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Propaganda in the Parishes: Local Communication during the Insurrection of 1794

This chapter originated in the discovery of a document preserved in the Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Vilnius (fig. 14.1a, 14.1b).¹ This source was created in May 1794, during the early stages of the insurrection against Russian domination of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It contains a letter from Reverend Canon Symon Waraxa (*vel* Szymon Waraksa) to the parish clergy of the southern half of his deanery of Olwita (Alvitas) in the Roman Catholic diocese of Wilno (Vilnius). Attached to the letter are one hand-written and two printed proclamations by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in Wilno as well as instructions for their delivery (*'via cursoria'*) to each parish. It also details how these instructions were carried out. The analysis of this document, when combined with other sources, enables the historian to investigate various questions including the priorities of the insurrectionary authorities, the discourse of insurrectionary propaganda, practical cooperation between civil and ecclesiastical administrations, and the routes and speeds of communication at a particular time and place. The latter is the most significant for this volume's theme of microhistories.

[Fig. 14.1a, 14.1b 'Letter to confrères about the arrival of proclamations from Wilno "of both highest authorities"'. Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, MS F43-26934. By kind permission of the Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Vilnius.]

At the time when the document was created, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was both exhilarated and imperilled. Between 1788 and 1793 the Commonwealth had rejected Russian hegemony, given itself a new constitution, been invaded by Russia and subjected to a rapacious, repressive counter-revolutionary regime, and partitioned for the second time. The provocations orchestrated by the Russian envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the Commonwealth, General Osip Igelström, prompted the return of General Tadeusz Kościuszko from exile. In Cracow on 24 March 1794 he became the head of an insurrection to liberate the country from its occupiers. On 4 April Kościuszko's forces, including some scythe-wielding peasants, won a victory over Russian troops at Raclawice. The insurrection then spread to other parts of the twice amputated Commonwealth.² On 17-18 April Warsaw rose against the Russians, forcing Igelström to escape with only a fraction of his garrison.³

A day earlier, the insurrection had been proclaimed in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at Szawle (Šiauliai). The people of Wilno rose during the night of 22/23 April. The 'Act of Insurrection of the Lithuanian Nation' (*Akt Powstania Narodu Litewskiego*) was proclaimed from the city hall on 24 April. The next day, the *de facto* leader of the counter-revolutionary confederacy that had ruled the Grand Duchy in 1792-93, Szymon Kossakowski, was hanged as a traitor. The body variously called the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Nation (*Rada Najwyższa Narodu Litewskiego*) or the Supreme Lithuanian Government Council (*Najwyższa Rządowa Rada Litewska*) established on 24 April had a criminal court and three deputations – for public safety, public provisioning and the public treasury. Military command was entrusted to the radical 'Jacobin' general and poet, Jakub Jasiński. The Grand Duchy's insurrectionary institutions acted on their own initiative in the name of 'the Lithuanian nation', prompting Kościuszko to press for the integration of the Lithuanian structures into those shared with the Polish Crown. It is perhaps ironic that Jasiński had come to Lithuania from Great Poland (Wielkopolska) while Kościuszko was a native son of the Grand Duchy.⁴

With significant Russian forces still in the vicinity after the successful revolt in Wilno, it was essential to mobilize all possible human and other resources while preventing supplies from falling into Russian hands.⁵ These imperatives entailed rapid and effective communication with the population. The document in the Wróblewski Library refers to three printed proclamations (*uniwersały*). Copies were originally enclosed with it in a package. The first proclamation was ecclesiastical – issued by the general office of the bishopric of Wilno on 1 May and ordaining prayers and services for the Fatherland in churches across the diocese.⁶ The second was issued by the Supreme Council on 30 April, and was addressed to the rural population (*‘Odezwa do Rolników ludu wiejskiego’*). Most insurrectionary sources are in Polish, but several proclamations, including this one, were also printed in Lithuanian.⁷

The third proclamation most concerns us here. It was issued by the Deputation for Public Provisioning on 26 April. Reverend Waraxa had received very few printed copies, so he copied it out by hand before despatching it to the parishes. In short, it forbade the hoarding or export of ‘grain, hay, victuals, cattle, meat, fat, hides and other types of food’ because of the military emergency. Officials would be empowered to confiscate foodstuffs if any such attempts were discovered. However, there was no mention of any compulsory requisitioning, only an encouragement to sell foodstuffs to the army for what was termed a ‘market price’ and a ‘decent price’. Existing tolls of all kinds were suspended to facilitate deliveries to areas in which the Lithuanian army was being concentrated. Existing contracts would lose their force ‘until the tranquillity and liberty of the Fatherland were completely secured’.

The language of the proclamation also merits attention. The above measures were justified in a stirring preamble:

The rising up of the Nation from the enemy’s cruel slavery, just as the greatness of the bravery and courage of the Lithuanian Knighthood shall astonish all, so the most exacting duty requires

from the Deputation of Public Provisioning that it should seek with all speed to supply victuals for these valiant forces and provide for the needs of the citizens who with the utmost zeal will rise in the defence of all.

Love of the Fatherland and Freedom will surely sway all hearts to make offerings – of the property of everyone for the salvation of the Nation, which is bravely rising up; and feeling and tenderness in every soul, on recalling the torments inflicted by the bloody enemies, caused by the greed of the cruel traitors to the Fatherland, will incite all to share even their last piece of bread with those who have offered their lives and blood for the punishment of enemies and traitors, and for the protection from a dreadful slaughter, inferno and uprooting of the innocent inhabitants of the country.

The deputation was not mincing words. A similar discourse of patriotic sacrifice in the face of murderous treason could be heard in the France of Year II. Indeed, the authorities in Wilno have been accused of naively trying to copy revolutionary French models in the very different environment of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.⁸

The composition of this deputation is therefore noteworthy. It comprised noblemen of significant standing and property (although none of them were magnates), two burghers and two clergymen.⁹ One of the latter, Michał Franciszek Karpowicz, was archdeacon of Smolensk and professor of theology at Wilno University. His longstanding reputation as the Commonwealth's most eloquent preacher was confirmed with his funeral oration for those who had fallen in the Vilnan insurrection of 22/23 April.¹⁰ As a trenchant critic of the evils of serfdom in the mid-1770s and an outspoken supporter of the Constitution of 3 May 1791, he had been targeted for revenge by Józef Kazimierz Kossakowski, bishop of Livonia who, like his brother Szymon, was hanged for treason – in Warsaw on 9 May 1794. Although Bishop Kossakowski denounced Karpowicz as a radical, the sermons preached by the latter during the 'Polish Revolution' of 1788-92 were in fact more concerned with defending the clergy from

radical enlightened criticism than with social, let alone theological reform. Moreover, Kossakowski had himself condemned nobles for their exploitation of serfs.¹¹

Despite occasionally sanguinary rhetoric, 1794 in Poland-Lithuania saw a relatively gentle revolution, with only intermittent moments of crowd violence against ‘traitors’. Although some ‘Jacobins’ including Jasiński, wanted to mobilize an emancipated peasantry to fight for the national cause, there was no hint of abolishing the nobility, let alone of French-style dechristianization. In return, the majority of Polish-Lithuanian hierarchs and parish clergy cooperated with and usually cheered on the rising.¹² This was certainly the case with the suffragan bishop and administrator of the diocese of Wilno, Dawid Pilchowski.¹³

Dean Waraxa gave instructions for the circulation of the three proclamations. When the mounted courier arrived at each church, the clergyman in charge would keep two printed proclamations and copy out the third, before sending the remaining copies and the written document on to the next church. They would attest the time of arrival and departure in the appointed place on the second and third pages of the document, which listed the parishes of the southern half of the deanery in the expected order of travel. When the document returned to the dean, he would despatch it to Wilno. Priests, he wrote, should ‘not only read and explain these proclamations to the people from the pulpits in churches for several weeks continually, but having received them, immediately send them to nobles, to manor houses, and explain and announce them wherever larger populations were to be found’.

The dean sent the package from the parish of Bartniki (Bartninkai). It was to proceed southwards via Wisztyniec (Vištytis), Wiżayny (Wiżajny), Filipów, Bakalarzewo and Raczki to Janówka, and then northwards via Suwałki, Magdalenowo with Wigry, Kaletnik, Jeleniowo, Lubowo (Liubavas) and Grażyszki (Grażyškai) back to Bartniki. Presumably he sent analogous

instructions to the parishes located in the northern half of his deanery; these, however, have yet to be found, if they survive at all.

The territory covered by this instruction forms the western part of what is now known to NATO military planners as the ‘Suwałki gap’. On a large-scale map it looks like an exposed strip of land along the current Polish-Lithuanian border, between Belarus to the south-east and the Kaliningrad enclave of the Russian Federation to the north-west. In fact the terrain is unfavourable to invasion. It is characterized by post-glacial moraine deposits, with numerous lakes and steep-sided drumlins and ridges. Parts are thickly wooded – remnants of a once enormous forest which expanded still further after the ethnocide of the Baltic Yotvingians at the hands of the Teutonic Order in the thirteenth century. Almost bereft of inhabitants, it became hunting terrain for the grand dukes of Lithuania and was later divided into exploited and managed grand ducal forests. Clearings and settlements, most of them planned by the grand dukes, their consorts and advisers, began to diminish the extent and density of the forest in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, especially from the northern and south-eastern directions. However, during the ‘little ice age’ of low global temperatures, coinciding with the devastating wars fought by the Commonwealth from the mid-seventeenth until the early eighteenth century, the tree cover grew back in places.¹⁴

The border fixed in 1422 between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Prussian *Ordnungstaat* (and then its successor duchy and kingdom of Prussia) lasted almost unchanged until the Third Partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1795.¹⁵ It is replicated today along the frontier between the Republic of Lithuania and the Russian Federation, and along the administrative border between the Polish voivodeships of Podlasie and Warmia-Mazuria. Within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania the area was split between the three districts of

Kowno (Kaunas), Troki (Trakai) and Grodno (Hrodna), each of which had its own local parliamentary assembly or sejmik, and all of which were part of the palatinate of Troki.

The key characteristic of the region's economic and political geography was the high concentration of royal domain estates (*ekonomie królewskie*). In the later eighteenth century, these domains experienced intense development, driven by the Lithuanian court treasurer Antoni Tyzenhauz. The area saw its forests and marshes retreat rapidly in favour of pasture and cultivated land. The process is reflected in the palynological analysis of lake-bed sediments which reveals rising concentrations of wheat, barley and buckwheat pollen around this time.¹⁶ The 1789 tax and population survey carried out in the Commonwealth reveals that some small towns and many villages had higher populations at that time than they do today.¹⁷ A quiet market square – for example at Jeleniewo – can remind us of long-lost municipal status.

This growth was echoed in ecclesiastical structures: four of the parishes covered in this chapter – Bartniki, Jeleniewo, Suwałki and Kaletnik – were founded after 1780.¹⁸ Each parish in the deanery encompassed one or two dozen villages, manors, hamlets and other settlements. These parishes were large by the standards of central and western Poland, still larger by those of most of southern and western Europe. They were much smaller, however, than those located in the eastern half of the vast diocese of Wilno, where the faithful of the Latin rite were outnumbered by Catholics of the Ruthenian rite (that is, Uniates or Greek Catholics).¹⁹

After twelve years as 'New East Prussia', the region became part of the handle-shaped north-eastern extension of the Napoleonic Duchy of Warsaw and then the Tsarist Kingdom of Poland. During the nineteenth century, the town of Suwałki grew swiftly as an administrative, military and industrial centre. Further north, so did Mariampol (Marijampolė) which became an important centre for the Lithuanian national movement. The countryside in between changed more slowly. The region was bitterly contested between the reborn Polish and Lithuanian states

in the wake of the First World War. The demarcation line proposed by Marshal Ferdinand Foch remains the basis of the frontier, which now links two members of the Schengen zone of the European Union. To modern Poles this is the Suwalszczyzna – one of the most beautiful and unspoilt corners of their country. To modern Lithuanians it is the lost, southern part of Suwalkija which stretches as far north as the River Nemunas (Niemen) and is one of the four recognized Lithuanian ethnographic regions (alongside Drukija, Aukštaitija and Žemaitija).²⁰ Only the north-eastern fringes of this territory on the Polish side of the current border, in and around the small town of Puńsk (Punskas), still have an ethno-linguistic Lithuanian majority population.²¹ Very few Poles now live on the Lithuanian side of the border, quite unlike the situation in and around Vilnius.

We can try to follow the route taken by the package in 1794 with the aid of two further, almost contemporaneous sources. The first is the report of the deanery of Olwita compiled in 1784 on the instructions of the bishop of Wilno, Ignacy Jakub Massalski, imitating an earlier initiative taken by Michał Jerzy Poniatowski who was then bishop of Płock but would shortly become primate of Poland. Each parish priest was obliged to provide a detailed description of the boundaries and topography of his parish, including the roads and paths.²² This action was characteristic of a generation of reforming bishops, concerned as much with the temporal welfare as with the spiritual salvation of their flocks, and lends itself to analysis in the context of ‘Catholic Enlightenment’, and even to comparisons with Josephism in the Habsburg Monarchy.²³ For our purposes, the value of this record is enhanced by its critical published edition, which triangulates it with numerous other primary and secondary sources.²⁴ The second is the military map created for the rulers of ‘New East Prussia’ in the second half of the 1790s, following the Third Partition of the Commonwealth in the 1795. This is a source whose level of detail (on a scale of 33,300:1) greatly surpasses the later published edition (scaled at 152,500:1). However, its representation of natural features is still a little schematic.²⁵ Given the

ongoing geographical changes in the area, evident from a comparison with the 1782 map of the Grodno royal domain lands, neither of these sources can provide an exact snapshot of the situation in May 1794. It is also enjoyable, although sometimes deceptive, to trace the route on Google maps and at the sites www.geoportal.lt and www.geoportal.gov.pl.²⁶ Having sounded this cautionary note, let us head for Bartniki on Friday 9 May 1794.

The first church at Bartniki had been a modest chapel attached to the much larger parish at Olita (Alytus), which was also the centre of a major royal domain. The textile manufactory and ironworks established under Tyzenhauz had not survived his fall from favour in 1780, but, the court treasurer left an ecclesiastical monument to his plans. Bartniki became a parish in 1783 and thanks to contributions from parishioners and the administrator of the domain, Wincenty Puzyna, its large, twin-towered church, dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul, was finally consecrated in 1790. Largely destroyed in 1944, it is now an imposing ruin.²⁷

There was – and is – no direct road from Bartniki to Wisztyniec, but from the 1784 description two routes suggest themselves – one via Grażyszki, the other via Pojewonie (Pajevonys), the which parish Reverend Waraxa held conjointly with Bartniki. Waraxa was also a canon of Smolensk, but since that Latin-rite cathedral had been *in partibus Moscoviæ* since 1654, this was an honorific distinction. As the package returned via Grażyszki, we shall assume the outward route went via Pojewonie. Initially, this was the easier way, forming part of the major ‘public road’ or *gościniec* from Grodno to Königsberg (Kaliningrad). Lined with trees, it proceeded north-westwards straight through undulating, open fields for two miles (one Polish mile was about seven kilometres) until it reached the elongated village of Pojewonie, whence another road led south-westwards for a little less than two miles. The descriptions given in 1784 match the Prussian map. After passing the elevated parish church in its grove of pine trees, the sometimes sandy, sometimes muddy route led through the villages of Anczławka (Ančauklys)

and Dobra Wola (Dabrawolè). It then climbed and wound its way into the Wisztyniec forest, becoming wetter and more difficult, before descending in stonier and sandier form into open fields.²⁸ At four o'clock in the afternoon on 9 May 1794 the courier arrived at the parsonage in Wisztyniec.

Today's small lakeside town of Vištītis, adjoining the Russian Federation, has preserved its eighteenth-century street layout, but not its once numerous Jewish community which was wiped out in 1941. In 1794 Wisztyniec had recently recovered the urban rights lost in 1776; its representatives had participated in the burghers' movement of the Four Years' Sejm. In contrast to the royal domains at Bartniki and Pojewonie, here the key player was the local starosta, or holder of a Crown estate, Krzysztof Puzyna.²⁹

The dean gave instructions not to cross the Prussian border on the journey to Wiżayny. We do not know exactly when the courier left Wisztyniec, but the package arrived at seven o'clock the following morning (Saturday), presumably after starting at dawn. The road of just over two miles was described a decade earlier as 'sandy and muddy in places' (the sixteen-kilometre drive across the unguarded Schengen border now takes twenty minutes). It first led south, through lakeside fields to the village of Wartele (Varteliai) before turning south-east to cross a wooded ridge. At this point, according to the 1784 description penned by the parish priest of Wiżayny, the road was 'overgrown, muddy, hilly, stony'. From the crest the road led down to the lake that shared its name with the town at its southern tip. With 658 persons recorded in 1789, Wiżayny was then a relatively populous small town; like Wisztyniec, it was the seat of a *starostwo*.³⁰

The next parish en route was Przerośl. The road was rather inadequately described in 1784 (perhaps because it was also the principal route from Warsaw to Samogitia), but it can be followed on the Prussian map. It led south-west to the elevated village of Wieżgóry (Wiżgóry),

and on through fields along the Prussian border to Wierszele (Wersele), whence it took a winding and undulating route to Przerośl. The distance would have been well over three miles.³¹ The town had been founded through a grant of land in 1562 by King Sigismund Augustus to Reverend Wojciech Grabowski of Sierpc, canon of Vilna and astrologer. This property served to endow the parish founded by the same monarch in 1571, shortly after Grabowski's death.³² Before the setbacks initiated by the Swedish 'Deluge' of 1655, it had been the seat of the deanery. By the late eighteenth century the population had recovered to early seventeenth-century levels. For most of the eighteenth century, Przerośl was the most populous town in the region. In 1789, 1021 persons were recorded, including the suburbs, but growth was slowed by recurrent fires, and the Camaldolese monks' town of Suwałki, with 1030 persons noted, had drawn ahead.³³

Although Przerośl is marked on the document, no entry was made by a priest. So we do not know if the courier found nobody at the parsonage and carried on to the next parish, or if he had already been given reason not to travel to Przerośl and instead to proceed directly to Filipów. The road between these two small towns led south along the western side of Lake Krzywólka, then across higher ground and a wood before bridging the river Dowspuda (now called the Rospuda) and thence into Filipów.³⁴ An alternative route of similar length, staying further away from the Prussian frontier, might have led along the western side of Lake Hańcza, before turning right at Jemieliste onto the road from Grodno to Filipów. Either way, the courier would have covered over seven miles (about fifty kilometres) before he arrived at his destination at eight in the evening – about as far as a rider might expect to travel in a long day. Filipów was another royal town founded in the 1560s. The population was recorded as 725 in 1789.³⁵ Like the burghers of Przerośl, the Filipovians had taken part in the urban movement of 1789-92.³⁶

The courier reached the next parish, at Bakalarzewo, at five o'clock in the morning of Sunday 11 May, presumably after another dawn start. Also located by the Prussian frontier, this private town (with a population of 443 in 1789) belonged to the Chlewiński family, who also owned much of the ample farmland in the parish. Little woodland was left; some of the land has since been reforested.³⁷ The route, described as 'a good mile' (it is over ten kilometres), led southwest across fields, passing the Chlewińskis' manor and tavern at Garbaś, then along the eastern bank of the lake of the same name, crossing the Dowspuda by a bridge. The road was mostly 'dry and good', but it did climb and traverse a wood between two smaller lakes, before proceeding through fields into Bakalarzewo.³⁸

The next stage was the road to Raczki, a small private town belonging to the Pac family. This road, described in 1784 as 'initially smooth and dry', proceeded south-eastwards across fields, forded the small river Malinówka, climbed to the village of Kamionka, which, like much of the land thereabouts, belonged to the Camaldolese monastery at Wigry. It continued through fields above the Dowspuda river, stonier in places, but generally smoothly, until turning right via a bridge over the Dowspuda (at what was then, but is no longer) the head of Lake Bolesty, and then turning left to continue into Raczki. The distance was just over two miles and the courier arrived at ten o'clock in the morning.³⁹

The courier next made for the parish at Janówka, the village of about forty hearths at the southernmost point of the journey. This was about a mile and a half, along a road described in 1784 as 'hilly, muddy and stony in places', and also as 'hilly and potholed in places' but which passed through two villages and crossed open fields without fords or bridges.⁴⁰ The package was delivered to the parish priest at eight o'clock in the evening. The total distance covered this day was about four miles.

Until this point the stages were relatively straightforward and the parishes quite close together. A greater challenge now faced the rider. Although the document indicates that the dean had expected delivery first to Suwałki, then to Magdalenowo (the parish church, attached to the nearby Camaldolese monastery on its peninsula in Lake Wigry), it turned out to be the other way round. Moreover, the courier only arrived at seven o'clock in the evening of Tuesday 13 May. We can only speculate as to the reasons for the delay. One rider might well have needed to rest for a day, but what if more than one man and one horse were available? Future research may reveal inclement weather or military operations which could have made travel on Monday 12 May impossible. Or did the rider simply get lost in the forest around Lake Wigry?

Neither the parish priest of Janówka nor his monastic counterpart in Suwałki noted any connection between the two churches in the 1784 survey. Indeed, the taciturn monks at Wigry declined to make a response at all. The only possibility indicated by this survey was to return to Bakalarzewo and then go south-east along a 'bad, winding' three-mile road to Suwałki, and from there a further two miles to Magdalenowo.⁴¹ The Prussian map suggests that this way initially crossed fields to the south-east before cutting through the forest to Leszczewek and then around the top of Lake Wigry to the church. A more direct route from Janówka, again suggested by the Prussian map, would have involved retracing the road to Raczki as far as Sucha Wieś, before taking a track to the north-east, climbing a ridge before winding into a low-lying arm of royal forest, before coming out at the village of Dubowo. This is the route now taken by the controversial fast road through the valley. An alternative route to this point crossed the same forest arm a little further north, from Raczki. This seems the most likely possibility. Either way, from Dubowo a straight road led to Suwałki. However, it was also possible to bypass Suwałki to the south. Whether or not the rider passed through the town, various forest trails to the east could, if chosen wisely, lead to four possible crossings over the Czarna Hańcza river at the expanding village of Sobolewo, before reaching the lakeshore at Leszczewek. The

Camaldolese have traditionally prided themselves on their silence and on their isolation; on both counts the terse reply to a question in the survey is revealing: ‘as for parish roads, they are various, good and bad’.⁴²

Whatever the route chosen, after a journey of over five miles the package reached Magdalenowo at seven o’clock in the evening on 13 May and was immediately sent on. The courier arrived at Suwałki at eleven, and only there is it recorded that the third proclamation was copied out. The proclamations were on their way again at two in the morning, this time to Kaletnik. This was the youngest parish in the area – it had been formally erected by Bishop Massalski on 10 March 1794.⁴³ The rider arrived at eight o’clock in the morning on Wednesday 14 May, so the journey of just over two miles would have taken about six hours. Judging from the Prussian map, the most direct route wound east and north-east, across fields, through the villages of Osinki and Polule, for the most part skirting woods and marshy ground.

At ten o’clock the package was again despatched, this time to Jeleniewo, a parish erected in 1785 for the recently settled villages of the royal domain lands. Jeleniewo itself had been founded as a village by King Stanisław August after 1765. The monarch had founded the church in 1772 and subsequently raised the settlement to the status of a small town.⁴⁴ After another journey of six hours and about two miles, the courier arrived at four in the afternoon. The road, which connected Krasnopol and Jeleniewo, was described in 1784 as ‘hilly, rather stony, with roots, very narrow in the woods’. By the later 1790s, most of these woods appear to have been cut down. Interestingly, the way from Jeleniewo to Krasnopol (about twice as far as from Jeleniewo to Kaletnik) was then reckoned at seven hours via the pastures, but in winter at only four hours across the frozen marshes at Polule.⁴⁵ Alternatively, a series of tracks further to the north, involving many steep ascents and descents, led through villages at Głębokki Rów,

Czerwonka and Leszczewo, past the southern end of Lake Szelment. After only an hour at Jeleniewo, at five o'clock in the afternoon the package left for Lubowo.

The courier did not arrive, however, until eight o'clock the following morning, which seems slow going for a distance of what was described as 'three great miles' (by the straightest route today it is about twenty-six kilometres to Liubavas – just across the Lithuanian border). Presumably the rider stopped at nightfall and resumed his journey at dawn. He would have been wise to do so, because the road to both Wiżayny and Lubowo was described in 1784 as 'very hilly, stony and narrow in the woods'. Open fields north of Jeleniewo gave way to the royal forest (which however may have been cut down by the mid-1790s), and at Gulbiniszki the road to Lubowo branched to the right. Within the latter parish the roads were summed up as 'on all sides hilly, stony and wooded'.⁴⁶ This is confirmed by tracing the route indicated on the Prussian map, which follows the Szeszupa river through strongly contoured forest, before crossing the river at Poszeszupa and then traversing a steep ridge to arrive in Lubowo, a small town apparently granted urban rights in 1734, with a parish probably dating from 1770, and the seat of a *starostwo*.⁴⁷

The remaining timing cannot be determined; all we know from a laconic note is that the proclamations arrived on the same day, Thursday 15 May in the next parish, at the small town, sometimes described as a village, of Grażyszki. The distance was about two miles. Ten years earlier the vicar had declined to enumerate the roads: 'There are several particular roads in the parish almost to every place, because of the hilliness, and for this reason they do not need description, because [the hill] on which the church stands is very clearly seen from the west, north, east and south'. Whichever route was chosen, a high wooded ridge had to be crossed, but the easiest way led north to Ejstyszki (Aistiškiai) and then north-west across more open country, cleared about two centuries earlier, to Grażyszki. From there it was a further 'great mile' by

‘good, dry road’ across open fields, north-east to Bartniki.⁴⁸ Probably the document was returned to the parsonage before nightfall, although the time of arrival was not recorded.

It had taken seven days to distribute three proclamations to twelve parishes in the deanery of Olwita. The round trip amounted to more than thirty miles (210-220 kilometres). It is summarized in the map created by Michał Gochna which follows this chapter. The return leg through hilly and wooded terrain proved much more difficult and time-consuming than the outward leg along the Prussian border. The seven miles and four parishes from Wisztyniec to Filipów were covered in one day, a tempo that could not be maintained thereafter. We do not know how many men and horses were involved in carrying the package from parish to parish; we may hope, for their sake, that there were more than one of each. Once the proclamations had arrived in each parish, there remained the task of reading them out and explaining them from the pulpit, and sending them on to nobles’ manor houses.

This kind of document is a rare survival. The Wróblewski Library contains at least one equivalent. It is dated 29 April 1794 and records the despatch of proclamations around the entire deanery of Worniany (Varniany), now located in north-western Belarus, close to the Lithuanian frontier. Delivery to sixteen churches was completed in five days, after a circular route of about forty miles (280 kilometres).⁴⁹ Although well wooded, the land here is flatter, without the myriad post-glacial lakes of the Suwalszczyzna. Communication in the deanery of Olwita was more challenging. A slightly earlier example is an instruction from the counter-revolutionary confederacy of the Grodno district in 1792 for documents to be sent ‘*via cursoria*’ to the parishes of the district, with the time of delivery recorded.⁵⁰ In 1794 deliveries were organized by ecclesiastical deanery, not by the secular administrative division of the district. It is tempting to see this difference as a hint of more willing cooperation with the insurrectionary than with

the earlier counter-revolutionary authorities, but this is a wider question that requires more research.

The document despatched by Dean Waraxa is also a window into the question of clerical residence – a perennial problem for the post-Tridentine Church, and not only in the Commonwealth.⁵¹ In the fourteen parishes listed, two – Suwałki and Magdalenowo – were run by the Camaldolese monks; here the package was signed for by Father Leonty and Father Metody Cichowski respectively. Of the twelve other parishes, the parish priest (*prepositus*), usually called the *pleban*, was in residence on the day of delivery in four. These priests were Mateusz Polakowski at Wisztyniec, Antoni Rakowski at Bakalarzewo, Dominik Gliński at Janówka, and Kazimierz Wróblewski at Jeleniewo. Dean Waraxa had despatched the package from Bartniki himself, although it is not known if he was there for its return. In four other parishes, the delivery was attested and the third proclamation copied by the assistant priest or vicar (*vicarius*, *wikariusz*, *wikary* – the equivalent of a curate in the Anglican Church). These were R. Milanowski at Wiżayny, M. Żyżniewski at Filipów, P. Sarmyłowicz at Lubowo, and Reverend Norkiewicz at Grażyszki. For Raczki, we have the signature of Reverend Paweł Rydzewski ‘K. H. R.’ Given that in 1784 the parish priest was Wacław Rydzewski, it seems likely that Paweł was his collator and helper with a right of succession to the benefice – and perhaps his nephew. At Kaletnik, Reverend J. Woytkiewicz signed himself ‘Attor’. This is probably an abbreviation of ‘attorneus’, suggesting he was legally empowered to represent the parish priest. In short, at the time in question, the parish priest was resident and in charge of the parish in less than half of the churches.

Of the absentees, the most famous was the *pleban* of Grażyszki since 1778 – none other than Michał Franciszek Karpowicz, a member of the deputation for public provisioning in Wilno. Since 1774 he had held the parish of Preny (Prienu), located a dozen miles east, on the

banks of the River Niemen (Nemunas).⁵² Comparing the description of the deanery in 1784 with the 1794 document, we note considerable stability in personnel. Besides Karpowicz, five priests – Waraxa, Wróblewski, Gliński, Rakowski and Polakowski – had all been in possession of their parishes a decade earlier. In Karpowicz’s case the 1784 description had been penned by his vicar, ‘in the absence of the *pleban* himself, occupied by a public lesson of theology in the Wilno Academy’.⁵³

Karpowicz prompts the coda to this piece. After the defeat of the Insurrection and the 1795 treaty of partition, this region became part of ‘New East Prussia’. Not only did the new rulers ordain the marvellously precise military survey and map which we have been using to follow the routes across the terrain. They also closed down the Camaldolese monastery at Wigry. In 1799 the monks’ church became the cathedral of the new diocese of Wigry, which replaced the partitioned diocese of Wilno within the Kingdom of Prussia. The first bishop was Karpowicz, who died in 1803. For all its beauty, the peninsular location must have been inconvenient. In 1818 the diocese of Wigry, by now in the tsarist Kingdom of Poland, was refashioned and its seat relocated to the town of Sejny. This bishopric existed until 1925/26 when, divided by the Polish-Lithuanian frontier, legally impassable because of the absence of diplomatic relations, it was replaced by the dioceses of Łomża and Wilkaviškis.⁵⁴ At least the parish of Wilkowyszki (vel Wyłkowyszki) was once in the deanery of Olwita. However, the parts of that old deanery which are now in Poland were transferred in 1992 to the newly created diocese of Ełk (a town formerly known in German as Lyck and to the Masurians as Łek), belonging to the metropolitan province of Warmia and Masuria. Only then – from the parochial perspective of the Suwalszczyzna – was the five-hundred-and-seventy-year-old boundary between Prussia and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania erased.

Notes

¹ ‘List do konfratrów o dojściu uniwersałów z Wilna “Obojey Naywyzszej Zwierzchności”’, Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka, F43-26934. It is part of the enormous archive of the Vilna Cathedral Chapter. I wish warmly to thank the Director and staff of the Wróblewski Library for their kindness and assistance during my research in that marvellous institution, for providing a scan of the document, and for permission to publish it here.

² See, *inter alia*, Bartłomiej Szyndler, *Powstanie kościuszkowskie 1794*, Warsaw: Ancher, 1994; Andrzej Zahorski, ‘Powstanie kościuszkowskie 1794’, in Stefan Kieniewicz, Andrzej Zahorski and Władysław Zajewski, *Trzy powstania narodowe*, 4th edn, Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 2000.

³ See Waław Tokarz, *Insurrekcja warszawska (17 i 18 kwietnia 1794 r.)*, Lwów: Wydawnictwo Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, 1934; Andrzej Zahorski, *Warszawa w powstaniu kościuszkowskim*, 2nd edn, Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1985.

⁴ See Władysław Zajewski, ‘Wilno w rewolucji 1794 r.’, in Henryk Kocój (ed.), *200 rocznica powstania kościuszkowskiego*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 1994, pp. 103-32; Vydas Dolinskas, *Simonas Kosakovskis. Politinė ir karinė veikla Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje 1763-1794 m.*, Vilnius: Leidykla VAGA, 2003, pp. 722-47; Henryk Mościcki, *General Jasiński i powstanie kościuszkowskie*, Warsaw: Gebethner i Wolff, 1917; Zdzisław Maciej Zachmacz, *Jakub Jasiński. General i poeta*, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IBL, 1995. Cf. Zbigniew Góralski, ‘Ustrój powstania kościuszkowskiego’, in Janusz Wojtasik (ed.), *Powstanie kościuszkowskie 1794. Z dziejów polityczno-społecznych*, Warsaw: Agencja Wydawnicza ‘Egros’, 1997, pp. 30-49 (pp. 36-38, 44-45); Adam Lityński, ‘Wymiar sprawiedliwości’, *ibid.*, pp. 50-71 (p. 52).

⁵ For the military situation, see Szyndler, *Powstanie kościuszkowskie*, pp. 115-39, 215-25.

⁶ *Officium Generalne Wileńskie. Całemu duchowieństwu i wszystkim wiernym zdrowie. Dan w Wilnie w kancelarii Offici. Gen. Roku 1794 d. 1 maja. Ks. Dawid Pilchowski. Oficjal Gen.*, republished in *Kościół katolicki a powstanie kościuszkowskie. Zapomniana karta z dziejów insurrekcji 1794 r. Wybór źródeł*, ed. Andrzej Woltanowski, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Archidiecezji Warszawskiej, 1995, pp. 91-92.

⁷ Andrzej Woltanowski, ‘Kształtowanie opinii publicznej podczas powstania’, in Janusz Wojtasik (ed.), *Powstanie kościuszkowskie 1794. Z dziejów polityczno-społecznych*, Warsaw: Agencja Wydawnicza ‘Egros’, 1997, pp. 80-111 (pp. 85, 96-97, 109 n. 35). Cf. Zigmantas Kiaupa, *Trumpasis XVIII amžius (1733-1795 m.)*, vol. 7, part 1 of *Lietuvos istorija*, Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 2009, pp. 262-91; *idem*, *The History of Lithuania*, trans. S. C. Rowell, 2nd edn, Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 2004, p. 165.

⁸ Woltanowski, ‘Kształtowanie opinii publicznej’, pp. 85-86. Cf. Timothy Tackett, *The Coming of the Terror in the French Revolution*, Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2015.

⁹ The deputation was chaired by Michał Grabowski, master of horse (*koniuszy*) of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The other members were Stanisław Wołłowicz, chamberlain (*podkomorzy*) of Rzeczyca (Rechytsa), Mikołaj Morawski, former scribe (*pisarz*) of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Antoni Tyzenhauz the ensign (*chorąży*) of Wilno, Mikołaj Chrapowicki, the district marshal (*marszałek*) of Starodub (Staradub), Benedykt Karp, the ensign of Upita (Upytė), Michał Karpowicz, the archdeacon of Smolensk, Ignacy Towiański, the land judge (*sędzia ziemski*) of Wilno, Jan Miller and Gotlib Zeydler (both almost certainly burghers) and as secretary Franciszek Fryber, a Dominican friar.

¹⁰ Michał Franciszek Karpowicz, *Kazanie na żałobnym obchodzie pamiętki tych Obywateli, którzy w dniu Powstania Narodu w Wilnie i następnym gonienia nieprzyjaciół życie swe mężnie za Wolność i Ojczyznę położyli [...] dnia 20 maja 1794 R. Z Rozkazu Rady Narodowej Litewskiej do druku podane*, Wilno, 1794, shortened version in *Kościół katolicki a powstanie*, ed. Woltanowski, pp. 168-72.

¹¹ Magdalena Ślusarska, 'Michał Franciszek Karpowicz (1744-1803)', in Teresa Kostkiewiczowa and Zbigniew Goliński (eds), *Pisarze polskiego oświecenia*, vol. 2, Warsaw: PWN, 1994, pp. 74-98; cf. Richard Butterwick, *Polska Rewolucja a Kościół katolicki 1788-1792*, Cracow: Arcana and Muzeum Historii Polski, 2012, pp. 331, 467, 496, 499, 545, 623, 741-42, 745, 755-57, 865-67, 878; also a bilingual Polish-Lithuanian anthology of Karpowicz's sermons: Mykolas Pranciškus Karpavičius, *Rinktiniai pamokslai*, ed. Kristina Mačiulytė, Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2003.

¹² See *Kościół katolicki a powstanie kościuszkowskie*, ed. Woltanowski; Magdalena Ślusarska, 'Między sacrum a profanum. O obrzędowości powstania kościuszkowskiego', *Wiek Oświecenia*, 12, 1996, pp. 107-33; Jan Ziółek, 'Ze studiów nad udziałem duchowieństwa katolickiego w insurekcji kościuszkowskiej', in Henryk Kocój (ed.), *200 rocznica powstania kościuszkowskiego*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 1994, pp. 133-58. For a nuanced view of 'treason', see Łukasz Kądziała, 'Śledztwa i sądownictwo w sprawach o zdradę kraju w Insurekcji 1794 roku', in Łukasz Kądziała, *Od Konstytucji do Insurekcji. Studia nad dziejami Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1791-1794*, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Neriton 2011, pp. 209-25. Cf. Bogusław Leśnodorski, *Polscy jakobini. Karta z dziejów insurekcji 1794 roku*, Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1960.

¹³ Woltanowski, 'Kształtowanie opinii publicznej podczas powstania', pp. 85-86. *Kościół katolicki a powstanie kościuszkowskie*, ed. Woltanowski, p. 92.

¹⁴ See Jerzy Wiśniewski, 'Dzieje osadnictwa w powiecie sejneńskim od XV do XIX wieku', in Jerzy Antoniewicz (ed.), *Materiały do dziejów ziemi sejneńskiej*, Białystok: Białostockie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1963, pp. 9-222; idem, 'Dzieje osadnictwa w powiecie suwalskim od XV do połowy XVII wieku', in Jerzy Antoniewicz (ed.), *Studia i materiały do dziejów Suwalszczyzny*, Białystok: Białostockie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1965, pp. 51-138; Krzysztof Łożyński, 'Warunki naturalne puszczy na Grodzieńszczyźnie', Józef Śliwiński, 'Wyodrębnienie się puszczy przynależnej do Grodna', Krzysztof

Łożyński, 'Początek kolonizacji puszczy grodzieńskiej', Józef Śliwiński, 'Samorzutne podziały administracyjne puszczy', Krzysztof Łożyński, 'Puszcza Grodzieńska, jej kolonizacja oraz podziały w XVI wieku', all in Józef Śliwiński (ed.), *Puszcze wielkksiążęce na północnym Podlasiu i zachodniej Grodzieńszczyźnie w XV-XVI wieku (podziały, administracja, służby leśne i wodne)*, Olsztyn: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warmińsko-Mazurskiego w Olsztynie, 2007, pp. 67-87, 95-132, 153-78, 249-304; Anna Pytasz-Kołodziejczyk, *Zasoby wodne w dobrach wielkksiążęcych zachodniej Grodzieńszczyzny w XVI wieku. Administracja i eksploatacja*, Olsztyn: Instytut Historii i Stosunków Międzynarodowych Uniwersytetu Warmińsko-Mazurskiego w Olsztynie, 2017, pp. 27-69; Jūratė Kiaupienė and Rimvydas Petrauskas, *Nauji horizontai: dinastija, viuomenė, valstybė. Lietuvos Didžioji Kunigaikštystė 1386-1529 m.*, vol. 4 of *Lietuvos istorija*, Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 2009, pp. 74-85. The great forest of the late seventeenth century is imaginatively and eruditely evoked in the historical novel by Igor Strumiński and Jerzy Socąła, *Rękopis zagubiony w Jeleniewie*, Warsaw: Muza, 2005.

¹⁵ Kiaupienė and Petrauskas, *Nauji horizontai*, pp. 49-50.

¹⁶ See Stanisław Kościałkowski, *Antoni Tyzenhauz. Podskarbi nadworny litewski*, 2 vols, London: Wydawnictwo Społeczności Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego w Londynie, 1970-71; Melchior Jakubowski, 'Metody badania topografii Rzeczypospolitej XVIII wieku', in Aleksandra Antoniewicz, Rozalia Kosińska and Piotr Skowroński (eds), *Zmierzch i świt. Stanisław August i Rzeczpospolita 1764-1795*, Warsaw: Neriton, 2015, pp. 40-56, which is fortuitously focused on the countryside of this region while providing an invaluable guide to the methods and pitfalls of topographical history.

¹⁷ On this survey, which is thought to underestimate both the urban and rural population, see Cezary Kukło, *Demografia Rzeczypospolitej przedrozbiorowej*, Warsaw: DiG, 2009, pp. 52-53.

¹⁸ *Źródła do dziejów Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego i Podlasia. Opisy parafii diecezji wileńskiej z 1784 r. Repozytorium wiedzy*, ed. Józef Maroszek, vol. 3, *Dekanat Olwita*, ed. Tomasz Naruszewicz, Bakałarzewo, 2009 (cited henceforth as *Dekanat Olwita*), p. 14.

¹⁹ See Stanisław Litak, *Atlas Kościoła łacińskiego w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów w XVIII wieku*, Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II, 2006; Tadeusz Kasabuła, *Ignacy Massalski, biskup wileński*, Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictw Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1998, pp. 383-96, 463-64; Richard Butterwick, 'How Catholic was the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the Later Eighteenth Century?', *Central Europe*, 8, 2010, 2, pp. 123-45.

²⁰ A perspective reflected in Jonas Totoraitis, *Sūdovos Suvalkijos istorija*, Marijampolė: Piko valanda, 2003, a reedition of a book first published in Kaunas in 1938.

²¹ It is worth noting the recent publication of a guidebook, intended to inform Lithuanian visitors (who might otherwise confine themselves to shopping) about the Lithuanian heritage of the region: Jonas

Drugilas, Algimantas Katilius and Giedrė Milerytė-Japertienė, *Seinų ir Suvalkų kraštas kelionių*, Vilnius: LII Leidykla, 2015.

²² Michał Grzybowski, 'Kościelna działalność Michała Jerzego Poniatowskiego biskupa płockiego', *Studia z Historii Kościoła w Polsce*, 7, 1983, pp. 5-225 (pp. 71-72); cf. Kasabuła, *Ignacy Massalski*, pp. 217-18.

²³ Magdalena Ślusarska, 'Oświeceniowe modele biskupa, plebana i parafii. Kontynuacja czy zmiana tradycji?', in Magdalena Ślusarska (ed.), *Dwór, plebania, rodzina chłopska. Szkice z dziejów wsi polskiej XVII i XVIII wieku*, Warsaw: DiG 1998, pp. 37-53; Butterwick, *Polska Rewolucja a Kościół katolicki*, pp. 109-33, 165-79; Rafał Szczurowski, *Zarządzić potrzebom doczesnym i wiecznym. Idee oświecenia w Kościele katolickim w Polsce (do 1795 r.)*, Cracow: WAM, pp. 89-155; cf. Derek Beales, 'Joseph II and Josephism' in idem, *Enlightenment and Reform in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, London: I. B. Tauris, 2005, pp. 287-308.

²⁴ *Dekanat Olwita* (n. 18 above).

²⁵ 'Krieges Karte der Provinz Neu Ost Preussen'. The original – never published, unlike its Austrian equivalent compiled for Galicia in 1779-83 – is in the Prussian Cultural Heritage department of Berlin City Library (sig. Q 17030). This was the basis for the *Topographisch-Militarische Karte vom vormaligen Neu Ostpreussen oder dem jetzigen Nördlichen Theils des Herzogthums Warschau, nebst dem Russischen District [...] auf XV Blaetter reducirt [...]*, Berlin: Textor-Sotzmann, 1808. I was able to consult high-resolution scans of both maps thanks to the kindness of Magister Michał Gochna and Professor Marek Słoń of the Historical Atlas Department of the Tadeusz Manteuffel Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw. On these maps, see Jakubowski, 'Metody badań topografii', p. 46, and Michał Gochna's contribution to this volume.

²⁶ Cf. Jakubowski, 'Metody badania topografii', pp. 44-47.

²⁷ *Dekanat Olwita*, pp. 44-45, 48.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 61, 63, 143-44, 165.

²⁹ Liudas Glemža, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės miestų sąjūdis 1789-1792 metais*: Kaunas: Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, 2010, pp. 21, 61, 57, 105, 225. See also Krystyna Zienkowska, *Sławetni i urodzeni. Ruch polityczny mieszczaństwa w dobie Sejmu Czteroletniego*, Warsaw: PWN, 1976.

³⁰ *Dekanat Olwita*, pp. 164-70. Jarosław Szlaszyński, *Przerośl. Dzieje miasta i gminy*, Przerośl: Gminny Ośrodek Kultury w Przerośli, 2009, p. 47, table 7.

³¹ *Dekanat Olwita*, pp. 147-48, 169

³² The confusion which has arisen over this question is cleared up by Wioletta Pawlikowska, 'Kanonik Wojciech Grabowski z Sierpc – zapoznana postać szesnastowiecznego Krakowa i Wilna', *Lituanoslavica Posnaniensia. Studia Historica*, 11, 2005, pp. 165-240 (pp. 221-24).

³³ Szlaszyński, *Przerośl*, p. 47, table 7. See also Jurgita Šiaučiūnaitė-Verbickienė's contribution to this volume, at p. ***.

³⁴ *Dekanat Olwita*, pp. 68, 149.

³⁵ Szlaszyński, *Przerośl*, p. 47, table 7.

³⁶ Glemža, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės miestų sąjūdis*, pp. 57, 220.

³⁷ *Dekanat Olwita*, pp. 53-59. Szlaszyński, *Przerośl*, p. 47, table 7.

³⁸ *Dekanat Olwita*, pp. 58, 69.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 149-52.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 82, 152.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 156.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 153-57, quotation at 156.

⁴³ <http://diecezjaelk.pl/kaletnik-parafia-p-w-ducha-swietego/> (accessed 31 October 2017).

⁴⁴ *Dekanat Olwita*, p. 51.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87, 90, 111.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 76, 61, 63.

⁴⁹ 'Naywyzsza Władza Kraiowa y Officium Generalne Wilen: zalecaią Jchmc Xiężom Plebanom, ażeby odbieraiąc rozsyłaiące się Uniwersały dawali Rewersa według Porządku niżey oznaczonego z napisaniem dnia y godziny przyiscia y odesłania pomienionych Uniwersałow – 1794 R. 29. Aprilis.', *Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka*, F43-1152.

⁵⁰ I owe a copy of this document, preserved in the book of the acts of the Grodno district confederacy in the Natsionalny Histarichny Arhiv Belarusi in Mensk, Fond 1791, op. 1, delo no 1, pp. 1-2, to the kindness of Dr Aliaksander Dounar and Professor Ramunė Šmigelskytė-Stukienė.

⁵¹ See, inter alia, Wioletta Pawlikowska, 'The Challenge of Trent and the Renewal of the Catholic Church in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: the Higher Clergy of Vilnius and the Problems of Plural Residence in the Sixteenth Century', *Bažnyčios Istorijos Studijos*, 4, *Church History between Rome and*

Vilnius: Challenges to Christianity from Early Modern Ages to the 20th Century, Vilnius: Lietuvių Katalikų Mokslo Akademija, 2011, pp. 37-55.

⁵² Ślusarska, 'Michał Franciszek Karpowicz', p. 75.

⁵³ *Dekanat Olwita*, pp. 59, 63, 76 (quotation), 84, 91, 165.

⁵⁴ See <http://santes.com.pl/parafiasejny/historia/diecezja-augustowska-czyli-sejnenska/>; <http://vilkaviskis.lcn.lt/apie/istorija/iki/>; <http://diecezjaelk.pl/diecezja/> (all accessed 5 November 2017).