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Marcin Konarski
PhD, Warsaw Management University
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8791-884x

Field administrative bodies of the Polish army in matters of food requisitioning during the November Uprising in 1830–1831

1. Introduction; 2. The organisation of the food administration of the army; 3. The appointment and powers of War Commissioners; 4. The role of Extraordinary Commissioners and the procedure of requisitioning food; 5. Conclusion.

1

The issues which are the subject of this analysis are related to the normative aspects of provisioning the army in wartime conditions, which is understood as a system of supplying soldiers with food. It should be emphasized that the direct distribution of material resources, including food products, and their flow to the armed forces from various branches of the economy – primarily from agriculture – was and still is possible in the current conditions due to, *inter alia*, the general compulsory provision of public contributions for war needs. These contributions, in the form of forced food deliveries or paid requisitions, constitute an element of war food administration, i.e. a set of activities related to planning, collecting, distributing and recording food resources in wartime conditions, intended to satisfy the food needs of the army and the civilian population. However, without the existence of an efficient administrative apparatus, both at the central level and, above all, in the field, satisfying the army's food needs in sometimes dynamically changing war conditions will not effectively fulfil its role.

The administrative organisation aimed at co-ordinating the supply of food and fodder for the army through a system of supplying food products needed for military operations and maintaining the efficiency of effective operational activity during armed conflicts was established in Poland at the end of the 18th century. This was due to a programme for the organisation of the army's supplies in the period of the great political reforms of the Polish State at the time of the Great Sejm, which was presented to the Sejm on 31 December 1789 by the Military Commission of

Both Nations.[1] In subsequent years the administration of food for the army was developed in relation to needs, and as a result of experiences from armed conflicts conducted on Polish soil (the Polish-Russian War of 1792, the Kościuszko Uprising of 1794).[2]

The system of organisation of the administration of food for the army, which was adopted after the outbreak of the November Uprising, drew its source primarily from models originating in the times of the French Revolution and the coalition wars against Napoleonic France,[3] including those from the period of the Duchy of Warsaw and the organisation of its food administration.[4] This model provided for the possibility of using different ways to feed the troops, i.e. board at farmers' quarters or by the *gmina* in which the troops were stationed or were passing, paid or unlawful (arbitrary) requisitions by soldiers, compulsory deliveries assigned to the inhabitants indicated by the central authorities of a given, and food from warehouses.[5]

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[1] *Volumina Legum*, vol. IX, Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków 1889, pp. 52–59, 150–152, 166–167. For more on the creation of this body and the scope of its activities, see L. Ratajczyk, *Wojsko i obronność Rzeczypospolitej 1788–1792*, Wydawnictwo MON, Warszawa 1975, pp. 368–369; K. Bucholc-Srogosz, *Departament Wojskowy Rady Nieustającej w latach 1775–1789 i 1793–1794*, Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, Poznań 2007, pp. 111–120.

[2] See *Pamiętnik Xięcia Józefa Poniatowskiego*, transl. by X. Godebski, Lwów 1863, pp. 11–12; A. Wolański [pen-name Tadeusz Soplica], *Wojna polsko-rosyjska 1792 r.*, vol. I: *Kampania Koronna*, Wielkopolska Księgarnia Nakładowa Karola Rzepeckiego, Poznań 1924, pp. 42, 44, 51–53, 121–122, 167, 218, 238, 361; M. Konarski, *Osobiste i rzeczowe ciężary wojenne w świetle prawodawstwa okresu insurekcji kościuszkowskiej 1794 roku*, "Folia Iuridica Universitatis Wratislaviensis" 2020, vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 8–37.

[3] Cf. A. Mathiez, *Les réquisitions de grains sous la terreur*, "Revue d'histoire économique et sociale" 1920, vol. 8, no. 2, p. 236; I. Moullier, *Une recomposition administrative: le bureau des subsistances, de l'Ancien Régime à la fin du Premier Empire*, "Annales historiques de la Révolution française" 2008, no. 352, p. 33.

[4] Cf. H. Eile, *Dzieje administracji w wojsku Księstwa Warszawskiego. Zaopatrzenie wojska*, Główna Księgarnia Wojskowa, Warszawa 1928, pp. 9–10; R. Kowalczyk, *Intendentura wojsk Księstwa Warszawskiego. Komisja Żywności 1807–1809*, [in:] *Studia z historii społeczno-gospodarczej XIX i XX wieku*, ed. W. Puś, vol. 4, Łódź 2006, pp. 7–48; M. Konarski, *Legal aspects of organising the administration of food for the army in the Duchy of Warsaw between 1807 and 1812*, "Biuletyn Stowarzyszenia Absolwentów i Przyjaciół Wydziału Prawa Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego" 2020, vol. 15, no. 17(1), pp. 99–128. See *Źródła do dziejów wojny polsko-rosyjskiej 1830-1831*, vol. 1: *Od 30 listopada 1830 do 4 marca 1831 r.*, published by B. Pawłowski, Wojskowe Biuro Historyczne, Warszawa 1931, p. 193 [henceforth cited as ZDW].

[5] Cf. C. von Clausewitz, *O wojnie*, transl. by A. Cichowicz, L.W. Koc, Wojskowy Instytut Naukowo-Wydawniczy, Warszawa 1928, pp. 313–325.

2

During the Uprising, the central food administration underwent three significant changes that define its evolution. In the first period, a Food Commission was set up and, a few days later, the office of the General Commissary of the Army, which dealt with the purchase of food and fodder. However, the office of the authorising officer was soon abolished, and its previous competences were entrusted in the civilian part to the Army Needs Commission, and in the military part to Brigadier General Antoni Darewski. At the end of February 1831, the National Government again changed the organisation of the services supplying food to the army, reinstating the institution of the General Commissary, with a Government Commissioner at the Commander-in-Chief's headquarters at its head. In this organisational form the food administration functioned uninterruptedly until the fall of the Uprising. The only significant change at this time was the transfer of the General Commissary of the Army in August 1831 to the administration of the Minister of War.

On 3 December the office of the General Army Commissariat was created and it began to function on 7 December 1830.[6] Konstanty Wolicki was appointed to this post, but by early January his responsibilities had already been transferred to Józef Morawski. His powers included overseeing, with the help of subordinate officials, the supply of food for the army in appropriate quality and quantities, and identifying the needs of the army and the best way to deliver food and fuel from military warehouses.[7] As we noted above, the General Army Commissary was at the same time a Government Commissioner to the Commander-in-Chief, dependent on the Government's orders and instructions, in matters of which he was to communicate with the Commander-in-Chief.

One should also remember about the field food administration apparatus of the army in the form of civic councils and food committees, which were established as early as in the first days of December 1830. After the Uprising began, civic councils,[8] which were civic representation at local authorities, co-operated with military administrative authorities through voivodeship and district civic committees, which were established on December 11, 1830. For the functioning of the army's food administration, these bodies were of great importance, as the activities of the

[6] Cf. H. Eile, *Rola intendentury w wojsku powstania listopadowego*, "Przegląd Intendencki" 1930, no. 4, p. 9; Z. Gołba, *Rozwój władz Królestwa Polskiego w okresie powstania listopadowego*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1971, pp. 169–170.

[7] ZDW, p. 193.

[8] See A. Barszczewska, *Z dziejów rad obywatelskich w Królestwie Polskim w okresie powstania listopadowego*, "Przegląd Historyczny" 1962, vol. 53, no. 2, p. 260.

Commissariat were coordinated in the field by the Food Committees, which were set up on the basis of a decree by the Dictator, the National Government and the Commander-in-Chief Army on 19 December (confirmed on 24 December) at the voivodeship and district councils.[9] These bodies were to take care of the proper selection of warehousemen, the settlement of payments for deliveries, the supervision of the quality of delivered products and the inspection of food released from warehouse.[10] Although the provincial civic councils were of a parochial nature, their participation in the organisation of the armed forces and in securing material resources for the army was significant.[11]

As a result of many cases of administrative negligence, theft, economic carelessness and abuse by quartermasters and troop commanders,[12] as early as 10 January 1831, the institution of the General Army Commissary was abolished, and his powers were entrusted to the Army Needs Commission, which was implemented by the Decree of the Dictator of 14 January 1831.[13]

As early as 10 January 1831, the institution of the General Army Commissary was abolished, and his powers were entrusted to the Army Needs Commission, which was implemented by the Decree of the Dictator of 14 January 1831,[14] as the new food administration body, was henceforth responsible for establishing warehouses, supplying them and managing the supply of products to the army.[15] The main objective that guided the establishment of the Commission was to secure food and fodder for the armed forces, to economise on public finances and to protect the inhabitants from the burdens they might experience in the absence of a permanent administration of the general food service, which was divided into civilian and military parts.[16]

[9] Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie [The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw], "Władze Centralne Powstania Listopadowego", fonds no. 200, file no. 131, card 39 [henceforth cited as AGAD, WCPL]; ZDW, p. 90. Cf. T. Mencel, *Działalność władz cywilnych województwa lubelskiego w okresie powstania listopadowego*, "Rocznik Lubelski" 1962, vol. 5, pp. 114–155.

[10] Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie [The State Archives in Lublin], "Komisja Województwa Lubelskiego", fonds no. 115, file no. 517, cards 13–18 [henceforth cited as: APL, KWL].

[11] See A. Barszczewska, *Z dziejów rad obywatelskich…*, *op. cit.*, pp. 267–270.

[12] Cf. *Pamiętniki generała Prądzyńskiego*, vol. I, ed. by B. Gembarzewski, Księgarnia Spółki Wydawniczej Polskiej, Kraków 1909, pp. 312–313; H. Eile, *Powstanie listopadowe. Finanse i administracja wojska*, Towarzystwo Wydawnicze "Polska Zjednoczona", Warszawa 1930, p. 29.

[13] AGAD, WCPL, file no. 131, cards 124, 204.

[14] *Ibidem*, card 139. Cf. J. Ziółek, *Magazyny żywnościowe intendentury wojsk w powstaniu 1830/31*, "Roczniki Humanistyczne" 1972, vol. 20, no. 2, p. 174.

[15] ZDW, pp. 169–170.

[16] AGAD, WCPL, file no. 131, cards 120, 124.

The Commission, as a result of the fact that, although it acted honestly, it was nonetheless infirm, was dissolved by order of the National Government on 10 March, and its powers were once again entrusted to the General Commissary of the Army, who was Count Aleksander Bniński, with Józef Morawski appointed as his deputy.[17] For the purposes of the further discussion, it is most important to note that during the period of the Army Needs Commission, field administration bodies were also established, headed by the General Quartermaster, who, together with the War Commissioners, aides-de-camp and scribes under him, performed food administration duties in the field.

3

By a decree of the National Government of 28 February 1831, all the attributes of the Army Needs Commission again passed into the hands of the office of the General Commissary of the Army, abolished on 14 January, which was assumed by Castellan Aleksander Bniński[18], who at the same time held the post of Government Commissioner at the Commander-in-Chief's headquarters. Apart from him, however, the newly-appointed Commander-in-Chief, Jan Skrzynecki, appointed his friend Andrzej Horodyski as a Government Commissioner with the title of Counsellor of State.[19] Thus, all administrative authorities, such as voivodeship commissions, district commissioners, heads of *gminas* and mayors of towns were obliged to carry out the orders of the General Commissary of the Army.[20]

The service of the General Commissariat of the Army was divided into: (1) the internal office service, and (2) the external military service, [21] which was divided into voivodeship and divisional service. Each division appointed a War Commissioner,[22] whose task it was to supply the division's subdivisions with food, fodder and firewood and other necessary products on a permanent basis.[23] The institution of commissioners during the November Uprising was modelled on the French

[17] *Ibidem*, card 160.

[18] AGAD, WCPL, file no. 132, cards 86, 95–97. Bniński held the post until June, when he died of cholera, and the post was taken over by Badeni (but only as acting deputy), who was however relieved of his duties at his own request on 23 August. He was replaced by the municipal councillor for the capital city of Warsaw, Michał Matuszewski, AGAD, WCPL, file no. 134, card 216.

[19] See W. Rostocki, *Władza wodzów naczelnych w powstaniu listopadowym (studium historyczno-prawne)*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1955, pp. 90–92.

[20] AGAD, WCPL, file no. 132, card 87.

[21] *Ibidem*, card 204.

[22] APL, KWL, file no. 564, card 5.

[23] See ZDW, pp. 446–447.

representatives on a mission (*représentant en mission*) from the times of the Great French Revolution,[24] who, as representatives of the Convention in the field and entrusted with unlimited powers, had the task of, *inter alia*, strengthening discipline in the army and improving the living standards of soldiers.[25] By their actions they exerted a considerable influence on the nature of discipline and the system of military justice.

There were numerous proclamations by these Representatives of the People, addressed to local authorities or directly to citizens, in which they request the army to provide grain and fodder, boots, clothes, headgear, or designated sums of money. In one such proclamation of 15 November 1793 (the 25th Brumaire of the year II of the Second Republic) issued by Louis Saint-Just, then acting as a representative in a mission to the Army of the Rhine and addressed to the municipalities of Strasbourg, we read: "Ten thousand soldiers walk barefoot in the army. It is necessary to take the boots off all the aristocrats of Strasbourg during the day, so that tomorrow at ten o'clock in the morning ten thousand pairs of boots are on their way to the headquarters."[26] As is not difficult to see, the firm tone of this and other similar proclamations left no doubt as to the needs of the army and their importance. In the French system, the representatives had wide powers. In addition to the powers already mentioned, French representatives on a mission had the power to take their own initiative, to settle disputes over competence, or to personally give direction to repressions and to direct them. They possessed almost dictatorial powers, and their virtually unlimited authority resembled that exercised at the will of the Senate by Roman proconsuls in all subjugated countries.[27] After all, it is well known that many abuses as a result of revolutionary terror in departments

[24] For more, see M. Konarski, *Prawo i rewolucja: Rozważania jurysty o rewolucji francuskiej 1789–1794*, "Studia Prawnicze i Administracyjne" 2016, no. 1(15), pp. 31–47.

[25] See H. Wallon, *Les représentants du peuple en mission et la justice révolutionnaire dans les départements en l'an II (1793–1794)*, vol. 4, Librairie Hachette et Compagnie, Paris 1890, pp. 46, 51, 135, 183, 234, 284, 295, 432; J.-P. Rothiot, *Les représentants en mission face au dilemme, de ravitailler les armées ou la population civile (l'exemple des Vosges en 1793)*, "Annales historiques de la Révolution française" 2007, no. 347, pp. 47–66; A.L. Le Cossec, *Francastel, représentant en mission dans la guerre de Vendée*, "La Révolution française. Cahiers de l'Institut d'histoire de la Révolution française" 2017, no. 12, https://doi.org/10.4000/lrf.1726.

[26] L. Saint-Just, *Wybór pism*, transl. by J. Ziemilski, B. Kulikowski, Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1954, pp. 209–210. For more about L. Saint-Just and his activities, see M. Konarski, *Myśl polityczno-prawna Louisa de Saint-Just (1767–1794)*, "Studia Prawnicze i Administracyjne" 2016, no. 2(16), pp. 15–34 and the literature cited therein.

[27] Cf. J.A. Pokrowskij, *Historia prawa rzymskiego*, vol. I, transl. by H. Insadowski, Uniwersytet Lubelski, Lublin 1927, p. 119; K. Markowska, *Struktura i organizacja prowincji rzymskich – wprowadzenie do zagadnień prawno-ustrojowych*, "Krytyka Prawa. Niezależne Studia Nad Prawem" 2015, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 289–290.

threatened by war and counter-revolution were committed by some of these representatives of the French National Convention.[28] It should also be remembered that in Poland during the Kościuszko Uprising of 1794, following the French model, the institution of field plenipotentiaries of the central insurrectionary authorities was established. The army did not respect the orders delegated by the chief food administration body – the Food Department of the Supreme National Council – to the national commissioners supervising purchases, and often procured supplies on their own[29]. In response to the reports of the deputations of the order commissions from the various lands concerning the abuses of the army, which were addressed to the insurrectionary government, the Food Department, as the central food administration body, reacted to them promptly and decisively, placing the matter in the hands of its plenipotentiaries in the field, namely, the food commissars assigned to the various military divisions.[30] In response to the reports of the deputations of the order commissions from the various lands concerning the abuses of the army, which were addressed to the insurrectionary government, the Food Department, as the central food administration body, reacted to them promptly and decisively, placing the matter in the hands of its plenipotentiaries in the field, namely, the food commissars assigned to the various military divisions.[31] In addition, these commissioners, together with the locally competent order commission, were obliged to examine the grievances of the citizens caused by the army and, if necessary, to determine the appropriate compensation for them.[32]

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[28] Many interesting facts about the activities of the people's representatives in the mission came to light on the occasion of the trial of Jean Baptiste Carrier – representative to the Army of the West, see B. Baczko, *Jak wyjść z Terroru. Termidor i rewolucja*, transl. by W. Dłuski, Słowo/Obraz Terytoria, Gdańsk 2005, pp. 145–189. Cf. S. Meller, *Rewolucja w Dolinie Loary. Miasto Chinon 1788–1798*, PWN, Warszawa 1987, p. 130; J. Tulard, *Joseph Fouché*, transl. by G. Majcher, PIW, Warszawa 2021, pp. 23–34.

[29] See A. Zahorski, *Warszawa w powstaniu kościuszkowskim*, Wiedza Powszechna, Warszawa 1985, pp. 243.

[30] The number of commissioners varied in different periods of the Uprising, but never exceeded 15 persons. As of 14 October 1794, there were 8 national commissioners: Antoni Olszewski, Karol Schröder, Piotr Frantzen, Franciszek Brzeziński, Karol Węgleński, Antoni Giżycki, Ignacy Łapczyński i Franciszek Dobrakowski, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie, "Archiwum Królestwa Polskiego", fonds No. 11, file no. 282, cards 114–115 [henceforth cited as AGAD, AKP].

[31] AGAD, AKP, file no. 279, cards 11–21, 23–24, 295–296, 346–347, 376, 382–384, 408, 434. See *Wzór raportu dla komisarzy do Wydziału Żywności*, AGAD, AKP, file no. 282, card 115.

[32] *Akty Powstania Kościuszki*, vol. I–II: *Protokóły i dzienniki Rady Zastępczej Tymczasowej i Rady Najwyższej Narodowej*, published by S. Askenazy, W. Dzwonkowski, Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków 1918, vol. I: pp. 37–38; vol. II: pp. 180–182. For more on the organisation of the army's supply system, see A. Zahorski, *Ignacy Wyssogota Zakrzewski. Prezydent Warszawy*,

During the November Uprising, these models for the organisation of the army's food administration were revisited and there were attempts to use them. In the light of the provisions of the daily order of the Commander-in-Chief of the National Armed Forces, Jan Zygmunt Skrzynecki, dated 1 March 1831, one War Commissioner, one aide-de-camp and one scribe were assigned to each division. Along with this order, a list of names of War Commissioners, their adjutants and scribes serving at each division was established.[33] The War Commissar was permanently present at the Division Headquarters, supplying it and the brigade attached to it with all anticipated needs. Each of these commissioners, if he was not a commissioned officer, wore a navy blue uniform with crimson paws without embroidery and yellow metal buttons with eagles and a double tassel on each shoulder. The rank of the commissioners was made equal to that of a major.[34] The duties of the aide-de-camp were the same, but with the other brigade at the side of its commander. The commissioner would issue string vouchers for food, fodder and firewood or other products only after presenting him with the actual state of affairs signed by the Chief of Staff, regimental or unit commander, which was to serve as proof for the issuing of string vouchers.[35]

Responsibility for actual states rested with the chiefs of staff and regimental commanders,[36] and on the War Commissioners for string assignats according to the tariff issued by the Government War Commission, or changes ordered by the Commander-in-Chief. If necessary, the War Commissioners could use the measure of requisitions payable with the assistance of the army.

On the basis of the provisions of the aforementioned order, the following were sent to the individual infantry divisions: 1st Division (War Commissioner Franciszek Saniewski, aide-de-camp Michal Franckiewicz, scribe Leopold Gucki); 2nd Division (War Commissioner Andrzej Stroński, aide-de-camp Dyzma Jezierski, scribe Antoni Czyżewski); 3rd Division (War Commissioner Marcin Kotowski, aide-de-camp Jan Poliński, scribe Stanisław Piotrowicz); 4th Division (War Com-

PIW, Warszawa 1963, pp. 276–337; K. Bauer, *Wojsko koronne powstania kościuszkowskiego*, Wydawnictwo MON, Warszawa 1985, pp. 343–370; K. Jakimowicz, *Instytucje państwowe i samorządowe w życiu mieszkańców Lublina w latach 1764–1794*, Wydawnictwo UMCS, Lublin 2020, pp. 458–465.

33 AGAD, WCPL, file no. 134, card 210.

34 AGAD, WCPL, file no. 132, cards 281, 284–285.

35 APL, KWL, file no. 564, card 7.

36 It should be stressed that on 6 February 1831, the National Government also decided to set up economic councils in army corps of all arms, which supervised, inter alia, the receipt of funds and the conclusion of contracts for the supply of food. In each infantry or cavalry regiment this council was headed by a colonel, ZDW, pp. 250–254.

missioner Jakub Sławicz, aide-de-camp Kazimierz Sarnecki, scribe Julian Miłobędzki). The following were sent to the cavalry formations: 1st Corps (1st Division) (War Commissioner Alojzy Skurzyński, aide-de-camp Franciszek Boniewicz, scribe Prot Myczkowski); 2nd Division (War Commissioner Wojciech Bogdański, aide-de-camp Wiktor Biczynski, scribe Maciej Miklasiewicz); 2nd Corps (3rd Division) (War Commissioner Józef Napiórkowski, aide-de-camp Kazimierz Przygodzki and second aide-de-camp Faustyn Chmielinski, scribe Franciszek Prądzyński).[37]

In addition, for the Cavalry Reserve Corps, Karol Groer was appointed acting War Commissioner, and Tomasz Tański was appointed aide-de-camp. For the Reserve Artillery Corps, aide-de-camp professor Karol Bergman was appointed acting War Commissioner, while for the Separate Corps of General Józef Dwernicki, assistant professor Wojciech Głowiński was appointed acting War Commissioner, and Jan Czajkowski was made the scribe.

For the Warsaw City Square the following were appointed: War Commissioner Wincenty Łuniewski, two aides-de-camp: Karol Berowski and Maciej Koziński, undersecretary Szczepan Zatoński, and two scribes: Wilhelm Lewiński and Roch Norzewski. Józef Dębski was appointed War Commissioner for the Modlin fortress, and Nepomucen Mękarski as scribe. In turn, for Zamość fortress Buchowiecki was appointed as War Commissioner, and for the Army Headquarters Aleksander Huison was simultaneously War Commissioner and scribe.[38]

The War Commissioner was obliged to stay permanently at the division headquarters, taking care of all the anticipated supplies for the division and the brigade attached to it. The duties of the assistant commissioner were the same, except that he was assigned to the second brigade, and performed his duties directly under the brigade commander. The appointed Commissioner was obliged to issue food and fodder only after the regiment, unit or staff had presented him with a demand document signed by the regimental or unit commander, and in the case of the staff, signed by the chief of staff. The demand document handed over by these persons was to serve as proof for the issuing of string assignats, but no corrections or other contents could be made in it.[39]

It is also important to point out the role of the square commandants, whose tasks included providing food and comfortable accommodation for stationed and passing troops. In these matters, as well as in carrying out requisitions, the commandants cooperated with the municipal and regional authorities. They also

[37] AGAD, WCPL, file no. 134, card 210. For more on the supply of food and fodder for the cavalry, see T. Strzeżek, *Kawaleria Królestwa Polskiego w powstaniu listopadowym – mobilizacja i podstawy funkcjonowania w wojnie*, Wydawnictwo UWM, Olsztyn 2006, pp. 479–488.

[38] AGAD, WCPL, file no. 134, card 211.

[39] ZDW, p. 447.

supervised the food warehouses of the Army Commissariat, supervised the quality of the received products, their correct issue and confirmed the reception of receipts. Security guards were used to protect the warehouses from theft.[40] The security guards were divided into foot and horse guards, the organisation of which belonged to the Voivodeship Commissions.[41] The security guards were divided into foot and horse guards, the organisation of which belonged to the Voivodeship Commission.[42] The head of the Security Guard in a given region was the regional commissioner, often also called the delegated commissioner.[43]

4

Matters connected with both the abuse concerning supplies by the personnel of the food administration and the requisitioning of food and fodder among the inhabitants of the country were a serious problem with which the central authorities and the military administration had to contend throughout the entire period of the Uprising. Even before the Russian army entered the territory of the Kingdom of Poland on 5 February 1831 and military operations began, there were abuses in the area of provisions in the Polish Army. In view of this state of affairs, as early as on 3 February 1831, the Commander-in-Chief of the National Armed Forces General Michał Radziwiłł issued a daily order (No. 15) regarding abuses in the collection of food and fodder.[44] In order to prevent them, he appointed Michal Skopowski, the Divisional Auditor, as Inspector. His duty was to inspect all corps and divisions, both those currently present in the capital and those arriving in the future. The purpose of his inspection was to ascertain the actual condition

[40] See J. Ziółek, *Komendy placów w czasie wojny 1831 roku*, "Roczniki Humanistyczne" 1973, vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 347–348; *idem*, *Mobilizacja sił zbrojnych na lewobrzeżu Wisły 1830–31*, Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, Warszawa 1973, pp. 30–32; D. Taźbirek, *Lublin w czasie powstania listopadowego*, Lubelskie Towarzystwo Naukowe i Wydawnictwo "Olech", Lublin 2009, p. 112.

[41] APL, KWL, file no. 494, cards 2–3. See more, A. Barszczewska, *Województwo kaliskie i mazowieckie w powstaniu listopadowym (1830–1831)*, Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, Łódź 1965, pp. 53–70; W.W. Bednarski, *Rola wojskowa Lubelszczyzny i Podlasia w powstaniu listopadowym*, [self-published], Puławy 2003, pp. 34–36; J. Skarbek, *Województwo lubelskie w powstaniu listopadowym 1830–1831*, part 1, Wydawnictwo KUL, Lublin 2011, pp. 243–263.

[42] APL, KWL, file no. 521, cards 11–12; APL, KWL, file no. 526, card 7.

[43] The Kingdom of Poland (Congress Kingdom of Poland, Congress Poland) was divided administratively into voivodeships, regions and *powiats*, see Articles 1–5 of the Order of the Governor of the Kingdom of Poland of 16 January 1816 on the division of the Kingdom of Poland, Dziennik Praw Królestwa Polskiego [Journal of Laws of the Kingdom of Poland], vol. I, no. 2, pp. 115–120.

[44] AGAD, WCPL, file no. 134, card 208.

of the men and horses for whom food and fodder were to be supplied from the warehouses. After the inspection had been done, individual corps and division commanders were obliged to inform the Inspector in the capital of any increase in the number of men and horses in the formations subordinate to them, so that the current needs of the army would be known every day.

The first normative act regulating the procedure of requisitioning foodstuffs to which attention should be drawn is the resolution of the Senators' and Deputies' Chamber, known as the law of 7 February 1831, which stated that in those parts of the country occupied or threatened by the enemy (Russians), the National Government was authorised to use all means to destroy roads, bridges, crossings, storehouses and buildings which would facilitate the enemy's advance or retreat. At the same time, the National Government is authorised to seize all supplies of food, property and draught animals in such areas and to remove the population to places indicated for that purpose. In doing so, it was emphasised that at all times such action could not be restrained by any law in respect of property and personal liberty. In turn, any loss suffered by the inhabitants as a result of such action by the Government was to be compensated, and the manner of investigation and compensation was to be determined at a later date.[45]

The above resolution was adopted unanimously after a brief discussion. It was an extremely important first step in restricting military requisitions by renouncing the principle of simple requisitioning, i.e. requisitioning by force without reward. The seizure of property was to be carried out only against payment of a fee, and its primary purpose was to be considerations related to the bearing of war burdens by the inhabitants for the benefit of the insurgent army. In this period of the Uprising, the army's supply problems were already noticeable. For example, on 16 February, General Józef Dwernicki wrote to General Stanisław Klicki complaining about the lack of food warehouses, as a result of which "the inhabitants are oppressed, and the army suffers from hunger, especially as regards bread, which people have not had for several days already".[46]

In the face of food shortages, there were also abuses in the distribution of food. On 22 February 1831, the aforementioned Commander of the Armed Forces on the left bank of the Vistula, Major-General Stanisław Klicki, issued a daily order as a result of the information provided by the Army Needs Committee relating to a lack of scrupulousness and disorder in the distribution of food. The general instructed soldiers of all ranks to beware of abuses in the distribution of food and

[45] *Diariusz Sejmu z r. 1830–1831*, vol. 1: *Od 18 grudnia do 8 lutego 1831 r.*, published by M. Rostworowski, Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków 1907, pp. 507–508, 515.

[46] ZDW, p. 345.

forage, and in the case of repeated reports of abuse he drew attention to the possibility of being held criminally responsible before a court martial.

A few days later, on 27 February 1831, Commander-in-Chief of the National Armed Forces, General Jan Zygmunt Skrzynecki issued a daily order in which he emphasised that the actual states of regiments or divisions should be signed by the respective commanders of regiments and divisions and inspected by the War Commissioners at the divisions.[47] Without these formalities, the depots could not issue food and supplies. The responsibility for disclosing and reporting actual balances rested with the regimental and division commanders. At that time, the ration of forage, as before, was 11 quarts of oats and 5 pounds of hay,[48] which was explained by the shortage of these products.

Despite frequent neglect at the beginning of the military campaign, the army received all products regularly. It was not until March that the situation became difficult, as considerable food supplies were lost, product prices rose, and the population began to hide them. Nevertheless, the supply situation in March was not difficult everywhere. Despite many problems with the supply of products, there was plenty of food for General Józef Dwernicki's corps near Zamość.[49] It should be noted, however, that the soldiers complained about the poor quality of some products and, often having some money saved, they fed themselves at their own expense.[50]

It was later stipulated that division commanders would receive certain amounts of money for purchases on their own. However, this system failed as these amounts ultimately did not reach them, with tragic consequences. This meant that soldiers of lower ranks began to leave the army due to the lack of food.[51]

In the spring of 1831, due to a crisis in the supply of food and provisions, frequent abuses began to occur in the army. To meet these problems, on 1 June a draft resolution was presented concerning the requisitioning of food for the needs

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[47] AGAD, WCPL, file no. 134, card 209.

[48] The equivalent of 1 quart is 1 litre, while 1 pound is 30 decagrams.

[49] Cf. D. Taźbirek, *Zaopatrzenie Twierdzy Zamość w żywność, w furaż i drzewo opałowe przed wybuchem wojny z Rosją w czasie powstania listopadowego*, "Rocznik Lubelski" 2009, no. 35, pp. 103–114; J. Skarbek, *Województwo lubelskie w powstaniu…*, *op. cit.*, part 2, pp. 224–232.

[50] See D. Taźbirek, *Aprowizacja twierdzy zamojskiej w czasie pobytu korpusu Dwernickiego w marcu i na początku kwietnia 1831 r.*, "Teka Komisji Historycznej PAN Oddział w Lublinie" 2011, vol. 8, p. 104.

[51] Cf. W. Tokarz, *Wojna polsko-rosyjska 1830 i 1831*, Wojskowy Instytut Naukowo-Wydawniczy, Warszawa 1930, pp. 166–177.

of the national (insurgent) army.[52] The draft tabled in the Chamber of Deputies triggered a lively discussion and heated arguments among deputies,[53] who, however, finally confirmed the necessity of its adoption and thus, on 3 June 1831, the law on requisitions was passed[54]. The most important provision of the law passed was that the National Government was authorised to seize the following produce for the needs of the army: 47,770 *korzecs*[55] of wheat or rye; 20,702 *korzecs* of legumina; 258,564 *korzecs* of oats or, failing that, rye at a ratio of 6 to 11; 74,000 *garniecs* of vodka;[56] 107,000 *cetnars* of hay and 54,000 *cetnars* of straw.[57] At the same time, the National Government was authorised to change, if necessary, all kinds of grains from one to another, listed or unlisted, and it was emphasised that the National Government would take into account the needs of the land and of the owners of the requisitioned products, which was supposed to appease the population who were afraid about their stocks. This meant that the requisitions were to be carried out in a way that would not threaten the subsistence and current economic needs of the population.[58]

The Government Commission for Internal Affairs and the Police, bearing in mind the earlier problems with the supply of products and aiming to make the requisitioning as convenient as possible for the country's population, issued an instruction to the Extraordinary Commissioners on 4 June 1831, which regulated the requisitioning procedure in detail.[59]

Extraordinary Commissioners were appointed on a one-off basis in order to carry out the efficient requisitioning of products indicated in the parliamentary resolution. The positions of commissioners were often given to heirs or tenants of estate.[60] In the light of the above-mentioned instruction, an Extraordinary Commissioner was granted a daily allowance of 5 zloty. His journeys were to be made

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[52] *Diariusz Sejmu z r. 1830–1831*, vol. 4: *Od 26 maja do 18 czerwca 1831 r.*, published by M. Rostworski, Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków 1907, pp. 118–120.

[53] *Ibidem*, pp. 120–153.

[54] *Ibidem*, pp. 201–202.

[55] The equivalent of 1 *korzec*, or more precisely *korzec nowopolski*, is 128 litres.

[56] The equivalent of 1 *garniec* is 4 litres.

[57] AGAD, WCPL, file no. 133, card 68. Cf. A list of products taken under requisition pursuant to the Sejm resolution of 3 June 1831, AGAD, WCPL, file no. 134, cards 80–81. A present equivalent of 1 *cetnar* is 64.836 kg.

[58] AGAD, WCPL, file no. 133, card 68.

[59] *Ibidem*, card 109.

[60] See J. Skarbek, *Województwo lubelskie w powstaniu…*, *op. cit.*, part 2, p. 248.

by *podwodas*,[61] which the local authorities in the towns and villages were obliged to provide on presentation of an open letter and the payment of a set fee of 24 grosz per pair of horses per mile. The cost of these *podwodas* was later reimbursed t o him.[62]

The Extraordinary Commissioners were assigned administrative officials, e.g. treasury officials, with whom they carried out their activities on the territory of designated regions and *powiats*. They were to report their activities to the Government Commission for Internal Affairs and the Police in the form of lists of products seized by requisitioning.[63]

An Extraordinary Commissioner was to be regarded by the inhabitants as being sent by the government more to watch over order and ensure the owners' equity, and the administrative authority exercising sovereignty over the inhabitants could not stand in the way of the actions.[64]

The Extraordinary Commissioners were to work closely with the Regional Commissioners, who were obliged to follow their instructions. The Regional Commissioners were, from 3 December 1816, the highest government officials in a region, who as members of the voivodeship commission were sent to work in the field.[65] As part of the administration, the regional commissioners acted as an intermediary between the voivodeship authorities and the lowest organisational units, i.e. the municipal offices and rural *gminas* as well as the citizens themselves. Before the November Uprising the commissioners were appointed by the governor, during the Uprising by the above mentioned Government Commission. At the time of the Uprising, there were 63 commissioners in 39 regions; of these, 13 were appointed during the Uprising, the others had already been in office

[61] In the Middle Ages, a *podwoda* was an obligation to provide the ruler and his officials with means of transport and to transport goods, sometimes converted into a monetary rent or an in-kind tribute. In the 19th century, *podwodas* were provided at the request of central, local and military authorities, see M. Konarski, *Publiczne posługi transportowe w okresie Księstwa Warszawskiego w świetle postanowień dekretu z dnia 22 maja 1810 roku "względem koni i podwód dostarczonych pod transporty i wojskowych"*, "Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne" 2019, vol. 71, no. 2, pp. 113–135; idem, *Feudal duties of the population in the light of old Polish law. The case of public transport and traffic duties*, "Acta Iuridica Olomucensia" 2020, vol. 15, no. 1, pp. 28–30.

[62] AGAD, WCPL, file no. 133, card 114.

[63] APL, KWL, file no. 560, cards 2, 23, 81.

[64] AGAD, WCPL, file no. 133, card 113.

[65] See art. 47–63 of *Postanowienie Namiestnika Królestwa Polskiego z 3 lutego 1816 r. w sprawie organizacji władz administracyjnych*, Dziennik Praw Królestwa Polskiego, vol. II, no. 8, pp. 52–60.

before the outbreak of the Uprising.[66] In cooperation with the military commanders, they controlled all aspects of the army's functioning in a given region, including those related to the army's food supply during the march or stationing.[67] It should be emphasised that all government representatives in a given region were subordinate to these officials, which meant that the appointment of Extraordinary Commissioners to implement the resolution of the Sejm depleted their position and was an expression of the central authorities' lack of confidence in their activities in the field.

According to the instructions, an Extraordinary Commissioner went to the regional town and together with the selected officer undertook the requisitioning activities, and the failure of the selected officer to appear did not stop the activities. Immediately upon arrival in the town, the Commissioner reported to the office of the Regional Commissioner and there through him was obliged to: (1) demand a list of citizens who had not delivered the quota; (2) demand a list of towns and villages in which speculators (merchants, *liweranci* (suppliers), landowners, etc.) had accumulated significant stocks of grain; (3) demand information on which rural landowners still had significant batches of the previous year's grain in granaries and barns. The information obtained was to serve as a guideline to the Extraordinary Commissioner's activities, but he was not to stop at the lists received and was obliged to make every effort to obtain information on the storage of all stocks.

When travelling around the region, he was first to deal with warehouses containing stocks particularly gathered for speculation. On arriving at a designated place in a town, the Extraordinary Commissioner would summon the mayor or the deputy mayor in the countryside, or the head of the *gmina* and when one of them appeared they would go together (and with an officer selected by the Commissioner) to the owner, or if the owner was absent, to the person representing that owner, in order to read to him the Sejm resolution and, showing the instruction, would call on him to declare the stock he had, and then go to the granary or barn in order to check it.[68]

If the owner was seen to be delaying the action, in order to gain time and to hide the grain, the Extraordinary Commissioner was obliged to inform the owner of the criminal responsibility and was then authorised to make a physical requisition of the stocks, but in the event of any resistance from the owner or from other

[66] See W. Rostocki, *Postawa polityczna komisarzy obwodowych w 1830–1831 r.*, [in:] *Społeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego. Studia o uwarstwieniu i ruchliwości społecznej*, vol. III, ed. W. Kula, PWN, Warszawa 1968, p. 8.

[67] For more, see T. Osiński, *Komisarze obwodu (naczelnicy powiatu) zamojskiego w latach 1816–1866*, "Rocznik Lubelski" 2009, vol. 35, pp. 115–137.

[68] AGAD, WCPL, file no. 133, card 111.

inhabitants defending the owner, he had the right to summon the local authorities and even, through an accompanying officer, to call on the nearest army unit to provide assistance.

After the requisition had been conducted, the Extraordinary Commissioner proceeded to segregation, i.e. the indication of the part of grain which, according to the resolution of the Sejm, was to be left to the owner for household and farm needs, and the separation of the part which was to be allocated to the army. After the completion of this activity, a protocol was drawn up in two copies, containing detailed information about the stock found, the products deducted and stating the reason for which for household needs, and the amount intended for public needs.[69] The protocol was signed by the owner, the Extraordinary Commissioner, the accompanying officer and the local authority, mayor or the head of the village (*wójt*). In the case of the owner's objection to the segregation of grain, i.e. if he was of the opinion that not enough was left for his household needs, he could make a note of it in the protocol, while the solution of the matter was finally left to the Regional Commissioner. In the case of a refusal by the owner to sign, the Extraordinary Commissioner was obliged to include in the protocol the reasons for this refusal. After the action had been taken, the protocol was sent without undue delay in one copy to the Regional Commissioner and in the other to the Government Commission for Internal Affairs and the Police, which, after obtaining the necessary information on the general list, sent it to the General Commissary of the Army. At the express request of the owner, a third copy of the protocol could have been drawn up.

Subsequently, the Regional Commissioner immediately took the most effective measures to ensure that the seized products were taken and brought to the designated points. In order to minimise the burden on the owner, the Extraordinary Commissioner was obliged, after reading out the resolution of the Sejm, to try to convince each owner that it was only the necessary need to defend the country that had led the government to take this step of compulsory deliveries, and to ensure that in the future there would be measures announced to compensate for the seized grain, which, because of the urgency of the situation, had not yet been adopted.[70]

The Regional Commissioner was required to take the greatest care to ensure that the seized produce was picked up as quickly as possible and transported to the designated locations. In addition, he was to ensure that whatever was still in the sheaf was threshed as soon as possible. The person authorised by him to receive

[69] *Ibidem*, cards 111–112.

[70] *Ibidem*, card 112.

the seized products would issue a certificate, which, once approved by the Regional Commissioner, could be converted into treasury bonds yielding interest.[71] These certificates, within 24 hours after the products were handed over, were to be presented to the Regional Commissioner, who would notify the relevant warehouse of the quantity to be received[72].

Despite the efforts of the field administrative apparatus and the Extraordinary Commissioners, the requisitions of food and fodder did not bring the expected result that the insurgent authorities had hoped for. This was due to a general shortage of oats and *legumina* in the country, but the difficult conditions in which the requisitions were carried out at the end of June and July, when the close proximity of the enemy's mobile units often prevented the Extraordinary Commissioners from carrying out their activities, also spoke against them. It may be added that as a result of the Russian occupation, requisitions did not start at all in the Augustów and Podlasie voivodeships.[73]

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During the entire period of the Uprising, the army's food administration faced numerous problems, often not solving them efficiently enough and on time. Above all, the insurgent authorities failed to solve the issue of organising a regular supply of food and fodder for the army to the frontline warehouses. Another problem was the flow of information between individual units of the military administration and the Commissariat, which did not allow for a quick and reliable calculation of food needs for military operations. In addition, despite the detailed regulation of the procedure for the requisitioning of food and fodder, arbitrary requisitioning practices occurred, resulting in numerous abuses on the part of individual military units.

The assignment of War Commissioners to individual divisions did not solve all the difficulties in supplying the army with food, as they were often unable to cope with supplementing food shortages in the manner indicated by the insurrectionary authorities and thus counteract the arbitrary requisitions of food and fodder by the army. Besides, their modest office apparatus and the frequent lack of inevitable execution of punishment in the face of the disobedience of recalcitrant soldiers did not make it possible to significantly halt the scourge of illegal requisitions.

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[71] AGAD, WCPL, file no. 133, cards 191–193.

[72] *Ibidem*, card 113.

[73] See J. Skarbek, *Województwo lubelskie w powstaniu…*, part 2, pp. 254–255.

In the case of the Regional Commissions, their ineffectiveness was due to their attitude, which often expresses a general aversion to the Uprising.[74] Most of them were civil servants who had been appointed before the Uprising, and they sometimes expressed their unwillingness to fight, acting in a tardy manner or even, in a few cases, harming the Uprising. It should be stressed, however, that another factor negatively affecting their attitude was the fact that their activities were restrained by military commanders stationed in the towns, as a result of which the organisation of an efficient civilian administrative apparatus was sometimes impossible.

As regards the Extraordinary Commissioners, whose functions were incidental as they were related to the implementation of the Sejm's resolution of June 1831, it should be stated that the difficult conditions in which they operated did not allow them to make full use of the powers delegated to them by the central insurrectionary authorities. Their activities were also adversely affected by the fact that they were established in a hurry and entrusted to persons without preparation.

Finally, it should be concluded that the activities of the military (War Commissioners) and civilian (Regional and Extraordinary Commissioners) branches of the army's food administration in the field did not bring the intended results, while the establishment of many components of the administration caused confusion and disorientation among the country's population, who were often burdened with forced deliveries beyond their production capacity. Added to this were numerous arbitrary requisitions made by individual units on their own, which significantly depleted the already meagre supplies of the population.

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[74] Cf. W. Rostocki, *Postawa polityczna komisarzy…*, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–36.

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Marcin Konarski
PhD, Warsaw Management University
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8791-884x

Field administrative bodies of the Polish army in matters of food requisitioning during the November Uprising in 1830–1831

The article concerns the organisation and activities of the army food administration, which for most of the time during the November Uprising was carried out by the Army General Commissariat Service. During the 10 months of the uprising, the food administration underwent several organisational changes, and its execution was entrusted to various bodies. The discussion undertaken is related to issues concerning the organisation of this administration, with particular emphasis on the characteristics of the activity of its field administrative apparatus, which was entrusted to War Commissioners at individual army divisions and to Regional Commissioners as civilian requisitioning bodies in individual administrative regions which were links of the army's food administration. On the other hand, in order to make the food requisitions enacted by the Sejm in June 1831 effective and rapid, Extraordinary Commissioners were established and entrusted with their supervision. In addition to the description of the powers conferred on all these officers, the author analyses the legal procedure applied by them to the requisitioning of food and fodder for the army against the background of events at the time.

Key words: history of administration, provisioning the army, wartime contributions, requisitions, November Uprising

Marcin Konarski
dr, Menedżerska Akademia Nauk Stosowanych w Warszawie
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8791-884x

Polowe organy administracji wojska polskiego w sprawach rekwizycji żywności w okresie powstania listopadowego 1830–1831 roku

W artykule przedstawiono organizację i działalność administracji żywności wojska, którą przez większość czasu w okresie powstania listopadowego wykonywała Służba Intendentury Generalnej Wojska. Przez 10 miesięcy powstania administracja żywności przeszła kilka zmian organizacyjnych, a jej wykonywanie powierzono różnym organom. Rozważania dotyczą zagadnień organizacji tej administracji ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem charakterystyki działalności jej polowego aparatu administracyjnego, który został powierzony komisarzom wojennym przy poszczególnych dywizjach wojska oraz komisarzom obwodowym jako cywilnym organom rekwizycyjnym w poszczególnych obwodach administracyjnych będących ogniwami administracji żywności wojska. Natomiast w celu

szybkiego uskutecznienia uchwalonych przez sejm w czerwcu 1831 r. rekwizycji żywności, nadzór nad nimi powierzono specjalnie ustanowionym komisarzom nadzwyczajnym. Poza charakterystyką kompetencji przyznanych tym wszystkim funkcjonariuszom autor dokonuje analizy procedury prawnej stosowanej przez nich do czynności rekwizycji żywności i furażu dla wojska na tle ówczesnych wydarzeń.

Słowa kluczowe: historia administracji, aprowizacja wojska, świadczenia wojenne, rekwizycje, powstanie listopadowe