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# THE BALKANS AS A GATEWAY TO POLISH INDEPENDENCE. THE FACE OF THE BALKAN POLICY OF THE HÔTEL LAMBERT TOWARDS NATIONAL MOVEMENTS FORMING WITHIN THE BORDERS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

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## ABSTRACT

*This article presents an outline of the activities of the Hôtel Lambert - one of the most influential parties of the Polish Great Emigration - in the face of the Balkan national movements taking shape within the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century. It indicates the directions of activity of the political camp of Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski towards the internal and external situation of the Balkan countries. The text discusses the importance of Balkan concepts presented by the Hôtel Lambert and their influence on the dynamically changing political reality in this region of Europe.*

*Keywords: Hôtel Lambert, Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, 19<sup>th</sup> century, Polish Great Emigration, Balkans, Balkan policy, Ottoman Empire*

## I BALCANI COME PORTA DELL'INDIPENDENZA POLACCA. LE CARATTERISTICHE DELLA POLITICA BALCANICA DELL' HÔTEL LAMBERT NEI CONFRONTI DEI MOVIMENTI NAZIONALI FORMATISI ENTRO I CONFINI DELL'IMPERO OTTOMANO

## SINTESI

*L'articolo presenta una panoramica delle attività dell'Hôtel Lambert – uno dei partiti più influenti della Grande Emigrazione Polacca – di fronte ai movimenti nazionali balcanici che prendevano forma all'interno dell'Impero Ottomano nel XIX secolo. Il saggio indica le direzioni di attività del campo politico del principe Adam Jerzy Czartoryski nei confronti della situazione interna ed esterna dei Paesi balcanici. Il testo discute l'importanza dei concetti balcanici presentati dall'Hôtel Lambert e la loro influenza sulla realtà politica nella cornice dinamica del cambiamento di questa regione d'Europa.*

*Parole chiave: Hôtel Lambert, Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, XIX secolo, Grande Emigrazione polacca, Balcani, politica balcanica, Impero Ottomano*

## INTRODUCTION

The Hôtel Lambert was a Polish political camp established in exile in Paris after the defeat of the November Uprising (1830–1831). This environment, focused around the figure of Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, grouped leading representatives of the aristocracy, senior officers and people with right-wing views from various social and professional groups of the, so-called, Polish Great Emigration. The goal of the political activity of the Hôtel Lambert was to regain Poland's independence. In order to achieve this aim, the camp carried out extensive diplomatic work continuously for forty years (1833–1872). As Hans Henning Hahn perfectly observed, the Czartoryski party spent several decades trying to influence the existing system of international relations among the great powers, thus becoming, as it were, a subject of these relations (1973, 348–349). Through diplomatic endeavours, the Hôtel Lambert sought to maintain the presence of the “*Polish question*” in the public opinion of Western states. In this respect, it exerted a significant influence on the formation of European opinion on Polish national liberation aspirations. Hotel became their diplomatic advocate (Kalembka, 1982).

The primary goal of Poland's regaining independence was framed by a specific vision of the party's foreign policy. Various concepts were developed within its framework. The concept of Balkan policy was the most widely developed and practically implemented. It represented the most persistent direction of Polish international action in the post-insurrection period. The successful implementation of its assumptions was to be the path which, through appropriate external factors, would lead to the rebirth of Poland (Berry, 1985, 45–67).

## THE HÔTEL LAMBERT AND THE BALKAN QUESTION

The independence of Poland was a paramount value for the Prince. He wanted a nation-state to be established without violent social changes, with a monarchical system that would be limited by a constitution (Hahn, 1987, 68) The Hôtel Lambert's vision, however, rejected the path of armed insurrection as the only answer to the problem. Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski initially decided to base his activity on extensive diplomatic efforts (Bartoszewski-Wnukowski, 2007, 10). As a result of an analysis of the international situation at the time, and with an understanding of the influence of the Vienna order, he concluded that the Polish could only gain independence through an appropriate international agreement. He was aware that Poland's attaining the status of full sovereignty could be achieved only as a result of specific external phenomena (Hahn, 1987, 70). However, pursuing a policy intending to obtain, through international contacts, appropriate assistance for the Polish question was not the only idea initiated by the Hôtel Lambert.

Prince Czartoryski's political thought was to be supplemented by a properly prepared uprising that would break out at the right time in favourable international conditions. The determinant of this state would be the European conflict or revolution, in any of the partitioning powers<sup>1</sup>. Ludwik Gadon stressed that "the Prince did not think that Poland could be liberated by diplomatic efforts alone, without his own efforts, without an uprising. But he believed only in an uprising at the right time, in favourable circumstances" (Bartoszewski-Wnukowski, 2007, 11). The ideological profile of the Hôtel Lambert, which was described as conservative, showed a subdued approach to the issue of the uprising breaking out too soon. Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski saw the future independence uprising as the culmination of certain diplomatic efforts which, with international support, would have a chance of success being well organised and prepared. He postulated the creation of the nucleus of a Polish armed force within foreign armies and the training of officers in foreign services. It is worth noting that he doubted the postulates of other competing circles, such as the Polish Democratic Society, that the preparation of an uprising required only propaganda and a call to arms under the banner of freedom of the peoples (Skowronek, 1991, 31–33; Berry, 1985, 45–49).

After the fall of the November Uprising, Czartoryski foresaw that the rivalry of the powers in the east could lead to a pan-European conflict. This involved a war between Turkey, backed by Russia, and Egypt, which was supported by Britain and France. This conflict demonstrated the diplomatic sense of Russia, which, by signing the Treaty of Hünkâr **İskelesi** with Turkey in 1833, began the process of subjugating the Ottoman Empire. Russia's policy sought the political subjugation of Turkey, with the aim of finally subduing it in order to deal an economic blow to English power (Skowronek, 1983, 69).

By his attitude, Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski tried to convince English and French politicians of the possible threat to their position in the East due to Russia's behaviour. The essence of his diplomatic efforts was to demonstrate to both powers that support for the Polish question could be an effective brake on the actions of the Tsar, who was striving for the political subjugation of Turkey and numerous Balkan nations<sup>2</sup>. On the one hand, the exacerbation of conflicts between the superpowers might have raised Czartoryski's hopes for the start of a pan-European war, which would have favoured the emancipation of the Polish question. On the other hand, however, the prince's activities among French and English diplomats did not bring about the intended effect in terms of Polish cooperation, with the above-mentioned powers, in eastern affairs (Kukiel, 2008, 217; Berry, 1985, 50; Handelsman, 1949, 38–46)<sup>3</sup>.

1 BCz, 5282 IV, Instruction for Marcinkowski dated 14.10.1834.

2 BCz, 5282 IV, Powód i cel misji wschodnich (author: A. J. Czartoryski), August 1836.

3 BCz, 5281 IV, A. J. Czartoryski, East 1833. Note prepared on the occasion of the Huma issues announced to Lord Palmerston on Eastern affairs, London, dated 10.05.1833.

Representatives of Western governments did not fully share Czartoryski's opinion, which compounded his disappointment with their attitude. His planned diplomatic game did not brought results despite the fact that the Turkish-Egyptian conflict could have been a prelude to broader military action in Europe. Prince Adam Jerzy's disapproval of French and English policy towards the Polish question was a turning point that gave space for the formation of a new attitude in his party.

The Hôtel Lambert began to see in the Ottoman Empire a suitable ally in the struggle for Polish independence<sup>4</sup>. The change of emphasis in foreign policy was certainly influenced by contacts with Turkish ambassadors in London, as well as by the accounts of Polish emigrants who found refuge within the borders of the Empire after the November Uprising. Moreover, this period is associated with an intensification of Adam Jerzy's activities towards Turkish politicians, to whom he tried, in numerous memoranda, to present the similarity of the political interests of Turkey and the Poles (Skowronek, 1983, 147).

It is worth noting that the representatives of the Hôtel Lambert hoped for an imminent conflict between the superpowers over the East, thanks to which Poles would be able to strike out for independence<sup>5</sup>. The party also drew up plans for a great war between European states, including sketches for a national uprising on Polish soil with a similar uprising in the Balkans (Skowronek, 1983, 151). From the second half of the 1830s onwards, the Czartoryski's milieu began to analyse the political situation, in geopolitical terms, in the Balkans with increasing frequency. The need for involvement in this field was increasingly raised. It was felt that with the Hôtel Lambert's rapprochement with the Balkan nations, the Polish question would have a real chance of gradually emancipating its independence demands (Cetnarowicz, 1997, 107)<sup>6</sup>. The change in attitude on the part of Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski's party did not manifest itself as a firm rejection of previous diplomatic efforts towards Western states, but was an opportunity to broaden the avenues through which Poles could strike out for independence.

One of the first reasons why interest in the Balkan question was elevated to the pedestal of the Hôtel Lambert's political activity was the publication of Karol Boromeusz Hoffman's book "Four uprisings or a brief lecture on the ways in which Greece, the Netherlands, Portugal and Poland waged for Independence" (Skowronek, 1983, 136). The author, an activist of the Hôtel Lambert, presented in his treatise the liberation ways followed by the nations included in the title. This author devoted much attention to the Greek uprising as one of the most important models of a successful struggle for independence.

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4 BCz, 5282 IV, Matériaux pour un plan d'action concertée, August 1837.

5 BCz 5282 IV, Reason and purpose of Eastern missions, August 1836.

6 BCz, 5282 IV, Powód i cel misji wschodnich (author: A. J. Czartoryski), August 1836.

He stressed that “nationality alone is not sufficient to regain independence”, stating that the European powers had a dominant role in the final treaties ending the uprising (Skowronek, 1991, 32–34; Cetnarowicz, 2003, 160–162). Hoffman highlighted the fact that consolidating the success of the uprising was not possible without the help of any of the European powers, which in turn could lead to certain limitations in terms of the gains of the uprising. He assessed the behaviour of the powers decidedly negatively. Moreover, he expressed complete solidarity with the Greek model of the struggle for independence. Jerzy Skowronek noted that the opinions of Karol Boromeusz Hoffman led to the conclusion that a significant partner of Polish independence aspirations could be analogous movements of other nations under foreign rule (Skowronek, 1983, 143). The Greeks, who initially wished to initiate an insurrection in Wallachia and Moldavia, saw an opportunity in the staged spread of the insurrection, which was eventually to reach their homeland (Jelavich, 2005, 208). The recognition by the Greeks of the aspirations of the Balkan peoples to liberate themselves from their spheres of influence and dependence indicated the possibility of an effective struggle to limit Russian influence in the Balkans (Skowronek, 1976, 48)<sup>7</sup>.

Confirmation of the acceptance of Hoffman’s expressed views was undoubtedly provided by the publication of this work in the pages of the party’s journal. Another of the reasons that made the interest in the Balkans more significant was undoubtedly the novel *Kirjali*, published by Michał Czajkowski in 1839. The author, a participant in the November Uprising and novelist, presented in his work the contemporary aspirations and hopes of the Balkan peoples – above all the Slavs under Turkish state sovereignty. The book gained, among Poles, immense popularity, which resulted in an increased general interest in Balkan issues (Skowronek, 1983, 126). The *Hôtel Lambert*, with which Michał Czajkowski had collaborated since 1838, intensified its revision of its stance on the emancipation of the Balkan peoples against the background of the novel’s publication (Michalak, 2011, 164–165; Berry, 1985, 50–51).

## BALKAN PROGRAMME CONCEPTS AND REALITY

The caesura I have set in this paper to begin my analysis of the individual activities of the *Hôtel Lambert* on the Balkan question is marked by a meeting between the Parisian group of the Romanian émigrés in 1836 and activists of the Czartoryski camp. This group tried to reach out to Polish democrats in order to contact, through their international contacts, the Young Europe organisation created by Mazzini (Skowronek, 1994, 387, 405). The activists Ion Ghica, Nicolae Bălcescu and Radu Golescu, during their talks with the democratic camp of the Polish émigrés, were at the same time directed to the partisanship of Prince

7 BCz, 5282 IV, Powód i cel misji wschodnich (author: A. J. Czartoryski), August 1836.

Czartoryski, who wished to take advantage of the opportunity to start cooperation with the Romanian émigrés (Berry, 1985, 47–48). The intermediary in their contact with the Hôtel Lambert was Michał Czajkowski, in the future an active member of the conspiratorial intelligence network of the Czartoryski camp, as a person coming from a democratic camp, and Władysław Zamoyski (Michalak, 2011, 169–170). The activists of the Hôtel Lambert argued that preparations could begin in Moldavia and Wallachia to initiate an uprising in the Polish lands, which met with Radu Golescu's approval and his declaration of readiness to undertake similar actions in all Danube Principalities. In addition, Golescu made an extensive analysis, for use by the Hôtel Lambert, of the socio-political and economic situation in the Danube Principalities. In it, he mentioned that the Serbian ruler Miloš Obrenović, who is working to gather around Serbia – Bulgaria, Bosnia and Montenegro – would use the Romanian initiative to create one common Slavic state<sup>8</sup>. The above note, which was received by Prince Czartoryski in September 1837, provided a sticking point to think seriously about the Romanian question (Skowronek, 1976, 52; Skowronek, 1983, 178). At the beginning of 1838, the Hôtel Lambert widened its acquaintanceship with other Romanian activists in order to agree on the concrete provisions of cooperation outlined in Radu Golescu's analysis. The increasing cooperation between Romanian and Polish activists led Janusz Woronicz, one of the Czartoryski's follower, to travel to Danube Principalities in the hope of making his emigration plans a reality. However, his reports, assuring the Romanians of their sympathy for the Poles, did not reflect the actual state of readiness for military action. Prince Czartoryski was urged to obtain the approval of Turkey and the Western powers for military action, while securing funds for military action. Attempts to persuade the French to support the initiative in the Danube Principalities failed, just as no support was obtained from Turkey for the transformation of its possessions into fiefdoms. In view of this state of affairs Polish-Romanian plans were sidelined in international affairs and the action itself, testifying to the independence of the Polish initiative, ended in failure (Bodea, 1970; Cetnarowicz, 1984, 145–146; Skowronek, 1994, 521).

Nevertheless, this did not end the efforts of the Czartoryski camp to effectively link Polish aspirations with those of the Balkan nations. The involvement of the Hôtel Lambert in this issue was only just gaining the necessary

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8 Obrenović's policy was directed towards cooperation with the Ottoman Empire, from which he gradually obtained concessions and autonomy. In the main, his vision was focused on strengthening his position in Serbia itself, rather than on building a Slavic alliance in the Balkans (Cetnarowicz, 1989, 373–380).

momentum<sup>9</sup>. At that time, the members of the Hôtel Lambert were preparing another action of a political and military nature, which they wished to organise on the border of Albania and Montenegro. A partner in the Polish action was the Serb Nikola Vasojević, who, claiming that his family was the leader of the inhabitants of this borderland, wanted to create his own state in this area. His arrival in Paris in 1840 and his contacts with the Hôtel Lambert, as he was a student at the Collège de France, formed the basis for a political settlement. The negotiator on the part of the Czartoryski camp was Michał Czajkowski, who from that period onwards began to organise intensive conspiratorial and intelligence activities on behalf of the Hôtel Lambert. The result of these bilateral talks was the conclusion of a relevant political and diplomatic agreement between Prince Czartoryski and Nikola Vasojević, which was called the preliminary draft. The Polish side wanted to make the Serb's homeland the main preparatory base for the military forces that would initiate a Polish national uprising in the future. The cooperation between Czartoryski and Vasojević was to become the basis for expanding the circle of political influence over all Slavs, which would give rise to an autonomous federation of turkish Slavs. This agreement and preparations for joint action did not materialise due to Vasojević's disappointment with the unsuccessful efforts of the party's activists to raise funds, which caused him to leave, in 1841, for the Balkans (Cetnarowicz, 1984, 145–146).

In the middle of 1841, Prince Czartoryski sent his three political agents (Czajkowski, Wereszyński and Łyszczyński) to the Balkan Peninsula to explore the possibility of cooperation with individual nations (Michalak, 2011, 165–166). Above all, the camp leadership was keen to reach the Wallachian-Bulgarian borderland, which was poorly controlled by the Turks. Their mission was a half-success, as apart from reports informing them of the current political situation in the Balkans, they did not obtain any other tangible benefits of their expedition. At this point, it is worth noting that the early 1840s marked the beginning of a period in which the Hôtel Lambert was outlining broader perspectives on Balkan affairs. Czartoryski and his supporters began to take activists from the area more seriously in the face of the, as yet little emphasised, partial passivity of the Western powers, who did not want to get involved in the Balkan question. As Jerzy Skowronek noted, “the successes of the aspirations of the Balkan peoples were to facilitate the armed struggle for Poland's independence”, so

9 The political activity of the Hôtel Lambert was constantly supplemented by journalistic activity. Publications with a Slavophile tendency, related to the history and culture of the southern Slavs, and published memoranda on the essence of the Balkan question contributed to the establishment of the Chair of Slavic Languages and Literatures at the Collège de France in Paris. Recognised as the founder of this chair, Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski recommended to the French Minister of Enlightenment his candidate who could lead this institution. This was Adam Mickiewicz, who was appointed to the post in September 1840 (Kuziak, 2019; Skowronek, 1983, 179, Kubik, 2015).

the Czartoryski's followers, faced with the collapsing vision of an international conflict, decided to intensify their actions in the Balkans (1983, 180). In my opinion, the attempt at partial independence of Balkan actions, in view of the hostility to this issue of England and France, was related to the possibility of losing the position of the Czartoryski camp in the Balkans. The intensification of political action, among nations under the Turkish yoke, was a fundamental element in the struggle for Polish independence, as only in this configuration could the Slavophile idea be realized<sup>10</sup>

In the face of Russian propaganda, which also initiated the trend towards the unification of the Slavs, the camp of the conservative part of the émigrés had to seek support among the Western countries in order to have backing for their initiatives. The beginning of the fifth decade of the 19th century benefited from the popularization of the Balkan question among European countries (Skowronek, 1975, 267). Thanks to the Parisian lectures of Adam Mickiewicz, similar chairs, such as the one at the Collège de France, were established at the universities of Berlin and Wrocław<sup>61</sup>. It thus succeeded in getting a wider audience interested in the Southern Slavs. This was certainly welcomed by the activists of the Hôtel Lambert as well as the national liberation conspirators in the Balkans, as it helped to strengthen relations between the West and the Balkan nations. It is worth mentioning the words quoted at the time by Michał Czajkowski to the effect that “one must help the Slavs [...] in order to have influence over them, and with this influence one can only be master of the eastern question” (Cetnarowicz, 1984, 164). This testifies to the aspirations of both Czajkowski and the Hôtel Lambert leadership to stabilize the party's position in the Balkans as the only Polish agency in the area capable of effectively fighting for the emancipation of enslaved nations. The aforementioned Michał Czajkowski moved permanently to Turkey at the time, where he initiated and directed directly the actions of the Hôtel Lambert in the Balkans. He gained the support of the French ambassador in Istanbul and made acquaintances with Turkish officials, which enabled him to carry out his activities (Michalak, 2011, 165). The first effects of his stay in Turkey manifested themselves in early 1842 when he established a Polish settlement, which was named Adampol – after

10 The policy of the Hôtel Lambert towards the Balkan national movements was based on and Slavophilic idea, aiming at a lasting and multifaceted cooperation of the Slavs. The lack of a unified programme of Slavophilism distinguished different concepts of this correlation. The first, which was associated with the current of Panslavism, referred to the cult of the Russian tradition. It proclaimed the political liberation of the Slavs by means of Russia and their unification under its hegemony. The second concept was represented by the Poles, who, through the idea of Slavophilism, wished to find a way to their own rise to independence. The alliance with other Slavic nations was to be based on the moral leadership of Poland, which would occupy a privileged position among them. Slavophilism, represented by the Czartoryski camp, had a decidedly anti-Russian, freedom-oriented and patriotic character. The vision of Polish Slavophilism was to be based on the Catholic West in order to decisively oppose Russian pan-Slavism (Bartoszewski-Wnukowski, 2007, 10; Kuk, 1996, 99–101, Handelsman, 1949, 186–187).



*Fig. 1: Portrait of Adam Jerzy Czartoryski (painted by Paul Delaroche in 1857) (Wikimedia Commons).*

the leader of the Hôtel Lambert (Kalembka, 1982, 273–274)<sup>11</sup>. In the summer of 1842, Czajkowski appeared in Paris, where he presented a report to Adam Jerzy Czartoryski on his activities to date and set out his plans for the future. He proposed firmly binding the action of the Hôtel Lambert around Serbia in order to gradually rally all southern Slavs around it, and to launch a propaganda campaign in Ukraine and southern Russia. The Serbian question, which had been in the orbit of the camp's activists prior to Czajkowski's report, played a significant role at the time, as it was around Serbia that the Hôtel Lambert would seek to organise its immediate political following in the Balkans (Skowronek, 1976, 60; Berry, 1985, 62–64; Handelsman, 1949, 103–106)

From 1817, Serbia was ruled by Prince Miloš Obrenović, who, from the late 1830s onwards, focused the attention of Hôtel Lambert activists as a potential leader of the South Slavs (Handelsman, 1949, 94). Prince Adam Czartoryski

11 It was located south of Istanbul, east of the port of Beykoz (Skowronek, 1983, 210–211; Dopierała, 1983).

saw in Prince Miloš a person who would be able to effectively spearhead the national liberation struggle of enslaved peoples and unite southern Slavs, who would become an ally in Polish independence aspirations (Cetnarowicz, 1989)<sup>12</sup>.

The events of 1842, when the Obrenović family was overthrown in a dynastic coup, corrected the attitude of the Hôtel Lambert towards the Serbian question. The Serbian upheaval, according to Prince Czartoryski, could have been the trigger for a wider military conflict involving the powers. The vision of war, which was of particular interest to the activists of the Hôtel Lambert, led the Czartoryski's followers, to seek an agreement with the new Prince of Serbia, Aleksandar Karađorđević (Cetnarowicz, 2006, 267–271; Skowronek, 1994, 410).

At the beginning of 1843, Adam Jerzy prepared a special document called *Conseils sur la conduite à suivre par la Serbie*, which was delivered to the Serbian ruler. The concept that Czartoryski presented in the memorial was related to his previous ideas of binding the southern Slavs around Serbia. The thoughts of the leader of the Hôtel Lambert were expanded and modified by František Zach in his work, which he called *Načertanije*<sup>13</sup>.

The document was delivered to Illija Garašanin – Minister of the Interior of Serbia, who approved of the vision presented in Zach's note (Žáček, 1963, 40–42; Žáček 1976, 18–21). The programme outlined by Zach was adopted by the Serbian politician as a vision of the Greater Serbian agenda (Žurek, 2004, 252). The activists of the Hôtel Lambert played the role of initiators of an integration policy plan based on the Greater Serbian concept. They urged their Serbian partners to develop a long-range programme that envisaged the political unification of all South Slav nations. The projected vision also envisaged the involvement of the Slavs located within the borders of the Habsburg monarchy in the new plan (Skowronek, 1991, 31–38).

The cooperation between the Poles and the new Serbian government heralded a tightening of these relations, which gave hope that the camp's stated goals could be realised. Parisian group activists launched a diplomatic campaign to ensure that France and England recognised the election of Prince Alexander, while Michał Czajkowski went to Belgrade to begin efforts to locate permanent

12 The hopes associated with Prince Miloš, however, failed to materialise, as the dynastic interests of the Obrenović family were more important than the prospect of ruling the united Slavic nations. From 1839 onwards, Serbia was ruled by Prince Mihailo Obrenović. He ascended the throne when he was 16 years old and, as a minor, could not rule independently. In view of this, there was a regency (Toma Vučić-Perišić, Avram Petronijević, Jevrem Obrenović) until March 1840. Prince Mihailo Obrenović, son of Miloš, represented the same pragmatic approach as his father. Nevertheless, Adam Czartoryski's views and his vision of Serbia as the centre of a future federation did not change (Cetnarowicz, 1989; Cetnarowicz 2006, 267–271).

13 At the end of July 1843, Prince Czartoryski entrusted František Zach with the task of establishing an agency of the Hôtel Lambert in Belgrade. This agency was to cover with its reach activities in "the Slavic countries of Turkey" (Cetnarowicz, 2017).

agents of the Hôtel Lambert there. Moreover, the deterioration of relations between Belgrade and St Petersburg provided a basis for Czartoryski's party to become a valuable ally for the new Serbian ruler. For the Balkan plans of the Hôtel Lambert, this situation increasingly presented the possibility of their realization. Prince Czartoryski hoped that France, in view of the situation in the Balkans, would decide to support the political efforts of the Hôtel Lambert aimed at the gradual unification of the southern Slavs under the leadership of Serbia. During this period, František Zach set to work to strengthen the national Slav movement. He encouraged all Serbian politicians to cooperate with Garašanin and tried to support the seeds of a national movement in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Cetnarowicz, 1990; Žáček, 1963, 40–42; Żurek, 2015).

The party's activists stressed the need to strengthen the economic pillars of the future federation by, among other things, building a trade road that would connect Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina with the sea coast, thus removing the partial dependence of these countries on Austrian influence. Through the prism of theoretical treatises on federation, the Czartoryski's followers planned to preserve regional distinctiveness for the constituent countries. The closest prospect for translating these plans into Balkan reality was the aspiration of the activists of the Hôtel Lambert to gradually build strong and independent Slavic states within the Ottoman Empire, which, bound together by political and economic treaties, would be able, after the inevitable fall of Turkey, to resist Russian expansion in the Balkans. This point of view was to be a suitable argument for the Serbs to successfully seek the support of the Western powers (Skowronek, 1983, 214; Berry, 1985, 47–52).

In the course of time, the cooperation of the Hôtel Lambert with Prince Alexander was also extended to the level of Serbia's internal affairs. Camp activists proposed sending a group of Serbian children to Paris to attend French schools. František Zach, one of the party's agents in Belgrade, participated in the discussions on the construction of the educational system in Serbia, making many proposals that were partly taken into account in the decisions of the principality's authorities in the following years. One of his personal successes was undoubtedly his involvement in the creation of the Artillery School, which was opened in 1850 (Cetnarowicz, 2003, 163–167; Cetnarowicz 1990).

Prince Czartoryski's plans for an effective agitation for Serbia among Turkish politicians had to be gradually changed, thus postponing the prospect of the Hôtel Lambert's overall Balkan mission. The reason for this state of affairs was the distrust of the Turks towards the new Serbian ruler, which made them evade concessions in favor of Serbia. These actions were motivated by the impossibility of reconciling Turkish political interests with the prince's dynastic ambitions. Moreover, in 1845, the position of the aforementioned agent František Zach was dynamically losing its importance due to which contacts between the Hôtel Lambert and the highest Serbian officials were partially interrupted (Cetnarowicz, 2003, 162–164; Skowronek, 1983, 216).

It is also worth mentioning the actions of the Hôtel Lambert towards the Bulgarian question<sup>14</sup>. As early as 1842, Michał Czajkowski, together with the camp's activists, planned to develop, both in Bulgaria and in Istanbul, a wide-ranging educational campaign aimed at creating a national education for Bulgarians (Michalak, 2011, 166–168)<sup>15</sup>.

After the Serbian events, Czajkowski came to the conclusion that the Bulgarians were a completely separate nation that did not fit into the Yugoslav concept. He was inclined to develop a broad independent Bulgarian national movement, which would be supported by the Hôtel Lambert as well as by Serbia (Skowronek, 1975, 278). Working with some Turkish politicians, Czajkowski hoped to reach some sort of Bulgarian-Turkish agreement, which would accept the development of a Bulgarian national movement (Popek, 2017, 124–126, Handelsman, 1949, 119–121). Czajkowski's activities, which in time included the aspect of cultural development through the publication of manuscripts and Bulgarian calendars, were approved by a section of Bulgarian society<sup>16</sup>.

His agitation to bring Porte and Bulgaria closer together by creating this political compromise was reflected in the support of some Bulgarian national politicians. He became associated with activists leading educational and cultural initiatives. The contacts he gained allowed him to reach out in 1844 to the leaders of the struggle for the national hierarchy of the Bulgarian church, which had lost its autocephaly after the Turkish conquest and was subordinated to the Patriarch of Constantinople. With the support of the Yeromonach Ilarion Makariopolski, he was allowed to hold talks with the leader of the Bulgarian national movement – Georgi Sava Rakovski. The initiator of the two unsuccessful insurrectionary attempts of 1841 and 1842 did not enter into close cooperation with the agent of the Hôtel Lambert, who raised the issue of a compromise programme of Bulgarian aspirations towards Turkey. A partial success of Czajkowski's efforts was to obtain permission from Porte for the return of Bulgarian emigrants from Danube Principalities (Berry, 1985, 63)<sup>17</sup>.

Despite the many efforts of his actions were not completely accepted by the Bulgarian people in general, who looked upon Turkey's attitude as a partitioning occupier (Michalak, 2011; Popek, 2017, 131–132). The clergy of the Bulgarian church, expressing their willingness to support some of Czajkowski's actions, became the only avenue through which the Hôtel Lambert could implement its plans in this geographical area. The imprisonment of the clergy in a monastery, by the Patriarch of Constantinople in 1845, marked a certain end to Czajkowski's activities in Bulgaria. In addition, attempts to forge a compromise, put forward towards

14 Described the issue in detail: Popek, 2017, 119–135.

15 BCz, 5413 IV, Action in Bulgaria, Constantinople 1844; BCz, 5411 IV, Letter from Michał Czajkowski, Constantinople, dated 4.04.1843.

16 BCz, 5413 IV, Action in Bulgaria, Constantinople 1844.

17 BCz, 5414 IV, Tsarograd Deposits, Constantinople, dated 3.04.1845.

Turkey by an agent of the Hôtel Lambert, were completely thwarted (Skowronek, 1975, 278). Nonetheless, Michał Czajkowski still tried to maintain contacts with the activists of Bulgarian national movements he had met, but these were not relationships that could link the Polish question with Bulgarian aspirations.

The period following the unsuccessful Bulgarian actions was marked by further failures of the Hôtel Lambert within Serbia. Politicians in the principality, disillusioned in their hopes for greater Western assistance, suggested a rapprochement with Russia. Contacts with the Hôtel Lambert were reduced, perceiving its negligible influence on the policies of France, England and Turkey. The main reason for the weakening of mutual contacts was the discrepancies on Serbian internal and external policy between Czartoryski's party and the leaders of the principality (Cetnarowicz, 1997, 110).

In addition, the efforts, in which the Hôtel Lambert was involved, for concessions from the Porte strengthening Serbian independence failed. Against this backdrop, the Hôtel Lambert turned its attention to the Danube Principalities, as territory that could serve as an immediate logistical base for preparations for a potential uprising in Poland. Particularly important was to be Moldavia, from which it would be easiest to organise a march into Galicia and create a storage area for arms (Handelsman, 1949, 125, 228, 300–303).

The initiation, beyond the influence of the Hôtel Lambert, of the Krakow Uprising of February 1846 further motivated Czartoryski's party to tighten cooperation with the Romanian movements. The events in the Polish lands could have developed into a wider insurrectionary movement, which the Hôtel Lambert wanted to exploit. The Parisian leadership directed its agents to send emissaries to Poland to prepare a force for an almost immediate insurrection 79.

However, attempts to make arrangements with the Romanians failed, which was undoubtedly related to the activities of the emissaries of the Polish Democratic Society (Skowronek, 1983, 272). Attempts by the Hôtel Lambert to establish cooperation with Bulgarian and Romanian activists in the 1840s showed signs of the first crisis in the great Balkan partisan actions. Jerzy Skowronek noted that the partners of the Hôtel Lambert, at that time, were sympathetic to the claim that this partisanship had no significant forces that would create the hope that any of the stated goals of cooperation could be realized (Skowronek, 1976, 99).

The Cracow uprising and the Galician Slaughter lowered the prestige of the Czartoryski camp by putting the party *de facto* outside the uprising movement. The Hotel itself played a diminishing role among Poles under the Partitions. Moreover, the Galician Slaughter aroused the distrust of Balkan peasant activists towards the Polish nobility, who had experienced such violence from the native peasant class. It is worth mentioning that moderate Balkan politicians suspected that the Galician events testified to the predominance of leftist currents in the Polish national liberation movement, which also translated into

distrust of activists associated with Prince Czartoryski (Skowronek, 1975, 280–281; Berry, 1985, 66–67; Kalemka, 1982, 336)<sup>18</sup>.

For the Hôtel Lambert, then, a period of struggle for the good name of the camp and their political significance in Poland began. Michał Czajkowski assured Turkish politicians that the events of 1846 had been triggered by the democratic camp and that the peasant uprising had been provoked by Chancellor Metternich. This explanation was probably approved by the Sultan's court, so the Czartoryski camp did not suffer such a significant setback in its relations with Turkey. Moreover, they outlined new scenarios for Balkan action, which were favourably analysed by Turkish politicians.

In the summer of 1847, a group of partisan activists, led by Adam Jerzy Czartoryski and Władysław Zamoyski, drew up a detailed analysis of their camp's foreign policy to date (Skowronek, 1983, 283). The starting point of this outline was the statement that the year 1846 showed the danger that threatened Poles from the left and the partitioning authorities. The Hotel's priority was still Turkey, which should win the favor of the Slavs as its allies. The successes that the Hôtel Lambert had achieved in Serbia between 1842 and 1843 were highlighted, and the demand for another attempt to unite the Danube Principalities was articulated. In Bulgarian affairs, the need to develop a national consciousness as distinct from the Yugoslavs was suggested. This was wanted to be realised through assistance of the native clergy thus laying the foundation for a possible future union with the Catholic Church (Berry, 1985, 62–65; Skowronek, 1983, 281).

Hôtel Lambert, in the period following the release of the study on international affairs, began to pay more attention to projected Catholic actions in the Balkans. There were some 200.000 Catholics living in Albania, Herzegovina and Bosnia, whom the Hôtel Lambert wanted to support so that they would form the basis for initiating new national movements in the Balkans. The camp's activists sought in Turkey to regulate the affairs of Catholics and to strengthen the Church in the areas inhabited by them (Żurek, 2017, 273).

At the same time, Father Hipolit Terlecki, who had established cooperation with Prince Czartoryski's camp, postulated the idea of bringing the Eastern and Catholic Churches closer together through the creation of a new union. There was noticeable scepticism about this idea among a significant number of activists at the Hôtel Lambert, who increasingly understood the Balkan realities, as it would require a lengthy process. In addition, Michał Czajkowski, Ludwik Zawierkowski and František Zach tried to support the view of fighting for national churches within the Orthodox Church (Skowronek, 1975, 282).

The various variants of Catholic action remained only the realm of theoretical considerations during the 1840s. They did not gain the clear support of most of the Balkan partners of the Hôtel Lambert. English politicians were reluctant

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18 On the policy of Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski towards the Republic of Krakow cf.: Żurawski vel Grajewski, 2018.

to accept the proposal of the Czartoryski camp, but the French approached the idea with great openness. A positive exception to this background was associated with the Bulgarians, where the long-standing work of the Hôtel Lambert's agents, especially the Istanbul agency, led to a clear support in the years 1859–1860 union of the Bulgarians with the Catholic Church. Czartoryski's follower Władysław Jordan played a key role in contacting Daragan Tsankov, who set the Bulgarian national movement on the path of union with Rome (Widerszal, 1937, 108, 119–120). Władysław Jordan coordinated the campaign to finance various Bulgarian activities in the late 1850s, including in particular support for the journal of the Unitarian movement "Bulgaria". This activity was directly supported by Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, who sought support for the whole venture from the French. The Bulgarian Greek Catholic Church, founded in 1860, subsequently played an important role in the Bulgarian national movement in the 1860s and 1870s. Polish Uniate priests also played an important role in this process, such as Bishop Franciszek Malczewski (Kukiel, 2008, 270; Bender, 1974, 292; Widerszal, 1937, 108–121).

The period of the Springtime of the Peoples was a period of hope for the Hôtel Lambert for the revival of Balkan contacts. However, the international situation was not a determinant factor that could have pushed the party to such commitment as it presented in the years 1843–1845. Jerzy Skowronek emphasised that the Czartoryski camp was in fact undertaking ad hoc actions, defensive as it were, to eliminate or weaken conflicts that were particularly dangerous at the time (1975, 283).

The actions of the Hôtel Lambert during the Springtime of the Peoples particularly concerned the Slavic nations located within the Habsburg monarchy, which is not the subject of this work<sup>19</sup>. The years following the Springtime of the Peoples were characterized by the Hôtel Lambert's marasmus on Balkan issues. One could see the gradual disappearance of the party's influence in the area. This period was associated with the departure from the Czartoryski camp of two significant figures who had shaped the Balkan policy of the Hôtel Lambert in the past, namely Michał Czajkowski and František Zach (Berry, 1985, 66–67).

On the eve of the Crimean War, the last Serbian hope of playing any kind of political role in the Principality – namely Ilija Garašanin – was dismissed – a move that scuppered the already illusory prospects of cooperation with the Serbs (Wasilewski & Felczak, 1985, 307). The conflict itself, which lasted from 1853 to 1856, was the realisation of the expectations of the Hôtel Lambert and above all of Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, who had been counting on him for over twenty years (Kukiel, 2008, 271; Wierzbicki, 2013, 26–34). Faced with this situation, the Prince's camp could not be indifferent, as confirmed by Marian Kukiel, who stated that the activists of the Hôtel Lambert became

19 In detail on this topic: Żurek, 2005; Dziewanowski, 1948.

more active than ever, and that Prince Czartoryski himself “displayed youthful energy” (2008, 272). The camp’s leader supervised work on a general political plan that was to propose specific solutions to Balkan and Polish affairs. The aim of this programme was to win over Austria, for support of the Polish question, by ceding to it the Danube principalities and creating from them a united Romania under the Habsburg scepter. This state was also to include Transylvania. Faced with this idea, Austria would potentially be ready to cede Galicia, which would become the focal point for building an independent Poland. Prince Czartoryski envisaged the creation of separate statehoods for the Balkan countries. The success of this vision was to be determined by the will of the Western states, which would become guarantors of their future independence (Skowronek, 1975, 284).

Another important aspect was the creation of a Polish armed force, which could be renamed as the future Polish army. To this end, Prince Adam Jerzy sent Władysław Zamoyski to Turkey, who, apart from vague promises, failed to obtain any assurances. The Hôtel Lambert, believing in the chances of a successful Polish military formation, could not obtain the consent of the Western powers, who, in view of the uncertain international situation, did not want to support the Polish question too much (Kukiel, 2008, 282; Wierzbicki, 2013, 39–49). As time went on, Czartoryski’s political plans were marginalized, as no Western power took the prince’s ideas seriously enough to attempt to make them a reality. The only hope that the Hôtel Lambert placed in the Western states towards the end of the conflict was to organise the nucleus of a Polish army. In October 1855, it was decided that there would be a Polish regiment formed by Władysław Zamoyski, which would be in the pay of the British under the name of the Sultan’s Cossacks (Kukiel, 2008, 289). This event provided some basis on which Prince Czartoryski could still count on the support of the Polish question by the French and English governments, but as in previous years this was an illusory hope. The regiment of Sultan’s Cossacks was joined by many Poles from prisoner-of-war camps (Urbanik & Baylen, 1981; Wierzbicki, 2013, 67–102; Kalemka, 1982, 381).

In addition, the former agent of the Hôtel Lambert, Michał Czajkowski, now named Sadik Pasha because he had embraced Islam, coordinated the Cossack formations in Turkey. He was convinced that Porte would provide the Balkan countries with a degree of autonomy by which he would win the sympathy of the Slavs, who would feed into the Cossack ranks and this could create a platform for mutual relations between the Balkan nations and the Empire (Michalak, 2011). This idea failed, as both Turks and Slav activists could not agree to such conditions. The southern Slavs saw in the Crimean War an opportunity to articulate their national aspirations and therefore every attempt to preserve, in various forms, dependence on Turkey was incompatible with their national interest (Skowronek, 1975, 284).

The end of the Crimean War again oscillated around the wait-and-see attitude of Czartoryski, who hoped to champion the Polish question at the peace congress and to maintain the Zamoyski regiment. Unfortunately, neither of these issues was achieved (Skowronek, 1975, 284; Cetnarowicz, 2003, 166–167).

After the war, with which Czartoryski had pinned so many hopes, he removed himself from public life, seeing the real ineffectiveness of his political efforts to regain Poland's independence (Kukiel, 2008, 295). In time, the leader of the Hôtel Lambert recalled that Austria was ready and willing to restore Poland's independence and that the idea was approved by France and only the indifference of England prevented the success of the initiative (Kukiel, 2008, 301). Nonetheless, this was an opinion that was formed in retrospect, probably explaining to some extent the ineffective actions of the Prince. The last major initiative of the Hôtel Lambert in the Balkans was attempted to create a Bulgarian Greek-Catholic Church at the beginning of the 1860s, which was inspired mainly by Władysław Jordan (Widerszal, 1937, 119–120). On 15 July 1861, Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski died, which was undoubtedly a blow to the party's activists, since regardless of the assessments of his activities, he was the *spiritus movens* of the Hôtel Lambert and the main initiator of all the Balkan actions of the party (Kukiel, 2008, 302). After his death, some of the Hôtel Lambert activists became involved in political activities directly under the auspices of the Ottoman Empire. There were known cases that certain individuals acted against the Balkan national liberation movements, which led to criticism of the Poles by Slavic activists (Skowronek, 1975, 283).

## CONCLUSION

The Hôtel Lambert, in creating a comprehensive conception of its foreign policy, expressed in it a theoretically concretized vision of organising the Balkan nations into a various state organisms. The Balkan policy of the Hôtel Lambert had a defined task before it. It was to be the tool through which Poland would regain its independence. Thus, it heralded the return of Poles from exile to a free homeland. The Balkan concept, which had a real chance of materialising in the first years of Prince Aleksandar Karađorđević's rule, was undoubtedly a significant political project (Skowronek, 1994, 410). Its value, however, was not duly endorsed or fully understood at the time, which was primarily related to the limited support for these actions by France and England. As Hans Henning Hahn noted, the difficulty for the Hôtel Lambert was to conduct foreign policy in exile (Hahn, 1987, 336). Although the Czartoryski camp's freedom of action was not overly restricted, the clout of its own arguments, without the support of foreign powers, was negligible on the international arena. The influence of the Balkan concept, which in its optimal version envisaged the creation of a federation of autonomous states uniting around the

Principality of Serbia, the strongest in the region, undoubtedly had an impact on the formation of Serbian political thought. The role of the Balkan policy of the Hôtel Lambert in the face of the dynamically changing political reality in the Balkans was accepted, above all in the 1840s, by the representatives of Balkan national movements, and although it eventually tendency to oppose the actions of the Czartoryski party, it had a significant impact on the formation of national consciousness in the countries under discussion (Cetnarowicz, 2003, 160–167). Prince Czartoryski's camp wanted to take advantage of the situation of the Ottoman Empire to organise culturally strong nations within its borders, which in due course, with some acquiescence from the Porte, would gain independence by being on friendly terms with the former invader. This concept presented to both parties involved was not properly interpreted, as the Turks did not want to get rid of their possessions. On the other hand, the Balkan peoples did not want to create any new dependencies with a state, for centuries symbolizing the aggressor, which deprived many nations on the Balkan Peninsula of having their own statehood.

It is important to underline the fact that the Balkan concept represented by Hôtel Lambert activists contributed to the emergence and consolidation of the idea of cooperation between the peoples of the future Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Wasilewski, Felczak, 1985, 476). It can thus be concluded that Czartoryski's vision, in some limited form, influenced the socio-political life of the Balkan peoples in the following decades. Despite its final defeat during the period of the Hôtel Lambert's activities (Hahn, 1973, 373–374) the policy brought many benefits to the individual nations of the region. The policy influenced Western opinions on Balkan affairs and the political thought of individual Serbian, Bulgarian or Romanian activists. Jerzy Skowronek noted that the Balkan programme of the Hôtel Lambert was an interesting manifestation of abstract political thought – Enlightenment and Romantic – which evolved under the influence of reality in the Balkans (Skowronek, 1983, 296). It is worth noting that the activities of the Hôtel Lambert also influenced Polish political thought, various elements of which were implemented into selected directions of political thinking in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

BALKAN KOT POT DO POLJSKE NEODVISNOSTI.  
OBRAZ BALKANSKE POLITIKE HOTELA LAMBERT V ODNOSU  
DO NACIONALNIH GIBANJ, KI SO SE OBLIKOVALA  
ZNOTRAJ MEJA OSMANSKEGA CESARSTVA

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**POVZETEK**

*Hôtel Lambert je razvil celovit pristop k svoji balkanski politiki. Strankarski aktivisti, zlasti knez Czartoryski, so predstavili teoretično vizijo, ki bi ob ustreznih mednarodni podpori oblikovala novo realnost na Balkanu. Ta koncept je predvideval organizacijo balkanskih narodov v avtonomne državne organizacije. Programski koncepti tega tabora so pokazali, da imajo široko paleto možnosti vplivanja na družbeno-politično stvarnost na Balkanu. Njihova ustvarjalna iznajdljivost in samostojno oblikovanje postulatov pričata o izjemno dragoceni politični misli, iz katere so v naslednjih desetletjih črpali poljski in balkanski politiki. Vizija organizacije balkanskih narodov naj bi bila ena od ključnih faz v procesu ponovne osamosvojitve Poljske. Balkanski koncept, ki je imel v prvih letih vladavine kneza Aleksandra Karađevića realne možnosti za uresničitev, je bil nedvomno pomemben politični projekt. Vendar njegova vrednost v tistem času ni bila ustrezno priznana ali v celoti razumljena, predvsem zaradi omejene podpore zahodnih sil, Francije in Anglije. Končna ocena vseh balkanskih dejavnosti v regiji torej ni bila posledica politične nezrelosti balkanskih narodov, temveč pasivnega odnosa zahodnih sil. Tabor kneza Czartoryskega je želel izkoristiti položaj Osmanskega cesarstva in na njegovem ozemlju organizirati kulturno močne narode, ki bi sčasoma, z nekaj privolitve Porte, postali neodvisni in hkrati ostali v prijateljskih odnosih z nekdanjim zavojevalcem. Ta koncept, ki je bil predstavljen obema stranema, ni bil pravilno interpretiran, saj se Turki niso želeli znebiti svojih posesti, medtem ko balkanska ljudstva niso želela ustvariti novih odvisnih držav z državo, ki je že stoletja simbolizirala agresorja.*

*Ključne besede: Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, XIX stoletje, velika poljska emigracija, Balkan, balkanska politika, Osmansko cesarstvo*

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