; Grochulska: *op. cit.* 90–91.

often depends on one's perspective. In the opinion of the Polish Council of State the peasant was an established renter with no legal right to his plot or any assets found on the property; thus, from the perspective of the aristocratic administration, the ancestral possessions of the Polish peasant were the private property of the noble landowner.²⁵ Article V was a particularly unjust portion of the decree, since in Poland, unlike the West, the peasantry typically owned their own tools and livestock. The landlords depended on the agrarian workers to use their own farm implements and to be the primary source of livestock. Following a one year transitional period before the decree went into effect, the more fortunate members of the peasantry either acquired work or remained on the land, maintaining their households at a subsistence level. The less fortunate left their villages, often only to fail in finding adequate work and therefore to starve or join the military or roam the countryside.²⁶ Napoleon's attempt at answering the peasant question was thus twisted in the hands of the Polish nobility, who in the final analysis merely exchanged the established feudal tradition for a new, and often more abusive, contractual feudal structure. The new agrarian system created by the Polish nobility was ultimately one of the greatest contradictions of all time. The elite ruling caste successfully formulated a structure in which Polish serfdom was officially abolished, but all of the traditional feudal trappings were maintained.²⁷ The landed nobility thus preserved and revitalized the great source of their wealth and political power, the land, and their control over the vast peasant labor force.

As the serfs and landed aristocracy of *Lubelszczyzna* joined the Duchy of Warsaw in 1809, they were caught between two powerful Napoleonic forces – reform and the military. Reforms, primarily in the form of the December Decrees, would rapidly transform the traditional relationship between the peasantry and nobility. At the same time, the ever-present armies introduced the provincial populace to the dramatic demographic and economic effects of Napoleonic warfare.

As late as 1810, the four Galician departments reported a total population of 1,572,696, however, only 261,678 of these were considered city-dwellers. During this same census the Department Lubelski held a total population of 457,017, but only 80,526 of this were urban based and it is certain that the bulk of *Lubelszczy-*

²⁵ T. Mencil: *Chłopi w wyborach do sejmu Księstwa Warszawskiego, Wieki XIX: Prace ofiarowane Stefanowi Kieniewiczowi w 60 rocznicę urodzin*, Warszawa 1967, s. 120–121.

²⁶ Grochulska: *op. cit.*, s. 88–90.

²⁷ Stanley: *op. cit.*, s. 328.

zna's 35,227 Jews maintained residency in the cities. Thus, it is possible that as few as 50,000 Poles actually populated the cities of the Department Lubelski, while some 376,491 Poles occupied the villages and surrounding countryside.²⁸ As additional proof of the agrarian nature of the region the French reported in 1809, that the landscape of the Austrian administered *cyrkul* of Lublin was covered by some 616 villages, while the territorially smaller *cyrkul* of Zamość held 442 villages.²⁹ This vast agricultural network is another indication that since the initial inception of serfdom Polish land was always the contry's most valuable financial asset, and with the growth of the "Noble Republic" the bulk of Polish property found its way into the hands of the *szlachta*. As the Duchy's Commission on Income and Finance found in 1809, noble control over the countryside of *Lubelszczyzna* had declined very little under Austrian rule. According to the commission's findings the Polish nobility held 603 rural communities (*wsie*), with a total population of 199,475 and some 35,377 homes. These figures contrast sharply with the meager possessions of the crown, which only held the two properties of Janiszów (& 719 inhabitants and 111 homes) and Świdnik Wielki y Świdniczek (473 inhabitants and 68 homes).³⁰ Traditionally, Polish landed elites, unlike their contemporary English counterparts, were uninterested in agricultural pursuits and typically held their customary lifestyle. In the Enlightenment tradition, the Napoleonic Constitution valued private property as a basic right of mankind and used it as a principal measure of political power (i. e. Active vs. Passive Citizens). Land, a valuable commodity that the middle and upper strata of the nobility held in abundance, was thus transformed into real economic and political power. Accordingly, the plight of the peasantry is pivotal to any work on early Polish society, since there certainly existed a symbiotic, if not parasitic, relationship between serfs and landed elites.

During the brief period of the Duchy of Warsaw, and the even shorter duration in which *Lubelszczyzna* was a part of the duchy, the Department Lubelski witnessed noticeable changes in the economic and social standing of its agrarian populace. While governed by Austria the unilateral increase of peasant dues, without a corresponding expansion of serf properties, was prohibited, but under the duchy

²⁸ AGAD, AZ 96, „Statystyka Księstwa Warszawskiego i Królestwa Kongresowego z lat 1806–1812, 1817–1824, 1852 i wywoza Gdańskiego 1691–1817”, 456; H. Grossman: *Struktura społeczna i gospodarcza Księstwa Warszawskiego na podstawie spisów ludności 1808 i 1810 r.*, Warszawa 1925, s. 45–46.

²⁹ AN, AP 136/3 Papiers du Baron Bignon, dossier 1, „Autriche Gallicie Statistique”.

³⁰ AGAD, KRPIŚ 1020, „Tabella statystyczna okazująca ilość miast, wsiów, domów y dusz w powiecie Lubelskim – znajdujących się”.

this became an accepted and legitimate arrangement between a private landowner and his labor. As Professor Wiesław Śladkowski points out, "to be a peasant was considerably worse (in the time of Napoleon)".³¹ French reforms, as implemented by the Polish *szlachta*, and the frequent campaigns associated with their implementation drove the Polish peasantry into ruin, as they struggled under increasing monetary rents, *corvees*, and military appropriations. As the familiar world of the peasant crumbled under reform and warfare one thing remained a constant, their poor diet and deplorable living conditions. As the Age of Napoleon came to a close in 1815, the average Polish peasant's diet consisted primarily of dark breads, which were usually filled out with barley chaff, and vegetable greens or even grass, but no salt. The peasant's family often had tattered or inadequate clothing and lived in a wooden hut. Their houses were usually dark, because they rarely had windows or chimneys. The absence of chimneys forced the occupants to open all doors in the cabin, to release the smoke, when a fire was being used for cooking or heat. Finally, the hard winters of the East proved especially difficult for the peasants as they were often compelled to protect their few head of livestock from the cold by sharing their small hovel with the cattle, swine, or sheep.³²

Late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century inventories of regional estates reveal that many peasants paid only a pittance, when compared to later years, in the form of monetary rents before the arrival of French troops in 1807. These same pre-Napoleonic peasants were, however, forced to pay the balance of their burdensome rents with their labor and the produce of their leased property (see Table 1).

The requirements of the northern part of the region typically varied slightly from the southern section, since the southern and southeastern areas traditionally pursued the somewhat different historical path of Eastern Galicia. The distinctive regional variations of the south commonly meant higher rents and obligations for the serfs of *Zamoyszczyzna*. This area, while dominated by the considerable holdings of the *Ordynacja Zamoyska*, generally followed the established early modern trends of the western Ukraine. In the late-sixteenth century the territory witnessed the rapid proliferation of the *folwark* system; as local landlords discovered the profitable transportation of the San and Bug Rivers, tributaries of the commerce laden Vistula River, to haul local grains to the Baltic port of Gdańsk. The

³¹ W. Śladkowski; *Pod zaborem austriackim w Księstwie Warszawskim i Królestwie Polskim (1795–1831)* [w:] *Dzieje Lubelszczyzny*, Warszawa 1974, s. 504.

³² Białas: *op. cit.*, s. 1016–1017.

Zamość region and parts of western Ukraine also suffered similar hardships with the various wars and invasions of the seventeenth and early-eighteenth century.³³

Table 1. Obligations due landlords of *Lubelszczyzna* (1797–1809)³⁴

Year	Name of community	No. farm.	Pańszczę. days	Oxen	Hor.	Daniny* Chick	Egg	Zł. gr.*
1797	Klucz Pułaczski	54	99	-	-	-	-	-
1798	Wieś Osiny	10	70	-	-	-	-	-
1800	Podedworze	15	53	-	-	-	-	4.12
1800	Lipowskie	27	126.5	-	-	-	-	54.00
1800	Piechowskie	46	212	-	-	-	-	86.00
1803	Wieś Rogów	51	79.5	-	-	51	29	7.07
1803	Wieś Wilków	11	33	-	-	9	63	4.24
1803	Kielczewice	15	42	37	17	52	102	3.06
1803	Wilczopole	18	68	30	-	-	-	-
1803	Zmiowisko	9	14	-	-	10	-	-
1805	Koryłowszczyzna	6	16	10	3	-	-	-
1805	Pilaszkowice	85	194.5	-	-	179	895	101.00
1808	Skromowice	8	20	10	3	-	-	-
1809	Torokanowa	45	117	-	-	108	189	195.00

*Daniny (tributes) typically included many other things, such as: balls of yarn, geese, bread, and grains.

*This is an aggregate sum of all monetary rents extracted from each particular holding (1 Polish Złoty = 30 Grosze).³⁵

**Pańszczęzna days* (a combination of *ciągły* work & *pieszy* work) are the total number of days per week a village was required to work on the landlord's holdings. This figure includes only the number of days assigned to constant day to day work and does not include the additional work days that were typically required during the harvest and planting seasons.

It was during this extended period of conflict that the financial position of the landowners of *Zamoyszczyzna* began to crumble, as they were unable to effectively utilize their traditional commercial waterways. On this very important point the northern and southern sections of the Department Lubelski differed, because in the Lublin region most landlords did not depend on the transportation of the Vistula's smaller tributaries, rather, they had direct access to the Vistula River. Also, northern landholders had the luxury of taking their goods to the city of Lublin, which lay on the east-west trade route between Wrocław and Lwów. This divergent tendency continued into the eighteenth century, as the Zamość area was obtained by the Austrian Empire during the first partition in 1772. The partitions economically crippled the region by cutting across many natural trade routes and temporarily severing north-south commerce.

³³ Żytkowicz: *op. cit.*, s. 144.

³⁴ APL, Księgi Ziemskie Lubelskie, books 5–10; AS 62, „Summaryusz hrabstwa Opolskiego folwarkami poniżej okazujący”; AL 58, „Inwentarz wsi Torokanowa”.

³⁵ I. Ichnatowicz: *Vademecum do badań nad historią XIX i XX wieku*, Warszawa 1967, s. 85.

Accordingly, much of the eighteenth century was financially stressful for *Zamoyszczyzna*, as the estimated income received from the holdings of the Ordynacja dipped to only some 400,000 zlp for most of the century.³⁶ While 400,000 zlp. was certainly a significant amount, it paled in comparison with the 100,000,000 zlp income of the Czartoryski family and the 3,000,000 zlp. earned by the Potocki family. As trade returned to normal along the Vistula and its tributaries in the 1780s, the Zamoyski family renewed their dwindling fortunes by investing heavily in the local textile industry and the building of barges to once again transport their produce to the profitable Baltic ports.³⁷ Ultimately, what historian Leonid Zytkowicz wrote of trade in the Polish Commonwealth was equally true of the southern part of the Department Lubelski; he maintained, "Where the transport of cereals was not remunerative, the landowners' incomes were based on rents, and the manufacture and sale of spirits acquired growing importance".³⁸ Thus, as *Zamoyszczyzna* endured numerous trade interruptions, many of which the Lublin region did not undergo, the local landlords were forced to sustain themselves through increased rents and the growing internal market.

Paradoxically, the Zamość region traditionally had problems getting produce to the lucrative Baltic market, but it had no difficulty producing large quantities of grains; because it generally, unlike the northern territory, enjoyed the fertile black soils which are today usually associated with Ukraine.³⁹ Over the years the higher soil productivity of the periodically isolated south often yielded an excess of cereals, which in times of peace caused locally cheaper grain prices. The effects of this relatively closed region market are also consistently reflected in the significantly larger populations and higher birth rates of the southern *powiats*.⁴⁰ A simple comparison of the populations of the three southern-most *powiats* in 1810, Tarnogrodzki (60,694), Zamoyski (48,699), and Tomaszowski (54,572), with three of the northern *powiats* of the region, Lubartowski (35,758), Żelechowski (32,022), and Łukowski (20, 379), reveals a distinct difference between the

³⁶ Korzon: *op. cit.*, s. 248.

³⁷ R. Orłowski: *Z dziejów organizacji handlu słuwnego w Ordynacji Zamojskiej w końcu XVIII wieku*. „Ann. Univ. Mariae Curie-Skłodowska”, sectio F, vol. XI, 1956, s. 81–100; J. Bartys: *Sukiennictwo w Ordynacji Zamojskiej w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku*, „Przegląd Historyczny”, 1958, XLIX, 3, s. 486–509.

³⁸ Żytkowicz: *op. cit.*, s. 144.

³⁹ Śladkowski: *op. cit.*, s. 494.

⁴⁰ AAL, Rep. 60–VI–1, „Wykaz statystyczny o ruchu ludności w parafiach dzisiejszych guberni lubelskiej od najdawniejszych czasów (XVII w.) do 1901 r.”

populations of the north and south.⁴¹ Even though the southern territories were somewhat more productive the peasants did usually not reap the benefits; rather landlords, through elevated rents, reaped the profits of serf labor (see Table 2.).

Table 2. Obligations due landlords of *Zamoyszczyzna* (1790–1808)⁴²

Year	Name of community	No. farm.	Pańszczyzna days*	Yarn balls	Daniny		Zl. gr.*
					Chick	Eggs	
1790	Stary Zamość	-	46	206	63	-	125.12
1790	Krasne	-	56	216	28	125	277.08
1790	Wierzba	-	26	120	38	-	230.03
1803	Nielisza	47	90	188	-	-	313.00
1805	Plusy	-	86	480	-	-	903.18
1805	Wilkołaz	101	482	493	297	166	2476.15
1805	Zalesie	24	62	63	30	27	232.10
1805	Wólka Rudnicka	17	42	14	15	38	172.15
1807	Nielisza	58	98	228	-	-	411.27
1807	Krasne	62*	62	256	32	137	619.27
1807	Wierzba	64*	32	128	40	-	311.25
1807	Stary Zamość	68*	70	270	83	-	254.10
1808	Plusy	-	113	561	-	-	1834.24

* The same method as in Table 1 was used in Table 2 to estimate *Pańszczyzna* days. Also, it should be noted that in the summer the total number of work days typically doubled in the south, because of the addition of extra work days during planting and harvest.

* The same method as in Table 1 was used here to establish the total monetary amount extracted from each village yearly.

* The 1807 figures for Krasne, Wierzba, and Stary Zamość do not refer to total number of farmers in each community, but rather to number of homes in 1805 (AOZ 3215).

With the introduction of Napoleonic reforms to Galicia in 1809, the status of the peasantry quickly deteriorated. The traditional rents and duties of the serf, particularly monetary rents, began to increase rapidly. As stated earlier, dramatic drops in Polish grain profits often forced landlords to rely on increased rents and local markets to maintain their financial position.⁴³ Thus, as the Polish landlords lost money to the Continental Blockade, increased taxes, and the cost of Napoleonic campaigning, he was able to recoup some of his lost fortune through higher

⁴¹ AGAD, AZ 96, 346–382; Grossman: *op. cit.*, 48.

⁴² APL, AOZ 52-, „Inwentarz klucza Starozamoyskiego..., dnia 24 czerwca, 1790 r., „AOZ 2153, „Inwentarz Starego Zamościa w 1807 r.” AOZ 2143, „Wieś Plusy. Inwentarz... w roku 1805/08”; AOZ 2139, „Inwentarz dóbr Nielisza roku 1803/07”; AOZ 2168, „Inwentarz dóbr Wilkołarza z roku 1805”; AOZ 3215, „[...] po ukończonej militarnej konskrypcji w roku 1805”.

⁴³ Żytkowicz: *op. cit.*, s. 144.

monetary demands on the tenants of his land.⁴⁴ In the village of Plusy, there were no significant changes in population or in the amount of land farmed (178 *morg*) between 1805 and 1909; however, there were substantial increases in almost every peasant obligation.⁴⁵ The village *corvees* were increased; the number of *ciągły* work (labor performed with an animal) days per week were increased from 40 (1805) to 45 (1809) and the number of *pieszy* work (labor performed without an animal) days per week were increased from 46 (1805) to 68 (1809). In addition to these increases a new labor burden also appeared in the village inventory; it took the form of the *chatupniczy* work, which added an additional 36 days of labor per year to the village *corvees*. Rents in-kind also increased; balls of yarn progressed from 478 $\frac{2}{3}$ (1805) to 560 $\frac{3}{5}$ (1809) and the amount of oats required from the village rose from 26 kor. 2 $\frac{1}{3}$ miar. (1805) to 31 kor. 2 miar. (1809).

While all of these mark significant increases, particularly when taken in the context of only years, none are as telling as the dramatic increases in monetary rents. The total amount due from Plusy in 1805 was 903.18 zlp., but by 1809 this sum doubled to an exorbitant 1,834.23 zlp.⁴⁶ Substantial increases in feudal dues were not always consistent throughout the Department Lubelski, which was the case in the village of Nielisza, where fifty-eight farmers (*gospodarze*) were obligated to work 90 *ciągły* and 8 *pieszy* days per week in 1807; however, by 1827 this village had witnessed an increase of one farmer, but a decrease to 78 *ciągły* work and 6 *pieszy* work days per week. Likewise, the number of required balls of yarn dropped from 228 to 192 yearly and while their land rent rose from 164.20 zlp. to 299.08 zlp., the total monetary rent (i. e. land, grain mill, and estate ovens) dropped from 411.27 zlp. in 1807 to 352.20 zlp. in 1827.⁴⁷

Although some holdings, like Nielisza, were fortunate enough to maintain constant or marginal declines in rents and duties during the Napoleonic period, they were the exceptions to the general rule, for most of the estates of Department Lubelski confirm an expansion of the established forms of serfdom. This growth is clearly discernable between 1807 and 1825 in the constituent parts of Klucz Stary Zamość; on the *folwarks* of Stary Zamość, Krasne, Wierzby, and

⁴⁴ B. Grochulska confirms in *Uwagi o bilansie handlowym Księstwa Warszawskiego*, „Przegląd Historyczny” 1960, 51, 3, s. 483–512; that the Continental System closed Poland’s largest grain market, England. As evidenced by the period 1793–1805, when the English purchased 50.1% of all grains shipped through Gdańsk, with Holland a distant second purchasing 17.8% for the same period.

⁴⁵ One *morg* chełmiński=5 984 993 square meters. See Ilnatowicz: *op. cit.*, s. 37.

⁴⁶ APL., AOZ 2143, „Wieś Plusy. Inwentarz powinności i danin na gronie spisany w roku 1805–1822/23”.

⁴⁷ AOL, AOZ 2139, „Inwentarz dóbr Nielisza”.

Chomecisk all monetary obligations rose markedly. Stary Zamość witnessed an increase in their land rent from 213.15 zlp. in 1807, to an incredible 1,674.12 zlp. in 1825; however, the number of required balls of yarn dropped from 270 to 184. The same phenomenon occurred in all parts of Klucz Stary Zamość: in Krasne the land rents rose from 564.26 zlp. to 2,879 zlp.; in Wierzby rents increased from 270.12 zlp. to 1,522 zlp.; and finally, in Chomecisk their rent climbed from 486.18 zlp. to 3,296.24 zlp. These increases were also typically paralleled by elevated rents in-kind: in Krasne the number of chickens due yearly rose from 31 1/2 do 38; in Wierzby the amount increased from 40 to 49, and lastly; in Chomecisk the total expanded from a meager 5 to 70. These figures usually included all rents in-kind, thus there were also significant increases in numbers of eggs and balls of yarn.

Increases in numbers of eggs and balls of yarn

Name of community	1807 Eggs	1825 Eggs	1807 Yarn	1825 Yarn
Stary Zamość	0	270	270	184
Krasne	136	312	256	358
Wierzby	0	408	128	319
Chomecisk	0	540	312	408
TOTAL	136	1530	966	1269

These spiralling rents, both in-kind and monetary, were surprisingly not reflected in labor obligations, which regularly remained stable or declined in terms of the number of *corvee* days required.⁴⁸

The parallel trends of stagnate labor obligations and rising monetary rents also occurred in other parts of the Lublin region. In the small villages of Podedworze (18 farmers) and Stare Opole (35 farmers) the weekly *corvees* decreased slightly, but the land rents increased in Podedworze from 4.12 zlp. in 1800, to 144 zlp. in 1811, and for the same period in Stare Opole land rent rose from 20.10 zlp. to 272 zlp. As evidence of the worth of the *folwarks* and other agrarian properties, the Szlubowski family in 1811 estimated the value of all duties paid by these two small holdings, and both monetary and in-kind obligations came to a total of 4,395 zlp. for Podedworze and 8,301.20 zlp. for the slightly larger village of Stare Opole.⁴⁹ These various rental increases, particularly the elevations of monetary rents, would ultimately lead to serious hardships on the peasantry. By

⁴⁸ APL, AOZ 2153, „Inwentarz Starego Zamościa w 1807 r. sporządzony”, and „Inwentarz dóbr Klucza Starozamojskiego po uregulowaniu tych dóbr w roku 1825 sporządzony”.

⁴⁹ APL, AS 66, „Summaryusz hrabstwa Opolskiego folwarkami poniżej okazujący”, and „Summaryusz generalny gruntów ornych pańszczyzny gwałtów i tok [...]”.

the trying times of 1812–1814, such increases, taken in conjunction with the other various and sundry burdens placed on the rural population, led to an unbearable situation in the countryside. In 1812–1814, the villages of Tworyerów, Turokina, Aleksandrów, Biszera, Godziszów, and Goraj all reported to the Zamoyski family their inability to pay the rent.⁵⁰

In order to appreciate fully the implications of these various fluctuations, one must ultimately remember that these transformations took place over a very short period of time and that quite often as obligations increased the populations of these villages remained static or dwindled under the various burdens of Napoleonic warfare. During the Napoleonic Era the countryside of *Lubelszczyzna* suffered much the same demographic fate as earlier provincial areas that were exposed to the effects of extended periods of warfare (i. e. The Thirty Years' War, French Wars of Religion, Seven Years' War, etc.). Like the peasantry of these earlier conflicts the many villages and estates of the Department Lubelski found that the hardships of warfare were not confined to the battlefield; rather, through conscription, taxes, disease and military foraging, warfare touched the everyday life of the village.

Historians of Napoleon often debate the genius of the emperor or quality of his troops; however, rarely do they pause to consider the origins of the enormous sums of money or the vast stores of food required to keep the massive Napoleonic military on its feet. In the Department Lubelski one can discern the anonymous parties responsible for the all-important ingredients that enabled the Napoleonic armies to take the field – the agrarian populace of the countryside. Parts of this particular region (i. e. *powiat Zamoyski*) had endured the conscriptions and requisitions of the Austrian Empire since 1772, while the balance of *Lubelszczyzna* had endured these impositions since the final partition in 1795. Yet despite their previous experience the populace was ill-prepared for the exorbitant price of the Napoleonic venture. For example, the *Ordynacja Zamoyska* reported in December 1809, several regional villages were not compensated („bez kwitów czyli bonów”) for large amounts of supplies dispensed to the campaigning Polish military.⁵¹ In the *Ordynacja* alone, which witnessed heavy fighting in and around the Zamość area in both 1809 and 1813, the official military requisitions of the period, to say nothing of the unauthorized bandit-like foraging of various armies, severely strained an already struggling agrarian society (see Table 3). In 1813,

⁵⁰ APL, AOZ 3245, t. II, „Supliki włościan (1786–1814 r.)”.

⁵¹ APL, AOZ 3159, „Tych furazów y wiktuałów które z dóbr Państwa Ordynacji Zamoyskiej woysku polskiemu od czasu wkroczenia tegoż do Gallicji az do ostatniego grudnia 1809 [...]”.

the villages of Haryzów, Wieprowe, and Potok Górny, petitioned the Ordynat of Ordynacja Zamoyska, head of the Zamoyski holdings, for assistance, because the military had passed through and taken everything in their villages.⁵² In addition and completely separate from the routine military requisitions, there was the *liwerunek*. This tax was instituted in 1790, and required that every four years various communities should provide a fixed quantity of supplies for the Polish military (i. e. grains, meats, vodka, etc.).⁵³ This assessment was only slightly less burdensome than the traditional forms of military appropriation, and taken in the context of an already faltering rural populace it made the later excises of the period (1812–1814) all the more grievous.

Thus, the peasantry and their noble landlords were beset from all sides by Napoleon's creation, the Duchy of Warsaw. While the serfs were clearly the great losers on this occasion, one should not forget that property lost by the peasantry (i. e. livestock, grain, money) was ultimately a loss for the noble landowner. It is almost certain that had the peasantry not been forced to give up a large portion of their meager resources to the Napoleonic state, that the landlords would have absorbed this portion through further rent increases. For this reason there seems to have existed an invisible barrier in the area of rents, which the *szlachta* either consciously, or unconsciously, respected. The landholders, recognizing the finite wealth of their tenants, could not prevent the state from taking its part of the peasants goods; however, everything the state left behind was open to rental increases. As a consequence, under the combined effects of Napoleonic warfare and reform, the rural population began to rapidly falter under the unremitting pressure.

⁵² APL, AOZ 3245, t. II, „Supliki włościan...”.

⁵³ APL, AOZ 3227, „Liwerunki, składki i podatki wojenne: 1809/14 r.”, 145, 147, 150, 151, 153, 158, 160.

Table 3. A partial listing of contributions to the military by the *Ordynacja Zamoyska* 1809–1811⁵⁴

Goods requisitioned	Quantity		
	1809*	1810	1811
Oats	864 k. 4 g.	1017 K. 23 g.	1629 k. 8 g.
Hay	619 w. 416 p.	196 w. 372 p.	167 w. 2207 p.
Straw	96w. 58p.	122w. -	144w. -
Flour	94 k. 38 g.	122 k. 30 g.	200 k. 40 g.
Bread	4727.5 buns	18.06 buns	15.229.5 buns
Groats	67 k. 16.5 g.	102 k. 15 g.	152 k. 29 g.
Meat	8.894 lbs	8.763 lbs	1.364 lbs
Salt	10 barrels	18 barrels	64 barrels
Sour cream	38 g. 1hty.	38 g. 3 hty.	1 g. 1 hty.
Cream	1 g. 65 hty.	3 g. 65 hty.	1 g. -
Milk	96 g. 1 hty.	96 g. 1 hty.	-
Cheese	6 kopy 9 szt.	6 kopy 9 szt.	- 2 szt.
Eggs	160 doz. 56	163 doz. 36	7 doz. 24
Beer	530 b. 128.5 g.	575 b. 92.5 g.	167 b. 35.25 g.
Port	19 b. 33 g.	20 b. 34.5 g.	-
Wine	202 g. 3 hty.	210 g. 2 hty.	56 g. 1 hty.
Honey	106 g. 1 hty.	106 g. 1 hty.	94 g. 1 hty.
Coffee	85.5 lbs	86 lbs	12 lbs
Sugar	247.5 lbs	252 lbs	12 lbs
Lemons	143	143	-
Wood	274 lbs	-	-
Horses	-	-	25
Oxen	42	48	95
Cows	23	39	48
Calves	4	4	4
Geese	36	38	-
Chickens	1.926	1.362	149

*All goods listed for 1809 were taken without compensation („bez kwitów”).

As the villages, which normally existed at only a subsistence level, were continually drained of their few resources they were left in a state of crisis. The predicament began as the labor force of many peasant households diminished as men left the villages and joined the military as either volunteers or conscripts.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ APL, AOZ 3159, „Tych furazów y wiktuałów ktore z dóbr państwa Ordynacyi Zamoyskiej woysku polskiemu od czasu wkroczenia tegoż do Gallicji aż do ostatniego grudnia 1809 [...]”; AOZ 3160, „Furazów y wiktuałów wszelkich koni, bydła y pieniędzy dla wojsk polskich, rossyjskich, y austryackich...”; AOZ 3161, „Furazów wiktuałów różnych koni, bydła y pieniędzy z dóbr państwa Ordynacyi w okręgu Zamoyskim leżących dla woyska polskiego [...]”.

⁵⁵ Traditionally, selected serfs (bojarzy) could exchange service in the military for their yearly labor obligations.

This situation continued to deteriorate as various armies marched through the region and constantly demanded enormous amounts of livestock and produce. In the short interval between 1809 and 1815, the region lost an alarming and critical amount of livestock (see Table 4).

Table 4. Livestock loss in parts of Department Lubelski, 1810–1815⁵⁶

Name of community	LIVESTOCK: 1810				
	Horses	Oxen	Cows	Sheep	Swine
Złoice	616	804	1002	336	759
Stary Zamość	646	743	1014	587	989
Sitaniec	906	900	1068	1247	1278
Lipsko	532	996	860	378	884
Wólka Łukow.	34	13	46	26	31
Lipowiec	26	78	139	110	89
Wieś Osuchy	43	13	62	77	40
Wieś Szostaki	16	2	14	12	14
Gm. Roguzna	99	200	205	113	193
Gm. Wieprzec	165	313	311	163	196
TOTAL	3083	4062	4721	3049	4473
Name of community	LIVESTOCK: 1815				
	Horses	Oxen	Cows	Sheep	Swine
Złoice	195	211	362	31	212
Stary Zamość	143	188	433	64	269
Sitaniec	286	271	394	111	230
Lipsko	121	202	280	1	102
Wólka Łukow.	13	2	21	-	13
Lipowiec	12	27	62	4	11
Wieś Osuchy	29	6	42	3	15
Wieś Szostaki	7	-	5	-	6
Gm. Roguzna	54	143	205	66	105
Gm. Wieprzec	67	208	272	72	130
TOTAL	927	1258	2076	352	1093

Village stocks were depleted and the countryside found itself in the midst of a significant subsistence crisis. Once deprived of the bulk of their livestock and a substantial portion of their agricultural produce, the serfs of *Lubelszczyzna* began to experience starvation and eventually smallpox, measles, and scurvy.⁵⁷ As early as 1810, epidemics were reported in the areas of Stary Zamość and Wierzba. While this particular outbreak of sickness only afflicted some 58 people in the

⁵⁶ APL, AOZ 3214, „Summaryusz Wykazujący Ilość Dymów, Ludności, Zaprzęgu, Robocizny, Wysiewów...”; AOZ 3203, „Powiat Tarnogrodzki gmina Łukowa (1814 r.)”; AOZ 3208, „Powiat Tomaszowski miasto Tomaszów (1814 r.)”, 3.

⁵⁷ Grossman: *op. cit.*, s. 80–82.

two communities, it was a sign of things to come. The population of Stary Zamość dropped from 463 people in 1810 to a low 239 inhabitants by 1812.⁵⁸ This would be followed by the much more serious and far-reaching epidemics of 1812-1813. Later bouts of disease were worsened by the poor crops and almost famine-like conditions that existed in 1812. The crisis was further intensified as the modest food supplies of the area were placed under the added pressure of a recent baby boom. In 1811, following the successful military campaign of 1809, an overwhelming majority of the regional Catholic parishes reported tremendous increases in the number of births.⁵⁹ The worst of the sickness followed on the heels of the retreating *Grande Armée*, as the remnants of Napoleon's force left Russia they drifted across the duchy on their march westward. The dire situation of the Polish territory was soon made even worse as pursuing tsarist troops entered the region and began the occupation of the duchy.

In light of intense military activity in 1812-13, and the already poor conditions that existed in the Polish lands, it is not surprising that the whole of the Department Lubelski was plagued by sickness. The landlords of the northern *powiats*, like the entire area, reported numerous deaths among their peasantry near the end of 1812 and throughout 1813. The regional reports of rising mortality rates are confirmed by the significant, and revealing, increase in the number of farmer's deaths reported by the Breza family on their holdings "we wsi Andryowiczach y Slobodzie Maryanowce": 1809 (1 death), 1810 (1), 1811 (2), 1812 (7), 1813 (16), 1814 (3), 1815 (1).⁶⁰ Clearly, the later months of 1812 and the whole of 1813, was a period of crisis for the area; it claimed twenty-three lives, while the remaining five and one-half years of the Napoleonic period only saw eight farmers die. This epidemic, however, proved particularly acute in the area which witnessed the most military action, the southern region of the Department Lubelski, in the *powiats* of Zamoyski, Krasnystaw, and Tomaszów.⁶¹

Zamość, the "Renaissance Pearl of Poland" and private city of the Zamoyski family, had served as a border stronghold and garrison to the Austrian military from 1771 until 1809, and while under the Napoleonic regime it was once again fortified through peasant labor and asked to guard the southeastern passage into

⁵⁸ APL, AOZ 3253, „w okoliczności graszującej choroby epidemiczney [...] dostatecznego raportu, 26 lutego 1810 r.”, II; 332; AOZ 3219, „Tabella ludności w Państwie Ordynacji Zamoyskiej...”; AOZ 3227, „Podatek czopowe”.

⁵⁹ AAL, Rep. 60-VI-1, „Wykaz statystyczny o ruchu ludności w parafiach dzisiejszych guberni lubelskiej...”.

⁶⁰ APL, ABS III, 3.

⁶¹ APL, AOZ 3208, „Powiat Tomaszowski, miasto Tomaszów”, 6.

the Polish lands.⁶² Thus, as the regional stronghold it drew a substantial number of Polish troops into the area, and in 1813 attracted an even larger number of Russian troops. As tsarist forces overran the area they immediately placed the weakened, scurvy afflicted city of Zamość under siege and proceeded to occupy the surrounding territory. While more than 10,000 Russian soldiers roamed the countryside engaging the sparse Polish detachments, they rapidly appropriated all available supplies and laid waste to the country.⁶³

After the Russian advance in 1813, the Ordynat Ordynacji Zamoyskiej, head of the extensive possessions of the Zamoyski family, sometimes received petitions in Zamość from widows with children asking for assistance in repairing their home and farming the fields since their husbands had recently died.⁶⁴ These incidents, however, do not reflect either a new found aristocratic sympathy for their tenants or significant warming of customary peasant-landlord relations. Traditionally, landowners had assisted their serfs in times of dire need through loans of money or food, but quite often these advances were used to exact more goods and services from workers, in the form of debt and interest payments. In the desperate days of the duchy, reform broke this exploitive, but effective, bond between the *szlachta* and their laborers, by transforming serfs into private share-croppers. Thus, landowners no longer felt compelled to advance unsecured loans to a peasantry which was no longer bound to the land and obliged to repay debts. Ultimately, the duchy's government intervened on 12 March 1812, and through royal decree required landlords to assist their starving and impoverished tenancy. The edict merely served to resurrect yet another exploitive feudal relationship, and like the decree of 1807, it too was shrouded in the modern language of a socially conscious Napoleonic ruler. The mandate sought once again to bind the peasantry to landed elites and the land; as it held that landholders must extend loans of food or money to their tenants, but indebted workers could not leave the landlord's service until all debts were repaid in full.⁶⁵ Thus, petitions asking for help were not particularly rare in the days of dearth which followed the famine of 1811 and the Napoleonic campaign of 1812, but they should be viewed as evidence of a revised feudal order in an allegedly non-feudal state.

As the Napoleonic armies withdrew to their respective countries in 1815, the once prosperous agrarian society of *Lubelszczyzna* lay in shambles. In the rural

⁶² Białas: *op. cit.*, s. 1020.

⁶³ J. Nadzieja: *Zamość 1813*, Warszawa 1994, s. 138.

⁶⁴ APL, AOZ 3245, t. II, „Supliki włościan [...]”.

⁶⁵ Bartel: et al. s. 227–228.

areas, particularly of the *Ordynacja Zamoyska*, suffered either stagnation or a dramatic decline in their population. Where the period of Austrian rule, despite the thorough conscriptions of the Habsburg military, was marked by general increases in population, livestock, and produce, the Napoleonic era was marked by demographic and economic crisis (see Table 5).⁶⁶

Table 5. Population loss in rural parts of the Department Lubelski, 1810–1815⁶⁷

Name of community	INHABITANTS: 1810				
	Families	Catholic		Jewish	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Zloice	471	1116	1202	23	35
Stary Zamość	544	1172	1221	21	22
Sitaniec	620	1484	1578	24	24
Lipisko	497	1170	1218	14	15
Wólka Łukow.	22	67	66	-	-
Lipowiec	59	138	137	1	-
TOTAL	2213	5147	5422	83	96
Name of community	INHABITANTS: 1815				
	Families	Catholic		Jewish	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Zloice	371	891	941	23	35
Stary Zamość	394	879	928	12	16
Sitaniec	469	1140	1229	16	15
Lipisko	349	832	829	12	12
Wólka Łukow.	20	55	60	-	-
Lipowiec	58	135	135	1	2
TOTAL	1661	3932	4122	64	80

It is generally held that the decline of the farming population was caused by a mass exodus from the *folwarks* and villages, which was brought about by the recent introduction of usually harsh contractual agreements. While this explanation certainly has merit, it suggests only part of the reason for the sudden dips in population. The balance of the answer lies in the previously mentioned sickness and deprivation associated with Napoleonic campaigning. Thus, the southern border region, which endured more frequent visits from both the neighboring militaries and Polish detachments, witnessed more dramatic population loss than did

⁶⁶ APK, TS 1858, „Galicja – Summariusze konskrypcyjne r. 1774, 1794: wykazy ludności i bydła 1811–1824; wykazy liwerunku 1774, 1809, 1823.

⁶⁷ Same as Table 4.

the western and northern districts of the Department Lubelski (see Tables 6–7).⁶⁸ This usually ignored detail suggests a direct relationship between the presence of troops in the area and its adverse effects on the regional civilian population. Simply, if serfs fleeing the poor conditions of their villages is taken as a constant throughout the department, then regional variations in demographic change must be attributed to differences in the amount of military activity. Even though the resulting deaths and disappearances in the area were not the direct consequence of open combat, they were nonetheless the outcome of numerous military appropriations and deprivations.

Thus, by the assembly of the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the relationship between Polish nobles and their agrarian labor force was changed substantially by the years of the Duchy of Warsaw. Polish landlords, acting much the same as their forefathers of the late-fifteenth century, took advantage of the Napoleonic opportunity to rescind virtually all peasant rights and legal protection; thus creating a new modern serfdom which would last well into the nineteenth century.⁶⁹ After removing these securities the *szlachta* then typically proceeded to increase the various rents and obligations, without increasing the peasants holdings. Ironically, the constitution and campaigns of Napoleon, which were in part meant to abolish all forms of feudalism and insure a system of meritocracy, did neither in the Duchy of Warsaw. Ultimately, traditional Polish serfdom was transformed from an oral agreement into a contractual arrangement, and was all the more onerous and entrenched because of this change; while, the Polish aristocracy, rather than other more talented and landless sectors of society, used its vast landholdings to help reassert itself as the dominate stratum in Polish society.

⁶⁸ APL, AOZ 3159–3160. From the peace of 1809 through 1810, the frontier regions, like the southeastern section of Department Lubelski, were required to provide supplies to not only the Polish military, but also to the allies of France (i. e. Russia and Austria).

⁶⁹ Willaume: *Z dziejów wsi lubelskiej...*, s. 79–154.

Table 6. Demographic change in the northern & western villages of the Department Lubelski (1800–1839)

Name of village	INHABITANTS				HOMES	
	1800	1810	1812	1839	1800	1810
Blinów	671	707	711	742	120	120
Brzezówka	272	328	294	-	48	49
Moczydło	121	116	113	121	22	21
Alexandrówka	-	70	78	184	-	15
Batorz	584	609	599	543	111	110
Błazek y Piłatka	362	381	379	473	71	69
Otroc	582	661	650	648	114	119
Wólka Batorska	211	221	213	-	41	38
Zdzytowice	873	944	972	959	177	174
Wólka Rudnicka	82	102	96	111	16	19
Zalesie	151	146	126	141	28	24
Branewka	139	161	165	207	23	26
Branew	275	111	-	145	50	20
Chrzanów	1078	644	-	729	203	115
Budzyń	177	152	124	152	31	29
Pulankowice	125	117	99	-	25	24
Szastarka	136	120	128	-	27	28
Struza	-	298	290	307	-	47
Suchynia	152	133	127	143	23	23
Stodków	-	727	650	-	-	120
Wilkołaz	1150	1097	1115	1139	203	193
Wyżnianka	118	117	113	122	19	20
Wyżnica	204	243	218	210	37	37
Puławy	-	1019	-	-	-	116
Ludwin	-	112	-	-	-	23
Podedworze*	15	-	18	-	-	-
Stare Opole*	34	-	35	-	-	-

SOURCE: APL, AOZ 3222, „Tabella Statystyczna części Ordynacji w Gallicji Zachodniej (1800 r.)”; AOZ 3220, „Tabella Statystyczna Ludności gminy Batorskiej i Kraśnickiej (1810/11 r.)”; AOZ 3227, „Liwierunki, Składki i Podatki wojenne (1809/14 r.)”, 33; AOZ 16187, „Delegacyi rewizyi spisu wojskowego w roku 1839”, 154–163; AS 66, „Summaryusz hrabstwa Opolskiego folwarkami poniżej okazujący”; „Summaryusz generalny gruntów ornych pańszczyzny gwałtów i tlok...”, AGAD, KRPIŚ 1020, „Tabella statystyczna okazująca ilość miast, wsiów, domów y dusz w powiecie Lubelskim znajdujących się”; APK, TS 1872, „Dieser Zusammensatz geschah aus den nur ortfch afterweise besgetbenden militärischen Kreis-Senzions-Tabellen, nach der Conscription vom Jahre 1808”.

*The figures for the villages of Podedworze and Stare Opole refer to the reported number of farmers, not total population.

Table 7. Demographic change within the southern villages of the Department Lubelski (1800–1839)

Name of Village	INHABITANTS					HOMES
	1800	1805	1810	1812	1839	1805
Babice	-	1016	968	918	1253	196
Chmielek	1126	1271	916	1267	984	223
Losieniec	-	551	486	513	312	90
Zawadka	-	438	-	441	456	78
Dabrowka	-	359	218	329, 1487	69	
Potok Dolny	-	499	124	213	1115	94
Bystre	-	417	409	300	415	75
Siedliska	-	634	634	523	588	133
Zdanów	346	395	395	301	270	59
Lipisko, Wola L.	-	556	427	398	345	78
Lipiny	2006	2162	1551	1515	-	406
Biała Wola	-	180	180	169	-	32
Lipowiec (Łuk.)	-	425	243	202	370	65
Krzyszów Dolny	966	982	-	932	1143	182
Obroc	-	259	259	216	-	53
Zwierzyniec	940	1049	-	159	247	178
Lipowiec (Gor.)	-	334	334	334	464	61
Goraiec	880	898	-	871	975	168
Niedzieliska	-	699	699	656	722	99
Chłopków	-	381	381	326	400	67
Krasne	-	355	355	347	370	62
Wierzba	-	380	380, 374	298	64	
Stary Zamość	328	458	463	239	253	68
Sitaniec	662	-	754	742	717	-
Sulmice	115	-	204	239	-	-
Szopinek	-	-	50	50	-	-
Wysokie	-	-	210	179	154	-
Białobrzegi	-	-	183	159	171	-
Wólka Łukowska	-	-	219	136	-	-
Jedlinki	-	-	233	144	169	-

SOURCE: APL, AOZ 3215, „Summarjusz całego zaludnienia w dobrach Państwa Ordynacji Zamoyskiej po ukończonej militarnej konskrypcji sporządzony (1805 r.)”; AOZ 3219, „Tabella Statystyczna Ludności w Państwie Ordynacji Zamoyskiej, tudzież w dobrach Akademickich i Allodjalnych (1810 r.)”; AOZ 3227, „Liwerunki, Składki i Podatki wojenne (1809–1814 r.)”, 48–141; AOZ 3227, „Ludności Dymów w Gminie Goraieckiej zawierających się tudzież Podatku Czopowego rocznie opłacającego (7 stycznia 1814 r.)”, 150; AOZ 16187, „Delegacyi rewizyi spisu wojskowe w rok 1839”, 154–163; APK, TS 1875, „Zusammengezogene conscriptions – Gridenzhaltungs – Tabella de anno 1800”.