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FROM TORUŃ TO VILNIUS:
THE JOURNEY OF KING STANISŁAW IN THE WINTER OF 1708

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In the available biographies of King Stanisław Leszczyński the period of his first reign in the Rzeczpospolita in the years 1706–1709 is treated very cursorily. The authors of the major biographies – Józef Feldman and Edmund Cieślak devoted little space to this period.¹ This resulted from the fact that the basic Polish evidence-based monograph of this stage of the Northern War by Kazimierz Jarochoński finishes with the description of the events of February 1705.² Another reason was the failure to analyse such important sources as the letters of royal secretaries Samuel Kazimierz Szwykowski and Józef Michał Karp, who almost every day reported to the Grand Chancellor of Lithuania Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł³ the events from the life of the king. It is true that Józef Andrzej Gierowski and Andrzej Rachuba used the sources, but the former provided only an outline of unsuccessful attempts at uniting the “nation” of noblemen on the part of Stanisław Leszczyński, while the latter concentrated mainly on the nomination policy of the monarch in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.⁴

¹ Józef FELDMAN, *Stanisław Leszczyński*, Warszawa 1984 (3rd ed.), pp. 73–84; Edmund CIEŚLAK, *Stanisław Leszczyński*, Wrocław 1994, pp. 56–62.

² Kazimierz JAROCHOŃSKI, *Dzieje panowania Augusta II. Od elekcji Stanisława Leszczyńskiego aż do bitwy Pułtawskiej (1704–1709)*, Roczniki Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk Poznańskie-go, vol. 17: 1890, no. 1, pp. 1–150.

³ Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie [The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw], Archiwum Radziwiłłów [Radziwiłł Family Archive], dział V (further cit. AGAD, AR), fond V, no. 6460, 6465, 15956.

⁴ Józef Andrzej GIEROWSKI, *W cieniu Ligi Północnej*, Wrocław 1971, pp. 40–81; Andrzej RACHUBA, *Polityka nominacyjna Stanisława Leszczyńskiego na Litwie w latach 1705–1709*, *Przeгляд Historyczny*, vol. 83: 1992, no. 4, pp. 617–632.

After the Swedish King Charles XII imposed the treaty of Altranstädt of 24 September 1706 on King August II and forced him to resign from the Polish crown, he occupied Saxony for a long time. He was accompanied by King Stanisław Leszczyński, who was residing at the castle of Mildenstein in Leisning (a small town near Leipzig) with several servants. At the end of August 1707, the Swedish army headed from Saxony towards the Rzeczpospolita through Silesia. Charles XII wanted to repel the Russian army from the Polish territories and then attack Russia. In September and October 1707, King Stanisław – along with his closest entourage – stayed in Greater Poland and in mid-November he followed the Swedes to Kuyavia where he was stationed in the village of Święte near what is now Aleksandrów Kujawski. The Swedes, while preparing to cross the Vistula River, began to build two floating bridges – one near Włocławek and the other near Nieszawa, since the permanent bridge over the Vistula in Toruń had been burnt by the Russian troops withdrawing from Toruń in October 1707.⁵ Advocates of King Stanisław knew about the Swedish plans to cross the Vistula, but they did not realize what plans Charles XII had in store. The Sub-Chancellor of Lithuania Stanisław Antoni Szczuka wrote to the Grand Chancellor of Lithuania Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł: “Dokąd będziemy iść za Wisłę nie wiadomo, słyhać jednak, że po milach kilkunastu marszowych znowu haltować [stać – J.D.] mamy i tak pono całą zimę odprawimy. Com dawno tu zgađł i obiecował [“Where we shall head we do not know, but I hear after a few miles of marching we are to stop again and we shall go on like that the whole winter. This I guess here and declare” – transl. Agnieszka Chabros]”.⁶

At this time Stanisław Leszczyński, experiencing serious financial problems, was preparing for his trip to Toruń. Through the agency of his trusted advocate, the grand Sub-Treasurer of the Crown Władysław Czarnkowski, at the end of December 1707 he demanded that the city of Toruń give him 5000 thalers (the equivalence of 30 000 Polish Tympfes; 36 000 Polish zlotys), which were to be spent to cover the expenses connected with the march of the royal army and the maintenance of the court.⁷ On 4 January 1708, the Vistula River in Toruń had frozen over due to extremely low temperatures. The Swedes ordered to pour water on the ice to increase its thickness on the river.⁸

⁵ Jerzy DYGDAŁA, *Król Stanisław Leszczyński w Toruniu w styczniu 1708 roku*, *Rocznik Toruński*, vol. 20: 1991, p. 243; idem, „Nowe” doniesienia o pobycie króla Stanisława Leszczyńskiego na Kujawach i w Toruniu na przełomie 1707/1708 roku, *ibid.*, vol. 42: 2015, pp. 7–9.

⁶ AGAD, AR, fond V, no. 15655, p. 382: S. A. Szczuka to K. S. Radziwiłł, Święte, 29 Dec. 1707.

⁷ More about the financial aspects of the visit of King Stanisław in Toruń see: J. DYGDAŁA, *Król Stanisław*, pp. 244–247.

⁸ AGAD, AR, fond V, no. 15956/II, p. 47: S. K. Szykowski to K. S. Radziwiłł, Toruń, 8 Jan. 1708. The Swedes used this method earlier in the face of unsuccessful attempts to build floating

The next day, on 5 January 1708, in the evening King Stanisław Leszczyński arrived in Toruń. The monarch was greeted by the Voivode of Vilnius and the Grand Hetman of Lithuania Kazimierz Jan Sapieha, who along with other members of his family and servants had visited Toruń to be able to meet Leszczyński. The king ate dinner accompanied by a few close aids.⁹ On 6 January 1708, the Day of Epiphany, Stanisław Leszczyński arrived in the parish church of St. Johns in the morning. In front of the church, the Ordinary of the Chełmno diocese Teodor Potocki¹⁰ welcomed the king with a long speech in Latin. The Sub-Chancellor of Lithuania Stanisław Szczuka responded on behalf of the monarch. The Bishop of Kiev (the nominee of Poznań) Jan Paweł Gomoliński celebrated holy mass. The next to welcome the king were Toruń's Jesuits, who supervised the Church of St. Johns. After the mass had ended, King Stanisław met representatives of Toruń's authorities headed by Johann Gottfried Rösner, who also gave a welcoming speech. Next, the monarch went for a sumptuous luncheon given by the Sub-Treasurer Władysław Czarnkowski in his residence in Toruń. In the evening the king left Toruń for Święte.¹¹

King Stanisław, in the light of the letter by S. K. Szwykowski, resided in Święte until 9 January 1708. Originally he intended to cross the Vistula River in Nieszawa, but eventually he crossed the river near Toruń as the thaw had commenced and the river was not completely frozen. They followed the marked route on the ice; still, the ice cracked and two wagons with wine fell into the water. The wagons were taken out of the water, but four horses drowned. The monarch had dinner in Toruń in the house of the Sub-Treasurer Władysław Czarnkowski, where he also spent the night. The next day, on 10 January 1708, the monarch had luncheon in Toruń and left Toruń heading south along the right bank of the Vistula River.¹² The visit in Toruń provided Leszczyński with 20 000 Polish Tympfes (24 000 Polish zlotys), which were given to the monarch by Toruń's authorities. Later, Czarnkowski demanded, without success, that Toruń pay another 10 000 Tympfes (12 000 Polish zlotys) which were to constitute the remaining part of the alleged sum of 30 000 Tympfes.¹³

bridges while crossing the Vistula near Włocławek (31 Dec. 1708) on the ice they put straw, on the straw they put wooden planks and poured water on it waiting until it got frozen, see: Peter FROM, *Kłęska pod Połtawą. Kampania Karola XII w Rosji w latach 1707–1709*, Zabrze 2010, p. 78.

⁹ AGAD, AR, fond V, no. 15956/II, pp. 48–49: S. K. Szwykowski to K. S. Radziwiłł, Toruń, 8 Jan. 1708.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 49; S. K. Szwykowski to K. S. Radziwiłł, Toruń, 8 Jan. 1708; Krzysztof ZAWISZA, *Pamiętniki*, ed. Julian BARTOSZEWICZ, Warszawa 1862, p. 133.

¹¹ AGAD, AR, fond V, no. 15956/II, pp. 50–51: S. K. Szwykowski to K. S. Radziwiłł, Toruń, 8 Jan. 1708.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 53–55: S. K. Szwykowski to K. S. Radziwiłł, Toruń, 11 Jan. 1708.

¹³ J. DYGDALA, *Król Stanisław*, pp. 250–251.

Having left Toruń, the monarch spent the night of 10–11 January 1708 in Dobrzyń Land, in the village of Steklin about 17 kilometres from Toruń. The king was escorted by the Swedish horse regiment and a small royal guard including the banner [the basic administrative unit of the Polish cavalry *chorągiew*] of the Janissaries. On 11 January Leszczyński stopped in the small town of Skepe, in the estate of the Masovian Voivode Mikołaj Kępski (appointed to this post by King Stanisław Leszczyński). The next day the monarch arrived in Sierpc, and on 13 January he stopped in the village of Zawidz Mały (Zawidek), about 13 kilometres of Sierpc in a quite miserable house belonging to a certain Żurawski. He was accompanied by the Sub-Chancellor of Lithuania Stanisław Antoni Szczuka, the royal referendary Władysław Poniński (who suffered from problems with his throat), the Crown Chancellor Jan Stanisław Jabłonowski, the nominee of Poznań's Bishop Jan Paweł Gomoliński) and the Voivode of Cracow Franciszek Lanckoroński. Later they were joined by the Sub-Treasurer of the Crown Władysław Czarnkowski and his wife Anna Kazimiera née Grzymułtowska (who planned to leave for Königsberg), the Voivode of Ruthenia Duke Janusz Wiśniowiecki. Some people from Leszczyński's entourage presumed that they would stay there the whole winter; yet, the Sub-Chancellor Szczuka wrote: "ale ja [temu] nie zawierzam ["I do not believe it, though" – transl. A.Ch.]" He was right as on 15 January the Swedish king Charles XII left Drobin and he headed for Przasnysz through Ciechanów.¹⁴

After a week's stay in Zawidz on 22 January, Stanisław Leszczyński unexpectedly decided to follow Charles XII and, having covered three miles on bad roads, he spent the night at Gradzanów Kościelny (about 21 km north of Zawidz). Then he headed for Kosiny near Mława, where he stayed the whole Tuesday of 24 January. The next day he arrived in Dzierzgow. The Royal Secretary Szwykowski complained about the bad condition of the roads. Although it was freezing, the roads were still muddy, which caused many wagons to be left behind. Apart from that neither Stanisław nor his closest entourage knew where they were going as they were not familiar with the plans of Charles XII. Szwykowski wrote: "Żywy duch nie wie gdzie idziemy i gdzie król szwedzki się obraca ["Not a soul knows where we are going and what the Swedish king is planning" – transl. A.Ch.]"¹⁵

In the meantime Charles XII along with his army moved along the border with Brandenburg-Prussia towards Grodno, where the main Russian troops

¹⁴ AGAD, AR, fond V, no. 15956/II, pp. 57, 61, 64: S. K. Szwykowski to K. S. Radziwiłł, Zawidz Mały, 14, 19, 20 Jan. 1708; no. 15655, p. 391: S. A. Szczuka to K. S. Radziwiłł, Zawidz Mały, 13 Jan. 1708.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 65–67: S. K. Szwykowski to K. S. Radziwiłł, Dzierzgowo, 25 Jan. 1708.

were to be stationed. The crossing through Kurpiowska Forest was very difficult due to severe frosts, snow and the unexpected attacks of local Kurpie people shooting from their hiding spots at the marching Swedes. Only severe repressions directed against the local people made the march possible to continue.¹⁶ King Stanisław and his retinue were also affected. They set off from Dzierzgow on 26 January 1708 to the north-east and spent the night in Krzynowłoga Wielka “w wielkich już pustkach, bo ani ludzi, ani żadnego furazu [“in total desolation as there were neither people nor forage” – transl. A.Ch.]”. The next day they reached Pełty, a village situated in the starosty of Ostrołęka, but on the border with Brandenburg-Prussia. They had to cover five miles (over 35 kilometres) including “two tough crossings” through Orzyce and Omulew. The wagons got stuck in the snow and did not arrive until the following day. It was then that Leszczyński went to Wola Łękowa (the present-day the village of Wolkowe near Myszyniec), a village belonging to the starosty of Ostrołęka. As Szwykowski writes it was in this territory that the Kurpians attacked the laager of Charles XII. That is why it was decided to modify the itinerary. The Swedish army had to trudge through entanglements. The regiments came so close to each other that there was no room left for the escort of King Stanisław. That is why he decided to stay in Wola Łękowa one more day and it was not until 30 January that he set off again to Brandenburg-Prussia. Szwykowski stated that “strzelcy [kurpiowscy] w lasach zasiekłszy się na nas nie następowali, do lasu zaś jadących czat nie dopuszczali [“Kurpian shooters, having hidden in the forest, did not attack us, but they did not allow us to get to the forest” – transl. A.Ch.]”. Having crossed the border the king spent the night in a village referred to by Szwykowski as Taryn;¹⁷ next, on 31 January, having marched four miles (about 30 km), he stopped in Pisz (Johannisburg).¹⁸

On 1 February 1708 the cortege of King Stanisław again crossed the border in the village of Brzozowo and stopped in the big village of Lachowo. They relaxed there the whole day when the marshal of the Warsaw Confederation

¹⁶ P. FROM, op.cit., pp. 79–81; Johan D. HULTMAN, *O panowaniu Karola XII, króla Szwecji*, ed. Wojciech KRAWCZUK, Kraków 2015, pp. 26–29.

¹⁷ Probably it was one of the two villages situated on the border with Poland in the country of Pisz: Turośl (Turoschn), or Turowo (Turau, Thurowen) situated more to the east, closer to Pisz.

¹⁸ AGAD, AR, fond V, no. 15956/II, pp. 68–70: S. K. Szwykowski to K. S. Radziwiłł, Janzbourg [Pisz], 31 Jan. 1708. The information about the march in *Gazeta pisana* was very scarce: “My codziennie idziemy marszami, przeszliśmy już Ostrołęckie Puszcze, gdzie tylko sami rozbójnicy, potem pruską granicę przechodziliśmy” [“We march everyday, have passed Ostrołęka Forests, where there were only bandits, later we crossed the Prussian border – transl. A.Ch.]” (Archiwum Państwowe w Toruniu [State Archive in Toruń], Katalog II [Catalogue II] (further cit. APTor., Kat. II), XIV 78, fol. 11: “Gazeta pisana, z Jurborka [Piszu]”, 31 Jan. 1708).

Piotr Bronisz and the Voivode of Łęczyca Jerzy Towiański joined the king and were to accompany him in his journey. On 3 February all of them reached the small village of Obrytki situated west of Wąsosz. The king along with a dozen people went to Szczuczyn, an adjacent estate of the Sub-Chancellor Stanisław Antoni Szczuka. The palace had been demolished by the Russians,¹⁹ but the sub-chancellor tried to give the guests the best welcome he could. Although there was nothing to eat, but he transported the wine from Brandenburg-Prussia which had been hidden there lest the Russians should steal it. Everybody had a very good time indeed, particularly the host “having drunk more [wine] than he was used to”.²⁰ During this visit the president of the Piarist College complained about the Swedes saying that first the monks greeted them as those who to redeem them from the Russians, but after subsequent Swedish regiments installed in their monastery “tak ich w niwecz obrócili [“they tormented them” – transl. A.Ch.]” to such an extent that “żaden z nich [zakonników] od dwóch niedziel kropli piwa nie miał w gębie, ledwo jeno mieli co jeść [“none of them [the monks] drank a drop of beer for a fortnight, and they hardly had anything to eat” – transl. A.Ch.]”.²¹

On 4 February 1708 King Stanisław reached Grajewo having covered about 17 km. In the night they were afraid of attack by the Russians who were stationed nearby. Luckily, they decided not to launch an assault – the king’s escort was left far away behind and did not accompany the king. On 5 February they headed south through Łosewo, where they stopped to eat. Having crossed the bridge over the Biebrza River, the royal retinue decided to sleep near the river bank as night had already fallen. On 6 February before midday Stanisław Leszczyński reached Goniądz and rested there for another two days. He received the message that the Russians had withdrawn from Tykocin having left behind considerable food for people and animals in the castle and the town. The king sent his banner there [*chorągiew*] of the Janissaries. It was not until 9 February that Leszczyński set off to the east following Charles XII, who had just crossed the Niemen River and taken over Grodno. Stanisław stopped in Dzieciołów in the house of Tetwin (perhaps the son of the *derbski* chamberlain Jan Tetwin). Next, he spent the night in Chodorówka and on 11 February he arrived in Olsza (Popowa Olsza), west of Dąbrowa Białostocka. The following day, after

¹⁹ The Sub-Chancellor Szczuka complained that the Russians had pulled out even the iron bars from the palace’s windows, see: AGAD, AR, fond V, no. 15655, p. 383: S. A. Szczuka to K. S. Radziwiłł, Święte, 29 Dec. 1707.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 15956/II, pp. 73–74: S. K. Szwykowski to K. S. Radziwiłł, Popowa Olsza, 12 Feb. 1708.

²¹ *Ibid.*, no. 6465/IV, pp. 117–118: J. M. Karp to K. S. Radziwiłł, Gieranony, 9 Mar. 1708. The fragment is also quoted by J. A. GIEROWSKI, *op.cit.*, p. 41.

luncheon, he left the place to meet Charles XII, who was probably staying a few miles away from Grodno.²²

On 14 February 1708, Jozefat Michał Karp – the second envoy of the Grand Chancellor of Lithuania Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł – arrived in Grodno. He was to take over some of the duties of Szwykowski, who, as the secretary of King Stanisław had less and less time to inform the sovereign about current military and political events. Karp in his first letter wrote about the withdrawal of the Russians to the east towards Minsk and the destruction of all the storage of food and forage. He complained about the Swedes, who “wszystko wszędzie zabierają, konie, bydła i fanty [rzeczy] wszelkie, nie przepuszczają dworom i klasztorom. Tu [w Grodnie] jezuitów i bernardynów tak zrabowali, że i jeść ledwo co mają, [...] i tak wszędzie, którędykolwiek idą [“who stole everything, horses, cattle and any things, even in the mansions and monasteries. Here [in Grodno] the Jesuits and Bernardines were robbed by them to such an extent that they had hardly anything to eat, [...] and it happens everywhere, in any place they reach” – transl. A.Ch.]”. He also complained that “tu i piwa i chleba nie byłoby, żeby nie Prusacy dowozili, którzy niepodobna jak zarabiają na wszystkim [“there would be no beer and bread but for the Prussians who earn a lot money on the goods they sell” – transl. A.Ch.]”. Karp wondered what he should do as it turned out that in Grodno nobody knew where both monarchs – Charles XII and King Stanisław Leszczyński – had gone.²³

Thanks to the letter of Samuel Kazimierz Szwykowski, it turned out that King Stanisław, not being able to catch up with Charles XII, arrived in Grodno (in the evening?) of 15 February 1708. He spent there two days. It was then that the Starost of Mińsk Krzysztof Zawisza joined the king. He had previously accompanied Charles XII along with the Sapiehas.²⁴ On 17 February, King Stanisław spent the night in Stryjówka (Stryjeuka) belonging to Szwykowski, “gdzie tylko Żyda jednego znaleźliśmy w karczmie i chłopą żadnego [“where we found only one Jew in the inn – no peasants” – transl. A.Ch.]”. The next night the king spent in the tiny village of Hołowacze. The following two days

²² AGAD, AR, fond V, no. 15956/II, pp. 74–75: S. K. Szwykowski to K. S. Radziwiłł, Popowa Olsza, 12 Feb. 1708.

²³ Ibid., no. 6465/I, pp. 163–166: J. M. Karp to K. S. Radziwiłł, Grodno, 15 Feb. 1708; about Karp’s complaints about the conduct of the Swedes see also: J. A. GIEROWSKI, *op.cit.*, p. 40.

²⁴ AGAD, AR, fond V, no. 15956/II, p. 78: S. K. Szwykowski to K. S. Radziwiłł, Wilno [Vilnius], 3 Mar. 1708; K. ZAWISZA, *op.cit.*, p. 134. Zawisza complained about the condition during the journey: “ciężki to był marsz bardzo, bo od Torunia aż do Grodna nie odpoczywaliśmy nigdzie, nagle szliśmy bez wygod i w stancjach i w prowiantach, nieraz w lesie pod dębem albo sosną nocleg i kwatera nasza była” [“It was a very tough march, we did not rest anywhere, we continued walking without any facilities, our accommodation being a place found in the forest under an oak or a pine tree” – transl. A.Ch.]”.

he remained in a small town of Ostryna (Ostryny, Astryna), the seat of the starosty. It was there that on 20 February he met the Marshall of Lida Michał Jan Alexandrowicz. The bishop of Chełmno Teodor Potocki also joined the retinue of the king. On 21 February, Leszczyński stopped in “Sobakowicze” in the house of “Hladowicki” (this may refer to Jakub Stanisław, who along with the noblemen of Vilnius had participated in the election of 1697). It might have been a very small settlement in the Starosty of Ostrów – Sobakowszczyzna. However, it seems more probable that the king stopped in Sobakińce – a small noble town situated somewhat further to the north. There was an Orthodox parish church under the name of the Protection of Our Most Holy Lady Theotokos and Ever-Virgin Mary where the Miraculous Image of the Mother of Jesus. Even in the 19th century there could be found in the church a silver votive with the inscription: “Najjaśniejszy Leszczyński król polski przybywszy do cudownego obrazu Matki Najświętszej w Sobakinach pieszo, takowe wotum ofiarował r. 1705 [“His majesty Leszczyński, the King of Poland, having arrived at the Miraculous Image of Our Lady in Sobakiny on foot, donated this votive in 1705” – transl. A.Ch.]”.²⁵ As King Stanisław was not in Lithuania in 1705, the event must have taken place during the journey in 1708. The subsequent two days – 22 and 23 February – Leszczyński spent in Niegdały.²⁶ Later, on 24 February 1708 the king arrived in a small town of Myto situated in the estates of one member of the Kostrowicki family (many members of the family resided in the voivodeships of Mińsk and Vilnius). On 25 February, the whole retinue arrived in Lida. After two days of rest in Lida, on 27 February Leszczyński reached the small town of Gieranony (Gieranieny, Hieraniony), planning to stay there for a longer period of time. The land was part of the royal domaine, the revenue of which belonged to the general of the Lithuanian artillery from the second half of the 17th century. The castle of Gasztołdów from the beginnings of the 16th century was falling into ruin and so the king stayed in the modest house of the parish priest of the parish church of St. Nicholas. The authorities of Vilnius, situated about 70 km north of Gieranony, sent greetings to the king along with “a little food, wine, mead, beer and fish”.²⁷ Sub-Chancellor Szczuka complained that they had not stopped to rest, but to be killed as the roads were full of Swedes and escaping Russians. In the available accommodation “there was not a single blade of crop”. He supposed that the stopover was

²⁵ *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, ed. Bronisław CHLEBOWSKI, Władysław WALEWSKI, vol. 10, Warszawa 1889, p. 939.

²⁶ A village of the same or similar name was recorded in *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, ed. Bronisław CHLEBOWSKI, Władysław WALEWSKI, vol. 7, Warszawa 1886. The only bigger town between Sobakińce and Myto was Wasiliszki.

²⁷ AGAD, AR, fond V, no. 15956/II, pp. 78–79: S. K. Szwykowski to K. S. Radziwiłł, Wilno, 3 Mar. 1708.

to enable the rears to catch up with them as “the tail will not arrive here not even in a week”. He stated: “Halt [postój] ten jak długi nie wiemy, rozumiałbym do trawy, jeśli piękna marcowa zima nie poruszy [“Nobody knows how long the stopover is going to last; I gather until the first grass if the winter does not spoil the March weather” – transl. A.Ch.]”²⁸

The Starost of Mińsk Krzysztof Zawisza evaluated the conditions of the journey with King Stanisław Leszczyński in much better terms, probably owing to his former experience marching with Charles XII. Zawisza thought that this stage of his journey took place “in much better conditions”; he even added that “there was a joyful atmosphere during the march and little inconvenience”. He also enumerated his closest companions: “w jednej ze mną kompanii bywali JP [Franciszek] Lanckoroński wojewoda krakowski, poczciwy człowiek, JP [Władysław] Czarnkowski podskarbi wielki koronny, chlebowadca i winodawca nasz, JP [Piotr] Bronisz marszałek konfederacki, JP [Jerzy] Towiański wojewoda łęczycki, JP Raduński [Adam Radoński] regent koronny, JP Rumocki [Jan Stanisław Romocki] podsędek dobrzyński, JP [Stefan] Urbanowski sekretarz konfederacki, wszystko ludzie zacni i grzeczni. Zawsze tej kompanii naszej pospołu kwatery dawano [“I shared the company with JP [Franciszek] Lanckoroński the Voivode of Cracow, our breadwinner, JP Raduński [Adam Radoński] the royal regent, JP Rumocki [Jan Stanisław Romocki] the deputy judge of Dobrzyń, JP [Stefan] Urbanowski the secretary of the confederation; all of them respectable and kind. We were always given accommodation together” – transl. A.Ch.]”. Separate accommodation was provided to the Bishop of Kiev Jan Paweł Gomoliński, the Grand Chancellor of the Crown Jan Stanisław Jabłonowski, the Sub-Chancellor of Lithuania Stanisław Antoni Szczuka, the Referendary of the Crown Władysław Poniński and the Royal Secretary Samuel Kazimierz Szwycowski.²⁹

On 2 March 1708, Stanisław Leszczyński left Gieranony for Smorgoń (Smarhoń) (according to Szczuka it was situated 20 miles of Gieranony, but actually the distance was 100 km) in order to meet Charles XII. The main topic of their conversation was to resolve the issue connected with the appointment for the office of the Grand Hetman of Lithuania. Stanisław wanted Michał Wiśniowiecki, who had recently become his advocate, to keep the office. On the other hand, the Sapiehas, supported by the Swedish king, insisted that Jan Kazimierz Sapieha be appointed to this office.³⁰ According to the account of Teodor Potocki quoted by J. M. Karp one may conclude that the Polish monarch also

²⁸ Ibid., no. 15655, p. 400: S. A. Szczuka to K. S. Radziwiłł, Gieranony, 2 Mar. 1708.

²⁹ K. ZAWISZA, op.cit., pp. 134–135.

³⁰ AGAD, AR, fond V, no. 15956/II, pp. 79–80: S. K. Szwycowski to K. S. Radziwiłł, Wilno, 3 Mar. 1708.

wanted to discuss his future actions with Charles XX. He did not want to accompany the Swedes in their march into Russia. Having received several Swedish regiments, he preferred to return with them and the Lithuanian troops to the Kingdom of Poland to strengthen his rule there. What is more, he intended to warn Charles XX that the expedition to Russia might be quite dangerous if they did not manage to soothe the situation in the Rzeczpospolita first. On 2 February, some of the dignitaries accompanying Leszczyński (including the Voivode of Ruthenia Janusz Wiśniowiecki, the Bishop of Kiev Jan Paweł Gomoliński, the Castellan of Łęczyca Jerzy Antoni Warszycki and Samuel Kazimierz Szwykowski) left for Vilnius. The Grand Chancellor of the Crown Jan Stanisław Jabłonowski along with King Stanisław went to Charles XII. The rest including the Sub-Chancellor of Lithuania Stanisław Antoni Szczuka, the Bishop of Chełmno (the nominee of Cracow) Teodor Potocki, the Voivode of Cracow Franciszek Lanckoroński, the Voivode of Łęczyca Jerzy Towiański, the Referendary of the Crown Władysław Poniński, the Regent of the Crown Adam Radoński, the Starost of Marienburg [Malbork] Franciszek Bieliński and the Starost of Mińsk Krzysztof Zawisza stayed in Gieranony awaiting the king.³¹ The words of the Sub-Chancellor Stanisław Antoni Szczuka, bitter about their estates having been looted by the Swedish troops, spoken to Józef Michał Karp illustrate best the atmosphere among the supporters of King Stanisław Leszczyński: “Nie podobna żeby Szwedów Pan Bóg nie miał skarać za tak wielkie zdzierstwa i okrucieństwa [“God will certainly punish the Swedes for their atrocities and cruelty” – transl. A.Ch.]”. Karp added his commentary: “Jakoż wszyscy tu mówią, że nie trzeba większego nieprzyjaciela jak Szwedzi teraz są [“As everybody here says there is no bigger enemy now than the Swedes” – transl. A.Ch.]”³²

According to the information which reached Gieranony from Smorgoń, the issue of the appointment for the office of the Grand Hetman of Lithuania had not been resolved yet. It was reported that “król szwedzki [Karol XII] srodcze wesół, ustawicznie bywa u Króla naszego [Stanisława] w mieście stojącego, u którego na warcie 6 drabantów [szwedzkich] i odźwierny króla JM szwedzkiego, bo swoich ludzi [Leszczyński] nie ma [“the Swedish king [Charles XII] in a joyful mood keeps visiting our King [Stanisław] stationed in the town, his quarter being guarded by 6 [Swedish] trabants and a porter of the Swedish king as [Leszczyński] does not have his own servants” – transl. A.Ch.]”. King Stanisław shared the room with Colonel Stanisław Poniatowski; the second

³¹ APTor., Kat. II, XIV 78, fol. 16v–17: “Gazeta pisana, z Wilna”, 4 Mar. 1708; AGAD, AR, dz. V, no. 6465/IV, pp. 246–247; J. M. Karp to K. S. Radziwiłł, Gieranony, 9 Mar. 1708.

³² AGAD, AR, fond V, no. 6465/IV, pp. 120–121: J. M. Karp to K. S. Radziwiłł, Gieranony, 9 Mar. 1708.

room was inhabited by the Chancellor Jan Stanisław Jabłonowski; the third one by the Marshall of the Warsaw Confederation Piotr Bronisz. The Sapiehas occupied quarters situated half a mile of Smorgoń, but they visited both monarchs every day.³³ On 9 March Stanisław Poniatowski and Franciszek Bieliński arrived from Smorgoń bring the message that King Stanisław would not return to Gieranony until Sunday 14 March.³⁴

However, Stanisław Leszczyński appeared in Gieranony at midday on 11 March “only to have lunch” with Duke Michał Wiśniowiecki and Chancellor Stanisław Jabłonowski. They had a short conference attended also by Janusz Wiśniowiecki, the Bishop of Chełmno Teodor Potocki and the Sub-Chancellor Stanisław Antoni Szczuka. The participants of the meeting wondered how to notify Charles XII of the fact that the Swedish regiments of Colonel Wilhelm Müller stationed in Marienburg [Malbork] continued to be paid contributions from the Marienburg Province (including Żuławy – which means the economy of Marienburg the revenue of which was devoted to the maintenance of the royal court). Karp learnt, supposedly from Jabłonowski, that the majority of Swedish ministers supported the idea of King Stanisław’s return to Poland in order to appease the situation there. Only Carl Piper, who exerted considerable influence on the king, was against this idea and wanted Leszczyński to accompany Charles XII in the expedition to Russia. According to Jabłonowski, it was Piper who, having been bribed by the Sapiehas, supported their claims to the office of the Grand Hetman of Lithuania. In Smorgoń King Stanisław received 6000 thalers (36000 Polish zlotys) from Charles XII, two thousand of which he gave to Colonel Stanisław Poniatowski for the maintenance of his guardsmen.³⁵

The Sub-Chancellor Stanisław Antoni Szczuka informed the Chancellor Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł that before King Stanisław’s departure to Smorgoń two projects had been prepared by his entourage: the project of calling the pacification sejm in Lublin and of establishing the “regency” for the period of Leszczyński’s journey with the Swedes into Russia. After King Stanisław’s return from the Swedish quarter both projects received a negative opinion.³⁶

The king spent the subsequent days in Gieranony, participating in conferences with his coworkers, signing nominations for offices (e.g. on 12 March Hrehory Kopeć was sworn in as Lithuanian Castellan of Brest) and dealing with the question of filling in the vacancies in the Crown lands. Karp com-

³³ Ibid., no. 6460, p. 2: J. M. Karp to K. S. Radziwiłł, Gieranony, 9 Mar. 1708.

³⁴ Ibid., no. 6465/VI, p. 216: J. M. Karp to K. S. Radziwiłł, Gieranony, 9 Mar. 1708.

³⁵ Ibid., no. 6465/I, pp. 170–172: J. M. Karp to K. S. Radziwiłł, Gieranony, 16 Mar. 1708. Comp. also J. A. GIEROWSKI, *op.cit.*, p. 43.

³⁶ AGAD, AR, fond V, no. 15655, p. 403: S. A. Szczuka to K. S. Radziwiłł, Gieranony, 16 Mar. 1708.

plained: “jest ciężki do podpisów, nad najmniejszym papierem skrupulizuje [“the monarch does not sign nominations easily, and has scruples signing even the most insignificant documents” – transl. A.Ch.]” adding that the king signed “without hesitation” only documents prepared by the Sub-Chancellor Szczuka. In the morning or before midday, Leszczyński listened to mass, took horseback rides in the neighbourhood, and in the evenings, after holy mass, he sometimes played cards or chess. On 11 March, in the quarter of the Bishop of Kiev Jan Paweł Gomoliński a fire suddenly broke out of nowhere. Two stables and the adjacent brewery were burnt down. “Szczęście wielkie, że we dnie i bez wiatru, alias wielkiej by niechybnie ogień narobił szkody, ile w ciasności wielkiej wszystkim tu stojącym Ichmościom [“Fortunately it happened during the day and no wind was blowing; otherwise the fire would have caused considerable damage to all the dignitaries living here at close quarters” – transl. A.Ch.]”.³⁷

On 12 March, the Voivode of Vilnius Kazimierz Jan Sapieha came from Gieranony. He had luncheon and dinner with the dukes Janusz and Michał Wiśniowiecki at the king's place. The next day Jan Tarło, the Voivode of Lublin, arrived. On the same day the king “nową izbę kazał stawiać w plebanii, ponieważ ta, w której dotychczas stał niewygodna była [“ordered a new room to be built in the parish house as the one he was staying in was very uncomfortable” – transl. A.Ch.]”, which allowed Karp to draw the conclusion that the king planned to stay there for a longer period of time. The monarch attempted, though unsuccessfully, to borrow a large sum of money from one of the wealthiest noblemen in the area – the Lithuanian notary Andrzej Kazimierz Giełgud, who refused to do it explaining that he had just spent 100 000 Polish zlotys on the purchase of landed estates and another 100 000 he had invested in Silesia. On 16 March, the Voivode of Mściśław Michał Dowmont Siesicki arrived in Gieranony. After holy mass there took place an audience with the king attended by envoys sent to the king by the Vilnius Province with congratulations on the king's arrival in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and a request to prevent the Swedish oppression.³⁸

On 17 March after the holy mass there was a conference with King Stanisław Leszczyński during which the attempt was made to agree on the reduction of the size of the Lithuanian army. Michał Wiśniowiecki, offended by the fact that his position as the Grand Hetman of Lithuania had been questioned, left the meeting, while the others, including the Sapiehas, stayed for lunch at the king's place. In the evening, Leszczyński along with the Wiśniowieckis Dukes went on foot to visit the Sub-Chancellor S. A. Szczuka “who was staying in the market place in the inn”; later, he visited the Bishop of Chełmno T. Potocki.

³⁷ Ibid., no. 6465/I, pp. 167–169: J. M. Karp to K. S. Radziwiłł, Gieranony, 16 Mar. 1708.

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 174–179, 185: J. M. Karp to K. S. Radziwiłł, Gieranony, 16 Mar. 1708.

On the same day the Starost of Mińsk Krzysztof Zawisza left Gieranony for Tylża, where his wife Teresa née Tyszkiewicz was staying (they together went to Vilnius on 28 March). The next day, on 18 March, the Starost of Bobrujsk Jan Kazimierz Sapieha arrived at the king's place with a ready-made privilege for the office of the Grand Hetman of Lithuania. The monarch refused to sign the document, but he appeased Sapieha and assured him that he would be appointed to this office. On 19 March the Wisniowieckis paid a visit the place of the Voivode of Vilnius K. J. Sapieha, and they came back with him in one coach for holy mass. Next, they had lunch at the king's place.³⁹

On 20 March a conference took place first at the place of the Marshall of the confederation Piotr Bronisz, and later at the king's place. They debated the official transfer of the grand stamp of the Crown to Jan Stanisław Jabłonowski. Piotr Bronisz opposed the idea saying that it was only possible during the assembly of the seym. A little later the king went to the quarter of the Voivode of Vilnius Kazimierz Jan Sapieha; however, he quickly returned to his place. It turned out that Sapieha refused to agree to the king's proposal to divide the Lithuanian army into three independent groups (corps) subordinated to the king, the Grand Hetman of Lithuania and the Grand Field Hetman. Moreover, Stanisław ordered the Tatars of Lithuania to assist the Voivode of Kiev Józef Potocki, which was vetoed by Sapieha, which "enraged the king considerably". Karp was highly critical of the conduct of the Sapiehas. He wrote that probably Charles XII while leaving Smorgoń said "jeśli czego nie uczyni dla was król Stanisław, przyjedźcie do mnie, będę ja wiedział co z tym czynić. Zawsze też panowie Sapiehowie z tym odzywają się: mamy dobrego my swego superintendenta sub intelligimur króla szwedzkiego. Co i ja sam z ust pana wojewody wileńskiego [K. J. Sapiehy] słyszałem ["If King Stanisław fails to do something for you, come to me; I will know what to do. The Sapiehas invariably announce: we have our own superintendent sub intelligimur – the Swedish king. This I heard from the voivode of Vilnius [K. J. Sapieha]" – transl. A.Ch.]. On the same day after luncheon Michał Wiśniowiecki went to Kazimierz Jan Sapieha to settle the number and composition of the Lithuanian army. Provisionally it was established that "żeby husarii było 1000, petyhorskich pancernych 3360, rajtarii 3000, dragonii 1500, piechot kilka tysięcy. Z tym wszystkim nie zakończyli tego komputu, odłożyli do Króla JM, bo Król Jegomość chce mieć cudzoziemskiego swego ludu trzy tysiące, na co pan wojewoda wileński [K. J. Sapieha] nie pozwala ["there should be 1000 hussars, 3600 Petyhorcy medium-cavalrymen [*pancerni*], 3000 Reiters, 1500 dragoons, several thousand of infantrymen. However, they did not finish the debate and postponed the decision since the

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 196–201; J. M. Karp to K. S. Radziwiłł, Wilno, 25 Mar. 1708; K. ZAWISZA, op.cit., p. 136.

king wished to have 3000 foreigners in his army, which the Voivode of Vilnius [K. J. Sapieha] does not give his consent to” – transl. A.Ch.]”. In the evening Stanisław Leszczyński along with the bishop Teodor Potocki met at the residence of Jan Stanisław Jabłonowski and talked for a long time.⁴⁰

The next day, on 21 March, there took place a secret session of the senate, during which the question of manning the office of the Grand Chancellor of the Crown was discussed (officially the office was held by the Bishop of Ermland [Warmia] Andrzej Chryzostom Załuski, who had been appointed by King August II). None of the senators (including the Bishop – the Cracow appointee – Teodor Potocki, the Bishop – the Poznań nominee – Jan Paweł Gomoliński, the Voivode of Vilnius Kazimierz Jan Sapieha, the Voivode of Cracow Franciszek Lanckoroński, the Voivode of Łęczyca Jerzy Towiański, the Castellan of Vilnius – probably Michał Wiśniowiecki, the Voivode of Ruthenia Janusz Wiśniowiecki, the Castellan of Łęczyca Jerzy Warszycki, the Grand Sub-Treasurer of the Crown Władysław Czarnkowski, the Sub-Chancellor of Lithuania Stanisław Antoni Szczuka and the Marshal of the Warsaw Confederation Piotr Bronisz) agreed to giving back the stamp to Jabłonowski at the session of the senate. It was suggested that Charles XII be asked to summon the sejm who would appoint Jabłoński chancellor. Leszczyński gave up this idea despite the fact that he had intended to appoint Jabłoński chancellor so that he represented the interests of the king in case Leszczyński should leave the Rzeczpospolita with the Swedes. As Karp wrote, the result was that “teraz pan kanclerz na wszystkich, slysze, niemilo pooglada [“now I hear the Chancellor gives unfriendly looks to everyone” – transl. A.Ch.]”. From Karp’s letter one may infer that some supporters of King Stanisław feared that during the king’s absence Jan Stanisław Jabłonowski, as the Grand Chancellor of the Crown, may become an informal viceroy (or prime minister) of the king making all decisions in current matters.⁴¹

On 21 March 1708 after the luncheon, Stanisław Leszczyński left Gierany for Vilnius. He was accompanied only by the Chancellor Jan Stanisław Jabłonowski. Some of the dignitaries and courtiers had left earlier, while the others followed the king. The king slept in an inn between Sołeczники Małe (Salcininkeliai) and Jaszuny (Jasiunai). On 22 March, the Dukes Janusz Wiśniowiecki and Michał Wiśniowiecki caught up with King Stanisław. The king was accompanied by Stanisław Antoni Szczuka. The king shared a calash with the Wiśniowieckis and Jabłonowski. Szczuka was in a different calash. In Jaszuny, Janusz Wiśniowiecki left the royal caroche and his place was taken by

⁴⁰ AGAD, AR, fond V, no. 6465/I, pp. 201–206: J. M. Karp to K. S. Radziwiłł, Wilno, 25 Mar. 1708.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 211–213: J. M. Karp to K. S. Radziwiłł, Wilno, 25 Mar. 1708.

the Bishop Teodor Potocki. Wiśniowiecki got in the calash of the bishop. They stopped for lunch in a Tatar village Rudomin (Rudomina), situated 15 kilometres of Vilnius. The following dignitaries sat at the table with the king: both the Wiśniowiecki Dukes, the Bishop Teodor Potocki, the Chancellor Jan Stanisław Jabłonowski, the Sub-Chancellor Stanisław Antoni Szczuka, the Colonel Stanisław Poniatowski and the Starost of Marienburg [Malbork] Franciszek Bieliński. Karp underlined the fact that only Michał Wiśniowiecki and Szczuka “observed the fast”, while others ate meat (22 march was a Thursday).

In the afternoon on 22 March 1708 the whole royal retinue arrived in Vilnius. The city authorities and some inhabitants went on foot to greet Stanisław Leszczyński on the tract to Lida behind the cross “gdzie przedtym karczma dominikańska stała [“where in the past the Dominican inn had been located” – transl. A.Ch.]” in front of Rudnicka Gate where the monarch was handed the keys to the city.⁴²

One should consider whether the expedition of King Stanisław to Lithuania launched in the winter 1708 was a reasonable decision. On the one hand, it strengthened the position of Leszczyński in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to some extent. On the other hand, it must be remembered that his position depended largely on the support of the Sapiehas, who were fully trusted by Charles XII. That is why King Stanisław had to yield to the Sapiehas in virtually everything. The journey to Lithuania was undoubtedly forced by the Swedish king. During his few meetings with Charles XII, Leszczyński did not manage to convince him to his political concepts. It still remained unknown whether the Polish monarch was to accompany Charles XII on his march inside Russia, or whether he was to return to Poland and try to appease the situation there. From the correspondence of Szwykowski, Karp and Szczuka one may conclude that the closest entourage of King Stanisław (maybe except the Sapiehas) was very skeptical of the political and military plans of Charles XII. They did not approve of the conduct of the Swedish troops in the Rzeczpospolita, treating the Swedes more as enemies than allies.

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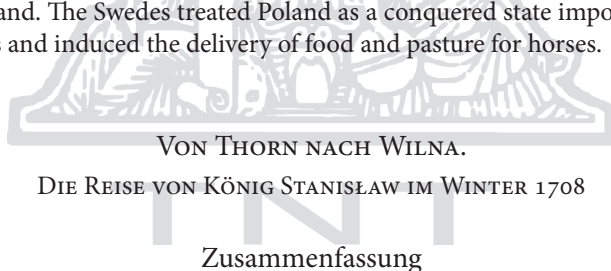
⁴² Ibid., pp. 215–217: J. M. Karp to K. S. Radziwiłł, Wilno, 25 Mar. 1708; APTor. Kat. II, no. 4771, fol. 1: “Gazeta pisana, z Wilna”, 25 Mar. 1708.

FROM TORUŃ TO VILNIUS:
THE JOURNEY OF KING STANISŁAW IN THE WINTER OF 1708

Summary

Key words: Masovia, Podlachia and Lithuania during the Great Northern War, King Stanisław Leszczyński, travel conditions in Poland in 1708

The article discusses the journey of King Stanisław Leszczyński from Toruń, which he left on 10 Jan 1708, to Vilnius, where he arrived on 22 March 1708. The journey to Lithuania was forced by the Swedish sovereign Charles XII, who was accompanied by Leszczyński from the autumn of 1706. The question is whether the journey of King Stanisław launched in the winter of 1708 was a rational decision. It strengthened the position of Leszczyński in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Still his position predominantly depended on the Sapieha family, who were supported by Charles XII. During his few personal meetings with Charles XII, Leszczyński failed to convince Charles XII to approve of his political concepts. It still remained unknown whether the Polish monarch should accompany Charles XII in his journey into Russia or whether he should return to Poland and try to appease people at home. The closest collaborators of King Stanisław were sceptical (with the exception of the Sapiehas) of the political and military plans of Charles XII; they also disapproved of the conduct of the Swedish troops in Poland. The Swedes treated Poland as a conquered state imposing very high contributions and induced the delivery of food and pasture for horses.



VON THORN NACH WILNA.

DIE REISE VON KÖNIG STANISŁAW IM WINTER 1708

Zusammenfassung

Schlüsselwörter: Masowien, Podlachien und Litauen zur Zeit des Großen Nordischen Kriegs, König Stanisław Leszczyński, Reisebedingungen in der Adelsrepublik im Jahr 1708

Der Artikel bespricht detailliert den Verlauf der Reise von König Stanisław Leszczyński von Thorn, das er am 10. Januar 1708 verließ, nach Wilna, wo er am 22. März 1708 ankam. Die Reise nach Litauen wurde vom schwedischen König Karl XII. erzwungen, den Leszczyński seit Herbst 1706 begleitet hatte. Man kann darüber nachdenken, ob der im Winter 1708 unternommene Zug des Königs nach Litauen ein rationales Unternehmen war. Er führte zwar zur Stärkung der Stellung Leszczyńskis im Großfürstentum Litauen, aber diese Position hing vor allem von der Unterstützung der Magnatenfamilie Sapieha ab, die das volle Vertrauen Karls XII. genoss. Leszczyński gelang es bei seinen wenigen persönlichen Begegnungen mit Karl XII. nicht, ihn von seinen politischen Konzeptionen zu überzeugen. Es war im-

mer noch nicht bekannt, ob der polnische Monarch Karl den XII. bei seinem Zug ins Innere Russlands begleiten oder ob er nach Polen zurückkehren und dort versuchen sollte, das Land zu beruhigen. Die engsten Mitarbeiter von König Stanisław standen (mit Ausnahme der Sapieha) den politischen und militärischen Plänen von Karl XII. sehr skeptisch gegenüber und beurteilten auch das Vorgehen der schwedischen Heere auf dem Gebiet der Adelsrepublik eindeutig negativ. Die Schweden hatten sich hier nämlich wie in einem besetzten Land verhalten, hohe Kontributionen auferlegt und Lieferungen von Lebensmitteln und Futter für die Pferde erzwungen.



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