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**POLISH «GREAT EMIGRATION» OF 1831 – 1870:
TRANSFORMATION OF IDEOLOGICAL AND OUTLOOK FOUNDATIONS
OF LIBERATION MOVEMENT**

Summary. *The purpose of the article is the attempt to study the influence of the «great emigration» of 1831 – 1870 on the transformation processes of the main ideological and outlook foundations and the organizational forms of the Polish national liberation movement, as well as to outline the key social and socio-political circumstances of the Polish emigrant environment life in Western Europe. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, scientificity, verification,*

an authoritative objectivity, a moderate narrative constructivism, an anthropological approach, as well as special historical (historical-genetic, historical-typological, historical-systemic) methods. **The scientific novelty** is that for the first time in the Ukrainian historical science the transformation process of the main ideological and philosophical foundations of the liberation movement of the «great Polish emigration» period of 1831 – 1870 has been substantiated. **Conclusions.** For almost four decades, Polish «great emigration» had undergone an internal transformation; its social and political programmes have evolved; its main problem was the struggle for the national liberation and democratic social change. The analysis of the historical and political aspects of the Polish «great emigration» emergence in 1831 – 1870 and the peculiarities of its justification for the Poles' desire to struggle for a national freedom, a public liberation, the aspiration for independence, lead to the conclusion that the Polish «great emigration» contributed to the spread of a national liberation-democratic ideas.

Key words: Polish «great emigration», emigrant groups, national freedom, social liberation, aspiration for independence.

ПОЛЬСЬКА «ВЕЛИКА ЕМІГРАЦІЯ» 1831 – 1870 рр.: ТРАНСФОРМАЦІЯ ІДЕЙНО-СВІТОГЛЯДНИХ ЗАСАД ВИЗВОЛЬНОГО РУХУ

Анотація. Мета дослідження полягає насамперед у спробі дослідити вплив «великої еміграції» 1831 – 1870 рр. на процеси трансформації головних ідейно-світоглядних засад та організаційних форм польського національно-визвольного руху, а також окреслити ключові соціальні та суспільно-політичні обставини життя польського емігрантського середовища у Західній Європі. **Методологія дослідження** опирається на принципи історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації, авторської об'єктивності, поміркованого нарративного конструктивізму, антропологічний підхід, а також спеціально-історичні (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методи. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в українській історичній науці обґрунтовано процес трансформації головних ідейно-світоглядних засад визвольного руху періоду «великої польської еміграції» 1831 – 1870 рр., акцентовано на прагненні до боротьби за національну свободу, суспільне визволення, незалежність. **Висновки.** Упродовж майже чотирьох десятиліть польська «велика еміграція» зазнавала внутрішньої трансформації, еволюціонували її суспільні та політичні програми, її основною проблемою була боротьба за національне визволення і демократичні суспільні зміни. Дослідження історико-політичних аспектів виникнення польської «великої еміграції» 1831 – 1870 рр. та особливостей обґрунтування нею прагнення поляків до боротьби за національну свободу, суспільне визволення, прагнення до незалежності, дає підстави зробити висновок, що польська «велика еміграція» сприяла поширенню демократичних ідей про національне визволення.

Ключові слова: польська «велика еміграція», угруповання емігрантів, національна свобода, суспільне визволення, прагнення до незалежності.

The problem statement. Under conditions of a constant interest of Ukrainian scientists in the problem of Ukrainian emigration, the necessity to expand the research scope is becoming urgent nowadays, in particular, by comparing it with the political emigration of other nations. In this context, the phenomenon of the Polish «great emigration» of 1831 – 1870 is of a particular research interest. The importance of this topic is due to both the originality of the Polish political emigration itself and to the significant (and not yet well-researched) influence of this environment on the Ukrainian national movement. Despite the steadily increasing dynamics of Ukrainian Polonics studies, this topic has received little attention from Ukrainian scholars nowadays. The largest Polish political emigration wave, which numbers about eleven thousand people, is called the Polish «great emigration». This «great emigration» was caused by the end of the November uprising of 1830 – 1831. During that period, a large number of the intellectual, cultural, educational, political and military elite,

engaged in the national-liberation movement, were in the category of emigrants (Brzoza, Sowa, 2009). The emigration environment led to the significant ideological transformations and political regrouping of the Polish liberation movement.

The analysis of recent researches. If the subject of Polish «great emigration» remains unstudied in Ukrainian historical science, it has long attracted attention in the foreign historiography. It's clear that the above-mentioned problem was the research subject of Polish historians. In the context of this topic study, the scientific researches are of a particular interest, which highlight the fundamental aspects of the «great emigration», in particular, the researches of Ye. Boreichi, L. Hadon, A. Hiller, Yu. Dvernitskyi, V. Knappkovska, S. Kalemki, A. Levak, B. Limanovsky, Z. Milkovsky, A. Pilkh, K. Rakovsky, Ye. Skovronko. In addition, the well-known Polish historian Marian Kukil highlighted the problem of the history of the Polish uprisings, which became the basis of the emigration wave (Kwartalnik Historyczny, 1937, p. 375–376). Among the works of the Polish researchers it is worth mentioning a series of the historical researches and explorations by T. Belinsky, L. Kurdybakha, S. Voloshyn, Yu. Freilikhowna, A. Karbovyak, R. Wrochynsky, Ya. Sikorsky, A. Knot, T. Kozhon, V. Tokazha, L. Wyschelsky, E. Rostworowsky, S. Herbst, B. Gembazhewsky, Z. Kraewsky, M. Kukel, as well as Arthur L. Benoit, Pierre Boye, Cliff H. Chach, Samuel P. Huntington, Harry B. Nash, Graham R. Hodges, James S. Pooley and the others. It should be noted that a considerable interest is made by the Ukrainian scientists researches, in particular L. Zashkilnyak «Polish uprising of 1830 – 1831», S. Kozak «Polish-Ukrainian revolutionary ties of 1830 – 1863», Y. Zemsky «Ideological inspiration of Polish November Uprising», V. Konstantynov «Polish Uprising 1830 – 1831». In general, the outlined topic has already been the research subject attention of the foreign (mostly Polish) scholars, but it has not been fully included into the discussion field of Ukrainian Polonics.

The purpose of the article is, first of all, the attempt to study the influence of the «great emigration» of 1831 – 1870 on the transformation processes of the main ideological and outlook foundations and the organizational forms of the Polish national liberation movement, as well as to outline the key social and socio-political circumstances of the Polish emigrant environment life in Western Europe.

Statement of the basic material. The Polish political emigration is characterized by the numerous characteristics, since during that period it numbered from ten to eleven thousand people, the vast majority of the intellectuals, the cultural-educational, political and military figures. In terms of a social composition, the emigration united three-fourths of the nobility, one-fourth of the peasantry, which in turn influenced the conclusion of the further socio-political programmes and the emigration camps formation (Zhaivoronok, 1984, p. 108).

In terms of its size, and above all the fact that after the November uprising the emigration concentrated in its midst a whole mass of the individuals from the world of Polish politics, culture, science and the army. It was recognized as the only «great emigration» in the history of Poland. At the initial stage, when the after November repressions deprived the country of almost all active political figures, the emigration played the role of practically the only representative of the Poles as a political nation. By its activities and existence on the European continent, it largely contributed to the affirmation in the minds of Western societies that the problem of Poland is an urgent one, but the problem of preserving the tradition of a holistic statehood and awakening of the Polish national consciousness remains unresolved. The history of the «great emigration» covers a long period from 1831 to 1870. For this very

reason, the political programmes changed many times during the emigration wave and as well as the role, played by emigration in relation to the occupied country.

The part of Polish emigrants fled to southern England, where they were concentrated in the Portsmouth area (Kieniewicz, Zahorski, Zajewski, 1994). There, in Portsmouth, the local community surrounded the Poles with care and support. The local Quakers were particularly favourable to them, among them – Anna Cruikshank (1800 – 1884), who repeatedly supported the charitable initiatives in favour of the Poles (Temkinowa, 1957, p. 182). In its turn, the radical emigrant revolutionary-democratic figures, who were in the British Isles at the time: Stanisław Wortzel, Tadeusz Krempowski, Severin Vezhbitsky, defended the ideas of a social liberation and international unity. In May 1834, with the consent and support of Hampshire authorities, they founded the «school» in Portsmouth, which taught the illiterate to read and to write. At the lessons the pupils were informed of the current socio-political events in Europe, and the annexed by the invaders lands of the Republic. At the lessons the pupils learned the history of a native land and England. The English language courses were conducted as well as the military training and the stay justification of the Poles in England as a temporary one in accordance with the hospitality principle («Гості з Польщі»; «Guests from Poland») (Yelovitsky, 1933, pp. 309–310).

At the same time, in 1835, Stanisław Wortzel and Tadeusz Krempowski founded the «Grudziądz» organization and compiled the manifesto for the organization, which contained a new transformed socio-political programme that declared the interests of the common Polish people to a greater extent, and in turn defined the class interests of the ordinary people and the interests of the Polish nobility, contrasting the homeland of the ordinary people – the nobility motherland.

The transformed socio-political ideas were declared by T. Krempowski on the second anniversary of the November Uprising in Paris, who delivered the speech, saturated with a sharp criticism of the Polish nobility and its crushing state policy. The speech ran: «the despotism of the kings and the nobles abuses the ordinary people ... Do not think, gentlemen, that this disgusting yoke has been imposed on the defeated by the winners; do not think that the nobility and ordinary people are different in origin...» (Gašiorowskiej, 1953, pp. 55–56).

Polish emigration, despite diplomatic support from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the English Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Tarczyński, Skarbek, Kocój, Łepkowski, Zajewski, Bortnowski, 1980, p. 480), faced a number of serious obstacles from the side of the Holy See, which did not give the expected results, despite the vigorous efforts to establish close contacts with the Roman Curia (Powstanie Listopadowe 1830 – 1831, 1980, p. 264). At that time the Vatican diplomatic negotiations were ineffective and had no concrete expression: «The clarification of the situation, but no steps in favour of Poland have been received. But this significantly eliminated the Curia's prejudice against the Poles and raised a strong distrust of Rome over Russia; the government's crossing out of the «Cum primum» encyclical has not been obtained, but it is believed that Rome regrets its publication» (Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie, 1838, pp. 31–34).

It should be noted that, according to Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, in the aspect of the political and ideological orientation that manifested itself in the Polish society of this period, assessing together the refugee process and the country, the Polish «great emigration» was liberal-patriotic in nature (Modelska, 1937, pp. 375–376).

At that time, the right emigrants grouping in their political activities was primarily aimed at: achieving independence; raising the moral status and the material level of the people; the changes in the distribution of the social forces.

The ultimate goal of this policy was a professionally prepared national uprising, fueled in a favourable political atmosphere. The military component of this political activity, Adam Jerzy Chartorysky left to the military specialists to study, relying on a foreign aid and drawing only a general plan (J. Bem, L. Bystrovskyi, V. Khzhanovskyi, A. Yelovitskyi) (Heltman, 1866, p. 155). It should be noted that the duke endorsed the idea of a popular uprising, «but aroused at the right time and well thought out» (Heltman, 1866, p. 105). This idea could not be quickly implemented since the preparation process took quite a long time, the unification of different Polish military formations (Legions) in foreign countries, the unification of institutions that teach new and old personnel, the diversified ideas (Wroński, 1993, pp. 100–112).

In the Polish emigration movement, the democratic environments, which were based on certain differences with the conservative forces, played an important role: ideology; the fundamentals of people's liberation struggle; the aspects of the national liberation uniting and a social struggle.

Despite the fact that in the opposition to their political opponents – divided and torn apart by the sharp internal disputes – they mainly formed the modern views in the minds of the Poles, which caused the struggle against the remnants of feudalism and all its manifestations in a public life. The democratic groups, emerging from the Conservative camp, learned from the past, proclaimed the slogans of equality in the public sphere. Seeing in the masses the main force of the nation, they demanded the abolition of serfdom and dependence of a peasant, while it was assumed that the democratization of a social life will lead to the wide public circle emergence (Heltman, 1866, p. 155). At that time, on the foundations of a broad people platform, the opportunities and success in the struggle for independence, which gave freedom to the peasants (of the twenty million of the Polish people, fifteen million were rural) were clearly observed. «Such a mass, once raised, could not be overcome by any external enemy» (Heltman, 1866, p. 95). On this basis, the leaders of the democratic group came to the simple conclusion that: «The rural people are today, in the opinion of the general public and in our belief, the most important, the most powerful force to fight the enemy, to restore Poland». (Kamieński, 1999, p. 420). In addition, the dominant view was the immense forces and opportunities that took root in the Polish people during the emigration period.

The democrats always emphasized that in the masses the enormous power was dormant, that would decide the fate of Poland and its liberation (Heltman, 1866, p. 152). They understood that the peasants would not support the national idea and would not participate in the uprising until they were convinced that it could affect the improvement of their lives. Therefore, the future struggle for independence, programmes and activities of the democratic centers, and especially of the Polish Democratic Society, were aimed at preparing the struggle for independence, characterized by a new character other than the previous uprisings. «The belief in people is the belief of the Society» – noted in all important documents of the Polish Democratic Society (Manifest Towarzystwa Demokratycznego Polskiego, 1936).

That is why it should be noted that in the Polish emigration line there was a combination of the struggle for national freedom with social liberation, which was a significant postulate of the Polish emigration democratic thought and dominant in the direction of independence created by the Democratic Society. It should be noted that the Polish «great emigration» was not a single entity, it can be divided into three camps: democratic, radical and conservative, among which there was some controversy on the ways of the future actions (Davies, 1996; Kieniewicz, 1997; Łojek, 1986; Pilch, 1984).

As a result of the successive activities that took place from 1832 to 1836 in the environment of the democratic part of emigration, the idea of independence was growing slowly but steadily. This is reflected in the Democrats' editions, which believe that, with the restoration of sovereignty, one should not return to the ancient Republic – Poland with the excessive noble privileges and oppression of the rural population (Zashkilnyak & Krykun, 2002, p. 602).

The formation and manifestation of the political programme of Poland's independence and the ideology of popularizing the national cause, combined with the progressive social changes, saturated the documents and publications of this period. These include: «The Small Manifesto» (Foundation Act), published on March 17, 1832 by the authors of the Vice-Chairman of the Polish Democratic Society Tadeusz Klempowski; The «Great Manifesto», declared in 1836 in the Poitiers (Manifest Towarzystwa Demokratycznego Polskiego, 1936), called the Porter Act. The documents, drafted by the Democrats, are characterized by a new perspective on the issue of a popular-liberation struggle, which the former associated with the need for a social liberation of the bulk of the Polish people – the peasantry. His general support determined the success of the future impetus for independence. Already in the «Foundation Act», a strategy was formulated to make the «national Polish issue a people's issue», which provided the Democrats with recognition and popularity among the emigrants (Duch, 1914, p. 119).

In the centers where Polish emigration representatives gathered, the military training courses were organized almost from the very first days. The organizers assumed that militancy is an art, in which exercises can be perfected, «militancy as an acquired skill cannot be perfected without proper training courses and military schools (Zashkilnyak & Krykun, 2002, p. 303)». In its turn, the Polish Democratic Society, thanks to a favourable political situation, managed to place 24 of its young members in Mecca and the Paris Military (École Royale Militaire) (Lelewel, 1855, s. 23). In all organized courses, educational establishments, military schools the motto was: «Ils s'instruisent pour vaincre» («They are learning to win»); a high level of education prevailed (Zashkilnyak & Krykun, 2002, p. 348).

A special attention was paid to the military education of young people at the organized emigration secondary school, founded with a great difficulty. Existing since 1841, the National Education Society for Polish Exiles organized a Polish secondary school for immigrant children in Batignoles region of Paris (Brzoza, Sowa, 2009, p. 364).

The Polish Library (Polish Reading Room) was one of the central places, visited by Polish emigration on the Orleans Quay in Paris (Brzoza, Sowa, 2009, p. 368), where they could get acquainted with the latest Polish magazines articles, the book publications, published abroad and banned in the country by censorship.

The London Mutual Enlightenment Society had the significant achievements in the support of the Polish emigration preparation efforts for the national liberation struggle. The Society was organized in 1834 – 1835 (Dilongova, 2007, p. 190). This Society, thanks to the great spread of the classes in History of England, English Literature, and the English Language among the Polish emigration, gained the affection of some influential royal officials for organizing various types of courses that unofficially replaced the military training of trainees (Dilongova, 2007, p. 193). There was no political and ideological integrity among the Polish emigration, which resulted in the lack of a coherent concept in the field of education and training in the Polish emigrant military training centers. This state of affairs was mainly caused by the political disputes on the independence among the democratic,

radical and conservative camps, which, in their turn, promoted a single transformed national idea – the independence of the broader social groups, and the creation of the Polish people commonwealth (Heltman, 1866, p. 92).

Despite the mutual strife, the antipathy that illustrated the complexities of the Polish emigration public face, it was dominated by a full understanding of the necessity to train a patriotic, the professional personnel for the needs of the future national liberation struggle and a reborn state. In this aspect the intensive preparatory, educational and educational activities were carried out (Pilch, 1932, p. 646). Important were those elements that combined the struggle for the national liberation with the social emphasis. The points of view, expressed in the works of the publicists and the democratic figures, such as: Henry Kamensky, Karol Bohumil Stolzman, Wojciech Hrzhanowski, were very popular. Worthy of consideration are the reflections on the organization and tactics of the insurgent armed activities by Petr Wysotsky, Louis Miroslawsky, and Joseph Boehm (Pogodin, Kutsheba, Shumov, Andreev, 2002).

For almost four decades, Poland's «great emigration» had undergone not only the internal transformations, in the course of which its social and political programmes evolved, but the fundamental ideas and views transformed as well. That is why the transformation process of the basic ideological and philosophical foundations of the liberation movement is seen in the diverse liberation ideas generating, namely: the ideas of the social liberation and international unity, the idea of the struggle for the national freedom with the social liberation, the idea of independence of the wider social groups, the idea of a national liberation struggle and a reborn state – though the struggle for the national liberation and the democratic social change was always fundamental.

The influence of the «great emigration» of 1831 – 1870 on the transformation processes of the main ideological and philosophical foundations of the liberation movement was also reinforced by the spirit of a general freedom of the Slavic peoples, in particular: «in fact, in a common voice of the peoples, who proclaimed that the Polish issue was the matter of a universal freedom for all the peoples of Europe ... With these universal slogans of freedom, the emigrants united and even identified the Slavic idea and were ready to die, because they had the greatest sympathy for the Slavic peoples, who were the most humiliated» (Kołodziejczyk, 1912, pp. 325–326).

Conclusions. For almost four decades, Polish «great emigration» has been a prominent socio-political phenomenon on a European scale. First of all, it played a fundamentally important role in the genesis of the outlook, ideological, political, organizational and cultural foundations of the Polish national liberation movement. Its influence was also significant on the socio-political processes of Central and Eastern Europe, including the Ukrainian national movement. In addition, the emigration affected the diplomacy and political life of Western European countries from 1831 to 1870. The emigration life circumstances caused the fundamental ideological shifts and the ideological modernization of the Polish liberation movement. In addition to the key issue of Polish statehood restoring, one of the emigrants' paramount tasks was the introduction of the democratic foundations into the life of Polish society and overcoming of the feudal remnants in it. At this time, the idea of «the life truth of the Polish people» became ideologically grounded and widely used in practice. The center transfer of the Polish National Liberation Movement to the emigration also caused regrouping of the internal structure of the Movement. Under conditions of the numerous discussions and political struggles, the several currents and trends of the

Polish movement functioned in the emigration, among which the democratic, radical and conservative ones remained the leading ones. The continued and controversial political struggle among them did not preclude the practice of a fruitful cooperation and political understanding. The multifaceted activities of the Polish «great emigration» played the role of a continuer of the centuries-old Polish political-state tradition. Due to the political activity of this environment, the Polish issue continued to be one of the most relevant in European political life, and the Poles continued to be perceived as a political nation by Western European elite.

The perspective directions of this topic are the organizational and ideological influence of the Polish «great emigration» on the national movement and socio-political processes in the Ukrainian lands. In addition, a further development requires the question of the reception of Polish political emigration by Ukrainian intellectuals and socio-political figures of the analyzed period.

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