Polish Émigrés as Emissaries of the *Risorgimento* in Eastern Europe

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A number of ideological, cultural, and political factors have contributed to the strong bonds of friendship forged between the Polish political émigrés and the Italian revolutionary exiles scattered throughout France, Switzerland, and England during the first half of the nineteenth century. The origins of this relationship go back to 1831 when thousands of Polish patriots fled to Western Europe after the suppression of their 1830–1831 national uprising. In the beginning of the same year one of Italy's most ardent advocates of national unification and independence, Giuseppe Mazzini, was compelled to leave his native Genoa.[2]

If on the eve of his exile the future leader of the *Risorgimento* had only a vague knowledge of the Slavic world, the still youthful but politically astute Italian revolutionary was well aware that the erstwhile enemies of his country's national aspirations, the conservative guardians of the system established by the Vienna settlement of 1815, were also the oppressors of the Slavic nationalities in Eastern Europe. Among these, the Poles—having lost their independence only a few decades earlier—exhibited the strongest determination to resurrect their fallen, fragmented nation. In fact, one of the chief reasons for the mass exodus of Polish legionnaires and intellectuals in 1831 was their fervent desire to search for new ways to resume the national struggle. Their conviction in such possibilities was kept alive in the 1830s by a widespread anticipation in revolutionary circles of a general European upheaval.[3]

In view of this anticipation, it was only natural for the Italian patriot to view the Poles as potential allies and later as the very nucleus of a holy alliance of peoples that he believed would inevitably bring down the autocratic regimes and establish a new order in Europe based on democratic principles of indepen-

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dent and equal nations.[4] The sheer number of Polish exiles in Western Europe—it is estimated there were about eight thousand émigrés—made their candidacy as emissaries of the idea of a holy alliance of peoples among the Slavs a matter of fact.

Furthermore, it was not only the contemporaneousness of their exile and the affinity of their ideological and cultural background—*Carbonari* connection with respect to the Italians and a deeply imbedded Catholic tradition with respect to the Poles—that would bring the two groups of émigrés closer together. It was also the strikingly similar philosophical and political currents of thought and anguished soul-searching that both emigrations were experiencing during the first years of their exile that would fertilize the soil on which their solidarity and friendship would flourish. As an example of the depth of these bonds, both political and personal, one can cite the instance of Stanisław Worcell and the leader of the Italian *Risorgimento.* When, after almost thirty years of exile, the highly respected Polish aristocrat and radical social thinker became acutely aware that his end was near, he asked for Mazzini and dictated his political testament to the Italian patriot.[5]

During the first phase of their lives as émigrés, both the Polish democrats and the Italian revolutionaries were undergoing a profound disillusionment with the ideology and organizational structure of the *Carbonari* movement with which they had been closely tied. The romantically inspired youthful political thinkers objected to the older conspirators' cosmopolitan ideas, their organization's strong centralizing tendencies, their indifference to religion, and even their apparent lack of willingness to act decisively in times of need.[6]

As the ideas of romanticism and nationalism captured the imagination of the émigrés, it became more and more clear that the spirit of the Enlightenment guiding the *Carbonari* movement, with its emphasis on the general and material rather than the unique and spiritual, did not favor the interests of the nationalities striving for independence. As Walenty Zwierkowski, a Polish convert to the new movement, said in a letter to Joachim Lelewel, he chose to break away from the *Carbonari* to join the newly established Young Poland by placing the "fatherland" above "cosmopolitanism."[7]

Moreover, both Polish and Italian émigrés began to question the role of the French as the indisputable standard-bearers of democratic revolutions. Many influential Poles stressed the need for reliance exclusively on their own resources. As for Mazzini, cooperation of all the democratic forces was essential, but the torch of revolution was to be passed to an alliance of oppressed nationalities untainted by aggression and domination over others—that is, the Italians and the subjugated peoples of Eastern Europe. According to the leader of the *Risorgimento,* in the new world that would result from the revolution there

would be no place for "men-kings" or for "nation-kings." All men and all nations were equal, and there was no need for one nation to enjoy preeminence.[8]

Both groups thus began to distance themselves from French radicals. The inclination of some influential Polish leaders to stand apart and concentrate on their own resources initially complicated the realization of Mazzini's grand design of an alliance of peoples. Yet soon his vision of a new model of international cooperation in the struggle for national independence won adherents among many Poles since it offered full assurance of freedom of action without impinging on the sovereign rights of individual national groups.

The idea of a holy alliance of peoples replacing the existing holy alliance of kings[9] was to become the foundation for a new international revolutionary movement that first emerged as Young Europe and its affiliates[10] and in later years assumed various other names, such as the *Comitato centrale democratico Europeo* (Central Committee of European Democracy) or the *Alleanza repubblicana universale* (Universal Republican Alliance), but always guided by the same distinctly Mazzinian principles of strict national equality, brotherhood, and humanity. For more than three decades of a very active political life as an exile, the leader of the *Risorgimento* considered the Poles his most trusted associates. The earnestness with which they began to apply their conspiratorial talents to the dissemination of Young Europe's ideas among the Slavs in Eastern Europe earned them this trust.

MAZZINI'S INTEREST IN SLAVIC CULTURES

Mazzini founded the organization Young Italy in Marseilles in 1831. From this city the Italian revolutionary followed closely the frequently heated discussions among the Polish émigrés on the failures of their recent national upheaval. His interest in the Polish question was so intense that he occasionally included in his periodical *Giovine Italia* long excerpts from these debates with personal commentaries and conciliatory advice to what was becoming, as generally is the case with every group of exiles, a highly fragmented émigré community. Divisiveness and friction, he knew, did not augur well for the anticipated revolution.[11]

Direct personal contacts with influential Polish revolutionaries, however, became a reality only when Mazzini, perennially hounded by the police, was forced to move from southern France to Switzerland. Several hundred Polish officers had also found haven there after an unsuccessful attempt in April 1833 to reach Frankfurt in order to lend assistance to a German revolt. In Switzerland he met Karol Stolzman (who became his lifelong friend), Franciszek

Gordaszewski, and Feliks Nowosielski, all soon to be actively involved in laying the foundations, following the model of Young Italy, for what became Young Poland and Young Europe.[12]

On Mazzini's initiative the contact was established, and for decades he indefatigably worked to keep the Poles in the alliance of what could be viewed as a permanent revolution of subjugated peoples. With this aim in mind, he conducted a lively and lengthy correspondence with influential Poles, including the highly respected Polish historian and political activist Joachim Lelewel. In his letters Mazzini spoke glowingly of the role the Slavs were destined to play in Europe, imparting to Poland an important role in the political renaissance of Northern Europe, much the same role that Italy was to play among the Southern European states.[13] By 1835 Mazzini succeeded in persuading Lelewel to join Young Poland.[14]

In the course of this interaction with Polish émigrés, Mazzini's thoughts on Eastern Europe developed and matured. His hideout in Switzerland (at times he was confined to his room for months) provided an opportunity for immersion in the study of the Slavic world. During the initial period of his investigation, Mazzini relied primarily on those sources that were most readily accessible to him: Polish émigré publications supplied to him by Polish acquaintances in Switzerland. He was especially impressed by a French translation of a recently published work by the leading Polish Romantic poet, Adam Mickiewicz, *Księgi narodu polskiego i pielgrzymstwa polskiego* (Books of the Polish Nation and of the Polish Pilgrims) (1832). Primarily from this work Mazzini drew inspiration for his most important statement of beliefs, *Fede e avvenire* (Faith and the Future). Already in this early work he spoke glowingly not only of the sacrifices of the Poles for their homeland during the revolution of 1831, of the not too distant Decembrist uprising in Russia, but also of the national revolution in seventeenth-century Ukraine led by Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi. He called attention to the potential revolutionary force that existed among the people in that part of Europe if the love of freedom among the Ukrainians could be rekindled by able and enlightened leadership.[15]

In years to come, Mazzini drew further information on Eastern Europe from the Paris lectures on Slavic literatures and cultures delivered by Mickiewicz at the Collège de France in the 1840s. The Italian revolutionary became genuinely interested in Slavic cultures, in particular in the works of Polish Romantic poets, even though he could read them only in French translation. Mazzini's infatuation with the poet Krasiński continued throughout his lifetime; he placed Mickiewicz higher than Goethe and Byron, and he devoted a number of his literary essays—Mazzini earned his living in exile by writing literary criticism in French and English journals—to popularizing the works of Polish writers in

Western Europe.[16] He himself translated from the French Mickiewicz's poem "Do Matki Polki" (To a Polish Mother), expressing the wish that Italian mothers be guided by the courage and fortitude of Polish women.[17] His feverish political activity did not leave him time to add a Slavic language to his impressive repertoire of foreign tongues, but his fervent desire to read more of the literature that captivated his imagination did not deter him from looking for ways to do so. In the closing years of his life, for example, he attempted to persuade a young friend, the British poet and translator Harriet Hamilton King, to study Polish so that she could translate Mickiewicz into English. In order to encourage her in this task, Mazzini confided that it was his firm belief that the Slavic peoples were destined to become the dominant power in Europe and that eventually "these younger people would regenerate the older" nations of Europe.[18] His profound concern with revolutionary events in Poland throughout his life in exile is well documented in his voluminous correspondence with both fellow revolutionaries and intimate friends.[19]

In view of this infatuation with Polish culture and the country's revolutionary tradition, one would assume that the Italian exile would inevitably view Eastern Europe with a strong pro-Polish bias. This was partly true, but Mazzini's principal sources on the Slavic world were perhaps the best that one could find at that time in Western Europe. Mickiewicz, for instance, had a broad world outlook: he was familiar and personally acquainted with Russian poets and enlightened political thinkers, as well as with Czech and Slovak scholars. He had relied heavily in the preparation of his lectures at the Collège de France on materials gathered by individuals genuinely interested in the cultural reciprocity of the Slavs, such as the Romantic poet Bohdan Zaleski and H. N. Bonkowski. Accordingly, Mickiewicz's survey of Slavic cultures was broad in scope and relatively balanced in content. Zaleski, for example, in addition to his familiarity with the literatures of the West and South Slavs, was a lifelong admirer of Ukrainian history and folklore. Together with Seweryn Goszczyński and Michał Czajkowski, he belonged to what became known as the "Ukrainian School" of Polish literature. This group of writers tended to present in their works a highly idealized view of Ukrainian-Polish relations, especially with respect to the comradeship and solidarity of the two peoples during the Cossack era.[20] This mythical, highly romanticized view of East European history had most likely awakened Mazzini's belief in the inevitability of a revolution in that part of Europe. Similarly the Polish romantics' vision of brotherly love and republican ideals in the land of the Cossacks inspired the Italian political thinker to view Ukraine as the center from which the idea of an international cooperation of free, democratic republics would radiate throughout the rest of Europe. For Mazzini the concept of a nation was not defined by

race or the existence of former or present statehood, but rather by the unique mission bestowed on each nationality by God. Each national group willing to make sacrifices for its own freedom and for the freedom of others would be fulfilling this mission and in this manner making its contribution to the universal brotherhood of men. Of course, usual attributes such as language, culture, history, and territory were taken into consideration, but it was above all the mission expressed through the distinct moral qualities of the people that was considered of the utmost importance in defining the uniqueness or the very essence of a nation.[21] Mazzini's persistent emphasis on the need for a concerted action of all peoples—irrespective of whether they were viewed as historical nations, irrespective of the level of their cultural maturity and political viability—undoubtedly strengthened those forces within the Polish émigré community that favored a conciliatory attitude toward other Slavs, including the nationalities inhabiting the eastern territories of what was considered historic Poland.

It should be noted that in the course of the Polish national upheaval of 1830–1831 the needs of the non-Polish nationalities within the former Commonwealth were largely overlooked. True, the Polish revolutionaries spoke of cooperation and mutual support, but only among the democratic forces of what were viewed as the "historical nations." Thus, the celebrated slogan under which they fought—"For Your and Our Freedom"—applied only to the Russians and the Poles, and was therefore publicized only in those two languages. Little attention was paid to the Lithuanians, Belarusians, and Ukrainians in revolutionary propaganda.[22] It was Mazzini's view, shared by the leaders of Young Poland, that the principal cause of the failure of the Polish national uprising was the neglect of the needs of the peoples beyond the Bug River, the eastern lands of the former Commonwealth inhabited predominantly by non-Poles.[23] Among the non-Polish nationalities in the lands of partitioned Poland, Ukrainians represented the largest group. In their territories—particularly the provinces of Galicia, Volhynia, Kyiv, and Podolia—Young Poland undertook its most intensive underground work in the second half of the 1830s.[24]

Both Mazzini and, naturally, the Poles considered it of utmost importance to disseminate revolutionary propaganda among the local populations in their respective lands. The thoroughness with which the Austrian government succeeded in wiping out the incendiary activities of Young Italy during the first years of its existence shattered Mazzini's hopes that the future European revolution would begin in his homeland. Thus, as the mid-1830s approached, he began to pin his hopes almost exclusively on revolutions in Eastern Europe. During this time he worked indefatigably to persuade the Poles to act. He was confident that his efforts in this direction had been successful when early in

1835 he triumphantly wrote to one of his compatriots in Young Italy: "We have on our side a great part of the Polish emigration, as well as contacts inside the country, which is where it counts the most."[25]

NATIONALISM AND THE WORK OF YOUNG EUROPE

As noted above, Mazzini scored an important success in winning to the cause of Young Poland Professor Joachim Lelewel, the leader of Polish democrats gathered in the Polish National Committee. Lelewel enjoyed enormous prestige not only in the democratic circles of the Polish émigré community but also among the liberals in Western capitals and the intelligentsia in Eastern Europe. While preparing the foundations for a revolutionary underground, he paid special attention to the question of non-Polish inhabitants in what were considered Polish historical lands. This sensitivity of the Polish historian to the nationality question in Poland's eastern borderlands was reflected in the care he imparted to the selection of emissaries and the preparation of special appeals to the non-Polish peoples.

One of his appeals, for example, was addressed to the Greek Catholic clergy, at that time constituting the elite of the Ukrainian inhabitants in the eastern part of the Austrian province of Galicia. Lelewel referred to the clergy's long history of cooperation with the Polish Roman Catholics and called attention to the persecution within the Russian Empire of both Orthodox and Greek Catholic Ukrainians. Therefore, the Polish historian pointed out, the Greek Catholic clergy should consider the nationality question just as important as the religious one. He was confident that the Poles could elicit support from these quarters in view of the sympathy the Greek Catholic priests extended to the Polish insurgents as they were fleeing the Russian Empire after the failed revolution of 1831. At that time, for example, Ukrainian priests readily issued false birth certificates to the Polish revolutionaries in order to protect them from the Austrian authorities.[26] It was probably with the intention of reminding the local Ukrainian intelligentsia of these ties of friendship and political cooperation in the not-too-distant past that Lelewel affixed the signature of Józef Zaleski, a fellow émigré who, together with his namesake and close friend Bohdan Zaleski, worked closely with Galician Ukrainians before reaching Western Europe in the early 1830s. "I figured that your signature would not be without significance," Lelewel explained to Zaleski.[27]

The Polish historian also thought it prudent to prepare an appeal to the multilingual population of the city of Lviv (Lwów in Polish, Lemberg in German) in Eastern Galicia. "Brothers of Lwów, your festive city from ancient times has been a place where various peoples holding different religious beliefs

have gathered and even at present it has not ceased to be a center of national diversity. You have been selected by Providence to promote brotherhood: you are capable of unifying and binding this diversity so that at every level cooperation can be achieved."[28]

On Lelewel's initiative a number of emissaries, including his cousin, Tadeusz Zabicki, were sent to the free city of Cracow and to other parts of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to prepare the ground for an all-encompassing revolution. Among these emissaries the most important was Szymon Konarski, a representative of Young Poland who fully shared Lelewel's views on the question of involving the non-Polish peoples in the planned uprising. In Cracow, Konarski found the nucleus of the organization representing Young Poland established by Lelewel's emissaries a few months earlier. It was Konarski's mission to strengthen this group and to spread a network of underground cells in Galicia and the western provinces of the Russian Empire by weaning the still existing local groups away from the *Carbonari* center and tying them to Young Poland. In view of Young Poland's revolutionary aims, as well as its international connection, utmost secrecy had to be maintained. Therefore, the vague, seemingly innocuous name *Stowarzyszenie Ludu Polskiego* (Association of the Polish People) was selected. The Association's statutes and aims, as one of its founding members in Cracow, Teofil Januszewicz, assured Lelewel, coincided fully with those espoused by Young Poland.[29] Many of the Association's members and sympathizers, however, were not aware of the organization's international affiliation, and in popular literature the Association's activities became known as *Konarszczyzna.* Partly because of the need for secrecy and partly because of the tendency in East European scholarship to emphasize the local roots of revolutionary movements, Young Europe's and Mazzini's influence in Eastern Galicia and the western territories of the Russian Empire have been consistently minimized or overlooked.[30]

Upon his arrival, Konarski first focused his attention on the Austrian part of partitioned Poland, especially on Eastern Galicia where the bulk of the inhabitants were Ukrainian. Within a short time, the headquarters of the Association were transferred from Cracow to the Galician capital, the city that Lelewel had specifically singled out in one of his appeals. From the start, propaganda among the Ukrainian population was considered of utmost importance. It was with this intention that Ignacy Kulczyński, one of the founding members of the Association, encouraged young members of the intelligentsia of both Polish and Ukrainian origin to prepare proclamations, instructional materials for teachers, and various other publications designed to induce the masses to join the Poles in revolt against both landlords and monarchs. In order to find the

most effective way to reach the common people, Kulczyński encouraged young enthusiasts such as the highly imaginative and energetic Kasper Cięglewicz to compose songs and poems with revolutionary content in the Ukrainian language.[31] Texts of these poems and songs, written in the spirit of the Romantic poets but with a clear call to overthrow the lords and emperors, were to find their way to the most remote parts of the province and, as will be shown later, even attracted the attention of activists of Young Europe in western Slovakia.[32]

The Greek Catholic seminarians and some of their mentors also became involved in conspiratorial activities, causing serious concern in the higher rungs of the Church hierarchy. The priest Mykola Hordyns'kyi, a prefect of the seminary in the 1830s, for example, was actively involved in the distribution of clandestine literature among the seminarians and acted as the Ukrainian representative on the executive council of the Association of the Polish People.[33] These activities, no doubt, contributed in no small degree to the crystallization of Ukrainian political awakening in East Galicia. This is how one of the leaders of the Ukrainian national renaissance, Iakiv Holovats'kyi, with unconcealed bewilderment, describes the new spirit within the Ukrainian community in Galicia in 1844: "Not long ago, about a decade or so ago, a new spirit—a Ruthenian spirit—began to appear. Neither a genius awakened [our] somnolent nationality, nor any [internal] event that shook the nation; perhaps it was the neighboring thunder that sounded or the example of the other Slavic nations that roused us."[34] Another political activist, Mykola Kmytsykevych, was no less bemused by this transformation: "Some kind of great spirit of freedom has overwhelmed me . . . . I dreamt that I had liberated the Ruthenians and given them independence. This has become such a mania with me that I can think of nothing else."[35] This passage shows the powerful effect of Mazzini's and Young Poland's ideas on "somnolent" Galician Ruthenians. It was precisely this spirit that the founder of Young Italy and Young Europe was aiming to rekindle through the Polish émigrés among the people of Ukraine.

Entrusting the work of the organization in Galicia to these highly dedicated local conspirators—Cięglewicz subsequently spent ten years in Austrian prisons for his intensive underground work—Konarski crossed the border of the Russian Empire into the provinces of Volhynia, Kyiv, and Podolia. There he succeeded in consolidating the already existing Polish patriotic societies consisting predominantly of university students. Although the majority of the members of the Association at the time of its formal founding in the town of Berdychiv in 1837 had been of Polish nationality, Lithuanian and Ukrainian students were recruited to the organization in line with the ideology of Mazzini's Young Europe and Lelewel's and Konarski's convictions. When the tsarist police uncovered Konarski's underground work in 1838, two of the

eleven conspirators at the University of Kyiv sentenced to death—Arystarkh Sosnovs'kyi and Oleksander Chornii—were Ukrainians.[36] The police records referred to the Ukrainian membership when noting the dangers of the organization's international affiliation.[37]

What undoubtedly facilitated the drawing of non-Poles into the secret organization was the spirit of Young Europe that permeated the activities of Konarski. According to the Association's charter, the central aim of the movement was the attainment of national, social, and political freedom within a democratic Europe. Article 28 of the charter echoed Mazzini's fundamental idea: "All peoples have, besides their own [national] obligations, an important duty toward humanity. Therefore, they should comply with the requirements of humanity. Men of all nations are brothers. Therefore all men and all peoples, like a family and a single brotherhood, should respect each other and help each other to reestablish and defend freedom." Furthermore, the charter warned that "men, families, classes and nations who wish to dominate others, are the enemies of the peoples, i.e., of the human community, and the alliance of peoples should struggle against them."[38] In Article 58 of Young Poland's charter, this idea was expressed with even greater emphasis. It stated that not only individuals but also nations ought to be punished for oppressing others. "Whoever wishes to oppress any nationality, becomes the enemy of others, i.e., [of] the entire human community and as such ought to be declared guilty by the alliance of peoples."[39]

It should be noted that this important principle, the cornerstone on which Young Europe was founded, constitutes the first instance in which entire nations—not merely rulers or classes—were held accountable for oppression. Other contemporary international revolutionary movements of the day were concerned primarily with social and economic issues, and the liberals in Europe focused almost exclusively on the rights of the individual. Both had neglected the national factor in the struggle for equality and freedom. Before the founding of Young Poland it was customarily accepted even by such broadminded luminaries as Mickiewicz that the nationalities of pre-partition Poland were either too small to be viable as independent entities (the Lithuanians) or too weak after centuries of foreign domination to assert their separate existence (the Ukrainians). Mazzini's profound concern in the 1830s with the rights of individual nationalities, no matter how downtrodden and neglected (a concern that he imparted to his associates in Young Europe), strengthened the position of those Poles who were inclined to be more conciliatory to the national rights of the non-Polish inhabitants in what were considered Poland's historical lands. Partly because of this position, Konarski's reception by local Poles was oftentimes hostile—he was accused of being out of touch

with the true socio-political realities at home as a result of his infatuation with foreign ideas.[40] His ability to subdue this opposition permitted his organization to reach out successfully to the non-Poles. It should be noted, however, that even though the idea of independence for the Lithuanians and Ukrainians was implied in the charter, it was never clearly stated or openly advocated.

Mazzini viewed education and indoctrination as indispensable in preparing the ground for national upheavals. For this purpose Konarski and his conspirators found the commercial port of Odesa especially useful. Among other imports, thousands of books were smuggled into the city from Western Europe. A large part of this clandestine literature consisted of works from Mazzini's *Biblioteca del Proscritto,* which the Italian revolutionary founded specifically for the dissemination of democratic ideas among the peoples of Europe. In a letter to his close friend Luigi Amedeo Melegari, to whom he entrusted the actual organization of the library, Mazzini wrote that the collection of printed materials should include "all banned works of exiles worthy of note that, in accordance with the ideas of Young Europe, deal with history, literature, etc."[41] When the tsarist secret police uncovered Konarski's underground organization in 1838, hundreds of books were seized in two bookstores in Odesa. A businessman by the name of Młodecki, with ties to the Polish underground, was responsible for importing this literature. According to police records based on interrogations, most of the seized books were designated for university students in Kyiv.[42] The police official responsible for the confiscation of the literature and the arrests asked the administrator of the Odesa school district to dispatch translators proficient in Western European languages, especially those with knowledge of Italian.[43] After a thorough search and investigation, Konarski and the top conspirators were executed and hundreds of young men were sent into exile or to the army. The University of Kyiv underwent a total political purge and was temporarily closed—apparently not without cause: according to police reports, almost one third of the student body was on the list of suspects.[44]

Such draconian measures could not but produce a powerful impact on the youth of Kyiv, even on the carefully screened students who were to enroll at the university after it reopened. As early as the beginning of the 1840s, both Polish clandestine organizations and a Ukrainian youth circle had emerged there. On the surface this circle was dedicated to cultural interests only, but it had an unmistakably political undercurrent as well. In view of the need for extreme caution, as noted by Panteleimon Kulish, one of the circle's leading members, there was no written statute or agreement for the "salvation work" of the youthful "apostles of people's freedom."[45] One can get a glimpse of the nature

of the "unwritten" objectives of the youth of Kyiv, however, from the following account:

> [At that time] Ukrainian songs and the literature of the Ukrainian people inspired youthful minds in Kiev with the salutary thought: to raise their nation out of the darkness which was destroying its well-being and making it impossible for spiritual forces to overcome the decline. The Kievan youth we are talking about was deeply enlightened by Holy Scripture; it was a youth of great spiritual purity and was enthusiastic about spreading the gospel of neighborly love . . . . The teacher of the Kievan group . . . was He Himself [that is, Christ].[46]

To them the greatest living inspiration was the poet Taras Shevchenko. They viewed with admiration and awe his very appearance and powerful works calling for Ukraine's national renaissance. The legal expert among them, Mykola Hulak, a recent graduate of the University of Tartu—a window to the West for clandestine literature and an important center for Polish secret societies, including a branch of the Association—was well prepared to formulate the circle's political aims, even if they remained unwritten for a time.[47] The group's political interests can also be deduced from the fact that in 1846 its members formed the nucleus of the first secret Ukrainian political organization, the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, with a program of Slavic brotherhood rooted in the East European tradition, but with clear ties to the ideals of Young Poland and Young Europe.[48] It was not without reason that the tsarist secret police considered Hulak the founder and leader of the society.

The guiding spirit of the Ukrainian organization, the historian Mykola Kostomarov, was not an original member of the Kyivan youth circle, but he arrived in Kyiv well prepared to join the group. He was educated at the University of Kharkiv, an important center of the Ukrainian cultural renaissance where the ideas of Johann Herder were well known.[49] Here he became acquainted with the works of Adam Mickiewicz and other Romantic poets. During his student years he mastered French, Italian, and Polish, in addition to the classical languages. Immediately prior to his arrival in Kyiv, Kostomarov held a teaching post at the Volhynian town of Rivne, a region where Konarski's conspiratorial activities had enjoyed the greatest resonance. Most of Kostomarov's students, with whom he closely interacted both inside and outside the lecture halls, were of Polish background.[50] Not surprisingly, therefore, the ideological foundations of the Brotherhood, as articulated by Kostomarov in *Knyhy bytiia ukraïns'koho narodu* (The Book of the Genesis of the Ukrainian People), show the unmistakable influence of Mickiewicz's *Books of the Polish Nation* mentioned previously.[51] One should note that in addition to the Polish bard's influence, Kostomarov's work contains a reflection of Mazzini's

ideas, especially with respect to the Italian revolutionary's emphasis on no "men-kings" or "nation-kings," as well as the idea that the leadership in the new era belonged to nationalities untainted by aggression and domination over others.[52] In Eastern Europe, Ukraine fully qualified for this position. Kostomarov's knowledge of Italian would have enabled him to read Mazzini's writings in the original.[53] After all, the police could not have confiscated all works of an incendiary nature smuggled from Western Europe. His trip to Odesa while the groundwork for the secret organization was being prepared may have provided him with another opportunity to read proscribed revolutionary works smuggled from abroad. It is of interest to note that while visiting Italy a decade later, he took special note of a memorable impression, namely, the singing of a refrain at a national festival: "Noi siamo piccoli, ma grande la nostra libertà."[54] This was one of Mazzini's favorite slogans. How well it applied to the situation in Ukraine.

Even though a number of theories have been advanced on the origin of the name "brotherhood" for the Ukrainian secret society, one should not disregard the fact that Young Europe's important covenant bore the title *Pact of Brotherhood*. Incidentally, this was the only political document of the time—other than agreements between governments—ever to be drawn up in the four languages of the founding members: Italian, German, Polish, and French.[55] Such deference to individual national languages among the members of a revolutionary group could have had a strong appeal to Kostomarov and his group of youthful enthusiasts nurtured in the spirit of cultural nationalism.

There are no direct references to Young Europe, Young Poland, or Mazzini in the course of police interrogations after the society was uncovered in March 1847, nor are they mentioned in Kostomarov's brief and extremely cautious memoirs. We do know, however, that during this period he had been in contact with the headmistress of a women's school, a relative of Józef Zaleski.[56] The Zaleskis had maintained close ties during the long years of emigration primarily through the frequent travels abroad of a wealthy relative, Dyonizya Poniatowska, the "Ukrainian muse" of Bohdan Zaleski.[57] We also know that the relationship between the headmistress Zaleska and Kostomarov was not strictly of a professional nature. Zaleska had desperately tried to warn the Ukrainian historian about his impending arrest.[58] In addition, access to émigré revolutionary literature could have come through the Polish scholar Konstanty Świdziński, who shared Kostomarov's research interests and whose manuscript on a historical subject was confiscated by the police during Kostomarov's arrest.[59] Świdziński, who was a budding historian with strong interests in Ukrainian ethnography and culture, also held Dyonizya Poniatowska in high esteem.[60] During the interrogations Kostomarov attempted to distance himself

from the authorship of the incriminating document, *Knyhy bytiia ukraïns'koho narodu,* by claiming that it was a translation of a Polish manuscript of unknown authorship. He pointed out to his interrogators that dreams of Cossack glory and Ukraine's resurrection had been expressed by many Poles, among them Lelewel, Mickiewicz, and Zaleski.[61]

The life of the secret society was brief. The tsarist police liquidated it in March 1847 with the arrests of its leading members. All scholars agree that it held enormous importance for the Ukrainian national renaissance in that it was instrumental in transforming what had been primarily a cultural national movement into a political one.

Young Europe's ideas were a catalyst in the process of politization of cultural circles among the Czechs, the Slovaks, and the South Slavs. Here, too, the Polish mission as disseminators of Young Europe's program was a crucial one. The University of Vienna acted as a convenient center through which contacts were established with the intelligentsia of the Slavic nationalities of the Austrian Empire. Especially active in this connection was Alexander Boleslavin Vrchovsky, a Slovak student at the Faculty of Law. The Czechs, František Cyrill Kampelík from Brno, Karel Slavoj Amerling, and Václav Svatopluk Štulc from Prague assisted him in this work, as did his Slovak compatriot, Samo Chalupka.[62] As in the case of the Ukrainians, the spreading of Young Europe's aims among the Czechs and Slovaks meant first of all the politization of what had been in the previous decades a purely cultural movement concerned with the fostering of local languages, literatures, and folklore.

At one of their first official meetings held in Brno in 1834, they discussed the issue of cultural and political cooperation among three nationalities: the Czechs, the Slovaks, and the Poles. Here Kampelík, Vrchovsky, Chalupka, and Juraj Matúška represented the Czechs and Slovaks, whereas Lesław Łukaszewicz, one of the founding members of the Association of the Polish People, acted on behalf of the Poles. This meeting, as well as Vrchovsky's subsequent energetic work throughout Slovakia, led subsequently to the founding of a secret society known as *Vzájomnost'* (Reciprocity), an organization that represented a branch of Young Europe among the Slovaks.

Characteristically, among Vrchovsky's papers one can find copies of the incendiary poems and songs written by Cięglewicz for Ukrainians in Galicia. These works, of minor literary value, were excellently suited as material for propaganda among the Czechs and the Slovaks, and it is most likely that Vrchovsky laboriously copied them into his notebook with this intention. In collaboration with the new Czech and Slovak recruits, Young Europe's ideology was disseminated through Vienna to the South Slavs, in particular to the Croats and the Serbs.

Mazzini's fervent belief in the duty of all democrats to promote the ideals of Young Europe's covenant, particularly in Eastern Europe where he felt the potential for national revolutions was the strongest, provided the principal impetus for the politization of thought among the West and East Slavs. With the exception of the Poles, they were not as yet ready to embark on the road of national liberation if left to their own resources. Once the ideas of Young Europe were injected into their midst, the young intelligentsia quickly transformed their fascination with the linguistic affinities among the Slavic tongues and preoccupation with Eastern European cultural reciprocity into a program embracing political cooperation among Slavs. As Young Europe's emissaries, the Polish émigrés became indispensable catalysts in transforming what had been primarily a cultural nationalism into a political one. The 1830s—the period of Young Europe's most intensive work—paved the way for the national renaissance that expressed itself with full force in the revolution of 1848. Mazzini's perhaps naïve yet very strong conviction that the national animosities plaguing Europe throughout the centuries were the outcome of imperial conflicts between autocratic rulers and the abandonment of the true Christian principle of brotherhood by modern society appealed to the intelligentsia in Eastern Europe. Mazzini's vision smoothed the way for cooperation among them even though their relations had not always been amicable. The profound religiosity that permeated every fiber of Mazzini's political thought made his revolutionary program especially attractive to the Slovak and Ukrainian intelligentsia in the Austrian Empire, since their leadership consisted predominantly of members of the clergy. As has been shown, in Eastern Galicia one of the most active centers of the underground work of the Association of the Polish People was the Greek Catholic seminary, where both students and some of their mentors became actively involved in clandestine political work. In its Slovak counterpart *Vzájomnost',* many of the members had close ties with the Catholic and Lutheran Churches. In radical mid-nineteenth-century Europe, Mazzini's revolutionary movement was unique in placing God's law as the highest authority in the relations guiding men and nations. Young Italy differed from its *Carbonari* predecessor, for example, in that it refused to apply the death penalty to traitors within its ranks. The brief period of Young Europe's existence prepared the ground for future cooperative efforts in Eastern Europe, an example of which would be the support for the Polish uprising of 1863 by Ukrainians and even some Russians. One should note that the prominent Russian political émigré, Aleksandr Herzen, who in his journal *Kolokol* supported the Polish revolt against Russia, was a friend of Mazzini and Worcell.[63]

Without question, politization of nascent nationalism among the Slavs would have occurred even without the dissemination of Young Europe's ideas,

but the process would have been much slower and the impact of social Darwinism on the national renaissance in the second half of the nineteenth century would have been much stronger. The tolerance characteristic of the Ukrainian national revival during the revolution of 1917–1918 and the spirit of humanism pervading the Czechoslovak Republic under the leadership of Tomáš G. Masaryk were to a great degree the results of the deeply imbedded ideas of Young Europe in that part of the world. Without the Poles as active intermediaries, Young Europe with its ideology of nationalism "with a human face" most likely would have remained a brief Western European phenomenon.

NOTES

1. Research for this article was made possible thanks to a generous PSC-CUNY Travel Grant received in 1999.

2. Numerous studies on Mazzini's life, political thought, and revolutionary activities have been published in Italian, English, and other languages. The most recent works in English are Roland Sarti, *Mazzini: A Life for the Religion of Politics* (Westport: Praeger, 1997); Denis Mack Smith, *Mazzini* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); William Roberts, *Prophet in Exile: Joseph Mazzini in England, 1837–1868* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989).

3. There are indications that Adam Mickiewicz wrote his highly popular *Books of the Polish Nation and of the Polish Pilgrims* in 1832, in anticipation of a European revolution. Stefania Sokołowska, *Młoda Polska: Z dziejów ugrupowań demokratycznych wielkiej emigracji* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1972), p. 4. For a thorough discussion of this period, see Adam Lewak, *Od związków węglarskich do Młodej Polski: Dzieje emigracji i legjonu polskiego w Szwajcarji w r. 1833–1834* (Warsaw: E. Wende i Spółka, 1920).

4. Mazzini made allusions to a holy alliance of peoples as early as 25 June 1832 when he wrote to Joachim Lelewel, the noted Polish leader, "I believe with all my strength in the universal association of peoples, but one has done little to make it materialize." Quoted in Adam Lewak, "Giuseppe Mazzini e l'emigrazione polacca," *Il Risorgimento Italiano* 17 (1924): 125. The Italian leader discussed this idea in more detail in his important essay *Fede e avvenire,* published in French as *Foi et avenir* in 1835. An English translation appears in a collection of essays first published in 1907: Joseph Mazzini, "Faith and the Future," in *The Duties of Man and Other Essays* (London: J. M. Dent, 1936), pp. 141–94. Unless otherwise stated, references to Mazzini's political thought in the 1830s and 1840s are taken from the English text.

5. Aleksandr Herzen, *Byloe i dumy* (Moscow: "Khudozh. Lit.," 1967), 3:105; Adam Lewak, "Ideologia polskiego romantyzmu politycznego a Mazzini," *Przegląd Historyczny* 37 (1948): 311–21, here p. 318; Witold Łukaszewicz, "Wpływ masonerii, karbonaryzmu i Józefa Mazziniego na polski ruch rewolucyjny w latach poprzedzających Wiosnę Ludów (1831–1847)," in Natalia Gąsiorowska, ed., *Wiosna Ludów w Europie. Część II. Zagadnienia ideologiczne* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1951), p. 381.

6. The ambivalence and aloofness of the *Carbonari* leadership during Young Italy's ill-fated Savoy expedition of 1834 was a cause of frustration and disillusionment for many youthful Italian revolutionaries. After this incident Mazzini decided to sever Young Italy's connection with the *Carbonari* movement. Ties between the Poles and the *Carbonari* center lingered somewhat longer even though the Poles also actively participated in the Savoy expedition. A thorough study of this period gives Mazzini full responsibility for weaning away the democratic wing of the Polish Emigration from the *Carbonari* movement: "Mazzini snatched away the Polish clandestine revolutionary movement from the *Carbonari* center and [from its] strong communist tendencies propelling it in the direction of the

mystical-revolutionary Young Europe and its daughter—Young Poland . . . ." See Łukaszewicz, "Wpływ," p. 379.

7. Zwierkowski to J. Lelewel, Tours, 26 October 1834, quoted in Łukaszewicz, "Wpływ," p. 294. On this subject see Stefan Kieniewicz, "La pensée de Mazzini et le mouvement national slave," in *Atti del Convegno Mazzini e l'Europa* (Rome, 1974); S. Kalembka, "L'emigrazione democratica polacca e Giuseppe Mazzini (1832–1847)" in *Mazzini e la Polonia* (Warsaw: 1973); Lewak, "Ideologia polskiego romantyzmu politycznego a Mazzini," pp. 311–21.

8. This is one of the main themes of Mazzini's "Faith and the Future."

9. In Mazzini's words, "the *holy alliance* of Peoples who are constituted as great single aggregates according to the dominant moral and material attributes that determine their particular national missions," was to replace the old Europe of kings. Quoted in Sarti, *Mazzini,* p. 80. See also Łukaszewicz, "Wpływ," p. 293.

10. On Young Europe see F. Gunther Eyck, "Mazzini's Young Europe," *Journal of Central European Affairs* 17 (1958): 356–77; also Hans Gustav Keller, *Das "Junge Europa," 1834–1836* (Zurich: Max Niehaus Verlag, 1938).

11. See "Due note al discorso del Krempowiecki intorno alla rivoluzione polacca," in Giuseppe Mazzini, *Scritti editi ed inediti,* 94 vols. (Imola: Cooperativa Tipografico-Editrice Paolo Galeati, 1906–1943), 3:161–5. Hereafter cited as *SEN (Scritti Edizione Nazionale).*

12. On this period see especially Lewak, *Od związków węglarskich do Młodej Polski.* These contacts are also discussed in Giovanna Tomassucci, "Mazzini e la Polonia, 'Sorella Combattente,'" in Giuliana Limiti, ed., *Il Mazzinianesimo nel mondo* (Pisa: Istituto Domus Mazziniana, 1996), 2:367–462. See especially pp. 373–80.

13. Mazzini's letter of 30 August 1833, *SEN* 5 (1909): 480. See also Adam Lewak, *Giuseppe Mazzini e l'emigrazione polacca. Lettere inedite* (Casale, 1925), pp. 32–40, 42–46; Wolfango Giusti, *Mazzini e gli slavi* (Milan: Istituto per gli studi di politica internazionale, 1940), pp. 11–81. See also Joachim Lelewel, *Listy emigracyjne Joachima Lelewela*, 4 vols., ed. H. Więckowska, PAU Wydawnictwa Komisji Historicznej 91 (Cracow: Nakład Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, 1948–1954), 3:91.

14. Łukaszewicz, "Wpływ," p. 300.

15. Mazzini, "Faith and the Future," p. 155.

16. See, for example, Giuseppe Mazzini, "Adam Mickiewicz," *SEN* 94 (1943): 3–43; G. Mavor, "Mazzini and Mickiewicz," *Adam Mickiewicz, 1855–1955. Międzynarodowa Sesja Naukowa PAN* (Wrocław, 1958); Gąsiorowska, ed., *Wiosna ludów,* pp. 311–3.

17. Adam Lewak, "Ideologia polskiego romantyzmu politycznego a Mazzini," pp. 311–21, esp. p. 316; Mavor, "Mazzini and Mickiewicz," p. 216.

18. Harriet H. King, *Letters and Recollections of Mazzini* (London: Longmans Green, 1912), p. 56.

19. See, for example, his correspondence with the Ashurst family in Giuseppe Mazzini, *Mazzini's Letters to an English Family,* 3 vols., ed. E. F. Richards (London: John Lane, 1920–22).

20. V. A. Frantsev, *Pol'skoe slavianovedenie kontsa XVIII i pervoi chetverti XIX st.* (Prague: Tipografia "Politiki," 1906), pp. 309 and CLX; Henryk Batowski, *Przyjaciele słowianie* (Warsaw: "Czytelnik," 1956), pp. 43, 45, 51, 55; J. B. Zaleski, *Pisma* (St. Petersburg, 1852), 2:201; Mikołaj Mazanowski, *Józef Bohdan Zaleski: Życie i dzieła. Zarys biograficzny* (St. Petersburg: Nakładem Księgarni K. Grendyszyńskiego, 1901), pp. 76–7; George G. Grabowicz, "The History of Polish-Ukrainian Literary Relations: A Literary and Cultural Perspective," in Peter J. Potichnyj, ed., *Poland and Ukraine: Past and Present* (Edmonton: CIUS, 1980), pp. 107–31, esp. pp. 115–20; Tetiana Dovzhok, "Mitskevych ta 'Ukraïns'ka shkola,'" in *Adam Mitskevych i Ukraïna: Zbirnyk naukovykh prats'* (Kyiv: Vydavnytstvo "Biblioteka Ukraïntsia," 1999), pp. 94–111; Ksenya I. Kiebuzinski, "Paris to Poltava: Ukrainian Cossacks as an Imagined Community in Nineteenth-Century French Culture" (Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis University, 2002), esp. pp. 81–136.

21. "Nazionalismo e nazionalità," *SEN* 93:85–96. Also on the subject of nationalism, see *SEN* 6:125–7. A good summary of Mazzini's thoughts on nationalism is found in Sarti, *Mazzini,* pp. 80–4. For one of the most thorough treatments of Mazzini's thought, see Joanna Ugniewska, *Giuseppe Mazzini—historia jako narodowa terapia* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1986), esp. pp. 87–118.

22. The non-Polish nationalities of the pre-partition Commonwealth were almost completely ignored in the programs of the Polish or predominantly Polish clandestine societies predating the 1825 Decembrist uprising in Russia and the Polish Revolution of 1830. Among these one could mention the Masonic lodge Slavic Unity (Jedność Słowiańska), founded in 1818, and the Society of United Slavs, established in 1823, even though the question of new national state formations among the Slavs was given serious consideration. During its brief existence, the Society of United Slavs spread quickly to Volhynia and other parts of Ukraine through the energetic efforts of one of its founders, Julian Lubiński. In its program the Society envisaged the union of "eight Slavic tribes" in a common alliance and with a republican system of government while preserving the independence of each. The eight members were enumerated on an octagonal seal as Russia, Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Hungary with Transylvania (most likely in view of the large number of Slovaks and other Slavs of the Kingdom of Hungary), and Serbia with Moldavia and Wallachia. See V. Bazilevskii [V. Bogucharskii], *Gosudarstvennye prestupleniia v Rossii v XIX v.* (St. Petersburg, 1906), p. 29; Volodymyr Mijakovskyj, "Shevchenko in the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius," in Volodymyr Mijakovskyj and George Y. Shevelov, eds., *Taras Ševčenko 1814–1861: A Symposium* (s-Gravenhage: Mouton, 1962), p. 27. There is a record, however, that at one of the meetings of the Society of United Slavs in 1825, the Polish writer Tymko Padura reminded the delegates that they had forgotten the interests of their hosts,

the Ukrainians! See O. Hermaize, "Rukh dekabrystiv i ukraïnstvo," *Ukraïna* 6 (1925): 33.

23. Mazzini, "Faith and the Future," p. 155.

24. For a very well documented description of these developments, see Sokołowska, *Młoda Polska,* pp. 127–63.

25. Giuseppe Mazzini, Letter to Pietro Giannone, 17 February 1835, *SEN* 10 (1911): 361.

26. Jan Kozik, *The Ukrainian National Movement in Galicia: 1815–1849* (Edmonton: CIUS, 1986), p. 38; Hryhorii Iu. Herbil's'kyi, *Peredova suspil'na dumka v Halychyni: 30-i–seredyna 40-kh rokiv XIX stolittia* (Lviv: Vyd-vo L'vivs'koho universytetu, 1959), pp. 139–48.

27. Lelewel to J. Zaleski, Brussels, 15 March 1835; Lelewel, *Listy*, 1:319, 320, quoted in Sokołowska, *Młoda Polska,* pp. 133–5. On Józef Zaleski's relations with Lelewel during this important period of Young Poland, see pp. 94–7. About his transit through Galicia, see the biographies of his close friend (some say distant cousin) Bohdan: Józef Tretiak, *Bohdan Zaleski na tułactwie: 1831–1838* (Cracow: Nakładem Akademii Umiejętności, 1913), 1:1–10; Mazanowski, *Józef Bohdan Zaleski,* pp. 52–3.

28. Quoted in Sokołowska, *Młoda Polska,* p. 133. Manuscripts of both of these appeals can be found in Biblioteka Narodowa, 6572, k. 22, 20; copy of the appeal to the Ukrainian clergy (*do duchoweństwa ruskiego*) Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Papiery po K. Zaleskim, 7159, k. 63. Publications of these appeals are located in the Biblioteka Polska in Paris (Sokołowska, *Młoda Polska,* pp. 133–4). Similar appeals were addressed to Lithuanians, and some thought was given to addressing an appeal to the Russians as well, but no documents regarding the latter have been preserved.

29. Sokołowska, *Młoda Polska,* p. 97, 139–40. The charter of the Association of the Polish People can be found in Marceli Handelsman, *Francja–Polska, 1795–1845* (Warsaw, 1926), pp. 183–5; Agaton Giller, *Historia powstania Narodu Polskiego w l. 1861–1864,* pt. 3 (Paris, 1870), pp. 450–60; Łukaszewicz, *Wiosna ludów,* p. 306.

30. See, for example, Stefan Kozak, *Ukraińscy spiskowcy i mesjanści: Bractwo Cyryla i Metodego* (Warsaw: Pax, 1990), p. 86; Herbil's'kyi, *Peredova suspil'na dumka;* Kozik, *The Ukrainian National Movement in Galicia.* Seweryn Goszczyński, one of the founding members of the Association, together with his literary friend Lucjan Siemieński, played an important role in Lviv on behalf of Konarski's cause. See *Wiosna Ludów,* pp. 307–8.

31. Kozik, *The Ukrainian National Movement in Galicia,* pp. 40–1.

32. Alexander Vrchovsky Archive, M113, B15, Matica Slovenska, Archiv Literatury, Martin; J. Horoskiewicz, "Kasper Cięglewicz: Żywot, prace i cierpienia," *Gazeta Narodowa,* Lviv (1886), nos. 227–33; Ivan Franko, "Shevchenko heroiem pol's'koï revoliutsiinoï legendy," *Zhytie i slovo* 1 (1894): 392; Stefan Kieniewicz, *Konspiracje Galicyjskie 1831–1848* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1950).

33. For this as well as for other underground activities with which Hordyns'kyi was connected, the Austrian authorities subsequently sentenced him to death. His sentence was commuted to twelve years in prison, but a few years later the revolution of 1848 brought him freedom. See Kozik, *The Ukrainian National Movement in Galicia,* pp. 44–5.

34. Iakiv Holovats'kyi to Osyp Bodians'kyi, 4 December 1844, quoted in Kozik, *The Ukrainian National Movement in Galicia,* p. 37.

35. Mykhailo Tershakovets', ed., "Materiialy i zamitky do istorii natsional'noho vidrodzhenia Halyts'koï Rusy v 1830 ta 1840 rr.," *Ukraïns'ko-rus'kyi arkhiv* 3 (1907): 22–3, quoted in Kozik, *The Ukrainian National Movement in Galicia,* pp. 45–6.

36. Jan Tabis, "Polskie rewolucyjne organizacje studenckie na Uniwersytecie Kijowskim," in Antoni Podraża, ed., *Szkice z dziejów stosunków polsko-ukraińskich* (Cracow: Wydaw. Literackie, 1968), pp. 21-6. The sentence of the student conspirators was subsequently commuted to obligatory military service.

37. Mikola Varvarcev [Mykola Varvartsev], "La diffusione del pensiero mazziniana in Ucraina nell'Ottocento," in *Il Mazzinianesimo nel mondo,* pp. 465–509, esp. p. 475. See also *Kyrylo-Mefodiïvs'ke tovarystvo,* P. S. Sokhan' et al., eds. (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1990), 2:650; and the testimony of the head of the Polish society "Faith, Hope, Love," Kasper Moshkovskii, in his "Rukopis' v tiur'me," *Russkii arkhiv: istoriko-literaturnyi sbornik* 1 (1909): 498.

38. Varvarcev, "La diffusione," p. 475.

39. Quoted in Lewak, "Ideologia polskiego romantyzmu politycznego a Mazzini," p. 312.

40. Wacław Lasocki, *Wspomnienie z mojego życia* (Cracow: Nakładem Gminy Stol. Krol. Miasta Krakowa, 1933), 1:76–81.

41. Giuseppe Mazzini to Luigi Amedeo Melegari, November 1836, in *SEN* 12 (1912): 233. The entire text of the letter appears on pp. 231–3.

42. Varvarcev, "La diffusione," p. 478.

43. Ibid., p. 480.

44. Varvarcev, "La diffusione," p. 477. On these events see also Tabis, "Polskie rewolucyjne organizacje," pp. 24–5; M. V. Vladimirskii-Budanov, *Istoriia imp. Universiteta Sv. Vladimira,* vol. 1 (Kyiv, 1884); Mijakovskyj, "Shevchenko in the Brotherhood," p. 32.

45. Panteleimon Kulish, *Khutorna poeziia* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1994), p. 361. Kulish writes that they chose to be guided by the rule "Let us be elusive, like air."

46. Kulish, *Khutorna poeziia,* pp. 359–60, quoted in George Luckyj, *Panteleimon Kulish: A Sketch of His Life and Times* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1983), p. 27. See also Z. Hurevych, *Moloda Ukraïna: do vos'mydesiatykh rokovyn Kyrylo-Metodiïvs'koho bratstva* (Kharkiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Ukraïny, 1928), p. 361.

47. On student corporations and Polish clandestine associations at the University of Tartu, see Karl Siilivask, ed., *History of Tartu University: 1632–1982,* Ants Aaver et al., trans. (Tallinn: Perioodika, 1985), pp. 91–3, 164–5. On Mykola Hulak, see Valeriy Marchenko, "Mykola Hulak," *Suchasnist',* 4–5 (1982); N. N., "Pamiati Nikolaia Ivanovicha Gulaka," *Kievskaia starina,* 1900, no. 2; N. Storozhenko, "Kirillo-Mefodievskie zagovorshchiki," *Kievskaia starina,* 1906, no. 2. A detailed examination of Polish student activism in the Russian Empire can be found in Johannes Remy, *Higher Education and National Identity: Polish Student Activism in Russia 1822–1863* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2000).

48. On this subject see P. A. Zaionchkovskii, *Kirillo-Mefodievskoe obshchestvo (1846–1847)* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1959); V. Semevskii, "Kirillo-Mefodievskoe obshchestvo, 1846–1847," *Russkoe bogatstvo,* no. 5 (1911): 98–127 and no. 6 (1911): 59–67; M. Vozniak, *Kyrylo-Metodiïvs'ke bratstvo* (Lviv, 1921); Hurevych, *Moloda Ukraïna;* Józef Gołąbek, *Bractwo Sw. Cyryla i Metodego w Kijowie* (Warsaw, 1936); Denis Papazian, "N. I. Kostomarov and the Cyril-Methodian Ideology," *Russian Review* 29.1 (1970): 59–73; George G. S. N. Luckyj, *Young Ukraine: The Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius, 1845–1847* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1991); Thomas M. Prymak, *Mykola Kostomarov: A Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Dmytro Doroshenko, *Mykola Ivanovych Kostomarov* (Kyiv: Ukraïns'ka nakladnia, 1926).

49. Especially influential on the formation of Kostomarov's world outlook during his student years was a young professor, Mikhail Lunin, who, like Hulak, was a graduate of the University of Tartu. L. K. Polukhin, *Formuvannia istorychnykh pohliadiv M. I. Kostomarova* (Kyiv: Vydavnytstvo AN URSR, 1959), pp. 59–69.

50. Mijakovskyj, "Shevchenko in the Brotherhood," p. 32; Volodymyr Mijakovskyj, "Kostomarov u Rivnomu," *Ukraïna* 12 (1925): 28–66; "Knyha pro Kyrylo-Metodiïvske bratstvo," *Suchasnist',* no. 3 (1963), pp. 85–96.

51. See the comparison of Mickiewicz and Kostomarov in Dmitry Čiževsky, "Mickiewicz and Ukrainian Literature," in Wacław Lednicki, ed., *Adam Mickiewicz in World Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956); Stefan Kozak, "Knyha bytija ukraïns'koho narodu Mykoly Kostomarova i Księgi narodu i pielgrzymstwa polskiego Adama Mickiewicza," *Slavia orientalis* 1 (1973): 177–88; Zaionchkovskii, *Kirillo-Mefodievskoe obshchestvo (1846–1847),* pp. 9–12.

52. See above, p. 9.

53. N. I. Kostomarov, *Istoricheskie proizvedeniia. Avtobiografiia* (Kyiv: Izdatel'stvo pri Kievskom gosudarstvennom universitete, 1989), p. 441.

54. "There are few of us, but great is our liberty." See Kostomarov, *Avtobiografiia,* p. 512.

55. *Pact of Brotherhood, SEN* 4 (1908): 3–6; Eyck, "Mazzini's Young Europe," p. 361.

56. Alina Kostomarova, "Nikolai Ivanovich Kostomarov," in V. Koteľnikov, ed., *Avtobiografiia N. I. Kostomarova* (Moscow: Zadruga, 1922): 6–116, esp. pp. 64–5.

57. Tretiak, *Bohdan Zaleski na tułactwie,* pp. 55–6; Mazanowski, *Józef Bohdan Zaleski,* pp. 53, 63–4; Sokołowska, *Młoda Polska,* p. 97. Before fleeing to France in 1832, Józef Zaleski remained in Galicia somewhat longer than Bohdan, precisely in order to establish underground ties with his wife living on the family estate near Kyiv. Maintenance of ties of families torn apart by the revolutionary events was considered essential among most Polish émigrés not only for emotional but for financial reasons. See Dyonizya Poniatowska, *Listy Dyonizyi Poniatowskiej do Bohdana i Józefa Zaleskich,* 2 vols. (Cracow: G. Gebethner i Spółka, 1900).

58. Kostomarova, "Nikolai Ivanovich Kostomarov," pp. 64–65.

59. Sokhan′ et al., eds., *Kyrylo-Mefodiïvs′ke tovarystvo,* 1:359; *Listy Dyonizyi Poniatowskiej,* p. 13.

60. *Listy Dyonizyi Poniatowskiej do Bohdana i Józefa Zaleskich,* 1:12–3. See note 56.

61. Sokhan′ et al., eds., *Kyrylo-Mefodiïvs′ke tovarystvo,* 1:300.

62. On these developments see Jozef Butvin, "Tajny politický spolok Vzájomnosť (1837–1840)," *Sbornik Filozofickej Fakulty Univerzity Komenského* 14 (1963): 1–37, esp. p. 4. For details see J. Butvin, "Zjednocovanie snahy v slovenskom národnom hnutí v 30-ych rokoch 19. stor.," *Historické štúdie* 8 (1963): 7–67; Vladimír Matula, "The Conception and the Development of Slovak National Culture in the Period of National Revival," *Studia Historica Slovaca* 17 (1990): 153–93; idem, "Slovanská Vzájomnosť—Národnooslobodzovacia ideologia Slovenského narodneho hnutia (1835–1849)," *Historický časopis* 8.2 (1969): 248–64; idem, "Snahy o prehľbenie demokratickej línie Slovenských národnych novín a formovanie revolučného programu slovenského narodného hnutia (1845–1848)," *Historický časopis* 6 (1958): 202–23; Vaclav Žaček, *Čechové a Poláci roku 1848: studie k novodobým politickým stykum česko-polským* (Prague: Nákl. Slovanského ústavu a Slovanského výboru Československa v komisi nakl. "Orbis," 1947), 1:130.

63. Aleksandr Herzen's relations with Mazzini and the Polish émigrés are well documented in the third volume of his memoir *Byloe i dumy*.