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# CONCEPTS OF AND PROPOSALS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS IN THE VIEWS OF POLISH POLITICAL SOCIETIES IN EXILE IN 1830S

## THE CASE OF YOUNG POLAND

### ABSTRACT

The article analyses the concepts of and proposals for constitutional reforms put forward by one of the Polish democratic political groups, which was established in exile after the fall of the November Uprising (1830-1831). Young Poland, which was a part of an international conspiratorial organisation founded by Giuseppe Mazzini (Young Europe), an organisation marked by revolutionary democratism, which, according to Polish emigrants, meant primarily striving for national character, seeing its goal in regaining national independence lost by Poland as a result of partitions. In addition, however, the concepts of members of Young Poland strongly emphasized both Christian and Utopian socialist themes. The foundation of these concepts referred to republican ideas that arose from the Great French Revolution and were based on the principles of freedom, equality and fraternity.

**Keywords:** history of political and legal doctrines, history of constitutional law, constitutionalism, political system of the state, social reforms, women's rights, partitioned Poland, Great Emigration, Young Europe, Young Poland, Giuseppe Mazzini, Joachim Lelewel

## INTRODUCTION

The aim of this article is a detailed analysis of the concepts of and proposals for constitutional reforms of the Polish semi-secret emigration organisation – Young Poland, which was one of the organisations of revolutionary and national liberation character,<sup>1</sup> established by Poles fleeing the country after the fall of the November Uprising (1830-1831).<sup>2</sup> It should be remembered, however, that Young Poland was part of the international conspiracy organization Young Europe founded by Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872).<sup>3</sup> This organisation was to have the character of a ‘union of peoples’, whose main goal was to overthrow foreign governments (tyrannies) in individual countries (Young

<sup>1</sup> For more about the term *revolutionary*, see F.N. Babeuf, “Misja rewolucjonisty,” in idem, *Pisma wybrane*, transl. by K. Libera, Warszawa 1951, pp. 77-79; L. Saint-Just, “Portret rewolucjonisty,” in idem, *Wybór pism*, transl. by A. Ziemilski, B. Kulikowski, Warszawa 1954, pp. 158-159; J.A.N.C. de Condorcet, “O znaczeniu słowa «rewolucyjny»,” transl. by E. Zgolińska, *Doctrina. Studia społeczno-polityczne*, no. 8 (2011), pp. 327-331; E.J. Zgolińska, “Myśliciel a rewolucja – Jean Antoine Nicolas Condorcet,” *Doctrina. Studia społeczno-polityczne*, no. 8 (2011), pp. 275-279. I wrote at length about the political and legal doctrines of the period of the French Revolution elsewhere, see M. Konarski, “Myśl polityczno-prawna Louisa de Saint-Just (1767-1794),” *Studia Prawnicze i Administracyjne*, no. 2 (2016), pp. 15-34. It was not before the time of the Great Emigration that the word *revolutionary* became popular in Polish, and the word *insurgent* was still dominant, often used interchangeably with the *revolutionary*. A *revolutionary*, however, as understood by the representatives of the Polish post-uprising emigration, was a man fighting for the independence of his own country, for the political revolution, and much less often for the social revolution. The words *democrat*, *communist*, *nihilist* or *socialist* were often used as synonyms of the word *revolutionary*. It should be stressed, however, that in Catholic Poland many leading revolutionaries in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century combined the dogmas of the Christian faith with the principles of socialism, see J.W. Borejsza, “Rewolucjonista polski – szkic portretu,” in S. Kieniewicz (ed.), *Polska XIX wieku. Państwo – społeczeństwo – kultura*, Warszawa 1977, pp. 253-311.

<sup>2</sup> The emigration after the greatest national uprisings – November Uprising (1830-1831) and January Uprising (1863-1864) – was one of the most numerous in the post-partition history, and besides, it had such an extensive political, cultural and scientific life that it largely performed the function of a non-existent Polish state, see S. Kalembka, “Polskie wychodźstwa powojenne i inne emigracje polityczne w Europie w XIX wieku,” in S. Kieniewicz (ed.), *Polska XIX wieku...*, p. 195. Jan Baszkiewicz states that *The Great Emigration was a protest against the subjugation of Poland, a manifestation of intransigence towards despotism: it had a lively resonance among the French*, idem, *Historia Francji*, Wrocław 2004, p. 442. Cf. J.E. Dutkiewicz, *Francja a Polska w 1831 r.*, Łódź 1950, pp. 168-169; R. Żurawski vel Grajewski, “Wielka Emigracja w Belgii (1831-1870) – wizerunek bez heroizmu,” *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, no. 1 (2016), pp. 103-124; I. Goddeeris, “Spór o emigrację polską XIX w. – odpowiedź autora,” *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, no. 2 (2016), pp. 321-326; R. Żurawski vel Grajewski, “Jeszcze o Wielkiej Emigracji w Belgii – polemika na marginesie książki Idesbalda Goddeerisa,” *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, no. 3 (2016), pp. 515-521.

<sup>3</sup> For more about Mazzini’s conception of the nation see D.G. Rowley, “Giuseppe Mazzini and the Democratic Logic of Nationalism,” *Nation and Nationalism. Journal of the Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism*, no. 1 (2012), pp. 39-56; M. Huggins, “The Nation and Giuseppe Mazzini, 1842-48,” *New Hibernia Review*, no. 3 (2013), pp. 15-33. Cf. A. Procyk, *Giuseppe Mazzini’s Young Europe and the Birth of Modern Nationalism in the Slavic World*, Toronto–Buffalo–London 2019, pp. 12-21.

Europe represented the idea that nationality is a sacred thing) and to strive for a republican system.<sup>4</sup> Individual national organisations (sections) – Young Italy, Young Germany, etc., formed an alliance in the form of an *act of brotherhood*, ensuring the right to mutual assistance for everyone against an internal or external attack on the freedom of an allied nation.<sup>5</sup>

Moreover, it should certainly be emphasized that the revolutionary doctrine of G. Mazzini was inspired by the publications of the famous Polish poet and political activist Adam Mickiewicz (1798-1855)<sup>6</sup> and the French priest and political writer Hugues-Félicité-Robert de Lamennais (1782-1854),<sup>7</sup> thus combining religion with freedom.<sup>8</sup> As noted by Adam Lewak, Mazzini, *promoted the idea that just as Christ lifted mankind from stagnation and deadly decay with the doctrine of sacrifice and brotherhood, people, now mankind would rise from its fall thanks to the response from the youth: God and the People.*<sup>9</sup> In fact, the main motto of Young Europe reflects the doctrinal character of the organisation: *The only God. The only ruler is his law. The only translator of this law is humanity.*<sup>10</sup>

Young Poland was an organisation marked by revolutionary democratism, which in the understanding of Polish emigrants meant, in the first place, national aspirations, aimed at regaining national independence. In addition, however, the programme strongly emphasized both Christian and Utopian socialist themes. With its ideology, Young Poland did not stand out from similar organisations of this kind in the

<sup>4</sup> See A. Barszczewska-Krupa, *Reforma czy rewolucja. Koncepcje przekształcenia społeczeństwa polskiego w myśli politycznej Wielkiej Emigracji 1832-1863*, Łódź 1979, p. 129; W. Feldman, *Dzieje polskiej myśli politycznej w okresie porobiorowym (próba zarysu)*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1988, p. 152.

<sup>5</sup> See M. Handelsman, *Francja – Polska 1795-1845. Studia nad dziejami myśli politycznej*, Warszawa 1926, pp. 144-145; A. Lewak, “Ideologia polskiego romantyzmu politycznego a Mazzini,” *Przegląd Historyczny*, no. 37 (1948), p. 312. Cf. E.J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*, Cambridge 1992, pp. 14-45.

<sup>6</sup> See A. Procyk, “Polish Émigrés as Emissaries of the *Risorgimento* in Eastern Europe,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, no. 1-2 (2001), pp. 10-11; L. Fournier-Finocchiaro, “Cultura francese e cultura polacca in Giuseppe Mazzini,” *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny*, no. 2 (2016), pp. 176-186.

<sup>7</sup> See Z. Markiewicz, “Mickiewicz i Lamennais,” *Pamiętnik Literacki*, no. 4 (1963), pp. 499-517; C.B. Hastings, “Hugues-Félicité-Robert de Lamennais: A Catholic Pioneer of Religious Liberty,” *Journal of Church and State*, no. 2 (1988), pp. 321-339. Cf. M. Podnieśniński, “Lamennais i geometryczna mowa. Materializacja języka jako ważny aspekt formalny rozwoju filozoficznego modernizmu wewnątrz Kościoła Katolickiego,” *Łódzkie Studia Teologiczne*, no. 19 (2010), pp. 185-200.

<sup>8</sup> The details of Mazzini's doctrine are contained in, *inter alia*, two texts written by him: *The Duties of Man and To the Italians*, in B. Sobolewska, M. Sobolewski, *Myśl polityczna XIX i XX w.: liberalizm*, Warszawa 1978, pp. 489-497. Karl Marx draws attention to the evolution and extension of his views at a later stage of his activities, see idem, *Machinacje Mazziniego i Kossutha. – Sojusz z Ludwikiem Napoleonem – Palmerston*, in K. Marx, F. Engels, *Dzieła*, vol. 8, Warszawa 1964, pp. 415-418; K. Marx, *Apel Mazziniego*, in K. Marx, F. Engels, *Dzieła*, vol. 9, Warszawa 1965, pp. 587-588; K. Marx, *Mazzini a Napoleon*, in K. Marx, F. Engels, *Dzieła*, vol. 12, Warszawa 1967, pp. 581-586; K. Marx, *Nowy manifest Mazziniego*, in K. Marx, F. Engels, *Dzieła*, Warszawa 1967, vol. 12, pp. 759-764; K. Marx, *Odezwa Mazziniego*, in K. Marx, F. Engels, *Dzieła*, vol. 13, Warszawa 1966, pp. 426-433.

<sup>9</sup> A. Lewak, “Ideologia polskiego romantyzmu...” p. 311.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

reactionary Europe of the 1830s. The basis for the reform programme of this conspiratorial organisation was part of the aforementioned European revolutionary ideology rejecting the remains of feudalism and conservatism; in the developed countries rejecting liberalism, while in Poland it was directed against feudalism and native aristocracy. In a word, it was against the social relations which in Poland at that time still had features of those of the previous century.<sup>11</sup>

## THE ESTABLISHMENT AND ORGANISATION OF YOUNG POLAND

As I mentioned above, Young Poland was one of the semi-secret democratic organisations of Polish émigrés, which was established in mid-March 1834.<sup>12</sup> The establishment of this organisation is connected with Giuseppe Mazzini's expedition to Savoy. Mazzini was an Italian lawyer and journalist, often called the *first revolutionary in Europe*.<sup>13</sup>

The expedition attracted a large number of émigrés who left Poland after the defeat of the November Uprising. These Poles joined the units which were being formed in order to trigger a revolution in Savoy.<sup>14</sup> As a result of the failure of this expedition, Mazzini broke up with the Carbonari and established a new revolutionary union – Young

<sup>11</sup> In *Północ* – the Journal of Young Poland of June 15, 1835 we can read the following words: *We are working to abolish aristocracy in terms of religion, coats-of-arms and property, we take fraternal equality and happiness of all as our motto*, *Północ*, no. 11 (1835), p. 43.

<sup>12</sup> For more about the émigré organisations, see W. Heltman, *Emigracja polska od 1831 do 1863. Krótki rys historyczny*, Lipsk 1865; idem, *Demokracja polska na emigracji. Wyjątki z pism*, Lipsk 1866; M. Handelsman, *Rozwój narodowości nowoczesnej*, Warszawa 1924; W. Darasz, *Pamiętnik emigranta*, prep. by A. Rynkowska, Wrocław 1953; J. Bartkowski, *Wspomnienia z powstania 1831 roku i pierwszych lat emigracji*, prep. E. Sawrymowicz, Kraków 1966; B. Cygler, *Działalność polityczno-społeczna Joachima Lelewela na emigracji w latach 1831-1861*, Gdańsk 1969.

<sup>13</sup> Since July 1833, Giuseppe Mazzini conducted political talks with representatives of Polish emigrants in order to win them over for to cause of the liberation and reunification of Italy, see S. Kalemka, "Polskie zabiegi dyplomatyczne między powstaniem listopadowym a styczniowym (koniec 1831-1860 r.)," in L. Bazyłow (ed.), *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 3: 1795-1918, Warszawa 1982, p. 266. Adam Lewak calls Mazzini an "apostle of *Risorgimento*," see idem, *Ideologia polskiego romantyzmu...*, p. 311. The term *risorgimento* was commonly used to describe the period of Italian struggle for liberation from foreign domination between 1820 and 1870, see J. Ugniewska, *Giuseppe Mazzini – historia jako narodowa terapia*, Wrocław 1986, pp. 10-11. Cf. A. Procyk, *Giuseppe Mazzini's Young Europe...*, pp. 22-53. Giuseppe Mazzini, like Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882), enjoyed recognition among the Russian democrats who, like Alexander Herzen (1812-1870) and Michaił Bakunin (1814-1876), believed that Italy owed its independence to them, see L. Piątkowski, "Rosjanie o przywódcach włoskiego ruchu narodowowyzwoleńczego w latach sześćdziesiątych XIX w.," *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska. Sectio F. Historia*, no. 38/39 (1983/1984), pp. 147-165.

<sup>14</sup> At that time Sabaudia, which was not yet part of France, bordered Switzerland and was ruled by Charles Albert (1798-1849), the monarch of the Kingdom of Sardinia. The history of the Savoyard dynasty is analysed in more detail by Karl Marx, *Sardynia*, in K. Marx, F. Engels, *Dzieła*, vol. 12, Warszawa 1967, pp. 17-22. Cf. M. Wawrykowa, "Geneza powstania sabaudzkiego 1834 r.," *Przegląd Historyczny*, no. 2 (1970), pp. 233-248; S. Kalemka, *Wielka Emigracja. Polskie wychodźstwo polityczne w latach 1831-1862*, Warszawa 1971, pp. 169-171; J. Wojtowicz, *Historia Szwajcarii*, Wrocław 1989, p. 164; J.A. Gierowski, *Historia Włoch*, Wrocław 1999, pp. 368-369.

Italy,<sup>15</sup> extending the idea through the creation of Young Europe on April 12, 1834. Apart from Young Italy, this organisation included the newly formed national organisations: Young Germany, Young France and Young Poland.<sup>16</sup>

Young Europe's goal was to bring about a general revolution of the peoples and overthrow despotic rule in Europe.<sup>17</sup> As Bolesław Łopuszański noted, Mazzini attached special importance to the participation of Poles in the Young Europe, not only because of their considerable number, but above all because he expected that thanks to the Poles he would be able to count on an anti-Austrian uprising in Galicia and Hungary. That was due to the fact that he considered Austria to be the main enemy. Mazzini easily convinced Poles to break with the Carbonari and adopt its ideology, mainly because the national ideas he was trying to spread proved to be more attractive to them, which I will discuss later. G. Mazzini formulated, among others, the mottoes: *Equality not only of people, but also of peoples, Every people has a separate mission, Nationality is sacred*. The final goal of the liberation of the country could be seen here more clearly than in the ideology of the Carbonari, who did not attach too much importance to the problems of national identities.<sup>18</sup> Bolesław Limanowski describes the Carbonari movement (*carbonnerie, carboneria*) as a conspiratorial and militant freemasonry. The movement first appeared in Italy, where it *developed symbolic vocabulary and improved its organisational forms*. The main task of the Carbonari was *to overthrow despotism and oppression in any form, to defeat the oppressors and to drive out the invaders*.<sup>19</sup>

The Provisional Committee of Young Poland was established in Bern in Switzerland on May 12, 1834 by Franciszek Gordaszewski, Konstanty Zalewski, Karol Stolzman and Józef Dybowski.<sup>20</sup> On the same day, the Committee issued a proclamation criticising the hitherto actions of the Carbonari, accusing it of inertia and lack of energy,<sup>21</sup> and

<sup>15</sup> Giuseppe Mazzini, at the age of just 26, established Young Italy (*Giovine Italia*) in Marseilles in July 1831, see A. Procyk, "Polish Émigrés as Emissaries..." p. 9. Sławomir Kalembka points out, *the goal of Mazzini's life and the union established by him was to fight for an independent, united, republican Italy*, idem, *Wielka Emigracja...*, pp. 168-169. Cf. M. Handelsman, *Zjednoczenie Włoch*, Warszawa 1923, pp. 36-40.

<sup>16</sup> See L. Gadon, *Emigracja Polska. Pierwsze lata po upadku powstania listopadowego*, vol. 3, Kraków 1902, p. 276.

<sup>17</sup> Doubts about the alleged socialist tendencies of Young Europe are dispelled by Franz Mehring, who stresses that *the very fact that Mazzini was in charge indicates that Young Europe did not have socialist tendencies; its act of brotherhood, dated 1834, speaks of freedom, equality and humanitarianism as the only necessary elements that will lead to the solution of the social question; another declaration even speaks of the so-called sacrosanct ownership*, idem, *Historia socjaldemokracji niemieckiej*, vol. 1, transl. by E. Werfel, Warszawa 1963, p. 150.

<sup>18</sup> B. Łopuszański, *Stowarzyszenie Ludu Polskiego (1835-1841). Geneza i dzieje*, Kraków 1975, p. 9. For more about the origins of the Carbonari, see W. Łukaszewicz, "Wpływ masonerii, karbonaryzmu i Józefa Mazziniego na polską myśl rewolucyjną w latach poprzedzających Wiosnę Ludów," in N. Gąsiorowska (ed.), *Wiosna Ludów w Europie. Część II: zagadnienia ideologiczne*, Warszawa 1951, p. 179 ff.

<sup>19</sup> B. Limanowski, *Stanisław Wórcell*, Kraków 1910, pp. 86-92.

<sup>20</sup> See J. Zdrada, *Wielka Emigracja po Powstaniu Listopadowym*, Warszawa 1987, p. 29.

<sup>21</sup> See L. Gadon, *Emigracja polska...*, vol. 3, pp. 274-276; A. Lewak, *Ideologia polskiego romantyzmu...*, p. 312.

called for the creation, among Polish emigrants, of individual committees of Young Poland which would be included in the Central Committee.<sup>22</sup>

Later, on November 11, 1834, the Committee divided into two sections: the emigration section, whose task was to agitate in France, and the consultative section, operating under the central committee of Young Europe in Switzerland.<sup>23</sup> In February 1835, two departments were created in this committee: the national department and the emigration department.<sup>24</sup> All these committees were replaced in December 1835 by the Standing Committee composed of Joachim Lelewel, Walenty Zwierkowski, Walerian Pietkiewicz, Wincenty Nieszokoć, Karol Stolzman, Andrzej Gawroński and Karol Królikowski.<sup>25</sup>

Worth noting here, due to his position among Polish emigrants, is a well-known Polish historian and influential political activist Joachim Lelewel (1786-1861)<sup>26</sup> who joined Young Poland at the end of 1834 and, as I have just mentioned, became the head of its Central Committee.<sup>27</sup> As is well-known, Lelewel organised the partisan ex-

<sup>22</sup> See M. Stecka, "Układy «Towarzystwa Demokratycznego» z «Młodą Polską» (1834)," *Przegląd Historyczny*, no. 22 (1919-1920), p. 157.

<sup>23</sup> See L. Gadon, *Emigracja polska...*, vol. 3, p. 276.

<sup>24</sup> See A. Barszczewska-Krupa, *Reforma czy rewolucja...*, p. 132. It should also be remembered that on February 23, 1835 J. Lelewel, W. Zwierkowski and W. Tyszkiewicz signed the act of founding the secret Union of Children of the Polish People, which was an elite organization established to manage the conspiratorial activity of Young Poland on the territory of Poland, see S. Szostakowski, *Z dziejów Wielkiej Emigracji*, Warszawa 1991, p. 81; the text of the "Act of Union of Children of the Polish People," in *Postępowa publicystyka emigracyjna 1831-1846. Wybór źródeł*, prep. by W. Łukaszewicz, W. Lewandowski, Wrocław 1961, pp. 98-103.

<sup>25</sup> The list of the members and communities I presented by S. Sokółowska in *Młoda Polska. Z dziejów ugrupowań demokratycznych Wielkiej Emigracji*, Wrocław 1972, pp. 196-199.

<sup>26</sup> More about J. Lelewel's personality, see I. Domeyko, *Moje podróże. Pamiętniki wygnańca*, prep. by E.H. Nieciowa, Wrocław 1962, p. 155; J. Skowronek, "Idea niepodległości narodowej w polskiej myśli politycznej pierwszej połowy XIX w.," in J. Maternicki (ed.), *Idea niepodległości i suwerenności narodowej w polskiej myśli politycznej XIX i XX wieku*, Warszawa 1989, p. 32. Bronisław Baczko makes interesting observations on the historiosophical concept of J. Lelewel, see idem, "Niektóre węzłowe problemy rozwoju polskiej myśli społeczno-politycznej i filozoficznej XIX wieku (do lat siedemdziesiątych)," in B. Baczko, N. Assorodobraj (eds.), *Z dziejów polskiej myśli filozoficznej i społecznej*, vol. 3: *Wiek XIX*, Warszawa 1957, pp. 29-36. Cf. M.H. Serejski, *Koncepcja historii powszechnej Joachima Lelewela*, Warszawa 1958, p. 230. Karl Marx, who was already mentioned above, also often used Lelewel's works and expressed his appreciation for his scholarly work, calling him a venerable, great Polish historian and revolutionary. In fact, Marx and Lelewel knew each other personally – Lelewel was not only a frequent guest at Marx's house in London, they were both members of the Committee of the Society for Democratic Unity and the Brotherhood of All Nations based in Brussels, and were the authors of this Committee's proclamation of 28 February 1848 issued on the occasion of the outbreak of the February Revolution in France, see "Do Obywateli Członków Tymczasowego Rządu Republiki Francuskiej," in K. Marx, F. Engels, *Dzieła*, vol. 4, Warszawa 1986, pp. 835-836.

<sup>27</sup> Joachim Lelewel wrote about the reasons for joining Young Poland in his letter to J. Zalewski dated November 6, 1834 in the following words: *Where national thought is painted vividly and calls for righteous principles, I am with you*; J. Lelewel, *Listy emigracyjne Joachima Lelewela*, prep. by H. Więćkowska, vol. 1: *1831-1835*, Kraków 1948, p. 295. In his letter to W. Pietkiewicz and W. Zwierkowski in Tours on November 9th, he emphatically wrote *I respect and love the creators of Young Poland*;

pedition led by colonel Józef Zaliwski (1897-1855),<sup>28</sup> which was criticised by the Polish Democratic Society<sup>29</sup> and the Carbonari – despite the fact that the expedition was originally inspired by the Carbonari.<sup>30</sup> Because the democratic camp was not favourably disposed towards the activities of Lelewel and his collaborators, he did not see any further possibilities for propaganda action in its current form. Jachim Lelewel favoured Young Poland and praised it for its fight against the Carbonari, and welcomed the negotiations leading to the merger of Young Poland with the Polish Democratic Society.

One should distinguish between two stages of shaping the Carbonari movement in Europe, i.e. the Carbonari movement of 1798-1830 and the new Carbonari movement of 1830-1837. The latter stage is the work of Philippe Buonarroti (1761-1837), a former member the Conspiracy of the Equals F.N. Babeuf (1760-1797) during the Directorate (1795-1799).<sup>31</sup> Buonarroti was then replaced by August Blanqui (1808-1881), who transformed the reformed Carbonari movement – which was falling apart – into pre-Marxist militant communism.<sup>32</sup> Unlike the Carbonari movement before 1830, lat-

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J. Lelewel, *Listy emigracyjne...*, p. 296. J. Lelewel wrote in a similar, solemn tone about Young Poland in a letter to W. Zwierkowski in Versailles dated January 15, 1835, see J. Lelewel, *Listy emigracyjne...*, p. 315.

<sup>28</sup> See M. Konarski, "The Partisan Expedition Led by Józef Zaliwski in 1833 and the Legal Status of Partisan in the Light of International Law," *Studia Prawnicze i Administracyjne*, no. 3 (2017), pp. 13-22.

<sup>29</sup> The Polish Democratic Society was founded in Paris on March 17, 1832 by the activists of the Patriotic Society, who were rebellious against the ideologically too moderate (in their opinion) Polish National Committee, established on December, 8 1831 and chaired by J. Lelewel, see S. Kalemka, *Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie w latach 1832-1846*, Toruń 1966, p. 11; idem, *Polskie wychodźstwa...*, pp. 212-213. One can also read about the origins of the Democratic Society of Poland in an article sent to the editorial office of *Północ* by J.N. Janowski, in which he presents the history of the creation of this organization in exile, see *Północ*, no. 15 (1835), pp. 59-60.

<sup>30</sup> See K. Borkowski, *Pamiętnik historyczny o wyprawie partyzanckiej do Polski w roku 1833*, Lipsk 1863; L. Gadon, *Emigracja polska...*, vol. 2, pp. 249-258; J. Białynia-Cholodecki, *Patryotyczna działalność księży w latach 1833-1837. Epizody z czasów partyzantki pułkownika Józefa Zaliwskiego*, Lwów 1912; S. Płoski, "Działalność Zaliwskiego w wojnie polsko-rosyjskiej 1831 roku," in *Księga Pamiątkowa ku uczczeniu 25-letniej działalności naukowej prof. Marcelego Handelsmana*, Warszawa 1929, pp. 351-373; M. Wierzchowski, "Przyczynek do dziejów Zaliwsczyzny na Litwie," *Przegląd Historyczny*, no. 2 (1960), pp. 385-397; S. Sokołowska, "Geneza emigracyjna wyprawy J. Zaliwskiego," in W.A. Dżakow, S. Kieniewicz, W. Śliwowska, F.I. Steblij (eds.), *Spółeczeństwo polskie i próby wznowienia walki zbrojnej w 1833 roku*, Wrocław 1984, pp. 7-30; B. Popkow, "Historiografia wyprawy Zaliwskiego," in *Spółeczeństwo polskie...*, pp. 31-42; W. Borys, "Wyprawa Zaliwskiego i polskie organizacje spiskowe w Galicji w latach 1832-1835," in *Spółeczeństwo polskie...*, pp. 83-105. One can read more on the need for a partisan expedition by Zaliwski and the proclamation by General Józef Dwernicki (1779-1857) condemning this expedition, in a letter J. Lelewel in wrote to General J. Dwernicki in Paris on 7 July 1833, see J. Lelewel, *Listy emigracyjne...*, pp. 153-156.

<sup>31</sup> See J. Lépine, *Gracchus Babeuf*, transl. by K. Rapaczyński, Warszawa 1950, pp. 126-194; P. Buonarroti, *Sprzysiężenie Równych*, vol. 1-2, Warszawa 1952; G. Lefebvre, *Termidorianie. Dyrektoriat*, transl. by W. Bieńkowska, Warszawa 1959, pp. 212-213, 219-225; M. Konarski, "Zamach stanu w perspektywie prawno-historycznej na przykładzie Rewolucji Francuskiej 1789-1799," in W. Lis (ed.), *Przestępstwa przeciwko bezpieczeństwu i porządkowi publicznemu*, Lublin 2017, pp. 41-42, note 86.

<sup>32</sup> See L.A. Blanqui, *Wybór pism*, transl. by I. Bibrowska, B. Wścieklica, Warszawa 1975, pp. 83-101, 144-147, 321-347. Cf. A.B. Spitzer, *The Revolutionary Theories of Louis Auguste Blanqui*, New York 1957,

er Carbonarism, called democratic Carbonarism, emphasised the social and liberation themes more strongly than national and liberation ones. The aim of Carbonarism after 1830 was primarily to trigger a general revolution that would overthrow feudal and early capitalist exploitation and liberate the oppressed nations from the political yoke of the Holy Alliance.<sup>33</sup>

When the Polish Democratic Society set tough conditions for Young Poland, Lelewel withdrew from active participation in these undertakings. The members of the Polish Democratic Society, as Sławomir Kalembka points out, expected that the Polish Democratic Society would reform, give up the principle of a separate action and make its ideology less radical. They also counted on the entry of eminent activists into fraternal unions but supported the idea of a merger between the two organisations.<sup>34</sup> The Polish Democratic Society was to operate in exile, mainly in the field of propaganda,<sup>35</sup> while Young Poland was to operate in the country. Although the negotiations between the two organisations failed, many members of Young Poland joined the ranks of the Polish Democratic Society. During this time, money was raised for Young Poland's emissaries going to Poland. These emissaries were often members of the Polish Democratic Society.<sup>36</sup>

Later, when Young Poland began to spread in France, a group of J. Lelewel's confidants began to work towards taking over the leadership of the union, which was quickly becoming popular. Through Young Poland, which – as they hoped – would take over part of the emigration, and as S. Kalembka emphasises, they aimed at unification of the left and the emigration centre.<sup>37</sup>

The agitation of Young Poland, founded in Switzerland, was directed primarily towards England and France, and it was there that the recruitment of members to the new organisation began. As Stefania Sokołowska emphasises, this agitation was particularly difficult on the territory of France, because the French government at that time was fighting the war against illegal associations under the Act of 23 March 1834, which provided that every union had to obtain legalisation, which obviously simply meant elimination for most of them.<sup>38</sup> As a result of the difficulties caused by the re-

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pp. 83-111, 157-179; P. Le Goff, *The Militant Politics of Auguste Blanqui*, PhD thesis, University of Warwick 2015, pp. 89-112, 123-131.

<sup>33</sup> See W. Łukaszewicz, *Wpływ masonerii...*, pp. 170, 179-221; S. Kalembka, *Wielka Emigracja...*, pp. 146-149. For more about the relationship between Polish emigration between 1833 and 1834, see W. Łukaszewicz, *Wpływ masonerii...*, pp. 221-269.

<sup>34</sup> S. Kalembka, *Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie...*, p. 71.

<sup>35</sup> As Wiktor Heltman writes: *The main task of the Society was, as we already know, to disseminate in the country the thoughts created in exile, considered to be the most effective means of provoking all national powers to fight*, idem, *Demokracja polska...*, p. 69.

<sup>36</sup> S. Kalembka, *Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie...*, p. 73.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. p. 69. Issues related to the declining period of Young Poland's activity are widely analysed by S. Sokołowska, *Młoda Polska...*, pp. 164-192; S. Sokołowska, T. Buksiński, "Uwagi o zjednoczeniu emigracji polskiej," *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, no. 3 (1966), pp. 689-692.

<sup>38</sup> See S. Sokołowska, *Młoda Polska...*, p. 87.



pressive activity of the French authorities, the members of Young Poland had limited opportunities to conduct agitation action. However, despite numerous criminal and administrative problems caused by the authorities, Polish émigré democrats conducted extensive propaganda and journalistic activities.

## THE CONSTITUTIONAL THOUGHT OF YOUNG POLAND IN THE LIGHT OF THE PROGRAMMING DOCUMENTS AND JOURNALISM

The programme assumptions of Young Poland were formulated primarily in the first proclamation of Young Poland of May 12, 1834 based on the *Foundation Act* of Young Europe and its *Statute*, the *Act of Young Poland Act* and also the proclamation *To Swiss patriots*, which was announced jointly by the committees of Young Italy, Young Germany and Young Poland four days after the establishment of Young Europe.

Later, this program was supplemented by the publication – most probably at the beginning of 1835 – of the *Second Credo of Young Poland*.<sup>39</sup> In addition, the programme assumptions of Young Poland were published in sixteen issues of the Polish émigré journal *Północ*, which all appeared in Paris in 1835.<sup>40</sup> This journal was not an official organ of Young Poland but – thanks to its editors: Jan Czyński (1801-1867) and Szymon Konarski (1808-1839),<sup>41</sup> and by publishing articles which discussed social and political in

<sup>39</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 127.

<sup>40</sup> For more about the Young Poland's programme of constitutional reforms presented in *Północ*, see M. Konarski, "Program reform społecznych i ustrojowych Młodej Polski w świetle publicystyki jej przedstawicieli na łamach paryskiej «Północy» (1835)," *Studia Prawnicze i Administracyjne*, no. 2 (2019), pp. 21-38. The history of the Great Emigration abounds in extremely rich research material, a significant element of which is the emigration literature, where views of various Polish political societies – which emerged in exile after the fall of the November Uprising – clashed. Among the best known of over 120 journals, one can include: *Pamiętnik Emigracji Polskiej* – which was the first Polish journal in France, published from July 1, 1832 to July 25, 1833, *Pielgrzym Polski, Pismo Towarzystwa Wzajemnego oświecania się, Fenix, Souvenirs de la Pologne, Czas, Nowa Polska, Sybilla Tutactwa Polskiego, Wieczory Pielgrzymia, Le Polonais, Przyszłość, Kronika Emigracji Polskiej, Postęp, Brukowiec, Tygodnik Emigracji Polskiej, Kraj i Emigracja, Tydzień, Pospolite Ruszenie, Rocznik Emigracji Polskiej, Naród Polski, Demokrata Polski, Pismo Towarzystwa Demokratycznego Polskiego* oraz *Północ*, see L. Gadon, *Emigracja polska...*, vol. 3, pp. 284-287; M. Straszewska, *Życie literackie Wielkiej Emigracji we Francji 1831-1840*, Warszawa 1970, pp. 112-117; S. Kalemka, "Czasopiśmiennictwo emigracji popowstańciew XIX wieku," in J. Łojek (ed.), *Prasa polska w latach 1661-1864*, Warszawa 1976, pp. 275-301; J. Łojek, "Prasa w Polsce porobiorowej," in J. Łojek, J. Myśliński, W. Władysław (eds.), *Dzieje prasy polskiej*, Warszawa 1988, pp. 35-37. The emigration literature published in the following years is discussed by B. Cygler, "Dzieje i problematyka prasy lelewelowskiego Zjednoczenia Emigracji Polskiej w latach 1837-1839," *Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego*, no. 2 (1967), pp. 40-60; S. Kalemka, "Czasopiśmiennictwo emigracji..." pp. 302-327. Cf. P. Kuligowski, "The Patogenesis of the Public Sphere in Exile: Anarchy and Unity in the Political Thought and Mentality of the Great Polish Emigration," *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, no. 3 (2019), pp. 69-70.

<sup>41</sup> The establishment of the *Północ* in Paris is connected with the meeting of Szymon Konarski, the former editor of another émigré journal – *Postęp* – with Jan Czyński. The appearance of Szymon Konarski in Paris inspired Czyński to believe in further journalistic work. Incidentally, he had been planning to publish another journal for some time. Cf. A. Galkowski, *Polski patriota – obywatel Europy. Rzecz*

the future free Poland reforms – voiced views entirely in the spirit of this organisation, disseminating its ideas for reform based on its programming acts.<sup>42</sup>

The social and political thought of Young Poland oscillated around issues concerning the liberation of Poland, whose future political system was to be based on a nation composed of free and equal people, based on the principle of the omnipotence of the people, which was to include all the inhabitants of the future Poland without any discrimination.<sup>43</sup> The system of the future, resurrected Polish state, was described as a democratic republic based on communal authority, where the basic principles of this system were to be the principles of equality, freedom and fraternity.<sup>44</sup>

In the light of these assumptions, equality was a prerequisite for freedom, and progress for humanity can only be achieved with full freedom, which I will discuss in more detail below. At the same time, however, it was stressed that every people should strive for freedom by their own efforts, despite the fact that Young Europe was treated as a republican confederation of all peoples.

The main theses of the Young Poland program were included in the Act published in October 1834, containing 87 articles, divided into four titles.<sup>45</sup> Most provisions of this document concern the organisation of this association in Poland (§ 36-65) and in exile (§ 66-81) and the conditions and manner of admission into its ranks (§ 82-87), while only Title I entitled *Points of Faith* (§ 1-35) contains specific programme provisions, which I will discuss in more detail now.

§ 1 of the Act contains the *credo* of Young Poland, which reads as follows: *The only omnipotent: the people. The sole ruler of the people: the law. The only lawmaker: the will of the people.* The concept of the people was understood as all the people making up the

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*o Janie Czyńskim (1801-1867)*, Warszawa 2004, pp. 71-72. For more about J. Czyński, see K. Świerczewska, "Jan Czyński: działacz polityczny, literat i publicysta czasów Wielkiej Emigracji (1801-1867)," *Prace Polonistyczne*, no. 8 (1950), pp. 111-136; M. Tyrowicz, *Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie 1832-1863. Przywódcy i kadry członkowskie. Przewodnik bibliograficzny*, Warszawa 1964, pp. 113-155. I discussed Szymon Konarski and his life elsewhere, see M. Konarski, "Konarszczyzna, czyli przygotowania do wojny partyzanckiej w latach 1835-1839," *Studia Prawnicze i Administracyjne*, no. 3 (2017), pp. 23-41.

<sup>42</sup> See S. Kalemka, *Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie...*, pp. 42-44; Stefania Sokołowska, *Młoda Polska...*, p. 144. *Północ*, which was launched on January 1, 1835 had 102 subscribers during the first three months and, according to S. Kalemka, *a certain number of occasional buyers*. The cost of publishing 8 issues of the journal was 384 francs, of which the publishers covered 78 francs at their own expense, while the price of the magazine for a quarter was 5 francs in Paris and 3 francs in other locations where the plants (dépôts) were located, see M. Konarski, "Program reform..." p. 27.

<sup>43</sup> See A. Barszczewska-Krupa, *Reforma czy rewolucja...*, pp. 130-131.

<sup>44</sup> The opposite of the Polish Democrat's concept of the communal power of was the view proclaimed by Polish conservatives in exile, mainly representatives of the Lambert Hotel connected with the person of Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, who justified the monarchical system of the future free Poland as genetically appropriate for this country in view of the centuries-old tradition. In their opinion the monarchy of Poles had its source in the experience, see M. Rysiewicz, *Monarchia, lud, religia: monarchizm konserwatywnych środowisk politycznych Wielkiej Emigracji w latach 1831-1848*, Kraków 2015, p. 173.

<sup>45</sup> The text of the "Act of Young Poland," in *Postępowa publicystyka emigracyjna...*, pp. 71-84.

nation, and the omnipotence of the people had the creed of immunity and non-extinction (§ 2-3). However, the Polish nation was understood as *the inhabitants of all lands owned by the Republic of Poland before the looting that took place there* (§ 32).

The source of freedom were the natural and social rights (§ 4), and *freedom is the right which every human being exercises without any obstacle on the part of his authorities in order to develop his particular mission and in the amicable choice of means capable of achieving it* (§ 5). The development of this provision was contained in § 13, according to which *Personal freedom and the independence of communities in accordance with the general principle and the necessary preservation of national unity; freedom of religious beliefs; freedom of printing without any restrictions; freedom of teaching; freedom of association; freedom of trade and industry in general; resistance against oppression. These and similar conditions have their origins in the general principle of liberty*. The notion of equality was understood in the following way: *so that laws and duties are equal for all, so that no one breaks away from the power of such laws, which define that every person according to his or her work has a share in the use of common treasure, which is an outflow from all national forces in the activities introduced* (§ 7). The development of this provision was § 14, which stated that *Political Equality – strenuous progress towards regaining social equality, strenuous progress towards ensuring good life and property for the poorest class, which is the most numerous; abolishing all privileges; establishing a system of progressive taxation on the basis of income disposed of in accordance with the needs; disseminating elementary education; and disseminating knowledge of human rights and duties. These and similar conditions result from the general principle of equality*.

The watchword *fraternity*, rooted in the legislation of the French Revolution of 1789, as a work of mutual love, for the members of Young Poland was the disposition of the soul *which leads man to do to others what he would like to be done to himself* (§ 8). This thread is developed in § 15 of the Act, which states: *Unlimited sacrifice to the cause of the nation, mutual love between the members of the nation, manifested by the willingness to help the brother in need, a life in accordance with the principles one subscribes to, the love of happiness, education and good life of all members of the nation and the sincere renunciation of selfishness. These and similar conditions result from the general principle of brotherhood*.

The political programme of Young Poland contained in the Act considered all privileges to be a violation of equality (§ 9), but it formulated a provision that could be read as a specific kind of the right to resistance.<sup>46</sup> According to § 10, *When privileges, wilfulness and selfishness destroy the harmony of the society and national institutions, it is then*

<sup>46</sup> For more about the institution of the right to resistance see S. Ehrlich, *Wiążące wzory zachowania. Rzecz o wielości systemów norm*, Warszawa 1995, pp. 197-208; J. Baszkiewicz, "Z zagadnień nowożytnej koncepcji prawa do oporu," *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne*, no. 2 (1975), pp. 175-186; M. Konarski, "Kwestionowanie legitymacji prawa jako forma ochrony godności człowieka i obywatela," *Prawo Kanoniczne. Kwartalnik prawnohistoryczny*, no. 3 (2015), pp. 159-165; idem, "Challenging the Legitimacy of the Law," *TEKA Komisji Prawniczej Polskiej Akademii Nauk Oddział w Lublinie*, no. 8 (2015), pp. 54-57; M. Bożek, "Prawo do oporu w Republice Federalnej Niemiec," *Państwo i Prawo*, no. 8 (2019), pp. 3-20.

*the duty of every man who has accepted his vocation to fight against them with all the powers he possesses.* The Parisian *Pótnoc* contains similar views, rejecting the maintenance of estates, castes, privileges and differences of all kinds, while at the same time emphasising that the transformation of the state of societies aimed at the happiness of all citizens is not intended to punish the nobility for the *centuries-old theft of labour* perpetrated by its ancestors by the barbaric use of the labour force of the peasants. It was even claimed that the members of Young Poland are disgusted with the inheritance of honours by the nobility as much as with the punishment of the nobility for the crimes of their ancestors.<sup>47</sup>

The Act referred to public officials in § 18-22. According to these provisions, public officials' positions and public powers could not be inherited or derived from a grant, but should result from an election and, at the same time, could be revoked by the electorate. Under the Act, officials were obliged to report on their activities to voters, and *offences and crimes of public officials should be severely punished* (§ 20). Every citizen had the right to vote and to be elected for every office, with civic virtues, disposition and trust of the people being the only titles to achieve the office (§ 21).<sup>48</sup>

Subsequently, the provisions of the Act concern the political system of the future Polish state. § 23 stipulates that *Only the nation only has the inalienable right to choose its governing institutions; it also has the right to improve them or to change them if that is required by the progress of the society.* In the next article we find provisions concerning the aforementioned communal authorities. *The nation, according to § 24, due to the fact in cannot gather a whole into a mass disassembling and enacting its institutions and laws, gathers in communes for the exercise of the most important part of its omnipotence, that is to say: 1. for the election of their plenipotentiaries who make up the legislative body 2. for the affirmation or rejection of rights and institutions, whereby Without a resolution of the communes, based on the principle of a majority of individuals, no law shall be binding on the nation* (§ 25).

The members of Young Poland saw the future legislative body as consisting solely of one chamber, which was typical for all progressive groups at that time as well as later. The idea of a single chamber emerged during the First French Republic and became a permanent part of the democratic political programmes marked by an anti-aristocratic spirit. In § 26 of the Act, this proposal was argued in the following way: *The nation is one, so only one national power, i.e. one legislative body should exist. Two chambers break the unity of the nation.* The next article contains provisions concerning the system of communal assemblies, which are called the assemblies of national omnipotence.

In accordance with § 27 of the Act *Their numerical strength of should be determined by law, taking into account their location and local needs. These assemblies shall be convened when the need arises, bearing in mind the seasons of the year when the largest class of the nation works the least.* As we can see, the provisions of the Act were a programme declaration reminiscent of the declaration of rights at the time of the Great Revolution

<sup>47</sup> See *Pótnoc*, no. 1 (1835), p. 1.

<sup>48</sup> See M. Konarski, "Program reform...", p. 28.

in its first French title, in terms of the layout of the matter. Among these provisions are those related to rights of a political nature and only to a small extent referring to the organization of the structures of the future Polish state.<sup>49</sup>

As far as the *Second Credo* of Young Poland is concerned, this document – like the Act – was preceded by the motto *Freedom, Equality, Humanity*, which, as Stefania Sokołowska notes, was binding for all propaganda publications according to the Statute of Young Europe.<sup>50</sup> However, in the Polish text – as in the texts of Young Italy – two more words were added, namely *The Whole* and *Independence*, while in the Act the word „Independence” is absent. These last two words referred directly, as it seems, to the tradition of the French Revolution of 1789, and especially to the phrase declaring the unity and indivisibility of the French republic, which was discussed at the Convention of 25 September 1792, i.e. during the first days after the establishment of the Republican system in France. Let us recall that this happened at the request of Georges Couthon (1755-1794), a lawyer and a Jacobin political activist.<sup>51</sup> On 25 September, the Convention unanimously approved, although after a heated debate, the famous formula that the French Republic is single and indivisible (*La République française est une et indivisible*), which then appeared in all the official documents. On 16 December 1792, the decree on the unity and indivisibility of the French Republic was supplemented by a clause stating that anyone *who attempts to destroy the unity of the French Republic or to disconnect one part of it in order to join a foreign territory* shall be sentenced to death.<sup>52</sup>

This principle was subsequently enshrined in Article 1 of the French Constitutional Act of 24 June 1793 (the so-called Jacobin Constitution).<sup>53</sup> It should be added, however, that already in the French Constitution of 3 September 1791 – also in Article 1 – there is such a provision, but with regard to the Kingdom (*Le Royaume est un et indivisible*).<sup>54</sup> In 1792, this phrase was intended to ensure national unity in the consciousness of the republican people in the face of a threatening danger from outside,

<sup>49</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> See S. Sokołowska, *Młoda Polska...*, p. 128.

<sup>51</sup> See M. Konarski, “Program reform...,” p. 28.

<sup>52</sup> See *Décret du 16 décembre 1792, Protégeant l'unité du territoire de la République*, at <https://ledroit-criminel.fr>, 20 September 2019. Cf. A. Mathiez, *Rewolucja francuska*, transl. by W. Dzwonkowski, W. Łukaszewicz, T. Landecki, Warszawa 1956, p. 298; W. Markov, A. Soboul, *Wielka Rewolucja Francuzów 1789*, transl. by E. Morciniec, Wrocław 1984, pp. 208-209.

<sup>53</sup> The text of the constitution in French: <https://www.conseil-constitutionnel.fr/les-constitutions-dans-l-histoire/constitution-du-24-juin-1793>, 19 August 2019. The Jacobin Constitution was created as a result of the work of the Convention, which, as the Constitutional Assembly, had the task of drafting the text of the new Constitution, which was to replace the one that was overthrown by the revolution of August 10, 1792, see I. Jaworski, “Konstytucja Jakobińska z 1793 roku,” *Czasopismo Prawnicze i Ekonomiczne*, no. 1-6 (1923), pp. 37-64. For more on the importance of the provisions of this constitution for modern legal and political institutions, see M. Konarski, “Prawo i rewolucja: Rozważania jurysty o rewolucji francuskiej 1789-1794,” *Studia Prawnicze i Administracyjne*, no. 1 (2016), pp. 35-38.

<sup>54</sup> The text of the constitution in French: <https://www.conseil-constitutionnel.fr/les-constitutions-dans-l-histoire/constitution-de-1791>, 19 September 2019.

and to oppose federalist tendencies and the division of the state, which were attributed to Girondists who wanted to apply the Constitution of the United States in France.<sup>55</sup>

Otherwise however, the *Second Credo*, apart from arguing that every nation has an internal duty to serve its own country and an external duty to serve humanity, does not contain a specific program. Stefania Sokołowska says that *lost dreams of a popular revolution after so many unsuccessful attempts, the collapse of secret international organisations was a natural consequence of gradually changing views. The increasingly frequent conviction of all kinds of democrats that independence could only be achieved by the nation's own means was gradually becoming a common faith.*<sup>56</sup>

Such an approach to the issue of independence was already evident in the text of the *Second Credo*, which had many critics for this reason.<sup>57</sup> The liberation of Poland was to be the result of the Poles' own actions through an uprising, during which dictatorial power should be established, and the uprising itself should be closer in its form to the partisan war rather than to the actions of a regular army, which was the case during the November Uprising.<sup>58</sup> It should be noted that in the programme of Young Poland the aforementioned uprising was to take the form of a just revolt of revolutionary character.<sup>59</sup> In the article of April 30, 1835 entitled *Stan przejścia i ostateczne urządzenie społeczności* [*The state of transition and the final establishment of the community*], Szymon Konarski claims that the only means of maintaining universal free-

<sup>55</sup> See A. Mathiez, *Revolucja...*, p. 298; T. Gründler, "La République française, une et indivisible?," *Revue du Droit Public*, no. 2 (2007), pp. 445-446.

<sup>56</sup> S. Sokołowska, *Młoda Polska...*, p. 130.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 129-130.

<sup>58</sup> The issue of the war doctrine after the fall of the November Uprising was connected with the notions of popular war, war against the invaders and social injustice. The Act of Establishment of the Polish Democratic Society of March 17, 1832 contained comprehensive guidelines on the strategy and tactics of such a fight, see *Postępowa publicystyka emigracyjna...*, pp. 197-202. In practice, this theory was tested in 1833 by Zaliwski's partisans, and although the expedition of Colonel J. Zaliwski failed, it was a stimulus for Polish military writers, see E. Kozłowski, "Wojskowość polska w latach 1832-1864," in A.F. Grabski et al. (eds.), *Zarys dziejów wojskowości polskiej do roku 1864*, vol. 2: 1648-1864, Warszawa 1966, p. 452. It is believed that the first author to come up with the concept of the partisan war was General Wojciech Chrzanowski (1793-1861), who presented the details of such a form of combat in his famous brochure on the subject, see W. Chrzanowski, *O wojnie partyzanckiej*, Paris 1835. A short analysis of Chrzanowski's brochure was the subject of an article in issue 10 of *Północ* of June 1, 1835 (p. 24) entitled *Uwaga nad pismem Chrzanowskiego o wojnie partyzanckiej* [*Remarks on Chrzanowski's article about the partisan war*], and was mentioned in issue 6 of *Północ* of March 25, 1835 (p. 24), where despite severe criticism of General Chrzanowski, attention was drawn to the useful role of his brochure. Jęlowiecki, Bystrzonowski, Mierosławski and K. Stolzmann developed and implemented the concept proposed by Chrzanowski. Karol Stolzmann belonged to Young Poland, and in his version of the concept of partisan war he treated this form of combat as an operational method capable of bringing the desired solution. *His strategy*, as Eligiusz Kozłowski writes, *is a strategy of destruction and his are the tactics of scoeched earth*, idem, *Wojskowość...*, p. 453. Individual concepts of partisan war by the aforementioned authors were briefly analysed by L. Przemski, "Zagadnienie wojny partyzanckiej w przeddzień Wiosny Ludów," in N. Gąsiorowska (ed.), *Wiosna Ludów na ziemiach polskich*, vol. 1, Łódź 1948, pp. 391-417.

<sup>59</sup> See *Północ*, no. 1 (1835), pp. 1-2.

dom is the equality and democratic forms of the state, and the way which is to lead to this democratic state can only be the abolition, destruction of the *evil that reigns today* through a revolution.<sup>60</sup>

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, let me emphasise that Young Poland's concepts and proposals of constitutional reforms envisaged a future Poland liberated from the yoke of the partitioning powers as a democratic republic within the borders before the first partition (1772), with a single-chamber parliament and an extensive system of local self-government. Moreover, the constitutional system of the future free Poland was to be based on slogans derived from the Great French Revolution, so freedom, equality and fraternity were to constitute the foundation of Polish society.

It should be added that the main theses of the community of democratic emigration connected with Young Poland also included proposals to carry out social reforms related to the improvement of the legal position of peasants,<sup>61</sup> by equating them with other classes. In the same spirit of egalitarianism, the issue of the legal status of women,<sup>62</sup> Jews and national minorities<sup>63</sup> was treated. At the same time, the programme of reforms

<sup>60</sup> See *Północ*, no. 8 (1835), pp. 29-31. Cf. *Północ*, no. 1 (1835), pp. 2-3.

<sup>61</sup> See *Północ*, no. 6 (1835), pp. 21-24; *Północ*, no. 16 (1835), p. 62.

<sup>62</sup> It should be noted that *Północ* discussed the issue of the legal status of women for the first time in the history of Polish emigration, see: *Północ*, no. 12 (1835), pp. 45-47. The issue of women's position in society was not only theoretical or merely journalistic, but was directly implemented when Konarski acted as an emissary of Young Poland within the Polish People's Association. For more on the subject of Szymon Konarski's activity as an emissary of Young Poland in Volhynia, Podolia and Lithuania, and as a founder of the Polish People's Association, see B. Łopuszański, "Ustawa «Stowarzyszenia Ludu Polskiego» z 1835 r.," *Przegląd Historyczny*, no. 2 (1969), pp. 342-362; A.F. Smirnow, *Więzi rewolucyjne narodów Rosji i Polski w latach trzydziestych-sześćdziesiątych XIX wieku*, Warszawa 1972, pp. 108-170; M. Konarski, "Konarszczyzna, czyli przygotowania..." pp. 31-37. It should be noted that the proposals for reforms of the legal status of women, presented by Young Poland, were based on the views of Charles Fourier, who at that time was considered to be the supporter of women's rights, see W.J. Grabski, *Karol Fourier (1772-1837). Jego życie i doktryna*, Warszawa 1928, p. 106. In fact J. Czyński, as a prominent promoter of the Fourier's School of Socialism, referred to it not only as regards the legal status of women, but also as regards property, claiming that it should not be abolished, but organised, see I. Koberdowa, "Kształtowanie się wizji socjalizmu w polskiej myśli politycznej w latach 1830-1886," in J. Tomicki (ed.), *Wizje socjalizmu w Polsce do roku 1948*, Warszawa 1987, pp. 28-29; A. Galkowski, *Polski patriota...*, pp. 142-173.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. *Północ*, no. 3 (1835), p. 11; *Północ*, no. 9 (1835), pp. 33-35; *Północ*, no. 10 (1835), pp. 37-40. This thread was also taken up in the last issue of October 12, 1835 in the article entitled „O reformie Izraelitów w Polsce” [“About the reform of Israelites in Poland”], see *Północ*, no. 16 (1835), pp. 61-62. Joachim Lelewel expected the nobility to voluntarily transfer their prerogatives to the general public, thus abolishing estate privileges, granting property rights to the peasants as well as introducing religious tolerance and equal rights for Jews, see: L. Trzeciakowski, "Idea państwa w historiografii polskiej XIX w. na przykładzie Joachima Lelewela, Michała Bobrzyńskiego i Bolesława Limanowskiego," in W. Wrzesiński (ed.), *Państwo w polskiej myśli politycznej*, Wrocław 1988, p. 23.

provided for the moral renewal of the Catholic clergy, by breaking up with the discredited papacy reluctant to support the independence of Poland and by returning to the Christian principles that accompanied the 'system of Christ' and the first Christian communities.<sup>64</sup>

It should also be remembered that Young Poland contributed to the initiation of an entity called the Polish People's Association on the Polish lands controlled by the partitioning powers.<sup>65</sup> It should also be noted that in addition to the large-scale development of the conspiratorial activities mentioned above, the programme of Young Poland later served as a basis for deepening further democratic concepts in the Republican spirit, which in the following years contributed significantly to the formation of new conspiratorial and political organisations whose aim was to regain Poland's independence, but also to gain a more favourable legal position for the disadvantaged classes of Polish society.<sup>66</sup> The echoes of political concepts, based on the principle of the omnipotence of the people,<sup>67</sup> developed by the Young Poland ideologues, were reflected

<sup>64</sup> These issues were discussed in *Północ*, mainly in three articles, namely the article "System Jezusa" ["The System of Jesus"] of January 15, 1835, of February 21, 1835, the article entitled "Czym są dziś księża, czym być powinni?" ["What are priests today, what should they be"] of February 21, 1835 and the article dated August 6, 1835 entitled "Księża w Rosji" ["Priests in Russia"], which points out that priests in Russia *are the strongest support of despotism today*, because *bowing before the throne in the name of God, they make slaves kneel before the Tsar*, see *Północ*, no. 2 (1835), pp. 2-7; *Północ*, no. 4 (1835), pp. 4-15; *Północ*, no. 14 (1835), pp. 53-55. In their criticism of the Catholic Church and the clergy as well as in their concept of restoring the Christian religion to its original strength, the members of Young Poland referred extensively to the work of Claude Henri Saint-Simon (1760-1825), see C.H. Saint-Simon, *Pisma wybrane*, vol. 1, transl. by S. Antoszczuk, Warsaw 1968, pp. 328-347, and the treatise entitled „Nowe chrześcijaństwo” [“New Christianity”], in C.H. Saint-Simon, *Pisma...*, vol. 2, pp. 639-696. It should be remembered that Young Poland's concepts of social and political reforms were maintained in the spirit of the so-called messianism, i.e. adapting the ideas of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) to Christian thought for Polish needs, see F. Ryszka, "Programy ruchów rewolucyjnych i narodowowyzwoleńczych," in J. Baszkiewicz, F. Ryszka, *Historia doktryn politycznych i prawnych*, Warszawa 1973, pp. 323-324; A. Baumfeld, *Polska myśl mesjaniczna*, Warszawa 1910, p. 61; A. Wałicki, *Filozofia a mesjanizm. Studia z dziejów filozofii i myśli społeczno-religijnej romantyzmu polskiego*, Warszawa 1970, pp. 13-29. Sławomir Kalembka emphasizes that many journalists and ideologues took the messianic slogans seriously, see idem, "Problemy państwa w polskiej myśli politycznej okresu międzypowstaniowego," in W. Wrzesiński (ed.), *Państwo w polskiej myśli politycznej*, Wrocław 1988, p. 15.

<sup>65</sup> See S. Sokołowska, *Młoda Polska...*, p. 7. For more on the activities of the Polish People's Association, see A.F. Smirnow, *Więzi rewolucyjne...*, pp. 108-170; M. Konarski, "Konarszczyna, czyli przygotowania..." pp. 23-41; H. Bogdański, "O tajnych politycznych związkach w Galicji od roku 1832 do roku 1841," in *Pamiętniki spiskowców i więźniów galicyjskich w latach 1832-1846*, prep. by K. Lewicki, Wrocław 1954, pp. 16-42.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. M. Konarski, "Radykalny demokratyzm i wizja rewolucji społecznej księdza Piotra Ściegiennego," *Kościół i Prawo*, no. 1 (2018), pp. 43-59.

<sup>67</sup> As Konstanty Grzybowski stresses, the notion of *nation* was treated as equal to the notion of *people*, as was the case in the programme of Young Poland of 12 May 1834, where *people* were described as *all the people making up a nation*, which meant that the notion of *people* thus became *fundamental both for determining the notion of nation and for shaping the model of the 'state of the people'*, K. Grzybowski, *Ojczyzna, naród, państwo*, Warsaw 1977, p. 117.



in many ideological documents of other democratic organisations of the Polish emigration in the following years.<sup>68</sup>

*Translated from Polish by Michał Szewczyk and Marcin Konarski*

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<sup>68</sup> See S. Kalemka, "Projekty i postulaty konstytucyjne Wielkiej Emigracji," in M. Kallas (ed.), *Konstytucje Polski. Studia monograficzne z dziejów polskiego konstytucjonalizmu*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1990, pp. 339-340; H. Żaliński, "Wizje ustrojowe Polski odrodzonej w myśli społeczno-politycznej Wielkiej Emigracji," in idem, *Kraj, emigracja, niepodległość: Studia i szkice*, Kraków 2006, pp. 102-120.

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