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# DECISIONS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL ON ROAD TRANSPORT ISSUES IN THE IMMEDIATE PERIOD AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF POLAND IN 1815

**Summary.** The article analyses decisions taken by the main governing body - the Administrative Council (and the Tsarist Imperial Governor serving therein) in terms of drawing out the general directions and conditions of building of roads in the Kingdom of Poland during the first period of this state existence, i.e., until the emergence of the financial crisis of the public budget in the early 1820s. In particular, the decisions taken by the then government regarding the development of Polish transport were assessed in the following areas: a) main directions of road works; b) establishment of the principles of the control system; c) laws on the division and width of roads and measurements of their length, as well as on the of land occupied for the construction of tracts; d) engineering or construction personnel, use of train animals and tools, procurement of funds and construction materials, anti-corruption system and, finally, protection against destruction. The analysis of the archival data of minutes (protocols) of the Administrative Council makes it possible to conclude about the relatively very high professional level of the then legislators and policymakers, and about the existence of correctly understood vision of the transport policy of the state of the described era.

Keywords: road network, Administrative Council, Kingdom of Poland, 19<sup>th</sup> century

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### 1. GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION IN RELATION TO THE DEVEPLOPMENT OF THE TRANSPORT NETWORK OF THE PERIOD OF THE BEGINNINGS OF THE KINGDOM OF POLAND IN THE LITERATURE OF THE SUBJECT. SOURCES OF THE ARTICLE

The issue of management by the highest state authorities of the Kingdom of Poland, and specifically by the Administrative Council of the period of the first years of the existence of this quasi-independent state (practically from 1816 to the beginnings of the twentieth century) of the process of the creation of the state road transport network is the matter which has not been extensively studied so far. However, the selective pointing to a large and rich-tradition literature of the subject referring to the very structure of state power of this period, directly or indirectly influencing the formation of the transport network, should facilitate our endeavors to properly embody the process analyzed in the realities of the era.

It is therefore first of all worth mentioning in this context that the general picture of the conditions of the work of the Kingdom administration under Russian authority was presented by Szymon Askenazy<sup>2</sup>, Kazimierz Bartoszewicz<sup>3</sup> or Jerzy Kukulski<sup>4</sup>, as well as by numerous collective publications on this subject<sup>5</sup>. Hubert Izdebski wrote in 1978 in detail about the Administrative Council itself<sup>6</sup>. Some useful information concerning the legal and material bases of the construction of roads at the time can be found in the articles of Julian Majewski<sup>7</sup>, Rafał Kowalczyk<sup>8</sup> or Tomasz. Demidowicz<sup>9</sup>. More of it, one should note that in 2022 the article by Mikołaj Getka-Kenig was published, referring to civil construction issues in the work of the Administrative Council of the Kingdom of Poland of the constitutional period, which on page 57 (in the first paragraph) contains few references to some chosen examples of the construction of road postal buildings<sup>10</sup>.

This article, analyzing the decisions of the Administrative Council of the initial period of its functioning in the field of road infrastructure is based on archival source materials, preserved in the form of minutes (protocols) of meetings of this government institution, stored in the Central Archives of Historical Record in Warsaw<sup>11</sup>. The printed Collection of Administrative Regulations of the Kingdom of Poland, relating to the Department of Land and Water Communications - Land Communication (Volume II) - to a much lesser extent - the Official

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sz. Askenazy. 1903. One hundred years of administration in the Kingdom of Poland. Lviv: H. Altenberg.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> K. Bartoszewicz. 1916. Creation of the Congress Kingdom. Cracow: Central office of N.K.N.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> J. Kukulski. 2005. *One Hundred Years of Russia in the Kingdom of Poland (1815-1915)*. Piotrków Trybunalski: Scientific Publication of Piotrków at the Branch of the Świętokrzyska Academy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> One of the newer examples of literature of this kind is the collective editing: *The Political system, law constitution and state system of the Kingdom of Poland 1815-1830. On the eve of the 200th anniversary of the Russian-Polish Union.* Collective edition editor: Lech Możewski. 2021. Warsaw: Von Borovietzky.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> H. Izdebski. 1978. *The Administrative Council of the Kingdom of Poland in the years 1815-1830*. Warsaw: Publishing House of Warsaw University.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> J. Majewski. 1889. "Paved and ordinary roads in the Kingdom of Poland. Their construction, maintenance and conditions for further development". *Technical Review* 26(2): 32-33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> R. Kowalczyk. 2004. "Development of the network of wheel roads in the Kingdom of Poland in the years 1815-1918". *Review of Historical Sciences* 3(1): 63-85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> T. Demidowicz. 1992. "General Council of Construction, Measurement, Roads and Floating – the highest technical college of the Kingdom of Poland 1817-1867". *The Quarterly of the History of Material Culture* 37(2): 83-112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> M. Getka-Kenig. 2022. "Issues of civil construction in the work of the Administrative Council of the Kingdom of Poland of the constitutional period (1815-1830)". *The Quarterly of the History of Material Culture* 70(1): 58-70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Central Archives of Historical Record in Warsaw [hereafter: CAofHR]. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1816 -1821, Signatures: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7,8,9.

Journal of the Masovian Voivodeship was also useful in writing this text<sup>12</sup>. Thus, the government influence of the first, initial phase of development of Polish road system is here presented referring to the most direct and reliable source.

### 2. DECISIONS ON ROAD WORKS TAKEN BY THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL AT THE VERY BEGINNING OF THE OFFICIAL EXISTENCE OF THE KINGDOM OF POLAND

The first meeting of the effective government of the country, or at least one of the main governing bodies of the state - the Administrative Council - at which the definition of the preliminary technical conditions and the principles of the construction of the road network of the Kingdom of Poland was dealt with, took place in the relatively very early period of the existence of the Kingdom - namely on March 12, 1816<sup>13</sup>. At that time, it was the proposal of the Director General (Minister) of the Government Commission on Internal Affairs and Police - Tadeusz Antoni Mostowski<sup>14</sup> that was addressed by the Imperial (tsarist) Governor in the Kingdom of Poland General Józef Zajączek<sup>15</sup> for consideration by the competent legislative body of the Kingdom - the General Assembly of the State Council<sup>16</sup>.

Having established the division of roads into large, secondary - middle class (ordinary) and side tracks, the Administrative Council on April 20, 1816 determined first of all what the first ones should be. By decree, the main, highest-class roads included all those tracks that led from the capital - Warsaw to the Kingdom's border, and possibly also some additional land transport routes, which did not pass through the capital itself, but led from the borders to the country, passing simultaneously through several voivodeships. The Council recognized as such at first: roads leading from Warszawa to a) Kraków, b) Wrocław (Breslau), c) Poznań, d) Królewiec (*Königsberg*), e) Grodno, f) Brześć Litewski, g) Toruń (Thorn) and h) Gdańsk (Danzig), as well as one road leading to Uściług via Lublin, and further to Lwów. In addition, the connection from Kraków to Brześć Litewski via Lublin was considered to be a first-class route, too.

In accordance with the decree of 20 April 1816, the secondary - middle class (ordinary) tracks were to be all the other roads leading from Warsaw to the Voivodeship cities, and the roads serving to connect the cities with the status of the capital of the voivodeship. Other transport routes with the status of medium (ordinary) roads were also transport lines connecting voivodeship cities with the smaller localities but still the capitals of the districts as well as any routes connecting with each other individual peripheral cities. The rest of the tracks were automatically given the status of side roads<sup>17</sup>.

Subsequently, after the Government Commission on Internal Affairs and Police prepared a detailed report on the "required network of the main roads/track" of the Kingdom, and after preparing of instructions for the "staff officers" of Polish Army used for this purpose (i.e., for the precise determination of the course of planned transport routes), the Ministry submitted these key materials for final acceptance by the Imperial Governor. Finally, at the meeting of the Administrative Council on June 22, 1816, General Józef Zajączek - somewhat cautiously -

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Digest of of Administrative Regulations of the Kingdom of Poland, Department of Land and Water Communications. Vol. II. Land Communication. 1866. Warsaw: S. Olgerlbrand.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1816, Signature 1: 486.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> "Tadeusz count Mostowski". 1860. Illustrated Weekly, 7 January 1860, 15: 113-114.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> J. Nadzieja. 1988. From Jacobite to the Prince-Governor. Katowice: Silesian Publishing House.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1816, Signature 2: 50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Digest of of Administrative Regulations of the Kingdom of Poland, Department of Land and Water Communications. Vol. II. Land Communication. 1866. Warsaw: S. Olgerlbrand. P. 271-281.

decided to hand over the documents presented to him again to the Government Commission for Internal Affairs and the Police, in order to issue by this ministry, the appropriate instructions on the regulation on the main roads of the Kingdom also for the wide range of civil authorities<sup>18</sup>. Thus, the Administrative Council in June 1816 accepted the draft of the Government Commission for Internal Affairs and Police on "the main roads of the Kingdom", encompassing in its decision both the participation in the whole process of the Polish military and civilian authorities.

At the very beginning of the functioning of established at the Vienna Congress Kingdom of Poland the Administrative Council did not, however, show any significant activity in the field of real development of the national road/transport network. One of the first actions in this area of this advisory body of the Imperial Governor - which was to some extent understandable - therefore concerned the improvement of the situation in the development of the transport system around the capital itself. Namely, on May 20, 1816 the Kingdom's government ordered the arrangement of all access roads, leading from the area of closest perimeter to Warsaw<sup>19</sup>. As a result, appropriate measures were taken surprisingly quickly. Four days later, on May 24, 1816, Tadeusz Mostowski – Director-General of the Government Committee on Internal Affairs and Police presented to the Administrative Council a report on the progress made in the arrangement of the roads located int the districts surrounding the capital.

Some objections have been raised to the planned advancement of the process of changing the previously existing local road network around Warsaw. At the beginning of the third decade of May 1816, the ministerial Director-General of the Commission on Internal Affairs explained why the transport authorities did not give their consent to change the course of one of the surrounding Warsaw road tracks, which was to go through the village of Rożniszew. Nonetheless, this effective ministerial opposition to the announced change in the course of the local Warsaw's roads was not always the case. The Administrative Council issued its first decision on July 13, 1816, to change the course of the road line, located a bit further from the left bank of the river Vistula waters of the capital. This decision concerned changing the course of the road leading from the Warsaw suburb - Praga in the direction of the locality of Serock.

Meanwhile, in connection with the development of the road network around the capital of the country, there was no doubt that after the expiry of the next nine months, on May 3 1817, the Administrative Council issued five resolutions concerning the implementation of the program of the reconstruction of the streets in Warsaw, paying mainly attention to streets / access roads leading to the city center itself<sup>20.</sup> Thus, the first stage of the activity of the actual government of the Kingdom of Poland, dating from May 1816 to May 1817, was basically limited to the territory of the appropriate administrative center of the country.

On the other hand, since the middle of 1817 an effective decision-making activity of the Administrative Council has been observed, also in relation to the "beyond capital itself" territory of the Kingdom. Furthermore, in some cases, there were clearly seen differences in the scope of road works to be carried out in different areas of the country. This testifies not only to some kind of conceptual confusion, but also to the significant involvement of members of the government in development projects of the Polish transport network. Such a dispute took place, for example, at the Administrative Council on June 10, 1817 concerning the area of the Kraków Voivodeship<sup>21</sup>. Having located the source and nature of the conflict, and after a little more than two weeks in a row, the Council finally issued on June 21, 1817 an order to the officers of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1816, Signature 2: 152.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1816, Signature 4: 301.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1817, Signature 4: 264-265.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1817, Signature 4: 353.

the Polish Army Quartermaster to cooperate effectively with the officials of the Government Commission for Internal Affairs and the Police, conducting the program of road works in the territory of the above-mentioned Kraków Voivodeship<sup>22</sup>. In order to ultimately prevent further possible disputes and omissions, on July 14, 1818 the Administrative Council ordered in turn to carry out the regulation/ "straightening" of the course of all the main traffic tracks in the territory of the Kraków Voivodeship<sup>23</sup>.

In the following year of 1819, the government of the Kingdom took decisive steps resulting in the proper arrangement of priorities in the construction of the Polish paved (by crushed stones) roads. The key provision for the categorization (and consequently, for the possible order of construction) of the main road tracks of the Kingdom of Poland was reached at the meeting of the Administrative Council of April 24, 1819. At that time, it was decided to recognize as the first class of the main tracks of the road leading to: Brześć Litewski, Kalisz, Poznań, Uściług (leading to the village: Uściług, located on the very border with the Russian Empire) and Wrocław/Breslau. In April 1819, the roads of Gdańsk/Danzig, Kraków, St. Petersburg (leading to Kowno) and Tomaszów Lubeski were recognized as the main sections of the second-class tracks<sup>24</sup>.

Another crucial work on determining the course of the main treaties of the Kingdom was undertaken by the Council in October 1819. In this month, Franciszek Christiani, Director-General of Roads and Bridges, and Antoni Sumiński, Director-General of the Post Offices, were authorized by the Administrative Council to draw up the draft directions, in which the main roads of the country would be built<sup>25</sup>. The conclusions presented by Christiani and Sumiński were generally accepted. Consequently, on July 10, 1819, the Administrative Council adopted a resolution changing at least partially the net of the routes of some of the main parts of the Kingdom. These were the following transport routes cases: a) the Kraków route; b) the Poznań route; c) the Warsaw-Lublin route; d) the Wrocław route<sup>26</sup>.

Moreover, at the beginning of December 1819, the issue of the connection of the Kingdom of Poland with the Russian Empire in the northeastern direction was also dealt with, namely: by the Narew River. This time it was not the initiative of the Warsaw authorities. Surprisingly enough, on December 11, 1819 the Administrative Council was simply informed from Saint Petersburg that tsar Alexander I authorized his governor General Józef Zajączek to appoint from the side of the Kingdom a special commissioner, whose task would be (together with Joachim Wołłowicz - the then governor of the Białystok District) to take measures aimed at "drying the mud(s) over Narew River", in order to build a new road connection with the capital of the district - Białystok. It is significant that - in the event of the eventual appearing of significant difficulties with the drying of supermassive swamps - a possible alternative solution to be undertaken in this direction has been planned. The second possibility was "/.../ the restoration of the former road (leading) from Białystok to the locality of Tykocin"<sup>27</sup>.

In addition to issues of fundamental importance for the development of transportation of the state, the matter of development of the transport network surrounding/circumventing Warsaw returned at the end of the year of 1819. Consequently, on December 18, 1819, the Administrative Council issued another (two) decisions for the construction of specific local roads near the capital of the state. At the same time, in order to accelerate the process of proper

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1817, Signature 4: 381.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1818, Signature 6: 264.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1819, Signature 7: 155.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1819, Signature 7: 405.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1819, Signature 7: 289.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1819, Signature 7: 477.

expansion of the transport network located both in Warsaw and in its vicinity, by virtue of a decision of the Kingdom's government, the general care of the Director-General of the Government Commission on Internal Affairs and the Police was entrusted with the construction of the highways leading from palace of Belweder to the locality of Wilanów and from Warsaw itself to localities of Miłosna and Jablonna<sup>28</sup>.

Subsequently, as before, capital (local) affairs were again intertwined with projects of national importance. It is not surprising, therefore, that in December of the same year 1819, Franciszek Christiani received from the Council an order to specify the precise location "/.../in which road works for the next spring [i.e., of 1820] are to be started" <sup>29</sup>. A similar issue was also discussed by the Kingdom's authorities at the end of the following year, precisely on November 11, 1820, when the Administrative Council discussed the decision on the program of construction works for public roads for the whole year of 1821. This time the program for the construction of the transport network had to be reduced due to the "poor financial situation of the Kingdom" and the so-called "budget reduction" <sup>30</sup>, and thus in connection with factors somewhat completely independent of road traffic matters. Probably precisely because of the aforementioned financial constraints - on December 12, 1820, the proposed by the Director-General of Roads and Bridges Franciszek Christiani new course (and therefore generating additional costs) of the road through the suburb of Warsaw, Praga, was not agreed. The basic formal argument here was the fact that it was impossible to change the course of the route, which had already been approved by tsar Alexander I himself<sup>31</sup>.

Nonetheless, some of Christiani's other proposals to change the course of the main tracts were accepted even in the dark times of rising financial crisis. Fine example of this attitude is the decision of the Administrative Council of May 7, 1821, when the Government of the Kingdom adhered to a plan prepared by the Director-General of Roads and Bridges to change the course of the Brześć Litewski track, at least in its section between localities of Janówek and Kaluszyn<sup>32</sup>. Finally, on November 13, 1821, the Administration Council adopted a resolution changing one of the tracks of the second-class to the main track. (of the first-class). The above provision concerned the route leading through the town of Sieradź to the locality of Widawa<sup>33</sup>.

To some surprise, in about the same period, and in the framework of the process of establishing the well-functioning transport network, "the postal routes" were also taken care of, which - by definition and as a rule - did not belong in the Kingdom of Poland at the beginning of the twenties of 19th century to the category of paved roads. On November 27, 1821, the Administrative Council issued, for example, an order for the Government Commission on Internal Affairs and Police, which, in turn, ordered the specific voivodeship committees to undertake "orderly work" on the postal routes. These works had to be done with the help of a "corvée labor" of both pedestrians (only human) and supported by animals' nature<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1819, Signature 7: 492.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1819, Signature 7: 491-742.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1820, Signature 8: 349.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1820, Signature 8: 386.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1821, Signature 9: 153.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1821, Signature 9: 350.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1821, Signature 9: 368.

# 3. ESTABLISHMENT BY THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL OF THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF THE CONTROL SYSTEM IN THE FIELD OF TRANSPORT

In the summer of 1816, the Administrative Council decided on the principles and main topics of verification work aimed at assessing the actual state of Polish road traffic network. It is worth noting here that the so-called state assessment reports of the individual roads of the Kingdom were initially - it seems - carried out in principle only because of the occurrence of some important event, such as the anticipated passage of the then Russian-Polish monarch (tsar and king Aleksander I). In fact, for this purpose and solely on this occasion, one of General Zajaczek members of trusted staff paid a visit to (still existing before turning into voivodeship) the department of Łomża, in the summer of 1816. After this "circumnavigation", on September 3, 1816, the Administrative Council dealt with the general's report at its session, ordering that its excerpts be sent to the competent ministries<sup>35</sup>. What is notable is the fact that only on September 24, 1816 (and thus three weeks after the actual circumcision) the Government of the Kingdom granted 300 Polish Zloties (local currency) to cover the travel costs for person actually sent to inspect the roads by which the tsar Alexander I would travel - namely personal adjutant of General Zajączek<sup>36</sup>. It does not seem surprising, therefore, that the verification process described above was to be counted among those actions (of unquestionable importance, at least because it was directly linked to the person of the monarch himself) which the Administrative Council had found to require immediate payment.

The proper and detailed rules for drawing up reports on the work already carried out in the Polish road transport were drawn up at the beginning of the summer of 1817. After the chairman of the Kraków Voivodeship had sent to the Warsaw's authorities a report on the state of the work already done in the subordinate voivodeship on the so-called "Kraków track", the Administrative Council decided at its session on June 21, 1817, to distribute it to all other voivodeship committees, in order to apply by them to the solutions developed in this example at stake<sup>37</sup>. In this way, the reporting procedure scheme proposed in June 1817 by the Kraków Voivodeship Chairman to the Administrative Council was decided by the Government to recognize as national guidelines on this issue. So here we see the real recognition by the Government of the Kingdom of the local, somewhat bottom-up reporting initiative in the field of the state of Polish road transport as worthy of widespread dissemination.

Nor should it be surprising that the general assessment of the current state of the roads was recommended by the Administrative Council to the Government Commission of Internal Affairs and Police, which took actually place on July 5, 1817. This Ministry was obliged - quite naturally - to collect data on the state of the roads through the General Directorate of Posts (which Antoni Sumiński was the head of - as mentioned above - one of the authors of the original plan for the development of Polish road transport). I was requested that besides the general description of the tracks, in the reports to be sent every month by the Post Directorate it was necessary to clearly indicate their sections, which were necessarily requiring any sort of repairs<sup>38</sup>.

Expanding the already fairly wide scope of transport network verification, on December 6, 1817, the Administrative Council ordered the chairmen of the voivodeship committees to conduct audits/lustrations of the located on the territory of the national estates' roads and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1816, Signature 3: 185.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1816, Signature 3: 235.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1817, Signature 4: 384.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1817, Signature 5: 12.

bridges (as well as dykes and inns by the roads)<sup>39</sup>. Then, on April 3, 1819, the Council issued an order to the various voivodeship commissions to submit to the Warsaw Government Commission of Internal Affairs and Police "current reports" on the work carried out in the construction of roads<sup>40</sup>.

Finally, it should be noted that the assessment of the state of road work has also become the domain of the tsarist Governor - General Zajączek himself, who was at the same time the chairman of the Administrative Council. As a suitable example, one could point to the situation of August 7, 1819, when he personally presented to the Council a report from the inspection trip, carried out in the territory of the voivodeship of: Augustów, Plock and Mazowsze. In addition to describing the local road traffic, Zajączek also drew in the submitted file attention to the development of the cities located in these voivodeships<sup>41</sup>. Another such report, this time concerning the Lublin and Podlasie Voivodeships, was delivered by General Zajączek to the Council on April 25, 1820. In the second paragraph of this his subsequent report the Governor not only informed about the general state of the local roads, or about the construction of their new sections, but he also described for instance the transportation of stones required for the building of tracks, which took place from the surroundings of locality of Chełm. In the sixth part of his report from the end of April 1820, Zajączek focused on the changes made in the course of the tracts<sup>42</sup>.

### 4. THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL'S DETAILED PROCEEDINGS AND REGULATIONS ON LAWS ON THE DIVISION AND WIDTH OF ROADS AND ON MEASUREMENTS OF THEIR LENGTH, AS WELL AS ON THE LAND OCCUPIED FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF TRACTS

Extremely important issue which in the field of road transport attracted the attention of the central authorities of the Kingdom was the problem of classification of types of roads and determination of technical conditions of building them, as well as the acquisition of the land needed for the construction of tracks. On the proposal of the Government Commission on Internal Affairs and Police, the President of the Administrative Council, the Deputy General Józef Zajączek, issued on April 20, 1816, regulations defining the division of national roads into "big, secondary - middle class (ordinary) and side roads", and additionally defining their dimensions. This provision was drafted and approved "to facilitate the conduct of communications" in the Kingdom of Poland. Another requirement behind the new legislation was the need to address the need for a transport system that not only would meet economic conditions, but also would refer to social expectations (originally:" to public convenience"). Finally, it was decided in April 1816 to regulate the issues of land transport taking into account the need for "creating the image of the more beautiful country"<sup>43</sup>.

The new law adopted at the meeting of the Administrative Council on April 20, 1816, also pre-determined the standard width of the individual types of roads to be built in the Kingdom of Poland. The standard solutions in this regard were approved as follows. The main (large) tracts were to have a width of 7 fathoms (about 12.5 m), except for extreme situations where it was not possible to build given tracts of such width; the medium (ordinary) roads would have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1817, Signature 5: 254.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1819, Signature 7: 125.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1819, Signature 7: 313-321.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1820, Signature 8: 150-153.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Official Journal of the Mazovian Voivodeship. 1817. April 29, 25: 281-282.

a wide of 5 fathoms (about 9 m); the sides roads were expected to be relatively narrow - of 2 fathoms (3.57 m) of width<sup>44</sup>.

The decision to change the width of the main tracts was taken by the Administrative Council as a result of the intervention of Christiani: The Director-General of Roads and Bridges, who originally had submitted his draft for evaluation to the Government Commission for Internal Affairs and Police. After receiving the ministerial positive opinion, the new law was approved by the Government, and this new proposal became an official interpretation by the decree of the deputy Zajączek of 19 April 1819. As a result, the Administrative Council changed the width of the main roads in the Kingdom, introducing a new standardization in this case of 18 cubits (in other words: of 36 Polish feet, or of 34 Russian feet). To such established standardized width of main roads, one should have added one foot wide "turfing" on each side of the track. As a result, starting as of April 1819, the total width of the typical main road in the Kingdom of Poland was 38 Polish feet, or 35.9 "Russian feet". Since then, this changed width of main tracks started to be treated by road builders as standard for a long time. Interestingly enough, at the same time when the decision to change the standard width of the Polish main roads was taken, the chairman of the Administrative Council declared that the construction of the most important tracts in the vicinity of Warsaw should continue to be carried out "in their original width"<sup>45</sup>.

The length measurements of the main and secondary-middle class tracts were subject to some specifications. The decree of April at stake referred to miles and clearly stated that the Polish official mile corresponded to the longitude of the so-called geographic mile, according to the division of one degree of the equator into 15 such miles. The length of the mile used in national road transportation was therefore officially fixed by the Administrative Council at 12,456 cubits of "the Warsaw measure". It was 7,417.5 meters<sup>46</sup>. However, this situation (which is described in detail above because of its importance) did not last long. In accordance with another decision of the Administrative Council, this time on the 13<sup>th</sup> of June 1818, it was decided to introduce a new mile in the Kingdom of Poland with a length of 14,816 cubits 12 inches 3,75 lines, or about 8 534 meters. This project, however, was ultimately not implemented. Instead, a so-called "postal mile" was adopted, comparable to seven Russian versts, that is, with a length of 7,467 meters. Finally, the Warsaw's government introduced the Russian system of measurement of length which was already based on the verst, where one verst was equal to 500 fathoms, or 1 066 meters<sup>47</sup>.

The Administrative Council also dealt with the issue of the acquisition/purchase of land for the construction of the roads' sideways, which was inextricably linked to the determination of the width and length of the roads. What was obvious was that soon after the standard width of paved roads, including their verges, was established by the decree of Governor Zajączek on April 20, 1816, construction practice showed that it was still necessary to determine an additional width of land necessary for the construction of transport routes. These were the stripes of land needed a) for excavating roadside ditches; b) digging land in mountainous areas, or c) for additional earth moving in lowland areas. Finally, another reason for the need for requiring additional land for road construction was the need to secure the area for various construction materials. Consequently, in the spring of 1823 the Government Commission for

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Digest of of Administrative Regulations of the Kingdom of Poland, Department of Land and Water Communications. Vol. II. Land Communication. 1866. Warsaw: S. Olgerlbrand. P. 275.
<sup>45</sup> Ibidem, 275, 285 -287.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Official Journal of the Mazovian Voivodeship. 1817. April 29, 25: 282.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Digest of of Administrative Regulations of the Kingdom of Poland, Department of Land and Water Communications. Vol. II. Land Communication. 1866. Warsaw: S. Olgerlbrand. P. 275.

Internal Affairs and Police submitted a request to the Administrative Council for the approval of a provision, supplementing the law of April 20, 1816. As a result, on June 24, 1823, General Józef Zajączek after consulting the whole matter at the meeting of the Administrative Council, decided to approve new regulations concerning the confiscation of land for the construction of roads built in the Kingdom of Poland.

These new regulations clearly indicated that for the purpose of the construction of transport routes (especially paved roads) in Poland it was acceptable to add some terrain to the basic width of the main tracts, as it had been provided for implementation on the basis of the regulations of April 20, 1816. From June 24, 1823, a typical way of widening the road belt in the lowland areas was to occupy on both sides of the path a belt 2 fathoms wide and 5 feet deep (circa 5 m). Another option - used when it was necessary to build a road embankment - was to build on both sides of the road with a width of 5 fathoms 6 inches (about 9 m) in dry areas, and 6 fathoms 1 foot (approx. 11 m) in areas considered to be marshlands. In addition, the typical road, according to the newly introduced regulations, required an extension in the situation of passing through the mountainous area. It was both sides of 6 fathoms 5 feet (circa 12.3 m) of land in the mountain-sandy area, and 5 fathoms 4 feet (approximately 10.1 m) in the hill-clay area<sup>48</sup>.

### 5. PRELIMINARY PRINCIPLES AND EXAMPLES OF WORK PERFMORMED IN THE CONSTRUCTION AND REPAIR OF ROADS, OBTAINING FUNDS AND COUNTERING CORRUPTION, AS WELL AS PROVIDING HUMAN AND MATERIAL SUPPORT FOR TRANSPORT NETWORK BUILDING, INTRODUCED BY THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

The first regulations for the specification of the rules of work to be carried out in the construction and repair of roads were established by the Administrative Council in the meeting of this institution on May 15, 1816<sup>49</sup>. Since the lack of adequate road traffic personnel proved to be an extremely sensitive issue, the Administrative Council decided on July 6, 1816 - in the presumed absence of its own top-class specialists - to bring from the Austrian Galicia one person (sic) in the rank of the road conductor, as well as several people who would be skilled in the art of road construction.<sup>50</sup>. Thus, it can be said that at the very beginning of the construction of a new road network in the Kingdom of Poland, the Polish authorities also "used" the skilled workers taken from the Polish territories occupied by the Austrians.

Despite these early efforts, a prolonged initial shortage of candidates for construction and inspection positions, left many of these workstations still unfilled in 1817. This apparently resulted in budget savings in the state's road transportation. On this basis, on October 7, 1817, the Administrative Council issued a decree according to which the possible salary increases for already working inspectors and road builders, which were not originally planned by the staff, were to be paid from the savings achieved due to the lack of candidates for certain positions in the construction services of the Kingdom of Poland<sup>51</sup>.

Since the lack of suitable workers persisted for a relatively long time, on August 4, 1818 the Administrative Council asked the Government Commission of Internal Affairs and Police to (again) address the Voivodeship Commission of Augustów to start searching for suitable

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Ibidem, 275, 285-287.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1816, Signature 2: 91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1816, Signature 3: 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1817, Signature 5: 164.

workers, "qualified" to carry out construction works on paved roads, i.e., roads of the "chausse type"<sup>52</sup>. In turn, on November 14, 1818, the Council urged the Director-General of the Government Commission of Internal Affairs and Police to prepare in the spring of 1819 the necessary "technical forces" for the construction of the transport network throughout the country<sup>53</sup>. Thus, the case of lack of transport services was, in principle, a constant concern of the authorities of the Kingdom of Poland during the first period of their activity, which was reflected, among other things, in the above-mentioned regulations of the Administrative Council.

The problem of proper financing of the transport works appeared in a rather unexpected way in the activity of the Administrative Council in 1818. When, in view of the difficult budgetary situation of the Kingdom tsar Alexander I ordered the introduction of general savings in the various administrative activities in the Kingdom of Poland, as a kind of response to this, on August 18, 1818 the Administrative Council decided to suspend all road in the whole country. There was only one exception to this rule, namely the Warsaw-Brześć Litewski road (the so-called Brześć road), which was considered to be an extremely important transport route, especially because of the numerous journeys made there by tsar Alexander I, and because of the commercial transport that heavily used this route, mainly for the Warsaw fair<sup>54</sup>.

After a few months, the situation improved slightly. On November 14, 1818, the Administrative Council asked Tadeusz Mostowski, the Director-General of the Government Commission for Internal Affairs and Police, to prepare in advance "the Spring program for the construction of national roads"<sup>55</sup>. Later, on November 11, 1820, the Council requested the collection of information necessary to "establish" the proper quantity of materials required for the ongoing construction of roads<sup>56</sup>. Then, on November 6, 1821, the Government asked the Warsaw's Commission for Internal Affairs and Police to precisely point out the places where, in the Spring of 1822, the further construction of the paved beaten roads should begin as a priority. The aim of this request was to have the necessary building materials during the winter time<sup>57</sup>.

This all was possible because the main rules for collecting materials needed for the construction of roads had already been developed in the government forum. After the draft of the law on the "accumulating of materials from private properties required by the local government authorities", was drafted, it was decided at the meeting of the Administrative Council on December 13, 1817 to send the entire draft, for assessment, to the General Assembly of the State Council<sup>58</sup>. Furthermore, on March 10, 1818, the Government adopted a resolution which introduced free access to private fields and "open spaces", where there would be deposits of materials suitable for the construction of roads, in particular: gravel, stones, sand, etc. For possible "damages" to the land, however, the new law provided formal compensation<sup>59</sup>.

Having found the exceptionally convenient location for the material deposits needed for the construction of roads, the Warsaw authorities decided on several occasions to purchase the given land. Thus, on March 13, 1821 the Administrative Council decided to submit to the General Assembly of the Council of State the proposal for the purchase of five morgue fields in the locality of Młociny, in the Warsaw region, where they found deposits of rock particularly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1818, Signature 6: 301.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1818, Signature 6: 469.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1818, Signature 6: 334.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1818, Signature 6: 469.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1820, Signature 8: 349.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1821, Signature 9: 343.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1817, Signature 5: 257.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1818, Signature 6: 107.

suitable for use in the construction of paved roads<sup>60</sup>. Finally, on May 17, 1821, the draft decree was transformed into a formal resolution at the meeting of the Administrative Council<sup>61</sup>. Similarly, on October 16, 1821, the Government approved the decision to submit to the General Assembly of the State Council a draft decision on the purchase of land privately owned by the owner of the Izdebki estate. Because in this place there was a pebble, especially useful for work on the roads<sup>62</sup>. Therefore, as one can see, in the early period of the existence of the Kingdom, the Administrative Council not only made some decisions in the field of drafting and adopting legislation on the collection of materials necessary for the construction of roads, but also actively participated in specific decisions on their acquisition.

The access to and use of materials for the construction of roads was apparently connected with the consideration of the possibility of obtaining funds for their construction or repair by the Administrative Council. And so, on June 6, 1816, the Council, for the first time in its history, allocated in advance 20 thousand Polish zloty for the repair of roads in the Kingdom<sup>63</sup>.

After more than two years, the Council made a spectacular move when, at least in theory, it granted "unlimited credit" for general repairs of national roads. This was done in such a way that on July 14, 1818, the Warsaw authorities authorized the Government Commission of Revenue and Treasury to transfer to the Government Commission of Internal Affairs and Police the amounts of money needed by the Ministry for the repair of the country's transportation network. Then, on February 5, 1820, the Administrative Council instructed the Government Commission of Internal Affairs and Police and the Government Commission of Revenue and Treasury to collect the funds expected to be spent on payments to persons employed in the construction process in the future, which would eventually be caused by the periodic non-payment of wages to contract road workers<sup>64</sup>.

Sometimes the unexpected co-financing from the side of the Administrative Council concerned a very specific task. This was the case with the allocation of 4 thousand Polish zlotys in the state budget on April 17, 1821, with the purpose of using it for sudden and accidental repairs of roads around the capital Warsaw. Furthermore, on November 25, 1821, the government approved the payment of the sum of about 100 thousand Polish zlotys personally to Franciszek Ksawery Christiani - the General Director of Roads and Bridges, for the completion of the construction of roads built in the Kalisz Voivodeship. A much smaller amount of 550 Polish zloty was allocated on February 6, 1821 "for the maintenance costs" of the road between Sieluchów and Różan for a period of eleven months. Similarly to the technical issue (collection of materials for the construction of the transport network), the issue of obtaining funds for road construction was dealt with by the Administrative Council both at the national level and in relation to specific local solutions.

The fight against corruption/financial abuse, which may have occurred during the construction of the Polish transport network, as well as the imposition of possible sanctions for this, were other problems that the Administrative Board dealt with during the initial period of the Kingdom's existence. This was mainly due to the fact that in case of the possibility of fraud in road/transport services, the authorities (including the central authorities) always initiated investigative measures. When in 1821 in the provincial town of Siedlee there were irregularities caused by road officials, the Administrative Council decided on March 20, 1821, to investigate

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1821, Signature 9: 85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1821, Signature 9: 139.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1821, Signature 9: 317.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1816, Signature 2: 121.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1820, Signature 8: 50.

the whole case "on the spot". Therefore, some funds and allowances were given to persons who were sent to Siedlce "/.../ to investigate the accusations made against the road officials"<sup>65</sup>.

Similarly, citizens were sometimes condemned by administrative authorities for acts of obstructing or stopping road works, possibly misleading transport officials. Such an event occurred when after the "Council of the Prefecture of Radom" (i.e., before the introduction of the administrative structures of the voivodeships) in 1816 had charged an individual named Karol Zakrzewski with the costs of "/.../ geometry fees for the repair of the road from (locality) Końskie to Żarnów", on August 6, 1816 the Administrative Council received information that the appeal of the convicted person had been sent for consideration by the Government Commission of Internal Affairs and Police. In return, on September 2, 1817, the Administrative Council granted compensation in the amount of 1,816 Polish zlotys for the grain destroyed during the straightening of the roads in the Mazowsze Voivodeship<sup>66</sup>.

In this context, it is worth mentioning that the Administrative Council has already formally dealt with the development of rules for the protection of roads against any form of destruction. This was the case on December 26, 1821, when the Council decided to send to the General Assembly of the Council of State a draft regulation on the provisions for the protection against destruction of paved roads and the transport bridges located on these lines. The Administrative Council has also addressed the practical aspects of road construction, for example by creating a special working group for the construction of the transportation network. This was the case on October 18, 1817, when this administrative body decided to create a "brigade for road works". A special order of the Administrative Council for this brigade was issued at the meeting of this institution on February 8, 1820, when the Council ordered the use of a new road construction company to assist in the construction of the road network around Warsaw. Moreover, on July 3, 1821, the Council allocated a fund for the road construction company in the state  $budget^{67}$ .

In these circumstances, it is necessary to mention the interest of the Administrative Council in the question of providing the transport services with the appropriate animal power (beasts of burden) and tools, when in the summer of 1816 it was decided to purchase horses and equipment necessary for the construction of roads bypassing Warsaw. For this purpose, on August 6, 1816, the Board of Directors allocated 62 thousand Polish zlotys for the purchase of: a) 30 wagons, together with wooden boxes, b) a considerable number of harnesses for horses, c) a large number of horses themselves, especially those capable of carrying the materials necessary for the construction of these roads<sup>68</sup>.

Finally, at the session of July 10, 1819, the Administrative Council ordered the free distribution of wood from the forests belonging to the Government Administration for "various equipment and road tools". Next, on July 13, 1819, the Council authorized the Government Commission of Internal Affairs and Police to sell by public auction (tender) road tools, wagons and horses previously used in Warsaw for transportation and road works. The reason for this decision was the completion of most of the road projects in the capital at that time. This decision may be all the more surprising when one considers that on May 22, 1821, the Administrative Council adopted a resolution approving the sums (amounting to 12,048 Polish zloty) for the annual maintenance of four carriages with harnesses intended for work on Warsaw's local roads<sup>69</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1821, Signature 9: 90.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1817, Signature 5: 118.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1821, Signature 9: 215.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1816, Signature 3: 80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> CAof HR. The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1821, Signature 9: 168.

#### 6. CONCLUSION

The first resolutions of the Council of the Kingdom of Poland on road transport (which appeared as early as March 1816) focused on the specification of the initial technical conditions and the basic principles of track construction. These proposals, mostly of ministerial origin and especially from the side of the Government Commission of Internal Affairs and Police, were often or rather repeatedly referred back by the Council - with the active participation of its chairman, Tsarist Governor General Zajączek - for further analysis and consideration by the General Assembly of the Council of State. It is worth mentioning here that at the beginning the Council did not carry out any visible activity in the area of the development of the national road network, limiting itself essentially to the areas around the capital, as only in July 1816, the first decisions on changing the routes of the roads located a little further from the capital appeared. In general, it can be said that the initial stage of the Council's activity, at least until May 1817, was definitely limited to the areas of the corresponding hard core of the country. When this situation changed, the Council began to intervene, among other things, in the settlement of jurisdictional disputes. As a result, the administrative decision-making body in Warsaw (especially since 1819) took some decisive legal steps, which resulted in the proper order of priorities for the construction of Polish paved roads, including their detailed categorization and order of construction.

The summary of the decisions taken on the scope of the development of the transport network in the Kingdom of Poland in the first, initiative period of its existence (which is somehow characterized by the growing crisis of public finances in the early twenties of the 19th century), indicates a certain repetition of phenomena dealt with by the then government, such as a) a strong interest in building or repairing roads around the capital of the country - Warsaw; b) the appearance of colliding development trends at the local level; c) the establishment and further modification of the directions of road construction; and finally: d) the chronological systematization of this process. In principle, all these phenomena were conceived by the Warsaw authorities somehow on their own, i.e. without the apparent involvement of the Russian factor. The only exception was the construction of a well-prepared and built line of communication in the northeast direction, where the imperial authorities - undoubtedly for military and, to some extent, economic reasons - participated in determining (and accelerating) the construction process.

The intensification of the state control system and the development of the country's transportation network, already visible in the first years of the kingdom's existence, was largely based on the initiative of the tsar's governor, who sometimes - mostly by members of his office staff - took on the task of conducting inspections on the spot. Moreover, the seriousness of the administrative council's approach to the issue of track inspection was clearly demonstrated by the fact that two national agendas were sometimes simultaneously involved in the process: the Government Commission of Internal Affairs and Police, and the General Directorate of Posts, which included the work of ministerial inspectors assisted by local voivodeship commissioners. Obviously, the issue of a realistic view of the state of road traffic in the Kingdom was one of the priorities of the central authorities (and this despite the documented occasional diligence in paying the diets associated with such endeavors), which they had to consider as inalienable.

Starting from 1816, the decision of the Administrative Council to proceed with proper division of categories of national roads and to some extent, far-sighted programmatic concept of their creation was then - as we see - supplemented by necessary indication of their standard width. In this connection, however, it should be emphasized that the solutions presented in the following years were unconvincing, where - probably due to the highest degree of analytical

observation of the needs of everyday life - it was possible to notice at least a partial deviation from the proposals originally envisaged. Only the question of the purchase of the appropriate width of the belt of land adjacent (on both sides) to the built roads did not raise any major doubts in the legislators of the Administrative Council of the early period of its activity.

The activity of the Board of Directors to establish other principles of work on roads has focused on: a) the search for qualified workers; b) the prevention of corruption and abuse in the construction of the transportation network and the imposition of appropriate penalties; c) the collection of materials necessary for the construction of roads; d) the development of rules to protect roads from destruction; and e) the provision of a sufficiently high level of financing for transportation investments.

From the above brief summary, it can be concluded that in the activities of the Administrative Council in the field of transport development in the Kingdom of Poland during the initial period of the quasi-independent state (i.e., until the early twentieth years of the 19th century), we can observe, first and foremost, the focus of this governmental body on the whole, wide range of problems plaguing road transport at that time. Both key issues of national importance and the solution of local, sometimes very specific problems were dealt with alternately in the government forum. The above-mentioned phenomenon, as well as the relative speed of the decisions taken and, above all, the emphasized professionalism in their preparation, unquestionably testify to the responsible policy of the authorities of the Kingdom of Poland in the field of the development of the Polish transport network in the period described.

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