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**LEASING OF ROAD TOLLS IN THE KINGDOM OF POLAND IN THE EARLY YEARS AFTER THE FALL OF THE NOVEMBER UPRISING (1832-1836)**

**Summary.** The text focuses on road toll collection in the Kingdom of Poland in the early 1830S. Indicating that the law in force was initially from the pre-insurrectional period and new premises were introduced only in late 1835, the article emphasizes the endeavors of the authorities to monitor and prevent any possible extortions in the above-mentioned collection. The typical elements of the tender and lease process included paying a deposit, conducting tenders according to the “in plus” formula, and submitting bids by competitors in sealed envelopes. The numerous examples of the government proposals of tender conditions in the span of years 1832-1836 have been presented. The conclusion states that the entire bidding system seems to have proved inadequate for financing the maintenance of the road network of the Kingdom of Poland.

**Keywords:** road toll collection, tenders, Kingdom of Poland, 19th century

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# 1. THE LAW CONDITIONS OF LEASING THE ROAD TOLL IN THE KINGDOM OF POLAND IN THE BEGINNING OF THE PASKIEVICH PERIOD

In the early 1830s, the collection of road tolls in the Kingdom of Poland was still governed by the law established on November 20, 1821<sup>2</sup>, after numerous modifications during the constitutional period.

After the suppression of the November Uprising, the occupying Russian authorities considered this situation to remain in effect. Based on this, in early January 1832, the Chief of Staff of the Russian occupying First Active Army informed about the restrictions imposed by the conqueror of Warsaw - Field Marshal Paskevich – on the Russian military regarding their "interference in the regulations concerning the collection of road tolls and similar matters." On February 3, 1832, the Provisional Government of the Kingdom introduced a clear ban prohibiting Russian military intervention in these matters. Minor changes appeared in May 1832<sup>3</sup>.

Minor changes appeared in May of 1832, when quite clear rules were introduced regarding tenders, including those for road construction, maintenance and supervision. On May 9, 1832, the Government Committee for Internal, Spiritual and Public Enlightenment Affairs (KRSWDiOSP) issued rescript no. 1461/2192, which stated explicitly that no declaration submitted after the applicable deadline, i.e., after the conclusion of the auction in both Warsaw's ministry and in the respective provincial commission[s], "/.../ even if it ensured the greatest benefit for the Treasury," could be accepted for further processing or even review. At the same time, the ministry firmly assured that only those bids would win the tenders that "/.../ submit a legal declaration that is most advantageous for the Treasury during the auction /.../." Next, the indicated decree of the KRSWDiOSP was printed for private "usage" in the voivodeships throughout the country, as it was, for example, done by the order of the Mazovian Voivodeship Commission, dated May 23, 1832, no. 3 1 202 / 3 873, where it was published in the local Voivodeship Journal no. 37/1832<sup>4</sup>.

However, in the year 1835, the Government Committee for Internal, Spiritual and Public Enlightenment Affairs recognized the need to amend certain provisions of the existing law regarding the collection of road tolls. This application was positively reviewed by Tzar Nicholas I, as it was reported in a letter from the residing in Petersburg Minister Secretary of State for the Kingdom of Poland, dated March 26/April 7, 1835, number 467<sup>5</sup>. Consequently, the Administrative Council adopted new regulations regarding the collection of road tolls on June 4/16, 1835. This law, was formally dated July 16/28, 1835, and published in the Journal of Laws of the Kingdom of Poland. By its authority, from July 20/August 1, 1835, new regulations regarding the "increased toll fee on paved roads throughout the Kingdom" came into effect<sup>6</sup>.

As a rule, at the beginning of the post-uprising period, leasing of road tolls most often took place through auctions, and of a rather specific nature. Namely, it was typically an auction conducted through the submission of so-called "sealed declarations", which meant that the bids were usually no longer subject to further tenders. To the submitted offers, which were most often made at the office of the relevant Voivodeship Commission within a specified date and hour time, a deposit had to be attached. The deposit amount usually equaled the toll amount

<sup>2</sup> *Official Journal of Masovian Voivodeship*, 7 January 1822: 9 152.

<sup>3</sup> Central Archives of Historical Record in Warsaw, The Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland: 1816 - 1821, Signature: 21/422.

<sup>4</sup> *Universal Journal*, 7 September 1832, 242: 1087.

<sup>5</sup> *Digest of Laws of Kingdom of Poland*, t. 17, p. 32.

<sup>6</sup> *Official Journal of Masovian Voivodeship*, 27 July 1835, 201/2: 915- 818.

collected over a two-month period (what was counted as “/.../in relation to the offered prices balancing”). Customary the auctions took place at the request of the Warsaw’s ministry - the Government Commission for Internal, Spiritual and Public Enlightenment Affairs. Such a tender was organized for the purpose of leasing tolls both on roads that have already been built and - at times - on those that were yet to be completed. The tender concerned a toll referred to as established “in addition to the annual prices in /.../ included in the list”, meaning that bids were made upwards from the price set by the government administration for collecting tolls on a given stretch of road or while crossing the bridge for a one-year period<sup>7</sup>.

The offers had to be filled out according to the provided template. The declaration could include a request for the leasing of even several road stations, where tolls could be collected through winning a tender process. The toll buyout price could, of course, vary for each station. As it was stated above, the selection of offers took place “in terms of benefits” for the public budget. All declarations prepared in a manner inconsistent with the model provided by the state administration, or submitted after the specified deadline, were automatically deemed invalid and, as such, were not subject to consideration. What was very important was the fact that announcements for tenders were often published in the Provincial Journals about two weeks before the anticipated auction date, and thus within a not-too-distant timeframe<sup>8</sup>.

From the rescript of the Masovian Voivodeship Commission dated as of September 4, 1833, one could also learn more details. For example, it indicates that the bids submitted by entrepreneurs had to be written “clearly” and distinctly; they could not contain any crossings out or, possibly, “scribbles”. The entrepreneur applying for the lease of the toll had no right to include any reservations or conditions in the declaration. Moreover, all numbers had to be written out in words (“letters”), and they had to be written by hand of the entrepreneur himself. It was understood that the provided amount generally indicated the “highest sum that the entrepreneur declares to pay”. However, it was not allowed to provide so-called lump sums calculated for the payment for several road stations together, which meant that “/.../ no declaration would be considered valid if it did not include the amount of the offer for each station”<sup>9</sup>.

## **2. GOVERNMENT REACTION TO POSSIBLE ABUSES IN THE PRACTICE OF LEASING OF ROAD TOLLS IN THE EARLY POST-INSURRECTION PERIOD**

Some problems with implementing this new law officially emerged a few years after introducing new provisions concerning toll leasing. Despite the fact that the toll tariff was supposed to be displayed in a publicly accessible location outside each toll booth., the Government Committee for Internal, Spiritual and Public Enlightenment Affairs reported at the end of 1835 the emergence of a significant number of reports regarding serious abuses committed by toll collectors. Acting in place of the main director presiding over the ministry, the Director of the Department of Arts, Industry, and Trade – Mateusz Lubowidzki, in a letter dated December 12/24, 1835, directly informed about the abuses committed by the lessees in the collection of road tolls, “/.../ demanding a higher fee than what the law and tariff allow.”

Lubowidzki simultaneously raised the issue of the inability to impose appropriate penalties on dishonest tenants in cases where similar violations were not reported to the higher authorities, in practice: to any "nearest authority," or even directly to the offices of the ministry

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<sup>7</sup> *Official Journal of Masovian Voivodeship*, 24 November 1834, 1662/2: 1649.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, 1662/2: 1649 - 1650.

<sup>9</sup> *Universal Journal*, 7 September 1833, 244: 1071-1072.

in Warsaw. The director of the KRSWDiOSP Department thus reminded in December of 1835 about the possibility of quick and hassle-free consideration of such complaints, pointing out that they were based on a law from the time of the Duchy of Warsaw, specifically from the year 1811. At that time, the legislation exempted from the necessity of paying the stamp fee for applications submitted by private individuals to the administrative authorities that had "the aim of serving the public interest." Lubowidzki apparently counted all comments regarding abuses in the collection of the road toll in this category. In this way - as it was claimed by the Director of the Department of Arts, Industry, and Trade, "travellers have every opportunity to shield themselves from the arbitrariness of tax collectors, as long as they are willing to report the experienced inconveniences and deviations from the tariff regulations to the local or central administrative authorities"<sup>10</sup>.

The occupying regime authorities, headed by Field Marshal Paskevich, sometimes intervened in specific cases regarding a particular toll collection station. For example, such a situation happened when the Municipal Office of the Capital City of Warsaw issued a special announcement on May 2/14, 1836, regarding the upcoming Pentecost and the church feast celebrated at the same time in the locality of Bielany. This decree, signed by the president of the municipality of Warsaw, the state referendary Łaszczyński, was actually issued "to prevent and address the abuses noticed in the collection of road tolls at the paved road station [covering the distance] from the Marymont gates to Łomianki." On this occasion, the Warsaw Municipal Office deemed it necessary to reiterate in public documents issued by the state administration the regulations concerning the collection of road tolls in the area of the Warsaw city gates near Marymont. According to Łaszczyński, they were primarily mandates requiring that individuals leaving Warsaw (for a leisure tour) through those very gates would pay the road toll only once, while continuing on the two-mile route to Łomianki. Returning back to the capital on the same day, upon presenting the previously paid ticket, issued when leaving the city, travellers on the Łomianki - Marymont route no longer had to pay any additional road tolls. On the other hand, residents of houses and mills located outside the city limits, as well as those employed at the Marymont Institute of Rural Economy (along with all the livestock driven by them), were not subject to any transportation fees when traveling to and from Warsaw. Finally, Łaszczyński pointed out that during the two days of Pentecost, no one had the right to collect any transport duties in the area of the Marymont gates<sup>11</sup>. Apparently, in the mid-1830s, numerous abuses occurred in the collection of transport tolls on this route.

Similarly, on June 11/23, 1836, the Municipal Office of the Capital City of Warsaw (in addition to the issued rescript of ministry – KRSWDiOSP on the same matter) decided to intervene in the process - as it was described - of "constant misunderstandings and disputes" that arose between the residents of Warsaw going for (mostly of leisure type) trips outside the city gates and the local toll collectors. By issuing a special announcement, it was decided not only to publish it in the public writings circulating in the whole of the Kingdom of Poland but also, and most of all, to distribute printed copies for public viewing at all city gates of Warsaw. It was ordered to display this announcement at all customs booths in Warsaw, next to the appropriate road toll tariff. In addition, each of the gate inspectors and road toll collectors also received one copy of the aforementioned announcement.

As for the content of the municipal rescript itself, the President of Warsaw and state referendary Łaszczyński, who signed the municipal rescript, drew the attention of all interested parties to a whole series of legal and factual circumstances. First and foremost, it was indicated in the discussed document that a toll rate for road tolls had already been established having

<sup>10</sup>*Universal Journal*, 8 January 1836, 7: 27.

<sup>11</sup>*Universal Journal*, 16 May 1836, 133: 639.

based on the resolution of the Administrative Council dated of June 1/13, 1835, which was subsequently announced by the Government Commission for Internal, Spiritual and Public Enlightenment and Affairs on July 3/15, 1835. Additionally, it was reminded that the Municipal Office of the City of Warsaw had already ordered its republication in various magazines. Additionally, Łaszczyński pointed out that at each customs booth where a transport fee was collected was equipped with a displayed price list of fees, so everyone could easily ensure that “/.../ the road toll demanded is not higher than it should be”.

Secondly, the President of Warsaw noted in June 1836 that in the event of a demand from a traveller for a fee higher than that stipulated in the official transport tariff, there was no necessary reason to engage in disputes with the toll collector on that account. Instead, the proposed solution here was to call upon the police inspector permanently stationed at the gates. His duties included - among other things - identifying any potential fiscal abuses “under strict liability”. Subsequently, the police officer adjusted the amount of the fee demanded to the level actually stipulated by the provisions, as was also obliged to report the guilty party the road collector, directly to the (Capital) Municipal Office.

As a result of the confirmed report of irregularities, the toll operator was subsequently held responsible within the scope defined by the toll tariff regulations, specifically in relation to its points: e) and f). If the police inspector involved in the entire event of confusion did not properly fulfill his imposed duties, or if the concerned traveller - despite the inspector's call and having received the appropriate “explanation” from him - still had any doubts regarding his potential compensation, he should have gone, avoiding any further disputes, directly to the Municipal Office. On his side, the President of the City of Warsaw assured that there “it may be possible to measure satisfaction according to certain regulations”. As it follows from Łaszczyński's clear declaration, the authorities' intention was for all individuals from the toll service not to avoid responsibility for the offenses they had eventually committed. This idea was the source of the declaration of the desire to call upon all individuals passing through the toll gates to report as many fiscal and transport abuses as possible, thereby contributing to the “eradication of extortion”.

Furthermore, regarding the most common type of abuses related to the collection of the transport fee at the Marymont gate, the President of Warsaw reminded on June 23, 1836, that individuals passing through this city entrance point were only required to pay the requested transport fee once. The paid toll road covered the distance of a two-mile stretch of paved road from Marymont to Łomianki, with the stipulation – mentioned earlier in this same section of this monograph – that if travellers returned from their trip on the same day, they could not be asked for additional payment, provided they presented the previously paid “ticket” upon their return. Although, at the same time, the Municipal Office of the Capital City of Warsaw clearly indicated that such a solution applies only at the Marymont toll gates. In other places of formal entry and exit to and from Warsaw, individuals passing through had the obligation to pay regular road tolls, in accordance with the provisions of the so-called general transport tariff regulations (under letter a), which meant the necessity of paying the toll both when leaving and entering the city.

Finally, in the fourth part of its regulation, the Municipal Office of Warsaw recommended that all policemen-gate inspectors that, in accordance with the content of the magistrate's noticer from June of 1836, had to place particular emphasis on the proper enforcement of fiscal and transport regulations, and that they were obliged to “rectify” any observed abuses, either automatically by virtue of the provisions of the tariff law itself, or upon receiving reports from affected travellers. As a rule, the police were to carry out these actions in a manner that ensured public peace, trying to prevent conflicts and disputes. It was also stated that the law enforcement

officers stationed at the gates had to quickly deliver those guilty of abuses, etc., to the Municipal Office in the Capital (or at least report the illegal acts committed by the offenders) under strict personal responsibility. Moreover, the toll inspectors had to constantly monitor the proper display of the toll rates in such a location at the customs booth so that it could be easily seen and read. Upon noticing the lack of readability in the transport tariff text, it was the duty of the inspectors to instruct the toll road lessees to make every effort to obtain new copies of the fee schedule plate as quickly as possible. In the event of a delay in executing such an order, these police officers were forced to notify the Municipal Office<sup>12</sup>.

### 3. LEASING OF ROAD TOLLS IN THE YEAR 1832 AND 1833-1835

Some examples of road toll leasing in the Kingdom of Poland during 1832 may be referenced. For instance, one can describe the conditions for leasing of road and the bridge tolls in the Augustów Voivodeship on the strategic Petersburg (Kaunas) route, as well as for the bridge on the Narew River in Złotaria on the Białystok route (passing through this voivodeship) for the year 1832 on a twelve-month basis. The decree of the Government Committee for Internal, Spiritual and Public Enlightenment Affairs was signed on August 9, 1832<sup>13</sup>, meaning the actual possibility of leasing tolls would be limited to a few months of that year only. The costs of that lease in the Augustów Voivodeship for the entire year of 1832 were as follows.

Tab. 1<sup>14</sup>

Proposal of the KRSWDiOSP for leasing road and bridge tolls on the Petersburg (Kaunas) route, and the Białystok route, passing thorough the Augustów Voivodeship, for the year 1832 on a twelve-month basis

| Beginning of road station | End of road station | The annual lease price of road tolls in Zloties |
|---------------------------|---------------------|---|
| Miastkowo                 | Łomża               | 1 400   |
| Łomża                     | Stawiski            | 1 500   |
| Stawiski                  | Szczuczyn           | 1 805   |
| Szczuczyn                 | Grajewo             | 1 530   |
| Grajewo                   | Rajgród             | 3 065   |
| Rajgród                   | Augustów            | 1 025   |
| Augustów                  | Szczepki            | 1 540   |
| Szczepki                  | Suwałki             | 830   |
| Suwałki                   | Szypliszki          | 1 875   |
| Szypliszki                | Kalwaria            | 1 200   |
| Kalwaria                  | Mariampol           | 1 205   |
| Mariampol                 | Budki               | 1 570   |
| Budki                     | Wejwery             | 1 120   |
| Wejwery                   | Aleksota            | 1 800   |
| Łomża – vicinity          | bridge              | 3 630   |
| Mariampol-vicinity        | bridge              | 1 510   |
| Złotaria- vicinity        | bridge              | 450   |

<sup>12</sup> *Universal Journal*, 2 July 1836, 185:905.

<sup>13</sup> *Universal Journal*, 7 September 1832, 242: 1088.

<sup>14</sup> Source: l. c.

Simultaneously, on the same date - August 9, 1832 - the Government Commission for Internal Affairs, Clergy, and Public Enlightenment issued rescript no. 4,277 (which was also referenced above), ordering a tender for the lease of road and bridge tolls in the Augustów province for a period of three years, from January 1, 1833, to December 31, 1835. As a result, the Augustów Voivodeship Commission scheduled two auctions for the lease of tolls on the same sections of roads and the same bridges for the rest of 1832 as well as for the mandated period of 36 following months. The auction was set for three instalments on October 1, 2, and 3, 1832, at the office of the Augustów provincial commission. Entrepreneurs had to submit sealed envelopes with their proposed lease amount declaration before the tender. The deposit was set at two-months' worth of the current lease sum for the given section of the road or bridge. Each declaration could only pertain to one section of the road or bridge tolls<sup>15</sup>.

Tab. 2<sup>16</sup>

Proposal of the KRSWDiOSP to lease the road and bridge tolls on the Petersburg (Kaunas) route and the Białystok route, passing thorough the Augustów Voivodeship, for the period from January 1, 1833, to December 31, 1835

| Beginning of road station | End of road station | The annual lease price of road tolls in Zloties. |
|---------------------------|---------------------|--|
| Miastkowo                 | Łomża               | 4 200  |
| Łomża                     | Stawiski            | 4 500  |
| Stawiski                  | Szczuczyn           | 5 415  |
| Szczuczyn                 | Grajewo             | 4 590  |
| Grajewo                   | Rajgród             | 9 195  |
| Rajgród                   | Augustów            | 3 075  |
| Augustów                  | Szczepki            | 4 620  |
| Szczepki                  | Suwałki             | 2 490  |
| Suwałki                   | Szypliszki          | 5 625  |
| Szypliszki                | Kalwaria            | 3 600  |
| Kalwaria                  | Mariampol           | 3 615  |
| Mariampol                 | Budki               | 4 710  |
| Budki                     | Wejwery             | 3 360  |
| Wejwery                   | Aleksota            | 5 400  |
| Łomża –vicinity           | bridge              | 10 890   |
| Mariampol-vicinity        | bridge              | 3 530  |
| Złotoria-vicinity         | bridge              | 1 350  |

On August 9, 1832, the Government Commission for Internal, Spiritual and Public Enlightenment Affairs announced a tender for the lease of road and bridge tolls on other selected routes of the Kingdom. This was done by the aforementioned decree no. 4 277. Based on these regulations, the Mazovian Voivodeship Commission announced the tenders for a three-year lease of road and bridge tolls at the end of August 1832. The lease would run from January 1, 1833, to December 31, 1835. The Commission presented the boundary conditions that potential contractors had to meet for their offers to be considered. First and foremost, there was an emphasis put on the need for entrepreneurs to personally appear at the tenders and when

<sup>15</sup> *Universal Journal*, 7 September 1832, 242:1088.

<sup>16</sup> Source: l. c.

submitting bid bonds. Altogether with delivering the entry fee, each entrepreneur had to hand over to an authorized person a sealed envelope, in which he had specified -without any visible or traceable writing corrections – the “final and maximum annual amount” for which they would undertake to redeem the given transport toll lease. The Mazovian Voivodeship Commission stipulated that any declaration not meeting these criteria could not be considered in principle. Similarly, any offer including additional requirements or conditions set by the entrepreneur was rejected.

The tender itself was divided into two parts, the first part took place at the office of the Mazovian Voivodeship Commission (in the government palace at Przejazd Street No. 646/647) on October 2 and 3, 1832. The person responsible for conducting the auction was the provincial commissioner of the Administrative Department. The tender was conducted separately for each toll station or “road space”, starting from the previously paid lease amounts. The announced auction concerned the following transport leases.

Tab. 3<sup>17</sup>

Proposal of the KRSWDiOSP for leasing road tolls at the stations of the Petersburg, Lublin, and Krakow routes, as well as bridge tolls on the Lublin route for the period from January 1, 1833, to December 31, 1835, with the auction scheduled for October 1, 1832

| Beginning of the road station | End of the road station | Route            | The annual lease price of road tolls in Zloties |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------|---|
| Praga                         | Serock                  | Petersburg route | 20 660  |
| Warsaw                        | Piaseczno               | Lublin route     | 11 000  |
| Warsaw                        | Janki                   | Krakow route     | 15 000  |
| Konary                        | 7 bridges               | Lublin route     | 1 001   |

Tab. 4<sup>18</sup>

The proposal of the KRSWDiOSP to lease road tolls at the stations of the Kalisz-Poznań, Lublin, and Krakow routes, as well as bridge tolls on the Petersburg route for the period from January 1, 1833, to December 31, 1835, with the tender scheduled for October 2, 1832

| Beginning of the road station | End of the road station | Route               | The annual lease price of road tolls in Zloties |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|---|
| Łowicz                        | Koło                    | Kalisz-Poznań route | 14 210  |
| Łowicz - vicinity             | bridge                  | Kalisz-Poznań route | 2 680   |
| Zgierz - vicinity             | bridge/ferry            | Petersburg route    | 15 020  |

The description of the conditions of these tenders sheds light on the early leasing of tolls on paved roads and bridges in the Kingdom of Poland, shortly after the crushing of the anti-Russian uprising of 1831.

<sup>17</sup> Source: *Universal Journal*, 7 September 1832, 242:1087.

<sup>18</sup> Source: l. c.



#### 4. LEASING OF ROAD TOLLS IN THE YEAR 1833 (FOR 1833-1836)

As before, the ministry commenced its activity in the field of establishing the conditions for tenders concerning road/bridge tolls in the mid-summer. On August 19, 1833, the Government Commission for Internal, Spiritual and Public Enlightenment Affairs issued rescript no. 3 536 / 12 627, stating the necessity of conducting a tender for the collection of road tolls on parts of the Kalisz-Poznań and Brześć Litewski routes, as well as bridge tolls. The reason was the expiration on December 31, 1833, of the existing contracts previously concluded with the lessees of those tolls. On this basis, the Masovian Voivodeship Commission issued a public note on September 4, 1833, informing that sealed declarations for the leasing of income from the collection of bridge and road tolls on the Kalisz-Poznań and Brześć Litewski routes were being accepted at its office (located at Nalewki Street No. 561). The specified declarations had to be filled out separately for each station or bridge. The deadline for submitting bidding offers was October 10, 1833, at 12 noon, and the scope of the submitted offer was to cover a period of 36 months, starting from January 1, 1834, and ending on December 31, 1836. Since the auction was conducted on the basis of recognizing the most financially advantageous offer as the winning one (in plus), the annual sums of the lease amounts previously paid were considered as the starting point of bidding. It was, of course, necessary to also deposit in cash or in bonds a security fee, amounting to 1/10 of the indicated "praetium fisci" (fiscal value) of the transaction<sup>19</sup>.

Tab. 5<sup>20</sup>

Proposal of the KRSWDiOSP to lease the road tolls for part of the Poznań-Kalisz route and the Brześć Litewski route, as well as the bridge tolls, for the period from January 1, 1833, to December 31, 1836

| Beginning of road station | End of road station | Route                 | The annual lease price of road tolls in Zloties |
|---------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---|
| Warszawa                  | Ołtarzew            | Kalisz Poznań route   | 17 500  |
| Ołtarzew                  | Błonie              | Kalisz Poznań route   | 12 500  |
| Błonie                    | Paprotnia           | Kalisz Poznań route   | 7 800   |
| Paprotnia                 | Sochaczew           | Kalisz Poznań route   | 5 200   |
| Sochaczew                 | Kozłów              | Kalisz Poznań route   | 3 800   |
| Kozłów Szlachecki         | Szlachecki          | Kalisz Poznań route   | 3 200   |
| Praga                     | Łowicz              | Brześć Litewski route | 23 000  |
| Miłosna                   | Miłosna             | Brześć Litewski route | 23 000  |
| Mińsk                     | Mińsk               | Brześć Litewski route | 9 000   |
| Kałużyn                   | Mingosy             | Brześć Litewski route | 6 000   |
| Sochaczew - vicinity      | bridge              | No data               | 4 000   |
| Zegrze - vicinity         | bridg               | No data               | 19 500  |

<sup>19</sup> *Universal Journal*, 7 September 1833, 244: 1071-1072.

<sup>20</sup> Source: *Universal Journal*, 7 September 1833, 244: 1071.

## 5. LEASING OF ROAD TOLLS IN THE YEAR 1834 (FOR 1835)

As a result of the Government Committee for Internal, Spiritual and Public Enlightenment Affairs decree no. 17 499/51 507, dated as of November 18, 1834, the Masovian Voivodeship Commission announced on November 22 of the same year that a public tender was to take place in early December 1834. The tender would be conducted by submitting financial proposals in sealed envelopes, for the leasing of a specific road tolls. The tender concerned the leasing of tolls at specifically designated stations and covered the period of time starting from January 1, 1835. Planned by the Director of Land and Water Communications of KRSWDiOSP Charini on October 28, 1834, the auction included a number of paved routes, including the newly opened Białystok route<sup>21</sup>.

The auction included the following road stations for leasing tolls on the highways and paved roads of the Kingdom of Poland at that time:

Tab. 6<sup>22</sup>

Proposal of the KRSWDiOSP to lease road tolls on the stations on the Factory route for the year 1835

| Beginning of road station | End of road station | Length of station in miles | District  | Voivodeship | The annual lease price of road tolls in Zloties |
|---------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|-----------|-------------|---|
| Łowicz                    | Domaniewice         | 2                          | Sochaczew | Masovian    | 2 000   |
| Domaniewice               | Stryków             | 2                          | Rawa      | Masovian    | 1 800   |
| Stryków                   | Zgierz              | 2                          | Rawa      | Masovian    | 1 800   |
| Zgierz                    | Łódka (Łódź)        | 2                          | Łęczyca   | Masovian    | 1 500   |
| Łódka (Łódź)              | Pabianice           | 2                          | Sieradz   | Kalisz      | 2 500   |
| Pabianice                 | Łask                | 3                          | Sieradz   | Kalisz      | 2 000   |
| Łask                      | Zduńska Wola        | 2                          | Sieradz   | Kalisz      | 1 500   |
| Zduńska Wola              | Sieradz             | 2                          | Sieradz   | Kalisz      | 1 800   |
| Sieradz                   | Błaszów             | 3                          | Kalisz    | Kalisz      | 2 000   |
| Błaszów                   | Opatówek            | No data                    | Kalisz    | Kalisz      | 2 500   |

Tab. 7<sup>23</sup>

Proposal of the KRSWDiOSP to lease the road tolls at the stations along the Białystok route for the year 1835

| Beginning of road station | End of road station | Length of station in miles | District | Voivodeship | The annual lease price of road tolls in Zloties |
|---------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|----------|-------------|---|
| Pomiechów                 | Orzechów            | 2                          | Płock    | Płock       | 2 000   |
| Orzechów                  | Serock              | No data                    | Płock    | Płock       | 2 000   |
| Serock                    | Słomianka           | 2                          | Płock    | Płock       | 1 500   |
| Słomianka                 | Wyszów              | 2                          | Pułtusk  | Płock       | 1 500   |

<sup>21</sup> *Official Journal of Masovian Voivodeship*, 24 November 1834, 1662/2:1649.

<sup>22</sup> Source: *Official Journal of Masovian Voivodeship*, 24 November 1834, 1662/2: 1650-1651.

<sup>23</sup> Source: *Ibidem*, 1662/2: 1651-1652.

|            |            |   |           |          |       |
|------------|------------|---|-----------|----------|-------|
| Wyszków    | Budydypki  | 3 | Pułtusk   | Płock    | 2 000 |
| Budydypki  | Ostrów     | 2 | Ostrołęka | Płock    | 1 500 |
| Ostrów     | Wyszomierz | 2 | Ostrołęka | Płock    | 1 500 |
| Wyszomierz | Zambrów    | 2 | Łomża     | Augustów | 1 500 |
| Zambrów    | Mężenin    | 3 | Łomża     | Augustów | 2 000 |
| Mężenin    | Jeżew      | 2 | Łomża     | Augustów | 1 500 |
| Jeżew      | Złotoryja  | 2 | Łomża     | Augustów | 1 500 |

Tab. 8<sup>24</sup>

Proposal of the KRSWDiOSP to lease the road tolls at  
the stations along the Kraków route for the year 1835

| Beginning of<br>road station | End of road<br>station | Length of<br>station in<br>miles | District | Voivodeship | The annual<br>lease price of<br>road tolls in<br>Zloties |
|------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|----------|-------------|--|
| Grójec                       | Białobrzegi            | 3                                | Warsaw   | Masovian    | 4 000  |
| Białobrzegi                  | Jedlińsk               | 2                                | Radom    | Sandomierz  | 2 500  |
| Jedlińsk                     | Radom                  | 2                                | Radom    | Sandomierz  | 3 000  |
| Radom                        | Krogulcza              | 2                                | Radom    | Sandomierz  | 3 000  |
| Krogulcza                    | Sucha                  | 2                                | Radom    | Sandomierz  | 2 500  |
| Sucha                        | Szydłowiec             | 3                                | Opoczno  | Sandomierz  | 3 500  |
| Szydłowiec                   | Berezowo               | 3                                | Opoczno  | Sandomierz  | 5 000  |
| Berezowo                     | Kielce                 | 2                                | Kielce   | Kraków      | 4 000  |
| Kielce                       | Chęciny                | 3                                | Kielce   | Kraków      | 3 000  |
| Chęciny                      | Jędrzejów              | 2                                | Kielce   | Kraków      | 2 500  |
| Jędrzejów                    | Wodzisław              | 3                                | Miechów  | Kraków      | 3 500  |
| Wodzisław                    | Miechów                | 3                                | Miechów  | Kraków      | 3 500  |

Tab. 9<sup>25</sup>

Proposal of the KRSWDiOSP to lease the road tolls at  
the stations along the Lublin route for the year 1835

| Beginning of<br>road station | End of road<br>station | Length of<br>station in<br>miles | District | Voivodeship | The annual<br>lease price of<br>road tolls in<br>Zloties |
|------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|----------|-------------|--|
| Piaseczno                    | Góra                   | 2                                | Warsaw   | Masovian    | 3 000  |
| Góra                         | Mniszew                | 2                                | Warsaw   | Masovian    | 2 000  |

<sup>24</sup> Source: Ibidem, 1662/2: 1652-1653.

<sup>25</sup> Source: Ibidem, 1662/2: 1652.

Tab. 10<sup>26</sup>

Proposal of the KRSWDiOSP to lease the road tolls at the stations along the Modlin route for the year 1835

| Beginning of road station | End of road station | Length of station in miles | District | Voivodeship | The annual lease price of road tolls in Zloties |
|---------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|----------|-------------|---|
| Jabłonna                  | Nowy Dwór           | 2                          | Warsaw   | Masovian    | 4 000   |

Tab. 11<sup>27</sup>

Proposal of the KRSWDiOSP to lease the road tolls at the stations along the Młociny- Modlin route for the year 1835

| Beginning of road station | End of road station | Length of station in miles | District | Voivodeship | The annual lease price of road tolls in Zloties |
|---------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|----------|-------------|---|
| Warsaw                    | Łomna               | 4                          | Warsaw   | Masovian    | 15 000  |

Tab. 12<sup>28</sup>

Proposal of the KRSWDiOSP to lease the road tolls at the stations along the Radzymin route for the year 1835

| Beginning of road station | End of road station | Length of station in miles | District | Voivodeship | The annual lease price of road tolls in Zloties |
|---------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|----------|-------------|---|
| Praga                     | Radzymin            | 3                          | Warsaw   | Masovian    | 20 000  |

As can be observed, the starting auction price for leasing road tolls at the road stations of the Białystok route and the Factory route was relatively low. However, there was a clear increase in the anticipated toll price on certain sections of the Kraków route, particularly around Kielce. One of the highest starting auction bids was for a section in the vicinity of Warsaw itself, from the capital to Łomna, where for the lease of 4 miles of the route one had to pay at least 15,000 Zloties to the state treasury. The most expensive lease in the Kingdom turned out to be the one for the so-called Radzymin road, from Prague to the locality of Radzymin, where one had to pay at least 20,000 Zloties for the annual lease to receive tolls on this paved track, which was 3 miles long. It is obvious that the anticipated minimum lease amount had to significantly reflect the actual intensity of local traffic and the rental profits derived from it.

## 6. LEASING OF ROAD TOLLS IN 1835 (FOR THE WHOLE OF 1836)

Altogether with the issuance of the Government Committee for Internal, Spiritual and Public Enlightenment Affairs rescript dated September 25 / October 7, 1835 (reference number 15 584 / 48 705), “a public auction in plus for the leasing of road and bridge tolls” on the paved roads

<sup>26</sup> Source: Ibidem, 1662/2: 1651.

<sup>27</sup> Source: Ibidem, 166/2: 1651.

<sup>28</sup> Source: Ibidem, 166/2: 1652.

of the Kingdom for the 12-month period from January 1 to December 31, 1836, was scheduled for the days: November 10, 11, 12, and 15, 1835. This auction was valid for those chosen sections of main roads where the term of the previous toll lease was destined to end on December 31, 1835. All interested entrepreneurs were requested to attend the auction with a deposit receipt from the Main Cash Office of the Masovian Voivodeship. In the announcements from 1835, the amount of the deposit (standardly set at the<sup>203</sup> equivalent of two months' minimum fee for leasing the toll on a given stretch of the road) was considered a very significant factor in the bidding process, worth a very clear, detailed advancement. As emphasized, the deposit was introduced "to ensure the bids during the auction". Entrepreneurs winning individual auctions for the lease of road tolls for the year 1836 were obliged to promptly ".../ add the missing amount in relation to the offered quantity /.../ as a supplement to the already paid two-month deposit". The losing parties, after returning the certified receipt, were entitled to collect the submitted deposit from the Cash Office of the Masovian Voivodeship<sup>29</sup>. The auction bases included, among others, the following:

Tab. 13<sup>30</sup>

Proposal of the KRSWDiOSP to lease the road tolls at  
the stations along the Kalisz-Poznań route for the year 1836

| Beginning of road station | End of road station | The annual lease price of road tolls in Zloties | Bid deposit in Zloties |
|---------------------------|---------------------|---|------------------------|
| Warszawa                  | Ołtarzew            | 28 950  | 4 825                  |
| Ołtarzew                  | Błonie              | 19 260  | 3 210                  |
| Błonie                    | Paprotnia (Serok)   | 10 260  | 1 700                  |
| Paprotnia (Serok)         | Sochaczew           | 9 900   | 1 650                  |
| Sochaczew                 | Kozłów Szlachecki   | 7 800   | 1 300                  |
| Kozłów Szlachecki         | Łowicz              | 7 440   | 1 240                  |
| Łowicz                    | Plecka Dąbrowa      | 6 860   | 1 143                  |
| Plecka Dąbrowa            | Kutno               | 5 200   | 866                    |
| Kutno                     | Krośniewice         | 7 500   | 416                    |
| Krośniewice               | Kłodawa             | 2 000   | 338                    |
| Kłodawa                   | Koło                | 2 500   | 416                    |

<sup>29</sup> *Official Journal of Masovian Voivodeship*, 26 October, 1835, 214/4: 1425, 1428-1429.

<sup>30</sup> Source: Ibidem, 214/4: 1425.

Tab. 14<sup>31</sup>

Proposal of the KRSWDiOSP to lease road tolls at  
the stations of the Breść Litewski route for the year 1836

| Beginning of road station | End of road station | The annual lease price of road tolls in Zloties | Bid deposit in Zloties |
|---------------------------|---------------------|---|------------------------|
| Praga                     | Miłosna             | 54 034  | 9 005                  |
| Miłosna                   | Mińsk               | 38 070  | 6 345                  |
| Mińsk                     | Kałuszyn            | 17 400  | 2 900                  |
| Kałuszyn                  | Mingos              | 15 940  | 2 656                  |

Tab. 15<sup>32</sup>

Proposal of the KRSWDiOSP for leasing road tolls at  
the stations of the Grodno route for the year 1836

| Beginning of road station | End of road station | The annual lease price of road tolls in Zloties | Bid deposit in Zloties |
|---------------------------|---------------------|---|------------------------|
| Praga                     | Marki               | 15 500  | 2 583                  |
| Marki                     | Radzymin            | 13 000  | 2 166                  |

It is worth noting here that the Radzymin route was practically included in the announcements for the year 1836 as part of the Białystok route, and both connected roads could also interchangeably be referred to as the “Grodno route”.

Tab. 16<sup>33</sup>

Proposal of the KRSWDiOSP to lease the road tolls at  
the stations along the Kaunas – Petersburg route for the year 1836

| Beginning of road station | End of road station | The annual lease price of road tolls in Zloties | Bid deposit in Zloties |
|---------------------------|---------------------|---|------------------------|
| Praga                     | Jabłonna            | 23 542  | 3 923                  |
| Jabłonna                  | Serock              | 12 000  | 2 166                  |

<sup>31</sup> Source: Ibidem, 214/4: 1426.

<sup>32</sup> Source: l.c.

<sup>33</sup> Source: l. c.

Tab. 17<sup>34</sup>

Proposal of the KRSWDiOSP to lease the road tolls at  
the stations along the Gdańsk route on the right bank of the Vistula for the year 1836

| Beginning of road station | End of road station | The annual lease price of road tolls in Zloties | Bid deposit in Zloties |
|---------------------------|---------------------|---|------------------------|
| Jabłonna                  | Nowy Dwór           | 8 028   | 1 338                  |

Tab. 18<sup>35</sup>

Proposal of the KRSWDiOSP to lease the road tolls at  
the stations along the Gdańsk route on the left bank of the Vistula for the year 1836

| Beginning of road station | End of road station | The annual lease price of road tolls in Zloties | Bid deposit in Zloties |
|---------------------------|---------------------|---|------------------------|
| Marymont Gate             | Verst 13 of road    | 18 000  | 3 000                  |
| Vesrt 13 of road          | Karczew             | 6 825   | 1 137                  |

Surprisingly, the auction for the lease of road tolls on selected sections of the paved tracks of the Kingdom for the year 1836 primarily highlighted the occurrence of dual nomenclature of the routes leading northeast. The Kaunas Road was then referred to as the “Kaunas-Petersburg”, while the Białystok route (including the Radzymin route) was interchangeably referred to as the “Grodno” track.

## 7. LEASING OF ROAD TOLLS FOR PART OF THE YEAR 1836 (TENDERS ANNOUCED IN THE SAME YEAR)

As in the year of 1832, some tenders for the lease of road tolls concerned not full one-year periods (i.e., 12 months). On January 19, 1836, the Government Committee for Internal, Spiritual and Public Enlightenment Affairs issued rescript no. 485 / 1 678, announcing an auction to be held on February 14, 1836, at 9 a.m. (“/.../ and if time would be insufficient, on the following day”) for the leasing of revenue from the collection of road tolls on selected sections of paved roads for the period from April 1 to December 31, 1836. As always in such cases, the auction held was of a public nature, in addition to being held “in plus” for bids<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> Source: l.c.

<sup>35</sup> Source: l. c.

<sup>36</sup> *Official Journal of Masovian Voivodeship*, 18 February 1836, 229:144. *Universal Journal*, 13 February 1836: 179.

Tab. 21<sup>37</sup>

Proposal of the KRSWDiOSP for leasing road tolls at the stations of the Vistula-Lublin route for the period from April 1, 1836, to December 31, 1836

| Beginning of road station | End of road station | The annual lease price of road toll in Zloties | Bid deposit in Zloties |
|---------------------------|---------------------|--|------------------------|
| Miłosna                   | Wólka Młędzka       | 5 000  | ?                      |
| Wólka Młędzka             | Stara Wieś          | 5 000  | ?                      |
| Stara Wieś                | Garwolin            | 8 000  | ?                      |
| Garwolin                  | Gączyce             | 4 000  | ?                      |
| Gączyce                   | Ryki                | 5 000  | 833                    |
| Ryki                      | Zyszyń              | 5 000  | 833                    |
| Zyszyń                    | Kurów               | 4 000  | 666                    |

Tab. 22<sup>38</sup>

Proposal of KRSWDiOSP to lease the road tolls at the stations along the Volhynian route for the period from April 1, 1836, to December 31, 1836

| Beginning of road station | End of road station | The annual lease price of road toll in Zloties | Bid deposit in Zloties |
|---------------------------|---------------------|--|------------------------|
| Markuszew                 | Lublin              | 13 000?  | 2 500                  |
| Lublin                    | Wierzchowiska       | 10 000   | 1 666                  |

Tab. 23<sup>39</sup>

Proposal of the KRSWDiOSP to lease the road tolls at the stations along the Krakow route for the period from April 1, 1836, to December 31, 1836

| Beginning of road station | End of road station | The annual lease price of road toll in Zloties | Bid deposit in Zloties |
|---------------------------|---------------------|--|------------------------|
| Grójec                    | Białobrzegi         | 20 000   | 3 333                  |
| Miechów                   | Słomniki            | 6 000  | 1 000                  |

<sup>37</sup> Source: *Official Journal of Masovian Voivodeship*, 18 February 1836, 229: 144-145.

<sup>38</sup> Source: l. c.

<sup>39</sup> Source: l. c.



Tab. 24<sup>40</sup>

Proposal of the KRSWDiOSP to lease the road tolls at the stations along the Białystok route for the period from April 1, 1836, to December 31, 1836

| Beginning of road station | End of road station | The annual lease price of road toll in Zloties | Bid deposit in Zloties |
|---------------------------|---------------------|--|------------------------|
| Pomieczów                 | Orzechów            | 3 000  | 500                    |
| Orzechów                  | Serock              | 3 000  | 500                    |
| Serock                    | Słomianki           | 2 000  | 333                    |
| Słomianki                 | Wyszków             | 1 000  | 333                    |

As shown in the above table, by the mid-1830s, the road leading northeast from Warsaw towards Białystok and then Grodno) had become known as the Białystok route, just as it was decided during the meeting of the Administrative Council on November 19, 1832. Initially, it was referred to in its parts as the Radzymin, Grodno, and finally the Białystok routes.

#### 8. AUCTION OF THE ROAD TOLL “AT THE RISK (RISCO) OF THE CURRENT TENANT” FROM THE YEAR OF 1836

In 1836, a specific case occurred in the Kingdom of Poland, involving a public auction for the lease of a toll road “at the risk of the current lessee”. Such a decision was made by the Masovian Voivodeship Commission, which in a rescript dated January 25 / February 8, 1836, (no. 8 573 / 1 196) announced the holding of a tender for leasing the toll on parts of the Lublin Route, specifically in the area of the road station extending from Piaseczno to Góra Kalwaria. The auction was to take place on of February 7/19, 1836 (at 10 a.m.) at the office of the Commission. The deposit, equivalent to the amount of a two-month lease payment, amounted to 1328 Zloties<sup>41</sup>.

Tab. 25<sup>42</sup>

Proposal of the Masovian Voivodeship Commission to lease the toll on the Lublin Route station for the period from March 1, 1836, to December 31, 1836 (action scheduled for February 19, 1836)

| Beginning of road station | End of road station | The lease price of road toll for the period of March 1 – December 31 1836 in Zloties | Bid deposit in Zloties |
|---------------------------|---------------------|--|------------------------|
| Piaseczno                 | Góra Kalwaria       | 6 641  | 1 328                  |

<sup>40</sup> Source: L.c.

<sup>41</sup> *Universal Journal*, 24 February 1836, 58: 228.

<sup>42</sup> Source: *Universal Journal*, 12 February 1836, 41:173.

Nevertheless, on February 7/19, 1836, the Masovian Voivodeship Commission issued a decree (no 12 113 / 1 645) stating that the auction described above, scheduled to take place that same day at the risk of the current tenant, “did not achieve the appropriate effect”. Under these circumstances, the provincial authorities simultaneously announced the conduct of a new tender in this regard, which was to take place at the office of the commission on February 17/29, 1836, at 10 a.m. The announced “loud auction” (conducted personally by entrepreneurs showing up in situ) was to start at an amount of 1 810 Zloties, and the bid deposit needed to be submitted for the auction was calculated in this case at 362 Zloties<sup>43</sup>.

Tab. 26<sup>44</sup>

Renewed proposal of the Masovian Voivodeship Commission to  
lease the toll on the Lublin Route station for the period from March 1, 1836, to  
December 31, 1836 (consecutive action scheduled for February 19, 1836)

| Beginning of road station | End of road station | The lease price of road toll for period of March 1 – December 31 1836 in Zloties | Bid deposit in Zloties |
|---------------------------|---------------------|--|------------------------|
| Piaseczno                 | Górak Kalwaria      | 1 810  | 362                    |

The unoccupied road station on the Lublin Route needed to be leased, which necessitated a significant reduction in the lease amount for the collection of road tolls on this section of the paved route in February of 1836.

## 9. CONCLUSIONS

The maintenance by the Russian occupying authorities of the toll collection law from 1821 after the fall of the November Uprising of 1831, the prohibition of intervention by the tsarist army in this process, (and even the later amendment of the “collection” law from 1835) did not fundamentally change the auction system of road toll collection leases in the Kingdom of Poland. A peculiar confirmation of the constant oversight by local authorities over this practice was the numerous cases of monitoring and preventing extortion, which particularly intensified in the mid-1830s.

The tender and lease process has been illustrated in this article for the years 1832-1836, highlighting a number of phenomena characteristic of that period. Firstly, under the constant assumption of entering the tender only after paying a two-month deposit, the typical proposed lease period was not clearly established, oscillating between: a) several months; b) one year; c) two, or even three years. Secondly, as a rule, the tenders were conducted according to the “in plus” formula, meaning that simply the one who had submitted the highest bid above the minimum amount won. Thirdly, a typical improvement in the auction process was the submission of bids by competitors in sealed envelopes. Such a solution was only deviated from in exceptional situations, such as when a tender was repeated or when it was necessary to replace the current tenant with a new person. Finally, the evident differences in the presented tender information became visible.

<sup>43</sup> *Universal Journal*, 24 February 1836, 58: 228.

<sup>44</sup> Source: l. c.

Ultimately, regardless of the efficiency of the entire bidding system, it proved inadequate for financing the maintenance of the road network of the Kingdom of Poland in the first half of 30s of the 19th century. A clear confirmation of this was the justification for introducing new legal solutions in 1835, which explicitly referred to the financial inefficiency of the road maintenance process - originally funded through toll collection. This phenomenon could have been influenced by both the underestimation of financial needs for road repairs and maintenance, as well as corruption-inducing factors in the bidding process. The last factor could be considered to the extent that the increasing efforts of the authorities trying to counteract such illegal practices confirmed its growing significance.

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