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**PLACES OF WORSHIP IN WARSAW IN THE AGE
OF PARTITIONS IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE SOURCES
- ROLE, CONTEXT, MEANING. TOWARDS AN ANALYSIS**

Places of worship are one of the most important elements of the urban structure, often determining the cityscape and acting as juncture points in the spatial organization¹. The present text is concerned with the role of churches and chapels in Warsaw and its vicinity in the period of partitions in the accounts of visitors from the British Isles and North America; the contexts in which they operated and the meaning ascribed to them. This article is based on a variety of sources: travel narratives, autobiographies, reportage, memoirs as well as analytical writing. The texts mentioned were published over the course of a century in a shifting political, social and religious environment. The timespan reflects changes in: the contexts in which various places of worship appeared, the attitude of the author, as well as the nature of the descriptions. The sources document encounters with the city that occurred between the last partition of Poland in 1795, or, more specifically, 1804 (the year mentioned by the earliest text) and 1915, when the last Russian troops left Warsaw.

One may wonder whether it is feasible to consider American and British sources on an equal footing. However, it becomes clear from reading the

1 B. Żyłko, Introduction in W. Toporow, *Miasto i Mit*, Gdańsk 2000, p. 19.

American reports that their authors viewed Warsaw and Eastern Europe in a manner similar to their British counterparts. This could be explained by the influence of British writers on travellers from the United States and the transmission of British cultural norms through the school system². How, then, did newcomers view places of worship in Warsaw? Were they treated as tourist attractions or works of art? To what extent do English-language sources supplement our awareness of their history, architecture and interiors? Do they constitute useful research material for historians and art historians? Finally, what was the relation between the development of churches and broader historical phenomena?

Without a doubt, the sources noted the large number of places of worship and recognized their special role in Warsaw's landscape³. It is often claimed that they made the city picturesque⁴. However, Błażej Brzostek claims that Warsaw "churches- the epitome of the nobility of old cities- did not usually make an impression, just like former royal residences"⁵. In the beginning of the period discussed, reports pointed out that most religious sites were Catholic churches and their architectural style (e.g. lack of spires, richness of decorative forms, representation of saints) were foreign to the British taste of that era (church architecture was compared to the facades of townhouses in Gdańsk)⁶. Authors pointed out the 'colossal' size of the churches, supposedly

- 2 A. Lochwood, *Passionate Pilgrims. The American Travelers in Great Britain, 1800-1914*, New York 1981, pp. 18-20.
- 3 G. Burnett, *View of the Present State of Poland*, London 1807, p. 59; R. Smith, *Notes Made During a Tour in Denmark, Holstein, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Pomerania, the Isle of Rugen, Prussia, Poland, Saxony, Brunswick, Hannover, the Hanseatic Territories, Oldenburg, Friesland, Holland, Brabant, the Rhine Country, and France, Interspersed with some Observations in Foreign Countries*, London 1827, pp. 136-137; A. Bozzi-Granville, *St. Petersburg. A Journal of Travels to and from that Capital; through Flanders, The Rhenish Provinces, Prussia, Russia, Poland, Silesia, Saxony, the Federated States of Germany, and France*, vol. II, London 1829, p. 559; A. Le Messurier, *From London to Bokhara and a Ride Through Persia*, London 1889, p. 13.
- 4 G. Bloomfield, *Reminiscences of Court and Diplomatic Life*, vol. 2, London 1883, p. 338. Georgiana Bloomfield (1822-1905), the daughter of Henry Liddell, first baron of Ravensworth, from 1845 the wife of John Bloomfield, the second baron of Bloomfield. A month after their marriage, John Bloomfield became the British ambassador in Saint Petersburg, and later in Berlin (1851-1860) and Vienna (1861-1871). Georgiana accompanied him the entire time. She practiced music and painting in her free time; she stayed in Warsaw on 9-10 May 1851 on route from St. Petersburg to Berlin. E. Lee, *Bloomfield, Georgiana, Lady Bloomfield (1822-1905)*, rev. K.D. Reynolds, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/31932> [access: 17 IX 2010].
- 5 B. Brzostek, *Paryż w innej Europie. Warszawa i Bukareszt, XIX i XX wiek*, Warszawa 2015, p. 86.
- 6 G. Burnett, op. cit., p. 59; R. B. Smith, op. cit., pp. 136-7. George Burnett (1774/5-1811), writer, son of a respected farmer, graduate of Balliol College Oxford, friend of Robert Thomas Sythey and Samuel Coleridge, the cofounders of English Romanticism. In 1804/1805, he spent 10 months at the Zamoyski court as an English teacher and visited Warsaw with the family. After returning to England, he wrote a monumental monograph on English literature: *Specimens of English Prose Writers*. He died in an almshouse. Thompson Cooper, 'Burnett, George (1774/5-1811)', rev. David Kaloustian, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition, May 2009, <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/4071> [access: 17 IX 2010].

characteristic of the temples of 'that persuasion'⁷. If the church architecture was appreciated, the authors criticized their surroundings, describing them as 'hovels'⁸.

Both during the period discussed and later, the opinions of the travellers were not favourable. According to a British aristocrat, Charlotte Maria Pepys⁹: "There was, they told me, little to tempt sightseers. The Roman Catholic churches were not by any means brilliant specimens in their own style; and there were but two of the Greek persuasion, very inferior, they said, to those they had seen in Kiev". A British lawyer, William Henry Bullock Hall, went even further in claiming that during the January Uprising in 1863, passing Berlin and Vienna, the land of guide-books ends¹⁰. He held that "henceforth churches, palaces and picture-galleries will fail us, and our mental food will consist of the study of human nature- a highly refreshing diet after being bored to death with a long dose of sight-seeing"¹¹.

It would seem that the situation improved with the appearance of the extremely influential guidebooks of John Murray. In 1865, his publishing house issued a guide to Northern Europe, reprinted in 1868, 1875, 1888 and 1893, which argued that Warsaw's shrines could compare to those in other important European capitals¹². The English-language guide of Karl Baedeker, made similar remarks¹³. In this period, one encounters reports, whose authors considered churches one of the few interesting places in the city, labelling them

7 A. Bozzi-Granville, op. cit., pp. 559-560. Augustus Bozzi-Granville (1783-1872) came from an old noble family of Corsican descent, distantly related to the Bonapartes. The son of the postmaster general of the Kingdom of Lombardy and Venice, he graduated from the Collegio Borromeo at the University of Pavia. He gained experience as a doctor, working in the British Embassy in Constantinople, in the Turkish and British fleet. He settled in England, where he gained a good reputation. After marrying an Englishwoman, he converted to Anglicanism and added 'Granville', the name of his great grandfather, an immigrant from Cornwall, to 'Bozzi' -his family name. In 1827, Granville-Bozzi accompanied the ailing Russian ambassador, prince Semyon Vorontzovov, to St. Petersburg. Warsaw happened to be part of his return journey. A member of the Royal Society and Royal Institution, he co-authored some important reforms in these institutions. He was also a member of the prestigious Athenaeum Club, president of the Westminster Medical Society, vice-president of the British Medical Association and a mason (rank of High Officer). A. Sakula, *Augustus Bozzi Granville (1783-1872): London Physician-Accoucheur and Italian Patriot*, „Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine”, vol. 76, October 1983, pp. 876-882; *Zamek Królewski w Warszawie oraz inne warszawskie i podwarszawskie rezydencje w brytyjskich relacjach podróży z okresu zaborów. Część I: Zamek Królewski*, „Kronika Zamkowa”, 2011, vol. 61-62, no. 1-2, p. 192, footnote 1.

8 R.B. Smith, *Notes...*, s. 136.

9 Ch. M. Pepys, *A Journey on a Plank from Kiev to Eaux-Bonnes, 1859*, vol. I, London 1860, p. 133. Charlotte Pepys (1822-1889), a well-known traveller. She visited Warsaw in June 1859. M. F. McVicker, *Women Adventurers, 1750-1900. A Biographical Dictionary, with Excerpts from Selected Travel Writings*, McFarland 2008, p. 203.

10 W.H. Bullock Hall, *Polish Experiences during the Insurrection of 1863-4*, London 1864, p. 30. William Henry Bullock Hall (1837-1904) a graduate of Balliol College, lawyer and traveller. Born as Bullock, he took on the double name in 1872 after the death of his uncle. He came to Warsaw during the January uprising as a *Daily News* correspondent. Hall, *William Henry Bullock*, in: *Jowett Papers – biographical index*, Balliol College Archives and Manuscripts, <http://archives.balliol.ox.ac.uk/index.asp> [access: 24 IV 2017].

11 Ibid.

12 [T. Michell], *A Handbook for Travellers in Russia, Poland, and Finland. New edition, revised. With Map and Plans*, London 1865, pp. 237-242. See P. Deles, *Warszawa w angielskich przewodnikach Murraya po Imperium Rosyjskim z lat 1839 i 1865*, „Rocznik Warszawski”, vol. XXXIV, 2006, p. 80.

13 K. Baedeker, *Russia with Teheran, Port Arthur, and Peking. Handbook for Travellers*, Leipzig 1914, pp. 14-22.

as 'fine' (or 'principal')¹⁴ or putting emphasis on their long history (which was an inherent value)¹⁵. One should also point to contrasting views, expressed, for instance, by James Monroe Buckley¹⁶, a member of the Episcopal Methodist Church, who concluded that Warsaw's old churches look commonplace next to the splendid architecture in Russia¹⁷. Clearly, he did not remain under the impression of the *Guide to Russia and Finland* even though his tour of Warsaw can be traced to this publication¹⁸. Perhaps local churches seemed to him overly provincial and insufficiently exotic.

Another famous writer, Charles Dodgson, better known as Lewis Carroll, expressed an even more extreme judgment. He claimed that the Warsaw churches he visited "displayed typical examples of lavishness and poor taste in abundant gold mouldings and masses of marble sculpted in heaps"¹⁹. His opinion reflects the unfavourable perception of the taste of the Catholic clergy and the artistic quality of Roman Catholic Churches in Victorian Britain²⁰. Even 40 years later, John Henry Hubback (a close relative of Jane Austen)²¹, wrote, while visiting Warsaw, that "Polish churches are over-decorated, according to modern ideas. They are all designed in the heavy baroque style of the eighteenth-century buildings in Western Europe. This is not Russia: one

- 14 R.L. Jefferson, *Awheel to Moscow and Back. Record of a Record Cycle Ride*, London 1895, p. 78. Robert Louis Jefferson (1868-1914), a famous cyclist, propagator of this form of sport and transport, author of books describing his lonely bicycle trips from London to Moscow, Constantinople, Chiwa and Irkutsk. Member of the Royal Geographical Society. In 1901 he moved to Australia, and took up a new passion, motorcycles. A. Ritchie, R. Rabenstein, *Mostly Middle-Class Cycling Heroes: The „Fin de Siècle” Commercial Obsession with Speed, Distance and Records*, in: *Reformers, Sport, Modernizers: Middle-class Revolutionaries*, ed. J. A. Mangan, London, Portland 2002, p. 97; D. R. Jamieson, *The Self-Propelled Voyager: How the Cycle Revolutionized Travel*, London 2015, pp. 20, 22, 67, 107, 170.
- 15 M.L. Ninde, *We Two Alone in Europe*, Chicago 1886, pp. 199-200. Mary Louise Ninde (1858-1947), a prominent American Methodist missionary and author of a few publications dedicated to China, among others. Daughter of Methodist bishop and President of the Garrett Biblical Institute William X. Ninde, she married the missionary Frank Dunlap Gamewell, many years after her visit in Warsaw. Her husband gained fame for the defence of the Chinese mission in Beijing during the Boxer Uprising. Ninde, *William X.*, in: *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American biography*, vol. IV Lodge-Pickens, ed. J. G. Wilson, J. Friske, New York 1888, p. 522; D. Shavit, *The United States in Asia. A Historical Dictionary*, New York, Westport, London 1990, p. 183; Gamewell, *Frank D.*, in: *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity* <http://www.bdconline.net/en/stories/g/gamewell-francis-dunlap.php> [access: 24 IV 2017].
- 16 James Monroe Buckley (16 January 1836-8 February 1920), a well-known traveller (he visited the United States, Canada, Europe, Asia and Africa) writer and religious activist. He had a big influence on the formation of the internal regulations of the Methodist church. *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. II, Bearly-Cushing, ed. A. Johnson, D. Malone, New York 1958, pp. 231-232.
- 17 J.M. Buckley, *The Midnight Sun, The tsar and the nihilist. Adventures and observations in Norway, Sweden and Russia*, Boston [1886], p. 283.
- 18 Idem; [T. Michell], *Handbook for Travelers in Russia, Poland and Finland; including the Crimea, Caucasus, Siberia, and Central Asia. Third edition, revised*, London 1875, pp. 447-448.
- 19 L. Carroll, *The Russian Journal: and Other Selections from the Works of Lewis Carroll*, ed. E.P. Dutton, New York 1935, p. 114.
- 20 B. Porter, „Bureau and Barrack”: *Early Victorian Attitudes Towards the Continent*, „Victorian Studies”, summer 1984, vol. 27, no 4, p. 410.
- 21 John Henry Hubback (1844-1939), a great nephew of Jane Austen, graduate of King's College, governor of Orssa in India from 1936 until 1941, adviser to the minister on India policy in the years 1942-1947. Along with his daughter Edith he wrote *Jane Austen's Sailor Brothers*, a work dedicated to the author and her works. He was a grain merchant and this brought him to Russia in 1910, and 10 more times until 1914. Hubback, *Sir John (Austen)*, in: *Who's Who 1897-1996* (CD-ROM, Oxford University Press, 1996); D. Le Faye, *Jane Austen. A Family Record*, Cambridge 2004, p. 283; idem, *Memoirs and Biographies*, w: *Jane Austen in context*, ed. J. Todd, Cambridge 2005, p. 55; M. Skinner, *What We Did for the Russians*, London 2008, p. 173.

notices a different atmosphere here, more akin to French traditions in some ways than to those of the immediate neighbours²²”.

In a few texts, specific Catholic churches were presented, most often St John's Cathedral²³, with critical remarks on its neogothic form (the effect of a reconstruction from 1836-1840)²⁴, as well as the Church of the Holy Cross²⁵ and St Alexander²⁶. It is worth mentioning that the texts lack a detailed description of the buildings, rarely mentioning elements of the interior and these instances do not expand our current knowledge significantly. *Poland and the Polish Question* by Ninian Hill, a Scottish Presbyterian clergyman, who described the cathedral and the Church of the Holy Cross extensively²⁷. The text was written during a period of heightened interest in Poland caused by the outbreak of World War I and fighting in the Kingdom. As a textbook publication, it included a chapter on the 'capitals', that constituted a good presentation of Poznan, Cracow and Warsaw, with texts resembling expanded articles in geography books. The section on Warsaw discussed St. John's Cathedral and the Church of the Holy Cross. Hill went beyond a schematic description and clearly spent some time visiting the churches, although his analysis still has the mark of the personal impressions of an educated dilettante. He presented the architecture of both buildings, criticising the elements that displeased him and lucidly justifying his judgment²⁸. Hill listed

- 22 J.H. Hubback, *Russian Realities Being Impressions Gathered during Some Recent Journeys in Russia*, London, New York 1915, pp. 44-45.
- 23 A. Bozzi-Granville, op. cit., p. 559.
- 24 W.G. Clark, *Poland, in: Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1860*[1861], [1862-3], vol. 3, ed. Francis Galton, London 1864, p. 257; H.P. Liddon, *The Russian Journal--II: A Record Kept by Henry Parry Liddon of a Tour Taken with C. L. Dodgson in the Summer of 1867*, 1979, red. M. N. Cohen, „Carroll Studies”, no 3, p. 38. William George Clark (1821-1878), son of an English farmer, graduate of the prestigious Sedbergh Grammar School, the Shrewsbury School and Trinity College in Cambridge, where he became a fellow in 1844. In 1857, he was elected to be public orator. As a literary critic, he was the author and publisher of many acclaimed works. He travelled to Warsaw in the summer of 1863. L. Stephen, Clark, William George (1821-1878), rev. J. D. Pickles, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/5480> [access: 17 IX 2010].
- 25 G. Bloomfield, op.cit., p. 341; W.L. Birkbeck, *A Letter to Viscount Palmerston, K.G. M.P. on the Present Condition of Poland, Founded Partly on Personal Observation*, London, Cambridge 1864, p. 12. See *Ilustrowany przewodnik po Warszawie wraz z treściwym opisem okolic miasta*, Warszawa 1893, p. 35; E. Kowalczykowa, *Kościół św. Krzyża*, Warszawa 1975, pp. 23, 86; W.G. Clark, op.cit., p. 257.
- 26 A. Hare, *Studies in Russia*, London 1896, p. 487. According to the author, it was commissioned by Alexander I, which is an inaccurate account of the church's construction. The temple was indeed built in the years 1818-1825 to celebrate the first visit of Emperor Alexander I to Warsaw. T.S. Jaroszewski, *Kościół św. Aleksandra*, Warszawa 1973, pp. 12-16; M. Getka-Kenig, *Rządowe przedsięwzięcia pomnikowe ku czci Aleksandra I a ideologia „wskrzeszenia” Polski w latach 1815-1830*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 2016, no. 4, vol. CXXIII, pp. 695-732. Further literature can be found here.
- 27 N. Hill, *Poland and the Polish Question. Impressions and Afterthoughts*, London [1915], pp. 278, 288-289. Ninian Hill (1861-1946) shipowner from Edinburgh, minister in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Author of a few publications on the Church of Scotland, and an active member thereof, commissioned the construction of the Church of St. Andrew in Jerusalem and a memorial to Scottish soldiers killed while fighting the Turkish army. He visited Warsaw in 1913. R. Mairs, *From Khartoum to Jerusalem. Dragoman Solomon Negima and His Clients (1884-1933)*, London, Oxford, New York, New Delhi, Sydney 2016, pp. 198-199.
- 28 Idem. In his opinion, the height of the naves of the two buildings was too small in relation to their considerable width. He also claimed that the mouldings in the Church of the Holy Cross were too heavy and the use of white plaster in the cathedral made the interior look cold and empty. It must also be said that Hill's report showed awareness of the state of the church after the renovation of 1901-1903. See M.I. Kwiatkowska, *Katedra św. Jana*, Warszawa 1978, pp. 204-208.

the most important and characteristic aspects of the decoration (e.g. the use of white brick in the cathedral façade) and the interior²⁹ (e.g. 3 huge crystal chandeliers also in the cathedral³⁰). He even explained the basic symbolism of certain objects³¹ and provided an outline of the historical role of the church (the site of the swearing-in of newly elected kings and the coronation of Stanisław Leszczyński)³². Hill's presentation of Warsaw's churches fits into the type of texts in which such discussions serve as a way of depicting the specific political, social and religious circumstances of a city or country.

Some other shrines appeared in the material quoted due to the clear influence of the guide to Russia, Poland and Finland. This is the case of, among

29 Ibid., p. 278. In the Church of the Holy Cross he was drawn to the epitaph with the heart of Frederic Chopin "born near Warsaw". He was referring to the marble epitaph designed by Leonardo Marconi. See W. Głębocki, *Warszawskie pomniki*, Warszawa 1990, p. 59; M.I. Kwiatkowska, A. Melbechowska-Luty, I. Siomoczkin, *Marconi Leonard*, in: *Słownik artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających (zmarłych przed 1966 R.)*, *Malarze, rzeźbiarze, graficy*, vol. V Le-M, ed. J. Derwojed, Warszawa 1993, p. 358.

Hill paid much more attention to the interior of the cathedral: he described the choir, mentioning the "beautiful, renaissance stalls (commissioned by King John III after the victory in the Battle of Vienna), two thrones "one for the archbishop, the other for the bishop" (he meant the sculpted archbishop throne with the canopy as well as the "old" cathedral or lower throne", according to the guidebook from 1939) See W. Kwiatkowski, *Królewska katedra św. Jana w Warszawie*, Warszawa 1939, p. 18. On a picture called "Grand Altar, Stalls and Presbytery in the Warsaw cathedral", included in the monograph of the church by priest Wiktor Czajewski the lower throne can be seen to the left of the altar and the other one is located to the right, under a baroque canopy. See W. Czajewski, *Katedra św. Jana*, Warszawa 1899, pp. 204-205), as well as a grand altar, „with Renaissance-style gold with a painting by Jacopo Palma the younger, black from candle smoke and almost invisible". There was also a gold iron balcony, rising above the presbytery, designed, according to Hill, for the royal family and linked to the Castle. He most likely meant the iron balcony built in the place of the former royal box. Ibid., pp. 288-289; W. Kwiatkowski, op.cit., p. 16, 18; M. I. Kwiatkowska, op.cit., p. 88; M. Lewicka, *Atlas architektury Starożytności Miasta*, Warszawa 1992, p. 134.

30 N. Hill, op. cit., s. 288. According to the author the chandeliers „suited a ballroom more than a church", because they distorted the perspective of the nave. Photographs from the era support his judgment. The vast chandeliers do not match the style of the interior and seem over-scaled. The circumstances of the chandelier creation and arrival in the cathedral require further study. They are not to be seen on the paintings of Marcin Zaleski from 1840 showing the interior after the reconstruction by Adam Idźkowski, but they were restored in 1864. See W. Trojanowski, *Katedra św. Jana. Przewodnik artystyczny*, Warszawa 1923; S. Gębarski, *Katedra św. Jana*, Warszawa 1914, pp. 12, 14; W. Czajewski, op. cit., pp. 204-205, W. Kwiatkowski, op.cit., il. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 16. See M.I. Kwiatkowska, *Katedra...*, pp. 176-177, 191.

31 N. Hill, op.cit., pp. 288-289. Among many "richly decorated" monuments in the cathedral, one in particular "caught" his attention. It depicted two brothers- one, a bishop in full pontifical garb and the other as a knight in armour- lying side by side, holding each other by the neck „in the most tender manner-united just like the Church and the State". The description undoubtedly concerns the tomb of the Wolski brothers, Mikołaj, the bishop of Kujawy (died in 1550) and Stanisław, the Sandomierz castellan and court chairman (died in 1566). See the photograph of the tomb in the monograph on the cathedral written by Stefan Gębarski, published shortly after Hill's visit in Warsaw. S. Gębarski, op. cit., p. 31. See also M. Lewicka, *Atlas architektury*, Warszawa 1992, p. 135.

32 Ibid., pp. 288-289.

others: the Paulin Church³³, the 'gothic' Dominican Church³⁴, the Carmelite church³⁵, the Church of Our Lady³⁶ as well as the Capuchin Church containing the heart of King John III, its founder, and the innards of King Augustus II³⁷ (which in one of the reports were confused with the innards of Poniatowski³⁸). It is surprising that one finds close quotations from Murray's text³⁹ in the writing of a Presbyterian author⁴⁰ and press publisher⁴¹.

Jeremiah Curtin⁴², translator of the works of Henryk Sienkiewicz, made a similar journey in 1897, while visiting the sites represented in the novel *The Deluge*. He thus saw "many of the old buildings of the Commonwealth", for instance the Church of St. Anne, the Paulin Church of the Holy Spirit and the Dominican Church of St. Jacek⁴³. The descriptions of churches play an important role in the texts discussed. Given the generally unfavourable treatment of catholic churches, apparent in the previously quoted reports, one should note the particular attention paid to the Protestants, who were treated as brothers in faith. Hence, the significant role of the Evangelical-Augsburg Church of the Holy Trinity, a

33 J.M. Buckley, op.cit., p. 282.

34 J.M. Buckley, op.cit., p. 282. The Church of St. Jacek in the New Town, built in the baroque style in the years 1605-1638 by Jan Włoch with the use of gothic forms (presbytery, ribbed vault in the main nave, decoration of side naves). In 1823, a neogothic gallery designed by Hilary Szpilowski was placed in front of the church. It should be added that a polish guide from 1893 informed that „the facade of this church, built in the renaissance style with classical simplicity is covered in half by a gothic addition [...]. The older part of the church, i.e. its presbytery constructed in the gothic style [...]. The Renaissance central nave, as well as the side naves, with ribbed vaults." Another guide, published 10 years later reported that the church was built in „a purely gothic style". As we see, there was a certain foundation for the judgment expressed in the guide of John Murray and the relation of Monroe. J. Bartoszewicz, *Kościół warszawskie rzymsko-katolickie opisane pod względem historycznym*, Warszawa 1857, pp. 198-199; *Ilustrowany przewodnik po Warszawie ...*, p. 145; *Przewodnik najnowszy po Warszawie*, Warszawa 1903, p. 51; *Kościół św. Jacka*, Warszawa 1927, pp. 6-7, 14; M. U. Urbanowski, *Architektura kościoła św. Jacka w Warszawie*, in: *Studia nad historią dominikanów*, vol. II, pp. 217-220; A. Miłobędzki, *Architektura XVIII wieku*, in: *Architektura Warszawy*, ed. M. Karpowicz, Warszawa 1986, p. 74; M. Karpowicz, *Tomasz Poncino [ok. 1590-1659] – architekt Pałacu Kieleckiego*, Warszawa 2002, p. 60.

35 J. M. Buckley, op.cit., p. 282.

36 J. M. Buckley, op.cit., p. 282.

37 Idem. This was the sarcophagus of Ludwika Kaufmana from 1829. M.I. Kwiatkowska, *Rzeźbiarze warszawscy XIX wieku*, Warszawa 1995, p. 20.

38 C. A. Stoddard, *Across Russia: from the Baltic to the Danube*, 1892, pp. 233-234.

39 [T. Michell], op.cit., pp. 447-448.

40 James Monroe Buckley. See footnote 20.

41 Charles Augustus Stoddard (1833-1820) came from a family that settled in Massachusetts in the 17th century. In 1859 he married the daughter of Samuel Irenaeus Prime and became a member of the New York „Observer”, taking it over after the death of his father-in-law. He became a member of the elite through various associations and organizations. Examples include: head of the Williams Alumni Association of New York City, chairman and vice-chairman of the New York Institution for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, member of the American Oriental Society and secretary of the Evangelical Alliance. *Charles Augustus Stoddard*, in: *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. 9, 1907, p. 127.

42 Szerzej J. Rybicki, *Sienkiewicz po angielsku*, „Przekładaniec” nr 15, 2005, pp. 101-126. Jeremiah Curtin (1840?-1906), prominent linguist and excellent translator, he supposedly knew 70 languages and dialects, beginning with translations of Henryk Sienkiewicz and Alexey Tolstoy, which became popular. He also gained renown as an ethnologist and specialist in Celtic, Slavic, Mongolian and Indian mythology. *Curtin Jeremiah*, in: *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. II *Brearily-Cushing*, ed. A. Johnson, D. Malone, New York, 1958, p. 608.

43 J. Curtin, *Memoirs*, Madison 1940, pp. 681-682.

splendid creation of Szymon Bogumil Zug, erected in 1777-1778⁴⁴, which gained large acclaim. Richard Smith held that the church was interesting and described its circular shape, two galleries, a lectern and organ above the altar⁴⁵. Smith concludes: “with all this singularity, it still retains a very solemn appearance”⁴⁶. Augustus Bozzi-Granville wrote that the “magnificent” Lutheran church eclipsed catholic churches with its boldness and beauty. He deemed Zug, the architect, worthy of praise for undertaking such an ambitious project. This acclaim grew when it turned out that the church cost, according to the information received, 25 thousand pounds, which was three or four times less than a new church “near Regent Park, not counting some others” in London. The latter could, according to him, fit inside the building in Warsaw⁴⁷. The spire crowning the building is of amazing height (the lantern of the church was used as a viewing platform)⁴⁸. The church, towering above the city, became, in some reports, a symbol of the superiority of Protestantism over Catholicism, as well as the beneficial influence of Russian rule in Poland on religious minorities, which could enjoy freedom in a country dominated by intolerant Catholics. This included Armenians and the Russian Orthodox, for whom the Tsar founded an attractive modern church⁴⁹.

On Sunday, May 26, 1867, Samuel Irenæus a well-known American publisher, writer and traveller, did not manage to find a ceremony conducted by a clergyman of the Church of England, in the Evangelical Chapel⁵⁰. As a result, he went to the Evangelical-Augsburg Church, which led to an extended description of this building and the religious ceremony⁵¹. Prime reported his experiences with visible pleasure, noting the size of the church in the shape of a rotunda, with a dome towering over an open square, the whole structure forming one of the more visible buildings in the city. In his vivid description of the square in front of the church, he mentions the rudest kind of vehicles, with seats of hay, and covered with mud, showing that some people had en-

44 R. Mączyński, *Zug (Cug, Zuck, Zugh, Zugk) Simon (Szymon) Gottlieb (Bogumił)*, in: *Słownik architektów i budowniczych środowiska warszawskiego XV-XVIII wieku*, ed. P. Migasiewicz, H. Osiecka-Samsonowicz, J. Sito, Warszawa 2016, p. 501.

45 Zug placed the altar, pulpit and organ in one vertical plane to decrease the costs. M.I. Kwiatkowska, *Kościół Ewangelicko-Augsburski*, Warszawa 1982, p. 39.

46 R. B. Smith, op. cit., pp. 137.

47 A. Bozzi-Granville, *St. Petersburg...*, s. 559-560. See L. Otto, *Przyczynek do historii Zboru Ewangelicko-Augsburskiego Warszawskiego, 1650-1781*, Warszawa 1881, s. 39, A. Łupienko, *Reformacja w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów*, w: *Ewangelicki kościół Świętej Trójcy w Warszawie. Na jubileusz 500 lat Reformacji & 240-lecie położenia kamienia węgielnego tegoż kościoła & 210-lecie śmierci Simona Gottlieba Zuga*, Warszawa 2017, p. 41.

48 R. Smith, op. cit., p. 137; A. Bozzi-Granville, op. cit., p. 559.

49 A. Bozzi-Granville, op. cit., p. 560. Bozzi-Granville had in mind the Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity on Podwale St., redesigned from a two-storey townhouse by Jakub Kubicki. See P. Paszkiewicz, *W służbie imperium rosyjskiego 1721-1917. Funkcje i treści ideowe rosyjskiej architektury sakralnej na zachodnich rubieżach cesarstwa i poza jego granicami*, Warszawa 1999, p. 67.

50 S.I. Prime, *Alhambra and the Kremlin. The South and the North of Europe*, New York [1870], p. 279. Samuel Irenæus Prime (1812-1885). Presbyterian clergyman, popular writer and publisher of the *New York Observer*, an influential religious weekly, that gained influence under his term. From 1853 he was the head of „Editor’s Drawer” in *Harper’s Magazine*, which also became highly popular, father-in-law of Charles Augustus Stoddard. Prime, Samuel Irenæus, in: *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. VIII Platt-Seward, New York 1963, p. 228.

51 *Ibid.*, pp. 279-281.

countered difficulties in getting to the house of God. And all of this in Warsaw, the heart of the former Kingdom of Poland.

According to the description, the interior consisted of three galleries, one above the next, joined by the winding staircase in the vestibule, i.e. one of two additions⁵². The galleries and porch were so filled with people that he found a spot only in the third gallery. This was most likely the terrace beneath the dome⁵³. The benches on the ground floor, were occupied by those of the upper echelons of society, judging from their attire and appearance. This section remained closed until the sermon, when the crowd standing in the foyer could take the unoccupied seats. The first gallery was populated by 'plainer people', the second by 'the hard-working and the poorer'. Prime estimated the amount of those in attendance at three thousand⁵⁴ praying in a 'strange tongue'⁵⁵.

The traveller noted that behind the pulpit there was a cross with a life-size depiction of the Saviour⁵⁶, and 4 candles burned in front of it. Prime, a reformed Protestant, wrote that "these candles and statue would lead us to suppose that the Lutheran was not entirely reformed and that some relics of Catholicism still lingered"⁵⁷.

It is important here to mention the priest representing the 'Church of England' mentioned by Prime. An Anglican mission operated in Warsaw from 1814, branch of the London Missionary Society, established with the goal of converting Jews⁵⁸. This institution enabled Anglican tourists to practice their religion⁵⁹ and use the Anglican chapel, located in one of the old palaces⁶⁰. Bishop Herbert Bury explained its specific role in *Russia To-day*: it had the exclusive right to grant baptism to Jews in the Russian Empire, despite its unclear legal status⁶¹. Everyone who wanted to receive a baptism had to go to the Anglican chapel in Warsaw and

52 See M. Kwiatkowski, *Szymon Bogumił Zug. Architekt polskiego Oświecenia*, Warszawa 1971, p. 162.

53 M.I. Kwiatkowska, *Kościół Ewangelicko-Augsburski...*, p. 47; A. Łupienko, *Reformacja w Rzeczypospolitej...*, s. 47.

54 The community had 11 thousand members. W. Nast, *Dzieje Parafii Warszawskiej w XIX i XX w.*, in: *Ewangelicy w dziejach Warszawy*. Materiały z sesji naukowej w Bibliotece Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie - 13 czerwca 2008, Warszawa 2008, p. 25.

55 From 1863 r Sunday services were to be held in Polish and in German. T. Stegner, *Luteranie na terenie Królestwa Polskiego, „Ziem zabranych” i Galicji w latach 1795-1918*, w: *Kościół luteński na ziemiach Polskich (XVI-XX w.) pod zaborami i obcym panowaniem*, ed. J. Kłaczek, Toruń 2012, p. 64; see also A. Łupienko, *Zbór ewangelicko-augsburski we Warszawie*, in: *Ewangelicki kościół Świętej Trójcy...*, s. 135-136.

56 Na temat krucy. M. I. Kwiatkowska, *Kościół Ewangelicko-Augsburski*, Warszawa 1982, pp. 41-42.

57 S. I. Prime, op. cit., p. 280.

58 T. Stegner, *Polacy-ewangelicy w Królestwie Polskim 1815-1914. Kształtowanie się środowisk, ich działalność społeczna i narodowa*, Gdańsk 1992, p. 177; A. Jagodzińska, „Duszozbawcy”? *Misje i literatura Londyńskiego Towarzystwa Krzewienia Chrześcijaństwa wśród Żydów w latach 1809-1939*, Kraków-Budapeszt 2017, s. 70-78.

59 In the report of Charlotte Pepys, from 1859, one encounters a Warsaw Anglican pastor with his family. He visited the Englishwoman three times, which was important to the maintaining of her religious life. C. M. Pepys, op.cit., pp. 120-121.

60 G. Bloomfield, op.cit., p. 338. This was the Chodkiewicz Palace on Miodowa St. See F. Kurowski, *Pamiętki miasta Warszawy*, vol. I, Warszawa 1949, p. 60.

61 H. Bury, *Russian Life To-day*, London 1915, p. 228. Herbert Bury (1854-1933) was the deputy Anglican bishop of London to Northern Europe in 1911-1926, visiting Warsaw between 1911 and 1915. Before this, he was the bishop of Honduras and wrote several books. *Bury, Herbert*, in: *Who's Who 1897-1996* (CD-ROM, Oxford University Press, 1996).

only there was the choice of denomination made, which often necessitated a second ceremony in the chosen rite⁶². The first service in the chapel was officiated by Bury, after his arrival and takeover of all the duties. It was the confirmation of a Jewish convert, and the priest vividly described it, comparing the mission of the Anglican society to the activity of first Christians⁶³.

The 1897 visit of William Maclagan, the archbishop of York in Warsaw sheds light on the Anglican presence in the city in the form of a report left behind by Athelstan Riley, his companion. Both clergymen were received by the governor general prince Alexandr Imeretynski, as well as the vice-governor, who personally made sure that the guests travelled to Berlin in a private first-class car. This was kept in secret from the church⁶⁴. Such regard illustrates the importance of the visit of the delegation in Russia, conceived as part of a rapprochement between the Church of England and the Orthodox Church⁶⁵. Athelstan Riley pointed out that the country was inhabited mostly by Roman Catholics and Jews, focusing, however, on the meetings with the Orthodox church and the Russian general-governor, who acted as hosts⁶⁶. This was the case even though both visitors represented Anglo-Catholicism, thus cherishing the catholic roots of Anglicanism. For Riley and his companion, William John Birkbeck, this was the 10th visit in the Russian Empire.

In this context, it seems relevant to consider Russian Orthodox Churches as visible signs of Russian domination in the city. In the material under discussion (i.e. around 120 publications) the Orthodox Cathedral Church on Długa St (the former Piarist church) is mentioned only once, as part of the cityscape seen from the riverside⁶⁷. Ninian Hill was amazed by the beauty of “Russian church” rising above the Royal Baths (Łazienki), especially its “gilt, pear-shaped dome”⁶⁸. He was referring to the beautiful church of Saint Michael Lithuanian the Archangel of the Regiment of the Guard in Ujazdów, erected in 1894 and modelled on the church of the Saviour on Spilled Blood in Saint Petersburg⁶⁹.

62 Ibidem, p. 229.

63 Ibidem, pp. 228-235.

64 A. Riley, *Birkbeck and the Russian Church, Essays and Articles Written 1888-1915, Being a Continuation of Russia and the English Church*, vol. I, London 1917, pp. 153-154. Athelstan Riley (1858-1945), an influential Anglican clergyman, author of popular hymns, traveller, head of the Anglican and Eastern Church Association, deputy head of the Alcuin Club and the Church Union. Riley, Athelstan, in: *Who's Who 1897-1996* (CD-ROM, Oxford University Press, 1996).

65 On the rapprochement between the two structures and the transformation of the Oxford Movement, which gave rise to Anglo-Catholicism, see on: J. E. B. Munson, *The Oxford Movement by the End of the Nineteenth Century: The Anglo-Catholic Clergy*, „Church History”, 1975, vol. 44, p. 383.

66 A. Riley, op.cit., p. 103.

67 A. Arnold, *Through Persia by Caravan*, vol. I, London 1877, pp. 1-2. (Robert) Arthur Arnold (1833-1902), a measurer and intermediary in the sale of estates. He was involved in the construction of the Thames embankments and, from 1863, the inspector of governmental public works. In 1867 r. he made a tour of southern Europe. In the years 1868-1875 he published „The Echo”, an influential magazine. Shortly after leaving his publishing job he went to Persia and visited Warsaw on the way. In later years, he combined journalism with political activity. From 1880 to 1886 he was an MP, and from 1895 the chairman of the Council of London. The same year, he was knighted, and two years later he received an honorary doctorate from the University of Cambridge. G.S. Woods, Arnold, Sir (Robert) Arthur (1833-1902), rev. J. Spain, in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006, <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.oxford.ac.uk/view/article/30454> [access: 17 IX 2010].

68 N. Hill, op.cit., p. 281.

69 P. Przewozowski, *Warszawa. Prawosławie i rosyjskie dziedzictwo*, Warszawa 2011, pp. 110-112.

In the final years of the period under discussion, the large Church of St. Alexander Nevsky on the Saxon square, completed in 1912, attracted universal attention. Hubback, who observed the construction process over the years, concluded that the structure in fact looked neglected⁷⁰. However, he conceded that it was one of the most important and magnificent elements of the cityscape and a 'pendant' to the Royal Castle⁷¹. Frances Delanoy Little, clearly interested in the building, described it in a subtle manner, focusing on its architecture as well as the mosaics and paintings, the stillness of which reminded her of the art of the Far East and the sculptures of Buddha. She was fascinated by the strangeness of the church and the sound of its bells, foreign to a Western ear⁷². Little also makes interesting remarks on the context of the construction of the church in Warsaw, and the resulting antipathy of the Poles: "I saw an enormous stone fountain [...], and beyond it [...] the massive and gorgeous form of the new Russian Cathedral. Heathen and triumphant and intensely proud - so that marvellous building appeared to me. It drew my fascinated eyes [...], but an unconquered little Polish lady turned away hers, refusing to see it, refusing to confess that it was there. [...] „*Ce sont les Russes,*" she said, as they had said it in G-----. "They pull down our Gothic churches and build their Byzantine ones, so that a stranger coming here should believe himself in Russia!"⁷³.

Ninian Hill also left behind an extremely extensive and vivid description of the cathedral⁷⁴. He was disappointed by the "immense pile of white brick surmounted with gilt pear-shaped domes" demonstrating the foreign appearance of the church. The white bricks, according to him, made a cold and tacky impression. Above the church rose a 238-foot tower, crowned with a gilt dome⁷⁵. The interior amazed Hill with its splendour: in particular, the big central dome resting on the pink granite pillars with lacquered pediments of black granite. The walls shone with gold, marble and a profusion of colours, creating an aura of grandeur, glory and light. Hill admitted that he found the building difficult to describe since the terms pertaining to church architecture he usually employed proved useless in this case. Nevertheless, he endeavoured to convey the layout and decoration of the interior to the reader⁷⁶.

70 J.H. Hubback, op. cit., pp. 43-44.

71 Ibid.

72 F. Delanoy Little, *Sketches in Poland*, London 1914, p. 202.

73 F. Delanoy Little, op.cit., pp. 201-202.

74 N. Hill, op.cit., pp. 291-295.

75 The bell tower was modelled on the tower of Ivan the Terrible in the Kremlin.

76 Idem. According to Hill the plan of the church included a "central square" and corridors surrounding it from three sides. He surely meant the corridors that formed a vestibule from the western side, and those leading to passages and chapels towards the east. Entrance into the church proper was supposed to lead through opening in the middle of these corridors, flanked by arches. In the east, a deep apse or "Bema", as the author called it, was located, rising three steps above the ground, enclosed by a golden iconostas and adorned with painted representations of various saints. Hill accurately pointed out the oil paintings of saints forming the central part of the church and the corridors. See P. Przewiczowski, op.cit., pp. 127-139; P. Paszkiewicz, *Pod berłem...*, pp. 120-136.

Judging from the reaction of the authors of the report, the Russian authorities managed to construct a building in the centre of the city that attracted the attention of travellers. The Church of Saint Alexander Nevsky, according to official intentions, was the most visible and recognizable element of Russian presence in Warsaw⁷⁷. Błażej Brzostek points out that, in sources from the time, (for instance the report of Delanoy Little), the Orthodox cathedral “appeared to those arriving from the East, signalling Warsaw’s Imperial identity”. Its “Arabian domes” were a mark of exoticism⁷⁸ and the neo-byzantine style, imposed on the city through the architecture of orthodox churches, illustrated “Western influences”⁷⁹. Newcomers readily interpreted the location, purpose and meaning⁸⁰ of the church in the context of the symbolic rivalry between the Russians and the Poles. The Poles viewed the church as a foreign and imposed presence, aimed at a visual russification of the city⁸¹. It was claimed that “repression is carried out by all possible means, not only economic and political, but also psychological. A huge, splendid and incongruous Russian cathedral has been planted in the great square of Warsaw, the chief meeting-place of the Polish nation. As I write, its magnificent bells, eclipsing all the din of a great modern city, are reminding every Pole of his subjection an alien and hardly progressive state⁸². Even the office of an ortho-

77 More on this topic: *Rusyfikacja oblicza Warszawy w okresie zaborów*, in: *Encyklopedia Warszawy*, ed. B. Petrozolin-Skowrońska, Warszawa 1994, pp. 742-744. P. Paszkiewicz, *Pod berłem Romanowów. Sztuka rosyjska w Warszawie 1815-1915*, Warszawa 1991, pp. 114-137; idem, *W służbie Imperium Rosyjskiego 1721 - 1917. Funkcje i treści ideowe rosyjskiej architektury sakralnej na zachodnich rubieżach cesarstwa i poza jego granicami*, Warszawa 1999, pp. 132-133; J. M. Sosnowska, *Warszawa postkolonialna, czyli niemożność awangardy*, in: *Kultura artystyczna Warszawy XVII-XXI w.*, ed. Z. Michalczyk, A. Pienkos, M. Wardzyński, Warszawa 2010, pp. 326-327, il. 4-8; B. Brzostek, op.cit., p. 116; M. Rolf, *Rządy imperialne w Kraju Nadwiślańskim. Królestwo Polskie i cesarstwo rosyjskie (1864-1915)*, Warszawa 2016, p. 174 (further reading).

78 B. Brzostek, op.cit., p. 150.

79 Ibid.

80 An American war correspondent understood its symbolic meaning perfectly. He described the moment of leaving the city with Russian troops on 5 August 1917: „When twilight came, we turned to the east and saw that the top of the hill hid the dome of the Greek church in Warsaw. A few hours later the bridges were destroyed and Warsaw was no longer Russian”. S. Washburn, *Victory in defeat. The agony of Warsaw and the Russian retreat*, New York, 1916, p. 113.

Stanley Washburn (1878-1950), representative of an influential family of American industrialists and politicians, he was a famous war correspondent working for the “Chicago Daily News”, „Collier’s Weekly” and „The Times”. He wrote five books based on his own war experiences and two recounting his trips to Western Canada. S. Hess, *Americas Political Dynasties. From Adams to Clinton*, Washington 2016, p. 150.

81 F. Delanoy Little, op.cit., p. 202.

82 N. Buxton, R. Buxton, *Travel and Politics in Armenia*, London 1914, p. 157. Noel Edward Noel-Buxton, 1, baron Noel-Buxton (1869-1948), politician, author of a few travel books, graduate of the Harrow School and Trinity College Cambridge, in the years 1910-1918 and 1922-1930 member of the House of Commons, minister of agriculture and fishing in 1924 and 1929-1930. NOEL-BUXTON, 1st Baron, created 1930, of Aylsham; Noel Edward Noel-Buxton, in: *Who’s Who 1897-1996* [CD-ROM, Oxford University Press, 1996]. Harold Buxton (1880-1976), Anglican clergyman, brother of Noel Edward, whom he accompanied on a trip to Armenia, which led him to visit Warsaw in 1914. He also graduated from the Harrow School and Trinity College, in the years 1914-1918 he was a vicar in Horley, Oxfordshire, finally becoming the bishop of Gibraltar (1933-1947). See Buxton, Rt Rev. Harold Jocelyn, in: *Who’s Who 1897-1996* [CD-ROM, Oxford University Press, 1996].

dox priest in “Catholic Poland” developed a “militant nationalist character”⁸³. Visitors from the Anglo-Saxon world, while understanding the symbolic context of the location of the imposing structure in the urban space, remained helpless in relation to the cultural code of the Orthodox churches, as indicated by the references to Islamic and Buddhist art in the quoted sources. It is emblematic that the Anglican bishop of Northern Europe observed that “Russian cities, [...] even the capital” were becoming increasingly cosmopolitan, although preserving an interesting appearance. According to him, “it gives one almost a shock to go to Warsaw or Petrograd for the first time [...] in the middle of the summer, since there is little to distinguish them from Budapest or Vienna, apart from the ever-glorious beauty of the churches”⁸⁴. We can infer that Orthodox churches are meant here.

On the contrary, in sources produced by visitors from the East, who stayed in Russia or Asian countries, and authors sympathetic to Poland, Warsaw was perceived as the centre of “Latin” resistance to Russia⁸⁵. Catholic churches, along with their style, operated within a frame of reference that was recognizable to protestant visitors, but seem to have been viewed as uninteresting or inferior, simply by being catholic or because they paled in comparison with structures from other parts of Western Europe. However, in certain cases these very churches stood as representative of western civilization, especially at the turn of the twentieth century. Augustus Hare, speaks, for instance of the impression made by the gothic Cathedral of St. John on visitors coming from Russia⁸⁶.

Authors of the sources under discussion demonstrate an awareness of the interaction of politics and religion in Poland, the identification of Russians with the Orthodox faith and Poles with Catholicism, as well as the role the latter played in the struggle to preserve national identity⁸⁷. This was especially true since, as Malte Rolf points out, “national and religious concepts of community largely overlapped”⁸⁸. Churches were, in the historical sources, often a chance to discuss Polish or Catholic culture or Russo-Polish relations. Texts written in the 1860s clearly stand out since Warsaw attracted many observ-

83 H.W. Williams, *Russia of the Russians*, New York 1915, p. 151. Harold Williams (1876-1928), a New Zealand journalist and linguist, who mastered 58 languages, worked for *The Times*, foreign editor and head of the newspapers International Department from 1821 until 1828, Methodist clergyman. In 1905, he went to Russia and remained there until 1918. After the war, he became an influential political opinion-figure, supported the idea of League of Nations, supposedly being the only person who could communicate with each delegate in their own language.

0. A. Gillespie, *Williams, Harold*, in: *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand 1966*, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/1966/williams-harold> [access: 24 IV 2017].

84 H. Bury, *op.cit.*, London 1915, p. 31.

85 B. Brzostek, *op.cit.* p. 98.

86 A. Hare, *op.cit.*, p. 487.

87 W. G. Clark, *op.cit.*, p. 228; L. E. Van Norman, *Poland, The Knight Among Nations*, New York 1908, pp. 192-193. Louis Edwin Van Norman (1869-1956), an American journalist and press publisher, specializing in Slavic studies, travelled extensively to the Balkans and Central Europe. He may have visited Warsaw in 1907. W. Morris, N. Kelvin, *The Collected Letters of William Morris*, vol. IV: 1893-1896, Princeton 1996, p. 351.

88 M. Rolf, *op.cit.*, p. 162.

ers, diplomats and correspondents (a type of journalism that emerged at the time of the Crimean war (1853-1856). A large portion of the material under discussion comprises press reports, editorials and political articles. Warsaw's churches and clergy played an important role in those events, accounting for perhaps the most spectacular intervention of religion into politics in the entire period of partitions. As a result, reports from these years could not omit this phenomenon.

On 14 October 1861, with the situation in the country becoming more intense, and given that the following day was the anniversary of the death of Thaddeus Kosciuszko, the authorities declared a state of emergency in the Kingdom of Poland. A ban on demonstrations followed. The events were described by George Mitchell, author of letters to John Russell. On 15 and 16 October 1861, after services commemorating Kosciuszko, Cossacks attacked those leaving the church (Mitchell himself was beaten), and soldiers surrounded the Cathedral of St. John as well as the Churches of Saint Ann and the Holy Cross⁸⁹. Mitchell wrote of the incursion of Cossacks into the Bernardine Church on Krakowskie Przedmieście, where one of the captains allegedly whipped women and children. He also reported to the Prime Minister on the trapping of people in churches for an entire day without food or water⁹⁰, or, in another letter, wrote about the closure of the churches in fear of further violence, after the Russian Viceroy warned of the possibility of such events happening again⁹¹. Mitchell also informed of the order of Governor Count Lambert to shoot at people praying in front of churches⁹².

Henry Sutherland Edwards, a correspondent of *The Times*, explained these events clearly while discussing the origins of the uprising, the declaration of the state of emergency, the services in principal churches in honour of Kosciuszko on 15 October, the government ban and the surrounding of the churches by the army at 10 AM. 18 hours later, after a strict siege, the soldiers entered the churches at four in the morning, captured a few thousand people and took them to the citadel. The author quotes the letter of the vicar general of the archdiocese, Antoni Białobrzęski, to the emperor, in which he protested against the profanation of Warsaw's churches. In order to express indignation and avoid another such event, the consistory decided to close all

89 The course of events has been described by Barbara Petrozolin-Skowrońska, *Przed tą nocą*, Warszawa 1997, pp. 269-278.

90 G. Mitchell, *Letters Addressed to Earl Russell: Respecting the Late Events at Warsaw, and in Poland*, London 1862, pp. 9-11. We know little about George Mitchell. Wojciech Jasiakiewicz studied his activity and was able to determine that Tomasz Zamoyski mentioned Mitchell as the brother of a member of the British parliament. His name also appears in the reports of Hotel Lambert office and the correspondence of Russian governors in the Kingdom of Poland in 1861. Jasiakiewicz also remembers that Mitchell was listed by Zamoyski in a letter to his wife from 17 February 1862, along with Florence Nightingale and Lord Kinnaird, in the context of a meeting concerning the Polish cause in the London city hall on 17 March 1863. He was supposed to have transferred 50 pounds to Polish insurgents. See W. Jasiakiewicz, *George Mitchell and His Reports from Warsaw 1861*, in: *Perspectives on Literatures and Culture*, ed. by L.S. Kolek, A. Kędzierska, A. Kędra-Kardela, Lublin 2004, pp. 81-82; idem, "Woefullest of Nations" or "European America"? *British Travel Accounts of Poland 1863*, Bydgoszcz 2010, pp. 38-39.

91 *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

92 *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

Catholic churches in the city. The government responded in a manner, that, according to Edwards, was typical: sentencing Bialobrzeski to death and then changing the sentence to exile in Siberia. The Grand Prince Constantine summoned him back, but the following general governor, count Fyodor Berg, arrested and imprisoned him. Edwards concludes: "by what law he was sentenced to death, by what law exiled and re-imprisoned after his return from exile, it would be difficult to say"⁹³.

Earlier in his report, Edwards discusses the origins of the uprising, explaining that tensions were on the rise since 1860, with the first symptom being a demonstration held at the funeral of general Sowinski's wife. In a footnote to this event one finds a short description of the general's life and his death in the church in Wola, where he defended Warsaw from Russian troops in 1831. He describes how the feeble garrison gathered in the church: Sowinski made the soldiers swear that they will not surrender. After heavy artillery fire and the enemy's advance, the general fell beneath the altar with multiple wounds. The church apparently was maintained as nearly as possible in the state it had been the day after Sowinski and his immortal garrison were put to the sword. When the journalist visited the church in 1861, he found 60 cannonballs in its walls. In this way, the readers of the *Times*, and, consequently, Edward's book, came to know one of Poland's most evocative national legends⁹⁴.

Sutherland Edwards suspected that during the January uprising, the presence of people in churches was caused by the security found therein. However, Russian troops managed to storm two churches and beat people located inside. Two thousand people were arrested and imprisoned in the citadel and the city prison⁹⁵. Edward Dicey described a ceremony that he witnessed during the uprising in the Cathedral of St. John, when two seventeen-year-old boys caught with firearms publicly declared their loyalty to the emperor, which saved them from the death penalty⁹⁶.

Ninian Hill also wrote at the beginning of the 20th century about the assassination attempt of Fyodor Berg in 1863, claiming that one of its consequences was the search of the Church of the Holy Cross, with alleged inspections of coffins⁹⁷. This certainly reflected the persecutions of the church and its clergy during the uprising⁹⁸, as well as searches conducted in cemeteries and churches at this time⁹⁹. In a letter to Lord Palmerston, William Lloyd

93 H.S. Edwards, *The Private History or a Polish Insurrection from Official and Unofficial Sources*, vol. I, London 1865, pp. 95-97.

94 Ibid., pp. 39-40. Tomasz Strzeżek recently described the fighting in Wola. See T. Strzeżek, *Bitwa o Warszawę 6-7 września 1831 roku*, Oświęcim 2015, pp. 421-442.

95 E. Dicey, *A week in Russian Poland*, in: Macmillan's Magazine, t. IX (1864), p. 95. British reports are generally in accordance with the course of events. See H. Dylągowa, *Duchowieństwo katolickie wobec sprawy narodowej (1764-1864)*, Lublin 1983, pp. 121-133.

96 W. G. Clark, *Poland*, s. 280.

97 N. Hill, op.cit., pp. 129-130.

98 I. Rusinowa, *Kościół św. Krzyża w XIX wieku*, w: *Księga pamiątkowa. Kościół świętego Krzyża w Warszawie w trzyczsetną rocznicę konsekracji 1696-1996*, ed. T. Chachulski, Warszawa 1996, p. 91.

99 F. Ramotowska, *Tajemne państwo polskie w powstaniu styczniowym 1863-1864*, Warszawa 1999, p. 450.

Birkbeck described the church as an important element of the Zamoyski palace complex, in a text on the assassination attempt and its consequences¹⁰⁰.

The quoted reports illustrate a phenomenon also discussed by Iwona Sakowicz-Tebinka in relation to British press from the era: “when compared to Russia, Poland [...] usually emerged in a favourable light. Tsarist Russia was viewed as a mighty, but backward system, irrespective of the political leanings of newspapers. Sympathy with the Polish cause was correlated with criticism of Russia’s level of development. The barbaric nature of the state of the tsars was taken for granted in discussions of the Polish question”¹⁰¹.

Interestingly, Augustin O’Brien, an English journalist remaining in close contact with Russian authorities, described the housing of troops in the city’s convents as an eyewitness. He claimed that this was related to the approach of winter and “the monasteries, especially in Warsaw, are very numerous and of enormous dimensions”¹⁰². The soldiers spread in the cells on the ground floor and side wings, leaving the upper ones to the monks, who were not disturbed in their daily life. According to O’Brien, never did the army or the police enter churches or convents, treated by the authorities as holy places, which enabled their use by the insurgents. The author also argued with the press of Western Europe that described the plunder and crimes that were committed by the soldiers. No such things should have taken place¹⁰³. Apparently, three clergymen, who protested against false accusations were murdered in secret. This led O’Brien to suggest that the Catholic clergy tolerated murder among insurgents¹⁰⁴ and supported the rebels since it turned out that monasteries served as centres for agents of the National Government, arsenals, sites of production and distribution of proclamations and documents. O’Brien dedicated two chapters to these reflections¹⁰⁵.

100 W.L. Birkbeck, op.cit., pp. 12-13. William Lloyd Birkbeck (1806-1888), barrister and influential law lecturer, graduate of the prestigious Charterhouse School and Trinity College Cambridge, where he subsequently held many posts, dean of Downing College from 1881, member of many important organisations, among others, head of Association of Friends of Poland. *Lithographed signatures of the members of the British Association of the Advancement of Science, who met at Cambridge, June MDCCCXXXIII with a Report of the Proceedings at the Public Meetings during the Week; and an Alphabetical List of the Members*, Cambridge 1833, p. 112; *Rules and Regulations for the Government of the Athenaeum*, London 1840, p. 30; J.B. Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain & Ireland for 1852; Comprising Particulars of Upwards of 100.000 Individuals*, vol. I A-O, London 1852, p. 753; C. Perrin Smith, *Lineage of the Lloyd and carpenters*, Camden 1870, p. 45; A. Jianu, *A Circle of Friends. Romanian Revolutionaries and Political Exile, 1840-1859*, Leiden, Boston 2011, p. 131; *Alumni Cantabrigienses. A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge. From Earliest Times to 1900*, vol. 2, *From 1752 to 1900*, part 1, Abbey-Chalis, ed. J. Venn, J.A. Venn, Cambridge 2011, p. 271.

101 I. Sakowicz-Tebinka, *Imperium barbarzyńców. Rosja Aleksandra II w brytyjskich opiniach prasowych*, Gdańsk 2010, p. 235.

102 [A. O’Brien], *Petersburg and Warsaw. Scenes Witnessed During a Residence in Poland and Russia in 1863-1864 by Augustin O’Brien*, London 1864, p. 176.

103 Ibidem, pp. 178-179.

104 Ibidem, p. 149. Not much is known about Augustin O’Brien other than his authorship of this book. “It appears that he represented the interests of British commercial associations that opposed war [which would break out if France and Great Britain supported Poland in the January uprising-P.D.] in any case, he was willing to describe the uprising in a manner favourable to the Russians” wrote Stefan Kieniewicz in *Two consulates in Warsaw on the January Uprising*, “The Historical Review”, 1963, v. 54, part 2, p. 197

105 Ibid., pp. 176-184. See W. Jasiakiewicz, “Woefully of Nations” or „European America”? *British Travel Accounts of Poland 1863*, Bydgoszcz 2010, pp. 192-195.

William Forsyth, an influential lawyer and writer, advisor to the foreign secretary to India, requested a visit in the cathedral while attending a reception hosted by governor count Berg in August 1864 and walked through the sequence of galleries and vast empty rooms to the royal box in the presbytery. There he witnessed a service, which, along with the company of count Berg, induced in him a sad reflection on the recent events occurring in the city. Three weeks earlier, as three insurgents were hung in the Warsaw citadel, the governor's wife, a Roman Catholic like the Poles, had in the meantime gone away to St. Petersburg¹⁰⁶. One can infer that the author perceived the countess as someone escaping responsibility for her co-believers.

Several years later the same cathedral served as inspiration for Arthur Arnold to reflect on Polish Catholicism and the use of religious practice as a demonstration of national identity¹⁰⁷. The identification of 'Russian' with 'orthodox' and 'Polish' with 'Catholic' was still pervasive. Hubback, observed, in the context of the construction of the church of St. Alexander Nevsky: "The Catholic Church has no rival in Poland; whatever the Russian system may accomplish otherwise, it can do nothing to alter the numerical preponderance of Catholics over the Orthodox"¹⁰⁸.

The attitude towards Warsaw's churches and the denominations represented was a result of many factors. For some authors, 19th century British anti-Catholicism, enforced by heightened religious fervour, exerted a strong influence¹⁰⁹. It impacted the evaluation of the aesthetic and artistic qualities of Catholic churches, especially since there were no Catholics among the authors of the quoted sources. The second volume of Augustus Bozzi-Granville's book was published in 1829, the same year that the British Parliament proclaimed the Catholic Relief Act, which emancipated Catholics, simultaneously creating antipathy towards them¹¹⁰ (the author himself converted to Anglicanism). It appears that the political situation (along with sympathy towards the Russians or the Poles) and the political engagement of the authors influenced the attitude towards the different religious groups represented in Warsaw. During the January uprising and in the years preceding it, these views were positive and cut across political and ideological divisions¹¹¹. On the other hand, one notices the attempts to bring the Anglican and Orthodox churches closer. Most authors mentioning churches in their texts were Protestant clergymen. In this context, Protestant services are represented as the gatherings of first Christians defending true faith among a multitude of Catholics and Orthodox. Authors from the period of the January Uprising, usually correspondents of the London press, form a separate category.

106 W. Forsyth, *The Great Fair of Nijni Novogorod, and How We Got There*, London 1865, pp. 31-32.

107 A. Arnold, *op.cit.*, pp. 1-2.

108 J.H. Hubback, *op.cit.*, p. 44.

109 J. Black, D. M. Macrailld, *Nineteenth-century Britain*, Basingstoke 2003, pp. 283-292; D. Spring, *Aristocracy, Social Structure, and Religion in the Early Victorian Period*, „Victorian Studies”, vol. 6, no 3, „Symposium on Victorian Affairs” (1), March 1963, pp. 263-280.

110 *Ibid.*, p. 283.

111 H. Hearder, *Poland Through the Eyes of Western Europe in the Nineteenth Century*, in: *Estratto da Studi Offerti A Jan Władysław Woś*, ed. G. Bianchi, Firenze 1989, p. 118.

What all the different authors have in common is their association with the social and intellectual elites of their age. The differences arise in the detail and skill with which the texts were written. In most cases, the authors were not interested in an in-depth analysis of the architecture and interior of the churches, which did not form the focus of their work. As was mentioned before, this was also related to the types of publications; often these were the superficial impressions of an educated tourist, sometimes supported with reference to a guidebook, with few exceptions. Nevertheless, the symbolic role of churches was noticed and properly interpreted.

The description of churches in Warsaw is another matter, especially since the city was not considered a site of great artistic achievements. Its appeal consisted of the political events of the 19th and 20th century. Warsaw became famous after the events of the January uprising and the unrest of October 1861. Another attractive element were notable inhabitants of Warsaw such as Tadeusz Kosciuszko and John III Sobieski. The latter contributed to the Capuchin Church and whose presence is felt in the Cathedral of St. John in the form of the Turkish banner¹¹². Jane Potter's *Thaddeus of Warsaw*, inspired by the Kosciuszko uprising, with Sobieski's fictional grandson as the protagonist, played a significant role in making Warsaw popular¹¹³. Generally, Warsaw was not familiar to Western scholars, due to a lack of literature on the city and its historical sites. For a long time, the primary source of information was the report of William Cox, an 18th century traveller¹¹⁴, which had a great impact on the perception of Polish territories in the British Isles, especially on the question of social, political and institutional relations¹¹⁵. Given the limited availability of textual material on Poland, travellers read and commented on each other's work. In the beginning of the period under discussion, William Cox's text was the most often quoted. George Burnett mentions it¹¹⁶, and later on so do Augustus Hare (1885) and Henry Sutherland Edwards (1860s) in relation to the era of partitions (the latter also referred to Nathaniel Wraxall)¹¹⁷. Travellers from the time before the November Uprising do not refer to other authors but the context suggests that Robert Johnston, Rayford Ramble and Augustus Bozzi-Granville had significant knowledge about Poland and Warsaw. It is unclear, though, whether they had it prior to arriv-

112 A. Bozzi-Granville, op.cit., vol. II, p. 559.

113 I discuss this in detail in another article. See footnote 96. See also Z. Gołębiewska, *Jane Potter - angielska admiratorka Tadeusza Kościuszki*, „Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska Lublin - Polonia”, Section F, Vol. LVI, 2001; M. Laskowski, *Jane Porter's Thaddeus of Warsaw as Evidence of Polish-British relationships*, a doctoral dissertation written at the Institute of English Philology of the Adam Mickiewicz University under the direction of W. Lipoński, Poznań 2012.

114 W. Coxe, *Travels in Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark illustrated with charts and engravings*, 5th edition, London 1802.

115 L. Wolff, *The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*, Stanford 1996, p. 26. W. Jasiakiewicz, op.cit., p. 37.

116 G. Burnett, op.cit., p. 105-106.

117 H. S. Edwards, *The Polish Captivity: An Account of the Present Position of the Poles in the Kingdom of Poland, and in the Polish Provinces of Austria, Prussia, and Russia*, vol. I, London 1863, pp. 140-141, 148, 150-152, 260-261, 289-290.

ing. The work of Bozzi-Granville, in particular, must have been popular, as it influenced subsequent reports; the author of the guidebook from 1839 most likely drew from it¹¹⁸ (this can be inferred from the text layout and similar syntax). Other authors referring to Granville include Rayford Ramble, who criticized the former in his 1836 book¹¹⁹ and Augustus Hare in his *Studies in Russia*, published in 1885¹²⁰.

The guidebooks of John Murray influenced the awareness of authors writing about Warsaw, as mentioned above. Thanks to them, authors referred in their texts to such elements of the Cathedral of St. John as the portraits of cardinal Stanislaw Hozjusz and primate Michal Poniatowski, the choir stalls, the tomb of the Wolski brothers (misidentified as the last Masovian princes), and the Stanislaw Malachowski monument¹²¹. Interestingly, the guidebook does not list the Church of St. Joseph, currently considered one of the most remarkable in the city or the Church of Mary, which is the oldest¹²².

At the same time, however, Catholic churches often attracted less attention than Orthodox ones. The former represented an aesthetic canon familiar to the visitors, while the latter (the Church of St. Alexander Nevsky or St. Michael Archangel) were fascinating because of their oriental and exotic aspect. However, the texts demonstrate an understanding of the attempts to colonize Warsaw, a city which oscillated between East and West, the Orthodox religion and Catholicism, the center and periphery, the civilized and the primitive.

Places of worship in Warsaw in the age of partitions in English language sources. Role, context, meaning. Towards an analysis – summary

This essay is devoted to the role of churches and chapels of Warsaw and its vicinity at the time of Partitions, as described by visitors from the British Isles and North America. It also deals with the contexts in which they functioned and the significance they assumed. Various kinds of accounts form the basis of this essay: from classic travellers' reports, autobiographies, reportages, memoirs to works devoted to detailed analysis or specific issues.

In the majority of cases, the analysis of architecture and interior design was beyond the authors' scope of interest, and the churches did not play a central role in the studies that were often superficial impressions of an educated traveller – with a few notable exceptions. Nonetheless, a symbolic role of tem-

118 This explains the description of buildings that no longer existed at the time of the publication of the guide (Marywil and the Opera House, which stood there before).

119 R. Ramble, *op.cit.*, pp. 20, 68, 100, 164-165, 168.

120 A. Hare, *op.cit.*, pp. 40.

121 [T. Michel], *A Handbook for Travellers in Russia, Poland, and Finland...*, 1865, p. 237.

122 *Ibid.*, pp. 237, 240.

ples of various denominations was noted and properly decoded in the context of social climate as well as political and historical events.

Key words: Warsaw, churches, travelers, 19th century, partitions