The Sejm of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Chamber of Deputies

Background Guide

Chair:
Kate Canavan
Katherine.m.canavan@gmail.com

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The Sejm of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Chamber of Deputies

Introduction

Letter from the Chair:

Hello Delegates!

I am so excited to welcome you to EagleMUNC VIII! My name is Kate Canavan, and I will be the Marshal of the Sejm (chair) for the Sejm of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Chamber of Deputies committee. I am a junior majoring in Economics and Political Science. I originally hail from Connecticut, and by the time of the conference I will have recently returned from a semester studying abroad at the University of Amsterdam!

I have been involved in Model United Nations since starting school at Boston College. I am on the executive board of BC’s traveling team, BCMUN, where we have competed at conferences in Washington, D.C., Montreal, and Barcelona. I have also been involved with EagleMUNC since my first year at BC, when I was a staffer. Model UN has taught me the importance of collaborating with peers to solve issues, and of being respectful of other points of view while advocating for the policies of your own country or character. MUN has been a highlight of my time in college, especially since it is how I have met some of my closest friends.

Last year at EagleMUNC, I chaired the Roman Senate committee. The Roman Senate showed me how fun historical legislative committees can be, especially when typical MUN parliamentary procedure is tweaked to be as historically accurate as possible. Committees like Roman Senate and the Sejm of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth require a lot of research and planning to execute, but it creates a truly
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immersive experience for delegates if they choose to fully embrace the historical elements of the committee and are flexible with learning new parliamentary procedures. This is especially fun when we use procedures in the language of the historical period—I chaired using the original Latin procedure for major votes last year. I am excited to see how the *liberum veto* (a disruptive procedure in which any member of the legislature had the power to halt any proceedings and veto any proposed legislation) plays out in this committee, especially considering the prevalence of foreign powers bribing legislators to use this procedure.

To fully enjoy this committee and do well, it is *extremely* important that you thoroughly read this background guide and any supplementary information. You probably do not have much prior knowledge of the Sejm and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth going into this committee—I definitely did not! This is a committee that you can only truly enjoy when you understand the unique procedures that we will be implementing and the historical context surrounding crisis events. Nevertheless, we will make sure that the committee runs as smoothly as possible and that we clearly explain changes to procedure and historical events so all delegates are on the same page.

I am so excited to bring this little-known historical legislative body to life with all of you in March. If you have any questions or want to introduce yourself, feel free to send me an email at katherine.m.canavan@gmail.com before the conference. I can’t wait to meet you all!
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Best,

Kate Canavan
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Historical Background

The close relationship between the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania existed for two hundred years before the official unification of these two nation-states and the formation of the commonwealth. The alliance had existed since the Polish-Lithuanian Union was formed by the Union of Krewo in 1386. Under this agreement, both nation-states maintained their own laws and customs.1

In 1569, the Union of Lublin was signed in Lublin, Poland, which formally established the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This agreement effectively created one state comprised of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania under one government. This agreement gave the Lithuanians more strength and support against the powerful Tsardom of Russia on the eastern border of the Grand Duchy. Additionally, the Poles benefited from this agreement as they maintained their position as the more powerful bloc in the alliance and exerted more influence over the Lithuanians. Poland provided military assistance to the Lituanians, and the Lithuanians agreed to recognize the annexation of some previously Lithuanian-controlled territories into the Crown of Poland. Under the stipulations of this treaty, Lithuanian nobles had the same amount of power as the Polish nobility on paper. In practice, the Poles maintained more influence politically and culturally throughout the duration of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. 2

Since the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was one of the largest nations in Europe, complete social and cultural homogeneity among the population was impossible.

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Members of the nobility (the szlachta), religious leaders, and other members of the elite used Latin or Polish to communicate among each other. However, the common population was much less integrated. They often remained isolated in smaller villages and communicated among members of their own community in their native tongue—for example, peasants from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania continued speaking Ruthenian, even as Polish became more commonplace throughout the nation state in the decades after the official unification of Poland and Lithuania.

As well as being ethnically diverse, the Commonwealth was religiously diverse. At the time of the creation of the Commonwealth, the country was less than half Catholic, and there was a notable Greek Orthodox portion of the population. Protestantism, most notably Lutheranism and Calvinism, was also gaining traction. Unlike many monarchial European states, the government of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth emphasized religious toleration. In 1573, the Confederation of Warsaw legally guaranteed toleration for these various factions of Christianity within the Commonwealth.

The nobility of the Commonwealth also enjoyed many more rights than their counterparts in other European monarchies under the system known as the Golden Liberty. The Golden Liberty was established by the Pacta Convecta (an agreement between the szlachta and the newly elected king) of the first elected king of the Commonwealth, King Henry III of France. Also known as King Henry’s Articles, the first pacta convecta guaranteed that the king must convene a sejm every two years, required that all taxes, royal marriages, and declarations of war be approved by the Sejm, and prevented the king’s heir from any claim to inheritance on the Polish throne. All of

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the subsequent kings had to agree to King Henry’s Articles, in addition to their individual pacta convectas which they negotiated with the Sejm. 4

While King Henry gave the szlachta many important rights in order to secure his election to the throne, he would only sit on the throne of the Commonwealth for 2 years due to his ascension to the French throne in 1575 following the death of his brother, King Charles IX of France. After Henry’s abdication of the Polish throne, the Sejm elected Anna Jagellion, sister of Sigismund II Augustus, as the new queen and her husband Stephen Bathory as the new king. In 1579 Stephen renewed the Livonian campaign against Tsar Ivan IV the Terrible after securing a truce with the Ottoman Empire and recruiting Cossack forces to strengthen the Polish army. Stephen’s success against Ivan the Terrible resulted in Muscovy ceding Livonia and Polotsk to the Commonwealth under the truce of Yam Zapolsky. The victory over Muscovy strengthened the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and fulfilled the Lithuanian desire for Polish assistance that was one of the principal reasons for the formation of the Commonwealth.5

A few years after his success against the Russians, Stephen Bathory died in Lithuania, and his wife decided to abdicate the throne in support of her nephew, instead of continuing on as the sole ruler of Poland. With the support of the former Queen Anna, Sigismund III Vasa was elected to the throne by the Sejm in 1587. Sigismund III was the nephew of King Sigismund II Augustus, the Polish king who oversaw the Union of Lublin, and the Grandson of Sigismund I the Old through his mother Catherine Jagellion.

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His father was King John III Vasa of Sweden, and following his death, Sigismund III ascended to the Swedish throne in 1592. Unlike Henry III, Sigismund III retained the Polish crown and attempted to create a personal union similar to the one between Poland and Lithuania that preceded the Commonwealth. 6

However, Sigismund’s dream of a united Sweden and Poland would not last. In 1598, Sigismund’s regent in Sweden, his uncle Charles IX, led a rebellion after the Catholic king renounced the 1593 Convention of Uppsala, which guaranteed Lutheranism as the state religion of Sweden. 7 Sigismund quickly returned to Sweden with a large Polish army, but he was defeated by his uncle at the Battle of Stangebro, and Charles IX deposed his nephew in 1599 and was crowned King of Sweden in 1604. Sigismund’s loss of the Swedish crown led to sporadic conflict between Sweden and Poland, and the two nations returned to full-scale war in 1605. Sigismund secured an early victory for Poland at the Battle of Kirkholm, 8 but Charles opened up a new front against his nephew in Russia, where Polish forces were supporting the claim of the False Dmitry as Tsar. 9

Following the death of Tsar Fyodor I in 1598, Russia entered a period known as the Time of Troubles. Fyodor’s brother-in-law, Boris Godunov, assumed the title of Tsar, but in 1601 a man who claimed to be Dmitry Ivanovich, the dead son of Tsar Ivan IV, began to gain support in Moscow. He was exiled in 1603, and the False Dmitry fled to Lithuania. The pretender found support in the Commonwealth among Polish and Lithuanian nobles, and in 1605 he returned to Moscow with the support of Polish-

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Lithuanian troops, Cossacks, and some of the Russian boyars. Dmitry was proclaimed Tsar by the boyars, but he began to alienate the Muscovite nobility by favoring the Poles who had followed him to Moscow along with his Polish wife Marina Mniszek. In 1606, Dmitry was assassinated in a coup, and Vasily Shuysky replaced him as tsar.10

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**Governmental Structure**

The Sejm was comprised of two chambers—the “Senat” (Senate) and the Chamber of Deputies. Similarly to how both the House of Representatives and the entire legislative branch of the United States government can both be called “Congress,” it was common to refer to the Chamber of Deputies simply as the “Sejm.”

During the time period of this committee, the Senate included about 150 members. They were mostly bishops or other high ranking members of society. The Chamber of Deputies included about 170 deputies representing each of the “voivodeships” (provinces) in the Commonwealth. These legislators were elected by local parliaments (sejmiks) from each region. Larger voivodeships were allocated more deputies proportionally based on population.11

The Sejm was especially important during this time period considering the implications of a piece of legislation passed in 1505, referred to as “Nihil Novi sine communi consensu,” meaning “nothing new without the consensus of all.” Under this law, it was mandated that all legislation must be agreed upon by both chambers of the Sejm and the King. However, the monarch was granted certain special executive powers related to certain issues, such as royal cities, peasants, and fiefdoms. This legislation further strengthened the szlachta against being overpowered by the King, but did not grant significant protections or powers to more vulnerable populations in Poland. The following excerpt from this law explains the legislators’ rationale for passing this piece of legislation:

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“Since general laws and public acts apply not to a single person but to the whole nation, therefore at this general diet in Radom, together with all prelates, councils and land deputies of our kingdom, we have considered rightful and just, as well as decided that from now on nothing new may be decided by us and our successors, without a common consensus of senators and land deputies, that would be detrimental or burdensome to the Commonwealth (Rzeczpospolita), and harmful or injurious to anyone, or that would alter the general law and public freedom.”

Essentially, the szlachta believed that the King should not act unilaterally regarding all matters because government acts affected the entire population, not just the monarch.

Under the Golden Liberty political system, the szlachta maintained certain abilities which protected their political influence and prevented the monarch from infringing upon their powers. The rokosz, or insurrection, was the ability of the szlachta to form a legal rebellion if they determined that the king had infringed upon their rights. The rokosz was a powerful tool of the szlachta to prevent the king from violating the freedoms guaranteed by King Henry’s Articles.

The liberum veto was perhaps the most disruptive power that the szlachta maintained. This controversial aspect of the parliamentary procedure of the Sejm required unanimous support for any legislation. The liberum veto could be exercised by

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any member of the Sejm, and its proclamation automatically nullified any legislation that had been passed during that session of the Sejm.

Some important sessions of the Sejm to consider are the special sessions used when a new King needed to be elected after death or abdication. The Sejm moved through three distinct sessions with different purposes and procedures to carry out this function:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Session</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sejm Konwokacyjny:</td>
<td>Write the <em>pacta conventa</em> (essentially an employment contract) for the new monarch</td>
<td>Two weeks</td>
<td>No traditional location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convocation Sejm</td>
<td>Evaluate candidates for the position</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sejm Elekcyjny:</td>
<td>All members of the szlachta (not just legislators) -- between 10,000 and 100,000 -- elect the next monarch</td>
<td>Six weeks</td>
<td>Wola (village outside of Warsaw)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election Sejm</td>
<td>Candidates could not attend, but sent spokespeople</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sejm Koronacyjny:</td>
<td>Coronation ceremony for new monarch</td>
<td>Two weeks</td>
<td>Kraków</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coronation Sejm</td>
<td>Primate (important bishop) formally gives powers to the new monarch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is important to note that the Convocation and Election Sejms were Confederated Sejms (*Sejm skonfederowany*), which only required a majority of support for any action.
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Under these Sejms, the *liberum veto* was not an issue since unanimous support was not required.\(^{14}\)

According to King Henry’s Articles, the Sejm was to be called for a six week period at minimum every two years. However, “extraordinary Sejms” (*sejm ekstraordynaryjny*) lasting two weeks could also be held during times of emergency, such as wartime. Most were held in the Royal Castle in Warsaw.

![The modern, rebuilt version of the Royal Castle (Warsaw)](image)

**Topic 1: The Zebryzdowski Rebellion (June 25, 1607)**

The current monarch, King Sigismund III has been involved in wars in Sweden and Russia, but he also faces serious resistance at home. In 1606, some members of the szlachta led by Mikolaj Zebryzdowski (governor of Kraków) formed a rokosz in opposition to King Sigismund’s request to create a permanent standing army, his

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15 “Royal Castle in Warsaw.” Polish Tourism Organization, n.d.
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increased intolerance of non-Catholics, and the belief that Sigismund wanted to establish a dynastic monarchy in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.16

On June 24, 1607, the members of the rokosz presented a document outlining 67 demands. It included calling for King Sigismund III to abdicate the throne for taking power from the szlachta, as well as calling for more rights for Protestants and more democratic elements to the governmental structure of the Commonwealth. The Sejm at the time did not accept any of the rebels’ requests.17

The Problem the Sejm Faces:

Tension is brewing between rebel nobles and members of the legislature loyal to King Sigismund III. Members of the rokosz are furious with King Sigismund III and do not want him to rule the Commonwealth anymore. Important decisions need to be made by the szlachta which will affect the future of the Commonwealth for decades.

Questions to Consider:

Should the Sejm support policies of Mikolaj Zebryzdowski and his followers for the sake of peace, or should deputies work to maintain the status quo?

What problems could arise when there is an unpopular ruler in power? How should legislators respond to potential violent reactions from political opponents?

Topic 2: Religious Conflict

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When Ferdinand II became emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (a group of semi-autonomous states throughout central Europe), he mandated that all citizens of the Empire be Catholic. In response, Protestant Bohemian states in the empire (located in modern day Czech Republic and Austria) allied themselves with Protestant German states in the empire and began the “Bohemian Revolt.” These states sought independence from Ferdinand II’s oppression. These battles marked the beginning of the 30 Years War, a major military conflict involving most European superpowers from 1618 to 1648, mostly occurring in central Europe within the Holy Roman Empire.18

According to the Confederation of Warsaw, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth supported tolerance of both Protestants and Catholics within the empire. Therefore, they did not officially partake in the Thirty Years War. However, the Lisowczycy, a highly skilled mercenary group loosely affiliated with the official Polish-Lithuanian cavalry fought in favor of Emperor Ferdinand II and the Catholics in the Battle of Humenné. This mercenary group was unique in the sense that they were not paid wages. Instead, they were permitted to ransack any villages or cities where they won battles and take anything they wanted for themselves.19

In the Battle of Humenné, the Lisowczycy and their allies defeated the forces of the Protestant rebels in western Slovakia on November 23, 1619.20 They looted Humenné “killing even children and dogs.” Afterwards, half of the mercenary group

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continued to ransack Slovakia before returning to Poland, while the other half
continued to support Ferdinand II in the Holy Roman Empire.21

The Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1618 (with modern country borders for reference)22

The Problem the Sejm Faces:

Half of the Lisowczycy forces have returned to Poland after their significant
victory, and have continued to do what they do best—looting cities and stealing for
themselves. After making their way through Slovakia, they have gone rogue and begun
looting villages in the southern region of the Kingdom of Poland. They are going from
town to town killing and stealing from both Protestants and Catholics. In one small
village, they burned down a Protestant church. News of this church burning is spreading
throughout the region, causing violent conflict between Protestants and Catholics. The
religious conflict plaguing much of Europe is starting to spread to local villages all over
the Commonwealth.

Deputies must work together to uphold the values of religious toleration that have allowed the diverse populations of the Commonwealth to live in harmony thus far. Firstly, it is important to discover who sent the Polish mercenaries to help Ferdinand II and why they did it. After gathering information, Deputies must draft a comprehensive piece of legislation to promote religious toleration among the general population and quell violence for the sake of national unity and peace.

Questions to Consider:
What are the most effective ways to promote toleration during a time of religious conflict?
How should legislators consider the principle of consensus that characterizes the Sejm?
What compromises need to be made to ensure that all citizens are happy with the result of this legislation?

Topic 3: Foreign Intervention and the Liberum Veto (1680)
Foreign powers with interests in influencing the actions of Deputies have been bribing them to invoke the *liberum veto* and halt any proceedings in the Sejm. Under the reign of John III Sobieski, who came to power in 1674, about half of any action attempted by a legislator has been vetoed. This veto power was initially implemented to promote political equality among the members of the szlachta and ensure that any legislative action does not harm even one Deputy’s constituency. The unintended
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consequences of this parliamentary procedure have made it difficult for the Sejm to be productive due to competing interests of foreign powers like Russia and Prussia. ⁲³

The Problem the Sejm Faces:

With the liberum veto still in place, the government of the Commonwealth has become anarchical and ineffective. Deputies must decide how to address the issue of foreign intervention in government proceedings. Additionally, they must decide if they should keep the liberum veto in place—keeping it could encourage compromise among the deputies, but could also make the government more paralyzed and dysfunctional in the future.

Questions to Consider:

Is it more important to uphold the values of consensus and equality among the members of the schlachta, or do changes need to be made to make the government more efficient?

Consider the impact of the liberum veto over the course of the conference. Has it been disruptive enough to consider removing it

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