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ADRES REDAKCJI / REDAKTIONSADRESSE

Polnische Historische Mission an der Universität Würzburg  
Am Hubland, 97074 Würzburg, Niemcy / Deutschland  
<http://apcz.umk.pl/czasopisma/index.php/BPMH/index>  
<http://pmh.umk.pl/start/wydawnictwa/biuletyn/>

Kontakt: *dr Renata Skowrońska*  
tel. (+49 931) 31 81029  
e-mail: [r.skowronska@uni-wuerzburg.de](mailto:r.skowronska@uni-wuerzburg.de)

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WYDAWCA / HERAUSGEBER

Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika  
ul. Gagarina 11, 87-100 Toruń, tel. (+48 56) 611 42 95, fax (+48 56) 611 47 05  
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ALICJA KULECKA

Uniwersytet Warszawski  
E-Mail: [akulecka@uw.edu.pl](mailto:akulecka@uw.edu.pl)  
ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5802-0018>

**CITIZENSHIP AND THE ATTEMPTS  
TO RESTORE AN INDEPENDENT STATE**  
THE CITIZEN IN THE IDEOLOGY OF POLITICAL  
GROUPINGS DURING THE JANUARY UPRISING  
OF 1863–1864

INTRODUCTION

The ideologies and programmes of political groupings playing the main roles in the events associated with the 1863–1864 uprising, groupings referred to as the Reds, the Whites and *Wielopolszczycy* – followers of Aleksander Wielopolski – have been the subject of numerous studies. Yet these have not featured any extensive analysis of issues relating to the concept of the citizen treated both as an idea and actual social phenomenon as well as an institution.<sup>1</sup> The aim of the present study is to present the idea of citizenship and its contexts in programmes of political groupings active in the Kingdom of Poland in the 1860s as well as documents and press of the uprising leadership – the Interim National Government and the National Government in 1863–1864. The study will refer primarily to the relations between the citizen or citizenship and efforts to regain statehood, sovereignty, and independence.

Deprived of its state in 1795, Polish society made numerous attempts to regain its sovereignty. These took a variety of forms, including armed

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<sup>1</sup> Problems of civil society in the ideology of political groupings of the 1860s, see Kulecka: *Ku społeczeństwu obywatelskiemu*; Kulecka: *Patriotyzm*, pp. 63–170.

struggle as well as a search for independence through peaceful, legal, and diplomatic actions. All manifestations of activity seeking to regain sovereignty were linked to matters of civilisational and social modernisation. The questions of independence and modernisation often complemented each other; there were numerous links between them. Such links were pointed out by the journalists and politicians of the 1860s, and political thinkers – including Karol Ruprecht – who was associated with one of the political groupings of the day, the Whites.<sup>2</sup> As early as at the beginning of that century, Polish political thought adopted an assumption that there existed a link between the collapse of the state and backwardness. Reflections in this field could be observed in, for example, the administrative thought of the Duchy of Warsaw.<sup>3</sup> Ideas concerning the links between development and the condition of statehood appeared in various reflections. As has already been mentioned, their authors included writers and politicians associated with various political groups in the 1860s. Karol Ruprecht, who represented the Whites, assumed that progress in a social organisation was a “prerequisite for the continued existence of free and independent nations”.<sup>4</sup> As his observations indicated, preservation of sovereignty was not possible without civilisational progress. Such a stance had a major influence on reflections on both the forms of political freedom and progress in many spheres of human activity. This was not unique to Polish society. In many countries of Europe and the world at that time, trends towards democratisation could be observed, manifested in the development of constitutionalism and parliamentary systems, increasing the role of society in the legislative – representative – authorities, and thus in law-making and decision-making processes, through the lowering of the property qualification for those entitled to vote in and stand for elections, the pursuit of education for all social groups, freedom of speech, the right to demonstrate political views, as well as the development of other civil rights. Constitutionalism should be regarded as the basic ideological strand in the creation of the catalogue of civil rights<sup>5</sup>, and, at the same time, as a manifestation of attempts to rationalise and modernise the relations between society and the government

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<sup>2</sup> Ruprecht: *Kwestya socyalna*, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cichoń: *Rozwój myśli administracyjnej*.

<sup>4</sup> Ruprecht: *Kwestya socjalna*, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Wąsowicz: *Historia ustroju*, p. 155.



to which it was subordinated. This led as a consequence to the emergence of new bonds based on philosophical and legal reflections.

Between 1772 and 1795, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and its society were divided among three partitioning powers: Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Each of them saw their political systems evolve to a greater or lesser extent in the nineteenth century. Major decisions in social matters concerning Polish society, shaped as it was by the memory of belonging to the state of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, were made by foreign states. As it turned out, the least reformed was the political system in Russia. This largest country in the world was governed by absolute monarchs. In their programmes, they tended to consider the interests of the richest groups in society, especially the aristocracy, owning large, landed estates and very often being part of the circle of court advisors. In the Kingdom of Poland, they made gestures intended to win over peasants and turn them into a group loyal to the tsars. The best known among these gestures was the 1846 *ukase* or decree limiting the expulsion of peasants by, among others, restoration of the principle of the heredity of peasants' farms and homesteads abolished by the decree of December 1807, issued in the Duchy of Warsaw. The reforms carried out by Tsar Alexander II in 1861–1872 liberalised and modernised the state somewhat, but they did not signify a radical change in the form of the granting of a constitution and creation of a parliament. Several administrative and social reforms were carried out in Prussia in the first half of the nineteenth century. Peasants were granted personal freedom and were allowed to own land. The same right was also given to townsmen. The property of peasants depended on their economic condition. Emancipation benefitted primarily wealthy representatives of the group. In the Prussian monarchy, a constitution was passed in 1850. There was a parliament in this country. The provisions of the constitution drew on the French Constitutional Charter of 1814.<sup>6</sup> The ruler exercised executive power. Legislation was the domain of the parliament. Its lower chamber was elected through a voting system based on the property qualification. The existence of the constitution was the basis of the catalogue of civil rights and duties. In the Austrian monarchy, society underwent a major social evolution between 1848 and 1849. Peasants were granted personal freedom and land. Attempts were made to create a constitutional and par-

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 253–254.

liamentary monarchy. The constitutions of 1848 and 1849 were repealed in 1851. In 1860, an attempt was made to introduce the idea of federalism. The so-called October Diploma, issued that year, introduced autonomy for the various countries of the Habsburg monarchy by giving them their own legislation and assemblies.<sup>7</sup> In Prussia and Austria, there emerged constitutional tendencies to catalogue civil rights.

In countries without a constitution as a legal instrument regulating the relations between the government and society, civil rights and duties were not catalogued. Such a situation also made it difficult to precisely define the term citizen. In the 1860s in Russia, arrests for political views were a common practice. This also occurred in the Kingdom of Poland. Persecution and arrest for political views occurred in Prussia and Austria as well.

The concept of citizen had many meanings and appeared in various strands of reflection, changing over time and having very diverse determinants. It was used in many social, legal, economic, and cultural systems.<sup>8</sup> In socially and economically diverse societies, such as those of the nineteenth century, the concept was often associated with the possession of political rights – that is the right to take part in elections and select a parliamentary representation participating in the decision-making process by making laws – and with participation in various forms of self-government. In the nineteenth century, the term “citizen” was, following the experience of the French Revolution from the late eighteenth century, linked to a community of equals. The victory of the revolution in France and subsequent transfer of its ideological legacy to other European countries contributed to the spread of the idea of equality before the law and respect for the dignity and personality of every human being irrespective of their social and economic condition. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen became a model document defining the subjectivity of society and the individuals who made it up. In the document, the terms “citizen” and “man” were treated

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<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, pp. 257–258.

<sup>8</sup> The concept of “citizen” is the subject of research and focus of interest for many disciplines in the humanities and social sciences, Franke: *Przedmowa*, pp. 5–7; authors of the monograph point to various aspects of the term and its numerous applications. In his book on citizenship in Europe Trzciński mentions citizenship in the Athenian *polis*, Roman Empire, medieval towns, and medieval and Renaissance states, see Trzciński: *Obywatelstwo*, pp. 21–126; the term was also used in a variety of contexts in nation states, see Ibidem, pp. 181–236.

as synonyms.<sup>9</sup> What came to be regarded as the basic attributes of humans and citizens were “liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression”.<sup>10</sup> General freedom was associated with “personal freedom”, “freedom of conscience”, “freedom of thought and opinion”, “freedom to write and print freely”.<sup>11</sup> Personal freedom, meaning the impossibility of unlawful arrest, imprisonment and punishment, became a particular concern.<sup>12</sup> Ownership was considered an inviolable and sacred right.<sup>13</sup> The Declaration was also associated with political rights. These stemmed from the idea of the nation as the suzerain and thus source of law. This led to legislation being entrusted to the nation’s representatives.<sup>14</sup> Being a citizen meant exercising one’s right to equal treatment in courts, electing representatives to parliamentary institutions, the right to own land, property, and participate in central and local government. The Declaration became the subject of discussions and reflection among the French political elites. It met with approval as well as critical opinions. It lacked, for example, freedom of association. The ideas contained in it were transformed by successive revolutionary governments. The legislation passed by the Convention in 1794 helped to give citizenship a universal status<sup>15</sup>, which in turn contributed to the spread of the ideas associated with it. The Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man and of the Citizen, adopted by the Thermidorians in 1795, helped to formulate duties to society and the state. Serving the welfare of individuals was considered a fundamental duty.<sup>16</sup> Citizenship was associated with the making of laws during the French Revolution and the transformations it brought about, which represented the first stage of the democratisation process. This was one of the key attributes of the idea of individual freedom. The development of reflection on citizenship was boosted by various ideologies.

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<sup>9</sup> Baszkiewicz: *1789*, pp. 203–210.

<sup>10</sup> Trzciński: *Obywatelstwo*, p. 150.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 151.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 161.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 162–163.

In the nineteenth century, there were two models of the citizen. The first is defined as “republican” or “classic”, the second as “liberal”.<sup>17</sup> The former contains the idea of the need for citizens to act for the common good.<sup>18</sup> The latter highlights the need to take into account the rights of the individual.<sup>19</sup> In this context, the state was viewed as an institution guaranteeing “security”, “freedom” and “property”<sup>20</sup> of citizens. Citizenship was usually associated with the institution of the state.<sup>21</sup>

The 1815 Constitution of the Kingdom of Poland was a law that served as a factor shaping the concept of the citizen and the catalogue of attributes associated with this. Its provisions guaranteed freedom of print<sup>22</sup>, equality before the law without distinction of social status, meaning the possibility of arrest and detention in accordance with the laws in force, of imposition and serving of sentences only on the basis of the existing legislation by a court of competent jurisdiction<sup>23</sup>, inviolability of property<sup>24</sup>, freedom of religions<sup>25</sup>. Representative institutions were established under the constitution. The most important of these was the Chamber of Deputies, one of the institutions of the Sejm (parliament), alongside the King and the Senate.<sup>26</sup> The Chamber comprised of deputies elected by noblemen’s *sejmiks* or assemblies as well as deputies elected by communal assemblies. The former were associated with one social group. The nobility, also referred to as the landed gentry, constituted the political elite of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth before its demise in 1795. The group retained this status in the Duchy of Warsaw and the Kingdom of Poland. It had the right to elect representatives to the Chamber of Deputies in a proportion greater than that of other groups in society. Participation in elections was based on citizen registers kept by the Regional Councils in all districts. The right to

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem, p. 169, Sadoun: *Le citoyen en République*, pp. 115–129.

<sup>18</sup> Trzciński: *Obywatelstwo*, pp. 169–170.

<sup>19</sup> Ibidem, p. 170.

<sup>20</sup> Ibidem, p. 170.

<sup>21</sup> In this spirit see Habermas’ reflections Habermas: *Obywatelstwo*.

<sup>22</sup> *Konstytucja Królestwa Polskiego*, 1, Article 16, p. 10.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem, Articles 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, pp. 10–14.

<sup>24</sup> Ibidem, Article 26, p. 14.

<sup>25</sup> Ibidem, Article 11, 12, p. 6–8.

<sup>26</sup> Ibidem, Article 31, p. 18.

stand for election could be granted to an individual who paid at least 100 zlotys in taxes.<sup>27</sup> The nobility elected 77 deputies. The second group of the Chamber members was made up of communal deputies. There were 51 of them. They were elected by property-owning citizens – not the nobility – by craftsmen, supervisors of household servants, merchants, parish priests, curates, professors, teachers, and artists. Craftsmen and merchants with the right to take part in the communal assembly had to have an annual income of at least 10,000 zlotys. Teachers, professors, parish priests, curates, and artists with the right to take part in the assembly were selected by the administrative authorities – the Government Commissions for Internal Affairs, Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment.<sup>28</sup> Thus, civil rights to elect representatives were granted to individuals with property, income, and merit. They were not granted to all the country's inhabitants. The right to vote was reserved only for men. The rights of citizens and, above all, equality before the law were guaranteed by independent courts. A judge was entitled to his own opinions independent of the administrative authorities, including the highest authorities. Only a court judgement could deprive him of his position.<sup>29</sup> For society at large, citizenship was expressed in equality before the law guaranteed by legislation and judicial procedures as well as by independent judicature. The right to elect representatives to the Chamber of Deputies was granted only to people defined based on their origin, wealth and services rendered to the authorities. The provisions of the document drew on the French Constitutional Charter of 1814. The Constitution of 1815 ceased to be valid in 1832. The Organic Statute, issued by Tsar Nicholas I, did not enter into force. Many of its provisions were not observed. Civil rights enshrined in the constitution were guaranteed only selectively and their application depended on the tsar's will. The article referring to freedom of print was suspended as early as in 1819. Preventive censorship was used to control speech and, through it, people's views. Freedom of speech was severely restricted. When it comes to the provisions of the 1815 Constitution, we can speak of the institution of citizenship. Its existence was guaranteed by this legislative act.

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<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, Articles 121, 125, 127, 128, pp. 72, 76–78.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, Articles 130, 131, pp. 78, 80.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, Articles 138, 139, 141, 142, pp. 84–86.

## 1. POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS IN THE KINGDOM OF POLAND

There were various political orientations in Polish society, divided as it was by the partitioning powers. One of the sources of this ideological pluralism lay in views concerning the method of regaining independence as well as the scope of systemic and civilisational modernisation. The issue of the situation and status of peasants was an important element of many political projects in the Kingdom of Poland in the nineteenth century. There were several reasons. First, peasants did not own the land they worked on their farms. It belonged to the landed gentry. As a result, they were obliged to work for the landowners and offer them produce. An attempt to resolve this situation and move towards more modern economic relations was rent, meaning converting all peasants' duties to the landed gentry into specific amounts of money. Yet before 1862, this was not obligatory but voluntary. Rent became usually the first stage in peasants' becoming owners of their land. The matter of social modernisation became particularly intensely debated during the so-called Post-Sevastopol Thaw in 1856–1860. It was raised by both the administration of the Kingdom of Poland and the Agricultural Society, an organisation of the landed gentry, which in 1858 acquired the status of an association and could operate legally. The Society's guiding principle was that peasants' land could come to be owned by those who used it, provided compensation was paid for its loss. The initial assumption was that the costs should be borne by the peasants. The administration of the kingdom sought to solve the matters of the rules of land possession. One of the reasons behind this was a programme of reforms of social relations in Russia presented and implemented by Tsar Aleksander II as well as the elites and court circles supporting the project.

When the January Uprising broke out in 1863, there were three significant political groupings active in the Kingdom of Poland with a real influence on the attitudes of individuals and communities. Each of them was an informal association. Two were clandestine societies operating without the consent of the Kingdom's administrative authorities. The group included the National Organisation based on democratic ideology and having links to the Polish Democratic Society and Ludwik Mierosławski, who sought to become a sole leader of a group of individuals who shared his ideas. The organisation's programme defined its political goals and objectives, indicating methods for regaining independence as well as social reforms

with proposals for changes in this sphere, primarily with regard to a new status of peasants.

Another informal, clandestine association was the National Directorate established after the dissolution of the Agricultural Society on 6 April 1861. Its ideology was conservative. One of its important tasks was to take care of the interests of the landed gentry during a period of social transformation. The directorate's programme did provide for reforms, but, as a pre-condition, there were to be guarantees of compensation for those social groups that were to be deprived of their previous rights and privileges. An important point in its political programme was restoration of sovereignty and the regaining of statehood. The directorate maintained contacts with the émigré Hôtel Lambert camp. Those associated with the National Organisation were referred to as the Reds, and those with the National Directorate as the Whites.

The third group, significant though less numerous than the Reds and the Whites, was the *Wielopolszczycy*, associated with Aleksander Wielopolski, head of the civil government in the kingdom, formerly head of the Government Commissions for Justice and Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment. They supported his tactics and political strategy, based on the idea of legal reforms of social relations in cooperation with Tsar Alexander II of Russia. The milieu was not a formal association. Aleksander Wielopolski operated within the confines of the existing laws. He had a considerable impact on the group's programme, which comprised of several points. It provided for the restoration of representative institutions in the kingdom, educational reform aimed at spreading schooling and raising the level of education in all social groups, restoration of civil rights for the Jewish community, and *ex officio* imposition of rent as the first stage towards the emancipation of peasants. It was a programme aimed at eliminating backwardness through legal actions based on collaboration with Russia. The orientations mentioned above had similar social objectives but differed when it came to the methods of achieving them. Their attitudes towards independence were decidedly very different. The Reds, that is the National Organisation, assumed that society was capable of restoring independence through self-organisation. The Whites were in favour of independence as well, but they believed that society would not be able to regain it on its own. They assumed it could be restored in a favourable international situation, with the idea being supported by other states. In this respect, their views coincided with those of a conservative émigré group, known

as Hôtel Lambert, which brought together people collaborating with the Czartoryski family, led by Adam Jerzy Czartoryski until 1861, and then by his son Władysław. The *Wielopolszczycy* did not have as their avowed aim the rebuilding of sovereignty. They sought to use the possibilities offered by the tsarist administration for the benefit of Polish society. Their objective was to Polishise the administration of the Kingdom of Poland and bring about an educational and economic development of society.

The nineteenth-century political thought and historiography contained numerous observations on the origins of social differences. These were a result of attempts to understand social inequalities in societies of the period. Such reflections were to be found in, for example, a treatise by a leading Polish historian from that time, Joachim Lelewel. In 1846, he published a brochure entitled *Stracone obywatelstwo stanu kmiecego* (*The lost citizenship of peasants*).<sup>30</sup> Lelewel's assumption was that Slavdom did not know ownership, slavery or social inequalities.<sup>31</sup> Consequently, Lelewel concluded that Polish society was initially made up of two equal estates: the Lechites and the peasants. He believed that both groups had equal rights.<sup>32</sup> In the light of his theory, primitive societies were not diversified. However, the two groups – the Lechites and the peasants – held separate rallies.<sup>33</sup> Lelewel assumed that the House of Piast came from the peasants, but its rule was based on the Lechites.<sup>34</sup> Hereditary monarchy was regarded as a factor limiting the peasants' rights.<sup>35</sup> Such historical reflections were to substantiate the thesis that peasants should have their civil rights restored, as they had been lost because of historical transformations, viewed usually in a negative light.

In the case of the Polish political thought of the 1860s, it is possible to point to the existence of the idea of citizenship. This stemmed from a lack of possibilities of implementing the programmes formulated at the time, because Poland did not exist as an independent state. Only Aleksander Wielopolski could hope to implement some of his ideas. However, his actions were limited by and dependent on the Russian administration.

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<sup>30</sup> Lelewel: *Stracone obywatelstwo*.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 7.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 7–8.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 11.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 19.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 19–20.



## 2. THE PROGRAMME OF THE REDS

The programme of the National Organisation, based on the democratic ideology, provided for a right of every human being to live in a sovereign nation state and to be a citizen. Emancipation became one of the first conditions making it possible to apply the theory in practice. It meant an improvement in the economic and social status of peasants. In addition, it increased their chances of being able to take advantage of the achievements of modernity, such as access to schools and education, which was one of the most important factors in acquiring knowledge of the contemporary world. The social condition of an individual person and entire social groups was an effect of the economic possibilities. They determined people's education, social skills, and contacts. Depriving various social groups of the right to own property was seen as an element limiting equality in the community of citizens. One of the conditions of the existence of this community was to be autonomy of individuals. It could be guaranteed by every human being having at least a minimum of possibilities of satisfying their physical and psychological needs. Autonomy of the individual was not possible in a system in which poorer groups in society – peasants, townsmen, those earning their living – depended socially and economically on the rich, primarily the landed gentry. The group constituted the social elite thanks to the estates its members owed, their education, their possibility of holding public offices, and becoming army officers. Emancipation was treated as an attempt to create equal opportunities. The new economic condition of peasants was to contribute to the creation of a changed mentality, free from various forms of dependence on landowners. The programme of the National Organisation provided for the creation of a community integrated around the idea of regaining sovereignty, of preparing for armed struggle for it, an idea based on the brotherhood of the various social classes, land reform, and the emancipation of peasants as well as compensation for the landed gentry for the reform.<sup>36</sup> The process was to be based on the idea of taking into consideration the interests of various social groups. The nation was seen as the entire society: all groups within it. There was no assumption in the National Organisation's programme that this community would be an elite commu-

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<sup>36</sup> *Dokumenty Komitetu*, p. 3: *Program i zasady Organizacji Narodowej*, 24 VII 1862.

nity made up of only one group. Anyone who felt a bond with the nation and was ready to share the values included in the clandestine organisation's programme could become member of that community. Such an attitude testified to the presence of egalitarianism. Each social group was assigned a role in the regaining of independence: a role depending on its intellectual and economic capabilities. Theorists and journalists associated with the organisation were aware of the tensions existing between the various social groups, especially between the landed gentry and the peasantry. Defusing those tensions required action primarily on the part of privileged milieus. Such a stance was reflected in an article published by Father Karol Mikoszewski in *Głos Kapłan Polskiego* (*Voice of the Polish Priest*), a clandestine periodical published without permission of the censors. Mikoszewski called on the upper classes to renounce the privileges obtained by their ancestors, to work for the benefit of the Fatherland, to respect other social groups, and to cease "to wrong the Fatherland's younger sons".<sup>37</sup> In his opinion, the idea of equality had to bear fruit and take the form of concrete social attitudes. The contents of Mikoszewski's writings indicate that reflections on equality appeared in the context of privileges acquired by the nobility. Attitudes towards it were measured by the attitude to the extraordinary entitlements of the various social groups. The need to renounce privileges was part of the classic, republican model of citizenship.

The National Organisation, a clandestine association, had a programme for restoring an independent state, a programme based on a political and social system designed by the organisation. It spoke not of civil but of national community, for this category emerged as superordinate to all others. References to the idea of equality were an indication that civil rights and freedoms were some of the attributes of a nation state that was to be rebuilt and reborn through armed struggle. A vision of the future state was included in documents addressed to peasants by the Central National Committee as the supreme authority of the National Organisation, and in documents regulating the rules of emancipation. This clandestine association took the decision to start an uprising and thus to launch armed struggle to regain sovereignty. The reborn, independent state was to be friendly to all groups in society and care about peasants by introducing measures to create equal

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<sup>37</sup> *Prasa tajna z lat 1861–1864*, 1, pp. 228–232: *Głos Kapłana Polskiego*, 14 XI 1862.

opportunities for them. These included ensuring education for peasant children for them to be able to seek employment as civil servants and in the military. The reborn state was to have a friendly tax system and not to allocate large funds to the army and officialdom.<sup>38</sup> The general objectives of the National Organisation also included the idea of “spreading brotherhood among all classes”.<sup>39</sup> This meant undertaking actions to eliminate tensions between various social milieus and integrating these milieus around the fight for sovereignty. The emancipation act, addressed to peasants from Podolia and Volhynia, stressed that the reborn state would have representative institutions responsible for law making.<sup>40</sup> The National Organisation and its leadership, the Central National Committee, had a distinctive social programme and began to implement it immediately after the outbreak of the uprising by creating a system of legislative acts issued by the executive – decrees. The clandestine press associated with the uprising kept returning to the idea of a state of citizens equal before the law. The idea could be observed in, for example, the Kraków periodical *Naprzód* (Forward).<sup>41</sup> The periodical expressed a hope that the reborn state would be a community based on democracy despite considerable differences in wealth between the various social groups. The expectation was that in this new system the idea of equality would apply to both the rich and the poor. These assertions became a pretext for an appeal addressed to the landed gentry to financially support the uprising as a fight leading to the regaining of sovereignty. Some of the Reds were no strangers to the ideas of political terror. It was to serve the achievement of specific objectives and formation of attitudes. The death of a political opponent was treated as a punishment for undesirable views and actions.<sup>42</sup> Such a sentence was carried out based on various pieces of evidence. However, this can hardly be described as professional and impartial prosecution and trial.

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<sup>38</sup> *Dokumenty Komitetu*, pp. 10–11: *Odezwa wzywająca chłopów do dawania posłuchu księżom głoszącym o wolności i jedności narodowej oraz obiecująca uwłaszczenie i równouprawnienie*, 12 VIII 1862.

<sup>39</sup> *Dokumenty Komitetu*, pp. 3–6: *Program i zasady Organizacji Narodowej*, 24 VII 1862.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 96–98: *Dekret RN o uwłaszczeniu chłopów na Rusi*, 31 III / 12 IV 1863.

<sup>41</sup> *Prasa tajna 1861–1864*, 2, p. 153: *Naprzód*, 10 VI 1863.

<sup>42</sup> See e.g. Kieniewicz: *Powstanie styczniowe*; Stankiewicz: *Dzieje*, pp. 208–220.

### 3. THE PROGRAMME OF THE WHITES

The ideology of the Whites, the second political orientation, participating in the government of the uprising from March 1863, was based on the ideological legacy of the Agricultural Society and its leader Andrzej Zamoyski. From the 1830s, the Zamoyski family adhered to the idea of replacing peasants' duties with rent. Konstanty Zamoyski, Andrzej's brother, was an advocate of replacing serfdom with money (the so-called ransom). Andrzej Zamoyski, on the other hand, believed that long-term lease contracts should be concluded with peasants. Such a solution was difficult to accept by less wealthy landed gentry. Discussions about agricultural reforms were held in the periodical *Rocznik Gospodarstwa Krajowego*.<sup>43</sup> In 1847, following the death of its first editor-in-chief, Kajetan Garbiński, Andrzej Zamoyski was elected his successor. Readers of *Rocznik* came from the landed gentry of the Kingdom of Poland. They met in Klemensów, Andrzej Zamoyski's estate. During discussions devoted to the future of agriculture, there emerged two positions. Andrzej Zamoyski argued that the landed gentry should accept rent voluntarily. In the context of these views, he can be considered a supporter of the idea of respecting the dignity of the individual and thus of taking only those actions that were in accordance with that individual's worldview. Zamoyski thought that the state should not interfere with the economic relations of the landed gentry and the peasantry. He was not enthusiastic about the idea of the state acting as the initiator, coordinator, and organiser of changes in this sphere. His views reflected a liberal model of citizenship. A different view was represented by a group of individuals associated with Tomasz Potocki. They included Feliks Zieliński and the Warsaw governor Łaszczyński. The group believed that the emancipation of peasants should be done through a legislative act granting ownership of land and homesteads in exchange for some compensation.<sup>44</sup> Such a formula of emancipation was used by the Central National Committee, acting as an Interim Government, in its decree of 22 January 1863.

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<sup>43</sup> Kizwalter: *Nowatorstwo i rutyny*, pp. 63–127.

<sup>44</sup> For an extensive description of the work of A. Zamoyski and the Agricultural Society, see Górski: *Andrzej Zamoyski*, pp. 4–9, 14–16, 20, 22, 24.

In 1850, Andrzej Zamoyski was elected counsellor of the Committee of the Land Credit Society. In November 1857, he managed to obtain approval for the activity of the Agricultural Society, which brought together individuals associated with the *Rocznik Gospodarstwa Krajowego* periodical. He was elected its president. Zamoyski held several positions, believing that this was the best way to confirm trust and social status. The Agricultural Society was active in many fields, seeking to improve the quality of farming, with Zamoyski being an advocate of English models. The Society's activities included running competitions for the best farms. The competition entries included both granges and peasants' farms. Zamoyski advocated progress as a continuous social development.<sup>45</sup> He was a legalist and was sceptical about violent, rapid changes and revolutions.<sup>46</sup> The dissolution of the Society in 1861, because of Aleksander Wielopolski's actions, deprived the landed gentry of an institution coordinating and integrating their activity, and made it necessary to shift to clandestine forms of activity and to create the National Directorate. Equality and citizenship were to be achieved, in the light of the National Directorate's programme, through legalism and evolutionary social changes. The transformations were to be initiated by the higher classes, the elites, in the Kingdom of Poland – by the landed gentry. In a personal conversation with the Governor of the Kingdom, Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolayevich, Aleksander Zamoyski stressed the need to rebuild the Polish state by joining it to the Kingdom of Lithuania, that is the north-western governorates of the Empire.<sup>47</sup> Social changes, including the question of emancipation, were not discussed by the two men. Equality and citizenship did not turn out to be an issue of prime importance.

The man regarded as one of the leading ideologists of the Whites was Karol Ruprecht. It should be emphasised, however, that many people contributed to the group's programme. It was not uniform, coherent, and consistent; it featured several ideas with varying degrees of connections between them. In 1862, Ruprecht published two brochures containing the basic programme tenets of this political milieu: *Kwestya socyalna wobec narodowej sprawy* (*The social question and the national cause*)<sup>48</sup> and *Zadanie*

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<sup>45</sup> Górski: *Andrzej Zamoyski*, pp. 8, 14, 22, 29.

<sup>46</sup> Kieniewicz: *Między ugodą*.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 258.

<sup>48</sup> Ruprecht: *Kwestya socyalna*.

*obecnej chwili* (*A task for the present*).<sup>49</sup> Both publications pointed to the need for social reform – abolition of serfdom, granting of land ownership to peasants<sup>50</sup>, restoration of civil rights to the Jews.<sup>51</sup> As the brochures indicate, in 1862, the Whites set the following tasks for themselves: filling posts and official positions in the Kingdom, thus Polonising its administration; introducing reforms; spreading education; integrating individual social classes around the idea of independence; organising self-government in rural and urban communes; developing agriculture, trade and industry; challenging negative opinions about the “spirit of Polish nationality”.<sup>52</sup> The programme also pointed to the need for action to reform the government of the Kingdom of Poland.<sup>53</sup> As Karol Ruprecht wrote: “To refrain from participating in the reforms is tantamount to betrayal of the homeland; it means entrusting the most precious interests of the country to its enemies [...]”.<sup>54</sup> He was also against the uprising.<sup>55</sup>

Violent events, such as a revolution, were for him associated with dictatorship, with the imposition of views. This was against his system of values, the main premise of which was that critical, thinking people with opinions of their own should be valued and allowed to act.<sup>56</sup> Such traits were not desirable when it came to revolutionary events. According to Ruprecht, they were based on a mechanical interpretation of phenomena, imposed by the leaders, and on following orders. Armed struggle did not guarantee the achievement of the overriding objective, namely the regaining of sovereignty. Important values included for Ruprecht personal freedom, which meant the right to hold one’s own views and to demonstrate them.<sup>57</sup> Its source was the “immortality of the human spirit”.<sup>58</sup> It was the spiritual sphere that shaped action, i.e. reality. Karol Ruprecht was brought up in the spirit of

<sup>49</sup> Gromada [Ruprecht]: *Zadanie chwili obecnej*.

<sup>50</sup> Ruprecht: *Kwestya socyalna*, p. 3; Gromada [Ruprecht]: *Zadanie chwili obecnej*, pp. 21, 24, 48.

<sup>51</sup> Gromada [Ruprecht]: *Zadanie chwili obecnej*, pp. 48, 50.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 62–63.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 36.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>55</sup> Ruprecht: *Kwestya socyalna*, p. 37.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 58.

<sup>57</sup> Gromada [Ruprecht]: *Zadanie chwili obecnej*, p. 13.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibidem*.

Hegel's philosophy. The immaterial sphere was regarded as a factor shaping the world. Freedom of thought was, according to Ruprecht, an inspiration for progress and changes in the material sphere, and its foundation was to be found in the human personality. Personal freedom shaped society's life and rights.<sup>59</sup> Ruprecht's views were visibly influenced by the liberal model of citizenship. The Kingdom of Poland lacked systemic guarantees of the freedom to express one's political views – one of Ruprecht's brochures was published under a pseudonym in Paris.<sup>60</sup> There must have been a strong possibility that severe measures could be taken against the author for his views expressed in the work. Freedom of speech was one of the most important dreams and political objectives of societies living under Romanov rule, and Karol Ruprecht's views must have been shared by many of the Whites. Political freedom brought to mind the right to express one's views. It was treated as a civil right which had a major impact on the quality of the government structures.

#### 4. ALEKSANDER WIELOPOLSKI AND HIS PROGRAMME

Aleksander Wielopolski appeared on the political scene of the Kingdom as a politician without any broad political base. His important asset was his desire to collaborate with the administration of the kingdom, dominated by Russians as well as the Petersburg power elites around Alexander II. One of important reasons of his success was a lack of decisiveness on the part of Zamoyski as the president of the Agricultural Society. Wielopolski's strategy consisted in waiting for proposals of the tsar and his administration, and then accepting those he believed were beneficial to Polish society. He did not seem to be inclined to declare his willingness to cooperate with the above-mentioned milieu. He assumed that such declarations could undermine the trust the Polish elites and groups interested in political and social issues had in him. Compromise seeking made him look as if he lacked a programme or ability to take decisions. Wielopolski sought to restore representative institutions, solutions like those of the 1815 Constitution. Yet he did not explicitly call for a parliamentary system to be introduced

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<sup>59</sup> Ibidem, pp. 15, 16.

<sup>60</sup> Gromada [Ruprecht]: *Zadanie chwili obecnej*.

in the kingdom. His definition of citizenship drew on the provisions of the 1815 Constitution of the Kingdom of Poland. It meant equality of citizens before the law, the right to participate in elections to the representative institution – the Chamber of Deputies – social groups with a specific status based on birth, income, merit or ecclesiastical function. In *Projekt adresu z d. 11 lutego 1861 r. (Draft address of 11 February 1861)*<sup>61</sup>, he referred to the Constitution of 1815 and the Organic Statute of 1832 as legislative acts containing provisions regulating the political system and taking into consideration the role of society in the decision-making process. In the document Wielopolski, he stressed the right of society to have its own representation as an institution serving the monarch as well. Its objective was to inform the monarch about various problems and to present requests submitted to the throne. According to Wielopolski, such an institution would have to be elected and represent all groups in society. He formulated his views on the matter as follows:

Among the most acute disadvantages of our situation we count the lack of any authorised body by means of which the country would be able to exercise the inestimable right, flowing from the very essence of monarchical rule, of the inexhaustible right of subjects to approach their sovereign, to submit their complaints and requests to him with due respect. This deficiency is not remedied in our country by the assembly of the Marshals of the nobility, who are not elected, and by the very name of their office are deprived of the power of imagining all classes of our society.<sup>62</sup>

As a result of his legalistic policy of cooperation with the tsar, Wielopolski managed to reinstate the Council of State, an institution that had existed under the 1815 Constitution. It became a forum for discussing current political matters and the programme of reforms of the political system. The discussion also involved followers of Andrzej Zamojski. Wielopolski believed the monarchy's subjects should have the right to present their views on many social issues. This was to be a form of guarantee of their civil rights. *Projekt adresu* contained a programme of political changes, formulated by

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<sup>61</sup> Aleksander Wielopolski. *Dokumenta*, 2, pp. 24–30: *Projekt adresu z d. 11 lutego 1861 r.*

<sup>62</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 25.



Wielopolski, with proposals to replace peasants' duties with rent by means of specific legal regulations, and to raise the level of education in the Kingdom by founding a university, the mission of which would also be to supervise secondary school education. Local communities were to be represented by elected governorate, district and municipal councils. They were established by the tsar's *ukases* or decrees of 24 May and 5 June 1861<sup>63</sup>, on the same day the Council of State was established.<sup>64</sup> It was an institution whose members were appointed by the tsar and not chosen in an election. Its composition was designed by the Governor of the Kingdom, Mikhail Gorchakov.<sup>65</sup> The legislative acts establishing the institutions in question featured the term "subject"<sup>66</sup>, but no mention was made of "citizenship". The term was regarded by Wielopolski's advisors and by Tsar Alexander II as too revolutionary and too far-reaching in the context of the planned political changes. The right to elect representatives to district, municipal, and governorate councils was granted to landowners, owners of property, and individuals paying specific taxes.<sup>67</sup> The new legislation was marked by a clear aversion to any deeper transformations in the relations between the government and society. This stemmed from the idea of hereditary monarchy as an institution making decisions about the most important political matters. Representative institutions were to fit into the old costume of concepts associated with absolute monarchy. Wielopolski was instrumental in having administrative matters being transferred from the governor to the head of the civil government<sup>68</sup>, a position to which he was appointed. Cooperation with the tsar led to the restoration in the kingdom of civil rights of the Jews – above all the right to own land and to choose their place of residence<sup>69</sup> – the statutory

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<sup>63</sup> *Ukaz Jego Cesarskiej Mości ustanawiający w guberniach*, pp. 276–293; *Ukaz Jego Cesarskiej Mości ustanawiający w powiatach*, pp. 294–327; *Ukaz Jego Cesarskiej Mości ustanawiający w Warszawie*, pp. 328–363.

<sup>64</sup> *Ukaz Jego Cesarskiej Mości ustanawiający organizację Rady Stanu*, pp. 234–275.

<sup>65</sup> Kieniewicz: *Między ugodą*, p. 166–167.

<sup>66</sup> *Ukaz Jego Cesarskiej Mości w przedmiocie wyborów*, p. 365; *Rota przysięgi*, p. 419.

<sup>67</sup> *Ukaz Jego Cesarskiej Mości w przedmiocie wyborów*, pp. 367–369; *Ukaz Jego Cesarsko-Królewskiej Mości w przedmiocie wyborów do rad powiatowych, miejskich i gubernialnych*, 24 V / 5 VI 1861.

<sup>68</sup> *Ukaz Jego Cesarsko-Królewskiej Mości określający władzę*, pp. 5–18.

<sup>69</sup> *Ukaz Jego Cesarsko-Królewskiej Mości dotyczący uprawnienia Żydów*, pp. 19–38; Stankiewicz: *Dzieje wielkości*, pp. 203–204.

emancipation of peasants<sup>70</sup>, and the creation of a modern school network.<sup>71</sup> Wielopolski's activities served to change the status of the peasants, to take into account the interests of the landed gentry, to improve the conditions of the Jewish community, especially its wealthiest layer, and to ensure greater access to education for many social groups. Education constituted the basis of development of modern societies. From this point of view, Aleksander Wielopolski's activities must be regarded as an outcome of a future-oriented outlook.

##### 5. PROGRAMMES OF THE UPRISING LEADERSHIP – INTERIM NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Documents of the Committee as the supreme authority of the National Organisation and the Interim Government selected by it during the uprising did not define the principles of citizens' participation in elections to legislative institutions. The matter was barely visible in the documents. Thus, it is impossible to determine who would have been entitled to take part in elections, whether they were individuals with the right income or the right background. The term "citizen" did not appear in the manifesto proclaiming the uprising or in the first decrees of the National Central Committee acting as the Interim National Government. It did appear in the proclamation issued by the National Central Committee as the Interim Government to the people after the fall of Marian Langiewicz's dictatorship on 16 April 1863. Its invocation read: "Fellow citizens!"<sup>72</sup>, introducing the term "citizen" into an official document of the uprising leadership. Yet the term was not commonly used in the invocations to the various legislative acts. It was used in the proclamation to the peasants of 12 March 1864, that is after the emancipation *ukase* had been issued by the tsar. The author of the proclamation, Władysław Gołemberski, commissioner for the Kraków voivodeship, began the document with

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<sup>70</sup> *Ukaz Jego Cesarsko-Królewskiej Mości wprowadzający prawo*, pp. 39–226.

<sup>71</sup> *Ukaz Jego Cesarsko-Królewskiej Mości zaprowadzający Ustawę*, pp. 227–557.

<sup>72</sup> *Dokumenty Komitetu*, p. 100: *Odezwa objaśniająca zasady RN i wzywająca do działania w jedności*, 16 IV 1863.

the words: "Peasant Citizens!"<sup>73</sup> The term "citizen" was used in proclamations alongside other terms treated as synonyms. This could be seen in a proclamation by Józef Hauke-Bosak, the head of the armed forces of the voivodeships of Kraków, Sandomierz, and Kalisz.<sup>74</sup> The invocation read as follows: "People! Brothers! Citizens!"<sup>75</sup> These words testified to the fact that the lower classes were regarded as being part of the community of citizens. The use of the term "citizen" in texts by the uprising leadership should be regarded as an attempt to revive it and to introduce it as a common term in society. It was also used when addressing uprising officials, and it appeared at moments of celebration, in circumstances worthy of being lauded and commemorated. This can be seen in the thanks expressed by the Chief of the National Guard of the city of Warsaw to Karol Lilpop<sup>76</sup>, assistant pharmacist at the Medical Authority in that city, for his services to the fight for independence.

The Interim National Government and the National Government of the 1863 Uprising acted as the executive and the legislative. Such a principle was adopted for the period of the fight for independence. Representative institutions did not exist. The government felt it performed the role of a representative of the nation.<sup>77</sup> During the ongoing struggle for freedom and restoration of statehood, there emerged a number of restrictions on the society's autonomy: restrictions including a ban on political associations, and establishment of revolutionary tribunals to deal with political views. Many of the restrictions stemmed from the dilemmas faced by the uprising leadership. These included a desire to maintain political unity within the leadership despite the diversity of views of its members. The restrictions also resulted from a fear that Ludwik Mierosławski and his followers would engage in politics.

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<sup>73</sup> *Dokumenty terenowych*, pp. 192–193: *Odezwa komisarza pełnomocnego województwa krakowskiego Władysława Gołemberskiego do chłopów, aby nie ufali zaborcy występującemu rzekomo w ich obronie, nie dali się obalamucić ukazem uwłaszczeniowym i dochowali wierności RN*, 12 III 1864.

<sup>74</sup> *Dokumenty terenowych*, pp. 197–198: *Odezwa gen. Józefa Hauke-Bosaka do ludu, demaskująca zwodniczy charakter dekretów uwłaszczeniowych*, 30 III 1864.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 197.

<sup>76</sup> *Dokumenty terenowych*, p. 261: *Naczelnik Straży Narodowej m. Warszawy Paweł Landowski [?] do Karola Lilpopa. Podziękowanie za 'gorliwość' w pracy dla sprawy narodowej*, 4 IX 1863.

<sup>77</sup> Kulecka: *Patriotyzm*, pp. 65–105.

This was seen as an attempt to create a centre of power that would be a rival to the Interim Government. In addition to tendencies to limit the society's rights, there were also efforts to create a catalogue of civic duties. The ban on political associations included in the decree of 7 April 1863<sup>78</sup>, issued by the Interim National Government, headed by Agaton Giller – in which both the Reds and the Whites were represented – was addressed to the participants in the fight for independence. They were not allowed to set up ideological groups within the underground state. Such activities could be considered to be against the state. The promulgation of the decree was prompted by the activities of Ludwik Mierosławski, who sought to create a centre of uprising leadership undermining the position of the Government. The decree was to remain in force during the period of the fight for independence. It was targeted mainly at the insurgent elites, though it also constituted a message to all people involved in the civilian and military operations during the uprising. The document made it clear that a time of struggle could not be combined with discussions about “social concepts, personal rights, internal freedoms”.<sup>79</sup> The uprising leadership was forced to make political choices. It became necessary to determine what was more important: civic freedoms or an effective fight requiring absolute subordination. A victorious fight for independence was to be a priority. In particular, the decree forbade the establishment of “chiefdoms” – that is units of the executive, committees, clubs – as well as submission of petitions to foreign governments.<sup>80</sup> The provisions of the decree suggested that the matter of society's rights was regarded as an issue subordinated to military objectives. This was to create unity. A pluralism of views and actions was regarded as a factor leading to disintegration. A unity of views and actions was seen as essential to success in the fight for sovereignty.<sup>81</sup> With time, more legislation was introduced to discipline the society and the insurgents, and to impose uniform attitudes and views. This was also to be achieved thanks to revolutionary tribunals<sup>82</sup> and introduction of criminal law

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<sup>78</sup> *Dokumenty Komitetu*, p. 87: *Dekret rozwiązujący towarzystwa polityczne*, 7 IV 1863.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 87.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>81</sup> *Dokumenty Komitetu*, p. 100: *Odezwa objaśniająca zasady RN i wzywająca do działania w jedności*, 16 IV 1863.

<sup>82</sup> *Dokumenty Komitetu*, pp. 129–130: *Dekret ustanawiający Trybunały Rewolucyjne*, 2 VI 1863.

to deal with political offences<sup>83</sup>. The rights of citizens in a state fighting for independence, with the attributes of a community based on the ideas of patriotism and desire for sovereignty, were subordinated largely to the objective of carrying out effective military operations and thus were severely restricted. The restrictions were introduced by Franciszek Dobrowolski's government, made up of representatives of the Reds. Democratic ideas were interpreted in a variety of ways and also played various roles in the politics of the Reds. They were applied in specific political and military contexts. The primacy of the fight for independence led to the marginalisation of the discussion about civil rights in the reborn state. The uprising leadership adhered to a classic, republican model of citizenship.

The uprising governments faced many dilemmas. One of the most serious ones related to the methods of implementing the emancipation decree. A search for ways to successfully introducing this law was evident in the activities of all uprising governments. The implementation of the decree may be viewed as a test, as it were, of real action taken to expand the peasants' civil rights. The granting of land to this group was associated with many hopes. It was to boost the insurgent army and, more broadly, win over the peasants to the idea of the fight for independence by linking it to efforts to improve their legal and economic situation. Successive uprising governments assumed that because of the emancipation, men from this social group would automatically join the insurgents. Methods of implementing the decree varied: from issuing appeals and proclamations to establishing an institution punishing those who did not obey the legislation and the policy of the insurgent government.<sup>84</sup> The document contained provisions targeted at those failing to respect the new legal status of the peasants introduced by the insurgent government's legislation. It proclaimed: "Whoever forced peasants by administrative, judicial, military or any other means to pay or redeem rent, ransom or serf duties shall be punished by death."<sup>85</sup>

The death penalty was to be the answer to the limitation of peasants' rights. Thus, the system introduced was that of severe, revolutionary pen-

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<sup>83</sup> *Dokumenty Komitetu*, p. 130: *Dekret ustanawiający prawo karne w sprawach przestępstw politycznych*, 2 VI 1863.

<sup>84</sup> *Dokumenty Komitetu*, pp. 294–295: *Dekret o utworzeniu instytucji nadzorujących wprowadzenie w życie dekretu uwłaszczeniowego*, 27 XII 1863.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 295.

alties. The contents of the decree were to be made known to all citizens, including the peasants.<sup>86</sup> The document was a clear declaration that peasants were part of the community of citizens. In addition, peasants were to be among members of summary courts set up by uprising leaders to try violations of the emancipation decree. Such a court was to be composed of at least four citizens, including at least two peasants.<sup>87</sup> This was to emphasise their significance in the community of citizens. It was to be a form of social education, a new experience for the peasants.

The programmes and documents of the National Organisation, its supreme authority, the National Central Committee, and the uprising leadership – the Interim National Government and the National Government – did not include the idea of society having representative institutions. The time of armed struggle for independence was not conducive to such projects. However, the above institutions stressed that they represented the entire society, as their members included representatives of various social groups.<sup>88</sup> The reference to the composition of the Government was to legitimise the leadership of the uprising, a time of struggle to regain sovereignty. All those who shared the views of this ideological milieu and participated in the struggle for independence were treated as a community of citizens. Its task was to carry out the instructions of the National Government as well as other military and civilian authorities of the uprising.<sup>89</sup>

The uprising leadership appealed to society using a classic, republican model of citizenship. It could be seen in, for example, the proclamation issued on 31 July 1863<sup>90</sup> by Karol Majewski's cabinet, which was made up of representatives of the Whites and the Reds. Citizens were required to devote themselves to and to serve the idea of the nation, to be courageous, to make sacrifices, and to be ready to die for the love of their Fatherland. Common good became superior to the autonomy of the individual. The authors of the proclamation wrote:

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<sup>86</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>87</sup> Ibidem, p. 294.

<sup>88</sup> *Dokumenty Komitetu*, p. 365: *Odezwa do chłopów demaskująca prawdziwe oblicze carskiej reformy uwłaszczeniowej*, 25 III 1864.

<sup>89</sup> For example, citizens were expected to be on the alert/stand guard during battles and provide appropriate means of transport for the wounded, see *Dokumenty Komitetu*, p. 134: *Organizacja służby lekarskiej*, 12 VI 1863.

<sup>90</sup> *Dokumenty Komitetu*, p. 191: *Rząd Narodowy do narodu. Odezwa*, 31 VII 1863.

Citizens! Let us remain steadfast in our love of the Fatherland, in unity and dedication, and let us be ready at any time to sacrifice life and property, home and family: let us remember that from the outbreak of the uprising everything we have no longer belongs to us, but to Poland. We are all servants of the nation, servants of a great thought, great feeling. Whatever position we find ourselves in amidst the bloody work for the nation, there is one law that reigns over us all: sacrifice should be our duty, work for the nation our delight, death for the Fatherland our reward.<sup>91</sup>

Citizenship was associated with belonging to an imagined community, that is the nation. The programme of the National Government provided for giving it formal features after the restoration of an independent state.

In the Tarnopol district, attempts were made to establish citizens' courts. These were to deal with attitudes contradicting the ideology of the National Government.<sup>92</sup> Such a practice was to be a testing ground for new civic experiences. These were to include participation in the evaluation and judgement of ideological attitudes.

The restrictions on citizens' rights were accompanied by an expansion of the catalogue of civic duties. The most important among them included faith and trust in the programme of the clandestine organisation and the authorities of the insurgent state. Society was expected to support the fight and preparations for it through financial donations in the form of taxes and loans<sup>93</sup>, fulfilment of the military duty by joining the insurgent units, and provision of means of transport as well as supplies. The National Organisation and then the Interim National Government and the National Government were aware of the diverse economic circumstances of Polish society. That is why the burdens and expectations concerning the various groups were not the same. Peasants did not have to pay taxes and their voluntary donations in money was carefully described. The amount of taxes depended on the individual's income. The September cabinet of Franciszek Dobrowol-

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<sup>91</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>92</sup> *Dokumenty terenowych*, pp. 283–284: *Regulamin sądów obywatelskich*, 31 XII 1863.

<sup>93</sup> *Dokumenty Komitetu*, p. 23: *Dekret ustanawiający jednorazowy podatek narodowy, przed 18 X 1862*; Ibidem, pp. 87–88: *Dekret o podatku Ofiary Narodowej*, 8 IV 1863; Ibidem, pp. 177–178: *Dekret o pożyczce pięcioprocentowej*, 5 VII 1863; Ibidem, p. 253: *Odezwa o pożyczce narodowej*, 27 X 1863.

ski, dominated by the Reds, established the Chamber of Auditors.<sup>94</sup> This was to serve as an institution controlling the expenditure of the military and civilian administrations of the uprising. Its operation was to lend credence to the financial management in the eyes of the citizens of the fighting state. Thus, there was a clear desire to ensure good, institutionally verified information about expenditure. This was one of the methods of winning society's trust, an attempt to follow the principles of transparency in the operation of the uprising leadership. All groups in society were expected to provide military support and join insurgent units.<sup>95</sup> Armed struggle required sacrifices. This was accompanied by the formulation of the ideology of duty as the most important attribute of a patriotic attitude.

The obligations of society towards the uprising as an embodiment of the idea integrating the nation were explored in the reflections of one of its participants, and, at the same time, the author and inspirer of polemics from the time of the uprising, Józef Szujski. In his "Parafrazy myśli rządowej" (Paraphrases of governmental thought), published in three issues of the Kraków journal *Naprzód* of 11 May, 10 and 19 June 1863<sup>96</sup>, Szujski pointed to the need to subordinate society to the uprising leadership. Civil rights had to be considerably restricted during the fight. A unity of views was seen as essential to its success, unlike freedom of speech and the right to express one's views. Any critical analysis of the activities of the uprising leadership, any lack of subordination and discipline due to dissenting opinions and political views, were considered harmful. The right to personal freedom was regarded as a factor hindering effective actions aimed at achieving the overriding objective, that is independence. In his analysis of the situation at the time Szujski invoked the experiences from the past. A lack of unity and diversity of political views were seen as factors contributing to the fall of the state in the eighteenth century.<sup>97</sup> Implicit in this assertion was a fear of a negative repetition of the past. Historical experience was one of the factors shaping attitudes towards civil rights.

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<sup>94</sup> *Dokumenty Komitetu*, pp. 248–249: *Dekret o utworzeniu Izby Obrachunkowej*, 16 X 1863.

<sup>95</sup> *Dokumenty Komitetu*, p. 119: *Dekret powołujący do walki wszystkich obywateli polskich. Zakaz opuszczania kraju. Wezwanie do powrotu z zagranicy*, 14 V 1863.

<sup>96</sup> Szujski: *Parafrazy myśli rządowej I*, pp. 138–140; *Idem, Parafrazy myśli rządowej II*, pp. 140–143; *Idem, Parafrazy myśli rządowej III*, pp. 149–152.

<sup>97</sup> Szujski: *Parafrazy myśli rządowej II*, p. 143.



A few months after the outbreak of the uprising, in September 1863, one of the most important press titles of the uprising, *Niepodległość* (*Independence*), raised the issue of civic virtue. It was described in the following manner:

Civic virtue springs from the feeling of a free individual in a free nation, love of the Fatherland is its heart and sense of duty its reason. It consists in unlimited devotion to the public good, in the renunciation of all personal interests, of all selfish ambition, in the laying down of all the powers of body, mind and spirit on the altar of the Fatherland.<sup>98</sup>

Civic virtue had its source in patriotism and love of freedom, and it was to serve the idea of rebuilding sovereignty and lead to boundless dedication and giving up of individual autonomy.

#### CONCLUSION

The issues of citizenship, and the rights and duties associated with it, were present in the theories of all political groupings active in the Kingdom of Poland between 1863 and 1864. Yet they were not part of mainstream reflection. The uprising leadership formulated theories shaping an extensive catalogue of civic duties. Such attitudes and actions stemmed from the ongoing armed struggle for independence. The assumption was that the effectiveness of that struggle required giving up citizens' rights and focusing on civic duties. Seeing the peasants as citizens and granting them the status of social partners was not a phenomenon that followed the emancipation decrees of the Interim National Government. The building of civic relations – meaning the recognition that all members of society had the right to be citizens and to have certain rights – was shaped by many factors. Such bonds came up against several obstacles in the Kingdom of Poland. These included tensions between the landed gentry and the peasantry as well as a disintegrative social policy pursued by the administration of the kingdom and by Russia. This was a period when both the idea and the institution of citizenship took shape in society. Such a situation was not conducive to the creation of new bonds based on mutual respect and acknowledgement

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<sup>98</sup> *Prasa tajna 1861–1864*, 2, p. 425: *Niepodległość*, 12.09.1863.

of each other's dignity. The concept of the citizen was linked to various ideologies, including democracy, liberalism and conservatism. Drawing on the ideas of democracy, the National Organisation and the Reds emphasised the possibility of regaining independence based on the mobilisation and self-organisation of the national community, and thus of all citizens. Issues relating to citizenship appeared in reflections pointing to the need for changes in social structures and for civilisational development.

In this period of political and armed struggle, the various political groupings sought in their actions to limit civil rights, to precisely define their boundaries. This was evident particularly in Aleksander Wielopolski's programme. The limits concerned both the peasants and the Jews. The former were granted the right to own land provided they paid for it. The rights granted to the Jews were described in a very precise manner; for example, they were allowed to possess property and land, but only in towns. This rule brought with it some restrictions. The situation was similar when it came to residence. In this case, too, specific conditions had to be met and this denoted limitations.

Differences in Polish society led to a discussion about equality in the context of privileges acquired by the nobility. Theories were formulated to explain and justify this situation, pointing to the unique role this social group played in the defence of the country. These theories were to justify its position in political life. The landed gentry were a milieu with a wealth of experience in holding public offices. They were a social group with the biggest intellectual and educational potential.

When introducing restrictions on civil liberties, the Interim National Government and the National Government, as the leadership of the uprising, justified them by invoking a state of necessity, that is the ongoing struggle for independence. The welfare of individuals became less important in the face of armed struggle to restore an independent state. Thus, it was pointed out that this value had to be laid aside.

The ideologies and programmes of the groups active during the uprising of 1863–1864 featured both the republican model and the liberal model of citizenship. The former was discernible in the views and actions of the Reds and the uprising leadership. The latter – in the ideology of the Whites. The ongoing fight was not conducive to liberal ideology and the system of values associated with it, as it required discipline, subordination, sacrifices, limitation of civil rights and, consequently, of society's autonomy.

Translated by Anna Kijak

**OBYWATELSTWO A DĄŻENIA DO RESTYTUCJI PAŃSTWOWOŚCI**OBYWATEL W IDEOLOGII UGRUPOWAŃ POLITYCZNYCH W OKRESIE POWSTANIA  
STYCZNIOWEGO 1863–1864

## STRESZCZENIE

Temat obywatelstwa, a zwłaszcza uprawnień i obowiązków z nim związanych, pojawia się w rozważaniach teoretycznych wszystkich ugrupowań politycznych działających w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1863–1864. Władze powstania styczniowego w 1863/1864 roku również tworzyły teorie na ten temat. Założono, że powodzenie walki o niepodległość jest najwyższym celem, wymagającym rezygnacji z praw obywatelskich i koncentracji na obowiązkach. Wymaga dyscypliny, podporządkowania, wyrzeczeń i poświęcenia, a więc w konsekwencji ograniczenia praw obywatelskich i pewnej podmiotowości społeczeństwa. W programach ugrupowań politycznych tego okresu formułowano dwa modele obywatelstwa: republikański (stronnictwo „czerwonych” oraz przywództwo powstania) oraz liberalny (stronnictwo „białych”).

**STAATSBÜRGERSCHAFT UND DIE BESTREBUNGEN UM DIE  
RESTITUTION DER STAATLICHKEIT**EIN BÜRGER IN DER IDEOLOGIE POLITISCHER GRUPPIERUNGEN WÄHREND DES  
JANUARAUFSTANDS 1863–1864

## ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Das Thema der Staatsbürgerschaft, insbesondere der damit verbundenen Rechte und Pflichten, taucht in den theoretischen Überlegungen aller in den Jahren 1863–1864 im Königreich Polen tätigen politischen Gruppierungen auf. Auch die Machthaber des Januaraufstands 1863/1864 entwickelten Theorien zu diesem Thema. Es wurde postuliert, dass der Erfolg des Unabhängigkeitskampfes das höchste Ziel sein müsse, das den Verzicht auf Bürgerrechte und die Konzentration auf die Pflichten erfordert. Das Ziel verlange nach Disziplin, Unterstellung, Verzicht und Aufopferung, und damit in der Folge die Einschränkung der Bürgerrechte und eine gewisse Subjektivität der Gesellschaft. In den Programmen politischer Gruppierungen dieser Zeit wurden zwei Modelle der Staatsbürgerschaft formuliert: republikanische (die „rote“ Partei und die Führung des Aufstands) sowie liberale (die „weiße“ Partei).

Übersetzt von Renata Skowrońska

## CITIZENSHIP AND EFFORTS TO RESTORE STATEHOOD

THE CITIZEN IN THE IDEOLOGY OF POLITICAL GROUPS DURING THE JANUARY  
UPRISING OF 1863–1864

## SUMMARY

The subject of citizenship, and especially the rights and obligations related to it, appears in the theoretical considerations of all political groups operating in the Kingdom of Poland in the years 1863–1864. The authorities of the January Uprising in 1863/1864 also developed theories on this subject. It was assumed that the success of the fight for independence was the highest goal, requiring the renunciation of civil rights and the concentration on duties. It required discipline, submission, renunciation and sacrifice, and, as a consequence, it entailed the limitation of civil rights and subjectivity of society. Two models of citizenship were formulated in the programs of political groups of that period: republican (the “red” party and the leadership of the uprising) and the liberal (the “white” party).

Translated by Agnieszka Chabros

## SŁOWA KLUCZOWE / SCHLAGWORTE / KEYWORDS

- obywatel; prawa i obowiązki obywatelskie; „biali”; „czerwoni”; „wielopolszczycy”; Królestwo Polskie (kongresowe)
- Staatsbürger; bürgerliche Rechte und Pflichten; „Weißen”; „Roten”; „Wielopolszczycy”; Königreich Polen (Kongresspolen)
- citizen; rights and duties of citizens; “Whites”; “Reds”; “Wielopolszczycy”; Congress Kingdom of Poland

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