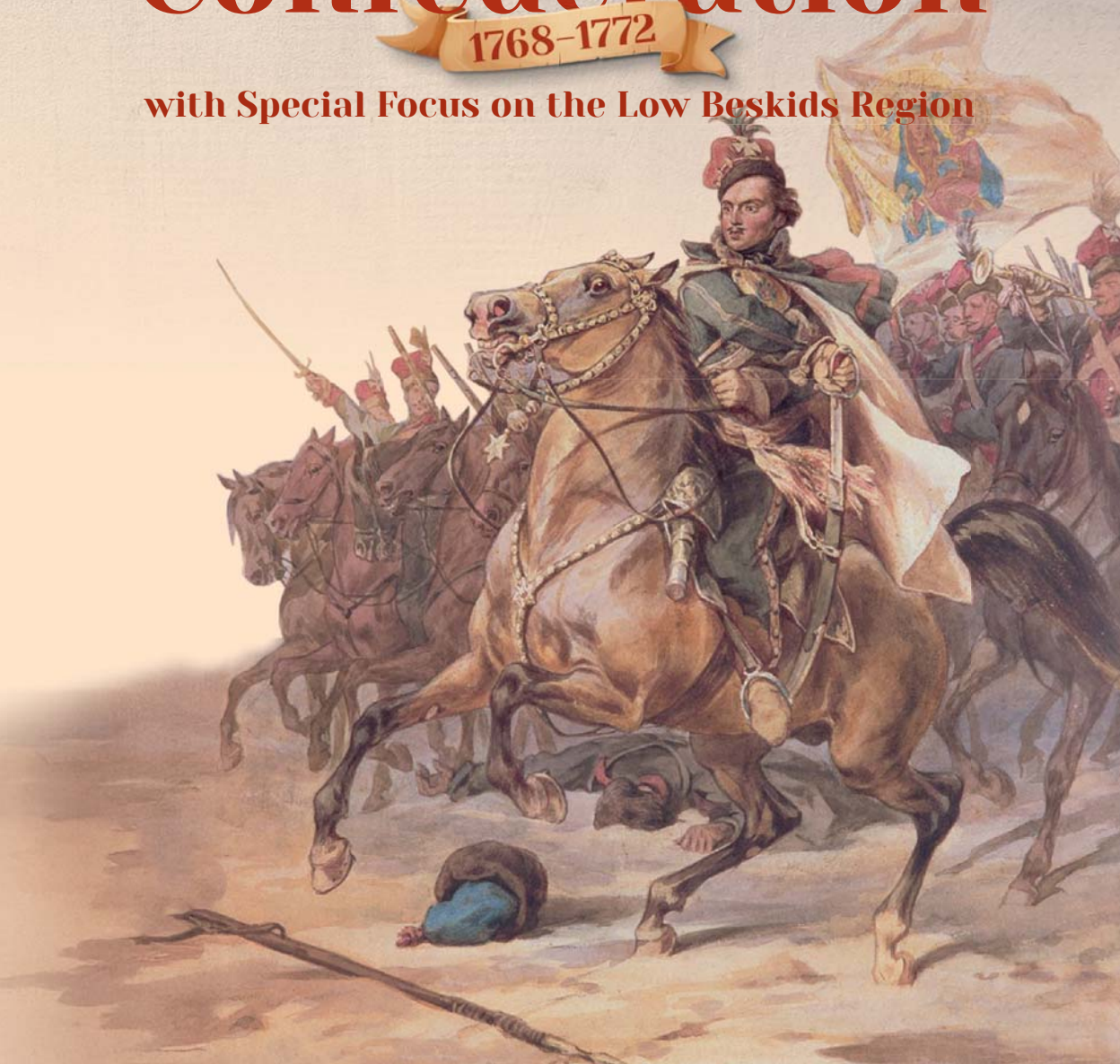


The History of the Bar Confederation

1768-1772

with Special Focus on the Low Beskids Region



The History of the Bar Confederation



with Special Focus on the Low Beskids Region



Kraków – Wysowa-Zdrój 2025



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Dear Readers,

Małopolska is not only one of Poland's most attractive regions in terms of tourism, but also a treasure trove of history and heritage-elements that shape our identity and remind us of our roots. This heritage remains alive today: its numerous historical monuments, unique artifacts, traditions, and culture continue to draw millions of visitors each year and serve as a lasting source of inspiration for future generations.

One of the visible symbols of Poland's past still present in the landscape is the earthworks left behind by the Bar Confederates, particularly in the Low Beskids, along the Polish-Slovak border. The Bar Confederation, often referred to as Poland's first national uprising, was a movement aimed at defending the Polish state and preserving the sovereignty of the Commonwealth. One of its key figures, General Kazimierz Pułaski—a hero of both Poland and the United States—fought against Russian forces in the vicinity of Wysowa. His life and legacy, which influenced the histories of both nations, are commemorated by the Association for the Development of Wysowa-Zdrój “Cross the Border”. One form of preserving this memory is the publication—made possible through financial support from the Małopolska Region—entitled *The History of the Bar Confederation (1768–1772)*. This work consolidates

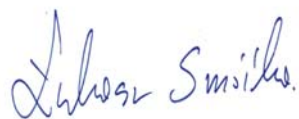
existing historical research on this patriotic and independence-driven movement, while also aiming to raise public awareness of the dramatic events that unfolded on Polish soil during that period, with particular attention paid to the Low Beskids region.

An additional initiative will be the creation of a nature and history trail by the Łosie Forest District, based on the remains and reconstructions of a fortified Bar Confederate encampment near Wysowa-Zdrój. The Regional Assembly of the Małopolska Region has taken an active role in supporting this project, which aligns with local efforts to promote patriotic values and preserve respect for the past.

We are convinced that both this publication and the accompanying activities will help increase public awareness of the events, places, and individuals associated with the Bar Confederation era. At the same time, they will encourage a deeper appreciation of Małopolska's historical, cultural, and natural heritage.

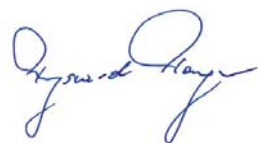
We invite you to read on!

Łukasz Smółka



*Marshal
of the Małopolska Region*

Ryszard Pagacz



*Deputy Marshal
of the Małopolska Region*

PART I

The history of the confederation and confederates



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The Bar Confederation in the Low Beskids

The history of the Bar Confederation is dreadful, wrote Prof. Władysław Konopczyński: *“It is a difficult task not only for memory and thought but also for the historian’s heart to read through these arrogant, mocking, always victorious reports of Russian executioners, to wander through battlefields, count the corpses, catch rumors of our victories, which almost always turn out to be tendentious fabrications... What strategy, what warriors, what politicians!”*¹

Before attempting to outline the activities of the Bar Confederation in the Low Beskids through selected examples, it is worth examining its origins from a broader perspective,² especially since many myths have arisen around it, including one that blames it for the First Partition.³ In the second

¹ W. Konopczyński, *Od Sobieskiego do Kościuszki*, Warszawa 1921, p. 306.

² See M. Gadocha, *Szanse konfederacji barskiej*, in: *Konfederacja barska (1768–1772). Tło i dziedzictwo*, ed. Mariusz Jabłoński, Kraków 2018, pp. 55–68; idem, *Konfederacja barska – dylematy konfederatów – dylematy króla*, in: *Czas upadku, czas postępu: okres stanisławowski 1764–1795*, Kraków 2014, pp. 16–25.

³ Compare in more detail: D. Dukwicz, *Czy konfederacja barska była przyczyną pierwszego rozbioru Polski? (Rosja wobec Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1769–1771)*, in: *Konfederacja Barska. Jej konteksty i tradycje*, ed. Anna Buchmann, Adam Danilczyk, Warszawa 2009, pp. 103–116; T. Cegielski, Ł. Kądziela, *Rozbiory Polski 1772–1793–1795*, Warszawa 1990, this book presents various theories regarding the causes of the partitions, including the one that mistakenly blames the Bar Confederates for significantly contributing to the partitions; see also: M.H. Serejski, *Europa a rozbiory Polski*, Warszawa 2009.

half of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the nobility either refused or failed to recognize the gradual changes and development of their neighbors. Unfortunately, short-sighted policies led to acceptance of the loss of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's sovereignty, long before the First Partition. A significant turning point was the double election of Prince Conti and Frederick Augustus I (contrary to common opinion that his candidacy was accidental—initial “preparations” for his accession to the Polish throne had already emerged in the 1680s). It is an undeniable fact that the courts of Poland's neighboring powers were behind the election of the future Augustus II, and the key moment in this process was the night of June 26–27.⁴ Subsequent elections, whether of Stanisław Leszczyński,⁵ Augustus III,⁶ or Stanisław August,⁷ were no longer determined by the Poles. Instead, it was the surrounding great powers that decided who the next king would be.

The unfortunate decisions of the Saxon rulers first led to the de facto transformation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth into a Russian protectorate, the beginning of which was the Silent Sejm of 1717 and the “request” for Tsar Peter I to become the guarantor of the political system.⁸ The subsequent years of the reigns of Augustus II and Augustus III deepened this process and further weakened Poland's position on the international stage.

The Great Northern War (1700–1721) failed to make the nobility realize that the Commonwealth was politically and militarily weak. The absence of Augustus II, in his capacity as the Polish ruler, from the peace negotiations in Nystad was proof of this. From that moment on, we ceased to be an active participant in international politics and instead became merely an object of the great powers' maneuvering.

During the long reign of Augustus III, only the first Sejm concluded without being either disrupted or dissolved without reaching binding decisions. Polish politics was plagued by constant conflicts among the most powerful noble families, who, to make matters worse, were also funded by various European states.

⁴ U. Kosińska, *Decydująca noc z 26 na 27 czerwca 1697 roku. Czyli co przesądziło o wyborze Augusta II na tron polski*, *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 129, 2023, 1, pp. 5–51; idem, *W kręgu mitów, czyli o tym, co nie zadecydowało o wyborze Augusta II na tron polski w 1697 roku*, *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 129, 2022, 4, pp. 797–821.

⁵ See E. Cieślak, *Stanisław Leszczyński*, Wrocław 1994.

⁶ J. Staszewski, *August III Sas*, Wrocław 1989.

⁷ K. Zienkowska, *Stanisław August Poniatowski*, Wrocław 1998; A. Zgorzelska, *Stanisław August nie tylko mecenas*, Warszawa 1996.

⁸ A. Link-Lenczowski, *Rzeczpospolita na rozdrożu: 1696–1736*, Kraków 1994.



Portrait of Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski in coronation robes
Marcello Bacciarelli (1764), Royal Castle in Warsaw, public domain



Henryk Bielamowicz-Biecz, Franciscan Church and Monastery (HB3) CC BY-SA 4.0 license

The future king, Lithuanian *Stolnik* (Nobleman) Stanisław Poniatowski, was well aware of the urgent need for fundamental political and economic reforms. The bold reforms of 1764–1766 were accompanied by his weak position in domestic politics. On the one hand, the king was burdened by an election held under the shadow of Russian cannons; on the other, he distanced himself from his political base, the Czartoryski family. Moreover, the strength of the opposition increased—the republican camp sought to maintain its position and reverse the reforms.

Russia closely observed the developments in the Commonwealth with growing dissatisfaction. As a result, in 1767, Catherine II decided to undertake an appropriate intervention in Polish affairs,⁹ which significantly contributed to the outbreak of the Confederation of Bar. However, before this occurred, the opposition republican faction—considering themselves “patriots”—entered into negotiations with Nikolai Repnin, the empress’s envoy. Their goal was to overturn the reforms and depose the king himself. At the general confederation convened in June, they hoped that, with Repnin’s cooperation, an act of dethronement could be carried out. Yet, to their great

⁹ A. Czaja, *Lata wielkich nadziei. Walka o reformę państwa polskiego w drugiej połowie XVIII w.*, Warszawa 1992.

surprise, on June 23, the Russian envoy ordered the assembled Confederates to proclaim a new confederation in support of the king, initiate discussions on granting equal rights to dissenters, and request Russia to continue guaranteeing the Commonwealth’s political system.

In such a complex and rapidly changing situation, the Sejm convened, later to be known in history as the “Repnin Sejm.” To demonstrate who truly controlled the affairs of the Commonwealth, Catherine II ordered the abduction of opposition leaders, including the Bishop of Kraków, Kajetan Sołtyk; the Bishop of Kyiv, Józef Załuski; Senator Wacław Rzewuski; and his son, Deputy Seweryn Rzewuski. The leaders of the Radom Confederation were deported deep into Russia, to Kaluga. Intimidated by these actions, the remaining deputies “agreed” to all the proposals prepared by Nikolai Repnin. As a result, the Cardinal Laws were enacted, ensuring the preservation of traditional noble privileges, overturning the reforms previously introduced by the king, and granting equal rights to non-Catholics. Empress Catherine II was declared the guarantor of these resolutions.

The situation of Stanisław August became so complicated after the Sejm of 1767–1768 that he even considered abdication.¹⁰ The opposition remained active, now viewing not only Russia but also the king and dissenters as enemies. However, in the Confederation of Bar, formed on February 29, 1768, the primary focus was the defense of “faith and freedom.”

The founding act of the Confederation clearly outlined its objectives:

We, true Christian Roman Catholics, the Polish nation, faithful to God and the Church, to free kings and our beloved homeland; seeing the inevitable end of the unfortunate and dreadful means that have been violently employed against all law—bringing with them undeniable harm and near-total ruin to the holy Roman Catholic faith; witnessing the indifference of the higher clergy, the apathy of the secular leaders, the shameless fear and confusion among citizens, and, most tragically, that without feeling any oppression, they bow their once-proud heads, unaccustomed to submission, under the servile yoke of schismatics, Lutherans, and Calvinists. We had borne our faith, redeemed by the most precious blood of Christ and our own, with pride before all nations, undeterred by the forces of the Turks, Tatars, Swedes,

¹⁰ Cf. a more detailed discussion in: *Pamiętniki króla Stanisława Augusta. Antologia*, ed. Marek Dębowski; introduction by Anna Grześkowiak-Krwawicz; translated by Wawrzyniec Brzozowski; text selection by Dominique Triaire, Warszawa 2013.

and Cossacks—who, like shadows before the setting sun, would vanish at the sign of the holy cross before our heroic arms. But there is a God in Jerusalem, and there is still a prophet who foretells prosperity. If we live and die, stand and fall by His side and in the holy Catholic faith, He will strengthen our forces and awaken the knightly blood within us. He will be our leader and commander, our shield and our strength. May His almighty power sustain us, may the power of His most holy Son uphold us, and may His spirit of love inflame our hearts! Let us, therefore, in the name of the Most Holy Trinity—God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit—swear this personal and collective oath. Our shield shall be Mary.¹¹

The first actions of the Confederation can already be seen in the Low Beskids in 1768. The nobility, eager to form a confederation, decided to gather in July in the fields between Rymanów and Sieniawa. By July 4, they had managed to assemble 80 cannons and about 6,000 soldiers. The goal was to rush to the aid of the capital. On July 6, a confederation was formed, led by Marshal Ignacy Jakub Bronicki,¹² who, along with the forces of Marcin Lubomirski, set out to relieve Kraków, which held out until August 17. Bronicki himself escaped from Kraków in disguise, first to the Subcarpathian region, then to the Hungarian town of Svidník, and eventually settled in Moravia, where he died in 1769.¹³

On October 17, 1768, near Barwinek, a further defeat occurred in a skirmish between the Confederates of the Sieradz Marshal Józef Bierzyński and the victorious Russian forces.¹⁴

In 1769, the Confederates began constructing fortified camps in the Low Beskids. First, they built a redoubt on the ridge of Mount Czeremcha. Then, camps were established in Mytarka near Nowy Żmigród, Kobylanka near Gorlice, and later in Konieczna, near Barwinek, and Łupków.¹⁵ Subsequently,

¹¹ W. Konopczyński, *Panowanie Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego w świetle źródeł*, Kraków 1924, pp. 11–12.

¹² W. Konopczyński, *Konfederacja barska. Przebieg, tajemnice i jawne skutki*, vol. 1, Poznań 2017, p. 79.

¹³ W. Konopczyński, *Bronicki Jakub Ignacy*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 2, Kraków 1936, p. 459.

¹⁴ M. Śliwa, *Konfederacja Barska na Podkarpaciu*, Kraków 2022, p. 34.

¹⁵ M. Parczewski, *Szaniec konfederatów barskich w Łupkowie w Bieszczadach Zachodnich*, *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, vol. 64, no. 4 (2016), pp. 467–484.

more camps were built near Wysowa and Izby, with the latter erected on the hill known as Baszta.¹⁶

The year 1770 did not begin favorably for the Confederates in this region. The decisive battle took place on the slopes of Mount Pod Krzyżami, between Mytarka and Samokłeski. The Confederates managed to repel the attack. Further clashes occurred in the village of Czeremcha and near Iwla, after which the Russians gained the tactical advantage. Another skirmish was supposed to take place between Siepietnica and Święcany, on the so-called Confederates' Road. After the battle, Regiment Commander Kirkor had to retreat toward Jodłowa, while the Russians advanced toward Biecz.¹⁷

In the chronicle of the Franciscan Reformed Monastery in Biecz (1624–1944), the events that took place in the city and surrounding area on April 5, 1770, are recorded. Russian troops, numbering 2,000 soldiers and led by Lieutenant Colonel Alexei Yelchaninov,¹⁸ arrived in the city. They first attacked the church and monastery of the Reformed Fathers from the side of the cemetery with hand weapons and cannons. After breaking down the church doors, the Russians entered the monastic buildings, where they beat the monks with various instruments and dragged them by their hoods. They broke down the doors to the cells, and the brothers found inside were struck with rifles and pistols. One of the brothers, P. Marchionus, died from his wounds, while the others sustained serious injuries. The Russians took the keys to the treasury and the sacristy from the monks, where valuables had been stored by the nobility. Everything they found was looted. They also destroyed trunks, chests, tore up the clothing stored there, and scattered the money they found, only for the monks to collect it. Those who refused were beaten.

In the refectory, they shattered all the dishes. While describing these crimes, the author of the account referred to the perpetrators as “wild beasts.” In the parish church, they were said to have committed sacrilege and desecration of the Holy Sacrament by spilling the consecrated hosts from the ciborium. Due to the approaching Easter celebrations, one of the ciboria contained approximately 200 hosts. The Russians consumed some of them, while others were scattered. The ciborium itself was stolen and later sold in Jarosław. Additionally, from the sacristy, they took chalices, patens, ampullae containing

¹⁶ T. Nowalnicki, *Szaniec nad Izbami i okopy nad Wojkową*, „Wierchy”, vol. 40: 1971, pp. 192–198; idem, *Fortyfikacje polowe z czasów konfederacji barskiej na ziemi sądeckiej*, „Rocznik Sądecki”, vol. 13: 1972, pp. 264–272.

¹⁷ Maciej Śliwa, *Konfederacja Barska na Podkarpaciu*, Kraków 2022, p. 225.

¹⁸ In the chronicle, he was mistakenly recorded as Lieutenant Colonel Illiczanin.

holy oils, silver liturgical vessels, richly decorated copes, chasubles, church albs, altar cloths, and even candles.

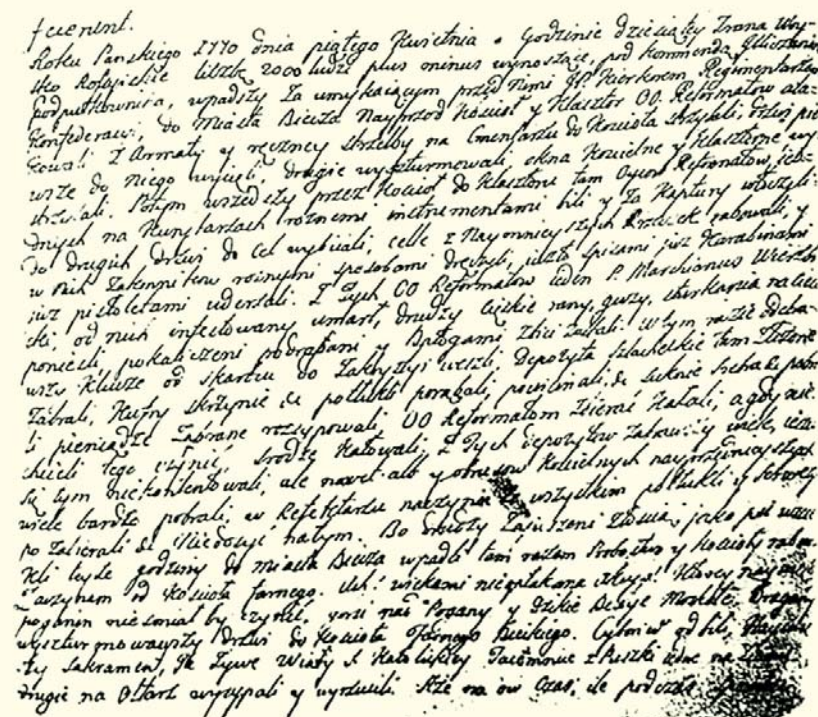
They destroyed crucifixes and chests that were located on the various altars of the church. They opened all the graves and threw the dead out of their coffins. The deposits placed in the parish church, like those in the monastery, were stolen. According to the account, the looting lasted for a long time, observed by an unnamed Russian officer who was strolling near the cemetery. Despite the pleas of one of the clergymen to intervene and order his soldiers to cease the pillaging, the officer did not react and continued walking around. According to the author of the account, the looting was initially carried out only by the carabineers. However, at the presbytery, the plundering was committed by drunken Cossacks, who encountered the parish priest, the Biecz official, four other priests, and two reformed Franciscan brothers. All of them were beaten with whips. When the Cossacks grew tired of beating them, they began to loot. However, dissatisfied with their spoils, they struck the official multiple times on the head with the church keys. Then, they continued to plunder additional valuables:

and as some left after looting, others came back multiple times [...] when there was nothing left to take or plunder [...] they mercilessly beat them with knouts, then pierced their hands and legs with lances and struck them with bare sabres. They chased people and reached for their pistols, intending to shoot at the priests and even at the official himself.

Additionally, they took the horses from the stables. They plundered the parish farmstead, stripped the servants of their last garments, and committed further acts of violence.

Later, Lieutenant Colonel Alexei Yelchaninov demanded to be served food and drink at the residence of the parish priest and the Biecz official. From what had not already been taken, fish and meat were prepared for him, along with wine. The official complained to Yelchaninov about the atrocities that had taken place earlier. In response, the Russian officer pointed to a portrait of Bishop Kajetan Sołtyk of Kraków and said, "Complain to him." Then he added:

[...] forgive us, for it is our custom that where there is battle, there is also plunder.



Fragment of the Chronicle of the Franciscan Reformed Monastery in Biecz

Looting and acts of violence also took place within the town itself. The Hospital Church of the Holy Spirit was plundered. All silverware and sacred vessels were broken and taken. The altars were desecrated. Deposits stored in the church were also stolen. In the hospital adjacent to the church, Russian soldiers committed robberies and assaults against the patients.

The invaders also looted the Church of Saint Peter outside the town. In the suburbs, they committed brutal crimes, torturing the residents¹⁹ to force them to hand over valuables and wine.

Within the town, they plundered the town hall. Some municipal and district records were taken, some were destroyed and used as wadding for muskets, while others were sold.

According to the author of the account:

¹⁹ At this point, I will refrain from providing details of the crimes committed by Russian soldiers and Cossacks in the town and its suburbs due to their brutality.

There is no crime that the lawless command of Ilychanin (Yelchaninov) did not commit in Biecz.²⁰

In the National Archives in Kraków, a previously unknown and unpublished document, written in Latin, has been preserved, detailing the losses suffered by the Biecz town hall as a result of the Russian looting.

By the higher order of His Imperial and Royal Majesty and the Apostolic See, an inventory was conducted on February 10, 1773, of the armaments, weapons, books, privileges, documents, originals, and many other items “taken by force and violence by Muscovite soldiers.”

The town of Biecz addressed a memorandum to the governor, detailing the immense damage, harm, and devastation caused by the actions of Russian troops under Lieutenant Colonel Ilchanin (referring to Lieutenant Colonel Alexei Yelchaninov).

According to the account, the Russians plundered the town hall, resulting in the loss of municipal books, privileges, and documents. Some books, however, were left behind (primarily court records, which were not bound in more expensive covers), while many others were destroyed.²¹

The town also lost a silk banner, blue in colour with an embroidered border (featuring the White Eagle and the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary on one side, and Saints Peter and Paul—patrons of the town—on the other); two silver municipal seals valued at over 50 florins; a crucifix worth at least 60 florins; another crucifix with a pedestal valued at over 2 zloty; two iron cauldrons (one from the furnace, the other from the town hall tower); three large locks from the town hall doors; five bolts; ten counterweights with hooks from the doors, as well as numerous other items, including municipal registers, which were “mostly taken, while others were destroyed.” Additionally,

²⁰ *Kronika klasztoru Franciszkanów-Reformatów w Bieczu (1624–1944)*, pp. 127–128v. See also *Relacje o gwałtach rosyjskich w Bieczu* (ed. Janusz Maciejewski and Magdalena Rudkowska); *Postępek niegodziwy wojska rosyjskiego w Bieczu wykonany die 5 Aprilis 1770 anno; Postępek szkaradny przez wojsko moskiewskie w mieście grodowym Bieczu die 5 kwietnia 1770 wykonany, a przez tego, który na to patrzył, opisany*, in: *Literatura Konfederacji Barskiej. Vol. 4: Silva Rerum*, ed. Janusz Maciejewski, Agnieszka Bąbel, Agata Grabowska-Kuniczuk, Jacek Wójcicki, Warszawa 2008, pp. 77–79.

²¹ To this day, only fragments of the town books from 1598–1674 have survived, as well as municipal books from 1532–1556 (partially destroyed) and 1612–1693. The rest have most likely been irretrievably lost.

all the windows in the town hall were smashed. The document was drawn up and signed on behalf of Commissioner Ignacy Jakubowski by his deputy, Jan Noworolecki. Also mentioned in the act were Jan Bochniewicz,²² the judicial mayor, and municipal councillors Józef Chmielowski and Maciej Zagrodzki.²³

After plundering Biecz, the Russian troops set off toward Gorlice on April 6 at 4 a.m., reaching the town by 9 a.m. However, neither there nor in nearby Kobylanka did they find any Confederates. Just as in Biecz, the Russians committed numerous acts of looting and violence.²⁴

On the same day that Regiment Commander Kirkor engaged in a battle, Kazimierz Pułaski set out toward Gorlice. Upon encountering a detachment of Drewicz's troops commanded by Paliwanov, the Polish forces ultimately won the skirmish, killing several Russian soldiers.²⁵ The Confederates then withdrew to their camp in Izby.²⁶

Several months later, the Gorlice region once again became a battlefield. In the “Report on Military Operations Between the Confederates and the Muscovites, July 16, 1770,” a description survives of Russian movements toward the Confederate camp in Izby. Ultimately, the Russian forces split into three groups: one heading toward Lwów, another to Przemyśl, and the last toward Gorlice. There, a Confederate unit under the command of Drozd launched an attack:

striking first at a Russian patrol of 20 men, they killed several, while others fled, warning the Russians that the Confederates intended to attack Gorlice and were undoubtedly threatening to burn the town down in the process.

The most significant military event of this period was the Battle of Wysowa. Drewicz observed the area around the Confederates' camp and realized

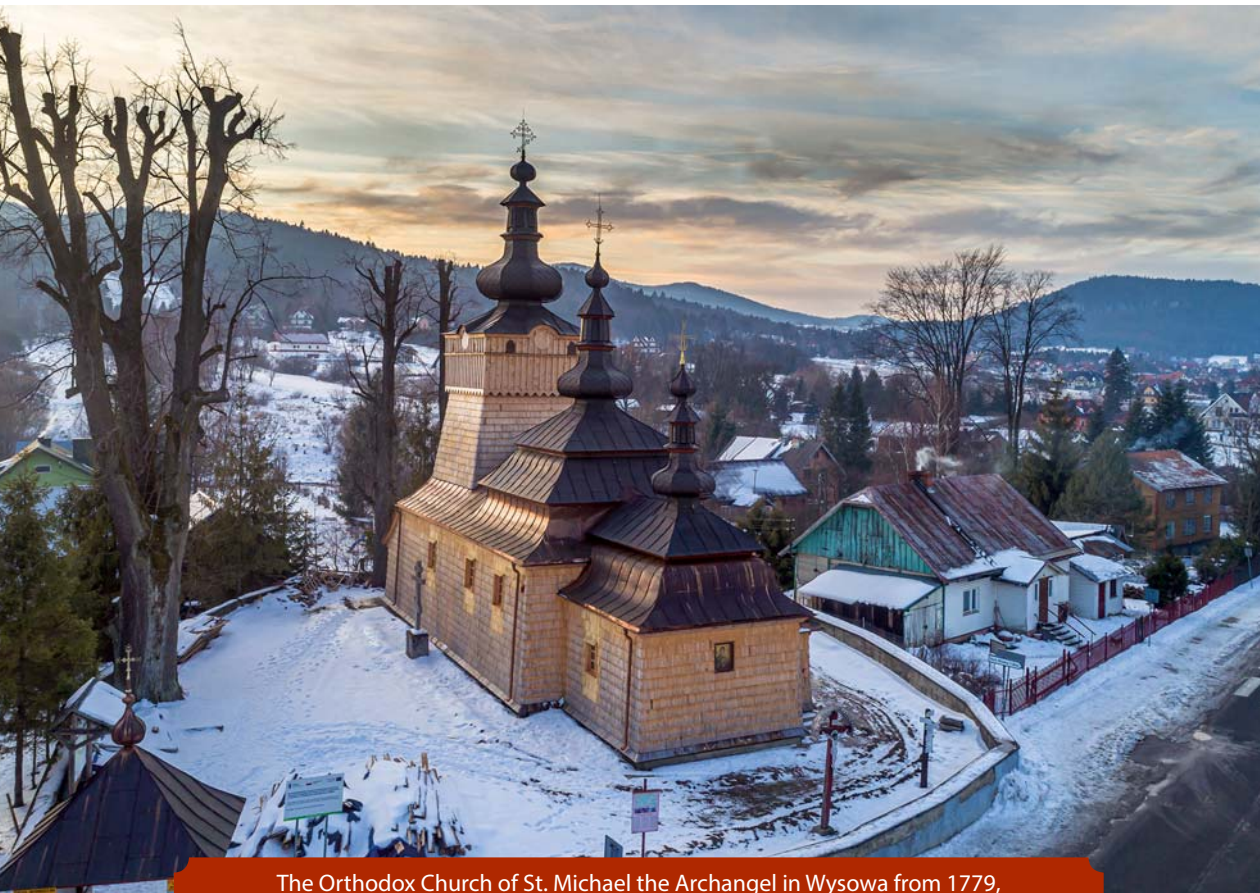
²² Jan Bochniewicz was mentioned in Biecz (in 1750) as the town scribe, and Maciej Zagrodzki was the master of the Krakowers' Guild in 1753 – see in: M. Gadocha, *Urzędnicy miejscy Biecza do roku 1772*, Białystok 2020, pp. 191, 196.

²³ National Archives in Krakow, Loose Paper Documents and Copies of Documents on the History of Biecz, 29/101/0/6/37, doc. 9. This description also includes the items taken by the imperial troops, which were: larger cannons (hand guns and swivel guns) that were located on the town walls, as well as two hand cannons, which were confiscated by Captain Don Sanches dela Certa (in mid-September 1772).

²⁴ M. Śliwa, *Konfederacja Barska na Podkarpaciu*, Kraków 2022, p. 227.

²⁵ W. Konopczyński, *Materiały do wojny konfederackiej*, Kraków 1931, p. 8.

²⁶ M. Śliwa, *Konfederacja Barska na Podkarpaciu*, Kraków 2022, p. 227.



The Orthodox Church of St. Michael the Archangel in Wysowa from 1779,
photo by Piter329c, CC BY -SA 4.0

that it would not be easy to defeat them. Additionally, in the case of failure, the Poles could safely retreat southward across the border into the Austrian Empire.²⁷ Władysław Konopczyński thoroughly described the Russian plan, which allowed the Austrian corps to retreat 3,000 steps from the border (most likely, the commander of the border corps had been bribed by Drewicz).²⁸ The first skirmishes occurred during the night of August 3-4, 1770. The decisive battle, following preparations for the assault, took place at 10:00 a.m. on August 4. Russian grenadiers attacked first, followed by the Cossacks, but the

²⁷ M. Śliwa, *Konfederacja barska od Spiszu po Bieszczady*, Kraków 2019, pp. 103 and following.

²⁸ W. Konopczyński, *Materiały do wojny konfederackiej*, Kraków 1931, p. 47 and following.



Roman Catholic Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Wysowa-Zdrój,
photo by Wiesław Masztalerz

Confederates managed to repel the attacks on the redoubt. Then, Drewicz threw all forces into a frontal attack, splitting them into two parts—the cavalry attacked from the border, forcing Pułaski's forces to divide as well. The longer the battle lasted, the more the Polish defenders' ammunition dwindled. As a result, some began to retreat toward the border, heading for the village, where they were met by the local People's Guard, consisting of Hungarian peasants, which had been formed by the Austrians several weeks earlier. The wounded Confederates were killed by the peasants, and the rest were beaten and disarmed. Austrians also joined in and disarmed the Confederates.²⁹ The battle was won by the Russians due to a ruse, and on August 5, Drewicz and Pułaski met, resulting in a prisoner exchange. The Austrians returned the Confederates' weapons and allowed them to return to Poland across the border. Michał Śliwa calculated that 258 attackers and 30 Confederates³⁰ were killed. Drewicz ordered the camp in Wysowa to be levelled to the ground, and the buildings in the village were set on fire.

The actions around the Confederates' camp near Konieczna were on a slightly smaller scale. The fighting began on August 2 with Szachowski's attack on the Poles. When news of Pułaski's surrender in Wysowa reached the defenders, a decision was made to evacuate. After entering the camp, Szachowski did not order its destruction, so after the Russians left, the Confederates returned the next day.³¹

August 1770 was a turning point for military actions in the Low Beskids, ending with the defeats of the Confederates, who moved to the camp in Izby.³² The final chapter of military operations in the Low Beskids was the occupation of the camp in Barwinek³³ by the Austrians on May 14, 1772. The Low Beskids still hide many stories related to the Bar Confederation. However, thanks to the research of archeologists and local enthusiasts, the knowledge about these events continues to expand. One of these research initiatives was the *"Faith and Freedom" project—the Bar Confederates' fortifications in the Low Beskids and the Bieszczady Mountains, using non-invasive research methods*. It was carried out by the Hereditas Foundation and funded by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage under the "Protection of Archeological Monuments" operational program. The team was led by Professor

Michał Parczewski. The archeologists managed to examine six fortifications. More information about the project and a detailed description of the camp in Wysowa can be found in Michał Filipowicz's article.³⁴

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³⁰ M. Śliwa, *Konfederacja barska od Spiszu po Bieszczady*, Kraków 2019, p. 107.

³¹ See more in: W. Konopczyński, *Kazimierz Pułaski*, Kraków 1931, p. 150 and following.

³² M. Śliwa, *Konfederacja barska od Spiszu po Bieszczady*, Kraków 2019, p. 108.

³³ M. Śliwa, *Konfederacja barska na Podkarpaciu*, Kraków 2022, p. 227.

³⁴ M. Filipowicz, *Karpackie fortyfikacje Konfederatów Barskich w świetle najnowszych badań archeologicznych – ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem obozu nad Wysową*, in: *Twierdze osiemnastowiecznej Europy*, ed. Maciej Trąbski, vol. III, Częstochowa 2021, pp. 147–183. See also: M. Śliwa, *Zaginiony obóz konfederatów barskich*, Almanach Muszyny 2007, pp. 95–102.

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Józef and Kazimierz Pułaski – heroes of the Bar Confederation

During the time in which the Pułaskis lived, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was but a shadow of its former self. Its cultural, political, military, and economic strength had been broken in the previous century through wars with the Ottomans, the Cossack uprisings, the Swedish Deluge, and conflicts with the Tsardom of Russia. One must not forget the gradual and systematic erosion of its social fabric due to the disregard for laws, religious conflicts, neighborly discord (including disputes, armed skirmishes, and prolonged lawsuits), susceptibility to bribery, acts of treason, and the involvement of foreign rulers in the defense of private interests within the country. This issue concerned not only the nobility but also the monarchs themselves. Beginning with Augustus II the Strong, each Polish king relied on foreign military forces. The covert and sometimes overt actions of foreign courts intensified, as they sought to exploit, subjugate, or divide the Commonwealth. The historian Władysław Konopczyński succinctly described the state of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during this period:

In the age of absolutism and militarism, there existed a country that was among the largest in the world in terms of territory—second only to Russia—and one of the most populous, with thirteen million inhabitants, following France, Russia, and the Holy Roman Empire. Yet it was more exposed and defenseless than any other sovereign state. It had no natural borders, no treasury, no government, and—most

importantly—no spirit of statehood or military tradition. It looked on with dull fear as its neighbors—the Prussian, the Russian, and the Austrian—trained hundreds of thousands of infantrymen, hussars, carabineers, dragoons, Cossacks, and pandurs, to the accompaniment of hundreds of modern cannons, while it itself had only 24,000 troops on paper, and in reality just a few thousand ceremonial soldiers, with an excess of generals and officers, but no general staff, no officer schools, no well-stocked arsenals or magazines, and no living tradition of warfare [...]. The spirit of the nation could not have sunk lower. The permanent occupation of the western regions by Russian forces during the Seven Years' War, the constant shadow looming over the extended eastern border, the unceasing proximity of undiminished Prussian power—these had so thoroughly sapped the nobility's faith in the possibility of self-defense that they preferred, like ostriches, to bury their heads in the sand rather than face danger and fight for survival. Education is one thing, reforms another, but here the only salvation from total enslavement was to summon one's own courage and resolve. The fate of the state—and indeed, the survival of the nation—depended on such a response.¹

It is worth noting that in this description, the author effectively highlights the tragic dichotomy. On one hand, there is a powerful state in terms of both territory and population, and on the other, there is a state on the verge of collapse, lacking financial resources, an adequate military, and citizens indifferent to the common good. The author also emphasizes the rise of neighboring powers. Both the internal weakness of the state and the expansion of increasingly stronger neighbors led the Commonwealth towards its downfall.

Józef Pułaski – Development of His Legal and Administrative Career

Józef Pułaski was born on February 17, 1704, in Zaremby Ciemne, on the maternal estate of Małgorzata née Zarembo, situated in Nur County, within the boundaries of the Masovian Voivodeship. Józef's father, Jakub Pułaski, was, among other things, a banneret in the cavalry regiment of King John Sobieski and, during the Third Northern War, a supporter of King Stanisław

¹ W. Konopczyński, *Życiorys z 14 ilustracjami*, Kraków 1931, pp. 1–2.

Leszczyński.² He died in the Battle of Kalisz in 1706. Józef's grandfather was Wawrzyniec Pułaski, and his great-grandfather, Adam Pułaski, was the owner of estates in Pułazie-Kostrzy and Śmiejski in the Bielsk land, located in the Podlaskie Voivodeship. The Pułaski family belonged to the Ślepowron coat of arms and resided mainly in Mazovia, Podlasie, and Ruthenia.³ After the death of her husband, Józef's mother remarried two years later to Grzegorz Bogucki and moved with her son to his estate in Zaremby Leśne (now Zaremby – Góry Leśne). Józef was not an only child; two of his brothers died in infancy. In his youth, he undertook an apprenticeship at a notarial office in Nur, carried out under the supervision of members of his stepfather's family: Szymon Bogucki—a land court clerk (*regent ziemski*), and Stanisław Bogucki—a castle court judge (*sędzia grodzki*) and deputy starosta of Nur (*podstarości nurski*). Józef proved to be a capable student, and his guardians placed their trust in him at an early stage. As early as 1719, he was sent several times as a sub-delegate (a lower-ranking representative) to the meetings of the Crown Tribunal in Piotrków. Between 1722 and 1724, he obtained the title of the deputy burgrave of Nur. This office was responsible for ensuring the safety and order of the assigned area. By 1724, he was already handling matters independently. His clients were mostly residents of the Nur land, as well as people from the Vilnius Voivodeship. At the turn of 1724/1725, he was promoted to the position of land commissioner of the Wieluń land.

In Piotrków Trybunalski, together with Szymon Zarembo and Jakub Zarembo, relatives on his mother's side, he formed a partnership that today we might call a law firm. Over time, he became a sought-after and popular lawyer. He handled cases for, among others, Hetman Jan Klemens Branicki, the Voivode of Vilnius Ludwik Konstanty Pociej, the Starost of Olsztyn Franciszek Lubomirski, members of the Radziwiłł family, and in particular

² W. Szczygielski, „Biogram Józefa Pułaskiego”, in: *Internetowy Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, <https://www.ipsb.nina.gov.pl/a/biografia/jozef-pulaski-h-slepowron-1704-1769-starosta-warecki-posel#text> [accessed 13.10.2023].

³ “It was a petty noble family, thoroughly Crown-born, Catholic, and settled in the Bielsk Land of Podlasie. Setting aside the noble Franciszek, Starosta of Radenice, who under Augustus the Strong compiled for himself a ‘Brief Annotation of Sejms, Wars, and Other Important Contemporary Events’, no other men of letters are to be found among the Pułaskis of the Ślepowron coat of arms. There were, however, plenty of pancerni and hussar comrades-in-arms, knights from Khotyn and Vienna, as well as farmers and social activists.” This is how W. Konopczyński wrote about the Pułaski family in *Życiorys Kazimierza Pułaskiego...*, p. 2.

became closely associated with the Czartoryski family.⁴ Józef Pułaski was an enterprising man; he earned a lot, and in addition to monetary compensation, he received fees in the form of landed estates. With his income, he purchased more land, increasing his wealth. In March of 1732, he purchased the Warka starosty on the Pilica River from Adam Koss, the castellan of Chełmno. He grew deeply attached to this land and henceforth frequently and willingly used the title of Starost of Warka. In the following years, he acquired additional starosties and gradually expanded his landed estates in the region of Podolia.

The Political Situation of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth during the Reign of Augustus II the Strong

Three decades of Józef Pułaski's life coincided with the reign of the German monarch Augustus II the Strong over the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. Simultaneously, under the name Frederick Augustus I, he held the title of Elector of Saxony. In the year 1700, this ruler, in alliance with the Tsar of Russia, Peter I, and the King of Denmark and Norway, Frederick IV, initiated the Great Northern War against the Kingdom of Sweden—a conflict that would span the first two decades of the 18th century. Despite the triple offensive, the Swedish King Charles XII swiftly recovered and began achieving military successes. Among other actions, he attacked the Danish island of Zealand, where the Danish capital, Copenhagen, is situated, compelling Frederick IV to sign a peace treaty. At Narva, Charles XII defeated the Russian forces, and at Riga, he overcame the Saxons. Between 1702 and 1703, he managed to capture, among others, Vilnius, Warsaw, Kraków, Poznań, and Toruń. Having brought a significant portion of the Commonwealth under his control, Charles demanded the abdication of Augustus II—an act the latter consented to only in 1706. With the support of a faction of the Polish nobility, which had formed the Warsaw Confederation, Charles XII installed Stanisław Leszczyński on the throne during the election diet in July 1704. The following year, he became the driving force behind the signing of a treaty that rendered the Commonwealth an ally of Sweden.

Under this agreement, Sweden secured numerous privileges, including the right to station its troops on Commonwealth territory, the right of passage through it, and a guarantee that the Polish–Lithuanian state would not enter into any alliance directed against Sweden. At the same time, in defense

⁴ W. Szczygielski, „Biogram Józefa Pułaskiego...”, [accessed 13.10.2023].



August II the Strong, King of Poland
(1697–1706 [abdicated], 1709–1733),
painting by Louis de Silvestre, after 1718,
National Museum in Poznań



Stanisław Leszczyński, King of Poland
(1704–1709, 1733–1736),
painting by Jean Baptiste van Loo, 1727–
1728, Palace of Versailles, Museum of the
History of France

of Augustus II's rights to the throne, the Sandomierz Confederation was formed, whose members aligned themselves with Russia. Following the defeat of Swedish forces by the Russians at the Battle of Poltava in 1709, and with the support of Tsar Peter I, King Augustus II was restored to the throne of the Commonwealth. That same year, in October 1709, he concluded a treaty with the Tsar in the city of Toruń, by which the Russian ruler guaranteed Augustus II military assistance in retaining the Polish crown. However, Augustus II sought to lessen his dependence on the Tsar and introduced Saxon troops into the territories of the Commonwealth to maintain order in the event of rebellion. He also aimed to strengthen royal authority at the expense of the nobility. The presence of Saxon forces—who, among other things, imposed contributions upon the Polish population—provoked widespread dissatisfaction, as did the king's absolutist ambitions. In response, a portion of the nobility formed the Tarnogród Confederation in 1716, declaring themselves in defense of noble liberties. During this two-year conflict, Saxon troops attempted to suppress the confederates, who, in turn, appealed to Tsar Peter I for intervention. The Tsar mediated between the parties and facilitated an

Entry of King Augustus III into Warsaw in 1734, by Gerard Rüger, Johann Samuel Mock, Dresden State Art Collection



agreement, which was ratified by the so-called “Silent Sejm” of 1717—a one-day session during which no debates were held. According to the terms of the settlement, Saxon troops were to withdraw from the lands of the Commonwealth, and Saxon officials were forbidden from interfering in the internal affairs of the Polish state.

Tsar Peter I, together with King Frederick William of Prussia, engaged in negotiations that included discussions on subordinating the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. These intentions were formally expressed in a bilateral alliance signed in Potsdam in 1720. Both monarchs pledged to oversee a state of affairs within the Polish realm that would enable them to preserve or impose conditions aligned with their respective interests. A fragment of the Potsdam Declaration of 1720 reads as follows:

His Royal Majesty [hereafter: HRM] of Prussia and His Imperial All-Russian Majesty [hereafter: HIARM] [...] have mutually agreed and resolved to maintain good understanding and to extend their friendship [...]. 2. Both sovereigns, now and in the future, shall ensure that the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth preserves its liberties, customs, constitutions, laws, and privileges in an inviolate state. Should the royal court display any hostile intentions in this regard, or attempt to persuade the Commonwealth to join the alliance concluded in Vienna between the Emperor, the King of Great Britain, and the King of Poland, or seek to gradually establish sovereign and absolute power within Poland, then HRM of Prussia and HIARM shall oppose such endeavors not only with counsel and action, but shall lend strong support to the Commonwealth in order to prevent such developments and to preserve the existing order. In particular, it must not be permitted that the Saxon prince be elevated to the Polish throne, whether during the king’s lifetime or after his death. Against such an outcome, HRM of Prussia and HIARM resolve to exert all possible efforts and apply every available means of pressure. Both monarchs shall, in matters concerning Poland, maintain mutual communication and undertake joint measures suited to the circumstances. 3. HRM of Prussia and HIARM pledge to one another [...] an even closer alliance.⁵

The parties to the agreement were, as circumstances permitted, free to make decisions to their own advantage—a fact which may be regarded as

⁵ U. Kosińska, Rosyjsko-pruska deklaracja poczdamska z 1720 roku, trans. Urszula Kosińska, *Mówią wieki* 3/2020, p. 21. Excerpt from the Potsdam Declaration of February 1720. [Source: printed in F. Martens, *Sobranije traktatov i kenvencii zaključennyh Rosiū*, vol. 5, pp. 197–200; *Preußens Staatsverträge aus der Regierung der König Friedrich Wilhelms I*, Löwe Victor, Leipzig 1913, pp. 244–246].

politically natural. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the heads of foreign states considered it entirely proper to interfere in the internal order of a country over which they held no jurisdiction, and furthermore, they framed such interference as a noble act—allegedly undertaken for the benefit of the said state. The context in which the agreement was concluded reveals that Russia sought to prevent the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth from entering into an alliance with England, Austria, and Saxony—an alliance that would have been directed against Russian interests, namely through the ratification of the Treaty of Vienna in 1719. To thwart this outcome, the Prussians and Russians resorted to bribing Polish envoys, who then disrupted the session of the 1719 Sejm at which the treaty was to be approved. On the Polish side, there existed a deeper issue, the far-reaching consequences of which were not fully grasped by some of the Commonwealth’s contemporaries. Treason in favor of foreign powers, and the practice of certain groups of Polish citizens appealing to foreign rulers against other domestic factions, set dangerous precedents—paving the way for continued external interventions in the affairs of the Commonwealth. The Potsdam Agreement would be repeated in various forms throughout the years 1726, 1729, 1730, 1740, 1743, and 1764.⁶ Of particular significance for the future fate of the Commonwealth was the Löwenwolde Treaty, signed on September 13, 1732, in Vienna between Austria and Russia, and later joined by Prussia. Known also as the Treaty of the Three Black Eagles, it established a coalition of powers that, four decades later, would carry out the First Partition of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Józef Pułaski’s Service to the Homeland

In 1733, following the death of King Augustus II, Józef Pułaski, serving as a deputy representing the Czersk Land at the coronation sejm, supported the candidacy of Stanisław Leszczyński. The supporters of Augustus III, the son of the late monarch, proclaimed him king a month later. The Saxon efforts to claim the Polish throne were backed by the presence of Russian troops dispatched by Empress Anna Ivanovna. As a result of this dual election, a conflict ensued between the opposing factions—now known as the War of the Polish Succession—which drew in several European powers. King Stanisław Leszczyński called for the formation of a confederation in defense of his reign, which was established in November at Dzików near Tarnobrzeg. Józef Pułaski became one of its members. Confronted by the superior military force of Augustus III and his allies, Stanisław Leszczyński eventually recognized the

⁶ Ibidem, p. 22.



Portrait of Józef Pułaski, by an unknown 18th-century artist, from a family collection; reproduced in W. Konopczyński's book, Kraków, 1931

futility of retaining the crown. He left Poland and settled in Lorraine, where he ruled as its last duke until 1766. Over time, his supporters acknowledged the authority of Augustus III.

Although engaged in legal practice, Józef Pułaski did not neglect his military obligations and training. He served as a *towarzysz pancerny* (armored

companion) in the royal hussar banner. While he came from a family steeped in traditions of military service to the Fatherland, he had little opportunity to take part in armed conflicts. It was not until the Bar Confederation that, as a man over sixty years of age, he took command of an armed force and participated in several skirmishes.

Pułaski also held the office of deputy at various levels. In regional assemblies (*sejmiki*) and national parliaments (*sejmy*), he advocated for enabling the *średnia szlachta* (middle nobility) to access higher civil and military offices. At the same time, he was committed to expanding the size of the army, reforming the royal treasury, restructuring the judiciary, and establishing a council of resident officials to advise the king. With the support of the Czartoryski family, in 1752 he was granted the titles of *pisarz skarbowy* (treasury clerk) and *pisarz nadworny* (court clerk).

In 1738, Józef Pułaski experienced significant changes in his personal life. On October 7, he married Marianna Zielińska. The couple had four sons: Franciszek Ksawery, Kazimierz, Antoni (and probably Maciej), as well as five or six daughters. Their second son, Kazimierz, would go on to play a particularly notable role in the history of Poland. He was born on March 6, 1745, in Warsaw, in the family manor located near the present-day intersection of Nowy Świat and Warecka Streets. His condition at birth was so precarious that his devout parents, fearing for his life, had him baptized on the same day. However, the child survived, and the formal completion of his baptismal ceremony took place on March 14, 1745, in the Church of the Holy Cross in Warsaw. Among those in attendance were distinguished guests: Stanisław Poniatowski and Princess Konstancja Czartoryska—the parents of the future King Stanisław August Poniatowski—Prince August Aleksander Czartoryski and his wife Maria Zofia Sieniawska, as well as Prince Fryderyk Michał Czartoryski and his wife Eleonora Waldstein.⁷

Kazimierz Pułaski spent his childhood in Winiary, now part of the town of Warka. According to Władysław Konopczyński, he was educated at a local parish school, although this claim is not confirmed by Wacław Szczygielski. Upon reaching school age, Kazimierz was enrolled at a school run by the Theatine Order, a congregation established in Italy in the 16th century and introduced to Poland in the following century. In 1737, the order founded a noble school in Warsaw. Among its alumni was the future king, Stanisław August Poniatowski. The school's curriculum included subjects such as

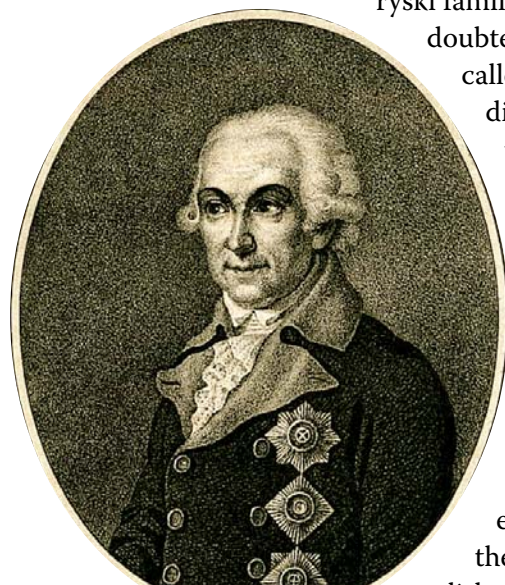
⁷ S. Makarewicz, *Cztery metryki Kazimierza Pułaskiego* [in:] *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne*, no. 8/1998, p. 242.

mathematics, rhetoric, ethics, the history of fine arts, and foreign languages—French, Italian, and German. Whether Pułaski completed the full course of study remains unclear. For unknown reasons, he entered the court of the Duke of Courland and Semigallia, Karol Krystian, son of Augustus III of Saxony—though this information is contested. It was there that he first encountered the consequences of Empress Catherine II's imperial ambitions. Courland and Semigallia were Polish fiefs. The Empress intended to restore Ernst Johann Biron to the ducal throne, which should be seen as an effort to bring these territories under her control. To this end, she dispatched troops that besieged Mitau (modern-day Jelgava, Latvia) in February 1763. Due to Augustus III's lack of response, Karol Krystian surrendered the city and left for Dresden. Meanwhile, Kazimierz returned to Warsaw. It is not known whether he resumed his schooling; he may have assisted his father in various ways or focused on honing his military skills.

In 1764, Józef Pułaski, together with his sons Kazimierz, Franciszek Ksawery, and Antoni, attended the election of Stanisław August Poniatowski. The sight of Russian troops, invited by the *Familia* faction to support their candidate's election, must have been deeply disheartening. The nobility chose the king, and the Pułaski family cast their votes in his favor, despite the fact that in 1754, Józef Pułaski had left the *Familia*—his former patrons, the Czartoryski family. The main reason for this rupture was undoubtedly the Czartoryskis' involvement in the so-

called *Kolbuszowa transaction*, a controversial division of the Ostrogski family entailed estate carried out by Janusz Sanguszko. Pułaski considered it illegal and harmful to the country. How, then, can we explain Pułaski's support for the Czartoryski-backed monarch? Władysław Konopczyński called it opportunism. It might also be explained by the sentiment Józef Pułaski held for the king's father, Stanisław Poniatowski.

At the convocation diet preceding the election of Stanisław August Poniatowski, the Crown Military Commission was established to develop the Polish army, as well as the Treasury Commission for the Crown and Lithuania, which was the realization of long-standing



Prince Nikolai Repnin,
lithograph by Paweł Ivanov

efforts, including those of Józef Pułaski. In the first years of Stanisław August Poniatowski's reign, the king became involved in the reform of the state and the implementation of the resolutions of the convocation diet. In 1765, the king founded the Knights' School, which aimed to prepare the noble youth for military service and the performance of civil public duties. The model was to be a citizen who:

Should have love, fear of God, and attachment to Religion before his eyes, should love his Homeland and its good above all else, and prepare himself to devote himself to its service; should be virtuous, full of respect for superiors, beneficence and affection for peers, and regard for inferiors.⁸

In 1766, a monetary reform was carried out, introducing new currency and regulations concerning its minting. Foreign coins were withdrawn from circulation and were to be purchased at designated exchange offices. The issue of the minting standard was also regulated. The Cologne mark (233.856 g) was established as the unit of weight. The reform also encompassed the system of weights and measures, as well as the functioning of the postal service.

At the king's initiative, the journal *Monitor* was created, modeled on the English *The Spectator*, whose aim was not only to publish brief news but also to present opinions on various fields. The journal also criticized the vices of the nobility. It was published from 1765 to 1786.

However, the king's reforms caused unrest among some of the nobility in the country and at the court of Empress Catherine II. She, in turn, intensified her actions to weaken and subordinate the Commonwealth. Professor Andrzej Nowak described the situation as follows:

However, in 1766, after less than two years of rule, [King Stanisław A. Poniatowski, note by M.J.] had no illusions. His enthusiasm was broken by Catherine's brief "no"—a categorical opposition to any plans for reforms that would genuinely strengthen the Commonwealth. This was reminded by the ambassador sent specially by Catherine, the aforementioned Nikolai Repnin. He was, of course, far more cultured than today's representatives of Moscow, but he specialized in what we still know today—the same art of humiliation. In this case, the theoretically

⁸ A. Czartoryski, *Prawidła moralne dla Szkoły Rycerskiej, przez ś.p. Xięcia Adama Czartoryskiego, byłego teyże szkoły kommandanta w 1774 r. ułożone*, Warszawa 1824.

sovereign king of a neighboring state and all of his subjects were being humiliated. The tool for this humiliation was the attempt to impose a law on religious tolerance on the Commonwealth, which, of course, was not present in any other European country. In England, Catholics were persecuted, similarly in Prussia under the great “philosopher-king,” and certainly, there was no question of the slightest religious tolerance within the Russian Empire. Of course, Repnin wanted to break any reforms in this way, to humiliate the Commonwealth so that its parliament would agree to the humiliation of the Catholic religion, which was most strongly associated with Poland’s political and cultural identity. However, Repnin realized that the Polish parliament would not approve this, and the uproar in public opinion in the Commonwealth could have disastrous consequences for his plans. Not wanting to risk the failure of his plans, Repnin, together with Catherine, devised a trick: it would not be the parliament that would decide this, but a selected parliamentary delegation. A dozen people would be chosen, whom they would either intimidate or bribe, and they would vote for what was necessary.⁹

In 1766, at the Sejm, Nikolai Repnin attempted to introduce a project granting political rights to non-Catholic nobility. Opposing Repnin were supporters of Bishop Kajetan Sołtyk and Bishop Adam Stanisław Krasiński, who sought to prevent this initiative. It is significant that the emissary of Empress Catherine II held considerable influence at the Sejm, attempting to push through his own projects and, at times, even threatening the delegates. Russian intrigues grew in strength. The failure to meet the demands of Empress Catherine II at the 1766 Sejm, specifically concerning the recognition of the rights of dissidents, led to the establishment of two confederations in 1767 under Russian influence, both in defense of Protestant and Orthodox rights. The first was formed in Toruń by Protestant nobility, and the second in Słuck by Orthodox and Calvinist nobility. In response, a third confederation, the Catholic confederation, was established in Radom, also with Russian backing. The goal of its supporters was to prevent the equal rights of non-Catholics and to preserve the traditional privileges of the nobility. Józef Pułaski, as a representative of Podlasie, became a member of the Radom Confederation. On August 14, 1767, during a General Assembly of the confederation in Warsaw at the Royal Castle, Nikolai Repnin demanded that

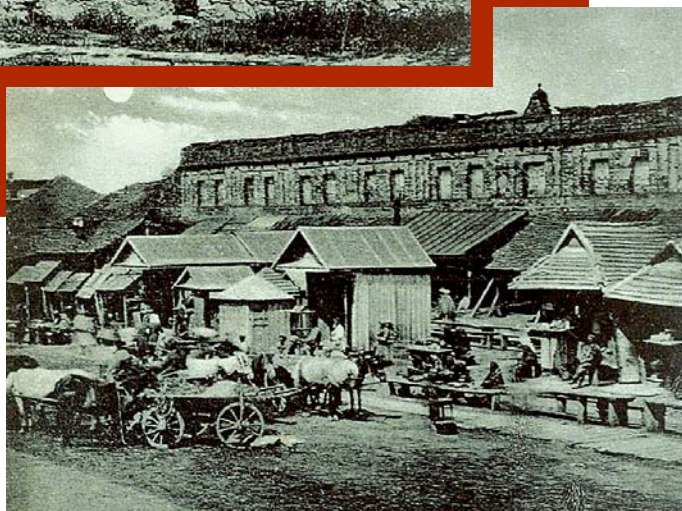
⁹ A. Nowak, *Zmaganie konfederatów o godność Rzeczypospolitej*, in: *Konfederacja barska (1768–1772). Tło i dziedzictwo*, [ed. M. Jabłoński], Kraków 2018.



Portrait of Michał Krasiński, Marshal of the Bar Confederation, painting by Antoni Brodowski, between 1828–1830, National Museum in Warsaw



Ruins of the Castle
in Bar, Photo by
Michał Greim



a letter be signed to the dissidents and that a delegation of theirs be invited to the discussions. Józef Pułaski responded negatively, which led to Repnin insulting him, and possibly planning his abduction at that moment. In September 1767, at a meeting attended by Józef Pułaski at Bishop Kajetan Sołtyk's residence, plans for an armed uprising began to emerge.¹⁰

In October 1767, the Sejm, which would later be known as the "Repnin Sejm," began its proceedings, lasting until 1768. During this period, Bishop Kajetan Sołtyk, Bishop Józef Andrzej Załuski, Field Hetman Wacław Rzewuski, and his son Seweryn Rzewuski were abducted and taken to Russia. The terrorized Sejm passed the equal rights of dissidents and the cardinal laws for the nobility. The most humiliating aspect for the Commonwealth was the fact that Empress Catherine II became the guarantor of these rights. The power of

¹⁰ W. Szczygalski, *Biogram Józefa Pułaskiego...* [accessed 13.10.2023].

King Stanisław August Poniatowski was effectively rendered powerless and ridiculed, and the Commonwealth became a de facto protectorate of Russia.

Pułaskis at the Center of Events – The Beginning of the Bar Confederation

After the arrest of Polish parliamentarians and their transportation to Russia, the idea of a military defense of the rights and dignity of the Commonwealth matured. Józef Pułaski was an advocate for a very swift response. He secured high loans against part of his land holdings and, together with Michał Hieronim Krasiński, left Warsaw just before Christmas. At the beginning of January 1768, he arrived at Dunajów near Lviv, at the residence of Archbishop Wacław Hieronim Sierakowski, before whom he took an oath. A few days later, he moved to Kukizów, located northeast of Lviv, to the residence of Anna Paulina Jabłonowska, née Sapieha. This place can be considered the first headquarters of the Bar Confederation. There, they finalized documents such as the acts of the confederation and the military alliance, as well as a manifesto to the nation.¹¹ In Kukizów, Pułaski, through emissaries, collected material resources and swore in the banners. He likely left Anna Jabłonowska's estate on January 22, 1768, and headed to Podolia, to his estates in Kalityńce (now in the Horodok District, Khmelnytskyi Oblast, Ukraine), where he continued his mobilization efforts. Józef Pułaski's sons also arrived, and together with their father, they recruited volunteers for the fight in the region of Podolia. Bishop Adam Krasiński of Kamieniec also began to use his political influence in favor of the confederation.

The birthplace of the Confederation and the site where the first military units gathered was Bar, a town in Podolia. It is now located in the Vinnytsia Oblast of Ukraine. Originally, the town was called Rów (after the river on which it is situated), but Queen Bona changed the name to commemorate her hereditary duchy of Bari. The first fortress was built here in the 14th century by the Lithuanian family of Koriatowicz, who ruled Bar until 1430. The town served as a base for military operations against the Tatars, but it was also attacked and destroyed by them. For instance, in 1453, the then *starosta* (local ruler) Stogniew Rej and his wife were taken captive by the Tatars, who simultaneously destroyed the fortress. After Rej, Bar passed to the Odrowąż family and later to Queen Bona. In the early 17th century, it belonged to the Hetman Stanisław Żółkiewski, and in the 1630s to Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski, who expanded the town. In 1648, Bar first fell into the hands of the Cossacks,

¹¹ Ibidem.

and later the Turks, from whom it was liberated by King Jan III Sobieski. Subsequently, it returned to Turkish control and then remained a part of the Commonwealth until its second partition. In 1759, Antoni Benedykt Lubomirski built a Carmelite monastery in Bar. The monastery was led by Father Marek Jandowicz, a Lviv native, who played a huge spiritual and symbolic role in the history of the Bar Confederation. His character was immortalized by Juliusz Słowacki in 1843 in the play *Ksiądz Marek* ("Father Marek").

At the end of February 1768, the noble troops were summoned to Bar. On the late afternoon of February 28, 1768, Józef Pułaski, accompanied by his closest companions, arrived in the town. On February 29, 1768, a morning mass was held. Michał Hieronim Krasiński also arrived in Bar. After lunch, the confederation was raised in the Bar castle "to improve the situation in Radom, which had been forced and troubled by the Russian military power." Michał Hieronim Krasiński was elected as its marshal. After the proclamation and the election of the marshal and his advisers (referred to as consilia-rii), the participants swore an oath. Then, in his speech, Józef Pułaski denied the validity of the decrees of the Repnin Sejm, enacted under the pressure of



Map of the Ruthenian Lands during the Confederationist Battles of 1768–1769, from W. Konopczyński's *Kazimierz Pułaski. Życiorys*, Kraków, 1931

foreign military forces. He stated that the formation of this confederation, as well as the one in Radom, was necessary as it represented a refusal to violate the liberties and an expression of defense for the faith.

March 4, 1768, was a significant day for Józef Pułaski. He was chosen as the marshal of the military alliance, the chief commander of the confederate forces. After the morning mass, the confederates marched to the field in front of the castle to the sound of drums. Many accounts mention a particular detail: a white eagle circled above the army as they marched to the assembly field, and it did so for such a long time that it was interpreted as a sign of good fortune and ultimate victory. As the banners were raised, Józef Pułaski delivered a speech and then took the oath of loyalty from the gathered nobles. Afterwards, the gathered nobility attended another mass and then a meal. Following the meal, two meetings were held: one civil and one military.

In the following weeks, the Confederates focused on sending emissaries, including to the Sultan, the Crimean Khan, the Pasha (governor and commander) of Chocim, and Hetman Jan Klemens Branicki, as well as to the voivodes, requesting military support. They also sent letters and proclamations calling for people to join the Confederation or to assist in its cause, while continuing to recruit soldiers—an effort in which Józef Pułaski's sons played a significant role.

News of the Confederation's formation reached Warsaw. On March 23, 1768, the Senate Council called on the royal and Russian forces to suppress it. King Stanisław August Poniatowski sent his emissary, Andrzej Mokronowski, to persuade the leaders of the Confederation to dissolve it and have its members disband. However, neither Pułaski nor Krasiński entered into serious negotiations, and Mokronowski's mission failed. At the same time, royal and Russian troops were marching against the Confederates. The first major clash of the Confederates likely took place on March 31, 1768, near Nowokonstantynów, where Wawrzyniec Potocki encountered the Don Cossacks. On April 9, Michał Jaroszyński liberated the city of Winnica from Russian forces. Józef Pułaski then reached Pohrebyszcze, where on April 19, he convinced Ignacy Woronicz, who commanded several hundred banners, to join the Confederation. The following day, on April 20, 1768, near the estate of Pohorele, located south of Starokonstantynów, Kazimierz Pułaski fought his first skirmish with Russian troops. Three days later, he successfully defended Starokonstantynów against Russian attacks. After this defense, he moved to Chmielnik, where he sent out detachments to engage in further skirmishes.

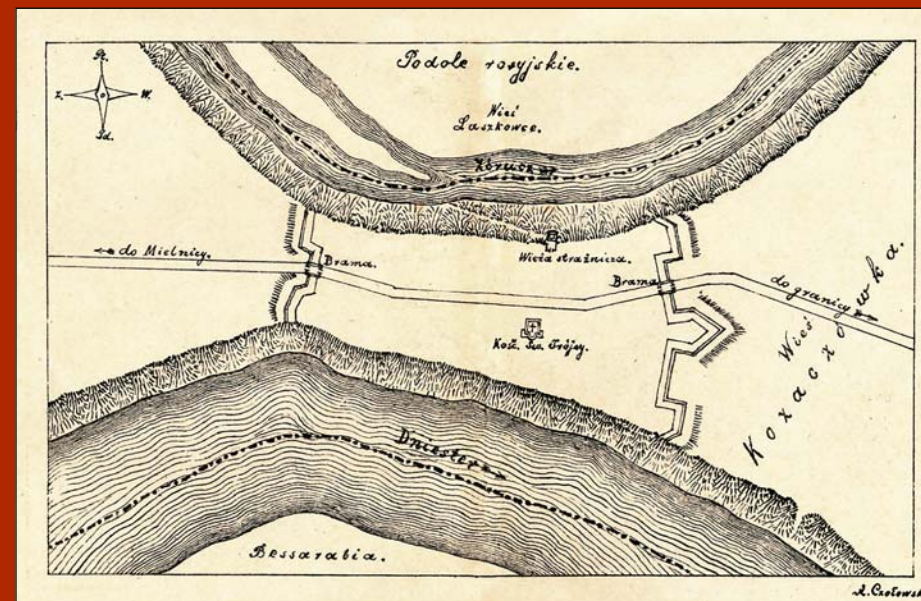
At the beginning of May, Pułaski tried to defend Chmielnik, but was unable to hold it. His brother Antoni and Wawrzyniec Potocki, who rushed to his aid,

suffered a defeat on May 7 near Lepiatyn. Pułaski retreated to Winnica and then to Berdyczów, where he fortified himself within the Carmelite monastery. There, Kazimierz Pułaski prepared for the defense. The Russian commander Kretecznikov's forces, sent to pacify the Confederation, had already engaged in battle. The siege of Berdyczów began. Pułaski held out in the fortress, but by mid-June, he had to surrender. The Russians occupied the town and took Kazimierz Pułaski prisoner, transporting him to Latyczów. Family and friends, including King Stanisław August Poniatowski, interceded with Nikolai Repnin for Pułaski's release. Repnin initially agreed to release Kazimierz, provided he signed a statement condemning the Confederation. However, Repnin soon changed his mind, but before his new decision reached the prison, Kazimierz Pułaski was released and made his way to the Confederation's headquarters in Nielipowiec, near Chocim, located within the Ottoman Empire. Upon his arrival, suspicions arose about his loyalty. People questioned why he had been released. Józef Pułaski faced a serious dilemma. Initially, he considered putting his son on trial for treason, but he changed his mind after consulting with Michał Hieronim Krasiński and Ignacy Potocki. Kazimierz was made to take the oath again, write a letter to Russian commander Kretecznikov explaining his previous actions, and issue a manifesto stating that his signature condemning the Confederation was invalid because it had been given under duress and that he would continue to fight for the Confederation until his death. After these acts of public repentance, his father isolated Kazimierz for several weeks before permitting him to rejoin the military efforts.

In June 1768, both sides of the conflict faced a new challenge: the Ukrainian peasant uprising known as the *koliszczyzna*, directed against Polish and Ukrainian nobles, the Roman and Greek Catholic clergy, and Jews. Some of the nobility had to divert their forces to suppress the uprising, as did the Russian and royal troops. The rebellion lasted until July 1768.

Józef Pułaski's Struggles

In June 1768, the Confederate forces under Józef Pułaski and Michał Krasiński were visited by a French envoy, Pierre de Taulès, sent by King Louis XV. Taulès was highly critical of the state of the Confederation's forces and consequently did not offer any financial assistance from France. It was not until two years later that another envoy from Louis XV, Charles Dumouriez, brought promises of French support. During this period, tensions arose between the marshals. Michał Krasiński accused Józef Pułaski of acting autonomously and even of deliberately hastening the outbreak of the Confederation, which Krasiński believed harmed the cause. After two weeks, further conflict



The Trenches of the Holy Trinity, illustration by Ludwik Finkela *Okopy Świętej Trójcy: dwa epizody z dziejów Polski*, Lwów 1889; public domain

emerged. The marshals were informed of the fall of Bar (which had been captured by royal and Russian forces on June 19). The birthplace of the uprising had fallen into enemy hands. This defeat led to growing suspicions between Michał Krasiński and Joachim Potocki, who began to suspect that Pułaski might have been hired by the royal side to undermine and bring about the downfall of the Confederation. Pułaski, on the other hand, viewed Krasiński as a scoundrel and failure, and Potocki as a careerist trying to take his place. Pułaski confided in Józef Wybicki, who later recounted these events. Krasiński publicly accused Pułaski of treason. A dispute over command of the military ensued between Joachim Potocki and Józef Pułaski. Gradually, Pułaski transferred command of his forces to Potocki, who then resorted to bribing Józef Wawrzyniec Orłowski. Orłowski convinced a portion of the troops, previously under Pułaski's command, to submit to Potocki's authority. After some time, Pułaski called on Potocki's soldiers to return to his command, which was met with positive support from many of them. This conflict led to a back-and-forth of dismissals and counter-dismissals, with each side issuing documents against the other.

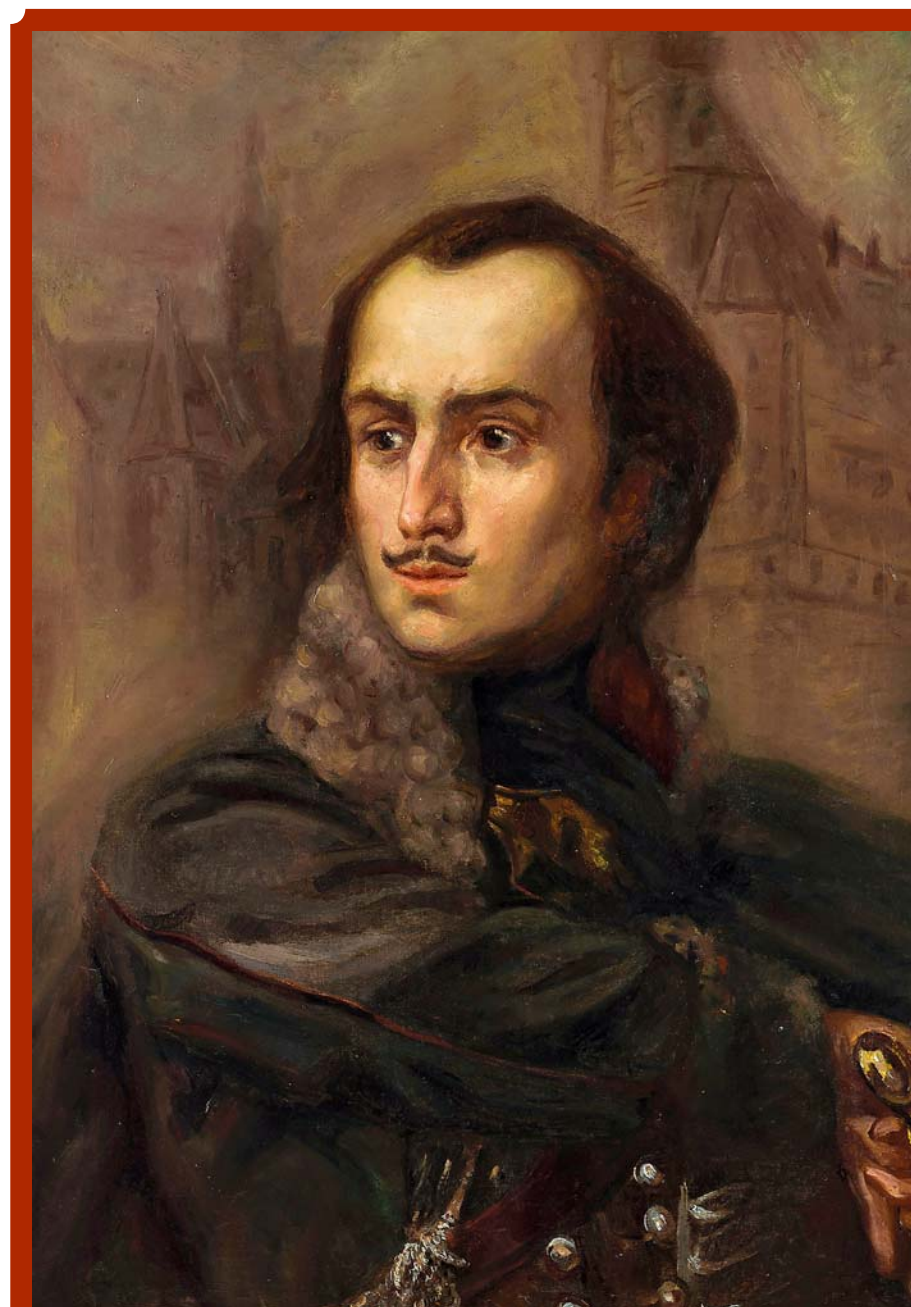
At the beginning of December 1768, in an attempt to avoid further escalation, Pułaski agreed to accept an invitation from Joachim Potocki to meet

at his camp in Dankowice. However, this turned out to be a trap. Upon his arrival, Pułaski was captured and forced to sign an order that would transfer the troops under his command to Potocki. Pułaski's supporters refused to accept this arrangement. On December 12, 1768, the three Pułaski brothers issued a manifesto in defense of their father, directed against Joachim Potocki and Michał Hieronim Krasiński. Throughout this period, Pułaski remained a prisoner. In the final months of his life, Pułaski was confined to Kopanka, near the Dniester River. He fell gravely ill and died on April 20, 1769. His body was initially meant to be buried in Mohylów Podolski, but it was instead laid to rest in the steppe. According to another version, his body was buried in Jassy (present-day Iași, Romania) at the monastery of the Franciscan Order.

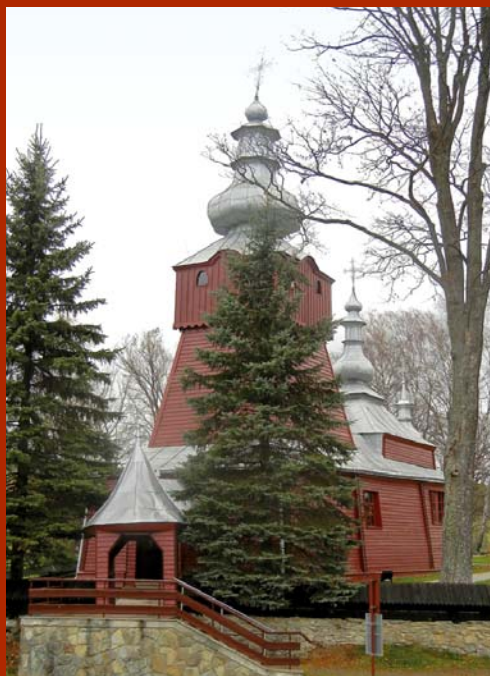
In the meantime, Kazimierz Pułaski worked tirelessly to gather funds, forage, and recruit soldiers to continue the Confederation's struggle. By the end of December 1768, while his father was imprisoned, Kazimierz found himself in Okopy Świętej Trójcy, a fortress built on the orders of King John III Sobieski in 1692, situated at the confluence of the Dniester and Zbruch rivers. The fortress had been designed to counter Turkish military threats. From there, Pułaski sent letters regarding his father's situation while simultaneously engaging in combat with Russian forces. On March 8, 1769, the Russians launched an assault on Okopy Świętej Trójcy, which they successfully captured. However, Kazimierz and his two-hundred-strong detachment managed to escape from the fortress before it was fully taken.

Kazimierz Pułaski's Campaign Outside of Podolia

After the battle for Okopy Świętej Trójcy, Kazimierz Pułaski headed westward into the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, responding to a call from Jerzy Marcin Lubomirski, who was organizing Confederate forces in the Sandomierz and Sanok regions. Pułaski arrived at the Confederate camp in Barwinek, where he participated in skirmishes, issued proclamations, and sought recruits. On April 6, 1769, Pułaski was slightly wounded in a battle between Miejsce Piastowe and Rogi near Krosno. Just two days later, he launched an attack on a Russian camp near Iwla, emerging victorious. Pułaski began working closely with Jerzy Marcin Lubomirski and Adam Parys, and was given the role of regiment commander (a leader of a military group) for the regions of Kraków, Sanok, and Sandomierz. Unfortunately, he had to relinquish this position soon after. This occurred due to Józef Bierzyński, who represented the newly elected Confederation marshals in Muszynka. In a letter sent on May 1, 1769, Pułaski offered his service to the Confederation. He then sent some of his troops back to Jerzy Marcin Lubomirski and



Kazimierz Pułaski, painting by Jan Styka, 1925



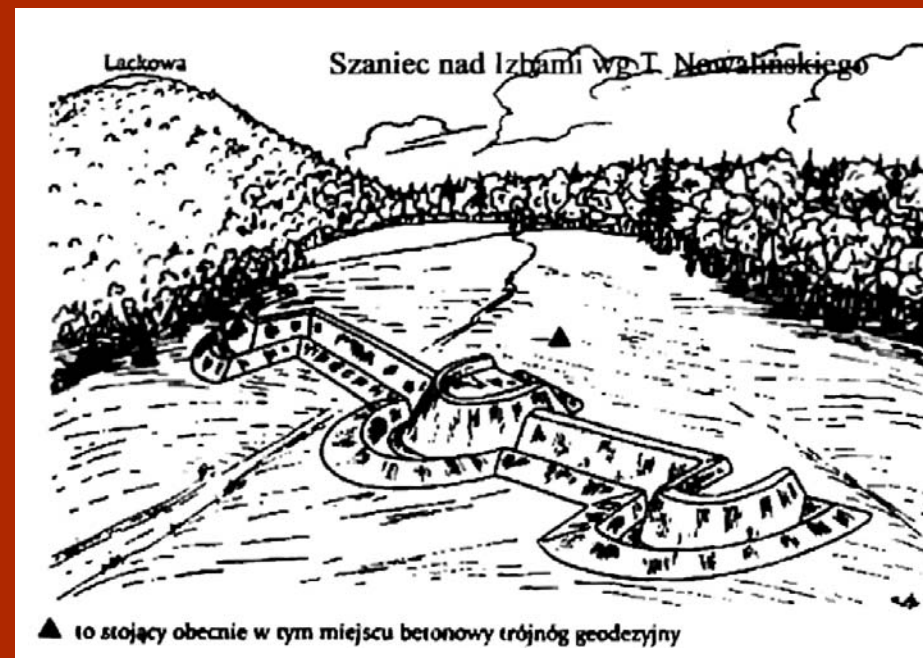
Church of St. John the Evangelist in Muszynka. The church houses a painting of St. Barbara, relocated from the chapel of the Confederates' camp near Muszynka. Photo by Mariusz Jabłoński

continued eastward, where on May 13 he joined forces with his brother, Franciszek Ksawery, near Sambor. Together, they declared the Confederation in the Przemyśl region. In June 1769, the Pułaski brothers began their march towards Lithuania to inspire local uprisings and strengthen Confederate presence. They traveled through Kryłów, Hrubieszów, Chełm, and reached Łomazy, where Kazimierz's brother tragically fell in a battle. After the funeral, Kazimierz proceeded to Brześć Litewski (now Brest in Belarus), then to Grodno, and further to Słonim. From there, he directed his march toward the northwest, heading through Grajewo, Ostrołęka, and Łomża. Along the way, he

fought in several skirmishes, constantly on the move, gaining a growing reputation. His actions were even reported in foreign newspapers. Kazimierz's forces continued to fight valiantly as he moved through the region. After departing from Ostrołęka, he headed to Zamość and later crossed into Hungary. During the autumn and winter of 1769, Pułaski remained active in the Podkarpacie region, circulating between the camps in Grabie and Jaśliska. On January 13, 1770, near the village of Grabie, Kazimierz Pułaski faced an attack by Russian forces led by Ivan Drewicz. Pułaski was forced to abandon his camp.

The Beginnings of the Confederation in the Sącz Region and the Low Beskids

The Bar Confederation broke out in the land of Kraków in June 1768. Its marshal was Michał Czarnocki. The Sącz region, which belonged to this territory, was called to arms in a letter from the Kraków Confederation authorities



Drawing of the redoubt near Izby, from M. Śliwa's article titled *Dzisiejsze ślady po obozie konfederatów barskich koło Izby*

dated June 21, 1768. On June 30, 1768, in Piwniczna, the counties of Sącz and Czchów declared their accession to the Confederation. Their leader became Marcin Leszczyński. Already in early July, Michał Czarnocki summoned him to assist in the defense of Kraków. At the beginning of July, confederate troops began to gather in Nowy Sącz and the surrounding areas. Royal and Russian forces attacked the confederates and dispersed them. A portion of the troops made their way to Kraków, arriving there on July 17, 1768. These units, under the command of Jerzy Marcin Lubomirski, came to the aid of the former capital. Unfortunately, Kraków was occupied by Russian troops a month later, on August 18, 1768.

It was only in early spring of 1769, after mustering their forces, that the confederates established a camp near the Tylicka Pass, above the village of Muszynka. The site was well chosen, notably for its proximity to the Hungarian border. Teodor Wessel played a major role in its organization. From the Muszynka camp, the confederates set out on various expeditions, including the victorious battle near Piwniczna on April 7, 1769. That same month, within the camp, new marshals of the confederation were elected. They were: Joachim

Czerny Schwarzenberg, Tomasz Wilkoński, Rafał Tarnowski, and Ignacy Potocki. They were later joined by Michał Dzierżanowski and Stanisław Morzkowski, marshals of the Gostyń and Wieluń districts respectively—recipients of a letter written by Kazimierz Pułaski on May 1, 1769. These marshals called upon starosts, landowners, village mayors, and headmen to support the confederation through financial and supply contributions, and to send soldiers. Clergy were also asked to provide financial assistance for the maintenance of the confederation. Due to the fact that many individuals, often organized in bands, falsely claimed to be Confederates, the marshals also issued an appeal for such persons to be apprehended and sent to the confederate camp.

On October 31, 1769, in the town of Biała (today part of Bielsko-Biała), the supreme command of the Bar Confederation was established—the so-called General Council of the Confederate Estates of the Bar Confederation (*Generalność*), which remained active until the very end of the movement in 1772.

Kazimierz Pułaski in the Sącz Region and the Low Beskids

In early spring of 1770, Kazimierz Pułaski established one of the larger Bar Confederation camps in the village of Izby (now part of the Uście Gorlickie commune), from where he conducted guerrilla warfare. Fortifications had been constructed there a year earlier, which Pułaski modified to suit his military needs. The modifications included the construction of a sconce—an open fortification with a defensive rampart and trench. The Izby sconce measured 160 meters in length and featured an elevated central bastion, with a defensive trench closing off its rear from the inside. The Izby fortifications were located on a hill known as “Baszta” (The Tower).

At the beginning of April, Pułaski stayed in Gorlice, preparing for the arrival of Russian troops. On April 5, 1770, near the town of Biecz, his forces under the command of Ignacy Kirkor clashed with Russian troops led by Ivan Yelchanovsky, defeating the enemy. Pułaski returned to Izby to allow his soldiers to rest. Five days later, Russian forces entered Gorlice. From Izby, Pułaski dispatched troops under Grabski, who successfully forced the Russians to withdraw. They retreated toward Konieczna, where Józef Miączyński was stationed. A battle took place there on April 12, 1770, in which Pułaski himself led the confederate troops to victory. After the battle, he returned with part of his forces to Izby, while the rest pursued the Russians as far as Rzeszów.

On April 18, 1770, Pułaski moved with his troops to Nowy Sącz, where a concentration of confederate forces was underway in anticipation of the arrival of Ivan Drewicz’s troops. Pułaski left the camp intermittently, overseeing



Monument to Kazimierz Pułaski in Tylicz. Photo by Mariusz Jabłoński

the organization of the area in case of an attack, and searching for Józef Bieryński, who had been accused of treason. On April 22, 1770, Ivan Drewicz arrived in the Podhale region with his army. Upon learning of an engagement between Drewicz’s forces and those of Michał Dzierżanowski and Michał Walewski, Pułaski hurried to assist on April 29, but the aid came too late. Both Polish groups retreated across the border at Sromowce, while Drewicz withdrew to Nowy Targ and then continued toward Kraków.

On May 13, 1770, Pułaski fought a major battle against Russian forces near Dęboryn (close to Pilzno). It was a fierce clash, lasting about seven hours. After the battle, Pułaski returned to Izby, where he was joined by troops of Michał Dzierżanowski coming from Hungary. On June 14, 1770, Pułaski issued an important proclamation to the local population, calling for the arrest of soldiers who were collecting funds without permission, as well as civilians moving about without authorization from the confederate authorities. In cases involving a greater number of such individuals, Pułaski instructed



Kazimierz Pułaski near Częstochowa, painting by Józef Chełmoński, 1875, National Museum in Warsaw

that the nearest confederate units be informed immediately. He also requested intelligence regarding enemy movements and called for adherence to the laws he had enacted.

During the summer, another concentration of confederate forces occurred in the Sącz region. Pułaski made rounds of the camps at Muszynka, Konieczna, Wysowa, and Izby, preparing for a confrontation with Drewicz. On August 3 and 4, 1770, a battle was fought in the fields of Izby and Wysowa. Due to numerical superiority, Drewicz forced Pułaski to retreat into Hungarian territory. Confederate losses were heavy. According to Pułaski's own estimates, the confederates lost 179 soldiers. Following the defeat at Izby and Wysowa, Pułaski moved from Hungary to Zborów, and later stayed for a time in Stary Sącz.

Pułaski received a written order from the General Council to capture Czorsztyn and Lanckorona. On August 15, 1770, he replied that Lanckorona could not be taken. He set out from Stary Sącz to Muszyna, and from there, together with Antoni Szyk and Jan Ksawery Drost, headed for Nowy Targ. On the way, they paused at Czorsztyn but did not stay long, concluding



The Abduction of Stanisław August Poniatowski. The King converses with Jan Kuźma, Anton August Beck, 1836, National Museum in Warsaw

that the location was of little strategic value to the confederation. On August 25, 1770, Pułaski joined forces with Michał Walewski in Nowy Targ. On August 31, he launched an attack on Kraków and later advanced toward Częstochowa. Kazimierz Pułaski's final presence in the Sącz region occurred in May 1771, during his campaign toward Zamość.

Kazimierz Pułaski – Commander of the Jasna Góra Fortress

Upon arriving in Częstochowa, Kazimierz Pułaski encountered resistance from the Pauline monks, who, fearing the potential destruction of the monastery, initially refused to admit his troops. Unperturbed, Pułaski resorted to subterfuge: he requested that his soldiers be allowed to enter simply to pray. Once the gate was opened, the confederates entered the monastery grounds and transformed the sanctuary into a fortified military camp. Together with Walewski, Pułaski repeatedly led sorties from the fortress, engaging in skirmishes with Russian forces. Russian troops under the command of General Ivan Drewicz approached Jasna Góra, and from December 31, 1770, to

January 14, 1771, the monastery endured a siege. Eventually, the Russian forces withdrew from the monastery walls. Although Pułaski wished to pursue them, his forces were too weak, and no reinforcements arrived.

For February 1771, Pułaski planned an expedition into the Lublin region. On February 25, he defeated Russian forces near Tarłów and subsequently laid siege to Kraśnik. However, he ultimately abandoned the attempt to seize the town and returned to Częstochowa. In May, Pułaski led an expedition to Zamość, which at the time held the status of a neutral fortress. He managed to enter the fortress with a group of confederates and forced the fortress commander to allow his troops inside. On June 2, 1771, Russian forces under Aleksandr Suvorov reached Zamość, compelling the confederate units that remained outside the fortress to withdraw. Kazimierz Pułaski succeeded in escaping from the fortress and, with the remaining confederates, returned safely to Częstochowa.

The Act of Dethronement and the Abduction of King Stanisław August Poniatowski

Meanwhile, the leaders of the Bar Confederation, the General Council, passed an act of dethronement against the king on October 13, 1770. It was written by Ignacy Bohusz and adopted in Prešov in the Spiš region. Its wording was as follows:

The clash of arms, the slaughter of citizens, the entire country filled with foreign troops, fed and paid from our own estates; conflicts with all neighboring borders, the gravest treaties broken; liberty dying at the feet of tyranny and autocracy; the old cardinal laws trampled upon, and new ones written to secure the dignity gained by violence and to draw the free Commonwealth into subjugation to the Muscovite power; the holy Roman Catholic religion disregarded; pacts drawn up under arms by himself; the throne guarded by court and foreign weapons, following the example of all tyrants; senators and deputies torn from their seats by sacrilegious hands; the whole nation in despair; provinces of the Commonwealth—witness Kurland and Ukraine—subjugated to Moscow; the country ravaged with fire from end to end. In short: weeping, misery, poverty, devastation, murders, violence, enslavement, shackles, chains, registers, knives, stakes, hooks, and various instruments of cruelty—these are the true and essential marks of Stanisław Poniatowski, the usurper and intruder upon the Polish throne!

We call upon you, fellow brothers and noble citizens... cast off this harmful idleness born of misguided motives, awaken the inherited zeal, courage, and resolve of your ancestors, unite your weapons, raise your arms, and in the blood of the declared friend of Moscow and enemy and tyrant of our country, Stanisław Poniatowski, wash away the shame and disgrace of the nation...¹²

A year after the act of dethronement, the plan to abduct the king was formed at Jasna Góra. It was presented by Stanisław Strawiński and approved by Kazimierz Pułaski, leader of the confederates. The goal was to force the king to abdicate. The operation took place on November 3, 1771, on a Sunday evening, when the king was returning by carriage from visiting his ailing uncle, Michał Czartoryski. At the junction of Senatorska, Miodowa, and Koźia Streets, the confederates attacked. They shot two royal guards—one of whom died. The king tried to flee back to his uncle's residence, but was struck on the head, put on horseback, and taken away. On the way, the conspirators, including Strawiński, fled, leaving only Jan Kuźma with the king. Kuźma held the king in a mill, but for unknown reasons, later agreed to release him. By morning, a royal unit arrived to retrieve the king, having been informed by a worker at the mill. The king's abduction attempt deeply harmed the confederates' cause. King Stanisław Augustus sent letters to European monarchs to discredit the confederates and inform them of the incident. As a result, support from France and Turkey ceased. Although Pułaski continued to lead raids against Russian troops, he did not want to risk retaliatory actions against the Jasna Góra monastery. Therefore, he left the sanctuary six months after the abduction, on May 31, 1772, and left the country for good, never to return.

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¹² *Trzy oświadczenia Konfederacji Barskiej*, Kraków, 1850, p. 185.

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Kazimierz Pułaski — Hero of Two Nations: Polish and American

The final period of Kazimierz Pułaski in his homeland. Life in exile

In 1772, after four years of fighting, the Bar Confederation—the first Polish uprising for independence—was coming to an end. The work of Józef Pułaski, his son Kazimierz, Michał Hieronim Krasiński, their comrades-in-arms, and all who supported them in various ways was becoming history. Over time, the Bar Confederation became a tradition to which generations of Poles who would later struggle for the independence of their own homeland could refer.

The year 1772 was also one of the three most tragic years in the history of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth (the Kingdom of Poland). It was then that three neighboring states—the Russian Empire, the Kingdom of Prussia, and the Habsburg Monarchy of Austria—illegally annexed parts of its territory. In 1793, the Russian Empire and the Kingdom of Prussia seized further areas, and in 1795, the same powers as in 1772 completed the partition. The Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, once a mighty state, ceased to exist, and its ruler, King Stanisław August Poniatowski, abdicated on November 25, 1795.

Attempts to save the state—such as reforming the social and political system through the adoption of the Constitution on May 3, 1791 (the first in Europe and the second in the world after the American), the renewal of education, the establishment of military schools, as well as armed struggles:

first by the Bar Confederates in 1768–1772, then by Polish soldiers in 1792 against the Russian army, and finally by the insurgents of 1794 led by Tadeusz Kościuszko—proved insufficient. The Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth was too weak internally and externally to cope with three aggressive powers.

As the Bar Confederation was ending, Kazimierz Pułaski, as a result of false accusations of involvement in a plot to assassinate the Polish king Stanisław August Poniatowski, was forced to leave his homeland. In June 1772, he arrived in Dresden, Saxony, where groups of Polish émigrés associated with the Bar Confederation were active. There he wrote a letter to the Grand Marshal of the Crown (the equivalent of today's Minister of the Interior), Stanisław Lubomirski, requesting permission for a safe (meaning not threatening arrest) return to the country.¹ However, he achieved nothing. On October 29, 1772, Pułaski wrote a letter to Prince Emmanuel Armand de Vignerot du Plessis, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of France, in which he requested asylum and acceptance into the French army.²

At the beginning of March 1773, Kazimierz Pułaski arrived in Paris. There he received the news that prosecutorial summons had been issued against him from the Commonwealth, accusing him of attempting regicide. In April of that year, he left Paris, returned to Saxony, and lived near Dresden under an assumed name. On August 28, 1773, Pułaski was sentenced to death in absentia. A similar sentence was pronounced on Stanisław Strawiński, the instigator of the king's abduction.³ As an interesting note, the Russian composer Igor Stravinsky was a later descendant of Stanisław Strawiński.

The expedition to Turkey

In September 1773, Pułaski settled in Paris, again under a changed name. Given the renewed war between Russia and Turkey, he decided to mobilize Poles to support Turkey and to take up arms against Russia. However, he did not gain broader support, and with a few companions he went to Venice, arriving there on April 9, 1774. A group of mercenaries joined them, and they traveled via Ragusa and Sofia to Shumen, where the Turkish commander was stationed. When they arrived, however, it was already after the defeat of the Turks at Kozludzha on June 20, 1774. They also witnessed the flight of Turkish soldiers from the camp in Shumen, which was attacked by the Russians

¹ Pułaski h. Ślepowron Kazimierz Michał, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, <http://www.ipsb.nina.gov.pl/a/biografia/kazimierz-pulaski-1745-1779-bohater-polski-i-usa>

² Ibidem.

³ Ibidem.



Boston Tea Party, an engraving in *The History of North America*, a 1799 book by William Cooper

on June 29, 1774. They had no opportunity to fight the Russians, since they succeeded in concluding a victorious peace with the Turks on July 21, 1774.

Pułaski returned to France in mid-October 1774. He struggled with financial difficulties, which grew the following year to such an extent that he landed in prison for debts. He was rescued from this plight by Teofila Sapieżyna, wife of Józef Sapieha—both of whom had earlier supported the Bar Confederation. This woman paid off all of Pułaski's debts, thanks to which he was able to leave prison.⁴ He then renewed efforts with the French authorities to be accepted into their army, but his requests continued to meet with no positive response.

The situation on the American continent. The Coercive Acts

The inhabitants of the colonies on the American continent, despite their diverse national origins, were united by their common interests with the British state. They respected its laws as well as the political and economic freedoms that the state then protected. So what happened after the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), fought and won by the British against the French, that led

⁴ Ibidem.

the colonists shortly thereafter to rise up against them? This question was answered by the British historian Maldwyn Allen Jones:

But when the ministers of George III began to tighten control over the economic and political life of the colonies, they encountered swift and determined resistance. Viewing England's new policy as a deliberate attempt to deprive them of their liberty, the colonists began to question their position within the structure of the empire. After ten years of expressing their discontent, they finally resolved to take up arms in defense of their rights. Ultimately, in 1776, they decided, as the Declaration of Independence proclaims, 'to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them.'⁵

One can, of course, also accept the thesis that at the outset the British did not intend to establish a tyranny in the colonies but merely found themselves after the war confronted with new challenges. These included the administration of Canada, newly acquired from France and populated largely by people of French descent; growing conflicts between settlers and Native Americans; and ensuring the defense of a greatly expanded territory. Moreover, the British Kingdom had incurred enormous costs from the war with France, and its territorial gains required additional financial means to administer and secure them. While these reasons might explain the need to obtain new revenues, the methods of raising them and the escalating demands of the metropolis could not be accepted by the colonial population, who perceived them as an assault on their rights and liberties. A range of issues that at first seemed possible to resolve ultimately led to a conflict that cost the British their colonies.

One of the first such problems was the uprising inspired between 1763 and 1766 by Pontiac, chief of the Ottawa Indians, who organized the uprising together with his people against the dishonest practices of the British in trade and their seizure of native lands. In October 1763, King George III issued a proclamation banning settlement on Indian lands west of the Allegheny Mountains. This ban, however, was violated by the colonists, aggravating the conflict between them and the authorities of the metropolis. The next problems that had to be faced were the Sugar Act of April 5, 1764, and the Currency Act of April 19, 1764. In the colonists' view, these measures restricted their income and economic freedom. Similarly, the Stamp Act of March 22,

⁵ M.A. Jones, *Historia USA*, trans. P. Skurowski, P. Ostaszewski, Gdańsk, 2002, p. 47.

1765, imposed a requirement to purchase revenue stamps on various printed materials and documents, including contracts, provoking enormous dissatisfaction at yet another tax.

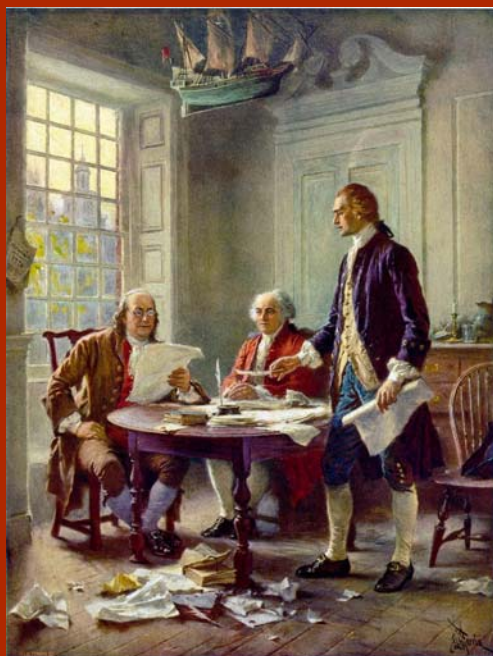
Across all the colonies, groups called the Sons of Liberty began to form, whose task was to coordinate opposition activities against the British authorities. From October 7 to October 25, 1765, representatives of nine colonies met in New York at what they called the Stamp Act Congress, where they prepared a Declaration of Rights and Grievances, condemning the Stamp Act. As a result, the British authorities withdrew the act, but on March 18, 1766, passed the Declaratory Act, which gave the British Parliament full power to legislate for the colonies.

The duties imposed by Charles Townshend in 1767 on the import of glass, lead, paint, paper, and tea led to mass demonstrations. During one such protest on March 5, 1770, in Boston, a confrontation occurred between colonists and British soldiers, resulting in the death of five demonstrators. The situation calmed only after Townshend's successor, Lord Frederick North, withdrew nearly all the duties, leaving only those on tea. A period of relative peace in relations with the metropolis followed, but conflicts began to erupt among the colonists themselves over boundaries and territorial claims, often ending in bloodshed. Conflicts also broke out for reasons such as certain national or religious groups being barred from local governance by others, dissatisfaction with the level of taxes imposed by local authorities, or their failure to protect settlers from Indian attacks and to compensate for resulting damages. Groups such as the "Paxton Boys" and the "Regulators" sought to enforce their rights through force and violence.

However, what pushed internal conflicts aside was the Tea Act of May 10, 1773, which imposed new duties on tea. Although tea could ultimately be cheaper for consumers, the act threatened the interests of colonial merchants, as it introduced a powerful competitor—the East India Company, which received the right to sell tea duty-free. This injustice to colonial merchants provoked protests. These consisted in blocking the unloading of tea from three East India Company ships and, later, in dumping it into the sea by a group of Bostonians led by Samuel Adams, on December 16, 1773. This event came to be known as the Boston Tea Party.

In response to these events, the British Parliament passed the Coercive Acts,⁶ known in the colonies as the "Intolerable Acts."

⁶ Eisenhuth, C., *The Coercive (Intolerable) Acts of 1774*, in: *Mount Vernon Digital Encyclopedia*, <https://www.mountvernon.org/library/digitalhistory/digital-encyclopedia/>



Writing the Declaration of Independence, 1776, portrait by Jean L.G. Ferris depicting Franklin, Adams, and Jefferson working on the Declaration

The first, the Boston Port Act of March 31, 1774,⁷ ordered the Royal Navy to blockade the port of Boston until the colonists paid for the destroyed tea. It sparked opposition among the colonists because collective punishment was applied and no criminal trial was held for those who destroyed the goods.

The second, the Massachusetts Government Act of May 20, 1774,⁸ restricted self-government in the colony and placed power in the hands of a governor appointed by the British. He could appoint or dismiss, without the consent of the Massachusetts Council, all lower court judges, oyer and terminer commissioners (these were usually jurors

whose duties included the swift and extraordinary prosecution of serious crimes within the commission's jurisdiction), the attorney general, justices of the peace, and sheriffs. Town meetings were also limited to one per year, during which elected residents had the binding right to decide on the fate of their community. Residents could hold additional meetings only with prior approval from the governor. The colonists then began peaceful resistance. When Governor Thomas Gage, relying on the Massachusetts Government Act, dissolved the existing provincial assembly and called for new elections,

article/the-coercive-intolerable-acts-of-1774

⁷ The Boston Port Act: March 31, 1774. Avalon Project – Great Britain: Parliament. Yale University, Lilian Goldman Law Library. Accessed October 29, 2018. http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/boston_port_act.asp.

⁸ The Massachusetts Government Act: May 20, 1774. Avalon Project – Great Britain: Parliament. Yale University, Lilian Goldman Law Library. Accessed October 29, 2018. http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/mass_gov_act.asp.

the colonists formed an alternative government called the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, which effectively held power in the colony.

The third, the Administration of Justice Act of May 20, 1774,⁹ gave the governor the right to transfer court trials to Great Britain or other colonies when there was concern that the accused could not receive a fair trial. In practice, this meant witnesses would have to travel to the European continent or other colonies to testify. The act ensured reimbursement for travel expenses but made no mention of compensation for lost wages. As a result, few people chose to testify.

The fourth, the Quartering Act of June 2, 1774,¹⁰ required colonial authorities to provide housing for British soldiers in barracks or public buildings and, if the number of soldiers exceeded available space, to provide them with uninhabited houses, farm buildings, barns, or inns. The act gave governors the authority to influence local colonial governments to ensure and improve housing conditions for soldiers. Some colonists viewed maintaining a standing British army during peacetime as unnecessary and a means of disciplining them.

Some scholars also included as a fifth of the Coercive Acts the Quebec Act, of June 22, 1774.¹¹ It concerned Canada (the name used by the French; the British called it Quebec). The act aimed to guarantee freedom of worship to Catholics, who were mostly French. This guarantee gave them the right to participate in public life. Since 1763, as subjects of the British king, to hold public office Catholics had to take an oath to the Protestant ruler, which contained anti-Catholic provisions. Few chose to abandon their faith, and thus could not influence the shaping of their community. The Protestant colonial minority expressed opposition to the freedoms granted to Catholics and demanded that Protestantism be established as the official religion in Quebec.

The act also expanded the territory of Canada, which lay in the northeast of the continent and south of Hudson Bay, to include lands in what are now the states of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, and Ohio. This

⁹ The Administration of Justice Act: May 20, 1774. Avalon Project – Great Britain: Parliament. Yale University, Lilian Goldman Law Library. Accessed October 29, 2018. http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/admin_of_justice_act.asp.

¹⁰ The Quartering Act: June 2, 1774. Avalon Project – Great Britain: Parliament. Yale University, Lilian Goldman Law Library. Accessed October 29, 2018. http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/quartering_act_1774.asp.

¹¹ The Quebec Act: October 7, 1774. Avalon Project – Great Britain: Parliament. Yale University, Lilian Goldman Law Library. Accessed October 29, 2018. http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/quebec_act_1774.asp.

struck at the interests of the Ohio Company, which was engaged in large-scale land dealings. Subordinating these territories to the authorities of Quebec restricted its operations and prevented settlers from acquiring new lands.

The First Continental Congress (September 5 – October 25, 1774)

The Coercive Acts, for many colonists—especially those in Massachusetts—violated both statutory and natural law and posed a threat to their own liberty as well as that of the other colonies. Grassroots political groups began to emerge across all the colonies, which ultimately led to the appointment of delegates to the First Continental Congress. Delegates from twelve colonies (New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina—only Georgia did not send representatives) met in Philadelphia from September 5 to October 26, 1774. After extensive discussion and deliberation, the delegates adopted a document titled the *Declaration and Resolves of the First Continental Congress*,¹² also referred to in short as the *Declaration of Rights*. In it, they asserted, among other things, that they were entitled to life, liberty, and property; that they had never ceded to any legislative body the right to govern them without their consent; that the foundation of English liberty and all free government is the right of the people to participate in the legislative process; and that, since the English colonists were not represented—and due to various circumstances could not be properly represented—in the British Parliament, they were entitled to a free and exclusive legislative authority in their own local legislatures, where alone their rights could be preserved. They also declared their right to the common law of England, including the privilege of being tried by a jury of their peers from the neighborhood; their right to peacefully assemble, to express their grievances, and to petition the King—and that any restriction of these rights was unlawful; and that the maintenance of a standing army in the colonies during peacetime without the consent of colonial authorities was illegal. The Congress called upon the British Parliament and King George III to repeal the acts and redress the wrongs inflicted upon the colonists. On October 20, 1774, the Congress also established the *Continental Association*¹³ (also known as the *Articles of Association*)—an agreement between the Amer-

¹² *Declaration and Resolves of the First Continental Congress*, in: https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/resolves.asp.

¹³ *Continental Association*, in: https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Continental_Association.

ican colonies. Its purpose was to coordinate a unified economic response, imposing sanctions on Great Britain if colonial demands were not met, and to ensure enforcement of these measures. Preparations began in case it became necessary to implement a full trade embargo. Inspection committees were formed to oversee compliance with the agreement, and the governments of individual colonies began preparing for defense. Over time, the situation continued to escalate.

The beginning of the American War of Independence (April 19, 1775)

In January 1775, the British Parliament rejected the demands of the First Continental Congress. The colony of Massachusetts was declared to be in a state of rebellion, and the New England colonies were banned from fishing in the North Atlantic. Various restrictions were also imposed on the other colonies.

In April 1775, the governor of Massachusetts, Thomas Gage, sent 700 soldiers from Boston to Concord to confiscate weapons stockpiled by colonial patriots. On April 19, 1775, clashes occurred between colonial militia and British troops in Lexington, Concord, Lincoln, Menotomy, and Cambridge. The militia forced the British to retreat and sought to close off Boston. These events triggered a conflict that turned into the American War of Independence.¹⁴ Upon hearing of them, George Washington is said to have ended a letter of May 31, 1775, to George William Fairfax with these words:

Unhappy it is though to reflect, that a Brother's Sword has been sheathed in a Brother's breast, and that, the once happy and peaceful plains of America are either to be drenched with Blood, or Inhabited by Slaves. Sad alternative! But can a virtuous Man hesitate in his choice?¹⁵

The Second Continental Congress (May 10, 1775 – March 2, 1789). The road to the Declaration of Independence of the United States

As a result of the events at Lexington, the Second Continental Congress convened on May 10, 1775, lasting until March 2, 1789. On June 14, 1775, it

¹⁴ W. Osiatyński, *Visions of the United States in the Writings of the Founding Fathers*, Warsaw, 1977, pp. 28–29.

¹⁵ From George Washington to George William Fairfax, 31 May 1775, in: <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/02-10-02-0281#GEWN-02-10-02-0281-fn-0006>

created the Continental Army, placing its command in the hands of George Washington, who was appointed “General and Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United Colonies.” On July 6, 1775, Congress adopted the Declaration on the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms, which called for resistance against unjust laws and urged the British authorities to repeal them, while simultaneously assuring King George III of the colonists’ loyalty. This proved to be, as it turned out later, the last attempt by the colonists to resolve the conflict peacefully. The king’s response to Congress’s declaration was unequivocal: on August 23, 1775, he issued A Proclamation for Suppressing Rebellion and Sedition, and by December, enacted a law placing the colonies outside the previous protection of British law. Independence sentiments were growing in the colonies, further strengthened by Thomas Paine with his pamphlet *Common Sense*, in which he advocated for the independence of the colonies, gathering political and moral arguments for this choice. The pamphlet was read both privately and publicly and gained immense popularity.

On May 10, 1776, the Second Congress called on the colonies to create organs of state authority to replace royal institutions. Gradually, though rather slowly, the Congress delegates received permission from their colonial constituents to address the issue of breaking away from the British Crown. The first colony to express support for independence was Massachusetts, followed by North Carolina and then Virginia. The increasing voices in this matter within Congress led to the formation of a committee composed of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Robert Livingston, and Roger Sherman, tasked with drafting the appropriate declaration by which the colonies would affirm their will to exist independently of the British Crown. Its principal author was Thomas Jefferson, who created a foundational document for the United States. On July 2, 1776, debate on the draft began in Congress, resulting in several changes, including the removal of a section condemning slavery and banning the importation of new slaves, as well as passages negatively referencing the British people. On July 4, 1776, the final version was adopted as The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America, or in short, the Declaration of Independence,¹⁶ in which were recorded, among others, these words:

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America,
in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of

¹⁶ Declaration of Independence: A Transcription, in: <https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/declaration-transcript>

the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

Military operations

The Declaration of Independence, though a document of immense significance, was not by itself sufficient. Once proclaimed, it was time to engage in the actual fight for independence. Initially, the war proceeded in a rather haphazard manner, without a coherent plan or coordination on either side, thus advancing with mixed fortune. The first more notable success of the Americans was the capture of Fort Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain, where a detachment of 80 men surprised 40 defenders of the fort. The Americans occupied Quebec but, by the end of 1776, had been almost entirely driven out. From the beginning of the war, there were also battles for Boston, which served as a military base and the headquarters of British command. In June 1776, the British commander-in-chief, General William Howe, decided to evacuate Boston and relocate to Halifax in Nova Scotia. This was a significant American success.

The royal forces prepared a plan whereby their troops would assemble in the north and advance southward. Some forces were to set out from Quebec, others along the Mohawk River, and yet others from the south to capture Philadelphia, the seat of Congress. The northern British forces occupied New York on September 12, 1776, after battles fought since July. On December 25, 1776, General Washington successfully attacked the British at Trenton, and on January 3, 1777, he won another victory at Princeton. In June 1777, British forces under General John Burgoyne began their march, seizing Forts Ticonderoga and Edward. However, on August 16, 1777, they suffered defeat at the hands of patriot forces under John Stark at the Battle of Bennington. Continuing his advance, General Burgoyne reached Saratoga, which he intended to capture. Fighting between the sides lasted from September 17 to October 8, 1777. American General Horatio Gates persuaded the British to lay down

their arms and surrender, which occurred on October 17, 1777. Great credit for the American victory belonged to General Tadeusz Kościuszko, who had earlier expertly fortified the city.¹⁷

The victory at Saratoga also had international consequences. It prompted France to recognize the independence of the United States and, on February 6, 1778, to sign the Treaty of Alliance between the United States and France, by which France became a party to the war for American independence.¹⁸

Kazimierz Pułaski's journey to the United States. Meeting with George Washington

When Kazimierz Pułaski learned of the war on the American continent, he resolved to join the fight, thereby supporting a people who had decided to unite and struggle for freedom. With the help of his friend, the French historian and diplomat Claude Carloman de Rulhière, Pułaski was able to meet with Benjamin Franklin in the spring of 1777. Franklin had arrived in France in December of the previous year to seek financial support for the fighting colonies from Foreign Minister Charles de Vergennes—support that he successfully obtained.

De Rulhière carefully prepared Franklin for the meeting with Pułaski. This was due to Franklin's time in London, where in 1772 he had become acquainted with Prince Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski—cousin to King Stanisław August Poniatowski of Poland - and with the prince's wife, Izabela Czartoryska (née Fleming). The situation could have been delicate, given that Pułaski was under a death sentence for the alleged attempt to assassinate King Stanisław August Poniatowski.¹⁹ However, during his meeting with Franklin, Pułaski made an excellent impression and received a letter of recommendation addressed to George Washington. In it, Franklin wrote:

Count Pulaski of Poland, an officer famous throughout Europe for his courage and conduct in defense of the liberty of his country against three powerful invaders, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, will have the honor of delivering you this letter. The court here encouraged his departure and supports him in the belief that he may be highly useful in our service.²⁰

¹⁷ M.A. Jones, op. cit., pp. 61–62.

¹⁸ Ibidem., p. 63.

¹⁹ J. Roszko, *Ostatni rycerz Europy [The Last Knight of Europe]*, Katowice, 1983, p. 314.

²⁰ Quoted in, ibidem., pp. 316–317.

Pułaski also received a recommendation from another American diplomat, Silas Deane, who, like Franklin, was effectively seeking financial and military support for the struggle. On June 6, 1777, Pułaski departed from Nantes in France aboard the ship *Massachusetts* bound for the American continent. On July 23, 1777, he disembarked at the port of Marblehead, Massachusetts. He proceeded to the garrison in Boston, where he met its commander, General William Heath, who gave him a tour of the fortifications and dined with him. Three days later, Pułaski wrote a letter to George Washington requesting admission to the Continental Army, and unable to wait for a response, by August 4, 1777, he set out to meet him. He reached Washington's then headquarters, located in a house built by John Moland in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. Pułaski delivered letters from Franklin and Deane to Washington. There, he also met the Marquis de Lafayette, to whom he handed correspondence from Lafayette's wife. On the grounds of Moland House is a plaque commemorating Pułaski's meeting with Washington and Lafayette:

Gen. Washington's headquarters Aug. 10–23, 1777, during the Ne-shaminy encampment of 11,000 troops. Here, the Marquis de Lafayette functioned for the first time as Major General at the Council of War on Aug. 21, and Count Casimir Pulaski of Poland met Washington for the first time. An experienced military commander, Pulaski was later appointed Brigadier General of mounted troops and is remembered as the 'Father of the American Cavalry'.²¹

Pułaski convinced the Commander-in-Chief of his military qualifications. Washington sent him with a letter addressed to Congress recommending that the Pole be accepted into the American army, noting that Pułaski's experience and knowledge might be "exceedingly useful." The Marquis de Lafayette also wrote a letter of recommendation to a member of Congress in which he described Pułaski as the most distinguished officer and the most formidable enemy of the tyrants of his homeland. Pułaski himself wrote to Congress declaring that he had come to America to sacrifice everything for its freedom, wishing to spend the rest of his life in a free country—but that before becoming a citizen, he wanted to fight for its liberty.

²¹ Moland House, in: <https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=86332>



Cavalry commander

The Pole proceeded with these letters to Philadelphia, where he submitted them to Congress for consideration. At that time, the conferral of military ranks and assignments belonged to Congress. Not waiting passively

for a decision, he returned to Washington, who on August 27, 1777, wrote another letter—this time to John Hancock, President of Congress—recommending Pułaski as an exceptionally experienced cavalryman and urging his prompt acceptance into the army. Pułaski carried the letter to Philadelphia and without delay returned to the Commander-in-Chief.

On September 11, 1777, Pułaski participated in the Battle of Brandywine, near Chadds Ford in Delaware County, Pennsylvania. The Americans were attempting to halt more than 15,000 British troops under Sir William Howe, who were marching from Sandy Hook, New Jersey, toward Philadelphia. Pułaski observed the movements of the British forces and at one point noticed that they were maneuvering toward where Washington and his troops were located. He warned the commander of the imminent danger. After a brief council of war, a plan was devised in which Pułaski was entrusted with the task of checking the enemy's advance. Paweł Bentalou, one of the witnesses, described the first charge on American soil by the Polish cavalryman:

Our right wing had been outflanked by the victorious enemy, forcing it to retreat and drawing the center along with it. Pulaski then proposed to Washington that he be given command of his bodyguard, about 30 horsemen. The commander-in-chief immediately agreed, and Pulaski with his usual courage and acuity struck the enemy, halting their advance and thereby causing a delay highly favorable to our retreating army. In addition, Pulaski's keen eye soon saw that the enemy was maneuvering to seize the road to Chester and cut off our retreat or at least our baggage. He hurried to Washington and reported this, and was immediately authorized to gather as many scattered soldiers as he could find and attack the enemy with them. This was carried out most successfully. With an oblique blow at the front and right flank of the British, he thwarted their plans and shielded our wagons and the army's withdrawal.²²

Despite Pułaski's bold attack, which saved the Commander-in-Chief, many soldiers' lives, and the American forces' equipment, the British captured Philadelphia. Congress relocated to Lancaster, then to York. Nevertheless, on

²² Quoted in: L. Pastusiak, *Polacy w zaraniu Stanów Zjednoczonych – Polacy w wojnie o niepodległość Stanów Zjednoczonych* [Poles at the Dawn of the United States – Poles in the War of Independence of the United States], Warsaw, 1992, pp. 57–58.

September 15, 1777, surely impressed by Pułaski's bravery and accomplishments, Congress awarded him the rank of brigadier general and the command of the cavalry.

Pułaski learned of his promotion on September 21, 1777, while with the army at Warwick Furnace. General Washington honored him with a public announcement that Congress had appointed Kazimierz Pułaski "commander of the American light dragoons with the rank of brigadier general." Shortly after receiving his official commission, on October 4 Pułaski took part in the Battle of Germantown, located eight kilometers north of Philadelphia. British forces were stationed there. The aim of the American troops was to seize the area, defeat the enemy, and attempt to retake Philadelphia—goals that were not achieved.²³

The American forces, among them Pułaski, settled at Valley Forge. This collective name refers to settlements near today's Valley Forge National Historical Park, established to protect sites associated with the stay of thousands of Continental Army soldiers and General Washington himself beginning on December 19, 1777.²⁴

Because it was winter, no military operations were undertaken. Pułaski did not waste time during the encampment, determined to faithfully carry out the task Congress had entrusted to him: training and leading the cavalry. The winter was extremely harsh. There was a shortage of quarters, food for the army, and forage. The soldiers were afflicted by disease. In this situation, Washington ordered Pułaski, along with other cavalymen, to relocate to Trenton, New Jersey. Pułaski arrived there on January 8, 1778, but conditions proved not much better. Morale among the soldiers declined, and there was a lack of funds for their pay.

In February 1778, supplies of food and forage dwindled considerably for the British troops occupying Philadelphia. They decided to organize a large foraging expedition to New Jersey. General Washington learned of these plans and dispatched General Anthony Wayne, whose soldiers seized 150 head of cattle and sent them to Washington's camp. When William Howe heard of Wayne's action, he ordered a crossing of the Delaware River into



George Washington and Casimir Pułaski after the battle near the Brandywine
Arthur Szyk, postcard, Cracow 1939

²³ J.A. Daszyńska, *Kościuszko i Pułaski w walce o wolność Stanów Zjednoczonych* [*Kościuszko and Pułaski in the Fight for the Freedom of the United States*], in: <https://fundacjakurtyki.pl/ziarna-historii/kosciuszko-i-pulaski-w-walce-o-wolnosc-stanow-zjednoczonych/>

²⁴ What happened w at Valley Forge, in: <https://www.nps.gov/vafo/learn/historyculture/valley-forge-history-and-significance.htm>

Dear General

I have taken my quarters about seven miles from Savannah, at the widow Gibbons's house, on the way to Ogeechee's ferry, it is very essential post, the enemies got an advanced one about two miles from the town, that they have posted there since last night, being alarmed by the detachment which was on their lines yesterday, it will be necessary that my detachment should be reinforced not only by the Cavalry, but with some infantry to give me the facility of attacking their pickets, I shall pursue two miles further on the Sunbury's road to keep a free communication with Count D'Estaing, the enemies send on that road very often some parties.

I have the honour to be
with respect Dear General
your most humble
servant
K. Pułaski

September the 14th 1779
at three o'clock in the morning.

Pułaski's letter to General Lincoln, sent on September 14, 1779 from Savannah, Wikipedia

New Jersey to defeat him. About 2,000 British troops under Colonel Sterling and Major Simcoe advanced toward Haddonfield. Wayne was warned and evacuated his forces and the residents of Haddonfield to Mount Holly. He also sent for help to General Pułaski. They met at Mount Holly and moved toward Haddonfield. Upon hearing of the arrival of both commanders, the British forces withdrew to Cooper's Ferry, where they skirmished with the American forces and then crossed the Delaware River on March 2, 1777, returning to Philadelphia. Wayne's and Pułaski's forces scored a great success by preventing the British from acquiring a large supply of food. In his report, General Wayne praised Pułaski's courage and skill.²⁵

The Organization of Pułaski's Legion

Pułaski sought to create a legion composed of lancers, cavalry, and infantry, whose effectiveness would lie primarily in its ability to move rapidly in order to adapt to changing circumstances and respond appropriately. He had perfected this tactical approach during four years of combat in Poland. The varying numbers of enemy troops, differences in the weaponry they employed, the shifting course of battles, and the nature of the terrain all required constant and careful adjustment to prevailing conditions.

General Washington approved of Pułaski's proposal and, in a letter dated March 14, 1778, addressed to John Hancock, wrote:

The Count [...] far from being discouraged by the service, and animated by the thirst of glory and zeal for the cause of liberty, proposes to make a new tender of his services and intends to lay before Congress propositions. They are briefly, that he may be authorized to raise an independent corps consisting of 68 horse and 200 foot; the former to be armed with lances, the latter equipped as light infantry. He thinks he can easily fill the former with natives of good character, deserving of confidence. As to the latter, he desires more liberty that he may recruit prisoners and deserters from the enemy.²⁶

Pułaski's letter reached its destination and was referred by Hancock to General Horatio Gates for consideration. General Charles Lee also became involved. Both generals approved of Pułaski's plan. On March 19, 1778, Congress granted permission to form the legion. Pułaski received authorization

²⁵ L. Pastusiak, op. cit., p. 60.

²⁶ Quoted in: L. Pastusiak, op. cit., pp. 62–63.

from Washington to recruit. On April 9, 1778, after consultations with the Commander-in-Chief, he submitted nominations for his officers to Congress. Among them were Frenchmen, Germans, Americans, Poles, and Irishmen. Serving in Pułaski's Legion was Henry Lee, known as "Light-Horse Harry," father of General Robert E. Lee, commander-in-chief of the Confederate forces in the American Civil War, who was also a cavalryman.

Pułaski conducted recruitment in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. By September 1778, Pułaski's Legion numbered 330 men. Ultimately, the legion consisted of one squadron of lancers, two squadrons of dragoons, and 200 infantry. Congress allocated \$130 for each trained soldier, but organizing such a unit required significant funds. Pułaski spent much of his own money to equip and maintain his soldiers. According to one of his officers, Captain Józef Baldeski, this may have amounted to \$50,000 at the time.

Financial accounting caused disputes between Pułaski and congressional officials. The excessively detailed audits may have seemed to Pułaski like unjustified harassment. There was even an incident in which Congress would not allow Pułaski's Legion to leave Philadelphia for the front until Pułaski explained his finances and bookkeeping.

Among Pułaski's subordinates were men who struggled with discipline, leading to desertions and requisitioning of civilian food supplies, which drew criticism. However, such incidents were neither common nor exceptional in the Continental Army. Congress advised Pułaski to pay more attention to discipline in his legion and to respect local laws and customs, which he did not always understand. He was primarily focused on combat and tactical preparation, not on accounting.

At the end of September 1778, Pułaski received Washington's orders to proceed to New Jersey. His legion received its baptism of fire in October 1778, during the defense of Little Egg Harbor Bay in New Jersey. British forces under Major Patrick Ferguson attempted to destroy American privateer ships in the port. Pułaski's troops patrolled the coast to thwart British actions. Due to the betrayal by legionnaire Lieutenant Gustaw Juliet, on October 15, 1778, the British attacked one of the legion's camps at a farm and killed many sleeping legionnaires. Pułaski advanced with cavalry from the main camp, capturing some of the attackers, though most British escaped to their ships. Nevertheless, Pułaski's actions prevented Ferguson's forces from capturing the ironworks at Batsto and blocked attacks on ships at the Forks of the Mullica River.

His legion was then sent north to the Delaware River, where it fought against Indians allied with the British. Pułaski received orders to spend the

winter of 1778–1779 in southern New Jersey. Growing impatient with this prolonged stay in a land "from which even the savages [Indians] had fled, leaving only bears to combat,"²⁷ Pułaski petitioned Congress to be reassigned to an area with active combat.

On February 2, 1779, Congress granted Pułaski's request and sent his legion to South Carolina under the command of General Benjamin Lincoln. Pułaski and his legion first stationed in Yorktown, Virginia, then moved to their destination. Meanwhile, the British had captured Savannah, Georgia, and were preparing to take Charleston, a crucial port city. British forces were commanded by General Augustine Prevost. Pułaski arrived in Charleston on May 8, 1779, accompanied by Colonel John Laurens, promising to lead the city's defense. The city was saved. Although Pułaski's forces suffered significant losses in clashes with the British, he forced them to retreat further south. He advised the city authorities to strengthen fortifications, expecting another attack.

Pułaski remained in the city for several months. In a letter dated August 19, 1779, he informed Congress of mounting and inexplicable problems hindering his efforts to prepare a proper cavalry formation. He wrote of misunderstanding by members of Congress, false accusations against him and his men, penalties imposed on those wishing to join his legion, and a lack of financial support. In a long letter, he protested:

Gentlemen! All the information I have received from the North since I went South only reinforces my opinion—indeed, convinces me—that some malicious spirit continuously casts such opaque veils over your eyes that it makes it impossible for you to see and judge my conduct as befits gentlemen of high character and position.

Since the enthusiastic zeal for the glorious cause that inspired America when I landed here, and my disregard for death, brought me to you, I had hoped to be fortunate enough to gain honor and satisfaction. Yet my fate is such that only the honor, which I will never lose, keeps me in your service, although the ill treatment I endure begins to fill me with disgust. [...] Is there a single act of mine, from the Battle of Brandywine until now, that is, the campaign at Charleston, which does not demonstrate my selfless zeal for the common good? I believe even my fiercest enemies cannot deny it. So where does the lack of trust I receive from you, gentlemen, originate—where no matter what concerns

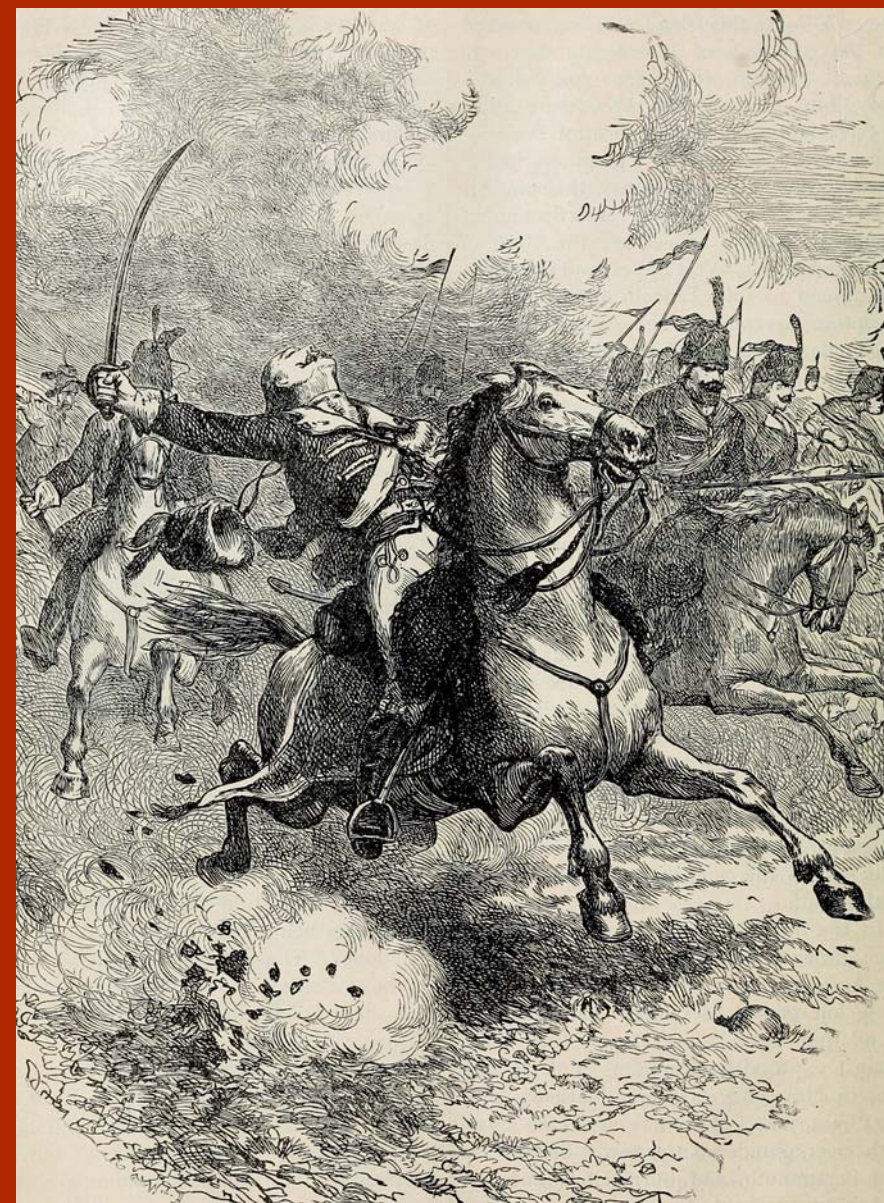
²⁷ Quoted in L. Pastusiak, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

me are never settled to my satisfaction? Since the unfortunate moment when I undertook to organize my corps—which I equipped with clothing, recruited, and trained within three months—I have been, and still am, persecuted! I cannot express my outrage at the mention of the vile persecutions that forced me to stand trial like a criminal. The delay by Congress in sending me to meet the enemy was justified by alleged misconduct of my corps toward a few residents, although the testimony of judges in towns where my soldiers were quartered says quite the opposite. [...]

I emphasize that my request to settle accounts while it was still easy to do so—when these gentlemen were still present—was repeated a thousand times; therefore, if there are any inaccuracies in the receipts, they cannot be attributed to me or Captain Baldeski. Those who caused the delay should be held accountable for everything. Besides, the sums you consider extraordinary are a trifle for the States. Truly, for me—even though I do not possess riches—it is not impossible to cover the entire cost of my legion [...] Allow me, gentlemen, to speak frankly to you! You have been rather ungenerous in this matter. There are foreigners here who were not given as much attention as they had ample reason to expect from you. You cannot forget that I have spent far more than the mentioned amount from my own coffers, for the pleasure of supporting your cause. You must also consider that I did not come to America penniless, to be a burden on you. After all, I had a letter of credit from Mr. Morris and was known to nearly every foreigner for my good character. Recently, I received a letter from my family stating that 100,000 pounds in bullion were sent to me. If they arrive safely, the pleasure will indeed be great, because I will pay you every last penny of all expenses for my legion.

Change your opinion, then, of a foreigner who, from the moment he entered your service, has never had cause for joy, who in Europe holds a rank higher than all others in your service, who certainly is not inferior in zeal and ability, and whom you cannot consider one of those who came to beg your favor.

Be just, gentlemen, and know that, unable to face the powers of Europe, I came here to give everything for the Freedom of America, wishing to spend the end of my life in a truly free country, fighting as a citizen for the freedom of this land. But seeing efforts to reinterpret such motives as delusions, I am inclined to believe that enthusiasm for



*The Death of Kazimierz Pułaski, engraving from Henry Davenport Northrop's *Our Greater Country*, Philadelphia, 1898*



Monument dedicated to Kazimierz Pułaski, Savannah, Georgia, photo by Justin M. Skiba, CC BY-SA 4.0

freedom is not the greatest virtue in America at present. [...]

I strive to speak so that I may be understood; I honor you without humiliating myself, for private or public flattery is repugnant to me. That is the trait of those base beasts who seek to persecute and harm me. I was present when General Lincoln received a deliberate letter mentioning the dismissal of Captain Baldeski with orders to appoint another paymaster, a post I consider unnecessary; the few men we have left can be paid by the Army's General Paymaster, and there will be no more confusion in details, especially since it seems the destruction of the corps is intended anyway, so it will be easier to accomplish.

The campaign is ongoing. Perhaps I will still have the opportunity to prove that I am a friend of the cause, despite not pleasing a few individuals. I have the honor, honorable gentlemen, to be your humble servant.

K. Pułaski

Charleston, August 19, 1779²⁸

The last battle of Kazimierz Pułaski. The general's death

In September 1779, the Americans devised a plan to retake Savannah from the British. The city was not a fortress, defended instead by fortified batteries. French soldiers

fought alongside the Americans, and Pułaski's legion was to take part. Though the siege began on September 16, 1779, the main assault came on October 9, 1779. During this attack, Pułaski was mortally wounded. Legionnaire Maciej Rogowski, an eyewitness, described Pułaski's fateful charge:

October 9 was set for a general assault. The militia made a feint, but the main American and French forces struck the batteries on Springhill. It was fierce indeed—half an hour or more of cannon thunder and bloodshed. Seeing a large gap between the entrenchments, Pułaski resolved with us and a small detachment of Georgia cavalry to dash straight through, break into the city, create a diversion among the enemy, and delight the townspeople. General Lincoln approved the bold plan. Calling on God's aid, Pułaski shouted 'Forward!' and with two hundred horsemen we charged so hard the earth shook. At first it went splendidly, but as we passed between the two batteries, crossfire halted and scattered us like water striking a closed sluice gate. I saw—oh painful, never to be forgotten moment!—Pułaski lying on the ground. I sprang down, thinking him lightly wounded, only to find calamity: a cannonball had torn off his leg, blood gushed from his chest too, likely another shot. As I knelt to lift him, he murmured, dying, 'Jesus, Mary, Joseph.' That was all I heard, for at that instant a musket ball grazed my head, blood blinded me, and I fainted. Our brave soldiers, urged on by Jerzmanowski, though retreating under heavy fire, carried off Pułaski, me, and other wounded.²⁹

Physician James Lynch quickly arrived, extracted the projectile, and advised keeping Pułaski under observation, but the general feared being captured by the British and handed over to the Russians.³⁰ He was moved to a French field hospital. Seeing signs of gangrene, the doctors transferred him to Greenwich Plantation, where the privateer Joseph Atkins's ship, the *Wasp*, was docked. They hoped to sail him to a hospital in Charleston. However, on October 11, 1779, General Kazimierz Pułaski died aboard ship. His body was honorably buried at sea, with a symbolic funeral held in Charleston on October 21, 1779. Paweł Bentalou wrote:

²⁹ Quoted in L. Pastusiak, *op. cit.*, pp. 81–82.

³⁰ F. Ziejka, *Ostatni rycerz dawnej Polski: z tajemnic biografii i legendy Kazimierza Pułaskiego*, in: *Niepodległość i Pamięć* 2011, 18/3-4 (35-36), p. 37.



US postage stamp featuring General Casimir Pułaski, Issue of 1931, 2 cents

The procession was immense and splendid, fit for the occasion. Three American and three French officers of highest rank bore the coffin. Behind it was led a fine horse bearing Pułaski's arms and uniform from Savannah. The funeral throng was so vast it had to circle the whole city to reach the church, where the chaplain gave a beautiful, moving sermon.³¹

According to another account, Pułaski died at Greenwich Plantation and was buried there. William Bowen, grandson of the owner, cited a family tradition of the burial. In December 1852, an exhumation took place at Greenwich, and on November 11, 1853, the

remains were interred under a monument in Savannah. Later genetic studies did not confirm they were Pułaski's remains.³²

The cause for which Kazimierz Pułaski fought

American and French forces continued the siege of Savannah until October 18, 1779, without success. The British finally left the city in 1782. In subsequent years, combined American, French, and Spanish forces defeated the British. Battles such as Cowpens on January 17, 1781; the Spanish siege of Pensacola from March 9 to May 8, 1781; the naval battle in Chesapeake Bay on September 5, 1781; and the siege of Yorktown from September 28 to October 17, 1781, ending in British surrender, turned the tide. The war ended with the Treaty of Paris, signed on September 3, 1783, by which the Kingdom of Great Britain recognized the independence of the United States. Britain also ceded Florida and Minorca to Spain, and several Caribbean islands to France. In 1787, the United States adopted its Constitution, and in 1789, elected its first president, George Washington.³³

Kazimierz Pułaski fought for the independence of his homeland, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and also for the independence of the United States, his chosen homeland. The fates of these nations diverged. The Polish state lost its sovereignty for 123 years, destroyed by three powers (Russia, Austria, Germany). The nation survived thanks to its culture, tradition,

Christian faith, and heroes like Pułaski and Tadeusz Kościuszko, who took up arms and were later followed by hundreds of thousands of Poles seeking freedom and the restoration of their state. The United States as a nation was born amid struggles, both peaceful and military. The American nation had to forge its own culture, value system, and define its goals. It is gratifying that at the dawn of its independence stood Kazimierz Pułaski and Tadeusz Kościuszko, who also became heroes for American youth.

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³¹ Quoted in L. Pastusiak, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

³² F. Ziejka, *ibidem.*, pp. 39–40.

³³ M.A. Jones, *ibidem.*, p. 92.

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The Bar Confederation in the Kraków Voivodeship, with Special Emphasis on the Duchies of Oświęcim and Zator

News of the formation of the confederation in Bar, in the Podolia region, reached Kraków with remarkable swiftness. In the former capital of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, discussions quickly arose regarding the feasibility of the plans undertaken by the Bar Confederates. Both in Kraków and throughout Lesser Poland (Małopolska), rumors spread rapidly by word of mouth, alleging that the Confederates were to receive support from the Ottoman Empire and the Crimean Tatars. By March 1768, the unrest had already gripped the Kraków Voivodeship. As a result, King Stanisław August Poniatowski, seeking to suppress a potential uprising in Kraków at its inception, dispatched letters addressed to senators as well as to prominent officials of Kraków and Lesser Poland. In these missives—written in a notably emphatic tone—the king warned: “[...] should the rashly kindled flame begin to spread and ignite further, let it be your effort, your influence, and the authority of your senatorial dignity within the Kraków Voivodeship that prevent such a conflagration; for, lacking the support of any foreign power, it will end only in misery for those who have kindled it and will contribute to its spread.”¹ Simultaneously, Poniatowski issued a circular to starosts and to both castle and land judges across all voivodeships of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, instructing them to continue discharging their duties as dictated by their offices and to disregard any directives issued by the

¹ J. Krasicka, *Kraków i ziemia krakowska wobec konfederacji barskiej*, Kraków 1929, p. 11.

Bar Confederates.² Reports concerning the revolutionary mood spreading throughout the lands of the Kraków Voivodeship also reached the Russians. In order to prevent Kraków, along with the Duchies of Oświęcim and Zator, from joining the Bar Confederates, Prince Nikolai Repnin dispatched Russian troops to Dębica, following reports that supporters of the Confederation were gathering there. Stationed in Dębica was Panin's regiment. Both this unit and other Russian formations were tasked with preventing the Confederates from penetrating into the Subcarpathian region, which could provide them with both manpower and a defensible base of operations. The Russians sought, at all costs, to block the westward expansion of the Confederation. Their efforts, however, proved unsuccessful.³

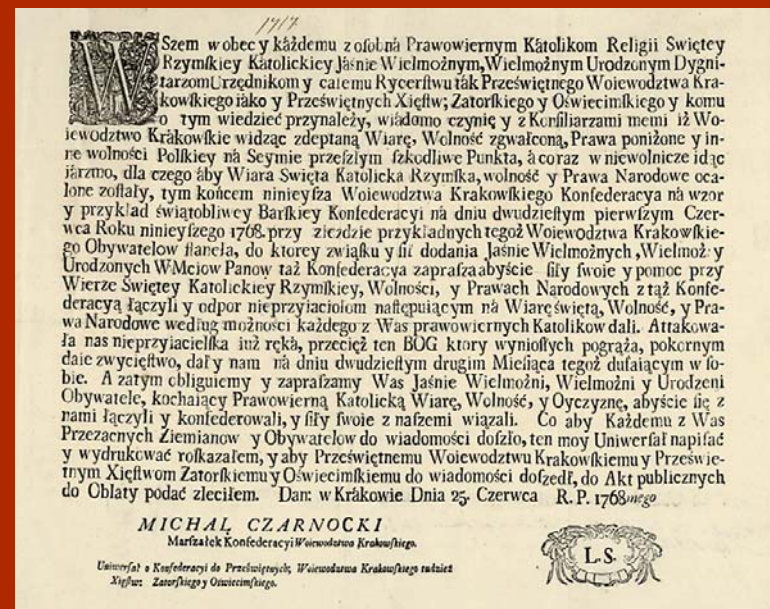
By late spring and summer of 1768, the Confederation had spread to the territory of the Kraków Voivodeship. A breakthrough moment is generally considered to be the issuance of the *Universal of the Kraków Confederation* (*Uniwersał konfederacji krakowskiej*), a legal act calling for an armed uprising in defense of the independence and sovereignty of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Catholic faith within the Kraków Voivodeship. The Universal was publicly proclaimed in Kraków on 25 June 1768, although it had been drafted several days earlier, on 21 June. The latter date is thus regarded as the formal beginning of the Confederation in Kraków. The issuer of the Universal was Michał Czarnocki, who signed the document in his capacity as Marshal of the Kraków Voivodeship Confederation. The document was addressed to dignitaries, officials, and members of the nobility. According to its content, the Confederation's area of operation included Kraków and the broader Kraków Voivodeship, as well as the Duchies of Oświęcim and Zator.⁴ Interestingly, Michał Czarnocki of the Lis coat of arms was at that time the owner of Secemin—a village situated between Koniecpol and Włoszczowa, in what is now the Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship.⁵ He was known for his dissolute lifestyle and was remembered among the Polish nobility as a *watażka* (bandit-chieftain), who, in 1761, led a raid into Ottoman territory and stole

² Royal letter dated 7 April 1768, written in Warsaw, in: *Materyały do konfederacji barskiej...*, pp. 81–82.

³ J. Krasicka, op. cit., pp. 11–13.

⁴ National Archives in Kraków, collection: Sącz Castle Records, call no. 29/7/188, p. 1717; Universal of the Kraków Confederation, in: *Materyały do konfederacji barskiej r. 1767–1768: z niedrukowanych dotąd i nieznanych rękopisów*, vol. 1, edited by S. Morawski, Lwów, 1851, pp. 151–152.

⁵ *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, vol. X, edited by B. Chlebowski and W. Walewski, Warsaw, 1889, pp. 409–410.



Proclamation published in Kraków on June 25, 1768, in which Michał Czarnocki, Marshal of the Kraków Voivodeship Confederation, notifies dignitaries, officials and nobility of the Kraków Voivodeship and the Duchies of Zator and Oświęcim about the establishment of the Confederation on June 21 and invites them to join its ranks. (ANK, Księgi grodzkie sądeckie, sygn. 29/7/188, s. 1717)

several hundred horses, for which he was later convicted by the Crown Tribunal of the Commonwealth. His appointment in June 1768 to the prominent position of Marshal of the Kraków Voivodeship Confederation appears to have been more the result of circumstance than of deliberate political strategy. There were no individuals in the voivodeship who commanded genuine esteem among the nobility and who would be willing to assume leadership over the local Confederates. Members of prominent noble families adopted a wait-and-see stance. The candidate for the position of marshal of the confederation, General Antoni Michałowski, then stolnik of Kraków, declined the offer. His brother, Felicjan, followed suit. In mid-June 1768, the office of marshal was conferred upon Franciszek Dembiński of the Nieczuja coat of arms, starost of Pieczonów. Fearing accusations of treason, Dembiński fled Kraków, slipping away from the monastery of the Bernardine Fathers in Stradom and crossing the Vistula River by boat toward Tyniec. Under Wawel Hill, an unconfirmed rumor quickly spread that Dembiński had been bribed by Russian agents, which allegedly prompted his escape. In light of these

developments, on 20 June 1768, following a religious service in Kleparz—then a separate town but effectively a suburb of Kraków—during a feast held near the Kleparz Market Square, the nobility gathered there made an ad hoc decision to elect the aforementioned Michał Czarnocki as marshal of the Kraków Land Confederation.⁶

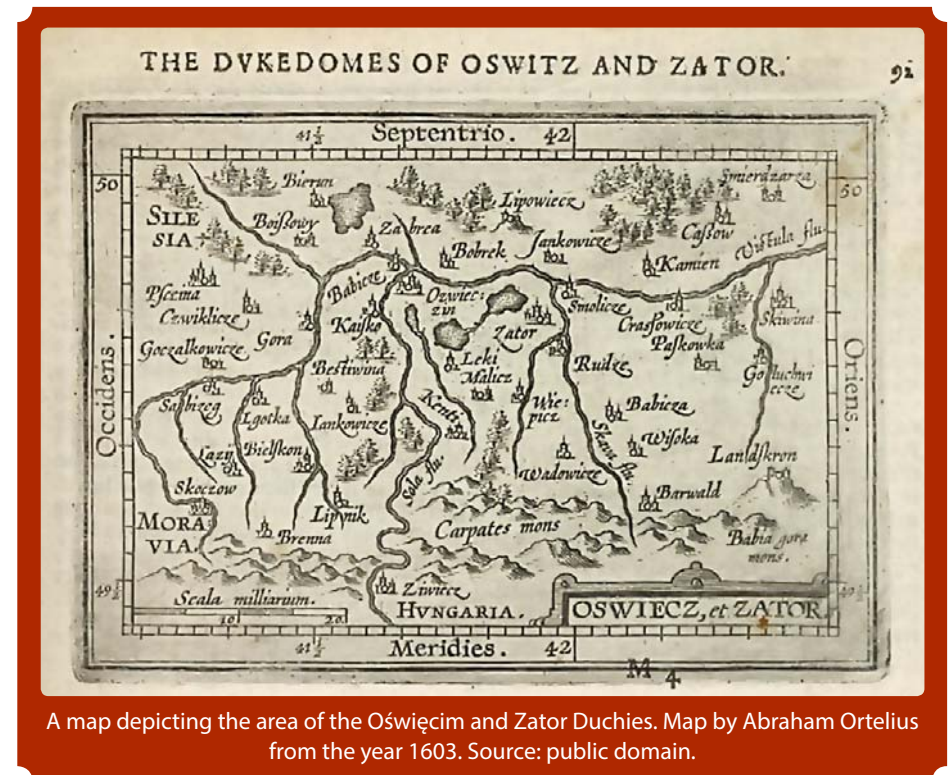
The seizure of Kraków by Czarnocki and the Confederate supporters, as well as the issuance of the *Universal of the Kraków Confederation*, provided the impetus for further military and administrative measures. On 27 June 1768, revenues from the royal salt mines in Wieliczka and Bochnia, as well as from Crown estates located within the Kraków Voivodeship, were placed under confiscation for the benefit of the Confederation. On the same day, a decree was issued mandating that village mayors, village heads, and administrators of Crown estates personally appear—under threat of punishment—armed and equipped, in the camp of the Confederate forces.⁷ News of the events in Kraków quickly spread to towns and villages across the voivodeship. The contents of the *Universal* were entered into municipal records, typically under the supervision of a detachment of Confederate troops. Such was the case, for example, in Wadowice, where on 3 July 1768, the Confederates ordered the town authorities to enter the proclamation into the municipal books.⁸ In the context of the lands that belonged to the former Duchies of Oświęcim and Zator, which were located in the Kraków Voivodeship at the time, important decisions were made on 15 and 16 July 1768 in Kęty. It was then that representatives of both duchies formally joined the Bar Confederation and, as they themselves stated, the Kraków Confederation. The issued document contained the following text:

We, the undersigned officials, nobility, and citizens of the Duchies of Zator and Oświęcim, who, due to the national Confederation initiated in Bar, as well as in the Kraków Voivodeship, to which the Duchies of Zator and Oświęcim are joined and incorporated, having

⁶ J. Krasicka, op. cit., pp. 19–20.

⁷ Universal decree ordering the submission of revenues from the Wieliczka and Bochnia salt mines, as well as from the royal estates in the Kraków Voivodeship, to the treasury of the Kraków Confederation, in: *Akta do konfederacji r. 1768 województwa krakowskiego, a zwłaszcza księstw oświęcimskiego i zatorskiego*, edited by T. Klima, *Sprawozdanie Dyrekcji C.k. Gimnazjum w Wadowicach za rok szkolny 1903*, Wadowice 1903, pp. 10–12.

⁸ A. Wasiak, *The Bar Confederation in Wadowice*, “Przegląd Historyczno-Kulturalny Wadoviana”, no. 3, 1999, p. 74.



A map depicting the area of the Oświęcim and Zator Duchies. Map by Abraham Ortelius from the year 1603. Source: public domain.

been prompted by a delegation to our duchies and by the universal decree issued by the marshal of the Kraków Voivodeship for the purpose of uniting and aligning our sentiments in such a critical time for the homeland, and to assemble in a place safer from hostile incursions—hereby, with the aim of preserving the integrity of our ancient rights and the unbreached foundations of the Catholic faith, and also the liberties and privileges of the nobility that have been upheld for centuries, we solemnly declare the formation of an alliance. This alliance, in accordance with the decision to reject harmful national taxation and embrace restraint, is made public. We have chosen as our marshal for this endeavor, in the spirit of achieving the most effective arrangement and governance, the honorable Mr. Maciej Bobrowski, Voivode of Nowogródek [...].⁹

⁹ The accession of the Duchies of Zator and Oświęcim to the Bar and Kraków Confederations, in: *Akta do konfederacji r. 1768 województwa krakowskiego...*, p. 12.

Among the signatories of the act of accession to the Confederation by the Duchies of Zator and Oświęcim, which took place in mid-July 1768, were several dozen state dignitaries, representatives of noble families—landowners whose estates were located within the borders of both duchies, as well as illiterate representatives of peasants. Among them were: the mayor of Wadowice, Jan Biberstein Starowiejski, Aleksander from Klecza Rottermund, Ignacy from Radocza Achingier, Stanisław from Tropia Hebda, Andrzej Dunin of the Łabędź coat of arms, and many others.¹⁰ From the content of the cited document, we learn that the position of marshal was entrusted to Maciej Bobrowski, the Voivode of Nowogródek. According to the document, he was to be supported in his actions by Jan Starowiejski—the then deputy castellan of Latoszyn¹¹ and Kazimierz Lgocki—a minor military official of the Duchies of Oświęcim and Zator.¹² The election of the Confederation authorities for the Duchies of Oświęcim and Zator enabled large-scale recruitment efforts to be undertaken. The very next day after the accession to the Confederation was announced in Kęty (16 July), Marshal Maciej Bobrowski—while staying in Wadowice—summoned all mayors, village heads, and possessors of clerical and royal estates to send men with proper equipment to the confederate forces. It was also emphasized that those refusing to join the Confederation would be treated as its enemies. In addition to legal consequences, such individuals would be subject to infamy.¹³

The fate of the Confederation in the territories of the Duchies of Oświęcim and Zator was closely linked to the events unfolding in Kraków. The military forces gathered in Biała by the Confederates were redirected to assist the people of Kraków, who had been resisting Russian troops concentrated in Prądnik and near Mogiła since June 1768 (the day after the Confederation was declared in the Kraków Voivodeship). The Russians were repelled from the city walls by the defenders. Moreover, the Kraków Confederates, though unsuccessfully, counterattacked the Russian troops stationed in Prądnik. In the first weeks of the fighting, Kraków could rely on reinforcements from the following banners: Lanckorona, Przemyków, Wielkopolska, Nowotarska, and Sanocka. Aware of the reinforcements coming toward Kraków for the Confederate forces, including from the Duchies of Oświęcim and Zator, the Russian command decided

to attempt an attack on Kraków before the Confederate forces could unite. The Confederates, preparing to defend Kraków again, set up a military camp near the village of Krzemionki on July 24, 1768. It was at this time that the Polish command decided that Jerzy Marcin Lubomirski, who had previously organized assistance for Kraków in Sieniawa near Sanok and in July was elected the supreme commander of the Confederation in Kraków, should travel to Lanckorona and the Beskids region to gather new forces from the highlanders to support the troops stationed at Krzemionki. After his departure, the command in Kraków was taken over by Jakub Korwin Bronicki, who had previously been instrumental in uniting the Sanok region with the Confederation.

July and August of 1768 proved to be exceptionally difficult months for the Kraków Voivodeship Confederation. On July 25, Russian forces launched an attack on the camp established near Krzemionki. Polish troops retreated to fortified Kraków to mount a defense from Wawel. On the following two days, further assaults on Kraków were made. This time, the Russians attempted to storm the castle from the direction of Kazimierz. Thanks to well-prepared defenses and reinforced forces, the attack was repelled. However, the Russians did not withdraw. Their attack on August 16 led to the collapse of the defense, the fall of the city, and the end of what was known as the “Kraków Confederation,” that is, the Bar Confederation in the Kraków Voivodeship. A key factor in the August defeat was the failure of Jerzy Marcin Lubomirski in the battle near Maków on July 28. To make matters worse, the recently appointed commander-in-chief of Kraków’s forces fled at the beginning of the battle with his trusted men toward Hungary, attempting to cross the border into the Habsburg monarchy. At the turn of July and August 1768, Biała became an important Confederate center. Stationed there were not only troops recruited in the Duchies of Oświęcim and Zator, but also insurgents from the Wieluń region. Upon learning of the defeat at Maków and a clash with the Russians near Żywiec, the Wieluń insurgents also withdrew to Biała. Due to Russian military operations in the Beskid Żywiecki region, the commander of the forces in Biała, Teodor Wessel, made a tactical decision to move his troops from Biała to Cieszyn.¹⁴ The aforementioned General Lieutenant Teodor Wessel held the office of Grand Crown Treasurer at the time. The military organization in Biała was merely a prelude to his further insurgent activity. He became renowned as the chief organizer of the renewed Kraków Voivodeship Confederation,

¹⁰ Ibidem, p. 13–14.

¹¹ Most likely, this refers to Latyczów in the former Podolian Voivodeship.

¹² A. Wasiak, *Konfederacja barska w Wadowicach...*, p. 74.

¹³ The call for the Duchies of Zator and Oświęcim to join the Confederation and send armed men from royal estates, mayoralties, villages, and clerical estates, in: *Akta do konfederacji r. 1768 województwa krakowskiego...*, p. 14–15.

¹⁴ A. Wasiak, *Konfederacja barska w księstwach oświęcimskim i zatorskim z uwzględnieniem Wadowic*, in: *Wadowice. Studia z dziejów miasta*, edited by E. Kotowiecki, A. Nowakowski, G. Studnicki, Wadowice 1997, pp. 97–98.

formed in the spring of 1769 near Dębowiec, with its center in the village of Muszynka in the Low Beskids, where a large military camp was set up.¹⁵ It was on Wessel's initiative and based on his plans drafted in Cieszyn on March 31, 1769, that Jerzy Marcin Lubomirski was once again chosen as the marshal of the revived Kraków Confederation.¹⁶ He was supported by several councillors, including Franciszek Sędzimir (castle judge of the Sącz district), Stanisław Siemieński (starosta of the Biecz district), and Joachim Schwarzenberg Czerny and Tomasz Wilkoński, the latter two representing the nobility of the Duchies of Oświęcim and Zator. Shortly after his election, Lubomirski ordered that by April 12 each village estate or manor deliver one soldier to the camps in Izby or Muszynka, along with a contribution covering six months' wages (calculated at 3 zloty per week), as well as funds for purchasing arms and a uniform (estimated at 112 zloty). Unfortunately, in the following weeks and months, tensions and disputes arose within the Confederate camps in Muszynka and Izby. Conflict emerged between Wessel and Lubomirski regarding the co-option of new marshals alongside those already elected. Wessel's proposal was met with resistance from Lubomirski, who blocked all efforts to expand the leadership circle. However, Lubomirski's poor reputation—especially his desertion after the battle of Maków—and discontent with his tax demands led to opposition. Wessel seized the moment and summoned candidates for new marshal appointments. Arriving in Muszynka were Joachim Schwarzenberg Czerny, Tomasz Wilkoński, Rafał Tarnowski, and Ignacy Potocki. They were appointed as follows: Marshal of Kraków (Czerny), Marshal of the Duchies of Oświęcim and Zator (Wilkoński), Marshal of the Sandomierz and Sęczyca districts (Tarnowski), and Marshal of Sanok (Potocki). Following the selection of these new marshals, the Confederation could resume efforts to revive the Kraków Voivodeship movement. These actions were launched from the camp in Muszynka, where confederate proclamations (*uniwersały*) were issued. Particularly significant among these was the proclamation dated June 30, 1769. In it, Tomasz Wilkoński—referred to as Tomasz Odrowąż—ordered “*all estates, both noble and ecclesiastical, as well as royal holdings in the Duchy of Zator, to submit to us, the marshals stationed in Muszynka, all spiritual tithes, head taxes, land revenues, dignitary dues, Jewish head taxes, and quartering dues*

¹⁵ “Proclamation calling for an armed assembly on April 12, 1769, at the location of Izby and Muszynka, specifying the number of cavalry and infantry soldiers that noble estates, towns, and village jurisdictions are to provide proportionally to the number of fields or hides,” in: *Akta do konfederacji roku 1768 województwa krakowskiego...*, pp. 16–18.

¹⁶ A. Wasiak, *Konfederacja barska w księstwach oświęcimskim i zatorskim...*, p. 98.

in double installments under penalty, as any confederate soldier without pay would have to take matters into his own hands.”¹⁷ The deadline for the first installment of this “national tax” was set for mid-July. Additionally, each royal town in the Duchies of Oświęcim and Zator was required to provide “mounted men fully equipped with weapons and uniforms.”¹⁸ Notably, the June 30 proclamation was not the only one of its kind. As early as May 15, 1769, a similar decree was issued, imposing a tax on landed estates to support the maintenance of Confederate forces.

Heavy financial burdens placed on the nobility, clergy, and townspeople by both sides of the conflict effectively contributed to the impoverishment and insolvency of their estates. It is enough to note that by August 1769, only about one in three landowners had fulfilled the obligation of paying the tax. As a result, on August 9, the marshals of the Kraków Voivodeship confederation issued a document in Muszynka ordering the overdue payments to be settled in September under threat of forced collection. The decisions made in Muszynka were implemented almost immediately. Consequently, General Franciszek Sułkowski, stationed in Biała and holding military authority in the Zator starosty on behalf of Marshal Tomasz Wilkoński, began collecting the *pogłównie* (poll tax) and *hiberna*¹⁹ (a tax for quartering troops). As can be inferred from the preserved source material, the collection of taxes was not without complications. In the Kraków Voivodeship, there appeared units “posing” as confederate troops, collecting levies on behalf of the confederation. For this reason, on August 31, 1769, the marshals and councilors of the confederation in Muszynka issued a universal against “armed bands claiming to be confederates,” stating that only armed men accompanied by an ordinance legitimized by appropriate plenipotentiary powers and a seal were to be considered legitimate confederate forces.²⁰ This call was repeated a week later, on September 5, 1769, when Tomasz Wilkoński, during his stay in the camp at

¹⁷ Renewal of the order to provide soldiers for the confederation, instructions to pay all types of taxes *in duplo*, as well as interest on the proceeds from sums invested in ecclesiastical and hereditary noble estates, [in:] *Akta do konfederacji r. 1768 województwa krakowskiego...*, p. 19.

¹⁸ Ibidem.

¹⁹ Fr. Franciszek Sułkowski orders the towns of the Zator starosty to send the *hiberna* to Biała by September 5, 1769, [in:] *Akta do konfederacji r. 1768 województwa krakowskiego...*, p. 25.

²⁰ The marshals and councillors of the confederation issue a universal act against “lawless armed bands” posing as confederates, [in:] *Akta do konfederacji r. 1768 województwa krakowskiego...*, pp. 25–26.

Skawce near Wadowice, ordered the contents of his universal to be announced in all towns of the Oświęcim and Zator duchies, as well as in all parishes from the church pulpits. Importantly, Wilkoński, in order to fully control the tax collection for the benefit of the confederate forces, came from Muszynka and personally collected the *pogłówna* and *hiberna*. The payment deadline was set for September 12.²¹ It should be noted here that alongside Wilkoński, who was elected in Muszynka as marshal for the part of the Kraków Voivodeship referred to as the Oświęcim and Zator duchies, operated Józef Bierzyński of the Jastrzębiec coat of arms. He was a commander of the confederate troops and marshal of the Sieradz Voivodeship. He was known for his insubordination to the central confederate authorities and was remembered as an opponent of troops not under his command, which he persistently fought against. In the spring of 1769, he forced Kazimierz Pułaski into submission and stripped him of the title of a commander of the Kraków Voivodeship.²² That same year, Bierzyński appointed himself marshal of the Crown Army association, openly opposing the confederate marshals stationed in the camp near Muszynka. In the autumn of 1769, Bierzyński was in the vicinity of Kęty and Biała. On October 11, he issued his own universal ordering the collected taxes to be delivered to Kęty. This “summons” was in direct contradiction to the earlier decisions of Wilkoński. Therefore, it can be assumed that the previously mentioned August universal issued in Muszynka, which warned against “armed men claiming to be confederates,” referred in part to Bierzyński’s units.

After the capture of Kraków by Russian troops and the fall of the “Kraków Confederation,” efforts were made to revive it. The architects of this plan were Jakub Bronicki, who had escaped the besieged city in August, and Jerzy Marcin Lubomirski. The former, on September 15, 1768, while staying near the village of Vyrava (Polish: Wyrawa) in the territory of Hungary (now Slovakia), issued a universal act reestablishing the confederation in the Kraków Voivodeship.

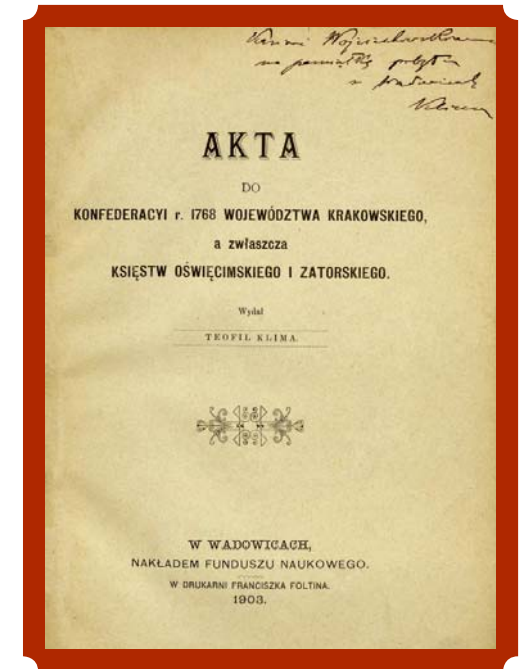
²¹ The marshal of the confederation of the Oświęcim and Zator duchies forbids the payment of *hiberna* and *poll tax* for the September installment to anyone other than his own command, [in:] *Akta do konfederacji r. 1768 województwa krakowskiego...*, p. 27; Designation of 12 September as the deadline for the duchies of Oświęcim and Zator to submit taxes for the September installment, [in:] *Akta do konfederacji r. 1768 województwa krakowskiego...*, p. 27.

²² M. Kozioł, *Konfederacja barska w Małopolsce. Ostatnie szlacheckie wystąpienie czy pierwsze narodowe powstanie?*, [in:] *Konfederacja Barska (1768–1772). Tło i dziedzictwo. Publikacja wydana w 250. Rocznicę zawiązania konfederacji barskiej*, editorial work by M. Jabłoński, Kraków 2018, pp. 25–26.

Outside of Kraków, in the Kraków Voivodeship, Russian troops operated with the support of Polish formations loyal to King Stanisław August Poniatowski. The task of these units was to locate and destroy insurgent groups. A large military contingent was stationed in Kęty. This is confirmed by an order issued by Stanisław Nieszkowski, a lieutenant of the royal guard regiment, announced in Zator on September 15, 1768. In the order, Nieszkowski reminded of the obligation to provide head tax for the royal cavalry regiment stationed in Kęty. In case of non-compliance, cities and villages faced the threat of execution. Additionally, Nieszkowski required the local inhabitants to report any “rebel” armed groups that might appear in the region.²³ Presumably, the Russian and anti-confederate forces in Kęty were not very numerous, as when news reached the town in October about a large gathering of confederate forces in nearby Biała, these troops, fearing for their safety, sought refuge behind the walls of the local Reformed Friars’ monastery.

On September 6, 1769, the aforementioned marshal of the duchies of Oświęcim and Zator, Tomasz Wilkoński, entered Kraków, thereby supporting the few confederate troops that had already been in the city for several hours. These troops had taken over the city after the Russians left. By mid-September, the main forces of the confederates reached Kraków from the camp in Muszynka. At the same time, Wilkoński left the former Polish capital and, along with his troops, headed for winter quarters in Biała.

The maintenance of large military formations stationed in the southwestern borderlands of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, along with



²³ Stanisław Nieszkowski, lieutenant of the Royal Cavalry Guard Regiment, reminds about the time for paying the poll tax to the aforementioned guard in Kęty and orders the reporting of “rebel” armed groups, [in:] *Akta do konfederacji r. 1768 województwa krakowskiego...*, p. 15.

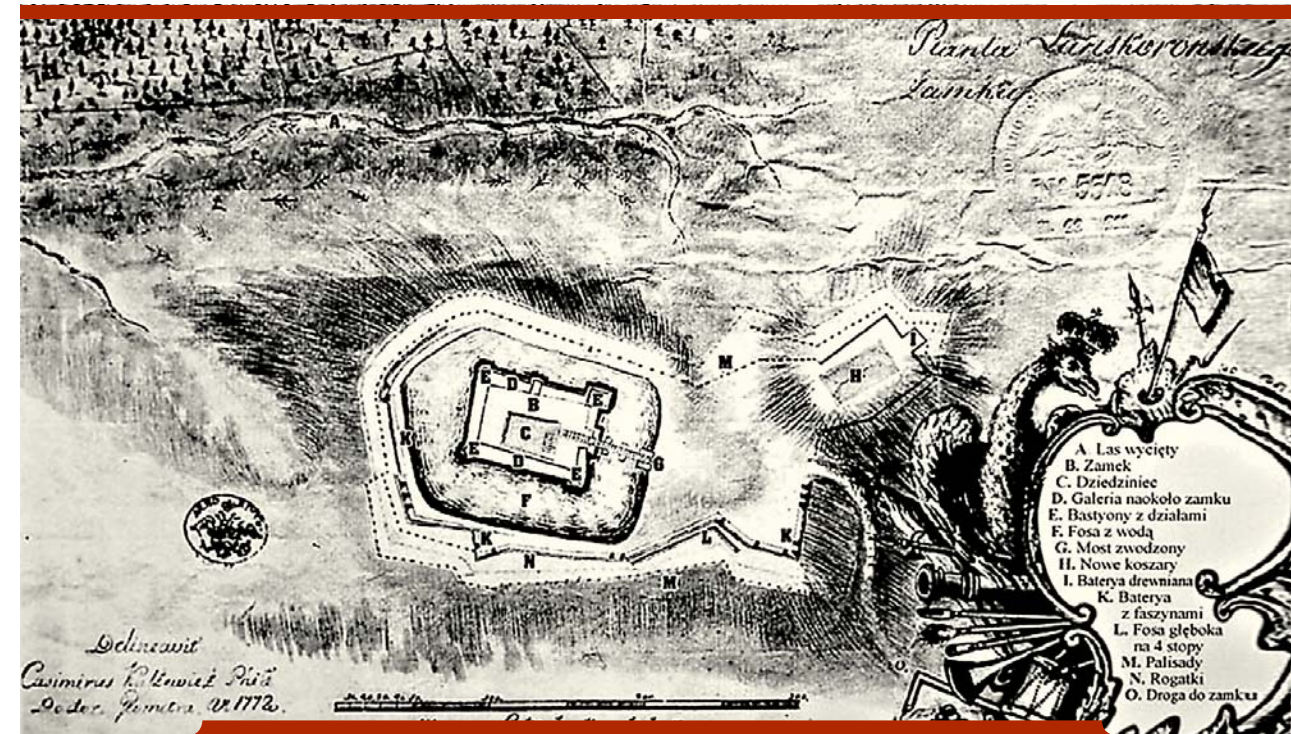
continuous tax levies, pushed the local population to the brink of economic collapse. It is enough to note that from October to December 1769 alone, the confederate leaders organized under the so-called *Generalność* (the General Council of the Confederation) issued several calls for tax payments and the delivery of collected contributions to the military treasury. On December 10, 1769, Wilkoński, acting on the authority granted by the General Council, called upon the “citizens” of the Kraków Voivodeship and both duchies to send all financial obligations to Biała.²⁴ With the arrival of 1770, new obligations were imposed by the marshal of the confederation of the duchies of Oświęcim and Zator. For example, on February 20, a command was issued to the town of Wadowice to dispatch five cavalymen for the confederate forces.²⁵ For the impoverished townspeople, this additional burden seemed unbearable, especially considering that just a few months earlier, on October 11, 1769, the inhabitants of Wadowice had been ordered to collect 150 barrels of salt from the Wieliczka salt mines. The imposed price for this unwanted delivery—2,000 Polish zlotys—was meant to support the confederate treasury. The town authorities, lacking the funds, managed to collect only 70 barrels, which was barely half of the assigned load.²⁶ Other cities, towns, and villages also experienced difficulties in fulfilling their obligations, prompting Tomasz Wilkoński to issue two universal edicts already in January 1770 (dated January 6 and 29), urging payment of outstanding dues within two weeks under threat of “strict execution.” Despite the formation of the General Council, which was intended to consolidate the confederate forces under a single command, instances of insubordination among individual commanders still occurred in 1770. This is evidenced by another joint universal issued by the confederation marshals on March 5 in Biała. It forbade the payment of financial dues to persons lacking plenipotentiary authority from the General Council or the marshals who signed the edict, namely Tomasz Wilkoński, Antoni Morszkowski, Feliks Stępowski, A. Rogala Zawdzki, and J. Kossowski.²⁷

²⁴ Call to deliver taxes belonging to the treasury of the Commonwealth, specifically to the treasury of the confederate *Generalność*, to Biała, [in:] *Akta do konfederacji r. 1768 województwa krakowskiego...*, p. 32; A. Wasiak, *Konfederacja barska w księstwach oświęcimskim i zatorskim...*, p. 102.

²⁵ Order for the town of Wadowice to provide 5 mounted men for the confederate army, [in:] *Akta do konfederacji r. 1768 województwa krakowskiego...*, p. 34.

²⁶ A. Wasiak, *Konfederacja barska w księstwach oświęcimskim i zatorskim...*, pp. 101–102.

²⁷ Call to pay all taxes for the March instalment, to the Treasury of the Commonwealth, belonging to the treasury of the *Generalność* in Biała, and a prohibition on delivering such payments to anyone else without explicit instructions from the *Generalność* or



Plans of the Lanckorona Castle in 1772, author: K. Kaszewicz. Source: public domain, license CC BY-SA 3.0.

In the spring of 1770, soldiers from the Mirowski Regiment of the Crown Horse Guards appeared in the lands of the Duchies of Oświęcim and Zator, initiating compulsory tax collections for the maintenance of their regiment. On May 9, 1770, their commanders in Wadowice announced the collection of two overdue installments of the head tax, for September 1769 and March 1770. Notably, in September 1770, Kazimierz Pułaski recruited this regiment into the confederation at Kazimierz²⁸ near Kraków and assumed command of it.²⁹ The regiment continued resisting Russian besiegers at the Jasna Góra fortress as late as June 1772. The chaos resulting from the fluid situation caused

the commissioners issuing this universal decree, [in:] *Akta do konfederacji r. 1768 województwa krakowskiego...*, pp. 35–36.

²⁸ M. Dziewulski, The Attitude of Michał Walewski, Marshal of the Bar Confederation of the Kraków Land, Towards the Political and Military Efforts Around the Tyniec Fortress (May–June 1772), “*Studia nad Historią, Kulturą i Polityką*”, 8/2014, p. 161.

²⁹ T. Krzyżanowski, *Wspomnienia mieszczanina krakowskiego z lat 1768–1807*, edited by W. Prokesch, Kraków 1900, p. 11.

by the movement of hostile troops throughout the duchies meant that city officials and holders of ecclesiastical and private estates were often forced to pay double taxes—both to the confederates and to the Crown army. Moreover, considerable damage was inflicted by Russian units operating within the Kraków voivodeship.³⁰ The situation in the region is best illustrated by the events of late September and early October 1770. On September 13, the command of the Russian Life Guards ordered that taxes for the maintenance of the Russian army be sent to Kraków, where those troops were stationed.³¹ Merely three weeks later, on October 5, the confederate authorities ordered those instructions to be ignored and that taxes instead be forwarded to the fortress at Jasna Góra.³² In the following years, the situation of the cities and villages in the western part of the Kraków voivodeship significantly deteriorated. The confederate defenders of the Lanckorona fortress demanded new contributions that exceeded the capabilities of local inhabitants. As an example, in 1771 the town of Wadowice was required to supply one hundred men to defend Lanckorona, along with forage for horses.³³ Around this time, desertions from the confederate army increased. To counteract this, on May 6, 1771, Kazimierz Pułaski, J. Międzyński, and Michał Walewski, while at the Lanckorona fortress, issued a universal edict with the following contents:

Our military council, by the authority of the estates of the Confederated Commonwealth of Both Nations, hereby declares: having observed the significant harm caused by previous practices, we now seek to prevent desertion in the army in the future. We issue this proclamation in all towns, villages, and settlements, stating that if a soldier passes through or across a given area and is asked for their orders, leave, or discharge papers, and fails to present them, they must immediately be sent back to the nearest command. A suitable reward is promised for those who carry out this action. [Note: The text ends with a citation which would

³⁰ The confirmation of the destruction caused by the Russians was the manifesto issued by Tomasz Wilkoński in December 1769, instructing the residents of the Duchies of Oświęcim and Zator to list the damages inflicted by the Russian forces.

³¹ Colonel of the King's and Republic's Cavalry Life Guard Regiment calls for the payment of the September head tax due to this same colonel and for it to be delivered to Kraków, [in:] *Akta do konfederacji r. 1768 województwa krakowskiego...*, pp. 39-40.

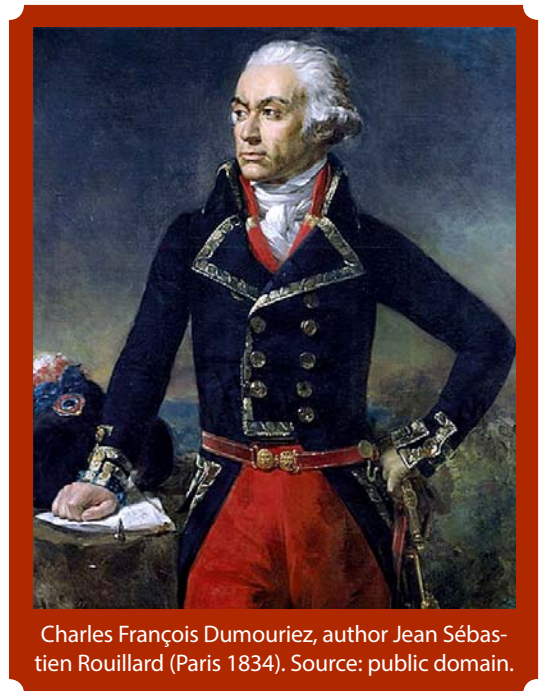
³² Cancellation of a letter illegally issued by the former colonel of the Crown Life Guard Cavalry Regiment and the order to send taxes paid to this regiment to the Jasna Góra fortress, [in:] *Akta do konfederacji r. 1768 województwa krakowskiego...*, pp. 40-41.

³³ A. Wasiak, *Konfederacja barska w księstwach oświęcimskim i zatorskim...*, p. 103.

typically include the page reference].³⁴

Unfortunately, the Lanckorona proclamation did not bring satisfactory results. The confederate forces were being depleted with every passing month and week. The insurrectionist troops operating in the territories of the Duchies of Oświęcim and Zator were melting away. The arrival of reinforcements from Lithuania and Turkey did not change the situation.³⁵ In January 1771, Lanckorona became the main headquarters of the confederates fighting in the western part of the Kraków Voivodeship.

The choice of the Lanckorona castle was not accidental. On the one hand, after the failed attack by insurgents on Kraków during the night of January 12–13, it was necessary to secure a safe outpost at a relatively short distance from the city. Lanckorona was chosen, and it was almost immediately fortified with the support of local peasants and townspeople.³⁶ Despite the difficulties caused by snowfall, the castle was successfully fortified. By the end of January and during the first weeks of February, the Lanckorona castle was manned by a Polish garrison. On February 21, 1771, the first battle for Lanckorona took place, which, after several hours of fighting, ended in a spectacular confederate victory. The Russians lost approximately 400–500 men, which accounted for nearly 25% of the attacking force.³⁷ Another, this time less fortunate, battle was fought near Lanckorona on May 23, 1771. After the failed



Charles François Dumouriez, author Jean Sébastien Rouillard (Paris 1834). Source: public domain.

³⁴ Proclamation intended to prevent desertion in the army, [in:] *Akta do konfederacji r. 1768 województwa krakowskiego...*, p. 43.

³⁵ *Konfederacja barska. Wybór tekstów*, introduction and edited by W. Konopczyński, Kraków 1928, p. XXVI.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 128.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 129–130.



The Prayer of the Bar Confederates at Lanckorona, by Artur Grottger. Source: public domain

attempt to seize the confederate-held abbey in Tyniec near Kraków (during the night of May 20–21), the troops of Russian General Alexander Suvorov turned toward Lanckorona. The Russian attack came from the direction of the village of Palcza. The confederate troops, commanded by the French officer Charles Dumouriez, succumbed to the onslaught of a more numerous, better armed, and more disciplined enemy. The outcome of the battle was disastrous for the Poles. The confederates lost a number of their commanders, who either died or were taken prisoner. On the border between the villages of Palcza and Harbutowice, 300 Poles surrounded by Suvorov's forces were killed. The Russians lost only a few men. Dumouriez remembered that dramatic May day as follows: "Prince Sapieha was killed just as he was trying to rally the hussar squadron; another marshal named Orzeszko also fell; Count Miączyński, the Bełz marshal, fell from his horse and was taken prisoner. It was no longer possible to gather even a handful of men—no one resisted, and the Russians could barely keep up with killing the confederates: there was no resistance at all."³⁸

³⁸ Quoted in *Konfederacja barska. Wybór tekstów...*, p. 138.

The defeat at Lanckorona exposed the weakness of the confederate forces. The destruction of Miączyński's division meant that in the following months only about three thousand infantrymen could be mustered against the Russians in Lesser Poland, stationed in several places, including Biała and Częstochowa.³⁹ The Kraków Voivodeship confederation was in decline, despite the fact that the Lanckorona castle remained in Polish hands. The treasury collected in Biała did not improve the situation—it was insufficient even to feed the remaining garrisons.⁴⁰ In early spring 1772, the first national uprising came to an end. Some of the former confederates, such as Teodor Wessel, entered the service of foreign powers. Others, unable to reconcile with the situation, decided to leave the Commonwealth and go into exile.⁴¹ On August 5, 1772, the defeat was complete. Three neighboring governments—Prussia, Austria, and Russia—carried out the First Partition of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in Saint Petersburg. In the following months, occupation administrations were established in the annexed territories. The southeastern parts of the Commonwealth, including the lands of the Duchies of Oświęcim and Zator, fell under the rule of the Austrian Habsburgs for the next 146 years.

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³⁹ *Wojna w Polsce 1770 i 1771 r. z pamiętników generała Dumouriez'a*, ed. J. K. Żupański, Poznań 1865, p. 67.

⁴⁰ Ibidem.

⁴¹ *Konfederacja barska. Wybór tekstów...*, p. XXVII.

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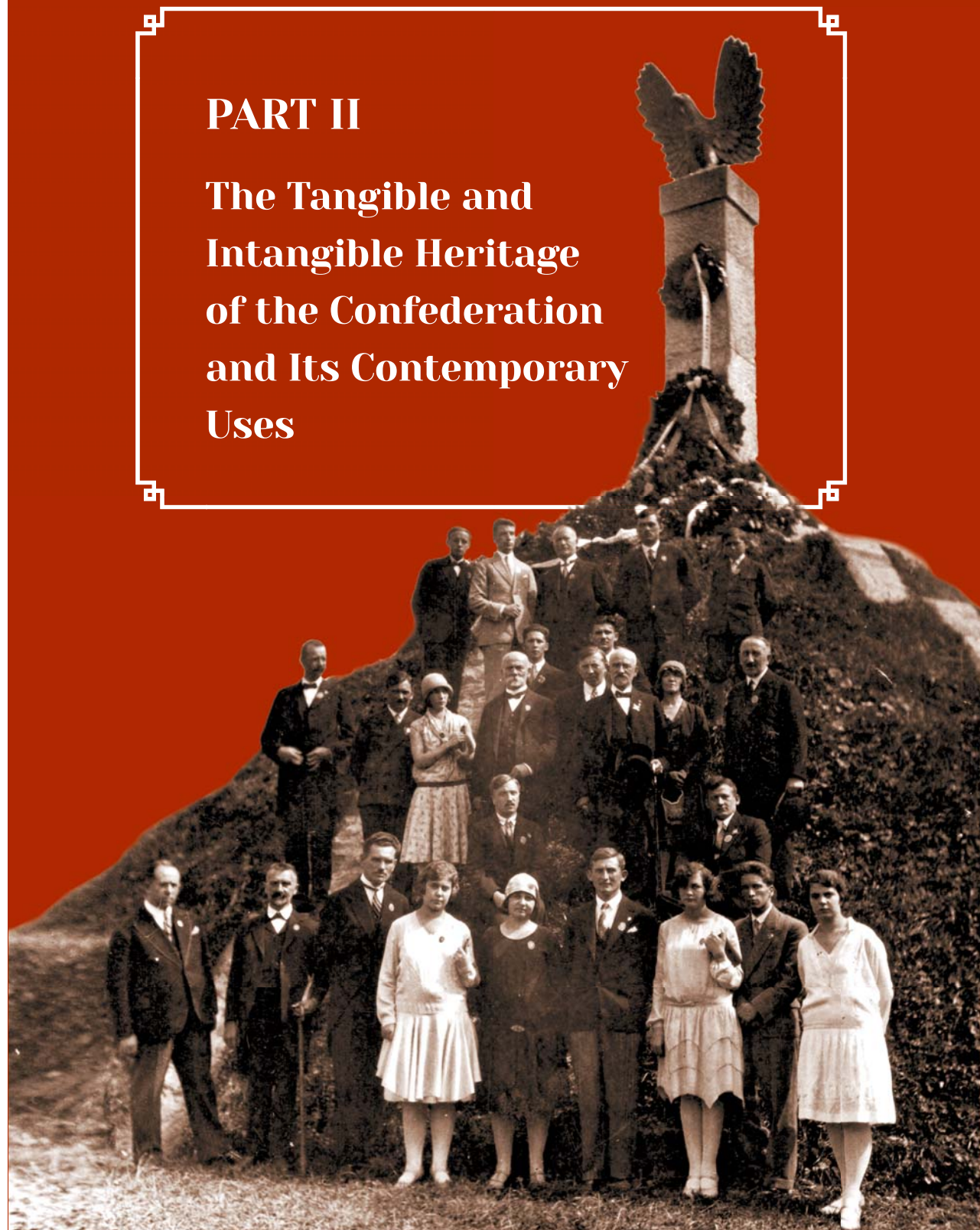
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PART II

The Tangible and Intangible Heritage of the Confederation and Its Contemporary Uses



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Fortified Camps of the Bar Confederates in the Low Beskids Region in Light of Non-Invasive Archeological Research¹

The 18th century marked the period of decline for the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. The homeland, already ravaged by numerous wars in the previous century—further exacerbated by plagues and economic difficulties—was steadily deteriorating. The next major conflict of the early 18th century, the so-called Great Northern War (1700–1721), brought further devastation and deepened the crisis engulfing the country. Additionally, the rule of foreign-born and often described as “unambitious and unintelligent” monarchs of Poland, coupled with a self-serving and morally decayed nobility, transformed the Commonwealth into a “theoretical state.” It became a country devoid of a standing army, torn by internal discord, mired in anarchy, and lacking a healthy economy. Meanwhile, on

¹ This article is based on an archeological research report and on a scholarly article authored by the writer. Selected figures and some conclusions have been drawn from these sources. The content has been edited for the purposes of the present publication to make it more accessible to readers. It has also been supplemented with new data and conclusions reached by the researcher in recent years. M. Filipowicz, *Karpackie fortyfikacje konfederatów barskich w świetle najnowszych badań archeologicznych – ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem obozu nad Wysową*, [in:] *Twierdze Osiemnastowiecznej Europy III*, ed. M. Trąbski, Częstochowa 2020, pp. 147–180; M. Filipowicz, M. Pisz, *Sprawozdanie z badań nieinwazyjnych szaców konfederatów barskich w ramach projektu „Wiara i Wolność”*, Warsaw 2019, pp. 1–50.

its borders, future imperial powers were steadily gaining strength—empires that, by 1772, would initiate the First Partition of Poland. Throughout much of the 18th century, the Habsburg Monarchy, the Kingdom of Prussia, and the Russian Empire invested in military expansion, economic modernization, and the advancement of education and science. In stark contrast, the Commonwealth was regressing. This vast state, nearly devoid of a functional military and deeply divided between a wealthy magnate elite and a corruptible nobility that blocked all attempts at reform, was in terminal decline. The internal situation was so dire that the territory of the Commonwealth frequently served as a staging ground for foreign troops, particularly Russian. Polish citizens were forcibly conscripted into foreign armies, such as the Prussian military, while the remnants of the Polish army could no longer ensure domestic security—a task increasingly assumed by the Russian army. Even the conflict among the three future partitioning powers—the so-called Silesian Wars (1740–1742, 1744–1745, 1756–1763)—failed to create an opening for meaningful reform. It was a rare moment when far-reaching changes might have been enacted safely. However, the meticulous and ruthless policies of Austria, Prussia, and Russia—implemented through the systematic corruption of Polish elites and interference in the internal affairs of the Commonwealth—thwarted any reform efforts and ultimately led to the violent dismantling of the First Republic. By this point, the Commonwealth had become little more than a source of fodder and supplies for foreign armies.

One of the earliest organized efforts to cast off foreign domination was undertaken by the Bar Confederates. In the name of “*Faith and Freedom*,” they rose in arms against Russian influence in Poland and against the actions of the indecisive and corrupt King Stanisław August Poniatowski. On February 29, 1768, in the town of Bar in Podolia, the Bar Confederation was formed. Its declared aims included the defense of noble liberties, the restoration of traditional rights, and the protection of the Commonwealth from religious dissenters and Moscow’s growing sway.² Today, the Confederation is widely regarded as one of the first modern national uprisings.³ For four years (1768–1772), rebel forces fought against Russian troops, laying the groundwork for future uprisings and national liberation movements. Following early defeats

² W. Konopczyński, *Konfederacja Barska*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1991, pp. 37–42; K. Przyboś, *Konfederacja barska. Przyczyny i przebieg*, *Zeszyty Sądecko-Spiskie*, vol. 3: 2008, p. 20; A. Nowak, *Zmagania konfederatów o wolność Rzeczypospolitej*, [in:] *Konfederacja Barska. Tło i dziedzictwo*, ed. M. Jabłoński, Kraków 2018, pp. 47–54.

³ W. Konopczyński, *Dzieje Polski nowożytnej*, vol. II, Warsaw 1986, p. 189.

in direct confrontations with Russian units in the southeastern voivode-ships, military activity shifted to the mountainous regions of Lesser Poland (Małopolska). During this period, a number of earthen fortifications were constructed—either as fortified camps or as small, isolated defensive works.⁴

A particularly significant place on the historical map of Bar Confederate military activities is occupied by the Low Beskids. This is the most expansive range of the Polish Beskids, characterized by steep slopes and difficult summit approaches. Its proximity to the Hungarian border created favorable conditions for the establishment of approximately twenty Bar Confederates’ fortifications, near which numerous skirmishes with Russian detachments took place. Fewer than ten of these fortifications have survived to the present day, with the best-preserved being the earthworks at Czeremcha, Grab, and Ciechania.

State of Research

The state of research into the fortifications of the Bar Confederates remains far from ideal. None of the sites described below have undergone systematic archeological excavation. Investigations to date have been limited to surface surveys and geophysical prospection. Most of the sites have already been looted and disturbed by illegal treasure hunters, who have removed numerous artifacts. As a result, the study of the material culture associated with the Bar Confederates’ encampments has been significantly hindered. These finds should be formally studied and transferred to museums for educational purposes; unfortunately, they continue to languish and deteriorate on the shelves of irresponsible “detectorists.”⁵

Some of the earliest sources depicting the fortifications of the Bar Confederates can be found on maps of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria from the years 1779–1783, held in the War Archives in Vienna and accompanied by detailed descriptions (the so-called Mieg Map), as well as on maps of the Kingdom of Hungary from 1782–1785. Also of great value are the writings of notable historians and ethnographers such as Oskar Kolberg, Waław

⁴ M. Filipowicz, *Fortyfikacje konfederatów barskich w Małopolsce – monumentalne i nowoczesne twierdze czy przestarzałe i źle zaplanowane dzieła obronne*, [in:] *Polskie rewolucje i przełomy. Od konfederacji barskiej do roku 1989. Zbiór studiów interdyscyplinarnych*, eds. B.A. Orłowska and K. Siemaszko, Gorzów Wielkopolski 2022, pp. 149–174.

⁵ Shortly after the geophysical surveys were conducted at the entrenchment in Wyso-wa—following the prior clearing of vegetation to facilitate the research—illegal treasure hunters excavated the entire site, retrieving, among other items, numerous coins, musket balls, and other remnants of military equipment.

Mejbaum, and Szczesny Morawiecki. Their works provide information on the location, dates of construction, and structural characteristics of defensive works built by the Confederates. Still relevant today is the monumental 1936 monograph *Konfederacja Barska*⁶ by Władysław Konopczyński, which remains essential reading for anyone interested in the subject. In the interwar period, occasional references to the remains of Bar Confederates' fortifications appeared in local press reports.⁷

However, during the era of the Polish People's Republic, for obvious ideological reasons,⁸ scholarly publications and research on the Bar Confederation were severely limited. Information was often relegated to tourist magazines or hidden within general-interest columns such as "Krajoznawcze Notes" ("Topographic Contributions"), a deliberate tactic to evade censorship then imposed on the press. One of the few scholars who undertook efforts to locate and document the physical remnants of the Confederates' presence in the Low Beskids and surrounding regions was Tomasz Nawalnicki.⁹

After 1989, the state of research remained largely unchanged. This was due in part to the discipline of archeology, which until recently had shown little interest in studying early modern or later field fortifications.¹⁰ Likewise, academic communities in disciplines related to archeology did not express particular interest in the subject of the Bar Confederation. This situation changed rapidly in the second decade of the 21st century with the introduction of LiDAR¹¹ technology, which enabled the discovery of numerous previously

unknown traces of human activity, including nearly all of the long-forgotten Bar Confederate camps. This breakthrough gave rise to a series of academic publications, with early contributions by Leszek Migrała, Piotr Sadowski,¹² and Maciej Śliwa. The last of them, Maciej Śliwa, published a series of articles and two monographs,¹³ which are compilations of his earlier articles. Unfortunately, Śliwa does not cite the works of other researchers, repeats the bibliography from Konopczyński's *Konfederacja Barska*, and creates a number of fanciful reconstructions of former fortifications, which belong to the realm of "fiction" literature—reaching an absurd level in his reconstruction of the Bar Confederates' camp near Strzegocice,¹⁴ where a preliminary, unrealized plan of an Austrian military camp, sketched in pencil on the Mieg Map, was interpreted as remains of Confederate fortifications. Regrettably, Śliwa's "publications" and other activities have caused more harm than good.¹⁵

The first scientific—archeological—publication was by Michał Parczewski, who compiled source material and published scientific information about

airborne platform to illuminate the terrain. One of its primary objectives is to generate three-dimensional models of the land's topography.

¹² L. Migrała, *Obóz w Muszynie na tle działań konfederatów barskich na Sąddeckim*, "Almanach Sądecki" vol. XIX, no. 1/2 (70/71), 2010, pp. 24–34; P. Sadowski, *Konfederacja barska w starostwie lanckorońskim*, in: "Zeszyty Sądecko-Spiskie", vol. 3, Nowy Sącz 2008, pp. 52–69; P. Sadowski, K. Sojka, *Konfederacki szaniec nad Roztokami Górnymi*, "Podkarpacka Historia" 2017, no. 1–2, pp. 98–104.

¹³ M. Śliwa, "Dzisiejsze ślady po obozie konfederatów barskich koło Izb", *Almanach Muszyny* 2004; idem, "Konfederacki obóz w Izbach próba rekonstrukcji", *Almanach Muszyny* 2005; idem, "Konfederacka stolica", *Płaj*, no. 41, 2010; idem, "Obóz konfederatów barskich pod Grabiem", *Płaj*, no. 53, 2017; idem, "Obóz konfederatów barskich pod Barwinkiem", *Płaj*, no. 54, 2017; idem, "Zaginiony obóz konfederatów barskich", *Almanach Muszyny* 2007; idem, "Tragiczne skutki marcowej awantury Bierzyńskiego", *Almanach Muszyny* 2015; idem, "Obóz konfederatów barskich pod Wysową", *Płaj*, no. 51, 2016.

¹⁴ M. Śliwa, *Konfederacja barska od Spiszu po Bieszczady*, Kraków 2019, pp. 149–152.

¹⁵ Maciej Śliwa excavated each site using a metal detector without prior permission from the monument conservator or the landowner. The artifacts recovered from the ground were neither studied nor conserved. No planography was created, despite my numerous appeals directed to Jerzy Dębiec, who surveyed the sites with him and who keeps some of the finds in his museum. Moreover, Śliwa does not cite other researchers. He was included in the research team for the grant, received from me the analyses and results of archeological research, but did not respond to them nor incorporate them into his publications, as they present conclusions fundamentally different from those he put forward. In his publications, he created his own version of reality concerning the Bar Confederation. The only positive aspect of his work is marking each site (even fictional ones) with a cross commemorating the Bar Confederation.

⁶ W. Konopczyński, *Konfederacja Barska*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1991.

⁷ F. Kmietowicz, *Pomnik Kazimierza Pułaskiego w Krynicy Zdroju*, "Goniec Podhalański" 1927, no. 12, p. 3.

⁸ The struggles of the confederated Poles against Russia were not to the liking of the authorities of the time; efforts were made to erase the memory of the Bar Confederation.

⁹ T. Nowalnicki, *Szaniec nad Izbami i okopy nad Wojkową*, "Wierchy" 1971, vol. 40, pp. 192–198; idem, *Fortyfikacje polowe z czasów konfederacji barskiej na ziemi sądeckiej*, "Rocznik Sądecki" 1972, vol. 13, pp. 264–272; idem, *Próba rekonstrukcji "Szańca Pułaskiego"*, "Wierchy" 1973, vol. 41, pp. 263–265; idem, *Obóz konfederatów barskich koło Wysowej*, "Wierchy" 1974, vol. 43, pp. 321–324.

¹⁰ An exception is the Koziołek camp near the Narew River, as well as several fortifications in the Central Sudetes, which were entered into the register of archeological sites in the 1960s and 1980s by Jerzy Romanow and his research team, along with Wiesław Rośkowicz and Witold Nawalicki. W. Nawalicki, W. Rośkowicz, *Szańce z bitwy pod Burkatowem i Lutomią*, "Fortyfikacja" 1993, vol. 5, p. 205.

¹¹ LiDAR is used for the non-invasive identification of archeological sites. It enables, among other things, the detection of features in forested areas that are not visible beneath the vegetation cover. This method involves using a laser mounted on an

the Bar Confederates' camp in Łupków in the Western Bieszczady.¹⁶ Subsequent articles were published by Piotr Sadowski,¹⁷ Krzysztof Sojka, and the author of the present publication,¹⁸ all also relying on available sources and based on archeological and architectural research. Significant archival queries conducted by Krzysztof Bajrasz also played an important role, aiding the three aforementioned authors in developing their articles—for which Krzysztof Bajrasz deserves the sincerest thanks.

The state of archeological research left much to be desired despite existing and emerging literature. Surface surveys were carried out only at the redoubt in Muszynka and at sites in Łupków (2015) and Roztoki Górne (2016), limited to documenting the locations. It was not until the author's research in 2018 that this picture changed. As part of the project *Wiara i Wolność – fortyfikacje konfederatów barskich w Beskidzie Niskim i Bieszczadach. Badania nieinwazyjne* [Faith and Freedom – Bar Confederates' Fortifications in Low Beskids and the Bieszczady Mountains: Non-Invasive Research], conducted by the Hereditas Foundation and co-financed by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage (MKiDN) under the operational program *Ochrona Zabytków Archeologicznych* [Protection of Archeological Monuments] for 2018–2019,¹⁹ geophysical measurements and their analysis were performed by Michał Pisz, while surface surveys and an attempt at reconstruction were carried out by Michał Filipowicz. At that time, six sites in Low Beskids, the Bieszczady, and the Poprad and Jasło Foothills were examined both on the surface and geophysically: Muszynka, Izby, Wysowa, Konieczna, Mytarka, and Łupków. As a result of the work, the layout of the objects was established and the internal infrastructure and site boundaries were identified. KEZA forms (cards for archeological monument registration) were prepared and the sites entered into the registry, thereby ensuring their protection. Subsequent surface research continued until 2023, documenting remaining fortification relics,

among others, in Czeremcha (2016, 2023), Barwinek, Grab, Ciechania (2016, 2022), and Blechnarka. As a result of these efforts, measurements were taken and preliminary site plans drawn.

Research methodology

The research was planned and conducted according to the guidelines of the European Archeological Council. The work performed fits within the framework of Landscape Archeology.²⁰ All available data at the time were utilized: historical sources, archival cartographic materials, remote sensing data (aerial photographs, satellite images, orthophotomaps, digital terrain models, and digital surface models), as well as maps of physical field parameter distributions obtained in the field.²¹

The scope and type of work were individually adjusted to each site. First, however, the area designated for research had to be cleared and cleaned to enable geophysical measurements. Two methods were used during the non-invasive research: magnetometry and electrical resistivity measurements.²² The electrical resistivity method “involves placing a line of four electrodes into the ground for each reading. Current is transmitted into the soil through the outer pair of electrodes, and the soil resistance is calculated based on measurements of resistance between the inner pair of electrodes and the distance between them. ... Generally, the wetter the soil, the more easily it conducts electric current, meaning it offers less resistance”²³ (after Renfrew, Bahn 2002, p. 94). This method is useful for detecting stone structures and cavities currently beneath the surface. The magnetic method—in this method archeological finds can be located when they generate magnetic anomalies—disturbances representing a difference between the average intensity of the Earth's magnetic field in a given area and its value at a specific point. [...] Magnetic anomalies are caused by various phenomena: They arise due to the presence of clusters of ferromagnetic materials, associated with the presence of iron. [...] They are created by substances characterized by so-called thermal remanent magnetization [...]. They also occur because of varying so-called

¹⁶ M. Parczewski, *Szaniec konfederatów barskich w Łupkowie w Bieszczadach Zachodnich*, *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, 2016, vol. LXIV, no. 4, pp. 467–483.

¹⁷ P. Sadowski, *Lanckorona – twierdza konfederatów barskich: od budowy do koncepcji zagospodarowania turystycznego*, in: *Dla wolności ginę. Kontekst historyczny i kulturowy konfederacji barskiej*, Dukla 2020, vol. XV, pp. 119–146..

¹⁸ P. Sadowski, K. Sojka, M. Filipowicz, *Szaniec konfederacki w Roztokach Górnych koło Cisnej – od odkrycia do zagospodarowania turystycznego*, in: “Dla wolności ginę. Kontekst historyczny i kulturowy konfederacji barskiej”, Dukla 2020, vol. XV, pp. 205–217.

¹⁹ The research team consisted of Michał Pisz, Michał Filipowicz, Prof. Michał Parczewski, Dr. habil. Rafał Zapłata, Dr. Dominik Jagiełło, Dr. Piotr Sadowski, Krzysztof Bajrasz, Jerzy Dębiec, Janusz Kieblesz, Krzysztof Sojka, and Maciej Śliwa.

²⁰ H. Chapman, *Landscape Archeology and GIS*, Stroud 2006. A. Schmid, P. Linford, N. Linford, A. David, Ch. Gaffney, A. Sarris, J. Fassbinder, *EAC Guidelines for the Use of Geophysics in Archeology: Questions to Ask and Points to Consider*, [in:] *Eac Guidelines*, no. 2, Namur 2015.

²¹ M. Filipowicz, *Karpacie...*, pp. 149–150.

²² Ibidem.

²³ C. Renfrew, P. Bahn, *Archeologia. Teorie, metody i praktyka*, Warszawa 2002, p. 94.

magnetic susceptibility of individual substances”²⁴ (after Ławecka 2003, pp. 66–67). This method is helpful in detecting, among others, iron objects, former furnaces, and traces of fires, e.g., remains of burned palisades.

Bar Confederation fortifications in the Low Beskids

About 10 fortifications from the Bar Confederation period have been preserved in the Low Beskids. Geophysical and surface surveys were conducted at the sites in Izby, Wysowa, and Konieczna. At the other locations—Grabie, Ciechanie, Barwinek, and Czeremcha—only surface surveys had been carried out up to the time of writing this article.

Izby

The site was surveyed using the magnetic method.²⁵ A total area of over 3.5 hectares was examined. The research area was mostly within pastures and meadows. Part of the work was conducted in the forest south of the main area, where three squares (40 x 40 m each), totaling 0.48 ha, were established. Numerous magnetic anomalies were recorded during the work. Most of the dipole point anomalies are remnants of ferromagnetic (iron) objects related to the period when the area was used by the Confederates, as well as to fortification works from World War II and contemporary remains from agricultural activities. Positive point anomalies are most likely related to thermal processing, i.e., remnants of old furnaces or hearths.

The second type of discovered anomalies was linear anomalies, recorded both in meadow and forest areas. These are associated with the defensive structure of the fortification (outline of the front and flanks of the work) and features that may have formed its infrastructure (traces of residential and utility buildings). The most interesting anomalies were documented in the northwestern part of the camp. They run above vegetative markers observed during the processing of remote sensing data (most likely remains of a ditch or a relic of fortifications). According to the author, the linear anomalies originate from burnt elements of the fortification. Based on their course, it is possible to partially reconstruct the front of the fortifications,²⁶ which

²⁴ D. Ławecka, *Wstęp do archeologii*, Warszawa 2003, pp. 66–67.

²⁵ There was no consent from the landowner to conduct research using the electrical resistivity method, which, in the author's opinion, would have been more appropriate for this site and would have better illustrated the former structures of the defensive work.

²⁶ *Czoło* – the part of a fortification element or work facing the glacis.

Eighteenth-century treatises on the art of fortification emphasized that this was the part most exposed to enemy attack, as it was the least flanked. According to

consists of a quadrilateral artillery bastion connected by straight curtains²⁷ with the main bastion²⁸/bastion, and the western flank of the work in the form of a half-bastion or redan²⁹ with a re-entrant angle. The linear anomalies recorded in the forest are barely noticeable but quite regular, suggesting they might have been buildings intended for residential or utility purposes. According to the geophysicist analyzing the measurements, they were not destroyed by fire but might have undergone significant erosion.³⁰

Additional data came from surface surveys, which established that most likely one of the bastions with its curtain wall survived east of the main bastion—in a young forest. Therefore, it was not destroyed by bulldozer work in the 1980s, which damaged the fortification. It was only disturbed by fortification works from 1944. Furthermore, it was discovered and confirmed that the remains of a parallelogram structure with a ditch to the southwest of the main fortification (part of the forest where measurements were taken) are also associated with the presence of the Bar Confederates.³¹

contemporary principles, the *czoło* of a bastion should not exceed 60 *sążeń** (approximately 115 meters) in length, so that its entire length could be defended by rifle fire (“it can never exceed the ordinary range of the musket”).

²⁷ *Kurtyna* – a wall (rampart, embankment) in early modern fortifications, usually protected by flanking fire from fortification works (e.g., bastions or demi-bastions). According to eighteenth-century treatises, the *kurtyna* between bastions should be straight, and its length could not exceed 88 *sążeń* (171.5 m), so that artillery fire from the bastions would “effectively cover its center.”

²⁸ *Bastion* (*bolwerk* vel *bulwerk*) – a masonry or earthwork fortification element, mainly pentagonal in plan, connected to the main fortification line (curtains) or detached (detached bastion). A bastion consisted of 2 fronts, 2 flanks, and a neck. Firing positions (primarily artillery) located on the fronts covered with fire the forward area of neighboring bastions and, with crossfire (from two neighboring bastions), the distant forward area of the curtain. Positions on the flanks provided flanking fire along the ditch protecting the curtain and the fronts of neighboring bastions. The use of bastions eliminated the dead zones of fire typical of bastioned fortifications.

²⁹ *Dwuramiennik* (*półksiężyc*, *redan*, *naroże*, French *saillant*) – a fieldwork or an element of permanent fortification. It is constructed on a triangular plan (most often isosceles), with the arms (fronts) facing the forward area, and the base (neck) facing the rear. The fronts of the *dwuramiennik* were protected by a ditch and a parapet, while the neck was open or protected by a palisade. *Dwuramienniki* were built singly (in permanent fortifications as a *półksiężyc* or *śloniczoło*), in double form (*biret*), or multiplied (envelope, counterguard).

³⁰ M. Filipowicz, M. Pisz, *Sprawozdanie z badań nieinwazyjnych...*, pp. 1–50.

³¹ M. Filipowicz, *Karpacie...*, pp. 152–153.

Wysowa

Geophysical surveys were conducted in two areas: the “lower” northwestern and the “upper” southeastern research polygons. Altogether, approximately two hectares were examined using both magnetic and electrical resistivity methods. Magnetic surveys were carried out at the “lower” site, in the area presumed to be the location of M. Śliwa’s Confederate camp,³² where no archeologically significant magnetic anomalies were detected. Magnetic measurements were also conducted on the summit of Mount Jawor, where faint relics of former structures were discovered. The measurements at the summit revealed very weak and sparse positive point magnetic anomalies. No dipolar anomalies were recorded, which most likely indicates a poor state of preservation at the site. Additionally, isolated zonal anomalies were detected, related to modern infrastructure (a metal cross) and indeterminate remnants of a former fortification. From an archeological perspective, the most noteworthy findings were two clusters of exceptionally faint negative linear anomalies forming relatively regular rectangles measuring approximately 40×25 meters (southern anomaly) and 30×25 meters (northern anomaly). These may represent the last vestiges of ancillary (utility) buildings associated with the site. Notably, no strong or numerous thermoremanent anomalies were observed, suggesting that the structure was not destroyed by fire or that subsequent agricultural activity has obliterated nearly all remains—an observation supported by the site’s appearance in LiDAR imagery.

The limited and inconspicuous results of the magnetic surveys stem not only from the site’s severe degradation but also from its geological context. The cultural layers present at the site are of minimal thickness, and the bedrock consists of sandstone and clay shale, with negligible aeolian accumulation. Such conditions are not conducive to the induction of strong magnetic fields in potential archeological features, which results in the poor visibility of anomalies.

Electrical resistivity measurements were conducted exclusively on the summit of Jawor. Although the site was heavily disturbed and the results were not easily interpretable, they nonetheless yielded important data relevant to the structural analysis of the former fortifications. A series of low-contrast high-resistivity anomalies were identified, potentially related to the remains of construction features. The resistivity distribution maps also exhibit a pronounced

³² M. Śliwa, *Zaginiony obóz konfederatów barskich*, “Almanach Muszyny”, 2007.

influence from the shallow geology (clay shales and sandstones).³³ Of particular interest are the remnants of an oval structure³⁴ attached to a quadrilateral building, tentatively interpreted as a blockhouse.³⁵ One can also discern the outlines of quadrilateral buildings, traces of an artillery battery, and possibly the original front of the fortification in the form of a redan. Nearly none of the resistivity anomalies correlate with the magnetic ones, which supports the conclusion that the site was either severely damaged or presents evidence of a two-phase fortification process—suggesting a reconstruction of an earlier work that had been destroyed by Russian forces in 1770.³⁶

The initial identification and location of the Bar Confederates’ camp above Wysowa were accomplished by Janusz Kieblesz of Tylicz.³⁷ Surface surveys conducted at the site revealed the existence of an artillery battery in the form of a flèche. Additionally, remains of a blockhouse and possibly individual elements of the fortification’s front, curtain walls, and other defensive installations were observed. The site of Kazimierz Pułaski’s former redoubt above Wysowa is highly degraded, and any surviving relics may be difficult to detect, even through excavation. What has been recovered through geophysical prospection constitutes the final, faint remnants of the original fortifications, preserved within a cultural layer only several centimeters thick. The destruction carried out by Russian forces immediately following the capture of the redoubt, compounded by subsequent agricultural activity, has almost entirely erased the traces of the former Bar Confederates’ defensive works.

Konieczna

The surveys at Konieczna were conducted solely using the magnetic method. An area of approximately 9 hectares, stretching about 1 km along an east-west axis, was examined. The objective was to detect any traces of former fortifications associated with the Bar Confederation. Unfortunately, nothing related to the defensive works of the former camp was discovered. Although

³³ M. Filipowicz, M. Pisz, *Sprawozdanie z badań nieinwazyjnych...*, pp. 1–50.

³⁴ During the field measurements, it was outlined as a polygon.

³⁵ Blockhouse – a closed defensive structure made of wood and earth or masonry, constructed both in field fortifications (such as redoubts, lunettes, etc.) and in permanent fortifications (e.g., as a caponier), intended to enhance their defensive capabilities. The blockhouse functioned as a combat shelter and a final point of resistance.

³⁶ M. Filipowicz, *Karpacie...*, pp. 158–163.

³⁷ The discoverer of the camp and the upper redoubt was Janusz Kieblesz from Tylicz. He shared his finding with Marian Kozłowski, who then informed Śliwa – the latter subsequently presented it as his own discovery.

numerous ferromagnetic objects and positive point anomalies—potentially remnants of old pits or hearths—were documented, they did not form any coherent structures indicative of defensive buildings. Much suggests these finds might be connected to modern construction debris scattered across the field (notably in the eastern part of the survey area).³⁸ The only relatively well-defined element was the trace of a straight curtain wall, also visible in remote sensing data.

Surface surveys proved more fruitful, revealing numerous fortification traces. Besides trenches and dugouts dating from World Wars I and II, a roughly 2 km-long sanitary cordon rampart was documented, extending on both the eastern and western sides of the Dujava Pass. Just beyond the pass, about 100 meters east of the road on the Slovak side, there was an entrenchment of unknown origin, unfortunately destroyed by Slovaks during the construction of a forest road. The straight curtain wall detected in the geophysical surveys and visible on the ground has been tentatively interpreted as a remnant of this sanitary cordon, though its association with the Confederates remains uncertain. The most interesting feature was found in a field on the slope of Beskidek Mountain (685 m a.s.l.), about 250 meters west of the former border crossing. It forms an approximate trapezoid with sides measuring 85, 53, 89, and 36 meters, to which the aforementioned curtain may have connected. Also, under the forest cover, “strange,” irregular embankments were observed, likely connected either to agricultural activity or relics of plowed-over fortifications.

In summary, the exact location of the former Bar Confederates’ “fortress” at Konieczna remains uncertain. The magnetic method proved insufficient for detecting faint traces of fortifications, so future research should include electroresistivity surveys and aim to find a definitive, unambiguous plan showing the camp’s location.

Grab

Surface surveys have so far been conducted only at the former “redoubt” of the Bar Confederates in Grab/Ożenna, at the site of fortification remains discovered by Jerzy Dębiec.³⁹ Only a flèche—a triangular fortification in plan—with a distinct rampart and parapet, ditch/moat was observed. In remote sensing data, relics of a continuation of the work can be discerned about 20–50 meters to the northeast. Unfortunately, these are almost imperceptible

³⁸ M. Filipowicz, M. Pisz, *Sprawozdanie z badań nieinwazyjnych...*, pp. 1–50.

³⁹ The site was discovered by Jerzy Dębiec from Nowy Żmigród, who later shared his discovery with Śliwa.

on the ground and are intersected by two roads, which may have created the outlines of ramparts during road construction. The eastern part of the work, interpreted by some researchers as a Confederate palisade,⁴⁰ shows traces of fortifications from the First or Second World War, and it is possible that hypotheses regarding the camp’s appearance are based on twentieth-century rifle trenches. Approximately 60 meters to the south lies a well-preserved rampart of the sanitary cordon, which may have enclosed the redoubt. This site urgently requires geophysical investigation using magnetic and resistivity methods, which might reveal its shape, still unidentified to this day.

Ciechania

The redoubt in Ciechania was discovered in 2015 by Piotr Sadowski from the Academy of Applied Sciences in Nowy Targ. Surface surveys were also conducted that same year.⁴¹ It is a simple curtain wall approximately 28 meters long, plowed over in its western part. The structure is rather poorly preserved, lacking visible terrain form, and without prior localization on the 1779–1783 Map of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, it would be difficult to interpret.

Barwinek

Despite conducting surface surveys in the Barwinek region, no modern fortifications linked to the Bar Confederation have been confirmed to date.⁴² The site may have been destroyed. On the Mieg Map, it appears as a single flèche, strikingly similar both in shape and location to the preserved fortification in Grab.⁴³

Czeremcha

The fortification at Czeremcha was located in 2016 by Krzysztof Sojka and Andrzej Guder from the History Eagles Association, along with Michał

⁴⁰ M. Śliwa, *Obóz konfederatów barskich pod Grabiem, Płaj*, no. 53, 2017.

⁴¹ Surface surveys were conducted by Piotr Sadowski and Michał Filipowicz under the supervision of Magura National Park.

⁴² It was most likely destroyed during the construction of the road or the museum on the Slovak side, or during other unspecified activities.

⁴³ *Galicja na józefińskiej mapie topograficznej 1779–1783 / Die Josephinische Landesaufnahme von Galizien 1779–1783*, ed. W. Bukowski, B. Dybaś, Z. Noga, Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN; Stacja Naukowa w Wiedniu, Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego w Krakowie, Austriackie Archiwum Państwowe, vol. III, part B, section 70.

Filipowicz and Piotr Sadowski. It is a rampart more than a kilometer long, serving as a sanitary cordon, which in its upper northeastern section transforms into a redoubt with pincers in plan, featuring more massive ramparts and deeper ditches. On the Map of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, the fortification is described as a cordon with a redoubt.⁴⁴ The crucial research question remains whether, prior to Austrian border fortifications, the Confederates had their camp here.⁴⁵ This would fit perfectly with their strategy. First, the work is oriented facing the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, i.e., toward the expected Russian attack. It has an open gorge toward the Hungarian border, which may have been shifted to our disadvantage by imperial troops, as happened, for example, in Roztoki. This arrangement would have allowed for unobstructed evacuation to safe Hungary. Furthermore, this setup gave the Confederates full control over this important border crossing.

Summary and Conclusions for the Future

Following the observations and conclusions presented in the text, it becomes clear that the remains of the former Bar Confederates' camps in the Low Beskids Mountains are very poorly preserved. The Russian troops likely contributed significantly to their destruction after capturing them. Local inhabitants also played a role by dismantling usable elements for their own buildings or as fuel, while agricultural and forestry activities erased the old ramparts and ditches. The camp in Izby was one of the better-preserved Confederate fortifications. Unfortunately, in the 1980s, it was deliberately plowed over by a bulldozer commissioned by a local official of the State Agricultural Farm. The redoubt in Wysowa was destroyed by Russian forces and later used for agricultural purposes for over a century. The camp in Konieczna no longer existed at the time of the creation of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria maps; its exact fate and location remain unknown. The redoubt in Grab retains its outline, though the possible continuation of the site remains unrecognized. Ciechania is perhaps the best-preserved Bar Confederates' fortification in the Low Beskids area, considering its current condition relative to its original position. The camp in Barwinek still awaits discovery. Czeremcha is

⁴⁴ *Galicja na józefińskiej mapie topograficznej 1779–1783 / Die Josephinische Landesaufnahme von Galizien 1779–1783*, ed. W. Bukowski, B. Dybaś, Z. Noga, Institute of Archeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences; Research Station in Vienna, Institute of History of the Pedagogical University in Kraków, Austrian State Archives, vol. V, parts A and B, section 91, Czeremcha.

⁴⁵ This is, for now, the author's hypothesis, which he will seek to prove in the coming years.

among the better-preserved field fortifications in Poland, though its Confederate origin must first be verified. The best-preserved camps of the Confederates are located near the Low Beskids Mountains, including sites in Muszynka (Poprad Upland), Nowy Łupków (Western Bieszczady), and the somewhat more distant Roztoki (Bieszczady).

The question of thorough and comprehensive research remains open. As mentioned earlier, none of the sites have been investigated through excavations. Further geophysical surveys, especially magnetometry and electrical resistivity, should be conducted on objects not yet examined by these methods. Better-quality remote sensing data should also be obtained, followed by metal detector surveys and targeted test pits. Simultaneously, archival research must continue to uncover plans of the former camps, which could resolve disputed issues and establish reliable locations and layouts of the camps.

The former camps and redoubts of the Bar Confederates in the Low Beskids Mountains—once proudly guarding the troops quartered there—are now but faint shadows showing a fragment of their former grandeur. Situated high in the mountains near the Hungarian border, they witnessed numerous skirmishes with Russian troops. Beneath their ramparts, the legend of the Bar Confederation was born, to which later Polish heroes and national poets, hardened in the struggle for Poland's freedom, would refer.⁴⁶ Today, we can only debate the sensibility of one of the first Polish national uprisings—whether to be “for” or “against” it. The most important fact is that the Confederates were the first to take up arms to free themselves from Russian domination, fighting not only against Moscow but also against “handpicked” Poles serving the partitioners. From the independence seed they planted, a free young Poland sprouted at the beginning of the 20th century. The most crucial truth remains: to fight for freedom and truth, and that one remains free and independent as long as one fights.

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⁴⁶ Here, the author has in mind, among others, Tadeusz Kościuszko and Adam Mickiewicz.

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Fortifications Catalogue of the Low Beskids

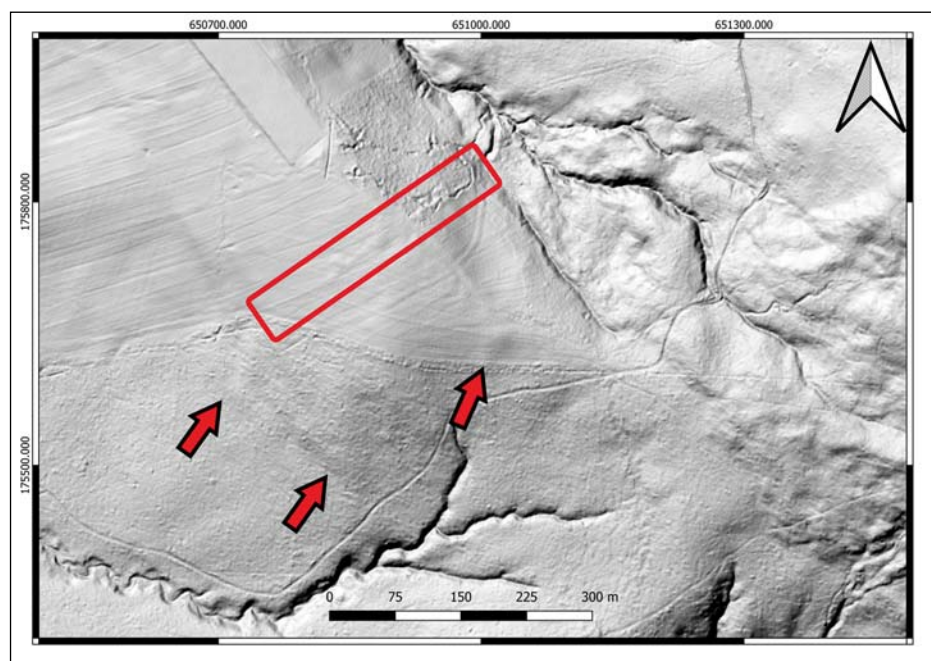
Fortifications of the Bar Confederates

1. Góra Baszta

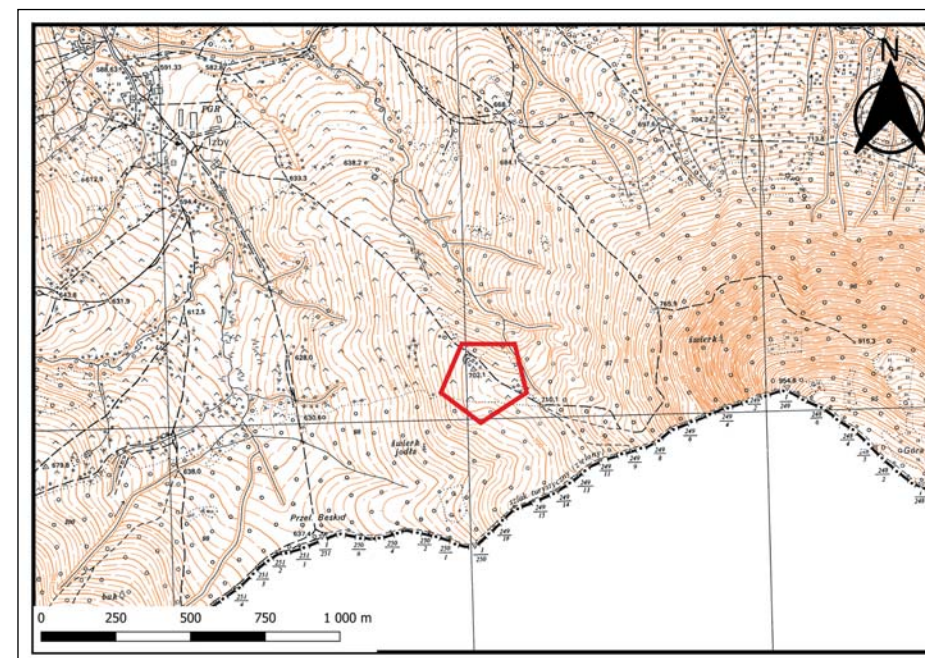
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Chronology: Modern period
Locality: Izby
Municipality: Uście Gorlickie
County: Gorlice
Voivodeship: Małopolska Region
AZP (Polish Archeological Record):
 AZP Area number: 116-67
 Site number within area: 1
 Site number within locality: 1

Location Description:

The site is situated on the summit of Góra Baszta (702 m a.s.l.) in the massif of Góra Lackowa (997 m a.s.l.).



Compiled by M. Filipowicz based on geoportal.gov.pl



Compiled by M. Filipowicz based on geoportal.gov.pl

History of Archeological Research:

2018 (surface and geophysical surveys – M. Filipowicz, M. Pisz).

Appendix 1. Site Description

The site is located on a flat summit forming a distinct peak—Góra Baszta (702 m a.s.l.)—situated within the massif of Góra Lackowa (997 m a.s.l.). Currently, the remnants of the former camp are covered by meadows and pastures, as well as partially by a forest located south of the fortification's main front. The site area may have extended up to 6 hectares. To this day, very little of the original fortifications has survived.

The fortification consisted of a simple main front reinforced with three protruding artillery positions in the form of a quadrangular gun emplacement and pentagonal bastions; flanks shaped as straight curtain walls strengthened from the west by a demi-bastion protecting the entire complex from the northeast and west; and "cheeks" closing the entire work. Additionally, a parallelogram-shaped feature was observed southwest of the main redoubt. This may have been a camp area, concealed behind the fortifications, located close to the Hungarian border. The fortification faces northwest, offering a wide view over the forefield.

Chronology

Phase 1

1769 – Camp of the Bar Confederates.

Phase 2

1770–1771 – Expansion of the Bar Confederates' camp.

Appendix 2. Conclusions Regarding the Site

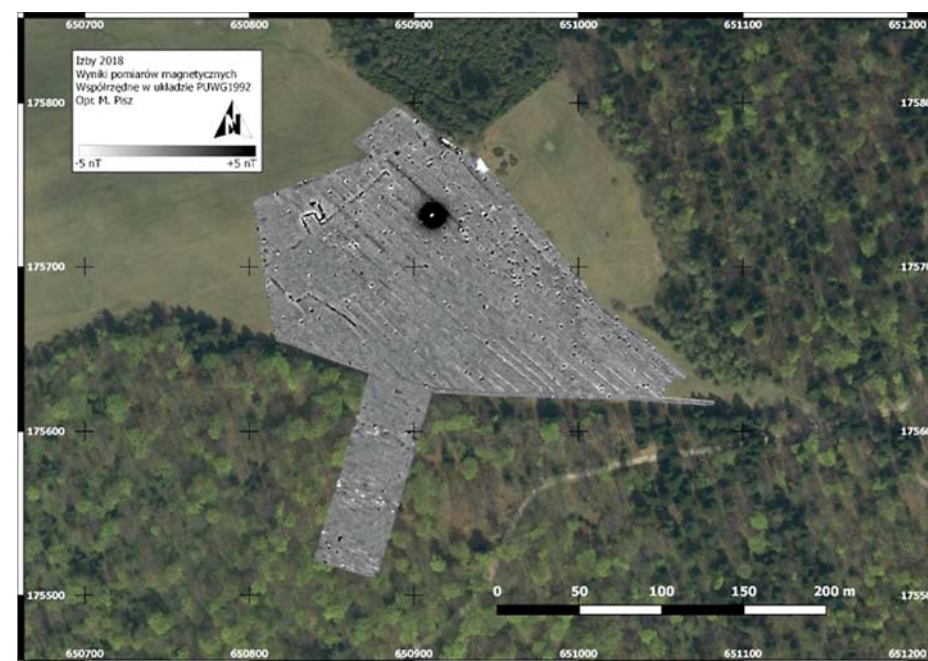
The Bar Confederates' camp in Izby is a relatively well-documented site. Its outline is known from two 18th-century historical maps: the Map of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria and the Map of the Kingdom of Hungary. Unfortunately, the site was destroyed by a bulldozer in the 1980s. The front of the fortification is now almost invisible on the ground. Only through remote sensing data (LiDAR) and aerial photographs can faint remains of the former fortifications be discerned. Interestingly, the eastern bastion along with the curtain wall may have survived within a young forest stand. Remnants of ramparts are visible there, although they have been cut through by WWII-era firing trenches. During geophysical surveys conducted in 2018 using magnetic methods, fragments of the front including a quadrangular gun emplacement and the western flank of the fortification were detected. For a better understanding of the site, further research using electrical resistivity methods and aerial scanning with near-infrared technology is recommended. Only after comprehensive non-invasive investigations should excavation works be undertaken. Due to threats posed by illegal treasure hunting, prospection using metal detectors is advised.

Appendix 3. Protection Status and Threats

The site is registered as an archeological monument (registration date: 28 December 2019). It is threatened by damage caused by plowing and illegal metal detector searches.



Map of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria 1779–1783, Habsburg Empire (1869–1887) – Third Military Survey, available at: <https://mapire.eu/en/map/europe-19centurysecondsurvey/?layers=hereaerial%2C158%2C164&bbox=2391289.3029892854%2C6377886.623508734%2C2400380.5320409536%2C6380753.012069427> [accessed 7 October 2023].



Map of the distribution of magnetic field gradient intensity at the Izby site



Location of the camp. Photo by M. Filipowicz



Faint remains of fortifications. Photo by M. Filipowicz



Vegetation negatives compiled by M. Filipowicz based on geoportal.gov.pl



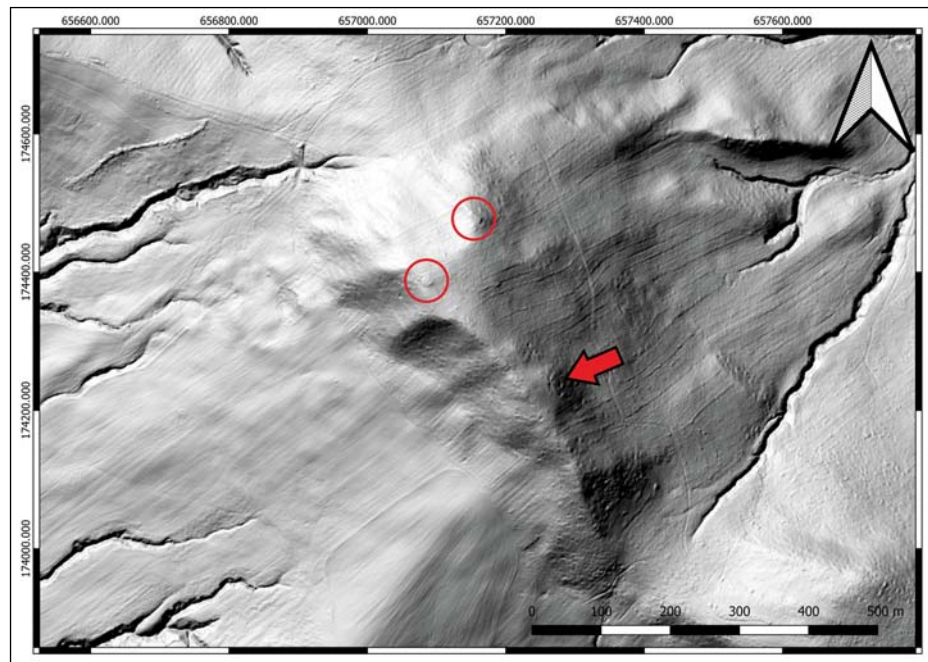
Map of the Kingdom of Hungary 1782–1785, available at: <https://www.staremapy.sk/?zoom=15&lat=49.437179014981965&lng=21.410173684252552&map=VM1> [accessed 7 October 2023]

Fortifications of the Bar Confederates

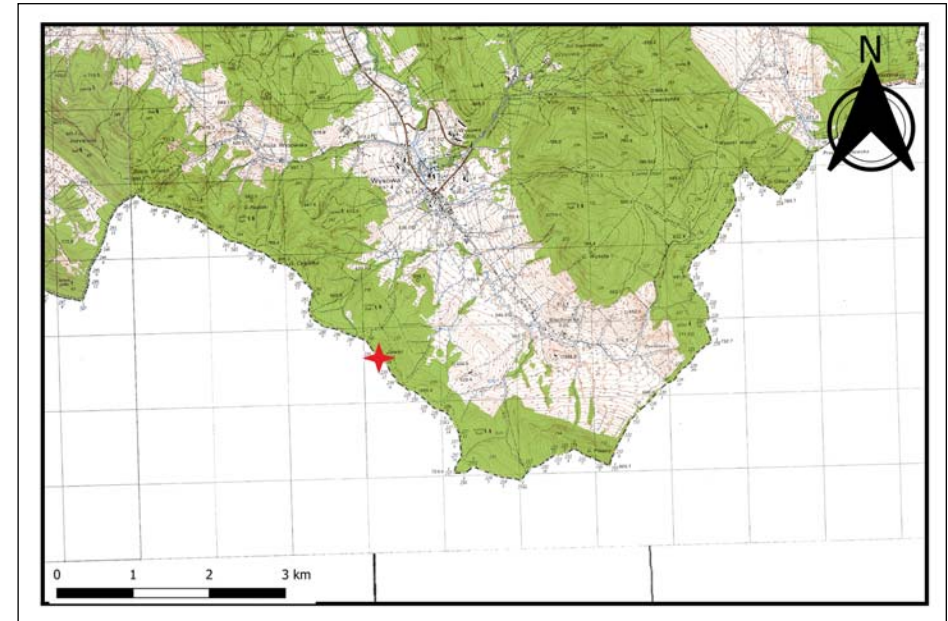
2. Góra Jawor

Function: Military
Chronology: Modern period
Locality: Wysowa-Zdrój
Municipality: Uście Gorlickie
County: Gorlice
Voivodeship: Małopolska Region
AZP (Polish Archeological Record)
 AZP area number: 116-68
 Site number within area: 1
 Site number within locality: 1

Location description:
 The site is located on the summit of Góra Jawor (722 m a.s.l.).



Compiled by M. Filipowicz based on geoportal.gov.pl



Compiled by M. Filipowicz based on geoportal.gov.pl

History of archeological research:

2019 (surface surveys, geophysical investigations by M. Filipowicz, M. Pisz).

Appendix 1. Site Description

The remains of the former redoubt are located on the summit of Góra Jawor (723 m a.s.l.). Very little of the original fortifications have survived to this day. The fortifications of the first camp were most likely destroyed by the Russians after the battle that took place on August 5–8, 1770. It is assumed that following the battle, the confederates returned to this site and erected a single battery/redan (flèche) with wooden buildings on the site of the previous fortifications. To this day, a well-preserved rectangular or trapezoidal artillery redoubt (flèche) and faint traces of an oval structure—presumably a block-house—can be observed. The original front of the fortification in the form of a redan is also discernible, but only through remote sensing data. The summit itself shows signs of shaping and leveling. Numerous traces of later agricultural activities are also visible, which have significantly contributed to the erosion of the fortification remains. The current state of preservation is confirmed by historical cartography, which records only a single small redoubt (Map of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria 1779–1783). The camp area is now covered by forest. The site's surface area is approximately 1 hectare.

Chronology

Phase 1

1769–1770: Camp of the Bar Confederates. Destroyed by the Russians in early August 1770.

Phase 2

1770–1772: Camp of the Bar Confederates. Construction of the rectangular artillery redoubt preserved to this day.

Appendix 2. Conclusions Regarding the Site

The Bar Confederates' camp in Wysowa is one of the better-researched confederate fortifications. In 2019, the site was subjected to investigations using electrical resistivity and geomagnetic methods. These surveys identified the original defensive front of the fortification and documented the remains of economic buildings within the site. Unfortunately, the current state of preservation does not allow for a reliable reconstruction of the former Confederate fortress. Excavations are necessary, which may provide further information about the old fortifications. The site continues to be disturbed by illegal treasure hunters.

Appendix 3. Protection Status and Threats

The site is registered as an archeological monument (registration date: December 28, 2019). It is threatened by destruction caused by illegal searches using metal detectors.



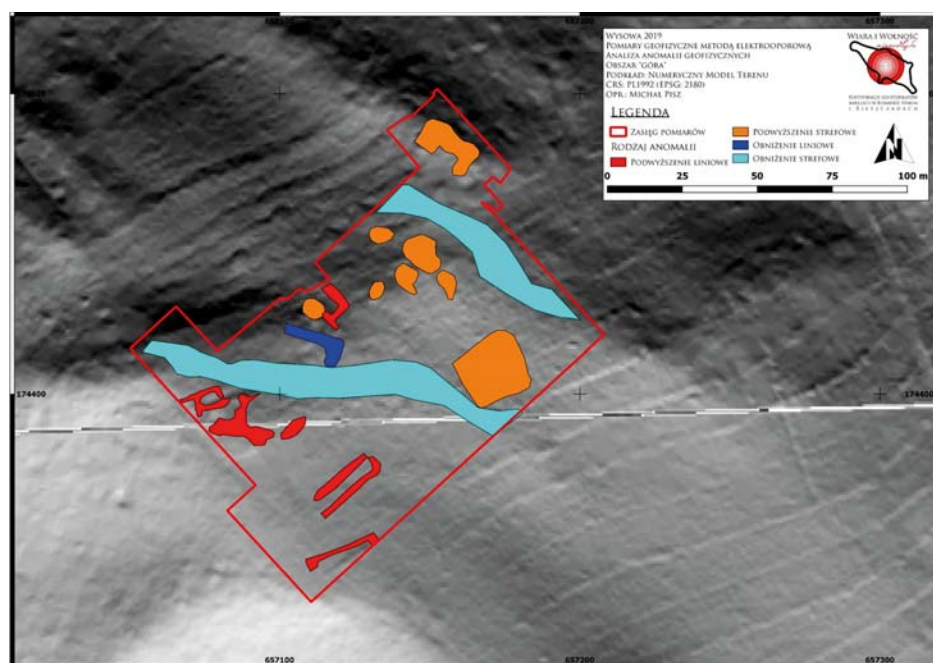
Map of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria 1779–1783, Habsburg Empire (1869–1887) – Third Military Survey, available at: <https://mapire.eu/en/map/europe-19century-secondsurvey/?layers=here-aerial%2C158%2C164&bbox=2391289.3029892854%2C6377886.623508734%2C2400380.5320409536%2C6380753.012069427> [accessed 7 October 2023]



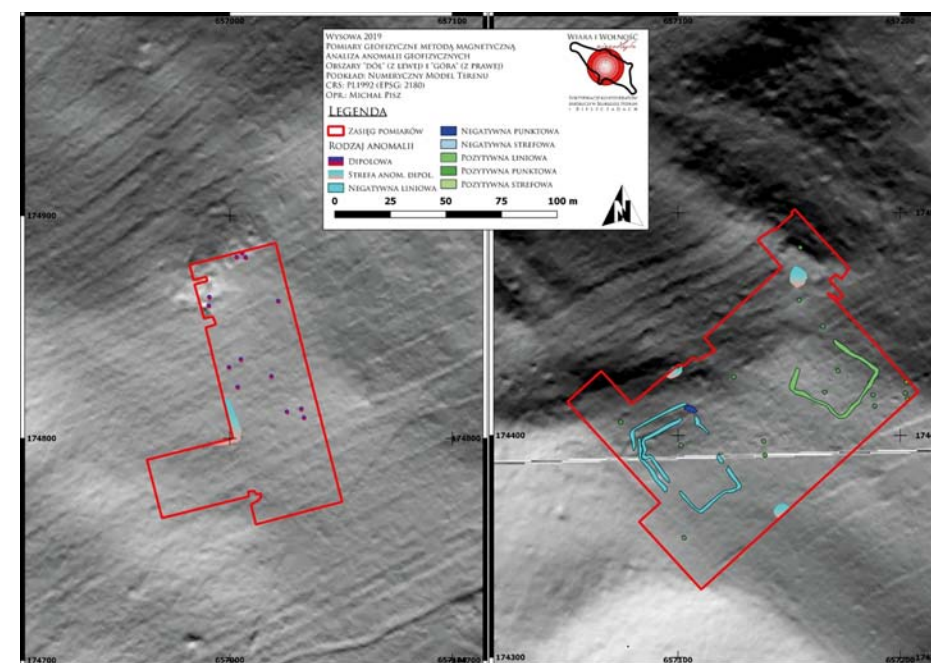
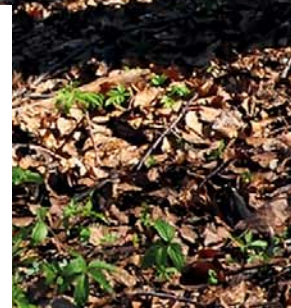
Flèche/artillery embrasure, photo by M. Filipowicz



View of the escarpment and the gun ditch, photo by M. Filipowicz



Compiled by Michał Piśz



Compiled by Michał Piśz

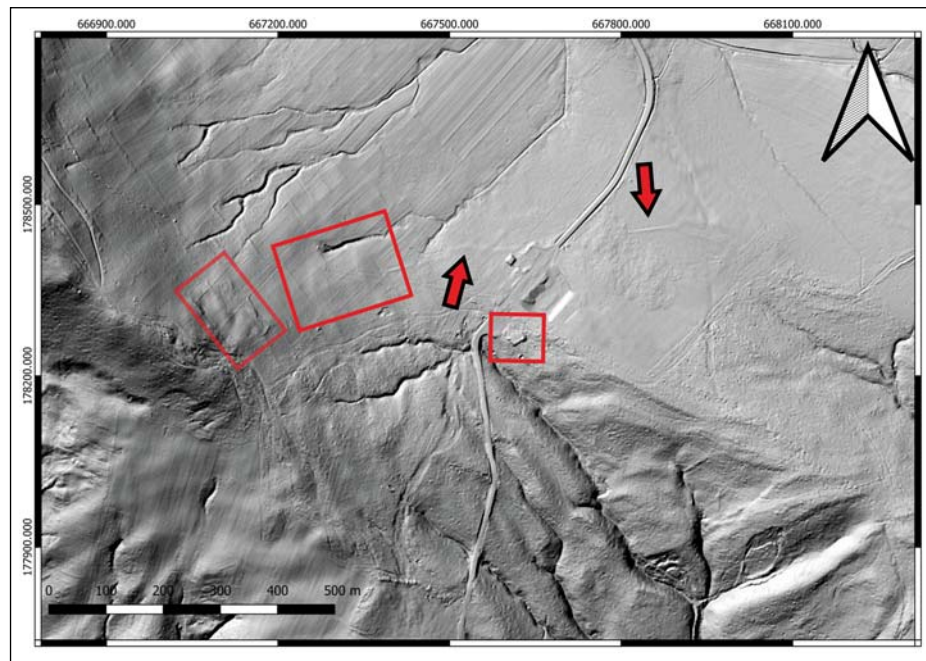
Fortifications of the Bar Confederates

3. Beskidek/Dujawa Pass

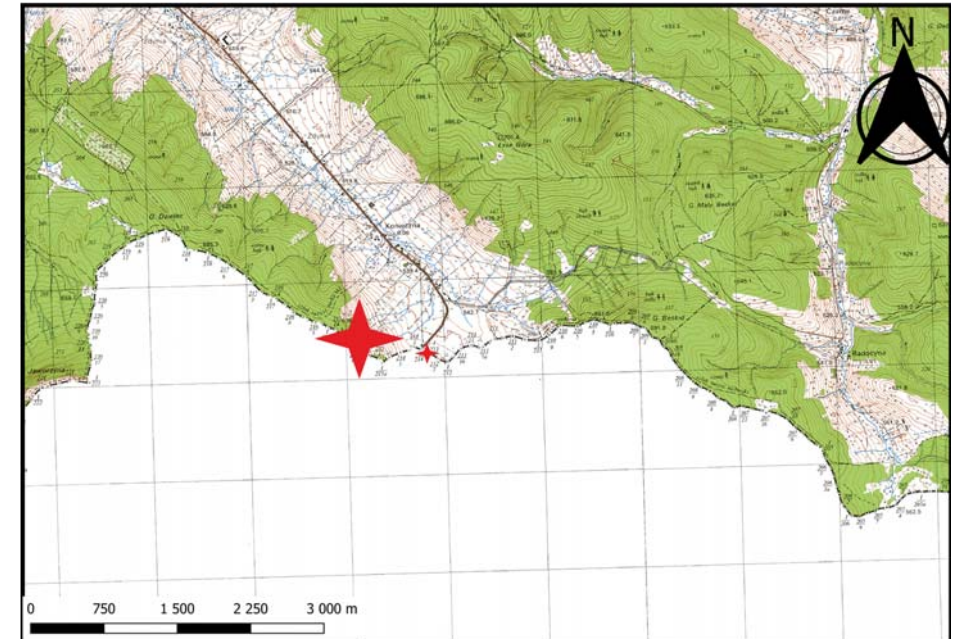
Function:	Military
Chronology:	Modern Period
Locality:	Konieczna
Municipality:	Uście Gorlickie
County:	Gorlice
Voivodeship:	Małopolska Region
AZP (Polish Archeological Record)	
AZP area number:	115-69
Site number within area:	–
Site number within locality:	–

Location Description:

The site's exact location remains uncertain.



Compiled by M. Filipowicz based on geoportal.gov.pl



Compiled by M. Filipowicz based on geoportal.gov.pl

History of Archeological Research:

2018 (surface surveys and geophysical investigations by M. Filipowicz and M. Pisz).

Appendix 1. Site Description

The Bar Confederates' camp in Konieczna does not have a confirmed location. It was possibly established on the eastern summit and slope of Beskidek Mountain (685 m a.s.l.). Currently, the site hosts a World War I military cemetery no. 46, as well as former arable land now used as pasture. Remote sensing data reveal certain features that could be elements of the camp. These include rather blurred pincers-shaped earthworks below the summit, a trapezoidal feature on the slope, and traces of a straight curtain wall. The only depiction of the camp and its fortifications comes from the Kingdom of Hungary map (1782–1785) and a description accompanying the "Mieg Map": "[...] the highest mountains are Wysoki Wierch and Ondawska Góra, between which, during the recent unrest, the Polish confederates had a camp on the Hungarian border." Based on this preserved engraving, it is possible to attempt a reconstruction of the fortification layout. The fortification was situated on the eastern ridge of Beskidek Mountain (685 m a.s.l.) in the Low Beskids. It was a large earthen work covering several hectares. It consisted of straight curtain walls reinforced by four bastions and one hornwork, oriented facing north.

The neck was attached to the border rampart. To increase defense from the east, it was secured by two additional fortifications: a straight curtain wall with a small flèche and a hornwork protecting the road.

Chronology

Phase 1

1769–1770 – Bar Confederates' camp.

Appendix 2. Conclusions Regarding the Site

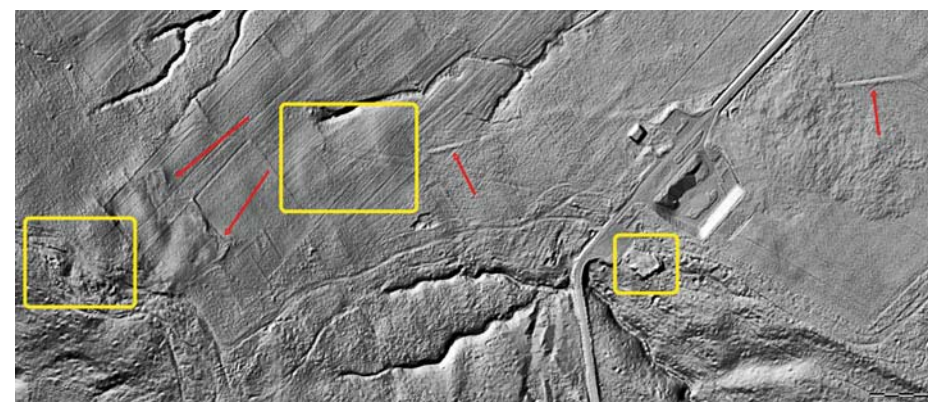
The Bar Confederates' camp in Konieczna remains a poorly understood and lightly researched site. The only investigations took place in 2018 and involved geophysical surveys using the magnetic method, which did not reveal any significant findings. In the future, the site should primarily be studied using the electrical resistivity method. The camp's short period of use, its likely destruction by Russian forces around 1771/1772, continuous land use, and forest plowing may have permanently erased traces of the fortifications. Under these conditions, the magnetic method proves ineffective. Only measurements using electrical resistivity and near-infrared imaging might yield new insights. The survey area should cover Beskidek Mountain and its eastern slope. Subsequently, based on the results, trial excavations should be conducted to possibly uncover relics of the former Confederate fortress.

Appendix 3. Protection Status and Threats

The site is not listed as an archeological site and is not protected by law. It is vulnerable to destruction caused by forest plowing and illegal metal detecting activities.



Map of the Kingdom of Hungary 1782–1785. Map of the Kingdom of Hungary (1782–1785). Available at: <https://www.staremapy.sk/?zoom=15&lat=49.437179014981965&lng=21.410173684252552&map=VM1> [accessed: 7 October 2023]



Presumed remnants of fortifications in remote sensing data, compiled by M. Filipowicz based on geoportal.gov.pl



Remnants of the curtain wall, photo by M. Filipowicz

Fortifications of the Bar Confederates

4. The Bar Confederates' Camp at Grab

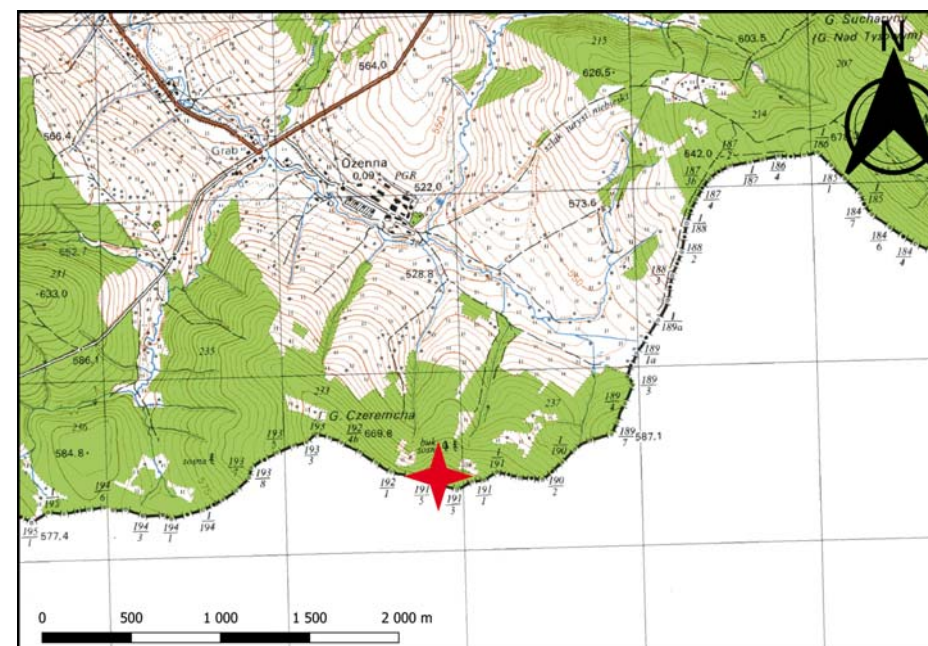
Function: Military
Chronology: Modern period
Locality: Ożenna/Grab
Municipality: Krempna
County: Jasło
Voivodeship: Subcarpathian
AZP (Polish Archeological Record)
AZP area number: 116-71
Site number within area: 1
Site number within locality: 1

Location Description:

The site is located just below the summit of Mount Czeremcha (670 m a.s.l.).



Compiled by M. Filipowicz based on geoportal.gov.pl



Compiled by M. Filipowicz based on geoportal.gov.pl

History of Archeological Research:

1. 2015 – Surface survey conducted by W. Poradyło,
2. 2022 – Surface survey conducted by M. Filipowicz.

Appendix 1. Site Description

The site is located just below the summit of Mount Czeremcha (670 m a.s.l.). It is overgrown with an old forest stand that is now being increasingly filled with dense natural regrowth, which is expected to soon cover most of the former camp area. The remains of the fortification have survived only in fragments. These include remnants of a *flèche* situated on the eastern, lower peak of Mount Czeremcha (664 m a.s.l.) in the Low Beskid Mountains. In addition to a fairly massive *two-pronged redan*, fragments of individual curtain walls can also be discerned, clearly visible in remote sensing data. The *neck* of the fortification was adjoined to the border rampart. The area of the site may have reached up to 2 hectares. The fortification faced north and northwest, with a wide foreground overlooking the immediate surroundings.

Chronology

Phase 1

1769–1770 – Bar Confederation camp.

Appendix 2. Conclusions Regarding the Site

The Bar Confederation camp at Grab remains a poorly studied and little-recognized site. As a first step, a comprehensive geophysical survey of the area should be conducted. The measurements should cover the entire hill, extending to the slopes where fortifications are located. Such research would enable a full understanding of both the external (ramparts, defensive slopes) and internal (traces of economic or domestic structures) infrastructure. Based on the geophysical results, targeted archeological soundings should follow, in order to confirm non-invasive findings and retrieve artifacts that could illustrate the material culture of the time. Due to the threat of illegal treasure hunting, it is also recommended that metal detector surveys be conducted under controlled conditions. At present, it is difficult to attempt a credible reconstruction of the camp, as the entire area is scattered with numerous dug-outs and trenches from both World Wars, which often overlap with the remains of the Bar Confederates' fortifications.

Appendix 3. Protection Status and Threats

The site is registered as an archeological site and is listed in the heritage register (entry dated 06.10.2015). However, the author of the AZP (Polish Archeological Record) card claimed that the site has not survived, which is incorrect, as parts of the fortifications are in fact well preserved. The site is threatened by forestry plowing and illegal metal detecting activities.

View of the central yard (*majdan*),
photo by M. Filipowicz



Face of the fortification, photo by M. Filipowicz



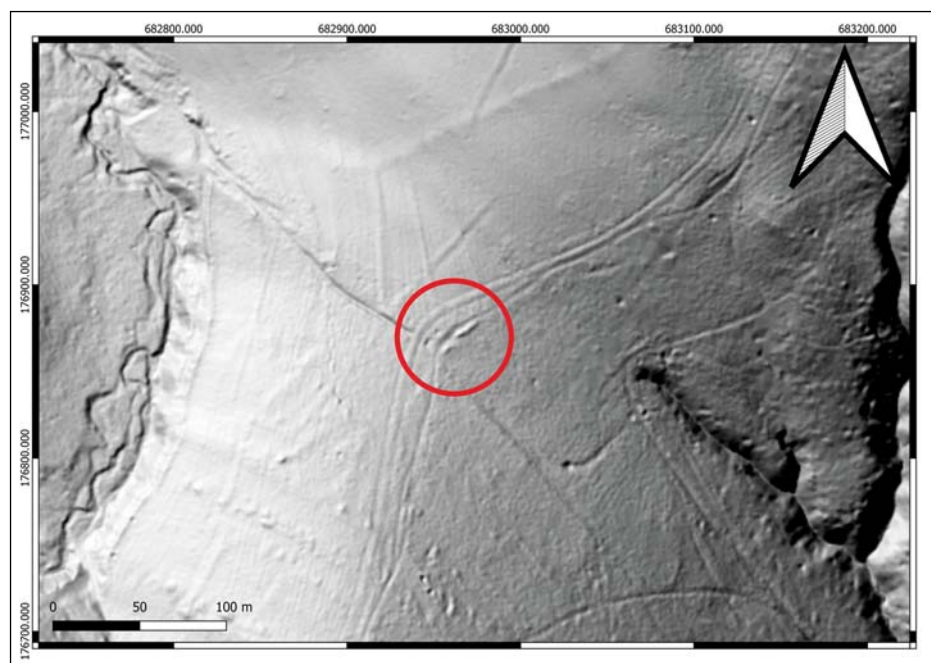
Fortifications of the Bar Confederates

5. Ciechania

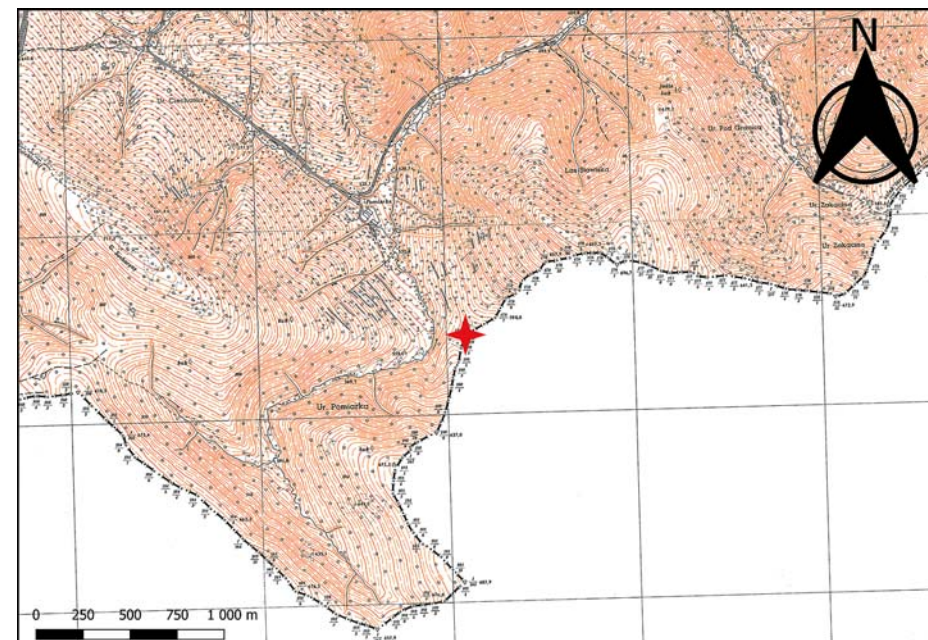
Function: Military
Chronology: Modern period
Locality: Ciechania
Municipality: Krempna
County: Jasło
Voivodeship: Subcarpathian
AZP (Polish Archeological Record)
 AZP area number: 116-71
 Site number within area: –
 Site number within locality: –

Location description:

The site is located near the Tepajec Pass, below Szczob Mountain (697 m a.s.l.).



Compiled by M. Filipowicz based on geoportal.gov.pl



Compiled by M. Filipowicz based on geoportal.gov.pl

History of Archeological Research:

2015 (surface surveys by P. Sadowski and M. Filipowicz).

Appendix 1. Site Description

The Bar Confederates' fortification in Ciechania is located at the forest edge near the Tepajec Pass, below Mount Szczob (697 m a.s.l.). It is currently partially overgrown with forest. The site consists of a simple curtain wall approximately 28 meters long, which is partially plowed over on a 5-meter section. It is situated on the Polish-Slovak border, with the southern part lying within Slovakia.

Chronology**Phase 1**

1769–1772: Bar Confederates' fortification.

Appendix 2. Conclusions Regarding the Site

The Bar Confederates' fortification in Ciechania remains largely unrecognized and uninvestigated. The first step should be to conduct geophysical surveys covering the entire fortified area, including the forefield and rear area. Such research would allow for a comprehensive understanding of the external infrastructure (ramparts, fighting slopes, wolf pits) as well as the internal features (possible remains of buildings). Based on the results obtained, trial excavations could then be carried out. The fortification appears on the map of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria from 1779–1783 and is described there as a Confederate redoubt.

Appendix 3. Protection Status and Threats

The site is not classified as an archeological site and is not listed in the register or inventory of historic monuments. It is vulnerable to damage caused by forest plowing as well as illegal metal detector searches.



Map of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria 1779–1783, Habsburg Empire (1869–1887) – Third Military Survey Available at: <https://mapire.eu/en/map/europe-19century-secondsurvey/?layers=here-aerial%2C158%2C164&bbox=2391289.3029892854%2C6377886.623508734%2C2400380.5320409536%2C6380753.012069427> [accessed: 07.10.2023]

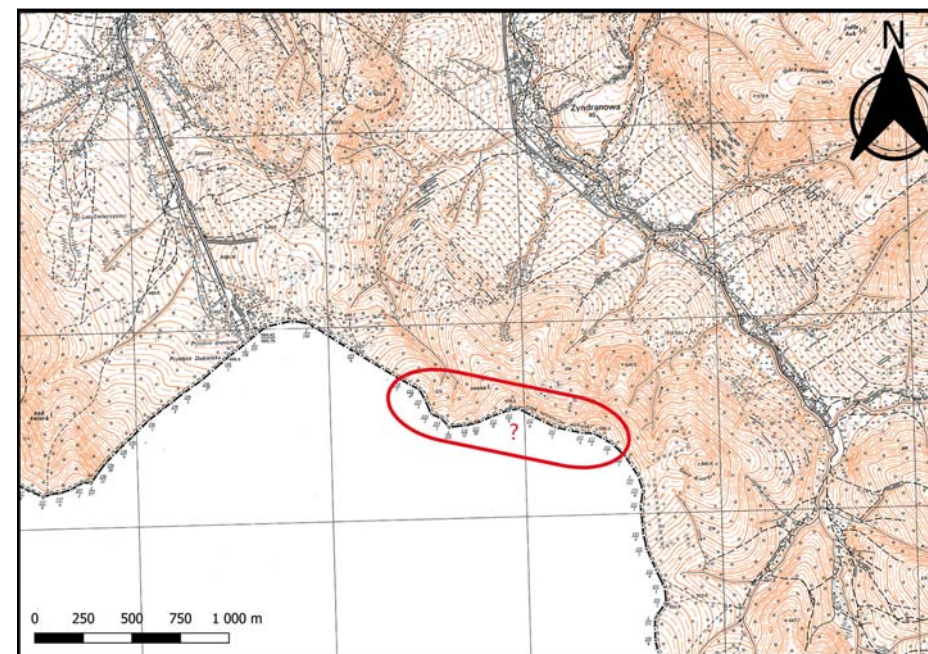
Fortifications of the Bar Confederates

6. Barwinek

Function:	Military
Chronology:	Modern period
Locality:	Barwinek
Municipality:	Dukla (rural municipality)
County:	Krosno
Voivodeship:	Subcarpathian
AZP (Polish Archeological Record)	
AZP area number:	116-73
Site number within area:	–
Site number within locality:	–

Location description:

The site is located near the Tepajec Pass, below the Szczob mountain (697 m a.s.l.).



Compiled by M. Filipowicz based on geoportal.gov.pl

History of Archeological Research:

1. 2015 (surface surveys, K. Sojka),
2. 2022 (surface surveys, M. Filipowicz).

Appendix 1. Site Description

The fortified camp of the Bar Confederates in Barwinek was possibly located at the site of today's Vojenské historické múzeum (Military History Museum) of the Battle of the Dukla Pass.

Chronology

Phase 1

1769–1772. Bar Confederates' camp in Barwinek.

Appendix 2. Conclusions Regarding the Site

According to the author, the Bar Confederates' camp in Barwinek does not exist. It was destroyed by the Russians, most likely in 1770 or 1771. Later, only a small redoubt was erected on the site, as marked on the map of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria from 1779–1783. This redoubt probably suffered destruction during the construction of the Dukla Pass Battle Museum or other works. The attempt by M. Śliwa to locate and reconstruct the site is considered unrealistic, and the entire article should be classified as part of "fiction" literature.

Appendix 3. Protection Status and Threats

The site does not exist, and therefore, its protection is impossible.



Map of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria 1779–1783, Habsburg Empire (1869–1887) – Third Military Survey. Available at: <https://mapire.eu/en/map/europe-19century-secondsurvey/?layers=here-aerial%2C158%2C164&bbox=2391289.3029892854%2C6377886.623508734%2C400380.5320409536%2C6380753.012069427> [accessed: 07 October 2023]

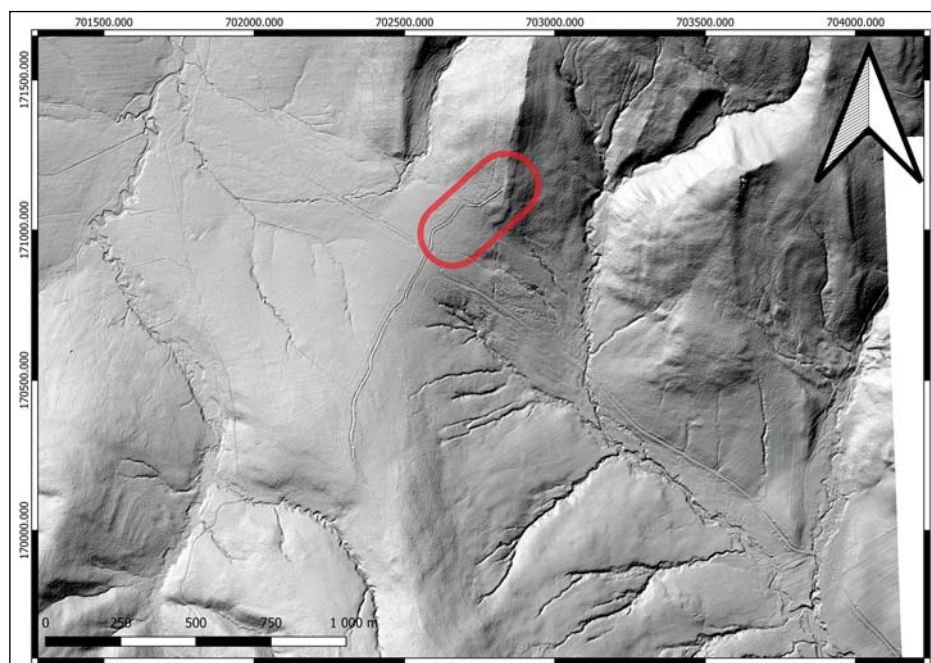
Fortifications of the Bar Confederates

7. Beskid near Czeremcha

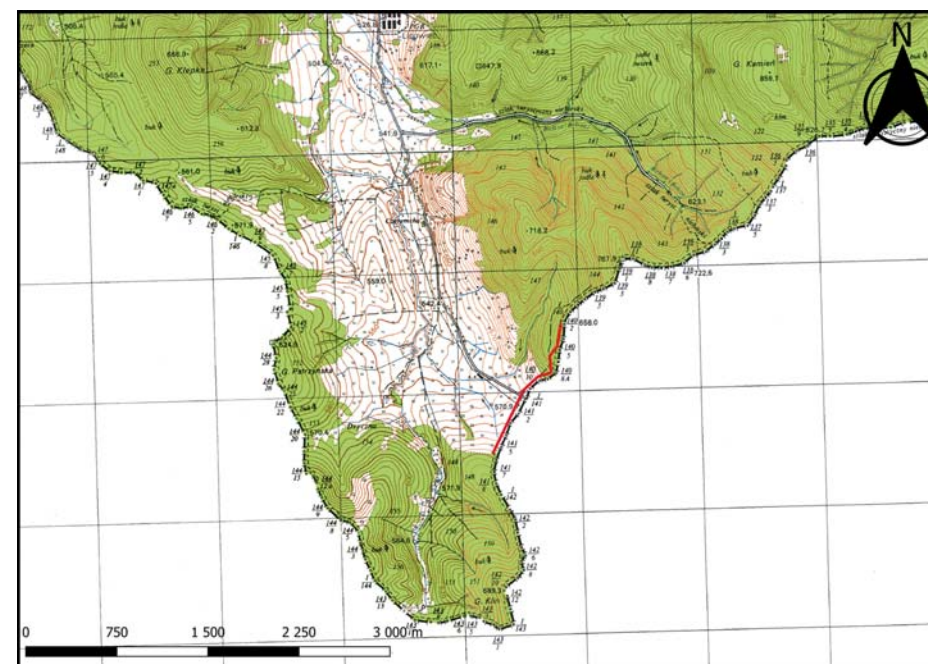
Function:	Military
Chronology:	Modern period
Locality:	Czeremcha
Municipality:	Jaśliska
County:	Krosno
Voivodeship:	Subcarpathian
AZP (Polish Archeological Record)	
AZP area Number:	117-74
Site number within area:	—
Site number within locality:	—

Location Description:

The site is located at the Beskid Pass near Czeremcha.



Compiled by M. Filipowicz based on geoportal.gov.pl



Compiled by M. Filipowicz based on geoportal.gov.pl

History of Archeological Research:

2016 / 2023 (surface surveys, M. Filipowicz).

Appendix 1. Site Description

The site is located on the Beskid Pass over the Czeremcha, with the north-eastern part situated on the slope of Mount Fedorkov (766 m a.s.l.). It lies on the current Polish-Slovak border, which runs along its crest. The site is very well preserved, disturbed only at the location of the current border crossing. It is situated on a clearing and in the forest. The curtain wall along most of its length is overgrown with young trees.

Chronology**Phase 1**

1769–1770 – Camp of the Bar Confederates. The site can be divided into two parts:

1. The upper northeastern part, claw-shaped, forming part of the fortifications;

2. The lower part, a straight, slightly bent curtain wall, serving as the camp area or later formed by the Austrians as part of a sanitary cordon curtain.

The height of the ramparts reaches about 3 meters in the northeastern part, transitioning into a ditch up to 2 meters deep in places, with a counterscarp. The parapet is preserved up to about 1.5 meters high. The total length of the complex is approximately 1.3 km, of which the upper fortification measures about 350 m along the crest of the rampart. In the northern part, ramps for artillery are still visible.

Phase 2

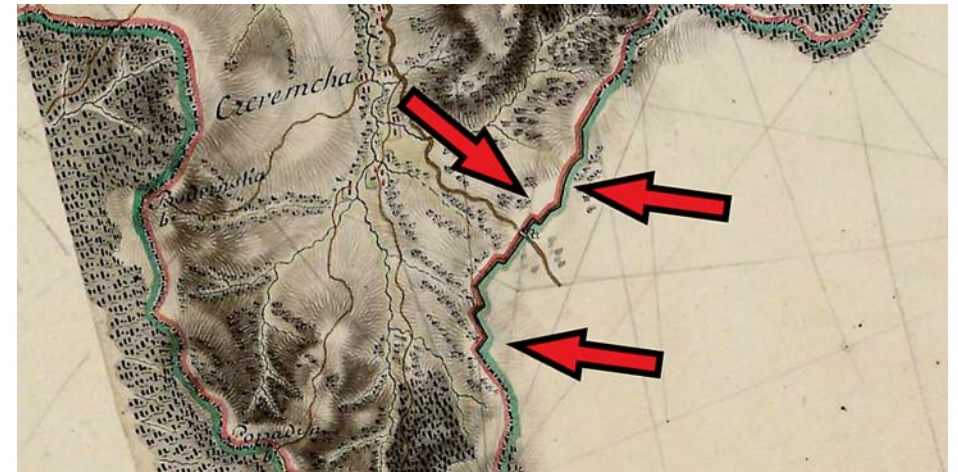
1770–1772 – Austrian fortified border post and sanitary cordon. On the map of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria from 1779–1783, there is a note about the fortifications: *“On the border, where the road [national] passes, there is an old ditch, a kind of fortification made on the Hungarian side during the plague”*—in reality, this fortification was made on the side of the then Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Appendix 2. Conclusions Regarding the Site

The Bar Confederates' camp over the Czeremcha and the sanitary cordon rampart have never been subjected to archeological investigation. The chronology of the site is based on similarities with other Confederate fortifications and historical sources. First, a detailed geophysical survey of the site should be carried out. Measurements should cover the entire slope of the mountain along with the pass. These studies would enable full recognition of the external infrastructure (ramparts, fighting slopes) and internal features (traces of economic structures). Based on the results, targeted test excavations should be conducted to establish chronology through recovered material. Due to threats from illegal metal detector searches, it is recommended to conduct prospecting using metal detectors. A separate issue is the sources, which the author believes require deeper investigation to confirm the exact location of the Confederate fortress. Currently, on the Polish side, there remains only a rampart with a ditch. The entire camp area lies, similarly to the Confederate camp in Roztoki, on the Slovak side.

Appendix 3. Protection Status and Threats

The site is not officially registered as an archeological site and has no legal protection. It is threatened by destruction caused by forest plowing and illegal searches using metal detectors.



Map of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria 1779–1783, Habsburg Empire (1869–1887) – Third Military Survey. Available at: <https://mapire.eu/en/map/europe-19century-secondsurvey/?layers=here-aerial%2C158%2C164&bbox=2391289.3029892854%2C6377886.623508734%2C2400380.5320409536%2C6380753.012069427> [Accessed: 7 October 2023]



The front of the upper redoubt, photo by M. Filipowicz



Parapet, photo by M. Filipowicz



Artillery ramp/platform, photo by M. Filipowicz

Engravings showing views of the sites based on remote sensing data (LiDAR) and the markings of the sites on topographic maps were prepared by the author based on data from geoportal.gov.pl

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Memory of the Bar Confederates in the Low Beskids based on selected forms of tangible cultural heritage

Manifestations of the activities of the Bar Confederates are scattered across sites of skirmishes, battles, and military encampments as remains left by the warring sides. These include, for example, traces of camps¹ or mementos of soldiers, which—from family and museum collections, and often also from battlefields—enter the museum space, constituting valuable relics in so-called “memory rooms.”² Less attention is given to objects

¹ Some Confederate camps were already recorded in the 1780s on the so-called Mieg map. Remains of Confederate camps have attracted interest since the mid-19th century. In 1900, Stanisław Tomkowicz mentioned traces of a Confederate camp that were then still visible in the terrain near Muszynka. In 1963, to protect these remains, the “Okopy Konfederatów Barskich” reserve was established (part of the Poprad Landscape Park). Today, the site is additionally marked with a cross and a plaque commemorating a battle with the Muscovites. See: *Teka Główna Konserwatorów Galicji Zachodniej*, vol. 1, ed. Stanisław Tomkowicz et al., Kraków 1900, p. 424; M. Filipowicz, *Beskidzkie konfederackie fortyfikacje polowe a sudeckie szanie z okresu wojen śląskich*, in: *Dla wolności ginę. Kontekst historyczny i kulturowy konfederacji barskiej*, eds. W. Półchłopek, A. Żółkoś, M. Such, Krosno 2020, pp. 174–204; M. Śliwa, *Konfederackie fortyfikacje na przykładzie redut pod Konieczną, Grabiem, Barwinkiem i Łupkowem*, in: *Dla wolności ginę...*, pp. 153–172.

² A good example of this is the Bar Confederation Memory Room in Nowy Żmigród, which houses artifacts discovered by Maciej Śliwa, such as a fragment of a confederate cannon and a chain, lead castings from the campfire, and a wax seal with the Korczak coat of arms. Another example is the room dedicated to the Confederation at



Cannonball from the Bar Confederates' camp in Muszynka, located in the Museum of the History of Tylicz. Source: private archive of M. Jabłoński

such as statues, chapels, mounds, or votive offerings—placed in sacred spaces, erected at sites of mass graves or (“worthy of commemoration”) events. Paradoxically, despite the relatively numerous examples, little is known about them. Moreover, these “monuments,” as forms of ceremonialization and ritualization of social memory, preserve the exact date of clashes between opposing sides or the capture of prisoners, or possibly the death of a leader. To narrow the scope of this study, I will focus on objects created from the 18th century up to the 1930s, highlighting the role of these monuments as memory figures (and sometimes entire landscapes of memory) in relation to the Confederation.³ For this

purpose, after discussing selected monuments/mementos from the Low Beskids region, I will compare them with some examples from the present-day Lesser Poland and Subcarpathian voivodeships, and finally reflect on how the sometimes difficult experiences of peasants from areas affected by the Confederates' activities have nowadays been replaced by efforts to commemorate this armed uprising. Due to scarce source material, it was often necessary to rely on oral tradition or, by analogy, propose hypothetical solutions.⁴

“Beneath the Figure Lie the Bar Confederates”

The concept of a relic can be interpreted in many ways. Some are the actual remains of the Bar Confederates, unearthed from the ground—for example, a sabre with an engraved inscription and date of manufacture, “1747,” discovered before the Second World War; a 2centimeterdiameter cannonball (found embedded in the trunk of a felled tree); and an artillery shell.

the museum in Tylicz, commemorating this important period in the town's history. In Lanckorona, the Bar Confederates' Hall operates, where maps and artifacts unearthed from the ground related to the Confederates are collected. See, for example: M. Śliwa, *Obóz konfederatów barskich pod Wysową*, “Płaj,” no. 53 (2017), pp. 57–76; P. Sadowski, *Lanckorona – twierdza konfederatów barskich: od budowy do koncepcji zagospodarowania turystycznego*, in: *Dla wolności ginę*, pp. 119–152.

³ I adopt the concepts of “memory figures,” “memory landscape,” and “monument” as defined by J. Assmann, *Pamięć kulturowa. Pismo, zapamiętywanie i polityczna tożsamość w cywilizacjach starożytnych*, trans. A. KryczyńskaPham, Warszawa 2008, p. 32.

⁴ Cf. A. Nowak, *Konfederacja barska – pierwsze powstanie czy pierwsza kontrrewolucja*, [in:] *Dla wolności ginę...*, pp. 15–26.

All of these were found on the slopes of a mountain called Huzary and later put on display in the local museum in Tylicz. The area abounded in examples of cultural heritage that acted as carriers of the memory of extraordinary events—for instance, when a group of Confederates camped near the village of Wójtowa brought with them a young armorer, Błażej Sitowski, to repair Kazimierz Pułaski's sabre. In gratitude for the quality of the work, Pułaski is said to have removed an agate stone from the hilt of the weapon, engraved with the initials “R.P.” (alluding to Kazimierz's great-grandfather, Rafał), and gifted it to Sitowski.⁵ Some relics have not survived to the present day. For example, a wallmounted portrait of Kazimierz Pułaski was already listed as lost by 1900, although its memory persisted in oral tradition. Nevertheless, the Biecz parish archives cherished as a precious deposit the Bar Confederates' protestation mentioned by Stanisław Tomkowicz.⁶ Among such artefacts, those that have been preserved in the public or sacred space are especially valuable—for example, the images of St. Barbara in the church at Tylicz⁷ and in Muszynka.⁸ The first depiction of the patron saint of artillerymen was



Huzary, a peak in the Jaworzynka Range, on the slopes of which artifacts related to the Bar Confederates were found. Source: private archive of M. Jabłoński

⁵ It was later added to the collections of the Czartoryski Museum; see *Teka Grona Konserwatorów Galicji Zachodniej*, vol. 1..., p. 318.

⁶ Ibidem, pp. 120, 170.

⁷ During the 1780 visitation, no mention was made of the painting of St. Barbara. However, it was recorded in the inventory of the Greek Catholic church in 1785 (Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie [hereinafter: BN], *Kopiarz dokumentów cerkwi greckokatolickiej w Tyliczu, 1738–1847*, Rkps. 12419 III, fols. 19v, 27v). In 1947, the image of St. Barbara was listed alongside the church and the mineral springs as one of the three main attractions for spa visitors traveling from Krynica to Tylicz; see, for example, “Lekarz Kolejowy,” vol. 12, no. 1–2 (1947), p. 71.

⁸ In 1780, a painting of St. Barbara was mentioned in one of the side altars of the Greek Catholic church in Muszynka; see BN, *Kopiarz dokumentów cerkwi greckokatolickiej w Tyliczu, 1738–1847*, Rkps. 12419 III, fol. 40v.

allegedly donated by Kazimierz Pułaski himself, while the second was said to have been transferred, together with the altar, from a nearby Bar Confederate camp.⁹

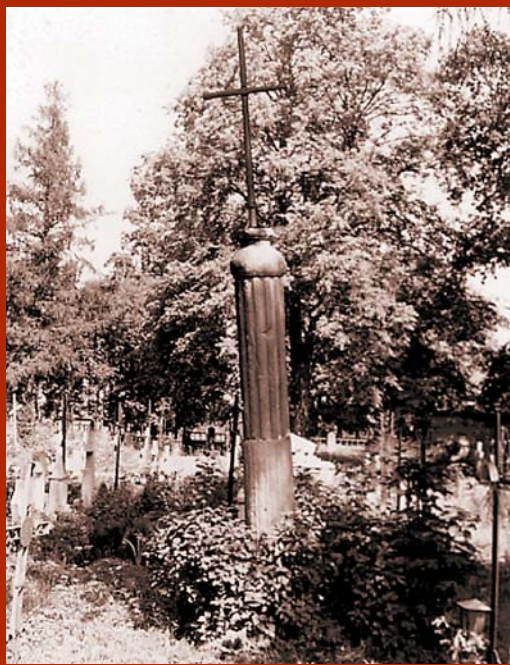
Such numerous references to Pułaski testify not only to the esteem in which the marshal—one of the leading commanders of the Confederates—was held, but also to the mythologizing of the past and the search for traces of his presence in a given environment. In the area of the Low Beskids, this was due to the fact that in the church in Izby, Pułaski gave thanks to the Virgin Mary for his salvation. In 1851, Józef Łepkowski, visiting the wooden church which was replaced in 1886 by a brick building, noted that it was an object “without a distinctive style,” although the “paintings in the iconostasis were of decent quality.” Łepkowski’s attention was drawn to one room in that church, the so-called Chapel of the Protection of the Mother of God (Our Lady of Perpetual Help), “which, in the church’s floor plan, forms one arm of the cross; inside, it has poor glue-based paintings, depicting Pułaski life-size—with a camp visible on the side.”¹⁰ In a book established in 1799 under the title *Consignatio documentorum*, among the miracles attributed to the intercession of the Virgin Mary of Izby, the salvation of Kazimierz Pułaski near Pilzno was recorded. Surrounded on all sides by the Muscovites and without help from anywhere, he called upon the Virgin Mary. Not only did he escape the trap, but he also fled the aggressors unharmed and even emerged from a serious fall (together with his horse) without injury. In gratitude for this intervention, the marshal of the Łomża land confederation founded a gift for the Virgin Mary of Izby, who came to his mind and aided him. The story of Pułaski’s prayer became an important local tradition, passed down through generations, and the chapel with the painting became almost a monument,

⁹ Franciszek Kmietowicz reported in 1927 that one of the Confederates “left in the Greek Catholic church in Muszynka, coming from the field chapel of the Bar Confederates’ camp, a rococo painting of St. Barbara,” (*Goniec Podhalański*, vol. 2, no. 12 (1927), p. 3); cf. National Heritage Institute, Register of Immovable Monuments (hereinafter: NID, EZN), Green Card. Greek Catholic Church of St. John the Theologian, currently filial church of St. John the Evangelist, 1959, ref. no. PL.1.9.ZIPOZ.NID_N_12_EN.483950.

¹⁰ Łepkowski reported: “During the Confederation in these parts, the church archive in Izby provides interesting details. There is even a poor glue-based wall painting in this church depicting Pułaski and his camps near Izby.” After the demolition of the wooden church in Izby, the painting was said to have been moved to Tylicz; see *Czas*, vol. 4, no. 216 (20 Sept. 1851), p. 1; *Głos Podhala*, vol. 10, no. 33 (14 Aug. 1938), p. 15; cf. *Unter Deinen Schutz... Ikonen vom 15. bis 18. Jahrhundert aus den polnischen Karpaten*, ed. M. Marcinkowska, Nowy Sącz 2006.



Painting of Our Lady of Protection (Izbiańska), funded by Fr. Jan Ropski in 1721 and donated to the Greek Catholic church. Kazimierz Pułaski and his companions prayed before it, asking Our Lady for help. Since 1955, the painting has been located in the church in Berest. Source: website <http://parafiabanica.pl/izby/>



Monument to the Bar Confederates in Nowy Żmigród, state as of 1987, author unknown. Source: National Heritage Institute, Inventory of Monuments, Roman Catholic cemetery card in Nowy Żmigród, 1987, ref. PL.1.9.ZIPOZ. NID_N_18_EN.107464

which Łepkowski himself visited for that very reason.¹¹

Interest in the events of 1768–1772 grew alongside subsequent scholarly and artistic works, as well as under the influence of national liberation uprisings.¹² The remains of the Confederates were discovered on a broader scale with the development of spa tourism. In 1890, a report by physician Leon Kopff, documenting his trip to Tylicz and its surroundings, was published. Despite the centuries-old history of the town and region, the traveler devoted most of his attention to the relics of the Bar Confederates' activity. He wrote:

Excursion to the Confederate Trenches in Muszynka. On the summit of one of the Carpathian mountains, just above the Hungarian border, about five kilometers from Tylicz, lie the camp trenches built by the hands of the Bar Confederates.

Here, in April 1769, a small group of Confederates gathered under the command of seven leaders: Joachim Czerny, Tomasz Wilkoński, Rafał Tarnowski, Józef Bierzyński, Antoni Moszkowski, Michał Dzierżanowski, and Ignacy Potocki. They remained in position throughout the year 1769 and the winter of 1769–1770. The memory of the Confederates' battles has now completely faded from

popular consciousness, with only Lucjan Siemiński recalling an elderly highlander who still remembered those times. This elder used to recite verses that [Iwan] Derwicz [sic! Drewicz] was said to have sent to Kazimierz Pułaski in 1770: "From Tylicz to Biecz, everywhere is full of Derewicz." Pułaski did not leave the threat unanswered—he replied to it with: "Between Biecz and Tylicz—the end will come to Derewicz." However, fate had other plans. Pułaski suffered defeat near the village of Izby, near which the Confederate trenches can also be seen. The only relics of the Confederate camp in Muszynka are: a painting of Saint Barbara, allegedly from the camp altar and now located in the church in Muszynka; and a table used as that camp altar, which belongs to Mr. Zygmunt Sokołowski, the imperial and royal spa administrator in Krynica.¹³

Over time, conservators began to visit the Low Beskids region more frequently, and their visits raised awareness among the local intelligentsia about the presence of relics related to the Confederates. For example, in 1895, Stanisław Krzyżanowski toured, among other places, Tylicz and Dukla.¹⁴ "In many of them, he found very valuable material—diplomas and books—and in several cases saved them from destruction." Some communities even sent their possessions to Kraków, seeing this as a way to ensure their preservation.¹⁵

The Confederation was elevated to the status of an exceptionally important period in the history of the Low Beskids region and thus occupied a significant place in reflections on the past of these lands. This is evidenced, among other sources, by information from Władysław Bębynek's study titled *Starostwo Muszyńskie*, published in *Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki*, issued as a supplement to *Gazeta Lwowska*:

It was only toward the end of the existence of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, during the Bar Confederation in 1769, that the name Muszyna began to appear several times in historical records. As

¹¹ The content of the information about the miracle and Kazimierz Pułaski's thanksgiving, as transcribed by Łepkowski, can be found, among others, in: *Teka Głona Konserwatorów Galicji Zachodniej*, vol. 1..., p. 120.

¹² This was likely a consequence of reading early works in which historians of the past (including J. Lelewel and S. Kaczkowski) addressed the topic of the Bar Confederation. Moreover, the Bar Confederates also became collective protagonists in emerging artistic and literary works, such as the drama *Horsztyński* by Juliusz Słowacki, written in 1835, which tells the story of a confederate blinded by the Muscovites; see S. Kaczkowski, *Wiadomości o konfederacji barskiej*, Poznań 1843.

¹³ *Krynica*, vol. 6, no. 13 (8 Aug. 1890), p. 1.

¹⁴ Visits by conservators resulted in growing interest in the remnants of the Confederation. In 1908, it was reported that the starostwo (county office) in Sokal summoned a group of conservators to the Bernardine monastery in Krytynopil (present-day Chervonohorod), where under the wooden floor of one of the cells several hundred saber blades were discovered. The finders associated these either with the Bar Confederates or with the January insurgents. See *Sprawozdania Głona c. k. Konserwatorów Galicji Wschodniej*, vol. 3, nos. 64–75 (Jan–Dec 1908), p. 22.

¹⁵ *Głos Narodu*, vol. 3, no. 298 (1895), p. 4.

is known, the Bar Confederates, retreating before the Russian army, came as far as this region, and one of the more significant units camped behind Tylicz, near the village of Izby. Even today, the Confederate earthworks and a monument to Kazimierz Pułaski can be seen there. Many manifestos issued in Tylicz, Muszyna, and Muszynka have survived from that period.¹⁶

Confederate graves also began to attract increasing interest. Many of them were socially recognized as important testimonies from the years 1768–1772. Statues and small chapels erected over presumed confederate graves, although widely known and for years constituting an important component of the urban or rural landscape, became a subject of particular attention in the second half of the 19th century. The chapels over (probable) graves, such as those in Rogi or Szklarze (at the Szklarska Pass), consist of a pillar placed on a high pedestal, on which rests a rectangular chapel. Moreover, both contained inscriptions that are now illegible.¹⁷ A columnar chapel also serves as a monument commemorating the Bar Confederates in Nowy Żmigród. Initially, it marked the grave itself containing the bodies of confederates who fell fighting the Muscovites. In the first half of the 19th century, it became part of a new parish cemetery established according to Austrian regulations. The monument, consisting of a fluted sandstone column set on a pedestal and topped with a metal cross (made from fragments of weapons), was intended to be erected around 1868, on the centenary of the Confederation's formation, to commemorate the fallen. The column used for the monument clearly had earlier functions. According to tradition, it was said to have come from one of the manors, referring to the truly noble character of the Confederation; however, it is equally probable that it was a fragment of an older 17th-century columnar chapel.¹⁸

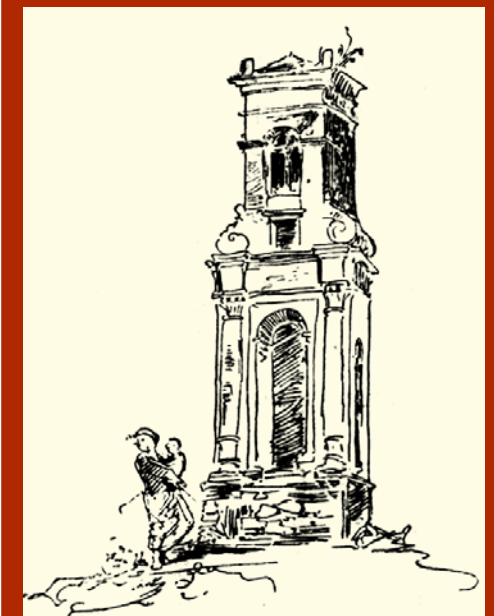
In a somewhat atypical solution compared to the discussed columnar chapels, there is the so-called Obelisk on Harta in Biecz, which—according to oral tradition—is also a memorial to a collective grave of the Confederates. It

¹⁶ In the same issue, an article by W. Konopczyński titled “Z pamiętnika Konfederatki księżnej Teofilii z Jabłonowskich Sapieżyny” was published. See *Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki*, vol. 42, no. 5 (May 1914), pp. 408–421, 433–442.

¹⁷ At Rogi, near the chapel, there is a wooden plaque with the inscription: “Grave of the Bar Confederates. In 1769, Kazimierz Pułaski fought the Russians in the nearby fields. Here lie the soldiers who fell in battle.”

¹⁸ NID, EZN, Record of the Roman Catholic Cemetery in Nowy Żmigród, 1987, signature PL.1.9.ZIPOZ.NID_N_18_EN.107464.

is currently located within the boundaries of war cemetery no. 105 and was incorporated by Hans Mayr into the spatial layout of the burial site for soldiers designed during the First World War.¹⁹ Among a total of 23 graves (10 individual, 12 row graves, and one collective) located within the cemetery, the plastered chapel in the form of a column with a high pedestal and niches with arcades on three sides constitutes a dominant feature and a distinguishing element of the local landscape. In form and stylistic attire, it refers to the Baroque chapel of St. Michael the Archangel in Biecz (dated to around 1709 or 1721), which is also a columnar figure, but three-tiered (with diminishing levels upwards);²⁰ it was erected to commemorate the cemetery around it, where victims of the plague were buried, so its dating to the aforementioned year is approximate. The chapel on Harta was probably also covered with a tent-shaped roof, but over the years it was destroyed due to wear and changes. Furthermore, the so-called Obelisk is more slender than the chapel of St. Michael the Archangel and is decorated with volute-like drip



The so-called Confederate Obelisk in Biecz. Drawing by S. Wyspiański. Source: *Teka Głona Konserwatorów Galicji Zachodniej*, vol. 1, ed. Stanisław Tomkowicz et al., Kraków 1900, p. 246; public domain

¹⁹ National Archives in Kraków (hereinafter: ANK), Military Office for the Care of War Graves of Corps District No. V in Kraków, Photographs of war cemeteries in the territory of Western Galicia, Moravia, and Silesia, file no. 29/275/61, pp. 94–96; List of fallen and deceased soldiers and prisoners of war, as well as plans of war cemeteries and land matters concerning war cemeteries in the Gorlice district, localities B–J, file no. 29/275/39, pp. 179–212.

²⁰ Witold Fusek reported, based on oral accounts from the 1930s (including from Franciszek Zimek), that it was a memorial of the plague of 1709, which remained in the memory of the inhabitants as particularly severe. The mentioned chapel was also associated with an episode from the time of the Bar Confederation, as Pułaski was said to have established a fortified camp around it. See „Głos Podhala”, vol. 10, no. 33 (14 VIII 1938), p. 15; B. Krasnowolski, *Regres miasta (druga połowa XVII wieku – rok 1772)*, [in:] *Atlas Historyczny Miast Polskich*, ed. R. Czaja, vol. 5, issue 7, ed. Z. Noga, Toruń–Kraków 2021, pp. 34–35.



Design of war cemetery no. 105 in Biecz, including the integration of a chapel from 1812. Designed by H. Meyr. Source: National Archives in Kraków, Military Office for War Graves Care of Corps District V in Kraków, ref. 29/275/0/-/39, p. 179

moldings. Both figures represent a type of “lantern of the dead.”²¹ The chapel on Harta was said to have been erected around 1812, thus about 40 years after the last armed activities of the Confederates ceased. The information about a small mound on which the chapel stands being the burial site of the Confederates is therefore highly probable.²² Commemorating anniversaries related to the Confederation through the construction of chapels is a known practice, exemplified by the chapel of St. Anthony at Bugaj in Zakrzów (currently Wadowice County), which has stood since 1811 and serves as a monument erected on the 40th anniversary of the Battle of Lanckorona.²³

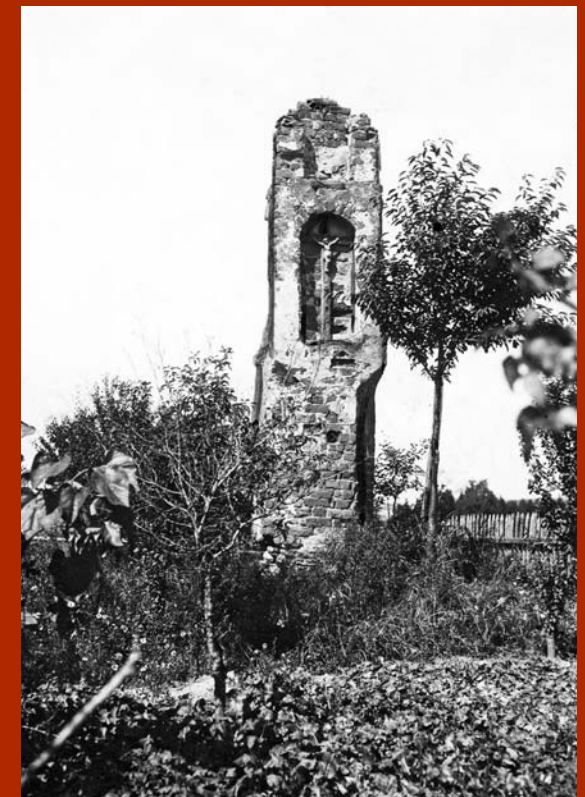
²¹ Its role in the landscape of this part of the town was recognized at the end of the 19th century by S. Tomkowicz, while the social perception of it as a memorial was highlighted in a drawing by Stanisław Wyspiański, who intentionally depicted a mother with a small child in front of it (illustration 4). See Teka Grona Konserwatorów Galicji Zachodniej, vol. 1..., p. 246.

²² R. Frodyma, *Cmentarze wojskowe z okresu I wojny światowej w rejonie Beskidu Niskiego i Podgórze*, Warszawa 1985, p. 101; NID, EZN, Karta ewidencyjna cmentarza nr 105, compiled by R. Ostrożański, 2019/2020; O. Duda, *Cmentarze I wojny światowej w Galicji Zachodniej*, Warszawa 1995, pp. 174–175; W. Łuszczkiewicz, *Stare cmentarze krakowskie, ich zabytki sztuki i obyczaju kościelnego*, „Rocznik Krakowski”, vol. 1 (1908), pp. 29–33; F. Kyrk, *Zarys dziejów powiatu gorlickiego do roku 1945*, in: *Ziemia gorlicka*, Kraków 1965, pp. 9–40.

²³ It is possible that the invocation of St. Anthony originated from a reference to the local confederate Antoni Wilkoński and the activities of the Bernardine monks from



General views of war cemetery no. 105 in Biecz with the compositional dominant—the so-called obelisk commemorating the grave of the Bar Confederates. Source: National Archives in Kraków, Military Office for War Graves Care of Corps District V in Kraków, ref. 29/275/0/-/61, p. 94



Destroyed chapel in Biecz (under the forest). Source: National Archives in Kraków, *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny* – Illustration Archive, ref. 3/1/9/158, public domain

Witold Fusek took an interest in the history of the Biecz chapels, sharing his observations in 1938 in the pages of *Głos Podhala*. He mentioned now-nonexistent toponyms, such as the so-called “confederate road” (from the Świącán side through Przedmieście Dolne, the Biecz market square, and Harta), which was formerly called the “royal route” and during the partition was known as the “imperial road.” The Confederates’ obelisk was referred to as the chapel “below the mine on Harta.” Fusek saw it more as a type of signal pillar, on top of which tar was burned in pots to signal the king’s arrival, while from the end of the 18th century a (now lost) metal cross stood on it. Based on memories from a gravedigger and Franciszek Brudnik, who lived in 1938 near the chapel and the war cemetery, Fusek recorded:

The gravedigger said that the figure was erected in the war cemetery after the battle with the Turks. The gravedigger and Brudnik said that under the figure lie the Bar Confederates. The figure itself was destroyed and stripped until the Great War. A metal cross stood at the top, and in one niche remained the fragments of a wooden figure, which later rotted and fell. The Austrians established the new war cemetery next to the figure, surrounded by a concrete wall, and repaired the figure itself with concrete according to conservation requirements, without erasing traces of antiquity.²⁴

According to Fusek, another memorial of the Bar Confederation was a pillar chapel in the forest, located where a gallows once stood. However, during interviews, he learned that the gallows were located further down, and the figure was erected after the Russians attacked and massacred Confederates in the forest. “The legend goes on to say that they had dungeons here, where they were buried. When wagons pass along the road near the figure, it rumbles, and often at night old Daniel and his son Stanisław Szary, going to work, heard the sound of footsteps.” Interestingly, Fusek recalled that during World War I, a search for the Confederates’ grave was conducted without success. It was not found, perhaps because the search took place closer to the town.²⁵

Kalwaria, whose monastery was said to host solemn confederate masses, cf. Archiwum Kurii Metropolitalnej w Krakowie, sygn. APA 346, unpaginated; W. Konopczyński, *Konfederacja barska. Przebieg, tajemne cele i jawne skutki*, vol. 1, Poznań 2017, p. 602.

²⁴ *Głos Podhala*, vol. 10, no. 33 (14 VIII 1938), pp. 15–17.

²⁵ Ibidem, p. 17.

It is beyond doubt that the many recollections related to the Bar Confederation and the numerous potential graves illustrate the moment of Biecz’s destruction by the Russians, as recorded in monastery chronicles.²⁶

Interest in the Bar Confederation in the second half of the 19th century was also reflected in the attitudes of collectors of Bar Confederation relics. One such collector was Franciszek Kmietowicz, who opened a private museum in Krynica. Although his collections mainly consisted of ornithological and geological specimens, they also included “local relics from the Bar Confederates.”²⁷ The aforementioned collector was a regional promoter of the memory of events from the Bar Confederation period. Since 1897, a committee in Krynica had been collecting funds to organize a park with a mound in honor of Kazimierz Pułaski. It was recognized that no such memorial had yet been erected for the Confederate leader, who was described as “a representative of the sacrificial, centuries-long struggle for the independence of the Republic.” In 1927, upon the commencement of the Pułaski monument construction on the road from Krynica to Tylicz, Kmietowicz wrote that the monument commemorated the skirmish on Mount Huzarnia. Thus—“Krynica, honoring the memory of the hero who in our mountains with Poland’s eternal enemy, already in the current year begins preliminary works connected with the construction of the monument.”²⁸ In 1930, a visit to the park was recommended as a shaded place with a well-maintained path leading to the summit—“memorable for the battle of the Bar Confederates with the hussars.”²⁹ This place served not only as a commemoration of the Bar Confederation leader but also as a recreational site, since in the 1930s the park contained a café with a bowling alley, an amphitheater, a concert shell, and tennis courts.³⁰

The date of the erection of the Pułaski Mound does not seem accidental, considering the general interest in the Bar Confederation in the region, which was stimulated by newspaper articles and by the staging in Nowy Sącz of Juliusz Słowacki’s drama entitled *Horsztyński*. In *Kurier Podhalański*, the

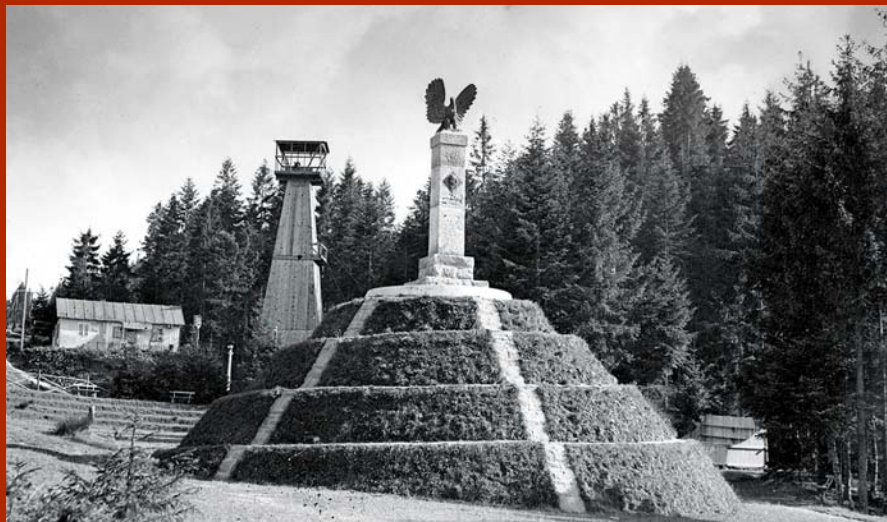
²⁶ Archive of the Franciscan-Reformed Province in Kraków, Chronicle of the Reformed Monastery in Biecz, vol. 1, pp. 127–128v.

²⁷ Additionally, he collected numerous documents and memorabilia from almost every national liberation uprising, see “Goniec Podhalański,” vol. 2, no. 12 (1927), pp. 2–3.

²⁸ Ibidem, p. 3.

²⁹ “Echo Krynickie,” vol. 6, nos. 5–7 (22 VII 1930), p. 24.

³⁰ During the occupation years, the Germans dismantled the eagle from the monument on the Pułaski mound; however, it was returned to its place after 1945. The other buildings, however, fell into ruin. NID, EZN, Ewidencja Parku im. K. Pułaskiego, compiled by B. Michońska, 1990, ref. no. PL.1.9.ZIPOZ.NID_N_12_EN.510305.



Mound and monument of Kazimierz Pułaski in Krynica-Zdrój, established at the initiative of Franciszek Jan Kmiotowicz, mayor of the town, in the 1920s.
Source: NAC 1-U-3220, public domain

preparation of precisely this drama was noted as an expression of homage to the solemn repatriation of Juliusz Słowacki's remains to the country, as well as an act arising "from a sense of duty to promote national and cultural propaganda." Moreover, the performance was preceded by a lecture on the Confederation, delivered by Stanisław Komar.³¹ The discussion surrounding the Confederation in the Beskid Sądecki and Low Beskids regions continued throughout 1927, so the staging of the drama—which was deemed exceptionally tedious—was merely one manifestation of this discourse. In the May edition of *Tygodniowy Kurier Podhalański*, a text appeared entitled *Dlaczego jesteśmy rozbici?* (Why Are We Divided?). Its author observed that "even Targowica, from the point of view of the Targowiczans, was a patriotic confederation, while the Barszczanie were rebels—and vice versa! Both sought the supposed good of the State through various forms of political activity, from which... only the enemy profited!" Their efforts were compared to the contemporary political parties of the journalist's time, whose mutual rivalry "de-vours and exhausts their strength."³²

³¹ "Tygodniowy Kurier Podhalański", vol. 2, no. 27 (4 July 1927), p. 4.

³² "Tygodniowy Kurier Podhalański", vol. 2, no. 19 (9 May 1927), p. 1.

Context

The (selected) sites in the Low Beskids region presented above are worth comparing with similar examples across the broader areas of Lesser Poland and Subcarpathia. Despite the gradual erasure of memory concerning the Bar Confederates after 1772, within the current boundaries of the Lesser Poland and Subcarpathian voivodeships a relatively large number of commemorative forms marking their burial places have survived. In 1912, there was a mention of a large stone located below the summit of Turbacz, protruding from the grass and resembling a massive stone chest. On one of its sides there was still a visible inscription reading "Koldras Lacki," along with two dates—"17.." and another, 1833. "It is said to be a memorial of the camp of Kazimierz Pułaski with the Bar Confederates, who carved this inscription in memory of the company that, in this secluded place, perished from wounds and exhaustion."³³ Much more frequently, however, one encounters roadside shrines—mainly pillar-type—which (as discussed above), due to their placement on small mounds (or next to them), were called Confederate shrines and linked to graves of Confederates. An example of this can be found in Brzozów, near the border with Stara Wieś, where in 1772 a skirmish occurred between the Confederates and Russian forces. Between 1825 and 1830, the Jesuit Józef Sacher arranged for the exhumation of the fallen, their placement in two coffins, and reburial within the parish cemetery. At the site of the grave, a small mound was erected and a statue placed on a tall pedestal, atop which stands a column supporting a cuboid shrine.³⁴ Unfortunately, many forms of commemorating the Confederation were ephemeral in nature and have not survived to the present day. Evidence of this is the no longer existing, but mentioned in the 1780s, shrine in Ponikiew (near Wadowice), which

³³ "Pamiętnik Towarzystwa Tatrzańskiego", vol. 33 (1912), pp. 30–31; NID, EZN, Green Card (*Karta zielona*). Kapliczka św. Michała Archanioła, comp. J. Łoziński, B. Wolff, 1955, ref. no. PL.1.9.ZIPOZ.NID_N_12_EN.437263; White Card (*Karta biała*). Kapliczka św. Michała Archanioła, comp. M. Grabski, 2013, ref. no. PL.1.9.ZIPOZ.NID_N_12_EN.437253.

³⁴ NID, Register of War Graves and Cemeteries (*Ewidencja grobów i cmentarzy wojennych*), Mass grave in Brzozów (*Mogiła zbiorowa w Brzozowie*), ref. no. PL.1.9.ZIPOZ.NID_EW_18_DK.620750; *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce*, vol. 12, fasc. 2, ed. E. Śnieżyńska-Stolata, F. Stolata, Warszawa 1974; S. Dydek, *Katalog pamięci walk i straceń w regionie brzozowskim*, Brzozów 1985; idem, *Stara Wieś. Z dziejów wsi i sanktuarium*, Brzozów 1996; *Architektura drewniana i kapliczki w krajobrazie kulturowym Brzozowa i okolicy*, comp. A. Bocheński, Kraków 2002, p. 46.



Chapel of the Bar Confederates in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska. Source: private archive of the author

included, among other elements, a Confederate banner.³⁵

The phenomenon of converting shrines erected before 1768 into monuments of the Confederation is also visible around Lanckorona, which became a theater of military operations and a battlefield in 1771. For instance, between the present Higher Theological Seminary and the shrine of St. Raphael in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, there stands a slender shrine referred to as the column of the Bar Confederates, due to the fact that members of the local nobility gathered there before setting off toward Lanckorona (illustration no.7). However, the statue itself dates to around 1645, and its form—which did not change after 1772—is confirmed, among other sources, by a woodcut of the Kalwaria complex from 1699. Thus, after the Confederation ended, it became a memorial to the battles at Lanckorona. It was elevated to the rank of a historical memento, although to this day it is only

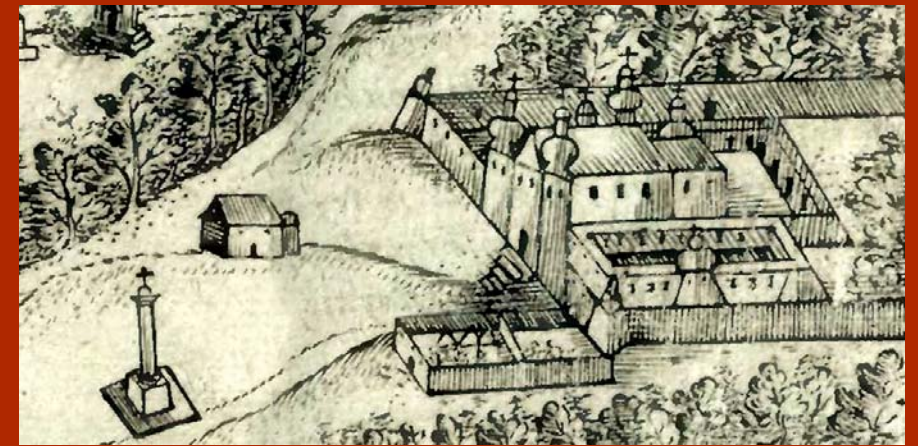
colloquially called “Confederate.”³⁶

It is also worth noting those shrines that eventually came to serve as monuments to local Confederates who had founded them. For example, in 1768 in Stryszów (approx. 9 km from Lanckorona), a shrine with a statue of St. Adalbert (św. Wojciech) was erected by Antoni Wilkoński, already mentioned above, who bore the name Wojciech from confirmation.³⁷ As the lord of Stryszów and Dąbrówka, his likely aim was to promote the cult of St. Adalbert, so as a Confederate and fervent supporter of the Commonwealth’s

³⁵ S. Książek, *Ponikiew. Śladami naszych przodków 1395–2005. Monograficzny zarys dziejów wsi i jej kolonii*, Ponikiew 2008, pp. 208–217.

³⁶ The wayside chapel in Kalwaria shares many features with the roadside figure in Olchawa from 1652; T. Chrzanowski, M. Kornecki, *Sztuka ziemi krakowskiej*, Kraków 1982, p. 382.

³⁷ Archiwum Parafialne w Stryszowie, *Liber Matrimonialis* (1772–1782) and *Liber Baptisatorum* (1722–1751), ref. no. II.1.1.1, p. 38a.



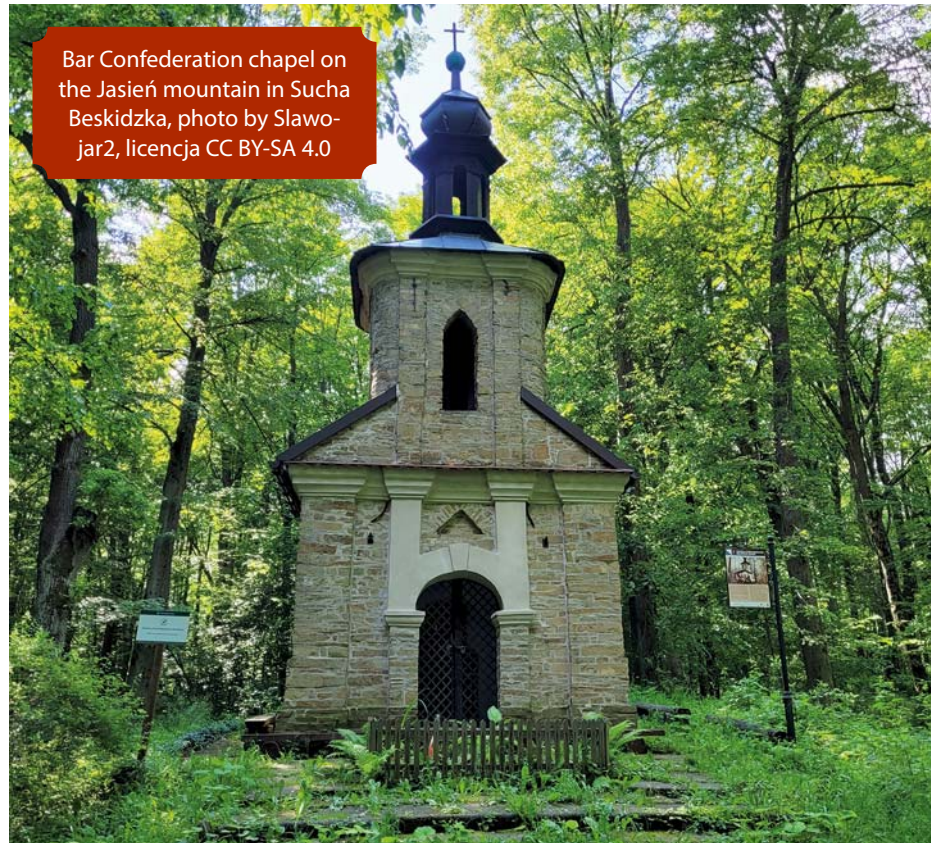
View of the Kalwaria complex from 1699. Woodcut, author unknown. Source: *Prowiant Podróżny Drog Męki Chrystusowej y Trojakiej Tajemnice Matki Jego Przenaswieszczonej na Górze Kalwaryi Zebrzydowskiej: Z Dozwoleniem Starożytnych Wydany, Roku Pańskiego, Kraków 1699*, old print in the University Library in Warsaw, ref. Sd.712.913, public domain

independence from Moscow, he propagated the saint’s veneration. This was probably also linked to the then-popular comparison circulating throughout the Kraków region, which likened the imprisoned bishop Kajetan Sołtyk (detained in 1767) to Bishop Adalbert.³⁸ Moreover, in the surrounding villages near Lanckorona, it is impossible to overlook, for instance, the statue of Christ in the *Ecce Homo* type in Zakrzów (1768), as well as the shrine of St. Onuphrius on Strońska Góra (1769). The former was erected on what was believed to be a mass grave of Confederates killed on 31 October 1768 in a skirmish with Russian troops.³⁹ The latter appeared as a memorial of events from May 1769, when, according to tradition, Maurice Beniowski arrived in the area. It was no coincidence that a precise date—20 May 1769—was inscribed, identical to the date of Beniowski’s arrest, after he was wounded in a clash with Russian forces and taken into Russian captivity.⁴⁰ To commemorate the

³⁸ K. Maksymowicz, “U źródła legendy poetyckiej biskupa krakowskiego Kajetana Sołtyka,” *Napis*, vol. 25 (2019), pp. 64–85.

³⁹ It is difficult to find source confirmation for this type of information from inscriptions, including in parish registers; W. Miączyński, *Dziennik zdarzeń w mieście Krakowie w czasie Konfederacji Barskiej*, Kraków 1911; *Wiara i wolność. Dziedzictwo historyczne konfederacji barskiej. Katalog wystawy*, Stryszów 2013, p. 14.

⁴⁰ There may be a grain of truth in the popular account due to the non-randomness of the date preserved on the chapel, matching that recorded, among others, in Beniowski’s memoirs; cf. *Historia podróży i osobliwszych zdarzeń sławnego Maurycego-Augusta*



Bar Confederation chapel on the Jasień mountain in Sucha Beskidzka, photo by Slawo-jar2, licencja CC BY-SA 4.0

Bar Confederates who fell near Sucha (present-day Sucha Beskidzka), around 1773 the Wielopolski family built a shrine on Mount Jasień, regarded as a particularly notable monument—among other reasons due to its size—with a symbolic grave of approximately 200 men who died in the area in 1771.⁴¹ In 1910, the inhabitants of Lanckorona, led by the local mayor and parish priest, erected a small house-type shrine below the ruins of the Lanckorona castle as an expression of their tribute. Thus, there is no shortage of examples of the monumentalization of the Bar Confederation period and its participants in the historical memory of the region.

hrabi Beniowskiego [...], *Gazeta Warszawska*, press collection at the Jagiellonian Library, ref. no. 30138 I 1, pp. 22–23; *Pamiętniki Beniowskiego: Syberya, Daleki Wschód, Madagaskar*, ed. Z. Bukowiecka, Warszawa–Kraków 1909.

⁴¹ NID, EZN, Green Card. Chapel on Mount Jasień, compiled by A. Kydryńska, M. Majka, 1967, ref. no. PL.1.9.ZIPOZ.NID_N_12_EN.509714.

Figures of Memory

According to Władysław Konopczyński, “a layer of condemnation and sorrow covered the efforts of the Bar Confederates.”⁴² The researcher of the Bar Confederation believed that forgetting was connected with falsification, which was visible, among others, in the throne speech of Stanisław August Poniatowski on August 29, 1776. During this speech, it was said that the Confederation had brought about, among other things, “the Turkish war and, because of it, the plague air [pestilence] to Poland (...) and already not by tens, but by tens of thousands the deaths in our homeland had to be reckoned.” Another example illustrating the condemnation of the Confederates’ attitude was a speech by Prince Adam or Andrzej Zamoyski, who compared the Bar Confederates to a barber who treated with painful plasters after first stabbing his patient with a knife.⁴³ Furthermore, Konopczyński noted that the erasure of memory about the Confederation was also noticed by people like Teofila Jabłonowska-Sapieżyna, who was involved in Bar activities.⁴⁴ Based on her memoirs, Konopczyński concluded that “the nation forgets about [the Confederates] and listens more attentively to the king’s speeches and his defenders than to the Bar Confederates’ ‘I do not allow,’ disconnected from their homeland, relentless but increasingly quieter mistaken knights.”⁴⁵

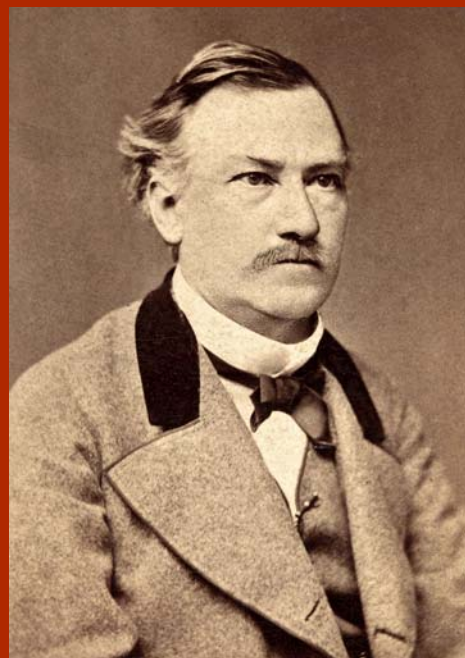
Many of the aforementioned figures and chapels were already standing in their locations during the time of the Confederation. However, it is puzzling that even 17th-century column chapels did not share the fate of other similar objects and were not replaced by newer, more fashionable ones conforming to new guidelines. Their decaying elements were repaired, allowing them to survive to the present day. Therefore, it is assumed that shortly after the Confederation ended, these structures served as a kind of memorial and thus survived until today. Each of the mentioned objects is undoubtedly (following Assmann’s reasoning) a connective structure that “binds society both here and now, and across time,” and additionally “connects people by creating a symbolic world of meanings: a shared space of experience, expectation, and

⁴² Compare: Z. Zielińska, *To what extent is Władysław Konopczyński’s “Bar Confederation” an Apology of the Title Movement?*, in: *Dla wolności ginę...*, pp. 59–86.

⁴³ W. Konopczyński, *Konfederacja barska. Przebieg, tajemne cele i jawne skutki*, vol. 2, ed. E. Szybowicz et al., Poznań 2017, pp. 673–675.

⁴⁴ A. Blinda, *Teofila z Jabłonowskich Sapieżyna. Życie prywatne i działalność publiczna*, Kraków 2023, pp. 61–105.

⁴⁵ “Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki”, vol. 42, no. 4 (April 1914), p. 334.



Professor Józef Łepkowski, archeologist and traveler. Photo by I. Krieger. Source: National Museum in Warsaw, DI 103557 MNW, public domain

action.”⁴⁶ First, each discussed figure or chapel was elevated to the status of a sign through its association with the Confederates’ activities. Thus, their original religious function was replaced by a commemorative one. Second, they refer to events and figures through associated rituals, such as celebrated anniversaries and state ceremonies. Third, each of the mentioned objects fulfills all three characteristics of a figure of memory and, through social frames of meaning, enables the community to revive and include in its life what it represents.⁴⁷

It is also impossible to overlook another interesting phenomenon related to the change in meaning of figures, chapels, etc., over the centuries. When analyzing the reasons for erect-

ing chapels, it cannot be overlooked that apart from their primarily religious function, they were often a form of thanksgiving to God for received gifts. Many of them were either a way to honor the dead resting nearby (due to cultural conditions) or a kind of votive offering by the community for the end of military actions.⁴⁸ Considering the generally pejorative view of the Confederates by peasants, one cannot exclude that many chapels could also have been a kind of votive offering for the defeat of the Bar Confederates. An illus-

⁴⁶ J. Assmann, *Pamięć kulturowa. Pismo, zapamiętywanie i polityczna tożsamość w cywilizacjach starożytnych*, trans. A. Kryczyńska-Pham, Warszawa 2008, p. 32.

⁴⁷ J. Assmann, *Kultura pamięci*, [in:] *Pamięć zbiorowa i kulturowa. Współczesna perspektywa niemiecka*, ed. M. Saryusz-Wolska, Kraków 2009, p. 92.

⁴⁸ Peasants even founded chapels as a form of thanksgiving to God for the abolition of feudal duties, an example being the domestic chapel of Our Lady of Częstochowa in Klecza Górna; see <https://www.it.wadowice.pl/atracje/sanktuarium-i-miejsca-kultu/kapliczki-w-gminie-wadowice/kleczka-gorna/kapliczkadomkowa-matki-bozej-czestochowskiej-ok-1846-r.html> [accessed: 13 July 2023].

tration of peasants’ attitudes is, for example, the replacement of the route by peasants armed with pitchforks who attacked retreating Confederates from their redoubt on Mount Jawor; these peasants came from the village of Cigalka. The peasants’ stance towards the Confederate nobility is also reflected in the 19th-century legend about a peasant named Śmietana from Słotwina (now a district of Krynica) who was hanged without reason on Gallows Hill.⁴⁹ Another example is the memory held by locals of the burning of the church in Wysowa by Confederates, although the fire occurred five years after the Confederation ended.⁵⁰ Thus, the changing perception of a given object is interesting, which over time became a form of commemorating the Confederation, even though its founders did not plan such an outcome.

One of the first travelers to indicate memorials of the Confederates as important destinations for walks or sightseeing trips was Professor Józef Łepkowski. In his notes from trips around Tylicz, he recorded that “there is a mountain called Obóz, where significant traces of ramparts and entrenchments exist.” He was among the first to associate these remnants with the years of the Bar Confederation.⁵¹ Some of the discussed “monuments,” especially those closer to spa towns like Krynica, also became destinations for visitors from outside the region. In 1903, in the press aimed at spa patients in Krynica, “Walks and excursions in Krynica and the surroundings” were presented. Among them was a three-kilometer route from the spa to the then-planned monument and park of Kazimierz Pułaski on the municipal road to Tylicz.⁵² Tourist interest was also stimulated by mentions of a twelve-kilometer trip to Muszynka, where one could see “on the hill the trenches and ramparts of the Bar Confederates’ camp.”⁵³ In 1938, describing “the values and needs of the health resorts, summer resorts, and tourism of the Gorlice land,” it was noted that among the historical relics, “the Bar Confederates’ entrenchments in

⁴⁹ W. Konopczyński, *Materiały do dziejów wojny konfederackiej*, Kraków 1931, pp. 44–47; cf. S. Kaczkowski, *Wiadomości o konfederacji barskiej*, passim.

⁵⁰ The earlier church burned down in 1777; therefore, the information that it was burned by the Confederates is a legend, NID, EZN, Green Card. Greek-Catholic parish church of St. Michael, prepared by R. Brykowski, 1964, ref. PL.1.9.ZIPOZ.NID_N_12_EN.513312; White Card, prepared by Z. Szanter, 1979, ref. PL.1.9.ZIPOZ.NID_N_12_EN.513308.

⁵¹ “Dodatek Tygodniowy przy Gazecie Lwowskiej”, no. 35 (1 Sept. 1855), p. 139.

⁵² “Przegląd Zdrojowo-Kąpielowy i Przewodnik Turystyczny”, vol. 8, no. 7 (1 July 1909), p. 7; „Światowid”, vol. 6 (1929), no. 4, p. 12.

⁵³ It was mentioned then that among various associations in Krynica, there was a committee for the construction of a monument to K. Pułaski “under the kosynier.” See: „Krynica”, no. 1 (10 May 1903), pp. 3, 9.

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Cultivating the Memory of the Bar Confederation at the National and Regional Level

In past practice, events such as the Bar Confederation (the November Uprising, the January Uprising, and others) were most often considered in the context of their chances of success and the causes that motivated them. Much effort was also devoted to explaining them. Individual stages, aspects, and the roles (glorious or blameworthy) played by various figures were studied in great detail. At the beginning of the 21st century, the key challenge is not only to systematically expand our knowledge in this area (since many topics are still waiting for their researchers), but also to skillfully make use of the achievements of previous generations. In this context, it is worthwhile not only to carry out a kind of inventory but also to reinterpret this history in light of contemporary challenges. The passage of time gives us the opportunity to look at all of this less emotionally and more practically. Everyone has the right to their own judgments, but regardless of them, it is clear that the Bar Confederation belongs to the list of events that significantly influenced Polish history, culture, and national identity. It suffices to mention that the *Pieśń Konfederatów Barskich* (Song of the Bar Confederates) written by Juliusz Słowacki became one of the canonical works of our culture and continues to be reinterpreted anew. Our national bard included it in his mystical drama *Father Marek*, which he wrote in 1843. That same year, the work was published in print in Paris. Especially the first stanza finds reflection in many artistic and literary expressions:



Title pages and covers of selected publications concerning the Bar Confederation

Never shall we ally with kings,
Never shall we bow before might;
For we serve Christ under orders –
Servants of Mary!

Among the most recent performers and interpreters of this work are, among others, Jacek Kaczmarski and Jacek Kowalski, Krzysztof Cugowski, as well as the bands De Press and Contra Mundum. It has also found its place in the repertoire of the Kraków-based theatre Loch Camelot and many other artistic groups and choirs (both professional and amateur). On the internet, one can find dozens of versions of it, recorded during patriotic and religious ceremonies. The outstanding Polish director Stanisław Bareja outsmarted the censorship of the communist era (PRL) by hiding this song in the final episode of his comedy series *Alternatywy 4*.

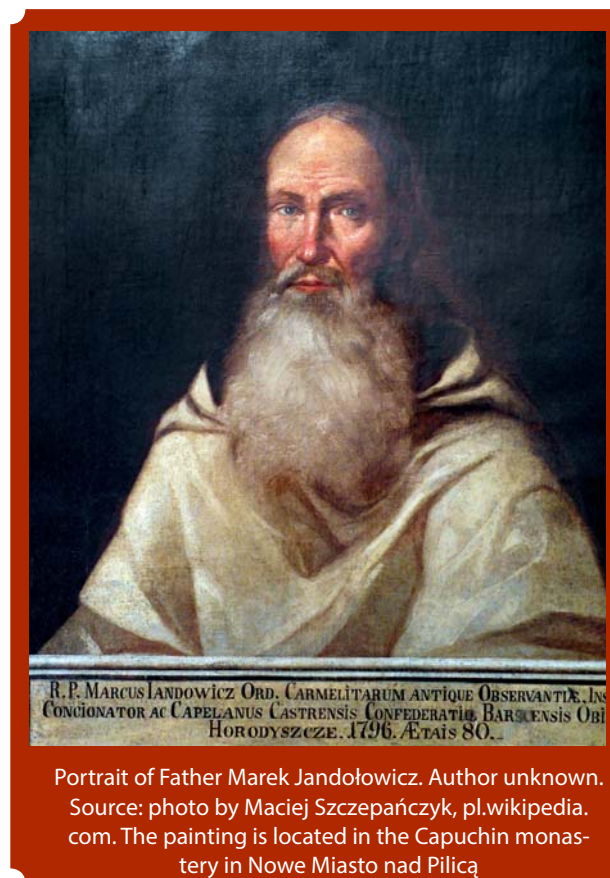
Despite justified complaints about noticeable gaps in our knowledge of the Bar Confederation, the legacy related to it is quite substantial. First and foremost, one is struck by the abundance of various publications. Many of them deserve high praise, even if they may at times offend modern readers with their archaic form or language—in such cases, a modern re-edition and the use of these works in a new formula (rewritten or supplemented with critical commentary that takes into account the latest scholarly achievements) could be a solution. This applies especially to works whose substantive value competes with contemporary publications. Examples include the works of Feliks Jan Szczesny Morawski (1818–1898), who was a pioneer in

researching and preserving the heritage of the Bar Confederation. He went down in history as a historian, writer, painter, ethnographer, and fervent patriot, participant in the Springtime of Nations and the January Uprising. Among his contributions is the work *Materiały do Konfederacji Barskiej r. 1767–1768* (*Materials for the Bar Confederation of 1767–1768*), which, as we read on the title page, was “collected from unpublished and unknown manuscripts by Szczesny Morawski”, vol. I, published in Lviv in 1851 by the Printing House of the Ossoliński National Institute. Among the first researchers of this topic was also Karol Cieszewski (1833–1867), who published *Wspomnienie o Józefie Puławskim* (*A Remembrance of Józef Puławski*), the Founder of the Bar Confederation (published by Karol Wild, Lviv 1863). Of great scholarly and artistic value is *Album Konfederacji Barskiej 1768–1772* (*The Album of the Bar Confederation 1768–1772*) by Kajetan Saryusz-Wolski (1852—after 1922), published in 1899 in Kraków at the author’s own expense. At the end of the 19th century, Karol Nittman (1863–1929), a distinguished Polish educator and teacher of history, undertook the idea of presenting the history of the Bar Confederation to a wider audience, including pupils and students. In 1895 in Lviv, as part of the “People’s Publications” series (no. 153), his work *O Konfederacji Barskiej i jej bohaterach* (*About the Bar Confederation and its Heroes*) appeared. In 1903, Teofil Klima published *Akta do Konfederacji r. 1768 województwa krakowskiego, a zwłaszcza księstw oświęcimskiego i zatorskiego* (*Documents for the Confederation of 1768 of the Kraków Voivodeship, Especially the Duchies of Oświęcim and Zator*) (Wadowice, published by the Scientific Fund at Franciszek Foltin’s Printing House). Also in the reborn

Second Polish Republic, the memory of the Bar Confederation was cultivated. In 1928, in Kraków, the outstanding historian Władysław Konopczyński (1880–1952) published for young people *Konfederacja Barska. Wybór źródeł* (*The Bar Confederation. A Selection of Sources*) (National Library, series 1, no. 102). Between 1936–1938, his two-volume *Konfederacja Barska* (*The Bar Confederation*) appeared. He considered this work the achievement of his life. To this day, it is regarded as the most competent source of knowledge on the Bar Confederation. Both of Konopczyński's works were also reissued at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century. In 1972, *Przemiany tradycji barskiej. Studia* (*Transformations of the Bar Tradition. Studies*), edited by Zofia Stefanowska, appeared, published by Wydawnictwo Literackie in Kraków. It was a collection of materials from a scholarly session organized by the Institute of Literary Research of the Polish Academy of Sciences on March 18–19, 1970, in Warsaw. In 1976, as part of the National Library series, *Literatura barska (Antologia)* (*Bar Literature (Anthology)*) prepared by Janusz Maciejewski, was published. In the popular series “History of the Nation and the Polish State”, Władysław A. Serczyk's book *Początek końca. Konfederacja barska i I rozbiór Polski* (*The Beginning of the End. The Bar Confederation and the First Partition of Poland*) was published (Warsaw 1997, National Publishing Agency). Great contributions to the study of the Bar Confederation from a regional perspective were made by Andrzej Wasiak, who in 1994 published the book *Konfederacja barska na Sądecku* (*The Bar Confederation in the Sącz Region*) (Polish Historical Society, Nowy Sącz Branch). He has authored numerous studies on this topic. In 2009, the publishing market was enriched by a collective work *Konfederacja Barska. Jej konteksty i tradycje* (*The Bar Confederation. Its Contexts and Traditions*), edited by Anna Buchmann and Adam Danilczyk (DiG Publishing House, co-edited by the Museum of Polish History, Polish Museum in Rapperswil). It is impossible here to note all the works that deserve mention on the subject of the Bar Confederation. I will still point out the work edited by Mariusz Jabłoński, *The Bar Confederation (1768–1772). Background and Heritage* (FALL Publishing House, Kraków 2018). This publishing initiative was undertaken in connection with the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the Bar Confederation. It was carefully produced, on coated paper, which brought out the beauty of many illustrations. Among them one can find, for example, the article by Monika Makowska entitled *The Literature of the Bar Confederation*.

The history of the Bar Confederation also found its reflection in Polish painting. Examples include the works of outstanding artists such as January Suchodolski (1797–1875), *Marszałek Konfederacji Barskiej Michał Hieronim*

Krasiński przyjmuje dostojnika tureckiego (*Marshal of the Bar Confederation Michał Hieronim Krasiński Receiving a Turkish Dignitary*); Korneli Szlegel (1817–1870), *Pułaski w Barze* (*Pułaski in Bar*); Artur Grottger (1837–1867), *Modlitwa konfederatów barskich przed bitwą (pod Lanckoroną?)* (*Prayer of the Bar Confederates Before the Battle (near Lanckorona?)*); Juliusz Kossak (1824–1899), *Kazimierz Pułaski pod Częstochową* (*Kazimierz Pułaski near Częstochowa*); Wacław Pawliszak (1866–1905), *Potyczka w drodze* (*Skirmish on the Road*); and Józef Brandt (1841–1915), *Obrona zaścianka* (*Defense of the Manor*). As art historian Małgorzata Mielczarek writes:



Portrait of Father Marek Jandołowicz. Author unknown. Source: photo by Maciej Szczepańczyk, pl.wikipedia.com. The painting is located in the Capuchin monastery in Nowe Miasto nad Pilicą

An exceptionally characteristic painting on the subject of the Confederation is the portrait of Father Marek Jandołowicz—“*Father Marek*”, by an unknown 18th-century artist (held at the Capuchin Monastery in Nowe Miasto nad Pilicą). His extraordinary preaching abilities, skill in healing, and gift of foretelling the future (he prophesied, among other things, the imminent downfall of Stanisław August) led to his being regarded in Podolia as a miracle worker and saint. Together with Józef Pułaski, he prepared the Bar Confederation, becoming its spiritual leader. In Bar, he founded the *Order of the Knights of the Holy Cross*, whose main goal was the defense of the Catholic faith. On June 19, 1768, with a cross in hand, he stood against the Russian assault on Bar, thereby raising the morale of the city. It is believed that he is the author of the poem „*Wieszczba dla Polski*” („*Prorocstwo ks. Marka*”) (“*A Prophecy for Poland*” (“*Father Marek's Prophecy*”)), in which

he foretells both Poland's downfall and its rebirth, becoming an inspiration for Romantic literature (notably Juliusz Słowacki's mystical drama *"Father Marek"* from 1843). The painted image of the priest evokes reverence akin to depictions of saints. Father Marek gazes piercingly at the viewer; his pose, set against a uniform dark background, is full of dignity, calm, and light.¹

In recent times, the Bar Confederation has been commemorated in various ways. New opportunities for this emerged thanks to the political transformations in Poland after 1989. The obstacles to publicly celebrating anniversaries associated with the Confederation disappeared. Given its distinctly religious context, these celebrations often have a church component. In 1990, the Confederates were honored at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Warsaw. In 1998, the Polish Television Theatre presented an adaptation of the drama *"Father Marek"* directed by Krzysztof Nazar, which became part of the *"Złota Setka Teatru Telewizji"* (*"Golden Hundred of Television Theatre"*).²

Traditionally, it is the inhabitants of Lesser Poland and Subcarpathia who most strongly emphasize their ties to the history of the Bar Confederation. In the Municipal Park in Gorlice stands a monument to Kazimierz Pułaski, who is also listed among the "Distinguished People of Gorlice" on the official website of Gorlice County. As the authors of this list explain:

His connections to the Gorlice region date back to the time of the Bar Confederation. At the age of 22, forced by the Russians to retreat from the Dniester River, he and his unit found themselves near Biecz (April 1769). He came to the Gorlice Land for the second time in March 1770, when, after losing a battle with the Russians, he stayed in a camp at Izby and established a second camp on the slopes of Mount Jawor near Wysowa. From there, he trained cavalry and launched offensive raids. He took part, among others, in the battles at Biecz, at Konieczna, and in the main multi-day battle that took place in Wysowa in August 1771.³

¹ <https://dzieje.pl/artykuly-historyczne/konfederacja-barska-w-sztuce> (accessed: November 15, 2023).

² <https://www.spiewnikniepodleglosci.pl/piesn-konfederatow-barskich> (accessed: November 20, 2023).

³ <https://www.powiatgorlicki.pl/powiat/historia-ludzmi-pisana/wybitni-gorliczanie> (accessed: November 16, 2023).

In 2008, the District Museum in Nowy Sącz, together with several other partners, organized the scholarly conference *"The Bar Confederation in Southern Lesser Poland 1768–2008,"* thus marking the 240th anniversary of this event while simultaneously celebrating its own seventieth anniversary. On this occasion, the Polish Post issued special postcards and made commemorative philatelic stamps available.

On June 8, 2017, the Sejm of the Republic of Poland adopted a resolution proclaiming the year 2018 as the Year of the Bar Confederation. It is worth recalling that 2018 marked the 250th anniversary of this event. In the aforementioned parliamentary resolution, we can read, among other things:

The Bar Confederation lasted the longest of all Polish uprisings and encompassed the largest area of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. More than 100,000 people took part in the fighting on the side of the confederates. Several hundred battles and skirmishes were fought. After the fall of the Bar Confederation, some of its leaders remained in exile, around a dozen thousand prisoners were deported to Siberia, a significant number of confederates were incorporated into the tsarist army, and the propaganda of neighboring states sought to use this uprising as one of the pretexts for the First Partition of Poland.

Together with the Constitution of May 3 and the Kościuszko Uprising, the Bar Confederation became ingrained in the collective memory of Poles as an example of the struggle for freedom, which—especially during the period of partitions—was of immense importance for the nation's survival and to which people most frequently referred throughout the 19th century. Thanks to the works of the Romantic national poets—Adam Mickiewicz, Juliusz Słowacki, and Zygmunt Krasiński—the Confederates were depicted as martyrs for faith, freedom, and the homeland. As a result, the Bar Confederation became one of the pivotal moments in the history of Polish national consciousness, and it is easy to discern within it the characteristic features of all later Polish uprisings, continuing into modern times.⁴

In 2018, a program of archeological research was also announced, aimed at locating and documenting the earthworks (fortifications) of the Bar Confederates in the Low Beskids and the Bieszczady Mountains. On this occasion, the website Dzieje.pl reported:

⁴ https://orka.sejm.gov.pl/proc8.nsf/uchwaly/1513_u.htm (accessed: 7 Nov. 2023).

“Most of these fortifications have not survived to the present day, or their remains are so poorly preserved that it is difficult to determine their size and layout. That is why we want to locate these structures, establish their shape, and identify their internal and external infrastructure,” said Michał Pisz, an archeologist involved in the project, in an interview with PAP (Polish Press Agency). The project is headed by Professor Michał Parczewski of the Institute of Archeology at the University of Rzeszów [...].

The researchers will begin their work in September, focusing on the study of five Bar Confederation earthworks: in Muszynka, Izby, Wysowa, Konieczna, and Łupków. According to the researchers, the sites in Muszynka and Łupków are among the best preserved. The earthwork in Izby was completely destroyed nearly forty years ago as a result of agricultural activity. Meanwhile, the earthworks in Wysowa and Konieczna have long since disappeared—only specialized studies may make it possible to determine their outlines.

“In our research, we will employ modern archeological survey methods. The remains of the earthworks will be scanned using various geophysical techniques, and in spatial analyses, we will utilize data from airborne laser scanning as well as contemporary and archival cartographic resources,” added Pisz. In his view, conducting some parts of the research will pose a considerable logistical challenge due to the difficult-to-access location of the earthworks high in the mountains.⁵

Archeological research has made it possible to verify some of the assumptions that had existed until now and has significantly expanded our knowledge. This applies, for example, to the earthwork (sconce) at Izby in the Lesser Poland region, which turned out to be larger than previously believed. Below are some important statements by researchers on this subject:

“It turned out that both the fortifications surrounding the site were more powerful and complex than had been thought so far. They also enclosed a larger area. Earlier estimates spoke of 2 hectares. It now appears that the sconce may have been several times bigger,” said Michał Filipowicz of the Institute of Archeology at the University of Warsaw. If these estimates are confirmed and the area of the sconce amounts to 6

⁵ <https://dzieje.pl/aktualnosci/archeolodzy-przebadaja-szance-konfederatowbarskich-na-100-lecie-odzyskania> (accessed: November 20, 2023).

hectares, it would be one of the largest modern-era earth fortifications in Poland, the archeologist pointed out.

Up to this point, only a small fragment of the fortifications was known from old photographs and plans—its front, that is, the part of the fortification facing the main expected enemy attack (the foreground). Nothing was known about the other parts of the camp or its infrastructure.

“The sconce at Izby is interesting due to the fact that Kazimierz Pułaski camped there, where he trained soldiers and from where he set out on skirmishes. The experience he gained there was later successfully used in the fight for the independence of the United States of America,” Filipowicz reminded. Today, Pułaski is recognized as a national hero of the USA, and the anniversary of his death is commemorated with a solemn parade that takes place each year in New York on October 11.

Currently, the sconce at Izby is almost entirely invisible in the landscape. Several decades ago, it was leveled, and today a pasture occupies its site. Nevertheless, archeologists have managed to learn quite a lot about its spatial layout. This was possible thanks in part to the use of geophysical methods that do not require excavation. These surveys were conducted by Michał Pisz of the Faculty of Geology at the University of Warsaw. The research team also included Prof. Michał Parczewski from the University of Rzeszów.

Among other things, the scientists established that, contrary to earlier assumptions, the sconce was not protected by bastions (low towers) but by a more advanced solution in the form of bastions proper. Such structures were erected from the mid-16th to the mid-19th century. The researchers also managed to locate a moat that surrounded a significant part of the fortress. Inside the fortified camp, there may also have been a blockhouse—a small fortified structure with loopholes, designed for independent defense from several directions. This structure was also identified thanks to the use of geophysical methods.⁶

In 2018, Polish Television, as part of the documentary series *Było... nie minęło. Kronika zwiadowców historii (It Was... It Has Not Passed. Chronicle of History Scouts)*, produced a more than twenty-minute episode titled *Pod sztandarami konfederacji (Under the Banners of the Confederation)*. The program, hosted by Adam Sikorski, featured Marian Kozłowski, a regional historian, and

⁶ <https://naukawpolsce.pl/aktualnosci/news%2C32716%2Cforteca-pulaskiego-wmalo-polsce-byla-bardziej-potezna-niz-sadzono.html> (accessed: November 20, 2023).



Logo of the 250th anniversary celebrations of the Bar Confederation in the Low Beskids on May 12–13 and May 19, 2018, including the International Scientific Conference titled “I Die for Freedom” – historical and cultural context of the Bar Confederation on the 250th anniversary of its formation,” held at the Historical Museum – Palace in Dukla

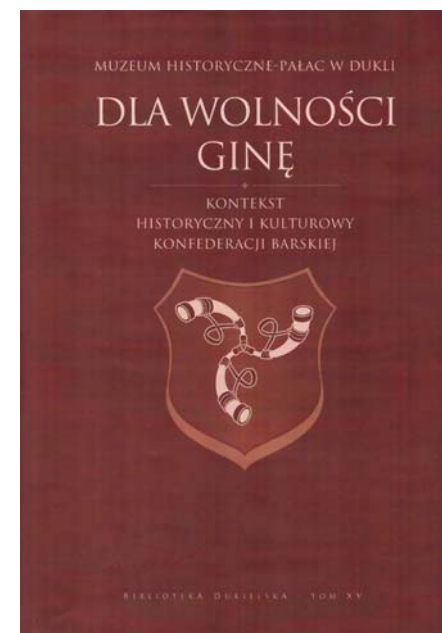
near Grab and the redoubts in Mytarka (Nowy Żmigród), located along roads leading to Hungary, to Biecz (via Osiek), and to Dukla.

On the 250th anniversary of the Bar Confederation, a series of local initiatives were undertaken, involving local governments, clergy, educational and cultural institutions, regional directorates of the State Forests, and various associations.

In the Low Beskids, official celebrations of this anniversary were held on May 12–13, 2018. The organization of the events in the areas of Dukla and Nowy Żmigród involved the following institutions: the Society of Lovers of Nowy Żmigród and the Leon Karciński Museum in Nowy Żmigród, as well as the Historical Museum—Palace in Dukla, with the cooperation of the Dukla and Nowy Żmigród municipalities. On May 12 of that year, a scientific conference titled “I Die for Freedom. The Historical and Cultural Context of the Bar Confederation on the 250th Anniversary of its Formation” was held in Dukla. The following day, in Nowy Żmigród, religious and patriotic ceremonies took place. Participants could join a thematic excursion that included the parish church in Biecz, confederate chapels, the confederate grave in Nowy Żmigród, and the redoubt in Mytarka. In front of the Leon Karciński Museum

Jerzy Dębiec, president of the Association of Lovers of Nowy Żmigród—both highly distinguished for preserving the heritage of the Bar Confederation and promoting knowledge about it. The episode discussed the phenomenon of the “confederate movement” and the growing interest in this history. It also presented field relics in the vicinity of Nowy Żmigród, the battlefield of the confederates against Russian troops, and the grave where they rest, around which a cemetery developed; next, the site of the former confederate camp

in Nowy Żmigród, a monument to Kazimierz Pułaski was unveiled. On the building, a historical reliquary (ryngraf) is also displayed, depicting the figure of Mary with the Infant Jesus, along with the inscription: “To the Bar Confederates from their compatriots. Society of Lovers of Nowy Żmigród 2013.” Inside the museum, there is an exhibition dedicated to the Bar Confederation. Moreover, through the joint effort of the Society of Lovers of Nowy Żmigród and the local forest district, the confederates’ camp in Grab was made accessible; the site was cleaned up and marked with informational boards. Additionally, in Nowy Żmigród itself, the confederate redoubt in Mytarka was located and reconstructed. This site was commemorated with a cross and an informational plaque.⁷ On October 19, 2018, in Zagórz, in the square before the Municipal Cultural and Sports Center, a monument to the Unknown Confederate was unveiled. The author was Dr. habilitated Piotr Zieleniak, an artist professionally affiliated with Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin. In this way, not only was the Bar Confederation commemorated as such, but also one of its most important and final battles, which took place on November 29, 1772, in the fields surrounding Zagórz, still called today the “Pułaski’s entrenchments.”⁸ Earlier, on September 23 of the same year, on the initiative of the Organizing Committee formed by representatives of Bieszczady County, the Czarna municipality, the Ustrzyki Dolne Forest District, the Bieszczady Branch of the Polish Tourist and Sightseeing Society (PTTK), and the



Cover of the post-conference book titled “I Die for Freedom – historical and cultural context of the Bar Confederation” on the 250th anniversary of its formation, published in 2020

⁷ <https://karpaccy.pl/nowy-zmigrod-konfederatom-barskim/>; <https://www.muzeum-pulaski.pl/wydarzenia/konferencje-wyklady/465-obchody-250-lecia-konfederacji-barskiej-w-beskidzie-niskim> (accessed: November 15, 2023).

⁸ https://www.krosno.lasy.gov.pl/aktualnosci/-/asset_publisher/1M8a/content/pomnik-nieznanego-konfederata-w-zagorzu (accessed: November 6, 2023).

Bieszczady Branch of the Society for the Protection of Monuments, celebrations of the centenary of Poland regaining independence and the 250th anniversary of the formation of the Bar Confederation were organized at the pass between Rab and Żłobek. These celebrations included the “Centennial Rally,” commemorative speeches and lectures, and a concert of patriotic songs. The unveiling and blessing of an obelisk commemorating the independence jubilee and a cross erected in honor of the fallen Bar Confederates also took place. An informational plaque about these historical events was unveiled, and linden trees were planted.⁹

It is worth noting the evolution of the anniversary rallies. Primarily, they serve to commemorate the Bar Confederates,



Information board of the Lesser Poland Bar Confederation Trail erected in Krynica-Zdrój. Source: archive of M. Jabłoński



⁹ https://ustrzykidolne.krosno.lasy.gov.pl/hodowla-lasu/-/asset_publisher/x9eK/content/uroczystosci-obchodow-100-lecia-odzyskania-przez-polske-niepodleglosci-i-250-lecia-zawiazania-konfederacji-barski-1 (accessed: November 12, 2023).

their achievements, and the ideals that inspired them. In subsequent years, the accompanying educational offer has been expanded and diversified. In today’s context, the mere activation of youth and the ability to organize valuable activities for them in nature deserve recognition.

The routes through forested areas not only allow access to important historical sites but also enable the promotion of physical culture and knowledge about ecology and forest management. Much credit for this goes to teachers and cooperating foresters, who willingly organize workshop activities for youth in schools, forest district headquarters, and outdoors. For example, on October 5, 2022, nearly 300 high school students from Gorlice County participated in the 16th County Rally named after Kazimierz Pułaski. Led by foresters from the Łosie Forest District, the youth, divided into groups, set out on routes from Skwirtne, Hańczowa, Wysowa, and Blechnarka. Their journey included, among other places, Jawor Mountain near Wysowa, where one of the most important confederate camps was located. They also visited a number of other historical sites and toured Lemko Orthodox churches, which are part of the Małopolska Wooden Architecture Trail. At the end, the youth participated in a knowledge contest about Kazimierz Pułaski and the Bar Confederation. Awards and diplomas were presented by representatives of the rally organizers: Waldemar Gniady, Director of the Vocational School Complex named after Kazimierz Pułaski in Gorlice; Tadeusz Mikrut, Director of the Education, Culture and Sport Department of Gorlice County; and Bartłomiej Sołtys, Forester of the Łosie Forest District.¹⁰

On the 250th anniversary of the Bar Confederation, the Małopolska Center for Education “MEC” Association marked out the Małopolska Bar Confederation Trail, which is part of the Małopolska Historical Memory Trail, implemented by this institution since 2012. This trail covers 30 municipalities in Lesser Poland: Bochnia, Budzów, Chelmek, Czarny Dunajec, Dobczyce, Grybów, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Kęty, Kraków, Krościenko nad Dunajcem, Krynica-Zdrój, Lanckorona, Michałowice, Maków Podhalański, Muszyna, Niepołomice, Nowy Sącz, Nowy Wiśnicz, Piwniczna-Zdrój, Ryglice (Lubcza), Skawina, Stary Sącz, Sucha Beskidzka, Sułkowice, Szczawnica, Tarnów, Uście Gorlickie (Izby), Wadowice, Wieliczka, and Wolbrom. In five municipalities (Kraków, Krynica-Zdrój, Lanckorona, Sucha Beskidzka, and Uście Gorlickie – Izby), informational boards have been installed.¹¹ Also, the Cisna Forest

¹⁰ <https://www.powiatgorlicki.pl/aktualnosci/3251-xvi-powiatowy-rajd-im-kazimierza-pulaskiego> (accessed: November 13, 2023).

¹¹ <http://1768szlak.mec.edu.pl/szlak-konfederacji/> (accessed: November 14, 2023).



Participants of the 16th County Rally named after Kazimierz Pułaski,
Source: website of the Gorlice County Office



District, the “Eagles of History” Association, and the Voivodeship Conservator of Monuments in Przemyśl established a new historical trail located at the Pass over Roztoki, situated just at the Slovak border (801 m a.s.l.), between the peaks of Rypi Wierch and Okrąglik. During the Bar Confederation, a defensive fortification known as the “Redoubt over Roztoki” stood in this area. The trail consists of 11 stops and leads toward Okrąglik. Its route coincides

with the blue border trail. The information boards installed here also refer to events from the First and Second World Wars.¹²

In conclusion, it should be stated that the cultivation of memory about the Bar Confederation has a long tradition. The beginnings of these efforts date back to the times of national subjugation. At that time, the legend of the Bar Confederates held educational and uplifting value. It carried the idea of love for the homeland and attachment to it. It also emphasized the role of religion as a binder of national unity and a source of ethical values, which were invoked in the struggle for regaining independence. In the initial phase, these efforts mainly took the form of scholarly and memoir publications, as well as the selection of sources—often professionally and critically elaborated. This direction continued after 1918. At that time, new opportunities arose to include content about the Bar Confederation in modern school textbooks. There was not much time to develop new forms of commemorating this history, however, as after two decades, World War II broke out. During the Polish People’s Republic period, the traditions of Polish national liberation uprisings were subject to censorship. Attempts were made to strip them of their religious context. Their anti-Tsarist character was emphasized, trying to fit them into the rhetoric of class struggle. Full freedom for initiatives commemorating the Bar Confederation and disseminating knowledge about it appeared only as a result of the profound political changes at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s. Publishing projects flourished anew. Alongside this, social and educational initiatives appeared on a broader scale, such as knowledge competitions, rallies, thematic trips, as well as monuments and commemorative plaques. Many of these projects were implemented grassroots-style, with active involvement of local communities, local government activists, teachers, museum workers, foresters, and clergy. This was accompanied by the work of scholars: historians, literary historians, archeologists, ethnographers, cultural experts, and representatives of other disciplines. The greatest number of these undertakings have so far been realized in the Lesser Poland and Subcarpathian voivodeships, which is justified by the fact that the most important events and battles related to the Bar Confederation took place precisely here (as well as in lands now within Ukraine’s borders). However, there is still a lack of infrastructural investments that would add substantive value to the mentioned rallies, excursions, or outdoor lessons. More places of remembrance linked to sources in situ are needed—such as former battlefields, camps, and redoubts. In many

¹² <https://gorybezgranic.pttk.pl/396-gory-bez-granic-szaniec-konfederatow-barskich-na-przeleczy-nad-roztokami> (accessed: November 12, 2023).

locations, informational and commemorative plaques are still awaited. This also concerns local memory chambers, cultural centers, and museums, which should incorporate this topic to a greater extent—but for this to be possible, they need to receive all necessary support.

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Independence Trail Named after General Kazimierz Pułaski

The trail is designed to be divided into several sections based on their function.

The path leading to the summit of Mount Jawor is thematically divided into four main segments, each featuring informational boards corresponding to the prepared narrative for that section.




Nadleśnictwo Łosie

100 LAT
1924-2024

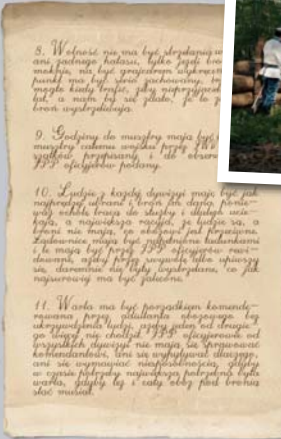
NUMER PRZYSTANKU:
OŚRODOK KONFEDERATÓW

9

ŻYCIE OBOZOWE
CAMP LIFE / ŽIVOT V TÁBORE



Szeregowi żołnierze konfederacji kwatrowali w namiotach, a na lepsze kwatery mogli liczyć jedynie oficerowie. Od żołnierzy bezwzględnie wymagano dyscypliny i przestrzegania porządku. W tym celu konfederaci obozow obierali regularny – ze zbrodni znana jest treść regulaminu obozu w Muszynie, który mógł być wzorem dla zarządzania w ścisłych dach obronnych.



8. Wobec nas stała była strasznica...
9. Głosząc do nas...
10. Lecz...
11. Wszak...

Nadleśnictwo Łosie, Łosie 39; 38-312 Ropa
tel/fax: +48 18 35 34 719, e-mail: losie@krakow.lasy.gov.pl



During the hike, the following topics will be presented in the form of infographics, photos, and texts in Polish, English, and Slovak:

- ➔ The fauna and flora of the Łosie Forest District and aspects related to forest management
- ➔ The history of the Bar Confederation along with an outdoor exhibition at the summit of Mount Jawor
- ➔ The history of the Battle of Wysowa in 1772
- ➔ Information about traces of wars near Wysowa, including a description of the remains of a mortar position on a neighboring hill

To make the walk more engaging, a field game is also available.



PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION



MAIN PARTNER



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