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Of the tradition of Polish political science (part 2) : Józef Milewski (1859–1916)

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Bronisław Pasierb**OF THE TRADITION OF POLISH POLITICAL
SCIENCE (PART 2).
JÓZEF MILEWSKI (1859–1916)****1.**

Józef Milewski was a lawyer by education, an economist by profession, a political scientist by calling and an author of one play (M. J. D. 1899: 112). What is more, he was also a political practitioner, a Member of Parliament, a publicist and an orator.

He was born on 20th March 1859 in Poznań, a son of Józefa Sarnowska and Franciszek Witold (*Encyklopedia... [Encyclopedia...]* 1864: 594) – a national and educational activist. He had four brothers (Kazimierz, Stanisław, Ludwik and Bronisław) and a sister Paulina. Milewski, like his father, graduated from a well-known Mary Magdalene Gymnasium in Poznań and began studies in the Faculty of Law at the Jagiellonian University, which he continued in Germany two semesters later. He sat a law exam in Berlin, receiving a juris doctor diploma in Leipzig on 10th May 1883. Milewski proceeded with his studies, taking up economics at a few universities in Germany, France, Great Britain and Poland (in Warsaw). During the studies, he published his first treatise entitled: *An issue of gold currency in Germany* which appeared in „Dziennik Poznański” [Poznań Daily] in 1881. Milewski moved to Kraków [Cracow] in 1886, where his doctoral degree was nostrified by the Jagiellonian University. In 1886, a dissertation entitled *Prawo spadkowe a własność ziemska* [Law of succession versus landed property] became a basis for his earning a degree of assistant professor in political economy the very same year. He started lecturing already in the academic year of 1886/87. Two years later Milewski was promoted, taking the post of associate professor and in 1892 – the post of full professor. In July 1896 Milewski became an

associate member of the Akademia Umiejętności w Krakowie [Academy of Fine Arts in Cracow], representing the Philosophical-Historical Department. Earlier – in 1894 – he was also a member of Komisja Prawnicza w składzie Stałych Komisji Akademii [the Legal Board of Academy Standing Committee] (RAU 1896: 41, cf. RAU 1995). On 12th May of the same year Milewski became a member of the Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk w Poznaniu [Poznań Society of Friends of Arts and Sciences]. He was elected Dean of the Faculty of Law three times. In 1906 Milewski retired from the Jagiellonian University at his own request and together with some other Jagiellonian University professors founded Związek Pracy Narodowej¹ [National Labour Union], which marked a beginning of his political activity. Simultaneously, he took over the management of Bank Krajowy we Lwowie [Lvov Regional Bank].

Milewski was awarded an honorary professorship at the University of Lvov in 1908². He spent the years of the First World War in Lvov. In June 1915, together with the remaining management of the Bank, he was taken hostage by the retreating Russians. He stayed in Kiev since the end of June 1915, where „he suffered a premature death – a severe loss for Polish society. He passed away on Sunday of 18th January 1916 at 10 a.m.”³.

¹ „The conservative camp of the professors underwent certain ideological transformations. Hence, some changed their political profile, founding in May 1906 the Związek Pracy Narodowej, spearheaded not only by count Zdzisław Tarnowski and »Czas« [Time] editor Rudolf Starzewski but also by two Jagiellonian University professors: Józef Milewski and Henryk Jordan”. *Odezwa Związku Pracy Narodowej, Archiwum Państwowe Krakowskie, Archiwum Tarnowskich z Dzikowa*, RZ 43. Quoted after: Buszko 1963: 65.

² S. Głabiński a rector of the University at the time, greeted Professor J. Milewski „with joy and a justified hope that he will bring glory to our Alma Matris” (*Kronika... [The Chronicle...]* 1912: 264).

³ The late Józef Milewski („Tygodnik Ilustrowany” [Weekly Illustrated], no. 6, 5th February 1916, p. 71. *Nekrologia. Śp. prof. Józef Milewski [Obituary. The late Józef Milewski]*, »Czas« [Time], no. 62, 4th February 1916, p. 3. Cf. Tyrowicz; *Wielka encyklopedia... [The Great Encyclopaedia...]*, 1911, v. XLVII: 109–110; *Oestereichisches... 1973: 296–297*. An evaluation of Milewski by a contemporary historian was exaggerated and made from „a class point of view”. J. Buszko singled out all the manifestations of obscurantism and conservatism in Milewski’s biography. He wrote that Milewski „was not known for his research papers but for being a »golden-mouthed orator« who voices his most reactionary opinions in a very flashy manner and enjoys abusing science-derived arguments and terminology in political polemic. His explicitly pseudoscientific parliamentary speeches which simultaneously have demagogic undertones, earned him full recognition and an aura of »scientific seriousness« in the conservative-gentry camp (Buszko 1963: 55).

„He was one of the most prominent figures in the local scientific, political and financial circles – wrote »Rok Polski« [Polish Yearly]. Silence which followed the news of his death in Kraków seems in a striking opposition to the opinion and the considerable merits of the late Milewski and the recognition he earned during his lifetime. Is death such a common event nowadays? Or is it that the wave of wartime occurrences makes everyone forget? So even those who had always been proud of the late Milewski, frequently making him take the most demanding posts, did not make an effort to dedicate a posthumous remembrance to him”⁴.

The profile of Milewski, particularly his academic career, research interests and political attitude, were characteristic of academic circles in Galicia. He was listed among „political professors” next to names such as: Julian Dunajewski, Antoni Zygmunt Helcel, Stanisław Tarnowski, Józef Szujski, Michał Bobrzyński, Fryderyk Zoll and Maksymilian Zatorski (Estreicher 1931: 36; cf. Buszko 1963: 15). Nevertheless, it was not only professors who had the „privilege” to do politics. Jagiellonian University rectors also actively participated in the political life of Galicia, working in the Sejm Krajowy [State Sejm] on behalf of the conservative camp⁵.

One has to admit, however, that Milewski’s attitude at different moments of his political activity provoked certain controversies, which came in turn to be reflected in academic writings and memoirs (Cf. Buszko 1963: 56; Daszyński 1959: 173; Bobrzyński 1957; Chłędowski

⁴ „Rok Polski” [Polish Year], R. I, no. 2, March 1916, p. 76–77. The first short notice was published by „Czas” [Time] on 26th January 1916. Quoting the press from Copenhagen, it wrote that late Member of Parliament and Sejm – a University professor Dr Milewski died in Kiev (*Zgon Dra J. Milewskiego [Dr Milewski’s Death]*, „Czas”, Vienna, 26th January 1916). A longer obituary, consisting of a fragment of biography was published by the daily on 4th February 1916. Quoting the „Kiev Daily”, they wrote that the late Dr Józef Milewski had died on Sunday morning on 16th January at 10 a.m. Before he died, Milewski asked his daughter, who accompanied him after he had been sent into exile, and others present, to organize a private funeral only. He asked those who would wish to remember him to make donations for Polish exiles instead of buying wreaths (*Nekrologia. Śp. prof. Józef Milewski*, „Czas”, no. 62, 4th February 1916, p. 3). Also in: „Rok Polski” [Polish Year], R. I, no. 2, March 1916, p. 76–77 and „Tygodnik Ilustrowany” [Weekly Illustrated], no. 6, 5th Feb. 1916, p. 71 (with a photograph enclosed).

⁵ Cf. Starzyński 1900; Bankowicz, Dudek, Majchrowski 1996. A. Dudek did not mention Milewski in his discussion of the tradition of Polish conservatism (Cf. p. 21–29).

1957). On one hand, one cannot nowadays agree with a significant number of the opinions. On the other, one cannot help observing an astonishing ease with which Milewski manoeuvred in different political milieux. It was possible due to his independent attitude of a scholar and parliamentary practitioner, which was backed up by recognized achievements⁶. These were evidenced by Milewski's parliamentary activities. His attitude did, however, lead to a situation in which he was compelled to resign from his mandate. The incident occurred during a meeting and was observed by one of its participants who later told a „Gazeta Narodowa” [National Daily] journalist: „I have been meticulously examining national life in all provinces of Poland for a few decades, but I have never witnessed such a meeting before. It was a clash between two radically different political standpoints: the policy of principles and the policy of expediency. Deputy Milewski was the only political successor of great Cracovian politicians of principles, such as Szujski, Popiel and Dunajewski. His opponents were a glaring contradiction of these traditions. I take it very strongly because the writings and activities of those people constituted a cornerstone of my upbringing. The whole meeting can be summarized in the words of Mr. Milewski's last speech: »Gentlemen, you are seeking a temporary success, I am thinking ahead«”. Milewski himself said during the aforementioned meeting: „In public life I have never acted according to the programme of one particular party but according to my own programme⁷”. The majority of evaluations made by Milewski's contemporaries bore, however, a stigma of the times in which they were

⁶ It was a self-explanatory fact that his name was listed in the collective work entitled: *Z dziejów odrodzenia politycznego Galicji 1859–1873* [From the history of political renaissance of Galicja 1859–1873] next to the latter-day personages such as: Michał Dobrzyński and Władysław Leopold Jaworski, with his contribution being in principle parliamentary not academic. It was the Budget for the year 1866 which was reported in the Sejm by J. Milewski.

⁷ He obeyed this principle in both his publicist and academic work. His writings were published not only by conservative „Czas” [Time], „Przegląd Polski” [Polish Review], Jesuit „Przegląd Powszechny” [General Review] or „Dziennik Poznański” [Poznań Daily] and Lvov's „Gazeta Narodowa” [National Newspaper] where, *inter alia*, he published subsequent parts of the salient text entitled *Wykład o kulturze politycznej* [A lecture on political culture] (no. 19, 20, 21 i 22; 25, 26, 27 i 28th January 1912). Cf. *Sejmik relacyjny posła Dr Milewskiego*, Supplement to „Gazeta Narodowa” [National Newspaper], no. 5, 9th January 1912.

formulated. The frenzy of political struggle frequently badly affected the way Milewski was evaluated⁸. As it seems, the above-mentioned incident must have directly influenced the life as well as academic and political activities of Milewski. The event will be broached again further in the paper.

I have mentioned Milewski's political embroilments, his ideological conflicts, social activity and his search for a place in life, even though they are not the topic of this paper. However, a human being is a whole and it is impossible to make a clear-cut division between Milewski's difficult experiences in politics and his academic research on political culture. Having analyzed his writings and looked at the way he was perceived by people of different social backgrounds, one sees Milewski as a, foremost, very active person, a Renaissance man, ambitious and unaffected by adversities. He definitely knew how to cope with problems. Milewski was also continuously interested in the affairs of the state. Accumulating various experiences, he kept abreast with monitoring events happening in more than just one partition. He was familiar with both foreign and native literature, especially that of his political camp. He took advantage of it all in his academic and popular work. The conclusions he came to with regard to political, parliamentary life, were used in his academic papers. He had the grounds for passing important judgements concerning the condition of the state and its problems. Milewski kept on pondering over what he regarded as the best solutions for the State⁹. He was never rash in his actions, but worked systematically, with a plan in mind. He frequently recalled Aristotelian thought that **a statesman has to be an expert on what is and a founder of what there should be** (Milewski, Czerkawski 1905: 14). Milewski was not, in fact, meant to become „a statesman”, a political

⁸ He wrote on the occasion of international celebrations of May 1st „Failure of this manifestation indicated two favourable things. On one hand, the working-class conditions *are not* yet so hopeless that an outbreak of some sort, irrational but terrible, may be a continuous threat. On the other, European societies are strong and organized enough to fight off with force any sudden attack against the present legal order” (Cf. Milewski 1890: 39).

⁹ W. Studnicki in his review accused Milewski of not tackling the issue: „where and how one should look for the state for our nation”. Apart from that, the reviewer highly evaluated Milewski's contribution. See *Zagadnienia... [Issues...]* 1809: 913–914 (photograph of the author). An identical point was made by another reviewer who wrote a rather extensive review. Cf. Halban 1910, z. VIII 133–159; 1910, z. IX: 306–325.

visionary, but he was a decent „artisan” with regard to politics; a pragmatist, and an advocate of „organic work”, „building from the foundations”. He eagerly used the notion of a nation and acknowledged its significance, pondering the ways of its maintenance and development (Milewski 1909: 69). He was a scholar, a politician and an economic entrepreneur who – as he wrote himself – lived and worked „not only in all three partitions but also abroad as a deputy in the Viennese Parliament (1894–1900) and the Sejm Krajowy (since 1901)”. Thus, he was exposed to „tasks, difficulties and defects of our national politics”. He also lectured „at both Polish universities” and worked „in our public institutions (Towarzystwo Rolnicze, Bank Krajowy [The Agricultural Society and the State Bank]”. Therefore Milewski „had an opportunity to get to know people, affairs, relations”¹⁰. He maintained contacts with his home – Wielkopolska [Greater Poland] and never lost – as it was written about him – a „countrywide point of view, assessing each issue from a much broader perspective”¹¹.

An analysis of Milewski’s political attitudes or other manifestations of his social, organizational and economic activities etc. does not belong to the scope of this paper. I would like to focus on his deliberations related to the issues of political science, particularly focusing on the concept of political culture.

Milewski’s academic and publicist activity flourished at the turn of the century – between 1881 and 1913. At the time he completed his basic economic and political science works. Interestingly, the idea that the only safe way, congruent with the purpose of his life, was a hope for the development and growth of political culture (Milewski 1912: 16) was a leading theme throughout his academic activity. What did Milewski mean by the notion of political culture? It is difficult to describe it in a word or two, especially that formulating definitions was not a habit of his. However, political culture appears frequently understood in terms of the so-called process of „all social strata becoming citizens and one nation”. This involved democratization of society and its political institutions, which Milewski explained and discussed in detail in his paper of 1909: „Politics has become more difficult these days, especially because broad social strata do not wish to be seen as *misera contribuenes plebs*. Moreover, there are many obsolete statesmen who cannot take into

¹⁰ From the preface of a work entitled: *Zagadnienie...* [Issue...] 1909: IV.

¹¹ „Rok Polski”, March 1916, no. 2, Year I, p. 76.

account this change of relationships and ideas. It is no longer enough to behave in a proper manner. One has to persuade people that it is so, gaining their confidence both in one's intellect and unbending good will as well as in one's love for public affairs... This has become powerful due to democratization of politics, becoming an urgent task for national education. It is national education that has to kindle national consciousness and a sense of civic duties in all social circles without drawing them away from a plough or a workshop or depriving them of their vocation. It is to unite them by means of common awareness of not only their own business but also of national affairs, laws and interests. This powerful mass of people will exert their influence through civic deeds and virtues as well as the love of common national ideals. They will be willing to serve and work not only for their own sake but for the nation, generous with money and eager to devote time to civic service. Thus, national education has a moral task: it is helping the people to become citizens in the most noble meaning of this word" (Milewski... : 22–23).

In my view, Milewski meticulously and systematically worked on his studies of political culture. He had to work very intensely, wisely dividing his time between all his parallel interests, namely, the treasury, finances, taxes and economic policy. Given the scope of his interests, it is therefore, difficult to discuss a complete contribution of Milewski in this paper¹².

In his writings Milewski frequently used original fragments of dissertations mainly by French and British scholars, and in particular – German ones. He also often quoted from classical literature, primarily Plato and Aristotle. As far as Polish literature is concerned, Milewski made a frequent use of works by S. Tarnowski, J. Szujski, P. Popiel, A. Cieszkowski, K. Libelt, B. Trentowski, L. Wasilewski, S. Smolka, B. Dembiński and W. Konopczyński. He drew on *belles-lettres*, too, quoting not only from the writings by our national bards, especially Słowacki and Krasiński, but also by Wyspiański. His contemporaries perceived him as „clericalist”, mainly due to his opinions on the role of religion and the Church in social and national life. It was in this spirit that he had a series of lectures and speeches at rallies and wrote his publications which were published not exclusively in the Catholic press.

¹² A full bibliography still needs to be compiled. It encompasses the period between Milewski's first publication in 1881 in „Dziennik Poznański” and his, as it seems, last work dealing with political culture, written in 1912.

„National tradition and principles of the Catholic faith” were a basis of his programme (Milewski : 9). A. Cieszkowski was his favourite writer – an author whose books Milewski read quite frequently. Milewski was regarded as a „skilled orator” who knew how to „carry away” his audience, making a „particular impression on female listeners at Catholic conventions and electoral gatherings. He was a born preacher, soft-spoken, using catchy slogans, sophisticated vocabulary and speaking in the manner of a priest at the pulpit in a way that every time I heard him, I had this feeling that he missed his vocation, becoming a political and not a church orator” – wrote down K. Chłędowski in his diary (Chłędowski 1958: 326). In fact, Milewski had a lot to say not only because he had a significant orator’s experience but he also tried to present theoretical remarks with regard to the topics (Milewski : 19 and ff.)”.

Milewski’s understanding of science did not resemble an attitude of those scholars who viewed their work in a very „narrow-minded” manner, limiting it to cognizing „the essence of the phenomenon” and discovering „rules and truths”. They rejected entering „the realm of practical questions” of science¹³. On the contrary, Milewski’s works, apart from containing an analysis of the current situation of the state, description of the processes taking place in economy and international politics, with an emphasis on the policy of the partitioning powers, consisted also of theoretical generalizations and practical pieces of advice (Milewski 1909: 90–91). Furthermore, Milewski’s writings were – which may prove to be strenuous for the reader – in Bacon’s words „georgics of the mind” – meaning they abounded in „cultivating morality” (cf. Bacon 1955: 375). Large passages of almost all of his works contain a traditional load of moralizing, teachings and pieces of good advice. One cannot deny, however, that Milewski does it with passion characteristic of a teacher, a tutor, convinced of the value of word, which, according to him, substantially contributes to the victory of good in a human being¹⁴.

Many pieces of Milewski’s publicist, popular and academic writings deal with an understanding of culture in terms of a virtuous, godly way of life, compatible with the Decalogue and in unity with the Church com-

¹³ Milewski 1897: 8. Cf. the stance of L. Gumplowicz, who considered drawing practical conclusions to be a task of „politics”. Cf. Bielicko 1909: 592–596.

¹⁴ He put a particular emphasis on „pronunciation”, being right that it „will be a social weapon of the twentieth century, a weapon either deadly or redemptive, depending on who, for what reason and with what effect, will manage to make a use of it” Milewski 1907: 13.

bined with quiet civic life – true to the principles of „the conservative way”. He consistently defended the current state of affairs, being against all „novelty”, novel ideas of liberals and peasant parties’ members.

Analysing the research themes of Milewski, one cannot help noticing that its author was at his best when discussing parliamentary issues. He correctly perceived and evaluated manifestations of weakness, reproaching people for facetiousness, „factionalism”, bribery, corruption and lack of competence on behalf of the deputies. Milewski was equally competent at talking about economic and social issues. Nevertheless, he was invariably stubbornly traditional with regard to the notions of religious tolerance, morality and customs, displaying a deeply hostile attitude towards all kinds of „novelty” in this domain. What is of interest to me in Milewski’s works is not their content as such, but their formal side. I am not questioning his argumentation, either. Neither am I trying to discover which fragments had strongest impact on the listeners or what rhetorical tricks he used to achieve his aims. What I am investigating in Milewski’s texts is the manner in which he perceived and understood „political issues”, which is a very complex matter as it was universally believed to be a rather broad domain¹⁵.

One can attempt, though, to say a few words about fundamental issues such as: the government and citizen relationship, attitudes, behaviours, patterns, the whole emotional side of political attitudes, the role of symbols and eminent individuals etc. This is the domain of social reality which has been frequently referred to in broad terms as „political culture”. In the works I am familiar with, he did not use the very notion of „political culture” too often. He did, however, carefully select the subject matter related to it. In the first phase of his publicist activity, Milewski as a parliamentarian and a deputy at the Viennese Parliament (1894–1900), acting probably with his electorate in mind, took up mainly economic issues, *inter alia*: the budget and credit. He also analyzed the significance of „good finances”, occupying himself with formulating tasks of fiscal studies and finance policy. Milewski also addressed the issue of modern parliamentarianism origins and the issue of so-called social question. The latter was very much up-to-date, especially in con-

¹⁵ According to Milewski, „this is all that maintains and deepens our individuality, which reinforces an essence of the nation and increases its strength, bettering its living conditions”. Looking at it from such a perspective, it is difficult to point out the issues which would not be included in his understanding of political issues.

nection with an increasing influence of rapidly developing workers' and peasant movements. As for this domain, Milewski dedicated his oratory talents to the Church, on whose behalf he led an active explanatory campaign, presenting the Church's point of view thereon which was included in the salient encyclical by Leon XIII entitled „*Rerum Novarum*”¹⁶.

At the onset of the twentieth century Milewski inaugurated the Powszechnie Wykłady Uniwersyteckie [Common University Lectures] in Kraków. On 1st December 1903 he delivered a lecture entitled: *Zadania narodowej oświaty* [Objectives of national education]. It was a difficult topic – weighty from the point of view of not only ideological interests, which Milewski pursued and propagated as an advocate of Cracovian conservatives, but also from the perspective of education's role in the formation of political culture. He never concealed that he drew inspiration for his ideas from deliberations of Józef Szujski – a leading representative of this ideological camp (Milewski : 21). Milewski characterized national education's objectives which were to be connected not merely with augmenting „individual knowledge” but „making society aware of the sense of civic duties, moral strength to their zealous fulfilment, national consciousness and understanding of the affairs and needs of the nation”. According to the author, new national needs stemmed from a change of the people's status: from „subjects” to „citizens”. People obtained „extensive civic rights, voting rights and the right of assembly as well as association, petition and freedom of the press rights. Nowadays everyone may take part in political life of the nation, influencing its fate. Thus, any defect or moral fault in the life of citizens becomes

¹⁶ This author wrote and published the following works that are available in the bookstore of Polska Spółka Wydawnicza [Polish Publishing Company] in Kraków: *Budżet i kredyt publiczny, roztrząsania finansowe i polityczne*, Kraków 1898, p. 54; *Cele polityki agrarnej*. Odczyt wygłoszony na kursie socjalnym w Krakowie, 1897, p. 40; *Mowa wygłoszona na posiedzeniu Sejmu krajowego podczas debaty budżetowej dnia 8 lipca 1902 r.; O kwestii socjalnej*. Wykład publiczny miany w Krakowie w r. 1890, p. 40; *Mowa o kwestii socjalnej*, wygłoszona na wiecu katolickim we Lwowie, Kraków 1896, p. 9; *Reforma socjalna w Anglii*. Odczyt miany we Lwowie w r. 1893, Kraków 1893, p. 32; *W sprawie reformy waluty w Austro-Węgrzech*, Kraków 1892, p. 39; *Zdobycze i iluzje postępu w XIX wieku*. Odczyt wypowiedziany dnia 22 lutego 1901 r., p. 71. Cf. Information note attached to the text entitled: *Zadania narodowej oświaty*. Wykład na uroczystym otwarciu Powszechnych Wykładów Uniwersyteckich w Krakowie dnia 1 grudnia 1903 r., Kraków 1904, p. 30.

politically threatening because it may negatively affect the course of public affairs...” (Milewski: 21).

Following the publicist and lecture activity of Milewski, one may easily see that he had been inspired by the conservative idea. In compliance with this concept Milewski defended, foremost, historically formed foundations of social life, believing that religious ethics, safeguarded by the Catholic Church, was a cornerstone thereof. Ideological premises of conservatism were also a source from which his attachment to „the sense of nationality” and „national heritage” stemmed as well as his support for „the national culture development”. Moreover, Milewski was in favour of maintenance of a strong, continuous government represented by head of the state. He voiced his opinion also with regard to the principle of inviolability of private property and the value of family as „a foundation of social life”, fighting against the tendencies leading to its „damage”. Moreover, Milewski believed that apart from the family, other social relationships within the state, such as local associations, class, trade unions etc. were essential „links of the social life”. Therefore he defended them against „the omnipotence of the state which wishes either to restrict or to liquidate them altogether”.

In other words, one may say that all those traits characteristic of conservative thinking, which are by mutual agreement referred to as national tradition and which form a basis of social life – can be found in his writings¹⁷. One can easily notice it when the author, for example, recapitulates the nineteenth century, pondering the „impact that science has on life, especially the political one” (Milewski 1901: 5). One notices it as well when reading Milewski’s treatises on values such as „custom, law and morality” which substantially influence human behaviour. On another occasion he makes for instance a very good point about the role of the public opinion seen as a bailiff of „morals”. Milewski included a number of apt and still up-to-date remarks in the fragment pertaining to „an executor of the law” whose role, he believed, should be taken by the state, whereas conscience should in turn be an executor of „moral laws”. On this occasion Milewski wrote a lot about the role of the Catholic Church in the formation of social life. He is very determined in his conclusions concerning the issues of ethics and politics. According to

¹⁷ Cf. S. Estreicher, *Istota konserwatyzmu* [The Essence of Conservatism] [in:] *Konserwatyzm* [Conservatism], Kraków 1928. Quoted after: *Naród...* [The Nation...] 1996: 88.

Milewski, not everyone may simply propagate them, especially if they do not possess „moral and academic qualifications”. He stressed that ever since the times of Plato and Aristotle humankind had been aware that politics is „the toughest skill and the noblest art”. At this point he talked about the figure of Jędrzej Śniadecki and his pertinent views in this respect (Milewski 1901: 65). Finally, Milewski also addressed an issue of human needs with regard to social life, the needs which manifest themselves in many different realms¹⁸.

According to Milewski, issues of political culture and its formation were a basic objective for civic education in which it should be supported by political science. He called for, persuaded, hinted at and justified its need at almost all times. Analyzing the so-called social question, Milewski tackled an issue of egoism, selfishness and greed „that desires thy neighbour’s possessions”. He also advocated the need of „toughness and virtue in order to get over the hegemony of egoism so as to be capable of remembering about thy neighbour in the public and private realm of materialistic interests”. He warned that „families and nations decline when toughness and virtue are missing or if the pursuit of profit, comfort and entertainment weakens their emotions”. The more difficult the situation of an individual or a nation, the more probably they will be successful in the struggle – as long as their thoughts and deeds comply with the Christian ethics. *In hoc signo vinces* was true and it will remain so forever” (Milewski : 6).

2.

A few examples will have to suffice in order to illustrate Milewski’s manner of reasoning. Both his political commentary, being a well-designed popularization of knowledge and his academic writings complied with the academic convention established at the time. I am inclined to think that the author introduced a peculiar pattern into the way in which the problems were discussed. The construction of his work on national politics is the best example thereof (Milewski 1909 – spis rzeczy [table of contents]).

¹⁸ „There is a domain of economic and political life, legal security on the outside and the inside, a domain of spiritual and bodily health, of labour and of the nation’s culture...” (Milewski 1904: 8).

Concluding, one has to tackle the text which the author had intended to be a popular lecture about political culture. As it turned out, it was one of the last works published by Milewski¹⁹. *The Lecture on Political Culture* was issued as a series composed of four parts in the Lvov's national press. The first piece appeared on the first page entitled: *O kulturze politycznej* [On Political Culture] on Thursday 25th January 1912²⁰. The remaining parts came out in turn on 16, 27 and 28th of January – on Friday, Saturday and Sunday. An exact date of the publication of the whole text is not known, however. In my opinion, it followed the press publications shortly. I looked for reactions to these publications, but none have been found. The events which foreshadowed Milewski's text must still have been more significant (Milewski 1912: 32). Such details are not a priority but the place chosen by the author for the publication seems at least curious. I do not think he was, organizationally or ideologically, related to the national camp as a party. He was regarded as a conservative connected with the „Czas” [Time] weekly. At one time he even edited the „Economic Column” in this newspaper. It seems that it took place shortly after he retired from the Jagiellonian University and took over the post of the manager of the Bank Krajowy, Lvov Department in 1906²¹. Milewski took an early retirement from the Jagiellonian University at the age of 47. What was the reason for such a radical decision? His academic position appeared to be stable; he was frequently promoted. He earned respect of the academic circles and won broader recognition, which did not make his political career easy. He decided to take an early retirement at the peak of his academic career.

I am not going to hypothesize about the reason of his decision. I do, naturally, have preliminary speculations but they still require being confirmed by source query. I will discuss the synthetic comment by Milewski concerning the essence of understanding of political culture and its formation. The statement is part of a separate text whose layout

¹⁹ As far as the texts which I managed to collect are concerned, it seems that the last one was *Elita społeczna Wypowiedziane w Palacu Biskupim w Krakowie na ogólnym zebraniu Związku Zamoyskich, dnia 7 kwietnia 1913 r.* [Social Elite. Spoken in the Bishop's Palace in Cracow at a general meeting of the Zamoyskis' Association, 7th April 1913]. Edition of the Kórnicka Library, 1913, p. 36.

²⁰ „Gazeta Narodowa”, Lwów, Thursday, 25 January 1912, p. 1–2

²¹ *Nekrologia. Śp. prof. Józef Milewski* [The Necrology. The late Professor Józef Milewski], „Czas” [Time], no. 62, 4th February 1916, p. 3.

is similar to the other writings by Milewski. A half of the text deals with an analysis of the situation and circumstances of our civilizational backwardness and prospects of the state at the time.

Milewski favours the understanding of political culture which legitimates the state in which „appropriate behaviour has become a reflex, a habit, so that it is done instinctively without a prior thought or without reasoning. Hence, true political culture exists only if people have already acquired a sense of what has to be done for the good of general public and by what means it may be achieved. This sense is not an outcome of reasoning only, but a product of co-operation between the reason, emotions and will. Its foundations consist of principles and concepts regarded as proper, true, beloved as such and put into action. What serves as a frame is reasoned evaluation of an appropriate behaviour, developed or acquired through instruction about what is good for the nation and how to act in order to implement it. Being aware of the aim, methods and means of action nurtures at times instinctive behaviour which then becomes a habit, in the course of time giving rise to tradition. This is what most effectively guarantees a permanence of action, creating the *in necessariis unitas* which is essential for every nation (Milewski 1912: 20–21).

Having analyzed almost all writings by Milewski, I have come to the conclusion that an objective of his efforts was to work on the formation of political culture in accordance with the patterns of the traditional school of Cracovian conservatives. He dedicated his talent and devotion to the above-mentioned idea. Milewski remained an idealist and a dreamer, believing that an independent study of politics, which would rest on the solid foundations of academic reflections, is possible.

Breslau, 8 May 2005

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