



The Matter of Reorganization of the Crown Army as Exemplified by Military Conscriptions in Kraków voivodeship, in the era of the Great Sejm¹

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Summary

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The decentralization of the Polish-Lithuanian state and the disintegration of its administrative structures since the middle of the 17th century led to a decline in the importance of the Commonwealth in the international arena, and to limitation of its sovereignty. The only way to save the country was to follow the modern Western European countries, and adopt the enlightened governance standards from them. An attempt to rectify the system of the Polish state was made during the reign of Stanisław August Poniatowski (1764–1795); progressive reforms were introduced during the sessions of the general sejm in 1788–1792, later referred to as the Great Sejm, or the Four-Year Sejm. The law, entitled *The Method of Recruitment in the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania* was approved by the Sejm estates on December 7, 1789. The article *On Recruitment* was included in the constitution on the Crown Civil-Military Commissions – newly established institutions of local administration, which were to be responsible for military units stationed locally. In the years 1790–1792, two institutions of this type operated in the Kraków voivodeship: for the Kraków and Proszowice poviats with headquarters in Kraków, and for the Leńów and Książ poviats with headquarters first in Leńów, and then in Szczekociny. Despite numerous difficulties related to recruitment, of which primarily we should itemize problems such as numerous delays in the delivery of soldiers by the local authorities, unfitness of recruits for military service, irregular conscriptions, or local non remittal, the first conscription was ultimately a success of local administration. Subsequent attempts were not as smooth, in spite of the efforts of both institutions, such as those undertaken to fight desertion, and despite the fines. Despite the cessation of the activity of the Civil-Military Order Commissions in 1792, the members of the Targowica Confederation did not

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manage to totally nullify the reforms of the Great Sejm, which were largely restored by the administration of the Kościuszko Uprising in 1794 – including the conscription of recruits.

Sprawa reorganizacji armii koronnej na przykładzie poboru rekruta w województwie krakowskim w dobie Sejmu Wielkiego (Streszczenie)

Słowa kluczowe:
Sejm Wielki, wojsko
koronne, komisje
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Decentralizacja państwa polsko-litewskiego oraz rozkład struktur jego administracji od połowy XVII wieku doprowadziły do spadku znaczenia na arenie międzynarodowej i ograniczenia suwerenności Rzeczypospolitej. Jedyną drogą ocalenia kraju było podążenie za nowoczesnymi państwami zachodnioeuropejskimi i przejście od nich oświeceniowych wzorców zarządzania. Próbę naprawy ustroju państwa polskiego podjęto za panowania Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego (1764–1795), a postępowe reformy wprowadzono w czasie obrad sejmu walnego w latach 1788–1792, nazwanego przez potomnych Sejmem Wielkim lub też Czteroletnim. Prawo nazwane „Sposób dawania rekruta w Koronie i Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim” zostało uchwalone przez stany sejmujące 7 grudnia 1789 r. Artykuł „O rekrutowaniu” został wpisany do konstytucji o koronnych komisjach cywilno-wojskowych, nowo powołanych instytucjach administracji terenowej, które lokalnie miały odpowiadać za stacjonujące jednostki wojskowe. W latach 1790–1792 na terenie województwa krakowskiego funkcjonowały dwie instytucje tego typu: dla powiatów krakowskiego i proszowskiego z siedzibą w Krakowie oraz dla powiatów lełowskiego i ksiąskiego z siedzibą najpierw w Lełowie, a następnie w Szczekocinach. Mimo licznych trudności związanych z poborem rekruta, z których można wymienić m.in. liczne opóźnienia w dostarczaniu żołnierzy przez władze danych miejscowości, niezdatność rekrutów do służby wojskowej, nieregularny werbunek, czy brak uiszczania opłat za żołnierzy, pierwszy pobór zakończył się sukcesem administracji terenowej. Dopiero następne przebiegały mniej sprawnie, mimo wysiłku obu instytucji, choćby w zwalczaniu zjawiska dezercji i nakładania licznych kar pieniężnych. Mimo ustania działalności komisji porządkowych cywilno-wojskowych w 1792 r. nie udało się targowiczanom w pełni przekreślić reform Sejmu Wielkiego, a jego liczne reformy, w tym w kwestii poboru rekruta, przywróciła administracja insurekcji kościuszkowskiej w 1794 r.

Proposals of military reforms of the crown army in the 1st half of the 18th century

The decentralization of the Polish-Lithuanian state and the disintegration of its administrative structures since the middle of the 17th century led to a decline in the importance of the Commonwealth in the international arena, and to limitation of its sovereignty. The only way to save the country was to follow the modern Western European countries, and adopt the enlightened governance standards from them. An attempt to rectify the system of the Polish state was made during the reign of Stanisław August Poniatowski (1764–1795); progressive reforms were introduced during the sessions of the general sejm in 1788–1792, later referred to as the Great Sejm, or the Four-Year Sejm.

The first efforts to outline a general framework of the process of conscriptions were made by nineteenth-century historians: Tadeusz Korzon, Adolf Pawiński and Walerian Kalinka (Korzon 1882: 427–455; Korzon 1897, t. 2: 296–297, 301; t. 5: 196–232; Kalinka 1895: 642–647; Pawiński 1888: 411)², and later, at the beginning of the twentieth century, by Ignacy Baranowski (1907: 107–150). After World War II, Leonard Ratajczyk (1975a; 1975b), Katarzyna Bucholc-Srogosz (2007: 97–131) and Jerzy Gordziejew (2010: 319; 2002: 167–192) devoted more attention to the issue of recruitment into the Crown army. Gordziejew also discussed the involvement of the Lithuanian Civil-Military Order Commissions in this matter.

One of the main problems senators and deputies had to tackle in the initial stages of the Four-Year Sejm was the reform of the army. Since the mid-17th century, the army of the Commonwealth was divided into two types of conscriptions: the Polish and Lithuanian (standing army and *levée en masse*), and the foreign one (foreign regiments). The reform, which established the framework for the operation of the Commonwealth's army for more than half a century, was adopted in 1717 during the sessions of the Silent Sejm. The Crown army was to have permanent posts of 18,000 soldiers, and the Lithuanian army – of 6,200. However, it was an illusory figure, and the actual strength of the Commonwealth's army in 1717–1789 ranged from 12,000 to 16,000 people (Nowak, Wimmer 1981: 558–559).

Military reforms during the reign of Stanisław August Poniatowski

Despite several proposals of military reforms during the reign of August III, e.g. in 1736 and 1744, they were never realized³. This did not change until 1764. The Convocation Sejm appointed a Military Commission for the Crown (and in December for Lithuania); they acted as ministries of war. After 1775, these institutions were subordinated to the new magistrate – the Military Department in the Permanent Council in 1775, and were dissolved a year later.

The new office introduced some reforms in the army, such as free recruitment, the so-called “drum recruitment” was allowed only in the royal and clerical domains; in 1776, the Crown army was divided into three divisions: Lesser Poland, Greater Poland and Ukraine-Podolia, which encompassed all variants of the Polish army. General-lieutenant, aided by a major general, was in charge of a division. Furthermore, in 1775, an engineer corps was created – a unit assigned to artillery (Bucholc-Srogosz 2007: 72–73).

² The collection of Tadeusz Korzon's publications edited by Marian Henryk Serejski is also important (Korzon 1975: 264–296).

³ The Pacification sejm of 1736 finally appointed only the commissions that were supposed to establish the army numbers, and the 1744 conscription project, which was approved by the local authorities, has not been realized (cf. Bucholc-Srogosz 2007: 39–40).

It should be noted that apart from the Department, a significant function in the military structure of the Commonwealth was performed by the Military Chancellery. It was formed on the initiative of the king in April 1776, which emphasized the Stanisław August's increase in power in matters related to the military. General Jan Chrzyciel Komarzewski became its first leader, superseded in 1788 by general major Augustyn Nałęcz Gorzewski (Bucholc-Srogosz 2007: 53). According to Leonard Ratajczak, an expert in military history of the Great Sejm era, the creation of both the Department and the Military Chancelleries resulted in modernization of the entire system of the army leadership (Ratajczyk 1975b:149). The Chancellery had its own budget and was organized independently. It cooperated both with the Department and later with the Military Commission of the Commonwealth; some competence-related conflicts arose in the relations with the latter. In May 1792, the Chancellery was restructured into the general staff of the armies of the Commonwealth. It was not dissolved until January 1795 (Bucholc-Srogosz 2007: 53–54).

Another reorganization of the Polish-Lithuanian army happened after the dissolution of the Military Department. As mentioned above, the Department was replaced by the Military Commission of the Commonwealth – a single entity that served both the Crown and Lithuania. In practice, it has taken over minor, army-related competences of the Military Department. It was supposed to prepare grain warehouses, organize arms factories as well as uniforms and equipment for soldiers⁴. Contrary to the previous magistracy, the Commission had broader judicial powers, as it also held jurisdiction over civil cases between the military and the public. Military commissioners could not decide on their own about the size of the army, its location, nor could they introduce changes to the regulations. In these areas, the Commission was to comply with the provisions of the Sejm. The soldiers' pay was to be disbursed by tax commissions at the request of the Military Commission, and later by the Treasury Commission of the Commonwealth (*Volumina Legum 1889*: 52–57). A new fund for the army was adopted on 27 July 1789 (Biblioteka Czartoryskich w Krakowie, sig. 968: 325; *Volumina Legum 1889*: 104–105).

Military Conscriptions in Kraków voivodeship, in the era of the Great Sejm

Since the beginning of December 1789, the Sejm estates were debating the conscription project. The new discussion was sparked by the army's abuse of drafted soldiers, which was not uncommon and resulted in the reluctance of the local population towards the army. An example is the conscription conducted in Cracow in January 1789, when Colonel Adam Heppen, with the help of several officers and 12 gema-jns, conducted a recruitment on different tracts of the Kraków voivodeship using

⁴ This number of soldiers was confirmed by the Sejm during the session on 3 December. 1789, cf. AGAD, ASCz. sig. 5: 22.

the round-up method, and in the city itself, he ransacked houses in search for vagabonds to be drafted (Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu, sig. 11636/II: 139–140). Finally, it was written in the project that the royal and clergymen domains were obliged to supply two recruits per every 100 households, whereas the nobility domains had to supply one recruit per 100 households. Lesser estates were obliged to pay 2 or 4 zlotys per household to the neighboring domains that provided recruits. If the owner did not agree to the surcharge, the nobility of neighboring estates was to report such cases to Civil-Military Commissions, which were obliged to initiate the execution of debts⁵.

Much attention was given to the dispute with neighboring states regarding the recruitment of soldiers in border domains, which took place on 3 December 1789. The regulation concerning the recruitment in these areas was regulated during the session on 4 December. The Sejm decided that these domains had the right to pay a fee to the Civil-Military Order Commissions, which were obliged to create funds for regiments that lacked soldiers for further recruitment of cantonists (volunteers) (AGAD, ASCz., sig. 5: 53–54). In accordance with the Act of 7 December, it was decided that noble estates would be obliged to pay 2 zlotys, and royal and clerical estates 4 zlotys per household for a recruit (*Volumina Legum* 1889: 144).

Another problem that occupied the minds of deputies was the issue of granting freedom to peasants after they fulfilled a period of military service. Already at the session of 1 December 1789, it was established that the Civil-Military Commissions, upon receiving a notification from the Military Commission of the Commonwealth, were to inform the population about the draft of recruits for 6, 7 or 8 years' "capitulations" (pl. *kapitulacje* – years of military service) (AGAD, ASCz., sig. 5: 17). Initially, it was planned to exempt wealthier peasants from servitude after two years of service. Among those who objected this was Jan Sebastian Krasnodębski, a deputy of Podlasie, who suggested that freedom should be granted to peasants on the basis of their merits during service. The final vote was that freedom would be granted to a soldier after one 12-year or two 6-year capitulations, provided they had received the consent of the landlord and had not committed any violations of the military regulations. Civil-Military Order Commissions were the organs that granted exemption from service (AGAD, ASCz., sig. 5: 56–60).

Members of the Sejm also debated on the question of appropriate age and height of the soldiers. In the bill, it was proposed that recruits should be at least 65 inches tall (about 163 cm) (Ratajczyk 1985b: 121). Prince Kazimierz Sapieha, the Marshal of the Lithuanian confederation, complained about this limit of height of the cantonists.

⁵ Piotr Ożarowski, the castellan of Wojnitsa, the later Grand Hetman of the Crown, hung for betrayal during the insurrection, who sought to carry out free recruitment only in cities with jurisdiction to settle disputes in the vicinity. The amendment was voted through and introduced into the bill. However, it was decided to ban free recruitment in all royal cities and clergy during fairs and trade fairs (cf. AGAD, ASCz. sig. 5: 15, 61).

After measuring it on the Marshal's staff, he said that "A soldier will be unable to carry weapons and other necessary items" (AGAD, ASCz. sig. 5: 16). Walerian Strojnowski, a Volhynian deputy, objected to such assessment, arguing that this could "Upset citizens in case a village could not produce a taller man" (AGAD, ASCz., sig. 5: 16). He also suggested that the recruit may be shorter barefoot, but will be taller in heeled shoes. Young, eighteen-year-old recruits would also become taller in time. After a short dispute, a minimum of 66 inches of soldiers' height was agreed upon, and the age limits were set between 18 and 35 years.

The law, entitled "The Method of Recruitment in the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania" was approved by the Sejm estates on December 7, 1789 (*Volumina Legum* 1889: 143–145). The article "On Recruitment" was included in the constitution on the Crown Civil-Military Commissions – newly established institutions of local administration, which were to be responsible for military units stationed locally. In the years 1790–1792, two institutions of this type operated in the Kraków voivodeship: for the Kraków and Proszowice poviats with headquarters in Kraków, and for the Lelów and Książ poviats with headquarters first in Lelów, and then in Szczekociny⁶.

After the hasty establishment of a one-hundred-thousand-strong army, and then the introduction, on 22 January 1790, of a temporary force of 65,074, the Military Commission of the Commonwealth started the completion of the army. As early as 12 January 1790, the Commission issued the so-called *Dislocation of the Crown Army in the Inowrocław voivodeship on the right side of the Vistula river, the Duchy of Masovia, in Podlasie, Cracow, Sandomierz, Lublin, Krasnostaw poviats of the Chełm land, to the Bug near Dubienka*⁷, according to which, in the area administratively subordinate to the Kraków Civil-Military Commissions, the following forces were supposed to be introduced: two infantry regiments of generals Józef Wodzicki and Mikołaj Czapski – a total of 2,880 soldiers⁸; two national cavalry brigades under the command of Piotr Onufry Hadziewicz and Jan Potocki – 3,638 soldiers; garrisons of the city of Kraków under captain Antoni Pierściński⁹ (143 people); an infantry regiment battalion

⁶ For more information on the Krakow civil-military order commissions, refer to: (Wielebska 1987: 187–197; Follprecht 2008: VII-IX; Zarubin 2012: 86–91; Jędrzejewski 2013b: 77–80; idem, 2013a: 138–142; idem 2015a: 193–194; idem, 2015b: 120–127).

⁷ The dislocation was accepted by the Kraków and Proszowice poviats' Commission on 27 February 1790 (cf. B. Czart. in Krakow, 11614: 897; ANKr., sig. 29/30/26: 5–6).

⁸ According to General Wodzicki's note of 9 March 1790, one regiment consisted of eight companies and two battalions, which included: a five-member higher staff (boss, colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and two majors) and a medium and lower staff (27 officers), who were entitled to two four-horse staff wagons with 27 soldiers. In one company there was a captain, lieutenant, second lieutenant, a *chorąży*, a feldscher, sergeant, wagon master, eight corporals, two carpenters, three drummers and 156 *gemajns*, who had at their disposal a four-horse wagon and one functional horse (cf. ANKr., sig. 29/30/11: 25–29).

⁹ The officer's patent was granted a few days later, on 20 January to be precise (cf. AGAD, MK, sig. KK 92: 25).

(70 men-strong), and the Jasna Góra fortress¹⁰ – 191 soldiers. Under the law of 27 July 1790, the income from the property of the bishopric of Kraków and the Duchy of Siewierz was earmarked for the maintenance of the army; it amounted to 82,267 zlotys a year from the Kraków powiat, 38,625 zlotys a year from the Proszowice powiat, and 35,551 zlotys a year from the Kozięglowy estates in the Duchy of Siewierz. The pension of the bishops' estates was administered by the Military Commission from 24 June 1790 onwards and was to remain valid for six years (Biblioteka Czarotoryskich w Krakowie, sig. 968: 327–328).

As soon as 27 February 1790, The Military Commission posted a letter to the Kraków Civil-Military Order Commissions with an instruction to send in the household tariffs to its office in order to determine the number of recruits (ANKr., sig. 29/30/30: 7). The first universal that regulated recruitment was published by the Commission for Kraków and Proszowice poviats on 4 March 1790. It concerned the exemption from military service of all immigrants who settled in the area under the jurisdiction of the Commission. This right also applied to the descendants of newcomers up to and including the third generation (Biblioteka Czarotoryskich w Krakowie, sig. 11614: 899; ANKr., sig. 29/30/1: 22). In order to exempt them from recruitment, the committee issued the appropriate certificates for the immigrants on 3 May 1790, as well as on other dates. Such certificates were granted to Jakub Filipiak from the village of Kurów (ANKr., sig. 29/30/1: 49) and Jan Mika from Rybaki upon Vistula (ANKr. sig. 29/30/1: 73), who settled in Kazimierz, and on August 26, to Jakub Wiśniowski and Kazimierz Żurek from Galicia, who settled together with their families in Chrzanów (ANKr., sig. 29/30/2: 112).

In the first month of its operation, another requisition for recruitment was issued by the Commission of Kraków and Proszowice poviats, on 20 March 1790. Then, in accordance with the act of 7 December, the administrators of domains located up to two miles from the border were to submit declarations to chancellery of the commission, in which they undertook either to deliver the soldier or pay a fee (ANKr., sig. 29/30/7: 1095; sig. 29/30/9: 14). Between 23 March and 10 May, the Kraków-Proszowice magistrate's chancellery received 84 declarations from border areas, in which as many as 62 royal, clerical and noble towns and villages undertook to deliver a recruit *in natura*, and only 22 to pay the fee (ANKr., sig. 29/30/7: 359–361).

The first of the three household conscripts planned for 1790, which was the responsibility of the Kraków's Civil-Military Order Commissions, commenced in April, while on 6 October, the Military Commission sent precise guidelines to the Order Commissions' chancelleries, in which it specified the details regarding the delivery of cantonists, even though their recruitment to the regiment of General Wodzicki had already been carried out in June 1790 (ANKr., sig. 29/30/1: 83). "All recruits conscripted by regiments into military service according to past canton arrangement under the ordinances

¹⁰ Reconstruction and fortification of the fortress began in 1783; cf. ANKr., sig. 29/30/30: 115. For the construction of embankments and sunbeds in 1790, 15,000 zlotys was spent (cf. AGAD, ASK, sig. dz. 86: 26).

and instructions of the Military Commission and before the enactment of the law that established the cantons, should not number among the canton recruits, for initially – and in accordance with the law – the enlargement of regiments was undertaken through the Commonwealth’s treasury funds, which also for conscription were allocated, and so the above class of recruits shall apply to the law of loose conscript. As for the security of the nation, (...) the law designated clearly and bound that not loose people, but people of fixed abode shall consist in the recruits, so that vagabonds, to regiments issued within the numbers of cantonists, cannot be counted among the conscripts” (ANKr., sig. 29/30/6: 75–77).

The letter also states that the committees should encourage new recruits by issuing personal certificates indicating the amount of remuneration paid upon termination of military service. Local administration institutions were obliged to assign cantonists to the appropriate corps and to inform the division general about each deserter caught, who was then to be brought back to their regiment (*Idem*). In order to make sure that the recruit was not a randomly-caught vagabond, the local authorities were obliged to send special statements to the Commission offices, with an assurance of the “legitimacy” of the given recruit. This was related to cases of numerous desertions from the July tranche conscription, which Colonel Heppen complained about in a note from 12 July, demanding that the Kraków magistrate would be assured that the given recruit is indeed coming from the city itself or its surroundings (ANKr., sig. 29/30/7: 365). Nearly 200 such certificates confirming the “legitimacy” of the recruits, issued between 23 November 1790 and 22 February 1791, can be found in the file legacy of the Commission for the districts of Kraków and Proszowice (ANKr., sig. 29/30/1: 185–250). Failure to produce such certificates was subject to a fine of 200 zlotys (ANKr., sig. 29/30/7: 365).

The commission of the Kraków and Proszowice poviats issued several requisitions with a reminder that the recruits should appear at the recruitment points, e.g. on April 22nd, to Mr. Kotliński from the Tęczyn (ANKr., sig. 29/30/1: 43) estate. Landowners and representatives of towns and villages filled in printed forms prepared for the recruitment process. In the poviats of Kraków and Proszowice, the following template was applied: „In the parish... town... royal... estate... church... village... royal... estate... church... jurydyka... royal... estate... church... vicarage... containing the number of households... produces a recruit... N0... for... years of service and will deliver him to Kraków for a receipt, and pay the Civil-Military Order Commission zlotys... will collect from the Commission zlotys..., will pay to the Commission zlotys... to repay its neighbor. Collection of the recruits will commence on... month... year... All of this under the pain of the law, Titulo..... On the procedure of taking recruits. [Signatures of commissioners]” (ANKr., sig. 29/30/7: 1151).

A military escort was dispatched to transport new soldiers. Information confirming this can be found in the document legacy of both of Kraków’s local administration bodies. Colonel Adam Heppen notified the Kraków-Proszowice Commission on the last day of August 1791 about a dispatch of Lieutenant Makary Gostkowski along with two

non-commissioned officers, one feldsher, 24 gemajns, one companion, and eight retirees to escort 110 cantonists to the regiment of General Wodzicki, in Warsaw, on September 5. Together with second lieutenant Wincenty Strzyżowski, the civil-military commissioner, they were to measure the recruits. Accommodation for cantonists was organized in two chambers and a barn, closed from the outside. In order to prevent desertion, a guard was set in front of the door.

According to the notification of the Military Commission of 30 April 1790, the districts of Kraków and Proszowice were supposed to produce 383 recruits, of whom 339 were to be included in the regiment of General Wodzicki, while the remaining 44 were to join the crown artillery as coachmen (ANKr., sig. 29/30/6: 37). In May the same year, a similar requisition was issued to the Commission of the Lelów and Książ poviats. According to the register of households, at least 100 recruits should apply from the poviat of Książ alone, and 177 from the poviat of Leszno (ANKr., sig. 29/30/33: 9, 13, 15) – see Table 1.

Table 1. Planned canton (contingent) to provide recruits from the Książ and Lelów poviats from May 1790

Poviat	Type of goods	Number of households	Recruits produced
Książ	royal	1 569	25
	clergy	1 993	26
	noble	5 155	49
Lelów	royal	3 668	73
	clergy	1 835	36
	noble	6 832	68
	gross total	21 052	277

Source: (ANKr., sig. 29/30/30: 82; sig. 29/30/33: 23, 27, 33).

Additionally, the Military Commission wanted to assign 120 cantonists to the artillery of the Lelów poviat, in April 1790 (ANKr., sig. 29/30/26: 31–32). During the first conscription in 1790, it was not possible to assemble all the recruits. According to the “Balance sheet of the number of recruits” from the poviats of Kraków and Proszowice, a total of 366 soldiers were recruited, out of whom 322 were assigned to the regiment of General Wodzicki¹¹. 252 soldiers from the Kraków poviat were sent for an eight-year service (ANKr., sig. 29/30/6: 102–104). The set of recruits was 17 people short of complete,

¹¹ From the Cracow county 295 people were appointed to military service (265 included in the regiment of General Wodzicki and 30 wagons), and from the Powiśle county 88 soldiers (74 of them were included in the same regiment, and 14 were assigned to the Crown Artillery); (cf. ANKr., sig. 29/30/1: 121; sig. 29/30/6: 70; sig. 29/30/7: 311; sig. 29/30/8: 77).

but the local authorities paid the appropriate compensation¹². Generally, the recruitment fund from the districts of Kraków and Proszowice in 1790 received 28,442 zlotys, of which the Commission paid 13,778 zlotys to the local authorities as a subsidy for the recruits (ANKr., sig. 29/30/7: 355). The Commission of the Lelów and Książ poviats received a payment of 8,242 zlotys, out of which 6,144 zlotys were paid to given towns and villages (ANKr., sig. 29/30/33: 9 and subsequent). The number of recruited soldiers and a list of fees for conscripts from selected parishes in the Kraków poviat and cities of Kraków, Kazimierz and Kleparz (without suburbs), as well as additional payments to them from the recruitment fund, are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. List of recruits and surcharges received from royal, noble and clerical domains of selected towns of the Kraków poviat in 1790

Parish name	Number of households	Number of provided recruits	Fee for the given parish' recruit	Recruit surcharge for the parish
Kazimierz (city)	243	–	972 zlotys	–
Kleparz (city)	120	–	480 zlotys	–
Kraków (city)	2,646	5	9,436 zlotys	–
Luborzycza	406	6	504 zlotys	308 zlotys
Mogiła (all clerical domains)	290	6	–	40 zlotys
Olkusz	673	13	160 zlotys	60 zlotys
Pleszów	246	2	258 zlotys	24 zlotys
Pobiednik (all clerical domains)	79	2	–	106 zlotys
Raciborowice	220	2	498 zlotys	128 zlotys
Ruszcza	356	4	166 zlotys	152 zlotys
Sławków	750	15	24 zlotys	240 zlotys
Więclawice	349	9	238 zlotys	800 zlotys

Source: (ANKr., sig. 29/30/7: 335–354).

¹² In mid-June 1791, 17 under-delivered recruits were still remembered by the Military Commission, which wanted to join them into the battalion of Lieutenant Colonel Dembowski from the 7th Crown Army Infantry Regiment of Jan Fryderyk Brodawski. In a letter dated June 15th, the Commission of Kraków and Proszowice poviats explained that a fee has been paid to the recruitment fund for these soldiers equal to 14,654 zlotys from border domains, and general Wodzicki himself did not bother claiming the recruits, since he'd already had a full set thanks to volunteers (cf. ANKr., sig. 29/30/2: 61–62; sig. 29/30/6: 127–129).

The recruitment in the poviats of Książ and Lelów was also only partially successful. In the former poviat, during the April conscription, only 40 (instead of 100) recruits were issued from royal, clergy and nobility domains (ANKr., sig. 29/30/33: 9, 13, 15). The second recruitment was carried out more efficiently: 170 soldiers were appointed to serve – only seven men short of a full set (ANKr., sig. 29/30/33: 23, 27, 33). Recruitment of the cantonists from the Lelów poviat to the crown artillery corps was also carried out without major problems. According to the reports of the Commission of the Lelów and Książ poviats addressed to Duke General Ludwik Wirtemberski and Crown Artillery General Stanisław Potocki, 116 cantonists (four men short of a full set) were recruited as coachmen in the artillery corps, on whom 5,107 zlotys and 25 groszy were spent from the recruiting fund (ANKr., sig. 29/30/25: 41–42).

Subsequent conscripts in 1790 did not bring the expected increase in the numbers of the royal army. At the beginning of February 1791, the Military Commission issued a requisition to local administration units, asking them to submit information about the number of cantonists recruited and the status of the recruitment funds (Biblioteka Narodowa, sig. XVIII.3.8379). According to the notes of the Civil-Military Commission for the Lelów and Książ poviats, on 27 October 1790, 24 soldiers, instead of 94, were sent for 8 and 6-years' service tenures to the regiment of the Crown Guard, and the next day, 50 soldiers were appointed to serve in the Częstochowa garrison, instead of 56 (ANKr., sig. 29/30/33: 36–37, 48–49)¹³ – to the disappointment of the Jasna Góra stronghold commandant, Marcin Wierzbowski (ANKr., sig. 29/30/38: 393). This was caused by recruitment problems and resulted in a reduction of the number of soldiers in each of the regiments¹⁴. This is evidenced by the shrinkage of recruitment in mid-June 1791, to 110 cantonists to General Wodzicki's regiment from the districts of Lelów and Książ (ANKr., sig. 29/30/25: 140). The above data corresponds to the thesis of Leonard Ratajczak, who stated that since the middle of 1789, there was a slowdown in the rate of recruitment and a reduction of the strength of the Commonwealth's army (Ratajczak, 1975b: 115). Shortages of recruits during the conscriptions in the Kraków voivodeship in 1790 did not, however, affect the overall numbers of General Wodzicki's regiment. According to the commander's report of 8 September 1790, deserters from the Austrian army were recruited to the Crown Army with the consent of the Military Commission. The influx of soldiers from behind the cordon was so large in fact, that in the fourth quarter of 1790, a surplus of several dozen soldiers (Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu, sig. 9786/II: 36)¹⁵ was reported in General Wodzicki's regiment. This was

¹³ The cantonists were delivered to the stronghold of Jasna Góra on the basis of the requisition of the Military Commission of 10 October 1790. In December, the Commission of the poviats of Lelów and Książ obliged the following county councils to issue recruits: Olsztyn – 13, Kłobuck – 13, Krzepice – 19; from cities: Pilica – 3, Lelów – 1; from the domains of the Przybylski family – 1 (cf. ANKr., sig. 29/30/38: 415).

¹⁴ This is the result of General Michał Czapski's resolution to Colonel Kazimierz Jaroszewski, dated October 23rd, 1791 (cf. Biblioteka Czartoryskich w Krakowie, sig. 2178: 82).

¹⁵ This information is also confirmed by the correspondence of the Kraków and Proszowice poviats' Commissions with the Military Commission (cf. ANKr., sig. 29/30/2: 61–62; sig. 29/30/6: 127–129).

not, however, a common phenomenon for other poviats of the Crown. Units in other regions suffered a shortage of recruits for military posts, as exemplified by the note of the Civil-Military Commission of the Poznań and Międzyrzecz poviats of 28 January 1792, in which a complaint was filed about the Poznań magistrate's one-year delay in delivering 36 soldiers (AGAD, AKP, sig. 233: 220–221)¹⁶. Only the final period of the activity of the Great Sejm showed an increased momentum in this matter.

Overall, problems with enlisting recruits were not uncommon. After the first conscription in April 1790, general Józef Wodzicki stated in a report that the main reason for the incomplete assembly of soldiers in the Kraków voivodeship was the recruitment point created by Austrians in the neighboring town of Podgórze, where: "everyday music plays, many people from Kraków, and peculiarly craftsmen pass for curiosity to the other side, where some, having engaged with the recruiters, themselves acquiesce, while other are taken by coercion" (Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu, sig. 9786/II: 7; Ratajczyk 1985b: 117)¹⁷. Also, the very conscription of soldiers had so far been carried out in a brutal fashion, which caused the reluctance of the local population to give out "compatriots" to military service. Walerian Kalinka described these practices quite vividly. He pointed out that the people were recruited with use of force, and peasants fought with soldiers. This resulted in the fleeing of the rural population abroad – for example as many as 10,000 peasants may have fled from Greater Poland to Prussia (Kalinka 1895: 642)¹⁸.

A failure to deliver recruits on time resulted in fines imposed on the authorities of a given town or village by the Civil-Military Commissions. Still in December 1789, the volume of these fees was debated on in Sejm. Initially, the amount of 600 zlotys was proposed, but in the end the amount of 200 zlotys was approved. It had to be paid at the cash desk of a given order commission after a four-week-long notice of a fine. Subsequent delays resulted in the amount due being doubled every week (AGAD, ASCz. sig. 5: 29). The commission of the poviats of Kraków and Proszowice confirmed these findings with the universal letter of 16 June 1790 (ANKr., sig. 29/30/7: 675; sig. 29/30/9: 62–64). Already in July, Kraków was punished for failing to deliver recruits. The city's magistrate explained the delay by having only Prussian coin (ANKr., sig. 29/30/1: 111) at their disposal in the vault. The Commission ordered the city to pay the amount due to General Wodzicki in foreign currency (*Idem*). In August, a fine of 200 zlotys was imposed on other towns in the poviats of Kraków and Proszowice: Luborzyca, Opatkowice, Rabstyn, Słomniki, Trzebinia, Węgrzynowice and Olkusz, which was punished again for

¹⁶ The regiment of General Mikołaj Czapski was also not completed fully. Lack of 50 recruits was recorded at the end of August 1790, which was caused by the transfer of such a number of soldiers to riflemen (cf. Biblioteka Czartoryskich w Krakowie, sig. 3188: 139).

¹⁷ It was not an isolated matter, and Prussians and Russians were also involved in stealing the Polish recruit (cf. Ratajczyk 1985a: 83–84).

¹⁸ This is also confirmed by the sources of Lithuanian civil-military commissions, e.g. the universal of the Grodno Commission of 31 December 1789, in which it was stated that recruitment was grossly flawed (cf. Gordziejew 2010: 274).

the delay on 28 August, with the amount of 400 zlotys (ANKr., sig. 29/30/9: 123–124, 140). Despite imposing penalties on the administration of the concerned domains, the situation did not improve in 1791. An example is the city of Skalbmierz, which was called on 14 February to pay a fee and deliver the recruit Ludwik Mayowicz (ANKr., sig. 29/30/1: 246, 248), as well as the Pieskoskalski estate (Pieskowa Skała), which was to issue a healthy and fit soldier until 30 April (ANKr., sig. 29/30/2: 37). The village of Bolesław, which belonged to the Romiszewski (ANKr. sig. 29/30/2: 2, 14) family, also received a reminder about the delivery of recruits. The two Civil-Military Commissions in Kraków received memos asking for cancellation of financial penalties imposed for failure to deliver the recruits on time. Such notes were received by the Commission of Lelów and Książ poviats on February 5th; submitted by the city of Lelów, they informed about the delivery of the soldier to his command and the Olsztyn *starosty* (ANKr., sig. 29/30/25: 113, 115). Commissioners refused to revoke the penalty fees in both cases, but there were instances of penalty waivers, e.g. the Commission exempted the districts of Kraków and Proszowice on 18 August 1790 from the financial fine imposed on the Augustinian monastery in Olkusz (ANKr., sig. 29/30/1: 140). However, these were isolated cases.

There were numerous cases of bringing in recruits unfit for military service in the Kraków voivodeship. According to the Commission's files of the poviats of Kraków and Proszowice, one of the commissioners was dispatched, along with a physician, to assess the physical and mental health of the conscripts. The report of Józef Wielowiejski and Colonel Adam Heppen of 28 February 1791 can serve as an example of the result of such a survey. There, it was stated that some of the recruits are unfit for service (ANKr., sig. 29/30/2: 6, 9). Due to poor health internal disease and derangement of senses, in September 1790, a cantonist Jerzy Peron from the Lipnica estate was released from service, and the local administration was obliged to deliver a new recruit (ANKr., sig. 29/30/7: 721). Also, the following recruits – Wojciech Wójcik delivered in February, and Józef Mazgajewski, who arrived in April 1791, were not accepted by the staff (ANKr., sig. 29/30/2: 26, 30). For repeated delivery of recruits unfit for service, the commission fined the Skalbmierz magistrate in 1790: „Because the city of Skalbmierz (...) delivered from cantons, for the third time, due recruit to JW Wodzicki's regiment in Kraków a man unhealthy; for his head was scabbed! (...). A rigour over it stretches and two hundred Polish zlotys, on the 26th day of the month of February under the execution of the commission [orders to – P.J.] submit” (ANKr., sig. 29/30/4: 28).

Similar problems occurred in the recruitment process in the districts of Lelów and Książ. According to Colonel Ignacy Hoffman's letter of 7 December 1790, two of the 24 cantonists sent to the regiment of the National Guard were unfit to perform their duties in the army. As Hoffman said, Gabriel Miwoń (30 years old, 66, 5 inches tall) and Józef Buc (19 years old) have neither health nor strength to serve in the cavalry (ANKr., sig. 29/30/30: 267). After receiving 6 zlotys each, they were sent back to their homes. At the request of a woman named Rozalia Maznerowa, the Commission of the Lelów

and Książ poviats agreed to release from the service, in May 1791, two men: Filip Magłowski and Tomasz Maznera, and requested the city of Krzepice to deliver new recruits (ANKr., sig. 29/30/25: 136) instead. Then, in August the same year, the commission issued a requisition to the Jasna Góra monastery, for the recruitment of eight new cantonists from the monastic domains under penalty of 200 zlotys, because the previous recruits were persistently incapable (ANKr. sig. 29/30/38: 575).

Many localities had problems with adequate selection of recruits, and they oftentimes complained about this to the order commissions. Two towns from the Kraków povi- at – Olkusz and Sławków – from which came five recruits rejected from General Wodzicki's regiment (ANKr., sig. 29/30/1:130; sig. 29/30/7: 255–257, 455–457), may serve as a good example here. Regardless of the military officials' objections, numerous complaints were submitted to the Civil-Military Commission of Kraków and Proszowice by commoners concerning irregular conscription or abuse of recruits. In 1790 alone there were a few of these. Two letters of complaint, dated March 15 and 17 and posted by Mrs. Teresa Wielopolska, the starost of Lanckorona, exemplify the phenomenon. There, she remonstrated the coercive methods of recruitment employed by the staff of gen. Jan Koczurk's (ANKr., sig. 29/30/7: 1, 5, 7) regiment.

In conclusion, primarily responsible for the actual execution of the army expansion plans – which, as evidenced above, proved quite problematic both for citizens and the Commonwealth's central administration – were institutions of local administration – the Civil-Military order commissions. Despite numerous difficulties related to recruitment, of which primarily we should itemize problems such as numerous delays in the delivery of soldiers by the local authorities, unfitness of recruits for military service, irregular conscriptions, or local nonremittal, the first conscription was ultimately a success of local administration. Subsequent attempts were not as smooth, in spite of the efforts of both institutions, such as those undertaken to fight desertion, and despite the fines. Despite the cessation of the activity of the Civil-Military Order Commissions in 1792, the members of the Targowica Confederation did not manage to totally nullify the reforms of the Great Sejm, which were largely restored by the administration of the Kościuszko Uprising in 1794 – including the conscription of recruits.

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