

Глубокоуважаемому Антону Ручинскому

Колту Иноуэ

03/10/85

On the other hand, Piłsudski himself mentioned elsewhere that the committee gave him "a sum of about 2250".

In 1903, Piłsudski, while stationed at Ai, concentrated on the survey of INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM on B. PIŁSUDSKI'S PHONOGRAPHIC RECORDS and the AINU CULTURE, 16-20 Sept., Sapporo, 1985. He formed a fox festival together with the landlord, his uncle-in-law. During three summer months, however, he joined the Sieroszewski's Hokkaido expedition to study the Ainu there, sponsored by the Imperial Geographical Society in Petersburg. Generously enough, the Russian Committee gave him official approval to take part in it.

In 1904, although the Russo-Japanese war broke out in February, Piłsudski decided to bring about the planned trip to North Sakhalin to survey the Tarsika Ainu, and then the Oroks and the Gilyaks on the Poronai and the Tyn rivers. This trip was also fruitful, though it entailed complications. At the end of the year he returned to Ai.

K. INOUE Piłsudski at last made up his mind to abandon Sakhalin.

A Brief Sketch of Br. Piłsudski's Life (Until His Exodus from Sakhalin). son the last farewell.

On the 11th of June, he left the port Aleksandrovski once more by ship. Thus, he was to leave Sakhalin forever.

On the next day he landed at Nikolajevsk. Thereafter, his foot steps become rather vague. We only know that he stayed at Mariinsk, Troitskoje, Khabarovsk, and Vladivostok, and that at the end of 1905 or at the beginning of 1906 he made a sudden appearance in Japan. Still we don't know, exactly when and how it took place.

At Zułów the children enjoyed a happy family life thanks to the good care of their parents, especially of the mother Maria, who even dared to read to the children the banned Polish literature, especially the poems of Krasiński that she loved the most, hoping to inspire them with patriotism. At home a Swiss governess was hired and taught them French and German. This peaceful, rather well-to-do life at Zułów was suddenly brought to an end when a disastrous fire broke out in July, 1874. The fire destroyed not only the manor house together with annexed buildings and factories, but also a large part of the forest in the estate. This obliged the whole family to move to the capital city, Vilnius. Bronisław was 7 years old at that time.

In the beautiful town Vilnius, the Piłsudskis settled in a middle-class apartment house. There they lost all the comforts that they had enjoyed at Zułów: the large two-storied manor house, park, pond, and forest. However they found quite a new social environment there: neighbours, playmates, historical monuments and nakedly brutal Russian rule.

In September, 1877, ten-year-old Bronisław enrolled in the Russian gymnasium together with his younger brother Józef. At school the young Piłsudskis learned religion, Russian language & literature, logic, Latin, Greek, physics, mathematics, history & geography, German, and French. Education was run by the Russians in the Russian language; gymnasists could speak Polish only at the cost of punishment. Moreover, on holidays they were forced to attend the Russian Orthodox Church and pray for the sake of the Russian Czar in the Russian language. Please take notice, that most Poles are Roman Catholic.

In 1882, Bronisław and Józef, being fifth-class gymnasists, organized a self-education circle, called the "Spółnia" (Union). Those young Poles, who were satisfied neither with public education nor with the political situation, joined it. Its members assembled secretly and read Darwin, Spencer, and the banned Polish literature. Thus, the "Spółnia" became steadily more active and increasingly inclined toward the socialism coming from the east, from Russia. The Piłsudski brothers remained its leading members. In this connection Wacław Sieroszewski wrote that Bronisław was a better organizer than Józef. It may be worthwhile citing here an episode which Bronisław himself told to his friend Sieroszewski. In a meeting of the "Spółnia" there arose among the participants hot disputes around a question: "Who are we, Poles or Lithuanians?" Finally they came to a resolution which ran, "We are Lithuanian Poles, and our task is to preserve on this land "polskość" (Polishness or Polish culture), without damaging or oppressing other weaker nationalities, for whom we must be protectors."

Obviously, the majority of the "Spójnia" members shared a double identity; they were Poles as well as Lithuanians. This was just the case with Bronisław, who again together with Józef ran the risk of Siberian exile by organizing underground Polish lectures for the Vilnius artisans who could neither read nor write in Polish. Bronisław himself zealously began to study the Lithuanian language.

The "Spójnia" was in fact his "university".

During the years of 1883-1884, Bronisław endured two bitter experiences. In June of 1883, he failed to pass examinations. He was obliged to remain one more year at the sixth class, whereas Józef could advance to the seventh. What was worse, his beloved mother Maria fell seriously ill. Despite various treatments and an operation performed in November, 1883, she never recovered and ended her 42-years' life on the 1st of September, 1884. Bronisław lost not only Mother, but also his best counselor and friend.

In September, 1885, when Bronisław finished the seventh class, to which he had managed to advance in the previous year, he left for St. Petersburg for study. It means that he left the Vilnius gymnasium unfinished.

2) *In St. Petersburg (from 1885 to 1887).*

To our great regret, we have very little information about his Petersburg period. Even his whereabouts is not always known to us.

Bronisław Piłsudski came to Petersburg in September, 1885, paying a visit to his relative's house. He was 18 years old.

His intension was, as far as I know, to try a final examination of gymnasium and to matriculate at the Imperial St. Petersburg University. He succeeded in doing both, but I don't know, *how*. I know that in September, 1886, he was enrolled in the faculty of law of his desired university.

It means that at least up to then he had worked rather hard.

The next confirmable information is that he was arrested on the 14th of March, 1887, at his Petersburg home.

Why? I will tell its story in short:

On the 13th of March, 1887, about 10 o'clock a.m., policemen interrogated three young men near the Anichkov bridge on the main street of Petersburg, the Nevski prospect. The police found explosives on them, which were concealed as thick books. They were arrested on the spot together with three more youths, who had tried to run away. After investigation it came out that the former group were bombers, whereas the latter were signalists,

and that the both groups were co-operatively roaming on the Nevski prospect, waiting for the arrival of Czar Aleksander III to assault him.

It was a special day for Alexander III, since his father Alexander II had been assassinated by the terrorists on this very day of 1881.

Therefore, Alexander III was to come along the Nevski prospect on his way back from the Petro-Pavlovski Cathedral, where the sixth anniversary service of his father's death was being held.

Six arrestees, all students of the Imperial St. Petersburg University, declared that they were members of the "Terrorist Fraction of the Party Narodnaja Volja". They all refused to tell any further, except for one, Mikhail Nikitych Kancher.

Kancher brought to light all the names of the people concerned and even accompanied police in search for the suspects. Consequently, Br. Piłsudski was also arrested owing to Kancher's information.

This unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Alexander III is usually called "the Second Case of the 1st of March" in connection with the successful assassination in 1881 (this is because the 13th of March corresponds to the 1st of March by Russian or Julian Calendar).

I will not dwell on this "Second Case", but I think it necessary here to touch upon at least some details which concern our Bronisław.

I. Why he was arrested?

So far as the charge against him is concerned, it was because he had offered his home for printing the "Programme of the Terrorist Fraction of the Party Narodnaja Volja", which Alexander Ul'janov (Lenin's elder brother) completed on the 11th of March, and also because he gave assistance to those who prepared the attempt.

The following is an example of his assistance.

In February of 1887, Bronisław, while visiting Vilnius for the New Year, was asked to obtain strychnine and atropine and to bring them to Petersburg. It is said that Bronisław, knowing nothing about the conspiracy, accepted and fulfilled the request. Then, on the 12th of February came from Petersburg Kancher to receive the chemical poisons. Bronisław offered him a night's stay and lent him 40 rubles. On the following day Bronisław left for Petersburg, and thereafter Józef, who happened to be also at Vilnius, took care of Kancher and guided him around the city. Kancher, too, returned to Petersburg with two boxes of the chemicals, which were really put into the explosives later. Because of his service Józef was also arrested on the 22nd of March, and taken to Petersburg for trial as a witness.

II. What was Bronisław's real function in the conspiracy? "God knows!!" It's true that through activities of the "Spółnia" Bronisław educated himself toward the socialism. Accordingly we may assume that he could have found common words with members of the Party "Narodna-ja Volja" and of its Polish fraternal Party "Proletariat". In addition to this, I presume that, since Bronisław came to Petersburg, he kept a very close relation with Józef Łukaszewicz, his senior alumnus of the Vilnius gymnasium. As is well known, Łukaszewicz was the chief conspirator, or at least one of the main conspirators, even though he succeeded in escaping death penalty. Bronisław's youth does not exclude him from the full membership in the conspiracy, since the majority of those involved in it were of his age.

On the other hand, there are many indications and opinions to the contrary, namely, he was only by chance entangled in the conspiracy. Most Polish authors are inclined to hold this position. So far as I am concerned, it appears to me that the truth lies in between. But, for the time being, let us listen to and believe what Bronisław stated at the court. In his statement Bronisław didn't hide his own revolutionary views but clearly declared "non!" to terror and said; "In the whole affair I played a minor rôle, and the help I rendered to others I explain by my own weak character and lack of will power to decline, when I was asked to".

A special court was staged in the Senate in order to try the 15 accused during 27th of April and 1st of May, 1887. Death sentence was pronounced upon 5 persons, including Alexander Ul'janov, who were hanged on the 20th of May at the Schlisselburg fortress; whereas on Łukaszewicz and Novoruskij was passed life sentence. By the way, Novoruskij had scarcely anything to do with the conspiracy, but only offered his villa for bomb-making.

The remaining 8 accused got either imprisonment or "katorga" (penal servitude or compulsory labour) for the term from 2 to 20 years. It was 15 years for Bronisław (the second longest), and 10 years for the signalists (Kancher, Gorkun and Volokhov). These four were sentenced to "katorga" on the island of Sakhalin.

Besides, about 50 persons were exiled to Siberia not through court process, but by administrative measurement. For example, Józef Piłsudski, who was summoned as a witness, was exiled to West Siberia for 5 years.

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Four convicts, sentenced for exile to Sakhalin, were conveyed by train to Odessa, and thence aboard on a ship of the "Russian Volunteer Fleet" via Suez Canal, Indian Ocean, Japan Sea, to Sakhalin. I don't know when the ship left Odessa, but I have information that it arrived in Aleksandrovskij Post, a military port on the western shore of North Sakhalin, in August, 1887. Accordingly we may presume that the departure from Odessa should have taken place at the beginning of July at the latest, for the Volunteer Fleet sailed usually two months to reach Sakhalin.

3) *In Sakhalin and Japan (from 1887 to 1906).*

Sakhalin was changed into a prison island in 1881. Since then many criminal and political convicts were exiled there. Bronisław Piłsudski was brought to the port Aleksandrovskij in August, 1887, and thence taken to a village named Rykovo, in the Tymovskij district, together with 4 more state criminals, Kancher, Gorkun, Volokhov, and Juvachev, who were deported on the same ship. Ivan Juvachev was transported from the Schlisselburg fortress to Sakhalin. Later on after release he published a book "Eight years in Sakhalin" under the pen-name of Miroljubov. Mikhail Kancher, the traitor, committed suicide in Rykovo 5 years later, in 1892, when his betrayal became known to his comrades.

Basically Bronisław was registered and was living in Rykovo by 1896, when he was sent to the Korsakovskij district to construct meteorological stations. But it isn't clear, whether his registration was transferred to Korsakov at that time, or it remained in Rykovo. In any case since 1896 he began to move more freely and his Ainu study started. Therefore, let us call the period from 1887 to 1896 the "Rykovo period".

In Rykovo, or Rykovskoje, in the beginning all the state criminals lived together in a small cottage and there Bronisław began to teach children of the prisoners and of the ex-prisoners who engaged in agriculture around Rykovo. From 1889 onwards he found jobs also at the prison office and at the meteorological station as well. There were too few literate people there.

In 1891, however, he came across quite a fascinating business, which became his life-long pursuit. It was "ethnology".

In January of 1891, he met for the first time Lev Jakovlevich Sternberg, also a state criminal, who was exiled to Sakhalin administratively for 10 years.

Sternberg had already started ethnological field research among the native peoples of Sakhalin, the Gilyaks and the Oroks; engaging as well in their population census, which the prison authorities entrusted Sternberg to pursue. As a matter of fact, this last enterprise was motivated by a proposal of the Russian writer Anton Chekhov, who made a famous round trip to Sakhalin in 1890.

Having got interested in the person as well as the job of Sternberg, Br. Piłsudski decided to help him and thus stepped into the field of ethnology with no professional preparation. They then commenced the field research among the Gilyaks jointly. Sometimes they listened to the same informant simultaneously and compared their handscripts with each other afterwards. Presumably, Piłsudski had keener ears and a warmer heart than Sternberg. Piłsudski was not able to overlook the miserable situation of the Gilyaks and voluntarily took the initiative to improve their life. He taught the Russian language to their youth, and also taught them to plant potatoes, to salt fish, and so on. What was more, he sent a Gilyak boy to Vladivostok for schooling. In turn, the Gilyaks began to trust him and open their heart towards him. A Gilyak clan even bestowed on him its full membership and consequently the youth addressed him as "akanda", which means an elder brother in the classificatory sense by the East Sakhalin dialect of the Gilyak language.

On the 14th of May, 1896, the manifesto of amnesty was issued on occasion of the death of Czar Alexander III, according to which Bronisław's penalty was also mitigated by one third; the duration of "katorga" was cut in short from 15 to 10 years.

In the following year, in 1897, his "katorga" expired. Bronisław was already 30 years of age. This didn't mean, however, that he became free then. It means that he was simply re-classified from an ordinary convict to *déportée*, who in ordinary cases was not allowed to leave Sakhalin. However, thanks to good luck as well as to his own excellent talent, he received an appointment as curator from the Museum of the Society for the Study of Amur Region in Vladivostok in 1898, and although he got permission to live in Vladivostok already that autumn, he moved there in March, 1899.

In principle, for three years from March of 1899 up to July of 1902 he stayed at Vladivostok, working in the Museum as curator, but, in addition to this, he served as secretary at the local office of the Imperial Geographical Society, took part in the editorial board of

the local newspaper and the statistical committee as well, and even issued a Far-Eastern statistical biweekly, the pioneer work in Russia. Meanwhile, Sternberg was already at Petersburg, working as curator in the Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, the director of which was then the academician V. V. Radlov.

In the spring of 1902, the Academy of Sciences in Petersburg proposed Piłsudski an expedition to Sakhalin to collect ethnographic samples of the Ainu and the Oroch cultures for its museum. At first Piłsudski hesitated, but finally accepted the proposal encouraged by Sternberg.

He left Vladivostok for Sakhalin on the 8th of July, 1902, never to return to the continent until 11th of June, 1905. He was to remain in Sakhalin this time for almost three years.

His expedition was successful. He took to Sakhalin an Edison phonograph and wax cylinders with him, which he bought, presumably, at Vladivostok, and visited first the western and then the eastern shores of South Sakhalin. He was able to collect many Ainu materials and record Ainu folklore. The more he got acquainted with the Ainu culture, the more he felt it necessary to go on with his study. Moreover, he discovered a very convenient base at Ai Kotan on the eastern shore, where he settled in at the end of 1902. It was a Russian-style house owned by the Kotan chief, Bafunke-Ainu. Presumably it was here and at this occasion that he met and fell in love with a beautiful Ainu girl, Chuhsamma, the beloved niece of his landlord, for she gave birth to his son, Sukezō, in the following year, in 1903.

Piłsudski sent a letter to Sternberg, saying that he wanted to continue his expedition for another year. Fortunately enough, his desire was fulfilled. That year in Petersburg the Russian Committee for the Study of Central and East Asia was founded, the chairman of which was also Radlov. Sternberg was appointed to one of the two secretaryships. The Russian Committee sanctioned Piłsudski's plan not only for the year of 1903, but also for the years of 1904 and 1905 successively.

According to its bulletins, the Committee granted Piłsudski 700 rubles for 1903, 750 rub. for 1904, and 1,000 rub. for 1905. As the total annual budget for the year of 1904 was 10,876 rub., Piłsudski's share amounted to 8%. It is not known, how much was paid to Piłsudski de facto. I suspect whether he received his grant in full amount for 1905, when the Russo-Japanese war was at its height and the first Russian revolution broke out, and moreover, he abandoned his mission halfway.

Глубокоуважаемому Антону Кучинскому

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On the other hand, Piłsudski himself mentioned elsewhere that the Committee gave him "a sum of about 225f".

In 1903, Piłsudski, while stationed at Ai, concentrated on the survey of the Ainu Kotans along the eastern shore of South Sakhalin. This year he was able to observe several bear festivals and, besides, he performed a fox festival together with the landlord, his uncle-in-law. During three summer months, however, he joined the Sieroszewski's Hokkaido expedition to study the Ainu there, sponsored by the Imperial Geographical Society in Petersburg. Generously enough, the Russian Committee gave him official approval to take part in it.

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In 1905, Piłsudski at last made up his mind to abandon Sakhalin.

On the 5th of March he started from Ai to the north, bidding wife and son the last farewell.

On the 11th of June, he left the port Aleksandrovski once more by ship. Thus, he was to leave Sakhalin forever.

On the next day he landed at Nikolajevsk. Thereafter, his foot steps become rather vague. We only know that he stayed at Mariinsk, Troitskoje, Khabarovsk, and Vladivostok, and that at the end of 1905 or at the beginning of 1906 he made a sudden appearance in Japan.

Still we don't know, exactly *when* and *how* it took place.